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THE IRAQ HOSTAGE CRISIS: Abductions in Iraq, April-August 2004

HEGGHAMMER Thomas

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8) ABSTRACT This report provides a brief and preliminary overview of the phenomenon of abductions of foreigners in Iraq between 1 April and 31 August 2004. Having reconstructed a timeline which includes 63 abduction incidents (159 hostages) in this period, the author uses statistical tools to describe the main patterns and developments of this hostage crisis, in particular its chronological development, targeting patterns, types of demands, and outcomes. Some of the findings and observations run counter to widespread perceptions about the hostage crisis. For example, the data show that a relatively small proportion of victims have come from coalition countries (33%), that a surprisingly large proportion of victims have come from Muslim countries (41%), and that the "confirmed survival rate" for abduction victims (including for US, UK and Italian citizens) has been relatively high. Notable chronological developments include an explosive increase in abductions in early April during the Falluja crisis, a virtual absence of abductions in May (despite the Abu Ghraib scandal), and a relative increase in the abduction rate in late July shortly after the Filipino military withdrawal from Iraq.		
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THE IRAQ HOSTAGE CRISIS: Abductions in Iraq, April-August 2004

1 INTRODUCTION

The spate of abductions of foreigners in Iraq that began in early April 2004 has taken significant proportions, both in terms of the number of victims and in terms of political consequences.¹ A seemingly endless stream of news reports of disappearances, videos showing frightened captives and pictures of beheadings have created a situation which echoes the hostage crisis in Lebanon in the 1980s. The current wave of abductions in Iraq adds to the already wide range of security issues that hamper the international reconstruction effort and threaten the very stability of the country.² The kidnapping threat is of particular concern to coalition countries³, given the immense psychological impact that the Iraqi hostage situations have had on home audiences who, in most cases, are sceptical to having military personnel in Iraq. This was most clearly demonstrated by the Filipino Government's decision to withdraw its troops prematurely following the kidnapping of its citizen Angelo de la Cruz in July. Many other countries, in particular Italy and Japan, have experienced political crises as a result of their citizens being held hostage by insurgent groups in Iraq.



Filipino hostage Angelo de la Cruz, captured and released in July 2004

¹ This report is written in the context of the “Transnational Radical Islamism Project” at the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (NDRE). This project is the third in a series of NDRE research projects focused on terrorism, the first of which started in 1999. More information about the projects can be found on the website www.ffi.no/TERRA, which also contains a list of downloadable publications.

² While the term “kidnapping” often denotes the capture of a victim for *economical* gain, and “hostage-taking” is most often used of situations involving *political* demands, the two terms are in practice interchangeable. A more useful terminological distinction is that of “abductions” (seizure and transfer of the victim to an undisclosed location) versus “hostage sieges” (holding of victims in a specific location or “action theatre” to which maximum media attention is drawn). So far, all of the hostage situations in Iraq have been of the abduction type.

³ The 32 countries currently in Iraq include (in order of contingent size): USA, UK, Italy, Poland, Ukraine, Netherlands, Romania, South Korea, Japan, Denmark, Bulgaria, Thailand, El Salvador, Hungary, Australia, Georgia, Norway, Azerbaijan, Mongolia, Portugal, Latvia, Czech Republic, Lithuania, Slovakia, Albania, New Zealand, Estonia, Tonga, Singapore, Kazakhstan, Macedonia and Moldova. Five countries have withdrawn from Iraq in the course of 2004, namely Spain, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Honduras and the Philippines. Armenia announced in September that it will send 50 troops to Iraq by the end of the year, bringing the number of coalition countries to 33. See http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/iraq_orbat_coalition.htm.

There are many unsolved questions about the origins, dynamics and escalation potential of the current wave of abductions, not to mention our lacking knowledge of the perpetrators, their modus operandi, their intentions and their strategies. Treating all these issues in full would require a significant research effort and a certain historical distance, and is therefore not possible for yet some time. The purpose of this brief study, however, is not to provide a comprehensive analysis of the Iraqi hostage crisis, but to provide a brief overview of the phenomenon of abductions of foreigners in Iraq between April and August 2004.

Given the crowded, uneven and sometimes conflicting news picture in Iraq, the primary question addressed in this report is that of knowing *what has actually happened* in terms of hostage takings in Iraq in this period. At the end of this study, the reader will find two extensive appendices containing detailed information about all the abductions incidents that the current author was able to establish using news sources.

The second set of questions regards the historical background and context for the abductions in Iraq: Why did the spate of kidnappings break out so suddenly in April 2004? Who are the main actors and groups involved in the taking of foreign hostages in Iraq? Which tactical and strategical purposes might these abductions serve? These questions will be addressed rather briefly as they are not the main focus of this study.

The third set of questions that will be addressed in this report regards the *main overall patterns* that we can discern from the empirical data established in the list of abduction incidents. These questions include: How did the rate of abductions evolve between early April and late August? Which nationalities were most often targeted by kidnappers? Were citizens from coalition countries kidnapped more often than people from other nations? Were citizens from Muslim countries more safe from kidnappings than those from non-Muslim states? Which professions were most vulnerable to abductions? What were the main types of demands raised by the kidnappers? What were the main outcomes of the hostage takings? Most of these questions will be answered on the basis of statistics, but qualitative observations will be added wherever appropriate.

2 BACKGROUND

2.1 Explaining the outbreak of the abduction campaign

The current wave of abductions of foreigners is a relatively recent development on the Iraqi scene. It started very abruptly in early April 2004, almost exactly one year after the American toppling of Saddam Hussain's regime and the beginning of the occupation of Iraq. In the year preceding April 2004, kidnappings of foreigners were practically unheard of.⁴ Until then, the various insurgent groups had relied primarily on conventional guerrilla tactics as well as on some less conventional means, such as car bombs and suicide bombings.

⁴ One possible exception was the brief abduction of a Portuguese journalist in November 2003. See "Portuguese Iraq reporter abducted", *BBC News Online*, 14 November 2003. Other foreign nationals may have been victims of economically motivated kidnappings before April 2004 without it reaching Western media.

There are several underlying reasons for the outbreak of the abduction campaign, such as the precarious security situation in Iraq, the proliferation of criminal networks, terrorist groups and militias, and the relatively large foreign military and civilian presence in Iraq. Moreover, kidnappings of Iraqi citizens (and businessmen from neighbouring countries) for ransom had been very common ever since the beginning of the post-Saddam era. It is unclear exactly how many Iraqis have been victims of such kidnappings between April 2003 and August 2004, but they probably number in the thousands.⁵ Most of these kidnappings seem to be the work of organised criminal networks, which over time must have accumulated significant kidnapping expertise, which in turn could easily be applied to politically motivated abductions of foreigners.

The catalyst for the abduction campaign seems to have been the escalating confrontation between Iraqi insurgents and the US-led coalition in March 2004, which culminated in early April with the Sunni-led revolt in Falluja and the Shia-led offensives in the southern cities of Najaf, Karbala, Kufa and elsewhere. The so-called “Falluja crisis” erupted on 4 April when US troops launched a massive attack on insurgents in Falluja in retaliation for the killing of four US civilian contractors five days earlier. Over the following weeks the city was virtually besieged and subjected to heavy American bombardment as US forces battled insurgents and tried to gain control over the city. The stand-off was solved – albeit only partially – at the end of April, when the city was handed to a US-friendly Iraqi military unit led by a former army general. The fact that the first foreign hostage is captured on 5 April, that most of the 70 foreigners taken hostage in April are seized in the so-called Sunni triangle, and that the wave of abductions comes to a momentary halt in early May, all indicate that the Falluja crisis served as a catalyst for the hostage-taking campaign that is still haunting Iraq.

The subsequent development of the Iraqi hostage crisis, in particular with its protractedness and its adoption by a wide variety of groups, seems to constitute a classic case of “contagion”, i.e. terrorist actors learning from one another, a well-known phenomenon from the academic literature on terrorism.⁶ Put simply, the introduction of the abduction tactic by certain groups at the outbreak of the Falluja crisis most likely inspired other insurgent groups and militias to adopt the same tactic, thus creating a snowball effect or “epidemic”. Variations in frequency and type of abductions in the following months appear to be the result of a number of different variables, including *political and military developments, tactical choices and preferences of the individual insurgent groups, protective measures taken by foreigners present in Iraq, and the degree to which kidnappers’ demands are met.*

2.2 Motivations and actors behind the abductions

Our knowledge of the organisational aspects of Iraqi insurgents and terrorist groups is still rudimentary, and this report will not deal in depth with the aims and strategies of each group and their rationale for using abductions as a tactic. Instead I shall make a few general observations that might help our understanding of the dynamics of abductions in Iraq.

⁵ See for example Wa’il Hamza, “3500 kidnappings in one year of occupation” (in Arabic), *al-‘Arab*, 22 July 2004, p. 2.

⁶ See for example Manus Midlarsky, Martha Crenshaw, Fumihiko Yoshida, “Why Violence Spreads: The Contagion of International Terrorism”, *International Studies Quarterly* 24 (2), 1980, pp. 262-298; Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, New York: Columbia, 1998, pp. 67ff.; Amy Sands Redlick, “The Transnational Flow of Information as a Cause of Terrorism” in Yonah Alexander, David Carlton and Paul Wilkinson (eds.), *Terrorism: Theory and Practice*, Boulder: Westview, 1979, pp. 73-95.

First of all it is useful to recall some of the general tactical and strategic advantages that hostage-takings offer those who use it. First, it **demands relatively few material or human resources** compared to other terrorist tactics such as suicide operations and car bombings. Second, it is a **high-impact propaganda tool**, which may be **extremely efficient against free-press democracies**. Third, it **highlights the individual victim** to a much larger extent than bombings, the victims of which often remain more or less anonymous. Fourth, hostage situations **last over time and allow for “recycling” of victims**, because one particular victim can be used in multiple videotaped statements and threats. Fifth, unlike bombings, abductions can be used as a basis for **negotiation**, which may provide the user with both political and material gain. All of these inherent advantages to the abduction tactic are all the more valid in Iraq, where there is a strong foreign presence, both military and civilian, from many free-press democracies. Moreover, there is no efficient centralized authority to handle the hostage situations in a coordinated and coherent manner. Responsibility for handling a given hostage situation is thus diluted and spread among actors such as the national government, the victim’s employer, the Iraqi authorities, as well as religious and tribal organisations. This is an ideal situation for a hostage-taker looking to turn negotiations to his advantage. Finally, technological developments – in particular the Internet – have provided Iraqi insurgents with extremely efficient communication tools that were previously unavailable to kidnapers. Gone are the days when hostage-takers sent photographs of the victim holding a recent newspaper; now the Internet, cheap video cameras, and mobile phone cameras provide almost instant access to a worldwide audience.

Overall, there seem to be three main types of motivations guiding those who take foreign hostages in Iraq, namely **economic**, **vigilante**, and **political**, and these often occur in combination. By “economically” motivated abductions are meant kidnappings for ransom. Businessmen from neighbouring Arab countries such as Lebanon and Jordan seem to be particularly vulnerable to this type of abduction, which is underreported and generally not accompanied by statements tailored for the media. By “vigilante” abductions is meant primarily detention of foreigners suspected of being spies or undercover agents. Many foreigners have been held in this way (and sometimes tortured) by insurgent groups who accuse them of “spying for Israel” or “spying against the Iraqi resistance”. Such abductions tend not to be accompanied by any demands, and many of these victims are subsequently released. “Politically” motivated abductions include kidnappings designed to achieve non-monetary aims, such as a country’s or a company’s withdrawal from Iraq, prisoner release or a symbolic political act (such as an apology by a state leader). This is the “classic” type of abduction that tends to be accompanied by clear demands and videotaped statements intended for maximum media impact.



Turkish hostage Murat Yuce, captured and probably executed in early August 2004

These motivations often overlap. There seem to be many cases of abductions which are both politically and economically motivated. In these instances, the kidnappers initially present political demands, only to subsequently accept a ransom, probably as a result of a realization that their political demands will not be met. This “two-track” negotiation strategy seems quite widespread, and helps explain the surprisingly high survival rate even among political abductees (see below). There are probably also cases of abductions initially motivated by suspicions of espionage that are subsequently used to raise political or economic demands.

Overall, one must be careful not to over-politicise the tactical choices and demands made by Iraqi kidnappers, as there sometimes seems to be a certain element of randomness to their operations. A Jordanian civil servant abducted in late August said after his release that: “When they captured me they didn't know I was Jordanian, they only wanted to steal the car. But when they searched us they found my Jordanian identification papers and ... took me so they can make some money.”⁷

There are several indications of trade in foreign hostages in Iraq. There are accounts of criminal networks selling hostages to terrorist groups for money, and stories of hostages being passed around among a variety of different groups. It is quite possible that some abductions are the product of a pragmatic alliance and division of labour between economically motivated groups on the one hand and politically motivated groups on the other.

Which groups are behind the abductions in Iraq? It suffices to take a brief look at the available news reports and testimonies by released hostages to conclude that there are a wide variety of different actors involved. It has so far proven extremely difficult to map the various groups and elements of the Iraqi resistance, and it is therefore too early to draw any conclusions about the perpetrators of Iraqi abductions.

One possible hypothesis is that there are three main types of actors involved in taking foreigners hostage in Iraq, namely **criminal networks, militias and terrorist groups**. These groups differ in their primary motivation for abducting foreigners. Broadly speaking, the three categories of hostage takers correspond to the three types of motivation outlined above. Most of those who kidnap for ransom seem to be criminal groups, the majority of those who abduct foreigners on suspicion of espionage seem to be militias or guerrilla-type groups (often shia), while those who take hostages to

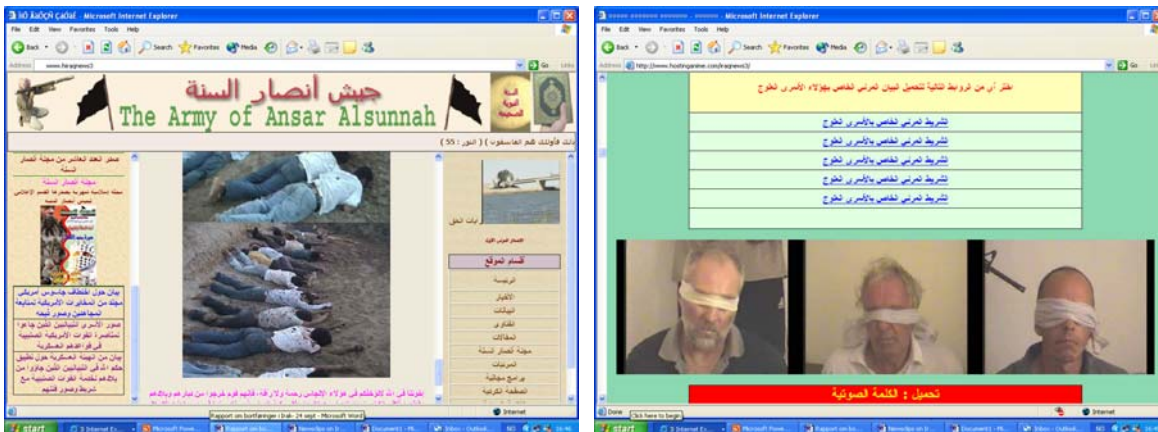
⁷ “Forces free Jordanian hostage in Iraq”, *Reuters*, 20 September 2004.

present political demands seem to be smaller groups of the terrorist type (most often sunni). This is a broad generalization to which there are certainly numerous exceptions, but this typology may be a first and tentative step to understanding the nuances between the various cases of abductions in Iraq.

For natural reasons, most of the public and media interest in hostages held in Iraq tends to be concentrated on the purely political abductions. Beyond the observation that most of the political abductions seem to be carried out by radical sunni groups, it is too early to speak about the *modus operandi* of individual groups.

In fact, in most abduction cases – particularly in those of the “economic” or “vigilante” type – the identity of the group is never revealed. Often, the kidnappers identify themselves by a generic group name, the existence of which cannot be confirmed on the battleground. Examples of group names that are mentioned in statements but remain unconfirmed as names of substantial, lasting organisations include:

- *al-Mujahidun*
- *Mujahidun al-'Iraq* (Mujahidin of Iraq)
- *Kata'ib al-Mujahidin* (Mujahidin Brigades)
- *al-Katiba al-Khadra'* (The Green Brigade)
- *Kata'ib al-Ghadb al-Islami* (Islamic Anger Brigades)
- *Kata'ib Thawrat 1920* (1920 Revolution Brigades)
- *Kata'ib al-Rayat al-Sud* (Black Banner Brigades)
- *Kata'ib Usud Allah* (Lions of Allah Brigade)
- *Jama'at al-Mawt* (Group of Death)
- *Kata'ib al-Shuhada'* (Martyrs' Brigades)



Snapshots of websites of *Jaysh Ansar al-Sunna* (left) and *Jama'at al-Tawhid wa'l-Jihad*

We do not know exactly which of the group names reflect real organisations. There are three names that seem more likely to correspond to “real” groups, namely *Jama'at al-Tawhid wa'l-Jihad* (Group of God’s Unity and Holy War), *Jaysh Ansar al-Sunna* (the Army of the Followers of the Sunna) and *al-Jaysh al-Islami fi'l-'Iraq* (Islamic Army in Iraq). This assumption – or qualified guess - is based on the fact that these groups maintain websites whose content point to a substantial organisation, and on the fact that these groups have claimed more than one kidnapping (as far as we know, several of the above-mentioned names have assumed responsibility for foreign hostage-

takings only once). The word “brigade” often refers to sub-groups or cells of a larger (and loosely knit) organisation. This is well known, for example from jihadist circles in Saudi Arabia, where names such as “Falluja Brigades” and “al-Quds squadron” appeared in connection with specific terrorist attacks, although the people involved also saw themselves as part of an overarching organisation called “al-Qaida on the Arabian Peninsula”.

3 DEVELOPMENTS AND PATTERNS

In the following pages, I shall present some of the data accumulated from a systematic collection of news reports about abductions of foreigners in Iraq between April and August 2004. Simple statistical tools have been used to highlight the most important aspects of the Iraqi hostage crisis.

It is important to underline that the data collected (see appendices) comes from news sources only. I have tried to assemble as accurate a picture as possible by using a wide range of English-language news sources, but given the complicated security situation in Iraq and the difficult journalistic working conditions, there are almost certainly lacunae and inaccuracies in our data set.

Once a basic chronology of incidents was established, the first methodological step in the data processing was to identify eight key variables relating to the circumstances of the abductions, namely the victim’s *nationality*, his *name*, his *profession*, the *location* of his capture, the *duration* of his detention, the name of the *captor*, the key *demands* raised, and the *fate* of the victim. The collection of news sources would then be re-examined in order to establish the values of these variables for each abducted individual, thus constructing the data table presented in appendix B. This is the table used for the statistical observations made in this chapter.

At first glance there is a dilemma contained in this data set with regards to whether one should emphasise the numbers of abduction incidents or the numbers of abductees (the number of victims per incident varies between 1 and 12). I have tried to keep the two separate wherever necessary, but in fact the analysis shows that the two approaches produce only marginally different results.

3.1 Chronological development

As mentioned previously, the phenomenon of abductions of foreigners in Iraq started abruptly in early April 2004. If one looks at the number of abductees and abduction incidents per month between April and August (see figures 3.1. and 3.2), one will discover first of all that the level of abductions during the month of April was exceptionally high (23 incidents, 71 abductees). If measured by the number of abductees, none of the subsequent months have witnessed even half the amount of kidnappings of April 2004. The month of May, on the other hand, witnessed an exceptionally low level of kidnappings (2 incidents, 3 individuals). The rate of abductions picked up in June, however, to remain at a level of 10-15 abductions and 25-35 abductees per month.

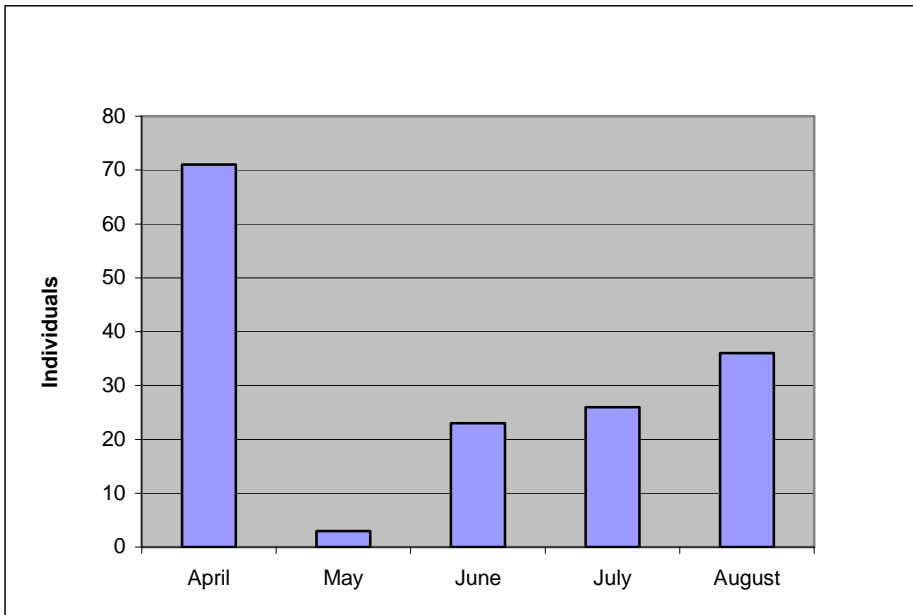


Figure 3.1 *Foreigners abducted in Iraq - per month (April-August 2004)*

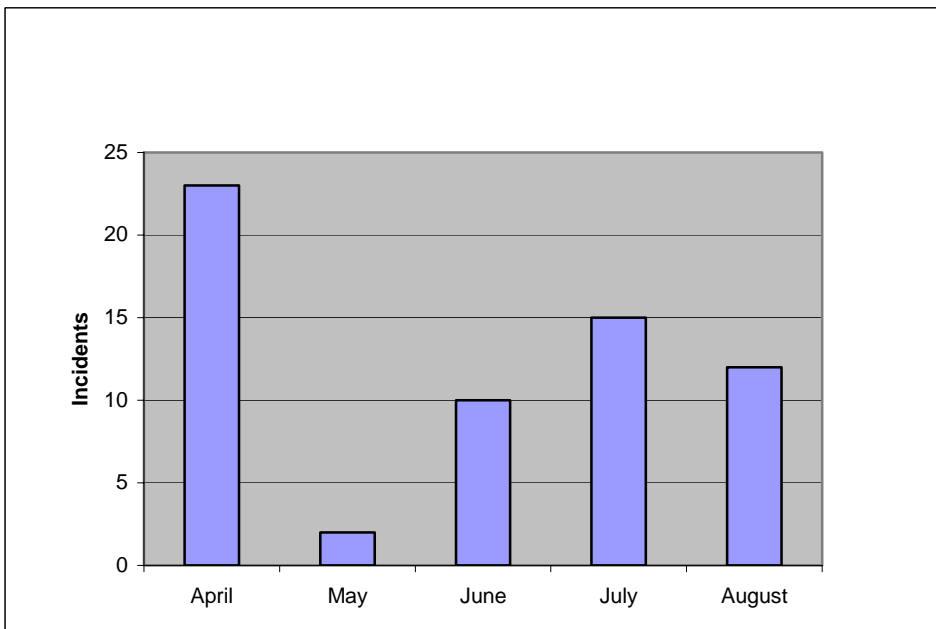


Figure 3.2 *Incidents of abductions of foreigners in Iraq – per month (April-August 2004)*

However, in order to be able to consider the relationship between the evolution in the rate of abductions and specific political or military events and developments, one needs a higher-resolution picture. We have therefore looked at the number of abductees and abduction incidents *per week* (see figures 3.3. and 3.4). This allows us to make a few interesting observations. First of all, most of the abductions in April took place in the first two weeks of the month, during which time the Falluja crisis was at its most intense. Second, there were no abductions between 10 and 31 May. This means that the news of the prisoner abuse in Abu Ghraib, which emerged in late April 2004, does not seem to have influenced the rate of abductions.⁸ Third, we can identify two subsequent periods of relative

⁸ On the other hand, the Abu Ghraib scandal probably influenced the *treatment* of hostages as well as the *media strategy* of the hostage takers. The killing of the American hostage Nicholas Berg in early May was presented as a revenge for the Abu Ghraib abuse. A hostage who was held captive during this period and later released said his conditions worsened after the Abu Ghraib scandal emerged. The “retaliation theme” is prominent in the kidnappers media strategy,

increase in the rate of abductions: The first one in early June (from zero to approximately two incidents per week for four weeks), followed by a second one in the latter half of July (from approximately two to approximately four incidents per week for four weeks). It is difficult to relate the first increase to any specific developments. One hypothesis is that the abduction rate is cyclic. The terrorism literature has already observed that terrorist attacks often come in waves followed by relatively quiet periods, and it is not impossible that such dynamics are also at work with regards to Iraqi abductions.⁹ With regards to the second increase, which occurs in the second half of July, it is tempting to point to the decision on 13 July by the Philippines to yield to the demands of kidnappers and withdraw its forces from Iraq. This would support the widespread – although undocumented – assumption that meeting demands of hostage takers increases the likelihood of similar operations in the future. However, our data cannot be used to confirm this hypothesis, given the small numbers of incidents and abductees in question. We cannot draw conclusions of such correlations when we are dealing with an increase as small as two or three abduction incidents per week. There are too many other factors and variables that come into the equation.

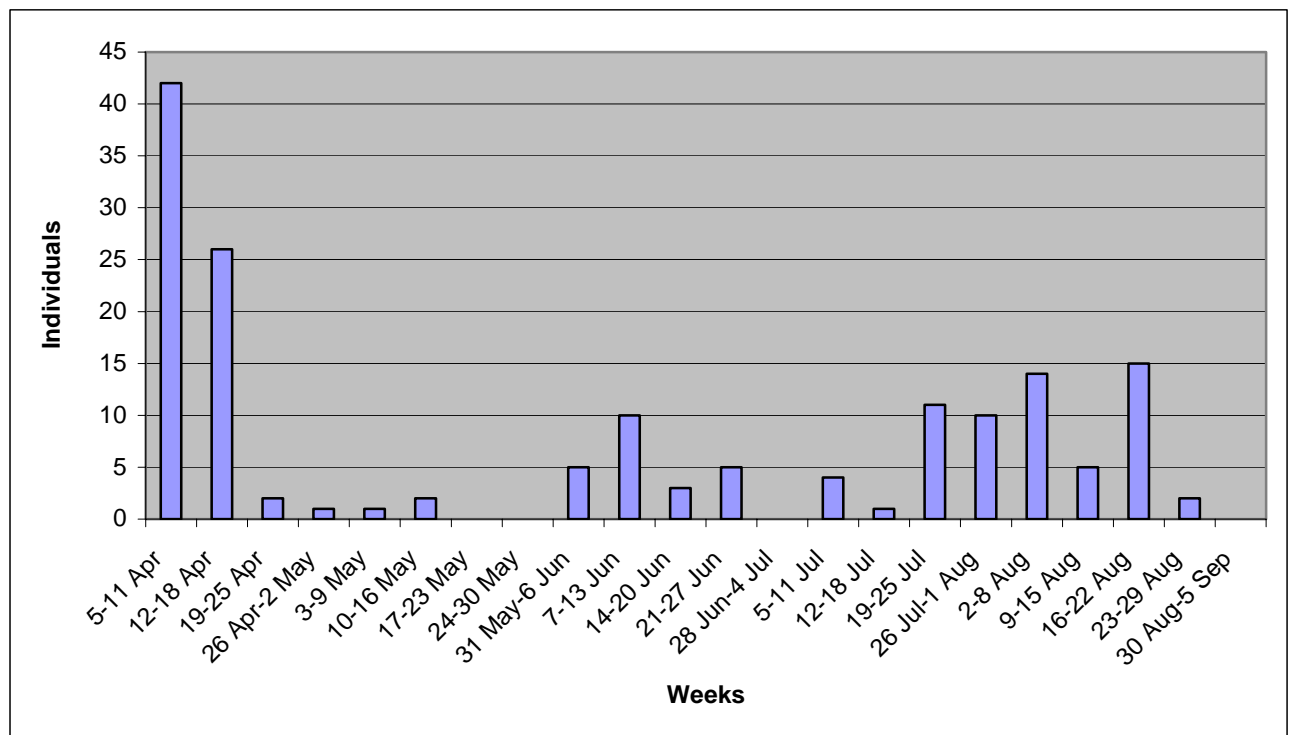


Figure 3.3 *Foreigners abducted in Iraq - per week (April-August 2004)*

illustrated by the fact that many hostages are shown on television wearing orange jumpsuits reminiscent of Guantanamo Bay prisoners.

⁹ Brynjar Lia, *Globalisation and the Future of Terrorism* (forthcoming), Chapter two.

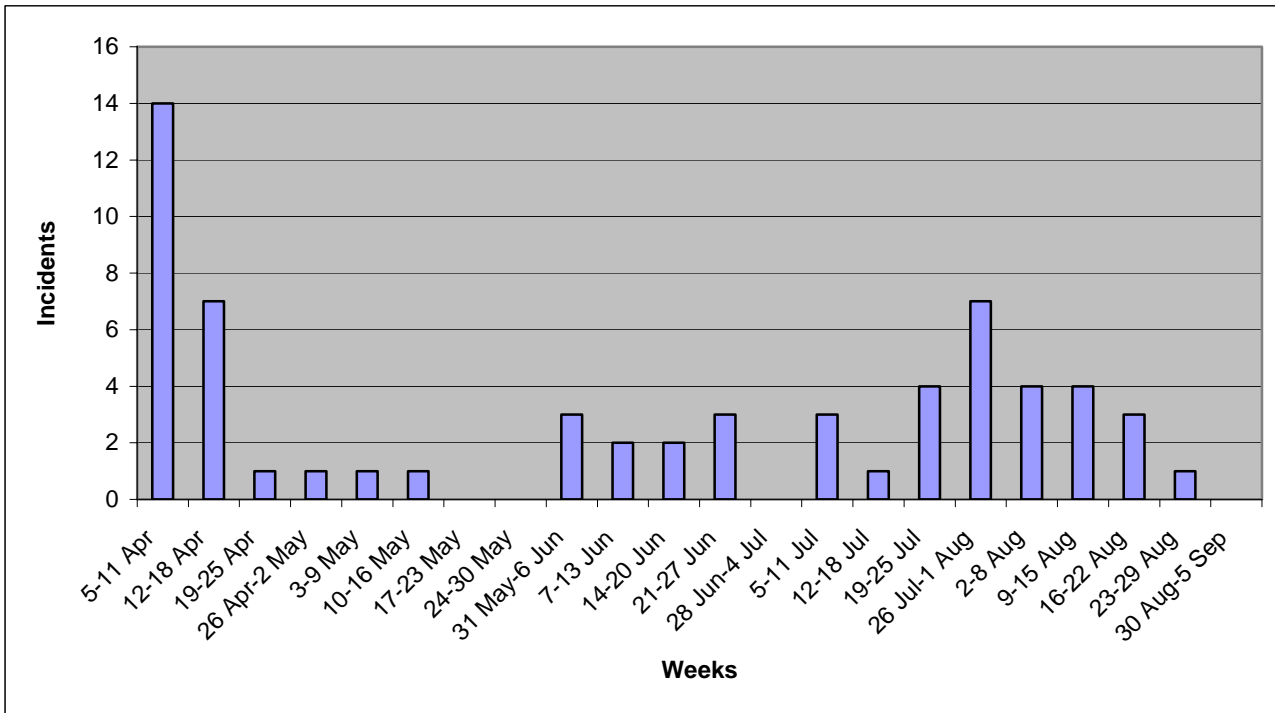


Figure 3.4 Incidents of abductions of foreigners in Iraq – per week (April-August 2004)

3.2 Victims

One of the most striking aspects about the data on foreign victims of abductions in Iraq is the large number of different countries represented, namely 32. If we look at the nationality of the victims (see figure 3.5 and 3.6), the picture that emerges is not necessarily in proportion with the impression that has been created in the West about the main victims of hostage-takings in Iraq. For example, the country which has had by far the most of its citizens abducted in Iraq is not the US or Britain, but Turkey. Moreover, seven out of the “top nine” countries are non-Western, and six of them are not part of the occupying force.

Before going any further in our interpretation of the figures, it is important to keep in mind a number of issues. First of all, the size of the various countries’ presence – be it military or civilian – in Iraq varies significantly. Second, it is not at all clear that all hostage takers pay close attention to the nationality of their victim before the abduction. Third, there are several examples of hostage-takers mistaking one nationality for another (e.g. Chinese for Japanese). In other words, the distribution of nationalities does not necessarily correspond to deliberate choices and targeting strategies by the actors involved in hostage-taking.

Turkey	23	Czech Republic	3
Jordan	12	Egypt	3
Lebanon	12	Kenya	3
Nepal	12	Bulgaria	2
USA	10	Germany	2
UK	9	Philippines	2
China	8	Poland	2
South Korea	8	Switzerland	2
Pakistan	6	Syria	2
Italy	5	Australia	1
Japan	5	Denmark	1
Russia	5	Iran	1
Ukraine	5	Israel	1
India	4	Kuwait	1
France	4	Somalia	1
Canada	3	United Arab Emirates	1

Table 3.5 List of countries whose citizens have been abducted in Iraq – ranked by number of victims

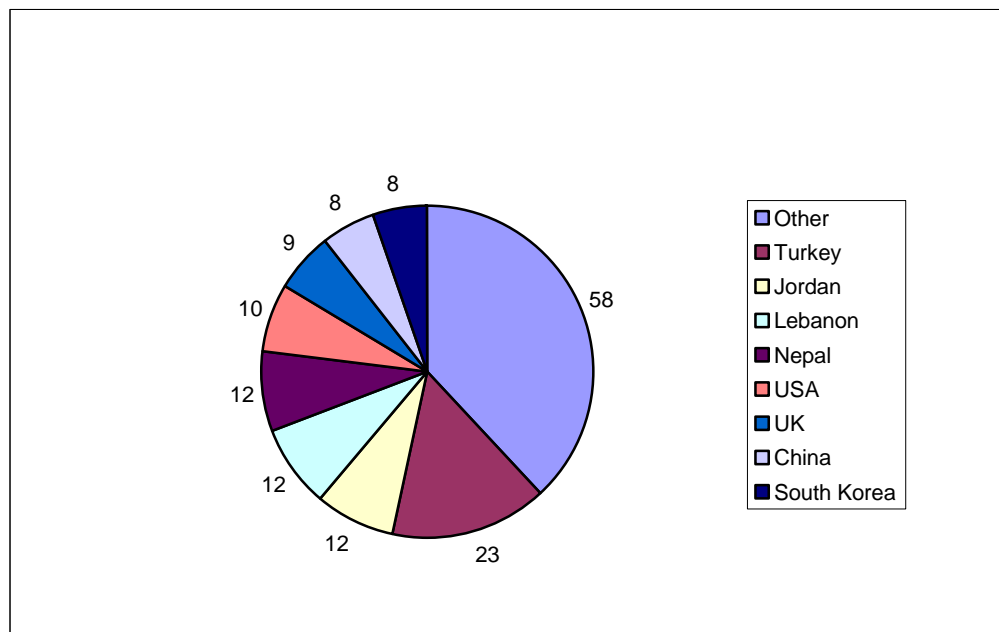


Figure 3.6 Countries with the highest number of citizens abducted in Iraq (April-August 2004)

One interesting question in this context is the relationship between targeting patterns and the various countries' participation in the occupation force present in Iraq. In fact, two thirds of the abduction victims come from countries with no military presence in Iraq (see figure 3.7). If we look at the number of victim countries, the same pattern emerges (see figure 3.8). Moreover, out of the thirty-seven countries which have had military forces in Iraq, only twelve have seen citizens of theirs abducted.

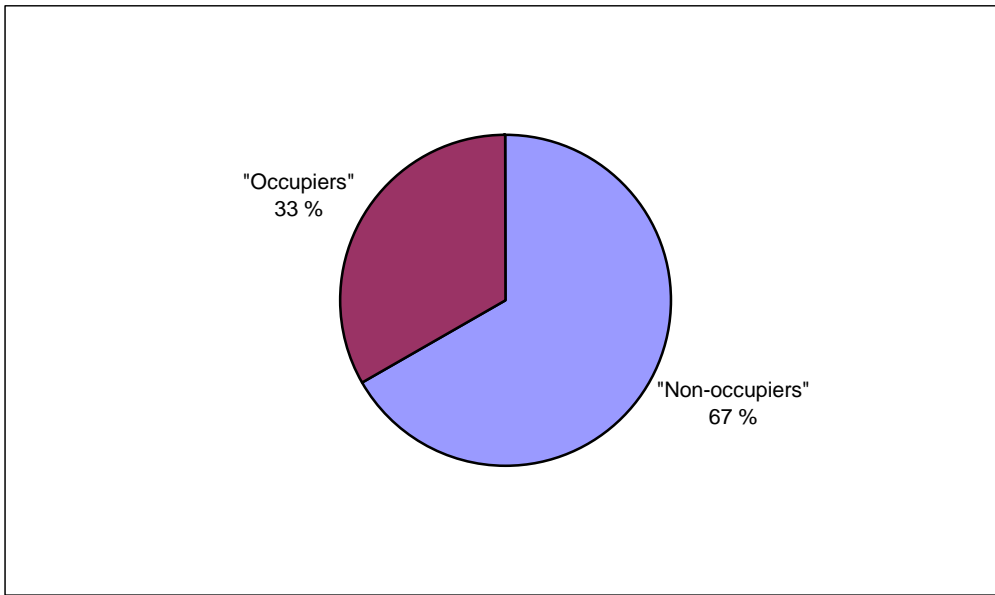


Figure 3.7 Foreign victims of abductions in Iraq (April-August 2004): "Occupiers" vs "Non-occupiers" (percentage of victims)

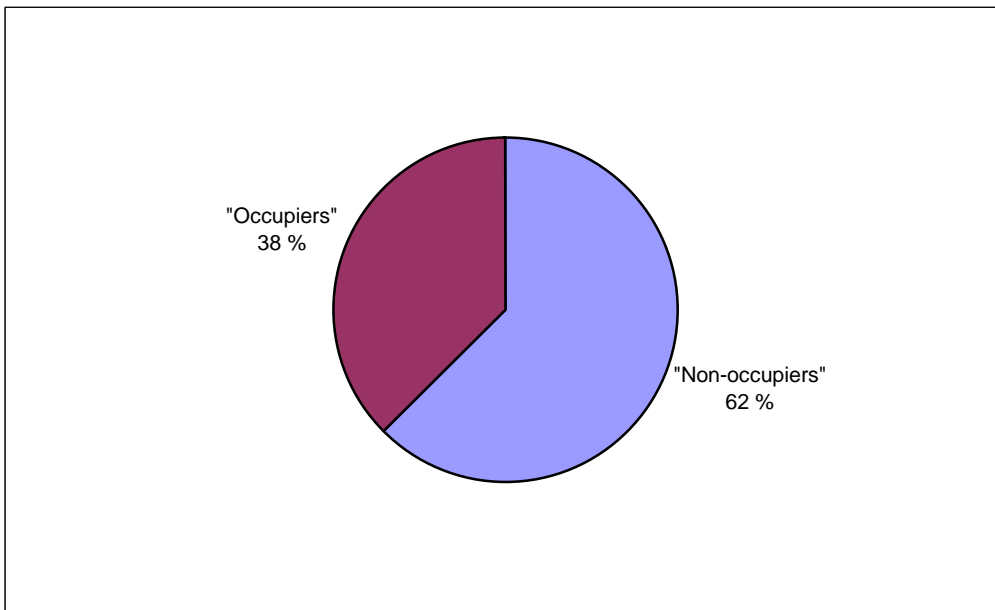


Figure 3.8 Countries with citizens abducted in Iraq (April-August 2004): "Occupiers" vs. "Non-occupiers" (percentage of countries)

A similarly interesting observation can be made with regards to the kidnappers' targeting of Muslims. In fact, as many as 41% of the abduction victims come from Muslim countries (see figures 3.9 and 3.10).¹⁰

¹⁰ The author has not attempted to determine the religion of the individual victims, but rather counted the number of victims from Muslim countries. By "Muslim country" is meant a country where the majority of the population is nominally Muslim. Thus some Lebanese Christians have been counted as Muslims, but this statistical discrepancy is counterbalanced by the fact that Muslim Arab-Americans have been counted as Christians.

If one compares *occupying countries*, *Muslim countries* (none of which are in the coalition), and *countries that are neither occupying nor Muslim*, one finds that the category of Muslim countries is the largest one.

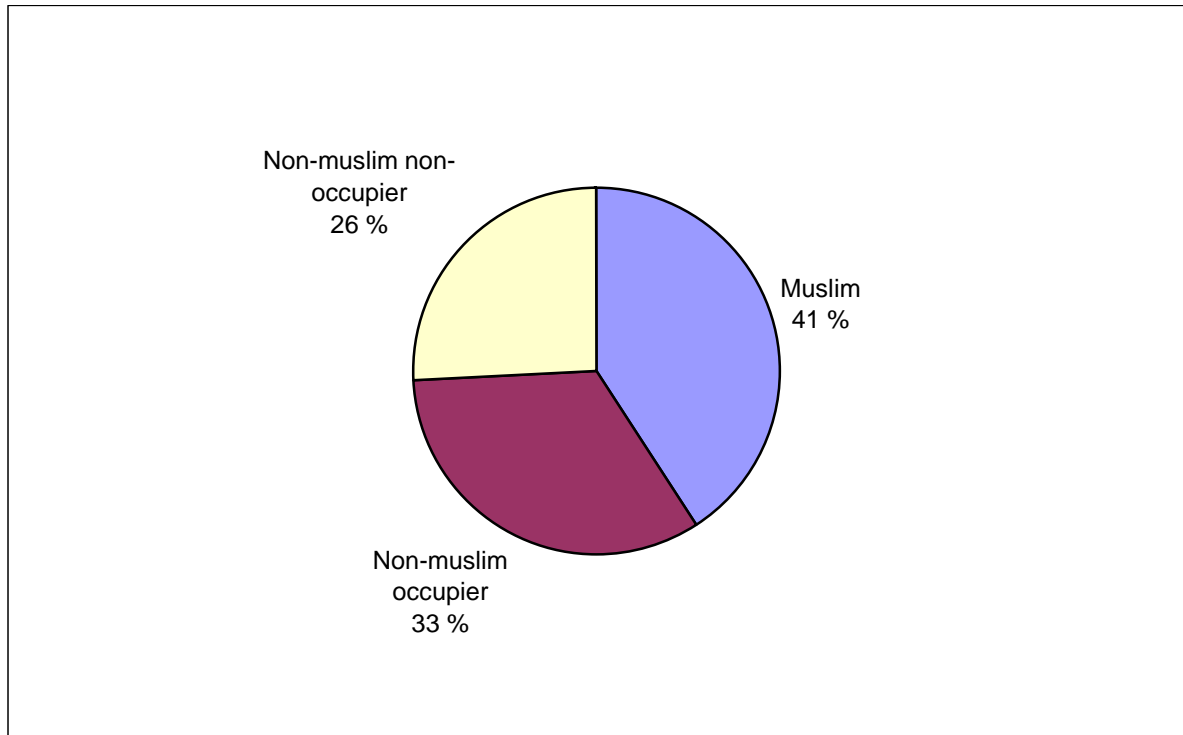


Figure 3.9 Foreign victims of abductions in Iraq (April-August 2004): “Occupiers”, “Non-occupiers” and Muslims (percentage of victims)

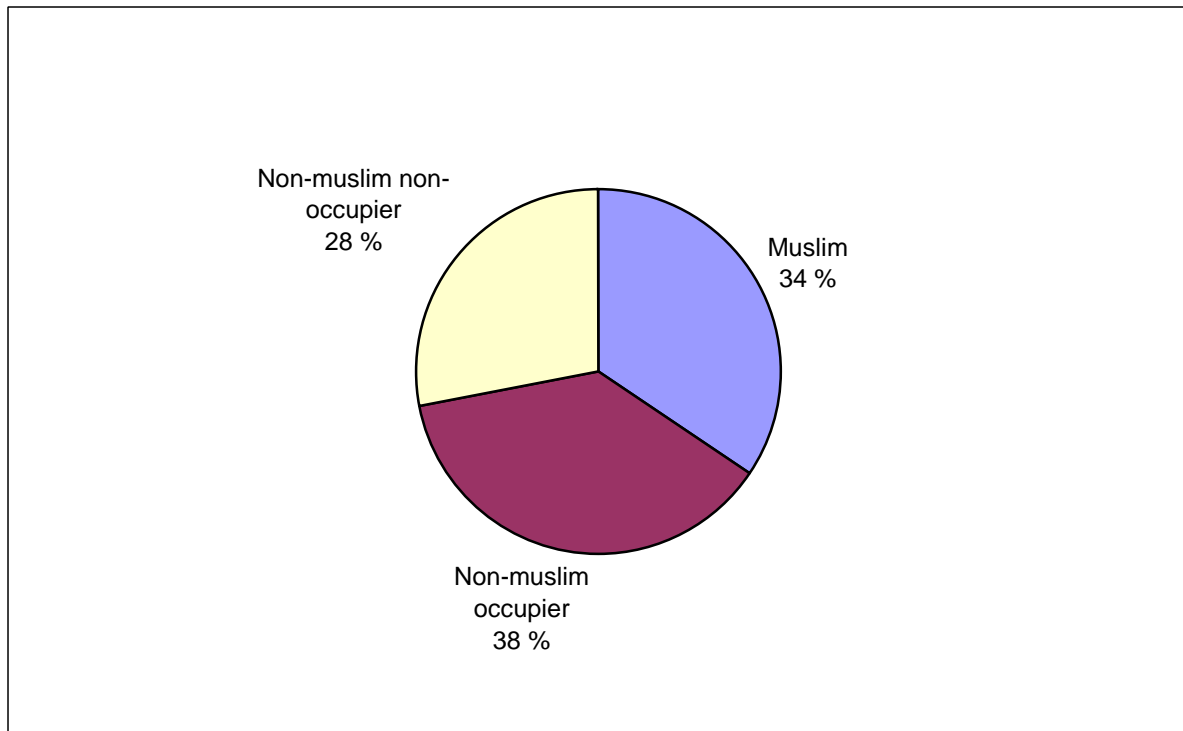


Figure 3.10 Countries with citizens abducted in Iraq (April-August 2004): “Occupiers”, “Non-occupiers” and Muslims (percentage of countries)

However, the proportions in the patterns of targeting have not stayed the same since the beginning of the abduction campaign. If we look at the developments in these proportions over time between April and August (see figure 3.11), we can observe a significant shift between April, when “occupiers” were in majority among the victims, and June, when “Muslims” were by far the most numerous. This can probably be explained by increased protection measures taken by coalition countries and a gradually increasing acceptance among radical groups for the taking of Muslim hostages.

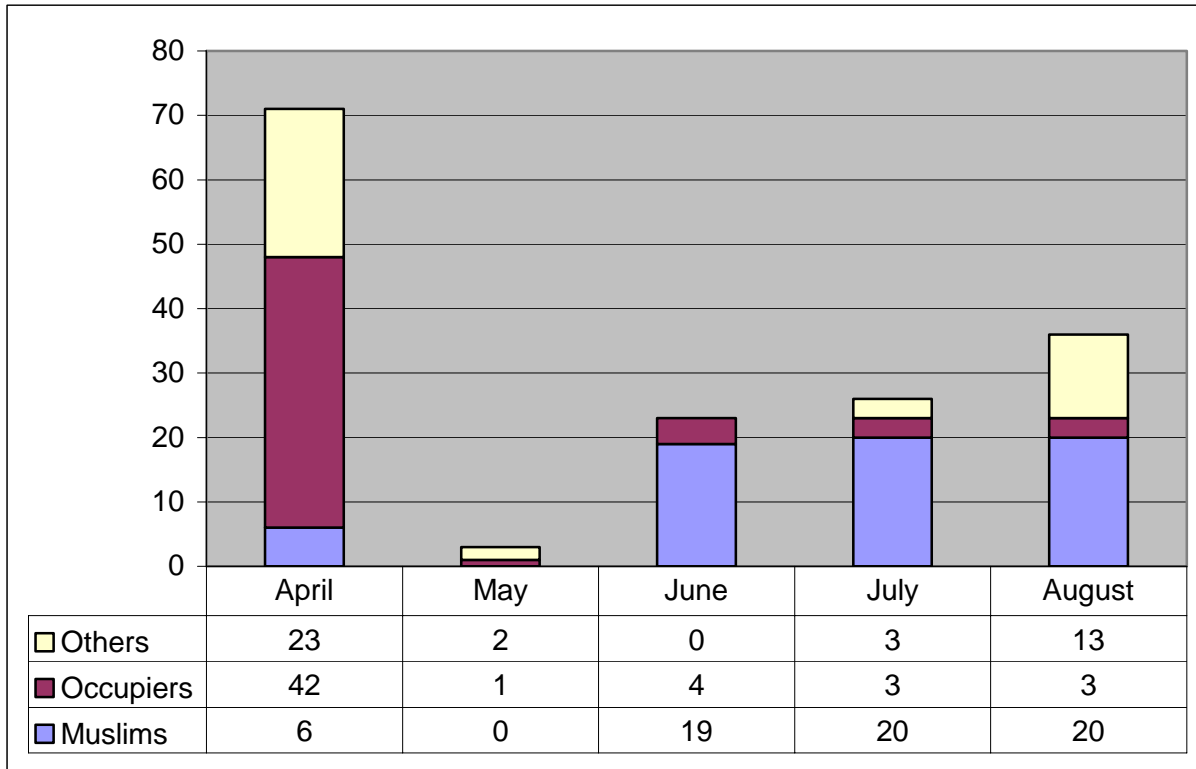


Figure 3.11 Foreigners abducted in Iraq – per month (April-August 2004): “Occupiers”, “Non-occupiers” and Muslims

With regards to the professional activity of the victims of abductions in Iraq, there is a clear dominance of drivers and manual workers (see figure 3.12), a fact that must be seen in relation to the many Turks, Jordanians and Asians among the abduction victims, many of whom work in these sectors. Another point worth noting is the relatively large number of NGO workers and journalists taken captive in Iraq, showing that these professions do not in any way provide immunity from political violence. The same goes for diplomats, two of whom were abducted in July.

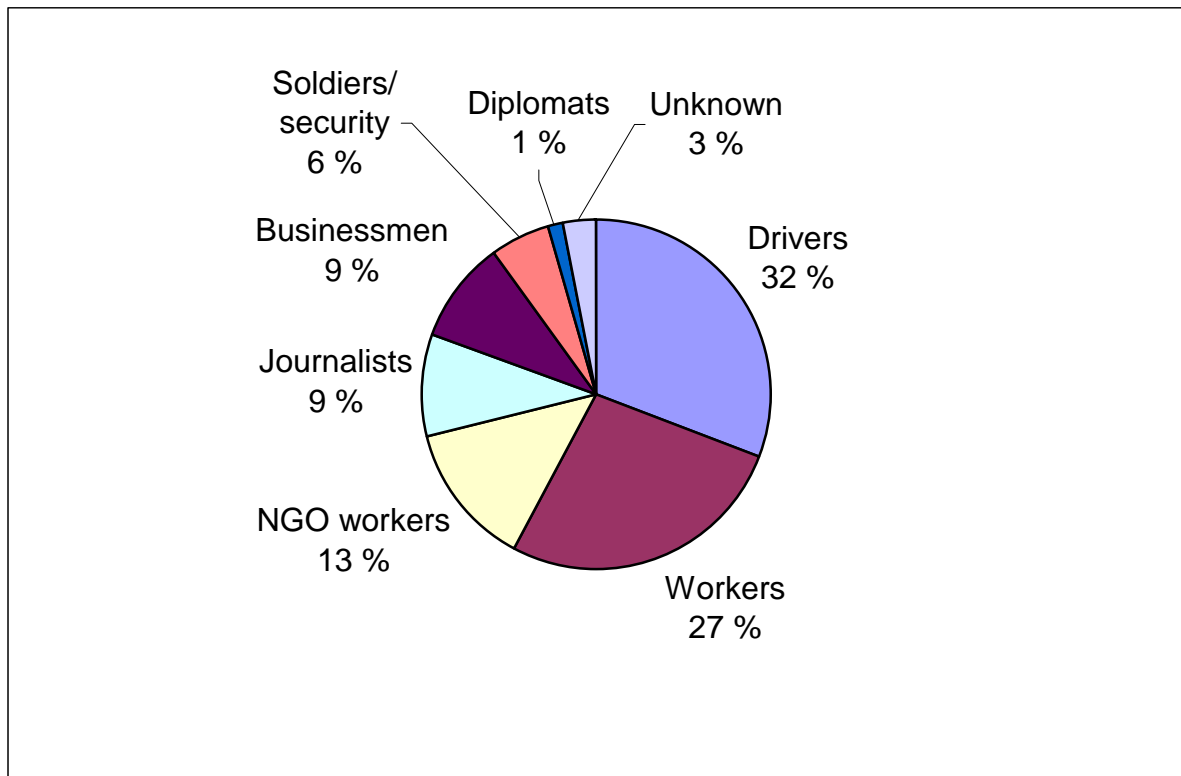


Figure 3.12 Professions of foreigners abducted in Iraq (April-August 2004)

3.3 Demands

It is relatively difficult to analyse the patterns of demands raised by hostage takers given that our data is very incomplete on this point. In more than half of the abduction incidents we do not know the nature of the demands of the captors (see figures 3.14 and 3.15). In some of the “unknown” cases there may not have been any demands (as mentioned above), in other cases there may have been question of a ransom (a demand that is often not publicised), and in others again the quality our information is simply incomplete.

The most frequent single demand was the *withdrawal of the company of the hostage*, followed by the *withdrawal of the military forces of the victim’s country* and the *release of prisoners*. We have also seen a wide range of other political demands, including:

- The end of the Falluja siege (April) and Najaf siege (August)
- That the victim’s country end its support for the Iraqi regime
- That the victim’s country do not send troops to Iraq *in the future*
- That demonstrations against the occupation of Iraq be held in the victim’s country
- That Berlusconi apologize for his statements about Islam
- That France abolish the law banning conspicuous religious symbols (such as the Muslim headscarf) in schools

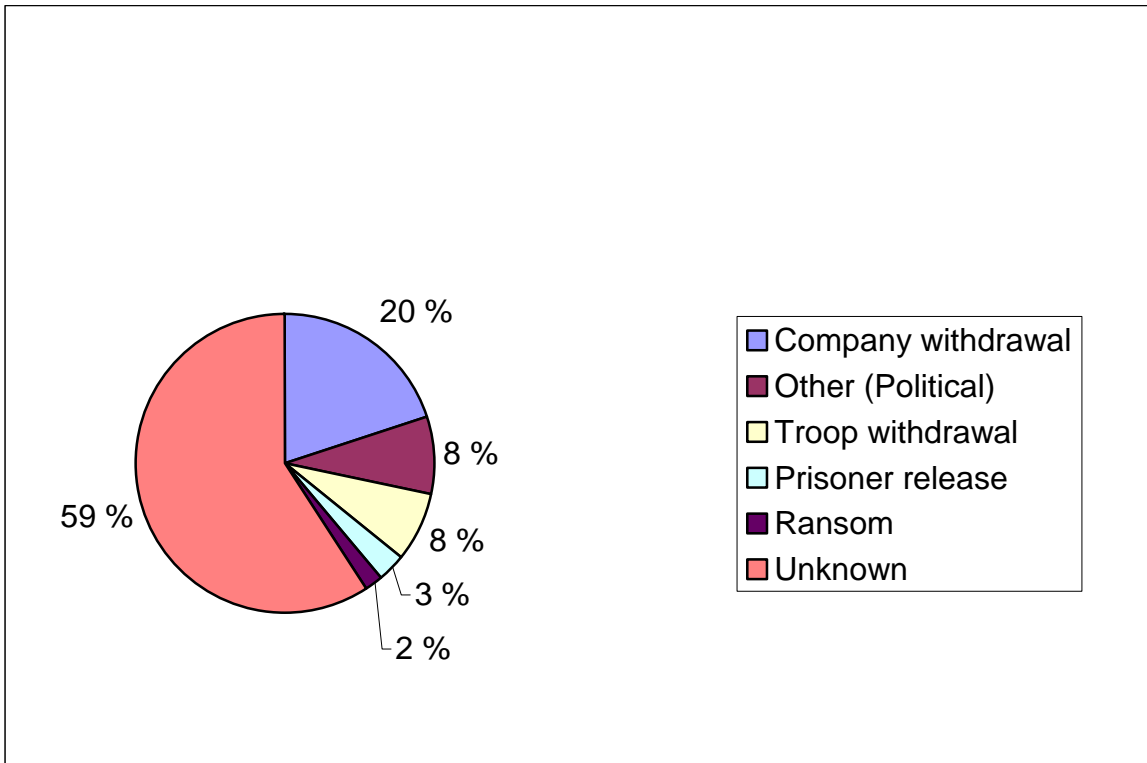


Figure 3.13 Type of demands from kidnappers of foreigners in Iraq (April-August 2004) – per victim

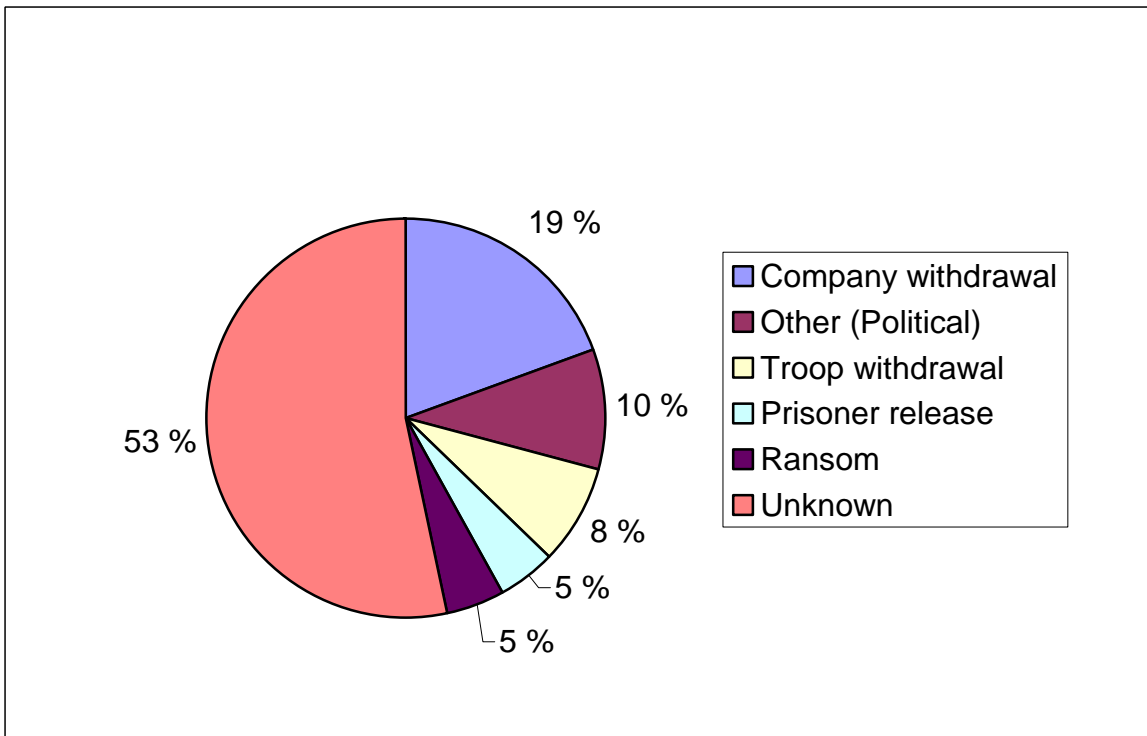


Figure 3.14 Type of demands after abductions of foreigners in Iraq (April-August 2004) per incident

3.4 Outcomes

The videos of executions and beheadings of hostages posted on the Internet have undoubtedly created an impression among western audiences that the prospects of foreign hostages in Iraq are gloomy. However, our data show that at least 71% (i.e. 112 individuals) of the hostages captured between April and August 2004 were freed or rescued (see figure 3.15). This is not to underestimate the number of killed hostages in this period, which number at least 24 people, or 15% of all the victims. It should be mentioned that half of the deaths came from the mass execution of 12 Nepalese hostages in late August. The fate of 23 hostages remains unknown, and it is reasonable to assume that some of these are still being held, some may be dead, and some may have been released without attracting much media attention. The “unknown” category may also include reporting errors (people wrongfully declared missing).

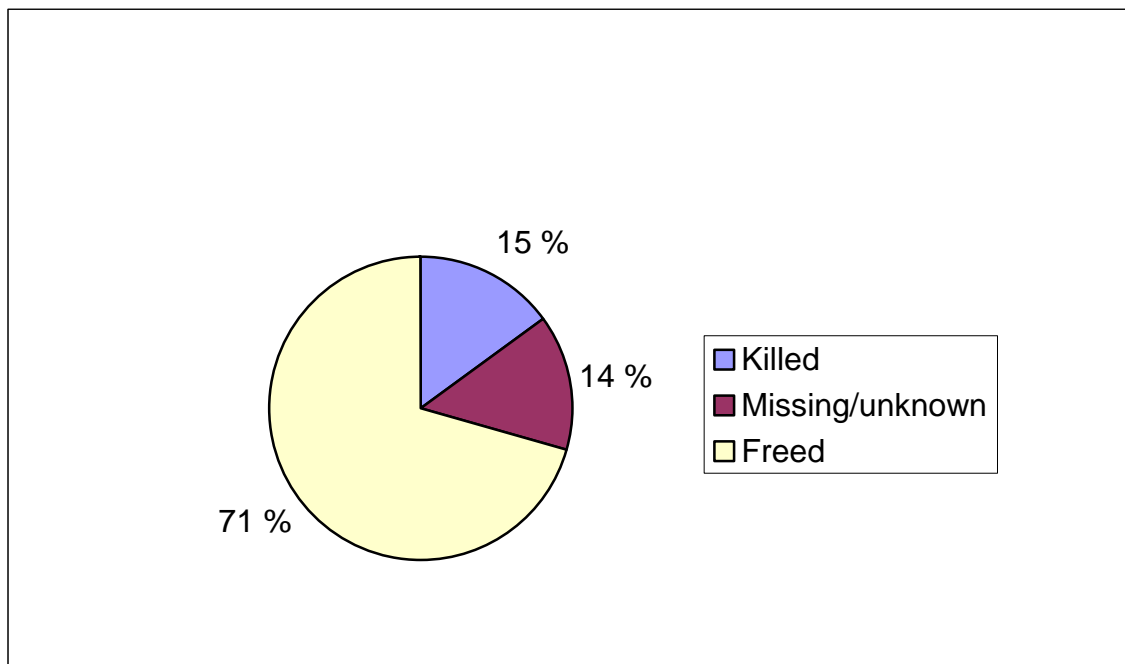


Figure 3.15 Fate of abduction victims in Iraq (April-August 2004)

Those hostages who survived did so in different ways. Some escaped by themselves, others were rescued by special forces or by local vigilantes. The majority, however, were simply released by their captors, for a variety of reasons, including

- Ransom was paid/demands were met
- The kidnappers realized they had abducted a person of the wrong nationality
- The kidnappers were convinced that the hostage was not a spy
- The hostage and the kidnappers developed friendly relations
- Islamic organisations or tribal leaders negotiated the hostages' release
- The kidnappers felt they had got their message across and did not know what to do with the hostage

The above results include the totality of the data and thus describe the outcomes of all types of abductions of foreigners in Iraq. To what extent does this picture change if we look at specific categories of victims such as US citizens, members of the coalition, etc? One of the most interesting

observation we can make, is that the “confirmed death rate” of victims coming from the coalition countries is not higher than average (See table 3.16). As a matter of fact, the percentage of confirmed survivors is *above* average.

It becomes more difficult to generalize with regard to categories with much smaller numbers of victims such as “US, UK and Italy” or just “US” (see table 3.16). It seems, however, that the “confirmed death rate” does not increase markedly even in these categories. One might nevertheless note the low rate of confirmed survivors among the US hostages.

Category	Total number	Killed	Survived	Unknown
Coalition members	53	8 (15%)	41 (77%)	4 (8%)
US, UK and Italy	24	4 (17%)	16 (66%)	4 (17%)
US	10	2 (20%)	4 (40%)	4 (40%)

Table 3.16 Fate of foreign abduction victims in Iraq (April-August 2004), selected categories of victims

4 KEY FINDINGS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

This short and preliminary study has tried to use statistics to shed light on some aspects of the abduction campaign in Iraq. Some interesting and counterintuitive findings have been noted, such as the **small proportion of victims from coalition countries** (33%), the relatively **large proportion of victims from Muslim countries** (41%), and the **high “confirmed survival rate”** (71%) for abduction victims, including for US, UK and Italian citizens. I have also highlighted important chronological developments, such as the **explosive increase in abductions in early April**, the virtual **absence of abductions in May**, and a **relative increase in the abduction rate in late July shortly after the Filipino military withdrawal from Iraq**. Interestingly, the Abu Ghraib scandal did not seem to cause an immediate increase in the number kidnappings, although it was subsequently mentioned by kidnappers as a justification for the killing and harsh treatment of hostages.

The data considered in this report concerns the period from 1 April to 31 August 2004. Not surprisingly, there were many kidnapping incidents in Iraq in September, including

- Three Turkish citizens captured late August or early September. Their video-taped execution was reported on 2 September.
- Three Jordanians and one Sudanese captured on 5 September and released the next day.
- Two female Italian aid workers captured on 7 September and released 28 September.
- A Jordanian driver captured on 15 September. Possibly still held at the time of writing.
- Two Americans and one UK citizen abducted on 16 September. The two Americans were beheaded shortly afterwards, while the UK citizen was executed on 10 October.
- Ten Turkish citizens abducted on 18 September. Released in early October.
- Six Egyptians captured on 24 September.

Overall, these new developments seem to be in line with the patterns described in this report, notably in the predominance of non-western (Turkish and Jordanian) hostages. However, the capture

of the Italian, American and British hostages and execution of three of them have undoubtedly created an impression in the West of an escalation in the hostage crisis in Iraq in September 2004.

APPENDIX

A CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

5 April: British Gary Teeley (37) is kidnapped in Nasiriya. Freed on 11 April "with the help of Arab tribes in the region".¹¹

7 April: Two unidentified Germans went missing on their way from Jordan to Baghdad.¹²

8 April: Syrian-born Canadian aid worker Fadi Fadel (33) and Israeli Arab Nabil George Yaakob Razuq kidnapped in Najaf. A previously unknown group, Ansar al-Din, demands the release of all Iraqis being held by coalition forces. Fadel is tortured and accused of being Israeli spy. Fadel released 16 April, while Razuq is released on 22 April.¹³

8 April: UK journalist Stephen Farrell and US freelance journalist Orly Halperin attacked and held by militants between the town of Ramadi and Falluja.¹⁴

8 April: Canadian construction worker Muhammad Rifat captured. Still missing.¹⁵

8 April: Seven South Korean missionaries captured and held near Baghdad. An eighth person escapes. Released hours after their abduction.¹⁶

8 April: Three Japanese -- health researcher Noriaki Imai (18), aid worker Nahoko Takato (34) and photojournalist Soichiro Koriyama (32) -- captured near Falluja by a group calling itself the "Mujahidin Brigades". The group said it would burn the three alive if Japan did not pull its troops. Released 15 April.¹⁷

9 April: Four US citizens -- truck driver Thomas Hamill (43), soldier Keith Maupin (20), contractor William Bradley and contractor Timothy Bell -- captured after an ambush on a fuel convoy near Abu Ghraib west of Baghdad. Captors threatened to kill Thomas Hamill if the US siege of Falluja was not lifted. Hamill escaped and was found on 2 May. On 28 June, a video is released, claiming to show Private Keith Maupin kneeling before a grave minutes before his death. However, his death has not been confirmed. No news from William Bradley and Timothy Bell.¹⁸

10 April: American Nicholas Berg disappears. His decapitated body is found on 8 May. A video showing his decapitation is posted on the Internet on 11 May. Berg's captors said his killing was in part a response to the abuse of Iraqi prisoners at Abu Ghraib prison.¹⁹

10 April(?): Three Pakistanis, two Turks, a Nepalese, a Filipino and an Indian are captured. The precise date and circumstances of their abduction are unknown. A video showing their release is

¹¹ "Kidnapped Briton freed in Iraq", *BBC News Online*, 11 April 2004

¹² "Latest on Iraq hostages", *CNN.com*, 20 April 2004

¹³ Lee Carter, "Canadian hostage describes ordeal", *BBC News Online*, 21 April 2004; "Foreign hostages released in Iraq", *BBC News Online*, 22 April 2004

¹⁴ "UK journalist 'kidnapped' in Iraq", *BBC News Online*, 8 April 2004

¹⁵ "Canadian hostage released in Iraq", *BBC World Online*, 5 May 2004

¹⁶ "Timeline: Hostages in Iraq", *BBC News Online*, 16 April 2004

¹⁷ "Japanese hostages freed", *BBC News Online*, 15 April 2004

¹⁸ "Latest on Iraq hostages", *CNN.com*, 20 April 2004

¹⁹ "US pledges to catch Berg killers", *BBC News online*, 12 May 2004

shown on al-Jazeera on 11 April. However, no government agencies had confirmed that the civilians were taken hostage.²⁰

11 April: Seven Chinese hotel workers are seized in Falluja. Released on 12 April.²¹

11 April: Two French journalists -- Ivan Serieix and Alexandre Jordanov -- abducted on a road near Latifiyya. Serieix was released the next day (12 April), but Jordanov remained in captivity for a further two days (14 April). No demands received from the abductors, CAPA said.²²

11 April: Danish national captured. He was reported missing by Danish authorities as late as 16 April, but it later turned out he had been found dead by Iraqis on 12 April.²³

11 April: UAE businessman Wael Mamduh captured in Basra. No subsequent news about him.²⁴

12 April Three Czech journalists (Reporter Michal Kubal and cameraman Petr Klima, of Czech Television and Vit Pohanka from Czech Radio) captured after leaving their Baghdad Hotel. Released 16 April.²⁵

12 April: Five Ukrainian and three Russian employees of a Russian power consortium kidnapped. Released on 13 April.²⁶

12 April: Four Italians -- security guards Salvatore Stefio (34), Umberto Cupertino (35), Maurizio Agliana (37) and Fabrizio Quattrocchi (36) -- captured by a group calling itself "the Green Brigade". It demanded the withdrawal of Italian troops from Iraq, the release of clerics held by Italian forces and an apology from Mr Berlusconi for allegedly insulting Islam. Quattrocchi is shot dead on 14 April. The three others are rescued by special forces on 8 June.²⁷

14 april: Japanese human rights worker Nobutaka Watanabe and Japanese freelance journalist Jumpei Yasuda (30) captured near Abu Ghraib. Seized after travelling by taxi to photograph a US military helicopter which had crashed west of Baghdad. Released 17 April.²⁸

15 April: A Chinese national was captured briefly. Released after mediation by Sunni clerics. No details on circumstances of capture.²⁹

15 April: Six British peace activists - Jo Wilding (UK) and five others (Mike?, Billie?, David?) – as well as Australian peace activist Donna Mulhearn captured in Falluja. Released 20 hours later, allegedly after charming the kidnappers with circus skills.³⁰

16 April: American businessman of Jordanian origin was abducted from his Basra hotel. No news on his fate.³¹

²⁰ "List of hostages in Iraq", *Reuters*, April 16, 2004; "Latest on Iraq hostages", *CNN.com*, 20 April 2004

²¹ "Seven new hostages seized in Iraq", *BBC News Online*, 12 April 2004

²² "Timeline: Hostages in Iraq", *BBC News Online*, 16 April 2004

²³ "Foreign hostages released in Iraq", *BBC News Online*, 22 April 2004

²⁴ Ian Marland, "Images of American soldier beamed around the world", *The Scotsman*, 17 April 2004

²⁵ "Foreign hostages freed in Iraq", *BBC News Online*, 16 April 2004

²⁶ "Iraq militants free more hostages", *BBC News Online*, 13 April 2004

²⁷ "Italians embrace freed hostages", *BBC News Online*, 9 June 2004

²⁸ "Japanese hostages freed in Iraq", *BBC News Online*, 17 April 2004

²⁹ "Foreign hostages freed in Iraq", *BBC News Online*, 16 April 2004

³⁰ "Circus tricks help Iraq hostages", *BBC News Online*, 22 April 2004; See also "Falluja (2)" from Jo Wilding's Weblog, 20 April 2004 (http://wildfirejo.blogspot.com/2004_04_01_wildfirejo_archive.html)

³¹ "Foreign hostages freed in Iraq", *BBC News Online*, 16 April 2004

20 April: Two Swiss NGO workers (a couple) captured in the south of Iraq. Released on 22 April after diplomatic efforts.³²

28 April: Businessman Naji al-Kuwaiti (dual Iraqi and Canadian citizenship) captured in Baghdad. He is released on 4 May after family paid a \$50,000 ransom.³³

3 May: Iraqi-American civil engineer Aban Elias captured by a group calling itself Islamic Anger Brigades. No subsequent news about his fate.³⁴

10 May: Two Russian construction workers, Andrei Meshcheryakov (33) and Alexander Gordiyenko (27), were kidnapped in Baghdad. Released on 17 May.³⁵

1 June: Two Polish businessmen -- Jerzy Kos and Radoslaw Kadri -- were kidnapped outside their offices near Baghdad by a group calling itself "the Green Brigade". Kadri escaped almost immediately. Kos was released on 8 June by Italian special forces after being held in the same hideout as three Italian hostages.³⁶

1 June(?): Turkish air conditioning engineers Murat Kizil and Soner Sercali captured. Released on 2 July after their company agreed to stop operating in Iraq.³⁷

5 June: Kuwaiti driver Saad Sadoun captured. Still missing.³⁸

7 June: Lebanese Muslim Hussein Ali Alyan (a Shia) is captured. His body is found dumped on a roadside near Baghdad on 12 June. He was killed along with two Iraqis. His body showed signs of torture.³⁹

7 June: Two Lebanese, Habib Samour and Roger Haddad, kidnapped (separately from Hussein Alyan). Haddad released. Fate of Samour unknown.⁴⁰

7 June: Seven Turkish workers captured in Falluja by militants demanding that their company withdraw from Iraq. Released on 12 June.⁴¹

14 June: Two Lebanese construction workers, George Frendo and Jamil Deeb (working for a Swedish construction company) are captured. Deeb is released on 17 June, Frendo on 19 June "after efforts by the Lebanese embassy".⁴²

17 June: South Korean translator Kim Sun-il (33) captured in Falluja by Jamaat al-Tawhid wa-l-Jihad who demand that South Korea withdraw its forces from Iraq. His beheaded body is found on 22 June.⁴³

³² "Foreign hostages released in Iraq", *BBC News Online*, 22 April 2004

³³ "Canadian hostage released in Iraq", *BBC World Online*, 5 May 2004

³⁴ "US hostage' shown by TV channel", *BBC News Online*, 6 May 2004; "A List of Foreigners Taken Hostage in Iraq", *The Associated Press*, Aug. 16, 2004

³⁵ "Russian hostages released in Iraq", *BBC News Online*, 17 May 2004

³⁶ "Polish workers kidnapped in Iraq", *BBC News Online*, 1 June 2004; "Special forces free Iraq hostages", *BBC News Online*, 8 June 2004

³⁷ "Turkey hostages released in Iraq", *BBC News Online*, 2 July 2004

³⁸ "Iraqi PM rejects kidnapping deal", *BBC News Online*, 24 July 2004

³⁹ "Three hostages killed in Iraq", *BBC News Online*, 12 June 2004

⁴⁰ "Lebanese hostage killed in Iraq", *Aljazeera.com*, 12 June 2004

⁴¹ "Three hostages killed in Iraq", *BBC News Online*, 12 June 2004

⁴² "Last Lebanon hostage free in Iraq", *BBC News Online*, 19 June 2004

⁴³ "S Korean hostage beheaded in Iraq", *BBC News Online*, 22 June 2004

21 June: US Marine corporal Wassef Ali Hassoun is allegedly captured. Wrongly reported to have been beheaded on 3 July. Emerges in Beirut on 8 July. Story is investigated by the US Military as possible hoax.⁴⁴

24 June: Three Turkish men, Mustafa Bal, Mehmet Bakir and Abdulselam Bakir, are captured by Jamaat al-Tawhid wa-l-Jihad who demand their company's withdrawal. Released on 29 June.⁴⁵

27 June: Pakistani driver Amjad Hafeez captured in Baghdad by kidnappers demanding the release of local detainees and the closure of the Pakistani embassy in Iraq. Released on 2 July.⁴⁶

5 July: Egyptian Truck driver Mohammed Gharabawi is captured. Released on 19 July after his Saudi employer agreed to leave Iraq.⁴⁷

7 July: Philippine truck driver Angelo de la Cruz is captured by militants who later appeared in a video under a banner saying *Islamic Army, Khaled bin al-Waleed corps* Released on 20 July after Philippine Government agreed to withdraw its troops from Iraq.⁴⁸

8 July: Bulgarian drivers Ivaylo Kepov and Georgi Lazov captured in Mosul by Jamaat al-Tawhid wa-l-Jihad after delivering cars from Bulgaria. Georgi Lazov (30) is beheaded on 12 or 13 July. Al-Jazeera received a video showing the beheading but decided not to show it, because the pictures were too gruesome. Ivaylo Kepov is probably beheaded on 14 or 15 July. Kepov's dead body is identified on 11 August.⁴⁹

17 July: Turkish driver captured. News reports mention two different names (Muhammad Omar and Mehmet Dayar), but probably one and the same person ("Mehmet" being the Turkish form of "Muhammad"). Released after promising never to return to Iraq.⁵⁰

21 July: Three Indians (Antaryami Bain, Tilak Raj and Sukhdev Singh), Three Kenyans (Jalal Mohammed Awadhi, Faiz Khamis Salim and Ibrahim Khamis), one Egyptian (Mohammed Ali) captured by a group calling itself "The Holders of the Black Banners". Released on 1 September after their company paid a \$500,000 ransom.⁵¹

23 July: Egyptian Diplomat Mohamed Mamdouh Qutb is captured as he leaves the mosque in Baghdad by a group calling itself the "Lions of Allah Brigade", who said the kidnapping was a response to an Egyptian offer to train Iraq's security forces. Released on 26 July.⁵²

23 July: Two Pakistanis, engineer Azad Hussein Khan and driver Sajjad Naeem, as well as one Iraqi are captured by "the Islamic Army in Iraq" who demand that their company withdraw from Iraq. They are killed, and their dead bodies are shown on video on 29 July (this was the first execution of Muslim hostages in Iraq).⁵³

⁴⁴ "Family prays US hostage is alive", *BBC News Online*, 6 July 2004; "Missing marine 'did not desert'", *BBC News Online*, 20 July 2004

⁴⁵ "Iraq captors free Turk hostages", *BBC News Online*, 29 June 2004

⁴⁶ "Pakistani hostage freed in Iraq", *BBC News Online*, 2 July 2004

⁴⁷ "Egyptian hostage freed unharmed", *BBC News Online*, 19 July 2004

⁴⁸ "Philippines' Iraq hostage freed", *BBC News Online*, 20 July 2004

⁴⁹ "Headless body found in Iraq river", *BBC News online*, 16 July 2004; "Bulgaria identifies dead hostage", *BBC World*, 11 August 2004

⁵⁰ "Iraqi PM rejects kidnapping deal", *BBC News Online*, 24 July 2004; "A List of Foreigners Taken Hostage in Iraq" The Associated Press, Aug. 16, 2004

⁵¹ "Foreign truckers released in Iraq", *BBC News Online*, 1 September 2004

⁵² "Egyptian envoy abducted in Iraq", *BBC News Online*, 23 July 2004; "Iraq militants free Egypt envoy", *BBC News Online*, 26 July 2004

⁵³ "Pakistan angry at hostage deaths", *BBC News Online*, 29 July 2004

24 July: Somali driver Ali Ahmed Musa captured by Jamaat al-Tawhid wa-l-Jihad, who demands his company's withdrawal from Iraq. Released in early August.⁵⁴

26 July: Jordanian drivers Fayez Saad al-Udwan and Mohammad Ahmed Salama al-Manaya'a captured by a group calling itself the Mujahideen Corps in Iraq, who demand that their company withdraw from Iraq. Released 10 August.⁵⁵

30 July(?): Two Turkish drivers, Murat Yuce and Aytullah Gezmen, captured and held by Jamaat al-Tawhid wa-l-Jihad. A video showing Yuce's execution appears on 2 August. A video showing militant threatening to kill Gezmen appears on 19 August. No further news about Gezmen's fate.⁵⁶

31 July: Two Turkish drivers, Abdulrrahman Demir and Said Unurlu, captured by Jamaat al-Tawhid wa-l-Jihad. Released on 4 August.⁵⁷

31 July: Vlada Abu Ghadi, Lebanese director of Lara construction company. Abducted July 31 in Baghdad. Fate unknown.⁵⁸

31 July: Vladimir Damaa, Lebanese director of a construction company in Baghdad. Freed 1 August. His name and position look very similar to Vlada Abu Ghadi (see above), but they are mentioned as separate people in one and the same news article by the Associated Press.⁵⁹

31 July: Lebanese Businessman Antoine Antoun abducted along with Syrian driver Issa Al Shaikh Awad in Baghdad. Released on 10 August.⁶⁰

3 August: Seven Jordanian drivers captured by a group calling itself "The Mujahideen of Iraq, the Group of Death", who demand that Jordan end their support for the Iraqi Government. Four of them (Ahmad Abu Jaafar, Mohammad Ahmad Khleifat, Khaled Ibrahim Masoud and businessman Ahmad Tayseer Sunokrot) released on 4 August when local people stormed the house in Falluja where they were held. No subsequent news on the remaining three hostages.⁶¹

4 August: Iranian diplomat Fereidoun Jahani captured by group calling itself "the Islamic Army in Iraq", who said he was captured for "stirring sectarian strife". They subsequently demanded that Iran return prisoners from the Iran-Iraq War. No news on his fate.⁶²

6 August: Syrian driver (Osama Issa) and Four Lebanese drivers captured (Kassem Murqbawi, Taha al-Jundi, Nasser al-Jundi and Khaldoun Othman). Kassem Murqbawi and one of al-Jundi brothers released on 10 August.⁶³

7 August: Jordanian businessman Taha al-Mahrameh (working for Danish company) captured. Freed for a ransom on 10 August.⁶⁴

⁵⁴ "Somali tells of Iraq kidnap ordeal", BBC world, 6 Aug 2004

⁵⁵ "Foreign hostages released in Iraq", *BBC News Online*, 10 August 2004

⁵⁶ "Iraq threat to kill Turkey worker", *BBC News Online*, 19 Aug 2004

⁵⁷ "Foreign hostages released in Iraq", *BBC News Online*, 4 August 2004

⁵⁸ "A List of Foreigners Taken Hostage in Iraq" The Associated Press, Aug. 16, 2004

⁵⁹ "A List of Foreigners Taken Hostage in Iraq" The Associated Press, Aug. 16, 2004

⁶⁰ "Foreign hostages released in Iraq", *BBC News Online*, 10 August 2004

⁶¹ "Foreign hostages released in Iraq", *BBC News Online*, 4 August 2004; "Iraq force 'will not yield' over hostages", *BBC News Online*, 5 August 2004

⁶² "Abducted Iranian consul 'alive'", *BBC World*, 9 august 2004

⁶³ Nicolas Tohme, "Freed Lebanese hostage returns home after Iraq ordeal", *The Daily Star*, 13 August 2004; "A List of Foreigners Taken Hostage in Iraq" The Associated Press, Aug. 16, 2004

⁶⁴ "Bulgaria identifies dead hostage", *BBC News Online*, 11 August 2004

9 August: Jordanian businessman Jamal Sadeq al-Salaymeh captured in Baghdad by kidnappers who demanded \$250,000. Freed on 12 August.⁶⁵

12 August: James Brandon seized in Basra hotel by kidnappers who demanded that US troops withdraw from Najaf. Brandon was freed on 13 August after his abduction was condemned by Muqtada al-Sadr.⁶⁶

13 August: French-American Micah Garen kidnapped with his Iraqi interpreter in Nasiriya after being seen taking pictures with a small camera. Freed on 22 August after mediation by Muqtada al-Sadr.⁶⁷

14 August: Turkish Drivers Mustafa Koksal and Durmus Kundereli kidnapped outside Mosul after delivering water to U.S. base in Baghdad. No subsequent news on their fate.⁶⁸

19 August: 12 Nepalese captured by Jaysh Ansar al-Sunna right after entering Iraq from Jordan. A video surfaces on 31 August showing the beheading of one of the hostages and the shooting of the remaining eleven. The killings spark riots and attacks on mosques in Nepal.⁶⁹

19 August: Italian reporter Enzo Baldoni captured by the “Islamic Army in Iraq” following an ambush between Baghdad and Najaf. Italian authorities confirm the death of Baldoni after receiving video from the killers.⁷⁰

20 August: French reporters Georges Malbrunot and Christian Chesnot and captured on the way from Baghdad to Najaf. A video was later released showing the two being held by the Islamic Army in Iraq, who demanded that the French law banning conspicuous religious symbols (thus head scarves) be repealed. They were thought to still be alive as of mid-September 2004.⁷¹

20 August (?): Jordanian civil servant Alaa Thabet Lazim was captured in al-Khadr, east of Nasiriyya. The kidnappers demanded \$250,000 for his release. He was freed on 20 September by Iraqi police.⁷²

25 August: Turkish workers Abdullah Ozdemir and Ali Daskin were kidnapped from their worksite. Kidnappers demanded the withdrawal of their company. They were released on 29 August.⁷³

⁶⁵ “A List of Foreigners Taken Hostage in Iraq” The Associated Press, Aug. 16, 2004

⁶⁶ “Kidnapped UK journalist released”, *BBC News*, 13 Aug 2004

⁶⁷ “Kidnapped reporter freed in Iraq”, *BBC News*, 22 Aug 2004

⁶⁸ “A List of Foreigners Taken Hostage in Iraq” The Associated Press, Aug. 16, 2004

⁶⁹ “Nepal confirms abductions in Iraq”, *BBC News Online*, 23 Aug 2004; “Nepalese hostages killed in Iraq”, *BBC News Online*, 31 August 2004

⁷⁰ “Italy deplores Iraq hostage death”, *BBC News Online*, 27 August 2004

⁷¹ “Frenchmen 'held by Iraqi group'”, *BBC News Online*, 28 August 2004; “France says hostages still alive”, *BBC News Online*, 17 September 2004

⁷² “Forces free Jordanian hostage in Iraq”, Reuters, Mon 20 September, 2004

⁷³ “Two Turkish Hostages Released In Iraq”, *AFP*, 29 August 2004

B TABLE WITH KEY INFORMATION ON KIDNAPPINGS

Date	Nationality	Name	Profession	Location	Days held	Captor	Demand	Result	Notes
5/4	British	Gary Teeley	Businessman	Nasiriyya	6	?	?	Released	Helped by "Arab tribes"
7/4	German	?	Security guard	Baghdad	?	?	?	Missing	Possibly killed in attack
7/4	German	?	Security guard	Baghdad	?	?	?	Missing	Possibly killed in attack
8/4	Israeli Arab	Nabil George Yaakob Razuq	Aid worker	Najaf	14	Ansar al-Din (shia)	Prisoner release	Released	
8/4	Canadian*	Fadi Fadel	Aid worker	Najaf	9	Ansar al-Din (shia)	?	Released	Tortured
8/4	British	Stephen Farrell	Journalist	Falluja/Ramadi	1	?	None	Released	Accused of being spy
8/4	American	Orly Halperin	Journalist	Falluja/Ramadi	1	?	None	Released	Accused of being spy
8/4	Canadian*	Muhammad Rifat	Construction worker	?	?	?	?	Missing	
8/4	South Korean	?	Missionary	Baghdad	0	?	?	Released	
8/4	South Korean	?	Missionary	Baghdad	0	?	?	Released	
8/4	South Korean	?	Missionary	Baghdad	0	?	?	Released	
8/4	South Korean	?	Missionary	Baghdad	0	?	?	Released	
8/4	South Korean	?	Missionary	Baghdad	0	?	?	Released	
8/4	South Korean	?	Missionary	Baghdad	0	?	?	Released	
8/4	South Korean	?	Missionary	Baghdad	0	?	?	Released	
8/4	South Korean	?	Missionary	Baghdad	0	?	?	Released	
8/4	Japanese	Noriaki Imai	Health worker	Falluja	7	Mujahidin Brigades	Troop withdrawal	Released	Islamic clerics intervened
8/4	Japanese	Nahoko Takato	Aid worker	Falluja	7	Mujahidin Brigades	Troop withdrawal	Released	Islamic clerics intervened
8/4	Japanese	Soichoro Koriyama	Journalist	Falluja	7	Mujahidin Brigades	Troop withdrawal	Released	Islamic clerics intervened
9/4	American	Thomas Hamill	Driver	Abu Ghraib	23	?	End of Falluja siege	Escaped	Shown on video
9/4	American	Keith Mathew Paupin	Soldier	Abu Ghraib	?	?	Prisoner release	Killed (?)	Video showing alleged kill
9/4	American	William Bradley	Driver	Abu Ghraib	?	?	?	Unknown	Probably killed
9/4	American	Timothy Bell	Driver	Abu Ghraib	?	?	?	Unknown	Probably killed
10/4	American	Nick Berg	Businessman	?	?	Jamaat al-Tawhid wa-I-Jihad (?)	None	Killed (Beheaded)	Revenge for Abu Ghraib
10/4?	Pakistani	?	Driver	?	?	?	?	Released	Shown on TV, not confirmed
10/4?	Pakistani	?	Driver	?	?	?	?	Released	Shown on TV, not confirmed

10/4?	Pakistani	?	Driver	?	?	?	?	Released	Shown on TV, not confirmed
10/4?	Turkish	?	Driver	?	?	?	?	Released	Shown on TV, not confirmed
10/4?	Turkish	?	Driver	?	?	?	?	Released	Shown on TV, not confirmed
10/4?	Nepalese	?	Driver	?	?	?	?	Released	Shown on TV, not confirmed
10/4?	Filipino	?	Driver	?	?	?	?	Released	Shown on TV, not confirmed
10/4?	Indian	?	Driver	?	?	?	?	Released	Shown on TV, not confirmed
11/4	Chinese	?	Hotel worker	Falluja	1	?	?	Released	Possible mistake
11/4	Chinese	?	Hotel worker	Falluja	1	?	?	Released	Possible mistake
11/4	Chinese	?	Hotel worker	Falluja	1	?	?	Released	Possible mistake
11/4	Chinese	?	Hotel worker	Falluja	1	?	?	Released	Possible mistake
11/4	Chinese	?	Hotel worker	Falluja	1	?	?	Released	Possible mistake
11/4	Chinese	?	Hotel worker	Falluja	1	?	?	Released	Possible mistake
11/4	Chinese	?	Hotel worker	Falluja	1	?	?	Released	Possible mistake
11/4	Chinese	?	Hotel worker	Falluja	1	?	?	Released	Possible mistake
11/4	Chinese	?	Hotel worker	Falluja	1	?	?	Released	Possible mistake
11/	French	Ivan Sereix	Journalist	Latifiyya	1	?	?	Released	
11/4	French	Alexandre Jordanov	Journalist	Latifiyya	4	?	?	Released	Frequently moved around
11/4	UAE national	Wael Mamduh	Businessman	Basra	?	?	?	Missing	
11/4	Dane*	?	Businessman	Al-Taji (Baghdad)	1	?	?	Killed	Possibly just robbery
12/4	Czech	Michal Kubal	Journalist	Baghdad	4	?	?	Released	
12/4	Czech	Petr Klima	Journalist	Baghdad	4	?	?	Released	
12/4	Czech	Vit Pohanka	Journalist	Baghdad	4	?	?	Released	
12/4	Ukranian	?	Construction worker	Baghdad	1	?	None	Released	Mistake: "Wrong" nationality
12/4	Ukranian	?	Construction worker	Baghdad	1	?	None	Released	Mistake: "Wrong" nationality
12/4	Ukranian	?	Construction worker	Baghdad	1	?	None	Released	Mistake: "Wrong" nationality
12/4	Ukranian	?	Construction worker	Baghdad	1	?	None	Released	Mistake: "Wrong" nationality
12/4	Ukranian	?	Construction worker	Baghdad	1	?	None	Released	Mistake: "Wrong" nationality
12/4	Russian	?	Construction worker	Baghdad	1	?	None	Released	Mistake: "Wrong" nationality
12/4	Russian	?	Construction worker	Baghdad	1	?	None	Released	Mistake: "Wrong" nationality
12/4	Russian	?	Construction worker	Baghdad	1	?	None	Released	Mistake: "Wrong" nationality
12/4	Italian	Salvatore Stefio	Security guard	Baghdad	57	Al-Katiba al-Khadra	Withdrawal Release Apology	Rescued	By special forces
12/4	Italian	Umberto Cupertino	Security guard	Baghdad	57	Al-Katiba al-Khadra	Withdrawal Release Apology	Rescued	By special forces

12/4	Italian	Maurizio Agliana	Security guard	Baghdad	57	Al-Katiba al-Khadra	Withdrawal Release Apology	Rescued	By special forces
12/4	Italian	Fabrizio Quatrocchi	Security guard	Baghdad	2	Al-Katiba al-Khadra	Withdrawal Release Apology	Killed	Shot in neck
14/4	Japanese	Nobutaka Watanabe	Aid worker	Abu Ghraib	3	?	Troop withdrawal	Released	Islamic clerics intervened
14/4	Japanese	Jumpei Yasuda	Journalist	Abu Ghraib	3	?	Troop withdrawal	Released	Islamic clerics intervened
15/4	Chinese	?	?	?	0	?	?	Released	Probably mistake
15/4	British	Jo Wilding	Cultural worker	Falluja	1	"Mujahidin"	?	Released	Charmed captors
15/4	British	Billie ?	Cultural worker	Falluja	1	"Mujahidin"	?	Released	
15/4	British	David ?	Cultural worker	Falluja	1	"Mujahidin"	?	Released	
15/4	British?	Ahrar ?	Cultural worker	Falluja	1	"Mujahidin"	?	Released	
15/4	British?	?	Cultural worker	Falluja	1	"Mujahidin"	?	Released	
15/4	British?	?	Cultural worker	Falluja	1	"Mujahidin"	?	Released	
15/4	Australian	Donna Mulhearn	Political activist/health worker	Falluja	1	"Mujahidin"	?	Released	
16/4	American*	?	?	Basra	?	?	?	?	
20/4	Swiss	?	NGO worker	South Iraq	2	?	?	Released	Freed by diplomatic efforts
20/4	Swiss	?	NGO worker	South Iraq	2	?	?	Released	Freed by diplomatic efforts
28/4	Iraqi-Canadian	Naji al-Kuwaiti	Businessman	Baghdad	6	?	Ransom	Released	\$50,000 Ransom
3/5	Iraqi-American	Aban Elias	Civil engineer	?	?	Islamic Anger Brigades	?	Unknown	
10/5	Russian	Andrei Meschcheryakov	Construction worker	Baghdad	7	?	?	Released	
10/5	Russian	Alexander Gordiyenko	Construction worker	Baghdad	7	?	?	Released	
1/6	Polish	Jerzy Kos	Businessman	Baghdad	7	Al-Katiba al-Khadra	?	Released	Held with 3 italians
1/6	Polish	Radoslaw Kadri	Businessman	Baghdad	0	?	?	Escaped	
1/6?	Turkish	Murat Kizil	Engineer	?	Ca 30	?	Company withdrawal	Released	Company withdrew
1/6	Turkish	Soner Sercali	Engineer	?	Ca 30	?	Company withdrawal	Released	Company withdrew
5/6	Kuwaiti	Saad Sadoun	Driver	?	?	?	?	Unknown	
7/6	Lebanese	Hussain Ali Alyan	Businessman	?	?	?	?	Killed	Tortured. Shia.
7/6	Lebanese	Habib Samour	Businessman	?	?	?	?	Unknown	
7/6	Lebanese	Roger Haddad	Businessman	?	?	?	?	Released	
7/6	Turkish	?	Worker	Falluja	5	?	Company withdrawal	Released	
7/6	Turkish	?	Worker	Falluja	5	?	Company withdrawal	Released	
7/6	Turkish	?	Worker	Falluja	5	?	Company withdrawal	Released	

7/6	Turkish	?	Worker	Falluja	5	?	Company withdrawal	Released	
7/6	Turkish	?	Worker	Falluja	5	?	Company withdrawal	Released	
7/6	Turkish	?	Worker	Falluja	5	?	Company withdrawal	Released	
7/6	Turkish	?	Worker	Falluja	5	?	Company withdrawal	Released	
14/6	Lebanese	George Frendo	Construction worker	?	5	?	?	Released	Diplomatic efforts, ransom(?)
14/6	Lebanese	Jamil Deeb	Construction worker	?	3	?	?	Released	
17/6	South Korean	Kim Sun-Il	Translator	Falluja	?	Jamaat al-Tawhid wa-l-Jihad	Troop withdrawal	Killed	Beheaded
21/6	American*	Wassef Ali Hassoun	Soldier	?	16	1920 Revolution Brigades	?	Released	
24/6	Turkish	Mustafa Bal	?	?	5	Jamaat al-Tawhid wa-l-Jihad	Company withdrawal	Released	Coincided with Bush turkey visit
24/6	Turkish	Mehmet Bakir	?	?	5	Jamaat al-Tawhid wa-l-Jihad	Company withdrawal	Released	Coincided with Bush turkey visit
24/6	Turkish	Abdulselam Bakir	?	?	5	Jamaat al-Tawhid wa-l-Jihad	Company withdrawal	Released	Coincided with Bush turkey visit
27/6	Pakistani	Amjad Hafeez	Driver	Baghdad	5	?	Prisoner release	Released	Emotional appeal by mother
5/7	Egyptian	Mohammed Gharabawi	Driver	?	14	?	Company withdrawal + ransom	Released	Company withdrew + \$15,000
7/7	Filippino	Angelo de la Cruz	Driver	?	13	Islamic Army	Troop withdrawal	Released	Troops withdrawn
8/7	Bulgarian	Ivaylo Kepov	Driver	Mosul	6	Jamaat al-Tawhid wa-l-Jihad	Prisoner release	Killed	Beheaded
8/7	Bulgarian	Georgi Lazov	Driver	Mosul	4	Jamaat al-Tawhid wa-l-Jihad	Prisoner release	Killed	Beheaded
17/7	Turkish	Mohammed Omar / Mehmet Dayar (?)	Driver	?	?	?	?	Released	Promised not to return
21/7	Indians	Antaryami Bain	Driver	?	-	Holders of the black banners	Company withdrawal, etc	Released	\$500,000 ransom paid
21/7	Indians	Tiljak Raj	Driver	?	-	Holders of the black banners	Company withdrawal, etc	Released	\$500,000 ransom paid
21/7	Indians	Sukhdev Singh	Driver	?	-	Holders of the black banners	Company withdrawal, etc	Released	\$500,000 ransom paid
21/7	Kenyans	Jalal Mohammed Awadhi	Driver	?	-	Holders of the black banners	Company withdrawal, etc	Released	\$500,000 ransom paid
21/7	Kenyans	Faiz Khamis Salim	Driver	?	-	Holders of the black banners	Company withdrawal, etc	Released	\$500,000 ransom paid
21/7	Kenyans	Ibrahim Khamis	Driver	?	-	Holders of the black banners	Company withdrawal, etc	Released	\$500,000 ransom paid
21/7	Egyptian	Muhammad Ali	Driver	?	-	Holders of the black banners	Company withdrawal, etc	Released	\$500,000 ransom paid
23/7	Egyptian	Muhammad Mamduh Qutb	Diplomat	Baghdad	3	Lions of Allah Brigade	No future Egyptian troops	Released	Ransom declined
23/7	Pakistani	Azad Hussain Khan	Engineer	?	?	Islamic Army in Iraq	Company withdrawal, etc	Killed	
23/7	Pakistani	Sajjad Naeem	Driver	?	?	Islamic Army in Iraq	Company withdrawal, etc	Killed	
24/7	Somali	Ali Ahmad Musa	Driver	North of Baghdad	Ca 10	Jamaat al-Tawhid wa-l-Jihad	Company withdrawal	Released	Mock trial
26/7	Jordanian	Fayez Saad al-Udwan	Driver	?	14	Mujahidin Corps in Iraq	Company withdrawal	Released	Company withdrew
26/7	Jordanian	Muhammad Ahmad Salama al-Manaya'a	Driver	?	14	Mujahidin Corps in Iraq	Company withdrawal	Released	Company withdrew

30/7??	Turkish	Muirat Yuce	Driver	?	?	Jamaat al-Tawhid wa-I-Jihad	Company withdrawal	Killed	Execution video 2/8, no dates
30/7??	Turkish	Aytullah Gezmen	Driver	?	?	Jamaat al-Tawhid wa-I-Jihad	Company withdrawal	Unknown	Video threat on 31 July
31/7	Turkish	Abdurrahman Demir	Driver	?	4	Jamaat al-Tawhid wa-I-Jihad	Company withdrawal	Released	
31/7	Turkish	Said Unurlu	Driver	?	4	Jamaat al-Tawhid wa-I-Jihad	Company withdrawal	Released	
31/7	Lebanese	Vlada Abu Ghadi	Businessman	Baghdad	?	?	?	Unknown	
31/7	Lebanese	Vladimir Damaa	Businessman	Baghdad	1	?	?	Released	
31/7	Lebanese	Antoine Antoun	Businessman	Baghdad	10	Mujahidin of Iraq, death grp	?	Released	
31/7	Syrian	Issa Al Shaykh Awad	Driver	Baghdad	10	Mujahidin of Iraq, death grp	?	?	
3/8	Jordanian	Ahmad Abu Jafar	Driver	?	1	Mujahidin of Iraq, death grp	No Jordan support of new gov.	Rescued	By locals
3/8	Jordanian	Muhammad Ahmad Khlayfat	Driver	?	1	Mujahidin of Iraq, death grp	No Jordan support of new gov.	Rescued	By locals
3/8	Jordanian	Khalid Ibrahim Masud	Driver	?	1	Mujahidin of Iraq, death grp	No Jordan support of new gov.	Rescued	By locals
3/8	Jordanian	Ahmad Taysir Sunokrot	Driver	?	1	Mujahidin of Iraq, death grp	No Jordan support of new gov.	Rescued	By locals
3/8	Jordanian	?	Driver?	?	?	Mujahidin of Iraq, death grp	No Jordan support of new gov.	Unknown	
3/8	Jordanian	?	Driver?	?	?	Mujahidin of Iraq, death grp	No Jordan support of new gov.	Unknown	
3/8	Jordanian	?	Driver?	?	?	Mujahidin of Iraq, death grp	No Jordan support of new gov.	Unknown	
4/8	Iranian	Fereidun Jahani	Diplomat	Near Baghdad	?	Islamic Army in Iraq	?	?	
6/8	Syrian	Osama Issa	Driver	?	?	?	?	?	
6/8	Lebanese	Qasim Murqbawi	Driver	?	4 or 10	?	?	Released	
6/8	Lebanese	Taha al-Jundi	Driver	?	4 or 10	?	?	Released	
6/8	Lebanese	Nasser al-Jundi	Driver	?	?	?	?	?	
6/8	Lebanese	Khaldun Uthman	Driver	?	3	?	?	Released	
7/8	Jordanian	Taha al-Mahramah	Businessman	?	3	?	Ransom	Released	Ransom paid
9/8	Jordanian	Jamal Sadeq al-Salaymeh	Businessman	?	3	?	\$250,000	Released	Ransom paid
12/8	British	James Brandon	Journalist	Basra	1	?	American withdrawal from Najaf	Released	Moqtada al-Sadr mediation
13/8	French/American	Micah Garen	Journalist	Nasiriya	9	Kata'ib al-Shuhada	End to Najaf siege	Released	Moqtada al-Sadr mediation
14/8	Turkish	Mustafa Koksai	Driver	Mosul	?	?	?	Unknown	
14/8	Turkish	Durmus Kumdereli	Driver	Mosul	?	?	?	Unknown	
19/8	Nepalese	Ramesh Khadka	Construction worker	Ramadi	11	Jaysh Ansar al-Sunna	none	Killed	
19/8	Nepalese	?	Construction worker	Ramadi	11	Jaysh Ansar al-Sunna	None	Killed	
19/8	Nepalese	?	Construction worker	Ramadi	11	Jaysh Ansar al-Sunna	none	Killed	

19/8	Nepalese	?	Construction worker	Ramadi	11	Jaysh Ansar al-Sunna	None	Killed	
19/8	Nepalese	?	Construction worker	Ramadi	11	Jaysh Ansar al-Sunna	none	Killed	
19/8	Nepalese	?	Construction worker	Ramadi	11	Jaysh Ansar al-Sunna	None	Killed	
19/8	Nepalese	?	Construction worker	Ramadi	11	Jaysh Ansar al-Sunna	none	Killed	
19/8	Nepalese	?	Construction worker	Ramadi	11	Jaysh Ansar al-Sunna	None	Killed	
19/8	Nepalese	?	Construction worker	Ramadi	11	Jaysh Ansar al-Sunna	none	Killed	
19/8	Nepalese	?	Construction worker	Ramadi	11	Jaysh Ansar al-Sunna	None	Killed	
19/8	Nepalese	?	Construction worker	Ramadi	11	Jaysh Ansar al-Sunna	none	Killed	
19/8	Nepalese	?	Construction worker	Ramadi	11	Jaysh Ansar al-Sunna	None	Killed	
20/8	Italian	Enzo Baldoni	Journalist	Baghdad/ Najaf	?	Islamic Army	Troop withdrawal	Killed	
20/8	French	Georges Malbrunot	Journalist	Baghdad/ Najaf	?	Islamic Army	Repeal of Hijab ban	Unknown	
20/8	French	Christian Chesnot	Journalist	Baghdad/ Najaf	?	Islamic Army	Repeal of Hijab ban	Unknown	
20/8	Jordanian	Alaa Thabet Lazim	Civil servant	Nasiriyya	30	?	\$250,000	Released	Rescued by Iraqi Police
25/8	Turkish	Abdullah Ozdemir	Worker	?	4	?	Company Withdrawal	Released	
25/8	Turkish	Ali Daskin	Worker	?	4	?	Company Withdrawal	Released	

C MAP OF IRAQ

