

# Slaughter in Iraq

20 March 2003 - 20 March 2006

A total of 86 journalists and media assistants have been killed and 38 have been kidnapped during three years of war

- Who were they?
- Which media did they work for?
- In what circumstances were they killed or kidnapped?
- By whom?

March 2006

Reporters Without Borders 5, rue Geoffroy-Marie – 75009 Paris (France) Tel: (33) 1 4483-8484 Fax: (33) 1 4523-1151 rsf@rsf.org www.rsf.org The war in Iraq has proved to be the deadliest for journalists since World War II. A total of 86 journalists and media assistants<sup>1</sup> have been killed in Iraq since the war began on 20 March 2003. This is more than the number killed during 20 years of war in Vietnam or the civil war in Algeria.

Iraq is also one of the world's biggest marketplaces for hostages, with 38 journalists kidnapped in three years. Five of them were executed. Three - Jill Carroll, Reem Zeid and Marwan Khazaal – are still being held by their abductors.

Around 63 journalists were killed in Vietnam during the 20 years from 1955 to 1975<sup>2</sup>. A total of 49 media professionals were killed in the course of their work during the war in ex-Yugoslavia, from 1991 to1995. During the civil war in Algeria from 1993 to 1996, 77 journalists and media assistants were killed.

Paul Moran, an Australian cameraman working for *ABC* television, was the first of the long series of journalists to die in Iraq. He was killed by a car bomb right at the start of the war, on 22 March 2003. Eleven journalists and media assistants were killed during March and April 2003. Then the number of victims let up until the start of 2004 and a new wave of bombings and attacks by armed groups. There have been no more let-ups since then. Hardly a month has gone by without at least one journalist being killed. Twenty-eight media professionals were killed in Iraq in 2005 and eight have been killed so far this year.

The aim of this survey is to provide information about all the cases of journalists killed in Iraq just for trying to do their job, about the media they were working for and about the circumstances in which they died.

It also provides information about all the hostage-takings, which have been more numerous than in any other war and have involved citizens of many different countries, both those that are participants in the war and those that are not.

This is the second time that Reporters Without Borders has produced such a survey. The first one was published on 3 May 2005, on World Press Freedom Day.

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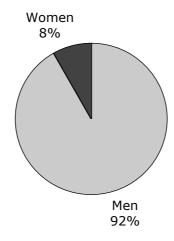
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> By media assistants we mean all those employees of news organisations who have no direct role in producing editorial content (technicians, drivers, interpreters, bodyguards etc). This category also includes "fixers," those local intermediaries without whom foreign correspondents would be unable to function. The essential role that fixers play has been highlighted during the war in Iraq, especially when two of them - Mohammed Al-Joundi and Hussein Hanoun al-Saadi - were kidnapped at the same time as the French journalists they were accompanying.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Source: Journalists Memorial (Freedom Forum).

#### WHO WERE THESE JOURNALISTS?

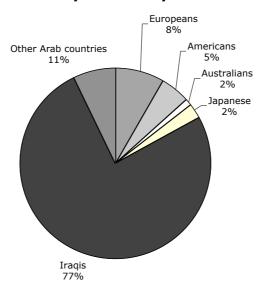
The overwhelming majority were men (92 per cent). Seven women journalists have been killed since the start of the war. The average age of those killed was 35.5. The youngest (Ali Abrahim Aissa) was 21 and the oldest (Shinsuke Hashida) was 61.





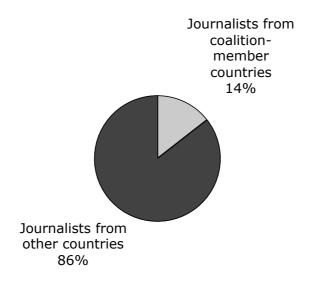
Iraqis have been the worst hit. 77 per cent of the journalists and media assistants killed in Iraq in the past three years have been of Iraqi nationality. The proportion of Iraqis has risen. They represented 66 per cent of all the journalists killed until May 2005. The visiting foreign reporters to have died in Iraq were nearly all killed in the first days of the war, in March and April 2003. The most recent case was in August 2005, when American freelance writer Steven Vincent was killed in Basra. Since then, all the media professionals killed in Iraq have been of Iraqi nationality.

#### By nationality



Twelve of the journalists and media assistants killed since the start of the war have been from a country that is a member of the coalition led by the United States, as against 74 from other countries. So the widespread concern when the war began that American and British journalists and those from other coalition-member countries would be the most exposed turned out to be unfounded. Nationality is not a determining factor and in no case affords journalists any protection.

Journalists of 14 different nationalities have died during the war. Four of them were American and one was British.



Contrary to conventional wisdom, US and British journalists have not been the worst hit by this war. This has clearly been due to the radical security measures adopted by most of the US and British news media operating in Iraq. As the war progressed, these media have reinforced their security provisions even more.

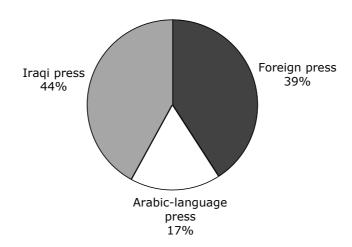
Armoured vehicles, bodyguards and very few excursions. Journalists have had to adapt their work to these constraints. In the great majority of cases, the only contact with the local population is conducted by Iraqi employees. Large swathes of Iraqi territory are no longer covered by the foreign press.

The international news media would be unable to maintain a presence in Iraq if they did not make these concessions. There were very few privately-owned security companies in Baghdad in 2003 but now they are flourishing. At least 20 are currently operating in Iraq.

#### WHICH MÉDIA WERE THEY WORKING FOR?

More than two thirds (67 per cent) of the journalists killed were working for a television station or a TV news agency, as against 33 per cent for the print media. Surprisingly, radio journalists have been spared by this war.

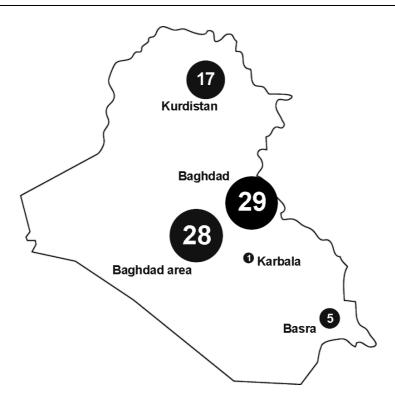
#### Breakdown by geographic origin of news medias



41 different media have had employees killed in Iraq. The worst-hit one has been the national TV station *Al-Iraqiya*. Twelve of its journalists and media assistants have been killed in the past three years. The station is part of the Iraqi Media Network (IMN), which was created and funded by the Pentagon. This group has since been transferred to the Iraqi authorities and the station is now supervised by an independent board of governors.

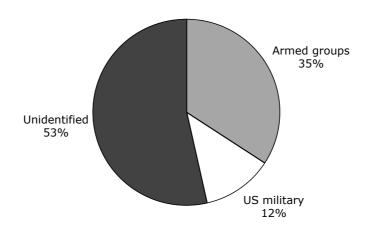
Six employees of the Emirates-based, pan-Arab TV station *Al-Arabiya* have been killed, making it the worst-hit foreign news media. With four employees killed, the British news agency *Reuters* is the worst-hit western media.

The print media to have suffered most is the state-owned daily *Al-Sabah* (with four employees killed). This newspaper is part of the same IMN press group as *Al-Iraqiya* and *Republic of Iraq Radio* (*RIR*). The state-owned media are subject to more violence (attacks on their journalists, threats, bombings etc.) than the privately-owned media. State media employees are often accused of being in the pay of the US military and are treated as enemies by the Iraqi insurgents.



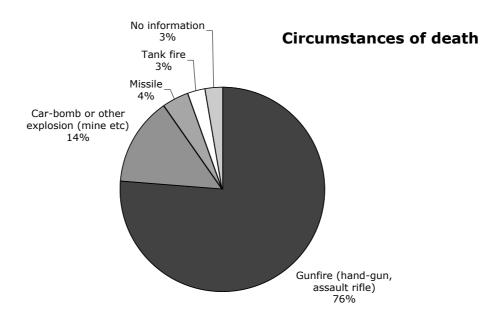
Most of the killings of journalists have taken place in Baghdad (29 cases, 33 per cent) or the area surrounding Baghdad (28 cases). The second most dangerous area for the press is the northern Kurdish region (17 cases, 20 per cent), above all the cities of Mosul and Kirkuk. More than two thirds of the victims were killed by gunfire; the rest by car-bombs or other explosions. In some cases, the circumstances of death have still not been established because the bodies were probably transported to the places where they were discovered and it was impossible to find out where and how they were killed.

#### Who was responsible?



Reporters Without Borders is sure that the victims were deliberately targeted in 47 cases (55 per cent). This rate is much higher than in previous wars, in which journalists fell victim above all to indiscriminate attacks or stray bullets. The heavy media coverage of the war in Iraq has placed journalists centre-stage. Whether Iraqi or foreign, journalists have become targets.

In a third of the cases, those responsible for the killings of journalists have been members of armed groups that are fighting the coalition forces and the new Iraqi authorities. But the US military has been responsible in 10 cases (12 per cent). Several of these cases have been acknowledged by Pentagon officials, who have attributed them to errors or collateral damage. The repeated insistence by the US command in Iraq that its troops have acted "in accordance with the rules of engagement" or "in legitimate self-defence" is not enough. Six families of journalists killed by the US military wrote to the US congress in 2004 to complain about this situation and demand justice. They never got a reply.



#### 38 KIDNAPPED JOURNALISTS

A total of 38 journalists and media assistants (30 men and 8 women) have been kidnapped since the start of the war. Thirty of them were released safe and sound, three are still being held hostage and five were executed: Enzo Baldoni (Italy), Raeda Wazzan (Iraq), Houssam Hilal Sarsam (Iraq), Ahmed Jabbar Hashim (Iraq) and Ahmed Hussein Al Maliki (Iraq).

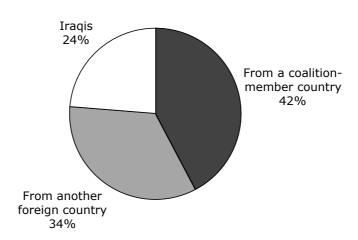
American freelance reporter Jill Carroll, who works for several Jordanian, Italian and US newspapers including the *Christian Science Monitor*, was kidnapped by gunmen at around 10 a.m. on 7 January 2006 in the west Baghdad neighbourhood of Adel, where she had gone to meet with Sunni politician Adnan al-Doulaimi. The body of her interpreter, Allan Enwiyah, was found near the site of the abduction. He had been shot dead.

The pan-Arab TV station Al-Jazeera has aired two videos of Carroll, on 17 and 30 January,

in which she called on her family, colleagues and fellow Americans to ask the US military authorities and the Iraqi interior minister to release all of the women detained in Iraq.

TV reporter Reem Zeid and her colleague, Marwan Khazaal, who both work for local station *Al-Sumariya*, were kidnapped by four gunmen after leaving a news conference at the headquarters of the Iraqi Islamic Party in Baghdad on 1 February.

#### Nationality of kidnapped journalists

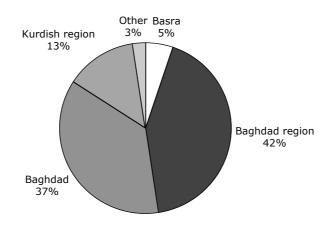


More than one third of the journalists kidnapped in Iraq have been from a country that is a member of the coalition led by the US and Britain. This is much higher than the proportion of journalists killed in Iraq who were from a coalition member country (14 per cent).

On the other hand, the country that has had the most journalists kidnapped is France, which is not a coalition member. Nine French journalists have been kidnapped since March 2003, nearly a quarter of all those abducted since the start of the war. Chance seems to be the only explanation for this astonishingly high proportion. There are far fewer French journalists in Iraq than American or British ones, for example. Furthermore, all observers thought the French government's refusal to join the coalition would confer a degree of protection on French journalists.

All the French reporters taken hostage in Iraq have been freed safe and sound, as have their Iraqi assistants. Only one foreign journalist, Enzo Baldoni, was executed by his abductors. His family immediately criticised the Italian government and the international community for doing so little to obtain his release.

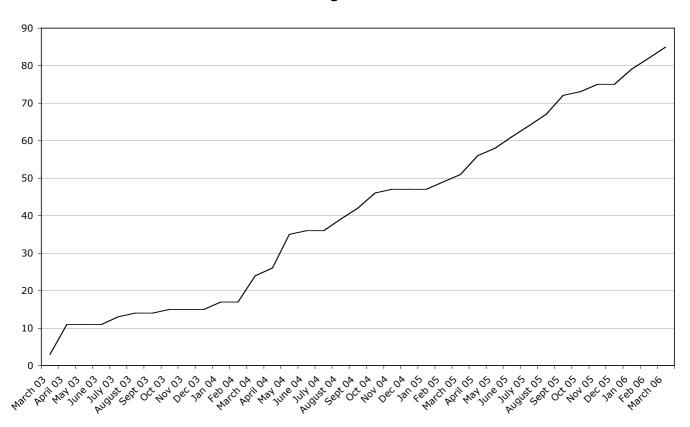
#### Where kidnappings have taken place



#### A DISTURBING DEVELOPMENT

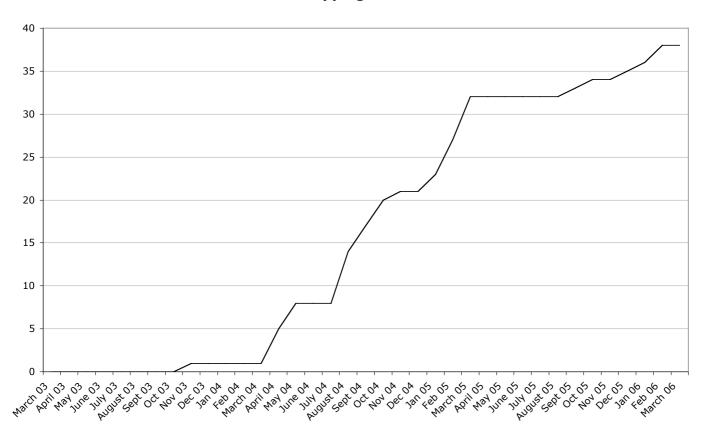
Iraqis are the leading victims of violence in Iraq. This tendency has just become more accentuated as the war has progressed. There are fewer foreign journalists in Iraq today than in the first months of the war, during the US military's advance. They are better protected and take more care. But these precautions do not stop the killings from continuing at a constant rate, as the following graph indicates.

#### **Evolution of killings since March 2003**



The rate of kidnappings has not been constant. Lulls have followed periods in which kidnappings were much more frequent. The first kidnapping of a journalist did not take place until November 2003, eight months after the war began.

#### **Evolution of kidnappings since March 2003**



Reporters Without Borders published a detailed report in February 2006 about several cases of journalists imprisoned by the US authorities. Two of them are still being held: Abdel Amir Younes Hussein of *CBS News*, detained in Camp Bucca in Iraq since 8 April 2005; and *Al-Jazeera* cameraman Sami Al-Haj, who was arrested in 2001 and has been held since 2002 at the US special detention centre at Guantánamo Bay (a US naval base on Cuban territory). The US authorities have never said what these two men are charged with. Reporters Without Borders calls for their immediate release. It is impossible to obtain a precise figure, but more than 10 journalists have been detained in Iraq by the US military since the start of the war.

Reporters Without Borders ends this grim survey by mentioning two journalists: Frédéric Nérac and Isam Muhsin Al-Shumary. The first, a French cameraman working for the British TV news company *ITN*, went missing in the Basra region on 22 March 2003. Reporters Without Borders continues to press the US, British and French authorities to do everything possible to shed light on this case. The second, an Iraqi cameraman working for the German production company *Suedostmedia*, has been missing since 15 August 2004.

## **JOURNALISTS KILLED**

	Name	Nationality	Media	Date	
1	Paul Moran	Australian	ABC	22 March 2003	
2	Terry Lloyd	British	ITN	23 March 2003	
3	Kaveh Golestan	Iranian	BBC	2 April 2003	
4	Michael Kelly	American	Washington Post	4 April 2003	
5	Christian Liebig	German	Focus	7 April 2003	
6	Julio Anguita Parrado	Spanish	El Mundo	7 April 2003	
7	Tarek Ayoub	Jordanian	Al-Jazeera	8 April 2003	
8	Taras Protsyuk	Ukrainian	Reuters	8 April 2003	
9	José Couso	Spanish	Telecinco	8 April 2003	
10	Ahmad Karim	Iraqi	Kurdistan Satellite TV	2 July 2003	
11	Mazen Dana	Palestinian	Reuters	17 August 2003	
12	Ahmed Shawkat	Iraqi	Bila Ittijah	28 October 2003	
13	Ali Al-Khatib	Iraqi	Al-Arabiya	19 March 2004	
14	Ali Abdel-Aziz	Iraqi	Al-Arabiya	18 March 2004	
15	Nadia Nasrat	Iraqi	Diyala	18 March 2004	
16	Bourhan al-Louhaybi	Iraqi	ABC News	26 March 2004	
17	Assad Kadhim	Iraqi	Al-Iraqiya	19 April 2004	
18	Waldemar Milewicz	Polish	TVP	7 May 2004	
19	Mounir Bouamrane	Algerian	TVP	7 May 2004	
20	Kotaro Ogawa	Japanese	Freelance	27 May 2004	
21	Shinsuke Hashida	Japanese	Freelance	27 May 2004	
22	Sahar Saad Mouami	Iraqi	Al-Mizan	3 June 2004	
23	Hossam Ali	Iraqi	Freelance	15 August 2004	
24	Mahmoud Abbas	Iraqi	ZDF	15 August 2004	
25	Enzo Baldoni	Italian	Diario della Settimana	26 August 2004	
26	Mazen al-ToMayzi	Palestinian	Al-Arabiya	12 September 2004	
27	Ahmad Jassem	Iraqi	Al-Iraqiya	7 October 2004	
28	Dina Hassan	Iraqi	Al-Hurriya	14 October 2004	
29	Karam Hussein	Iraqi	EPA	14 October 2004	
30	Liqaa Abdul-Razzak	Iraqi	Al-Iraqiya	27 October 2004	
31	Dhia Najim	Iraqi	Reuters	1 November 2004	
32	Abdel Hussein Khazaal	Iraqi	Al-Hurra	9 February 2005	
33	Raeda Wazzan	Iraqi	Al-Iraqiya	25 February 2005	
34	Laik Ibrahim	Iraqi	Kurdistan Satellite TV	10 March 2005	
35	Houssam Hilal Sarsam	Iraqi	Kurdistan Satellite TV	14 March 2005	
36	Ahmed Jabbar Hashim	Iraqi	Al Sabah	1 April 2005	
37	Chamal Abdallah Assad	Iraqi	Kurdistan Satellite TV	15 April 2005	
38	Ali Abrahim Aissa	Iraqi	Al-Hurriya	14 April 2005	
39	Fadel Hazem Fadel	Iraqi	Al-Hurriya	14 April 2005	
40	Saleh Ibrahim	Iraqi	AP	23 April 2005	
41	Ahmad Adam	Iraqi	Sabah	15 May 2005	
42	Najem Abed Khodair	Iraqi	Al-Madaa	15 May 2005	
43	Yasser al-Salihy	Iraqi	Knight Ridder	22 June 2005	
44	Jassem Al Qais	Iraqi	Al-Siyada	22 June 2005	

45	Wael al Bacri	Iraqi	Al-Chakiya	28 June 2005	
46	Khaled Sabih al Attar	Iraqi	Al-Iraqiya	1er July 2005	
47	Maha Ibrahim	Iraqi	Baghdad TV	3 July 2005	
48	Steven Vincent	American	Freelance	2 August 2005	
49	Rafed Al Rubaii	Iraqi	Al-Iraqiya	27 August 2005	
	Fakher Haydar Al-				
50	Tamimi	Iraqi	New York Times	19 September 2005	
51	Hind IsMayl	Iraqi	Al-Safir	20 September 2005	
52	Firas Al-Maadhidi	Iraqi	Al-Safir	21 September 2005	
			Union of Iragi		
53	Mohamed Haroun	Iraqi	journalists	19 October 2005	
54	Ahmed Hussein Al Maliki	Iraqi	Tall Afar	7 November 2005	
55	Akeel Abdul Rwdha	Iraqi	Al-Iraqiya	28 November 2005	
56	Hamza Hussein	Iraqi	Al-Diyar	23 January 2006	
57	Atwar Bahjat	Iraqi	Al-Arabiya	22 February 2006	
58	Monsef Al-Khalidi	Iraqi	Baghdad TV	7 March 2006	
59	Amjad Hameed	Iraqi	Al-Iraqiya	11 March 2006	
60	Muhsin Khudhair	Iraqi	Alef Ba	13 March 2006	

## **M**EDIA ASSISTANTS KILLED

	Name	Nationality	Media	Date	
1	Hussein Othman	Lebanese	ITN	22 March 2003	
2	Kamaran Muhamed	Iraqi	BBC	6 April 2003	
3	Jeremy Little	American	NBC	7 July 2003	
4	Yasser Khatab	Iraqi	CNN	27 January 2004	
5	Duraid Isa Mohammed	Iraqi	CNN	27 January 2004	
6	Mohamad Ahmad	Iraqi	Diyala TV	18 March 2004	
7	Majid Rachid	Iraqi	Diyala TV	18 March 2004	
8	Omar Hashim Kamal	Iraqi	Time	26 March 2004	
9	Hussein Saleh	Iraqi	Al-Iraqiya	19 April 2004	
10	Rachid Hamid Wali	Iraqi	Al-Jazeera	21 May 2004	
11	Unknown	Iraqi	Local press	25 May 2004	
12	Unknown	Iraqi	Local press	27 May 2004	
13	Samia Abdeljabar	Iraqi	Al-Sabah Al-Jadid	29 May 2004	
14	Mahmoud IsMayl Daoud	Iraqi	Al-Sabah Al-Jadid	29 May 2004	
15	Jamal Tawfiq Salmane	American	Gazeta Wyborcza	25 August 2004	
16	Ismayl Taher Mohsin	Iraqi	AP	2 September 2004	
17	Adnan al Bayati	Iraqi	Italian press	23 July 2005	
18	Waleed Khaled	Iraqi	Reuters	28 August 2005	
19	Sabah Mohssin	Iraqi	Al-Iraqiya	17 September 2005	
20	Ahlam Youssef	Iraqi	Al-Iraqiya	21 September 2005	
21	Allan Enwiyah	Iraqi	Christian Science Monitor	7 January 2006	
22	Luaay Salam Radeef	Iraqi	Al-Baghdadia	16 January 2006	
23	Mahmoud Zaal	Iraqi	Baghdad TV	26 January 2006	
24	Khaled Mahmoud Al- Falahi	Iraqi	Al-Arabiya	22 February 2006	
25	Adnan Khairallah	Iraqi	Al-Arabiya	22 February 2006	
26	Anouar Turki	Iraqi	Al-Iraqiya	11 March 2006	

## KIDNAPPED JOURNALISTS

	Name	Nationality	Media	Date of kidnapping	Current situation
1	Carlos Raleiras	Portuguese	TSF	14 November 2003	Freed
2	Soichiro Koriyama	Japanese	Shukan Asahi	8 April 2004	Freed
3	Ivan Cerieix	French	Сара	11 April 2004	Freed
4	Alexandre Jordanov	French	Сара	11 April 2004	Freed
5	Junpei Yasuda	Japanese	Tokyo Shimbun	14 April 2004	Freed
6	Jérome Bony	French	France 2	26 May 2004	Freed
7	Jean-François Renoux	French	France 2	26 May 2004	Freed
8	Eric Giet	French	France 2	26 May 2004	Freed
9	James Brandon	British	Sunday Telegraph	12 August 2004	Freed
10	Micah Garen	American	Four Corners Media	14 August 2004	Freed
11	Christian Chesnot	French	RFI	20 August 2004	Freed
12	Georges Malbrunot	French	Le Figaro	20 August 2004	Freed
13	Mohamed Al-Joundi	Syrian	RFI/ Le Figaro	20 August 2004	Freed
14	Enzo Baldoni	Italian	Diario della Settimana	19 August 2004	Executed
15	Ammar Daham	Iraqi	AFP	4 September 2004	Freed
16	Scott Taylor	Canadian	Esprit de corps	8 September 2004	Freed
17	Zeynep Tugrul	Turkish	Sabah	8 September 2004	Freed
18	Paul Taggart	American	World Picture News	10 October 2004	Freed
19	John Martinkus	Australian	SBS	16 October 2004	Freed
20	Corentin Fleury	French	Freelance	24 October 2004	Freed
21	Raad Al-Azzawi	Iraqi	Sada Wasit	26 November 2004	Freed
22	Florence Aubenas	French	Libération	5 January 2005	Freed
23	Hussein Hanoun al- Saadi	Iraqi	Libération	5 January 2005	Freed
24	Giuliana Sgrena	Italian	Il Manifesto	4 February 2005	Freed
25	Meutya Hafid	Indonesian	Metro TV	15 February 2005	Freed
26	Budiyanto	Indonesian	Metro TV	15 February 2005	Freed
27	Raeda Wazzan	Iraqi	Al-Iraqiya	20 February 2005	Executed
28	Houssam Hilal Sarsam	Iraqi	Kurdistan Satellite TV	13 March 2005	Executed
29	Marie-Jeanne Ion Sorin Dumitru	Romanian	Prima TV	28 March 2005	Freed
30	Miscoci	Romanian	Prima TV	28 March 2005	Freed
31	Eduard Ovidiu Ohanesian	Romanian	Romania Libera	28 March 2005	Freed
32	Ahmed Jabbar Hashim	Iraqi	Al Sabah	31 March 2005	Executed
33	Ahmed Hussein Al Maliki	Iraqi	Tall Afar	1 September 2005	Executed
34	Rory Carroll	British	The Guardian	19 October 2005	Freed
35	Jill Carroll	American	Christian Science Monitor	7 January 2006	Held
36	Phil Sands	British	Emirates Today	26 December 2005	Freed
37	Reem Zeid	Iraqi	Sumariya TV	1 February 2006	Held
38	Marwan Khazaal	Iraqi	Sumariya TV	1 February 2006	Held