

THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

1775 Massachusetts Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036-2188
Tel: 202-797-6000 Fax: 202-797-6004
www.brookings.edu

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

www.brookings.edu/iraqindex

Updated February 18, 2005

Michael E. O'Hanlon
Adriana Lins de Albuquerque

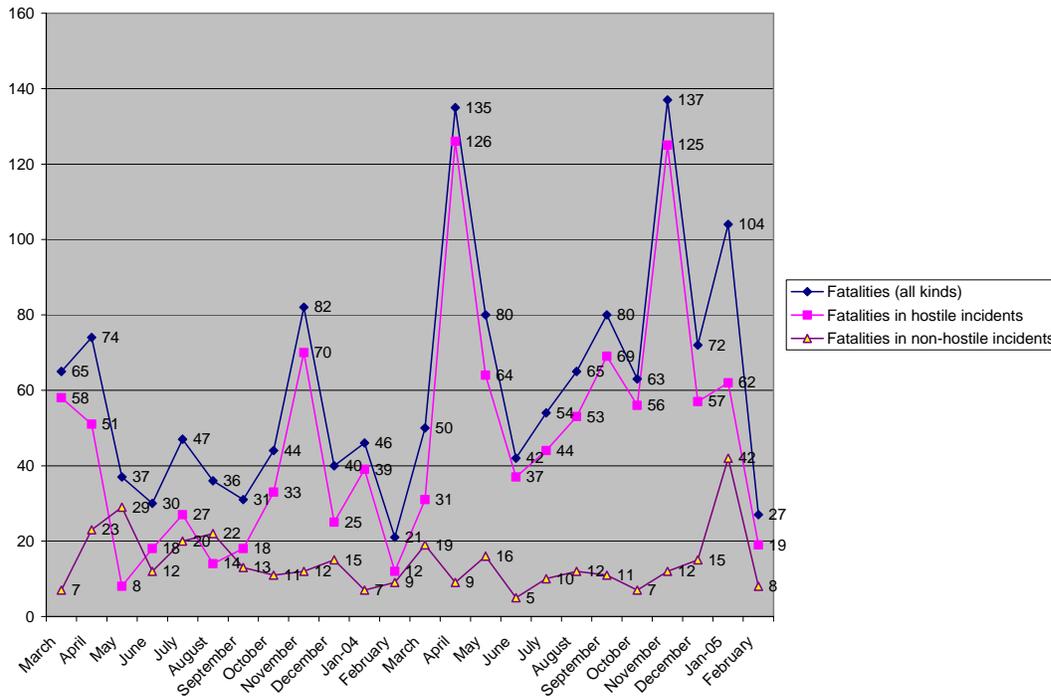
For more information please contact Adriana Lins de Albuquerque at aalbuquerque@brookings.edu

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>Security Indicators</u>	<i>Page</i>
U.S. Troop Fatalities since March, 2003.....	3
Most Frequent Causes of U.S. Military Fatalities in Iraq since May 1, 2004.....	3
Locations of Frequent U.S. Military Fatalities Since May 1, 2003.....	4
U.S. Military Deaths by Category.....	4
U.S. Troops Wounded in Action since March, 2003.....	5
British Troop Fatalities since March 2003.....	5
Non-U.S. & U.K. Coalition Troop Fatalities since March, 2003.....	6
Non-U.S. & U.K. Coalition Troop Fatalities by Country since March, 2003.....	6
Iraqi Police Killed.....	7
Iraqi Interpreters Working for Coalition Forces Killed.....	7
Estimates of Iraqi Civilians Killed Since the Start of the War	7
Iraqi Civilian Killed as a Result of Acts of War since May 2003.....	8
Mass Casualty Bombings in Iraq.....	9
Crime-Related Deaths in Baghdad	10
Total Iraqi Civilians Killed as a Result of Violence from War and Violence from Crime.....	10
American Contractors Killed in Iraq.....	10
Non-Iraqi Civilian Casualties since May 2003.....	11
Countries with More than 10 Civilians Killed in Iraq since May 2003.....	11
Foreign Nationals Kidnapped in Iraq Since May 2003.....	12
Total Number of Insurgents Detained or Killed	12
Iraqi Prison Population.....	13
Estimated Strength of Insurgency Nationwide.....	13
Estimated Number of Foreign Fighters in the Insurgency	13
Coalition Troop Strength in Iraq	14
Top Ten Non-U.S. Coalition Contributors of Military Personnel in Iraq.....	15
“High-Value” Intelligence Reports.....	15
Insurgent Attacks on Coalition Forces.....	15
American Military Helicopters Downed by Enemy Fire	16
Attacks on Iraqi Oil and Gas Pipelines, Installations, & Personnel	16
Coalition Forces Ability to Find and Disarm Improvised Explosive Devices.....	16
Baathist & Other Resistance Leaders Still at Large	17
Size of Iraqi Security Forces on Duty	18
Irregular Iraqi Security Forces.....	19
Iraqi Police Equipment.....	19
Border Patrol Equipment.....	19
<u>Economic & Quality of Life Indicators</u>	
Fuel.....	20
Oil Revenue.....	21
Electricity.....	22
Nationwide Unemployment Rate.....	23
Increase in Consumer Price Index.....	23
Value of the New Iraqi Dinar.....	24
Status of \$18.4 billion appropriated in 2004.....	24
Telephone subscribers.....	24
Internet subscribers.....	24
Iraqi National Debt: Creditors.....	25
Pledges Made at the International Donor’s Conference for Iraq in Madrid.....	26
World Bank estimate of Iraq Reconstruction Needs.....	27
CPA-Estimated Needs for Iraq Reconstruction in Sectors not Covered by the UN/World Bank Assessment.....	27
Total Funds Available, Obligated, and Disbursed for Iraq Reconstruction, as of April, 2004.....	27
Project Allocations and Disbursement by Category, as of May, 2004.....	28
USAID Contracts.....	28
Primary School Enrollment.....	28
Commercial Aircraft Departments.....	29
Irrigation.....	29
Local Governance Councils.....	29
Hospitals Restored to Pre-War Level of Operations.....	29
Hepatitis Outbreaks.....	29
Iraqi 2005 Voter Turnout and Election Results.....	29 NEW
<u>Polling</u>	
19 January – January 23, 2005: Abu Dhabi TV/Zogby International Poll	30
26 December - January 7, 2005: International Republican Institute Poll.....	30
24 November –December 5, 2004: International Republican Institute Poll	31
24 September – 4 October, 2004: International Republican Institute Poll	33
10 August-20 August, 2004: International Republican Institute Poll.....	37
24 July-2 August , 2004: International Republican Institute Poll.....	38
End of June, 2004: Iraq Center for Research and Strategic Studies Poll.....	39
9-19 June, 2004: Coalition Provisional Authority Poll.....	39
14-23 May, 2004: Coalition Provisional Authority Poll.....	39
22 March-9 April, 2004: CNN/USA Today/Gallup Poll, Nationwide Poll of Iraq.....	46
24 March – 2 April, 2004: Coalition Provisional Authority Poll.....	47
9-28 February, 2004: Oxford Research International Study of Iraqi Public Opinion.....	47
31 December –7 January, 2004: State Department Study of Iraqi Public Opinion.....	48
Later Polling: State Department Study & Gallup Poll.....	50

SECURITY INDICATORS

U.S. TROOPS FATALITIES SINCE MARCH 2003¹



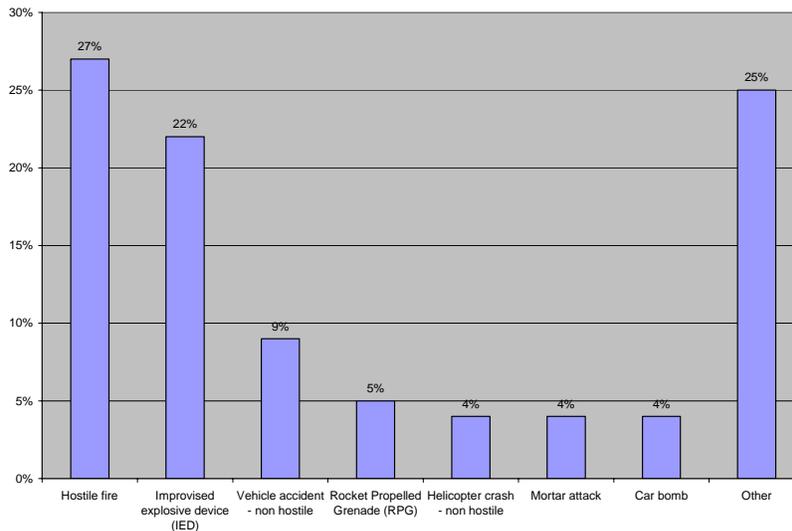
Total from start of the war through February 17, 2005:

Fatalities (all kinds): **1,462**

Fatalities in hostile incidents: **1,116**

Fatalities in non-hostile incidents: **346**

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

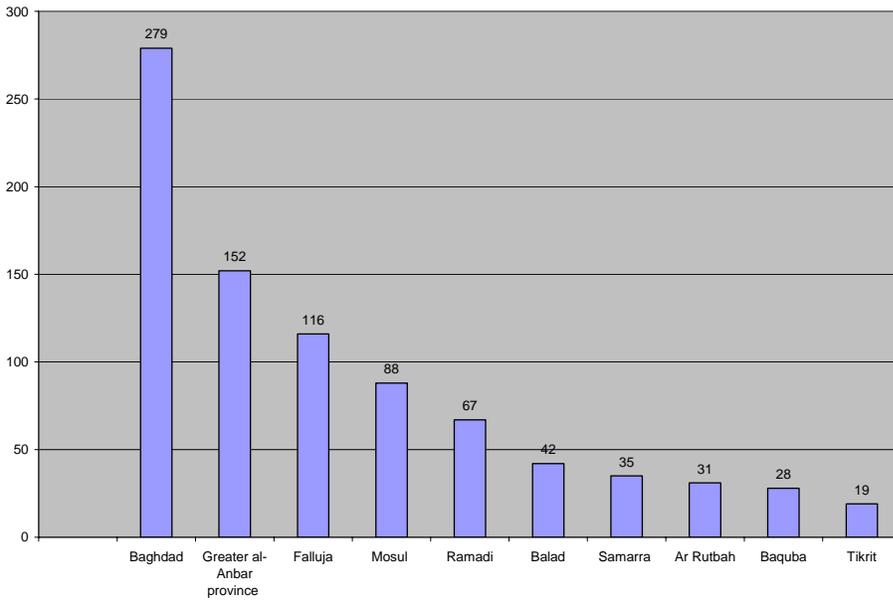


Through February 13, 2005

NOTE ON U.S. TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MAY TABLE:

As of February 1, 2005 the fatality numbers for previous months have changed slightly due to more detailed information becoming available from the Defense Department. 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 January 2005 and onwards 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.

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

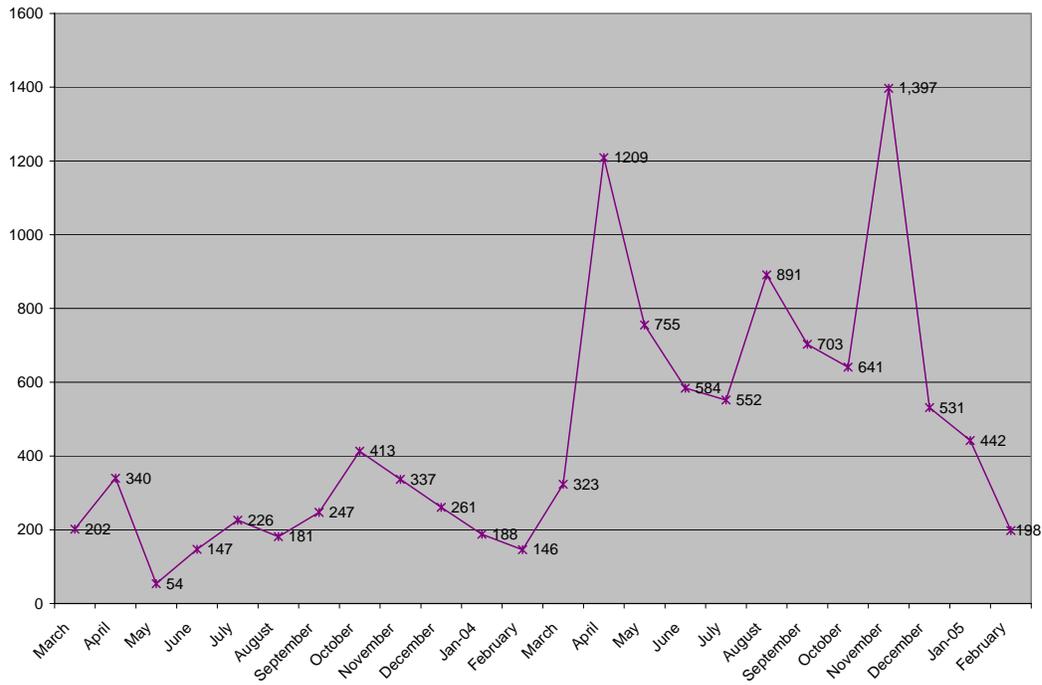


Through February 13, 2005: 876

U.S. MILITARY DEATHS BY CATEGORY MAY 1, 2003 -JANUARY 29, 2005⁴

Gender	Officers/Enlisted	Age	Component	Race/Ethnicity
Male: 98% Female: 2%	Officer: 10% E5-E9: 31% E1-E4: 59%	<22: 25% 22-24: 26% 25-30: 25% 31-35: 10% >35: 12% N/A=2%	Active: 79% Reserve: 8% National Guard: 13%	American Indian or Alaska Native: 1% Asian: 2% Black or African American: 11% Hispanic or Latino: 11% Multiple races, pending or unknown: 1% Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander: 1% White: 73%

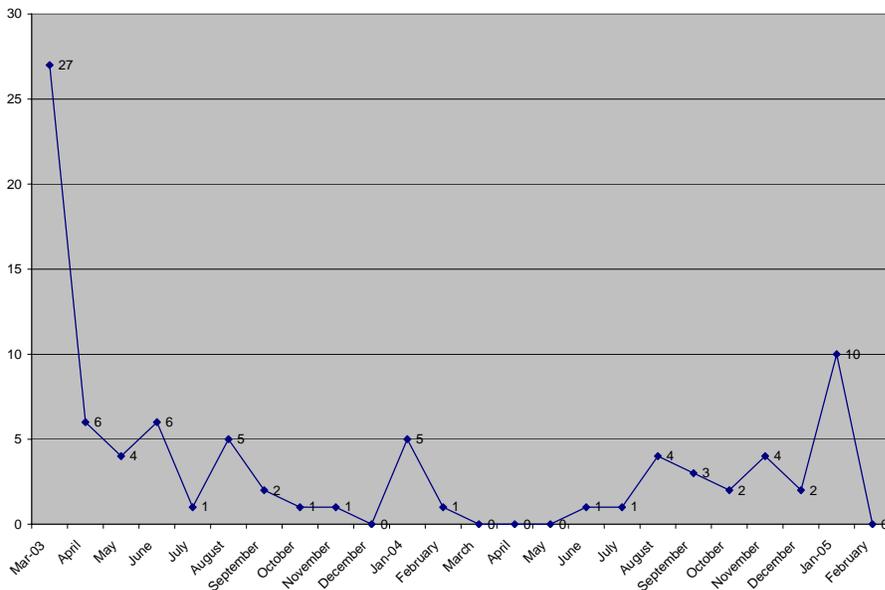
U.S. TROOPS WOUNDED IN ACTION SINCE MARCH 2003⁵



Total from start of the war through February 17, 2005: 10,968

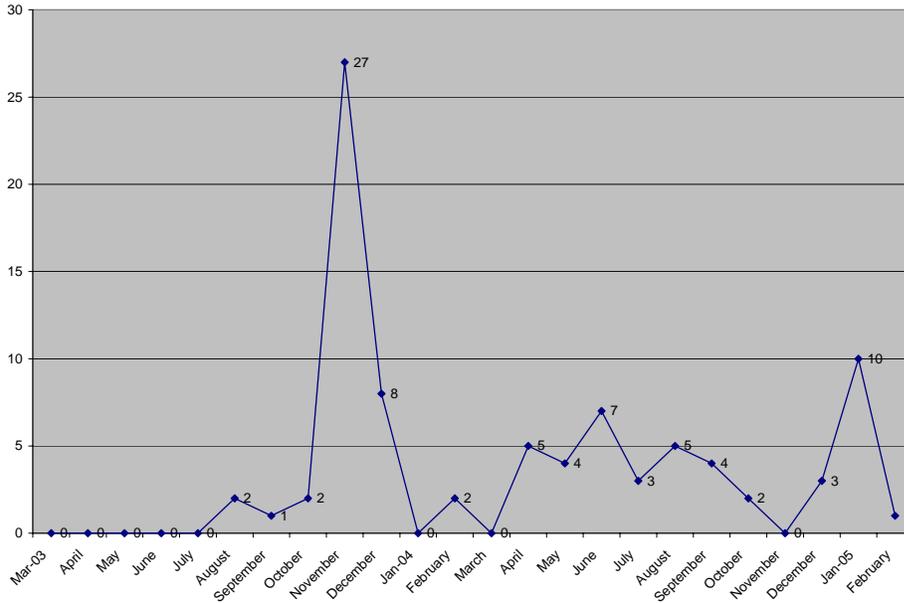
As of February 1, 2005 the numbers for previous months have changed slightly due to more detailed information becoming available from the Defense Department. The daily Department of Defense casualty reports that we use for our monthly estimates on U.S troops killed doesn't make entirely clear when in a 24 hour period casualties incurred. Since the reports are published 10AM daily, there is possibility our numbers for January 2005 and onwards are slightly off due to uncertainties about when casualties occurred on the first and last of each month.

BRITISH TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MARCH 2003⁶



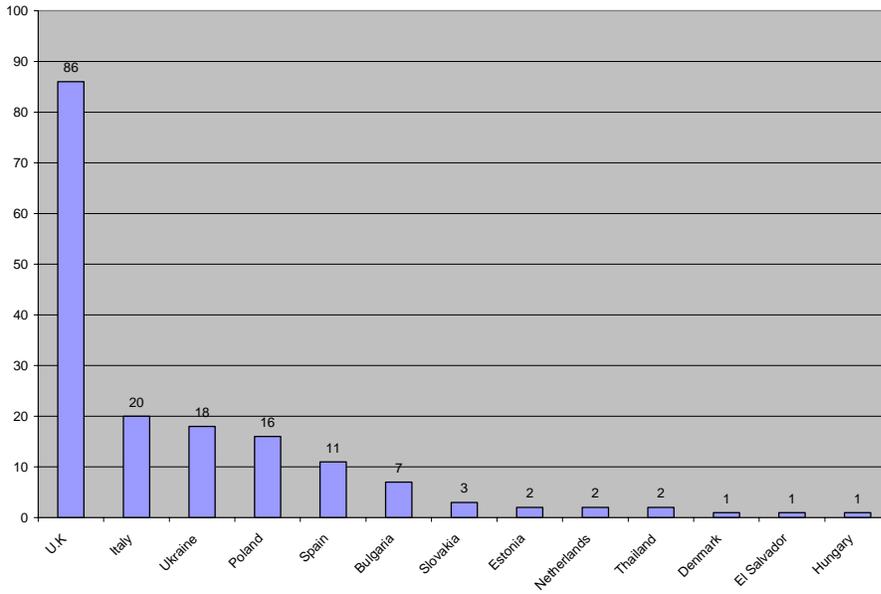
Total through February 17, 2005: 86

NON-U.S. & U.K. COALITION TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MARCH, 2003⁷



Total through February 17, 2005: 86

NON-U.S. COALITION TROOP FATALITIES BY COUNTRY SINCE MARCH, 2003⁸



Total through February 17, 2005: 172

IRAQI POLICE KILLED

Estimated number of Iraqi police killed January 1, 2004 - September 28, 2004
750 ⁹

IRAQI POLICE KILLED

Estimated number of Iraqi police killed September 1, 2004- December 31, 2004
1,300 ¹⁰

IRAQI SOLDIERS & POLICE OFFICERS KILLED

Estimated number of Iraqi soldiers and police officers killed since June 2004- February 3, 2005
1,342 ¹¹

IRAQI SECURITY FORCES RECRUITS KILLED

Estimated number of Iraqi security forces recruits killed	
May 1, 2003 -September 23, 2004	721 ¹²

IRAQI SOLDIERS, POLICE OFFICERS & IRAQI SECURITY FORCES RECRUITS KILLED

Estimated number of Iraqi soldiers, police officers, and Iraqi security forces recruits killed February 1-February 9, 2005
106 ¹³

IRAQI INTERPRETERS WORKING FOR COALITION FORCES KILLED

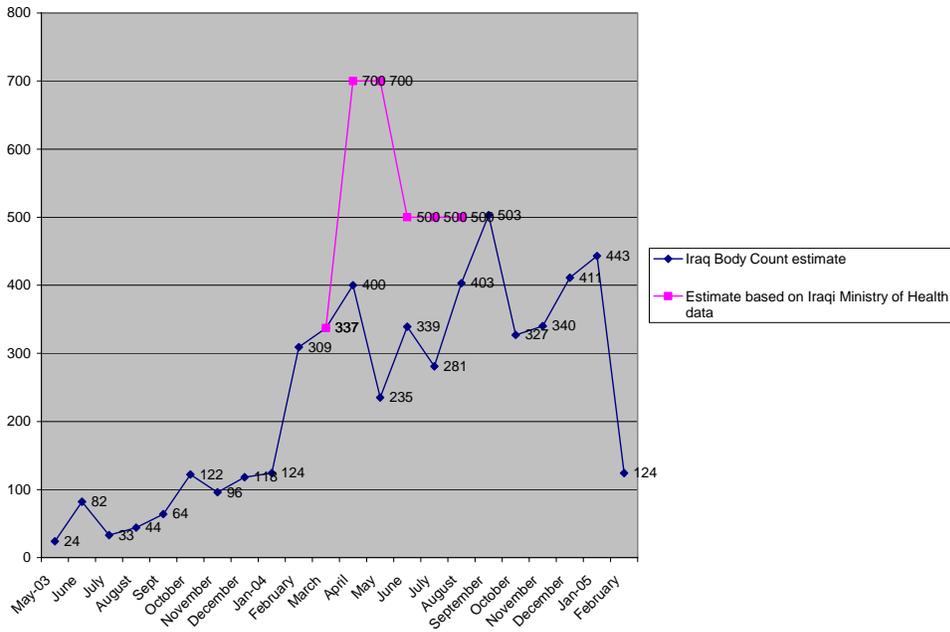
Total number of Iraqi interpreters killed January, 2004 - September 18, 2004
52 ¹⁴

ESTIMATES OF IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED SINCE THE START OF THE WAR

Source	Estimate
Iraq Body Count	15,900 – 18,200 as of February 10, 2005 ¹⁵
Statement by British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw	>10,000 as of February, 2004 ¹⁶
Shaik Omar Clinic, Baghdad	10,363 as of September 8, 2004 ¹⁷ (in Baghdad and surrounding towns alone)
Amnesty International (London)	>10,000 as of September 8, 2004 ¹⁸
The Human Rights Organization, Iraq	>30,000 as of September 8, 2004 ¹⁹
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 February 10, 2005: 12,500-13,800 Including deaths from crime as of January 31, 2005: 26,400-44,700

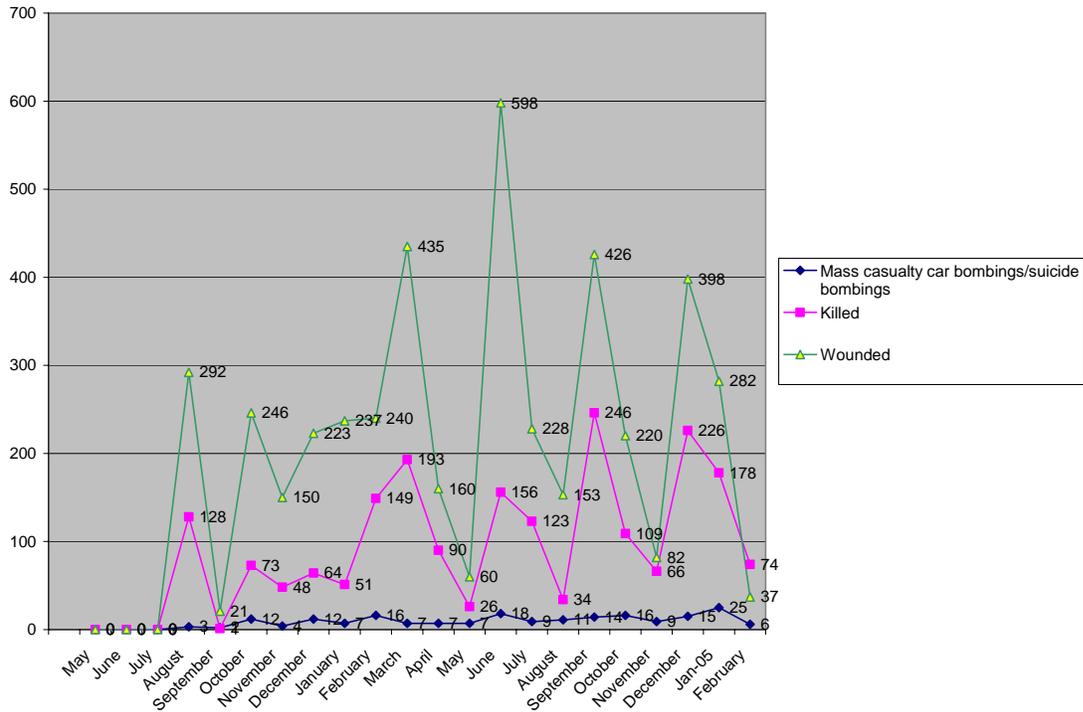
IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED AS A RESULT OF ACTS OF WAR SINCE MAY 2003²⁰

Total as of February 10, 2005: 5,159-6,401



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. 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, 2003²¹



Total as of February 17, 2005:

Mass casualty bombings: 200

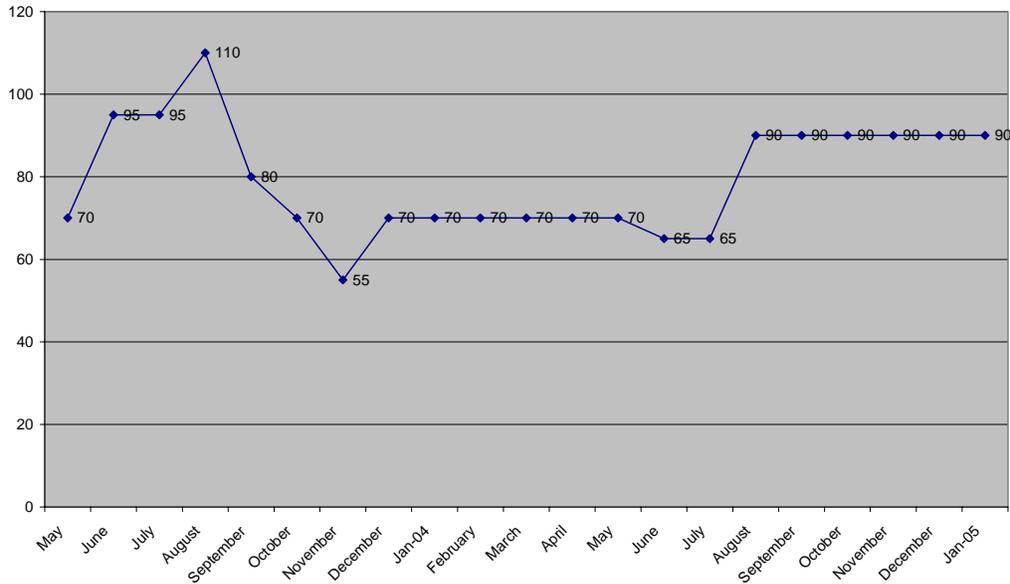
Killed: 2,035

Wounded: 4,488

NOTE: At least 122 of the 200 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. The Iraqi interior minister gave an estimate that includes both lethal and non-lethal bombs. According to these numbers 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, 2003^{22,23}

**Estimated annualized murder rate per 100,000 citizens
(For comparison Washington DC rate: 43)**



TOTAL IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED AS A RESULT OF VIOLENCE FROM WAR AND VIOLENCE FROM CRIME SINCE MAY, 2003²⁴

Estimated number of Iraqi civilians killed as a result of violence from war and violence from crime between May, 2003 and January 31, 2005	19,000-37,300
---	----------------------

NOTE ON CRIME RELATED DEATHS IN BAGHDAD: 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.

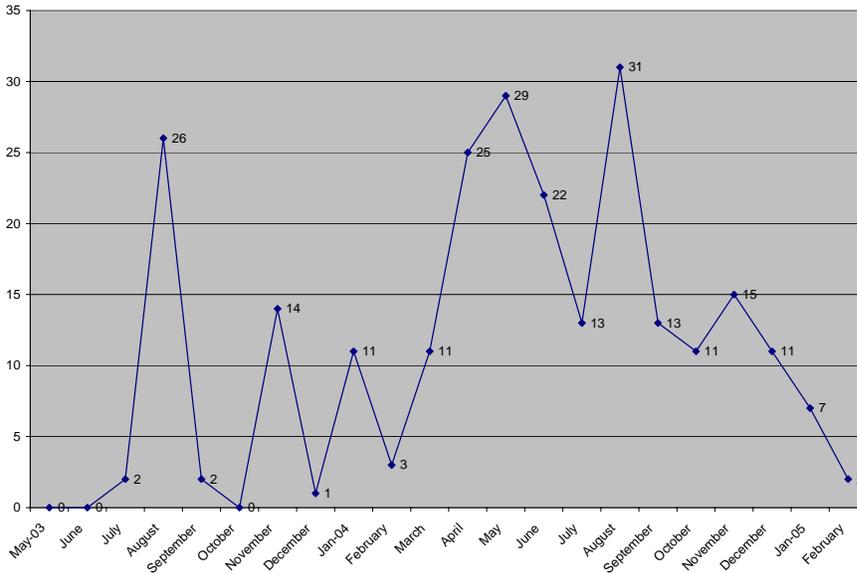
NOTE ON CRIME RELATED DEATHS IN BAGHDAD: Interpol lists the following nationwide numbers per 100,000 citizens for countries in the region Libya 2.08, Jordan 6.33, Lebanon 3.38, Saudi Arabia, 0.71. However, Interpol notes that these [nationwide] statistics cannot be used as a basis for comparison between 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.

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.

AMERICAN CONTRACTORS KILLED IN IRAQ

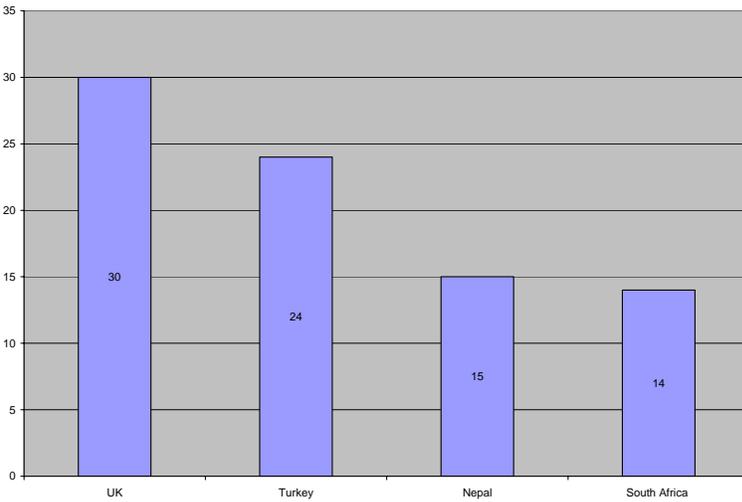
American civilian security and reconstruction contractors killed in Iraq as of December 31, 2004²⁵
232

NON-IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED SINCE MAY, 2003²⁶



Total through February 17, 2005: 250

COUNTRIES WITH MORE THAN 10 CIVILIANS KILLED IN IRAQ SINCE MAY 1, 2003 (EXCLUDING IRAQ AND THE UNITED STATES)²⁷



Through February 17, 2005

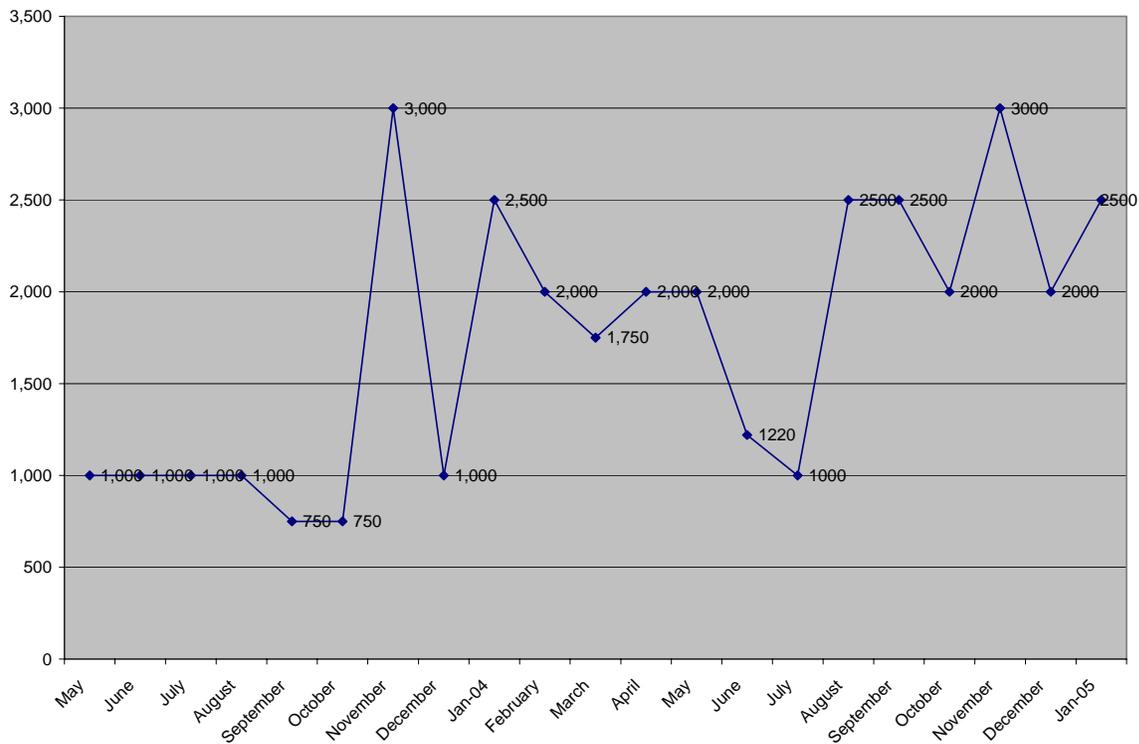
NOTE ON AMERICAN CONTRACTORS KILLED IN IRAQ TABLE: The majority of these deaths are not included in the non-Iraqi civilian casualties table, since we have no information which month the deaths occurred.

NOTE ON NON-IRAQI CIVILIAN CASUALTIES TABLE: Approximately 60,000 American civilians were working with U.S. troops in Iraq as of November, 2004. Tony Capaccio, "Pentagon's Reliance on Civilians Surges, Death Claims Show," *Bloomberg.com*, November 19, 2004.

FOREIGN NATIONALS KIDNAPPED IN IRAQ SINCE MAY 2003

Month	Number of foreigners kidnapped	Status
Date of capture unknown	14 ²⁸	11 unknown, 3 killed
May 2003 - October 2003	0	
November	1 ²⁹	1 released
December 2003 -March 2004	0	
April	43 ³⁰	3 killed, 30 released, 2 still held, 1 escaped, 7 status unknown
May	2 ³¹	1 killed, 1 still held
June	3 ³²	2 killed, 1 escaped
July	26 ³³	3 killed, 13 released, 6 still held, 1 rescued, 1 escaped, 2 unknown
August	30 ³⁴	15 killed, 15 released
September	31 ³⁵	4 killed, 4 released, 22 still held, 1 rescued
October	8 ³⁶	3 killed, 2 released, 1 still held
November	5 ³⁷	1 killed, 4 still held
December	2 ³⁸	2 still held
January 2005	13 ³⁹	8 released, 5 still held
February	5 ⁴⁰	1 still held, 4 released
Total through February 15, 2005	183	33 killed, 81 released, 44 still held, 3 escaped, 2 rescued, 20 status unknown

TOTAL NUMBER OF INSURGENTS DETAINED OR KILLED⁴¹



NOTE ON TOTAL NUMBER OF INSURGENTS DETAINED OR KILLED TABLE: General George W. Casey estimate that 15,000 militants have been killed or captured between January 2004 and January 2005. Cameron W. Barr and Karl Vick, :30 Marines, Sailor Die in Copter Crash in Iraq,” *Washington Post*, January 27, 2005.

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, 2003 to March, 2004 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 ⁴²

Peak prison population in 2003	10,000
Prison population in July, 2004	5,700 ⁴³ (of which 90 are foreign nationals)
Prison population as of September 7, 2004	5,500 ⁴⁴ (whereof 2 are women, 65-70 are juveniles and 130-140 are foreign nationals)
Prison population as of early October 2004	4,300 ⁴⁵
Prison population as of November 29, 2004	8,300 ⁴⁶
Prison population as of January 20, 2005	7,900 ⁴⁷

ESTIMATED STRENGTH OF INSURGENCY NATIONWIDE

Month	Estimated strength of insurgency nationwide
November	5,000 ⁴⁸
December	5,000 ⁴⁹
January 2004	3, 000-5,000 ⁵⁰
February	N/A
March	N/A
April	5,000 ⁵¹
May	N/A
June	N/A
July	20,000 ⁵²
August	20,000
September	20,000 ⁵³
October	20,000
November	20,000 ⁵⁴
December	“more than 20,000” ⁵⁵
January	18,000 ⁵⁶
February	18,000 ⁵⁷

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF FOREIGN FIGHTERS IN THE INSURGENCY

January 2004	300-500 ⁵⁸
July 2004	“Low hundreds” ⁵⁹
September 2004	“Less than 1000” ⁶⁰
November 2004	3,000 ⁶¹
January 2005	“Fewer than 1,000” ⁶²
February 2005	“Fewer than 1,000” ⁶³

NOTE ON IRAQI PRISON POPULATION TABLE:

The detainee prison population as of January 21, 2005 only includes 224 foreign fighters. The January entry does not include 1,200 suspected insurgents being detained at smaller facilities at military brigade and division level. About 75% of those individuals are freed after a few days.

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 INSURGENCY 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 ESTIMATED STRENGTH OF IRAQI INSURGENCY 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.

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 ⁶⁴	~8,000 ⁶⁵	150,000 ⁶⁶	23,000 ⁶⁷	173,000
June	~126,000 ⁶⁸	~24,000 ⁶⁹	150,000 ⁷⁰	21,000 ⁷¹	171,000
July	~124,000 ⁷²	~25,000 ⁷³	149,000 ⁷⁴	21,000 ⁷⁵	170,000
August	~114,000 ⁷⁶	~25,000 ⁷⁷	139,000 ⁷⁸	22,000 ⁷⁹	161,000
September	~103,000 ⁸⁰	~29,000 ⁸¹	132,000 ⁸²	24,000 ⁸³	156,000
October	~102,000 ⁸⁴	~29,000 ⁸⁵	131,000 ⁸⁶	25,000 ⁸⁷	156,000
November	N/A	N/A	123,000 ⁸⁸	23,900 ⁸⁹	146,900
December	~85,400 ⁹⁰	~36,600 ⁹¹	122,000 ⁹²	24,500 ⁹³	146,500
January	N/A	N/A	122,000 ⁹⁴	25,600 ⁹⁵	147,600
February	N/A	N/A	115,000 ⁹⁶	24,000 ⁹⁷	139,000
March	N/A	N/A	130,000 ⁹⁸	24,000 ⁹⁹	154,000
April	N/A	N/A	137, 000 ¹⁰⁰	25,000 ¹⁰¹	162,000
May	N/A	N/A	138,000 ¹⁰²	24,000 ¹⁰³	162,000
June	89,700	48,300 ¹⁰⁴	138,000 ¹⁰⁵	23,000 ¹⁰⁶	161,000
July	N/A	N/A	140,000 ¹⁰⁷	22,000 ¹⁰⁸	162,000
August	84,000	56,000 ¹⁰⁹	140,000 ¹¹⁰	23,700 ¹¹¹	163,700
September	82,800	55,200 ¹¹²	138,000 ¹¹³	24,600 ¹¹⁴	162,600
October	82,800	55,200 ¹¹⁵	138,000 ¹¹⁶	24,000 ¹¹⁷	162,000
November	82,800	55,200	138,000 ¹¹⁸	24,000 ¹¹⁹	162,000
December	82,800 ¹²⁰	55,200 ¹²¹	148,000 ¹²²	25,000 ¹²³	173,000
January	90,000 ¹²⁴	60,000	150,000 ¹²⁵	25,300 ¹²⁶	175,300
February	90,000	60,000	150,000 ¹²⁷	25,000 ¹²⁸	175,000

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. "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

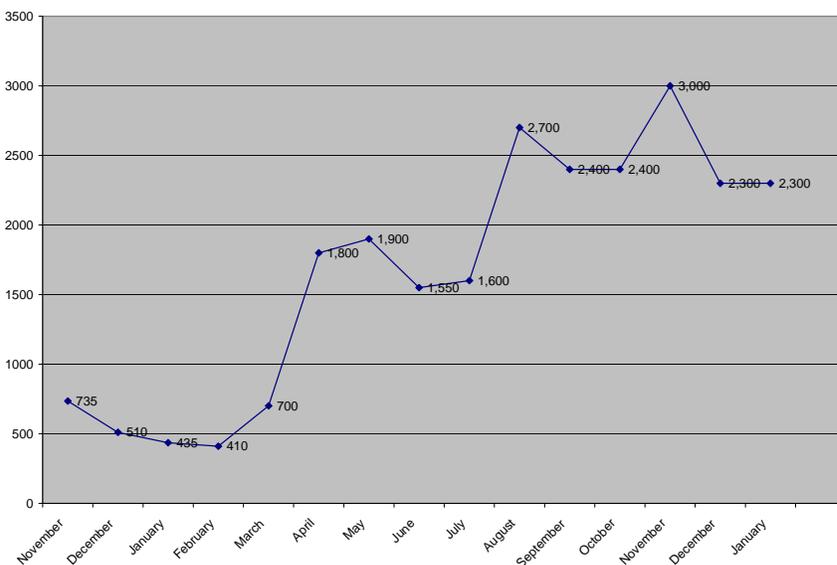
Coalition country	Military personnel in Iraq
United Kingdom	9,000 ¹²⁹
South Korea	3,600 ¹³⁰
Italy	3,000 ¹³¹
Poland	2,400 ¹³²
Ukraine	1,600 ¹³³
Netherlands	1,350 ¹³⁴
Australia	900 ¹³⁵
Romania	700 ¹³⁶
Japan	550 ¹³⁷
Denmark	500 ¹³⁸
Bulgaria	500 ¹³⁹
Remaining 16 coalition countries	900 ¹⁴⁰

As of January 31, 2005.

“HIGH-VALUE” INTELLIGENCE REPORTS¹⁴¹

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

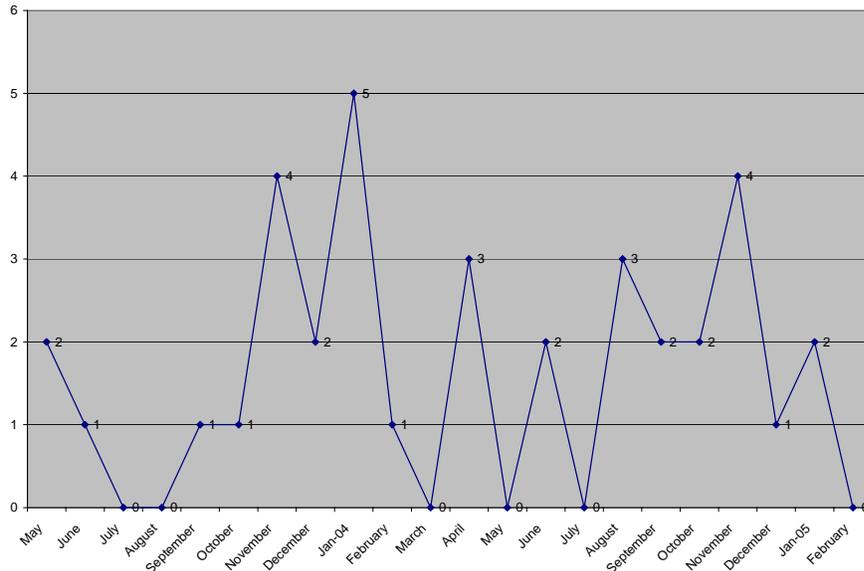
INSURGENT ATTACKS ON COALITION FORCES¹⁴²



NOTE ON TOP TEN NON-U.S. COALITION CONTRIBUTORS OF MILITARY PERSONNEL IN IRAQ TABLE: In addition to the United States, 27 countries have troops in Iraq as of February 3, 2005: Albania, Armenia, Australia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Denmark, El Salvador, Estonia, Georgia, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, South Korea, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Mongolia, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Ukraine, and the United Kingdom. “Iraq Weekly Status Report,” Department of States, February 9, 2005.

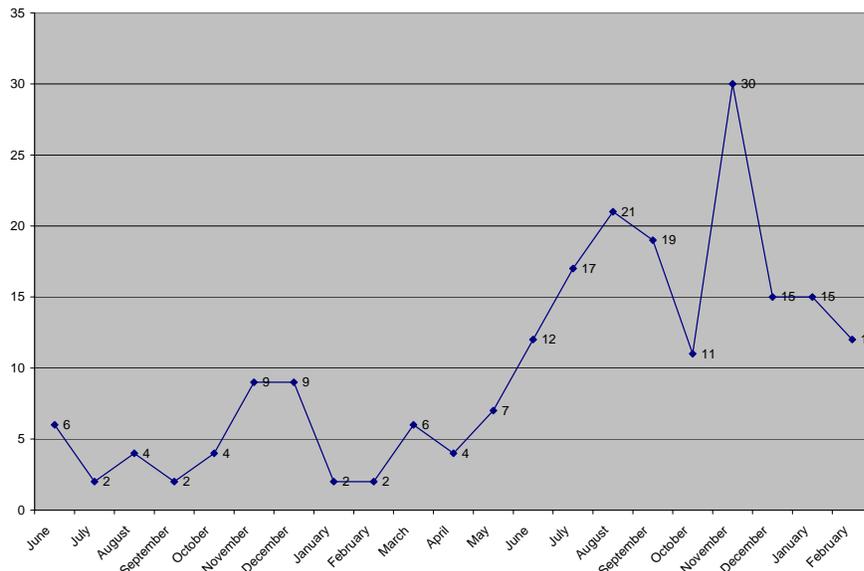
NOTE ON INSURGENT ATTACKS ON COALITION FORCES: American officers say that Iraqis are paid between \$20-\$200 to stage ambushes and plant explosives, that are then detonated by “part-time triggermen,” many of which are also paid. John F. Burns, “After Falluja, U.S. Troops Fight a New Battle Just as Important,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

AMERICAN MILITARY HELICOPTERS DOWNED IN IRAQ¹⁴³



Total through February 15, 2005: 36

ATTACKS ON IRAQI OIL AND GAS PIPELINES, INSTALLATIONS & PERSONNEL¹⁴⁴



Total through February 17, 2005: 209

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

Time	Percentage of IEDs found and disarmed ¹⁴⁵
December 2003	37%
December 2004	50%

NOTE ON AMERICAN MILITARY HELICOPTERS DOWNED IN IRAQ TABLE: Of the 36 helicopters downed in Iraq since May 2003, at least 20 were downed by enemy fire.

BAATHIST & OTHER RESISTANCE LEADERS STILL AT LARGE

Month	Iraqi 55 most wanted plus an additional 25 ex-Baath party leaders still at large¹⁴⁶
April	65
May	53
June	48
July	43
August	41
September	40
October	40
November	40
December	38¹⁴⁷
January 2004	37¹⁴⁸
February	35¹⁴⁹
March	34¹⁵⁰
April	34
May	34
June	34
July	34
August	34
September	34
October	34
November	34
December	34
January 2005	32¹⁵¹

NOTE: This table has been revised to include 25 former Baath Party Leaders believed to be financing and directing attacks against American troops and their allies.

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 capability	Facilities protection services
May	7,000-9,000 ¹⁵²	N/A	0	N/A	7,000-9,000	N/A
June	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
July	30,000 ¹⁵³	N/A	0	N/A	30,000	11,000 ¹⁵⁴
August	34,000 ¹⁵⁵	670 ¹⁵⁶	0	2,500 ¹	37,170	N/A
September	37,000 ¹⁵⁷	2,500 ¹⁵⁸	0	4,700 ¹	44,200	>12,000 ¹⁵⁹
October	55,000 ¹⁶⁰	4,700 ¹⁶¹	700 ¹⁶²	6,400 ¹	66,800	18,700 ¹⁶³
November	68,800 ¹⁶⁴	12,700 ¹⁶⁵	900 ¹⁶⁶	12,400 ¹	94,800	52,700 ¹⁶⁷
December	71,600 ¹⁶⁸	15,200 ¹⁶⁹	400 ¹⁷⁰	12,900 ¹	99,600	65,200 ¹⁷¹
January	66,900 ¹⁷²	19,800 ¹⁷³	1,100 ¹⁷⁴	21,000 ¹	108,800	97,800 ¹⁷⁵
February	77,100 ¹⁷⁶	27,900 ¹⁷⁷	2,000 ¹⁷⁸	18,000 ¹	125,000	73,900 ¹⁷⁹
March	75,000 ¹⁸⁰ 22% partially or fully trained	33,560 ¹⁸¹ 100% partially or fully trained	3,005 ¹⁸² 100% partially or fully trained	23,426 ¹ 39% partially or fully trained	134,991 65% partially or fully trained	73,992 ¹⁸³ 100% partially or fully trained
April	80,016 ¹⁸⁴ 22% partially or fully trained	23,123 ¹⁸⁵ partially or fully trained	2,367 ¹⁸⁶ partially or fully trained	18,747 ¹ 49% partially or fully trained	124,253 68% partially or fully trained	73,992 ¹⁸⁷ partially or fully trained
May	90,803 ¹⁸⁸ 28% partially or fully trained	24,873 ¹⁸⁹ partially or fully trained	3,939 ¹⁹⁰ partially or fully trained	16,097 ¹ 57% partially or fully trained	135,712 71% partially or fully trained	73,992 ¹⁹¹ partially or fully trained
June	83,789 ¹⁹² 32% partially or fully trained	36,229 ¹⁹³ partially or fully trained	7,116 ¹⁹⁴ partially or fully trained	18,183 ¹ partially or fully trained	145,317 83% partially or fully trained	73,992 ¹⁹⁵ partially or fully trained
July	31,300 ¹⁹⁶ partially or fully trained	36,229 ¹⁹⁷ partially or fully trained	7,700 ¹⁹⁸ partially or fully trained	19,859 ¹ partially or fully trained	95,088 partially or fully trained	73,992 ¹⁹⁹ partially or fully trained
August	32,942 ²⁰⁰ partially or fully trained	37,925 ²⁰¹ partially or fully trained	6,288 ²⁰² partially or fully trained	14,313 ²⁰³ partially or fully trained	91,468 partially or fully trained	73,992
September	40,152 ²⁰⁴ partially or fully trained	36,496 ²⁰⁵ partially or fully trained	7,747 ²⁰⁶ partially or fully trained	14,313 ²⁰⁷ partially or fully trained	98,708 partially or fully trained	74,000 ²⁰⁸
October	44,728 ²⁰⁹ partially or fully trained	41,261 ²¹⁰ partially or fully trained	6,861 ²¹¹ partially or fully trained	18,148 ²¹² partially or fully trained	110,998 partially or fully trained	N/A
November	49,455 ²¹³ partially or fully trained	43,445 ²¹⁴ partially or fully trained	6,013 ²¹⁵ partially or fully trained	14,593 ²¹⁶ partially or fully trained	113,506 ²¹⁷ partially or fully trained	N/A
December	53,571 ²¹⁸ partially or fully trained	40,115 ²¹⁹ partially or fully trained	14,500 ²²⁰ partially or fully trained	14,267 ²²¹ partially or fully trained	118,009 ²²² partially or fully trained	N/A
January 2005	58,964 ²²³ partially or fully trained	36,827 ²²⁴ partially or fully trained	14,796 ²²⁵ partially or fully trained	14,786 ²²⁶ partially or fully trained	125,373 ²²⁷ partially or fully trained	N/A
February 2005	79,039 ²²⁸ "trained & equipped" <i>Unauthorized absences personnel are included in these numbers</i>	57,303 ²²⁹ "operational" <i>Unauthorized absences personnel are included in these numbers</i>		N/A	136,342 ²³⁰ "trained & equipped" General Myers: 40,000 ²³¹ Senator Biden: 4,000 -18,000 ²³²	N/A
Stated goal	142, 190 ²³³ (revised up from 89,369 in June 2004) ²³⁴	61,904 ²³⁵ (Revised up from 41,088 ²³⁶ in June 2004)	36,635 ²³⁷ (Revised up from 35,000 ²³⁸ in June 2004)	29,360 ²³⁹	272,566 ²⁴⁰ (145,000 by January 2005 ²⁴¹)	73,992 ²⁴²

N/A= Not available

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

IRREGULAR IRAQI SECURITY FORCES

February 16, 2005	“As many as 15,000 soldiers”²⁴³
--------------------------	---

IRAQI POLICE EQUIPMENT²⁴⁴

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 EQUIPMENT²⁴⁵

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

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	2.8-3.0 ²⁴⁶	1.7-2.5 ²⁴⁷	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
May 2003	0.3 ²⁴⁸	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	10 %
June	0.675 ²⁴⁹	0.2 ²⁵⁰	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	23%
July	0.925 ²⁵¹	0.322 ²⁵²	6.5 ²⁵³	4.75 ²⁵⁴	13.5 ²⁵⁵	1,880 ²⁵⁶	44%
August	1.445 ²⁵⁷	0.646 ²⁵⁸	10.25 ²⁵⁹	6.2 ²⁶⁰	14.0 ²⁶¹	2,530 ²⁶²	57%
September	1.7225 ²⁶³	0.983 ²⁶⁴	14.25 ²⁶⁵	6.9 ²⁶⁶	17.3 ²⁶⁷	3,030 ²⁶⁸	70%
October	2.055 ²⁶⁹	1.149 ²⁷⁰	14.75 ²⁷¹	9.6 ²⁷²	16.35 ²⁷³	3,700 ²⁷⁴	78%
November	2.1 ²⁷⁵	1.524 ²⁷⁶	13.14 ²⁷⁷	13.3 ²⁷⁸	11.792 ²⁷⁹	3,610 ²⁸⁰	76%
December	2.30 ²⁸¹	1.541 ²⁸²	12.29 ²⁸³	9.4 ²⁸⁴	12.9 ²⁸⁵	3,460 ²⁸⁶	72%
January 2004	2.440 ²⁸⁷	1.537 ²⁸⁸	13.91 ²⁸⁹	11.3 ²⁹⁰	13.32 ²⁹¹	3,445 ²⁹²	78%
February	2.276 ²⁹³	1.382 ²⁹⁴	15.21 ²⁹⁵	13.05 ²⁹⁶	16.65 ²⁹⁷	4,670 ²⁹⁸	88%
March	2.435 ²⁹⁹	1.825 ³⁰⁰	15.03 ³⁰¹	17.28 ³⁰²	17.19 ³⁰³	5,010 ³⁰⁴	92%
April	2.384 ³⁰⁵	1.804 ³⁰⁶	22.75 ³⁰⁷	4.46 ³⁰⁸	19.3 ³⁰⁹	3,607 ³¹⁰	79%
May	1.887 ³¹¹	1.380 ³¹²	22.92 ³¹³	4.005 ³¹⁴	18.07 ³¹⁵	3,264 ³¹⁶	73%
June	2.295 ³¹⁷	1.148 ³¹⁸	16.47 ³¹⁹	4.9 ³²⁰	22.3 ³²¹	3,086 ³²²	75%
July	2.2 ³²³	1.406 ³²⁴	17.95 ³²⁵	5.75 ³²⁶	22.3 ³²⁷	3,820 ³²⁸	80%
August	2.112 ³²⁹	1.114 ³³⁰	16 ³³¹	4.2 ³³²	15.1 ³³³	3,417 ³³⁴	84%
September	2.514 ³³⁵	1.703 ³³⁶	16.35 ³³⁷	6.35 ³³⁸	14.6 ³³⁹	2,707 ³⁴⁰	72%
October	2.46 ³⁴¹	1.542 ³⁴²	16.15 ³⁴³	7.95 ³⁴⁴	18.6 ³⁴⁵	3,044 ³⁴⁶	80%
November	1.95 ³⁴⁷	1.320 ³⁴⁸	16.5 ³⁴⁹	7.7 ³⁵⁰	17.9 ³⁵¹	3,324 ³⁵²	77%
December	2.16 ³⁵³	1.520 ³⁵⁴	18.3 ³⁵⁵	10.5 ³⁵⁶	17.6 ³⁵⁷	4,222 ³⁵⁸	88%
January 2005	2.10 ³⁵⁹	1.367 ³⁶⁰	12.7 ³⁶¹	6.7 ³⁶²	20.65 ³⁶³	5,017 ³⁶⁴	75%
February	2.11 ³⁶⁵	1.510 ³⁶⁶	17.2 ³⁶⁷	9.2 ³⁶⁸	24.3 ³⁶⁹	4,712 ³⁷⁰	83%
Stated Goal:	2.8-3.0 ³⁷¹ Goal for December 2004	N/A	17.5 ³⁷² revised down in January 2005 from 18	19.5 ³⁷³ revised up in January from 18	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%

N/A= Not available

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

NOTE: LPG= Liquefied Petroleum Gas

OIL REVENUE³⁷⁴

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	\$1.41
February	\$0.57
Total as of February 16, 2005	\$24.07

ELECTRICITY

Time	Average amount of electricity generated (Megawatts)		Average hours of electricity/day nationwide ³⁷⁵	Average of daily megawatt hours ³⁷⁶ (MWH)
	Nation-wide	Baghdad		
Estimated pre-war level	4,400 ³⁷⁷	2,500 ³⁷⁸	N/A	95,000 ³⁷⁹
May	N/A	300 ³⁸⁰	N/A	N/A
June	3,193 ³⁸¹	707 ³⁸²	N/A	N/A
July	3,236 ³⁸³	1,082 ³⁸⁴	N/A	N/A
Aug.	3,263 ³⁸⁵	1,283 ³⁸⁶	N/A	72,435
Sept.	3,543 ³⁸⁷	1,229 ³⁸⁸	N/A	75,000
Oct.	3,948 ³⁸⁹	N/A	N/A	79,000
November	3,582 ³⁹⁰	N/A	N/A	70,000
December	3,427 ³⁹¹	N/A	N/A	72,000
January 2004	3,758 ³⁹²	N/A	N/A	79,000
February	4,125 ³⁹³	1,307 ³⁹⁴	13	90,000
March	4,040 ³⁹⁵	1,192 ³⁹⁶	16	86,000
April	3,823 ³⁹⁷	1,021 ³⁹⁸	15	78,000
May	3,902 ³⁹⁹	1,053 ⁴⁰⁰	11	80,000
June	4,293 ⁴⁰¹	1,198	10	93,500
July	4,584 ⁴⁰²	N/A	10	100,300
August	4,707 ⁴⁰³	1,440	13	109,900 ⁴⁰⁴
September	4,467 ⁴⁰⁵	1,485	13	107,200 ⁴⁰⁶
October	4,074 ⁴⁰⁷	1,280	13	99,306 ⁴⁰⁸
November	3,199 ⁴⁰⁹	845 ⁴¹⁰	13 ⁴¹¹	76,550 ⁴¹²
December	3,380 ⁴¹³	N/A	N/A	81,114 ⁴¹⁴
January 2005	3,289 ⁴¹⁵	985 ⁴¹⁶	9 ⁴¹⁷	78,925 ⁴¹⁸
February	3,804 ⁴¹⁹	1,180 ⁴²⁰	8 ⁴²¹	91,300 ⁴²²
Stated Goal:	6,000 to have been reached by July 1, 2004 ⁴²³	2,500 to have been reached by October 2003 ⁴²⁴	N/A	120,000 ⁴²⁵

N/A = Not available

NATIONWIDE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE SINCE MAY , 2003

Month	Unemployment rate nationwide
May	N/A
June	50 - 60% ⁴²⁶
July	N/A
August	50-60% ⁴²⁷
September	N/A
October	40 - 50% ⁴²⁸
November	N/A
December	45-55% ⁴²⁹
January	30 - 45% ⁴³⁰
February	30 - 45% ⁴³¹
March	30- 45% ⁴³²
April	30 - 45% ⁴³³
May	30-45% ⁴³⁴
June	30-40% ⁴³⁵
July	30-40% ⁴³⁶
August	30-40% ⁴³⁷
September	30-40% ⁴³⁸
October	30-40% ⁴³⁹
November	30-40% ⁴⁴⁰
December	28-40% ⁴⁴¹

N/A= Not available

INCREASE IN CONSUMER PRICE INDEX (CPI)⁴⁴²

Year	Annual increase in CPI
2004	31.7%

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.

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-Saada, 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,” (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.

VALUE OF THE IRAQI DINAR

Month	\$1 =ID
October 15	2,000 ⁴⁴³
November	1,948 ⁴⁴⁴
December	1,675 ⁴⁴⁵
January	1,360 ⁴⁴⁶
February	1,425 ⁴⁴⁷
March	1,415 ⁴⁴⁸
April	1,455 ⁴⁴⁹
May	1,460 ⁴⁵⁰
June	1,455 ⁴⁵¹
July	1,460 ⁴⁵²
August	1,460 ⁴⁵³
September	1,460 ⁴⁵⁴
October	1,460 ⁴⁵⁵
November	1,461 ⁴⁵⁶
December	1,460 ⁴⁵⁷
January 2005	1,463 ⁴⁵⁸
February 15, 2005	1,460 ⁴⁵⁹

TELEPHONE SUBSCRIBERS

Time	Telephone subscribers
Estimated pre-war level	833,000 ⁴⁶⁰
September	850,000 ⁴⁶¹
December	600,000 ⁴⁶²
January 2004	600,000 ⁴⁶³
February	900,000 ⁴⁶⁴
March	984,225 ⁴⁶⁵
April	1,095,000 ⁴⁶⁶
May	1,220,000 ⁴⁶⁷
June	1,200,000 ⁴⁶⁸
July	N/A
August	1,463,148 ⁴⁶⁹
September	1,579,457 ⁴⁷⁰
October	1,753,000
November	2,135,000 ⁴⁷¹
December	2,152,000 ⁴⁷²
January 2005	2,449,139 ⁴⁷³
February	2,569,100 ⁴⁷⁴
Previous goal (Jan. 2004)	1,100,000 ⁴⁷⁵

INTERNET SUBSCRIBERS

Time	Internet subscribers ⁴⁷⁶
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	110,000 ⁴⁷⁷

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>	499.3 ⁴⁷⁸
<i>Austria</i>	813.1 ⁴⁷⁹
<i>Belgium</i>	184.5 ⁴⁸⁰
<i>Brazil</i>	192.9 ⁴⁸¹
<i>Canada</i>	564.2 ⁴⁸²
<i>Denmark</i>	30.8 ⁴⁸³
<i>Finland</i>	152.2 ⁴⁸⁴
<i>France</i>	2,993.7 ⁴⁸⁵
<i>Germany</i>	2,403.9 ⁴⁸⁶
<i>Italy</i>	1,726 ⁴⁸⁷
<i>Japan</i>	4,108.6 ⁴⁸⁸
<i>Netherlands</i>	96.7 ⁴⁸⁹
Republic of Korea	54.7 ⁴⁹⁰
Russian Federation	3,450 ⁴⁹¹
<i>Spain</i>	321.2 ⁴⁹²
<i>Sweden</i>	185.8 ⁴⁹³
<i>Switzerland</i>	117.5 ⁴⁹⁴
<i>United Kingdom</i>	930.8 ⁴⁹⁵
<i>United States</i>	2,192 ⁴⁹⁶
Egypt and others	N/A
Poland	500 ⁴⁹⁷
Kuwait	17,000 ⁴⁹⁸
Bulgaria	1,000 ⁴⁹⁹
Hungary	16.5 ⁵⁰⁰
Gulf States	30,000 ⁵⁰¹
Morocco	31.8 ⁵⁰²
Jordan	295 ⁵⁰³
Turkey	800 ⁵⁰⁴
Interest (as of 2002)	47,000 ⁵⁰⁵
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, 2003⁵⁰⁶.

Donor	2004 (millions)	2005-2007 (millions)	Unspecified by year (millions)	Total (millions)	Form of pledge ⁵⁰⁷
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 ⁵⁰⁸
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 NEEDS⁵⁰⁹

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

C.P.A.-ESTIMATED NEEDS IN SECTORS NOT COVERED BY THE UN/WORLD BANK ASSESSMENT⁵¹⁰

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 RECONSTRUCTION⁵¹¹

	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 ⁵¹²	\$13	\$2.5	\$2.7 as of November 1, 2004 ⁵¹³
Disbursement	\$5.2 as of November 1, 2004 ⁵¹⁴	\$8.3	\$2.4	\$1.2 as of September 2004 ⁵¹⁵

N/A: Not available

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, 2004⁵¹⁶

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 2004⁵¹⁷

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

PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT⁵¹⁸

Year	Children enrolled in primary school
2000	3.6 million
2003/2004	4.3 million

COMMERCIAL AIRPORT DEPARTURES NATIONWIDE

Time	Commercial aircraft departures nationwide (per day) ⁵¹⁹
Pre-war	2-3
January 2004	40
April	20
May	20 ⁵²⁰
June	45 ⁵²¹
July	45 ⁵²²
August	45 ⁵²³
September	45 ⁵²⁴
October 2004	45 ⁵²⁵
Stated goal for July 2004	200-300

N/A= Not available

IRRIGATION

Month	Irrigation canals in need of clearing (km)
May 2003	20,000 ⁵²⁶
September 2003	5,000 ⁵²⁷
October 2003	3,500 ⁵²⁸

LOCAL GOVERNANCE COUNCILS

Month	Number of local governance councils
November 2003	255 ⁵²⁹
December 2003	255
January 2004	N/A
February 2004	318 ⁵³⁰
July 2004	746 ⁵³¹
August 2004	746 ⁵³²
September 2004	746 ⁵³³

HOSPITALS RESTORED TO PRE-WAR LEVEL OF OPERATIONS

Month	Hospitals restored to pre-war level of operations
March 2004	90% ⁵³⁴

HEPATITIS OUTBREAKS⁵³⁵

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.

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

IRAQI 2005 VOTER TURNOUT & ELECTION RESULTS⁵³⁶

Voter turnout	Election results
8.46 million (58% of the eligible population)	United Iraqi Alliance (Shia): 48% Kurdish Alliance: 26% Allaqi's Iraqi List : 14%

POLLING

*JANUARY 19 – JANUARY 23, 2005: ABU DHABI TV/ZOGBY INTERNATIONAL POLL*⁵³⁷

Do you favor U.S. forces withdrawing either immediately or after an elected government is in place?	Sunni Arabs: 82% Shiite Arabs: 69%
Do you believe that the U.S. will “hurt” Iraq over the next five years?	Sunni Arabs: 64% Shiite Arabs: 49%
Do you believe that the ongoing insurgent attacks are a legitimate form of resistance?	Sunni Arab: 53%
Do you prefer an Islamic government or a political system where citizens are allowed to practice their own religion?	Own religion: 59% Islamic government: 34%

*DECEMBER 26- JANUARY 7, 2005: INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE*⁵³⁸

JANUARY 30 ELECTION: DECEMBER 26- JANUARY 7, 2005

How likely is it that you will vote in the election?	Very likely: 64.5% Somewhat likely: 17.2% Somewhat unlikely: 5.5% Very unlikely: 7.4% Don't know: 4.5%		
How likely is it that you will vote in the election? (breakdown by ethno-religious group)	Shia-Arab Very likely: 77.3% Somewhat likely: 14.10%	Sunni-Arab Very likely: 19.9% Somewhat likely: 28.8% Somewhat unlikely: 17.8% Very unlikely: 28.8%	Kurdish Very likely: 70.9% Somewhat likely: 19.10%
How likely is it that you will vote in the election? (breakdown by region)	Baghdad Very likely: 58.1% Somewhat likely: 16.5% Very unlikely: 10.4%	Kirkuk Very likely: 46% Somewhat likely: 14% Somewhat unlikely: 9% Very unlikely: 27%	Sunni areas Very likely: 21.1% Somewhat likely: 32.4% Somewhat unlikely: 18.5% Very unlikely: 19.9%
Is there a political party or figure that you currently support or feel shares your own values or ideas?	Yes: 43.7% No : 45.9% Don't know: 6.7% No answer: 3.6%		
Is there a political party or figure that you currently support or feel shares your own values or ideas? (“yes” by ethno-religious group)	Shia-Arab 44.8%	Sunni-Arab 15.4%	Kurdish 71.7%
Is there a political party or figure that you currently support or feel shares your own values or ideas? g(“yes” by region)	Baghdad 35.9%	Kirkuk 29%	Sunni areas 18.8%
If you intend not to vote, which of the following best describes why?	Security situation is too dangerous: 33.4% Don't know about parties or candidates: 7% Person or group I respect has called for a boycott: 12.3% Don't trust the electoral process: 3.3% Iraq isn't ready for elections: 2.3%		
How much have you seen, read or heard about the election in the media>	Great deal: 34.6% Some: 26.8% Very little: 23.1% Nothing at all: 10.5%		

IRAQI VIEWS ON SITUATION IN IRAQ: DECEMBER 26- JANUARY 7, 2005

Question	December 26-January 7, 2005		
Do you think that Iraq today is generally heading in the right or wrong direction?	Right direction: 48.6% Wrong direction: 39.2% Don't know: 10.2% No answer: 2%		
Why do you think Iraq is heading in the <i>right</i> direction?	Emerging democracy: 23.6% Getting rid of the past regime: 20.1% Formation of Iraqi-led government: 16.1% Overall increase in freedom: 13% Improving economic situation: 7.8% General improvement of conditions: 6.6% Improving security situation: 2.9%		
Why do you think Iraq is heading in the <i>wrong</i> direction?	Poor security situation: 56.7% Presence of occupation forces: 15.5% Unstable situation: 12.2% Infrastructure issues: 2.9% Unemployment: 2.8% Bad economic situation: 1.9% Division of Iraqi people: 1.5%		
Thinking about the future, do you feel that things will be better, the same or worse in...	...six months?	...one year?	...five years?
	Better: 52.3 % Same: 23.8 % Worse: 14.1 %	Better: 59.1 % Same: 16.2 % Worse: 9.2 %	Better: 64.9 % Same: 4.5 % Worse: 5.5 %

IRAQ HEADING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION: REGIONAL VIEW: DECEMBER 26- JANUARY 7, 2005

Region	Do you think Iraq is heading in the <i>right</i> direction?
Baghdad	36.6%
Kurdish areas:	69.5%
Mosul & Kirkuk	19%
Sunni areas:	14.7%
Mid-Euphrates:	64.9%
South:	58.3%

IRAQI VIEWS ON SITUATION IN IRAQ: NOVEMBER 24 –DECEMBER 5, 2004

Question	November 24-December 5, 2004	
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% 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: NOVEMBER 24 –DECEMBER 5, 2004

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:
NOVEMBER 24 –DECEMBER 5, 2004**

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?	
	December 26-January 7, 2005	November 24-December 5, 2004	December 26-January 7, 2005	November 24-December 5, 2004
Baghdad	36.6%	42.6%	N/A	43.6%
Kurdish areas:	69.5%	71.6%	N/A	8.3%
Mosul & Kirkuk	19%	21.1%	N/A	66.3%
Sunni areas:	14.7%	18.9%	N/A	61.8%
Mid-Euphrates:	64.9%	71.3%	N/A	23.6%
South:	58.3%	61.7%	N/A	23.1%

IRAQI PERCEPTION OF OVERALL SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY: SEPTEMBER 24-OCTOBER 4, 2004

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: SEPTEMBER 24-OCTOBER 4, 2004

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: SEPTEMBER 24-OCTOBER 4, 2004

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 : SEPTEMBER 24-OCTOBER 4, 2004

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: SEPTEMBER 24-OCTOBER 4, 2004

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: SEPTEMBER 24-OCTOBER 4, 2004

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

PROSPECT OF CIVIL WAR: SEPTEMBER 24-OCTOBER 4, 2004

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 POLL⁵⁴¹

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: AUGUST 10-20, 2004:

	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 POLL⁵⁴²

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: JULY 24 - AUGUST 2, 2004:

	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 POLL⁵⁴³

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) POLL⁵⁴⁴

CONFIDENCE IN THE NEW INTERIM GOVERNMENT: 9-19 JUNE, 2004

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: 9-19 JUNE, 2004

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) POLL⁵⁴⁵

CONFIDENCE IN SELECTED INSTITUTIONS: 14-23 MAY, 2004

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: 14-23 MAY, 2004

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

HOW LONG SHOULD COALITION FORCES STAY IN IRAQ?: 14-23 MAY, 2004

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

IMPACT OF COALITION FORCES LEAVING IMMEDIATELY: 14-23 MAY, 2004

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

PRISONERS ABUSE AT ABU GHRAIB: 14-23 MAY, 2004

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

ABILITY OF IRAQI POLICE AND ARMY TO MAINTAIN SECURITY IN IRAQ: 14-23 MAY, 2004

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

MOST DANGEROUS KIND OF VIOLENCE TO IRAQ: 14-23 MAY, 2004

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: 14-23 MAY, 2004

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: 14-23 MAY, 2004

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 2004

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: 14-23 MAY, 2004

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: 14-23 MAY, 2004

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: 14-23 MAY, 2004

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, 2004

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: 14-23 MAY, 2004

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: 14-23 MAY, 2004

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?: 14-23 MAY, 2004

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: 14-23 MAY, 2004

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: 14-23 MAY, 2004

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: 14-23 MAY, 2004

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, 2004: CNN/USA TODAY/ GALLUP POLL⁵⁴⁶

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: MARCH 22-APRIL 9, 2004

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: MARCH 22-APRIL 9, 2004

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, 2004: COALITION PROVISIONAL AUTHORITY POLL

IRAQI ATTITUDE TOWARDS INSTITUTIONS⁵⁴⁷

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 BAGHDAD⁵⁴⁸

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

9 – 28 FEBRUARY, 2004: OXFORD RESEARCH INTERNATIONAL/BBC/ABC NEWS STUDY

IRAQI PERCEPTION OF OVERALL SITUATION

Month	How are things compared with a year ago? ⁵⁴⁹
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? ⁵⁵¹					
	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: 31 DECEMBER – 7 JANUARY, 2004

Type of threat	What is the greatest threat to Iraq? ⁵⁵²					
	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: 31 DECEMBER – 7 JANUARY, 2004

	If coalition forces left immediately, Iraqis would feel... ⁵⁵³		
	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: 31 DECEMBER – 7 JANUARY, 2004

	In the next six months, primary responsibility for protecting Iraqis from major security threats should be.... ⁵⁵⁴		
	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: 31 DECEMBER – 7 JANUARY, 2004

	In the next six months, primary responsibility for maintaining law and order on Iraqi streets should be.... ⁵⁵⁵		
	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: 31 DECEMBER – 7 JANUARY, 2004

	Over the last three months conditions for peace have... ⁵⁵⁶		
	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: 31 DECEMBER – 7 JANUARY, 2004

	How safe do you feel in your neighborhood? ⁵⁵⁷		
	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: 31 DECEMBER – 7 JANUARY, 2004

	Do you feel very or somewhat confident in the following institution? ⁵⁵⁸					
	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: 31 DECEMBER – 7 JANUARY, 2004

	Do you feel Coalition Forces are very effective in the following activities? ⁵⁵⁹				
	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, 2003

	Nationwide	Baghdad
Do you agree that in general, the local Iraqi police force is trusted by most members of the community? ⁵⁶⁰	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? ⁵⁶¹	Agree: 66%	Agree: 61%
If coalition forces left immediately, would you feel more safe, less safe, or no difference? ⁵⁶²	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, 2003

Question	Findings
Will Iraq be in a better condition five years from now than it was before the U.S.-led invasion? ⁵⁶³	Better off: 67% Worse off: 8%
Is Iraq better off now than it was before the invasion? ⁵⁶⁴	Better off: 33% Worse off: 47%
Was ousting Saddam worth the hardships endured since the invasion? ⁵⁶⁵	Yes: 62% No: N/A
Would you like to see U.S. troops stay longer than a few more months? ⁵⁶⁶	Stay longer: 71% Not stay longer: 26%
Are there circumstances in which attacks against U.S. troops can be justified? ⁵⁶⁷	No: 64% Sometimes justified: 36%
Have you been afraid at times to go outside your home during the day within the past four weeks? ⁵⁶⁸	Yes: 86% No: N/A
Is Baghdad a more dangerous place now than before the invasion? ⁵⁶⁹	Yes: 94% No: N/A

N/A= Not available

¹ Monthly fatality figures from March 2003- January 29, 2005 at "Operation Iraqi Freedom Casualty Summary by Month", *Directorate for Information Operations and Reports*, (web1.whs.osd.mil/mmid/casualty/OIF-Total-by-month.pdf.) Fatality numbers from January 1, 2005 and onwards are reported as documented daily from "Operation Iraqi Freedom U.S. Casualty Status," *Department of Defense*. (www.defenselink.mil/news/casualty.pdf).

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

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

⁴ Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, "Operations Iraqi Freedom Military Deaths," (web1.whs.osd.mil/mmid/casualty/OIF-Deaths-After.pdf [February 11, 2005]).

⁵ Monthly wounded figures from May 1, 2003 - December 31, 2003 at "Operation Iraqi Freedom Casualty Summary by Month", *Directorate for Information Operations and Reports*, (web1.whs.osd.mil/mmid/casualty/castop.htm [April 12, 2004]). Remaining months are documented daily from "Operation Iraqi Freedom U.S. Casualty Status," *Department of Defense*, (www.defenselink.mil/news/).

⁶ "Details of British Casualties," *British Ministry of Defense*, (www.operations.mod.uk/telic/casualties.htm).

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

⁸ Calculations based on data made available at (icasualties.org/oif/).

⁹ Walter Pincus, "U.S. Says More Police are Needed as Attacks Continue," *Washington Post*, September 28, 2004. According to a senior official in Iraq.

¹⁰ Peter Spiegel, "Fresh Attacks Cast Doubt on Drive to Build Potent Security Forces," *Financial Times*, January 8, 2005.

¹¹ Eric Schmitt, "Many Iraqi Troops Not Fully Trained, U.S. Officials Say," *New York Times*, February 4, 2005.

¹² Donald D. Rumsfeld testifying before the Senate Armed Services Committee September 23, 2004.

¹³ Steve Fainaru, "Blast at Iraqi Recruit Center Kills 21 as Insurgency Mounts," *Washington Post*, February 9, 2005.

¹⁴ Sabrina Tavernise, "Iraqis Working for Americans are in Insurgent's Cross Hairs," *New York Times*, September 18, 2004.

¹⁵ Iraq Body Count, (Iraqbodycount.net [September 17, 2004]).

¹⁶ Mike Dornig, "We are Losing Our People," *Chicago Tribune*, September 14, 2004.

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

¹⁸ Bassem Mroue, "AP Enterprise: More than 10,000 Iraqis Die Violently in Baghdad Region Alone," *Associated Press*, September 8, 2004.

¹⁹ Bassem Mroue, "AP Enterprise: More than 10,000 Iraqis Die Violently in Baghdad Region Alone," *Associated Press*, September 8, 2004.

²⁰ 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 where excluded from our monthly tallies. They are single reports of civilians killed over several months, reports of the number of corpses in Iraqi morgues. 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.

²¹ 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 Husego, "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. Alisha 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. Doug Struck, "Car Bombs Kill at Least 26 in Baghdad, Washington Post, January 19, 2005. Two car bombs kill 6 and wound 16. Christine Hauser, "14 Iraqis Killed, 40 Wounded in Blast at Baghdad Morgue," *New York Times*, January 21, 2004. Robert H. Reid, "Insurgent Attacks in at Least Seven Provinces," January 28, 2005. Two car bombs kills 7 and wounds 4. John F. Burns and James Glantz, "Shiites Leading in Hussein's Home Province," *New York Times*, February 8, 2005. Two suicide car bombs kill 27 people. James Glantz, "Tempo of Violence Quickens," February 11, 2005. Suicide bomber kills 4. Doug Struck, "Insurgents Step Up Violence on Civilians," *Washington Post*, February 13, 2005. One suicide car bomb kills 17 and injures 15. One car bomb kills 13.

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

The MacFarquar article is the source for the May, June, July, and August, 2003 estimate. The Marlowe article is the source for the September, 2003 number as well as the June and July, 2003 bounds estimate. "Almost all" of the 2,173 deaths by firearms in Baghdad in 2003 occurred between May and the end of September, 2003. Having no data for October, we constructed an estimate for this month range by taking the average of the September and November numbers. Data for January – September 2004 are author's estimate as based on reports of number of gunshot wounds in the Baghdad morgue as quoted in "Alex Berenson. "Killings Surge, and Doctors See a Procession of Misery," *New York Times*, September 26, 2004. Nearly all of these gunshot wounds were a result of homicide. Because the murder rate rose during the summer, we have estimated that the numbers for August and September are higher than the previous months. October, November, December and January numbers are Michael O'Hanlon's estimate. 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.

23

²⁴ 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.

²⁵ "Quarterly and semiannual Report of the Office of the Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction (SIGIR)," January 30, 2005. (www.cpa-ig.com/pdf/SIGIR%20Jan05%20-%20Report%20to%20Congress.pdf [February 4, 2005]).

²⁶ 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," *Marin 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. "Civilian Killed in Iraq is Identified," *Los Angeles Times*, February 3, 2005. One American.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ 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.

²⁹ Barry Hatton, "Portuguese Journalists Attacked in Iraq, One Wounded, Another Kidnapped," *Associated Press*, November 14, 2003.

³⁰ Thomas E. Ricks and Sewell Chan, "General May Bolster Force in Iraq," *Washington Post*, April 9, 2004. 7 South Koreans, 3 Japanese, 2 Arab Israelis. Sewell Chan and Rajiv Chandrasekaran, "U.S. Calls for Cease-Fire in Fallujah," *Washington Post*, April 11, 2004. A Briton, a Canadian, an American. "A List of Foreigners Taken Hostage in Iraq," *Associated Press*, August 2, 2004. One American. Peter Baker, "After Abduction, Russia Urges Citizens to Leave Iraq," *Washington Post*, April 14, 2004. Three Russians and five Ukrainians. Sewell Chan and Pamela Constable, "Attacks test Truce in Falluja," *Washington Post*, April 15, 2004. A French, three Czech and two Japanese. Sewell Chan and Pamela Constable, "Captured U.S. Soldier in Shown on Arab TV," *Washington Post*, April 17, 2004. One Dane, one United Arab Emirate national. Sewell Chan and Pamela Constable, "Iraqi Insurgents Down U.S. Copter, Killing 2 in Crew," *Washington Post*, April 12, 2004. 7 Chinese. Jackie Spinner, "Hundreds Freed at Abu Ghraib," *Washington Post*, May 22, 2004. 4 Italians.

³¹ 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.

³² Jackie Spinner, "European Hostages Rescued in Iraq," *Washington Post*, June 9, 2004. One Polish.

³³ Doug Struck, "Filipino Hostage Released," *Washington Post*, July 21, 2004. One Philipino. Robin Wright, "Powell Urges U.S. Allies to Stay Steadfast in Iraq," *Washington Post*, July 28, 2004. Two Jordanians. Pamela Constable, "Iraqi Firm Director Kidnapped by Rebels," *Washington Post*, July 25, 2004. Two Egyptians, 3 Indians, 3 Kenyans. Jackie Spinner, "Iraqi forces Kill 13 Insurgents," *Washington Post*, July 26, 2004. 2 Pakistanis. Jackie Spinner, "U.S.-led Troops Kill 13 in Fallujah," *Washington Post*, August 1, 2004. Two Turks. "A List of Foreigners Taken Hostage in Iraq," *Associated Press*, August 2, 2004. 2 Turks. "Iraqi Police Say Lebanese Hostage was Freed after a Raid on Insurgent Hideouts," *Associated Press*, August 2, 2004. 2 Lebanese. Paul Garwood, "Al-Zarqawi's Terrorist Group Kidnaps Somali Driver in Iraq, According to Tape Released by Al-Jazeera," *Associated Press*, July 29, 2004. One Somali. Pamela Constable, "In Iraq, 4 Pawns And Many Players," *Washington Post*, August 5, 2004. 6 Jordanians.

³⁴ Pamela Constable, "In Iraq, 4 Pawns And Many Players," *Washington Post*, August 5, 2004. Two Turks. Jackie Spinner, "Premier Warns Gunmen in Najaf," *Washington Post*, August 9, 2004. One Iranian diplomat. "Lebanese Hostage Freed in Iraq, Hours After Two Others Reported Released," *Associated Press*, August 10, 2004. 3 Lebanese. "British Journalist Freed in Basra," *CNN.com*, August 13, 2004. "Two More Turkish Truck Drivers Taken Hostage in Iraq, Two Lebanese Freed," *Associated Press*, August 16, 2004. Two Turks taken hostage and report of two Lebanese released, also first reports of their kidnapping. "Insurgents in Iraq Kill GI, Marine, British Soldier," *Los Angeles Times*, August 18, 2004. One Jordanian freed, also first reports of his kidnapping. "Threat to Kill Abducted Journalist," *CNN.com*, August 19, 2004. One American hostage taken. "A List of Foreigners Taken Hostage in Iraq," *Associated Press*, August 23, 2004. Twelve Nepalese workers kidnapped August 23, one American hostage released. "Jordanian, Kenyan Reportedly Abducted," *Baltimore Sun*, August 25, 2004. "Security Improves, Paves Way for Aid," *Washington Times*, August 30, 2004. Two French reporters taken hostage.

³⁵ Erik Eckholm, "Suicide Blast Kills 17 in Worst of Several Attacks in Iraq," *New York Times*, September 5, 2004. One Turk. Rajiv Chandrasekaran, "Attacks in Baghdad Raise Two-Day Death Toll to 14," *Washington Post*, September 8, 2004. Two Italians. "Al-Jazeera Broadcast Videotape of Jordanian Truck Driver Taken Hostage in Iraq," Associated press, September 14, 2004. "Three Foreigners Seized in Iraq," BBC News, September 16, 2004. Two Americans and one Brit. Edward Wong, "Bombs Kill 19 in Kirkuk, and 2 Soldiers in Baghdad," *New York Times*, September 19, 2004. 10 employees of an American-Turkish company. Sabrina Tavernise, "U.S. Attacks Rebel Base in Falluja; 20 are Killed," *New York Times*, September 14, 2004. Two Australians and two East Asians. "Baghdad Kidnapping Crisis Deepens," *BBC News online*, September 24, 2004. Two Egyptians. Edward Wong, "Rocket Aimed at U.S. Convoy Kills 4 Iraqis; 8 workers of Egyptian Company are Kidnapped," *New York Times*, September 25, 2004. Four Egyptians kidnapped on September 22, 2004. Alexandra Zavis, "Baghdad Bombing Kill 35 Children," *Associated Press*, September 30, 2004. Two Lebanese and two Indonesian women.

³⁶ Edward Wong, "U.S. Raids in 2 Sunni Cities Anger Clerics and Residents," *New York Times*, October 13, 2004. 1 American captured on October 10. Richard A Oppel Jr., "Iraqi Leader Says He'll Extend Weapons Trade-In Program.," *New York Times*, October 19, 2004. Two Macedonians beheaded. "Jordanian Hostage Released in Iraq for 50,000-dollar Ransom," *Khaleej Times Online*, October 14, 2004. 1 Jordanian hostage. Karl Vick, "Head of CARE in Iraq Abducted," *Washington Post*, October 20, 2004. One American. "Group Seizes Japanese Man in Iraq," BBC News online, October 27, 2004. One Japanese. Norimitsu Onishi, "Koizumi Vows no Japanese Withdrawal after Tourist's Beheading," *New York Times*, November 1, 2004. One Polish.

³⁷ Alissa J. Rubin, "Bomb Kills 7 at Iraqi Ministry," *Los Angeles Times*, November 3, 2004. One American, one Filipino, and one Nepalese. "Iraqi Militants Free Sri Lankan, Bangladeshi Hostages," *Associated Press*, December 10, 2004. One Sri Lankan and one Bangladeshi. "More than 170 foreigners taken hostage in Iraq," *Associated Press*, January 25, 2005. Two Lebanese.

³⁸ "More than 170 foreigners taken hostage in Iraq," *Associated Press*, January 25, 2005. Two Lebanese.

³⁹ Robert H. Reid, "Christian Archbishop seized in Mosul," *Associated Press*, January 17, 2005. Edward Wong, "Top Rebel in Iraq Says War with U.S. May Last for Years," *New York Times*, January 21, 2005. Eight Chinese, one French and one Brazilian. "More than 170 foreigners taken hostage in Iraq," *Associated Press*, January 25, 2005. One Lebanese and one Turk.

⁴⁰ "Italian Woman Kidnapped in Iraq," BBC News, February 4, 2005. (news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/4236239.stm[February 4, 2005]). John F. Burns and James Glanz, "Shiites Leading in Hussein's Home Province," *New York Times*, February 8, 2005. 4 Egyptians.

⁴¹ Estimates for May 2003 to October 2003 are author's estimates based on Pentagon briefings and include suspected insurgents both detained and killed. Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing.

News Transcript, *Department of Defense*, November 17, November 19, 2003. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Monthly total based on daily average rate. Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. Detainees only.

News Transcript, *Department of Defense*, December 3, December 5, December 8, December 18, December 19, December 24, December 30, 2003. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Monthly total based on daily average rate. Detainees only.

Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*, January 2, January 3, January 8, January 12, January 14, January 22, January 27, January 30. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Monthly total based on daily average rate. Detainees only.

Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*, 3 February, 4 February, 9 February, 10 February, 17 February, 21 February, 24 February, 25 February, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Monthly total based on daily average rate. Detainees only.

Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*, March, 10 March, 17 March, 22 March, 30 March, March 31, April 1, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Detainees only.

Number of insurgents killed in April based on report by Jim Krane, "U.S. Officials: Iraq Insurgency Bigger," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 9, 2004. Insurgents killed only.

Author's estimate. Number of insurgents killed in May based on the following news reports; Edward Wong, "60 Years Later, A Division Takes Stock on Different Sands," *New York Times*, June 7, 2004; Edward Sanders, "Battle Take Daily Toll in Sadr City," *Los Angeles Times*, June 7, 2004.; According to Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld as quoted by National Public Radio, Morning Edition, May 12, 2004. Numbers for July is author's estimate based on news reports and briefings. August number based on estimate made by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld that up to 2,500 insurgents were killed by U.S. forces during August. Quoted in Eric Schmitt and Steven R. Weisman, "U.S. Conceding Rebels Control Regions of Iraq," *New York Times*, September 8, 2004. September numbers author's estimate based partly on the following news stories; Sabrina Tavernise, "Scores of Dead After Violence Spreads in Iraq," *New York Times*, September 13, 2004; Dexter Filkins, "Battles in Baghdad Slum Leave 40 Iraqis and a G.I. Dead," September 8, 2004; Dexter Filkins and Edward Wong, "Cleric's Militia Begins to Yield Heavy Weapons," *New York Times*, October 12, 2004. Richard A. Oppel Jr., "Rebel Attacks Kill 18 Iraqis; G.I.'s Injured," *New York Times*, October 24, 2004. October and November numbers based on author's estimate. January numbers based on James Glanz and Thom Shanker, "Anti-Vote Violence is Widespread and Intensifying," *New York Times*, January 27, 2005. Detained only.

⁴² Dexter Filkins, "General Says Coercion of Captives Yields Better Data," *New York Times*, September 7, 2004.

⁴³ Peter Eisler and Tom Squitieri, "Foreign Detainees are Few in Iraq," *USA Today*, July 6, 2004.

⁴⁴ Dexter Filkins, "General Says Coercion of Captives Yields Better Data," *New York Times*, September 7, 2004.

⁴⁵ Bradley Graham, "Offensives Create Surge of Detainees," *Washington Post*, November 29, 2004.

⁴⁶ Bradley Graham, "Offensives Create Surge of Detainees," *Washington Post*, November 29, 2004.

⁴⁷ Jackie Spinner, "U.S. Prisons in Iraq Nearly Full with Rise in Insurgent Arrests," *Washington Post*, January 21, 2005.

⁴⁸ Eric Schmitt and David E. Sanger. "Guerillas Posing More Danger, Says U.S. Commander for Iraq," *New York Times*, November 14, 2003. According to General John P. Abizaid.

⁴⁹ Bradley Graham, "Hussein Arrest Yields Details on Resistance," *Washington Post*, December 18, 2003.

⁵⁰ "4th Infantry Division Commanding General's, Briefing from Iraq," *Coalition Provisional Authority*, January 22, 2004. Statement by Army Maj. Gen. Raymond T. Odierno,

⁵¹ Bradley Graham, "Iraqi Security Forces Fall Short, Generals Say," *Washington Post*, April 13, 2004. According to General John P. Abizaid

⁵² Jim Krane, "U.S. Officials: Iraq Insurgency Bigger," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 9, 2004. U.S. military officials say that "dozens of regional cells can call upon part-time fighters to boost forces as high as 20,000 – an estimate reflected in the insurgency's continued strength..."

⁵³ Johanna McGear, "Mission Still Not Accomplished," *Time Magazine*, September 2, 2004. According to Pentagon analysts.

⁵⁴ Author's estimate based on "Pentagon estimates of core fighters rising as high as 12,000. Tens of thousands part-time backers may join in on any given day." Quoted in Ann Scott Tyson, "US Faces Gap In 'Intelligence War' In Iraq," *Christian Science Monitor*, November 5, 2004. "with

⁵⁵ Including active sympathizers or covert accomplices according to American officials. Thom Shanker and Eric Schmitt, "Falluja Data Said to Pressure Guerillas," *New York Times*, December 3, 2004.

⁵⁶ Author's estimate based among other on the following news stories. Maamoun Youssef, "Up to 30,000 Terrorists in Iraq, Intelligence Chief Says," *Boston Globe*, January 6, 2004. Barbara Starr, "Official: 13,000-17,000 Insurgents in Iraq," CNN.com, February 9, 2004.

⁵⁷ Author's estimate based among other on the following news story. Barbara Starr, "Official: 13,000-17,000 Insurgents in Iraq," CNN.com, February 9, 2004.

⁵⁸ "Over 90 percent" of the enemy combatants are Bath Party loyalists, according to John E. McLaughlin, Deputy Director of Central Intelligence. Dana Priest, "The CIA's 'Anonymous' No. 2; Low-Profile Deputy Director Leads Agency's Analytical Side," *Washington Post*, January 9, 2004. We use our January figures of number of insurgents to arrive at the number of foreign fighters.

- ⁵⁹U.S. officials estimate that foreign fighters in Iraq are in the low hundreds as of July 7, 2004. Robin Wright, "In Iraq, Daunting Tasks Await," *Washington Post*, July 7, 2004.
- ⁶⁰Army General John P. Abizaid, head of Central Command, estimate that there are less than 1,000 foreign fighters in Iraq as of September 28, 2004. Mark Mazzetti, "Insurgents are Mostly Iraqis, U.S. Military Says," *Los Angeles Times*, September 28, 2004.
- ⁶¹Assuming that the ration of foreign fighters to insurgents are the same throughout the country as reported in Falluja, where foreign fighters constituted 1.5% of insurgents detained. John Hendren, "Few Foreigners Among Insurgents," *Los Angeles Times*, November 16, 2004.
- ⁶²Steven Komarow, "General: Iraqi Troops Improve," *USA Today*, January 27, 2005.
- ⁶³Barbara Starr, "Official: 13,000-17,000 Insurgents in Iraq," CNN.com, February 9, 2004.
- ⁶⁴"Security Forces in Iraq," *Department of Defense Briefing Slides*: 6 November, 2003. Ratio of reserves to active forces derived from graph.
- ⁶⁵Ibid.
- ⁶⁶Ibid.
- ⁶⁷Ibid.
- ⁶⁸Ibid.
- ⁶⁹Ibid.
- ⁷⁰Ibid.
- ⁷¹Ibid.
- ⁷²Ibid.
- ⁷³Ibid.
- ⁷⁴Ibid.
- ⁷⁵Ibid.
- ⁷⁶Ibid.
- ⁷⁷Ibid.
- ⁷⁸Ibid.
- ⁷⁹Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status", *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.
- ⁸⁰"Security Forces in Iraq," *DoD Briefing Slides*: 6 November 2003. Ratio of reserves to active forces derived from graph.
- ⁸¹Ibid.
- ⁸²Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status", *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.
- ⁸³Ibid.
- ⁸⁴"Security Forces in Iraq," *DoD Briefing Slides*: 6 November 2003. Ratio of reserves to active forces derived from graph.
- ⁸⁵Ibid.
- ⁸⁶Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status", *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.
- ⁸⁷Ibid.
- ⁸⁸"Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 15 December 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.
- ⁸⁹Ibid.
- ⁹⁰Robert T. Worth, "National Guard at War at Home to Prepare for Real Thing in Iraq," *New York Times*, December 27, 2003. Numbers appreciated as 70% of the American troop strength in Iraq, based on the article stating that 30% of American troops are reservists and in the National Guard.
- ⁹¹Ibid. Include reservists and National Guard.
- ⁹²"Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 30 December 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.
- ⁹³Ibid.
- ⁹⁴"Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 26 January 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.
- ⁹⁵Ibid.
- ⁹⁶"Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 17 February 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.
- ⁹⁷"Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 23 February 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.
- ⁹⁸"The Tyrant is Gone, But the Trauma Remains," *Los Angeles Times*, March 20, 2004.
- ⁹⁹"Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status", *Department of Defense*, March 18, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.
- ¹⁰⁰Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing," News transcript. *Department of Defense*. April 15, 2004. According to Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld.
- ¹⁰¹Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status", *Department of Defense*, April 20, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.
- ¹⁰²Defense Department Operational Update Briefing, Department of Defense. May 4, 2004. According to Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld.
- ¹⁰³Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status", *Department of Defense*, May 25, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.
- ¹⁰⁴Robert Burns, "Iraq War Casualties Mounting for U.S. Citizen Soldiers, With no Letup in Sight," *Associated Press*, June 26, 2004.
- ¹⁰⁵Rajiv Chandrasekaran, "As Handover Nears, U.S. Mistakes Loom Large," *Washington Post*, June 20, 2004.
- ¹⁰⁶"Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, June 22, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD
- ¹⁰⁷Robin Wright and Bradley Graham, "U.S. Works to Sustain Iraq Coalition," *Washington Post*, July 15, 2004.
- ¹⁰⁸Ibid. Robin Wright and Bradley Graham, "U.S. Works to Sustain Iraq Coalition," *Washington Post*, July 15, 2004. Sabrina Tavernise, "U.S. Helicopter is Shot Down Over Baghdad; Crew Escapes," *New York Times*, August 9, 2004.
- ¹⁰⁹Greg Jaffe, "As Ranks Dwindle In A Reserve Unit, Army's Woes Mount," *Wall Street Journal*, August 4, 2004.
- ¹¹⁰Ian Fisher and Somini Sengupta, Iraq to Offer Amnesty, but No Killers Need Apply, *New York Times*, August 4, 2004.
- ¹¹¹Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, August 4, 18, 25. Available weekly at defendamerica.mil
- ¹¹²Howard LaFranchi, "An Elephant in the GOP Living Room: Troop Numbers in Iraq," *Christian Science Monitor*, September 1, 2004. Reserves constitute 40% of U.S. troops in Iraq.
- ¹¹³Donald H. Rumsfeld, "Prepared Testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee," February 3, 2004.
- ¹¹⁴Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, August 4, 18, 25. Available weekly at defendamerica.mil.
- ¹¹⁵"Pentagon Says Nearly 200 Wounded Last Week in Iraq," *Associated Press*, October 5, 2004.
- ¹¹⁶Tom Squitieri, "Britain May Reconfigure Troops in Iraq," *USA Today*, October 19, 2004.
- ¹¹⁷"Iraq Weekly Status Report", *Department of State*, November 3, 2004.
- ¹¹⁸Bradley Graham, "Iraq Force is Seen as Likely to Grow," *Washington Post*, November 22, 2004.
- ¹¹⁹"Iraq Weekly Status Report", *Department of State*, November 17, 2004.
- ¹²⁰Michael Kilian, "Fears Grow of Military Spread Thin," *Chicago Tribune*, December 3, 2004.
- ¹²¹Michael Kilian, "Fears Grow of Military Spread Thin," *Chicago Tribune*, December 3, 2004.
- ¹²²Eric Schmitt, "Insurgents in Iraq Using Roadside Bombs More Effectively, U.S. General Says," *New York Times*, December 16, 2004.
- ¹²³"Iraq Weekly Status Report," Department of State, December 22, 2004.
- ¹²⁴Tom Bowman, "Pentagon Details U.S. Deaths in Iraq," *Baltimore Sun*, January 13, 2004.
- ¹²⁵Tony Capaccio, "U.S. to Keep 150,000 Troops in Iraq Through June," *Bloomberg.com*, January 14, 2005.
- ¹²⁶"Iraq Weekly Status Report," Department of State, February 2, 2005.
- ¹²⁷Bradley Graham, "U.S. to Pull 15,000 Troops Out of Iraq," *Washington Post*, February 4, 2005.
- ¹²⁸"Iraq Weekly Status Report," Department of State, February 16, 2005.

- ¹²⁹ “Backgrounder: Multinational Force in Iraq,” Xinhua General News Service, January 29, 2004.
- ¹³⁰ “Backgrounder: Multinational Force in Iraq,” Xinhua General News Service, January 29, 2004.
- ¹³¹ “Backgrounder: Multinational Force in Iraq,” Xinhua General News Service, January 29, 2004.
- ¹³² “Backgrounder: Multinational Force in Iraq,” Xinhua General News Service, January 29, 2004.
- ¹³³ “Backgrounder: Multinational Force in Iraq,” Xinhua General News Service, January 29, 2004.
- ¹³⁴ “Backgrounder: Multinational Force in Iraq,” Xinhua General News Service, January 29, 2004.
- ¹³⁵ “Backgrounder: Multinational Force in Iraq,” Xinhua General News Service, January 29, 2004.
- ¹³⁶ “Backgrounder: Multinational Force in Iraq,” Xinhua General News Service, January 29, 2004.
- ¹³⁷ “Backgrounder: Multinational Force in Iraq,” Xinhua General News Service, January 29, 2004.
- ¹³⁸ “Backgrounder: Multinational Force in Iraq,” Xinhua General News Service, January 29, 2004.
- ¹³⁹ “Backgrounder: Multinational Force in Iraq,” Xinhua General News Service, January 29, 2004.
- ¹⁴⁰ “Iraq Weekly Status Report,” Department of State, February 9, 2005.
- ¹⁴¹ Dexter Filkins, “General Says Coercion of Captives Yields Better Data,” *New York Times*, September 7, 2004.
- ¹⁴² Monthly averages from November to February from “GAO-04-902R:Rebuilding Iraq: Resource, Security, Governance, Essential Services, and Oversight Issues,” General Accounting Office, June 2004, p.46. The figures are approximate as a result of the numbers being interpreted from a graph. Monthly average for March- August 2004 according to *Multinational Force Iraq, Department of Defense*, as cited by Eric Schmitt and Steven R. Weisman, “U.S. Conceding Rebels Control of Iraq,” *New York Times*, Wednesday, September 8, 2004. James Glanz and Thom Shanker, “Iraq Study Sees Rebels’ Attacks as Widespread,” *New York Times*, September 29, 2004. Richard A. Opiel, Jr., “Rebel Attacks Kill 18 Iraqis; G.I.’s Injured,” *New York Times*, October 24, 2004. November estimate based on a peak of 130 attacks per day reported by Bradley Graham, “Generals See Gains from Iraq Offensives,” *Washington Post*, December 6, 2004. December and January estimate based on reports by Bradley Graham, “Generals See Gains from Iraq Offensives,” *Washington Post*, December 6, 2004, and James Glanz and Thom Shanker, “Anti-Vote Violence in Iraq is Widespread and Intensifying, Latest Survey Shows,” *New York Times*, January 27, 2005.
- ¹⁴³ Entries from May 2003 and up until January 8, 2004 based on “Helicopters Crashed or Shot Down in Iraq,” *Associated Press*, January 8, 2004. Vijay Joshi, “U.S. Helicopter Shot Down by Enemy Fire,” *Associated Press*, January 13, 2004. One helicopter shot down on January 13, 2004. “Helicopter Crashes in Northern Iraq, Killing Two Pilots,” *Associated Press*, January 23, 2004. One helicopter crashed on January 23, 2004. Vijay Joshi, “U.S. Military Loses Fifth Helicopter This Year After Crash in Tigris,” *Associated Press*, January 26, 2004. One helicopter crashed on January 25, 2004. Paul Garwood, “U.S. Helicopter Crashes in Euphrates River, Two Crew Members Killed,” *Associated Press*, February 25, 2004. One helicopter crashed on February 25. Lourdes Navarro, “Insurgents Shoot Down U.S. Helicopter West of Baghdad,” *Associated Press*, April 11, 2004. One helicopter shot down April 11. Abdul-Qader Saadi, “U.S. Helicopter Crashes in Flames Outside Falluja,” *Associated Press*, April 13, 2004. One helicopter crashed April 13. “U.S. Military Helicopter Crashes in Flames in Iraqi City,” *Associated Press*, April 7, 2004. One helicopter crashed April 7. “U.S. Army Helicopter Crashes North of Baghdad But the Crew Said to Have Survived,” *Associated Press*, June 13, 2004. Edward Cody, “100 Iraqis Killed in Wave of Attacks,” *Washington Post*, June 25, 2004. One helicopter downed by enemy fire on June 24. “Marined Helicopter Shot Down Over Najaf, Crew Survives,” *Associated Press*, August 5, 2004. Shot down by enemy fire. Abdul Hussein al-Obeidi, “Iraqi Prime minister Asks Fighters in Najaf to Put down Weapons, Government Reinstates Death Penalty,” *Associated Press*, August 8, 2004. Came under fire and had to do an emergency landing. “Fighting Erupts in Najaf as U.S. Forces battle Cleric’s Militia,” *New York Times on the Web*, August 12, 2004. One helicopter crashed. “US. Military Helicopter Crashed West of Baghdad; All Four Personnel Aboard Survived,” *Associated Press*, September 8, 2004. One helicopter downed. “Black Hawk Helicopter Crashes in Southern Iraq, Three Wounded,” *Associated Press*, September 22, 2004. One helicopter crashed. Robert H. Reid, “Iraqi Government Releases Fallujah’s Top Negotiator in Apparent Bid to Revive Peace Talks,” *Associated Press*, October 18, 2004. “U.S. Military: Helicopter Shot Down North of Baghdad,” *Associated Press*. Three helicopters shot down during the week of November 8, 2004. Nick Wadhams, “Representative of Iraq’s Dominant Iran-linked Shiite Party Tops Election List,” *Associated Press*, December 10, 2004. Accident. “Deadly 24 Hours for Americans, Iraqis; Marine Helicopter Ferrying Troops Crashes in West,” January 26, 2005. Sameer N. Yacoub, “Iraqi Authorities Announce Capture of Three Associates of Terror Leader,” *Associated Press*, January 28, 2005. A OH-58 Kiowa helicopter crashed, not due to hostile causes.
- ¹⁴⁴ “Iraq Pipeline Watch,” Institute for the Analysis of Global Security,” (<http://www.iags.org/iraqpipelinewatch.htm>).
- ¹⁴⁵ Anu Butler, “Martin: IED Detection in Iraq Up 30 to 40 Percent,” *Defense Daily*, December 14, 2004. Eric Schmitt, “Insurgents in Iraq Using Roadside Bombs More Effectively,” U.S. General Says,” *New York Times*, December 16, 2004.
- ¹⁴⁶ Data up until September 19 based on “Iraqi 55 Most Wanted List,” *United States Central Command*, (http://www.centcom.mil/Operations/Iraqi_Freedom/55mostwanted.htm). John Hendren, “Ex-Baathists Play Crucial Insurgent Role, U.S. Says,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 11, 2005.
- ¹⁴⁷ The source of individuals remaining as of December is based on reports from the Associated Press, “\$1 Million Rewards Offered for Last of Iraqi Fugitives,” *Chicago Tribune*, December 28, 2003.
- ¹⁴⁸ “Top Baathist Fugitive Held in Iraq,” CNN.com, January 14, 2004.
- ¹⁴⁹ Donald H. Rumsfeld, “Prepared Testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee,” February 3, 2004.
- ¹⁵⁰ “Q&A: Operation Iraqi Freedom,” *Department of Defense, Office of Public Affairs*, March 19, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.
- ¹⁵¹ Bradley Graham, “Top Iraq Rebels Elude Intensified U.S. Raids,” *Washington Post*, February 15, 2005.
- ¹⁵² Scott Wilson, “Bremer Shifts Focus to New Iraqi Economy; U.S. Occupation Chief Cites Progress on Restoring Order,” *Washington Post*, May 27, 2003.
- ¹⁵³ “CPA Daily; Key Facts Security 17 July 2003,” *Coalition Provisional Authority*, (www.cpa-iraq.org).
- ¹⁵⁴ “Results in Iraq: 100 days Toward Security and Freedom,” Highlights of the Renewal of Iraq and the End of Saddam’s Regime,” *Coalition Provisional Security*, August 8, 2003.
- ¹⁵⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁵⁶ Lt. General Ricardo Sanchez, Commander, Coalition Ground Forces, Baghdad, Iraq. Briefing, September 4, 2003. *Coalition Provisional Authority* (www.cpa-iraq.org).
- ¹⁵⁷ Alex Berenson, “The Struggle for Iraq: Security Force; Iraqis’ New Army Gets Slow Start,” *New York Times*, September 21, 2003.
- ¹⁵⁸ Lt. General Ricardo Sanchez, Commander, Coalition Ground Forces, Baghdad, Iraq. Briefing, September 4, 2003, *Coalition Provisional Authority*, (www.cpa-iraq.org).
- ¹⁵⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁶⁰ 21 Oct 2003 Update: Iraq: Fact Sheet: Security,” *Joint Staff & Coalition Provisional Authority*, provided to the author through contacts at the DoD. Unclassified.
- ¹⁶¹ Ibid.
- ¹⁶² Ibid.
- ¹⁶³ “21 Oct 2003 Update: Iraq: Fact Sheet: Security,” *Joint Staff & Coalition Provisional Authority*, provided to the author through contacts at the DoD. Unclassified.
- ¹⁶⁴ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, 24 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.
- ¹⁶⁵ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, 24 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.

- ¹⁶⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁶⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁶⁸ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, December 30 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.
- ¹⁶⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁷⁰ Ibid.
- ¹⁷¹ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, December 30 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.
- ¹⁷² “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, 26 January 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.
- ¹⁷³ Ibid.
- ¹⁷⁴ Ibid.
- ¹⁷⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁷⁶ “Iraq Fact Sheet: Security,” *Joint Chiefs and CPA*, February 23, 2004.
- ¹⁷⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁷⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁷⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁸⁰ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, 5 April 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.
- ¹⁸¹ Ibid.
- ¹⁸² Ibid.
- ¹⁸³ Ibid.
- ¹⁸⁴ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, April 27, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.
- ¹⁸⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁸⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁸⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁸⁸ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, May 25, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.
- ¹⁸⁹ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, May 25, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.
- ¹⁹⁰ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, May 25, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.
- ¹⁹¹ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, May 25, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.
- ¹⁹² “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, June 22. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.
- ¹⁹³ Ibid.
- ¹⁹⁴ Ibid.
- ¹⁹⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁹⁶ Author’s estimate based on briefings and news reports.
- ¹⁹⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁹⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁹⁹ Ibid.
- ²⁰⁰ Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, September 1, 2004. As of August 30. Does not state when goal is suppose to be met. Available weekly at defendamerica.mil..
- ²⁰¹ Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, September 1, 2004. Available weekly at defendamerica.mil
- ²⁰² Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, September 1, 2004. Available weekly at defendamerica.mil
- ²⁰³ Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, September 1, 2004. Available weekly at defendamerica.mil
- ²⁰⁴ Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, October 6, 2004. Available weekly at defendamerica.mil..
- ²⁰⁵ Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, October 6, 2004. Available weekly at defendamerica.mil..
- ²⁰⁶ Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, October 6, 2004. Available weekly at defendamerica.mil..
- ²⁰⁷ Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, October 6, 2004. Available weekly at defendamerica.mil..
- ²⁰⁸ David H. Petraeus, “Battling for Iraq,” *Washington Post*, September 26, 2004.
- ²⁰⁹ Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, November 3, 2004. Available weekly at defendamerica.mil..
- ²¹⁰ Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, November 3, 2004. Available weekly at defendamerica.mil..
- ²¹¹ Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, November 3, 2004. Available weekly at defendamerica.mil..
- ²¹² Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, November 3, 2004. Available weekly at defendamerica.mil..
- ²¹³ Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, December 8, 2004.
- ²¹⁴ Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, December 8, 2004.
- ²¹⁵ Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, December 8, 2004.
- ²¹⁶ Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, December 8, 2004.
- ²¹⁷ Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, December 8, 2004.
- ²¹⁸ Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, December 22, 2004.
- ²¹⁹ Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, December 22, 2004.
- ²²⁰ Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, December 22, 2004.
- ²²¹ Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, December 22, 2004.
- ²²² Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, December 22, 2004.
- ²²³ Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, January 19, 2005.
- ²²⁴ Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, January 19, 2005.
- ²²⁵ Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, January 19, 2005.
- ²²⁶ Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, January 19, 2005.
- ²²⁷ Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, January 19, 2005.
- ²²⁸ “Iraq Weekly Status Report,” Department of State, February 16, 2005.
- ²²⁹ “Iraq Weekly Status Report,” Department of State, February 16, 2005.
- ²³⁰ “Iraq Weekly Status Report,” Department of State, February 16, 2005.
- ²³¹ As of February 3, only 40,000 of the trained Iraqi security forces are combat read to take on insurgents, according to General Richard B. Myers. Bradley Graham, “U.S. to Pull 15,000 Troops Out of Iraq,” *Washington Post*, February 4, 2005.
- ²³² Joseph R. Biden, “Training Iraqis: the Facts,” *Washington Post*, February 6, 2005.
- ²³³ Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, October 6, 2004. Available weekly at defendamerica.mil.
- ²³⁴ Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, October 6, 2004. Available weekly at defendamerica.mil.
- ²³⁵ Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, October 6, 2004. Available weekly at defendamerica.mil.
- ²³⁶ Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, October 6, 2004. Available weekly at defendamerica.mil.
- ²³⁷ Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, October 6, 2004. Available weekly at defendamerica.mil.
- ²³⁸ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, June 22. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.
- ²³⁹ Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, November 17, 2004.

²⁴⁰ Iraq Weekly Status, *Department of State*, September 29, 2004. Does not state when goal is suppose to be met. Available weekly at defendamerica.mil..

²⁴¹ Testimony by Donald H. Rumsfeld to the Senate Committee on Armed Services on the topic of Global Posture Review, September 23, 2004.

²⁴² "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, May 25, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD Does not state when goal should be reached.

²⁴³ Greg Jaffe, "New Factor in Iraq: Irregular Brigades Fill Security Void," *Wall Street Journal*, February 16, 2005.

²⁴⁴ "Iraq Weekly Status," *Department of State*, September 22, 2004. Available weekly at www.defendamerica.mil

²⁴⁵ "Iraq Weekly Status," *Department of State*, September 22, 2004. Available weekly at www.defendamerica.mil

²⁴⁶ "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 5 January, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD.

²⁴⁷ Jeff Gerth, "The Struggle for Iraq; Reconstruction; Report Offered Bleak Outlook About Oil," *New York Times*, October 5, 2003. Annual pre-war revenue estimate by the Bush Administration. Broken down in monthly averages by researcher.

²⁴⁸ "21 October 2003 Update: Iraq Fact Sheet: Power" *Joint Staff & CPA*, Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD.

²⁴⁹ "21 October 2003 Update: Iraq Fact Sheet: Power" *Joint Staff & CPA*, Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD.

²⁵⁰ "21 October 2003 Update: Iraq Fact Sheet: Power" *Joint Staff & CPA*, Unclassified. Divided into daily averages from monthly data by author.

²⁵¹ "21 October 2003 Update: Iraq Fact Sheet: Power" *Joint Staff & CPA*, Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD.

²⁵² Iraq Fact Sheet: Oil," *Joint Staff & CPA*, Unclassified. Provided to the author by CPA/DoD. As of Dec 11, 2003.

²⁵³ "Iraq Status Update: 18 September 03: Progress on Priorities: National Power Update; Power/Baghdad," *U.S. Department of Defense*. Briefing material made available by CPA/DoD to author during visit to Iraq September 22-25 2003. Based on two-week estimate

²⁵⁴ Ibid. Based on two-week estimate

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ "21 October 2003 Update: Iraq Fact Sheet: Power," *Joint Staff & CPA*, Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD.

²⁵⁸ "Iraq Fact Sheet: Oil," *Joint Staff & CPA*, Unclassified. Provided to the author by CPA/DoD. As of Dec 11, 2003.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ "Iraq Status Update: 18 September 03: Progress on Priorities: National Power Update; Power/Baghdad," *U.S. Department of Defense*. Briefing material made available by CPA/DoD to author during visit to Iraq September 22-25 2003.

²⁶² "Iraq Status Update: 18 September 03: Progress on Priorities: National Power Update; Power/Baghdad," *U.S. Department of Defense*. Briefing material made available by CPA/DoD to author during visit to Iraq September 22-25 2003

²⁶³ "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status", *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD. Monthly figure based on weekly averages.

²⁶⁴ "Iraq Fact Sheet: Oil," *Joint Staff & CPA*, Unclassified. Provided to the author by CPA/DoD. As of Dec 11, 2003.

²⁶⁵ "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status", *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.

²⁶⁶ Ibid. Monthly figure based on weekly averages.

²⁶⁷ Ibid. Monthly figure based on weekly averages.

²⁶⁸ Ibid. Monthly figure based on weekly averages.

²⁶⁹ Ibid. Monthly figure based on weekly averages.

²⁷⁰ "Iraq Fact Sheet: Oil," *Joint Staff & CPA*, Unclassified. Provided to the author by CPA/DoD. As of Dec 11, 2003.

²⁷¹ "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status", *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD. Monthly figure based on weekly averages.

²⁷² Ibid. Monthly figure based on weekly averages.

²⁷³ Ibid. Monthly figure based on weekly averages.

²⁷⁴ Ibid. Monthly figure based on weekly averages.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ "Iraq Fact Sheet: Oil," *Joint Chiefs and CPA*, January 13, 2004. "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 20 January, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD. Based on two week estimate.

²⁷⁷ "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 30 December, 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 13 January, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD. Monthly estimate.

²⁸¹ "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 13 January, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD. Monthly estimate.

²⁸² "Iraq Fact Sheet: Oil," *Joint Chiefs and CPA*, January 13, 2004.

²⁸³ "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 5 January, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD. Monthly estimate.

²⁸⁴ "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 13 January, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD. Monthly estimate.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

²⁸⁷ "Iraq Fact Sheet: Oil," *Joint Chiefs and CPA*, January 26, 2004. Based on three weekly data points.

²⁸⁸ "Iraq Fact Sheet: Oil," *Joint Chiefs and CPA*, February 17, 2004.

²⁸⁹ "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 26 January, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD. Based on three weekly data points.

²⁹⁰ Ibid. Based on three weekly data points.

²⁹¹ Ibid. Based on three weekly data points.

²⁹² Ibid. Based on three weekly data points.

²⁹³ "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 23 February, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD. "Iraq Fact Sheet: Oil," *Joint Chiefs and CPA*, February 17, 2004. Based on two weekly data points.

²⁹⁴ "Iraq Fact Sheet: Power" *Joint Staff and CPA*, March 15, 2004.

²⁹⁵ "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 17 February, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD. Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 23 February, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD. Based on two weekly data points.

²⁹⁶ "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 17 February, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD. *Department of Defense*, 23 February, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD. Based on two weekly data points.

²⁹⁷ "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 17 February, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD. *Department of Defense*, 23 February, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD. Based on two weekly data points.

²⁹⁸ "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 17 February, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD. *Department of Defense*, 23 February, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD. Based on two weekly data points.

³⁵⁸ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, December 8, 2004.
³⁵⁹ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, January 12, 19, 26, February 9, 2005.
³⁶⁰ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, February 16, 2005.
³⁶¹ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, January 12, 19, February 9, 2005.
³⁶² Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, January 12, 19, February 9, 2005.
³⁶³ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, January 12, 19, February 9, 2005.
³⁶⁴ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, January 12, 19, February 9, 2005.
³⁶⁵ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, February 16, 2005.
³⁶⁶ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, February 16, 2005.
³⁶⁷ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, February 16, 2005.
³⁶⁸ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, February 16, 2005.
³⁶⁹ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, February 16, 2005.
³⁷⁰ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, February 16, 2005.
³⁷¹ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, June 22, 2004. Based on three weekly data points. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD.
³⁷² Ibid.
³⁷³ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, January 19, 2005
³⁷⁴ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, January 12, 2005.
³⁷⁵ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, January 12, 2005.
³⁷⁶ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, 23 February, 15 March, 22 March, 5 April, 19 April, 27 April, 3 May, 25 May, 22 June, 4 August, 18 August, 1 September, 22 September, 29 September 2004. Since we have no information on MWH nationwide in July, we assume that they are the same as June. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the Department of Defense and also available weekly at defendamerica.mil.
³⁷⁷ “Iraq Reconstruction Weekly Update,” USAID, September 16, 2004. (www.usaid.gov/iraq).
³⁷⁸ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, 30 December, 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.
³⁷⁹ “Iraq Status Update: 18 September 03: Progress on Priorities: National Power Update; Power/Baghdad,” *U.S. Department of Defense*. Briefing material made available by CPA/DoD to author during visit to Iraq September 22-25 2003.
³⁸⁰ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, January 19, 2005
³⁸¹ “Talking Points – Iraq Six Month Progress Report – Oct 9, 2003. *U.S. Department of Defense*.
³⁸² “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.
³⁸³ “Iraq Status Update: 18 September 03: Progress on Priorities: National Power Update; Power/Baghdad,” *U.S. Department of Defense*. Briefing material made available by CPA/DoD to author during visit to Iraq September 22-25 2003.
³⁸⁴ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.
³⁸⁵ “Iraq Status Update: 18 September 03: Progress on Priorities: National Power Update; Power/Baghdad,” *U.S. Department of Defense*. Briefing material made available by CPA/DoD to author during visit to Iraq September 22-25 2003.
³⁸⁶ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.
³⁸⁷ Ibid.
³⁸⁸ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.
³⁸⁹ Ibid. Based on a two-week estimate.
³⁹⁰ “Iraq Fact Sheet: Power,” *Joint Staffs and CPA*, April 27, 2004.
³⁹¹ Ibid.
³⁹² Ibid.
³⁹³ Ibid.
³⁹⁴ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, February 23, 2004. Based on one weekly data point. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD.
³⁹⁵ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, 22 March. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD. Based on three weekly data points.
³⁹⁶ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, March 15, 22, and April 5, 2004.. Based on three weekly data points. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD.
³⁹⁷ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, May 25, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD.
³⁹⁸ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, April 19, 27, and May 3, 2004. Based on three weekly data points. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD.
³⁹⁹ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, May 25, 2004. Based on three weekly data points. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD.
⁴⁰⁰ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, May 25, 2004. Based on one weekly data point. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD.
⁴⁰¹ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, June 22, 2004.. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD.
⁴⁰² “Iraq Reconstruction Weekly Update, July 1, 2004. USAID. (www.usaid.gov/iraq).
⁴⁰³ “Iraq Reconstruction Weekly Update, August 4, 2004. USAID. (www.usaid.gov/iraq).
⁴⁰⁴ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, August 4, 18, 25. Available weekly at defendamerica.mil.
⁴⁰⁵ Author’s estimate based on data on average weekly MWH.
⁴⁰⁶ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, September 1, 8, 15, 22, 29. Available weekly at defendamerica.mil
⁴⁰⁷ “Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, October 27, November 4, 2004. 2004.
⁴⁰⁸ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, October 13, 2004, October 27, 2004, November 4, 2004.
⁴⁰⁹ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, November 17, 24, December 1, 2004.
⁴¹⁰ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, November 17, 2004.
⁴¹¹ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, November 17, 2004.
⁴¹² Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, November 17., 24, December 1, 2004.
⁴¹³ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, December 22, 2004, January 5, 2005. Author’s estimate based on average daily MWH.
⁴¹⁴ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, December 22, 2004, January 5, 2005.
⁴¹⁵ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, January 12, 19, 2005. Author’s estimate based on average daily MWH.
⁴¹⁶ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, January 12, 19, 2005.
⁴¹⁷ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, January 12, 19, 26, 2005.
⁴¹⁸ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, January 12, 19, 2005.
⁴¹⁹ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, February 9, 16, 2005. Author’s estimate based on average daily MWH.
⁴²⁰ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, February 16, 2005.
⁴²¹ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, February 16, 2005.

⁴²² Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, February 9, 16, 2005.
⁴²³ Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, June 22, 2004.. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD.
⁴²⁴ Ibid.
⁴²⁵ Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, September 1,8,15, 22, 29. Available weekly at defendamerica.mil
⁴²⁶ L. Paul Bremer testifying before the House Armed Services Committee, *Federal News Service*, June 12, 2003.
⁴²⁷ Author’s estimate.
⁴²⁸ “Progress Competes with Chaos in Iraq,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 19, 2003
⁴²⁹ Author’s estimate.
⁴³⁰ Ibid.
⁴³¹ Ibid.
⁴³² Ibid.
⁴³³ Ibid.
⁴³⁴ Ibid.
⁴³⁵ Ibid.
⁴³⁶ Ibid.
⁴³⁷ Ibid.
⁴³⁸ Ibid.
⁴³⁹ Ibid.
⁴⁴⁰ Ibid.
⁴⁴¹ Ibid.
⁴⁴² Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, January 26, 2005.
⁴⁴³ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, January 26, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD.
⁴⁴⁴ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, 30 December, 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD.
⁴⁴⁵ Ibid.
⁴⁴⁶ “Iraq Fact Sheet: Economics,” *Joint Staffs and CPA*, February 17, 2004.
⁴⁴⁷ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, 23 February 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.
⁴⁴⁸ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, March 22, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.
⁴⁴⁹ Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, May 3, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.
⁴⁵⁰ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, May 25, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.
⁴⁵¹ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, June 22, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.
⁴⁵² As of July 20, 2004 according to Oanda.com Currency Site, ([/www.oanda.com/convert/classic](http://www.oanda.com/convert/classic)).
⁴⁵³ As of August 20, 2004. Ibid.
⁴⁵⁴ As of September 3, 2004. Ibid.
⁴⁵⁵ Ibid.
⁴⁵⁶ Ibid. As of November 22, 2004
⁴⁵⁷ Ibid. Average for December, 2005.
⁴⁵⁸ Ibid. As of January 19, 2005.
⁴⁵⁹ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, February 16, 2005.
⁴⁶⁰ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, April 27, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.
⁴⁶¹ Ibid.
⁴⁶² “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, May 25, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.
⁴⁶³ Ibid.
⁴⁶⁴ Ibid.
⁴⁶⁵ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 22 March , 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.
⁴⁶⁶ Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, April 27, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.
⁴⁶⁷ Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, May 25, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.
⁴⁶⁸ “Quarterly Update to Congress: 2207 Report,” July 2004.
⁴⁶⁹ Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status, Department of Defense, 25 August, 2004. Available at defendamerica.mil..
⁴⁷⁰ Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status, Department of Defense, 29 September, 2004. Available at defendamerica.mil..
⁴⁷¹ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, November 17, 2004.
⁴⁷² Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, December 8, 2004.
⁴⁷³ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, January 19, 2005.
⁴⁷⁴ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, February 16, 2005.
⁴⁷⁵ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 22 March , 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.
⁴⁷⁶ “Iraq Weekly Status Report,” Department of State, 13 October, 2004.
⁴⁷⁷ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, November 17, 2004.
⁴⁷⁸ “News: Iraq,” *Club de Paris/Paris Club*, July 10, 2003, (http://www.clubdeparis.org/en/news/page_detail_news.php?FICHIER=com10578674390).
⁴⁷⁹ Ibid.
⁴⁸⁰ Ibid.
⁴⁸¹ Ibid.
⁴⁸² Ibid.
⁴⁸³ Ibid.
⁴⁸⁴ Ibid.
⁴⁸⁵ Ibid.
⁴⁸⁶ Ibid.
⁴⁸⁷ Ibid.
⁴⁸⁸ Ibid.
⁴⁸⁹ Ibid.
⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.
⁴⁹¹ Ibid.
⁴⁹² Ibid.
⁴⁹³ Ibid.
⁴⁹⁴ Ibid.
⁴⁹⁵ Ibid.
⁴⁹⁶ Ibid.
⁴⁹⁷ Ibid.
⁴⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.

⁵⁰² Ibid.

⁵⁰³ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁶ “Press Release Iraq: Tally Shows Pledges from Madrid October Donor’s Conference Total \$32 Billion,” *World Bank Group*, Table 2: By Donor, December 4, 2003.

⁵⁰⁷ Jeremy M Sharp, “Post-War Iraq: Table and Chronology of Foreign Contributions,” *Congressional Research Service*, October 24, 2003. Paula Priada and Stephen J Glain, “Foreign Donors Set \$13 Billion for Iraq Contributions Seen Exceeding U.S. Hopes,” *Boston Globe*, October 25, 2004. Paul Richter, “\$13 Billion for Iraq Exceeds Expectations but Falls Short,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 25, 2003.

⁵⁰⁸ *Quarterly Update to Congress*, “2207 Report,” October 2004.

⁵⁰⁹ “Iraq- Economic Review and Prospects II,” *Global House Invest*, January 2004. p. 38.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹¹ GAO-040902R: Rebuilding Iraq: Resource, Security, Governance, Essential Services, and Oversight Issues, General Accounting Office, June 2004, p. 10.

⁵¹² Jonathan Weisman, “U.S. Spends Only Small Part of Funds to Help Rebuild Iraq,” *Washington Post*, November 1, 2004.

⁵¹³ Jonathan Weisman, “U.S. Spends Only Small Part of Funds to Help Rebuild Iraq,” *Washington Post*, November 1, 2004.

⁵¹⁴ Jonathan Weisman, “U.S. Spends Only Small Part of Funds to Help Rebuild Iraq,” *Washington Post*, November 1, 2004.

⁵¹⁵ Barbara Slevin, “Senators Slam Administration on Iraq,” *USA Today*, September 16, 2004. (www.defenselink.mil/news/Dec2004/041215-D-6570C-001.pdf. [January 21, 2005]).

⁵¹⁶ GAO-040902R: Rebuilding Iraq: Resource, Security, Governance, Essential Services, and Oversight Issues, General Accounting Office, June 2004, p. 29.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid.

⁵¹⁸ Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, January 26, 2005.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid. Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status,” *Department of Defense*, 22 April, 2004. May numbers from “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, May 25, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.

⁵²⁰ “Iraq Reconstruction Weekly Update, May 26, 18, 2004. USAID. (www.usaid.gov/iraq).

⁵²¹ “Iraq Reconstruction Weekly Update, June 16, 10, 2004. USAID. (www.usaid.gov/iraq).

⁵²² “Iraq Reconstruction Weekly Update, July 28, 2004. USAID. (www.usaid.gov/iraq).

⁵²³ “Iraq Reconstruction Weekly Update, August 18, 2004. USAID. (www.usaid.gov/iraq).

⁵²⁴ “Iraq Reconstruction Weekly Update, September 16, 2004. USAID. (www.usaid.gov/iraq).

⁵²⁵ “Iraq Reconstruction Weekly Update, October 7, 2004. USAID. (www.usaid.gov/iraq).

⁵²⁶ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 15 December 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.

⁵²⁷ Ibid.

⁵²⁸ Ibid.

⁵²⁹ Ibid.

⁵³⁰ “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, 17 February, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.

⁵³¹ “Iraq Reconstruction Weekly Update, September 16, 2004. USAID. (www.usaid.gov/iraq).

⁵³² “Iraq Reconstruction Weekly Update, August 18, 2004. USAID. (www.usaid.gov/iraq).

⁵³³ “Iraq Reconstruction Weekly Update, September 16, 2004. USAID. (www.usaid.gov/iraq).

⁵³⁴ Statement by Health Minister Khudair Fadhil Abbas in Ariana Eunjung Cha, “Iraqi Hospitals on Life Support; Babies dying Because of Shortages of Medicine and Supplies,” *Washington Post*, March 5, 2004.

⁵³⁵ James Glantz, “Hepatitis Outbreaks Laid to Water and Sewer Failures,” *New York Times*, September 25, 2004.

⁵³⁶ Weekly Status Report, *Department of State*, February 16, 2005.

⁵³⁷ Interviews conducted of 805 Iraqis. Margin of error is +/- 3.6 %. (www.zogby.com/news/ReadNews.dbm?ID=957 [February 4, 2005])

⁵³⁸ “Survey of Iraqi Public Opinion,” *International Republican Institute*, (www.iri.org/pdfs/1-20-05Iraqpollpresentation.ppt [January 26, 2005]). Face to face interviews were conducted with 1,903 individuals in 16 governorates, excluding Ninewah (Mosul) and Dohuk for security reasons. The margin of error is +/- 3%.

⁵³⁹ “Survey of Iraqi Public Opinion,” *International Republican Institute*, (www.iri.org/pdfs/NovemberSurveyPresentation.ppt [January 5, 2005]). Face to face interviews were conducted with 2,189 individuals in 15 governorates and rural regions. The margin of error is +/- 3%.

⁵⁴⁰ “Survey of Iraqi Public Opinion,” *International Republican Institute*, (www.iri.org/10-22-04-iraq.asp [October 23, 2004]). Face to face interviews were conducted with 2,210 individuals in all 18 governorates and rural regions. The margin of error is +/- 2.5%.

⁵⁴¹ International Republican Institute & Independent Institute for Administrative and Civil Society Studies. Poll based on face to face interviews with 2,320 Iraqis. The survey includes all 18 governorates and rural sample. Some numbers may be approximate due to the fact that they had to be read from a block graph. Margin of error is +/- 3%. August 10-20, 2004.

⁵⁴² International Republican Institute & Independent Institute for Administrative and Civil Society Studies. Poll based on face to face interviews with 3,230 Iraqis. The survey includes all 18 governorates . Some numbers may be approximate due to the fact that they had to be read from a block graph. Margin of error is +/- 2.57%. July 24 – August 2, 2004.

⁵⁴³ Part of Iraq Center for Research and Strategic Studies survey as reported by the London Financial Times. Mark Tuner, “80% of Iraqis Want Coalition Troops Out,” *London Financial Times*, July 7, 2004.

⁵⁴⁴ The poll was are based on face-to-face interviews with more than 100 individuals conducted by IACSS for the CPA in Baghdad, Basrah, Mosul, Diwaniyah, Hillah, and Baqubah between 9-19 June. The margin of error is +/- 4 %. Results of the poll were made available by Robin Wright, “Iraqis Back New Leaders, Poll Says,” *Washington Post*, June 25, 2004.

⁵⁴⁵ The majority of the findings are based on face-to-face interviews with 1093 randomly selected individuals conducted by IACSS for the CPA in Baghdad, Basrah, Mosul, Diwaniyah, Hillah, and Baqubah between 14 and 23 May. The margin of error is +/- 4.1 %. Poll made available through *Associated Press Washington in Depth*, (wid.ap.org/documents/iraq/cpapoll_files/frame.htm [June 18, 2004]).

⁵⁴⁶ “CNN/USA Today/Gallup Poll Nationwide poll of Iraq.” Face to face interviews with 3,444 adults in Iraq were conducted in Arabic and Kurdish by Iraqi interviewers hired and supervised by the Pan Arab Research Center of Dubai. All interviews were conducted in the residences of the respondents. The poll results are based on interviews conducted in all parts of Iraq, both urban and rural, representing about 93% of the total Iraqi population. Nearly all the interviews were conducted between March 22 –April 9, 2004.” (i.a.cnn.net/cnn/2004/WORLD/meast/04/28/iraq.poll/iraq.poll.4.28.pdf [May 13, 2004]).

⁵⁴⁷ Thomas E. Ricks, “80% in Iraq Distrust Occupation Authority,” *Washington Post*, May 13, 2004. Results cited are from a Coalition Provisional Authority poll.

⁵⁴⁸ Thomas E. Ricks, “80% in Iraq Distrust Occupation Authority,” *Washington Post*, May 13, 2004. Results cited are from a poll conducted for the Coalition Provisional Authority.

⁵⁴⁹ Oxford Research International/BBC/ABC News.ARD/NHK, as quoted in “Special Report: Iraq, One Year On,” *Economist*, March 20, 2004. Poll conducted between February 9th and February 28th.

⁵⁵⁰ “Opinion Analysis, *Office of Research, Department of State*, Washington DC, January 29, 2004. “The Office of Research survey was carried out between December 31, 2003 and January 7, 2004. The margin of error for the entire sample is approximately +/- 4 percent, but varies among cities.”

⁵⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵⁵² Ibid.

⁵⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁰ “Opinion Analysis,” *Office of Research, Department of State*, Washington DC, January 6, 2004. Preliminary findings. The Office of Research survey was carried out between November 19-28. It has a margin of error of +/-6%.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid.

⁵⁶² Ibid.

⁵⁶³ Will Lester, “Poll Finds Baghdad Residents Glad to Be Rid of Saddam,” *Associated Press*, September 24, 2003. The Gallup poll cited was carried out between August 8 and September 4. It has a margin of error of +/-3%.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁷ Walter Pincus, “Skepticism About U.S. Deep. Iraq Polls Shows; Motive for Invasion is Focus of Doubts,” *Washington Post*, November 12, 2003.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid.