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1775 Massachusetts Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036-2188
Tel: 202-797-6000 Fax: 202-797-6004
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Iraq Index *Tracking Variables of* *Reconstruction & Security in Post-Saddam Iraq*

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Michael E. O'Hanlon
Adriana Lins de Albuquerque

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

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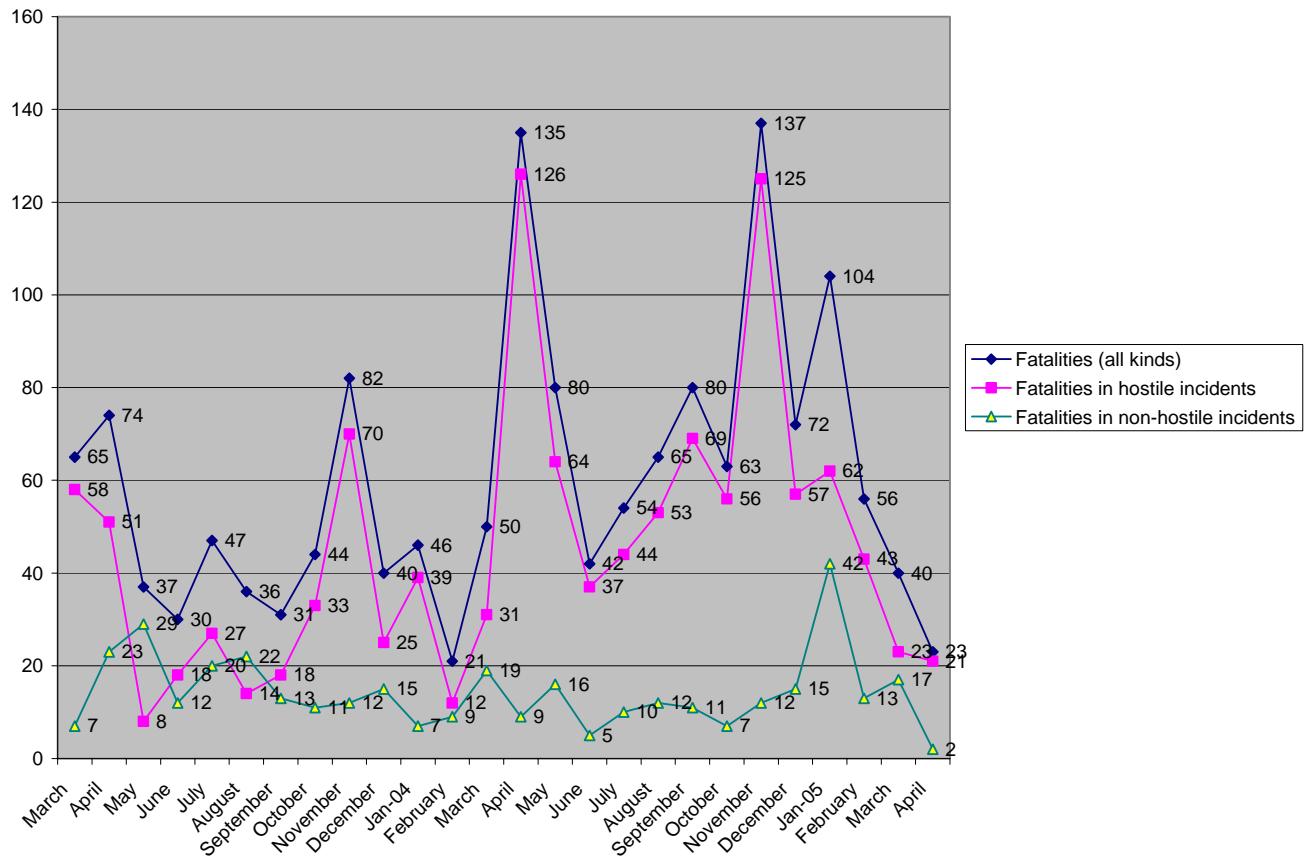
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SECURITY INDICATORS

U.S. TROOPS FATALITIES SINCE MARCH 19, 2003¹



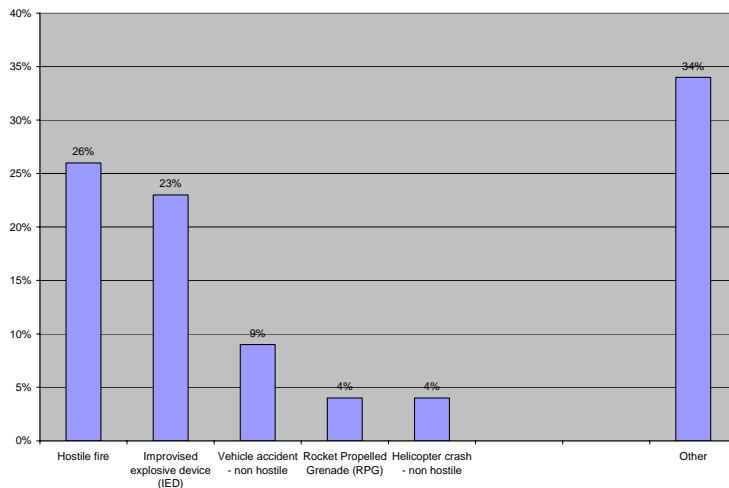
Total from March 19, 2003 through April 17, 2005:

Fatalities (all kinds): **1,554**

Fatalities in hostile incidents: **1,184**

Fatalities in non-hostile incidents: **370**

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

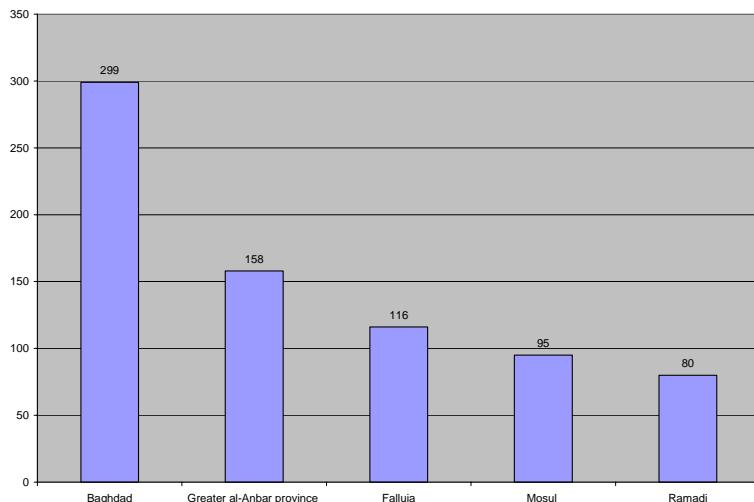


Through April 3, 2005

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.

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



Through April 3, 2005: 748

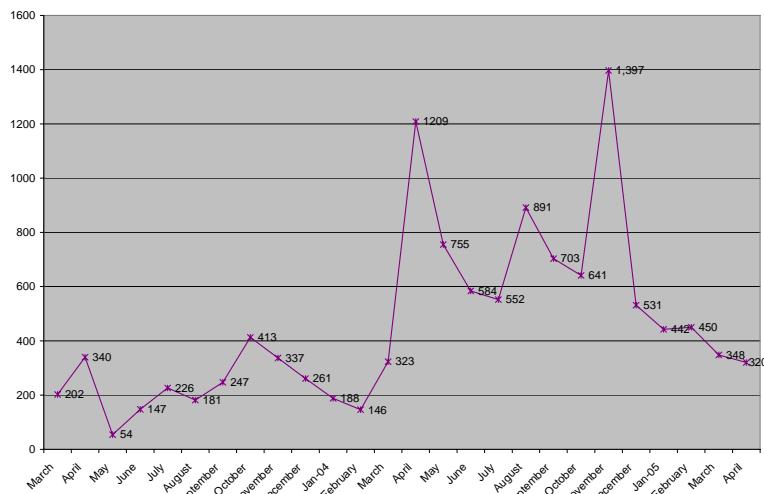
AMERICAN MILITARY FATALITIES BY CATEGORY MAY 1, 2003 –MARCH 19, 2005⁴

Gender	Officers/Enlisted	Age	Component ⁵ (As of Feb. 26, 2005)	Race/Ethnicity
Male: 98% Female: 2%	Officer: 6.4% E5-E9: 31.8% E1-E4: 61.8%	<22: 21.6% 22-24: 24.4% 25-30: 23.6% 31-35: 10.5% >35: 10.3% N/A: 9.5%	Active: 79% Reserve: 8% National Guard: 13%	American Indian or Alaska Native: 0.8% Asian: 1.1% Black or African American: 9.1% Hispanic or Latino: 6.4% Multiple races, pending or unknown: 21.8% Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander: 0.5% White: 60.1%

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF AMERICAN MILITARY FATALIES MARCH 19, 2003-MARCH 20, 2005⁶

Geographic distribution of Americans military killed March 19, 2003- March 20, 2005
26.2% were from cities and large towns
40.5% were from suburbs
33.3% were from rural areas

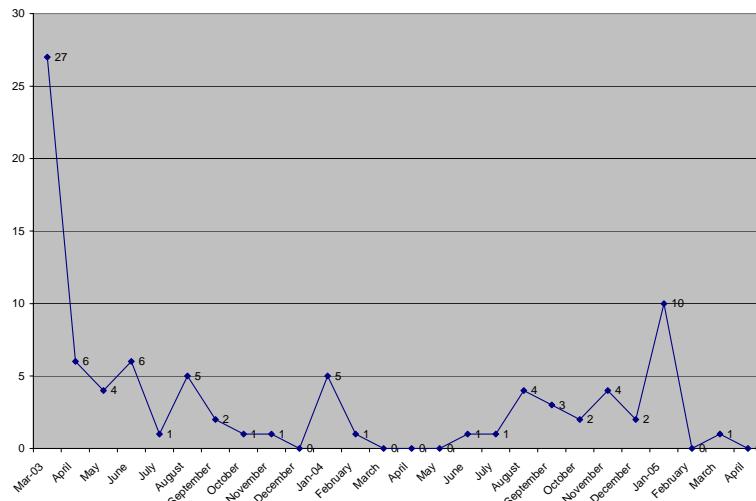
U.S. TROOPS WOUNDED IN ACTION SINCE MARCH 2003⁷



Total from March 19, 2003 through April 17, 2005: 11,888

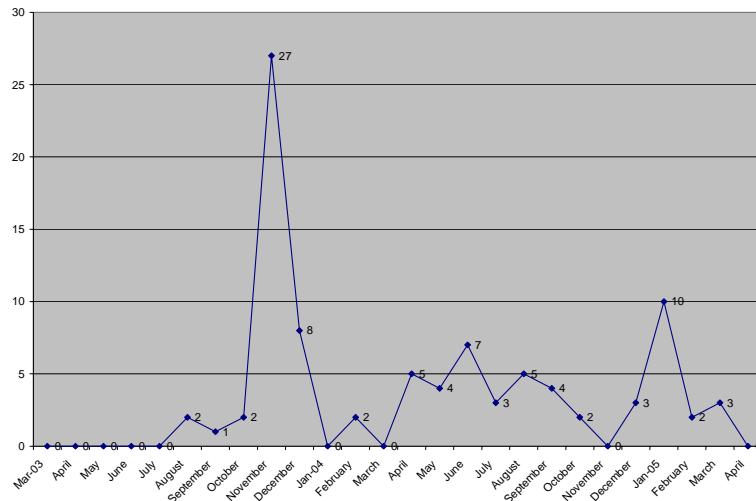
As of February 1, 2005 the numbers for previous months have changed slightly due to more detailed information becoming available from the Defense Department. The daily Department of Defense casualty reports that we use for our monthly estimates on U.S. troops killed doesn't make it entirely clear when 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 MILITARY FATALITIES SINCE MARCH 19, 2003⁸



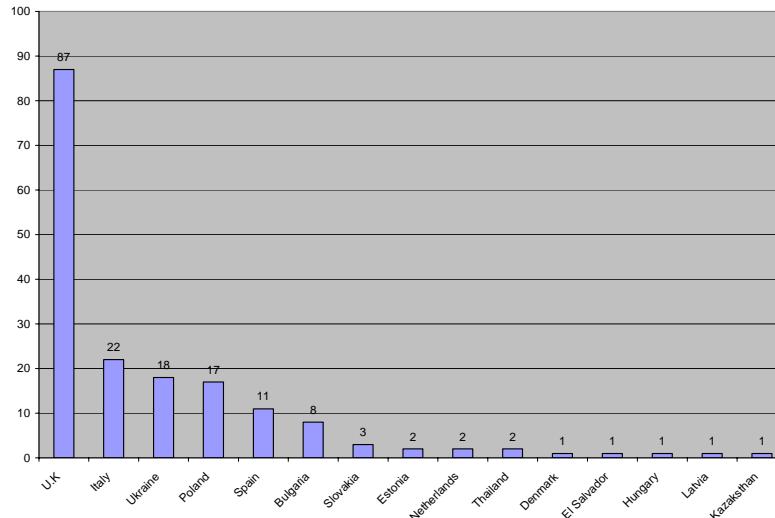
Total through April 17, 2005: 87

NON-U.S. & U.K. COALITION MILITARY FATALITIES SINCE MARCH 19, 2003



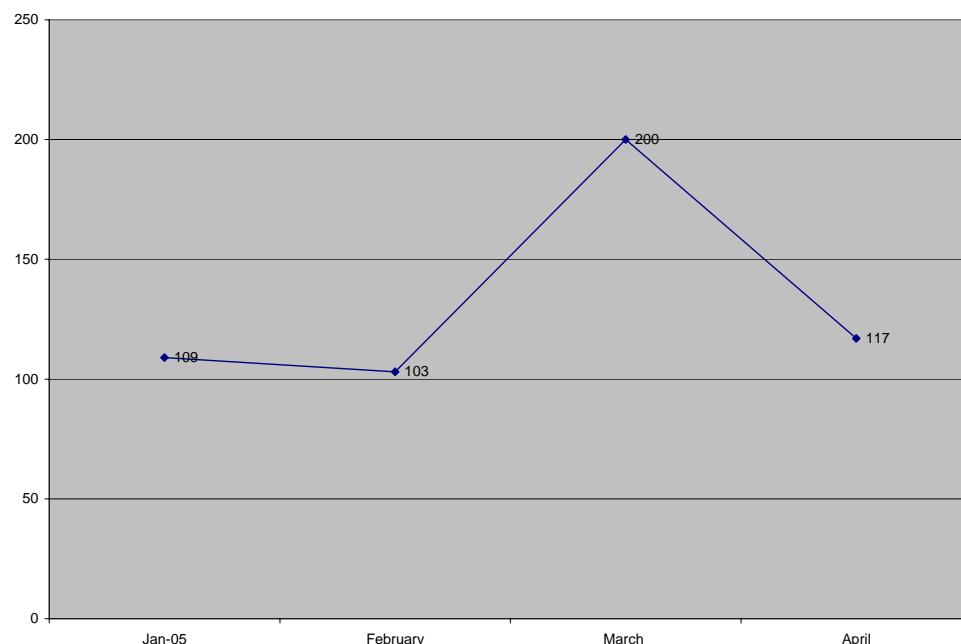
Total through April 17, 2005: 90

NON-U.S. COALITION TROOP FATALITIES BY COUNTRY SINCE MARCH 19, 2003⁹



Total through April 17, 2005: 177

IRAQI MILITARY & POLICE KILLED SINCE JANUARY, 2005: IRAQ COALITION CASUALTY COUNT¹⁰



Total through January 1, 2005 through April 17, 2005: 529

IRAQI POLICE KILLED

Estimated number of Iraqi police killed April, 2003 - December, 2004
1,500 ¹¹

IRAQI SOLDIERS & POLICE KILLED

Estimated number of Iraqi soldiers and police killed since June 2004- February 3, 2005
1,342 ¹²

IRAQI SECURITY FORCES RECRUITS KILLED

Estimated number of Iraqi security forces recruits killed
May 1, 2003 -September 23, 2004 721 ¹³

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
106 ¹⁴

IRAQI INTERPRETERS WORKING FOR COALITION FORCES KILLED

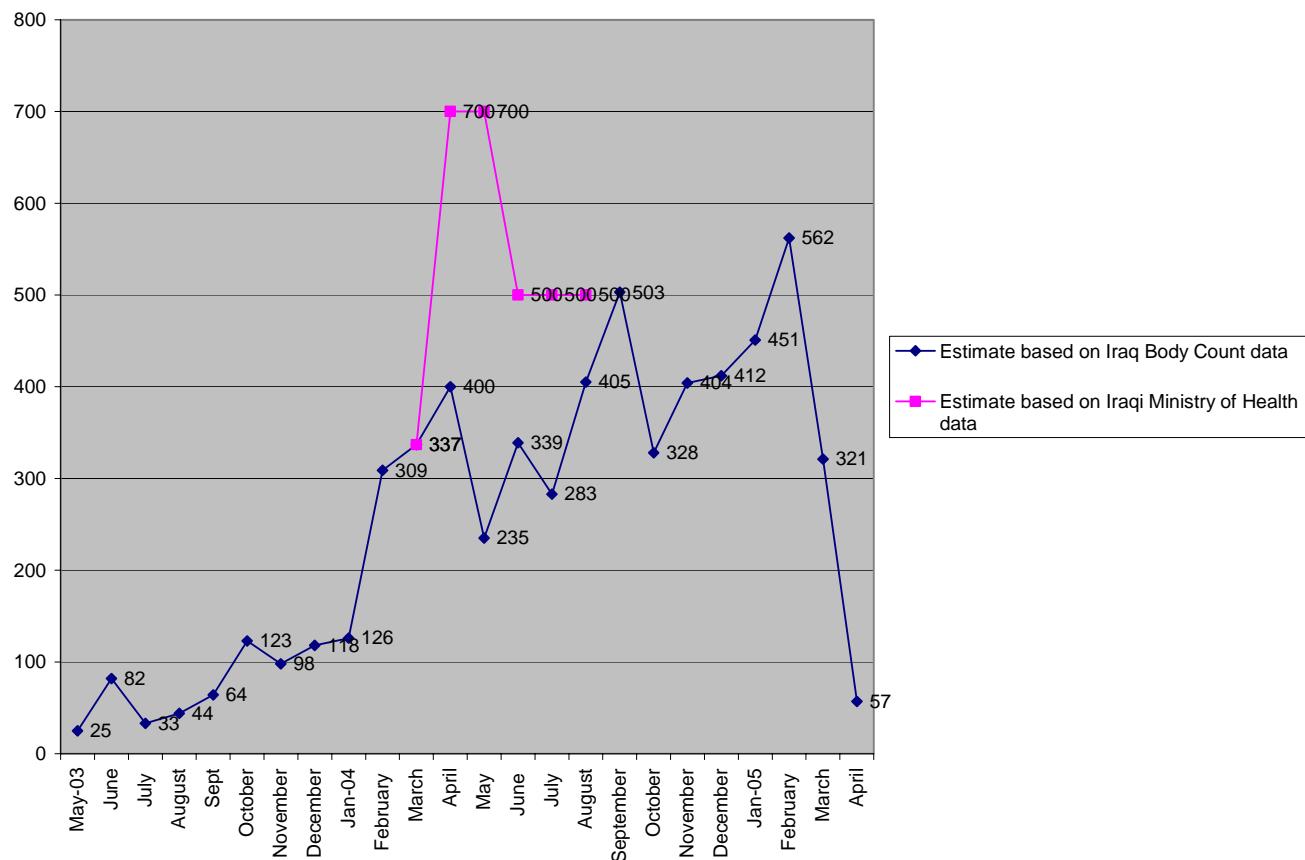
Total number of Iraqi interpreters killed January, 2004 - September 18, 2004
52 ¹⁵

ESTIMATES OF IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED SINCE THE START OF THE WAR

Source	Estimate
<u>Iraq Body Count</u>	17,400 – 19,800 as of April 13, 2005 ¹⁶
<u>Statement by British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw</u>	>10,000 as of February, 2004 ¹⁷
<u>Shaik Omar Clinic, Baghdad</u>	10,363 as of September 8, 2004 ¹⁸ (in Baghdad and surrounding towns alone)
<u>Amnesty International (London)</u>	>10,000 as of September 8, 2004 ¹⁹
<u>The Human Rights Organization, Iraq</u>	>30,000 as of September 8, 2004 ²⁰
<u>Iraqi government estimate</u> (Iraqi civilians killed by insurgents and criminal gangs only)	6,000 as of April 5, 2005 ²¹
<u>Iraq Index</u> (assume 5,630 Iraqi civilians killed from March 19, 2003 through April 30, 2003 as reported by Iraq Body Count)	Not including deaths from crime as of April 15, 2005: 11,690-12,930 Including deaths from crime as of February 28, 2005: 26,030-45,280

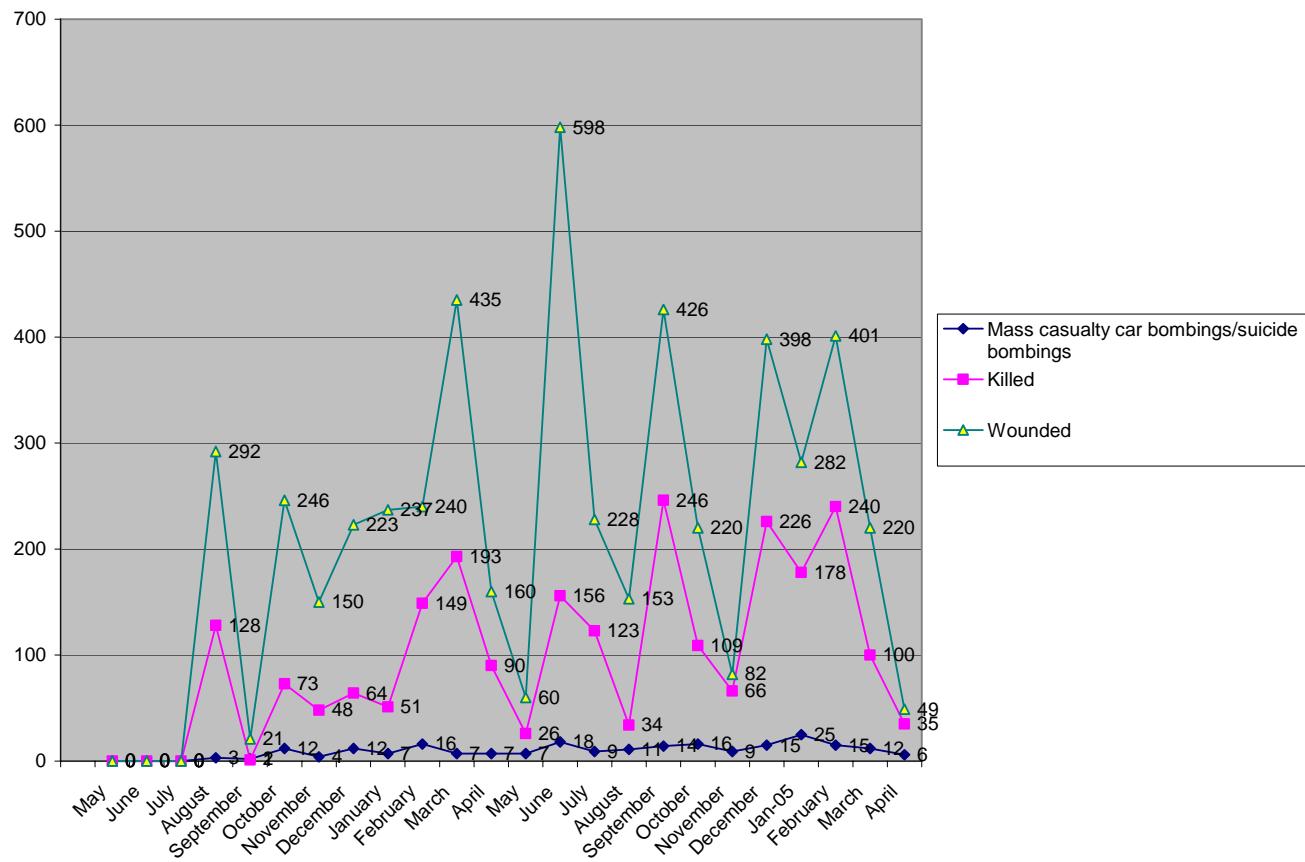
IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED AS A RESULT OF ACTS OF WAR SINCE MAY 1, 2003²²

Total as of April 9, 2005: 6,059-7,297



NOTE ON IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED AS A RESULT OF ACTS OF WAR TABLE: This is our best estimate of a monthly breakdown of Iraqi civilians killed as a result of acts of war by insurgents and U.S. military. 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 these estimates are most probably lower than the actual number since 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 Iraqi civilians killed as a result of crime. There may be some double counting of people reported 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.

MASS CASUALTY BOMBINGS IN IRAQ SINCE MAY 1, 2003²³



Total as of April 17, 2005:

Mass casualty bombings: 227

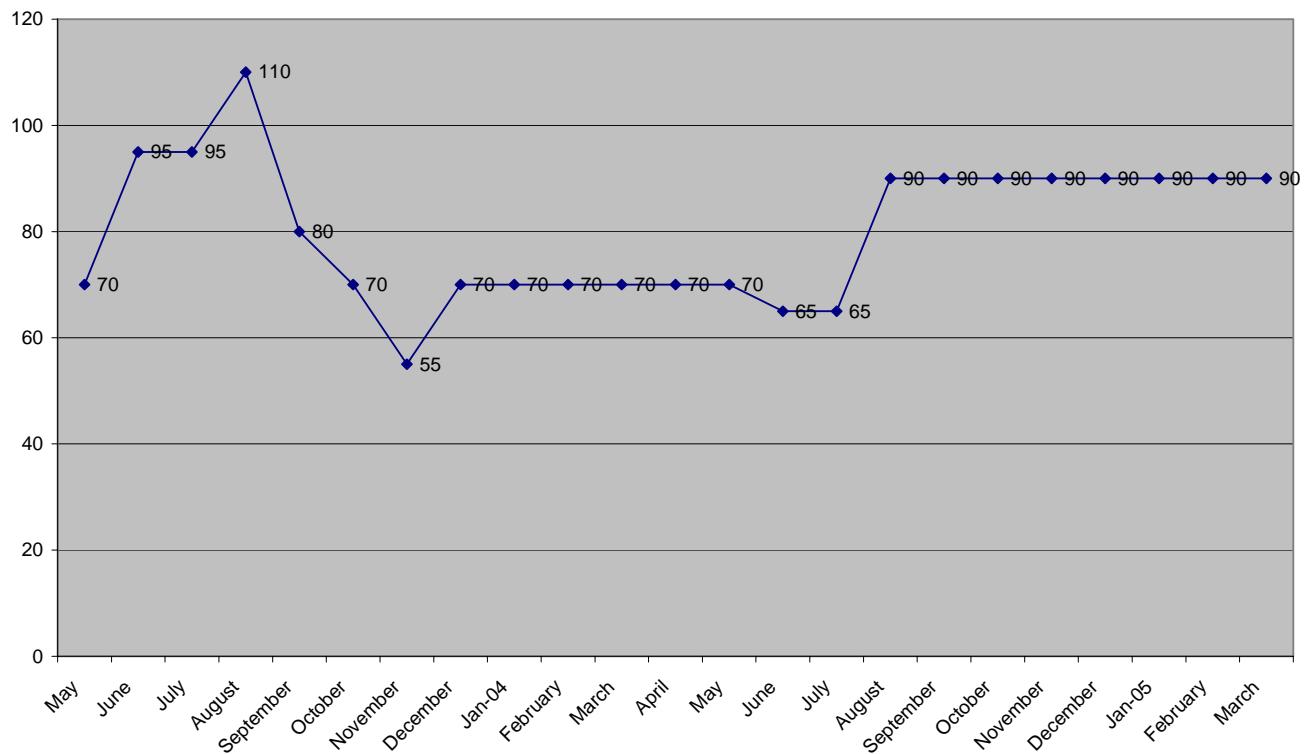
Killed: 2,336

Wounded: 5,121

NOTE: At least 139 of the 227 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, 2003²⁴

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



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 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.

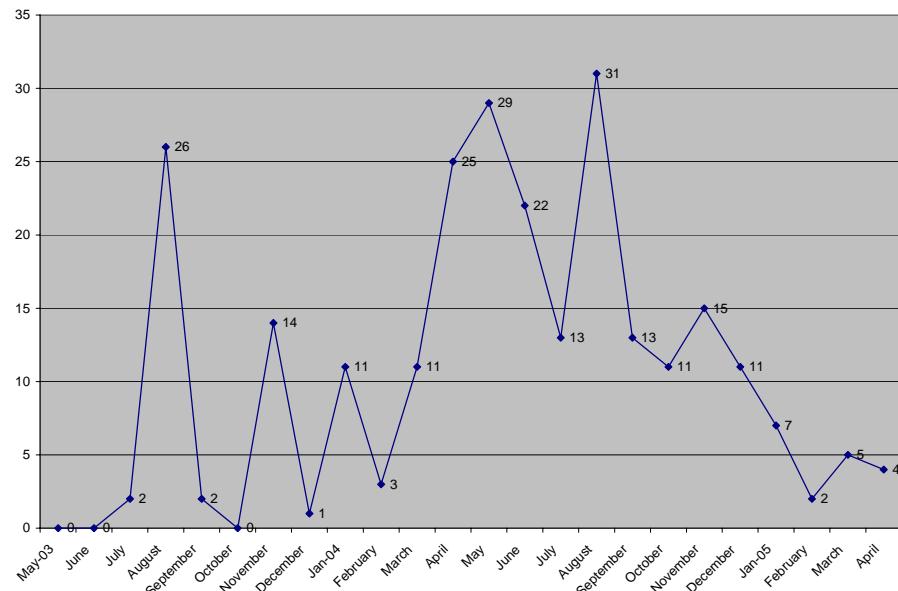
NOTE ON CRIME RELATED DEATHS IN BAGHDAD: Interpol lists the following nationwide numbers per 100,000 citizens in the region: Libya 2.08, Jordan 6.33, Lebanon 3.38, Saudi Arabia, 0.71. However, Interpol notes that these [nationwide] statistics cannot be used as a basis for comparison between different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

AMERICAN CONTRACTORS KILLED IN IRAQ

American civilian security and reconstruction contractors killed in Iraq as of December 31, 2004 ²⁵
232

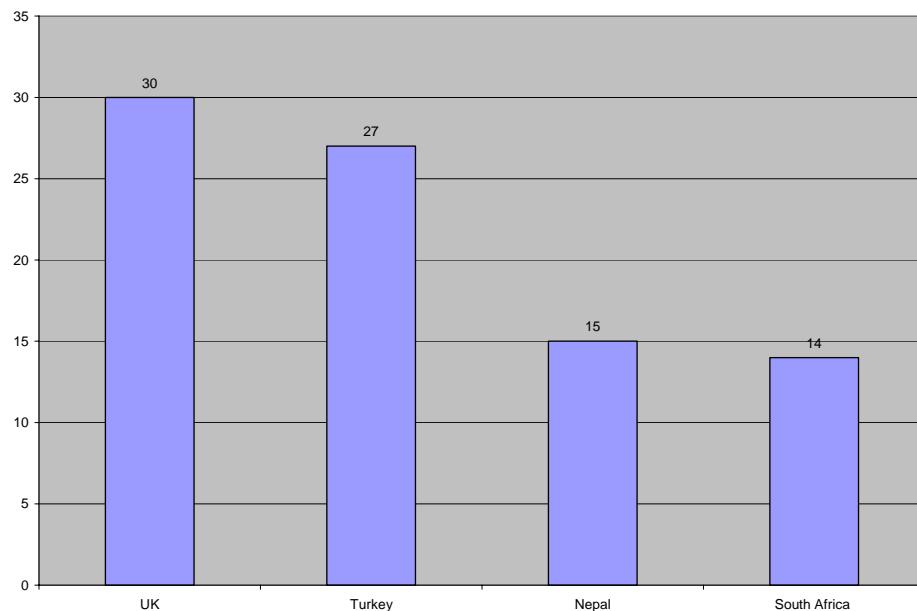
NOTE ON AMERICAN CONTRACTORS KILLED IN IRAQ TABLE: The majority of these deaths are not included in the non-Iraqi civilian casualties table, since we have no information which month the deaths occurred.

NON-IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED SINCE MAY, 2003²⁶



Total through April 17, 2005: 258

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



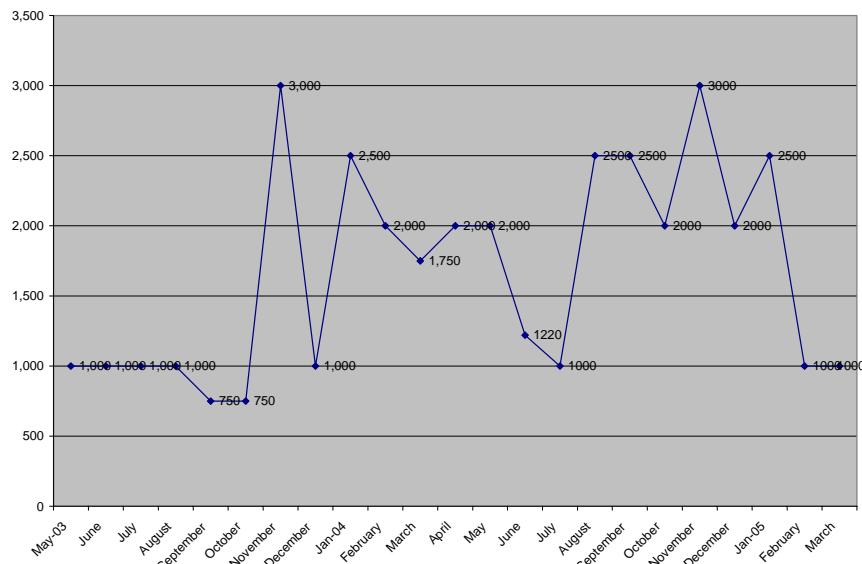
Through April 17, 2005

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	14²⁸	11 unknown, 3 killed
May 2003 - October 2003	0	
November	1²⁹	1 released
December 2003 -March 2004	0	
April	43³⁰	3 killed, 30 released, 2 still held, 1 escaped, 7 status unknown
May	2³¹	1 killed, 1 still held
June	3³²	2 killed, 1 escaped
July	26³³	3 killed, 13 released, 6 still held, 1 rescued, 1 escaped, 2 unknown
August	30³⁴	15 killed, 15 released
September	31³⁵	4 killed, 4 released, 22 still held, 1 rescued
October	8³⁶	3 killed, 2 released, 1 still held
November	5³⁷	1 killed, 4 still held
December	2³⁸	2 still held
January 2005	13³⁹	8 released, 5 still held
February	10⁴⁰	2 still held, 8 released
March	5⁴¹	5 still held
April	2⁴²	2 still held
Total through April 17, 2005	195	33 killed, 85 released, 52 still held, 3 escaped, 2 rescued, 20 status unknown

TOTAL NUMBER OF INSURGENTS DETAINED OR KILLED⁴³



Total as of March, 2005: 38,470

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 POPULATION⁴⁴

Peak prison population in 2003	10,000
Prison population in July, 2004	5,700 ⁴⁵ (of which 90 are foreign nationals)
Prison population as of September 7, 2004	5,500 ⁴⁶ (whereof 2 are women, 65-70 are juveniles and 130-140 are foreign nationals)
Prison population as of early October 2004	4,300 ⁴⁷
Prison population as of November 29, 2004	8,300 ⁴⁸
Prison population as of January 20, 2005	7,900 ⁴⁹

ESTIMATED STRENGTH OF INSURGENCY NATIONWIDE

Month	Estimated strength of insurgency nationwide
November	5,000 ⁵⁰
December	5,000 ⁵¹
January 2004	3,000-5,000 ⁵²
February	N/A
March	N/A
April	5,000 ⁵³
May	N/A
June	N/A
July	20,000 ⁵⁴
August	20,000
September	20,000 ⁵⁵
October	20,000
November	20,000 ⁵⁶
December	“more than 20,000” ⁵⁷
January	18,000 ⁵⁸
February	18,000 ⁵⁹
March	16,000 ⁶⁰

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF FOREIGN FIGHTERS IN THE INSURGENCY

January 2004	300-500 ⁶¹
July 2004	“Low hundreds”, ⁶²
September 2004	“Less than 1000”, ⁶³
November 2004	3,000 ⁶⁴
January 2005	“Fewer than 1,000”, ⁶⁵
February 2005	“Fewer than 1,000” ⁶⁶

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 2003	~142,000 ⁶⁷	~8,000 ⁶⁸	150,000 ⁶⁹	23,000 ⁷⁰	173,000
June	~126,000 ⁷¹	~24,000 ⁷²	150,000 ⁷³	21,000 ⁷⁴	171,000
July	~124,000 ⁷⁵	~25,000 ⁷⁶	149,000 ⁷⁷	21,000 ⁷⁸	170,000
August	~114,000 ⁷⁹	~25,000 ⁸⁰	139,000 ⁸¹	22,000 ⁸²	161,000
September	~103,000 ⁸³	~29,000 ⁸⁴	132,000 ⁸⁵	24,000 ⁸⁶	156,000
October	~102,000 ⁸⁷	~29,000 ⁸⁸	131,000 ⁸⁹	25,000 ⁹⁰	156,000
November	N/A	N/A	123,000 ⁹¹	23,900 ⁹²	146,900
December	~85,400 ⁹³	~36,600 ⁹⁴	122,000 ⁹⁵	24,500 ⁹⁶	146,500
January 2004	N/A	N/A	122,000 ⁹⁷	25,600 ⁹⁸	147,600
February	N/A	N/A	115,000 ⁹⁹	24,000 ¹⁰⁰	139,000
March	N/A	N/A	130,000 ¹⁰¹	24,000 ¹⁰²	154,000
April	N/A	N/A	137,000 ¹⁰³	25,000 ¹⁰⁴	162,000
May	N/A	N/A	138,000 ¹⁰⁵	24,000 ¹⁰⁶	162,000
June	89,700	48,300 ¹⁰⁷	138,000 ¹⁰⁸	23,000 ¹⁰⁹	161,000
July	N/A	N/A	140,000 ¹¹⁰	22,000 ¹¹¹	162,000
August	84,000	56,000 ¹¹²	140,000 ¹¹³	23,700 ¹¹⁴	163,700
September	82,800	55,200 ¹¹⁵	138,000 ¹¹⁶	24,600 ¹¹⁷	162,600
October	82,800	55,200 ¹¹⁸	138,000 ¹¹⁹	24,000 ¹²⁰	162,000
November	82,800	55,200	138,000 ¹²¹	24,000 ¹²²	162,000
December	82,800 ¹²³	55,200 ¹²⁴	148,000 ¹²⁵	25,000 ¹²⁶	173,000
January 2005	90,000 ¹²⁷	60,000	150,000 ¹²⁸	25,300 ¹²⁹	175,300
February	N/A	N/A	155,000 ¹³⁰	25,000 ¹³¹	180,000
March	N/A	N/A	150,000 ¹³²	22,000 ¹³³	172,000
April	N/A	N/A	142,000 ¹³⁴	22,000 ¹³⁵	164,000

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 IRAQ¹³⁶

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	4,060 ¹³⁷

As of March 16, 2005.

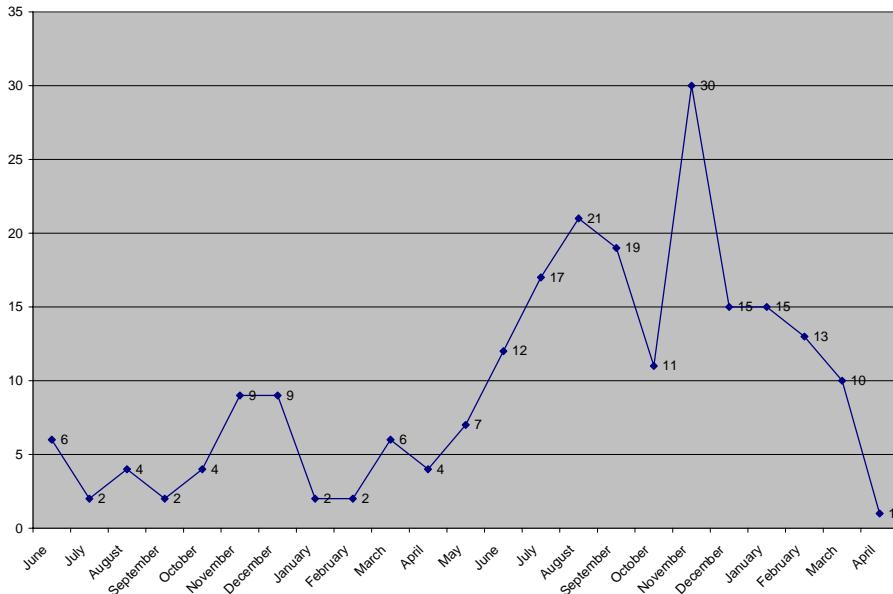
“HIGH-VALUE” INTELLIGENCE REPORTS¹³⁸

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

INSURGENT ATTACKS WITH REMOTELY DETONATED BOMBS¹³⁹

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%

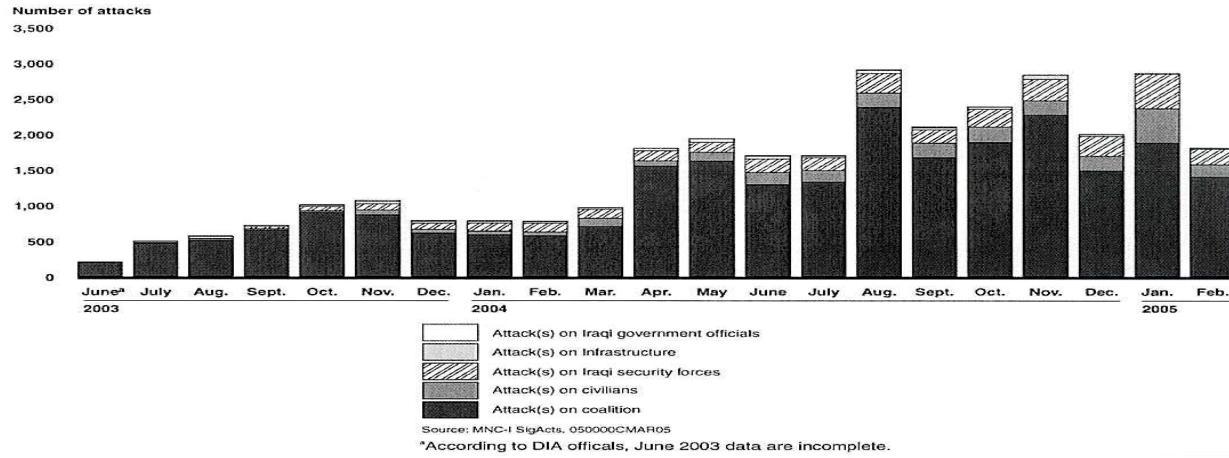
ATTACKS ON IRAQI OIL AND GAS PIPELINES, INSTALLATIONS & PERSONNEL¹⁴⁰



Total through April 4, 2005: 221

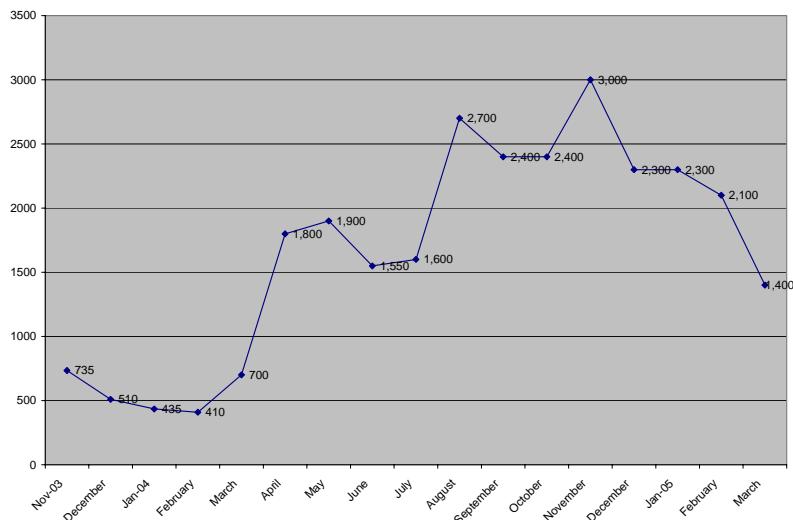
NOTE ON TOP TEN NON-U.S. COALITION CONTRIBUTORS OF MILITARY PERSONNEL IN IRAQ TABLE: In addition to the United States, 27 countries have troops in Iraq as of March 30, 2005: Albania, Armenia, Australia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Denmark, El Salvador, Estonia, Georgia, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, South Korea, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Mongolia, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Singapore, Slovakia, Ukraine, and the United Kingdom. “Iraq Weekly Status Report,” Department of States, March 30, 2005.

VIOLENT INCIDENTS AGAINST THE COALITION AND ITS PARTNERS AS REPORTED BY THE G.A.O.¹⁴¹

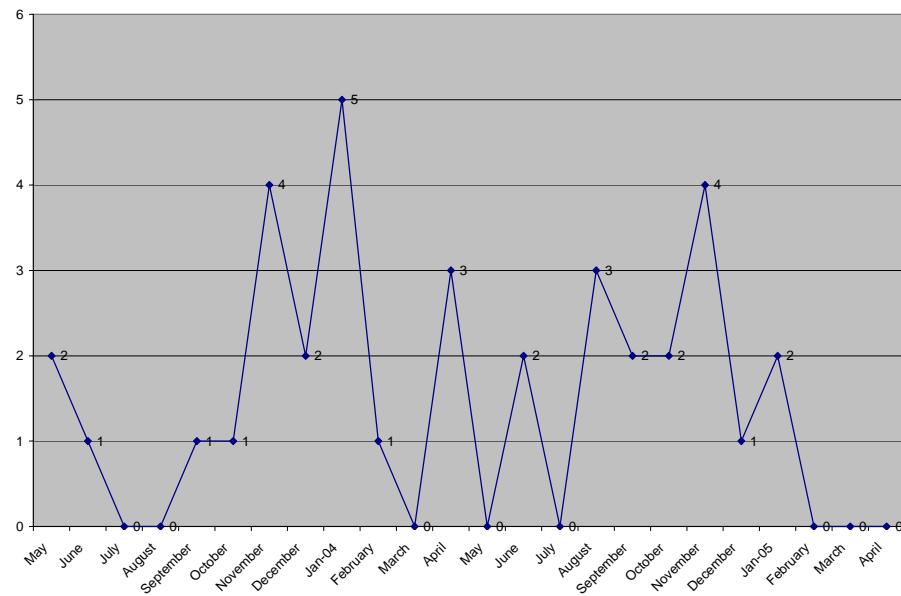


NOTE: Exact numbers for each month are not available.

INSURGENT ATTACKS ON COALITION FORCES¹⁴²



AMERICAN MILITARY HELICOPTERS DOWNED IN IRAQ¹⁴³



Total through April 10, 2005: 36

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

Time	Percentage of IEDs found and disarmed ¹⁴⁴
December 2003	37%
December 2004	50%
April 2005	40% ¹⁴⁵

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

Percentage of the 3rd ID on their second tour in Iraq since March 2003 ¹⁴⁶
50% as of February 26, 2005

MILITARY PERSONNEL DEPLOYED TO IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN SEPTEMBER 2001-JANUARY 2005¹⁴⁷

Service	Personnel deployed to Iraq and Afghanistan September 2001-January 2005	Percentage of total deployed more than once September 2001-January 2005
Army	Active Duty: 307,019 National Guard: 120,054 Reserve: 74,104	Active Duty: 37% National Guard: 30% Reserve: 34%
Air Force	Active Duty: 160,508 National Guard: 42,807 Reserve: 24,038	Active Duty: 33% National Guard: 47% Reserve: 49%
Marines	Active Duty: 104,244 Reserve: 15,938	Active Duty: 28% Reserve: 12%
Navy	Active Duty: 185,538 Reserve: 12,837	Active Duty: 26% Reserve: 21%
Coast Guard	Active Duty: 1,602 Reserve: 195	Active Duty: 12% Reserve: 1%

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.

NOTE ON MILITARY PERSONNEL DEPLOYED TO IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN TABLE: The average number of American troops deployed to Afghanistan was 6,000 in 2002, 9,800 in 2003, 18,500 in 2004, and 17,300 up until February 2005.

BAATHIST & OTHER RESISTANCE LEADERS STILL AT LARGE

Month	Iraqi 55 most wanted plus an additional 25 ex- Baath party leaders still at large ¹⁴⁸
April	65
May	53
June	48
July	43
August	41
September	40
October	40
November	40
December	38 ¹⁴⁹
January 2004	37 ¹⁵⁰
February	35 ¹⁵¹
March	34 ¹⁵²
April	34
May	34
June	34
July	34
August	34
September	34
October	34
November	34
December	34
January 2005	32 ¹⁵³
February	31 ¹⁵⁴
March	31
April	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	General police capabilities	National Guard	Iraqi armed Forces	Border patrol	Total Iraq
May	7,000-9,000 ¹⁵⁵	N/A	0	N/A	7,000-9,000 ¹⁵⁵
June	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	N/A
July	30,000 ¹⁵⁶	N/A	0	N/A	30,000 ¹⁵⁶
August	34,000 ¹⁵⁷	670 ¹⁵⁸	0	2,500 ¹	34,000 ¹⁵⁷
September	37,000 ¹⁵⁹	2,500 ¹⁶⁰	0	4,700 ¹	37,000 ¹⁵⁹
October	55,000 ¹⁶¹	4,700 ¹⁶²	700 ¹⁶³	6,400 ¹	55,000 ¹⁶¹
November	68,800 ¹⁶⁴	12,700 ¹⁶⁵	900 ¹⁶⁶	12,400 ¹	68,800 ¹⁶⁴
December	71,600 ¹⁶⁷	15,200 ¹⁶⁸	400 ¹⁶⁹	12,900 ¹	71,600 ¹⁶⁷
January	66,900 ¹⁷⁰	19,800 ¹⁷¹	1,100 ¹⁷²	21,000 ¹	66,900 ¹⁷⁰
February	77,100 ¹⁷³	27,900 ¹⁷⁴	2,000 ¹⁷⁵	18,000 ¹	77,100 ¹⁷³
March	75,000 ¹⁷⁶ 22% partially or fully trained	33,560 ¹⁷⁷ 100% partially or fully trained	3,005 ¹⁷⁸ 100% partially or fully trained	23,426 ¹ 39% partially or fully trained	65% partially or fully trained
April	80,016 ¹⁷⁹ 22% partially or fully trained	23,123 ¹⁸⁰ partially or fully trained	2,367 ¹⁸¹ partially or fully trained	18,747 ¹ 49% partially or fully trained	68% 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	71% partially or fully trained
June	83,789 ¹⁸⁵ 32% partially or fully trained	36,229 ¹⁸⁶ partially or fully trained	7,116 ¹⁸⁷ partially or fully trained	18,183 ¹ partially or fully trained	83% partially or fully trained
July	31,300 ¹⁸⁸ partially or fully trained	36,229 ¹⁸⁹ partially or fully trained	7,700 ¹⁹⁰ partially or fully trained	19,859 ¹ partially or fully trained	19,859 ¹ partially or fully trained
August	32,942 ¹⁹¹ partially or fully trained	37,925 ¹⁹² partially or fully trained	6,288 ¹⁹³ partially or fully trained	14,313 ¹⁹⁴ partially or fully trained	14,313 ¹⁹⁴ partially or fully trained
September	40,152 ¹⁹⁵ partially or fully trained	36,496 ¹⁹⁶ partially or fully trained	7,747 ¹⁹⁷ partially or fully trained	14,313 ¹⁹⁸ partially or fully trained	14,313 ¹⁹⁸ partially or fully trained
October	44,728 ¹⁹⁹ partially or fully trained	41,261 ²⁰⁰ partially or fully trained	6,861 ²⁰¹ partially or fully trained	18,148 ²⁰² partially or fully trained	18,148 ²⁰² partially or fully trained
November	49,455 ²⁰³ partially or fully trained	43,445 ²⁰⁴ partially or fully trained	6,013 ²⁰⁵ partially or fully trained	14,593 ²⁰⁶ partially or fully trained	14,593 ²⁰⁶ partially or fully trained
December	53,571 ²⁰⁸ partially or fully trained	40,115 ²⁰⁹ partially or fully trained	14,500 ²¹⁰ partially or fully trained	14,267 ²¹¹ partially or fully trained	14,267 ²¹¹ partially or fully trained
January 2005	58,964 ²¹³ partially or fully trained	36,827 ²¹⁴ partially or fully trained	14,796 ²¹⁵ partially or fully trained	14,786 ²¹⁶ partially or fully trained	14,786 ²¹⁶ partially or fully trained
February	82,072 ²¹⁸ “trained & equipped” <i>Unauthorized absences personnel are included</i>	59,689 ²¹⁹ “operational” <i>Unauthorized absences personnel are not included</i>		N/A	1
March	84,327 ²²³ “trained & equipped” <i>Unauthorized absences personnel are included</i>	67,584 ²²⁴ “operational” <i>Unauthorized absences personnel are not included</i>		N/A	1
April	85,504 ²²⁷ “trained & equipped” <i>Unauthorized absences personnel are included</i>	68,709 ²²⁸ “operational” <i>Unauthorized absences personnel are not included</i>		N/A	1
Stated goal	142, 190 ²²⁹ (revised up from 89,369 in June 2004) ²³⁰	61,904 ²³¹ (Revised up from 41,088 ²³² in June 2004)	36,635 ²³³ (Revised up from 35,000 ²³⁴ in June 2004)	29,360 ²³⁵	29,360 ²³⁵ (145,000 b 2005 ²³⁷)

N/A= Not available

IRREGULAR IRAQI SECURITY FORCES

February 16, 2005	“As many as 15,000 soldiers ²³⁸ ”
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IRAQI POLICE EQUIPMENT²³⁹

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 EQUIPMENT²⁴⁰

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 during that month (the goals have 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	2.8-3.0 ²⁴¹	1.7-2.5 ²⁴²	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A		
May 2003	0.3 ²⁴³	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	10 %	
June	0.675 ²⁴⁴	0.2 ²⁴⁵	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	23%	
July	0.925 ²⁴⁶	0.322 ²⁴⁷	6.5 ²⁴⁸	4.75 ²⁴⁹	13.5 ²⁵⁰	1,880 ²⁵¹	44%	
August	1.445 ²⁵²	0.646 ²⁵³	10.25 ²⁵⁴	6.2 ²⁵⁵	14.0 ²⁵⁶	2,530 ²⁵⁷	57%	
September	1.7225 ²⁵⁸	0.983 ²⁵⁹	14.25 ²⁶⁰	6.9 ²⁶¹	17.3 ²⁶²	3,030 ²⁶³	70%	
October	2.055 ²⁶⁴	1.149 ²⁶⁵	14.75 ²⁶⁶	9.6 ²⁶⁷	16.35 ²⁶⁸	3,700 ²⁶⁹	78%	
November	2.1 ²⁷⁰	1.524 ²⁷¹	13.14 ²⁷²	13.3 ²⁷³	11.792 ²⁷⁴	3,610 ²⁷⁵	76%	
December	2.30 ²⁷⁶	1.541 ²⁷⁷	12.29 ²⁷⁸	9.4 ²⁷⁹	12.9 ²⁸⁰	3,460 ²⁸¹	72%	
January 2004	2.440 ²⁸²	1.537 ²⁸³	13.91 ²⁸⁴	11.3 ²⁸⁵	13.32 ²⁸⁶	3,445 ²⁸⁷	78%	
February	2.276 ²⁸⁸	1.382 ²⁸⁹	15.21 ²⁹⁰	13.05 ²⁹¹	16.65 ²⁹²	4,670 ²⁹³	88%	
March	2.435 ²⁹⁴	1.825 ²⁹⁵	15.03 ²⁹⁶	17.28 ²⁹⁷	17.19 ²⁹⁸	5,010 ²⁹⁹	92%	
April	2.384 ³⁰⁰	1.804 ³⁰¹	22.75 ³⁰²	4.46 ³⁰³	19.3 ³⁰⁴	3,607 ³⁰⁵	79%	
May	1.887 ³⁰⁶	1.380 ³⁰⁷	22.92 ³⁰⁸	4.005 ³⁰⁹	18.07 ³¹⁰	3,264 ³¹¹	73%	
June	2.295 ³¹²	1.148 ³¹³	16.47 ³¹⁴	4.9 ³¹⁵	22 ³¹⁶	3,086 ³¹⁷	75%	
July	2.2 ³¹⁸	1.406 ³¹⁹	17.95 ³²⁰	5.75 ³²¹	22.3 ³²²	3,820 ³²³	80%	
August	2.112 ³²⁴	1.114 ³²⁵	16 ³²⁶	4.2 ³²⁷	15.1 ³²⁸	3,417 ³²⁹	84%	
September	2.514 ³³⁰	1.703 ³³¹	16.35 ³³²	6.35 ³³³	14.6 ³³⁴	2,707 ³³⁵	72%	
October	2.46 ³³⁶	1.542 ³³⁷	16.15 ³³⁸	7.95 ³³⁹	18.6 ³⁴⁰	3,044 ³⁴¹	80%	
November	1.95 ³⁴²	1.320 ³⁴³	16.5 ³⁴⁴	7.7 ³⁴⁵	17.9 ³⁴⁶	3,324 ³⁴⁷	77%	
December	2.16 ³⁴⁸	1.520 ³⁴⁹	18.3 ³⁵⁰	10.5 ³⁵¹	17.6 ³⁵²	4,222 ³⁵³	88%	
January 2005	2.10 ³⁵⁴	1.367 ³⁵⁵	12.7 ³⁵⁶	6.7 ³⁵⁷	20.65 ³⁵⁸	5,017 ³⁵⁹	75%	
February	2.10 ³⁶⁰	1.431 ³⁶¹	15.9 ³⁶²	8.55 ³⁶³	21.2 ³⁶⁴	5,003 ³⁶⁵	84%	
March	2.09 ³⁶⁶	1.354 ³⁶⁷	19.7 ³⁶⁸	8.05 ³⁶⁹	20.3 ³⁷⁰	4,894 ³⁷¹	93%	
April	2.07 ³⁷²	1.183 ³⁷³	17.6 ³⁷⁴	4.7 ³⁷⁵	20.6 ³⁷⁶	5,359 ³⁷⁷	90%	
Stated Goal:	2.5 ³⁷⁸ revised down in February 2005 from 2.8-3.0	N/A	18 ³⁷⁹ revised up in March 2005 from 17.5 in February	6.8 ³⁸⁰ revised down in April 2005 from 10.1 in March	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:

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

NOTE: LPG= Liquified Petroleum Gas

OIL REVENUE³⁸¹

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	\$1.49 ³⁸²
February	\$1.34 ³⁸³
March	\$1.55 ³⁸⁴
Total as of March 30, 2005	\$ 26.47

NOTE: Five percent war reparations to Kuwait has been withdrawn from the oil revenue totals.

ELECTRICITY

	Average amount of electricity generated (Megawatts)		Average hours of electricity/day nationwide ³⁸⁵	Average of daily mega watt hours ³⁸⁶ (MWH)
Time	Nation-wide	Baghdad		
Estimated pre-war level	4,400 ³⁸⁷	2,500 ³⁸⁸	N/A	95,000 ³⁸⁹
May	N/A	300 ³⁹⁰	N/A	N/A
June	3,193 ³⁹¹	707 ³⁹²	N/A	N/A
July	3,236 ³⁹³	1,082 ³⁹⁴	N/A	N/A
Aug.	3,263 ³⁹⁵	1,283 ³⁹⁶	N/A	72,435
Sept.	3,543 ³⁹⁷	1,229 ³⁹⁸	N/A	75,000
Oct.	3,948 ³⁹⁹	N/A	N/A	79,000
November	3,582 ⁴⁰⁰	N/A	N/A	70,000
December	3,427 ⁴⁰¹	N/A	N/A	72,000
January 2004	3,758 ⁴⁰²	N/A	N/A	79,000
February	4,125 ⁴⁰³	1,307 ⁴⁰⁴	13	90,000
March	4,040 ⁴⁰⁵	1,192 ⁴⁰⁶	16	86,000
April	3,823 ⁴⁰⁷	1,021 ⁴⁰⁸	15	78,000
May	3,902 ⁴⁰⁹	1,053 ⁴¹⁰	11	80,000
June	4,293 ⁴¹¹	1,198	10	93,500
July	4,584 ⁴¹²	N/A	10	100,300
August	4,707 ⁴¹³	1,440	13	109,900 ⁴¹⁴
September	4,467 ⁴¹⁵	1,485	13	107,200 ⁴¹⁶
October	4,074 ⁴¹⁷	1,280	13	99,306 ⁴¹⁸
November	3,199 ⁴¹⁹	845 ⁴²⁰	13 ⁴²¹	76,550 ⁴²²
December	3,380 ⁴²³	N/A	N/A	81,114 ⁴²⁴
January 2005	3,289 ⁴²⁵	985 ⁴²⁶	9 ⁴²⁷	78,925 ⁴²⁸
February	3,611 ⁴²⁹	1,180 ⁴³⁰	8.5 ⁴³¹	86,675 ⁴³²
March	3,627 ⁴³³	994 ⁴³⁴	11.8 ⁴³⁵	87,051 ⁴³⁶
April	3,517 ⁴³⁷	N/A	N/A	84,400 ⁴³⁸
Stated Goal:	6,000 to have been reached by July 1, 2004 ⁴³⁹	2,500 to have been reached by October 2003 ⁴⁴⁰	N/A	120,000 ⁴⁴¹

N/A = Not available

NATIONWIDE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE SINCE MAY , 2003

Month	Unemployment rate nationwide
May	N/A
June	50 - 60% ⁴⁴²
July	N/A
August	50-60% ⁴⁴³
September	N/A
October	40 - 50% ⁴⁴⁴
November	N/A
December	45-55% ⁴⁴⁵
January	30 - 45% ⁴⁴⁶
February	30 - 45% ⁴⁴⁷
March	30- 45% ⁴⁴⁸
April	30 - 45% ⁴⁴⁹
May	30-45% ⁴⁵⁰
June	30-40% ⁴⁵¹
July	30-40% ⁴⁵²
August	30-40% ⁴⁵³
September	30-40% ⁴⁵⁴
October	30-40% ⁴⁵⁵
November	30-40% ⁴⁵⁶
December	28-40% ⁴⁵⁷
January	28-40%
February	28-40%
March	28-40%

N/A= Not available

INFLATION⁴⁵⁸

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. 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.

VALUE OF THE IRAQI DINAR

Month	\$1 = ID
October 15	2,000 ⁴⁵⁹
November	1,948 ⁴⁶⁰
December	1,675 ⁴⁶¹
January	1,360 ⁴⁶²
February	1,425 ⁴⁶³
March	1,415 ⁴⁶⁴
April	1,455 ⁴⁶⁵
May	1,460 ⁴⁶⁶
June	1,455 ⁴⁶⁷
July	1,460 ⁴⁶⁸
August	1,460 ⁴⁶⁹
September	1,460 ⁴⁷⁰
October	1,460 ⁴⁷¹
November	1,461 ⁴⁷²
December	1,460 ⁴⁷³
January 2005	1,463 ⁴⁷⁴
February 2005	1,460 ⁴⁷⁵
March	1,460 ⁴⁷⁶

TELEPHONE SUBSCRIBERS

Time	Telephone subscribers (cumulative total)
Estimated pre-war level	833,000 ⁴⁷⁷
September	850,000 ⁴⁷⁸
December	600,000 ⁴⁷⁹
January 2004	600,000 ⁴⁸⁰
February	900,000 ⁴⁸¹
March	984,225 ⁴⁸²
April	1,095,000 ⁴⁸³
May	1,220,000 ⁴⁸⁴
June	1,200,000 ⁴⁸⁵
July	N/A
August	1,463,148 ⁴⁸⁶
September	1,579,457 ⁴⁸⁷
October	1,753,000
November	2,135,000 ⁴⁸⁸
December	2,152,000 ⁴⁸⁹
January 2005	2,449,139 ⁴⁹⁰
February	2,569,110 ⁴⁹¹
March	2,982,115 ⁴⁹²
April	3,040,609 ⁴⁹³
Previous goal (Jan. 2004)	1,100,000 ⁴⁹⁴

INTERNET SUBSCRIBERS

Time	Internet subscribers ⁴⁹⁵ (cumulative total)
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	110,000 ⁴⁹⁶
March 2005	147,076 ⁴⁹⁷

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>	499.3⁴⁹⁸
<i>Austria</i>	813.1⁴⁹⁹
<i>Belgium</i>	184.5⁵⁰⁰
<i>Brazil</i>	192.9⁵⁰¹
<i>Canada</i>	564.2⁵⁰²
<i>Denmark</i>	30.8⁵⁰³
<i>Finland</i>	152.2⁵⁰⁴
<i>France</i>	2,993.7⁵⁰⁵
<i>Germany</i>	2,403.9⁵⁰⁶
<i>Italy</i>	1,726⁵⁰⁷
<i>Japan</i>	4,108.6⁵⁰⁸
<i>Netherlands</i>	96.7⁵⁰⁹
<i>Republic of Korea</i>	54.7⁵¹⁰
<i>Russian Federation</i>	3,450⁵¹¹
<i>Spain</i>	321.2⁵¹²
<i>Sweden</i>	185.8⁵¹³
<i>Switzerland</i>	117.5⁵¹⁴
<i>United Kingdom</i>	930.8⁵¹⁵
<i>United States</i>	2,192⁵¹⁶
<i>Egypt and others</i>	N/A
<i>Poland</i>	500⁵¹⁷
<i>Kuwait</i>	17,000⁵¹⁸
<i>Bulgaria</i>	1,000⁵¹⁹
<i>Hungary</i>	16.5⁵²⁰
<i>Gulf States</i>	30,000⁵²¹
<i>Morocco</i>	31.8⁵²²
<i>Jordan</i>	295⁵²³
<i>Turkey</i>	800⁵²⁴
Interest (as of 2002)	47,000⁵²⁵
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, 2003⁵²⁶.

Donor	2004 (millions)	2005-2007 (millions)	Unspecified by year (millions)	Total (millions)	Form of pledge ⁵²⁷
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 ⁵²⁸
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	\$25,118.50	\$32,232.33 - 35,932.33	Not applicable
				\$22,782- 23,232 in grants & \$9,450-12,700 in loans	

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 NEEDS⁵²⁹

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 ASSESSMENT⁵³⁰

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 RECONSTRUCTION⁵³¹

	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, 2004⁵³²	\$13	\$2.5	\$2.7 as of November 1, 2004⁵³³
Disbursement	\$5.2 as of November 1, 2004⁵³⁴	\$8.3	\$2.4	\$1.2 as of September 2004⁵³⁵

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, 2004⁵³⁶

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 2004⁵³⁷

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 ENROLLMENT⁵³⁸

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) ⁵³⁹
Pre-war	2-3
January 2004	40
April	20
May	20 ⁵⁴⁰
June	45 ⁵⁴¹
July	45 ⁵⁴²
August	45 ⁵⁴³
September	45 ⁵⁴⁴
October 2004	45 ⁵⁴⁵
Stated goal for July 2004	200-300

N/A= Not available

IRRIGATION

Month	Irrigation canals in need of clearing (km)
May 2003	20,000 ⁵⁴⁶
September 2003	5,000 ⁵⁴⁷
October 2003	3,500 ⁵⁴⁸

HOSPITALS RESTORED TO PRE-WAR LEVEL OF OPERATIONS

Month	Hospitals restored to pre-war level of operations
March 2004	90% ⁵⁴⁹

HEPATITIS OUTBREAKS⁵⁵⁰

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

RELATIVE AMOUNT OF CAR TRAFFIC⁵⁵¹

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 LINES⁵⁵²

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

FEBRUARY 27- MARCH 5, 2005: INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE⁵⁵³

(Interviews conducted across the country except for Anbar (Ramadi), Ninewah (Mosul), and Dohuk for security reasons)

IRAQI VIEWS ON SITUATION IN IRAQ: FEBRUARY 27 – MARCH 5, 2005

Question	February 27 – March 5, 2005		
Do you think that Iraq today is generally heading in the right or wrong direction?	Right direction: 61.5% Wrong direction: 23.2% Don't know: 13.8% No answer: 1.4%		
Why do you think Iraq is heading in the <i>right</i> direction?	Replacement of the interim government: 16% Improving general conditions: 13.4% Holding elections: 11.7% Removing the past regime: 10.9% Increased freedoms: 10.1% Maintaining security: 9.8% Improving security: 8.9%		
Why do you think Iraq is heading in the <i>wrong</i> direction?	Poor security situation: 60.2% Presence of occupation forces: 12.9% Imbalanced general conditions: 9.2% Infrastructure issues: 3.9% Bad economic situation: 3.1% Divisions between Iraqis: 2.4% Unemployment: 1.5%		
Thinking about the future, do you feel that things will be better, the same or worse in...	...six months?	...one year?	...five years?
	Better: 56.3% Same: 29.6% Worse: 6.8% Don't know: 7.3%	Better: 69.7% Same: 15.8% Worse: 3.8% Don't know: 10.8%	Better: 78.7% Same: 4.1% Worse: 2.5% Don't know: 14.7%

Thinking about your life today, to what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?	
I am hopeful for the future	Strongly agree: 65.7% Agree: 25% Disagree: 4.3% Strongly disagree: 2.1%
I fear for the safety of myself and family	Strongly agree: 53.2% Agree: 23.5% Disagree: 7.4% Strongly disagree: 13.9%
Things will get better slowly	Strongly agree: 56.2% Agree: 33.5% Disagree: 5.5% Strongly disagree: 2.2%
My life was better before the war	Strongly agree: 21.9% Agree: 15.4% Disagree: 20.6% Strongly disagree: 40.1%

ISSUES IRAQIS MOST WANT THE GOVERNMENT TO DEAL WITH

1. Inadequate electricity 2. Unemployment 3. Healthcare 4. Crime 5. National Security 6. High prices 7. Presence of coalition forces 8. Terrorists 9. Drafting of a constitution 10. Lack of adequate housing	
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IRAQIS ON POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

Do you feel that the Transitional National Assembly will represent the Iraqi people as a whole?	Yes: 70% No: 18.6% Don't know: 8.3% No answer: 3.2%
Is there a political party or figure that you currently support or feel shares your values or ideas?	Yes: 20.8% No: 72.9% Don't know: 4.2% No answer: 2%

MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES TO BE WRITTEN INTO THE CONSTITUTION

1. Protecting basic human rights
2. Insuring the Muslim identity of Iraq
3. Holding frequent elections
4. Freedom to freely practice religion
5. Freedom of expression
6. Creation of a strong central government
7. Protecting minority rights
8. Term limits government officials
9. Autonomy for certain regions
10. Implementation of strict Shari'a law

IRAQ HEADING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION: REGIONAL VIEW, FEBRUARY 27, 2005 – MARCH 5, 2005

Region	Do you think Iraq is heading in the <i>right</i> direction?
Baghdad	57.3%
Kurdish areas:	70.7%
Kirkuk	47.9%
Sunni areas: (does not include Mosul, Ramadi and Dohuk)	32.7%
Mid-Euphrates:	76.1%
South:	66.2%

IRAQI JANUARY 2005 VOTER TURNOUT & ELECTION RESULTS⁵⁵⁴

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/ZOGBY INTERNATIONAL POLL⁵⁵⁵

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%

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

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

**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% July 24- August 2, 2004: 46.5% May 27-June 11, 2004: 36%	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 51.1% July 24- August 2, 2004: 27.9% May 27-June 11, 2004: 49.2%
Kurdish areas:	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 72.2% July 24- August 2, 2004: 71.5% May 27-June 11, 2004: 83.8%	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 11.4% July 24- August 2, 2004: 17.5% May 27-June 11, 2004: 8.64%
Mosul & Kirkuk	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 18.3% July 24- August 2, 2004: 27.7% May 27-June 11, 2004: 43.36%	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 75.1% July 24- August 2, 2004: 58.7% May 27-June 11, 2004: 42.47%
Sunni areas:	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 14.6% July 24- August 2, 2004: 28.9% May 27-June 11, 2004: 33.43%	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 73.2% July 24- August 2, 2004: 53.4% May 27-June 11, 2004: 42.47%
Mid-Euphrates:	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 45.3% July 24- August 2, 2004: 66.7% May 27-June 11, 2004: 56.37%	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 45.1% July 24- August 2, 2004: 22.4% May 27-June 11, 2004: 39.87%
South:	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 51.1% July 24- August 2, 2004: 61.4% May 27-June 11, 2004: 44.36%	Sept.24- Oct. 4, 2004: 33.1% July 24- August 2, 2004: 19.2% May 27-June 11, 2004: 45.2%

MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES TO IRAQIS: 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%

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 POLL⁵⁵⁹

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%

**JULY 24 - AUGUST 2, 2004:
INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE & INDEPENDENT INSTITUTE FOR ADMINISTRATIVE
AND CIVIL SOCIETY STUDIES POLL⁵⁶⁰**

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 POLL⁵⁶¹

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) POLL⁵⁶²

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) POLL⁵⁶³

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%

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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 to 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%

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% Great deal: 8% A fair amount: 7% Not much: 8% None: 69%
Coalition Provisional Authority	

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.

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 INSTITUTIONS⁵⁶⁵

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 BAGHDAD⁵⁶⁶

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? ⁵⁶⁷
February	Better: 56.5% Worse: 18.6%

31 DECEMBER – 7 JANUARY, 2004: STATE DEPARTMENT STUDY OF IRAQ PUBLIC OPINION⁵⁶⁸

GREATEST THREAT TO IRAQI CITIZEN

Type of threat	What is the greatest threat to yourself and your family? ⁵⁶⁹					
	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%	--

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**LATER POLLING:
STATE DEPARTMENT STUDY AND GALLUP POLLS**

IRAQI PUBLIC OPINION NATIONWIDE AND BAGDHAD: 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%

BAGDHAD 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 [April 4, 2005]).

⁵ Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, “Operations Iraqi Freedom Military Deaths,” (web1.whs.osd.mil/mmid/casualty/OIF-Deaths-After.pdf [Feb 29, 2005]).

⁶ Lawrence J. Korb and Nigel Holmes, “Two Years and Counting,” *New York Times*, March 20, 2005.

⁷ 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/).

⁸ “Details of British Casualties,” *British Ministry of Defense*, (www.operations.mod.uk/telic/casualties.htm).

⁹ Iraq Coalition Casualty Count, (icasualties.org/oif/).

¹⁰ Iraq Coalition Casualty Count, (www.icasualties.org/oif/IraqiDeaths.aspx).

¹¹ “Rebuilding Iraq: Preliminary Challenges in Transferring Security Responsibilities to the Iraqi Military and Police,” *Government Accountability Office*, March 14, 2005. GAO-05-431T.

¹² Eric Schmitt, “Many Iraqi Troops Not Fully Trained, U.S. Officials Say,” *New York Times*, February 4, 2005.

¹³ Donald D. Rumsfeld testifying before the Senate Armed Services Committee September 23, 2004.

¹⁴ Steve Fainaru, “Blast at Iraqi Recruit Center Kills 21 as Insurgency Mounts,” *Washington Post*, February 9, 2005.

¹⁵ Sabrina Tavernise, “Iraqis Working for Americans are in Insurgent’s Cross Hairs,” *New York Times*, September 18, 2004.

¹⁶ Iraq Body Count, (iraqbodycount.net [September 17, 2004]).

¹⁷ Mike Dorning, “We are Losing Our People,” *Chicago Tribune*, September 14, 2004.

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

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

²⁰ Bassem Mroue, "AP Enterprise: More than 10,000 Iraqis Die Violently in Baghdad Region Alone," *Associated Press*, September 8, 2004.

²¹ Statement by Minister of Human Rights Minister Bakhtiar Amin in an interview with Reuters. Luke Baker, "Iraq Insurgency has Killed 6,000 Civilians," *Reuters*, April 5, 2005.

²² The monthly breakdown of casualties to Iraqi civilians since May 2003 is based on reports of individual incidents as reported by Iraq Body Count, (www.iraqbodycount.org). The numbers used for the table is the upper bound estimate only, since we assume that due to the fact that a lot of cases are not reported, our estimate is probably lower than the actual number. Three types of entries in the Iraq Bodycount data base were excluded from our monthly tallies. They are single reports of civilians killed over several months, reports of the number of corpses in Iraqi morgues. We exclude these entries 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.

²³ Rajiv Chandrasekaran, "Car Bomb Kills 11 in Baghdad," *Washington Post*, August 8, 2003. One attack in front of the Jordanian Embassy on August 7. Theola Labbe, "Some Fear Blast at University Heralds New Face of Violence," *Washington Post*, September 6, 2003. An attack on UN headquarters on August 19. Neil McFarquhar, "Thousands at Burial for Slain Cleric," *New York Times*, September 3.

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²⁶ Numbers for all months based on a partial list of contractors killed in Iraq according to ICasualties.org (www.icasualties.org). In addition to the deaths listed on the ICasualties website, the following deaths have also been reported. Neil McFarquhar, “Thousands at Burial for Slain Cleric,” *New York Times*, September 3. One British and American killed on October 26. The nationalities stated are according to a CBS camera man. Theola Labbe and Vernon Loeb, “Wolfowitz Unhurt in Rocket Attack”, *Washington Post*, October 26, 2003. 2 Italians were killed by a truck bomb at the Italian Military on November 12. Alan Sipress, “U.S. Forces Kill Dozens after Iraq Ambushes,” *Washington Post*, December 1, 2003. Two Japanese diplomats. Edward Wong, “Iraqis Are Hoping for Early and Peaceful End to Shiite Insurrection,” *New York Times*, April 16, 2004. One Iranian diplomat was killed the week of April 12. One Polish and One Algerian journalist were killed on May 6, 2004. Gary Klien, “Former Marin Man Killed in Iraq,” *Marin Independent Journal*, May 4, 2004. One American contractor killed on May 3.. Monte Morin and Patrick J. McDonnell, “Iraqi Leaders In Najaf Reach Deal In Effort To Resolve Crisis,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 12, 2004. One Filipino worker killed on May 11, 2004. “Japan Says Iraq Reports Two Japanese Killed in Attack,” *Bloomberg News*, May 28, 2004. Two Japanese journalist killed on May 27. Mariam Fam, “U.S. Troops Battle Shiite Militants in Kufa, Baghdad,” *Associated Press*, June 2, 2004. One Italian security contractor was killed on June 2. “Security Guard Shot Dead in Iraq,” *BBC News*, June 29, 2004. One American killed on June 27, 2004. “List of Foreigners Taken Hostage in Iraq,” *Associated Press*, August 2, 2004. Two Pakistanis killed, one Bulgarian presumed killed. Maamoun Youssef, Kim Housego, “Editor Says French Hostages in Iraq handed to Opposition Group,” September 2, 2004.

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⁵⁷³ Will Lester, “Poll Finds Baghdad Residents Glad to Be Rid of Saddam,” *Associated Press*, September 24, 2003. The Gallup poll cited was carried out between August 8 and September 4. It has a margin of error of +/-3%.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁷ Walter Pincus, “Skepticism About U.S. Deep, Iraq Polls Shows; Motive for Invasion is Focus of Doubts,” *Washington Post*, November 12, 2003.

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid.