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Iraq Index *Tracking Variables of* *Reconstruction & Security in Post-Saddam Iraq*

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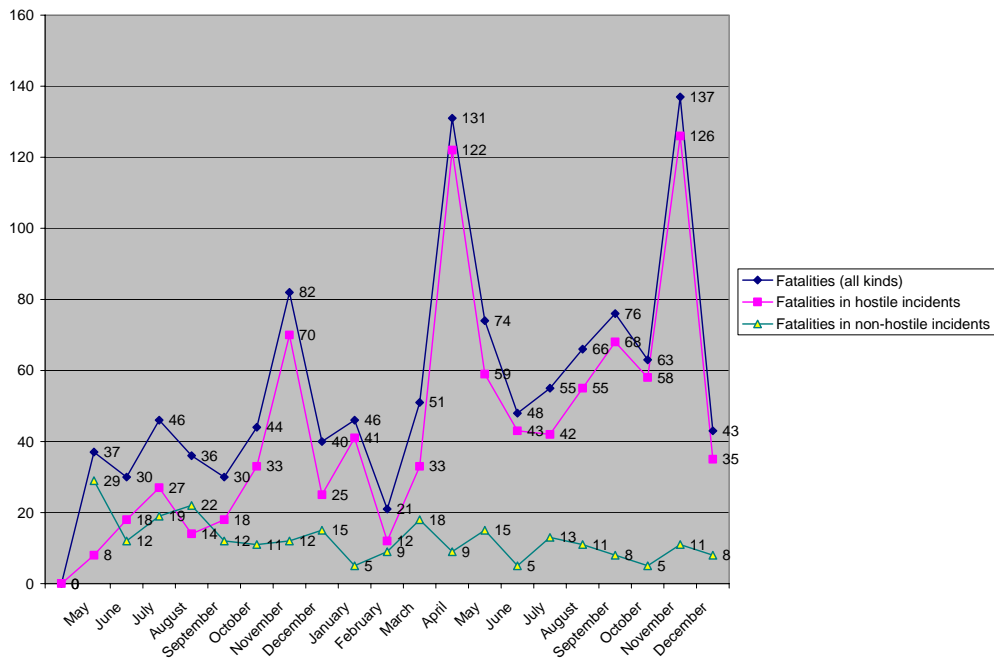
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SECURITY INDICATORS

U.S. TROOPS FATALITIES SINCE MAY 1, 2003¹



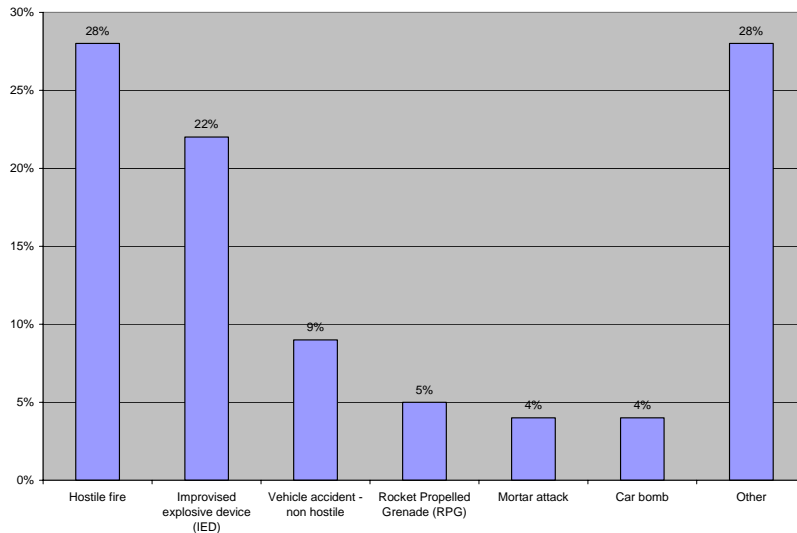
Total through December 14, 2004:

Fatalities (all kinds): **1,156**

Fatalities in hostile incidents: **907**

Fatalities in non-hostile incidents: **249**

MOST FREQUENT CAUSES OF U.S. MILITARY FATALITIES IN IRAQ SINCE MAY 1, 2003²



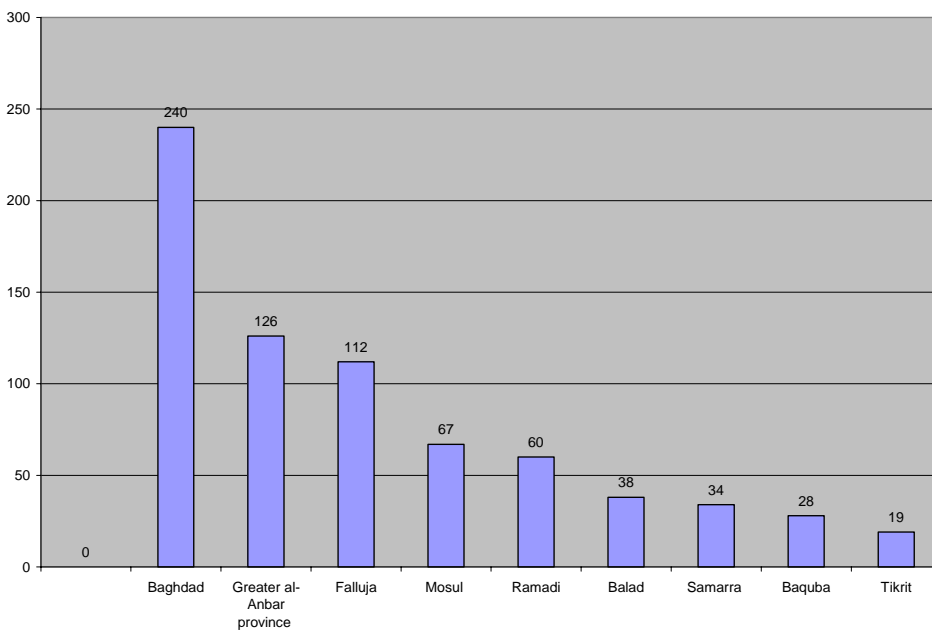
Through December 5, 2004

NOTE ON U.S. TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MAY TABLE: The daily Department of Defense casualty reports that we use for our monthly estimates on U.S troops killed doesn't make entirely clear when in a 24 hour period casualties were incurred. Since the reports are published 10AM daily, there is the possibility our numbers for each month are slightly off due to uncertainties about when casualties occurred on the first and last of each month. We have chosen to interpret the numbers in the casualty report as representing fatalities that occurred throughout the previous day.

NOTE ON U.S. TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MAY TABLE: At least 170 of the 923 American military killed as of October 6., 2004 were in the reserve component (National Guard and Army, Marine, Navy, and Air force reserves.)

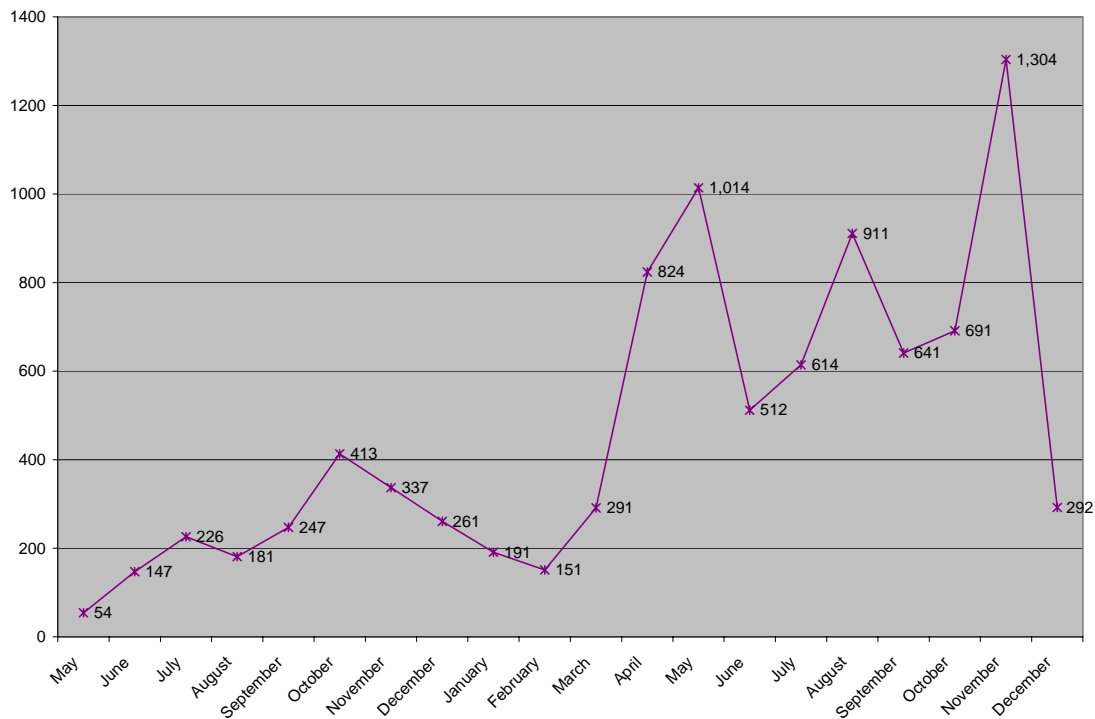
NOTE ON U.S. TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MAY TABLE: From the start of the war on March 19 until the end of major combat operations on April 30, 2003, Operation Iraqi Freedom caused 138 American troop fatalities. Of those, 109 were the result of hostile action, and 29 the result of non-hostile action. 65 U.S. 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



Through December 5, 2004: 741

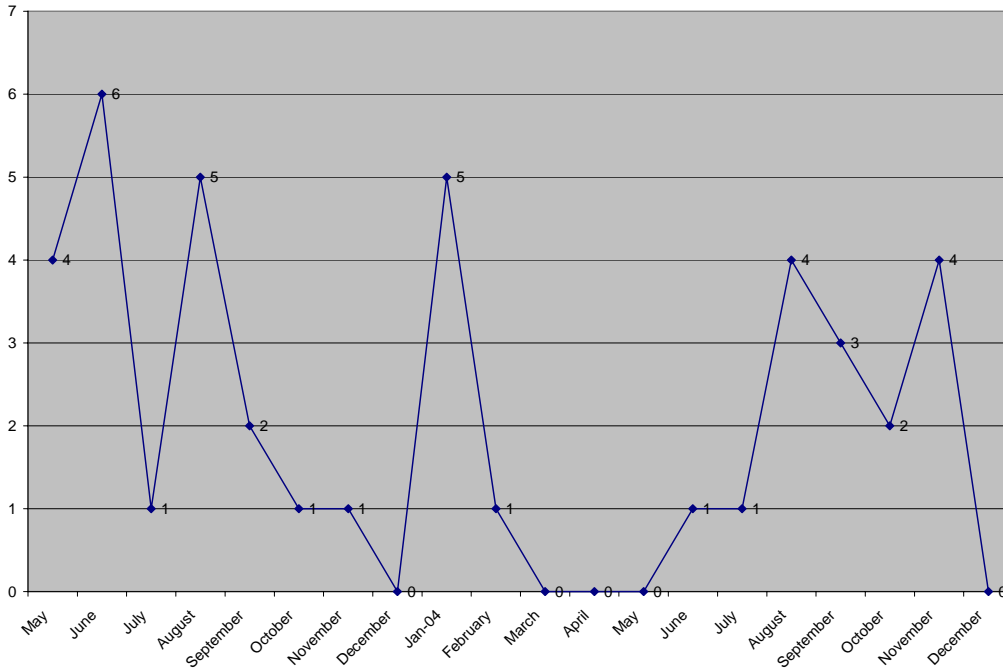
U.S. TROOPS WOUNDED IN ACTION SINCE MAY, 2003⁴



Total through December 14, 2004: 9,302

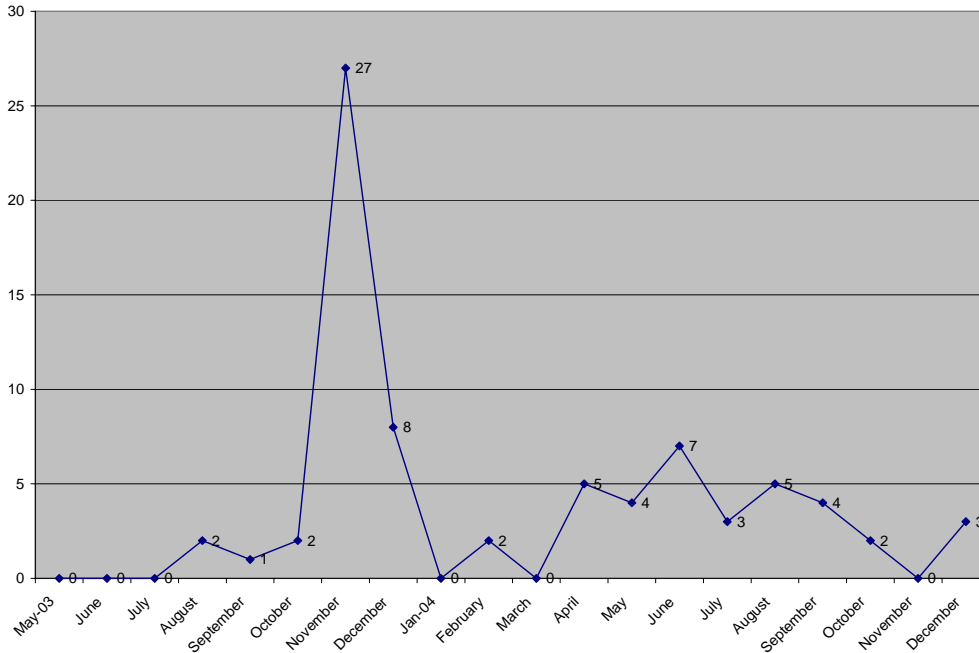
NOTE ON U.S TROOPS WOUNDED IN ACTION SINCE MAY 1, 2003 TABLE: 541 American troops were wounded in action between March 19 and April 30, 2003.

BRITISH TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MAY, 2003⁵



Total through December 14: 41

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

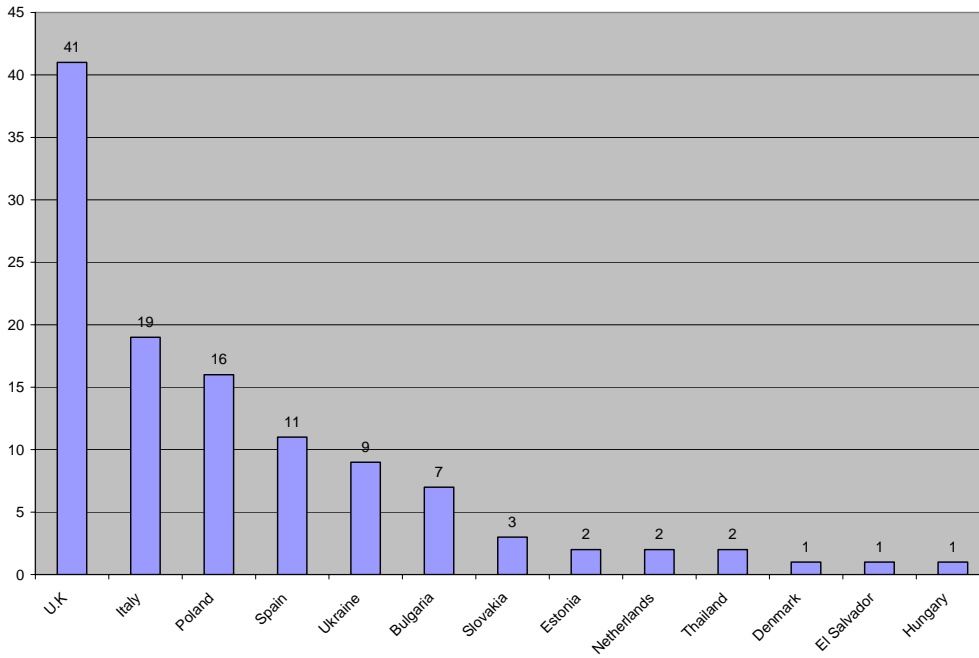


Total through December 14, 2004: 75

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 through December 14, 2004: 113

IRAQI POLICE KILLED

| |
|---|
| <p>Estimated number of Iraqi police killed January 1, 2004 - September 28, 2004</p> |
| <p>750⁸</p> |

IRAQI SECURITY FORCES RECRUITS KILLED

| | |
|---|---------------------------|
| <p>Estimated number of Iraqi security recruits killed</p> | |
| <p>May 1, 2003 -September 23, 2004</p> | <p>721⁹</p> |
| <p>September 24-October 26, 2004</p> | <p>779</p> |
| <p>Total as of October 26, 2004</p> | <p>1,500¹⁰</p> |

IRAQI INTERPRETERS WORKING FOR COALITION FORCES KILLED

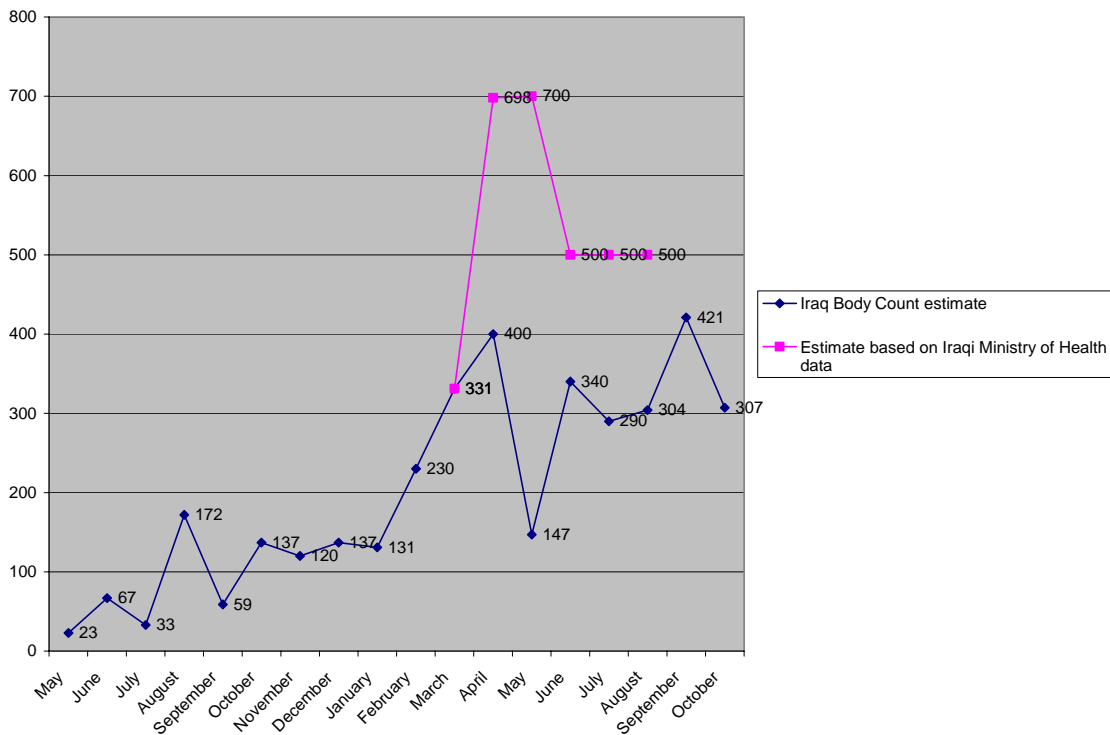
| |
|---|
| <p>Total number of Iraqi interpreters killed January, 2004 - September 18, 2004</p> |
| <p>52¹¹</p> |

ESTIMATES OF IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED SINCE THE START OF THE WAR

| | |
|--|--|
| Iraq Index (assume 7,350 Iraqi civilians killed from start of the war until May 1, 2003 as reported by Iraq Body Count) | Not including deaths from crime as of October 31: 11,000-12,400 |
| Iraq Body Count | Including deaths from crime as of October 31: 22,700-38,500 |
| Statement by British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw | 14,600 - 17,000 as of December 4, 2004 ¹² |
| Shaik Omar Clinic, Baghdad | >10,000 as of February 2004 ¹³ |
| Amnesty International (London) | 10,363 as of September 8, 2004 ¹⁴ (in Baghdad and surrounding towns alone) |
| The Human Rights Organization, Iraq | >10,000 as of September 8, 2004 ¹⁵ >30,000 ¹⁶ |

IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED AS A RESULT OF ACTS OF WAR SINCE MAY 2003¹⁷

Total as of October 31: 3,649 – 5,066



NOTE ON IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED AS A RESULT OF ACTS OF WAR TABLE: Fatalities from mass casualty bombings are included in the estimate of Iraqi civilian killed. Insurgent casualties, to the extent that we can tell who is who, are not included in this tally.

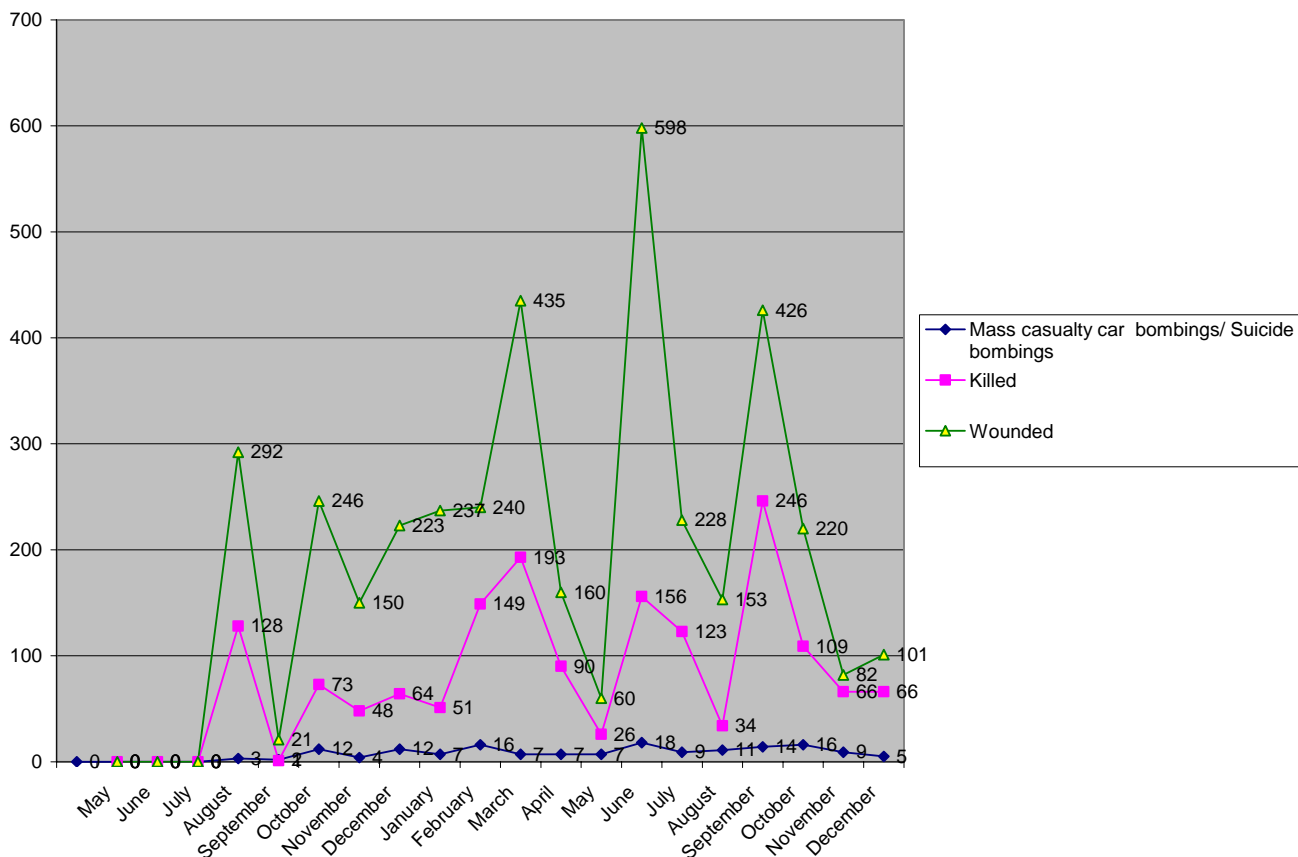
NOTE ON IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED AS A RESULT OF ACTS OF WAR TABLE: As of October, 2004, the Iraqi Ministry of Health will not be releasing numbers of civilians killed. This will be done by the Secretariat of the Council of Ministers only. Norimitsu Onishi, "How Many Iraqis are dying?" New York Times, October 19, 2004.

NOTE ON IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED AS A RESULT OF ACTS OF WAR TABLE: Iraq Body Count estimate that 7,350 Iraqi civilians were killed 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 Morgue Records," *Associated Press*, May 18, 2004.

MASS CASUALTY BOMBINGS IN IRAQ SINCE MAY, 2003¹⁸



Total as of December 15, 2004:

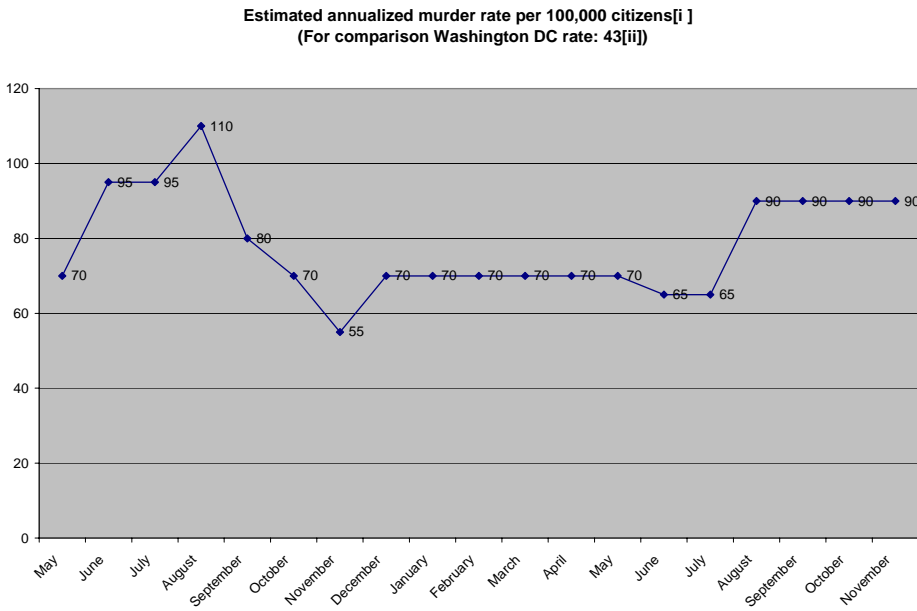
Mass casualty bombings: 159

Killed: 1,623

Wounded: 3,872

NOTE: At least 97 of the 158 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. 59 car bombs exploded in September, 2004, according to Steve Fainaru, "U.S. Frees Fallujah Negotiator," *Washington Post*, October 19, 2004. This higher number includes all car bombs, both those that killed more than 2 people, and those that did not. Another estimate that includes both lethal and non-lethal bombs was made by the Iraqi interior minister. He said that 18 car bombs killed 126 people in June, 34 car bombs in August killed 245 people, 20 car bombs killed 28 in August, and 20 car bombs killed 168 people in September, 2004. "Iraqi Official Car Bombings killed 569 over 4 Months," *USA Today*, October 27, 2004.

CRIME-RELATED DEATHS IN BAGHDAD SINCE MAY, 2003¹⁹



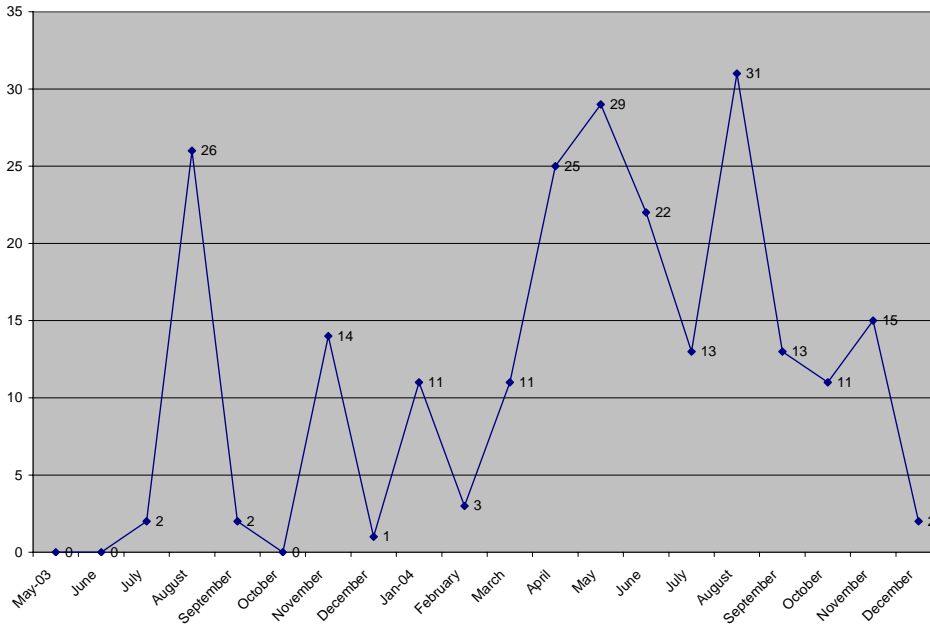
NOTE: Estimates for each month are typically based on the number of bodies brought to the Baghdad morgue with mortal gunshot wounds. We recognize that our estimates could be too high as a result of some of the gunshot victims could be insurgents killed intentionally by U.S. military, but also that they could be too low since many murder victims are never 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: 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.

TOTAL IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED AS A RESULT OF VIOLENCE FROM WAR AND VIOLENCE FROM CRIME²⁰

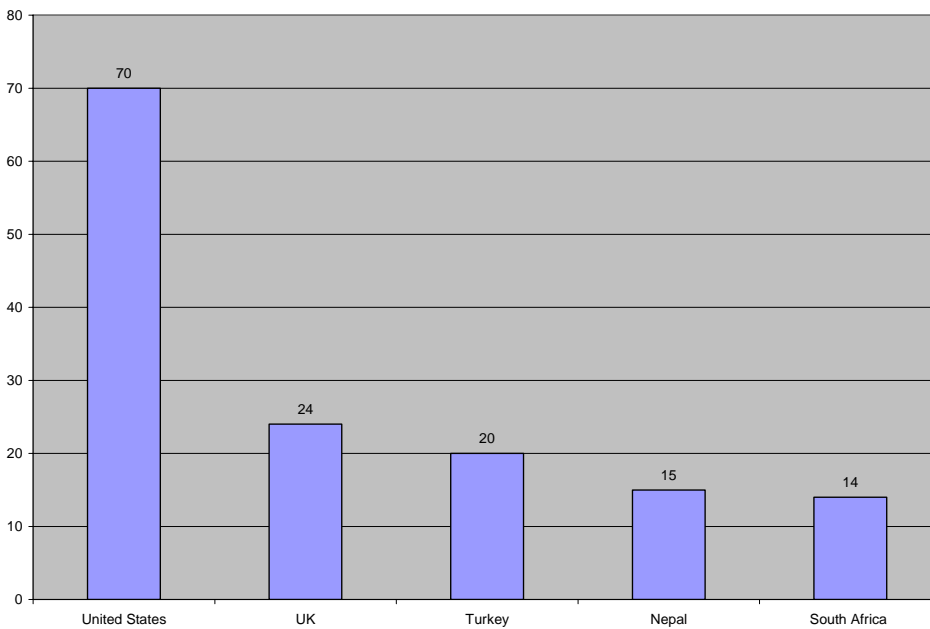
| | |
|---|----------------------|
| Number of Iraqi civilians killed as a result of violence from war and violence from crime between May, 2003 and October 30, 2004 | 15,400-31,300 |
|---|----------------------|

NON-IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED SINCE MAY, 2003²¹



Total through December 14, 2004: 231

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



Through December 14, 2004

NOTE ON TOTAL IRAQI CIVILIANS CASUALTIES AS A RESULT OF VIOLENCE FROM WAR AND VIOLENCE FROM CRIME: 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 September 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.

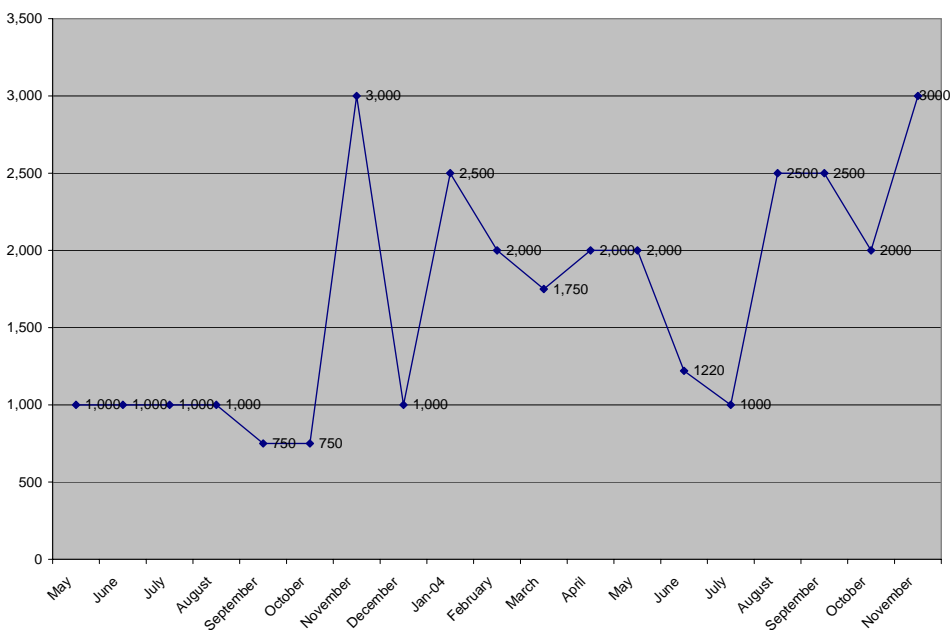
NOTE ON NON-IRAQI CIVILIAN CASUALTIES TABLE: According to numbers provided by the U.S. Labor Department, private contractors filed claims for 157 civilians contractor deaths and 516 serious injuries in 2004. Of these, nearly 60 percent worked for Halliburton CO. and Titan. In 2003, claims were made for 23 deaths and 132 serious injuries. Approximately 60,000 American civilians are working with U.S. troops in Iraq. Tony Capaccio, "Pentagon's Reliance on Civilians Surges, Death Claims Show," *Bloomberg.com*, November 19, 2004.

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.

FOREIGN NATIONALS KIDNAPPED IN IRAQ SINCE MAY 2003

| Month | Number of foreigners kidnapped | Status |
|--|--------------------------------|---|
| Date of capture unknown | 14 ²³ | 11 unknown, 3 killed |
| May 2003 - October 2003 | 0 | |
| November | 1 ²⁴ | 1 released |
| December 2003 -March 2004 | 0 | |
| April | 43 ²⁵ | 3 killed, 30 released, 2 still held, 1 escaped, 7 status unknown |
| May | 2 ²⁶ | 1 killed, 1 still held |
| June | 3 ²⁷ | 2 killed, 1 escaped |
| July | 26 ²⁸ | 3 killed, 13 released, 6 still held, 1 rescued, 1 escaped, 2 unknown |
| August | 29 ²⁹ | 15 killed, 13 released, 1 still held |
| September | 31 ³⁰ | 4 killed, 4 released, 22 still held, 1 rescued |
| October | 8 ³¹ | 3 killed, 2 released, 1 still held |
| November | 3 ³² | 1 killed, 2 still held |
| December | 0 | |
| Total through December 14, 2004 | 159 | 33 killed, 65 released, 37 still held, 3 escaped, 2 rescued, 20 status unknown |

TOTAL NUMBER OF INSURGENTS DETAINED OR KILLED³³



NOTE ON TOTAL NUMBER OF 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 only, since we have no data on how many insurgents were killed during those months.

IRAQI PRISON POPULATION ³⁴

| | |
|--|--|
| Peak prison population in 2003 | 10,000 |
| Prison population in July, 2004 | 5,700 ³⁵ (of which 90 are foreign nationals) |
| Prison population as of September 7, 2004 | 5,500 ³⁶ (whereof 2 are women, 65-70 are juveniles and 130-140 are foreign nationals) |
| Prison population as of early October 2004 | 4,300 ³⁷ |
| Prison population as of November 29, 2004 | 8,300 ³⁸ |

ESTIMATED STRENGTH OF IRAQI RESISTANCE NATIONWIDE

| Month | Estimated strength of Iraqi resistance nationwide |
|--------------|---|
| November | 5,000 ³⁹ |
| December | 5,000 ⁴⁰ |
| January 2004 | 3,000-5,000 ⁴¹ |
| February | N/A |
| March | N/A |
| April | 5,000 ⁴² |
| May | N/A |
| June | N/A |
| July | 20,000 ⁴³ |
| August | 20,000 |
| September | 20,000 ⁴⁴ |
| October | 20,000 |
| November | 20,000 ⁴⁵ |
| December | “more than 20,000” ⁴⁶ |

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF FOREIGN FIGHTERS

| | |
|----------------|--------------------------------|
| January 2004 | 300-500 ⁴⁷ |
| July 2004 | “Low hundreds” ⁴⁸ |
| September 2004 | “Less than 1000” ⁴⁹ |
| November 2004 | 3,000 ⁵⁰ |

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 Coalition 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: 200 insurgents are estimated to be loyal to Abu Musab Zarqawi as of July 7, 2004

COALITION TROOP STRENGTH IN IRAQ SINCE MAY

| Month | U.S. troops in Iraq | | | Other coalition troops in Iraq (excluding U.S. & Iraqi forces) | Total international troop strength in Iraq |
|-----------|------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|--|--|
| | Active | Reserve (includes National Guard) | Total | | |
| May | ~142,000 ⁵¹ | ~8,000 ⁵² | 150,000 ⁵³ | 23,000 ⁵⁴ | 173,000 |
| June | ~126,000 ⁵⁵ | ~24,000 ⁵⁶ | 150,000 ⁵⁷ | 21,000 ⁵⁸ | 171,000 |
| July | ~124,000 ⁵⁹ | ~25,000 ⁶⁰ | 149,000 ⁶¹ | 21,000 ⁶² | 170,000 |
| August | ~114,000 ⁶³ | ~25,000 ⁶⁴ | 139,000 ⁶⁵ | 22,000 ⁶⁶ | 161,000 |
| September | ~103,000 ⁶⁷ | ~29,000 ⁶⁸ | 132,000 ⁶⁹ | 24,000 ⁷⁰ | 156,000 |
| October | ~102,000 ⁷¹ | ~29,000 ⁷² | 131,000 ⁷³ | 25,000 ⁷⁴ | 156,000 |
| November | N/A | N/A | 123,000 ⁷⁵ | 23,900 ⁷⁶ | 146,900 |
| December | ~85,400 ⁷⁷ | ~36,600 ⁷⁸ | 122,000 ⁷⁹ | 24,500 ⁸⁰ | 146,500 |
| January | N/A | N/A | 122,000 ⁸¹ | 25,600 ⁸² | 147,600 |
| February | N/A | N/A | 115,000 ⁸³ | 24,000 ⁸⁴ | 139,000 |
| March | N/A | N/A | 130,000 ⁸⁵ | 24,000 ⁸⁶ | 154,000 |
| April | N/A | N/A | 137,000 ⁸⁷ | 25,000 ⁸⁸ | 162,000 |
| May | N/A | N/A | 138,000 ⁸⁹ | 24,000 ⁹⁰ | 162,000 |
| June | 89,700 | 48,300 ⁹¹ | 138,000 ⁹² | 23,000 ⁹³ | 161,000 |
| July | N/A | N/A | 140,000 ⁹⁴ | 22,000 ⁹⁵ | 162,000 |
| August | 84,000 | 56,000 ⁹⁶ | 140,000 ⁹⁷ | 23,700 ⁹⁸ | 163,700 |
| September | 82,800 | 55,200 ⁹⁹ | 138,000 ¹⁰⁰ | 24,600 ¹⁰¹ | 162,600 |
| October | 82,800 | 55,200 ¹⁰² | 138,000 ¹⁰³ | 24,000 ¹⁰⁴ | 162,000 |
| November | 82,800 | 55,200 | 138,000 ¹⁰⁵ | 24,000 ¹⁰⁶ | 162,000 |
| December | 82,800 ¹⁰⁷ | 55,200 ¹⁰⁸ | 138,000 ¹⁰⁹ | 24,000 ¹¹⁰ | 162,000 |

N/A= Not available

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

6/18/2004

| Month | Number of U.S. troops |
|----------------|-----------------------|
| September 2003 | 51,000 ¹¹¹ |
| December 2003 | 45,000 ¹¹² |

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 VICINITY 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 VICINITY 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

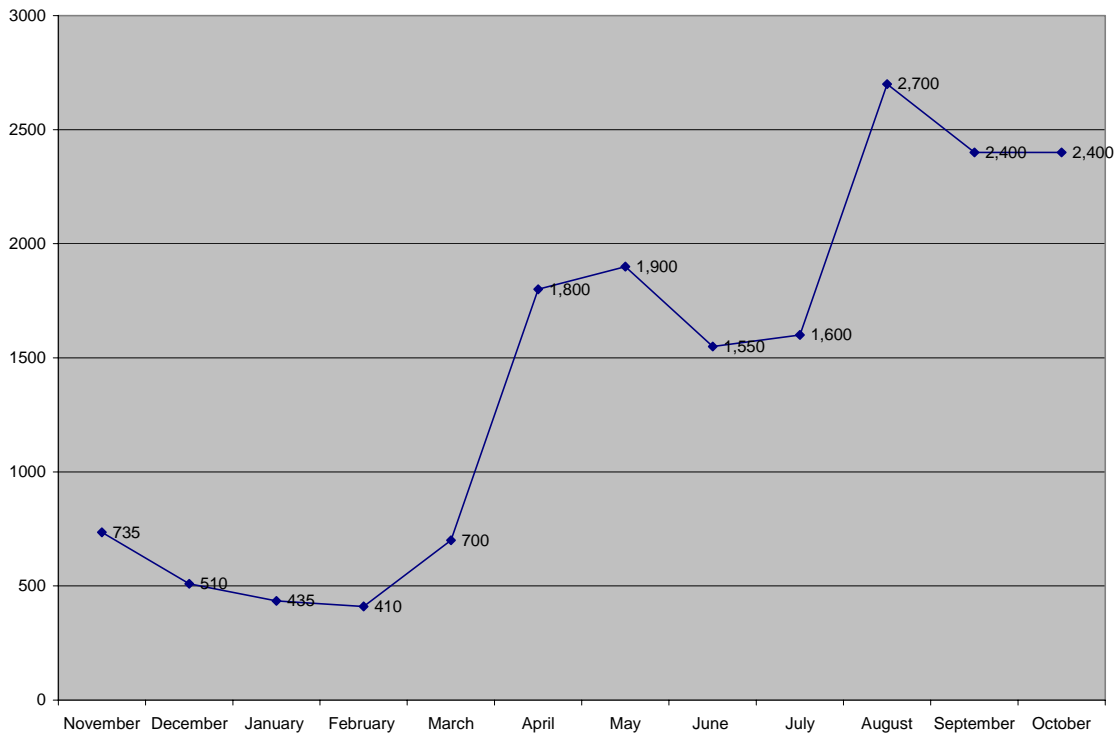
| Coalition country | Military personnel in Iraq |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| United Kingdom | 9,000 ¹¹³ |
| South Korea | 3,600 ¹¹⁴ |
| Italy | 3,000 ¹¹⁵ |
| Poland | 2,400 ¹¹⁶ |
| Ukraine | 1,600 ¹¹⁷ |
| Netherlands | 1,300 ¹¹⁸ (Nov. 12) |
| Australia | 900 ¹¹⁹ |
| Romania | 700 ¹²⁰ |
| Japan | 600 ¹²¹ |
| Denmark | 525 ¹²² (Nov. 25) |
| Remaining 21 coalition countries | 3,375 |

As of December, 2004.

“HIGH-VALUE” INTELLIGENCE REPORTS¹²³

| Increase in number of “high-value” intelligence reports drawn from interrogations | September 2004 compared to January 2004 |
|---|---|
| | 50% |

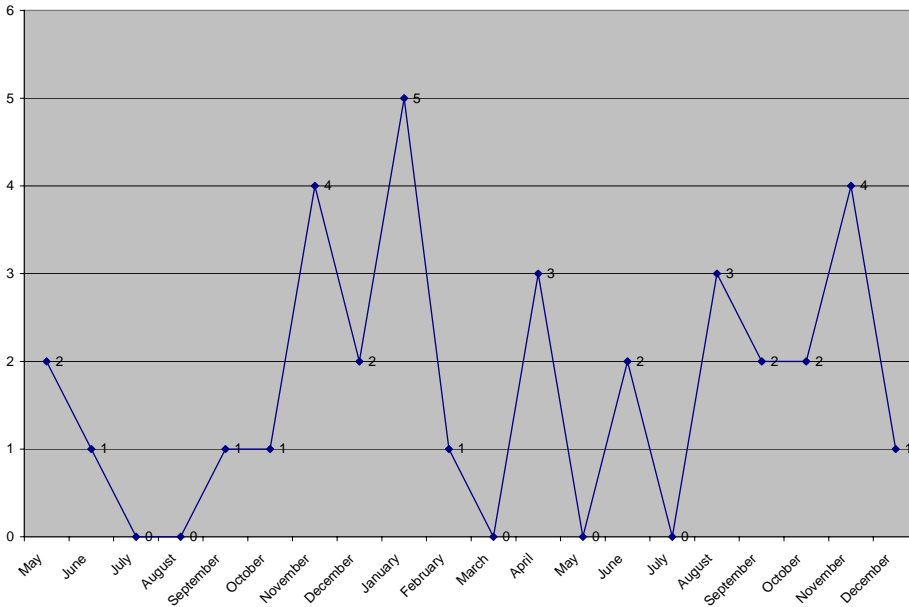
INSURGENT ATTACKS ON COALITION FORCES¹²⁴



NOTE ON TOP TEN NON-U.S. COALITION CONTRIBUTORS OF MILITARY PERSONNEL IN IRAQ TABLE: In addition to the United States, 31 countries have forces in Iraq as of December 8, 2004: Albania, Armenia, Australia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Denmark, El Salvador, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, South Korea, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Mongolia, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Singapore, Slovakia, Thailand, Tonga, Ukraine, and the United Kingdom. “Iraq Weekly Status Report,” Department of States, December 8, 2004.

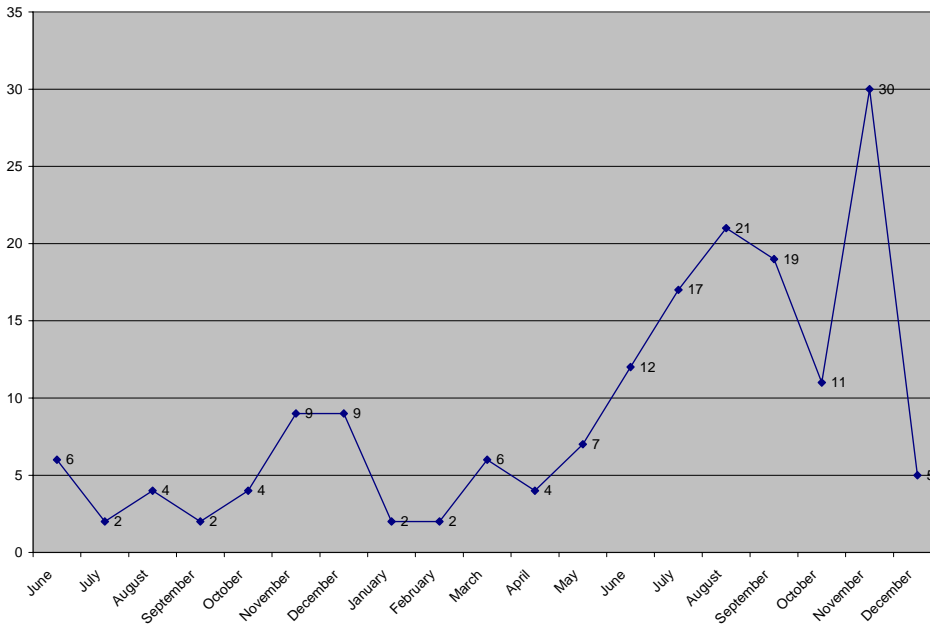
NOTE ON INSURGENT ATTACKS ON COALITION FORCES: American officers say that Iraqis are paid between \$20-\$200 to stage ambushes and plant explosives, that are then detonated by “part-time triggermen,” many of which are also paid. John F. Burns, “After Falluja, U.S. Troops Fight a New Battle Just as Important, and Just as Tough,” *New York Times*, November 28, 2004.

AMERICAN MILITARY HELICOPTERS DOWNED IN IRAQ¹²⁵



Total through December 14: 34

ATTACKS ON IRAQI OIL AND GAS PIPELINES, INSTALLATIONS & PERSONNEL¹²⁶



Total through December 13, 2004: 172

NOTE ON AMERICAN MILITARY HELICOPTERS DOWNED IN IRAQ TABLE: Of the 33 helicopters downed in Iraq since May 2003, at least 20 were downed by enemy fire.

BAATHIST LEADERS STILL AT LARGE SINCE APRIL

| Month | Iraqi 55 most wanted: Individuals still at large ¹²⁷ |
|-----------|---|
| April | 40 |
| May | 28 |
| June | 23 |
| July | 18 |
| August | 16 |
| September | 15 |
| October | 15 |
| November | 15 |
| December | 13 ¹²⁸ |
| January | 12 ¹²⁹ |
| February | 10 ¹³⁰ |
| March | 9 ¹³¹ |
| April | 9 |
| May | 9 |
| June | 9 |
| July | 9 |
| August | 9 |
| September | 8 ¹³² |
| October | 8 |
| November | 8 |
| December | 8 |

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 IRAQI SECURITY FORCES ON DUTY

| Month | Iraqi security forces | | | | | |
|-------------|--|---|---|---|---|--|
| | General police capabilities | National Guard (Former Civil Defense Corps) | Iraqi armed Forces | Border patrol | Total Iraqi security forces with combat capacity | Facilities protection services |
| May | 7,000-9,000 ¹³³ | N/A | 0 | N/A | 7,000-9,000 | N/A |
| June | N/A | N/A | 0 | N/A | N/A | N/A |
| July | 30,000 ¹³⁴ | N/A | 0 | N/A | 30,000 | 11,000 ¹³⁵ |
| August | 34,000 ¹³⁶ | 670 ¹³⁷ | 0 | 2,500 ¹ | 37,170 | N/A |
| September | 37,000 ¹³⁸ | 2,500 ¹³⁹ | 0 | 4,700 ¹ | 44,200 | >12,000 ¹⁴⁰ |
| October | 55,000 ¹⁴¹ | 4,700 ¹⁴² | 700 ¹⁴³ | 6,400 ¹ | 66,800 | 18,700 ¹⁴⁴ |
| November | 68,800 ¹⁴⁵ | 12,700 ¹⁴⁶ | 900 ¹⁴⁷ | 12,400 ¹ | 94,800 | 52,700 ¹⁴⁸ |
| December | 71,600 ¹⁴⁹ | 15,200 ¹⁵⁰ | 400 ¹⁵¹ | 12,900 ¹ | 99,600 | 65,200 ¹⁵² |
| January | 66,900 ¹⁵³ | 19,800 ¹⁵⁴ | 1,100 ¹⁵⁵ | 21,000 ¹ | 108,800 | 97,800 ¹⁵⁶ |
| February | 77,100 ¹⁵⁷ | 27,900 ¹⁵⁸ | 2,000 ¹⁵⁹ | 18,000 ¹ | 125,000 | 73,900 ¹⁶⁰ |
| March | 75,000 ¹⁶¹ 22% partially or fully trained | 33,560 ¹⁶² 100% partially or fully trained | 3,005 ¹⁶³ 100% partially or fully trained | 23,426 ¹ 39% partially or fully trained | 134,991 65% partially or fully trained | 73,992 ¹⁶⁴ 100% partially or fully trained |
| April | 80,016 ¹⁶⁵ 22% partially or fully trained | 23,123 ¹⁶⁶ partially or fully trained | 2,367 ¹⁶⁷ partially or fully trained | 18,747 ¹ 49% partially or fully trained | 124,253 68% partially or fully trained | 73,992 ¹⁶⁸ partially or fully trained |
| May | 90,803 ¹⁶⁹ 28% partially or fully trained | 24,873 ¹⁷⁰ partially or fully trained | 3,939 ¹⁷¹ partially or fully trained | 16,097 ¹ 57% partially or fully trained | 135,712 71% partially or fully trained | 73,992 ¹⁷² partially or fully trained |
| June | 83,789 ¹⁷³ 32% partially or fully trained | 36,229 ¹⁷⁴ partially or fully trained | 7,116 ¹⁷⁵ partially or fully trained | 18,183 ¹ partially or fully trained | 145,317 83% partially or fully trained | 73,992 ¹⁷⁶ partially or fully trained |
| July | 31,300 ¹⁷⁷ partially or fully trained | 36,229 ¹⁷⁸ partially or fully trained | 7,700 ¹⁷⁹ partially or fully trained | 19,859 ¹ partially or fully trained | 95,088 partially or fully trained | 73,992 ¹⁸⁰ partially or fully trained |
| August | 32,942 ¹⁸¹ partially or fully trained | 37,925 ¹⁸² partially or fully trained | 6,288 ¹⁸³ partially or fully trained | 14,313 ¹⁸⁴ partially or fully trained | 91,468 partially or fully trained | 73,992 |
| September | 40,152 ¹⁸⁵ partially or fully trained | 36,496 ¹⁸⁶ partially or fully trained | 7,747 ¹⁸⁷ partially or fully trained | 14,313 ¹⁸⁸ partially or fully trained | 98,708 partially or fully trained | 74,000 ¹⁸⁹ |
| October | 44,728 ¹⁹⁰ partially or fully trained | 41,261 ¹⁹¹ partially or fully trained | 6,861 ¹⁹² partially or fully trained | 18,148 ¹⁹³ partially or fully trained | 110,998 partially or fully trained | N/A |
| November | 49,455 ¹⁹⁴ partially or fully trained | 43,445 ¹⁹⁵ partially or fully trained | 6,013 ¹⁹⁶ partially or fully trained | 14,593 ¹⁹⁷ partially or fully trained | 113,506 ¹⁹⁸ partially or fully trained | N/A |
| Stated goal | 142,190 ¹⁹⁹ (revised up from 89,369 in June 2004) ²⁰⁰ | 61,904 ²⁰¹ (Revised up from 41,088 ²⁰² in June 2004) | 36,635 ²⁰³ (Revised up from 35,000 ²⁰⁴ in June 2004) | 29,360 ²⁰⁵ | 272,566 ²⁰⁶ (145,000 by January 2005 ²⁰⁷) | 73,992 ²⁰⁸ |

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: Starting in August 2004, the Police, Civil Intervention Force, Emergency Response Unit, Highway Patrol and Bureau of Dignitary Protection are included in the "General Police Capabilities" category. The Army, Intervention Force, the Special Operations Force, Iraqi Air Force and Coastal Defense Force are included in the "Iraqi Armed Forces" category."

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 the Department of Defense.

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.

IRAQI POLICE EQUIPMENT²⁰⁹

| Iraqi police component | Status of equipment available as of September 13, 2004 | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|--|----------|----------|----------|----------------|----------|------------|----------|
| | Weapons | | Vehicles | | Communications | | Body armor | |
| | On hand | Required | On hand | Required | On hand | Required | On hand | Required |
| Iraqi police service | 93,093 | 213,185 | 5,923 | 22,395 | 13,245 | 67,565 | 42,941 | 135,000 |
| Civil Intervention Force | 0 | 11,490 | 0 | 1,002 | 0 | 10,240 | 0 | 4,800 |
| Emergency Response Unit | 500 | 1,020 | 0 | 58 | 300 | 352 | 270 | 270 |
| Total as percentage of requirement | 41% | | 25% | | 17% | | 31% | |

BORDER PATROL EQUIPMENT²¹⁰

| Department of Border Enforcement | Status of equipment available as of September 13, 2004 | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|--|----------|----------|----------|----------------|----------|------------|----------|
| | Weapons | | Vehicles | | Communications | | Body armor | |
| | On hand | Required | On hand | Required | On hand | Required | On hand | Required |
| | 16,442 | 42,601 | 1,798 | 8,271 | 1,627 | 8,271 | 4,000 | 28,626 |
| Total as percentage of requirement | 39% | | 22% | | 20% | | 14% | |

NOTE: The discrepancy between equipment needed and equipment on hand might not be as severe as these numbers suggest, considering that equipment requirements are based on numbers of security personnel needed, and not the number of security personnel currently serving.

ECONOMIC & QUALITY OF LIFE INDICATORS

IRAQI NATIONAL DEBT: CREDITORS AS OF NOVEMBER 2003

| Creditor country/ creditor by country of origin and interest | Outstanding amounts due by Iraq (millions of dollars) |
|---|--|
| <i>Australia</i> | 499.3 ²¹¹ |
| <i>Austria</i> | 813.1 ²¹² |
| <i>Belgium</i> | 184.5 ²¹³ |
| <i>Brazil</i> | 192.9 ²¹⁴ |
| <i>Canada</i> | 564.2 ²¹⁵ |
| <i>Denmark</i> | 30.8 ²¹⁶ |
| <i>Finland</i> | 152.2 ²¹⁷ |
| <i>France</i> | 2,993.7 ²¹⁸ |
| <i>Germany</i> | 2,403.9 ²¹⁹ |
| <i>Italy</i> | 1,726 ²²⁰ |
| <i>Japan</i> | 4,108.6 ²²¹ |
| <i>Netherlands</i> | 96.7 ²²² |
| Republic of Korea | 54.7 ²²³ |
| Russian Federation | 3,450 ²²⁴ |
| <i>Spain</i> | 321.2 ²²⁵ |
| <i>Sweden</i> | 185.8 ²²⁶ |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | 117.5 ²²⁷ |
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 930.8 ²²⁸ |
| <i>United States</i> | 2,192 ²²⁹ |
| Egypt and others | N/A |
| Poland | 500 ²³⁰ |
| Kuwait | 17,000 ²³¹ |
| Bulgaria | 1,000 ²³² |
| Hungary | 16.5 ²³³ |
| Gulf States | 30,000 ²³⁴ |
| Morocco | 31.8 ²³⁵ |
| Jordan | 295 ²³⁶ |
| Turkey | 800 ²³⁷ |
| Interest (as of 2002) | 47,000 ²³⁸ |
| Total | ~117,660 |

N/A= Not available.

NOTE: Paris Club members (marked as cursive in the table) reached an agreement on November 21 to forgive 80% of Iraq's debt. 30% of the debt will be written off immediately, followed by another 30% when the International Monetary Fund approves an economic reform program for Iraq in 2005. A final 20% will be written off in 2008 pending Iraqi compliance with the IMP program. The remaining debt will be repaid to Paris Club members over a 23 year period. Craig S Smith, "Major Creditors in Accord to Waive 80% of Iraq Debt," *New York Times*, November 22, 2004.

NOTE: Debt towards Paris Club countries (cursive), Russia and the Republic of Korea 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 after a simulation of the adjustment on Soviet era claims consistent with Paris Club methodology." News: Iraq," *Club de Paris/Paris Club*, July 10, 2003

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." "News: Iraq," *Club de Paris/Paris Club*, July 10, 2003.

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. ""News: Iraq," *Club de Paris/Paris Club*, July 10, 2003.

PLEDGES MADE AT THE INTERNATIONAL DONOR'S CONFERENCE FOR IRAQ IN MADRID, OCTOBER 23-24, 2003²³⁹.

| Donor | 2004 (millions) | 2005-2007 (millions) | Unspecified by year (millions) | Total (millions) | Form of pledge ²⁴⁰ |
|---|--------------------|---|--------------------------------------|---|--|
| Australia | \$45.59 | \$0 | \$0 | \$45.59 | Grant |
| Austria | \$1.94 | \$3.53 | \$0 | \$5.48 | Grant |
| Belgium | \$5.89 | \$0 | \$0 | \$5.89 | Grant |
| Bulgaria | \$0.64 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0.64 | Grant |
| Canada | \$0 | \$0 | \$187.47 | \$187.47 | Grant |
| China | \$0 | \$0 | \$25 | \$25 | Grant |
| Cyprus | \$0 | \$0 | \$0.12 | \$0.12 | Grant |
| Czech Republic | \$7.33 | \$7.33 | \$0.00 | \$14.66 | Grant |
| Denmark | \$26.95 | \$0 | \$0 | \$26.95 | Grant |
| Estonia | \$0.08 | \$0 | \$0 | \$0.08 | Grant |
| Finland | \$5.89 | \$0 | \$0 | \$5.89 | Grant |
| Greece | \$0 | \$0 | \$3.53 | \$3.53 | Grant |
| Hungary | \$1.24 | \$0 | \$0 | \$1.24 | Grant |
| India | \$10 | \$0 | \$0 | \$10 | Grant |
| Iran | \$5 | \$0 | \$0 | \$5 | Grant |
| Ireland | \$3.53 | \$0 | \$0 | \$3.53 | Grant |
| Iceland | \$1.50 | \$1 | \$0 | \$2.50 | Grant |
| Italy | \$0 | \$0 | \$235.62 | \$235.62 | Grant |
| Japan | \$0 | \$0 | \$4,914.00 | \$4,914 | 1,500 in grants 3,400 in loans ²⁴¹ |
| Korea | \$0 | \$0 | \$200 | \$200 | Grant |
| Kuwait | \$0 | \$0 | \$500 | \$500 | Grant |
| Luxembourg | \$1.18 | \$1.18 | \$0 | \$2.36 | Grant |
| Malta | \$0.00 | \$0 | \$0.27 | \$0.27 | Grant |
| Netherlands | \$9.42 | \$0 | \$0 | \$9.42 | Grant |
| New Zealand | \$3.35 | \$0 | \$0 | \$3.35 | Grant |
| Norway | \$4.29 | \$8.58 | \$0 | \$12.87 | Grant |
| Oman | \$0 | \$0 | \$3 | \$3 | Grant |
| Pakistan | \$0 | \$0 | \$2.50 | \$2.50 | Grant |
| Qatar | \$0 | \$0 | \$100 | \$100 | Grant |
| Saudi Arabia | \$120 | \$380 | \$0 | \$500 | Loan |
| Slovenia | \$0.27 | \$0.15 | \$0 | \$0.42 | Grant |
| Spain | \$80 | \$140 | \$0 | \$220 | Grant |
| Sweden | \$0 | \$0 | \$33 | \$33 | Grant |
| Turkey | \$0 | \$0 | \$50 | \$50 | Grant |
| United Arab Emirates | \$0 | \$0 | \$215 | \$215 | Grant |
| United Kingdom | \$235.48 | \$216.85 | \$0 | \$452.33 | Grant |
| United States | \$0 | \$0 | \$18,649 | \$18,649 | Grant |
| International Monetary Fund | \$850 | \$1,700-3,400 | \$0 | \$2,550-4,250 | Loan |
| World Bank | \$500 | \$2,500-4,500 | \$0 | \$3,000-5,000 | Loan |
| European Commission , European Union member states and acceding countries | \$614.83 | \$394.04 | \$272.54 | \$1,256.41 | Grant |
| European Community | \$235.62 | \$0 | \$0 | \$235.62 | Grant |
| Total | \$2,155.21 | \$4,958.62 - 8,658.62 | \$25,118.50 | \$32,232.33 - 35,932.33 \$22,782- 23,232 in grants & \$9,450-12,700 in loans | Not applicable |

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 NEEDS²⁴²

| Category | 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 ASSESSMENT²⁴³

| 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 |

TOTAL FUNDS AVAILABLE, OBLIGATED, AND DISBURSED FOR IRAQ RECONSTRUCTION²⁴⁴

| | U.S. appropriations in 2003 and 2004 (billions) | Development fund for Iraq (billions) As of April 2004 | Vested and seized assets (billions) As of April 2004 | International (non-U.S.) pledges (billions) |
|----------------------|---|---|--|---|
| Total Funding | \$24 as of April 2004 | \$18 | \$2.65 | \$13.6 as of April 2004 |
| Obligations | \$13.4 as of November 1, 2004 ²⁴⁵ | \$13 | \$2.5 | \$2.7 as of November 1, 2004 ²⁴⁶ |
| Disbursement | \$5.2 as of November 1, 2004 ²⁴⁷ | \$8.3 | \$2.4 | \$1.2 as of September 2004 ²⁴⁸ |

N/A: Not available

NOTE ON TOTAL FUNDS AVAILABLE, OBLIGATED, AND DISBURSED FOR IRAQ RECONSTRUCTION, AS OF APRIL 2004 TABLE:
As of November 1, 2004, 1.6 billion of the \$18.4 billion appropriated in 2004 had been disbursed. Jonathan Weisman, "U.S. Spends Only Small Part of Funds to Help Rebuild Iraq," *Washington Post*, November 1, 2004.

NOTE ON TOTAL FUNDS AVAILABLE, OBLIGATED, AND DISBURSED FOR IRAQ RECONSTRUCTION, AS OF APRIL 2004 TABLE
NOTE ON An apportion is defined as a plan, approved by the Office of Management and Budget, to spend resources provided by law. *Quarterly Update to Congress: 2207 Report*, October 2004.

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. 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.

PROJECT ALLOCATIONS AND DISBURSEMENT BY CATEGORY AS OF MAY, 2004²⁴⁹

| Purpose | Allocations (millions) | Spending (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 |

PROJECT ALLOCATIONS AND DISBURSEMENT BY CATEGORY, AS OF MAY 2004 TABLE:

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

USAID CONTRACTS AS OF JANUARY 2004²⁵⁰

| 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 |
| Total | | | \$1.387 billion disbursed \$1.8 billion pending |

FUEL

| Time | Fuel supplies available | | | | | | Overall fuel supplies as percentage of goal (the goals have sometimes shifted) |
|-------------------------|--|------------------------|--|-------------------------|--|---|---|
| | Millions of barrels/day | | Millions of liters/day | | | Tons/day | |
| | Crude oil production | Crude export | Diesel (Prod. & Imp.) | Kerosene (Prod. & Imp.) | Gasoline/Benzene (Prod. & Imp) | Total LPG (Prod. & Imp.) | |
| Estimated pre-war level | 2.8-3.0 ²⁵¹ | 1.7-2.5 ²⁵² | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | |
| May 2003 | 0.3 ²⁵³ | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | 10 % |
| June | 0.675 ²⁵⁴ | 0.2 ²⁵⁵ | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | 23% |
| July | 0.925 ²⁵⁶ | 0.322 ²⁵⁷ | 6.5 ²⁵⁸ | 4.75 ²⁵⁹ | 13.5 ²⁶⁰ | 1,880 ²⁶¹ | 44% |
| August | 1.445 ²⁶² | 0.646 ²⁶³ | 10.25 ²⁶⁴ | 6.2 ²⁶⁵ | 14.0 ²⁶⁶ | 2,530 ²⁶⁷ | 57% |
| September | 1.7225 ²⁶⁸ | 0.983 ²⁶⁹ | 14.25 ²⁷⁰ | 6.9 ²⁷¹ | 17.3 ²⁷² | 3,030 ²⁷³ | 70% |
| October | 2.055 ²⁷⁴ | 1.149 ²⁷⁵ | 14.75 ²⁷⁶ | 9.6 ²⁷⁷ | 16.35 ²⁷⁸ | 3,700 ²⁷⁹ | 78% |
| November | 2.1 ²⁸⁰ | 1.524 ²⁸¹ | 13.14 ²⁸² | 13.3 ²⁸³ | 11.792 ²⁸⁴ | 3,610 ²⁸⁵ | 76% |
| December | 2.30 ²⁸⁶ | 1.541 ²⁸⁷ | 12.29 ²⁸⁸ | 9.4 ²⁸⁹ | 12.9 ²⁹⁰ | 3,460 ²⁹¹ | 72% |
| January 2004 | 2.440 ²⁹² | 1.537 ²⁹³ | 13.91 ²⁹⁴ | 11.3 ²⁹⁵ | 13.32 ²⁹⁶ | 3,445 ²⁹⁷ | 78% |
| February | 2.276 ²⁹⁸ | 1.382 ²⁹⁹ | 15.21 ³⁰⁰ | 13.05 ³⁰¹ | 16.65 ³⁰² | 4,670 ³⁰³ | 88% |
| March | 2.435 ³⁰⁴ | 1.825 ³⁰⁵ | 15.03 ³⁰⁶ | 17.28 ³⁰⁷ | 17.19 ³⁰⁸ | 5,010 ³⁰⁹ | 92% |
| April | 2.384 ³¹⁰ | 1.804 ³¹¹ | 22.75 ³¹² | 4.46 ³¹³ | 19.3 ³¹⁴ | 3,607 ³¹⁵ | 79% |
| May | 1.887 ³¹⁶ | 1.380 ³¹⁷ | 22.92 ³¹⁸ | 4.005 ³¹⁹ | 18.07 ³²⁰ | 3,264 ³²¹ | 73% |
| June | 2.295 ³²² | 1.148 ³²³ | 16.47 ³²⁴ | 4.9 ³²⁵ | 22 ³²⁶ | 3,086 ³²⁷ | 75% |
| July | 2.2 ³²⁸ | 1.406 ³²⁹ | 17.95 ³³⁰ | 5.75 ³³¹ | 22.3 ³³² | 3,820 ³³³ | 80% |
| August | 2.112 ³³⁴ | 1.114 ³³⁵ | 16 ³³⁶ | 4.2 ³³⁷ | 15.1 ³³⁸ | 3,417 ³³⁹ | 84% |
| September | 2.514 ³⁴⁰ | 1.703 ³⁴¹ | 16.35 ³⁴² | 6.35 ³⁴³ | 14.6 ³⁴⁴ | 2,707 ³⁴⁵ | 72% |
| October | 2.46 ³⁴⁶ | 1.542 ³⁴⁷ | 16.15 ³⁴⁸ | 7.95 ³⁴⁹ | 18.6 ³⁵⁰ | 3,044 ³⁵¹ | 80% |
| November | 1.95 ³⁵² | 1.320 ³⁵³ | 16.5 ³⁵⁴ | 7.7 ³⁵⁵ | 17.9 ³⁵⁶ | 3,324 ³⁵⁷ | 77% |
| December | 2.16 ³⁵⁸ | 1.520 ³⁵⁹ | 18.3 ³⁶⁰ | 10.5 ³⁶¹ | 17.6 ³⁶² | 4,222 ³⁶³ | 88% |
| Stated Goal: | 2.8-3.0 ³⁶⁴ to be reached by December 2004 | N/A | 18 ³⁶⁵ revised down in June 2004 from 19.5 | 15 ³⁶⁶ | 18 revised down from 19.1 in September 2004 | 4,300 revised up from 4,000 in September | We assume that the maximum supplies as percentage of goal for each category can only reach 100% |

OIL REVENUE³⁶⁷

| Time | Oil revenue (billions) |
|------------------------------|------------------------|
| June 2003 | \$0.2 |
| July | \$0.36 |
| August | \$0.44 |
| September | \$0.73 |
| October | \$0.89 |
| November | \$1.21 |
| December | \$1.26 |
| January 2004 | \$1.26 |
| February | \$1.10 |
| March | \$1.61 |
| April | \$1.50 |
| May | \$1.36 |
| June | \$1.28 |
| July | \$1.45 |
| August | \$1.30 |
| September | \$1.83 |
| October | \$1.94 ³⁶⁸ |
| November | \$1.25 ³⁶⁹ |
| December | 0.22 ³⁷⁰ |
| Total as of November 5, 2004 | \$21.0 |

N/A= Not available

NOTE: The administration's post war estimate was for Iraq to accrue \$2-3 billion in oil revenues between June and December 2003. Revenue for 2003 was \$5,076.6 million. As of October 6, 2004, estimated crude oil export revenue was \$12,680.8 million. Iraq Weekly Status Report, *Department of State*, October 6, 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= Liquefied Petroleum Gas

ELECTRICITY

| Time | Average amount of electricity generated (Megawatts) | | Average hours of electricity/day nationwide ³⁷¹ | Average of daily mega watt hours USAID ³⁷² (MWH) |
|-------------------------|---|---|--|---|
| | Nation-wide | Baghdad | | |
| Estimated pre-war level | 4,400 ³⁷³ | 2,500 ³⁷⁴ | N/A | N/A |
| May | N/A | 300 ³⁷⁵ | N/A | N/A |
| June | 3,193 ³⁷⁶ | 707 ³⁷⁷ | N/A | N/A |
| July | 3,236 ³⁷⁸ | 1,082 ³⁷⁹ | N/A | N/A |
| Aug. | 3,263 ³⁸⁰ | 1,283 ³⁸¹ | N/A | 72,435 |
| Sept. | 3,543 ³⁸² | 1,229 ³⁸³ | N/A | 75,000 |
| Oct. | 3,948 ³⁸⁴ | N/A | N/A | 79,000 |
| November | 3,582 ³⁸⁵ | N/A | N/A | 70,000 |
| December | 3,427 ³⁸⁶ | N/A | N/A | 72,000 |
| January | 3,758 ³⁸⁷ | N/A | N/A | 79,000 |
| February | 4,125 ³⁸⁸ | 1,307 ³⁸⁹ | 13 | 90,000 |
| March | 4,040 ³⁹⁰ | 1,192 ³⁹¹ | 16 | 86,000 |
| April | 3,823 ³⁹² | 1,021 ³⁹³ | 15 | 78,000 |
| May | 3,902 ³⁹⁴ | 1,053 ³⁹⁵ | 11 | 80,000 |
| June | 4,293 ³⁹⁶ | 1,198 | 10 | 93,500 |
| July | 4,584 ³⁹⁷ | N/A | 10 | 100,300 |
| August | 4,707 ³⁹⁸ | 1,440 | 13 | 109,900 ³⁹⁹ |
| September | 4,467 ⁴⁰⁰ | 1,485 | 13 | 107,200 ⁴⁰¹ |
| October | 4,074 ⁴⁰² | 1,280 | 13 | 99,306 ⁴⁰³ |
| November | 3,199 ⁴⁰⁴ | 845 ⁴⁰⁵ | 13 ⁴⁰⁶ | 76,550 ⁴⁰⁷ |
| Stated Goal: | 6,000 to have been reached by July 1, 2004 ⁴⁰⁸ | 2,500 to have been reached by October 2003 ⁴⁰⁹ | N/A | 120,000 ⁴¹⁰ |

N/A = Not available

VALUE OF THE IRAQI DINAR

| Month | \$1 =ID |
|------------|----------------------|
| October 15 | 2,000 ⁴¹¹ |
| November | 1,948 ⁴¹² |
| December | 1,675 ⁴¹³ |
| January | 1,360 ⁴¹⁴ |
| February | 1,425 ⁴¹⁵ |
| March | 1,415 ⁴¹⁶ |
| April | 1,455 ⁴¹⁷ |
| May | 1,460 ⁴¹⁸ |
| June | 1,455 ⁴¹⁹ |
| July | 1,460 ⁴²⁰ |
| August | 1,460 ⁴²¹ |
| September | 1,460 ⁴²² |
| October | 1,460 ⁴²³ |
| November | 1,461 ⁴²⁴ |

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.

COMMERCIAL AIRPORT DEPARTURES NATIONWIDE

| Time | Commercial aircraft departures nationwide (per day) ⁴²⁵ |
|---------------------------|--|
| Pre-war | 2-3 |
| January 2004 | 40 |
| April | 20 |
| May | 20 ⁴²⁶ |
| June | 45 ⁴²⁷ |
| July | 45 ⁴²⁸ |
| August | 45 ⁴²⁹ |
| September | 45 ⁴³⁰ |
| October | 45 ⁴³¹ |
| Stated goal for July 2004 | 200-300 |

N/A= Not available

IRRIGATION

| Month | Irrigation canals in need of clearing (km) |
|-----------|--|
| May | 20,000 ⁴³² |
| September | 5,000 ⁴³³ |
| October | 3,500 ⁴³⁴ |

TELEPHONE SUBSCRIBERS

| Time | Telephone subscribers |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| Estimated pre-war level | 833,000 ⁴³⁵ |
| September | 850,000 ⁴³⁶ |
| December | 600,000 ⁴³⁷ |
| January 2004 | 600,000 ⁴³⁸ |
| February | 900,000 ⁴³⁹ |
| March | 984,225 ⁴⁴⁰ |
| April | 1,095,000 ⁴⁴¹ |
| May | 1,220,000 ⁴⁴² |
| June | 1,200,000 ⁴⁴³ |
| July | N/A |
| August | 1,463,148 ⁴⁴⁴ |
| September | 1,579,457 ⁴⁴⁵ |
| October | 1,753,000 |
| November | 2,135,000 ⁴⁴⁶ |
| December | 2,152,000 ⁴⁴⁷ |
| Previous goal (Jan. 2004) | 1,100,000 ⁴⁴⁸ |

INTERNET SUBSCRIBERS

| Time | Internet subscribers ⁴⁴⁹ |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Estimated pre-war level | 11,000 |
| 2003 | 15,000 |
| January-April 2004 | N/A |
| May | 54,000 |
| June | 59,000 |
| July | 73,000 |
| August | 87,000 |
| September | 95,000 |
| October | 102,978 |
| November | 110,000 ⁴⁵⁰ |

LOCAL GOVERNANCE COUNCILS

| Month | Number of local governance councils |
|-----------|-------------------------------------|
| November | 255 ⁴⁵¹ |
| December | 255 |
| January | N/A |
| February | 318 ⁴⁵² |
| July | 746 ⁴⁵³ |
| August | 746 ⁴⁵⁴ |
| September | 746 ⁴⁵⁵ |

HOSPITALS RESTORED TO PRE-WAR LEVEL OF OPERATIONS

| Month | Hospitals restored to pre-war level of operations |
|-------|---|
| March | 90% ⁴⁵⁶ |

HEPATITIS OUTBREAKS⁴⁵⁷

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

NOTE ON HEPATITIS OUTBREAK TABLE: The hepatitis level in 2002 is defined as 100.

RATE OF ACUTE MALNUTRITION OF CHILDREN YOUNGER THAN 5⁴⁵⁸

| Rate of acute malnutrition among children younger than 5 |
|--|
| 2002: 4% |
| As of November, 2004: 7.7% |

NOTE ON LOCAL GOVERNANCE COUNCILS TABLE: The number of local governance councils includes city, district, sub-district and neighborhood councils.

RATE OF ACUTE MALNUTRITION OF CHILDREN YOUNGER THAN 5 TABLE: "Iraq's child malnutrition rate in November 2004 equals that of Burundi, a central African nation torn by more than a decade of war. It is higher than rates in Uganda and Haiti." Karl Vick, "Children pay Cost of Iraq's

Chaos,” *Washington Post*, November 21, 2004. We find it dubious that a country with the per capita income of Iraq could have child mortality figures as high as this. If this were indeed the case, then Iraqis face huge issues that needs to be dealt with immediately.

NATIONWIDE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE SINCE MAY , 2003

| Month | Unemployment rate nationwide |
|-----------|------------------------------|
| May | N/A |
| June | 50 - 60% ⁴⁵⁹ |
| July | N/A |
| August | 50-60% ⁴⁶⁰ |
| September | N/A |
| October | 40 - 50% ⁴⁶¹ |
| November | N/A |
| December | 45-55% ⁴⁶² |
| January | 30 - 45% ⁴⁶³ |
| February | 30 - 45% ⁴⁶⁴ |
| March | 30- 45% ⁴⁶⁵ |
| April | 30 - 45% ⁴⁶⁶ |
| May | 30-45% ⁴⁶⁷ |
| June | 30-40% ⁴⁶⁸ |
| July | 30-40% ⁴⁶⁹ |
| August | 30-40% ⁴⁷⁰ |
| September | 30-40% ⁴⁷¹ |
| October | 30-40% ⁴⁷² |

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

SEPTEMBER 24-OCTOBER 4, 2004: INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE⁴⁷³

IRAQI PERCEPTION OF OVERALL SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY

| Question | Findings | | |
|--|--|---|--|
| Do you think that Iraq today is generally heading in the right or wrong direction? | <u>Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004:</u> Right Direction: 41.9% Wrong direction: 45.3% Don't Know: 11.2% | <u>July 24- August 2, 2004:</u> Right Direction: 51.32% Wrong direction: 31.4% Don't Know:16.05% | <u>May 27-June 11, 2004:</u> Right Direction: 50.73% Wrong direction: 39.32% Don't Know:9.22% |
| Why do you think Iraq is heading in the <i>right</i> direction? | Getting rid of past regime: 24.8% Formation of Iraqi-led government: 13.2% Establishing democracy:12.3% General improvement in overall conditions: 12.2% Increased freedoms: 9.4% Improving security situation: 8.6% General optimism: 4.2% | | |
| Why do you think Iraq is heading in the <i>wrong</i> direction? | Poor security situation: 62.6% Presence of occupation forces: 16.7% General deterioration of overall conditions: 6.7% Unelected government: 4.6% Poor economic situation: 3.5% Other: 2% Lack of cooperation between government and people: 1.8% | | |
| In the past year and a half, has your household been directly affected by violence in terms of death, handicap, or significant monetary loss? | Yes: 22% No: 77.5% | | |
| Thinking about the difficult situation in Iraq currently, whether in terms of security, the economy or living conditions, who – in your view – is most to blame? | Multinational forces: 33.4% Foreign terrorists: 32.1% Armed supporters of the former regime: 8.1% Ourselves: 5.3% United States: 1.5% Combinations of all listed factors: 12.2% | | |
| Thinking about the future, do you believe your life one year from today will be better, worse, or the same? | <u>Sept. 24- Oct. 4, 2004:</u> Better: 64.6% Worse: 15.7% Same: 11.6% | <u>July 24- August 2, 2004:</u> Better: 66.5% Worse: 13.3% Same:12.3% | <u>May 27-June 11, 2004:</u> Better: 64.84% Worse: 14.79% Same: 12.03% |

IRAQ HEADING IN RIGHT OR WRONG DIRECTION: REGIONAL TRENDS

| Region | Do you think Iraq is heading in the <i>right</i> direction? | Do you think Iraq is heading in the <i>wrong</i> direction? |
|----------------|--|--|
| Baghdad | Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 32.6% July 24- August 2, 2004: 46.5% May 27-June 11, 2004: 36% | Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 51.1% July 24- August 2, 2004: 27.9% May 27-June 11, 2004: 49.2% |
| Kurdish areas: | Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 72.2% July 24- August 2, 2004: 71.5% May 27-June 11, 2004: 83.8% | Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 11.4% July 24- August 2, 2004: 17.5% May 27-June 11, 2004: 8.64% |
| Mosul & Kirkuk | Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 18.3% July 24- August 2, 2004: 27.7% May 27-June 11, 2004: 43.36% | Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004:75.1% July 24- August 2, 2004: 58.7% May 27-June 11, 2004:42.47% |
| Sunni areas: | Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 14.6% July 24- August 2, 2004: 28.9% May 27-June 11, 2004: 33.43% | Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004:73.2% July 24- August 2, 2004: 53.4% May 27-June 11, 2004: 42.47% |
| Mid-Euphrates: | Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 45.3% July 24- August 2, 2004: 66.7% May 27-June 11, 2004: 56.37% | Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 45.1% July 24- August 2, 2004: 22.4% May 27-June 11, 2004: 39.87% |
| South: | Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 51.1% July 24- August 2, 2004: 61.4% May 27-June 11, 2004: 44.36% | Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 33.1% July 24- August 2, 2004: 19.2% May 27-June 11, 2004: 45.2% |

MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES TO IRAQIS

| Five most important issues to Iraqis |
|--|
| Unemployment: 17.6% Crime: 14% Infrastructure: 9.5% National security: 9% Multinational forces: 6.8% Other: 56.9% |

IRAQI OPINION ABOUT THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT

| | | |
|---|--|---|
| Do you believe that the Interim Government of Iraq represents the interests of people like you? | Yes, very much: 8.8% Yes, somewhat: 28.10% No, not very much: 19.5% No, not at all: 35.7% | |
| To what degree do you feel that the Interim Government of Iraq has been effective or ineffective to date? | September: Very effective: 8.2% Somewhat effective: 35% Somewhat ineffective:19.4% Very ineffective: 30.30% | July: Very effective: 19.82% Somewhat effective: 43.2% Somewhat ineffective: 14.3% Very ineffective: 12.31% |
| To what degree do you think Prime Minister Allawi has been effective since taking office? | September: Very effective: 13.6% Somewhat effective: 32% Somewhat ineffective: 14.9% Very ineffective: 28.3% | July: Very effective:30.61% Somewhat effective: 35.61% Somewhat ineffective: 9.41% Very ineffective: 8.94% |

INTERIM GOVERNMENT'S REGIONAL HANDLING OF SECURITY

| How much do you agree or disagree with the government's handling in security, specifically in each of the following regions? | |
|--|--|
| Baghdad (Sadr City) | Strongly disagree: 44.9% Somewhat disagree:14.3% Somewhat agree:13.2% Strongly agree:14.7% |
| Baghdad (Haifa St./Downtown) | Strongly disagree: 43.5% Somewhat disagree:14% Somewhat agree:13.5% Strongly agree:13.6% |
| al-Anbar | Strongly disagree: 45.5% Somewhat disagree:14.9% Somewhat agree:12.2% Strongly agree:15.8% |
| Mosul/Tal Afar | Strongly disagree: 46% Somewhat disagree:15.2% Somewhat agree:11.8% Strongly agree:12.2% |
| Najaf/Kufa | Strongly disagree: 48.4% Somewhat disagree:14.6% Somewhat agree:12.2% Strongly agree:13.60% |
| Basra | Strongly disagree: 46.8% Somewhat disagree:14.20% Somewhat agree:12.10% Strongly agree:12.10% |

IRAQI VIEW OF UPCOMING ELECTION

| | | | |
|---|---|---|--|
| Do you believe Iraq will be ready to hold national elections by January 31, 2005? | Yes: 58.7% No: 35.40% Don't know: 5.6% | | |
| If not, why? | Poor security situation: 59.4% Iraq is still under occupation: 31.4% Lack of democratic values: 5.1% Absence of an adequate census: 1.8% | | |
| Do you intend to vote in the coming election? | September Yes: 85.5% No:11.8% Don't know: 2.3% | August: Yes: 87% No:7% Don't know:6% | July: Yes:88.4% No:9.53% Don't know:1.67% |
| If not why? | Security situation:46.8% Don't trust the electoral process:20.3% Lack information about candidates:17.3% Health prevents me:4.2% Do not trust candidates:1.3% | | |
| Intention to vote by region | Mid-Euphrates: 93.9% Kurdish areas: 88.6% South: 87.3% Baghdad: 83.3% Mosul & Kirkuk: 77.3% Sunni areas: 72.8% | | |
| Intention to vote by Muslim sect | Shia muslim: 89.2% Sunni muslim: 81.2% Only muslim:76.90% | | |

IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION IN POLITICS

| | | | | |
|---|--|---|--|--|
| Please indicate how each of the following authorities' or figures' endorsement of a candidate or list of candidates would make you more or less inclined to support that list? | Cleric or religious organization More inclined: 40.1% Less inclined: 7.5% | Tribal leader More inclined: 14.9% Less inclined: 26.5% | Government More inclined: 17.5% Less inclined: 25.1% | Political party More inclined: 11.9% Less inclined: 22.9% |
| Do you believe that religion has a special role in the government today or that religion and the government should respect one another but remain separate? | Religion and government should respect one another by not impeding on the rights, roles, and responsibilities of the other: 52.30% Religion has a special role to play in the government: 37.9% Don't know: 8.9% | | | |
| Role of religion: Breakdown by sect | Shia: Special role for religion: 44.3% Respect and non-interference: 46% Don't know: 8.9% | Only muslim: Special role for religion: 37.1% Respect and non-interference: 58.5% Don't know: 2.6% | Sunni: Special role for religion: 44.3% Respect and non-interference: 46% Don't know: 8.9% | Other: Special role for religion: 5.3% Respect and non-interference: 78.9% Don't know: 15.8% |
| If you believe that religion has a special role to play in the government, how would you define that special role? | | | | |
| Public leaders publicly and regularly seek guidance from religious leaders: Strongly disagree: 3.8% Somewhat disagree: 5.3% Somewhat agree: 17.5% Strongly agree: 65.5% | The state actively protects all religions without favoritism: Strongly disagree: 6.3% Somewhat disagree: 8.6% Somewhat agree: 14.6% Strongly agree: 64.1% | Major religions and sects are represented in the government by prominent religious figures: Strongly disagree: 4.1% Somewhat disagree: 9.3% Somewhat agree: 21.4% Strongly agree: 57.4% | The teachings of the faiths embraced by most Iraqis should be protected by law and the constitution: Strongly disagree: 1.7% Somewhat disagree: 1.8% Somewhat agree: 17.4% Strongly agree: 72.9% | Government officials should publicly embrace and employ religion in carrying out their duties: Strongly disagree: 2.9% Somewhat disagree: 4.6% Somewhat agree: 18.6% Strongly agree: 68.2% |

PROSPECT OF CIVIL WAR

| Question | Findings |
|---|---|
| Do you believe that the prospect of civil war, widespread ethnic, sectarian or other armed struggle - is now: | Unlikely to happen in Iraq: 68.8% Always possible, but unlikely: 14.8% Likely to occur in the near-term: 7.8% Don't know: 8.3% |
| If you believe there is some possibility of civil war in the near future, which of the following factors do you believe would be most responsible for instigating it? | Interference by neighboring states: 34% Unfair parliamentary elections: 19.2% Interference by non-neighboring states: 17.3% Irreconcilable demands made by one ethnic or sectarian group: 14.7% Corruption in the government: 8.3% Sudden withdrawal of Multinational Forces: 4.5% |
| If you said a neighboring state would be most likely to instigate a civil war, which one? | Iran: 50.9% Syria: 17% Turkey: 13.2% Kuwait: 11.3% Saudi Arabia: 3.8% Jordan: 0.0% |
| If you said a non-neighboring state would be responsible for instigating a civil war, which state? | United States: 66.7% Israel: 22.2% No answer: 7.4% al-Qaeda: 3.7% |

AUGUST 10-20, 2004:
**INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE & INDEPENDENT INSTITUTE FOR ADMINISTRATIVE
AND CIVIL SOCIETY STUDIES POLL⁴⁷⁴**

| | |
|---|--|
| Since the Fall of the Baath regime in April 2003, do you feel that your life has gotten better, worse or stayed the same? | Better: 46.5% Worse: 31.3% Same: 20.8% Don't know: 1.1% |
| Do you feel that there are enough opportunities for you or people like you to play a role in improving the quality of life in your community? | Yes: 40% No: 42% Don't know/No answer: 10% |
| To what degree do you feel that democracy in Iraq is likely or unlikely to succeed? | Very likely: 20.2% Somewhat likely: 37.8% 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 will be secret? | Very confident: 29% 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 Iraqi people? | Very likely: 38.3% 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 during Iraq's elections scheduled to take place in January? | Very likely: 39% Somewhat likely: 37% Somewhat unlikely: 8% Very unlikely: 4% |

REGIONAL VIEW OF QUALITY OF LIFE

| | Kurdish areas | South | Mid-Euphrates | Baghdad | Mosul & Kirkuk | Sunni areas |
|---|------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Since the Fall of the Baath 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% |

JULY 24 - AUGUST 2, 2004:
**INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE & INDEPENDENT INSTITUTE FOR ADMINISTRATIVE
AND CIVIL SOCIETY STUDIES POLL⁴⁷⁵**

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 Iraq: 2.5% |

IRAQI PERCEPTION OF CURRENT SITUATION

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| Do you feel that Iraq is generally heading in the right or the wrong direction? | June Right direction: 50.7% Wrong direction: 39.3% Don't know: 9.2% | July 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 Better: 47.36% Worse: 13.99% Same: 36.08% | Security Better: 56.77% Worse: 19.96% Same: 21.63% |

END OF JUNE, 2004: IRAQ CENTER FOR RESEARCH AND STRATEGIC STUDIES POLL⁴⁷⁶

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

9-19 JUNE, 2004: COALITION PROVISIONAL AUTHORITY (CPA) POLL⁴⁷⁷

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 situation in Iraq after the handover on June 30 th ? | Make things better: 80% Things will remain the same: 10% Things will get worse: 7% |
| Have you heard or read a significant amount about the new leaders of the interim government? | Yes: 70% |
| Do you believe that the first democratic elections for a new national assembly will be free and fair? | Yes: 67% |

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 on June 30 will make things for Iraq? | Better: 63% 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

| Question |
|---|
| If 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 prisoner's at Abu Ghraib? | Yes: 71% No: 22% Don't know/No answer: 7% |
| Do you believe that the abuse of prisoners at Abu Ghraib represents fewer than 100 people or that all Americans behave this way? | All Americans are like this: 54% Fewer than 100 people: 38% Don't know/No answer: 8% |
| Do you believe anyone will be punished for what happened at Abu Ghraib? | No: 61% 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 Army will maintain security without the presence of Coalition Forces? | Very likely: 62% Somewhat likely: 25% 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 think 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 and others | January: 3.3% 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 roads | January: 10.6 % 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 think 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 and others | January: 3.4 % 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 roads | January: 19.1 % 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 Moqtada al-Sadr is... | Much better: 40% 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 the acts of Moqtada al-Sadr made Iraq more unified or more divided? | More unified: 64% More divided: 14% 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 instability in our country | Somewhat agree: 25% Totally agree: 36% Somewhat disagree: 10% Totally disagree: 15% |
| ...show Iraq is not ready to live in peace with the world | Somewhat agree: 20% Totally agree: 26% Somewhat disagree: 8% Totally disagree: 31% |
| ...emphasize the need for the continued presence of coalition forces | Somewhat agree: 20% Totally agree: 22% Somewhat disagree: 11% Totally disagree: 33% |
| ...are an effort to liberate Iraq from the United States and Coalition Forces | Somewhat agree: 18% 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 in Coalition Forces | Somewhat agree: 12% Totally agree: 67% Somewhat disagree: 3% Totally disagree: 6% |

IRAQI PERCEPTION OF INSURGENTS

| Please indicate if and how the following statements apply to those who attack the Coalition Forces and those who work with them | |
|---|---|
| They believe that the Coalition is trying to steal Iraq's wealth | Totally true: 66% 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 Coalition will help democracy | Totally true: 41% Partially true: 22% Not true: 15% |
| They want to establish an Islamic state with no outside influence | Totally true: 31% Partially true: 28% Not true: 21% |
| They are trying to go undermine the transfer of responsibility to Iraqi forces | Totally true: 27% 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 they had under Saddam | Totally true: 15% Partially true: 17% Not true: 48% |
| They want to return to Saddam and the Baath party | Totally true: 9% 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 al-Rubaie | 21% | 8% | 20% | 41% |
| Adnan Pachachi | 31% | 10% | 30% | 20% |
| Jalal Talabani | 10% | 11% | 24% | 50% |
| Abdul Kareem al-Muhamadawi | 20% | 11% | 16% | 29% |
| Muhssin Abdul Hamed | 33% | 12% | 17% | 18% |
| Sayyid Muhammed Bahr ul-Uloom | 26% | 18% | 18% | 31% |
| Hare'eth al-Dhari | 25% | 20% | 14% | 13% |
| Ahamad al-Qubaisi | 31% | 24% | 16% | 13% |
| Abdul Azziz al-Hakim | 26% | 25% | 16% | 28% |
| 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 government have for its 7 months in office? | |
| Make laws or agreements that a future elected government could not change | May: 12% 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 petroleum products and other commodities | May: 49% April: N/A |
| Make economic changes, such as giving people money in place of their food rations | May: 19% 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 recent United Nations recommendations about the June 30 interim government? | Don't know/No answer: 4% A great deal: 8% 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 formation of an independent commission supervising the elections to be held in January 2005? | A great deal: 4% Not much: 14% A fair amount: 17% Nothing: 65% |

WHO SHOULD HAVE A SAY IN SELECTING THE ELECTION COMMISSION?

| How much influence should the following institutions have in selecting the members of the independent election commission? | |
|---|---|
| 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 less interested in joining the Iraqi security forces than you were 3 months ago? | More interested: 51% Less interested: 39% Don't know/No answer: 10% |

IRAQI OPINION OF COALITION FORCES

| Should Coalition Forces leave or stay in Iraq? (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 vacuum: 2 |
| Iraqis can administer Iraq better: 102 | Other/Don't know/No answer: 11 |
| They want Iraqi oil and resources: 76 | Their presence brings Iraq future benefit: 5 |
| They are facilitating Zionist domination of Iraq: 51 | |
| 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 POLL⁴⁷⁹

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

IRAQI STANDARD OF LIVING

| Since the invasion, which of the following happened to you personally or to members of your household? | At all since the invasion | Within the past four weeks | Before the past four weeks/since the invasion | Since the invasion | Happened in the year 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 accomplish each of the following – a lot, only a little, or not at all? | Try a lot | Try only a little | Does not try at all |
|---|-----------|-------------------|---------------------|
| Restoring basic services like electricity/clean drinking water to Iraqis? | 11% | 41% | 44% |
| Trying to keep ordinary Iraqis from being killed/wounded during exchanges of gunfire? | 11% | 18% | 67% |
| Working to repair Iraqi schools and classrooms? | 17% | 50% | 26% |
| Working with local councils to try to improve neighborhood conditions/services? | 7% | 34% | 49% |
| 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 INSTITUTIONS⁴⁸⁰

| Do you have a positive or negative attitude towards the following institutions? | Attitude | |
|---|----------|----------|
| | 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 BAGHDAD⁴⁸¹

| 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? ⁴⁸² |
|----------|---|
| February | Better: 56.5% Worse: 18.6% |

GREATEST THREAT TO IRAQI CITIZEN

| Type of threat | What is the greatest threat to yourself and your family? ⁴⁸⁴ | | | | | |
|---|---|--------|-------|----------|---------|---------|
| | 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? ⁴⁸⁵ | | | | | |
|---|---|--------|-------|----------|---------|---------|
| | 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... ⁴⁸⁶ | | |
|----------|---|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| | More safe | Less safe | No difference |
| Baghdad | November: 12% January: 19% | November: 71% January: 65% | November: 13% January: 15% |
| Basrah | November: 6% January: 17% | November: 85% January: 67% | November: 8% 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.... ⁴⁸⁷ | | |
|----------|---|------------------|------------------------------|
| | 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, primary responsibility for maintaining law and order on Iraqi streets should be.... ⁴⁸⁸ | | |
|----------|--|------------------|------------------------------|
| | Iraqi Armed Forces | Coalition forces | Joint Iraq-Coalition efforts |
| 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... ⁴⁸⁹ | | |
|------------|--|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| | Improved | Worsened | No difference |
| Baghdad | August: 22% January: 51% | August: 53% January: 25% | August: 24% January: 24% |
| Basrah | August: 24% January: 59% | August: 58% January: 17% | August: 18% January: 24% |
| Mosul | January: 38% | January: 39% | January: 22% |
| Fallujah | August: 25% January: 33% | August: 63% January: 44% | August: 10% 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? ⁴⁹⁰ | | |
|------------|---|--|--|
| | Very safe | Not very safe | Not safe |
| Baghdad | August: 24% November: 31% January: 46% | August: 50% November: 56% January: 42% | August: 26% November: 12% January: 11% |
| Basrah | August: 24% November: 18% January: 31% | August: 58% November: 68% January: 57% | August: 17% November: 12% January: 11% |
| Fallujah | August: 37% January: 61% | August: 57% January: 27% | August: 4% 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? ⁴⁹¹ | | | | | |
|----------|---|----------------|------------------|-------------------|-----|------------------|
| | Iraq police | New Iraqi Army | Iraqi ministries | Governing Council | CPA | Coalition 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 you feel Coalition Forces are very effective in the following activities? ⁴⁹² | | | | |
|----------|---|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|
| | Keeping law and order in the streets | Tracking down criminals | Protecting Iraqis from major threats | Working cooperatively with Iraqi security forces | Protecting their forces and compounds |
| 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 BAGHDAD: NOVEMBER 19-28

| | Nationwide | Baghdad |
|--|--|--|
| Do you agree that in general, the local Iraqi police force is trusted by most members of the community? ⁴⁹³ | 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? ⁴⁹⁴ | Agree: 66% | Agree: 61% |
| If coalition forces left immediately, would you feel more safe, less safe, or no difference? ⁴⁹⁵ | More safe: 11% Less safe: 71% No difference: 10% | More safe: 12% Less safe: 75% No difference: 13% |

BAGHDAD PUBLIC OPINION: AUGUST 8 – SEPTEMBER 4

| Question | Findings |
|---|--|
| Will Iraq be in a better condition five years from now than it was before the U.S.-led invasion? ⁴⁹⁶ | Better off: 67% Worse off: 8% |
| Is Iraq better off now than it was before the invasion? ⁴⁹⁷ | Better off: 33% Worse off: 47% |
| Was ousting Saddam worth the hardships endured since the invasion? ⁴⁹⁸ | Yes: 62% No: N/A |
| Would you like to see U.S. troops stay longer than a few more months? ⁴⁹⁹ | Stay longer: 71% Not stay longer: 26% |
| Are there circumstances in which attacks against U.S. troops can be justified? ⁵⁰⁰ | No: 64% Sometimes justified: 36% |
| Have you been afraid at times to go outside your home during the day within the past four weeks? ⁵⁰¹ | Yes: 86% No: N/A |
| Is Baghdad a more dangerous place now than before the invasion? ⁵⁰² | Yes: 94% No: N/A |

N/A= Not available

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*.

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

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/).

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

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 Donald D. Rumsfeldt testifying before the Senate Armed Services Committee September 23, 2004.

¹⁰ Yochi j. Dreazen, “‘Lack of Security’ is Plaguing Iraq,” *Wall Street Journal*, October 26, 2004.

¹¹ Sabrina Tavernise, “Iraqis Working for Americans are in Insurgent’s Cross Hairs,” *New York Times*, September 18, 2004.

¹² Iraq Body Count, (Iraqbodycount.net [September 17, 2004]).

¹³ Mike Dornig, “We are Losing Our People,” *Chicago Tribune*, September 14, 2004.

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

¹⁵ Bassem Mroue, “AP Enterprise: More than 10,000 Iraqis Die Violently in Baghdad Region Alone,” *Associated Press*,

¹⁶ Bassem Mroue, “AP Enterprise: More than 10,000 Iraqis Die Violently in Baghdad Region Alone,” *Associated Press*,

¹⁷ 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 were 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.

¹⁸ 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 Chandrasekaran 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 Eunjung 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.

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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

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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 Bombs 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.

Omar Sinan, "Coordinated Blasts on Iraqi Christian Churches Kill 11," *Associated Press*, August 2, 2004. 6 bombings causing 16 people killed and injuring 100. Sameer N. Yacoub, "Car Bomb, Insurgent Attacks Kill Seven Iraqi Security Personnel," *Associated Press*, August 3, 2004. "Car Bomb Blast in Iraq Kills 7 Policemen," *New York Times on the Web*, August 9, 2004. Suicide bomber kills 7 and wounds 16. "Car Bomb Explodes Northeast of Iraqi Capital, Two Killed," *Associated Press*, August 9, 2004. Two killed and 12 wounded. Alex Berenson and Dexter Filkins, "Rebel Iraqi Cleric is Told to Give Up of Face Attack," *New York Times*, August 25, 2004. Four killed and 2 wounded.

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 Houser, "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. "Baghdad Bomb Blasts Leave 16 dead," *BBC News online*, October 4, 2004. Two car bombs killed 16 and injured 82. "Suicide Car Bomber Kills 16 at Iraqi Guard Camp," *USA Today*, October 7, 2004. Suicide car bomb killed 16 Iraqis and wounded 30. Edward Wong, "Iraq Chief Gives a Sobering View about Security," *New York Times*, October 6, 2004. 3 car bombs killed 7 people and wounded 34. Eric Schmitt and Christine Hauser, "Two Car Bombs Kill at Least 11 as Rumsfeld Visits Iraq," *New York Times*, October 11, 2004. 11 people killed and 15 wounded. Dexter Filkins, "2 Bombers Kill 5 in Guarded Area in Baghdad," *New York Times*, October 15, 2004. Robert H. Reid, "Iraqi Government Releases Fallujah's Top Negotiator in Apparent Bid to Revive Peace Talks," *Associated Press*, October 18, 2004. One suicide bomb killed 5 and wounded 15. One car bomb killed 5 and wounded 26. James Glantz, "Attack Kills 15 Iraqis as Allawi Warns of Assault on Falluja," *New York Times*, November 1, 2004. 15 killed and 8 wounded. Rocket. Alissa J. Rubin, "Bomb Kills 7 at Iraqi Ministry," *Los Angeles Times*, November 3, 2004. One car bomb killed 7 and injured 15. James Glantz, "Suicide Bomb in Iraq Kills Three Soldiers from Britain," *New York Times*, November 5, 2004. Dexter Filkins and James Glantz, "All Sides Prepare for American Attack on Falluja," *New York Times*, November 6, 2004. Robert F. Worth and James Glantz, "U.S. Presses Fight in Falluja," *New York Times*, November 12, 2004. Suicide car bomb kills 17 people and wounded 30. Anthony Shadid, "Car Bombing Kills 10 in Northern Iraq," *Washington Post*, November 18, 2004. James Glantz and Richard A. O'Connell Jr., "GI's and Iraqis Raid Mosque, Killing 3," *New York Times*, November 20, 2004. Suicide bomb killed 4 people and wounded 8. Robert F. Worth and Richard A. O'Connell Jr., "Bomb Kills 4 Civilians and 2 Marines in Attacks in Iraq," *New York Times*, November 29, 2004. Four killed and 1 wounded. Robert F. Worth, "Suicide Bomber Kills 12 at Police Station in an Iraqi Town," *New York Times*, November 30, 2004. 12 killed. "Baghdad Hit by Two Major Attacks," *BBC News online*, December 3, 2004. Car bomb kills 14 people and wounds 19. Robert F. Worth, and Richard A. O'Connell Jr., "Insurgents' Attacks Kill at Least 26 Iraqis," *New York Times*, December 5, 2004. 2 suicide car bombs killed 26 and wounded 50. Robert F. Worth, "Latest Round of Violence Kills 7 Marines and 9 Iraqis," *New York Times*, December 13, 2004. Slobodan Lekic, "Car Bomber Kills 7 at Green Zone," *Washington Times*, December 15, 2004. Seven people killed.

¹⁹ 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 MacFarquhar 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.

²⁰ Estimated number of Iraqi civilian casualties as represented in "Iraqi Civilians killed as a Result of War since May 2003," Iraq Index, www.brookings.edu/Iraqindex, table. The estimated number of Iraqi civilians killed as a result of violence from crime was calculated based on an average annualized murder rate in Baghdad of 77/100,000 citizens. Based on a population of 5.6 million people in Baghdad we estimate that roughly 5,744 people are killed annually in the capital. The lower bound for the estimate of crime related deaths in the rest of Iraq was arrived at by taking the Baghdad annual rate times 0.8. The upper bound for the estimate of crime related deaths in the rest of Iraq was arrived at by taking the Baghdad annual rate time 3. In order to estimate the nationwide rate we then added the number of deaths caused by criminal violence to the lower and upper bound respectively. To arrive at the final estimate of number of Iraqi civilians killed as a result of violence from war and violence from crime we then added the number of Iraqi civilians killed as a result of violence from war up until August 30, 2004. We added the lower bound of estimated civilians killed to the lower bound, and the higher bound of civilians killed to the higher bound. For more on how we estimated civilian casualties please see the civilian casualties table.

²¹ Numbers for all months based on a partial list of contractors killed in Iraq according to ICasualties.org (www.icasualties.org). In addition to the deaths listed on the Icasualties website, the following deaths have also been reported. Neil MacFarquhar, "Thousands at Burial for Slain Cleric," *New York Times*, September 3. One British and American killed on October 26. The nationalities stated are according to a CBS camera man. Theola Labbe and Vernon Loeb, "Wolfowitz Unhurt in Rocket Attack," *Washington Post*, October 26, 2003. 2 Italians were killed by a truck bomb at the Italian Military on November 12. Alan Sipress, "U.S. Forces Kill Dozens after Iraq Ambushes," *Washington Post*, December 1, 2003. Two Japanese diplomats. Edward

Wong, "Iraqis Are Hoping for Early and Peaceful End to Shiite Insurrection," *New York Times*, April 16, 2004. One Iranian diplomat was killed the week of April 12. One Polish and One Algerian journalist were killed on May 6, 2004. Gary Klien, "Former Marine Man Killed in Iraq," *Marine Independent Journal*, May 4, 2004. One American contractor killed on May 3. Monte Morin and Patrick J. McDonnell, "Iraqi Leaders In Najaf Reach Deal In Effort To Resolve Crisis," *Los Angeles Times*, May 12, 2004. One Filipino worker killed on May 11, 2004. "Japan Says Iraq Reports Two Japanese Killed in Attack," *Bloomberg News*, May 28, 2004. Two Japanese journalist killed on May 27. Mariam Fam, "U.S. Troops Battle Shiite Militants in Kufa, Baghdad," *Associated Press*, June 2, 2004. One Italian security contractor was killed on June 2. "Security Guard Shot Dead in Iraq," *BBC News*, June 29, 2004. One American killed on June 27, 2004. "List of Foreigners Taken Hostage in Iraq," *Associated Press*, August 2, 2004. Two Pakistanis killed, one Bulgarian presumed killed. Maamoun Youssef. Kim Housego, "Editor Says French Hostages in Iraq handed to Opposition Group," September 2, 2004.

Three Turks killed. Jackie Spinner, "At Least 80 Civilians Die in Iraqi Violence", *Washington Post*, September 13, 2004. One Palestinian journalist killed on September 13, 2004. Alexandra Zavis, "Web Site Posting Claims Another American Hostage Killed by Al-Qaeda linked Militants in Iraq," *Associated Press*, September 22, 2004. One American killed September 20, and another September 22, 2004. Dexter Filkins, "2 Bombers Kill 5 in Guarded Area in Baghdad," *New York Times*, October 15, 2004. Two American contractors killed. Rawya Rageh, "Tape Shows Beheading of Two More," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 12, 2004. One Turk beheaded. Richard A Oppel Jr., "Iraqi Leader Says He'll Extend Weapons Trade-In Program.," *New York Times*, October 19, 2004. Two Macedonians beheaded. (www.Icasualties.org [September 25, 2004]). Two Brits, 2 South Africans, 1 American killed. Karl Vick, "Insurgent Massacre 49 Iraqi Recruits," *Washington Post*, October 25, 2004. One American and one Turk killed. Norimutsu Onishi, "Koizumi Vows no Japanese Withdrawal after Tourist's Beheading," *New York Times*, November 1, 2004. One Japanese. Karl Vick, "Fighting Around Fallujah Intensifies," *Washington Post*, November 8, 2004. Karl Vick, "CARE Official Abducted in Iraq Presumed Dead," *Washington Post*, November 17, 2004. One Brit.

²² Ibid.

²³ Iraqi Police Say Lebanese Hostage was Freed after a Raid on Insurgent Hideouts," *Associated Press*, August 2, 2004. 11 Turks. "A List of Foreigners Taken Hostage in Iraq," *Associated Press*, August 2, 2004. One Lebanese and one Somali. Rawya Rageh, "Tape Shows Beheading of Two More," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 12, 2004. One Turk beheaded.

²⁴ Barry Hatton, "Portuguese Journalists Attacked in Iraq, One Wounded, Another Kidnapped," *Associated Press*, November 14, 2003.

²⁵ Thomas E. Ricks and Sewell Chan, "General May Bolster Force in Iraq," *Washington Post*, April 9, 2004. 7 South Koreans, 3 Japanese, 2 Arab Israelis. Sewell Chan and Rajiv Chandrasekaran, "U.S.Calls for Cease-Fire in Fallujah," *Washington Post*, April 11, 2004. A Briton, a Canadian, an American. "A List of Foreigners Taken Hostage in Iraq," *Associated Press*, August 2, 2004. One American. Peter Baker, "After Abduction, Russia Urges Citizens to Leave Iraq," *Washington Post*, April 14, 2004. Three Russians and five Ukrainians. Sewell Chan and Pamela Constable, "Attacks test Truce in Falluja," *Washington Post*, April 15, 2004. A French, three Czech and two Japanese. Sewell Chan and Pamela Constable, "Captured U.S. Soldier in Shown on Arab TV," *Washington Post*, April 17, 2004. One Dane, one United Arab Emirate national. Sewell Chan and Pamela Constable, "Iraqi Insurgents Down U.S. Copter, Killing 2 in Crew," *Washington Post*, April 12, 2004. 7 Chinese. Jackie Spinner, "Hundreds Freed at Abu Ghraib," *Washington Post*, May 22, 2004. 4 Italians.

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⁴⁵⁹ L. Paul Bremer testifying before the House Armed Services Committee, *Federal News Service*, June 12, 2003.

⁴⁶⁰ Author’s estimate.

⁴⁶¹ “Progress Competes with Chaos in Iraq,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 19, 2003

⁴⁶² Author’s estimate.

⁴⁶³ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid.

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⁴⁷³ “Survey of Iraqi Public Opinion,” *International Republican Institute*, (www.iri.org/10-22-04-iraq.asp [October 23, 2004]). Face to face interviews were conducted with 2,210 individuals in all 18 governorates and rural regions. The margin of error is +/- 2.5%.

⁴⁷⁴ International Republican Institute & Independent Institute for Administrative and Civil Society Studies. Poll based on face to face interviews with 2,325 Iraqis. The survey includes all 18 governorates and rural sample. Some numbers may be approximate due to the fact that they had to be read from a block graph. Margin of error is +/- 3%. August 10-20, 2004.

⁴⁷⁵ International Republican Institute & Independent Institute for Administrative and Civil Society Studies. Poll based on face to face interviews with 3,230 Iraqis. The survey includes all 18 governorates . Some numbers may be approximate due to the fact that they had to be read from a block graph. Margin of error is +/- 2.57%. July 24 – August 2, 2004.

⁴⁷⁶ Part of Iraq Center for Research and Strategic Studies survey as reported by the London Financial Times. Mark Tuner, “80% of Iraqis Want Coalition Troops Out,” *London Financial Times*, July 7, 2004.

⁴⁷⁷ The poll was are based on face-to-face interviews with more than 100 individuals conducted by IIACSS for the CPA in Baghdad, Basrah, Mosul, Diwaniyah, Hillah, and Baqubah between 9-19 June. The margin of error is +/- 4 %. Results of the poll were made available by Robin Wright, “Iraqis Back New Leaders, Poll Says,” *Washington Post*, June 25, 2004.

⁴⁷⁸ The majority of the findings are based on face-to-face interviews with 1093 randomly selected individuals conducted by IIACSS for the CPA in Baghdad, Basrah, Mosul, Diwaniyah, Hillah, and Baqubah between 14 and 23 May. The margin of error is +/- 4.1 %. Poll made available through *Associated Press Washington in Depth*, (wid.ap.org/documents/iraq/cpapoll_files/frame.htm [June 18, 2004]).

⁴⁷⁹ “CNN/USA Today/Gallup Poll Nationwide poll of Iraq.” Face to face interviews with 3,444 adults in Iraq were conducted in Arabic and Kurdish by Iraqi interviewers hired and supervised by the Pan Arab Research Center of Dubai. All interviews were conducted in the residences of the respondents. The poll results are based on interviews conducted in all parts of Iraq, both urban and rural, representing about 93% of the total Iraqi population. Nearly all the interviews were conducted between March 22 –April 9, 2004.” (i.a.cnn.net/cnn/2004/WORLD/meast/04/28/iraq.poll/iraq.poll.4.28.pdf [May 13, 2004]).

⁴⁸⁰ Thomas E. Ricks, “80% in Iraq Distrust Occupation Authority,” *Washington Post*, May 13, 2004. Results cited are from a Coalition Provisional Authority poll.

⁴⁸¹ Thomas E. Ricks, “80% in Iraq Distrust Occupation Authority,” *Washington Post*, May 13, 2004. Results cited are from a poll conducted for the Coalition Provisional Authority.

⁴⁸² Oxford Research International/BBC/ABC News.ARD/NHK, as quoted in “Special Report: Iraq, One Year On,” *Economist*, March 20, 2004. Poll conducted between February 9th and February 28th.

⁴⁸³ “Opinion Analysis, *Office of Research, Department of State*, Washington DC, January 29, 2004. “The Office of Research survey was carried out between December 31, 2003 and January 7, 2004. The margin of error for the entire sample is approximately +/- 4 percent, but varies among cities.”

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid.

⁴⁹² Ibid.

⁴⁹³ “Opinion Analysis,” *Office of Research, Department of State*, Washington DC, January 6, 2004. Preliminary findings. The Office of Research survey was carried out between November 19-28. It has a margin of error of +/-6%.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁶ Will Lester, “Poll Finds Baghdad Residents Glad to Be Rid of Saddam,” *Associated Press*, September 24, 2003. The Gallup poll cited was carried out between August 8 and September 4. It has a margin of error of +/-3%.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁰ Walter Pincus, “Skepticism About U.S. Deep, Iraq Polls Shows; Motive for Invasion is Focus of Doubts,” *Washington Post*, November 12, 2003.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.

⁵⁰² Ibid.