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Oorlogs-
misdaden
in
IRAK

2^e GOLF-
oorlog

CExcl.
(CLUSTERBOM-
MEN)

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Gebruik van Napalm door USA in recente Irak - Oorlog 2003.

1.

Op donderdag 7.8.'03 zond de Duitse TV - zender ARD-Monitor om 20¹⁰ uur een met documenten -
ten onderbouwd programma uit over het gebruik
van Napalm door de USA in de recente Irak -
oorlog. Wat ik daarover (soms toevallig) over
de Duitse radio hoorde, kon ik deels per cassette-
bandje opnemen, waarvan vervolgens de tekst,

WDRV - D: 7.8.'03 - 23.30^u "Berichte von heute."

Bisher hatte das Pentagon den Gebrauch von Napalm -
Bomben stets bestritten und, endsparend die Ver-
mutungen, von Journalisten, die mit den US-Trup-
pen im Einsatz waren, zurückgewiesen. Doch nach
jüngsten Recherchen des ARD-Magazins "Monitor",
haben die US-Truppen Napalm beim Marsch auf
Bagdad tatsächlich mehrfach eingesetzt und somit
gegen das Völkerrecht verstoßen. Georg Schwärte
über die Reaktionen aus Washington:

"Das Dementi aus dem amerikanischen Verteidigungs-
Ministerium fiel kurz und knapp aus: die
USA hätten alle restlichen Napalm-Bestände bereits
im Jahr 2001 zerstört. Im Irak-Krieg seien ledig-
lich ähnlich wirkende Bomben eingesetzt worden,
die allerdings eine komplett andere chemische Zu-
sammensetzung hätten. Das ARD-Magazin "Monitor" hatte
berichtet, amerikanische Soldaten hätten den Einsatz der
weltweit geächteten Napalm-Bomben zugelassen. Die in
San Diego erscheinende Zeitung "Union Tribune", zitierte
US-Marine Flieger, die behaupteten, amerikanische
Kampf-Flugzeuge hätten im März und April sogenannte
Feuer-Bomben, die Napalm sehr ähnlich seien, auf
Irakische Truppen abgeworfen. Dutzende dieser Bomben
seien vor allem in der Nähe von Brücken, über dem
Saddam-Kanal und dem Tigris, eingesetzt worden
um Widerstand gegen die damals Richtung Bagdad
vorrückenden US-Truppen zu brechen. Ein Oberst
wird mit der Aussage zitiert: "Napalm habe einen
großen psychologischen Effekt auf den Gegner - Generäle
lieben Napalm."

Napalm 2.

- "Generäle lieben Napalm" — So der in der Zeitung zitierte Soldat. Das Pentagon habe — laut Union Tribune per e-mail darauf hingewiesen, daß die modernen Feuerbomben vom Typ "Mark 77" unter anderen mit Kerosin gefüllt seien; diese Zusätze — so wird der Pentagon-Sprecher zitiert, seien weniger schädlich für die Umwelt als das mehr Benzol enthaltene Napalm. Allerdings — räumte er zugleich ein — daß die Wirkung der Bomben der von Napalm entspreche. Das letzte Mal, das die amerikanische Armee offiziell Napalm-Bomben einsetzte, war während des Golfkriegs 1991." — Soweit Georg Schwarte (=moot BP).

DLF-Nachrichten - Freitag 8.8.'03 - 8.30^u.

Das amerikanische Verteidigungs-Ministerium hat den Einsatz von Brand-bomben im Irak-Krieg zugegeben und ihn als notwendig bezeichnet. Die Bombe sei mindestens ein Mal in der Gegend um Samarra(?), an der irakisch - kuwaitischen Grenze abgeworfen worden, sagte ein Sprecher in Washington. Deren Einsatz sei nicht verboten. Das ARD-Magazin "Monitor" hatte berichtet, das US-Militär habe insgesamt 30 (dreißig) Kanister des Kampfstoffes MK 77 verwendet. Die Wirkung gleiche der im Vietnam-Krieg eingesetzten Napalm-Bomben, die wegen ihrer verheerenden Wirkung völkerrechtlich verboten sei, hieß es. — (bis hier DLF-Nachrichten über Napalm).

Anschliessende Sendung nach den DLF-Nachrichten:
8.8.'03 - 8³⁵ u - Moderatorin Sylvia Engels:
Freundliche Bomben? Es gibt, nach Auskunft des Pentagon, umwelt - freundlichere Bomben als Napalm - Gefüllte. Man muss nur Kerosin hineintun statt Napalm, erzeugt aber eine ähnlich durchschlagende Wirkung und schone eben die Umwelt vergleichsweise mehr. Wo also liegt das Problem, fragt man sich im Pentagon erstaunt, angesichts der aufgeflammt Diskussion über den Einsatz der Feuerbomben im Irak-Krieg. Das Grauen hat einen Namen: MK 77, Nachfolger jener berüchtigten Napalm-Bomben aus dem Vietnam-Krieg eben. Georg Schwarte aus Washington dazu: "Das Dementi aus dem — — —"
zelfde Bericht als 7.8.'03 WDR - Zie pg. 1.

Moderator " - - - - Es gäbe halt keine ingeschakeld Methode, den Feind auf humaner Art und Weise zu töten. Ist im Krieg also doch alles erlaubt? Ist das internationale Üchten bestimmter Waffen für Washington letztlich doch nur hinderliche Gefühls-Duzzelei? Wie willkürlich ist die Weltmacht? Der Kommentar von Thomas Niels:

"Die Generäle lieben Napalm" - zitiert die "San Diego-Tribune" einen US-Oberst, der dem Nachfolge-Model der einst im Vietnam-Krieg eingesetzten Brandbombe, einer Feuerbombe vom Typ MK 77 auch einen großen psychologischen Effekt bescheinigt. Die Eigenart, der mit einem Gel-Gemisch aus neuerdings Kerosin-Benzol- und gut brennbarem Kunststoff gefertigten Munition, ist ihre großflächige Ausdehnung und die verheerende Wirkung auf Menschen: die werden nicht prompt getötet sondern buchstäblich in Brand gesetzt und werden - wenn sie überleben - die Schmerzen nie mehr los. Eben solche, selbst im Kriegsfall unnötigen Qualen zu verhindern, ist eine der Absichten des 1908 beschlossenen dritten Genfer Üchtingsprotokolls, das sich fünf Jahre nach dem Ende des Vietnam-Kriegs, speziell mit der besonderen Grausamkeit von Brandbomben beschäftigt hat. Die USA haben auch dieses internationale Abkommen nicht ratifiziert aber gleichwohl vor 2 Jahren größere Restbestände von Napalm vernichtet. Der neue Todesstoff war schließlich längst gemixt und hatte sich 1991, im ersten Krieg gegen den Irak, bereits bewährt. Wen überrascht es eigentlich, dass der Markenartikel MK 77 beim völkerrechtswidrigen und mit Lügen begründeten Nachschlag vor 4 Monaten, mindestens an drei Stellen im Irak abermals verwendet wurde. Dass die Reaktionen auf die Veröffentlichung in der jüngsten Ausgabe des ARD-Magazins "Monitor" gering ausfielen, dürfte weniger an der Sommerzeit als vielmehr am Grad der Gewöhnung an die den USA längst entglittene Kontrolle eigener und anderer Nationen Normen liegen.

Den Einsatz der, in ihrer Wirkung mit Napalm nahezu

Napalm. 4.

mit Napalm nahezu identischen Munition als notwendig und gerechtfertigt zu bezeichnen, ist an Zynismus nicht mehr zu überbieten. Und eine derart selbst-gerechte Attitüde läßt sich auch kaum mit der Binsenweisheit verharmlosen, daß — wie das Pentagon, erklärte — keine Methode bekannt sei, den Feind auf humane Art und Weise zu töten. Unabhängig von der Frage, wie viele Tote oder dauerhaft Geschädigte die Feuerbomben-Abwürfe an der irakisch-kuwaitischen Grenze auf dem Berg Sarvaam (?) bei Basra sowie über dem Saddam-Kanal und dem Tigris gefordert haben, drängt sich der Verdacht eines schweren Vergehens auf. Er wird sich freilich nicht erhärten lassen — über genaue Daten verfügen allein die Täter. Und die haben sich, bekanntermaßen die strafrechtliche Immunität seit langem gesichert — durch verweigte Unterschriften und Ratifizierungen und durch die Bruskierung und Nicht-Anerkennung internationaler Instanzen, wie dem neu-geschaffenen Straf-Gerichtshof in den Haag. Die Willkür der Weltmacht USA nimmt gespenstische Züge an und bietet fast täglich neue Muster für Macht-Missbrauch. Noch schlimmer freilich ist das schlechte Beispiel mit dem Washington Bombendie Welt verändert. Vorgegebene Friedensziele werden weitgehend verfehlt und den wirklichen Feinden, den weltweit angesiedelten Aggressoren, wird eher "grünes Licht" gegeben. Wer will anderen den Griff in militärische Schmutz-Kisten und die Miss-Achtung internationaler Normen verwehren, wenn er sich selbst feil verhält. Oder gibt es bereits Grund zur resignativen Feststellung: "Wie der Herr, so's Gescherr"? — Ein Kommentar von Thomas Hiels - WDR.

DLF - Freitag 8.8.'03 "Das war der Tag" - 23.05 - 24.11.

Moderator Matthias von Hellfeld (Mod.).

Seit gestern ist bekannt, daß die amerikanische Luftwaffe beim Vormarsch auf Bagdad eine Art weiter entwickelter Napalm-Bombe abgeworfen hat. Das wurde vom Pentagon einerseits bestätigt, andererseits aber durch eine spitzfindige Definition

Definition auch wieder dementiert. Die aus dem Vietnam- und aus dem Golfkrieg bekannte Napalm-Bomben habe man vor zwei Jahren samt und sonders vernichtet. Die im Irak eingesetzten Bomben seien eine Weiter-Entwicklung. Mehr dazu von Georg Schwarte aus Washington: "Das Dementi---" Zie pg. 1.

Mod. über die Lage im Irak bin ich nun verbunden mit Gottfried Massauer (O.N.), der Direktor des Informationszentrums für transatlantische Sicherheit in Berlin. (Het gesprek ging aan vanke-lyk over de moeilijke situatie in Irak en vervolgens op een onverwacht moment met thema "Napalm" - vandaar bandje te laat aangeset, zodat iets van begin van dit thema ontbreekt)

Mod. - - - "Wie wirkt die Napalm-Bombe, die dort (= in USA) weiterentwickelt wurde und dort (= in Irak) eingesetzt worden ist.

O.N. Das klassische Napalm, was in Vietnam eingesetzt worden ist, und überhaupt Napalm, das wirkt so, daß den Menschen, die in einer solchen Brandbomben-Einsatz hineinkommen, davon betroffen sind, daß Sauerstoff zum atmen fehlt, eine Überdosis Kohlenmonoxid verpasst wird, daß sie Bewußtlos werden, ziemlich schnell sterben und gleichzeitig starke Verbrennungen zweiten und ersten Grades erleiden - das ist die Wirkungsweise von Napalm. Nun sagen die Amerikaner ja, daß hier nicht Napalm sondern ein modernerer Nachfolge-Stoff verwendet worden ist, aber es scheint sich um ein Stoff zu handeln, der exakt die gleichen Wirkungsweisen hat und auch nur in begrenztem Umfang anders zusammen-gesetzt ist.

Mod. Was unterscheidet denn jetzt die in Vietnam eingesetzten Napalm-Bomben von der Bombe, die in diesen Monaten zum Einsatz gekommen ist. O.N. - - - (vor beel van ^{afhet} sap-maken) - - Die Amerikaner sagen, das ist kein Napalm mehr, weil sie das Benzin, das Auto-Benzin, was früher in Napalm ein-

eingesetzt wurde, jetzt durch Flugbetriebsstoff

Kerosin ausgetauscht haben, aber die Wirkung ist trotzdem weiterhin dieselbe. Und deswegen müssen diese beiden Waffen auch von der Wirkung her, völkerrechtlich gleich beurteilt werden.

Mod. Es gibt im Anschluss an diese Debatte die Frage — und das Dementi sofort —: ist Napalm geächtet, ist der Einsatz von Napalm geächtet weltweit oder nicht.

O.N. Napalm ist ein Stoff, dessen Einsatz teilweise verboten ist, nämlich dann, wenn der Einsatz gegen Mischungen von zivilen und militärischen Zielen erfolgt, d.h. wenn Zivilisten von dem Einsatz gegen militärische Ziele betroffen sein können: dann ist er geächtet, dann ist er verboten. Rein militärische Ziele dürfen bislang noch auch mit Napalm angegriffen werden, nach dem Völkerrecht, und die Amerikaner haben, weil es halt viele Situationen gibt in denen Zivilisten und Militärs nicht so ohne weiteres zu unterscheiden sind, genau dieses Protokoll, das den Einsatz von Brandwaffen verbietet, nicht unterzeichnet.

Mod. Was sagen Sie zu der Äußerung der Amerikaner, die sagen, sie hätten den Napalm-Einsatz befohlen um das Leben ihrer eigenen Soldaten nicht auf's Spiel zu setzen.

O.N. Die Aussage ist in gewisser Weise natürlich richtig, weil sie den amerikanischen Soldaten den Kampf gegen die irakischen Soldaten, die damit beschossen worden sind oder bombardiert worden sind, erspart hat — nur: auch das ist eigentlich im Völkerrecht geregelt: Napalm-Einsatz oder überhaupt Brandwaffen-Einsatz ist nur dann legitim, wenn es keine andere Methode gibt, ein solches Ziel zu zerstören, oder das wirklich unvergleichlich riskanter wäre. Und in sofern kann man auch an der Stelle die Frage aufwerfen, ob diese Situationen, in denen Napalm-Bomben eingesetzt worden sind, den Einsatz denn überhaupt hätten rechtfertigen können.

Mod. Wenn Sie noch mal so auf die Stimmungslage in Irak zurück-kommen: wird sich die

wird sich die Erkenntnis, daß Napalm eingesetzt worden ist, negativ auf die Stimmung der irakischen Bevölkerung auswirken oder ist denen das egal, weil sie es eh' schon wußten.

G.N. Also, ich bin nicht sicher, wie eine solche Meldung konkret im Irak wirken wird, aber ich würde davon ausgehen, daß sie auf jeden Fall die Stimmung nicht verbessert.

Mod. Soweit Othfried Kassauer, Direktor (zie vor-
gaand pg. 5), mit dem ich vor unserer Sendung
gesprachen habe.

(Text mitgewerkt von cass.-
bandje - BP).

Mr. N.M.P. Steijnen

Advocaat en Prokureur
Cauwenhoven 52-05
3703 ER Zeist
tel. 03404 - 5 68 67

The Right Honourable Geoffrey Hoon MP
The Secretary of State for Defence
Ministry Of Defence
Whitehall
London SW1A 2HB

2 January 2003

Your ref:

Our ref: PS/SA/

datum

Dear Sir,

**PROPOSED USE OF FORCE AGAINST IRAQ – ISSUES OF INTERNATIONAL
HUMANITARIAN LAW AND “WAR CRIMES”**

We are acting for Mark Thomas, The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) and other non-governmental organisations (NGOs).¹ We are asked to write to you to put you on notice as to the consequences of any decisions by the UK Government to use further force against Iraq² involving methods of attack or weapon systems that breach rules of international humanitarian law (IHL).³ Specifically we make clear that if the UK acts so as to bring any breaches of IHL within the definition of “war crimes” we, and other, will take steps to ensure that you, and other leaders of the UK Government, are held accountable within international criminal law.

Summary

The purpose of this letter is to put the UK Government on notice as to the position if requirements of IHL are breached in the forthcoming war. From the outset of the use of force

¹ We will provide a full list of these NGOs on request.

² We use the phrase “further force” deliberately as we note the continuing bombing raids to enforce the no-fly zones in Southern and Northern Iraq, that these have recently intensified, and that serious doubts exist among international lawyers as to their legality.

³ We assume from recent press reports that in due course the UK will participate in a US led campaign against Iraq. We do not, of course accept that the use of force meets with the requirements of *jus ad bellum* or that all “peaceful means” to resolve the dispute have been exhausted (see Art. 33 of UN Charter).

Mr. N.M.P. Steijnen

Advocaat en Procureur
Cauwenhoven 52-05
3703 ER Zeist
tel. 03404 - 5 68 67

various NGOs working in the field will be collecting evidence as to whether the use of force against Iraq adheres to the fundamental requirements of the international humanitarian law, in particular to the principles of distinction, military necessity and proportionality. In analysing this evidence, our clients will seek to determine whether the force used provides evidence of crimes against humanity and war crimes in violation of international criminal law, specifically, Articles 7 and 8 of the International Criminal Court Statute (the ICC Statute) and sections 50 and 51 and schedule 8 of the International Criminal Court Act 2001. In due course, either before the end of the use of force or shortly after its end, NGOs' written and oral evidence will be presented to a tribunal. The tribunal will be organised by the Permanent People's Tribunal (PPT) based in Italy. Its panel will consist of eminent international lawyers and others experienced in this field. The panel will hear evidence from various NGOs and others as to whether requirements of IHL have been breached. If the panel finds that there have been breaches it will prepare a report giving its judgement. That judgement, and the supporting evidence of NGOs and others, will then be presented to the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC). The Prosecutor will be urged to initiate investigations on his own initiative, on the basis of this report and evidence as he is empowered to do under Article 15 of the ICC Statute. Thereafter, those who have initiated this process including various NGOs will work with the Prosecutor as he analyses the seriousness of the information received and makes a decision as to whether or not there is a reasonable basis to proceed with an investigation (Articles 15 (2) and (3) of the ICC Statute). If there is, in the opinion of the tribunal, and the various NGOs a reasonable basis to proceed with an investigation we shall urge that this investigation proceed against yourself and other senior members of the UK Government responsible, at the highest level, for decisions as to how force is used against Iraq and its civilian population. It is our position that pursuant to Article 25 of the ICC Statute, you and other senior members of the UK Government will be responsible for any breaches of Articles 7 and 8 of the ICC Statute (defining "crimes against humanity" and "war crimes")

Mr. N.M.P. Steijnen

Advocaat en Prokureur
Cauwenhoven 52-05
3703 ER Zeist
tel. 03404 - 5 68 67

notwithstanding the culpability of senior members of the armed forces. Thus we urge that you proceed in any forthcoming war with Iraq on the basis that if there are breaches by the UK Government of IHL you will at least be investigated by the Prosecutor and could likely face prosecution. Accordingly you should ensure that the use of force against Iraq complies with IHL and the principles of distinction, necessity, proportionality and humanity.

"Crime of Agression" and "Crimes against Peace"

datum

We wish to raise with you at the outset of this letter our clients' concerns that the UK Government (and its leaders) are about to use force in circumstances where a "crime of aggression" is being committed and, thus, a "crime against peace." Our reasoning on this is as follows:

1. You will be aware that the crime of aggression is included under Article 5 of the ICC Statute as one of the crimes along with genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes, over which the ICC has jurisdiction. The ICC may not yet exercise jurisdiction over this crime, however, and will not be able to do so until an agreed definition of the crime is adopted in accordance with Articles 121 and 123 of the ICC Statute. There is nonetheless a broad consensus that the crime of aggression is a crime under international law.
2. Crimes against peace were punishable under Principle 6 of the Nuremberg Principles. Principle 6 defines crimes against peace as
 - i) Planning, preparation, initiation or waging of a war of aggression or a war in violation of international treaties, agreements or assurances;

- ii) Participation in a common plan or conspiracy for the accomplishment of any of the acts mentioned under (i).
3. The International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg described aggression as the 'supreme international crime.'
4. The outlawing of aggressive war is reflected in Articles 1 and 2 of the United Nations Charter, and in particular in the prohibition on the use of force at Article 2(4). Article 1 (1) of the United Nations Charter states that the Purposes of the United Nations are (amongst other things)

"To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace."

Article 2 states

"..(3) All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.

(4) All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.”

5. On 9 September 2002 the Assembly of States Parties to the ICC Statute adopted a resolution⁴ proposed by the Preparatory Commission for the International Criminal Court in which it stated that it was desirous of continuing and completing the work on the crime of aggression and to that end established a special Working Group on the crime of aggression. The discussion paper which was attached to the Preparatory Commission’s Draft Resolution suggested the following basic definition of the crime:

“For the purpose of the present Statute, a person commits a “crime of aggression” when, being in a position effectively to exercise control over or to direct the political or military action of a State, that person intentionally and knowingly orders or participates actively in the planning, preparation, initiation or execution of an act of aggression which, by its character, gravity and scale, constitutes a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations.”

6. Paragraph 2 of the discussion paper suggested that act of aggression be defined as an act referred to in United Nations General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX) (“Resolution 3314”) of 14 December 1974. Article 1 of Resolution 3314 states:

"Aggression is the use of armed force by a State against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of another State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations, as set out in this Definition."

Article 3 provides as follows:

"Any of the following acts, regardless of a declaration of war, shall, subject to and in accordance with the provisions of article 2, qualify as an act of aggression:

(a) The invasion or attack by the armed forces of a State of the territory of another State, or any military occupation, however temporary, resulting from such invasion or attack, or any annexation by the use of force of the territory of another State or part thereof.

(b) Bombardment by the armed forces of a State against the territory of another State or the use of any weapons by a State against the territory of another State;

(c) The blockade of the ports or coasts of a State by the armed forces of another State;

(d) An attack by the armed forces of a State on the land, sea or air forces, or marine and air fleets of another State;

(e) The use of armed forces of one State which are within the territory of another State with the agreement of the receiving State, in contravention of the conditions provided for

⁴ ICC-ASP/1/Res.1

in the agreement or any extension of their presence in such territory beyond the termination of the agreement;

(f) The action of a State in allowing its territory, which it has placed at the disposal of another State, to be used by that other State for perpetrating an act of aggression against a third State;

(g) The sending by or on behalf of a State of armed bands, groups, irregulars or mercenaries, which carry out acts of armed force against another State of such gravity as to amount to the acts listed above, or its substantial involvement therein.

7. It is the widely held view of legal experts in the field that in the absence of the inherent right arising to take action in self-defence under Article 51 of the UN Charter, any military action taken by the United Kingdom against Iraq without a United Nations Security Council Resolution expressly authorising such force would be in clear violation of the UN Charter and international law⁵.

Background to our clients' concerns

Our clients' concerns are that, based on evidence of the use of armed force in the Gulf War in 1991, in Kosovo and in Afghanistan the US and the UK have clearly breached fundamental requirements of IHL in the past. Thus there is every reason to believe that these requirements will be breached again in any forthcoming war in Iraq. You are better placed than ourselves or

⁵ See Opinion of Professor Colin Warbrick, 30 October 2002, at www.matrixlaw.co.uk, and Opinion of Professor Vaughan Lowe of 19 December 2002 at http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/today/reports/international/iraq_hearing.shtml;

the various NGOs that we represent to know the detail of the impacts of the use of force in the Gulf, Kosovo and, more recently, Afghanistan. You will, of course, appreciate that these three recent examples all pre-date July 2002 when the ICC came into being and that its jurisdiction over these matters requires now a fundamentally different approach by the UK. However, our clients' concerns include the following:

ILLEGITIMATE MEANS AND METHODS OF ATTACK

- The unannounced bombing of Amiraya Civilian Air Raid Shelter in Baghdad killing between 600 and 1000 civilians on February 13 1991 when it was known by coalition forces that the facility had been previously used as a civil-defence shelter;
- The deliberate killing of thousands of civilians especially Palestinians, killed as they tried to escape from Kuwait City after February 26 1991;
- What appears to have been the deliberate massacre, without quarter, of tens of thousands of Iraqi soldiers and civilians on the road to Basra on February 26 and 27, 1991;
- The bombing of cities which served as major military communications and supply centres, for example Basra, Ramadi, Diwaniya and Mosul;
- The fact that 93% of the bombs used were free-falling bombs and that most appeared to have been dropped from higher than 30,000 feet;
- The fact that only 7,000 tons were guided bombs leaving 82,000 tons of bombs used that were non-precision guided;
- The use by the US of massive amounts of fire bombs;
- The use by the US of fuel air explosives;

- The use by the US of BLU-82s (otherwise known as “daisy cutters”);
- The use of cluster bombs and anti-personnel bombs;
- The use of the weapon system CBU-75 carrying 1800 bomblets called Sadeyes (each bomblet contains 600 razor sharp steel fragments lethal up to 40 feet).
- The declaration of Basra as a “free fire zone”;
- The use of carpet bombing techniques;
- The targeting of chemical plants;
- The use of at least 320 tons of depleted uranium ammunition in air and tank rounds and sniper bullets.⁶

ATTACKS ON OBJECTS DEDICATED TO CIVILIAN PURPOSES

- The destruction of civilian targets such as the Iraqi Ministries of Justice and Municipal Affairs;
- The destruction of between 10 to 20,000 homes, apartments, and other dwellings;
- The destruction of commercial centres with shops, retail stores, offices, hotels, restaurants and other public accommodation destroyed;
- The destruction or damage of scores of schools, hospitals, mosques and churches;
- The targeting of isolated Bedouin tents in Western Iraq leaving 46 dead civilians, including infants and children;
- The bombing of the “baby-milk” factory in Abu Gharaib on January 22 1991

DESTRUCTION OF IRAQI INFRASTRUCTURE

⁶ In 1996 the UN Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights passed Resolution 96/16 which included weapons using depleted uranium as of “indiscriminate effect”.

- The deliberate disproportionate targeting and destruction of Iraq's infrastructure towards the end of the war leaving it in a pre-industrial condition. Among the facilities targeted and destroyed were:
 - Electricity power generation, relay and transmission
 - Water treatment, pumping and distribution systems and reservoirs
 - Telephone and radio exchanges, relay stations, towers and transmission facilities
 - Food processing, storage and distribution facilities and markets, infant milk formula and beverage plants, animal vaccination facilities and irrigation sites
 - Railroad transportation facilities, bus depots, bridges, highway overpasses, highways, highway repair stations, trains, buses and other public transportation vehicles, commercial and private vehicles
 - Oil wells and pumps, pipelines, refineries, oil storage tanks, gasoline filling stations and fuel delivery tanks, cars and trucks, and kerosene storage tanks
 - Sewage treatment and disposal systems
 - Factories engaged in civilian production, for example, textile and automobile assembly
 - Historical markers and ancient sites
- As a result of the above the deaths of tens of thousands of civilians from dehydration, dysentery and diseases caused by impure water, inability to obtain effective medical assistance and debilitation from hunger, shock, cold and stress;

CIVILIAN LOSSES IN AFGHANISTAN

- Disproportionate and indiscriminate bombardment of Afghanistan resulting in at least 3,767 civilians being killed between October 7 and December 6, 2001, in particular:

- Repeated bombing of the farming village of 450 persons of Karam, killing at least 160 civilians on October 11;
- Falling of a cluster bomb on the military hospital and mosque in Herat, killing 100 on October 21;
- Carpet-bombing by B-52's of a frontline village near Khanabad, killing at least 150 civilians on November 18.

CIVILIAN LOSSES DURING NATO AIR STRIKES IN KOSOVO

- At least 489 civilians killed in the ninety separate incidents in Operation Allied Force, almost half of which resulted from attacks during daylight hours, when civilians could have been expected to be on the roads and bridges or in public buildings which may have been targeted;
- The most dramatic losses of civilian life came from attacks on fleeing or travelling refugees including repeated attacks on refugees on the Djakovica-Decane road, near Korisa and Savine Vode;
- Bombing of Dubrava prison on 21 May 1998;
- Attacks on populated urban areas in Belgrade, Nis and Vranje
- Use of cluster bombs, resulting in deaths of some 90 to 150 civilians and Britain's refusal to discontinue their use even after NATO confirmation of responsibility for the attack on Nis airfield in southern Serbia on May 7, 1998 and subsequent prohibition of cluster bomb use imposed on the US forces by the White House.
- Failure to provide clear advance warning of the attacks on state Serb Radio and Television headquarters in Belgrade on April 23, 1998 resulting in civilian deaths

The information that leads us to these conclusion includes:

- Personal accounts from representatives of NGOs.
- The report of the Commission of Inquiry for the International War Crimes Tribunal ("War Crimes. A report on United States war crimes against Iraq to the Commission of Inquiry for the International War Crimes Tribunal" by Ramsey Clark and others, available at www.deoxy.org/wc/wc-index.htm)
- Needless Deaths in the Gulf War, Human Rights Watch, available at www.hrw.org/reports/1991/gulfwar/
- The Secret behind the Sanctions: how the US intentionally destroyed Iraq's water supply, Thomas Nagy, available at www.progressive.org/0801icsue/nagy0901.html
- Joint WHO/UNICEF team report: A visit to Iraq (New York: United Nations, 1991). A report to the Secretary General dated March 20 1991 by representatives of the UN Secretariat, UNICEF, UNDP, UNDRO, UNHCR, FAO and WHO.
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- Counting the Human Cost of the Gulf War, Medical Education Trust background paper, London, July 1991
- US Bombing: The myth of surgical bombing in the Gulf War, Paul Walker, evidence to the Commission of Inquiry for the International War Crimes Tribunal, May 11 1991, available at www.deoxy.org/wc/wc-myth.htm
- International Law and War Crimes, Michael Ratner, evidence to the Commission of Inquiry for the International War Crimes Tribunal, May 11 1991, available at www.deoxy.org/wc-ilaw.htm
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- Various reports from the Washington Post and the New York Times and agency reports from Reuters and Agence France Presse available at www.globalsecurity.org
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- War on Iraq, Scott Ritter, Profile Books, 2002
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- Depleted Uranium Weapons: Lessons from the 1991 Gulf War, Dan Fahey, Laka Foundation, May 1999
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- Medical ethics and human rights violations: the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait and its aftermath, Troyan Brennan and Robert Kirschner, Annals of Internal Medicine, 117:78-82 (1992)
- Civilian Deaths in the NATO Air Campaign - The crisis in Kosovo, report by the Human Rights Watch, available at www.hrw.org/reports/2000/nato/Natbm200-01.htm

We should make clear that our clients' main concerns are the civilian casualties caused by indiscriminate and/or disproportionate attacks. Further our clients are extremely concerned about the consequent civilian casualties caused by attacks on the economic infrastructure of Iraq as happened in the 1991 Gulf War.

To add to our clients' concerns the following are noted:

Nuclear Weapons

datum

We note that the US Nuclear Posture Review (NPR) submitted to Congress on 31 December 2001⁷ makes clear that the United States continues to plan for massive retaliation or a pre-emptive counter force attack in response to an actual or imminent nuclear attack, and for use of nuclear weapons against an overwhelming conventional attack. Much concern has been expressed about the US's willingness to contemplate a "first strike" against non-nuclear weapons

states and particularly those characterised as "rogue states." You have made clear to both the UK House of Commons Defence Committee and to the Jonathan Dimbleby programme on BBC TV that the UK also might under certain circumstances be willing to engage in a "first strike" use of nuclear weapons against a non-nuclear weapon state, namely Iraq.⁸ This policy represents a fundamental breach of customary international law and particularly in the light of the International Court of Justice's Advisory Opinion on the Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons.⁹ That opinion concludes at paragraph 105E:

"E. By seven votes to seven, by the president's casting vote,

It follows in the above-mentioned requirements that the threat or use of nuclear weapons would generally be contrary to the rules of international law applicable in armed conflict, and in particular the principles and rules of humanitarian law;

However, in view of the current state of international law, and of the elements of fact at its disposal, the Court cannot conclude definitively whether the threat or use of nuclear weapons would be lawful or unlawful in an extreme circumstance of self-defence, in which the very survival of a state would be at stake...."

⁷ Nuclear Posture Review report on the web at www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/library/policy/dod/npr.htm

⁸ Your evidence to the House of Commons Defence Committee 20 March 2002 records "....there are clearly some states who would be deterred by the fact that the United Kingdom possess nuclear weapons and has the willingness and ability to use them in appropriate circumstances. States of concern, I would be much less confident about, and Saddam Hussein has demonstrated in the past his willingness to use chemical weapons against his own people. In those kinds of states the wishes, needs and interests of citizens are clearly much less regarded and we cannot rule out the possibility that such states might be willing to sacrifice their own people in order to make that kind of gesture... they (states of concern) can be absolutely confident that in the right conditions we would be willing to use our nuclear weapons." (Paras 236-237).

On 24 March 2002 on the Jonathan Dimbleby programme on BBC you were asked whether nuclear use might be in response to non-nuclear weapons such as chemical or biological weapons and you replied: "Let me make it clear the long-standing British Government policy is that if our forces, if our people were threatened by weapons of mass destruction we would reserve the right to use appropriate proportionate responses which might....in extreme circumstances include the use of nuclear weapons. Later you were asked by the interviewer whether you would only use Britain's nuclear weapons system after an attack by Saddam Hussein using weapons of mass destruction and you replied: "Clearly if there were strong evidence of an imminent attack, if we knew that an attack was about to occur

It is clear that the threat to use chemical or biological weapons against UK deployed forces in the filed is far short of a threat such that "the very survival" of the UK "is at stake." As such if the UK were to carry out the threat you have made to use nuclear weapons against Iraq in these circumstances it would be in clear breach of customary international law.

Other Weapons Systems

We know that in the Gulf War conflict from 1991, in Kosovo and in Afghanistan the following weapons systems have been used:

- Cluster bombs including the BL-755 and the US CBU-55B
- Fuel air explosives including the BLU-82B.
- The multiple launch rocket system
- Depleted uranium munitions including the British Challenger II and US M1A1, M1 and M60 tank rounds, aircraft rounds and 7.62mm calibre bullets.

Our client's concerns include that these weapons systems, and the UK's nuclear weapon system, all breach "intransgressible"¹⁰ rules of IHL and in particular the rule on discrimination (Articles 48 and 51 (4) and (5) of the Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the protection of victims of international armed conflict (Protocol 1) adopted at Geneva, 8 June 1977 (hereafter referred to as AP1)).

we could use our weapons to protect against it." (Transcript from the Jonathan Dimbleby programme 24 March 2002).

⁹ ICT Advisory Opinion, 8 July 1996, International Law Reports, vol. 110, pp.227-267.

Relevant provisions of International Humanitarian Law

The above noted incidents are all examples of where the use of force failed to comply with fundamental principles of IHL, in particular the conventional and customary rules of distinction, military necessity and proportionality. You will be aware that failure to comply with these principles constitute grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions and will amount to violations of articles 7 and 8 of the ICC.

Art 35. Basic Rules

1. In any armed conflict, the right of the Parties to the conflict to choose methods or means or warfare is not unlimited.
2. It is prohibited to employ weapons, projectiles and materials and methods of warfare of a nature to cause superfluous injury or unnecessary suffering.
3. It is prohibited to employ methods or means of warfare which are intended or may be expected, to cause widespread, long-term and severe damage to the natural environment.

Art 48. Basic Rule

In order to ensure respect for and protection of the civilian population and civilian objects, the Parties to the conflict shall at all times distinguish between the civilian population and combatants and between civilian objects and military objectives and accordingly shall direct their operations against military objectives.

¹⁰ The International Court of Justice, in its Advisory Opinion on the Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons (8 July 1996) refer to fundamental rules of international law, such as the rule of discrimination, as being "intransgressible" rules: para. 78

Art 49. Definition of attack and scope of application

1. "Attacks" means acts of violence against the adversary, whether in offence or defence.

.....

Art 51. Protection of the civilian population

1. The civilian population and individual civilians shall enjoy general protection against dangers arising from military operations. To give effect to this protection, the following rules, which are additional to other applicable rules of international law, shall be observed in all circumstances.
2. The civilian population as such, as well as individual civilians, shall not be the object of attack. Acts or threats of violence the primary purpose of which is to spread terror among the civilian population are prohibited.
3. Civilians shall enjoy the protection afforded by this section, unless and for such time as they take a direct part in hostilities.
4. Indiscriminate attacks are prohibited. Indiscriminate attacks are:
 - (a) those which are not directed at a specific military objective;
 - (b) those which employ a method or means of combat which cannot be directed at a specific military objective; or
 - (c) those which employ a method or means of combat the effects of which cannot be limited as required by this Protocol; and consequently, in each such case, are of a nature to strike military objectives and civilians or civilian objects without distinction.
5. Among others, the following types of attacks are to be considered as indiscriminate:

- (a) an attack by bombardment by any methods or means which treats as a single military objective a number of clearly separated and distinct military objectives located in a city, town, village or other area containing a similar concentration of civilians or civilian objects;
- and
- (b) an attack which may be expected to cause incidental loss of civilian life, injury to civilians, damage to civilian objects, or a combination thereof, which would be excessive in relation to the concrete and direct military advantage anticipated
-

Art 52. General protection of civilian objects

1. Civilian objects shall not be the object of attack or of reprisals. Civilian objects are all objects which are not military objectives as defined in paragraph 2.
2. Attacks shall be limited strictly to military objectives. In so far as objects are concerned, military objectives are limited to those objects which by their nature, location, purpose or use make an effective contribution to military action and whose total or partial destruction, capture or neutralisation, in the circumstances ruling at the time, offers a definite military advantage.
3. In case of doubt whether an object which is normally dedicated to civilian purposes, such as a place of worship, a house or other dwelling or a school, is being used to make an effective contribution, it shall be presumed not to be so used.

Art 54. Protection of objects indispensable to the survival of the civilian population

1.

2. It is prohibited to attack, destroy, remove or render useless objects indispensable to the survival of the civilian population, such as food-stuffs, agricultural areas for the production of food-stuffs, crops, livestock, drinking water installations and supplies and irrigation works, for the specific purpose of denying them for their sustenance value to the civilian population or to the adverse Party, whatever the motive, whether in order to starve out civilians, to cause them to move away, or for any other motive.
-

Art 55. Protection of the natural environment

1. Care shall be taken in warfare to protect the natural environment against widespread, long-term and severe damage. This protection includes a prohibition of the use of methods or means of warfare which are intended or may be expected to cause such damage to the natural environment and thereby prejudice the health or survival of the population
-

Art 56. Protection of works and installations containing dangerous forces

1. Works or installations containing dangerous forces, namely dams, dykes and nuclear electrical generating stations, shall not be made the object of attack, even where these objects are military objectives, if such attack may cause the release of dangerous forces and consequent severe losses among the civilian population. Other military objectives located at or in the vicinity of these works or installations shall not be made the object of attack if such

attack may cause the release of dangerous forces from the works or installations and consequent severe losses among the civilian population

.....

Art 57. Precautions in attack

1. In the conduct of military operations, constant care shall be taken to spare the civilian population, civilians and civilian objects.
2. With respect to attacks, the following precautions shall be taken:
 - (a) those who plan or decide upon an attack shall:
 - (i) do everything feasible to verify that the objectives to be attacked are neither civilians nor civilian objects and are not subject to specific protection but are military objectives within the meaning of paragraph 2 of Article 52 and that it is not prohibited by the provisions of this Protocol to attack them;
 - (ii) take all feasible precautions in the choice of means and methods of attack with a view to avoiding, and in any event minimising, incidental loss of civilian life, injury to civilians and damage to civilian objects;
 - (iii) refrain from deciding to launch any attack which may be expected to cause incidental loss of civilian life, injury to civilians, damage to civilian objects, or a combination thereof, which would be excessive in relation to the concrete and direct military advantage anticipated;
 - (b) an attack shall be cancelled or suspended if it becomes apparent that the objective is not a military one or is subject to special protection or that the attack may be expected to cause incidental loss of civilian life, injury to civilians, damage to civilian objects, or a combination

thereof, which would be excessive in relation to the concrete and direct military advantage anticipated;

(c) effective advance warning shall be given of attacks which may affect the civilian population, unless circumstances do not permit.

3. When a choice is possible between several military objectives for obtaining a similar military advantage, the objective to be selected shall be that the attack on which may be expected to cause the least danger to civilian lives and to civilian objects.

.....

Art 59. Non-defended localities

1. It is prohibited for the Parties to the conflict to attack by any means whatsoever, non-defended localities.

.....

Art 85. Repression of breaches of this Protocol

.....

2. In addition to the grave breaches defined in Article 11, the following acts shall be regarded as grave breaches of this Protocol, when committed wilfully, in violation of the relevant provisions of this Protocol, and causing death or serious injury to body or health:

(a) making the civilian population or individual civilians the object of attack;

- (b) launching an indiscriminate attack affecting the civilian population or civilian objects in the knowledge that such attack will cause excessive loss of life, injury to civilians or damage to civilian objects, as defined in Article 57, paragraph 2 (a)(i);
- (c) launching an attack against works or installations containing dangerous forces in the knowledge that such attack will cause excessive loss of life, injury to civilians or damage to civilian objects, as defined in Article 57, paragraph 2 (a)(i);
- (d) making non-defended localities and demilitarised zones the object of attack;
- (e) making a person the object of attack in the knowledge that he is *hors de combat*;
- (f) the perfidious use, in violation of Article 37, of the distinctive emblem of the red cross, red crescent or red lion and sun or of other protective signs recognised by the Conventions or this Protocol

.....

Specific Notice of Prohibition Under IHL of Certain Modes of Attack and Weapon Systems

Bearing in mind the above concerns our clients have emerging from the 1991 Gulf War and the use of force in Kosovo and Afghanistan, and in the light of the relevant provisions of ICC and IHL our clients wish to make clear that you are on notice that the following modes of attack or weapons systems are prohibited by IHL and if used will be the subject of evidence and a People's Tribunal report to the prosecutor of the Hague:

1. High level, indiscriminate, air-strikes on known centres of civilian population.
2. The use of carpet bombing techniques or other methods of attack that do not discriminate against civilians.

3. The use of fuel-air explosives, cluster bombs, multiple rocket launcher systems, depleted uranium, uranium, or uranium alloy munitions, or other indiscriminate weapon systems and, in particular the use of nuclear weapons, which may include B61-11s (tactical nuclear earth-penetrating weapons designed to destroy deep underground targets).¹¹
4. The bombing of electricity supplies with consequent civilian casualties either related to those attacks or caused by the damage to plants reliant on electricity supplies, for example, water sanitation plants.
5. The bombing of works or installations containing dangerous forces, namely, dams, dykes and nuclear electrical generating stations.

This list of five summarises the specific concerns arising from the 1991 Gulf War and the use of force in Kosovo. However it is without prejudice to our client's right to add to this list for any reason, for example, once the facts surrounding the use of force are known.

As far as weapons are concerned these are of particular concern to our clients particularly given the indiscriminate nature of weapon systems in the possession of both the US and the UK, and of those used in the 1991 Gulf War. As the International Court of Justice has noted in its Advisory Opinion on The Legality of The Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons: "states do not have unlimited freedom of choice of means in the weapons they use." (Para 78). Thus our clients assert that the indiscriminate weapons we refer to above at 3 are prohibited by the rule of

¹¹ We make clear that it is the indiscriminate nature of these weapons systems, such as to breach "intransgressible" rules of IHL, that is relevant. It is not our clients' position that no particular weapons system, per se, is prohibited. In respect of Article 8 (2)(b)(xx) of the ICC Statute it is noted that the "comprehensive prohibition" and "annex to the ICC Statute" are not yet endorsed, and the Elements of Crime have not been drafted. However in respect of nuclear weapons, the threat or use of these must at all times (notwithstanding the absence of a prohibition pursuant to article 8 (2)(b)(xx)) be consistent with the rules of proportionality and the "intransgressible" rules of IHL. As for cluster bombs we note that the chamber of the ICTY in the *Martić* rule 61 hearing stated "although there was not formal prohibition of the use of cluster bombs as such, the use of the Orkan rocket with a cluster bomb warhead in that case constituted evidence of the accused's intent to deliberately attack the civilian population" (Kittichaisaree, *ibid*, p.181).

discrimination which the ICJ described in the Advisory Opinion on nuclear weapons as being an “intransgressible rule.” As the ICJ says in its Advisory Opinion on nuclear weapons: “States must never make civilians the object of attack and must consequently never use weapons that are incapable of distinguishing between civilian and military targets.” (Para 78) The issue as to whether the UK has participated in the use of force against Iraq involving non-discriminatory weapon systems will assume critical importance in the tribunal we refer to above in the event of there being evidence of innocent civilian casualties due to attacks by indiscriminate weapon systems.

Relevant Provisions of International Criminal law

The following provisions of the Rome Statute creating the International Criminal Court (the ICC Statute) are relevant.

Article 7

Crimes against humanity

1. For the purpose of this Statute, ‘crime against humanity’ means any of the following acts when committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population, with knowledge of the attack:

(a) Murder¹²

¹² Kittichaisaree notes: “the *actus reus* of murder is the taking of the lives of persons taking no active part in hostilities in an internal armed conflict. The requisite *mens rea* is the intention to kill, or inflict serious injury in reckless disregard of human life. Recklessness means the taking of an excessive risk. (“Celebici” case, Case No. IT-96-21-T, ICTY T.Ch.ii *quater*, 16 Nov. 1998, paras 431,437-9) The specific elements of murder in this case are identical to murder as a crime against humanity, except for the context in which it takes place.

The Elements of Crime adopted by the PCNICC thus provide in this case that the perpetrator must have killed one or more persons who are either *hors de combat*, or were civilians, medical personnel, or religious personnel taking no

(b) Extermination

.....

- (k) Other inhumane acts of a similar character intentionally causing great suffering, or serious injury to the body or to mental or physical health.

2. For the purpose of paragraph 1:

- (a) 'Attack directed against any civilian population' means a course of conduct involving the multiple commission of acts referred to in paragraph 1 against any civilian population, pursuant to or in furtherance of a State or organisational policy to commit such attack;
- (b) 'Extermination' includes the intentional infliction of conditions of life, *inter alia*, the deprivation of access to food and medicine, calculated to bring about the destruction of part of a population;

Article 8

War crimes

1. The court shall have jurisdiction in respect of war crimes in particular when committed as part of a plan or policy or as part of a large-scale commission of such crimes.
2. For the purpose of this Statute, 'war crimes' means:

active part in the hostilities, including those non-confessional, non-combatant military personnel carrying out a similar function. The perpetrator must have been aware of the factual circumstances that established this status of such person or persons." (*ibid.* p195)

(a) Grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, namely, any of the following acts against persons or property protected under the provisions of the relevant Geneva Convention:

- (i) Wilful killing; ...
- (ii)
- (iii) Wilfully causing great suffering, or serious injury to body or health;
- (iv) Extensive destruction and appropriation of property, not justified by military necessity and carried out unlawfully and wantonly;
- (v)
- (vi)
- (vii)

(b) Other serious violations of the laws and customs applicable in international law, namely any of the following acts:

- (i) Intentionally directing attacks against the civilian population as such or against individual civilians not taking part in hostilities;
- (ii) Intentionally directing attacks against individual civilian objects, that is, objects which are not military objectives;
- (iii)
- (iv) Intentionally launching an attack in the knowledge that such attack will cause incidental loss of life or injury to civilians or damage to civilian objects or widespread, long-term and severe damage to the natural environment which

would be clearly excessive in relation to the concrete and direct overall military advantage anticipated;

- (v) Attacking or bombarding, by whatever means, towns, villages, dwellings or buildings which are undefended and which are not military objectives;
- (vi)
- (vii)
- (viii)
- (ix) Intentionally directing attacks against buildings dedicated to religion, education, art, science, or charitable purposes, historic monuments, hospitals and places where the sick and wounded are collected, provided they are not military objectives;
- (x)
- (xi)
- (xii) Declaring that no quarter will be given
- (xiii) Destroying or seizing the enemy's property unless such destruction or seizure be imperatively demanded by the necessities of war;
- (xiv)
- (xv)
- (xvi)
- (xvii) Employing poison or poisoned weapons
- (xviii) Employing asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, and all analogous liquids, materials or devices;
- (xix)
- (xx)
- (xxi)

(xxii)

(xxiii)

(xxiv)

(xxv) Intentionally using starvation of civilians as a method of warfare by depriving them of objects indispensable to their survival, including wilfully impeding relief supplies as provided for under the Geneva Conventions;

(xxvi)

Article 15

Prosecutor

1. The Prosecutor may initiate investigations *proprio motu* on the basis of information on crimes within the jurisdiction of the court.
2. The Prosecutor shall analyse the seriousness of the information received. For this purpose, he or she may seek additional information from States, organs of the United Nations, intergovernmental or non-governmental organisations, or other reliable sources that he or she deems appropriate, and may receive written or oral testimony at the seat of the Court.
3. If the Prosecutor concludes that there is reasonable basis to proceed with an investigation, he or she shall submit to the Pre-Trial Chamber a request for authorisation of an investigation, together with any supporting material collected. Victims may make representations to the Pre-Trial Chamber, in accordance with the Rules of Procedure and Evidence.
4. If the Pre-Trial Chamber, upon examination of the request and the supporting material, considers that there is a reasonable basis to proceed with an investigation, and that the case appears to fall within the jurisdiction of the Court, it shall authorise the commencement of

the investigation, without prejudice to subsequent determinations by the Court with regard to the jurisdiction and admissibility of a case.

5. The refusal of the Pre-Trial Chamber to authorise the investigation shall not preclude the presentation of a subsequent request by the Prosecutor based on new facts or evidence regarding the same situation.
6. If after the preliminary examination referred to in paragraphs 1 and 2, the Prosecutor concludes that the information provided does not constitute a reasonable basis for an investigation, he or she shall inform those who provided the information. This shall not preclude the Prosecutor from considering further information submitted to him or her regarding the same situation in the light of new facts or evidence.

In terms of the specific concerns our clients have about modes of attack or weapons used itemised below at this stage we do not need to identify which specific provisions of Articles 7 and 8 (and the relevant Elements of Crime) cover the potential use of force against Iraq. For obvious reasons we cannot identify the relevant provisions prior to the facts emerging surrounding any use of force against Iraq. However the extracts from Articles 7 and 8 referred to above in our view cover the concerns outlined above from the 1991 Gulf War and the use of force in Kosovo. As you know it is our clients' concern now that these methods of attack and use of weapons will be repeated.

For the above mentioned crimes defined in Articles 7 and 8 we suggest that you read the elements of crime adopted by the Preparatory Commission for the International Criminal Court (PCNICC). These are self-explanatory and should make clear why it is our view that these are relevant in the above context. The crime defined by Article 8 (2)(b)(iv) of the ICC Statute is particularly relevant. It is noted that the *actus reus* of this offence is the launching of an attack to

cause incidental loss of life or injury to civilians or damage to civilian objects or widespread, long-term, and severe damage to the natural environment in violation of the principles of necessity and proportionality.¹³ The PCNICC have made clear that this crime “reflects the proportionality requirement inherent in determining the legality of any military activity undertaken in the context of an armed conflict” (document PCNICC/1999/WGEC/INF.2/ADD1, at 37-8). As it is our submission that Article 8(2)(b)(iv) is particularly relevant we think it helpful to draw your specific attention to the relevant Elements of Crime which read as follows:

“ARTICLE 8(2)(b)(iv)

War crime of excessive incidental death, injury or damage

Elements

1. The perpetrator launched an attack.
2. The attack was such that it would cause incidental death or injury to civilians or damage to civilian objects or widespread, long-term, and severe damage to the natural environment and that such death, injury, or damage would be of such an extent as to be clearly excessive in relation to the concrete and direct overall military advantage anticipated. ³⁶
3. The perpetrator knew that the attack would cause incidental death or injury to civilians or damage to civilian objects or widespread, long-term, an severe damage to the natural environment and that such death, injury or damage would be of such an extent as to be

¹³ The International Court of Justice’s advisory opinion on the legality of the threat or use of nuclear weapons, 8 July 1996, at paragraph 30 states: “...states must take environmental considerations into account when assessing what is necessary and proportionate in the pursuit of legitimate military objectives. Respect for the environment is one of the elements that go to assessing whether an action is in conformity with the principles of necessity and proportionality.”

clearly excessive in relation to the concrete and direct overall military advantage anticipated.³⁷

4. Conduct took place in the context of and was associated with an international armed conflict.
5. The perpetrator was aware of factual circumstances that established the existence of an armed conflict.

(36). The expression “concrete and direct overall military advantage” refers to a military advantage that is foreseeable by the perpetrator at the relevant time. Such advantage may or may not be temporally or geographically related to the object of the attack. The fact that this crime admits the possibility of lawful incidental injury and collateral damage does not in any way justify any violation of the law applicable in armed conflict. It does not address justifications for war or other rules related to *jus ad bellum*. It reflects the proportionality requirement inherent in determining the legality of any military activity undertaken in the context of an armed conflict.

(37). As opposed to the general rule set forth in paragraph 4 of the General Introduction, this knowledge element requires that the perpetrator make the value judgement as described therein. An evaluation of that value judgement must be based on the requisite information available to the perpetrator at the time.”

Kittichaisare notes as follows:

“In terms of the perpetrator’s *mens rea*, the Elements depart from the general rule that it is not necessary for the perpetrator to have personally completed a particular value judgement. To be guilty of this war crime, the perpetrator must have known, in the sense of making the value judgement that the attack launched by him would cause incidental death or injury to civilians or damage to civilian objects or widespread, long-term and severe damage to the natural environment and that such death, injury or damage would be of such an extent as to be clearly excessive in relation to the concrete and direct overall military advantage anticipated. However, an evaluation of that value judgement must be based on the requisite information available to the perpetrator at the time.

It should be noted that there is no result requirement as part of the *actus reus* of this war crime. What is required is the act of launching the attack of the nature and with the perpetrator's state of mind as described above." (Kriangsak Kittichaisare, *International Criminal Law*, Oxford University Press, 2001, at 164).

The NGOs that we represent and the subsequent tribunal we refer to above will be examining the two elements of this crime with great care. In particular the state of mind of yourself and other senior members of the UK Government will be judged in the light of the fact that this letter puts you on clear notice as to the requirements of IHL and the risk, that you may choose to ignore, of an investigation by the prosecutor if the use of force comes within the definitions of Articles 7 and 8 above.

Complicity

We now address the personal culpability of you as the UK's Secretary of State for Defence and other senior members of the UK Government in terms of complicity. In the 1991 Gulf War the US was the main participant but the UK provided active support and participated in some of the bombing raids. It might be thought that you and other members of the UK Government can escape responsibility for breaches of Articles 7 and 8 of the ICC Statute if the UK Government does no more than support a US led campaign. As we make clear below the ICC Statute and international criminal law establishes that in these circumstances you, and other senior members of the UK Government, may be held criminally liable for your participation in the commission of these offences.

Article 25 of the ICC Statute is relevant. It reads:

“Individual criminal responsibility

1. The Court shall have jurisdiction over natural persons pursuant to this Statute.
2. A person who commits a crime within the jurisdiction of the Court shall be individually responsible and liable for punishment in accordance with this Statute.
3. In accordance with this Statute, a person shall be criminally responsible and liable for punishment for a crime within the jurisdiction of the Court if that person:
 - (a) commits such a crime, whether as an individual, jointly with another or through another person, regardless of whether that other person is criminally responsible;
 - (b) Orders, solicits or induces the commission of such a crime which in fact occurs or is attempted;
 - (c) For the purpose of facilitating the commission of such a crime, aids, abets or otherwise assists in its commission or its attempted commission, including providing the means for its commission;
 - (d) In any other way contributes to the commission or attempted commission of such a crime by a group of persons acting with a common purpose. Such contribution shall be intentional and shall either:
 - (i) Be made with the aim of furthering the criminal activity or criminal purpose of the group, where such activity or purpose involves the commission of a crime within the jurisdiction of the Court; or
 - (ii) Be made in the knowledge of the intention of the group to commit the crime

.....

Thus the ICC Statute recognises that in these circumstances you, and other members of the UK Government, may be an “accessory” or “secondary participant” in “complicity.” Complicity is when two or more persons join together to play some part in the commission of a crime. Ordering, soliciting or inducing the commission of a crime as provided in Article 25 (3)(b) of the ICC Statute is no different from direct physical perpetration of the crime. As Lord Steyn put it in *Pinochet*, “there is no distinction between the man who strikes, and the man who orders another to strike.” (R v Bow Street Metropolitan Stipendiary Magistrate, ex p Pinochet Ugarte [1998] 4 ALL ER 897, HL at 946).

The law of complicity is re-stated in the *Ministries* case that “he who participates [in a crime] or plays a consenting part therein” is guilty of a crime (US v Ernst von Weizsacker et al., TWC, 611, 470-1). In *Tadic* the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia (ICTY) Appeals Chamber itself re-states the law as follows: “whoever contributes to the commission of crimes by the group of persons or some members of the group, in execution of a common purpose, may be held to be criminally liable, subject to certain conditions.....” (Prosecutor v Dusko Tadic, case no. IT-94-1-A, ICTY APP.CH., 5 July 1999 at para 190.)

In the light of the above it is clear that the complicity of you, or other senior members of the UK Government, is as relevant for the purposes of potential breaches of Article 7 and 8 of the ICC Statute as if you were the main perpetrator. You should proceed accordingly.

Grave or Serious Breaches

You will be aware that Article 8 (2) of the ICC Statute deals with grave breaches of the 1949 Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949. “Grave breaches” are serious war crimes that are

subject to the universal jurisdiction of all states.¹⁴ Moreover, if a state does not prosecute the offender it shall extradite him to any party to the respective Geneva Conventions that will prosecute and punish that person. Grave breaches must be committed against persons or property protected by any of the four Geneva Conventions of 1949, in particular civilians in the hands of a party to a conflict of which they are not nationals. Since the four Geneva Conventions of 1949 are a part of customary international law, so is the grave breach regime under these Geneva Conventions. AP1 extends the definition of grave breaches. (See Articles 11, 44, 45, 73, 85(2) and (3)).

Article 8(2)(b) deals with other serious violations of the laws and customs applicable in international armed conflict. "Serious" means breach of a rule protecting important values, and the breach must involve "grave consequences" for the victim. All serious war crimes under AP1 and the Hague regulations are proscribed as war crimes under Article 8 (2)(b) of the ICC Statute.

Thus the concepts of "grave" and "serious" are relevant. We submit that in judging whether breaches are either "grave" or "serious" past breaches are relevant. Thus in deciding whether you, and other senior members of the UK Government, have been guilty of grave or serious breaches for the purposes of Article 8 we will invite the prosecutor, if in due course a report from the People's Tribunal referred to above is made, to take into account the UK Government's past misconduct during the 1991 Gulf War.

Command Responsibility

¹⁴ The concept of "Universal Jurisdiction" is important as it may be used in these circumstances by other states, who have ratified the Geneva Conventions, to demand that you, or other senior members of the UK Government, be extradited to stand trial in the requesting state.

It is apposite, given your position within the Government, to address this question. Under the principle of command responsibility, a superior is criminally responsible for the acts committed by his subordinates if he knew or had reason to know that the subordinate was about to commit such acts or had done so and the superior failed to take the necessary and reasonable measures to prevent such acts or to punish the perpetrators thereof. This command responsibility emanates from a failure to act in breach of a clear, affirmative duty or moral obligation imposed by the law of war or by international law upon those in authority to act. When the superior acts positively by ordering, instigating, or planning criminal acts carried out by his subordinates, he incurs "direct" responsibility. However, if he fails to take measures to prevent or repress his subordinates' criminal act, his culpable omissions thereby incur "indirect" command responsibility. Where a superior fails to prevent or repress his subordinates' criminal acts he could be held liable for aiding and abetting or inciting the crimes if all the necessary elements for aiding and abetting or incitement, as the case may be, are present. (Prosecutor v Tihomir Blaskic, case no. IT-95-14-T, T.Ch..1 of the ICTY, 3 March 2000. Paras 337-9). This principle is also applicable to civilian, non-military commanders, who wield the requisite authority. International instruments and case law do not restrict this application to military commanders only but extend it to cover political leaders and other civilian superiors in positions of authority (Celebici, paras 356-63; Prosecutor v Alfred Musema, case no. ICTR-96-13-T, 27 Jan 2000, paras 136, 146-8). The crucial question is not the civilian or military status of the superior, but the degree of authority the superior exercises over his subordinates.

With the above principle of command responsibility in mind we consider it advisable that you copy this letter to those senior members of the UK Government who you know will be

responsible for key decisions if the UK are to be involved with the use of force against Iraq.¹⁵ Further, leaving aside the obvious requirement that you copy this letter to the senior members of the armed forces, we suggest that you copy this to those civilian superiors with the requisite degree of authority over their subordinates, who in accordance with the principle of command responsibility might be held liable if there are breaches of Article 7 and 8 of the ICC Statute. Finally we note that this principle has been transposed into UK law through Section 65 of the International Criminal Court Act 2001.

Your Evidence

If in due course it emerges that there is evidence of breaches of Articles 7 and 8 the tribunal we refer to above will sit in session to hear evidence from NGOs and others. Naturally you will be invited to submit your evidence to that tribunal on the issue of whether there have been breaches of Article 7 and 8. If in due course you decline to submit any evidence we will invite the prosecutor (if in due course a report from the tribunal is submitted to him), to draw such adverse inferences as may be appropriate. You are by this letter on notice of the intention to establish a People's Tribunal on this matter. We submit that if in due course it is your case that there have not been breaches of Articles 7 and 8 of the ICC Statute, you are now in a position where you know that your evidence on that point is highly relevant. Thus, if in due course you fail, or refuse, to produce evidence to show your innocence (or that of other members of the UK Government) of breaches of Articles 7 and 8 of the ICC Statute, in our view this will be highly admissible to show your guilt.

¹⁵ Other than the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, whom we are formally serving (as we serve you) with this letter.

Conclusion

We suggest that you note carefully the contents of this letter and as we have suggested above copy it to all who might subsequently be held responsible for a breach of Articles 7 and 8 of the ICC Statute. You are on clear notice of the intention to present evidence to the prosecutor if it emerges that there have been breaches of Articles 7 and 8. We have made clear above the relationship between the Tribunal we describe and the prosecutor in the Hague using his Article 15 powers. You are required, if the UK participate in the use of armed force against Iraq, to ensure that the use of force does not breach Articles 7 and 8. A failure to ensure compliance will lead to the consequences set out in this letter.

Please acknowledge receipt of this letter within 14 days.

Yours faithfully

Public Interest Lawyers

www.iraqbodycount.org

The worldwide
update of
reported civilian
deaths in the war
on Iraq



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About the project

Latest Database Entry

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IBC News &
Comment Archive

Participate!
Use an IBC Web Counter
(examples above) to keep
the world updated

The IBC Web
Counter

pick one for your website

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IRAQ BODY COUNT

Comment and Analysis

Earlier Analyses:

1. 100 NAMES OF CIVILIANS KILLED
2. HOW MANY CIVILIANS WERE KILLED BY CLUSTER BOMBS?
3. THE HOLES IN THE CASUALTIES MAP

Printer-friendly format

Counting the Human Cost

A Survey of Projects Counting Civilians Killed by the War in Iraq

June 12th 2003

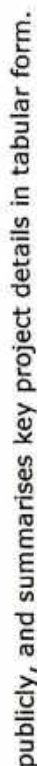
datum

Executive Summary

Overview and key conclusions

At the outset of the Iraq War, Iraq Body Count was providing the only systematic estimates of civilian casualties. Now, 15 different projects are at varying stages of completion. Press reports increasingly cite data from more than one project, and critical comparisons are becoming necessary.

This article critically reviews all projects that have made their existence known



These projects have already informed immediate humanitarian efforts and when complete, ~~can feed into~~ strategic considerations about ~~the~~ costs of modern warfare. Given the importance of estimating the civilian costs, it is surprising that no national or supra-national agency has yet contributed to this work.

Projects differ on a number of dimensions. Two key dimensions are scope (comprehensive or limited) and sourcing (direct or indirect). Any given project must choose where to situate itself on such key dimensions, and accept the limitations that this imposes. Much published criticism of individual projects misleading because it makes the erroneous assumption that there is a single standard against which all projects can be judged. We argue that projects with differing aims and scope can complement and strengthen each other, provided they adhere to minimum standards of rigour and reporting clarity.

Direct projects derive their data from on-the-ground investigations in Iraq. Four such projects, three of them based solely in the Baghdad area, have completed their work. The only one of these projects to have published a full and comprehensive report of its methodology and findings is a study by the Spanish Brigade Against the War, entitled "Evaluation of the attacks on the civilian population of Baghdad".

The remaining projects reviewed are still in progress or have not reported any firm results as yet. Among these the direct project undertaken by the Campaign for Innocent Victims in Conflict (CIVIC) aims to be the most comprehensive, using 150

Advocaat en Prokureur
Coudenhoven 52-05
Tel. 0340 5 68 67

Rabobank Zeist
rekeningnr. 37.52.38.832
gironummer Rabobank: 21 71 31

surveyors working in 11 major population centres around the country.

1. Introduction

Our primary role at Iraq Body Count (IBC) has always been to keep the civilian costs of the Iraq war firmly in the public eye. We have been able to maintain a consistent role in promoting public awareness through the adoption of a strict and **openly-declared** data-gathering methodology combined with innovative use of web technologies, particularly for the dissemination of our findings. This has involved the daily monitoring, sorting and compilation of media-reported civilian deaths in an expanding and open-ended public database, based solely on reliably recorded deaths (rather than on extrapolation or speculation), and the production of a "bottom-line" statistic giving a running total of the number of reported civilian deaths at every stage of the war and subsequent military occupation. The dissemination of this statistic has been greatly enhanced by the participation of *thousands* of independent websites, large and small, carrying our real-time **IBC Web Counters**.

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IBC's work has also been a resource for the print and online media, with many individual articles citing IBC data (eg, **Christian Science Monitor, 21st May 2003**) and both the **Guardian** and **Reuters** making use of IBC figures to provide regular civilian casualty updates during various phases of the conflict.

We are encouraged that the **aims and concerns** underlying our work are receiving increasingly widespread acceptance, evidence of which comes from the growing number of projects that seek, in varying ways, to fulfil similar and/or complementary roles to ours.

A consequence of this positive development is that, increasingly, reporting about civilian casualties draws on a number of studies, and such reporting is often framed in the context of debates about what is the best, or most accurate, way to estimate the civilian cost of the war. These debates are vital and timely. This article is our own contribution to that debate. In it, we review, as comprehensively as possible, the attempts that have so far been made to estimate civilian deaths in a systematic way.

Mr. N.M.P. Steijnen

Advocaat en Prokureur
Couwenhoven 52-05
3703 ER Zeist
tel. 03404 - 5 68 67

We compare the strengths and weaknesses of these different attempts, and make some suggestions how the combined efforts of all those working in this area may be channelled and focused toward our shared aim of "establishing the truth of what happened," an outcome which we believe will best serve the interests of the war's victims, including the families and loved ones of those who were killed by it.

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2. Distinctions between projects strengthen rather than weaken the enterprise.

There are two main distinctions that need to be made among the different projects which seek to estimate casualties:

1. Scope - comprehensive or limited.

"Comprehensive" projects aim to work towards providing an estimate of *all* civilian deaths caused by the Iraq War. "Limited" projects aim to provide an estimate which is deliberately limited in some way, either in timescale, geographical location, type of records or cause of deaths.

2. Sources - direct or indirect.

"Direct" projects obtain data from on-the-ground sources in Iraq (such as hospital or mortuary records, photographic and forensic evidence, and interviews with family and neighbours). "Indirect" projects rely on secondary sources (such as media and news agency reports, including published reports, usually in the form of summaries, of "direct" projects by NGOs and others).

Due to real-world limitations of time, money and human resources, there is an inherent conflict between these two approaches. The more direct a project is and the fuller and higher quality its evidence, the less practical it is for it also to be exhaustive and complete; and the more comprehensive a study aims to be, the less likely that it can also be as detailed and as fine-grained in the evidence it collects as a "direct"

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Mr. N.M.P. Steijnen
Advocaat en Prokureur
Couwenhoven 52-05
3703 ER Zeist
tel. 03404 - 5 68 67

project.

This makes it pointless to ask which is "better". Different types of project are needed. Direct projects can provide evidence of forensic quality (which would, for instance, be able to establish facts about the deaths of named individuals, the exact circumstances of the death, and where direct responsibility might lie for compensation or reparation). Indirect projects can draw on evidence from a range of sources to arrive at estimates of global cost or impact, which will be of importance to political, military, and strategic debates. Putting all the projects together can strengthen their total impact.

Another difference relates to the difficulties of achieving "total" completeness or "absolute" directness. These are unachievable, and possibly meaningless, concepts. Neither an indirect study such as ours, nor any "after-the-event" investigation will eventually arrive at a definitive and totally accurate count. A theoretically "perfect" count would require, at the very least, a totally accurate census of the Iraqi population on the eve of the war, and DNA profiling of each individual. It would also require the entire land area of Iraq to be covered with continuously running video recorders, whose data had all survived the war. However, the absence of such "perfect" data place limitations which are no different to the limitations that hamper any historical or legal investigation. Investigations must do the best they can on the basis of the available evidence, gradually improving the scope and reliability of the estimates. Combining different sources of evidence from different projects can strengthen the evidence base.

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We detect, in some media discussions, a degree of confusion about the whole "counting the dead" agenda which often comes about by focusing on some particular shortcoming of individual projects. Any project may always be criticised for not meeting some standard it cannot achieve and never set out to achieve. It is always possible to criticise a direct project for not being complete, or an indirect project for lacking "scientific" standards of evidence. Any project can ultimately be criticised for not being "total" or "absolute" in the sense outlined in the previous paragraph. The cumulative effect of this type of comment is to help create in the public mind a general (and false) impression that we can know nothing reliable from the projects that have been undertaken to date, or might be undertaken in future, and therefore that the whole enterprise may be discounted. This conclusion may be convenient for some, but is not supported by the evidence.

Mr. N.M.P. Steijnen

Advocaat en Prokureur
Cauwenhoven 52.05
3703 ER Zeist
tel. 03404 - 5 68 67

A good example of media-generated confusion comes in a New York Times **article** filed by John R Broder from Qatar on 9th April, at the height of the slaughter of civilians in the battle for Baghdad. In this report a Central Command spokesperson was cited as saying that "the number of Iraqi dead were certainly high, but ultimately unknowable". In the same report, Mark Burgess, a researcher at the Center for Defence Information in Washington (CDI - see below), was quoted as saying that various attempts to estimate casualties suffered from "dubious methodologies". The article finishes by quoting Mr Burgess as saying "We just don't know and we might just as well make up a number". What follows shows that there is a great deal that is knowable from the attempts so far undertaken.

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3. The projects

All projects mentioned in this review are summarised in the **table** at the bottom of this page. Each project is named and assigned a table-linked number (#1, #2, etc.) reflecting order of mention in the text.

3.A. Indirect projects based on secondary sources of information

Iraq Body Count (#1 - IBC) began its work in January 2003, and its data base includes civilian deaths reported from January 1st 2003 onwards. The choice of January 1st for the start of the count (rather than March 19th) was deliberate. US/UK military actions against Iraq have been continuous from 1991 to the present day. The illegal US/UK patrols and bombing raids in the northern ~~and~~ southern "no-fly" zones have taken place on a weekly, and sometimes daily, basis until 15th March 2003. Between the 1991 Gulf War and early 2002 some 1,476 people ~~had been~~ killed by such bombing raids, according to official Iraqi figures.

Although not directly focused on civilian deaths, **US Bombing Watch (#2)**, a project of the Colorado Campaign for Middle East Peace, has provided a unique research and public information resource. This project has recorded every single media-reported bombing raid carried out by US or UK warplanes in Iraq since January 1999 (and plans to provide data going all the way back to 1991). To date they have **recorded**

Mr. N.M.P. Steijnen
Advocaat en Prokureur
Couwenhoven 52-05
3703 ER Zeist
tel. 03404 - 5 68 67

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over 300 bombing incidents between January 1999 and the March 2003 invasion.

IBC started counting civilian deaths from the beginning of the month in which it became active. The 2003 "body count" of civilians killed by US/UK military actions already stood at 15 on the eve of the March 19th invasion. At the time of writing, the IBC project consists of 126 separate database entries recording media-reported civilian deaths, amounting to a maximum (reported) number of 7,203 such casualties of the war on Iraq.

IBC's methodology requires each report of civilian deaths entered into its database to have been published by at least two independent media sources meeting certain prescribed standards, as set out in our published **Methodology**, occasionally supplemented by findings from recognized NGOs such as the Mines Advisory Group (MAG - see below). A range of internal checks are also undertaken within the research team before a minimum and maximum number is published for each item in the data base. This methodology has been very useful in discounting inaccurate reporting (sometimes due to mistranscription of interview data), or initial estimates rushed into print in order to meet press deadlines. While the dual-publisher requirement has prevented some (otherwise impeccable) reports from being included in the IBC database, this has most often been only a temporary exclusion until other corroborating news stories became available. And because IBC always ties its entries to specific times, locations and other "identifiers" it has been able to deal with potential double-counting (for an example of this process in action, refer to the Notes to **Incident x073** in our database).

Beyond evaluating whether a source is or was in any position to know, IBC has never passed judgement on the original source of the estimate. Original sources have been those which are normally available to journalists, including government-employed spokespersons of the parties to the conflict, eye-witnesses, relatives, doctors, hospital officials, mortuary and funeral directors, and workers or spokespersons for NGOs and aid agencies. In early phases of the war, some, though not all, news reports of civilian casualties relied solely on press briefings from Iraqi officials, whose estimated total had risen to 1,252 civilian deaths by the time of their final briefings on April 4th. Some of the Iraqi data was unusable in IBC's database because it lacked the "identifiers" mentioned above, but in any event IBC's current total from a variety of sources has risen since early April to a maximum of approximately 7,200 deaths, with

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Mr. N.M.P. Steijnen

Advocaat en Prokureur
Couwenvhoven 52-05
3703 ER Zeist
tel. 03404 - 5 68 67

only about 130 of these remaining solely derived from Iraqi press briefings. Despite early claims that their figures were inflated for propaganda purposes, it is now clear from the projects under review that the Iraqi figures were ultimately under-estimates, as are all those based only on information from hospitals, and were further hindered by the breakdown of Iraqi communication channels and the government's more pressing concern with its own survival. (A recent Associated Press **investigation** referenced below provides more detail on how the Iraqi statistics were produced.)

In this context it is surprising that **Operation Iraqi Freedom Total Casualty Report (#3)** includes only the Hussein regime's composite estimate of April 4th in its web-based table (this was its "methodology" during the war as well - to simply repeat the most recent official Iraqi claim with a disclaimer). The authors of this project, sponsored by the Washington-based Center for Defence Information (CDI), state that "until reporters gain unfettered access throughout the whole of Iraq, it will continue to be our position that there is simply no way to clearly ascertain the true extent of Iraqi civilian casualties. When such a time does arrive, rest assured that we will give these figures the coverage that they deserve." At the time of writing the last entry to this database appears to have been made on May 6th.

A more comprehensive and widely-sourced project is **Casualties of the 2003 Iraq War (#4)**, which is the personal initiative of Pranav Jani, a teacher at Wagner College, New York. This project is based on what the author describes as "informal internet searches".

At the time of writing this project lists 217 separate media-reported incidents in which there were casualties, either civilian or military, US or Iraqi, starting March 19th and going up to the present time. Unlike IBC this project makes no attempt to correct for possible double counting in differing reports (and is completely explicit about this). It provides data in the form of a 6-column table, listing Iraqi dead, Iraqi wounded, coalition dead, coalition wounded, and the dead and wounded of other nationalities. Civilian and military casualties are not separated out, but this is one of the few serious attempts to publish a comprehensive list of wounded as well as dead. Presumably because no mechanism is in place to prevent double counting in its "informal" coverage of media reports, **Casualties of the 2003 Iraq War** refrains from offering any totals.

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The projects described so far are the only ones which have operated in the public eye from the very first day of the invasion of Iraq.

A promising but quickly aborted intervention was made by the Swiss Foreign Ministry's **List of civilian victims of the war in Iraq (#5)**, one week into the war. On the last weekend of March the foreign minister Micheline Calmy-Rey was quoted as saying her ministry would publish a list of civilians killed in the Iraqi conflict and implied that Switzerland, as the depository state of the Geneva conventions, had a duty to draw attention to the innocent victims of the war. This was especially significant for being the first time such a project had been undertaken by a government, and it was apparently well-organized and already under way:

"Swiss Foreign Minister Micheline Calmy Rey Monday, March 31, was quoted by the German paper *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* as saying that the section - operational since Monday morning - gathers information and data from credible and documented sources, adding [that] names of new victims would be added on an hourly basis.

The initial data available so far reveals the dirtiness of U.S.-British warmongers, the fakeness of their claims about a clean war, as well as their indifference to the lives of innocent, unarmed Iraqi civilians, Rey, member of the ruling Socialist Democratic Party, was quoted by the paper as saying." (**IslamOnline**)

However after a **vociferous outcry** from right-wing parties in the country the project was abandoned just two days after it was announced, with the Minister citing only the difficulty of finding reliable sources of information. It is perhaps telling that at the time most (though by no means all) of the reports of civilian casualties were being disseminated from the Iraqi Ministry of Information, and that one of the accusations being laid at her door was that the list of dead would "become part of the propaganda of this war." No attempt was made by the Swiss authorities to re-activate their proposal as multiple and independent sources of information became increasingly available.

The only other project based on indirect data known to us is the Project on Defence

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Alternatives (PDA) report dated 21 May 2003 and entitled *Civilian Casualties in the 2003 Iraq War: A Compendium of Accounts and Reports (#6)*. This Washington-based group collected excerpts of journalistic and other accounts, including those of the Iraq Peace Team (IPT - see below), into a compendium "meant to serve as a database for further investigation of the modes and dynamics of conflict that generate non-combatant casualties". The authors write as follows:

"The accounts cover the period from 19 March through the middle of May 2003, but the compendium is by no means a complete and comprehensive accounting of civilian casualties in the war. That said, the compendium probably includes a majority of the accounts of major incidents of multiple noncombatant death known to have occurred up to 15 May 2003. Moreover, the mortality reports from hospitals and cemetery records recounted here, while not complete, are sufficient in scope to suggest the scale of collateral fatalities in the war.

The accounts derive almost exclusively from Western sources. None rely solely on official Iraqi government reports of casualties. The compendium also strongly favors accounts based on field investigations by journalists, eyewitness testimony, and the testimony of doctors, families of victims, residents of neighborhoods in which incidents occurred, aid workers, and cemetery personnel. The collection method included tracking numerous Western news sources on a daily basis and supplementing this with news database and Internet news searches. Notably, the effort focused on major cases of multiple civilian fatalities insofar as these (1) often generated more than one independent report and (2) constituted a subset of incidents that, while manageably small, nonetheless reflected a significant portion of the war's cost in civilian casualties."

The authors then strike the following note of caution:

"While the accounts collected here provide a basis for estimating the total number of civilian fatalities during the war, a useful estimate cannot be derived by simply adding together the death tolls given in the various accounts. Further analysis is required to address some of the

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inconsistencies in the accounts and to avoid the problem of double counting. The records of deaths from the Baghdad hospitals especially suggest the difficulty of separating civilian noncombatant deaths and civilian combatant ones. Such an analysis is attempted in a Project on Defense Alternatives memo accompanying this compendium."

Unfortunately, at the time of writing (12th June) the analysis or "memo" referred to has not been made available on the PDA web site. Analyses designed to address such issues have been systematically developed by IBC (for an example see link from **IBC Incident x073**), and we await with interest PDA's publication of their solution to the problems of varying accounts, double counting and distinguishing civilian from non-civilian deaths.

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Useful features of the PDA report are its reasonably extensive direct quotes from key sources, and its organisation of most of its data in chronological order, graphically depicting the unfolding of the conflict. However, it appears to offer little fresh data that is not already included in **Iraq Body Count (#1)** or **Casualties of the 2003 Iraq War (#4)**, and its explicit lack of completeness sits oddly with claims that its data is "sufficient in scope to suggest the scale of collateral fatalities in the war" or provides "a basis for estimating the total number of civilian fatalities during the war."

We would like to sound our own note of caution on any assessment of total "collateral fatalities" which involves extrapolating from supposedly representative samples to the entire country (for which purpose PDA appears to be suggesting that its compendium is "sufficient in scope"). While this approach might have some limited value under circumstances where evidence could not otherwise be expected to emerge, there is no reason to assume this about a fairly well-developed and well-educated society such as Iraq's; nor are we convinced that such extrapolations could have the same value as, let alone substitute for or improve upon, those conducted in the more painstaking manner of counting those deaths that have actually been recorded - and IBC has accordingly resisted the temptation to make such extrapolations based on its own much larger and arguably more "representative" database.

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3.B. Projects based on direct research carried out on the ground in Iraq

To our knowledge, four direct research projects have been completed and published up to the present time, and another three have been announced as under way but not completed.

3.B.1 Completed direct reports (in chronological order of publication)

Three of the completed reports have focused on civilian casualties in Baghdad, and there is probably considerable overlap between them.

On 26 April a group of researchers associated with the Spanish Brigade Against the War's Arab Cause Solidarity Campaign published a report entitled *Evaluation of the attacks on the civilian population of Baghdad (#7)*, which

"[R]elates 42 documented cases of attacks on the Iraqi civilian population carried out by the Anglo-American forces in the metropolitan area of Baghdad between 20 March and 5 April 2003, mostly by aerial bombing and missile strikes, but also land-based attacks that took place during the initial phase of occupation of the city. These cases have been documented on the ground by the Spanish Brigades group that was present in the Iraqi capital from the beginning of the war until 9 April, when US troops entered the area of the city where we were staying. Also included are reports of nine hospital visits, with testimonies of attacks that have not been sufficiently identified."

datum

The report includes a very detailed account of the methodology employed. The core data consists of 114 questionnaires completed by surviving victims of these attacks or their relatives who were direct witnesses. These were augmented by records from 5 hospitals covering the entire area of Baghdad: the Al-Kindi Hospital, the Al-Yarnouk University Hospital, the Saddam Hospital Complex; the Al-Nourman Hospital; and the Saddam City Hospital. Interviews were habitually conducted within a few hours of the attack victim's admission, but were followed up during more prolonged interviews with the affected families, usually in relatives' houses. This immediate and direct information was complemented by data from visits to the places bombed and

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Mr. N.M.P. Steijnen
Advocaat en Prokureur
Cauwenhoven 52 05
3703 ER Zeist
tel. 03404 - 5 08 67

interviews with the neighbours of affected families.

Reconstruction of the stories of the families of bombing victims was laborious and occasionally fruitless. Due to the systematic destruction by US/UK bombing of the telecommunications system, and the impossibility of summoning ambulances to collect the victims, when an attack took place, families and neighbours would take injured and dying to different hospitals. As these were also unable to communicate with one another, they could not inform family members about their respective admissions.

For these and other reasons, the authors caution that the information in the report cannot be considered to be an exhaustive record of all coalition attacks (and consequent casualties). Rather "it should be regarded as a significant report of their breadth, systematic nature and severity". However, the data compiled in their report document a total of 204 civilian fatalities and a further 583 injuries, making an average of 4.5 dead and 13 injured per attack.

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The authors conclude, on the basis of what is undoubtedly the most direct and painstaking analysis of casualties so far to emerge from the war that

"the damage caused to the civilian population during the three weeks in which Baghdad was attacked was in no way due to mistakes, nor did it represent the "collateral damage" of a tactical surgical war, whose sole objective had been the destruction of the city's governmental and military infrastructure. Our opinion.. is that the attacks were premeditated, designed to cause the greatest possible number of civilian victims, many being carried out repeatedly against densely populated and poor areas of the Iraqi capital. The logic of this conduct can only be explained by the deliberate will of the American and British political and military leaders to provoke terror and undermine the resistance of the Baghdad population."

This study has not been reported by a single English-language news or media agency, to our knowledge.

Although not providing cumulative estimates of numbers of civilian casualties, the work of the Iraq Peace Team (IPT - an initiative of the Chicago-based Voices in the

Mr. N.M.P. Steijnen

Advocaat en Prokureur
Cauwenhoven 52-05
3703 ER Zeist
tel. 03404 - 5 68 67

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Wilderness organisation) is worth mentioning in this context. On April 4th this group published a **report** entitled "Civilian casualties and infrastructure damage in the 2003 US-led attack on Baghdad March 20 - April 1 2003". This report is based on first hand observation and on interviews conducted by the Iraq Peace Team in Baghdad hospitals and neighbourhoods. Given the very limited resources of the team and given the constraints of operating in a war zone, the authors acknowledge that their report is a mere sampling and an unsystematic one at that. However, the Spanish Brigades Project has used some of the data provided by the Iraq Peace Team in its own more systematic report, as has the indirect project by the PDA (#6). One advantage of the IPT report not shared by any other we deal with is the inclusion of a considerable amount of photographic evidence of damage to individuals and to buildings. It is also the earliest compilation of civilian casualties to come out of Baghdad, but because it does not include estimates of numbers dead, it is not included in our table as a "project". Much like the Spanish Brigade's project this group's work has been largely ignored by the mainstream media, with only the news website **ElectronicIraq.net** providing regular updates on their activities.

On May 4th, three journalists working for US-based Knight Ridder Newspapers published a **report** on the **Death toll in 19 Baghdad hospitals (#8)**. Various stories providing differing degrees of detail about this study were widely syndicated through the Knight Ridder stable of newspapers, which operate in most US states.

No full account of the research has been published, but what can be pieced together from these press reports is that the estimates were "gleaned from archives that separated military from civilians" and "included those killed between March 19, when the US air war began, and April 9 when the city fell to American forces". Although Iraqi doctors interviewed admit that their records were not perfect (war conditions did not allow for that), the data supplied were claimed to be accurate. Only seven of the 19 hospitals in the study are mentioned by name, although the overwhelming majority of the dead were said to have been counted at just three, named hospitals:

"The records show 1,101 deaths that doctors felt were clearly those of civilians, 845 of which were recorded at three hospitals - Al Kharama, Al Askan and Yarmuk - near the Baghdad airport.

An additional 1,255 dead probably were civilians, doctors say, all reported

Mr. N.M.P. Steijnen

Advocaat en Prokureur
Cauwenhoven 52-05
3703 ER Zeist
tel. 03404 - 5 68 67

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at the same three hospitals near the airport. At Al Kharama, 30 per cent of 450 such bodies belonged to women and children, doctors said.

Others were men without identification in civilian clothes who the doctors believed were civilians. But a final determination was not made, in part because of the enormous volume of bodies to be dealt with."

The same records show more than 6,800 wounded. The report also provides evidence that the biggest number of deaths occurred on April 5th and 6th when US troops began fighting their way into the city. This report suggests that the Spanish Brigade researchers were able to take witness evidence relating to fewer than 10% of the total civilian deaths caused by coalition action in the battle for Baghdad.

On May 18th the Los Angeles Times published a **report** by its staff writer Laura King entitled **Baghdad's Death Toll Assessed (#9)**. The headline to this story reads:

"At least 1,700 Iraqi civilians died and more than 8,000 were injured in the battle for the Iraq capital, according to a Los Angeles Times survey of records from 27 hospitals in the capital and its outlying districts. In addition, undocumented civilian deaths in Baghdad number at least into the hundreds and could reach 1,000, according to Islamic burial societies and humanitarian groups that are trying to trace those missing in the conflict."

Like the Knight Ridder project (**#8**) there is no full report of the research beyond that which is reported in the single LA Times story on the work. Similarly, only a minority of the hospitals surveyed are mentioned by name in the press report. The LA Times project records casualties up until 24th April, some two weeks after the fall of the Iraqi regime. This means that some fatalities from unexploded ordnance are included in this project, as well as from continued fighting after 9th April. Also notable is that the study is not restricted to hospital records but includes mosque-based volunteer burial associations who dealt with "undocumented" deaths, often of those who died on stretches of road.

The failure of either the Knight Ridder or the LA Times projects to give an exhaustive

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compilation of deaths by hospital means that it is almost impossible to know how much overlap there is between these two projects, or how either of them relate to the Spanish Brigade project, even though all three projects centre their work on Baghdad hospitals during the same period of time.

For meaningful use to be made of these two newspaper-funded projects it is essential that a full and rigorous compilation of data is either published or made available to a competent authority to combine with, and compare to, other data. This brings us to the most recent and ambitious press study, published on June 10th:

"Someone has taped together the shredded binding, as if that could fix the horrors inside. There are pages bathed in dried, reddish-brown blood, their letters smeared and unintelligible. The frantic scribbles and bloody handprints are a record of war."

This vivid pointer to the conditions prevailing in Iraq's hospitals forms the introduction to another hospitals-based **investigation** conducted over five weeks by a team of Associated Press (AP) journalists. Covering civilian deaths recorded in the month between March 20 and April 20, the **Associated Press Tally (#10)** was restricted to 60 "accessible" hospitals (out of 124) throughout Iraq, and concluded that these hospitals recorded "at least" 3,240 civilians killed by the war.

Though geographically more wide-ranging than the other newspaper tallies, AP is refreshingly open about its incompleteness. Stating that "the count is still fragmentary," AP notes that if ever there is a complete toll, it "is sure to be ^{plum} significantly higher":

"Even if hospital records were complete, they would not tell the full story. Many of the dead were never taken to hospitals, either buried quickly by their families in accordance with Islamic custom, or lost under rubble.

The AP excluded all counts done by hospitals whose written records did not distinguish between civilian and military dead, which means hundreds, possibly thousands, of victims in Iraq's largest cities and most intense battles weren't reflected in the count."

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Mr. N.M.P. Steijnen

Advocaat en Prokureur
Couwenhaven 52-05
3703 ER Zeist
tel 03404 - 5 68 67

Another point in the AP study's favour is its publication of a breakdown of most of its findings by hospital in "key" cities:

- Baghdad: 1,896 (recorded at 24 hospitals)
- Najaf: 293 (four hospitals)
- Karbala: 200 (one hospital)
- Mosul: 118 (five hospitals)
- Samawa: 112 (two hospitals)
- Nasiriyah: 145 (three hospitals)
- Fallujah: 89 (one hospital)
- Madain: 71 (one hospital)
- Diwaniya: 61 (one hospital)
- Kut: 52 (two hospitals)
- Tikrit: 45 (one hospital)

datum

This is useful, but it would have been better still for each hospital to be named. Another (self-imposed) limitation is that the AP study attempted to "protect the integrity of its tally" by excluding numbers not based on daily record-keeping:

"In Basra, Iraq's second biggest city, hospitals issued 413 death certificates and officials estimated 85 percent were for civilians, but the hospitals did not keep daily records listing civilian or military status of casualties. The AP did not include any Basra deaths in its count."

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This means that the grand total of civilian deaths in Basra for the AP study is zero (instead of around 350, if it had trusted "officials'" - actually, doctors' - estimates), giving good grounds for the authors' conclusion that the actual numbers, both in Basra and elsewhere, were significantly higher.

Neither the Knight Ridder, LA Times or AP studies are defined by any specific aims. Presumably they are the results of normal journalistic enterprise, including the delivery of an exclusive story which can be used to the benefit of the employer and the career of the journalist. It would, therefore, hardly be expected that these journalists would directly co-operate with one another. Yet such co-operation would have ensured that there was no duplication of effort, and that meaningful summative compilations could have drawn on these reports.

3.B.2 Projects still under way, who have not issued final reports

The best publicised project currently under way is the *Survey of civilian deaths in Iraq (#11)* conducted under the auspices of the Campaign for Innocent Victims in Conflict (CIVIC), led by Marla Ruzicka, an independent US peace activist (most recently reported by *ABC News* on May 28th). She has organised 150 surveyors who are travelling the length and breadth of Iraq, conducting interviews door-to-door with victims and witnesses in the worst-affected areas.

At the time of the ABC interview this project has documented 620 civilian deaths in Baghdad, 256 in Najaf, 425 in Karbala and as many as 1,100 in Nasiriyah, and researchers were still at work in Kirkuk, Najaf, Ramadi, Amara, Kut, Diwaniyah, and Basrah. This makes the project potentially the most comprehensive and labour intensive project so far in Iraq. In this context it is surprising that, according to press reports, the work currently receives no public or NGO funding, and that funds are down to the last \$50 (though donations may be made via their **website**).

[UPDATE: The Washington Times (June 16) **reports** that CIVIC has received a grant from USAID to carry on its work.]

Ruzicka came to public attention in 2001 for a somewhat similar project undertaken in Afghanistan, using local researchers. Her work convinced Senator Patrick Leahy

Mr. N.M.P. Steijnen

Advocaat en Prokureur
Couwenhoven 52-05
3703 ER Zeist
tel. 03404 - 5 68 67

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(Democrat- Vermont) to insert language in an appropriations bill allocating \$3.75 million to help Afghan victims (but of which sadly nothing so far has been disbursed, **according to the CSM**). Leahy has been responsible for ensuring that the Iraq War Supplemental Bill (signed by President Bush on 16th April 2003) directs that an unspecified portion of the \$2.4 billion appropriated for relief and reconstruction in Iraq should pay for "assistance for families of innocent Iraqi civilians who suffer losses as a result of military operations". Ruzicka's concern for getting money to victims is admirable, but it places on her a particular responsibility to provide well-documented primary data. Although the CIVIC website says that "CIVIC will share survey results with all NGO's who are interested in conducting similar studies in Iraq", the only reports of this work currently available are rather cursory press reports. This limits current usefulness of this study. We hope that a full and detailed report of the research will be made available by CIVIC as soon as time and resources permit.

A second project announced as under way is the **Survey of dead, injured, and missing (#12)** by the Iraqi Red Crescent. The most recent report of this work was given in a **Christian Science Monitor article** dated May 22nd. In that article, Haider Taie, head of the department for tracing missing persons, is reported as saying "thousands are dead, thousands are missing, thousands are captured". Another official told the CSM that "In Baghdad we have discovered 1,000 graves, and that is not the final figure. Every day we discover more". At one time it was reported that the Red Crescent would be issuing total figures by mid-May. It is now nearly mid-June and no report has appeared. In the same CSM report, two researchers from two different teams who "asked not to be identified until the evidence was clearer" were quoted as saying the number of civilian deaths might be as high as 10,000. Until we know who these researchers are, and what methodology they are using, we must, however, treat this estimate with caution.

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Focusing on mines and abandoned or "dud" munitions, a **Survey of deaths through unexploded ordnance in Northern Iraq (#13)** has been reported undertaken by the UK-based Mines Advisory Group (MAG), and on a smaller scale by the US-based Human Rights Watch (HRW). MAG is also involved in co-ordinating removal of unexploded ordnance in various locations, as well as public education projects to try to avoid further death and injury. Cursory and undetailed reports appear on the websites of both organisations, and have been **variously reported** in the press. Both groups claim large numbers of continuing deaths after the end of the hostilities. On

Mr. N.M.P. Steijnen
Advocaat en Prokureur
Cauwenhoven 52-05
3703 ER Zeist
tel. 03404 - 5 68 67

27th April, **HRW claimed** that the number of civilians killed or wounded since the war ended in northern Iraq was higher than it was during the conflict. On April 17th **MAG published a statement** saying that

"Fifty-two killed and 63 injured by landmines and unexploded ordnance (UXO); these are the devastating statistics in just one week coming from the main hospital in Kirkuk, northern Iraq. The real figures will be much higher as we know that many deaths are not recorded. There is no death registration system."

There is no more recent report from either organisation than end April, and no clear indication of scope or methodology of data-collection. There is at least one **press report** that HRW is currently conducting a *general* survey of civilian casualties in Iraq, but no announcement, details or mention of this are on HRW's website, and it has therefore not been added to our table below.

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3.B.3 Statements of intent (projects planned but not underway)

Our round-up of projects concludes with mention of two projects which have been announced, but appear not to have published any outcomes at all, even interim ones. The first, and apparently more comprehensive project is that **announced** on 29th April by the charity MedAct entitled *The short, medium and long-term health effects of war on Iraq* (#14). This project plans to bring together a whole range of health indicators, including, of most direct relevance to our concerns, direct and indirect deaths (combatants and civilians by age and gender on both sides) and deaths from post-war violence. Involving a very impressive list of international advisors, the project promises that its "full overview of the short- and medium-term effects of the war will be published in the autumn."

The final project is referred to in connection with the Iraq war in an April 15th Washington Post article. **A study on civilian suffering in war** (#15) is being conducted under the auspices of the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy at Harvard University. The director of this project, Sarah Sewall, is quoted as saying that obtaining totals would be an unrealistic aim "given the size, intensity and speed of the US campaign" but that "investigating at least some incidents would not only bolster

Mr. N.M.P. Steijnen

Advocaat en Prokureur
Couwenhoven 52-05
3703 ER Zeist
tel. 03404 - 5 68 67

US credibility but also contribute to better military planning next time by understanding the actual effects of particular US battlefield decisions". There is as yet no information published on scope, sources, methodology or a delivery date for this study.

4. Summary and conclusions

15 projects focused on estimating civilian deaths have been reviewed, taking a variety of approaches, differing in scope, methodology, and degree of completeness. Although those that have reported outcomes tend to report somewhat different totals, this is entirely understandable as a function of the different scope, methodology, and completeness of each respective project. The important thing to note is that there is very little overall inconsistency. Nothing in one project contradicts or casts doubt on data from any other project. All projects must be viewed as incomplete "snapshots" of different grain. They generally reinforce rather than contradict one another. None so far has ventured to extrapolate from limited evidence to a (dubious) conclusion about the entire conflict. All recognize that more evidence remains to be gathered, but based on what is so far known, they provide converging evidence that the total number of civilians killed in the conflict is well above 5,000.

The fact that the various researchers are largely independent of one another, and have initiated their work without detailed collaboration or co-ordination, can be seen as both an advantage and a disadvantage. The advantage is that the total enterprise does not fail if any one project fails. The disadvantage is, of course, dissipation of resource and duplication of effort.

Considerations that are often felt to be of importance in evaluating projects of this sort are (a) the track record of the researchers; and (b) their political orientation. Our view is that these considerations are secondary. The primary criterion on which projects of this sort should be evaluated is the quality and degree of disclosure of their published materials (methodology, rationale, sources). The more explicit, detailed and public the project, the less relevant the background of the researcher becomes to any judgement of the merit of the work. In general, bias that is openly stated and recognized is preferable to that which is hidden in self-professed, and in truth perhaps unattainable, "neutrality". However, what ultimately matters is the

quality of the work.

Our main plea to some of our fellow researchers is, therefore, to publish as much detail as possible, including all sources consulted, the methodologies used, and a breakdown of deaths according to place and date. We also consider it good practice to publish the names and brief vitae of all main project personnel, together with an email address to which comments and questions can be directed.

We ask the press and media to assist this process by providing full sourcing for projects they mention, including contact details. The table below shows where such sourcing remains deficient.

We end with two questions. (1) Are these projects worthwhile? And (2) Why have they been left to relatively small unofficial organisations, in the main?

(1) Are the projects worthwhile?

These projects have a short-term and a long-term value. The short-term value is to provide information which would assist anyone planning to provide support or reparation to the families of those killed. This is a humanitarian imperative about which there can be no real disagreement, whatever one's view of the arguments for going to war. The long-term value is in providing part of the full estimate of the cost of this war, to help evaluate the claims from the Pentagon that their war fighting strategies take increasingly few civilian lives, and to provide an empirical foundation for assessing the war in moral, socio-political and historical contexts. As soon as a single named death is confirmed, the short-term value can begin to be realised. Obviously, the long-term value is best gained when a relatively complete picture emerges. That is why both fine-grained and "broad-spectrum" projects are needed.

(2) Why have they been left to marginal players?

The single most notable fact about all this work is the almost complete absence of any official or semi-official agency from the scene, the abortive Swiss Foreign Ministry attempt notwithstanding. No project funded by any

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government has been announced since conquest was declared, and there appears to be no involvement of any supra-national agencies such as the UN. Considering the importance of this work, this is an astonishing state of affairs. It is, of course, possible that unpublished work is under way - but we can think of no justifiable reason why governments and supra-national agencies should undertake such work covertly. On balance our judgement is that the work is just not being done, and that the parties most closely involved just don't want to know.

On May 1st-2003, to wide global indifference, the UN's Commission on Human Security published its **final report**, entitled "Human Security Now". This report is a scathing indictment of the low priority given by world powers to the needs and rights of civilians before, during, and after conflict. Chapter 4 of this report is entitled "Recovering from Violent Conflict". On page 65 of that chapter the following is said:

"Justice and reconciliation programmes in post-conflict situations center on two strategies. The first, relating to the events that occurred in the conflict phase, focuses on establishing the truth of what happened, upholding justice for the victims and punishing the perpetrators. The second focuses on establishing the rule of law, developing a human rights regime and strengthening judicial systems."

All the projects we have described in this review are devoted to the key aim of "establishing the truth of what happened". That this is not a priority for the US or UK administrations shows just how far our own nations are from promoting or even upholding the ideals of Human Security.

John Sloboda and Hamit Dardagan - June 12th 2003

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Projects counting civilians killed in the war on Iraq

(as of June 12 2003)

Project name:

Iraq Body Count

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Mr. N.M.P. Steijnen
Advocaat en Prokureur
Cauwenhoven 52-05
3703 ER Zeist
tel. 03404 - 568 67

Robobank Zeist
rekeningnr. 37.52.38.832
gironummer Robobank: 21 71 31

Organisation (if different)	
Web address	http://www.iraqbodycount.net
Name(s) of principal investigators	Hamit Dardagan, John Sloboda
Contact details	info@iraqbodycount.org
Period covered	January 2003 - ongoing
Scope	Comprehensive - all media reported civilian deaths
Sources	Indirect - press, media and official NGO reports
Explicit data-extraction methodology published?	Yes - extensive
Stated aims (if published)	"A Human Security project to establish an independent and comprehensive public database of media-reported civilian deaths in Iraq resulting directly from military actions by the USA and its allies in 2003."
Comments	Provides online database and web-counters downloadable to participating web-sites. Also publishes periodical comment and analysis on civilian casualties in Iraq.
Project name: US Bombing Watch	
Organisation (if different)	Colorado Campaign for Middle East Peace (CCMEP)
Web address	http://www.ccmeep.org/usbombingwatch/2003.htm
Name(s) of principal investigators	
Contact details	ccmeep_organizer@yahoo.com
Period covered	January 1999 - ongoing
Scope	Limited - deaths through US/UK bombing raids only
Sources	Indirect - press and media reports
Explicit data-extraction methodology published?	Not applicable

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Stated aims (if published)	[A CCMEP service recording "When was the last time the U.S. Bombed Iraq?"]
Comments	Also collects and publishes news, comment and photographs relating to the war in Iraq and its aftermath
Operation Iraqi Freedom Total Casualty Report	
Project name:	
Organisation (if different)	Center for Defence Information, Washington (CDI)
Web address	http://www.cdi.org/iraq/casualties.cfm
Name(s) of principal investigators	Armon Caglar, David Worn
Contact details	acaglar@cdi.org , dworn@cdi.org
Period covered	21 March 2003 - 6 May 2003(?)
Scope	Limited - so far only Iraqi government sources, which ended first week of April
Sources	Indirect - press, media and official reports
Explicit data-extraction methodology published?	Yes - partial
Stated aims (if published)	"Until reporters gain unfettered access throughout the whole of Iraq, it will continue to be our position that there is simply no way to clearly ascertain the true extent of Iraqi civilian casualties. When such a time does arrive, rest assured that we will give these figures the coverage that they deserve."
Comments	Also lists coalition military deaths
Casualties of the 2003 Iraq War	
Project name:	
Organisation (if different)	
Web address	http://www.wagner.edu/faculty/users/pjani/casualties_of_iraq_war.htm
Name(s) of principal investigators	Pranav Jani
Contact details	pjani@wagner.edu

Mr. N.M.P. Steijnen
Advocaat en Prokureur
Cauwenhoven 52-05
3703 ER Zeist
tel. 03404 - 5 68 67

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Period covered	19 March 2003 - ongoing
Scope	Comprehensive - media reported casualties
Sources	Indirect - press and media reports
Explicit data-extraction methodology published?	Yes - partial
Stated aims (if published)	-
Comments	Covers both civilian and military deaths and injuries.
A list of civilian victims of the war in Iraq	
Project name:	
Organisation (if different)	Swiss Foreign Ministry
Web address	-
Name(s) of principal investigators	Micheline Calmy-Rey, Swiss Foreign Minister (Instigator)
Contact details	-
Period covered	Proposed 30/31 March - aborted 1 April
Scope	Comprehensive
Sources	Unspecified
Explicit data-extraction methodology published?	Yes - partial
Stated aims (if published)	"To give an overview of the number of civilian casualties and to drive home the reality of conflict."
Comments	Project aborted two days after it was announced - it would have been the first one of its kind by a government
Civilian casualties in the 2003 Iraq War: A Compendium of Accounts and Reports	
Project name:	

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Mr. N.M.P. Steijnen
Advocaat en Prokureur
Cauwenhoven 52-05
3703 ER Zeist
tel. 03404 - 5 68 67

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Organisation (if different)	Project on Defense Alternatives (PDA)
Web address	http://www.comw.org/pda/0305iraqcasualtydata.html
Name(s) of principal investigators	Melissa Murphy, Carl Conetta
Contact details	pda@comw.org
Period covered	19 March 2003 - 15 May 2003
Scope	Limited - selected multiple-death incidents only
Sources	Indirect - Western press, media and NGO reports
Explicit data-extraction methodology published?	Yes - extensive
Stated aims (if published)	"To serve as a database for further investigation of the modes and dynamics of conflict that generate non-combatant casualties."
Comments	Includes direct quotes from sources it uses
Project name:	
Evaluation of the attacks on the civilian population of Baghdad	
Organisation (if different)	Spanish Brigade Against the War; Arab Cause Solidarity Campaign
Web address	http://www.nodo50.org/csca/agenda2003/con_iraq/informe-brigadas_eng.pdf
Name(s) of principal investigators	Javier Barandiaran and 8 others
Contact details	csca@nodo50.org
Period covered	20 March - 15 April
Scope	Limited- coalition strikes on Baghdad 20 March - 15 April only
Sources	Direct - completion of questionnaires by surviving civilian victims and relatives, supplemented by hospital records
Explicit data-extraction methodology published?	Yes - extensive

Mr. N.M.P. Steijnen
Advocaat en Prokureur
Cauwenhoven 52-05
3703 ER Zeist
tel. 03404 - 568 67

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Stated aims (if published)	"To indicate the breadth, systematic nature and severity with respect to the number of civilian victims and material damage caused by the Anglo-American attacks."
Comments	Detailed reports relating to 42 attacks organised in date order, with supplementary analyses of repeated attacks on the same target, types of weapon, ages of the injured, areas of Baghdad hit, and hospitals visited.
Project name:	Death toll in 19 Baghdad hospitals
Organisation (if different)	Knight Ridder Newspapers
Web address	http://www.miami.com/mld/miamiherald/5772622.htm
Name(s) of principal investigators	Matthew Schofield, Nancy A. Youssef, and Juan O. Tamayo
Contact details	-
Period covered	19 March - 9 April
Scope	Limited - deaths in 19 Baghdad hospitals only
Sources	Direct - hospital records
Explicit data-extraction methodology published?	Yes - partial
Stated aims (if published)	-
Comments	Only 7 of the 19 hospitals surveyed are named in the press reports
Project name:	Baghdad's death toll assessed
Organisation (if different)	Los Angeles Times
Web address	http://www.peaceuk.co.uk/archive/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=568
Name(s) of principal investigators	Laura King
Contact details	-

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Mr. N.M.P. Steijnen

Advocaat en Prokureur
Cauwenhoven 52-05
3703 ER Zeist
tel. 03404 - 5 68 67Robobank Zeist
rekeningnr. 37.52.38.832
gironummer Robobank: 21 71 31

Period covered	20 March - 24 April
Scope	Limited - deaths in the municipality of Baghdad only
Sources	Direct - hospital records, Islamic burial groups and others working in Baghdad
Explicit data-extraction methodology published?	Yes - partial
Stated aims (if published)	-
Comments	Only 9 of the 27 hospitals surveyed are named in the report
Continued	
Project name:	Associated Press Tally
Organisation (if different)	-
Web address	http://www.ajc.com/news/content/news/0603/10iraqdead.html
Name(s) of principal investigators	Niko Price and at least 7 other AP writers
Contact details	-
Period covered	20 March - 20 April
Scope	Limited - hospital-recorded deaths in "accessible" areas only
Sources	Direct - hospital records
Explicit data-extraction methodology published?	Yes - partial
Stated aims (if published)	"Several surveys have already looked at civilian casualties within Baghdad, but the AP tally is the first attempt to gauge the scale of such deaths from one end of the country to the other, from Mosul in the north to Basra in the south."
Comments	Few of the hospitals are named but a breakdown is given by "key cities"; study openly admits to incompleteness
Project name:	Survey of civilian deaths in Iraq

Mr. N.M.P. Steijnen
Advocaat en Prokureur
Coutenhoven 52-05
3703 ER Zeist
tel. 03404 - 5 68 67

Organisation (if different)	Campaign for Innocent Victims in Conflict (CIVIC)
Web address	http://iraqvictimsfund.org/action.htm
Name(s) of principal investigators	Marla Ruzicka
Contact details	marlainiraq@yahoo.co.in
Period covered	March 2003 - ongoing (covering entire war period up to present)
Scope	Comprehensive
Sources	Direct - interviews with victims and witnesses, supplemented by hospital records
Explicit data-extraction methodology published?	Yes - partial
Stated aims (if published)	"Getting assistance to the innocent families that are harmed, and getting a proper accounting of war."
Comments	Employing 150 local volunteers surveyors to assist in tasks such as interviewing victims' families
Project name:	
Organisation (if different)	the Iraqi Red Crescent
Web address	-
Name(s) of principal investigators	Haider Taie [Tari], director of tracing missing persons
Contact details	-
Period covered	Assumed March 2003 - ongoing
Scope	Comprehensive
Sources	Not stated, but assumed to be direct
Explicit data-extraction methodology published?	Yes - partial
Stated aims (if published)	-

Mr. N.M.P. Steijnen

Advocaat en Prokureur
Cauwenhoven 52-05
3703 ER Zeist
tel. 03404 - 5 68 67Robobank Zeist,
rekeningnr. 37 52 38 832
gironummer Robobank: 21 71 31

Comments	Hampered by US forces preventing access to some areas that saw heavy fighting (as reported 18 May) - project is now one month overdue
Project name:	
Survey of deaths through unexploded ordnance in Northern Iraq	
Organisation (if different)	Mines Advisory Group (MAG)
Web address	http://www.mag.org.uk/magtest/deadlygame/all.htm
Name(s) of principal investigators	Sean Sutton
Contact details	maguk@mag.org.uk
Period covered	April 2003 - assumed ongoing
Scope	Limited - deaths from unexploded munitions only
Sources	Direct - field workers and hospital records
Explicit data-extraction methodology published?	No
Stated aims (if published)	-
Comments	MAG's main activity is the safe removal of UXO - reporting is a secondary task
Project name:	
The short, medium and long-term health effects of war on Iraq	
Organisation (if different)	MedAct
Web address	http://www.medact.org/tbx/pages/sub.cfm?id=607
Name(s) of principal investigators	Gillian Reeve
Contact details	gillreeve@medact.org
Period covered	Assumed ongoing

Mr. N.M.P. Steijnen

Advocaat en Prokureur
Couwenvoeren 52-05
3703 ER Zehl
tel. 03404 - 5 68 67Robobank Zeist
rekeningnr. 37.52.38.832
gironummer Robobank: 21 21 31

Scope	Comprehensive
Sources	Direct and Indirect - "health professionals, aid agencies, academics and the media"
Explicit data-extraction methodology published?	Yes - partial
Stated aims (if published)	"Its key objective is to obtain and publicise information about the health consequences of the war... topics to be covered include immediate and long-term mortality and morbidity; damage to health services; water, electricity, sanitation and nutritional data; environmental damage; physical and mental health; maternal and child health and the health of other vulnerable groups; and the effects of specific weapons/munitions."
Comments	"The full overview" is due for publication in the autumn.
Project name:	
Organisation (if different)	Study on civilian suffering in war
Web address	Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, Harvard University http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/cchrp/index.shtml
Name(s) of principal investigators	Sarah Sewall
Contact details	Sarah_Sewall@harvard.edu
Period covered	Assumed ongoing
Scope	Limited - unspecified sample of deaths
Sources	Unspecified
Explicit data-extraction methodology published?	No
Stated aims (if published)	"To bolster US credibility but also contribute to better military planning next time."
Comments	.

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Over de gruwelen van de oorlog, 100 km buiten Bagdad

(3 april, 20 uur)

3 april 2003

Door Bert De Belder

"Ik heb twee afschuwelijke verhalen te vertellen", zegt dokter Goert van Moorter met de deur in huis als ik hem aan de lijn krijg in Bagdad. "We zijn vandaag naar Hilal gerdien, het stadje bij Babylon dat gisteren zwaar gebombardeerd is. In arme volkswijken zijn 20 à 25 bommen ingeslagen. Het hospitaal van Hilal kreeg in een halfuur tijd 150 zwaar gewonde patiënten over de vloer. Dr. Mahmoud Al-Machwar zei ons dat de verwondingen veroorzaakt waren door clusterbommen."

Dat zijn bommen die uitensporten in vele kleine projectielen, die nadat op hun beurt explosieven en verspreidbare raketten zijn verboden door het internationaal oorlogsrecht, maar daar treft Bush zich geen

Bat van aan! Ik heb in het hospitaal weer veel schrijnende toestanden gezien. Een familie van elf personen, waarvan er zes zijn gedood. Een vader die met een kind blijft zitten, zijn vrouw en zijn twee zoons zijn dood. Kleine kinderen met geamputeerde ledematen.

"Mijn tweede verhaal is nog gruwelijker", waarschuwt Goert. "Over een bus met burgers die beschoten is. Niet die in Hilal, die overal het ruisen heeft gehoord, maar een zaak die bij mijn weten nog niet is geïncasé door de victorieus. In Al-Sidra, nabij Hilla, is drie dagen geleden een passagiersbus betrokken aan een Amerikaanse contraspook, met afgrijselijke gevolgen. Volgens getuigen was de bus tijdig gestopt en had ze op bewij van de Amerikaanse militairen, rechtsomkeer gemaakt. Wat er daarna precies gebeurd is, is niet duidelijk, maar er moet een enorm vernietigend projectiel

op de bus zijn terechtgekomen. Dr. Saad El-Fadoul, een 52-jarige chirurg die nog in Mosulland heeft gestudeerd, was snel ter plaatse vanuit het hospitaal van Hilal. Toen hij me vertelde, wat hij daar gezien heeft, raakte hij opnieuw ontvallen, drie dagen na de feiten. "Da lijken wrede zwartgevoerde, afschuwelijk vernietigd, uiteengevallen", zuchtte hij. "In en rond de bus zag ik afgegrate hoofden, heerschen, ingewondert". Het is een raaiel werk een misdadig maar samenlevingsgevoel die hoort veroorzaakt kan hebben. Menend had de keel van een ongelukkig gebroed, op de lijken zijn geen sporen van graafspijnters teruggevonden.

Een journalist vertelde me over een hittevoegen met vloerbaar koper of iets dergelijks. Kinnen de Amerikanen zo wreed zijn? Dr. Saad El-Fadoul vroeg ons met aandacht om alles te doen om deze gruwelijke ingesloten oorlog te laten opheffen.

Ik heb veelbaal in de weg. Ik ging hem halen.

Wat is omgibende een raket

ماتح على حدود فوسطية كسل

Geert verslaat me slecht als ik

lets zeg, dat hij is niet altijd dui-

delijk. "We zitten hier momen-

teel zonder elektriciteit", legt

hij uit. "Grote wijken van Bag-

dad zitten zonder stroom, er is

hier volop macht zeer zwaar ge-

bombardeerd. Collette (Goert's

collega's Dr. Collette Mou-

lant) heeft vanuit haar hospita-

tes, vlak achter de moskee hier

in de buurt, twee enorme vuur-

ballen zien neerkomen. Ik denk

dat dat van die consumptiebo-

men zijn. Inloets van 7-8 ton,

die enorme tillingen quies. "Ik

sa te rilen van de koor", slacht

Collette. "maar het waren de

tillingen van de bomstrijd."

"Je moet niet alles geloven wat

CNN en BBC tonen", hoort

Goert ons voor. "Dat we van-

daag met een hele ploeg 'hu-

man schuld' tot Hilal hebben

kunnen rilen, 100 km ten zuid-

westen van Bagdad, spreekt op

overtuigende wijze tegen dat

de Iraakse hoofdstad volledig

omringd en belegerd zou zijn.

Onderweg zaggen we ook ma-

wellijk Iraakse troepenbewe-

gingen. Op onze tocht van 100

km zijn we geen enkele Iraakse

controlepost gespoerd, zagen

we nauwelijks tekens van oor-

log. Hier en daar wat groepjes

hulzen, bommen, zelfs kinderen

die met een papier, wiesger

aangevraagd een zijweg te ne-

men, omdat er een colonne van

20 of 30 Iraakse tanks moest

passeren. Wat dan weer de aan-

te leger burgers zou mitbraken

als schild voor hun militaire

operaties, ons burgervertoeg

werd eerst veilig naar een zij-

weg geleest, vooraleer het

Iraakse leger eraan kwam. Op

de terugweg waren Amerika-

nen en Britten wel aan het

bombarderen in de buurt. Voor

oorse veiligheid moesten we op-

nieuw een zijweg nemen, maar

ook daar viel een bom niet ver-

af, gevolgd door een dikke

rookwolk. Dat was even beang-

stigend, omdat we niet veilig in

ons hotel zaten, maar in de

openruimte."

Marcel van Dam Een paar honderd doden

6-3-2003

D e klomende oorlog in Irak

zal zo verregaande schade

aan het Iraakse volk toebrengen

als de Amerikaanse leger is

opgevoerd vanwege de ge-

voerde beschouwing, dat het

uud. Soldaten hebben verwoes-

de schade van de oorlog in Irak

op de laatste maanden van

het laatste maanden van

het laatste maanden van

het laatste maanden van



beëindiging. Waar: wie dat een

zien met het onbepaald en/of be-

degen van de niet-permanente

degen van de niet-permanente

alle Bommen'

De Amerikaanse luchtmacht heeft gisteren een succesvolle missie uitgevoerd met een superzware bom, de MOAB. Een modellemissie, maar dan van een groter kaliber.

DOOR MENNO STAKET
KOTTLEDAM, 12 MAART. De Amerikaanse luchtmacht heeft gisteren een succesvolle missie uitgevoerd met een superzware bom, de MOAB, een modellemissie, maar dan van een groter kaliber.

Het resultaat op woensdag de afsluiting van de MOAB-missie, die de Amerikaanse luchtmacht heeft uitgevoerd met een superzware bom, de MOAB, een modellemissie, maar dan van een groter kaliber.

De MOAB is een variant van de ingezette F-15. De Amerikaanse luchtmacht heeft gisteren een succesvolle missie uitgevoerd met een superzware bom, de MOAB, een modellemissie, maar dan van een groter kaliber.

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VS willen Irak 'op tilt' bombarderen

Achtergrond | 'Shock-oorlog' moet Saddam's elitetroepen alle vechtlust ontnemen

Tenminste Ham Sits vandaag de V-maat indit, legt Washington de laatste hand aan het aanvalplan tegen Irak. Een omvangrijke 'shock-oorlog' moet het Iraakse regime in een paar dagen op de knieën dwingen.

Voor meer verslagen:
Dennis Rasmussen
HET Nieuws

De geest van Hiram K. Hiram, de Amerikaanse ambassadeur in Bagdad, leeft voort in de Amerikaanse luchtmacht. Hij was de eerste Amerikaanse ambassadeur in Bagdad, en zijn naam wordt gebruikt om de Amerikaanse luchtmacht te inspireren.

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De Amerikaanse transportvloot wordt de 'Honderd van alle Bommen' uitbrengen en schiettoeren in Florida. (Foto: Reuters)

In een poging het publiek te stoffen heeft de Amerikaanse luchtmacht gisteren een succesvolle missie uitgevoerd met een superzware bom, de MOAB. Een modellemissie, maar dan van een groter kaliber.

Pentagon weet niets van schade burgers

Omdat de Amerikaanse luchtmacht gisteren een succesvolle missie uitgevoerd met een superzware bom, de MOAB. Een modellemissie, maar dan van een groter kaliber.

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Sagittarius

Van: "Omslag" <vrede@omslag.nl>
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 Onderwerp: Wat voor bommen en granaten gebruikt Amerika tegen
 > Doorgestuurd bericht van NVMP - Gezondheidszorg en Vredesvraagstukken

P E R S B E R I C H T

Wat voor bommen en granaten gebruikt Amerika tegen Irak?

Utrecht, 20 maart 2003 - Terwijl de Amerikanen Irak bombarderen is de wereld nog steeds het meest beducht voor het mogelijk gebruik van chemische en biologische wapens door Saddam Hoessein.

Maar wat voor raketten gebruiken de Amerikanen zelf eigenlijk?

Vandaag brengt de organisatie IPPNW *) het verontrustende rapport 'The Threat of Low-Yield Earth-Penetrating Nuclear Weapons to Civilian Populations: Nuclear 'Bunker Busters' and their Medical Consequences', uit.

Bunker Busters

Earth Penetrating Weapons (EPW's) ook wel 'Bunker Busters' genoemd, zijn raketten bedoeld om diepgelegen bunkers te treffen. Op deze raketten is ook een nucleaire kop te plaatsen. Amerika bezit een vijftigtal van deze Nuclear EPW's. Deze zouden door 6 meter beton en 30 meter aarde kunnen dringen alvorens tot ontploffing te komen. Volgens de Amerikanen zal daardoor de 'collateral damage' minimaal zijn, omdat 'alles ondergronds blijft'.

Dit nu wordt door IPPNW scherp bestreden. Zelfs NEPW's van het hardste materiaal kunnen maximaal 12 meter de aarde binnendringen voordat ze ten gevolge van wrijvingskrachten tot ontploffing zullen komen. Een dergelijke ondiepe nucleaire explosie zal tonnen sterk radioactief materiaal, grond en puin, over een gebied van enkele vierkante kilometers verspreiden. Personen die zich in dit gebied begeven zullen na enkele uren een fatale dosis straling oplopen.

IPPNW gaat niet in op de vraag hoe groot de kans is dat deze NEPW's daadwerkelijk gebruikt zullen worden. Het gaat hen er vooral om dat ze nooit gebruikt mogen worden.

Desondanks: Nuclear EPW's zijn paraat en inzetbaar voor doeleinden waaraan de oorlog tegen Irak voldoet. Amerika heeft de 'nucleaire optie' in haar oorlogsplannen altijd als een reële mogelijkheid opgehouden.

*) IPPNW (International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War) is winnaars van de Nobelprijs voor de Vrede 1985. De Nederlandse afdeling van de IPPNW is NVMP - Gezondheidszorg en Vredesvraagstukken.

Noot voor de pers:

- Meer informatie bij Hans van Iterson (NVMP), 030-2722940

- Het IPPNW-rapport is als PDF-file op te vragen bij het
NVMP-bureau: e-mail: office@nvmp.org

----- Einde doorgestuurd persbericht -----

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Smerige oorlog

22-3-2003

De milieu-effecten van de vorige Golfoorlog zijn beter beschreven dan het aantal Irakese slachtoffers. 'Ecocide' maakt oorlog nog erger dan hij is. Maar het Amerikaanse leger wil liefst van alle milieubeperkingen af.
Door Jeroen Trommelen

In de twintigste eeuw werden wereldwijd ruim 250 oorlogen gevoerd die naar schatting 110 miljoen mensen het leven koosten, een veelvoud aan gewonden oplevenden en meer dan een half miljard mensen van huis en haard verdreven. Dat oorlog ook het milieu vervuult en ecosystemen beschadigt, lijkt daarmee vergeten van oorlogsgerechtigde belang. Niettemin trekt het milieubeschermings van de oorlog in Irak op voorhand veel aandacht, vooral omdat een herhaling gevaarlijk wordt van het spectaculaire slachtoffer van de Golfoorlog in 1991. Toen werden 600 Koeweitse oliebronnen door vluchtende Irakese troepen in brand gestoken en werd 150 miljoen liter olie opzettelijk vernietigd met een vliegtuig in een poging de grootste olievlaming in de geschiedenis.

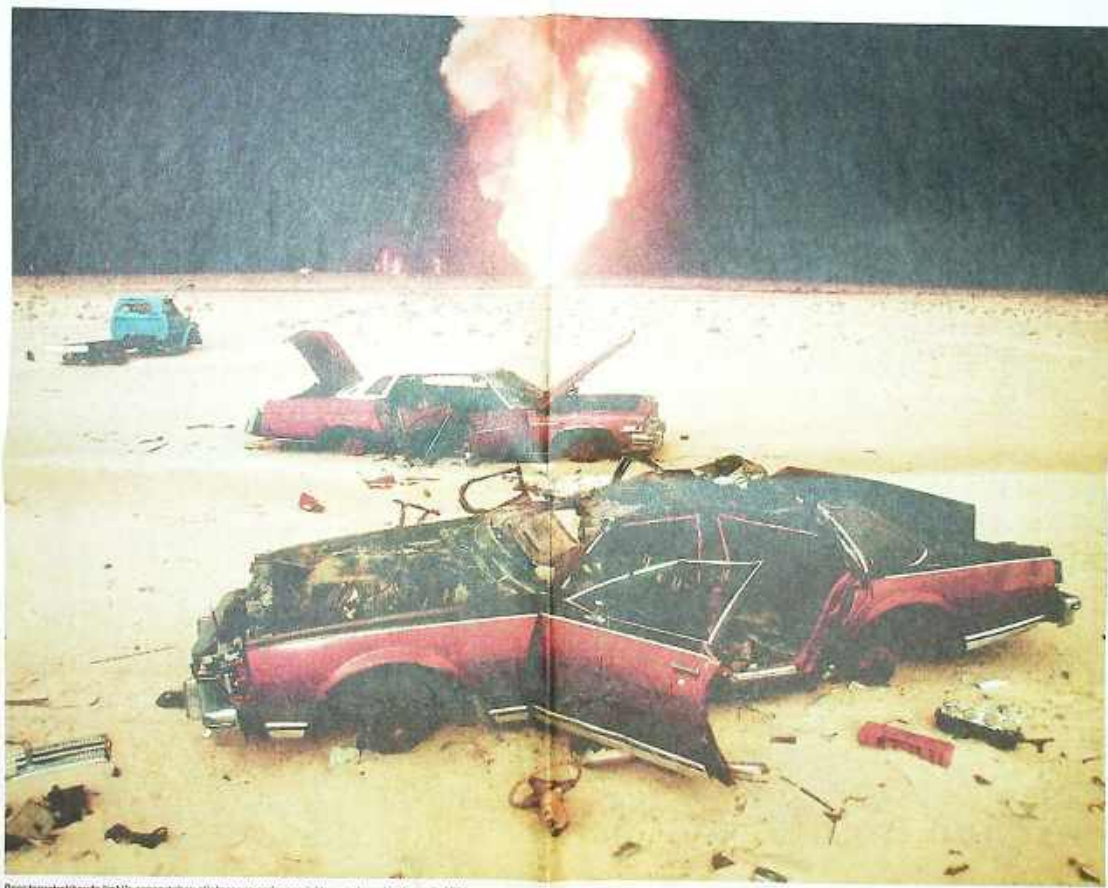
Volgens het Pentagon zijn nu ook in Irak oliebronnen ondermijnd en zou een broek in het zand van het land opzettelijk zijn opengedaan om een meer van olie op het land te vormen. Rond strategische locaties zijn honderden loopgraven aangelegd die met olie gevuld worden en kunnen worden aangestoken. Die tactiek werd ook in de oorlog van 1991 toegepast. Zwarte rookwolven maken het gebruik van la-tergestuurde bommen laag en veroorzaken desondanks enkele afwijkingen.

Het milieu speelt in de strategische planning van de huidige Irak-oorlog echter geen rol. Volgens het Amerikaanse blad *New Scientist* (15 maart) heeft tot dusver niemand de mogelijke milieueffecten van de oorlog in kaart gebracht. Van voornemensaanpak tegen watervervuiling lijkt geen sprake. Voor de kust van Basra, één van de twee grote olievelden in Irak, worden bijvoorbeeld geen oliebergingsvaartuigen in gereedheid gehouden.

De oliegevoeren in Irak komen van verschillende kanten. Chemische fabrieken in Irak zijn strategisch dicht bij de eerste runde bombardementen. De grootste chemische complexen zijn verspreid aan de rivieren Tigris en Eufrat. Het is waarschijnlijk dat deze rivieren, die gebruikt worden voor drinkwaterwinning, sterk vervuuld zullen raken door oorlogshandelingen.

De door Saddam veroorzaakte milieuschade in Irak wordt in 1991 wereldwijd verondersteld en is nauwkeurig in kaart gebracht. De gevolgen ervan zijn, cynisch gezegd, beter berekend dan het aantal menselijke slachtoffers dat in Irak te betreuren was.

In 1991 regende het acht maanden lang stof en zwavel uit donkere rookwolven boven Koeweit, zuid-Irak en Saudi Arabië. In theorie heeft dat enkele honderden (extra) doden veroor-



Door terugtrekkende Iraki's aangestoken oliebronnen onder een inkzwarte hemel in Koeweit, 1991.

FOTO: ETIC/REUTERS/ANSA/STC/ABC

zaakt onder mensen die toch al kwetsbaar waren door long- en ademhalingsproblemen.

In de Perzische Golf raakte het koraal beschadigd en overleden tienduizenden vogels en vissen aan olievervuiling. De commerciële garnalenvisserij viel voor een deel samen met de visserij op de kust van de Perzische Golf. De daling van de visserij op de kust van de Perzische Golf was vooral het gevolg van de olievlamingen.

De olievlamingen van Koeweit in 1991 hadden ook een impact op het milieu. De erosie van de woestijn in Koeweit werd door het leger sterk bevordert. De vuren roden de harde top van de zandvlakte stuk, waardoor zandstromen en -dunnen ontstonden. Die dunnen rukten inmiddels langzaam op richting Koeweit stad. Het meest spectaculaire scenario kwam echter niet uit. Zware rookwolken blokten het zonlicht weg en leidden uiteindelijk tot ijslagen op de noordelijke kust van de Perzische Golf. Maar ze veroorzaakten geen nucleaire winter, zoals de inmiddels overleden Amerikaanse wetenschapper Carl Sagan voorspelde.

Ook de schade in de Perzische Golf viel uiteindelijk mee. De zee was vulgus het Britse World Conservation Monitoring Centre bewees al ernstig

vervuild, en de hoge temperaturen zorgden voor een relatief snelle afbak van de olie. De opruimwerkzaamheden werden met veel geld en energie ter hand genomen. Ze kostten 700 miljoen dollar en werden uiteindelijk betaald door Koeweit, die de rekening vergoed op Irak probeerde te verhalen.

Historisch gezien was de schade van Koeweit's oliebronnen niet bijzonder. Zowel in de eerste als tweede

wereldoorlog zette Britse troepen olie velden in Koeweit in brand om te voorkomen dat de vijand er profijt van zou hebben. Ook Rusland en Duitsland probeerde de tactiek van de 'vervroorde aarde', een complete verovering van oase, landbouw en gebouwen om oprukkende troepen alle faciliteiten te ontnemen.

In de Koeweitse oorlog botsten de Verenigde Staten standpunten aan overstromingen in Noord-Korea te veroorzaken. Sinds Noord-Vietnam werd drie miljoen liter van het ontvlammingsmiddel agent orange uitgespreid, waarvan de ecologische gevolgen tot aan vandaag niet duidelijk zijn. Ook onontworpen Amerika tijdens de Vietnamoorlog technieken om regement uit wettelijk te forceren. Dat zou voor vijandelijke overstromingen moeten zorgen, maar de proeven laiden.

Tegenwoordig is het milieu voor het Amerikaanse leger nog steeds geen prioriteit, blijkt ondermeer uit de begroting voor 2004 van het Pentagon. Daar vraagt de legerleiding de regering om onschuldig bij naleving van de Clean Air Act tegen luchtverontreiniging, de Endangered Species Act voor de bescherming van bedreigde diersoorten en de Marine Mammal Protection Act waarin de bescherming van zeezoogdieren is geregeld.

De milieuwetten hinderen het leger in haar oelievelden, stelt het Pentagon. Zo lijkt het gebruik van nieuwste luchtmachtapparatuur duidelijk voor verbetering van de bescherming die ten ziele dood aangetroffen na het stelen van de nieuwe apparatuur. Volgens de Amerikaanse milieuregeling zijn tijdelijke juridische vrijstellingen nu al mogelijk. Ze worden echter zelden aangevraagd of verleend.

Een vergelijkbare situatie als in Koeweit deed zich voor in de Kosovo-oorlog in 1999, toen de NAVO chemische fabrieken, kolencentrales en olievlammings in Joegoslavië bombardeerde. Dat leidde tot forse gillingsen op de Drenica en tot ernstige lucht- en bodemvervuiling in de steden Pristina, Kosovjevo en Gnjatje.

Het was geen landelijke milieucatastrofe maar een 'probleem met lokale hot spots' waar onmiddellijk actie ondernomen moest worden, concludeerde een VN-missie die binnen enkele weken ter plaatse was. Niettemin beschuldigen de Servische autoriteiten de NAVO van 'ecocide', een moedwillige, grootschalige groenige vernietiging van het milieu.

Dergelijke aanslagen op het milieu zijn in het internationale oorlogsrecht verboden. Protocol I, een aanvulling op de Geneefse Conventie die in 1977 van kracht werd, verbiedt oorlogsmethoden die als doel hebben 'grootschalige, langdurige en ernstige schade' te veroorzaken aan de natuurlijke leefomgeving.

Het protocol werd ondertekend geschreven in reactie op het gebruik van onmenselijke chemische ontvlammingsmiddelen in Vietnam. Rechtskracht in de huidige Golfoorlog heeft de afspraak niet. De Verenigde Staten hebben het protocol niet ondertekend, evenmin als Irak.

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24-3-2003

Honderdduizenden Irakezen op de vlucht

BAGDAD — Tussen de 500.000 en 1.500.000 mensen hebben in Noord-Irak de steden verlaten om een veiliger bestaan te zoeken bij verwanten op het platteland. Het gaat om inwoners van onder meer Kirkuk, Erbil, Dehuk en Sulaymaniyah, aldus de BBC. Volgens een rijksoverheid van de Verenigde Naties heeft zeker 80 procent van de onthaemden geen identiteitskaart nodig.
ANP RTE

Tientallen doden en gewonden in Basra

Een oude man zit zwaar gewond en verslagen op de grond in Basra, de tweede stad van Irak waar het afgelopen weekend zware bombardementen plaatsvonden. In totaal werden hier 77 burgers gedood en raakten 316 anderen gewond. Dat zei de Iraakse minister van Informatica, Said al-Sahhaf, gisterochtend op een persconferentie. Basra zit sinds vrijdag bovendien zonder drinkwater en stroom. De toestand in de stad is zeer ernstig, aldus een woordvoerder van het Rode Kruis. De gewonden hebben niet de elektriciteit om de waterpompen uitgeschakeld. Er is nog een beperkte voorraad water, maar dat is niet drinkbaar. Het Rode Kruis onderhandelt met de oorlogvoerende partijen teneinde toestemming te krijgen waterpompen te repareren. (AFP)

MAANDAG 24 MAART 2003

• Wachten op Amerikanen in



BASRA - Bij bombardementen op Basra zouden 77 mensen zijn gedood. Het Rode Kruis heeft zijn zorgen uitgesproken over de situatie in de stad. (Foto AFP)



25-2-2023

op de winnaars hupken
17-12-2014 11:00 kwam

Door Frank van Zijl

More than 200,000 voters will be on the ballot in the November election, and the number of people who will be voting is expected to increase as the election day nears. The number of people who will be voting is expected to increase as the election day nears. The number of people who will be voting is expected to increase as the election day nears.

[illegible]

to the fact that the (un)certainties of the world in which we live are not only the result of our limited knowledge, but also of the fact that the world is not what we think it is. In this sense, the world is not what we think it is, and the world is not what we think it is.

den (verder) inzetten bij de wereldwijde klimaatconferentie in december 2009. Het is niet waarschijnlijk dat Nederland een rol zal spelen bij de wereldwijde klimaatconferentie in december 2009. Het is niet waarschijnlijk dat Nederland een rol zal spelen bij de wereldwijde klimaatconferentie in december 2009.

On the 15th anniversary of the 1968 election, the author writes, "I have often thought about the 1968 election, and how it shaped the course of American history. It was a pivotal moment in our nation's history, and it is one that we should all remember and reflect upon."

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

Layoffs, the equivalent of a

[illegible][illegible]

More than 400,000 immigrants have been taken to the 100,000-bed psychiatric hospital in Angermünde, east of Berlin, to be treated for mental disorders. In 1995, this

Van de Ven: Het is niet mogelijk om de werkdruk te verminderen. Het is niet mogelijk om de werkdruk te verminderen. Het is niet mogelijk om de werkdruk te verminderen.

the war in South Africa, the British government has been criticised for its failure to take more effective action against the apartheid regime. The British government has been criticised for its failure to take more effective action against the apartheid regime. The British government has been criticised for its failure to take more effective action against the apartheid regime.

[illegible][illegible]

all these things, on the contrary, "not only did I learn to make use of the human situation, but I made use of the human situation to make use of the human situation," says the author of *La casa de los espíritus*. "I learned to make use of the human situation to make use of the human situation."

Internationale des so genannten "deutschen organischen" Kreises, der immerhin auf ein hohes Niveau der wissenschaftlichen Meinungsbildung zu rechnen hat. Die 6000 Teilnehmer des 10. Nationalen Krebskongresses in Hamburg, der vom 1. bis zum 5. September stattfand, waren die besten Beispiele für die internationale Zusammenarbeit in der Krebsforschung.

[illegible]

Martin Bri

24-3-2003
Maarten Huyge



operaties werden journalisten ge-
weerd, want publiekrecht was scha-
delijk. Dat lag niet anders aan de
aanpak, maar aan het feit dat de

roepen. Het gebeurde werd in Vlaanderen en Nederland op de televisie uitgezonden en werd verspreid door de Vlaamse pers. Het verspreiden van deze berichten door de Vlaamse pers werd veroorzaakt door de negatieve publieke opinie. Integendeel, aan het begin van de Amerikaanse pers was het positieve beeld, die kan worden gezien als een voorbeeld van de Amerikaanse pers. Het verspreiden van deze berichten door de Vlaamse pers werd veroorzaakt door de negatieve publieke opinie. Integendeel, aan het begin van de Amerikaanse pers was het positieve beeld, die kan worden gezien als een voorbeeld van de Amerikaanse pers.

lijken bereid zijn om een deal te sluiten met de militairen met oogmerk dat wil niet suggereren dat ze hem te straffen als voor straf gegeven.

**Niemand weet
hoeveel doden
er zijn gevallen**

Het Pentagon zegt burger-
journalisten en wetten op de-
r

2003

This image shows a single, blank page from a notebook. The paper has a light cream or off-white color. Along the top edge, there are three circular binder holes: one on the left, one in the center, and one on the right. The rightmost hole is colored blue, while the others appear to be standard punch holes. The page itself is completely devoid of any writing, drawings, or markings.

den." „Eij was op het planteland heb-
ben mensan nu rochide satefoona.

...wij gaan toch ook niet Amelias herbarium om hem weg te krijgen!"



DE ARABISCHE STRAAT

Wilt, gaat naar zijn land, komst terug, bidt en gaat dan slapen. Hij kijkt nooit naar het nieuws en kan de krant niet lezen.

...wij gaan toch ook niet Amelias herbariërens om hem weg te krijgen!"

'Terughoudendheid met geweld op de tv'

26-3-2003
Hilversum De gezamenlijke omroepen hebben gisteren besloten terughoudender te zijn met het uitzenden van schokkende oorlogshandelingen. Om die reden worden oorlogsbeelden niet zonder meer in de uitzending vertoond.

(ANP)

Woede over bloedbad in Bagdad

27-3-2003
IRAK Honderden boze Irakezen hebben zich gisteren verzameld in de woonwijk in Bagdad waar eerder op de dag twee Amerikaanse kruisraketten insloegen. Veertien burgers zouden om het leven zijn gekomen. Secretaris-generaal Kofi Annan van de Verenigde Naties heeft zijn zorg geuit over het aantal burgerslachtoffers in de oorlog in Irak. Volgens de

Iraakse autoriteiten zijn er dertig gewonden. De raketten kwamen terecht in de wijk Al-Shaab in het noorden van de stad. In de dichtbevolkte omgeving bevinden zich veel winkels en restaurants.

De kruisraketten hebben een grote krater geslagen. Gebouwen zijn verwoest en volgens het hoofd van de plaatselijke burgermilisie zijn zeventien auto's uitge-

brand. Straten in de wijk stonden blank doordat de leidingen waren gebarsten. Lantaarnpalen zijn omgevallen en bomen ontworteld.

Het Amerikaanse leger zei het bericht over de inslag niet te kunnen bevestigen omdat het er geen eigen informatie over heeft.

Van dinsdag op woensdag bombardeerden de Amerikanen vooral gericht op Iraakse communicatie-

centra, waaronder satellietverbindingen. Van Al-Shabab, de zender van Saddams zoon Odai is tot nu toe niets meer vernomen.

Militairen van de coalitie, die Bagdad tot op tachtig kilometer zijn genaderd, kunnen zich nu gaan opmaken voor welhaast onvermijdelijk geworden aanval op de vijf miljoen inwoners tellende stad.

(AP)

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IRAQ DIARIES

Following the Bombs

Doug Johnson, *Iraq Peace Team*

27 March 2003

I'm overwhelmed and tired. For three days now I've concentrated on visiting injured civilians in hospitals and seeing bombed sites.

This morning I accompanied April to the Al Kindi Hospital where we interviewed an extended family of 25 that had been living in six houses together on one farm just outside of Baghdad. At 6:00 PM yesterday, B-52s dropped cluster bombs on their farm, destroying all six houses, killing four and severely injuring many others. Even the farm animals were killed. We were told that yellow cylinders landed in their yard, and when they and the animals crept closer to investigate, the bombs detonated.

The father of one of these families, Saeed Shalish, age 36 - a farmer -- lost two sons but he has not yet been told. Doctors tell me that he's in critical condition.

I also met Ali Jasem, age 8, whose farm house was destroyed by a missile and whose was killed from decapitation. Ali underwent surgery to remove shrapnel from his head.

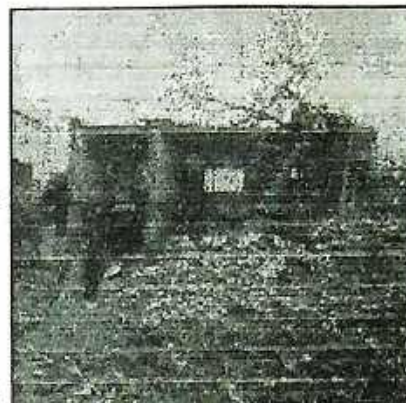
Later, April and I met Ishmel Shakir Kareem, age 60, a low-income day worker who is a passenger in a car that was knocked over while driving through the Shallal Market in Al Sha'ab District of Baghdad. The bombing occurred at 1:30 PM yesterday, and I have returned from the bombing site.

This is an impoverished area of houses and small shops far removed from any military targets. The bomb struck the median between the parkway, breaking nearly every window on the street, demolishing and burning a ramshackle auto repair shop, gutting a small diner and destroying the apartments above it.

Sitting next to the bomb's crater in the median are a number of car remains. Crunched, mangled, and scorched car frames give testimony to the bomb's indiscriminate destruction. At the hospital, April and I were told that 5 people died in that attack. On the street, however, people insist the deaths reach 15 or 16.

I also met Hasem Hamid Shakir, age 26, who was injured in another bombing in the district of Al Sha'ab. He sustained injuries to his left leg from quarter-size piece of shrapnel that penetrated his car as he was driving. He claimed to have witnessed a whole family to death inside their car, and claimed that a school had been damaged by bombs. I witnessed that site as well, and I can verify Hasem's story as true.

A bomb was apparently detonated above a residential home next to a school, tearing apart the house's top floor with shrapnel and



The sky took on colors I've never seen before years. Every Iraqi I've talked to says they've never seen anything like it.



Crunched, mangled, and scorched car frames testimony to the bomb's indiscriminate destruction.

letter to America (3 April 2003)

breaking most of the school's windows. I'm told that the US media is claiming that Iraq is bombing their own people to frame the US, but I don't buy it. Bombs are dropping on Baghdad as I write this, and I'm willing to wager they're not Iraqi bombs.

Let's get this straight: The US is waging war on Iraq and has been for the last 12 and a half years. US bombs are dropping everywhere. They have even broken windows in my hotel. These bombs are not that "smart."

Earlier today I also met a number of Syrians who claimed to have been bombed by Apache helicopters while riding in a caravan of three buses from Syria to Baghdad. The attack, occurred at the "160 K Station" next to a bridge. Allegedly a helicopter bombed the bridge, causing the vehicles to stop suddenly and collide with one another. As passengers scrambled to exit the vehicles, the buses were bombed.

As they waited to be rescued, their buses were bombed again. According to Abdul Malik Tutangi, age 45, 16 civilians were killed and 19 injured in the attack.

Yesterday I visited another home destroyed by a US bomb in a residential area. The home was a half-block from a school and about three blocks from the hospital. Because of the weather, visiting this site was like walking on another planet. After the intense sand storm the day before, white powder seemed to linger in the air and settle in places almost like snow.

Breathing became difficult. Visibility became null. My clothes were stained with white specks. Windshields became blurry and smeared. The sky took on colors I've never seen before in my 43 years.

Every Iraqi I've talked to says they've never seen anything like it. The sky was yellow on one horizon and orange on the other. Street lights radiated a fuzzy, phosphorescent green. I kept looking around, thinking "what is this? What's going on?"

April and I speculated that the US may be experimenting with a new weapon or messing with the atmosphere, and although this may sound outlandish, after enduring US bombing for a week and then seeing surreal colors in the sky, it's easy to imagine the two are connected.

Now that the sky is clear, bombing has intensified. Several large explosions have just shaken the building. It's funny, but you actually get used to it. The only effect it has Iraqis is that it pisses them off and they can't wait for the US soldiers to arrive on the in Baghdad so that they can put up the fight of their lives.



A boy stands in front of a restaurant destroyed that exploded nearby.



The sky took on colors I've never seen before years. Every Iraqi I've talked to says they've never seen anything like it.

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IRAQ DIARIES

Bus Attack

 April Hurley, M.D., *Iraq Peace Team*

27 March 2003

160 K is a familiar rest stop on the road from Syria to Baghdad. Near an intersection a fueling station and a small market for supplies and food. According to 5 passengers busloads of civilians were headed to Baghdad on 26 March 2003 and were approaching intersection at 5:30PM. Passengers noticed an Apache helicopter trailing them at a distance. Possibly intended to take out a bridge ahead, a missile exploded directly in front of the bus. The bus stopped immediately and some passengers jumped out to escape.

Those were the lucky ones. The bus was then hit directly and 16-17 passengers were injured. The second bus was rear-ended by the third and impacted the wreckage of the first. The injured waited several hours for buses called to transfer them to Baghdad. As they were leaving the scene on the rescue buses, passengers watched as more missiles demolished disabled buses left behind.

Five passengers were interviewed that evening at the Al Kindi Hospital in Baghdad. Their stories were similar though several didn't see the helicopter and thought that they were being bombed by. Mohammed Adnan Al Sa'di is a 28-year-old Syrian, a barber, married with two young children. He was in the first bus and suffered head trauma with loss of consciousness for nearly an hour. Above his torn right ear, he had a gaping head wound with wide bruising.

Zaid Aga Al Kala' was also in the first bus where he was observing the helicopter's progress. When the third missile struck, he lost consciousness for 24 hours. He has difficulty seeing with his left eye and may have permanent impairment. There was persisting conjunctival hemorrhage and suspected mild glaucoma as well. He sustained fractures and tendon lacerations of his right hand, a large laceration to the right side of his head.

Zaid, who is a 30 year old Syrian, supplies construction sites in Damascus. He asks, "I think Jesus would agree with what Bush is doing? Oil is not human; human is not oil! Animals are more kind than people!" He says that he "knows the American people are good but the rulers are against the good that the people stand for." He estimates that 35 percent of all civilians were on the struck bus. He saw Muslims, Christians, and Red Crescent workers around him.

Nor Adin Muhammed El-Mahbeubi, 34 years old, was in the second bus when the missile hit the first bus and he saw body parts thrown everywhere. He suffered cuts and bruises on his right lower leg only but he was clearly emotionally shaken. He asks, "Are Americans responsible for defending democracy around the world; what happened to change that?"

Abdul Malik Hassan Totanchy, a 45 year old government retiree from Halab, Syria with three children, sustained impact and dislocation of his left shoulder and blunt trauma to the side of his chest when the missile hit his bus. Hussam Mohammed Al-Nuhaby is a 24-year-old day worker from Damascus, Syria who was thrown against the seat in front of his in the second bus. He injured his left shoulder and chest as well.

These men were shooting questions at me about why Americans are allowing this war. It is the reason so much force is being used against an impoverished, virtually defenseless population. The Iraq people have endured catastrophic sanctions and a devastated economy for twelve years. Adult rates of cancer and premature cancers in children have escalated along with terrible birth defects from our radioactive weapon waste from the last war. The men support the Iraq resistance to the invasion; they cannot understand why the United Nations has deserted Iraq.

I appreciate their questions and ask the same and more of you: Why is a Coalition Apache helicopter trailing and attacking civilians traveling on a bus, clearly identifiable as civilians? Why did the helicopter not stop and rescue the injured after it hit?

[letter to America](#) (3 April 2003)

assault, if it was a mistake? Why were the buses incinerated after the passengers we transferred? What has become of our fighting men and women? Do they not know that targeting civilians are war crimes? "Following orders" does not excuse war crimes. What are their orders? What do they know?

Today, we learned that an Australian fighter pilot refused to bomb a civilian target in Iraq. Are our soldiers so informed and heroic?

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'It was an outrage, an obscenity'

By Robert Fisk in Baghdad - 27 March 2003

<http://argument.independent.co.uk/commentators/story.jsp?story=391165>

It was an outrage, an obscenity. The severed hand on the metal door, the swamp of blood and mud across the road, the human brains inside a garage, the incinerated, skeletal remains of an Iraqi mother and her three small children in their still-smouldering car.

Two missiles from an American jet killed them all – by my estimate, more than 20 Iraqi civilians, torn to pieces before they could be 'liberated' by the nation that destroyed their lives. Who dares, I ask myself, to call this 'collateral damage'? Abu Taleb Street was packed with pedestrians and motorists when the American pilot approached through the dense sandstorm that covered northern Baghdad in a cloak of red and yellow dust and rain yesterday morning.

It's a dirt-poor neighbourhood, of mostly Shia Muslims, the same people whom Messrs Bush and Blair still fondly hope will rise up against President Saddam Hussein, a place of oil-sodden car-repair shops, overcrowded apartments and cheap cafés. Everyone I spoke to heard the plane. One man, so shocked by the headless corpses he had just seen, could say only two words. "Roar, flash," he kept saying and then closed his eyes so tight that the muscles rippled between them.

How should one record so terrible an event? Perhaps a medical report would be more appropriate. But the final death toll is expected to be near to 30 and Iraqis are now witnessing these awful things each day; so there is no reason why the truth, all the truth, of what they see should not be told.

For another question occurred to me as I walked through this place of massacre yesterday. If this is what we are seeing in Baghdad, what is happening in Basra and Nasiriyah and Kerbala? How many civilians are dying there too, anonymously, indeed unrecorded, because there are no reporters to be witness to their suffering?

Abu Hassan and Malek Hammoud were preparing lunch for customers at the Nasser restaurant on the north side of Abu Taleb Street. The missile that killed them landed next to the westbound carriageway, its blast tearing away the front of the café and cutting the two men – the first 48, the second only 18 – to pieces. A fellow worker led me through the rubble. "This is all that is left of them now," he said, holding out before me an oven pan dripping with blood.

At least 15 cars burst into flames, burning many of their occupants to death. Several men tore desperately at the doors of another flame-shrouded car in the centre of the street that had been flipped upside down by the same missile. They were forced to watch helplessly as the woman and her three children inside were cremated alive in front of them. The second missile hit neatly on the eastbound carriageway, sending shards of metal into three men standing outside a concrete apartment block with the words, "This is God's possession" written in marble on the outside wall.

The building's manager, Hishem Danoon, ran to the doorway as soon as he heard the massive explosion. "I found Ta'ar in pieces over there," he told me. His head was blown off. "That's his hand." A group of young men and a woman took me into the street and there, a scene from any horror film, was Ta'ar's hand, cut off at the wrist, his four fingers and thumb

<http://www.robert-fisk.com/articles196.htm>

grasping a piece of iron roofing. His young colleague, Sermed, died the same instant. His brains lay piled a few feet away, a pale red and grey mess behind a burnt car. Both men worked for Danoon. So did a doorman who was also killed.

As each survivor talked, the dead regained their identities. There was the electrical shop-owner killed behind his counter by the same missile that cut down Ta'ar and Sermed and the doorman, and the young girl standing on the central reservation, trying to cross the road, and the truck driver who was only feet from the point of impact and the beggar who regularly called to see Mr Danoon for bread and who was just leaving when the missiles came screaming through the sandstorm to destroy him.

In Qatar, the Anglo-American forces – let's forget this nonsense about "coalition" – announced an inquiry. The Iraqi government, who are the only ones to benefit from the propaganda value of such a bloodbath, naturally denounced the slaughter, which they initially put at 14 dead. So what was the real target? Some Iraqis said there was a military encampment less than a mile from the street, though I couldn't find it. Others talked about a local fire brigade headquarters, but the fire brigade can hardly be described as a military target.

Certainly, there had been an attack less than an hour earlier on a military camp further north. I was driving past the base when two rockets exploded and I saw Iraqi soldiers running for their lives out of the gates and along the side of the highway. Then I heard two more explosions; these were the missiles that hit Abu Taleb Street.

Of course, the pilot who killed the innocent yesterday could not see his victims. Pilots fire through computer-aligned co-ordinates, and the sandstorm would have hidden the street from his vision. But when one of Malek Hammoud's friends asked me how the Americans could so blithely kill those they claimed to want to liberate, he didn't want to learn about the science of avionics or weapons delivery systems.

And why should he? For this is happening almost every day in Baghdad. Three days ago, an entire family of nine was wiped out in their home near the centre of the city. A busload of civilian passengers were reportedly killed on a road south of Baghdad two days ago. Only yesterday were Iraqis learning the identity of five civilian passengers slaughtered on a Syrian bus that was attacked by American aircraft close to the Iraqi border at the weekend.

The truth is that nowhere is safe in Baghdad, and as the Americans and British close their siege in the next few days or hours, that simple message will become ever more real and ever more bloody.

We may put on the hairshirt of morality in explaining why these people should die. They died because of 11 September, we may say, because of President Saddam's "weapons of mass destruction", because of human rights abuses, because of our desperate desire to "liberate" them all. Let us not confuse the issue with oil. Either way, I'll bet we are told President Saddam is ultimately responsible for their deaths. We shan't mention the pilot, of course.

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'It was an outrage, an obscenity' - Robert Fisk: 27th March, 2003

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Interview met Ghazwan Al Muktar, Bagdad, 27 maart 2003
'Verenigde Staten /Verenigd Koninkrijk betekent voor mij:
Verenigd om ons allemaal te doden.'

De stem van een gewone Irakees

Ghazwan Al Muktar in Baghdad
geïnterviewd door Amy Goodman en Jeremy Scahill
27 maart 2003

NB: dit interview werd afgenomen enkele minuten nadat het bericht kwam dat de VS/ hetVK een bombardement hadden uitgevoerd tegen de Iraakse televisie en op een markt in een woonwijk van Bagdad. Amy Goodman en Jeremy Scahill van de zender Democracy Now! spraken met Ghazwan Al Muktar, een gepensioneerd ingenieur, bij hem thuis in Bagdad.

DIT IS EEN ONGECORRIGEERDE TEKST

Jeremy Scahill, correspondent van Democracy Now!: bij ons aan de telefoon hebben we Ghazwan Al Mukhtar, een gepensioneerd ingenieur. Hij is een gewone inwoner van Bagdad, mensen zoals hem hoor je bijna nooit op de Amerikaanse zenders. Ghazwan, we hebben net gehoord dat er in Bagdad een markt gebombardeerd is. Veertig mensen gedood, of meer - we horen het nu net - en dat de Iraakse TV ook geraakt is. Wat horen jullie op dit ogenblik in Bagdad, Ghazwan Al Muktar?

Ghazwan Al Muktar: Jeremy, sinds vanochtend, sinds de afgelopen nacht eigenlijk, worden we constant gebombardeerd. We leven vannacht onder de dreiging van het zwaarste bombardement sinds het begin van de oorlog. Ze hebben het Tv-station aangevallen en het Iraqi Satellite Channel waarbij ze groot aantal journalisten en technici van de televisie hebben gedood. Ze dreigen ermee de hele groep te bombarderen - of aan te vallen - alle correspondenten van satellietzenders of de internationale correspondenten in het Ministerie van Informatie. Dit is in het Perscentrum. En iedereen, elke journalist is in paniek want dit is een misdaad tegen de journalistiek. Dit is een onaanvaardbare schending van de journalisten die recht hebben op onaantastbaarheid, die je niet mag aanvallen of bombarderen. Blijkbaar wil de VS doorgaan met bombarderen tot er geen nieuws meer uit Bagdad kan komen dat laat zien hoe zwaar wij hier gebombardeerd worden.

Amy Goodman, presentatrice bij Democracy Now!:
beschrijf eens wat er gebeurd is met het gebouw van de
televisie.

Ghazwan Al Muktar: de antenne, het gebouw van de
satellietzender werd totaal vernield. Honderden mensen
waren daar aan het werk, technici, reporters, mensen
die voor de zender werken en die liggen nu in het
ziekenhuis, velen van hen zijn gedood. De zender van
Bagdad TV en de 'Jongerentelevsie' [gerund door
Uday Hoessein, de zoon van de president] zijn ook
gebombardeerd. Sinds vanochtend zijn er geen
uitzendingen meer geweest in Irak. We weten dus niet
echt wat er gebeurt. Ik praatte net vanmiddag met een
buitenlandse journalist en hij is geschokt, hij weet niet
wat hij moet doen, hij zal weer... het Ministerie van
Informatie en het Perscentrum waar alle journalisten
naartoe gaan... ze denken dat ze vannacht weer een
doelwit zullen zijn-

Jeremy Scahill: Ghazwan-

Ghazwan Al Muktar: als ze daar een doelwit van
maken zouden vele, vele journalisten Irak verlaten en
er zou niemand meer zijn om verslag uit te brengen van
hoe erg die bombardementen nu in Irak zijn.

Jeremy Scahill: Ghazwan kun je je huis uit om de stad
in te gaan. Ik weet nog dat we de eerste dagen van deze
bombardementen, dat we met je spraken, en je kon nog
naar buiten gaan en rondkijken wat er allemaal aan de
hand was in de stad. Kan dat nu nog?

Ghazwan Al Muktar: Jeremy, ik ben net een half uur
terug. Ik heb in Bagdad rondgelopen. Ik ben naar
Mansour geweest, naar Adhamiya, naar Karrada. Er
waren maar weinig mensen op straat want gisteren
hebben de VS weer gezegd dat ieder voertuig een
doelwit is, een doelwit dat ze mogen aanvallen... en dat
was afkomstig van het Centcom in Bahrein, tijdens hun
briefing. Dus nu is het al zover dat burgers die op straat
rijden een doelwit zijn volgens het Central Command
en dat is totaal onaanvaardbaar - het is een echte - het
legt de druk op de burgers, die moeten toch
boodschappen doen, naar het ziekenhuis kunnen of
gewoon kunnen rondlopen om te zien wat er allemaal
gebeurt of naar familie toe die gekwetst zijn of... je
weet wel, gewoon kunnen verder leven.

Amy Goodman: Ghazwan Al Muktar, waarom ga je niet gewoon weg?

Ghazwan Al Muktar: waar naartoe?

Amy Goodman: weg uit Bagdad.

Ghazwan Al Muktar: elke stad wordt gebombardeerd. Elke stad wordt gebombardeerd. Het is niet alleen maar Bagdad dat gebombardeerd wordt. Baccuba bombarderen ze, Mosul bombarderen ze, Tikrit bombarderen ze, Hilla bombarderen ze. God, het hele land wordt gebombardeerd. Jullie horen dat het alleen maar Bagdad is en Basra. Nee, het is ook Mosul and Basra, Kirkuk, Kirkuk, Tikrit, Samawa, Nasriya, overal. Ramadi hebben ze gebombardeerd, in het westen. Waar kan je naartoe? Je verlaat je huis, waarheen? Ga je ergens anders waar ze je ook bestoken? Je laat je huis achter, wat ga je meenemen? Neem je de bedden mee of petroleum of neem je eten mee of neem je - je hebt een vrachtwagen nodig om al je spullen mee te pakken want je moet een maand wegblijven, of nog langer.

Jeremy Scahill: Ghazwan-

Ghazwan Al Muktar: ik heb mijn familie de stad uit gebracht ja. En gisteren had ik ze aan de telefoon en ze vertelden me dat het westen van het land gebombardeerd wordt.

Jeremy Scahill: even tussendoor voor de luisteraars, we praten nu met Ghazwan Al Muktar. Dat is een gewone Irakees die in Bagdad woont, een gepensioneerd ingenieur. Ghazwan, we krijgen berichten te horen dat het leger van de VS nu Bagdad erg dicht genaderd is. Welke voorbereidselen treffen de mensen voor wat Robert Fisk, de journalist, de mogelijke belegering van Bagdad noemt als de VS troepen Bagdad binnen proberen te komen?

Ghazwan Al Muktar: kijk Jeremy, het voornaamste wat we weten is dat de oorlog lang gaat duren. Het is geen 'cakewalk' zoals ze zich hadden voorgesteld. We hebben al - voordat de oorlog begon - we hadden dat voorzien - we hebben voedsel opgeslagen, en water, drinkwater, we hebben putten geboord en we hebben generatoren gekocht en we hadden genoeg petroleum en we hadden een benzinevoorraad, omdat we weten dat je dat allemaal nodig hebt in een lange oorlog die ze

- die ze tegen ons gingen voeren en de feiten bewijzen het nu. Tot nu toe hebben ze Basra nog niet. Ze beschieten Basra en Basra zit al vier nachten zonder water, vier dagen en geen elektriciteit en geen water. De Rode Halve Maan zegt dat en het Rode Kruis. Zelfs Kofi Annan heeft gezegd dat de humanitaire situatie in Basra gevaarlijk is.

Amy Goodman: Ghazwan Al Muktar-

Ghazwan Al Muktar: ze zijn begonnen met ons te bombarderen in Bagdad, we worden weer gebombardeerd straks en het zal een lang bombardement zijn.

Amy Goodman: We praten met Ghazwan Al Muktar en ik wil nog eens zeggen hoe zeldzaam het is om in de VS een gewone Iraakees over de telefoon te horen en zijn verhaal in het hele land uit te zenden en hoe moeilijk het is op dit moment om Bagdad te bereiken. En nog iets, we krijgen in dit land bijna geen beelden te zien van Iraakse slachtoffers. Voor de kijkers naar ons televisiestation tonen we nu vreselijke beelden van slachtoffers. Mensen die nog leven en mensen die het niet hebben overleefd nadat ze vreselijke verwondingen hadden opgelopen. Dit wordt getoond door andere stations, bijvoorbeeld Al Jazeera, maar niet in dit land. Het Pentagon heeft in het verleden erg duidelijk gemaakt dat de Amerikanen erg kunnen meeleven en als ze deze beelden zouden zien, zouden ze willen dat het afgelopen is. Ghazwan al Muktar, wat zie je nu op tv? Zie je Iraakse slachtoffers, zie je Amerikaanse slachtoffers?

Ghazwan Al Muktar: Kijk, ik heb twee neven die dokter zijn. Jonge dokters in het ziekenhuis en ik was vandaag net bij hen. Een van hen werd overgeplaatst van het ene ziekenhuis naar het andere om bij te springen bij de verzorging van de gewonden die gevallen zijn in het Iraki Satellite Channel en hij heeft me verteld dat het ziekenhuis vol lag.

Jeremy Scahill: Ghazwan...

Ghazwan Al Muktar: Ik heb alleen maar gepraat met hem, ik heb vanmiddag samen met hem gegeten.

Jeremy Scahill: Ghazwan, wat ga je doen als de Amerikaanse soldaten Bagdad proberen binnen te komen? Jij als man, wat ben je van plan?

Ghazwan Al Muktar: Wat ik van plan ben? Ik pak mijn geweer en ik ga schieten. Ik ga schieten op iedereen die binnendringt. Ik ben een oude man van zestig, maar ik ga niemand toelaten, ik laat geen enkele buitenlander mij de wet voorschrijven of mijn land regeren. Ik woon al mijn hele leven in mijn land, ik probeer iets op te bouwen. Ik probeer iets te doen om het Iraakse volk beter te laten leven. Irak is een rijk land, Irak is door de sancties teruggebracht tot een derderangsland. Denk maar aan 1961, 42 jaar geleden. Toen stuurde de Iraakse regering mij en dat was geen regering van de Ba'ath partij, naar de VS gestuurd om te studeren. Ik zat op de middelbare school. Zij hebben mij gestuurd. Irak heeft veel geld in ons onderwijs geïnvesteerd en veel tijd. De opeenvolgende regeringen, alle regeringen van Irak, en wij proberen ons land op te bouwen en jullie hebben het naar de bliksem geholpen. De Amerikaanse regering maakt alles kapot, ze hebben het kapotgemaakt in 1991 en wij hebben het weer opgebouwd. En nu vernielen ze alles wat wij hebben heropgebouwd.

Amy Goodman: De regering van de VS zegt...

Ghazwan Al Muktar: ... zonder enige reden.

Amy Goodman: De regering van de VS zegt dat het de schuld is van Saddam Hoessein.

Ghazwan Al Muktar: Wat?

Amy Goodman: De regering van de VS zegt dat het Saddam Hoessein is die het land verwoest.

Ghazwan Al Muktar: Ze mogen denken wat ze willen, maar ik denk dat Saddam Hoessein, dat was in 1984, president was toen Donald Rumsfeld op bezoek kwam en hem de hand schudde en zei: Het is een fijne kerel, we kunnen samenwerken met hem. Saddam Hoessein is dezelfde Saddam Hoessein aan wie jullie handelskredieten gegeven hebben. Dus wat is er veranderd? De kijk die Donald Rumsfeld op Saddam heeft. Saddam Hoessein is nog steeds dezelfde Hoessein die ik gekend heb in '79 toen hij de macht overnam. Dus wat verandert er, de ideeën van Donald Rumsfeld, die veranderen. Saddam Hoessein is nog steeds dezelfde man die zaken deed met Ronald Reagan en de presidenten voor hem. Nu is het Bush, hij moet niks hebben van Saddam en hij had - zij maken

het land kapot. Bush mag zeggen wat hij wil. Dat betekent nog niet dat het waar is.

Jeremy Scahill: Dit is de stem van Ghazwan Al Muktar, iets wat ik nog niet heb meegemaakt op geen enkele zender. Een gewone Irakees die live het woord richt tot de Amerikanen via radio en tv. Ghazwan, we willen je hartelijk bedanken voor dit gesprek. Wil je nog iets zeggen tegen de luisteraars overal in de VS op dit moment?

Ghazwan Al Muktar: Jeremy, elke keer als ik die letters zie, UKUSA, dan denk ik dat is: United to Kill Us All. Zo voel ik dat. De twee landen zijn verenigd om ons allemaal dood te maken, of we nu de regering steunen of niet.

Jeremy Scahill: Ghazwan...

Ghazwan Al Muktar: Uiteindelijk, Jeremy, is het de blinde die de blinde leidt. Jullie zijn blind, ik bedoel jullie regering is blind, en ze wordt geleid door andere blinden van de oppositie die zeggen dat we de Amerikaanse soldaten zullen verwelkomen. En je hebt gezien wat er gebeurd is in Um Qasr, Al Fao en Basra en Nassiriya. Dat zijn de woonplaatsen van de sjieten, waarvan jullie dachten dat ze zin hadden in een opstand tegen de regering. Maar dat was niet zo. Dus het wordt tijd dat jullie je ogen opendoen en zien wat er echt gebeurt en de boodschap begrijpen en de retoriek vergeten.

Amy Goodman: Ghazwan Al Muktar, bedankt dat u bij ons was en het ga u goed.

Ghazwan Am Muktar: Dank u zeer.

Democracy Now is een onderzoeksprogramma op de radio en een belangrijk tegengif voor de leugens en misleiding van de staatsmedia. Het programma wordt gepresenteerd door Amy Goodman en Jeremy Scahill. Als je wilt weten hoe je kunt luisteren naar Democracy Now! of dit programma on line kunt volgen, ga dan naar: www.democracynow.org

Dr. Colette Moulaert aan de telefoon, 28 maart, 22.15 u: "Stop de militaire transporten!"

Bert De Belder



Als ik de afschuwelijke beelden zie van de Amerikaanse terroristische aanval op een volkswijk in Bagdad (50 doden), telefoneer ik onmiddellijk naar Dr. Colette Moulaert in het Hotel Palestina. Ze zegt dat haar collega, Dr. Geert Van Moorter, juist vertrokken is met journalisten om de gewonden in de hospitalen te gaan bezoeken. "Weet je", zegt Colette, "het is keihard te weten dat die bommen misschien door de haven van Antwerpen zijn gepasseerd. Jullie moeten echt actievoeren, en snel, om de militaire transporten van de VS te verhinderen. Jullie moeten die treinen blokkeren, met juridische middelen als het kan, met

andere methoden als het moet. Maar dan wel vlug! Op een kaart op Al-Jazeera zag ik dat de B52's blijkbaar over België vliegen. Is dat mogelijk? Verdomme toch! Ik weet wel dat jullie hard werken in de anti-oorlogscampagne, maar er moet absoluut méér gebeuren." Colette klinkt wanhopig. "Hier sterven mensen!"



Ik geef Colette de vraag door van een erg ongeruste mama, Liliane Calinescu Alani, die in België woont maar een zoon heeft in Bagdad. Ze heeft al twee dagen geen nieuws meer van hem, en vraagt ons om aan Colette te vragen hem te proberen te bellen. Colette zegt dat de telefoon in Bagdad niet meer werkt. "Van hieruit kan men alleen nog maar naar de VS en Groot-Brittannië bellen. Klaarblijkelijk zijn zij het die de telefoon op die manier hebben afgesneden!"

De internationalisten in Bagdad betogen ook tegen de oorlog. Colette: "Vandaag hebben we samen met de 'human shields' betoogd, op het dak van waar de journalisten hun plaatjes schieten. We riepen naar de permensen: 'Hou nu eens op met liegen!' En we droegen affiches met 'Bush, go home!' Dat deed deugd!" En voor we ons gesprek stopzetten, herhaalt Colette nog maar eens dat we absoluut die militaire transporten moeten blokkeren...



Altijd bijna raak

29-3-2005

Dankzij een goedkope hulpmiddel van Boeing kunnen donkere bomen binnen een straal van drieën meter nauwkeurig op een doel worden geworpen. Maar dat is statistiek. De heft van de inmiddels veelgebruikte JDAM-bommen valt verder.

Door Michael Persson

Zelfs als je een bom wilt gooien op een doel, heb je nog een probleem. Het is niet altijd makkelijk om te weten waar een doel precies is. En dat is vooral het geval als je een bom wilt gooien op een doel dat zich in een donkere omgeving bevindt. Dit is waar de JDAM-bommen van Boeing aan toe komen. Deze bommen zijn ontworpen om in donkere omgevingen te worden gebruikt. Ze zijn uitgerust met een GPS-systeem dat hen in staat stelt om een doel te vinden en te raken. Dit is een grote verbetering ten opzichte van de oude bommen, die vaak op een schatting van de locatie van het doel waren gebaseerd.

De JDAM-bommen zijn ontworpen om in donkere omgevingen te worden gebruikt. Ze zijn uitgerust met een GPS-systeem dat hen in staat stelt om een doel te vinden en te raken. Dit is een grote verbetering ten opzichte van de oude bommen, die vaak op een schatting van de locatie van het doel waren gebaseerd. De JDAM-bommen zijn ontworpen om in donkere omgevingen te worden gebruikt. Ze zijn uitgerust met een GPS-systeem dat hen in staat stelt om een doel te vinden en te raken. Dit is een grote verbetering ten opzichte van de oude bommen, die vaak op een schatting van de locatie van het doel waren gebaseerd.



Een derde deel van de bommen raakt het doel, en een klein deel van de bommen raakt het doel niet. Dit is een statistiek. De heft van de inmiddels veelgebruikte JDAM-bommen valt verder. De JDAM-bommen zijn ontworpen om in donkere omgevingen te worden gebruikt. Ze zijn uitgerust met een GPS-systeem dat hen in staat stelt om een doel te vinden en te raken. Dit is een grote verbetering ten opzichte van de oude bommen, die vaak op een schatting van de locatie van het doel waren gebaseerd.

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Open kritiek

28-3-2003

Sélim Nassib

Al-Jazira zendt de beelden uit van twee gedode Britse soldaten en twee gevangenen: „Deze zender heeft niet alleen inbreuk gemaakt op de Geneefse Conventies, maar ook de grenzen van het fatsoen overschreden. Ik weet dat Al-Jazira graag trots zou zijn op zijn berichtgeving over de gebeurtenissen. Wij willen de vrijheid van de media helemaal niet inperken. Maar wij rekenen op het verantwoordelijkheidsgevoel van de media, opdat zij niet, zonder het te merken, werktuigen van het Iraakse regime worden.”

Deze kritiek van de woordvoerder van de Britse strijdkrachten, ten overstaan van een groep buitenlandse journalisten, wordt door de nieuwszender uit Qatar integraal uitgezonden. Maar de zender reageert niet op de verwijten, en blijft de gelaakte beelden uitzenden.

Al-Jazira bereikt zo'n vijftig miljoen televisiekijkers. De zender is in het spel een belangrijk, beweeglijk schaakstuk geworden, vooral omdat hij in Qatar zit, niet ver van het militaire hoofdkwartier van de Amerikanen en de Britten. De beelden van Iraakse slachtoffers en westerse krijgsgevangenen die Al-Jazira uitzendt, hebben een verwoestend effect op het Arabische publiek. In deze omstandigheden is het voor de Amerikanen en Britten niet eenvoudig om dat publiek ervan te overtuigen dat hun oorlog een bevrijdingsoorlog is.

Desalniettemin klinken telkens ook weer kritische stemmen. Zo toont Al-Jazira een reportage over een militair opleidingskamp van de Iraakse oppositie in Hongarije; de mensen praten voorzichtig, met de rug naar de camera. In Erbil, in het noorden van Irak, verklaart een vertegenwoordiger van de Koer-

den dat veel stadsbewoners naar het platteland gevlucht zijn, „uit angst voor chemische wapens”. Hij voegt eraan toe dat de Koerden bang zijn om onder de knoet van Turkije of van een Iraaks regime na Saddam te komen – en dat zij een beperkte interventie van het Turkse leger in hun regio alleen zouden toestaan onder toezicht van de Amerikanen en de Koerden zelf.

Een Iraakse commentator – geen medewerker van de zender – zegt vanuit Bagdad dat de Koerden en de Irakezen „twee broedervolken” zijn, en dat Saddams regime Koerdistan in het verleden een ruime mate van autonomie heeft toege-



DE OORLOG OP TV

staan. De Koerd wijst die opmerking van de hand. Hij herinnert aan de repressie waaronder de Koerden steeds te lijden hebben gehad. „De diverse Koerdische partijen behoren tot de Iraakse oppositie”, voegt hij eraan toe. En zij strijden allemaal voor een democratisch, pluralistisch en federaal Irak.

Tegenover de Arabische publieke opinie die *en masse* tegen de invasie is, zijn de Koerden de eersten die openlijke kritiek op de dictatuur laten horen – maar zij zijn geen Arabieren.

Sélim Nassib is schrijver en journalist.

Dr. Geert Van Moorter telefonisch vanuit Bagdad, 29 maart, 6.30 u

Noodkreet van Dr. Geert Van Moorter

"Het is afschuwelijk hoe die smeerlappen burgers bombarderen!"

Bert De Belder, op basis van een live-interview met Geert op radio Veritas, de Filippijnen, en een telefoongesprek van Geert met zijn zus Marijke.



Vannacht trok Dr. Geert Van Moorter naar een klein ziekenhuis aan de rand van Bagdad, twee uur nadat de plaatselijke al-Nasser markt geraakt was door een kruisraket. De markt ligt in de Shula-wijk, een van de armste wijken van de stad.

Aan de telefoon met zijn zus Marijke is het eerste wat Geert zegt: "Het is afschuwelijk, het is gruwelijk wat er nu allemaal gebeurt. De ziekenhuizen zitten overvol, levenden en doden worden binnengebracht, dokters moeten over lijken stappen om de eventuele overlevenden er tussenuit te halen... Ze bombarderen nu dag en nacht, de smeerlappen, en doelbewust op

burgers. Ze mikken op markten, zelfs een markt waar arme mensen langsgaan om een paar ajuinen te kopen. Ze bombarderen niet één keer maar verschillende keren op dezelfde plaats. 't Is een echte schande... Er is vast en zeker geen militair doelwit in de wijde omgeving. Er staan geneens grote gebouwen in de wijk, alleen burgerwoningen."



Dan beschrijft Geert de situatie in het hospitaal: "Het ziekenhuis bood een aanblik als was het de hel. Complete chaos. Overal bloed. Patiënten aan het roepen en schreeuwen. Dokters die al het mogelijke deden om hun patiënten te redden. Een arts probeerde een kind van twee jaar te reanimeren dat nog naar adem hapte, maar tevergeefs... Het gezondheidspersoneel liep wenend rond. Een verpleegster zag een eigen familielid onder de slachtoffers... Dat kleine ziekenhuis telde vannacht 55 doden, waaronder 15 kinderen."

"Stel je eens voor", zei Geert tegen zijn zus, "jij die ook moeder bent: een moeder zit in het ziekenhuis, haar huis werd getroffen, één van haar kinderen is dood en de twee andere liggen hier, zwaar gewond. Ze kijkt wezenloos voor zich uit... Ik heb foto's gemaakt, maar ze zijn té gruwelijk, ik kan die niet doorsturen..." (wordt emotioneel) "Het is verschrikkelijk... Die oorlog moet stoppen!"



"Wat hiert gebeurt, toont eens te meer dat alle beweringen over een 'chirurgische oorlog' grove leugens zijn", vervolgt Geert. "Het is een vuile oorlog waarin de burgerbevolking sterft. De meeste slachtoffers zijn vrouwen en kinderen. Dit is een misdaad tegen de menselijkheid. Hopelijk zullen Bush en Blair het ooit voor een rechtbank moeten komen uitleggen."

De geest van verzet wordt er niet minder om bij de Iraki's. "De mensen die we in het hospitaal zagen, waren woedend", meldt Geert. "'Lafaards', riepen ze, 'ze vechten niet met onze troepen, maar mikken in de plaats op burgers!' De mensen zijn nu heel

bedroefd, maar ook heel strijdbaar. Ze zijn woest op de Verenigde Staten en Groot-Brittannië, en zullen zich niet zo gauw overgeven."

Geert wijst nog eens op de rol van België. "Jullie moeten alles doen om die wapentransporten te stoppen", vraagt hij. "Leg je voor de treinen, keten je eraan vast. Als ik bedenk dat de bommen die wij op onze kop krijgen, mogelijk door het Belgische luchtruim zijn gepasseerd ..."

Burgers Bagdad geraakt Bommen op markt, weer veel doden

28-4-2003
BAGDAD/WASHINGTON, 29 MAART. Bij bombardementen op de Iraakse hoofdstad Bagdad zijn gisteravond zeker 50 doden en tientallen gewonden gevallen. De bommen kwamen op een drukke markt in een woonwijk in de stad.

Volgens de Arabische televisiezender Al-Jazeera en Al-Arabiya zijn er zeker 50 doden getroffen door de bommen. Tientallen doden spreken op basis van gesprekken met mensen die op een 'live' verslag van de gebeurtenissen in Bagdad. Hierbij worden de namen van de doden niet genoemd. Volgens de Iraakse minister van Defensie zijn doden te maken met de bommen die zijn gevallen op de markt. De Iraakse minister van Defensie heeft gezegd dat de bommen zijn gevallen op een drukke markt in een woonwijk in de stad. Volgens de Iraakse minister van Defensie zijn doden te maken met de bommen die zijn gevallen op de markt. De Iraakse minister van Defensie heeft gezegd dat de bommen zijn gevallen op een drukke markt in een woonwijk in de stad.

Weer bom op markt in Bagdad

24-3-2003
BAGDAD. Een tweede explosie heeft plaatsgevonden op een drukke markt in Bagdad. Volgens de Iraakse minister van Defensie zijn doden te maken met de bommen die zijn gevallen op de markt. De Iraakse minister van Defensie heeft gezegd dat de bommen zijn gevallen op een drukke markt in een woonwijk in de stad. Volgens de Iraakse minister van Defensie zijn doden te maken met de bommen die zijn gevallen op de markt. De Iraakse minister van Defensie heeft gezegd dat de bommen zijn gevallen op een drukke markt in een woonwijk in de stad.

Strafloos

10-4-2003
Er wordt gesproken van strafloosheid van de Amerikaanse strijdkrachten in Irak. Volgens de Amerikaanse minister van Defensie zijn doden te maken met de bommen die zijn gevallen op de markt. De Amerikaanse minister van Defensie heeft gezegd dat de bommen zijn gevallen op een drukke markt in een woonwijk in de stad. Volgens de Amerikaanse minister van Defensie zijn doden te maken met de bommen die zijn gevallen op de markt. De Amerikaanse minister van Defensie heeft gezegd dat de bommen zijn gevallen op een drukke markt in een woonwijk in de stad.

Belgische arts Harrie Dewitte leeft een droevige en verschrikkelijke dag

10-4-2003
De Belgische arts Harrie Dewitte leeft een droevige en verschrikkelijke dag. Volgens de Amerikaanse minister van Defensie zijn doden te maken met de bommen die zijn gevallen op de markt. De Amerikaanse minister van Defensie heeft gezegd dat de bommen zijn gevallen op een drukke markt in een woonwijk in de stad. Volgens de Amerikaanse minister van Defensie zijn doden te maken met de bommen die zijn gevallen op de markt. De Amerikaanse minister van Defensie heeft gezegd dat de bommen zijn gevallen op een drukke markt in een woonwijk in de stad.

'Ali riep dat hij zijn handen terug wilde. Dat raakte me'

10-4-2003
Hoe dringt 'Irak' door in Nederland? Wat de foto van het jongste Ali tusschen Abbas en de Amerikaanse president George W. Bush. 'En nu, Ali, doe ik verdorie iets.'

Over deze redacteur... Het is een foto van Ali tusschen Abbas en de Amerikaanse president George W. Bush. 'En nu, Ali, doe ik verdorie iets.'

DE OORLOG EN ALI'S FOTO

De oorlog en Ali's foto... Het is een foto van Ali tusschen Abbas en de Amerikaanse president George W. Bush. 'En nu, Ali, doe ik verdorie iets.'



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IRAQ DIARIES

"I am his mother"Jo Wilding, *Electronic Iraq*

29 March 2003

A missile hit the middle of the street outside the Omar Al Faroukh mosque on Palestine at about 4:15 this afternoon, just as people were leaving after prayers. Ahmed was v out behind his friend Umar when he heard an explosion and saw his friend fall. Umar student at Rafidain College. He had fragments of shrapnel about 3cm long removed f liver and abdomen. His lower ribs are fractured and his left hand has shrapnel wound grandfather, Fuad Taher demands that Bush and Blair be charged and brought to cou

Another missile hit, close by, three minutes later. It wasn't clear from the friends and relatives in the hospital whether it hit the other side of the road or hit a building, but close by.

Akael Zuhair was standing in front of his house opposite the mosque: I'm not sure of the first or second missile that hurt him, but he's in a dangerous state in hospital, wit shrapnel wounds to his left shoulder, left chest, right forearm and possibly a piece lo the frontal lobe of his brain. The doctors were waiting for a skull x ray to show wheth piercing was superficial or deep. He's 20.

He began to regain consciousness while we were there, thrashing his limbs about wh family and friends tried to hold him still and comfort him and his mum's tears overflo am his mother," she whispered. Nothing else. I held her without a word.

His dad heard the explosion in the street and said the kids came running in to tell hin was hit. "Help us," he said, "because we are attacked in homes and streets and mark are not something to be squeezed. We are thankful to people in all the world, but esp in America and England. More than a million people in England say no to war. There i problem between people. There is a problem with governments."

Firas Hamid was the last of the victims to come out of surgery, having had two fragrn removed from his liver and one from his kidney. His right arm has a compound fractu beneath an open wound. He's 16 and, like Umar and Ahmed, was leaving the mosque the explosion happened.

Again, no one could guess what the intended target was. All of the clusters of friends family we took statements from said there was nothing military in the area, nor any communications towers, which have been devastated in recent days. The most recen about 5pm today: the Al Baya tower. We know there were deaths but have as yet no The El Alawiya was bombed yesterday morning in the early hours and two strikes on and Thursday have wrecked the Al Ma'amoun. It's not possible to make even an eme call and the doctors said people were coming in in private cars, delaying medical trea

Less than two miles north of the mosque and just 15 minutes earlier, Fawzia Kurbaar her husband Najah Mohammed were waiting for a taxi in the street near their home i said, "I felt something strike my hand and legs and I fell to the ground." He has a fra right arm and index finger and shrapnel in his right thigh and abdomen. The doctor, I Hamid Al-Araji, said he didn't think the shrapnel had caused any internal injury but h keeping an eye.

They were fleeing Baghdad for a farm in the countryside, where about 20 families we to stay. They'd sent their children ahead of them and were waiting for a taxi to go an them. They had all their possessions with them when it happened and didn't know ye had happened to them - whether they'd lost everything or someone had salvaged it f Fawzia showed us what little money they had left, dyed red with Najah's blood.

The doctors in the Al Kindi were doing a lot of tasks normally associated with nursing checking and emptying and keeping up observations, because there's a total of 120 r

4-4-03

<http://electroniciraq.net/news/494.shtml>

letter to America (3 April
2003)

a hospital which, for its size, needs about 550. I mentioned before that most of the n Iraq before the 1991 war were foreigners, who left en masse, more or less. Khalida, nurse who never sleeps, said the international standard ratio is 4 nurses per doctor. I the other way round: there's one nurse for every four doctors.

"So," says Dr Hamid, laughing. "I think the nurses are very lucky."

Intensive care units were also absent: Akael, with his serious head wound, and Umar his mangled liver, could both have better done with at least a blood pressure and heart monitor but, after 12 and a half years of sanctions, most hospitals don't have enough working units, if any at all, many of the parts being embargoed as dual military and use.

A grain silo seems to have been the target of the attack at 9am on Thursday, about 1 south of Baghdad on the main road to Wasit. Haitham Abid was driving a lorry past a missile landed close to the Grain Board building. The lorry crashed and the back part fire. He wasn't sure whether he jumped from the cab or was pulled clear, but his right was badly broken.

All this as well as the bombing of another market yesterday, Al Shu'la: Dr Tariq said were over 50 deaths and lots of injuries. Someone told me a day or two ago that I was giving the US enough credit for its efforts to avoid civilian casualties. I'm sorry, maybe missing something, but I'm not seeing the fruits of their "efforts". How is it that, when bombs and missiles are guided by the finest technology human minds have developed can still land on a street outside a mosque which is emptying, explode into the bodies of elderly couples flagging down taxis and burn lorries next to food silos.

Something's wrong. There are too many civilian casualties, too far from military targets all of these to be mistakes. Either they're hitting civilians on purpose, to whip up fear or hope of spurring rebellion, or their weapons are not as precise as they say, in which case they're not suitable for use in an urban environment. There's no justification for using weapons here, but if you can't hit a military target without causing civilian casualties, don't have the right to attack it.

The US has apparently claimed that some of this is done by the Iraqi military to make it look bad. I can't rule that out. But anything that comes from an aircraft, at least, is unlikely to be from the Iraqis. It's doubtful a plane would get far off the ground here without being attacked by the US/UK aircraft. Of course, when it's all over, the US will provide "proof" it was the Iraqis, in the form of testimonies by people who will say anything they are paid to say to save their own necks, and we will probably never know the full truth of who did what to whom. Meanwhile, and as ever, the people of Iraq are still dying, still the pawns in someone else's political games.

I'm being expelled from Iraq. It looked, for a while, as if we were going to have to leave this morning, but we scored another two days, till Monday, "And then leave this hotel. Leave the country." Coming from the Foreign Ministry, there's not really any arguing with that. No shame in it either, being booted out by this government, but it hurts, it aches. I can't say goodbye to anyone because there are no phones and we can't go anywhere without a permit and permission from the foreign ministry, and I'm not going to know if they're safe and can't hold them when they're scared and their phones might not work for months, no mobile phone or e-mail.

And it seems like, for a lot of journalists, this isn't a story anymore. Apparently it's still a story. Nothing is happening. "House destroyed by bomb" is a story. "Second house destroyed by bomb" is still a story. Another and another and yet another house destroyed by a bomb. There was a flurry of excitement last night when the rumour began to circulate that a hospital had been bombed, but no - it was only another market, near a hospital. What of them are leaving now, and that makes getting kicked out even more rubbish (I have to search for a polite way to put that) because there are fewer and fewer witnesses.

So unless everything changes, tomorrow is my last day here. I realized today that it's not just the buildings that rock in the aftershock of the explosions but the whole earth. It feels exactly the same on the ground floor as on the fifth. The bombs have been more frequent today, closer, than any other day.

Still, I'm going to miss it, miss the Iraqis: I don't think there's anyone like them, sitting around sharing warm bread and salty cheese curds with us, standing round a wooden sand-table which does the job as a table, pouring glasses of sugary chai from a metal flask and one of them giggling like schoolgirls, guns across their shoulders, while Sabah clowns the face of it all, making jokes in mime about bombs falling, hugging the pillar behind him in half-mock terror, telling us his huge burly mate gets his hair cut by his mum, snorting

uncontrollable laughter.

At least I should make it home in time for my law exam on Thursday. Insha'Allah. We are waiting to hear from the drivers who went to the Jordanian border today.

Jo Wilding is based in Baghdad.

Page last updated: 29 March 2003.

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Bombing of phone system another little degradation

By Robert Fisk in Baghdad - 29 March 2003

<http://argument.independent.co.uk/commentators/story.jsp?story=391825>

It's difficult to weep about a telephone exchange. True, the destruction of the local phone system in Baghdad is a miserable experience for tens of thousands of Iraqi families who want to keep in contact with their relatives during the long dark hours of bombing. But the shattered exchanges and umbilical wires and broken concrete of the Mimoun International Communications Centre scarcely equals the exposed bones and intestines and torn flesh of the civilian wounded of Baghdad.

The point, of course, is that it represents another of those little degradations which we (as in "we, the West") routinely undertake when things aren't going our way in a war. Obviously, "we" hoped it wouldn't come to this. The Anglo-American armies wanted to maintain the infrastructure of Baghdad for themselves – after they had "liberated" the city under a hail of roses from its rejoicing people – because they would need working phone lines on their arrival.

But after a night of massive explosions across the city, dawn yesterday brought the realisation that communications had been sacrificed. The huge Rashid telecommunications centre was struck by a cruise missile which penetrated the basement of the building. The exchange in Karada, where Baghdadis pay their phone bills, was ripped open. No more. Because "we" have decided to destroy the phones and all those "command and control" systems that may be included, dual use, into the network.

So yesterday, most Baghdadis had to drive across town to see each other; there was more traffic on the roads than at any time since the start of the war. Down, too, went Baghdad's internet system. Iraqi television, a pale shadow of itself since the Americans bombed the studios on Wednesday night, can be watched only between an increasing number of power cuts.

So what's next? Each day, of course, brings news of events which, on their own, have no great import but which, together, add a sinister, new dimension to the coming siege of Baghdad. Yesterday, hundreds of tribesmen from across Iraq gathered at the Baghdad Hotel before meeting President Saddam Hussein.

The Iraqi tribes, ignored by the military planners and Washington pundits who think Iraq is held together only by the Baath party and the army, are a powerful force, their unity cemented by marriage and a network of families loyal to President Saddam who provide a force as cohesive as the Baath party itself.

Tribesmen guard the grain silos and electricity generating stations around Baghdad. Two of them were credited with disabling an Apache helicopter captured last week.

And yesterday, tribal leaders came from all over Iraq, from Ninevah and Babylon and Basra and Nasiriyah and all the cities of Mesopotamia.

President Saddam has already issued one set of orders which tells the tribesmen "to fight [the Americans and British] in groups and attack their advance and rear lines to block the

<http://www.robert-fisk.com/articles198.htm>

way of their progress ... If the enemy settles into a position, start to harass them at night ..."

Another sign of things to come. At least 20 international "human shields" – hitherto "guarding" power stations, oil refineries and food production plants – decided to leave Iraq yesterday. So did all Chinese journalists, on instructions from their government. Not all the optimistic claims from the Iraqi government, a victory against US Marines outside Nasiriyah was among them, could change their minds.

The nightly attacks long ago spread into the daylight hours, so the sound of aircraft and rockets – I have several times actually heard the missiles passing over the central streets – have acquired a kind of normality. A few stores have reopened. There are fresh vegetables again. And like every blitzed people, Baghdadis are growing used to what has become a dull, familiar danger.

Is this "shock and awe", I sometimes ask myself?

[go to top](#)

<http://www.robert-fisk.com>



Verdriet en shock overheersen gisteren op de El Nasser-markt in Bagdad. Het dodental steeg die weekeinde naar meer dan zestig. Maar het is nog onzeker wiens raket het marktplaats heeft getroffen.

[illegible]

door de deur en het raam naar buiten. De jongste jongen was op slag dood, een granaatpijler raakte hem in het hart. De twee andere broers overleefden deze nacht in het ziekenhuis.

Hij had ze gevraagd om het te blijven smadelen en in de buurt zoveel bomen te laten groeien, zegt Shamsi tussen twee granaatdoor. „In moet je nu een zien. Het er ligt vol met granaatpijlers. De dood heeft ze getroffen in hun eigen huis”, roept ze en wijst door de versplinterde deuren naar het erf. „Mijn zonen, mijn

"Het beste huis staat te wachten, ik hoorde glorieuskeren zeggen. Ik wilde naar huis toe komen, daar lagen ze al in een paleis. Ik bleef. Ik vermisthe nu op best zo vaak mijn kaken. Het was alsof ik hen was steegende in de dode maan. Ik ben vergeten, maar ik heb de moeder. Ze heeft een foto te verzoeken die ze onder haar kleed op haar heft. Het is een foto van haar niet zelden. Nu zijn er nog maar twee." In de kamer aan de andere kant van het erf zit de vader van de drie jongens. Graal, Graal, Graal. Hij is een man van middelbare leeftijd. Hij is een man van middelbare leeftijd. Hij is een man van middelbare leeftijd.

Zo zat hij daar ook toen het pr
jectiel indroeg.

Waarom mislukte het maar
niet als deze kansen. Daar stond
nu nu nog twee. Hoe kan ik
de levenswijze van mijn (oud)
stijf? Had die niet mij maar ge
stijf? Alleen hij.

Stellen, op maat, komen de
kansen langzaam voorbij. Ze
vaagdoen, ze verdwijnen, ze
worden in een paar seconden
over het geheel, ja, maar
gevoelen. De menselijke afge
ren, maar het gevoel, die niet
hiet, dat was het, dat was het.

De afge...

De afgebeelde wijzen vaak op
het gebruik, dat werd en
wordt nu nog en voor hen
beden. Daarvoor zijn in de

ten naar huis gedogen om de laatste nacht thuis door te brengen, waarna ze daar omdraaid werden begraven.

„De Amerikanen deden dat alleen op militaire doelen toe te rekenen”, zegt een man die zijn vriend naar het grafveld „Waumen” dooden ze dan begraven?”

Dat was een vraag die door hen op de markt werd geopperd. Maar niemand wist erlijk van er is ontploft op de markt. Volgens waumen zijn is het net zo goed mogelijk dat het om een bom was.

is geresult. Als deze propositie
lees doed niet raden, vallen a
meer benodigen leuaten; ee

Tussen de journalisten leeft eroveral nog bij de marine aan men, dat de Iraakse politie alle grote misdaden van de roppengrind, recht men niet vaststellen van welk fabrikat het projectiel was. De Iraakse oorkonde van een serie klein voor het type bomme de Amerikanen het nu te hebben gebruikt.

Dit zijn vragen waar de Amerikanen en linkse de komende dagen waarschijnlijk over zullen strijden. Maar sommige feiten zijn onbetwistbaar. Het is

zijn belevenissen. Volgens Ghisl hebben hun ouders, veertienjarige en achttienjarige, verkocht.

WASHINGTON/ BAEDE. APRIL. Afghanistan militairen hebben vermeld dat er in de laatste twee maanden van 1992 meer dan 1000 burgers doodgeschoten zijn. Volgens de berichten zijn de meeste slachtoffers vrouwen en kinderen. Volgens de berichten zijn de meeste slachtoffers vrouwen en kinderen. Volgens de berichten zijn de meeste slachtoffers vrouwen en kinderen.

„Ik heb het dat het een zelfmoord
hoort was”, zo zei van de rechercheur
die het vuur opende. Na de zelf
moordbepaling van zaterdag, waar
bij vier Amerikaanse militairen wa
ren gedood, heeft generaal Frank
de Amerikaanse woeden uitgedaagd.

Volgens het Amerikaanse Internationaal Comité van de Rode Kruis waren de wondwonden afgevoerd op de schepen bij Rijst, maar niet verwonden en kinderen later doden. Journalist William S. Gale van The Washington Post treft melding van het doper in veel landen, maar niet in de Verenigde Staten.

Gevochten tussen Irak en de Verenigde Staten en de Verenigd Koninkrijk, zijn er nu 100.000 Amerikaanse militairen in Irak. Het Amerikaanse leger heeft nu een aantal nieuwe wapens in Irak. Het Amerikaanse leger heeft nu een aantal nieuwe wapens in Irak.

Bogdad, 10/27 Hindia, Toesien K
la en het antieke Babylon, 80
meter was daags, 60 meter
niet slaags met eenheden v
Republiekese Gade. Hinde
an methoden elkaar verho
hadden loogbeacht, America
moepen worden nke v
dicht bij Bogdad gesitueerd
De bombardementen op
broefheid worden met de
zwander, alder gesogen.
hoedriewermer van het
Olympeen Comité, dat w
heid door Soekarno wade
Idaz, van zijn getroffen.
Gloren gesproken Soek

zijn beïde zonen en de tele-
Her Portugalen mofde dat be-
dementen op de republi-
Gaven een zuiden van Ragda-
zine-geacht, zeer boden-
baken, verzele. (Western
APF)

[illegible]

Je hebt verdomme een gezin vermoord'

Amerikaanse soldaten in Irak schoten glorieus met ongeluk tien burgers dood, onder wie vijf kinderen.

Door WILLIAM BRUGGAS
 BIJ KARBALA, 1 APRIL. Rijksoverheid van de Dode Informatiecentrum werd aangekondigd, dat hij een Amerikaanse soldaat, die op 1 april 2003 in Irak schoten met een M16-gevechtsgeweer, is schuldig aan de dood van tien burgers, onder wie vijf kinderen.

De soldaat, die het vuur opende, werd aangekondigd, dat hij een Amerikaanse soldaat, die op 1 april 2003 in Irak schoten met een M16-gevechtsgeweer, is schuldig aan de dood van tien burgers, onder wie vijf kinderen.

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In krijtstreep de dood in

MIAMI, 1 APRIL. Toen de vader van slaan plaats moet afbreken stuur van zijn oude land Rover een met zijn vader familieleden de nacht door de Amerikaanse lieten even buiten Nafit te maken.

De vader van slaan plaats moet afbreken stuur van zijn oude land Rover een met zijn vader familieleden de nacht door de Amerikaanse lieten even buiten Nafit te maken.

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Beschoten Iraakse familie vluchtte op advies coalitie

De Iraakse familie, waarvan meerdere leden de soldaten schoten, werd richting de palmeira's in het zuiden van de stad door de Amerikaanse helikopters geëvacueerd. De Iraakse familie, waarvan meerdere leden de soldaten schoten, werd richting de palmeira's in het zuiden van de stad door de Amerikaanse helikopters geëvacueerd.

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Te weinig verwoesting voor raket VS

Tientallen Iraakse burgers zijn gedood bij twee aanval op Bagdad. Bij nadere bestudering lijkt het bevestigd te zijn om terug te vallen op Iraakse manifestatie.

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De oorlog volgens Al Jazeera

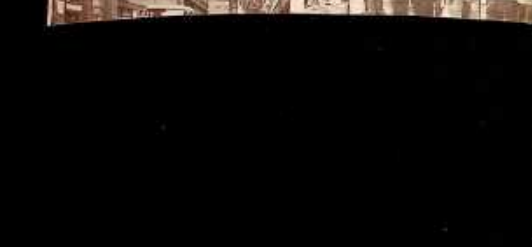
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Bagdad, vrijdag 28 maart. (Foto AP)

Krater Amman Bagdad, december 1998. (Foto AP)

Krater Amman Bagdad, december 1998. (Foto AP)

'Annan verantwoordelijk voor burgerdoden in Irak'

MAAGDAD - De Iraakse minister van Buitenlandse Zaken Sabri achit secretaris-generaal Kofi Annan van de Verenigde Naties medeverantwoordelijk voor de 1370 Iraakse burgerdoden en 5800 gewonden die tot nu toe volgens de bevestigingen in de oorlog zijn gevallen.

De Britse minister van buitenlands zaken Straw zei gisteren in een interview voor de Britse televisie te verwachten dat het aantal burgerslachtoffers van de oorlog lager uitvalt dan de media vooral had gevoerd. Hij noemde

Golf circa 5000 krijgsgevangenen voor. Woensdag zei de Amerikaanse generaal Vincent Brooks nog dat er 4500 krijgsgevangenen waren.

De krant *Flammet* trekt eveneens aandacht al een reden een nu verschil te verklaren door twee bezettingen in link op te voeren die zich zorgen maken dat de Amerikanen niet alle kriegsgevangenen als zodanig willen behandelen. Zij zouden een deel rechteloos willen opsluiten als terroristen of 'illegal strijders'.

Arstan heeft de Amerikaanse Dru-
se aanvoet op Irak vergemakkelijkt.
OOR De VN-wapeninspecteur
weg te halen uit Irak, aldus Sabri.
„En daarmee de Amerikanen o

'Amerikanen zijn schietgraag'

soortelijke Amerikaanse soldaten die Irak gestegen zich achter het front als cowboy's, zo vinden de Britse collega's. De Britten zetten zo'da het hun barsten op in plaats van helmen en dragen het gewest op de rug, en niet ook de borst. „De Amerikanen zijn paranoïde over hun eigen veiligheid.“

De Amerikaanse diplomatie heeft een voorstel voor een vredesplan voor de Verenigde Staten en de Sovjet-Unie ontwikkeld. Het plan is bedoeld om de spanningen te verminderen en de wereldvrede te herstellen. Het plan is gebaseerd op de principes van gelijkheid, vrede en samenwerking. Het plan is bedoeld om de wereldvrede te herstellen en de spanningen te verminderen. Het plan is gebaseerd op de principes van gelijkheid, vrede en samenwerking.

door het toedoen van hun liefsheer. Daar de de-
votie van de heiligen in hun werkdagen zo-
danig is toegenomen

De laatste tijd worden er steeds meer mensen geboren met aangeboren afwijkingen van de hersenen. Het aantal kinderen met een hersenafwijking is in Nederland in 1990 geschat op 1 op de 1000. Het aantal kinderen met een hersenafwijking is in België geschat op 1 op de 1000. Het aantal kinderen met een hersenafwijking is in Nederland in 1990 geschat op 1 op de 1000. Het aantal kinderen met een hersenafwijking is in België geschat op 1 op de 1000.

This image shows a blank white page. At the very top, there is a thin, dark horizontal band, which appears to be the edge of a book or a scanning artifact. The rest of the page is completely empty and white.

‘Ameri
Briti

ikanten Z
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zijn schied

to graas,
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10

11/11/2011 - 12/11/2011



0-800-67-1111

MAAGDAD - De Iraakse minister van Buitenlandse Zaken Sabri achit secretaris-generaal Kofi Annan van de Verenigde Naties medeverantwoordelijk voor de 1370 Iraakse burgerdoden en 5800 gewonden die tot nu toe volgens de bevestigingen in de oorlog zijn gevallen.

Arstan heeft de Amerikaanse Dru-
se aanvoet op Irak vergemakkelijkt.
OOR De VN-wapeninspecteur
weg te halen uit Irak, aldus Sabri.
„En daarmee de Amerikanen o

De Britse minister van buitenlands zaken Straw zei gisteren in een interview voor de Britse televisie te verwachten dat het aantal burgerslachtoffers van de nog laagste lager uitvalt dan de laatste vooraf had voorspeld. Hij noemde

Ook was het aantal krijgsgevangenen verschillend: volgens de Britse defensie-minister Geoff Hoon liet den de geallieerde troepen in de

Golf circa 5000 krijgsgevangenen voor. Woensdag zei de Amerikaanse generaal Vincent Brooks nog dat er 4500 krijgsgevangenen waren.

De krant *Flammet* trekt eveneens stelling al een reden een uit verschil te verklaren door Amerikaanse behoeften in link op te voeren die zich zorgen maken dat de Amerikanen niet alle krijgsgeschiedenis als zodanig willen behouden. Zij zouden een deel rechtvaardigen willen oplossen als terroristen of 'legale strijders'.

Planne

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Op 'vijand
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Kinderen hebben geen plaats in een oorlog

3-4-2003

Voor de moderne strijdkrachten is de frontlijn niet meer de grens tussen de vijand en de vriend. Het is de grens tussen de burger en de soldaat. Het is de grens tussen de kind en de oorlog. Kinderen hebben geen plaats in een oorlog. Het is de grens tussen de burger en de soldaat. Het is de grens tussen de kind en de oorlog. Kinderen hebben geen plaats in een oorlog.

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'Geef mij mijn armen terug!'

Ziekenhuizen Bagdad kunnen aantal burgerslachtoffers nauwelijks aan



In Bagdad ziekenhuizen komen de gewonden binnen die in de afgelopen twee weken zijn getroffen door de Amerikaanse bombardementen. De kinderen van Irak worden nu voorbereid op deze oorlog. Hun voorbereiding bestaat uit het spelen met het vuur. Het is de grens tussen de burger en de soldaat. Het is de grens tussen de kind en de oorlog. Kinderen hebben geen plaats in een oorlog.

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Zonder handen wil Ali niet leven

Nu de bombardementen op Bagdad steeds heviger worden, worden de ziekenhuizen overspoeld met gewonden. Artsen staan dag en nacht aan de operatietafel. Zoveel dodelijke verwondingen als nu hebben ze nog nooit gezien, zeggen ze.

geren waren, maar heeft ook zijn heide armen weggevoerd. Ali zei voor zichzelf geen loekers uit, maar 'Kunt u me helpen mijn stem te krijgen?' vroeg hij aan de verpleegster naast zijn bed. 'Zouden de dokters me en paar nieuwe handen kunnen geven?' Ali's gere handen kregen ploeg. Ali's moed, zegt hij terug, ze komen over zijn wangen rollen.

'Tom ik klein was wilde ik dokter in het leger worden, maar nu niet meer', vertelt Ali. 'Nu wil ik liever dokter worden. Maar hoe moet ik dat doen? Zonder handen?' Over zijn zomp staat een houten staketafel om te werken. Men dat het beddengoed is aan de zijde zijn ligt overdekt. In een van zijn tenten zit voor het. Ali voert hem zijn stem, wat hem troostend dat zijn ouders nu in de hemel zijn.

'Wij hebben deze oorlog ook gewild, ik was duoddang van oorlog. Waarom hebben ze ons toch gebombardeerd? We wonen gewoon maar in een armoedige buurt', zegt Ali, met een blik dat de oostelijke wijken van Bagdad waar hij woonde werd ontveerd.

door militaire installaties. Sinds de Amerikaanse troepen Bagdad hebben bereikt en de luchtaanvallen nog heviger zijn geworden, kunnen de artsen en verpleegkundigen van het Kindi- ziekenhuis de stroom gewonden haast niet meer aan.

De ene ambulance na de andere rijdt voor met gewonden uit alle delen van de hoofdstad. Bij gebrek aan brandstoffen worden veel slach-

Kruis in Bagdad. Het Rode Kruis heeft de ziekenhuizen voorzien van eerste-hulpmedicijnen en operatiemateriaal. Maar volgens de adjunct-directeur van het Kindi- ziekenhuis, dokter Osama Salch al-Dulaimi, is er door de stroom van gewonden een tekort gerozen aan narcosemiddelen en pijnstillers.

Bovendien is er een tekort aan medisch personeel, want vanwege de zware luchtaanvallen kunnen niet alle medewerkers naar het ziekenhuis komen. Artsen staan dag en nacht aan de operatietafel, verpleegkundigen hebben geen tijd om de behoeftige bevoorraden te maken.

'Ik ben al 25 jaar arts en dit is het ergste wat ik ooit gezien heb qua aantallen slachtoffers en de fatale aard van hun verwondingen', zegt adjunct-directeur Djalil. Hij heeft de oorlog tegen Iran (1980-88) en de eerste Golfoorlog (1991) ook al meegemaakt.

'Deze oorlog is verwoestender dan alle voorgaande', zegt een andere arts, Sadek al-Mukhter. 'In de vorige oorlogen leek het wel of de slachtoffers alleen een arm of een been verloor, nu verliezen ze hun leven.'

offert op een beddenlaken naar binnen gedragen. Artsen zijn maarstijg op zoek naar een vrij bed. Uit de ziekenhuizen klinkt het gekken van patiënten en het gekken van moeders.

Tijdens de eerste bombardementen hebben de ziekenhuizen wel honderd gewonden per uur moeten opvangen, zegt Rikard Haguenin-Benjamin, woordvoerder van het Internationale Rode

Leger VS gebruikt uraniumhoudende munitie in stedelijk gebied Irak

Ingebonden 10-4-2003

De internationale media berichten voortdurend over het Amerikaanse gebruik van wapensystemen in Irak. Daarbij wordt niet vermeld dat die wapens vaak verarmd uranium bevatten. Net als clusterbommen is het gebruik van uraniumhoudende munitie zeer omstreden. Nadat munitie van verarmd uranium doel treft komt er een wolk van stofdeeltjes uraniumoxiden vrij, waardoor soldaten en burgers inwendig besmet kunnen worden.

Sinds het gebruik van deze munitie in de Golfoorlog van 1991 is er, ondanks aandringen van Amerikaanse onderzoeksinstituten en Iraakse wetenschappers, tot op heden nauwelijks wetenschappelijk onderzoek verricht naar de gevolgen van de besmettingen. Dat, terwijl verarmd uranium als een van de grote bouwstenen wordt gezien van de Golfoorlogveteranen aan licht (Zie ook: 'Met Stille Trom, de narren van de nieuwe oorlog', Marleen Teugels, Nijgh & Van Ditmar - 2002, nvdv). In Irak worden de epidemieën van kankers en andere kwaadaardige ziektes ook in verband gebracht met verarmd uranium.

De milieuorganisatie van de VN, de UNEP is de enige organisatie die serieus de gevolgen van besmetting met verarmd uranium (voor het milieu) onderzoekt. Vorige week verscheen het derde rapport van de UNEP over haar onderzoek naar de gevolgen van het Amerikaanse gebruik van uraniumhoudende munitie tijdens de Balkanoorlogen. De UNEP waarschuwt voor de effecten op langere termijn, waaronder besmetting van het drinkwater en de lokale voedselvoorziening. Om dit zoveel mogelijk te voorkomen adviseert de UNEP restanten van uranium aan met uranium besmette grond te bergen in een speciaal daarvoor bestemd depot voor radioactief afval, zoals dat hoort volgens westerse milieunormen. In verband hiermee is het opvallend dat Amerikaanse testgebieden waar uraniumhoudende munitie is getest steeds vaker niet worden gesaneerd vanwege de hoge kosten die hiermee zijn gemoeid.

Gevreesd moet worden dat de Amerikaanse en Britse soldaten, en de bevolking van Irak, in de huidige oorlog extra risico's lopen op besmetting. Anders dan in 1991 is er geen tankveldslag, maar wordt er vooral in de stedelijke gebieden langs de aanvoerlijnen naar het front bij Bagdad met uraniumhoudende munitie geschoten: naast Amerikaanse Abrams-tanks, vooral door de A-10 grondaanvalstokken (o.m. donderdag in Najaf), en door gepantserde gevechtsvoertuigen, zoals de Bradley's (bekend van het ongeluk bij een checkpoint waarbij een heel gezin omkwam) en de amfibievoertuigen (LAV's) van het Marine Corps. Ook de Britse Challenger-tanks schoten de afgelopen week met groot kaliber uraniumhoudende antitankgranaten in de nabijheid van Basra.



Marleen Teugels

MET STILLE TROM

De narren van de nieuwe oorlog

Bronnen:
* A-10 toestel, Bradley voertuig, M1A1 of M1A2 tanks:
<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A10212-2003Apr2.html>
<http://news.fox.com/newsArticle.html?type=world-News&storyID=2499725>
<http://www.heraldnet.com/Story/03/05/16705320.cfm>
http://www.dailymail.com.pk/default.asp?page=story_25-3-2003_pg4_15
<http://www.ipsnews.net/interia.asp?idnews=17218>
* Amerikaans Congres introduceert wetgeving voor meer wetenschappelijk onderzoek:
<http://raprockpeace.org/DUBill24March03.html>
* UNEP-rapport (Bosnie):
<http://www.unep.org/Documents/Default.asp?DocumentID=298&ArticleID=3926>
<http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=6560&Cr=bosnia&Cr1>
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/scitech/2884761.stm>
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/scitech/2844983>

Bron: Stichting Loka, Documentatie- en Onderzoekscentrum Kernenergie, Amsterdam, 4 april 2003
* Meer informatie bij Henk van der Keur (Loka), 020-6631831,
henk.vdkeur@antenna.nl
* Meer achtergrondinformatie op:
<http://www.antenna.nl/wise/uranium>
<http://www.loka.org>
<http://www.wereldcrisis.nl>
<http://www.wereldcrisis.nl>

The Washington Times

www.washingtontimes.com

U.S. troops inflict 'so many deaths'

Oliver Poole

LONDON DAILY TELEGRAPH

Published April 4, 2003

BAGHDAD — As thick black smoke hung over the outskirts of Baghdad last night, American troops stood stunned by the number of enemy forces they had killed.

Bodies dressed in the uniform of the Republican Guard and burned-out vehicles were strewn around the roadways. Buildings were riddled with bullet holes.

"I hope we don't experience anything like that again," said Sgt. Simon, 38, who gave only one name. "It is like [the 1991 Persian Gulf war]. When I see that many bodies, I just don't want to be here anymore."

As the unit regrouped on a stretch of open land, a soldier stood looking dazed.

"When do we know when it's over?" one Sgt. Scott said. "You could have sent two men in to kill Saddam Hussein. Why did we have to kill so many people? There were so many deaths today."

The forces from the Army's 3rd Infantry Division had fought their way from a bridgehead secured over the Euphrates River north of Karbala, encountering strong resistance from Republican Guard units stationed in the area. At the same time, the 1st U.S. Marine Division moved northwest from Kut.

In a day of often-brutal fighting, the troops destroyed Iraqi units equipped with T-72 tanks and infantry armed with rocket launchers and mortars. Not one American was reported killed.

From the back of an armored vehicle, the most vivid impression of the dash for Baghdad was the impassive faces of three soldiers as the shell cases cascaded down from the volleys of gunfire.

First Sgt. Jose Rosa stood half out of his hatch, loading grenades into a launcher and firing them at targets indicated by hand signals from the rest of the crew.

Staff Sgt. Trey Black sat at the 25 mm cannon, rotating as he sprayed bursts of rounds.

Even the medic in the van behind had a weapon at his shoulder, joining the cacophony of fire.

The air was thick with the smell of cordite.

Finally, there was a pause in the advance to call in an air strike on a foxhole ahead. News had just come in of the unit's first casualty: a scout with a leg wound.

By the end of the day, there had been five casualties in the unit, including an Abrams tank commander, Sgt. Gerald Pyle, whose vehicle was hit by three rockets fired from hand-held launchers. None of the injuries was considered life-threatening.

Around 3 p.m., the first units moved into the edge of the capital, and troops conducted house-to-house searches to ensure that no enemy forces were using them as cover. Abrams tanks adopted defensive formations at key intersections.

By dusk, machine-gun fire and the occasional exploding shell could be heard. At one point, sniper fire was directed close to the headquarters and supply area. Fires still burned where targets had been destroyed by artillery and air strikes earlier in the battle.

In a mosque, six Iraqi soldiers and two armed civilians were captured with a cache of weapons. A unit of engineers removed the weapons and destroyed them.

A few residents ventured onto the streets. Occasionally, an individual or small group walked past, holding white flags. Medics gave two injured Iraqis first aid.

Soldiers passed out leaflets to the owners of the homes they searched. The leaflets explained in Arabic that they had come to liberate the people. First Sgt. Rosa said he had received a warm welcome in one of the houses.

The owners offered him food and water, but a younger man, presumably their son, had appeared more hostile.

"He did not have good body language," he said.

After two weeks of fighting, an advance of hundreds of miles in which the troops had withstood mortar and sniper fire and sandstorms, felt constant fear of chemical attacks and overcome often ferocious pockets of resistance, the 3rd Infantry Division had finally reached its objective.

A tank gunner surveyed the mud-colored, two-story buildings at a dusty suburban junction and said: "I don't like the look of it much, but I guess we've arrived."

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Red Cross: Iraq Wounded Too High to Count

Sunday April 6, 2003 3:20 PM

GENEVA (AP) - The number of casualties in Baghdad is so high that hospitals have stopped counting the number of people treated, the International Committee of the Red Cross said Sunday.

"No one is able to keep accurate statistics of the admitted and transferred war wounded any longer as one emergency arrival follows the other in the hospitals of Baghdad," the ICRC said in a statement.

"Ambulances are picking up the wounded and running them to the triage areas and on to hospitals," it said. "Some of the wounded try to reach the nearest hospitals by foot."

The neutral Swiss-run organization - the main aid agency left in Iraq - gave no estimates on the number of deaths and did not confirm U.S. Central Command estimates that between 2,000 and 3,000 Iraqi fighters were killed in Saturday's foray into Baghdad by American armored vehicles.

"All of the hospitals are under pressure and the medical staff is working without respite," said the ICRC statement. "Despite the intense and desperate activity, hospital staff is still managing the situation."

But it said that hospitals urgently needed more water supplies. Given the general power outage in Baghdad, most hospitals and water installations are now being powered by backup generators. It said it was getting many requests for service spare parts and repairs for water plants.

The ICRC said that Red Cross delegates who reached the southern city of Basra reported that the medical situation was generally under control and that there were no signs of epidemics. But it said it feared the worst for other hospitals outside Baghdad and Basra.

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From the Associated Press



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Russian Accuses U.S. of Firing on Convoy

Monday April 7, 2003 5:20 PM

MOSCOW (AP) - Russia's ambassador to Iraq on Monday accused American troops of firing on his convoy outside Baghdad, but a U.S. diplomat said it was still unclear who was responsible for the incident, which Russian officials said wounded at least four people.

Ambassador Vladimir Titorenko said U.S. forces fired on the convoy - which was carrying Russian diplomats and journalists toward Syria on Sunday - despite clear markings and efforts to let them know it was not carrying fighters.

"The economic counselor tried to signal to let them know we are foreigners but they fired at him and now he is suffering wounds to the head," Titorenko told the Saudi-owned Al-Arabiya satellite channel before heading for Syria.

"I informed Moscow and the embassy immediately that the Americans opened fire on a Russian diplomatic car and on the car of the Russian ambassador, which very clearly had the Russian flag on it," said Titorenko, whose broken index finger was bandaged.

He said that the firing from the Americans lasted 30-40 minutes, but it was unclear whether he meant that U.S. forces fired at the convoy for that period of time. A Russian journalist who was in the convoy said Sunday that it was caught in crossfire while passing Iraqi positions near Baghdad's outskirts and might have been hit by both U.S. and Iraqi forces.

A Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman said Russia had not yet received any official information from either the United States or the Iraqis and was awaiting their conclusions.

A senior U.S. diplomat said the United States had assured Russia that no harm was intended but was not accepting responsibility. "It's still not clear how yesterday's incident unfolded, but it does appear that the Russian convoy came into an area where we were engaged in a firefight with Iraqi forces," the diplomat said.

The diplomat said the United States had coordinated with the Russians on the evacuation and had discussed various routes,

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From the Associated Press

but had stressed that they could not offer absolute safety guarantees because Iraq is a war zone and much of the route was not under U.S. control. The convoy was "in the wrong place at the wrong time," the diplomat said.

In Qatar, Brig. Gen. Vincent Brooks said the U.S. Central Command had received reports about an exchange of gunfire that hit part of the convoy, but he added "we don't have ... anything that would confirm the role of U.S. forces in that."

"We do know it went through a contested area, an area that certainly had Iraqi forces present, and we fought those forces later in the day," Brooks said.

Titorenko and most of the diplomats crossed into Tanef, Syria, on Monday afternoon. A medically equipped Russian plane was to take them to Moscow on Tuesday.

One of the Russian diplomats underwent surgery and was at an Iraqi-controlled hospital in Fallujah, 50 kilometers (30 miles) west of Baghdad, on Monday, Foreign Ministry spokesman Alexander Yakovenko said. Another diplomat stayed with him.

Yakovenko did not comment on Russian media reports that bullet holes in the vehicle and a bullet removed from an injured diplomat matched the caliber of bullets from an American M-16 rifle.

The U.S. diplomat said both sides recognized that the incident would not affect U.S.-Russian ties. The shooting came as Russia and the United States are seeking to ensure that their differences over the war, which Russia opposes, do not ruin their relationship.

(pvs/sbg/ji)

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IRAQ 04.8.2003

Reporters Without Borders accuses US military of deliberately firing at journalists

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Reporters Without Borders called today on US defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld to provide evidence that the offices of the pan-Arab TV station Al-Jazeera and the Palestine Hotel in Baghdad were not deliberately fired at by US forces earlier in the day in attacks that killed three journalists.

"We are appalled at what happened because it was known that both places contained journalists," said the organisation's secretary-general Robert Ménard. "Film shot by the French TV station France 3 and descriptions by journalists show the neighbourhood was very quiet at that hour and that the US tank crew took their time, waiting for a couple of minutes and adjusting its gun before opening fire."

"This evidence does not match the US version of an attack in self-defence and we can only conclude that the US Army deliberately and without warning targeted journalists. US forces must prove that the incident was not a deliberate attack to dissuade or prevent journalists from continuing to report on what is happening in Baghdad," he said.

"We are concerned at the US army's increasingly hostile attitude towards journalists, especially those non-embedded in its military units. Army officials have also remained deplorably silent and refused to give any details about what happened when a British ITN TV crew was fired on near Basra on 22 March, killing one journalist and leaving two others missing.

"Very many non-embedded journalists have complained about being refused entry to Iraq from Kuwait, threatened with withdrawal of accreditation and being held and interrogated for several hours. One group of non-embedded journalists was held in secret for two days and roughed up by US military police," Ménard said.

Ukrainian cameraman Taras Protsyuk (35), normally attached to Reuters office in Warsaw, and José Couso, a Spanish cameraman for the Spanish TV station Telecinco, were killed in today's attack on the Palestine Hotel. Three other journalists were wounded when their rooms were hit by a shell fired by the US tank.

Gen. Buford Blount, commander of the US Third Infantry Division, admitted that the tank had fired a shell at the hotel. He claimed it was in response to rocket fire and other shooting from the hotel.

Al-Jazeera cameraman Tarek Ayoub was also killed today in US bombing of the pan-Arab TV station's offices elsewhere in the city.

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Hamadi Jebali

Reporters Without Borders defends imprisoned journalists and press freedom throughout the world, as well as the right to inform the public and to be informed, in accordance with Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Reporters Without Borders has nine national sections (in Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom), representatives in Abidjan, Bangkok, Buenos Aires, Istanbul, Montreal, Moscow, Nairobi, New York, Tokyo and Washington and more than a hundred correspondents worldwide.



Now here's another question the Iraqis are asking – and to which I cannot provide an answer. On 8 April, three weeks into the invasion, the Americans dropped four 2,000lb bombs on the Baghdad residential area of Mansur. They claimed they thought Saddam was hiding there. They knew they would kill civilians because it was not, as one Centcom mandarin said, a "risk free venture" (sic). So they dropped their bombs and killed 14 civilians in Mansur, most of them members of a Christian family.

8-4-2003 Roberto FISA

The Americans said they couldn't be sure they had killed Saddam until they could carry out forensic tests at the site. But this turns out to have been a lie. I went there two days ago. Not a single US or British official had bothered to visit the bomb craters. Indeed, when I arrived, there was a putrefying smell and families pulled the remains of a baby from the rubble.

No American officers have apologised for this appalling killing. And I can promise them that the baby I saw being placed under a sheet of black plastic was very definitely not Saddam Hussein. Had they bothered to look at this place – as they claimed they would – they would at least have found the baby. Now the craters are a place of pilgrimage for the people of Baghdad.



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News

U.K. Forces Committed Mass Killing In Umm Qasr: Iraqis

By Anas Ibrahim, IOL Correspondent

UMM QASR, Iraq, April 8 (IslamOnline.net) - The U.K. troops in the Iraqi southern port city of Umm Qasr set up mass graves in the city to cover up hard evidence of committing massacres that claimed the lives of some 200 Iraqis in the first days of the war, unleashed on March 20, eyewitnesses told IslamOnline.net Tuesday, April 8.

"One of these graves includes seven martyrs and lies just one kilometer from the city's hospital," they confirmed.

They asserted that the British troops left a lot of wounded Iraqis scattered across the streets without treatment, noting that the locals tried to treat them but were prevented by the U.K. soldiers.

"They (the U.K. troops) prevented the hospital's doctor from treating the injured and left them bleeding to death," local eyewitness told IslamOnline.net correspondent visiting Umm Qasr.

According to locals, Iraqi fighters in Umm Qasr, who remained defending the small city for 10 days before its capture by the U.K. troops, were running out of supplies and resorting to the locals' homes for food.

This is the first time to unveil the mass killing of Iraqi citizens at the hands of the U.K. troops during the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq.

Iraqi fighters put up gritty resistance in Umm Qasr until it was captured by the U.K. troops.



A U.K. soldier holds an Iraqi civilian in Umm Qasr

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Dagboek uit Bagdad, 8 april: Dr. Geert Van Moorter per satelliettelefoon

Dr. Van Moorter verzorgt gewonde Britse cameraman

Terwijl Amerikanen gewonde Irakezen laten creperen...

Bert De Belder



Vanmorgen beschoot een Amerikaanse tank het Hotel Palestine, waar zowat de hele buitenlandse pers verblijft die niet is 'ingekwartierd' bij de Brits-Amerikaanse aanvalstroepen. Toevallig bevond Dr. Geert Van Moorter zich toen net op de 15^{de} verdieping van het hotel (het Medical Team van Geneeskunde voor de Derde Wereld logeert in het nabijgelegen Sheraton Hotel).

Geert: "Ik besepte eerst niet goed dat er een bom was ingeslagen in het gebouw zelf, nauwelijks drie verdiepingen lager", zegt Geert. "Dan liep ik naar beneden. Als urgentiearts ben ik gewoon om in noodsituaties mijn kalmte te bewaren en anderen te kalmeren, wat ik dan ook deed. Zo begeleidde ik een vrouw die compleet flipte, in shock was, tot beneden. Pas toen kwam men me zeggen dat er gewonden waren. Een man van Reuters kwam met een noodpakket medicamenten aandragen. Ik liep onmiddellijk mee naar de eerste gewonde, een Britse cameraman die Paul Pascual heet. Ik hielp hem in een klaarstaande wagen dragen en voerde het eerste, vluchtige medisch onderzoek uit. Ik zag snel dat zijn toestand niet al te ernstig was, en wilde wachten op eventuele zwaardere gewonden, maar de chauffeur was zo zenuwachtig dat hij meteen naar het dichtstbijzijnde ziekenhuis scheurde. Geen risicoloze rit, want het bombarderen bleef doorgaan. We waren snel in het Saddam Center for Plastic Surgery. Zoals veel hooggespecialiseerde hospitalen was dit echter al maanden voor de oorlog ingericht om oorlogsslachtoffers op te vangen.



Zes uur lang heb ik op de spoedgevallendienst meegedraaid, samen met de toegewijde Iraakse artsen Dr. Mehdi Abudi en Dr. Walid Al-Dun. Zo kon ik van binnenuit de situatie in de hospitalen observeren. Een bepaald geneesmiddel ontbrak dat nodig is voor een goede algemene verdoving, en de fijne hechtdraad waarmee de chirurg een doorgesneden pees aan de voet van onze patiënt wou hechten. Midden een van de operaties viel dan nog de elektriciteit uit, en dus ook alle apparatuur voor de monitoring van de toestand van de patiënt. Met één lamp en een eenvoudige beademingsmachine deden we verder...

Er is ook een tekort aan ziekenhuispersoneel, om een heel simpele reden: veel gezondheidswerkers geraken gewoon niet meer in het hospitaal door de oorlog, of hebben gewonden of doden in de familie, of willen eerst hun familie in veiligheid brengen. Ik zag de radiologie-technicus het bloed van de vloer opkuisen, een vrijwilliger uit de buurt verpleegwerk doen. Enkele ziekenhuizen zijn al volledig moeten geëvacueerd worden omdat ze in gevaarzones liggen. De Amerikaanse agressieoorlog schendt dus niet alleen het recht op maar ook het recht op gezondheidszorg."

"Het meest onder de indruk was ik van het verhaal van de anesthesist. De man had zijn vrouw en drie kleine kinderen al dagenlang niet meer gezien. Ze wonen op de weg naar Hilla, in het zuiden. Gisteren trok de dokter er even met een ambulance naartoe. Onderweg zag hij heel wat lijken naast de baan, maar ook gewonden. Die waren door de oprukkende Amerikaanse troepen zomaar genegeerd! De zoveelste schending van het internationaal recht door de VS! En dan maar beelden tonen op CNN van GI's die handjes schudden en chocola uitdelen! Gelukkig anesthesist slaagde de erin vier gewonden mee te nemen in zijn wagen, en hen veilig af te leveren in het ziekenhuis voor verzorging."

N.B.: De beelden van Dr. Van Moorter die de Britse cameraman verzorgt en begeleidt, zijn de hele wereld rondgegaan: Al-Jazeera, CNN, TF1, VRT, VTM, de Cubaanse televisie,...!

P.S.: De andere drie artsen van het Medical Team Irak van Geneeskunde voor de Derde Wereld – Harrie Dewitte, Claire Geraets en Colette Moulaert – waren niet in Hotel Palestine op het moment van de bominslag. Zij stellen het goed, maar zijn vandaag door de gevechten niet in de stad of naar de ziekenhuizen kunnen gaan.

[08/04/2003 - 16:40]

uur dit bericht naar iemand...

Oorlog Irak: Twee cameramannen dood bij inslag hotel



Bij de beschieting van het Palestine hotel in Irak door een Amerikaanse tank is een Spaanse cameraman aan zijn verwondingen bezweken. Dat heeft zijn werkgever, Telecinco, in Madrid meegedeeld. Ook een Oekraïense cameraman van Reuters kwam om het leven bij de beschieting, maakte het Britse persbureau in Londen bekend. In het Palestine hotel verblijven bijna alle buitenlandse journalisten. De Franse televisie France 3 filmde de beschieting van het hotel. Daarop is duidelijk te zien hoe het kanon van de tank op het hotel wordt gericht en na twee minuten

een obus afvuurt. De Spaanse regering zal uitleg aan Washington vragen over het incident, vernam het Spaans persbureau EFE bij het Spaanse ministerie van Defensie. De Internationale Journalistenvereniging IFJ heeft de beschietingen van journalisten dinsdag als "oorlogsmisdaden" veroordeeld. Algemeen secretaris Aidan White stelt in een mededeling dat de daders door het gerecht vervolgd moeten worden. Eerder op de dag werd een correspondent van de Arabische nieuwszender al-Jazeera gedood bij een bombardement op het kantoor van de tv-zender in Bagdad. (DWM)

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April 8, 2003

Killing the Messengers

Deliberate or Accident: It Doesn't Really Matter

By DAVID LINDORFF

When it comes to the killing of three journalists by American troops in two separate incidents in Baghdad over the last 24 hours, there really are only two alternatives, neither one of them very pleasant to contemplate.

Either the U.S. is targeting journalists to punish those who are reporting honestly about the horrors of the war (the bombing of the Al Jazeera office) and to send a message to others not to get too close to the conflict (the tank blast at the Palestine Hotel, home base foremost of the foreign press corps), or else these were simply the kinds of mindless, accidental yet inevitable

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David N. Gibbs

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22-4-03

Oorlog in Irak

Journalisten gedood door bommen VS

Pers waande zich veilig in Palestine Hotel

Beelden AFP, AP
BAZEL

Drie buitenlandse journalisten zijn dinsdag in Bagdad om het leven gekomen bij Amerikaanse bombardementen. Een Jordaanse cameraman van Al Jazeera vond de dood toen het kantoor van deze Arabische zender werd getroffen door vliegtuigbommen. Een Oekraïense cameraman van Reuters en een Spaanse cameraman van Tele 5 kwamen om toen hun hotel door een Amerikaanse tank werd beschoten.

Volgens een Amerikaanse legationsofficier in Qatar had de tank zijn kanon op het hotel gericht omdat van daaruit werd geschoten. Geen van de journalisten die er logeerden had echter iemand horen schieten.

De meeste buitenlandse oorlogsverslaggevers hadden het Palestine Hotel juist uitgekozen omdat het betrekkelijk veilig leek: het ligt niet vlak bij de palmbomen en ministeries die een doelwit kunnen vormen voor een Amerikaanse aanval. De ligging van Al Jazeera's kantoor, in een woonwijk, was volgens de omroep ook bij het Pentagon bekend.

Bij het bombardement op Al Jazeera raakte een cameraman gewond, ook twee medewerkers van de nabilgasthuis zender van Abu Dhabi liepen verwondingen op. In het Palestine Hotel raakten drie journalisten van Reuters gewond.

Maandag hadden een verslaggever van het Duitse weekblad Focus en een collega van de Spaanse

krant El Mundo de dood gevonden toen de Amerikaanse infanterie redders die ze verzorgden in Bagdad door Irakieten werd aangevallen. Met de drie doden van gisteren komt het aantal gesneuvde buitenlandse journalisten in Irak op negen. Twee leden van een Britse congresploeg worden sinds 22 maart vermist in het zuiden van Irak.

Al Jazeera en de zender van Abu Dhabi zijn in het hele Midden-Oosten populair. In tegenstelling tot de eerste Golfoorlog werden de kijkers ditmaal door Arabische verslaggevers geïnformeerd vanuit Irak. Het bombardement op de Arabische zenders is dan ook hard aangekomen. De Amerikanen willen alle media tot zwijgen brengen die het niet met hen eens zijn, zei de hoofdredacteur van de Saoedische Arab News.

Ruim twintig oorlogsverslaggevers uit de Golfstaten hebben dinsdag een noodtoestand uitgeroepen dat ze uit Bagdad willen worden geëvacueerd.

De Europese Unie zal de VS vragen buitenlandse journalisten in Irak beter te beschermen.

De Internationale Federatie van Journalisten luistert zich geschokt door het bombardement van hotels waar journalisten logeren en het feit dat Arabische media als doelwit zijn gekozen. De IFJ spreekt van een mogelijke oorlogsmisdadigheid en vult dat de daders worden berecht.

Het Internationaal Penitentiair in Wenen gaat ervan uit dat het Palestine Hotel waarschijnlijk 'het opzettelijk' is beschoten.

'Wat ik van Saddam Hussein vind? Alle westerlingen vragen mij dat', zegt Ali Walai die gewond in een ziekenhuis in Umm Qasr ligt. 'Ik zeg niks.'



Bakra gisteren: een aantal Irakezen pleurde het Sheraton Hotel. De stad wordt geteisterd door gewapende mannen die overal intrekken.

FOTO: REUTERS

Pas verworven vrijheid Umm Qasr smaakt zuur

De oorlog volgens Al Jazeera

9-4-2003 Grote verslagenheid na aanval

Een zwarte dag voor de journalistiek.' Zo opende de nieuwslezer het nieuwsbulletin van dinsdag. Door Amerikaanse bommen verloor Al Jazeera's verslaggever in Bagdad, Tarik Ayoub, zijn leven en raakte een cameraman gewond.

Al Jazeera bracht een in memoriam van de gesneuvelde verslaggever en liet beelden zien van het laatste gesprek met hem. Twee uur voor z'n heengaan deed Tarik nog verslag van een rustig, nachtelijk Bagdad. Hij vroeg zich af of het de stilte voor de storm was.

De Libanese minister van Informatie noemde de actie van de Amerikanen schandelijk en sprak van een oorlogsmisdaad. Ook liet Al Jazeera de voorzitters van de Britse en Jordaanse journalistenbonden aan het woord, en toonde de zender beelden van de persconferentie van de Amerikaanse generaal Brooks.

Correspondent Omar al Issaoui berichtte vanuit Qatar dat de pers daar niet overtuigd was van de uitleg die Brooks gaf over de bombardementen. Volgens Al Issaoui wisten de Amerikaanse inlichtingendiensten zeer goed dat de kantoren van Al Jazeera en de eveneens getroffen zender Abu

Dhabi niet in de buurt staan van strategische doelen, en dus ook niet per abuis geraakt kunnen zijn. Het kantoor van Al Jazeera staat naast een hotel, en niet, zoals de Amerikanen beweerden, naast het ministerie van Informatie.

De doorgaans afstandelijke verslaggevers van Al Jazeera konden ditmaal hun woede en hun wantrouwen over de motieven achter de bombardementen niet verhullen. Een verslaggever in Bagdad zei dat het geen vergissing kon zijn, omdat het kantoor maar liefst driemaal gebombardeerd werd met tussenpozen.

Terwijl de internationale pers zich steeds meer afvraagt waar Saddam Hussein is, beperkte Al Jazeera zich gisteren tot een vraaggesprek met een deskundige in Caïro over de vraag waarom Amerika toch zulke verwoede pogingen doet om Saddam te elimineren, als minister van Defensie Rumsfeld beweert dat het er niet toe doet of hij nog leeft of niet.

Ondanks de grote verslagenheid onder de verslaggevers over de dood van Tarik, gaat Al Jazeera door. Maar de zender trekt de journalisten uit Bagdad terug.

Hassnae Bouazza



http://www.GuluFuture.com/baghdad_jesus.htm

BAGHDAD BOY SHOWS JESUS GOT OFF LIGHT



Ali Ismaeel Abbasne

9th April, 2003 by *Fintan Dunne*,
Editor <http://www.GuluFuture.com>

**Ali Ismaeel Abbasne has destroyed my concept of Christianity.
I always thought that Jesus suffered terribly, so God could
forgive mankind for it's sins. But, Jesus got off light.
It's down to Ali to finish the job.**

This Christianity of yours, Jesus --is a farcical, dismal failure.

Twelve-year-old Ali Abbasne was blasted into unconsciousness while still asleep. When he awoke in hospital it must have seemed to the Iraqi boy that he was having a horrific nightmare. Could it really be true that a US bomb had robbed him of his arms, his mother, his father, his brothers, his sisters and his Baghdad home?

"Can you help get my arms back? Do you think the doctors can get me another pair of hands?" Abbasne asked. "I want to become a doctor, but how can I? I don't have hands," he told Reuters. "If I don't get a pair of hands I will commit suicide."

See what I mean, Jesus.

Don't bother telling me about how they crucified you. At least you had arms with which to be crucified.

And, don't bother telling me about your legacy. The people who did this to Ali are your followers. Both of their war leaders are Christians who claim to have God on their side.

You had it easy, Jesus. You had a family most of your life. You had arms with which to be a carpenter. You had hands with which to heal the sick. Ali has nothing. Nothing, Jesus. Ali has nothing at all. Your followers robbed him of everything.

Don't tell me about your scourging and your crown of thorns. Ali's body is scourged with burns for the rest of his life. Ali's mind will be ringed with a crown of thorns for all the rest of his days. Your pain was short.

Don't tell me how they forced you to carry your own cross. Your burden was light. Ali will bear his for a lifetime. No wonder your mission failed. You had it too easy.



No wonder your followers are nowhere to be seen, as their soldiers butcher the children of Iraq in your name, and in the name of a democracy that means rule by the rich. Where are your followers now?

They are bitching about the price of Iraqi oil to feed their gas guzzlers. They are dining out on the blood of Iraqi children. They are greedily speculating on the stock market gains from a war. They are lustfully eyeing their neighbor's house with dreams of owning a larger one. They are mindlessly sniggering at the latest talk show joke. They are pampering themselves and their children with luxurious pleasures and sparkling trinkets.

Meanwhile, two-and-a-half-year-old Ali Najour, lies in agony, clothes soaked with blood. Meanwhile, eleven-year-old Safa Karim, bleeds internally from an American bomb fragment in her stomach, as she twists in agony against the rags that secure her wrists and ankles to what is her death bed. They are an abomination, are your followers.



Yes, I grant that you were wise. And I accept that your intelligence penetrated the veil of lies --as has the insight of great prophets. But, no wonder you cried out "Father, why hast Thou forsaken me?" Because He had. You must not have suffered enough.

Listen instead to Ali, my God.

"We didn't want war. I was scared of this war," says Ali. "Our house was just a poor shack, why did they want to bomb us?"

"Can you help get my arms back? Do you think the doctors can get me another pair of hands?" Ali Abbasne asks.

Are you listening God?

Here is you sacrificial Lamb. Here is Ali Abbasne. Served up to you by Christians.

Listen to his words and feel them move Your heart. Open Your eyes to his tortured innocence. Open Your heart to his suffering. Do not forsake him. Do not forsake the other children of Iraq for whom he is a symbol.

If the suffering of an innocent lamb is your measure, then Ali is filling that cup to overflowing. Anoint him, and usher in your Kingdom. Forget the Christians. It is Ali who must move You.



Blessed be Ali Abbasne. Blessed be his name.

*Fintan Dunne is an independent Irish Journalist.
Once, he thought he was a Christian.*

Author's Note: Already I have had reaction from people who think this is an anti-Christian message. Of course, many others have realized that it is a subtle Christian appeal from one who knows that Christ left it to us to implement the Christian ethos. Ali is testimony to **our** failure - not Christ's.

This article was to designed to confront Christians who justify war with the words of Christ: "Assuredly, I say to you, inasmuch as you did it to one of the least of these My brethren, you did it to Me." I seek to drive home the truth that the crucifixion of Christ was as nothing to what we have done to one who is "the least of My brethren." i wanted to cut through the hypocrisy of a "just war" waged by two lands full of Christians. And to show that a Muslim child is as much a Christ to God.

As we visit a horror worse than crucifixion on Ali Ismaeel Abbasne, we crucify Christ more horribly than the first time. All of us. None without some guilt. All of us must work for peace and the end to war. Which part of "Thou Shalt not Kill," don't we get? No more little Christ's to be crucified, please.

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See Also:

The Human Toll of the Butcher of Basra

Amid Allied jubilation, a child lies in agony, clothes soaked in blood

Pick of the Net Today

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"We are not going to take part in this meeting in Nassiriya. We think this is part of General Garner's rule of Iraq and we are not going to be part of that project at all," said Hamid al-Bayati, the London representative of the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI).

Journalists Die, Networks Lie...

LINDA S. HEARD

"Those people who are giving the orders to fire upon journalists want them to flee in terror. We must not see the criminal acts yet to be perpetrated against the civilians of Baghdad.
We have seen too much already. "

GuluFuture was first to report Kate Adie's revelations

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Baghdad diaries, April 9, 6:19 p.m.

Dr. Geert Van Moorter through satellite telephone

"We have lost count of the civilian casualties!"

"We won't concede to those damned GIs!"

Bert De Belder

"Today, (Dr.) Harrie (Dewitte) and me witnessed the dastardly acts of those so-called 'liberators.' This morning we went to the Saddam Center for Plastic Surgery in order to hand over the medicines and surgical supplies from Belgium and to check on the British cameraman I treated yesterday. We were not able to leave the hospital anymore for the rest of the day. We were trapped because the hospital was in the line of fire. Moreover, so many patients with serious injuries were brought in that we were busy the whole time. We've seen at least 35 to 40 heavily injured patients arrive and some six dead, all of them civilians. Actually, the Iraqi authorities have lost count of the civilian casualties and so do we."

"De U.S. troops even peppered the hospital's ambulance with bullets! I saw the ambulance arrive, its body dented and windows shattered. It took me a while to realize that this was the same ambulance that had left with three casualties a couple of minutes before. The doors were jammed, the driver was wounded behind the wheel, his assistant in the passenger seat was covered with blood. It was a miracle that the driver had been able to bring his vehicle back to the hospital. The patients were in agony. One of them had taken one more bullet in the chest; I saw the blood gushing from his open chest wound."

"We are sure it were American bullets that had riddled the ambulance. After the incident I wanted to confront the Americans with what they had done. There was no driver anymore for the second ambulance so I went to them with a Reuters team. At about 300 meters from the American tank involved, I went down with a white flag, hands in the air, and shouting: 'I am a medical doctor!' When I was near, I yelled to the GIs: 'Do you realize what you have done? You shot at an ambulance!' It must have been very clear anyway as the vehicle had a big flag with the Red Crescent. An American soldier answered: 'It could have been filled with explosives!' In reality, the vehicle was carrying three patients and two paramedics—all of them heavily wounded now. Intentionally shooting at an ambulance is the umpteenth violation of international humanitarian law by the American aggression force in Iraq."

"The hospital was like hell. We didn't have any oxygen anymore or supplies for intubation. The doctors were sad and many of them were in tears when they saw how the paramedics were shot at in cold blood. After half an hour a bus arrived at the hospital, also riddled with American bullets. Many injured; shouting; pushing and shoving; chaos;... . Some cars followed, some of them with dying patients. Blood was everywhere. A tragedy. So much for the 'liberation' of Baghdad."

Medical Aid for the Third World's Medical Team is safe and sound and stays in the Sheraton Hotel. "The 'liberators' are just passing by here," Geert announces cynically while we are talking on the phone. "Surreptitiously, Colette was able to give one of them a nudge and push another one aside. We are not going to concede to those GIs! I already walked to their tanks, my fists angrily clenched deep in the pockets of my white jacket. Today we have witnessed very clearly how this so-called 'liberation' is actually a bloodbath, with countless civilian casualties."



Is there some element in the US military that wants to take out journalists?

By Robert Fisk in Baghdad - 09 April 2003

<http://argument.independent.co.uk/commentators/story.jsp?story=395412>

First the Americans killed the correspondent of al-Jazeera yesterday and wounded his cameraman. Then, within four hours, they attacked the Reuters television bureau in Baghdad, killing one of its cameramen and a cameraman for Spain's Tele 5 channel and wounding four other members of the Reuters staff.

Was it possible to believe this was an accident? Or was it possible that the right word for these killings – the first with a jet aircraft, the second with an M1A1 Abrams tank – was murder? These were not, of course, the first journalists to die in the Anglo-American invasion of Iraq. Terry Lloyd of ITV was shot dead by American troops in southern Iraq, who apparently mistook his car for an Iraqi vehicle. His crew are still missing. Michael Kelly of The Washington Post tragically drowned in a canal. Two journalists have died in Kurdistan. Two journalists – a German and a Spaniard – were killed on Monday night at a US base in Baghdad, with two Americans, when an Iraqi missile exploded amid them.

And we should not forget the Iraqi civilians who are being killed and maimed by the hundred and who – unlike their journalist guests – cannot leave the war and fly home. So the facts of yesterday should speak for themselves. Unfortunately for the Americans, they make it look very like murder.

The US jet turned to rocket al-Jazeera's office on the banks of the Tigris at 7.45am local time yesterday. The television station's chief correspondent in Baghdad, Tariq Ayoub, a Jordanian-Palestinian, was on the roof with his second cameraman, an Iraqi called Zuheir, reporting a pitched battle near the bureau between American and Iraqi troops. Mr Ayoub's colleague Maher Abdullah recalled afterwards that both men saw the plane fire the rocket as it swooped toward their building, which is close to the Jumhuriya Bridge upon which two American tanks had just appeared.

"On the screen, there was this battle and we could see bullets flying and then we heard the aircraft," Mr Abdullah said.

"The plane was flying so low that those of us downstairs thought it would land on the roof – that's how close it was. We actually heard the rocket being launched. It was a direct hit – the missile actually exploded against our electrical generator. Tariq died almost at once. Zuheir was injured."

Now for America's problems in explaining this little saga. Back in 2001, the United States fired a cruise missile at al-Jazeera's office in Kabul – from which tapes of Osama bin Laden had been broadcast around the world. No explanation was ever given for this extraordinary attack on the night before the city's "liberation"; the Kabul correspondent, Taiseer Alouni, was unhurt. By the strange coincidence of journalism, Mr Alouni was in the Baghdad office yesterday to endure the USAF's second attack on al-Jazeera.

Far more disturbing, however, is the fact that the al-Jazeera network – the freest Arab television station, which has incurred the fury of both the Americans and the Iraqi authorities for its live coverage of the war – gave the Pentagon the co-ordinates of its

Baghdad office two months ago and received assurances that the bureau would not be attacked.

Then on Monday, the US State Department's spokesman in Doha, an Arab-American called Nabil Khouri, visited al-Jazeera's offices in the city and, according to a source within the Qatari satellite channel, repeated the Pentagon's assurances. Within 24 hours, the Americans had fired their missile into the Baghdad office.

The next assault, on Reuters, came just before midday when an Abrams tank on the Jamhuriya Bridge suddenly pointed its gun barrel towards the Palestine Hotel where more than 200 foreign journalists are staying to cover the war from the Iraqi side. Sky Television's David Chater noticed the barrel moving. The French television channel France 3 had a crew in a neighbouring room and videotaped the tank on the bridge. The tape shows a bubble of fire emerging from the barrel, the sound of a detonation and then pieces of paintwork falling past the camera as it vibrates with the impact.

In the Reuters bureau on the 15th floor, the shell exploded amid the staff. It mortally wounded a Ukrainian cameraman, Taras Protsyuk, who was also filming the tanks, and seriously wounded another member of the staff, Paul Pasquale from Britain, and two other journalists, including Reuters' Lebanese-Palestinian reporter Samia Nakhoul. On the next floor, Tele 5's cameraman Jose Couso was badly hurt. Mr Protsyuk died shortly afterwards. His camera and its tripod were left in the office, which was swamped with the crew's blood. Mr Couso had a leg amputated but he died half an hour after the operation.

The Americans responded with what all the evidence proves to be a straightforward lie. General Buford Blount of the US 3rd Infantry Division – whose tanks were on the bridge – announced that his vehicles had come under rocket and rifle fire from snipers in the Palestine Hotel, that his tank had fired a single round at the hotel and that the gunfire had then ceased. The general's statement, however, was untrue.

I was driving on a road between the tanks and the hotel at the moment the shell was fired – and heard no shooting. The French videotape of the attack runs for more than four minutes and records absolute silence before the tank's armament is fired. And there were no snipers in the building. Indeed, the dozens of journalists and crews living there – myself included – have watched like hawks to make sure that no armed men should ever use the hotel as an assault point.

This is, one should add, the same General Blount who boasted just over a month ago that his crews would be using depleted uranium munitions – the kind many believe to be responsible for an explosion of cancers after the 1991 Gulf War – in their tanks. For General Blount to suggest, as he clearly does, that the Reuters camera crew was in some way involved in shooting at Americans merely turns a meretricious statement into a libellous one.

Again, we should remember that three dead and five wounded journalists do not constitute a massacre – let alone the equivalence of the hundreds of civilians being maimed by the invasion force. And it is a truth that needs to be remembered that the Iraqi regime has killed a few journalists of its own over the years, with tens of thousands of its own people. But something very dangerous appeared to be getting loose yesterday. General Blount's explanation was the kind employed by the Israelis after they have killed the innocent. Is there therefore some message that we reporters are supposed to learn from all this? Is there some element in the American military that has come to hate the press and wants to take out journalists based in Baghdad, to hurt those whom our Home Secretary, David Blunkett, has maliciously claimed to be working "behind enemy lines". Could it be that this

claim – that international correspondents are in effect collaborating with Mr Blunkett's enemy (most Britons having never supported this war in the first place) – is turning into some kind of a death sentence?

I knew Mr Ayoub. I have broadcast during the war from the rooftop on which he died. I told him then how easy a target his Baghdad office would make if the Americans wanted to destroy its coverage – seen across the Arab world – of civilian victims of the bombing. Mr Protsyuk of Reuters often shared the Palestine Hotel's elevator with me. Samia Nakhoul, who is 42, has been a friend and colleague since the 1975-90 Lebanese civil war. She is married to the Financial Times correspondent David Gardner.

Yesterday afternoon, she lay covered in blood in a Baghdad hospital. And General Blount dared to imply that this innocent woman and her brave colleagues were snipers. What, I wonder, does this tell us about the war in Iraq?

'The American forces knew exactly what this hotel is'

The Sky News correspondent David Chater was in the Palestine Hotel when the hotel was hit by American tank fire. This is his account of what happened.

"I was about to go out on to the balcony when there was a huge explosion, then shouts and screams from people along our corridor. They were shouting, 'Somebody's been hit. Can somebody find a doctor?' They were saying they could see blood and bone.

"There were a lot of French journalists screaming, 'Get a doctor, get a doctor'. There was a great sense of panic because these walls are very thin. "We saw the tanks up on the bridge. They started firing across the bank. The shells were landing either side of us at what we thought were military targets. Then we were hit. We are in the middle of a tank battle.

"I don't understand why they were doing that. There was no fire coming out of this hotel – everyone knows it's full of journalists.

"Everybody is putting on flak jackets. Everybody is running for cover. We now feel extremely vulnerable and we are now going to say goodbye to you." The line was cut but minutes later Chater resumed his report, saying journalists had been watching American forces from their balconies and the troops had surely been aware of their presence.

"They knew exactly what this hotel is. They know the press corps is here. I don't know why they are trying to target journalists. There are awful scenes around me. There's a Reuters tent just a few yards away from me where people are in tears. It makes you realise how vulnerable you are. What are we supposed to do? How are we supposed to carry on if American shells are targeting Western journalists?"

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<http://www.robert-fisk.com>

Washington waarschuwt journalisten voor gevaren

WASHINGTON, 9 APRIL. Het Amerikaanse ministerie van Defensie heeft gezegd de dood van diverse journalisten, gisteren in Bagdad, te betreuren. Maar het heeft eveneens gewaarschuwd voor de gevaren van de oorlog. „Oorlog is een gevaarlijke, gevaarlijke bezigheid”, zei defensiewoordvoerder Victoria Clarke.

Clarke reageerde daarmee op een golf van kritiek nadat drie journalisten de dood vonden door Amerikaans geweld. Gisteren kwamen een Spanjaard en een Oekraïener om het leven toen hun hotel werd beschoten door een Amerikaanse tank. Diezelfde dag werd een Jordaanse journalist van de Arabische satellietzender Al-Jazira bij een Amerikaans luchtbombardement gedood.

„We zijn in oorlog. Er wordt gevochten in Bagdad. Onze troepen werden beschoten en zij hebben gebruik gemaakt van hun recht op zelfverdediging”, zei Clarke naar aanleiding van de Amerikaanse beschieting van het Palestine Hotel, de plek waar de meeste buitenlandse journalisten in Bagdad ver-

blijven. „We doen ons uiterste best om journalisten te beschermen.”

Maar het Amerikaanse Comité voor de Bescherming van Journalisten neemt geen genoegen met die verklaring. Het Comité heeft van het Amerikaanse ministerie van Defensie geëist dat er een onderzoek komt naar het incident en de aanval op het kantoor van Al-Jazira. Ook de mensenrechtenorganisatie Amnesty International heeft daar om gevraagd.

„Het is een civiel gebouw dat bescherming geniet onder internationale humanitaire wetgeving, tenzij de VS kunnen aantonen dat het Palestine Hotel voor militaire doelen werd gebruikt”, aldus Amnesty in een verklaring.

Clarke begon de reguliere persconferentie van het Pentagon gisteren met het uitspreken van haar leedwezen over de dood van drie journalisten. Maar ze voegde daar wel aan toe dat ze de „ingekwartierde” pers, de zeshonderd journalisten die optrekken met Amerikaanse en Britse legereenheden, er dikwijls op heeft gewezen hoe gevaarlijk de situatie in Irak is. „Ik heb

hoogstpersoonlijk met zo'n driehonderd nieuwsorganisaties en individuele correspondenten gesproken. De inhoud van ieder van die gesprekken was dat oorlog een gevaarlijke bezigheid is en dat je niet veilig bent in oorlogsgebied.”

Buitenlandse journalisten, aanwezig in en rond het Palestine Hotel op het moment dat het gebouw door de Amerikaanse tank onder vuur werd genomen, hebben gezegd dat volgens hun waarneming geen sprake was van scherpschutters of andere schietende militairen in het hotel.

Ook collega's van de omgekomen Jordaanse televisiejournalist betwijfelen of het Amerikaanse bombardement op de wijk waar het kantoor van Al-Jazira was gevestigd, een vergissing is geweest. De in Qatar gevestigde zender overweegt nu zijn vier in Bagdad achtergebleven correspondenten terug te halen. Ook de enige bij Amerikaanse troepen „ingekwartierde” journalist zal Irak verlaten.

In totaal zijn tien journalisten tijdens de oorlog in Irak om het leven gekomen.

Door onze redacteur

KAREL KNIP

ROTTERDAM, 9 APRIL. Een etmaal na de beschieting van het Palestine Meridian Hotel, waarbij een Spaanse en een Oekraïense journalist het leven verloren, is niet duidelijk wat met het enkele schot werd beoogd. Uit videobeelden blijkt dat er geen sprake was van een *split second*-beslissing. Een van de twee Amerikaanse Abrams-tanks die op de Juhuriya-brug over de Tigris positie hadden ingenomen nam het hotel kalm in het vizier en loste toen een schot.

Generaal-majoor Buford Blount, commandant van de 3de infanteriedivisie, heeft verklaard dat zijn tanks een schot afvuurden nadat ze werden beschoten door „small arms” en „rocket propelled grenades”. Het Centraal Commando in Qatar heeft deze beschieting, volgens het Amerikaanse televisienetwerk CNN, als „substantieel” vijandelijk vuur beschreven. Maar journalisten die in het hotel aanwezig waren toen het schot viel hebben gezegd dat er niet vanuit het gebouw is geschoten. Anderzijds valt niet uit te sluiten dat er vanuit de omgeving van het hotel is gevuurd, want de oostelijke oever van de Tigris (waar het hotel staat) was gisteren nog niet in handen van de Ameri-

Aanval op 'Palestine' roept veel vragen op

kanen. Ook is niet ondenkbaar dat de vele camera's met teledienzen die vanaf de hotel-balkons op de tanks werden gericht de indruk wekten dat er weldra beschietingen zouden volgen. Het Abrams-schot trof de hoogste verdiepingen (14 en 15) van het hotel en was misschien gericht op - vermeende - schutters op het dak.

Dan nog is de actie raadselachtig. Het Palestine Hotel bevindt zich op ongeveer 1750 meter van de Juhuriya-brug. Vanaf zo'n afstand is infanterie-vuur nauwelijks een bedreiging voor een Abrams-tank.

Het meest heeft deze in Bagdad nog te duchten van de zogenoemde *rocket propelled grenades*, de ongeleide granaten met raketaandrijving die vanaf de schouder worden afgevuurd. De Iraakse minister van Informatie Moham-

med Al-Sahhaf heeft gezegd de RPG-7's het favoriete wapen zijn om tanks mee te bestrijden. Die zouden overal in Bagdad worden ingezet. Voor die wapens wordt een effectief bereik tegen stilstaande doelen van zo'n vijfhonderd meter opgegeven. Schieten vanaf het Palestine Hotel met een RPG heeft geen zin.

Terugschieten vanaf de brug met een tankgranaat, anders dan met de bedoeling te intimideren, is militair ook ongebruikelijk. Het is verspilling van de schaarse munitie (er zijn maar veertig granaten aan boord) en de kans een verdelkt opgestelde infanterieschutter of een militieelid te raken is klein. Voor de strijd tegen infanteristen is de tank uitgerust met mitrailleurs.

Rest de vraag of de tankcommandant wist dat hij op een hotel liet schieten. Vanaf de brug over de Tigris keek hij schuin tegen de achterkant van het Palestine Hotel aan en het is niet zeker of de naam op het dak vanaf die positie te lezen was.

Maar het is moeilijk voorstelbaar dat zijn detailkaart niet aangaf dat de twee, drie gebouwen die op de oostelijke Tigris-oever hoog boven de omgeving uittorenen hotels waren: het Palestine, Sheraton en het Novotel. Naast en tussen vele andere.

Dagboek uit Bagdad, 9 april, 18.10 u: Dr. Geert Van Moorter per satelliettelefoon

"We kunnen de dode en gewonde burgers niet meer tellen"

"Wij laten ons niet doen door smeerlappen van GI's!"

Bert De Belder



"(Dr.) Harrie (Dewitte) en ik zijn vandaag rechtstreeks getuige geweest van de smeerlapperij die de zogenaamde 'bevrijdingstroepen' uitgericht hebben. Vanmorgen trokken we naar het Saddam Center for Plastic Surgery, om de uit België meegebrachte geneesmiddelen en chirurgisch materiaal af te geven, en om de Britse cameraman die ik gisteren verzorgde te bezoeken. We zijn heel de dag het ziekenhuis niet meer uitgeraakt. Enerzijds zaten we geblokkeerd, want het hospitaal lag midden in de vuurlinie. Anderzijds kwamen er zoveel zwaargewonden binnen dat we de hele tijd de handen vol hadden. We hebben zeker 35 à 40

zwaargewonden zien binnenbrengen, en een zestal doden, allemaal burgers. Maar exact zijn ze niet meer te tellen, noch door de Irakese gezondheidsdiensten, noch door ons."

"De VS-troepen hebben zelfs de ambulance van het ziekenhuis met kogels doorzeefd! Ik zag die ziekenwägen komen aanrijden, met de carrosserie ingedeukt, de ruiten stuk. Het duurde even voor ik doorhad dat het de ambulance van 'ons' ziekenhuis zelf was, die even tevoren drie gewonden was gaan wegbrengen! De deuren van de wagen zaten dichtgeklemd, de chauffeur lag zwaargewond achter het stuur, zijn helper naast hem zat ook onder het bloed. Een wonder dat de chauffeur de auto, met de drie zwaargewonden achterin, nog had kunnen terugrijden. De patiënten lagen werkelijk te zeltogen, een ervan had nog een extra kogel in de borstkas gekregen, ik zag het bloed uit zijn opengereten long gutsen..."



"In het ziekenhuis was het de hel. We beschikten niet meer over zuurstof of intubatiemateriaal. De artsen liepen er verslagen bij, velen weenden bij het zien hoe hun collega's-ambulanciers in koelen bloede waren afgemaakt... Een halfuur later kwam een bus aan bij het ziekenhuis, ook met Amerikaanse kogels doorzeefd. Verschillende gewonden, geroep, getrek, chaos... Enkele auto's volgden nog, soms met stervende mensen erin, bloed overal, een afschuwelijk drama! En dat noemen ze dan de 'bevrijding' van Bagdad!"

Het Medical Team van Geneeskunde voor de Derde Wereld bevindt zich veilig en wel in het Sheraton Hotel. "De 'bevrijders' passeren hier juist", meldt Geert cynisch tijdens het telefoongesprek. "Colette geeft er een heimelijk een stamp, een andere een duw. We gaan ons door die GI's niet laten doen, hoor! Ik ben ook al eens tot een van hun tanks gewandeld, met mijn handen, uit boosheid tot vuisten gekneld, diep in de zakken van mijn witte doktersjas. We hebben vandaag heel concreet en keihard meegemaakt hoe die

zogenaamde 'bevrijding' één groot bloedbad is geweest, met tientallen burgerslachtoffers."

Dagboek uit Bagdad, 9 april, 19.40 u: Dr. Geert Van Moorter per satelliettelefoon

AANVULLING: "Amerikaanse kogels doorzeefden ziekenwagen"



"Het ging zeker om Amerikaanse kogels die de ziekenwagen doorzeefd hebben. Na het incident wilde ik de Amerikanen tegemoet gaan om hen te confronteren met wat ze gedaan hadden. Voor de tweede ambulance vond ik geen chauffeur meer. Ik reed dan maar in hun richting met een ploeg van Reuters. Op 300 meter van de bewuste Amerikaanse tank stapte ik uit, met een witte vlag, mijn handen in de hoogte, en roepend 'I am a medical doctor!'. Dichterbij gekomen riep ik de GI's toe: 'Weten jullie wel wat jullie gedaan hebben? Een ziekenwagen beschoten!' Die ambulance was trouwens heel duidelijk als dusdanig herkenbaar, met een grote vlag met de Rode Halve Maan erop. Een Amerikaanse soldaat antwoordde: 'Die ambulance had evengoed vol explosieven kunnen zitten'. In werkelijkheid zaten er drie patiënten en twee ambulanciers in, nu allevijf zwaargewond... Het beschieten van een ziekenwagen is de zoveelste zware schending van het internationaal humanitair recht die de Amerikaanse aanvalstroepen in Irak op hun geweten hebben."

Geert belde nog met een pittig verhaal. Een journalist van Reuters was licht gewond, men vroeg hem te gaan kijken in Hotel Palestine. Daar aangekomen zag hij twee Amerikaanse 'medics' bezig naast het bed van de man. Toen heeft Geert zich eens goed laten gaan: "What? Two yankees here? Fuck off, you! You know that your men just shot my ambulance? Get out of here!". En om ze rapper te doen pakken en lopen voegde hij er nog aan toe, met Van Moorterse humor: "Quick, the enemy is inside this building, get out!". En als uitsmijter: "Go back to your killing fields!" De twee arme 'medics' dropen verbouwereerd af, en Geert kon zijn werk doen om de journalist te verzorgen - die de GI's ook liever zag gaan dan komen.

Thursday 10, April, 2003 / Last Updated: 2:23PM Doha time, 6:23AM GMT (AFP)



US troops fire on ambulance, two killed

Two Iraqis are dead and three wounded Wednesday after US troops shot at an ambulance in central Baghdad. Speaking to the AFP news agency, Belgian doctor Geert Van Moorter said that the driver was wounded in the stomach while the co-pilot had leg wounds.

"The American troops just mowed down the ambulance which was transporting wounded people from the Saddam Centre for Plastic Surgery to another hospital," he said.

The ambulance had been carrying three men wounded by exchanges of fire in the city, he said, adding that two of them were among the dead.

Van Moorter, from the Belgian association Medical Aid for the Third World slammed US troops involved in the incident. "This is completely unacceptable, and when I went up to a US officer to denounce such behaviour, he just said: 'The ambulance could contain explosives.'

Officials from CENTCOM in Qatar were unaware of the incident, and have yet to comment.--- Al Jazeera with agency inputs

THE Daily Telegraph

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Hotel hit 'deliberate': French TV

09apr03

FOOTAGE filmed by France 3 television of a strike on a hotel which killed two journalists in Baghdad today shows a US tank targeting the journalists' hotel and waiting at least two minutes before firing.

The journalist and film editor who filmed the attack, Herve de Ploeg, who filmed the attack, said: "I did not hear any shots in the direction of the tank, which was stationed at the west entrance of the Al-Jumhuriya (Republic) bridge, 600 metres north-west of the hotel.

The tank's turret is seen moving toward the Palestine Hotel, where foreign reporters have set up shop, and the gun carriage lifting and waiting at least two minutes before opening up.

The French TV channel had positioned two cameras in two rooms facing the bridge as of 6.30am (11.30pm AEST).

"It had been very quiet for a moment. There was no shooting at all. Then I saw the turret turning in our direction and the carriage lifting. It faced the target," said De Ploeg.

"It was not a case of instinctive firing," he said. The firing took place at 11.59am (5.59pm AEST), said France 3 reporter Caroline Sinz.

"I'm very specific because I was due to go on air," she explained.

The incident killed a cameraman for the Telecinco Spanish television station and another for the British news agency Reuters. Three Reuters staffers were also wounded.

The Spanish cameraman was named as Jose Couso, 37. The Reuters cameraman was named as Ukrainian Taras Protsyuk, 35.

A US commander said the tank fired a single round at the hotel.

"The tank was receiving fire from the hotel, RPG (rocket-propelled grenade) and small-arms fire, and engaged with one tank round. The firing stopped," said General Buford Blount, commander of the 3rd Infantry Division, speaking at Baghdad's international airport.

A reporter for the Arab satellite television Al-Jazeera died earlier today and a cameraman was injured after the station's offices in Baghdad were hit in a separate attack that the Qatar-based channel charged was a deliberate US strike.

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http://www.GuluFuture.com/news/kate_adie030310.htm

PENTAGON THREATENS TO KILL INDEPENDENT REPORTERS IN IRAQ



10th March, 2003
by Fintan Dunne, Editor
<http://www.GuluFuture.com>

The Pentagon has threatened to fire on the satellite uplink positions of independent journalists in Iraq, according to veteran BBC war correspondent, Kate Adie. In an interview with Irish radio, Ms. Adie said that questioned about the consequences of such potentially fatal actions, a senior Pentagon officer had said: "Who cares.. ..They've been warned."

According to Ms. Adie, who twelve years ago covered the last Gulf War, the Pentagon attitude is: "entirely hostile to the the free spread of information."

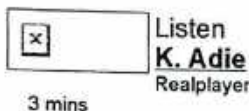
"I am enormously pessimistic of the chance of decent on-the-spot reporting, as the war occurs," she told Irish national broadcaster, Tom McGurk on the RTE1 Radio "Sunday Show."

Ms. Adie made the startling revelations during a discussion of media freedom issues in the likely upcoming war in Iraq. She also warned that the Pentagon is vetting journalists according to their stance on the war, and intends to take control of US journalists' satellite equipment --in order to control access to the airwaves.

Another guest on the show, war author Phillip Knightley, reported that the Pentagon has also threatened they: "may find it necessary to bomb areas in which war correspondents are attempting to report from the Iraqi side."

Transcript follows below.

Audio of this very frank discussion of the problems facing reporters in Iraq. Guests: Kate Adie, BBC; Phillip Knightley, author of The First Casualty, a history of war correspondents and propaganda; Chris Hedges, award winning human rights journalist, and former Irish Times Editor Connor Brady on the Sunday Show, RTE Radio1 9th March, 2003.



3 mins

Listen full Gulf media freedom segment Audio

26 minutes[Realplayer] Links valid until 16 March
[DOWNLOAD ENTIRE SHOW HERE](#)

Tom McGurk:



" Now, Kate Adie, you join us from the BBC in London. Thank you very much for going to all this trouble on a Sunday morning to come and join us. I suppose you are watching with a mixture of emotions this war beginning to happen, because you are not going to be covering it."

Kate Adie:



" Oh I will be. And what actually appalls me is the difference between twelve years ago and now. I've seen a complete erosion of any kind of acknowledgment that reporters should be able to report as they witness."

" The Americans... and I've been talking to the Pentagon ...take the attitude which is **entirely** hostile to the free spread of information."

" I was told by a senior officer in the Pentagon, that if uplinks —that is the television signals out of... Bhagdad, for example— were detected by any planes ...electronic media... mediums, of the military above Bhagdad... they'd be fired down on. Even if they were journalists .. Who cares! ' said.. [inaudible] .."

Tom McGurk:

"...Kate ...sorry Kate ..just to underline that. Sorry to interrupt you. Just to explain for our listeners. Uplinks is where you have your own satellite telephone method of distributing information."

Kate Adie:

" The telephones and the television signals."

Tom McGurk:

" And they would be fired on? "

Kate Adie:

" Yes. They would be 'targeted down,' said the officer."

Tom McGurk:

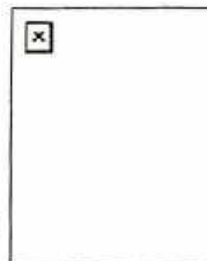
" Extraordinary ! "

Kate Adie: " Shameless! "

He said:
' Well... they know this ... they've been warned.'

This is threatening freedom of information, before you even get to a war.

The second thing is there was a massive news blackout imposed.



In the last Gulf war, where I was one of the pool correspondents with the British Army. We effectively had very, very light touch when it came to any kind of censorship.

We were told that anything which was going to endanger troops lives which we understood we shouldn't broadcast. But other than that, we were relatively free.

Unlike our American colleagues, who immediately left their pool, after about 48 hours, having **just** had enough of it.

And this time the Americans are: a) Asking journalists who go with them, whether they are... have feelings against the war. And therefore if you have views that are skeptical, then you are not to be acceptable.

Secondly, they are intending to take control of the Americans technical equipment ...those uplinks and satellite phones I was talking about. And control access to the airwaves.

And then on top of everything else, there is now a blackout (which was imposed, during the last war, at the beginning of the war), ...ordered by one Mr. Dick Cheney, who is in charge of **this**.

I am enormously pessimistic of the chance of decent on-the-spot reporting, as the war occurs. You will get it later.



Listen
full Gulf Media
Freedom segment
Audio

26 minutes[Realplayer]

Pick of the Net Today

Ali Ismaell Abbasne has destroyed my concept of Christianity.
I always thought that Jesus suffered terribly, so God could
forgive mankind for it's sins. But, Jesus got off light.
It's down to Ali to finish the job.

READ ON HERE

**SMALL CIA RENT-A-MOB FLOWN IN
TO PULL DOWN SADDAM STATUE**

Shi'ite Group to Boycott U.S. Talks on Iraq

"We are not going to take part in this meeting in Nassirya.
We think this is part of General Garner's rule of Iraq and we are not going to be
part of that project at all," said Hamid al-Bayati, the London representative
of the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI).

Journalists Die, Networks Lie...
LINDA S. HEARD

"Those people who are giving the orders to fire upon journalists
want them to flee in terror. We must not see the criminal acts
yet to be perpetrated against the civilians of Baghdad.
We have seen too much already."

GuluFuture was first to report Kate Adie's revelations
See our exclusive report here

Reporters Without Borders accuses US military
of deliberately firing at journalists

the following link at the moment



http://home.planet.nl/~kempe103/pers/kate_adie030310.htm

12-4-03

