



# THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

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## **TESTIMONY ON THE IRAQ MISSION OF MICHAEL O'HANLON, SENIOR FELLOW, BROOKINGS INSTITUTION, BEFORE THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, APRIL 21, 2004 (WRITTEN REMARKS PREPARED BY MICHAEL O'HANLON AND ADRIANA LINS DE ALBEQUERQUE)**

Thank you Mr. Chairman, Mr. Ranking Member, and other members of the committee for the honor of testifying on the crucial matter of current U.S. Iraq policy. The body of my testimony is a statistical analysis of trends in Iraq since last April that my colleague Adriana Lins de Albuquerque and I have been conducting over the past year, based largely on DoD data but also on journalistic accounts, other official information, and our own analytical judgments. We believe that tracking various metrics of progress (or lack thereof) in Iraq over an extended period provides useful perspective on what is going well, and what is not going so well, in that country today. It will come as little surprise that little is going well of late in the security sphere, even if one looks beyond recent coalition casualty figures to subtler and longer-term trends. Thankfully, there is reason for some tempered optimism on the economics and politics fronts—though as an analyst who has been generally positive about how the post-Saddam Iraq mission would unfold, I must concede that on balance things have not gone nearly as well as I had hoped or expected.

Before presenting some of the key information from the index, I would like to briefly answer the questions you posed, Senator Lugar, in your April 8 letter inviting me to testify:

**WHAT ARE THE CRITICAL ELEMENTS NEEDED FOR A COMPREHENSIVE TRANSITION PLAN?** Of course, many things are needed here—such as a proper pathway to true elections next year and to creation of an Iraqi constitution, assurances of minority rights and women's rights, a delicate balance between according Islam an influential role in Iraqi public life while protecting freedom of religion, methods of dealing with Saddam Hussein and other war criminals and more generally former Baathists, and adequate security for future leaders and public servants.

But one thing above all else is needed now, and that is a legitimate body to which to transfer sovereignty in two short months. A key issue is whether those individuals in the interim government will be eligible to run for office in subsequent elections; my instinct is that they should not be eligible to run in next winter's planned elections, but in any case this is a critical matter to resolve. If the United Nations, through Mr. Brahimi, is successful in developing a caretaker government with general acceptability to most main Iraqi factions and key leaders, the general notion of transferring sovereignty by June 30 seems sound and workable. Not only that, it is desirable, given the need to defuse the growing feeling of anti-Americanism in Iraq, which increasingly appears to fuel the insurgency.

WHAT SHOULD THE ROLES, MISSIONS, AND RESPONSIBILITIES BE OF THE UNITED STATES, OTHER COALITION PARTNERS, THE IRAQIS, THE UNITED NATIONS AND NATO TO ENSURE THE TRANSITION CAN SUCCEED? Again, this is a complex question, but the most important policy point is that the United States must unambiguously support the United Nations, and exercise its leadership through that organization. We have lost a good deal of our legitimacy in Iraq, so we need to hope the UN can do better. On balance, the Bush administration now seems to agree with this argument, albeit very belatedly.

DO WE HAVE ENOUGH RESOURCES, THE RIGHT PEOPLE AND THE RIGHT ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE TO DO THE JOB? We may need further tactical increases in troop strength, especially in Sunni regions, on the order of several thousands of additional troops. This makes me more persuaded than ever that we need a substantial, sustained increase in the size of the U.S. Army, to deal with subsequent rotations in Iraq and other missions, of some 50,000 more active-duty troops (above and beyond what Secretary Rumsfeld has authorized using emergency powers and funds).

I am hopeful that the Shiite uprising of al-Sadr's forces can be contained, since it does not appear to enjoy a wide following. Unfortunately, the same sort of conclusion may not be true in regard to Sunni regions in general and Fallujah in particular. President Bush's remarks at his 4/13 press conference that the insurgency is nothing more than a small group making a grab for power does not seem correct in reference to the Sunni region. There, it has taken on a more general anti-occupation/anti-American flavor (which is why I do agree with President Bush's desire to transfer sovereignty as soon as possible; doing so should help defuse the anti-American aspect of the insurgency).

We may need more money but not yet. The key is to get the \$18 billion flowing, not worry too much right away about whether it will be enough.

With that I will proceed to our Iraq index, statistical metrics gauging trends in that country.

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

**[www.brookings.edu/iraqindex](http://www.brookings.edu/iraqindex)**

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# **SECURITY INDICATORS**

## **U.S. TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MAY 1**

4/19/2004

<b>Month</b>	<b>U.S. troop losses since May 1, 2003<sup>1</sup></b>		
	<b>Fatalities (all kinds)</b>	<b>Fatalities in hostile incidents</b>	<b>Fatalities in non-hostile incidents</b>
<b>May</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>June</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>July</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>August</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>September</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>October</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>November</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>December</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>January</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>February</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>March</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>April</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Total as of April 19</b>	<b>568</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>168</b>

## **U.S TROOPS WOUNDED IN ACTION SINCE MAY 1**

4/19/2004

<b>Month</b>	<b>Wounded in action<sup>2</sup></b>
<b>May</b>	<b>54</b>
<b>June</b>	<b>147</b>
<b>July</b>	<b>226</b>
<b>August</b>	<b>181</b>
<b>September</b>	<b>247</b>
<b>October</b>	<b>413</b>
<b>November</b>	<b>337</b>
<b>December</b>	<b>261</b>
<b>January</b>	<b>191</b>
<b>February</b>	<b>151</b>
<b>March</b>	<b>291</b>
<b>April</b>	<b>590</b>
<b>Total as of April 19</b>	<b>3,089</b>

**NOTE:** From the start of the war on March 19 until the end of major combat operations on April 30, 2003 Operation Iraqi Freedom caused 138 American troop fatalities. Of those, 109 were the result of hostile action, and 29 the result of non-hostile action. 65 U.S. troops were killed in March 2003. There were a total of 73 American fatalities in April, 2003 22 of which were killed after April 9. Of those 22, 10 were the result of hostile action and 12 the result of non-hostile action.

**NOTE:** 541 American troops were wounded in action between March 19 and April 30, 2003.

**BRITISH TROOP FATALITIES SINCE MAY 1**

4/19/2004

Month	U.K. troop fatalities since May 1, 2003 <sup>3</sup>
May	4
June	6
July	1
August	5
September	2
October	1
November	1
December	0
January	5
February	1
March	0
April	0
<b>Total as of April 19</b>	<b>26</b>

**NON-U.S. & U.K. COALITION FATALITIES SINCE MAY 1**

4/19/2004

Month	Fatalities
May	0
June	0
July	0
August	2
September	1
October	2
November	24
December	9
January	0
February	1
March	0
April	2
<b>Total as of April 19</b>	<b>41</b>

**CASUALTIES TO IRAQI SECURITY FORCES**

3/15/2004

Total number of Iraqi security forces killed since May as of March 13	Total number of Iraqi security forces wounded in action as of November 4
350 <sup>4</sup>	182 <sup>5</sup>

**NOTE:** Up until May 1, 2003, Operation Iraqi Freedom caused 33 British troop fatalities. Of those 33 fatalities, 6 occurred during the month of April. Of the 6 fatalities that occurred in April, 2 occurred after April 9.

**NOTE:** Excluding American and British troop fatalities, there were no coalition fatalities from the start of the war up until May 1. All such fatalities occurred after that date.

**NOTE:** The following is a detailed account of the non-U.S. & non-U.K. fatalities;

One Danish military fatality, August 19; one Spanish military fatality, August 20; Ukrainian military fatality, September 30.;Two Spanish military fatalities, October 9, and October 26( The former fatality was a Spanish military attaché. ); One Polish military fatality, November 6; 16 Italian military fatalities, November 12; 7 Spanish military fatalities, November 29 (Since the Spanish fatalities were intelligence officers, they are being counted as military rather than civilian fatalities); One Polish military fatality, December 22; 6 Bulgarian military fatalities, December 27; 2 Thai military fatalities, December 27; One Estonian military fatality, February 29; One Salvadorian soldier April 4; One Ukrainian soldier April 6.

**NOTE:** The estimate of casualties to Iraqi security forces is a very rough one. The total number of Iraqi security forces killed as of March 28 is assumed to be a minimum as it only reflects Iraqi police killed since the fall of Baghdad.

**IRAQI CIVILIAN CASUALTIES**

4/19/2004

Month	Iraqi civilians killed <sup>6</sup>
June	75
July	31
August	37
September	61
October	111
November	92
December	152
January	87
February	286
March	268
Total as of March 28	1,200

**NON-IRAQI CIVILIAN CASUALTIES**

4/19/2004

Month	Non-Iraqi civilians killed
May	0
June	0
July	0
August	25 <sup>7</sup>
September	0
October	2 <sup>8</sup>
November	9 <sup>9</sup>
December	0
January	10 <sup>10</sup>
February	0
March	14 <sup>11</sup>
April	5 <sup>12</sup>
Total as of April 19	65

**NOTE:** The estimate of Iraqi civilians killed is a very rough one. There may be some double counting of the people that are reported as dead due to violent incidents by the Iraqi morgue and reports of individual incidents, although measures to minimize any such double counting have been taken by focusing on separate incidents only.

**NOTE:** Of the 65 non-Iraqi civilians killed as of April 19, at least 16 were Americans, and 19 were contractors. The various nationalities of the United Nations employees killed on August 19 are not available at present.

**NOTE:** At least 30 Halliburton employees have been killed since the start of the war. Andrew Jacobs and Simon Romero, "Workers, Lured by Money and Idealism, Face Iraqi Reality," *New York Times*, April 14, 2004.

**MASS CASUALTY BOMBINGS IN IRAQ SINCE MAY**

4/19/2004

Month	Mass casualty car bombings/ Suicide bombings	Killed	Wounded
May	0	0	0
June	0	0	0
July	0	0	0
August	3 <sup>13</sup>	128	292
September	2 <sup>14</sup>	1	21
October	12 <sup>15</sup>	73	246
November	4 <sup>16</sup>	48	150
December	12 <sup>17</sup>	64	223
January	7 <sup>18</sup>	51	237
February	16 <sup>19</sup>	149	240
March	7 <sup>20</sup>	193	435
April	0	0	0
<b>Total as of April 19</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>707</b>	<b>1,844</b>

**NOTE:** 55 of the 60 bombings as of April 12 were suicide bombings. Casualties do not include the suicide bombers. The tallies for the number of killed and wounded are approximate.



**COALITION TROOP STRENGTH IN IRAQ SINCE MAY**

4/16/2004

Month	U.S. troops in Iraq			Other coalition troops in Iraq (excluding U.S & Iraqi forces)	Total international troop strength in Iraq
	Active	Reserve	Total		
May	~142,000 <sup>21</sup>	~8,000 <sup>22</sup>	150,000 <sup>23</sup>	23,000 <sup>24</sup>	173,000
June	~126,000 <sup>25</sup>	~24,000 <sup>26</sup>	150,000 <sup>27</sup>	21,000 <sup>28</sup>	171,000
July	~124,000 <sup>29</sup>	~25,000 <sup>30</sup>	149,000 <sup>31</sup>	21,000 <sup>32</sup>	170,000
August	~114,000 <sup>33</sup>	~25,000 <sup>34</sup>	139,000 <sup>35</sup>	22,000 <sup>36</sup>	161,000
September	~103,000 <sup>37</sup>	~29,000 <sup>38</sup>	132,000 <sup>39</sup>	24,000 <sup>40</sup>	156,000
October	~102,000 <sup>41</sup>	~29,000 <sup>42</sup>	131,000 <sup>43</sup>	25,000 <sup>44</sup>	156,000
November	N/A	N/A	123,000 <sup>45</sup>	23,900 <sup>46</sup>	146,900
December	~85,400 <sup>47</sup>	~36,600 <sup>48</sup>	122,000 <sup>49</sup>	24,500 <sup>50</sup>	146,500
January	N/A	N/A	122,000 <sup>51</sup>	25,600 <sup>52</sup>	147,600
February	N/A	N/A	115,000 <sup>53</sup>	24,000 <sup>54</sup>	139,000
March	N/A	N/A	130,000 <sup>55</sup>	24,000 <sup>56</sup>	154,000
April	N/A	N/A	137,000 <sup>57</sup>	24,000 <sup>58</sup>	161,000

N/A= Not available

**U.S. TROOPS ENGAGED IN OPERATION IRAQI FREEDOM  
STATIONED IN THE VICINITIES OF IRAQ AND AT SEA**

1/28/2004

Month	Number of U.S. troops
September	51,000 <sup>59</sup>

**NOTE:** 26,000 U.S. and Coalition personnel providing logistical support to Operation Iraqi Freedom were deployed in Kuwait, as of March 4, 2004. Commander USCENTCOM, John Abizaid, "Prepared Testimony before the Senate Committee on Armed Services Personnel Subcommittee", March 4, 2004, p. 8.

**NOTE:** Of the 51,000 troops involved in Operation Iraqi Freedom stationed outside of Iraq in September, approximately 10,070 were Navy personnel (most at sea in the Persian Gulf). The majority of the remaining 40,090 troops are assumed to have been stationed in Kuwait. Since approximately 2,500 Marines were stationed in Kuwait, we assume that roughly 37,590 Army troops were stationed in Kuwait or in the vicinities. This table will be updated as soon as more recent data becomes available.

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

**TOP TEN NON-U.S. COALITION CONTRIBUTORS OF MILITARY PERSONNEL IN IRAQ**

4/19/04

Coalition country	Military personnel in Iraq <sup>60</sup>
United Kingdom	8,700
Italy	3,000
Poland	2,400
Ukraine	1,650
Spain	1,300
Netherlands	1,000
Thailand	900
Australia	850
Romania	700
South Korea	600
Remaining 23 coalition countries	2,900
Total	24,000 <sup>61</sup>

**COALITION FORCES ACTIVITY**

4/7/2004

Month	Average number of patrols/day <sup>62</sup>	Average number of raids/day <sup>63</sup>	Average number of anti-coalition suspects captured/day <sup>64</sup>
November	1,660	25	100
December	1,690	20	108
January	1,570	18	84
February	1,470	14	66
March	1,430	11	57
April	1,566	18	42

**NOTE:** The functions of each coalition country's military personnel vary, and range from security forces to medics and engineers.

**NOTE:** The majority of the 33 country coalition forces are organized into two multi-national divisions (MND). The MND South East is under British command and includes forces from the United Kingdom, Italy, Denmark, Czech Republic, Portugal, South Korea, Netherlands, Romania, Norway, New Zealand, and Lithuania. The MND Central South is under Polish command and includes forces from Poland, Spain, Nicaragua, Dominican Republic, Romania, Latvia, Slovakia, Hungary, Ukraine, Bulgaria, Honduras, Mongolia, Lithuania, Kazakhstan, Thailand and the Philippines. In addition, Albania, Australia, Azerbaijan, El Salvador, Estonia, Japan, Macedonia, Moldova and Singapore contribute military personnel in some capacity.

**DAILY INSURGENT ATTACKS ON U.S. TROOPS & REWARD OFFERED BY INSURGENTS FOR ATTACKING U.S. TROOPS SINCE MAY**

4/2/2004

Month	Typical number of daily attacks on U.S. troops nationwide	Reward for carrying out attacks on U.S. troops (\$) (attack/successful attack)
May	N/A	100/500 <sup>65</sup>
June	6 <sup>66</sup>	N/A
July	N/A	N/A
August	15 <sup>67</sup>	N/A
September	50 <sup>68</sup>	N/A
October	30-35 <sup>69</sup>	1,000-2,000/ 3,000-5,000 <sup>70</sup>
November	22 <sup>71</sup>	N/A
December	15 <sup>72</sup>	500/3,000 <sup>73</sup>
January	18 <sup>74</sup>	N/A
February	20 <sup>75</sup>	N/A
March	25 <sup>76</sup>	N/A

N/A= Not available

**DAILY INSURGENT ATTACKS ON IRAQI SECURITY FORCES**

4/2/2004

Month	Typical number of daily attack on Iraqi security forces
December	2 <sup>77</sup>
January	4 <sup>78</sup>
February	4 <sup>79</sup>
March	4 <sup>80</sup>

**DAILY INSURGENT ATTACKS ON IRAQI CIVILIANS**

4/2/2004

Month	Typical number of daily attack on Iraqi civilians
December	2 <sup>81</sup>
January	1 <sup>82</sup>
February	3 <sup>83</sup>
March	4 <sup>84</sup>

**U.S. FORCES ABILITY TO DISCOVER HIDDEN EXPLOSIVE DEVICES BEFORE DETONATION**

12/9/2003

Time	Explosive devices that are discovered by U.S. troops before detonation
Late spring/ early summer	10-15 % <sup>85</sup>
December	75% <sup>86</sup>

**ACCURACY OF INTELLIGENCE LEADS PROVIDED TO U.S. FORCES**

12/9/2003

Month	Accuracy of intelligence leads
Late spring/ early summer	50% <sup>87</sup>
December	90% <sup>88</sup>

**AMERICAN MILITARY HELICOPTERS DOWNED BY ENEMY FIRE**

4/19/2004

Month	Number of helicopters <sup>89</sup>
October	1
November	3
December	2
January	5
February	0
March	0
April	1
Total as of April 19	12

**ATTACKS ON IRAQI PIPELINES, OIL INSTALLATIONS & OIL PERSONNEL**

4/19/2004

Month	Number of attacks <sup>90</sup>
June	6
July	2
August	3
September	2
October	4
November	9
December	9
January	2
February	2
March	5
April	2
Total	45

**BAATHIST LEADERS STILL AT LARGE SINCE APRIL**

4/16/2004

Month	Iraqi 55 most wanted: Individuals still at large <sup>91</sup>
April	40
May	28
June	23
July	18
August	16
September	15
October	15
November	15
December	13 <sup>92</sup>
January	12 <sup>93</sup>
February	10 <sup>94</sup>
March	9 <sup>95</sup>
April	9

**NOTE:** The helicopters referred to above are believed to have crashed as a result of hostile fire, although three of the helicopter crashes included in the table (December 10, January 13 and January 23) are still under investigation.

**NOTE:** An attempt to assassinate an Iraqi distribution manager for the Oil Distribution Company on November 10 left the manager wounded and his son killed. An Iraqi police colonel in charge of oil installation security was shot and killed November 20. Both incidents took place in the city of Mosul.

**ESTIMATED STRENGTH OF IRAQI RESISTANCE NATIONWIDE SINCE NOVEMBER**

4/14/2004

Month	Estimated strength of Iraqi resistance nationwide
November	5,000 <sup>96</sup>
December	5,000 <sup>97</sup>
January	3, 000-5,000 <sup>98</sup>
February	N/A
March	N/A
April	5,000 <sup>99</sup>

**SUSPECTED INSURGENTS DETAINED OR KILLED SINCE MAY**

4/16/2004

Time	Estimated numbers of suspected insurgents detained and killed
May	1,000 <sup>100</sup>
June	1,000 <sup>101</sup>
July	1,000 <sup>102</sup>
August	1,000 <sup>103</sup>
September	750 <sup>104</sup>
October	750 <sup>105</sup>
November	3,000 <sup>106</sup>
December	1,000 <sup>107</sup>
January	2,500 <sup>108</sup>
February	1,950 <sup>109</sup>
March	1,750 <sup>110</sup>
April	1,960 <sup>111</sup>

**NOTE:** "Over 90 percent" of the enemy combatants are Bath Party loyalists, according to John E. McLaughlin, Deputy Director of Central Intelligence. Dana Priest, "The CIA's 'Anonymous' No. 2; Low-Profile Deputy Director Leads Agency's Analytical Side," *Washington Post*, January 9, 2004. Brig. Gen. Martin E. Dempsey, commander of the U.S. Army's 1st Armored Division, estimates that as of March 18, there was "only about 100 "foreign terrorists" in Baghdad, organized into about six cells." "Maj. Gen. Charles H. Swannack Jr. of the 82nd Airborne Division said he believed there were a total of 50 to 80 foreign fighters in eight to 10 cells" in Anbar province as of March 18. "Rajiv Chandrasekaran, Iraq Attacks Blamed On Islamic Extremists; U.S. Says Hussein Loyalists No Longer Dominate," *Washington Post*, March 19, 2004.

**NOTE:** As of January 5, 14 cells, each consisting of 20-100 enemy combatants are believed to be actively operating in Baghdad. Patrick J. McDonnell, "Information Is Flowing After Hussein's Arrest," *Los Angeles Times*, January 5, 2004. Data on success in the counterinsurgency campaign is somewhat encouraging, but no one can tell how quickly cells that are being depleted or destroyed are either regenerating or being replaced by the formation of new cells.

**NOTE:** The estimate of suspected insurgents killed or detained since May is a very rough one. The substantial increase in number of people detained or killed in November and onwards may not imply a huge increase in people detained or killed but rather that the data improved starting that month. The numbers for suspected insurgents killed or detained from November to March is not a monthly total, but the projected total given the daily pace of detained anti-coalition suspects. Since the monthly totals do not include anti-coalition suspects killed, except for in April, the real number of anti-coalition suspects detained and killed is likely to be higher.

**NOTE:** As many as 70-80% of those detained may be innocent and military judges have recommended they be released. Jeffrey Gettleman, "U.S. Detains Iraqis, and Families Please for News," *New York Times*, March 7, 2004. About 9,000 people are in coalition custody as of 6 January, 506 of which are said to be released within the next couple of weeks. Edward Wong, "U.S. Officials Plan to Release Iraqis Who Pose Just 'Some Risk'," *New York Times*, January 6, 2004. Since 8,500 suspected anti-coalition fighters are detained as of March 27, it appears as if the majority of suspects detained are released after a couple of weeks, or months.

**NOTE:** Less than 2% of the 8,500 anti-coalition suspects detained as of March 27 are foreign nationals. Dexter Filkins, "16 Die in Gun Battles in Sunni Areas of Iraq," *New York Times*, March 27, 2004.

**SIZE OF IRAQI SECURITY FORCES SINCE MAY**

3/26/2003

Month	Iraqi security forces					
	Police	Civil Defense Corps	Army	Border patrol	Facilities protection services	Total Iraqi security forces
May	7,000-9,000 <sup>112</sup>	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
June	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
July	30,000 <sup>113</sup>	N/A	0	N/A	11,000 <sup>114</sup>	N/A
August	34,000 <sup>115</sup>	670 <sup>116</sup>	0	2,500 <sup>117</sup>	N/A	N/A
September	37,000 <sup>118</sup>	2,500 <sup>119</sup>	0	4,700 <sup>120</sup>	>12,000 <sup>121</sup>	56,200
October	55,000 <sup>122</sup>	4,700 <sup>123</sup>	700 <sup>124</sup>	6,400 <sup>125</sup>	18,700 <sup>126</sup>	85,500
November	68,800 <sup>127</sup>	12,700 <sup>128</sup>	900 <sup>129</sup>	12,400 <sup>130</sup>	52,700 <sup>131</sup>	147,500
December	71,600 <sup>132</sup>	15,200 <sup>133</sup>	400 <sup>134</sup>	12,900 <sup>135</sup>	65,200 <sup>136</sup>	165,300
January	66,900 <sup>137</sup>	19,800 <sup>138</sup>	1,100 <sup>139</sup>	21,000 <sup>140</sup>	97,800 <sup>141</sup>	206,600
February	77,100 <sup>142</sup>	27,900 <sup>143</sup>	2,000 <sup>144</sup>	18,000 <sup>145</sup>	73,900 <sup>146</sup>	198,900
March	75,000 <sup>147</sup>	35,493 <sup>148</sup>	5,174 <sup>149</sup>	23,426 <sup>150</sup>	73,992 <sup>151</sup>	213,085
	22% partially or fully trained	95% partially or fully trained	58% partially or fully trained	39% partially or fully trained	100% partially or fully trained	64% partially or fully trained
Stated goal	75,000 <sup>152</sup>	40,000 <sup>153</sup>	40,000 <sup>154</sup>	25,727 <sup>155</sup>	55,000 <sup>156</sup>	235,727

N/A= Not available

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

**NOTE:** There are 10,000 police on duty in Baghdad as of March 18. The goal set by the CPA is to have 19,000 police on duty. Major General Martin Dempsey, Commander, 1<sup>st</sup> Armored Division, *Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing*, ([www.defenselink.mil/transcripts/2004/tr20040318-0549.html](http://www.defenselink.mil/transcripts/2004/tr20040318-0549.html)) [March 19, 2004].

**NOTE:** Approximately 480 of the 900 soldiers in the first army battalion trained since May 1 were resigning, largely due to allegations of insufficient pay. Ariana Eunjung Cha, "Iraqi Army Recruits Quit Over Low Pay," *Washington Post*, December 14, 2003.

**NOTE:** The army under Saddam was 400,000 troops strong. Dexter Filkins, "Bremer Pushes Iraq on Difficult Path to Self-Rule," *New York Times*, March 21, 2004.

**CRIME-RELATED DEATHS IN BAGHDAD SINCE MAY**

4/16/2004

Month	Estimated annualized murder rate per 100,000 citizens <sup>157</sup> (For comparison Washington DC rate: 43 <sup>158</sup> )
May	70-100
June	95-130
July	95-160
August	110-190
September	80-140
October	70-120
November	55-95
December	70-120
January	70-120
February	70-120
March	70-120

**NOTE:** Lower estimates for each month are typically based on the number of bodies brought to the Baghdad morgue with mortal gunshot wounds. Higher estimates reflect the fact that many victims are buried quickly and privately and never recorded in official tallies. To estimate these, when possible we use the total number of bodies of victims brought into the morgue in a given month as a very rough proxy for total murder victims in Baghdad (recognizing that many bodies at the morgue are not those of murder victims, but at the same time that many murder victims never are taken to the morgue.) The upper bounds also include victims of suicide and car bombings. The homicide rate is calculated based on an estimated population of 5.6 million people in Baghdad.

**NOTE:** Despite a generally poor security situation in Baghdad, there are indicators suggesting that the situation is improving somewhat. According to a report made by Brig. Gen. Mark Hurling, assistant commander, 1<sup>st</sup> Armored Division, Baghdad, “we continue to see a decrease in crime (especially as we put more Iraqi Police and ICDC [Iraqi Civil Defense Corps] on the streets.)<sup>159</sup>” Nevertheless, according to one senior Iraqi police chief on January 22, although “murders [in Baghdad] are decreasing,” the level of other crimes such as robberies and carjackings has not. “The police are weak”, he continues. “We don’t have enough supplies. The public is still afraid to cooperate with us. They fear tribalism and retribution.<sup>160</sup>” The Pentagon has yet to make any statistics on Iraqi crime or murder rates available as of March 12. This table will be updated as soon as more information becomes available.

**NOTE:** Because Baghdad comprises roughly 1/5 of the entire Iraqi population, Iraq’s national murder would according to our statistics be roughly 10-30 per 100,000 citizens per year—even if there were no murders outside of the capital at all...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.

# **ECONOMIC & QUALITY OF LIFE INDICATORS**

## **IRAQI NATIONAL DEBT: CREDITORS**

11/6/2003

Creditor country/ creditor by country of origin and interest	Outstanding amounts due by Iraq (millions of dollars)
<i>Australia</i>	499.3 <sup>161</sup>
<i>Austria</i>	813.1 <sup>162</sup>
<i>Belgium</i>	184.5 <sup>163</sup>
<i>Brazil</i>	192.9 <sup>164</sup>
<i>Canada</i>	564.2 <sup>165</sup>
<i>Denmark</i>	30.8 <sup>166</sup>
<i>Finland</i>	152.2 <sup>167</sup>
<i>France</i>	2,993.7 <sup>168</sup>
<i>Germany</i>	2,403.9 <sup>169</sup>
<i>Italy</i>	1,726 <sup>170</sup>
<i>Japan</i>	4,108.6 <sup>171</sup>
<i>Netherlands</i>	96.7 <sup>172</sup>
<i>Republic of Korea</i>	54.7 <sup>173</sup>
<i>Russian Federation</i>	3,450 <sup>174</sup>
<i>Spain</i>	321.2 <sup>175</sup>
<i>Sweden</i>	185.8 <sup>176</sup>
<i>Switzerland</i>	117.5 <sup>177</sup>
<i>United Kingdom</i>	930.8 <sup>178</sup>
<i>United States</i>	2,192 <sup>179</sup>
<b>Egypt and others</b>	N/A
<b>Poland</b>	500 <sup>180</sup>
<b>Kuwait</b>	17,000 <sup>181</sup>
<b>Bulgaria</b>	1,000 <sup>182</sup>
<b>Hungary</b>	16.5 <sup>183</sup>
<b>Gulf States</b>	30 <sup>184</sup>
<b>Morocco</b>	31.8 <sup>185</sup>
<b>Jordan</b>	295 <sup>186</sup>
<b>Turkey</b>	800 <sup>187</sup>
<b>Interest (as of 2002)</b>	47,000 <sup>188</sup>
<b>Total</b>	~117,660

N/A= Not available.

**NOTE:** Debt towards Paris Club countries, Russia and the Republic of Korea (cursive) excludes interest rates and is defined as; “from the debtor side, the amounts due by the public sector. From the creditors’ point of view, the figures include credits and loans granted, or guaranteed by, the Governments or their appropriate institutions. Basically, private claims (debt owed to private creditors) as well as private debt (owed by private Iraqi Institutions without public guarantee) is excluded from this recollection....Russian claims: this figure represents the amounts due to Russia after a simulation of the adjustment on Soviet era claims consistent with Paris Club methodology.”

**NOTE:** “Estimates of Iraq’s foreign debt vary widely, from \$62-130 billion. The disparities in estimates are due in part to a disagreement between Iraq and its neighboring states over the nature of approximately \$30 billion in assistance given to Iraq by several Gulf States during the Iran-Iraq War. Iraq considers these payments to have been grants; the creditor states consider them to have been loans. Figures also vary depending on whether they include interests which some estimates put at \$47 billion and rising. The World Bank/Bank for International Settlements’ 2001 estimate for Iraqi debt totaled \$127.7 billion, including \$47 billion in accrued interest. The U.S Department of Energy’s 2001 estimate was 62.2 billion.”

**NOTE:** “There are known to be creditors in Egypt, although the exact amount of this debt is not known. There are also assumed to be other unknown or undisclosed creditors in these and other countries. “



**PLEDGES MADE TO THE COALITION & RECONSTRUCTION DEVELOPMENT FUND FACILITY**

11/26/2003

Country or Institution	Amount pledged in grants and/or loans (millions of \$)	Form of pledge (millions of \$)
Australia	85.8 <sup>189</sup>	Grants
Belgium	5-6 <sup>190</sup>	Grants
Canada	244.1 <sup>191</sup>	Grants
China	24 <sup>192</sup>	Grants
Czech Republic	19 <sup>193</sup>	Grants
Denmark	43 <sup>194</sup>	Grants
European Union	233 <sup>195</sup>	Grants
Finland	5.9 <sup>196</sup>	Grants
Germany	27.4 <sup>197</sup>	Grants
International Monetary Fund	2,500-4,250 <sup>198</sup>	Loans
Italy	200 <sup>199</sup>	Grants
Japan	5,000 <sup>200</sup>	1,500 grants & 3,500 loans <sup>201</sup>
Kuwait	500 <sup>202</sup>	Grants
Lithuania	.560 <sup>203</sup>	Grants
Netherlands	21 <sup>204</sup>	Grants
New Zealand	5 <sup>205</sup>	Grants
Norway	30 <sup>206</sup>	Grants
Oman	3 <sup>207</sup>	Grants
Pakistan	3.3 <sup>208</sup>	Grants
Philippines	1 <sup>209</sup>	Grants
Russia	8 <sup>210</sup>	Grants
Saudi Arabia	500 <sup>211</sup>	Loans
Singapore	1.7 <sup>212</sup>	Grants
Slovakia	0.29 <sup>213</sup>	Grants
South Korea	260 <sup>214</sup>	Grants
Spain	300 <sup>215</sup>	Grants
Sweden	30 <sup>216</sup>	Grants
Switzerland	15 <sup>217</sup>	Grants
Taiwan	4.3 <sup>218</sup>	Grants
Thailand	.283 <sup>219</sup>	Grants
Turkey	5 <sup>220</sup>	Grants
United Arab Emirates	215 <sup>221</sup>	Grants
United Kingdom	847 <sup>222</sup>	Grants
United States	18,600 <sup>223</sup>	Grants
World Bank	3,000-5,000 <sup>224</sup>	Loans
<b>Total</b>	<b>~32,740 - 36,490</b>	<b>~23,240 in grants &amp; 9,500-13,250 in loans</b>
<b>Amount needed for the next 5 years according to the World Bank and the United Nations<sup>225</sup></b>	<b>56,000<sup>226</sup></b>	<b>Not applicable</b>

**NOTE:** The table includes countries that made a pledge to Iraqi reconstruction in the form of a grant or a loan. In addition, Iran offered cross-border electricity material, access to their terminals, and \$300 million in credit, Sri Lanka offered to contribute 100 tons of tea, Vietnam offered \$500,000 worth of rice, and Saudi Arabia \$500 million in export credits.

**NOTE:** The Bush Administration's supplementary spending bill received congressional approval on Nov 4, 2003. Although the amount devoted to Iraqi reconstruction that the House and Senate approved was \$1.4 billion less than requested, the entire amount will be given as a grant instead of as earlier discussed, a loan.

**NOTE:** Since not all pledges referred to are immediately available as funds, it is hard to assess how much money is presently available for Iraqi reconstruction purposes. Another reason for the delay in making money available is that loans to a non-sovereign government are not legal according to international law.

**FUEL**

4/7/2004

Time	Fuel supplies available					
	(Millions of barrels/day)		(Millions of liters/day)			(Tons/day)
	Crude oil production	Crude export	Diesel (Prod. & Imp.)	Kerosene (Prod. & Imp.)	Gasoline/Benzene (Prod. & Imp)	Total LPG (Prod. & Imp.)
Estimated pre-war level	2.8-3.0 <sup>227</sup>	1.7-2.5 <sup>228</sup>	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
May	0.3 <sup>229</sup>	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
June	0.675 <sup>230</sup>	0.2 <sup>231</sup>	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
July	0.925 <sup>232</sup>	0.322 <sup>233</sup>	6.5 <sup>234</sup>	4.75 <sup>235</sup>	13.5 <sup>236</sup>	1,880 <sup>237</sup>
Aug.	1.445 <sup>238</sup>	0.646 <sup>239</sup>	10.25 <sup>240</sup>	6.2 <sup>241</sup>	14.0 <sup>242</sup>	2,530 <sup>243</sup>
Sept.	1.7225 <sup>244</sup>	0.983 <sup>245</sup>	14.25 <sup>246</sup>	6.9 <sup>247</sup>	17.3 <sup>248</sup>	3,030 <sup>249</sup>
Oct.	2.055 <sup>250</sup>	1.149 <sup>251</sup>	14.75 <sup>252</sup>	9.6 <sup>253</sup>	16.35 <sup>254</sup>	3,700 <sup>255</sup>
November	2.1 <sup>256</sup>	1.524 <sup>257</sup>	13.14 <sup>258</sup>	13.3 <sup>259</sup>	11.792 <sup>260</sup>	3,610 <sup>261</sup>
December	2.30 <sup>262</sup>	1.541 <sup>263</sup>	12.29 <sup>264</sup>	9.4 <sup>265</sup>	12.9 <sup>266</sup>	3,460 <sup>267</sup>
January	2.440 <sup>268</sup>	1.537 <sup>269</sup>	13.91 <sup>270</sup>	11.3 <sup>271</sup>	13.32 <sup>272</sup>	3,445 <sup>273</sup>
February	2.276 <sup>274</sup>	1.382 <sup>275</sup>	15.21 <sup>276</sup>	13.05 <sup>277</sup>	16.65 <sup>278</sup>	4,670 <sup>279</sup>
March	2.435 <sup>280</sup>	1.561 <sup>281</sup>	15.03 <sup>282</sup>	17.28 <sup>283</sup>	17.19 <sup>284</sup>	5,010 <sup>285</sup>
April	2.393 <sup>286</sup>	1.4 <sup>287</sup>	19.44 <sup>288</sup>	14.58 <sup>289</sup>	18.36 <sup>290</sup>	3,660 <sup>291</sup>
Stated Goal:	2.8-3.0 by December 2004 <sup>292</sup>	N/A	18 <sup>293</sup>	18 <sup>294</sup>	18 <sup>295</sup>	6,000 <sup>296</sup>

N/A= Not available

**NOTE:** Estimated domestic consumption of crude oil is 450,000 barrels per day.

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

**NOTE:** LPG= Liquefied Petroleum Gas

**NOTE:** The administration's post war estimate was that Iraq would accrue \$2-3 billion in oil revenues between June and December 2003. As of March 19 total crude oil export revenues since June exceeds \$5 billion. "Iraq Progress Report," Department of Defense, Office of Public Affairs, March 19, 2004.

**ELECTRICITY**

4/7/2004

Time	Electricity (Mega Watts)	
	Nation-wide	Baghdad
Estimated pre-war level	4,400 <sup>297</sup>	2,500 <sup>298</sup>
May	N/A	300 <sup>299</sup>
June	3,193 <sup>300</sup>	707 <sup>301</sup>
July	3,236 <sup>302</sup>	1,082 <sup>303</sup>
Aug.	3,263 <sup>304</sup>	1,283 <sup>305</sup>
Sept.	3,543 <sup>306</sup>	1,229 <sup>307</sup>
Oct.	3,948 <sup>308</sup>	N/A
November	3,582 <sup>309</sup>	N/A
December	3,408 <sup>310</sup>	N/A
January	3,725 <sup>311</sup>	N/A
February	4,125 <sup>312</sup>	N/A
March	4,026 <sup>313</sup>	N/A
April	3,896 <sup>314</sup>	N/A
Stated Goal:	6,000 by June 2004 <sup>315</sup>	2,500 by October 2003

**VALUE OF THE IRAQI DINAR (ID)**

4/7/2004

Month	\$1 =ID
October 15	2,000 <sup>316</sup>
November	1,948 <sup>317</sup>
December	1,675 <sup>318</sup>
January	1,360 <sup>319</sup>
February	1,425 <sup>320</sup>
March	1,415 <sup>321</sup>
April	1,425 <sup>322</sup>

**PORT CARGO CAPACITY AND COMMERCIAL AIRPORT DEPARTURES NATIONWIDE** 1/23/2004

Time	Port cargo capacity (raw tonnage in millions) <sup>323</sup>	Commercial aircraft departures nationwide (per day) <sup>324</sup>
Pre-war	7	2-3
As of January 20	6.3	40
Stated goal for July 2004	7-8	200-300

**NOTE:** A nationwide currency exchange program was initiated on October 15, 2003 during which new Iraqi dinars were put in circulation and old currency was destroyed. The program was completed on January 20, 2004. The table above tracks the appreciation of the new currency since it was introduced.

**WATER SUPPLY AND SEWAGE CAPACITY SINCE MAY**

12/01/2003

Time	Potable water availability (millions of liters)	Sewage capacity (millions of liters)
Estimated pre-war level	12.9 <sup>325</sup>	6.2 <sup>326</sup>
May	4.0 <sup>327</sup>	N/A
June	13.4 <sup>328</sup>	5.3 <sup>329</sup>
November	21.3 <sup>330</sup>	N/A

N/A= Not available

**IRRIGATION**

12/01/2003

Month	Irrigation canals in need of clearing (km)
May	20,000 <sup>331</sup>
September	5,000 <sup>332</sup>
October	3,500 <sup>333</sup>

**TELECOMMUNICATIONS**

4/5/2004

Time	Number of phones	Number of Internet connections
Estimated pre-war level	1,100,000 <sup>334</sup>	4,500 <sup>335</sup>
September	850,000 <sup>336</sup>	4,900 <sup>337</sup>
March	984,225 <sup>338</sup>	N/A
April	1,045,000 <sup>339</sup>	N/A
Goal for Jan 2004	1,100,000 <sup>340</sup>	50,000 <sup>341</sup>

**LOCAL GOVERNANCE COUNCILS**

2/18/2004

Month	Number of local governance councils
November	255 <sup>342</sup>
December	255
January	N/A
February	318 <sup>343</sup>

**HOSPITALS RESTORED TO PRE-WAR LEVEL OF OPERATIONS**

3/7/2004

Month	Hospitals restored to pre-war level of operations
March	90% <sup>344</sup>

**NOTE:** "Probably 75% of the sewage in [Iraq] is going to the rivers," according to John Kluesener, manager for water, wastewater and irrigations systems for Iraq reconstruction. Ariana Eunjung Cha, "Iraqi Experts Tossed With The Water," *Washington Post*, February 27, 2004.

**NOTE:** As of December 30 it is estimated that 60% of the Iraqi population has access to limited supplies of potable water. CPA/DoD aims to provide 75% of Iraqis with potable water by April 2005, and 11% of Iraqis with sewage services by March 2005.

**NOTE:** The irrigation canal program was concluded with more than 16,500 km cleared.

**NOTE:** Number of local governance councils includes city, district, sub-district and neighborhood councils.

## NATIONWIDE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE SINCE MAY

3/3/2003

Month	Unemployment rate nationwide
May	N/A
June	60% <sup>345</sup>
July	N/A
August	>50% <sup>346</sup>
September	N/A
October	50% <sup>347</sup>
November	N/A
December	N/A
January	45% <sup>348</sup>
February	45% <sup>349</sup>

N/A= Not available

**NOTE:** The Iraqi Ministry of Planning announced the unemployment rate to be 28% on March 15 but other estimates are much higher.

**NOTE:** The numbers referred to in the table is a very rough approximation of the employment situation in Iraq. As noted by Director of Employment, Fatin Al-Saada, Iraqi Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs on October 22, 2003 “There are no employment statistics for Iraq.” Department of Defense, “Assistant Secretary for Policy at the Department of Labor, Chris Spear briefs on Iraqi Minister Of Labor And Social Affairs,” (<http://www.defenselink.mil/transcripts/2003/tr20031022-0809.html> {October 22, 2003}). Transcript. Estimates made by economists, however, generally range between 50-70%. There is an inherent difficulty in measuring the Iraqi rate of unemployment over time. Because recent estimates are likely to be more accurate than older ones, but also higher, this means that despite an improvement in the economic situation nationwide, the numbers give the impression that it is getting worse. Considering the increase in entrepreneurial activity after the end of the war, we have for the purposes of this database assumed that there has been an improvement in unemployment levels, and hence weighted information supporting such a conclusion heavier than contradictory data reports. Another factor contributing to a somewhat improved employment situation in Iraq is that some 395,000 jobs have been directly created by the Coalition Provisional Authority as of April 5, 2004. The target is to create 850,000 jobs. “Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status”, *Department of Defense*, April 5, 2004.

# POLLING

*FEBRUARY: OXFORD RESEARCH INTERNATIONAL/BBC/ABC NEWS STUDY*

## IRAQI PERCEPTION OF OVERALL SITUATION

Month	How are things compared with a year ago? <sup>350</sup>
February	Better: 56.5% Worse: 18.6%

*JANUARY: STATE DEPARTMENT STUDY OF IRAQ*

## GREATEST THREAT TO IRAQI CITIZENS

Type of threat	What is the greatest threat to yourself and your family? <sup>351</sup>					
	Baghdad	Basrah	Mosul	Fallujah	Samarra	Karbala
Street crime	47%	63%	45%	42%	38%	22%
Street bombs	26%	20%	13%	11%	11%	19%
Large bombs such as those against Iraqi police stations and international organizations	9%	4%	6%	5%	3%	29%
Armed encounters between Iraqis and Coalition Forces and others	7%	4%	26%	26%	38%	9%
Armed encounters with religious or tribal militia	1%	1%	--	--	2%	2%
Revenge killings/Baath killings	3%	4%	3%	5%	1%	--
Financial extortion	1%	1%	2%	2%	--	4%
Sectarian war	6%	3%	1%	7%	4%	4%
Ethnic war	1%	--	1%	1%	1%	--

## GREATEST THREAT TO IRAQ

Type of threat	What is the greatest threat to Iraq? <sup>352</sup>					
	Baghdad	Basrah	Mosul	Fallujah	Samarra	Karbala
Street crime	8 %	11%	5%	13%	6%	15%
Street bombs	12%	16%	6%	7%	7%	10%
Large bombs such as those against Iraqi police stations and international organizations	25%	18%	6%	9%	2%	25%
Armed encounters between Iraqis and Coalition Forces and others	8%	9%	10%	17%	10%	15%
Armed encounters with religious or tribal militia	2%	2%	2%	--	3%	2%
Revenge killings/Baath killings	2%	3%	3%	1%	5%	1%
Financial extortion	1%	1%	2%	2%	--	4%
Sectarian war	31%	26%	36%	26%	45%	6%
Ethnic war	6%	2%	19%	11%	12%	2%
Outside threats	5%	13%	7%	11%	8%	6%

## IRAQIS ON COALITION FORCES LEAVING

	If coalition forces left immediately, Iraqis would feel... <sup>353</sup>		
	More safe	Less safe	No difference
Baghdad	November: 12% January: 19%	November: 71% January: 65%	November: 13% January: 15%
Basrah	November: 6% January: 17%	November: 85% January: 67%	November: 8% January: 12%
Mosul	January: 28%	January: 59%	January: 10%
Fallujah	January: 56%	January: 29%	January: 12%
Samarra	January: 54%	January: 41%	January: 2%
Karbala	January: 24%	January: 50%	January: 13%
Kirkuk	November: 15%	November: 62%	November: 14%
Hilla	November: 7%	November: 83%	November: 5%
Diwaniya	November: 13%	November: 83%	November: 1%

## PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROTECTING IRAQIS

	In the next six months, primary responsibility for protecting Iraqis from major security threats should be.... <sup>354</sup>		
	Iraqi Armed Forces	Coalition forces	Joint Iraq-Coalition efforts
Baghdad	50%	7%	42%
Basrah	38%	8%	51%
Mosul	58%	12%	27%
Fallujah	71%	4%	19%
Samarra	64%	9%	23%
Karbala	50%	14%	26%

## PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR MAINTAINING LAW AND ORDER

	In the next six months, primary responsibility for maintaining law and order on Iraqi streets should be.... <sup>355</sup>		
	Iraqi Armed Forces	Coalition forces	Joint Iraq-Coalition efforts
Baghdad	56%	6%	38%
Basrah	53%	9%	35%
Mosul	53%	10%	26%
Fallujah	67%	4%	22%
Samarra	71%	5%	20%
Karbala	44%	2%	16%

## CONDITIONS FOR PEACE

	Over the last three months conditions for peace have... <sup>356</sup>		
	Improved	Worsened	No difference
Baghdad	August: 22% January: 51%	August: 53% January: 25%	August: 24% January: 24%
Basrah	August: 24% January: 59%	August: 58% January: 17%	August: 18% January: 24%
Mosul	January: 38%	January: 39%	January: 22%
Fallujah	August: 25% January: 33%	August: 63% January: 44%	August: 10% January: 23%
Samarra	January: 34%	January: 43%	January: 22%
Karbala	January: 27%	January: 61%	January: 10%
Ramadi	August: 16%	August: 66%	August: 17%
Najaf	August: 15%	August: 71%	August: 10%
Suleymania	August: 56%	August: 18%	August: 25%
Erbil	August: 58%	August: 9%	August: 23%

## SAFETY IN IRAQI NEIGHBORHOODS

	How safe do you feel in your neighborhood? <sup>357</sup>		
	Very safe	Not very safe	Not safe
Baghdad	August: 24% November: 31% January: 46%	August: 50% November: 56% January: 42%	August: 26% November: 12% January: 11%
Basrah	August: 24% November: 18% January: 31%	August: 58% November: 68% January: 57%	August: 17% November: 12% January: 11%
Fallujah	August: 37% January: 61%	August: 57% January: 27%	August: 4% January: 11%
Mosul	January: 63%	January: 28%	January: 9%
Samarra	January: 63%	January: 27%	January: 10%
Karbala	January: 51%	January: 29%	January: 15%
Kirkuk	November: 42%	November: 40%	November: 12%
Hilla	November: 65%	November: 30%	November: 4%
Diwaniya	November: 71%	November: 22%	November: 7%
Najaf	August: 35%	August: 52%	August: 12%
Ramadi	August: 41%	August: 44%	August: 14%
Suleymania	August: 61%	August: 33%	August: 1%
Erbil	August: 60%	August: 36%	August: 3%

## IRAQI CONFIDENCE IN INSTITUTIONS

	Do you feel very or somewhat confident in the following institution? <sup>358</sup>					
	Iraq police	New Iraqi Army	Iraqi ministries	Governing Council	CPA	Coalition Forces
Baghdad	82%	72%	60%	62%	42%	38%
Basrah	89%	79%	64%	67%	41%	32%
Mosul	80%	54%	43%	33%	31%	27%
Fallujah	74%	52%	54%	27%	10%	10%
Samarra	72%	35%	36%	30%	14%	18%
Karbala	71%	55%	51%	57%	27%	20%

## EFFECIENCY OF COALITION FORCES

	Do you feel Coalition Forces are very effective in the following activities? <sup>359</sup>				
	Keeping law and order in the streets	Tracking down criminals	Protecting Iraqis from major threats	Working cooperatively with Iraqi security forces	Protecting their forces and compounds
Baghdad	21%	15%	32%	43%	63%
Basrah	17%	11%	22%	27%	68%
Mosul	21%	14%	33%	34%	60%
Fallujah	5%	5%	13%	12%	31%
Samarra	15%	12%	21%	27%	47%
Karbala	16%	11%	18%	27%	55%



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

**IRAQI PUBLIC OPINION NATIONWIDE AND BAGHDAD**

1/12/2003

	Nationwide	Baghdad
Do you agree that in general, the local Iraqi police force is trusted by most members of the community? <sup>360</sup>	Agree/somewhat agree: 77%	Agree/somewhat agree: 80%
Do you feel that the attacks emphasize the need for continued presence of Coalition Forces in Iraq? <sup>361</sup>	Agree: 66%	Agree: 61%
If coalition forces left immediately, would you feel more safe, less safe, or no difference? <sup>362</sup>	More safe: 11% Less safe: 71% No difference: 10%	More safe: 12% Less safe: 75% No difference: 13%

**BAGHDAD PUBLIC OPINION: EARLY FALL**

12/08/2003

Question	Findings
Will Iraq be in a better condition five years from now than it was before the U.S.-led invasion? <sup>363</sup>	Better off: 67% Worse off: 8%
Is Iraq better off now than it was before the invasion? <sup>364</sup>	Better off: 33% Worse off: 47%
Was ousting Saddam worth the hardships endured since the invasion? <sup>365</sup>	Yes: 62% No: N/A
Would you like to see U.S. troops stay longer than a few more months? <sup>366</sup>	Stay longer: 71% Not stay longer: 26%
Are there circumstances in which attacks against U.S. troops can be justified? <sup>367</sup>	No: 64% Sometimes justified: 36%
Have you been afraid at times to go outside your home during the day within the past four weeks? <sup>368</sup>	Yes: 86% No: N/A
Is Baghdad a more dangerous place now than before the invasion? <sup>369</sup>	Yes: 94% No: N/A

N/A= Not available

**AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION**

1/9/2004

<b>Time period</b>	<b>Do you approve or disapprove of the way the George W. Bush is handling the situation with Iraq?<sup>370</sup></b>
April 14-16	Approve: 76% Disapprove: 21% No opinion: 3%
June 12-15	Approve: 63% Disapprove: 34% No opinion: 3%
July 7-9	Approve: 58% Disapprove: 39% No opinion: 3%
July 18-20	Approve: 57% Disapprove: 39% No opinion: 4%
July 25-27	Approve: 60% Disapprove: 38% No opinion: 2%
August 25-26	Approve: 57% Disapprove: 41% No opinion: 2%
September 8-10	Approve: 51% Disapprove: 47% No opinion: 2%
October 6-8	Approve: 47% Disapprove: 50% No opinion: 3%
November 3-5	Approve: 45% Disapprove: 54% No opinion: 1%
December 5-7	Approve: 50% Disapprove: 47% No opinion: 3%
January 2-5	Approve: 61% Disapprove: 36% No opinion: 3%

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<sup>1</sup> Monthly fatality figures from May 1, 2003- March 31, 2004 at "Operation Iraqi Freedom Casualty Summary by Month", *Directorate for Information Operations and Reports*, (web1.whs.osd.mil/mm/casualty/castop.htm [April 12, 2004]). Fatality numbers from April 1 and onwards are reported as documented daily from "Operation Iraqi Freedom U.S. Casualty Status," *Department of Defense*.

<sup>2</sup> May 1- December 31, "Operation Iraqi Freedom Casualty Summary by Month", *Directorate for Information Operations and Reports*, (web1.whs.osd.mil/mm/casualty/castop.htm [April 12, 2004]). Remaining months are documented daily from "Operation Iraqi Freedom U.S. Casualty Status," *Department of Defense*, ([www.defenselink.mil/news/](http://www.defenselink.mil/news/)).

<sup>3</sup> "Details of British Casualties," *Ministry of Defense*, ([www.operations.mod.uk/telic/casualties.htm](http://www.operations.mod.uk/telic/casualties.htm)).

<sup>4</sup> Kevin Johnson, "Attacks on Iraqi Police Increase," *USA Today*, March 28, 2004.

<sup>5</sup> "Security Forces in Iraq," *DoD Briefing Slides: 6 November 2003*, Ratio of reserves to active forces derived from graph.

<sup>6</sup> The monthly breakdown of casualties to Iraqi civilians is partly based on estimates made by Iraqbodycount, ([www.iraqbodycount.org](http://www.iraqbodycount.org)), and partly on assessment made by the author.

<sup>7</sup> One American contractor killed of August 5. Theola Labbe and Rajiv Chandrasekaran, "Contractor Dies in Iraq Bomb Blast; Incident Is First Fatal Attack Reported Against a Private Employee," *Washington Post*, August 6, 2003. 22 United Nations employees, one American scholar and one Canadian aid worker killed on August 19. Neil McFarquhar, "Thousands at Burial for Slain Cleric," *New York Times*, September 3.

<sup>8</sup> One British and American killed on October 26. Nationalities according to a CBS camera man. Theola Labbe and Vernon Loeb, "Wolfowitz Unhurt in Rocket Attack", *Washington Post*, October 26, 2003.

<sup>9</sup> 2 Italians were killed by a truck bomb at the Italian Military on November 12, John F. Burns, "At Least 26 Killed in a Bombing Of an Italian Compound in Iraq", *New York Times*, November 13, 2003. Two Japanese diplomats, two South Korean contractors and one Colombia contractor were killed during the same month. Alan Sipress, "U.S. Forces Kill Dozens after Iraq Ambushes," *Washington Post*, December 1, 2003. Ariana Eunjung Cha, "Peril Follows Contractors in Iraq," *Washington Post*, November 14, 2003.

<sup>10</sup> Three American journalists. Williams, "At Least 20 Dead in Baghdad Blast," *Washington Post*, Jan 19, 2004. Two French contractors were killed. Craig S. Smith, 2 French Citizens Are Killed by Gunmen on Iraqi Road, *New York Times*, January 7, 2004. One South African contractor was killed. Jeffrey Gettleman, "A Suicide Bomber Kills 3 in Baghdad," *New York Times*, January 29, 2004. Four South African contractors killed in an attack in January. David Barstow, "Security Companies: Shadow Soldiers in Iraq," *New York Times*, April 19, 2004.

<sup>11</sup> 4 American missionaries, one German and one Deutch contractor were killed. Jeffrey Gettleman, "2 Engineers Killed in Iraq in Latest Attack on Foreigners," *New York Times*, March 17, 2004. Two American civilians working for the Department of Defense reported killed on March 11, "Operation Iraqi Freedom U.S. Casualty Status, April 1. 2004 Four American contractors killed on March 31. Sewell Chan, "U.S. Civilians Mutilated in Iraq Attack," *Washington Post*, April 1, 2004. Two Finnish business men killed on March 23. Sewell Chan and Anthony Shadid, "Two Finnish Businessmen Shot Dead in Iraqi Capital," *Washington Post*, March 23, 2004.

<sup>12</sup> Antyhony Shadid "U.S. Forces Take Heavy Losses as Violence Spreads Across Iraq," *Washington Post*, April 7, 2004. One Bulgarian civilian was killed on April 6. Jo Prins, "SA Man Decapitated," *News24.com*, ([www.news24.com/News24/South\\_Africa/News/0\\_2-7-1442\\_1511018.00.html](http://www.news24.com/News24/South_Africa/News/0_2-7-1442_1511018.00.html)). One South African man was the week of April 5. Graeme Hosken, "Another SA citizen dies in Iraq," *iol.co.za*, ([www.iol.co.za/index.php?sf=2813&click\\_id=2813&art\\_id=vn20040414041016797C33966](http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?sf=2813&click_id=2813&art_id=vn20040414041016797C33966)). One Italian security guard was killed the week of April 12. Edward Wong, "Iraqis Are Hoping for Early and Peaceful End to Shiite Insurrection," *New York Times*, April 16, 2004. One Iranian diplomat was killed the week of April 12. Edward Wong, "Iraqis Are Hoping for Early and Peaceful End to Shiite Insurrection," *New York Times*, April 16, 2004.

<sup>13</sup> Rajiv Chandrasekaran, "Car Bomb Kills 11 in Baghdad," *Washington Post*, August 8, 2003. One attack in front of the Jordanian Embassy on August 7. Theola Labbe, "Some Fear Blast at University Heralds New Face of Violence," *Washington Post*, September 6, 2003. An attack on UN headquarters on August 19. Neil McFarquhar, "Thousands at Burial for Slain Cleric," *New York Times*, September 3.

<sup>14</sup> Theola Labbe, "Some Fear Blast at University Heralds New Face of Violence," *Washington Post*, September 6, 2003. Attack on September 3. Ian Fisher, "Suicide Attacker Who Struck at U.N. Carried two Bombs," *New York Times*, September 23, 2003. Attack on September 22.

<sup>15</sup> Karl Vick and Rajiv Chandrasekaran, "Iraq Has Deadliest Day in a Month," *Washington Post*, October 10, 2003. Ian Fisher, "Iraq Math: Visible Gains Minus Losses," *New York Times*, October 10, 2003. Attack on October 9. Ian Fisher, "Attacks North of Baghdad Kill 3 G.I.'s and Barely Miss Governor of an Iraqi Province," *New York Times*, October 14, 2003. Attack on October 10. Rajiv Chandrasekaran, "Suicide Bomber Kills 7 in Baghdad," *Washington Post*, October 13, 2003. Attack on October 12. Theola Labbe, "Car Bomb Explodes Outside Turkish Embassy in Baghdad," *Washington Post*, October 15, 2003. Attack on October 14. Dexter Filkins and Alex Berenson, "Suicide Bombers in Baghdad Kill at Least 34," *New York Times*, October 28, 2003. Five attacks on October 27, including the attack on the headquarters of the International Committee of the Red Cross. Rajiv Chadrasekaran and Anthony Shadid, "Truck Bomb Near Fallujah Police Station Kills Four," *Washington Post*, October 29, 2003. Attack on August 28. "Baghdad Official Killed," *New York Times*, October 29, 2003. Attack on October 28.

<sup>16</sup> Anthony Shadid, "Blast at Italian Police Post in Iraq Kills 29," *Washington Post*, November 13, 2003. Attack on November 12. Daniel Williams, "Suicide Bomber Kills 5 in Kurdish Area of Iraq," *Washington Post*, November 21, 2003. Attack on November 20. Ian Fisher and Dexter Filkins, "Bombers Kill 14 in Iraq," *New York Times*, November 23, 2003. Two attacks on November 22.

<sup>17</sup> Ian Fisher, "Suicide Bombers Strike at 2 U.S. Bases, Wounding Dozens of G.I.'s," *New York Times*, December 10, 2003. Two attacks on December 9. Alan Sipress, "Bombing in Iraq Kills U.S. Soldier," *Washington Post*, December 12, 2003. Attack on December 11. Alan Sipress, "Suicide Bomber Kills 17 Iraqis, Wounds 33," *Washington Post*, December 15, 2003. Attack on December 14. Ian Fisher, "Fuel Tanker Explodes Unnerving a Tense City," *New York Times*, December 18, 2003. Two attacks on December 15. Edward Wong, "4 G.I.'s and 6 Iraqi Civilians are Killed in Bomb Attacks," *New York Times*, December 25, 2003. Attack on December 25. Edward Wong, "Up to 13 are Dead in Attacks in Iraq," December 28, 2003. Four attacks on December 27. Alan Sipress and Ariana Eunjung Cha, "Baghdad Bombing Kills Five," *Washington Post*, January 1, 2004. Attack on December 31.

<sup>18</sup> Neela Banerjee, "Suicide Bomber Outside Shiite Mosque in Iraq Kills Four Worshipers," *New York Times*, January 10, 2004. Attack on January 9. Daniel Williams, "Suicide Blast Kills 2 at Iraqi Police Post," *Washington Post*, January 15, 2004. Attack on January 14. Daniel Williams, "Suicide Attack Outside U.S. Headquarters Wounds Over 60," *Washington Post*, January 19, 2004. Attack on January 18. Pamela Constable, "Bombings Kill 5 U.S. Troops and 4 Iraqis," *Washington Post*, January 25, 2004. Attack on January 24. Jeffrey Gettleman, "A Suicide Bomber Kills 3 in Baghdad," *New York Times*, January 29, 2004. Attack on January 28. Dexter Filkins, "3 G.I.'s Among 12 Killed in Bombings in Iraq," *New York Times*, February 1, 2004. Attack on January 31.

<sup>19</sup> Daniel Williams, "Blasts Target Iraq's Kurdish Parties," *Washington Post*, February 2, 2004. Two attacks on February 1. Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*. February 10, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Attack on February 9. Ariana Eunjung Cha, "Two Car Bombs Kill at Least 75 in Central Iraq," *Washington Post*, February 11, 2004. "Iraq Suicide Bombs Kills 11; UN to Rule on Handover," *Reuters*, February 18, 2004. Two attacks on February 18. Christine Hauser, "At Least 8 Killed in Bombing Outside Iraqi Police Station," *Washington Post*, February 23, 2004. Attack on February 23.

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<sup>20</sup> Rajiv Shandrasekaran and Anthony Shadid, "Shiites Massacred in Iraq Blast," *Washington Post*, March 3, 2004. Attacks on two sites by 4 suicide bombers on March 2. Casualty figures in Ariana Eunjung Cha, "Bombing Suspects Seized by Iraqi Police," *Washington Post*, March 5, 2004. John F. Burns, "Hotel Attacks Linked to War Anniversary," *New York Times*, March 19, 2004. Sewell Chan, "U.S. Civilians Mutilated in Iraq Attack," *Washington Post*, April 1, 2004

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status", *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.

<sup>37</sup> "Security Forces in Iraq," *DoD Briefing Slides: 6 November 2003*. Ratio of reserves to active forces derived from graph.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status", *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> "Security Forces in Iraq," *DoD Briefing Slides: 6 November 2003*. Ratio of reserves to active forces derived from graph.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status", *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 15 December 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Robert T. Worth, "National Guard at War at Home to Prepare for Real Thing in Iraq," *New York Times*, December 27, 2003. Numbers appreciated as 70% of the American troop strength in Iraq, based on the article stating that 30% of American troops are reservists and in the National Guard.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid. Include reservists and National Guard.

<sup>49</sup> "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 30 December 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 26 January 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 17 February 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.

<sup>54</sup> "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 23 February 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.

<sup>55</sup> "The Tyrant is Gone, But the Trauma Remains," *Los Angeles Times*, March 20, 2004.

<sup>56</sup> "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status", *Department of Defense*, March 18, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.

<sup>57</sup> Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing," News transcript. *Department of Defense*. April 15, 2004. According to Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld.

<sup>58</sup> Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status", *Department of Defense*, April 4, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.

<sup>59</sup> Deduced by numbers on total troop strength stated in "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status", *Department of Defense*, 4 November 2003. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD, and total number of troops engaged in Operation Iraqi Freedom in "Department of Defense, Active Duty Military Personnel Strengths by Regional Area and by Country (309A), September 30, 2003.

<sup>60</sup> Ewen MacAskill, "A Coalition Showing Signs of Fracture," *The Guardian*, April 9, 2004. For numbers for Italy and Poland, see "Bremer Says Iraq Troops not Ready," *BBC News.com*, Monday 19 April, 2004.

<sup>61</sup> "Draft Working Papers: Iraq Status," *Department of Defense*, 4 April. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at DoD.

<sup>62</sup> Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*, November 17, November 19, December 3, December 5, December 8, December 18, December 19, December 24, December 30, 2003; January 2, January 3, January 8, January 12, January 14, January 22, January 27, January 30, 3 February, 4 February, 9 February, 10 February, 17 February, 21 February, 24 February, 25 February, 9 March, 10 March, 17 March, 22 March, 30 March, March 31, April 1, April 5, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit.

<sup>63</sup> Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*, November 17, November 19, December 3, December 5, December 8, December 18, December 19, December 24, December 30, 2003; January 2, January 3, January 8, January 12, January 14, January 22, January 27, January 30, 3 February, 4 February, 9 February, 10 February, 17 February, 21 February, 24 February, 25 February, 9 March, 10 March, 17 March, 22 March, 30 March, March 31, April 1, April 5, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit.

<sup>64</sup> Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*, November 17, November 19, December 3, December 5, December 8, December 18, December 19, December 24, December 30, 2003; January 2, January 3, January 8, January 12, January 14, January 22, January 27, January 30, 3 February, 4 February, 9 February, 10 February, 17 February, 21 February, 24 February, 25 February, 9 March, 10 March, 17 March, 22 March, 30 March, March 31, April 1, April 5, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit.

<sup>65</sup> Raymond Bonner and Joel Brinkley. "The Struggle for Iraq: The Attackers; Latest Attacks Underscore Differing Intelligence Estimates of Strength of Foreign Guerillas," *New York Times*, October 28, 2003.

<sup>66</sup> John F. Burns, "General Vows to Intensify U.S Response to Attackers," *New York Times*, November 12, 2003. Estimate as cited by Lt. General Ricardo Sanchez.

<sup>67</sup> John F. Burns, "General Vows to Intensify U.S Response to Attackers," *New York Times*, November 12, 2003. Estimate as cited by Lt. General Ricardo Sanchez.

<sup>68</sup> Sameer N. Yacoub, "Coordinated Rebel Attacks in Iraq Kill 13, Injure At Least 172," *Associated Press*, December 27, 2003.

<sup>69</sup> John F. Burns, "General Vows to Intensify U.S Response to Attackers," *New York Times*, November 12, 2003. Estimate as cited by Lt. General Ricardo Sanchez.

<sup>70</sup> Raymond Bonner and Joel Brinkley, "The Struggle for Iraq: The Attackers; Latest Attacks Underscore Differing Intelligence Estimates of Strength of Foreign Guerillas," *New York Times*, October 28, 2003.

<sup>71</sup> Dexter Filkins, "7 Spanish Agents and 2 Japanese are Slain in Iraq," *New York Times*, November 30, 2003.

<sup>72</sup> Sameer N. Yacoub, "Coordinated Rebel Attacks in Iraq Kill 13, Injure At Least 172," *Associated Press*, December 27, 2003.

<sup>73</sup> Eric Schmitt, "A Region Inflamed: The Military; General Says Cash and Arms are Cut Off in Iraqi Hotbed," *New York Times*, December 13, 2003. As stated by Maj. General Raymond Odierno.

<sup>74</sup> Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*. January 2, January 8, January 12, January 14, January 22, January 27, January 30, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Since the majority of attacks are on American troops according to Senior Pentagon officials, the estimated daily attacks on coalition troops that Gen. Kimmit refers to can be interpreted as equal to attacks on American troops. January number is the average of 7 weekly data points.

<sup>75</sup> Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*. February 5, February 9, February 17, February 25, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Average of numerous data points.

<sup>76</sup> Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*., March 9, March 17, March 22, March 31, April 1, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Average of numerous data points.

<sup>77</sup> Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*. December 3, December 8, December 18, December 24, 2003. December number is an average of 4 weekly data points.

<sup>78</sup> Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense* January 2, January 8, January 12, January 14, January 22, January 27, January 30, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. January number is the average of 7 weekly data points.

<sup>79</sup> Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*, February 5, February 9, February 17, February 25, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Average of four weekly data points.

<sup>80</sup> Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*., March 9, March 17, March 22, March 31, April 1, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Average of numerous data points.

<sup>81</sup> Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*. December 3, December 8, December 18, December 24, 2003. December number is an average of 4 weekly data points.

<sup>82</sup> Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense* January 2, January 8, January 12, January 14, January 22, January 27, January 30, 2004. January number is the average of 7 weekly data points.

<sup>83</sup> Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*, February 5, February 9, February 17, February 25, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Average of 4 weekly datapoints.

<sup>84</sup> Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*., March 9, March 17, March 22, March 31, April 1, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Average of numerous datapoints.

<sup>85</sup> Bradley Graham, "Touring Iraq, Rumsfeld Gets Upbeat Assessment: Commanders Outline Progress on Security," *Washington Post*, December 7, 2003. Estimate by Maj. Gen. Raymond Odierno.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Bradley Graham, "Touring Iraq, Rumsfeld Gets Upbeat Assessment: Commanders Outline Progress on Security," *Washington Post*, December 7, 2003. Estimate by Maj. Gen. Raymond Odierno.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> Entries up until January 18 based on Eric Schmitt, "Iraq Rebels Seen Using More Skill to Down Copters," *New York Times*, January 18, 2004. An Army OH-59 Kiowa Warrior helicopter crashed on January 23, and one OH-58D Kiowa Warrior helicopter crashed on January 25. In lieu of pending investigations we are assuming they were brought down by hostile fire.

<sup>90</sup> "Iraq Pipeline Watch," Institute for the Analysis of Global Security, December 29, 2003. (<http://www.iags.org/iraqpipeline.htm>).

<sup>91</sup> Data up until September 19 based on "Iraqi 55 Most Wanted List," *United States Central Command*, ([http://www.centcom.mil/Operations/Iraqi\\_Freedom/55mostwanted.htm](http://www.centcom.mil/Operations/Iraqi_Freedom/55mostwanted.htm)).

<sup>92</sup> The source of individuals remaining as of December is based on reports from the Associated Press, "\$1 Million Rewards Offered for Last of Iraqi Fugitives," *Chicago Tribune*, December 28, 2003.

<sup>93</sup> "Top Baathist Fugitive Held in Iraq," CNN.com, January 14, 2004.

<sup>94</sup> Donald H. Rumsfeld, "Prepared Testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee," February 3, 2004.

<sup>95</sup> "Q&A: Operation Iraqi Freedom," *Department of Defense, Office of Public Affairs*, March 19, 2004. Unclassified. Provided to the author by contacts at the DoD.

<sup>96</sup> Eric Schmitt and David E. Sanger. "Guerillas Posing More Danger, Says U.S. Commander for Iraq," *New York Times*, November 14, 2003. According to General John P. Abizaid.

<sup>97</sup> Bradley Graham, "Hussein Arrest Yields Details on Resistance," *Washington Post*, December 18, 2003.

<sup>98</sup> "4th Infantry Division Commanding General's, Briefing from Iraq," *Coalition Provisional Authority*, January 22, 2004. Statement by Army Maj. Gen. Raymond T. Odierno,

<sup>99</sup> Bradley Graham, "Iraqi Security Forces Fall Short, Generals Say," *Washington Post*, April 13, 2004. According to General John P. Abizaid

<sup>100</sup> Estimates by author based on Pentagon briefings.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*, November 17, November 19, 2003. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Monthly total based on daily average rate.

<sup>107</sup> Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*, December 3, December 5, December 8, December 18, December 19, December 24, December 30, 2003. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Monthly total based on daily average rate.

<sup>108</sup> Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*, January 2, January 3, January 8, January 12, January 14, January 22, January 27, January 30. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Monthly total based on daily average rate.

<sup>109</sup> Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*, 3 February, 4 February, 9 February, 10 February, 17 February, 21 February, 24 February, 25 February, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Monthly total based on daily average rate.

<sup>110</sup> Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*, March, 10 March, 17 March, 22 March, 30 March, March 31, April 1, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Monthly total based on daily average rate.

<sup>111</sup> Coalition Provisional Authority Briefing. News Transcript, *Department of Defense*, April 5, 2004. According to Deputy Director of Operations Brig. General Mark Kimmit. Monthly total based on daily average rate. An estimated 700 insurgents had been killed up until April 14. These have been added to the estimated numbers of people detained in April. Edward Wong, "Iraqis Are Hoping for Early and Peaceful End to Shiite Insurrection," *New York Times*, April 16, 2004.

<sup>112</sup> Scott Wilson, "Bremer Shifts Focus to New Iraqi Economy; U.S. Occupation Chief Cites Progress on Restoring Order," *Washington Post*, May 27, 2003.

<sup>113</sup> "CPA Daily; Key Facts Security 17 July 2003," *Coalition Provisional Authority*, ([www.cpa-iraq.org](http://www.cpa-iraq.org)).

<sup>114</sup> "Results in Iraq: 100 days Toward Security and Freedom," Highlights of the Renewal of Iraq and the End of Saddam's Regime," *Coalition Provisional Security*, August 8, 2003.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

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2,100 deaths occurred between May and September, we derived the average lower bound for June and July by subtracting the respective numbers cited for May, August and September. The lower bound in November and December is based on statistics provided in the Fleishman article. Based on our notion that the August range was of the highest quality data, we used those numbers to derive a lower to upper bound ratio, which we then applied to estimate a higher bound for November and December. Having no data for October, we constructed an estimate for this month range by taking the average of the lower and upper bounds for September and November respectively. Having no recent data in January, February, and March, we assume that the murder rate is the same as in December. We intend to update these entries as soon as more information becomes available.

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