

## THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

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

# Iraq Index

Tracking Variables of Reconstruction & Security in Post-Saddam Iraq

www.brookings.edu/iraqindex

**January 30, 2006** 

For full source information for entries other than the current month, please see the Iraq Index archives at www.brookings.edu/fp/saban/iraq/indexarchive.htm

## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

Security Indicators	Page
U.S. Troop Fatalities since March 2003.	
Cause of Death for US Troops	
American Military Fatalities by Category	
Geographic Distribution of Military Fatalities	
U.S. Troops Wounded in Action since March 2003.  British Military Fatalities since March 2003.	
Non-U.S. & U.K. Coalition Military Fatalities since March, 2003.	
Non-U.S. & U.K. Coalition Military Fatalities by Country since March 2003.	
Iraqi Military and Police Killed since January 2005	
Estimates of Iraqi Civilians Killed Since the Start of the War	
Iraqi Civilian Killed as a Result of Acts of War since May 2003	
Car Bombs in Iraq (Lethal and Non-Lethal)	
Multiple Fatality Bombings in Iraq	
Killed and Wounded in Multiple Fatality Bombings	
Crime-Related Deaths in Baghdad	
Police and Civilian Deaths by Region	
Non-Iraqi Civilian Contractors Killed in Iraq	
Logistics Personnel in Iraq and Kuwait.	
Comparison of Fatality Rates Among Selected Workers in Iraq	
Number of US Contractors and Federal Civilians in the US Central Command Area of Responsibility	
Kidnappings Per Day In Baghdad	
Foreign Nationals Kidnapped in Iraq since May 2003.	
Total Number of Insurgents Detained or Killed	
Iraqi Prison Population	16
Estimated Strength of Insurgency Nationwide	
Estimated Number of Foreign Fighters in the Insurgency	
Nationalities of Foreign Militants in Iraq, September 2005	
Coalition Troop Strength in Iraq	
Distribution of the Army's Authorized End Strength, By Component and Function, Fiscal Year 2005	
Top Ten Non-U.S. Coalition Contributors of Military Personnel in Iraq	
Attacks on Iraqi Oil and Gas Pipelines, Installations, & Personnel	
Average Weekly Attacks by Time Period: 1 January 2004 – 16 September 2005.	
Total Attacks by Province 29 August – 16 September 2005	
American Military Helicopters Downed in Iraq	
Coalition Forces Ability to Find and Disarm Improvised Explosive Devises.	
Military Personnel Deployed to Iraq and Afghanistan September 2001-January 2005.	
Baathist & Other Resistance Leaders Still at Large	
Size of Iraqi Security Forces on Duty	24
Irregular Iraqi Security Forces	
Tips Received from Population.	
Political Parties in Iraq	
Index of Political Freedom	25
Economic & Quality of Life Indicators	
Fuel	26
Oil Revenue from Exports.	
Electricity	
Gross Domestic Product Estimates and Projections	
GDP Longer Term Projections: 2006 – 2010.	
Nationwide Unemployment Rate	
World Bank Estimate of Iraq Reconstruction Needs.	,30
CPA-Estimated Needs for Iraq Reconstruction in Sectors not Covered by the UN/World Bank Assessment	
American Aid Appropriated, Obligated and Disbursed towards the Iraq Relief and Reconstruction Fund	
Estimated External Debt Stock: 2004 – 2010.	
How Revenues are Spent.	
Balance of Payments: Exports.	
Inflation	
Other Economic Indicators.	
Trained Judges	
Felony Cases Resolved in Iraqi Courts	32
Relative Amount of Car Traffic	
Typical Length of Gasoline Lines	
Number of Registered Cars in Baghdad	
Telephone subscribers	
Internet subscribers	
Media	
Health Indicators	
Social Indicators	
Education Indicators.	
Primary School Enrollment.	

## Polling/Politics

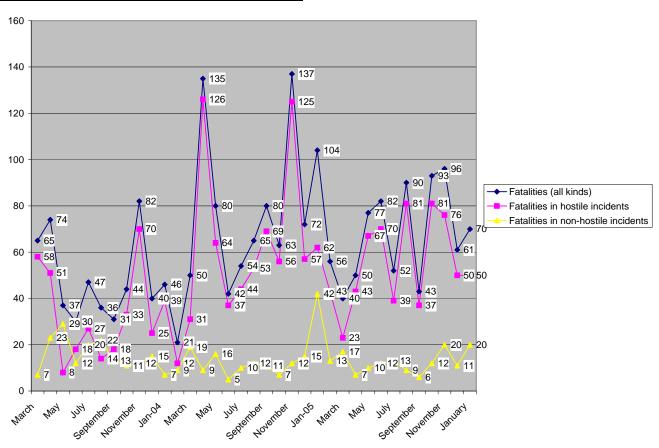
November 1 – 11, 2005: International Republic Institute	35
October - November, 2005: Time - ABC New Poll.	37
October 9 – October 11, 2005: International Republican Institute	
British Ministry of Defence Poll.	
September 6, 2005 – September 12, 2005: International Republican Institute Poll.	
July 9, 2005 – July 14, 2005: International Republican Institute Poll.	
May 27, 2004-April 20, 2005: International Republican Institute Poll.	
February 2-11, 2005: American Military.	
April 11-April 20, 2005: International Republican Institute Poll.	43
Ethno-Religious Composition of the Iraqi Government	44
Iraqi January 2005 Voter Turnout and Election Results	
January 19 – January 23, 2005: Abu Dhabi TV/Zogby International Poll	
September 24 – October 4, 2004: International Republican Institute Poll	45
14-23 May, 2004: Coalition Provisional Authority Poll	

#### NOTE ON THE METHODOLOGY OF THE IRAQ INDEX:

Although the footnotes to the Iraq Index document our sources in detail, it is worth noting here a few broad points. The majority of our information comes from the U.S. Government, though we must often analyze it and process it further to show trends over the full period since Saddam Hussein fell in 2003. Some information comes from foreign journalists on the ground and from nongovernmental organizations; a very modest amount to date comes from Iraqi sources. Most tables and charts are straightforward representations of data as we obtain it from the above primary sources, with only modest further analysis and processing required. However, a few graphics, such as those on crime and unemployment rates, require more methodological work (and more assumptions) on our part--and are as a result also perhaps somewhat less precise than most of the tables and charts.

## **SECURITY INDICATORS**

### U.S. TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MARCH 19, 2003<sup>1</sup>



#### Total from March 19, 2003 (start of major combat operations) through January 29, 2006:

Fatalities (all kinds): 2,245
Fatalities in hostile incidents: 1,757
Fatalities in non-hostile incidents: 488

### NOTE ON U.S. TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MARCH 19, 2003 TABLE:

The daily Department of Defense casualty reports that we use for our monthly estimates on U.S troops killed doesn't make entirely clear when in a 24 hour period casualties were incurred. Since the reports are published 11AM daily, there is the possibility that our numbers for January 2005 and onwards are slightly off due to uncertainties about whether casualties occurred on the first and last day 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 five civilians working for the Department of Defense.

CAUSE OF DEATH FOR US TROOPS<sup>2</sup>

Month		OR US TROOI	<u> </u>					
MOUTH	Cause of Death							
	Improvised	Car	Mortars	Rocket	Helicopter	Other	Non-	Total
	Explosive	Bombs	And	Propelled	Losses*	Hostile	Hostile	Total
	Device	Domos	Rockets	Grenades	Losses	Fire	Causes*	
March	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	8 (12.3%)	50 (61.5%)	7 (10.8%)	65
2003	0 (070)	0 (070)	0 (070)	0 (070)	0 (12.370)	30 (01.370)	7 (10.070)	03
April	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (4.1%)	4 (5.4%)	8 (10.8%)	41 (55.4%)	18(24.3%)	74
May	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	7 (18.9%)	6 (16.2%)	24 (64%)	37
June	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (13.3%)	0 (0%)	14 (46.6%)	12 (39.8%)	30
July	4 (8.3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	9 (18.8%)	0 (0%)	15 (31.3%)	20 (41.7%)	48
August	7 (20%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (5.7%)	0 (0%)	7 (20%)	19 (54.3%)	35
September	5 (16.1%)	0 (0%)	2 (6.5%)	2 (6.5%)	1 (3.2%)	9 (29%)	12 (38.7%)	31
October	13 (29.5%)	0 (0%)	4 (9.1%)	2 (4.5%)	0 (0%)	14 (31.8%)	11 (25%)	44
November	20 (24.4%)	0 (0%)	1 (1.2%)	1 (1.2%)	39 (47.6%)	8 (9.8%)	13 (15.8%)	82
December	18 (45%)	1 (2.5%)	2 (5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (10%)	15 (37.5%)	40
January	20 (42.6%)	3 (6.4%)	4 (8.5%)	1 (2.1%)	14 (29.8%)	4 (8.5%)	1 (2.1%)	47
2004								
February	9 (45%)	0 (0%)	2 (10%)	0 (0%)	2 (10%)	3 (15%)	4 (20%)	20
March	19 (36.5%)	0 (0%)	4 (7.7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	12 (23.1%)	17 (32.7%)	52
April	16 (11.9%)	10 (7.4%)	7 (5.2%)	13 (9.6%)	2 (1.5%)	78 (57.8%)	9 (6.7%)	135
May	21 (26.3%)	2 (2.5%)	12 (15%)	2 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	25 (31.3%)	18 (22.5%)	80
June	12 (28.6%)	2 (4.8%)	7 (16.7%)	1 (2.4%)	0 (0%)	15 (35.7%)	5 (11.9%)	42
July	17 (31.5%)	2 (3.7%)	7 (13%)	2 (3.7%)	0 (0%)	16 (29.6%)	10 (18.5%)	54
August	16 (24.2%)	0 (0%)	2 (3%)	4, (6.1%)	2 (3%)	33 (50%)	9 (13.6%)	66
September	15 (18.8%)	11(13.8%)	4 (5%)	2 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	37, 46%	11 (13.8%)	80
October	12 (19%)	19 (30.2%)	2 (3.2%)	4 (6.3%)	2 (3.2%)	19 (30.2%)	5 (7.9%)	63
November	18 (13.1%)	6 (4.4%)	4 (2.9%)	4 (2.9%)	0 (0%)	93 (67.9%)	12 (8.8%)	137
December	14 (19.4%)	2 (2.8%)	1 (1.4%)	0 (0%)	2 (2.8%)	41 (56.9%)	12 (16.7%)	72
January 2005	29 (27.1%)	3 (2.8%)	3 (2.8%)	8 (7.5%)	33 (30.8%)	11 (10.3%)	20 (9.4%)	107
February	25 (43.1%)	1 (1.7%)	1 (1.7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	15 (25.9%)	16 (27.6%)	58
March	13 (37.1%)	7 (20%)	1 (2.9%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	10 (28.6%)	4 (11.4%)	35
April	20 (38.5%)	7 (13.5%)	5 (9.6%)	2 (3.8%)	0 (0%)	12 (23.1%)	6 (11.5%)	52
May	33 (41.2%)	10 (12.5%)	6 (7.5%)	2 (2.5%)	2 (2.5%)	14 (17.5%)	13 (16.3%)	80
June	36 (46.2%)	8 (10.3%)	2 (2.6%)	3 (3.8%)	2 (2.6%)	18 (23.1%)	9 (11.5%)	78
July	36 (66.7%)	2 (3.7%)	3 (5.6%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (7.4%)	9 (16.7%)	54
August	40 (47.1%)	7 (8.2%)	1 (1.2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	27 (31.8%)	10 (11.8%)	85
September	37 (75.5%)	0 (0%)	2 (4.1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (6.1%)	7 (14.3%)	49
October	57 (59.4%)	2 (2.1%)	7 (7.3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	11 (11.5%)	19 (19.8%)	96
November	40 (47.6%)	6 (7.1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (2.4%)	24 (28.6%)	12 (14.3%)	84
December	42 (61.8%)	3 (4.4%)	2 (2.9%)	1 (1.5%)	2 (2.9%)	9 (13.2%)	9 (13.2%)	68
January 2006	23 (37.7%)	3 (4.9%)	0 (0%)	1 (1.6%)	13 (21.3%)	10 (16.4%)	11 (18%)	61
Total	687 (30.7%)	117 (5.2%)	101 (4.5%)	74 (3.3%)	141 (6.3%)	712 (31.8%)	409 (18.3%)	2241

Through January 29, 2006

**NOTE ON CAUSE OF DEATH DETAIL TABLE:** Helicopter losses include deaths caused by both non-hostile helicopter accidents and helicopters downed by hostile fire. Hostile losses were as follows: 3/03 (8 killed); 4/03 (2); 11/03 (39); 1/04 (10); 4/04 (2); 5/05 (2); 6/05 (2); 11/05 (2); 12/06 (4); total: 67. Non-hostile losses were as follows: 4/03 (6 killed); 5/03 (7); 9/03 (1); 1/04 (4); 2/04 (2); 8/04 (2); 10/04 (2); 12/04 (2); 1/05 (33); 12/05 (2); 1/06 (9); total: 69. The "Non-Hostile Causes" data then does not include non-hostile helicopter losses.

The total number of deaths as listed here may vary slightly from the Total Fatalities listed under "US Troop Fatalities Since March 19, 2003" because the two charts use data from different sources. Any discrepancy is likely to be a result of a difference in the cut-off time until which data was included each day and at the end of the month.

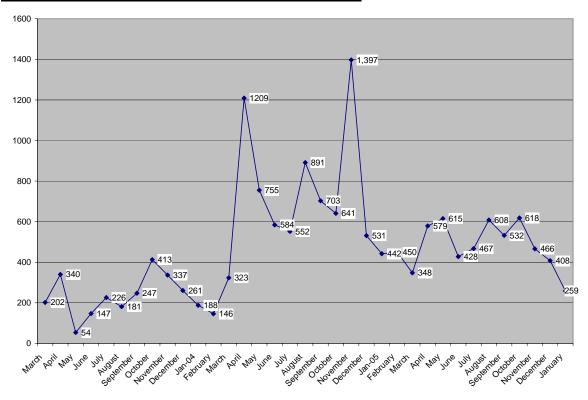
## AMERICAN MILITARY FATALITIES BY CATEGORY MARCH 19, 2003 – JANUARY 7, 2006<sup>3</sup>

Category	Total fatalities as of January 7, 2006: 2,199	
Gender	Male: 2,151	
	Female: 48	
Age	Younger than 22: 637	
	22-24: 503	
	25-30: 548	
	31-35: 232	
	<b>Older than 35: 279</b>	
Component	<b>Active: 1,655</b>	
	Reserve: 206	
	National Guard: 338	
Military service	Army: 1,509	
	Marines: 628	
	Navy: 42	
	Air Force: 20	
Officers/Enlisted	Officer: 232	
	E5-E9: 709	
	E1-E4: 1,258	
Race/Ethnicity	American Indian or Alaska Native: 24	
	Asian: 36	
	Black or African American: 229	
	Hispanic or Latino: 240	
	Multiple races, pending or unknown: 24	
	Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander: 27	
	White: 1,619	

## GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF AMERICAN MILITARY FATALTIES MARCH 19, 2003-MARCH 20, 2005<sup>4</sup>

GEOGRAFITIC DISTRIBUTION OF AMERICAN MILITA
Geographic distribution of Americans military killed
March 19, 2003- March 20, 2005
26.2% were from cities and large towns in the U.S.
40.5% were from suburbs in the U.S.
33.3% were from rural areas in the U.S.

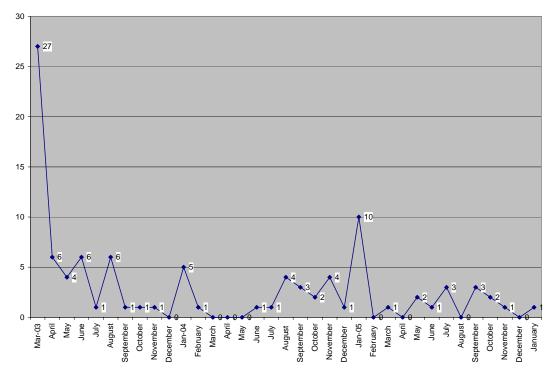
## U.S. TROOPS WOUNDED IN ACTION SINCE MARCH 2003<sup>5</sup>



## <u>Total from March 19, 2003 through January 29, 2006</u>: 16,548

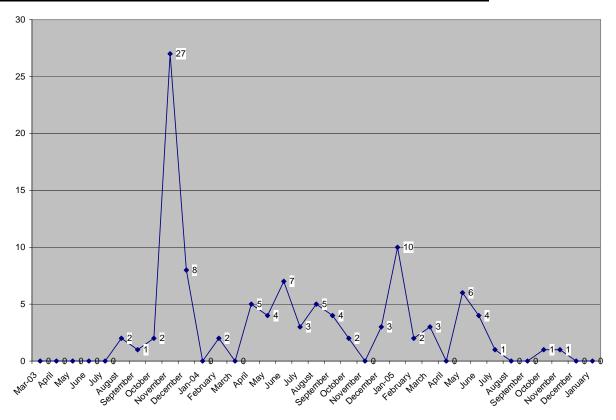
The daily Department of Defense casualty reports that we use for our monthly estimates on U.S troops wounded does not make it entirely clear when in a 24-hour period casualties were incurred. Since the reports are published at 10AM daily, there is possibility that our numbers for January 2005 and onwards are slightly off due to uncertainties about whether casualties occurred on the first or the last of each month.

## BRITISH MILITARY FATALITIES SINCE MARCH 19, 2003<sup>6</sup>



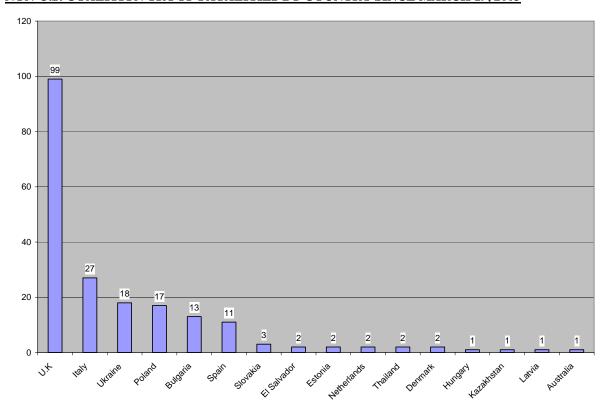
Total through January 29, 2006: 99

## NON-U.S. & U.K. COALITION MILITARY FATALITIES SINCE MARCH 19, 2003<sup>2</sup>



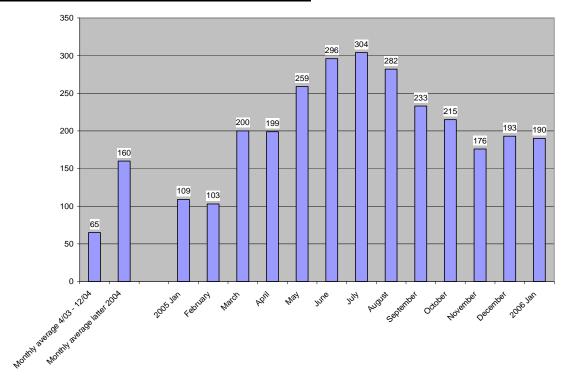
Total through January 29, 2006: 103

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



**Total through January 29, 2006: 202** 

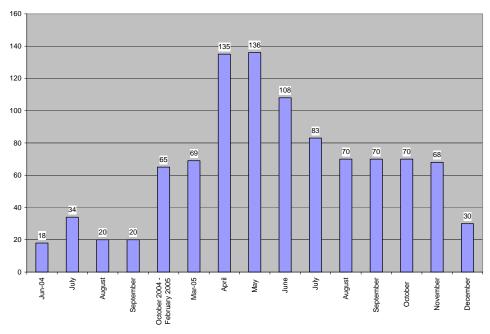
### IRAQI MILITARY & POLICE KILLED MONTHLY<sup>2</sup>



#### Total June 2003 through January 29, 2006: 4,059

**1,300 Iraqi military and police were killed between June 2003 and January 4, 2005** according to Iraqi Minister of Interior Falah Hasan Al-Naqib. "Iraqi Officers, Police Members Killed so Far Total 1,300," Kuwait News Agency (KUNA) January 4, 2005. Major General Joseph Peterson, the top American police trainer in Iraq, noted through his spokesperson that 1,497 Iraqi police officers were killed and 3,256 wounded in 2005. Eric Schmitt, "2,000 MPs Will Help Train the Iraqi Police," *New York Times*, January 16, 2005.

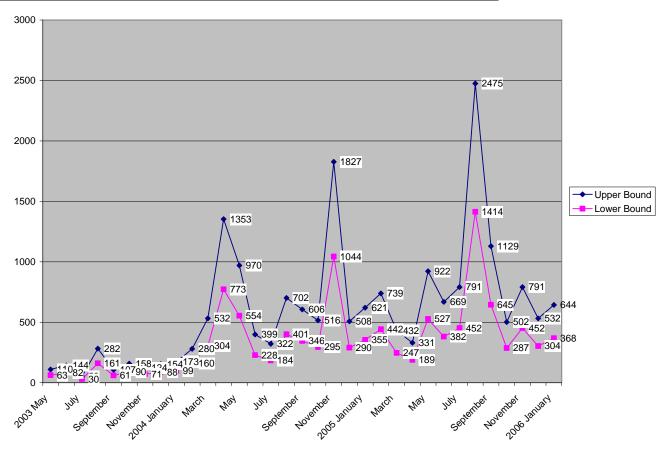
## CAR BOMBS IN IRAQ (LETHAL AND NON-LETHAL)<sup>10</sup>



**NOTE ON CAR BOMBS IN IRAQ CHART:** The August 2005 number is an estimate based on Bradley Graham, "Zarqawi 'Hijacked' Insurgency; US General Says Foreign Fighters Now Seen as Main Threat," *Washington Post*, September 28, 2005, which states that *suicide bombs* were reduced by 50% from May to August. September and October 2005 numbers are author's estimates. The November 2005 number is from "Military: Offensive Thwarting Suicide Attacks," *USA Today*, December 2, 2005, listed at 68. This article also lists *suicide bombings* at 50 for October and 23 for November 2005.

Maj. Gen. Webster has noted that car bombs and IEDS have been cut in half and weapons caches found doubled thanks to military operations in Baghdad. Ann Scott Tyson, "Departing US Commander Reports Progress In Baghdad," *Washington Post*, December 31, 2005.

#### IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED AS A RESULT OF ACTS OF WAR SINCE MAY 1, 2003



Total May 2003 through January 30, 2006: 11,388 - 19,898

These numbers do not include Iraqi civilians killed during major combat operations March 19, 2003-April 30, 2003. 203-350 Iraqi civilians were killed July 1-14, 2005.

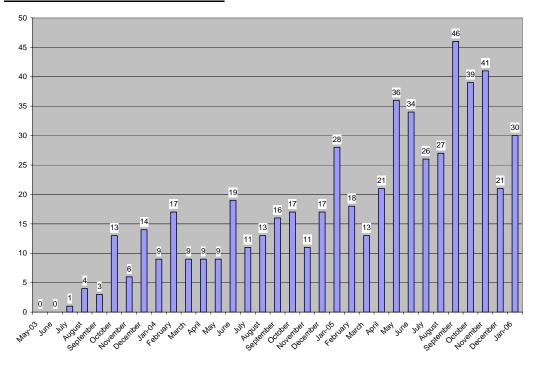
NOTE ON IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED TABLE: This chart is based upon data from Iraq Body Count (<a href="http://www.iraqbodycount.net/database">http://www.iraqbodycount.net/database</a>), but does not include entries that span multiple months, were recorded at the morgue, or clearly involve the death of Iraqi police, police recruits, or Iraq Civil Defense Forces in an attempt to index only civilians killed by acts of war. IBC removes military personnel. This formulation forms the lower bound. We recognize that these estimates are most probably lower than the actual number since many separate incidents go unreported or unnoticed. The upper bound is therefore 1.75 times the lower bound, a rough estimate which reflects the fact that the estimates for civilian casualties from the Iraqi Ministry of the Interior were 75 percent higher than those of our Iraq Body Count-based estimate over the December 2003 – May 2005 period. Ellen Knickmeyer, "Iraq Puts Civilian Toll at 12,000." Washington Post, June 3, 2005.

Numbers for the current month are typically incomplete through the next month as the database continues to be updated.

#### ESTIMATES OF IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED SINCE THE START OF THE WAR

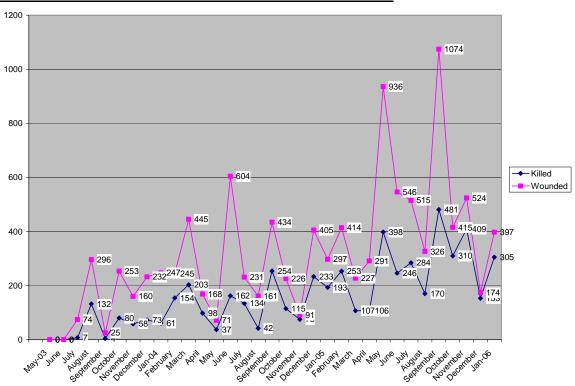
Source	Estimate
Iraq Body Count	28,300 – 31,900 as of January 30, 2006 <sup>11</sup>
Statement by British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw	>10,000 as of February, 2004
Shaik Omar Clinic, Baghdad	10,363 as of September 8, 2004
	(in Baghdad and surrounding towns alone)
Amnesty International (London)	>10,000 as of September 8, 2004
The Human Rights Organization, Iraq	>30,000 as of September 8, 2004
Iraq Index	Not including deaths from crime as of January 8, 2006:
(assume 5,630-10,000 Iraqi civilians killed from	16,700 – 29,300
March 19, 2003 – April 30, 2003	Including deaths from crime as of January 8, 2006:
as reported in detail by Iraq Body Count)	39,200 – 79,400

### MULTIPLE FATALITY BOMBINGS<sup>12</sup>



Total as of January 29, 2006: 578 (of which at least 273 were suicide bombings)

## KILLED AND WOUNDED IN MULTIPLE FATALITY BOMBINGS<sup>13</sup>



Total as of January 29, 2006:

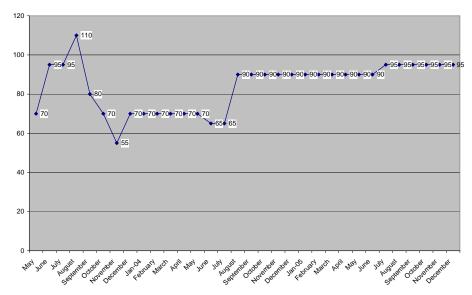
Killed: 5,337 Wounded: 10,504

NOTE ON MULTIPLE FATALITY BOMBINGS AND KILLED AND WOUNDED IN MULTIPLE FATALITY BOMBINGS

**TABLES:** Included as data for these graphs are any bombings (including IEDs / roadside bombs) that caused at least three fatalities. The data on multiple fatality IED / roadside bombs are estimates and may have a margin of error of +/- one bomb and approximately five fatalities and five wounded.

#### CRIME-RELATED DEATHS IN BAGDHAD SINCE MAY, 200314

Estimated annualized murder rate per 100,000 citizens[i]



**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. Our estimates could be too high, as some of the gunshot victims may be insurgents killed intentionally by U.S. military, or 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.

The homicide rate for Washington, DC was 35 per 100,000 in 2005. Prince George's County, Maryland, had a rate of 20 per 100,000; Fairfax County, Virginia saw 2 homicides per 100,000. Allison Klein and Del Quentin Wilber, "DC Area Slayings Climbed in 2005," *Washington Post*, January 2, 2006.

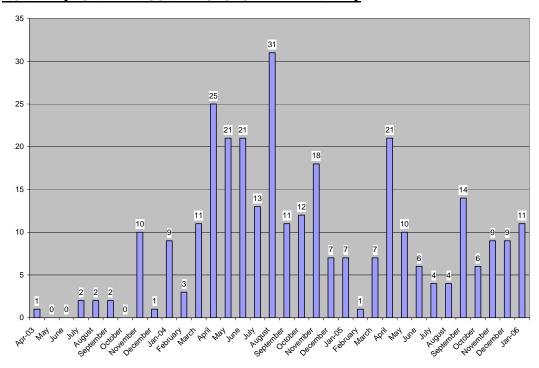
Interpol lists the following nationwide numbers per 100,000 citizens for countries in the region: Libya 2.08, Jordan 6.33, Lebanon 3.38, Saudi Arabia, 0.71. However, Interpol notes that these [nationwide] statistics cannot be used as a basis for comparison between different countries. This is partly 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.

#### POLICE AND CIVILIAN DEATHS BY REGION

Region	Police Deaths	Civilian Deaths
Dahuk	1	3
Nineveh	162	1,301
Irbil	60	140
Tamim	116	690
Sulaimaniya	N/A	85
Salahuddin	167	1,075
Diyala	237	1,077
Baghdad	453	14,829
Babil	129	1,290
Anbar	127	2,338
Wasit	12	433
Karbala	18	917
Qadisiya	1	68
Misan	10	31
Najaf	26	747
Muthanna	2	121
Dhiqar	8	974
Basra	39	1,624
Unknown location	141	76
Total	1,709	27,819

NOTE ON POLICE AND CIVILIAN DEATHS BY REGION CHART: This chart includes deaths from the start of the war until January 1, 2006, as reported by Iraq Body Count, cited in "Iraq Body Count: War Dead Figures," *BBC News Online*, January 18, 2006. This data has NOT been filtered by the authors in the same way as the chart on Iraqi Civilians Killed as a Result of War, whose data also comes from the Iraq Body Count website.

## NON-IRAQI CIVILIAN CONTRACTORS KILLED IN IRAQ<sup>15</sup>

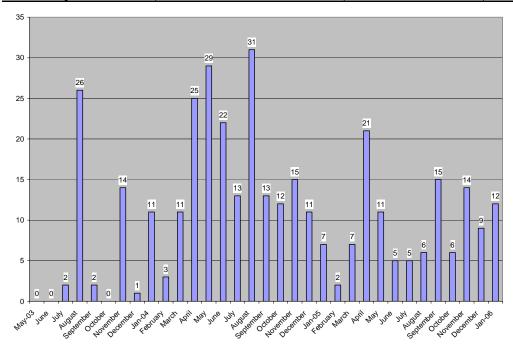


### Total as of January 29, 2006: 309

**NOTE ON NON-IRAQI CIVILIAN CONTRACTORS KILLED IN IRAQ:** This list is incomplete and does not include an additional 44 contractors that were killed up until December 31, 2004. Since we do not know during which month these deaths occurred they are not represented in the graph above.

As of March, 2005, there were more than 20,000 foreign (non-Iraqi) private military contractors in Iraq. 6,000 of these are in armed tactical roles. Peter W. Singer, "Outsourcing War," *Foreign Affairs*, March 2005.

## NON-IRAQI CIVILIANS (INCLUDING CONTRACTORS) KILLED SINCE MAY, 200316



Total through January 29, 2006: 361

LOGISTICS PERSONNEL IN IRAQ AND KUWAIT<sup>17</sup>

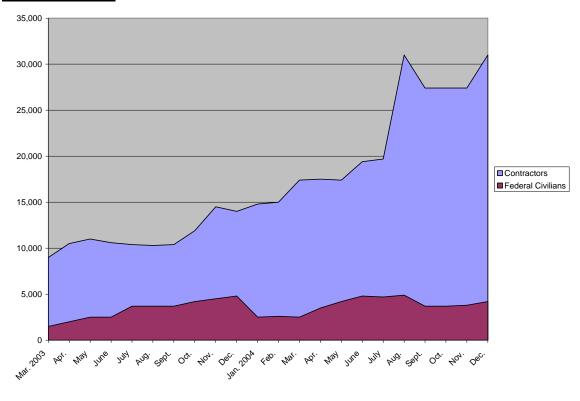
Civilian Personnel Total	38,305
US expatriates	11,860
Third-country nationals	900
Host-country nationals	35
Subcontractors and labor brokers	25,510
US Army Combat-Service-Support Personnel	45,800

COMPARISON OF FATALITY RATES AMONG SELECTED WORKERS IN IRAQ 18

	Ι	Data Availabil	ity	Average	Number	Annual
	Starting	Ending	Duration	Number of	of	Fatality Rate
	Month	Month	(Months)	Workers	Fatalities	per 100,000
						Employees
Kellogg, Brown and	Mar. 2003	Nov. 2004	21	38,305	27	40.3
Root Employees						
US Army Personnel						
Combat Arms	Mar. 2003	May 2005	27	34,710	693	887.3
Combat Support	Mar. 2003	May 2005	27	23,450	124	235.1
Combat Service	Mar. 2003	May 2005	27	45,800	292	283.4
Support						
Department of	Mar. 2003	Dec. 2004	22	2,930	3	55
Defense Civilians						
MEMORANDUM:						
Fatality Rates for Emplo	oyment in the	United States				
Transportation Sector	Jan. 2003	Dec. 2003	12	4.6 million	805	17.5
Agricultural Sector	Jan. 2003	Dec. 2003	12	2.3 million	707	31.2

**NOTE ON COMPARISON OF FATALITY RATES TABLE**: The information in this table reflects all fatalities – namely, individuals killed in action as well as those who died from accidents, disease and other causes.

## NUMBER OF US CONTRACTORS AND FEDERAL CIVILIANS IN THE US CENTRAL COMMAND AREA OF RESPONSIBILITY $^{\underline{19}}$



#### IRAQIS KIDNAPPED<sup>20</sup>

January 2004	2 per day in Baghdad
December 2004	10 per day in Baghdad
December 2005	Up to 30 per day
	nationwide

**NOTE ON IRAQIS KIDNAPPED TABLE:** The numbers on this table may be lower than the actual number of kidnappings as the Iraqi Police suggests that kidnappings are widely underreported. Ellen Knickmeyer and Jonathon Finer, "In Iraq, 425 Foreigners Estimated Kidnapped Since 2003," *Washington Post*, December 25, 2005. The Iraqi Interior Ministry estimates that 5,000 Iraqis were kidnapped nationwide between December 2003 and late April 2005. Haifa Zangana. "Blair Made a Pledge to Iraqis Once," *The Guardian*, April 22, 2005.

FOREIGN NATIONALS KIDNAPPED IN IRAO SINCE MAY 2003

Month	Number of	Developments*
	foreigners	•
	kidnapped	
Date of capture unknown	14	3 killed
May 2003 – October 2003	0	
November	1	1 released
December 2003 –March	0	
2004		
April	43	3 killed, 30 released,
		1 escaped
May	2	1 killed
June	3	2 killed, 1 escaped
July	26	3 killed, 13 released,
		1 rescued, 1 escaped
August	30	15 killed, 15 released
September	31	4 killed, 4 released,
		1 rescued
October	7	3 killed, 2 released
November	5	1 killed, 1 released
December	2	
January 2005	13	10 released
February	10	8 released
March	5	3 released
April	7	6 released
May	4	1 killed, 1 rescued
June	0	
July	6	3 killed
August	24 <sup>21</sup>	2 killed, 21 released
September	$3^{22}$	1 killed, 6 released <sup>23</sup>
October	3 <sup>24</sup>	1 released <sup>25</sup>
November	$11^{26}$	1 killed, 2 released <sup>27</sup>
December	13 <sup>28</sup>	2 killed, <sup>29</sup> 10 released <sup>30</sup>
January 2006	5 <sup>31</sup>	2 released <sup>32</sup>
Total		44 killed, 135 released, 3 escaped,
through January 29, 2006	268	3 rescued, 81 unknown

#### NOTE ON FOREIGN NATIONALS KIDNAPPED IN IRAQ TABLE:

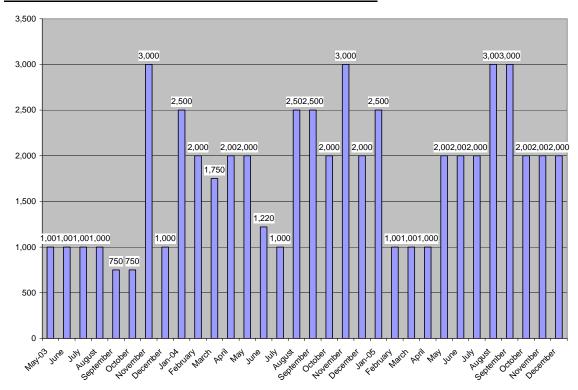
Other sources have listed the number of foreign nationals kidnapped at 425 between March 2003 and December 2005. Ellen Knickmeyer and Jonathon Finer, "In Iraq, 425 Foreigners Estimated Kidnapped Since 2003," *Washington Post*, December 25, 2005.

The number killed in December 2005 includes the death of Ronald Schulz of the US. We have included him as killed because evidence, including a video of his alleged execution, suggests he was killed. However, the US government has not yet confirmed his death.

An Associated Press tally shows that at least 13 Americans have been kidnapped. Four have been killed, four have escaped or been freed and five are considered taken, missing, or unknown. This list may be incomplete. "The Fate of Americans Taken Hostage in Iraq," *Associated Press*, January 20, 2006.

<sup>\*</sup>Developments: This category shows activity in the status of hostages, but does not necessarily apply to hostages kidnapped during the same month. Please see relevant footnote for more information.

## TOTAL NUMBER OF INSURGENTS DETAINED OR KILLED33



**NOTE ON TOTAL NUMBER OF INSURGENTS DETAINED OR KILLED TABLE:** The estimate of suspected insurgents killed or detained since May 2003 is a very rough one. The substantial increase in number of people detained or killed in November 2003 and onwards may not imply a huge increase in people detained or killed but rather that the data improved starting that month. In Bradley Graham, "Zarqawi 'Hijacked' Insurgency; US General Says Foreign Fighters Now Seen as Main Threat," *Washington Post*, September 28, 2005, Graham notes that 315 *foreign* fighters had been killed and 330 detained since March.

#### IRAOI PRISON POPULATION

Peak prison population in 2003	10,000
June 2004	5,435
July 2004	5,700
	(of which 90 are foreign nationals)
September 2004	5,500
	(whereof 2 are women, 65-70 are juveniles
	and 130-140 are foreign nationals)
October 2004	4,300
November 2004	8,300
January 2005	7,837
June 2005	10,783
July 2005	15,000
August 2005	14,000
September 2005	14,000
October 2005	13,000
November 2005	13,000 held by American troops plus an additional 12,000 held by Iraqi authorities <sup>34</sup>
December 2005	13,000 held by American troops plus an additional 12,000 held by Iraqi authorities <sup>35</sup>
January 2006	14,000 in US custody <sup>36</sup>

### NOTE ON IRAQI PRISON POPULATION TABLE:

David Cloud also writes that 2,800 detainees have been released since August 2005. David Cloud, "Prisoner is Released Despite Evidence of Role in Bombing," *New York Times*, November 25, 2005.

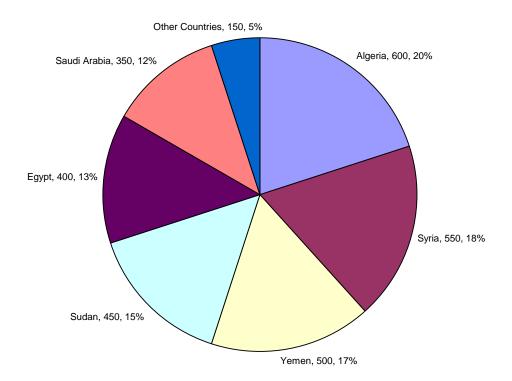
## ESTIMATED STRENGTH OF INSURGENCY NATIONWIDE

Month	Estimated strength of insurgency nationwide
November	5,000
December	5,000
January 2004	3, 000-5,000
February	N/A
March	N/A
April	5,000
May	15,000
June	15,000
July	20,000
August	20,000
September	20,000
October	20,000
November	20,000
December	"more than 20,000"
January	18,000
February	18,000
March	16,000
April	16,000
May	16,000
June	15,000-20,000
July	"no more than 20,000", <sup>37</sup>
August	N/A
September	"neither gaining strength nor weakening appreciably", 38 (some estimates indicate higher numbers, please see footnote)
October	$15,000 - 20,000^{39}$
November	$15,000 - 20,000^{40}$
December	15,000 - 20,000 <sup>41</sup>

## $\underline{\textbf{ESTIMATED NUMBER OF FOREIGN FIGHTERS IN THE INSURGENCY}^{42}}$

January 2004	300-500
July 2004	"Low hundreds"
September 2004	"Fewer than 1,000"
November 2004	"Fewer than 1,000"
January 2005	"Fewer than 1,000"
February 2005	"Fewer than 1,000"
May 2005	1,000
June 2005	750-1,000
July 2005	750-1,000
August 2005	750-1,000
September 2005	700 – 2,000
October 2005	700 - 2,000
November 2005	700 – 2,000
December 2005	700 – 2,000

## NATIONALITIES OF FOREIGN MILITANTS IN IRAQ, SEPTEMBER 200543



NOTE ON NATIONALITIES OF FOREIGN MILITANTS GRAPH: Two other sources have cited the nationalities of non-Iraqi Jihadists (one specifying those captured, the other those killed) in Iraq, and the three reports suggest somewhat different trends. Reuven Paz cites Saudi Arabia as contributing the highest number of jihadists killed (94) from November to March, 2005, followed by Syria (16) and Kuwait (11). Reuven Paz, "Arab Volunteers Killed in Iraq: An Analysis," Global Center for International Affairs Center (GLORIA), Occasional Papers, Volume 3 (2005), Number 1, March 2005.

According to Dexter Filkins, "Foreign Fighters Captured in Iraq Come From 27, Mostly Arab, Lands," *New York Times*, October 21, 2005 and Edward Wong, "Iraqi Constitution Vote Split On Ethnic and Sect Lines; Election Panel Reports No Major Fraud," *New York Times*, October 23, 2005, Egypt has contributed the highest number foreign nationals captured (78) from April to October 2005. This report also cites Syria (66), Sudan (41), Saudi Arabia (32), Jordan (17), Iran (13), Palestinians (12), and Tunisia (10) as nations with 10 or more nationals found in Iraq. 18 countries have contributed less than 10 captured foreign nationals, for a total of 311 included jihadists.

Maj. Gen. Rick Lynch states that at least 96 percent of suicide bombers are not Iraqis. Chris Tomlinson, "US General: Suicide and Car Bomb Attacks Down in Iraq," Associated Press, December 1, 2005.

#### **COALITION TROOP STRENGTH IN IRAQ SINCE MAY 2003**

Month	I IKOOI BI	U.S. troops in Iraq	AUBINCE	Other coalition troops in Iraq	Total international troop
Month	Active	Reserve	Total	(excluding U.S. & Iraqi	strength in Iraq
	Active	(includes	Total	forces) <sup>44</sup>	strength in fraq
		National Guard)		Torces)	
May	~142,000	~8,000	150,000	23,000	173,000
2003	,,,,,,	,,,,,,			7,111
June	~126,000	~24,000	150,000	21,000	171,000
July	~124,000	~25,000	149,000	21,000	170,000
August	~114,000	~25,000	139,00	22,000	161,000
September	~103,000	~29,000	132,000	24,000	156,000
October	~102,000	~29,000	131,000	25,000	156,000
November	N/A	N/A	123,000	23,900	146,900
December	~85,400	~36,600	122,000	24,500	146,500
January	N/A	N/A	122,000	25,600	147,600
2004			,		
February	N/A	N/A	115,000	24,000	139,000
March	N/A	N/A	130,000	24,000	154,000
April	N/A	N/A	137,000	25,000	162,000
May	N/A	N/A	138,000	24,000	162,000
June	89,700	48,300	138,000	23,000	161,000
July	N/A	N/A	140,000	22,000	162,000
August	84,000	56,000	140,000	23,700	163,700
September	82,800	55,200	138,000	24,600	162,600
October	82,800	55,200	138,000	24,000	162,000
November	82,800	55,200	138,000	24,000	162,000
December	82,800	55,200	148,000	25,000	173,000
January	90,000	60,000	150,000	25,300	175,300
2005	,	,			7
February	N/A	N/A	155,000	25,000	180,000
March	N/A	N/A	150,000	22,000	172,000
April	N/A	N/A	142,000	22,000	164,000
May	N/A	N/A	138,000	23,000	161,000
June	N/A	N/A	135,000	23,000	158,000
July	N/A	N/A	138,000	23,000	161,000
August	N/A	N/A	138,000	23,000	161,000
September	N/A	N/A	138,000 <sup>45</sup>	22,000	160,000
October	N/A	N/A	152,00046	22,000	174,000
November	N/A	N/A	160,000 <sup>47</sup>	23,000	183,000
December	N/A	N/A	160,000 <sup>48</sup>	23,000	183,000
January	N/A	N/A	136,000 <sup>49</sup>	21,000	157,000
2006			2 - 1	,-,	,

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. All numbers are end of month estimates or latest data available for the current month. N/A= Not available.

## DISTRIBUTION OF THE ARMY'S AUTHORIZED END STRENGTH, BY COMPONENT AND FUNCTION, FISCAL YEAR $2005^{50}$

		Deployable Personnel			Total	
(Thousands of Soldiers)	Combat	Combat Support Combat Service		Personnel		
			Support			
Active	151 (31%)	79 (16%)	92 (19%)	160 (33%)	482	
Guard	169 (48%)	67 (19%)	89 (26%)	24 (7%)	350	
Reserve	14 (7%)	40 (20%)	84 (41%)	67 (32%)	205	
Total	334 (32%)	187 (18%)	265 (26%)	251 (24%)	1,037	

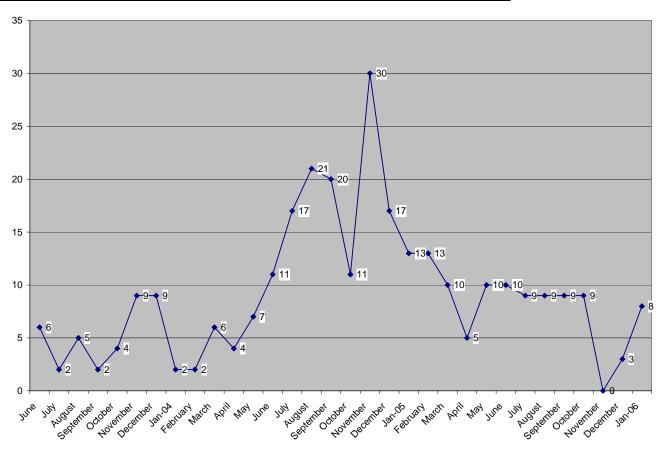
**NOTE ON DISTRIBUTION OF THE ARMY'S AUTHORIZED END STRENGTH TABLE**: Authorized end strength is the number of soldiers the Congress has authorized and funded for the end of the fiscal year.

TOP NON-US COALITION CONTRIBUTORS OF MILITARY PERSONNEL IN IRAQ<sup>51</sup>

<b>Coalition Country</b>	Military Personnel in Iraq	As of (date)
United Kingdom	8,500	January 26, 2006
South Korea	3,200	January 11, 2006
Italy	2,600	January 20, 2006
Poland	1,400	January 3, 2006
Australia	900	January 20, 2006
Romania	860	January 23, 2006
Japan	600	<b>December 7, 2005</b>
Georgia	558	<b>September 10, 2005</b>
Denmark	530	January 19, 2006
Other	~ 1,850	

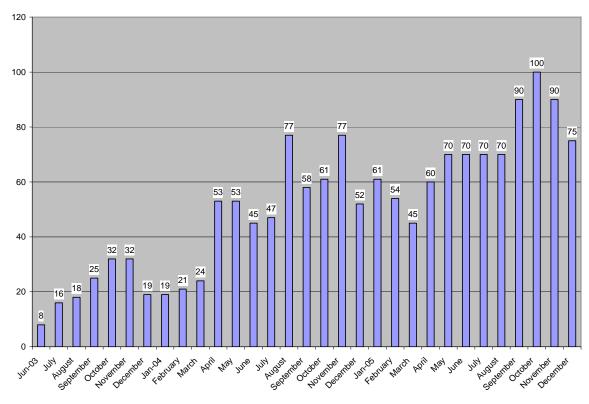
NOTE ON TOP NON-U.S. COALITION CONTRIBUTORS OF MILITARY PERSONNEL IN IRAQ TABLE: In addition to the United States, 26 countries are Multi-National Force – Iraq (MNF-1) contributors as of January 11, 2006: Albania, Armenia, Australia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia/Herzegovina, Czech Republic, Denmark, El Salvador, Estonia, Georgia, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Mongolia, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, South Korea, Ukraine, and the United Kingdom. Fiji is participating as part of the UN mission in Iraq. "Iraq Weekly Status Report," *Department of State*, January 11, 2006.

### ATTACKS ON IRAQI OIL AND GAS PIPELINES, INSTALLATIONS & PERSONNEL52



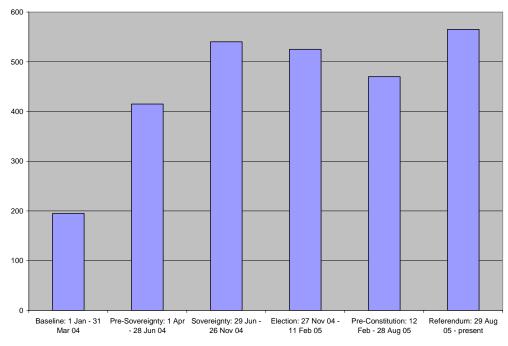
Total through January 20, 2006: 293

## NUMBER OF DAILY ATTACKS BY INSURGENTS<sup>53</sup>



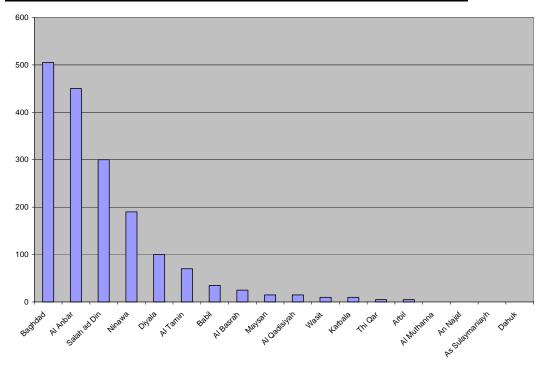
**NOTE ON DAILY ATTACKS CHART**: Numbers for June 2003 are incomplete. Major General Webster has noted that the number of successful attacks has dropped to about 10% from 25-30% a year ago. Ann Scott Tyson, "Departing US Commander Reports Progress in Baghdad," *Washington Post*, December 31, 2005.

## <u>AVERAGE WEEKLY ATTACKS BY TIME PERIOD: 1 JANUARY 2004 – 16 SEPTEMBER 2005</u> 54



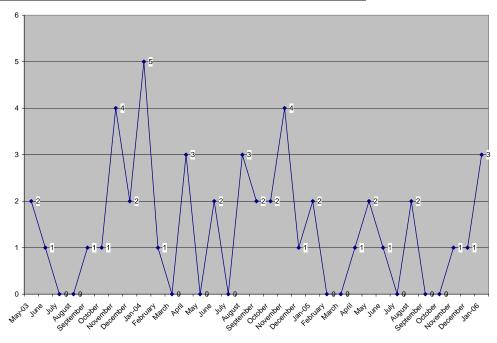
**NOTE ON AVERAGE WEEKLY ATTACKS CHART:** Referendum period only has three weeks of data; average may be skewed by spikes in attacks.

### TOTAL ATTACKS BY PROVINCE: 29 AUGUST 2005 – 16 SEPTEMBER 2005<sup>55</sup>



**NOTE ON GRAPHS REGARDING INSURGENT ATTACKS:** Insurgent attacks tended to be concentrated (85%) in 4 of 18 provinces. These provinces contain less than 42% of the Iraqi population. Half of the Iraqi population (12 provinces) lives in areas that experience 6% of all attacks. 6 provinces listed a statistically insignificant number of attacks based on population size. 80% of all attacks are directed towards Coalition Forces. 80% of all casualties are suffered by the Iraqi population. 56

## AMERICAN MILITARY HELICOPTERS DOWNED IN IRAQ57



Total through January 29, 2006: 47

**NOTE ON AMERICAN MILITARY HELICOPTERS DOWNED IN IRAQ TABLE:** Of the 46 helicopters downed in Iraq since May 2003, at least 26 were downed by enemy fire. Of the three January 2006 crashes, two are still being investigated. One was shot down by enemy fire and is included above. We have counted one of the others as being downed by enemy fire as well, given the available evidence.

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

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

MILITARY PERSONNEL DEPLOYEDTO IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN SEPTEMBER 2001-JANUARY 2005

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

**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
April	65
May	53
June	48
July	43
August	41
September	40
October	40
November	40
December	38
January 2004	37
February	35
March	34
April –	34
December 2004	
January 2005	32
February	31
March- May	31
June	30
July	29
August	28 <sup>58</sup>
September	27 <sup>59</sup>
October	27
November	27
December	27

SIZE OF IRAQI SECURITY FORCES ON DUTY 60

Month	General Police Capabilities	National Guard	Iraqi Armed Forces	Border Patrol	Total Iraqi Security Forces
May 2003	7,000 – 9,000	N/A	0	N/A	7,000 – 9,000
June	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	N/A
July	30,000	N/A	0	N/A	30,000
August	34,000	670	0	2,500	37,170
September	37,000	2,500	0	4,700	44,200
October	55,000	4,700	700	6,400	66,800
November	68,800	12,700	900	12,400	94,800
December	71,600	15,200	400	12,900	99,600
January 2004	66,900	19,800	1,100	21,000	108,800
February	77,100	27,900	2,000	18,000	125,000
March	75,000	33,560	3,005	23,426	134,991
April	80,016	23,123	2,367	18,747	124,253
May	90,803	24,873	3,939	16,097	135,712
June	83,789	36,229	7,116	18,183	145,317
July	31,300	36,229	7,700	19,859	95,088
August	32,942	37,925	6,288	14,313	91,468
September	40,152	36,496	7,747	14,313	98,708
October	44,728	41,261	6,861	18,148	110,998
November	49,455	43,445	6,013	14,593	113,506
December	53,571	40,115	14,500	14,267	118,009
January 2005	58,964	36,827 14,796		14,786	125,373
February	82,072		59,689	N/A	141,761
·	"trained and equipped"	"operational"			Trained and Effective: General Myers: 40,000 Senator Biden: 4,000 – 18,000
March	84,327		67,584	N/A	151,618 Trained and Effective: Lt. Gen Petraeus: 50,000 "off-the-cuff"
April	86,982		72,511	N/A	159,493
May	91,256		76,971	N/A	168,227
June	92,883		75,791	N/A	168,674
July	94,800		79,100	N/A	173,900 26,000 in Army in level I and II readiness
August	101,000		81,900	N/A	182,900
September	104,300	87,800		N/A	192,100 ~ 30,000 in Army in level I and II readiness <sup>61</sup>
October <sup>62</sup>	111,000		100,000	N/A	211,000 ~32,000 in level I and II <sup>63</sup>
November	112,000	102,000		N/A	214,000 ~40,000 in level I and II <sup>64</sup>
December	118,000		105,700	N/A	223,700
January 2006	120,100		106,800	N/A	226,900
Stated Goal	142,190 (revised up from 89,369 in June 04)	61,904 (revised up from 41,088 in June 04)	36,635 (revised up from 35,000 in June 2004)	29,360	272,566

NOTE ON IRAQI SECURITY FORCES ON DUTY TABLE: From February 2005 to the present, our source differentiates between the terminology "trained and equipped" for police, in which unauthorized absences personnel are included, and "operational" for the National Guard and Armed Forces, in which unauthorized absences personnel are not included.

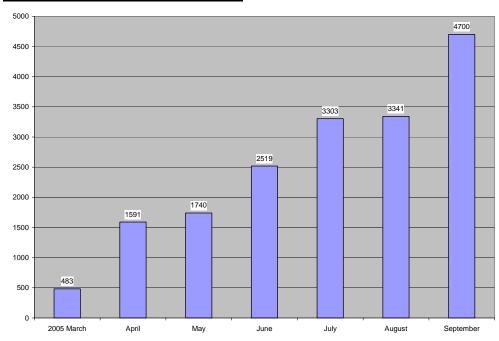
As many as 5,000 recruits from Sunni areas have joined the Iraqi Armed Forces in the past several months. *National Strategy for Victory in Iraq*, National Security Council, November 2005, page 21.

Iraqi security forces are now responsible for securing 60% of the Baghdad more or less independently. Dexter Filkins, "US to Intensify Army Oversight of Iraqi Police," *New York Times*, December 30, 2005.

#### IRREGULAR IRAQI SECURITY FORCES

February 2005	"As many as 15,000 soldiers"
June 2005	100,000 (peshmerga only)

### TIPS RECEIVED FROM POPULATION 65



## POLITICAL PARTIES IN IRAQ<sup>66</sup>

Registered for December 2005 elections Over 300

## INDEX OF POLITICAL FREEDOM<sup>67</sup>

<u>EDOM</u>
8.20
6.55
5.20
5.05
5.05
4.90
4.60
4.45
4.45
4.30
4.30
4.30
4.15
4.00
3.85
3.85
3.70
2.80
2.80
2.05

**NOTE ON INDEX OF POLITICAL FREEDOM TABLE:** Each country is scored on a 10-point scale, with 1 being the lowest score and 10 the highest. Indicators of freedom include election of head of government, election of parliament, fairness of electoral laws, right to organize political parties, power of elected representatives, presence of an opposition, transparency, minority participation, level of corruption, freedom of assembly, independence of the judiciary, press freedom, religious freedom, rule of law and property rights.

## **ECONOMIC & QUALITY OF LIFE INDICATORS**

FUEL68

FUEL 68	1			Fuel com	mliac availabla		
	Fuel supplies available  Millions of barrels/day  Millions of liters/day  Tons/day						Overall fuel
m·	Crude oil		D: 1		ers/day Gasoline/Benzene	Tons/day	
Time	production	Crude oil	Diesel (Prod. &	Kerosene (Prod. &	(Prod. & Imp)	Liquid Petroleum Gas	supplies as
	production	export	Imp.)	Imp.)	(11ou. & Imp)	(Prod. & Imp.)	percentage of goal during that month
Estimated	2.5	1.7-2.5	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	(the goals have
prewar level	(pre-war			- "	- "		shifted)
F	peak)						Silited)
May 2003	0.3	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	10 %
June	0.675	0.2	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	23%
July	0.925	$0.322^{69}$	6.5	4.75	13.5	1,880	44%
August	1.445	0.646 <sup>70</sup>	10.25	6.2	14.0	2,530	57%
September	1.7225	0.983 <sup>71</sup>	14.25	6.9	17.3	3,030	70%
October	2.055	1.149 <sup>72</sup> 1.524 <sup>73</sup>	14.75	9.6	16.35	3,700	78%
November	2.1	1.524	13.14	13.3	11.792	3,610	76%
December	2.30	1.541 <sup>74</sup>	12.29	9.4	12.9	3,460	72%
January 2004	2.440	1.537	13.91	11.3	13.32	3,445	78%
February	2.276	1.382 <sup>75</sup>	15.21	13.05	16.65	4,670	88%
March	2.435	1.825 <sup>76</sup>	15.03	17.28	17.19	5,010	92%
April	2.384	1.804 <sup>77</sup>	22.75	4.46	19.3	3,607	79%
May	1.887	$1.380^{78}$	22.92	4.005	18.07	3,264	73%
June	2.295	1.148 <sup>79</sup>	16.47	4.9	22	3,086	75%
July	2.2	1.40680	17.95	5.75	22.3	3,820	80%
August	2.112	1.11481	16	4.2	15.1	3,417	84%
September	2.514	1.703	16.35	6.35	14.6	2,707	72%
October	2.46	1.542	16.15	7.95	18.6	3,044	80%
November	1.95	1.320	16.5	7.7	17.9	3,324	77%
December	2.16	1.520	18.3	10.5	17.6	4,222	88%
January 2005	2.10	1.367	12.7	6.7	20.65	5,017	75%
February	2.10	1.431	15.9	8.55	21.2	5,003	84%
March	2.09	1.394	19.7	8.05	20.3	4,894	93%
April	2.14	1.398	18.3	7.6	23.7	5,219	97%
May	2.14	1.398	22.2	4.4	22.5	5,030	93%
•		1.377	18.9	6.25	18.3	5,137	97%
June	2.17			5.9			97%
July	2.17	1.550	19.9		23.9	4,474	
August	2.16	1.504	19.3	5.2	23.8	5,072	96%
September	2.11	1.60	17.3	4.4	20.9	4,888	87%
October	1.91	1.239	17.0	8.6	18.9	4,784	90%
November	1.98	1.168	17.3	8.2	19.9	5,526	88%
December	1.92	1.071	16.1	8.0	17.5	5,046	81%
January 2006	1.78	1.17	14.6	5.7	18.5	4,118	75%
Stated	2.5	N/A	18	19.5 <sup>82</sup>	18	4,300	We assume that
<b>Interim Goal:</b>	revised down		revised up	revised	revised down from	revised up	the maximum
	in February		in March	down in	19.1 in September	from 4,000 in	supplies as
	2005 from		2005 from	January	2004	September	percentage of goal
	2.8-3.0		17.5 in	2006 from		2004	for each category
			February	19.6 in Dec.			can only reach
M.O	5.5	1.0	NT/A	2005	NT/A	F 200	100%
MoO National Target (2010+)	5.5	4.6	N/A	N/A	N/A	5,300	N/A
	I .	<u> </u>	I .	1	1	ı	1

**NOTE ON FUEL TABLE:** The ratio of Iraq price to international price is 4.0 for LPG, 3.0 for regular and 6.9 for premium gasoline, 0.7 for kerosene and 1.5 for diesel. 83 Kerosene imports began 5 October, 2003. All previous months cover only production.

N/A= Not available. LPG= Liquefied Petroleum Gas.

The statistics for September 2005 are based on incomplete data and represent averages for approximately half of the month.

Ministry of Oil (MoO) National Target numbers are courtesy of the US Department of Defense, January 23, 2006.

Above data as of January 18, 2006.

## OIL REVENUE FROM EXPORTS84

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
February	1.34
March	1.99
April	1.83
May	1.57
June	2.03
July	2.47
August	2.63
September	2.74
October	1.89
November	1.34
December	1.60
January 2006	.84
Total as of January 18, 2006	\$46.2
January 10, 2000	

ELECTRICITY<sup>85</sup>

ion-wide 3,958	(Megawatts) Baghdad			hours
3,958		Nation-wide	Baghdad	(MWH)
	2,500	16-24	4-8	95,000
500	300	4-8	4-8	N/A
3,193	707	N/A	N/A	N/A
3,236	1,082	N/A	N/A	N/A
3,263	1,283	N/A	N/A	72,435
3,543	1,229	N/A	N/A	75,000
3,948	N/A	N/A	N/A	79,000
3,582	N/A	N/A	N/A	70,000
3,427	N/A	N/A	N/A	72,000
3,758	N/A	N/A	N/A	79,000
4,125	1,307	13	13.4	90,000
4,040	1,192	16	16.4	86,000
3,823	1,021	15	14.8	78,000
3,902	1,053	11	12.2	80,000
4,293	1,198	10	11	93,500
4,584	N/A	10	12	100,300
4,707	1,440	13	15	109,900
4,467	1,485	13	14	107,200
4,074	1,280	13	16	99,306
3,199	845	13	N/A	76,550
3,380	N/A	N/A	N/A	81,114
3,289	985	9	9.0	78,925
3,611	1,180	8.5	10.3	86,675
3,627	994	11.8	11.0	87,051
3,390	854	9	11.5	81,350
3,712	N/A	8.4	9.5	89,088
4,153	N/A	9.4	10.4	102,525
4,446	N/A	12.6	10.9	106,713
4,049	N/A	12.0	8.4	97,165
4,159	N/A	13.5	10.4	101,916
3,685	N/A	14.3	8.9	88,442
3,742	N/A	13.3	8.8	89,800
3,800	N/A	12.0	6.1	91,400
3,600	N/A	10.2	3.2	86,300
6,000 o have been ached by	2,500 to have been reached by October 2003	US Interim Target: 10-12 hours National Target:	US Interim Target: 10-12 hours National Target:	120,000
3, 6, 0 b	800 600 000 have een	800 N/A 600 N/A 000 2,500 have een reached by hed by ily 1,	800 N/A 12.0 600 N/A 10.2 000 2,500 US Interim to have been reached by hed by October 2003 ly 1, October 2003 NA 12.0 US Interim Target: 10-12 hours National Target: 24 hours	800 N/A 12.0 6.1  600 N/A 10.2 3.2  000 2,500 US Interim US Interim Target: 10-12 hours hed by October 2003 National Target: 24 hours  12.0 6.1  12.0 6.1  12.0 6.1  12.0 Sinterim Target: 10-12 hours National Target: 24 hours

NOTE ON ELECTRICITY TABLE: The demand for electricity ranges from 8,500 to 9,000 MW nationwide. 86

Above data as of January 18, 2006\*.

The statistics for September 2005 are based upon incomplete data and represent averages for approximately half of the month.

<sup>\*</sup>The data for November for the average hours of electricity per day is updated in our source, representing the entire month. The numbers for average amount of electricity generated and average MW hours represents data through the 21<sup>st</sup> of November only.

<sup>\*\*</sup> The data for December 2005 and thereafter for the average amount of electricity generated and average MW hours is estimated based on the graph relating to electricity in the Iraq Weekly Status Report, *Department of State*.

National Target numbers are courtesy of the US Department of Defense, January 23, 2006.

GDP ESTIMATES AND PROJECTIONS, 2002-200587

	2002	2003	2004	2005 p
Population	25.5	26.3	27.1	27.9
Nominal GDP (in USD billion)	20.5	13.6	25.5	29.3
Of which non-oil GDP (%)	32	32	33	37
Real GDP Growth Rate (%)	-7.8	-41.4	46.5	3.7
Per Capita GDP (USD)	802	518	942	1,051
Consumer Price Inflation (annual average)	19	34	32	20

GDP: LONGER TERM PROJECTIONS, 2006-2010<sup>88</sup>

		1.0 ;			
	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
		Revis	ed Projec	ctions	
Real GDP (% change)	16.8	13.6	12.5	7.8	7.2
<b>Domestic Consumer Price</b>	12.0	10.0	8.0	7.0	5.0
Inflation (year on year)					

NATIONWIDE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE SINCE MAY, 2003

Month	Unemployment rate
	nation-wide
May 2003	N/A
June	50 – 60%
July	N/A
August	50-60%
September	N/A
October	40 – 50%
November	N/A
December	45-55%
January 2004	30 – 45%
February	30 – 45%
March	30- 45%
April	30 – 45%
May	30-45%
June	30-40%
July	30-40%
August	30-40%
September	30-40%
October	30-40%
November	30-40%
December	28-40%
January 2005	27-40%
February	27-40%
March	27-40%
April	27-40%
May	27-40%
June	27-40%
July	27-40%
August	27-40%
September	27-40%
October	27-40%
November	25-40%
December	25-40%

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. N/A= Not available

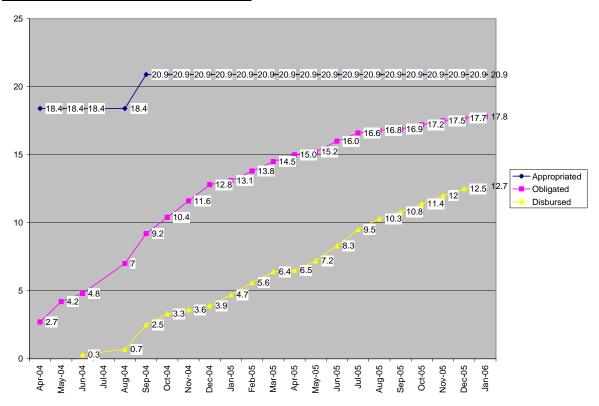
WORLD BANK ESTIMATE OF IRAQ RECONSTRUCTION NEEDS

Category	N	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 ASSESSMENT

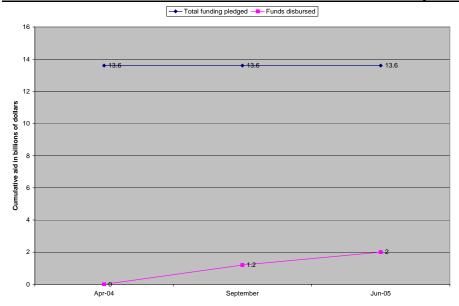
Category	Millions of dollars		
	2004	2005-2007	Total
Security and Police	5,000	-	5,000
Oil	2,000	6,000	8,000
Culture	140	800	940
Environment	500	3,000	3,500
Human rights	200	600	800
Foreign Affairs	100	100	200
Religious Affairs	100	200	300
Science and Technology	100	300	400
Youth and Sport	100	200	300
Total of CPA estimates	8,240	11,200	19,440

## AMERICAN AID APPROPRIATED, OBLIGATED AND DISBURSED TOWARDS THE IRAQ RELIEF AND RECONSTRUCTION FUND (IRRF I & II) $^{89}$



**NOTE:** An 'appropriation' 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. An 'obligation' can be defined as "a definite commitment which creates a legal liability of the Government for the payment of appropriated funds for goods and services ordered or received." GAO/OGC-91-5: *Principles of Federal Appropriations Law*, Office of the General Council, July 1991. A 'disbursement' is an actual payment (check goes out the door) for goods/services received. *GAO-04-902 R: Rebuilding Iraq*, General Accounting Office, June 2004.

## NON-AMERICAN AID PLEDGED AND DISBURSED TOWARDS IRAQI RECONSTRUCTION 90



## ESTIMATED EXTERNAL DEBT STOCK, 2004-10<sup>91</sup>

In billions of US dollars

III OIIIIOIIS	or os domais	2004		2005	2006	2007	2000	2000	2010
		2004		2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
		Before Debt Reduction <sup>A</sup>	After Debt Reduction <sup>B</sup>						
jo	Paris Club creditors	36.6	23.8	25.0	26.3	27.6	28.8	29.9	30.6
3rd stage	Non Paris Club creditors	76.4	53.5	56.2	59.0	61.9	64.7	67.1	68.6
id and	Multi- lateral Creditors <sup>D</sup>	0.6	0.9	0.9	1.0	1.3	1.7	2.4	3.4
ie 2 tio	Total Debt	113.6	78.2	82.0	86.3	90.8	95.2	99.4	102.6
Without the 2r debt reduction	Total Debt (% GDP)	444.9	306.2	279.8	221.2	200.9	185.3	179.6	170.1
With	Total Debt Service <sup>E</sup>		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	1.6	2.7
р	Total Debt	113.6	78.2	51.1	53.5	56.3	31.0	32.9	34.1
2nd and ige of ion <sup>F</sup>	Total Debt (% GDP)	444.9	306.2	174.3	137.2	124.6	60.3	59.4	56.6
With 2nd a 3rd stage c debt reduction <sup>F</sup>	Total Debt Service <sup>E</sup>		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.8	1.1

### NOTES ON IRAQ: ESTIMATED EXTERNAL DEBT STOCK TABLE:

- A) Some debt has been reconciled, and the amount of reconciled debt is less than the initial claim. As a result, the estimates of debt outstanding prior to debt reduction are lower than those in the 2004 EPCA staff report.
- B) Assumes comparable debt reduction to all external debt.
- C) The projection assumes the deferral of payments of principal and most interests until 2011.
- D) The projection includes new debt. Iraq cleared its arrears to the Fund and the Bank in 2004.
- E) Debt service is actual amount paid (not accrued), excluding repayment of arrears.
- F) Assumes no additional debt other than a larger disbursement of Fund credit.

### HOW REVENUES ARE SPENT<sup>92</sup>

Receiving Party	Approximate Amount	Percentage of Total
Oil Ministry	\$ 3 billion +	14%
Kurdistan*	\$ 3.6 billion	17%
Food and Fuel Subsidies**	\$ 8 billion	38%
Defense, Health, Interior,	\$6.5 billion	31%
Education, Electricity, Other		

#### NOTE ON HOW REVENUES ARE SPENT TABLE:

## BALANCE OF PAYMENTS: EXPORTS 2004 – 2010<sup>93</sup>

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
	Estimated	Revenues Projected	Revised Projections				
Total Exports	17,782	19,016	27,273	31,892	36,094	38,128	40,600
Crude Oil	17,329	18,410	26,609	31,194	35,359	37,498	39,939
Other Exports	452	606	665	698	735	627	662
Percent from oil	97%	97%	98%	98%	98%	98%	98%

### **INFLATION**94

Time	Inflation
2003	36%
2004	32%
2005	20%

#### OTHER ECONOMIC INDICATORS

OTHER ECOTORINE IN ELECTIONS	
Foreign banks granted licenses that have started	0
operations in Iraq <sup>95</sup>	
Percent of Iraq's export earnings from oil <sup>96</sup>	98% (~ \$21 billion)
Oil Export Peak <sup>97</sup>	April 2004, 1.8 million barrels per day
	(2005 average is 1.4 million bpd)
Cost of Imported Gasoline <sup>98</sup>	30-35 cents per liter
Domestic Price of Gasoline	1.5 cents per liter

#### TRAINED JUDGES

Time	Number of trained judges
May 2003	0
June 2004	175
May 2005	351
October 2005	351 <sup>99</sup>

NOTE ON TRAINED JUDGES CHART: All provincial courts are now operational and there exist 99 trained judicial investigators. 135 of 869 judges were removed because of substantial evidence of corruption or Ba'ath Party affiliation. 100

## FELONY CASES RESOLVED IN IRAQI COURTS 101

2003	4,000
2004	8,000
2005	On track for over 10,000

## **RELATIVE AMOUNT OF CAR TRAFFIC**

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	

<sup>\*</sup>Under the current system of government, Iraqi Kurdistan spends this money according to its priorities.

<sup>\*\*</sup> If electricity subsidies are added to food and fuel subsidies, the combined category may amount to more than half of Iraq's GDP.

## TYPICAL LENGTH OF GASOLINE LINES

Typical Length of Gasoline Line		
(hours)		
July 2003	0.1	
January 2004	0.5	
July 2004 1.0		
January 2005	1.0	
May 2005	1.0102	

## NUMBER OF REGISTERED CARS 103

Pre-War	1.5 million
October 2005	3.1 million

## TELEPHONE SUBSCRIBERS

Time	Telephone subscribers	
Estimated prewar level	833,000	
September	600,000	
December	600,000	
January 2004	600,000	
February	900,000	
March	984,225	
April	1,095,000	
May	1,220,000	
June	1,200,000	
July	N/A	
August	1,463,148	
September	1,579,457	
October	1,753,000	
November	2,135,000	
December	2,152,000	
January 2005	2,449,139	
February	2,569,110	
March	2,982,115	
April	3,172,771	
May	~3,450,000	
June	3,801,822	
July	~4,100,000	
August	4,590,398 <sup>104</sup>	
Previous goal (Jan. 2004)	1,100,000	

**NOTE ON TELEPHONE SUBSCRIBERS TABLE:** The estimated pre-war level represents only land telephone lines, as Iraq had no nationwide cellular network. Post-war data includes landlines and cellular subscribers.

#### INTERNET SUBSCRIBERS

Time	Internet subscribers	
	(does not include unregulated users of Internet cafes)	
Estimated prewar level	4,500	
September 2003	4,900	
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	
January 2005	124,293	
March 2005	147,076	

## MEDIA<sup>105</sup>

Time	Commercial TV	Commercial radio	Independent newspapers
	stations	stations	and magazines
Prewar	0	0	0
May 2003	0	0	8
June 2004	13	74	150
January 2005	10	51	100
March 2005	N/A	N/A	200
April 2005	24	80	170
May 2005	23	80	170
July 2005	29 <sup>106</sup>	N/A	170 <sup>107</sup>
October 2005 <sup>108</sup>	44	72	Over 100

## HEALTH INDICATORS 109

Eligible children vaccinated against measles,	5 million (70%)
mumps and rubella	
Eligible children vaccinated against polio	3 million (42%)
Repaired health clinics	110
Trained health care "trainers"	700
<b>Equipment kits for health care centers delivered</b>	563

## **SOCIAL INDICATORS 1998 - 2004** 110

Life expectancy at birth	61 (Middle East and North Africa average is 69)
Infant Mortality (under 1 year)	102 per 1,000 live births (ME and NA average is 37,
• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	sub-Saharan Africa is 105)
Child Mortality (under 5 years)	115 per 1,000 live births (Jordan is 33, Yemen 107)
Child Malnutrition	12% of children under five (statistic for ME and
	NA unavailable)
Population	2.8% Average annual growth, 1998-2004
Labor Force	2.4% Average annual growth, 1998-2004

## PUBLIC SERVICES<sup>111</sup>

Percentage of houses with access to electricity grid	98%	
Percentage of homes with access to piped water	78%	
Water treatment facilities rehabilitated	22	
Capability of serving potable water	3.1 million additional people since fall of	
	Saddam Hussein	
Percentage of homes connected to sewer system	37% In Baghdad: 80%	
	Outside Baghdad: "less than 10%" 112	

**NOTE**: Approximately 67% of Iraq's population of 27.1 billion lives in an urban environment. <sup>113</sup>

## **EDUCATION INDICATORS 1998 - 2004**<sup>114</sup>

Literacy	Overall (Ages 15 +):	In Youth (Ages 15-24):	
	65%	74%	
Primary School Enrollment	Net: 79% (93% in Jorda	Net: 79% (93% in Jordan, 96% in Syria)	
	Gross: 99% (95% in MI	Gross: 99% (95% in ME and NA)	
	Males: 109%	Females: 89%	
Average Monthly Teacher Salaries <sup>115</sup>	Before New	After New	
	Government: \$2	Government: \$100	

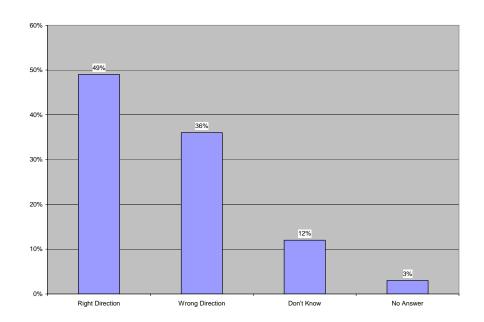
## PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT

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

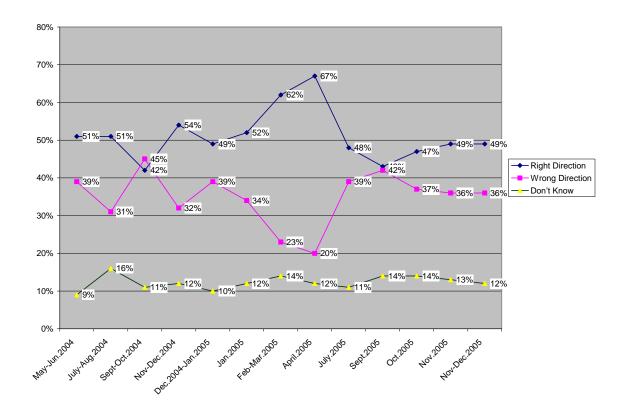
## **POLLING/POLITICS**

### NOVEMBER 30 - DECEMBER 7, 2005: INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

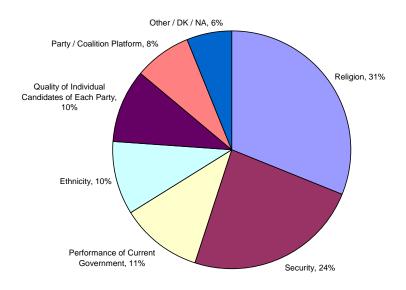
## QUESTION TO IRAQIS: DO YOU THINK THAT IRAQ TODAY IS GENERALLY HEADED IN THE RIGHT OR WRONG DIRECTION?



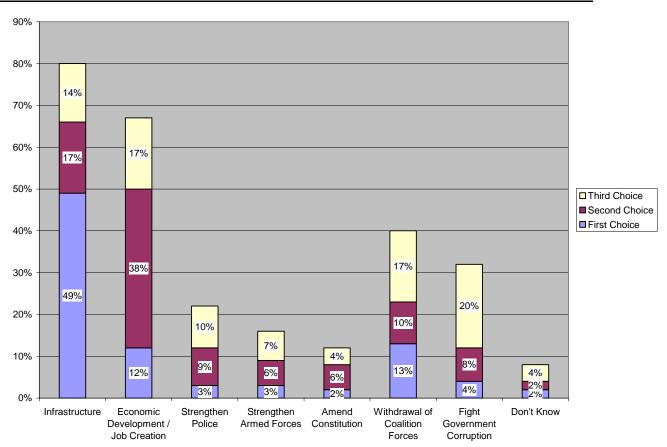
## TRENDS FOR QUESTION: DO YOU THINK IRAQ TODAY IS GENERALLY HEADED IN THE RIGHT OR WRONG DIRECTION? (MAY 27, 2004 – DECEMBER 7, 2005)



## QUESTION TO IRAQIS: WHAT FACTOR WILL HAVE THE GREATEST INFLUENCE ON YOUR VOTE IN THE DECEMBER ELECTIONS?

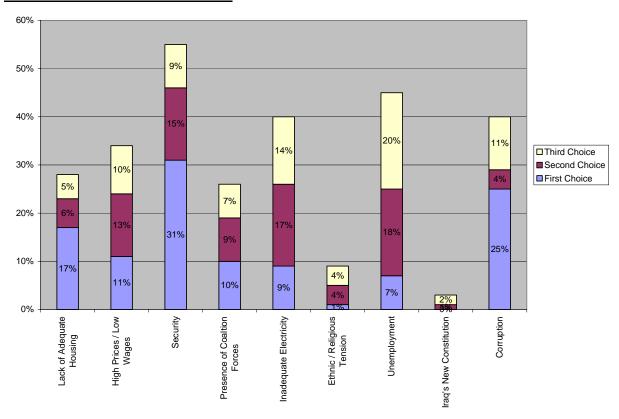


## QUESTION TO IRAQIS: WHAT DO YOU WANT THE PARTY OR COALITION THAT YOU VOTE FOR ON ELECTION DAY TO MAKE ITS HIGHEST PRIORITY IN THE NEW ASSEMBLY'S FIRST YEAR?

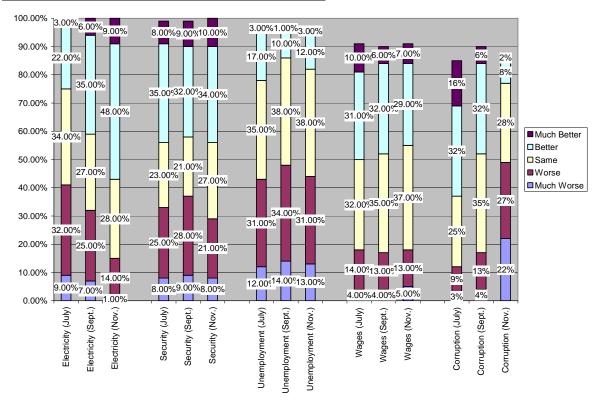


#### NOVEMBER 1 – 11, 2005: INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

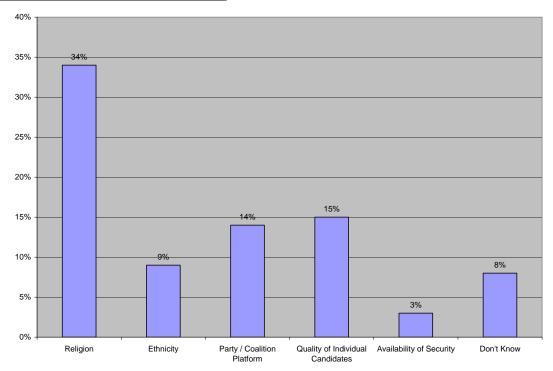
# QUESTION TO IRAQIS: WHAT THREE ISSUES OR CONCERNS DO YOU FEEL MOST IMPACT YOUR DAILY LIFE OR FAMILY?



# QUESTION TO IRAQIS: FOR EACH OF THE FOLLOWING ISSUES, PLEASE TELL ME WHETHER YOU FEEL THAT THE SITUATION HAS GOTTEN BETTER, WORSE, OR STAYED THE SAME OVER THE LAST THREE MONTHS



# QUESTION TO IRAQIS: WHAT FACTOR WILL HAVE THE GREATEST INFLUENCE ON YOUR VOTE IN THE DECEMBER ELECTIONS?



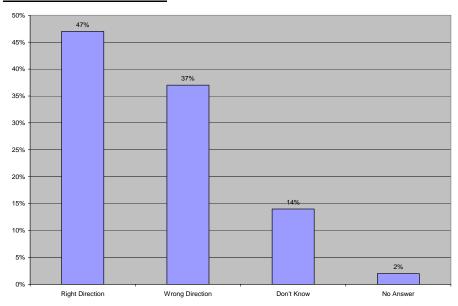
### OCTOBER - NOVEMBER, 2005: TIME-ABC NEWS POLL<sup>116</sup>

Question	Iraq	Kurdish Area	Shi'ite Area	Baghdad Area	Sunni Area
Life is better	51%	73%	59%	59%	25%
since the war					
The US was right	46%	80%	58%	47%	16%
to invade Iraq					
I feel very safe in	63%	91%	82%	70%	21%
my					
neighborhood					
I approve of the	70%	88%	85%	79%	36%
new Constitution					
I oppose	64%	22%	59%	72%	85%
Coalition Forces					

Who is responsible for improvement in the security	Iraqi police: 28%
situation (for those who saw a better security situation)	Government: 22%
	Iraqi Army: 12%
	Security Forces: 10%
Do you support or oppose the presence of Coalition	Strongly support: 13%
Forces in Iraq?	Somewhat support: 19%
_	Somewhat oppose: 21%
	Strongly oppose: 44%
When should Coalition Forces leave Iraq?	When security is restored: 31%
	Now: 26%
	After a new government is in place: 19%
	When Iraqi Security Forces are ready: 16%
Dealing with the members of the Saddam Hussein	63%
regime is "no priority at all"	

### OCTOBER 9 – OCTOBER 11, 2005: INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

### <u>QUESTION TO IRAQIS: DO YOU THINK THAT IRAQ TODAY IS GENERALLY HEADED IN THE RIGHT</u> OR WRONG DIRECTION?

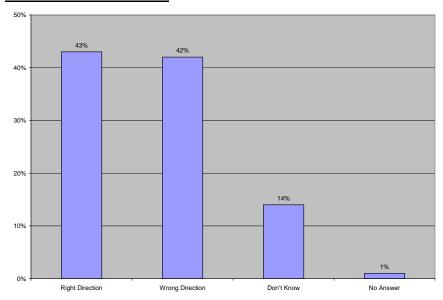


### BRITISH MINISTRY OF DEFENCE POLL: AUGUST 2005<sup>117</sup>

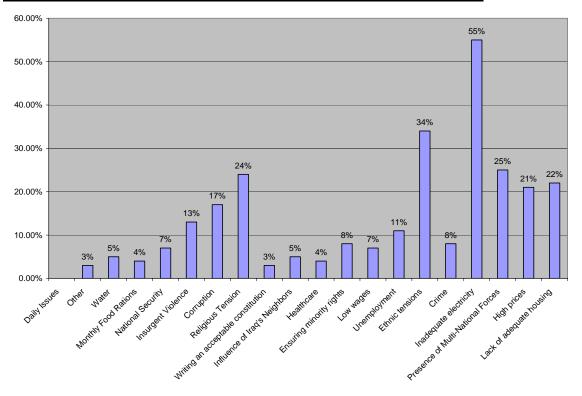
Iraqis who believe attacks against British and American troops are justified	45% (65% in Maysan province)
Iraqis "strongly opposed" to presence of Coalition troops	82%
Iraqis who believe coalition forces are responsible for any	<1%
improvement in security	
Iraqis who feel less secure because of the occupation	67%
Iraqis who believe conditions for peace and stability have	43%
worsened	
Iraqis who do not have confidence in multi-national forces	72%
Iraqis who rarely have safe, clean, water	71%
Iraqis who never have enough electricity	47%
Iraqis whose sewage system rarely works	70%
Southern Iraqis unemployed	40%

#### SEPTEMBER 6 - SEPTEMBER 12, 2005: INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

# QUESTION TO IRAQIS: DO YOU THINK THAT IRAQ TODAY IS GENERALLY HEADED IN THE RIGHT OR WRONG DIRECTION?

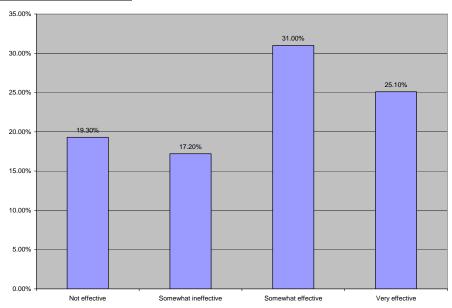


# QUESTION TO IRAQIS: THINKING ABOUT THE SITUATION IN IRAQ, WHAT THREE ISSUES OR CONCERNS DO YOU FEEL MOST IMPACT YOUR DAILY LIFE OR FAMILY?

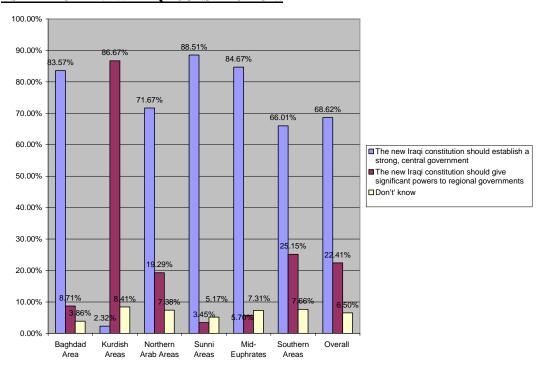


### JULY 9, 2005 - JULY 14, 2005: INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

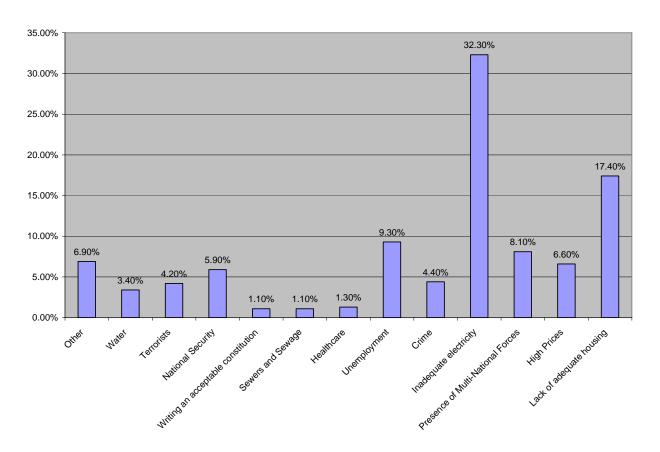
### 



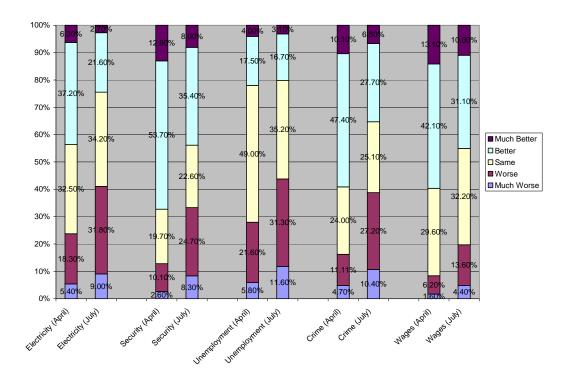
# <u>QUESTION TO IRAQIS: PLEASE TELL ME IN YOUR OPINION WHICH YOU WOULD PREFER TO HAVE</u> AS PART OF A NEW IRAQI CONSTITUTION:



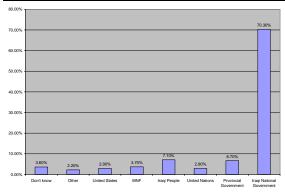
### <u>QUESTION TO IRAQIS: THINKING ABOUT THE SITUATION IN IRAQ, WHAT THREE ISSUES OR</u> CONCERNS DO YOU FEEL MOST IMPACT YOUR DAILY LIFE OR FAMILY?



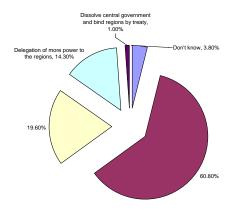
QUESTION TO IRAQIS: FOR EACH OF THE FOLLOWING ISSUES, PLEASE TELL ME WHETHER YOU FEEL THAT THE SITUATION HAS GOTTEN BETTER, WORSE OR STAYED THE SAME OVER THE LAST THREE MONTHS:



## <u>QUESTION TO IRAQIS: OF THE ISSUES YOU NAMED, WHO DO YOU BELIEVE IS MOST RESPONSIBLE</u> FOR ADDRESSING THE NEEDS OF THE IRAQI PEOPLE?

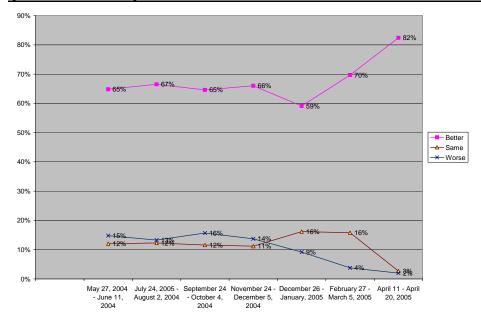


### <u>QUESTION TO IRAQIS: THINKING ABOUT THOSE ISSUES THAT CONCERN YOU MOST, WHICH OF</u> THE FOLLOWING TYPES OF GOVERNMENT DO YOU THINK WOULD BEST SERVE YOUR INTERESTS?



#### MAY 27, 2004 - APRIL 20, 2005: INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

#### **QUESTION TO IRAQIS: HOW DO YOU THINK YOUR LIFE WILL BE A YEAR FROM NOW?**



### 2-11 FEBRUARY 2005: AMERICAN MILITARY<sup>118</sup>

(90% of sample from Baghdad, 10% from Mahmoudiya, Istiqlal, and Taji)

# SUPPORT FOR VIOLENCE TOWARDS POLITICAL ENDS, AGAINST IRAQI SECURITY FORCES, AND IRAQI INFRASTRUCTURE

Time	Do you support		
	the use of violence towards	attacks against Iraqi security	attacks against Iraqi
	political ends?	forces?	infrastructure?
August 2004	Yes: 9%	Yes: 6%	Yes: 6%
(Urban only)	No: 89%	No: 91%	No: 91%
	Don't know: 1%	Don't know: 3%	Don't know: 3%
February 2005	Yes: 4%	Yes: 2%	Yes: 4%
(Urban only)	No: 93%	No: 96%	No: 93%
	Don't know: 3%	Don't know: 2%	Don't know: 3%

#### WHO CAN IMPROVE THE SITUATION IN IRAQ:

IRAQI SECURITY FORCES, U.S. MILITARY FORCES OR THE ARMED NATIONAL OPPOSITION?

	RELIGIBLE CHILIT I CHICAGO, COM MARIANTI I CHICAGO CHI INICIANDO I MILITORINO CHI CONTROLLO				
Time	How would you rate your confidence in				
	the Iraqi National Guard	U.S. military forces improving	the armed national opposition		
	improving the situation in Iraq?	the situation in Iraq?	improving the situation in Iraq?		
August 2004	A great deal/Quite a lot: 74%	A great deal/Quite a lot: 8%	A great deal/Quite a lot: 32%		
(Urban only)	Not very much/None at all: 15%	Not very much/None at all: 86%	Not very much/None at all: 55%		
	Don't know: 11%	Don't know: 6%	Don't know: 13%		
February 2005	A great deal/Quite a lot: 76%	A great deal/Quite a lot: 15%	A great deal/Quite a lot: 20%		
(Urban only)	Not very much/None at all: 17%	Not very much/None at all: 76%	Not very much/None at all: 51%		
	Don't know: 7%	Don't know: 9%	Don't know: 29%		

#### SUPPORT FOR/OPPOSITION TO THE COALITION

Time	How much do you support or oppose the	
	presence of Coalition Forces in Iraq?	
August 2004	Support: 17%	
	Oppose: 77%	
	Don't know: 6%	
February 2005	Support: 23%	
(Urban only)	Oppose: 71%	
	Don't know: 6%	

#### SATISFACTION WITH LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND ACCESS TO UTILITIES

SHIPS HE HOLL WITH EOCHE GOVERN WIENT HIND HECEBS TO CHEFTES				
Time	How satisfied are you	How satisfied are you with	Do you have water service	
	with the local	the availability of electricity	in your home?	
	government?	in your neighborhood?		
August 2004	Satisfied: 34%	Satisfied: 7%	Yes: 70%	
(Urban only)	Dissatisfied: 63%	Dissatisfied: 92%	No: 29%	
February 2005	Satisfied: 28%	Satisfied: 4%	Yes: 79%	
(Urban only)	Dissatisfied: 70%	Dissatisfied: 96%	No: 20%	

#### APRIL 11-APRIL 20, 2005: INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

### IRAQI TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVE OF IRAQI PEOPLE

	Very representative: 35.5%
Do you feel that the new Iraqi Transitional	Generally representative: 37.3%
Government is representative of the Iraqi	Not all are represented: 14.7%
people as a whole?	Not at all representative: 4%
	Don't know: 7.5%

### ETHNO-RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION OF THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT (MID-2005)

COMPOSITION OF IRAQI GOVERNMENT

		Ethno-religious group (gender)	Ethno-religious group (gender)
		Interim government (Allawi)	Transitional government (Jafari)
Presidency	President	Sunni (M)	Kurd(M)
	Deputy President	Shiite (M)	Shiite (M)
	Deputy President	Kurd (M)	Sunni (M)
Prime Minister	Prime Minister	Shiite (M)	Shiite (M)
	Deputy Prime Minister	Kurd (M)	Kurd (M)
	Deputy Prime Minister	Position did not exist	Shiite (M)
	Deputy Prime Minister	Position did not exist	Sunni (M/F)
	Deputy Prime Minister	Position did not exist	Turkman (M/F)
Key Ministers	Defense	Shiite (M)	Sunni (M)
	Electricity	Sunni (M)	Shiite (M)
	Finance	Shiite (M)	Shiite (M)
	Foreign Affairs	Kurd (M)	Kurd (M)
	Interior	Sunni (M)	Shiite (M)
	Justice	Shiite (M)	Shiite (M)
	Oil	Shiite (M)	Shiite (M)
Ministers of State	National Assembly	Position did not exist	Shiite (M)
	National Security	Position did not exist	Shiite (M)
	Provinces	Shiite (M)	Shiite (M)
	Women	Kurd (F)	Sunni (F)
Other Ministers	Agriculture	Shiite (F)	Shiite (M)
	Civil Society	Position did not exist	Shiite (M)
	Communications	Shiite (M)	Kurd (F)
	Culture	Shiite (M)	Sunni (M)
	Displacement and Migration	Christian (F)	Shiite (F)
	Education	Shiite (M)	Shiite (M)
	Environment	Shiite (F)	Kurd (F)
	Health	Shiite (M)	Shiite (M)
	Higher Education	Shiite (M)	Shiite (M)
	Housing and Reconstruction	Sunni (M)	Shiite (M)
	Human Rights	Kurd (M)	Sunni (M)
	Industry and Minerals	Sunni (M)	Sunni (M)
	Labor and Social Affairs	Shiite (F)	Kurd (M)
	Planning	Shiite (F)	Kurd (M)
	Public Works	Kurd (F)	Kurd (F)
	Science and Technology	Turkmen (M)	Christian (F)
	Tourism and Antiquities	Position did not exist	Sunni (M)
	Trade	Sunni (M)	Kurd (M)
	Transportation	Shiite (M)	Shiite (M)
	Water Resources	Kurd (M)	Kurd (M)
	Youth and Sport	Shiite (M)	Shiite (M)

#### IRAQI JANUARY 2005 VOTER TURNOUT & ELECTION RESULTS

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

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

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

#### SEPTEMBER 24-OCTOBER 4, 2004: INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

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

Question	Findings
Do you believe that the prospect of civil war,	Unlikely to happen in Iraq: 68.8%
widespread ethnic, sectarian or other armed	Always possible, but unlikely: 14.8%
struggle - is now:	Likely to occur in the near-term: 7.8%
	Don't know: 8.3%

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

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

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

In order to streamline our endnotes, we have removed most references to information from before December 1, 2005. These footnotes may be found in archived editions of the Iraq Index. <a href="http://www.brookings.edu/fp/saban/iraq/indexarchive.htm">http://www.brookings.edu/fp/saban/iraq/indexarchive.htm</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 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).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Iraq Coalition Casualty Count, (icasualties.org/oif/stats.aspx).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Military Casualty Information, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, *Department of Defense*, (http://www.dior.whs.mil/mmid/casualty/castop.htm).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Lawrence J. Korb and Nigel Holmes, "Two Years and Counting," New York Times, March 20, 2005.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Casualties update daily from "Operation Iraqi Freedom U.S. Casualty Status," *Department of Defense, (www.defenselink.mil/news/)*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> "Details of British Casualties," *British Ministry of Defense*, (www.operations.mod.uk/telic/casualties.htm).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Iraq Coalition Casualty Count, (icasualties.org/oif/).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Iraq Coalition Casualty Count, (icasualties.org/oif/).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Monthly figures from January 2005 and onwards from Iraq Coalition Casualty Count, (www.icasualties.org/oif/IraqiDeaths.aspx).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Rick Jervis, "Pace of Troop Deaths Up in Iraq," *USA Today*, July 1, 2005. 135 car bombs in April, 140 in May, 70 in June. Craig Smith, "US Contends Campaign Has Cut Suicide Attacks," *New York Times*, August 5, 2005. 13 car bombs in week prior to August 5. Liz Sly, "Bombs Bad Enough But Guns Worse in Baghdad," *Chicago Tribune*, August 11, 2005. 132 car bombs in May, 108 in June, 83 in July. "Military: Offensive Thwarting Suicide Attacks; American Deaths Haven't Matched Downward Trend," *USA Today*, December 2, 2005. 68 car bombs in November. Dexter Filkins, "US to Intensify Army Oversight of Iraqi Police," *New York Times*, December 30, 2005. 6 car bombs per week in December ~ 30 per month.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Iraq Body Count, (Iraqbodycount.net [September 17, 2004]).

12 "Iraq Kidnappers Threaten to Kill Western Hostages," Agence France Presse, December 2, 2005. Roadside bomb kills 10, wounds 11. "Nineteen Iraqi Soldiers Killed in Ambush," Agence France Presse, December 3, 2005. Bomb attack and ambush kills 19, wounds 10. Counted as one bomb, 7 killed, 7 wounded. Robert Reid, "Suicide Bombers Hit Baghdad Police Academy, Dozens Killed; American Reported Kidnapped," Associated Press Worldstream, December 6, 2005. 3 killed, 20 wounded by suicide bomber. "Death Toll Rises to 40 in Iraq Police Academy Bombings," Agence France Presse, December 7, 2005. 40 killed and 70 wounded by 2 suicide bombers. "Baghdad Bus Bombing Kills 30," Agence France Presse, December 8, 2005. 30 killed, 25 wounded by suicide bomber. Patrick Quinn, "Insurgents Call Iraq Election "Satanic," Bush Offers Encouragement as Early Voting Begins," Associated Press, December 12, 2005. Bus bomb kills 3, wounds 13. "Sunni Candidate, Four US Troops Killed Before Iraq Vote," Agence France Presse, December 13, 2005. Bomb kills 4. Sameer Yacoub, "String of Bomb Attacks, Shootings in Iraq Leave at Least 19 People Dead," Associated Press, December 18, 2005. Roadside bomb kills 3, wounds 2. "Rumsfeld Announces Troop Reductions in Iraq," Agence France Presse, December 23, 2005. Suicide bomber kills 10. Jason Straziuso, "US Says No Handover of Prisons to Iraqis Until Higher Standards of Care Seen," Associated Press Worldstream, December 25, 2005. Suicide bomber kills 5, wounds 7. Jason Straziuso, "Nineteen Killed in Iraqi Attacks; Six Vehicle Bombs Explode in Baghdad," Associated Press, December 26, 2005. Suicide bomber kills 3. "Iraq Violence Claims 17 Lives," Agence France Presse, December 28, 2005. Car bomb kills 4. "Massacre in Iraqi 'Triangle of Death," Agence France Presse, December 29, 2005. Suicide bomber kills 4, wounds 5. "Five Killed in Baghdad Attacks," Agence France Presse, December 30, 2005. 5 killed, 23 wounded by car bomb and mortar shell - count as 1 bomb, 3 killed, 12 wounded. Sinan Salaheddin, "Long Lines Form at Gas Stations as Word Spreads of Refinery Shutdown," Associated Press, December 30, 2005. Suicide bomber kills 3. Louise Roug, "The Conflict in Iraq; US to Restrict Iraqi Police; Military Oversight Will Be Bolstered in Response to Reports of Prisoner Abuse, Reasserting American Authority Over Security Forces," Los Angeles Times, December 30, 2005. Suicide bomber kills 4. "Sudanese Hostages Reported Free in Iraq," Agence France Presse December 31, 2005. Explosion kills 5, wounds 2. 2 car bombs and mortar kill 8. Count as 1 bomb, 3 killed. Doug Smith, "The World; Power Cuts Leave Iraq in Dark on New Year's Eve; Baghdad Residents Form Long Lines to Get Fuel For Generators After the Flow of Electricity Dwindles; 25 People Killed in Wave of Violence," Los Angeles Times, January 1, 2006. Roadside bomb kills 5. Bomb kills 4. "Suicide Bomber Targets Iraqi Police Recruits," Agence France Presse, January 2, 2006. Suicide bomber kills 7, wounds 13. "US Ally Allawi May Be Shut Out of Iraqi Government; Shiites Want Pro-West Politician's Role Out," Chicago Tribune, January 3, 2006. Bomb kills 3 (according to US military). Some estimates higher. "More Than 50 Dead as Violence Flares in Iraq," Agence France Presse, January 4, 2006. Suicide bomb kills 37, wounds 45. Car bomb kills 5, wounds 13. Car bomb kills 3, wounds 11. Patrick Quinn, "Suicide Bomber Strikes Funeral in Iraq," Associated Press Online, January 4, 2006. Car Bomb Kills 7, wounds 15. Car bomb kills 4, wounds 13. Roadside bomb kills 3. Jason Straziuso, "At Least 130 Killed in Iraq as Bombers Target Police Recruits, Shiite Pilgrims; 5 US Soldiers Die," Associated Press Worldstream, January 5, 2006. Suicide bomb kills 63, wounds 120. Suicide bomber kills 56, wounds 60. Suicide car bomb kills 3. Roadside bomb kills 5. Sameer Yacoub, "Suicide Bombers Infiltrate Interior Ministry, 29 Iraqis Killed," Associated Press Worldstream, January 9, 2006. 2 suicide bombings kill 29, wound 18. "Six Killed in Iraq Bomb Blast," Agence France Presse, January 16, 2006. Six killed, 18 wounded by car bomb. Sameer Yacoub, "Gunmen Kill Security Guards in Baghdad; Search for Kidnapped American Continues," Associated Press, January 18, 2006. 4 killed, 4 wounded by roadside bomb. Sinan Salaheddin, "Near Simultaneous Baghdad Bombings Kill 23," Associated Press Online, January 19, 2006. Bomb kills 16, wounds 21. Bomb kills 7, wounds 5. "Baghdad Roadside Bomb Kills Four Iraqis," Associated Press, January 20, 2006. 4 killed, 3 wounded by roadside bomb. "Iraqi Rebels Launch Concerted Attacks on Military Bases," Agence France Presse, January 21, 2006. 3 killed, 3 wounded by car bomb. Robert Worth, "Top Coalitions Fall Just Short in Iraqi Voting," New York Times, January 21, 2006. 2 roadside bombs killed 7. Bushra Juhi, "Iraq Insurgent Attacks Kill at Least 13," Associated Press Online, January 22, 2006. 4 killed, 9 wounded by roadside bomb. "Bombs Rock Iraq on Eve of Saddam Trial," Agence France Presse, January 23, 2006. 3 killed, 5 wounded by suicide car bomb. Sinan Salaheddin, "Three US Servicemen, Three Iraqis Killed," Associated Press Online, January 23, 2006. 3 killed, 6 wounded by suicide car bomb. Sameer Yacoub, "Iraqi Women's Release May Aid Carroll," Associated Press Online, January 26, 2006. Roadside bomb kills 3, wounds 1. Roadside bomb kills 3, wounds 4. Paul Garwood, "Kidnappers Renew Threat to Kill Four Christian Activists; Attacks Kill 22, Including US Soldier," Associated Press, January 28, 2006. Bomb kills 10, wounds 3. "Bombs Kill 20 Iraqis, Target Churches, US Television Anchorman Hurt," Agence France Presse, January 29, 2006. Suicide bomb kills 4, wounds 6. Paul Garwood, "Sunni Leader Warns Iraq Descending Into Turmoil Amid Sectarian 'Cleansing' Program," Associated Press, January 29, 2006. Car bomb kills 3, wounds 1. 13 Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>July entry is author's estimate based on entries for previous months and recent developments. Liz Sly, "Bombs Bad Enough, But Guns Worse in Baghdad," *Chicago Tribune*, August 11, 2005. End of 2005 numbers are author's estimates.

<sup>15</sup> Numbers for all months based on a <u>partial list</u> of contractors killed in Iraq according to ICasualties.org (<u>www.icasualties.org</u>). Andy Mosher, "Egyptian Envoy Killed in Iraq, Al Qaeda Claims, "*Washington Post*, July 7, 2005.

<sup>16</sup>Numbers for all months based on a <u>partial list</u> of contractors killed in Iraq according to ICasualties.org (www.icasualties.org). Andy Mosher, "Egyptian Envoy Killed in Iraq, Al Qaeda Claims, "Washington Post, July 7, 2005. James Glanz, "In Web Posting, Terrorist Group Says Algerian Diplomats Were Slain," New York Times, July 28, 2005. "Government Says Wealthy Canadian Businessman Was Kidnapped, Killed in Iraq," Canadian Press, August 16, 2005. "Seven Killed by Suicide Bomber in Iraq," Associated Press Online, August 23, 2005. "Official: Filipino Worker in Iraq Reported Killed in Ambush," Associated Press Worldstream, August 25, 2005. Jonathon Finer and Omar Fekeiki, "Embassy Aide Among 9 Americans Killed in Insurgent Attacks in Iraq," Washington Post, September 21, 2005. "Sudanese Embassy Employee Shot Dead in Baghdad," Agence France Presse, November 9, 2005. "Former Saddam Deputy Reportedly Dies as Rice Visits Iraq," Agence France Presse, November 11, 2005. "Third British Muslim Pilgrim Found Dead From Iraq Bus Attack," Agence France Presse, November 29, 2005. Jason Straziuso, "Twelve Car Bombs in Iraq Cause Relatively Few Casualties; Sudanese Hostages Released," Associated Press, January 1, 2006. Palestinian killed.

<sup>17</sup> Data from Kellogg, Brown and Root (LOGCAP data as of December 2004), the Defense Manpower Data Center (Army data based on counts of soldiers by occupation) and the Congressional Research Service (Army personnel deployed to Operation Iraqi Freedom), as found in *Logistics Support for Deployed Military Forces*, The Congress of the United States, Congressional Budget Office, October 2005, page 5.

<sup>18</sup> Data from Kellogg, Brown and Root, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Congressional Research Service, and the Department of Defense, as found in *Logistics Support for Deployed Military Forces*, The Congress of the United States, Congressional Budget Office, October 2005, page 13.

<sup>19</sup> Data from the Department of Defense as found in *Logistics Support for Deployed Military Forces*, The Congress of the United States, Congressional Budget Office, October 2005, page 46.

<sup>20</sup> Robert E. Looney, "The Business of Insurgency: The Expansion of Iraq's Shadow Economy," *The National Interest*, Fall 2005, p. 70. Ellen Knickmeyer and Jonathon Finer, "In Iraq, 425 Foreigners Estimated Kidnapped Since 2003," *Washington Post*, December 25, 2005.

<sup>21</sup> "Family Appeals for Release of Cypriot Man Kidnapped in Baghdad," Associated Press Worldstream, December 14, 2005.

<sup>22</sup> "Gunmen Execute Shiite Teachers as US Sets Free Iraqi Detainees," *Agence France Presse*, September 26, 2005. "Iraqi Gunmen Release Lebanese Hostage After Holding Him for Four Days," *Associated Press Worldstream*, October 1, 2005.

<sup>23</sup> "Kidnapped Turk in Iraq Freed," *Xinhua General News Service*, September 12, 2005. "Three Kidnapped Turkish Engineers Freed in Iraq," *Xinhua General News Service*, September 13, 2005. "Nine Americans Killed in Iraq, Britain Frees Soldiers," *Agence France Presse*, September 20, 2005. "Gunmen Execute Shiite Teachers as US Sets Free Iraqi Detainees," *Agence France Presse*, September 26, 2005. "Iraqi Gunmen Release Lebanese Hostage After Holding Him for Four Days," *Associated Press Worldstream*, October 1, 2005.

<sup>24</sup> "Irish Journalist Kidnapped After Interview in Baghdad; Rory Carroll had been talking to a family about Hussein's trial. The ex-president's nephew, described as the rebels' top financier, is arrested," *Los Angeles Times*, October 20, 2005. Mariam Fam, "Iraqi Militants Threaten to Kill Moroccans," *Associated Press Online*, November 3, 2005.

<sup>25</sup> Christine Newman, "Strong Media Presence in Iraq vital, says Carroll," *Irish Times*, October 24, 2005.

<sup>26</sup> "Foreign Aid Workers Seized in Iraq," *Agence France Presse*, November 28, 2005. "German Woman Latest Hostage in Iraq," Agence France Presse, November 29, 2005. (6 Iranians also kidnapped)

- <sup>27</sup> "Lebanese Hostage Found Dead in Iraq," *Agence France Presse*, November 21, 2005. "German Woman Latest Hostage in Iraq," Agence France Presse, November 29, 2005. (2 Iranians of 6 freed)
- <sup>28</sup> "Frenchman Kidnapped in Mounting Iraq Hostage Crisis," *Agence France Presse*, December 5, 2005. Robert Reid, "Suicide Bombers Hit Baghdad Police Academy, Dozens Killed; American Reported Kidnapped," *Associated Press Worldstream*, December 6, 2005. <sup>28</sup> "Egyptian Murdered Amid Fears For Other Hostages," *Agence France Presse*, December 10, 2005. Patrick Quinn, "Suicide Bomber Strikes Bus Headed for Shiite City; Insurgents Claim to Kill American," *Associated Press*, December 9, 2005. Ron Schulz added as kidnapped but with status unknown, as it has not been confirmed. "Driver of Jordanian Ambassador Kidnapped in Baghdad," *Agence France Presse*, December 20, 2005. "Rumsfeld Announces Troop Reductions in Iraq," *Agence France Presse*, December 23, 2005. 6 Sudanese kidnapped. Patrick Quinn, "Barrage of Car Bombings Wounds 20 in Iraq," *Associated Press Online*, January 1, 2006. Lebanese kidnapped. "British Journalist Reveal Iraq Kidnap Escape," *Agence France Presse*, January 14, 2006.
- <sup>29</sup> "Egyptian Murdered Amid Fears For Other Hostages," *Agence France Presse*, December 10, 2005. "A Look at Hostages in Iraq," *Associated Press*, December 19, 2005.
- <sup>30</sup> "Cheney Visits Iraq as Post Poll Violence Kills 17," *Agence France Presse*, December 18, 2004. German Susuanne Osthoff released. Sinan Salaheddin, "Long Lines Form at Gas Stations as Word Spreads of Refinery Shutdown," *Associated Press*, December 30, 2005. Hussein Younis freed. Patrick Quinn, "Barrage of Car Bombings Wounds 20 in Iraq," *Associated Press Online*, January 1, 2006. 6 Sudanese released. Cypriot released. "British Journalist Reveals Iraq Kidnap Escape," *Agence France Presse*, January 14, 2006. Brit released / escaped.
- <sup>31</sup> "US Journalist Kidnapped in Iraq," *Agence France Presse*, January 7, 2006. "Official Confirms Two Kenyan Engineers Taken Hostage in Iraq," *Associated Press Worldstream*, January 19, 2006. Paul Garwood, "Gunmen Kidnap Two Germans In Northern Town," *Associated Press*, January 24, 2006.
- <sup>32</sup> Patrick Quinn, "Barrage of Car Bombings Wounds 20 in Iraq," *Associated Press Online*, January 1, 2006. Lebanese released. "Twelve Die in US Copter Crash in Iraq," *Agence France Presse*, January 8, 2006. Frenchman escaped / released.
- <sup>33</sup> May numbers is author's estimate based on Sabrina Tavernise,"2 Police Officers Assassinated in Separate Attacks, "New York Times, June 7, 2005. August figure is author's estimate based on "Security Incidents in Iraq, September 12," Reuters, September 12, 2005. Numbers for October to December 2005 are author's estimates based on News Briefing with Maj. Gen. William Webster, Department of Defense, December 30, 2005. Accessed at <a href="http://www.defenselink.mil/transcripts/2005/tr20051230-12249.html">http://www.defenselink.mil/transcripts/2005/tr20051230-12249.html</a>, on January 13, 2006.
- <sup>34</sup> David Cloud, "Prisoner is Released Despite Evidence of Role in Bombing," New York Times, November 25, 2005.
- 35 Author's estimate.
- <sup>36</sup> Doug Smith and Richard Boudreaux, "Bombs Kill at Least 15 in Baghdad," Los Angeles Times, January 20, 2006.
- <sup>37</sup> Kirk Semple and John F. Burns, "All-Day Suicide Bomb Blitz Claims 22 Lives in Baghdad," New York Times, July 16, 2005.
- <sup>38</sup> John Diamond, "Intel Chief: Iraqis in Insurgency More Elusive," *USA Today*, September 13, 2005. Anthony Cordesman indicates the number could be as high as 30,000 in Dan Murphy, "Iraq's Foreign Fighters: Few But Deadly," *Christian Science Monitor*, September 27, 2005.
- <sup>39</sup> Author's estimate.
- <sup>40</sup> Author's estimate.
- <sup>41</sup> Author's estimate.
- <sup>42</sup> Author's estimate based on Richard Oppel Jr., Eric Schmitt and Thom Shanker, "Baghdad Bombings Raise New Questions Over US Strategy in Iraq," *New York Times*, September 17, 2005 and Dan Murphy, "Iraq's Foreign Fighters: Few But Deadly," *Christian Science Monitor*, September 27, 2005. End of 2005 numbers are author's estimates.
- <sup>43</sup> Nawaf Obaid and Anthony Cordesman, "Saudi Militants in Iraq: Assessment and Kingdom's Response," Center for Strategic and International Studies, September 19, 2005.
- <sup>44</sup> Iraq Weekly Status Report, *Department of State*.
- <sup>45</sup> John Diamond, "Intel Chief: Iraqis in Insurgency More Elusive," *USA Today*, September 13, 2005.
- <sup>46</sup> Department of Defense, Defense Department Operational Update Briefing, October 6, 2005.
- <sup>47</sup> Edward Wong, "US Goals for Iraqi Forces Meet Success and Challenges in Najaf," New York Times, December 3, 2005.
- <sup>48</sup> Kim Gamel, "Pace: US to Launch Phased Iraq Pullout," Associated Press Online, December 29, 2005.
- <sup>49</sup> "Fewest US Troops in Iraq Since Summer," New York Times, January 24, 2006.
- <sup>50</sup> Data from the Department of Defense's Forces, Readiness, and Manpower Information System (FORMIS) as found in *Logistics Support for Deployed Military Forces*, The Congress of the United States,
- Congressional Budget Office, October 2005, page 17.
- 51 Ed Johnson, "Britain to Make Announcement on Troop Deployment to Afghanistan," Associated Press Worldstream, January 26, 2006. "South Korea Turns Down UN Request to Send Troops to DR Congo," Agence France Presse, January 11, 2006. Daniel Williams, "Italy Sets Timetable for Pulling Troops from Iraq," Chicago Tribune, January 20, 2006. "Poland Names New Commander of Extended Military Mission in Iraq," Associated Press Worldstream, January 3, 2006. Daniel Williams, "Italy Gives Details of Pullout From Iraq," Washington Post, January 20, 2006. "Defense Minister Who Oversaw Australian Deployment in Iraq Resigns," Agence France Presse, January 20, 2006. "Romania May Reduce Its Iraq Troops in 2007: Minister," Agence France Presse, January 23, 2006. "Danish Parliament Decides to Increase Military Contingent in Afghanistan," Associated Press Worldstream, January 19, 2006. "Japan Hopes to End Iraq Mission After Britain, Australia Pull Out," Agence France Presse, December 7, 2005. "Fresh Georgian Troops Leave for Iraq," Agence France Presse, September 10, 2005.
- <sup>52</sup> "Iraq Pipeline Watch," Institute for the Analysis of Global Security," (http://www.iags.org/iraqpipelinewatch.htm).
- Alexandra Zavis, "Iraqi Insurgents Unleash Deadly Bombings, Attacks Despite U.S. Offensive," Associated Press, May 11, 2005. Paul Garwood, "Surge in U.S. Troop Deaths Raises Concerns That Insurgents Retargeting," Associated Press, May 24, 2005. Carol Williams, "Soldiers Get Extra Layer of Defense; Humvee crews are still not out of danger, but new protective plating provides a little more security on the hostile roadways of Iraq," Los Angeles Times, July 29, 2005. Richard Oppel Jr., Eric Schmitt, and Thom Shanker, "Baghdad Bombings Raise New Questions About US Strategy in Iraq," New York Times, September 17, 2005. 65 to 75 attacks per day. Bradley Graham, "Zarqawi 'Hijacked' Insurgency; US General Says Foreign Fighters Now Seen as Main Threat," Washington Post, September 28, 2005. 90 attacks per day. Edward Wong and Dexter Filkins, "Baghdad Quite As Vote Begins on Constitution," New York Times, October 15, 2005. 723 attacks in first week of October. November number is author's estimate based on Wolf Blitzer interview of US Ambassador in Baghdad, Zalmay Khalilzad, , "Insurgents Waging Propaganda War in Iraq; Four Christian Activists Being Held Hostage in Iraq; Fraud Scheme; Schwartzenegger Mulls Clemency for Williams; Australian to be Hanged in Singapore; The US is Attempting to Free Hostages in Iraq; Scaffolding Slams into Building," CNN, The Situation Room December 1, 2005. Richard Oppel Jr., "Monitor Group Says Team Will Review Voting Results," New York Times, December 30, 2005.
- <sup>54</sup> Measuring Stability and Security in Iraq October 2005, Report to Congress In Accordance with Conference Report 109-72, Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act, 2005, page 22. Information from MNC-1
- Appropriations Act, 2005, page 22. Information from MNC-1.

  55 Measuring Stability and Security in Iraq October 2005, Report to Congress In Accordance with Conference Report 109-72, Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act, 2005, page 21. Information from MNC-1.
- <sup>56</sup> Measuring Stability and Security in Iraq October 2005, Report to Congress In Accordance with Conference Report 109-72, Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act, 2005, page 3, 21.
- 57 Bushra Juhi, "2 U.S. Fliers Die in Iraq Helicopter Crash, Associated Press, June 27, 2005. The Associated Press, "Fatal Helicopter Crashes in Iraq War," Associated Press Online, June 27, 2005. Information from Iraq Coalition Casualty Count (icasualties.org/oif) is also used. Antonia Castaneda, "Sunni Arabs Reject Shiite Proposal for Federal Iraq; Two Wounded in Crash of US Apache Helicopter," Associated Press, August 12, 2005. "Four US Servicemen Killed in Western Iraq," Agence France Presse, November 2, 2005. "Two US Pilots Killed in Helicopter Crash in Iraq," Agence France

Presse, December 27, 2005. "Twelve Die in US Copter Crash in Iraq," Agence France Presse, January 8, 2006. "Fatal Helicopter Crashes in Iraq War," Associated Press, January 9, 2006. "Two US Pilots Die in Iraq Helicopter Crash," Agence France Presse, January 13, 2006. "Fraction of Ballots Cancelled After Iraqi Vote Probe," Agence France Press, January 16, 2006. US helicopter crashed north of Baghdad, killing its two pilots.

- <sup>58</sup> "Al-Qaeda in Iraq Number Two Shot Dead," *Agence France Presse*, September 27, 2005.
- <sup>59</sup> Sameer Yacoub, "Arrest of Saddam Nephew Who Financed Insurgents Could Help Track Money's Source, Officials Say," Associated Press, October 20,
- <sup>60</sup> Iraq Weekly Status Report, *Department of State*. The numbers for crude oil production, diesel, kerosene, gasoline/benzene, and liquid petroleum gas represent average data from the entire month, and are thus based on multiple Weekly Status Reports. The crude oil export reflects the total for the month. For all categories, data for a complete month is typically available in the Weekly Status Report for the first week of the next month.
- <sup>61</sup> Author's estimate based on Bradley Graham, "Rumsfeld Defends Iraqi Forces," Washington Post, October 1, 2005, in which Graham lists 36 out of 116 army and special police battalions at Level 2 readiness. This percentage was used to estimate the number of number of troops.
- <sup>62</sup> Lt. Gen. David Petraeus, speech at the St. Regis Hotel, Washington, DC, November 7, 2005.
- 63 October 2005 numbers are according to Lt. Gen. David Petraeus, speech at the St. Regis Hotel, Washington, DC, November 7, 2005. The statistic of 32,000 in level I and II readiness is based upon Petraeus citation of 40 so prepared battalions and author's assumption that one battalion equals approximately 750 to 800 troops. Petraeus also stated that the number of 211,000 total Iraqi Security Forces is headed towards 325,000. Iraqi Security Forces have 20,000 vehicles in all, although the number of well-armored vehicles is much lower (author's estimate: about 300).
- <sup>64</sup> Khalilzad cites 53 battalions in Levels I and II in Zalmay Khalilzad, "The Challenge Before Us," Wall Street Journal, January 9, 2006. We come to the number of 40,000 troops using the assumption that one battalion equals approximately 750 to 800 troops.
- 65 Measuring Stability and Security in Iraq October 2005, Report to Congress In Accordance with Conference Report 109-72, Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act, 2005, page 19. Information from MNC-1, but tips reported to multiple sources. National Strategy for Victory in Iraq, National Security Council, November 2005, page 20.
- National Strategy for Victory in Iraq, National Security Council, November 2005, page 16.
- <sup>67</sup> The Economist Intelligence Unit, cited by "Index Ranks Middle East Freedom," *BBC News Online*, 18 November 2005, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\_east/4450582.stm, accessed 18 November 2005.
- <sup>68</sup> Iraq Weekly Status Report, *Department of State*.
- 69 "Iraq Fact Sheet: Oil," Joint Staff & CPA, Unclassified. Provided to the author by CPA/DoD. As of December 11, 2003.
- 70 "Iraq Fact Sheet: Oil," Joint Staff & CPA, Unclassified. Provided to the author by CPA/DoD. As of December 11, 2003.
- 71 "Iraq Fact Sheet: Oil," *Joint Staff & CPA*, Unclassified. Provided to the author by CPA/DoD. As of December 11, 2003. 72" Iraq Fact Sheet: Oil," *Joint Staff & CPA*, Unclassified. Provided to the author by CPA/DoD. As of December 11, 2003.
- "Iraq Fact Sheet: Oil, "Joint Chiefs and CPA, January 13, 2004. "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," Department of Defense, 20 January, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by the CPA/DoD. Based on two week estimate.
- <sup>74</sup> "Iraq Fact Sheet: Oil," *Joint Chiefs and CPA*, January 13, 2004.
- 75 "Iraq Fact Sheet: Power "Joint Staff and CPA, March 15, 2004.
- 76 "Iraq Fact Sheet: Oil," Joint Staff and CPA, April 20, 2004. "Iraq Fact Sheet: Oil," Joint Staff and CPA, April 20, 2004.
- 77 "Iraq Fact Sheet: Oil," *Joint Staff and CPA*, May 25, 2004. 78 "Iraq Fact Sheet: Oil," *Joint Staff and CPA*, May 25, 2004.
- <sup>79</sup> Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of State*, October 6, 2004.
- <sup>80</sup> Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," Department of State, August 4, 2004.
- 81 Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," Department of State, October 6, 2004.
- 82 Iraq Weekly Status Report, Department of State, November 9, 2005.
- 83 Country Report No. 05/294: Iraq: 2005 Article IV Consultation Staff Report; Staff Supplement; Public Information Notice on the Executive Board Discussion; and Statement by the Executive Director for Iraq, International Monetary Fund, August 2005, p. 11.
- <sup>84</sup> Iraq Weekly Status Report, Department of State. The number presented reflects the total oil revenue for the month. Data for a complete month is typically available in the Weekly Status Report for the first week of the next month.
- Iraq Weekly Status Report, Department of State. The average of megawatt hours and average hours of electricity per day reflect all the data available for the given month, and thus span multiple Weekly Status Reports. The average amount of electricity generated is derived from the average of megawatt
- 86 GAO-05876: Rebuilding Iraq: Status of Funding and Reconstruction Efforts, General Accounting Office, July 2005, p. 26.
- <sup>87</sup> Measuring Stability and Security in Iraq October 2005, Report to Congress In Accordance with Conference Report 109-72, Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act, 2005, page 11. Information from World Bank and IMF.
- Country Report No. 05/294: Iraq: 2005 Article IV Consultation Staff Report; Staff Supplement; Public Information Notice on the Executive Board Discussion; and Statement by the Executive Director for Iraq, International Monetary Fund, August 2005, p. 30.
- 89 "Iraq Weekly Status Report", Department of Defense, June 22, 2004, May 25, 2004, April 27, 2004. 894 Iraq Weekly Status Report", Department of State, August 25, 2004, September 29, 2004, October 27, 2004, November 24, 2004, December 22, 2004, January 26, 2005, February 16, 2005, March 30, 2005, April 13, 2005, May 11, 2005, June 22, 2005, August 3, 10, 17, 24, 31, 2005, September 7, 21, 2005, October 5, 12, 2005.

  90 GAO-040902R: Rebuilding Iraq: Resources, Security, Governance, Essential Services, and Oversight Issues, General Accounting Office, June 2004,
- p.10. Barbara Slevin, "Senators Slam Administration on Iraq" USA Today, September 16, 2004. Steven R. Weisman, "Rice Urges Arab States to Send Envoys to Baghdad," New York Times, June 22, 2005.
- 91 Country Report No. 05/294: Iraq: 2005 Article IV Consultation Staff Report; Staff Supplement; Public Information Notice on the Executive Board Discussion; and Statement by the Executive Director for Iraq, International Monetary Fund, August 2005, p. 51.
- <sup>92</sup> James Glanz, "Despite Crushing Costs, Iraqi Cabinet Lets Big Subsidies Stand," New York Times, August 11, 2005.
- 93 Country Report No. 05/294: Iraq: 2005 Article IV Consultation Staff Report; Staff Supplement; Public Information Notice on the Executive Board Discussion; and Statement by the Executive Director for Iraq, International Monetary Fund, August 2005, p. 34.
- 94 Country Report No. 05/294: Iraq: 2005 Article IV Consultation Staff Report; Staff Supplement; Public Information Notice on the Executive Board Discussion; and Statement by the Executive Director for Iraq, International Monetary Fund, August 2005, p. 9, 18.
- Country Report No. 05/294: Iraq: 2005 Article IV Consultation Staff Report; Staff Supplement; Public Information Notice on the Executive Board Discussion; and Statement by the Executive Director for Iraq, International Monetary Fund, August 2005, p. 7.
- <sup>6</sup> James Glanz, "Despite Crushing Costs, Iraqi Cabinet Lets Big Subsidies Stand," New York Times, August 11, 2005.
- <sup>97</sup> James Glanz, "Despite Crushing Costs, Iraqi Cabinet Lets Big Subsidies Stand," New York Times, August 11, 2005.
- <sup>98</sup> James Glanz, "Despite Crushing Costs, Iraqi Cabinet Lets Big Subsidies Stand," New York Times, August 11, 2005.
- 99 Measuring Stability and Security in Iraq October 2005, Report to Congress In Accordance with Conference Report 109-72, Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act, 2005, page 25.
- 100 Measuring Stability and Security in Iraq October 2005, Report to Congress In Accordance with Conference Report 109-72, Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act, 2005, page 25.
- National Strategy for Victory in Iraq, National Security Council, November 2005, page 17.
- 1024 Traveling to Iraq: Frequently Asked Questions," Iraq Investment and Reconstruction Task Force, US Department of Commerce, May 18, 2005.

<sup>104</sup> Iraq Weekly Status Report, *Department of State*, September 7, 21, 2005.

- <sup>105</sup> Jeremy Crimmons, "Chicago Lawyer Helped Rebuild Communications Network in Iraq," *Chicago Daily Law Bulletin*, April 23, 2005. Anderson Cooper 360 Degrees, CNN, June 30, 2004. "Media in Iraq," BBC Monitoring World Media, January 24, 2005. Survey Outlines Iraqi Newspapers' Popularity, Standards," BBC Monitoring International Reports," June 14, 2004. "Iraqi Newspaper Delegation Visits Jordan Discusses Ties, Iraqi Media Environment," *BBC Monitoring International Reports*, April 22, 2005

  106 Tod Robberson, "Media Too Free for Some Iraqis," *Dallas Morning News*, July 18, 2005.
- Tod Robberson, "Media Too Free for Some Iraqis," *Dallas Morning News*, July 18, 2005.
- 108 Measuring Stability and Security in Iraq October 2005, Report to Congress In Accordance with Conference Report 109-72, Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act, 2005, page 8.
- GAO-05876: Rebuilding Iraq: Status of Funding and Reconstruction Efforts, General Accounting Office, July 2005, p. 33.
- 110 Country Report No. 05/294: Iraq: 2005 Article IV Consultation Staff Report; Staff Supplement; Public Information Notice on the Executive Board Discussion; and Statement by the Executive Director for Iraq, International Monetary Fund, August 2005, p. 29.
- 111 Country Report No. 05/294: Iraq: 2005 Article IV Consultation Staff Report; Staff Supplement; Public Information Notice on the Executive Board Discussion; and Statement by the Executive Director for Iraq, International Monetary Fund, August 2005, p. 7. Measuring Stability and Security in Iraq October 2005, Report to Congress In Accordance with Conference Report 109-72, Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act, 2005, page 17.
- GAO-05876: Rebuilding Iraq: Status of Funding and Reconstruction Efforts, General Accounting Office, July 2005, p. 26-27.
- 113 Country Report No. 05/294: Iraq: 2005 Article IV Consultation Staff Report; Staff Supplement; Public Information Notice on the Executive Board Discussion; and Statement by the Executive Director for Iraq, International Monetary Fund, August 2005, p. 29. <sup>114</sup> Ibid., p. 6, 29.
- James Palmer, "Crumbling Iraqi Schools Await Critical Repairs," Washington Times, September 7, 2005.
- alies I ainted, Claimbing Really Want?" *Time*, December 19, 2005.

  116 "What do Iraqis Really Want?" *Time*, December 19, 2005.

  117 Sean Rayment, "Secret MoD Poll: Iraqis Support Attacks on British Troops," *London Sunday Telegraph*, October 23, 2005.
- 118 Provided to the author by American military sources. Face to face interviews with 4,340 Iraqis. Margin of error is +/-3%.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> Sabrina Tavernise, "Iraq's Lethal Traffic: Warning! Anarchy Ahead," New York Times, November 5, 2005.