



Remembering Fallujah

A dossier of The **BRussels** Tribunal

There is a small City on one of the bends of the Euphrates that sticks out into the great Syrian Desert. It's on an ancient trade route linking the oasis towns of the Nejd province of what is today Saudi Arabia with the great cities of Aleppo and Mosul to the north. It also is on the desert highway between Baghdad and Amman. This city is a crossroads.

For millennia people have been going up and down that north-south desert highway. The city is like a seaport on that great desert, a place that binds together people in what are today Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iraq and Jordan. People in the city are linked by tribe, family or marriage to people in all these places.

The ideas that came out of the eastern part of Saudi Arabia in the late 18th Century, which today we call Wahhabi ideas—those of a man named Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab—took root in this city more than 200 years ago. In other words, it is a place where what we would call fundamentalist salafi, or Wahhabi ideas, have been well implanted for 10 generations.

This town also is the place where in the spring of 1920, before T. E. Lawrence wrote the above passage, the British discerned civil unrest.

The British sent a renowned explorer and a senior colonial officer who had quelled unrest in the corners of their empire, Lt. Col. Gerald Leachman, to master this unruly corner of Iraq. Leachman was killed in an altercation with a local leader named Shaykh Dhari. His death sparked a war that ended up costing the lives of 10,000 Iraqis and more than 1,000 British and Indian troops. To restore Iraq to their control, the British used massive air power, bombing indiscriminately. That city is now called Fallujah.

Shaykh Dhari's grandson, today a prominent Iraqi cleric, helped to broker the end of the U.S. Marine siege of Fallujah in April of this year. Fallujah thus embodies the interrelated tribal, religious and national aspects of Iraq's history.

The Bush administration is not creating the world anew in the Middle East. It is waging a war in a place where history really matters.

A change for the worse

The United States has been a major Middle Eastern power since 1933, when a group of U.S. oil companies signed an exploration deal with Saudi Arabia. The United States has been dominant in the Middle East since 1942, when American troops first landed in North Africa and Iran. American troops have not left the region since. In other words, they have been in different parts of the Middle East for 62 years.

The United States was once celebrated as a non-colonial, sometimes anti-colonial, power in the Middle East, renowned for more than a century for its educational, medical and charity efforts. Since the Cold War, however, the United States has intervened increasingly in the region's internal affairs and conflicts. Things have changed fundamentally for the worse with the invasion and occupation of Iraq, particularly with the revelation that the core pretexts offered by the administration for the invasion were false. And particularly with growing Iraqi dissatisfaction with the occupation and with the images of the hellish chaos broadcast regularly everywhere in the world except in the United States—thanks to the excellent job done by the media in keeping the real human costs of Iraq off our television screens.

The United States is perceived as stepping into the boots of Western colonial occupiers, still bitterly remembered from Morocco to Iran. The Bush administration marched into Iraq proclaiming the very best of intentions while stubbornly refusing to understand that in the eyes of most Iraqis and most others in the Middle East it is actions, not proclaimed intentions, that count. It does not matter what you say you are doing in Fallujah, where U.S. troops just launched an attack after weeks of bombing. What matters is what you are *doing* in Fallujah—and what people see that you are doing.

Fact-free and faith-based

Most Middle East experts in the United States, both inside and outside the government, have drawn on their knowledge of the cultures, languages, history, politics of the Middle East—and on their experience—to conclude that most Bush administration Middle East policies, whether in Iraq or Palestine, are harmful to the interests of the United States and the peoples of this region. A few of these experts have had the temerity to say so, to the outrage of the Bush administration and its supporters, who are committed to what I would call a fact-free, faith-based approach to Middle East policymaking.



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These experts predicted that it would be difficult to occupy a vast, complex country like Iraq, that serious resistance from a major part of the population was likely, and that the invasion and occupation would complicate U.S. relations with other countries in the region. It is clear today that all of these fears were well founded.

After 20 months of occupation, the United States continues to make the important decisions in Iraq. Instead of control being exercised through the Coalition Provisional Authority, it takes place through the largest U.S. embassy in the world and its staff of more than 3,000. You can be sure that should the Iraqis try to end the basing of U.S. troops, or try to tear up the contracts with Halliburton and other U.S. companies, or take any other steps that displease the Bush administration, they would be brought up short by the U.S. viceroy, a.k.a. Ambassador John Negroponte.

We, and even more so the Iraqi government and its people, are trapped in a nightmare with no apparent end, in part because those experts who challenged neoconservative fantasies about U.S. troops being received with rice and flowers simply were not heeded. They warned that it is impossible to impose democracy through force in Iraq. Mao Tse Tung said that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun; he did not say democracy does. And it doesn't.

The stench of hypocrisy rises when the United States, a nation supposedly committed to democratization and reform, does not hesitate to embrace dictatorial, autocratic and undemocratic regimes like those of Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Tunisia and now even Libya, simply because they act in line with U.S. security concerns or give lucrative contracts to U.S. businesses. The United States claims to be acting in favor of democracy, yet embraces Qaddafi! People in the Middle East notice this gap between word and deed—even if Americans don't notice the things being done in our name.

The United States, in fact, has a far from sterling record in promoting democracy in the Middle East. Initially it started off on a better footing. It opposed colonial rule and -promoted self-determination, as in President Wilson's Fourteen Points after World War I. But when the United States returned to the Middle East after World War II, it soon supported anti-democratic regimes simply because they provided access to oil and military bases.

If you look carefully, what the Bush administration seems to mean by democracy in the Middle East is governments that do what the United States wants.

Conquer and plunder

Middle Eastern economics is another area about which we hear very little in our media. Americans may not be aware of it, but the wholesale theft of the property of the Iraqi people through privatization was prominently reported all over the Middle East. A recent case involved the handover of Iraqi Airways to an investor group headed by a family with close ties to the Saddam Hussein regime. The airline is worth \$3 billion, because in addition to valuable landing slots all over Europe and a few tattered airplanes, Iraqi Airways owns the land on which most of the airports are built.

Such cases, and there are many, cause deep anger against the United States, and evoke bitter resistance to pressures for economic liberalization that people in the region interpret as the looting of their country's assets.

These privatization measures arouse deep suspicion in the Middle East, because of fears that the region's primary asset, oil, may be next.

Here, too, history is all-important. Since commercial quantities of oil were discovered in the Middle East at the turn of the 20th century, decisions over pricing, control and ownership of these valuable resources were largely in the hands of giant Western oil companies. They decided prices. They decided how much in taxes they would pay. They decided who controlled the local governments. They decided how much oil would be produced. And they decided everything else about oil, including conditions of exploration, production and labor.

In those seven decades the people of the countries where this wealth was located obtained few benefits from it. Only with the rise of OPEC and the nationalization of the Middle East oil industries and the oil price rises in the '70s did the situation change. Sadly, it was the oligarchs, the kleptocrats and Western companies that benefited most from the increased prices.

Fears that they will lose their resources shape much of the nationalism of the peoples of the Middle East. And events in Iraq only enhance these fears.

By invading, occupying and imposing a new regime on Iraq, the United States may be following, intentionally or not, in the footsteps of the old Western colonial powers—and doing so in a region that within living memory ended a lengthy struggle to expel colonial occupations. They fought from 1830 to 1962 to kick out the French from Algeria. From 1882 to 1956 they fought to get the British out of Egypt. That's within the lifetime of every person over 45 in the Middle East. Foreign troops on their soil against their will is deeply familiar.

Rashid Khalidi

<http://www.inthesetimes.com/site/main/article/1683/>

Pictures of the massacre at Fallujah, Iraq 30 april 2003

TWO KILLED IN NEW IRAQ DEMO SHOOTING

<http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/allnews/page.cfm?objectid=12908278&method=full&siteid=50143>

May 1 2003

From Chris Hughes In Al-Fallujah. Pictures by Julian Andrews



IT started when a young boy hurled a sandal at a US jeep - it ended with two Iraqis dead and 16 seriously injured.

I watched in horror as American troops opened fire on a crowd of 1,000 unarmed people here yesterday.

Many, including children, were cut down by a 20-second burst of automatic gunfire during a demonstration against the killing of 13 protesters at the Al-Kaahd school on Monday.



They had been whipped into a frenzy by religious leaders. The crowd were facing down a military compound of tanks and machine-gun posts.

The youngster had apparently lobbed his shoe at the jeep - with a M2 heavy machine gun post on the back - as it drove past in a convoy of other vehicles.



A soldier operating the weapon suddenly ducked, raised it on its pivot then pressed his thumb on the trigger.

Mirror photographer Julian Andrews and I were standing about six feet from the vehicle when the first shots rang out, without warning.

We dived for cover under the compound wall as troops within the crowd opened fire. The convoy accelerated away from the scene.

Iraqis in the line of fire dived for cover, hugging the dust to escape being hit.

We could hear the bullets screaming over our heads. Explosions of sand erupted from the ground - if the rounds failed to hit a demonstrator first. Seconds later the shooting stopped and the screaming and wailing began.



One of the dead, a young man, lay face up, half his head missing, first black blood, then red spilling into the dirt.

His friends screamed at us in anger, then looked at the grim sight in disbelief.

A boy of 11 lay shouting in agony before being carted off in a car to a hospital already jam-packed with Iraqis hurt in Monday's incident.



Cars pulled up like taxis to take the dead and injured to hospital, as if they had been waiting for this to happen.

A man dressed like a sheik took off his headcloth to wave and direct traffic around the injured. The sickening scenes of death and pain were the culmination of a day of tension in Al-Fallujah sparked by Monday's killings.



The baying crowd had marched 500 yards from the school to a local Ba'ath party HQ. We joined them, asking questions and taking pictures, as Apache helicopters circled above.

The crowd waved their fists at the gunships angrily and shouted: "Go home America, go home America."



We rounded a corner and saw edgy-looking soldiers lined up along the street in between a dozen armoured vehicles. All of them had automatic weapons pointing in the firing position.

As the crowd - 10 deep and about 100 yards long - marched towards the US positions, chanting "Allah is great, go home Americans", the troops reversed into the compound.

On the roof of the two-storey fortress, ringed by a seven-foot

high brick wall, razor wire and with several tanks inside, around 20 soldiers ran to the edge and took up positions.

A machine gun post at one of the corners swivelled round, taking aim at the crowd which pulled to a halt.

We heard no warning to disperse and saw no guns or knives among the Iraqis whose religious and tribal leaders kept shouting through loud hailers to remain peaceful. In the baking heat and with the deafening noise of helicopters the tension reached breaking point.

Julian and I ran towards the compound to get away from the crowd as dozens of troops started taking aim at them, others peering at them through binoculars.

Tribal leaders struggled to contain the mob which was reaching a frenzy.

A dozen ran through the cordon of elders, several hurling what appeared to be rocks at troops.

Some of the stones just reached the compound walls. Many threw sandals - a popular Iraqi insult.

A convoy of Bradley military jeeps passed by, the Iraqis hurling insults at them, slapping the sides of the vehicles with their sandals, tribal leaders begging them to retreat.

The main body of demonstrators jeered the passing US troops pointing their thumbs down to mock them.

Then came the gunfire - and the death and the agony.

After the shootings the American soldiers looked at the appalling scene through their binoculars and set up new positions, still training their guns at us.

An angry mob battered an Arab TV crew van, pulling out recording equipment and hurling it at the compound. Those left standing - now apparently insane with anger - ran at the fortress battering its walls with their fists. Many had tears pouring down their faces.

Still no shots from the Iraqis and still no sign of the man with the AK47 who the US later claimed had let off a shot at the convoy.

I counted at least four or five soldiers with binoculars staring at the crowd for weapons but we saw no guns amongst the injured or dropped on the ground.

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A local told us the crowd would turn on foreigners so we left and went to the hospital.

There, half an hour later, another chanting mob was carrying an open coffin of one of the dead, chanting "Islam, Islam, Islam, death to the Americans".

We left when we were spat at by a wailing woman dressed in black robes.

US troops had been accused of a bloody massacre over the killings of the 13 Iraqis outside the school on Monday. Three of the dead were said to be boys under 11.

At least 75 locals were injured in a 30-minute gun battle after soldiers claimed they were shot at by protesters.

Demonstrators claimed they were trying to reclaim the school from the Americans who had occupied it as a military HQ.

The crowd had defied a night-time curfew to carry out the protest.

These are from Yahoo, News photos.



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In these images from television, a bullet riddled car in a street in Fallujah, Iraq is seen Tuesday, April 29, 2003 , after a shooting incident Monday night in which U.S. soldiers opened fire on Iraqis at a demonstration after being shot at with automatic rifles by some in the crowd, Col. Arnold Bray of the 82nd Airborne Division said Tuesday. The director of the local hospital said 13 people were killed and 75 injured. The shooting took place about 10:30 p.m. Monday in the town of Fallujah, 30 miles west of Baghdad. (AP Photo/APTN)



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U.S. troops fire on Iraqis, 13 reported dead

http://www.cbc.ca/story/news/national/2003/04/29/iraq_shooting030429.html

Last Updated Tue, 29 Apr 2003 21:34:09 EDT

[CBC News](#)

FALLUJAH, IRAQ - U.S. soldiers opened fire on a crowd of Iraqi protesters late Monday. Iraqi sources say 13 Iraqis were killed and 75 injured.

A hospital director in Fallujah, 50 kilometres west of Baghdad, said the dead included three boys younger than 11.

Dr. Ahmed Ghanim al-Ali said his medical crews were shot at when they tried to help the injured.

Col. Arnold Bray of the 82nd Airborne Division said soldiers fired on the crowd of 200 after some in the crowd shot at the schoolhouse where the soldiers are headquartered.

The Al-Jazeera TV network quoted people in Fallujah as saying the protesters were students between the ages of five and 20, and the U.S. troops opened fire when someone threw a rock at the school.

Bray said some of the protesters were armed.

"Ask them which kind of schoolboys carry AK-47s," he said.

The Iraqis said the shooting continued for at least 30 minutes.

The demonstrators were reportedly protesting against the U.S. troops' presence in the town. They also wanted the soldiers out of the school so their classes could resume.

Thousands of people attended funerals for the victims on Tuesday in Fallujah. Organizers urged them not to confront the soldiers.



U.S. troops fire again on Iraqi protesters

http://www.cbc.ca/story/news/national/2003/04/30/iraq_fallujah030430.html

Last Updated Wed, 30 Apr 2003 17:32:06 EDT

[CBC News](#)

FALLUJAH, IRAQ - U.S. soldiers fired on anti-American protesters for the second time this week, as Iraqis demonstrated Wednesday against the previous shootings.

Fallujah's mayor said two people were killed and 14 wounded in the gunfire.

About 1,000 people marched down the city's main street, carrying signs condemning Monday's shootings.

FROM APRIL 29, 2003: [U.S. troops fire on Iraqis, 13 reported dead](#)

They stopped in front of a battalion headquarters of the U.S. Army's 82nd Airborne Division, a former office of Saddam Hussein's Baathist Party.

When some of the protesters started throwing rocks and shoes at the building, soldiers inside suddenly started shooting at the crowd, according to reporters on the scene.

An American civil affairs officer said the U.S. would investigate whether the protesters had fired on troops.

Fallujah city officials who witnessed the incident said they didn't see or hear any shooting from the demonstrators.



Fallujah



Fallujah is a large town forty miles west of Baghdad. The town of Fallujah measures 3k wide x 3.5k long. It was there, early in the Gulf War, that a British jet intending to bomb a bridge had accidentally dropped two laser guided bombs on a crowded market. Between 50 and 150 civilians died and many more were injured when the RAF laser guided bomb which missed its target exploded in a built-up area of Fallujah. Four laser-guided bombs were dropped on the Fallujah Bridge. At least one struck in the middle while one or possibly two bombs fell short in the river. The fourth bomb veered to the right and hit a market in the town. It appeared to have failed to engage its laser guidance system.

Early in 244, the Roman and Sassanian armies met near the city of Misiche (modern Fallujah). Shapur's forces were triumphant, and the city was renamed Peroz-Shapur, "Victorious [is] Shapur." Shapur commemorated his victory with a sculpture and trilingual inscription (at Naqsh-i-Rustam in modern-day Iran) that claimed that Gordian III was killed in the battle. However Gordian III died, it seems unlikely to have been as a direct result of the battle at Misiche/Peroz-Shapur. The emperor's Persian campaigns were promoted within the Roman Empire as a success. Other than the loss of Hatra, the Sassanians gained control over no additional territory as a result of the war, and Shapur did not disturb Roman interests in upper Mesopotamia for nearly eight years.

Iraq's development as a modern, industrial society has been aided by a network of highways and railroads between the major cities and the outlying provinces. In 1914 Iraq had only two main roads, one from Baghdad across the desert to Al Fallujah on the Euphrates and the other, used mainly for produce, from Mosul to Mardin, Turkey.



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Fallujah: the April 2004 Siege

by Jo Wilding (April 14 2004)

I'm sorry it's so long, but please, please read and forward widely. The truth of what's happening in Falluja has to get out.

Hamoudie, my thoughts are with you.

April 11th Falluja

Trucks, oil tankers, tanks are burning on the highway east to Falluja. A stream of boys and men goes to and from a lorry that's not burnt, stripping it bare. We turn onto the back roads through Abu Ghraib, Nuha and Ahrar singing in Arabic, past the vehicles full of people and a few possessions, heading the other way, past the improvised refreshment posts along the way where boys throw food through the windows into the bus for us and for the people inside still inside Falluja.

The bus is following a car with the nephew of a local sheikh and a guide who has contacts with the Mujahedin and has cleared this with them. The reason I'm on the bus is that a journalist I knew turned up at my door at about 11 at night telling me things were desperate in Falluja, he'd been bringing out children with their limbs blown off, the US soldiers were going around telling people to leave by dusk or be killed, but then when people fled with whatever they could carry, they were being stopped at the US military checkpoint on the edge of town and not let out, trapped, watching the sun go down.

He said aid vehicles and the media were being turned away. He said there was some medical aid that needed to go in and there was a better chance of it getting there with foreigners, westerners, to get through the american checkpoints. The rest of the way was secured with the armed groups who control the roads we'd travel on. We'd take in the medical supplies, see what else we could do to help and then use the bus to bring out people who needed to leave.

I'll spare you the whole decision making process, all the questions we all asked ourselves and each other, and you can spare me the accusations of madness, but what it came down to was this: if I don't do it, who will? Either way, we arrive in one piece.

We pile the stuff in the corridor and the boxes are torn open straightaway, the blankets most welcomed. It's not a hospital at all but a clinic, a private doctor's surgery treating people free since air strikes destroyed the town's main hospital. Another has been improvised in a car garage. There's no anaesthetic. The blood bags are in a drinks fridge and the doctors warm them up under the hot tap in an unhygienic toilet.

Screaming women come in, praying, slapping their chests and faces. Ummi, my mother, one cries. I hold her until Maki, a consultant and acting director of the clinic, brings me to the bed where a child of about ten is lying with a bullet wound to the head. A smaller child is being treated for a similar injury in the next bed. A US sniper hit them and their grandmother as they left their home to flee Falluja.

The lights go out, the fan stops and in the sudden quiet someone holds up the flame of a cigarette lighter for the doctor to carry on operating by. The electricity to the town has been cut off for days and when the generator runs out of petrol they just have to manage till it comes back on. Dave quickly donates his torch. The children are not going to live.

“Come,” says Maki and ushers me alone into a room where an old woman has just had an abdominal bullet wound stitched up. Another in her leg is being dressed, the bed under her foot soaked with blood, a white flag still clutched in her hand and the same story: I was leaving my home to go to Baghdad when I was hit by a US sniper. Some of the town is held by US marines, other parts by the local fighters. Their homes are in the US controlled area and they are adamant that the snipers were US marines.

Snipers are causing not just carnage but also the paralysis of the ambulance and evacuation services. The biggest hospital after the main one was bombed is in US territory and cut off from the clinic by snipers. The ambulance has been repaired four times after bullet damage. Bodies are lying in the streets because no one can go to collect them without being shot.

Some said we were mad to come to Iraq; quite a few said we were completely insane to come to Falluja and now there are people telling me that getting in the back of the pick up to go past the snipers and get sick and injured people is the craziest thing they’ve ever seen. I know, though, that if we don’t, no one will.

He’s holding a white flag with a red crescent on; I don’t know his name. The men we pass wave us on when the driver explains where we’re going. The silence is ferocious in the no man’s land between the pick up at the edge of the Mujahedin territory, which has just gone from our sight around the last corner and the marines’ line beyond the next wall; no birds, no music, no indication that anyone is still living until a gate opens opposite and a woman comes out, points.

We edge along to the hole in the wall where we can see the car, spent mortar shells around it. The feet are visible, crossed, in the gutter. I think he’s dead already. The snipers are visible too, two of them on the corner of the building. As yet I think they can’t see us so we need to let them know we’re there.

“Hello,” I bellow at the top of my voice. “Can you hear me?” They must. They’re about 30 metres from us, maybe less, and it’s so still you could hear the flies buzzing at fifty paces. I repeat myself a few times, still without reply, so decide to explain myself a bit more.

“We are a medical team. We want to remove this wounded man. Is it OK for us to come out and get him? Can you give us a signal that it’s OK?”

I’m sure they can hear me but they’re still not responding. Maybe they didn’t understand it all, so I say the same again. Dave yells too in his US accent. I yell again. Finally I think I hear a shout back. Not sure, I call again.

“Hello.”

“Yeah.”

“Can we come out and get him?”

“Yeah,”

Slowly, our hands up, we go out. The black cloud that rises to greet us carries with it a hot, sour smell. Solidified, his legs are heavy. I leave them to Rana and Dave, our guide lifting under his hips. The Kalashnikov is attached by sticky blood to his hair and hand and we don't want it with us so I put my foot on it as I pick up his shoulders and his blood falls out through the hole in his back. We heave him into the pick up as best we can and try to outrun the flies.

I suppose he was wearing flip flops because he's barefoot now, no more than 20 years old, in imitation Nike pants and a blue and black striped football shirt with a big 28 on the back. As the orderlies form the clinic pull the young fighter off the pick up, yellow fluid pours from his mouth and they flip him over, face up, the way into the clinic clearing in front of them, straight up the ramp into the makeshift morgue.

We wash the blood off our hands and get in the ambulance. There are people trapped in the other hospital who need to go to Baghdad. Siren screaming, lights flashing, we huddle on the floor of the ambulance, passports and ID cards held out the windows. We pack it with people, one with his chest taped together and a drip, one on a stretcher, legs jerking violently so I have to hold them down as we wheel him out, lifting him over steps.

The hospital is better able to treat them than the clinic but hasn't got enough of anything to sort them out properly and the only way to get them to Baghdad on our bus, which means they have to go to the clinic. We're crammed on the floor of the ambulance in case it's shot at. Nisareen, a woman doctor about my age, can't stop a few tears once we're out.

The doctor rushes out to meet me: “Can you go to fetch a lady, she is pregnant and she is delivering the baby too soon?”

Azzam is driving, Ahmed in the middle directing him and me by the window, the visible foreigner, the passport. Something scatters across my hand, simultaneous with the crashing of a bullet through the ambulance, some plastic part dislodged, flying through the window.

We stop, turn off the siren, keep the blue light flashing, wait, eyes on the silhouettes of men in US marine uniforms on the corners of the buildings. Several shots come. We duck, get as low as possible and I can see tiny red lights whipping past the window, past my head. Some, it's hard to tell, are hitting the ambulance I start singing. What else do you do when someone's shooting at you? A tyre bursts with an enormous noise and a jerk of the vehicle.

I'm outraged. We're trying to get to a woman who's giving birth without any medical attention, without electricity, in a city under siege, in a clearly marked ambulance, and you're shooting at us. How dare you?

How dare you?

Azzam grabs the gear stick and gets the ambulance into reverse, another tyre bursting as we go over the ridge in the centre of the road, the shots still coming as we flee around the corner. I carry on singing. The wheels are scraping, burst rubber burning on the road.

The men run for a stretcher as we arrive and I shake my head. They spot the new bullet holes and run to see if we're OK. Is there any other way to get to her, I want to know. La, maaku tarieq. There is no other way. They say we did the right thing. They say they've fixed the ambulance four times already and they'll fix it again but the radiator's gone and the wheels are buckled and she's still at home in the dark giving birth alone. I let her down.

We can't go out again. For one thing there's no ambulance and besides it's dark now and that means our foreign faces can't protect the people who go out with us or the people we pick up. Maki is the acting director of the place. He says he hated Saddam but now he hates the Americans more.

We take off the blue gowns as the sky starts exploding somewhere beyond the building opposite. Minutes later a car roars up to the clinic. I can hear him screaming before I can see that there's no skin left on his body. He's burnt from head to foot. For sure there's nothing they can do. He'll die of dehydration within a few days.

Another man is pulled from the car onto a stretcher. Cluster bombs, they say, although it's not clear whether they mean one or both of them. We set off walking to Mr Yasser's house, waiting at each corner for someone to check the street before we cross. A ball of fire falls from a plane, splits into smaller balls of bright white lights. I think they're cluster bombs, because cluster bombs are in the front of my mind, but they vanish, just magnesium flares, incredibly bright but short-lived, giving a flash picture of the town from above.

Yasser asks us all to introduce ourselves. I tell him I'm training to be a lawyer. One of the other men asks whether I know about international law. They want to know about the law on war crimes, what a war crime is. I tell them I know some of the Geneva Conventions, that I'll bring some information next time I come and we can get someone to explain it in Arabic.

We bring up the matter of Nayoko. This group of fighters has nothing to do with the ones who are holding the Japanese hostages, but while they're thanking us for what we did this evening, we talk about the things Nayoko did for the street kids, how much they loved her. They can't promise anything but that they'll try and find out where she is and try to persuade the group to let her and the others go. I don't suppose it will make any difference. They're busy fighting a war in Falluja. They're unconnected with the other group. But it can't hurt to try.

The planes are above us all night so that as I doze I forget I'm not on a long distance flight, the constant bass note of an unmanned reconnaissance drone overlaid with the frantic thrash of jets and the dull beat of helicopters and interrupted by the explosions.

In the morning I make balloon dogs, giraffes and elephants for the little one, Abdullah, Aboudi, who's clearly distressed by the noise of the aircraft and explosions. I blow bubbles which he follows with his eyes. Finally, finally, I score a smile. The twins, thirteen years old, laugh too, one of them an ambulance driver, both said to be handy with a Kalashnikov.

The doctors look haggard in the morning. None has slept more than a couple of hours a night for a week. One as had only eight hours of sleep in the last seven days, missing the funerals of his brother and aunt because he was needed at the hospital.

"The dead we cannot help," Jassim said. "I must worry about the injured."

We go again, Dave, Rana and me, this time in a pick up. There are some sick people close to the marines' line who need evacuating. No one dares come out of their house because the marines are on top of the buildings shooting at anything that moves. Saad fetches us a white flag and tells us not to worry, he's checked and secured the road, no Mujahedin will fire at us, that peace is upon us, this eleven year old child, his face covered with a keffiyeh, but for his bright brown eyes, his AK47 almost as tall as he is.

We shout again to the soldiers, hold up the flag with a red crescent sprayed onto it. Two come down from the building, cover this side and Rana mutters, "Allahu akbar. Please nobody take a shot at them."

We jump down and tell them we need to get some sick people from the houses and they want Rana to go and bring out the family from the house whose roof they're on. Thirteen women and children are still inside, in one room, without food and water for the last 24 hours.

"We're going to be going through soon clearing the houses," the senior one says.

"What does that mean, clearing the houses?"

"Going into every one searching for weapons." He's checking his watch, can't tell me what will start when, of course, but there's going to be air strikes in support. "If you're going to do tis you gotta do it soon."

First we go down the street we were sent to. There's a man, face down, in a white dishdasha, a small round red stain on his back. We run to him. Again the flies ave got there first. Dave is at his shoulders, I'm by his knees and as we reach to roll him onto the stretcher Dave's hand goes through his chest, through the cavity left by the bullet that entered so neatly through his back and blew his heart out.

There's no weapon in his hand. Only when we arrive, his sons come out, crying, shouting. He was unarmed, they scream. He was unarmed. He just went out the gate and they shot him. None of them have dared come out since. No one had dared come to get his body, horrified, terrified, forced to violate the traditions of treating the body immediately. They couldn't have known we were coming so it's inconceivable that anyone came out and retrieved a weapon but left the body.

He was unarmed, 55 years old, shot in the back.

We cover his face, carry him to the pick up. There's nothing to cover his body with. The sick woman is helped out of the house, the little girls around her hugging cloth bags to their bodies, whispering, "Baba. Baba." Daddy. Shaking, they let us go first, hands up, around the corner, then we usher them to the cab of the pick up, shielding their heads so they can't see him, the cuddly fat man stiff in the back.

The people seem to pour out of the houses now in the hope we can escort them safely out of the line of fire, kids, women, men, anxiously asking us whether they can all go, or only the women and children. We go to ask. The young marine tells us that men of fighting age can't leave. What's fighting age, I want to know. He contemplates. Anything under forty five. No lower limit.

It appals me that all those men would be trapped in a city which is about to be destroyed. Not all of them are fighters, not all are armed. It's going to happen out of the view of the world, out of sight of the media, because

most of the media in Falluja is embedded with the marines or turned away at the outskirts. Before we can pass the message on, two explosions scatter the crowd in the side street back into their houses.

Rana's with the marines evacuating the family from the house they're occupying. The pick up isn't back yet. The families are hiding behind their walls. We wait, because there's nothing else we can do. We wait in no man's land. The marines, at least, are watching us through binoculars; maybe the local fighters are too.

I've got a disappearing hanky in my pocket so while I'm sitting like a lemon, nowhere to go, gunfire and explosions aplenty all around, I make the hanky disappear, reappear, disappear. It's always best, I think, to seem completely unthreatening and completely unconcerned, so no one worries about you enough to shoot. We can't wait too long though. Rana's been gone ages. We have to go and get her to hurry. There's a young man in the group. She's talked them into letting him leave too.

A man wants to use his police car to carry some of the people, a couple of elderly ones who can't walk far, the smallest children. It's missing a door. Who knows if he was really a police car or the car was reappropriated and just ended up there? It didn't matter if it got more people out faster. They creep from their houses, huddle by the wall, follow us out, their hands up too, and walk up the street clutching babies, bags, each other.

The pick up gets back and we shovel as many onto it as we can as an ambulance arrives from somewhere. A young man waves from the doorway of what's left of a house, his upper body bare, a blood soaked bandage around his arm, probably a fighter but it makes no difference once someone is wounded and unarmed. Getting the dead isn't essential. Like the doctor said, the dead don't need help, but if it's easy enough then we will. Since we're already OK with the soldiers and the ambulance is here, we run down to fetch them in. It's important in Islam to bury the body straightaway.

The ambulance follows us down. The soldiers start shouting in English at us for it to stop, pointing guns. It's moving fast. We're all yelling, signalling for it to stop but it seems to take forever for the driver to hear and see us. It stops. It stops, before they open fire. We haul them onto the stretchers and run, shove them in the back. Rana squeezes in the front with the wounded man and Dave and I crouch in the back beside the bodies. He says he had allergies as a kid and hasn't got much sense of smell. I wish, retrospectively, for childhood allergies, and stick my head out the window.

The bus is going to leave, taking the injured people back to Baghdad, the man with the burns, one of the women who was shot in the jaw and shoulder by a sniper, several others. Rana says she's staying to help. Dave and I don't hesitate: we're staying too. "If I don't do it, who will?" has become an accidental motto and I'm acutely aware after the last foray how many people, how many women and children, are still in their houses either because they've got nowhere to go, because they're scared to go out of the door or because they've chosen to stay.

To begin with it's agreed, then Azzam says we have to go. He hasn't got contacts with every armed group, only with some. There are different issues to square with each one. We need to get these people back to Baghdad as quickly as we can. If we're kidnapped or killed it will cause even more problems, so it's better that we just get on the bus and leave and come back with him as soon as possible.

It hurts to climb onto the bus when the doctor has just asked us to go and evacuate some more people. I hate the fact that a qualified medic can't travel in the ambulance but I can, just because I look like the sniper's sister or one

of his mates, but that's the way it is today and the way it was yesterday and I feel like a traitor for leaving, but I can't see where I've got a choice. It's a war now and as alien as it is to me to do what I'm told, for once I've got to.

Jassim is scared. He harangues Mohammed constantly, tries to pull him out of the driver's seat while we're moving. The woman with the gunshot wound is on the back seat, the man with the burns in front of her, being fanned with cardboard from the empty boxes, his intravenous drips swinging from the rail along the ceiling of the bus. It's hot. It must be unbearable for him.

Saad comes onto the bus to wish us well for the journey. He shakes Dave's hand and then mine. I hold his in both of mine and tell him "Dir balak," take care, as if I could say anything more stupid to a pre-teen Mujahedin with an AK47 in his other hand, and our eyes meet and stay fixed, his full of fire and fear.

Can't I take him away? Can't I take him somewhere he can be a child? Can't I make him a balloon giraffe and give him some drawing pens and tell him not to forget to brush his teeth? Can't I find the person who put the rifle in the hands of that little boy? Can't I tell someone about what that does to a child? Do I have to leave him here where there are heavily armed men all around him and lots of them are not on his side, however many sides there are in all of this? And of course I do. I do have to leave him, like child soldiers everywhere.

The way back is tense, the bus almost getting stuck in a dip in the sand, people escaping in anything, even piled on the trailer of a tractor, lines of cars and pick ups and buses ferrying people to the dubious sanctuary of Baghdad, lines of men in vehicles queuing to get back into the city having got their families to safety, either to fight or to help evacuate more people. The driver, Jassim, the father, ignores Azzam and takes a different road so that suddenly we're not following the lead car and we're on a road that's controlled by a different armed group than the ones which know us.

A crowd of men waves guns to stop the bus. Somehow they apparently believe that there are American soldiers on the bus, as if they wouldn't be in tanks or helicopters, and there are men getting out of their cars with shouts of "Sahafa Amreeki," American journalists. The passengers shout out of the windows, "Ana min Falluja," I am from Falluja. Gunmen run onto the bus and see that it's true, there are sick and injured and old people, Iraqis, and then relax, wave us on.

We stop in Abu Ghraib and swap seats, foreigners in the front, Iraqis less visible, headscarves off so we look more western. The American soldiers are so happy to see westerners they don't mind too much about the Iraqis with us, search the men and the bus, leave the women unsearched because there are no women soldiers to search us. Mohammed keeps asking me if things are going to be OK.

"Al-melaach wiyana," I tell him. The angels are with us. He laughs.

And then we're in Baghdad, delivering them to the hospitals, Nuha in tears as they take the burnt man off groaning and whimpering. She puts her arms around me and asks me to be her friend. I make her feel less isolated, she says, less alone.

And the satellite news says the cease-fire is holding and George Bush says to the troops on Easter Sunday that, "I know what we're doing in Iraq is right." Shooting unarmed men in the back outside their family home is right.



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Shooting grandmothers with white flags is right? Shooting at women and children who are fleeing their homes is right? Firing at ambulances is right?

Well George, I know too now. I know what it looks like when you brutalise people so much that they've nothing left to lose. I know what it looks like when an operation is being done without anaesthetic because the hospitals are destroyed or under sniper fire and the city's under siege and aid isn't getting in properly. I know what it sounds like too. I know what it looks like when tracer bullets are passing your head, even though you're in an ambulance. I know what it looks like when a man's chest is no longer inside him and what it smells like and I know what it looks like when his wife and children pour out of his house.

It's a crime and it's a disgrace to us all.

[Dahr Jamail's reports of the april 2004 Siege](#)

April 03, 2004

From Amman, on Falluja

Amman, Jordan - By now I imagine everyone has been properly inundated with the images of the scorched bodies of the 'American Civilians' (as properly parroted by the corporate media) in Falluja. In case I missed it before departing, I had one last chance to catch it on the countless televisions in JFK airport, then on the front page of the NY Times on the plane.

I thought it was interesting, because what accompanied this story was a strange little phenomenon I've seen many times in Iraq. The first bit of news released on the attack referred to the men killed as 'contractors', and even showed an Iraqi man handling the dog tags of one of them, and another man was holding a Department of Defense badge from another of the U.S. fighters the Iraqis had killed. The same report mentioned that a collection of weapons was in one of the vehicles as well.

Of course that was the last of that footage I saw. From then on, it was 'Americans killed by Iraqis!', or 'Contractors Killed', over and over ad nauseum.

Well, it turns out these 'Americans killed by Iraqis' just happened to be four mercenaries working for a N.C. Security Firm called Blackwater Security Consulting.

This subcontractor, along with countless others, is working to provide 'security' in Iraq. Check out their website: because they even provide training for SWAT teams and former special operations personnel.

I've been in Falluja when the entire city has been under collective punishment, which occurs nearly everytime someone attacks a U.S. patrol there. People are enraged, and rightly so. So when one of those white, shiny SUV's with the big black antenna drives by with guys with crew cuts in them wearing body armor holding guns (yes, it is THAT obvious and easy to see), what do you think might happen to them?



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The other reason I bring this up is because of this: Last night I'm going through customs at the airport in Amman, and I find myself standing in line behind five men with crewcuts and their 'handler', a little bit older fellow from Turkey (I saw his passport). The men were all in their late 20's, to late 30's I'd say, and from their discussion had all been in Iraq before.

They wouldn't tell me who they were working for, but when they were lugging huge plastic boxes with locks on them off the baggage belt, then went and hopped into their nice, white SUV, it was pretty much a no-brainer.

Blackwater Security Consulting won a \$35.7 million contract to train over 10,000 soldiers from several states in the U.S. in the art of 'force protection,' according to Mother Jones magazine. They also hire mercenaries from South Africa and other countries as well, and the pay in Iraq is \$1,000 per day. Wonder how that makes our soldiers feel, who make barely over that each month?

So the residents of Falluja are about to be 'pacified' because some of the resistance fighters there killed what were most likely mercenaries who regularly attack and detain residents of Falluja. The fog of war grows thicker in Iraq, as the privatization contracts continue to be signed.

April 11, 2004

Slaughtering Civilians in Falluja

The scene in Falluja was so horrendous, that if I hadn't seen it myself it would have been difficult to comprehend. It still is-I'm having to force myself to write about it while the details are still fresh in my mind.

We knew there was very little media coverage in Falluja, and the entire city had been sealed and suffering from collective punishment via no water nor electricity for several days now. With only two journalists there that I'd read reports from, I felt pulled to go and witness the atrocities which were sure to be occurring.

With the help of some friends, we joined a small group of internationals to ride a large bus there carrying a good load of humanitarian supplies, and with the hopes of bringing some of the wounded out prior to the next American onslaught, which was due to kick off at any time now.

Even leaving Baghdad now is dangerous. The military continues to have Falluja sealed off, and this includes shutting down the main highway between here and Jordan. The highway, even while still leaving Baghdad, is desolate and littered with destroyed fuel tanker trucks-their smoldering carcuses littering the highway. We rolled past a large M-1 Tank that was still burning under an overpass-which had just been hit by the resistance.

At the first U.S. checkpoint the soldiers said they'd been there for 30 hours straight. After being searched, we continued along bumpy dirt roads, winding our way through parts of Abu Ghraib, steadily but slowly making our way towards besieged Falluja. While passing one of the small homes in Abu Ghraib a small child yelled at the bus, "We will be mujahedeen until we die!"

We slowly worked our way back onto the highway, which was littered with smoking fuel tankers, destroyed military tanks and Amored Personnel Carriers, and a lorry that had been hit that was currently being looted by a

nearby village, people running to and from the highway carrying away boxes. It was a scene of pure devastation, and barely any other cars on the road.

We were absolutely the only bus on the highway, which of course made us more of a target. There was a report of an Iraqi man who'd gone to the huge prison of Abu Ghraib to visit his brother, and said there were clashes both in and outside the prison.

Once we turned off the highway, which the U.S. was perilously holding onto, there was no U.S. military visible at all as we were in mujahedeen territory. Our bus wound its way through farm roads, and each time we passed someone they would yell, "God bless you for going to Falluja!" Everyone we passed was giving us the peace sign, waving, and giving the thumbs up.

As we neared Falluja, there were groups of children on the sides of the road handing out water and bread to people coming into Falluja. They began literally throwing stacks of flat bread into the bus. The fellowship and community spirit was unbelievable. Everyone yelling for us, cheering us on, groups speckled along the road.

As we neared Falluja a huge mushroom caused by a large U.S. bomb rose from the city. So much for the cease fire.

The closer we got to the city the more mujahedeen checkpoints we passed-at one, men with kefir around their faces holding Kalashnikovs began shooting their guns in the air, showing their eagerness to fight.

The city itself was virtually empty, aside from groups of mujahedeen standing on every other street corner. It was a city at war. We rolled towards the one small clinic where we were to deliver our medical supplies from INTERSOS, an Italian NGO. The small clinic is managed by Mr. Maki Al-Nazzal, who was hired just 4 days ago to do so. He is not a doctor.

He hadn't slept much, along with all of the doctors at the small clinic. It started with just three doctors, but since the American's bombed one of the hospitals, and were currently sniping people as they attempted to enter/exit the main hospital, effectively there were only 2 small clinics treating all of Falluja.

As I was there, an endless stream of women and children who'd been sniped by the Americans were being raced into the dirty clinic, their cars speeding over the curb out front as their wailing family members carried them in.

One woman and small child had been shot through the neck-the woman was making breathy gurgling noises as the doctors frantically worked on her amongst her muffled moaning.

The small child, his eyes glazed and staring into space, continually vomited as the doctors raced to save his small life.

After 30 minutes, it appeared as though neither of them would survive.

One victim of American aggression after another was brought into the clinic, nearly all of them women and children.

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This scene continued, off and on, into the night as the sniping continued. As evening approached the nearby mosque loudspeaker announced that the mujahadeen had completely destroyed a U.S. convoy. Gunfire filled the streets, along with jubilant yelling. As the mosque began blaring prayers, the determination and confidence of the area was palpable.

One small boy of 11, his face covered by a kefir and toting around a Kalashnikov that was nearly as big as he was, patrolled areas around the clinic-making sure they were secure. He was confident and very eager for battle.

After we delivered the aid, three of my friends agreed to ride out on the one functioning ambulance for the clinic to retrieve the wounded. Although the ambulance already had three bullet holes from a U.S. sniper through the front windshield on the drivers side, the fact that two of them are westerners was the only hope that soldiers would allow them to retrieve more wounded Iraqis. The previous driver was wounded when one of the snipers shots grazed his head.

Bombs were heard sporadically exploding around the city, along with sporadic gunfire.

It grew dark, so we ended up spending the night with one of the local men who had filmed the atrocities. He showed us footage of a dead baby who he claimed was torn from his mothers chest by marines. Other footage of slain Iraqis.

The entire time in Falluja there was the constant buzzing of military drones. As we walked through the empty streets towards the house we would sleep, a plane flew over us and dropped several flares. We ran for a nearby wall to hunker down, afraid it was dropping cluster bombs. There had been reports of this, as two of the last victims that arrived at the clinic were reported by the locals to have been hit by cluster bombs-they were horribly burned and their bodies were shredded.

It was a long night-between being sick from drinking unfiltered water and the nagging concern of the full invasion beginning, I didn't sleep. Each time I would begin to slip into sleep, a jet would fly over and I wondered if the full scale bombing would commence. Meanwhile, the drones continued to buzz throughout Falluja.

The next morning we walked back to the clinic, and the mujahadeen in the area were extremely edgy, expecting the invasion anytime. They were taking up positions to fight. One of my friends who'd done another ambulance run to collect two bodies said that a marine she encountered had told them to leave, because the military was about to use air support to begin 'clearing the city.' One of the bodies they brought to the clinic was that of an old man who was shot by a sniper outside of his home, while his wife and children sat wailing inside.

The family couldn't reach his body, for fear of being sniped by the Americans themselves. His stiff body was carried into the clinic with flies swarming above it.

The already insane situation continued to degrade, and by the time the wounded from the clinic were loaded onto our bus and we prepared to leave, everyone felt the invasion was looming near. American bombs continued to fall not far from us, and sporadic gunfire continued.

We drove out, past loads of mujahadeen at their posts along the streets. In a long line of vehicles loaded with families, we slowly crept out of the embattled city, passing several military vehicles on the outskirts of the city.



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When we took a wrong turn at one point and tried to go down a road controlled by a different group of mujeheen, we were promptly surrounded by men cocking their weapons and aiming them at us. The doctors and patients on board explained to them we were from Falluja and on a humanitarian aid mission, so they let us go.

The trip back to Baghdad was slow, but relatively uneventful. We passed several more smoking carcuses of vehicles destroyed by the freedom fighters-more fuel tankers, more military vehicles destroyed.

What I can report from Falluja is that there is no cease fire, and apparently never was. Iraqi women and children are being shot by American snipers. Over 600 Iraqis have been killed by American aggression, and the residents have turned two football fields into graveyards. Ambulances are being shot by the Americans. And now they are preparing to launch a full scale invasion of the city.

All of which is occurring under the guise of catching the people who killed the four Blackwater Security personnel and hung two of their bodies from a bridge.

April 19, 2004

Cluster Bombs in Falluja, Harrassment of Patients by Soldiers

The word on the street now about why the suicide car bombings have ceased, is that more and more Iraqis are taking this as proof that the CIA were behind them. Why? Because as one man states, "They are too busy fighting now, and the unrest they wanted to cause by the bombings is now upon them." True or not, it certainly doesn't bode well for how so many Iraqis are viewing their occupiers nowadays.

Last night I was awakened in the middle of the night by a very large explosion in central Baghdad, followed promptly by three other smaller explosions.

With so many of the press leaving Iraq, and the majority of those remaining staying close to their hotels, information about what is truly occurring on the ground here is becoming harder to come by.

For those of us here, it has, needless to say, become increasing difficult to travel around because of the deteriorating security situation.

Aside from the usual bombs and sporadic gunfire that typifies daily (and nightly) life in the capital of Iraq today, it continues to be relatively (relative to Baghdad) quiet here. The feeling I get is that most Iraqis here (aside from those directly fighting the military) are in wait and see mode, their eyes on Najaf and Falluja.

But this belies the true story, that despite the lack of overt fighting in central Baghdad, the violence and tension is boiling beneath the surface. On a recent visit to the Arabic Children's Hospital, Dr. Waad Edan Louis, who is the Chief Visiting Doctor at the hospital, stated, "Before the invasion, we had 300 patients per night. Now, we have 100 because the security is so bad."

Meanwhile, at the Noman Hospital in Al-Adhamiya, a doctor I spoke with there (who asked to remain nameless) stated, "We are treating an average of one gunshot wound per day, which is something we never saw before the

occupation. This is due to the absence of law in Baghdad. The Iraqi Police have weak weapons and nobody respects their authority.”

He also stated that U.S. soldiers have come to the hospital asking for information about resistance fighters. He said, “My policy is not to give my patients to the Americans, or to provide them any information. I deny information to the Americans for the sake of the patient. I don’t care what my patients have done outside the walls of the hospital. I do my job, then let the patient go.”

“Ten days ago this happened-this occurred after people began to come in from Falluja, even though most of them were children, women and elderly.”

When asked if the U.S. military were bombing civilians in Falluja, he stated, “Of course the Americans are bombing civilians, along with the revolutionaries. One year ago there was no revolution in Falluja. But they began searching homes and humiliating people, and this annoyed the people. The people became angry and demonstrated, then the Americans shot the demonstrators, and this started the revolution in Falluja. It is the same in Sadr City.”

He continues angrily, “Aggression against civilians has caused all of this. Nothing happened for the first two months of the occupation. People were happy to have Saddam gone. And now, we hope for the mercy of God if the Americans invade Najaf.”

Cluster bombs have reported to have been used commonly in Iraq both during the invasion, as well as the occupation.

Another doctor at Noman Hospital who asked to remain anonymous stated that he saw the U.S. military dropping cluster bombs on the Al-Dora area last December, “I’ve seen it all with my own eyes. The U.S. later removed the unexploded bombs by soldiers picking up the bomblets and putting them in their helmets.”

He also believes that cluster bombs are currently being used in Falluja, based on reports from field doctors presently working there, as well as statements taken from wounded civilians of Falluja.

He also claimed that many of the Falluja victims he had treated had been shot with ‘dumb dumb bullets’, which are hollow point bullets that are designed to inflict maximum internal damage. These are also referred to as ‘expanding bullets.’

Nearing the end of the discussion, the first doctor stated, “The U.S. induces aggression. If you don’t attack me, I will never attack you. The U.S. is stimulating the aggression of the Iraqi people!”

A doctor who asked to remain nameless at Al-Karam Hospital in Baghdad reported that one of the doctors from his hospital had just returned from the Al-Sadr Teaching Hospital in Najaf because she was unable to work there. She reported to her hospital that Spanish military forces are currently occupying the hospital in Najaf because it is close to their base. The roof of the hospital overlooks their base, so soldiers have taken it over for strategic purposes.

The doctor at Al-Karam Hospital stated, “The Americans don’t care what happens to Iraqis.”

At Al-Kerh Hospital in Baghdad there is a similar story. One of the managers at the hospital, speaking on condition of anonymity, stated, "U.S. soldiers are always coming here asking us for information about our wounded, but we don't give them any information."

At Yarmouk Hospital, a lead doctor discussed the situation in Falluja.

He said that during the first days of the U.S. siege of Falluja, many of the wounded were brought to his hospital. He continues, "The Americans came here to question my patients, even though we tried to refer the soldiers to a different hospital."

He is outraged by the situation in Falluja, which he calls a massacre, "The Americans shot at some of our doctors who were traveling to Falluja to provide aid. One of our doctors was injured when a missile struck his vehicle. I have also been told by my doctors in Falluja that the Americans are shooting ambulances there, as well as at the main hospital there."

He continued on, stating, "My doctors in Falluja have reported to me that the Americans are using cluster bombs. Patients we've treated from there are reporting the same."

It is argued that the use of cluster bombs is a war crime, contravening the Hague law in that they leave unexploded ordnance where they are dropped, which then effectively turn into land mines, which aren't covered by the land mine treaty.

He continued, "One of my doctors in Falluja asked the Americans there if he could remove a wounded patient from the city. The soldier wouldn't let him move the victim, and said, 'We have dead soldiers here too. This is a war zone.' The doctor wasn't allowed to remove the wounded man, and he died. So many doctors and ambulances have been turned back from checkpoints there."

This same doctor reported that he saw American soldiers killing women and children, as well as shooting ambulances in Falluja.

The doctor I spoke with expressed his outrage, "What freedom did America bring us? Freedom of the machine gun? So I am free to take my gun and shoot you?"

May 07, 2004

"We will fight them again!"

An older Iraqi man is wailing near the grave of a loved one in the dusty heat of a converted football stadium. Between wails he raises his fist and yells, "Allahu Akbar!"

We wait outside until he slowly exits the new cemetery with his brothers holding him.

Rows and rows of fresh graves fill the football stadium in Falluja. Many of them are smaller than others. My translator Nermim reads the gravestones to me:

“This one is a little girl,” we take another step, “And this one is her sister. Next to them is their mother.”

We walk slowly under the scorching sun along dusty rows of humble headstones. She continues reading them aloud to me, “Old man wearing jacked with black dishdasha, near industrial center. He has a key in his hand.” Many of the bodies were buried before they could be identified. Tears are welling up in my eyes as she quietly reads, “Man wearing red track suit.” She points to another row, “Three women killed in car leaving city by American missile.”

One of the football stadiums in Falluja has become a Martyr Cemetery due to the hundreds of deaths caused by the fighting throughout April. U.S. marines eventually surrounded the main cemetery, so the residents of Falluja had to bury their dead here. Iraqi doctors estimate that over half of the dead Iraqis are women, children and elderly, and the graves I view seem to confirm this. There are nearly 500 graves here today, and counting...

As we walk back to the car the loudspeaker of a nearby mosque is blaring the words of an Imam, “We have two reasons to be happy this month. One is the birthday of our prophet. The second is our victory over the Americans!”

I weep at the cost.

Over at another mosque a little earlier, under the constant buzzing of unmanned military surveillance drones, the mood was more defiant. The rumor is going around that the marines will resume patrolling the streets of Falluja this coming Monday, along with Iraqi Police (IP) and the Iraqi Civil Defense Corps (ICDC). Yet this rumor is being widely circulated by both the IP and ICDC.

Abdul Muhammed tells me, “When the Americans start patrolling on Monday, even more people will fight them this time because so many people need revenge now.”

Another man angrily states, “They try to cover their failure by these patrols. We will fight them again!” He continues sternly, “We don’t want them in our city! Nobody in Falluja wants to see them in our streets! Everyone who lost family to them will revenge them!”

This discussion takes place standing in the rubble beneath a minaret that has been blasted by either a missile or tank—the gaping hole just below the top. After climbing up the spiral stairs as high as possible, two men join me to look out over the city that resembles more of a ghost town. There is so much more destruction than the last time I was here a few weeks ago.

One of the men, who speaks English, says, “I saw American snipers shoot a woman on her roof while she was hanging her clothes. This was during their cease fire.”

I hear more horrible stories of snipers killing civilians today than I can keep track of. After carefully making my way back down the rubble covered steps, we drive to the Julan area of Falluja, which was very heavily bombed during the fighting in April.



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The tight streets and numerous alleys of Julan are mostly empty after we pass through two mujahedeen checkpoints. So many homes are bombed, others riddled with bullets, date palms are torn down, and the stench of rotting bodies hangs in the air.

There is a huge crater, at least 8 feet deep and three times that at its width, just in front of a small mosque. The hole is partially filled with water from a leaking pipe below. People sit inside the mosque listening to their Imam. As I take photos several men gather around.

One of them states, "I hope the Americans come back on Monday. They killed my cousin and burned my house. God gave us the victory, and He will give us another when they come back!"

Another man points to the mosque and says, "Marines entered this mosque before they bombed it and slit the throats of refugees. This is their democracy? This is their freedom?"

One of the other stories going around Falluja is that of marines using mosque minarets to shoot at people. Every group of people I speak with at each location is stating this. True or not, it is what people here believe. The damage is done. These beliefs, cemented by the recent photos coming out of Abu Ghraib, have melded distrust and hatred into a long sword which is now held against the occupiers.

Driving a little further into Julan we pass a scorched ambulance on the side of the road.

At yet another mosque I am show a copy of the Holy Koran which has two bullet holes through it. Another man, walking from a minaret that has been completely demolished, shows me casings from a tank shell.

Aziz Hussein, who was in Falluja for much of the fighting, tells me of the horrible bombings by U.S. war planes, but that all of Falluja was together in supporting the mujahedeen. He says, "When someone lost one of their family or their home, they didn't blame the mujahedeen. Most of the people killed by bombings were civilians. Americans said the civilians were killed by mujahedeen, but this is just not true."

He too tells the story of marines shooting people from minarets, "When we tried to go to our mosque, the snipers shot at us."

June 02, 2004

Continuing Violence in Baghdad, Word Play in Fallujah

A rumbling explosion just let off near my hotel. This, not too long after getting back from Adhamiya where I was talking to witnesses at the scene of yet another car bomb; the third in as many days here in Baghdad.

At the scene in Adhamiya the scorched, crumpled shell of the car was pushed off to the side of the road. A brick wall nearby bore the pockmark scars from the shrapnel. Store windows 50 meters away were shattered. I passed a dried pool of blood on the sidewalk near the small bomb crater while walking slowly to a nearby shop where I met Abdel Halik Al-Samarri, a real estate broker who witnessed the attack.

“Two armored vehicles passed up and down the street four times, then two Land Cruisers of the Americans passed by the parked car,” said Abdel, still shaky hours after the bombing, “Just as they passed the car it exploded.”

Ismail Obeidy, a lawyer who works at the real estate office with Abdel, ran towards the burning car to assist a woman who had had pieces of shrapnel lodged in her legs. “I carried her across the street, and put her in a car which took her to the hospital.” He said just three minutes after the first blast as scores of people had congregated around the burning car to survey the damage, a second, much larger explosion erupted which killed several people and injured many more.

“If the Americans will stop invading our streets, no explosions will happen,” cried Ismail in frustration and anger. He went on to say that a small crowd gathered and began yelling anti-American slogans at US troops when they cordoned off the area. Car bombs are becoming a daily occurrence in Baghdad, and there is nothing the Iraqis can do about it.

Both men told me that Abu Hanifa mosque had immediately issued a plea for donations of blood, and was promptly besieged with donors.

Hopefully the dual explosions were a bomb malfunction, and not intentional. I keep dreading the horrific strategy used in Beirut, where a second car bomb would arrive to the scene of the first after the ambulances showed up.

Just prior to my visit to the scene of the car bomb, seven mortar blasts shook the US base in Adhamiya. Also this afternoon three mortars landed near a US base near Palestine Street, wounding at least one Iraqi.

Baghdad is a war zone, and the stress in the air is palpable. The randomness of the attacks is the worst part. Nobody is safe here.

Earlier this morning I ventured out to Fallujah. While driving west out of Baghdad with my trusty fixer Abut Talat I noticed an overpass which had graffiti sloppily written which read, “Come back to your home,” and, “You’re just monkeys,” and a telling line which read, “We will ****love you.” I had read it before when going to Fallujah during the siege in April...the scratched out word had said ‘kill,’ before.

According to members of the Iraqi Civil Defense Corps (ICDC) at their headquarters in Fallujah, U.S. Marines who are at the main checkpoint will be withdrawing this week. Several of the ICDC I spoke with were exceedingly pleased with the fact that there were only two token US patrols into their city per month. These, according to the ICDC, resembled the symbolic first patrol after the siege of April had come to a close, when several armored vehicles with ICDC and police protection rumbled a little over a mile down the main street to the mayor’s office for a 30 minute pause behind the concrete barriers which surround the building, then exited in similar fashion.

Ali Abed, a 25 year-old member of the ICDC, says, “We are happy now because it is so much better than before; Fallujah is secure now and you can stay out late because it is safe.”

He and several of other ICDC sit relaxed inside their headquarters, drinking soda and laughing from time to time. Ali turns to me and adds, “As long as the Americans stay out, it is calm here.”

Things have certainly changed in Fallujah. Journalists are now required to go to the Al-Hadrah Al-Mohamudia mosque in the city in order to obtain a press pass. Even with that, all of the ICDC who drove me and Abu Talat to the mosque in their GMC were worried for me. “My cousin works for Al-Arabiya television, and his camera was smashed just yesterday,” said an ICDC member, “And yesterday two German journalists were beaten because the people here are very angry with foreigners.”

Inside the mosque, with two armed ICDC on either side of me, Khassem Mohammed Abdel Satar, the Vice Chairman for the chamber of the city, told me the anger is because nearly every family in Fallujah had someone killed during April. “In some cases, entire families were killed,” he said somberly.

He issued me a press pass, but told me I would conduct my interviews with the ICDC in his office then I should go. All of them repeated that they were worried for my safety.

Mr. Satar referred to the US soldiers as “invasion troops” and told me that Fallujah is so much better off without them in the city. “We have Fallujah completely under control now with the Iraqi Police and the ICDC,” he said, “The security in Fallujah hasn’t been this good since the dawn of Baghdad.”

He stated that he was proud that Fallujah is the first city in Iraq where the US military has left because of the fighting, rather than through negotiations. “We hope all cities in Iraq are liberated as Fallujah is,” he said.

According to Mr. Satar, the new clamp down on the press in Fallujah was for our own security, and they were hard at work on a system which will allow better access for the media inside of the city. It was obvious to me that this hadn’t quite been sorted out. I certainly didn’t see any other reporters traveling inside GMC’s with 5 armed ICDC accompanying them.

“We have clear information that the Americans are sending spies in to cause problems between groups in Fallujah,” added Mr. Satar, “but we have this under good control.”

Dhasin Jassim Hamadi, a major in the ICDC, told me that inside the city they are fully independent and have no relations with the US military now. “During April the Americans bombed our headquarters and killed three men,” he said angrily, “But now we work under the supervision of the mayor and conduct joint patrols with the police.”

“We demanded independence from the Americans,” he added with a large smile, “And we got it.”

Another ICDC member smugly told me that the last US patrol to the mayors office only stayed for 20 of the 30 allotted minutes.

All of them claimed they have more respect from the people of Fallujah now that the US military are gone from the city. “It is obviously better here without them, so of course the people respect us more,” said Amin, a 28 year-old member of the ICDC.

He went on to say that after June 30th, if the US military is still in Iraq, nothing will change as far as the ongoing fighting outside of Fallujah.

The subject of terrorism was breached, and Amin grew quickly frustrated. He felt the US was being hypocritical in calling Arabs who fight against them terrorists. "They are fighting to protect their city...why don't the Americans call soldiers from Honduras here terrorists?" He continued, "They are fighting Iraqis...but they are not called terrorists? What is the difference?"

The difference continues to be in the choice of words. Even today the AP referred to the city as "the guerilla stronghold of Fallujah," while the CPA continues to go to great lengths to show that the US military are working in conjunction with the ICDC and mayor of Fallujah to insure security.

But then, the military operations in Fallujah during April were said to be carried out with the goal of "pacifying" the city...a city today where the mayor and ICDC claim it is the calmest and most secure it has ever been.

I hear more horrendous stories-marines occupying peoples' homes and looting them of money and gold, leaving feces in their foodstuffs, butchering their cows, chickens and dogs.

Later as we prepare to leave, a man tells me, "The mujahedeen will shoot the Americans as soon as they start their patrols here. Falluja is our city, not the Americans!"

May 11, 2004

Atrocities Continue to Emerge from the rubble of Fallujah

Yesterday at the General Hospital of Fallujah, doctors spoke of atrocities that occurred during the month-long siege on the city in April.

Dr. Abdul Jabbar, an Orthopedic Surgeon, said that it was difficult to keep track of the number of people they treated, as well as the number of dead, due to the lack of documentation. This was caused, primarily, by the fact that the main hospital, which is located on the opposite side of the Euphrates as the city, was sealed off by U.S. Marines for the majority of April.

He said, "The problem was that it was a disaster. We treated at least 800-900 people, but since we couldn't use this hospital we were using smaller clinics inside the city. Thus, we didn't have access to our computers because the troops had sealed the hospital where our offices are."

He went on to say that much of his staff worked in the clinics under horrendous conditions. According to Dr. Jabbar, there were often shortages of medical supplies and medications, which were periodically staved off by donations from relief groups such as the Red Crescent and the odd NGO which sporadically managed to get them into the besieged city.

In addition, he estimates that at least 700 people were killed in Fallujah during April. How did he get this figure? "I worked at 5 of the centers myself, and if we collect the numbers from these places, then this is the number," he said, "And you must keep in mind that many people were buried before reaching our centers."

As the hospital isn't too far from the Julan quarter, this last statement is brought home by the fact that when the wind blows the right direction, the usual sweet, putrid stench of decaying bodies remains.

He discussed the use of cluster bombs by U.S. warplanes, "Many people were injured and killed by cluster bombs. Of course they used cluster bombs-we heard them, as well as treated people who had been hit by them!"

Another Orthopedic Surgeon, Dr. Rashid, said, "Not less than 60% of the dead were women and children. You can go see the graves for yourself." I had already visited the Martyr Cemetery, and seen the tiny graves.

He agreed with Dr. Jabbar about the use of cluster bombs, and added, "I saw the cluster bombs with my own eyes. We don't need any evidence. Most of these bombs fell on the families. The fighters-they know how to escape. But not the civilians."

Speaking of the medical crisis that his hospital had to deal with, he said that during the first 10 days of fighting, the U.S. military did not allow any evacuations at all. He said, "Even transferring patients in the city was impossible, you can see our ambulances outside. They also shot into the main doors with snipers of one of our centers."

In the parking lot of the hospital several hospitals are parked. Two of them have bullet holes in the windshields; one of these is riddled with bullet holes, and the tires had been shot as well.

Dr. Jabbar, speaking about the snipers, said, "I remember once we sent an ambulance to evacuate a family that was bombed by an aircraft. The ambulance was sniped-one of the family died, and three were injured by the firing."

He estimates that 20-30% of the patients they treated were victims of snipers. When asked how he knew they were shot by snipers, he replied, "It is always 1 or 2 wounds, never more. The shape of the wound also shows that it was a sniper round."

Growing impatient, he firmly added, "Everyone knows they were using so many snipers, and the longer the fighting continued, the more they used them."

Both doctors said they had not been contacted by the U.S. military, nor was any aid delivered to them from the military. Dr. Rashid said, "They send only bombs, not medicine."

Mr. Jabur Khani Raad was sitting in a waiting room in the hospital with a splint device on his arm. He tells a horrid story of how he and his two brothers were shot by marines on April 11th. He said, "We were in the military quarter going to visit some relatives near the Al-Hassan mosque, and they opened fire on us from the rooftops of the houses they occupied."

His 44 year old brother who was driving, Jabul Nezzar Raad, was killed. Jabur and his other brother were detained and taken to a U.S. base near the city. His downcast eyes spoke of a terrible time while he said, "They didn't treat me as bad as the others since I was wounded. With the others, they dug holes in the ground and kept them there. I heard their screaming whenever they were being interrogated."

Remembering Fallujah

A dossier of The **BRussels** Tribunal

He told of an old man who was unable to walk after being tortured, and added, "Please publish this. People need to know how the Americans are treating Iraqi prisoners. We were starved, given very little food. The soldiers took the better food out of the bags, and gave us what little was left. Then they burned the good food in front of us."

He had a bag over his head much of the time, and wearily said, "Sometimes I couldn't breathe because of the bag over my head. Even when I was in their hospital they left the bag on."

We went to see the car near his home which is riddled with so many bullets it is apparently a miracle any of them survived the attack.

Then over at where the attack occurred, a man who witnessed the incident said that the body of Jaburs brother was left in the street for a week. He said, "After several days dogs began eating off of it. Then on the 7th day, the soldiers dumped fuel on it and burned it. We were trapped in our house, or we would have tried to bury it; but anyone leaving their homes was shot by them. They knew these men were civilians, because after they had shot up their car, they began stopping other cars that tried to come to the area."

He added that an ambulance had attempted to collect the body on the 5th day, but was shot at by the snipers who occupied the rooftops.

One of the neighbors, seeing that I was a journalist, comes out to tell yet another horrific tale.

His brother, Hussein Mohammad Jergi was a 43 year old man who had a mental disability. He wandered out of his home on the same day the car was shot and was shot and injured by the snipers.

With tears in his eyes, his brother angrily told the rest of the story. "He was shot and ran into the house. They followed him into our home, took out a big knife and chopped off his feet. Then they shot him in the head. After destroying much of our furniture, and putting shit around my house, they left. This is how they behaved all over Fallujah. We buried my brothers' feet with his body."

As I walked back to the car, another man tugged my arm and yelled, "The Americans are cowboys; this is their history! Look at what they did to the Indians! Vietnam! Afghanistan, and now Iraq! This does not surprise us."

Along with the daily publication of photos documenting the atrocities occurring in Abu Ghraib, stories like these underscore what most people in Iraq now believe-that the liberators have become no more than brutal imperialist occupiers of their country.

May 10, 2004

Fallujans Declare Victory

The electricity in the air in the city is palpable on this windy, grey day in this city that is slowly coming back to life. Everyone knows the marines are rolling a symbolic patrol into the city today, as Iraq Police (IP) and Iraqi Civil Defense Corps (ICDC) are milling about every intersection on the main street. The street is blocked off-and many people are watching from store fronts and windows to see what will happen.

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Marines from the 1st Marine Division begin to roll several Humvees and Stryker vehicles into the tense atmosphere, in a laughable attempt to show cooperation with the IP and ICDC who are to take over patrolling the city for them. The negotiations are complete-and the tenuous truce finds the marines here-the sunglasses of soldiers peering out from holes on top of the Strykers, while others man machine guns on top of Humvees-nervously scanning the rooftops.

Of course they are being watched by more than just civilians, as they have their own backup at the overpass near the city-I'd seen soldiers holding rocket launchers aimed into the city to cover the patrol in case fighting erupts.

The IP and ICDC that I speak with along the street all say the deal is for the marines to have one hour to visit the mayor at the Tribal Council building. Once the small convoy rolls behind the 8 foot high concrete barriers which surround the building, leaving the IP and ICDC who were traveling all around them as an escort in the usual human shield fashion, an IP turns to me and says, "The Americans are not good people. We are here to take care of you."

1st Lt. Eric Knapp, the Public Affairs Officer for the 1st Marine Division, in a press release about the exercise later stated, "Marines from the 1st Marine Division traveled into Fallujah today to exercise freedom of movement and meet with city officials."

Abdul Rahman, a captain in the ICDC, says to me, "There were negotiations between the people of Fallujah and the occupation forces. The plan is for the Americans to pull all of their troops out of the city after they get this one patrol." After pausing while looking at the military vehicles inside the concrete barrier which surrounds the Tribal Council building, he added, "We want them out of our country."

In the press release, 1st Lt. Knapp also added, "Cooperation between Coalition and Iraqi Forces in Fallujah is symbolic of the solidarity between all who share a vision of a secure and prosperous Iraq."

Nervous residents of the recently besieged city watched quietly from sidewalks as the vehicles sat for 30 minutes inside barriers surrounding the Tribal Council building. The building was also surrounded by the scores of members of the IP and ICDC who had accompanied the patrol.

This "patrol" had traveled a daunting two miles from the highway bridge to this building, with full Iraqi escort. Is this a show of force? Is this an attempt to save face? If it is either of these, nobody I speak with throughout the day seems to think so.

Just outside of the building, Alla Hamdalide, a member of the ICDC said, "We brought the Americans from the bridge into the city. They couldn't even come in here alone. The victory for Fallujah remains."

After only half an hour inside the building, with scores of IP and ICDC riding in pick-up trucks surrounding the vehicles of the Marines, the patrol slowly makes its way back out of the city.

My translator, who is aware of the truce, assures me there will be no fighting unless the marines start it. Nevertheless, I scan around for something to hide behind if it does...the normally busy street is a surreal quiet, and has the tangible air of expectancy for bloodshed that the people of Fallujah have come to know all too well.



Remembering Fallujah

A dossier of The **BRussells** Tribunal

As a Humvee passes, a resident of Fallujah turns to me and says, “I am uncomfortable with the Americans being here. We dislike them.”

A few people wave at the Iraqis that are accompanying the patrol, who tentatively wave back to them. I spot a couple of soldiers who, thinking the waves are for them, wave back as well.

Once the patrol is about a half mile from the area, spontaneous celebrations erupt as crowds of residents flow into the street. Iraqi flags appear everywhere as people begin chanting and waving them wildly. Members of both the Iraqi Police and Iraqi Civil Defense Corps who were at the intersections join in the celebration, waving their guns in the air and giving the “Victory” sign.

A parade is quickly formed...cars honking, trucks with boys and men riding in the backs of them line up, and the Iraqi Police who were there to guard the Marines have promptly turned into parade escorts, as well as participants.

As the ruckus begins to inch down the street, an elderly Fallujan resident riding in the back of a truck waving an old Iraqi flag yells, “Today is the first day of the war against the Americans! This is a victory for us over the Americans!”

Mujahedeen brandishing Rocket Propelled Grenades (RPGs), Kalashnikovs and hand grenades are paraded on trucks as thousands of residents begin to move up and down the main street in the victory parade amidst loud music blaring from the minarets of mosques.

Ahmed Saadoun Jassin, an Iraqi Policeman, smiling from ear to ear, says, “I can’t describe to you the happiness I feel right now. This is a victory for Islam.” Many of the IP’s and ICDC are holding their weapon in the air with one hand while giving the victory sign with their other.

When I ask about cooperating with the Marines, Mr. Jassin said, “This was the deal that was negotiated. They couldn’t stay in Fallujah for over one hour, which they didn’t.”

I am pulled up into the back of a pickup truck as we are being pelted by candy thrown by shop-owners throwing handfuls of candy at the crowds who pass. Many of the people celebrating continue to wave Iraqi flags, while some hold up the Koran.

Vehicles carrying both armed mujahedeen and celebrating residents of Fallujah roll up and down the main street of the city. Members of the IP, ICDC are firing their guns into the air, along with several mujahedeen. Men are holding children in the air, many of whom are giving the victory sign while holding candy in their other hand.

The press release for the 1st Marine Division about the patrol stated, “Fallujans reportedly waved to the Marines as they made their way in and out of the city. Freedom of movement in Fallujah, like that demonstrated by today’s visit, is a crucial component in the process of setting the conditions necessary to rebuild and revitalize the city. This display of teamwork serves notice to those who violently oppose stability in Iraq; they are nothing more than unwanted barriers on the road to a truly free Iraq.”

A mujahedeen fighter riding on the roof of a truck while wielding an RPG stated, "They (Marines) just made the people of the world laugh at them. But I think they will come back, because they don't keep their word."

The celebrating continues throughout the day...for while the parade disperses after a couple of hours, small groups of honking cars carrying Iraqis waving flags triumphantly continue to buzz around the streets. Children are running around with flowers, carrying them towards mosques. People are speaking of more celebrations tonight.

Boys have set up water and juice checkpoints-giving cups of juice to cars that slowly pass through them, and waving flowers about as they play in the sun which has come out.

Despite suffering tremendous loss during the fighting in April, the battles have apparently galvanized the will of the residents of Fallujah, who, at least today, are relishing their newfound freedom from the occupiers of their city.

List of Iraqi civilian martyrs killed in Fallujah by chemical weapons used by the Americans in their assault on the city in April 2004

Babel Centre for Studies and Media and the People's Struggle Movement in Iraq have identified the names and addresses of Iraqi civilian martyrs killed in Fallujah by chemical weapons used by the Americans in their assault on the city in April 2004.

Signs of severe burns and disfigurements were noticed on the corpses of these martyrs which lead to their death, a clear indication that they were killed by "unconventional" chemical weapons. It was also clear that there have been no signs at all on all the corpses of those martyrs to indicate that their death was caused by any kind of fire arms.

Below are the names of those martyrs, whose bodies were accurately identified and counted through vigorous inspections and who were also identified by whoever was left alive from their families and friends. The list contains 749 names, 580 of which are males and 169 are females, and among them were large numbers of children and elderly.

While we are publishing this list in English, we wish that the entire World knows the crimes committed by the Americans in Iraq, and by those puppets brought by them to the country like Allawi, Al-Hakim, Al-Ja'afari, Al-Chalabi and the rest of the criminals, thieves and mercenaries.

Triple name (/F = female)	Address
1. Ibrahim Ahmad Awwad	Al-Andalus
2. Ibrahim Ahmad Fadhil	Al-Andalus
3. Ibrahim Khalaf Ali	Nazzal
4. Ibrahim Salloum Hwayer	Al-Shuhada
5. Ibrahim Shlash Jassim	Al-Askari
6. Ibrahim Tariq Ibrahim	Al-Shuhad/2
7. Ibrahim Abbas Khalaf	Al-Jaffah
8. Ibrahim Abid Ali	Al-Jolan
9. Ibrahim Abboud Jdai'a	Albu Ubaid
10. Ibrahim Mohammed Hassan	Nuaymiyah
11. Ibrahim Mola JawadM	Nazzal
12. Ahlam Hatem Sulaiman /F	Nazzal
13. Ahmad Ibrahim Ali	Al-Jaffah
14. Ahmad Ismail Abboud	Al-Shuhada

15. Ahmad Tawfiq Khalaf	Al_Hassi
16. Ahmad Jassim Hammadi	Al-Khaldiyah
17. Ahmad Juma'a Iwayed	Jubail
18. Ahmad Hussain Alwan	Al-Askari
19. Ahmad Khalid Nsayef	Al-Saqlawiyah
20. Ahmad Khalaf Hamad	Al-Jolan
21. Ahmad Khalaf Dha'ayen	Albu Ubaid
22. Ahmad Khalaf Abdullah	Al-Andalus
23. Ahmad Khalaf Hailan	Al-Mua'alimin/2
24. Bilal Ahmad Diri'	Al-Garmah
25. Ahmad Rashid Jassam	
26. Ahmad Sulaiman Jdaye'a	Al-Askari
27. Ahmad Shukur Jassim	Al-Nassaf
28. Ahmad Shehab Ahmad	Al-Jolan
29. Ahmad Salih Abdullah	Al-Jolan
30. Ahmad Salah Matar	Al-Risafi
31. Ahmad A'ayed	Al-Jolan
32. Ahmad A'ayed Hassan	Al-Mujama'a
33. Ahmad Abdullah Khalil	
34. Ahmad Abed Hussain	Al-Askari
35. Ahmad Ubaid Mhaidi	Al-Mua'alimin/2
36. Ahmad Asal Mahmoud	Al-Jaffah
37. Ahmad Ali Abdullah	
38. Ahmad Ali Mikhlif	Al-Askari
39. Ahmad Ilaiwi Matar	Jubail
40. Ahmad Awwad Abdullah	Al-Jolan
41. Ahmad Falah Hassan	Al-Mua'alimin/2
42. Ahmad Flaieyh Hassan	Al-Shurtah
43. Ahmad Kamal Ahmad	Al-Shuhada
44. Ahmad Majid Hamid	Jubail
45. Ahmad Mhaimid Hajwal	Al-Garmah
46. Ahmad Najim Abboud	Al-Jolan
47. Ikhlas Khalid Thiyab /F	
48. Athar Hamid Mahdi /F	Al-Askari
49. Arkan Abdulrazzaq Fayadh	Nazzal
50. Arkan Ali Hussain	Al_Hassi
51. Usama Ibrahim Ali	Al-Askari
52. Usama Mahmoud Asal	Al-Jolan
53. Istabraq Ala'a Hussain	Al-Jolan
54. Istabraq Kamal Shakir	Nazzal
55. Isra'a Juma'a Fayadh /F	Al-Askari
56. Isra'a Hamid Abid /F	Al-Saqlawiyah
57. Isra'a Raed Ahmad /F	Al-Mua'alimeen
58. Isra'a Sa'adoon Rajab /F	Al-Mua'tasem
59. Isra'a Adel Bader /F	Al-Jeghaifi
60. Asa'ad Abed Hamid	
61. Asma'a Madhat Jaber /F	Nazzal
62. Asma'a Jasim Mohammed /F	Al-Askari
63. Ismail Hassan Sulaiman	Al-Jolan
64. Ismail Ahmad Abdullah	Nazzal
65. Ismail Hassan Ilaiwi	Al-Jeghaifi
66. Ismail Sarhan Mahmoud	Al-Jaffah
67. Ismail Sha'alan Farhoud	Nazzal

68. Asil Ahmad Yasin /F	Al-Shuhada
69. Iqbal Khamis Jiad /F	Jubail
70. Ilham Hamid Salih /F	Al-Jolan
71. Amjad Ahmad Fayadh	Nuaymiyah
72. Amal Mohammed Ilaiwi /F	Al-Shuhada
73. Amirah Mohammed Buru'a /F	Jubail
74. Anas Hammad Ubaid	7 Nisan
75. Insaf Kwayez Attar /F	Al-Jolan
76. Anmar Mohammed Aftan	Al-Shurtah
77. Anwar Barat Abboud /F	Nuaymiyah
78. Anwar Jamal Ismail /F	Nassaf
79. Anwar Fiza'a Hamid /F	Al-Jolan
80. Anwar Abdulrazzaq Ayoub /F	
81. Awat Hamid Aftan	Al-Askari
82. Ayeh Ahmad Dhahi /F	Al-Jolan
83. Iman Fiza'a Hamid /F	Al-Jolan
84. Inas Dhahi Abid /F	Al-Jolan
85. Ihab Ghannawi Nayef	Al-Shuhada /2
86. Ibtisam Khamis Saleh /F	Al-Jolan
87. Ibtihal Khalaf Khalil /F	Nuwwab Al-Dhubbat
88. Ibrahim Taha Yasin	
89. Abu Muhannad Al-Turkumani	Al-Askari
90. Ahmad Abeid Sultan	
91. Intisar Mohammed I'anizi /F	Al-Shuhada
92. Basim Khamis Salih	Al-Jolan
93. Basim Abid Khalaf	Al-Jaffah
94. Basim Majid Hnaidi	Al-Jolan
95. Basim Mohammed Khudhaier	Al-Mua'tasem
96. Burhan Mohammed Madhour	Al-Jeghaifi
97. Buraha Muslih Khalaf /F	Bain Al-Jisrain
98. Bassam Shakir Hamid	Al-Jolan
99. Basa'ad Hamid Fitnah /F	Al-Mua'tasem
100. Basman Majid I'nad	Dhubbat/1
101. Bushra Amer Abboud /F	Nuaymiyah
102. Bushra Adnan Allawi /F	Al-Andalus
103. Bushra Fadhil Abid /F	Al-Halabsah
104. Bashir Fawwaz Ubaid	Al-Jaffah
105. Bashir Mohammed Inizi	Al-Shuhada
106. Bilal Jabbar Hussain	Al-Jolan
107. Bilal Sa'ad Mohammed	Nazzal
108. Bilal Sultan Khalaf	Al-Jumhuriyah
109. Bilal Sabbar Hussain	Al-Jolan
110. Bilal Taha Mahmoud	Al-Garmah
111. Balqis Fawzi Ali /F	Al-Shuhada /2
112. Baha Hussain Ali	Al-Jolan
113. Baha Abid Imran	Al-Risalah
114. Baha Muwafaq Shafiq	Al-Jumhuriyah
115. Bahjat Kurdi Nayef	Shuhada/2
116. Bahjat Ismail Mohammed	Nassaf
117. Tahsin Misha'al Khalaf	Al-Khaldiyah / Abu Ubaid
118. Tahsin Yousuf Abbas	Al-Shuhada
119. Tarfah Jiad /F	Al-Askari
120. Thaer Ibrahim Jdaia	Albu Ubaid

121.	Thaer Ahmad Hailsn	Al-Ba'ath
122.	Thaer Ahmad Yehiya	Al-Jaffah
123.	Thaer Anwar	Al-Jumhuriyah
124.	Thaer Hatem Shakhan	Nazzal
125.	Thaer Hamid Jdai'a	Albu Ubaid
126.	Thaer Ali Ibrahim	
127.	Thaer Misha'al Mohammed	Nuwwab Al-Dhubbat
128.	Thaer Hadi Muslat	Al-Askari
129.	Thamer Abu Hisham	
130.	Thamer Farhan Al-Zoba'ai	Jubail
131.	Thamer Fahad Ahmad	Al-Mua'alimin/2
132.	Thamer Mubarek	Al-Jumhuriyah
133.	Thamer Mansour Khasan	Al-Askari
134.	Thamer Najem Al-Damouk	Al-Jumhuriyah
135.	Jaber Matar Al-Isawi	Al-Jaffah
136.	Jassim Hussain Ali	Nazzal
137.	Jassim Hammadi Humoud	Al-Jolan
138.	Jassim Mohammed Abid	Al-Garmah
139.	Jassim Mohammed Khalaf	Al-Garmah
140.	Jassim Mohammed Matloub	Jubail
141.	Jassim Mahdi Jassim	Al-Azragiyah
142.	Jabbar Abbas Allawi	Al-Jaffah
143.	Jaddou Thiab Hassan	Sajar
144.	Jalal Shukur Abbas	Al-Jaffah
145.	Jamal Ismail Saleh	Al-Saqlawiyah
146.	Jamal Jassim Abid	Nuwwab Al-Dhubbat
147.	Jamal Jassim Ubaid	Al-Khaldiyah
148.	Jamal Khalil Mansour	Al-Jolan
149.	Jamal Fadhel Allawi	Al-Jaffah
150.	Jinan Khalil Ismail /F	
151.	Jinan Mohammed Hussain /F	Nuaymiyah
152.	Hafidh Ismail Abed Saleh	Albu Ubaid
153.	Hamid Hadid Hamad	
154.	Hamid Ifat Muhaisen	Al-Garmah
155.	Husam Khamis Faraj	Nazzal
156.	Husam Mohammed Ali	
157.	Husam Noori Mohammed	Al-Dhubbat
158.	Hassan Nijris Abdullah	Al-Garmah
159.	Hassan Abdulsadah Jabbar	
160.	Hassan Abdul Majid Jassim	Al-Askari
161.	Hassan Mohammed Turki	Al-Jolan
162.	Hasnah Ghazal Abdullah /F	Al-Jolan
163.	Hussain Khudhaier Nayef	Al-Jeghaifi
164.	Hussain Khalaf Shbaij	Jubail
165.	Hussain Dhahi Abid	Al-Jolan
166.	Hussain Ali Ahmad	Al-Jolan
167.	Hussain Ali Samir	Al-Andalus
168.	Hussain Ilaiwi Mudha'an	Al-Jeghaifi
169.	Hussain Karim Ibais	Al-Jolan
170.	Hussain Mohammed Sharqi	Al-Askari
171.	Haqqi Ismail Abid	Jubail
172.	Haqqi Ismail Mahdi	Al-Dhubbat
173.	Hikmat Hammadi Mahdi	Al-Saqlawiyah

174.	Hala Rekan Inaizan /F	Al-Jolan
175.	Hala Sa'adoon Jassim /F	Al-Dhubbat
176.	Halimah Ajmi Saleh /F	Al-Jolan
177.	Hammad Farhan Jassim	Al-Shurtah
178.	Hammad Al-Shammari	
179.	Hamdi Kamel Hamdi	Al-Mua'alimin/2
180.	Hamdi Nawwaf Mohammed	Al-Jumhuriyah
181.	Hamid Ahmad Khelaiwi	Al-Garmah
182.	Hamid Thijil Fhaimi	Abu Sdairah
183.	Hamid Abbas Allawi	Al-Jaffah
184.	Hamid Abdullah Sultan	Al-Garmah
185.	Hamid Abid Sultan	Near train station houses
186.	Hamid Majid Al-Hijwal	Al-Askari
187.	Hamid Mohammed Rashid	Al-Jolan
188.	Hamid Muhaisin Abid	Al-Jolan
189.	Hanan Hatem Abed /F	7 Nisan
190.	Hanan Hamid Hussain /F	Nazzal
191.	Hanan Khalaf Khalil /F	Nuwwab Al-Dhubbat
192.	Hanan Mohammed Hassan /F	Na'aimiyah
193.	Hunain Mahdi Saleh	Nazzal
194.	Khalid Ibrahim Nael	
195.	Khalid Hassan Ilaiwi	Al-Mua'alimin/1
196.	Khaid Hamid Hassan	Nazzal
197.	Khaid Hamid Mirza	Nazzal
198.	Khalid Khamis Ismail	Old Haswah
199.	Khalid saeed Mohammed	Dubbat/1
200.	Khalid Abbas Khudaier	Al-Askari
201.	Khalid Inad Ibrahim	Al-Jaffah
202.	Khalid Flaieh Hassan	
203.	Khalid Majid Matar	Al-Saqlawiyah
204.	Khalid Majid Mutlag	Al-Dhubbat/ 2
205.	Khitam Ibrahim Rashid /F	Al-Mua'alimin/2
206.	Khidhir Ibrahim Nael	Nazzal
207.	Khidhir Mohammed Fayadh	
208.	Khudaier Ibrahim Fahad	Al_Hassi
209.	Khudaier Ibrahim Nael	Al-Jolan
210.	Khudaier Misha'an Abbas	Jubail
211.	Khudaier Nazzal Humaidi	Al-Shuhada/2
212.	Khaldoon Ali Hussain	Nuwwab Al-Dhubbat
213.	Khalaf Abdullah	Nazzal
214.	Khalaf Ubaid Khalaf	7 Nisan
215.	Khalaf Mutar Khalaf	Nazzal
216.	Khuloud Hadi Hamad /F	
217.	Khalil Ahmad Jassim	Al-Risalah
218.	Khalil Jihad Hammadi	Al-Askari
219.	Khalil Hammad Hammadi	Al-Mua'tasem
220.	Khilail Atallah Ahmad	Al-Jaffah
221.	Khamis Ibrahim Saleh	Nazzal
222.	Khamis Hammad Ubaid	7 Nisan
223.	Khamis Ali Hussain	Al-Garmah
224.	Khansa Mahmoud Mita'ab /F	Al-Ba'ath
225.	Khawlah Abbas Fadhil /F	Al-Halabsah
226.	Dalia Ismail Ahmad /F	Al-Jolan

227.	Dawood Salim	Al-Mua'alimin/2
228.	Dawood Mahmoud	Al-Askari
Mohammed		
229.	Dua'a Abdulsalam Inad /F	Dhubbat/1
230.	Dawlah Hindi Ubaid /F	Al-Askari
231.	Raed Hamid Naji	Al-Mua'tasem
232.	Raed Abdulsattar Mohammed	Al-Jumhuriyah
233.	Raed Nafea'a Rahim	Al-Saqlawiyah
234.	Rajiha Zaki Noori /F	Nazzal
235.	Raja Mohammed Miza'el /F	Al-Jolan
236.	Rahma Khalid Hashim /F	Al-Jolan
237.	Rahim Nazzal Manfi	Albu Ubaid
238.	Rusool Mohammed Khairallah	Nazzal
239.	Rasool Aswad Abid	Al-Azragiyah
240.	Rasool Hashim	Al-Jumhuriyah
241.	Rasha Barakat Ubaid /F	Nazzal
242.	Rasha Sha'aban Mijbas /F	Al-Garmah
243.	Rasha Abbas Ali /F	Nazzal
244.	Rashid Ahmad Khelaiwi	Al-Garmah
245.	Ra'ad Abdullah Mushawwah	Al-Jeghaifi
246.	Ra'ad Muharib Yasin	
247.	Ra'ad Mohammed Dhahi	Al-Jolan
248.	Raghad Noori Sanad /F	Al-Mua'tasem
249.	Rafa Ali Ibrahim /F	
250.	Rana Adel Jamil /F	Al-Shurtah
251.	Randah Jamal Yasin /F	
252.	Rawa Khalid Theab /F	Al-Jumhuriyah
253.	Rawa Rasool Abid /F	Al-Wihdah
254.	Riyadh Ahmad Hussain	Al-Mua'alimin/1
255.	Riyadh Hammad Najim	
256.	Zahra'a Juma'a Hassan /F	Al-Mua'tasem
257.	Zahra Falah Hammadi /F	
258.	Zahra Mohammed Abid /F	Nuaymiyah
259.	Zahrah Tuma Nasir /F	Nazzal
260.	Zahrah Kurdah Qanbar /F	Al-Jolan
261.	Zawjah Ahmad Hammadi /F	Al-Jaffah
262.	Zawjah Falah Hammadi/F	Al-Jaffah
263.	Ziyad Khudaier Abbas	Al-Jaffah
264.	Zaid Dhia Mohammed	Al-Jolan
265.	Zainab Ibrahim Najim /F	
266.	Zainab Fiza'a Hamid /F	Al-Shuhada
267.	Zainab Mohammed Ahmad /F	Nazzal
268.	Sarah Juma'a Fayadh /F	Al-Askari
269.	Sarah Ali Dhahi /F	Al-Jolan
270.	Sarah Mohammed Sabti /F	Al-Andalus
271.	Salim Hamid	Al-Askari
272.	Salim Hilal Jassim	
273.	Samir Sattar Jubair	Al-Shuhada
274.	Sattar Jabbar Hamoud	Al-Garmah
275.	Sattar Abdulwahab	Al-Garmah
Mohammed		
276.	Sattar Mohammed Ali	Nazzal
277.	Sajjad Ayad Khalid	Jumhuriyah-Al

278.	Saja Mohammed Dhahi /F	Al-Jolan
279.	Saja Mohammed Ilaiwi /F	Al-Shuhada
280.	Suroor Karim Ahmad	Nazzal
281.	Sura Ibrahim Jassim /F	
282.	Saad Jabur Ghali	Nazzal
283.	Saad Dhaye	Jubail
284.	Saad Abdullah	Al-Jumhuriyah
285.	Saad Abdullah Ahmad	Nazzal
286.	Saad Fayadh Farhan	
287.	Saad Mohammed Dhahi	Al-Jolan
288.	Sa'adi Awwad	Al-Mua'alimin/2
289.	Sa'adiyah Ahmad Jassim /F	Nuaymiyah
290.	Saeed Mohammed Ahmad	Nuaymiyah
291.	Saeed Mohammed Aifan	
292.	Saeedah Saleh Attiyah /F	Al-Jolan
293.	Salam Jabbar Abbas	Al-Jaffah
294.	Salam Abdullah	Al-Jumhuriyah
295.	Salman Ahmad Khalil	
296.	Salman Dawood Jassim	Jubail
297.	Salamh Jassim Mohammed	Nuaymiyah
298.	Samah Thaer Husni /F	Al-Shurtah
299.	Samar Nabil Ghalib /F	Nazzal
300.	Sana Shallal Hussain /F	Al-Askari
301.	Sundus Salah Khalil /F	Nazzal
302.	Suha Abdulrazzaq Abdulrahman /F	Al-Shurtah
303.	Siham Fadhil Ali /F	
304.	Suha Abdulkarim Dakhel /F	Al-Jolan
305.	Suhailah Salman Dawood /F	Nazzal
306.	Susan Hussain Ibrahim /F	Al-Mua'alimin/2
307.	Saif Al-Deen Jassim Mohammed	Jubail
308.	Saif Al-Deen Mohammed A'aed	Al-Jolan
309.	Saif Ali Dhahi	Al-Jolan
310.	Saif Khamis Salih	Al-Jolan
311.	Saif Bahjat Kurdi	Al-Shuhada/2
312.	Saif Mahmoud Nawwaf	Al-Askari
313.	Shakir Al-Suwaidawi	Nazzal
314.	Shakir Mahmoud	
315.	Shamil Ibrahim Ibda'a	Al-Mua'alimin/2
316.	Shamil Khudaier Hammadi	Al-Shurtah
317.	Shughaf Hussain Ali /F	Al-Risalah
318.	Shukriah Ubaid Abbas /F	Al-Shuhada
319.	Shlash Jassim Al-Mamouri	Nazzal
320.	Shahad Ahmad Khalid /F	Al-Jeghaifi
321.	Shahad Hamid Aftan /F	Al-Askari
322.	Shuwaishah Hammadi Fayadh /F	Nazzal
323.	Shireen Talib Misha'al /F	Al-Shurtah
324.	Shaima Ibrahim Rasheed /F	Al-Mua'alimin/2
325.	Shaima Abbas Fadhil /F	Halabsah
326.	Shaima Ali Khalaf /F	Al-Jolan
327.	Shaima Mohammed Ahmad /F	Nazzal

328.	Sabreen Ibrahim Mahmoud /F	Nazzal
329.	Salih Sarhan Abid	Mua'alimin/2
330.	Salih Awwad Abid	Nuaymiyah
331.	Salih Mahdi Judai	Al-Jeghaifi
332.	Sabah Noori Sayyah	Al-Garmah
333.	Sabah Ahmad	Al-Jolan
334.	Sabah Jassim Ahmad	Al-Askari
335.	Sabah Dahal Fayyadh	Al-Ba'ath
336.	Saddam Hatem Abdulrazzq	Al-Shurtah
337.	Saddam Hussain Salih	Al-Jaffah
338.	Saddam Ali Hussain	
339.	Sadiqah Abid Bdaiwi /F	Al-Shuhada
340.	Safa Mahmoud Mahdi	Old Haswah
341.	Safa Mohammed Ahmad	Al-Mua'tasem
342.	Safa Mahmoud Khalaf	Nazzal
343.	Salah Jiyad Ali	
344.	Salah Sulaiman Abdullah	Al-Jolan
345.	Salah Matar Aied	Al-Risafi
346.	Dhuha Khamis Salih /F	Al-Jolan
347.	Dhia Khamis Abboud	Al-Jolan
348.	Dhia Adnan Abdullah	Al-Jolan
349.	Tariq Ali Hussain	Nuwwab Al-Dhubbat
350.	Tariq Mahal Khalaf	Albu Ubaid
351.	Talib Khamis	Al-Jolan
352.	Talib Murawah Mahmoud	
353.	Talab Hammad Mita'ab	Al-Garmah
354.	Talab Khamis Mislal	Al-Jolan
355.	Taha Abu Yasin	
356.	Taha Asal Mahmoud	Al-Shuhada
357.	Taha Kadhim Hussain	Al-Jolan
358.	Taha Yas Hassan	Risafi-AlJI
359.	Aisha Ahmad Khalaf /F	Al-Shuhad/2
360.	Adil Ibrahim Nawwaf	Al-Askari
361.	Adil Al-Falahi	Al-Jumhuriyah
362.	Adil Kharbit Challoub	Al-Askari
363.	Adil Salih Hassan	Al-Askari
364.	Adil Aifan Udwan	Al-Mua'alimin
365.	Asi Salman	Nazzal
366.	Amir Ismail Abboud	Al-Shuhada
367.	Amir Hamid	Al-Shuhad/1
368.	Amir Khamis Sulaiman	Al-Askari
369.	Amer Safi Abdullah	Al-Jolan
370.	Amer Abdulhamid	Al-Jolan
371.	Amer Abid Abdullah	Al-Jumhuriyah
372.	Amer Adnan	
373.	Amer Ali Hussain	Nuwwab Al-Dhubbat
374.	Amer Yasin Ali	Al-Mua'alimin/2
375.	Amer Younis Abid	Al-Jolan
376.	Abbas Ahmad Abdullah	Nazzal
377.	Abbas Al-Kurdi	Al-Jolan
378.	Abbas Jassim Abdullah	
379.	Abbas Fakhri Miza'el	Al-Mua'alimin/2
380.	Abbas Mohammed Ali	Nazzal

381.	Abbas Fakhri Mita'ab	Hai Al-Sina'ai
382.	Abduljabbar Fayyadh Ibrahim	Nazzal
383.	Abdulhafidh Ahmad Jassim	Al-Risalah
384.	Abdulhamid Abubilal Al-Muhammadi	
385.	Abdulhamid Abboud Hantoush	Al-Shuhada
386.	Abdulraouf Abdulkarim	Al-Askari
387.	Abdulrazzaq Abdulrahman Hassan	Al-Shurtah
388.	Abdulsattar Jassim Mohammed	Al-Garmah
389.	Abdulsattar Jarrad Jaed	Nazzal
390.	Abdulsattar Ali Firas	Albu Ubaid
391.	Abdulghafour Shihab Ahmad	
392.	Abdulkarim A'ashour	Al-Mua'alimin/2
393.	Abdulkarim Hamid Khamis	Al-Askari
394.	Abdulkarim Abdullah Abid	Dubbat/2
395.	Abdulkarim Abdullah	Al-Jumhuriyah
396.	Abdulkarim Hadi Dawood	Al-Shuhada
397.	Abdullah Hamid Abdullah	Al-Jolan
398.	Abdullah Abid Hammadi	Al-Mua'alimin/2
399.	Abdullah Ali Hmoud	Al-Ba'ath
400.	Abdullah Nia'ama Ibrahim	Al-Shuhada/2
401.	Abdulnasir Ali Jawad	Al-Jolan
402.	Abboud Hatim Jida'an	Al_Hassi
403.	Abir Hamid Abid /F	
404.	Uthman Sattar Khalaf	Al-Jolan
405.	Uthman Shihab Ahmad	Nuaymiyah
406.	Uthman Ali Ahmad	Al-Ba'ath
407.	Uthman Muhsin Majid	Albu Isa
408.	Uthman Najeeb Salih	Nassaf
409.	Adnan Hussain Ali	Al-Jolan
410.	Adnan Abid Khalaf	Al-Jaffah
411.	Adnan Midhir Hamad	Nazzal
412.	Uday Thamer Ali	Al-Garmah
413.	Uday Fraih Abdullah	Al-Jolan
414.	Uday Karim Abdullah	Al-Jolan
415.	Aslah Abid Jarrad /F	Nazzal
416.	Isam Abu Abdullah	Al-Mua'alimin/2
417.	Isam Shakir Hamid	
418.	Isam Tami Al-Ithawi	Al-Khaldiyah
419.	Isam Abdulamir Hassan	
420.	Aftah Ali Mohammed /F	Nazzal
421.	Aqil Hamid Khalaf	Al-Jumhuriyah
422.	Aqil Karim Ijrish	Al-Azraqiyah
423.	Alaa Ismail Hussain	Al-Dhubbat
424.	Alaa Jassim	
425.	Alaa Jassim Mohammed	Dhubbat/2
426.	Alaa Hussain Matar	Al-Garmah
427.	Alaa Thahi Abid	Al-Jolan
428.	Alaa Abbas Hraimus	Al-Jolan
429.	Alaa Abdulla Jida'an	Albu Ubaid
430.	Alaa Abid Juma'a	Nazzal

431.	Alaa Najim Abdullah	Al-Jolan
432.	Alaa Hadi	Al-Askari
433.	Allawi Abbas Allawi	Al-Jaffah
434.	Ali Ibrahim Turki	Al-Askari
435.	Ali Asa'ad Abbas	Al-Jolan
436.	Ali Ismail Abid	Al-Jolan
437.	Ali Turki	Al-Mua'alimin/2
438.	Ali Jabir	
439.	Ali Juma'a Fayadh	Al-Jolan
440.	Ali Hassan Mahmoud	Nazzal
441.	Ali Hussain Aifan	
442.	Ali Ahmad Khalaf	Nuwwab Al-Dhubbat
443.	Ali Hamad Muhsin	
444.	Ali Khalid Nsayef	Al-Saqlawiyah
445.	Ali Sajer Hussain	Al-Jolan
446.	Ali Sami Awwad	Al-Garmah
447.	Ali Sami Awdah	Al-Garmah
448.	Ali Shihan Dakhil	Dhubbat
449.	Ali Saber Sadiq	Al-Askari
450.	Ali Abdulkarim Salloumi	Nazzal
451.	Ali Abid Jassim	Nuaymiyah
452.	Ali Abid Gharib	Al-Jolan
453.	Ali Farhan Mis'hir	Al-Jolan
454.	Ali Fayadh Mohammed	Al-Mua'alimin/2
455.	Ali Mohammed Hamid	Al-Jumhuriyah
456.	Ali Matar A'ayed	Al-Risafi
457.	Ali Manthoor Ali	Albu Odah
458.	Alia Hamid Mita'ab /F	Al-Ba'ath
459.	Alia Sabah Ahmad /F	Al-Jolan
460.	Alia Fadhil Abid /F	Al-Halabsah
461.	Alia Hammad Mohammed /F	Al-Risalah
462.	Imad Khudaier Abbas	Al-Jaffah
463.	Ammar Jabbar Ali	Al-Askari
464.	Ammar Jabbar Krout	Albu Ubaid
465.	Ammar Jassim Hammadi	Al-Risafi
466.	Ammar Khamis Sulaiman	Al-Askari
467.	Ammar Abdullah Khudaier	Al-Mua'tasem
468.	Ammar Ali Hussain	Nuwwab Al-Dhubbat
469.	Ammar Mahmoud Abid	Al-Saqlawiyah
470.	Omar Ibrahim Khalaf	
471.	Omar Akram Jamil	Al-Mua'alimin/2
472.	Omar Akram Mousa	Al-Jolan
473.	Omar Al-Alwani	Nazzal
474.	Omar Al-Mara'awi	
475.	Omar Hamid Matar	Al-Shuhada
476.	Omar Khamis Salih	Al-Jolan
477.	Omar Thiab Ali	Nazzal
478.	Omar Thiab Munif	Al-Jolan
479.	Omar Raikan Inaizan	Al-Jolan
480.	Omar Zaman	Nazzal
481.	Omar Zaidan Khalaf	Al-Askari
482.	Omar Abduljabbar	Jubail
483.	Omar Abdulkarim	Al-Mua'alimin/2

484.	Omar Abdullah Khudaier	
485.	Omar Abdullah Siyaghah	Al-Jolan
486.	Omar Abid Abdullah	Al-Jolan
487.	Omar Adnan Riyadh	
488.	Omar Ali Ahmad	Al-Mua'alimin/2
489.	Omar Falah Kadhim	Al-Askari
490.	Omar Kurdi Mousa	Al-Jolan
491.	Omar Mohammed Abid	Al-Jumhuriyah
492.	Omar Mahmoud Matar	Al-Dhubbat
493.	Omar Misha'al Mohammed	Nuwwab Al-Dhubbat
494.	Omar Mamdouh Fawwaz	
495.	Omar Naif Sadoun	Al-Shuhada
496.	Awatif Abdulsattar Sulaiman /F	
497.	Aidan Hassan Al-Isawi	Al-Mua'alimin/2
498.	Ghanim Mohammed Mutlag	Al-Jumhuriyah
499.	Ghafran Abdulaziz Dhirgham /F	Al-Jolan
500.	Ghafran Mohammed Abid /F	Nuaymiyah
501.	Ghafran Naji Ahmad /F	Al-Jolan
502.	Ghulam Kassar Farhan	Albu Odah
503.	Faiz Khalifa Aifan	Al-Mua'alimin/2
504.	Faris Fadhil	Nazzal
505.	Faris Naji Ifain	Al-Shurtah
506.	Farouq Abdullah Al-Rawi	Al-Jumhuriyah
507.	Farouq Abdullah Mhaimeed	
508.	Fadhil Abid Hassoun	Al-Dhubbat / 2
509.	Fatima Hamid Jawhar /F	Nazzal
510.	Fatima Aied Abbas /F	
511.	Fatima Falah Hammadi /F	Al-Jaffah
512.	Fatima Mohammed Ahmad /F	Al-Mua'tasem
513.	Fakhri Fiza'a Ali	Al-Jumhuriyah
514.	Firas	
515.	Firas Mohammed Jassim	Mua'alimin/2
516.	Firial Abid Muhsin /F	Al-Askari
517.	Fadhilah Ismail Ibrahim /F	Al-Jolan
518.	Fadhilah Fadhil Abid /F	Al-Halabsah
519.	Falah Jassim Ahmad Abbas	Jubail
520.	Falah Jassim Mohammed	Al-Garmah
521.	Falah Hashim Jassim	Al-Askari
522.	Fahad Salam Jabbar	Al-Dhubbat/2
523.	Fahad Karim Abid	Sement Houses
524.	Qasim Adnan Ahmad	
525.	Qasim Mohammed Dawwah	Al-Saqlawiyah
526.	Qasim Mohammed Aifan	Jubail
527.	Qusai Hassan	Al-Saqlawiyah
528.	Qusai Flaieh Hassan	Al-Saqlawiyah
529.	Qusai Qasim Mahdi	Al-Askari
530.	Qais Ali Ibrahim	
531.	Qais Ali Aifan	Nuaymiyah
532.	Kadhim Hussain	
533.	Kadim Rija Haddad	Al-Jaffah

534.	Kamil Jabbar Fayadh	Al-Sha'ab
535.	Gurgi Salih Mohammed	Jubail
536.	Karim Ibrahim Ubaid	
537.	Karim Al-Tornachi	Al-Mua'alimin/2
538.	Karim Mohammed Warid	Jubail
539.	Karimah Mahmoud Midhan /F	Al-Jaghfi
540.	Kamal Jisir Fayadh	
541.	Kamal Abdulrazzaq Hassan	Nuwwab Al-Dhubbat
542.	Kawthar Nawwaf Aftan /F	Al-Jolan
543.	Luai Abid Sattar Wahid	Al-Jolan
544.	Latif Nsayef Jassim	Al-Shaiha
545.	Lafta Ubaid Hassoon	Nazzal
546.	Laith Khalil Daham	
547.	Layla Ibrahim Ismail /F	Al-Mua'alimin/2
548.	Layla Ahmad Abdullah /F	Nazzal
549.	Muayed Abboud Jassim	Nuaymiyah
550.	Majid Mahmoud Mohammed	Al-Mua'tasem
551.	Muthanna.....	Nazzal
552.	Muthanna Ibrahim Zaidan	
553.	Majid Khalid Hammadi	Al-Garmah
554.	Majid Ubaid Judaie	
555.	Majid Shahatha Ja'aed	Al-Mua'alimin/2
556.	Mohammed Abu Ain	
557.	Mohammed Ahmad Khalaf	Albu Ubaid
558.	Mohammed Ibda'a Ahmad	Al-Mahamdah
559.	Mohammed Hatem Sulaiman	Nazzal
560.	Mohammed Hassan Ibrahim	Train station houses
561.	Mohammed Haqi Mohammed	Al-Khaldiyah
562.	Mohammed Hamza Rajab	Al-Jolan
563.	Mohammed Hamza Ali	Dhubbat/2
564.	Mohammed Khadim Musarbat	Nazzal
565.	Mohammed Sa'adoon Jassim	Al-Jolan
566.	Mohammed Sulaiman Jarrad	Al-Jolan
567.	Mohammed Sabah Khalaf	Al-Shuhada
568.	Mohammed Dhahi Khalaf	Al-Jolan
569.	Mohammed Abdulrahman Askar	Al-Jolan
570.	Mohammed Abdullah Khalaf	Al-Jaffah
571.	Mohammed Abid Sirheed	Albu Ubaid
572.	Mohammed Abboud Mnajid	Al-Saqlawiyah
573.	Mohammed Adnan Allawi	Al-Shuhada
574.	Mohammed Ali Ibrahim	Al-Nassaf
575.	Mohammed Ali Al-Kubaisi	Mua'alimin/2
576.	Mohammed Ali Abdullah	Al-Garmah
577.	Mohammed Ali Abdullah	Al-Jolan
578.	Mohammed Ilaiwi Hamza	Al-Shuhada
579.	Mohammed Falah Khalaf	
580.	Mohammed Fahad	Al-Jolan
581.	Mohammed Kadhim Fayadh	Mua'alimin/2
582.	Mohammed Kamil Hamdi	Mua'alimin/2
583.	Mohammed Kurdi Hammadi	Al-Saqlawiyah
584.	Mohammed Karim A'ajmi	Nazzal
585.	Mohammed Mahmoud Fahad	Al-Jolan

586.	Mohammed Mikhlif Ubaid	Albu Alwan
587.	Mohammed Matar Mohammed	Al-Jolan
588.	Mohammed Mutlaq Fayadh	Al-Jolan
589.	Mohammed Mahdi Salih	Al-Nassaf
590.	Mohammed Mahdi Abbas	Al-Jolan
591.	Mohammed Naji Farhan	Nazzal
592.	Mohammed Nawwaf Mohammed	
593.	Mohammed Yasin Mohammed	Al-Saqlawiyah
594.	Mohammed Yousif Fayadh	Al-Nuaymiyah
595.	Mahmoud Ibrahim Salih	Al-Saqlawiyah
596.	Mahmoud Ibrahim Abid	
597.	Mahmoud Hamid Rashid	Nazzal
598.	Mahmoud Khalaf Hmoud	Al-Mua'alimin/2
599.	Mahmoud Sulaiman Ali	
600.	Mahmoud Salman Ali	Dhubbat/2
601.	Mahmoud Salman Rajab	
602.	Mahmoud Abid Mohammed	Al-Jolan
603.	Mahmoud Kurdi Salim	Al-Jaffah
604.	Mahmoud Mansour Numan	Al-Jolan
605.	Murtadha Ibrahim Abid	Al-Shuhada
606.	Marwan Mahmoud Abid	Al-Jolan
607.	Marwan Abid Mohammed	Al-Jolan
608.	Marwah Abdulrazzaq Mohammed /F	Jubail
609.	Marwah Kadhim Ubaid /F	Al-Askari
610.	Marwah Mohammed Khalaf /F	Al-Shuhada
611.	Marwah Walid Ismail /F	
612.	Mariam Ibrahim Inad /F	Nazzal
613.	Mariam Ismail Mohammed /F	Al-Askari
614.	Mariam Sabah Mahdi /F	Al-Jolan
615.	Mizher Abid Ahmad	
616.	Mustafa Ismail Khalil	Nazzal
617.	Mustafa Ahmad Khalaf	
618.	Mustafa Khalid Hamid	Jubail
619.	Mustafa Saeed Abbas	Al-Risalah
620.	Mustafa Taha Nawwaf	Al-Jolan
621.	Mustafa Abid Dhahi	Al-Jolan
622.	Mustafa Fadhil Salman	Jubail
623.	Mustafa Mohammed Ahmad	Nazzal
624.	Mustafa Mohammed Al- Hamdani	Nazzal
625.	Mustafa Mohammed Hamad	Al-Askari
626.	Mustafa Mohammed Khalaf	Al-Jolan
627.	Mustafa Mohammed Ilaiwi	Al-Shuhada
628.	Mustafa Nabil Ghalib	Nazzal
629.	Mutlib Khamis Mustafa	Al-Jolan
630.	Mutlag Hammad Abid	Al-Askari
631.	Mutlag Hammad Abdullah	
632.	Mudher Ibrahim Mutlib	Al-Garmah
633.	Ma'ani Kurdi Hammadi /F	Al-Saqlawiyah
634.	Ma'ad Mizher Abdulrazzaq	
635.	Ma'youf Iftaikhhan Mohammed	Al-Azragiyah

636.	Ma'youfah Iftaikhan Mohammed /F	
637.	Manar Imad Hashim /F	Jubail
638.	Manal Sultan Khalaf /F	Nazzal
639.	Munthir Abid Khalaf	
640.	Manwah Salih Abdullah /F	Al-Jolan
641.	Muna Sabah Mahdi /F	Al-Jolan
642.	Muna Abdulrazzaq Mohammed /F	Jubail
643.	Mahdi Salih Abdullah	
644.	Mahdi Abdullah Hamad	Al-Dhubbat
645.	Muhannad Hadi Jassim	Al-Jolan
646.	Muwaffaq Challoub Khalaf	Al_Hassi
647.	Muwaffaq Fraih Hassan	Al-Jolan
648.	Muwaffaq Hashim Ahmad	Mua'alimin/2
649.	Meea'ad Inad Abboud /F	Al-Mua'tasem
650.	Milad Utham Mijbas /F	Al-Andalus
651.	Naji Adwan Ali	Al-Wihdah
652.	Badir Khamis Salih	Al-Jolan
653.	Nasir Hussain Ali	Nazzal
654.	Nasir Raikan Unaizan	Al-Jolan
655.	Nasir Najim Al-Damouk	
656.	Nadhim Jassim Mohammed	Al-Dhubbat
657.	Nahidah Younis Turki /F	Al-Jolan
658.	Najim Abdullah Ahmad	Al-Mua'tasem
659.	Najim Abdullah Yousif	Al-Askari
660.	Najim Abid Mohammed	Jubail
661.	Najwah Abdullah Hamdan /F	Al-Shuhada
662.	Nida Hussain Abdullah	
663.	Nada Abdulaziz Dhirgham /F	Al-Jolan
664.	Nada Mohammed Abid /F	Al-Jumhuriyah
665.	Nazar Allawi Mahdi	
666.	Nisreen Mohammed Hassan /F	Nuaymiyah
667.	Nasha'at Hassan Mutlag	
668.	Naser Ahmad Sarhan	Al-Garmah
669.	Naseer Ghazi Naseer	Nazzal
670.	Nidhal A'arif Nail /F	Jubail
671.	Nidhal Mansi Farhan /F	Al_Hassi
672.	Al-Numan Monther Abdullah	Mua'alimin/2
673.	Naghham Abdulrazzaq Ibrahim /F	Nuwwab Al-Dhubbat
674.	Noor Aldin Mohammed A'aied	
675.	Noor Sabah Ahmad /F	
676.	Noor Ghalib Shihab /F	Nazzal
677.	Noor Falah Khalaf /F	
678.	Noor Majid Mita'ab /F	Nazzal
679.	Noori Farhan	Al-Jumhuriyah
680.	Nawfal Nawwaf Abbas	
681.	Nawfal Abdullah Al-Fahdawi	Al-Jolan
682.	Hajer Khamis Sulaiman /F	Al-Jolan
683.	Hadi Yasin Kadhim	Al-Garmah
684.	Hashim Abdullah Salih	
685.	Hibah Mohammed Thiyab /F	Al-Jolan

686.	Hibah Naji Ahmad /F	Al-Jolan
687.	HKhalid Ibrahim	Dhubbat/2
688.	Hadir Fawzi Ali /F	Al-Andalus
689.	Hadirah Hashim /F	Nazzal
690.	Hadil Fawzi Ali /F	Al-Andalus
691.	Hisham Jubair Farhan	
692.	Hisham Abbas Jassim	Al-Jaffah
693.	Hisham Abdulmalik Salih	Nazzal
694.	Humam Hashim Mohammed	Al-Andalus
695.	Hana Salih /F	Al-Saqlawiyah
696.	Haitham Hamid A'agoul	Nuwwab Al-Dhubbat
697.	Haitham Adnan Fayadh	
698.	Haitham Mohammed Abdullah	Al-Jaffah
699.	Haifa Abdulsattar Sulaiman /F	
700.	Haifa Ali Khalaf /F	Al-Jolan
701.	Haifa Mohammed Mhaimeed /F	7 Nisan
702.	Wahid Rodhan Frayeh	
703.	Wahidah Fayadh Hammadi /F	Al-Sajar
704.	Wardah Malallah /F	
705.	Wuroud Talib Khamis /F	Al-Jolan
706.	Wisam Khudaier Fayadh	Al-Jolan
707.	Wisam Salah Mohammed	Nazzal
708.	Wisam Mohammed Humoud	Al-Jolan
709.	Wisam Mahmoud Asal	Al-Jolan
710.	Wisam Mua'am Latif	Al-Shuhada/ 2
711.	Watban Ismail Abboud	Al-Shuhada
712.	Wafa Juma'a Hassan /F	Al-Mua'tasem
713.	Wafa Hussain Ali /F	Al-Risalah
714.	Wafa Yasin Taha /F	Al-Jolan
715.	Walid Anwar Mohammed	Al-Shuhada
716.	Walid Khalid Bardi	Jubail
717.	Walid Khalid Abdulrazzaq	Al-Askari
718.	Walid Khalid Mohammed	Al-Jolan
719.	Walid Rzouqi Dawood	Al-Dhubbat/2
720.	Walid Shakir Abid	Al-Jolan
721.	Walid Talal Noman	Al-Shuhada/1
722.	Walid Abdullah Hamid	Al-Shuhada/1
723.	Walid Abid Hamid	Al-Shuhada
724.	Walid Inaied Abbas	Al-Jaffah
725.	Walid Isa Al-Igaidi	Al-Jolan
726.	Walid Mohammed Hadid	Al-Jolan
727.	Walid Hadi Shihab	Nazzal
728.	Yasir Jassam Dhahir	Al-Askari
729.	Yasir Khamis Talab	Al-Jolan
730.	Yasir Taha Nawwaf	Al-Jolan
731.	Yasir Adel Rashid	Al-Shuhada
732.	Yasir A'agoul Rashid	
733.	Yasir Adnan Allawi	Al-Shuhada
734.	Yasin Jassim Ihmoud	Al-Garmah
735.	Yasin Jali Abdullah	Al-Risalah
736.	Yasin Challoub	Al-Wihdah
737.	Yasin Hamad Shihab	Nazzal

738.	Yasin Shihab Ahmad	
739.	Yasin Taha Shukur	Al-Azragiyah
740.	Yasin Mohammed Shihab	Al-Askari
741.	Yahya Jada'an Abdullah	Al_Hassi
742.	Yahya Abid Suru	Al-Jolan
743.	Yahya Mahdi Abbas	Al-Jolan
744.	Yusra Ahmad Abdullah /F	Nazzal
745.	Yousif Shakir Muhsin	
746.	Yousif Mahmoud Khalaf	Al-Jolan
747.	Younis Al-Muhammadi	Nazzal
748.	Younis Jassim Hammadi	Al-Dhubbat/2
749.	Younis Allawi Salih	Nuaymiyah

In the meantime, we ask the international community to intervene in every possible way to protect the innocent Iraqi civilians from the horrible crimes committed continuously against them by the occupiers in other cities of Iraq.

Fallujah: An Unnatural Disaster Joe Carr, *Electronic Iraq*, 30 May 2005



Fallujah (photo: Joe Carr)

Today, I did what few internationals have dared to do, I went to Fallujah.

Fallujah is completely surrounded by US Forces, the only way in or out is through one of four very restrictive checkpoints. People normally have to wait hours, but since we had our magic US passports, we made it through in about 45 minutes. We did not observe them searching any cars, soldiers just held-up traffic and slowly checked IDs. Like Palestine, these checkpoints seem to have little to do with security and more to do with harassment and intimidation.

Fallujah is devastating to drive through. There is more destruction and rubble than I've ever seen in my life; even more than in Rafah, Gaza. The US has leveled entire neighborhoods, and about every third building is destroyed or damaged from US artillery. Rubble and bullet holes are everywhere, the city is indescribably ravaged. It looks like it's been hit by a series of tornados; it's hard to believe that humans could actually do this. I have a new understanding of the destructive potential of modern warfare. See more destruction pictures.

US troops, Iraqi military, and Iraqi police have an overwhelming presence in the city. I've never seen such dirty looks directed at the passing forces; I guess in most places people get used to the occupier, but in Fallujah, the hate is still very alive. 16,000 Fallujan police lost their jobs after the US attacks and were replaced by Shiite from the South. The US intentionally sends Shiite to patrol Sunni strongholds to breed resentment and abuse, and it works. Soldiers shoot anyone who drives too close to their convoys, which makes driving anywhere in this small city incredibly dangerous. It is very easy to accidentally turn a corner and find yourself in the midst of a convoy. The hospital said that around 1-2 people a week die from the indiscriminate fire of US and Shiite occupation forces.

There are horror stories everywhere. We visited a family's home in a neighborhood where every structure is damaged or destroyed. Their home was full of holes and completely black inside from fire. They said that they'd left during the fighting with their home in tact, and returned to find all of their possessions had burned. Three families are now living in this 3-room house because their homes were completely destroyed. Over 25 people live in this burn-out shell of a home, including four infants. Some of them tried to get compensation from the US military but were denied.

There is the hopeful site of rebuilding. Around 25% of families who suffered damaged property have gotten a little bit of compensation from the US military, however it usually covers less than half of the cost for building materials for a new home. Particularly because the compensation rates are based on the price of building materials before the attacks, and now supplies cost nearly double because of the restrictive checkpoints.

Food prices have also dramatically increased because of the checkpoints. We talked with one shop-keeper who said that farmers from around Fallujah can no longer deliver their produce unless they have a US-issued Fallujah ID. The shopkeepers now have to go out and pick up the produce each day. He said it takes him around four hours because of the checkpoint delays. "They mistreat us," he said, "they point guns at us and insult us, even the women". He said that both US and Iraqi troops search through the vegetables roughly, even dumping them on the ground and sometimes smashing them. As soon as he's finished with one checkpoint and cleaned up the mess, another will ransack his load all over again. This can happen as many as four times he said. Sometimes, much of the produce rots from sitting in the hot sun. For all these reasons, the prices have gone up and more Fallujans are going hungry.

Fallujah has only one hospital with inpatient care. Other clinics and treatment centers were bombed by US troops, and soldiers prevented many people from getting to the hospital during the attacks. Even after the fighting, the US kept the bridges closed which caused several people to die of heart attacks when they couldn't get to the hospital fast enough. People from the rural areas surrounding Fallujah are also now dying of treatable illnesses because they can't get through the checkpoints to the Fallujah hospital. One hospital employee said that many patients die when they try to transfer them to hospitals outside Fallujah. "It's better to take them in a civilian car than in an ambulance" he said, "because the troops delay and search ambulances more." During the first attack, the hospital became a main source of information for the outside world. So when the US attacked the second time, they took over the hospital area first and controlled what information got out.

Meeting a Sunni cleric was the highlight of the trip. He was a young, passionate man and a quite eloquent speaker. He told us about some horror stories he'd witnessed. During the first invasion, several families near his Mosque

took cover in a home. US troops used megaphones to order all them out into the street and told them to carry a white flag. They did this, but when they all got out, the soldiers opened fire into the group, killing five. He said one boy had run to his mother who'd been shot, and Americans shot him in the head. He said he saw a US commander cry as this happened, "but what good were his tears?" he asked, "he didn't do anything to stop it."

While meeting with the cleric, a man told us some of his horror stories. "The Americans shot and killed my 15-year-old daughter" he said, "was she a terrorist?" He said the US military denied killing her and refused to give him even minimal compensation. The US gave him only half the compensation for his house that they destroyed. "With all respect to you," he said, "I hate Americans, they killed my family. My children cannot play in the street, they shot and killed my sister-in-law while she was washing clothes, and my other brother's hands and feet were blown off." He apologized for interrupting, but said that he had to tell us because he's in so much pain.

I felt incredibly safe in Fallujah; the people I spoke with were kind and gentle. They are rightfully angry and indignant at what the US has done to them, but they seemed to understand that it wasn't me or all American's that did it. The cleric said, "We are grateful that you come here and share in our suffering and agony, it shows that there are good and human Americans."

Fallujah is the face of US occupation. It shows how ruthless the US will be toward anyone who dares resist its agenda. But Fallujah has not stopped resisting. It is said that "you can't bomb a resistance out of existence, but you can bomb one into it." The unnatural disaster the US has unleashed on the Middle East is horrifying, and we all must resist it.

Joe Carr is a 24-year-old anti-oppression activist and performance artist from Kansas City, Missouri. He attended the Evergreen State College in Olympia, Washington and spent January-April 2003 coordinating for the [International Solidarity Movement](#) in Rafah, Palestine, where he witnessed Israeli soldiers murder US peace activist Rachel Corrie and British peace activist Tom Hurdall. Joe is now a full-time activist with the [Christian Peacemaker Teams](#) in Palestine. He is currently working with CPT in Baghdad, Iraq, having been denied entry to Israel. He'll be back in the states in June.

<http://electroniciraq.net/news/1982.shtml>

Ein Tamor Refugee Camp: Sad Stories of the Fallujah Continuing Tragedy

Eman Ahmed Khammas

Jan 13, 2005

Ein Tamor (Spring of Dates) is a small picturesque spot in the western Iraqi desert, 90 kilometers to the west of the sacred Karbala. It is part of a bigger oasis that contains the Razzazah Lake, many smaller towns, date palm and fruit thick orchards surrounding the lake, and a very important historical fortress called Al-Ekheider Castle. In the seventies, this area was developed as a resort; a tourist complex was built in Ein Tamor.

The tourist complex was fifty small flats surrounding the lake and the colorful natural springs. After the 1991 war, and during the UN economic sanctions against Iraq through the nineties until 2003, this tourist area was neglected, like many other similar places all over Iraq. During this period, when tourism was not a priority in Iraq,

the complex was mainly visited by newly wed couples who spent their honey moon there. In April 2003, after the occupation of Iraq, the complex was looted and damaged, nothing remained except the wall

Now it is a refugee camp for more than 50 Fallujan families, who fled the bombing and killings last October. It is like Habbaniya, another refugee camp, which was a tourist complex 40 kilometers to the north, near the Habbaniya Lake.

Obviously, Fallujans fled to these places because there were walls and roofs which can be used as better shelters than tents in the cold season. Ein Tamor, once one of the most beautiful areas of Iraq where picnics were made especially in winter, is now one of the saddest places. To go there, one has to go through the Triangle of death south of Baghdad, where many attacks against the occupying troops take place daily.

Usually it takes an hour to go to Karbalaa. It took us 3 hours, because of the check points, a bombed car that was still on fire, and traffic jam due to fuel (kilometers-long) queues. The roads are not the same. I used to go there to visit my grand mother. These are not the roads I used to go through; they are not roads at all, nothing is straight, just snake-like curves in the dusty wilderness. Paradoxically, the way from Karbalaa to Ein Tamor was calmer, better, and easier to go through, although the Iraqi Human Rights Watch members who accompanied us to the refugee camp warned us of looters.

The refugee camp was a club of sadness. Every one there had a story, even the children.

"No one visited us, except these people" said Sabiha Hashim, pointing to the Iraqi HRW members who accompanied us. She is a crippled widow in her fifties, and a mother of two young boys. She was burnt two years ago, and was handicapped since. Wrapped in a blanket, she was sitting in the middle of her miserable properties. Few dirty dishes, a blackened broken oil lamp that has not been cleaned ever, small primitive oil stove...etc. There was a new electric heater donated by some generous donor, but there was no electricity. Sabiha was silent, " why do not you talk to this lady" Sami of the Iraqi HRW asked her, pointing to me, " she came from Baghdad to see you".

"She did not ask" replied Sabiha.

"How did you come here?" I asked looking for some thing to say, after I saw her inhuman, totally unacceptable situation.

"The neighbors brought me when the bombing began"

" She promised to give me a dinar for every joke I tell her" said Sami, trying to lighten the very gloomy atmosphere " she is my fiancée now"

"poor Sami" I said, "now you have to look for 1000 jokes to get 1000 dinars" (\$ 0.7)

"What do you need", I asked Sabiha

"My medicine"

"What is it?"

"I do not know, I did not bring the doctor's receipt, there was no time. It is unfair" that was the only thing Sabiha said about her tragedy.

I looked for my friend Dr. Intisar, she is a pharmacist who is working with me and other Iraqi doctors to help Falluja refugees with medicines and supplies. I could not see her any where, but I could see a big crowd of women and children near the gate.

"Your friend, Dr. Intisar, is examining the children and giving medicines", said Ismael Chali, a man in his fifties who is helping in running the camp.

It was not raining that day, Ein Tamor was sunny and warm. The gardens are no more than dusty yards now, few dry trees scattered, the once beautiful tourist flats are just walls, with hanging sheets of cloths serving as doors and windows. Falluja women did amazing job keeping the whole place clean.

"May be you want to see this old man" Sami said and pointed to a man sitting in the sun, two crutches in his hands. Hussein Abdul Nabbi, had an accident and broke his thighs. He is the father of a family of 18; two of them are young and very healthy looking men.

"What are you doing here?" I asked them, in a rather criticizing tone.

"Waiting for God's mercy" one of them replied, " we are cotton carders, our shop was burnt, three electric sewing machines, cotton and cloths that worth 2 million dinars, and other equipments ,all are gone"

"But staying here does not help, does it" I insisted

"We went to Falluja a week ago; we waited the whole day but could not pass through the check points. Next day we went at 3 am, it was not before 3 pm that we could pass through the third sonar check point. Our house was destroyed, there is a huge hole in the ceiling, the fence is totally ruined, and the furniture damaged. The soldiers told us not to move out side the house or open the door after 6 pm. We are not supposed to make any noise; there is no electricity, no water, no shops, no hospitals, and no schools. How are we supposed to live there with our families? There are no families there, only men, those who can not live in tents any longer."

Other Fallujans told us that burning houses, bombing and looting are still going on until now.

Mustapha, 20 years, a student, said that he found his house, the furniture, the door, and the car destroyed and burnt. But the American soldiers told him not to use any thing from Falluja, not to use the sheets and blankets for example, not to drink water, and that if he does, it is his own decision and he has to take the responsibility for that.

"What does that mean?"

"It means that everything in Falluja is contaminated"

Ahmad Hashim, a guard in the Falluja sewage station, and a father of 3 children, found his house, which was no more than a room under the water tank, burnt." If a child gets ill, he simply dies, it is suicide to decide to go back to Falluja now"

Alahin Jalil, a young beautiful wife and a mother of 4 children, decided to go back home , no matter what. She was too tired of difficulties in the refugee camp, "I have to go to Karbalaa for medicines, there is no water here, no fuel, no money" . When she went to Falluja, she found out that her house which was in Nazzal district, one of the most bombed areas in Falluja, was totally destroyed. She decided to return back to the refugee camp, but it was not a better option. "For the whole family we get half a sheet of ampiciline (anti-biotic)

Money was the most difficult problem in the camp. These families consumed all their savings, if they had any. Food is given according to the food ration ID. Many of them fled Falluja without bringing their documents. Those get no food.

"What about the 150.000 dinars that are given to each Falluja family that we read about in the newspapers this week?"

"We never heard about them" every body replied. Where is UN, the Iraqi government, the humanitarian orgs, the Red Crescent, the Red Cross...they asked.

Darawsha is a small village 5 kilometers to the west of Ein Tamor. The Iraqi HRW in Karbalaa told us that its villagers share their houses with Falluja refugees. When we entered Darawsha, I remembered what James Baker said before the 1991 American attack on Iraq. "We will return Iraq to the middle ages" he said. This is not even the middle ages. The narrow muddy streets, small clay huts were dark, cold and crowded with big families. The smoky burning wet branches are not giving warmth to the damp cottages, more than the thick suffocating smoke .

Sheikh Farhan Al-Duleimi, the local council head, said " my name is Farhan (happy), but I am very sad for what happened to Falluja... at the same time this is a good example of the Shiite-Sunni unity in Iraq. Darawsha families are all Shiite, but they are welcoming Sunnis from Falluja as if they are one family, despite the fact that they are poor, and already in need of much help themselves

We decided to stop in the middle of the village, and to donate the medicines and financial help to the families, promising them and ourselves to come back again to listen to their stories. It was already 4 pm, we need to hurry back because it is too dangerous to be on the highway after sunset. There are at least 85 Falluja families here. Dr. Intisar opened the car box and began to donate medicines. A young, shy girl approached her and said "do you need help, I am a pharmacist". We asked the villagers to form a committee with at least one woman in it, to receive the money and distribute it on the Falluja refugees.

"You need to go to Rahaliya and Ahmad bin Hashim villages" said Abbass, from the Iraqi HRW, who was accompanying us all the time," the situation in those refugee camps are much more difficult, and they rarely get any help, because they are too far away"

"Then we need to come back again soon", I replied

"Yes, you have also to visit refugees from Basra, Amara and the marshes"

"What are you talking about?"

"There are refugees from the south, fleeing from the worsening security situation"

The way back to Baghdad was the most difficult part of the trip. At 5.30 it was deep dark. No lights on the way, no moon and too much dust. Some of the check points were already deserted by security men. The highway was almost empty except of us. "If you were men I would not worry "Ahmad, our driver said. We could tell that he was very tense, reading lines of the Holy Quran all the time, and smoking too much. "Those looters are the worst of criminals".

Dr. Intisar was very calm and exhausted "I love you" she suddenly said.

I was too tired to ask what made her say so. Surprisingly, we were not afraid at all, of any thing.

To be continued

Part 2

Refugee Camps in Ahmad bin Hashim and Rahaliya villages

Eman Ahmad Khammas

We were supposed to leave to Karabla'a, and from there to two Falloja refugee camps deep in the western desert, at 7 am, but Ahmad who insisted on accompanying us for protection, showed up at 9.00am. I was impatient.

- "I had to stay with my family for awhile; there were American snipers on my roof" he explained...

-What?!!

He told me the story. His wife went up the roof to check the water tank at 4.30am. For the last three days there was no water in Baghdad. Families fill their water tanks at night when water is available some times. It was still dark. On the roof, she was taking another ladder to go up the attic roof, when she heard a "shshshsh ..." sound.

Stunned, she looked in its direction, she could not figure out what was there, then she realized that there was a man, an American soldier, heavily armed, pointing his gun at her. Another voice, whispering, came from the other side of the roof, this time it was another soldier, a black one. He said some thing in English and the first soldier put his gun down. He waved to her to go down silently. She did, but she did not know what to do next. She decided to wait for a while. Half an hour later she went up again, they were gone. When she waked up her husband she was still shivering, it took him two hours to calm her down.

Eid?!!

This is the second day of **Eid Aladha** (Sacrifice Feast)*. There were not any of the usual *Eid* manifestations in Baghdad streets, no children in new colorful dresses, no traffic jam of jubilant families celebrating *Eid*, visiting relatives and friends, going to parks...etc. The streets were almost empty, except for few quickly driving cars, Iraqi National Guards pick ups, filled with young men in black masks pointing their guns in every direction, police cars and a very long line of American big trucks loaded with tanks and many humvees and armored vehicles heading north. The streets themselves were not of Baghdad that we knew. Sand barriers, cement blocks, burned out and destroyed buildings, with many elections posters pasted every where. Dr.Intisar, my friend, the pharmacist with whom I am working on donating medicines and aids for Falluja refugees, was weeping silently as usual. I remembered that Christmas and New Year celebrations were canceled too. This is the election season, which is in

Iraq very different from any where else; it is also the season of extreme insecurity



On the Way

On the way, through what is called now the Triangle of death south of Baghdad, the situation was worse. Too long queues at the check points, even longer queues at fuel stations, many ING pick ups stopping at the road sides, too serious masked men jump quickly and run in different directions, obviously on a dangerous

duty. Some of them were at the check points handing over elections announcements, many burned or destroyed cars, walls covered with bullet shot holes . One of the buildings in Haswa was flattened to the ground; a new neighboring building was thickly surrounded by 2 meter high sand barriers." This is the new police station "Abu Hussein, our driver said "the other one was exploded by cooking gas tubes". He is from Najaf, and he works on this line long enough to be well-known at the check points. Some times we were delayed for an American patrol to pass

Different kind of Refugees

Mr. Mohannad Al-Kinany, the Iraqi Human Rights director, with all other members, happily volunteered to help us around again. We told him that we want to see the Falluja refugee camps and the refugees from the south too. He explained to us the story of the southern refugees and how badly they are in need of help. Karbala'a population is around 790.000 thousands, he said, now they are 1.050.000. Over 200.000 refugees came since the 1990s, from Basra, Nasiriya, the marshes, Amara, and Samawa, over 70.000 came after the occupation in 2003. "It is a big problem that no one is taking care of". These refugee communities have become a fertile ground for crime. We decided to spend the next day in these places.

Ahmad bin Hashim

On the way to Ahmad bin Hashim village (ABH) we passed by Ein Tamor camp, to greet them for the *Eid* and to give them the medicines that they asked for two weeks ago when we visited them last time.

Ahmad bin Hashim is the name of a grandson of Imam Mosa Al-Kadhim or Imam Al-Hassan (both are of the 12 imams in Islam who are descendants of the Prophet Mohammad family). It has been a sacred place where people visit to get the blessings in a kind of pilgrimage. It is a very beautiful calm village west of Razzaza lake. The villagers built rows of big rooms for pilgrims coming from far away places. These rooms are now the Falluja refugee camps

Cultural Crime

Near ABH there is also an unexcavated historical site that goes back to about 4000 years. It was protected by the Iraqi police and the Tourism State Institute before the occupation. Mohannad told us that this very culturally precious site was looted after the invasion, and that the Iraqi HRW in Karbala'a has documented everything on tapes. He told us how looters attacked the place, dug the tombs and stole what ever was buried there of historical jewelry, beads and household properties... The place is buried again now by tons of sand for protection, we could see the large freshly covered area on the foot of a big castle called the Berthaweel Castle in the middle of the desert



Roofed Walls

There are 18 Falluja families living in the ABH pilgrims' rooms. The majority of them were from Jolan district in Falluja, which was heavily bombed last October. As expected, there is no electricity, no clean water, to bathrooms in the pilgrim's rooms. Mohannad who owns a hotel in Karbala'a offered

his hotel free to these families, but they preferred to stay near the shrine. Ten other hotel owners in Karbala'a did the same. These relatively wealthy people and others formed a group called the Karbala'i Group to collect and donate aid to the Falluja refugees here and in other places. It is another example of the Iraqi people unity between Shiite and Sunnis.

The rooms are very primitive, just roofed walls. Falluja women kept them very clean and tidy, although the rooms were used for sleeping, cooking, washing and living. The most needed thing here is medical. The sick and the old are most hurt, and of course women because they have to run everything in this too difficult environment.

Abdulrahman Khalaf, for example, suffers from chronic schizophrenia that goes back to his years in the Iranian POW camps in the 1980s. He is married, has 6 children, and very friendly. His only abnormality is repeating himself many times.

"I am the honored one, I am the honored one, I am the honored one, I am the....." He repeated at least 8 times, replying to Sami of the Iraqi HRW when he said "I am honored to meet you".

He was repeating the number 50, tens of times. I felt so ashamed of myself when I thought he was asking for \$50, because his relatives explained that he needs *Modicate* injections/50 m, and that was what he was asking me. They showed me his chronic diseases card; he used to get his medications from Falluja hospital free, as all Iraqis who have chronic illnesses used to in the past. Not any longer. I promised to bring him the medicine as soon as I can get them from Baghdad

Solution rather than Aid

Aalaa' Hussein, 6 years, suffers from hemiplegia; She looks ok except for her left leg which was shorter and slack. Naufa Hamza, a woman in her 70s, suffers from joints pain. Tilba Ali, another old woman who does not know her age, 60 or 70, she said, suffers from diabetes. Sahira Ali, 35, suffers from hormone abnormality; she keeps on getting fatter and fatter. She also suffers from chronic diarrhea, "because of the water" she explained. Dr. Intisar saw them all and promised to send the medicines. Ahmad was busy giving the children some toys donated by the American Families for Peace delegation. I tried to take some pictures of the children, but a young tall man, dashed in, and threatened to beat one of the young girls who joined the others for the picture

"What kind of help is this, just for the media, I know your kind" he was talking to me.

"I understand your feelings very well" I replied, and did not take the picture. "Please do not beat her, here is my camera, I did not take the picture". He left silently, giving me a very angry look.

Other men apologized, and invited us for lunch.



UN Silence Unacceptable

I did understand his feelings; at many times I feel the bitter humiliation these people feel. They do need aid, but what they need more is a solution to their problem. They are not beggars. They used to have their houses, jobs, lives and every thing. May be they were not rich, but they were dignified. Everyone said that they want to go back to Falluja. This is a big human rights violation that must be

investigated, accounted for, and compensated. International organizations, especially the UN, should give this problem the utmost priority. The occupation is responsible for their misery. Silence, justifications, excuses are totally unacceptable. All the human rights, political, medical, law, journalists, teachers....organizations all over the world should not keep silent to these crimes

Rahaliya Refugee Camps

Rahaliya is a village on the borders of Anbar. Mohannad told us that there are at least 150 families here. I realized that I am in a big problem. I can hardly cover 30 families

, and by covering I mean giving them a gift for *Eid Al-Adha*. We decided to visit 3 camps where there are many families. There were two schools and a clinic where such camps are, again promising ourselves and the others to try to come back. In the first school, Al-Waha Al-Khadra (the Green Oasis) which is a boys' high school, 15 Falluja families live, each one(or more) in a class room, the teachers', and the director's. The director's story is interesting. When the refugees came last summer, he decided to give them the school except his room where he kept the files, books and documents. In the last minute a woman came with her children, she had no place to stay in, he gave her the room. The school time table is still hanging on her stove, the books piled under the mattresses. The desks are piled in the unpaved yard, on which children clothes are hanged now to dry.

-"What about the students?!" was my question.

-" there are no schools in all the cities of the Anbar governorates this year, the students just had mid-year exam formally, the boys in the yard and the girls in one class room"

-"what about other schools?" I insisted

- "it is the same in the majority of Anbar schools". Children gathered near the desks pretending to be very polite to get Ahmad's toys. Their naughty eyes exposed every thing. Sami, Dr Intisar and Ahmad were very happy with them, asking for more and more pictures.

Beida'a, Iqbal, Amaal, Sajida, Haala, Montaha, Aziza, Um Sofian, Sundos... and others were young women and mothers running the camp. They were heroines, simply, doing an extraordinarily amazing job keeping life going on as smoothly as possible. Cleaning, cooking, making fires, washing, baking bread, and taking care of the children. But Sami was unhappy. He asked Sundos who was a teacher "why did not you open a class for these children?" she was embarrassed, "this is a good idea", she replied "I will think about it"

When Sajida talked, dr.Intisar could not help her tears. Sajida is a very beautiful girl in her early 20s. She suffers from some kind of brain damage that made it difficult for her to speak normally. She lives in a room with her mother who sells petty things on the street side. Thier room was destroyed. Sajida made a great effort to tell us how her glass dishes, cups and other small belongings were smashed

Medical Needs

I asked Ghazi Mnachid, an assistant doctor in Rahaliya clinic about the situation. "Very bad" was his reply, "we need medicines" and he gave me a long list of most needed medicines. The majority were children's. Cold, fever, antibiotics, skin, intestinal worms...etc. The most dangerous thing is that there are no vaccines in the clinic. This village is in danger of a health catastrophe if this problem is not solved soon.

All the women agreed that the bathroom is most difficult thing. The toilets were more than 50 meters away from the nearest class room; mothers have to take children all this distance in the cold at night. With no electricity, no water, no fuel, it is almost a miracle that women can manage to take care of the children, and keep so clean and tidy rooms. "You should see the well we dug behind the school, you would not believe it" Iqbal Abdulla , 29, a

mother of 5, said. Some times women go to a brook outside the village to wash in cleaner water



Night in the Camp

"It is almost 5" Mohannad said, "we need to go back to Karbala'a now, it is becoming too dangerous now"

"I am staying here. I need to listen to these women, I need to see how they live here" I said. Dr. Intisar, Ahmad

and Sami exchanged glances. Dr. Intisar pulled my arm and took me a side "these people can barely manage their food and supplies, you are embarrassing them". Falluja people are well-known for their extreme hospitality; they would do any thing to make the guest comfortable. Actually there are many jokes on there almost illogical hospitality. We had some food, but we know that it is almost a crime even to show your food while you are in a Falluja house. I know that Dr. Intisar was right.

"I can just put my head on my arm and sleep, I do not need any thing, you go if you want" I insisted again. Sami was the first to approve and support.

"I am not leaving you alone here" Dr. Intisar said. Ahmad and the driver had nothing else to say.

We decided to go to the clinic first, then to visit the Refugee houses. We had plenty of time to talk.

"Dinner is going to be here" said Mohammad Abdulla, a taxi driver who is unemployed now.

"No, dinner is at my place" Ghazi objected, referring to the clinic camp.

"Listen, we are here to work, let us finish the job, and then see what we can do about dinner invitations" I said.

The Clinic

Many men gathered to talk to us in the Diwaniya (guest room for men). Beautiful mattresses and pillows were layed on the ground for us to sit on.

"Why do not you ask the women to join us?" I asked, although I know that women do not share such men gathering in Falluja. "May be you can talk to them later" replied Ggazi.

They began to tell their stories. The houses which were bombed, burnt, looted and occupied...

"What do mean by occupied" I asked the speaker.

"Our house is occupied now by the American troops, it is now a headquarter for one battalion"

"Which one?"

"I do not know. But the Iraqis are down stairs and the Americans are on the second floor. Actually they took the neighboring house too, and opened the wall between the two houses. It is not a house any more. It is surrounded by barbed wires, the aerals on the roof; we can not even go near"

"What did you do?"

"I went to them; I asked them to give me back my house, an Iraqi captain said this is impossible, I asked what am I going to do, he replied: go wherever you want to go. My mother does not want to give up. She goes there every day; sits in front of the house til the afternoon, just looking at her house."

Another man sitting in the room laughed and said" prepare your self, you are going to be arrested tomorrow"

"are there any foreigners fighting in Falluja?"

"even if there are, how do we know! They do not go around saying we are foreign fighters. The majority are Fallujans defending their houses. Many of them were killed guarding their homes. There are bodies till now in some places like Alqudoos mosque, many injured people were shot in the head, and few injured people were left. Falluja smells very bad

Living in a Barn

The other man lives in a cow barn now. There is a store room in the barn that he sleeps in with his family, a wife and 6 children. The room was dim, wet and smelling bad. Again the main problem for the wife was the toilet for the children, especially at night. This man went to Falluja the day before, he went on a wrong road mistakenly, his car was shot but he was not injured. A tank approached and hit his car from the back. The soldiers told him to get down; they tied his hands, put a sac on his head and took him through a zigzag road. They investigated him for two hours, then let him go.

"Why did not you ask them to pay for repairing the car?" I asked...

"I wanted to run away as soon as possible, I was afraid that they are going to arrest me again"

Abid Awad Sheilam, a driver in his 50s, is a father of a family of 12. They live in an unfinished house structure whose owner let them to use, but Abid had to put a roof for one of the room. He did, using date palm trunk and leaves and a tent donated by Rahaliya mosque sheikh

Iraq Smell

"Oh, this smell!" Sami said, taking a deep breath, while we were entering the roofless house. It was a typical Iraqi farm smell, a mixture of smoke, fresh bread being baked, fire, thick green plantations, and dust. It was not dark yet, there were few deep red lines still hanging in the sky, dog barking in the distance. Abid's daughter was preparing the traditional Iraqi fire place, *manqala*. There were two empty water barrels.

"How do you get water?" I asked

"Water tank car comes some times and fill the barrels, now the driver says he has no gasoline, we have to pay him to come again"

Shiha, Abid's 98 year old mother, was deaf and blind. She kept on kissing Ahmad, Dr. Intisar and Sami, and cursing Bush for preventing her of going back to Falluja. There was no door, just a sheet of cloth. Another sheet traditionally embroidered "In the Name of God, the most Gracious, and the most merciful". The family told us how their house in Jolan was shot, how the furniture was destroyed. Strangely enough, every body we met told us how their glass and porcelain buffet were smashed. The American soldiers must have fun smashing these things.

Sami told the family how he spent 20 years in the US, how his friends were crying in the good by party, how they asked him to tell the Iraqi people that they have nothing to do with killing the Iraqis and occupying their country.

Sami asked Lina, 15, one of Abid's daughters: "If I were an American soldier what would you want to tell me?"

"Get out of my country"

"and if I were a civilian American coming as a guest?"

"I would say you are welcome, you can stay"

"for how long?"

"As long as you need"

Abid said we thank the American people who reject the war. Isam, a neighbor in his 30s, a graduate of electricity institute, but studying to be a teacher now, said the resistance is legal, as far as there is occupation people resist. We do not want to be humiliated. We do not want them (the American) to be humiliated. But they did not suffer as we did.

Mohammad Kreidi, is 85, he lives with his 4 sons and there families in one house. He can barely feel what is going on around him, he was dying. Dawood Obeid is 73, he suffers from muscles atrophy, and he lives in another house with his 15 daughters and sons....

We had to go back to the school camp. The women have baked fresh bread, cooked dinner and were waiting for us.

Back to the school

It was very dark in the school, the oil lamps can hardly help in the big class rooms, neither the fading embers, or the kerosene heaters which were sending suffocating smoke. It was getting very cold; obviously it was going to rain. Dinner was a big meal, with meat, beans, rice, salad, potatoes, typical Falluja tea, black, sweet and hot, and even Eid cookies. The women helped us wash in warm water.

I was telling them how deeply impressed I am with the wonderful work they are doing in the camp. Sundos said that 25 years of war taught us a lot. Her father was the first man to enter Falluja ten days after the October bombing was over." The decomposed bodies' smell was the most hideous thing "he said. Many people stayed in Falluja because they did not imagine that it was going to be so notorious, and because they had no place to go to. Some are still under the rubbles till now. Many houses and shops were looted, even after the bombing stopped. Sundos and her mother tried to go back to Falluja; they found a 20 kilometer queue of cars.

The American soldiers were using obscene words, if some body objected they beat and arrest him. One soldier near the new bridge was repeating "Haush ,Baa' ...Haush, Baa'"(calling the people cows and sheep).

When we went to the toilet we realized what the women were talking about. It was already raining, we had to cross the unpaved yard to the toilet which was dark, blocked, and there was no water. The drain was open, sending very bad smell. Dr. Intisar was furious; she gave the men hard words for leaving the drain open, jeopardizing the children lives and every body's health.

The night was noisy with foxes and wolves howl. We had to leave early in the morning. It was colder and the still raining heavily. We had other kind of refugee camps to visit and write about. Sami had to attend a training course in the Iraqi HRW office, as a facilitator. It is a course suggested by the Christian Peacemakers Team, an organization which has been working in Iraq for more than two years. This training course is about creating an Islamic Peacemakers Team.

I am supposed to write now about the Karbala'a refugee camps, the 200.000 thousands refugees on the outskirts of the city. But this story is already very long, the new one is different and my computer battery is running out in few minutes.

*Many of the names mentioned here are not real. The people are.

**Aladha Eid* is connected to Mecca pilgrimage. God ordered Prophet Abraham in Mecca to slaughter his son, when he was about to do it, God sent him a ram to slaughter instead of his son. In this *Eid* Moslems slaughter sheep and feed the poor, and to celebrate the Mecca pilgrimage.

Eman Ahmed Kmammas was a journalist with, and was co-director of [Occupation Watch](#) (that doesn't exist anymore in Iraq) , a translator, and advised the Code Pink Delegation on Iraqi women's issues during January 24 – February 4, 2004.

IRAQ: Fallujah: the truth at last

Dr Salam Ismael took aid to Fallujah in January.

It was the smell that first hit me, a smell that is difficult to describe, and one that will never leave me. It was the smell of death. Hundreds of corpses were decomposing in the houses, gardens and streets of Fallujah. Bodies were rotting where they had fallen — bodies of men, women and children, many half-eaten by wild dogs.

A wave of hate had wiped out two-thirds of the town, destroying houses and mosques, schools and clinics. This was the terrible and frightening power of the US military assault.

The accounts I heard over the next few days will live with me forever. You may think you know what happened in Fallujah. But the truth is worse than you could possibly have imagined.

In Saqlawiya, one of the makeshift refugee camps that surround Fallujah, we found a 17-year-old woman. "I am Hudda Fawzi Salam Issawi from the Jolan district of Fallujah", she told me. "On November 9, American marines came to our house. My father and the neighbour went to the door to meet them. We were not fighters. We thought we had nothing to fear. I ran into the kitchen to put on my veil, since men were going to enter our house and it would be wrong for them to see me with my hair uncovered.

"This saved my life. As my father and neighbour approached the door, the Americans opened fire on them. They died instantly.

“Me and my 13-year-old brother hid in the kitchen behind the fridge. The soldiers came into the house and caught my older sister. They beat her. Then they shot her. But they did not see me. Soon they left, but not before they had destroyed our furniture and stolen the money from my father’s pocket.”

Hudda told me how she comforted her dying sister by reading verses from the Koran. After four hours her sister died. For three days, Hudda and her brother stayed with their murdered relatives. But they were thirsty and had only a few dates to eat. They feared the troops would return and decided to try to flee the city. But they were spotted by a US sniper.

Hudda was shot in the leg, her brother ran but was shot in the back and died instantly. “I prepared myself to die”, she told me. “But I was found by an American woman soldier, and she took me to hospital.” She was eventually reunited with the surviving members of her family.

I also found survivors of another family from the Jolan district. They told me that at the end of the second week of the siege the US troops swept through the Jolan. The Iraqi National Guard used loudspeakers to call on people to get out of the houses carrying white flags, bringing all their belongings with them. They were ordered to gather outside near the Jamah al Furkan mosque in the centre of town.

On November 12, Eyad Naji Latif and eight members of his family — one of them a six-month-old child — gathered their belongings and walked in single file, as instructed, to the mosque.

When they reached the main road outside the mosque they heard a shout, but they could not understand what was being shouted. Eyad told me it could have been “now” in English. Then the firing began.

US soldiers appeared on the roofs of surrounding houses and opened fire. Eyad’s father was shot in the heart and his mother in the chest.

They died instantly. Two of Eyad’s brothers were also hit, one in the chest and one in the neck. Two of the women were hit, one in the hand and one in the leg.

Then the snipers killed the wife of one of Eyad’s brothers. When she fell her five year old son ran to her and stood over her body. They shot him dead too.

Survivors made desperate appeals to the troops to stop firing.

But Eyad told me that whenever one of them tried to raise a white flag they were shot. After several hours he tried to raise his arm with the flag. But they shot him in the arm. Finally he tried to raise his hand. So they shot him in the hand.

The five survivors, including the six-month-old child, lay in the street for seven hours. Then four of them crawled to the nearest home to find shelter.

The next morning, the brother who was shot in the neck also managed to crawl to safety. They all stayed in the house for eight days, surviving on roots and one cup of water, which they saved for the baby.

On the eighth day they were discovered by some members of the Iraqi National Guard and taken to hospital in Fallujah. They heard the US soldiers were arresting any young men, so the family fled the hospital and finally obtained treatment in a nearby town.

They do not know in detail what happened to the other families who had gone to the mosque as instructed. But they told me the street was awash with blood.

I had come to Fallujah in January as part of a humanitarian aid convoy funded by donations from Britain.

Our small convoy of trucks and vans brought 15 tonnes of flour, eight tonnes of rice, medical aid and 900 pieces of clothing for the orphans. We knew that thousands of refugees were camped in terrible conditions in four camps on the outskirts of town.

There we heard the accounts of families killed in their houses, of wounded people dragged into the streets and run over by tanks, of a container with the bodies of 481 civilians inside, of premeditated murder, looting and acts of savagery and cruelty that beggar belief.

Through the ruins

That is why we decided to go into Fallujah and investigate. When we entered the town I almost did not recognise the place where I had worked as a doctor in April 2004, during the first siege.

We found people wandering like ghosts through the ruins. Some were looking for the bodies of relatives. Others were trying to recover some of their possessions from destroyed homes.

Here and there, small knots of people were queuing for fuel or food. In one queue some of the survivors were fighting over a blanket.

I remember being approached by an elderly woman, her eyes raw with tears. She grabbed my arm and told me how her house had been hit by a US bomb during an air raid. The ceiling collapsed on her 19-year-old son, cutting off both his legs.

She could not get help. She could not go into the streets because the US military had posted snipers on the roofs and were killing anyone who ventured out, even at night.

She tried her best to stop the bleeding, but it was to no avail. She stayed with him, her only son, until he died. He took four hours to die.

Fallujah's main hospital was seized by the US troops in the first days of the siege. The only other clinic, the Hey Nazzal, was hit twice by US missiles. Its medicines and medical equipment were all destroyed.

There were no ambulances — the two ambulances that came to help the wounded were shot up and destroyed by US troops.

We visited houses in the Jolan district, a poor working-class area in the north-western part of the city that had been the centre of resistance during the April siege.

This quarter seemed to have been singled out for punishment during the second siege. We moved from house to house, discovering families dead in their beds, or cut down in living rooms or in the kitchen. House after house had furniture smashed and possessions scattered.

In some places we found bodies of fighters, dressed in black and with ammunition belts.

But in most of the houses, the bodies were of civilians. Many were dressed in housecoats, many of the women were not veiled — meaning there were no men other than family members in the house. There were no weapons, no spent cartridges.

It became clear to us that we were witnessing the aftermath of a massacre, the cold-blooded butchery of helpless and defenceless civilians.

Nobody knows how many died. The occupation forces are now bulldozing the neighbourhoods to cover up their crime. What happened in Fallujah was an act of barbarity. The whole world must be told the truth.

Letter from Mark Manning, eye witness in Fallujah.

Dear Friends,

I have been out of touch. I have been in Iraq and would like to share a little of my story with you today.

I got back from Iraq a few weeks ago where I stayed inside the city of Falluja and lived with the refugees of that city for over two weeks. I decided to go there because it seems to be the heart of the trouble in Iraq and the place to see if any sense or peace can be found. I had also heard that the city had 250,000 citizens in it who were told to leave when my government attacked, yet there had been no stories of their situation in our media. As an American, I felt responsible for this and decided to take a look myself.

On February 10th 2005 I flew into Iraq and drove to the city of Falluja. For over two weeks I was a resident and a refugee of Falluja and I am honored and privileged for that experience. They hosted me in their homes, and cared for me because they believed that I was there to listen to them and to honestly bring home their stories to the American people. I came to Falluja without military escort or armed protection in any way. I think because of this they thought I was crazy, but they honored what they thought was courage and they trusted me. Trust means everything there and they look deep into your eyes as they decide who you are. I lived with them and listened to their stories. They told me they do not trust American journalists to accurately tell the story of Iraq. They believe that the American public does not know what is really happening there, and that if they did they would feel differently about the war. They feel that the American people are their brothers and sisters and they are asking them for help. They wanted me to tell you their story.

The horrors of war have been brought to the people of Falluja. The people there say the city had 500,000 people in it, not the 250,000 quoted by our media. The refugees told me that they were given one week notice to leave the



Remembering Fallujah

A dossier of The **BRussels** Tribunal

city. After three days, they were told they could no longer drive out, they had to walk. No camps were established for them and no refugee location was given. There was no planning by the American government for the people, no food, no shelter and no water. They were just told to leave or be killed. Anyone who stayed in the city after one week would be considered a terrorist and would be killed.

For five months these people have been living in any location they could find, nothing was established for them in the surrounding areas of the Falluja countryside. They are living in tents in the mud, schools, abandoned chicken coups, burned out buildings, cars and other buildings that people were not using or where others have made room for them. The weather is bad, with much rain and it is very cold. When they were told to leave the city, it was summer and they were not dressed for this cold and many could not carry out their clothes. Some lucky children are going to school in tents and all the classes have been shortened to 2 hours per day. Food is short and they are eating what the farmers grow and the surrounding community can spare. Again, even after five months they have received **no outside aid** from either the American government or the new Iraqi government.

The city itself has been devastated. Most houses have been seriously damaged, with about 65% of them totally destroyed. Evidence of depleted uranium (DU) shells is everywhere. This leaves radioactive contamination behind which has a half-life of 4.5 billion years. (See note1). Unexploded ordinance is a common sight. Many residents who were there speak of chemical weapons, napalm, cluster bombs and phosphorous used by the Americans. These are all illegal weapons and considered war crimes by the international community. Many of the houses were fired, meaning that the troops burned them down after searching them. Many houses with white flags and markings stating "Family Here" were destroyed.

Some families who had nowhere to go stayed in the city during the fighting and have paid dearly. I interviewed many people who were there and their stories will live forever in my mind. Here are some samples:

- A mother whose son was killed by DU shells. He was in his bed sleeping when the shells came through the walls.
- A father who at 65 years of age was shot during a raid of his house, whose son was arrested during that raid and has not been seen since (he states that his son was not a fighter.)
- A 17 year old girl who hid under her bed with her 13 year old brother during a raid of her house and witnessed her father, her cousin, and her two sisters 18 and 19 years old, all shot to death. She hid for three more days with the dead bodies of her family and then they returned and shot her and her brother after finding them under the bed. Her brother died. She survived and told me her story.
- A Family of ten who lived through all the fighting. The kids were 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10 and 12. They were a mess. These kids will never be ok. Their faces were marked with open and oozing sores and they were exhibiting serious signs of emotional damage.

There is presently very little medical aid available to the residents and refugees, and again, no aid has been provided to the refugees in the surrounding area. The medical centers in the city have been destroyed and have not been rebuilt. The main hospital has been reopened, but to get there you have to walk, as the ambulances are still being shot by the Americans and the Iraqi National Guard. The doctors have been beaten and their lives have



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been threatened by the Iraqi National Guard. These are the security forces that the Americans are training. The new government has warned them not to talk to any journalists about the conditions in Falluja. They understand this threat to be very real and a direct threat on their lives and the lives of their families.

To walk to the hospital you must go through checkpoints, sometimes through fighting, and only at certain daylight hours. The checkpoints are manned by the Iraqi National Guards and they are very hostile to the residents of Falluja. When we were at the hospital, an old man died of a heart attack because he was not allowed through the checkpoint. A woman gave birth in the ambulance because they would not let the ambulance back to the hospital after 5 pm and instead turned it away with her in labor.

We delivered by hand the medical aid provided by some of you to the hospital in Falluja. Me and one Iraqi woman, WE were the international medical aid to Falluja. We carried these boxes one at a time through the checkpoints, across the bridge and into the hospital. They would not let us drive in, we had to walk these boxes in. We did it every day for a week, one box at a time.

All of the people I talked to had messages to the American people. They said: "We did not attack you! We have done nothing to the Americans. Why have you done this to us?"

These are the people who hosted me, fed me, and worried about my safety. They took care of me and I will never forget their generosity, compassion and grace. They want peace with America and they want the fighting to stop. They feel they are the ones being attacked and that the Americans are the terrorists. They see absolutely no justification for this war and were constantly asking me to explain how the American people can support these acts against a civilian population. For the first time in my life, I was ashamed to be an American.

There are so many more stories to tell you and I will be making a film about it all. But for now, what I want you to know is that I spent two weeks in the heart of the beast. The place where our government and media said is the heart of the resistance, terrorists and Saddam Loyalists, and guess what; the place is full of people. People like you and me. Kids are everywhere. The average Fallujan family has 10 people in it. That means about 8 kids. 500,000 people in the city, you do the math. That is a lot of kids.

There are fighters in Falluja. That is a fact. But they are surrounded by some 490,000 innocent people. As a country, we have decided the damage to the innocents is worth the end result, whatever that may be. These people are being shattered by this very serious situation that they have no control over. They are the innocent victims of this war.

I cannot tell you what to do. This is a story of just one area in Iraq. These stories are all over the area we call the Sunni Triangle. But I was there and lived with these people and they taught me about love, forgiveness, truth and compassion. They, after all that has happened to them, still have the ability to differentiate between the acts of an enemy and the people of a nation. They cry out to us to save them from the ignorance that has brought this destruction on them. They have suffered 33 times 9/11. Over 100, 000 Iraqis have died at the hands of the American invasion (note 2) and still they say that they have nothing against the American people. This is grace. I learned from these people how to find peace. By deeply listening to my "enemy" I have found that the real enemy is ignorance and fear and acting from that place of weakness.

I will never forget the people of Falluja.

Thank you for listening to them.

Your Friend,

Mark Manning

www.conceptionmedia.net

1. <http://www.fas.org/man/dod-101/sys/land/du.htm> , <http://www.sundayherald.com/32522>

2. <http://progressivetrail.org/articles/041029Cole.shtml>

Back to Fallujah: Tents on rubble

Eman Ahmed KHAMMAS (March 24 2005)

Sudden closing of the roads is a big problem



We had to attend a very important meeting on reconstructing Falloja. Mohammad, of the Human Rights Organization in Falloja, told us that we have to be in Falloja Cement Factory, where the meeting is held, at 8 am. We did our best to be in time, but the high way was closed just near the cement factory, we had to go all the way back to take a side road. When we were there, the meeting was over, the head of the Reconstructing Falloja Committee, Mr. Fawzi, was

leaving.

Mr. Samir, a director in the factory, volunteered to talk to us.

"Closing the roads is a big problem, soldiers close the roads at any minute, there are no signs, and people do not know which road is open and which is closed at a certain moment. They have to be very careful. We lost an employee in the factory because of this problem. Hadi Saleh Hantoosh, who was leaving the factory, did not know that the road he came on in the morning was then closed. He was shot dead by the American soldiers. An ambulance driver was also shot dead, he had an emergency case, again did not know that the road was just closed".

30.000 Completely Destroyed Buildings

Mr. Samir told us that 30.000 buildings were totally destroyed in Falloja in the October attack. The estimated funds to rebuild them are at least \$500 million. The Committee was promised 20% of this amount, which is \$100 million.

"How many families received the money tell now?"

"None" replied Samir " we are supposed to begin today giving people their compensations". It was March 14, more than five months after the October attack.

"What about schools, hospitals, streets and public buildings?"

"They need special projects, the money we are talking about are just for the houses"

"What about services, water, electricity, telephones, garbage...etc"

"Dr. Ni'ma Al-Jaser, of WHO was not allowed to enter the city, also Mr. Elia Tambori of the UN, was not allowed" replied Mohammad of the HRO.

...

Inside Falloja, life was beginning to return back. Some shops were opened, although destroyed. People were living in the rubbles. Some families were working on removing them. Some put their tents in the middle of the rubbles.

Abu Qeis



Abu Qeis is one of them. A retired man in his sixties looks after a family of 25, in Gebeil area. He has 10 sons, 3 daughters (one of them is a widow with 4 orphans, whose husband was killed in the war March 2003), his wife, his daughters in law, (one of them is again a widow with 3 orphans). When the American attack on Falloja began in October, the whole family left to Halaabsa, a town to the west of Iraq, to live in a school, Iben Roshd, with other 14 families. When he left Falloja he locked the bathroom door of his house.

He was forced to return back to Falloja after 4 months. Iben Roshed school director told the families to leave because the school was supposed to reopen, and because the war has stopped.

When he returned to Falloja, he found that his house was completely damaged, but the bathroom door was still locked. "Obviously there was no one living in the house, there were no Mujahideen hiding, so why they destroyed it?"

Gebeil was one of Falloja areas that were totally destroyed. It looks as if an earthquake has ridden the place and leveled it to the ground. It sits on the way of one of the American troops entrances inside Falloja.

Abu Qeis believes that his house was destroyed by a tank, not by bombing. "There are no signs of explosion, all the furniture is crushed, and we are using it now as wood for the fire. We hear talks about compensations, and we are waiting". Abu Qeis puts a tent near his house rubbles, and is living with his family there. It was given by the Red Crescent.



Abu Qeis pension is 100.000 Iraqi Dinar (\$75). He receives the pension every three months. "I am called the Responsible of the Widows" he laughs showing broken teeth. There were too many widows in the tent, cousins and nieces. Each was very eager to talk, each with a story and a problem. The major one was a roof to live under, and medicines.

Amiriya Complex

We heard about the same problem in Amiriya complex, 25 kilometers west of

Faljoja. In the Complex Local Council hall there were 5 families, living in separated tents. Two babies were just born in the camp. The families were told to leave the hall or else they are going to be arrested.

"What are you going to do now?" I asked the men.

"Run away, we can do nothing else. We have no money to rebuild our completely destroyed houses, they are not convenient to live in at all, and we do not want to be arrested" said Nadim, who spent 9 years in Iran as POW.

In Ibn Al-Nadim School for boys in the same complex, 40 families were still occupying the class rooms. A British charity organization (built) tent class rooms in the yard for the boys to attend classes. There was a big sign in English referring to the Charity org. There were at least a dozen of class tents in the yard. Mrs. Mariam, the assistant director, was furious

"We can not go on like this, the world has to see this tragedy, we are drowned in the dust here, the children are getting sick, we do not give them breaks because it is unhealthy to play in this dust, and also we have to close early because there is a girls school after the boys, and I do not know why they put the sign in English, our language is Arabic, do they want to humiliate us or just to show of".

Mariam's son does not attend school either. He is a student in another school, Al-Faris Al-Arabi High School in the same complex. But the school is occupied by the American troops, who invaded it one night and in the morning they turned it into a military base.

....

Working like Bees

A Sheikh in Jolan Mosque told us that Fallojans are working like bees, rebuilding their houses, without waiting for the promised compensations.

At the beginning they refused to live in Falloja, seeing all the destruction. His wife slapped her face and cried bitterly when she first saw her ruined house. Now she is living among the rubbles. But the Sheikh insists that before talking about rebuilding we have to ask why? Why children were torn apart, why women were exposed to killing and humiliation?

"Now it is us who are asking for Al- Zarqawi? Where is he? Our city, our history, our documents, our libraries are all erased; we want to know why is that? We told them there is no Zarqawi here, we are not responsible for terrorism, and we did not open the borders? They are responsible for that, why is it that American can not control the borders?"



Occupying House

Ismael, a friend of the Sheikh was even angrier. His house was occupied by the American soldier, they ruined the house. But that was not the reason why he was so angry. "They put human waste on the Holy Qur'aan. I did my best to clean it, but could not, it was too late".

Occupying houses in Falloja by the American troops, using them as offices or lodgings, or just using them temporarily is familiar. Abu Mohammad, who has a big new house, looking on the river, told us his story.

"They came at 2 am one night, told me to leave with my family. I asked them where to go at this hour; they said it is your problem. They stayed in the house for 3 days. After they left, we used a whole box of detergents to clean. They used the curtains to wipe their boots, they put human waste in the pots, and boots traces were every where on the newly painted walls. They took an old pistol that I inherited from my grandfather. I went to their base four times asking for it, but it is gone. Next time they came, they did not tell us to leave. They told us to remain in one room. It was very difficult. They gave us 15 minutes to prepare the bread; it normally takes at least one hour. Bathroom was the most difficult, you cant imagine with all the women and children"

The Missing

When we visited the Al-Mostafa Mosque refugee camp in Baghdad university (where 175 families were living) last month, the Sheikh told us that the refugees organized a demonstration protesting their inhuman conditions and asking for compensation and for international organizations to visit Falloja and see for themselves what happened. They did not get any reply.

But many families had to go back looking for the missing ones. Um Ahmad, 35, was looking for her son, Ahmad who decided to stay with his friends when the family left. He was calling them every day, sometimes asking how to cook a certain dish...then he disappeared. They checked in all the probable places, morgues, but there is no trace of him.

Um Omar, 51, is asking about her son, Iziddeen, who is missing since November.

Ahmad Ramzi, 10, is asking about his father who was supposed to be arrested 2 days before Eid(mid October), but no trace is found of him in any prison or military base near Falloja.

In Amiriya complex refugee camp, Abdul Rahman was asking about his mentally retarded brother, Khidhr Ali Abdulla, 25, who is missing for 5 months.

The problem with all these families and many others is that they do not know what to do, where to go, and whom to ask about the missing. I suggested that they look in lists of bodies evacuated more than a month after Falloja

Remembering Fallujah

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was attacked. Some of these bodies were decomposed beyond recognition, but it is a place where they can look for their beloved ones



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The Head of the Compensation Committee reveals in numbers the Fallujah Tragedy

Dr. Hafidh al-Dulaimi, the head of "the Commission for the Compensation of Fallujah citizens" has reported the following destruction that has been inflicted on Fallujah as a result of the American attack on it:

- 7000 totally destroyed, or nearly totally destroyed, homes in all districts of Fallujah.
 - 8400 stores, workshops, clinics, warehouses, etc.. destroyed.
 - 65 mosques and religious sanctuaries have been either totally demolished and leveled with the ground or whose minarets and inner halls have been demolished.
 - 59 kindergartens, primary schools, secondary schools and technical colleges have been destroyed.
 - 13 government buildings have been leveled.
 - Destruction of the two electricity substations, the three water purification plants, the two railroad stations and heavy damages to the sewage and rain drainage subsystems throughout the city.
 - The total destruction of a bridge to the West of the city.
 - The death of 100,000 domestic and wild animals due to chemical and/or gaseous munitions.
 - The burning and destruction of four libraries that housed hundreds perhaps thousands of ancient Islamic manuscripts and books.
 - The targeted destruction (which appears to be intentional) of the historical nearby site at Saqlawia and the castle of Abu al-Abbas al-Safah.
- Dr. al-Dulaimi has asked all relevant international organization to visit and document the destruction to Fallujah.....

[The Head of the Compensation Committee reveals in numbers the Fallujah Tragedy](http://www.uruknet.info/?s1=1&p=10580&s2=22) March 21, 2005 (Islam Memo news item in Arabic)

Remembering Fallujah

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All foto's: Eman Ahmed Khammas



Remembering Fallujah

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Remember Fallujah: demonising place, constructing atrocity

and what will their faces tell them
when they look in the mirror
when they look on their dressers
and see the pieces of metal
they were given for killing us
in our own homes, in own cities, in
our own mosques and churches,
what will their eyes say,
what will they say when their twisted
lies are uncovered, when the rest of the
world speaks of their massacres of
women and children, of old men, of
bombing hospitals

(excerpt from [This Night in Fallujah by Sam Hamod](#) (2004))

In late 2001 I received an invitation from a geographer at Haifa University to attend an 'urban' conference. Through the usual e-mail channels, he had heard that, at that time, Simon Marvin and I were organising a conference called Cities as Strategic Sites:

Militarisation, Anti-globalisation, and War, to be held in Manchester the following spring. The Haifa academics organising the event thought that the two events would clearly address similar issues so hence the invite. Simon and I, although deeply ambivalent about attending an event in Israel, decided to go, expecting that it would involve social scientific discussions about the changing intersections of urbanisation and political violence.

It was no such event. Populated by senior US Marine Corps, Israeli Defense Force, and British Army specialists and commanders in 'urban warfare', and by representatives from the likes of the RAND military think tank, the conference, we quickly realised, was one of an ongoing series where practitioners of state urban warfare exchanged practical tips on fighting wars and on counterinsurgency operations in cities. Once the initial shock of being catapulted into a dark world of 'urban research' that we never in our wildest nightmares imagined existed wore off, Simon and I retreated to a nearby bar for a long discussion about what to do. Fairly naively, in retrospect, we were revolted and angry to discover that urban state killing had been elevated to a technoscientific discipline with its own conference series, research centres, and journals. We were sickened by the euphemistic and obfuscatory language where every discursive trick was employed not to call a killing 'a killing'. We were amazed to discover that US, Israeli, and British 'experts' in this emerging field of urban warfare were such close friends that they seemed to constitute a transnational social body, orchestrating the intense exchange of technology, experience, training, and experience between the three nations. We were nauseated at the bellicose technophilic masculinities, where systematic repression and state killing were portrayed in glossy PowerPoint slides with a palpable sense of fascination, even excitement. Finally, the fact that the organisers of the event were geographers astonished us.

After considerable deliberation we decided to stay on to the end of the event, conscious that this dark world of urban research was virtually unknown in critical social science (at least as far as we knew). It was better to stay, and record everything we could, we thought, than to make some political statement by leaving halfway through.

Guest editorial

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The construction of urban warfare

In the years since, that week has constantly haunted me. My personal research agenda radically transformed, I have since tried to help expose the dark, obscured terrains where states systematically practice, hone, and exchange their skills in city killing, and killing in cities. Meanwhile, the murderous effects of Ariel Sharon's incursions into the Occupied Territories and of George Bush's 'war on terror' invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq have provided a continuous stream of gory evidence of the importance of emerging doctrines of urban warfare (see Graham, 2003; 2004a; 2004b; 2004c). Strikingly, the tricks of the trade of such warfare have, since 2001, quickly morphed to once again become central platforms of state geopolitical power. Fueled by a paranoid sense that global urbanisation is somehow working to undermine the technoscientific, disciplinary, and killing abilities of imperial nation-states, military urban specialists, such as those who attended the Haifa event, are helping to rethink radically how the United States, the other Western powers, and Israel wage war.

The symptoms and results of such a transformation are now all too clear. In fact, they are difficult to escape. There are the demonisation and the calls to annihilate cities that symbolise resistance to colonial power; the masking of atrocities through an all-encompassing 'terrorist' discourse; and the Orientalist 'Othering' of Arab urban places and their inhabitants. Then there are the assaults on dense cities with helicopter gunships, cluster bombs, and artillery; the 'psychological operations' that involve the bombing and targeting of journalists who have the temerity to show the resulting carnage on the ground; and the voyeuristic consumption of city-killing for pleasure and entertainment in news, films, novels, and video games (some produced by the militaries themselves). Finally, there are the political calls to destroy, 'cleanse', or 'pacify' aberrant, dehumanised 'terrorist nest' cities, the inhabitants of which, it is endlessly implied, might easily project unimaginable terror onto Western cities if not annihilated.

All these are elements in the call to legitimise, celebrate, be entertained by, even consume orgies of state terror. Sharon's 'Operation Defensive Shield' in 2002 provided the template here. Two months after the Haifa conference, with US urban warfare specialists actually participating, the Israeli 'Defense' Force, using the techniques discussed in that event, demonstrated that they could violently repress the Intifadah by going into the hearts of densely packed Palestinian cities and refugee camps. With techniques blending real-time high-tech surveillance, total coverage by sniper fire, bulldozing, and blowing continuous new streets and walkways through the built fabric of cities, the Israelis laid the basis for a paradigm shift in military thinking that has since been closely studied as the model for the US invasions of Afghanistan and, particularly, of Iraq.

Fallujah: atrocity invisible

In Iraq it has been estimated, in a Lancet article, that at least 100 000 people died prematurely in the US ^UK invasion between March 2003 and September 2004, mostly through the effects of aerial bombing, helicopter

gunships, rockets, and the urban insurgency (Roberts et al, 2004). More than 50% of the deaths recorded in this study were of women and children.

Tellingly, one Iraqi city was systematically excluded from this research because the death rates revealed by the adopted methodology were considered so high by the research team that they would unreasonably skew the overall national results, so radically increasing the above estimate still further. This is the city that, after Jenin in 2002, has now come to symbolise the attempted killing of a city, or 'urbicide', by the massive high-tech forces of imperial nation-states in our 'colonial present' (Gregory, 2004a).

This city, of course, is Fallujah, a largely Sunni and densely populated city with a population of 300 000 people, situated 50 km to the west of Baghdad. The initial insurgency in the city was sparked by the killing there, in cold blood, of 18 civilians protesting about the US military's initial occupation of their primary school on 28 April 2003. As a result of this, the burgeoning resistance against US occupation in Fallujah emerged to symbolise the wider Iraqi insurgency on both sides. Fallujah was thus constructed as the symbolic centre of resistance against the installation of a US-friendly regime in Iraq. It was also repeatedly alleged, but totally unproven, that the city was the base for the key Islamist resistance leader Abu Musab al-Zarqawi.

The US forces' first attempt to 'pacify' the city began between the 4 April and 9 April 2004, after four private military contractors were killed and mutilated there in front of global news teams. Over 2000 US Marines took part in the first siege and assault. Through a carefully orchestrated strategy of air strikes, helicopter missile attacks, mortar and artillery bombardments, clusterbomb raids, assaults by circling Hercules gunship aircraft, and nighttime 'sweeps' by ground forces, the US forces together participated in the most unrestricted US assault on a densely populated city since the Iraq war had begun. US forces withdrew on 29 April and less intense gun battles resumed in the city.

By then at least 600 (and possibly up to 880) Iraqis lay dead. Over 1500 were seriously wounded. There were 60 000 refugees who had been forced from their homes. Also, 10 marines had been killed (Wilding, 2004). On 14 April Iraqi medical staff working for the Medecins sans Frontières NGO who had entered Fallujah on 10 April on a bus filled with medical equipment spoke of the casualties that they found in the city on their arrival. By Sunday 11 April an audit of all hospitals treating casualties from the assault revealed that, of the 518 confirmed dead by that date, at least 157 were women and 146 were children. Of the dead children, 100 were under the age of 12. And 1200 wounded people had also been admitted (Ekklesia, 2004). Dr Abed Al-llah, a representative of the US-appointed Iraqi Governing Council, reported after visiting the city on 13 April that 'about 350 out of the 600 dead were women and children. Many died from simple wounds and could have been saved if they had had medical attention' (quoted in Cockburn, 2004).

After the temporary withdrawal of US forces, the lack of control of the US military over Fallujah morphed into a massive symbolic call amongst large parts of the US polity and media to urbicide and place annihilation. As the US presidential election campaign continued, and radical Islamists stepped up their hostage-taking (and murdering), and their brutal suicide-bomb campaigns against those associated with the interim government, so the political and popular obsession with 'taking out Fallujah' reached frenzied proportions.

With Bush reelected, a much more massive, and even more violent, second assault on Fallujah was launched in early November 2004. Deliberately bombing the Nazzal hospital first—presumably to reduce the chances of casualty images and figures leaking out to the outside world—this assault seems likely, at the time of

writing (26 November 2004), to go down as one of the major war crimes of the early 21st century. The horrors of the assault are only now starting to emerge. As of 20 November, US forces claimed that at least 1000 'insurgents' lay dead (McCarthy, 2004). Little mention was made, however, of the very high numbers of dead and wounded civilians (50 000 ^ 100 000 of whom were still in the city during the second assault). The New York Times, quoting the International Red Crescent (see Jamail, 2004), estimated on 20 November that over 800 civilians had been killed (Wong, 2004). By that date 54 US Marines and 9 Iraqi soldiers had also been killed.

It is clear that the newly reelected Bush regime, emboldened by the electoral victory, was keen to unleash its deepest fantasies of place annihilation in the second Fallujah assault. Simply irritated that the population of an entire city, grieving and enraged after the carnage of the first assault, could sit outside its dreams of 'Full Spectrum Dominance', the Bush regime singled out Fallujah and its citizens for special attention. As Robin Cook, Blair's ex-foreign secretary, commented, Paul Wolfowitz, in particular, was 'furious [in spring 2004] when the outcry among both Sunnis and Shias obliged the Marine corps to abandon its siege' (2004, page 28). US forces, meanwhile, entertained fantasies of some final military assault on Fallujah that would be their biggest 'urban operation' since they invaded Hue in Vietnam after the Tet Offensive in 1968 (Ramadani, 2004, page 30).

In this second assault, indiscriminate artillery barrages were employed. British forces were moved north to help lay siege to the city. Once the barriers were in place, all men of 'military age' were prevented from leaving the city. Water and power were switched off. Mass demolitions were employed. Dozens of mosques were occupied or bombed. Humanitarian aid convoys and non-'embedded' independent journalists were prevented from entering the city. Above all, over 12 000 marines were systematically trained to employ new rules of engagement. 'Shoot everything that moves and everything that doesn't move', instructed one marine commander in the runup to the assault (Al-Jazeera, 2004). Marines were told that they should shoot dead any male on the street between the ages of 15 and 50—even if they were unarmed if they could in any way be viewed as a 'security threat'. When marines asked a gunnery sergeant for clarification on this policy, he told his men that if they saw 'military-age' men on the street that they should 'drop 'em' (Al-Jazeera, 2004). This policy was captured on film when an embedded TV reporter filmed the routine killing of injured fighters in the city.

Both assaults on Fallujah were legitimised by powerful propaganda campaigns, by US state public-relations operations and mainstream and pro-Bush US media alike. Both depicted virtually all the Iraqi casualties that resulted from the attack as 'terrorists', 'al-Qaeda fighters', 'Saddam loyalists', or 'foreign insurgents'. Both also widely followed General Richard Myers, chair of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, when he labeled the whole of Fallujah as a dehumanised 'rat's nest' or 'hornet's nest' of 'terrorist resistance' against US occupation that needed to be 'dealt with' (News24.com 2004). 'The enemy has got a face', marine Colonel Gareth Brandl told the BBC before the second assault: 'He's called Satan. He lives in Fallujah' (Wood, 2004, quoted in Klein, 2004a). The second assault was also legitimised as necessary so that 'free' elections could go ahead in January 2005. So complicit were mainstream US media in such constructions that, astonishingly, letters to various newspapers after the second assault complained that a widely circulated picture of one marine in action during the battle showed him smoking a cigarette (Klein, 2004b).

In making sense of the Fallujah atrocities, three points deserve special emphasis.

Orientalist dehumanisation

First, the Fallujah assaults, and the United States' many other military incursions into Islamic cities, are, of course, discursively constructed and legitimised. They rest on complex imaginative geographies which manipulate the discourses of the 'war on terror' to project, and construct, Islamic urban places, and their inhabitants, in extremely powerful ways (Gregory, 2004a).

Central here is the principle of the absolute eternity of the 'terrorist' the inviolable inhumanity and shadowy, monster-like status of those deemed to be actual or dormant 'terrorists' or of those deemed to be sympathetic to them. Crucially, any act of resistance to US invasion and occupation is branded as a 'terrorist' act through such discourses (even though 'terrorist' violence against a military occupier of one's homeland is, by most definitions of the word, impossible). The 'enemy' is thus 'criminalised if he defends himself and returns fire with fire' (Ziz ek, 2002).

'Terrorist' discourses do much to shield the realities of US state terror. As Al-Mufthi (2004) notes, describing one family's losses in the second assault:

'relatives of Ateka Abdel Hamid, 24, did not know that this seven-month pregnant woman was a terrorist until the day she died. As the family collected the mutilated bodies of Ateka and her family, a United States spokesman boasted that the 'multinational forces' killed a number of terrorists and Al-Zarqawi supporters during an offensive in Falluja. The terrorists, it turned out, were Ateka, her three-year-old son Omar, her husband Tamer and six other members of her family.'

Legitimations of the assaults on Fallujah, and other Iraqi cities, have also relied on Orientalist tropes and clichés (see Tuastad, 2003). These emphasise the supposed impenetrability and structurelessness of Islamic cities and the purported irrationality, backwardness, and infantile nature of their inhabitants. Closely leavened here also are heavy doses of dehumanising racism and Islamophobia. All this, of course, is constructed in a complex binary system where the Orientalised, barbarian, terroristic Other is opposed to the legitimate, rational, technologised mastery of 'Western civilisation', which has the mandate to possess and direct the 'Orient', colonially, from afar (Said, 1978).

Like Palestinian civilians in Israeli military discourse, then, US depictions of Iraqi civilians construct them 'essentially, as evil children who have to be brought back to an honest life by stern discipline and punishment' (Ziz ek, 2002). As Edward Said stressed just before his death, 'without a well-organised sense that these people over there were not like 'us' and didn't appreciate 'our' valuesöthe very core of the Orientalist dogmaöthere would have been no war' in Iraq (2003, pages x ^ xxiii).

Widespread pronouncements of the US soldiers themselves illustrate these racist imaginative geographies all too clearly. In both assaults US Marine snipers in Fallujah, for example, talked exultantly about their 'kills' of 'rag-heads' and 'sand niggers' (Davis, 2004). US officers also widely employed Orientalist tropes emphasising some essentialised, racist notion of the 'Arab mind' to legitimise the use of overwhelming US firepower. Take, for example, the view of Captain Todd Brown, one company commander with the US Fourth Infantry Division in Baghdad. In early December 2003 he stated that, to control Iraqi cities with military force, 'you have to understand the Arab mind. The only thing they understand is forceöforce, pride and saving face' (quoted in Filkins, 2003).

Such a blend of Orientalism, dehumanisation, Islamophobia, and 'terrorist' Othering does the (geo)political work of casting out Islamic cities and their inhabitants from any notion of 'civilisation'. From Samuel Huntington's binaries of a 'clash of civilisations' (1996), to a widespread demonisation of entire Islamic cities as 'terrorist' or barbarian 'nests' amongst US military and political leaders and mainstream media, such discourses directly legitimise the use of massive, indiscriminate force by US forces in Islamic cities.

'Kill faster!' Constructing Islamic cities as military targets

The discursive roots of the US military's racist, dehumanising approach to Islamic cities are deep and multitudinous. They are influenced, of course, by the pronouncements of leading Bush administration politicians that Iraq is a pivot in an 'axis of evil' where the US forces of 'freedom' and 'good' must engage ruthlessly with 'terrorist' barbarians, ensconced within fundamentally 'evil' cities. They are also constructed through the outputs of the mainstream US media, which pumps out endless 'action' films in which Arabs are unerringly 'portrayed as stupid, animalistic, amoral, sex-starved, abusive, wife-battering terrorists who seek to kill themselves and their children' (Al-Atraqchi, 2004). It seems inevitable that Universal Pictures' new movie *The Battle of Falluja*, which, it was announced on 17 December 2004, is to star Harrison Ford as a US Marine general, will follow in the routinised use of such representations of 'Arabs'. Above all, though and this is my second key point huge discursive efforts are also being made to continually construct, and reconstruct, Islamic cities as little more than receiving points for US military ordnance (Gregory, 2004a).

The US Army which now brands itself as 'the world's premier land force' (see, for example, West and Reimer, 1997) works hard and at many levels to demonise Islamic urbanism per se. Now one of the world's biggest developers of video games, it gives games such as *America's Army* with its simulations of 'counterterror' warfare in densely packed Islamic cities in a fictional country of 'Zekistan' to millions over the Internet for free. 'The mission' of America's Army, writes Steve O'Hagan: 'is to slaughter evildoers, with something about 'liberty' going on in the back ground. These games may be ultra-realistic down to the calibre of the weapons, but when bullets hit flesh people just crumple serenely into a heap. No blood. No exit wounds. No screams' (2004, page 12).

To parallel such virtual, voyeuristic Othering of the mass, racist construction of (virtual) bodies for potential and actual US military recruits to kill routinely for entertainment US forces have constructed their own 'shadow' urban system: a chain of 60 mock 'Islamic' urban districts, built across the world since 9/11, and designed purely to hone the skills of US forces in fighting and killing in 'urbanised terrain'. Taking 18 months to construct, these simulated 'cities' are then endlessly destroyed and remade in practice assaults that hone the US forces for the 'real thing' in sieges such as those in Fallujah (Davis, 2004).

Replete with minarets, pyrotechnic systems, loop tapes with calls to prayer, donkeys, and hired 'civilians' in Islamic dress wandering through narrow streets, and olfactory machines to create the smell of rotting corpses, this shadow urban system works like some bastard child of Disney. It simulates, of course, not the complex cultural, social, or physical realities of Middle Eastern urbanism, but the imaginative geographies of the military and theme-park designers who are brought in to design and construct it.

All this furthers the deep discursive equivalence that is constructed between Islamic urban places and 'terrorist-nest' war zones to be assaulted and 'cleansed'.

Military commanders often compare the various facilities as though comparing cities as holiday destinations.

“The advantage of [the training complex at] George Air Force Base”, reflected Colonel James Cashwell in March 2003, “is that it is ugly, torn up, all the windows are broken and trees have fallen down in the street. It’s perfect for the replication of a war-torn city” (quoted in Wilson, 2003).

Finally, the US military’s demonisation of Islamic (and other global South) cities per se is accomplished through the combined vitriol of a whole legion of US military ‘commentators’ who enjoy huge coverage, exposure, and influence in the US media.

Taking advantage of the traditional reticence of US forces to engage in urban warfare, these commentators endlessly discuss what is known in the jargon as ‘Military Operations on Urbanised Terrain’ (or ‘MOUT’). MOUT discourses and representations serve to construct Islamic urbanism as little more than a combat site, a killing zone which challenges the United States to harness its technoscientific might to sustain hegemony and empire by killing ‘terrorists’ as rapidly and efficiently as possible with as few (US) casualties as possible.

Crucially, here, the purportedly irrational, structureless, and impenetrable spaces of Casbahs and medinas are cast as little more than the results of deliberate strategies to interrupt the high-tech killing power of US forces: the only remaining shelters from the verticalised, orbital targeting that sustains US global military preeminence.

One of the most influential sources of these discursive appeals to the Islamic city-as-target is Ralph Peters, a retired US military urban warfare specialist and an influential columnist on Rupert Murdoch’s neoconservative New York Post. Peters’s starting point is that the burgeoning megacities and urbanising corridors of the global South are spaces where “human waste goes undisposed, the air is appalling, and mankind is rotting” (Peters, 1996, page 6). Here, cities and urbanisation represent little but decay, anarchy, disorder, and the post-cold-war collapse of ‘failed’ nation-states.

“Boom cities pay for failed states”, he writes, “post-modern dispersed cities pay for failed states, and failed cities turn into killing grounds and reservoirs for humanity’s surplus and discards (guess where we [the US military] will fight)” (Peters, 1996, page 2).

And yet even the savagery of the first US assault on what Peters calls the ‘terror-city’ of Fallujah did little to satisfy Peters’s bloodlust for violent mastery of Islamic cities (Peters, 2004a). Praising the US Marines “for hammering the terrorists into the dirt” during this first assault, Peters nevertheless castigated the cease-fire negotiations after the battle, which, he argued, allowed those ‘terrorists’ left alive to melt back into the civilian population (Peters, 2004b). Again, the symbolic importance of Fallujah was strong in his mind: “make no mistake: There can be no compromise in Fallujah. If we stop one inch short of knocking down the last door in the last house in the city, our enemies will be able to present the Battle of Fallujah to their sympathisers as a great victory” (2004b).

Nearly a month later, Peters concluded that a military, technological solution was available to US forces that would enable them to ‘win’ such battles more conclusively in the near future: killing faster, before any international media coverage is possible.

“This is the new reality of combat”, he wrote, “Not only in Iraq. But in every broken country, plague pit and terrorist refuge to which our troops have to go in the future” (2004b).

Arguing that the presence of “global media” meant that “a bonanza of terrorists and insurgents” were allowed to ‘escape’ US forces in Fallujah, he argued that US forces “have to speed the kill” (Peters, 2004c). In order to

“accelerat[e] urban combat” to “fight within the ‘media cycle’ before journalists sympathetic to terrorists and murderers can twist the facts and portray us as the villains”, new technologies are needed, Peters argues, so that “our enemies are overwhelmed and destroyed before hostile cameras can defeat us. If we do not learn to kill very, very swiftly, we will continue to lose slowly” (2004c).

The second Fallujah assault was certainly planned to maximise the speed, and scale, of the killing of ‘insurgents’. “By quitting in April, we created the terrorist city-state of Fallujah”, Peters argued. “Now we need to shut it down for good” (2004d). Discussing the high ‘kill number’ on Murdoch’s Fox News, he argued that “the best outcome, frankly, is that [the insurgents are] all killed”. He was proud that “the proportion of killed to prisoners is extraordinarily high and that is good news because, at the end of the day, this is about taking Fallujah. You kill enough of the right people and you make the problem a lot smaller” (quoted by News Hounds, 2004). “Even if Fallujah has to go the way of Carthage, reduced to shards, the price will be worth it” (Peters, 2004e).

Casting out Islamic cities

The third and final point to stress is that the tightly coupled projects of dehumanising the people living in Islamic cities and demonising such cities so that they can be constructed as little more than spaces to absorb US military firepower together work to produce a third discursive trick. In this construction of people as inhuman ‘terrorist’ barbarians understanding little but force, and urban places as animalistic labyrinths or ‘nests’ demanding massive military assault, Islamic cities, and their inhabitants, are, in turn, cast out beyond any philosophical, legal, or humanitarian definitions of humankind or ‘civilisation’ (Gregory, 2004a, pages 63 ^ 67). Civilian inhabitants of cities such as Fallujah are thus denied the protection of international law. Their piling-up bodies remain unworthy, largely invisible, unrecorded, and uncounted. And their deaths are rendered of no account. Like the inmates of Abu Ghraib, Basra Airbase, or Guanta namo Bay (Gregory, 2004c), such dying civilians and resistance fighters become examples of Agamben’s homo sacer (sacred man) or ‘bare life mere zoological organisms to be targeted through force and disciplinary measures, who are completely devoid of political or human rights (Agamben, 1998). Derek Gregory has termed such people “the half-human detritus of Bush’s Holy War” (Gregory, 2004b).

Here a final perverse twist emerges in the massive discursive work being done to construct Iraqi civilians and the cities in which they live as targets for the United States’ latest military firepower. Here, the already deep connections between the Iraq war and the Israeli ^ Palestinian war become deeper still (Graham, 2004c). For, by ‘casting out’ ordinary Iraqi civilians so that they, their cities, and the fragile infrastructures upon which they rely to survive become the targets of massive US firepower, these discourses help to forcibly create a kind of chaotic urban hell.

Perversely, then, in places such as Fallujah, the violence of the ‘war on terror’ occurring as it does after the massive modernisation brought by the 1991 war and 12 years of sanctionsöproduces exactly what the above discourses depict: an urban world “outside of the modern, figuratively as well as physically” (Gregory, 2003, page 313). As the despair amongst those unlucky enough to be in the way of the hate-filled violence of US forces pushes them to support their own violent resistance, so the self-fulfilling cycles of the ‘war on terror’ take another bloody turn. For, as Joseba Zulaika argues: “the ultimate catastrophe is that such a categorically ill-defined, perpetually deferred, simple minded Good-versus-Evil war [‘against terror’] echoes and re-creates the very absolutist mentality and exceptionalist tactics of the insurgent terrorists. By formally adopting the terrorists’ own

gameōne that by definition lacks rules of engagement, definite endings, clear alignments between enemies and friends, or formal arrangements of any sort, military, political, legal, or ethical the inevitable danger lies in reproducing it endlessly (2003, page 198).

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Stephen Graham

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Fallujah: one family's tragedy

BRussells Tribunal (March 30 2005)

The ongoing tragedy of the people of Fallujah after the US assault is not well known to the Western audiences. Non-embedded journalists are being prevented to do their job and to report about the devastations of the city. Fallujah is the Guernica of modern times. A disgrace for the human race, US democracy in action.

Today we received the following letter:

Dears,

attached are some photos my family sent to me about the damage they got from the American Operation last months in Al Fallujah. These are some images from our family's home and our business. They want the world to know about such matters..... and that until now nobody helps them.....

Regards.

Qassim Saad



Please have a look at the following pictures included with the letter. And this is only one family's tragedy:



The shape of our business (furniture factory) after.....



Remembering Fallujah

A dossier of The B*Russell*s Tribunal



After



Before



my home before, from inside



Fout!



and here after that.....



Dahr Jamail (14 Nov 2005)

Fallujah Revisited

Nearly a year after they occurred, a few of the war crimes committed in Fallujah by members of the US military have gained the attention of some major media outlets (excluding, of course, any of the corporate media outlets in the US).

Back on November 26, 2004, in a story I wrote for the Inter Press Service titled ['Unusual Weapons' Used in Fallujah](#), refugees from that city described, in detail, various odd weapons used in Fallujah. In addition, they provided detailed descriptions such as “pieces of these bombs exploded into large fires that burnt the skin even when water was thrown on the burns.”

This was also mentioned in a web log I'd penned nine days before, on November 17, 2004, named [Slash and Burn](#) where one of the descriptions of these same weapons by the same refugee from Fallujah said, “These exploded on the ground with large fires that burnt for half an hour. They used these near the train tracks. You could hear these

dropped from a large airplane and the bombs were the size of a tank. When anyone touched those fires, their body burned for hours.”

On December 9th of 2004 I posted a [gallery of photos](#), many of which are included in the new RAI television documentary about incendiary weapons having been used in Fallujah.

Like the torture “scandal” of Abu Ghraib that for people in the west didn’t become “real” until late April of 2004, Iraqis and journalists in Iraq who engaged in actual reporting knew that US and British forces were torturing Iraqis from nearly the beginning of the occupation, and continue to do so to this day.

All of this makes me wonder how much longer it will take for other atrocities to come to light. Even just discussing Fallujah, there are many we can choose from. While I’m not the only journalist to have reported on these, let me draw your attention to just a few things that I’ve recorded which took place in Fallujah during the November, 2004 massacre.

In my story [“Fallujah Refugees Tell of Life and Death in the Kill Zone”](#) published on December 3, 2004 there are many instances of war crimes which will, hopefully, be granted the attention they deserve.

Burhan Fasa’a, an Iraqi journalist who worked for the Lebanese satellite TV station, LBC and who was in Fallujah for nine days during the most intense combat, said Americans grew easily frustrated with Iraqis who could not speak English.

“Americans did not have interpreters with them,” Fasa’a said, “so they entered houses and killed people because they didn’t speak English. They entered the house where I was with 26 people, and [they] shot people because [the people] didn’t obey [the soldiers’] orders, even just because the people couldn’t understand a word of English.” He also added, “Soldiers thought the people were rejecting their orders, so they shot them. But the people just couldn’t understand them.”

A man named Khalil, who asked not to use his last name for fear of reprisals, said he had witnessed the shooting of civilians who were waving white flags while they tried to escape the city.

“I watched them roll over wounded people in the street with tanks,” said Kassem Mohammed Ahmed, a resident of Fallujah. “This happened so many times.”

Other refugees recounted similar stories. “I saw so many civilians killed there, and I saw several tanks roll over the wounded in the streets,” said Aziz Abdulla, 27 years old, who fled the fighting last November. Another resident, Abu Aziz, said he also witnessed American armored vehicles crushing people he believes were alive.

Abdul Razaq Ismail, another resident who fled Fallujah, said: “I saw dead bodies on the ground and nobody could bury them because of the American snipers. The Americans were dropping some of the bodies into the Euphrates near Fallujah.”

A man called Abu Hammad said he witnessed US troops throwing Iraqi bodies into the Euphrates River. Abu Hammad and others also said they saw Americans shooting unarmed Iraqis who waved white flags.

Believing that American and Iraqi forces were bent on killing anyone who stayed in Fallujah, Hammad said he watched people attempt to swim across the Euphrates to escape the siege. “Even then the Americans shot them with rifles from the shore,” he said. “Even if some of them were holding a white flag or white clothes over their heads to show they are not fighters, they were all shot.”

Associated Press photographer Bilal Hussein reported witnessing similar events. After running out of basic necessities and deciding to flee the city at the height of the US-led assault, Hussein ran to the Euphrates.

“I decided to swim,” Hussein told colleagues at the AP, who wrote up the photographer’s harrowing story, “but I changed my mind after seeing US helicopters firing on and killing people who tried to cross the river.”

Hussein said he saw soldiers kill a family of five as they tried to traverse the Euphrates, before he buried a man by the riverbank with his bare hands.

“I kept walking along the river for two hours and I could still see some US snipers ready to shoot anyone who might swim,” Hussein recounted. “I quit the idea of crossing the river and walked for about five hours through orchards.”

A man named Khalil, who asked not to use his last name for fear of reprisals, said he had witnessed the shooting of civilians who were waving white flags while they tried to escape the city. “They shot women and old men in the streets,” he said. “Then they shot anyone who tried to get their bodies.”

“There are bodies the Americans threw in the river,” Khalil continued, noting that he personally witnessed US troops using the Euphrates to dispose of Iraqi dead. “And anyone who stayed thought they would be killed by the Americans, so they tried to swim across the river. Even people who couldn’t swim tried to cross the river. They drowned rather than staying to be killed by the Americans,” said Khalil.

Why should blatant lying from the military come as a surprise? Even back in November of 2003, I wrote about how US forces claimed to have been attacked by, and then killed 48 Fedayin Saddam in Samarra. Then magically, overnight, they raised the number to 54. Upon investigation of this, I found that 8 civilians had been killed in the city, and wrote about it [here](#) and posted photos of it [here](#).

However, why should any of us be surprised at this? When we have an administration which led the country into an illegal war of aggression and continues to lie about it, events like torturing and the use of incendiary weapons on civilians are small change.

<http://dahrbamailiraq.com/weblog/archives/dispatches/000317.php#more>

Fallujah: The homecoming and the homeless

By Patrick Cockburn in Baghdad and Kim Sengupta

http://news.independent.co.uk/world/middle_east/story.jsp?story=591998

11 December 2004

The Black Watch arrives back in Britain this morning home in time for Christmas as Tony Blair had promised.

The regiment's five-week mission the toughest British troops have faced since the invasion of Iraq 21 months ago made possible the US assault on Fallujah, which now lies in ruins. Five Black Watch soldiers died, and no one doubts the dedication they brought to the task, particularly as the regiment knew it was facing the axe in a forthcoming review of the Army.

As they left Camp Dogwood for the last time yesterday, one officer spoke of the frustration among the 850-strong contingent when it was ordered north to support the American forces. He said: "The whole deployment was, of course, heavily politicised from the beginning. Some soldiers criticised Tony Blair by name. There was a feeling that we were being used, and that made it difficult to focus initially on our mission."

They are delighted to be back home, and will no doubt enjoy emotional reunions with their families. But what of the mission they left behind, and the city that was its target? Yesterday, the first independent reports began to emerge from a flattened city which is facing an unprecedented, permanent security crackdown, and an uncertain future.

The assault by 10,000 US troops began on 8 November, just after the US presidential elections: its aim, to clear a city regarded by the Americans as a hotbed of insurgency.

More than 70 marines died, and 1,600 rebels. But no one knows the civilian casualty toll this in a city which once numbered 300,000. Indeed, there are no estimates of how many people are still there, or how many escaped to neighbouring towns and to Baghdad before the assault got under way.

Ahmed Rawi, a Red Cross spokesman, said yesterday: "No one knows how many families are inside the city." The Red Cross team which entered without escort and left before curfew met no residents, apart from engineers and technicians. The Red Cross reported that hundreds of dead bodies remain stacked inside a potato chip warehouse on the outskirts. Some of the bodies were too badly decomposed to be identified. Raw sewage runs through the streets.

All this, and there are no humanitarian workers working inside the city. When the first of Fallujah's refugees are allowed to return on Christmas Eve, they will be funnelled through five checkpoints. Each will have their fingerprints taken, along with DNA samples and retina scans. Residents will be issued with badges with their home addresses on them, and it will be an offence not to wear it at all times. No civilian vehicles will be allowed in the city in an effort to thwart suicide bombers. One idea floated by the US is for all males in Fallujah be compelled to join work battalions in which they will be paid to clear rubble and rebuild houses.

American officers say the hardline approach is legal under martial law regulations issued last month by the interim government of Iyad Allawi. But they appear a little embarrassed by the Orwellian overtones of their plan.

Remembering Fallujah

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Major Francis Piccoli, a spokesman for the 1st Marine Expeditionary Force, admitted: "Some may see this as a 'Big Brother is watching over you' experiment. But, in reality, it's a simple security measure to keep the insurgents from coming back."

Before the battle of Fallujah, the US repeatedly said that foreign fighters and Islamic zealots were orchestrating guerrilla attacks on US soldiers from the city. But the planned measures presume everybody in Fallujah to be a potential supporter of the resistance.

Fallujah will be the first community in Iraq to be subjected to such tough identification tests. So far, they have been used mainly against detainees there are 2,000 people still held on suspicion of aiding the insurgents.

The city's capture was supposed to break the back of the insurgency and open the way for people to take part in the Iraqi elections on 30 January. Yet, so far, there is little sign that resistance to the US and the interim government is weakening in Sunni Muslim districts in central and northern Iraq.

The plan to identify and monitor all civilians is very similar to a plan implemented by Saddam Hussein to separate insurgents from civilians in Iraqi Kurdistan during the 1980s.

Against all this background, the officer from the Black Watch said as he prepared to leave: "Was it worth it? Of course, we have all got our private thoughts about this war. There was a lot of unease about being identified too much with the Americans and Fallujah ... you have to hope at the end that we did some good. Only time will tell."

A Bridge Across Tears For Iraq

A Statement of Solidarity in Suffering



To the People of the World who profit from our tears
To the People of the World who care not of our tears
To the People of the World who know not of our tears
To the People of the World who live also with our tears

We speak to you, in whispers and in screams; in despair and in hope; in defeat and in struggle; to reclaim our humanity.



With the violated people of Iraq, we stand in solidarity, our arms joined in this bridge across tears.

We learn everyday of the killing, plunder, destruction and humiliation that takes place in Iraq.

We have heard the tired justifications of Power many times over - security, freedom, democracy, reconstruction - these are words that are not alien to us; they haunt us everyday as we tread upon our earths.

100,000 lives, of children, women and men, in Iraq have been the latest price to be paid for the betterment of civilisation.

Innocence is no protection. We know.

For each one of the 100,000 lives sacrificed at the altar of Power, united in death rests the remains of 100,000 more of our sisters and brothers of many names upon that same altar.

The tanks, the bullets, the airstrikes, the depleted uranium, the torture, the collective punishments, these that have been the weapons of vengeance against the people of Iraq, are all kin to the hunger, the destitution, the 'structural adjustment programmes', the poisoned rivers and lands, the suffocating clouds of 'progress', the police truncheon, the barbed wires, that have been and are our scourge.



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We name all as violation.

As we shed our tears for our losses, our tears fall also on the lands of Iraq.

Though Power seeks to blind us with their lies, our eyes remain ablaze with the fire of life that we carry of all our dead.

And we denounce Power with its many faces of violence.

For theirs is not a 'Security' in which we are secure.

Theirs is not a 'Freedom' in which we are free.

Theirs is not a 'Civilisation' in which we are dignified as humans.

This we say as we build a Bridge Across Tears:

To Power:

We notify you that we, the peoples of the global south, stand together with the people of Iraq in resisting your cruelty. Be aware.

We demand of the US-UK led 'Coalition' the cessation of violence against the people of Iraq, the withdrawal of all the occupying forces from Iraqi lands, and the restoration of the will of the Iraqi people for genuine self-determination.

We demand that those who call themselves leaders of nations act as leaders in halting the impunity of the Occupation in Iraq by mobilising themselves against the US-UK led 'Coalition' in Iraq.

We demand of the United Nations immediate action to withdraw support for the on-going Occupation of Iraq, and to initiate an international process of judgement against the illegal and criminal use of force against the people of Iraq.

We affirm our common humanity in struggle, with the people of Iraq against the invading forces, and with sisters and brothers everywhere against the invasions upon their lives, livelihoods and dignity.

We pledge that ours is a common struggle for peace, justice and humanity.

To the People of the World,



We call on you to be a Bridge Across Tears so that Humanity may prevail over the cruelties of Power.

Jayan Nayar
Coordinator
Peoples' Law Programme

I Am Fallujah

I am Fallujah.
Once before I endured the colonial
arrogance
of another nation
upon my soil.

That was 87 years ago,
and with their superior weapons,
they, too, came to liberate us.

I cried out.
I warned them
that I would not endure
an uninvited presence.

The Empire thought
my people ignorant.

And now, under a different flag, you strike with the
precision of deranged camel,
your weapons missing your stated target
again and again,
all the while knowing
your real target
is complete conquest.

You screamed when my people vented their rage
upon one or two of your suited predators.
With false indignation, you summoned your
weapons of mass destruction while truckloads of
our dead rumbled past your snipers to a lonely
mass burial.

Sometimes you even shot at the drivers.

And when my people reported the downfall of



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another child, another family
in one of your precision strikes
you claimed they lied,
they exaggerated,
they falsified the facts.

Do they exaggerate today when a pall of ten thousand
misinformed soldiers enter their city
with homicidal rules of engagement?

Have you told your own people that those orders include
shooting surrendering citizens on sight?

And still you use the language of benevolence.

You promote the dubious presence of a sinister entity
to re-direct world attention
through your selective, rhetorical lens.

Zarqawi, Zarqawi, Zarqawi you chant
as you handsomely reward your media servants
for their silence.

Yet you dare not acknowledge that with each death,
you induce the birth of another fighter.
With each bomb,
the hatred of your colonial ambition
grows.

And around the world, with every drop of
blood you cause,
you feed reaction and backwardness the
very food it needs
to sabotage the aspirations of the worlds
people.
The true freedom from oppression you so
cynically claim to champion.



To meet your ends, you consciously blur the distinction between terrorist and insurgent.

The terrorist is your ally, although you call him enemy.
The terrorist is the veil behind which your blood encrusted nails

attempt to gouge out the clear vision of humanity.
The terrorist is your very own Frankenstein monster
forged in the laboratories of your foreign policy.

The insurgent simply fights to be free - of you,
a searing resistance born from the fires of scorned dignity.

While your craven campaign
may momentarily subdue those who survive,
you shall neither defeat them, nor befriend them,
for the tincture of time
will barely soothe the memories
of such atrocities as yours.

I am Fallujah. I am all cities under imperialist siege.
We have fought you before.
We know what motivates you.
We know your eyes.

They reflect the barrels of black poison
that have drained you of decency.
And in your murderous pursuit of plundered profits,
you stand to condemn all of our children
to a lifetime of intellectual and emotional anguish.

Remember this: we did not invite you into our house.

When you claim the mantle of nobility,
know that it is in infamy your legacy will find its home.

Fallujah invaded by US forces on November 9th 2004

Jenny Campbell *12 Nov 2004 03:52 GMT*

<http://newswire.indymedia.org/en/newswire/2004/11/814131.shtml>

This poem was written a few days before the invasion began and updated it the day of the invasion. May it circulate widely!



February 08, 2005

Stories from Fallujah

These are the stories that will continue to emerge from the rubble of Fallujah for years. No, for generations...

Speaking on condition of anonymity, the doctor sits with me in a hotel room in Amman, where he is now a refugee. He'd spoken about what he saw in Fallujah in the UK, and now is under threat by the US military if he returns to Iraq.

"I started speaking about what happened in Fallujah during both sieges in order to raise awareness, and the Americans raided my house three times," he says, talking so fast I can barely keep up. He is driven to tell what he's witnessed, and as a doctor working inside Fallujah, he has video and photographic proof of all that he tells me.

"I entered Fallujah with a British medical and humanitarian convoy at the end of December, and stayed until the end of January," he explains, "But I was in Fallujah before that to work with people and see what their needs were, so I was in there since the beginning of December."

When I ask him to explain what he saw when he first entered Fallujah in December he says it was like a tsunami struck the city.

"Fallujah is surrounded by refugee camps where people are living in tents and old cars," he explains, "It reminded me of Palestinian refugees. I saw children coughing because of the cold, and there are no medicines. Most everyone left their houses with nothing, and no money, so how can they live depending only on humanitarian aid?"

The doctors says that in one refugee camp in the northern area of Fallujah there were 1,200 students living in seven tents.

"The disaster caused by this siege is so much worse than the first one, which I witnessed first hand," he says, and then tells me he'll use one story as an example.

"One story is of a young girl who is 16 years old," he says of one of the testimonies he video taped recently, "She stayed for three days with the bodies of her family who were killed in their home. When the soldiers entered she was in her home with her father, mother, 12 year-old brother and two sisters. She watched the soldiers enter and shoot her mother and father directly, without saying anything."

The girl managed to hide behind the refrigerator with her brother and witnessed the war crimes first-hand.

"They beat her two sisters, then shot them in the head," he said. After this her brother was enraged and ran at the soldiers while shouting at them, so they shot him dead.

"She continued hiding after the soldiers left and stayed with her sisters because they were bleeding, but still alive. She was too afraid to call for help because she feared the soldiers would come back and kill her as well. She stayed for three days, with no water and no food. Eventually one of the American snipers saw her and took her to the hospital," he added before reminding me again that he had all of her testimony documented on film.

He briefly told me of another story he documented of a mother who was in her home during the siege. "On the fifth day of the siege her home was bombed, and the roof fell on her son, cutting his legs off," he says while using his hands to make cutting motions on his legs, "For hours she couldn't go outside because they announced that anyone going in the street would be shot. So all she could do was wrap his legs and watch him die before her eyes."

He pauses for a few deep breaths, then continues, “All I can say is that Fallujah is like it was struck by a tsunami. There weren’t many families in there after the siege, but they had absolutely nothing. The suffering was beyond what you can imagine. When the Americans finally let us in people were fighting just for a blanket.”

“One of my colleagues, Dr. Saleh Alsawi, he was speaking so angrily about them. He was in the main hospital when they raided it at the beginning of the seige. They entered the theater room when they were working on a patient...he was there because he’s an anesthesiologist. They entered with their boots on, beat the doctors and took them out, leaving the patient on the table to die.”

This story has already been reported in the Arab media.

The doctor tells me of the bombing of the Hay Nazal clinic during the first week of the siege.

“This contained all the foreign aid and medical instruments we had. All the US military commanders knew this, because we told them about it so they wouldn’t bomb it. But this was one of the clinics bombed, and in the first week of the siege they bombed it two times.”

He then adds, “Of course they targeted all our ambulances and doctors. Everyone knows this.”

The doctor tells me he and some other doctors are trying to sue the US military for the following incident, for which he has the testimonial evidence on tape.

It is a story I was told by several refugees in Baghdad as well...at the end of last November while the siege was still in progress.

“During the second week of the siege they entered and announced that all the families have to leave their homes and meet at an intersection in the street while carrying a white flag. They gave them 72 hours to leave and after that they would be considered an enemy,” he says.

“We documented this story with video-a family of 12, including a relative and his oldest child who was 7 years old. They heard this instruction, so they left with all their food and money they could carry, and white flags. When they reached the intersection where the families were accumulating, they heard someone shouting ‘Now!’ in English, and shooting started everywhere.”

The family was all carrying white flags, as instructed, according to the young man who gave his testimony. Yet he watched his mother and father shot by snipers-his mother in the head and his father shot in the heart. His two aunts were shot, then his brother was shot in the neck. The man stated that when he raised himself from the ground to shout for help, he was shot in the side.

“After some hours he raised his arm for help and they shot his arm,” continues the doctor, “So after awhile he raised his hand and they shot his hand.”

A six year-old boy of the family was standing over the bodies of his parents, crying, and he too was then shot.

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“Anyone who raised up was shot,” adds the doctor, then added again that he had photographs of the dead as well as photos of the gunshot wounds of the survivors.

“Once it grew dark some of them along with this man who spoke with me, with his child and sister-in-law and sister managed to crawl away after it got dark. They crawled to a building and stayed for 8 days. They had one cup of water and gave it to the child. They used cooking oil to put on their wounds which were of course infected, and found some roots and dates to eat.”

He stops here. His eyes look around the room as cars pass by outside on wet streets...water hissing under their tires.

He left Fallujah at the end of January, so I ask him what it was like when he left recently.

“Now maybe 25% of the people have returned, but there are still no doctors. The hatred now of Fallujans against every American is incredible, and you cannot blame them. The humiliation at the checkpoints is only making people even angrier,” he tells me.

“I’ve been there, and I saw that anyone who even turns their head is threatened and hit by both American and Iraqi soldiers alike...one man did this, and when the Iraqi soldier tried to humiliate him, the man took a gun of a nearby soldier and killed two ING, so then of course he was shot.”

The doctor tells me they are keeping people in the line for several hours at a time, in addition to the US military making propaganda films of the situation.

“And I’ve seen them use the media-and on January 2nd at the north checkpoint in the north part of Fallujah, they were giving people \$200 per family to return to Fallujah so they can film them in the line...when actually, at that time, nobody was returning to Fallujah,” he says. It reminds me of the story my colleague told me of what he saw in January. At that time a CNN crew was escorted in by the military to film street cleaners that were brought in as props, and soldiers handing out candy to children.

“You must understand the hatred that has been caused...it has gotten more difficult for Iraqis, including myself, to make the distinction between the American government and the American people,” he tells me.

His story is like countless others.

“My cousin was a poor man in Fallujah,” he explains, “He walked from his house to work and back, while living with his wife and five daughters. In July of 2003, American soldiers entered his house and woke them all up. They drug them into the main room of the house, and executed my cousin in front of his family. Then they simply left.”

He pauses then holds up his hands and asks, “Now, how are these people going to feel about Americans?”

<http://dahrjamailliraq.com/weblog/archives/dispatches/000196.php>

Fallujah: Shock and Awe

Ken Coates, Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation.

It was on April 26th 1937 that the name of Guernica was immortalised. A little town, home to 7000 people, Guernica was the local market place for a cluster of hill villages. It straddled a valley only ten kilometres from the sea, and thirty from Bilbao. It was a cultural centre for the Basque country, with a hallowed oak tree upon which for centuries the public power in Spain has been obliged recurrently to affirm an oath to respect the rights of the Basque people.

April 26th was a Monday, market day. It went ahead peaceably, although the Civil War was raging thirty kilometres away. The air raid was not announced (by an urgent call from the Church bells) until half past four in the afternoon. Ten minutes later Heinkels arrived, scattering their bombs across the town, and then machine gunning the streets. Following the Heinkels came the Junkers. The German Air Force was celebrating a major practice run. When the people ran away, they, too, were machine-gunned. One thousand six hundred and fifty-four people were killed, and eight hundred and eighty-nine were wounded. The town centre was destroyed, and Europe received its first baptism of aerial bombardment on a modern scale.

The shock reverberated far beyond the Basque country. Spain was not a remote colony like Iraq, from which news could take an age to travel. Within a week Picasso began his painting, his masterpiece which is at present installed in a special gallery attached to the Prado. In preparation for this, he feverishly prepared a desperately poignant series of sketches and cartoons, one of which we feature on our cover. Picasso gave us a portrait of naked horror. Europe was soon to learn the face of that horror at first hand. It is said that when some German officers visited Picasso in his studio in occupied France, they said of Guernica, drawings from which were hung in the room, "Did you do this?" The master is said to have replied: "No, you did".

But it was not only the German Air Force which tore away at the fabric of European cities. Coventry and London pale into insignificance when compared with Hamburg and Dresden. It was an American soldier, Kurt Vonnegut, who was to create a memorial to Dresden, in his extraordinary work *Slaughterhouse Five*. Slaughterhouses, since, we have seen in profusion. Before the incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, there was the massive "conventional" air raid on Tokyo which killed many tens of thousands of people. Then we lived through the Cold War, and the nuclear arms race, until we entered, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, into the age of Full Spectrum Dominance from Washington. Now the centre of that domination sits in Iraq, and for the time being the carnage radiates out from the city of Falluja.

We are told that Falluja had to be destroyed, in order to carry out elections to an Iraqi constituent assembly on the 27th January 2005. We will see whether any elections take place. There are those among us who doubt whether such elections were actually intended in any more than a fictional exit strategy for the purposes of another election, in the United States. Mr. Bush has won that, and may not need the one in Iraq. It is greatly to be doubted whether the conditions for an election exist in the aftermath of the destruction of Falluja.

Kofi Annan warned Bush, Blair, and their puppet, Iyad Allawi, that elections required "a broader spectrum of Iraqis to join the political process" and the persuasion of "elements who are currently alienated from, or sceptical about, the transition process". He expressed his "increasing concern at the prospect of an escalation in violence, which I fear could be very disruptive for Iraq's political transition".

Kofi Annan was entirely specific.

“I have in mind not only the risk of increased insurgent violence, but also reports of major military offensives being planned by the multinational force in key localities such as Falluja. I wish to express to you my particular concern about the safety and protection of civilians. Fighting is likely to take place mostly in densely populated urban areas, with an obvious risk of civilian casualties ... The threat or actual use of force not only risks deepening the sense of alienation of certain communities, but would also reinforce perceptions among the Iraqi population of a continued military occupation.”

Guernica was struck down out of a clear sky, and none of the victims expected it. But Falluja was planned in great detail for months before the culmination of the American election made it possible to risk the criticism of domestic public opinion. Indeed the British allies were redeployed to seal off what was eloquently described as the “rat run” from Falluja, in spite of the consternation in Scotland, whose Black Watch soldiers were put at very dire risk. All that took time. It took time, up to two months, to cut off the water supplies to Tall Afar, Samarra, and Falluja. We publish in our dossier a careful report by Cambridge Solidarity with Iraq, which describes how this was done, in breach of international humanitarian law, and without consultation with any of the allies. Towards the end of a week of remorseless bombing and bombardment, the Red Crescent succeeded in sending a convoy of food and medicines into the outskirts of Falluja. American forces denied them the right to move beyond a hospital on the outskirts of the town.

As happened before, during the invasion by coalition forces, news has been comprehensively and carefully managed, so that we cannot tell what the true level of casualties has been. At the end of the first week, the Americans were reported as having sustained 38 deaths and to have suffered 275 other casualties. They also claim to have killed, variously, 1000 or 1600 insurgents and to have captured between 450 and 550 others. But the insurgents claim vastly smaller casualties. Al-Dulaimi said that the number of Falluja’s defenders, “martyrs who were killed”, did not exceed 100. “We lost 15 of our men”, he said. Nobody, but nobody, can offer any credible figures about the civilian death toll. We shall not be able to calculate anything approaching the true mortality for some time, just as it took more than a year before *The Lancet* was able to publish research about the true human cost of the occupation.

What is absolutely clear is that large swathes of Falluja have been literally pulverised, ground to powder by the kind of destructive machine that Hermann Goering could hardly imagine. Just as we do not know how many innocents have been massacred, neither do the Iraqi people. But they know about the moral depth of this atrocity. They know that Iraqi lives do not count for the coalition, nor for its servants in the Iraqi detachments of American intelligence, who now call themselves Ministers.

The highest Shia authority in Baghdad, Shaikh Muhammad Mahdi al-Khalissi, condemned the assault on Falluja as an “aggression and dirty war”, and said:

“No matter how powerful the occupation forces are, they will be driven out of Iraq sooner or later. The current savage military attack on Falluja by US occupation forces and the US appointed Iraqi Government is an act of mass murder and a crime of war”.

The Association of Muslim Scholars, a Sunni powerhouse, proclaimed a Fatwa prohibiting Iraqis from joining in the American attack. Muqtada al-Sadr withdrew the support of his movement for the January elections. His aide declared:

“There has been a chance for a peaceful solution, but the Government always chooses the military solution because the United States wants that”.

Meantime, open insurgency rages in Kirkuk, Tikrit, Samarra, Baiji, and in Iraq's third largest city, Mosul. Other towns have given refuge to fighters fleeing from Falluja itself, as has Ar Ramadi.

The official story put out by the coalition is that strong contingents of foreign fighters and supporters of the old regime constitute tightly knit minorities who can be hunted down, to the relief of the majority of peace loving Iraqis. The destruction of Falluja will destroy this myth. The American occupation stands revealed, red in tooth and claw. It does not intend to go away. It would like to establish economically viable bases, for sure, and to withdraw many soldiers for deployment elsewhere. But it does not intend to relinquish control of the resources it had thought it had won. Oil remains very high on the agenda.

Quite why Tony Blair supports these brigands is very difficult to understand. There may not be many spoils of war for him. But he has earned a due share of the opprobrium which attaches to war criminals. A brave attempt to impeach him has been made on the initiative of Plaid Cymru's MP Adam Price, and we have published the magisterial indictment prepared by Glen Rangwala and Dan Plesch. The impeachment concerns the lies that were told in preparation for the invasion. More lies are following all the time, and they are more desperately told, as the truth about this illegal war, and this incredibly brutal occupation, begins to make itself plain. Unlike President Bush, the Prime Minister's election is in front of him. It is difficult to see how anyone with a conscience will be able to support the renewal of his mandate.

Editorial: The Spokesman no.84, Journal of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation (www.russfound.org)

In the rubble of Falluja

Nermeen Al-Mufti accompanies a relief convoy into the city of untold stories and unbearable pain

News from Falluja has been scarce and one-sided. Even the photos are censored. The access road to the city is still closed. The only people allowed in are those working with the Iraqi Red Crescent (RC).

I am at the RC information office in Baghdad, waiting to travel to Falluja with an RC convoy. An old man walks in and takes a picture of a young man from his pocket. It is his son, Raad Maoloud. The father thinks he has been killed in Falluja, and he wants to know if the Red Crescent has come across his body or buried it. Another man walks in with photos of a son and two brothers, asking similar questions.

I remember Umm Omar, my neighbour, who still carries the picture of Omar, her son, who went missing in 1983, during the war with Iran. My reverie is interrupted by the voice of Haytham Said, a volunteer, announcing that RC teams have evacuated 275 bodies which are now preserved in refrigerators. The photos will be of little help. Most of the bodies are decomposed and the families have to try and remember the clothes their relatives were wearing.

According to well-informed sources, 600 bodies or so are still lying under the rubble in Falluja. Others have been dismembered by dogs, thrown in the river, or completely decomposed. Most buildings and markets have been destroyed. The city has no electricity, drinking water, telephone service, or sewage network.

Our trip begins at 9am. The man leading the mission, RC chief Dr Said Hiqqi, tells me that the RC is trying to supply the people with the basic necessities. They have set up Crescent House as a hostel for the displaced and the homeless, and they are evacuating women, children, and old people who wish to leave the city, and moving



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patients to hospitals. The RC entered Falluja only a few days ago. Since then, it has evacuated 17 women and children, and more are to follow.

Within less than half an hour, our convoy arrives at a US checkpoint near the Abu Ghraib prison, now infamous as a US base and detention facility. Dozens of floodlights are still on, even though it's broad daylight. And this, at a time when Baghdad is under electricity rationing (two hours on, six hours off). Our convoy consists of 33 employees and volunteers, six ambulances, and a relief truck, the latter carrying supplies and drinking water. The vehicles are clearly marked with the RC flag.

I don't expect the convoy to be stopped, as it bears the flag of a neutral international organisation. But instead we do stop, for a long time. Permits have to be obtained. The convoy vehicles and passengers are searched. Then we wait some more. A truck arrives carrying bedding, food, and a sign reading "Relief to Falluja the steadfast". The truck is turned back.

Two hours into the waiting, three mortar shells, perhaps meant for the prison, land near us in the dust. Another hour passes, then finally permission is given and the convoy begins to move. In the past, the journey from Baghdad to Falluja used to take 45 minutes. We have an escort of Marine military vehicles. They keep their distance from the convoy in order to reduce the likelihood of our cars being attacked.

Arriving at the outskirts of Falluja, we are greeted by columns of smoke and a checkpoint manned jointly by the Iraqi National Guard and the Marines. A National Guard soldier tells us that Falluja is calm and that the smoke and the explosions we can hear are due to the detonation of the immense quantities of ammunition seized in the city. In the background, I can make out light arms fire. No one comments on it.

On our right is the Askari district with its fancy villas now in ruins. A nearby mosque has lost one of its minarets, and another is peppered with shellfire. On our left is the industrial area, its workshops all burnt out or demolished.

We are waiting again. It is time for prayers, but I hear no call to prayer. Normal life has come to a standstill. Only 10,000 people remain in Falluja out of a total of 650,000 inhabitants. Two hours later, we move on, past the empty shells of houses in the districts of Al-Dubbat Al-Oula, Al-Dubbat Al-Thaniya, and Al-Shurta. The doors all stand open, on orders from the Marines. Children's toys and bicycles litter the empty parks, where the unused swings sway in the wind.

We pass the Al-Hadra Al-Mohamadiya Mosque, which is now a US detention facility. More ruined mosques. In the deserted streets, abandoned passenger cars are redeployed as roadblocks.

Finally, we arrive at Crescent House, a magnificent structure that was originally the home of Khalaf Shadid, a local merchant who has fled the city with his family. Shadid's son, an RC volunteer, stayed behind and turned the home into a refugee safe house after the shelling had stopped.

There, I meet Haj Fouad Al-Kebeisi, 54. He now works as a volunteer with the RC, burying the dead. Al-Kebeisi tells me how Haj Radif Abdel-Wahed, 90, the oldest merchant in Falluja, died. Abdel-Wahed was in the yard doing his ablutions before prayers when a sniper bullet hit him. His children buried him in the garden.

I run into Haj Mahmoud, accompanied by his wife and six surviving children. Mahmoud's 13-year-old son, Mostafa, was killed by shrapnel. The family's house was burned down. Having lost all their possessions -- cars, jewellery, money, furniture -- they took refuge in the one remaining room of their otherwise destroyed home. The mother says that during Ramadan she would soak rice in a little water and the family would eat it for *iftar*. The day their house was hit, they ate nothing for 24 hours.

Haj Mahmoud says that they did not leave the city because they thought that the fighting would be confined to the outskirts, as it was last April. They did not expect the whole city to be shelled and destroyed. The Americans, he assures me, want to punish the city for not welcoming them. Zarqawi was only a pretext, Mahmoud says.

Mahmoud's daughter Fatema, 16, a student at the Teachers Institute, says that she used to have big dreams. Now all she wants is to be a normal person once again, to live without fear. The family's youngest son Abdel-Gabbar, aged three, has been traumatised by the shelling, and still runs to his mother's arms whenever he hears a loud noise, even if it is just a door slamming. Aisha, 14, misses her younger brother and says she cannot forget the sight of him lying dead in front of the house.



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The whole city is calm. So calm, it is disturbing. Falluja today is a city of untold stories and unspeakable pain. The only electricity in the whole town is that produced by the generator at Crescent House. (*see p.7*)

Caption: As the battle begins to recede, an Iraqi Red Crescent worker surveys a devastated street in Falluja

Caption 2: As the battle begins to recede, an Iraqi Red Crescent worker surveys a devastated street in Falluja

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This Night In Fallujah: Lailat Al Qadr In Ramadan

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Tonight, in Fallujah

We wait

For the known

For the follow-up

To the fighter planes

To the rockets

To the long days of shelling

To the depleted uranium killing us slowly,

We wait

To see their tanks

Their tanks will come first

They remind us of the Israelis

They remind us American planes killed our cousins

In Palestine

Killed them with American rockets,

Now

They have come for us

We were living

Just living our lives,

With our wives and children,

Just like the Americans

They went to school, they did their lessons

They ran innocently

In the schoolyards

And on weekends the boys

Would tease the girls

In the marketplace, but

Dare not let the mother or

Father of the girl see, the girls

Would twist their

Hair, their smiles

And blush



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Away from the eyes
Of their mothers

We were just living
Not looking to fight, just
Wanting to be
Left alone
But they came
Hunting us, like
Animals, like wild
Things, they came
Shooting, randomly,
Dropping 500 pound bombs
Destroying our mosques, our
Churches, our schools, our
Hospitals, our water, our
Electricity—they bombed
Us back 300 years

But, we
Just wanted to live
Just wanted to pray each day
In our mosques, raise our
Children, take care of our
Wives, our old fathers and
Mothers, we are not for
Fighting—but now
There is no
Choice—what good
Would it be to run
To be shot down
Like an animal on the run,
Now it is time, even with
The small weapons
We have, we shall stand now
To protect what we have
To claim our own homes, to claim
Our own peace

They are strange
These Christians, not like
My cousin's wife
Who is Christian, in our
Christian churches, they say



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Jesus said, "Blessed are the peacemakers,"
"God's greatest gift is mercy,"
but these men come
with large crosses on their chests,
their ministers teach them songs about
killing and killing for Jesus, these
Americans are strange, we had
Always heard
They were peaceful people, people
Who wanted what we wanted,
Peace, life, justice,
Decency, education,
We had heard----

So now they come,
Loudspeakers on their jeeps, loudspeakers
And louder music, drums banging,
They tell us to surrender or die, they have
Iraqi slaves among them, some of whom
Will, at the last minute, turn on these
Americans, kill some
And themselves be killed,
We have on our side, Allah
We have on our side, our families,
Our homes, our thousands of years
Of having to defend ourselves
From Persians, from Greeks, from
Romans, from Mongols, from Crusaders,
From Turks, from British—now
This new evil, this new devil
Flying their flags, red, white and blue,
Blaring their music and harsh words,
We see their eyes now,
They are young, like
Us, they are afraid, yet
They want to kill us, we
Are "ragheads," "we are animals,"
We are "assholes," "we are terrorists"
And every other name you can think of
And they have come to kill us
To wipe our city off the maps of the world,
Off the map of Iraq, they say
They come at the order of the exile
The Americans sent to rule us, Iyad

Allawi, Iyad the whore, Iyad the munafik,
Iyad the devil—and yes,
We shall die, but Allah knows
Who is the evil one
And who is the one who fights in his name,
There is always that short term victory
For the devils
But their long run is not long
And they too shall die

We do not want to die, but
We understand dying is only
Part of living, death is always
Waiting, sometimes
Patiently, other times
Takes us swiftly, but we understand
This is the will of Allah
Some of us must die
So that others will
Understand
Just what is going on
So that others will see
So that others will resist even more

Our deaths will echo in Saudi Arabia,
In Kuwait, in the Muslim halls of the world, in
The cries of our women, in the history of our
Muslim people, in the Khutba's on Friday's
Prayers—they know
That we die during Ramadan, they know
We die gloriously at the hand of the heathens, at
The hands of the unbelievers, for the sake of
What the Qur'an taught us,
To protect our families, our homes, our country and
Most of all to protect our mosques
And Islam

So we have stayed to fight
And die during Ramadan, this
Most holy of months, this Ramadan
That requires so much
Discipline and faith, this Ramadan
That is the month of our sign of commitment
To Allah, it is a glorious month



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In which to fight, and if necessary

To die

No, we are not mad

We do not wish to die

We have more desire to live

Than these devils who have invaded our land

Attacked our fathers and mothers, who

Have raped our women, who have

Tortured our cousins and brothers in their

Prisons, all in the name of

“democracy,” and “liberty,” and “freedom”—

how hollow their words

how hollow their lies

how hollow their attacks on us

they do not realize

we do not die, we

live, we live

on now, as martyrs, as

heroes, as men who

were not afraid to die, as men

who believed in the Deen, in Allah,

in the same God they proclaim but do not truly follow—

but his wrath is coming

his wrath shall be coming upon them—

if they survive our fight, they

are being poisoned, just as we have been poisoned,

the depleted uranium has poisoned their blood,

has poisoned the eggs in their sperm,

has poisoned their lives

so when they have deformed children, the

children will be witnesses to their killing

us, to their killing of their own souls,

to their killing their own families, and

what of those who will go mad, whose

nightmares will not let them ever sleep

another peaceful night

and what will their faces tell them

when they look in the mirror

when they look on their dressers

and see the pieces of metal

they were given for killing us
in our own homes, in own cities, in
our own mosques and churches,
what will their eyes say,
what will they say when their twisted
lies are uncovered, when the rest of the
world speaks of their massacres of
women and children, of old men, of
bombing hospitals, what will they
do when they see the smirking face
of their presidents, their senators, their
leaders who have allowed them to do this,
have ordered them to do this

—and
what will they say to Jesus
when he speaks to them on Judgement Day
when he asks why they killed—
why they did not say, NO
why they did not prefer prison over killing of innocent
civilians, and to the pilots who
fly freely, without concern of any reprisal, F16s rocketing
our city day after day, night after night, surely
they will not fly with the angels, but
shall burn even worse than the rest—

and so we hear the rockets and hear the bombs
during our maghrib prayer, we have heard since our fajr
prayers, we do not much feel like iftar, the food
has lost some of its taste, no one wants to die,
no one wants to leave their wife and children,
no one wants never to see their father or mother again,
no one wants to have to fight, just to live,
no one wants to have to kill another human being—at least
none of us,
we were living peacefully in our city,
we did not attack anyone, we
did not do anything worse than defend ourselves,
and for that
now we know we must die, we
know that unless Allah produces a miracle
or sends legions of angels to protect us
that the planes will attack
with the tanks that will crush us
with the rockets and snipers who



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will split our bodies into pieces, whose
concussions will split our heads open,
whose noise will puncture our eardrums
until we bleed
and like our blessed Prophet Jesus, who came
before our blessed Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him,
we shall die, just as Jesus
was martyred—we shall be martyred
by the new Roman, the new crusader army,
on this Night of Power, where Allah's message of
righteousness and courage is clear, where
we renew our commitment to our God,
where we know he gives us everlasting life
though we may die tonight on the earth,
we shall live forever, in Allah's hands,

We shall live
in history, and the world, yea
the world will remember
we stood and fought this day,
knowing we would die
but knowing that death is only a moment
in God's time, in Allah's time
and that those who kill us today
may live long and tortured lives
when they realize what evil they have done
and those evil men
who ordered them on, Allawi, Bush,
Cheney, Wolfowitz, Abizaid, Myers and the rest,
Allah will take care of them
On the earth and on Judgement Day,
And the men who did not have the courage to
Say, No,
They will suffer each hour, each day
For the rest of their earthly days,
For it is written, that whosoever kills a believer
During Ramadan, will suffer hellfire and damnation
For eternity

So we choose to stand, to die if we must,
But during this blessed month of Ramadan
There is no death to the believer
Only the knowledge that Allah's ways
Are beyond our understanding—we may not

Be on the earth to see what will happen
but we will be looking
Down from Heaven
And we shall see Allah visit his wrath
On those who come to kill us in our homes,
In our city, in our country, in our churches, in
Our mosques—and though we may die,
Like these days of our battle,
Our spirits
Will live forever

Lailat Al Qadr: The Night of Power where God's message is clear to the world, where God/Allah blesses the righteous and condemns the evil ones.

Ramadan: The Muslim Holy Month of fasting, prayer and renewed commitment to God/Allah (Allah is the Arabic word for God, used by Muslims and Christians alike in the Middle East).

Qhutba: The Muslim sermon on prayer days in the mosques.

In memory of Fallujah



Inge Van De Merlen, 24 June 2006.

Fallujah, 2004 - According to the occupation powers Fallujah must be cleared of foreign terrorists. The residents believe they are subjected to collective punishment because they persistently denounce the occupation.

Fallujah was a city of between 300,000 and 500,000 inhabitants situated about 70 km west of Baghdad in the Anbar province. The citizens of this "City of Mosques" did not initially resist their foreign invaders, however, opposition to the invasion emerged already

early in the occupation. When on April 28th, 2003, American soldiers fired at peaceful protesters in the city, the first seeds of the Fallujan resistance were sown. Fifteen civilians were killed in the incident, three of whom were teenagers. Two days later, a similar incident occurred. The total, then, was three civilian casualties. The residents of Fallujah were enraged.

During fire fights on March 26th, 2004, in the Al-Askari district 15 'rebels' were killed, among them three children and a freelance cameraman, who worked for ABC News. A few days later, after resistance fighters killed four mercenaries from Blackwater Security^[1], residents vented their rage on the bodies of these soldiers of fortune. The images of their mutilated and charred bodies hanging from a bridge over the Euphrates went around the world. The media referred to these mercenaries, who belonged to elite units that consist mostly of former

soldiers, as if they had been merely American civilians. The air raids and ground battles that followed throughout that April cost the lives of countless Iraqi civilians. The spokesperson for Fallujah's governing council, Mohamed Tareq, spoke of at least 800 deaths, Fallujah General Hospital registered 736 deadly victims and the Ministry of health, which has an American advisor, estimated the death toll at 271. Several aid workers, who brought medical supplies to the city distributed their testimonies on the web.^[2]

Immediately after the American presidential elections of November 2004, Fallujah came under massive fire a second time. A hurricane of 10,000 American and 2000 Iraqi soldiers with artillery, tanks, air bombers and helicopter gunships raged over Fallujah. 60 schools, 65 religious buildings and almost three quarters of the 50,000 homes were destroyed during the attack. The US authorities assert that 2000 people were killed in the attack, most of them fighters, but Iraqi NGOs and medical staff within the city estimate 4000 to 6000 primarily civilian deaths.^[3] The true number of victims will probably never be brought to light. In the first weeks of the assault on Fallujah, no journalists and aid workers were allowed into the city. Every civilian remaining in the city constituted a potential target for the army troops. Dr. Salam Ismael, who managed to enter Fallujah with a team of physicians during both sieges, since then testified on the war crimes that were committed by the American army and about the suffering of the population.

In Saqlawiya, one of the makeshift refugee camps that surround Fallujah, we found a 17 year old woman. "I am Hudda Fawzi Salam Issawi from the Jolan district of Fallujah," she told me. "Five of us, including a 55 year old neighbour, were trapped together in our house in Fallujah when the siege began."

"On 9 November American marines came to our house. My father and the neighbour went to the door to meet them. We were not fighters. We thought we had nothing to fear. I ran into the kitchen to put on my veil, since men were going to enter our house and it would be wrong for them to see me with my hair uncovered."

"This saved my life. As my father and neighbour approached the door, the Americans opened fire on them. They died instantly."

"Me and my 13 year old brother hid in the kitchen behind the fridge. The soldiers came into the house and caught my older sister. They beat her. Then they shot her. But they did not see me. Soon they left, but not before they had destroyed our furniture and stolen the money from my father's pocket."

Hudda told me how she comforted her dying sister by reading verses from the Koran. After four hours her sister died. For three days Hudda and her brother stayed with their murdered relatives. But they were thirsty and had only a few dates to eat. They feared the troops would return and decided to try to flee the city. But they were spotted by a US sniper.

Hudda was shot in the leg, her brother ran but was shot in the back and died instantly. "I prepared myself to die," she told me. "But I was found by an American woman soldier, and she took me to hospital." She was eventually reunited with the surviving members of her family." ^[4]

Dahr Jamail visited the refugee camps and spoke to several survivors of the attack:

“The American warplanes came continuously through the night and bombed everywhere in Fallujah! It did not stop even for a moment! If the American forces did not find a target to bomb, they used sound bombs just to terrorize the people and children. The city stayed in fear; I cannot give a picture of how panicked everyone was.”^[5]

An aid worker, who entered the city with the first Red Crescent convoy permitted on November 28th told Jamail: “I need another heart and eyes to bear it because my own are not enough to bear what I saw. Nothing justifies what was done to this city. I didn’t see a house or mosque that wasn’t destroyed.”^[6]

“They kicked all the journalists out of Fallujah so they could do whatever they want,” says Kassem Mohammed Ahmed, who just escaped from Fallujah three days ago, “The first thing they did is they bombed the hospitals because that is where the wounded have to go. Now we see that wounded people are in the street and the soldiers are rolling over them with tanks. This happened so many times. What you see on the TV is nothing-that is just one camera. What you cannot see is so much.”^[7]

Journalists, who investigated human rights violations in Fallujah, faced all kinds of obstacles. Two reporters of Al-Arabiya were arrested by the Iraqi police, who confiscated their video tapes. Enzo Baldoni was reporting on Fallujah, when he was kidnapped in August, 2004. A short time later, he was killed by his abductors. The *Islamic Army in Iraq* claimed the murder, asserting that Baldoni was a spy.^[8] Some critics, however, suspect that something about the abduction doesn’t add up.^[9] The enigma was never solved and the case has since been closed.

Italian journalist, Giuliana Sgrena, was also working on a report about Fallujah at the time of her abduction. Thanks to intensive negotiations by intelligence agent Nicola Calipari she was released, but on the road to the airport a rain of bullets from an American checkpoint riddled their car. By amazing good fortune, Sgrena survived the attack, but Calipari died on the spot. The American Army attributes this lamentable ‘accident’ to the high speed of the victims’ vehicle and their disregard for warning signs. The Italian authorities deny that the car had been driving at high speed and the survivors testified that no warning was given prior to the shooting. It’s very possible that Sgrena was the actual target, but no hard evidence for this assertion is available.^[10]

In January, 2005, American filmmaker, [Mark Manning](#), spent two weeks in Fallujah. During his stay, he recorded about 25 hours of film material with numerous interviews of residents who remained in the city. Immediately upon his return to California, someone stole all of his tapes of Fallujah from his hotel room, but left his expensive film and computer equipment untouched. Just a short time later, the thief contacted Manning. “You thought you had the goods on George Bush, didn’t you?” said the man, “You’ve been sandbagged, boy.” Somehow, it seems as if the events of Fallujah must remain hidden to the world.^[11]

One year after the second major offensive against Fallujah, the Italian TV channel, RAI 24, broadcasted for the first time the documentary of Sigfrido Ranucci, wherein an American soldier testifies how they dropped white phosphorous and napalm on Fallujah in November, 2004. These are internationally banned chemical weapons.

The film can be watched [here](#).

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- [8] Iraqi fighters watching journalists. *Aljazeera*, 26 March, 2006.
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- [10] DUNNE, F., *The Sgrena hit: how they did it, and why. Evidence of a precision ambush.* 9 March, 2005.
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The fog of war: white phosphorus, Fallujah and some burning questions

By Andrew Buncombe and Solomon Hughes in Washington (15 Nov 2005)

The controversy has raged for 12 months. Ever since last November, when US forces battled to clear Fallujah of insurgents, there have been repeated claims that troops used "unusual" weapons in the assault that all but flattened the Iraqi city. Specifically, controversy has focussed on white phosphorus shells (WP) - an incendiary weapon usually used to obscure troop movements but which can equally be deployed as an offensive weapon against an enemy. The use of such incendiary weapons against civilian targets is banned by international treaty.

The debate was reignited last week when an Italian documentary claimed Iraqi civilians - including women and children - had been killed by terrible burns caused by WP. The documentary, *Fallujah: the Hidden Massacre*, by the state broadcaster RAI, cited one Fallujah human-rights campaigner who reported how residents told how "a rain of fire fell on the city". Yesterday, demonstrators organised by the Italian communist newspaper, *Liberazione*, protested outside the US Embassy in Rome. Today, another protest is planned for the US Consulate in Milan. "The 'war on terrorism' is terrorism," one of the newspaper's commentators declared.

The claims contained in the RAI documentary have met with a strident official response from the US, as well as from right-wing commentators and bloggers who have questioned the film's evidence and sought to undermine its central allegations.

While military experts have supported some of these criticisms, an examination by *The Independent* of the available evidence suggests the following: that WP shells were fired at insurgents, that reports from the battleground suggest troops firing these WP shells did not always know who they were hitting and that there remain widespread reports of civilians suffering extensive burn injuries. While US commanders insist they always strive to avoid civilian casualties, the story of the battle of Fallujah highlights the intrinsic difficulty of such an endeavour.

It is also clear that elements within the US government have been putting out incorrect information about the battle of Fallujah, making it harder to assess the truth. Some within the US government have previously issued disingenuous statements about the use in Iraq of another controversial incendiary weapon - napalm.

The assault upon Fallujah, 40 miles from Baghdad, took place over a two-week period last November. US commanders said the city was an insurgent stronghold. Civilians were ordered to evacuate in advance. Around 50 US troops and an estimated 1,200 insurgents were killed. How many civilians were killed is unclear. Up to 300,000 people were driven from the city.

Following the RAI broadcast, the US Embassy in Rome issued a statement which denied that US troops had used WP as a weapon. It said: "To maintain that US forces have been using WP against human targets ... is simply mistaken." In a similar denial, the US Ambassador in London, Robert Tuttle, wrote to *The Independent* claiming WP was only used as an obscurant or else for marking targets. In his letter, he says: "US forces participating in Operation Iraqi Freedom continue to use appropriate, lawful and conventional weapons against legitimate targets. US forces do not use napalm or phosphorus as weapons."

However, both these two statements are undermined by first-hand evidence from troops who took part in the fighting. They are also undermined by an admission by the Pentagon that WP was used as a weapon against insurgents.

In a comprehensive written account of the military operation at Fallujah, three US soldiers who participated said WP shells were used against insurgents taking cover in trenches. Writing in the March-April edition of *Field Artillery*, the magazine of the US Field Artillery based in Fort Sill, Oklahoma, which is readily available on the internet, the three artillery men said: "WP proved to be an effective and versatile munition. We used it for screening missions ... and, later in the fight, as a potent psychological weapon against insurgents in trench lines and spider holes ... We fired 'shake and bake' missions at the insurgents using WP to flush them out and high explosive shells (HE) to take them out."

Another first-hand account from the battlefield was provided by an embedded reporter for the North County News, a San Diego newspaper. Reporter Darrin Mortenson wrote of watching Cpl Nicholas Bogert fire WP rounds into Fallujah. He wrote: "Bogert is a mortar team leader who directed his men to fire round after round of high explosives and white phosphorus charges into the city Friday and Saturday, never knowing what the targets were or what damage the resulting explosions caused."

Mr Mortenson also watched the mortar team fire into a group of buildings where insurgents were known to be hiding. In an email, he confirmed: "During the fight I was describing in my article, WP mortar rounds were used to create a fire in a palm grove and a cluster of concrete buildings that were used as cover by Iraqi snipers and teams that fired heavy machine guns at US choppers." Another report, published in the Washington Post, gave an idea of the sorts of injuries that WP causes. It said insurgents "reported being attacked with a substance that melted their skin, a reaction consistent with white phosphorous burns". A physician at a local hospital said the corpses of insurgents "were burned, and some corpses were melted".

The use of incendiary weapons such as WP and napalm against civilian targets - though not military targets - is banned by international treaty. Article two, protocol III of the 1980 UN Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons states: "It is prohibited in all circumstances to make the civilian population as such, individual civilians or civilian objects, the object of attack by incendiary weapons." Some have claimed the use of WP contravenes the 1993 Chemical Weapons Convention which bans the use of any "toxic chemical" weapons which causes "death, harm or temporary incapacitation to humans or animals through their chemical action on life processes".

However, Peter Kaiser, a spokesman for the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW), which enforces the convention, said the convention permitted the use of such weapons for "military purposes not connected with the use of chemical weapons and not dependent on the use of the toxic properties of chemicals as a method of warfare". He said the burns caused by WP were thermic rather than chemical and as such not prohibited by the treaty.

The RAI film said civilians were also victims of the use of WP and reported claims by a campaigner from Fallujah, Mohamad Tareq, that many victims had large burns. The report claimed that the clothes on some victims appeared to be intact even though their bodies were badly burned.

Critics of the RAI film - including the Pentagon - say such a claim undermines the likelihood that WP was responsible for the injuries since WP would have also burned their clothes. This opinion is supported by a leading military expert. John Pike, director of the military studies group GlobalSecurity.org, said of WP: "If it hits your clothes it will burn your clothes and if it hits your skin it will just keep on burning." Though Mr Pike had not seen the RAI film, he said the burned appearance of some bodies may have been caused by exposure to the elements.

Yet there are other, independent reports of civilians from Fallujah suffering burn injuries. For instance, Dahr Jamail, an unembedded reporter who collected the testimony of refugees from the city spoke to a doctor who had remained in the city to help people, encountered numerous reports of civilians suffering unusual burns.

One resident told him the US used "weird bombs that put up smoke like a mushroom cloud" and that he watched "pieces of these bombs explode into large fires that continued to burn on the skin even after people dumped water on the burns." The doctor said he "treated people who had their skin melted"

Remembering Fallujah

A dossier of The **BRussells** Tribunal

Jeff Englehart, a former marine who spent two days in Fallujah during the battle, said he heard the order go out over military communication that WP was to be dropped. In the RAI film, Mr Englehart, now an outspoken critic of the war, says: "I heard the order to pay attention because they were going to use white phosphorus on Fallujah. In military jargon it's known as Willy Pete ... Phosphorus burns bodies, in fact it melts the flesh all the way down to the bone ... I saw the burned bodies of women and children."

In the aftermath of the battle, the State Department's Counter Misinformation Office issued a statement saying that WP was only "used [WP shells] very sparingly in Fallujah, for illumination purposes. They were fired into the air to illuminate enemy positions at night, not at enemy fighters." When The Independent confronted the State Department with the first-hand accounts of soldiers who participated, an official accepted the mistake and undertook to correct its website. This has since been done.

Indeed, the Pentagon readily admits WP was used. Spokesman Lt Colonel Barry Venables said yesterday WP was used to obscure troop deployments and also to "fire at the enemy". He added: "It burns ... It's an incendiary weapon. That is what it does."

Why the two embassies have issued statements denying that WP was used is unclear. However, there have been previous examples of US officials issuing incorrect statements about the use of incendiary weapons. Earlier this year, British Defence Minister Adam Ingram was forced to apologise to MPs after informing them that the US had not used an updated form of napalm in Iraq. He said he had been misled by US officials.

Napalm was used in several instances during the initial invasion. Colonel Randolph Alles, commander of Marine Air Group 11, remarked during the initial invasion of Iraq in 2003: "The generals love napalm - it has a big psychological effect."

In his letter, Ambassador Tuttle claims there is a distinction between napalm and the 500lb Mk-77 firebombs he says were dropped - even though experts say they are virtually identical. The only difference is that the petrol used in traditional napalm has been replaced in the newer bombs by jet fuel.

Since the RAI broadcast, there have been calls for an inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the battle of Fallujah. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has also repeated its call to "all fighters to take every feasible precaution to spare civilians and to respect the principles of distinction and proportionality in all operations".

There have also been claims that in the minutiae of the argument about the use of WP, a broader truth is being missed. Kathy Kelly, a campaigner with the anti-war group Voices of the Wilderness, said: "If the US wants to promote security for this generation and the next, it should build relationships with these countries. If the US uses conventional or non-conventional weapons, in civilian neighbourhoods, that melt people's bodies down to the bone, it will leave these people seething. We should think on this rather than arguing about whether we can squeak such weapons past the Geneva Conventions and international accords."

<http://news.independent.co.uk/world/americas/article327094.ece>

November 28, 2005

MEDIA ALERT: THE TRAGIC BLINDNESS OF THE EMBEDDED BBC

White Phosphorus, Fallujah And Unreported Atrocities

Helen Boaden, director of BBC News, said earlier this year:

"We are committed to evidence-based journalism. We have not been able to establish that the US used banned chemical weapons and committed other atrocities against civilians in Falluja last November. Inquiries on the ground at the time and subsequently indicate that their use is unlikely to have occurred." (Email forwarded to Media Lens, July 13, 2005)

Sadly, their use has occurred, as the Pentagon has now been forced to admit.

Readers may recall from previous media alerts that we did not know then whether unusual or banned weapons – including cluster bombs, depleted uranium, napalm, white phosphorus and poisonous gas – had been used in Fallujah, or whether atrocities had been committed by 'coalition' forces against civilians. We did know, however, that the BBC had consistently overlooked credible testimony from multiple sources suggesting such weapons had been used and such acts had taken place.

Last November, Fallujah was placed under "a strict night-time shoot-to-kill curfew" with "anyone spotted in the soldiers' night vision sights... shot"; male refugees were prevented from leaving the combat zone; a health centre was bombed killing 60 patients and support staff; refugees claimed that "a large number of people, including children, were killed by American snipers" and that the US had used cluster bombs and phosphorus weapons in the offensive.

Recent US military offensives in Ramadi, Baghdadi, Hit, Haditha, Mosul, Qaim, Tal Afar and elsewhere, have likely also killed many civilians and created thousands more refugees. (For sources and further details see: www.rememberfallujah.org/why.htm)

Speaking on condition of anonymity for fear of US military reprisal, a high-ranking Red Cross official estimated that "at least 800 civilians" were killed in the first 9 days of the November 2004 assault on Fallujah. (Dahr Jamail, '800 Civilians Feared Dead in Fallujah,' Inter Press Service, November 16, 2004)

IRINnews.org, the news service of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, reported that the emergency team from Fallujah's main hospital recovered more than 700 bodies from rubble where houses and shops had stood. Dr Rafa'ah al-Iyssaue, the hospital director, said:

"It was really distressing picking up dead bodies from destroyed homes, especially children. It is the most depressing situation I have ever been in since the war started."

Dr al-Iyssaue added that more than 550 of the 700 dead were women and children. He said a very small number of men were found in these places and most were elderly. (IRINnews.org, 'Death toll in Fallujah rising, doctors

say,' January 4, 2005;

www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=44904&SelectRegion=Middle_East&SelectCountry=IRAQ

The Study Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, based in Fallujah, estimates the total number of people killed in the city during the assault at 4,000 to 6,000, most of them civilians. Mass graves were dug on the outskirts of the city for thousands of the bodies. (Dahr Jamail, 'Life Goes On in Fallujah's Rubble,' Inter Press Service, November 23, 2005)

Embedded BBC Saw Nothing, Heard Nothing, Reported Nothing

In light of the Pentagon's admission that US forces +did+ use white phosphorus (WP) as an offensive weapon, the BBC needs to explain its earlier silence. The corporation is now trying to absolve itself by claiming that not one single report until now was credible or worth reporting. It has been revealed that UK forces also have WP in their arsenal, and have been trained to use it as a weapon. (Sean Rayment, 'Tim Collins trained troops to fight with white phosphorus,' Sunday Telegraph, November 20, 2005)

Unprompted by Media Lens but disturbed by the BBC's bias in covering the invasion and occupation, members of the public have been contacting the corporation. Several complainants cited our earlier media alerts (e.g. [BBC Still Ignoring Evidence of War Crimes](#))

Many independent researchers, including the London-based filmmaker and author Gabriele Zamparini (www.thecatdream.com/blog), have also been pursuing developments. As a result, the pressure on mainstream media to report and analyse what is now in the public domain has intensified.

No doubt mindful of this pressure, BBC News led with the WP revelations on its flagship 10 O'Clock News bulletin on November 15, 2005. BBC correspondent Paul Wood, who had been embedded with US forces in Fallujah, asserted that: "this deadly substance [WP] was fired directly at trenches full of insurgents". This may be correct, but it is also incomplete. As we reported in previous media alerts, there is ample evidence of devastating weaponry, including WP, being deployed in built-up areas (not just "trenches") where civilians (not just "insurgents") were sheltering.

Wood told anchor Jeremy Paxman on the BBC's Newsnight programme that same evening:

"Many in the Arab world, some here [in the UK] who campaigned against the war on Iraq, believe that a massacre of civilians took place inside Fallujah. I didn't see evidence of that myself. In Fallujah over the summer, I spoke to doctors at the hospital there who discounted these allegations." (Newsnight, November 15, 2005)

We asked Wood for details of his research in Fallujah. He told us that he "had long conversations" with hospital doctors. By Wood's own admission only one of these "had been in Falluja right throughout the November campaign". He added: "Others had arrived later, but I thought it would be good to ask them about the various atrocity allegations anyway, to see how widely they were believed in the town, even if they had no proof."

According to Wood: "All of them dismissed allegations of chemical weapons use, or of the use of dispersal weapons in general." (Email forwarded to David Cromwell via Newsnight editor Peter Barron, November 17, 2005)

However, the US has now been forced to admit that it did use white phosphorus as an offensive weapon in Fallujah. We also now know, thanks to the unearthing of a US intelligence document by researchers using the internet, that the US recognises that white phosphorus +is+ a chemical weapon (Peter Popham and Anne Penketh, 'US intelligence classified white phosphorus as "chemical weapon" ', The Independent, November 23, 2005). And, as Dahr Jamail has reported over many months, cluster bombs and depleted uranium were also used in the assault on Fallujah. (<http://dahrjamailiraq.com>)

We asked Wood why he had reported not one of the many credible accounts of atrocities in Fallujah, and elsewhere in Iraq – many of which had been presented to the World Tribunal on Iraq held in Istanbul. (See '[The Mysterious Case of the Disappearing World Tribunal on Iraq](#)')

Wood told us that he had spoken to independent reporter Dahr Jamail "to try to chase down his leads." He added: "Dahr told me they were all too scared to talk (even though they are now in Jordan) or that he otherwise couldn't track them down. Fair enough -- they are his contacts and he might have a number of valid reasons for not handing them on." (Email forwarded to David Cromwell via Newsnight editor Peter Barron, November 17, 2005)

Dahr Jamail disputes this:

"I am rather surprised that Mr. Wood would allege here that I've not provided him contacts he requested. As I told him on the phone when we spoke of this, I gave him all the contacts I had emails/phones for." Jamail added: "Why does Mr. Wood think I have withheld contact details?" (Email to David Cromwell, November 19, 2005)

Jamail again:

"Perhaps Mr. Wood wouldn't find it necessary to question another journalist's sources (mine were first-hand interviews), and would be able to obtain some of these reports himself, if he were not embedded with the military forces which destroyed the city of Fallujah." (Email to David Cromwell, November 20, 2005)

Wood stated on Newsnight that he had only seen WP used for illumination purposes. He did note, however, that the US admission of WP use "does to some appear to be confirmation of the much wider allegations that civilians were killed in large numbers inside Fallujah."

And so, once again, the BBC dismisses as mere "allegations" the copious evidence of atrocities provided by humanitarian workers, doctors, refugees and other credible sources.

A new BBC online piece written by Wood excuses himself and the BBC with a few carefully chosen words:

"We didn't at the time, last November, report the use of banned weapons or a massacre because we didn't see this taking place – and since then, we haven't seen credible evidence that this is was [sic] what happened." (Wood, 'Heated debate over white phosphorus,' November 17, 2005; http://news.bbc.co.uk/newswatch/ukfs/hi/newsid_4440000/newsid_4441700/4441798.stm)

As we have noted in previous alerts, 'credible evidence' comes from 'credible sources.' For mainstream media, this generally means officialdom - including political and military leaders responsible for the use and abuse of chemical weapons, cluster bombs and napalm.

Wood had earlier dismissed reports of such usage because no “reference [was] made to them at the confidential pre-assault military briefings he attended” and because he had not himself witnessed their use. (‘Did BBC ignore weapons claim?’, April 14, 2005;

http://news.bbc.co.uk/newswatch/ukfs/hi/newsid_4390000/newsid_4396600/4396641.stm)

This was a remarkable judgement by the BBC and an indictment of the ‘embed’ system of reporting. When we pressed Helen Boaden further, citing more reports of atrocities committed against civilians, she abruptly ended the correspondence:

“I do not believe that further dialogue on this matter will serve a useful purpose.” (Email to David Cromwell, March 21, 2005)

Propagandists For Killing Power

Dirk Adriaensens, executive committee member of the *BRussells* Tribunal, told us:

“It is not that difficult to find witnesses for what happened to Fallujah. There is ample evidence of the atrocities that took place there. Moreover, it is notable that no embedded ‘journalist’ reported atrocities committed in hospitals in recent attacks on Haditha, Al Qaim, Tal Afar, etc.” (Email to David Cromwell, November 21, 2005)

One UN report cited by Adriaensens observes that:

“Ongoing military operations, especially in western and northern parts of the country, continue to generate displacement and hardship for thousands of families and to have a devastating effect on the civilian population... The United Nations has been unable to obtain accurate figures concerning civilian losses following such operations but reports received from civil society organizations, medical sources and other monitors indicate that they are significant and include women and children.” (UN Assistance Mission for Iraq, Human Rights Report, 1 August – 31 October, 2005; www422.sslldomain.com/uniraq/documents/HR_Report.Oct.Eng_final.doc)

As Adriaensens notes, “the UN report is consistent with eyewitness accounts received from sources inside Iraq.” (www.brusselstribunal.org/ArticlesIraq.htm, www.brusselstribunal.org/ArticlesIraq2.htm. Warning: disturbing images)

Other evidence ignored by the BBC includes the work of Mark Manning, an American documentary filmmaker. Manning recorded 25 hours of videotaped interviews with dozens of Iraqi eyewitnesses - men, women and children who had experienced the assault on Fallujah first-hand.

Manning “was told grisly accounts of Iraqi mothers killed in front of their sons, brothers in front of sisters, all at the hands of American soldiers. He also heard allegations of wholesale rape of civilians, by both American and Iraqi troops”. Moreover: “he heard numerous reports of the second siege of Falluja [November 2004] that described American forces deploying - in violation of international treaties - napalm, chemical weapons, phosphorous bombs, and ‘bunker-busting’ shells laced with depleted uranium”. (Nick Welsh, ‘Diving into Fallujah,’ Santa Barbara Independent, March 17, 2005; www.independent.com/cover/Cover956.htm)



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How much effort have Paul Wood and the BBC made to obtain such evidence? Why have they ignored the work of the World Tribunal on Iraq, the *BRussells* Tribunal, Iraqi human rights groups and the suffering reported by local doctors, health workers and refugees?

The BBC has relied heavily on embedded reporters, and has broadcast relentless propaganda from those wielding devastating firepower in the assault on Iraq. But precious little has been heard from the 'unpeople' - including women, children and the elderly - who have been on the receiving end of such killing power.

SUGGESTED ACTION

The goal of Media Lens is to promote rationality, compassion and respect for others. We strongly urge readers to maintain a polite, non-aggressive and non-abusive tone when writing emails to journalists.

Please write to:

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[The Legacy of Fallujah \(April 4, 2007\)](#)

During the sieges of Fallujah in 2004, the US used chemical weapons such as white phosphorus and a napalm derivative, causing indiscriminate harm and unnecessary suffering in the civilian population. Although the use of those weapons is banned under several international treaties and the Geneva Conventions, no government or the United Nations has condemned such acts and these crimes remain unpunished. Three years after the sieges, the



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population of Fallujah continues to face innumerable hazards, living with daily attacks and factional violence and having no access to clean water or health care. (*Guardian*)

[Fallujah Fears a "Genocidal Strategy" \(March 30, 2007\)](#)

This *Inter Press Service* article points out that the US and Iraqi forces are carrying out a "genocidal strategy" in Fallujah, killing people seized during house-searches and patrols. According to Yasse, a resident of Fallujah, "seventeen young men were found executed after they were arrested by US troops and Fallujah police." Further, other residents reported that US forces allow Shia militias to raid Sunni neighborhoods, fueling the sectarian violence. With the deterioration of the security situation and the increase of the US backed-violence, most Iraqis now support attacks against the occupation forces.

[Fallujah Once Again Beset by Violence \(November 6, 2006\)](#)

Despite security controls that limit access to the city to only six checkpoints, Fallujah remains a breeding ground for violence in Iraq. This *McClatchy Washington Bureau* piece details the effects of rigid security on the residents of Fallujah, who must subject themselves to regular fingerprinting and retina scans, and carry bar-coded identification cards whilst moving about the city. Although the US and Iraqi forces maintain a strong presence in Fallujah, Lieutenant Colonel James Teeple, the senior US adviser to the Iraqi army, says that the Iraqi security forces "don't have the manpower to maintain surveillance on the entire city."

[US Resorting to 'Collective Punishment' in Iraq \(September 18, 2006\)](#)

In the al-Anbar province of western Iraq residents claim that US military forces regularly cut their water and electricity supplies in an attempt to stem violent resistance to the occupation. Yet civilians suffer the greatest consequences from these acts of "collective punishment." Tactics such as routine vehicle checks, house raids and threats of violence by US armed forces further alienate civilians and only strengthen the cause of the resistance fighters. (*Inter Press Service*)

[Voices: Life in Samarra and Falluja \(August 22, 2006\)](#)

US military assaults on Samarra and Fallujah may have ceased but their humanitarian consequences continue to disrupt daily life in Iraq. Residents must endure constant blackouts, poor quality drinking water, rising gas prices and a failing healthcare system. As this *BBC* interview with four Iraqis living under the US occupation reveals, many citizens believe the sustained presence of Multinational Forces causes this disruption and places their lives in jeopardy.



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[‘It Looked Weird and Felt Wrong’ \(July 24, 2006\)](#)

This *Washington Post* article highlights the often aggressive, indiscriminate and misguided tactics of US army units in Iraq. Heavy armored divisions frequently round up all “military-age males,” “grabbing whole villages” and taking hostages in cordon-and-sweep operations. Such tactics may pacify areas of the country in the short term, but serve to further alienate large parts of the population.

[Rebuilding? Not for Fallujah \(June 25, 2006\)](#)

One and a half years after the US military launched Operation Phantom Fury against the city of Fallujah, residents tell *Inter Press Service* of ongoing suffering, lack of jobs, little reconstruction and continuing violence. Iraqis lack medical supplies and equipment and have poor access to water, electricity, fuel, and telephone services. One third of the city’s residents remain displaced in the outskirts of Fallujah, “living in abandoned schools and government buildings.” In addition, security has “eaten up as much as 25 percent of reconstruction funding,” and corruption and overcharging by US contractors has reportedly siphoned off even more.

[Willy Peter \(January 2006\)](#)

This article examines the US military’s use of white phosphorus, an incendiary weapon commonly known as “Willy Peter,” in the November 2004 attacks on Fallujah. Though white phosphorous munitions are banned under the 1980 Geneva Convention on Biological and Chemical Weapons, the US has not signed the agreement and instead classifies white phosphorous as a “psychological” weapon. As *ZMag* points out, there is nothing psychological about a weapon that melts skin to the bone while damaging the nervous system and blocking the circulation of blood.

2005

[US Admits Using White Phosphorous in Fallujah \(November 16, 2005\)](#)

Despite initial denials, the US has admitted to using white phosphorus, a powerful burn-inducing chemical, as a weapon during the November 2004 assault on Fallujah. US officials had previously claimed that white phosphorus was only used to provide smokescreens and illumination. Though not directly listed as a chemical weapon, some experts say the explicit use of white phosphorus against people would classify it as a chemical weapon. The US-led invasion of Iraq was largely justified on the grounds that former Iraqi President Saddam Hussein possessed and used chemical weapons. (*Guardian*)

[A Name that Lives in Infamy \(November 10, 2005\)](#)

In November 2004, US forces led a massive assault on the Iraqi city of Fallujah. While the US claims that the majority of the estimated 2,000 casualties were insurgents, Iraqi NGOs and medical workers say that the offensive



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killed as many as 6,000 civilians. In addition, US-led forces cut off water, food, and power supplies to the city, bombed the main hospital, and used incendiary weapons such as white phosphorous. As the *Guardian* points out, the atrocities committed in Fallujah are “a symbol of unconscionable brutality.”

[US 'Uses Incendiary Arms' in Iraq \(November 8, 2005\)](#)

An Italian news report provides evidence that US forces dropped massive quantities of white phosphorous on the city of Fallujah during the November 2004 assault. The chemical, which US officials claim was used to illuminate the night sky, produces serious burns capable of dissolving flesh. As a US soldier stationed in Fallujah at the time noted, “anyone within a radius of 150 meters is done for.” Though Protocol III of the 1980 Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons prohibits the use of white phosphorous as a weapon, the US is not a signatory. (*BBC*)

[Fallujah Recovers Its Sense of Everyday Life \(October 17, 2005\)](#)

Fallujah is gradually returning to normality. The city was largely destroyed during a concentrated US assault in which most residents fled. Sixty percent of the city’s residents have now returned, as have schools, mosques and a modest police force. Nonetheless, much of the city remains in ruins and reconstruction has been stifled by a lack of funds. (*Los Angeles Times*)

[“We Regard Falluja as a Large Prison” \(July 27, 2005\)](#)

This article describes what daily life is like for Fallujans, eight months after the US laid siege to the city in November 2004. US military and the Iraqi national guard have imposed a nightly curfew and have set up checkpoints that severely curtail movement around the city. Skirmishes between US troops and insurgents occur daily, and Fallujans say that coalition forces have killed hundreds of civilians since they took over the city. (*Mother Jones*)

[Eight Months after US-Led Siege, Insurgents Rise Again in Fallujah \(July 15, 2005\)](#)

Harsh conditions in Fallujah have led to a resurgence of guerilla attacks. The US siege of the town in November 2004 has evidently not put an end to popular support for the insurgency, and even residents who were previously unsympathetic to local fighters are now “beginning to chafe under the occupation.” Fallujans are impatient with the slow pace of reconstruction in the town. Many buildings need repairs and blackouts occur regularly, but Prime Minister Jaafari has not disbursed any of the money earmarked for reconstruction since he took office in April. (*New York Times*)

[US Strategy in Iraq: Is It Working? \(June 21, 2005\)](#)

Analysts say that “by any metric of tactical military success,” US military operations against insurgents in Iraq are working. However, using another measure of success--the reduction of attacks--US and Iraqi operations have



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failed. Though US forces have killed and captured thousands of insurgents and reduced such "insurgent strongholds" as Fallujah to rubble, attacks and US and Iraqi forces continue unabated. In Fallujah, "once thought to be decisively won by the US," three firefights broke out on one Sunday resulting in 15 insurgents killed.

(Christian Science Monitor)

[The Failed Siege of Fallujah \(June 3, 2005\)](#)

Promises by the US and Iraqi governments to rebuild Fallujah remain unfulfilled. Though an estimated 80% of the city's residents have returned, "most people continue to live in tents, or amid the rubble of their homes." The situation is exacerbated by stoppages in the delivery of aid to the city, creating shortages of medical supplies and water. According to one doctor, "people are living as refugees inside their city - so we have lack of clean water and hygiene, so there is rampant spreading of typhoid." He added that things will only get worse during the summer heat. *(Asia Times)*

[Slow Progress in Battered Falluja \(April 19, 2005\)](#)

Five months after the second US attack on Falluja, students attend classes in tents, more than 100,000 residents still live in refugee camps, and a curfew lasting nearly half the day remains in place. US and Iraqi forces use undamaged schools as bases. Meanwhile, NGOs "are finding it difficult to help Falluja residents because of restrictions on entering the city." *(Institute for War & Peace Reporting)*

[Focus on Situation in Fallujah \(February 17, 2005\)](#)

Fallujah suffers from poor sanitation and a lack of electricity, water, and adequate housing for the thousands of returning residents who fled the city during intense fighting at the end of 2004. Those who have returned rely heavily on NGO aid, particularly for drinking water. Furthermore, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) reports that an estimated 100,000 local children risk losing an entire academic school year due to the fact that none of the 95 schools inside Fallujah are open. *(Integrated Regional Information Networks)*

[City of Ghosts \(January 11, 2005\)](#)

This *Guardian* and *Channel 4 News* investigation of what really happened in Fallujah details the enormous destruction in a city rendered uninhabitable following the US assault. Iraqi doctor Ali Fadhil tries to find an answer to the key question surrounding the Fallujah siege: where did all the insurgents go? The investigation debunks a popular US myth that the attack was "a huge success, killing 1200 insurgents."

2004

[Denial of Water to Iraqi Cities \(November 2004\)](#)

The US has violated the Geneva Convention by cutting off water supplies to Tall Afar, Samarra and Fallujah for several days in September and October 2004, denying up to 750,000 civilians access to water. The US further breached international law when forces refused to let the Red Cross deliver water to Fallujah the in hopes that dwindling supplies of food and water would eventually cause the insurgents to surrender. (*Cambridge Solidarity with Iraq*)

[New York Times Rewrites Fallujah History \(November 16, 2004\)](#)

Fairness & Accuracy In Reporting (FAIR) charges the New York Times with maintaining a double standard in its accounts of civilian deaths in the US attack on Fallujah. The paper repeatedly dismissed reports of "large civilian casualties" as "unconfirmed," but in the run-up to the offensive the Times informed its readers that "70 percent to 90 percent of civilians had fled." In its estimates of civilian deaths, FAIR says, "the Times has signed up on the side of the Pentagon."

[Fallujah Battle Deepens Divide in Iraq \(November 15, 2004\)](#)

The US attack on Fallujah will likely widen the gap between Iraqi Sunnis and Shiites. The Head of a conservative Sunni organization charged that Iraqi interim Prime Minister Ayad Allawi had launched "a war on Sunnis" in Fallujah. Allawi brushed aside suggestions of a divided Iraqi people, claiming that "there is no problem of Sunnis or Shiites, this is all Iraqis against the terrorists." (*Associated Press*)

[Fallujah 101 \(November 12, 2004\)](#)

After years of British domination, the US has taken over as the colonial power in Iraq. The bombing of Fallujah resembles the British bombing of the country in 1920 to regain control of the region, and foreign ownership of valuable resources dates back to the early 20th century when large Western oil companies controlled Iraqi oil. This article ties the resistance in Fallujah to the long struggle against foreign troops on Iraqi soil. (*In These Times*)

[Falluja Facing Humanitarian Crisis \(November 11, 2004\)](#)

The attack on Fallujah has created a humanitarian disaster because medical help cannot reach wounded civilians. At least 2,200 families have already fled the city and others are trapped with no water, food or medicine. (*Aljazeera*)



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[After the Fallujah Fight, Then What? \(November 10, 2004\)](#)

Although Pentagon officials see the assault on Fallujah as an essential stage in the run-up to elections in January 2005, observers doubt whether the attack will bring the insurgency to an end. A former CIA official argues that “stomping on Fallujah is, in fact, exactly the opposite of what the US should do if it wants to lure Sunnis into the Iraqi political process.” If Washington really wants to deal with the resistance, it should send a clear signal to Sunnis, guaranteeing them a significant role in a new Iraq. (*Christian Science Monitor*)

[America Failing Test of History as Offensive Compared to Terror Tactics of Pariah States \(November 9, 2004\)](#)

The *Independent* draws a parallel between the insurgency in Fallujah and the insurgency in the Syrian city of Hama in 1982. The fundamentalist Muslim Brotherhood seized Hama in its struggle against the Baathist regime and the Syrian government responded with tactics very similar to those used by the US in its effort to rid Fallujah of terrorists. In 1982 the US condemned Syria for the assault on Hama. Today it employs the same strategy for Fallujah.

[Sunni Party Leaves Iraqi Government Over Falluja Attack \(November 9, 2004\)](#)

The Iraqi Islamic Party, which the US held up as a model for Sunni participation in a future Iraqi government, has withdrawn from the interim government in protest against the attacks on Fallujah. The move represents a first step towards a major Sunni boycott of elections scheduled for January 2005 and could undermine the legitimacy of a newly elected government. (*New York Times*)

[Allawi Declares State of Emergency Ahead of Fallujah Offensive \(November 8, 2004\)](#)

Iraqi Prime Minister Ayad Allawi has declared a state of emergency for 60 days in the country. The interim government hopes repressive measures such as curfews, bans on meetings and tapping communications will root out insurgents. But the measures ominously recall the Saddam era. (*Daily Star*)

[Fallujah and the Reality of War \(November 8, 2004\)](#)

As the assault on Fallujah begins, the US faces a “stronger, better-armed, and better-organized” resistance than it did in April. Rahul Mahajan, who experienced the April siege, describes how US forces violated the laws of war and calls on the antiwar movement to assume its responsibility now that Fallujah is under attack again. (*ZNet*)

[We Had To Destroy Fallujah in Order to Save It \(November 8, 2004\)](#)

As the attacks against insurgents rage on, the Iraq War bears more and more of a resemblance to the Vietnam War. Both wars involved heavy civilian casualties, abuse of prisoners, and the installation of a puppet government by the occupying power. Washington’s fierce commitment to its occupation in Vietnam long delayed a withdrawal of US forces. (*ZNet*)



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[Annan Warns Against Fallujah Offensive \(November 6, 2004\)](#)

In a letter to the US, British and Iraqi governments, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan warned that an attack on Fallujah would likely create even greater chaos in the country and damage the road to elections in January 2005. British Home Secretary David Blunkett contested the statement and said Annan was “entirely wrong.” He stressed that “terrorists need to be rooted out” before Iraq can organize elections. (*CBC*)

[Military Assault in Falluja Is Likely, US Officers Say \(October 27, 2004\)](#)

Senior officers have confirmed that they could launch a large military offensive to crush the insurgency in Falluja and Ramadi within just weeks. With US President George Bush close to possible reelection, the decision blurs the line between Bush’s electoral and military campaign. Commanders insist that the US elections have not influenced planning for the offensive. (*New York Times*)

[Falluja's Fighters Dig in for the Final Onslaught \(October 24, 2004\)](#)

As US forces prepare themselves for what they hope will be a final attack on the insurgency stronghold of Falluja, the *Observer* notes that fighting may cause huge civilian loss without impacting the insurgency. The battle in the deeply religious and conservative city could represent a turning point for Iraqis who are sick of US occupation, and also possibly determine how the elections unfold.

[Inside the Iraqi Resistance \(July 15 – 24, 2004\)](#)

In this seven-part series, Nir Rosen examines the resistance against US forces in Fallujah from the outset of war to the withdrawal of US forces from the city in May 2004. Rosen argues that the city stands out from the rest of Iraq because of its rigid religious conservatism, strong tribal traditions, and a fierce loyalty to Saddam Hussein. (*Asia Times*)

[New Face for Security in Fallujah \(May 5, 2004\)](#)

A deal to end the fighting between the US military and resistance fighters sees Iraqi forces, headed by a Saddam Hussein-era General, assume control of Fallujah. Clashes between the two sides in April 2004 has yielded over 100 US military and over 600 reported Iraqi fatalities, with hundreds more wounded. (*Christian Science Monitor*)

[Americans Around Falluja are Deaf to Humanitarian Emergency \(April 19, 2004\)](#)

Assistant Secretary General of the Iraqi Red Crescent, Mohamed Ibrahim Abbas, highlights the severity of the restrictions humanitarian organizations encounter while trying to deliver aid goods in Iraq. Abbas reports that the US Marines banned most NGOs from accessing Falluja, accusing them of transporting hidden weapons in their aid cargoes. (*Liberation*)



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[Inside the Fire \(April 13, 2004\)](#)

US military commanders in Iraq claim that marines are only engaging rebel insurgents operating in Fallujah. This eyewitness report from inside the besieged city paints a different picture of events contending that civilians, including women and children, are the targets of US snipers stationed inside Fallujah. (*OpenDemocracy*)

[Fallujah Horror Points to Iraq's Deteriorating Security Situation \(April 1, 2004\)](#)

Robert Fisk examines the deteriorating security situation in Iraq and assesses the possible fallout from the March 31, 2004 attacks on four US contractors in Fallujah. Fisk weighs the Coalition's Provisional Authority's assessment of violence in the country and how the CPA distinguishes between attacks by insurgents and attacks by terrorists on coalition forces and Iraqi civilians. (*Independent*)

2003

[US Account of Fallujah Killings Contradicted by Rights Group \(June 17, 2003\)](#)

Human Rights Watch challenges the military's contention that its troops came under direct fire in protests that resulted in civilian casualties. It calls for an independent and impartial investigation by US authorities into the two incidents in al-Fallujah in central Iraq. (*OneWorld*)

Timeline

Fallujah was one of the most peaceful areas of the country just after the fall of Saddam. There was very little looting and the new mayor of the city — [Taha Bidaywi Hamed](#), selected by local tribal leaders — was staunchly pro-[American](#).

- [28 April 2003](#): A crowd of 200 people defied the curfew and gathered outside a local school to protest the presence of foreign forces in the city. This developed into an altercation with [U.S. Army](#) Soldiers in the city in which fifteen Iraqi civilians were killed by [U.S. Army](#) gunfire. There were no Coalition casualties in the incident.
- [1 May 2003](#): President Bush proclaims the end of "major combat operations in Iraq."
- [13 December 2003](#): Saddam Hussein is captured.
- [February, 2004](#): Control of Fallujah, and the surrounding area in the Al-Anbar province, is turned over to the [1st Marine Division](#), and the [Army's 82nd Airborne Division](#), is relieved of their command.
- [31 March 2004](#): Four American [private military contractors](#) are killed in the city, and images of their mutilated bodies are broadcast around the world.

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- [4 April 2004](#): American troops launch [Operation Vigilant Resolve](#).
- [28 April 2004](#): Operation Vigilant Resolve ends with an agreement that the local population would keep resistance fighters out of the city. A Fallujah Protection Force composed of local Iraqis was set up by the US led occupants to help fight the rising resistance.
- [7 November 2004](#): Operation Phantom Fury begins.
- [16 November 2004](#): American spokesmen describe fighting in the city as mopping up isolated pockets of resistance.
- [16 November 2004](#): News footage shows a U.S. Marine, with the [3rd Battalion, 1st Marine Regiment](#), shooting a wounded Iraqi insurgent.
- [23 December 2004](#): Last pockets of resistance are neutralized, three Marines are killed in the last skirmish, along with 24 insurgents.
- [January, 2005](#): Operation Phantom Fury ends. American troops begin withdrawing.

Preparation for the battle

Before beginning their attack, American and Iraqi forces established checkpoints around the city to prevent anyone from entering the city and intercept insurgents attempting to flee. In addition overhead imagery was used to prepare maps of the city for use by the attackers. American units were augmented with Iraqi translators to assist them in the planned fight. After weeks of withstanding scarce [air strikes](#) and [artillery](#) bombardment, the militants holed up in the city appeared somewhat vulnerable to a direct attack, and the U.S. [Marines](#) were ready to finish the job they had been forced to abort the prior spring.

Conduct of the battle

DIVERSION: Ground operations began on the night of [November 7, 2004](#) with the [Iraqi 36th Commando Battalion](#), [3rd Light Armored Reconnaissance Battalion](#), and Company B, [1st Battalion, 23rd Marines](#) attacking from the west and south, capturing Fallujah General Hospital and villages opposite the Euphrates River along Fallujah's Western edge. The capture and closure of the hospital caused much controversy, concerning whether or not it was a contravention of the [Fourth Geneva Convention](#).

The same unit, operating under the command of the [U.S. III Corps](#) then moved on the western approaches to the city securing the [Jurf Kas Sukr Bridge](#). These initial attacks, however, were little more than a [diversion](#), intended to distract and confuse the rebels defending the city.

ATTACK: American units consisting of four [Marine Light Infantry](#) battalions, with two [Army Mechanized Cavalry](#) battalions in support (while a large number of Non-Fighting American units remained just outside of the city to the north), launched their attack along a broad front, jumping off from behind the [railroad](#) line that runs along the northern edge of the city. By daylight on November 8, the main train station had fallen to American Marines. By

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the afternoon, under the protection of intense air cover, Marines had entered the [Hay Naib al-Dubat](#) and [al-Naziza districts](#). Shortly after nightfall on [November 9](#), Marines were reportedly along [Highway 10](#) in the center of the city. By dawn on the 13th, most of the city was in American hands, and any formal defense organized by the militants had been destroyed.

By [November 16](#), after nine days of fighting, the Americans described the action as mopping up pockets of resistance, but sporadic fighting continued until [December 23](#).

The [AP](#) reported that military-age males attempting to flee the city were turned back by the U.S. Military. [\[1\]](#)

Despite its success, the battle was not without its controversy. On [November 16](#), [NBC News](#) aired footage that showed an American Marine (with [3rd Battalion 1st Marines](#)) shooting dead a wounded Iraqi fighter. The Marine was heard exclaiming that the Iraqi was "[playing possum](#)". U. S. Navy investigators [NCIS](#) later determined that the Marine was acting in self-defense. [\[2\]](#).

By late January 2005, news reports indicated American combat units were leaving the area, and were assisting the local population in returning to their city.



U.S. soldiers from the [1st Cavalry Division](#) prepare to enter and clear a building during fighting in Fallujah.

Aftermath of the battle

The city suffered extensive damage. [Fallujah](#) was referred to as the "City of Mosques". Before the war, it was estimated that the city had 200+ mosques. Some claim 60 of these had been destroyed in the fighting. Perhaps half the homes suffered at least some damage. About 7,000 to 10,000 of the roughly 50,000 buildings in the town are estimated to have been destroyed in the offensive ([\[3\]](#), [\[4\]](#)), and half to two-thirds of the buildings have suffered notable damage. It is also reported that 66 out of the city's 133 mosques were discovered holding significant amounts of insurgent weapons [\[5\]](#), a violation of Article 16 of the Geneva Convention. [\[6\]](#)

[News reports](#) indicate 95 Americans were killed in the fighting. Iraqi casualty figures are unreliable as an unknown number of residents fled before the fighting. A [Department of Defence news report](#) claims that some 1,500 insurgents were killed and another 1,000 were captured. Also the Iraqi military suffered eight soldiers killed and 43 wounded.

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Pre-offensive inhabitant figures are unreliable; the nominal population was assumed to have been 200,000-350,000. Thus, over 150,000 individuals are still living as [internally displaced persons](#) elsewhere in Iraq.

Residents were allowed to return in mid-December after undergoing [biometric](#) identification, provided they wear their ID cards all the time. Reconstruction is progressing slowly and mainly consists of clearing rubble from heavily-damaged areas and reestablishing basic utilities. Only 10% of the pre-offensive inhabitants had returned as of mid-January, and only 30% as of the end of March 2005 [\[7\]](#).

The re-capture of the city itself proved to be largely a success, with a large number of local insurgent fighters being killed, and the momentum the Sunni rebellion had gained from controlling the city being dashed in the face of overwhelming U.S. firepower. Furthermore, Al-Qaeda's foothold in Iraq had been seriously degraded, even though its leader [Abu Musab Al-Zarqawi](#) managed to escape. Insurgent elements almost immediately began to attempt to re-group their power base in the city, with limited results. Nevertheless the battle proved to be less than the decisive engagement that the U.S. military had hoped for. The majority of nonlocal insurgents were believed to have fled before the military assault along with Zarqawi, leaving only local militants behind. Subsequent U.S. military operations against insurgent positions were ineffective at drawing out insurgents into another open battle, and by September 2006 the situation had deteriorated to the point that the [Anbar](#) province was reported to have a pacified Fallujah and a insurgent plagued [Ramadi](#). [\[8\]](#) [\[9\]](#)

Since the US military operation of November 2004, the number of insurgent attacks has gradually increased in and around the city, and although news reports are often few and far between, several reports of IED attacks on Iraqi troops have been reported in the press. Most notable of these attacks was a suicide car bomb attack on 23 June 2005 on a convoy that killed 6 Marines. Thirteen other Marines were injured in the attack. However, insurgents are no longer able to operate in the city in any significant numbers.

White phosphorus controversy



A US [M-109A6](#) self-propelled [howitzer](#) fires at insurgent positions in Fallujah

On 9 November, 2005 the Italian state-run broadcaster [RAI](#) ran a documentary titled "[Fallujah. The Hidden Massacre](#)" depicting what it alleges was the United States' use of [white phosphorus](#) (WP) in the attack causing [insurgents](#) and civilians to be killed or injured by chemical burns . The effects of WP are very characteristic. The resulting bodies were partially turned into what appears to be ash, but sometimes the hands of the bodies had skin or skin layers peeled off and hanging like gloves instead. The documentary further claims that the United States used incendiary [MK-77 bombs](#) (similar to [napalm](#)). The use of incendiary weapons against civilians is illegal by

Protocol III of the [Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons](#) (1980), however the US is not a signatory. Moreover, the 1983 [Chemical Weapons Convention](#) (signed by the US) prohibit the use of the chemical properties of white phosphorus against personnel. The documentary stated:

"WP proved to be an effective and versatile [munition](#). We used it for screening missions at two breeches and, later in the fight, as a potent psychological [weapon](#) against the insurgents in trench lines and spider holes when we could not get effects on them with HE. We fired 'shake and bake' missions at the insurgents, using WP to flush them out and HE to take them out... We used improved WP for screening missions when HC smoke would have been more effective and saved our WP for lethal missions."

The US State Department initially denied using white phosphorus as a munition, a claim later contradicted by the Department of Defense when [bloggers](#) discovered a US Army magazine had run a story detailing its use in Fallujah. The US government maintains its denial of use against civilians, while trying to justify the offensive use of WP against [enemy combatants](#). However, according to the [Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons](#), quoted by the RAI documentary, WP is allowed as an illumination device, not as an offensive weapon, for which its chemical properties are put to use. An article in [Washington Post](#) exactly [a year before](#) also pointed out the use of White Phosphorus in the battle, but attracted little attention.

Participating units

Regimental Combat Team 1 (RCT-1) built around the [1st Marine Regiment](#):

- [3rd Battalion 1st Marines](#) (Infantry) (***Main Effort***)
- [3rd Battalion 5th Marines](#) (Infantry)
- [3rd Light Armored Reconnaissance Battalion](#) (Mechanized)(Armored)
- [3rd Battalion 14th Marines](#)— Battery "M" (Artillery)
- [1st Battalion 5th Cavalry](#) (US Army)(Armored)
- [2nd Battalion 7th Cavalry](#) (US Army)(Armored)
- Company C, 3rd Battalion, [8th Cavalry Regiment](#), (Armored)
- [2nd Tank Battalion](#) — Co C
- TOW Platoon (-), [23rd Marines](#)
- Scout Platoon, Headquarters & Service Company, [4th Tank Battalion](#)
- Company A, MP Battalion, [4th Marine Logistics Group](#), [4th Marine Division](#)
- Company B, (reinforced), [2nd Combat Engineer Battalion](#), [2nd Marine Division](#)
- 4th Civil Affairs Team, [4th Civil Affairs Group](#)
- Shock Trauma Platoon, [1st Marine Logistics Group](#)
- Company B, [1st Battalion, 4th Marines](#)
- Company B, [1st Battalion, 23rd Marines](#)

Regimental Combat Team 7 (RCT-7) built around the [7th Marine Regiment](#):

- [1st Battalion 3rd Marines](#) (Infantry)

- [1st Battalion 8th Marines](#) (Infantry)
- [2nd Battalion 2nd Infantry](#) (US Army) (in Reserve)
- [1st Battalion 12th Marines](#) — Battery "C" (Artillery)
- [2nd Tank Battalion](#) — Co A (Armored)
- Company C, [2nd Combat Engineer Battalion](#)
- 44th Engineer Battalion, 2nd Brigade, [2nd Infantry Division](#)
- Company C, [2nd Assault Amphibian Battalion](#) (Armored)
- Company B, MP Battalion, [4th Marine Logistics Group](#)
- Combat Engineer Company, [Combat Assault Battalion](#), [3rd Marine Division](#)
- 2nd [Force Recon](#) Company
- 2nd Platoon, Company C, [3rd Assault Amphibian Battalion](#)

2nd Brigade, [1st Cavalry Division](#)

- 3rd Battalion, 82nd Field Artillery Regiment
- 759th Composite MP Battalion
- [2nd Reconnaissance Battalion](#)

3rd Brigade, [1st Infantry Division](#)

- [2nd Battalion, 2nd Infantry Regiment](#)
- F Troop, [4th Cavalry] (Brigade Reconnaissance Troop)

Iraqi Forces

- 1st Specialized Special Forces Battalion (Iraqi National Guard), Companies D and B
- [Iraqi 36th Commando Battalion](#)
- Iraqi Counterterrorism Force
- Emergency Response Unit (Iraqi-Ministry of Interior)
- 1st Battalion, 1st Brigade, Iraqi Intervention Force (ICDC)
- 2nd Battalion, 1st Brigade, Iraqi Intervention Force (ICDC)
- 4th Battalion, 1st Brigade, Iraqi Intervention Force (ICDC)
- 5th Battalion, 3rd Brigade, Iraqi Intervention Force (ICDC)