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Iraq Index

Tracking Variables of Reconstruction & Security in Post-Saddam Iraq

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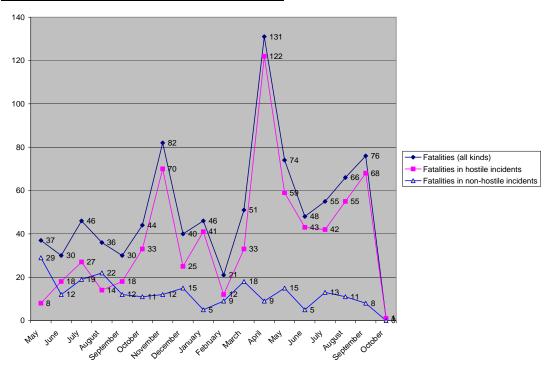
Updated October 1, 2004

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31 December -7 January, 2004: State Department Study of Iraqi Public Opinion	
Later Polling: State Department Study & Gallup Poll.	

SECURITY INDICATORS

U.S. TROOPS FATALITIES SINCE MAY, 2003¹

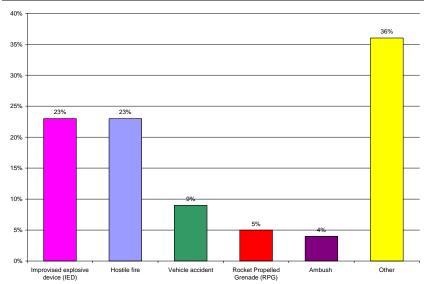


Totals as of October 1, 2004:

Fatalities (all kinds): 914

Fatalities in hostile incidents: **689** Fatalities in non-hostile incidents: **225**

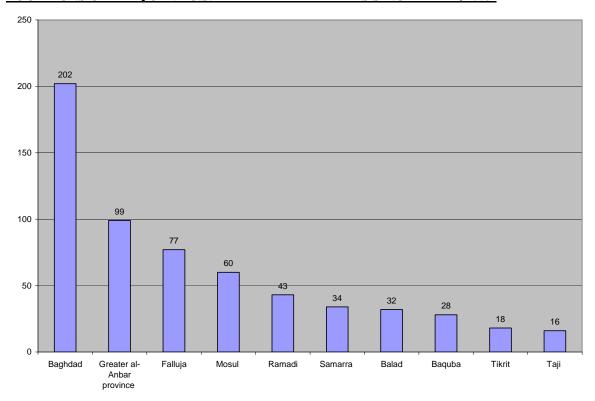
TOP FIVE CAUSES OF U.S. MILITARY FATALITIES IN IRAQ SINCE MAY 1, 2003²



As of September 27, 2004

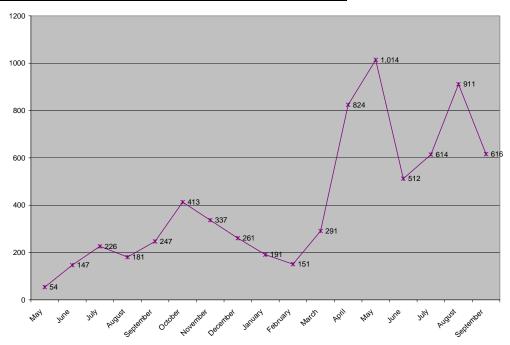
NOTE ON U.S. TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MAY TABLE: From the start of the war on March 19 until the end of major combat operations on April 30, 2003, Operation Iraqi Freedom caused 138 American troop fatalities. Of those, 109 were the result of hostile action, and 29 the result of non-hostile action. 65 U.S. troops were killed in March 2003. There were a total of 73 American fatalities in April 2003, 22 of which were killed after April 9. Of those 22, 10 were the result of hostile action and 12 the result of non-hostile action.

LOCATIONS OF FREQUENT U.S. MILITARY FATALITIES SINCE MAY 1, 2003³



As of September 27, 2004

U.S. TROOPS WOUNDED IN ACTION SINCE MAY, 2003⁴

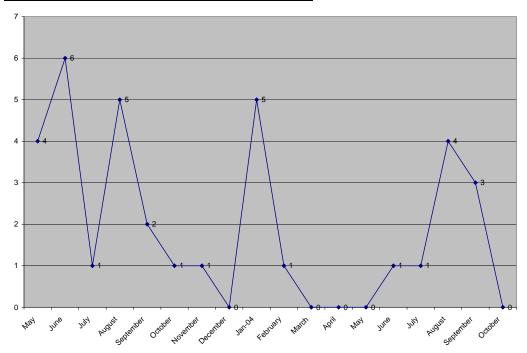


Totals as of September 28, 2004: 6,990

NOTE ON LOCATIONS OF FREQUENT U.S. MILITARY FATALITIES SINCE MAY 1, 2003 TABLE: These ten locations, where the greatest number of American fatalities have occurred, account for at least 609 of the 908 American military fatalities suffered in Iraq since May 1, 2003 and up until September 27, 2004.

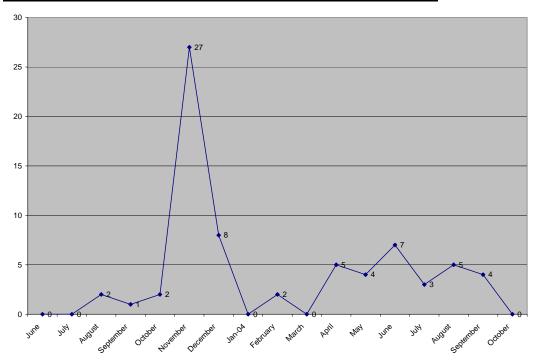
NOTE ON U.S TROOPS WOUNDED IN ACTION SINCE MAY 1, 2003 TABLE: The number of troops wounded in action is updated in the Iraqi Index every Wednesday. 541 American troops were wounded in action between March 19 and April 30, 2003.

BRITISH TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MAY, 20035



Total as of October 1: 35

NON-U.S. & U.K. COALITION TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MAY, 2003⁶

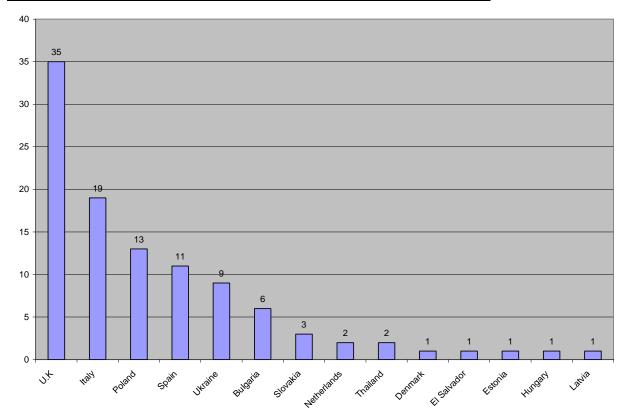


Total as of October 1, 2004: 70

NOTE ON BRITISH TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MAY 1 TABLE: Up until May 1, 2003, Operation Iraqi Freedom caused 33 British troop fatalities. Of those 33 fatalities, 6 occurred during the month of April. Of the 6 fatalities that occurred in April, 2 occurred after April 9.

NOTE ON NON-U.S. & U.K. COALITION TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MAY 1 TABLE: Excluding American and British troop fatalities, there were no coalition fatalities from the start of the war up until May 1. All such fatalities occurred after that date.

NON-U.S. COALITION TROOP FATALITIES BY COUNTRY SINCE MAY, 2003⁷



Total as of October 1, 2004: 105

IRAQI POLICE KILLED

Estimated number of Iraqi police killed since
January 1, 2004September 28, 2004
7508

IRAQI INTERPRETERS WORKING FOR COALITION FORCES KILLED

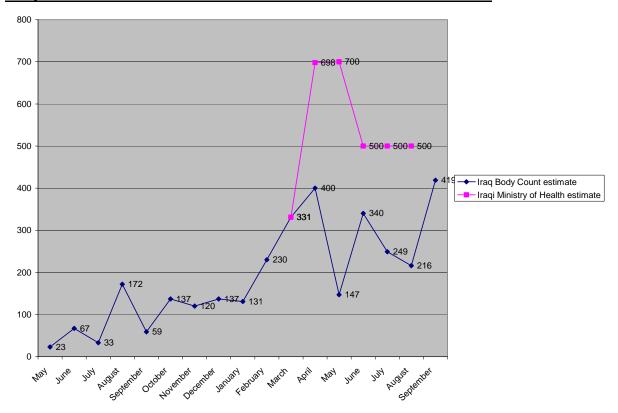
Total number of Iraqi interpreters killed since January, 2004 as of September 18, 2004 52⁹

NOTE ON IRAQI POLICE KILLED: According to Lieutenant Qassem of the Iraqi Facilities Protection Services, the rate of Iraqi police killed by insurgents dropped by almost 50% in April, 2004 to roughly a dozen fatalities. Scott Peterson, "More Iraqis Accept Their U.S.-Trained Forces," *Christian Science Monitor*, May 12, 2004.

ESTIMATES OF IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED SINCE THE START OF THE WAR

Iraq Body Count	13,000-15,000 as of September 10, 2004 ¹⁰
Statement by British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw	>10,000 as of February 2004 ¹¹
Shaik Omar Clinic, Baghdad	10,363 as of September 8, 2004 ¹²
	(in Baghdad and surrounding towns alone)
Amnesty International (London)	>10,000 as of September 8, 2004 ¹³
Human Rights Organization, Iraq	>30,000 ¹⁴

IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED AS A RESULT OF ACTS OF WAR SINCE MAY 200315



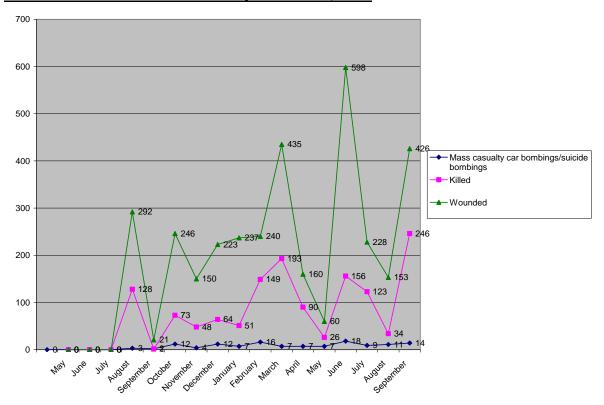
Total as of August 30: 3,211-4,338

NOTE ON IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED AS A RESULT OF ACTS OF WAR TABLE: Iraq Body Count estimate that 7,350 Iraqi civilians were killed the during major combat operations until May 1, 2003. (www.iraqbodycount.net[September 14, 2004]).

NOTE ON IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED AS A RESULT OF ACTS OF WAR TABLE: Because reports of Iraqi civilian fatalities are not necessarily reported in the order they occur, the estimated number of civilians killed up until a certain date may change as more cases are reported.

NOTE ON IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED AS A RESULT OF ACTS OF WAR TABLE: This is our best estimate of a monthly breakdown of how many Iraqi civilians have been killed as a result of acts of war, both by insurgents and U.S. military. We have relied on information in Iraq Body Count up until March 2004, but have created a lower and upper bound starting in April. The upper bound is the amount of Iraqi civilians killed as a result of mass casualty bombings and by fighting between insurgents and coalition forces as reported by the Iraqi Ministry of Health. The lower bound is estimates as reported by Iraq Body count, and includes civilians and police killed by fighting between insurgents and coalition forces, and as a result of mass casualty bombings. We recognize that it is very possible that both these estimates are most probably lower than the actual number as a result of the fact that many separate incidents go unreported or unnoticed. We are doing our utmost not to include suspected Iraqi insurgents killed deliberately by U.S. forces or as a result of crime. There may be some double counting of the people that are reported as dead by the Iraqi morgue due to crime, although measures to minimize any such double counting have been taken by focusing on reports of separate incidents only. The Associated Press reported that there had been 5,558 violent deaths in Iraq since May 1, 2003 and up until April 30. The article points out that "there is no precise count for Iraq as a whole on how many people have been killed, nor is there a breakdown of deaths caused by the different sorts of attacks. The U.S. military, the occupation authority and Iraqi government agencies say that they don't have the ability to track civilian deaths." The Associated Press estimate that 3,240 Iraqi civilians died between March 20 to April 20, 2003, but conclude that "the real number of civilian deaths was sure to be much higher." Daniel Cooney, Omar Sinan, "AP Enterprise: More Than 5,000 Iraqi Civilians killed Since Occupation Began According to Morg

MASS CASUALTY BOMBINGS IN IRAQ SINCE MAY, 2003¹⁶



Totals as of September 30:

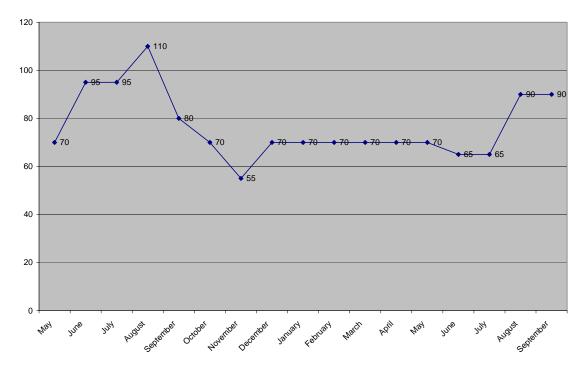
Mass casualty bombings: 129

Killed: 1,382 Wounded: 3,469

NOTE: At least 85 of the 129 mass casualty bombings reported so far were suicide bombings. The casualties listed above do not include the suicide bombers. The tallies for the number of killed and wounded are approximate. Attacks that kill or injure more than 2 people are considered mass-casualty bombings. Roadside bombs are not included in the tally of mass casualty bombing.

CRIME-RELATED DEATHS IN BAGDHAD SINCE MAY, 200317

Estimated annualized murder rate per 100,000 citizens[i] (For comparison Washington DC rate: 43[ii])



NOTE: We used to have an upper and lower bound of the estimated murder rate, but have dropped this methodology since we want to ensure that this table reflect the level of crime-related killings as accurately as possible. Estimates for each month are typically based on the number of bodies brought to the Baghdad morgue with mortal gunshot wounds. We recognize that our estimates could be too high as a result of some of the gunshot victims could be insurgents killed intentionally by U.S. military, but also that they could bee too low since many murder victims are never are taken to the morgue, but buried quickly and privately and never recorded in official tallies. The homicide rate is calculated based on an estimated population of 5.6 million people in Baghdad.

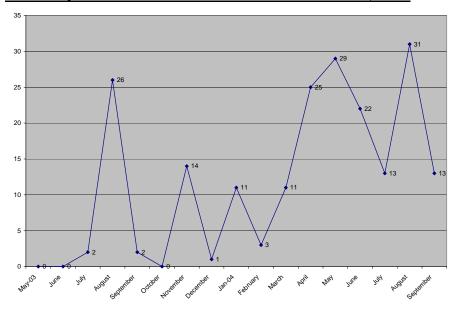
NOTE: Despite a generally poor security situation in Baghdad, there are indicators suggesting that the situation is improving somewhat. According to a report made by Brig. Gen. Mark Hurtling, assistant commander, 1st Armored Davison, Baghdad, "we continue to see a decrease in crime (especially as we put more Iraqi Police and ICDC [Iraqi Civil Defense Corps] on the streets.)¹⁸" Nevertheless, according to one senior Iraqi police chief on January 22, although "murders [in Baghdad] are decreasing," the level of other crimes such as robberies and carjackings has not. "The police are weak", he continues. "We don't have enough supplies. The public is still afraid to cooperate with us. They fear tribalism and retribution.¹⁹" The Pentagon has yet to make any statistics on Iraqi crime or murder rates available as of March 12. This table will be updated as soon as more information becomes available.

NOTE: ...Interpol lists the following nationwide numbers per 100,000 citizens for countries in the region; Libya 2.08, Jordan 6.33, Lebanon 3.38, Saudi Arabia, 0.71. However, Interpol notes that these [nationwide] statistics cannot be used as a basis for comparison between different countries. This is partly because "police statistics reflect reported crimes, but this only represents a fraction of the real level. The volume of crimes not reported to the police may depend on the actions, policies and perceptions of the police. These can vary with time, as well as from country to country." Because of the inherent difficulty in interpreting and comparing international murder rates, all such statistics - including those stated in the table above - should be interpreted guardedly.

$\frac{\text{TOTAL IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED AS A RESULT OF VIOLENCE FROM WAR AND VIOLENCE FROM}{\text{CRIME}^{20}}$

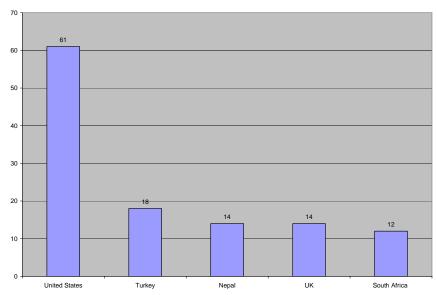
Number of Iraqi civilians killed as a result of	
violence from war and violence from crime	13,100-27,300
between May, 2003 and August 30, 2004	

NON-IRAQI CIVILIAN CASUALTIES KILLED SINCE MAY, 2003²¹



Total as of September 30: 203

COUNTRIES WITH MORE THAN 10 CIVILIANS KILLED IN IRAQ SINCE MAY 1, 2003²²



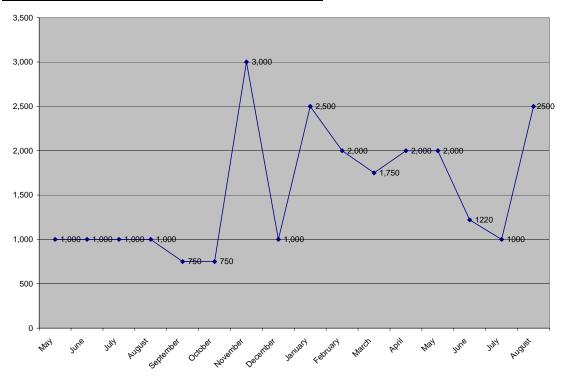
NOTE ON TOTAL IRAQI CIVILIANS CASUALTIES AS A RESULT OF POLITICAL AND CRIMINAL VIOLENCE BETWEEN MAY, 2003 AND JUNE, 2004 TABLE: Recognizing that the statistics for civilian casualties are not good, and that it is very hard to differentiate whether Iraqi civilian fatalities are due to violence from war or violence from crime, we have estimated how many people have died of both causes since May, 2003 and up until August 30, 2004. The total represented by this table is a rough but we believe reasonable range of how many Iraqi civilian have been killed during this period.

NOTE ON NON-IRAQI CIVILIAN CASUALTIES TABLE: At least 157 of the non-Iraqi civilians killed were contractors. At least 45 Halliburton employees have been killed in Iraq since March 2003. and up until August 29, 2004. T Christian Miller, "In Iraq, 'Road Warriors' Deliver the Goods," *Los Angeles Times*, August 29, 2004. There are approximately 15,000 security contractors working in Iraq as of April 15, 2004, according to Peter Singer, National Security Fellow at the Brookings Institution.

FOREIGN NATIONALS KIDNAPPED IN IRAQ SINCE MAY 2003

Month	Number of foreigners kidnapped	Status
May 2003 - October 2003	0	
November	1^{23}	1 released
December	0	
January 2004	0	
February	0	
March	0	
April	43 ²⁴	3 killed, 30 released, 2 still held, 1 escaped, 7 status
		unknown
May	2^{25}	1 killed, 1 still held
June	3^{26}	1 escaped, 2 killed
July	26 ²⁷	3 killed, 13 released, I rescued, 1 escaped, 6 still held,
		2 unknown
August	29 ²⁸	15 killed, 1 still held, 13 released
September	31 ²⁹	29 still held, 2 killed, 2 released
Date of capture unknown	13^{30}	11 unknown, 2 killed
Total		28 killed, 59 released, 3 escaped, 1 rescued, 37 still
as of September 30, 2004	148	held, 20 status unknown

SUSPECTED INSURGENTS DETAINED OR KILLED³¹



NOTE ON SUSPECTED INSURGENTS DETAINED OR KILLED TABLE: The estimate of suspected insurgents killed or detained since May is a very rough one. The substantial increase in number of people detained or killed in November and onwards may not imply a huge increase in people detained or killed but rather that the data improved starting that month. The numbers for suspected insurgents killed or detained from November to March is not a monthly total, but the projected total given the daily pace of *detained* anti-coalition suspects.

IRAOI PRISON POPULATION 32

Peak prison population in 2003	10,000
Prison population in July, 2004	5,700 ³³
	(of which 90 are foreign nationals)
Prison population as of September 7, 2004	5,500
	(whereof 2 are women, 65-70 are juveniles
	and 130-140 are foreign nationals)

ESTIMATED STRENGTH OF IRAQI RESISTANCE NATIONWIDE

Month	Estimated strength of Iraqi resistance nationwide
November	5,000 ³⁴
December	5,000 ³⁵
January 2004	3, 000-5,000 ³⁶
February	N/A
March	N/A
April	5,000 ³⁷
May	N/A
June	N/A
July	20,000 ³⁸
August	20,000
September	20,000 ³⁹

NOTE ON IRAQI PRISON POPULATION TABLE: Military official now claims that the duration of processing those arresting and releasing those who are innocent have been decreased to an average of 60 days from having been between 120 – 140 days. Only 25 individuals of those released have been recaptured for being suspected of conducting attacks against American forces. Dexter Filkins, "General Says Less Coercion of Captives Yields Better Data," *New York Times*, September 7, 2004.

NOTE ON ESTIMATED STRENGTH OF IRAQI RESISTANCE NATIONWIDE TABLE: The Deputy Commander of Coaltition forces in Iraq, British Major General Andrew Graham,, estimates that there are 40,000 to 50,000 active insurgent fighters" in Iraq. Johanna McGeary, "Mission Still Not Accomplished," *Time Magazine*, September 2, 2004.

NOTE ON ESTIMATED STRENGTH OF IRAQI RESISTANCE NATIONWIDE TABLE: Army General John P. Abizaid, head of Central Command, estimate that there are less than 1,000 foreign fighters in Iraq as of September 28, 2004. Mark Mazzetti, "Insurgents are Mostly Iraqis, U.S. Military Says," Los Angeles Times, September 28, 2004. 200 insurgents are estimated to be loyal to Abu Musab Zarqawi as of July 7, 2004. U.S. officials estimate that foreign fighters in Iraq are in the low hundreds as of July 7, 2004. Robin Wright, "In Iraq, Daunting Tasks Await, Washington Post, July 7, 2004. "Over 90 percent" of the enemy combatants are Bath Party loyalists, according to John E. McLaughlin, Deputy Director of Central Intelligence. Dana Priest, "The CIA's 'Anonymous' No. 2; Low-Profile Deputy Director Leads Agency's Analytical Side," Washington Post, January 9, 2004.

COALITION TROOP STRENGTH IN IRAQ SINCE MAY

Month	1	U.S. troops in Irac	1	Other coalition troops in Iraq	Total international troop
	Active	Reserve	Total	(excluding U.S & Iraqi forces)	strength in Iraq
May	~142,000 ⁴⁰	~8,000 ⁴¹	150,000 ⁴²	23,000 ⁴³	173,000
June	~126,000 ⁴⁴	~24,000 ⁴⁵	150,00046	21,000 ⁴⁷	171,000
July	~124,000 ⁴⁸	~25,000 ⁴⁹	149,000 ⁵⁰	21,000 ⁵¹	170,000
August	~114,000 ⁵²	~25,000 ⁵³	139,000 ⁵⁴	22,000 ⁵⁵	161,000
September	~103,000 ⁵⁶	~29,000 ⁵⁷	132,000 ⁵⁸	24,000 ⁵⁹	156,000
October	~102,000 ⁶⁰	~29,000 ⁶¹	131,000 ⁶²	25,000 ⁶³	156,000
November	N/A	N/A	123,000 ⁶⁴	23,900 ⁶⁵	146,900
December	~85,400 ⁶⁶	~36,600 ⁶⁷	122,000 ⁶⁸	24,500 ⁶⁹	146,500
January	N/A	N/A	122,000 ⁷⁰	25,600 ⁷¹	147,600
February	N/A	N/A	115,000 ⁷²	24,000 ⁷³	139,000
March	N/A	N/A	130,000 ⁷⁴	24,000 ⁷⁵	154,000
April	N/A	N/A	137, 000 ⁷⁶	25,000 ⁷⁷	162,000
May	N/A	N/A	138,000 ⁷⁸	24,000 ⁷⁹	162,000
June	89,700	48,30080	138,00081	23,00082	161,000
July	N/A	N/A	140,00083	22,00084	162,000
August	84,000	56,00085	140,00086	22,000	162,000
September	82,800	55.200 ⁸⁷	138,00088	23,000 ⁸⁹	161,000

N/A= Not available

U.S. TROOPS ENGAGED IN OPERATION IRAQI FREEDOM STATIONED IN THE VICINITIES OF IRAQ AND AT SEA

6/18/2004

Month	Number of U.S. troops
September	51,00090
December	45,00091

NOTE ON COALITION TROOP STRENGTH IN IRAQ SINCE MAY TABLE: In late 2003 the Department of Defense announced that it planned to draw down the number of American troops in Iraq to 105, 000 by May 2004. The current planning as of June 2004 entails maintaining a force of approximately 138,000 troops until the end of 2005. "GAO-04-902R Rebuilding Iraq," June 2004, General Accounting Office.

NOTE ON COALITION TROOP STRENGTH IN IRAQ SINCE MAY TABLE: All numbers are end of month estimates or latest data available for the current month.

NOTE ON U.S. TROOPS ENGAGED IN OPERATION IRAQI FREEDOM STATIONED IN THE VICINITIES OF IRAQ AND AT SEA TABLE: 26,000 U.S. and Coalition personnel providing logistical support to Operation Iraqi Freedom were deployed in Kuwait, as of March 4, 2004. Commander USCENTCOM, John Abizaid, "Prepared Testimony before the Senate Committee on Armed Services Personnel Subcommittee", March 4, 2004, p. 8.

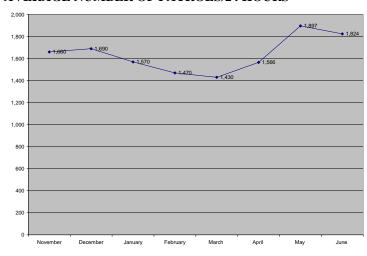
NOTE ON U.S. TROOPS ENGAGED IN OPERATION IRAQI FREEDOM STATIONED IN THE VICINITIES OF IRAQ AND AT SEA TABLE: Of the 51,000 troops involved in Operation Iraqi Freedom stationed outside of Iraq in September 2003, approximately 10,070 were Navy personnel (most at sea in the Persian Gulf). The majority of the remaining 40,090 troops are assumed to have been stationed in Kuwait. Since approximately 2,500 Marines were stationed in Kuwait, we assume that roughly 37,590 Army troops were stationed in Kuwait or in the vicinities.

TOP TEN NON-U.S. COALITION CONTRIBUTORS OF MILITARY PERSONNEL IN IRAQ

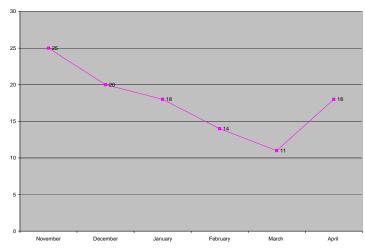
Coalition country	Military personnel in Iraq ⁹²
United Kingdom	8,300
South Korea	3,60093
Poland	3,00094
Italy	2,800
Ukraine	1,600 ⁹⁵
Netherlands	1,300
Australia	850
Romania	700
Japan	500
Bulgaria	480%

COALITION FORCES ACTIVITY97

AVERAGE NUMBER OF PATROLS/24 HOURS



AVERAGE NUMBER OF RAIDS/24 HOURS

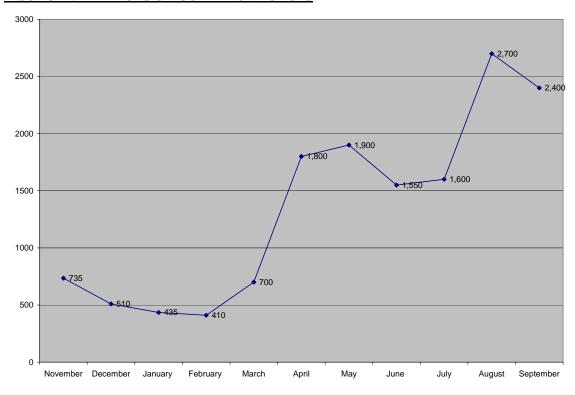


NOTE ON TOP TEN NON-U.S. COALITION CONTRIBUTORS OF MILITARY PERSONNEL IN IRAQ TABLE: Spain withdrew the last of its 1,300 troops from Iraq on May 21.

NOTE ON TOP TEN NON-U.S. COALITION CONTRIBUTORS OF MILITARY PERSONNEL IN IRAQ TABLE: The following countries have forces in Iraq; Albania, Australia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Denmark, El Salvador, Estonia, Georgia, Honduras, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, Korea, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Mongolia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Singapore, Slovakia, Thailand, , Ukraine and the United Kingdom.

Increase in number of "high-value"
Intelligence reports drawn from interrogations
on a monthly basis as of September 6, 2004 since January 2004

INSURGENT ATTACKS ON COALITION FORCES99



REWARD OFFERED BY INSURGENTS FOR ATTACKING U.S. TROOPS

6/14/2004

Month	Reward for carrying out attacks on U.S. troops (\$)	
	(attack/successful attack)	
May	$100/500^{100}$	
June	N/A	
July	N/A	
August	N/A	
September	N/A	
October	1,000-2,000/ 3,000-5,000 ¹⁰¹	
November	N/A	
December	$500/3,000^{102}$	

N/A= Not available

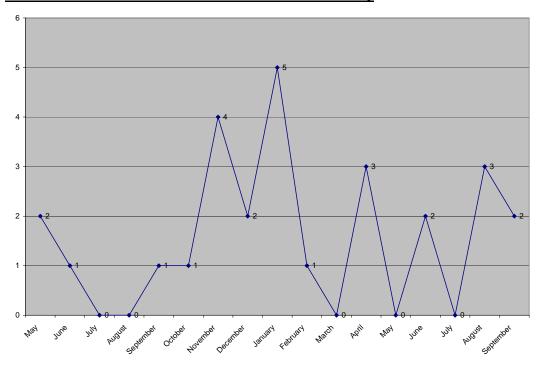
INSURGENT ATTACKS ON IRAQI SECURITY FORCES AND IRAQI CIVILIANS

4/2/2004

Month	Typical number of daily attacks on	Typical number of daily attacks on
	Iraqi security forces	Iraqi civilians
December	2^{103}	2^{104}
January	4 ¹⁰⁵	1^{106}
February	4^{107}	3^{108}
March	4 ¹⁰⁹	4 ¹¹⁰
April	N/A	N/A
May	N/A	N/A

N/A= Not available

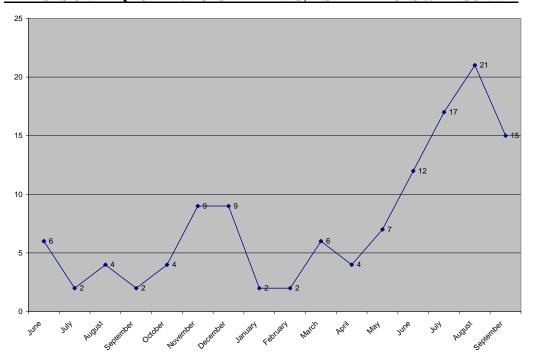
AMERICAN MILITARY HELICOPTERS DOWNED IN IRAQ111



Total as of September 30:27

NOTE ON AMERICAN MILITARY HELICOPTERS DOWNED IN IRAQ TABLE: Of the 27 helicopters downed in Iraq since May 2003, at least 16 were downed by enemy fire.

ATTACKS ON IRAQI OIL AND GAS PIPELINES, INSTALLATIONS & PERSONNEL112



Total as of September 24: 122

BAATHIST LEADERS STILL AT LARGE SINCE APRIL

Month	Iraqi 55 most wanted: Individuals still at large ¹¹³	
April	40	
May	28	
June	23	
July	18	
August	16	
September	15	
October	15	
November	15	
December	13 ¹¹⁴	
January	12115	
February	10^{116}	
March	9117	
April	9	
May	9	
June	9	
July	9	
August	9	
September	8 ¹¹⁸	

NOTE ON BAATHIST LEADERS STILL AT LARGE SINCE APRIL TABLE: Reports on September 6, 2004 said that a man believed to be Izzat Ibrahim had been captured. DNA tests are currently being taken to confirm that this is the case. The table assumes that the apprehended man indeed is Ibrahim. We will update this information as soon as more information is available.

SIZE OF IRAOI SECURITY FORCES ON DUTY

Month	Iraqi security forces								
	Police	National Guard (Former Civil Defense Corps)	Army	Border patrol	Total Iraqi security forces with combat capacity	Facilities protection services			
May	7,000-9,000 ¹¹⁹	N/A	0	N/A	7,000-9,000	N/A			
June	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	N/A			
July	30,000 ¹²⁰	N/A	0	N/A	30,000	11,000121			
August	34,000 ¹²²	670123	0	2,500 ^I	37,170	N/A			
September	37,000 ¹²⁴	2,500125	0	4,700 ¹	44,200	>12,000126			
October	55,000 ¹²⁷	4,700128	700129	6,400 ^I	66,800	18,700 ¹³⁰			
November	68,800 ¹³¹	12,700 ¹³²	900133	12,400 ^I	94,800	52,700 ¹³⁴			
December	71,600 ¹³⁵	15,200 ¹³⁶	400 ¹³⁷	12,900 ^I	99,600	65,200 ¹³⁸			
January	66,900 ¹³⁹	19,800 ¹⁴⁰	1,100 ¹⁴¹	21,000 ^I	108,800	97,800 ¹⁴²			
February	77,100 ¹⁴³	27,900 ¹⁴⁴	2,000 ¹⁴⁵	18,000 ^I	125,000	73,900 ¹⁴⁶			
March	75,000 ¹⁴⁷ 22% partially or fully trained	33,560 ¹⁴⁸ 100% partially or fully trained	3,005 ¹⁴⁹ 100% partially or fully trained	23,426 ^I 39% partially or fully trained	134,991 65% partially or fully trained	73,992 ¹⁵⁰ 100% partially or fully trained			
April	80,016 ¹⁵¹ 22% partially or fully trained	23,123 ¹⁵² 100% partially or fully trained	2,367 ¹⁵³ 100% partially or fully trained	18,747 ¹ 49% partially or fully trained	124,253 68% partially or fully trained	73,992 ¹⁵⁴ 100% partially or fully trained			
May	90,803 ¹⁵⁵ 28% partially or fully trained	24,873 ¹⁵⁶ 100% partially or fully trained	3,939 ¹⁵⁷ 100% partially or fully trained	16,097 ¹ 57% partially or fully trained	135,712 71% partially or fully trained	73,992 ¹⁵⁸ 100% partially or fully trained			
June	83,789 ¹⁵⁹ 32% partially or fully trained	36,229 ¹⁶⁰ 100% partially or fully trained	7,116 ¹⁶¹ 100% partially or fully trained	18,183 ¹ 100% partially or fully trained	145,317 83% partially or fully trained	73,992 ¹⁶² 100% partially or fully trained			
July	31,300 ¹⁶³ 100% partially or fully trained	36,229 ¹⁶⁴ 100% partially or fully trained	7,700 ¹⁶⁵ 100% partially or fully trained	19,859 ^I 100% partially or fully trained	95,088 100% partially or fully trained	73,992 ¹⁶⁶ partially or fully trained			
August	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A			
September	39,000 ¹⁶⁷ partially or fully trained	38,000 ¹⁶⁸ partially or fully trained	5,000 ¹⁶⁹ partially or fully trained	14,000 ¹⁷⁰ partially or fully trained	98,500 (includes 2,000 intervention forces and 500 special operations forces ¹⁷¹) 100% partially or	74,000 ¹⁷²			
Stated goal	135,000 (from 89,369 in August 2004) ¹⁷³	41,088 ¹⁷⁴	35,000 ¹⁷⁵	20,420 ^I	fully trained 145,000 by January 2005 ¹⁷⁶	73,992177			

N/A= Not available

NOTE: There are some obvious contradictions in the table, but we have simply reported the state of affairs as announced by officials each month, without trying to edit or stream line the information.

NOTE: Only 230 of 600 military personnel required at the Multinational Security Transition Command, the permanent headquarters of the military command in charge of training and equipping Iraqi Security forces, were in place as of September 19, 2004. Eric Schmitt, "Effort to Train New Iraqi Army is Facing Delays," New York Times, September 20, 2004.

NOTE: As of June 22, the Iraqi police had 70% of the weapons needed to fully equip the force. "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, June, 22, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.

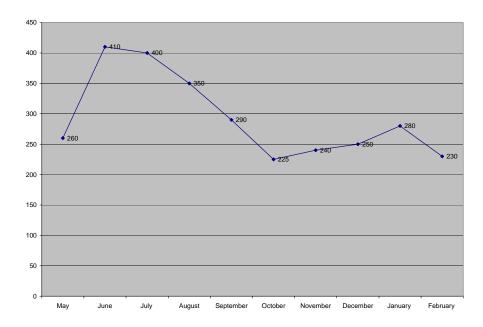
NOTE: The decline in the Iraqi Army and Police on duty since early April is due to the fact that "some were sent to retraining, some were killed in the line of duty and others were removed for actions supporting the insurgency." Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status", *Department of Defense*, May 3, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.

NOTE: 10% of Iraqi security forces fought against coalition forces during the upsurge in insurgent violence in April, according to the commander of the 1st Armored Division, Major General Martin Dempsey. Another 40% "walked off the job because they were intimidated," Major Dempsey said. Connie Cass, "10 Percent of Iraqi Forces Turned on U.S. During Attacks," *USA Today*, April 22, 2004.

NOTE: All numbers are end of month estimates, or latest data available for the current month.

NOTE: The army under Saddam was 400,000 troops strong. Dexter Filkins, "Bremer Pushes Iraq on Difficult Path to Self-Rule," *New York Times*, March 21, 2004.

MAJOR PROPERTY CRIMES REPORTED TO BAGHDAD POLICE DEPARTMENT¹⁷⁸



NOTE: The contents of this table should be treated cautiously since many major property crimes are not reported to Baghdad police.

ECONOMIC & QUALITY OF LIFE INDICATORS

IRAQI NATIONAL DEBT: CREDITORS

11/6/2003

Creditor country/	Outstanding amounts due by Iraq
creditor by country of	(millions of dollars)
origin	
and interest	
Australia	499.3 ¹⁷⁹
Austria	813.1 ¹⁸⁰
Belgium	184.5 ¹⁸¹
Brazil	192.9 ¹⁸²
Canada	564.2 ¹⁸³
Denmark	30.8 ¹⁸⁴
Finland	152.2 ¹⁸⁵
France	2,993.7 ¹⁸⁶
Germany	2,403.9 ¹⁸⁷
Italy	$1,726^{188}$
Japan	4,108.6 ¹⁸⁹
Netherlands	96.7 ¹⁹⁰
Republic of Korea	54.7 ¹⁹¹
Russian Federation	$3,450^{192}$
Spain	321.2 ¹⁹³
Sweden	185.8 ¹⁹⁴
Switzerland	117.5 ¹⁹⁵
United Kingdom	930.8 ¹⁹⁶
United States	2,192 ¹⁹⁷
Egypt and others	N/A
Poland	500 ¹⁹⁸
Kuwait	$17,000^{199}$
Bulgaria	1.000^{200}
Hungary	16.5^{201}
Gulf States	$30,\!000^{202}$
Morocco	31.8^{203}
Jordan	295 ²⁰⁴
Turkey	800^{205}
Interest (as of 2002)	$47,000^{206}$
Total	~117,660

N/A= Not available.

NOTE: Debt towards Paris Club countries, Russia and the Republic of Korea (cursive) excludes interest rates and is defined as; "from the debtor side, the amounts due by the public sector. From the creditors' point of view, the figures include credits and loans granted, or guaranteed by, the Governments or their appropriate institutions. Basically, private claims (debt owed to private creditors) as well as private debt (owed by private Iraqi Institutions without public guarantee) is excluded from this recollection....Russian claims: this figure represents the amounts due to Russia <u>after</u> a simulation of the adjustment on Soviet era claims consistent with Paris Club methodology."

NOTE: "Estimates of Iraq's foreign debt vary widely, from \$62-130 billion. The disparities in estimates are due in part to a disagreement between Iraq and its neighboring states over the nature of approximately \$30 billion in assistance given to Iraq by several Gulf States during the Iran-Iraq War. Iraq considers these payments to have been grants; the creditor states consider them to have been loans. Figures also vary depending on whether they include interests which some estimates put at \$47 billion and rising. The World Bank/Bank for International Settlements' 2001 estimate for Iraqi debt totaled \$127.7 billion, including \$47 billion in accrued interest. The U.S Department of Energy's 2001 estimate was 62.2 billion."

NOTE: "There are known to be creditors in Egypt, although the exact amount of this debt is not known. There are also assumed to be other unknown or undisclosed creditors in these and other countries."

<u>PLEDGES MADE AT THE INTERNATIONAL DONOR'S CONFERENCE FOR IRAQ IN MADRID, OCTOBER 23-24, 2003²⁰⁷.</u>

Donor	2004 (millions)	2005-2007 (millions)	Unspecified by year (millions)	Total (millions)
Australia	\$45.59	\$0	\$0	\$45.59
Austria	\$1.94	\$3.53	\$0	\$5.48
Belgium	\$5.89	\$0	\$0	\$5.89
Bulgaria	\$0.64	\$0	\$0	\$0.64
Canada	\$0	\$0	\$187.47	\$187.47
China	\$0	\$0	\$25	\$25
Cyprus	\$0	\$0	\$0.12	\$0.12
Czech Republic	\$7.33	\$7.33	\$0.00	\$14.66
Denmark	\$26.95	\$0	\$0	\$26.95
Estonia	\$0.08	\$0	\$0	\$0.08
Finland	\$5.89	\$0	\$0	\$5.89
Greece	\$0	\$0	\$3.53	\$3.53
Hungary	\$1.24	\$0	\$0	\$1.24
India	\$10	\$0	\$0	\$10
Iran	\$5	\$0	\$0	\$5
Ireland	\$3.53	\$0	\$0	\$3.53
Iceland	\$1.50	\$1	\$0	\$2.50
Italy	\$0	\$0	\$235.62	\$235.62
Japan	\$0	\$0	\$4,914.00	\$4,914.00
Korea	\$0	\$0	\$200	\$200
Kuwait	\$0	\$0	\$500	\$500
Luxembourg	\$1.18	\$1.18	\$0	\$2.36
Malta	\$0.00	\$0	\$0.27	\$0.27
Netherlands	\$9.42	\$0	\$0	\$9.42
New Zealand	\$3.35	\$0	\$0	\$3.35
Norway	\$4.29	\$8.58	\$0	\$12.87
Oman	\$0	\$0	\$3	\$3
Pakistan	\$0	\$0	\$2.50	\$2.50
Qatar	\$0	\$0	\$100	\$100
Saudi Arabia	\$120	\$380	\$0	\$500
Slovenia	\$0.27	\$0.15	\$0	\$0.42
Spain	\$80	\$140	\$0	\$220
Sweden	\$0	\$0	\$33	\$33
Turkey	\$0	\$0	\$50	\$50
United Arab Emirates	\$0	\$0	\$215	\$215
United Kingdom	\$235.48	\$216.85	\$0	\$452.33
United States	\$0	\$0	\$18,649	\$18,649
International Monetary Fund	\$850	\$1,700-3,400	\$0	\$2,550-4,250
World Bank	\$500	\$2,500-4,500	\$0	\$3,000-5,000
European Commission , European Union member states and acceding countries	\$614.83	\$394.04	\$272.54	\$1,256.41
European Community	\$235.62	\$0	\$0	\$235.62
Total	\$2,155.21	\$4,958.62 - 8,658.62	\$25,118.50	\$32,232.33- 35,932.33 (whereof \$22,271.71 in grants & \$9,625-13,325 in loans ²⁰⁸)

NOTE: The World Bank defines a pledge as "an indication of intent to mobilize funds for which an approximate sum of contribution is specified." The amounts in this table excludes identified humanitarian assistance (\$115.17 million) and export credits and guarantees. Most donors were not able to specify the type of grant assistance at the time of the conference.

NOTE: It has been estimated that close to 25% of the \$18 billion of U.S. aid to Iraq will be needed to cover security costs. David Barstow et. al. "Security Companies: Shadow Soldiers in Iraq," *New York Times*, April 19, 2004.

WORLD BANK ESTIMATE OF IRAQ RECONSTRUCTION NEEDS²⁰⁹

Category	N	Millions of dollars		
	2004	2005-2007	Total	
Government Institutions, Civil Society, Rule of Law & Media	99	288	387	
Health, Education, Employment Creation	1,880	5,310	7,190	
Infrastructure	5,836	18,368	24,204	
Agriculture and Water Resources	1,230	1,797	3,027	
Private Sector Development	176	601	777	
Mine Action	80	154	234	
Total	9,301	26,518	35,819	

CPA-ESTIMATED NEEDS IN SECTORS NOT COVERED BY THE UN/WORLD BANK ASSESSMENT²¹⁰

Category	Millions of dollars			
	2004	2005-2007	Total	
Security and Police	5,000	-	5,000	
Oil	2,000	6,000	8,000	
Culture	140	800	940	
Environment	500	3,000	3,500	
Human rights	200	600	800	
Foreign Affairs	100	100	200	
Religious Affairs	100	200	300	
Science and Technology	100	300	400	
Youth and Sport	100	200	300	
Total of CPA estimates	8,240	11,200	19,440	

$\frac{\text{TOTAL FUNDS AVAILABLE, OBLIGATED, AND DISBURSED FOR IRAQ RECONSTRUCTION, AS OF APRIL, 2004}{2004}$

	U.S.	Development	Vested and	International
	appropriations in	fund for Iraq	seized assets	(non-U.S.) pledges
	2003 and 2004	(billions)	(billions)	(billions)
	(billions)			
Total Funding	\$24	\$18	\$2.65	\$13.6
Obligations	\$8.2	\$13	\$2.5	N/A
Disbursement	\$3	\$8.3	\$2.4	\$1.2 ²¹²

N/A: Not available

NOTE ON TOTAL FUNDS AVAILABLE, OBLIGATED, AND DISBURSED FOR IRAQ RECONSTRUCTION, AS OF APRIL 2004 TABLE: U.S. appropriations include appropriations granted in both 2003 and 2004. In 2003, \$4.5 billion dollars was appropriated towards Iraqi reconstruction, and in 2004 \$18.4 billion was appropriated towards Iraqi reconstruction. An additional amount of roughly \$1 billion was appropriated towards CPA operating costs. \$3 billion of that total sum, \$24 billion, had been spent as of April 2004, most from 2003 funds. As of 22 June, 2003, only \$366 million of the funds appropriated in 2004 had been disbursed. 11 billion of the 2004 appropriations had been apportioned as of June 30, 2004. "An apportion is defined as a plan, approved by the Office of Management and Budget, to spend resources provided by law. A disbursement is defined as an actual payment (check goes out the door) for goods /services received." *GAO-04-902 R: Rebuilding Iraq*, General Accounting Office, June 2004; *Quarterly Update to Congress: 2207 Report*, July 2004.

PROJECT ALLOCATIONS AND DISBURSEMENT BY CATEGORY, AS OF MAY, 2004²¹³

Purpose	Allocations (millions)	Disbursements (millions)
Ministry operations and expenses	\$7,541	\$6,106
Program Review Board relief and reconstruction projects	:	
Humanitarian and human services	\$2,202	\$1,292
Essential services	\$1,439	\$316
Security	\$895	\$21
Economic reconstruction	\$224	\$182
Governance	\$34	\$21
Public buildings and other reconstruction	\$27	\$8
Regional programs	\$618	\$333
Total	\$12,980	\$8,279

USAID CONTRACTS²¹⁴

Date	Contract	Awardee	Funding disbursed as of January 2004
1/6/2004	Iraq infrastructure reconstruction -phase 11	Bechtel	\$1.8 billion (awarded contract)
10/21/2003	Agriculture reconstruction and Development for Iraq	Development Alternatives, Inc.	\$9 million
7/25/2003	Economic recovery, Reform, and Sustained growth	BearingPoint, Inc.	\$39 million
6/25/2003	Monitoring and Evaluation	Management System International	\$5.5 million
5/5/2003	Airport Administration	SkyLink Air and Logistics Support, Inc.	17.5million
4/30/2003	Public Health	Abt Associates, Inc.	\$21 million
4/17/2003	Capital Construction	Bechtel	\$1 billion
4/11/2003	Primary and Secondary education	Creative Associates International, Inc.	\$37.9 million
4/11/2003	Local Government	Research Triangle Institute	\$104.6 million
3/24/2003	Seaport Administration	Stevedoring Services of America	\$41.3million
2/17/2003	Theater Logistical Support	Air Force Contract Augmentation Program	\$91.5 million
2/7/2003	Personnel Support	International Resources Group	\$18.3 million
	Tota	\$1.387 billion	
		disbursed	
			\$1.8 billion pending

In addition to U.S. appropriations, the amount dispersed includes funds from the Development Fund for Iraq and for vested and seized assets.

FUEL

				Fuel sup	plies available		
	Millions of ba	rrels/day		Millions of lite	ers/day	Tons/day	
Time	Crude oil production	Crude export	Diesel (Prod. & Imp.)	Kerosene (Prod. & Imp.)	Gasoline/Benzene (Prod. & Imp)	Total LPG (Prod. & Imp.)	Overall fuel supplies
Estimated pre-war level	2.8-3.0 ²¹⁵	1.7- 2.5 ²¹⁶	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	as percentage of goal (the goals have sometimes shifted)
May	0.3 ²¹⁷	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	10%
June	0.675 ²¹⁸	0.2 ²¹⁹	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	22.5%
July	0.925 ²²⁰	0.322 ²²¹	6.5 ²²²	4.75 ²²³	13.5 ²²⁴	1,880 ²²⁵	54%
Aug.	1.445 ²²⁶	0.646 ²²⁷	10.25 ²²⁸	6.2 ²²⁹	14.0 ²³⁰	2,530 ²³¹	78%
Sept.	1.7225 ²³²	0.983 ²³³	14.25 ²³⁴	6.9 ²³⁵	17.3 ²³⁶	3,030 ²³⁷	78%
Oct.	2.055 ²³⁸	1.149 ²³⁹	14.75 ²⁴⁰	9.6 ²⁴¹	16.35 ²⁴²	3,700 ²⁴³	83%
November	2.1 ²⁴⁴	1.524 ²⁴⁵	13.14 ²⁴⁶	13.3 ²⁴⁷	11.792 ²⁴⁸	3,610 ²⁴⁹	77%
December	2.30 ²⁵⁰	1.541 ²⁵¹	12.29 ²⁵²	9.4 ²⁵³	12.9 ²⁵⁴	3,460 ²⁵⁵	78%
January	2.440 ²⁵⁶	1.537 ²⁵⁷	13.91 ²⁵⁸	11.3 ²⁵⁹	13.32 ²⁶⁰	3,445 ²⁶¹	81%
February	2.276 ²⁶²	1.382 ²⁶³	15.21 ²⁶⁴	13.05 ²⁶⁵	16.65 ²⁶⁶	4,670 ²⁶⁷	88%
March	2.435 ²⁶⁸	1.825 ²⁶⁹	15.03 ²⁷⁰	17.28 ²⁷¹	17.19 ²⁷²	5,010 ²⁷³	89%
April	2.384 ²⁷⁴	1.804 ²⁷⁵	22.75 ²⁷⁶	4.46 ²⁷⁷	19.3 ²⁷⁸	3,607 ²⁷⁹	89%
May	1.887 ²⁸⁰	1.380 ²⁸¹	22.92^{282}	4.005 ²⁸³	18.07 ²⁸⁴	3,264 ²⁸⁵	81%
June	2.295 ²⁸⁶	2.023 ²⁸⁷	16.47 ²⁸⁸	4.9 ²⁸⁹	22 ²⁹⁰	3,086 ²⁹¹	89%
July	N/A	N/A	15.3 ²⁹²	4.9 ²⁹³	22 ²⁹⁴	3,120 ²⁹⁵	90%
August	1.85 ²⁹⁶	1.8 ²⁹⁷	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	62%
September	N/A	1.95 ²⁹⁸	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Stated Goal:	2.8-3.0 ²⁹⁹ to be reached	N/A	18 ³⁰⁰ revised	5.0 ³⁰¹ revised up in	22 ³⁰² revised up in June	4,000 ³⁰³	We assume that the maximum supplies as percentage of goal for
	by December 2004		down in June 2004 from 19.5	June 2004 from 4.5 in May	2004 from 19 in May	in June 2004 from 4,800	each category is 100%

N/A= Not available

NOTE: The June estimate of crude oil exports is from before the June 15 pipeline sabotage. The final June average of crude oil exports is therefore likely to be somewhat lower.

NOTE: The administration's post war estimate was that Iraq would accrue \$2-3 billion in oil revenues between June and December 2003. Revenue for 2003 was \$5,076.6 million. As of May 25, 2004, estimated crude oil export revenue was \$5.9 billion for 2004. "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status", *Department of Defense*, May 25, 2004.

NOTE: Estimated domestic consumption of crude oil is 450,000 barrels per day.

NOTE: Kerosene imports began 5 October, 2003. All previous months cover only production

NOTE: LPG= Liquified Petroleum Gas

ELECTRICITY

	electricity (Mega	amount of generated watts)	Average hours of electricity/day among	Average of daily mega watt hours based on	Average of daily mega watt hours according to the
Time	Nation-wide	Baghdad	18 governorates ³⁰⁴	calculations based on CPA data of hours of electricity/day.	USAID ³⁰⁵ (MWH)
Estimated pre-war level	4,400 ³⁰⁶	2,500 ³⁰⁷	N/A	N/A	N/A
May	N/A	300 ³⁰⁸	N/A	N/A	N/A
June	3,193 ³⁰⁹	707 310	N/A	N/A	N/A
July	3,236 ³¹¹	1,082 312	N/A	N/A	N/A
Aug.	3,263 ³¹³	1,283 314	N/A	N/A	72,435
Sept.	3,543 ³¹⁵	1,229 316	N/A	N/A	75,000
Oct.	3,948 ³¹⁷	N/A	N/A	N/A	79,000
November	3,582 ³¹⁸	N/A	N/A	N/A	70,000
December	3,427 ³¹⁹	N/A	N/A	N/A	72,000
January	3,758 ³²⁰	N/A	N/A	N/A	79,000
February	4,125 ³²¹	1,307 ³²²	13	53,600	90,000
March	4,040 ³²³	1,192 ³²⁴	15	60,600	86,000
April	3,823 ³²⁵	1,021 ³²⁶	15	57,300	78,000
May	3,902 ³²⁷	1,053 ³²⁸	11	42,900	80,000
June	4,293 ³²⁹	1,198	10	42,900	93,500
July	4,584 ³³⁰	N/A	10	45,800	100,300
August	4,707 ³³¹	N/A	10	47,100	109,904
Stated Goal:	6,000 to have been reached by July 1, 2004 ³³²	2,500 to have been reached by October 2003 ³³³	N/A	N/A	N/A

N/A = Not available

VALUE OF THE IRAQI DINAR

Month	\$1 =ID
October 15	2,000 ³³⁴ 1,948 ³³⁵
November	1,948 ³³⁵
December	1,675 ³³⁶
January	1,360 ³³⁷ 1,425 ³³⁸
February	1,425 ³³⁸
March	1,415 ³³⁹
April	1,455 ³⁴⁰
May	$1,460^{341}$
June	1.455^{342}
July	1,460 ³⁴³
August	1,460 ³⁴⁴ 1,460 ³⁴⁵
September	1,460 ³⁴⁵

NOTE ON VALUE OF THE IRAQI DINAR TABLE: A nationwide currency exchange program was initiated on October 15, 2003 during which new Iraqi dinars were put in circulation and old currency was destroyed. The program was completed on January 20, 2004. The table above tracks the appreciation of the new currency since it was introduced.

NOTE ON AVERAGE HOURS OF ELECTRICITY PER DAY AMONG 18 GOVERNORATES TABLE: The table shows the average hours of electricity available per day to the population in Baghdad, Dahuk, Naynawa, Tamim, Salah Ad Din, Anbar, Diyala, Babil, Karbala, Najaf, Qadisiyah, Wasit, Muthanna, Dhi Qar, Maysan, Basrah, Arbil, and Sulaymaniyah. The average is a simple average, and not weighed according to how many people live in the respective governorates.

PORT CARGO CAPACITY AND COMMERCIAL AIRPORT DEPARTURES NATIONWIDE 5/25/2004

Time	Port cargo capacity (raw tonnage in millions) ³⁴⁶	Commercial aircraft departures nationwide (per day) ³⁴⁷
Pre-war	7	2-3
January	6.3	40
April	N/A	20
May	N/A	20 ³⁴⁸
June	N/A	45 ³⁴⁹
July	N/A	45 ³⁵⁰
August	N/A	45 ³⁵¹
September	N/A	45 ³⁵²
Stated goal for July 2004	7-8	200-300

N/A= Not available

<u>IRRIGATION</u> 12/01/2003

Month	Irrigation canals in need of clearing (km)
May	$20,000^{353}$
September	5,000 ³⁵⁴
October	3,500 ³⁵⁵

TELECOMMUNICATIONS

5/5/2004

Time	Number of phones	Number of Internet connections
Estimated pre-war level	833,000 ³⁵⁶	4,500 ³⁵⁷
September	850,000 ³⁵⁸	4,900 ³⁵⁹
December	600,000 ³⁶⁰	N/A
January 2004	$600,000^{361}$	N/A
February	900,000 ³⁶²	N/A
March	984,225 ³⁶³	N/A
April	$1,095,000^{364}$	N/A
May	$1,220,000^{365}$	N/A
June	1,200,000 ³⁶⁶	N/A
Previous goal (Jan. 2004)	$1,\!100,\!000^{367}$	$50,000^{368}$

LOCAL GOVERNANCE COUNCILS

2/18/2004

Month	Number of local governance councils
November	255 ³⁶⁹
December	255
January	N/A
February	318 ³⁷⁰
July	746 ³⁷¹
August	746 ³⁷²
September	746 ³⁷³

HOSPITALS RESTORED TO PRE-WAR LEVEL OF OPERATIONS

3/7/2004

Month	Hospitals restored to pre-war level of operations
March	90% ³⁷⁴

HEPATITIS OUTBREAKS³⁷⁵

Rate of incidents (all types of hepatitis)
2002=100
2003=170
2004=200

NATIONWIDE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE SINCE MAY 1

Month	Unemployment rate
	nationwide
May	N/A
June	50 - 60% ³⁷⁶
July	N/A
August	50-60% ³⁷⁷
September	N/A
October	40 - 50% ³⁷⁸
November	N/A
December	45-55% ³⁷⁹
January	30 - 45% ³⁸⁰
February	30 - 45% ³⁸¹
March	30- 45% ³⁸²
April	30 - 45% ³⁸³
May	30-45% ³⁸⁴
June	30-40% ³⁸⁵
July	30-40% ³⁸⁶
August	30-40% ³⁸⁷

N/A= Not available

NOTE ON NATIONWIDE UNEMPLOYMENT TABLE: Estimates of Iraq's unemployment rate varies, but we estimate it to be between 30-40%. The CPA has referred to a 25% unemployment rate, the Iraqi Ministry of Planning mentioned a 30% unemployment rate, whereas the Iraqi Ministry of Social Affairs claims it to be 48%. "Reconstructing Iraq," International Crisis Group, Report, September 2, 2004, p. 16, footnote 157. As

NOTE ON NATIONWIDE UNEMPLOYMENT TABLE: The numbers referred to in the table is a very rough approximation of the employment situation in Iraq. As noted by Director of Employment, Fatin Al-Saeda, Iraqi Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs on October 22, 2003 "There are no employment statistics for Iraq." Department of Defense, "Assistant Secretary for Policy at the Department of Labor, Chris Spear briefs on Iraqi Minister Of Labor And Social Affairs," (http://www.defenselink.mil/transcripts/2003/tr20031022-0809.html {October 22, 2003}).Transcript. Estimates made by economists, however, generally range between 50-70%. There is an inherent difficulty in measuring the Iraqi rate of unemployment over time. Because recent estimates are likely to be more accurate than older ones, but also higher, this means that despite an improvement in the economic situation nationwide, the numbers give the impression that it is getting worse. Considering the increase in entrepreneurial activity after the end of the war, we have for the purposes of this database assumed that there has been an improvement in unemployment levels, and hence weighted information supporting such a conclusion heavier than contradictory data reports. Another factor contributing to a somewhat improved employment situation in Iraq is that some 435,000 jobs have been directly created by the Coalition Provisional Authority as of May 25, 2004. "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status", Department of Defense, May 25, 2004.

POLLING

INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE & INDEPENDENT INSTITUTE FOR ADMINSTRATIVE AND CIVIL SOCIETY STUDIES POLL: AUGUST 10-20, 2004³⁸⁸

	Better: 46.5%
Since the Fall of the Baath regime in April 2003, do you feel that	Worse: 31.3%
your life has gotten better, worse or stayed the same?	Same: 20.8%
	Don't know: 1.1%
Do you feel that there are enough opportunities for you or people	Yes: 40%
like you to play a role in improving the quality of life in your	No: 42%
community?	Don't know/No answer: 10%
	Very likely: 20.2%
To what degree do you feel that democracy in Iraq is likely or	Somewhat likely: 37.8%
unlikely to succeed?	Somewhat unlikely: 13.9%
-	Very unlikely: 18.3%
	Don't know: 9.3%
Do you plan to vote in the upcoming election?	Yes: 88%
	No: 8%
	Don't know/No answer: 5%
How confident are you that when you cast your ballot, that your vote	Very confident: 29%
will be secret?	Somewhat confident: 33.2%
	Not very confident: 11.5%
	Not confident at all: 10.5%
To what extent do you feel that elections will reflect the will of the	Very likely: 38.3%
Iraqi people?	Somewhat likely: 37.3%
	Somewhat unlikely: 7.6%
	Very unlikely: 5.3%
To what extent do you feel that violence is likely leading up to, or	Very likely: 39%
during Iraq's elections scheduled to take place in January?	Somewhat likely: 37%
-	Somewhat unlikely: 8%
	Very unlikely: 4%

REGIONAL VIEW OF QUALITY OF LIFE

Since the Fall of the Baath	Kurdish areas	South	Mid-Euphrates	Baghdad	Mosul & Kirkuk	Sunni areas
regime in April 2003, do you feel that your life has gotten better, worse or stayed the same?	Better: 85.6% Worse: 3.5%	Better: 52.8% Worse: 29.8%	Better: 52.7% Worse: 25.8%	Better: 36.4% Worse: 34.6%	Better: 26.5% Worse: 29.1%	Better: 11.9% Worse: 68.9%
Thinking about the future, do you think your life will be better, worse, or stay the same one year from now?	Better: 88.8% Worse: 1.6%	Better: 66.4% Worse: 14%	Better: 77% Worse: 11.7%	Better: 62.1% Worse: 9.3%	Better: 50% Worse: 14.3%	Better: 42.5% Worse: 29.2%

INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE & INDEPENDENT INSTITUTE FOR ADMINSTRATIVE AND CIVIL SOCIETY STUDIES POLL: JULY 24 - AUGUST 2, 2004³⁸⁹

IRAQI PERCEPTION OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND PRIME MINISTER ALLAWI

To what degree do you feel that the Interim Government has been effective since the handover of authority on June 28?	Very effective: 19.8% Somewhat effective: 42.3% Somewhat ineffective: 14.3% Very ineffective: 12.3% Don't know: 10.4%		
To what degree do you feel that Prime Minister Ayed Allawi has been effective since the handover of authority on June 28?	Very effective: 30.6% Somewhat effective: 35.6% Somewhat ineffective: 9.4% Very ineffective: 8.9% Don't know: 13.8%		
On what issues do you feel that Prime Minister Allawi has been	most effective? Improving security: 45.2% Don't know:16.4% Improving outside relationships:13.3% Improving economy: 2.8% Solving unemployment: 1.1% Solving housing crisis: 0.9% least effective? Don't know: 26.2% Rebuilding infrastructure: 15.5 Improving security: 9.5% Improving economy: 7.5% Solving unemployment; 6.73% Removal of coalition forces from 2.5%		

IRAQI PERCEPTION OF CURRENT SITUATION

	June	July
Do you feel that Iraq is generally heading in the right or the wrong direction?	Right direction: 50.7% Wrong direction: 39.3% Don't know: 9.2%	Right direction: 51.3% Wrong direction: 31.4% Don't know: 16.05%
If you think Iraq is moving in the wrong direction, why is that?	Security situation: 62.45% Presence of occupation forces: 17.42% Unemployment: 5.1%	
	Bias to certain groups of Iraqis: 3.66%	
	Economic situation; 2.87% Neglect of infrastructure: 1.71%	
Thinking about the last two months, do you feel that the economy and security have gotten better, worse, or stayed the same?	Economy	Security
	Better: 47.36%	Better: 56.77%
	Worse: 13.99%	Worse: 19.96%
	Same: 36.08%	Same:21.63%

END OF JUNE, 2004: IRAQ CENTER FOR RESEARCH AND STRATEGIC STUDIES POLL³⁹⁰

Question	Findings
Do you strongly or somewhat" oppose	Yes: 67%
the presence of coalition forces?	
Should coalition forces leave either	
immediately or directly after the	Yes: 80%
election?	
Would you feel safer, less safe, or would	More safe: 41%
it make no difference if coalition forces	Less safe: 34%
left now?	No difference: 17%
Should coalition forces stay as long as is	Stay as long as is necessary for stability: 13%
necessary for stability or leave	Leave immediately: 30%
immediately?	
Do you feel very safe in your	End of June: 50%
neighborhood?	End of April: 25%
Have your family's economic situation	Yes: 50%
improved from before the war?	
Do you expect the economy to get better	End of June: ~60%
over the next six months?	End of April: 36%
Have conditions for creating peace	Yes: 49%
worsened over the past three months?	
Are the current difficulties a price worth	Yes: 54%
paying for toppling Saddam?	No: 37%

9-19 JUNE, 2004: COALITION PROVISIONAL AUTHORITY (CPA)POLL³⁹¹

CONFIDENCE IN THE NEW INTERIM GOVERNMENT

Do you have confidence in the new leaders of the interim government?	Yes: 68%
Do you approve of Prime Minister Ayad Allawi?	Yes: 73%
Do you approve of President Ghazi Yawar?	Yes: 84%
Do you support the new Cabinet?	Yes: 67%
What effect do you believe the new government will have on the	Make things better: 80%
situation in Iraq after the handover on June 30 th ?	Things will remain the same: 10%
	Things will get worse: 7%
Have you heard or read a significant amount about the new	Yes: 70%
leaders of the interim government?	
Do you believe that the first democratic elections for a new	Yes: 67%
national assembly will be free and fair?	

CONFIDENCE IN IRAQI SECURITY FORCES

Do you support the new Iraqi Army?	Yes: 70%
Do you support the new Iraqi police?	Yes: 72%

CONFIDENCE IN SELECTED INSTITUTIONS

Month	Iraqi Police	Iraqi Army	Iraqi ministries	Governing Council	CPA	Coalition forces
November	84%	71%	63%	63%	47%	N/A
January	80%	63%	54%	51%	32%	28%
March	79%	61%	42%	41%	14%	13%
April	67%	62%	31%	23%	9%	7%
May	76%	62%	39%	28%	11%	10%

PERCEIVED IMPACT OF AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT

Question	Findings
How do you think having an interim government	Better: 63%
on June 30 will make things for Iraq?	Worse: 15%
	Same: 14%
	Don't know/No answer: 8%

HOW LONG SHOULD COALITION FORCES STAY IN IRAQ?

Question	Findings
How long should Coalition Forces stay in Iraq?	Leave after a permanent government is elected: 45%
	Leave immediately: 41%
	As long as Coalition Forces think it is necessary for stability: 6
	Two years: 4%
	Don't know/No answer: 4%

IMPACT OF COALITION FORCES LEAVING IMMEDIATELY

If	f coalition forces left Iraq immediately would you feel more safe?
	November: 11%
	January: 28%
	April: 55%
	May: 55%

PRISONERS ABUSE AT ABU GHRAIB

Question	Findings
Were you surprised when you saw the abuse of	Yes: 71%
prisoner's at Abu Ghraib?	No: 22%
	Don't know/No answer: 7%
Do you believe that the abuse of prisoners at	All Americans are like this: 54%
Abu Ghraib represents fewer than 100 people	Fewer than 100 people: 38%
or that all Americans behave this way?	Don't know/No answer: 8%
Do you believe anyone will be punished for	No: 61%
what happened at Abu Ghraib?	Yes: 29%
	Don't know/No answer: 10%

ABILITY OF IRAQI POLICE AND ARMY TO MAINTAIN SECURITY IN IRAQ

Question	Findings
Do you think it is likely that the Iraqi police and	Very likely: 62%
Army will maintain security without the	Somewhat likely: 25%
presence of Coalition Forces?	Not very likely: 6%
	Don't know/No answer: 4%
	Not at all likely: 3%

MOST DANGEROUS KIND OF VIOLENCE TO IRAQ

What kind of violence do you the	hink is most dangerous to Iraq?
Street crime	January: 8.9%
	May: 8.3%
Large vehicle bombs	January: 16.5%
	May: 16.1%
Armed encounters between Coalition Forces	January: 3.3%
and others	May: 11.4%
Violence by Militias	January: 1.8 %
•	May: 2.2 %
Killings of Baathists	January: 0.9 %
	May: 1.3 %
Private Revenge Killings	January: 1.8 %
	May: 2.9 %
Coalition soldiers killed for revenge	January: 0.7 %
	May: 0.5 %
Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) along	January: 10.6 %
roads	May: 18.9 %
Kidnappings	January: 2.0 %
	May: 3.4 %
War between sects	January: 29.2%
	May: 15.6 %
Ethnic war	January: 8.2 %
	May: 9.1 %
Military actions by Coalition Forces	January: 6.3 %
	May: 9.1%
Threats from outside Iraq	January: 1.8 %
-	May: 3.6 %
Don't know/No answer	January: 2.2 %
	May: 6.5 %

MOST DANGEROUS KIND OF VIOLENCE TO IRAQI FAMILIES

What kind of violence do you thi	nk is most dangerous to your family?
Street crime	January: 45.9%
	May: 40.4 %
Large vehicle bombs	January: 8.4 %
	May: 15.2 %
Armed encounters between Coalition Forces	January: 3.4 %
and others	May: 10.8 %
Violence by Militias	January: 0.9 %
	May: 1.6 %
Killings of Baathists	January: 0.7%
	May: 0.3 %
Private Revenge Killings	January: 2.1%
	May: 1.0 %
Coalition soldiers killed for revenge	January: 0.7 %
	May: 0.1 %
Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) along	January: 19.1 %
roads	May: 16.7 %
Kidnappings	January: 1.3 %
	May: 1.7 %
War between sects	January: 4.3 %
	May: 1.6 %
Ethnic war	January: 0.7 %
	May: 0.3 %
Military actions by Coalition Forces	January: 10.6 %
	May: 8.5 %
Threats from outside Iraq	January: 0.2 %
	May: 0.1 %
Don't know/No answer	January: 1.7 %
	May: 1.1 %

MOST URGENT ISSUES FACING IRAQ MID-MAY

Issue	Baghdad	Basrah	Mosul	Hillah	Diwaniyah	Baqubah	All
Security	58%	39%	60%	84%	72%	55%	59%
Economy	16%	16%	17%	8%	15%	20%	16%
Infrastructure	13%	38%	15%	7%	6%	2%	15%
All Others	13%	7%	8%	1%	7%	23%	10%

IRAQI OPINION OF MOQTADA AL-SADR IN LATE APRIL

Question	Findings
Compared to 3 months ago my opinion of	Much better: 40%
Moqtada al-Sadr is	Better: 41%
-	Somewhat worse: 14%
	Much worse: 5%

IMPACT OF EVENTS ON UNIFYING OR DIVIDING IRAQ

Question	Findings
Have recent events, the fighting in Falluja and	More unified: 64%
the acts of Moqtada al-Sadr made Iraq more	More divided: 14%
unified or more divided?	Don't know/No answer: 22%

OPINION ON VIOLENT ATTACKS IN THE COUNTRY

How much do you agree with each of the following statements?		
The violent attacks around the country		
are an effort of outside groups to create	Somewhat agree: 25%	
instability in our country	Totally agree: 36%	
	Somewhat disagree: 10%	
	Totally disagree: 15%	
show Iraq is not ready to live in peace with the	Somewhat agree: 20%	
world	Totally agree: 26%	
	Somewhat disagree: 8%	
	Totally disagree: 31%	
emphasize the need for the continued presence	Somewhat agree: 20%	
of coalition forces	Totally agree: 22%	
	Somewhat disagree: 11%	
	Totally disagree: 33%	
are an effort to liberate Iraq from the United	Somewhat agree: 18%	
States and Coalition Forces	Totally agree: 29%	
	Somewhat disagree: 9%	
	Totally disagree: 33%	
are an effort to reinstate the old regime	Somewhat agree: 16%	
	Totally agree: 9%	
	Somewhat disagree: 14%	
	Totally disagree: 45%	
have increased because people have lost faith	Somewhat agree: 12%	
in Coalition Forces	Totally agree: 67%	
	Somewhat disagree: 3%	
	Totally disagree: 6%	

IRAQI PERCEPTION OF INSURGENTS

Please indicate if and how the following statemen	its apply to those who attack the Coalition Forces		
and those who work with them			
They believe that the Coalition is trying to steal	Totally true: 66%		
Iraq's wealth	Partially true: 12%		
-	Not true: 7%		
They believe all foreign forces must leave at once	Totally true: 59%		
	Partially true: 15%		
	Not true: 11%		
They believe national dignity requires the attacks	Totally true: 53%		
	Partially true: 15%		
	Not true: 13%		
They want democracy, but do not believe the	Totally true: 41%		
Coaltion will help democracy	Partially true: 22%		
	Not true: 15%		
They want to establish an Islamic state with no	Totally true: 31%		
outside influence	Partially true:28%		
	Not true: 21%		
They are trying go undermine the transfer of	Totally true: 27%		
responsibility to Iraqi forces	Partially true: 18%		
	Not true: 36%		
They are trying to help us create a better future	Totally true: 23%		
	Partially true: 23%		
	Not true: 32%		
They do not want democracy in Iraq	Totally true: 17%		
	Partially true: 21%		
	Not true: 45%		
They are angry because they lost the privileges	Totally true: 15%		
they had under Saddam	Partially true: 17%		
	Not true: 48%		
They want to return to Saddam and the Baath	Totally true: 9%		
party	Partially true: 11%		
	Not true: 61%		

SUPPORT OF OR OPPOSITION TO THE FOLLOWING INDIVIDUALS IN LATE APRIL

Individual	Somewhat support	Strongly support	Somewhat oppose	Strongly oppose
Massoud Barzani	14%	5%	25%	49%
Ayad Allawi	18%	5%	21%	40%
Mowaffek	21%	8%	20%	41%
al-Rubaie				
Adnan Pachachi	31%	10%	30%	20%
Jalal Talabani	10%	11%	24%	50%
Abdul Karem	20%	11%	16%	29%
al-Muhamadawi				
Muhssin Abdul	33%	12%	17%	18%
Hamed				
Sayyid	26%	18%	18%	31%
Muhammed				
Bahr ul-Uloom				
Hare'eth	25%	20%	14%	13%
al-Dhari				
Ahamad	31%	24%	16%	13%
al-Qubaisi				
Abdul Azziz	26%	25%	16%	28%
al-Hakim				
Moqtada al-Sadr	35%	32%	19%	10%
Ibrahim Jaferi	19%	39%	12%	26%
Ali Sistani	19%	51%	14%	6%

VOTING FOR AN IRAQI PRESIDENT

If you could vote for any living Iraqi for president,		
who would it be? Absolute number of respondents		
per candidate from 1093 respondents		
Sadoun Hammadi:	2	
Mushin A. Hameed:	3	
Ahmed al-Kubaisi:	3	
Mowaffek al-Rubaie:	4	
Ghazi Ajeel:	4	
Ahmad Chalabi:	6	
Mehdi al-Hafudh:	6	
Ali Sistani:	20	
Moqtada al-Sadr:	22	
Shareef Ali:	27	
Saddam Hussein:	37	
A. Azziz al-Hakeem:	38	
Any fair and efficient person:	42	
Adnan Pachachi:	45	
Other:	57	
Ibrahim Jaafari:	184	
None:	218	
Don't know/No answer:	375	

APPROPRIATE POWER OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT

What powers should the unelected, interim governmen	nt have for its 7 months in office?
Make laws or agreements that a future elected government	May: 12%
could not change	April: 11%
Make long-term agreements with other countries	May: 26%
	April: 27%
Replace current governors?	May: 61%
_	April: 62%
Disarm and control the political party and religious militias	May: 64%
	April: 63%
Replace current ministries	May: 60%
	April: 63%
Increase or reduce taxes	May: 47%
	April: 68%
Order Coalition Forces to leave Iraq	May: 70%
-	April: 77%
Take responsibility for prisoners held by Coalition Forces	May: N/A
	April: 83%
Adjusting prices, such as increasing the prices of subsidized	May: 49%
petroleum products and other commodities	April: N/A
Make economic changes, such as giving people money in	May: 19%
place of their food rations	April: N/A
Make economic changes, like adjusting prices	May: N/A
	April: 84%

IRAQIS INFORMED ABOUT U.N. RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT

Question	Findings
How much have you heard or read about the	Don't know/No answer: 4%
recent United Nations recommendations about	A great deal: 8%
the June 30 interim government?	Not very much: 16%
	A fair amount: 20%
	Nothing: 52%

IRAQIS INFORMED ABOUT FORMATION OF COMMISSION SUPERVISING ELECTIONS

Question	Findings	
How much have you heard or read about the	A great deal: 4%	
formation of an independent commission	Not much: 14%	
supervising the elections to be held in January	A fair amount: 17%	
2005?	Nothing: 65%	

WHO SHOULD HAVE A SAY IN SELECTING THE ELECTION COMMISSION?

How much influence should the following ins independent elect	
Religious communities	Great deal: 59% A fair amount: 20% Not much: 4% None: 11%
International experts	Great deal: 42% A fair amount: 23% Not much: 6% None:21%
Community tribal leaders	Great deal:]38% A fair amount:26% Not much: 9% None:19%
United Nations	Great deal: 36% A fair amount: 20% Not much: 10% None: 27%
Community Political Leaders	Great deal: 31% A fair amount: 23% Not much: 13% None: 23%
Governing Council	Great deal: 11% A fair amount: 15% Not much: 11% None: 55%
Coalition Provisional Authority	Great deal: 8% A fair amount: 7% Not much: 8% None: 69%

WHAT CONTRIBUTES TO YOUR SENSE OF SECURITY

Which of the following contributes to your sense of security?
Coalition Forces: 1%
Joint Coalition forces and Iraqi patrols: 1%
Mosque patrols: 2%
None/Other/Don't know/No answer: 3%
Local neighborhood patrols: 4%
Local police: 18%
Family: 26%
Neighbors and friends: 45%

INTEREST IN JOINING THE IRAQI SECURITY FORCES

Question	Findings
Are you and any member of your family more or	More interested: 51%
less interested in joining the Iraqi security forces	Less interested: 39%
than you were 3 months ago?	Don't know/No answer: 10%

IRAQI OPINION OF COALITION FORCES

Should Coalition Forces leave or stay in Iraq?					
(Results expressed as absolute numbers	(Results expressed as absolute numbers for each opinion for 1068 respondents)				
Leave: 866		Stay: 71			
Why should Coalition Forces leave?		Why should Coalition Forces stay?			
They are occupiers and must leave immediately: 418		They are the only power that can effectively administer Iraq: 33			
They brought only death and destruction:	142				
		If they leave there will be a political			
Iraqis can administer Iraq better:	102	vacuum: 22			
They want Iraqi oil and resources:	76	Other/Don't know/No answer: 11			
They are facilitating Zionist domination of Iraq:	51	Their presence brings Iraq future benefit: 5			
They do not respect our religions and cultures:	38				
They abuse Iraqis:	23				
Other/Don't know/No answer:	16				

NOTE ON IRAQI OPINION OF COALITION FORCES: Although not represented by the original polling information, we assume that the 131 of the 1068 people whose opinions were not accounted for in the "leave" or "stay" categories either did not know or choose not to answer the question.

MARCH 22-APRIL 9: CNN/USA TODAY/ GALLUP POLL³⁹³

Question	Findings		
Has the coalition invasion in Iraq	More harm than good:	46%	
done more harm than good or	More good than harm:	33%	
more good than harm?	The same:	35% 16%	
more good than harm:	Don't know:	4%	
T- T	Much better off:	11%	
Is Iraq much better off,			
somewhat better off, somewhat	Somewhat better off:	31%	
worse off, or much worse off	About the same:	17%	
than before the U.S. and British	Somewhat worse off:	24%	
invasion?	Much worse off:	15%	
	Don't know:	2%	
Are you and your family much	Much better off:	14%	
better off, somewhat better off,	Somewhat better off:	37%	
somewhat worse off, or much	About the same:	25%	
worse off than you were before	Somewhat worse off:	15%	
the U.S. and British invasion?	Much worse off:	10%	
	Don't know:	1%	
Would you prefer for the U.S.	Leave immediately (in the next		
and British forces to leave	few months): 57%		
immediately (in the next few	Stay in Iraq for a longer p		
months), or do you think they	of time:	36%	
should stay in Iraq for a longer	Don't know:	7%	
period of time?			
Do you think of the Coalition	Mostly as occupiers:	71%	
forces mostly as occupiers, or	Mostly as liberators:	19%	
mostly as liberators?	Both equally:	8%	
•	Don't know:	2%	
At the time of the invasion last	Mostly as occupiers:	43%	
spring, did you think of the	Mostly as liberators:	43%	
Coalition forces mostly as	Both equally:	9%	
occupiers, or mostly as	Don't know:	4%	
liberators?			
Over the past three months, have	Improved:	25%	
conditions for creating peace and	Worsened:	54%	
stability in Iraq improved or	Staved the same:	19%	
worsened?	Don't know:	2%	
If the Coalition left Iraq today,	More safe:	28%	
would you feel more safe or less	Less safe:	53%	
safe?	No difference:	12%	
	Don't know:	8%	
Do you think your life or your	Yes, would be in danger:	69%	
		/ -	
·	,		
	Don t Know.	0 /0	
family's life would be in danger if you were seen to be cooperating with the CPA?	Yes, would be in danger: No, will not be in danger: Don't know:	69% 22% 8%	

IRAQI STANDARD OF LIVING

Since the invasion, which of the following happened to you	At all since	Within the	Before the past	Since the	Happened
personally or to members of your household?	the	past four	four weeks/since	invasion	in the year
	invasion	weeks	the invasion		before the
					invasion
Gone without electricity for long periods of time?	78%	3%	20%	44%	68%
Been without clean drinking water for long periods of time?	49%	4%	11%	28%	36%
Had to stand in line for long periods of time to buy gasoline?	74%	2%	29%	33%	7&
Been unable to obtain food because of shortages?	25%	1%	6%	14%	11%
Been afraid to go outside your home for safety reasons?	57%	2%	14%	32%	7%
Had home burglarized?	3%	N/A	1%	1%	3%
Been unable to obtain medical assistance or medicine?	25%	1%	4%	16%	15%
Had a car or property stolen?	3%	N/A	1%	1%	1%
Been physically attacked?	2%	N/A/	N/A	1%	3%
Feel freer to express any political views in public?	76%	1%	3%	60%	2%
Felt afraid of practicing religious beliefs?	8%	1%	1%	4%	54%
Been afraid to go outside your home at night for safety reasons?	74%	1%	6%	39%	10%
Lost my job?	7%	0%	N/A	5%	4%
Gone without public sewage system?	40%	N/A	1%	31%	37%

PERCEPTIONS OF U.S. FORCES' EFFORTS TO IMPROVE IRAQI LIVING CONDITIONS

How hard do you think U.S. forces are trying to	Try a lot	Try only a little	Does not try at all
accomplish each of the following			
– a lot, only a little, or not at all?			
Restoring basic services like electricity/clean drinking water	11%	41%	44%
to Iragis?			
Trying to keep ordinary Iraqis from being killed/wounded	11%	18%	67%
during exchanges of gunfire?			
Working to repair Iraqi schools and classrooms?	17%	50%	26%
Working with local councils to try to improve neighborhood	7%	34%	49%
conditions/services?			
Maintaining roads and bridges?	8%	23%	60%
Improving local health centers?	13%	40%	40%

24 MARCH -2 APRIL: COALITION PROVISIONAL AUTHORITY POLL

IRAQI ATTITUDE TOWARDS INSTITUTIONS³⁹⁴

Do you have a positive or negative attitude towards the following	Attitude			
institutions?	Positive	Negative		
Iraqi police	79%	19%		
New Iraqi Army	61%	26%		
Local council	45%	36%		
Iraqi ministries	43%	41%		
Governing council	41%	52%		
Coalition Provisional Authority	14%	80%		
Coalition forces	13%	83%		

IMPORTANCE OF SECURITY TO RESIDENTS OF BAGHDAD³⁹⁵

Month	Baghdad residents naming security as the			
	most urgent issue			
January	50%			
February	60%			
March	65%			
April	70%			

9 – 28 FEBRUARY: OXFORD RESEARCH INTERNATIONAL/BBC/ABC NEWS STUDY

IRAQI PERCEPTION OF OVERALL SITUATION

Month	How are things compared with a year ago? ³⁹⁶
February	Better: 56.5%
	Worse: 18.6%

31 DECEMBER – 7 JANUARY: STATE DEPARTMENT STUDY OF IRAQ PUBLIC OPINION³⁹⁷

GREATEST THREAT TO IRAQI CITIZENS

Type of threat	What is the greatest threat to yourself and your family? ³⁹⁸					
	Baghdad	Basrah	Mosul	Fallujah	Samarra	Karbala
Street crime	47%	63%	45%	42%	38%	22%
Street bombs	26%	20%	13%	11%	11%	19%
Large bombs such as those against Iraqi police stations and international organizations	9%	4%	6%	5%	3%	29%
Armed encounters between Iraqis and Coalition Forces and others	7%	4%	26%	26%	38%	9%
Armed encounters with religious or tribal militia	1%	1%			2%	2%
Revenge killings/Baath killings	3%	4%	3%	5%	1%	
Financial extortion	1%	1%	2%	2%		4%
Sectarian war	6%	3%	1%	7%	4%	4%
Ethnic war	1%		1%	1%	1%	

GREATEST THREAT TO IRAQ

Type of threat	What is the greatest threat to Iraq? ³⁹⁹					
	Baghdad	Basrah	Mosul	Fallujah	Samarra	Karbala
Street crime	8 %	11%	5%	13%	6%	15%
Street bombs	12%	16%	6%	7%	7%	10%
Large bombs such as those against Iraqi police stations and international organizations	25%	18%	6%	9%	2%	25%
Armed encounters between Iraqis and Coalition Forces and others	8%	9%	10%	17%	10%	15%
Armed encounters with religious or tribal militia	2%	2%	2%		3%	2%
Revenge killings/Baath killings	2%	3%	3%	1%	5%	1%
Financial extortion	1%	1%	2%	2%		4%
Sectarian war	31%	26%	36%	26%	45%	6%
Ethnic war	6%	2%	19%	11%	12%	2%
Outside threats	5%	13%	7%	11%	8%	6%

IRAQIS ON COALITION FORCES LEAVING

	If coalition forces left immediately, Iraqis would feel ⁴⁰⁰			
	More safe	Less safe	No difference	
Baghdad	November: 12%	November: 71%	November: 13%	
	January: 19%	January: 65%	January: 15%	
Basrah	November: 6%	November: 85%	November: 8%	
	January: 17%	January: 67%	January: 12%	
Mosul	January: 28%	January: 59%	January: 10%	
Fallujah	January: 56%	January: 29%	January: 12%	
Samarra	January: 54%	January: 41%	January: 2%	
Karbala	January: 24%	January: 50%	January:13%	
Kirkuk	November: 15%	November: 62%	November: 14%	
Hilla	November: 7%	November: 83%	November: 5%	
Diwaniya	November:13%	November: 83%	November: 1%	

PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROTECTING IRAQIS

	In the next six months, primary responsibility for protecting Iraqis from major security threats should be ⁴⁰¹				
	Iraqi Armed Forces	Iraqi Armed Forces Coalition forces Joint Iraq-Coalition efforts			
Baghdad	50%	7%	42%		
Basrah	38%	8%	51%		
Mosul	58%	12%	27%		
Fallujah	71%	4%	19%		
Samarra	64%	9%	23%		
Karbala	50%	14%	26%		

PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR MAINTAINING LAW AND ORDER

	In the next six months, j	In the next six months, primary responsibility for maintaining law and order on Iraqi streets should be ⁴⁰²			
	Iraqi Armed Forces	Iraqi Armed Forces Coalition forces Joint Iraq-Coalition effo			
Baghdad	56%	6%	38%		
Basrah	53%	9%	35%		
Mosul	53%	10%	26%		
Fallujah	67%	4%	22%		
Samarra	71%	5%	20%		
Karbala	44%	2%	16%		

CONDITIONS FOR PEACE

	Over the last three months conditions for peace have ⁴⁰³			
	Improved	Worsened	No difference	
Baghdad	August: 22%	August: 53%	August: 24%	
	January: 51%	January: 25%	January: 24%	
Basrah	August: 24%	August: 58%	August: 18%	
	January: 59%	January: 17%	January: 24%	
Mosul	January: 38%	January: 39%	January: 22%	
Fallujah	August: 25%	August: 63%	August: 10%	
	January: 33%	January: 44%	January: 23%	
Samarra	January: 34%	January: 43%	January: 22%	
Karbala	January: 27%	January: 61%	January: 10%	
Ramadi	August:16%	August: 66%	August: 17%	
Najaf	August: 15%	August: 71%	August: 10%	
Suleymania	August: 56%	August: 18%	August: 25%	
Erbil	August: 58%	August: 9%	August: 23%	

SAFETY IN IRAQI NEIGHBORHOODS

	How safe do you feel in your neighborhood? ⁴⁰⁴				
	Very safe	Not very safe	Not safe		
Baghdad	August: 24%	August: 50%	August: 26%		
	November: 31%	November: 56%	November: 12%		
	January: 46%	January: 42%	January: 11%		
Basrah	August: 24%	August: 58%	August: 17%		
	November: 18%	November: 68%	November: 12%		
	January: 31%	January: 57%	January: 11%		
Fallujah	August: 37%	August: 57%	August: 4%		
•	January: 61%	January: 27%	January:11%		
Mosul	January: 63%	January: 28%	January: 9%		
Samarra	January: 63%	January: 27%	January: 10%		
Karbala	January: 51%	January: 29%	January: 15%		
Kirkuk	November: 42%	November: 40%	November: 12%		
Hilla	November: 65%	November: 30%	November: 4%		
Diwaniya	November: 71%	November: 22%	November: 7%		
Najaf	August: 35%	August: 52%	August: 12%		
Ramadi	August: 41%	August: 44%	August: 14%		
Suleymania	August: 61%	August: 33%	August: 1%		
Erbil	August: 60%	August: 36%	August: 3%		

IRAQI CONFIDENCE IN INSTITUTIONS

		Do you feel very or somewhat confident in the following institution? ⁴⁰⁵				
	Iraq police	New Iraqi	Iraqi	Governing	CPA	Coalition
		Army	ministries	Council		Forces
Baghdad	82%	72%	60%	62%	42%	38%
Basrah	89%	79%	64%	67%	41%	32%
Mosul	80%	54%	43%	33%	31%	27%
Fallujah	74%	52%	54%	27%	10%	10%
Samarra	72%	35%	36%	30%	14%	18%
Karbala	71%	55%	51%	57%	27%	20%

EFFECIENCY OF COALITION FORCES

	Do ye	Do you feel Coalition Forces are very effective in the following activities? 406				
	Keeping law and	Tracking down	Protecting Iraqis	Working	Protecting their	
	order in the	criminals	from major	cooperatively with	forces and	
	streets		threats	Iraqi security	compounds	
				forces		
Baghdad	21%	15%	32%	43%	63%	
Basrah	17%	11%	22%	27%	68%	
Mosul	21%	14%	33%	34%	60%	
Fallujah	5%	5%	13%	12%	31%	
Samarra	15%	12%	21%	27%	47%	
Karbala	16%	11%	18%	27%	55%	

LATER POLLING: STATE DEPARTMENT STUDY AND GALLUP POLLS

IRAQI PUBLIC OPINION NATIONWIDE AND BAGDHAD: NOVEMBER 19-28

1/12/2004

	Nationwi	de	Baghda	ıd
Do you agree that in general, the local Iraqi police force is trusted by most members of the community? ⁴⁰⁷	Agree/somewhat agree: 77%		Agree/somewhat agree: 80%	
Do you feel that the attacks emphasize the need for continued presence of Coalition Forces in Iraq? ⁴⁰⁸	Agree: 66%		Agree: 61%	
If coalition forces left immediately, would you feel	More safe: Less safe:	11% 71%	More safe: Less safe:	12% 75%
more safe, less safe, or no difference? ⁴⁰⁹	No difference:	10%	No difference:	13%

BAGDHAD PUBLIC OPINION: AUGUST 8 – SEPTEMBER 4

Question	Findings
Will Iraq be in a better condition five years from now than it was	Better off: 67%
before the U.Sled invasion? 410	Worse off: 8%
Is Iraq better off now than it was before the invasion? ⁴¹¹	Better off: 33%
	Worse off: 47%
Was ousting Saddam worth the	Yes: 62%
hardships endured since the invasion? ⁴¹²	No: N/A
Would you like to see U.S. troops	Stay longer: 71%
stay longer than a few more months? ⁴¹³	Not stay longer: 26%
Are there circumstances in	No: 64%
which attacks against U.S. troops can be justified? ⁴¹⁴	Sometimes justified: 36%
Have you been afraid at times to	Yes: 86%
go outside your home during the day within the past four weeks?	No: N/A
Is Baghdad a more dangerous	Yes: 94%
place now than before the	
invasion? 416	No: N/A

N/A= Not available

AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION

Time period	Do you approve or disapprove of the way the George W. Bush is handling the situation with
	Iraq? ⁴¹⁷
April 14-16, 2003	Approve: 76%
April 14-10, 2003	Disapprove: 21%
	No opinion: 3%
June 12-15, 2003	Approve: 63%
June 12 10, 2000	Disapprove: 34%
	No opinion: 3
July 7-9, 2003	Approve: 58%
323 17,200	Disapprove: 39%
	No opinion: 3%
July 18-20, 2003	Approve: 57%
3 - 3 - 3 - 3 - 3 - 3 - 3 - 3 - 3 - 3 -	Disapprove: 39%
	No opinion: 4%
July 25-27, 2003	Approve: 60 %
, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	Disapprove: 38%
	No opinion: 2%
August 25-26, 2003	Approve: 57%
	Disapprove: 41%
	No opinion: 2%
September 8-10, 2003	Approve: 51%
~ · F · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	Disapprove: 47%
	No opinion: 2%
October 6-8, 2003	Approve: 47%
	Disapprove: 50%
	No opinion: 3%
November 3-5, 2003	Approve: 45%
	Disapprove: 54%
	No opinion: 1%
December 5-7, 2003	Approve: 50%
,	Disapprove: 47%
	No opinion: 3%
January 2-5, 2004	Approve: 61%
• /	Disapprove: 36%
	No opinion: 3%
January 29-Feb 1, 2004	Approve: 46%
•	Disapprove: 53%
	No opinion: 3%
March 26-28, 2004	Approve: 51%
,	Disapprove: 47%
	No opinion: 2%
April 16-18, 2004	Approve: 48%
•	Disapprove: 49%
	No opinion: 3%
May 2-4, 2004	Approve: 42%
• •	Disapprove: 55%
	No opinion: 3%

² Calculations based on data made available at (icasualties.org/oif/).

⁵ "Details of British Casualties," British Ministry of Defense, (www.operations.mod.uk/telic/casualties.htm).

¹⁰ Iraq Body Count, (Iraqbodycount.net [September 17, 2004]).

15 The monthly breakdown of casualties to Iraqi civilians since May 2003 and up until March 2004 is based on reports of individual incidents as reported by Iraq Bodycount, (www.iraqbodycount.org). The numbers used for the table is the upper bound estimate only, since we assume that due to the fact that a lot of cases are not reported, our estimate is probably lower than the actual number. Three types of entries in the Iraq Bodycount data base where excluded from our monthly tallies. They are single reports of civilians killed over several months, reports of the number of corpses in Iraqi morgues, and fatalities as a result of mass casualty car-bombings/suicide bombings. We exclude the former two types of cases in order to avoid any potential double counting, and the latter since we are tracking those numbers ourselves and prefer to rely on those figures. We thus added our monthly estimates of fatalities due to mass casualty car-bombings/suicide bombings to the monthly estimates arrived at by relying on the data given by Iraq bodycount.org The lower bound number for April were not arrived at using the reports in Iraq Body Count. This is since the number of civilians killed according to this data base were too low considering the heavy fighting in Najaf. The number for this month is therefore author's estimate based on several news reports during the month. The upper bound numbers starting in April 2004 are author's estimate based on data from the Iraqi Ministry of Health and quoted in two articles. James Drummond, "The Grim Task Facing Iraq's Civilians: Counting the Lost," London Financial Times, September 16, 2004. 3,186 Iraqi civilians killed between April 5 and September 12, 2004. Julian E. Barnes et al. "Victims of Circumstance," U.S. News and World Report, September 27, 2004. 1,811 civilians killed between June 10, 2004 to September 10, 2004.

¹⁶ Rajiv Chandrasekaran, "Car Bomb Kills 11 in Baghdad," *Washington Post*, August 8, 2003. One attack in front of the Jordanian Embassy on August 7. Theola Labbe, "Some Fear Blast at University Heralds New Face of Violence," *Washington Post*, September 6, 2003. An attack on UN headquarters on August 19. Neil McFarquhar, "Thousands at Burial for Slain Cleric," *New York Times*, September 3.

Theola Labbe, "Some Fear Blast at University Heralds New Face of Violence," *Washington Post*, September 6, 2003. Attack on September 3. Ian Fisher, "Suicide Attacker Who Struck at U.N. Carried two Bombs," *New York Times*, September 23, 2003. Attack on September 22.

Karl Vick and Rajiv Chandrasekaran, "Iraq Has Deadliest Day in a Month," *Washington Post*, October 10, 2003. Ian Fisher, "Iraq Math: Visible Gains Minus Losses," *New York Times*, October 10, 2003. Attack on October 9. Ian Fisher, "Attacks North of Baghdad Kill 3 G.I.'s and Barely Miss Governor of an Iraqi Province," *New York Times*, October 14, 2003. Attack on October 10. Rajiv Chandrasekaran, "Suicide Bomber Kills 7 in Baghdad," *Washington Post*, October 13, 2003. Attack on October 12. Theola Labbe, "Car Bomb Explodes Outside Turkish Embassy in Baghdad," *Washington Post*, October 15, 2003. Attack on October 14. Dexter Filkins and Alex Berenson, "Suicide Bombers in Baghdad Kill at Least 34," *New York Times*, October 28, 2003. Five attacks on October 27, including the attack on the headquarters of the International Committee of the Red Cross. Rajiv Chadrasekaran and Anthony Shadid, "Truck Bomb Near Fallujah Police Station Kills Four," *Washington Post*, October 29, 2003. Attack on August 28. "Baghdad Official Killed," *New York Times*, October 29, 2003. Attack on October 28.

Anthony Shadid, "Blast at Italian Police Post in Iraq Kills 29," *Washington Post*, November 13, 2003. Attack on November 12. Daniel Williams, "Suicide Bomber Kills 5 in Kurdish Area of Iraq," *Washington Post*, November 21, 2003. Attack on November 20. Ian Fisher and Dexter Filkins, "Bombers Kill 14 in Iraq," *New York Times*, November 23, 2003. Two attacks on November 22.

Ian Fisher, "Suicide Bombers Strike at 2 U.S. Bases, Wounding Dozens of G.I.'s," *New York Times*, December 10, 2003. Two attacks on December 9. Alan Sipress, "Bombing in Iraq Kills U.S. Soldier," *Washington Post*, December 12, 2003. Attack on December 11. Alan Sipress, "Suicide Bomber Kills 17 Iraqis, Wounds 33," *Washington Post*, December 15, 2003. Attack on December 14.Ian Fisher, "Fuel Tanker Explodes Unnerving a Tense City," *New York Times*, December 18, 2003. Two attacks on December 15. Edward Wong, "4 G.I.'s and 6 Iraqi Civilians are Killed in Bomb Attacks," *New York Times*, December 25, 2003. Attack on December 25. Edward Wong, "Up to 13 are Dead in Attacks in Iraq," December 28, 2003. Four attacks on December 27. Alan Sipress and Ariana Eunjung Cha, "Baghdad Bombing Kills Five," *Washington Post*, January 1, 2004. Attack on December 31.

Neela Banerjee, "Suicide Bomber Outside Shiite Mosque in Iraq Kills Four Worshipers," New York Times, January 10, 2004. Attack on January 9. Daniel Williams, "Suicide Blast Kills 2 at Iraqi Police Post," Washington Post, January 15, 2004. Attack on January 14. Daniel Williams, "Suicide Attack Outside U.S. Headquarters Wounds Over 60," Washington Post, January 19, 2004. Attack on January 18. Pamela Constable, "Bombings Kill 5 U.S. Troops and 4 Iraqis," Washington Post, January 25, 2004. Attack on January 24. Jeffrey Gettleman, "A Suicide Bomber Kills 3 in Baghdad," New York Times, January 29, 2004. Attack on January 28. Dexter Filkins, "3 G.I.'s Among 12 Killed in Bombings in Iraq," New York Times, February 1, 2004. Attack on January 31.

Daniel Williams, "Blasts Target Iraq's Kurdish Parties," *Washington Post*, February 2, 2004. Two attacks on February 1. Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*. February 10, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Attack on February 9. Ariana Eujung Cha, "Two Car Bombs Kill at Least 75 in Central Iraq," *Washington Post*, February 11, 2004. "Iraq Suicide Bombs Kills 11; UN to Rule on Handover," *Reuters*, February 18, 2004. Two attacks on February 18. Christine Hauser, "At Least 8 Killed in Bombing Outside Iraqi Police Station," *Washington Post*, February 23, 2004. Attack on February 23.

Rajiv Shandrasekaran and Anthony Shadid, "Shiites Massacred in Iraq Blast," Washington Post, March 3. 2004. Attacks on two sites by 4 suicide bombers on March 2. Casualty figures in Ariana Eunjung Cha, "Bombing Suspects Seized by Iraqi Police," Washington Post, March 5, 2004. John F. Burns, "Hotel Attacks Linked to War Anniversy," New York Times, March 19, 2004. Sewell Chan, "U.S. Civilians Mutilated in Iraq Attack," Washington Post, April 1, 2004

John F. Burns, "Attack on Market and a Roadside Bombing Kill 28 Iraqis," New York Times. One suicide bombing in Basra and one roadside bomb in Iskandariya during the week of April 23. Five attacks in Basra on April 21.

Susan Sachs, "Attacks in Mideast Raise Fear of More At Oil Installations," *New York Times*, May 8, 2004. Scott Wilson and Sewell Chan, "7 Iraqis Killed by Bomb Hidden in Box," *Washington Post*, May 10, 2004. Christopher Torchia, "Suicide Bomb Kills Head of Iraqi Governing Council," *Associated Press*, May 17, 2004. Jackie Spinner, "Iraqi Security Official Survives Bomb Blast, "*Washington Post*, May 23, 2004. A car bomb detonated on May 22, 2004. Sabah Jerges, "U.S. Military; Two killed in Roadside Bomb Near Coalition Headquarters." Associated Press, May 24, 2004. Abdul Hussein Al-Obeidi, "U.S. Forces Fight Cleric's Supporters in Najaf," Associated Press, May 25, 2004. Edward Cody, "Car Bomb in Baghdad Kills Four Iraqis," *Washington Post*, June 1, 2004. 4 killed and 25 wounded.

¹ Monthly fatality figures from May 1, 2003- March 31, 2004 at "Operation Iraqi Freedom Casualty Summary by Month", *Directorate for Information Operations and Reports*, (web1.whs.osd.mil/mmid/casualty/castop.htm [April 12, 2004]). Fatality numbers from April 1 and onwards are reported as documented daily from "Operation Iraqi Freedom U.S. Casualty Status," *Department of Defense*.

³ Calculations based on data made available at (icasualties.org/oif/.

⁴ Monthly wounded figures from May 1, 2003 - December 31, 2003 at "Operation Iraqi Freedom Casualty Summary by Month", *Directorate for Information Operations and Reports*, (web1.whs.osd.mil/mmid/casualty/castop.htm [April 12, 2004]). Remaining months are documented daily from "Operation Iraqi Freedom U.S. Casualty Status," *Department of Defense*, (www.defenselink.mil/news/).

⁶ Calculations based on data made available at (icasualties.org/oif/).

⁷ Calculations based on data made available at (icasualties.org/oif/).

⁸ Walter Pincus, "U.S. Says More Police are Needed as Attacks Continue," Washington Post, September 28, 2004. According to a senior official in Iraq.
⁹ Sabrina Tavernise, "Iraqis Working for Americans are in Insurgent's Cross Hairs," New York Times, September 18, 2004.

Mike Dorning, "We are Losing Our People," *Chicago Tribune*, September 14, 2004.

¹² Bassem Mroue, "AP Enterprise: More than 10,000 Iraqis Die Violently in Baghdad Region Alone," Associated Press,

¹³ Bassem Mroue, "AP Enterprise: More than 10,000 Iraqis Die Violently in Baghdad Region Alone," Associated Press,

¹⁴ Bassem Mroue, "AP Enterprise: More than 10,000 Iraqis Die Violently in Baghdad Region Alone," *Associated* Press,

Daniel Williams and Jackie Spinner, "Iraq Moves Ahead, But Attacks Persist," Washington Post, June 1, 2004. At least 5 people were killed. Mariam Fam, "U.S. Troops Battle Shiite Militants in Kufa, Baghdad," *Associated Press*, June 2. 2004. Two car bombs detonated on June 2, killing at least 6 people and wounding 33. Mammoun Youssef, "Al-Qaida-affiliated Group Claims Responsibility for Deadly Baghdad Attacks," Associated Press, June 7, 2004. Two car bombs detonated on June 6, killing nine people. At least one of the attacks is believed to have been a suicide bombing. Robert H. Reid, "Two Suicide Car Bombings in Northern Iraq Kill 14 Iraqis and one U.S. Soldiers," *Associated Press*, June 8, 2004. At least 15 people were killed and 126 wounded. Jackie Spinner and Edward Cody, "Baghdad Blast Kill 12 Iraqis, Soldier," *Washington Post*, June 14, 2004. Sameer N. Yacoub, "Car Bombs in Baghdad," *Associated Press*, June 17, 2004. Two attacks killing 41 people and wounding 142. Christopher Torchia, "Iraqi Deputy Minister Wounded in Suicide Car Bomb Outside His Home," *Associated Press*, May 22, 2004. Edward Cody, "100 Iraqis Killed in Wave of Attacks," *Washington Post*, June 25, 2004. Five car bombs killed 62 people and wounded more than 220. Jim Krane, "Insurgents Launch Fresh Attacks in Baqouba," *Associated Press*, June 26, 2004. One person killed and 18 injured.

Doug Struck, "Suicide Bomn at Funeral Kills 14, "Washington Post, July 7, 2004. Suicide bomb killed 14 people and wounded 70. Sameer N. Yacoub, "Car Bomb Rocks Baghdad Killing at Least 10, Injuring 40 as Philippines Withdraws Troops," Associated Press, July 14, 2004. "Bomb Kills at Least 10 in Second Day of Violence in Iraq," Associated Press, July 15, 2004. 10 dead and 27 wounded. Danika Kirka, "Car Bomb Targets Iraqi Justice Minister in Baghdad," Associated Press, July 17, 2004. 2 bombings, which killed a total of 6 people and wounded 47. "Car Bombing Kills at Least Three People in Baghdad," Associated Press, July 21, 2004. Three killed. Ravi Nessman, "Nine Killed in Truck Bomb Blast in Southwest Baghdad," Associated Press, July 19, 2004. 9 killed and 40 wounded. Paul Garwood, "Suicide Bomber Explodes truck at U.S. Base in Northern Iraq." Associated Press, July 26, 2004. Paul Garwood, "Suicide Bombing Outside Iraqi Police Station Kills 68," Associated Press, July 28, 2004. 68 killed and 56 wounded.

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Erik Eckholm, "Suicide Blast Kills 17 in Worst of Several Attacks in Iraq," New York Times, September 5, 2004. 17 people killed (14 policemen and 3 civilians). Sabrina Tavernise, "7 U.S. Marines and 3 Iraqis are Killed in a Car Bomb Attack Outside Falluja," New York Times, September 7, 2004. 10 people killed. Edward Wong, "Bombing Kills 47 at Police Station in Iraqi Capital.," New York Times, September 15, 2004. 47 Killed and 114 wounded. "Suicide Bomb Blasts Rock Baghdad," BBC News, September 17, 2004. 13 killed and 20 wounded. Edward Wong, "Bombs Kill 19 in Kirkuk and 2 Soldiers in Baghdad," New York Times, September 19, 2004. Two suicide car bombs killed 21 people and wounded 75. Alexandra Zavis, "Video Shows Kurdish Hostages Beheaded," Associated Press, September 20, 2004. Three people killed. Bassem Mroue, "Suicide Attacker Detonates Car Bomb in Central Baghdad, Killing 6," Associated Press, September 22, 2004. 6 people killed and 54 wounded. Kim Housego, "Insurgents Press Offensive to Subdue Iraqi Security forces with Car Bombings, Rocket Salvo," September 27, 2004. One car bomb killed 4 Iraqi national Guard men and wounded 3. A suicide bomber killed 3 Iraqi National Guard men and wounded at least three people. Alexandraq Zavis, "Baghdad Bombing Kills 35 Children; New Hostages Seized," Associated Press, September 30, 2004. 3 car bombs killed 42 people and wounded 14. 1 car bomb killed 4 and wounded 16. 1 suicide bomber killed 3.

¹⁷ The ranges are author's estimate or based on numbers provided in the following articles; Neil MacFarquhar, "Open War Over, Iraqis Focus on Crime and a Hunt for Jobs," *New York Times*, September 16, 2003, Lara Marlowe "Unspeakable Savagery on the Streets of Baghdad, *Irish Times*, October 10, 2003, and Jeffrey Fleishman, "Back Into Baghdad's Streets," *Los Angeles Times*, January 22, 2004.

The MacFarquar article is the source for the May, June, July, and August, 2003 estimate The Marlowe article is the source for the September, 2003 number as well as the June and July, 2003 bounds estimate. "Almost all" of the 2,173 deaths by firearms in Baghdad in 2003 occurred between May and the end of September, 2003. Having no data for October, we constructed an estimate for this month range by taking the average of the September and November numbers. Data for January – September 2004 are author's estimate as based on reports of number of gunshot wounds in the Baghdad morgue as quoted in "Alex Berenson. "Killings Surge, and Doctors See a Procession of Misery," New york Times, September 26, 2004. Nearly all of these gunshot wounds were a result of homicide. Because the murder rate rose during the summer, we have estimated that the numbers for August and September are higher than the previous months. We intend to update these entries as soon as more information becomes available. Washington DC rate from "Detroit murders drop to lowest number in 36 years," *Associated Press State and Local Wire*, January 3, 2004.

¹⁸ Mark Hurtling, et al. "On the Ground, Straight From the Top," Washington Post, December 7, 2003.

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