

## Refugee Review Tribunal

### AUSTRALIA

#### RRT RESEARCH RESPONSE

**Research Response Number:** IRQ17206  
**Country:** Iraq  
**Date:** 8 March 2005

Keywords: Iraq – Al Qurnah – Political parties – Shi'a groups

This response was prepared by the Country Research Section of the Refugee Review Tribunal (RRT) after researching publicly accessible information currently available to the RRT within time constraints. This response is not, and does not purport to be, conclusive as to the merit of any particular claim to refugee status or asylum.

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#### Questions

1. Please provide a written “snapshot” of al Qurnah.
2. What is the security situation there?
3. What groups exercise power there?
4. Are there recent reports of any hostility there between liberal/secular Shi'a and more conservative or extremist groups?

#### RESPONSE

1. Please provide a written “snapshot” of al Qurnah.

Al-Qurnah is located at the confluence of the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, falling within the province of Basra. It is primarily home to the Marsh Arabs (*Madan*) and is purported to be the original site of the ‘Garden of Eden’ by many scholars. Today, Al-Qurnah is recognised as one of Iraq’s poorest towns, due to the reported systematic destruction of the area under Saddam Hussein’s regime. Information suggests that an extremely large ecosystem was devastated in the process, resulting in scarce food and water supplies for the area’s inhabitants. However, a Canadian-Iraqi team of scientists are currently working to restore the once vibrant region (Smith, M. 2005, ‘Canadians help to rescue ‘Eden’: A Canadian-Iraqi team is helping to bring back to life a once-fertile land destroyed by Saddam Hussein’, *Ottawa Citizen*, 20 February – Attachment 1).

In a 2003 article for *Associated Press*, author Alexandra Zavis provides a background to the destruction as follows:

After Shiite Muslims launched an unsuccessful uprising in the area at the end of the 1991 Gulf War, the project was extended to drain the marshes themselves. Saddam’s regime bombed districts to clear out residents, then sent troops to secure the areas.

More than 30 dams were constructed, reducing the water level downstream and eliminating the seasonal floodwaters that nourished the marshes.

Tens of thousands of marsh Arabs were displaced, many ending up in Iranian refugee camps. Others now build their elegant reed homes in the sand on the outskirts of southern Iraqi villages and towns.

As the marshes declined, so did the small market town of Qurnah, at the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. Elegant brick homes were left to crumble, and the tourists who once stood for snapshots in front of a tree representing the one from which Eve plucked the forbidden fruit stopped coming (Zavis, A. 2003, ‘‘Garden of Eden’ Devastated Under Saddam’, *Associated Press*, 29 April – Attachment 2).

The following maps have been attached, which highlight Al-Qurnah in relation to surrounding towns and provinces:

- ‘Al Qurnah’ 2000, *Microsoft Encarta Interactive Atlas 2000* – Attachment 3;
- ‘South-East Iraq’ 2000, *Microsoft Encarta Interactive Atlas 2000* – Attachment 4;
- UNWFP 2003, ‘Appendix-B: Governorate Chronic Poverty Maps’, *The extent and geographic distribution of chronic poverty in Iraq’s Center/South Region*, p.17, May – Attachment 5.

## **2. What is the security situation there?**

Little information was found in the sources consulted relating specifically to Al-Qurnah. Consequently, information has been included pertaining to surrounding towns/cities, including Basra. The incidence of attacks over the past year in Qurnah appears to be sporadic and predominantly targeted at coalition forces. Danish troops are currently based in Qurnah, as well as Basra. Information from the sources consulted suggests that fighters responsible for these attacks are loyal to Muqtada al-Sadr. In addition, there have been isolated attacks against secular Shia leaders and tribal leaders. Further details of the attacks are provided below for the Members benefit:

- In May 2004, *Comtex News Network* reported the killing of a tribal leader in Qurnah “with strong ties to coalition forces. During Saturday’s funeral ceremony for Youssef al-Saad, head of al-Saad tribe, mourners opened fire on the headquarters of a cleric deemed close to al-Sadr” (‘DJ. US, Cleric’s Militia Continue Fighting In Najaf, Karbala’ 2004, *Comtex News Network*, 15 May – Attachment 6).
- The first recorded attack against Danish troops occurred on 7 June 2004 “about three kilometres (1.9 miles) west of Qurnah where the bulk of Denmark’s 496-person contingent is based”. Eight attackers apparently fled the scene, leaving behind rocket launchers, grenades, handguns and photos of al-Sadr (‘Danish troops serving in Iraq fired on by insurgents’ 2004, *Associated Press*, 7 June – Attachment 7).
- On 21 July 2004, *Agence France Presse* reported that seven rockets were fired towards a Danish camp near Qurnah. Another two rockets were fired at the same camp two days earlier (‘Rockets fired at Danish Iraq base; no casualties among troops’ 2004, *Agence*

*France Presse*, 21 July – Attachment 8). Subsequently, on 11 August, *AFP* reported a clash between Danish troops and insurgents in Qurnah. Three Iraqi civilians were killed, and several other injured, in the crossfire ('Three Iraqi civilians killed in clash between Danish troops and insurgents: report', Agence France Presse, UN Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI) website, 11 August <http://www.uniraq.org/newsroom/story.asp?ID=1113> – Accessed 24 February 2004 – Attachment 9).

- On 2 October 2004, Iraqi police forces in Basra conducted a weapons seizure after storming "a hideout of saboteurs in Al-Qurnah subdistrict. He said that the police had seized a large quantity of rockets and various weapons that were supposed to be used in sabotage operations. The armed group managed to escape before the arrival of the police forces" ('Iraqi police seize weapons in Basra operation reports TV' 2004, BBC Monitoring Middle East, source: Al-Diyar TV, 2 October – Attachment 10).
- In late November 2004, a large joint operation was conducted in and around Basra resulting in arrests and weapon seizures. Several raids were carried out by Iraqi National Guards, police commandos, British and Danish troops. The raids apparently "arose out of information revealed by five Arab foreign fighters arrested Wednesday night at a checkpoint in Qurnah, about 60 Kilometres north of Basra. Those five men told police they had escaped from the rebel city of Fallujah with plans to attack coalition troops and Iraqi police in southern Basra" ('Iraqi Forces Arrest 4 Insurgents In Basra – Officials' 2004, *Dow Jones International News*, 26 November – Attachment 11).

In a *New York Times* article, published on 15 January 2005, author Erik Eckholm discusses divisions within the Shiite community of Basra. He states the following in relation to Basra's current security situation and apparent strains among Shiites:

Basra, though hardly peaceful by any normal standard, has in recent months had less political violence than central Iraq. The gunfire heard on many nights, people here note, is apt to be that of criminal gangs or warring tribes, not insurgents.

But tensions ratcheted upward this week after three suicide car bombings – two of them at police facilities and one at the home of an Islamic politician. (None caused fatalities apart from the bombers).

Nearly everyone in Basra seems to believe that those were the opening salvo of an anti-election campaign by invading Sunni militants.

...But sharp strains among Shiites came into the open last weekend after gunmen dressed in police uniforms tried to assassinate a secular Shiite leader, Majid al-Tamimi.

Mr. Tamimi was wounded but survived, hidden by the body of one of three slain guards. As a city council member, an engineer and the head of an election slate that proudly calls its members "technocrats," he fled to Kuwait for treatment and safety.

He has not minced words. In an angry conference call with his fellow city councilmen – some of them implicit targets of his allegations – and in an interview in his hospital room, he charged that the Iranian secret service, working through local elements of the Badr Brigade, were to blame.

...A big question in Basra, as in other Shiite centers, is the strength and intentions of Moktada al-Sadr.

The militia is lying low for now, and, while some sympathizers are on party slates, the Sadr organization is officially staying aloof from the elections. But among the white-turbaned clerics in the Sadr office in Basra, a populist mix of anti-Iranian and anti-establishment feelings is palpable.

“The other Shiite parties are taking positions that are good for their own interests but not for the people,” said Sheik Assad al-Basri, chief of the office. “Their actual popularity with the people is almost zero” (Eckholm, E. 2005, ‘Factional Unrest Is Dividing The Shiites of Southern Iraq’, *The New York Times*, 15 January – Attachment 12).

On 10 February 2005, Abdul-Hussein Khazal al-Basri, a correspondent with the US-funded al-Hurra Arabic television channel, was shot dead by gunmen outside his home in Basra. His four year old son and driver were also killed in the attack. *The Times* stated that “Al-Hurra (“The Free”) is a target for anti-US groups because it was set up by Washington as an Arabic alternative to al-Jazeera and al-Arabiya, which the Bush Administration accuses of anti-American bias. Its critics, in turn, accuse the Virginia-based channel of broadcasting propaganda... Police said that a director in the Culture and Housing Ministry had also been killed and that a senior Interior Ministry official had been kidnapped” (Farrell, S. & Hussein, A. 2005, ‘Journalist and son shot dead by Basra gunmen; Middle East’, *The Times*, 10 February – Attachment 13).

### **3. What groups exercise power there?**

The predominant party in Basra and surrounding areas is reportedly the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI). Its leader, Abdul Aziz Hakim, heads the United Iraqi Alliance who recently dominated the national elections, winning 48% of the vote. Abdul Aziz Hakim is the brother of Mohammed Bahkr al-Hakim, who was a leading figure in the uprising against Saddam Hussein’s regime in 1993 and a close ally of Grand Ayatollah al-Sistani. Bahkr al-Hakim was murdered in August 2003 in Najaf by a car bomb. Muqtada al-Sadr is allegedly the prime suspect and subject of an arrest warrant. SCIRI has a “technically banned militia” commonly referred to as the Badr Brigades. However, it was reportedly renamed the Badr Organisation in an attempt to assuage its aggressive reputation.

One explicit reference to Qurnah’s political allegiance was found in the sources consulted. An October 2004 article – posted on a website which publishes articles relating to the political situations of various countries – briefly discusses the political loyalties in Qurnah and nearby Amarah. It should be noted that this website a blog-like site and the posting of articles is unsourced. However, the article has been included below. The author is apparently a contractor working for Task Force Restore Iraq Electricity (TFRIE), an “organisation of multinational companies that make up part of the infrastructure re-building programme”:

There have been troubles – Amarah remains a dangerous town, out of bounds to civilian contractors and a stronghold of Muqtada-al-Sadr’s Mehdi Army.

Qurnah however, retains its allegiance to the murdered Mohammed Bahkr-al-Hakim, the great upstart to Saddam and the subject of the arrest warrant of Sadr, who it is alleged ordered the death of this moderate Shia cleric.

Hence the relative safety we, the foreigners, enjoy in Qurnah (Kaye, B. 2004, ‘War in Iraq: A Pylon too far?’, Polo’s Bastards website, 5 October <http://www.polosbastards.com/wariniraq051004.htm> – Accessed 24 February 2005 – Attachment 14) (**Note:** The website claims to “vent their opinions, experiences and advice in a forum of like minded individuals. We have people on the ground in everywhere from

Afghanistan to Colombia to the Philippines reporting in regularly on the state of play in their respective countries”).

A 2005 *Washington Post* article, authored by Anthony Shadid, provides an analysis of the struggle for power in Basra. Shadid discusses SCIRI's dominance of Basra politics and the strength of smaller opposition parties. The relevant extracts follow in detail:

Among the fault lines that define Sunday's vote for an Iraqi parliament, the divide between religious and secular is one of the most decisive. The slate that has attracted the most attention is a coalition known as the United Iraqi Alliance, which brings together Iraq's most prominent Shiite parties and, many Iraqis believe, has the blessing of Grand Ayatollah Ali Sistani. Its campaign is steeped in religious imagery, and its success in the elections would ensure a voice for the country's conservative clergy in the writing of a new constitution.

Since the fall of Saddam Hussein, those parties have effectively run Basra. Under their leadership, power and water supplies remain sporadic, city officials have been accused of corruption, and political killings have sown fear in the city. Judging by the opinions of residents, what may be postwar Iraq's first experiment in Islamic rule may also be its first failure.

**... The party at the center of Basra politics is the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq, whose leader, Abdul Aziz Hakim, sits atop the electoral slate of the United Iraqi Alliance. Founded by Iraqi exiles in neighboring Iran in 1982, the party returned to southern Iraq and Baghdad after the U.S. invasion [Researcher emphasis].** It was led by Hakim's brother, Mohammed Bakir Hakim, a respected ayatollah who was assassinated by a devastating car bomb detonated outside one of Shiite Islam's most sacred shrines in Najaf in August 2003.

In Basra, whose majority Shiite population has been largely spared the carnage of Baghdad, **Hakim's movement soon emerged as the best-organized, best-funded and most influential organization among 25 or so contenders in the city. The group is now seen as the dominant force on the city council, and leaders of the Badr Organization, its militia, hold the office of mayor and powerful positions within the city's security forces [Researcher emphasis].**

With some other Islamic groups perceived by residents as little more than gangs, **the party oversaw a growing conservatism in a city long famed as the most libertine in the region. Liquor stores, once numbering in the dozens, have shuttered. Shadowy, vigilante justice was meted out to former members of Hussein's Baath Party. At high schools and at Basra University, women were encouraged – often by force – to wear veils [Researcher emphasis].**

“Those who control the power in the administration are the Islamic parties, so they should take responsibility for the situation,” said Majid Sari, the leader of a small party in Basra who is running on a secular slate known as the National Democratic Coalition.

...But it's a prevailing sense of insecurity that nags at many Basra residents. **Unlike the car bombs and mortars that have become a routine part of life in Baghdad, Basra is unsettled by a murky campaign of killings. Two men running in Sunday's elections in the coalition of interim Prime Minister Ayad Allawi were killed this month, and an elementary school teacher, Iman Jawair, was shot dead in front of her house 10 days ago, apparently for not wearing a veil. Khairallah Malaki, a police brigadier who serves as the local government's security adviser, estimated that as many as 10 percent of the city's 13,000 policemen were loyal to religious parties rather than the civil leadership, a figure deemed low by opposition parties [Researcher emphasis].**

...One rival Islamic party, an offshoot of Sadr's movement known as Fudhala, is campaigning on a slogan that is a not-too-subtle jab at the Supreme Council's perceived leanings: "Born in Iraq, Iraqi financed, with Iraqi leadership."

...Opposition candidates suggest that while secular groups such as the Communist Party-backed People's Union and Allawi's coalition will fare well in Basra, religious parties will still find success in the countryside, which is far more conservative and religious.

In their view, rural Iraqis are more willing to follow the lead of the clergy and tribal leaders historically loyal to the Shiite leadership in Najaf.

"The Islamic parties have locked up the countryside," said Ahmed Khudheir, a spokesman for the Communist Party, whose decrepit office is lined with portraits of cadres killed under Hussein's rule and pictures of Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin. "Its religion, not politics there" (Shadid, A. 2005, 'Political Islam Put to the Test In Southern Iraq', *The Washington Post*, 25 January – Attachment 15).

A February 2005 article, published by *The Daily Telegraph*, discusses the current power bases existing in Basra and the apparent strong influence of religious parties in civil affairs. The pertinent extracts follow in detail:

Control of security forces – as demonstrated by the meeting between the deputy governor and the head of the Thar-allah religious party – is often shared between local police and party militia. Residents of Basra, where secular traditions are stronger than other Shia cities, describe the changes as an Iranian-style revolution, hesitant at first but rapidly building momentum. While debate begins in Baghdad over whether Islamic law should be the basis of the new constitution, in the South residents say that religion has already become inexorably intertwined with politics. "My bosses belong to a religious party or take orders from them," said Lt Asaas al-Saidi, who heads a tactical support unit. "It's the best way of getting promoted."

...Thar-allah – meaning God's revenge – is just one of several Iranian-financed religious parties that set up offices across the south of Iraq after the invasion. Its leader, Sayed Youssif Al-Mussawi, unabashedly called for an Iranian-style state to be created in Iraq.

..."People are looking for security and they have found it in the religious parties," said Ali al-Assadi, an economist at Basra University, its entrance watched over by militia. The national elections two weeks ago have only consolidated the shift towards religious rule. More than four million of the country's Shia voted for List 169, a coalition of the largest Shia parties backed by Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani. Set to dominate the new National Assembly, Shia politicians in Baghdad are keen to stress the need for an inclusive and secular government. But on the ground, in cities like Najaf, many candidates stood on an uncompromisingly religious platform. At a meeting of Shia candidates hosted by the US military before the elections, Nawal al-Ibrahim, who is a female member of the Ad-Dawa party, urged the adoption of Sharia law by the new government. Dressed in a black abaya, she said: "There are many positive aspects of the Iranian model. We want to see the Islamic religion write the constitution" (Fairweather, J. & Samad, H. 2005, 'Clerics become powerbrokers in the South', *The Daily Telegraph*, 14 February – Attachment 16).

A January 2005 article that appeared in *The Guardian* provides an account of election results in Basra and surrounding provinces. Authors, Steele and al-Khal, highlight several parties which gained substantial votes as follows:

Iraq's second biggest city and the surrounding province have been governed by conservative Shia parties for more than a year. Women have come under pressure to wear the veil, including on the university campus, and alcohol shops have been closed.

In an attempt to reverse the trend, six secular parties, led by the Communist party, formed a coalition. Along with the National Democratic party and a movement representing Assyrian Christians, they created the United Democratic Forces; but they won little more than 2% of the vote, according to the results published this week.

**The big winner, with 33% of the vote, was a list called Islamic Basra, which includes the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (Sciri) and the Dawa party, both members of the Shia coalition which won the elections nationally.**

**In Basra there was a surprisingly good result for a moderate Islamic party, Fad hila (Virtue), which accused the governing parties of incompetence but also made a strong case that it was an authentic Iraqi party unlike Sciri or Dawa, whose leaders spent decades in exile in Iran during Saddam Hussein's rule.**

**Taking more than 20% of the vote, it picked up many opposition voters who had been expected to prefer secular parties. "Some of my friends have been threatened by religious parties and told to wear hijab. But I voted for Fadhila", said Fediye Yusef, an engineering student [Researcher emphasis] (Steele, J. & al Khal, N. 2005, 'Secular parties look to next poll', The Guardian, 17 February <http://www.guardian.co.uk/Iraq/Story/0,2763,1416265,00.html> – Accessed 7 March 2005 – Attachment 17).**

#### **4. Are there recent reports of any hostility there between liberal/secular Shi'a and more conservative or extremist groups?**

Recent reports from February this year describe the "islamification" of Basra and its surrounding provinces, with Islamist parties controlling local government and enforcing a religious agenda. Information from the sources consulted indicates that individuals and groups seen to be Western sympathisers, or not adhering to the existing religious doctrine, have been targeted. Most commonly, the victims of attacks have been women, members of secular political parties, Christians and alcohol suppliers.

In an article for *The Guardian*, author Jonathan Steele describes the apparent fear of the ruling Shia parties in Basra by more secular residents. The pertinent extracts follow in detail:

They sit in a shabby living-room, a Sunni, a Christian and two Shias, united by two things: fear that Iraq's religious parties will have done well in Sunday's elections, and anger with British occupation officials for having given the Islamists what they feel is excessive power.

While many urban professionals in Baghdad worry about insurgent violence, their counterparts in Basra are terrified by the Shia parties that already rule Iraq's second city.

Shadowy Islamist forces acting for them have been assassinating opposition politicians, burning shops selling alcohol, and forcing women to wear the veil.

The struggle between secular and religious parties is nowhere so sharp as in the Shia south-east, and particularly Basra, a city with a long liberal tradition. Voters chose local

governments on Sunday as well as a national assembly, and Basra's intellectuals are waiting to see who comes out on top here with great anxiety.

... "My relative Alaa Hamid, a well-known athlete who was a candidate here, was shot and killed when he was leaving his office for lunch 10 days ago," said one of the men, a retired oil company employee. "He was a liberal man who wanted to block those who want to put limits on normal life here."

"The religious extremists want to eliminate all the technocrats and secular people in this city."

... The retired oil worker added: "One of my nieces was shot at on the university campus three weeks ago because her hair was uncovered."

The Sunni, a retired headteacher, said: "I'm hoping for security, so my vote goes for the United Democratic Forces. This whole district is voting for them ... There is no problem between Sunni and Shia but with those who came from Iran."

... Their main opponents – those who came from Iran, as the head put it – are the current leaders of Basra's provincial council, the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (Sciri) and the Dawa party. Both parties spent decades in exile in Iran (Steele, J. 2005, 'Basra intellectuals united by fear of rise in religious intolerance', *The Guardian*, 1 February <http://www.guardian.co.uk/Iraq/Story/0,2763,1403077,00.html> – Accessed 28 February 2005 – Attachment 18).

An *Irish Examiner* article, dated 5 February 2005, describes a similar situation in Basra with its traditionally liberal lifestyle allegedly under attack:

Islamification attacks are being mounted on those accused of submitting to the vices of the West and most believe the problem will escalate if clerics seize power.

British officers have reports of illegal Sharia law courts in mosques and claim sections of the Badr organisation militiamen turned politicians are trying to enforce strict religious codes.

... Military sources confirm their claims of an increase in Islamification attacks, focused at drinkers, women and gambling houses.

Student Walid Ibrahim, 26, dressed in a bright polo shirt and trousers, said:

"The extremists come and intrude on people's privacy. They prevent the women from going outside without a hijab, they embarrass them and insult them. They kill any people trading in alcohol and target anyone buying alcohol" (Stringer, D. 2005, 'Extremists target Iraq secular life', *Irish Examiner*, 5 February [http://www.irishexaminer.com/pport/web/world/Full\\_Story/did-sgx7Ge9-Yzq6csgTbBP-2fa91M.asp](http://www.irishexaminer.com/pport/web/world/Full_Story/did-sgx7Ge9-Yzq6csgTbBP-2fa91M.asp) – Accessed 28 February 2005 – Attachment 19).

A February 2005 article, by *The Economist*, again illustrates a similar image of the struggle between Shias who desire a more conservative religious state and those who favour a secular one:

... Rumours in Basra were rife that the Islamists had infiltrated the local electoral commission. Many security as well as administrative posts in Basra's provincial and town councils are already held by Islamists, and many secular-minded Iraqis felt that Islamists had too big a role guarding polling stations and transporting ballot boxes. A striking number of observers in Zubayr's polling stations wore beards.



To the secular-minded, the record of Basra's mainly Islamist local rulers is not reassuring, despite recent efforts to play down their Islamist intentions. In recent months, Islamic strictures have been tightened across the south. Even in Basra, alcohol and music shops have been closed and women arrested for prostitution, often on slender evidence. Yet the Islamists have done poorly at cleaning up and improving public services; Basra is one of the most decrepit and smelliest of Iraq's cities. Many of the ruling Islamists are patchily educated, having spent their youth bearing arms in Iran.

Despite the relative calm in which the election passed, the south remains perilously crime-ridden. By night, Basra echoes with gunshots. The board of the city's chamber of commerce resembles a support group for victims of kidnapping; its members say they have collectively stumped up several hundred thousand dollars in ransoms in recent months. Each, on average, spends \$3,000 a month on bodyguards, and donates much of his profit to local tribesmen in the hope of persuading them not to sabotage his business ('Worrying trends – Iraq's south' 2005, *The Economist*, 5 February – Attachment 20).

## List of Sources Consulted

### Internet Sources:

Google search engine

UNHCR      *REFWORLD*      UNHCR Refugee Information Online

### Databases:

Public	<i>FACTIVA</i>	Reuters Business Briefing
DIMIA	<i>BACIS</i>	Country Information
	<i>REFINFO</i>	IRBDC Research Responses (Canada)
RRT	<i>ISYS</i>	RRT Country Research database, including Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, US Department of State <i>Country Reports on Human Rights Practices</i> .
RRT Library	<i>FIRST</i>	RRT Library Catalogue

## List of Attachments

1. Smith, M. 2005, 'Canadians help to rescue 'Eden': A Canadian-Iraqi team is helping to bring back to life a once-fertile land destroyed by Saddam Hussein', *Ottawa Citizen*, 20 February. (FACTIVA)
2. Zavis, A. 2003, "'Garden of Eden' Devastated Under Saddam', *Associated Press*, 29 April. (FACTIVA)
3. 'Al Qurnah' 2000, *Microsoft Encarta Interactive Atlas 2000*. (CDROM)
4. 'South-East Iraq' 2000, *Microsoft Encarta Interactive Atlas 2000*. (CDROM)
5. UNWFP 2003, 'Appendix-B: Governorate Chronic Poverty Maps', The extent and geographic distribution of chronic poverty in Iraq's Center/South Region, p.17, May.
6. 'DJ. US, Cleric's Militia Continue Fighting In Najaf, Karbala' 2004, *Comtex News Network*, 15 May. (FACTIVA)

7. 'Danish troops serving in Iraq fired on by insurgents' 2004, *Associated Press*, 7 June. (FACTIVA)
8. 'Rockets fired at Danish Iraq base; no casualties among troops' 2004, *Agence France Presse*, 21 July. (FACTIVA)
9. 'Three Iraqi civilians killed in clash between Danish troops and insurgents: report', *Agence France Presse*, UN Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI) website, 11 August. (<http://www.uniraq.org/newsroom/story.asp?ID=1113> – Accessed 24 February 2004)
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12. Eckholm, E. 2005, 'Factional Unrest Is Dividing The Shiites of Southern Iraq', *The New York Times*, 15 January. (FACTIVA)
13. Farrell, S. and Hussein, A. 2005, 'Journalist and son shot dead by Basra gunmen; Middle East', *The Times*, 10 February. (FACTIVA)
14. Kaye, B. 2004, 'War in Iraq: A Pylon too far?', Polo's Bastards website, 5 October. (<http://www.polosbastards.com/wariniraq051004.htm> – Accessed 24 February 2005)
15. Shadid, A. 2005, 'Political Islam Put to the Test In Southern Iraq', *The Washington Post*, 25 January. (FACTIVA)
16. Fairweather, J. & Samad, H. 2005, 'Clerics become powerbrokers in the South', *The Daily Telegraph*, 14 February. (FACTIVA)
17. Steele, J. & al Khal, N. 2005, 'Secular parties look to next poll', *The Guardian*, 17 February. (<http://www.guardian.co.uk/Iraq/Story/0,2763,1416265,00.html> – Accessed 7 March 2005)
18. Steele, J. 2005, 'Basra intellectuals united by fear of rise in religious intolerance', *The Guardian*, 1 February. (<http://www.guardian.co.uk/Iraq/Story/0,2763,1403077,00.html> – Accessed 28 February 2005)
19. Stringer, D. 2005, 'Extremists target Iraq secular life', *Irish Examiner*, 5 February.
20. 'Worrying trends – Iraq's south' 2005, *The Economist*, 5 February. (FACTIVA)