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

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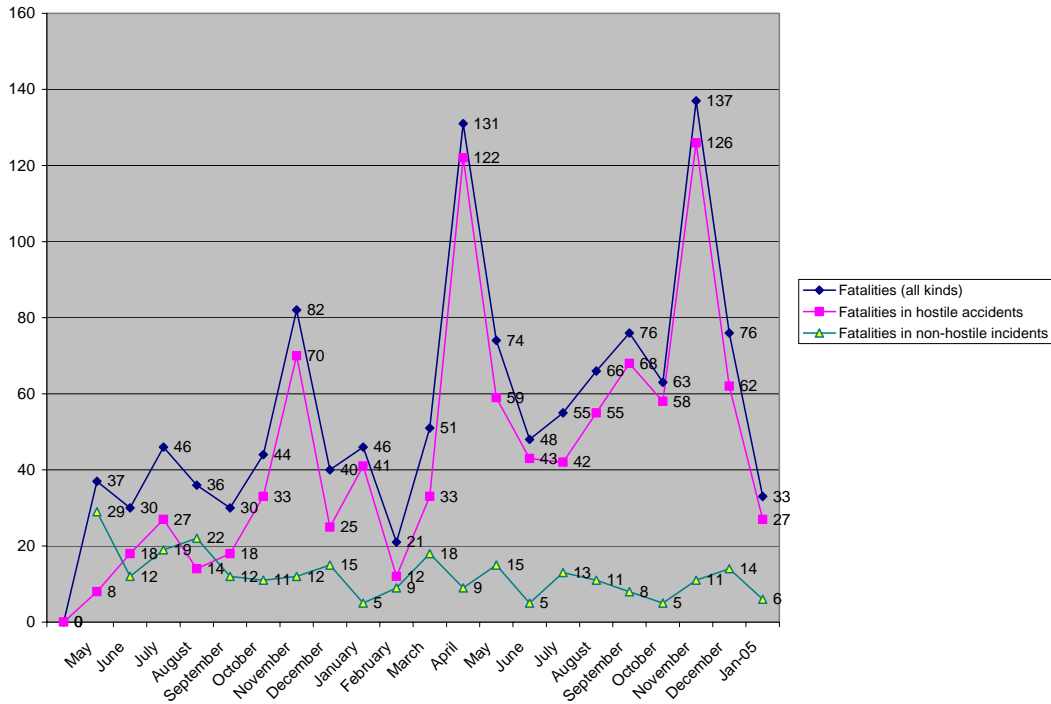
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SECURITY INDICATORS

U.S. TROOPS FATALITIES SINCE MAY 1, 2003¹



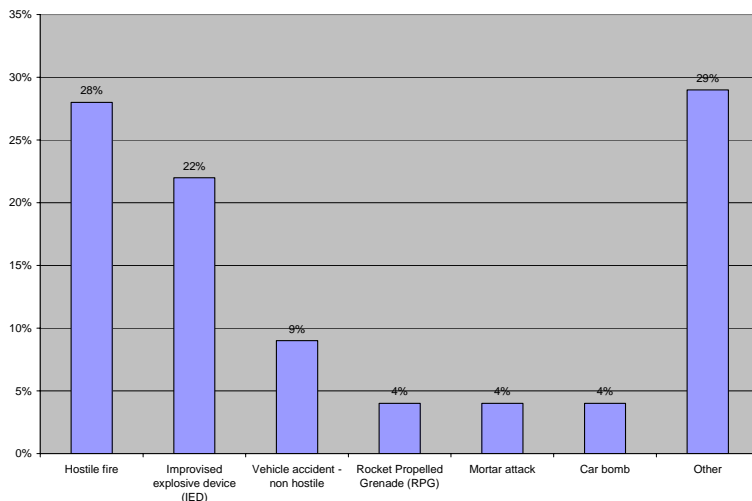
Total through January 18, 2005:

Fatalities (all kinds): **1,222**

Fatalities in hostile incidents: **961**

Fatalities in non-hostile incidents: **261**

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

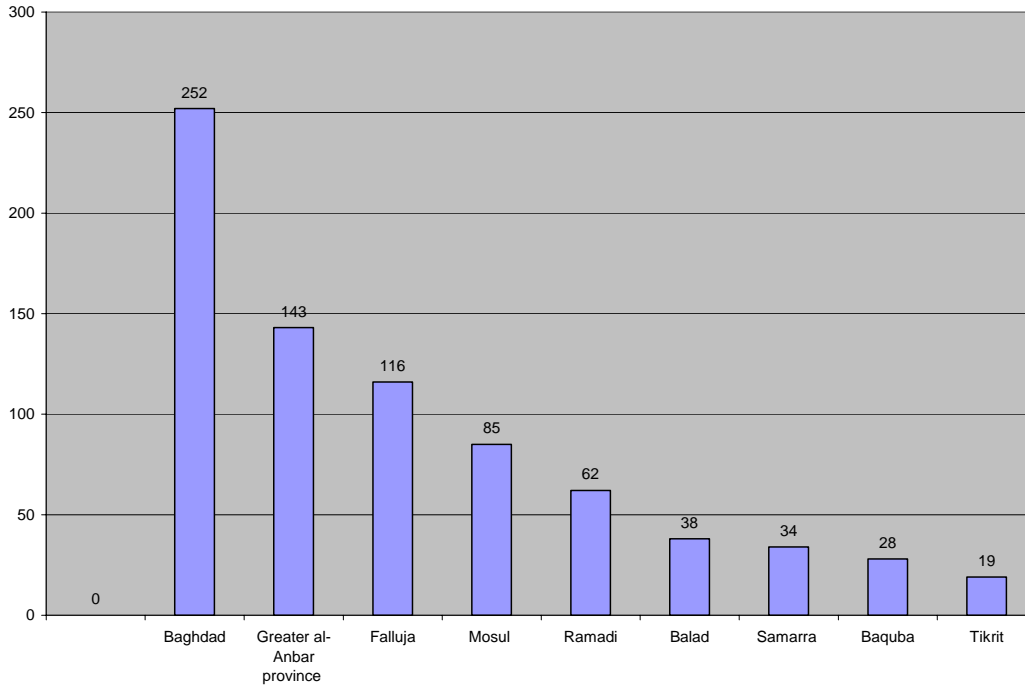


Through January 4, 2005

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.

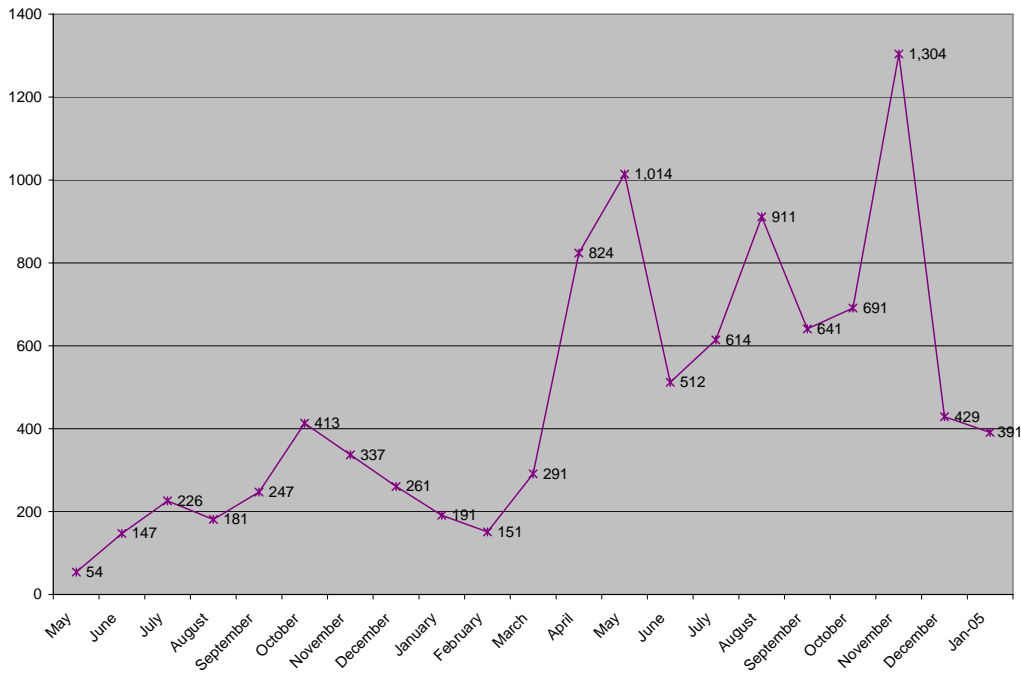
NOTE ON U.S. TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MAY TABLE: From the start of the war on March 19 until the end of major combat operations on April 30, 2003, Operation Iraqi Freedom caused 138 American troop fatalities. Of those, 109 were the result of hostile action, and 29 the result of non-hostile action. 65 U.S. 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 January 4, 2005: 794

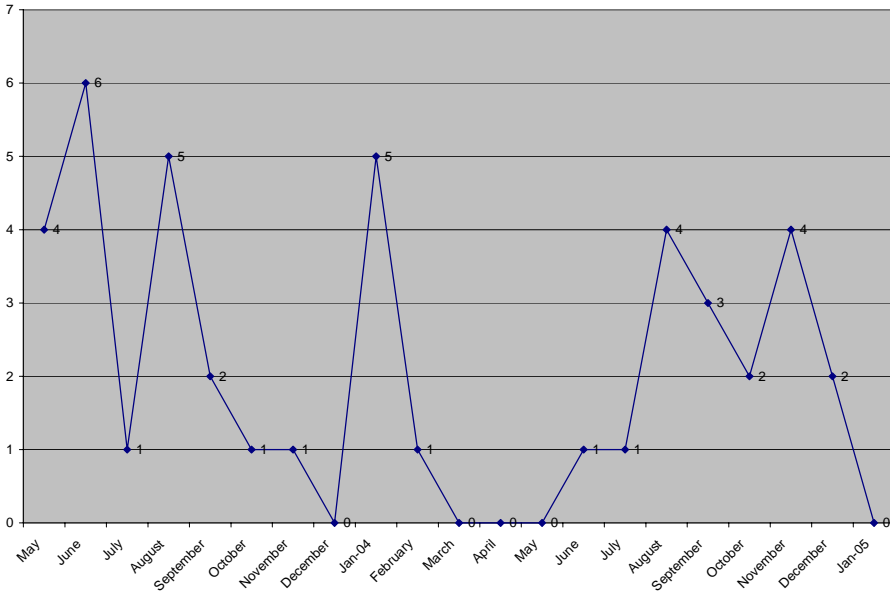
U.S. TROOPS WOUNDED IN ACTION SINCE MAY, 2003⁴



Total through January 18, 2004: 9,960

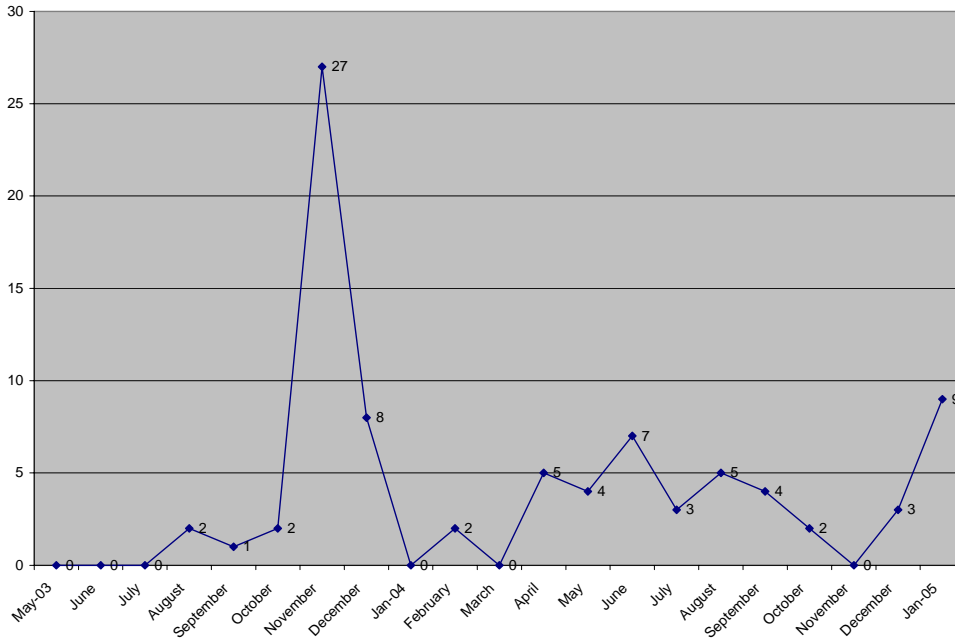
NOTE ON U.S. TROOPS WOUNDED IN ACTION SINCE MAY 1, 2003 TABLE: 541 American troops were wounded in action between March 19 and April 30, 2003.

BRITISH TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MAY, 2003⁵



Total through January 18, 2005: 43

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

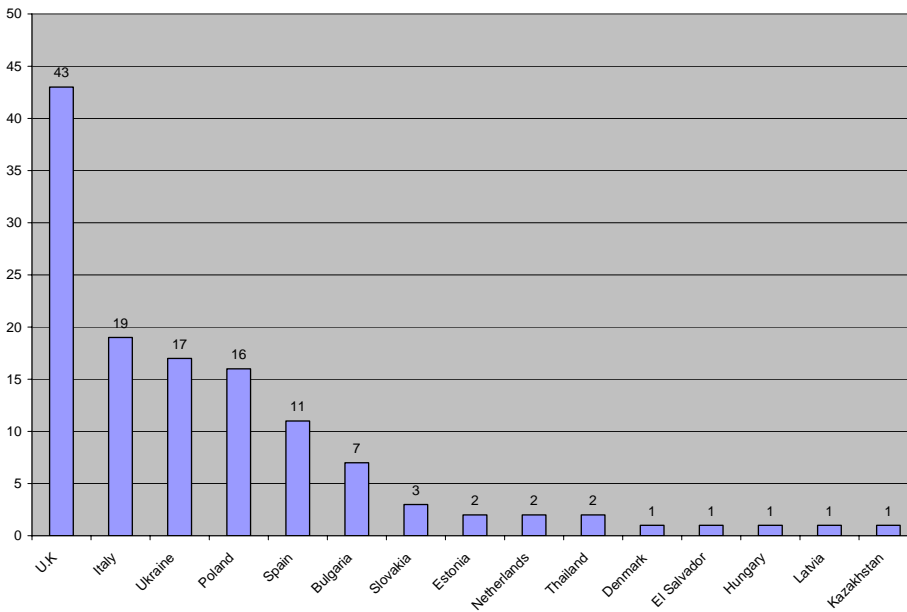


Total through January 18, 2004: 84

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 January 14, 2005: 127

IRAQI POLICE KILLED

Estimated number of Iraqi police killed January 1, 2004 - September 28, 2004 750 ⁸

IRAQI POLICE KILLED

Estimated number of Iraqi police killed September 1, 2004- December 31, 2004 1,300 ⁹

IRAQI SECURITY FORCES RECRUITS KILLED

Estimated number of Iraqi security recruits killed	
May 1, 2003 -September 23, 2004	721 ¹⁰
September 24-October 26, 2004	779
Total as of October 26, 2004	1,500¹¹

IRAQI INTERPRETERS WORKING FOR COALITION FORCES KILLED

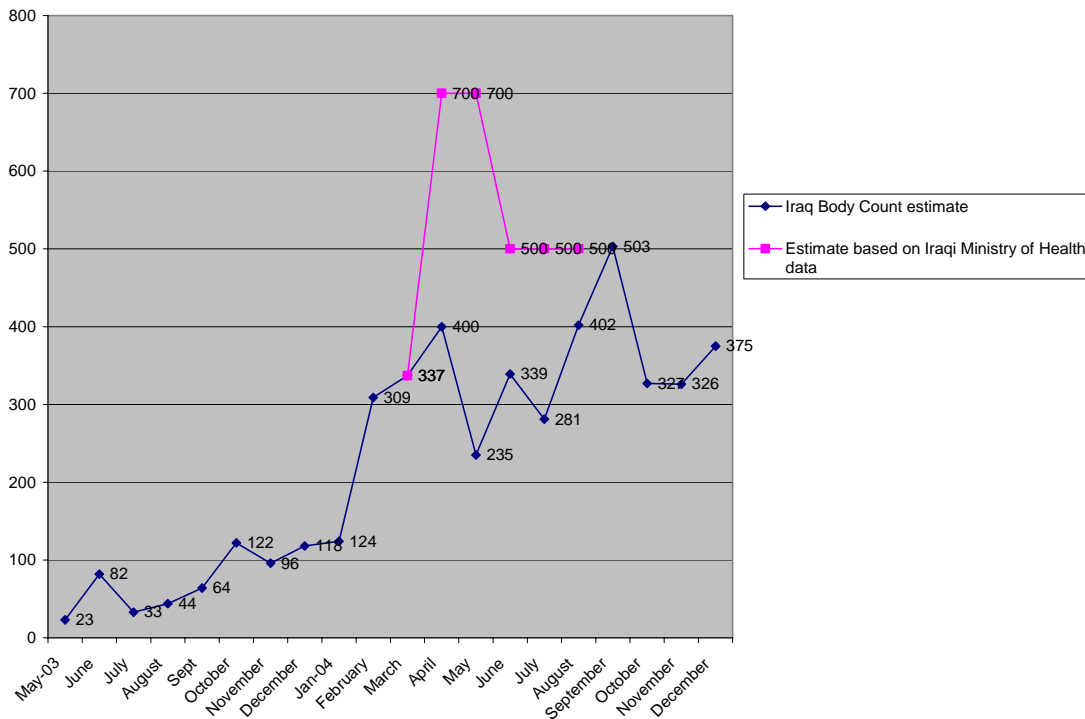
Total number of Iraqi interpreters killed January, 2004 - September 18, 2004 52 ¹²

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 December 31, 2004: 12,000-13,000 Including deaths from crime as of October 31, 2004: 22,700-38,500
Iraq Body Count	14,600 - 17,000 as of December 4, 2004¹³
Statement by British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw	>10,000 as of February 2004¹⁴
Shaik Omar Clinic, Baghdad	10,363 as of September 8, 2004¹⁵ (in Baghdad and surrounding towns alone)
Amnesty International (London)	>10,000 as of September 8, 2004¹⁶
The Human Rights Organization, Iraq	>30,000¹⁷

IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED AS A RESULT OF ACTS OF WAR SINCE MAY 2003¹⁸

Total as of December 31, 2004: 4,540-5,783



NOTE ON IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED AS A RESULT OF ACTS OF WAR TABLE: Up until recently we used to rely on our own numbers for estimates of Iraqi civilians killed in mass casualty suicide and car bombings. Due to difficulties of differentiating between civilian and non-civilian casualties, we have however reverted to relying on the Iraq Body Count for these numbers as well. As a result, the monthly totals have changed somewhat compared to previous estimates.

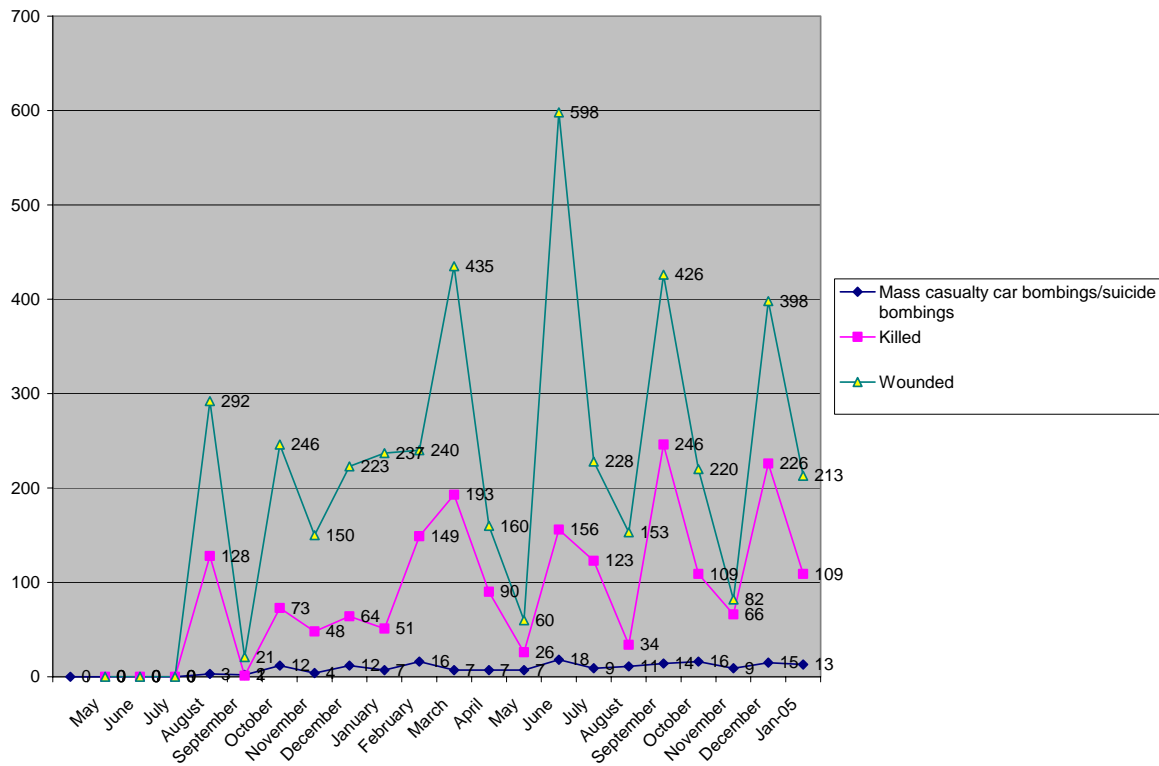
NOTE ON IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED AS A RESULT OF ACTS OF WAR TABLE: As of October, 2004, the Iraqi Ministry of Health will not be releasing numbers of civilians killed. This will be done by the Secretariat of the Council of Ministers only. Norimitsu Onishi, "How Many Iraqis are dying?" New York Times, October 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, 2003¹⁹



Total as of January 18, 2005:

Mass casualty bombings: 182

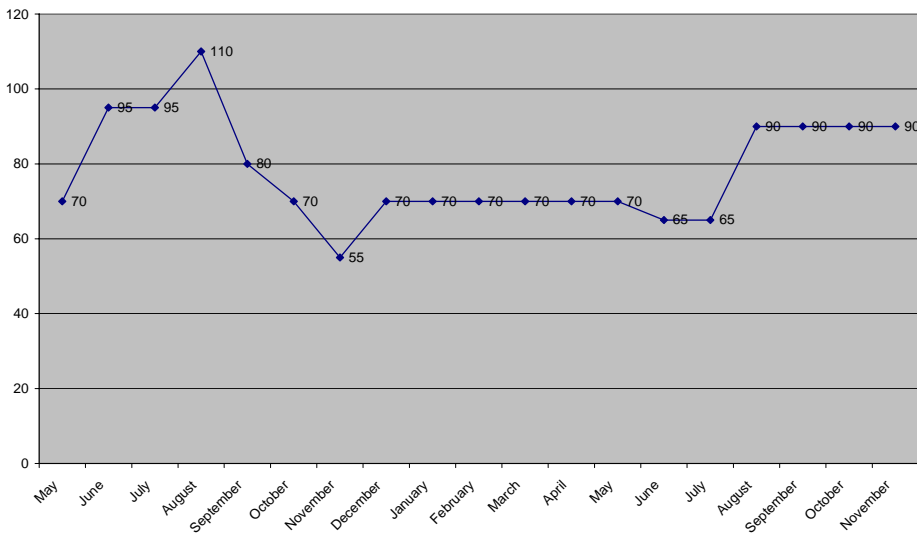
Killed: 1,892

Wounded: 4,382

NOTE: At least 112 of the 182 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, 2003²⁰

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



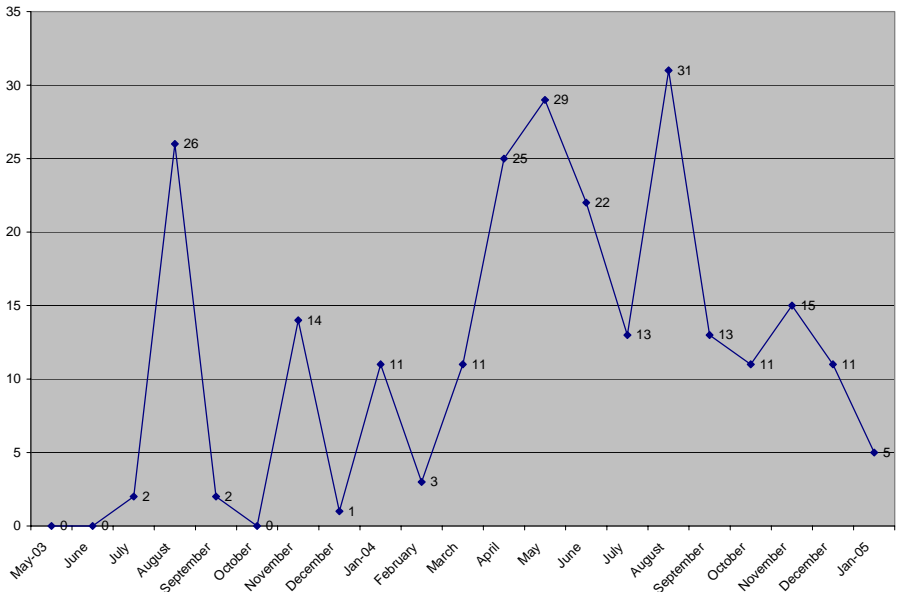
NOTE: Estimates for each month are typically based on the number of bodies brought to the Baghdad morgue with mortal gunshot wounds. We recognize that our estimates could be too high as a result of some of the gunshot victims could be insurgents killed intentionally by U.S. military, but also that they 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 CRIME²¹

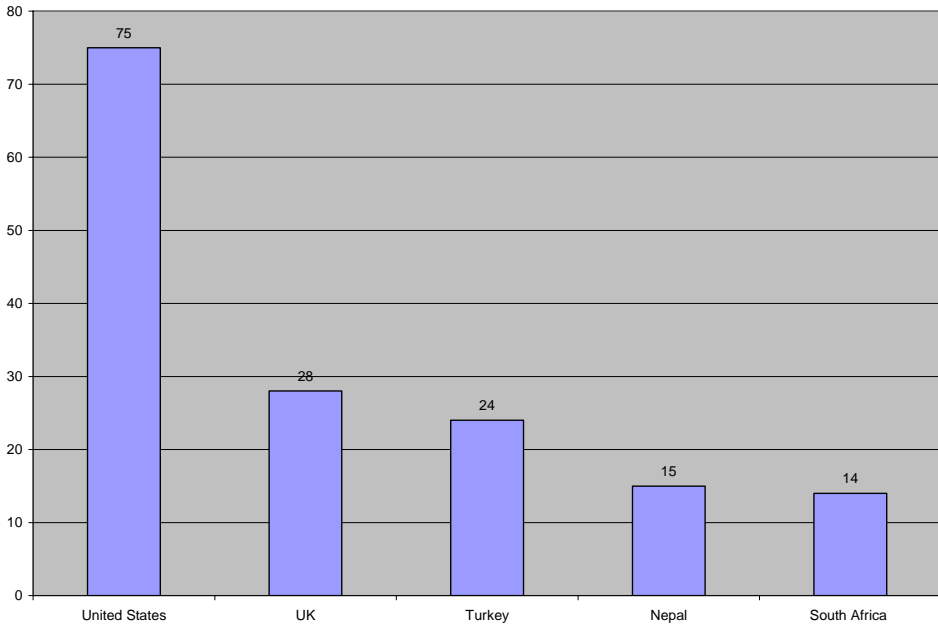
Number of Iraqi civilians killed as a result of violence from war and violence from crime between May, 2003 and October 30, 2004	15,400-31,300
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------

NON-IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED SINCE MAY, 2003²²



Total through January 18, 2005: 245

COUNTRIES WITH MORE THAN 10 CIVILIANS KILLED IN IRAQ SINCE MAY 1, 2003²³



Through January 18, 2005

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.

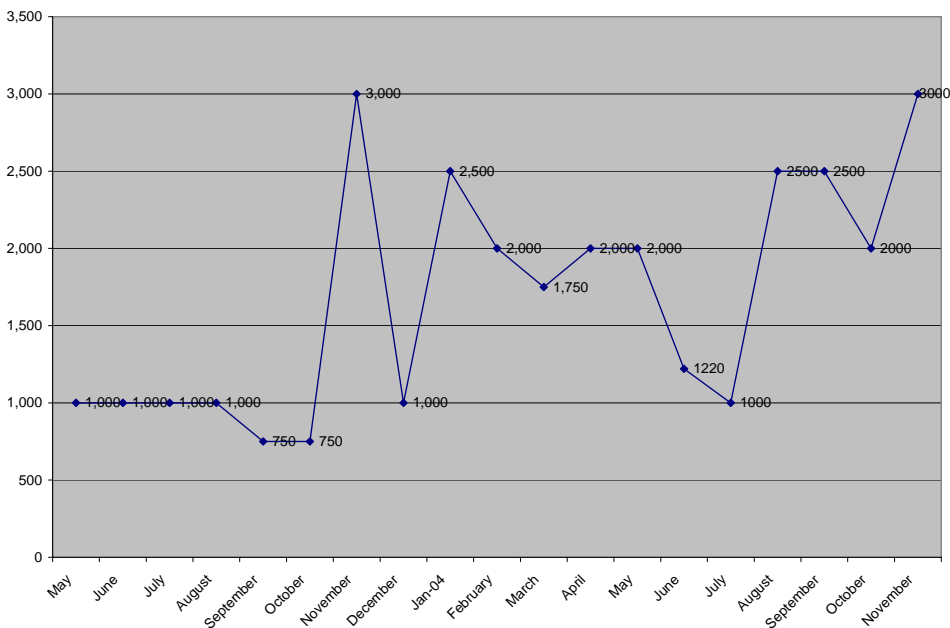
NOTE ON NON-IRAQI CIVILIAN CASUALTIES TABLE: According to numbers provided by the U.S. Labor Department, private contractors filed claims for 157 civilians contractor deaths and 516 serious injuries in 2004. Of these, nearly 60 percent worked for Halliburton C0. and Titan. In 2003, claims were made for 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 ²⁴	11 unknown, 3 killed
May 2003 - October 2003	0	
November	1 ²⁵	1 released
December 2003 -March 2004	0	
April	43 ²⁶	3 killed, 30 released, 2 still held, 1 escaped, 7 status unknown
May	2 ²⁷	1 killed, 1 still held
June	3 ²⁸	2 killed, 1 escaped
July	26 ²⁹	3 killed, 13 released, 6 still held, 1 rescued, 1 escaped, 2 unknown
August	30 ³⁰	15 killed, 15 released
September	31 ³¹	4 killed, 4 released, 22 still held, 1 rescued
October	8 ³²	3 killed, 2 released, 1 still held
November	3 ³³	1 killed, 2 still held
December	0	
January 2005	1 ³⁴	1 released
Total through January 18, 2005	161	33 killed, 68 released, 36 still held, 3 escaped, 2 rescued, 20 status unknown

TOTAL NUMBER OF INSURGENTS DETAINED OR KILLED³⁵



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 ³⁶

Peak prison population in 2003	10,000
Prison population in July, 2004	5,700 ³⁷ (of which 90 are foreign nationals)
Prison population as of September 7, 2004	5,500 ³⁸ (whereof 2 are women, 65-70 are juveniles and 130-140 are foreign nationals)
Prison population as of early October 2004	4,300 ³⁹
Prison population as of November 29, 2004	8,300 ⁴⁰

ESTIMATED STRENGTH OF INSURGENCY NATIONWIDE

Month	Estimated strength of insurgency nationwide
November	5,000 ⁴¹
December	5,000 ⁴²
January 2004	3, 000-5,000 ⁴³
February	N/A
March	N/A
April	5,000 ⁴⁴
May	N/A
June	N/A
July	20,000 ⁴⁵
August	20,000
September	20,000 ⁴⁶
October	20,000
November	20,000 ⁴⁷
December	“more than 20,000” ⁴⁸
January	20,000 ⁴⁹

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF FOREIGN FIGHTERS

January 2004	300-500 ⁵⁰
July 2004	“Low hundreds” ⁵¹
September 2004	“Less than 1000” ⁵²
November 2004	3,000 ⁵³

NOTE ON ESTIMATED STRENGTH OF IRAQI RESISTANCE NATIONWIDE TABLE:

Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Richard Myers, said on December 16, 2004 that Saddam loyalist, and not foreign fighters remain the main threat in Iraq. “Baathists Main Threat,” *Bahrain Times*, December 16, 2004.

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 ⁵⁴	~8,000 ⁵⁵	150,000 ⁵⁶	23,000 ⁵⁷	173,000
June	~126,000 ⁵⁸	~24,000 ⁵⁹	150,000 ⁶⁰	21,000 ⁶¹	171,000
July	~124,000 ⁶²	~25,000 ⁶³	149,000 ⁶⁴	21,000 ⁶⁵	170,000
August	~114,000 ⁶⁶	~25,000 ⁶⁷	139,000 ⁶⁸	22,000 ⁶⁹	161,000
September	~103,000 ⁷⁰	~29,000 ⁷¹	132,000 ⁷²	24,000 ⁷³	156,000
October	~102,000 ⁷⁴	~29,000 ⁷⁵	131,000 ⁷⁶	25,000 ⁷⁷	156,000
November	N/A	N/A	123,000 ⁷⁸	23,900 ⁷⁹	146,900
December	~85,400 ⁸⁰	~36,600 ⁸¹	122,000 ⁸²	24,500 ⁸³	146,500
January	N/A	N/A	122,000 ⁸⁴	25,600 ⁸⁵	147,600
February	N/A	N/A	115,000 ⁸⁶	24,000 ⁸⁷	139,000
March	N/A	N/A	130,000 ⁸⁸	24,000 ⁸⁹	154,000
April	N/A	N/A	137,000 ⁹⁰	25,000 ⁹¹	162,000
May	N/A	N/A	138,000 ⁹²	24,000 ⁹³	162,000
June	89,700	48,300 ⁹⁴	138,000 ⁹⁵	23,000 ⁹⁶	161,000
July	N/A	N/A	140,000 ⁹⁷	22,000 ⁹⁸	162,000
August	84,000	56,000 ⁹⁹	140,000 ¹⁰⁰	23,700 ¹⁰¹	163,700
September	82,800	55,200 ¹⁰²	138,000 ¹⁰³	24,600 ¹⁰⁴	162,600
October	82,800	55,200 ¹⁰⁵	138,000 ¹⁰⁶	24,000 ¹⁰⁷	162,000
November	82,800	55,200	138,000 ¹⁰⁸	24,000 ¹⁰⁹	162,000
December	82,800 ¹¹⁰	55,200 ¹¹¹	148,000 ¹¹²	25,000 ¹¹³	173,000
January	N/A	N/A	150,000 ¹¹⁴	24,500 ¹¹⁵	174,500

N/A= Not available

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.

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

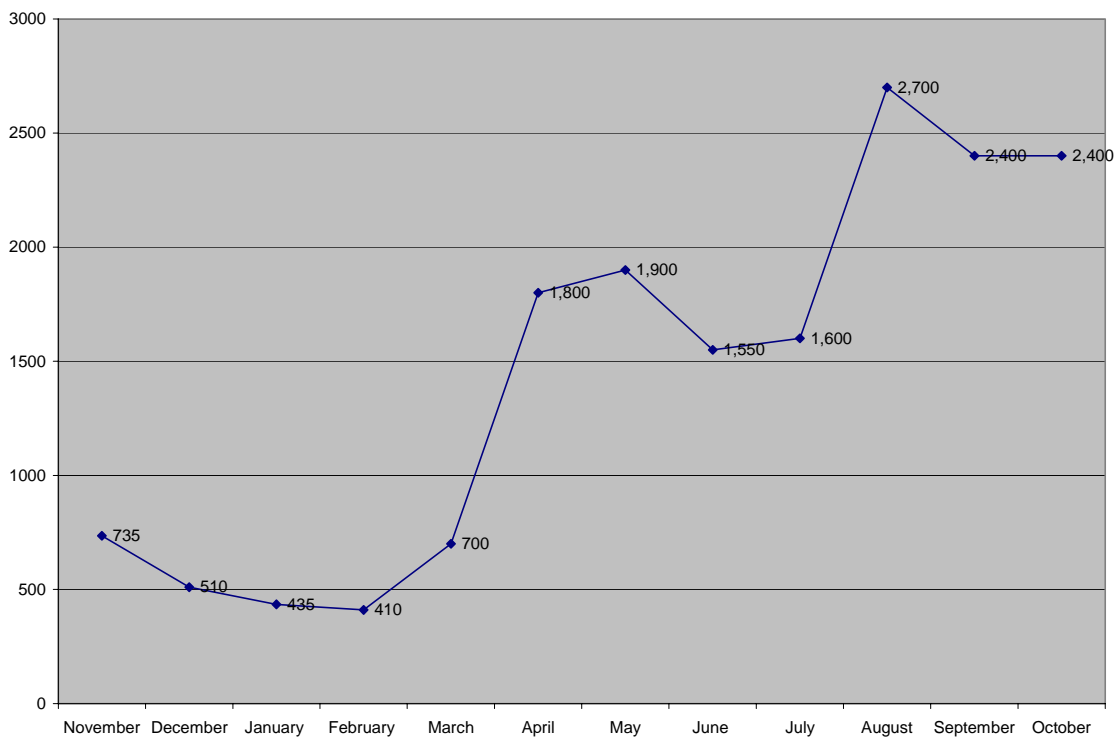
Coalition country	Military personnel in Iraq
United Kingdom	9,000 ¹¹⁶
South Korea	3,600 ¹¹⁷
Italy	3,000 ¹¹⁸
Poland	2,400 ¹¹⁹
Ukraine	1,600 ¹²⁰
Netherlands	1,300 ¹²¹ (Nov. 12)
Australia	900 ¹²²
Romania	700 ¹²³
Japan	600 ¹²⁴
Denmark	525 ¹²⁵ (Nov. 25)
Remaining 18 coalition countries	4,375

As of December, 2004.

“HIGH-VALUE” INTELLIGENCE REPORTS¹²⁶

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

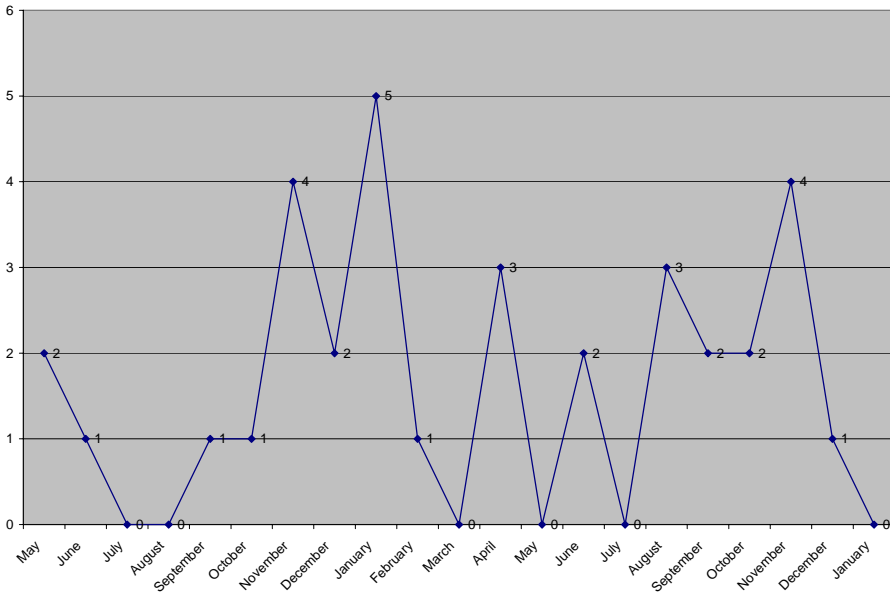
INSURGENT ATTACKS ON COALITION FORCES¹²⁷



NOTE ON TOP TEN NON-U.S. COALITION CONTRIBUTORS OF MILITARY PERSONNEL IN IRAQ TABLE: In addition to the United States, 28 countries have forces in Iraq as of December 22, 2004: Albania, 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, Slovakia, Thailand, Tonga, Ukraine, and the United Kingdom. “Iraq Weekly Status Report,” Department of States, December 22, 2004.

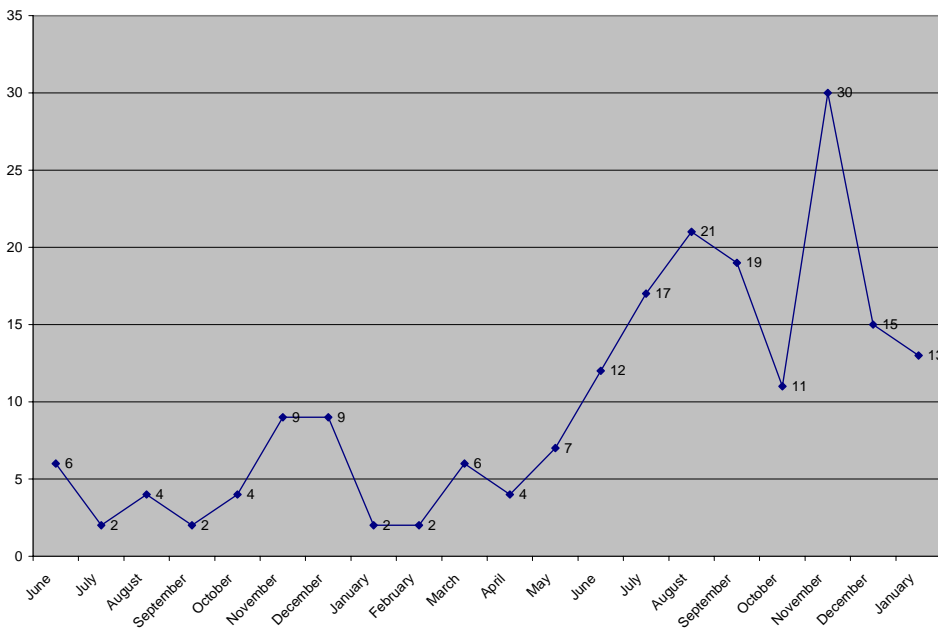
NOTE ON INSURGENT ATTACKS ON COALITION FORCES: American officers say that Iraqis are paid between \$20-\$200 to stage ambushes and plant explosives, that are then detonated by “part-time triggermen,” many of which are also paid. John F. Burns, “After Falluja, U.S. Troops Fight a New Battle Just as Important,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

AMERICAN MILITARY HELICOPTERS DOWNED IN IRAQ¹²⁸



Total through January 18: 34

ATTACKS ON IRAQI OIL AND GAS PIPELINES, INSTALLATIONS & PERSONNEL¹²⁹



Total through January 14, 2004: 195

COALITION FORCES ABILITY TO FIND AND DISARM IMPROVISED EXPLOSIVE DEVICES (IEDs)

Time	Percentage of IEDs found and disarmed ¹³⁰
December 2003	37%
December 2004	50%

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 ¹³¹
April	40
May	28
June	23
July	18
August	16
September	15
October	15
November	15
December	13 ¹³²
January	12 ¹³³
February	10 ¹³⁴
March	9 ¹³⁵
April	9
May	9
June	9
July	9
August	9
September	8 ¹³⁶
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	7,000-9,000 ¹³⁷	N/A	0	N/A	7,000-9,000	N/A
June	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
July	30,000 ¹³⁸	N/A	0	N/A	30,000	11,000 ¹³⁹
August	34,000 ¹⁴⁰	670 ¹⁴¹	0	2,500 ¹	37,170	N/A
September	37,000 ¹⁴²	2,500 ¹⁴³	0	4,700 ¹	44,200	>12,000 ¹⁴⁴
October	55,000 ¹⁴⁵	4,700 ¹⁴⁶	700 ¹⁴⁷	6,400 ¹	66,800	18,700 ¹⁴⁸
November	68,800 ¹⁴⁹	12,700 ¹⁵⁰	900 ¹⁵¹	12,400 ¹	94,800	52,700 ¹⁵²
December	71,600 ¹⁵³	15,200 ¹⁵⁴	400 ¹⁵⁵	12,900 ¹	99,600	65,200 ¹⁵⁶
January	66,900 ¹⁵⁷	19,800 ¹⁵⁸	1,100 ¹⁵⁹	21,000 ¹	108,800	97,800 ¹⁶⁰
February	77,100 ¹⁶¹	27,900 ¹⁶²	2,000 ¹⁶³	18,000 ¹	125,000	73,900 ¹⁶⁴
March	75,000 ¹⁶⁵ 22% partially or fully trained	33,560 ¹⁶⁶ 100% partially or fully trained	3,005 ¹⁶⁷ 100% partially or fully trained	23,426 ¹ 39% partially or fully trained	134,991 65% partially or fully trained	73,992 ¹⁶⁸ 100% partially or fully trained
April	80,016 ¹⁶⁹ 22% partially or fully trained	23,123 ¹⁷⁰ partially or fully trained	2,367 ¹⁷¹ partially or fully trained	18,747 ¹ 49% partially or fully trained	124,253 68% partially or fully trained	73,992 ¹⁷² partially or fully trained
May	90,803 ¹⁷³ 28% partially or fully trained	24,873 ¹⁷⁴ partially or fully trained	3,939 ¹⁷⁵ partially or fully trained	16,097 ¹ 57% partially or fully trained	135,712 71% partially or fully trained	73,992 ¹⁷⁶ partially or fully trained
June	83,789 ¹⁷⁷ 32% partially or fully trained	36,229 ¹⁷⁸ partially or fully trained	7,116 ¹⁷⁹ partially or fully trained	18,183 ¹ partially or fully trained	145,317 83% partially or fully trained	73,992 ¹⁸⁰ partially or fully trained
July	31,306 ¹⁸¹ partially or fully trained	36,229 ¹⁸² partially or fully trained	7,700 ¹⁸³ partially or fully trained	19,859 ¹ partially or fully trained	95,088 partially or fully trained	73,992 ¹⁸⁴ partially or fully trained
August	32,942 ¹⁸⁵ partially or fully trained	37,925 ¹⁸⁶ partially or fully trained	6,288 ¹⁸⁷ partially or fully trained	14,313 ¹⁸⁸ partially or fully trained	91,468 partially or fully trained	73,992
September	40,152 ¹⁸⁹ partially or fully trained	36,496 ¹⁹⁰ partially or fully trained	7,747 ¹⁹¹ partially or fully trained	14,313 ¹⁹² partially or fully trained	98,708 partially or fully trained	74,000 ¹⁹³
October	44,728 ¹⁹⁴ partially or fully trained	41,261 ¹⁹⁵ partially or fully trained	6,861 ¹⁹⁶ partially or fully trained	18,148 ¹⁹⁷ partially or fully trained	110,998 partially or fully trained	N/A
November	49,455 ¹⁹⁸ partially or fully trained	43,445 ¹⁹⁹ partially or fully trained	6,013 ²⁰⁰ partially or fully trained	14,593 ²⁰¹ partially or fully trained	113,506 ²⁰² partially or fully trained	N/A
December	53,571 ²⁰³ partially or fully trained	40,115 ²⁰⁴ partially or fully trained	14,500 ²⁰⁵ partially or fully trained	14,267 ²⁰⁶ partially or fully trained	118,009 ²⁰⁷ partially or fully trained	N/A
January 2005	57,398 ²⁰⁸ partially or fully trained	40,063 ²⁰⁹ partially or fully trained	14,786 ²¹⁰ partially or fully trained	14,714 ²¹¹ partially or fully trained	126,961 ²¹² partially or fully trained	
Stated goal	142, 190 ²¹³ (revised up from 89,369 in June 2004) ²¹⁴	61,904 ²¹⁵ (Revised up from 41,088 ²¹⁶ in June 2004)	36,635 ²¹⁷ (Revised up from 35,000 ²¹⁸ in June 2004)	29,360 ²¹⁹	272,566 ²²⁰ (145,000 by January 2005 ²²¹)	73,992 ²²²

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: 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 EQUIPMENT²²³

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 EQUIPMENT²²⁴

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>	499.3 ²²⁵
<i>Austria</i>	813.1 ²²⁶
<i>Belgium</i>	184.5 ²²⁷
<i>Brazil</i>	192.9 ²²⁸
<i>Canada</i>	564.2 ²²⁹
<i>Denmark</i>	30.8 ²³⁰
<i>Finland</i>	152.2 ²³¹
<i>France</i>	2,993.7 ²³²
<i>Germany</i>	2,403.9 ²³³
<i>Italy</i>	1,726 ²³⁴
<i>Japan</i>	4,108.6 ²³⁵
<i>Netherlands</i>	96.7 ²³⁶
Republic of Korea	54.7 ²³⁷
Russian Federation	3,450 ²³⁸
<i>Spain</i>	321.2 ²³⁹
<i>Sweden</i>	185.8 ²⁴⁰
<i>Switzerland</i>	117.5 ²⁴¹
<i>United Kingdom</i>	930.8 ²⁴²
<i>United States</i>	2,192 ²⁴³
Egypt and others	N/A
Poland	500 ²⁴⁴
Kuwait	17,000 ²⁴⁵
Bulgaria	1,000 ²⁴⁶
Hungary	16.5 ²⁴⁷
Gulf States	30,000 ²⁴⁸
Morocco	31.8 ²⁴⁹
Jordan	295 ²⁵⁰
Turkey	800 ²⁵¹
Interest (as of 2002)	47,000 ²⁵²
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, 2003²⁵³.

Donor	2004 (millions)	2005-2007 (millions)	Unspecified by year (millions)	Total (millions)	Form of pledge ²⁵⁴
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 ²⁵⁵
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 NEEDS²⁵⁶

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 ASSESSMENT²⁵⁷

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 RECONSTRUCTION²⁵⁸

	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 ²⁵⁹	\$13	\$2.5	\$2.7 as of November 1, 2004 ²⁶⁰
Disbursement	\$5.2 as of November 1, 2004 ²⁶¹	\$8.3	\$2.4	\$1.2 as of September 2004 ²⁶²

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, 2004²⁶³

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 2004²⁶⁴

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)	Liquid Petroleum Gas (Prod. & Imp.)	
Estimated pre-war level	2.8-3.0 ²⁶⁵	1.7-2.5 ²⁶⁶	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
May 2003	0.3 ²⁶⁷	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	10 %
June	0.675 ²⁶⁸	0.2 ²⁶⁹	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	23%
July	0.925 ²⁷⁰	0.322 ²⁷¹	6.5 ²⁷²	4.75 ²⁷³	13.5 ²⁷⁴	1,880 ²⁷⁵	44%
August	1.445 ²⁷⁶	0.646 ²⁷⁷	10.25 ²⁷⁸	6.2 ²⁷⁹	14.0 ²⁸⁰	2,530 ²⁸¹	57%
September	1.7225 ²⁸²	0.983 ²⁸³	14.25 ²⁸⁴	6.9 ²⁸⁵	17.3 ²⁸⁶	3,030 ²⁸⁷	70%
October	2.055 ²⁸⁸	1.149 ²⁸⁹	14.75 ²⁹⁰	9.6 ²⁹¹	16.35 ²⁹²	3,700 ²⁹³	78%
November	2.1 ²⁹⁴	1.524 ²⁹⁵	13.14 ²⁹⁶	13.3 ²⁹⁷	11.792 ²⁹⁸	3,610 ²⁹⁹	76%
December	2.30 ³⁰⁰	1.541 ³⁰¹	12.29 ³⁰²	9.4 ³⁰³	12.9 ³⁰⁴	3,460 ³⁰⁵	72%
January 2004	2.440 ³⁰⁶	1.537 ³⁰⁷	13.91 ³⁰⁸	11.3 ³⁰⁹	13.32 ³¹⁰	3,445 ³¹¹	78%
February	2.276 ³¹²	1.382 ³¹³	15.21 ³¹⁴	13.05 ³¹⁵	16.65 ³¹⁶	4,670 ³¹⁷	88%
March	2.435 ³¹⁸	1.825 ³¹⁹	15.03 ³²⁰	17.28 ³²¹	17.19 ³²²	5,010 ³²³	92%
April	2.384 ³²⁴	1.804 ³²⁵	22.75 ³²⁶	4.46 ³²⁷	19.3 ³²⁸	3,607 ³²⁹	79%
May	1.887 ³³⁰	1.380 ³³¹	22.92 ³³²	4.005 ³³³	18.07 ³³⁴	3,264 ³³⁵	73%
June	2.295 ³³⁶	1.148 ³³⁷	16.47 ³³⁸	4.9 ³³⁹	22 ³⁴⁰	3,086 ³⁴¹	75%
July	2.2 ³⁴²	1.406 ³⁴³	17.95 ³⁴⁴	5.75 ³⁴⁵	22.3 ³⁴⁶	3,820 ³⁴⁷	80%
August	2.112 ³⁴⁸	1.114 ³⁴⁹	16 ³⁵⁰	4.2 ³⁵¹	15.1 ³⁵²	3,417 ³⁵³	84%
September	2.514 ³⁵⁴	1.703 ³⁵⁵	16.35 ³⁵⁶	6.35 ³⁵⁷	14.6 ³⁵⁸	2,707 ³⁵⁹	72%
October	2.46 ³⁶⁰	1.542 ³⁶¹	16.15 ³⁶²	7.95 ³⁶³	18.6 ³⁶⁴	3,044 ³⁶⁵	80%
November	1.95 ³⁶⁶	1.320 ³⁶⁷	16.5 ³⁶⁸	7.7 ³⁶⁹	17.9 ³⁷⁰	3,324 ³⁷¹	77%
December	2.16 ³⁷²	1.520 ³⁷³	18.3 ³⁷⁴	10.5 ³⁷⁵	17.6 ³⁷⁶	4,222 ³⁷⁷	88%
January 2005	1.99 ³⁷⁸	1.347 ³⁷⁹	13.7 ³⁸⁰	8.8 ³⁸¹	24.1 ³⁸²	5,234 ³⁸³	78%
Stated Goal:	2.8-3.0 ³⁸⁴ to be reached by December 2004	N/A	18 ³⁸⁵ revised down in June 2004 from 19.5	18 ³⁸⁶ Revised up in January from 15	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 REVENUE³⁸⁷

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	\$1.40
August	\$1.24
September	\$1.75
October	\$1.99
November	\$1.25
December	\$1.44
January 2005	\$0.31
Total as of January 12, 2005	\$22,402.4

N/A= Not available

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 ³⁸⁸	Average of daily megawatt hours ³⁸⁹ (MWH)
	Nation-wide	Baghdad		
Estimated pre-war level	4,400 ³⁹⁰	2,500 ³⁹¹	N/A	N/A
May	N/A	300 ³⁹²	N/A	N/A
June	3,193 ³⁹³	707 ³⁹⁴	N/A	N/A
July	3,236 ³⁹⁵	1,082 ³⁹⁶	N/A	N/A
Aug.	3,263 ³⁹⁷	1,283 ³⁹⁸	N/A	72,435
Sept.	3,543 ³⁹⁹	1,229 ⁴⁰⁰	N/A	75,000
Oct.	3,948 ⁴⁰¹	N/A	N/A	79,000
November	3,582 ⁴⁰²	N/A	N/A	70,000
December	3,427 ⁴⁰³	N/A	N/A	72,000
January 2004	3,758 ⁴⁰⁴	N/A	N/A	79,000
February	4,125 ⁴⁰⁵	1,307 ⁴⁰⁶	13	90,000
March	4,040 ⁴⁰⁷	1,192 ⁴⁰⁸	16	86,000
April	3,823 ⁴⁰⁹	1,021 ⁴¹⁰	15	78,000
May	3,902 ⁴¹¹	1,053 ⁴¹²	11	80,000
June	4,293 ⁴¹³	1,198	10	93,500
July	4,584 ⁴¹⁴	N/A	10	100,300
August	4,707 ⁴¹⁵	1,440	13	109,900 ⁴¹⁶
September	4,467 ⁴¹⁷	1,485	13	107,200 ⁴¹⁸
October	4,074 ⁴¹⁹	1,280	13	99,306 ⁴²⁰
November	3,199 ⁴²¹	845 ⁴²²	13 ⁴²³	76,550 ⁴²⁴
December	3,380 ⁴²⁵	N/A	N/A	81,114 ⁴²⁶
January	2,992 ⁴²⁷	1,027 ⁴²⁸	9.6 ⁴²⁹	71,800 ⁴³⁰
Stated Goal:	6,000 to have been reached by July 1, 2004 ⁴³¹	2,500 to have been reached by October 2003 ⁴³²	N/A	120,000 ⁴³³

N/A = Not available

VALUE OF THE IRAQI DINAR

Month	\$1 =ID
October 15	2,000 ⁴³⁴
November	1,948 ⁴³⁵
December	1,675 ⁴³⁶
January	1,360 ⁴³⁷
February	1,425 ⁴³⁸
March	1,415 ⁴³⁹
April	1,455 ⁴⁴⁰
May	1,460 ⁴⁴¹
June	1,455 ⁴⁴²
July	1,460 ⁴⁴³
August	1,460 ⁴⁴⁴
September	1,460 ⁴⁴⁵
October	1,460 ⁴⁴⁶
November	1,461 ⁴⁴⁷
December	1,461.8
January 2005	1,463 ⁴⁴⁸

COMMERCIAL AIRPORT DEPARTURES NATIONWIDE

Time	Commercial aircraft departures nationwide (per day) ⁴⁴⁹
Pre-war	2-3
January 2004	40
April	20
May	20 ⁴⁵⁰
June	45 ⁴⁵¹
July	45 ⁴⁵²
August	45 ⁴⁵³
September	45 ⁴⁵⁴
October	45 ⁴⁵⁵
Stated goal for July 2004	200-300

N/A= Not available

IRRIGATION

Month	Irrigation canals in need of clearing (km)
May	20,000 ⁴⁵⁶
September	5,000 ⁴⁵⁷
October	3,500 ⁴⁵⁸

TELEPHONE SUBSCRIBERS

Time	Telephone subscribers
Estimated pre-war level	833,000 ⁴⁵⁹
September	850,000 ⁴⁶⁰
December	600,000 ⁴⁶¹
January 2004	600,000 ⁴⁶²
February	900,000 ⁴⁶³
March	984,225 ⁴⁶⁴
April	1,095,000 ⁴⁶⁵
May	1,220,000 ⁴⁶⁶
June	1,200,000 ⁴⁶⁷
July	N/A
August	1,463,148 ⁴⁶⁸
September	1,579,457 ⁴⁶⁹
October	1,753,000
November	2,135,000 ⁴⁷⁰
December	2,152,000 ⁴⁷¹
Previous goal (Jan. 2004)	1,100,000 ⁴⁷²

INTERNET SUBSCRIBERS

Time	Internet subscribers ⁴⁷³
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	110,000 ⁴⁷⁴

LOCAL GOVERNANCE COUNCILS

Month	Number of local governance councils
November	255 ⁴⁷⁵
December	255
January	N/A
February	318 ⁴⁷⁶
July	746 ⁴⁷⁷
August	746 ⁴⁷⁸
September	746 ⁴⁷⁹

HOSPITALS RESTORED TO PRE-WAR LEVEL OF OPERATIONS

Month	Hospitals restored to pre-war level of operations
March	90% ⁴⁸⁰

HEPATITIS OUTBREAKS⁴⁸¹

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 5⁴⁸²

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% ⁴⁸³
July	N/A
August	50-60% ⁴⁸⁴
September	N/A
October	40 - 50% ⁴⁸⁵
November	N/A
December	45-55% ⁴⁸⁶
January	30 - 45% ⁴⁸⁷
February	30 - 45% ⁴⁸⁸
March	30- 45% ⁴⁸⁹
April	30 - 45% ⁴⁹⁰
May	30-45% ⁴⁹¹
June	30-40% ⁴⁹²
July	30-40% ⁴⁹³
August	30-40% ⁴⁹⁴
September	30-40% ⁴⁹⁵
October	30-40% ⁴⁹⁶

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

NOVEMBER 24 –DECEMBER 5, 2004: INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE⁴⁹⁷

IRAQI VIEWS ON SITUATION IN IRAQ

Do you think that Iraq today is generally heading in the right or wrong direction?	Right direction: 53.8% Wrong direction: 32% Don't know: 11.7% No answer: 1.8%	
Why do you think Iraq is heading in the <i>right</i> direction?	Getting rid of the past regime: 21.1% Coming elections: 16.3% Formation of Iraqi-led government: 11.4% Overall increase in freedom: 10.4% Improving economic situation: 8.5% General improvement of conditions: 6.9% Improving security situation: 3.8%	
Why do you think Iraq is heading in the <i>wrong</i> direction?	Poor security situation: 52.8% Presence of occupation forces: 18.2% General deterioration of overall conditions: 11.2% Unelected government: 4% Lack of cooperation between government and people: 2.4% Destroyed infrastructure: 1.7% Bad economic situation: 1.1%	
Thinking about the future, do you believe your life one year from today will be better, worse, or the same?	Better: 66% Worse: 13.7% Same: 11.2%	
To what degree do you feel that the Interim Government of Iraq has been effective or ineffective to date?	Late November Very effective: 22.9% Somewhat effective: 26.20% Somewhat ineffective: 17% Very ineffective: 15.8%	
On what issue do you feel that the Iraqi government has been most and least effective?	Most effective Security situation: 20.2% Economic situation: 20.1% None: 14.8% Relations with other countries: 3% Rising salaries: 2.9% Elections: 2.8% Improving public services: 2.1%	Least effective Security situation: 35% Infrastructure redevelopment: 12.7% Unemployment: 5.5% Economic situation: 4.9% None: 4.6% Overall situation in Iraq: 4.0% Fallujah and Najaf: 2.6%
To what degree do you think Prime Minister Allawi has been effective since taking office?	Very effective: 28.9% Somewhat effective: 31.6% Somewhat ineffective: 10.8% Very ineffective: 15.3%	

IRAQI VIEWS ON UPCOMING ELECTION

Do you believe that Iraq will be ready to hold national elections by January 31, 2005?	Yes: 67.4% No: 24.5% Don't know: 6.4%
If no, why?	Poor security situation: 56.3% Iraq is still under occupation: 30% Lack of democratic values: 4.9% Other: 3.9% No reliable census: 1.1%
Do you intend to vote in the coming elections?	Strongly intend: 71.4% Somewhat intend: 12.6% Somewhat not intend: 4.7% Not intend at all: 8.4% Don't know: 2.5%
If you are not going to vote, which of the following best describes your decision for boycotting elections?	No answer: 74.2% Security situation: 11.9% Don't trust elections process: 6.3% Don't know about parties or candidates: 3.2% Person/Group I respect calling for boycott: 2% Iraq not ready for election: 1.2%
If you intend to vote, how confident are you that you will be able to cast your vote in secret?	Very confident: 55.1% Somewhat confident: 30.8% Somewhat lack confidence: 5.7% Not confident at all: 2.8% Don't know: 5.5%
If a group or organization you respect call for a boycott of the election, would you participate in such a boycott?	No: 50.4% Yes: 40.4% Don't know: 5.7% No answer: 3.5%
Do you think the new administration will represent you and the people of your community?	Yes: 60.5% No: 11.6% Don't know: 15.7%

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	42.6%	43.6%
Kurdish areas:	71.6%	8.3%
Mosul & Kirkuk	21.1%	66.3%
Sunni areas:	18.9%	61.8%
Mid-Euphrates:	71.3%	23.6%
South:	61.7%	23.1%

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%	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 51.1%
	July 24- August 2, 2004: 46.5%	July 24- August 2, 2004: 27.9%
	May 27-June 11, 2004: 36%	May 27-June 11, 2004: 49.2%
Kurdish areas:	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 72.2%	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 11.4%
	July 24- August 2, 2004: 71.5%	July 24- August 2, 2004: 17.5%
	May 27-June 11, 2004: 83.8%	May 27-June 11, 2004: 8.64%
Mosul & Kirkuk	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 18.3%	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004:75.1%
	July 24- August 2, 2004: 27.7%	July 24- August 2, 2004: 58.7%
	May 27-June 11, 2004: 43.36%	May 27-June 11, 2004:42.47%
Sunni areas:	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 14.6%	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004:73.2%
	July 24- August 2, 2004: 28.9%	July 24- August 2, 2004: 53.4%
	May 27-June 11, 2004: 33.43%	May 27-June 11, 2004: 42.47%
Mid-Euphrates:	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 45.3%	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 45.1%
	July 24- August 2, 2004: 66.7%	July 24- August 2, 2004: 22.4%
	May 27-June 11, 2004: 56.37%	May 27-June 11, 2004: 39.87%
South:	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 51.1%	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 33.1%
	July 24- August 2, 2004: 61.4%	July 24- August 2, 2004: 19.2%
	May 27-June 11, 2004: 44.36%	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%
	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:	The state actively protects all religions without favoritism:	Major religions and sects are represented in the government by prominent religious figures:	The teachings of the faiths embraced by most Iraqis should be protected by law and the constitution:	Government officials should publicly embrace and employ religion in carrying out their duties:
Strongly disagree: 3.8% Somewhat disagree: 5.3% Somewhat agree: 17.5% Strongly agree: 65.5%	Strongly disagree: 6.3% Somewhat disagree: 8.6% Somewhat agree: 14.6% Strongly agree: 64.1%	Strongly disagree: 4.1% Somewhat disagree: 9.3% Somewhat agree: 21.4% Strongly agree: 57.4%	Strongly disagree: 1.7% Somewhat disagree: 1.8% Somewhat agree: 17.4% Strongly agree: 72.9%	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 POLL⁴⁹⁹

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 POLL⁵⁰⁰

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 beenmost 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

	June	July
Do you feel that Iraq is generally heading in the right or the wrong direction?	Right direction: 50.7% Wrong direction: 39.3% Don't know: 9.2%	Right direction: 51.3% Wrong direction: 31.4% Don't know: 16.05%
If you think Iraq is moving in the wrong direction, why is that?	Security situation: 62.45% Presence of occupation forces: 17.42% Unemployment: 5.1% Bias to certain groups of Iraqis: 3.66% Economic situation: 2.87% Neglect of infrastructure: 1.71%	
Thinking about the last two months, do you feel that the economy and security have gotten better, worse, or stayed the same?	Economy 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 POLL⁵⁰¹

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) POLL⁵⁰²

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%

14-23 MAY, 2004: COALITION PROVISIONAL AUTHORITY (CPA) POLL⁵⁰³

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?	<p>Better: 63%</p> <p>Worse: 15%</p> <p>Same: 14%</p> <p>Don't know/No answer: 8%</p>

HOW LONG SHOULD COALITION FORCES STAY IN IRAQ?

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

IMPACT OF COALITION FORCES LEAVING IMMEDIATELY

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

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?	<p>Very likely: 62%</p> <p>Somewhat likely: 25%</p> <p>Not very likely: 6%</p> <p>Don't know/No answer: 4%</p> <p>Not at all likely: 3%</p>

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 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 POLL⁵⁰⁴

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 INSTITUTIONS⁵⁰⁵

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 BAGHDAD⁵⁰⁶

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? ⁵⁰⁷
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? ⁵⁰⁹					
	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? ⁵¹⁰					
	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... ⁵¹¹		
	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.... ⁵¹²		
	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.... ⁵¹³		
	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... ⁵¹⁴		
	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? ⁵¹⁵		
	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? ⁵¹⁶					
	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? ⁵¹⁷				
	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? ⁵¹⁸	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? ⁵¹⁹	Agree: 66%	Agree: 61%
If coalition forces left immediately, would you feel more safe, less safe, or no difference? ⁵²⁰	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? ⁵²¹	Better off: 67% Worse off: 8%
Is Iraq better off now than it was before the invasion? ⁵²²	Better off: 33% Worse off: 47%
Was ousting Saddam worth the hardships endured since the invasion? ⁵²³	Yes: 62% No: N/A
Would you like to see U.S. troops stay longer than a few more months? ⁵²⁴	Stay longer: 71% Not stay longer: 26%
Are there circumstances in which attacks against U.S. troops can be justified? ⁵²⁵	No: 64% Sometimes justified: 36%
Have you been afraid at times to go outside your home during the day within the past four weeks? ⁵²⁶	Yes: 86% No: N/A
Is Baghdad a more dangerous place now than before the invasion? ⁵²⁷	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 Peter Spiegel, “Fresh Attacks Cast Doubt on Drive to Build Potent Security Forces,” *Financial Times*, January 8, 2005.

¹⁰ Donald D. Rumsfeldt testifying before the Senate Armed Services Committee September 23, 2004.

¹¹ Yochi j. Dreazen, “‘Lack of Security’ is Plaguing Iraq,” *Wall Street Journal*. October 26, 2004.

¹² Sabrina Tavernise, “Iraqis Working for Americans are in Insurgent’s Cross Hairs,” *New York Times*, September 18, 2004.

¹³ Iraq Body Count, (Iraqbodycount.net [September 17, 2004]).

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

¹⁵ Bassem Mroue, “AP Enterprise: More than 10,000 Iraqis Die Violently in Baghdad Region Alone,” *Associated Press*, September 8, 2004.

¹⁶ Bassem Mroue, “AP Enterprise: More than 10,000 Iraqis Die Violently in Baghdad Region Alone,” *Associated Press*, September 8, 2004.

¹⁷ Bassem Mroue, “AP Enterprise: More than 10,000 Iraqis Die Violently in Baghdad Region Alone,” *Associated Press*, September 8, 2004.

¹⁸ The monthly breakdown of casualties to Iraqi civilians since May 2003 is based on reports of individual incidents as reported by Iraq Body Count, (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. We exclude the in order to avoid any potential double counting. 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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Daniel Williams, “Blasts Target Iraq’s Kurdish Parties,” *Washington Post*, February 2, 2004. Two attacks on February 1. Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*. February 10, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Attack on February 9. Ariana 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.

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

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

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

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

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

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 Housego, "Insurgents Press Offensive to Subdue Iraqi Security forces with Car Bombings, Rocket Salvo," September 27, 2004. One car bomb killed 4 Iraqi national Guard men and wounded 3. A suicide bomber killed 3 Iraqi National Guard men and wounded at least three people. Alexandraq Zavis, "Baghdad Bombing Kills 35 Children; New Hostages Seized," *Associated Press*, September 30, 2004. 3 car bombs killed 42 people and wounded 14. 1 car bomb killed 4 and wounded 16. 1 suicide bomber killed 3. "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. Opiel 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. Opiel 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. Opiel 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. John F. Burns and Robert F. Worth, "As Iraqi Campaign Begins, A Bomb Kills 9 in Karbala," *New York Times*, December 16, 2004. 9 killed and 40 wounded. John F. Burns, "At Least 64 Dead as Rebels Strike in 3 Iraqi Cities," *New York Times*, December 20, 2004. 61 killed and 120 wounded in two bombings, whereof one was a suicide bomb. Richard A. Opiel Jr., "Suicide Bombings is Now Suspected in Mosul Attack," *New York Times*, December 23, 2004. One suicide bomb and one car bomb killed 31 and wounded 13. Erik Eckholm, "Toll from Tanker Blast Reaches 9 in Baghdad," *New York Times*, December 26, 2004. 9 killed and 14 wounded. Erik Eckholm, "Attacks on Iraqi Shiite Leaders Raise Fears of Civil Strife," *New York Times*, December 28, 2004. Suicide bomb kills 9 and wounds 67. Erik Eckholm, "Rebels Inflict Heavy Losses on the Iraqis," *New York Times*, December 29, 2004. 6 killed and 23 wounded. Richard A. Opiel Jr., "25 Insurgents are Killed Trying to Overrun U.S. Outpost in Mosul," *New York Times*, December 30, 2004. Nick Wadhams, "Suicide Bombing Kills at Least 23," *Associated Press*, January 2, 2005. Suicide bomb kills 23 people. Dusan Stojanovic, "Car Bomb Kills 19 Iraqis," *Associated Press*, January 2, 2005. "Insurgents Attacks Kills at Least 16 in Iraq," *Associated Press*, January 3, 2005. Two suicide car bombs kill 7, and wounds 39. "Gunmen Slay Governor of Baghdad Region," *Associated Press*, January 4, 2005. Truck bomb kills 10 people and wounds 60. "Car bomb attack at Iraqi Police Graduation Ceremony Kills 20," *Associated Press*, January 5, 2005. One car bomb and one suicide bomb kills 25 and wounds 49. "Baghdad Deputy Police Chief, Son Assassinated," *Associated Press*, January 10, 2005. Suicide car bomb kills 4 and wounds 10. "Bombs Kill Seven South of Baghdad, Six in Tikrit," *Associated Press*, January 12, 2005. Jason Keyser, "Turkish Businessman Kidnapped," *Associated Press*, January 13, 2005. Suicide car bomber kills three and wounds eight. "Suicide Car Bomber Targets Shiite Political Party Offices In Baghdad, Killing Three," *Associated Press*, January 18, 2005. Suicide bomber kills 3 and wound 4. Robert H. Reid, "Christian Archbishop seized in Mosul," *Associated Press*, January 17, 2005. Suicide bomber kills 7 policemen and wounds 25 people.

²⁰ 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.

²¹ 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.

²² 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 McFarquhar, “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.

²³ *Ibid.*
²⁴ 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.

²⁵ Barry Hatton, “Portuguese Journalists Attacked in Iraq, One Wounded, Another Kidnapped,” *Associated Press*, November 14, 2003.

²⁶ 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 Emirates 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.

²⁷ Anthony Failoa, “In South Korea, Grief Mixes With Anger,” *Washington Post*, June 24, 2004. One South Korean. “A List of Foreigners Taken Hostage in Iraq,” *Associated Press*, August 2, 2004. One Iraqi-American.

²⁸ Jackie Spinner, “European Hostages Rescued in Iraq,” *Washington Post*, June 9, 2004. One Polish.

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