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

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Updated March 18, 2005

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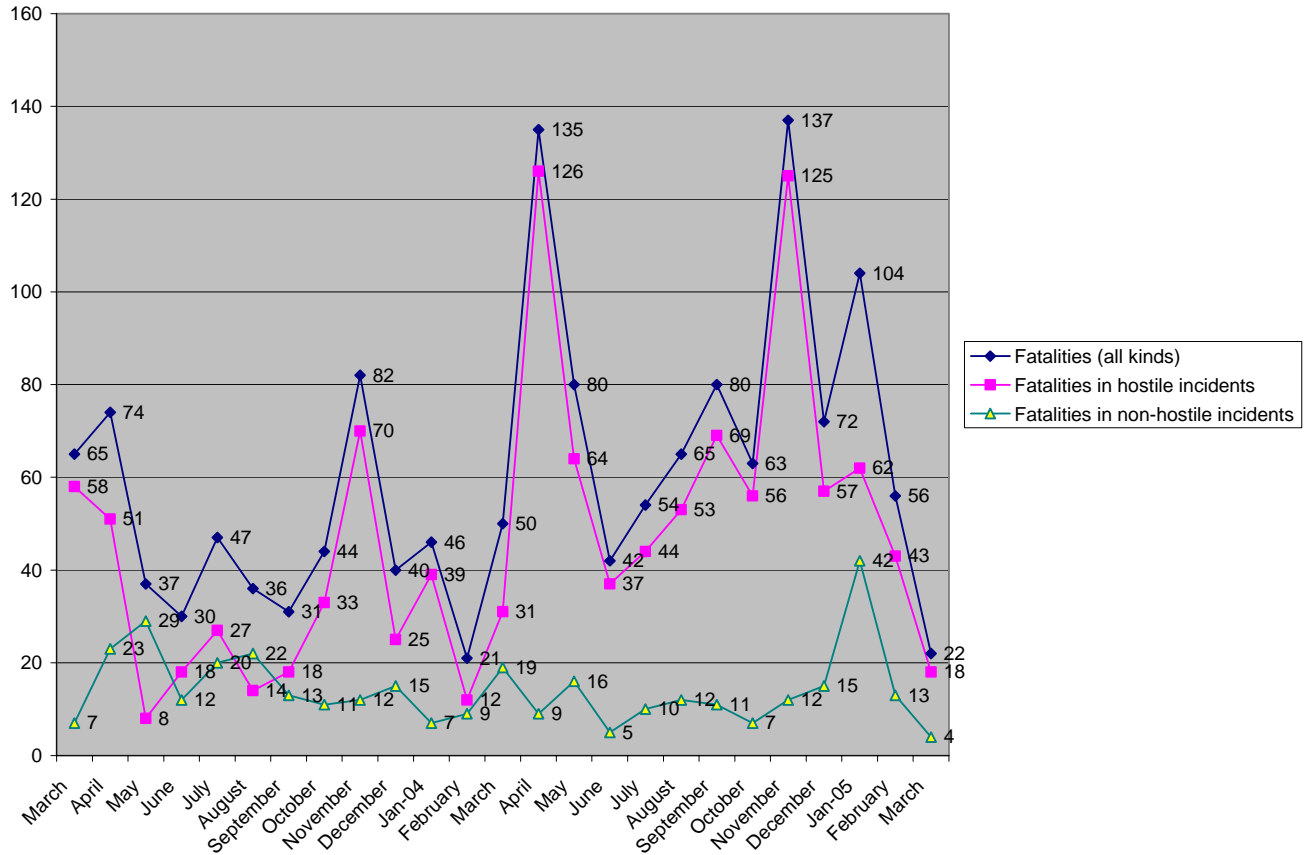
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SECURITY INDICATORS

U.S. TROOPS FATALITIES SINCE MARCH 19, 2003¹



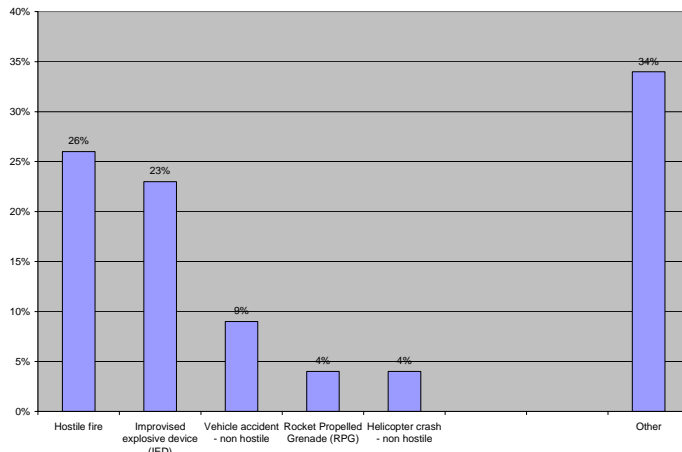
Total from March 19, 2003 through March 17, 2005:

Fatalities (all kinds): **1,513**

Fatalities in hostile incidents: **1,158**

Fatalities in non-hostile incidents: **355**

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

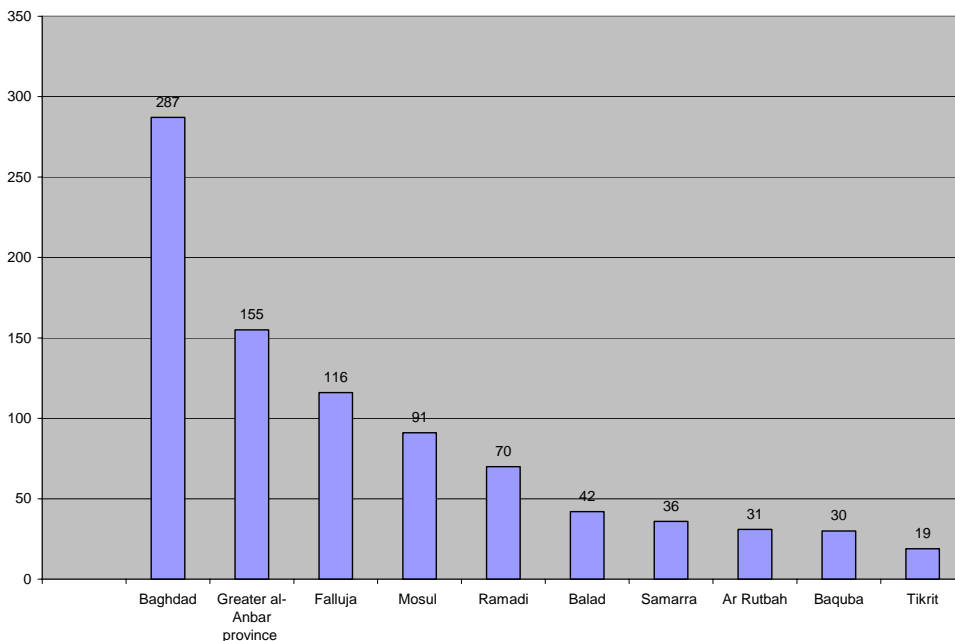


Through March 1, 2005

NOTE ON U.S. TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MARCH 19, 2003 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 that 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. Total fatalities include four civilians working for the Department of Defense.

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

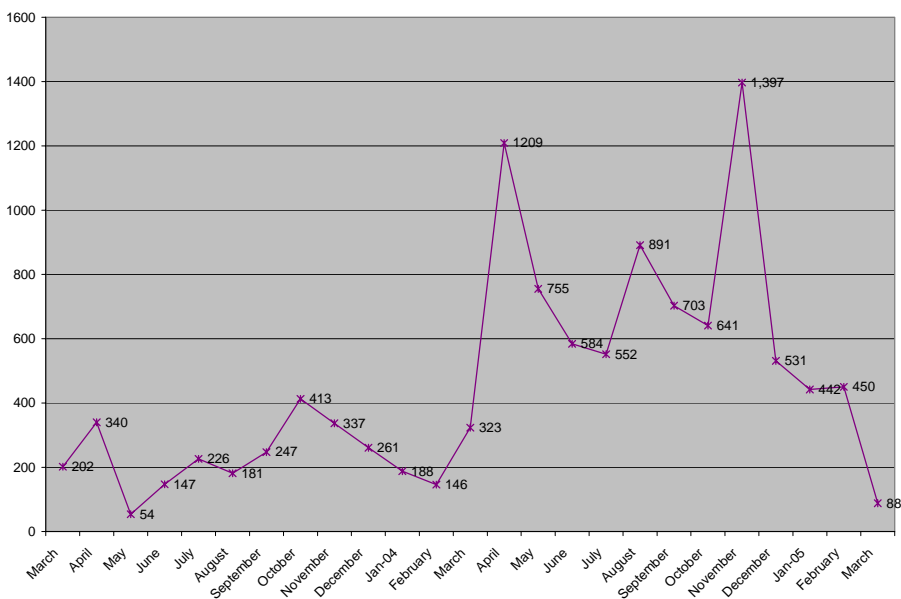


Through March 1, 2005: 896

U.S. MILITARY DEATHS BY CATEGORY MAY 1, 2003 – FEBRUARY 26, 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: 26% 31-35: 10% >35: 12% N/A=1%	Active: 79% Reserve: 8% National Guard: 13%	American Indian or Alaska Native: 1% Asian: 2% Black or African American: 11% Hispanic or Latino: 10% Multiple races, pending or unknown: 1% Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander: 1% White: 74%

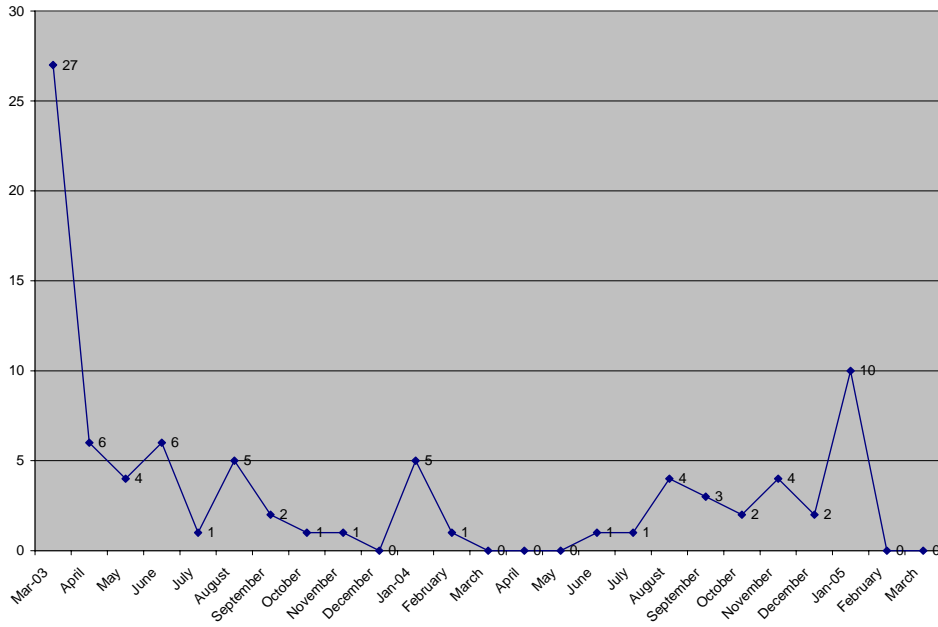
U.S. TROOPS WOUNDED IN ACTION SINCE MARCH 2003⁵



Total from March 19, 2003 through March 17, 2005: 11,308

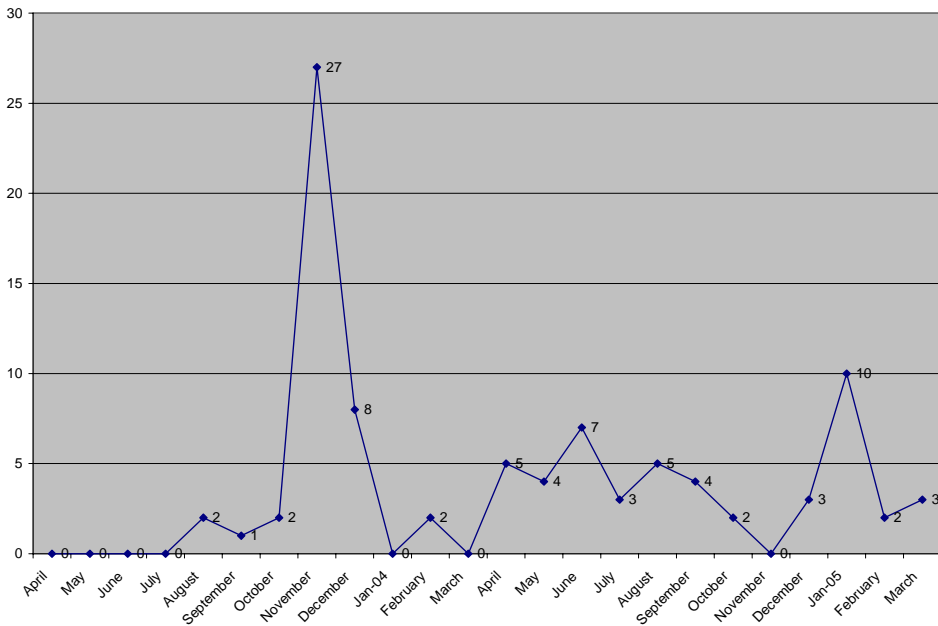
As of February 1, 2005 the numbers for previous months have changed slightly due to more detailed information becoming available from the Defense Department. The daily Department of Defense casualty reports that we use for our monthly estimates on U.S. troops killed doesn't make it entirely clear when in a 24 hour period casualties incurred. Since the reports are published 10AM daily, there is possibility that 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 19, 2003⁶



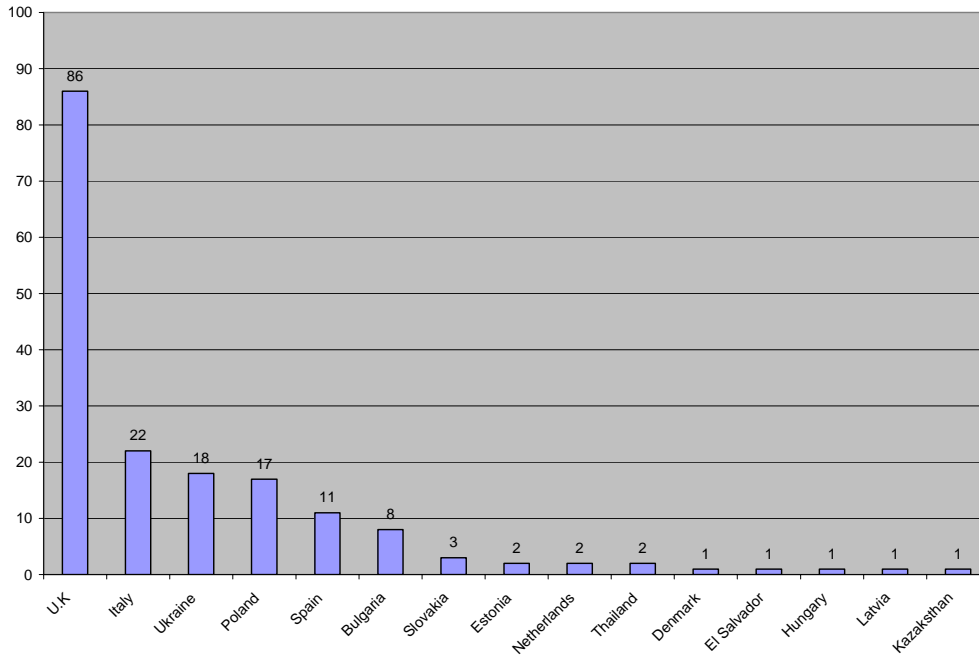
Total through March 17, 2005: 86

NON-U.S. & U.K. COALITION TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MARCH 19, 2003⁷



Total through March 17, 2005: 90

NON-U.S. COALITION TROOP FATALITIES BY COUNTRY SINCE MARCH 19, 2003⁸



Total through March 15, 2005: 176

IRAQI POLICE KILLED

Estimated number of Iraqi police killed April, 2003 - December, 2004
1,500⁹

IRAQI SOLDIERS & POLICE KILLED

Estimated number of Iraqi soldiers and police killed since June 2004- February 3, 2005
1,342¹⁰

IRAQI SECURITY FORCES RECRUITS KILLED

Estimated number of Iraqi security forces recruits killed	
May 1, 2003 -September 23, 2004	721¹¹

IRAQI SOLDIERS, POLICE & IRAQI SECURITY FORCES RECRUITS KILLED

Estimated number of Iraqi soldiers, police, and Iraqi security forces recruits killed February 1-February 9, 2005
106¹²

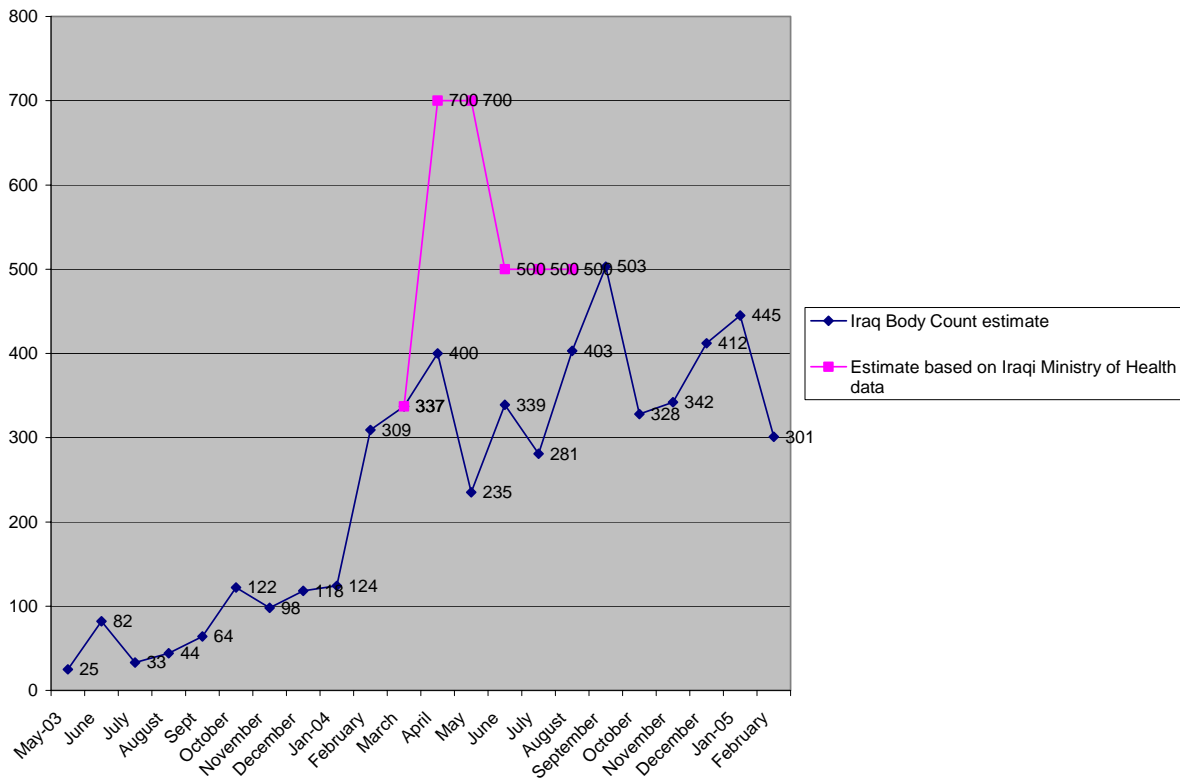
IRAQI INTERPRETERS WORKING FOR COALITION FORCES KILLED

Total number of Iraqi interpreters killed January, 2004 - September 18, 2004
52¹³

ESTIMATES OF IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED SINCE THE START OF THE WAR

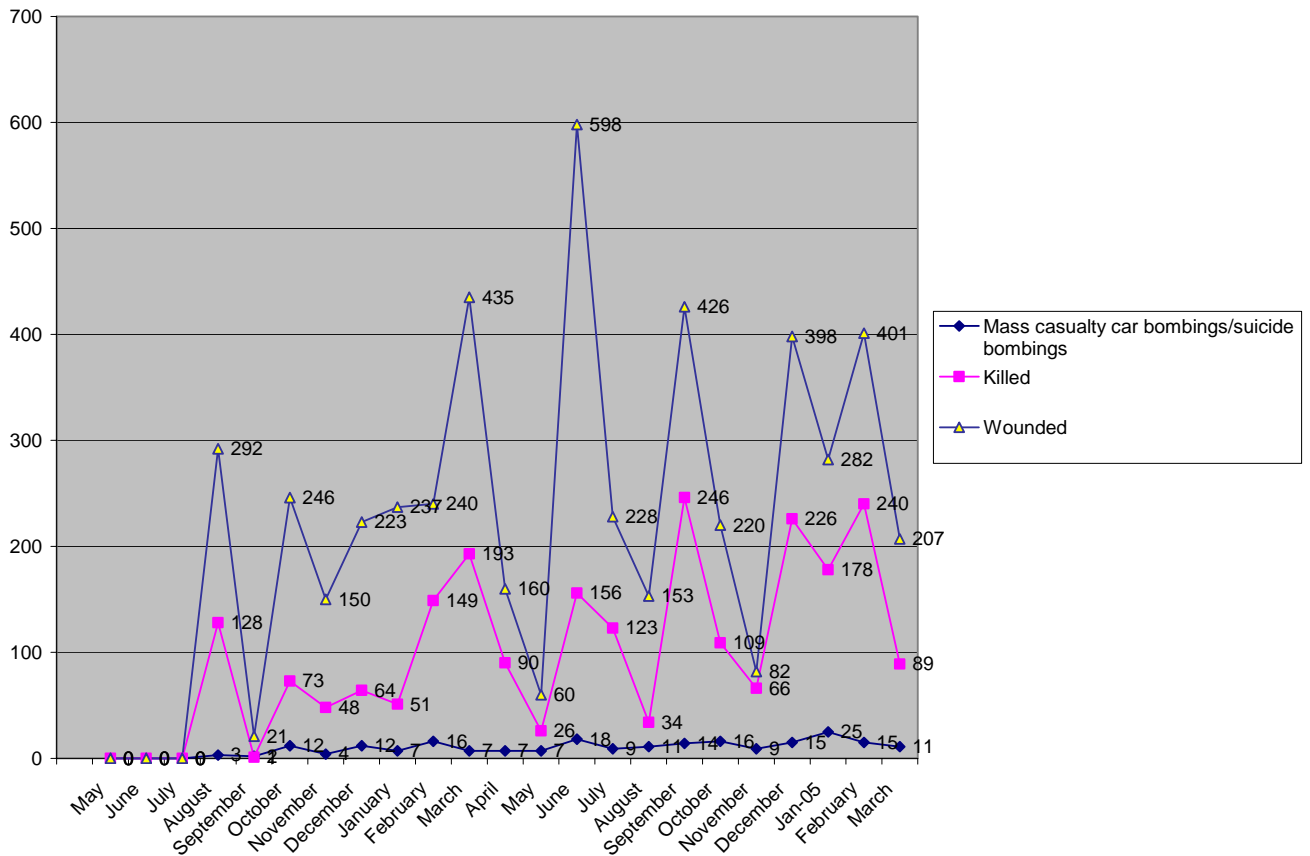
Source	Estimate
Iraq Body Count	16,100 – 18,400 as of February 28, 2005 ¹⁴
Statement by British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw	>10,000 as of February, 2004 ¹⁵
Shaik Omar Clinic, Baghdad	10,363 as of September 8, 2004 ¹⁶ (in Baghdad and surrounding towns alone)
Amnesty International (London)	>10,000 as of September 8, 2004 ¹⁷
The Human Rights Organization, Iraq	>30,000 as of September 8, 2004 ¹⁸
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 28, 2005: 12,700-13,900 Including deaths from crime as of February 28, 2005: 27,500-46,700

IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED AS A RESULT OF ACTS OF WAR SINCE MAY 1, 2003¹⁹
Total as of February 28, 2005: 5,345-6,587



NOTE ON IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED AS A RESULT OF ACTS OF WAR TABLE: This is our best estimate of a monthly breakdown of how many Iraqi civilians have been killed as a result of acts of war, both by insurgents and U.S. military. We have relied on information in Iraq Body Count up until March 2004, but have created a lower and upper bound starting in April. The upper bound is the amount of Iraqi civilians killed as a result of mass casualty bombings and by fighting between insurgents and coalition forces as reported by the Iraqi Ministry of Health. The lower bound is estimates as reported by Iraq Body count, and include civilians and police killed by fighting between insurgents and coalition forces, and as a result of mass casualty bombings. 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. 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 1, 2003²⁰



Total as of March 17, 2005:

Mass casualty bombings: 220

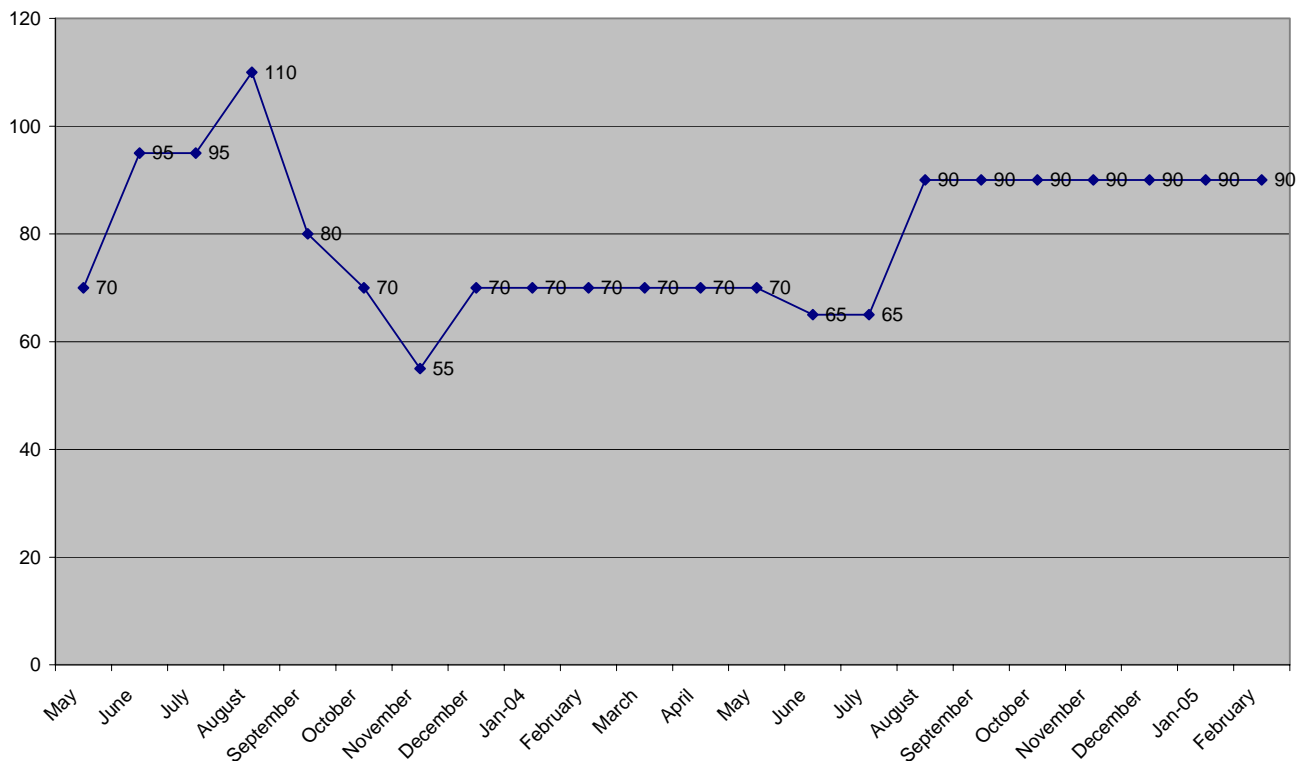
Killed: 2,290

Wounded: 5,059

NOTE: At least 136 of the 219 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, 2004, 34 car bombs in August, 2004, killed 245 people, 20 car bombs killed 28 in August, 2004 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, 2003²¹

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, 2003²²

Estimated number of Iraqi civilians killed as a result of violence from war and violence from crime between May, 2003 and February 28, 2005	20,100-39,300
---	---------------

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 the possibility that 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 therefore never recorded in official tallies. The homicide rate is calculated based on an estimated population of 5.6 million people in Baghdad.

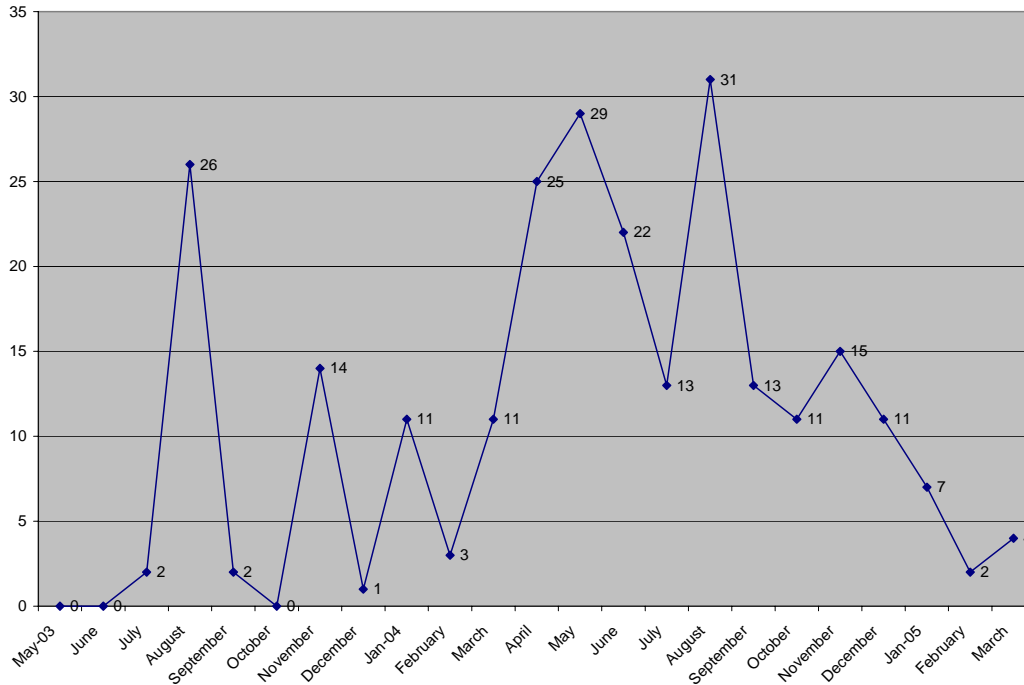
NOTE ON CRIME RELATED DEATHS IN BAGHDAD: Interpol lists the following nationwide numbers per 100,000 citizens for countries in the region: Libya 2.08, Jordan 6.33, Lebanon 3.38, Saudi Arabia, 0.71. However, Interpol notes that these [nationwide] statistics cannot be used as a basis for comparison between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

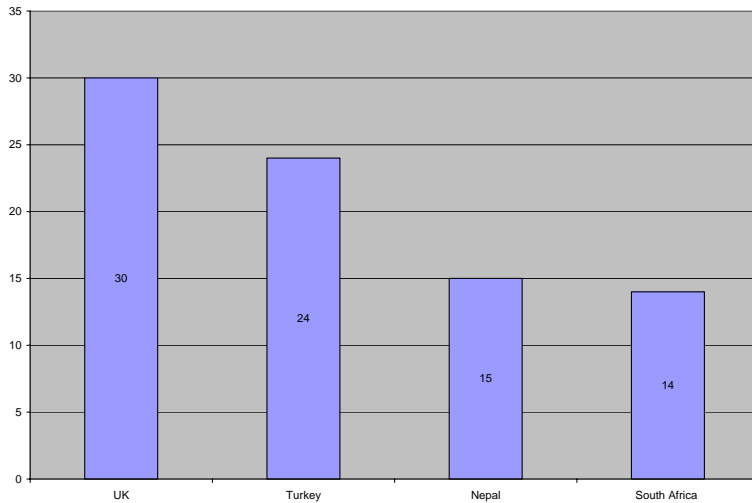
American civilian security and reconstruction contractors killed in Iraq as of December 31, 2004²³
232

NON-IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED SINCE MAY, 2003²⁴



Total through March 13, 2005: 253

**COUNTRIES WITH MORE THAN 10 CIVILIANS KILLED
IN IRAQ SINCE MAY 1, 2003 (EXCLUDING IRAQ AND THE UNITED STATES)²⁵**



Through March 3, 2005

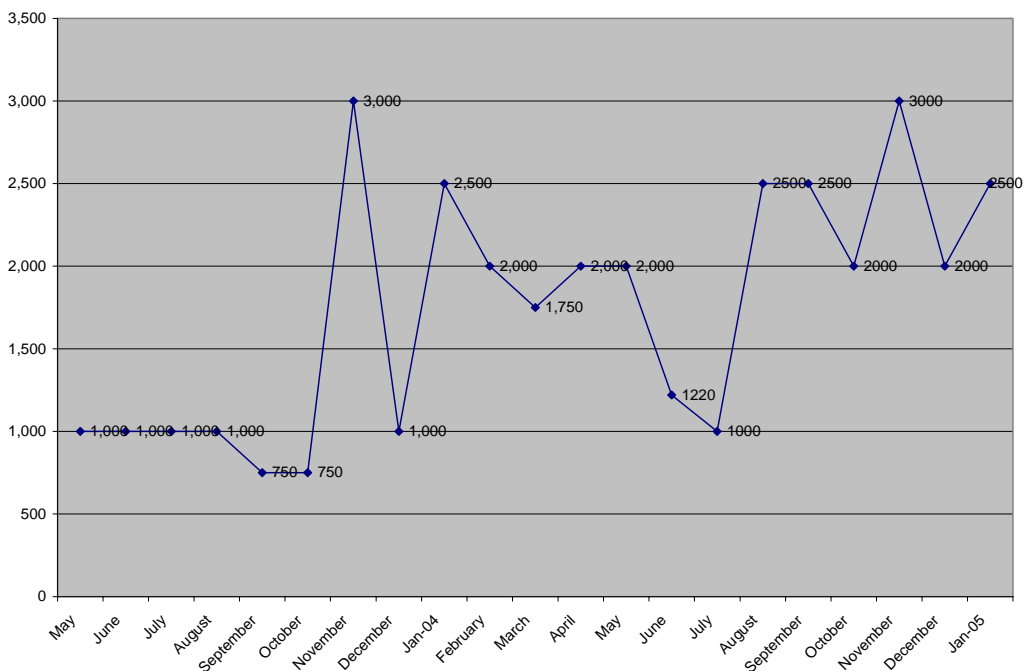
NOTE ON AMERICAN CONTRACTORS KILLED IN IRAQ TABLE: The majority of these deaths are not included in the non-Iraqi civilian casualties table, since we have no information which month the deaths occurred.

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 ²⁶	11 unknown, 3 killed
May 2003 - October 2003	0	
November	1 ²⁷	1 released
December 2003 -March 2004	0	
April	43 ²⁸	3 killed, 30 released, 2 still held, 1 escaped, 7 status unknown
May	2 ²⁹	1 killed, 1 still held
June	3 ³⁰	2 killed, 1 escaped
July	26 ³¹	3 killed, 13 released, 6 still held, 1 rescued, 1 escaped, 2 unknown
August	30 ³²	15 killed, 15 released
September	31 ³³	4 killed, 4 released, 22 still held, 1 rescued
October	8 ³⁴	3 killed, 2 released, 1 still held
November	5 ³⁵	1 killed, 4 still held
December	2 ³⁶	2 still held
January 2005	13 ³⁷	8 released, 5 still held
February	10 ³⁸	3 still held, 7 released
March	1 ³⁹	1 still held
Total through March 15, 2005	189	33 killed, 84 released, 47 still held, 3 escaped, 2 rescued, 20 status unknown

TOTAL NUMBER OF INSURGENTS DETAINED OR KILLED⁴⁰



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 ⁴¹

Peak prison population in 2003	10,000
Prison population in July, 2004	5,700 ⁴² (of which 90 are foreign nationals)
Prison population as of September 7, 2004	5,500 ⁴³ (whereof 2 are women, 65-70 are juveniles and 130-140 are foreign nationals)
Prison population as of early October 2004	4,300 ⁴⁴
Prison population as of November 29, 2004	8,300 ⁴⁵
Prison population as of January 20, 2005	7,900 ⁴⁶

ESTIMATED STRENGTH OF INSURGENCY NATIONWIDE

Month	Estimated strength of insurgency nationwide
November	5,000 ⁴⁷
December	5,000 ⁴⁸
January 2004	3,000-5,000 ⁴⁹
February	N/A
March	N/A
April	5,000 ⁵⁰
May	N/A
June	N/A
July	20,000 ⁵¹
August	20,000
September	20,000 ⁵²
October	20,000
November	20,000 ⁵³
December	“more than 20,000” ⁵⁴
January	18,000 ⁵⁵
February	18,000 ⁵⁶

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF FOREIGN FIGHTERS IN THE INSURGENCY

January 2004	300-500 ⁵⁷
July 2004	“Low hundreds” ⁵⁸
September 2004	“Less than 1000” ⁵⁹
November 2004	3,000 ⁶⁰
January 2005	“Fewer than 1,000” ⁶¹
February 2005	“Fewer than 1,000” ⁶²

NOTE ON IRAQI PRISON POPULATION TABLE:

The detainee prison population as of January 21, 2005 only includes 224 foreign fighters. The January, 2005 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 claim 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 ⁶³	~8,000 ⁶⁴	150,000 ⁶⁵	23,000 ⁶⁶	173,000
June	~126,000 ⁶⁷	~24,000 ⁶⁸	150,000 ⁶⁹	21,000 ⁷⁰	171,000
July	~124,000 ⁷¹	~25,000 ⁷²	149,000 ⁷³	21,000 ⁷⁴	170,000
August	~114,000 ⁷⁵	~25,000 ⁷⁶	139,000 ⁷⁷	22,000 ⁷⁸	161,000
September	~103,000 ⁷⁹	~29,000 ⁸⁰	132,000 ⁸¹	24,000 ⁸²	156,000
October	~102,000 ⁸³	~29,000 ⁸⁴	131,000 ⁸⁵	25,000 ⁸⁶	156,000
November	N/A	N/A	123,000 ⁸⁷	23,900 ⁸⁸	146,900
December	~85,400 ⁸⁹	~36,600 ⁹⁰	122,000 ⁹¹	24,500 ⁹²	146,500
January	N/A	N/A	122,000 ⁹³	25,600 ⁹⁴	147,600
February	N/A	N/A	115,000 ⁹⁵	24,000 ⁹⁶	139,000
March	N/A	N/A	130,000 ⁹⁷	24,000 ⁹⁸	154,000
April	N/A	N/A	137,000 ⁹⁹	25,000 ¹⁰⁰	162,000
May	N/A	N/A	138,000 ¹⁰¹	24,000 ¹⁰²	162,000
June	89,700	48,300 ¹⁰³	138,000 ¹⁰⁴	23,000 ¹⁰⁵	161,000
July	N/A	N/A	140,000 ¹⁰⁶	22,000 ¹⁰⁷	162,000
August	84,000	56,000 ¹⁰⁸	140,000 ¹⁰⁹	23,700 ¹¹⁰	163,700
September	82,800	55,200 ¹¹¹	138,000 ¹¹²	24,600 ¹¹³	162,600
October	82,800	55,200 ¹¹⁴	138,000 ¹¹⁵	24,000 ¹¹⁶	162,000
November	82,800	55,200	138,000 ¹¹⁷	24,000 ¹¹⁸	162,000
December	82,800 ¹¹⁹	55,200 ¹²⁰	148,000 ¹²¹	25,000 ¹²²	173,000
January	90,000 ¹²³	60,000	150,000 ¹²⁴	25,300 ¹²⁵	175,300
February	N/A	N/A	155,000 ¹²⁶	25,000 ¹²⁷	180,000
March	N/A	N/A	150,000 ¹²⁸	25,000 ¹²⁹	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 IRAQ¹³⁰

Coalition country	Military personnel in Iraq
United Kingdom	8,000
South Korea	3,600
Italy	3,000
Poland	1,700
Ukraine	1,500
Georgia	800
Romania	800
Japan	550
Denmark	530
Bulgaria	460
Remaining 17 coalition countries	4,060 ¹³¹

As of March 16, 2005.

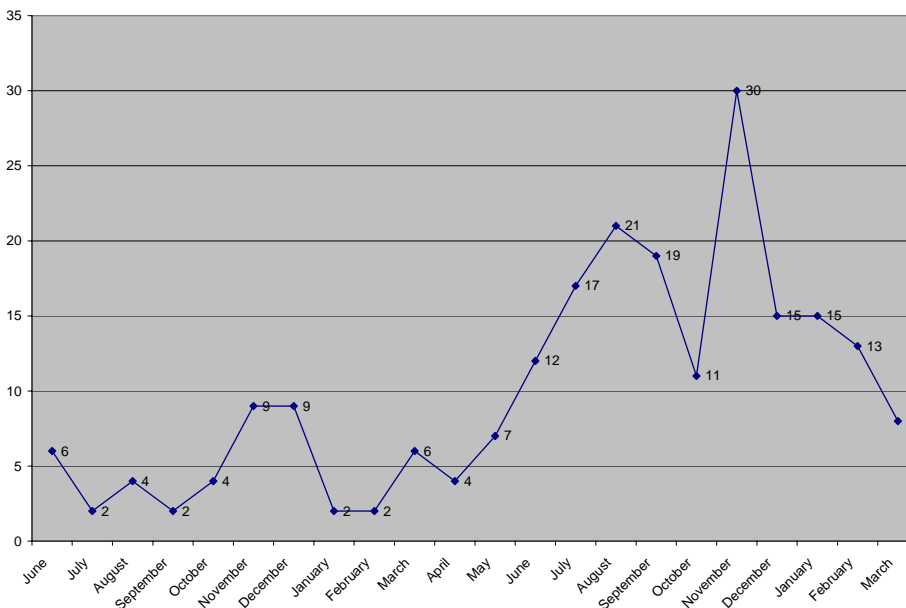
“HIGH-VALUE” INTELLIGENCE REPORTS¹³²

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

INSURGENT ATTACKS WITH REMOTELY DETONATED BOMBS¹³³

Time	Average number of bomb attacks	Bomb attacks injuring or killing U.S. troops
April 2004	25/day	90%
End of February 2005	30/day	25%

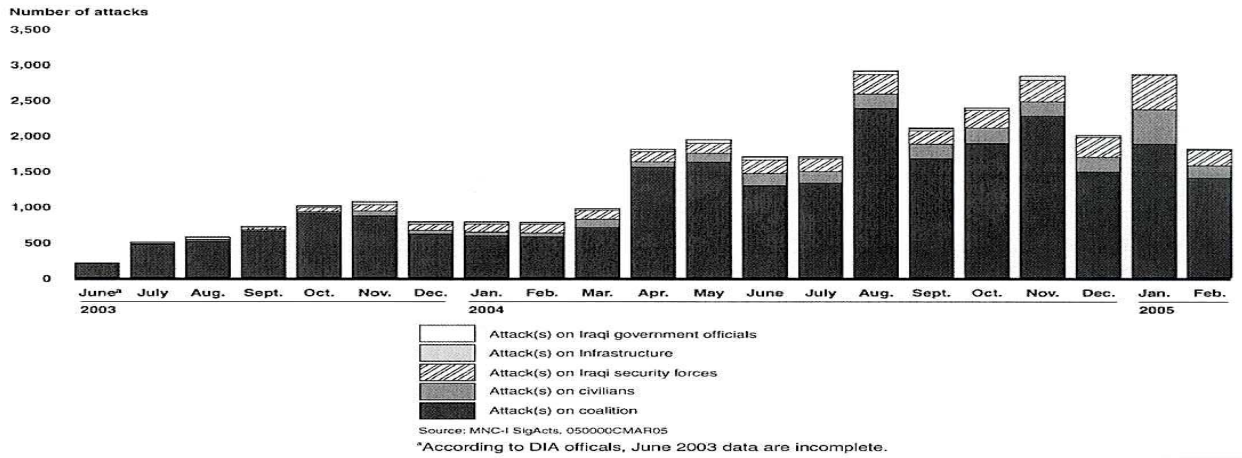
ATTACKS ON IRAQI OIL AND GAS PIPELINES, INSTALLATIONS & PERSONNEL¹³⁴



Total through March 15, 2005: 218

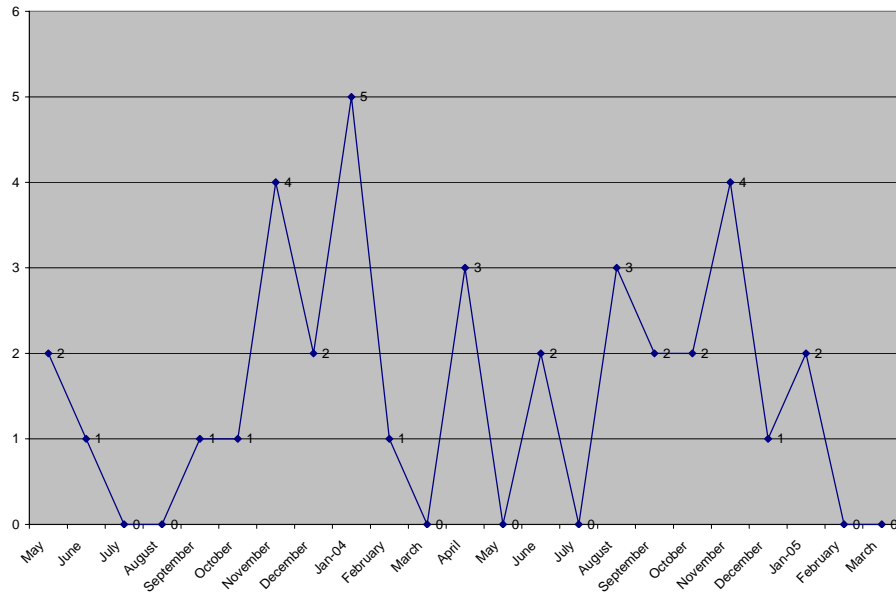
NOTE ON TOP TEN NON-U.S. COALITION CONTRIBUTORS OF MILITARY PERSONNEL IN IRAQ TABLE: In addition to the United States, 27 countries have troops in Iraq as of February 3, 2005: Albania, Armenia, Australia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Denmark, El Salvador, Estonia, Georgia, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, 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.

VIOLENT INCIDENTS AGAINST THE COALITION AND ITS PARTNERS¹³⁵



NOTE: Exact numbers for each month are not available.

AMERICAN MILITARY HELICOPTERS DOWNED IN IRAQ¹³⁶



Total through March 17, 2005: 36

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

Time	Percentage of IEDs found and disarmed ¹³⁷
December 2003	37%
December 2004	50%

PERCENTAGE OF THE 3RD INFANTRY DIVISION (3RD ID) ON THEIR SECOND TOUR IN IRAQ SINCE MARCH, 2003

Percentage of the 3rd ID on their second tour in Iraq since March 2003¹³⁸
50%
as of February 26, 2005

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.

NOTE ON PERCENTAGE OF THE 3RD ID ON THEIR SECOND TOUR IN IRAQ SINCE MARCH, 2003: 10,000 of the roughly 20,000 soldiers in the 3rd ID took part in the invasion of Iraq in March 2003 and the immediate occupation thereafter. Rowan Scarborough, "Army's 3rd Division Returns to Iraq, Washington Times, February 26, 2005.

BAATHIST & OTHER RESISTANCE LEADERS STILL AT LARGE

Month	Iraqi 55 most wanted plus an additional 25 ex- Baath party leaders still at large ¹³⁹
April	65
May	53
June	48
July	43
August	41
September	40
October	40
November	40
December	38 ¹⁴⁰
January 2004	37 ¹⁴¹
February	35 ¹⁴²
March	34 ¹⁴³
April	34
May	34
June	34
July	34
August	34
September	34
October	34
November	34
December	34
January 2005	32 ¹⁴⁴
February	31 ¹⁴⁵
March	31

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	Iraqi armed Forces	Border patrol	Total Iraqi security forces with combat capability	Facilities protection services
May	7,000-9,000 ¹⁴⁶	N/A	0	N/A	7,000-9,000	N/A
June	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
July	30,000 ¹⁴⁷	N/A	0	N/A	30,000	11,000 ¹⁴⁸
August	34,000 ¹⁴⁹	670 ¹⁵⁰	0	2,500 ¹	37,170	N/A
September	37,000 ¹⁵¹	2,500 ¹⁵²	0	4,700 ¹	44,200	>12,000 ¹⁵³
October	55,000 ¹⁵⁴	4,700 ¹⁵⁵	700 ¹⁵⁶	6,400 ¹	66,800	18,700 ¹⁵⁷
November	68,800 ¹⁵⁸	12,700 ¹⁵⁹	900 ¹⁶⁰	12,400 ¹	94,800	52,700 ¹⁶¹
December	71,600 ¹⁶²	15,200 ¹⁶³	400 ¹⁶⁴	12,900 ¹	99,600	65,200 ¹⁶⁵
January	66,900 ¹⁶⁶	19,800 ¹⁶⁷	1,100 ¹⁶⁸	21,000 ¹	108,800	97,800 ¹⁶⁹
February	77,100 ¹⁷⁰	27,900 ¹⁷¹	2,000 ¹⁷²	18,000 ¹	125,000	73,900 ¹⁷³
March	75,000 ¹⁷⁴ 22% partially or fully trained	33,560 ¹⁷⁵ 100% partially or fully trained	3,005 ¹⁷⁶ 100% partially or fully trained	23,426 ¹ 39% partially or fully trained	134,991 65% partially or fully trained	73,992 ¹⁷⁷ 100% partially or fully trained
April	80,016 ¹⁷⁸ 22% partially or fully trained	23,123 ¹⁷⁹ partially or fully trained	2,367 ¹⁸⁰ partially or fully trained	18,747 ¹ 49% partially or fully trained	124,253 68% partially or fully trained	73,992 ¹⁸¹ partially or fully trained
May	90,803 ¹⁸² 28% partially or fully trained	24,873 ¹⁸³ partially or fully trained	3,939 ¹⁸⁴ partially or fully trained	16,097 ¹ 57% partially or fully trained	135,712 71% partially or fully trained	73,992 ¹⁸⁵ partially or fully trained
June	83,789 ¹⁸⁶ 32% partially or fully trained	36,229 ¹⁸⁷ partially or fully trained	7,116 ¹⁸⁸ partially or fully trained	18,183 ¹ partially or fully trained	145,317 83% partially or fully trained	73,992 ¹⁸⁹ partially or fully trained
July	31,300 ¹⁹⁰ partially or fully trained	36,229 ¹⁹¹ partially or fully trained	7,700 ¹⁹² partially or fully trained	19,859 ¹ partially or fully trained	95,088 partially or fully trained	73,992 ¹⁹³ partially or fully trained
August	32,942 ¹⁹⁴ partially or fully trained	37,925 ¹⁹⁵ partially or fully trained	6,288 ¹⁹⁶ partially or fully trained	14,313 ¹⁹⁷ partially or fully trained	91,468 partially or fully trained	73,992
September	40,152 ¹⁹⁸ partially or fully trained	36,496 ¹⁹⁹ partially or fully trained	7,747 ²⁰⁰ partially or fully trained	14,313 ²⁰¹ partially or fully trained	98,708 partially or fully trained	74,000 ²⁰²
October	44,728 ²⁰³ partially or fully trained	41,261 ²⁰⁴ partially or fully trained	6,861 ²⁰⁵ partially or fully trained	18,148 ²⁰⁶ partially or fully trained	110,998 partially or fully trained	N/A
November	49,455 ²⁰⁷ partially or fully trained	43,445 ²⁰⁸ partially or fully trained	6,013 ²⁰⁹ partially or fully trained	14,593 ²¹⁰ partially or fully trained	113,506 ²¹¹ partially or fully trained	N/A
December	53,571 ²¹² partially or fully trained	40,115 ²¹³ partially or fully trained	14,500 ²¹⁴ partially or fully trained	14,267 ²¹⁵ partially or fully trained	118,009 ²¹⁶ partially or fully trained	N/A
January 2005	58,964 ²¹⁷ partially or fully trained	36,827 ²¹⁸ partially or fully trained	14,796 ²¹⁹ partially or fully trained	14,786 ²²⁰ partially or fully trained	125,373 ²²¹ partially or fully trained	N/A
February	82,072 ²²² "trained & equipped" <i>Unauthorized absences personnel are included in these numbers</i>	59,689 ²²³ "operational" <i>Unauthorized absences personnel are <u>not</u> included in these numbers</i>		N/A	141,761 ²²⁴ "trained & equipped" General Myers: 40,000 ²²⁵ Senator Biden: 4,000 -18,000 ²²⁶	N/A
March	82,984 ²²⁷ "trained & equipped" <i>Unauthorized absences personnel are included in these numbers</i>	62,289 ²²⁸ "operational" <i>Unauthorized absences personnel are <u>not</u> included in these numbers</i>		N/A	145,273 ²²⁹ Lt. Gen Petraeus: 50,000 ²³⁰ "off-the-cuff"	N/A
Stated goal	142, 190 ²³¹ (revised up from 89,369 in June 2004) ²³²	61,904 ²³³ (Revised up from 41,088 ²³⁴ in June 2004)	36,635 ²³⁵ (Revised up from 35,000 ²³⁶ in June 2004)	29,360 ²³⁷	272,566 ²³⁸ (145,000 by January 2005 ²³⁹)	73,992 ²⁴⁰

N/A= Not available

IRREGULAR IRAQI SECURITY FORCES

February 16, 2005	“As many as 15,000 soldiers ²⁴¹ ”
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IRAQI POLICE EQUIPMENT²⁴²

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 EQUIPMENT²⁴³

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	2.8-3.0 ²⁴⁴	1.7-2.5 ²⁴⁵	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
May 2003	0.3 ²⁴⁶	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	10 %
June	0.675 ²⁴⁷	0.2 ²⁴⁸	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	23%
July	0.925 ²⁴⁹	0.322 ²⁵⁰	6.5 ²⁵¹	4.75 ²⁵²	13.5 ²⁵³	1,880 ²⁵⁴	44%
August	1.445 ²⁵⁵	0.646 ²⁵⁶	10.25 ²⁵⁷	6.2 ²⁵⁸	14.0 ²⁵⁹	2,530 ²⁶⁰	57%
September	1.7225 ²⁶¹	0.983 ²⁶²	14.25 ²⁶³	6.9 ²⁶⁴	17.3 ²⁶⁵	3,030 ²⁶⁶	70%
October	2.055 ²⁶⁷	1.149 ²⁶⁸	14.75 ²⁶⁹	9.6 ²⁷⁰	16.35 ²⁷¹	3,700 ²⁷²	78%
November	2.1 ²⁷³	1.524 ²⁷⁴	13.14 ²⁷⁵	13.3 ²⁷⁶	11.792 ²⁷⁷	3,610 ²⁷⁸	76%
December	2.30 ²⁷⁹	1.541 ²⁸⁰	12.29 ²⁸¹	9.4 ²⁸²	12.9 ²⁸³	3,460 ²⁸⁴	72%
January 2004	2.440 ²⁸⁵	1.537 ²⁸⁶	13.91 ²⁸⁷	11.3 ²⁸⁸	13.32 ²⁸⁹	3,445 ²⁹⁰	78%
February	2.276 ²⁹¹	1.382 ²⁹²	15.21 ²⁹³	13.05 ²⁹⁴	16.65 ²⁹⁵	4,670 ²⁹⁶	88%
March	2.435 ²⁹⁷	1.825 ²⁹⁸	15.03 ²⁹⁹	17.28 ³⁰⁰	17.19 ³⁰¹	5,010 ³⁰²	92%
April	2.384 ³⁰³	1.804 ³⁰⁴	22.75 ³⁰⁵	4.46 ³⁰⁶	19.3 ³⁰⁷	3,607 ³⁰⁸	79%
May	1.887 ³⁰⁹	1.380 ³¹⁰	22.92 ³¹¹	4.005 ³¹²	18.07 ³¹³	3,264 ³¹⁴	73%
June	2.295 ³¹⁵	1.148 ³¹⁶	16.47 ³¹⁷	4.9 ³¹⁸	22 ³¹⁹	3,086 ³²⁰	75%
July	2.2 ³²¹	1.406 ³²²	17.95 ³²³	5.75 ³²⁴	22.3 ³²⁵	3,820 ³²⁶	80%
August	2.112 ³²⁷	1.114 ³²⁸	16 ³²⁹	4.2 ³³⁰	15.1 ³³¹	3,417 ³³²	84%
September	2.514 ³³³	1.703 ³³⁴	16.35 ³³⁵	6.35 ³³⁶	14.6 ³³⁷	2,707 ³³⁸	72%
October	2.46 ³³⁹	1.542 ³⁴⁰	16.15 ³⁴¹	7.95 ³⁴²	18.6 ³⁴³	3,044 ³⁴⁴	80%
November	1.95 ³⁴⁵	1.320 ³⁴⁶	16.5 ³⁴⁷	7.7 ³⁴⁸	17.9 ³⁴⁹	3,324 ³⁵⁰	77%
December	2.16 ³⁵¹	1.520 ³⁵²	18.3 ³⁵³	10.5 ³⁵⁴	17.6 ³⁵⁵	4,222 ³⁵⁶	88%
January 2005	2.10 ³⁵⁷	1.367 ³⁵⁸	12.7 ³⁵⁹	6.7 ³⁶⁰	20.65 ³⁶¹	5,017 ³⁶²	75%
February	2.10 ³⁶³	1.431 ³⁶⁴	15.9 ³⁶⁵	8.55 ³⁶⁶	21.2 ³⁶⁷	5,003 ³⁶⁸	84%
March	2.09 ³⁶⁹	1.432 ³⁷⁰	17.9 ³⁷¹	7.6 ³⁷²	21.1 ³⁷³	5,274 ³⁷⁴	88%
Stated Goal:	2.5 ³⁷⁵ revised down in February 2005 from 2.8-3.0	N/A	17.5 ³⁷⁶ revised down in January 2005 from 18	19.5 ³⁷⁷ 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 REVENUE³⁷⁸

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	\$1.49³⁷⁹
February	\$1.34³⁸⁰
March	\$0.26³⁸¹
Total as of March 9, 2005	\$25.18

ELECTRICITY

Time	Average amount of electricity generated (Megawatts)		Average hours of electricity/day nationwide ³⁸²	Average of daily megawatt hours ³⁸³ (MWH)
	Nation-wide	Baghdad		
Estimated pre-war level	4,400 ³⁸⁴	2,500 ³⁸⁵	N/A	95,000 ³⁸⁶
May	N/A	300 ³⁸⁷	N/A	N/A
June	3,193 ³⁸⁸	707 ³⁸⁹	N/A	N/A
July	3,236 ³⁹⁰	1,082 ³⁹¹	N/A	N/A
Aug.	3,263 ³⁹²	1,283 ³⁹³	N/A	72,435
Sept.	3,543 ³⁹⁴	1,229 ³⁹⁵	N/A	75,000
Oct.	3,948 ³⁹⁶	N/A	N/A	79,000
November	3,582 ³⁹⁷	N/A	N/A	70,000
December	3,427 ³⁹⁸	N/A	N/A	72,000
January 2004	3,758 ³⁹⁹	N/A	N/A	79,000
February	4,125 ⁴⁰⁰	1,307 ⁴⁰¹	13	90,000
March	4,040 ⁴⁰²	1,192 ⁴⁰³	16	86,000
April	3,823 ⁴⁰⁴	1,021 ⁴⁰⁵	15	78,000
May	3,902 ⁴⁰⁶	1,053 ⁴⁰⁷	11	80,000
June	4,293 ⁴⁰⁸	1,198	10	93,500
July	4,584 ⁴⁰⁹	N/A	10	100,300
August	4,707 ⁴¹⁰	1,440	13	109,900 ⁴¹¹
September	4,467 ⁴¹²	1,485	13	107,200 ⁴¹³
October	4,074 ⁴¹⁴	1,280	13	99,306 ⁴¹⁵
November	3,199 ⁴¹⁶	845 ⁴¹⁷	13 ⁴¹⁸	76,550 ⁴¹⁹
December	3,380 ⁴²⁰	N/A	N/A	81,114 ⁴²¹
January 2005	3,289 ⁴²²	985 ⁴²³	9 ⁴²⁴	78,925 ⁴²⁵
February	3,611 ⁴²⁶	1,180 ⁴²⁷	8.5 ⁴²⁸	86,675 ⁴²⁹
March	3,608 ⁴³⁰	994 ⁴³¹	8 ⁴³²	86,600 ⁴³³
Stated Goal:	6,000 to have been reached by July 1, 2004 ⁴³⁴	2,500 to have been reached by October 2003 ⁴³⁵	N/A	120,000 ⁴³⁶

N/A = Not available

NATIONWIDE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE SINCE MAY , 2003

Month	Unemployment rate nationwide
May	N/A
June	50 - 60% ⁴³⁷
July	N/A
August	50-60% ⁴³⁸
September	N/A
October	40 - 50% ⁴³⁹
November	N/A
December	45-55% ⁴⁴⁰
January	30 - 45% ⁴⁴¹
February	30 - 45% ⁴⁴²
March	30- 45% ⁴⁴³
April	30 - 45% ⁴⁴⁴
May	30-45% ⁴⁴⁵
June	30-40% ⁴⁴⁶
July	30-40% ⁴⁴⁷
August	30-40% ⁴⁴⁸
September	30-40% ⁴⁴⁹
October	30-40% ⁴⁵⁰
November	30-40% ⁴⁵¹
December	28-40% ⁴⁵²
January	28-40%
February	28-40%

N/A= Not available

INFLATION⁴⁵³

Time	Inflation
July 2004	0.6%
August	3.6%
September	5.4%
October	8.5%
November	5.4%
December	3.3%
January 2005	13.9%
February	11.4%

NOTE ON NATIONWIDE UNEMPLOYMENT TABLE: Estimates of Iraq's unemployment rate varies, but we estimate it to be between 28-40%. 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-Saeda, Iraqi Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs on October 22, 2003 "There are no employment statistics for Iraq." Department of Defense, "Assistant Secretary for Policy at the Department of Labor, Chris Spear briefs on Iraqi Minister Of Labor And Social Affairs," (www.defenselink.mil/transcripts/2003/tr20031022-0809.html [October 22, 2003]). Transcript 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	2,000 ⁴⁵⁴
November	1,948 ⁴⁵⁵
December	1,675 ⁴⁵⁶
January	1,360 ⁴⁵⁷
February	1,425 ⁴⁵⁸
March	1,415 ⁴⁵⁹
April	1,455 ⁴⁶⁰
May	1,460 ⁴⁶¹
June	1,455 ⁴⁶²
July	1,460 ⁴⁶³
August	1,460 ⁴⁶⁴
September	1,460 ⁴⁶⁵
October	1,460 ⁴⁶⁶
November	1,461 ⁴⁶⁷
December	1,460 ⁴⁶⁸
January 2005	1,463 ⁴⁶⁹
February 15, 2005	1,460 ⁴⁷⁰

TELEPHONE SUBSCRIBERS

Time	Telephone subscribers
Estimated pre-war level	833,000 ⁴⁷¹
September	850,000 ⁴⁷²
December	600,000 ⁴⁷³
January 2004	600,000 ⁴⁷⁴
February	900,000 ⁴⁷⁵
March	984,225 ⁴⁷⁶
April	1,095,000 ⁴⁷⁷
May	1,220,000 ⁴⁷⁸
June	1,200,000 ⁴⁷⁹
July	N/A
August	1,463,148 ⁴⁸⁰
September	1,579,457 ⁴⁸¹
October	1,753,000
November	2,135,000 ⁴⁸²
December	2,152,000 ⁴⁸³
January 2005	2,449,139 ⁴⁸⁴
February	2,569,110 ⁴⁸⁵
March	2,779,721 ⁴⁸⁶
Previous goal (Jan. 2004)	1,100,000 ⁴⁸⁷

INTERNET SUBSCRIBERS

Time	Internet subscribers ⁴⁸⁸
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	110,000 ⁴⁸⁹
March 2005	140,293 ⁴⁹⁰

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>	499.3 ⁴⁹¹
<i>Austria</i>	813.1 ⁴⁹²
<i>Belgium</i>	184.5 ⁴⁹³
<i>Brazil</i>	192.9 ⁴⁹⁴
<i>Canada</i>	564.2 ⁴⁹⁵
<i>Denmark</i>	30.8 ⁴⁹⁶
<i>Finland</i>	152.2 ⁴⁹⁷
<i>France</i>	2,993.7 ⁴⁹⁸
<i>Germany</i>	2,403.9 ⁴⁹⁹
<i>Italy</i>	1,726 ⁵⁰⁰
<i>Japan</i>	4,108.6 ⁵⁰¹
<i>Netherlands</i>	96.7 ⁵⁰²
Republic of Korea	54.7 ⁵⁰³
Russian Federation	3,450 ⁵⁰⁴
<i>Spain</i>	321.2 ⁵⁰⁵
<i>Sweden</i>	185.8 ⁵⁰⁶
<i>Switzerland</i>	117.5 ⁵⁰⁷
<i>United Kingdom</i>	930.8 ⁵⁰⁸
<i>United States</i>	2,192 ⁵⁰⁹
Egypt and others	N/A
Poland	500 ⁵¹⁰
Kuwait	17,000 ⁵¹¹
Bulgaria	1,000 ⁵¹²
Hungary	16.5 ⁵¹³
Gulf States	30,000 ⁵¹⁴
Morocco	31.8 ⁵¹⁵
Jordan	295 ⁵¹⁶
Turkey	800 ⁵¹⁷
Interest (as of 2002)	47,000 ⁵¹⁸
Total	~117,660

N/A= Not available.

NOTE: Paris Club members (marked as cursive in the table) reached an agreement on November 21, 2004 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 IMF 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, 2003⁵¹⁹.

Donor	2004 (millions)	2005-2007 (millions)	Unspecified by year (millions)	Total (millions)	Form of pledge ⁵²⁰
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 ⁵²¹
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 NEEDS⁵²²

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 ASSESSMENT⁵²³

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 RECONSTRUCTION⁵²⁴

	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 ⁵²⁵	\$13	\$2.5	\$2.7 as of November 1, 2004 ⁵²⁶
Disbursement	\$5.2 as of November 1, 2004 ⁵²⁷	\$8.3	\$2.4	\$1.2 as of September 2004 ⁵²⁸

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, 2004⁵²⁹

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 2004⁵³⁰

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 ENROLLMENT⁵³¹

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) ⁵³²
Pre-war	2-3
January 2004	40
April	20
May	20 ⁵³³
June	45 ⁵³⁴
July	45 ⁵³⁵
August	45 ⁵³⁶
September	45 ⁵³⁷
October 2004	45 ⁵³⁸
Stated goal for July 2004	200-300

N/A= Not available

IRRIGATION

Month	Irrigation canals in need of clearing (km)
May 2003	20,000 ⁵³⁹
September 2003	5,000 ⁵⁴⁰
October 2003	3,500 ⁵⁴¹

HOSPITALS RESTORED TO PRE-WAR LEVEL OF OPERATIONS

Month	Hospitals restored to pre-war level of operations
March 2004	90% ⁵⁴²

HEPATITIS OUTBREAKS⁵⁴³

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

RELATIVE AMOUNT OF CAR TRAFFIC⁵⁴⁴

Relative amount of car traffic (Prewar level 1.0)	
July 2003	1.0
January 2004	2.0
July 2004	3.0
January 2005	5.0

TYPICAL LENGTH OF GASOLINE LINES⁵⁴⁵

Typical Length of Gasoline Line (miles)	
July 2003	0.1
January 2004	0.5
July 2004	1.0
January 2005	1.0

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

POLLING/POLITICS

IRAQI JANUARY 2005 VOTER TURNOUT & ELECTION RESULTS⁵⁴⁶

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

JANUARY 19 – JANUARY 23, 2005: ABU DHABI TV/ZOBY INTERNATIONAL POLL⁵⁴⁷

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 INSTITUTE⁵⁴⁸

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)	Shiite-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)	Shiite-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? Better: 52.3 % Same: 23.8 % Worse: 14.1 %	...one year? Better: 59.1 % Same: 16.2 % Worse: 9.2 %	...five years? 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 POLL⁵⁵¹

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 POLL⁵⁵²

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 POLL⁵⁵³

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) POLL⁵⁵⁴

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) POLL⁵⁵⁵

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

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

PRISONERS ABUSE AT ABU GHRAIB: 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	A great deal: 4% Not much: 14% A fair amount: 17%

2005?	Nothing: 65%
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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 POLL⁵⁵⁶

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 INSTITUTIONS⁵⁵⁷

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 BAGHDAD⁵⁵⁸

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? ⁵⁵⁹
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? ⁵⁶¹					
	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? ⁵⁶²					
	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... ⁵⁶³		
	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.... ⁵⁶⁴		
	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.... ⁵⁶⁵		
	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... ⁵⁶⁶		
	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? ⁵⁶⁷		
	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? ⁵⁶⁸					
	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? ⁵⁶⁹				
	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? ⁵⁷⁰	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? ⁵⁷¹	Agree: 66%	Agree: 61%
If coalition forces left immediately, would you feel more safe, less safe, or no difference? ⁵⁷²	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? ⁵⁷³	Better off: 67% Worse off: 8%
Is Iraq better off now than it was before the invasion? ⁵⁷⁴	Better off: 33% Worse off: 47%
Was ousting Saddam worth the hardships endured since the invasion? ⁵⁷⁵	Yes: 62% No: N/A
Would you like to see U.S. troops stay longer than a few more months? ⁵⁷⁶	Stay longer: 71% Not stay longer: 26%
Are there circumstances in which attacks against U.S. troops can be justified? ⁵⁷⁷	No: 64% Sometimes justified: 36%
Have you been afraid at times to go outside your home during the day within the past four weeks? ⁵⁷⁸	Yes: 86% No: N/A
Is Baghdad a more dangerous place now than before the invasion? ⁵⁷⁹	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 26, 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 “Rebuilding Iraq: Preliminary Challenges in Transferring Security Responsibilities to the Iraqi Military and Police,” *Government Accountability Office*, March 14, 2005. GAO-05-431T.

¹⁰ Eric Schmitt, “Many Iraqi Troops Not Fully Trained, U.S. Officials Say,” *New York Times*, February 4, 2005.

¹¹ Donald D. Rumsfeldt testifying before the Senate Armed Services Committee September 23, 2004.

¹² Steve Fainaru, “Blast at Iraqi Recruit Center Kills 21 as Insurgency Mounts,” *Washington Post*, February 9, 2005.

¹³ Sabrina Tavernise, “Iraqis Working for Americans are in Insurgent’s Cross Hairs,” *New York Times*, September 18, 2004.

¹⁴ Iraq Body Count, (Iraqbodycount.net [September 17, 2004]).

¹⁵ Mike Dornig, “We are Losing Our People,” *Chicago Tribune*, September 14, 2004.

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

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

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¹⁹ 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.

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