



The Assassination of Iraqi academics

A campaign of The BRussells Tribunal and

Campaña Estatal contra la Ocupación y por la Soberanía de Iraq



Campaña Estatal contra la Ocupación y por la Soberanía de Iraq

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22-23 April 2006: Madrid International Seminar on the Assassination of Iraqi Academics

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FULL DOSSIER:

<http://www.brusselstribunal.org/pdf/AcademicsDossier.pdf>



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Context

The international community has completely failed the people of Iraq. Compounding 13 years of devastating sanctions — administered by the United Nations — power inequalities in the states system allowed the United States to lead an illegal war of aggression in 2003. Based on lies, this war has driven the sovereign state of Iraq to the brink of collapse. Occupying forces in Iraq under US command have completely failed to adhere to the most basic principles of international humanitarian law — indeed, have flagrantly violated these principles time and again. The response of the international community, and its attendant institutions of multilateral cooperation, has been nothing short of shameful.

The catalogue of disasters described in the 2005 US State Department Country Report on Human Rights Practices for Iraq only confirms what non-mainstream media has been reporting since the invasion in 2003: that the foreign forces which invaded Iraq in the name of security, democracy or human rights have secured none of their stated goals. In the words of John Pace — until recently human rights chief of the UN Assistance Mission in Iraq — “the degree of violence has increased exponentially since the invasion ... the country has been blown apart in terms of its social structures and social fiber.”

One appalling aspect of the occupation and destruction of Iraq has been the liquidation of its intellectual capital. The BRussells Tribunal believes there exists a conscious plan to deny Iraq the chance to recover and rebuilt itself as a sovereign country. The assassination of Iraqi academics is alarming not least because education is the foundation of justice, sovereignty, democracy and development.

We appeal to all UN Permanent Missions to act. We find it unforgivable that in the concluding session of the UN Commission on Human Rights not a single mention was made of Iraq. Ahead of the formation of the UN Human Rights Council — and during its opening — it is essential that the myriad human rights abuses and violations of humanitarian law in Iraq are addressed with courage. Remaining silent would send the signal that the rule of international law is nothing but a mirage, to be abused at will by those in power.

This would be a recipe for the end of the international order as we know it, with untold consequences.



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Urgent Appeal to Save Iraq's Academics

A little known aspect of the tragedy engulfing Iraq is the systematic liquidation of the country's academics. Even according to conservative estimates, over 250 educators have been assassinated, and many hundreds more have disappeared. With thousands fleeing the country in fear for their lives, not only is Iraq undergoing a major brain drain, the secular middle class — which has refused to be coopted by the US occupation — is being decimated, with far-reaching consequences for the future of Iraq.

Already on July 14, 2004, veteran correspondent Robert Fisk reported from Iraq that: *“University staff suspect that there is a campaign to strip Iraq of its academics, to complete the destruction of Iraq's cultural identity which began when the American army entered Baghdad.”*

The wave of assassinations appears non-partisan and non-sectarian, targeting women as well as men, and is countrywide. It is indiscriminate of expertise: professors of geography, history and Arabic literature as well as science are among the dead. Not one individual has been apprehended in connection with these assassinations.

According to the United Nations University, some 84 per cent of Iraq's institutions of higher education have already been burnt, looted or destroyed. Iraq's educational system used to be among the best in the region; one of the country's most important assets was its well-educated people.

This situation is a mirror of the occupation as a whole: a catastrophe of staggering proportions unfolding in a climate of criminal disregard. As an occupying power, and under international humanitarian law, final responsibility for protecting Iraqi citizens, including academics, lies with the United States.

With this petition we want to break the silence.

1. We appeal to organisations that work to enforce or defend international humanitarian law to put these crimes on the agenda.
2. We request that an independent international investigation be launched immediately to probe these extrajudicial killings. This investigation should also examine the issue of responsibility to clearly identify who is accountable for this state of affairs. We appeal to the special rapporteur on summary executions at UNHCHR in Geneva.

The BRussells Tribunal Committee

<http://brusselstribunal.org>



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Call For Action To Save Iraq's Academics

1. We call upon all people, especially academics and students, to help end the silence that surrounds the ongoing crime of the assassination of Iraqi academics and the destruction of Iraq's educational infrastructure, and support Iraqi academics' right and hope to live in an independent, democratic Iraq, free of foreign occupation and hegemony.
2. We urge that academic institutions and organisations declare solidarity with their Iraqi colleagues.
3. We urge that academics forge links between Iraqi educators, both in exile and in Iraq, and universities worldwide.
4. We urge that student organisations link with Iraqi student organisations.
5. We urge that educators mobilise colleagues and concerned citizens to take up the cause of the salvation of Iraq's intellectual wealth, by organising seminars, teach-ins and forums on the plight of Iraq's academics.

The world's academics and intellectuals must act now to save the lives of their colleagues in Iraq.

The BRussells Tribunal, in cooperation with other organisations, has started to build a network of contacts and raise public awareness and can provide information and support to individuals and groups who wish to mobilise on this issue. We are able to act as a depository and hub for this campaign

Support this appeal

This petition was launched by the BRussells Tribunal and is endorsed by CEOSI (Spain), the Portuguese hearing of the World Tribunal on Iraq, Iraktribunal.de (Germany), the Swedish Antiwar committee, the International Action Centre (USA), the International Association of Middle East Studies (IAMES), the German Middle East Studies Association (DAVO) and the European Association for Middle Eastern Studies (EURAMES), and numerous personalities, including Harold Pinter, José Saramago, Dario Fo, J M Coetzee, Hans von Sponeck, Denis Halliday, Eduardo Galeano, Noam Chomsky, Howard Zinn, John Pilger, Tony Benn and Richard Falk.

For more information: <http://brusselstribunal.org/Academics.htm>



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Selected Principal Endorsers of the Appeal

Noam Chomsky, Professor of Linguistics, Philosophy of Language, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Department of Linguistics & Philosophy, USA
Tony Benn, President of the STOP THE WAR COALITION, Former MP, Cabinet Minister and Chairman of the British Labour Party, UK
Dario Fo, Nobel Prize in Literature 1997, Italy
José Saramago, Nobel Prize in Literature 1998, Portugal
John M. Coetzee, Nobel Prize in Literature 2003, South Africa
Harold Pinter, Nobel Prize in Literature 2005, UK
Eduardo Galeano, essayist, journalist, historian, and activist, Uruguay.
Denis J. Halliday, former UN Assistant Secretary-General 1994-98
Hans von Sponeck, former UN Assistant Secretary General, U.N. Humanitarian Coordinator for Iraq 1998-2000, Germany
Ken Coates and **Tony Simpson**, Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, UK
Howard Zinn, professor, writer, educator, and leader in nonviolent social protest, USA
John Pilger, journalist and documentary film-maker, UK/Australia
Michael Parenti, author, USA
Antonio Negri, moral and political philosopher, Italy
Robert A. Dahl, Political Theorist, Yale University
Curtis F.J. Doebbler, Dr., International Human Rights Lawyer.
François Houtart, Prof. Em., Director of the Tricontinental Center – Cetri, Belgium, executive committee BRussells Tribunal
Samir Amin, author, director of the Third World Forum in Dakar - Senegal / Egypt
Immanuel Wallerstein, Prof. Yale University, USA.
Richard Falk, Prof. Em. of International Law and Practice at Princeton University and Visiting Distinguished Professor of Global Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Chair of the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, recipient of the UNESCO Peace Education Prize, USA
Craig Calhoun, president of the Social Science Research Council and university professor of social sciences, New York University, USA
Cornel West, professor of Religion at Princeton University, USA
Stanley Hoffmann, Buitendijk Professor, Harvard University, USA
Naomi Klein, award-winning journalist and author, Canada
Susan George, author of *A Fate Worse Than Debt* and *Another World Is Possible If ...*, France
Bianca Jagger, Council of Europe Goodwill Ambassador and member of the Executive Director's Leadership Council of Amnesty International, USA
Margarita Papandreou, former first lady of Greece, peace activist, Center for Research and Action on Peace
Anahí Fernández, profesora de Derecho, Universidad Nacional de Rosario, y secretaria general de la Federación Nacional de Docentes Universita (Argentina)
Franca Rame, writer, playwright, actress, Italy
Gabriel Kolko, author and historian.
Dennis Brutus, professor emeritus dept of africana studies univ of pittsburgh, USA
Norman Paech, Prof. Dr., Professor für öffentliches Recht an der Hochschule für Wirtschaft und Politik, member Deutscher Bundestag, Germany
Juan R. I. Cole, Professor of Modern Middle East and South

Asian History at the History Department of the University of Michigan, USA
Michael Mann, Professor of Sociology, UCLA, USA
Jean Bricmont, scientist, Prof. specialist in theoretical physics, U.C. Louvain-La-Neuve, author of *Imperialisme Humanitaire* and *Intellectual Imposters*, executive committee BRussells Tribunal, Belgium
Lieven De Caeter, philosopher, Prof. Dr. K.U. Leuven / Rits, initiator of the BRussells Tribunal, author of a.o. *The Capsular Civilization. The city in the age of fear*
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Pierre Galand, Senator Belgian Parliament, university lecturer, ex Secretary General Oxfam-Belgium, Président de l'Association belgo-palestinienne, Président de l'Organisation mondiale contre la Torture - Europe, Président de l'association belge des Amis du Monde diplomatique, Président de la commission interparlementaire – commission spéciale « Mondialisation », Belgium
Inge Van De Merlen, executive committee BRussells Tribunal, Belgium
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Paul Kennedy, professor of history, Yale University, author of *The Rise and Decline of Great Powers*, USA
Saskia Sassen, Professor of Sociology, The University of Chicago, USA
Prof. José Barata-Moura (Rector of the Lisbon University - Portugal).
Raymond William Baker, President of IAMES (International Association of Middle East Studies) and President of the Administrative Board of a transnational initiative to build an international university in Iraq, Global Partners for the International University of Iraq GP-IUI).
Guenter Meyer, Prof. Dr., Centre for Research on the Arab World (CERAW), University of Mainz, Germany
Helen Caldicott, president, Nuclear Policy Research Institute
Francis A. Boyle, professor of law, University of Illinois
Mark Lewis Taylor, Professor of Theology & Culture, Princeton Theological Seminary, USA
Dr. Roger Dittmann, Professor of Physics Emeritus, US Federation of Scholars and Scientists, Scientists without Borders, US
David Cromwell, editor Medialens, researcher University of Southampton UK
David Krieger, President Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, USA
Michel Chossudovsky, Professor of Economics, University of Ottawa, director Centre for Research on Globalization, Canada
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Dahr Jamail, independent journalist, USA.
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Jim Harding, Dr., Past Director and retired Professor, School of Human Justice, University of Regina, Canada

John Saxe-Fernández, Professor, National Autonomous University of México

Azmi Ashour, managing editor of Al Ahram Al Democratia magazine in Egypt

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Paul Patton, professor of philosophy, University of New South Wales

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Korkut Boratav, Professor, President, Turkish Social Science Association

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Harry Cleaver, professor of economics, University of Texas at Austin, USA

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Rev. Michael Sweeney, O.P., President Dominican School of Philosophy and Theology, USA

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The Turkish Social Science Association

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Paola Pisi, professor religious sciences, Italy

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Jeff Archer/Malcom Lagauche (Journalist - USA)

Corinne Kumar (Secretary General of El Taller International - Tunisia / India)

Lindsey German, *Stop The War Coalition*, chair, UK

Andrew Murray, chair of *Stop the War Coalition* and author, UK

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Carlos Varea (coordinator of SCOSI - Spanish Campaign against Occupation and for the Sovereignty of Iraq - Spain)

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Sigyn Meder (Anti-war movement - Sweden)

Manuel Raposo (Anti-war movement - Portugal)

John Catalinotto (International Action Center - USA)

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Larry Everest (Author / Journalist - USA)



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Bert De Belder M.D. (Coordinator Intal & Medical Aid For The Third World - Belgium)
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Jacques Bidet, professeur à l'Université de Paris-X
Nandini Sundar, Professor of Sociology, Delhi School of Economics, Delhi University, India
Ramanujam Sooriamoorthy, Education Officer (French & English), Mauritius
David Ludden, Professor of History, University of Pennsylvania, USA
Mary Jacobus, Professor, University of Cambridge, UK, Director, CRASSH (Centre for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences, and Humanities)
Mushirul Hasan, Professor, Vice-Chancellor, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi, India
Tim Mitchell, Professor of Politics, New York University, USA
Electa Arenal (Professor emerita), Ph.D. Program in Hispanic & Luso-Brazilian Literatures & Women's Studies Certificate Program, former director of the Center for humanistisk forskning (Center for Feminist Studies in the Humanities) at the University of Bergen, Norway and of the Center for the Study of Women and Society at the Graduate Center of CUNY (City University of New York).
Beverly J. Silver, Professor, Department of Sociology, The Johns Hopkins University, USA
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Kolya Abramsky, State University New York, Binghamton, USA
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Dieter Christensen, Professor Emeritus, Columbia University, New York
David Graeber, PhD, Assistant Professor of Anthropology at Yale University, USA
David Harte (Senior Lecturer in Law, Newcastle Law School, Newcastle University)
Dr. Chandra Muzaffar, writer / activist Malaysia President, International Movement for a Just World (JUST)
Eduardo Lourenço, author, Portugal / France
Saul Landau, writer, institute for policy studies, usa
Josep Ferrer i Llop, rector de la Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya
Manuel Carvalho da Silva, secretary-general of the CGTP (General Confederation of the Portuguese Workers)
Pedro Antonio Martínez Lillo, vicerrector de Extensión Universitaria y Cooperación, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid
Thomas Schmidt, Lawyer, Secretary General EALDH, European Association of Lawyers for Democracy and World Human Rights, Germany
Abdul Ilah Al-Bayat (Writer - Iraq / France), BRussells Tribunal Advisory Committee
Haifa Zangana (Novelist - Iraq / UK), BRussells Tribunal Advisory Committee
Tareq Ismael, Prof. of Political Science, University of Calgary.
Mohammed Aref, Science writer based in Surrey, UK Former advisor to Arab Science and Technology Foundation in United Arab Emirates (2000-2003) and science editor for Al Hayat newspaper in London (1988-2000).
Saadalla Al Fathi, former head of the Energy Studies' Department at the OPEC secretariat
Salah Almkhtar, Author , journalist and Chairman Of friendship, peace and solidarity Organisation, Iraq

Mohammed Al-Obaidi, Prof. U.K., Spokesman and Deputy General Secretary, The People's Struggle Movement - IRAQ
Mousa Al-Hussaini, Dr., Journalist and Writer, Iraq
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Sabah Jawad, Activist, Iraqi Democrats Against Occupation, UK
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Sabah Al-Mukhtar (President of the Arab Lawyers Association - Iraq / UK)
Mujbil Al-Marsumi, University professor, IRAQ, Applied Science University, Amman, Jordan
Mourid Barghouti, poet, Palestine, author of *I Saw Ramallah*.
Noor A. Haithi, teacher, iraq
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Tahrir Swift, Director Arab Media Watch, Iraq/ UK
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Salam Musafir, Writer - journalist, President of the Iraqi Cultural Association in Federal Russia
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ARTICLES ABOUT THE ELIMINATION OF IRAQ'S ACADEMICS

Many academics have been killed in Iraq since the American occupation began according to the Iraqi Union of University Lecturers.

The most striking fact is that the majority of those killed were not scientists (thus targeted for the alleged knowledge of Iraq's weapon's programme) but were involved in field of humanities (such as law, geography and history). The motives for these assassinations are unknown.

This 'war on Learning', as Robert Fisk, a reporter in Iraq for the Independent called it, is making Iraqi intellectual's work impossible and further augments the view that a 'normal life' in Iraq is far too dangerous for them. According to an article in the Times Higher Education Supplement: *'there is a widespread feeling among the Iraqi academics that they are witnessing a deliberate attempt to destroy intellectual life in Iraq'*. Furthermore, quoting Dr Sinawi – a geologist formerly employed at Baghdad University and interview by THES- the academic dismissals, the assassination of intellectuals will bring a 'disruption of higher education in Iraq for years to come. This will dramatically affect the standard of teaching and research for generations'.

Source: <http://www.nearinternational.org/alerts/iraq320040915en.php>

Many academics in Iraq are imprisoned, were discharged, have disappeared, or were forced into exile. This dossier has been created to document these facts.

IRINnews.org

**UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
Saturday 1 April 2006**

IRAQ: Activists call for protection of academics

BAGHDAD, 15 Jan 2006 (IRIN) - A network of human rights activists and journalists has called for the protection of local academics and higher level educational institutions.

The appeal, launched this month by the Brussels Tribunal, a worldwide network devoted to campaigning against the US-led invasion and occupation of Iraq, notes the "systematic liquidation of the country's academics."

According to conservative estimates, over 250 educators have been assassinated while hundreds more have disappeared, the network's website states.

Thousands of other academics have reportedly fled the country, in the belief that they are being targeted because they are well educated.

The Brussels Tribunal further notes that the disappearance of trained educators has led not only to "a major brain-drain," but also to the decimation of the secular middle class. "Anyone who has the ability to imagine a secular future for the country is forced to flee," said Hana al-Bayaty, a member of the network's executive committee.

The assassinations have targeted women and men countrywide, with little reference to political or religious affiliations.

"The most striking fact is that the majority of those killed were not scientists... but were



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involved in the field of humanities," the anti-war organisation notes, adding that, "the motives for these assassinations are unknown."

In April 2005, the United Nations University published a report noting that 84 percent of Iraq's higher education institutions had been burnt, looted or destroyed since the start of the US-led invasion in 2003.

It went on to point out that four dozen academics had been assassinated, while many more faced daily threats.

In addition to the destruction of vital infrastructure, only 40 percent of which is under reconstruction, other problems facing Iraqi higher learning included an isolated and under-qualified teaching staff; poorly equipped libraries and laboratories; and a fast-growing student population, said the UN report.

A third of the nation's teachers held only bachelors' degrees, despite official requirements of at least a Master's degree, it added.

"The devastation of the Iraqi system of higher education has been overlooked amid other cataclysmic results of the war, but it represents an important consequence of the conflict, economic sanctions and ongoing turmoil in Iraq," noted Jairam Reddy, the study's author and director of the Jordan-based International Leadership Institute.

"Repairing Iraq's system of higher education is in many ways a prerequisite to the long-term repair of the country as a whole," Reddy added.

Iraq's educational system was formerly recognised as being one of the best in the region.

In the meantime, the campaign is calling for an international investigation into the killings and urging academic institutions in other countries to forge links with Iraqi educators, both in exile and at home.

As "an occupying power, and under international humanitarian law, final responsibility for protecting Iraqi citizens, including academics, lies with the United States," the Brussels Tribunal concluded.

Al-Bayaty said the impact of the lack of protection for academics could be felt for two to three decades: "It's a developing country so they need the brains that can contribute to the development of their society," she said.

[ENDS]

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Will harsh weed-out allow Iraqi academia to flower?

The Times Higher Education Supplement

Turi Munthe

Published: 25 July 2003

After sanctions, bombing and looting, Iraq's universities now face political purges. Turi Munthe looks at how US rule is affecting efforts to rebuild academe.

Outside Baghdad University's faculty of fine arts is the Starlight Café.

Two students, a young man and a young woman, sit on a bench. They look exhausted. A third sits opposite them, drawing the woman - a kitsch charcoal, all eyelashes, like you'd find touted in Montmartre. "She's prettier than the picture, isn't she," the artist observes.

The three have just spent two hours in the stinking Baghdad morning sun protesting against the dismissal of Sa'ad al-Zuhairi, the college's former administrator. They insist that he is a good man who has been treated unfairly. Like thousands of other Iraqi academics, he has been sacked for being a high-ranking member of Saddam Hussein's Baath Party. While many sympathise with his plight, others are glad to see the back of him. His successor, Shafiq al-Mahdi, later tells me that al-Zuhairi had to go because he had led a group of the Fedayeen, the irregular forces close to Saddam. "Before he left, he set fire to the library," al-Mahdi says, pointing towards a charred building across the college square.

It is not the only gutted building in Iraq. The ministry of higher education, in Baghdad, a beautiful slim-line castle, turrets and all, was spared the bombing. It is now the colour of burnt toast - looters stripped it bare and then set it on fire.

Like most higher education institutions across Iraq, Baghdad University also escaped almost unscathed from the bombing. But it was a short reprieve. In the subsequent looting and burning, 20 of the capital's colleges were destroyed. No institution escaped: the faculty of education in Waziriyya was raided daily for two weeks; the veterinary college in Abu Ghraib lost all its equipment; two buildings in the faculty of fine arts stand smoke-blackened against the skyline. In every college, in every classroom, you could write "education" in the dust on the tables.

Nevertheless, the universities have been a rare success story for the post-Saddam regime. Things are moving. A committee of university presidents from around the country has begun meeting weekly. Faculty members have been voting for new heads. And the university curricula is being updated after 12 years of academic isolation.

There are even indications that once salaries rise in October, many of the thousands of academics who fled the country will return. USAid is bidding for a contract worth up to \$30 million (£20 million) to help rebuild the higher education infrastructure, exchange programmes are being set up with western universities, and large quantities of books and scholarly texts have been donated.

At Baghdad University, classes are running again, albeit for three days a week. The students are helping on all fronts, from patrolling campuses to rebuilding damaged facilities. Most importantly of all, however, they are turning up.



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Their classrooms have been ransacked, their campus looted, their dormitories overrun by homeless families, and kidnapping threats abound, but still many students have come.

Andrew Erdmann, the US senior adviser to the ministry of higher education who has overseen efforts to restore higher education, is determined that the class of 2003 not become a lost generation. "Students have been prioritised over everything else," he says.

Exams are taking place. Notebooks, pens and fans are being supplied by the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) and Unesco, and I have seen students graduating across the capital: the boys wear perfume and the girls carry flowers. They are relieved; they almost look happy.

But if the students are getting help, their professors are living a nightmare. For the past three months, they have funded reconstruction from their own pockets. They were paid their salaries for April on June 7. For a full professor, that equates to £100, the equivalent of three days'

work for a driver at one of Baghdad's big hotels. But money is not their chief concern. It is politics that continues to turn the academics' world upside down.

On May 16, the CPA issued Order No 1: "De-Baathification of Iraqi Society".

Section 1.2 states: "Full members of the Baath Party holding the ranks of *udw qutriyya* (regional command member), *udw far* (branch member), *udw shu'bah* (section member) and *udw firqah* (group member) (together, 'senior party members') are hereby removed from their positions and banned from future employment in the public sector." It is the single most important policy decision that Paul Bremer, administrator of the CPA, has made since becoming the US's top man in Iraq.

That order has had a devastating effect in academe. In Baghdad University alone, 283 staff lost their jobs. Across the country, university heads and faculty deans were sacked.

Muhammad al-Rawi was one. Even before Bremer's order came through, students had been calling for the removal of the president of Baghdad University.

Al-Rawi is a cardiologist who became Saddam's personal physician. His appointment to the presidency was a reward. He spent little time in the university and had no interest in its workings. In late April, Steve Curda - Erdmann's second in command - asked al-Rawi what emergency help he needed. It was three weeks before he responded. Al-Rawi had better things to do with his time, such as running his private practice.

Others did not need pushing. When Erdmann called his first meeting of university presidents, five of the 20 leaders asked not to be sent back.

"They just said they wouldn't be wanted," Erdmann says. Many reputedly had links with Izzat al-Douri, the much-hated vice-chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council.



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Baghdad University's new, non-Baathist president, Sami al-Muthaffar, sits in an office on the second floor of a building that looks more like an abandoned warehouse than the nerve centre of what was once the the Middle East's top university. "We can cope with de-Baathification, we can cope with the staff shortage," he says, "but we hate it." Because for all the al-Rawis, there are dozens of other intellectuals who, as al-Muthaffar puts it, "were professors first and Baathists a very distant second".

"The CPA doesn't interfere with the daily affairs of the university, and yet we feel we are not free," al-Muthaffar says. "We are a people who are unaccustomed to freedom, but if we have to suffer like we did before... that is simply impossible."

The founder of Baathism was Michel Aflaq, a Christian from Syria. From the late 1940s, he preached Arab unity with a Christian Democrat-type socialism and a nationalistic, anti-imperialist flavour. Baathism began as an idea consonant with the politics of the day. Under Saddam Hussein, however, it simply became a profession; at best, a Baathist was a paid hand; at worst, an executioner. They were playground bullies of grotesque proportions, labelled hyenas and locusts by their fellow countrymen.

But while thuggish Baathism sank its claws deep into every aspect of life in the old Iraq, a more idealistic current flourished in the universities.

True, party membership was foisted on many - it was compulsory even for teaching assistants in Baghdad's faculty of education - and simply carrying the party card added 5 per cent to your entrance exam scores. But in the rarefied environment of the Iraqi academy, unlike perhaps anywhere else, the Baath Party actually stood for something. Hussain al-Saadi, the former assistant dean of the faculty of education and a recently sacked *firqah* -level party member, insists it was full of good ideas: "Its slogan is Unity, Freedom, Socialism." Further, he argues, the party's ideology was never put into practice even though Saddam ruled in its name.

Hussam al-Rawi al-Rifa'i sits beneath his own portrait in the architecture school. He was until recently faculty dean, a *shu'bah* -level party member, and now is spokesperson for the purged staff of Baghdad University. On June 29, 100 of them signed a petition seeking their reinstatement. The document was then sent to Bremer. They wrote: "Every individual has the right to enjoy human rights, without political, gender or religious exceptions."

They ended with a call for their request to be considered "in a humanitarian spirit" according "to the legal, moral rule that the accused is innocent until proven guilty". Al-Rifa'i believes de-Baathification is a "collective punishment" that contravenes the Geneva Convention.

I ask him why he stayed in the party when he could see that it was killing his country. He is apologetic, embarrassed: "We kept hoping that something would change. I thought we might be able to fight from within."

"I believed in an ideology that no longer existed, whose leader contravened all its principles," he says. "I still have a strong ideological commitment to Baathism - in Arab unity, and a kind of British Labour Party socialism."



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And I still stand against American globalisation. The US has never shown us Arabs any kind of moral justice. But we were torn between anti-imperialism and a bastard. Saddam, the man I hated, stood against America, the power I hated."

Colleagues regard al-Rifa'i as a principled man. He was dean of the faculty of engineering for three years in the early 1980s. But he was sacked for expelling Lu'ay Khairallah, a cousin of Uday Hussein, Saddam's eldest son, who had hospitalised his professor for failing him in an exam.

Jihane, the politically independent half-American departmental coordinator, tells me that al-Rifa'i, because he himself was a Baathist, "got me out of endless trouble, and he stalled pressure on us having to join".

She feels that the Americans have yet to meet any of Iraq's "real intellectuals". "Erdmann is surrounded by advisers who know nothing about academic life here," Jihane says. She argues that it was the lower ranked Baathists and not the senior members who were often the real bullies.

This was the experience of Isam Hikmat, my driver. Like every undergraduate, he took a mandatory patriotic studies course. "In my first year, the teacher kept us in class and threatened that we wouldn't leave until we had all signed up to the party," he recalls. Just three of the 16 resisted, and the teacher would have expected a reward for the new recruits.

Such careerist individuals contrast with the old Baathists, who include many professors. In the 1960s and 1970s, many of the educated urban middle classes joined the party to check the communists' rising power. But once in, it was difficult to leave. Al-Rifa'i admits that after 1990 it was almost impossible to resign without incurring opprobrium. "You had two options: remain a Baathist or flee. I stayed. I had a family to think of."

The new dean of the humanities faculty at Baghdad University is Bahjat Kamil Abd-al Latif al-Tikriti, a former student of the Islamic historian Montgomery Watt at Edinburgh University. He is one of the few who did resign from the party after the invasion of Kuwait, and as punishment he was demoted from his position as president of Basra University.

Al-Tikriti was elected dean on May 18 after his predecessor, Qahtan Abu-Nasiri, a *firqah*-level Baathist, was sacked. The two were close friends, and Abu-Nasiri was popular with most of the faculty. "We have all suffered tremendously by losing these staff," he says. "Many of them were real presences in their field. They should all come back and teach. If they then do something wrong, we have laws that can deal with them."

Academics had become adept at resisting the politicisation of education, al-Tikriti says. Curricula were written by committees of academic advisers, and until the UN sanctions, they were recognised as the most advanced in the Middle East, he says. "Some Baathists did try to infiltrate and put pressure on us, but with little success," he says.

When al-Tikriti talks of such Baathists, he clearly excludes Abu-Nasiri.

For him, there is a difference between Baathists in thought - those who held to Aflaq's ideology - and Baathists in deed, Saddam's brutes. But Erdmann, a tall, all-American in his mid-30s with a Harvard PhD on *Conceptions of*



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Victory in 20th-Century American Foreign Policy, insists: "You can't separate the ideology from Saddam's implementation of it."

Long before May 16, Erdmann had been given directives to exclude high-ranking Baathists. "Part of the concern was symbolically cutting the ties to the old regime, and part of it was practical: some of these guys were just bad at their jobs," he says. Erdmann is ambivalent about the way the Baathists are being removed - he says he might have done it differently - but adds: "The more I see, the more I'm convinced that there's a need for a clean break with the past. Look at what Baathism did. If you want a real education system, you've just got to get it out."

Erdmann believes that it was possible to fight the good fight, noting that nearly half the ministry's department heads were not Baathist. Nor were some of the deans. "A lot of people with the option to leave stayed and rode it out," he says. He feels he has done the Baathists a favour.

"Imagine those student youths mobilising against, say, al-Rawi. We'd been thinking about that from before the invasion. We were ahead of the curve in removing the leadership from the main institutions and preventing riots against them."

I spend a morning at the political science faculty. Pictures of Mohammed Baqer al-Sadr, martyr and spiritual leader of millions of Iraqi Shias, adorn the walls of the cafeteria. Beside them, the Union of Free Students has posted calls for more demonstrations against US soldiers on campus.

Everyone wants to talk - it's the novelty of it. Among the seven or so students who sit with me, there is not one shared opinion. Some want monarchy, others swear by the republic. While they disdain the various political pretenders of today, they have no sense of an alternative. There is relish - savage and vengeful - at the Baath Party's demise, as well as calls for clemency, and despair from one girl called Alia. "They [Baathists] are surviving. That's our greatest tragedy. They're being rewarded for their services just like they were under Saddam," she says.

Then they ask me if I want to talk to a Baathist. To my great surprise, a young man sitting behind me volunteers. Qusay Abd al-Aziz Mohsen al-Salem is 27, and named after Saddam's youngest son. He is articulate and speaks in gunshot soundbites. "Of course life was better under Saddam. He was a nationalist, a patriot, and he was Iraqi. He fought for the interests of our country. We do not accept occupation. We will continue to fight. As for mass graves, they are like weapons of mass destruction - an American lie."

Qusay sees himself as a true Iraqi and a victim of the occupation.

De-Baathification fuels that perception and makes common cause between former party members, turning them into a recognisable entity rather than letting them slip, anonymously, into the new system. As al-Muthaffar says, "this does nothing to help unify the country."

All the professors I speak to say the same thing, even Jamal Abaych, the supremely diplomatic director of Baghdad University's cultural relations department. "The coalition has got this wrong," he says. "It should try the Baathists case



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by case. In the universities, you'll find that most of them helped each other before they helped the regime. Those who didn't should, of course, be punished - but tried in court first."

The high-level Baathists now excluded from their university posts were complicit in the evils of the regime. Most of them, however, were complicit only in silence. The Baathist ideology to which many of them subscribed was never implemented. Erdmann himself concedes: "Most Baathists didn't really buy the ideology anyway."

Banning the party in universities means banning an idea, not a political process. It wrongfully decorates Saddam with an ideology. It flatters him, legitimises him as a political symbol. It allows Qusay to think he stands for something more than an old regime that rewarded his loyalty. Surely that is the last thing the coalition must have hoped for.

There is a love poem by Nizar Qabbani, one of the 20th century's most popular Arab poets. It begins:

*"She sat. Fear was in her eyes.
Raising my upturned coffee cup,
She said: 'Child, don't cry,
Love will find you. It is written.'"*

In Iraq, fortune tellers read the future in coffee grounds. I quote the poem to the woman in the Starlight Cafe who had been demonstrating against the sacking of her Baathist college administrator. I pick up her cup and ask what she sees in the future. Carefully, believing, she looks then turns to me: "Tension, death and lies." De-Baathification won't have challenged her pessimism.

Violence keeps lecturers abroad

The Times Higher Education Supplement

David Jobbins, Foreign editor

Published: 17 December 2004

Violence in the run-up to next month's election in Iraq is impeding hopes that academics overseas will return to help rebuild the country's shattered university system.

Tahir Khalaf Al Bekaa, Higher Education Minister in the interim administration, acknowledged the level of violence and uncertainty were a barrier.

"We expected faster progress but certain problems have got in the way, including funding and terrorism that clearly targets university professors and teachers, 37 of whom have been killed since the end of the war," Dr Al Bekaa said. Others had been kidnapped for ransom, he said.

The latest incident was a mortar attack on a university in which a female academic was injured, which took place earlier this month while Dr Al Bekaa was on a visit to London. Insurgents fired two mortar rounds into the grounds of the Technology University in Baghdad, claiming their target was US troops who were encamped in the grounds.



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Dr Al Bekaa described the attack as "heinous" and condemned the killings.

His own home in Baghdad was shaken by an explosion on the same day, although it seems he was not the intended target.

He dismissed the insurgents as "enemies of democracy" determined to undermine the prospects of elections next month.

Thousands of Iraqi academics fled to the US, UK and Arab countries during the years of sanctions and political repression.

The minister was in the UK to reinforce links with UK universities. Britain has been the most active international partner in university reconstruction, largely through the efforts of the British Council.

While Iraq has 390,000 undergraduate and 18,000 postgraduate students, there are only 16,500 lecturers and barely half have progressed beyond a masters degree.

Murder of lecturers threatens Iraqi academia

The Times Higher Education Supplement

Tabitha Morgan, Nicosia

Published: 10 September 2004

A university lecturer in the northern Iraqi city of Mosul has been shot and killed by gunmen who ambushed her car as she was driving to work.

Police said there appeared to be no motive for the attack on Imam Abdul-Munim Younis, head of the translation department at Mosul University's College of Arts.

According to the Iraqi Union of University Lecturers, more than 250 academics have been killed since the American occupation began. Among the victims are a number of senior academic figures, including a university president and several deans.

Iraqis cannot explain the motives for the assassinations, which have targeted a high proportion of faculty members from humanities subjects.

"There is no pattern to these killings," said Sahil al-Sinawi, a geologist, who was formerly at Baghdad University. "We are used to threats against Iraqi scientists, but why kill someone working in languages?"

One explanation may be that the country's lawlessness allows the settling of old scores. But the lecturers' union claims insurgents are systematically assassinating members of the country's intellectual elite as part of their general campaign to destabilise the interim Government.



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A common accusation in Iraq is that the Israeli secret service is targeting scientists in an attempt to prevent the country's re-emergence as a regional scientific power. During the 1960s and 1970s, Iraq's scientific research programme was the most advanced in the Arab world.

But there has been no evidence to back these claims and Israel has denied the allegations.

Many Iraqi academics have concluded that life in their home country is too dangerous. US-based nuclear physicist Imad Khadduri said he received several letters a week from fellow Iraqi scientists asking about jobs.

Many Iraqi academics have lost their positions through the vigorous programme of de-Ba'athification carried out by the former Coalition Provisional Authority.

Dr Khadduri said that under the Saddam regime, Ba'ath party membership was in essence a condition of employment, adding that "these people were not torturers or executioners".

There is a widespread feeling among Iraqi academics that they are witnessing a deliberate attempt to destroy intellectual life in Iraq.

According to Dr Sinawi, the assassinations, compounded by academic dismissals, will lead to a "disruption of higher education in Iraq for years to come. This will dramatically affect the standard of teaching and research for generations".

Tortured, shot, ambushed, victims are found dumped outside morgues. What is happening to Iraq's intellectuals is chilling

The Times Higher Education Supplement

Felicity Arbuthnot

Published: 10 March 2006

Dr Mohammed Tuki Hussein Al Talakani Dr Eman Younis Dr Jammour Khammas Dr Mohammed Washed Professor Wajeeh Mahjoub Professor Sabri Al Bayati Professor Laila Al Saad Professor Muneer Al Khiero Professor Emad Sarsaan Professor Mohammed Al Rawi Professor Munim Al Izmerly Dr Ali Al Naas

The horrific killings of Iraqi intellectuals have left suspicions that occupying forces may be behind some of the cases, says Felicity Arbuthnot.

It is estimated that between 250 and 500 intellectuals have been killed or have disappeared since the fall of Saddam Hussein. There is a rising surge of anger over attacks on Iraq's intellectuals and many believe some of the killings may be part of a deliberate policy of targeting those who speak out against the "occupation".

A prominent, internationally respected Iraqi academic, who cannot reveal his or her identity for fear of repercussions, says: "Under the American and British occupation, Iraqi academics are being forced out of their jobs and their country under the veil of politics. This is especially true for female Iraqi academics, who once made up nearly half of Iraqi



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academics in higher institutions and now fear for their lives and the lives of their families. In and outside the workplace they are being targeted by extremists and by the occupiers - more than 200 prominent Iraqi academics have been assassinated in the past three years alone. Those who are not assassinated are abducted or forced out of the country. Iraq is suffering from a huge brain drain that will not be compensated for another 20 years. This is a dramatic loss for the country and, without Iraq's educated middle class, we will be sure to see a rise in sectarianism and extremism, which is what the occupier wants."

The situation is compounded by the absence of foreign journalists who reported on the UN embargo against Iraq from 1990-2003 and who have been warned that their lives may be at risk if they return to the country.

Those whose loved ones have been killed are similarly afraid to speak out for fear of reprisals. It is hard to know who is behind the killings and abductions as very few of the cases are investigated. But the information available is fuelling suspicions that Western forces may be to blame in some cases.

When I was in Iraq during the embargo, one of the people I met was a doctor and fellow of Britain's Royal College of Physicians. His concern was the rise of a rare and rapidly presenting bone cancer. He introduced me to patients and their families and was desperate for knowledge of and access to the latest treatments - vetoed under the embargo. Inflation was stratospheric and, although he had formerly been reasonably well paid, his family was suffering. He had money in a British bank account and gave me the account details so I could get some money out for him. Iraqis are the proudest of people. It was painful for him to reveal his plight to me, and to give me his bank details displayed trust. He needed that hard currency.

But it was all to no avail as even private accounts were frozen. His name is now on the list of Iraqi intellectuals who have been killed since the overthrow of Saddam.

During the 13-year embargo, many academics were forced to leave Iraq, seeking positions in countries with more stable currency, which they could send back to sustain their families. Some Iraqis saw this as a deliberate strategy by the West to deprive a country proud of its intellectual heritage as "the cradle of civilisation" of the critical voices that might oppose Western attempts to take control of the region.

The embargo's brain drain proved a weighty challenge for academia in Iraq, but what is happening to Iraqi intellectuals now is chilling, with people from the entire spectrum of Iraq's professional class dragged from homes, offices and consulting rooms. Tortured, shot, ambushed or simply disappeared, they are found dumped outside hospitals, morgues, slumped over car wheels, on refuse dumps, or in the streets.

The Brussels Tribunal, set up in the tradition of the 1967 Russell Tribunal and backed by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, is looking into war crimes in Iraq and has held hearings and heard testimony from expert witnesses from around the world. It is trying to piece together the facts concerning killings of civilians in Iraq and has verified the names and circumstances of 143 people. Thirty-one of these are professors and 100 are doctors, surgeons, medical specialists or people holding doctorates in other disciplines.



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The list is long and varied. It includes Mohammed Tuki Hussein Al Talakani, a nuclear physicist, shot dead in Baghdad just before Christmas 2004; Eman Younis, a lecturer at the College of Art at Baghdad University; Jammour Khammas, a lecturer at Basra College of Art; Mohammed Washed, a tourism lecturer; Wajeeh Mahjoub, a lecturer in physical education; and Sabri Al Bayati, a faculty member of the College of Art, Baghdad University. Laila Al Saad and her husband Muneer Al Khiero, dean and faculty member respectively of Mosul University College of Law, lived together, worked together and were killed together. Two of those murdered in the months following the fall of Saddam were Emad Sarsaan and Mohammed Al Rawi, who was also chairman of the Iraqi Union of Physicians. Both were fellows of Britain's Royal College of Surgeons and distinguished board members of the Arab and Iraqi Boards of Medicine. Experts in paediatrics, oncology, ophthalmology, pharmacology, dentistry, cardiology, neurology, as well as hospital directors and administrators, have all been killed, kidnapped or have fled from death threats.

That the list is incomplete is incontrovertible, with credible reports citing the killings of more than 80 academics from Baghdad University. In the past two weeks alone, 12 more intellectuals have been added to the Brussels Tribunal list. They include the eminent Shia political analyst Ali Al Naas, a US critic who was shot dead in Baghdad on January 27. There are "no leads to his assassination".

The *Independent's* veteran Middle East correspondent, Robert Fisk, no conspiracy theorist, wrote on July 14, 2004: "University staff suspect there is a campaign to strip Iraq of its academics to complete the destruction of Iraq's cultural heritage, which began when America entered Baghdad." Some suspect experts in particular areas have been targeted. For instance, several agricultural experts, who could testify to the effects of bombing on the environment, have been killed.

Speaking at a meeting in London in February, Sa'ad Jawad, professor of political science at Baghdad University who heads Iraq's University Professors Association, said some of the academic victims appeared to have been targeted because of links to the Baath regime, but others seemed to have been victims of a campaign to eliminate any potential to develop further scientific and intelligence programmes. He added that there were obvious questions about who would have the ability, and the political support, to carry out such attacks with impunity. With few cases being investigated, what is certain is that under the occupation's watch, a massive cull of Iraq's great academic wealth has taken place. That the occupying forces themselves have been responsible for some of the incidents is well documented. *The Guardian* reported, for instance, how Munim Al Izmerly, a distinguished chemist, died after his home was raided by the US military in April 2003. He was on the US's 200 "most wanted" list and was accused of meeting Saddam, although Saddam routinely summoned academics for meetings and "no" was not an option. He gave himself up the day after his home was raided. His family were informed the following February that he had died in custody of "brain stem compression". An autopsy found that he had been hit from behind and that his skull had been fractured.

On the Brussels Tribunal website, journalist Saba Ali writes of two doctors, Walid Al Obeide and Jamil Abbar, who were held by US troops in Haditha for a week in May 2005. He says that at one point Dr Abbar was lying on the floor when a soldier came in, kicked him in the head and left.

Ali records in words and with photographs the injuries, swellings and extensive haematomas they allegedly suffered.



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Reuters reported in January that the Association of Muslim Scholars in the Umm Al-Qora Mosque complex in western Baghdad had been ransacked and crucifixes scrawled on its walls. The association is made up of an influential group of Sunni scholars, and its leaders have called on US forces to withdraw from Iraq.

Layla Asamarai, a doctoral candidate in clinical psychology in the US, tells how her uncle, a prisoner of war in Iran for 16 years, was shot by US troops on his way to a business meeting in Samarra in January. In her anguish, she reflects a poignant view, which the West would do well to heed. "My Uncle Abdulrazak is not the only one; thousands have died in this way," she says. "This is the face of American terrorism... an Iraqi civilian, working hard to support his family, forced to live his life in the midst of an American occupation and dumped like road kill. What makes their lives more worth living? Is it the cross that hangs on their necks? My uncle's murderers will come home to their families... but in their soiled hearts they will carry with them the ugliness of what they have done."

The Elimination of Iraq's academics

By Haifa Zangana

On the morning of Monday 23rd January, unknown militants assassinated a veterinary doctor, Dr. Atheer Husham Abd al-Hamid, in the district of al-Saidia. At the same time, Dr. Hilal al-Bayati, president of the Iraqi Association of Computers, escaped an assassination attempt on the main road between the districts of al-Saidia and Hayy al-Baya', in Baghdad. This is not the first time a doctor, academic or scientist has been assassinated in occupied Iraq. With a heavy heart, I predict that it will not be the last. Our Iraq is threatened on all sides and at all levels, with every shot aimed with precision at our country's enlightened minds.

The operation to eliminate Iraqi academics, which intends to put an end to the academic scene, create a 'brain drain' of effective minds, force people to disperse, and to put an end to all initiatives, continues apace. Not a week has passed since the invasion of Iraq without news of the assassination, or attempted assassination, of a teacher, scientist, or specialist. Contrary to the statements of officials during this time of occupation, whether Iraqis or foreign forces, the assassination of academics is organised work, targeting only particular people, stopping at a given point, with no relation to incidences of kidnappings targeting the rest of the populace and demanding ransoms. The perpetrators of on-the-spot executions of scientists, teachers and specialists, are not men with normal nerves, found on the sides of the roads, or from the Mafia, which is now widespread. The mechanics for carrying out the assassinations immediately indicate that the operations are not intended to be kidnappings, demanding money to free hostages, but rather that they are deeper and more serious, and aim to demolish the ideological framework of Iraqi society.

Most of these assassinations resemble each other in their particulars, with the exception of the cases of on-the-spot executions which were carried out by the occupying forces. To investigate the pattern of the mode of operations for these crimes, we must read the reports of someone who was at the scene of the crime on 23rd January, whilst the crime was committed. Raed Ali Salih, of the Baghdad police, said in a press



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statement that militants opened fire on Dr. Atheer Husham as he left his house in al-Saidia, to go to his office in the district of al-Sanak, in central Baghdad, and killed him on the spot. He then said that two cars carrying militants obstructed the car Dr. Hilal al-Bayati was climbing into, and fired a hail of bullets at the car from both sides, which injured two of his companions. Dr. Hilal himself escaped from the attack, which is part of a larger campaign targeting scientific people in the country. There are other noted attacks on teachers. A source from Mustansiria University announced on 5th August that unknown men had rained down a hail of gunfire on Dr Zaki Bakir Sajr al-'Ani, a lecturer in the College of Literature, and Dr. Husham Abd al-Amir, a lecturer in the College of Education, killing them as they were going out of the university gate. In addition, unknown men kidnapped Dr. Samir Yalda, the assistant director of the Faculty of Business Administration and Economics at the university, in front of the university gate, with no known reason or motive for the kidnapping. His corpse was found, wrapped up, in a street on 3rd August. These incidences represent the first type of assassinations. The second is the on-the-spot executions carried out by the occupying forces in a direct manner, such as in the case of the well-known architect Bassam al-Bair. He was fired upon by American soldiers in the middle of the day last July, as he drove his car in the vicinity of the public sports-ground in Baghdad, on his way to run some errands.

It is well-known that the organisations responsible for the crimes of both types of deliberate killings remain at large, ready to carry out more crimes, especially since they feel secure because their crimes continue to go unpunished. The investigation into these crimes has not been completed by the government of occupation, rather they were recorded and attributed to unknown forces. As for the assassinations of the second type, committed directly by the occupying forces in broad daylight and in the presence of witnesses, investigations by Iraqi judges are completely impossible, for the simple reason that the occupying forces, of all differing nationalities, enjoy legal immunity and cannot be held accountable in front of the law or Iraqi judges, whatever crimes or violation of our people's rights they have committed.

At last, an Iraqi campaign has been launched in Brussels, petitioning to bring down the walls of silence surrounding the elimination of academics, and to place the blame on those who committed the crimes and those responsible of colluding with them. The campaign was launched by the BRussells Tribunal, a people's initiative set up about 3 years ago under the framework of establishing war crimes and crimes of occupation against the Iraqi people, and falls under the initiative "The operation to eliminate Iraqi academics which is taking place in an organised fashion is one side of the tragedy which is taking place in Iraq since the occupation". On the strength of most sources, the number of assassinations is at least 250 academics. There are hundreds of missing people and thousands of people who have fled from Iraq, fearing for their lives. This tragic situation does not only indicate that the operation to empty Iraq of intelligent minds and capable people is continuing; it also indicates that it is up to the educated middle class civilians who refuse to cooperate with the occupation to resist the operation of complete elimination, which would definitely threaten the future of Iraq. The campaign of assassinations targets both men and women, not one side or one party in particular, and in all parts of Iraq. It does not target specialists of particular disciplines; it targets geography, history and literature teachers, as well as science teachers. Despite all these assassinations, not one person has been arrested in connection with them.



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According to the report of the United Nations University, 84% of Iraqi higher education establishments have been set on fire, looted or destroyed since the occupation. The Iraqi education system was one of the most progressive systems in the region, and the wealth of educated people was one of the greatest riches of Iraq.

The academics' situation is a mirror reflecting the general situation of the occupation: a most startling human catastrophe, taking place in the shadow of a general lack of attention paid to the criminals of the occupation. According to international law, the United States, as the occupying power, is responsible for protecting the Iraqi civilians, including the academics and the well-educated. The signatories to the previously-mentioned initiative, who number nearly three thousand people around the world, including academics, lawyers and well-educated people, in addition to many human rights organisations and organisations concerned with the implementation of international law, call for a programme to tackle the assassination crimes. They demand the immediate implementation of an independent international investigation into the continuous killings, on the condition that the investigation has a clearly defined authority, and there are high standards of accountability for anyone who makes an accusation. A campaign has been set up by the BRussells Tribunal to present the appeal to the Special Rapporteur on Summary Executions at the United Nations High Commission for Human Rights in Geneva. They issued an appeal on the website <http://www.brusselstribunal.org/academics.html>, aiming for collaborative action from everyone who believes in the rights of Iraqis, including academics, to oppose the organised assassination campaign, to live in a stable country, free from any colonial, Anglo-American supervision, and to establish justice.

The only solution available to us is independence, freedom, justice and the preservation of human riches. The way to limiting the terrorism of the occupation is to expel the Anglo-American occupation forces from our country, as soon as possible. As long as the forces of occupation remain on our land, enjoying legal immunity which provides them with total protection to commit violations and crimes, including the crime of killing our people, they will remain the true decision-makers in our country and the absolute master, whatever the politicians of the occupation say to the contrary. And talk of these forces remaining in our country at our request, to establish democracy and to protect human rights, will remain mere empty words.

Original article in Arabic: <http://www.alquds.co.uk/index.asp?fname=2006\01\01-28\a33.htm>

(With thanks to Ruth Braine for the English translation of the article)



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Iraqi academics in the killing zone.

Dirk Adriaenssens, BRussells Tribunal - 02 February 2006.

Dr. Ali Abdul Razaq Al Naas, lecturer in the media college of Mustansiriya University in Baghdad and a political analyst, was shot dead in Waziriya north of Baghdad at 00:13 hours on friday 27/01/2006.

During a recent appearance on a panel show, Abdul Razaq Al Naas, a Shiite, spoke out strongly against the government's failure to improve security and the economy. He often appeared on Arab TV talk shows to discuss Iraqi politics and criticized the continuing US occupation of his country. As usual, there are no leads into this assassination.



One more family mourning, one more step towards the annihilation of Iraq's intellectual wealth. After this murder of yet another Iraqi academic, the Iraqi committee for Sciences and Intellectuals in Scandinavia issued the next statement:

"The Iraqi committee for sciences and intellectuals in Scandinavia gives its strong regrets and its huge losses for the murder of Prof. Abdul Razzaq Al Naas, Baghdad University. The mass murder and killing of all Iraqi scientists and intellectuals has its own aim, that aim is very clear and obvious,

it is to empty the land of Babylon, the land of all civilization since 8000 years ago. We have understood that Iraq will stand forever." Signed: Abbass Nagim

Following the murder of Dr. Al Naas, student demonstrations and riots broke out but were not authorized by the government and severely repressed by the police.

The problem of the assassinations on Iraqi academics is becoming very urgent. The killings seem to be systematic and very well prepared. The Iraqi university personnel is desperate. It were Iraqis who urged the BRussells Tribunal to start a campaign about this item. And in cooperation with them and other international organisations, we launched the petition to save Iraq's academics, that can be found on our website:

<http://www.brusselstribunal.org/Academicspetition.htm> in 12 languages. It can be signed online at:

<http://www.petitiononline.com/Iraqacad/petition.html>.

Since we started the campaign, we received many mails in support of this action, and a lot of comments and useful information, from inside Iraq. I will copy some of these messages to give the reader an image of what's really going on behind the smokescreen of the corporate media. We're dedicated to gather as much information as possible and



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convince the special rapporteur on summary executions at UNHCHR in Geneva to investigate this matter urgently and thoroughly.

An internationally renowned Iraqi professor wrote us:

“Dear Friends,

While the world is celebrating Christmas and new year, three more Iraqi scientists were assassinated last few days.

Dr Nawfal Ahmad / Prof. of fine Art in Baghdad Univ.

Dr Mohsin Sulaiman Al-Ajeely/professor of Agriculture in Babel UNIV.

Dr Kadhim Mashhoot Awad / prof of soil chemistry in Basrah Univ. who has been found cut into pieces after taken by the police from his house. He was one of the finest scientists in his major, and worked as a Dean for the Agriculture college in the university. The other two were shot dead by a bunch of armed gunmen.

Best wishes.”

Another Iraqi professor wrote us:

Merry Christmas and happy new year to all of you in the BRussells Tribunal. The appeal for action looks fine. You have done a great effort. I think it is very important to launch the appeal now where the real murderers of the academics of Iraq are pinpointed by the international community. In Iraq, everybody knows that the Badr Brigade, the armed militia's of Islamic Revolution in Iraq are among the assassins of the academics in Iraq. Those armed forces turned into national guards of the Interior Ministry, so they have a license to kill now!! The petition idea is very good, but the response from the Iraqi academics will not be so great since the real criminals are still free to kill any of us under the blessing of occupation. Killing the educators and the academics would make it easier for the illiterate religious fanatics to govern uneducated people, terrified for their lives. Finally, I just wanted to tell you that I left the PhD programme and I am working in a Private university to keep away from being killed too.

Well, since the petition started, about 100 Iraqi academics from inside the country have signed the petition, despite the danger this could bring to them.

Who kills Iraq's academics?

Another professor wrote us:

“We, as University lectures, are going through exceptional conditions in which any one of us may get killed intentionally or otherwise. It became normal that we greet one another when we meet, we wish each other safety and thank God to be still alive. Messages of threats to kill became something very usual. I myself got threatened after being elected Head of the Department of (omitted for safety reasons) at the college and was consequently obliged to move to another college.

Below are some facts concerning Iraqi academics:

1. Murdering involves University and other academic institutes as well, teachers of different ages specializations, and political and religious beliefs.



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2. Assassins are professional people, and we never heard till now that one murderer got arrested.
 3. Murdering takes place everywhere: on the road, at work, and home as well.
 4. Nobody has taken responsibility, and reasons have not been clarified.
 5. Murdering is carried out by fire-shooting, some got killed with 3 and others 30 bullets.
 6. The number of those killed in the university of Baghdad alone has exceeded 80 according to formal reports.
 7. people are afraid to ask for details about those crimes.
 8. Many of the killed are friends, one is Prof. Sabri Al-Bayati, a Prof. on Arts was killed on 13/6/2003 near the college. Another is Prof. Dr. Sabaah Mahmood Dean of the college Al-Mustansiriyah University who was killed near the college 2003. Prof. Dr. Abdullateef al Mayaahi was killed with more than 30 bullets. He occupied the post of Director of the centre of Arab studies in the Mustansiriyah University.
- I suggest that you correspond with the presidents of Universities to get data and details of these killings from the presidents of the universities of Baghdad, Mustansiriyah, Basrah, Kufa, Mosul.....
9. Many famous professors, doctors have left Iraq to save their lives.

Best Regards and happy new year to you and your family.

We hope to have continuous communication.”

Some of the killings are apparently carried out by Iraqi police, and others by the Badr Brigade, as can be read in the messages above. But the assassinations also take place in the North of the country, which is controlled by Kurdish Peshmerga militia's. These militias have been financed and trained by the occupation forces. The Pentagon spent 3 billion dollars, out of the 87 billion \$ budget for 2004, to create militia's & death squads. Negroponte has certainly learned his job well in El Salvador, before he was appointed ambassador to Iraq. He transferred his methods of systematic liquidations, employed in the dirty wars in Middle and Latin America during the 70's and 80's, to Iraq. Many Latin American mercenaries who belonged to death squads in Chile, Nicaragua, El Salvador etc.. were recruited by private companies and are now operating inside Iraq.

Organisations like the Badr Brigade, the Wolf Brigade, the Peshmerga's and foreign mercenaries have replaced the dismantled regular Iraqi army and can be held responsible for a lot of the extrajudicial killings that take place. They made their appearance on the Iraqi scene on the backs of US tanks. These militia's also operate alongside the US forces against the Iraqi resistance. But they're not the only ones involved in the killings of Iraq's academics.

According to Osama Abed Al-Majeed, the president of the Department for Research and Development at the Iraqi Ministry for Higher Education, it is the Israeli secret service, Mossad who perpetuates the violence against Iraqi scientists. The Palestine Information Center published a report in June 2005 and claimed that Mossad, in cooperation with U.S. military forces, was responsible for the assassination of 530 Iraqi scientists and professors in the seven months prior to the report's publication.

An example of an assassination by US forces is f.i. Prof. Dr. Mohammed Munim al-Izmerly. He was an Iraqi chemistry professor, tortured and killed by the American Interrogation team, and died in American custody from a sudden hit to the back of his head caused by blunt trauma. It was uncertain exactly how he died, but someone had hit him from



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behind, possibly with a bar or a pistol. His battered corpse turned up at Baghdad's morgue and the cause of death was initially recorded as "brainstem compression". It was discovered that US doctors had made a 20cm incision in his skull.

We received a mail about this particular case from a US citizen who wrote us:

"I have found information for individual information on victims in two cases:

** al-Rawi - president of Baghdad University and Saddam Hussein's physician*

** Prof. Dr. Mohammed Munim al-Izmerly - chemistry professor apparently involved in poisoning human subjects.*

These two cases are not particularly strong in helping gain "sympathy" for the victims. While it is true that everyone has fundamental human rights, no matter how criminal his/her actions may have been, calling someone apparently involved in testing poisons on human subjects a "distinguished Iraqi chemistry professor" without any caveats is likely to make many people distrust the whole list."

We asked an Iraqi professor for more information about these 2 cases, and received the following answer:

"Good Day.

The information about the two Iraqi Scientists are false allegations. Dr Mohamed Al-Rawi was a fine MD and head of the university of Baghdad. He worked, like other well known specialists in Ibin Sena hospital in the middle of the Presidential Palace Area (currently called the Green Zone). Some of his colleagues are still working in that Hospital. Generally, they treat all the cabinet and Presidential Palace Staff and personnel and their families, who are still working in the green zone after the occupation. This hospital and others can call any specialist when they have no choices in their staff members, even from other Iraqi cities. The only well known doctor associated with Saddam Hussein name was Dr Alaa Basher, who is still alive and kicking, but out of Iraq. So the whole idea is Brain Drain Iraq from its brilliant figures, so the Molaas of Tehran would be able to rule it easily. The same thing is applicable on Dr Al-Izmeri. The occupation was desperate for one confession that Iraq's program of WMD was still active, but with all the torture they couldn't get that out of him. His family in London accused the Pentagon officially of killing him during interrogation based on false allegations. I would like to remind our friend about the terrible accusation of Huda Ammash, of associating her with biological weapons which is totally untrue, and after holding her in detention for three years, they released her because everything they have accused her of, was all occupation propaganda.

Accept my best wishes."

This is another case of malicious disinformation, apparently: "demonise to colonize".

Conclusion: we don't know all the organisations and individuals who are involved in planning and carrying out these murders, but if we put all the scarce available information together, there seems to be a pattern of systematic liquidation of the Iraqi middle class that refuses to cooperate with the occupation. The shooting of peaceful academics is done by many different forces who share the same interest in further dismantling the Iraqi state.



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Other conclusion: the violence against the Iraqi academics is not primarily a sectarian Sunni-Shia issue. Neither are Baathists the only victims. Every Iraqi who opposes the occupation and its puppet government is a possible target.

One particular reaction drew our attention, because it showed that the Iraqi academics indeed want to oppose this situation, but are obstructed by the Quisling-government from doing so.

“That’s great. OK I will give you some names. In fact the list is so big I will do a scan and send it to you as I wish we can do something about that, and I am ready to work with you on that, but please keep my name secret for security reasons. Give me a couple of days. Then you’ll receive a list of more than 100 Iraqi professors who were murdered. As well as I have my own stories about that.

The head of our dept. was killed a month ago. I arranged for a rally in the university and I invited all the media. I wrote a press release, I tried to make it official, I mean not only among the students. And you know what? Many important people in the university and the government told me we should not show the weakness of our government. I became very disappointed. I didn’t know how to work on that and if no one helps you it will be useless. I hope we can raise our voice this time.”

And that’s what this campaign is all about: create awareness of the atrocities that are taking place, support the academic community in Iraq in their efforts to raise their voice against the killings of their educators, and safeguard them from further decimation.

The case of Prof. Hameeda Simeisim.

Prof. Hameeda Simeisem, was and still is the most admired scientist of media in Iraq over the past 30 years.

After her PhD she produced 17 books through which she analyzed the anti Iraqi propaganda and the Iraqi media. She also wrote a standard work that became a curriculum in school of journalism. As an expert, she helped many Iraqi and Arabic media and women organizations.

The profs and students of the school of media-Baghdad University in which she is lecturing for the past 30 years elected her as the Dean of the school after April 2003.



Most of the professors of the university, appointed in the last ten years, were and are her students.

Hameeda is a secular Shiite. On Jan 22 2006, an order was signed by the President of Baghdad University expelling her from the function as a Dean, in accordance to the Higher National Committee for Deba'thification.



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Never in her lifetime Hameeda was a Ba'thist. Many sectarian accidents happened in the school as they are happening in every university. Professor journalism Dr. Moayad Al-Khaffaf was attacked in his office by 8 students accusing him of speaking badly about the Shiite clerics! This attack on Al-Khaffaf made many journalists, media networks and even the minister of higher education criticize the sectarian trends inside the universities. The university had no other choice but to expel Hameeda in an attempt to calm down the tension.

Under the pretext of deba'thification and by assassinating the Iraqi academics, the scheme of destroying Iraq is going on.

Is the US government responsible for this state of affairs? We believe it is. The so-called "transfer of authority" was not, despite any Security Council recognition afforded to the interim Iraqi government, the end of the occupation. Nor was the supposed free election of a National Assembly and the formation of a government in January; both because the framework (the Transitional Administrative Law) was illegal as such (an occupying force cannot change domestic law, as stated very clearly in the Geneva Conventions) and because none of this could have occurred without the presence of US troops on the ground. Our understanding is that a state of occupation is much a de facto judgment call as it is a de jure one. So we should rest easy in continuing to refer to US presence in Iraq as an occupation, whether they or the UNSC see it as such or not.

And finally: As mentioned before, the Pentagon spent 3 billion dollar, out of the 87 billion \$ budget for 2004, to create militia's & death squads. It's these thugs who apparently carry out some or many of the extrajudicial killings. And not one person has been arrested for these crimes. The lawlessness in all these cases is striking. Inside the Green Zone is the largest US embassy in the world, including many intelligence officers. They should have been able to investigate and solve a minimum of these crimes and arrest the murderers. Those responsible for the assassination of academics must also have access to sophisticated intelligence techniques and information.

If one puts all the yet available pieces of the puzzle together, the only logical conclusion is that the US occupation is at least complicit in this assassination campaign and in any case bears final responsibility, as an occupying power, for this dreadful situation.

The BRussells Tribunal is planning to investigate this issue more thoroughly in the coming months. And we need all the help we can get to expose the truth, by distributing the petition as widely as possible and to furnish us with all the information you can find.

Please send all information and comments to info@brusselstribunal.org.

Dirk Adriaensens.

Member of the Executive Committee of the BRussells Tribunal.

Iraqi intellectuals under siege

by Amal Hamdan in Baghdad
Friday 27 February 2004 9:57 PM GMT

Grief physically overwhelms Dr Bushra al-Rawi. Months after Dr Muhammad al-Rawi was murdered, she wishes her husband had taken the threats on his life more seriously.

The night of 27 July 2003 is painfully clear in Bushra's memory. Two men entered the private clinic of the doctor, who was then president of Baghdad University.

One of them feigned severe stomach pain and was doubled over. Concealed against his stomach was a gun with which he shot al-Rawi. The father of three died instantly.



Many intellectuals like al-Rawi have been murdered

The dead man's name was on an ominous list naming professors, intellectuals and academics marked for assassination after the US-led occupation of Iraq.

Although al-Rawi heard he was on the list, he did not take it seriously, says Bushra.

"He would say that he had no enemies. He would say to me 'I am a scientist and a doctor'," she says.

Purge suspected

During the years of UN-imposed sanctions, thousands of Iraq's most talented professionals left the country. And almost one year after the recent US-led war, about 2000 professors and academics have fled.

Many academics fear a deliberate brain drain is now being executed through murder.

"The mukhabarat (secret intelligence) of all the surrounding countries are active here: Mossad, the Iranians, Turks, Kuwaitis, Jordanians, Syrians," says one academic who asked not be named. "They are settling scores with each other, with the Americans and the Americans with them."

But who is behind the murders?

General Ahmad Katham Ibrahim, deputy interior minister, claims Baathists, fearing that intellectuals will divulge information on alleged weapons programmes, are assassinating them.

However, not all black-listed professors come from the field of science: many have either journalism, political science or even literature backgrounds.



The fear of the gun has cast a shadow on students and teachers



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But Ibrahim insists all those threatened have or had knowledge of illegal arms.

Dreams

Under the former government, academics wanting to join educational institutions had to swear allegiance to the Baath party, making virtually everybody a member.

Al-Rawi and his colleagues were Baathists. But there is little hatred for this man. Black banners mourning his death still fly across the university's different campuses.

"He had dreams to improve the university. He would tell me 'the country is not Saddam Hussein's ...This is our country and our children's country'," says Bushra.

Bushra's sons, aged 22, 17 and 15, want to know who murdered their father. They want closure. But it will be difficult as police have refused to investigate the murder.

Many missing

The name of Gulshan Husayn's husband was on the same list as al-Rawi.

Even after al-Rawi's murder, Dr Ali al-Zaak, dean of Genetic Engineering at the Bio-Technology Institute of Baghdad University, refused to leave the country.

"My husband's name was on a list of people wanted by the Americans," says the mother of two.

On 27 January, US occupation forces detained al-Zaak. They refuse to tell Gulshan why and where her husband is being held.

Al-Zaak's ordeal began on 31 May last year. US soldiers dressed in civilian clothing, but under tank protection appeared at his office, saying they wanted to "bridge gaps in the field of science", says Gulshan.

Secret meetings

Initially, interrogators would meet al-Zaak on campus to question him on Iraq's alleged weapons of mass destruction programme. But when an American officer was killed on campus, they demanded to meet him outside the university.

Despite the fact that the new university president ordered professors not to meet occupation authorities off campus, al-Zaak continued to cooperate, meeting US officials in different hotels.

Al-Zaak kept a record of his meetings, including the dates, locations and first names of the interrogators.

False relief

"Why are they still detaining university professors if they are re-analysing their own intelligence on whether Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction?"

Gulshan Husayn,
wife of Dr Ali al-Zaak,
detained dean of Genetic
Engineering, Baghdad University



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Finally, on 18 August, al-Zaak was told he had been removed from the "black list". A degree of normalcy returned to their lives.

But it was too short a relief. When professors began to be assassinated, the university issued a memo asking them to take gun licenses for protection.

The day al-Zaak was scheduled to pick up his license from US authorities, Gulshan told her husband to be home by 3:30pm for lunch. But he did not make it.

Months after he was told that his name was cleared, US soldiers detained al-Zaak.

"Why are they still detaining university professors if they are re-analysing their own intelligence on whether Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction?" Gulshan asks.

Warnings

Professors formerly detained by US forces recount harrowing tales. Some were held in suspended cages and ordered not to speak to their neighbours. Others are too traumatized to discuss the ordeal.

Gulshan, refusing to have her picture taken, is terrified her husband will share al-Rawi's fate.

Many academics describe how they began receiving single bullets and verbal warnings for their staunch anti-occupation stances and calls for Iraqis to resist the invasion.

The head of a research institute at Baghdad University, who did not want to be named, is one of them.

A well-known critic of Israel's occupation of Palestinian territories, she has appeared on Arab satellite channels slamming the presence of US occupation forces, particularly in the campus.

Some of her colleagues, who welcomed the invasion, were incensed that her criticism of the occupation was being beamed to millions of homes.

That is when some of her colleagues confided to her that department members wanted her dead.

"They just made me firmer in my positions," she says. But when the oldest of her three children confronted her, saying they needed their mother, she decided to tone down her criticism.

Hasty retreats

Hundreds of other academics have retreated to their homes. They have no extra protection and cannot turn to US forces, who have accused some of them of being Saddam loyalists.



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They can only ask questions. And Gulshan can only wait. "Does it look like we had ties to Saddam?" she asks, gesturing around her modest apartment.

"If they want to stop our education movement, let them just do it."

Aljazeera

By Amal Hamdan in Baghdad

You can find this article at:

<http://english.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/48D3105B-C3BA-4B82-A01C-D8D05892A36D.htm>

Iraqi intellectuals flee 'death squads'

by Ahmed Janabi

Tuesday 30 March 2004 10:04 AM GMT

Occupied Iraq is suffering a new brain drain as intellectuals flood out of the country to avoid unemployment and an organised killing campaign.

In recent months assassinations have targeted engineers, pharmacologists, officers, and lawyers.

More than 1000 leading Iraqi professionals and intellectuals have been assassinated since last April, among them such prominent figures as Dr Muhammad al-Rawi, the president of Baghdad University.

The identity of the assailants remains a mystery and none have been caught.



Baghdad University was a neat place before the occupation

But families and colleagues of victims believe that Iraqi parties with foreign affiliations have an interest in wiping out Iraq's intellectual elite.

Media reports suggest that more than 3000 Iraqi academics and high-profile professionals have left Iraq recently, not to mention the thousands of Iraqis who are travelling out of the country every day in search of work and safety.

"Iraqis used to leave Iraq during the 13-year UN sanctions for better work opportunities, but they are leaving now to avoid being assassinated by unknown, well-organised death squads," said political analyst and politics professor Dhafir Salman.

Usama al-Ani, director of the research and development department in the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research said top Iraqi scientists have been targeted by foreign parties.

"I believe Iraqi scientists are being targeted by foreign powers, most probably Israel."

Terror campaign



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Monday's issue of the pro-US Iraqi internet newspaper Iraq of Tomorrow reported that the decapitated body of mathematics professor Dr Abd al-Samai Abd al-Razaq had been found in a Baghdad street.

Aljazeera.net contacted Dr Abd al-Samai's family in Baghdad and was surprised to find him very much alive.

"They published such a story to terrify me and my family," he told Aljazeera.net, accusing political and religious parties of turning Iraqi universities into political battlefields.

"Since occupation, universities have become fertile recruitment ground for political and religious parties. Students should be devoted to their studies, not to serving the interests of those who seek power.

"These groups are targeting me and all my colleagues who want to preserve respected Iraqi institutions from destruction."



The al-Mustansiriya University in Baghdad is 1000 years old

De-Baathification

Aside from the terror campaign, measures taken by the post occupation authorities have contributed to Iraq's brain drain.

"I would like to ask the de-Baathification committee why they are so happy that many thousands of Baathists have been sacked from Iraq's governmental departments and educational institutions?" Salman says. "Do they think they have done well? Of course, not.

"They have sacked Iraq's elite professionals; who will replace them? Where will the replacements come from? After all, these people are Iraqis, is this in line with the national reconciliation they are talking about?"

Before the war on Iraq, US and UK officials repeatedly accused the Iraqi government of triggering the exodus of four million educated Iraqis.

But under the occupation the rate of emigration has increased.

"Iraqi universities have lost 1315 scientists who hold MA and PhD degrees," al-Ani said. "This number constitutes eight per cent of the 15,500 Iraqi academics.



Al-Ani: University equipment destroyed by war and looting

"Up until now, 30% of those who were sacked as result of the campaign have left Iraq."



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Education system

Iraq is rich in intellectuals, largely as a result of Saddam Hussein's policy of sending tens of thousands of Iraqi students abroad to gain post-graduate degrees in a wide range of disciplines.

The practice fell into abeyance when UN sanctions were imposed in 1990 following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

In the country itself, where education has been free since the abolition of the monarchy in 1958, most of the 20 universities in Iraq also awarded post-graduate degrees.

Aljazeera

By Ahmed Janabi

You can find this article at:

<http://english.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/FBE0836E-F273-4A36-8347-66BE05F39475.htm>

Death to those who dare to speak out

from the April 30, 2004 edition - <http://www.csmonitor.com/2004/0430/p11s01-woiq.html>

By **Annia Ciezadlo** | Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

BAGHDAD - Even under Saddam Hussein, Saad Jawad spoke his mind. The mild-mannered, political science professor was one of only four people who dared to sign a petition asking Iraq's dictator for a more democratic form of government.

Today, Dr. Jawad still speaks out. But like other university professors across Iraq, he is increasingly afraid that saying what he thinks - or saying anything political at all - could get him killed. "To tell the truth, at the time of Saddam Hussein, we used to speak to our students freely," says Jawad. "Ministers, for example, were criticized all the time. But now, a lot of people are not willing to say these kinds of things because of fear."

Over the past year, Baghdad's intelligentsia has seen a wave of killings: scientists, professors, and academics, executed in carefully planned assassinations.

It's hard to estimate the toll, but US occupation authorities put the number of "intellectuals and professionals" assassinated at up to five a month, not counting another five to 10 monthly attempts.

By some counts, as many as 40 of Iraq's leading scientists and university professors have been killed since last April. The Iraqi police say 1,000 of the country's intellectuals may have been executed in the past year, but such a high figure seems doubtful, especially as rumors abound. At least one mathematics professor who was reported by local news outlets to have been killed turned out to be very much alive.

But regardless of the numbers, there is one sure victim: free speech. On the campuses of Iraq's universities, the killings have created a climate of fear so pervasive that many professors flatly refuse to speak about them, or even to admit they are happening.

"It is limiting our freedom of speech, and that's why you find people from London and Paris, and the Gulf countries, speaking out on Iraqi politics more readily than people in Iraq," says Jawad.



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The killings are having another effect: brain drain. Several months ago, a colleague of Jawad's received a death threat, scrawled on a scrap of paper, slipped under his garage door. Such threats are common in Baghdad these days, but Jawad's friend didn't wait to find out if it was genuine or not. He took it to the minister of higher education and the head of the university, both of whom told him there was nothing they could do. Terrified, he fled the country, leaving a junior professor to take over his classes.

"These were the best who were assassinated, the best minds," says Dr. Ismail Mahmoud Muhammad Issa, assistant dean of students at Mustansiriya's College of Law. "This is the reason why so many scientists are leaving the country."

Inside their offices, professors hint darkly at a range of possible culprits, from disgruntled students to Baathist insurgents to American forces themselves.

"They might kill every brain in this country, and we are next in line," says Salah Aliwi, deputy dean of the college of sciences at Mustansiriya. "But we don't know how, or when."

Mr. Aliwi has every reason to be afraid: The killings began with the assassination of his predecessor, Falah Hussein, in May 2003. "He was sitting right here in this chair," says Aliwi. "And to this day, we don't know why he was killed."

Next came Dr. Muhammad al-Rawi, president of Baghdad University, on July 27. After the methodical assassinations of several more top scientists and engineers, professors began muttering in private that Israel or the CIA was killing all of Iraq's scientists to stop the country from rebuilding its nuclear weapons program. Some believe it might be neighboring Iran, Turkey, or Syria, for the same reason. Others blame Baathists trying to silence scientists who might know too much about Hussein-era weapons of mass destruction.

"We don't know why, but there is a deliberate effort to kill scientists," says Aliwi. "As a teacher and as a scientist here, I think that they want to stop us from learning."

But then, in late January, came the killing of Abdul-Latif al-Mayah, a middle-aged political science professor at Mustansiriya. Dr. Mayah had been interviewed the night before he was killed on the Arabic-language satellite television station Al Jazeera. A human rights advocate and longtime pro-democracy activist, he spoke in favor of holding elections in Iraq by June 30, the date set for America's planned handover of political power to Iraqis. Less than 24 hours later, he was gunned down on his way to the university.

To many Iraqi intellectuals, Mayah's killing seemed like a signal to keep their mouths shut on controversial topics.

"I know that he was a quiet man, a peaceful man, honest," says Dr. Riyadh Aziz Hadi, dean of the Faculty of Political Science at Baghdad University. "But he had political activities, talked to politicians from time to time, and he would give his opinion about everything when they asked him."

Dr. Hadi, like several other professors, now refuses to give interviews on Arabic-language television channels. When asked why, he's afraid even to say. "Now we have freedom of speech," he says cautiously, "but no security."

[Full HTML version of this story which may include photos, graphics, and related links](#)

Iraqi intellectuals appeal for security

by Ahmed Janabi
Wednesday 19 May 2004 9:26 AM
GMT

Iraq's scientific community is becoming increasingly concerned over the escalation in kidnappings and the terrorising of Iraqi intellectuals.

Aljazeera's correspondent in Baghdad Atwar Bahjat says the latest numbers circulating inside the community suggest 250 Iraqi scientists have either been killed or kidnapped by organised gangs, while others have been arrested by US occupation authorities.

Medical doctors are the most targeted group because of their relatively good financial status.

Negligence

Many of Iraq's most notable medical doctors have been kidnapped for a ransom in recent weeks, including Dr Abd Al-Hadi al-Khalili, Sarmad al-Fahad and Riyadh al-Sakini, while others have been threatened with the kidnapping of family members.

Dr al-Khalili's car was stolen. Days later he was kidnapped. His family underwent difficult negotiations with the kidnappers, before managing to release him for three thousands dollars.

Iraqi physicians have accused the Iraqi Governing Council (IGC) of neglecting the safety of Iraqis and Iraq's elite in particular.

The Iraqi Physicians Union recently staged sit-ins and strikes, to protest at the increase in crime against them.

Personal responsibility

The Union issued a statement saying as it was not aware of the body responsible for providing security to Iraqis, it called on its members to take responsibility for their individual and families' safety.

Dr Ibrahim al-Basri said his family was a victim of kidnapping and the Iraqi authorities could do nothing to protect them.

His son was kidnapped and a bomb was thrown at his house by unknown assailants. He now keeps a pistol next to his medical instruments.

"My son Yazan was kidnapped. The kidnapper's identity, address and thuraya number



Dr al-Basri regrets the absence of an effective security system



Dr al-Basri's pistol beside his medical equipment



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(satellite phone) is known" al-Basri said.

"This information was submitted to the former Interior Minister ... But I had to pay to get my son back."

Dr Huda al-Nuaymi, head of the Palestinian Studies Centre in Baghdad University says "It is a state of lawlessness ...

"Kidnappers are safe; they do not even have to hide their identity ...

"Imagine, they come to the victim's family and negotiate the price with ease."



Dr Huda al-Nuaymi insists on revealing occupiers' wrongdoings

Politically motivated

Some Iraqi groups believe the kidnapping and terrorising of Iraqi intellectuals is not simply for the ransom, but is an attempt to force Iraq's intelligensia out of their country.

"If we look at the way that these crimes against intellectuals are carried out, we see that the perpetrators are not just after money.

"Victims are receiving threats of future abuse if they do not take necessary steps, which is to leave Iraq" says Dr Muthana Harith al-Dhari, spokesman of the Association of Muslim Scholars.

The Association has accused organised groups of launching a reign of terror against Iraqi intellectuals and recently started to organise a representative body to protect them.

"It is well organised crime, because some of the victims were abducted for their political views. Many Iraqi intellectuals have left the country after receiving threats from powerful political parties.

"I myself, because I openly criticise the occupation, have received a threat from unknown individuals. They have threatened to throw me from the roof of my university." Dr Huda said.

Aljazeera
By Ahmed Janabi

You can find this article at:

<http://english.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/03618D7F-C0A9-4F99-954D-9D028D6D2123.htm>



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"It has begun."

June 13, 2004

Several of us are sitting in the hotel room having lunch, watching the news trying to keep up with the violence which engulfs Iraq on a daily basis nowadays. Let me give you a quick rundown from the last 24 hours.

Late last night fighting continued in Sadr City between the Mehdi Army and occupation forces...leaving at least five Iraqis dead, three of them civilians.

This morning the Republican Palace where Bremer is headquartered was blasted by a rocket.

Shortly after 9 this morning, a huge blast rocked Baghdad when a car bomb detonated near Camp Cuervo, a US Army Camp in the northern part of the capital. The explosion left 12 Iraqis dead, 4 of whom were policemen.

Another car bomb exploded this evening north of Baghdad in an attack on US troops-killing one soldier and wounding 2.

According to the AP, there have been 16 car bombs this month thus far, and today is June 13th.

The assassination's of government officials continues unabated. Last night in Baquba, an attempt on Majeed Almani Mahal, a senior Iraqi Police official, left him wounded in a local hospital.

Also yesterday, the chief of the border police in Iraq, Major General Hussein Mustafa Abdul-Kareem was wounded when assassins attacked his convoy in Baghdad.

The attempts grew more lethal yesterday when the Iraqi deputy foreign minister, Bassam Kubba was shot dead while driving to work.

Today Kamal al-Jarah, an official from the Education Ministry, was assassinated near his home.

While we were watching all of this news small, black helicopters of secret service and private security contractors buzzed like flies over central Baghdad while sirens blared randomly from the blazingly hot streets.

While footage of cars with broken glass and bullet holes in their frames flashed across the screen of the television, my friends' translator Hamid, an older man who has grown weary of the violence said softly, "It has begun. These are only the start, and they will not stop. Even after June 30th."

And the news of more assassinations continues to roll in. Last night Iyad Khorshid, a popular Kurdish cleric in Kirkuk was killed in the city where tensions between the ethnic groups is rising each day.

All of this atop the ongoing killings of the intelligentsia in Baghdad, where over the last year of occupation there have been a monthly average of 10-15 assassination attempts on Iraqi professors, scientists and academics, 5 of which each month being successful.



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Yet another example of this occurred today at Baghdad University, where a geography professor, Sabri al-Bayati, was assassinated.

Of course foreign contractors can't be left out of the slaughter. On this front, today we got the news that the brutally butchered body of a Lebanese construction worker was found yesterday near Fallujah. He had previously been kidnapped.

Nor can we forget about the journalists—two Iraqis working for the US-controlled Al-Iraqia TV station were found dead near the border of Syria. Apparently they were killed yesterday.

Lakhdar Brahimi announced his resignation yesterday from his position of the UN envoy to Iraq due to what he described as great difficulties and frustration from his assignment.

Not long ago Brahimi announced, "Bremer is the dictator of Iraq. He has the money. He has the signature. Nothing happens without his agreement in this country."

Presenting what was apparently the US idea of a solution, Brigadier General Mark Kimmitt said of the military plans in Iraq after the "handover" on June 30th; "We will not be pulling out of the cities. We will not be relocating."

<http://dahrjamailiraq.com/weblog/archives/dispatches/000013.php>

Where is this going?

Iraq's academics and medical professionals are being murdered and abducted in an unofficial war on the country's brain power, reports **Ahmed Mukhtar** from Baghdad

Professor Salah Alawi of Al-Mustansiriya University has every reason to be concerned. According to Alawi, deputy dean of the college of sciences, Iraq has been caught up in a wave of killings targetting academics and medical professionals. Alawi's predecessor, Falah Hussein, who was killed in May 2003, was the first victim of this violence. "He was sitting right here in this chair," says Alawi. "To this day, we don't know why he was killed." Hussein's murder was followed by the assassination of Dr Mohamed Al-Rawi, president of Baghdad University, in July of last year. These two killings marked the beginnings of what appears to be a spate of organised murders aimed at stripping Iraq of some of its most valuable resources. "They want to kill every brain in this country and we might be next in line. The question is just when," said Alawi.

Employees of Al-Haitham Hospital in Baghdad went on strike last week to protest against the killings. They were demonstrating against the abduction of hospital director Dr Faris Al-Bakri. According to witnesses, Dr Al-Bakri was kidnapped by several masked men who raided his private clinic. While Al-Bakri's family declined to give press interviews, his son Hamza expressed concern for his father's life. Iraqi doctors say that very few options are available to them. "We can either quit our jobs and stay at home, work under these circumstances and endanger our lives, or leave the country altogether," said Dr Mohamed Al-Baghdadi, an Iraqi surgeon.

While it is hard to pin down a definite figure, coalition authorities estimate that up to five Baghdad intellectuals are killed each month. This does not include attempted killings of academics, which can range between five and 10 per month. The Iraqi police say that at least 1,000 people may have been killed in the past year, although the some doubt the figure is so high.

But who is behind these killings? Some believe Baathist insurgents are responsible while others point towards disgruntled students or even the US forces themselves as perpetrators. "We don't know why this



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happens, but there is a deliberate effort to kill scientists," says Alawi. "As a teacher and as a scientist here, I think that they want to stop us from learning."

Many of Iraq's top medical specialists were targeted in a recent wave of kidnappings. No definite figure exists as to the extent of the problem, but health officials estimate that as many as 100 surgeons, specialists and general practitioners have been abducted from their homes, clinics and public hospitals since the beginning of April. Some were beaten and tortured; others were released after ransom was paid. Several doctors who spoke to *Al-Ahram Weekly* said that many professionals who received death threats have left the country. "We are losing the brain power of our most brilliant doctors," said Dr Sami Salman, director of the Special Care Hospital at Baghdad's Medical City complex. "You just can't replace them overnight."

Health officials say that Iraq's fragile healthcare system is the first casualty of this war that goes largely unreported. Hospitals already lack basic medical supplies, and while many university professors have been the victims of violence, it is the healthcare network that has suffered the most. Money, it seems, is not always the motivation behind these crimes. In many cases abductors have ordered the doctors and physicians to leave the country, some even setting a deadline for their departure. Iraqi officials fear that the abductions and threats are an organised attempt to cripple the country's healthcare network, likening such tactics to terrorist attacks on the country's oil pipelines or electricity plants.

The targeting of Iraqi medical staff has taken its toll on the medical studies departments of Iraqi universities. According to Dr Hassan Rubaie, deputy dean of Baghdad University's medical school, many doctors were planning to take leave for a year, thereby dramatically cutting the number of working teachers. In response to this, the number of students accepted to medical college has decreased.

According to Zuheir Al-Maliki, a judge at the Iraqi Central Criminal Court, only three recent cases of kidnapping have been investigated. One such incident involved members of the Iraqi National Congress (INC) chaired by Ahmed Chalabi. The recent raid on INC offices in Baghdad was partly in response to one doctor's claim that three INC members, Sabah Nuri, Aras Habid and Amer Mohamed, had been involved in his kidnapping.

There is yet another victim of this: free speech. On the campuses of Iraq's universities, the killings have created a climate of fear so pervasive that many professors flatly refuse to speak about them or admit that they are happening. "It is limiting our freedom of speech and that's why you find people from London and Paris, and the Gulf states speaking out more readily on Iraqi politics than people inside Iraq," says Dr Saad Jawad, a professor at Baghdad University's political science college. Several months ago, a colleague of Jawad received a death threat scrawled on a scrap of paper and pushed under the door of his garage. Such threats are common in Baghdad these days, but Jawad's friend did not wait to find out if it was genuine or not. He took the note to the minister of higher education and the head of the university, both of whom told him there was nothing they could do. Terrified, he fled the country, leaving a junior professor to take over his post.

In late January, Abdul-Latif Al-Mayah, a middle-aged professor of political science at Al-Mustansiriya, was murdered. Dr Mayah had been interviewed the night before his death on the Arabic-language satellite television station Al-Jazeera. A human rights advocate and longtime pro-democracy activist, he spoke in favour of holding elections in Iraq by 30 June, the date set for transfer of sovereignty. Less than 24 hours later, he was gunned down on his way to the university.

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Academics targeted as murder and mayhem hits Iraqi colleges



By Robert Fisk in Baghdad - 14 July 2004

The Independent's award-winning Middle East correspondent regrets that he cannot accept e-mails but letters may be sent c/o Foreign Desk, 191 Marsh Wall, London E14 9RS

http://news.independent.co.uk/world/middle_east/story.jsp?story=540648

The Mongols stained the Tigris black with the ink of the Iraqi books they destroyed. Today's Mongols prefer to destroy the Iraqi teachers of books.

Since the Anglo-American invasion, they have murdered at least 13 academics at the University of Baghdad alone and countless others across Iraq. History professors, deans of college and Arabic tutors have all fallen victim to the war on learning. Only six weeks ago - virtually unreported, of course - the female dean of the college of law in Mosul was beheaded in her bed, along with her husband.

Just who the modern-day Mongols are remains a painful mystery of our story. Disgruntled students they are not. Baathist-hunters some of them might be - all heads of academic departments were forced to join Saddam's party - but none of the murdered Baghdad university staff were believed to be anything more than card-carriers.

Even the former president of the university, Dr Mohamed Arawi - a surgeon shot at his clinic a year ago - was regarded as a liberal, humane man. But professors now watch the doors of their lecture theatres as carefully as they do their students. And who can blame them? After all, Dr Sabri al-Bayati of the department of geography was shot dead only a month ago, just outside the arts department, in front of many of his students.

"He was gunned down just over there by the wall," one of his colleagues told me yesterday. "Many students saw his killer but they could do nothing. Two bullets. That's all."

Talk to the academics at Baghdad University, and the names roll out. Dr Nafa Aboud of the department of Arabic was murdered just two months ago. Dr Hissam Sharif of the department of history was sitting at the door of his Baghdad home when the killers came, shooting him and two friends.

Dr Falah al-Dulaimi, assistant dean of college at Mustansariya University in Baghdad, was shot in his college office last year.

"What can we do?" Saad Hassani of Baghdad University's English department asked me. "Just a month ago, my son Ali - a student in our biology department - was kidnapped. He walked outside the campus on a hot day, took a taxi and the driver offered him a drink of cold water. Then he lost consciousness. When he came to he was in a dark room, blindfolded, and they beat him and tortured him with electricity.

"Then he heard two groups of men arguing, one lot saying, 'You've got the wrong one'. They threw him out of a car beside a road. But at least they didn't kill him. He will not leave his home now. He flunked his exams. What am I to think?"

Other university staff suspect that there is a campaign to strip Iraq of its academics, to complete the destruction of Iraq's cultural identity which began with the destruction of the Baghdad Koranic library, the national archives and the looting of the archaeological museum when the American army entered Baghdad.



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"Maybe the Kuwaitis want to take their revenge for what we did to them in 1991," a lecturer said. "Maybe the Israelis are trying to make sure that we can never have an intellectual infrastructure here.

"Yes, you suggest it could be the 'resistance'. But what is the 'resistance'? We don't know who it is. Is it nationalist? Why should they want to get rid of us? Is it religious? The arts department has become a pulpit for Islamism. But these people are part of the university."

In the southern city of Nasiriyah, many departmental heads have received threatening letters, ordering them to leave Iraq. At least one professor in the university has been murdered. The dean of the college of law in Mosul, murdered last month, was the most gruesome killing. "She was in bed with her husband when they came for her," a Baghdad colleague told me yesterday. "They coolly shot both of them in their bed. Then they cut off both their heads with knives."

Both arts and science faculty members have been victims. Dr Abdul-Latif al-Maya was working in urban planning in the Baghdad University geography department when he was killed at his home. Professor Wajih Mahjoub was murdered in the College of Physical Education in April last year as US troops were entering Baghdad.

"Dr Arawi told me only two days before he was murdered that he had nothing to fear," a friend of his recalled yesterday. "He said, 'I never hurt anyone. Everyone respects me.' On the day of his death, the killers came claiming to be patients. They shot him in his surgery."

In the early weeks of his occupation proconsulship, Paul Bremer fired all senior academics who were members of the Baath party. "They went home and tried to leave the country," another Baghdad arts professor complained. "But those who stayed are now mostly too frightened to return because they have been named - and they fear for their lives."

Yesterday morning, I visited one arts department at the university to find it entirely empty of staff. Each teacher's room was closed with a large padlock.

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The slaughter of Iraq's intellectuals

Andrew Rubin

Monday 6th September 2004

<http://www.newstatesman.com/200409060018>

Since the occupation began, some 200 leading Iraqi academics, most of them in the humanities and social sciences, have been killed. Is the CIA responsible? By **Andrew Rubin**

Control, intimidation, and even murder of Iraqi intellectuals, professors, lecturers and teachers has become more or less systematic since the US-led invasion of Iraq began in March 2003. Under the subsequent occupation, initially governed by a body called the Coalition Provisional Authority, US military officials dismissed many Iraqi intellectuals from university positions, often on spurious grounds; and a surprisingly large number fell victim to assassination. The Union of Iraqi Lecturers believes that roughly 200 have been killed, and estimates by various professors in Iraq back up this figure.

Intellectuals, professors, lecturers and teachers are being assassinated on what seems to be almost a regular basis.



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To date, the CPA has neither investigated the deaths nor made a single arrest, despite its penchant for rounding up young Iraqis and treating them in barbaric ways in Saddam Hussein's former prison of choice, Abu Ghraib. A US defence department spokesman, when asked recently about assassinations among the Iraqi intelligentsia, dismissed the matter as simply "obscure". The Iraqi interim government, installed and hand-picked by the United States, has done nothing and said nothing about it. With the exception of a few courageous individuals such as Saad Jawad, a senior professor of political science at the University of Baghdad, people are unwilling to speak out publicly. When a former doctoral student of Jawad's was killed at the University of Mosul, Jawad's colleagues refused to sign a petition supporting a strike. The political forces active in Iraqi society are becoming more fractured, more factional, more sectarian, and more ethnically absolutist.

One university president and several deans have been murdered. What is most striking is that many of those killed since the occupation began were trained not in the physical sciences, but in fields such as the soft sciences and the humanities. In other words, they were not being murdered by loyalists to Saddam Hussein for knowing something about any possible weapons of mass destruction programme. Instead they were, and are, professors of subjects such as French literature, history and the law, where the discussion about conflict can be converted into the conditions for reconciliation.

There is much speculation about who is responsible for these killings. Some allege it is Mossad, the Israeli secret service, which obviously has an interest in a weak and possibly theocratic Iraq - the better to declare Arabs undemocratically minded terrorists. ("It's not personal; it's business," one professor in Baghdad says of Mossad's possible motives.)

Denis Halliday, a former assistant secretary-general of the UN, has wondered aloud whether this is the work of anti-secular fundamentalists hoping to recruit students to the madrasas and to the tenets of Islamist fundamentalism. Others have pointed to militias such as those commanded by Ahmad Chalabi, once favoured by the Pentagon. At the same time, some allege these are acts of revenge and fury over grades from disgruntled students, now armed, along with the entire civil society, with weapons that the US sold to Iraq without reservation less than two decades ago.

Part of the process of dismissing Iraqi intellectuals, professors and lecturers was known as de-Ba'athification: with the exception of a few returned exiles, former Ba'ath Party members make up the vast majority of professors in postwar Iraq. Under Saddam Hussein's regime, all professors who wished to keep their job were required to join the Ba'ath Party. Yet the US repression of academics was less about protecting academic freedom than a kind of American McCarthyism abroad.

One must ask whether there is a concerted effort to undermine a secular democratic foundation in Iraq's universities; after all, the prime minister, Iyad Allawi, is himself a former Ba'athist and murderer. According to Robert Dreyfuss, writing in the *American Prospect*, \$3bn of the \$87bn going to Iraq has been allotted to fund covert CIA paramilitary operations there, which, if the CIA's historical record is to be consulted, are likely to include extrajudicial killings and assassinations.



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Not that the curriculum under Saddam Hussein was ever a source of a radical renewal that could have actually provided the conditions for the emergence of a secular, moral and democratic leadership. Known as "Arab culture and socialism", the four-year undergraduate humanities course was a brain-numbing, chauvinistic and hyper-nationalist occasion for unrestrained celebration of Ba'athism, elevating the writings of party theoreticians to canonical heights. Like many other universities in countries of the Arab and developing world, Iraq's academic institutions, after years of rule by the Ottomans, followed by British and French colonisation, were fundamental to the modern reinvention of national identity. In Egypt, for example, the curriculum underwent a process of Arabisation after the revolution of 1952. Similarly, modern standard Arabic became the official language of Algeria, a former French colony, only in 1962, and for the first time could be uttered outside the mosques.

Yet despite the tyranny exercised over Iraqi society by Saddam Hussein, the university classroom was (some professors often claim) a relatively autonomous space for learning and instruction, where professors, lecturers and students could be openly critical. They could even criticise the government, so long as they never mentioned Saddam personally, or his two sons. Even today, the textbooks retain the same content, altered only by the elimination of images of Saddam and his sons.

Whoever is directly responsible for the dangers facing Iraq's institutions of learning and its educators, the situation seriously threatens the emergence of a secular, moral and democratic leadership from within Iraq. If such a society is to emerge from beneath the scars caused by years of sanctions, from the rubble left by a remorseless and mendaciously justified war, intellectuals are the best and, in my opinion, the only chance of enabling Iraq to realise its human capabilities.

Without the intelligentsia, the US and its allies will continue arrogating to themselves the right to determine the form that Iraq's universities and knowledge should assume. It is vital for the future of the country that Iraq maintain the separation between the university and political society.

Andrew N Rubin, assistant professor of English literature at Georgetown University, US, is the director of the International Coalition of Academics Against Occupation ([<http://www.icaao.org>]) and the author of a forthcoming book, Archives of Authority

Victims of unknown assassins

Among the scores of senior academics who have been killed since the start of the western occupation are:

Muhammad al-Rawi, president of the University of Baghdad; **Dr Abdul-Latif al-Mayah**, professor of political science at Baghdad's Mustansiriyah University; **Dr Nafa Aboud**, a professor of Arabic literature at the University of Baghdad; **Dr Sabri al-Bayati**, a geographer at the University of Baghdad; **Dr Falah al-Dulaimi**, assistant dean of college at Mustansiriyah University; **Dr Hissam Sharif**, from the history department of the University of Baghdad; **Professor Wajih Mahjoub** of the College of Physical Education; **Professor Sabah Mahmoud**, ex-dean of the Education College, Mustansiriyah University; **Professor Abdul Jabbar Mustafa**, head of the politics department at Mosul University, **Dr Layla Abdul Jabbar**, dean of the Faculty of Law in Mosul (and her husband); **Dr Ali Abdul Husain Jabok**, of the College of Political Science at the University of Baghdad.



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Iraq losing its best and brightest

from the September 21, 2004 edition - <http://www.csmonitor.com/2004/0921/p06s01-woiq.html>

Targeted attacks and a sluggish economy are pushing academics, Christians, and businessmen to move abroad.

By Howard LaFranchi | Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BAGHDAD - When Saadoon Isa's son was released by kidnappers earlier this year after a ransom was paid, the criminals sent the boy's father a message: "Tell him to leave the country because Iraq is not his, it is ours."

"I still don't know who they were," says Mr. Isa, the vice president of Baghdad's Al-Nahrain University. "But I took that message to be directed to Iraq's educated people, its professors, business leaders, even the people working hard in our ministries. They want us to leave."

With stories like Isa's multiplying, more of the very Iraqis needed to rebuild the country are heeding the pressures to flee. Iraqis speak worriedly of a brain drain that is denying Iraq a part of the educated, moderate, and entrepreneurial population required to move forward.

It's a reversal, in the 18 months since the war, of the euphoria that brought thousands of exiles back for the opportunity to build a new Iraq.

Many of those Iraqis are still here, building political and business careers. The new interim government is dominated by returnees, and former exiles are expected to fare well in planned January elections.

But now signs are multiplying of Iraqis bowing to pressures to leave:

- Every day long lines of Iraqis form outside passport offices. Officials say they have issued more than 500,000 passports since sovereignty was restored in June. Many applicants say the passport is a kind of insurance policy against deepening chaos.
- More than 40,000 Assyrian and other Iraqi Christians are estimated to have fled since war's end, hastened by a series of church bombings this summer. The outflow weakens a prominent minority that has been a modernizing and tempering force in Iraq for centuries.
- More than 200 university professors have been either killed or kidnapped, according to academic organizations, prompting as many as 2,000 of Iraq's best educators to leave - and many more to consider posts abroad.

"Already the economic conditions for our professors was not good, so when you add a security situation that threatens them and their families, many of them will seek to go elsewhere," says Isa.

"It's a drain that already existed [after the Gulf war] but now it has accelerated," he says. "Before the economic factor was first, but now things have changed and security is the top worry motivating people to seek a post out of Iraq."

An economy that has failed to take off - restrained by stalled reconstruction work, which in turn is inhibited by lack of security - is also a factor. Exiled business people who returned with high hopes are at least keeping their foreign options open. "In this situation about the only thing growing is what we call the Jordan connection," says Yaghtan Hasan, a Baghdad importer of furniture and other goods. "More



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people with the means are going to Amman to set up businesses," he adds, noting he regularly makes the commute himself.

The lines at passport offices tell the story of average Iraqis who are looking to benefit from a new right - passports and foreign travel were available only to a privileged echelon under Saddam Hussein. But among the applicants every day are people contemplating life somewhere else.

"They talk about the new Iraq, but that makes me laugh unless you want to talk about the 'new' being unsafe streets and car bombs going off," says Tharwat Saadi, a Baghdad barber who plans to buy a barbershop in Syria and move there. "You can't make a living in these conditions."

Government officials acknowledge that families are leaving - in some cases wives and children are going abroad while fathers remain to work - but they deny it has reached alarming levels.

One official who does speak in terms of an exodus, however, is Ibtisam Gorges, a Christian member of Iraq's new interim parliament. Since the war, about 5 percent of a 900,000-strong Christian community has left, she says.

"There are 3 million [Iraqi Christians] living outside the country, and most of them want very much to return," says Ms. Gorges. "But with the kinds of things that are happening to our people here, it's not possible."

She says that after a focus on Christian males, it is now "our daughters" who are being kidnapped. "We are treated like we are part of the American presence here. It's a big pressure on our families, something more of them are deciding to escape."

The security crisis is only the latest challenge to Iraq's university system, once considered among the best in the Arab world. Salaries have fallen well below those at universities in the region, which saps the will to stay and fight against the obscure anti-intellectual forces.

"The brainpower of the country is leaving, it happened after 1990 and it's happening again now," says Isam Kadhem al-Rawi, a geologist and president of the Association of University Teachers. The organization estimates that 2,000 professors have left since the war, joining the 10,000 the association says left in the 12 years after the Gulf war.

Perhaps most unsettling, Mr. Rawi says, is that no one knows for sure who is targeting Iraq's elites, or why. Universities have received warnings via the Internet - either anonymously or from unknown groups - to separate male and female students, or to stop teaching Western ideals.

"We don't know who is threatening us, but we do know that when we report killings and kidnappings those responsible are never found," he says. That feeds rumors, he adds - including one seemingly bizarre but widely accepted theory that the US and Israel are encouraging Iraq's instability and brain drain because, as Rawi says, "they want a weak Iraq."

Still, some Iraqis are growing impatient with all the attention being paid to those leaving the country, when it is those staying here, including among the elites, whom they say will give Iraq a shot at solving its crisis.

"I have the same worries as everyone, but you can't run away and at the same time help build a prosperous and democratic Iraq," says Abbas Abu Altimen, president of the Baghdad Economic Research Center.



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A business management expert who returned to Iraq after the war, Mr. Altimen says it's time for Iraqis like him to put their knowledge to work at home.

Not that he doesn't know what's causing people to do otherwise, he says. "A very good friend's son was kidnapped, they paid \$20,000 to get him back - and then they promptly fled to Amman," he says. "But they will be back, just as others will, because this is a unique opportunity to focus on the positive changes and build something new."

[Full HTML version of this story which may include photos, graphics, and related links](#)

IRAQ: Rising threat against academics fuels brain drain

[This report does not necessarily reflect the views of the United Nations]

BAGHDAD, 28 Oct 2004 (IRIN) - A growing number of threats against academics is leading many to look for opportunities abroad, leaving a gap in the education sector and helping to further destabilise the country, students and teachers say.

"I never expected to have to leave my country, but now things change, there is no security here anymore and I have a family to look after, its really terrible," Dr Hadeel Mashhadany, professor of dentistry at Baghdad's Mustansirya University, told IRIN.

Since the fall of Saddam Hussein's regime 18 months ago almost 28 university teachers and administrators have been killed, while 13 professors were kidnapped and released on payment of ransom, according to the Iraqi Association of University Lecturers.

Dr Muai'ed Hassan, a professor at the College of Pharmacy at Baghdad University, was a victim of kidnapping some months ago. He was released after his family paid a ransom but now they will leave Iraq for his family's sake, he told IRIN. "I dedicated myself to building up this college, which is an example for the Iraqi people and now I will have to leave it and take nothing with me except for memories," he said.

Ongoing death threats received by many academics and the ever deteriorating security situation are forcing those who can to get out.

Most of those leaving the country go to the neighbouring countries of Jordan, Syria or the United Arab Emirates. But others who are able to get the visas are also going to the UK or the USA to work.

Syria has just opened a new science and technology university and almost 70 percent of the teaching staff is made up of Iraqi professionals who have left the country in recent months, sources said.

Students told IRIN that the situation is causing a drop in the quality of higher education in Iraq. "The best professors are leaving the country and we are losing the best professionals, the real losers are the new generation of students - the future of Iraq," Abbas Muhammad, a student of Pharmacy at Baghdad University said.



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After the war, teachers were targeted for being Baathists, but since the new interim government assumed power reasons for them being victims are more complicated. As professionals with stable jobs they present easy targets for gangs who simply want to get money. The fact that many have a chance to leave makes them attractive to those groups whose main objective is to bring more chaos to Iraq by removing some of the people who could help rebuild it. The difficulty of providing proper security makes the growing problem all the harder to tackle.

Mashhadany said that they cannot afford special security for themselves, and that they go to lessons afraid that someone could kill or kidnap them at any time.

Sabah Kadham, spokesman for the Ministry of Interior, told IRIN that they were trying to give protection to students and teachers at all universities in Iraq, but he also said that they could not afford around the clock security for all. "What we are working on is to end the general problem of security in the country," he added.

Kadham added that the Iraqi police were being deployed at all universities and school entrances in order to make professionals feel secure, at least at their work places. Cars in the areas were also being observed and suspects checked.

Last week another teacher was kidnapped. So far his family have had no word from the kidnapers. A colleague, who wished to remain anonymous for security reasons, said that the teacher was leaving the college when a car with five men in it approached him and put a gun to his head, forcing him to enter in their car. "There is no safety in this country anymore," he added.

"Its really sad when you see that experts are leaving the country and no one is staying here for Iraq's reconstruction, there is no democracy at all, there are no expectations for the future," Mustafa Karim, a student of Medicine at Mustansirya University told IRIN.

http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=43896&SelectRegion=Iraq_Crisis&SelectCountry=IRAQ

November 5, 2004

JOINT STATEMENT by MESA, AAUP, AAAS

Iraq: Higher Education and Academic Freedom in Danger

The Middle East Studies Association (MESA), the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), and the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) are profoundly concerned about the dangers facing academic life in Iraq today.

Virtually every Iraqi institution of higher education is at risk. Universities, colleges and research institutions operate under severe political duress and without adequate resources, transparent funding mechanisms, or the civil and legal protections needed to nurture and promote a vibrant intellectual climate and civil society.

Iraq's intellectual and academic community, long oppressed by the highly restrictive and paranoid policies of Saddam Hussein's government, have been unable to recover in the pervasive atmosphere of lawlessness and political violence that has followed the U.S.-led invasion and occupation of the country. All campuses



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and scientific institutions suffered heavily from the months of looting that followed the collapse of the former régime. Professors have been threatened, harmed, and assassinated because of their actual or alleged political affiliations, or because they failed to respond positively to demands of students for special treatment. Communities of students are becoming politicized in a way that threatens the institutionalization of tolerance and the protection of intellectual diversity.

As North American-based professional academic and scientific associations, we wish to register our grave alarm at this state of affairs. With this statement we also pledge our determination to take steps, together and with colleague organizations, to promote programs and policies in Iraq and on behalf of the international community of scholars and researchers that will positively address this disturbing situation.

Iraq's universities were once considered to be among the best in the developing world. Iraqi students enjoyed an excellent educational system and often traveled abroad to complete their training. Iraqi professors, medical doctors and other professionals could be found at institutions of higher learning, hospitals and research centers not just in Arab countries, but throughout the world. However, Saddam Hussein's consolidation of state power in the late 1970s and early 1980s, transformed Iraq into a police state that denied intellectual, academic and political freedoms, as well as most basic human rights. Systems of learning and research were thoroughly controlled by the Ba`th party, and party membership became almost essential for those seeking academic rank and tenure, access to research support, and travel abroad. Nevertheless, Iraqi scholars could travel abroad only with great difficulty and those who did so were considered suspect thereafter. Intellectual and professional academic exchanges became virtually extinct for a generation of Iraqi scholars and academics. More often, Iraqi intellectuals have left the country altogether, contributing to a drain of experts, teachers and researchers that continues and represents a crippling loss of intellectual capacity for the country and the region. The threat of violence and the prevalence of insecurity have contributed to the fact that more than a thousand Iraqi professors have left Iraq, by some accounts, and many others have indicated their intention to leave for Arab countries or the West.

Iraq's war with Iran also drained resources and students from higher education. The former government's drive to acquire nuclear, biological and chemical weapons in the 1980s led to the militarization of academic science and research, with the result that most areas of higher education were starved to support specialized institutions.

This wartime impoverishment was aggravated by the comprehensive economic sanctions imposed by the United Nations following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. Aside from the resource shortages that resulted, these sanctions left little or no room for foreign institutions and academics to exchange information and ideas with their Iraqi counterparts. Nor did they permit any exceptions for subscriptions to, or even donations of, journals and books. Thus, even if they had had the hard currency to do so, Iraqi universities and other higher learning institutions could not import journals or educational technology.

Today, more than a year after the overthrow of the former government by U.S.-led coalition forces, the dictatorship is gone but in most other respects the situation has only deteriorated. Nearly every campus and academic institution experienced losses during the weeks of systematic looting that followed the collapse of the former government. In some cases the losses were limited to easily replaceable items like computers, but others, including the National Library and Archives, were devastated. Items ranging from simple desks and blackboards to relatively sophisticated laboratory equipment were plundered, along with books and academic records. Many institutions now lack the sheer physical wherewithal for teaching and research. Iraqi deans have told MESA that little rebuilding and redevelopment has been accomplished since the invasion.

Even more alarming is a climate that imperils free inquiry and the free exchange of ideas. Educators were among those dismissed arbitrarily in the "de-Ba`thification" drive decreed by the Coalition Provisional Authority. (It is not known what effect-if any- the subsequent reversal of this policy has had on universities



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and institutes.) Violence and threats of violence affecting academics have multiplied. We are aware of reports of more than 200 incidents, including killings, directed against academic officials and professors. A statement by the Iraqi Ministry of Human Rights in early October 2004 said that 78 university professors were among the approximately three thousand Iraqis killed in the immediately post-war violence.

Not all of these killings were politically motivated, but many were. Some, if not most, of such politically-motivated killings took the form of vendettas against academic officials who were ranking members in the ruling Ba`th party. One such case was the murder of the dean of Mosul University's law school, Layla Abdallah Said, in June 2004. Other such attacks have been mounted against professors known to be critical of the former government, such as Abd al-Latif al Mayyah, a dean of political studies at al-Mustansiriyya University, who was killed in a drive-by shooting in January 2004 after having criticized Saddam Hussein's policies in a television appearance. The fact that most of these attacks have taken place not on campuses but at the homes or outside offices of the victims does not mitigate the extreme "chilling effect" they have on both academics and public intellectuals. Under such threats the possibilities for open debate and discussion of pressing issues are sharply reduced. A spokesman for the University Teachers Association told *Al-Hayat* in late September 2004 that more than 400 teachers had received threats of harm. Some Iraqis have expressed fear that the killings of academics and other professionals may be a replay of the phase of killings in Algeria that aimed at eliminating or at least silencing the intelligentsia as a class.

Another source of threat to teachers and professors are students. A dean at Baghdad University showed a reporter a stack of threatening letters, some with bullets taped to them. Some of these were politically motivated—complaining for instance about the Ba`thist background of a teacher. Others were aimed at ensuring that the student received passing grades, sometimes citing the lack of electricity and the difficulties of attending classes to justify the demand. Campuses, moreover, are becoming increasingly politicized, and many students have aligned themselves with existing Iraqi political parties and tendencies. Political activism is on the rise and along with it increased opportunities for educators to teach and vividly illustrate the importance of protecting civil and political rights. Unfortunately, at the same time, administrators have felt compelled to resist demands for student government elections.

Prior to the first Gulf war, a large proportion of Iraq's university professors were women, and female students made up approximately half of all campus populations. There are now growing signs that women's access to higher education may be at risk as a consequence of civil disorder and religious polarization. We urge authorities in Iraq to take special measures to monitor equal access to higher education and the role of women professors and teachers. Likewise faculty exchange and educational assistance programs must insure that their efforts take into account these threats to women's participation.

We share the concern of many Iraqi colleagues with the increasing political, religious and ethnic polarization of the country, the growing sectarian character of political violence, the formation of militias, and the appearance of death squads of different political inclinations. These developments imperil the possibilities of genuine academic freedom and the free exchange of ideas. Professors and university administrators know that it is not possible, or even desirable, to assign security details to each threatened individual. We nonetheless urge the Interim Iraqi Government and the U.S.-led coalition forces to do their utmost to protect Iraq's academic institutions and professionals as essential components for building democratic practice and a viable civil society in Iraq.

The removal of the old régime has certainly contributed to the potential realization of academic freedom and enquiry on Iraq's campuses, as well as greater access to new technologies for teaching, learning and conducting research. Academics now can travel abroad without fear of reprisal. Still, the manifold threats of increasing religious and political polarization, civil disorder, and the manifest indifference to the needs



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of Iraq's academic community on the part of the United States government and the international donor community render these gains extremely vulnerable.

The failure of the CPA to adequately fund programs for university rebuilding and revitalization must be redressed. Billions of dollars are needed to rebuild Iraq's system of higher education, but only US \$10 million has been put aside for reconstruction. Furthermore, the overtly partisan nature of the CPA's management of Iraq's higher education prior to June 30, 2004, hindered the creation of more than just a handful of independent programs linking US colleges and universities, and there are almost no bi-lateral and multi-lateral relationships between American and Iraqi institutions and professional societies.

The violations of freedom of expression and academic freedom that we see today in Iraq do not come mainly from state authorities or, for the most part, from identifiable political organizations. In other words, there is at the moment at least no "address" to which we can protest or make recommendations.

We nevertheless wish to alert our colleagues in the academic and in the scientific and research communities, here and elsewhere, and the larger public, to the grave difficulties faced by academics and intellectuals in Iraq. It is also crucial to lay the groundwork for viable collegial exchange between Iraq and the international academic community. We pledge greater efforts to monitor this situation, to gather and disseminate information about developments in this area, to advocate on behalf of our Iraqi colleagues with the U.S. and other governments as well as within our own institutions and communities, and to promote supportive ties between professional and scholarly institutions in our countries and their Iraqi counterparts as a contribution to the promotion of academic freedom and the free exchange of ideas.

Note: The information in this statement comes from articles in The Independent (July 14, 2004), The Globe and Mail (June 23, 2004), Al-Hayat (September 25, 2004), Financial Times (September 6, 2004); Keith Watenpaugh, "Between Saddam and the American Occupation: Iraq's Academic Community Struggles for Autonomy," Academe (September-October 2004), pp. 18-24; Opening the Doors: Intellectual Life and Academic Conditions in Post-War Baghdad (www.hnet.org/about/press.opening_doors/); and reports from MESA members to the MESA Secretariat and Committee on Academic Freedom.

<http://fp.arizona.edu/mesassoc/boardletters.htm#11-05-04>

Report on Science and Human Rights - Fall/Winter 2005 Vol XXV, No. 2

Emerging Issue: Iraqi scientists under attack

Sarah Olmstead
Project Coordinator, Science and Human Rights Program

*"Assassins are targeting Iraqi university professors in a coordinated, liquidation process to force well-known scholars to leave the country and thus hinder the country's reconstruction."
- Issam al-Rawi, geologist at Baghdad University and head of the Association of University Lecturers.*

*"I received a threatening letter saying, 'Do not nominate yourself to the dean's post, or it will cost you your life.'"
- Iyad al-Ani, assistant dean of Al-Nahrain University in Baghdad*

*"We feel there's a campaign to kill every scientist in Iraq."
- Nahi Yousif Yaseen, director general of the Iraqi Center for Cancer and Medical Genetics Research in Baghdad*

Since the March 2003 invasion of Iraq by U.S. forces and the subsequent violence waged by insurgent groups, it is estimated that at least 100,000 Iraqi civilians have been killed (as of October 2004, according to a study in British medical journal *The Lancet*), mostly by aerial bombardment. Many of those killed include scientists, medical professionals, and other academics who have been sought out due to their status or position as scientists for intimidation and assassination.



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Since the fall of Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq, academics working at universities and hospitals have been specifically singled out for attack. Dr. Issam al-Rawi, geography professor, member of the Association of Muslim Scholars and chair of the Iraqi Association of University Lecturers, has reported that over 250 academics and professors have been assassinated, and many others have disappeared. The list of those killed includes Arabs, Kurds, Sunni Muslims, Shiite Muslims, Christians: scientists and academics from all backgrounds. In response to these killings and general unrest, it is estimated that an additional 1,000 scientists have fled the country.

Estimates for these numbers are coming from individual reports by colleagues of the dead/disappeared. A partial list of assassinated academics has been collected and posted at the Web site of the *BRussells Tribunal* by a Baghdad University professor, who wishes to remain anonymous for security reasons. To date, there has been no scientific study of patterns of threats or attempt to collect data on the deaths in a methodical way.

It is unclear who is doing the killing. Some scientists believe that the majority of the killing is being carried out by the Badr Brigade, the military wing of an Iraqi Shia rebel group that has been in exile in Iran. It is affiliated with a group known as the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq which worked first to overthrow Saddam Hussein, and is now focused on pushing for the full withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq.

Level of Violence

Some professors have received letters claiming to be from students, threatening death should the student not receive a certain grade. Others claim the professor favors a particular ethnic group - Sunni or Shia. Still other academics have received anonymous messages accusing them of working with U.S. government forces and demanding they leave the country. Mohammed Abdulazis, an English literature student and son of Saadoun Abdulazis, an assistant dean of Al-Nahrain's science faculty, was kidnapped while Saadoun was at a conference in England. He was released after his parents paid a ransom, but was given a message to relay to his father: "You must leave Iraq. You don't belong here. This country belongs to us."

In general, morale is low in the Iraqi scientific community. Although there has been some rebuilding, many labs have not yet recovered from the looting that went on after the fall of Saddam. Many scientists are fleeing not just because of the danger, but because they have no equipment or resources, and thus nothing to do. They see more opportunities in other countries. For example, Syria, last year, opened a new science and technology university last year and the teaching staff is now made up of almost 70% Iraqi exiles.

The dismal state of laboratory science compounded with the danger faced by scientists and academics in the country have additionally worried funders. At a September 2005 meeting on science in Iraq, held in Jordan, conference co-chair Arian Pregoner, a senior scientist at Sandia National Laboratories in Albuquerque, New Mexico said "I sometimes question the ethics of what we're doing." Any grants for work in Iraq "are keeping scientists in a war zone," she says. "It's a terrible dilemma."

Actions to Take

Scientists and members of the public are encouraged to write letters to the U.S. State Department and the Iraqi government. Letters should request that government and security forces make protecting scientists, engineers, and health professionals a priority. They should also request domestic security forces, as the presence of American troops might lead people to the idea that the scientists are colluding with American forces, thus putting them in even more danger. Letters should also reinforce the important contributions scientists, and educators broadly, make to the rebuilding of Iraq, both economically and structurally.

More information and other resources on this ever-evolving issue, see http://shr.aaas.org/emerging_issues/

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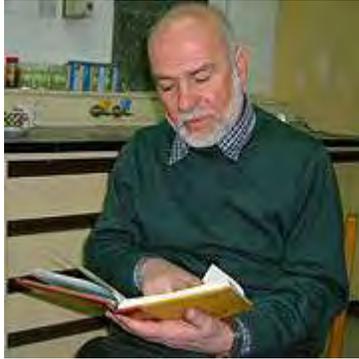
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Approximately 300 academics have been killed

By Charles Crain, special for USA TODAY

BAGHDAD — Isam al-Rawi, who marks down the dead in a datebook, can read back the details: a scientist killed on Dec. 21; the assistant dean of Baghdad's medical college killed on Christmas Day; a professor in Mosul killed on Dec. 26.



Many academics like Dr. Isam al-Rawi believe the insurgent attacks will continue well after the elections.

USA TODAY

Al-Rawi, a geologist at Baghdad University and head of the Association of University Lecturers, says about 300 academics and university administrators have been assassinated in a mysterious wave of murders since the American occupation of Iraq began in 2003. About 2,000 others, he says, have fled the country in fear for their lives.

American and Iraqi officials say elections Jan. 30 will be one step toward ending the insurgency raging here. But scientists and academics have been under siege for more than a year and a half, and they fear the threat against them will continue. Doctors, scientists and academics — the educated elite who would be the foundation of a healthy economy and democratic society — continue to leave Iraq.

The attacks have caught the attention of the U.S. military and Iraqi security forces, but professors and university administrators say little progress has been made toward halting assassinations.

At the Ministry of Education, Abdul Rahman Hamid al-Husseini documents cases of murdered and intimidated academics. His numbers are far lower than al-Rawi's: 20 professors killed, more than 100 forced to flee. The precise number is impossible to pin down; al-Husseini's list omits victims confirmed dead by al-Rawi; al-Rawi includes people who do not work in academic fields, such as Ph.D.s working in government ministries.

Al-Husseini has met with American and Iraqi officials to discuss the problem and search for ways to end the campaign against academics. But with Iraqi security forces themselves the target of a bloody insurgency, law enforcement authorities have been at a loss to explain the assassinations of Iraqi academics. "We don't have a specific answer," al-Husseini says. "We don't know who's behind it."

The police "cannot protect themselves, so how can they protect us?" asks Khalid Joudi, the president of Baghdad's Al-Nahrain University. Promises that elections will bring relief ring hollow; Joudi remembers the hope he and his colleagues placed in the Iraqi interim government appointed in the spring.

"We were hoping with this government that things would improve, and they've gotten much worse," Joudi says.



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Joudi says Iraq is already suffering an exodus of engineers, computer scientists and mathematicians.

In a country with distinct political, ethnic and religious fault lines, the university killings seem to follow no pattern. The dead have been Shiites and Sunnis, Kurds and Arabs, and supporters of various political parties. "They have a common thing: they are Iraqis," al-Rawi says.

Joudi says the motives for the attacks are varied — from score settling to terrorist attacks designed to weaken civil society. "Some of it may be personal," he says. "Just personal envy and hatred."

Extortion is another motive, al-Husseini says. Criminal gangs have kidnapped academics and other wealthy Iraqis for ransom and have threatened others. But, he says, some of the killings are designed to weaken Iraq by forcing its scientists and academics out of the country.

"There is a kind of campaign to make physicians leave the country," al-Husseini says, rattling off a list of medical specialties that are now understaffed in Iraq.

"We think it's politically motivated," al-Husseini says of the murder campaign. "Just to create a frustrating and disappointing situation among Iraqi college teachers and university lecturers."

The loss of some of Iraq's best minds has had an impact far out of proportion to the number actually killed or sent into exile, al-Husseini says, by depriving the country of its sharpest thinkers.

"Not because of the number of lecturers (killed)," al-Husseini says, "but because of their quality."

The persistence of the attacks has been a roadblock to the emergence of an open atmosphere on Iraqi campuses. Armed guards search visitors at Baghdad University's entrance. Professors and administrators must choose whether to work and travel with additional protection. Al-Rawi has chosen to forego such precautions, despite the risks.

"I deal with other human beings in a very normal way," al-Rawi says. "I can't deal with them normally if I'm carrying a pistol, or if I have guards behind me."

But Joudi, who has received death threats against himself and his staff, travels to and from his office with armed bodyguards.

Iraqi intellectuals see few signs the insurgency will end with elections scheduled for Jan. 30.

"The same forces will still be operating in Iraq, I think, after the elections," Joudi says.

Find this article at:

http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/iraq/2005-01-16-academics-assassinations_x.htm



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The Destruction of Iraq's Educational System under US Occupation

by Ghali Hassan

www.globalresearch.ca 11 May 2005

The URL of this article is: <http://globalresearch.ca/articles/HAS505B.html>

Since 1990, the U.S. has targeted Iraq's educational system for destruction.

During the 1991 U.S. war, Iraq's civilian infrastructure was systematically bombed and destroyed.

U.S. aircraft bombed and strafed indiscriminately.

The U.S.-imposed sanctions, which were implemented with severity and disregard to the welfare of the civilian population, destroyed Iraq's education and health systems.

U.S. strategy against Iraq went beyond "strictly military targets". The aim was the complete destruction of the Iraqi society and its knowledge-based resources.

Prior to the U.S. led war and the imposition of sanctions, Iraq had among the finest educational systems in the Middle East.

Education and health care were free at all levels. In the 1980s, a successful government program to eradicate illiteracy among Iraqi men and women was implemented.

Before the 'Gulf War', 92 per cent of all Iraqi school age children attended school. Attendance at school has always been high in Iraq as primary education was compulsory until the U.S. invasion in 2003.

According to UNESCO, until 1989 Iraq had been allocating 5 per cent of its budget to education. This is higher than the maximum rate in developing countries, which stands at 3.8 per cent. Iraq was also the largest and preferred destination for students from the Middle East, Africa and the Muslim world. Thousands of students went to Iraq to study and to better their lives.

In the 1991 War on Iraq, the U.S. deliberately bombed and destroyed vital civilian infrastructure, water-treatment facilities, milk factories, power plants, schools, hospitals, pharmaceutical production facilities, communication centres, mosques, churches, civilian shelters, residential areas, historical sites, roads and bridges, irrigations, private vehicles and civilian government offices. The purpose of these attacks was to destroy life and property, and generally to terrorise the civilian population of Iraq.

In addition, the U.S. and Britain then continued to oppose lifting the sanctions, which were imposed on Iraq in 1990, to ensure that Iraq would be unable to repair or replace most of what has been destroyed. **"We are in the process of destroying an entire society. It is as simple and terrifying as that. It is illegal and immoral"**, elaborated Denis Halliday,



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former UN Assistant Secretary-General and Humanitarian Coordinator in Iraq on his resignation in 1998.

More than 1.5 million Iraqis have died, a third of them children under the age of 5, in this calculated mass murder of innocent people.

As Professor Ward Churchill of the University of Colorado wrote, "we find record of not a single significant demonstration protesting the wholesale destruction of Iraqi children" during the 13 years of genocidal sanctions. As usual, "opposition" to wars of aggression in the West has been passive, and once the criminal bombing of Iraqi cities begun again in 2003, it was "home entertainment" and the silence was deafening.

Iraq's educational system was the target of U.S-British military action, because education is the backbone of any society. Without an efficient education system, no society can function. Schools and universities were bombed and destroyed.

The Al-Mustansiriyah University, one of the oldest schools in the world with a history that goes back at least 1000 years was bombed and partially destroyed. It was here in 1980 that Iranian agents tried to assassinate Prime Minister Tariq Aziz – a terrorist act that helped precipitate the Iran-Iraq War. After the 1991 war, UNSCOM inspectors, led by Australian Richard Butler, burned all chemistry books of the University Library. All other universities in Iraq have their science books burned by UNSCOM.

Furthermore, the sanctions and U.S. wars forced many Iraqi professionals to leave the country in what is called, Iraqi 'brain drain'. An estimated 30-40 per cent of Iraq's best-trained educators left to other countries. Under the sanctions, Iraq's contact with the rest of the world was also restricted and contributed to the deterioration of Iraq's educational system. To complete Iraq's isolation and inflict more harm, the U.S-controlled sanctions committee banned all educational materials (including pencils, which allegedly could be converted to "weapons of mass destruction" by Iraqi children, papers and textbooks) from entering Iraq.

A newly released study by the UN University (UNU) International Leadership Institute in Jordan revealed that: "The devastation of the Iraqi system of higher education has been overlooked amid other cataclysmic war results but represents an important consequence of the conflicts, economic sanctions, and ongoing turmoil in Iraq" caused by U.S. militaristic policy.

Furthermore, "some 84 percent of Iraq's institutions of higher education have been burnt, looted, or destroyed. Some 2,000 laboratories need to be re-equipped and 30,000 computers need to be procured and installed nationwide, said Jairam Reddy, director of UNU. "The Iraqi Academy of Sciences, founded in 1948 to promote the Arabic language and heritage, saw its digital and traditional library partially looted during the war and it alone needs almost one million dollars in infrastructure repairs to re-establish itself as a leading research centre", the Study revealed.

There was no shortage of bombs to destroy Iraq, but "there weren't enough desks, chairs, or classrooms and most schools lacked even basic water or sanitation facilities", added the report. **According to the U.N. children's fund, UNICEF, Iraq's primary and secondary**



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educational systems were further ruined by the war and almost 1 in 4 children has no access to education under U.S. Occupation.

The current Iraq's school curriculum is a U.S-crafted curriculum to brainwash Iraqi children.

The U.S. Occupation Authority or the (CPA) removed any content considered anti-American, including the 1991 Gulf War, the Iran-Iraq war, and all references to Israel policy in Palestine, and U.S support for Israel. "Entire swaths of 20th-century history have been deleted", said Bill Evers, a U.S. Defence Department employee, and one of three American "advisers" to the Ministry of Education. It should be noted that these U.S. "advisers" are U.S-handpicked proxies who make the major decisions in the Iraqi ministries, (ie. it is not the U.S-appointed quislings, which occupy cabinet positions which make the decisions). "We considered anything anti-American to be propaganda and we took it out, and in some cases, we had to remove entire chapters", said Fuad Hussein, an Iraqi expatriate in the Ministry of Education. In other words, Mr. Hussein made the decision to remove "propaganda" and enforce a "free" curriculum.

Before the staged "handover of sovereignty" in June 2003, Paul Bremer, the former U.S. Proconsul in Baghdad, issued a series of "edicts" that "take away virtually all of the powers once held by several ministries", reported *The Wall Street Journal* on 13 May, 2004. In addition, Bremer enacted the "Bremer's Orders", a set of colonial "laws" widely known as the "100 Orders".

"The Bremer orders control every aspect of Iraqi life — from the use of car horns to the privatization of state-owned enterprises. For example, "Order No. 39 alone does no less than 'transition [Iraq] from a ... centrally planned economy to a market economy' virtually overnight and by U.S. fiat", wrote Antonia Juhasz, a scholar at the International Forum on Globalisation in San Francisco. Order 37 will lower Iraq's corporate tax rate from about 40 per cent to a flat rate of 15 per cent. The accurate description of Iraq's economy is a "Capitalism dream" economy. The Virginia-based Corporation, BearingPoint Inc., received 250 million contracts to facilitate the looting.

On May 22, Bush signed Executive Order 13303 granting blanket immunity to any U.S. corporation dealing with Iraqi oil through 2007. **The order "unilaterally declares Iraqi oil to be the unassailable province of U.S. corporations.... In other words, if Exxon Mobil or Chevron Texaco touches Iraqi oil, it will be immune from legal proceedings in the United States"**, said Jim Vallette, research director for the Sustainable Energy and Economy Network. It makes the new "sovereignty" more like a U.S. colonial dictatorship with no "democracy" and no national independence. That is why the January elections were a U.S.-made trap to legitimise the U.S. Occupation of Iraq.

Nonetheless, these U.S-crafted "Orders" and economic therapies are illegal and in violation of the Geneva Conventions and The Hague Regulations, which stipulate that the occupiers 'must abide by the country exists laws unless prevented'. Under international law, the occupiers are 'prohibited from selling of state-own assets' of the occupied country. Further, these "Orders" are illegal because they were enacted without tacit approval of legitimate Iraqi government, but under the threat of U.S. military force.



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To make things worse for Iraq's education, Iraq's reconstruction has become the "biggest corruption scandal in history". In April 2003, USAID awarded a one-year, \$62 million contract to Creative Associates International Inc. (CAII), and \$1.8 billion to Bechtel Corporation to build Iraq's infrastructure, including schools and higher education institutions, without a public tender, a by-invitation-only deal awarded in a secret process. "For this initial round of contracts alone, Bechtel was also guaranteed another \$80 million for company profits", wrote Jeffrey St. Claire, author of *Grand Theft Pentagon*. "While the situation continued to deteriorate for the U.S. military forces in Iraq... Last year Bechtel earned more than \$17 billion for the first time", added St. Clair.

Bechtel record of dodgy business does not bode well for the Iraqi people. Its record in Bolivia and India left poor communities without affordable drinking water. U.S. officials often have highlighted their renovation of schools as a success story of Iraq under the Occupation. However, despite the size of contracts, little has been done to rebuild or repair Iraq's schools and universities. "Schools listed as fully rebuilt are in fact flooded with sewage and lack desks, but are often freshly painted", wrote Christian Parenti of *The Nation*. Indeed schools were only painted to remove the old regime slogans from the wall and replace them with George Bush's own lies of "democracy" and "liberation" rhetoric. A propaganda cliché designed to manipulate public opinions in the West (the U.S. in particular), and enhance U.S. imperial agenda of militaristic domination of the world.

In a recent report Antonia Juhasz noted that; "The constant complaints from the Iraqi Ministry of Education officials and principals of schools that Bechtel has worked on, is that the work is either non-existent and shoddy, often putting students health and safety at risk". There is "[n]o improvement to the infrastructure, and no new equipment has been bought", Muzhir Al-Dulaymi, spokesman for the League for the Defence of Iraqi People's Rights, told *Aljazeera* on 28 May 2004.

Bechtel waves off complaints with: "No matter what we do, the Iraqis will never be on the losing end", reported *CorpWatch*, a U.S.-based anti-corruption organisation. The billion of dollars approved by Congress for the "reconstruction" of Iraq, was simply a "gift" from U.S. taxpayers to U.S. private corporations, not for the Iraqi people. In other word, U.S. citizens are subsidizing Bechtel, Halliburton and other U.S. corporations.

In October 2004, the CPA paid \$12 billion to the contractors out of the Development Fund of Iraq (DFI), instead of using the money earmarked by Congress for the "reconstruction" of Iraq. In other words, the CPA used Iraq's oil revenues to pay off the U.S. contractors – money that before the war was said (by Secretary of State Powell, among others) to be the "Iraqi people's" money.

According to an independent audit conducted by KPMG for the multilateral International Advisory and Monitoring Board for Iraq (IAMB) (established under UN Security Council Resolution 1483 as an audit oversight board), nearly \$1.5 billion was extracted from the DFI to pay Halliburton. While Iraqi children are dropping out of school and dying of malnutrition, Iraqi money nourishes Halliburton executives and friends, including U.S. Vice President Dick Cheney.

The IAMB and auditors working for the United Nation's Iraq Advisory as well as the CPA's own Inspector General have since blasted the occupation authorities for sloppy handling and faulty accounting of the more than \$9 billion in seized assets (including Iraqi oil revenues)



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known as the DFI. The \$9 billion simply vanished. They discovered a wide range of irregularities, including the lack of competitive bidding for large contracts, missing contracts information, payments for contracts that had not been supervised, and, in some cases, outright theft. "The billions of dollars of oil money that has already been transferred to the U.S-controlled [CPA] has effectively disappeared into financial black hole", reported Christian Aid, a British humanitarian organisation. Protected by the presence of more than 200,000 U.S-British troops and mercenaries, Iraq is the biggest imperial lootocracy in the history of Western colonialism, and a "capitalism dream" economy.

Iraq's education system has also fallen victim to the Occupation-instigated violence. School dropouts are very high, particularly among females as a result of violence and kidnappings. Many schools in Iraqi cities and towns have been closed, preventing hundreds of children from receiving basic education. "Approximately 50 percent of children are not going to school because their parents are too scared to send them, having heard these stories about children being kidnapped and held for ransom", a spokesman for Save the Children UK, Paul Hetherington, told IRIN. Moreover, **malnutrition amongst Iraqi children has almost doubled from 4 per cent in 2002 to roughly 8 per cent since the U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq.** The ongoing Occupation and associated violence is wreaking havoc on Iraqi children and Iraq long-term future.

Although the UNU report noted briefly that only "[f]our dozens academics have been assassinated", the real number is much higher. **In a callous and murderous policy termed "DeBaathification", thousands of academics, scientists and prominent Iraqi politicians have been murdered. Together with the C.I.A., and Israel's Mossad agents, criminal elements and militia groups including, the Kurdish Peshmerga, the Iranian-trained Badr Brigade, the INA of Iyad Allawi and the INC of Ahmed Chalabi, have terrorised an entire nation and murdered its entire intellectual community.**

Two years of continuing Occupation and violence have killed thousands of innocent men, women and children. The November 2004 scientific report by the reputable British medical journal, the *Lancet*, shows that from March 2003 to October 2004, U.S. forces have killed more than 100,000 Iraqi civilians. The *Lancet* authors acknowledge that most of the victims were innocent women and children killed by U.S. bombing of population centres. The number of Iraqis killed is increasing daily.

Instead of condemning and exposing the crimes of this illegal Occupation, Western liberal elites and the "anti-war" organisers close ranks with their own governments and have deliberately shifted the blame on the Iraqi Resistance with increasing sophistication. This known falsehood is intended to discredit the Iraqi Resistance and to deny the Iraqi people a legitimate Resistance movement against an illegal foreign Occupation. After all, the U.S. and its collaborators have the most to gain from a divided Iraq embroiled in sectarian violence.

How can the liberal elites and the "anti-war" organisers blame the Iraqi Resistance for the violence?

Who committed the Fallujah atrocity, where more than 6000 innocent men, women and children were slaughtered with napalm and chemical weapons? Where were the liberal elites



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and the "anti-war" organisers when Iraq's cultural heritage which stands at the heart of human civilization, was destroyed and looted?

Very few people in the West heard the scream of Fallujah's victims. The atrocity was sold as a 'necessary step' to enforce Western "democracy".

On many occasions, the Iraqi Resistance has rejected violence against civilians, and has called on foreign journalists to stay in Iraq and report honestly. **By contrast, U.S. troops have detained and killed journalists who cover the Iraqi Resistance view of the war. Indeed U.S. troops in Iraq have killed more than 13 journalists there. You do not need to do lots of research to find out why U.S. troops targeting independent journalists.**

Today, more Iraqi cities and towns are under the same siege as Fallujah. People are not allowed to leave their homes and have no food and medicine. The cities of Ramadi and Qaim in western Iraq, just to mention two, have been under siege by U.S. forces for many days. Hospitals have been destroyed to erase the number of civilians killed by U.S. troops in hospital data banks. Schools, universities and government offices are closed. Random arrests of men, women and children, have resulted in the imprisonment of many young men, women and children. Tens of thousands of Iraqis are now imprisoned and tortured in hundreds of U.S-run prisons throughout Iraq.

Had it not been for the Iraqi Resistance, Iraq would have been sold on the cheap to private U.S. corporations, and Syria and Iran would have been attacked by now in pursuit of U.S. hegemony. As a result of potent Iraqi Resistance, U.S. Army recruitment is at its lowest level, and the war becoming very unpopular among the citizens of the imperial power(s). And the so-called "coalition of the willing" is fleeing and is losing its will. Even U.S. Joint Chiefs Chair Gen. Richard Myers acknowledged the presence of an effective Iraqi Resistance against U.S. forces, although the U.S. maybe using the presence of the Resistance as pretext to justify the ongoing Occupation. The liberal elites and the "anti-war" organisers have yet to have an impact on their own government's policy.

Meanwhile, hundreds of Iraqi children are dropping out of school and experienced Iraqi professionals, who were once called the 'German of the Middle East' for their technical prowess, are unemployed. Unemployment rate in Iraq is as high as 70 per cent today. Iraqis are watching their country and their society destroyed and looted by an armed imperial power and its private corporations. They can only be praised for their courage to stay and continue the struggle against the odds. "The bravery and dedication of educators [and other professionals] who remain in a shattered Iraq should inspire the swift, meaningful and practical support of the international academic community," says UN Under Secretary-General Hans van Ginkel, Rector of the Tokyo-based UNU.

The most urgent actions needed in Iraq today are the end of U.S. violence and the revitalisation of Iraq's education and health systems. "Repairing Iraq's higher education system is in many ways a prerequisite to the long term repair of the country as a whole", said Jairam Reddy of UNU.

World-wide academics and educators should campaign for the end of the Occupation and use the recommendation provided by the authors of the [Iraqi Observatory report](#) as a



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benchmark to assist the Iraqi people in rebuilding their education system. It stated rightly that, "American Universities should refrain from competing for USAID Higher Education grants until the military occupation of Iraq ends and an independent and sovereign government exists in Iraq. That said, institutions should make an effort to build contacts and offer expertise to the Iraqi academic community on an informal basis in preparation for that moment".

The deliberate U.S. strategy targeting anything *other* than "strictly military targets", including Iraq's educational system, constitutes a major war crime. In addition, legal evidence has shown that the war on Iraq amounted to a 'crime of aggression'. Clearly, U.S. wars against Iraq violated the 1923 Hague Rules of Aerial Warfare (Article 22) and the 1949 Geneva Convention IV Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Times of War (Article 3).

A major reason the Nuremberg Tribunal was convened was because Germany had failed to prosecute its own war criminals after World War I. The setting up of an international war crimes tribunal, like the Nuremberg Tribunal, to investigate and prosecute those who committed these crimes against the Iraqi people should be the aim of the world community.

Global Research Contributing Editor Ghali Hassan has written extensively on Iraq under US occupation. He lives in Perth, Western Australia.

Iraq healers have become targets

By Sabrina Tavernise - The New York Times

TUESDAY, MAY 31, 2005

BAGHDAD The letter came to this city's main cardiac hospital late last month. It was handwritten and unsigned, but its message was clear: It threatened the hospital's top doctors and warned them to leave their jobs immediately.

Four of the hospital's top surgeons stopped going to work. So did six senior cardiologists. Some left the country.

And it was far from an isolated incident. The director of another hospital, Dr. Abdula Sahab Eunice, was gunned down May 17 on his way to work, officials at the hospital said.

In the past year, about 10 percent of Baghdad's 32,000 registered doctors - Sunnis, Shiites and Christians - have left or been driven from work, according to the Iraqi Medical Association, which licenses practitioners. The exodus has accelerated in recent months, said Akif Khalil al-Alousi, a pathologist at Kindi Teaching Hospital and a senior member of the association. The vast majority of those fleeing, he said, are the most senior doctors.

"It represents a very good chunk of the doctors," Alousi said. "They are the people who make the doctors, heads of departments."

But insurgents' threats are not the only pressure facing doctors in this health care system, once one of the best in the Middle East. Iraq's lawlessness has reached inside the wards, sometimes turning doctor-patient friction into armed conflicts.

Doctors are easy targets for gangs that specialize in kidnapping because doctors move around the city to visit patients and often cannot afford large numbers of guards. Health care providers must also deal with the power failures that plague hospital operating and emergency rooms that are coping with a seemingly constant stream of patients furnished by the insurgency.



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"It's the worst health care system Iraq has ever known," said Dr. Waleed George, chief surgeon at al-Sadoon Hospital in Baghdad. "Imagine yourself trying to operate on a patient in a two-hour surgery and the power goes out. You pray to God, and you sweat."

In the early years of Saddam Hussein, the health care system in Iraq was a showcase, with most Iraqis receiving excellent, inexpensive care.

But Saddam let the economic penalties of the 1990s bite deeply into medical care and used the damage to the increasingly worn system to try to persuade the world to ease economic pressure on Iraq.

In the chaotic Iraq of today, doctors say that after difficult or unsuccessful operations, they sometimes find themselves confronted by armed, angry relatives. Recently, a surgeon in Mahmudiyah, a restive area south of Baghdad, closed her clinic after threats from a man who said his wife's abdominal tumor had grown back.

One 32-year-old doctor at a medium-sized Baghdad hospital said doctors now routinely exaggerated the risk of complications, hoping that patients would decide against surgery.

"We try to avoid complicated operations," said the doctor, who said he was afraid enough for his own safety to insist on being identified only by his first name, Omar. "What if the patient dies? You're face to face with relatives with guns."

The Ministry of Interior has responded to the situation by simplifying gun licensing procedures for doctors, allowing them to get licensed weapons faster than other Iraqis.

Omar al-Kubaisy, one of the doctors who stopped going to work at the cardiac hospital, Ibn al-Betar, after he was threatened, kept working at his own clinic - watched over by his 23-year-old son, Ali, who stood guard with a large and always visible semi-automatic gun. But two weeks ago, Kubaisy, one of Iraq's top cardiologists, left for France.

The simple quest for money, which fuels the country's widespread kidnapping industry, appears to be the biggest motivation for making targets of doctors. Alousi estimated that 250 Iraqi doctors have been kidnapped in the past two years.

The exodus of senior doctors has resulted in unpredictable medical service, doctors and hospital officials said. Patients are not sure whether they will find their doctors.

Junior doctors fresh out of medical school are performing complicated surgeries that ordinarily would be performed by more experienced doctors.

The more prosaic problems are no less serious. A decade of economic embargo left equipment in poor shape.

The state no longer pays for medicine: Iraqis in several clinics visited this month complained of not having access to basic heart and diabetes medications.

George, the surgeon at Al-Sadoon, said shortages of power and medicine had forced the hospital to reduce the number of operations by about half. It briefly solved its power problem by hooking up to the electricity system of the Ministry of Agriculture nearby, but even that has chronic failures now, he said.

The workload increases for the doctors who remain. Dr. Hashem Zainy, a psychiatrist and the director of a psychiatric hospital, Ibn Rushud, said the doctors who have stayed must see almost double the daily caseload.

"It's ridiculous," he said. "They listen to the patient for a few minutes and write out a prescription and that's it."

Perhaps Alousi, of the Iraqi Medical Association, put it best. "If you get a doctor and you need to be examined and there's an AK-47 under the table, things are very bad."



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List of assassinated Iraqis

by

Sunday 18 September 2005 10:44 PM GMT

The following is a list of names of some Iraqis assassinated after the US-led invasion of Iraq in March 2003.

Professors and professionals:

1. Dr Abd al-Latif al-Mayyah - Political Science
2. Dr Nafi Aboud - Arab Literature Professor
3. Dr Falah al-Dulaimi - Assistant Dean
4. Dr Sabri al-Bayati - Geography Professor
5. Dr Hisham Sharif - Head of History Department in Baghdad University
6. Dr Khalid Muhammad al-Janabi - Islamic History Professor
7. Dr Ali Abd al-Hussein Kamil - Physics Professor
8. Dr Muhammad al-Rawi - Physician
9. Dr Asad Salim al-Sharida - Dean of Engineering Department in Basra University
10. Dr Abd al-Jabar Mustafa - Dean of Mosul University
11. Dr Majid Hussein Ali - Nuclear Scientist
12. Dr Marwan al-Rawi - Engineering Professor
13. Dr Imad Sarsam - Osteologist
14. Dr Muhanad al-Dulaimi - Science Professor
15. Dr Ghalib al-Hiti - Chemical engineering Professor
16. Dr Sabah Mahmud - Dean of College of Education
17. Dr Muhammad al-Adramli - Chemist
18. Amir Mizhir al-Dayni - Communications Engineering Professor
19. Basim al-Mударis - Chemist
20. Iman Younis - Head of Translation Department - Mosul University
21. Dr Hazim al-Ani - Pediatricist
22. Dr Suhad al-Abadi - Physician
23. Dr Sadiq al-Ubaidi - Neurologist
24. Dr Laila Saad - Dean of College of Law - Mosul University
25. Dr Muhammad al-Talqani - Nuclear Scientist
26. Isam Said Abd al-Halim - Geological expert at the ministry of construction
27. Dr Amir al-Mallah - Oculist
28. Talib Dahir - Nuclear scientist

Members of dismissed Iraqi army

1. Baha al-Din Muhei al-Din - Air Force major General
2. Abd al-Rahman Muhammad Ali - Air Force Brigadier General
3. Akram al-Bayyati - Army Major General
4. Kadhim Saddam - Air Force Colonel

Turkmen

1. Sabah Bilal - retired army officer
2. Yashar Jankiz - Chairman of Prisoners and Martyrs Association
3. Akram Qarbadli - journalist
4. Ibrahim Ismail

Aljazeera

By

You can find this article at:

<http://english.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/4A142858-766E-4A64-BB69-D89920CC9F5F.htm>



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Medics fleeing Iraq's violence in their thousands

Aseel Kami, Reuters

BAGHDAD, Sept 25 (Reuters) - One of Iraq's most precious resources -- doctors -- are fleeing the country in increasing numbers, scared off by persistent violence and drawn to safer, better paying jobs abroad, officials say.

A steady trickle of skilled workers has been flowing out of the country since the 2003 invasion, but in the past year, with the sharp rise in assassinations and kidnappings by insurgents, the exodus of doctors has picked up, they say.

"Iraq is like a battlefield, doctors face danger just getting to work because of terrorist acts," said Aakif al-Alusi, a senior member of the Iraqi Doctors' Syndicate, the official medics' register, who worries about the long-term social impact of the medical brain-drain.

"Doctors are neutral people in our society, all sides have to allow them to carry out their duties, but that doesn't happen here," he said, explaining the reasons why doctors are leaving.

The syndicate estimates 1,500 medical professionals -- doctors, nurses, dentists and pharmacists -- have fled in the past year alone, although precise numbers are difficult to obtain. Almost as many left in 2003 and in 2004, Alusi said.

Many have fled to Jordan and other Arab countries, while others have moved to Europe.

Scores have also headed to the northern Kurdish region of Iraq, where there is much less violence and where pay and conditions are far better than in the centre of the country.

"Doctors feel like they give a lot to society, but society often neglects them in response," Alusi said. "That's a major reason why they end up wanting to go elsewhere."

During Saddam Hussein's rule, doctors, who then made around \$2 a month, also sought work abroad, not just because of the low salaries but to seek better training and facilities.

After the 2003 invasion that ousted Saddam, conditions initially improved dramatically, with doctors' salaries rising to around \$400 a month. The U.S. authorities also promised a massive overhaul of hospital equipment and new medicines.

DESPERATE TO LEAVE

But aside from pay raises, other improvements were slow in coming. Doctors



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at Yarmouk hospital, one of Baghdad's busiest, which frequently handles dozens of victims from suicide bombs, say they often run out of anaesthetic and other basic needs.

Doctors have even gone on strike at hospitals in Baghdad and Baquba, north of the capital, after Iraqi soldiers overran their clinics, demanding at gunpoint that their men be treated first.

"After the 2003 invasion, new graduates still dream of going abroad if they can find a good opportunity," said Mohammed Salah al-Din, who left medical school in 1999 and is looking to leave.

While graduates are keen to escape Iraq and build a career, senior doctors with established practices, who have become frequent targets for kidnappers and assassins due to their wealth and status, are also desperate to get out.

For Iraqis, the exodus of such skilled members of society is a deep concern. Medicine is a highly regarded profession in Iraq and despite the lack of equipment in many hospitals, patients praise the hard work and dedication of the medics they have.

"Iraqi doctors are good, I consider them among the best and wouldn't want to be treated by anyone else," said Najat al- Azawi, a retired engineer. "But Iraq is no longer a safe place, they have the right to flee like everyone else."

Aqil Wali, who graduated from medical school in Iraq in 1996, is one of those who managed to escape. Having fled Iraq in 1998, he is now in Denmark. He makes around \$5,000 a month and is hoping to double that if he becomes a specialist.

After more than four years in Denmark, he can't imagine ever returning to Iraq, saying the security situation alone would make him hesitate "a thousand times".

"The facilities we have here in Denmark do not exist in Iraq, not to mention the regular water supply, electricity and the social aspects that Iraq still doesn't have," he said.

Others, though, say they are committed to Iraq, however hard life gets. "My country needs me," said Athir al-Rewas, 59, a specialist. "I have my own patients. I would need to start from scratch if I went to another country."

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Everyone is a target in Iraq

by Ahmed Janabi

Wednesday 21 September 2005 4:55 PM GMT

Nowadays in post-invasion Iraq, everybody is on somebody's hit-list. Different political groups have emerged with contradictory interests and views, and some are resorting to violence against rivals.

Iraqi political analyst Liqa Makki said the [hit-list phenomenon](#) has in the past afflicted many countries, but Iraq's case is much too complex.

"The most confusing thing about them is the diversity of targets. It is painful to say it, but we have to acknowledge that those who carry out those assassinations have managed to make every Iraqi think that he or she is a potential target somehow," he said.



Kurdish deputy Faris Hussein fell to assassins' bullets recently

Iraqi Shia Muslims have coalesced around three blocs. The group which follows the Iranian Shia cleric Ayat Allah Ali al-Sistani sees the US-led invasion as a liberation which snatched the country from the jaws of a "tyrant ruler" who "spread fear and havoc".

The young cleric Muqtada al-Sadr, who derives his authority from his family's religious history, opposes the political process but has no problem participating in it to "stay close to the country's issues". His followers are in constant revolt against both Iraqi and non-Iraqi authorities.

Those who follow Baghdad's highest Shia authority, represented by the family of the Grand Al-Khalisi (Shaikh Muhammad Mahdi al-Khalisi, a key participant in the 1920 revolution against the British in Iraq), are totally opposed to the political process and their position is nearly identical to that of Iraqi Sunni Muslims.

Aljazeera.net spoke to several Iraqis investigating the hit-lists. Kahlil Mashaan, 70, a resident of Baghdad, said he lost his next-door neighbours because of militia terror.



Raghib says he fled Iraq because his name was on a hit-list

The conflicting interests and absence of order have allowed militias to take the law in their own hands, by forcing their ideologies on people and assassinating individuals who do not agree with them.

"Some months ago we suddenly heard people screaming and women weeping. My wife and I ran to the street to see a dead man on the floor with blood stains all around.



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"We found out he was the son-in-law of our neighbour, Samiya al-Aaraji. It turned out later that the assassins were after her son, who was said to be a member of Badr Brigades [the military wing of the Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq - SCIRI]," Kahlil said.

"After that, they felt afraid and left us to settle in Najaf. So because of the chaos created by the state of lawlessness, our neighbourhood lost a good family who had lived among us for more than a decade, and used to interact with us closely although they were Shia and our district is mostly Sunni," he said.

Iraq's resistance factions are believed to be behind the assassinations of some members of Shia political parties, accusing them of aiding foreign forces in Iraq.

One faction, the Unified Command of the Mujahideen - Political Committee, recently published a statement on the internet accusing Shia militias and leaders of backing the US-led forces.

The statement, whose authenticity could not be verified by Aljazeera.net, urged Iraqi fighters to kill any Iraqi who backs the "occupiers".

Kurds

The Kurdish- and Shia-led government, backed by occupying US forces, is facing a revolt mainly by Sunni Arabs aimed at bringing it down.

Kurds are seen by some Iraqis as the main instigators of several unacceptable constitutional articles, namely federalism based on ethnicity, which they see as a potential trigger for Iraq's break-up.

Kurdish parliamentary deputy Faris Hussein was shot dead along with three bodyguards on Saturday night as he travelled to Baghdad from the north. The killing took place near the Shia town of al-Dujail.



Fellow deputy Haider Qassem was wounded, National Assembly spokesman Peshro Saeed said.

Makki: Everyone [in Iraq nowadays] is a potential target

Sunni

On 12 September, two Sunni clerics were assassinated in Baquba, 60km north of Baghdad. "Shaikh Hashem al-Kashali was killed on the spot when armed men opened fire on his car," said Muthanna Ibrahim, who was wounded along with another person.

"Shaikh Mahmoud Ghazzawi, who was wounded, died at the hospital of Baquba where he was admitted," Ibrahim said.

Usually no party claims responsibility for the assassination of Sunni Muslim clerics and activists, but the general perception among Iraqis is that the militias of Shia ruling parties are doing the job.

Shia parties have, however, strenuously denied the accusation.



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Umar Raghieb, a member of Iraq's Association of Muslim Scholars who fled Iraq to Jordan in July, said he was arrested by Iraqi police and then fled the country when he learned that his name was on a hit-list.

"They have been targeting us [Sunni scholars] - all my colleagues have been either detained for an indefinite period or assassinated," he told Aljazeera.net.

"They tortured me savagely; they used to hang me upside down and whip me. The problem is they were never clear about what exactly they wanted from me," he said.

"When I was released after intervention by the association, my sources told me that I was on a hit-list, so I left my country."

Several human-rights groups have denounced what they said was torture at the hands of Iraqi police.

The Ministry of Human Rights in July launched an investigation into alleged torture by police. The report is supposed to be submitted to the ministries of interior and justice, but no information has been available about its progress.



Al-Khalisi, a key participant in the 1920 revolution

Turkmen

The oil-rich Iraqi city of Kirkuk has been the subject of deep disagreement between the Kurds and other Iraqis.

Kurds insist the city should join their intended self-rule region in northern Iraq, but other Iraqis, especially the Turkmen, say the city has never been Kurdish and Turkmen there have lived in harmony with other ethnic groups.

On 14 September, unknown assailants killed the Turkmen leader Qassab Uglu in Kirkuk. The official in the Turkmen Front was a victim of a drive-by shooting, according to witnesses at the scene.

Turkmen officials were not available to comment on Uglu's assassination, but Najati Kalatchi, the secretary-general of the Committee for Defending Turkmen Rights, said suspicion had fallen on the Kurds.

"Who else other than Kurds would target the Turkmen? We have lived in harmony even with the Arabs brought to the city by Saddam Hussein's government."

Kalatchi said: "Actually, the people of Kirkuk, including Kurds, did not have a problem with each other. The problem is with those Kurds who were brought to Kirkuk after the occupation from all over Iraq and the neighbouring countries, in order to increase the number of Kurds and become a majority in the city."

"They are brainwashed that Turkmen and Arabs are the Kurds' enemy."



Haroun Muhammad suggests the Badr Brigades is taking revenge

Former soldiers



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Members of the former Iraqi army and air force who fought in the eight-year Iran-Iraq war have been targeted all over Iraq.

London-based Iraqi political analyst Haroun Muhammad suggests that the Badr Brigades, which was founded and is supported by Iran, is waging a revenge campaign.

"Until the 1st of last June, seven Iraqi pilots who took part in the war with Iran had been assassinated, among them Air Force Major-General Abd al-Rahman Muhammad Ali and Air Force Major-General Bahaa al-Din Muhei al-Din, who were assassinated in the Baladiyat district east of Baghdad city.

"There are 160 other pilots on the hit-list of the Badr Brigades," Muhammad told Aljazeera.net.

Another hit-list has been compiled by militias loyal to countries bordering Iraq, Muhammad said, and targets 360 officers of the former Iraqi army who were decorated with more than five Bravery Medals (given by Saddam Hussein to distinguished soldiers) during the war with Iran.

"This list consists of officers and non-commissioned officers from all over Iraq. This list has been leaked somehow, and as a result of that, those [officers] who live in the south in Shia-dominated areas have fled their homes and settled in specific districts in Baghdad, which are regarded relatively safe," Muhammad said.

Officials

Politically, the ousted Baath Party is in armed confrontation with the new rulers of Iraq. The once-fierce opponents of the Baath Party, the Shia Dawa Party and the SCIRI, are ruling the country now, and the Baath Party is fighting back.

On 10 September, Adnan Abd al-Hamza, a major-general in the Ministry of Interior, was assassinated in al-Ghazaliya district west of Baghdad.

On the same day, Awad Eissa, a general manager in the Ministry of Agriculture, was shot dead as he was travelling in his car in Abu Ghraib, west of Baghdad.

Many factions deem Iraqi officials as traitors and collaborators who work in a "puppet government" formed by a foreign invading force.

Officials have been receiving threats to quit their jobs or be killed.

Scholars

The assassinations of Iraqi scientists started shortly after the US-led invasion of Iraq, Muhammed said. In the beginning it was thought that the target was scientists who worked in Iraq's former programme of weapons of mass destruction.

But the assassinations have taken the lives of many experts in fields that have nothing to do with weapons and military sciences, such as Arabic and history.

"Actually, the people of Kirkuk, including Kurds, did not have a problem with each other. The problem is with those Kurds who were brought to Kirkuk after the occupation from all over Iraq and the neighbouring countries, in order to increase the number of Kurds and become a majority in the city"

Najati Kalatchi



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"Iranian-backed militias hold teachers of Arabic and history as allies with Saddam's government, neglecting the fact that they were doing their jobs within a sovereign country, which had its own point of view in its history."

"As for scientists, it is clear that several foreign forces are interested in evicting Iraq of its qualified people," Muhammad said.

The Ministry of Higher Education has announced that 146 university professors were assassinated in the past two years.

Aljazeera + Agencies

By Ahmed Janabi

You can find this article at:

<http://english.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/2C0DF1DB-10B4-45EE-B890-30BA350A44FA.htm>

Iraq's Science Community: to be or not to be

British and American scientists and academics assisted the birth of Iraq's science community in the last century; can they help it now to be born again?

Two international initiatives to help Iraqi scientists and academics to reconstruct their community began two years ago. They were independent of each other. The first initiative was supported by American academic institutions (see main text), the second by British counterparts. International Symposium on Higher Education in Iraq is an initiative by a group of expatriate Iraqi academics working in UK. "We are following different avenues", says Dr. Gahzi Derwish, visiting professor of Surrey University and member of the Symposium Organising Committee. "Our aim is to explore the needs of universities in Iraq, help to set their priorities and determine how best British Universities and other organizations can help in restoring the once flourishing links between Iraq's academic institutions and their correlatives in the west".

"Higher education has been the incubator of R&D in Iraq", says Dr. Derwish, a veteran scientist who obtained his PhD in chemistry from the University of London and held prestigious scientific posts in Iraq for four decades. The public sector comprises 20 universities and 47 technical institutions with about 350,000 students and 18,000 academic staff. There are also 10 private sector higher education colleges with some 15,000 students.

The Symposium, hosted last month by the University of Westminster in London, was attended by 170 academics, 20 of them presidents, assistant presidents and deans of Iraqi universities. Abbas Al-Hussainy, Secretary General of the Symposium and senior lecturer at Westminster University, said that they discussed with their British colleagues curriculum modernization, ways to establish higher education policies and strategies that can effectively deal with the challenges of the reconstruction period. Parallel to the political issues being debated in Iraq; special workshops in the Symposium were devoted to centralisation vs. de-centralisation, role and regulation of private universities and radical rethinking of scientific research in line with national needs.

Beyond discussing what needs to be done, some practical measures have already been taken since the first Symposium held in January 2004. Dr. Al-Hussainy said that several training workshops, research co-operations, and academic/scientific visits for Iraqis were organised by a number of British universities (Birmingham, Nottingham, John Moor, Bangor, Westminster, Surrey, Cardiff, Greenwich). The Association of Iraqi Academics in UK and a number of British universities have arranged donation of



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books and scientific journals to Iraqi universities. The Association of British Publishers invited Iraqi university librarians to attend the British Book Fair and to establish contacts with UK publishers. British and European universities offered scholarships for MSc and PhD degrees to six Iraqi Universities. Furthermore, the British Council contributed six-month training courses for seven academics under the Chevening Technology Enterprise Scholarship Programme.

Dr. Derwish points out that few scholarships and training courses will not be sufficient to alleviate the tragic state engulfing Iraq's science community. A recent Report from the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs in Baghdad stated "Iraq's university laboratories suffered heavy damage during the US invasion two years ago and are desperately short of essential equipment and chemicals needed to teach medicine, dentistry, pharmacy and several other science subjects. As a result, 15 students or more have to share a single set of equipment during practical experiments, three times more than the internationally recommended maximum of five". University teachers grumble that thousands of graduates are being turned out every year short on practical knowledge.

Iraqi scientists and academics are suffering the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune as they face the constant danger of assassination and kidnapping. According to Sami Mudhaffar, minister of Higher Education and Science Research, 54 Iraqi scientists and academics have been assassinated. In an interview to London based Arabic newspaper Ashahrq Alawsat, Dr. Mudhaffar expressed his regret for accepting ministerial responsibility "only one of 14 reconstruction projects ready for implementation has been carried out". The reason, he said is the "halt of ministry expenditure". He added, "All the talk about international donations is an empty promise. Many of the 200 contracts and agreements that were signed didn't benefit the country. On the contrary they added more debts to an already heavily debited nation".

M.A

Who's killing Iraqi intellectuals?

By David Hoskins

Published Dec 3, 2005 9:29 PM

Iraqis opposed to the U.S. occupation believe there is a systematic campaign of targeted assassinations aimed at Iraqi intellectuals and that a well-organized enemy intent on keeping Iraq weak and susceptible to foreign occupation is carrying out the killings.

The Monitoring Net for Human Rights in Iraq recently reported Iraqi police figures demonstrating that well over 1,000 Iraqi academics and scientists have been shot to death since the beginning of the U.S.-led invasion. The U.S. State Department has confirmed that hundreds of university professors have been killed.

The shooting of peaceful academics clearly differentiates these killings from those attributable to the Iraqi resistance's effort to defend its homeland. The popular insurgency has primarily targeted U.S. and British forces along with Iraqi military and police personnel who cooperate with the occupation.



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Whoever is responsible for the assassination of academics must also have access to sophisticated intelligence techniques that allow for the widespread targeting of a particular grouping of civilians.

The attacks on Iraqi intellectuals first began when U.S. forces purged at least 15,500 researchers, scientists, teachers and professors for alleged ties to the Baath Party. The dismissal, and subsequent emigration, of so many leading professionals contributed to a destabilized Iraq and provided the occupiers with an excuse for staying in the country.

An article in the [London] Times Higher Education Supplement (Sept. 15, 2004) points out that “there is a widespread feeling among the Iraqi academics that they are witnessing a deliberate attempt to destroy intellectual life in Iraq.”

The cold-blooded nature of the assassinations leaves many wondering exactly who is responsible for this ongoing campaign. The Iraqi resistance denies it is responsible, and those interested in liberating Iraq from the occupation have no motive to carry out such wide-scale killings.

Osama Abed Al-Majeed, the president of the Department for Research and Development at the Iraqi Ministry for Higher Education, has accused the Israeli secret service, Mossad, of perpetuating the violence against Iraqi scientists. A June 2005 report by the Palestine Information Center claims that Mossad, in cooperation with U.S. military forces, was responsible for the assassination of 530 Iraqi scientists and professors in the seven months prior to the report’s publication.

Mossad unquestionably has the motive and means to assassinate leading Iraqi intellectuals. The Israeli intelligence agency contains a Special Operations Division called Metsada which is tasked with conducting assassinations, sabotage and paramilitary projects. Israel has a long history of interference in Iraq, going back to the 1981 bombing of a nuclear energy plant that stood 15 miles outside Baghdad that just before that attack had voluntarily undergone inspection by the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Regardless of who is responsible for the killing of Iraqi scientists and academics, it is clear that the U.S. and Britain, as the leading occupying powers, have the responsibility for the precarious situation in which these intellectuals are forced to live.

Dr. Saad Jawad is a university professor who was known to speak out against certain Baathist policies. But he recently said, “To tell the truth, in the time of Saddam Hussein, we used to speak to our students freely.... But now, a lot of people are not willing to say these kinds of things because of fear.”

<http://www.workers.org/2005/world/iraq-1208/>



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An Interview with Dr. Saad Jawad

Iraqi Intellectuals and the Occupation - By LAITH AL-SAUD January 3, 2006

The following interview is part of our continuing effort to provide a voice for Iraqis in regards to the American occupation. Dr. Saad Jawad is a prominent political scientist at Baghdad University. Baghdad University, once one of the finest academic institutions in the Arab world, has suffered tremendously under the US occupation, not to mention the twelve year long sanctions that preceded it. Dr. Jawad and I discussed the continued assassination of Iraqi intellectuals, a phenomenon largely ignored by the western media. Over one thousand Iraqi academics, intellectuals and scientists have been assassinated since the American invasion-most of them opposed to the occupation.

Laith al-Saud: As a political scientist what is your assessment of the economic future of Iraq, particularly in relation to the supposed rebuilding undertaken by the Americans.

Dr. Saad Jawad: The Iraqi economy has suffered heavily under the occupation or more correct under the American domination. Most of the money allocated for reconstruction, as is now well known, has either been looted or spent on the security of the American forces and personnel. American writers now speak about the squandering of (looting) more the 25 billion dollars from the Iraqi economy. Such a situation will never help in building a new strong economy, or at least salvage the weak Iraqi economy. The amount of destruction incurred by the American invasion added to that made by the war, invasion and the long sanctions (12 years).

LA: Similarly what is your assessment of the possibilities of civil war in Iraq? It is often said that if America withdraws Iraq will plunge into civil war, what is your analysis?

SJ: The possibility of civil war does exist but it is very much a remote one. Judging by how Iraqis have reacted to attempts to ignite such a war currently and the old social history of inter-marriage and fraternity I strongly believe the possibility is very remote. As I said, we have wide spread evidence that outside forces are attempting to instigate a civil war here and Iraqis are conscious of that and have made a determined effort not to respond to it. The Iraqi reaction to these different attempts to trigger a civil war substantiates my argument.

LA: The resistance in Iraq has no doubt been persistent and intrepid: as of yet, however, we have not seen (or at least it has not received much attention) an intellectual resistance that ties the occupation to larger and more general themes of history, nationalism and Islam. For example why should people resist this occupation intellectually?

SJ: The intellectuals were genuinely divided between their hatred of the old regime and the hope of building a new democratic Iraq with American assistance. Unfortunately the Americans proved to be of no help at all. The hatred of the old regime drove a fair number of the intellectuals, especially in the first year of the occupation, to voice their opinions along sectarian lines. Only recently after their disappointment with the occupation policy have they realized how misled they were. That is why their movement to form an intellectual resistance was late. But it is progressing following their disappointment with the occupation policy and that of those so-called Iraqis who came with them.



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LA: How much influence does the Iraqi intelligentsia have around the country and to what extent was their expertise made use of in providing Iraq stability?

SJ: To my knowledge no Iraqi academic body was consulted for example in drafting the constitution. This ignorance was very obvious and clear. That is why the constitution was drafted according to American wishes and narrow sectarian and ethnic lines. Most of the political movements now, however, are resorting to the advice of the intellectuals. Most movements and organizations are including intellectuals now. It is true that their role is mostly small, but they are there.

LA: It is well known to those who care that Iraqi intellectuals are being targeted in unbelievable numbers, who is responsible for this targeting and why?

SJ: Iraqi intellectuals and scientists are targeted by many elements. [When we analyze who is targeted and by what methods it is clear that] the Israelis and the Americans are after one part of them. Iran and the sectarian parties are after some others. The Baathists liquidated some of their old comrades when they noticed that they were cooperating with the Americans, and the local mafias kidnapped and assassinated others after making them pay ransoms. The problem of security, or the lack of it, is the main reason why intellectuals have become such easy targets for any act. Yet, precisely because of the chaos, the systematized assassinations of Iraqi intellectuals have gone largely unnoticed in the outside world. Iraq is being drained of its most able thinkers, thus an important component to any true Iraqi independence is being eliminated.

LA: What do you think of the demand made at the Cairo conference for an American timetable for withdrawal?

SJ: I believe the request put forth at the Cairo conference for a timetable scheduling the withdrawal of American forces (which was later approved) was a pre-condition put forward by the opposition to attend the meeting. Until that time the American administration refused to speak or allow anyone else to speak about this issue. The Americans wanted to make their presence as permanent and long as possible. To me a sudden withdrawal is not advisable, however. I believe before taking such a step the American administration should re-instate the bulk of the Iraqi army, security and police forces. This is the institution that could bring back security and order into the country. Of course when I say re-instate I mean fully re-instate, i.e. furnished with all the necessary arms and equipment to carry out its duty. Otherwise we will continue to live in the current up-side-down situation in which all of the professionals and experts were forced out of duty and all the amateurs placed on duty. In addition those forced out of the army are oppressed, under paid, humiliated and constantly threatened with liquidation. Meanwhile those who have found themselves within the new American circle are generously paid and protected despite their old tarnished history. Does anybody blame members of the old army when they join the resistance and defy the attempts to finish them? Once the military and security apparatus is established, and this should not take long because the members of this institution are very well trained and capable of switching to duty soon, then the American forces should start withdrawing.

Laith Al-Saud is a college lecturer in the social sciences and a member of the People's Struggle Movement—an organization politically opposed to the occupation of Iraq.

<http://www.counterpunch.org/laith01032006.html>



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Death of a professor

There is now a systematic campaign to assassinate Iraqis who speak out against the occupation

Haifa Zangana

Tuesday February 28, 2006

[The Guardian](#)

In a letter to a friend in Europe, Abdul Razaq al-Na'as, a Baghdad university professor in his 50s, grieved for his killed friends and colleagues. His letter concluded: "I wonder who is next!" He was. On January 28 al-Na'as drove from his office at Baghdad University. Two cars blocked his, and gunmen opened fire, killing him instantly.

Al-Na'as is not the first academic to be killed in the mayhem of the "new Iraq". Hundreds of academics and scientists have met this fate since the March 2003 invasion. Baghdad universities alone have mourned the killing of over 80 members of staff. The minister of education stated recently that during 2005, 296 members of education staff were killed and 133 wounded.

Not one of these crimes has been investigated by the occupation forces or the interim governments. They leave that to international humanitarian groups and anti-war organisations. Among them is the Brussels Tribunal on Iraq, which has compiled a list to persuade the UN special rapporteur on summary executions to investigate the issue; they do so with the help of Iraqi academics, who risk their lives in the process. Their research shows that the victims have been men and women from all over Iraq, from different ethnic, religious and political backgrounds. Most were vocally opposed to the occupation. For the most part, they were killed in a fashion that suggests cold-blooded assassination. No one has claimed responsibility. Like many Iraqis, I believe these killings are politically motivated and connected to the occupying forces' failure to gain any significant social support in the country. For the occupation's aims to be fulfilled, independent minds have to be eradicated. We feel that we are witnessing a deliberate attempt to destroy intellectual life in Iraq.

Dr al-Na'as was a familiar face on al-Jazeera and al-Arabiya TV. He had often condemned the continued presence of US-led troops in Iraq, and criticised the sectarian interim governments and their militias. His case echoes the assassination of the academic Dr Abdullateef al-Mayah. A prominent human rights campaigner and critic of the occupation, Mayah was killed only 12 hours after he had appeared on al-Jazeera denouncing the corruption of the US-appointed Iraqi Governing Council.

Militias have replaced the disbanded Iraqi army, applying their own rule of law. Some units operate under a semblance of "legality" - the "wolf brigade", attached to the interior ministry, is infamous for its terror raids on mosques and the torture of civilians.

Last month the journalist Abdul Hadi al-Zaidi accused the government's militias of targeting intellectuals. He is one of a group of Iraqi journalists who, in the aftermath of al-Na'as's assassination, went on strike, demanding an immediate investigation into the "systematic assassination campaign" against intellectuals opposed to the occupation.

After the July London bombings, Tony Blair promised the British people to "bring those responsible to justice". In Iraq, the British government does exactly the opposite. The law of occupation states that: "All foreign soldiers, diplomats or contractors implicated in the killing of Iraqi civilians are immune from arrest or trial in Iraq." Both the British and US governments turn a blind eye to the systematic violations of human rights and murders committed by their clients in Iraq.



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It has become obvious that the occupation forces, with their elite troops and \$6bn-a-month budget, cannot hold Iraq. The only honorable and realistic way out is genuine dialogue with the Iraqi resistance over a complete withdrawal of foreign troops and adequate reparations and debt-cancellation to rebuild the country.

· Haifa Zangana is an Iraqi-born novelist and former prisoner of Saddam's regime; a longer version of this article will appear in Not One More Death, published next month by Verso

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<http://www.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,,1719417,00.htm>

Assassinations Tear Into Iraq's Educated Class

By JEFFREY GETTLEMAN

<http://www.nytimes.com/2004/02/07/international/middleeast/07ASSA.html?ex=1391490000&en=1d4f662cec46b775&ei=5007&partner=USERLAND>

Published: February 7, 2004

BAGHDAD, Iraq, Feb. 6 — Abdul al-Latif al-Mayah was never safe. Not before the war started, and not after.

A couple of weeks ago, Dr. Mayah, a 53-year-old political scientist and human rights advocate known in his neighborhood here as "the professor," was driving to work when eight masked gunmen jumped in front of his car. They yanked him into the street, the police said, and shot him nine times in front of his bodyguard and another university lecturer.

In an instant, he became one of hundreds of intellectuals and midlevel administrators who Iraqi officials say have been assassinated since May in a widening campaign against Iraq's professional class.

"They are going after our brains," said Lt. Col. Jabbar Abu Natiha, head of the organized crime unit of the Baghdad police. "It is a big operation. Maybe even a movement."

These white-collar killings, American and Iraqi officials say, are separate from — and in some ways more insidious than — the settling of scores with former Baath Party officials, or the singling-out of police officers and others thought to be collaborating with the occupation. Hundreds of them have been attacked as well in an effort to sow insecurity and chaos.

But by silencing urban professionals, said Brig. Gen. Mark Kimmitt, a spokesman for the occupation forces, the guerrillas are waging war on Iraq's fledgling institutions and progress itself. The dead include doctors, lawyers and judges.

"This works against everything we're trying to do here," the general said.



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It has never been easy being part of the educated class in Iraq, certainly not under the repression by Saddam Hussein. Now, all over the country, it is a lethal business.

In Baghdad, Haifa Aziz Daoud, a high-ranking electricity manager, was shot dead through her front door in June. The deputy mayor, Faris Abdul Razzaq al-Assam, was also shot and killed near his home in October. Every member of the Baghdad City Council has been threatened, said Muhammad Zamil Saadi, a lawyer and council member.

"In the past, it was the party people who got the good jobs," said Mr. Saadi, who has two bullet holes in his windshield. "Now it is the professionals. These killers are desperate to go back to those times."

The American authorities say foreign terrorists may be behind the attacks. "There is a huge incentive for foreign terrorists to create chaos here," General Kimmitt said.

The Iraqi authorities point to former Baath Party elements or displaced military officers. They say the killings have been coordinated.

American and Iraqi officials say there is no tally of all the professionals assassinated. But Lt. Akmad Mahmoud, of the Baghdad police, said there had been "hundreds" of professionals killed in Baghdad.

Mr. Saadi, the Baghdad city council member who works closely with the police, estimated the number at from 500 to 1,000.

Colonel Natiha, the head of the organized crime unit, said there were too many to count. He blamed the general sense of lawlessness in Iraq, which is still struggling to form its own police forces.

General Kimmitt said the military was not involved in the investigations, though advisers from the F.B.I. were helping train Iraqi detectives.

Lieutenant Mahmoud, 28, says he has not met with any American advisers. He has been left to investigate Dr. Mayah's death by himself, one in a sea of similar cases.

In Basra, Asaad al-Shareeda, the dean of the engineering college, was assassinated in November. Two months later, Muhammad Qasim, a teacher in the technical college, was stabbed to death in his home.

In Mosul, Yousef Khorshid, an investigative judge, and Adel al-Haddidi, head of the local lawyer's association, were killed in drive-by shootings in December. The same car was seen by witnesses in both cases.

Iman al-Munim Yunis, director of the translation department at Mosul University, said someone recently slipped a note under her door. It read, "It's better to leave your job or you will face what you don't want." In the envelope was a bullet.

She resigned.



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Several physicians have been killed. Many more have been threatened. Some have closed their practices. Others have held on.

"I was given one week," said Abid Ali Mahdi, director of the Institute of Radiotherapy and Nuclear Medicine in Baghdad. "But I can't quit. If I step down, nobody would come and take my place."

Dr. Mayah, the professor who was killed, had also refused to be intimidated. He spent years ducking the secret police under Mr. Hussein. As a member of the Shiite underground, he pushed for the overthrow of the government, his family recounted.

In the 1990's, he formed a secret society called United Iraq Is Our Home. He drove around at night in his blue Volkswagen, other activists said, slipping flyers out the window detailing the government's abuses.

Once, he pasted small messages onto Iraqi dinars, which he folded and left behind on buses and park benches. People would pick up the money and read about revolution.

"He was an old-fashioned activist, completely committed to the cause," said Sami Mahmoud al-Baydhani, a historian at Mustansiriyah University in Baghdad, where the professor served as director of Arab studies.

A few years ago, the secret police took the professor to their headquarters. "We have an expression," said Khalid Ali al-Mayah, the professor's brother, "anybody who goes into that building, comes out a body."

But one of the agents was a former student and let Dr. Mayah go. According to his family, he had many allies in the security services. They considered him the professor with nine lives.

His daughter and only child, Hiba, 16, used to sit up with him at night as he drafted fliers. Once, she asked him if he was scared.

"He told me, 'If I'm scared and you're scared, who's going to do anything?'" Hiba recalled.

After the war, Dr. Mayah turned down an invitation to meet with Jay Garner, the former general who was first American administrator for Iraq. He told his friends that it was wrong that a military man should control the country.

Instead, colleagues said, the professor concentrated on human rights, going to a conference in Jordan and holding symposiums.

Then the threats started.

Last fall, the police said, a man came to his office and told him to close the human rights center at Mustansiriyah University. The professor told him to go away.

Two days before he was killed, his brother said, Dr. Mayah received a final threat: Resign or else.



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He gave a stack of his papers to his secretary for safekeeping. He told his daughter that when the time came for marriage, she should consult with her uncle. It was as if he was saying goodbye.

"I knew my father was surrounded by danger," said Hiba, wearing a black veil and a black leather jacket, a product of two worlds. "I was closer to my father than to my own soul."

That last night, Dr. Mayah went into town for an interview with Al Jazeera, the Arab television network, in which he criticized the occupation and called for prompt elections.

The next morning, Jan. 19, Dr. Mayah left for work in his blue Mitsubishi. He made it as far as a dusty side street about a mile away.

"We had a pledge, to live together and die together," Khalid, the professor's brother, said as he started to cry. What hurts most, he said, is that after all the years his brother secretly worked for democracy in Iraq, its arrival was just around the corner.

"These people are not just assassinating our brothers," he said. "They are assassinating our future."

Death of Humanity

Producers received mysterious calls: I was a fantacist who had never met Margaret Hassan. I received one myself on a Sunday afternoon.

Felicity Arbuthnot, PalestineChronicle.com



January 18, 2006

For Iraq watchers, the daily carnage of liberation, the searing, wailing grief of the bereaved, bombed, bereft, haunt. Neighborhoods, evocative ancient homes reduced to rubble by the 'liberators', the surviving, bewildered, standing on shattered bricks, mortar, toys, belongings, liberated even from home's secure warmth.



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In the distorted horrors of today's Iraq, many never make it home: disappeared, kidnapped, shot by the occupying forces for driving, walking, and playing, in familiar venues. Iraqi lives are the earth's cheapest. 'Government' or occupying troops kill 'insurgents' (even if baby or toddler 'insurgents') and few questions are asked. 'Insurgents' are also blamed for the kidnappings and killings of independent aid workers and journalists - Iraqi and foreign - yet the growing list of their disappeared and dead, are those who were recording atrocities against the population by occupying troops and US imposed government's militia.

Recently General Muntazar Al-Samarrai, who fled Iraq for Jordan last year, told Al Arabiya television that Interior Minister Bayan Jabr Solagh had employed thousands of Badr Brigade militia, the now 'disarmed' fighters of the Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq. Random arrest, torture, crackdowns, interrogation without Court approval were rife, claimed Al-Samarrai. He cited the Squad's Headquarters as being in a bunker under the Ministry at Al Gardiyah, where one hundred and seventy prisoners were discovered, malnourished and showing signs of torture. Fifty-two blindfolded, dead were found in Baghdad's Al-Iskan and Al-Huriya neighborhoods. 'I have no doubt countless others have been killed at the hands of Solagh's men', added Samarrai

Recent kidnappings of foreigners have occurred when approaching the Association of Muslim Scholars - who record circumstances pertaining to the dead and missing - or waiting to enter Mosques where officials also keep records. Sunni leaders have also been calling for investigation in to the death squads. The death toll of the Scholars themselves - indeed Iraq's academics, professionals - is largely missing from the public domain. There is a deadly 'Catch 22' in the dangers of record keeping and in access to knowledge.

Iraq is unrecognizable from when foreigners and Iraqis, until the invasion, wandered late night streets, socializing, eating imaginative snacks costing pence, cooked on creative pavement cookers fashioned from scoured scrap, not fearing kidnap, ransom demands, death - gift of an illegal onslaught recently described by Martin Van Creuveld, Military History Professor at the Hebrew University, as: ' The most foolish war since Emperor Augustus sent his legions into Germany in 9 B.C., and lost them.' (www.forward.com 25th November 2005.)

The kidnappings and attendant horrors have been a surreal, horrific learning curve for Iraqis and those who know Iraq. Some governments have been careful, imaginative, quietly working behind the scenes for releases. Britain's approach is unusual. When Ken Bigley was kidnapped, his brother Paul, desperately fighting for him, says his phone and computer were disconnected and he was visited by British authorities at his home in the Netherlands and accused of negotiating with terrorists.

When Care's Director, Margaret Hassan was kidnapped, in October 2004. Lord Blair of Kut Al Amara, as dubbed by the Independent's Robert Fisk (Kut: the scene of near Augustian decimation of the British on an earlier colonial misadventure) stood in Parliament and dealing also diplomacy's death knell, said Britain now knew what kind of people it was dealing with, capturing a wonderful British woman.

Could the Prime Minister possibly correct his statement publicly? I asked the Head of Consular Protection for the Middle East, at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. I had known Margaret for some years and was fairly sure her passport was Irish, she was certainly Irish born and regarded herself as Irish. Being British or American in Iraq, post invasion,



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could invite a death sentence. 'We do not need advice from you ..', he said : ' We are already trying to find out if we have the right woman.' Life is seemingly cheap viewed from bunkered Whitehall.

The only option was to break rule one, go public, in a damage limitation exercise. On every possible media outlet, her background her passion for Iraq became central. Her home of thirty years, she stayed during two wars, thirteen years of bombings and embargo, her heartbreak at the plight of the people. She traveled to the UK and spoke in Parliament and at the UN in New York in January 2003, warning of invasion's consequences: 'The Iraqi people are already living through a terrible emergency ... they do not have the recourses to withstand an additional crisis brought about by military action', she said in a House of Commons briefing. She could have stayed in the West, but returned to Iraq, stockpiled emergency medical requirements – and awaited the bombs. Was it a random, opportunist kidnapping, I prayed I was repeated on Arabic services. The Middle East minds people who care for them.

In my wake, producers received mysterious calls: I was a fantacist who had never met Margaret Hassan. I received one myself on a Sunday afternoon. Establishing who I was, the caller said he was head of government communications and, basically, would I shut the f ... up about Margaret Hassan. After Margaret's death, Iraqi exiles in Manchester and Liverpool, appalled and ashamed, decided to establish initiatives for Iraq in her memory and asked if I would give a talk - on their country. My arrival was preceded by a 'phone call from 'Scotland Yard' (no name of officer, number, extension etc.) advising the organizers against my speaking. The meetings went ahead.

Now, according The Sunday Times (1st January 2006) it transpires that Times columnist and former Conservative MP, Matthew Parris, was approached by ' ... a very rich friend', offering, that were: '...a ransom demanded, it could perhaps be raised.' What followed was: ' ... a scarily effective ... behind-the-scenes operation to stop the plan ... from on high - very high ... Terrified my friend backed out. So might you if you were told your own family might be targeted next.'

The Foreign Office dismissed the claim as: 'utter nonsense.' Margaret Hassan fought for Iraq's vulnerable under Saddam's regime and would certainly not keep quiet regarding subsequent conditions and atrocities under that of the occupation - and frequently by them. And she had a voice in high places, as did many of Iraq's disappeared. The lionhearted Margaret's terrified, pleading face looked out again from the Sunday Times and she again spoke for Iraqis: the terrorized, traumatized she mirrored. Iraqis had spoken back in their thousands and war maimed, limbless, children demonstrated on crutches outside her final project, a center she had built for them. Her body has never been found.

Did someone, somewhere, look in a mirror and decide she was expendable, to illustrate the invasion's historic disaster was necessary, to 'democratize' and 'educate' Iraq? And that in the New Iraq, unsilencable voices are anyway, inconvenient?

Robert Fisk in Canada recently joked of a minion saying to the Prime Minster: 'Terrible news, Sir, Robert Fisk has been kidnapped in Iraq' - and the Prime Minister replying: 'Poor old Bob, ha, ha, ha.'

Jokes apart, there are more questions than answers regarding Iraq's disappeared, say informed legal and human rights experts, than ever there were under Saddam.



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Details of Iraq's murdered academics can be found at www.brusselstribunal.org a petition to save the living is at www.PetitionOnline.com/Iraqacad

-Felicity Arbuthnot lives in London. She has written and broadcast widely on Iraq, one of the few journalists to cover Iraq extensively even in the mid-1990's during the sanctions. She with Denis Halliday was senior researcher for John Pilger's Award winning documentary: Paying the Price - Killing the Children of Iraq. She is a regular contributor to PalestineChronicle.com

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Professionals Fleeing Iraq As Violence, Threats Persist **Exodus of Educated Elite Puts Rebuilding at Risk** Doug Struck, Washington Post Foreign Service

Monday, January 23, 2006

BAGHDAD -- The office of Iraq's most eminent cardiologist is padlocked. A handwritten sign is taped on his wooden door in the private clinic in Baghdad: Patients of Dr. Omar Kubasi should call him in Amman, Jordan.

There, Kubasi, 63, spends his days sitting at a cafe with other physicians and professionals from Iraq. Frustrated, he watches from afar as the medical education system he helped set up during his 36-year career slowly disintegrates. His teaching doctors are fleeing the country in fear. Younger physicians are looking for other countries to train in. Even patients are leaving, no longer confident in the care they can get in Iraq.

"I think it's part of the plan for the country's destruction," Kubasi said by telephone. "The situation in the last six months has gotten so bad, we couldn't continue."

Kubasi left Baghdad in May after he and nine other doctors received letters, written in a childish hand, telling them they would be killed if they did not stop working in their native Iraq. He and his colleagues had been the objects of threats before, but the last carried a foreboding urgency, he said.

Iraq's top professionals -- doctors, lawyers, professors -- and businessmen have been targeted by shadowy political groups for kidnapping and ransom, as well as murder, some of them say. So many have fled the country that Iraq is in danger of losing the core of skilled people it needs most just as it is trying to build a newly independent society.

"It's creating a brain drain," said Amer Hassan Fayed, assistant dean of political science at Baghdad University. "We could end up with a society without knowledge. How can such a society make progress?"



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Professionals and businessmen with the means to escape are going to Jordan, Syria, Egypt or, if they have visas, to Western countries. Those left behind say they feel abandoned.

Ahmed Meer Ali, a 27-year-old resident doctor, is left alone to man the private hospital where Kubasi's office is locked and shuttered. Most of the specialists who worked there, providing care to patients and guidance to Ali, have left.

"They are the ones with specialties from England or the U.S.A. They were the ones teaching me," he said. "Now, some patients even go to Iran to get care. In the past, no one in Iraq would go to Iran."

And many educated young Iraqis are hoping to follow.

"Of course I would leave if I could," said Ihana Nabil, 22, who will soon graduate from Baghdad University with a degree in political science. "There's no peace, no stability and no jobs here," she said. Other students at the campus, a temporary oasis in a violent city, agreed.

Exodus is not new to the country. Iraqis who could flee Saddam Hussein's repressive rule did: Poor Shiite Muslims sneaked across the border into Iran, and Sunni Arabs crossed the mountains into Syria or the desert to Jordan. People often waited years for permission to attend a seminar or do business in another country and then would disappear there. Hussein began holding such people's families hostage to guarantee their return.

Many of those émigrés flooded back into Iraq when Hussein fell. But the country's instability and daily regimen of violence have made some reconsider their return. Others who stayed throughout Hussein's rule are finally saying goodbye to their homeland now.

Numbers are impossible to document, partly because those who leave often tell passport officials they are going out of the country for a short visit. Often without telling friends or neighbors, they take a few things from their homes, lock the doors and vanish.

An official at the Interior Ministry's statistics office said the number of Iraqis traveling overland to Jordan held steady at about 200 to 250 a day from July 2004 to June 2005. Since last July, however, the number crossing the border -- excluding truckers and traders -- has ballooned to 1,100 a day, according to the official.

"They may come back if it's safe," Fayed said.

Or they may not. Since the fall of Hussein, kidnapping has mushroomed into a lucrative business. Even children are snatched, to be ransomed the same day for a few hundred dollars from their distraught parents.

Anyone displaying signs of wealth, often professionals and businessmen, are particular targets of kidnappers in search of high ransoms. However, payment is no guarantee a hostage will not simply be killed and dumped; some authorities claim dozens of bodies are found every day but never reported.

That danger is overlaid by the activities of an insurgency that aims to terrify the society by means of bombings, murder and abduction -- or threats. In addition, the death toll from



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sectarian violence among Sunnis, Shiites and Kurds has climbed steadily.

"Professors have been threatened. Doctors have been killed in their clinics. Killing has become common," Fayed said. "Some people believe this is intentional, to try to empty Iraq of its elite."

Kubasi, the former head of Iraq's military medical corps, believes that. In late April, his secretary handed him a letter written in what he called "bad Arabic" giving them all by May 6 -- 10 days -- to leave the country. He showed the letter to authorities, who suggested he had faked it. By May 8, Kubasi was in Jordan.

His three sons and his daughter are all physicians. They could not risk staying, he said.

"Every day, we sit here, 10 or 12 of us, senior professionals, just discussing the situation," Kubasi said from Amman. "It's mental death to sit here. But even my patients say I should not come back. Really, really, I could not pay for a kidnapper's ransom. And in that case, you would be killed."

It frustrates him to watch the medical training system he helped create fall apart. "The circuit of teaching, training and care is being broken. It may not be recovered," he said.

"Our medical schools and doctors are known all over the Arab world. The teaching care was excellent, based on the British system. We were successful under Saddam Hussein to start our own postgraduate studies, including many medical specialties. Now they are ridding the country of all of this."

Um Mustafa and her husband, a businessman, had hoped to stay. But they abandoned that goal when thieves burst into their bedroom, held their young son in a headlock, with a gun to his head, and demanded that his parents hand over all their gold and jewelry.

"We didn't want to leave," said Um Mustafa, 27, who still fears attack and asked not to be fully identified. "We were a very happy family. Wealthy. My husband had a good job. We had money, a house, car and servants."

The men terrorized the family for more than two hours, threatening to kill or kidnap their 6-year-old son, while their 2-year-old cried. They beat Um Mustafa's husband, finally leaving when they were satisfied they had found all the jewelry, guns and money in the house. They left the couple bound with plastic handcuffs and locked in a room, saying they would burn the house as they left.

"Maybe God wanted to give us a new life," Um Mustafa said. "They didn't kill us."

She and her husband decided to move to Jordan. But they heard that Jordanian authorities, worried about the influx, were making life more difficult for Iraqis there. So they have bought tickets to Cairo instead.

"We don't know how we will live there. My husband will have to find a new job. I will go to work," she said. "Leaving the country was not an easy decision. Any time you start a new life, it's very difficult. But it will be better than staying here in a country where there is no safety anymore."

"I've been through four wars. I never, never felt like leaving before," Um Mustafa said. "Now, life in Iraq has become unsafe. I don't feel safe in my own bedroom -- or in the whole country."

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Iraq: Academia's Killing Fields

By Felicity Arbuthnot**

Journalist- London

Iraq, the land of ancient Mesopotamia, also known as the "cradle of civilization" to archeologists, gifted the world many of academia's "pillars of wisdom." Many who even came before Europe had built its first cathedral, or the Romans the Coliseum.

The first written records, domestic laws, astronomy, mathematics, pharmacology, and the wheel are believed to have been developed at Ur, the earliest civil society in the world. It is also believed to be the site of the Garden of Eden.

In between numerous invasions in the turbulent region, knowledge has been lost or destroyed, only to reemerge triumphant with an advanced enhanced civilization. Learning has long been central in Iraq. The first question by a prospective bride's parents, if they are educated, that is always asked is, "What did he study? What level is his degree?" said Sana al Khayyat, the author of *Honour and Shame: Women in Modern Iraq*.

A modern repeat of history's losses was the 13-year-long US- and UK-driven UN embargo (1990-2003), which forced many academics to leave, seeking positions in countries that had harder currency so they could send back money to sustain both their extended and immediate families. Inflation had become, almost overnight, stratospheric and staples for many were virtually unaffordable.

One Sorbonne-educated Iraqi friend said early in the embargo that the often daily US and UK bombings of vital installations, which resulted in the accompanying brain drain, indicate a long-term plan: to create chaos, to invade Iraq, to grab the oil, and to establish a permanent hold on the strategic location of the country. It seemed like a conspiracy theory.

A prominent Iraqi academic told this writer on condition of anonymity, "Iraq is suffering from a huge brain drain that will not be compensated in another 20 years. This is a dramatic loss for the country and without Iraq's educated middle class, we will be sure to see a rise in sectarianism and extremism which is what the occupier wants."



US soldiers frisk Iraqi students and employees of Baghdad University following the shooting of an American soldier.



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In 1994, the government organized a conference, which became a yearly event for expatriate academics, professionals, and intellectuals. It declared an amnesty without any reprisals for those who had left the country illegally. The aim was to encourage academics to return to a land staggering under the weight of sanctions, a land that was in need of their brains to address myriad challenges. The amnesty seemed to hold, and some academics, exchanged their well-paid positions overseas, including in the US, for the rigors of embargoed Iraq. Nationalism won over comfortable living.

"Iraq is suffering from a huge brain drain that will not be compensated in another 20 years."

However, if the embargo's brain drain was a weighty challenge, the brain death of intelligentsia at the hands of the occupying forces and others is chilling, with the entire spectrum of Iraq's professionals being dragged from their homes, offices, and consulting rooms. They are tortured, shot, ambushed — or they simply disappear only to be found horrendously liquidated; dumped outside a morgue, a hospital; slumped over their car's steering wheel; or on the street.

Anecdotal reports have made estimates of the numbers of deaths and disappearances of academics to be from around 250 to over 500 — as reported by the Palestine Information Center. Due to fear, consistent killing, kidnapping, and arrests of journalists and other investigators on the ground — often by US troops — and collapsed or impossibly expensive communications, the verification of deaths is a slow and painstaking process.

The Brussels Tribunal, however, through its determined and ongoing research, is piecing together facts and has verified names and circumstances to date of 131 cases. The names of 31 professors and 100 doctors, surgeons, medical specialists, and PhD holders in every imaginable discipline stare from the pages of the report. That the list is incomplete seems incontrovertible, with credible reports citing over 80 academics killed from Baghdad University alone.

"Over 200 prominent Iraqi academics have been assassinated within the last three years alone. Those who are not assassinated are abducted or forced out of the country," the Iraqi academic said.

Scrutiny gives rise to conjecture that specific disciplines are being targeted. In the demented world of Bush and Blair's new Iraq, the murder of Dr. Mohammed Tuki Hussein Al-Talakani, a nuclear physicist, shot dead in Baghdad just before Christmas 2004, shocked and appalled.

But actions generated resulting from a US Administration that kidnaps an entire sovereign government and finds it "not productive" to count Iraq's dead, shamefully, hardly surprises. To the paranoid in Washington and their varying imported or collaborative death squads, perhaps nuclear knowledge — never mind there was no nuclear program for years — warrants a death sentence.

But what threat could Dr. Eman Younis, a lecturer in translation at the College of Arts; Dr. Jammour Khammas, a lecturer in art at Basra College of Art; and Dr. Mohammed Washed, a lecturer in Tourism have posed? Or Professor Dr. Wajeeh Mahjoub, a lecturer in physical education and author of eight books on the same subject and Dr. Sabri Al-Bayati, a professor of geography and faculty member of the College of Art, Baghdad University? Professor Laila Al-Saad, a dean at Mosul University College of Law, and her husband Muneer Al-Khiero, a professor of law at the same university, lived together, worked together, and were killed together.



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Doctors and surgeons whose lives were devoted to healing were killed, their epitaphs written in the Tribunal's records. Two early murders were fellows of Britain's Royal College of Surgeons and distinguished board members of the Arab and Iraqi Boards of Medicine: Professor Dr. Emad Sarsaan and Professor Dr. Mohammed Al-Rawi, who was also chairman of the Iraqi Union of Physicians.

Experts in pediatrics, oncology, ophthalmology, pharmacology, dentistry, cardiology, and neurology; hospital directors; and administrators — all dead; they had fled from death threats and were kidnapped.

The *Independent's* veteran Middle East correspondent Robert Fisk, who is no conspiracy theorist, wrote on July 14, 2004, "University staff suspect there is a campaign to strip Iraq of its academics to complete the destruction of Iraq's cultural heritage, which began when America entered Baghdad."

"University staff suspect there is a campaign to strip Iraq of its academics."

Since dead men and women do not talk, morgues are overwhelmed, and forensic scientists are barely available in the circumstances, numbers of murders in Iraq since "liberation" — even sparse speculations of the numbers — are redundant. The only thing that is certain is that under the occupation's watch, a massive cull of Iraq's great academics has taken place.

That the occupying forces themselves have been responsible for many incidents is well documented. In chilling detail, journalist Saba Ali writes of two doctors who survived in Haditha, but who might well have died at the hands of US troops. In May, 2005, Dr. Walid Al-Obeide, a hospital director and surgeon, and Dr. Jamil Abbar were held for a week by soldiers in their own storeroom, and later in a pharmacy.

They were beaten so badly that between them they had a broken nose, a gashed head, and suffered from being beaten on their backs, legs, and even eyes. At one point Dr. Jamil was lying on the floor when a soldier came in, kicked him in the head, and then left, he said. Ali recorded the injuries and swellings shortly afterwards.

Haditha Hospital ambulance driver Mahmood Chima was shot by troops while trying to attend to injured families. Grenades were then thrown at his ambulance which was "ripped apart," records Ali. Haditha's horrors are documented by brave individuals, from Fallujah to northern Tel Afar, through the Euphrates valley, from town to town, village to village, border to border, and all throughout Iraq.

Professor Munim Al-Izmerly, a distinguished chemist, is recorded as having died under US interrogation. He was found to have been hit by what appeared to be a pistol shot, or bar from behind, suffering "brain stem compression." In the morgue he was found to also have a twenty centimeter incision bored into his skull.

Also recorded in detail are allegations of soldiers routinely taking over hospitals, pulling patients from their beds and IV drips, beating them, and, in one detailed case, allegedly beating surgeons in the middle of an operation. One surgeon is quoted as saying, "Patients were dying, while soldiers were beating us up."

Four more names were added to the Brussels Tribunal list in just the time it has taken to write this. They include the eminent Shiite political analyst, Dr. Ali Al-Naas, who was a frequent contributor to Arab television and an outspoken critic of the US occupation. He



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was shot dead in Baghdad in the early hours of January 27, 2006. There are, of course, "no leads to his assassination."

The Tribunal is urging student groups, medical organizations, hospitals, universities, and academic bodies to support their Iraqi colleagues. Their completed documentation and petition (details below) will be presented to the relevant authorities, including the UN Commission for Human Rights, demanding an independent international investigation.

For more information, see the links below:

- [Petition in support of Iraq's academics](#)
- [Brussels Tribunal](#)
- [Free Iraq \(Blog\)](#)

****Felicity Arbuthnot** is a journalist and activist who has visited Iraq on numerous occasions since the 1991 Gulf War. She has written and broadcast widely on Iraq, her coverage of which was nominated for several awards. She was also Senior Researcher for [John Pilger's](#) award-winning documentary *Paying the Price - Killing the Children of Iraq*.

<http://islamonline.net/English/Views/2006/03/article01.shtml>

Professionals On a Death Row

Brian Conley and Isam Rashid

BAGHDAD, Feb 28 (IPS) - "Really we don't know exactly who they are, but I am sure these criminals are not normal and they get training in other countries," Dr. Ali Al-Obeidi, a doctor in Mosul told IPS. "They know very well what they are doing. Their purpose is to destroy Iraq from the inside."

It is not just the U.S. forces that Iraqis blame for these crimes. They see also an influence from Iran. Dr. Isam Al-Rawi, member of the Association of Muslim Scholars and head of the Teachers Association of Iraqi Universities suggests that Iran is involved in assassinating educated and influential Iraqis.

Since the end of the Gulf War and the beginning of the sanctions regime academics, doctors and other professionals in Iraq have experienced hardships because they are professionals. Scholarly journals, research equipment, and medical tools were all banned from shipment to Iraq under the sanctions.

The limiting of these and other "dual-use" items devastated academic institutions and stunted Iraq's progress in keeping pace with other nations in technological advancement. Literacy in Iraq dropped from over 90 percent before the Gulf War to about 50 percent today, and much less in the outlying provinces.

But now Iraqi professionals are facing a newer, deadlier difficulty. Since the occupation began in 2003, Iraqi professionals have been regularly killed, sometimes on a daily basis.

"This is tyranny, we live in the worst tyranny in all of human history," Dr. Al-Rawi told IPS.

"Every hour in Iraq there are killings, kidnappings, arrests, house raids and more. And all of that is because of occupation and our weak government. When I say that I don't mean Saddam was good leader. No he also was bad but Iraqi streets were clean from these crimes, especially the crimes against professionals."

Al-Rawi said, "I charge occupation forces and the Iran government because both want to destroy Iraq. The Iraqi minister of interior helps Iran to do their crimes, and the Iraqi government hides the statistics of assassinations, but we have our statistics." The Shia-led government in Iraq is close to Iranian religious and political leaders.



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The accusation that the minister of interior is involved in these assassinations is in line with findings by the U.S. military. Twenty-two men were arrested recently for running a death squad in Baghdad. They have repeatedly claimed that their actions were carried out under the orders of Interior Minister Bayan Jabr.

The Association of Muslim Scholars says only about 2,000 Iraqi doctors are still working in Iraq, and that more than 300 professionals have been assassinated since the occupation began.

Al-Rawi and other officials from the Association are calling for civil disobedience actions to draw attention to this issue.

"We don't have enough power to stop these crimes because we don't have the guns of the military forces, but we try to make pressure on the government and U.S. troops to stop it. We must be careful, and work very hard to stop (the assassinations) by demonstrations, sit-ins, and civil disobedience."

Disobedience actions have begun already in an effort to force the government to take these concerns seriously. Doctors in Mosul joined a large demonstration Feb. 14 to demand security. They warned of civil disobedience action throughout the city.

"We don't know what we can do to protect ourselves," Dr. Ali Al-Obeidi told IPS. "Every day people are killed and kidnapped. I wish this disobedience will make enough pressure on our government to find a way to protect us and all professionals."

As in Baghdad, citizens of Mosul say they never saw crimes like these before the occupation began. Many say the occupation bears a large responsibility for the assassinations of doctors, teachers and other professionals in the Mosul area.

Al-Obeidi was born in Mosul and has been a doctor since 1990. "For many years I didn't hear about any accidents happening to doctors. This problem started after the war. It became bigger and bigger over these days; two of my colleagues were killed. I don't know when I will get killed. Many doctors have left Iraq to go to another country, and one day soon it will be very difficult to find doctors in Iraq."

On the day before the demonstration in Mosul, Haitham Al-Azzawi, a teacher from the Islamic University in Baghdad was killed. His death brought the number of professors and teachers killed since the beginning of the occupation to 182.

"Dr. Haithem was my close friend, we were friends for 15 years," Dr. Omar Abdul Rahman told IPS. "He was a teacher at the Islamic University, he was 35 years old, married and he lived in Habibiya area in southeast Baghdad. On the 13th of this month, when he finished his work at the University he was on his way back home when some armed men stopped him and killed him on the road to his house."

Dr. Abdul Rahman said Haithem Al-Azzawi had no longstanding problems with anyone in his neighbourhood. "He was a quiet man and everyone liked and respected him. The criminals who killed Dr. Haithem are the same criminals who killed the other doctors and scientists. Really it's a secret organised war. Many different sides work in this war against Iraqi professionals, for many different purposes."

Dr. Isam Al-Rawi says the goal of these assassinations is the eventual destruction of Iraq.

A former general in the Iraqi army, who would only give his initials, A.R., said the killing of professionals was intended to have a long-term impact.

"Occupation forces focused on Iraqi scientists who worked in military plants, they arrested many of them, and some of them were assassinated," he told IPS. "That's why Iraqi scientists sent an appeal for help over the Internet. They are asking the UN to help them with their situation in Iraq and to save them from



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the arrests and raids by occupation forces."

There is a clear design behind the killing, the former general said. "Many of them get killed near their houses or on the way to their work, and others get kidnapped, and we find their dead bodies in the street. When you follow these crimes you will be sure that the criminals have special training and their purpose is to make Iraq empty of any professionals."

Many such killings in Mada'ain, Al-Shula and Al-Iskan have gone virtually unreported in the western press. (FIN/2006)

<http://www.ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=32320>

Hundreds of Iraqi academics and professionals assassinated by death squads

By Sandy English
6 March 2006

Hundreds of Iraqi academics and professionals have been assassinated since the US invasion of Iraq in 2003, according to a petition to the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Summary Executions from the European peace group BRussells [sic] Tribunal on Iraq.

The petition has been signed by Nobel Prize winners Harold Pinter, J. M. Coetzee, José Saramago, and Dario Fo, as well as Noam Chomsky, Howard Zinn, Cornel West, and Tony Benn. A Green party member of the European Parliament from Britain, Caroline Lucas, has called for support for the investigation.

The exact figure of deaths is unknown; estimates range from about 300 to more than 1,000. According to Iraqi novelist Haifa Zangana, writing in the *Guardian* last month, Baghdad universities alone have lost 80 members of their staffs. These figures do not include those who have survived assassination attempts.

Intellectuals from all regions of Iraq have been killed. They include specialists in physical education, journalism, Arabic literature, and the sciences. Physicians have also been targeted at a high rate.

The victims have been Shiites, Sunnis, Christians, Kurds, and Turkomans, and they have held a variety of political views. They have been shot down at work, at home, and in their cars or have simply disappeared.

Zarngana writes that Abdul Razaq al-Na'as, a Baghdad University professor, was murdered on January 28 when two cars blocked his entrance and gunmen fired on him. He was a vocal opponent of the occupation on al-Jazeera and al-Arabiya television.

Dr. Abdullateef al-Mayah, a well-known academic, was killed in 2004, 12 hours after he criticized the Iraqi Governing Council on al-Jazeera television.

In the *Independent* over a year ago, Robert Fisk had already noted the growing trend. "The dean of the college of law in Mosul, murdered last month, was the most gruesome killing. 'She was in bed with her husband when they came for her,' a Baghdad colleague told me yesterday. 'They coolly shot both of them in their bed. Then they cut off both their heads with knives.'"

The BRussells Tribunal website (www.brusselstribunal.org) contains a number of letters from Iraq about the situation. One describes the murder of Professor Nawfal Ahmed from the Institute for Fine Arts in



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Baghdad on December 26, 2005:

“Unknown armed men had assassinated a university professor of the institute of fine arts, on Monday morning in Toopchy district in Baghdad. A source from the ministry of defense said that; armed men fired a stream of bullets towards professor Nawfal Ahmed, on eight morning, while he was getting out of his house, heading to his working office.”

Another letter from Tara Al-Hashimi, the daughter of the late Dr. Wissam Al-Hashimi, a geologist and internationally known expert in carbonates, says:

“[M]y father (Dr. AL- Hashimi) has died. He was kidnapped early in the morning on the 24th Aug 2005 while going to work, his recent papers were stolen. A ransom was given but unfortunately he was shoot twice in the head and died. May his soul rest in peace. As his ID was taken from him it took us about 2 weeks to find his body in one of Baghdad’s hospitals.”

The murders have forced Iraqi professionals to leave the country in large numbers. Death threats, often letters accompanied by a single bullet, are common.

In January, the *Washington Post* reported the case of a leading Iraqi cardiologist, Dr. Omar Kubasi, now an exile in Amman, Jordan:

“Kubasi left Baghdad after he and nine other doctors received letters, written in a childish hand, telling them they would be killed if they did not stop working in their native Iraq. He and his colleagues had been objects of threats before, but the last carried a foreboding urgency.”

No one has been prosecuted or even arrested in any of the murders. No group has claimed responsibility. A variety of organizations are widely suspected by Iraqis, including the Israeli Mossad (which assassinated Iraqi scientists working on the country’s nuclear program in the 1970s and 1980s), the American military (which has harassed and beaten Iraqi academics) and, in the north, the Kurdish Peshmerga.

There are clearly a variety of groups operating, but the evidence points to a leading role of death squads organized by the supporters of the pro-American government, especially in the Interior Ministry, in conjunction with Shiite fundamentalist militias such as the Badr Brigade.

The same groups, believed to be responsible for the recent anti-Sunni pogroms, are popularly called the “black crows” because of their black uniforms.

“They’re also called the men in black. Nobody dares identify them although everybody knows who they are. They are groups selected by some political parties that have infiltrated the Interior Ministry and directly report to it,” remarked Mutahana Hareth Al-Dari, a spokesman of the Iraqi Association of Muslim Scholars, in this week’s issue of the Egyptian *Al-Ahram Weekly Online*.

The immediate reason is not hard to find: most of these intellectuals opposed the American occupation of their country.

As Haifa Zangana notes: “Most were vocally opposed to the occupation.... Like many Iraqis, I believe these killings are politically motivated and connected to the occupying forces’ failure to gain any significant social support in the country. For the occupation’s aims to be fulfilled, independent minds have to be eradicated.”

This is a part of a program of cultural destruction, and it emanates from Washington.



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The appearance of death squads in Iraq stepped up after the installation of John Negroponte as ambassador to Iraq in June 2004. Negroponte was the ambassador to Honduras at the height of the American-sponsored counter-insurgencies in Central America in the 1980s. He is an experienced operative in creating and managing extra-judicial killings, the so-called Salvador option.

Similarly, veterans of US “dirty wars” in Latin America—James Steele, who oversaw counterinsurgency operations in El Salvador during the height of the killing there 20 years ago, and Steve Casteels, who worked with US anti-guerrilla and anti-drug operations in Colombia, Peru and elsewhere—were brought in to oversee the Iraqi Interior Ministry’s operations.

The goal, however, is not simply to silence critics of the puppet regime. The assassination policy is an attempt to create a tractable population.

It includes weakening Iraqis even on the physical level. The murders and emigration of physicians have been particularly devastating in a country once known for the high quality of its health care system that now confronts electricity shortages at hospitals and skyrocketing incidences of infectious disease and traumatic injury.

But the killing of art historians, geologists, and writers must be explained as an attempt to destroy the intellectual health of Iraq.

The loss of academics “is causing a drop in the quality of higher education,” according to the UN’s *IRINnews.org*. “The best professors are leaving the country and we are losing the best professionals, the real losers are the next generation of students—the future of Iraq.” Abbas Muhammad, a student of Pharmacology at Baghdad University said.”

The country’s intelligentsia was already depleted in the period from 1990 to 2003, when an estimated 30 percent had left the country for economic reasons.

The goal now, encouraged or allowed by Bush administration, and implemented by its stooges in Iraq, is to destroy the historical consciousness of the Iraqi people, as a means of further subjugating them to US imperialism and its Iraqi supporters.

According to the UN’s International Leadership Institute, “84% of Iraq’s higher learning institutions have been burnt, looted or destroyed.” The thefts from the Iraqi Museum of April 2003, the untrammled looting of hundreds of archaeological sites and the burning of libraries place Iraq’s access to culture, history, and science in grave danger. The assassinations and the flight of Iraqi professionals are the most criminal part of this process.

<http://www.wsws.org/articles/2006/mar2006/acad-m06.shtml>

Iraqis escape ruined country

by Firas Al-Atraqchi

Thursday 16 March 2006 10:06 AM GMT

With the cold Mosul winter winds lashing against his reddened face, Kathim Raad* embraced his wife and promised they would meet again once he resettled in Jordan.

He took one last look at the family home where he had been brought up, his two sons shyly clutching to their mother's robes.

As the taxi drove southward to the border with Jordan, the civil engineer who wanted to pursue a musical career finally allowed himself to weep.



Some Iraqis have lost hope that their country can be rebuilt

The US military was weeks away from launching Operation Iraqi Freedom, but Raad was not convinced that a post-invasion Iraq would herald an era of civil liberties and economic prosperity. "I knew the whole country would descend into chaos," he said as we sipped traditional Iraqi tea in his Amman apartment last September.

"I refused to raise my family, my two sons, in the despair most of us knew was coming."

In the Jordanian capital, Raad, 38, played Beatles covers and jazz music in bars, hotels and at special functions to raise enough money to get his family out of Iraq. A few weeks after Baghdad fell, his wife and two sons joined him in Amman and the family has since applied for refugee status in the US.

Youth leaving

Three years after the US-led invasion of Iraq, stories like Raad's are becoming increasingly common.

Tens of thousands of mostly young Iraqi professionals, artisans, musicians, college professors and doctors have left in search of security and stability abroad.

Zeyad Alwan*, 30, a doctor in Baghdad, says the carnage in the city has convinced him he must leave by any means possible. "I simply don't want to get killed by an illiterate, black-clad slum dweller, or a militiaman dressed in police uniform, or a young confused soldier from Texas, or a bearded fundamentalist from Yemen or Saudi Arabia," he said.



Alwan: I don't want to be killed by an illiterate black-clad slum dweller

Alwan had wanted to leave before the 2003 invasion, citing a thirst for personal freedoms which he could not achieve under the government of Saddam Hussein and its suppression of political dissent.



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"I have seen enough people kidnapped, shot at, and blown to pieces; and I have witnessed many friends, colleagues and family leaving the country. It's not the same country I used to live in. I don't know it anymore."

UN attack

For Omar Farouq, it was the attack on the United Nations compound in late August 2003 that spelled the end to his hopes of staying in Iraq.

A communications officer for the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Baghdad, Farouq and his wife had planned to take a vacation in Lebanon for a few weeks before resuming work in the newly liberated country.

However, following the attack on the UN, violence escalated dramatically in Iraq and the international body pulled its foreign staff from the country.

"Things in Baghdad started to get more and more destructive. Prolonging our stay in Beirut ... we came to the decision that starting life over again in another country would be best for us," he said.

He finally settled in London.

Although the decision to leave Iraq has haunted him, he has no regrets, pointing to the declining state of leadership and management in the country.

Mismanagement, corruption

"Unfortunately because of the sectarian division ... the country is now in absolute chaos. I also don't believe that the country can be prosperous even with the reconstruction efforts of the local Iraqis because of the corruption and mismanagement of the country's funds."

Berlin-based Transparency International (TI), founded in 1993 to curb corruption in international transactions, warned in early 2005 that Iraqi reconstruction efforts were failing due to extensive corruption.

"If urgent steps are not taken, Iraq will not become the shining beacon of democracy envisioned by the Bush administration, it will become the biggest corruption scandal in history," the Global Corruption report of the non-profit, independent organisation found.

Farouq said he felt that Iraq was being "sucked dry" of its natural resources.

"With thousands fleeing the country in fear for their lives, not only is Iraq undergoing a major brain drain, the secular middle class - which has refused to be co-opted by the US occupation - is being decimated, with far-reaching consequences for the future of Iraq"

The BRussels Tribunal



Critics say mismanagement and corruption are bleeding Iraq dry



The Assassination of Iraqi academics

A campaign of The BRussells Tribunal and

Campaña Estatal contra la Ocupación y por la Soberanía de Iraq

Trying to return

Then there are others who have bucked the trend and tried to enter Iraq rather than leave.

But for Leila Zaid*, a medical nuclear engineer, her hope of putting her expertise to good use in the country she was born in did not materialise.

"I design, repair and develop medical machines for treating and curing cancer patients," she told Aljazeera.net, explaining that her skills are very much in need in Iraq.

From her home in the Netherlands, where she has lived since the mid-1990s, she contacted officials at the Iraqi health ministry, hoping to contribute to the reconstruction effort.

After weeks of silence, she offered her services for free but was rebuffed.

After 18 months of trying to get Iraqi officials to listen to her, she says, she gave up and decided returning to Iraq would be too dangerous anyway.

She may have made the right choice.

Professionals targeted

The BRussells Tribunal, a committee of intellectuals and artists established in the tradition of the 1967 Vietnam War crimes Russell Tribunal, says hundreds of Iraqi professionals have been killed in Iraq since 2003.

"With thousands fleeing the country in fear for their lives, not only is Iraq undergoing a major brain drain, the secular middle class - which has refused to be co-opted by the US occupation - is being decimated, with far-reaching consequences for the future of Iraq," the tribunal says.

The tribunal's [website](#) has published the names and vocations of at least 130 scientists, doctors and academics killed in the past three years.

The Iraqi Association of University Lecturers says 300 Iraqi academics have been killed since 2003.

An education ministry tally says 100 academics have left the country since the beginning of the war.

Imad Khadduri, a former Iraqi nuclear scientist and physics professor residing in Canada, believes the brain drain has sealed the future of the country's education system.

"With no one left to train Iraqis to teach and instruct a new generation, any hope of reconstruction in the country is lost.

"I lived through the Iraq-Iran war along with the two Gulf wars. I witnessed 13 years of crushing economic sanctions affecting everyone around me. But what's happening in Iraq now has, by far, surpassed that"

Omar Farouq, former UNDP communications officer in Baghdad



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"This is a great, great danger to Iraq's future," he said.

Put on hold

Alwan believes efforts to rebuild the country may have to be put on hold for the time being.

"Some of us might have more to offer to Iraq in a safer environment. We are not meant to prosper in war zones. Perhaps there will be a time when we can all return and help heal Iraq's wounds. Now is not that time."

Farouq has a more pessimistic outlook, saying he and his wife miss Baghdad as well as the family and friends left behind, but he would never consider returning.

"I lived through the Iraq-Iran war along with the two Gulf wars. I witnessed 13 years of crushing economic sanctions affecting everyone around me. But what's happening in Iraq now has, by far, surpassed that."

** Some of those interviewed requested their real names not be published for fear of reprisals against family members in Iraq*

Aljazeera
By Firas Al-Atraqchi

You can find this article at:

<http://english.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/0F1ABE23-8DD7-4E08-B93C-718C51E331B2.htm>

Teaching tyranny

Imad Kadduri on the shattering of the Iraqi education system, yet again

It is a well established fact that Iraq's ancient civilisations have significantly contributed to the development of human culture since the dawn of history.

From the first codified laws of Babylon's King Hammurabi (now on display in the Louvre Museum in Paris) to the first inscribed proof of Pythagoras Theorem etched on a baked clay tablet that predates Pythagoras by many centuries, Iraq has played a key role in education with Baghdad evolving as a centre of learning well before the Middle Ages.

It was in Iraq that the first university in the world -- Al-Mustansiriyah School -- was established in 1227. Its building was intact and well preserved, until the US-led invasion; it suffered -- as the rest of Iraq's historical and cultural sites -- destruction and negligence.

Thousands of students in science, literature and religious studies had graduated from Al-Mustansiriyah School. The school led the valuable translation campaign of the Greek and Roman scientific and philosophical achievements that spurred the Western revival.

The scourge of the Mongol invasion in 1258 destroyed Baghdad's canal network (American



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aerial bombardments in 1991 and 2003 similarly destroyed Iraq's industrial and health infrastructure) and sacked and burned its schools and libraries. Ink spilled from destroyed books turned the Tigris River's water into blue colour.

The Mongols slaughtered 80,000 men, women and children -- a scenario that has been unfolding in Iraq since 2003. Illiteracy and cultural darkness befell Baghdad and other cities of Iraq under Ottoman occupation for the next several centuries.

Hence, at the turn of the last century (1900), Iraqi professionals were a rare breed. Save for the learned religious elders and their schools near the holy shrines and mosques, there were no Iraqi doctors, pharmacists, engineers, science teachers and other professionals. There were only a few elementary schools, run by members of the Iraqi Jewish and Christian communities, a few linguistic and historic scholars and a few newspapers.

During the Turkish-Ottoman rule, some Iraqi officers were sent to Turkey for further studies in order to join the Ottoman army. The officers began to trickle back to Baghdad during WWI and especially after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, which was member of the axis. Those officers formed the backbone of the Iraqi state that began to take shape during the 1920s under the auspices of the British colonial rule.

Education quickly became a prime objective to the emerging state, as the nascent government's organisations were keen to assign Iraqis civil positions. A programme was implemented to send Iraqi students on government scholarships to the UK and the US.

The first PhD holders returned from the UK in the early 1930s. Coinciding with that, many well-to-do Iraqi families also sent their sons and daughters to the American University of Beirut to obtain their professional BSc degrees.

In the ensuing few decades, thousands of government scholarships were granted to the students who achieved high scores in the state-wide high school Baccalaureate examination which was administered uniformly all over Iraq, including all major and minor cities.

Notably, the selection of the qualified students was based on academic achievement and was decidedly non-sectarian. The tempo of sending Iraqi students abroad for graduate studies gained momentum in the 1950s and into the 1970s, especially after the nationalising of Iraq's oil in 1971. The momentum faltered as a result of the financial difficulties resulting from the Iraq-Iran war in the 1980s and was further disfigured by giving undue weight to Baath Party nominees, despite their relatively poor academic achievement, such as the case of ex-prime minister Iyad Allawi.

Iraq's education system took into consideration the necessity to diversify the sources of knowledge and academic experience. The higher education scholarships were not any more restricted to the US and the UK. Qualified students were sent to educational institutions to other centres of learning such as in the Soviet Union, France, and Eastern Europe.

The government scholarship programme provided Iraq with thousands of professionals who



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returned to Iraq from abroad and formed the cornerstone of Iraq's relatively high-quality educational system, which attracted many Arab students from neighbouring Arab states to finish their university studies in Iraq. It is worth mentioning, since the revolution of 1958 which abolished the monarchy in Iraq; education in Iraq has been free for Iraqis and non-Iraqi Arabs, up to and including university level.

Those scientists and engineers, backed by political resolve, also spearheaded the strident advances in Iraq's scientific and technical achievements. By the end of the 1970s, and as a result of a concerted political determination, the literacy rate, for both men and woman, reached more than 90 per cent.

However, two decades of wars followed by 13-year severe economic sanctions (1990-2003) left Iraq's education system in disrepair, enrolment dropped, and literacy levels stagnated. Iraq's adult literacy rate is now one of the lowest in all Arab countries.

The dilapidating impact of the sanctions on the education and research capabilities in Iraq can best be exemplified by the UN banning Iraq from importing scientific or technical text books, periodicals and journals. Iraqi academics and professionals were intentionally isolated from scientific development for 13 years, by an international organisation.

The rate of deterioration and fragmentation of the Iraqi education system was compounded by two major insidious outcomes in the aftermath of the American-led occupation that resulted in the looting and destruction of 84 per cent of Iraqi universities; the liquidation of university professors and the implementation of sectarian attitudes and practices among students.

As early as mid-April, 2003, one month after the 2003 invasion, a number of Iraqi scientists and university professors sent an SOS e-mail to the international community warning that the American occupation forces were threatening their lives. Later that month, a retired French general told the French TV Channel 5 on April 18 that some 150 Israeli commandoes are currently inside Iraq on a mission to assassinate 500 Iraqi scientists.

A year later, in October 2004, in a seminar held in Cairo, it was reported that more than 310 Iraqi scientists are thought to have perished at the hands of Israeli secret agents in Iraq since the fall of Baghdad to US troops in April 2003. The experts said they had detected an organised campaign aimed at "liquidating Iraqi scientists" in the past 18 months and most of them pointed the finger at the Israeli secret police service, the Mossad.

Recent concerted effort to document these killings by the Brussels Tribunal has managed, so far, to state: "Even according to conservative estimates, over 250 educators have been assassinated, and many hundreds more have disappeared." An incomplete list details 168 of them. Nobody has yet been apprehended for any of these killings.

Among the students, sectarianism has further cast a pall on university campuses. "Deans and university officials usually turn a blind eye to sectarian rallies and banners raised by students, and allow students to hold religious ceremonies on campuses, which entrench sectarianism," said



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Ahmed Al-Hamawi, a member of the self-styled League of Youths and Students.

"Are you a Sunni or a Shia?" has become a basic question Iraqi students ask each other nowadays. "When my son tries to make friends with classmates, they first ask him whether he is a Sunni or a Shia. We never experienced such sectarianism before the US-led occupation," fumed the father of a student at Basra University.

Many Iraqi students who have recently graduated from universities are flocking to immigrate instead of expending their talents and efforts in Iraq as unemployment soars.

The haemorrhage of the educational system in Iraq is severe, and no American band-aid would suffice. The most apparent contribution of the American "educational consultants" that were attached to the Education Ministry that resulted in contracts awarded to American institutions to revamp the educational textbooks was to eradicate any mention of Saddam Hussein and the Baath Party, remove references to Iraqi soldiers defending Iraq, replace the word Zionists by Jews and reduce the mention of Palestine and its occupation.

Just as the returning of Iraqi officers from defeated Turkey during World War I, so there are now many Iraqi professionals abroad who would be ready to seed the second revitalisation of Iraq's educational system for the coming generations. But this has become impossible under an American occupation concerned more for its own security in Iraq than the legitimate interests of the Iraqi people.

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Iraq facing brain drain with targeting of academics

By Omar al-Ibadi

BAGHDAD: Sami al-Muthafar, a chemistry professor at Baghdad University, survived a car bomb attack in early February, walking away unscathed although several of his guards were wounded.

He knows many other scientists and academics who were not so fortunate.

"It is a big loss when we lose a professor or a scientist because they are the elite of society," said Muthafar, who was minister of higher education under former president Saddam Hussein. "It is too hard to replace those we lose."

Some 182 Iraqi university professors and academics have been killed in violence since the US-led invasion in 2003. Another 85 senior academics have been kidnapped or suffered attempts on their lives, the Association of University Lecturers in Iraq told a news conference last week.

Few Iraqi men and women of learning are concerned about academic freedom, an issue that



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galvanizes campuses in the western world. In Baghdad, the goal is to survive.

Those who do survive a bombing, gun battle or are released after a kidnapping rarely chance a second attempt, causing a brain drain of leading intellectuals who are vital for educating the Iraqi professionals of tomorrow and rebuilding the country.

—Targeting professors destroys the higher education system in Iraq, which in turn destroys other sectors of society by a deterioration in the level of teaching,” said Dr Mohammad Fahad, a professor in the dentistry faculty at Baghdad University.

Many Iraqis fear the targeting of academics will lead to a shortage of doctors, engineers and other professionals as well.

Fahad, who says he feels depressed, is considering leaving.

A report from the Association of University Lecturers in Iraq also noted at least one incident where a lecturer was attacked by his students and warned off campus.

Another professor at Baghdad University, who declined to be named, said he avoided disputes with students. Failing a student takes more than exceptional courage in Baghdad.

Students, too, understand that the education system is collapsing and worry about their own futures.

—Killing our professors has badly affected us,” said Ryadh Jomaa, a college student. —When an expert professor is killed it is hard to replace him and we suffer from this.”

—I think terrorists target them to deprive us of their knowledge,” said Qasim Abid, a third year computing student at Mustansiriya University in Baghdad.

Amid Iraq’s lawlessness, it has not been easy to establish a political or criminal motivation for each death.

Dr Isam Kadhem al-Rawi, head of the Association of University Lecturers and a professor in earth sciences at Baghdad University, said the campaign against Iraq’s leading intellectuals was being orchestrated by parties inside and outside the country.

He said the motivation was the perceived allegiance of an individual to one particular religious or secular party — the idea being that killing those who supposedly push a particular agenda stops the spread of those ideas.

—What is going on in Iraq against these professors is a war crime,” Rawi said.

Rawi said if the situation did not improve, university lecturers would strike or organise other protests like sit-ins.



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Such actions may bear fruit at institutions like Britain's Cambridge university or Harvard in the United States, but few believe they will stop the killing of Iraq's intellectuals.

Dr Abdul Latif al-Mayah, head of the Arab Homeland Study and Research Centre at Mustansiriya University, was killed in January 2004, a day after an appearance on Arabic television news channel Al Jazeera, his family said.

He was shot 32 times on his way to work.

—The killers were organised and professionals,” said his daughter Hiba, sitting next to a picture of her father. —A police officer told us it seemed like an intelligence operation.”—Reuters

<http://www.dawn.com/2006/03/14/int15.htm>

Brain drain puts more strain on Iraq

3/24/2006 4:01:00 PM GMT

"In Baghdad there is a threat to everything civilized. The attacks are targeting doctors, artists, university people, and everyone who represents civilization, as well as all of civilization's symbols, like the shrines in Samarra and Najaf," says Mohmmad Moher el Din, a leading Iraqi artist, who recently moved to Jordan. "Suspicion, mistrust, and fear are everywhere. Even our character is being changed. I feel it in me."

[Iraq](#)'s political instability and insecurity that followed the 2003 [U.S.-led invasion](#) led to a massive brain drain campaign in which the country's best and brightest professionals are being kidnapped, and often murdered.

[Iraq](#) suffered a massive brain drain under [Saddam Hussein](#), when an estimated four million people fled into exile. The fall of [Saddam](#) regime raised hopes that some exiles might return. But now hundreds of Iraqi doctors, professors and teachers are fleeing the war-torn country, despite government attempts to increase their salaries to keep them from leaving.



Iraq violence is targeting doctors, artists, university professors, and teachers



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According to the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research, more than 89 university professors and senior lecturers in [Iraq](#) have been killed since the [invasion](#). Iraqi professors compiled a longer list of more than 105 names of murdered colleagues.

Moreover, at least 311 teachers have been killed in the past four months alone, according to the Ministry of Education. The worrying phenomena has spread outside Baghdad. The medical college in Mosul in northern [Iraq](#) has lost nine of its senior staff.

- **Kidnappings**

A *Guardian Unlimited* reporter interviewed Iraqi refugees in Jordan as well as some of the kidnap survivors. Dr Ali Faraj, one of [Iraq's](#) top cardiologists who escaped death last week gave a disturbing account of his terrible experience.



Dr Faraj, who fled to Jordan last week, was examining a patient when a group of masked men raided his Baghdad clinic and forced him to go with them. To his surprise, they told him they were taking him to the Interior Ministry. The doctor was then rescued by the bodyguards of one of his neighbors.

Who the kidnapers were remains a mystery. Police investigations have led to nothing. It not clear whether the men were criminals who wanted ransom or, as they claimed, were linked to the Interior Ministry. What is clear is that the wave of kidnappings that began after the U.S.-led [invasion](#) three years ago had now become a trend in [Iraq](#).

Even outside [Iraq](#), many exiles fear for their lives. According to unofficial estimates, there are a million Iraqis in Jordan (compared with 300,000 at the time of Saddam's overthrow). Thousands of others have moved to Syria, Egypt, and the Gulf States.

"Friends of my brother, who have themselves suffered imprisonment and torture under [Saddam](#), are now saying the country was better off under him," says Tahrir Swift, an Iraqi expatriate living in London. "They are trying to leave the country in order to guarantee a better education and future for their children. Anyone who has qualifications, funds and opportunity is leaving."

Dr Azzam Kanbar-Agha, a British-educated surgeon, who moved to Jordan last year after escaping a kidnapping attempt, agrees with Tahrir. "My whole life has changed. My family is shattered. I'm a sociable person. I enjoyed sitting in cafes, meeting friends and talking politics, but that's all over now. It's too insecure in [Iraq](#)," he says.

One family that is quite sure that [Iraq's](#) Interior Ministry forces are responsible for abductions are the Hilmis. The father, mother and four children in their 20s have escaped Baghdad and moved to Amman. Their 21-year-old son, Ahmad, was kidnapped from his father's medical supply store in Baghdad's Karrada district by four men who showed him official Ids from an anti-terrorist unit. The kidnapers, who also took \$40,000 from the store safe, asked Ahmad's family to pay a \$250,000 ransom. The amount was too much, but the family managed to raise \$40,000. Ahmed was lucky. He was only held for five days. He was not abused in detention, and his kidnapers accepted the "reduced" amount of \$40,000. When the family got the money together, he was dumped back on the street.

- **"Hopeless"**



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In Jordan, life is not so easy for even the most highly educated Iraqis. Every Iraqi complains of Jordan's tough immigration rules, under which they only get tourist entry permits for three days or a week.



Moreover, the Jordanian authorities impose a fine of 1.50 dinars (about £1.25) a day for every foreigner who overstays his or her permit. As a result, many Iraqis who move to Jordan cannot afford to get out of the country. "We're trapped here. We can't work and we can't leave," says a car mechanic from Najaf.

The recent sectarian attacks that broke out in [Iraq](#) since last month's bombing of a Shia shrine, in which more than 1,000 Iraqis were killed, also add to the burden of Iraqis. Kanbar-Agha, who is a Shia but has a Sunni wife, accuses Iraqi political leaders of exploiting sectarianism. "It's stronger among politicians than ordinary people. I see it in their eyes. They no longer talk about the Iraqi people. They only talk about their own sect or group", he says.

Kandar-Agha also says that sectarianism is being exploited for financial gains. He says he heard that an estate agent in Baghdad's mainly Sunni district of Adamiyah was paying teenagers to deliver fliers to Shia residents, warning them to leave.

In addition to the sectarian attacks and kidnappings, many Iraqis escape their country, fearing the bombings, shootings, clashes between U.S. forces and rebels as well as trigger-happy American reactions. Mohammad Taha Yahir, the owner of a mini-market in Mosul, who recently arrived in Jordan says: "I decided to leave Iraq a month ago. I kept hoping things would improve, but now it's hopeless. Very few people go to the shops. They just come out for an hour or two in the afternoon," he says. "I'm worried car bombs will go off as my kids travel to and from school. If an American gets killed, they shoot back in all directions."

When will it be safe enough for Iraqi exiles to return to their homeland? The guesses range from gloom to deepest pessimism. "Things are going downhill here both with security and basic services... And there's no hope in the near future. I think conditions will take 20 years to improve," says Dr Assal, a 35-year-old chest and heart surgeon, while Ahmad Kamal, a university graduate in his late 20s, says "Maybe we won't live to see it get better."

Death threats, assassinations teaching Iraqi academics to watch what they say

[Jordan Times](#) | 7/16/04 | Matthew Green/Reuters

BAGHDAD — Ripping open an envelope containing a small, hard object, Sadoun Dulame discovered the unwanted gift Iraq's academics have learned to dread. "They sent me a bullet," he said, describing the letter he received last month. "They said in Arabic: 'You cost us just one bullet, no more, so shut your mouth'."

Death threats and assassinations are teaching Iraqi academics to watch what they say. Iraq's new interim government says 31 university lecturers have been murdered since last year's US-led invasion and many more have received warnings to keep quiet.



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While the motives for the killings vary, academics argue that the climate of fear they create risks stifling voices of moderation needed to help Iraq establish democracy. "The extremists have very evil plans to control the Iraqi mind," said Dulame, a sociologist who returned to Iraq from 17 years of exile after Saddam Hussein was overthrown.

"We don't need single-minded personalities, we need flexible minds to deal with the situation in Iraq," he said. Dulame believes the threat was sent by militants angered by criticisms he made on the Arabic television channel Al Jazeera of extremists in the city of Fallujah. Other groups have also been blamed for intimidation. Early this year, the head of political studies at Baghdad's Mustansiriya University, Abdul Latif Mayyah, criticised Saddam loyalists in a television interview.

He was shot dead outside his house the next morning. Colleagues hired extra security. A hulking 22-year-old body builder now stands guard outside the office of one senior academic, a handgun hidden discreetly under his shirt.

Fear

Under Saddam, intellectuals knew the price for speaking out could be death. The oppression has gone, so has the certainty. These days the bullet could come from almost anybody.

"When we leave our homes, we're not sure if we're going to come back," said Doctor Dhary Yaseen, head of the department of American studies at Baghdad University. "We don't even know the reason why we're being targeted."

Some academics believe there is a deliberate attempt to scare academics away from Iraq in a "brain drain" that will undermine the country's institutions, although there is no clear consensus on who might be behind such a plan. "I believe there's a big campaign to intimidate and liquidate the intellectuals and well-educated people in the country," said an academic at the university in Mosul, a city in northern Iraq where five lecturers have been murdered. "The interim government should take responsibility for stopping this bloody campaign," he said.

There are no figures for how many of Iraq's 17,000 lecturers have left since the fall of Saddam, but education officials say they fear the number may rise if intimidation continues. The government estimates that at least 80 per cent of the killings of lecturers are for political reasons, but says the chances of tracking down the culprits are slim.

"So far we haven't even caught one of the killers," Higher Education Minister Tahir Bakka told Reuters. "That makes it hard to determine which group might be responsible." Not all the cases smack of conspiracy. Some lecturers have been murdered in the violent robberies that have proliferated since Saddam's fall. Many physicians and dentists have been kidnapped by gangs seeking ransom. Others have fled abroad. Revenge has also played a part.

Many top university staff were prominent members of the former ruling Baath Party, leaving them vulnerable to attacks by individuals nursing grievances from Saddam's rule. Bakka said



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Mohammad Rawi, a former head of Baghdad University who served Saddam as a medical doctor, was killed last year in just such a reprisal.

Better days

For many academics, the risks pale in comparison to the cost of dissent under Saddam, when people could be hauled away for spilling coffee on a picture of the president in the newspaper. Academics who replaced the Baathists swept out by US invaders say they cannot find enough jobs for returning exiles.

"I think the situation for academics now is much better than before the war," said Professor Hatim Rubayi, vice president of Baghdad University. "Many of our staff who left Iraq for economic or political reasons are now trying to come back."

While choosing their words carefully in television interviews, at least some lecturers hope that intellectuals will play a more prominent role in public life in postwar Iraq.

The Dirty War in Iraq

By Nicolas J. S. Davies <http://zmagsite.zmag.org/Nov2005/daviespr1105.html> - Nov. 2005

On September 8, 2005 the UN Assistance Mission for Iraq issued a human rights report, stating that the governing institutions created by the United States in Iraq are engaged in an organized campaign of detention, torture, and extrajudicial execution, directed primarily at Iraqis who practice the Sunni form of Islam. The UN report expressed the greatest concern regarding arrests by forces linked to the Ministry of the Interior: "Corpses appear regularly in and around Baghdad and other areas. Most bear signs of torture and appear to be victims of extrajudicial executions.... Serious allegations of extrajudicial executions underline a deterioration in the situation of law and order.... Accounts consistently point to the systematic use of torture during interrogations at police stations and within other premises belonging to the Ministry of the Interior."

In this report the UN has finally acknowledged what a small number of journalists have been reporting for at least 18 months, that a brutal "dirty war" has grown out of the U.S. occupation. On March 15, 2004, the *New Statesman* published an article by Stephen Grey titled "Rule of the Death Squads" regarding the murder of Professor Abdullatif al-Mayah in Baghdad on January 19, 2004. It quoted a senior commander at the headquarters of the U.S.-installed Iraqi police, "Dr. Abdullatif was becoming more and more popular because he spoke for people on the street here. He made some politicians quite jealous.... You can look no further than the governing council. There are political parties in this city who are systematically killing people. They are politicians that are backed by the Americans and who arrived to Iraq from exile with a list of their enemies. They are killing people one by one."

On January 16, 2005 *USA Today* reported on the work of Isam al-Rawi, a geology professor who heads the Iraqi Association of University Lecturers. He has been cataloging assassinations of academics in occupied Iraq and has documented 300 of them. He was unable to identify a clear



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pattern to the killings, except that, like al-Mayah, the victims were usually the most respected and popular members of their universities and their communities.

On January 14, 2005 *Newsweek* reported on “The Salvador Option,” the proposed use of death squads as part of the U.S. strategy to subdue the country. It noted that some U.S. policymakers consider this to have been effective in Central America in the 1980s. *Newsweek* cited Interim Prime Minister Allawi, a former agent of both the Iraqi Mukhabarat and the CIA, as a principal proponent of this policy. A U.S. military source told *Newsweek*, “The Sunni population is paying no price for the support it is giving to the terrorists. From their point of view, it is cost-free. We have to change that equation.” This source was expressing precisely the rationale behind the dirty wars in Latin America and the worst abuses of the Vietnam War. The purpose of such a strategy is not to identify, detain, and kill actual resistance fighters, but rather to terrorize an entire civilian population into submission.

The exile groups who began this dirty war in the early days of the occupation have come to form the core of successive governing institutions established by the United States. Their campaign of killing and torture has evolved and become institutionalized and their victims now number in the thousands. The UN report does not address the possibility of a direct U.S. role in the campaign, but the interior ministry units that are most frequently implicated in these abuses were formed under U.S. supervision and work closely with U.S. advisors. The identities of their two principal advisors only reinforce these concerns. They are retired Colonel James Steele and former DEA officer Steven Casteel. Both are veterans of previous dirty wars.

In El Salvador, between 1984 and 1986, Colonel Steele commanded the U.S. Military Advisor Group, training Salvadoran forces that conducted a brutal campaign against the civilian population. At other stages in his career he performed similar duties during illegal U.S. military operations in Cambodia and Panama. After failing a polygraph test, he confessed to Iran-Contra investigators that he had also shipped weapons from El Salvador to Contra terrorists in Nicaragua, leading Senator Tom Harkin to block his promotion to brigadier general. Until April 2005 Steele was the principal U.S. advisor to the Iraqi Interior Ministry’s “Special Police Commandos,” the group most frequently linked to torture and summary executions in recent reports.

Steven Casteel worked in Colombia with paramilitaries called Los Pepes that later joined forces to form the AUC in 1997 and who have been responsible for most of the violence against civilians in Colombia. Casteel is now credited with founding the Special Police Commandos in his capacity as senior advisor to the Iraqi Interior Ministry.

Assigning responsibility for atrocities to particular units or individuals is complicated by the dual nature of the Iraqi security forces, which take orders both from their nominal superiors and from separate chains of command in the factional militias that most of them belong to. Ultimate responsibility for abuses is thus blurred by the fiction of the “government” and the militias as distinct entities when the same people are really involved in both all the way to the top.

Reports of torture and extrajudicial killings have followed the Special Police Commandos around



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the country wherever they have been deployed, from Anbar province and Mosul since October 2004 to Samarra in March 2005 to areas around Baghdad since May 2005. The UN report highlighted an incident in Badhra on August 25, in which relatives of the victims identified the abductors as Interior Ministry forces.

After Special Police Commandos were deployed in Baghdad, 14 farmers were found in a shallow grave on May 5, 2005 with their right eyeballs removed and other signs of torture after they were seen being arrested at a vegetable market. Another incident ten days later, in which eight bodies were found in a garbage dump, prompted Hareth al-Dhari, the secretary general of the Association of Muslim Scholars, to accuse the Interior Ministry directly. “This is state terrorism by the Ministry of Interior,” he claimed. The defense minister responded by blaming “terrorists wearing military uniforms.”

In another twist, the bodies of 8 men from Sadr City were found in Yussufiah, 40 kilometers from their homes, dressed in army uniforms even though none were soldiers. Their killers obviously wanted their deaths to appear to have been the work of resistance forces.

Then there is the work and tragic death of Yasser Salihee, the Iraqi physician turned journalist, who dared to launch an investigation into abuses by the Special Police Commandos. Knight Ridder posthumously published his work under the title, “Sunni men in Baghdad targeted by attackers in police uniforms” on June 27, 2005. The cautious language of the report verged on irony, but it described eyewitness accounts of numerous abductions by “large groups of men driving white Toyota Land Cruisers with police markings. The men were wearing police commando uniforms and bulletproof vests, carrying expensive 9-millimeter Glock pistols and using sophisticated radios.”

Knight Ridder actually interviewed Steven Casteel for their story. He predictably blamed “insurgents” impersonating commandos. As the article pointed out, this raised “troubling questions about how insurgents are getting expensive new police equipment. The Toyotas, which cost more than \$55,000 apiece, and Glocks, at about \$500 each, are hard to come by in Iraq, and they’re rarely used by anyone other than Western contractors and Iraqi security forces.” Faik Baqr, director of the central morgue in Baghdad, said, “It is a very delicate subject for society when you are blaming the police officers.... It is not an easy issue. We hear that they are captured by the police and then the bodies are found killed.... It’s obviously increasing.”

Yasser Salihee died on his way to get gas to drive his family to a swimming pool on his day off. He was shot by a U.S. sniper at a “checkpoint.” His editor, Steve Butler, has told me he has no reason to think Yasser’s death was connected to his work and the U.S. Army’s account of the incident describes a “random” shooting based only on rules of engagement that greatly prioritize U.S. over Iraqi lives. However, as Italian investigators found in the case of Nicola Calipari, U.S. accounts of such incidents are not reliable and U.S. links to the forces Salihee was investigating cast a dark shadow over his death.

Finally, the Iraqi death squads appear to have violated a dirty war taboo—they’ve killed a U.S. journalist. Steven Vincent was an award-winning art critic from New York who went to Iraq as a



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freelance writer for *National Review*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and *Harpers*, and wrote a book, *In the Red Zone*, about the experiences of Iraqis in post-invasion Iraq. On July 29, 2005, he wrote in an op- ed piece in the *New York Times* that many of the police in Basra were also active in the Shiite militias that had killed hundreds of Sunnis in the city. Four days later, he was abducted by a group of men in a brand new white Chevy pick-up with police markings. His body was found by the side of a road outside the city with three gunshot wounds to the chest.

The Associated Press has begun to track the numbers of corpses found and, as of October 7, they have tallied 539 since the “transitional government” took office in April. They are reporting that the majority are Sunnis, not Shiites or Kurds, and that “the count may be low since one or two bodies are found almost daily and are never reported.” Perhaps the UN report and the deaths, particularly of journalists will spur more of the media to start reporting and investigating this pattern of state terrorism.

Blood Baath

Andrew Rubin* argues that the only chance of enabling Iraq to realise its human capabilities is by maintaining a separation between the university and political society

Among the many disastrous effects of the comprehensively brazen and unconscionable destruction of Iraqi civil society by the United States and its coalition of allies is the terrifying exercise of control, intimidation, and even the murder of Iraqi intellectuals, professors, lecturers and teachers that have become more or less systematic since the US-led invasion of Iraq began in May 2003. Under the US Occupation, governed by a body called the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), US military officials dismissed many Iraqi intellectuals from their university positions on often spurious grounds; and a surprisingly large number found themselves the victims of acts of assassination. According to the Union of Iraqi Lecturers and other estimates by professors in Iraq, roughly 200 have been killed and many more dismissed often on dubious claims by US forces and authorities acting on the behalf of the CPA.

Intellectuals, professors, lecturers and teachers are being assassinated on an almost regular basis. The 200 or so professors assassinated to date include: Mohamed Al-Rawi, president of Baghdad University (27 July, 2003); Dr Abdul-Latif Al- Mayah, a professor of political science at Baghdad's Mustansiriya University (late January 2003); Dr Nafaa Aboud, a professor of Arabic literature at the University of Baghdad; Dr Sabri Al-Bayati, a geographer at the University of Baghdad; Dr Falah Al-Dulaimi, assistant dean of college at Mustansiriya University; Dr Hissam Sharif, department of history of the University of Baghdad; Professor Wajih Mahjoub of the College of Physical Education; Professor Sabah Mahmoud, ex-dean of the Education College in Mustansiriya University, Professor Abdul-Jabbar Mustafa, head of the Politics Department in Al-Mosul University, Dr Layla Abdul-Jabbar, dean of the Faculty of Law in Mosul and her husband; and, among others, Dr Ali Abdul-Hussein Jabok from the College of Political Science at the University of Baghdad.

To date no investigations by the CPA have taken place; not a single arrest has been made in spite of the authority's penchant for rounding up young Iraqi men and treating them in barbaric ways in Hussein's former prison of Abu Graib, a sick and ironic historical twist not lost on any Iraqis. A



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US Defense Department spokesman, when asked recently about the assassination of Iraqi professors, dismissed the matter as simply "obscure". The Iraqi interim government, installed and hand-picked by the United States, has done nothing and said nothing about it, and with the exception of a few courageous professors, such as Professor Saad Jawad, a senior professor of Political Science at the University of Baghdad, very few are willing to speak out publicly. When a former doctoral student of Jawad's was killed at Mosul University, Jawad's colleagues refused to sign a petition to go on strike because the political forces now active in Iraqi society are becoming more fractured, more factional, more sectarian, and more ethnically absolutist. One university president has been murdered, several deans have been killed, and what is most striking is that many of those killed since the occupation began were trained not in the sciences, but in fields like the soft sciences and the humanities. In other words, they were not being murdered by Hussein loyalists for knowing something about a former or possible weapons of mass destruction programme. Instead they were and are professors of subjects such as French, literature, history, and law, who teach and write within the domain of the humanities, where the discussion about conflict can be converted into the conditions for reconciliation, where students can not only learn about themselves, but also about others, and where the content of what students are taught need not and should not or ever be controlled by forces outside of the university.

Who is actually responsible for these assassinations is the subject of a large amount of speculation. Some have alleged it is the Mossad, the Israeli Secret Service, which obviously has an interest in a weak and possibly theocratic Iraq -- the better to declare Arabs as undemocratically minded terrorists ("It's not personal; it's business," says one professor in Baghdad of Mossad's possible motives); others, such as Denis Halliday, a former assistant secretary-general of the United Nations have wondered aloud whether this is the work of anti-secular and fundamentalist forces in society -- all the better to recruit students to the madras and the tenets of Islamic fundamentalism; others have pointed to militias like the sort commanded by the Pentagon's once favoured Ahmad Chalabi; and still others have alleged that these are the activities of disgruntled students, acts of revenge and grade fury, as it were, as the entire civil society is in one way or another armed with weapons that the US had sold to Iraq without reservation less than two decades ago.

Part of the process of dismissing Iraqi intellectuals, professors, and lecturers was known as de-Baathification, and with the exception of the few returning exiles, the former Baath Party members constitute nearly an absolute majority of professors in post-war Iraq. All professors, if they wished to keep their job under the Hussein regime, were required to join the Baath Party regardless of their political views. Yet the process of the US repression of academics was less about protecting the academic freedom of professors who joined the party simply out of political and economic necessity than it was about a kind of resurgence of American McCarthyism abroad. Indeed, one has to wonder whether there is a concerted effort to undermine a secular democratic foundation in Iraq's universities when the Prime Minister Iyad Allawi is a former Baathist and murderer himself. According to Robert Dreyfus, writing in *The American Prospect*, \$3 billion of the \$87 billion going to Iraq has been allotted to fund covert CIA paramilitary organisations in Iraq, which, if the CIA's historical record is to be consulted, is likely to include extrajudicial killings and assassinations.



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Not that the curriculum under Hussein was ever a source of a radical renewal that could actually provide the conditions for the emergence of a secular, moral and democratic leadership. Known as "Arab Culture and Socialism", the four-year required undergraduate course was a brain numbing, chauvinistic and hyper-nationalist occasion for the unrestrained celebration of everything Baath, elevating the writings of Baath Party theoreticians to the canonical heights of the early 20th century Pan-Arabist work of George Antonius's *The Arab Awakening*. Like many other universities in the Arab and developing world, universities were institutions fundamental to the reinvention of national identity after years of rule and colonisation by the Ottomans, and then the British and French.

After the 1952 Revolution, for example, the Egyptian curriculum underwent a process of Arabisation. In 1962, Arabic was legalised in Algeria and could be uttered for the first time outside the walls of mosques in the former French colony. At Palestinian universities such as Bir Zeit, the institution has assumed a critical role of defending itself against Israel's ongoing military occupation of the West Bank and its repeated closure of Palestinian universities. But just as these universities were and remain extensions of the national security state and the process of consolidation of national identity, we must not overlook that United States during the Cold War manipulated and funded subjects like Area Studies and widely influenced the development of the fields such as "Sovietology" and even Comparative Literature under National Defense Education Act of 1958.

Yet in spite of the tyranny exercised over the totality of Iraqi society by Saddam Hussein, the university classroom was, under Hussein (as some professors often claim) a relatively autonomous space of learning and instruction, where professors, lectures and students could criticize quite a bit, including the government, so long as they never mentioned a word about Saddam Hussein personally or his two sons. Yet to this day the textbooks retain virtually the same content; they have been altered only by eliminating the images of Hussein and his sons.

No matter who is directly responsible for the grave peril facing Iraqi institutions of learning and its educators, the situation seriously threatens the emergence of a secular, moral and democratic leadership arising from within Iraq, let alone from an official's desk in Washington, DC. If such a society is to emerge from the scars of years of sanctions, and the rubble from a remorseless and mendaciously justified war, the intellectuals are among the best and, in my opinion, the only chance of enabling Iraq to realise its human capabilities. Otherwise, the US and its allies will continue arrogating themselves the somehow ordained right to determine the form that Iraqi universities and knowledge should assume. Indeed the separation between the university and political society needs to be maintained, not conflated or reduced to one or the other under the duress of politics and the impingements of imperial rule.

** The writer is an assistant professor of English literature at Georgetown University, and the director of the International Coalition of Academics Against Occupation < www.icaao.org >.*

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Nearly 200 Iraqi academics killed since 2003

Wagdy Sawahel

7 April 2006

Source: SciDev.Net

A "campaign of violence" is being waged against Iraqi academics, according to the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, which has called for international solidarity and action to protect the researchers.

"We cannot stand by and watch the custodians of Iraq's culture and learning be threatened, abducted or murdered," said the organisation's director-general Koïchiro Matsuura in a 5 April press release.

The Geneva-based Study and Research Center for the Arab and Mediterranean World (CERMAM) estimates that between 170 and 180 academics have been killed in Iraq since 2003, and that thousands more have been driven into exile.

Various lists of assassinated Iraqi academics have been published. One, published by CERMAM in 2004, names 105 murdered academics, including physicists, doctors, engineers, chemists, earth scientists and biologists.

Matsuura said Iraq has a long tradition of academic excellence. "By targeting those who hold the keys to Iraq's reconstruction and development, the perpetrators of this violence are jeopardising the future of Iraq and of democracy," he said.

The countrywide wave of assassinations appears to be non-sectarian. No one has been arrested in connection with the killings.

Malik Alasmar, an Iraqi researcher based at the University of Ghent in Belgium, welcomes the call to protect Iraq scientists but says the security situation must be controlled before that can happen.

Alasmar told SciDev.Net that university students are also being targeted and that thousands of scientists have fled Iraq because of the instability that followed the US-led invasion in 2003.

The next steps towards re-establishing science in Iraq, he says, would be to rebuild the country's universities and research institutes, and to reintegrate Iraqi researchers into the international scientific community.

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[List of Iraqi academics killed, threatened or kidnapped \(compiled by the Brussels Tribunal\)](#)
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Another Voice of Academia Is Silenced in Iraq

Professor backed a Shiite cleric's call for direct elections. Had he not, 'he would have been killed by the other side,' one analyst says.

By Nicholas Riccardi
LA Times Staff Writer

January 21, 2004

BAGHDAD — They buried Abdul Latif Mayah on Tuesday, and with him, many academics' hopes for intellectual freedom in the new Iraq.

Gunned down only 12 hours after advocating direct elections on an Arab television talk show, Mayah was the fourth professor from Baghdad's Mustansiriya University to be killed in the last eight months, his death the latest in a series of academic slayings in post-Hussein Iraq.

"His assassination is part of a plan in this country, targeting any intellectual in this country, any free voice," said Salam Rais, one of Mayah's students. "He is the martyr of the free world."

Tuesday, many academics acknowledged that the killers had succeeded in their campaign of intimidation.

"After the assassination of Dr. Abdul Latif, we feel that all of us are targeted," said Ahmed Arrawi, a colleague of Mayah. He said he and other academics would think twice before making controversial statements.

Professors and hundreds of students, many of them sobbing, joined Mayah's funeral march Tuesday as his coffin was carried through the campus of the university where he was director of the Institute for Arab World Research and Studies. Mourners beat their heads and howled in despair, chanting, "There is no God but Allah."

Mayah's wife held aloft a weathered photograph of her gray-haired husband and wailed to his coffin: "You are a martyr! Your coffin is covered with the flag of our country!"

Attacks on Iraqi professors strike at one of this war-torn country's last remaining symbols of pride. Its university system was the envy of the Arab world in the 1950s and '60s. Despite nearly three decades of repression by Saddam Hussein, higher education here is still viewed with great respect.

"In the same way that the ransacking of the [National] Museum went to the heart of many Arabs, this will hit them in the same way," said Rachel Bronson, an analyst at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York. "It just adds to this sense of helplessness and hopelessness."



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Students and colleagues said Mayah was an enthusiastic teacher whose seminars often extended off campus. He used his own money to buy computers for his classroom. After Hussein's ouster, he grabbed the family gun to fend off looters at the university. He insisted that classes continue during the war and after, and gave his finals on schedule.

Despite Mayah's impromptu stint as an armed campus guard, he spoke of the need for peaceful, deliberate government. One of his favorite sayings, colleagues said, was "Let the language of the gun die forever, and let us follow the language of democracy."

He spoke optimistically about Iraq's future, but in recent weeks had been troubled by the continuing disorder.

Mayah, whose friends said he was 54, was a longtime pro-democracy activist who had been jailed by Hussein after calling for elections in 1996. He had received anonymous death threats for several weeks, friends and family said, and began traveling with a bodyguard.

As he drove to work Monday, his Mitsubishi sedan was stopped by unidentified men. Mayah, the bodyguard and a colleague were ordered out of the vehicle. The gunmen opened fire only on Mayah, and he died at the scene. One local media report said he was shot 32 times.

People are slain for many reasons in Iraq, and it is often hard to determine motive because the killers are rarely caught. Professors have been at risk from the various sides battling for power in Hussein's wake.

The night before he was slain, Mayah was a guest on a talk show on the Al Jazeera channel, where he supported a call by Grand Ayatollah Ali Sistani, Iraq's leading Shiite Muslim cleric, for free elections by June 30, when the U.S. is scheduled to return sovereignty to Iraq.

Thousands have marched to support the cleric's call, including at a demonstration Tuesday in Baghdad. Wire services reported other demonstrations in the southern cities of Basra, Najaf and Karbala.

In calling for quick elections, Mayah was opposing the United States, which has proposed a caucus system to choose the country's new leaders.

Mayah, a Shiite and a former low-level member of Hussein's Baath Party, "was supporting Sistani," said Jabber Habib, a political scientist at Baghdad University. "Had he not supported Sistani, he would have been killed by the other side."

Habib, a prominent commentator, said Mayah's slaying has made him reconsider his own regular television appearances.

The killings of the three other Mustansiriya professors came amid anonymous notes left on campus warning members of the outlawed Baath Party that they faced execution. In the northern city of Mosul this month, the dean of a local



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university's political science department was slain, an attack seen as the work of Baathists against someone they viewed as a collaborator in the U.S.-led occupation. Some Iraqis say there was no obvious motive behind the killing of another academic, an engineering professor, in Basra last year.

Iraq's insurgents — largely Sunni Muslims and Hussein loyalists — are among the suspects in Mayah's slaying. The Sunnis feel threatened by the majority Shiites' call for direct elections.

Mayah's mourners suggested there was a foreign element to his killing but offered no details. A banner carried at the head of the funeral procession blamed "America and the Zionists."

Other students and professors at Mustansiriya University say they were at a loss to imagine who might have killed Mayah.

"Why such fear of an idea?" asked Kasim Fellahi, a colleague.

Rais, Mayah's student, said his professor saw good things ahead for Iraq.

"He was optimistic," Rais said. "Always optimistic."

* Researcher Raheem Salman of The Times' Baghdad Bureau contributed to this report.

The mysterious murder case of Wissam Al Hashimi

Dirk Adriaensens BRussells Tribunal - 04 April 2006

Dr. Wissam Al Hashimi was murdered in August 2005. The announcement of this murder by his daughter Tara can be read underneath.

Dr. Al-Hashimi authored a large number of scientific papers, in both Arabic and English, published in local, Arab, and international journals, and covering a wide range of topics, including carbonate sedimentology and diagenesis, petrology, mineralogy, geoarchaeology, engineering geology, underground storage, industrial rocks and minerals, and hydrology. He was also a regular contributor of analytical articles to newspapers in Iraq covering various political, oil, and water issues in the Middle East and the Arab world.

Yes, he was a specialist in oil and water, two of the most precious and strategic resources, especially in the Middle East region. Were US oil companies involved in the murder of this renowned geologist, secretary-general of the Arab Geologists' Association? Was Israel involved? If the responsible bodies don't even bother to look into this case, speculations about this death can easily flourish. The Istanbul Chamber of Geological Engineers raises reasonable doubts about the circumstances of his assassination.



Excerpt from their statement: *“When he was killed, he was preparing a paper entitled “Porosities Of Carbonate Reservoirs Of The Mesopotamian Basin: An Insight Into Their Origin” to be delivered in the AAPG (American Association of Petroleum Geologists) International Conference and Exhibition in Paris on 14 September 2005.”*

“He was kidnapped on his way to work on 24 August 2005 and his body riddled with two bullets was found 2 weeks later in a Baghdad hospital. The notes of his latest study were stolen.”

“GEOCOME-VI will meet in UAE at the end of March 2006. There is no mention of Wissam now, in any of the announcements or on the web site.”

“However, among the organizers and supporters of the congress, are imperialist institutions such as the BP, Schlumberger, American Geological Institution, etc. who are behind the occupiers of Iraq.”

We have followed this case with astonishment. And as I mentioned before, this murder has not been investigated, of course not. Another war crime of the US occupying forces, who show total inadequacy in protecting Iraqi civilians. Or is there intent and method in the way they are occupying this country? If it would have happened to a US scientist of a similar reputation, all means would be used to bring clarity into this murder case. But human life - under US occupation - is the cheapest good in Iraq today. And Iraqi academics seem to pay a very high price if they want to remain in Iraq: they are targeted from all sides. The BRussells Tribunal has compiled a list of 218 killed Iraqi academics (<http://www.brusselstribunal.org/academicsList.htm>). An international Seminar on this issue will be held in Madrid 22 April 2006.

INTELLECTUALS AND SCIENTISTS ARE CALLED ON DUTY

The BRussells Tribunal War Crimes Tribunal has launched a campaign against the dirty extermination targeting the Iraqi intellectuals and scientists under occupation. As geological engineers we support this campaign with all our hearts. The Chamber of Geological Engineers informed the public and the press of its position on the issue in a press meeting held at 11:00 am, in Istanbul on 27 February 2006. The Press Statement can be read hereafter.

With our best regards,

Press Statement by the Istanbul Chamber Of Geological Engineers

PRESS STATEMENT

We Call on Intellectuals and Scientists to do their Duty!

The BRussells Tribunal has launched a campaign against the dirty massacre being waged on Iraqi intellectuals and scientists.



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We, as Geological Engineers, support this campaign with all our heart.

The covert and dirty massacre in question continues all around Iraq.

Heads of Universities, professors, academicians, engineers, jurists, artists, in short, all those who have the potential to revive Iraq tomorrow and help it stand on its own feet, are being kidnapped one by one from their homes and places of work and being murdered. It has been possible to identify the names of 250 intellectuals killed in this way. Much greater numbers were compelled to leave Iraq.

The victims are of very different world views, a variety of sects and ethnicities. It looks like no differentiation is made on the basis of convictions, sects and ethnic groups.

Not one of the perpetrators of these assassinations have been caught.

According to a study carried out by the United Nations University, 84% of the institutions of higher education in Iraq have been burnt, looted and destroyed.

The Iraqi education system, which was the strongest in the region prior to the occupation, has now been rendered inoperative.

The responsibility for this massacre lies on the US occupation army and its collaborators, which today constitute the sole dominating power under the prevailing circumstances of chaos.

Two of the named victims of this massacre are our colleagues; they are geological engineers.

One of them, Wissam Al Hashimi had come to Turkey together with his colleagues in Iraq in the 70s, he was our guest. At the time, we co-organized the first "Conference on the Geology of the Middle East" (GEOCOME-I). Wissam was then and later on the secretary-general of the Arab Geologists' Association until his assassination. Wissam was a renowned expert on the topic of carbonate type rock that play an important role in the formation and accumulation of oil reservoirs. He made innumerable studies and had countless students. He played an important role in continuing the GEOCOMES. He held the 2nd., 3rd., 4th. and 5th. GEOCOMES in different Arab countries. He contributed to the enrichment of scientific knowledge on the natural structure and natural resources of the Middle East as well as to the development and empowerment of Middle Eastern scientists. He was engaged in preparations to hold GOCOME-VI in United Arab Emirates.

When he was killed, he was preparing a paper entitled "Porosities Of Carbonate Reservoirs Of The Mesopotamian Basin: An Insight Into Their Origin" to be delivered in the AAPG (American Association of Petroleum Geologists) International Conference and Exhibition in Paris on 14 September 2005.

He was kidnapped on his way to work on 24 August 2005 and his body riddled with two bullets was found 2 weeks later in a Baghdad hospital. The notes of his latest study were stolen.



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His daughter Tara wrote a letter to the AAPG International Conference, requesting that his paper be kept on the agenda of the meeting.

GEOCOME-VI will meet in UAE at the end of March 2006. There is no mention of Wissam now, in any of the announcements or on the web site.

However, among the organizers and supporters of the congress, are imperialist institutions such as the BP, Schlumberger, American Geological Institution, etc. who are behind the occupiers of Iraq. One of the separate and independent sessions of the congress has been reserved for "the Geology of Iraq." It has been announced that the papers presented to this session on Iraq shall be published as a separate book.

It is very obvious why Wissam and his friends who shared the same fate were killed. The natural resources of Iraq and the whole Middle East are being plundered. The culprits are very aware that the knowledgeable people of those countries can be a big force obstructing this plunder.

They are carrying out very obvious "GENOCIDE". This is an act of genocide targeting intellectuals, scientists and artists.

They are trying to force these countries and peoples to fall on their knees in a way that they will not be able to rise again.

We hereby join the campaign launched by BRussells Tribunal for the identification and punishment of the perpetrators of this genocide and we call on all people of common sense to support this effort.

Istanbul Branch of the Chamber of Geological Engineers
(member of Union of Chambers of Architects and Engineers in Turkey)

Appendix: The announcement of the death of Wissam Al Hashimi and his curriculum.

12/09/2005

Dear Colleague

I would like to inform you of the sad news of the murder of Dr Wissam Al Hashimi in Baghdad in August this year.

Ina Lil Allah Waina Elaehe Rageoun.

This is another Iraqi scientist killed in Baghdad by the "organised criminal and or organised terrorists". Another number to be add to body count of civilian Iraqis since the "Liberation" which now amounts of more than 1000 Doctors and University staff murdered and thousands of similar qualifications who have been forced out of Iraq since the "liberation." The total death toll of civilian Iraqis ranges between 25,000-160,000 depending on your side of the political fence.



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Dr Al Hashimy was until his murder the president of the Union of Arab Geologists. He persevered in serving Iraq throughout his career and helped improve the co-operation between Geologists in Arab countries. He organised several (GEOCOME) conference of the Arab Geologists Union under difficult conditions in several Arab capitols, including Cairo, Baghdad, Amman, Beirut, etc. and he was planning another GEOCOME conference in Abu Dhabi in early 2006.

Dr Wissam Al Hashimi is an internationally known experts in Carbonates, and he is well known for his important contributions to dolomite and dedolmitisation in and outside Iraq. He was killed while he was preparing his last paper "Porosities Of Carbonate Reservoirs Of The Mesopotamian Basin: An Insight Into Their Origin" to be delivered in the AAPG International Conference and Exhibition in Paris in the Wednesday 14/9/05 morning session.

He will be remembered by many Iraqi student of Geology whom he supervised and or helped with their PhD and MSc projects.

Attached is an emotional letter from his daughter Tara to Dr Sadooni.

If you are like me was thinking of attending the planned Iraqi Higher Education Conference in Baghdad later this year or earlier next year, I would rethink again.

Regards,

M W IBRAHIM

Dear Mr. Sadooni,

I am Tara Al-Hashimi the daughter of the late Dr. Wissam Al-Hashimi. I'd like to inform you that my father (Dr. AL-Hashimi) has died. He was kidnapped early in the morning on the 24th Aug 2005 while going to work, his recent papers were stolen. A ransom was given but unfortunately he was shot twice in the head and died. May his soul rest in peace. As his ID was taken from him it took us about 2 weeks to find his body in one of Baghdad's hospitals. Lately he was very busy preparing a paper that he was going to talk about it in a meeting in Paris, Unfortunately he will not be able to attend the meeting. On behalf of myself and the family we would like that at least the abstract of his paper remains in the meeting's agenda and to be lectured by someone else.

NB: please contact me as soon as possible

Regards

Tara Al-Hashimi



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Further reading: [In Memoriam: Wissam S. Al-Hashimi, Former IUGS Vice-President murdered in Iraq](#)

[Wissam S. al-Hashimi and Dr Wissam Al-Hashimi](#)

[Obituary: Dr Wissam Al-Hashimi, Ph.D. - 1942-2005](#)

Translation of the statement of the Istanbul Chamber of Geological Engineers, and bringing it to our attention: our dear friend Ayse Berkday, [World Tribunal on Iraq](#) organizer. And congratulations to the Istanbul Geological engineers, who had the courage to stand up against this atrocity. They didn't attend the meeting of GEOCOME-VI in protest and solidarity with their assassinated colleague.

<http://www.brusselstribunal.org/academicsArticles.htm#Wissam>

Academics become casualties of Iraq War

Reuters

BAGHDAD - Gunmen have killed some 182 Iraqi university professors and academics since the U.S. invasion in early 2003 and a group representing Iraqi academia said on Thursday the killings constituted a war crime.

Another 85 senior academics have been kidnapped or survived assassination attempts, according to the Association of University Lecturers in Iraq.

The attacks have led to an exodus of Iraqi academics who are vital to educating and rebuilding the war-damaged country.

"What is going on in Iraq against these professors is a real war crime," said Dr Isam Kadhem Al-Rawi, head of the association and Professor in Earth Sciences at the University of Baghdad.

In the chaos of Baghdad, it was not always easy to establish whether the killings were politically or criminally motivated.

Rawi said the campaign against Iraq's leading intellectuals was being orchestrated by parties inside and outside the country and motivated by perceived allegiance of an individual to one particular religious or secular party.

Addressing a news conference at the association's headquarters in western Baghdad, Rawi appealed to all groups to protect the country's academics.

In recent incidents Ali Hussein al-Khafaj, dean of the college of engineering at Al-Mustansiriya



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University in Baghdad was kidnapped as he left for work on Tuesday.

Gunmen shot dead prominent Iraqi academic and political analyst Abdul Razak al-Na'as in his car in January as he left his office at Baghdad University's College of Information, in the center of the capital.

In several kidnap cases, families have paid ransoms only to receive the bodies of the victims, Rawi said.

Rawi said if the situation did not improve university lecturers would strike or organize other traditional protests such as sit-ins.

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<http://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory?id=1704723>

Iraqi higher education in tatters, says report

Mike Shanahan
25 May 2005
Source: SciDev.Net

Burnt, looted or destroyed. That has been the fate of 84 per cent of Iraq's higher education institutions during and since the 2003 war, according to a report released this month by the United Nations University (UNU).

The report calls on the global community to help Iraq set up a National Commission for Higher Education to restore its academic institutions and rebuild its educational capacity.

"The devastation of the Iraqi system of higher education has been overlooked amid other cataclysmic war results, but represents an important consequence of the conflicts, economic sanctions and ongoing turmoil in Iraq," says the report's author Jairam Reddy, director of the UNU International Leadership Institute in Amman, Jordan.

"Repairing Iraq's higher education system is in many ways a prerequisite to the long-term repair of the country as a whole."

Reddy's report, released on 1 May, says that more than 2,000 laboratories in Iraq need equipping. The country's universities and other institutions also need 30,000 computers. Libraries are in urgent need of restocking with new books and journals in both Arabic and English, as well as access to electronic journals.



Ruined classrooms at Baquba University (July 2004)



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Among the damaged institutions is the Iraqi Academy of Sciences, set up in 1948. The academy's digital and conventional libraries were both looted during the war.

According to Nabil Al-Tikriti of the University of Mary Washington, Fredericksburg, United States, looters took about 80 per cent of the academy's 58,000 books and all of its manuscripts.

Al-Tikriti says a US tank, which flattened the compound's front gate so that troops could remove an Iraqi flag flying at the entrance, made the looting possible. "Following that cue, looters swarmed over the facility and stripped it of all computers, air conditioners, electrical fixtures, furniture, and vehicles."

McGuire Gibson, an archaeologist at the University of Chicago, United States, told SciDev.Net that when he visited Iraq in May 2003, he saw widespread evidence of looting in Iraq's universities.

"The Technological University and the National Center for Computation were stripped and burned, and the University of Basra was badly damaged, with its library torched."

"The looting and burning of the Academy of Science and the Bait al-Hikma — the humanities equivalent — meant that the two institutions that brought together the top scholars to carry out advanced research were essentially lost."

Gibson points out that the looting and other damage began, "24 hours after US troops took each city".

Rebuilding tertiary education in Iraq means more than just replacing buildings and equipment — human resources are also needed.

Between 30 and 40 per cent of Iraq's most highly trained educators are thought to have emigrated since 1990, says Reddy. Of the remaining teaching staff, only 28 per cent have a doctorate. The rules require educators to have a master's degree, yet one-third have only a bachelor's degree.

At least 48 academics have been assassinated since the war — some apparently because they cooperated with the United States, others seemingly silenced before they could discuss Saddam Hussein's former weapons research. Many more scientists continue to face threats and intimidation, or have been forced out of their jobs. Several have fled the country.

In the past, Iraqi scientists and engineers were productive and respected members of the global academic community. In the 20 years before the war, Iraq created a new university every 17 months.

Today Iraq has 20 universities and 47 technical institutes. The larger universities like Basra, Baghdad and Mosul have between five and eight specialised research centres. Other research institutions include the Polymer Research Centre, the Date Palm Research Centre and the Marine Research Centre.

But after the 1991 Gulf War and the imposition of sanctions by the UN, research and scientific training fell into decline.

"The teaching overload of academic staff was a serious obstacle to the development of high quality



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research," says Reddy's report. There was also limited international cooperation in research as Iraq's research centres were isolated from the international academic community.

The final blow came with the 2003 war and the looting and destruction that followed.

Reddy says Iraq needs a commission on higher education similar to that set up in his native South Africa after the end of apartheid to help undertake a full review and transformation of the nation's higher education system. It would include officials, academics, students and selected international academics.

Reddy adds that it is vital that the international community provides funds to allow the "reconstruction and rejuvenation of the Iraqi higher education system to proceed unimpeded."

Gibson says what is needed most is funding for fellowships for Iraqis to study abroad.

"I would urge that this be done not just for doctoral work, but for undergraduate training as well. If it were possible to give funding for doctoral students, it would mean that fresh, up-to-date academics could be returning to Iraq within five years."

"The pool of trained people would be smaller, but their teaching and research would have a great effect on the future of Iraq."

Al-Tikriti says the US troops were remiss in meeting their obligation under the "international law of belligerent occupation" to "restore and maintain law and order", which includes preventing the looting and burning of public facilities.

For that reason, says Al-Tikriti, "a case can be made that the US government should be held legally responsible for the events, and should be obliged to compensate these facilities for their losses".

Read more about brain drain in SciDev.Net's [brain drain dossier](#).



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Appeal on assassinated Iraqi academics: Frequently Asked Questions (FAQ)



The Assassination of Iraqi academics

A campaign of The BRussells Tribunal and

Campaña Estatal contra la Ocupación y por la Soberanía de Iraq

Main appeal page: [click here](#) - Contact the BRussells Tribunal by email: [click here](#)

— [Media contacts appended below](#) —



1. How many Iraqi academics have been killed and when?
2. Is this appeal targeted only to other academics?
3. What goals does this appeal aim to achieve?
4. Who are the academics that have been assassinated?
5. Were the assassinated academics Baathists?
6. What responsibility does the US, and other members of the Multi-National Force in Iraq, have?
7. You hold the US responsible for protecting Iraqi citizens, including academics. Are you suggesting that US forces are assassinating Iraqi academics?
8. Who is assassinating Iraqi academics?
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13. How can the Special Rapporteur on Summary Executions pressure governments to act?
14. What instruments of international law are applicable in the case of assassinated Iraqi academics?
15. Why not take this appeal to the International Criminal Court?
16. Does any other court have jurisdiction relative to assassinated Iraqi academics?
17. Has the Special Rapporteur on Summary Executions visited Iraq?
18. What other channels will be pursued?
19. What actions can I take as an individual in support of this appeal?



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20. What is the BRussells Tribunal doing in the background of this appeal?

21. What will happen to the signatory list of the petition?

1. How many Iraqi academics have been killed and when?

The BRussells Tribunal has compiled a list that names over 130 Iraqi academics murdered between 2003 and 2006. The Iraqi Association of University Lecturers say the number is over 300. The puppet government of Iraq has itself confirmed over 150 assassinations. Other estimates place the number over 1000. This is in addition to the thousands forced to flee Iraq in fear of their lives. That so many are subject to forced exile is testament to the violent climate that faces Iraqi educators, intellectuals and academics.

Further to assassinations, disappearances and forced exile, a report published in 2005 by the International Leadership Institute, affiliated to the United Nations University, found that “Eighty-four per cent of higher education institutes were burned, looted or destroyed,” following the US invasion in 2003.

For media reports and background, click here and scroll down.

2. Is this appeal targeted only to other academics?

This appeal speaks to all those who understand that education is the foundation of sovereignty and justice, and an important factor promoting democracy and development in Iraq.

3. What goals does this appeal aim to achieve?

i) Challenging – if possible, forestalling – the campaign of assassinations targeting academics in particular, and more widely anti-occupation figures, in Iraq;

ii) Drawing attention to an important aspect of the occupation and of imperialism: the destruction of Iraq’s intellectual resources;

iii) Taking specific action in support of Iraqi academics, educators and intellectuals, in:

a) Bringing this matter to the attention of the Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary and Arbitrary Executions at the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCHR) in Geneva with the aim of providing justification for an urgent fact-finding country visit to Iraq;

b) Engaging in solidarity actions, including linking Iraqi academics inside and exiled with their non-Iraqi peers and raising the issue of the attempted destruction of Iraq’s intellectual resources and heritage on campuses worldwide;



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c) Challenging propaganda surrounding the so-called “political process” in the “new Iraq” by exposing one exemplary aspect of the horror and lawlessness borne of US imperial politics.

4. Who are the academics that have been assassinated?

The pattern of academics assassinated appears to substantiate claims that a campaign exists and is being conducted to erase a key section of the secular middle class in Iraq — a class that has largely resisted the US occupation of Iraq and refused to be co-opted by the so-called “political process” or Iraq’s US-installed puppet government.

5. Were the assassinated academics Baathists?

They were educators. Being a Baathist or not a Baathist is not criteria for the BRussells Tribunal to defend Iraqi academics. In reality, the term “de-Baathification” is a war slogan used by the US and its allies in a bid to destroy the Iraqi national state — its administrative apparatus, public services, properties, archives, registries of public and private ownership, natural resources, revenues and reserves (leading Iraq to the brink of economic collapse and abject poverty) as well as its economic foundations, laws and judicial system, museums, libraries, army and police, health and education systems, art, print media, radio and television, etc.

This destruction is not a consequence of war but rather a studied plan prepared before the invasion. Strictly speaking, and according to definition under international law, this destruction is genocide.

The liquidation of Iraqi academics has nothing to do with them being Baathist or not. It follows from the imperial character of the invasion of Iraq, and the attempt to render null and void Iraqi sovereignty. The real division in Iraq is between those who go along with this project and those who oppose it.

The US imperial project, based on privatization and ruin, indeed outright looting, plunder and confiscation, and in direct violation of international law, has created the objective and political conditions for the rise of puppet government-controlled death squads and US-drafted mercenary security contractors that kill and terrorize Iraqi academics and others with impunity. It is the biggest heist in history, and it is backed with murderous force.

6. What responsibility does the US, and other members of the Multi-National Force in Iraq, have?

In remaining belligerent occupants, the US and other members of the Multi-National Force in Iraq (MNF-I), though illegally present in Iraq, are legally bound under international humanitarian law to protect civilian life in Iraq, including academics. As occupying powers in “effective control” of Iraq, these duties extend, under international law, not only to all forces operating under MNF-I central command, but all representatives of the occupying powers, including the puppet Iraqi government and its militias. They have systematically failed in this solemn and binding obligation. This failure, when atrocities are as



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widespread as they are (including assassinations), denotes impunity in the face of international human rights and humanitarian law obligations, and relevant monitoring bodies.

7. You hold the US responsible for protecting Iraqi citizens, including academics. Are you suggesting that US forces are assassinating Iraqi academics?

The BRussells Tribunal charges that Iraq is being held hostage to a number of death squads, many of which have direct links with the US-installed puppet government. There exist military and paramilitary forces that have a stake in ensuring that critical voices — anti-occupation forces — are silenced. The outgoing Maltese UN human rights chief in Iraq is on record stating that the US is “aware” of torture in Iraqi prisons. As an occupying power, any violations of the laws of war and international humanitarian and human rights laws are legally imputable to the United States government. Contrary to the wishful thinking of Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, the United States government and its civilian officials and military personnel are fully and personally responsible for violations committed by the puppet government of Iraq, including assassinations and the existence and operation of death squads. This responsibility exists under international criminal law regardless of the fact that the US invasion and occupation of Iraq was and is illegal, and that everything that has followed in Iraqi domestic politics — including elections, puppet government and faux constitutions — is a furtherance of this illegality and thereby null and void.

8. Who is assassinating Iraqi academics?

Extra-judicial assassination, by nature, is difficult to pin down. It is also dangerous to investigate or even report. The existence of pro-puppet government paramilitary death squads is an established fact. The strong suggestion from the broad community of Iraqi academics is that these forces are conducting the majority of assassinations of anti-occupation academics, educators and intellectuals. The existence of lawless US-outsourced private security firms, peopled by mercenaries, terrorists and murderers only adds to the climate of criminal impunity. This is not an oversight; it is conscious policy.

9. Is the government in Iraq investigating these assassinations?

That is a question for them. The BRussells Tribunal regards the puppet government in Iraq as thoroughly illegitimate and gross violators of human rights. Under international law, occupying powers can not transfer the sovereignty of the Iraqi people to representatives of occupying powers. To suggest that it is acceptable — or even desirable — that a client regime that has no legality under international law conducts an investigation into these assassinations affords that regime a level of recognition and legitimacy that the BRussells Tribunal expressly denies it. It is also akin to charging the fox with overseeing the henhouse. Can a government which supports unaccountable private militias, death squads and secret prisons (all under the Interior Ministry), torturing, disappearing and killing Iraqi civilians daily, be trusted to investigate the assassination of anti-occupation academics and intellectuals? We believe the answer to that question is self-evident. Given that the paramilitary forces that are responsible for the majority of these killings have direct ties to the Iraqi government, the BRussells Tribunal launches this campaign in full



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knowledge that no puppet government investigation will be forthcoming, and that it would be in no way convincing if it was.

10. What is the Salvador option?

The phrase “Salvador option” refers to the history of US-funded and supported paramilitary forces that assassinated, kidnapped and terrorized countless thousands during the “dirty wars” that established, during the 1970s and 1980s, US hegemony in Latin America. Leading journalists report – and some have been killed investigating – similar operations underway in Iraq, including US/UK state-sponsored terrorism, incitement, torture, disappearances and assassinations.

11. Why is the appeal focused on academics when assassinations are widespread in Iraq?

A key source of national sovereignty is a given country’s intellectual capacity. Iraqi academics are not simply the lifeblood of the educational system; they compose the intellectual class, which is the mind of Iraq, as well as the practical scientific, technical and administrative base necessary to guide Iraq towards independence, democracy and development.

The BRussells Tribunal stands in opposition to all assassinations, but is particularly appalled at the campaign of intimidation and murder targeting Iraqi academics – and the silence afforded to the issue in mainstream media – because it represents the liquidation of the knowledge base that must be mobilized in order to resist US imperial designs on Iraq.

The issue of Iraqi academics who have been and are targeted or assassinated is also important to establishing the existence of a policy of effective genocide in Iraq. A case currently rests before the International Court of Justice relative to Bosnia that evokes a similar charge; that targeting a given country’s educators for slaughter is an indicator and aspect of genocide.

12. Why is the petition addressed to the Special Rapporteur on Summary Executions?

The appeal petition (click here to sign) is addressed to the Special Rapporteur on Summary Executions at UNHCHR in Geneva as he has a clear mandate to raise the issue and press Iraqi and occupying authorities to protect Iraqi academics, along with other civilians. His mandate is also universal (i.e., it exists irrespective of whatever international covenants or conventions a given state has signed, ratified or refused to sign).

There are four things that the special rapporteur can do: i) Dialogue with governments; ii) Include this issue as a byline in his annual report; iii) Authorize and conduct a separate investigation, leading to a separate report from the annual, obligatory report; iv) Make a fact-finding country visit.



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The first body the special rapporteur reports to is [The Commission on Human Rights](#). Reports also go to the UN General Assembly. The Commission on Human Rights discusses reports from the special rapporteur during its annual sessions that usually meet in Geneva in March and April. Our aim is to push for an urgent resolution to be proposed at the 62nd session of the Commission in March and April 2006 condemning the existence of death squads in Iraq and obliging the United States, all occupying powers and the puppet Iraqi government — legitimate or otherwise — to enforce all peremptory norms of humanitarian law relative to the protection of civilian life.

Pursuant to a fact-finding country visit (which would also lead to a separate report submitted to The Commission on Human Rights), the Special Rapporteur would be obliged to meet with a wide range of officials and investigate numerous aspects of extrajudicial, summary and arbitrary execution in Iraq. The fact-finding process and report investigation would be instrumental in and of itself in bringing an end to all extrajudicial assassinations.

13. How can the Special Rapporteur on Summary Executions pressure governments to act?

The alternatives open to the Special Rapporteur are to: i) Issue “urgent appeals” to governments, encouraging governments to take steps to protect the right to life (and other relevant civil and political rights) and requesting of them that he be informed as and when such steps are taken; ii) Issue “letters of allegations” which are sent to governments in the form of case summaries. Again, the Special Rapporteur would ask to be informed of progress with respect to investigations conducted by concerned governments and penal or disciplinary sanctions imposed on perpetrators, compensation provided to families of victims, and so on.

The Special Rapporteur can ask for information from governments, request that they clarify the substance of allegations, or report on allegations of impunity relative to relevant international standards (such as [The Four Geneva Conventions](#) and the [International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights](#), among other instruments of international humanitarian and human rights law). The issue of impunity is flagged up by the Special Rapporteur as one of two issues (the other being the death penalty) of “special concern.”

14. What instruments of international law are applicable in the case of assassinated academics?

Principal relevant instruments include [The Fourth Geneva Convention](#) (regarded as a foundation of international humanitarian law), the [International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights](#) (Article 6 and also Articles 2, 4 and 26) and the [Universal Declaration of Human Rights](#) (Articles 3 and 2), wherein the right to life “shall be protected by law” and guaranteed without distinction or discrimination.

The puppet Iraqi government and the US and members of [Multi-National Force-Iraq](#) are legally subject to these conventions.



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Further, Article 4, paragraph 2, of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights provides that exceptional circumstances such as internal political instability or any other public emergency may not be invoked to justify any derogation from the right to life and security of the person. Principle 4 of the Principles on the Effective Prevention and Investigation of Extra-legal, Arbitrary and Summary Executions, adopted by the Economic and Social Council in its resolution 1989/65 of 24 May 1989, sets forth “the obligation of governments to guarantee effective protection through judicial or other means to individuals and groups who are in danger of extra-legal, arbitrary or summary executions, including those who receive death threats.”

Nowhere in international law is assassination sanctioned. Under resolution 1996/74 of The Commission on Human Rights, the Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary and Arbitrary Executions is requested to: “(b) respond effectively to information that comes before him, in particular when an extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary execution is imminent or threatened or when such an execution has occurred”; and “(e) pay special attention to extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions where the victims are individuals who are carrying out peaceful activities in defense of human rights and fundamental freedoms.”

Education has a special place in the universe of UN values because of the ways in which it contributes to understanding and international peace and security. A threat to academics is therefore of principal concern to the UN, and by extension to The Commission on Human Rights.

Also applicable is the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, as well as the Nuremberg Principles.

Under Article 2 of the Genocide Convention, genocide is defined “acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group,” including “killing members of the group,” “causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group,” and “deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part.” Article 3 defines as punishable not only actual genocide as defined, but “conspiracy to commit genocide,” “attempt to commit genocide,” and “complicity in genocide.” Article 8 provides that “Any Contracting Party may call upon the competent organs of the United Nations to take such action under the Charter of the United Nations as they consider appropriate for the prevention and suppression of acts of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article 3.”

Principle VI of the Nuremberg Principles establishes as “war crimes”, “punishable as crimes under international law,” murder and the plunder of public or private property. “Crimes against humanity” are taken to include murder and “persecutions on political, racial or religious grounds, when such acts are done or such persecutions are carried on in execution of or in connection with any crime against peace or any war crime.” “Crimes against peace” are defined as:

“i) Planning, preparation, initiation or waging a war of aggression or a war in violation of international treaties, agreements or assurances;



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ii) Participation in a common plan or conspiracy for the accomplishments of any of the acts mentioned under (i).”

Principle VII of the Nuremberg Principles establishes that “Complicity in the commission of a crime against peace, a war crime, or a crime against humanity as set forth in Principles VI is a crime under international law.”

Further, the Hague IV Conventions on Laws and Customs of War on Land, 1917, make explicit, in Article 56, that educational institutions are to be regarded as private property, and thus must not be pillaged or destroyed, that occupying forces in war are bound to protect such property and that proceedings should follow their intentional damage, seizure or destruction. Article 55 reinforces this duty relative to all public buildings and capital. Further, an occupying power is obliged, according to Articles 43 and 46, to protect life and take all steps in its power to reestablish and ensure “public order and safety”.

In addition, The Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (ratified by the Republic of Iraq in 1967) creates a clear obligation to protect museums, libraries and archives, and other sites of cultural property. Paragraph 1 of Article 4 notes: “The High Contracting Parties undertake to respect cultural property situated within their own territory as well as within the territory of other High Contracting Parties by refraining from any use of the property and its immediate surroundings or of the appliances in use for its protection for purposes which are likely to expose it to destruction or damage in the event of armed conflict; and by refraining from any act of hostility, directed against such property.”

The Hague IV Conventions and Fourth Geneva Convention are peremptory norms of international law: they cannot be violated by any state. Further to these instruments, the 1st Additional Protocol to the Geneva Conventions, 1977, makes clear, under Article 51, that “Attacks against the civilian population or civilians by way of reprisals are prohibited.” Under Article 85, concerning “grave breaches” to the Protocol, “when committed willfully, in violation of the relevant provisions of this Protocol, and causing death or serious injury to body or health” include “Making the civilian population or individual civilians the object of attack.” The United States, both alone and on behalf of the puppet government of Iraq, is bound under international law to uphold the provisions of this Protocol.

Additional information: Ratification / signatory status relative to international human rights treaties – Iraq and The United States. For ratification / signatory status relative to international human rights treaties of other members of Multi-National Force-Iraq, click [here](#). Ratification / signatory status relative to international humanitarian law – Iraq and The United States. For ratification / signatory status relative to international humanitarian law of other members of Multi-National Force-Iraq, click [here](#).

15. Why not take this appeal to the International Criminal Court?

The International Criminal Court (ICC) is a “court of last resort” for the investigation and prosecution of war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity. It does not replace domestic, national courts or



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remedies, which must be exhausted before any given case can be referred to the ICC. More importantly, the ICC has no jurisdiction in Iraq, given that Iraq is not a State Party to the Rome Statute that established the ICC.

While the puppet government of Iraq (sovereign, legitimate or otherwise) could decide to accept ICC jurisdiction over a specific crime committed in Iraq, it is doubtful that it ever will. Nonetheless, State Parties are obliged to bring their own nationals to the ICC if they themselves are unable or unwilling to hear cases of war crimes, genocide or crimes against humanity in domestic courts.

In theory, all members of the Multi-National Force in Iraq who are State Parties to the Rome Statute are obligated to surrender individuals to the ICC if credible cases are brought against them and they themselves refuse to hear them in national courts.

There are four methods for referral to the ICC:

- i) any State Party to the Rome Statute refers a situation to the ICC Prosecutor;
- ii) the state in which the alleged crime was committed refers a situation to the ICC Prosecutor (it need not be a State Party to do so);
- iii) The UN Security Council refers a situation to the ICC Prosecutor;
- iv) the ICC Prosecutor initiates a case on his / her own authority.

The last option is the one most applicable. In this instance the Prosecutor needs, in order to continue, the assent of two judges of a three-judge panel. In the absence of a referral by a state or State Party, information on a given situation can be submitted to the Prosecutor by an IGO or NGO. However, in this instance (where the Prosecutor takes up a case on his own volition), the ICC can only exercise jurisdiction if the state or territory on which the alleged crime was committed, or the state of which the person suspected is a national, is a State Party to the Rome Statute.

Though the US is not a State Party to the Rome Statute, the following states who have — or had — forces in Iraq (and are therefore liable to cases being prepared against them, if relevant facts emerge) are: UK, Italy, Spain, Poland, Estonia, Albania, Georgia, Latvia, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, Mongolia, Slovakia, Lithuania, Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, New Zealand, Australia.

The BRussells Tribunal is pressing for an investigation by the Special Rapporteur on Summary Executions precisely to bring to light information that could be used in later legal proceedings, including cases brought to the ICC.

16. Does any other court have jurisdiction relative to assassinated Iraqi academics?



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Yes. Insofar as all forces that are factually occupying powers are legally imputable for any violations of human rights instruments to which they are State Parties in territories over which they have effective control, members of the Multi-National Force in Iraq (MNF-I) who are State Parties to the European Convention on Human Rights, Article 2 of which protects the right to life, can be held accountable before the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) for violations such as extrajudicial executions and supporting the existence and operation of death squads.

As defined by Sir Robert Jennings and Sir Arthur Watts, “jurisdiction concerns essentially the extent of each state’s right to regulate conduct or the consequences of events.” (*Oppenheim’s International Law*, vol. 1, 456, 9th ed. 1992). Given that the UN Security Council continues to affirm that the MNF-I are occupying powers, and given the prima facie control the MNF-I reserves for itself over security matters in Iraq, occupying powers which are State Parties to the European Convention on Human Rights are legally imputable for, as all occupying powers would be under international humanitarian law also, violations of a puppet government, like the one installed in Iraq by the fiat of the occupying powers.

State Parties to the European Convention who are also members of MNF-I include: Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Turkey, Ukraine, and the United Kingdom.

Whereas the British High Court has found in other cases that the European Convention could not apply outside of Europe, even where a State Party had effective control of territory, the European Court of Human Rights itself, in two recent cases (*Issa and Others v. Turkey*, Appl. No. 31821/96 [30 May 2000] and *Bankovic and Others v. Belgium and Sixteen Other States*, Appl. No. 52207/99 [12 December 2001] para. 60) affirmed that where effective control does exist, principles of the European Convention must be upheld, even where a State Party is occupying territories outside the Council of Europe. This precedent ought to prove useful in any future cases brought to the Court that relate to Iraq. In general, European national courts have been reluctant to hear cases on Iraq. Important test cases, however, have succeeded recently in challenging that reluctance.

Over the ICC, and relative to individual cases of assassinated academics, the European Court on Human Rights has the advantage of being open to individual petitions.

17. Has the Special Rapporteur on Summary Executions visited Iraq?

No. Normally speaking, the Special Rapporteur visits only one or two countries per year, though investigations and reports are annually prepared on many others. Outstanding requests for visits exist for Algeria, Liberia, Turkmenistan and Iran, but not for Iraq. This action and appeal aims to get Iraq on the agenda.

Aside from presenting the Special Rapporteur with a case file of verifiable detail on assassinated academics (which the BRussells Tribunal is working with Iraqis to build), signatories to the appeal, and



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the moral weight of the principal endorsers, helps build momentum and provide justification for the Special Rapporteur to turn his attention and resources to this issue urgently.

18. What other channels will be pursued?

Though the Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary and Arbitrary Executions is the target of this appeal, there are other special rapporteurs linked to UNHCHR in Geneva who will be made aware of the appeal and who may be helpful:

i) The Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education. While this special rapporteur is normally concerned with questions of access (economic rights, women's rights of access, etc.) the underlying theme of the special rapporteur's work is described — in his 2005 report — as the need to “move education closer to human rights.” The protection of the right to life of educators is surely a matter with which he ought to be concerned. He is also concerned with education under situations of emergency, which was defined explicitly in 2005 as “possibilities such as natural disasters, armed conflicts and situations of occupation.”

ii) The Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms while Countering Terrorism. Created by The Commission on Human Rights in 2005, this special rapporteur will be appraised on the destruction of Iraq's educational infrastructure. The right to education is long established in international law. The BRussells Tribunal will contact this special rapporteur in due course asking for information on what has been done, and what may be done, to secure the right to education amid US military practices in Iraq.

iii) The Independent Expert to Update the Set of Principles for the Protection and the Promotion of Human Rights Through Action to Combat Impunity. Established by The Commission on Human Rights in 2004, the independent expert may be of use in drawing attention to the failure of US forces and the Iraqi government to act to prevent the operation of death squads, as well as remaining indifferent to massive and systematic human rights violations in Iraq.

iv) Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances (WGEID). Established in 1980 by The Commission on Human Rights, the WGEID's mandate is to assist families in determining the fate and whereabouts of their relatives who, having disappeared, are placed outside the protection of the law. Since September 2005, there has also been established a National Centre for Missing and Disappeared Persons in Iraq.

v) UNHCHR has a human rights “field presence” in Iraq. There is also an Arab region representative office that similarly will be contacted.

vi) The United Nations Human Rights Programme for Iraq will be appraised of our action.

vii) The High Commissioner for Human Rights at UNHCHR will also be appraised directly.



The Assassination of Iraqi academics

A campaign of The BRussells Tribunal and

Campaña Estatal contra la Ocupación y por la Soberanía de Iraq

19. What actions can I take as an individual in support of this appeal?

In addition to signing the [online petition](#), individuals can support this campaign by:

- i) Contacting local academics and students and organizing seminars, teach-ins and other campus activities on the issue of the attempted destruction of Iraq's intellectual heritage and capacities. The BRussells Tribunal can act as a link ([click here to email us](#)), joining together academics and activists with Iraqi academics in exile and in Iraq;
- ii) Pressing national and local newspapers, radio stations, TV channels and internet media outlets to address and investigate the phenomenon of the assassinations of Iraqi academics;
- iii) Mobilizing local and national anti-war and peace groups and organizations, faith-based religious groups, labour unions, and human rights groups to the cause of Iraqi development and independence, and the plight of Iraqi academics;
- iv) Visiting the BRussells Tribunal [website](#), reading about this action and others, and becoming active in spreading information about this action and the work of the broader [World Tribunal on Iraq network](#), in support of the people of Iraq and the independence and sovereignty of Iraq.

20. What is the BRussells Tribunal doing in the background of this appeal?

The BRussells Tribunal is working with Iraqis to build a case file to be presented directly to the Special Rapporteur for Summary Executions at the UNHCHR in Geneva. [Further actions](#) will be prepared as the appeal develops.

21. What will happen to the signatory list of the petition?

The BRussells Tribunal will present the petition, along with the list of signatories, directly to the Special Rapporteur for Summary Executions at the UNHCHR in Geneva at an appropriate time.

MEDIA CONTACTS:



The Assassination of Iraqi academics

A campaign of The BRussells Tribunal and

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Interviews can also be arranged in Arabic and other languages. Please call +20 (0)10 418 7982

A - List of killed Iraqi academics

	NAME	Position	Date
1	Aalim Abdul Hameed	Prof. Dr. , PhD. in Preventive Medicine; Specialist in Depleted Uranium health effects on al Basrah population; Dean of Medicine College at the Mustansiriea University.	
2	Aamir Ibrahim Hamza	Msc , in power electric technique , Assistant lecturer Technical college Technical Education Commotion	17/08/2004
3	Abbass al-Attar	Prof. Dr. , PhD. in Humanities; faculty member at Baghdad University.	
	Abbas Kadhem Al-Hashimi	Prof. Dr. ,Baghdad University	
4	Abdel Al Munim Abdel Mayad	Licenciado y profesor de la Universidad de Basora.	
5	Abdel Gani Assaadun	Licenciado y profesor de la Universidad de Basora. sib	
6	Abdel Husein Jabuk	Doctor and professor at Baghdad University	
7	Abdel Majed Hamed al-Karboli	Professor at aramadi University	12/05
8	Abdel Salam Saba	Doctor in Sociology, professor at Baghdad University	
9	Abdel Jabar Al Naimi	Decano de la Facultad de Humanidades de la Universidad de Mosul.	
10	Abdl-Hussein Nasir Khalaf	Ph.D in Research Center of Date palm Al-Basrah University	May/2005
11	Abdl-Kareem Mekhleef Salih	PhD, in Arabic Language, lecturer in collage of Education AL-Anbar University	
12	Abdul Aziz El-Atrachi	Prof. Dr. , Ph.D. in Plant Protection at College of Agriculture and Forestry, Mosul University. He was killed by American soldier in front of his students. The American authority said to his family "Sorry, it was a loose bullet!".	
13	Abdul Hadi Al-Anni	PhD., Consultative Doctor	
14	Abdul Qadir Miran	Assasination of Dr Abdul Qadir Miran, his wife and their three children. Dr Abdul Qadir Miran managed to shoot with his gun one of the attackers, a Kurdish official. The dead official was left at the scene of the crime while the assassination team hurriedly fled Dr Miran's home in their cars.	14/02/2006
15	Abdul Sameia al _Janabi	Prof. Dr. , PhD. in Education; al-Mustansiriea University.	
16	Abdul Rahman saed	PhD., University Professor	
17	Abdul Sattar Sab'ar Al-Khazraji	Prof. Dr. , Ph.D. in Engineering; faculty member at IT college, an-nahreem University. He was assassinated on the 19th of June 2005, while he was leaving a mosque after a prayer.	19/06/2005
18	Abdul_ Jabar Mustapha	Prof. Dr. , PhD. in Political Sciences; Chairman of Science Department at Mosul University. He was assassinated in his way to the college in 24th of August 2005.	1/01/2004
19	Abdullah al- Fedhil	Prof. Dr. , PhD. in Chemistry; Basrah University	30/09/2003
20	Abdulla Saheb Younis	Specialist Doctor, directorate of Anoaman hospital, Baghdad	11\5\2005
21	Abdul-Latif al-Mayah	Prof. Dr. , PhD. in Economy; Chairman of the Researches Department at al _Mustansiriea University.	19/01/2004
22	Abdul latif Tae	PhD., Baghdad Univirsity	09/2005
23	Abdulrazzaq Al-Naas	Iraqi academic, distinguished and political analyst, university of Baghdad	28/01/2006
24	Abdul Azizi Jassem	Islamic science, college of Islamic Scinences, Baghdad Univrsity	
25	Abdul wahab Salman	PhD.	9\12\2003
26	Abedasamia Al Jenabi	Doctor, profesor y Decano de la Facultad de Ciencias de la Universidad de Al Mustansiriya, Bagdad.	
27	Ahmad Abdl-Hadi Al-Rawi and his wife	PhD. in Soil science , lecturer in collage of Agriculture AL-Anbar University	
28	Ahmad Abdul- Alrahman hameid Al-Khissy	PhD in Medicine, lecturer in collage of medicine AL-Anbar University	

29	Ahmed Nassir Al-Nassiri	Prof. Dr. , Ph.D. in Education; faculty member at Baghdad University. He was assassinated on February 2005.	02/05
30	Ahmed Saadi Zaidan	Prof. Dr. , Ph.D. in Education; faculty member at Ramadi University. He was assassinated on February 2005.	02/05
31	Akil Abdel Jabar al-Bahadili	Phd. Medicine, Deputy dean of medicine college, An-nahreen University.	
32	Ahmad Abdul Raziq	PhD. In medicine	
33	Ala'a Dawood	Prof. Dr. , Ph.D.; President Scientific Assistant of Basrah University; He was assassinated while he was leaving the university with three of his colleagues.	20/07/2005
34	Ali Abdul_ Hussein Kamil	Prof. Dr. , Ph.D. in Physics; faculty member of the Physics Department at College of Science, Baghdad University.	
35	Ali Ghalib Abd-Ali	MSc , Assistant lecturer in collage of Engineering Al-Basrah University	12/04/2004
36	Ali Hasan Mauch	Dean of engineering department, almustanserieria univerty.	12/03/2006
37	Ali Husain Muhawish	Armed men kidnapped the Dean of Engineering College on Monday morning, after leaving his house heading to his office. An official source assured that a group of armed men used two Opel Make motorcars, had kidnapped him to unknown direction. The source added that the kidnapping took place in Hay Albinoog (Banks sector),east of Baghdad where the victim lives. So far nobody claimed responsibility or motives behind the kidnapping. Killed 9/3/2006	9/03/2006
38	Ali al-Maliki	PhD., Baghdad University	
39	Amir Al Khazragi	PhD. in Medicine; faculty member at the College of Medicine at Baghdad University and a senior doctor at Ministry of Health. He was assassinated in his clinic on the 17th of November 2005.	11/05
40	Amir al-Mallah	Oculist	
41	Amir Mizhir al-Dayni	Communications Engineering Professor	
42	Ammar Al-ani	PhD. In MIdicine	
43	Asaad Salem abdul qader Shrieda	Prof. Dr. , PhD. in Engineering; Dean of the Engineering College at al_Basrah University.	15/10/2003
44	Atheer Husham Abdul-Hameed	veterinary surgeon. Armed men fired their guns towards Dr Atheer Husham, while he was getting out of his house in AlSaydiah, heading towards his office in Al-Sinag district in the middle of Baghdad, and shot him dead instantly	22/01/2006
45	Aziz Ali	PhD., Dean of law Department, chairman of Red Crescent Society	
46	Basil Abbass Hassan	Prof. Dr. , F.R.C.S. in Medicine (heart disease and artileries). He was killed by American death squad while he was on his way home. The Iraqi Ministry of Health issued a statement describing his death as misfortunate due to a shooting mistake by an American force in May 2005.	05/2005
47	Basil al- Karkhi	Prof. Dr. , PhD. in Chemistry: Lecturer at Baghdad University.	
48	Bassem al-Mudares	Prof. Dr. , PhD. in Chemistry; faculty member of the College of Science at Tikreet University. In July 21, 2004: Dr Bassem al-Mudares' mutilated body was found in the city of Samarra, Iraq.	21/07/2004
49	Bassam Kubba	PhD.,adviser at the Ministry of interieur affairs	
50	Bassem Habib Salman	PhD. In Mdicine, Mdicine college, almustaniria university	15\4\2005

51	Damen Hussien Al-Obaidi	Prof. Dr. Law, a member of drafting constitution, Dean of Law Department, Tikreet University.	23\7\2005
52	Emad Sarsam	Prof. Dr. , F.R.C.S. in medicine; member of the Medical Arab Board of Medicine and the Iraqi Board of Medicine; well known surgeon and scholar	
53	Eman Abd-Almonaom younis	Ph.D in translation , lectural in college of Art Mosul University	30/08/2004
54	Essam Sharif Mohammed	Ph.D in History , Assistant professor in college of Art Baghdad University	25/10/2003
55	Faidhi Al-Faidhi	Prof. Dr. , Ph.D. in Education; well known lecturer at Baghdad an Al-mustansiriah Universities. A full member in the Muslims Scientists Council. He was assassinated in 2005.	2005
56	Faiz Ghani Aziz allousi	Phd in Agricultural farming, Director General of the Iraqi Vegetable Oil Company	09/03
57	Falah Ali Hussein	Ph.D. in applied sciences: Dean Assistance of the College of Science at Al-Mustansiriah University; he was assassinated in May 2003.	10/05/2003
58	Fathal Mosa Hussine Al-Akili	PhD professor in collage of Physical Education Tikreet University	27/06/2004
59	Fdel Trad Alyasari	Educational, school prnciple at Karbula School	
60	Faysal Al Assadi	Doctor en Agronomía, profesor en la facultad de Agronomía, Universidad de Basora.	
61	Faysal Al-mash-hadani	PhD., founder of the international campaign against American-Zionest aggression	
62	Firas Anoaimi	PhD. In midicine, Alfallowja hospital	13\12\2005
63	Fouad Abraham Mohammed Al-Bayati	Ph.D in German, Head of german Department in collage of languages Baghdad University	19/04/2005
64	Fuad Al-Daján	Doctor en Medicina, profesor de Ginecología de la Facultad de Medicina de la Universidad de Basora. Muerto a comienzos de marzo de 2006. (Fuente: fuentes universidades iraqués.)	1/03/2006
65	Ghassab jabber Attar	MSc Assistant lectural in collage of Engineering Al-Basrah University	8/06/2003
66	Haidar al Ba'aj	Director of Basrah educational hospital	
67	Haidar Taher	Doctor y profesor en la Facultad de Medicina de la Universidad de Basora.	
68	Haifa Alwan Al-Hill	Ph.D in physic, Lecturer in the college of Science for Women Baghdad University	7/09/2003
69	Haikal Mohammed al-Moosawy	PhD. in Medicine; faculty member at the El-Kendi Medicine College of Baghdad University. He was assassinated by a death squad while he was in his clinic, they shot him three bullets in the head, in 17 th of November 2005.	17/11/2005
70	Haitham Al-Azzawi	teacher from the Islamic University in Baghdad	13/02/2006
71	Haithem Ooda	deputy head of chemical engineering department in the University of Albasrah - kidnapped	
72	Hafez Al-hafez	PhD., Pediatrician	
73	Hakim Malik Al Zayadi	lecturer of Arabic literature at Al Qadisyia University	24/07/2005
74	Hamed Faisal Antar	Professor of physical education, an-nbar university	12/05
75	Hamad Faysal Fahdawi	Al-Anbar University	
76	Hareth Abdul Jabbar Assamrani	Graduate student, Engineering College, Tikreet University	12\2\2005
77	Hashim Abdul Kareem	lecturer in college education Al Mustansiriya	28/08/2005
78	Hassan Abd - Ali Dawood AL-Rubai	PhD. in Dentistry; Dean of the College of Dentistry at Baghdad University. He was assassinated while he was leaving the college with his wife, in 20th of December 2004.	25/12/2004
79	Hazim Abdul HadiTae	Prof. Dr. , PhD. in Medicine; faculty member at the College of Medicine at Baghdad University.	
80	Hazem Tae	PhD., pediatrician	

81	Hisham Sharif	Head of History Department in Baghdad University	
82	Human Al-Din Ahman Mahmoud	Prof. Al-Mustansiriya university, National Education, Assistant professor - Head of Department	11/07/2003
83	Husein Yasín	Doctor en Física, profesor de la Facultad de Ciencias de la Universidad de Basora (18/02/2004, asesinado en su domicilio ante su familia).	
84	Hussam Al-Ddin Ahmad Mahmmoud	Ph.D in National Education , Chairman of the Education in college of Education Al-Mustansirea University	
85	Hussam Karyaoush Thomas	PhD., professort at medicine college, almustanseria university	15\4\2005
86	Ibrahim Al-rashed	Ministry of science and technology, Genirela Mnager	
87	Ihsan Abed Ali Rabiei	PhD. Baghdad University deputy dean of medicine college	
88	Imad Nasir Al-foadi	Faculty of Political Science, Al mustansiria University	
89	Iman Younis	Head of Translation Department - Mosul University	
90	Ihsan Karim Alghazi	Directorate of financial control bureau	
91	Isam Said Abd al-Halim	Geological expert at the ministry of construction	
92	Ismael Yousef	PhD., Deputy at the appeal court	
93	Jamhour Al Zargani	PhD. in History; Dpartment head at the College of Education at Al_ Basrah University. He was abducted for two days, tortured, and killed. His family found him, in 19 th of August 2005, in a nearby street dead with broken arms and legs.	19/08/2005
94	Jamhour Karim Kammas	Ph.D in Art, historian, Lecturer in college of Art Al-Basrah University	8/07/2005
95	Jasim al-Fahaidawi	Doctor, profesor de Literatura Árabe de la Facultad de Humanidades de la Universidad de al-Mustansiriya	
96	Jasim Mohemed Achamri	Decano de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad de Bagdad	
97	Jassim Al-Issawi	Prof. Dr. , PhD. in law; faculty of law, Baghdad University. He was leaving to work when a death squad assassinated him and his son in front of his home at Ghazalia Hai, west of Baghdad, in 21 of June 2005.	21/06/2005
98	Jafar Sadeq Naqeeb	Prof. PhD., Neurologist	
99	Jameel Aboud al Baydani	Educational, School Principle	
100	Jawad Ashakraji	PhD., Venereologist	
101	kadhim talal husain Allami	deputy dean of the college of education in the Al-Mustansiria University	
102	Kadhum Mashhut Awad	Dr in soil chemistry found assasinated in Basrah . He was the Dean of Agriculture Faculty in University of Basrah who has been found cut into pieces after taken by the police from his house. He was one of the finest scientists in his major, and worked as a Dean for the Agricultur college in the university. He was assassinated, in December 2005, by a Death Squad of Failaq Badir –an Iranian militia’s working under the American Authority.	12/05
103	Kadum Allwash	General manager of Karama Hospital - Baghdad	11/05
104	Kamal Harrah	Msc. English litratutre, Director of Ministry of Education	
105	Kays Juma	72 years old and a professor at the University of Baghdad, where he taught PhD agriculture students. He was killed by an employee of private security contractor Unity Resources Group. The official version is that he was in a vehicle, that endeavoured to go through a checkpoint without stopping and the security officer opened fire upon the vehicle and he was killed	29/03/2005
106	Karim Hassani	Doctor y profesor de la facultad de Medicina de la Universidad de Basora.	

107	Karim Ghayith Dama	Practicing Lawyer	
108	Kefaia Hussein Salih	Ph.D in English language, lecturer in college of Education Al-Basrah University	28/05/2004
109	Khalid Faisal Hamid AL-Sheekho	Ph.D Assistant professor in collage of Physical Education Mosul University	11/04/2003
110	Khalid Ibrahim Sa'id	Prof. Dr. , Ph.D. Engineering Physics; Well known scientists, who was questioned many times by David Kay;eyewitnesses said to AP News that they saw a U.S. tank crew blasted his civilian car without warning on an open street.	
111	Khalid M. al_Janabi	Prof. Dr. , PhD. in Islamic History; faculty member at the College of Art, Babylon University.	
112	Khalid Shrieda	Prof. Dr. , PhD. in Engineering; dean of the Engineering College at al_Basrah University.	
113	Khalil Ibrahim Al-Mishari	Professor of Basra University,assasinated on 20/3/06 afternoon when he went out of the university after critising in lecture room the situation in iraq. He was shot dead by unknown persons when he went out of the unversity.He lived in Zubair,	20/03/2006
114	Khalil Ismail abdAldahri	Ph.D in Physical Education , Assistant professor in collage in collage of Physica; Education Baghdad University	17/10/2004
115	Khawla Mohammad Taqi Zwain	Doctora en Medicina, profesora de la Facultad de Medicina de la Universidad de Kufa	12/05
116	Kilan Mahmud Ramez	Prof. Phd Political Science, Political Science department, Baghdad University	
117	Laith Abdul Aziz Abbas	Sciences college Nahrain University	
118	Lyla Abdullah al_ Saad	Prof. Dr. , PhD. in Law; Dean of the Law College at Mosul University.	22/06/2004
119	M.A. Kamal al_ Jarrah	M.A. in English Language; Scholar and author; General Manager at Ministry of Education; He was killed in front of his home while he was leaving to his office.	
120	Madloul al-Bazi	Tikreet University	6\1\205
121	Maha Abdel Kadira	Doctora y profesora de la Facultad de Humanidades de la Universidad de Bagdad.	
122	Mahfoudh al-Qazzaz	Prof. Dr. , PhD. in Islamic History; faculty member at the College of Art, Mosul University. He was killed by a death squad in front of his family at his home in 20th of December 2004.	20/12/04
123	Mahmoud Ibrahim Hussein	PhD in Biology Science , Assistant professor in collage of Education Tikrit University	3/09/2004
124	Majeed Hussein Ali	Prof. Dr. , PhD. in physics; faculty member of Science College at Baghdad University; One of the country's most prominent nuclear scientists, was found dead earlier this year (2004), shot twice in the back; He had been questioned by the ISG.	2004
125	Majeed Hussein Mahbouba	Assistant Professor Medicine Al-Qadiseyya university	10/03/2004
126	Makki Dashar Gharbawi	PhD., surgeon	
127	Marwan al-Rawi	Engineering Professor	
128	Marwan G. Mudh'hir al_Hetti	Prof. Dr. , PhD. in Chemical Engineering; faculty member of the Engineering College, Baghdad University.	16/03/2004
129	Marwan Ghayeb Mathhour	Baghdad university lecturer - Faculty of chemical engineering	6/03/2003
130	Marwan Rasheed	Ph.D in Engineering , Dean Deputy in Engineering college Baghdad University	
131	Mehned Al Dulaimi	Doctor en Ingeniería Mecánica, profesor de la Universidad de Bagdad.	
132	Mejbel Sheikh Issa	Prof. Dr., International Law, member of the committee of deafting constitution, Law college, Tikreet University	23\7\2005
134	Mohamad Al Adramli	Doctor en Ciencias Químicas.	
135	Mohamad Al Hakim	Doctor en Farmacia, profesor y Decano de la Facultad de Farmacia de la Universidad de Basora.	
136	Mohamad Yassem Badr	Doctor, profesor y Rector de la Universidad de Basora.	

137	Mohamed Salih Mahdi	Msc , Assistant lecturer in Research center of cancer Technical Education Commotion	17/08/2004
138	Mohammed Abd-AlHussein Wahed	PhD in Tourist , lecturer in Administrable Institute Technical Education Commotion	9/01/2004
139	Mohammed Abdallah Falah al-Rawi	Prof. Dr. , F.R.C.S. in Medicine; President of Baghdad University; member of the Arab Board of Medicine; member of Iraqi Board of Medicine; Chairman of the Iraqi Union of Physicians.	27/07/2003
140	Mohammed Al Jazairi	Ph.D. in Medicine- plastic surgery; faculty member at the College of Medicine at Baghdad University. He was assassinated while he was in his clinic on the 15th of November 2005.	15/11/05
141	Mohammed Ali Jawad Ashami	PhD., Dean of Law Faculty, Almustanseray University	
142	Mohammed Falah al-Delaimi	Prof. Dr. , PhD. in Physics; Al-Mustanseriya University.	
143	Mohammed Munim al-Izmerly	Prof. Dr. , PhD. in Chemistry; A distinguished Iraqi chemistry professor tortured and killed by the American Interrogation team, dies in American custody from a sudden hit to the back of his head caused by blunt trauma. It was uncertain exactly how he died, but someone had hit him from behind, possibly with a bar or a pistol. His battered corpse turned up at Baghdad's morgue and the cause of death was initially recorded as "brainstem compression". It was discovered that US doctors had made a 20cm incision in his skull.	
144	Mohammed Al-mash-hadani	Member of national Dailaogue committee	19\9\2005
145	Mohammed Fathi Mjamed	Directorate of rads and bridges, Salah Denn governarate	5\12\2005
146	Mohammed Najeeb Al-Qissi	Ph.D in Geography, Assistant professor in Researches Department Al-Mustansirea University	20/06/2003
147	Mohammed Tuki Hussein al-Talakani	PhD. in Physics; Iraqi nuclear scientist; He was a practising nuclear physicist since 1984; was shot dead in Mahmudiya, south of Baghdad.	
148	Mohammed younis Thanoon	MSc. Assistant lecturer in college of Physical Education Mosul University	27/01/2004
149	Mohammed Yaqoub Asaidi	Distiguished Iraqi Academic	
150	Mohammed Yaqoub Obaidi	Baghdad University	
151	Mohsin Sulaiman Al-Ajeely	PhD. in Agriculture; Professor at the Agriculture College at Babil University. He was assassinated at his home in Jebelah suburbs of Hilla governorate, in 24th of December 2005.	24/12/2005
152	Muhannad Abbas Khudaire	PhD. in Mechanical Engineering; faculty member at the Technology University.	
153	Muhannad Al-Dilami	Ph. In science: faculty member technology University	
154	Muhey Hussein	Prof. Dr. , PhD. in Aerodynamic; faculty member at the Mechanical Engineering Department at the Technology University.	
155	Muneer al_ Khiero	Prof. Dr. , PhD. in Law; Faculty member at the Law College of Mosul University; Dr. Lyla's husband.	
156	Musa Saloum Al Ameer	Ph.D, Dean Deputy in Education College Al-Mustansirea University	27/05/2005
157	Mustafa Al Hitti	pediatric doctor, deputy general manager Nour hospital, formely known as Shu'la hospital	11/05
158	Mustafa Al Hity	PhD. in Medicine- pediatrician; faculty member at the College of Medicine at Baghdad University. He was assassinated in his office on the 14th of November 2005.	14/11/05
159	Mustapha al_Mashadani	Prof. Dr., PhD. in Religious Studies; faculty member at the College of Art, Baghdad University.	

160	Mustapha Mohammed Amin Al-Hitti	Ph.D in pharmacology, Dean of the Pharmacy college Baghdad University	11/05/2005
161	Muwafaq Yaha Hamdoun	Deputy Dean of Agricultural college, Mousel University, head of the University's academics society	18/12/2004
162	Nafeaa Mahmoud Khalaf	Ph.D in Arabic language ,professor in college of Art Baghdad University	13/12/2003
	Najim Karboul Alyasari	Educational, principle of Karbula preparatory school	
163	Nafi Aboud	Arab Literature Professor	
164	Naser Abdel Karem Mejlef al-Dulaimi	Education committee member, Aramadi institute.	12/05
165	Natiq Sabri Hasan	PhD., agricultural mechanism, head of Agricultural mechanism department, Agriculture college, Almosel University	12\4\2005
166	Nawfal Ahmed	university professor of the institute of fine arts, Baghdad	
167	Nazar Abdul Amir Al Ubaidy	Prof at Baghdad University	
168	Noel Butrus S. Mathew	Professor at the Institution of Health in Mosul.	
169	Noel Petros Shammass Matti	kidnapped by an unknown group. He was found dead the day after his abduction. Dr. Matti was born in the village of Bartilla in 1962; he was married and a father for two daughters. He was a lecturer at the Medical Institute of Mosul University	4/08/2005
170	Naef Sultan Saleh	PhD., National Institute, Al-mousel University	26\4\2005
171	Omar Miran	Professor, driven off the road by SUV four-wheel drive that is used by the Peshmerga gangs	23/12/2005
172	Omar Mahmoud Abdullah	Retired pharmacist	4\1\2005
173	Omer Fakhri	Basra University- professor of the biological sciences in the college of science	
174	Qahtan Kadhim Hatim	MSc. Assistant In Lecture in college of Engineering Technology University	30/05/2004
175	Qusai Salah Deen	Student, head of students council, al mosel University	
176	Qassem Muhawi Hassan	PhD., General Manager of telecommunications company	16\12\2004
177	Raad Abdul-Latif Al-Saadi	Ph.D Arabic language Adviser - Ministry of higher Education and Scientific Research	28/04/2005
178	Raad Muhsin Mutar al-Mawla	Ph.D. in Biology; faculty member at the College of Science, Baghdad University. He was assassinated on the 16th of November 2005 while he was in his clinic.	16/11/05
179	Raad okhssin Al-binow	PhD. FRCS in Surgery , lecturer in collage of medicine AL-Anbar University	
180	Raad Shlash	head of the Biology department- school of Science-Baghdad University	
181	Rafi Sarcissan Vancan	MSc in English language, Lecturer in the college of Education for Women Baghdad University	9/06/2003
182	Reyad Khalid Waleed	PhD., Engineer of Electronics	
183	Reda Refat Amin	Doctor of Medicine	13\5\2005
184	Saad Alrubaiee	Basra University -Biological sciences in the college of science	
185	Salah Bandar	Teacher and educational, Principle of al kindi priliminary	
186	Saad Al-Shahin	Doctor en Medicina, profesor de Medicina Interna de la Facultad de Medicina de la Universidad de Basora. Muerto a comienzos de marzo de 2006. (Fuente: fuentes universidades iraquíes.)	mrt/06
187	saad yaseen al-ansary	Ph.D. in applied Sciences; faculty member at the College of Science, Baghdad University. He was assassinated while he was leaving his home going to the university on the 17th of November 2005.	17/11/05
188	Saadi Ahmad Zidaan Al-Fahdawi	Ph.D in Islamic science , Lecturer in Islamic Science college Baghdad University	26/03/2004
189	Saadi Dagher Morab	Ph.D in Fin Art , Assistant professor in collage of Fine Arts Baghdad University	23/07/2004

190	Sabah M. al _Rubaie	Prof. Dr. , PhD. in Geography; Dean of the College of Education at al _Mustansiriea University.	16/03/2003
191	Sabah Hashim	Educational, a teacher at the administration institute of Basra	
192	Sabah bahnam	Diplomatic, Ministry of interior affairs	
193	Sabri Mustapha al-Bayati	Prof. Dr. , PhD. in Geography; faculty member at the College of Art of the University of Baghdad.	13/06/2004
194	Sadiq al-Ubaidi	Neurologist	
195	Sadiq Al-Baaj	PhD., Director of teh military Hospital, Annasereya	
196	Sahera Mohammed Mash-hadani	Technology University	
197	Sameer yelda	Deputy dean in Administration and Economy college, Al-mistansiriea University	kidnapped 05/08/2005
198	Sami Aymen	specialists in the field of malignant and chronic diseases	11/05
199	Samir yield Gerges	Ph.D Assistant professor in collage of Administration and Economic Al-Mustansirea University	28/08/2005
200	Seif Zaki Saadi	PhD.	12\2\2005
201	Shakier al _Khafaji	Prof. Dr. , PhD. in Administration; Director of the Standardization and Quality Control Council of Iraq.	
202	Shakir Mahmmoud Jasim	PhD. in Agriculture Assistant professor in collage of Agriculture AL-Anbar University	
203	Shaker falah Hasan	Engineer at South Gaz company	
204	Sheikh Faidhy al Faidhy	Religious Scholar member of AMS - Mousel	22/11/2004
205	Sheukh Dr. Mawlood Hassan Albarbar Alturki	Professor in islamic science, great Iman College	25\9\2005
206	Sheikh Galib Lateef Al Zuhair	teacher and religious scholar - Muqdadaya Diyalay	
207	Sinan Mu'yad	Hamdanya town Hospital, killed on the west bank of Mousel	11/05
208	Suhad al-Abadi	Physician	
209	Taleb Ibrahim al-Daher	Prof. Dr. , PhD. in Physics; at College of Science, Dyala University; Iraqi nuclear scientist was shot dead north of Baghdad by unknown gunmen. He was on his way to work at Diyala University when armed men opened fire on his car as it was crossing a bridge in Baqouba, 57 km northeast of Baghdad. The vehicle swerved off the bridge and fell into the Khrisan river. Al-Daher, who was a professor at the local university, was removed from the submerged car and rushed to Baqouba hospital where he was pronounced dead.	21/12/2004
210	Tamer Abdulateef	General Manager at the ministry of science and technology	
211	Wajeeh Mahjoub	Prof. Dr. , PhD. in Physical Education (mechanism of human body); General Director of Physical Education at the Ministry of Education; Author of 8 text books in Physical Education.	9/04/2005
212	Wannas Abdulah Al-Naddawi	Prof. Dr. , Ph.D. in Education; faculty member at Baghdad University. He was assassinated on the 18th of February 2005.	
213	Wissam Al-Hashimi	PhD. in Petroleum Geology: Chairman of Arabs Geologists Union: Senior Expert at the Iraqi Oil Ministry for oil reservoirs in Iraq. He was abducted, tortured, and killed by an American-Israeli death squad in May 2005.	05/2005
214	Yaddab Al-Hajjam	Doctor en Ciencias de la Educación y profesor de la Facultad de Ciencias de la Educación, Universidad de Basora.	
215	Yasoob Sulaiman	leading skin specialist, assassinated, Mosul	2/03/2006
216	Zaki jabar Laftah Al-Saedi	MSc. In Veterinary Medicine , Assistant lecture in Veterinary Medicine college Baghdad University	16/10/2004
217	Zaki Thakir Alaany	lecturer in college of literature Al Munstansiriya	28/08/2005

218	Zanubia Abdel Husein	Doctora en Veterinaria, profesor de la Facultad de Veterinaria de la Universidad de Basora.	
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B -List of threatened and kidnapped Iraqi academics

	Name	Profession	Incident	Date
1	Abed Ahmed	Master Student	Banned from resuming studying	04/05/2005
2	Abdullah Aziz Hassawi	PhD., gardening, college of agriculture and forests, Al mousel University	Critical attacks, destroying his car and 750000 theft	19/06/2005
3	Abdulahdy Rejeb Al-Heety	Al-Anbar University Dean. Ministry source said that unknown armed men kidnapped Dr Abdulhady rejeb Al-Heety from his house. The source did not give further details about the accident.		27/03/2006
4	Abd-Asalam Ali Hussien	PhD., Islamic History	Arrested	22/05/2005
5	Abd-Assalam Mohammed Khalaf	Science, Education college, al-Anbar University		28/12/2004
6	Abdul Aziz Hasan Abdul Aziz	Doctorate student, educational college (Ibn Rushd), Baghdad University	Arrested by the american and national forces	05/11/2004
7	Abdul Kareem Oraybi Sabe'	Dean of Science Department, Diala University	Arrested	
8	Abdul Kareem Hamad Arawi	PhD.	Kidnapped and asked to pay 100,000 JD ransom	
9	Abdulsattar abdul jabber As-sannawi	Directorate of university teachers committee office	Arrested by Wolf brigade	27/06/2005
10	Abdulqader Adulaymi	PhD., Deputy dean, faculty of arts, Baghdad University	assault and contumely	02/05/2005
11	Ahmed Al-Zubaidi	Dean of Agricultural College - Baghdad University, Threats of murder		12/04/2006
12	Abdulhakeem Daham Hussien	PhD., agricultural college, Alanbar university	Arrested	27/03/2005
13	Adnan Meshath al jomayli	Graduate student, educational college (Ibn Rushd), Baghdad University		05/11/2004
14	Adnan Kareem Rajab el mafreji	PhD., University professor, Dean of Arabic school	Threats lead him to leave Iraq	01/03/2006
15	Ahmed Salman Hamadi	Education college, al-Anbar University	Arrested	27/05/2005
16	Akram Hatem	PhD. in Mathematics, mathematical and computer science college, Anahrain University.	Threatened	02/03/2005
17	Ali Shehab Fahd Hamadi	PhD., Doctor of Medicine	Arrested	07/02/2006
18	Amer Mahdi Saleh	PhD., Education college, al-Anbar University	Arrested	02/06/2005
19	Amer Ayyash	PhD., Deputy Dean of Law College, Tikreet University	Kidnapped	08/01/2005
20	Amjad Kamel Alothman	PhD., Arabic literature, Arabic language school, Albasrah University.	Failed assassination attempt when leaving the University	08/03/2006
21	Ayad Mohamed Ismaeel	Consultant in Dentistry, Threats of murder, Left the country		
22	Fawzi Yassin	PhD., faculty of Economic and administrative science Baghdad University		01/01/2004

23	Fakhri Al-qaysi	PhD., Dentist, dentistry college, Baghdad University	Assassination attempt, critically injured	15/11/2005
24	Feras Annouami	Doctor, medicine, alfalouja hospital	Murdered by the occupations forces	13/12/2005
25	Head of educational method department	Holy Quran science, School of Education (Ebn Rushd), Baghdad University	Repetitive assassination attempt	22/01/2004
26	Hareth alobaydi	PhD. in Arabic language, Educational College (Ibn Rushd), Baghdad University	Life threats and repetitive house attacks	
27	Hareth Mohammed Ibrahim alhayali	Assistant Professor, Birds flue expert at the Ministry Of health, veterinary college, Baghdad University	Arrested by unknowns from his laboratory, asenk neighbourhood, Baghdad	20/02/2006
28	Haseeb Kadhém Jowayd	Directorate at the central Iraqi bank	Kidnapped in front of his house	14/08/2005
29	Haydar Lannee-Yelds	PhD., university Professor, Azohour area, Tikreet	Kidnapped by strangers	26/12/2005
30	Haydar Mahdi Aljabouri	PhD., Assistant professor, Laser engineering, Annahreén University	Arrested at his house by the interior forces	30/01/2006
31	Haytham Abdul Aal	PhD., University professor, college of medicine, Baghdad University	Exposed to theft in front of his house	25/01/2006
32	Hanan Dabe' Aljbouri	University professor, Medicine college, almustansireya University	Assassination attempt	
33	Haqqi Ismail Hamad	PhD., Technical Educational Committee		09/01/2004
34	Hashim Abed Hassan Tamimi	PhD., Mechanical engineering department, University of Technology	Arrested by the American forces	20/09/2005
35	Hazem Mohammed Arrawi	PhD., college of Medicine, Baghdad University	Arrested	22/07/2003
36	Hilal Al-Bayaty	Head of the Iraqi institution of computers survived an assassination, on the main road which is located between Al-Saydiah and Al-Baya3 district, Two cars carrying armed men shot a stream of bullets towards the car of Dr Hilal Al-Bayaty from both sides that caused wounding two of his companions, while he survived the assassination.		22/01/2006
37	Imad Jasem Obaydi	Education College, Almousel University	Arrested	09/02/2005
38	Jassim Muhamed Al-Shumeri	Deputy Dean of Art college in Mustensiriya University – Baghdad.	Critically injured in an attempt on his life that killed his driver	11/05/2006
39	Kadhém Asaydae	PhD., accurate revival, Science college, Anahreén University	His son was kidnapped and killed (computers engineer)	05/12/2005
40	Khaled Mohammed Joudi	PhD., Mechanical Engineering, President of Anahreén University	Critically injured in an attempt on his life	
41	Khamail Abdul Majid Al-Ta'aie	Sciences college Mustenseriya University Baghdad, US arrested 4 of his brothers		11/05/2006
42	Khalid Sulayman Fahdawi	PhD., Directorate of Sunni devotee, al-anbar	Assassination attempt caused critical wounds	26/03/2004

43	Layth Abdul Aziz Abbas	PhD., subjective fumble physics Dean of Science college, Anahreen University	Assassination attempt	19/11/2005
44	Muhamed Abdul Fatah Nima Al-Hadithi		Critically injured in an assassination attempt that killed his daughter	11/05/2006
45	Mousa Sallom al-Ameer	PhD., Deputy Dean of Education school, al Mustensiriya University	Assassination attempt	27/05/2005
46	Mahmoud Farhan Mesle7	Electricity department, University of Technology		01/04/2004
47	Muhammed Houbi Ibrahim	Ma in physics, education school, Almustansereya school	Kidnapped by unknown persons in front of his house	03/06/2006
48	Mahmoud Farhan	Doctorate student, Political science, technical educational committee		17/03/2004
49	Muhanned Ismael Alghariri	Teacher professor, Islamic science college, Baghdad University	House raid by American forces	13/06/2005
50	Muthafar Khalil Alomor	PhD., Dean of Education College, Diala University	Arrested	15/12/2004
51	Mustafa Mohammed al-Hiti	PhD. In pharmaceuticals, Dean of Pharmacy college, Baghdad University		
52	Moayed Alkhafaf	PhD., University Professor, journalism college, Baghdad University	Attacked by eight persons suspected to be students, insults, destroying his office and order him to leave the university	20/01/2006
53	Mwafaq Yahya Hamdoun	PhD. In Agriculture, deputy dean of agriculture college, Almosel University.	Assassination attempt that injured his driver	
54	Najih Al-Assadi	Cardiologist	Assassination attempt , Left the country	
55	Nizar Habeeb	PhD., Dean of Education school, al Basra University	Assassination attempt	30/08/2005
56	Nayef Sultan Sale7	PhD., Technical institute, Al-Musel University	Arrested	26/04/2004
57	Oday Ragheb Ali	Engineer, senior graduate student, communications, university of technology, electrical electronic engineering school	Arrested by interior forces in his house at Addawra	30/01/2006
58	O'uff	Specialised surgeon, Threats of murder, Left the country		
59	Rami Sameer	MA in Computer science, Science Department, Anahreen University	Threatened	05/03/2005
60	Reyad Mohammed Jihad	Education college, al-Anbar University	Arrested	28/12/2004
61	Salman Dawood Salloum	PhD., Political science, Political science college, Baghdad University	Arrested	01/02/2004
62	Saleem Yasin Mohammed al hiti	PhD., Professor at the Great Imam college	Arrested at his house	13/09/2005
63	Sheikh Hareth Dari	PhD., General Secretary of Islamic scientists committee	House raid by American forces	14/06/2005
64	Sadoun Aziz	Prof. PhD., biological chemistry, Deputy president, Anahreen University (resigned and left the country)	His son was arrested and released for a huge ransom	
65	Shaker Mahmoud Yousef Taha	Educational, educational Department, Almostansereya University	Arrested	June 2004



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66	Shaker Mahmoud Jomayli	PhD. In psychology and education, education school, almustanserya University	Kidnapped by unknown persons in front of his house	06/03/2005
67	Subhi Saed Arawi	Prof. PhD. In Physics, girls sciences school, Baghdad University	Transferred by force to different areas	
68	Takatol Abdulhfez	Ma in chemistry, consulting office\ school of science, Anahreen University	Arrested with his father from their house at Diala governate	12/11/2005
69	Taha Hussam Azawi	Law college, Diala University	Arrested	15/11/2005
70	Tawfeeq Al-Yassiry	Political activist / Shams Al Arab list, Kidnapped		01/11/2005
71	Yasin Mohammed Hamad Issawi	PhD., Political science, Political science college, Baghdad University		01/02/2004
72	Yeilds	PhD.in pharmacy	Kidnapped	
73	Zaid Ghanem	Graduate student, Physics at applied science department, Baghdad University		March 2004

[Link to this list: http://www.brusseltribunal.org/academicsList.htm](http://www.brusseltribunal.org/academicsList.htm)

Important notice: when copying or referring to this list, please always mention the source.

- [Link to a list of 193 killed Iraqi academics, in Arabic, compiled by the Association of University Lecturers \[PDF\]](#)
- * [Link to a list of 76 threatened Iraqi academics, in Arabic, compiled by the Association of University Lecturers \[PDF\]](#)
- [Spanish link: http://www.nodo50.org/iraq/2004-2005/docs/represion_11-11-05.html](http://www.nodo50.org/iraq/2004-2005/docs/represion_11-11-05.html)



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Guidelines Relating to the Eligibility of Iraqi Asylum-Seekers

October 2005

<http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/publ/opendoc.pdf?tbl=RSDLEGAL&id=4354e3594&page=publ>

(extracts)

Annex IV

Academics

1. Intimidation and even murder of Iraqi intellectuals, professors, lecturers and teachers has become systematic since the US-led invasion of Iraq began in March 2003. According to Iraq's Deputy Minister of Higher Education, more than 2,000 academics left Iraq under the former regime; since its fall a further 260 have followed them, mainly due to threats by insurgents who have already killed 47 academics.¹⁵³ During the times of Saddam Hussein, professors were required to join the Ba'ath Party and it cannot be ruled out that a number of killings of academics were linked to former Ba'ath Party membership (for example the killing of Mohammed Al-Rawi, the former President of Baghdad University, on 27 July 2003). Al-Rawi had been a prominent member of the Ba'ath Party and resigned his university post after Baghdad fell on 9 April 2003.¹⁵⁴ According to Taher Al-Bakaa, former Minister of Higher Education in the cabinet of Iyad Allawi and member of the National Assembly, 1,630 faculty members nationwide were forced to resign because of their Ba'athist pasts, but 1,380 among them were reinstated with the concurrence of the National De-Ba'athification Commission after appealing their dismissal.¹⁵⁵

2. The attacks against professors and other academics have created an atmosphere of fear and are seriously hampering freedom of speech on university campuses. In late January 2004, for example, Abdul-Latif Al-Mayah, Professor of Political Science at Al Mustansiriya University in Baghdad, was interviewed on Al-Jazeera TV and spoke in favour of the planned handover of sovereignty and free elections. Less than 24 hours later, he was killed on his way to the university.¹⁵⁶ For many, this has been a sign not to discuss politically controversial issues.¹⁵⁷

3. On 5 June 2005, the ITG announced that it would double the salaries of university professors in the aim of preventing further brain drain from the country.¹⁵⁸

4. The following targeted killings of academics include (this list includes incidents from March 2003 – July 2005 and is not exhaustive):

- 18 July 2005: Gunmen shot dead Alaa Daud Salman, a professor of history at Basrah University, a Sunni and former Ba'ath Party member.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵³ UNESCO, The New Courier, *UNESCO in action education, Precarious future for Iraqi universities*, May 2005, http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=26888&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.

¹⁵⁴ CBS/The Associated Press, *Iraqis React To 'Saddam' Tape*, 30 July 2003,

<http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2003/07/30/iraq/main565839.shtml>.

¹⁵⁵ The Washington Post, *Iraqi Student's Killing Deepens a Divide*, 1 June 2005,

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/05/31/AR2005053101504.html>.

¹⁵⁶ International Herald Tribune, *Hundreds of killings - Assassins strike Iraqi professionals*, 9 February 2004, <http://www.ecoi.net/doc/en/iq/content/5/7656->.

¹⁵⁷ The Christian Science Monitor, *Death to those who dare to speak out*, 30 April 2004,

<http://csmonitor.com/2004/0430/p11s01-woiq.html>.

¹⁵⁸ BBC, *Iraq pay rise to stem brain drain*, 5 June 2005,

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/4612381.stm.

- 8 July 2005: The body of Basrah University Arabic Language professor Karim Khamass was found a day after he was kidnapped on his way home from work.¹⁶⁰

- 21 June 2005: Unknown assailants killed Dr. Abdelsatar Al-Khazraji, a professor of engineering at Al-Nahrain University in Baghdad.¹⁶¹

- 26 May 2005: Professor Moussa Salum, Deputy Dean at Baghdad's Mustansiriya University, was gunned down as he was going to work. Three of his bodyguards were also killed in the attack.¹⁶²



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- 19 April 2005: Unidentified gunmen killed Fouad Ibrahim Muhammad Al-Bayati, Chairman of the German Language Department at Baghdad University.163
- 29 March 2005: Wa'adullah Abdulqader, a professor at University of Mosul, was killed.164
- 25 December 2004: Gunmen shot dead Hassan Al-Rubaiei, the Dean of Baghdad University's School of Dentistry.165
- 21 December 2004: Unidentified assailants shot dead Iraqi nuclear scientist Taleb Ibrahim Al-Daher, a professor at Diyala University, in Baqouba.166
- 28 August 2004: Gunmen shot dead Imam Abdul-Munim Younis, Head of the Translation Department at Mosul University's College of Arts.167
- 30 July 2004: Gunmen shot and killed Ismail Al-Kilabi, the head of the state-run Mamoudiyah Teachers Institute.168
- 22 July 2004: The Dean of Mosul University's College of Law, Layla Abdallah Sa'id, was murdered with her husband in their home.169
- 13 June 2004: A shooting at Baghdad University took the life of Sabri Al-Bayati, professor for geography, Baghdad University.170
- 19 January 2004: Abdul-Latif Al-Mayah, a political scientist and human rights advocate at Mustansiriya University, was killed.171
- 159 Aljazeera, *Policemen killed in Baghdad attack*, 18 July 2005, <http://english.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/B67E16B1-6864-4AE1-8137-EC387E92F956.htm>.
- 160 Sapa/The Associated Press, *Iraqi professor found dead in Basra*, 8 July 2005, http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=3&art_id=qw1120813560644B262.
- 161 The New York Times, *3 Car Bombs Leave 18 Dead and 46 Hurt in a Suburb of Baghdad*, 23 June 2005, <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/06/23/international/middleeast/23iraq.html?>
- 162 Reuters, *Iraq Unveils Massive Security Offensive*, 26 May 2005, <http://english.epochtimes.com/news/5-5-26/29082.html>.
- 163 BBC, *Insurgents target Iraqi soldiers*, 19 April 2005, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/4459705.stm.
- 164 Kuwait News Agency, *Iraq, US forces arrest 25 militants*, 29 March 2005, <http://www.kuna.net.kw/Home/Story.aspx?Language=en&DSNO=718077>.
- 165 Reuters, *Gunmen kill Baghdad university dean*, 26 December 2004, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/newsitems/200412/s1272269.htm>.
- 166 CBS/The Associated Press, *Deadliest Attack On U.S. Base*, 21 December 2004, <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2004/12/22/iraq/main662421.shtml>.
- 167 Reuters, *Gunmen kill university lecturer in Iraq's Mosul*, 28 August 2004, http://www.khaleejtimes.com/displayArticle.asp?col=§ion=focusoniraq&xfile=data/focusoniraq/2004/August/focusoniraq_August310.xml.
- 168 The Associated Press, *U.S. military: 20 insurgents killed in Fallujah clashes*, 31 July 2004, http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/2004-07-31-iraq_x.htm.
- 169 Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, *Assassinations, attacks continue in Iraq*, 25 June 2004, <http://www.rferl.org/reports/iraq-report/2004/06/23-250604.asp>.
- 170 BBC, *Suicide bomber strikes in Baghdad*, 13 July 2004, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/3802369.stm.
- 171 International Herald Tribune, *Hundreds of killings - Assassins strike Iraqi professionals*, 9 February 2004, <http://www.ecoi.net/doc/en/iq/content/5/7656->
- 3 January 2004: Adel Jabar Abid Mustafa, a minor Ba'ath Party official and Saddam-appointed Dean of Political Science at Mosul University, was found dead.172
- 27 July 2003: Mohammed Al-Rawi, the former President of Baghdad University, was killed in his office.173
- May 2003: Falah Hussein, the Deputy Dean of Mustansiriya University was killed.174
- 5. The International Coalition of Academics Against the Occupation also reports the assassinations of Dr. Falah Al-Dulaimi, Assistant Dean of College at Mustansiriya University, Professor Wajih Mahjoub of the College of Physical Education, Dr. Nafa Aboud, a Professor of Arabic Literature at the University of Baghdad and Dr. Hissam Sharif, Department of History of the University of Baghdad.175
- 172 The Associated Press, *Iraqi rebels down U.S. helicopter*, 3 January 2004,



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<http://washingtontimes.com/world/20040102-112752-7125r.htm>.

173 CBS/The Associated Press, *Iraqis React To 'Saddam' Tape*, 30 July 2003,

<http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2003/07/30/iraq/main565839.shtml>.

174 Al-Ahram, *Where is this going?*, 10-16 June 2004, <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2004/694/re7.htm>.

175 International Coalition of Academics Against Occupation, *The Assassination of Iraqi Intellectuals*, <https://listhost.uchicago.edu/pipermail/iraqcrisis/2004-July/000783.html>.

Annex V

Doctors and Medical Personnel

1. A study carried out by a special commission set up by the Ministry of Health between January and April 2005 found that more than 160 doctors and other medical personnel have been killed and kidnapped since January 2005. According to the commission, which is called 'Programme for the Prevention of Violence against Doctors', this has had a serious impact on the health system, which is still recovering from years of economic sanctions and conflict. As a result, scores of doctors are either not going to work or have left the country.

2. According to Dr Muhammad Al-Hassuny, Director of the Programme, doctors have been targeted by insurgents because of their financial status and social prestige in Iraqi society.¹⁷⁶ In addition, they represent easy targets for violent gangs that specialize in kidnapping because they move around the city to see patients and often cannot afford large numbers of bodyguards. After threats against Baghdad's main cardiac hospital, four of the hospital's top surgeons and six senior cardiologists stopped coming to work, and some of them left the country.

3. According to the Iraqi Medical Association which licenses practitioners, about 10 percent of Baghdad's total force of 32,000 registered doctors left or were driven from work during the last year, a number which has risen sharply since early 2005.

The threats are mainly addressed against senior doctors such as directors and heads of departments, resulting in complex surgeries being handled by inexperienced staff or not conducted at all. This has aggravated the already dire conditions of Iraq's health system which is already plagued by neglected infrastructure, a lack of medicine and frequent power cuts. The fact that the Ministry of the Interior has simplified gun license procedures for doctors by allowing them to get licensed weapons faster than other Iraqis clearly illustrates the dangerous situation in which doctors find themselves.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ IRIN, *IRAQ: Insurgents and criminals target doctors*, 10 May 2005,

<http://www.alertnet.org/thenews/newsdesk/IRIN/5981646bc4374d78f52cc696b4bc386b.htm>.

¹⁷⁷ The New York Times, *Facing Chaos, Iraqi Doctors Are Quitting*, 30 May 2005,

<http://www.nytimes.com/2005/05/30/international/middleeast/30doctor.html>.



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The BRussells Tribunal Committee

The BRussells Tribunal is an international network monitoring the occupation of Iraq. A hearing committee in the tradition of the Russell Tribunal set up in 1967 to investigate war crimes committed during the Vietnam War, the BRussells Tribunal was the opening session of the World Tribunal on Iraq (WTI), which culminated in Istanbul in June 2005.

Within the context of the WTI, the BRussells Tribunal focused on the “Project for the New American Century” (PNAC) – the think tank and philosophy behind the pre-emptive war waged on Iraq, and the reshaping by force of US strategic interests worldwide.

The PNAC, in practice and philosophy, has undermined not only the legal foundations of the 20th century world order, but the meaning and efficacy of national sovereignty dating to the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648.

* [More info about the BRussells Tribunal](#) | [Possibilities for Cooperation](#)

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- **Patrick Deboosere** (demographer, VUB)
- **Hana Al Bayaty** (filmmaker / journalist - Iraq / Egypt / France)
- **Dirk Adriaensens** (coordinator SOS Iraq)
- **Prof. Dr. Jean Bricmont** (scientist, specialist in theoretical physics, U.C. Louvain-La-Neuve)
- **Prof. Em. François Houtart** (Director of the Tricontinental Center - Cetri)
- **Prof. Pierre Klein** (Professor International Law, U.L. Bruxelles)
- **Inge Van De Merlen**
- **Sihame Fattah**

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- **Abdul Wahab Al Obeidi** (Freedom Voice Society for Human Rights - Baghdad / Iraq)
- **Dr. Salam T. Ismael** (General secretary of Doctors For Iraq Society - Iraq)
- **Dr. Saad Jawad** (professor of political science at Baghdad University, head of Iraq's University Professors Association - Iraq)
- **Dr. Souad Naji Al-Azzawi** (Asst. Prof. Env. Eng. - University of Baghdad - Iraq)
- **Hana Ibrahim** (Writer and Journalist, Chair of Women's Will Organisation - Iraq)
- **Eman Ahmed Khammas** (Former co-director of Occupation Watch - Journalist - translator - Iraq)
- **Nermeen Al-Mufti** (Former co-director of Occupation Watch - Journalist - Iraq)
- **Tareq Aldelaimi** (writer and political activist- Iraq)
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- **Ghazwan Al-Mukhtar** (Engineer - Iraq)
- **Salam Al Jubourie** (Free lance Journalist - Iraq)
- **Abdul Ilah Al-Bayaty** (Writer - Iraq / France)
- **Haifa Zangana** (Novelist - Iraq / UK)
- **Sabah Al-Mukhtar** (President of the Arab Lawyers Association - Iraq / UK)
- **Dr. Ismail Kaidar Jalili** (Consultant Ophthalmic Surgeon, Chair and Secretary General of National Association of British Arabs (NABA) Past President of Iraqi Medical Association UK and of the British Arab Medical Association and existing Executive Council Member of the latter - Iraq / UK)
- **Dr. Imad Khadduri** (Nuclear scientist - Iraq / Canada)
- **Sami Ramadani** (Senior lecturer in sociology at London Metropolitan University - Iraq / UK)



The Assassination of Iraqi academics

A campaign of The BRussells Tribunal and

Campana Estatal contra la Ocupación y por la Soberanía de Iraq

- **Mundher Al-Adhami** (Research Fellow at Kings College London - Iraq / UK)
- **Amir Al Ani** (Sociologist - Iraq / France)
- **Rashad Salim** (Visual Artist, cultural activist/researcher and writer - Iraq / UK)
- **Ahmed Al-Habbabi** (Academic - Iraq)
- **Amal Al-Khedairy** (Expert on Iraqi History, Culture, Archeology Arts and Crafts - Iraq)
- **Ghali Hassan** (Science and Mathematics Education Centre, Curtin University - Perth, Australia)
- **Mohammed Aref** (Science writer - Iraq / UK)
- **Dr. Dahlia Wasfi M.D.** (Anti-war activist, speaker, Global Exchange - Iraq / USA)

- **Denis Halliday** (Former UN Assistant Secretary General & United Nations Humanitarian Coordinator for Iraq 1997-98 - Ireland)
- **Hans von Sponeck** (Former UN Assistant Secretary General & United Nations Humanitarian Coordinator for Iraq 1998-2000 - Germany)
- **Margarita Papandreou** (Former First Lady of Greece, Peace activist and honorary president of Center for Research and Action on Peace - Greece)

- **José Saramago** (Author, Nobel Prize in Literature 1998 - Portugal)
- **Harold Pinter** (Author, Nobel Prize in Literature 2005 - UK)
- **Eduardo Galeano** (Essayist, journalist, historian, and activist - Uruguay)
- **Michael Parenti** (Author - USA)
- **Howard Zinn** (Professor, writer, educator, and leader in nonviolent social protest - USA)
- **Samir Amin** (Author, director of the Third World Forum in Dakar - Senegal / Egypt)
- **John Pilger** (Author, journalist and documentary film-maker - Australia / UK)
- **Edward S. Herman** (Professor Emeritus of Finance, Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania - USA)
- **William Blum** (Writer - USA)
- **Naomi Klein** (Journalist and author - Canada)

- **Dahr Jamail** (Journalist - USA)
- **Felicity Arbuthnot** (Journalist - UK)
- **Gabriele Zamparini** (Independent filmmaker - Italy/UK)
- **Paola Pisi** (College professor) and **Vincenzo Viscuso** (Electronic Engineer) / Uruknet - Italy
- **Michel Chossudovsky** (Professor of Economics at the University of Ottawa, founder of Centre for Research on Globalisation - Canada)
- **Jeffrey Blankfort** (Former editor of the *Middle East Labor Bulletin*, hosts radio programs - USA)
- **Jeff Archer/Malcom Lagauche** (Journalist - USA)
- **John Sloboda** (Professor of Psychology at Keele University, UK, and co-founder of the Iraq Body Count project - UK)
- **Brendan Smith** (Editor, writer, lawyer, co-founder of War Crimes Watch - USA)
- **David Miller** (Professor of Sociology at Strathclyde University, co-founder of Spinwatch - UK)

- **Dr. Curtis F.J. Doebbler** (International Human Rights Lawyer - USA)
- **Niloufer Bhagwat** (Vice President of Indian Lawyers Association - Mumbai / India)
- **Karen Parker** (Attorney, Association of Humanitarian Lawyers, partners of the BRussells Tribunal - USA)
- **Francis A. Boyle** (Professor of international law at the University of Illinois College of Law - USA)
- **Jan Fermon** (Lawyer of Court case against General Tommy Franks in Brussels, Progress Lawyers Network - Belgium)
- **Michael Mandel** (Professor, Osgoode Hall Law School, York University - Canada)
- **Nusrat Chagtai** (Solicitor, Public Interest Lawyers - UK)
- **Amy Bartholomew** (Law professor - Canada)
- **Jennifer Van Bergen** (journalist, author writing about civil liberties, human rights and international law - USA)



The Assassination of Iraqi academics

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- **Prof. Immanuel Wallerstein** (Senior Research Scholar, Yale University, USA)
- **Jim Harding** (Dr., Past Director and retired Professor, School of Human Justice, University of Regina, Canada)
- **Thomas M. Fasy** (MD PhD, Clinical Associate Professor, Mount Sinai School of Medicine - USA)
- **Ian Douglas** (Visiting Professor, Political Science Department, An-Najah National University, Nablus, Palestine - UK)
- **Stephen Eric Bronner** (Professor of political science, Rutgers University - USA)
- **Dennis Brutus** (Professor emeritus dept of africana studies univ of pittsburgh - USA)
- **John Saxe-Fernández** (Professor of political science, National Autonomous University - México)

- **Corinne Kumar** (Secretary General of El Taller International - Tunesia / India)
- **Jaime Ballesteros** (Presidente OSPAAAL - Spain)
- **Nadia McCaffrey** (Gold Star Families Speak Out / Military Families Speak Out - USA)
- **Sr. Anne Montgomery RSCJ** (Christan Peacemaker Teams - USA)
- **Elias Davidsson** (Musician, Composer & Activist - Iceland)
- **Gilad Atzmon** (Jazz musician, composer and author - UK)
- **Marion Kuepker** (Gewaltfreie Aktion Atomwaffen Abschaffen / Uranium Weapons conference organiser - Germany)
- **Carlos Varela** (Coordinator of SCOSI - Spanish Campaign against Occupation and for the Sovereignty of Iraq - Spain)
- **Joachim Guilliard** (Journalist, Anti-war movement - Germany)
- **Sigyn Meder** (Anti-war movement - Sweden)
- **Manuel Raposo** (Anti-war movement - Portugal)
- **John Catalinotto** (International Action Center - USA)
- **Charles Jenks** (Chair of Advisory Board and Web Manager, Traprock Peace Center, Deerfield MA - USA)
- **Larry Everest** (Author / Journalist, Anti-war movement- USA)
- **Paola Manduca** (Prof. Genetics, Anti-war movement - Italy)
- **Bernard Genet** (Comaguer, Anti-war Committee Marseille - France)

- **Prof. Anne Morelli** (Professeur d'histoire à l'U.L.B, Author - Belgium)
- **Pierre Galand** (Senator Belgian Parliament, university lecturer, ex Secretary General Oxfam-Belgium, Président de l'Association belgo-palestinienne, president of the World Organisation against Torture - Europe, Président de l'Association Belge des Amis du Monde diplomatique, Belgium)
- **Dr. Geert Van Moorter** (Medical Aid For The Third World - Belgium)
- **Dr. Bert De Belder** (Coordinator Intal & Medical Aid For The Third World - Belgium)
- **Dr. Pol De Vos** (Tropical Institute Antwerp / Stop USA - Belgium)
- **Ludo De Brabander** (Vrede - Belgium)
- **Rudy Demeyer** (11.11.11 - Belgium)
- **Peter Algoet** (Humanistisch Verbond - Belgium)
- **Carla Goffi** (MCP - Mouvement Chrétien Pour La Paix - Belgium)
- **Paul Vanden Bavière** (Former journalist *De Standaard*, publicist and editor of webzine *Uitpers* - Belgium)
- **Jos Hennes** (EPO Publishers - Belgium)
- **Cecile Harnie** (Former senator Belgian Parliament - Trade Unions activist)
- **Frank Vercryssen** (Actor, TG Stan - Belgium)
- **Frans Dumortier / Charles Ducal** (Poet - Belgium)

Honorary members of the BRussells Tribunal:

- **Dr. Rafil Dhafir** (imprisoned in the USA, sentenced to 22 years as a result of sending food and medical supplies to Iraq during the Sanctions)