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

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June 29, 2006

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## Security Indicators

	<i>Page</i>
U.S. Troop Fatalities since March 2003.....	4
Cause of Death for US Troops.....	5
American Military Fatalities by Category.....	6
Geographic Distribution of Military Fatalities.....	6
U.S. Troops Wounded in Action since March 2003.....	7
British Military Fatalities since March 2003.....	7
Non-U.S. & U.K. Coalition Military Fatalities since March, 2003.....	8
Non-U.S. & U.K. Coalition Military Fatalities by Country since March 2003.....	8
Iraqi Military and Police Killed since January 2005.....	9
Car Bombs in Iraq (Lethal and Non-Lethal).....	9
Iraqi Civilian Killed as a Result of Acts of War since May 2003.....	10
Estimates of Iraqi Civilians Killed Since the Start of the War .....	10
Multiple Fatality Bombings in Iraq.....	11
Killed and Wounded in Multiple Fatality Bombings.....	11
Crime-Related Deaths in Baghdad .....	12
Police and Civilian Deaths by Region.....	13
Non-Iraqi Civilian Contractors Killed in Iraq.....	13
Non-Iraqi Civilian Casualties Killed Monthly since May 2003.....	14
Journalists Killed in Iraq.....	14
Nationalities of Journalists Killed in Iraq.....	14
Circumstances of Journalist Deaths.....	14
Logistics Personnel in Iraq and Kuwait.....	15
Comparison of Fatality Rates Among Selected Workers in Iraq.....	15
Number of US Contractors and Federal Civilians in the US Central Command Area of Responsibility.....	15
Iraqis Kidnapped.....	16
Foreign Nationals Kidnapped in Iraq since May 2003.....	16
Total Number of Insurgents Detained or Killed .....	17
Iraqi Prison Population.....	17
Estimated Strength of Insurgency Nationwide.....	18
Estimated Number of Foreign Fighters in the Insurgency .....	18
Insurgency Indicators.....	19
Terrorism and Iraq.....	19
Nationalities of Foreign Militants in Iraq, September 2005.....	19
Coalition Troop Strength in Iraq .....	20
Distribution of the Army's Authorized End Strength, By Component and Function, Fiscal Year 2005.....	20
Top Ten Non-U.S. Coalition Contributors of Military Personnel in Iraq.....	21
Attacks on Iraqi Oil and Gas Pipelines, Installations, & Personnel .....	21
Number of Daily Attacks by Insurgents.....	22
Average Weekly Attacks by Time Period: 1 January 2004 – 20 January 2006.....	22
Total Attacks by Province 29 August – 16 September 2005.....	23
American Military Helicopters Downed in Iraq .....	23
Coalition Forces Ability to Find and Disarm Improvised Explosive Devices.....	24
Military Personnel Deployed to Iraq and Afghanistan September 2001-January 2005.....	24
US Air Missions.....	24
Baathist & Other Resistance Leaders Still at Large .....	24
Size of Iraqi Security Forces on Duty .....	25
Estimated Ministry of Defense Forces' Capabilities.....	26
Estimated Ministry of Interior National Police Forces' Capabilities.....	26
Irregular Iraqi Security Forces.....	26
Internally Displaced Persons in Iraq.....	26
Enemy-Initiated Attacks Against the Coalition and Its Partners.....	27
Actionable Tips Received from Population.....	27
Political Parties in Iraq.....	28
Index of Political Freedom.....	28
Council Seats in New Iraqi Legislature.....	28

## Economic & Quality of Life Indicators

Fuel.....	29
Oil Revenue from Exports.....	30
Electricity.....	31
Nationwide Unemployment Rate.....	32
Gross Domestic Product Estimates and Projections.....	33
GDP Longer Term Projections: 2006 – 2010.....	33
World Bank Estimate of Iraq Reconstruction Needs.....	33
CPA-Estimated Needs for Iraq Reconstruction in Sectors not Covered by the UN/World Bank Assessment.....	33
American Aid Appropriated, Obligated and Disbursed towards the Iraq Relief and Reconstruction Fund.....	34
Status of IRRF 1 Funds by Program and Agency.....	35
Changes in US Aid Plans.....	35
IRRF 2 Program Status.....	36
Estimated External Debt Stock: 2004 – 2010.....	36
Pledges of Reconstruction Aid to Iraq by Country, As of December 31, 2005.....	37

How Revenues are Spent.....	38
Balance of Payments: Exports.....	38
Inflation.....	38
Other Economic Indicators.....	38
Trained Judges.....	38
Felony Cases Resolved in Iraqi Courts.....	38
Relative Amount of Car Traffic.....	38
Typical Length of Gasoline Lines.....	39
Number of Registered Cars in Baghdad.....	39
Telephone subscribers.....	39
Internet subscribers.....	39
Tons of Mail Sent by Iraqis.....	40
Media.....	40
Health Indicators.....	40
Doctors in Iraq.....	40
Social Indicators.....	40
Public Services.....	41
Current Water Projects Outputs Vs. CPA Goals.....	41
Education Indicators.....	41
Primary School Enrollment.....	41

**Polling/Politics**

March 23 – 31, 2006: International Republican Institute.....	42
January 31, 2006: World Opinion Poll.org – What the Iraqi Public Wants.....	45
November 30 – December 7, 2006: International Republic Institute.....	48
November 1 – 11, 2005: International Republic Institute.....	49
October – November, 2005: Time – ABC New Poll.....	49
British Ministry of Defence Poll.....	50
July 9, 2005 – July 14, 2005: International Republican Institute Poll.....	50
February 2-11, 2005: American Military.....	51
Ethno-Religious Composition of the Iraqi Government.....	52
Iraqi January 2005 Voter Turnout and Election Results.....	52
January 19 – January 23, 2005: Abu Dhabi TV/Zogby International Poll.....	53
14-23 May, 2004: Coalition Provisional Authority Poll.....	53

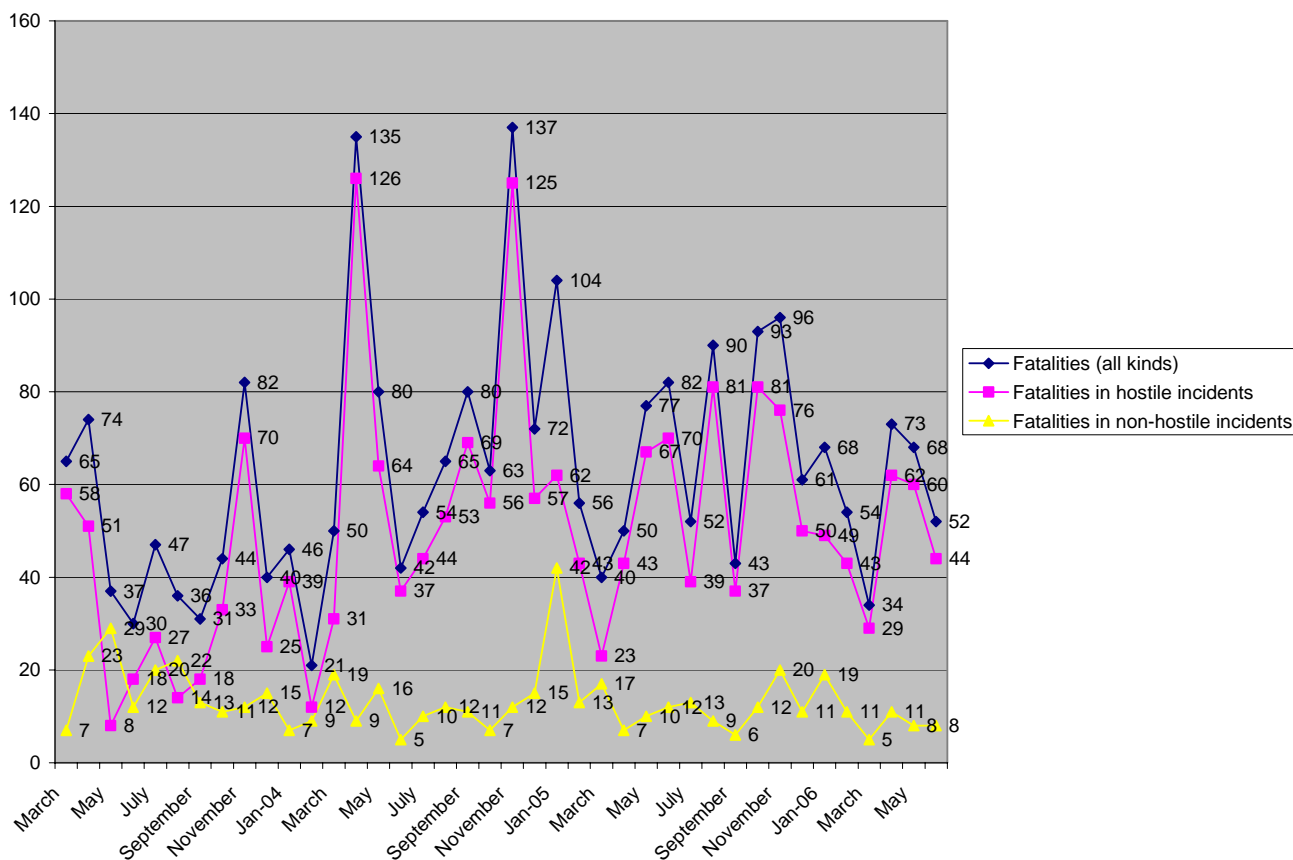
NOTE: The Iraq Index will not be updated on July 3, 2006. The next update will be available Thursday, July 6.

**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 June 28, 2006:**

Fatalities (all kinds): **2,524**  
 Fatalities in hostile incidents: **1,994**  
 Fatalities in non-hostile incidents: **530**

**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 10 AM 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 seven civilians working for the Department of Defense.

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

Month	Improvised Explosive Device	Car Bombs	Mortars And Rockets	Rocket Propelled Grenades	Helicopter Losses*	Other Hostile Fire	Non-Hostile Causes*	Total
March 03	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	8 (12.3%)	50 (61.5%)	7 (10.8%)	65
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 04	20 (42.6%)	3 (6.4%)	4 (8.5%)	1 (2.1%)	14 (29.8%)	4 (8.5%)	1 (2.1%)	47
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 05	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 06	24 (38.7%)	3 (4.8%)	0 (0%)	1 (1.6%)	13 (21%)	10 (16.1%)	11 (17.7%)	62
February	36 (65.5%)	2 (3.6%)	1 (1.8%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	7 (12.7%)	9 (16.4%)	55
March	12 (38.7%)	1 (3.2%)	3 (9.7%)	1 (3.2%)	0 (0%)	9 (29%)	5 (16.1%)	31
April	45 (59.7%)	1 (1.4%)	1 (1.4%)	1 (1.4%)	2 (2.8%)	15 (19.4%)	11 (13.9%)	76
May	36 (52.2%)	2 (2.9%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (5.8%)	17 (24.6%)	10 (14.5%)	69
June	31 (55.4%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	21 (37.5%)	4 (7.1%)	56
<b>Total</b>	<b>848 (33.5%)</b>	<b>123 (4.9%)</b>	<b>106 (4.2%)</b>	<b>76 (3.0%)</b>	<b>147 (5.8%)</b>	<b>781 (30.9%)</b>	<b>448 (17.7%)</b>	<b>2529</b>

Through June 28, 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); 1/06 (4); 4/06 (2); 5/06 (2) total: 75. Non-hostile losses were as follows: 4/03 (6); 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); 5/06 (2); total: 72. 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.

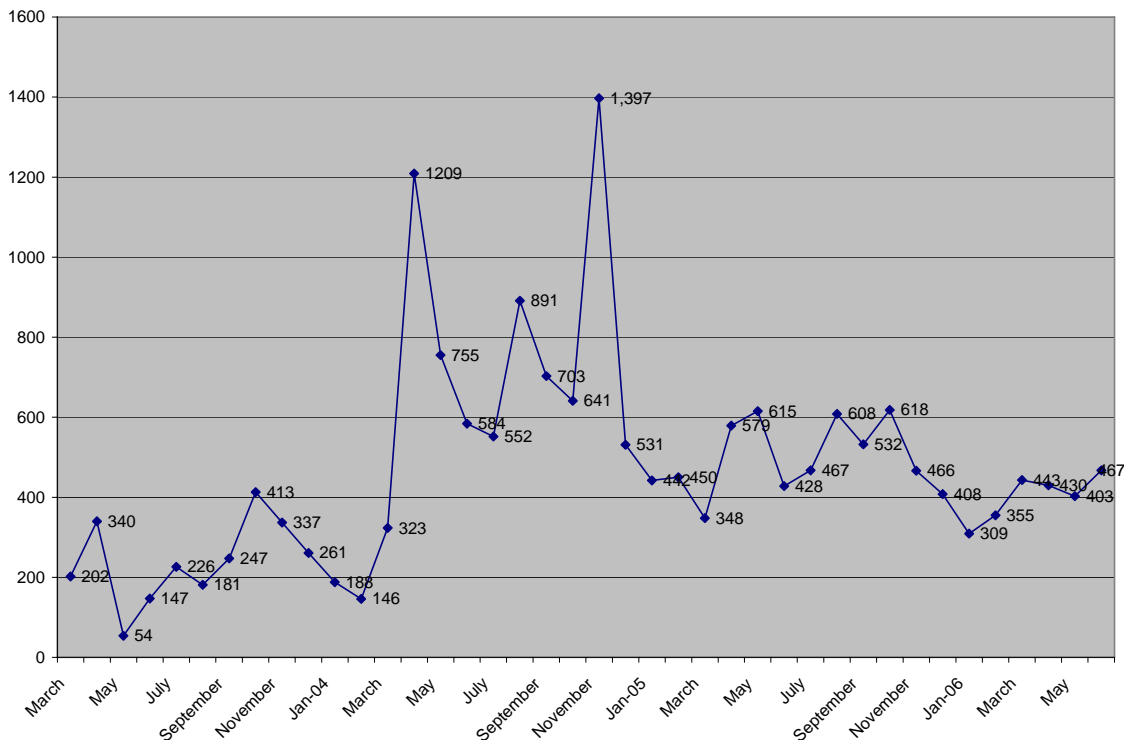
**AMERICAN MILITARY FATALITIES BY CATEGORY MARCH 19, 2003 – JUNE 3, 2006<sup>3</sup>**

<b>Category</b>	<b>Total fatalities as of April 1, 2006: 2,470</b>
<b>Gender</b>	Male: 2,418 Female: 52
<b>Age</b>	Younger than 22: 728 22-24: 570 25-30: 611 31-35: 257 Older than 35: 304
<b>Component</b>	Active: 1,898 Reserve: 214 National Guard: 358
<b>Military service</b>	Army: 1,678 Marines: 722 Navy: 46 Air Force: 23 Coast Guard: 1
<b>Officers/Enlisted</b>	Officer: 256 E5-E9: 783 E1-E4: 1,431
<b>Race/Ethnicity</b>	American Indian or Alaska Native: 26 Asian: 44 Black or African American: 244 Hispanic or Latino: 276 Multiple races, pending or unknown: 31 Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander: 25 White: 1,824

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

<b>Geographic distribution of Americans military killed March 19, 2003- March 20, 2005</b>
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.

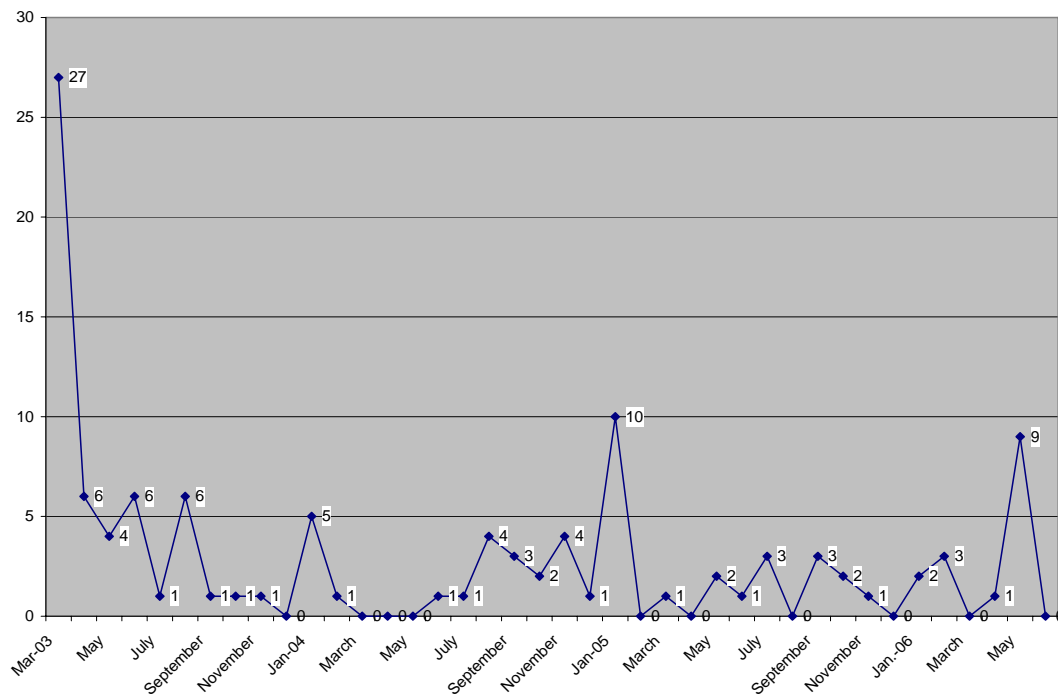
**U.S. TROOPS WOUNDED IN ACTION SINCE MARCH 2003<sup>5</sup>**



**Total from March 19, 2003 through June 28, 2006: 18,696**

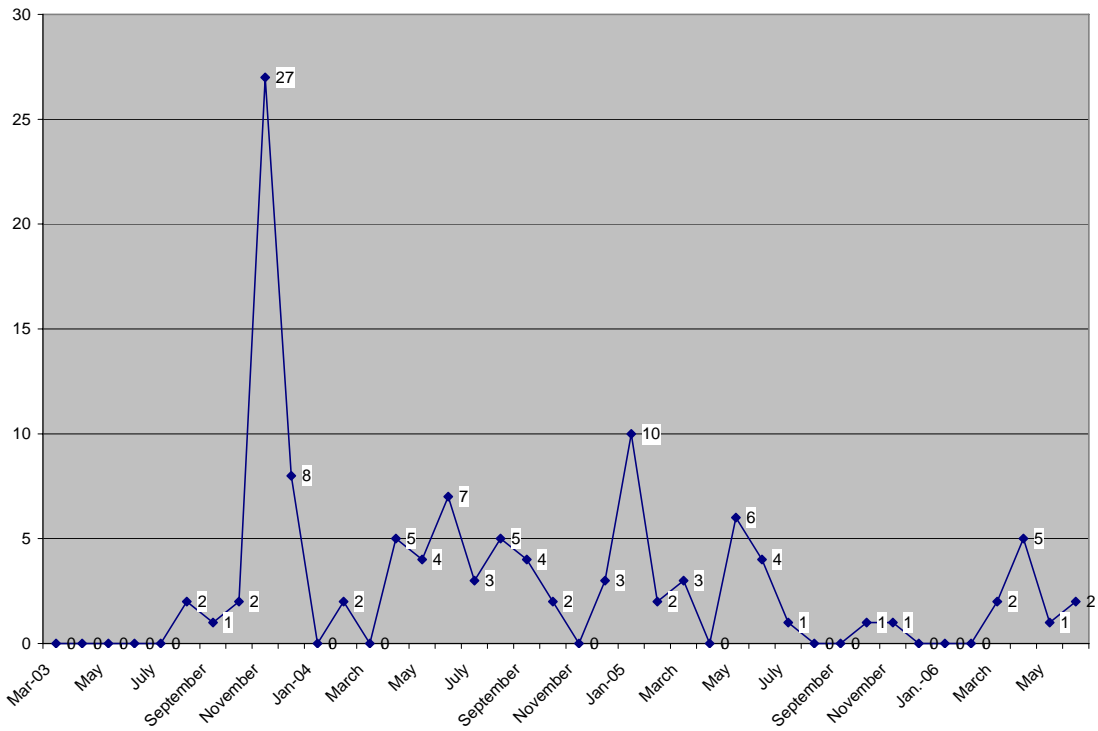
The daily Department of Defense casualty reports that we use for our monthly estimates on U.S troops wounded does not make it entirely clear when in a 24-hour period casualties were incurred. Since the reports are published at 10AM daily, there is possibility that our numbers for January 2005 and onwards 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>**



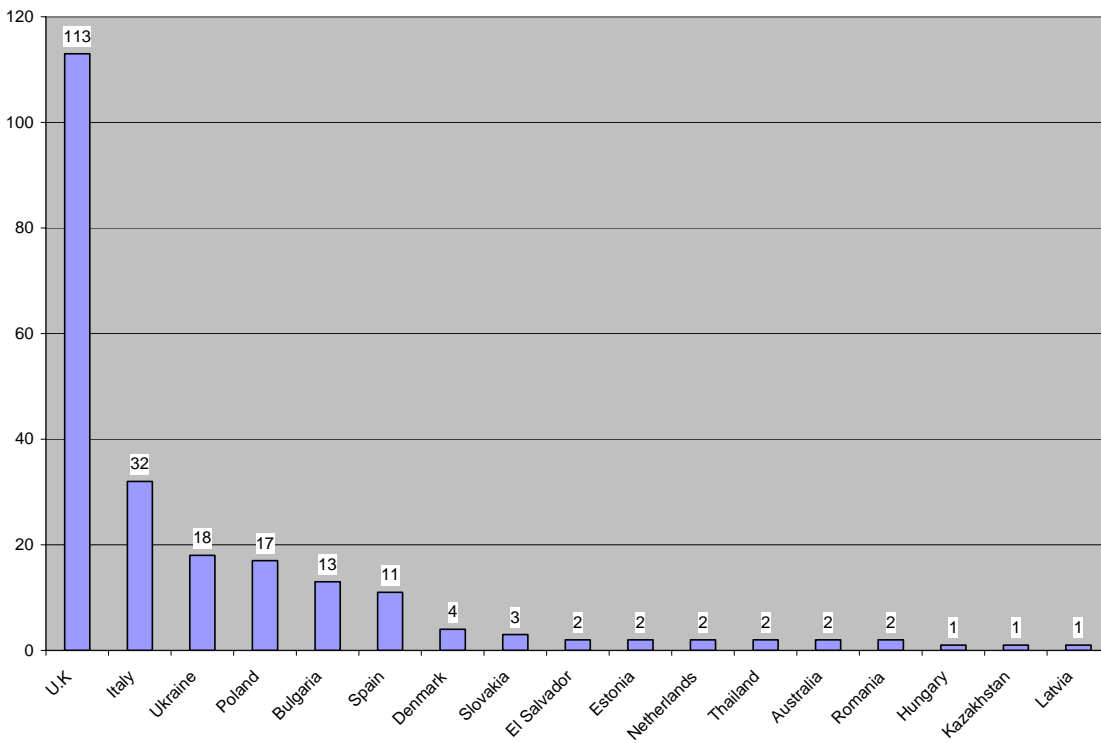
**Total through June 28, 2006: 113**

**NON-U.S. & U.K. COALITION MILITARY FATALITIES SINCE MARCH 19, 2003<sup>7</sup>**



**Total through June 28, 2006: 113**

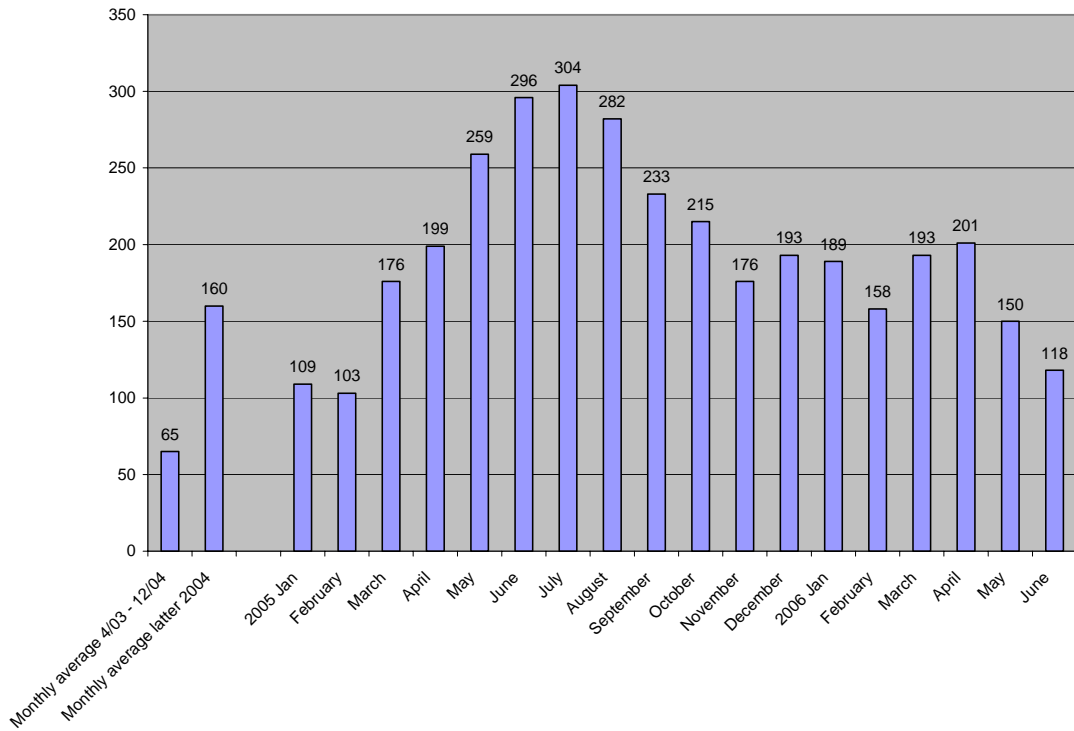
**NON-U.S. COALITION TROOP FATALITIES BY COUNTRY SINCE MARCH 19, 2003<sup>8</sup>**



**Total through June 28, 2006: 226**



**IRAQI MILITARY & POLICE KILLED MONTHLY<sup>9</sup>**

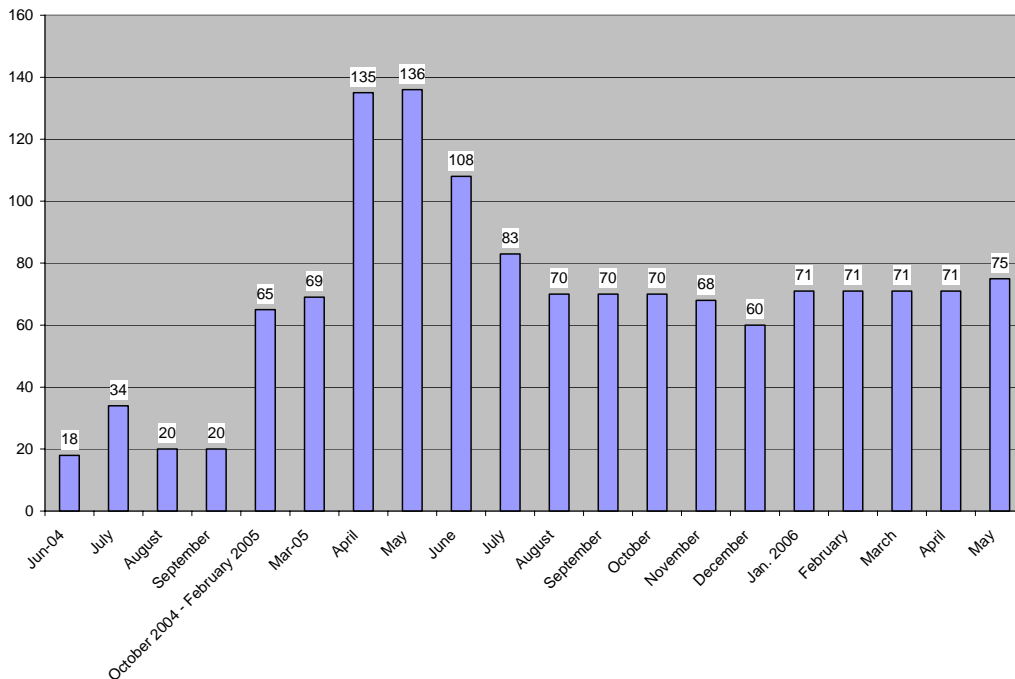


**Total June 2003 through June 28, 2006: 4,854**

**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.

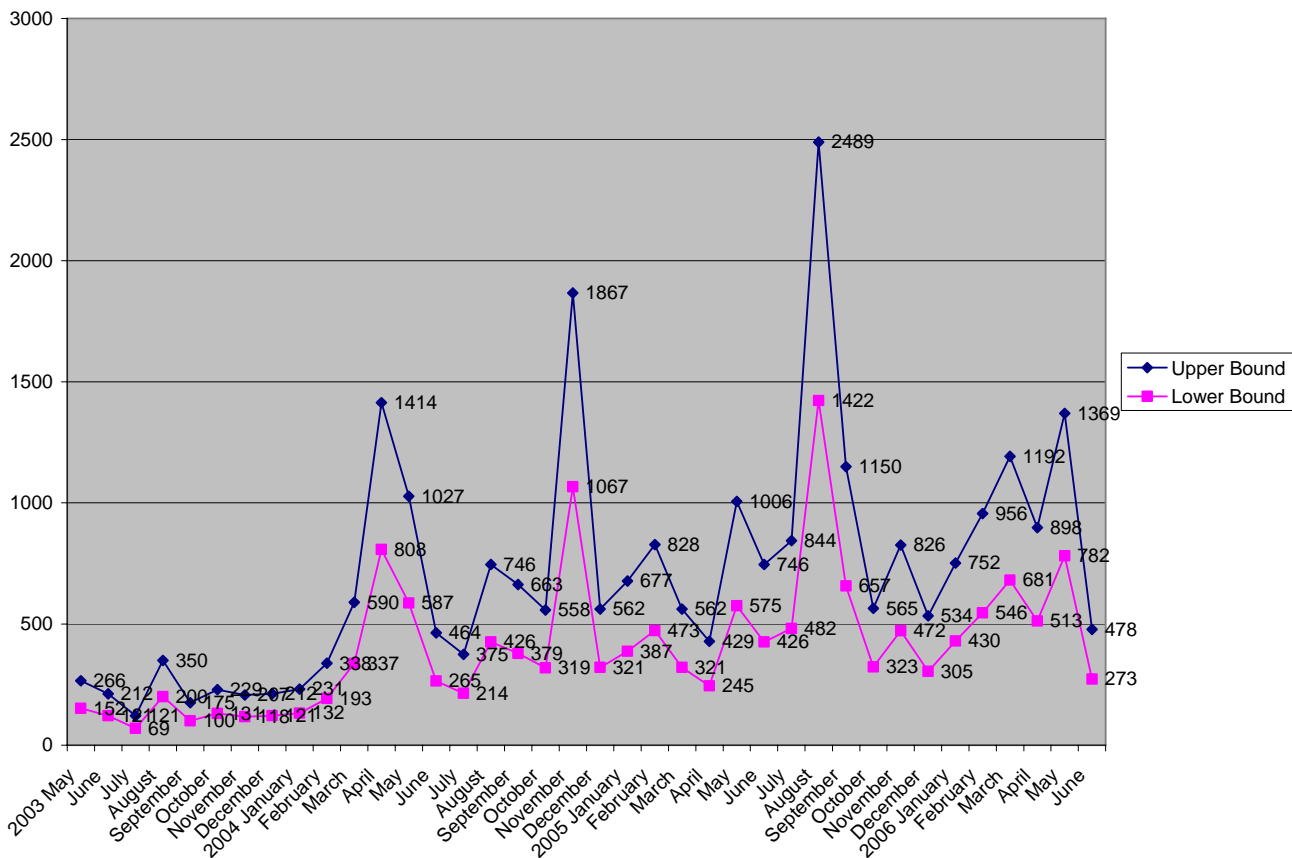
Maj. Gen. Joseph Peterson, the top American police trainer in Iraq, noted through his spokesperson that 1,497 Iraqi police officers were killed and 3,256 wounded in 2005. Eric Schmitt, "2,000 More MPs Will Help Train the Iraqi Police," *New York Times*, January 16, 2006.

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



**NOTE ON CAR BOMBS IN IRAQ CHART: Many numbers in this chart are estimates. Please see relevant footnote for details.**

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



**Total May 2003 through June 28, 2006: 15,373 – 26,908**

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

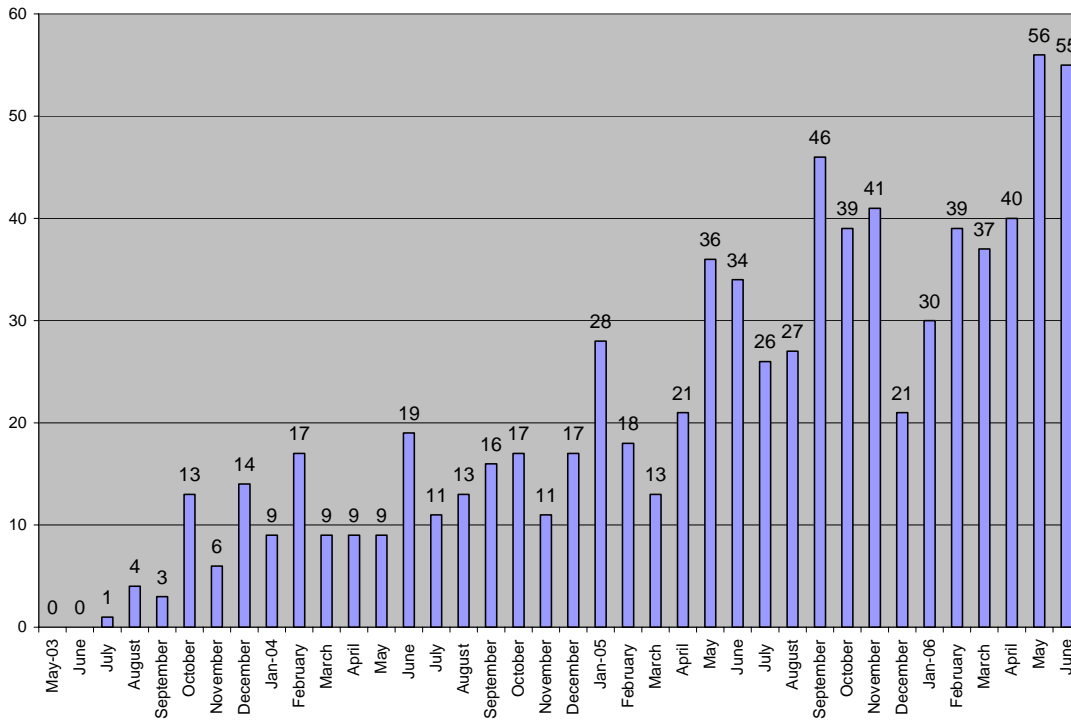
It is still unclear how many civilians were killed in the outburst of sectarian violence directly related to the destruction of the Askariya mosque in Samarra on February 22, 2006. Estimates range from 220 (the number of confirmed deaths according to the US military on March 1<sup>st</sup>) to 1,300 (early estimates according to morgue workers). Most estimates lie in the high 300s, but some officials believe the final tally could reach 550.<sup>11</sup>

This chart is based upon data from Iraq Body Count (<http://www.iraqbodycount.net/database/>), but does not include entries that span multiple months, those recorded at the morgue, or those which 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.

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

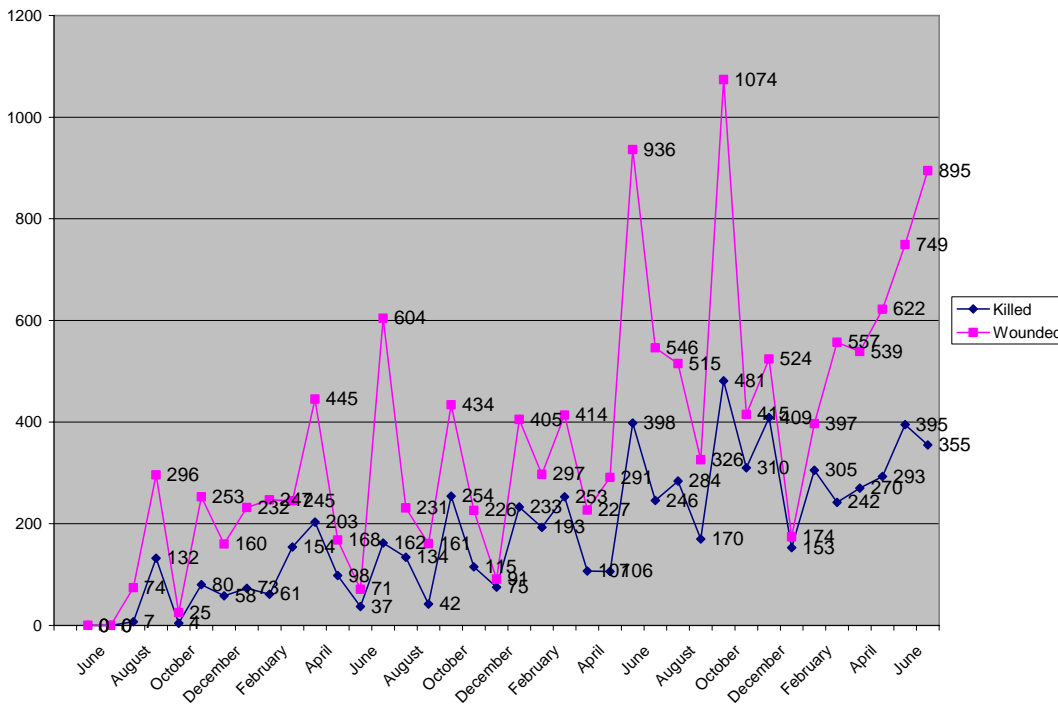
Source	Estimate
Iraq Body Count	38,700 – 43,100 as of June 28, 2006 <sup>12</sup>
Statement by British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw	>10,000 as of February, 2004
Shaik Omar Clinic, Baghdad	10,363 as of September 8, 2004 (in Baghdad and surrounding towns alone)
Amnesty International (London)	>10,000 as of September 8, 2004
The Human Rights Organization, Iraq	>30,000 as of September 8, 2004
Iraq Index (assume 5,630-10,000 Iraqi civilians killed from March 19, 2003 – April 30, 2003 as reported in detail by Iraq Body Count)	Not including deaths from crime as of April 3, 2006: 18,961 – 33,334 Including deaths from crime as of April 3, 2006: 44,000 – 89,000

**MULTIPLE FATALITY BOMBINGS<sup>13</sup>**



**Total as of June 28, 2006: 805 (of which at least 309 were suicide bombings)**

**KILLED AND WOUNDED IN MULTIPLE FATALITY BOMBINGS<sup>14</sup>**



**Total as of June 28, 2006:**

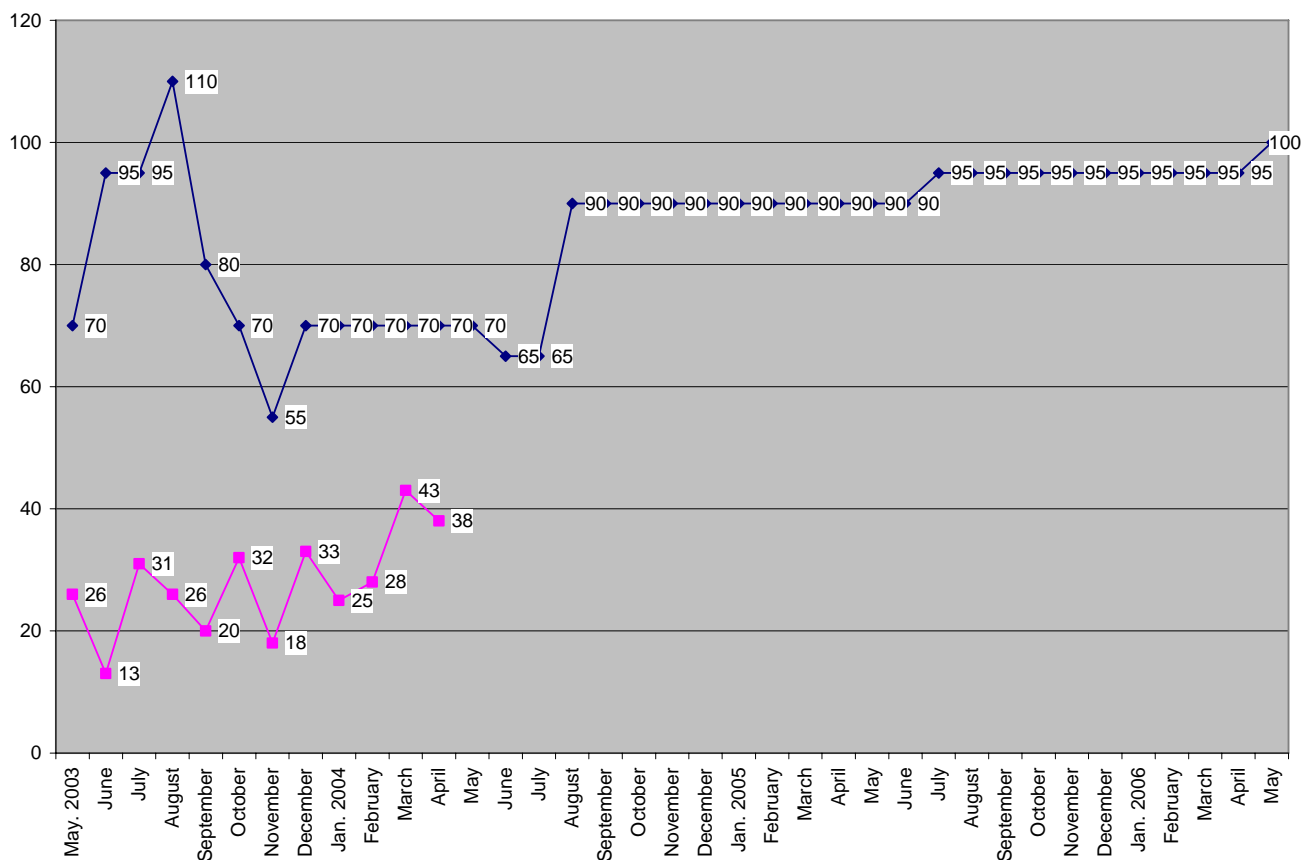
**Killed: 6,892**

**Wounded: 13,866**

**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 BAGHDAD SINCE MAY, 2003<sup>15</sup>**



**NOTE ON CRIME RELATED DEATHS IN BAGHDAD:** Estimates for each month (as represented by the **upper, blue line**) are per 100,000 and 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 **lower, pink line** represents murders recorded by the Baghdad Police Department, adjusted to represent an annual rate per 100,000. Seth Jones, Jeremy Wilson, Andrew Rathmell, K. Jack Riley, *Establishing Law and Order After Conflict*, RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, CA, 2005.

**We try in this graph to account only for criminal murders (and not sectarian violence) to the extent the distinction is meaningful. Murders have increased greatly since February 2006, with the homicide rate tripling, (Jeffrey Gettleman, “Bound, Blindfolded and Dead: The Face of Revenge in Baghdad,” *New York Times*, March 26, 2006) but much of this increase is a result of sectarian violence.**

Bodies processed at the Baghdad morgue follow the trend above: prior to the invasion, the number of bodies processed monthly was significantly less than 100, early in 2005 it stood at 500 and in July 2005 it peaked at 1,100. More than half of the number of bodies processed in November and December 2005 bore gunshot wounds. The numbers likely underrepresent the true number of casualties according to the UN. Ellen Knickmeyer, “Ex-Envoy: Execution Victims Spike at Baghdad Morgue,” *Washington Post*, March 3, 2006.

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.

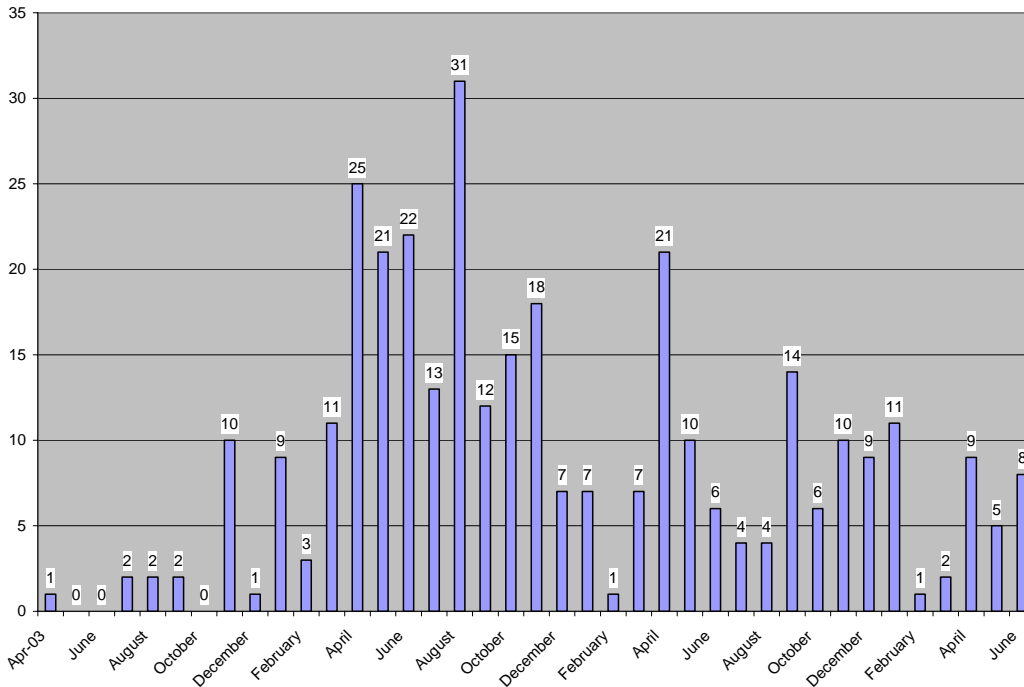
Interpol lists the following nationwide numbers per 100,000 citizens for countries in the region: Libya 2.08, Jordan 6.33, Lebanon 3.38, Saudi Arabia, 0.71. However, Interpol notes that these [nationwide] statistics cannot be used as a basis for comparison between different countries. This is partly 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	166	1,355
Irbil	60	140
Tamim	126	716
Sulaimaniya	4	85
Salahuddin	172	1,193
Diyala	276	1,217
Baghdad	527	20,125
Babil	136	1,399
Anbar	185	2,363
Wasit	12	433
Karbala	21	982
Qadisiya	1	68
Misan	10	31
Najaf	26	749
Muthanna	2	121
Dhiqar	8	974
Basra	40	1,640
Unknown location	141	67
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,914</b>	<b>33,661</b>

**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*, March 20, 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>16</sup>**

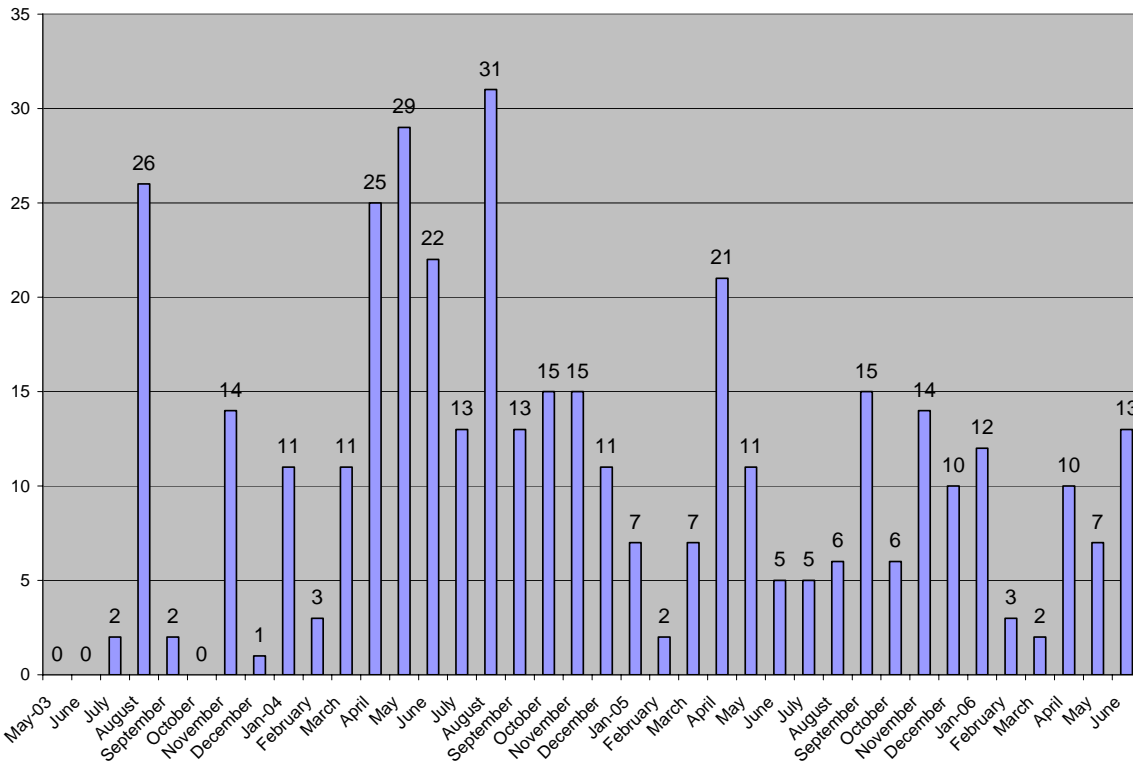


**Total as of June 28, 2006: 340**

**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, 2003<sup>17</sup>**



**Total through June 28, 2006: 400**

**JOURNALISTS KILLED IN IRAQ<sup>18</sup>**

<b>2003</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>2004</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>2005</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>2006</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>68</b>

**NATIONALITIES OF JOURNALISTS KILLED IN IRAQ<sup>19</sup>**

<b>Iraqi</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>European</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>American</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Other Arab Countries</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>All Others</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>68</b>

**CIRCUMSTANCES OF JOURNALIST DEATHS<sup>20</sup>**

<b>Insurgent Attack</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>US fire / Crossfire</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>Iraqi Armed Forces</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Unconfirmed</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>68</b>

**NOTE ON JOURNALIST DEATHS:** A broader tally of journalist deaths that includes media workers such as drivers and interpreters, as well as non-hostile but war-related deaths, finds 101 total fatalities. Eason Jordan, "Dying to Tell the Story? More Than You Know," *International Herald Tribune*, February 7, 2006. Additionally, 3 Iraqi workers of Al-Arabiyya were killed in February 2006. "Daring Iraqi Female Reporter Mourned," *Agence France Presse*, February 23, 2006.

**LOGISTICS PERSONNEL IN IRAQ AND KUWAIT<sup>21</sup>**

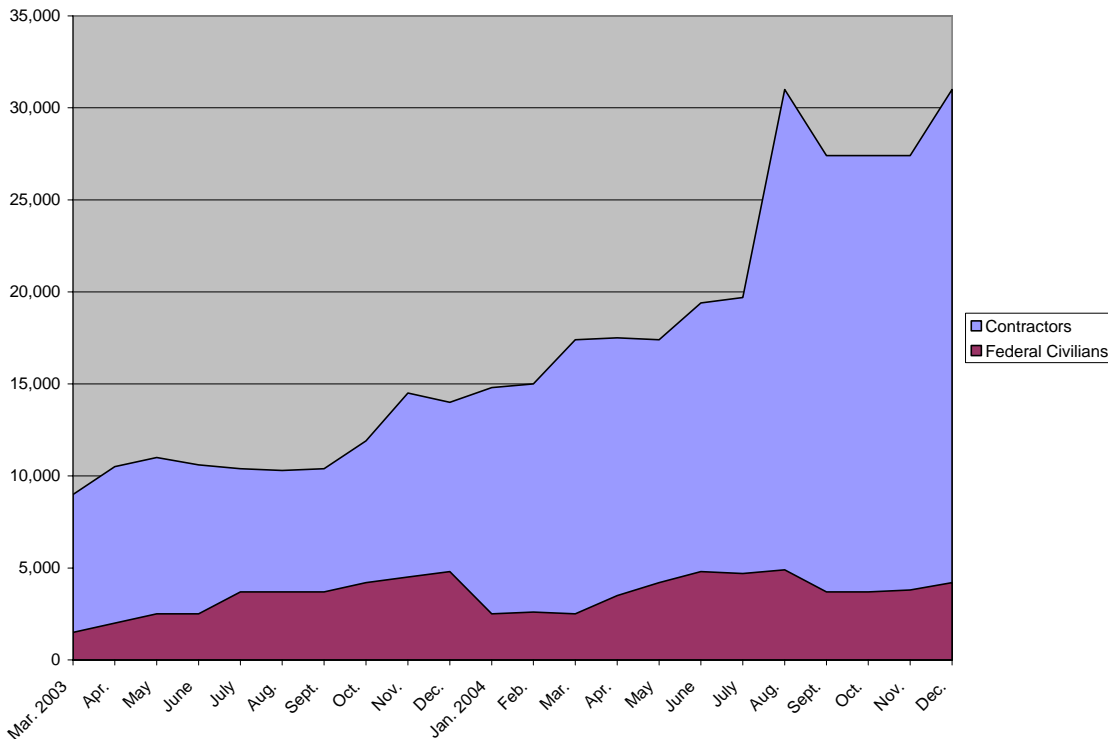
Civilian Personnel Total	38,305
US expatriates	11,860
Third-country nationals	900
Host-country nationals	35
Subcontractors and labor brokers	25,510
US Army Combat-Service-Support Personnel	45,800

**COMPARISON OF FATALITY RATES AMONG SELECTED WORKERS IN IRAQ<sup>22</sup>**

	Data Availability			Average Number of Workers	Number of Fatalities	Annual Fatality Rate per 100,000 Employees
	Starting Month	Ending Month	Duration (Months)			
Kellogg, Brown and Root Employees	Mar. 2003	Nov. 2004	21	38,305	27	40.3
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 Support	Mar. 2003	May 2005	27	45,800	292	283.4
Department of Defense Civilians	Mar. 2003	Dec. 2004	22	2,930	3	55
<b>MEMORANDUM:</b>						
Fatality Rates for Employment 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<sup>23</sup>**



**IRAQIS KIDNAPPED<sup>24</sup>**

<b>January 2004</b>	<b>2 per day in Baghdad</b>
<b>December 2004</b>	<b>10 per day in Baghdad</b>
<b>December 2005</b>	<b>Up to 30 per day nationwide</b>
<b>March 2006</b>	<b>30-40 per day nationwide</b>

**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 April 2005 (Haifa Zangana, "Blair Made a Pledge to Iraqis Once," *The Guardian*, April 22, 2005). According to Assad Abboud, "Iraq's Forgotten Kidnap Victims Suffer in Silence," *Agence France Presse*, March 25, 2006, the average ransom price for a kidnapped Iraqi is \$30,000. The American Embassy in Baghdad estimated that 5-30 Iraqis are abducted each day, but also acknowledged the uncertainty of such a figure (Kirk Semple, "Kidnapped in Iraq: Victim's Tale of Clockwork Death and Ransom," *New York Times*, May 7, 2006).

**FOREIGN NATIONALS KIDNAPPED IN IRAQ SINCE MAY 2003<sup>25</sup>**

<b>Month</b>	<b>Number of Foreigners Kidnapped</b>	<b>Developments*</b>
<b>Date of capture unknown</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>3 killed</b>
<b>May 2003 – October 2003</b>	<b>0</b>	
<b>November</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1 released</b>
<b>Dec. 2003 – March 2004</b>	<b>0</b>	
<b>April</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>3 killed, 30 released, 1 escaped</b>
<b>May</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1 killed</b>
<b>June</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2 killed, 1 escaped</b>
<b>July</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>3 killed, 13 released, 1 rescued, 1 escaped</b>
<b>August</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>15 killed, 15 released</b>
<b>September</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>4 killed, 4 released, 1 rescued</b>
<b>October</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>3 killed, 2 released</b>
<b>November</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1 killed, 1 released</b>
<b>December</b>	<b>2</b>	
<b>January 2005</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>10 released</b>
<b>February</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>8 released</b>
<b>March</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3 released</b>
<b>April</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>6 released</b>
<b>May</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1 killed, 1 rescued</b>
<b>June</b>	<b>0</b>	
<b>July</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3 killed</b>
<b>August</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>2 killed, 21 released</b>
<b>September</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1 killed, 6 released</b>
<b>October</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1 released</b>
<b>November</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>1 killed, 2 released</b>
<b>December</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>2 killed, 10 released</b>
<b>January 2006</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2 released</b>
<b>February</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>6 released</b>
<b>March</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1 killed, 1 released, 3 rescued</b>
<b>April</b>	<b>1</b>	
<b>May</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4 released</b>
<b>June</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6 killed</b>
<b>Total through June 28, 2006</b>	<b>287</b>	<b>50 killed, 146 released, 3 escaped, 6 rescued, 82 unknown</b>

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

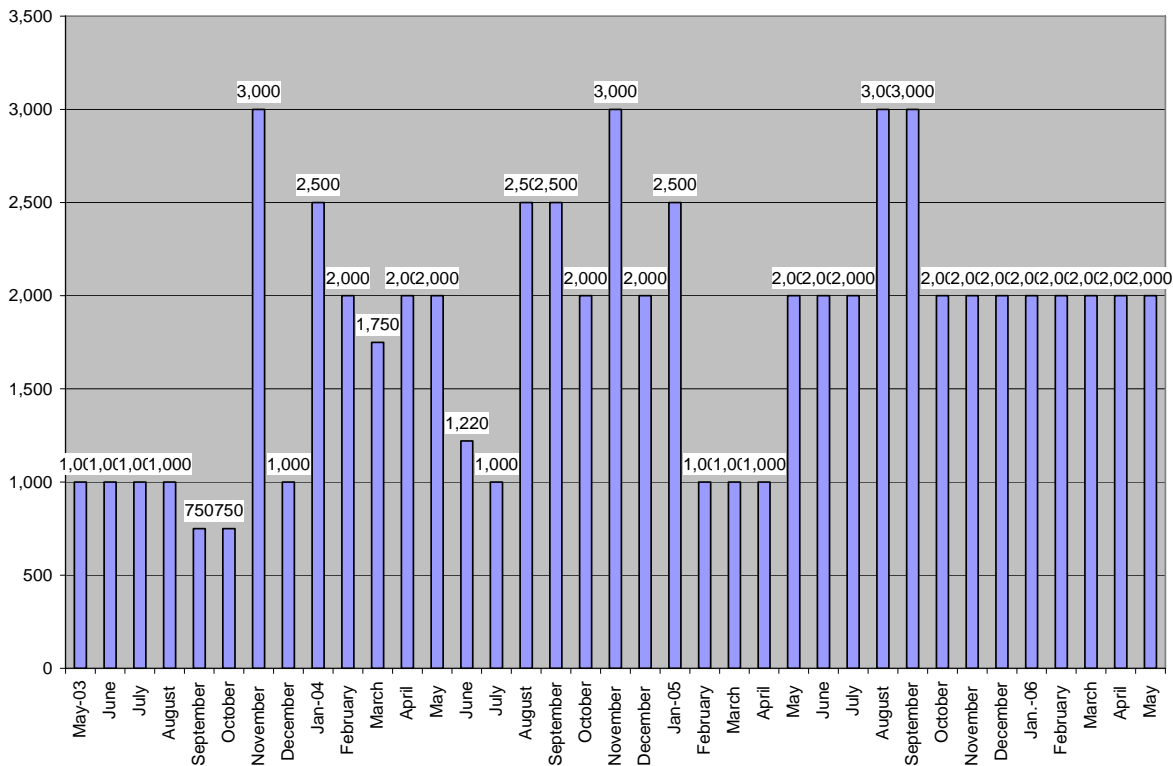
\*Developments: This category shows activity in the status of hostages, but does not necessarily apply to hostages kidnapped during the same month. Please see relevant footnote for more information.

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.

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.



**TOTAL NUMBER OF INSURGENTS DETAINED OR KILLED<sup>26</sup>**



**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.

**IRAQI PRISON POPULATION<sup>27</sup>**

<b>Peak prison population in 2003</b>	<b>10,000</b>
<b>June 2004</b>	<b>5,435</b>
<b>July</b>	<b>5,700</b>
	<b>(of which 90 are foreign nationals)</b>
<b>September</b>	<b>5,500</b>
	<b>(whereof 2 are women, 65-70 are juveniles and 130-140 are foreign nationals)</b>
<b>October</b>	<b>4,300</b>
<b>November</b>	<b>8,300</b>
<b>January 2005</b>	<b>7,837</b>
<b>June</b>	<b>10,783</b>
<b>July</b>	<b>15,000</b>
<b>August</b>	<b>14,000</b>
<b>September</b>	<b>14,000</b>
<b>October</b>	<b>13,000</b>
<b>November</b>	<b>13,000 held by American troops plus an additional 12,000 held by Iraqi authorities</b>
<b>December</b>	<b>~ 14,000 in US / Allied custody</b>
<b>January 2006</b>	<b>14,000 in US custody</b>
<b>February</b>	<b>14,767 in US / Allied custody</b>
<b>March</b>	<b>~ 15,000 in US / Allied custody</b>
<b>April</b>	<b>~ 15,000 in US / Allied custody</b>
<b>May</b>	<b>~14,000 in US / Allied custody</b>

**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<sup>28</sup>**

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 2005	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”
August	N/A
September	“neither gaining strength nor weakening appreciably” (some estimates indicate higher numbers, please see footnote)
October	15,000 – 20,000
November	15,000 – 20,000
December	15,000 – 20,000
January 2006	15,000 – 20,000
February	15,000 – 20,000
March	15,000 – 20,000
April	20,000+
May	20,000+

**NOTE ON STRENGTH OF INSURGENCY TABLE:** International Crisis Group estimates that there are approximately 5,000 to 15,000 insurgents in Iraq. *In Their Own Words: Reading the Iraqi Insurgency*, International Crisis Group, Middle East Report N. 50, February 15, 2006. The estimated strength of Al Qaida in Iraq is more than 1,000 nationwide, although the exact number is unknown. It is presumed this includes both Iraqis and foreign fighters. Country Reports on Terrorism, United States Department of State, Office for the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, April 2006.

**ESTIMATED NUMBER OF FOREIGN FIGHTERS IN THE INSURGENCY<sup>29</sup>**

January 2004	300-500
July	“Low hundreds”
September	“Fewer than 1,000”
November	“Fewer than 1,000”
January 2005	“Fewer than 1,000”
February	“Fewer than 1,000”
May	1,000
June	750-1,000
July	750-1,000
August	750-1,000
September	700 – 2,000
October	700 – 2,000
November	700 – 2,000
December	700 – 2,000
January 2006	700 – 2,000
February	700 – 2,000
March	700 – 2,000
April	800 – 2,000
May	800 – 2,000

## INSURGENCY INDICATORS<sup>30</sup>

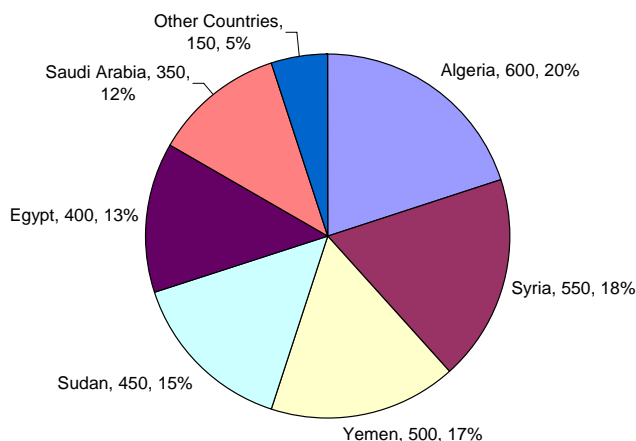
	2004	2005
<b>Insurgent attacks (total)</b>	<b>26,496</b>	<b>34,131</b>
<b>Car bombs</b>	<b>420</b>	<b>873</b>
<b>Suicide car bombs</b>	<b>133</b>	<b>411</b>
<b>Roadside bombs</b>	<b>5,607</b>	<b>10,953</b>
<b>US Soldiers Killed</b>	<b>848</b>	<b>846</b>
<b>US Soldiers Wounded</b>	<b>7989</b>	<b>5939</b>

## TERRORISM AND IRAQ

	2004	2005
<b>Number of Terrorist Attacks Worldwide</b>	<b>2,800</b>	<b>11,111</b>
<b>Number of Fatalities Worldwide due to Terrorist Attacks</b>	N/A	<b>14,600</b>
<b>Number of Terrorist Attacks in Iraq</b>	<b>1,800</b>	<b>3,474 (~30% of total)</b>
<b>Number of Fatalities in Iraq due to Terrorist Attacks</b>	<b>4,000</b>	<b>8,300 (~55% of total)</b>

**NOTE ON TERRORISM AND IRAQ TABLE:** Source is Country Reports on Terrorism, United States Department of State, Office for the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, April 2006. Numbers include attacks against non-combatants and thus do not include attacks against American or coalition troops. Numbers for 2004 are estimates based on Mark Mazzetti, "Insurgent Attacks on Iraqis Soared, Report Says," *New York Times*, April 29, 2006. American officials cite a change in the methodology of compiling terrorism data as being responsible for much of the increase between 2004 and 2005, particularly for worldwide attacks.

## NATIONALITIES OF FOREIGN MILITANTS IN IRAQ, SEPTEMBER 2005<sup>31</sup>



**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.

According to MNF-I (Press Conference, 20 April 2006), Syria contributed the highest number of foreign nationals captured since September 2005 (51). Egypt was second with 38, and Saudi Arabia (23), Sudan (22) and Jordan (16) round out the top five.

**COALITION TROOP STRENGTH IN IRAQ SINCE MAY 2003<sup>32</sup>**

Month	U.S. troops in Iraq			Other coalition troops in Iraq (excluding U.S. & Iraqi forces)	Total international troop strength in Iraq
	Active	Reserve (includes National Guard)	Total		
May 2003	~142,000	~8,000	150,000	23,000	173,000
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	139,000	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 2004	N/A	N/A	122,000	25,600	147,600
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 2005	90,000	60,000	150,000	25,300	175,300
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	22,000	160,000
October	N/A	N/A	152,000	22,000	174,000
November	N/A	N/A	160,000	23,000	183,000
December	N/A	N/A	160,000	23,000	183,000
January 2006	N/A	N/A	136,000	21,000	157,000
February	N/A	N/A	133,000	20,000	153,000
March	N/A	N/A	133,000	20,000	153,000
April	N/A	N/A	132,000	20,000	152,000
May	N/A	N/A	132,000	20,000	152,000
June	N/A	N/A	126,900	20,000	146,900

**NOTE ON COALITION TROOP STRENGTH IN IRAQ SINCE MAY TABLE:** All numbers are end of month estimates or latest data available for the current month. N/A= Not available.

**DISTRIBUTION OF THE ARMY'S AUTHORIZED END STRENGTH, BY COMPONENT AND FUNCTION, FISCAL YEAR 2005<sup>33</sup>**

(Thousands of Soldiers)	Deployable Personnel			Non-deployable Personnel	Total
	Combat	Combat Support	Combat Service 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

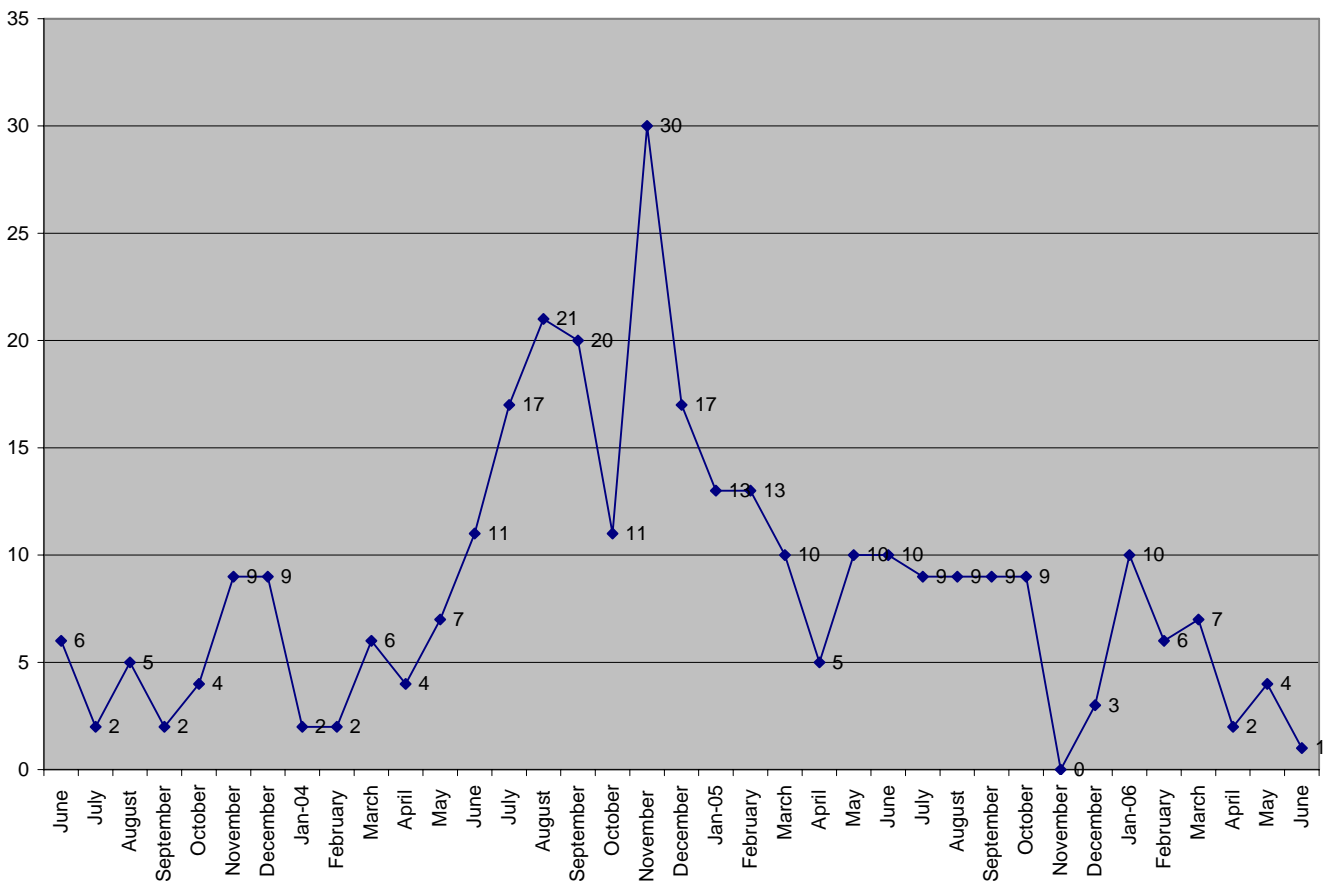
**NOTE ON DISTRIBUTION OF THE ARMY'S AUTHORIZED END STRENGTH TABLE:** Authorized end strength is the number of soldiers the Congress has authorized and funded for the end of the fiscal year.

**TOP NON-US COALITION CONTRIBUTORS OF MILITARY PERSONNEL IN IRAQ<sup>34</sup>**

Coalition Country	Military Personnel in Iraq	As of (date)
United Kingdom	8,000	May 26, 2006
South Korea	3,237	May 9, 2006
Italy	2,900	April 27, 2006
Poland	900	May 30, 2006
Australia	900	March 28, 2006
Georgia	900	March 24, 2006
Romania	860	April 27, 2006
Japan	600	May 30, 2006
Denmark	530	May 23, 2006
Other	~ 1,140	

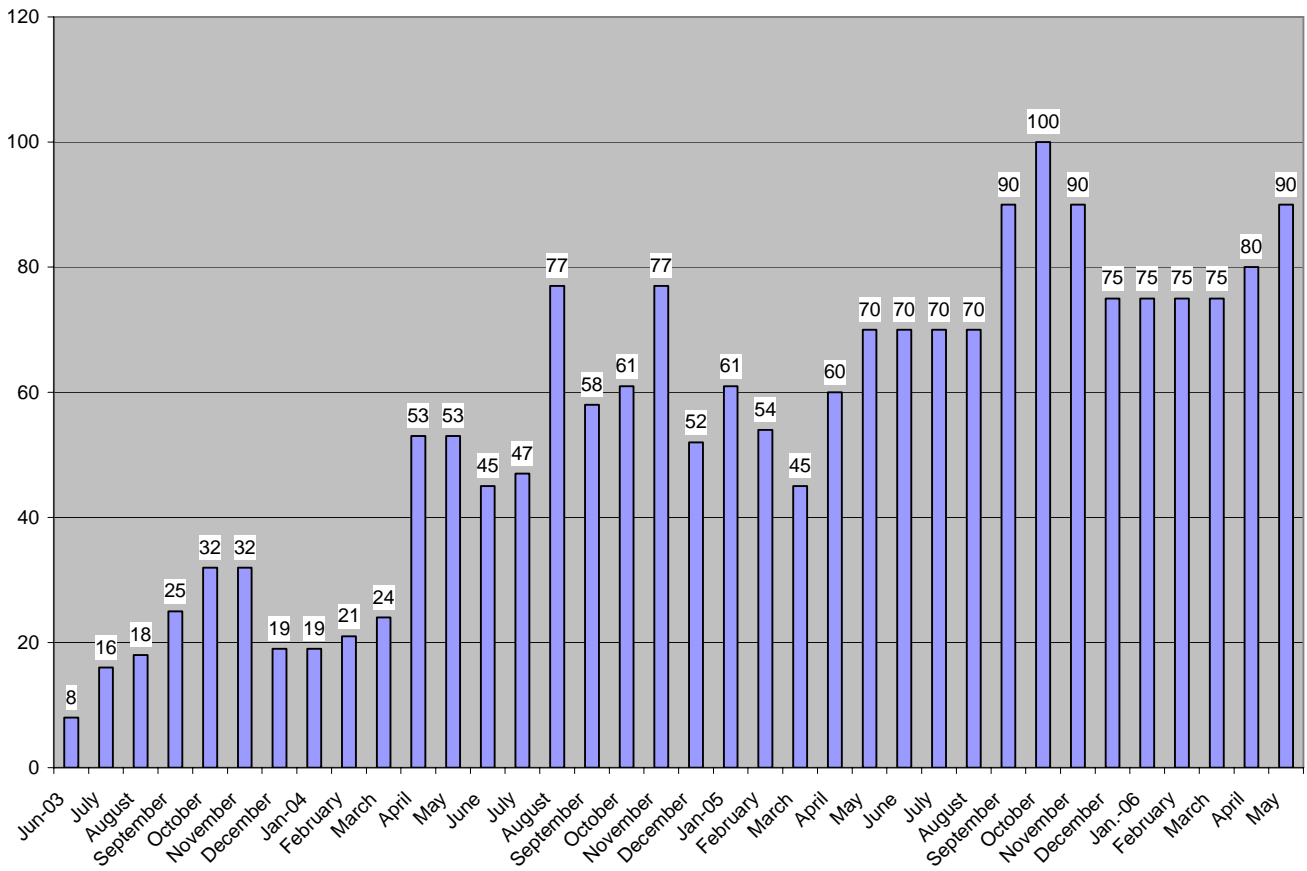
**NOTE ON TOP NON-U.S. COALITION CONTRIBUTORS OF MILITARY PERSONNEL IN IRAQ TABLE:** In addition to the United States, 28 countries are Multi-National Force – Iraq (MNF-I) contributors as of June 14, 2006: Albania, Armenia, Australia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia/Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Denmark, El Salvador, Estonia, Georgia, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Mongolia, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Singapore, Slovakia, South Korea, Ukraine, and the United Kingdom. Fiji is participating as part of the UN mission in Iraq and Hungary, Iceland, Slovenia and Turkey are NATO countries supporting Iraqi stability operations but are not part of MNF-I. “Iraq Weekly Status Report,” *Department of State*, June 14, 2006.

**ATTACKS ON IRAQI OIL AND GAS PIPELINES, INSTALLATIONS & PERSONNEL<sup>35</sup>**



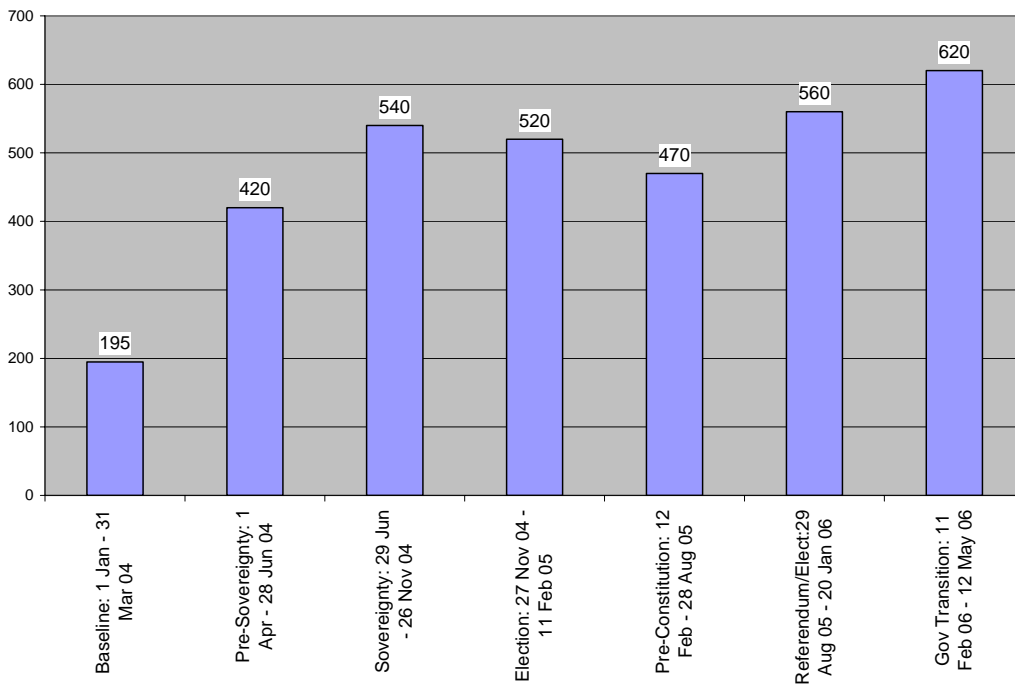
**Total through June 8, 2006: 315**

**NUMBER OF DAILY ATTACKS BY INSURGENTS<sup>36</sup>**

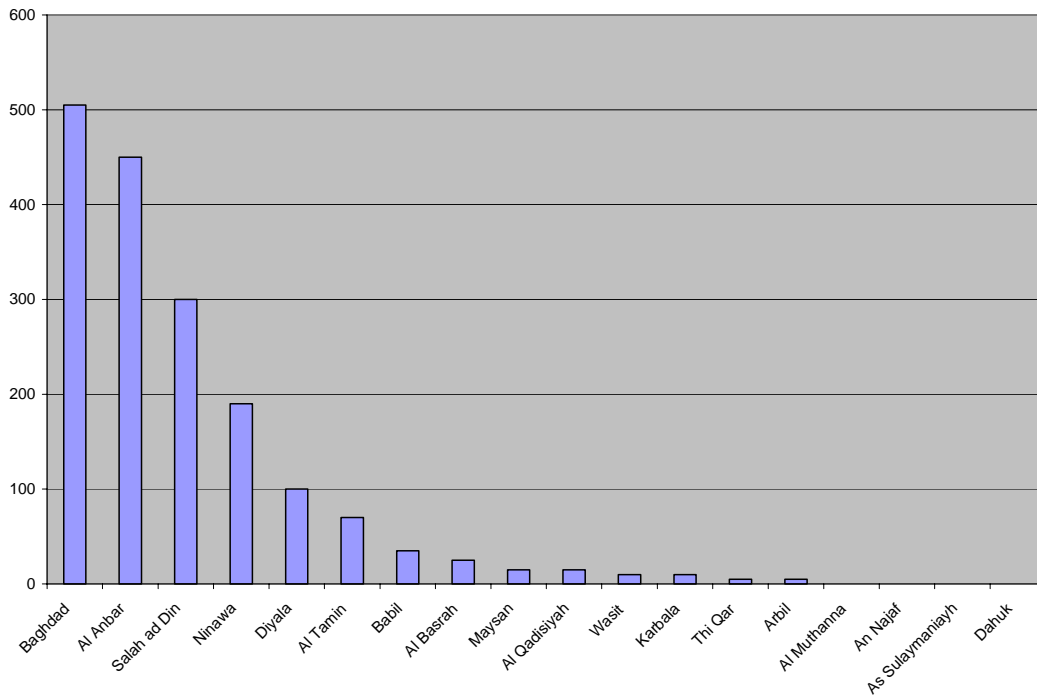


**NOTE ON DAILY ATTACKS CHART:** Numbers for June 2003 are incomplete. Major General Webster has noted that the number of successful attacks has dropped to about 10% from 25-30% a year ago. Ann Scott Tyson, "Departing US Commander Reports Progress in Baghdad," *Washington Post*, December 31, 2005.

**AVERAGE WEEKLY ATTACKS BY TIME PERIOD: 1 JANUARY 2004 – 12 MAY 2006<sup>37</sup>**

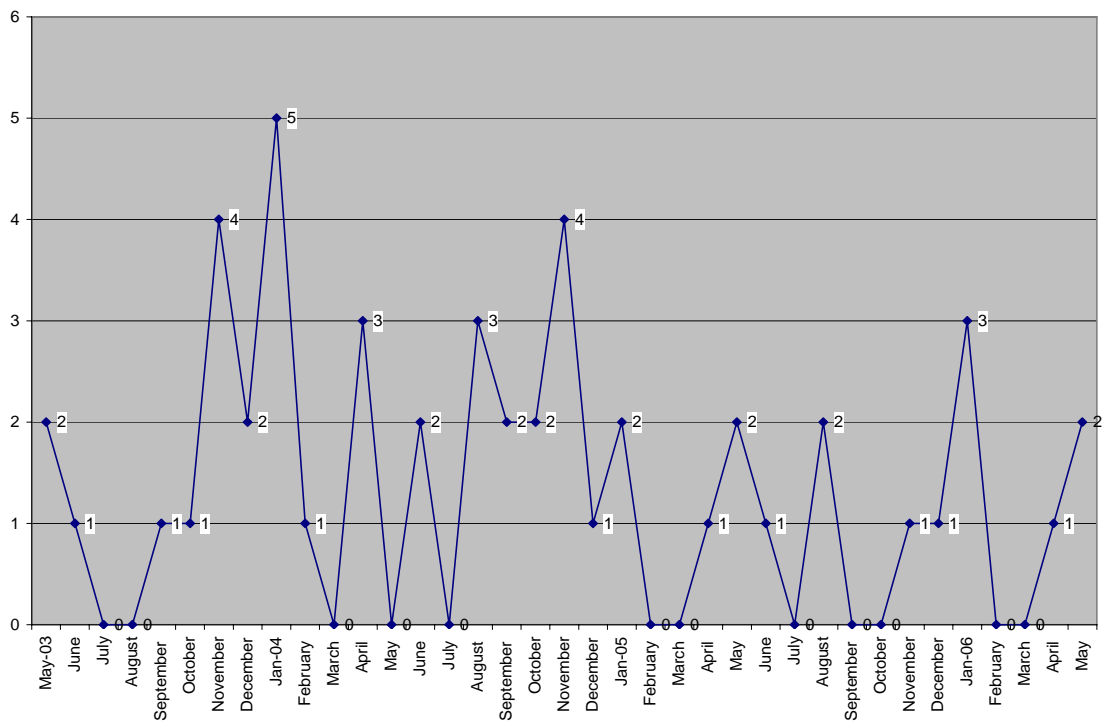


**TOTAL ATTACKS BY PROVINCE: 29 AUGUST 2005 – 16 SEPTEMBER 2005<sup>38</sup>**



**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.<sup>39</sup>

**AMERICAN MILITARY HELICOPTERS DOWNED IN IRAQ<sup>40</sup>**



**Total through June 28, 2006: 50**

**NOTE ON AMERICAN MILITARY HELICOPTERS DOWNED IN IRAQ TABLE:** Of the 50 helicopters downed in Iraq since May 2003, at least 27 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)<sup>41</sup>**

Time	Percentage of IEDs found and disarmed
December 2003	40%
Nov. 04 – Feb. 05	38%
Feb. 05 – Aug. 05	37%
Aug. 05 – Feb. 06	38%
Feb. 06 – May 06	45%

**MILITARY PERSONNEL DEPLOYED TO IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN SEPTEMBER 2001-JANUARY 2005**

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

**NOTE ON 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<sup>42</sup>**

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 –December 2004	34
Jan. 2005	32
February	31
March-May	31
June	30
July	29
August	28
September	27
October	27
November	27
December	27
Jan. 2006	27
February	26
March	26
April	26
May	26
June	25



**SIZE OF IRAQI SECURITY FORCES ON DUTY<sup>43</sup>**

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 “trained and equipped”	59,689 “operational”		N/A	141,761 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
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 <sup>44</sup>
October <sup>45</sup>	111,000	100,000		N/A	211,000 ~32,000 in level I and II <sup>46</sup>
November	112,000	102,000		N/A	214,000
December	118,000	105,700		N/A	223,700
January 2006	120,400	106,900		N/A	227,300
February	123,600	108,500		N/A	232,100 ~46,000 MOD forces and 8,000 MOI forces in Level I and II <sup>47</sup>
March	134,800	115,700		N/A	250,500
April	138,700	115,000		N/A	253,700
May	145,500	117,900		N/A	265,600
June	148,500	116,100		N/A	264,600
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 04)	29,360	272,566

**NOTE ON IRAQI SECURITY FORCES ON DUTY TABLE:** Units in the top three levels are all operational – that is, capable of (and frequently engaged in) operations against the enemy. Units at level three are fighting alongside Coalition units. Level two units are “in the lead” – this level is the critical achievement that marks the point at which a unit can take over its own battle space. Units at level two can control their own areas of responsibility and, therefore, allow Coalition units to focus elsewhere.<sup>48</sup> The February 2006 number in Levels I and II for the MOD can be divided into 53 Army and Special Forces Combat battalions and 8 Support, Air Force and Navy battalions. Care should be taken when evaluating the quality of MOI forces as there have been various reports of Iraqi police units dominated by sectarian interests.

**NOTE ON ETHNICITY IN THE SECURITY FORCES:** 978 Sunni men, including 800 from Fallujah became the first all-Sunni class in the Iraqi army to graduate as privates from American-run basic training on May 1, 2006.<sup>49</sup> However, Sunnis make up less than 10 percent of the enlisted forces.<sup>50</sup>

### ESTIMATED MINISTRY OF DEFENSE FORCES' CAPABILITIES<sup>51</sup>

Component	Iraqi Units Actively Conducting Counter Insurgency Operations	
	Units Fighting Side by Side with Coalition Forces*	Units in the Lead with Coalition Enablers or Fully Independent
Iraqi Army and Special Operation Combat Forces	45	53
	Iraqi Units Actively Supporting Counter Insurgency Operations	
Combat Support, Combat Service Support and Training Units	4	3
Air Force	0	3
Navy	0	2

**NOTE ON MOD FORCES CHART:** \*The numbers in this column may decrease as units are assessed into higher levels (i.e. "in the lead" or "fully independent"). Numbers are as of 23 January 2006.

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.

Thirty-seven Iraqi Army battalions now control their own battle space. Iraqi Security Forces (ISF) are responsible for security in roughly 460 square miles of Baghdad and more than 11,600 square miles in other provinces of Iraq, an increase of over 4,000 square miles since the last report. Over the last three months, the number of ISF independent operations exceeded the number of Coalition force independent operations. ISF independent operations increased by 24% since May 2005. Measuring Stability and Security in Iraq February 2006, Report to Congress in Accordance with the Department of Defense Appropriations Act 2006 (Section 9010), page 39.

### ESTIMATED MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL POLICE FORCES' CAPABILITIES<sup>52</sup>

Component	Iraqi Units Actively Conducting Counter Insurgency Operations	
	Units Fighting Side by Side with Coalition Forces*	Units in the Lead with Coalition Enablers or Fully Independent
Public Order Battalions	7	5
Mechanized Battalions	2	1
Police Commando Battalions	9	3
Emergency Response Unit	0	1

**NOTE ON MOI FORCES CHART:** \*The numbers in this column may decrease as units are assessed into higher levels (i.e. "in the lead" or "fully independent"). Numbers are as of 23 January 2006.

### US AIR MISSIONS<sup>53</sup>

Mission	2004	2005
US Air Strikes (Iraq only)	285	306
C-130 Sorties Flown (Iraq and Afghanistan combined)	48,100	52,000
Cargo Transported (Iraq and Afghanistan combined)	146,000 tons	155,000 tons
Passengers Transported (Iraq and Afghanistan combined)	699,000	953,000

### IRREGULAR IRAQI SECURITY FORCES

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

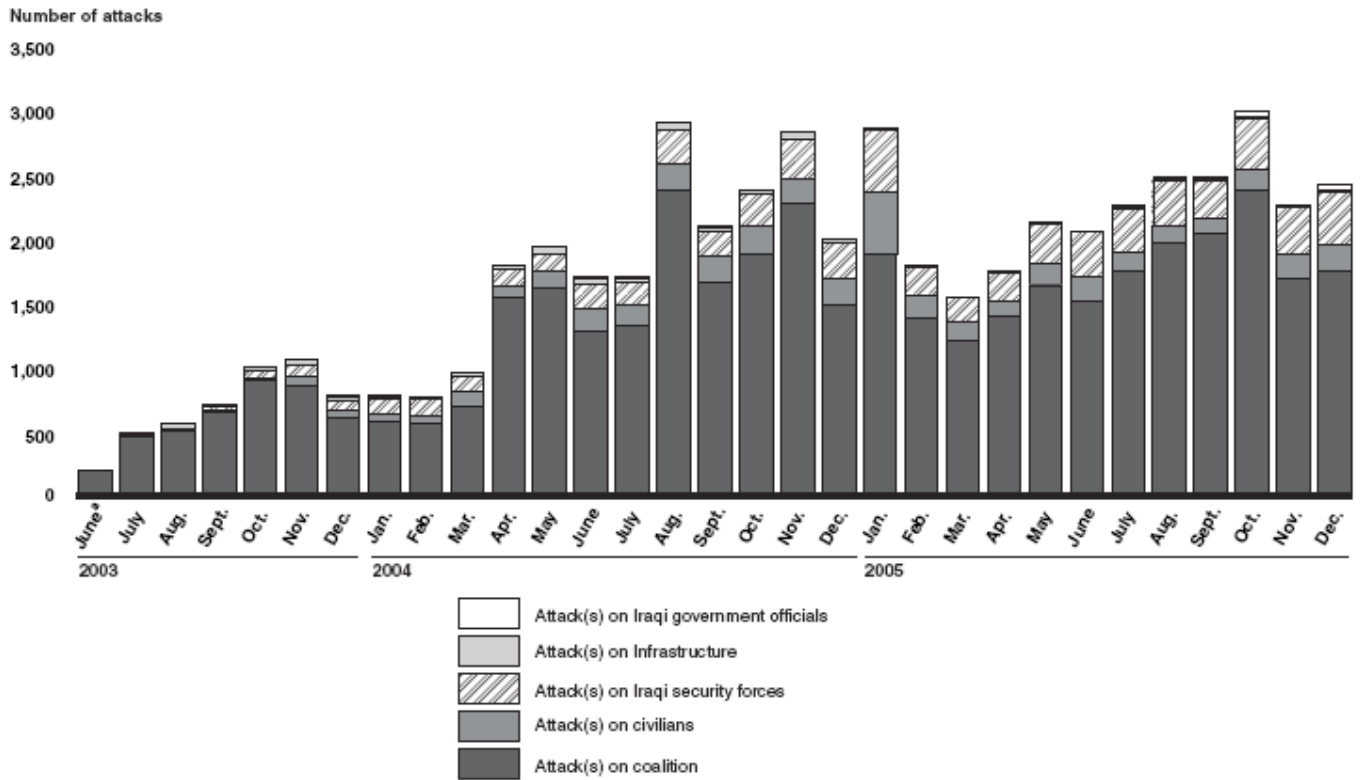
### INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS IN IRAQ<sup>54</sup>

Families Displaced, February 2006 (before Samarra Mosque bombing)	>3,000
Families Displaced, April 2006	11,000 – 14,000
Number Displaced, April 2006	> 100,000
Governorates with Camps for Internally Displaced Iraqis	14 of 18

**NOTE ON INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS IN IRAQ:** Estimates assume a family consists of 7 to 11 people on average.

**ENEMY-INITIATED ATTACKS AGAINST THE COALITION AND ITS PARTNERS<sup>55</sup>**

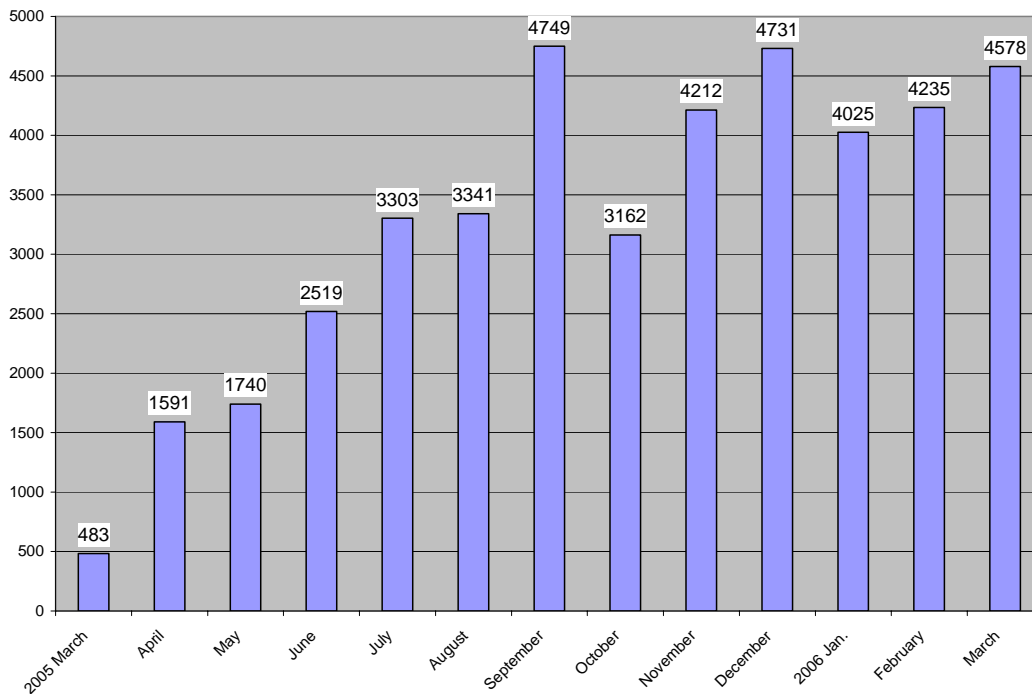
**Figure 1: Enemy-Initiated Attacks against the Coalition and Its Partners, by Category, June 2003 through December 2005**



Source: Multi-national Corps-Iraq, Multi-national Force-Iraq, February 2006.

\*According to DIA officials, June 2003 data are incomplete.

**ACTIONABLE TIPS RECEIVED FROM POPULATION<sup>56</sup>**



**POLITICAL PARTIES IN IRAQ<sup>57</sup>**

Registered for December 2005 elections	Over 300
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**INDEX OF POLITICAL FREEDOM<sup>58</sup>**

Israel	8.20
Lebanon	6.55
Morocco	5.20
<b>Iraq</b>	<b>5.05</b>
Palestine	5.05
Kuwait	4.90
Tunisia	4.60
Jordan	4.45
Qatar	4.45
Egypt	4.30
Sudan	4.30
Yemen	4.30
Algeria	4.15
Oman	4.00
Bahrain	3.85
Iran	3.85
United Arab Emirates	3.70
Saudi Arabia	2.80
Syria	2.80
Libya	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.

**COUNCIL SEATS BY COALITION IN NEW IRAQI LEGISLATURE<sup>59</sup>**

Coalition	Total Seats	Designation	Parties	Leaders
United Iraqi Alliance	128	Shiite Religious Coalition	Includes SCIRI, Dawa	Includes Abdul Aziz Hakim, Ibrahim Jafari
Kurdistan Coalition	53	Kurdish Secular Coalition	Includes KDP, PUK	Includes Jalal Talabani
Iraqi Accordance Front	44	Sunni Religious Coalition	Includes General Conference of the People of Iraq, National Dialogue Council, Iraqi Islamic Party	Includes Adnan Dulaimi, Khalaf Elayan, Tariq Hashimi
National Iraqi List	25	Shiite / Sunni Secular Coalition	Various	Ayad Allawi
Other	25	Other	Iraqi National Dialogue Front (11), Islamic Union of Kurdistan (5), Liberation and Reconciliation Bloc (3), Message Carriers (2), Mithal Alousi List for the Iraqi Nation (1), Iraqi Turkoman Front (1), Yezidi Movement for Progress and Reform (1), Al Rafadeen List (1)	

# ECONOMIC & QUALITY OF LIFE INDICATORS

FUEL<sup>60</sup>

Time	Fuel supplies available						Overall fuel supplies as percentage of goal during that month (the goals have shifted)
	Millions of barrels/day		Millions of liters/day			Tons/day	
	Crude oil production	Crude oil export	Diesel (Prod. & Imp.)	Kerosene (Prod. & Imp.)	Gasoline/Benzene (Prod. & Imp)	Liquid Petroleum Gas (Prod. & Imp.)	
Estimated prewar level	2.5 (pre-war peak)	1.7-2.5	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
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 <sup>61</sup>	6.5	4.75	13.5	1,880	44%
August	1.445	0.646 <sup>62</sup>	10.25	6.2	14.0	2,530	57%
September	1.7225	0.983 <sup>63</sup>	14.25	6.9	17.3	3,030	70%
October	2.055	1.149 <sup>64</sup>	14.75	9.6	16.35	3,700	78%
November	2.1	1.524 <sup>65</sup>	13.14	13.3	11.792	3,610	76%
December	2.30	1.541 <sup>66</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>67</sup>	15.21	13.05	16.65	4,670	88%
March	2.435	1.825 <sup>68</sup>	15.03	17.28	17.19	5,010	92%
April	2.384	1.804 <sup>69</sup>	22.75	4.46	19.3	3,607	79%
May	1.887	1.380 <sup>70</sup>	22.92	4.005	18.07	3,264	73%
June	2.295	1.148 <sup>71</sup>	16.47	4.9	22	3,086	75%
July	2.2	1.406 <sup>72</sup>	17.95	5.75	22.3	3,820	80%
August	2.112	1.114 <sup>73</sup>	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	2.1	1.308	22.2	4.4	22.5	5,030	93%
June	2.17	1.377	18.9	6.25	18.3	5,137	97%
July	2.17	1.550	19.9	5.9	23.9	4,474	97%
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	1.73	1.05	14.0	6.3	18.1	3,716	72%
February	1.83	1.47	10.1	5.0	12.2	2,263	55%
March	2.1	1.32	12.0	5.7	14.9	2,798	65%
April	2.14	1.60	13.5	4.5	16.9	2,855	67%
May	2.13	1.49	15.2	4.8	17.4	3,577	82%
June	2.30	1.13	16.4	4.4	16.5	3,641	83%
Stated Interim Goal:	2.5 revised down from 2.8-3.0 in February 2005	N/A	20.0 revised down from 21.8 in May 2006	5.5 <sup>74</sup> revised down from 10.5 in May 2006	20.5 revised down from 23.8 in May 2006	4,500 Revised up from 4,005 in May 2006	We assume that the maximum supplies as percentage of goal for each category can only reach 100%
MoO National Target (2010+)	5.5	4.6	N/A	N/A	N/A	5,300	N/A

**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. <sup>75</sup> Kerosene imports began 5 October, 2003. All previous months cover only production.

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 June 21, 2006.

**OIL REVENUE FROM EXPORTS<sup>76</sup>**

<b>Time</b>	<b>Oil revenue (\$ billions)</b>
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	1.84
February	2.16
March	2.25
April	3.02
May	2.91
June	0.61
<b>Total as of June 21, 2006</b>	<b>\$58.0</b>

**ELECTRICITY<sup>77</sup>**

Time	Average amount of electricity generated (Megawatts)		Average hours of electricity/day		Average of megawatt hours (MWH)
	Nation-wide	Baghdad	Nation-wide	Baghdad	
Estimated prewar level	3,958	2,500	4-8	16-24	95,000
May 2003	500	300	4-8	4-8	N/A
June	3,193	707	N/A	N/A	N/A
July	3,236	1,082	N/A	N/A	N/A
August	3,263	1,283	N/A	N/A	72,435
September	3,543	1,229	N/A	N/A	75,000
October	3,948	N/A	N/A	N/A	79,000
November	3,582	N/A	N/A	N/A	70,000
December	3,427	N/A	N/A	N/A	72,000
January 2004	3,758	N/A	N/A	N/A	79,000
February	4,125	1,307	13	13.4	90,000
March	4,040	1,192	16	16.4	86,000
April	3,823	1,021	15	14.8	78,000
May	3,902	1,053	11	12.2	80,000
June	4,293	1,198	10	11	93,500
July	4,584	N/A	10	12	100,300
August	4,707	1,440	13	15	109,900
September	4,467	1,485	13	14	107,200
October	4,074	1,280	13	16	99,306
November	3,199	845	13	N/A	76,550
December	3,380	N/A	N/A	N/A	81,114
January 2005	3,289	985	9	9.0	78,925
February	3,611	1,180	8.5	10.3	86,675
March	3,627	994	11.8	11.0	87,051
April	3,390	854	9	11.5	81,350
May	3,712	N/A	8.4	9.5	89,088
June	4,153	N/A	9.4	10.4	102,525
July	4,446	N/A	12.6	10.9	106,713
August	4,049	N/A	12.0	8.4	97,165
September	4,159	N/A	13.5	10.4	101,916
October	3,685	N/A	14.3	8.9	88,442
November*	3,742	N/A	13.3	8.8	89,800
December**	3,800	N/A	12.0	6.1	91,400
January 2006	3,640	N/A	9.8	4.0	87,400
February	3,700	N/A	10.3	5.9	88,600
March	4,000	N/A	13.1	7.8	96,300
April	3,700	N/A	10.9	4.5	88,500
May	3,900	N/A	9.9	3.9	92,700
June	4,500	N/A	11.9	8.0	106,900
Stated Goal:	6,000 to have been reached by July 1, 2004	2,500 to have been reached by October 2003	US Interim Target: 10-12 hours National Target: 24 hours	US Interim Target: 10-12 hours National Target: 24 hours	120,000

**NOTE ON ELECTRICITY TABLE:** The demand for electricity ranges from 8,500 to 9,000 MW nationwide.<sup>78</sup> There are also about 1000 MW of connected private generators in and around Baghdad.<sup>79</sup>

\* Please see footnote. \*\* 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.

Above data as of June 21, 2006\*.

**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%
January 2006	25-40%
February	25-40%
March	25-40%
April	25-40%
May	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



**GDP ESTIMATES AND PROJECTIONS, 2002-2005<sup>80</sup>**

	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>81</sup>**

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
	<i>Revised Projections</i>				
Real GDP (% change)	16.8	13.6	12.5	7.8	7.2
Domestic Consumer Price Inflation (year on year)	12.0	10.0	8.0	7.0	5.0

**WORLD BANK ESTIMATE OF IRAQ RECONSTRUCTION NEEDS<sup>82</sup>**

As of January 2004

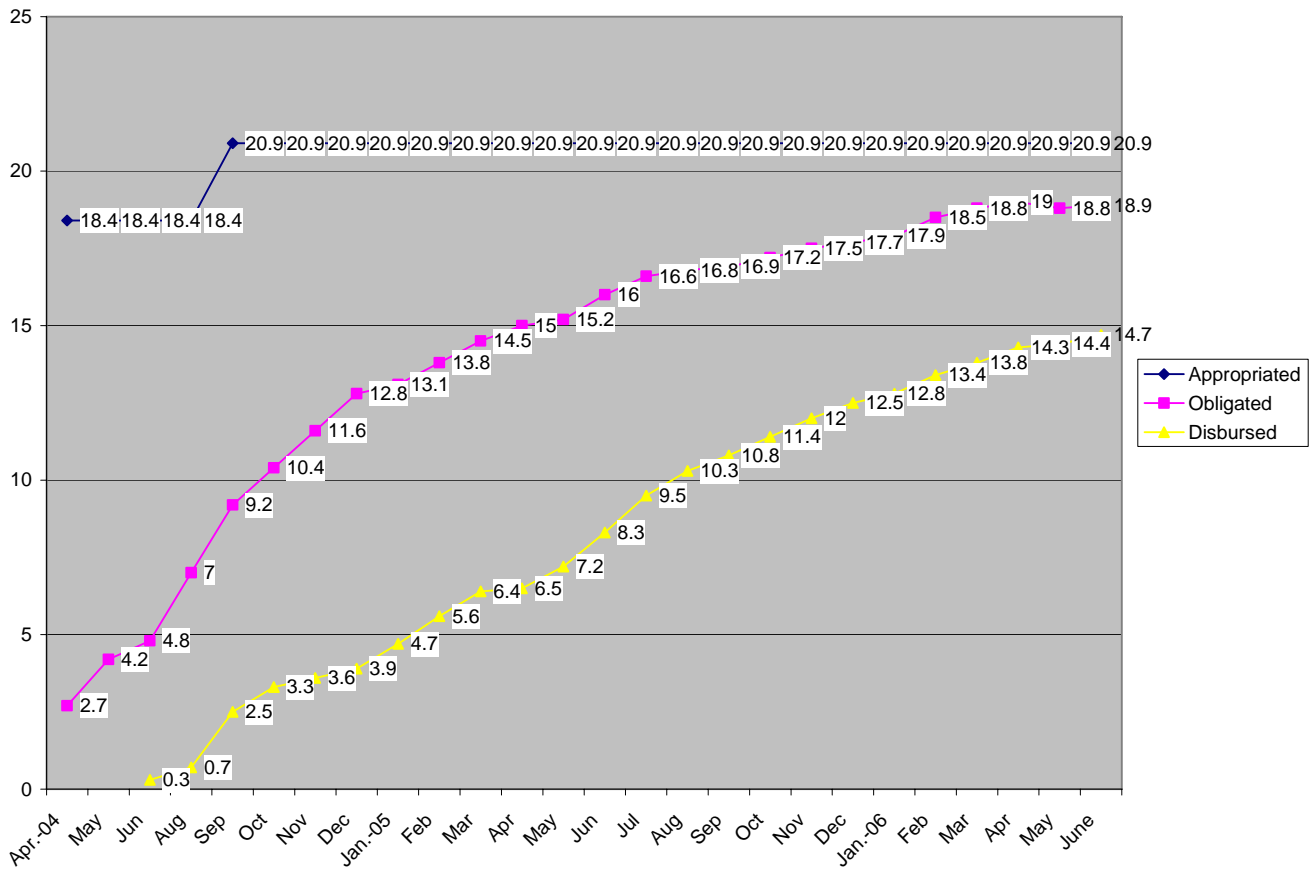
Category	Millions of dollars		
	2004	2005-2007	Total
Government Institutions, Civil Society, Rule of Law & Media	99	288	387
Health, Education, Employment Creation	1,880	5,310	7,190
Infrastructure	5,836	18,368	24,204
Agriculture and Water Resources	1,230	1,797	3,027
Private Sector Development	176	601	777
Mine Action	80	154	234
<b>Total</b>	<b>9,301</b>	<b>26,518</b>	<b>35,819</b>

**C.P.A.-ESTIMATED NEEDS IN SECTORS NOT COVERED BY THE UN/WORLD BANK ASSESSMENT<sup>83</sup>**

As of January 2004

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
<b>Total of CPA estimates</b>	<b>8,240</b>	<b>11,200</b>	<b>19,440</b>

**AMERICAN AID APPROPRIATED, OBLIGATED AND DISBURSED TOWARDS THE IRAQ RELIEF AND RECONSTRUCTION FUND (IRRF I & II)<sup>84</sup>**



**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.

**STATUS OF IRRF 1 FUNDS BY PROGRAM AND AGENCY (as of December 31, 2005)<sup>85</sup>**

Agency	Program Name	Apportioned	Obligated	Expended
<b>IRRF 1 Funds</b>				
<b>USAID</b>	Restore Critical Infrastructure	\$1,124.4	1,124.4	1,020.4
	Improve Efficiency & Accountability of Government	174.7	174.7	174.7
	Food Aid: Office of Food for Peace	124.8	124.8	124.8
	Support Education Health and Social Services	118.5	118.5	111.9
	Relief: Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance	70.5	70.5	65.1
	Office of Transition Initiatives	69.8	69.7	68.8
	Expand Economic Opportunity	65.9	65.9	64.8
	Program Support & Development of Gulf Region	18.0	18.0	17.7
	Administrative Expenses	14.9	14.9	13.9
	Subtotal	1,781.4	1,781.3	1,662.3
<b>Department of Defense</b>	Restore Iraq Electricity (RIE)	300.0	299.9	299.9
	Restore Iraq Oil (RIO)	166.0	162.7	161.0
	First Responder Network / DIILS	52.3	51.8	40.9
	Subtotal	518.3	514.4	501.8
<b>Department of State</b>	Police/Prison Programs	61.5	61.5	55.5
	Relief Efforts	27.0	27.0	26.9
	Law Enforcement	24.6	24.6	21.4
	Humanitarian Demining	12.3	12.3	12.3
	Subtotal	125.4	125.4	116.0
<b>Treasury</b>	Technical Assistance	6.0	6.0	4.8
	Subtotal	6.0	6.0	4.8
<b>US Trade and Development Agency</b>	Technical Assistance/Training	5.0	5.0	2.8
	Subtotal	5.0	5.0	2.8
<b>Total IRRF1 Funds</b>		<b>\$2,436.1</b>	<b>\$2,432.1</b>	<b>\$2,287.6</b>

**NOTE ON IRRF1 FUNDS TABLE:** Data has not been formally reviewed or audited.

**CHANGES IN US AID PLANS (For IRRF 2, in millions of dollars)<sup>86</sup>**

SECTORS	Congressional Allocation November 2003	October 2005	Change in Dollars	Percent Change
<b>Sectors with Increases</b>				
Private Sector Development	153.0	443.0	290	190%
Iraq Debt Forgiveness	No allocation	352.3	352.3	
Justice, Public Safety Infrastructure & Civil Society	1,318.0	2,242.5	924.5	70.1%
Security & Law Enforcement	3,243.0	5,017.6	1,774.6	54.7%
Education, Refugees & Human Rights	280.0	363.0	83.0	29.6%
Transportation & Telecommunications	500.0	508.5	8.5	1.7%
Administrative	No allocation	213.0	213.0	0.0%
<b>Sectors with Decreases</b>				
Water Resources & Sanitation	4,332.0	2,146.6	(2,185.4)	(50.4%)
Electric	5,560.0	4,309.8	(1,250.2)	(22.5%)
Oil Infrastructure	1,890.0	1,723.0	(167.0)	(8.8%)
Roads, Bridges & Construction	370.0	333.7	(36.3)	(9.8%)
Health Care	793.0	786.0	(7.0)	(.99%)
Total	18,439	18,439	(0.00)	0

**IRRF2 PROGRAM STATUS (as of January 4, 2006, in millions)<sup>87</sup>**

Sector	2207 Report Spending Plan	Apportioned	Committed	Obligated	Expended
Security and Law Enforcement	\$5,020.6	5,020.6	4,948.3	4,782.2	4,097.1
Electric Sector	4,309.8	4,077.2	3,832.9	3,052.3	1,799.0
Water Resources and Sanitation	2,131.1	1,819.1	1,585.0	1,433.1	695.1
Justice, Public Safety, and Civil Society	2,255.0	2,255.0	2,183.9	2,074.0	1,327.8
Oil Infrastructure	1,723.0	1,723.0	1,683.9	1,403.4	657.8
Private Sector Employment Development	795.3	795.3	793.5	782.3	556.2
Health Care	786.0	786.0	727.3	633.9	344.7
Transportation and Telecommunications Projects	508.5	508.5	446.3	396.7	209.5
Education, Refugees, Human Rights, and Governance	363.0	363.0	339.0	334.8	198.7
Roads, Bridges and Construction	333.7	333.7	291.0	262.4	159.0
Administrative Expense	213.0	213.0	151.0	151.0	57.5
<b>Total by Sector</b>	<b>18,439.0</b>	<b>17,894.4</b>	<b>16,982.1</b>	<b>15,306.1</b>	<b>10,102.4</b>
Construction			9,723.0	8,393.8	5,046.0
Non-Construction			6,290.8	5,944.5	4,402.2
Democracy			968.2	967.9	654.2
<b>Total by Program</b>			<b>\$16,982.0</b>	<b>\$15,306.2</b>	<b>\$10,102.4</b>

**NOTE ON IRRF CHARTS:** IRRF was established by the U.S. Congress in 2003, to rebuild Iraq's infrastructure, which was damaged from years of neglect, sanctions, and war. The \$2.4 billion IRRF was set up in the Emergency Wartime Supplemental Appropriations Act - 2003, [P.L. 108-11](#) (enacted April 16, 2003). IRRF 2 is funded with \$18.6 billion (\$18.4 billion after subtracting \$210 million assistance for Jordan, Liberia, and Sudan) in the Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act for Defense and for the Reconstruction of Iraq and Afghanistan - 2004, [P.L. 108-106](#) (enacted November 6, 2003).

**ESTIMATED EXTERNAL DEBT STOCK, 2004-10<sup>88</sup>**

As of August 2005, in billions of US dollars

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

**PLEDGES OF RECONSTRUCTION AID TO IRAQ BY COUNTRY, AS OF DECEMBER 31, 2005<sup>89</sup>**

Australia	45,590,000
Austria	5,480,000
Belgium	5,890,000
Bulgaria	640,000
Canada	187,470,000
China	25,000,000
Cyprus	120,000
Czech Republic	14,660,000
Denmark	26,950,000
Estonia	80,000
Finland	5,890,000
Greece	3,530,000
Hungary	1,240,000
Iceland	2,500,000
India	10,000,000
Iran	10,000,000
Ireland	3,530,000
Italy	235,620,000
Japan	4,914,000,000
Korea	200,000,000
Kuwait	565,000,000
Lithuania	30,000
Luxembourg	2,360,000
Malta	27,000
Netherlands	9,420,000
New Zealand	3,350,000
Norway	12,870,000
Oman	3,000,000
Pakistan	2,500,000
Qatar	100,000,000
Saudi Arabia	500,000,000
Slovenia	420,000
Spain	220,000,000
Sri Lanka	75,500
Sweden	33,000,000
Turkey	50,000,000
United Arab Emirates	215,000,000
United Kingdom	452,330,000
Vietnam	700,000
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>7,868,272,500</i>
<b>European Commission*</b>	<b>518,119,988</b>
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>8,386,392,488</i>
<b>INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS</b>	
<b>IMF (low range)</b>	<b>2,550,000,000</b>
<b>World Bank (low range)</b>	<b>3,000,000,000</b>
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>5,550,000,000</i>
<b>TOTAL (Without the United States)</b>	<b>13,936,392,488</b>

**NOTES ON PLEDGES OF RECONSTRUCTION AID TABLE:** \* Includes additional January 2005 pledge of 200 million Euros (approximately \$260 million), not yet formally committed to UNDG or World Bank Iraqi Trust Fund.

\*\* Includes \$65 M in additional pledges from Kuwait. Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, *Quarterly Report and Semiannual Report: A Year in Transition*, January 2006, page F-2.

The World Bank, United Nations and CPA estimated Iraq will need \$56 billion for reconstruction and stabilization efforts from 2004 to 2007, but that estimate is probably too low.<sup>90</sup>

**UPDATE ON 2003 MADRID CONFERENCE PLEDGES:** Of the \$13.5 billion pledged by donors other than the United States, \$3.2 billion has been disbursed as of December 2005. Measuring Stability and Security in Iraq February 2006, Report to Congress in Accordance with the Department of Defense Appropriations Act 2006 (Section 9010), page 14.

### **HOW REVENUES ARE SPENT<sup>91</sup>**

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

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

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

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

Up to \$11 billion annually is spent on fuel and food subsidies and support for state-owned enterprises. Curt Tarnoff, "Iraq: Recent Developments in Reconstruction Assistance," Congressional Research Service, January 4, 2006, p. 5.

### **BALANCE OF PAYMENTS: EXPORTS 2004 – 2010<sup>92</sup>**

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
	<i>Estimated</i>	<i>Revenues Projected</i>	<i>Revised Projections</i>				
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<sup>93</sup>**

Time	Inflation
2003	36%
2004	32%
2005	20%

### **OTHER ECONOMIC INDICATORS**

Foreign banks granted licenses that have started operations in Iraq <sup>94</sup>	0
Percent of Iraq's export earnings from oil <sup>95</sup>	98% (~ \$21 billion)
Oil Export Peak <sup>96</sup>	April 2004, 1.8 million barrels per day (2005 average is 1.4 million bpd)
Cost of Imported Gasoline <sup>97</sup>	30-35 cents per liter
Domestic Price of Gasoline	1.5 cents per liter

### **TRAINED JUDGES<sup>98</sup>**

Time	Number of trained judges
May 2003	0
June 2004	175
May 2005	351
October	351
May 2006	<800

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.<sup>99</sup>

### **FELONY CASES RESOLVED IN IRAQI COURTS<sup>100</sup>**

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

**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	1.0 <sup>101</sup>

**NUMBER OF REGISTERED CARS<sup>102</sup>**

Pre-War	1.5 million
October 2005	3.1 million

**TELEPHONE SUBSCRIBERS<sup>103</sup>**

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
March 2006	6,836,854
April	~7,400,000
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<sup>104</sup>**

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	147,076
April 2006	207,000

**TONS OF MAIL SENT BY IRAQIS<sup>105</sup>**

<b>2001</b>	<b>148 tons sent (231 tons received)</b>
<b>2003</b>	<b>37 tons sent</b>
<b>2004</b>	<b>43 tons sent</b>
<b>2005</b>	<b>54 tons sent</b>

NOTE ON TONS OF MAIL CHART: Mail volumes may also be dampened by increasing e-mail and phone usage.

**MEDIA<sup>106</sup>**

<b>Time</b>	<b>Commercial TV stations</b>	<b>Commercial radio stations</b>	<b>Independent newspapers and magazines</b>
<b>Prewar</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>May 2003</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>June 2004</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>150</b>
<b>January 2005</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>March</b>	<b>N/A</b>	<b>N/A</b>	<b>200</b>
<b>April</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>170</b>
<b>May</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>170</b>
<b>July</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>N/A</b>	<b>170</b>
<b>September</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>Over 100</b>
<b>December</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>294</b>
<b>March 2006</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>268</b>

**HEALTH INDICATORS<sup>107</sup>**

As reported in July 2005

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

**DOCTORS IN IRAQ<sup>108</sup>**

<b>Iraqi Physicians Registered Before the 2003 Invasion</b>	<b>34,000</b>
<b>Iraqi Physicians Who Have Left Iraq Since the 2003 Invasion</b>	<b>12,000 (estimate)</b>
<b>Iraqi Physicians Murdered Since 2003 Invasion</b>	<b>2,000</b>
<b>Iraqi Physicians Kidnapped</b>	<b>250</b>
<b>Average Salary of an Iraqi Physician</b>	<b>7.5 million Iraqi dinars per year (or ~\$5,100 per year)</b>
<b>Annual Graduates from Iraqi Medical Schools</b>	<b>2,250</b>
<b>Percentage of Above That Will Work Outside of Iraq</b>	<b>20%</b>

NOTE: Numbers are estimates.

**SOCIAL INDICATORS 1998 - 2004<sup>109</sup>**

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



**PUBLIC SERVICES<sup>110</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%" <sup>111</sup>

NOTE: Approximately 67% of Iraq's population of 27.1 billion lives in an urban environment. <sup>112</sup>

**CURRENT WATER PROJECTS OUTPUTS VS. CPA GOALS<sup>113</sup>**

Output Metric	Pre-War Level (2003)	State Goal by CPA (2003)	End-state Goal After Deferral	Status as of 11/30/05
<b>Water</b> – People with Potable Water Availability	12.9 Million	23.4 Million	12.85 Million	8.25 Million 2.75 Million added*
<b>Sewerage</b> – People with Sewerage System Coverage	6.2 Million	2.5 Million	5.6 Million	5 Million 4.5 Million added*
<b>Water Treatment Capacity</b>	3 Million m3/day	10 Million m3/day	2.25 Million m3/day	1.1 Million m3/day

NOTES ON CURRENT WATER PROJECTS TABLE: Outputs include total added since war and include IRRF and other funding streams.

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

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

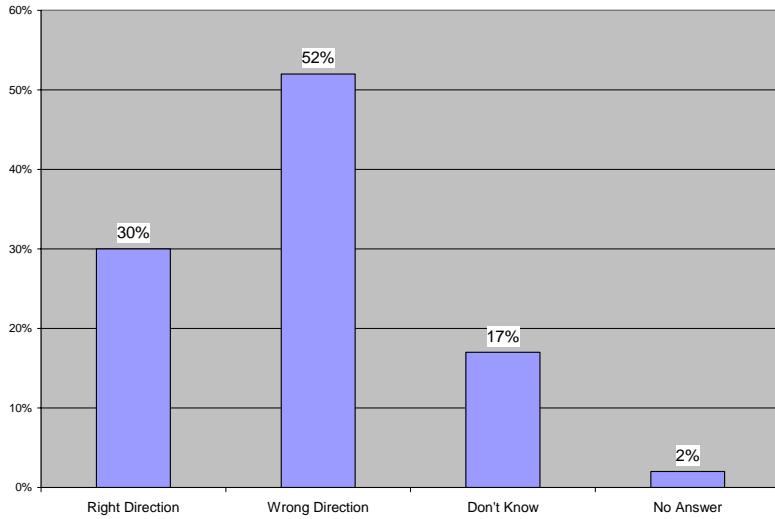
**PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT**

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

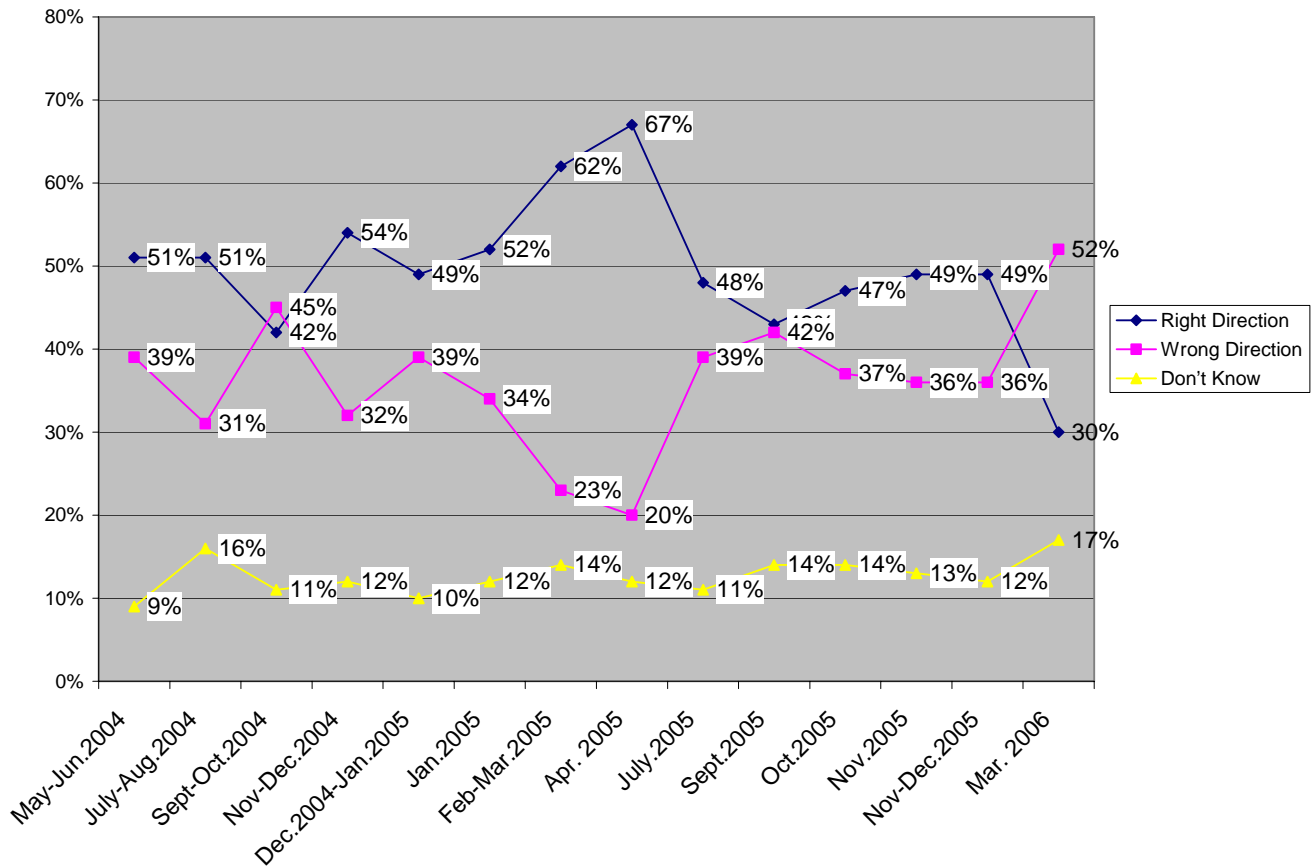
# POLLING/POLITICS

**MARCH 23-31, 2006: INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE**

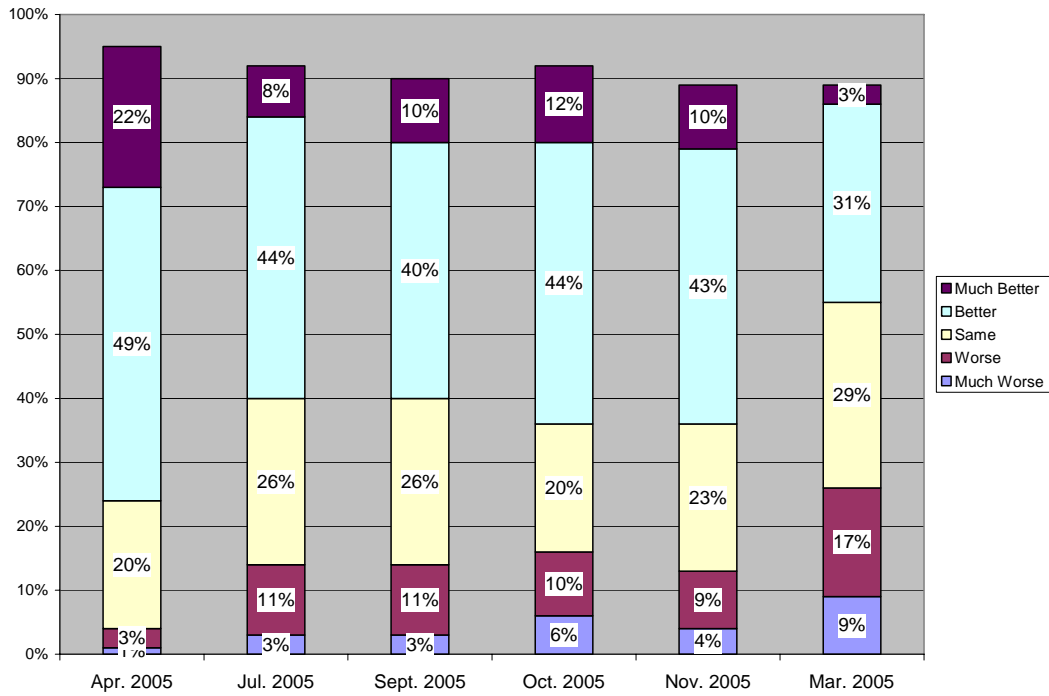
**QUESTION TO IRAQIS: DO YOU FEEL THAT IRAQ IS GENERALLY HEADED IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION OR THE WRONG DIRECTION?**



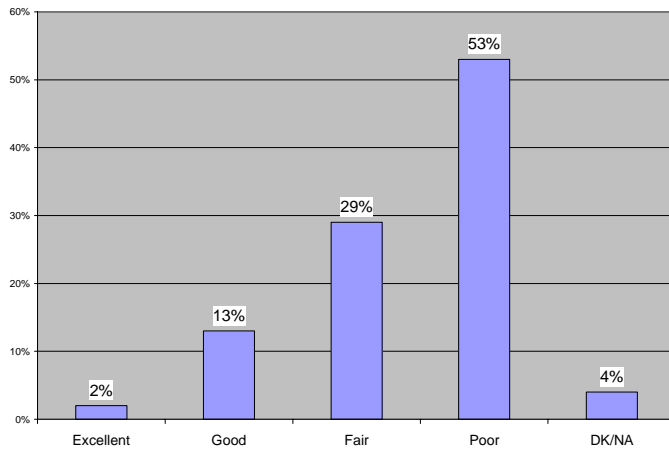
**TRENDS FOR QUESTION: DO YOU THINK IRAQ TODAY IS GENERALLY HEADED IN THE RIGHT OR WRONG DIRECTION? (MAY 2004 – MAY 2006)**



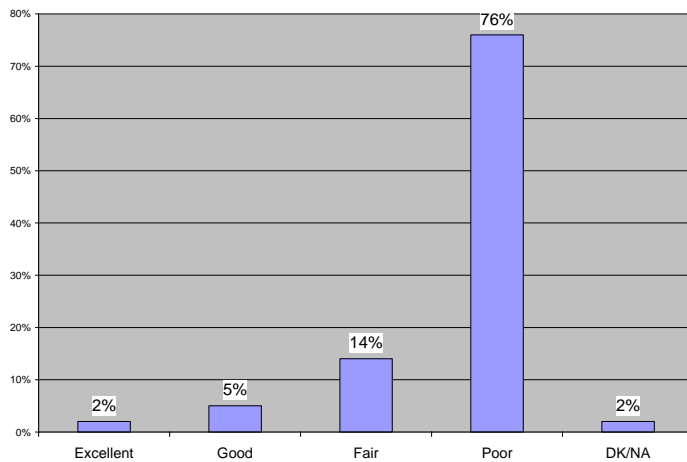
**TRENDS FOR QUESTION: THINKING ABOUT THE FUTURE, DO YOU FEEL THAT THINGS WILL BE BETTER, THE SAME OR WORSE IN SIX MONTHS?**



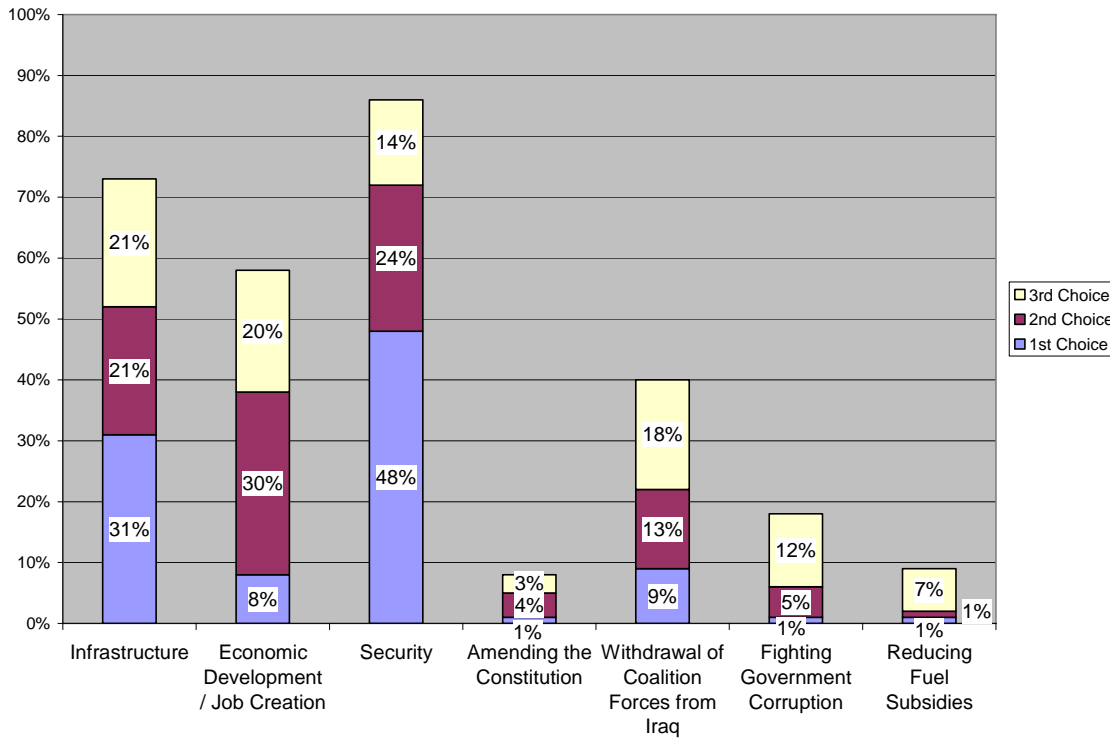
**QUESTION TO IRAQIS: HOW WOULD YOU RATE THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN IRAQ TODAY?**



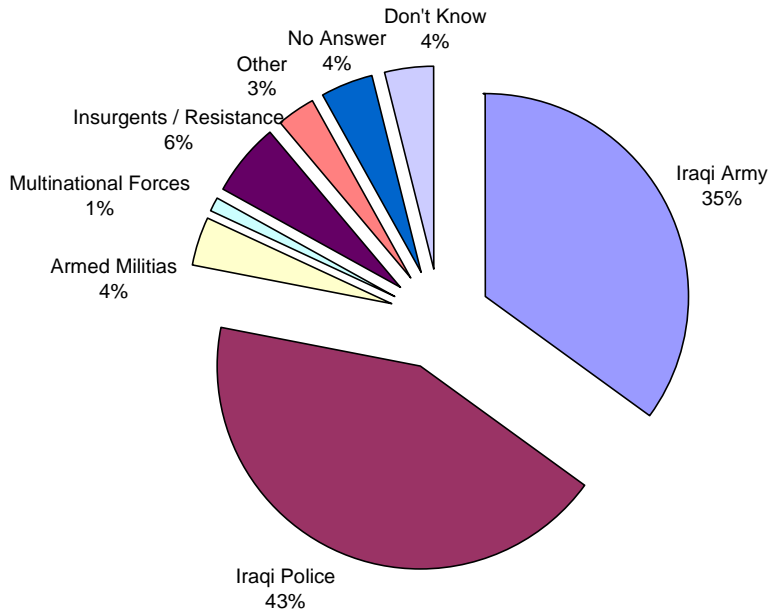
**QUESTION TO IRAQIS: HOW WOULD YOU RATE SECURITY CONDITIONS IN IRAQ TODAY?**



**QUESTION TO IRAQIS: WHICH ISSUES SHOULD BE HIGHEST PRIORITY IN THE NEW IRAQI GOVERNMENT?**

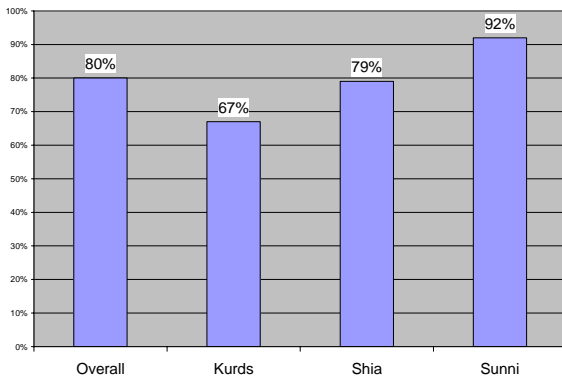


**QUESTION TO IRAQIS: WHOM DO YOU TRUST TO PROTECT YOUR PERSONAL SAFETY?**

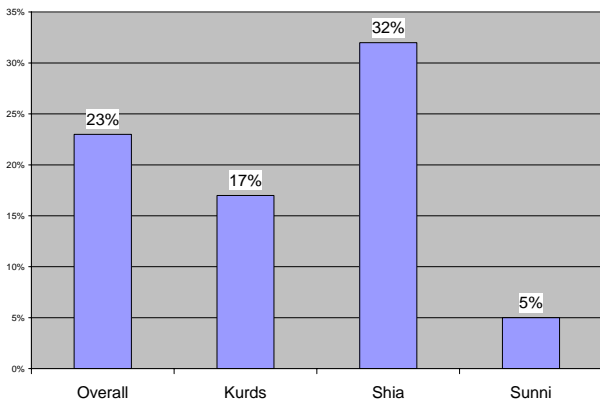


**JAN. 31, 2006: WORLD PUBLIC OPINION.ORG POLL – WHAT THE IRAQI PUBLIC WANTS**

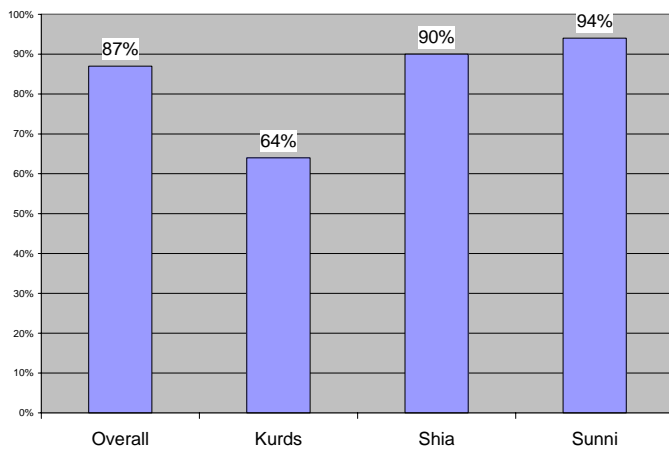
**QUESTION TO IRAQIS: DO YOU THINK THE US GOVERNMENT PLANS TO HAVE PERMANENT MILITARY BASES IN IRAQ OR TO REMOVE ALL ITS MILITARY ONCE IRAQ IS STABILIZED? (Chart shows those who feel the US plans permanent bases).**



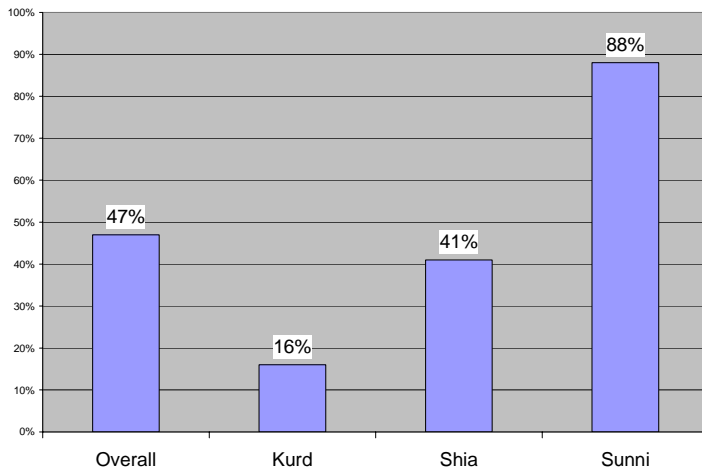
**QUESTION TO IRAQIS: IF THE NEW IRAQI GOVERNMENT WERE TO TELL THE US TO WITHDRAW ALL OF ITS FORCES WITHIN SIX MONTHS, DO YOU THINK THE US WOULD OR WOULD NOT DO SO? (chart shows those who feel the US would withdraw).**



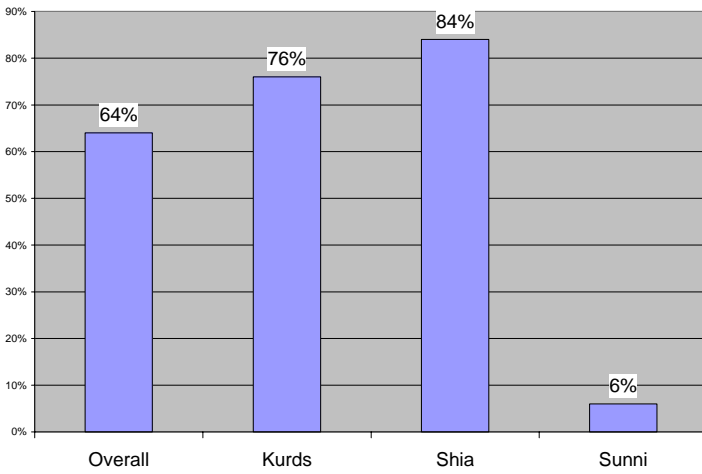
**QUESTION TO IRAQIS: DO YOU APPROVE THE GOVERNMENT ENDORSING A TIMELINE FOR US WITHDRAWAL? (chart shows those answering yes).**



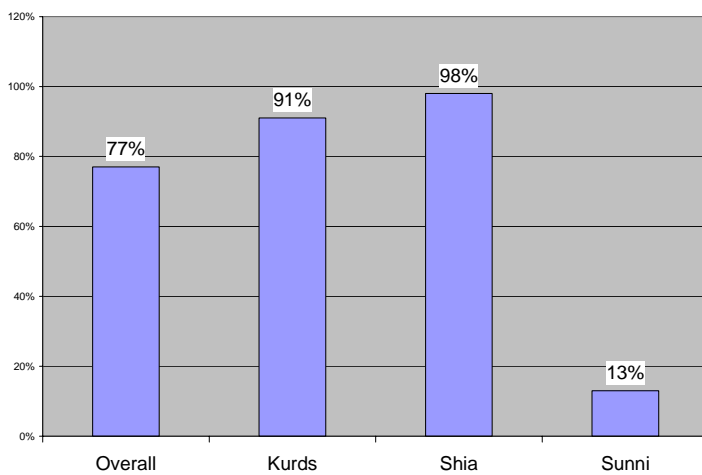
**QUESTION TO IRAQIS: DO YOU APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE (STRONGLY OR SOMEWHAT) OF ATTACKS ON US-LED FORCES IN IRAQ? (chart shows those who approve).**



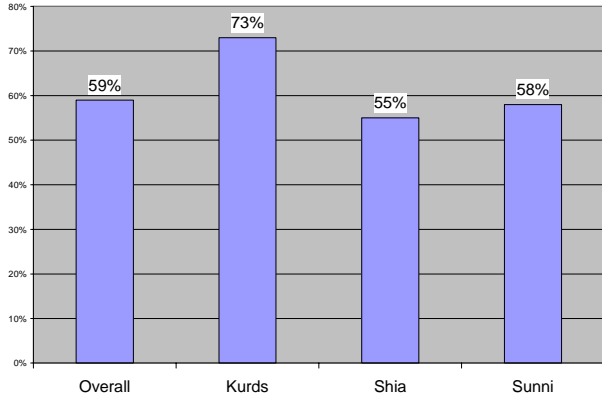
**QUESTION TO IRAQIS: DO YOU THINK THAT IRAQ TODAY IS GENERALLY HEADED IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION OR WRONG DIRECTION? (chart shows those who responded "right direction").**



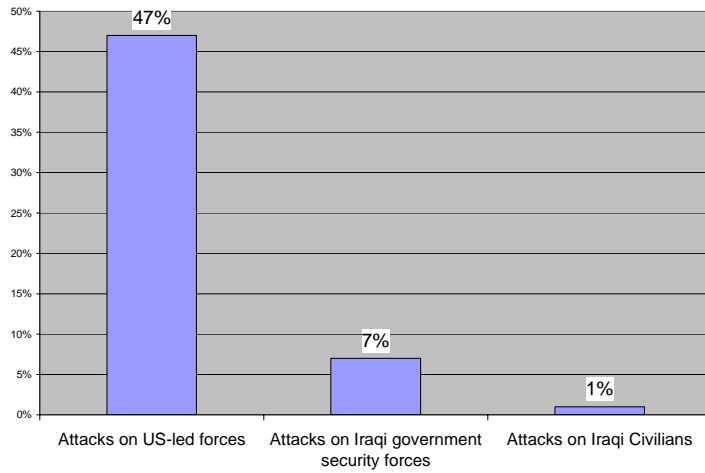
**QUESTION TO IRAQIS: THINKING ABOUT ANY HARDSHIPS YOU MIGHT HAVE SUFFERED SINCE THE US-BRITAIN INVASION, DO YOU PERSONALLY THINK THAT OUSTING SADDAM HUSSEIN WAS WORTH IT OR NOT? (chart shows those who responded "worth it").**



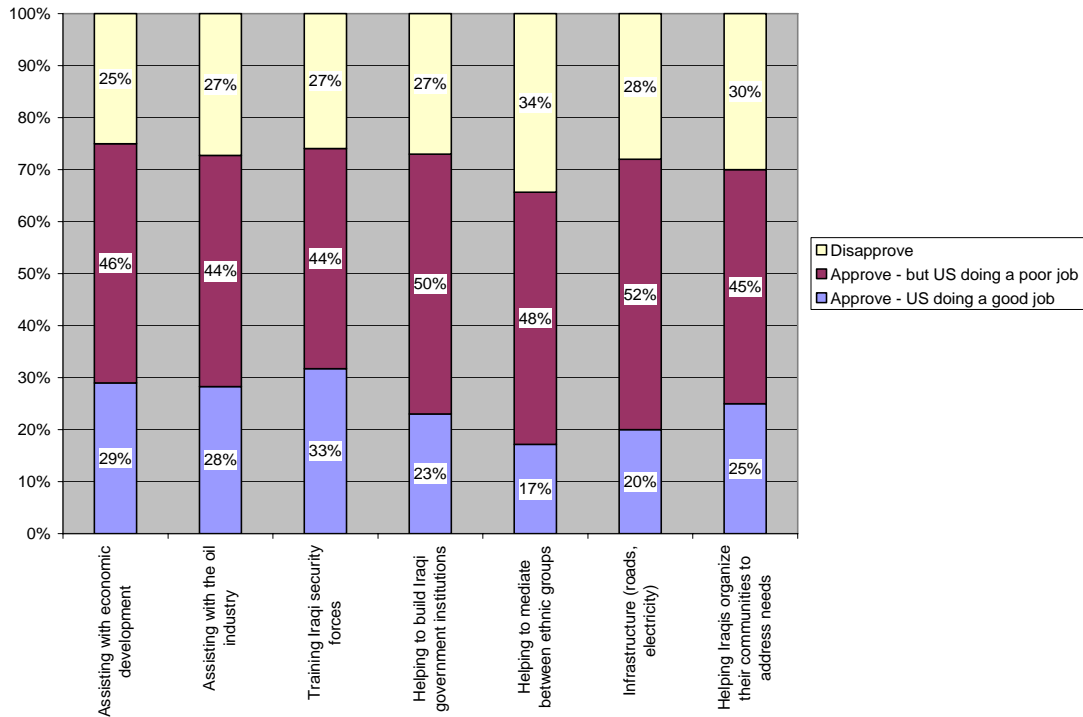
**QUESTION TO IRAQIS: DO YOU THINK THAT SIX MONTHS FROM NOW IRAQIS SECURITY FORCES WILL BE STRONG ENOUGH TO DEAL WITH THE SECURITY CHALLENGES THAT IRAQ WILL FACE, OR DO YOU THINK THAT IRAQ WILL STILL NEED THE HELP OF MILITARY FORCES FROM OTHER COUNTRIES? (chart shows those who feel Iraq will still need the help of military forces from other countries).**



**QUESTION TO IRAQIS: WHAT IS YOUR OVERALL SUPPORT FOR ATTACKS? (chart shows support for...)**

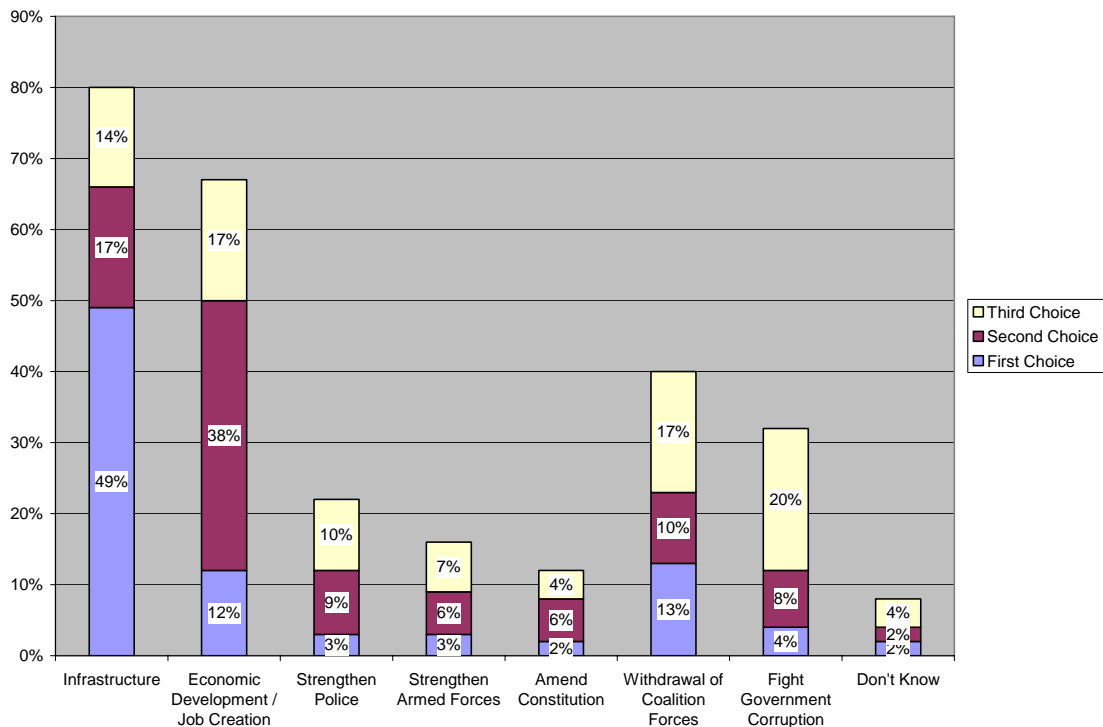


**QUESTION TO IRAQIS: REGARDING US NON-MILITARY ASSISTANCE IN THE FOLLOWING CATEGORIES, DO YOU APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE?**



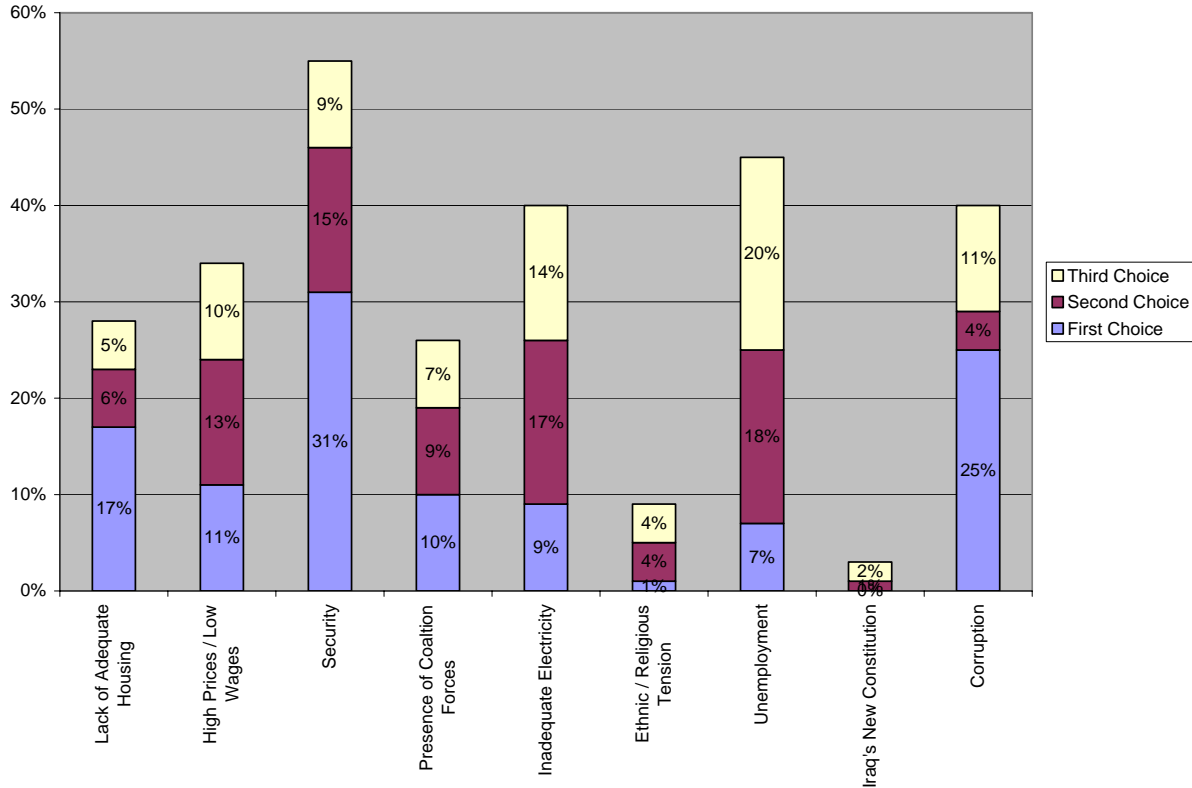
*NOVEMBER 30 – DECEMBER 7, 2005: INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE*

**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?**





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



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

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

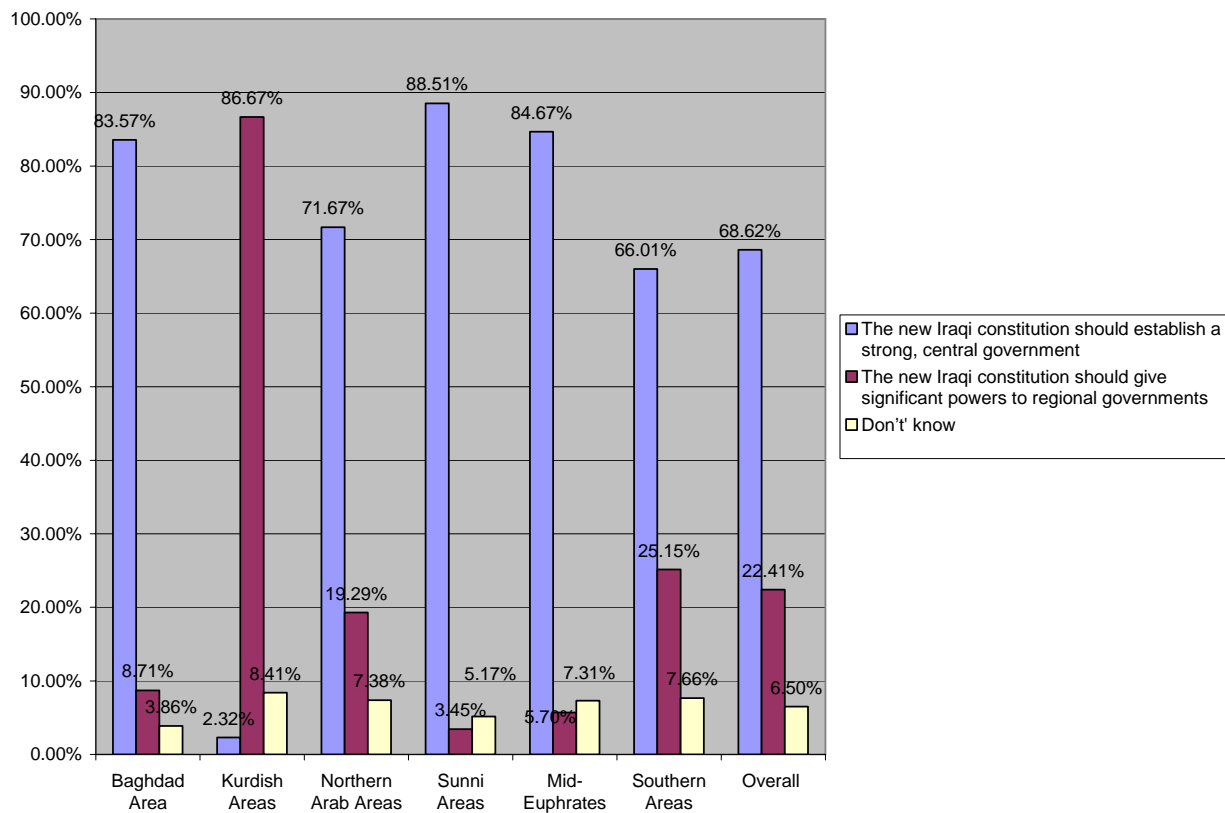
Who is responsible for improvement in the security situation (for those who saw a better security situation)	Iraqi police: 28% Government: 22% Iraqi Army: 12% Security Forces: 10%
Do you support or oppose the presence of Coalition Forces in Iraq?	Strongly support: 13% Somewhat support: 19% Somewhat oppose: 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 regime is "no priority at all"	63%

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

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

**JULY 9, 2005 – JULY 14, 2005: INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE**

**QUESTION TO IRAQIS: PLEASE TELL ME IN YOUR OPINION WHICH YOU WOULD PREFER TO HAVE AS PART OF A NEW IRAQI CONSTITUTION:**



**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 political ends?	...attacks against Iraqi security forces?	...attacks against Iraqi infrastructure?
August 2004 (Urban only)	Yes: 9% No: 89% Don't know: 1%	Yes: 6% No: 91% Don't know: 3%	Yes: 6% No: 91% Don't know: 3%
February 2005 (Urban only)	Yes: 4% No: 93% Don't know: 3%	Yes: 2% No: 96% Don't know: 2%	Yes: 4% No: 93% Don't know: 3%

**WHO CAN IMPROVE THE SITUATION IN IRAQ:  
IRAQI SECURITY FORCES, U.S. MILITARY FORCES OR THE ARMED NATIONAL OPPOSITION?**

Time	How would you rate your confidence in...		
	... the <i>Iraqi National Guard</i> improving the situation in Iraq?	... <i>U.S. military forces</i> improving the situation in Iraq?	... the <i>armed national opposition</i> improving the situation in Iraq?
August 2004 (Urban only)	A great deal/Quite a lot: 74% Not very much/None at all: 15% Don't know: 11%	A great deal/Quite a lot: 8% Not very much/None at all: 86% Don't know: 6%	A great deal/Quite a lot: 32% Not very much/None at all: 55% Don't know: 13%
February 2005 (Urban only)	A great deal/Quite a lot: 76% Not very much/None at all: 17% Don't know: 7%	A great deal/Quite a lot: 15% Not very much/None at all: 76% Don't know: 9%	A great deal/Quite a lot: 20% Not very much/None at all: 51% 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 (Urban only)	Support: 23% Oppose: 71% Don't know: 6%

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

**COMPOSITION OF IRAQI GOVERNMENT**

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

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

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

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

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

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

In order to streamline our endnotes, we have removed most references to information from before May 1, 2006. These footnotes may be found in archived editions of the Iraq Index. <http://www.brookings.edu/fp/saban/iraq/indexarchive.htm>.

<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](http://www.defenselink.mil/news/casualty.pdf)).

<sup>2</sup> Iraq Coalition Casualty Count, ([icasualties.org/oif/stats.aspx](http://icasualties.org/oif/stats.aspx)).

<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>4</sup> Lawrence J. Korb and Nigel Holmes, “Two Years and Counting,” *New York Times*, March 20, 2005.

<sup>5</sup> Casualties update daily from “Operation Iraqi Freedom U.S. Casualty Status,” *Department of Defense*, ([www.defenselink.mil/news/](http://www.defenselink.mil/news/)).

<sup>6</sup> “Details of British Casualties,” *British Ministry of Defense*, ([www.operations.mod.uk/telic/casualties.htm](http://www.operations.mod.uk/telic/casualties.htm)).

<sup>7</sup> Iraq Coalition Casualty Count, ([icasualties.org/oif/](http://icasualties.org/oif/)).

<sup>8</sup> Iraq Coalition Casualty Count, ([icasualties.org/oif/](http://icasualties.org/oif/)).

<sup>9</sup> Monthly figures from January 2005 and onwards from Iraq Coalition Casualty Count, ([www.icasualties.org/oif/IraqiDeaths.aspx](http://www.icasualties.org/oif/IraqiDeaths.aspx)).

<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. 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. December 2005 number is an estimate. Numbers for January 2006 through April 2006 are based on Rick Jervis, “Car Bombings Down, Military Says,” *USA Today*, May 9, 2006, which states that from in that time period, there were a total of 284 car bombs. This averages to 71 per month during that period. May 2006 number is author’s estimate.

<sup>11</sup> Ellen Knickmeyer and Bassam Sebt, “Toll in Iraq’s Deadly Surge: 1,300; Morgue Count Eclipses Other Tallies Since Shrine Attack,” *Washington Post*, February 28, 2006. Ellen Knickmeyer, “Pressure Seen on Probes at Baghdad Morgue; Former UN Envoy Says ‘Both Sides’ Exerting Influence; Death Count in Dispute,” *Washington Post*, March 1, 2006. Ann Scott Tyson, “US Commander in Iraq Says ‘Crisis Has Passed’; Civil War Still Possible, Casey Warns,” *Washington Post*, March 4, 2006.

<sup>12</sup> Iraq Body Count, ([iraqbodycount.net](http://iraqbodycount.net)).

<sup>13</sup> Sinan Salaheddin, “Eight Iraqis Killed, Protesters Demand Better Security in Baghdad,” *Associated Press Worldstream*, May 1, 2006. 4 killed, 2 wounded by bomb. Robert Reid, “Bomber Kills 15 in Iraq Police Attack,” *Associated Press Online*, May 3, 2006. 10 killed by suicide bomber. Borzou Daragahi, “Iraq Parliament Meets as Attacks Rise,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 4, 2006. 18 killed, 20 wounded by suicide bomb. Thomas Wagner, “10 Iraqis, Two US Soldiers Killed in Bombings in Baghdad,” *Associated Press Worldstream*, May 4, 2006. 10 killed, 52 wounded by suicide bomber. “Three US Soldiers Among 12 Dead in Iraq Unrest,” *Agence France Presse*, May 5, 2006. 3 killed by roadside bomb. Bushra Juhi, “Suicide Attacker Kills Soldiers on Iraqi Base,” *Associated Press*, May 6, 2006. 3 killed, 1 wounded by suicide bomber. Robert Reid, “Iraqis, British Troops Spar After Crash,” *Associated Press Online*, May 6, 2006. 3 killed by car bomb. “Nine Killed in Baghdad Car Bombings,” *Agence France Presse*, May 7, 2006. 8 killed, 15 wounded in car bomb. 15 killed, 10 wounded by car bomb. “At Least Eight Killed in Iraq Car Bomb, Shooting Attacks,” *Agence France Presse*, May 8, 2006. 5 killed, 10 wounded in car bomb. Robert Reid, “Car Bombs Kill 16, 26 Found Dead in Iraq,” *Associated Press Online*, May 8, 2006. 3 killed by roadside bomb. Richard Opiel, Jr., “At Least 14 are Killed by Car Bombs in Baghdad and Karbala,” *New York Times*, May 8, 2006. There were several estimates on how many were killed in the Karbala bombing, earlier listed at 15 killed, 10 wounded. We have taken a middle estimate, and have thus revised our total down to 10 killed, 10 wounded. “Rebels Kill 12 as Iraq Parliament Meets,” *Agence France Presse*, May 10, 2006. 24 killed, 134 wounded in suicide bomb. “Five Iraqis Killed by Roadside Bomb in Baghdad,” *Associated Press Worldstream*, May 11, 2006. 5 killed, 2 wounded. “Forty Killed in Day of Iraq Carnage,” *Agence France Presse*, May 14, 2006. 14 killed, 6 wounded by 2 suicide bombs. 3 killed, 3 wounded by bomb. “At Least 16 killed in Iraq Violence,”

*Agence France Presse*, May 14, 2006. 5 killed, 4 wounded by bomb. 3 killed, 13 wounded by bomb. Dexter Filkins, "Kurdish and Shiite Units of Iraqi Army Clash," *New York Times*, May 14, 2006. 4 killed, 2 wounded by roadside bomb. Thomas Wagner, "7 Bombs Explode in Baghdad Killing 12 Iraqis, Wounding 61," *Associated Press*, May 14, 2006. 4 killed, 16 wounded by roadside bomb. "Almost 50 Iraqis Killed in Violence," *Agence France Presse*, May 16, 2006. 18 killed, 38 wounded in car bomb. "Four Killed in Iraq Bakery Attack," *Agence France Presse*, May 17, 2006. 3 killed, 5 wounded in bomb. Megan Stack, "Violence Rages, Talks Inch Along," *Los Angeles Times*, May 17, 2006. 4 killed by roadside bomb. "Iraq Undecided Over Security Posts as Violence Persists," *Agence France Presse*, May 18, 2006. 5 killed by roadside bomb. Sameer Yacoub, "Attacks Kill 2 Dozen People, Including 4 US Soldiers, in Iraq," *Associated Press*, May 18, 2006. 8 killed, 9 wounded by roadside bomb. 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"Five Killed, 15 Wounded in Baghdad Market Bombing," *Agence France Presse*, May 23, 2006. 5 killed, 15 wounded in car bomb. Sameer Yacoub, "7 Iraqis Killed in Drive-by Shootings North of Baghdad," *Associated Press*, May 23, 2006. 5 killed, 8 wounded by car bomb. "Bomb Kills 11 Outside Shiite Mosque in Baghdad," *Associated Press*, May 23, 2006. 11 killed, 9 wounded by bomb. Bushra Juhi, "Bombing Kills 11 at Mosque; Bush to Reassess Need for US Troops," *Chicago Tribune*, May 24, 2006. 3 killed, 12 wounded in roadside bomb. Megan Stack and Saif Hameed, "Talks on Security Continue in Iraq, as do Deaths," *Los Angeles Times*, May 24, 2006. 3 killed, 3 wounded by bomb. Nelson Hernandez and Naseer Nouri, "Iraqi Insurgent Gives Chilling Confession," *Washington Post*, May 24, 2006. 7 killed in bomb. 9 killed in bomb. "Iraqi Minister Vows Baghdad Security Top Priority," *Agence France Presse*, May 25, 2006. 3 killed, 11 wounded by bomb. Kim Gamel, "Car Bomb Kills at Least 9 in Baghdad," *Associated Press Online*, May 26, 2006. 9 killed, 30 wounded by bomb. Sinan Salaheddin, "Iraqi Politicians Struggle to Reach Agreement on Key Security Posts; Car Bomb Near Bus Station Kills 4," *Associated Press*, May 27, 2006. 4 killed, 7 wounded by car bomb. "US Reporter 'Serious' Wounds From Iraq Bomb," *Agence France Presse*, May 29, 2006. 4 killed, 1 wounded by bomb. "Dozens Killed in String of Iraq Bombings," *Agence France Presse*, May 29, 2006. 14 killed, 17 wounded by bus bomb. 12 killed, 24 wounded by car bomb. 5 killed, 7 wounded by car bomb. 7 killed, 9 wounded by bus bomb. "Iraq Attacks Leave 39 Dead," *Agence France Presse*, May 29, 2006. 3 killed, 5 wounded by car bomb. "Bombs and Shootings Claim 53 Lives in Iraq," *Agence France Presse*, May 30, 2006. 22 killed, 58 wounded in car bomb. 12 killed, 32 wounded in car bomb. 9 killed, 10 wounded in bomb. 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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

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<sup>18</sup> Rick Jervis, Peter Johnson and Jim Drinkard, "Iraq Bombing Highlights Dangers Journalists Face," *USA Today*, January 30, 2006 and Committee to Protect Journalists, <http://www.cpi.org>.

<sup>19</sup> Rick Jervis, Peter Johnson and Jim Drinkard, "Iraq Bombing Highlights Dangers Journalists Face," *USA Today*, January 30, 2006 and Committee to Protect Journalists, <http://www.cpi.org>.

<sup>20</sup> Rick Jervis, Peter Johnson and Jim Drinkard, "Iraq Bombing Highlights Dangers Journalists Face," *USA Today*, January 30, 2006 and Committee to Protect Journalists, <http://www.cpi.org>.

<sup>21</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>22</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>23</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>24</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. Assad Abboud, "Iraq's Forgotten Kidnap Victims Suffer in Silence," *Agence France Presse*, March 25, 2006.

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<sup>33</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.

<sup>34</sup> "Danish Soldier Dies in Roadside Bomb Blast in Iraq," *Associated Press*, March 23, 2006. "British and Australian PMs Defend Iraq Involvement," *Agence France Presse*, March 28, 2006. "Three Years On, Europe Weary of War in Iraq," *Agence France Presse*, March 16, 2006. David Sands, "Romania Backs Alternate Route for Pipeline to West; Black Sea Called Key to Stability," *The Washington Times*, March 29, 2006. "Japan to Decide on Iraq Troop Pullout in Months: Reports," *Agence France Presse*, April 16, 2006. "Georgian Military Contingent Sets Off for Iraq," *Associated Press Worldstream*, March 24, 2006. "Poland, US Sign Deal for Pilotless Spy Planes," *Associated Press Worldstream*, April 22, 2006. "Two Italians, Romanian from Iraq Force Killed in Bomb Attack," *Agence France Presse*, April 27, 2006. Jung Sung-ki, "Seoul Begins Troop Pullout From Iraq," *Korea Times*, May 9, 2006. "Danish Prime Minister Visits Danish Troops During Surprise Trip to Iraq," *Associated Press Worldstream*, May 23, 2006. Qassim Abdul-Zahra, "Iraqi Leader Prepares to Name Ministers," *Associated Press Online*, May 26, 2006. William J. Kole, "Italy, South Korea Latest to Pull Troops from US-led 'Coalition of the Dwindling' in Iraq," *Associated Press Worldstream*, May 30, 2006.

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<sup>37</sup> Measuring Stability and Security in Iraq February 2006, Report to Congress in Accordance with the Department of Defense Appropriations Act 2006 (Section 9010), page 27. 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. Measuring Security and Stability and Security in Iraq, May 2006, Report to Congress In Accordance with the Department of Defense Appropriations Act 2006 (Section 9010), p. 32.

<sup>38</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 21. Information from MNC-1.

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<sup>40</sup> 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 Presse*, January 16, 2006. US helicopter crashed north of Baghdad, killing its two pilots. “Two US Pilots, Four Troops Killed in Iraq,” *Agence France Presse*, April 2, 2006. “Two Killed When US Helicopter Shot Down in Iraq,” *Agence France Presse*, May 15, 2006. “Attacks in Iraq Kill 54 People in Bloodiest Day in Recent Weeks,” *Associated Press Worldstream*, May 30, 2006. US helicopter crashed in western Iraq; 2 marines killed. Hostile fire not suspected.

<sup>41</sup> Measuring Stability and Security in Iraq, May 2006, Report to Congress in Accordance with the Department of Defense Appropriations Act 2006 (Section 9010), p. 36.

<sup>42</sup> “Iraqi Women Stay in Jail as Hostages’ Fate in Balance,” *Agence France Presse*, February 5, 2006. Number four in Al-Qaida arrested. “Iraq Al-Qaeda Chief Zarqawi Killed in Air Strike,” *Agence France Presse*, June 8, 2006. Abu Musab al-Zarqawi killed.

<sup>43</sup> Iraq Weekly Status Report, *Department of State*. 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.

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<sup>46</sup> 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>47</sup> Measuring Stability and Security in Iraq February 2006, Report to Congress in Accordance with the Department of Defense Appropriations Act 2006 (Section 9010), page 37 and 38.

<sup>48</sup> Measuring Stability and Security in Iraq February 2006, Report to Congress in Accordance with the Department of Defense Appropriations Act 2006 (Section 9010), page 36.

<sup>49</sup> Joseph Giordano, “Sunni Troops Graduate From US-Run Training,” *Mideast Stars and Stripes*, May 1, 2006.

<sup>50</sup> Bryan Bender and Farah Stockman, “Officials Grapple With Ethnic Split in Iraqi Forces,” *Boston Globe*, April 11, 2006.

<sup>51</sup> Measuring Stability and Security in Iraq February 2006, Report to Congress in Accordance with the Department of Defense Appropriations Act 2006 (Section 9010), page 37.

<sup>52</sup> Measuring Stability and Security in Iraq February 2006, Report to Congress in Accordance with the Department of Defense Appropriations Act 2006 (Section 9010), page 38.

<sup>53</sup> Steven Komarow, “Pentagon Boosts Number of U.S. Air Missions,” *USA Today*, March 16, 2006.

<sup>54</sup> Iraq: Red Crescent Society Aiding Internally Displaced Iraqis, *Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty*, April 21, 2006. Steve Negus “Samarra Attack Blamed For Growing Refugee Problem,” *London Financial Times*, May 4, 2006. Other estimates suggest that 14,000 families were displaced, totaling approximately 70,000 to 80,000 people. “A Clarification on Displaced Iraqis,” *New York Times*, April 30, 2006.

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<sup>56</sup> Measuring Stability and Security in Iraq February 2006, Report to Congress in Accordance with the Department of Defense Appropriations Act 2006 (Section 9010), page 30. 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. MNF-I Press Conference, 20 April 2006.

<sup>57</sup> *National Strategy for Victory in Iraq*, National Security Council, November 2005, page 16.

<sup>58</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](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/4450582.stm), accessed 18 November 2005.

<sup>59</sup> “Iraq’s New Legislature,” *Washington Post*, January 26, 2006.

<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.

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<sup>62</sup> “Iraq Fact Sheet: Oil,” *Joint Staff & CPA*, Unclassified. Provided to the author by CPA/DoD. As of December 11, 2003.

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- <sup>81</sup> 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.
- <sup>82</sup> As of January 2004.
- <sup>83</sup> As of January 2004.
- <sup>84</sup> “Iraq Weekly Status Report”, *Department of Defense*, June 22, 2004, May 25, 2004, April 27, 2004. <sup>84a</sup> “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.
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- <sup>91</sup> James Glanz, “Despite Crushing Costs, Iraqi Cabinet Lets Big Subsidies Stand,” *New York Times*, August 11, 2005.
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