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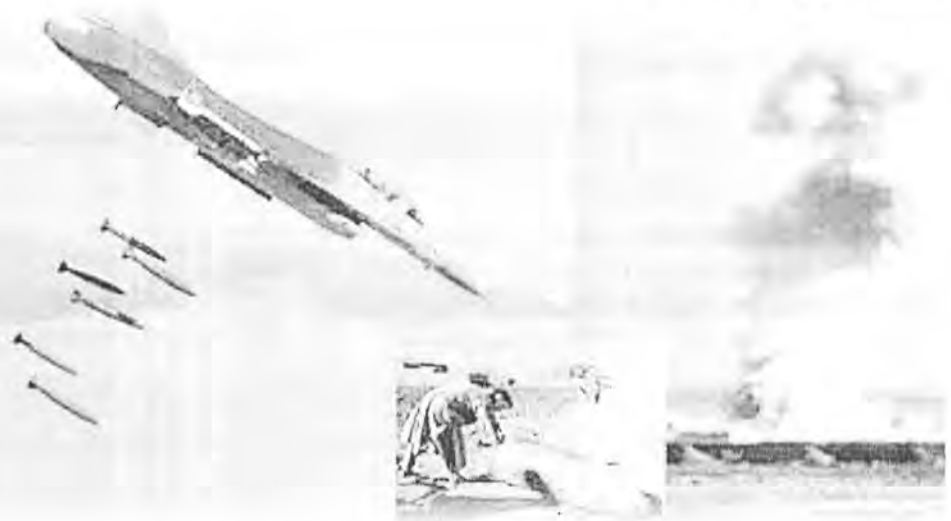
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RUBBLE  
ROUSERS



U.S. Bombing  
& the Afghan  
Refugee Crisis



A Dossier on Civilian Victims of United States' Aerial  
Bombing of Afghanistan:  
A Comprehensive Accounting [revised]

"What causes the documented high level of civilian casualties -- 3,340 [October 7, 2001 thru March 2002] civilian deaths -- in the U war upon Afghanistan? The explanation is the apparent willingness of military strategists to fire missiles into and drop bombs upon, heavily populated areas of Afghanistan."

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Cover page photo credits: bombing of Taliban-held village of Darya Khanah on October 27<sup>th</sup>, photograph by Marco Di Lauro [A.P.]; boy reaches inside back of an unexploded bomb to grab residue which he will then eat. Bomb was one kilometer off-course. Photo by Pete Souza [Tribune]

March 2002

When U.S. warplanes strafed [with AC-130 gunships] the farming village of Chowkar-Karez, 25 miles north of Kandahar on October 22-23rd, killing at least 93 civilians, a Pentagon official said, **"the people there are dead because they wanted them dead."** The reason? They sympathized with the Taliban<sup>1</sup>. When asked about the Chowkar incident, Rumsfeld replied, **"I cannot deal with that particular village."**<sup>2</sup>





A U.S. officer aboard the US aircraft carrier, Carl Vinson, described the use of 2,000 lb cluster bombs dropped by B-52 bombers: **"A 2,000 lb. bomb, no matter where you drop it, is a significant emotional event for anyone within a square mile."**<sup>3</sup>

Mantra of the U.S. mainstream corporate media : **"the report cannot be independently verified"**

"..shameful dependence on and uncritical acceptance of Pentagon handout instead of substantial, critical coverage of the ground situation in Afghanistan. The US corporate media seems to be muting any talk of civilian casualties, framing any such news with "Taliban claims that...." And then happily putting the matter to rest with Pentagon spokesman..." "  
[Joel Lee, Hyderabad, Znet Inter Active]



"When people decry civilian deaths caused by the U.S. government, they're aiding propaganda efforts. In sharp contrast, when civilian deaths are caused by bombers who hate America, the perpetrators are evil and those deaths are tragedies.

When they put bombs in cars and kill people, they're uncivilized killers. When we put bombs on missiles and kill people, we're upholding civilized values. When they kill, they're terrorists. When we kill, we're striking against terror."<sup>4</sup>

Marc Herold  
replies to a  
critic

Al-Ahram Weekly (Egypt)  
January 24, 2002

The Afghan Killing  
Fields

Sydney Morning Herald  
January 26, 2002

U.S. Silence and  
Power of  
Weaponry

**Abstract.** What causes the documented high level of civilian casualties? 3,000 - 3,400 civilian deaths -- in the U.S. air war upon Afghanistan. The explanation is the apparent willingness of U.S. military strategists to drop missiles into and drop bombs upon, heavily populated areas of Afghanistan. A legacy of the ten years of civil war during the 80s is that many military garrisons and facilities are located in urban areas where the Soviet-backed government had placed them since they could be better protected there from attacks by the rural mujahideen. Successive Afghan governments inherited these emplacements. To suggest that the Taliban used 'human shields' is more revealing of the historical animosity and racism of those making such claims, than of Taliban deeds. Antiaircraft emplacements will naturally be placed close by ministries, garrisons, communications facilities, etc.. A heavy bombing onslaught must necessarily result in substantial numbers of civilian casualties by virtue of proximity to 'military targets', a reality exacerbated by admitted occasional poor targeting, human error, equipment malfunction and the irresponsible use of out-dated Soviet maps. But, **the critical element remains the very low value put upon Afghan civilian life by U.S. military planners and the political elite**, as clearly revealed by U.S. willingness to bomb heavily populated regions. Current Afghan

## Conceal Scale of Civilian Toll

WorkingForChange  
January 23, 2001

Bring Out Your Dead Tallying up the casualties in the face of indifference

civilian lives must and will be sacrificed in order to [possibly] protect future American lives. Actions speak, and words [can] obscure: the hollowness of pious pronouncements by Rumsfeld, Rice and the corporate media about the great care taken to minimize collateral damage is clear for all to see. Other U.S. bombing targets hit are impossible to 'explain' in terms other than the U.S. seeking to inflict maximum pain upon Afghan society and perceived 'enemies': the targeted bombing of the Kajakai dam and other power stations, radio stations, the Kabul telephone exchange, the Al Jazeera Kabul office, trucks and buses filled with fleeing refugees, and the numerous attacks upon civilian trucks carrying fuel oil. Indeed, the bombing of Afghan civilian infrastructure parallels that of the Afghan civilian.

- CURSOR EXCLUSIVE -  
January 6, 2002

Recent 'Success' Tally of U.S. Bombs:  
**Over 200 Civilians are Killed to Get 1.5 Taliban Leaders**

- CURSOR EXCLUSIVE -  
January 6, 2002

**Afghanistan War Produces High Civilians-Killed-Per-Bomb-Dropped Ratio**

This dossier makes six major points. First, the U.S. bombing upon Afghanistan has been a low bombing intensity, high civilian casualty campaign [in both absolute terms and relative to other U.S. air campaigns]. Secondly, this has happened notwithstanding the far greater accuracy of the weapons because of U.S. military planners' decisions to employ powerful weapons in populated regions and to bomb what are dubious military targets. Thirdly, the U.S. mainstream corporate media has been derelict in its non-reporting of civilian casualties when any evidence existed from foreign places that the U.S. air war upon Afghanistan was creating such casualties in large numbers. Fourthly, the decision by U.S. military planners to execute such a bombing campaign reveals and reflects the differential values they place upon Afghan and American lives. Fifth, this report counters the dangerous notion that the United States can henceforth wage a war and only kill enemy combatants. Sixth, the U.S. bombing campaign has targeted numerous civilian facilities and the heavy use of cluster bombs, will have a lasting legacy born by one of the poorest, most desperate peoples of our world. In sum, though not intended to be, the U.S. bombing campaign which began on the evening of October 7th, has been a war upon the people, the homes, the farms and the villages of Afghanistan, as well as upon the Taliban and Al Qaeda.

Appendix 5  
**Spatial Distribution of Afghan Civilian Casualties Caused by the U.S. Air War, October 7 - December 6th.**

**For Feriba, Mohammed, Assaduleh, Rukia and the countless others who may now be counted and remembered, and not vanish quietly as "could not be verified independently."**

Appendix 4  
**Daily Casualty Count of Afghan Civilians Killed in U.S. Bombing Attacks**



A CURSOR EXCLUSIVE

an

Average Day

in

Afghanistan

December 29, 2001

*The Mirror*  
January 19, 2002Americans and  
Afghans Unite  
in Pain*Working for Change*  
January 18, 2002

Tears and Rage

Afghan Civilian Casualties  
Make the NYT Only  
Through the Backdoor*Village Voice*  
January 17, 2002Beyond an Eye  
For an EyeAfghan Casualties  
Outnumber WTC Dead*New Zealand Herald*  
January 17, 2002When the Body  
Count Doesn't  
Count*Svdnev Mornina Herald***Feriba, a young Afghan girl, refugee in Pakistan<sup>5</sup>:**

"I and all my classmates are very sad because of the situation in our homeland. When our teacher said in the class that many people have been killed in Afghanistan, I and my all classmates started weeping because everyone has relatives there. I expect America not to kill the poor Afghans. They are hungry and poor."

The air attack on Afghanistan began at 4:20 G.M.T., October 7th. The following day, Reuters carried an interview with a 16-year-old ice-cream vendor from Jalalabad who said he had lost his leg and two fingers in a Cruise missile strike on an airfield near his home:

"There was just a roaring sound, and then I opened my eyes and I was in a hospital," said the boy, called Assadullah, speaking in Peshawar after being taken across the border for medical help. "I lost my leg and two fingers. There were other people hurt. People were running all over the place".<sup>6</sup>



16 yr old, Assaduleh, one of the first civilians hit by a U.S. missile  
[Reuters photo, at <http://hamilton.indymedia.org/local/webcast/uploads/metafiles/ww3victim.jpg>]

**Mohammed Raza**, an odd-job man, was not so lucky. At 8 p.m. as he was walking back home, near to the Jalalabad airport. A cruise missile targeted at a Taliban facility "a few hundred yards away", strayed and landed next to him. Shrapnel pierced his neck, grazing his spine, paralyzing him.<sup>7</sup>

Three days later, a researcher at the Institute for Health & Social Justice Partners in Health of Harvard University, H.J. Chien, confirmed that civilians had been killed in Jalalabad and elsewhere.<sup>8</sup> On October 9th *Pakistan Observer* [Islamabad] daily newspaper reported on the first night, "37 Killed, 81 Injured in Sunday's Strikes."<sup>9</sup> The casualties spanned four provinces: Kabul [20], Herat [9], Kandahar [4] and Jalalabad [4]. By October 10th, *The Guardian* reported 76 dead civilians.<sup>10</sup> And by October 15th, the leading Indian daily, *The Times*, India was mentioning over 300 civilian casualties and that the US-11



January 12, 2002

### Civilian Deaths No Cause for Concern:

The Pentagon doesn't  
keep count, and the  
media keep silent

*Dallas Morning News*

January 10, 2002

### Collateral Tragedies

U.S. can't ignore civilian  
deaths

*Irish Times*

January 10, 2002

### U.S. Massacre Entirely Fails to Move Us

*Frontline (India)*

January 5, 2002

### The Human Cost of the War

*Reuters*

January 4, 2002

### Afghan Government Silent on U.S. Bombing Casualties

*Wired*

January 4, 2002

### Trolling the Web for Afghan Dead

*Washington Post*

January 4, 2002

### More Bombing Casualties Alleged

media was mentioning over 300 civilian casualties and that the U.S. bombing action was in violation of Article 51 of the United Nations C allowing the use of force in self-defense.<sup>11</sup> On the following day [Oc 16th], the alternative U.S. media noted that during the first week of bombing, 400 Afghan civilians had been slaughtered.<sup>12</sup>

Yet, the mainstream western press only took note of civilian casualty October 9th when a cruise missile destroyed the building of the United Nations land mine removing contracting firm, the Afghan Technical Center, in the upper class Macroyan residential district of eastern Kabul, killing four night watchmen.<sup>13</sup> Tellingly, the day before, October 8th other Afghans living near the Kabul airport [in the Qasabah Khana neighborhood] and near the Kabul radio station were also killed. On October 10th, the Sultanpur Mosque in Jalalabad was hit by a bomb during prayers, killing 17 people. As neighbors rushed into the rubble to pull out one injured, a second bomb was dropped reportedly killing at least another 120 people [though I have not included this figure in my tally].<sup>14</sup>

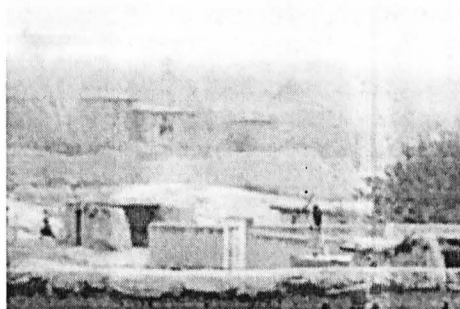
Fleeing the intense bombing in Kandahar, Mehmood, a Kandahar merchant, brought his family to his ancestral village of Chowkar-Kai village 25 miles north of Kandahar. His extended family, crowded in cars, arrived at a village just about when it was attacked by U.S. warplanes in the night of October 22/23rd. Ironically, the cars arriving the night may have prompted the raid -- as the Pentagon labels "a loss of opportunity." Said Mehmood, "I brought my family here for safety; now there are 19 dead, including my wife, my brother, sister, sister-in-law, nieces, nephews, my uncle. What am I supposed to do now?"<sup>15</sup>

At 4:30 p.m. on Saturday, October 27th, a U.S. bomb and missile fired from a Navy F/A 18 hit the village of Khan Agaha at the entrance of Kapisa Valley, some 80 kms northeast of Kabul. The U.S. planes dropped 35 bombs in the area. Ten civilians were reportedly instantly killed, including an ambulance driver who had gone to the village. A nearby hospital to which victims were rushed, run by the Italian relief agency, Emergency said up to 16 people had been killed in Saturday's attack on Khan Agaha.<sup>16</sup> Television photos taken by Britain's Sky News showed footprints of the F-18 dropping bombs, hitting a mud and timber family home. TV report said ten members of a family were missing under the rubble and another twenty were injured. A five year-old girl lay in a wheelchair with a bloodied face.<sup>17</sup>

*Times of London*

January 2, 2002

**'Precision  
Weapons Fail to  
Prevent Mass  
Civilian  
Casualties**



*Agence France-Presse*

December 30, 2001

**Terror From the  
Sky**

Survivors return to the village that still smells of death

**The U.S. Bombing of Kapisa Villages**

Photo: Agence France Presse, October 28, 2001

On Monday, October 29th, citing Reuters, The *Times* of India report from Kabul,

*CounterPunch*

December 28, 2001

**Civilian Bodies**

On the recognition of death

"a US bomb flattened a flimsy mud-brick home in Kabul on Sunday blowing apart seven children as they ate breakfast with their father. The blast shattered a neighbour's house killing another two children .....the houses were in a residential area called Qalaye Khatir near a hill where the hard-line Taliban militia had placed an anti-aircraft gun."<sup>18</sup>

*Chicago Tribune*

December 28, 2001

**U.S. Bombs**

**Leave Wasteland**

Fierce attacks anger villagers, raise questions

The Afghan town of Charikar, 60 kms north of Kabul, has been the recipient of many US bombs and missiles. On Saturday, November 10, US bombs killed two entire families -- one of 16 members and the other of 14 -- perished, together in the same house.<sup>19</sup>

On the same day, bomb strikes in Khanabad near Kunduz, killed 100 people. A refugee, Mohammed Rasul, recounts himself burying 11 people pulled out of ruins there [ibid].

*Al-Ahram Weekly*

December 27, 2001

**Killing Off the  
Extras**

Multiply these scenes by a couple hundred and the reality on-the-ground in the Afghan October and November is approximated. This same reality is blithely dismissed by the Pentagon and the compliant U.S. corporate media with "the claims could not be independently verified," whereas military press calls reports of high civilian casualties as being "inflationary."<sup>20</sup> Another comments on the "humanity of the air war."<sup>21</sup> Yet another, wails about too much press coverage of civilian casualties and the media unable to understand that some civilian casualties must occur that "what IS newsworthy is that so many bombs hit their targets".<sup>22</sup>

*CounterPunch*

December 27, 2001

**Inviting Future  
Terrorism**

Rising Afghan death count and U.S. policy on Mideast

Little mention made in the U.S mainstream press.<sup>23</sup> Even better, several weeks into the war, a reporter for the *Los Angeles Times* could write without shame,

*The Guardian*

December 20, 2001

**The Innocent  
Dead in a  
Casualty War**

".....although estimates are still largely guesses, some experts believe that more than 1,000 Taliban and opposition troops have probably died in the fighting, along with at least dozens of civilians."<sup>24</sup>

**Coward's war**

Estimates suggest US bombs have killed at least 3,767 civilians

*Houston Chronicle*  
December 20, 2001

**We Can't Just Forget About Dead Afghan Civilians**

*San Francisco Bay Guardian*  
December 20, 2001

**Life During Wartime**

Destroying Afghanistan to save it

*WorkingForChange*  
December 18, 2001

**The Forgotten Dead**

Do you know how many have died? Didn't think so.

*Counterpunch*  
December 17, 2001

**Civilian Casualties: Theirs and Ours**

*New York Times*  
December 15, 2001

**An Unlucky Place**  
An Afghan village where errant bombs fell and killed, and still lurk in wait

*Monkeyfist.com*  
December 13, 2001

**Bombing & Starvation**  
Civilian casualties in Afghanistan

died in the fighting, along with at least dozens of civilians.

Dozens? Hundreds? Thousands, as we shall document.

Apparently, the only real casualties noted are those either connected with western enterprise or organization, or those "independently verified" by western individuals and/or organizations. In other words, the high toll of civilian casualties are simply written off to 'enemy' propaganda and ignored.<sup>25</sup>

The American Afghan War -- historically the Fourth Afghan War -- is anything but a 'just war' as James Carroll has adroitly pointed out.<sup>26</sup> The disproportionate U.S. response of making an entire other nation's people 'pay' for the crimes of a few is obvious to anyone who seeks the real 'costs' perpetrated upon the people of Afghanistan. Action should be based upon some measure of proportionality, which here clearly fails the case. Secondly, this war does little to impede the cycle of violence in which the WTC attacks are merely one manifestation. The massive firepower unleashed by the Americans will no doubt invite similar indiscriminate carnage. Injustices will flower. Thirdly, by defining the events as a war rather than a police action without providing any argument for the necessity of the former, the American Afghan War is neither necessary and, hence, not 'just.' As Carroll writes, "the criminals, not the impoverished nation, should be on the receiving end of punishment."

It is simply unacceptable for civilians to be slaughtered as a side-effect of an intentional strike against a specified target. There is no difference between the attacks upon the WTC whose primary goal was the destruction of a symbol, and the U.S.-U.K. revenge coalition bombing of military targets located in populated urban areas. Both are criminal. Slaughter is slaughter. Killing civilians even if unintentional is criminal.

In order to make the American Afghan War appear 'just', it becomes imperative to completely block out access to information on the true human costs of this war. The actions of the Bush-Rumsfeld-Rice trio speak eloquently to these efforts: calling-in major U.S. news networks to give them their marching orders, buying up all commercial satellite imagery available to the general public, sending Powell off to Qatar to lecture the independent Al Jazeera news network, and lastly, when it failed targeting the Kabul office of Al Jazeera and scoring a direct missile hit on it. In mid-October, Duncan Campbell reported how the Pentagon was spending millions of dollars to prevent western media from buying highly accurate civilian satellite pictures of the effects of the U.S. bombing. The Pentagon decision was taken on October 11th after reports of heavy civilian casualties from overnight [10/11] bombing of Daru near Jalalabad. The Pentagon bought exclusive rights to all Ikonos satellite pictures from the Denver-based Space Imaging Inc.<sup>27</sup> Lastly, it has been pointed out, the major U.S. corporate media have devoted sparse moments to the topic of civilian casualties, obeying the Bush-Pentagon directives.



TomPaine.com  
December 13, 2001

### What's Not In The News

Why we aren't hearing the whole story from Afghanistan

Common Dreams  
December 13, 2001

### Ari & I

White House press briefing with Ari Fleischer: Second question, a professor at the University of New Hampshire reported....

FAIR  
December 12, 2001  
**How Many Dead?**  
U.S. TV networks aren't counting

Newsday  
December 11, 2001  
**U.S. Wages Overkill in Afghanistan**

Common Dreams  
December 10, 2001  
**More Than 3,500 Civilians Killed by U.S. Bombs**  
University of New Hampshire Economics professor releases study of civilian casualties in Afghanistan

TomPaine.com  
December 7, 2001  
**Denying the Dead**  
In Pentagon reports of Afghan dead, truth is the first casualty

FAIR  
November 8, 2001

Preventing the images of human suffering caused by the U.S. bombing from reaching U.S. audiences, creates precisely what the Pentagon and Bush seek: a "war without witnesses." The power of images in the global information is now clearly recognized. According to Gilbert Holleules of the Francois-Xavier Bagnoud Centre for Human Rights, images have begun to replace reality. It is only when we see moving pictures that we process events as an actual experience and only when we see real people suffering that we make a personal connection to them.<sup>28</sup> For this reason, the *Al Jazeera* T.V. news from Kabul posed threat to the Bush war.

This report sets the record straight: **we shall document how Afghanistan has been subjected to a barbarous air bombardment which has killed an average of 41 - 47 civilians per day since the fateful evening of Sunday, October 7th. When the sun set on December 10th, at least 2,700 - 3,000 Afghan civilians had died in U.S. bombing attacks [roughly equivalent to about 30,000 U.S. civilian or the equivalent of eleven World Trade Center attacks]. Detailed day-by-day data is presented in Appendix 4. We let the voices of Afghan refugees speak about the U.S. bombings in Appendix 1, which present qualitative corroboration of our figures.**

Naturally, skeptics will howl about how accurate data might be collected. I have relied upon official news agencies, major newspapers, report first-hand accounts. Whenever possible, I have sought cross-corroboration [the idea being that if a couple major news agencies report the event, then it is more likely accurate]. I have avoided granting greater reliability to U.S. or British sources -- the ethnocentric bias. If greater detail was given about the specifics of a bombing attack, I have greater credibility.

I have used figures reported by official news agencies [e.g. from *Ag France-Presse*, *Reuters*, *Associated Press*, to *Afghan Islamic Press*, and from news reporters who visited the scene, from eyewitness and survey reports, from distinguished NGOs [like *RAWA* and *Emergency Italia*] and news stories published in reputable national newspapers. I have eschewed making judgements about the relative reliability of one news agency versus another's. My assumption is that reporters, news story editors, and national-level media outlets try to report as accurately as possible given the resources at their disposal. For example, if *The Times* of India reports an incident, I am assuming that an editor judged the account to be accurate. Contrary to myths perpetrated in the United States, there were many reporters on the ground in Afghanistan or in the border areas during the first three months of the air war. They just didn't have Anglo-Saxon names. Reporters Mohammed Bashir, Sayed Salahuddin and Zeeshan Haider filed regular reports. Behroz Khan has provided outstanding detailed reporting on events on the ground for the Pakistan *Jang* newspaper's *The News International*. My belief is that casualty figures reported shortly after a bombing incident are a fairly accurate description of what occurred.



## Civilian Casualties Not News on FOX News

*Slate*  
November 2, 2001  
**Moral Equivalence**  
How many Afghan civilians is the life of one American soldier worth?

*Scoop*  
(New Zealand)  
October 26, 2001  
**Bush's War Threatens Millions With Starvation**  
Norm Dixon

Coming in January from  
Freedom Voices Press &  
City Lights Publishers:

## "September 11 and the U.S. War: Beyond the Curtain of Smoke"

Contributors include:  
Wendell Berry  
Jeff Cohen  
Robert Fisk  
Eduardo Galeano  
Marc Herold  
Michael Klare  
RAWA  
Ted Rall  
Norman Solomon

**Cursor**  
homepage

bombing incident are a fairly accurate description of what occurred. Surviving victims who resided in the area have first-hand knowledge of the local demographics. Three additional factors argue for using reports immediately after an incident in Afghanistan: [1]. Locating bodies can prove to be very difficult [even in the developed United States as seen with the WTC attacks] and hence relying purely upon body counts compiled later will seriously underestimate the casualties; [2]. The Muslim practice of immediate burial by nightfall makes body counting difficult; and [3]. The out-migration of families in the wake of severe bombing leads to victim accounts simply disappearing. Lastly, I have assigned greater reliability to accounts where greater detail has been provided, e.g., names of persons, survivor accounts, description of bombing results, and the like. The great majority of U.S. bombs fell or next to individual homes or upon villages, making it easier to develop accurate tallies [as compared to the 1000s working in a couple giant skyscrapers where initial casualties were greatly exaggerated]. Few hundreds of bombing incidents here reported resulted in over 30 civilian deaths. The high count of deaths per home is a result of the large number [@ 6] of children per woman.

Specifically, I have relied upon Indian daily newspapers [especially the *Times of India*, considered the equivalent of *The New York Times*], the Pakistani dailies, the *Singapore News*, British, Canadian and Australian [Sydney Morning Herald, Herald Sun] newspapers, the *Afghan Islamic Press* [AIP based in Peshawar], the *Agence France Press* [AFP], the African Broadcasting Corp. News [www.sabonews.com], *Pakistan Press Service* [PNS], and *Reuters*, *BBC News Online*, *Al Jazeera*, and a variety of other reputable sources. It should be noted that the independent private *Afghan Islamic Press* [AIP] agency in Islamabad, Pakistan reported consistently lower cumulative casualty figures than the Taliban. On October 13th, AIP reported 250 whereas the Taliban listed 300 civilians killed; on November 6th, the AIP listed 633 while the Taliban reported about 1,500 civilian deaths.<sup>29</sup> The A.I.P. data listed 204 people killed in Kandahar, 163 in Nangarhar province east of Jalalabad, 92 in Kabul, and 79 in Herat. Many of the Taliban claims about civilian casualties are later confirmed by journalists on the scene, eye-witness survivors, families of victims, U.N. sources, NGOs [like RAWA and *Emergency Italy*] etc..<sup>30</sup>

My tabulation for October 31st enters a figure of 15 civilians dying in a bombing attack of a Red Crescent hospital in Kandahar. Three different assessments were made in the aftermath:<sup>31</sup>

1. The Taliban claimed the raid killed 11 people;
2. The Pentagon said the strike missed both the hospital and another Crescent building nearby, and commented "it was a legitimate terror target, intentionally struck.."
3. Journalist later saw a large crater in the center of the clinic and hospital vehicles crushed by collapsed masonry. One doctor reported

dead and 25 seriously injured.<sup>32</sup>

Faced with such discrepancies, to me the most credible source is the doctor: 15 died. The similar figure is also mentioned in *The Times* [November 1, 2001], *The Independent* [October 31, 2001], and in *Reuters* and *AFP* reports, as well as in Pakistan's leading English daily *DAWN* [November 1, 2001]. In **Appendix 2**, I present additional analysis of discrepancies and the lying in the mainstream media.

The oft-mentioned difficulties of getting accurate figures of impact of aerial bombing need not detract from attempting to carry out a study.<sup>32a</sup> To refrain invites leaving the terrain of public conversation occupied by the dubious assertions of the involved participants [e.g. Pentagon and U.S State Department]. The bombing incidents described in this report mostly involve Afghan civilians killed by virtue of proximity to what U.S military planners deemed were "military targets." For example, nine mosques in five provinces were bombed, killing more than 100 civilians.

Ms. King of the A.P., reports on an incident which took place on Saturday October 13th. The civilian areas of Qala Mir Abas and Qala Wakil were as part of the U.S bombing of Kabul airport.<sup>32b</sup> The Pentagon admitted that an incorrectly programmed 'smart bomb' missed a military helicopter at Kabul airport and fell into a residential neighborhood.<sup>32c</sup> Whereas Taliban claimed that 4 civilians had been killed, Ms. King mentions that the A.P. correspondent who went to the scene was able to only 'confirm' civilian death.

My dossier cites major British [2], Pakistani [3], and U.S [1] newspapers which mention a figure of four.<sup>32d</sup> A 2,000 lb. JDAM bomb was dropped from a Navy F-18 in a pre-dawn raid upon a series of mud homes in the Qala Mir Abas neighborhood, 2 kms. south of Kabul airport, killing four and injuring eight. The four killed included women and children. The figure of four seems the most plausible: it is cited in six newspapers; the bomb was very large - hitting a neighborhood at a time when people were sleeping.

Our tabulation represents a serious underestimate of actual civilian casualties: for many entries, no specific figures were given with not being made of "many", "scores", "dozens", or "countless" casualties and data is simply unavailable in many cases, e.g., no data available for November 3, 4, 11 and 13, and for the effects of massive carpet-bombing by B-52s after October 30th. For example, on November 17th, massive carpet-bombing of Khanabad in Kunduz province, killed over 150 civilians.<sup>34</sup> As has been amply commented upon elsewhere, the widespread bombing has also stopped truck traffic [carrying supplies] and has contributed to the utter collapse of Afghanistan's hospital system in the heavily bombed areas like Kandahar [as staff fear going to work]. No account is taken here either of bombing causing indirect casualties.

[e.g., from lack of water, power, medical care, etc.]. The Afghan health system had collapsed by late October under the bombing onslaught; hospital staff fled for safety.<sup>36</sup> Those wounded able to, head off to clinics in Pakistan, while "those too wounded or poor to make the journey have been left to die in their homes in Kandahar" [ibid]. In Kabul's 300-bed children's hospital, supplies ran out and most of the staff fled.<sup>37</sup>

The report raises trenchant questions about mainstream U.S. reporting and official government claims, about the alleged accuracy of so-called 'smart' weapons, and about the **revealed differential values** put on human lives by U.S. military strategists and their political bosses. Or, the thing which the mainstream press states and with which we do concur is that U.S. bombing 'works' to achieve its goal -- defeat the opposition, whether in the Persian Gulf War, the Bosnian air campaign, or Kosovo and now Afghanistan.<sup>38</sup>

On November 7th, U.S. heavy bombers obliterated the **village of Khan Aqa** in Kapisa province, located 34 miles north of Kabul, as part of a new carpet-bombing phase of the air war in the plains north of Kabul. The bombing was captured in a photo by the A.P.:



Smoke rises after a U.S. airstrike on the village of Khanaqa, 34 miles from Kabul. American jets dropped dozens of bombs late yesterday and today [Nov 7, 2001] on Taliban positions defending the Afghan capital. (AP photo)

[photo from : [www.sunspot.net/news/custom/attack/bal-bombing1107](http://www.sunspot.net/news/custom/attack/bal-bombing1107) photo]





A professor of religious studies points out that for years the U.S. government ignored the Taliban's egregious human rights violations against *Afghan civilians*, and only turned against the Taliban when they were in some fashion connected with the loss of *U.S. lives*. ***The differential value of lives is revealed.*** He goes on to pose a critical question: what is the 'price' for American 'success' in Afghanistan? Can we weigh the costs against the success?

"Yet few stop to ask the question of ends versus means. This dulling of conscience is another hidden price we pay for war. In Afghanistan as in Serbia and the Persian Gulf, it all feels so effortless, so painless and so right. Why bother to ask the moral questions? Since the price in U.S. lives is so small, why bother our consciences at all? Each war makes it easier to start the next war, with no questions asked and no bodies counted. But the question of ends and means will not disappear so easily. Should we carpet bomb every nation where human rights are violated? If so, we will be bombing -- and making enemies -- constantly, around the world. It is tempting to think every future war will be as easy as this one. Sooner or later, though, we will run into a seriously capable enemy, as we did in Vietnam. If we will not go to war against every brutal regime, how will we know when and where to start bombing? The U.S. ignored the Taliban's horrendous violations for years. Our government accepted and even aided their rule, despite the pleas of women's rights groups. Apparently we will make war on brutal regimes only when something else is at stake."<sup>39</sup>

The high level of Afghan civilian casualties from bombing may result from different causes: (1). Imprecise or malfunctioning missile and bomb guidance systems; (2). Poor targeting by fallible human beings; (3) close proximity of dense civilian population to 'military' targets; or (4) The enemy deliberately hiding its military hardware in civilian areas [human shield argument].<sup>40</sup> The latter can be quickly dispensed with by reflecting the racism of those proposing such an argument.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, in the 1980s, the Soviets centralized their military hardware in urban areas of Afghanistan as these were simply better protected. Many of 'military targets' like government buildings, civilian radio stations, etc. were located in populated urban areas. For the sake of argument, I



assume that the first two causes play only a minor role in explaining high civilian casualties.

The third cause requires some discussion. When faced with the indisputable 'fact' of having hit a civilian area, the Bush-Blair team responds that a military facility close-by was the target. In every case can document, this turns out to be a long abandoned military facility. For example, in the incident where four night watchmen died when the of a United Nations de-mining agency in Kabul was bombed, the Per said it was near a military radio tower. U.N. officials said the tower was defunct, abandoned medium and short wave radio station that had been in operation for over a decade and was situated 900 feet away from the bombed U.N. building. On October 19th, U.S. planes had circled Tarin Kot in Uruzgan early in the evening, then returned after everyone went to bed and dropped their bombs on the residential area, instead on the Taliban base two miles away.<sup>42</sup> Mud houses were flattened and families destroyed. An initial bombing killed twenty and as some of the villagers were pulling their neighbors out of the rubble, more bombs fell and ten more people died. A villager involved explained:

"We pulled the baby out, the others were buried in the rubble. Children were decapitated. There were bodies with no legs. We could do nothing. We just fled."<sup>43</sup>

On October 21st, U.S. planes apparently targeting their bombs at a Taliban military base -- long abandoned -- released their deadly cargo in the Kabul residential area of Khair Khana, killing eight members of a family who had just sat down to breakfast.<sup>44</sup> A day later, on October 22nd, U.S. planes dropped BLU-97 cluster bombs [made by Aerojet/Honeywell] on the village of Shakar Qala near Herat.<sup>45</sup> Twenty of the village's 40 houses were destroyed or badly damaged. They missed the Taliban encampments located 500-700 yards away and killed 14 people immediately with a 15th dying after picking up the parachute attached to one of the 202 bomblets dispersed by the BLU-97. In Kosovo, the dud rate was 10%.<sup>46</sup> A recent report argues that between 7 - 30% of the cluster bomblets fail to explode upon impact. The United Nations military clearing officials in the region, noted that 10-30% of the U.S. missile bombs dropped on Afghanistan did not explode, posing a lasting danger.<sup>47</sup> Such munition dropped in civilian areas poses a lasting danger. Fourteen thousand unexploded cluster bomblets littered the fields, roads and homes of Afghanistan by late November [for details see **Appendix 3**]. A UN official in Afghanistan estimates that live bombs and mines maim, on average 40 to 100 people a week in Afghanistan and half of these die before they get any medical help.<sup>48</sup> On Monday, November 26th, after heavy U.S. bombing in the preceding days of the Shamsi village in Nangarhar province, one or three Afghan children were blown up and seven wounded by a cluster bomb as they were collecting firewood and hard papers for burning fire at home.<sup>49</sup> At 6:20 a.m. on November 24th, U.S. bombs fell in the mountainous border area, 30 kilometers southwest of Peshawar, killing 13 in an attack aimed at a

abandoned Taliban training camp.<sup>50</sup>

In many instances, U.S. bombs fall on spots without any military significance. On October 25th, a U.S. bomb hit a fully loaded city bus at the Kabul Gate, in Kandahar, incinerating 10-20 passengers.<sup>51</sup> Another typical example was provided when U.S. planes bombed the mountain village of Gluco, located on the Khyber Pass, on Sunday and Monday [November 18-19th], killing seven villagers.<sup>52</sup> The village was far away from any military facilities. A reporter for *The Telegraph* visited Gluco noting:

"their wooden homes looked like piles of charred matchsticks. Injured mules lay braying in the road along the mountain pass that stank of sulphur and dead animals...."

The wheat trader, Noor Mohamed, recounted the effects of U.S. bombing on the highways of Afghanistan. Noor travels the Chaman to Ghazni for his wheat business. During the week of November 29th, he saw a burnt-out, twisted, still smoking mess just north of Kandahar of a 12 fuel convoy. The charred remains of the drivers and all the dozens of unfortunate souls who had bargained for a ride to Chaman, sickened Noor.<sup>53</sup>

A refugee, Abdul Nabi, told the *AFP* on October 24th, upon arriving at a refugee camp on the Pakistan border, how he had seen two groups of bodies -- 13 and 15 corpses -- remainders of civilians near bombed trucks on the road between Herat and Kandahar.<sup>54</sup> Our data reveals this U.S. attack was carried out on October 22nd, against four trucks carrying fuel oil.

Fleeing refugees have become the Pentagon's "new targets of opportunity." During the couple weeks since November 25th, numerous first-hand reports tell how hovering U.S. aircraft seeking out "targets of opportunity" in the Kandahar region, have fired missiles and dropped bombs upon fleeing taxis, trucks, and buses.<sup>55</sup> A 39 year old, Afghan refugee in a Quetta hospital, Rukia, who lost her family of five children on December 3rd when a U.S. bomb was dropped upon her neighborhood in Kandahar, tells a typical story. She fled Kandahar before she could save her children, as she was wounded in her stomach and had her leg shattered in the bomb blast. She was nearly bombed again on the Kandahar to Spin Boldak highway, as a relative was driving her to a hospital in Quetta. Rukia said,

**"They're bombing anything that moves.** It's not true that they bomb civilians by accident. They're targeting the innocent people instead of Osama bin Laden." [emphasis added by M.H., *ibid*].

On December 4th, an ambulance in Kandahar was struck killing four. On December 2nd, a jeep carrying civilians was hit near Spin Boldak killing 15. On December 1st, Reuters [12/1/01] reported a U.S. attack on a

trucks and 5 buses on the highway to Spin Boldak, killing 30. *Dawn* [12/2/01] cited the incineration by air of three refugee vehicles in front of the Maji Hotel in Arghisan on December 1st. On November 30th, U.S. planes bombed two trucks on the highway from Herat, killing at least four. On November 27th, attracted by the lights of a vehicle, U.S. bombs hit a hamlet of five houses between Kandahar airport and the city, killing Mohammed Khan's entire family of 5 and 10 others.<sup>56</sup> Mohammed Khan also fled to Chaman for hospital treatment for his arms and legs.<sup>57</sup> On December 6th, a Pakistani truck carrying fresh fruits was attacked by U.S. planes on the highway between Spin Boldak and Kandahar.<sup>58</sup>

Afghan civilians in proximity to alleged military installations will die, must die, as 'collateral damage' of U.S. air attacks aiming to destroy military installations in order to make future military operations in the sky or on the ground less likely to result in U.S. military casualties. **The military facilities of the Taliban were mostly inherited from the Soviet supported government of the 1980s which had concentrated military infrastructure in cities, which could be better defended against the rural insurgency of the mujahadeen. This reality compounded insofar as the Taliban maintained dispersed military facilities: smaller units spread out. U.S. military strategists and their bombers, thus, engaged in a very widespread high intensity of bombing. Such intense urban bombing causes high levels of civilian casualties.** From the point of view of U.S. policy makers and their mainstream media boosters, the 'cost' of a dead Afghan civilian is zero as long as these civilian deaths can be hidden from the general public's view. The 'benefits' of saving future lives of U.S. military personnel are enormous, given the U.S. public's post-Vietnam aversion to returning body bags.

The absolute need to avoid U.S. military casualties means flinging high explosives into the sky, increasing the probability of killing civilians:

".....better stand clear and fire away. Given this implicit decision, the slaughter of innocent people, as a statistical eventuality is not an accident but a priority -- in which Afghan civilian casualties are substituted for American military casualties."<sup>59</sup>

But, I believe the argument goes deeper and that race enters the calculation. The sacrificed Afghan civilians are not 'white' whereas the overwhelming number of U.S. pilots and elite ground troops are white. This 'reality' **serves to amplify the positive benefit-cost ratio of certainly sacrificing darker Afghans today [and Indochinese, Iraqis yesterday] for the benefit of probably saving American soldier-citizens tomorrow.** What I am saying is that when the 'other' is non-white, the scale of violence used by the U.S. government to achieve its state objectives at minimum cost knows no limits. A case might be raised with Serbia which was also recently subjected to mass bombing. But, the Serbs were in the view of U.S. policymakers and the corporate media tainted ['darkened'] by their prior 'Communist' experience. No instance exists (except during World War II) where

experience. No instance exists [except during World War II] where a foreign Caucasian state became the war target of the U.S. government. The closest example might be that of the war waged by Britain upon Northern Ireland and, there, the British troops applied *focused* violence upon its Caucasian 'enemy.' When the "other" is a non-white foreigner, the state violence employed becomes amplified.

The use by the U.S. Air Force of weapons of enormous destructive capability -- including fuel air bombs, B-52 carpet bombing, BLU-82 CBU-87 cluster bombs [shown to be so effective at killing and maiming civilians who happen to come upon the unexploded 'bomblets'] -- refutes the emptiness in the claim that the U.S. has been trying to avoid Afghan civilian casualties.

"Even though civilian deaths have not been the deliberate goal of the current bombing -- as they were for the attackers of 9/11 -- the end result has been a distinction without a difference. Dead is dead, and when one's actions have entirely foreseeable consequences, it is little more than a precious and empty platitude to argue that those consequences were merely accidental."<sup>61</sup>

The 1000 and 2000 JDAM-type bombs which hit the Red Cross warehouse in Kabul and the village of Kama Ado, are designed to "inflict maximum damage over the widest battlefield area."

In so many words, ***intent matters little but race matters much.***

The U.S. bombing campaign has also directly targeted certain civilian facilities deemed hostile to its war success. On October 15th, U.S. bombers destroyed Kabul's main telephone exchange, killing 12.<sup>62</sup> In late October, U.S. warplanes bombed the electrical grid in Kandahar knocking out power, but the Taliban were able to divert some electricity to the city via a generating plant in another province, Helmand, but that generating plant [at Kajakai dam] was then bombed knocking out all power supply to Kandahar and Lashkargah.<sup>63</sup> On October 31st, it launched seven strikes against Afghanistan's largest hydro-electric power station adjacent to the huge Kajakai dam, 90 kilometers northwest of Kandahar, raising fears about the dam breaking.<sup>64</sup> On November 12th, a guided bomb scored a direct hit on the Kabul office of the Al Jazeera news agency which had been reporting from Afghanistan in a manner deemed hostile by Washington.<sup>65</sup> On November 18th, U.S. warplanes bombed religious schools [Madrasas] in the Khost and Shamshad areas. U.S. bombers singled out trucks carrying fuel oil into Afghanistan from Iran, through Herat onto Kandahar and up to Kabul.<sup>66</sup> Before the U.S. bombing campaign started about 30 fuel trucks a day arrived in Kabul. But since the tanker convoy was struck on the road between Herat and Kandahar on October 22nd [my data], only five tankers at most arrived in Kabul. Private businessmen almost stopped bringing fuel picked up at the Iranian border town of Islam Qila, 30 miles west of Herat. Fuel convoys and depots became favored targets for U.S. jets. An eyewitness reports that a truck carrying cooking oil to towns north west of Kandahar had broken



truck carrying cooking oil to towns north west of Kandahar had been down on October 16th, and its three drivers slept in the truck. At 4 on October 17th, the truck was hit by a cruise missile. The three were brought to the Kandahar hospital.<sup>67</sup>

Electricity, telephones, news, fuel supplies, cooking oil, and spiritual are 'fair' targets.

The widespread, un-focused bombing and missile attacks by the United States, besides killing close to 4'000 Afghan civilians since October has contributed to wholesale panic amongst residents of villages and cities, leading to floods of refugees seeking to escape. Both Kabul and Kandahar were reported as having only 20% of their populations remaining, comprising primarily those too poor to flee. Interviews with the refugees point out that they blame the U.S for their current misfortune. This mass exodus from the cities of Afghanistan is further testimony to the terror effects of the intense U.S bombing of urban areas, not in the sense of carpet-bombing [like Tokyo or Dresden] but rather in the large number of dispersed targets struck.

The strategic U.S. bombing of Afghanistan has been guided by two concerns: (1). The U.S does not want to lose any combat troops; and it does not want to lose expensive and technologically sophisticated aircraft.<sup>69</sup> Hence, the hi-tech bombing carried on from above 30'000 feet where anti-aircraft guns and Stinger missiles cannot reach. In other words, unwilling to risk "our" pilots and planes, U.S war strategists help but hit "their" mud homes, apartment complexes, bus stations, tanker trucks, buses and tractors, Red Crescent clinics, hospitals, mosques, schools, religious institutions [madaris and madrassas], Red Cross warehouses, etc..<sup>70</sup>



**On November 11th, U.S. planes bombed a bus carrying fleeing refugees on the north road out of Kabul, carrying fleeing refugees: 35 died.**

The war on civilians is not news. The reason has been amply displayed: the public must neither hear nor see images of the carnage on the

ground, else their 'resolve' for war be shaken. The video precision to war must run uncontested. As a reporter wrote, "No one reports from Kabul, and that suits generals fine."<sup>71</sup>

During the first three weeks [October 7-30th], U.S. bombing focused upon the cities and Taliban infrastructure, inflicting heavy civilian casualties, as a means of splitting the Taliban leadership. When this and a growing anti-war movement began gathering worldwide, the States resorted to its tried old carpet-bombing of troops and country with its blunderbusses of the skies, the B-52 bomber.<sup>72</sup> This was also necessary as the ground forces of the so-called Northern Alliance shied themselves unwilling to engage the Taliban on the ground. It had the fortunate political side-effect of putting civilian casualties further away from the public gaze, compared to the previous bombing of "military targets" in urban areas. On October 31st, B-52's began with the carpet bombing of Bagram and Mazar-i-Sharif front-line areas -- "a B-52 bomber made its debut in the war, sending up a wall of orange flame and clouds of dust along Taliban positions overlooking opposition-held Bagram airbase north of Kabul."<sup>73</sup> The front-line, however, weaves its way through the typical Afghan mud hut villages where civilians continue living. On November 4th, the U.S. upped the ante and dropped two 82 sub-atomic bombs [equivalent to a tactical nuclear weapon] on Taliban positions in northern Afghanistan.<sup>74</sup> The bombs destroy everything in a 600 yard radius, giving off a mushroom-like cloud, and has an nerve effect upon the targeted troops. On November 23rd -- a week into Ramadan -- a third BLU-82 was dropped just south of Kandahar. A nightmarish progression quietly taken place:

"It's nightmarish to see that the U.S. is slowly desensitizing the public to the level of destruction taking place in Afghanistan. They have progressed from medium-sized missiles to Tomahawk and cruise missiles, to bunker-busting 2,000 lb bombs, then to [B-52] carpet-bombing using cluster bombs, and now the devastating daisy cutter bombs that annihilate everything in a 600-meter radius."<sup>75</sup>

A Washington-based military analyst and frequent radio commentator sought to minimize the importance of and public discomfort felt about civilian casualties from the U.S. air war.<sup>76</sup> William M. Arkin makes three points: [1] civilian deaths are to be expected given that the air campaign will last more than a few weeks because the Pentagon wants to destroy everything the Taliban may use [e.g., barracks, etc.]; [2] the public even military and government officials overstate civilian deaths especially after a war; and [3] there is a popular myth that a ground war both guarantees military success and is less dangerous to non-combatants. With regards to the second point, Arkin cites 3,200 civilian deaths in Persian Gulf War's 43 days, and 500 civilian deaths in Yugoslavia in 100 days of NATO bombing. In the Gulf War, 9% of the firepower used was 'smart weapons', compared to 35% in Yugoslavia. Arkin then turns to Afghanistan, arguing that targets are in its less populated areas and

percentage of smart weapons will be much higher. Hence, we need overly concerned about civilian 'collateral damage.'

As it turns out, on the day Mr. Arkin wrote his piece, U.S. bombs killed 111 civilians in four Afghan provinces. A F-18 dropped a 1,000 lb ch bomb on a 200-bed military hospital in Herat, bombs killed 26 in two residential districts of Kabul and 11 in the city of Tarin Kot in the Uruz mountains, and 23 in the farming village of Thori located 6 hours away from Kandahar. On October 21st, the U.S. also began bombing from positions around Bagram in the Shomali Valley north of Kabul, about which I have no civilian casualty data.

The following **Table 1** presents a comparison of our casualties [red with that announced by the Taliban [blue line] at various times. Two things stand out: our figures are relatively close to each other and the Taliban figures are an underestimate. We find this result quite explicit insofar as the Taliban initially sought to present itself as more invulnerable than was warranted.

Our compilation indicates a relatively stable rate of civilian deaths [red line], with a falling-off between October 28th and November 1st, precisely at the time when the U.S. air war shifted towards heavy bombing of front lines north of Kabul in the Shomali plain and around Mazar-i-Sharif.

The second table, **Table 2** below, presents a day-by-day tabulation of civilian deaths. Appendix 4 available at <http://pubpages.unh.edu/~mwhero1d> presents details for each day: location of air attack, weaponry used, numbers killed and other commentary, and the sources we have relied upon. This Appendix is being occasionally revised and updated.

The seven *single bombing attacks* -- "*seven days of ignominy*" -- are the greatest civilian deaths occurred on October 11, 18, 21, 23 and November 10 and 18th and December 1st. The U.S. strikes hit four farming villages, a city, a hospital and a mosque, and the central marketplace in the Taliban stronghold, Kandahar.

## Seven Days of Ignominy

- **October 11th** - the farming village of 450 persons of Karam, of Jalalabad in Nangarhar province is repeatedly bombed, 45 or 60 mud houses destroyed, killing at least 160 civilians.<sup>77</sup> Ms. Bakai, who survived the attack, but all of whose children died in the attack, said, her voice barely audible, "I was asleep. I heard the prayers and suddenly it started. I didn't know what it was. I was scared..."<sup>78</sup> ;
- **October 18th** - the central market place, Sarai Shamali in the Madad district of Kandahar is bombed, killing 47 civilians;<sup>79</sup>

- **October 21st** - a cluster bomb falls on the military hospital and mosque in Herat, killing possibly 100 though I have recorded c 11;<sup>80</sup>
- **October 23rd** - in the early a.m. hours, low-flying AC-130 gunships repeatedly strafe the farming villages of Bori Chokar and Chow Karez [Chakoor Kariz], 25 miles north of Kandahar, killing 93 civilians;<sup>81</sup>
- **November 10th** the villages of Shah Aqa and a neighboring s in the poppy-growing Khakrez district, 70 kilometers northwest of Kandahar are bombed, resulting in possibly over 300 civilian casualties [though I have only recorded 125]<sup>82</sup>
- **November 18th** - carpet-bombing by B-52's of frontline villages near Khanabad, province of Kunduz, kills at least 100 civilians.

### December 1st - *"It Just Did Not Happen"*<sup>84</sup>

Village elders of Kama Ado, fifty kilometers southwest of Jalalabad, trekked down the mountains on Thursday, November 29th to meet the governor of Nangarhar in Jalalabad. They pleaded with him to stop the American night time attacks around their village which had killed the livestock and destroyed their water supply, but none had lost their lives.

At 3.a.m, Saturday morning, as part of the intense bombing campaign in Tora Bora, U.S. B-52 bombers made four passes over Kama Ado, dropping twenty-five 1,000 lb. JDAM MK-83 bombs, each 10 feet long. Kama Ado is a ten hour hike away from Tora Bora. Khalil Rahman survived because he had gone outside to urinate when a bomb struck his home, killing his 12 relatives. Sprina, a 50 year old widow, wounded in the attack, lost 38 of her 40 relatives. Hassan and other villagers said in the following day, they saw only 40 of the 250-300 residents of Kama Ado. Kamal Huddin said that 156 of the 300 residents of Kama Ado perished.

A second nearby village Khan-e-Mairjuddin, was bombed a few hours earlier with a likely death toll of 100-200, with 50 confirmed deaths on Saturday morning. And a third village, Zaner Khel, also reported being hit with scores of civilian casualties, when U.S. warplanes bombed the nearby house of a minor Taliban official.

Journalists who visited Kama Ado on Saturday reported huge bomb craters, debris of houses spread over two hillsides with children's shoes, dead cows and sheep, and the tail fin of a U.S. MK-83 bomb. Locals said scores of people had been killed in three bombed villages.<sup>85</sup>

The response of the Pentagon and Command Central on Saturday evening?

"It just did not happen."

Note: the impact of these days upon the cumulative total in Table 2 is very visible.



Note: the impact of these days upon the cumulative total in Table 2 is very visible.

**Conclusion:** This dossier has presented detailed and reliable inform about the large number of civilians killed in U.S. bombing and missile attacks on Afghanistan since October 7th. Naturally, some might seek to dismiss parts or all of the report by attacking the sources employed to do so would mean having to accuse news agencies from many countries, reporters from many countries, and newspapers from many countries of lying. We have sought to cite whenever possible multiple sources. The specific, detailed stories provided by victims, on-lookers and refugees lend credibility.

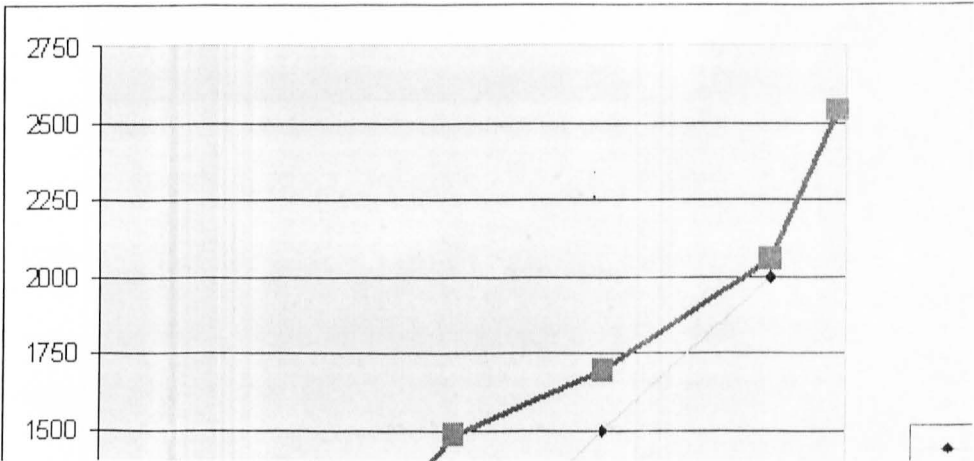
Natasha Walter<sup>86</sup> has eloquently stated our responsibility:

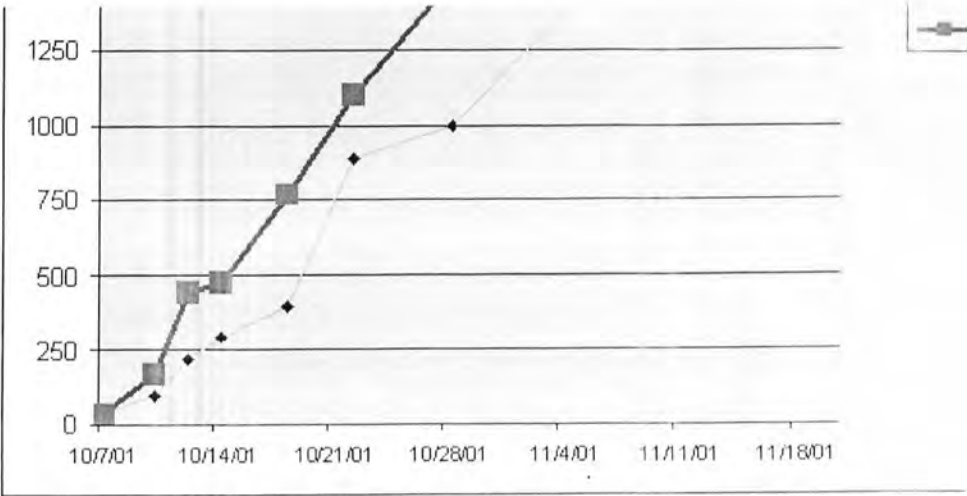
"They are far away from us, it's true, but their grief still rises from television screens and news reports. And this time around, we are implicated. These people are suffering from terror visited on them from the West. Yes, I know they have also suffered over the years from the evils of their fundamentalist rulers but we now share the blame for their plight. If it were not for the missiles the West has sent into Kandahar and Kunduz, these children whose faces we now see in our newspapers would not have had to take to the roads, desperately trudging the hills and deserts and sitting in tents on a bare plain.

And don't think that just because they have suffered so much during the last generation that their grief is any the less now. Or because they don't get obituaries in The New York Times that each of the civilian lives lost in Afghanistan isn't as precious to their loved ones as the people who died in the Twin Towers."

-- 30 --

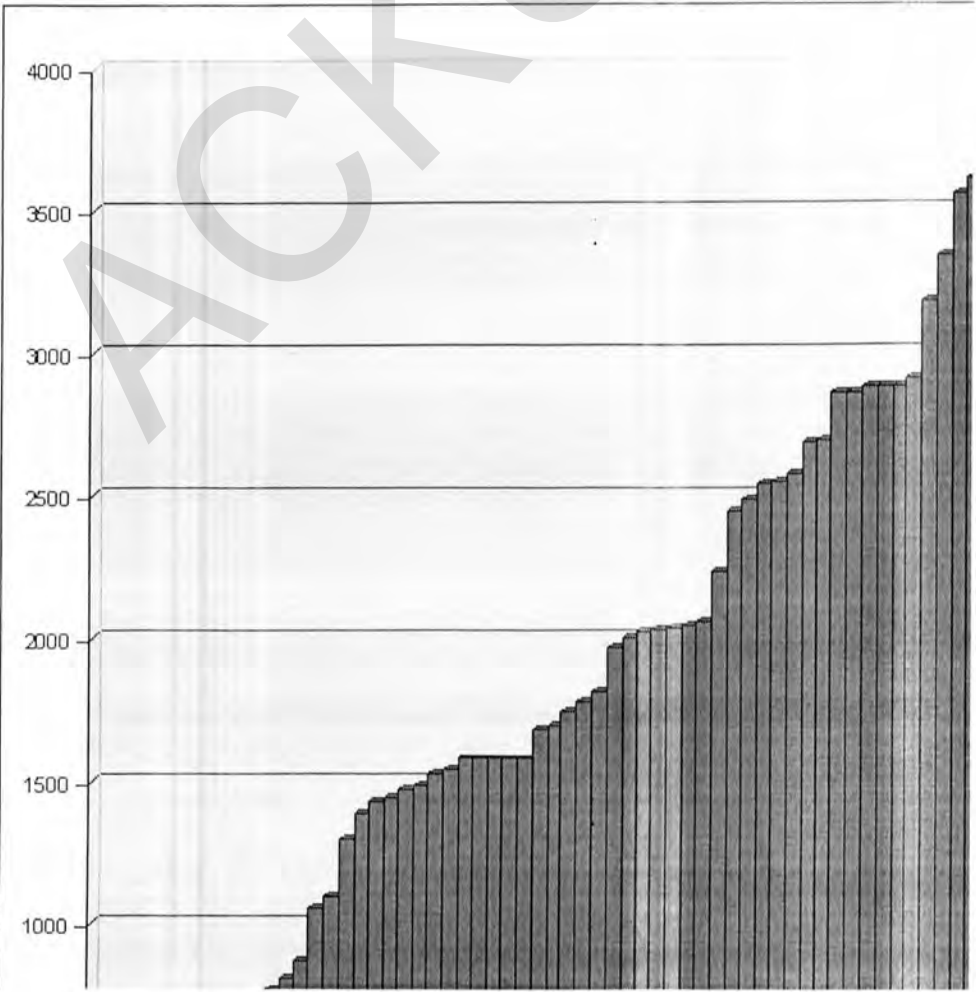
**Table 1. Cumulative Civilian Deaths in Afghanistan**  
[red line: our data is red line, and blue line is Taliban reporting]





Note: On Sunday, October 21st, the Taliban reported that over 1'000 civilians had been killed [Pakistan Service, October 22, 2001]. On November 12th, the Taliban reported that over 2'000 Afghan civilians had t since the start of the U.S. bombings [see "Taliban Says Bombing Has Killed 2'000," *Pakistan News Serv.* [November 12, 2001]]

**Table 2. 'The Slope of Infamy': Cumulative Civilian Deaths Cause U.S. Aerial Bombing Since October 7, 2001 [-December 10th]**  
[horizontal axis represents days starting with October 7th]



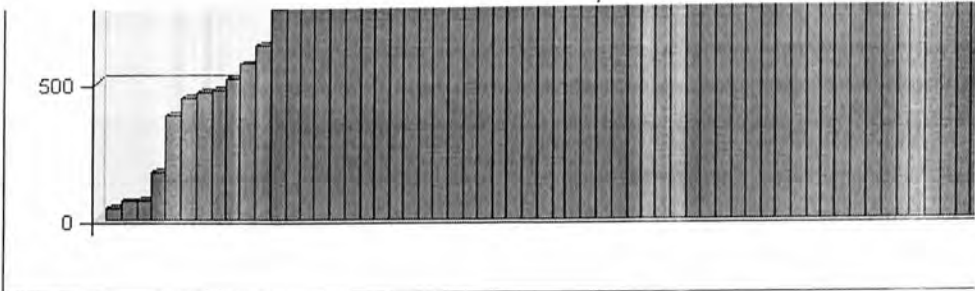
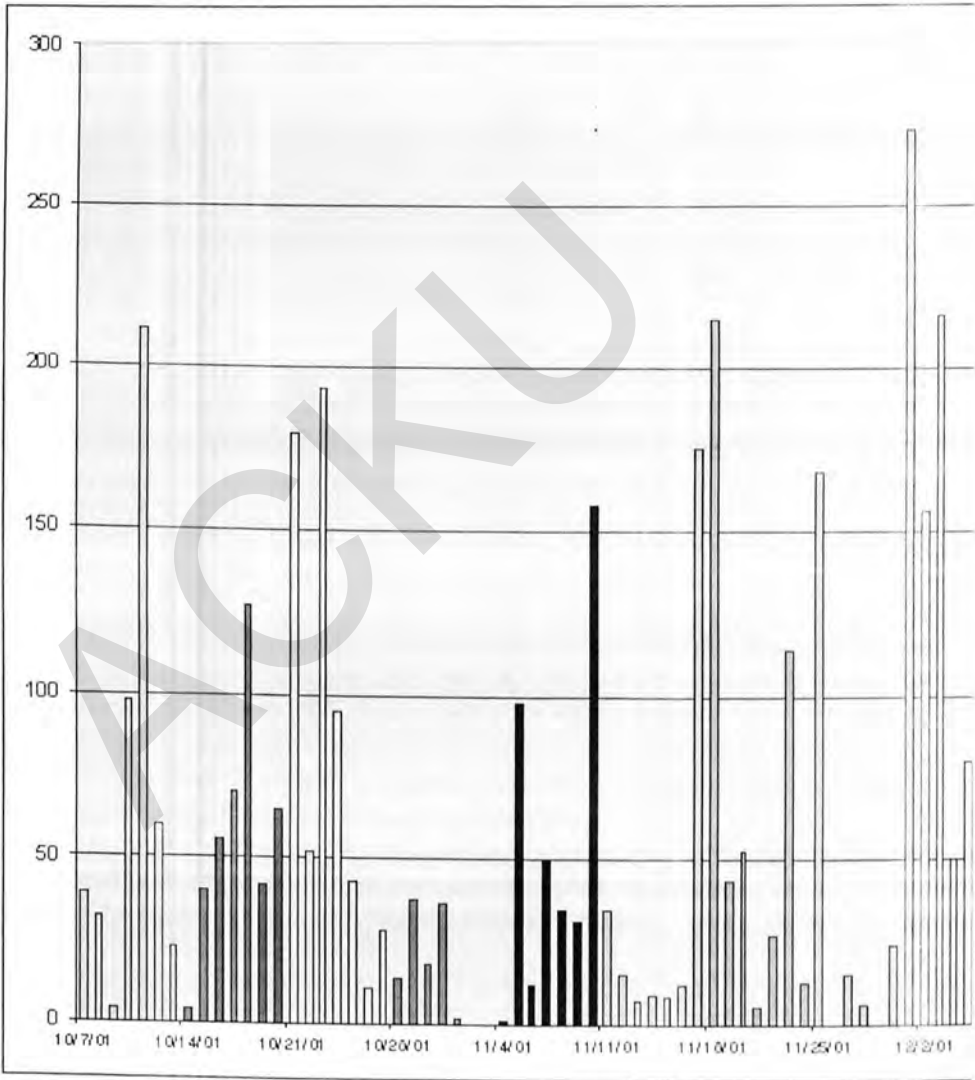


Table 3. Daily Civilian Casualty Count  
[October 7 - December 10th]



Appendix 1. The U.S. bombing through the words of Afghan refugee  
**"Voices from Afghanistan"**

Source: BBC News Online, Thursday, 25 October, 2001.



**The bombardment of Afghanistan has caused untold numbers of people their homes - as much as 70% of the population of three major Afghan cities on the move, the United Nations has said. While the Pentagon admits that a few bombs have gone astray, refugees and internally displaced persons spoke to the BBC say that innocent people have borne the brunt of the attacks.**

**Mohammed Gul**, who worked at Kandahar military hospital, spoke to the BBC from a Pakistani border city of Quetta:

"Since the American bombing started a lot of people died. Bombs were hitting people's houses. They damaged lots of houses and they injured and killed lots of innocent people. We were there and I saw about 50 people who died and some became injured.

"There are no health facilities and medicine. The Taliban do not have the power to stop American bombing, because the planes are very high and the anti-aircraft [guns] can't reach them. When the bombing stops, people came out of their homes and continue their life under the pressure of war.

"Because of the bombing no one can sleep. Women and children can not eat or drink anything. Everyone is looking to the sky and waiting and thinking when an American aircraft comes and starts killing them."

**Man from Helmand, in southern Afghanistan, speaking on arrival in Quetta:**

"The situation is somehow all right, but the bombs are going on the wrong places. They don't damage any military headquarters but they are killing innocent people.

"The places where Taliban were before are not there anymore. They moved and went to mountains and other places where they can hide."

**People arriving in Quetta from Kandahar, in southern Afghanistan:**

"The situation was very bad in Kandahar. Americans were bombing day and night.

"The Taliban and Osama [Bin Laden] didn't face any damage, but innocent people were injured and killed. Homes were destroyed.

"All people are leaving and coming here. Children are dying. America was bombing innocent people's houses not military headquarters.

"A lot of people died and many were injured. About 200 or 300 houses were damaged."

**A resident of Kabul speaking of the destruction in the capital:**

"The street next to my home was bombed, and 18 were killed and 23 injured. Everything was destroyed there.

"The doors and window glass of our homes were broken. I have a baby child, and a half year old. Even she is afraid of the plane sounds and bombing and runs towards me and hugs me when the planes come over."



"I am surprised by those who claim to be defending human rights. Those who say that the terror attacks were carried out by the followers of Osama and his group may be wrong.

"But still if they are right, two buildings have been destroyed and some people have been killed.

"Anyway now it has been done, and we are also sorry for the victims of the attack. But now these American and British planes have added our nation's blood [to the dead in Washington and New York] and they have made all people frightened.

"No one can go to sleep for whole night up to the morning. Their planes come proudly at a low altitude and as a result the plastic in all our windows and doors whose glass has already been broken - started shaking in this cold weather.

"In the Darulaman area they again carried out a heavy bombardment in which houses were destroyed and many people have been washed in blood and made another disaster.

"At the moment when I am talking to you, the planes are going up and down and who knows what might be their goal and what disaster might happen again to poor and innocent people."

#### **Afghan children in Peshawar, Pakistan, worry about US-led bombing in their country.**

##### **Sultan Sarwar, a young boy:**

"It has been three days since I arrived in Peshawar from Jalalabad. My uncles are still there. My school was closed because of the fighting and bombing there. My classmate Zubair is still there."

##### **Hamid, a nine-year-old boy:**

"As America started its bombing in Afghanistan, my parents sent me to Peshawar with the hope [that I would] not be killed there. Now I am living in my uncle's house. I miss my parents and other family members very much."

##### **Feriba, a young girl:**

"I and all my classmates are very sad because of the situation in our homeland. When our teacher said in the class that many people have been killed in Afghanistan, I and my all classmates started weeping because everyone has relatives there. I expect America not to kill the poor Afghans. They are hungry and poor."

**Despite US radio broadcasts in local languages, many Afghans have no idea of why they are under attack.**

##### **An ironmonger in the small town of Hojibahodin:**

"Bin Laden killed many donkeys and many people and animals, and they killed

(Northern Alliance commander Ahmed Shah) Masood "That's why they are attacking."

**BBC News Online** [October 12, 2001], reported on the U.S. bombing of the Sultanpur mosque in Jalalabad, which killed 15 people. A Kabul man who had escaped to Peshawar, told a BBC reporter on October 12th that he had witnessed the destroyed mosque:

"I saw it with my own eyes. It had been hit at nine o'clock at night. And I saw for myself that many people had been killed."

**The Toronto Globe & Mail** [November 24, 2001], described U.S. bombers pummeling Taliban positions in the Khanabad-Kunduz area during the 21st - 22nd and talking with one of three burqa-clothed women who had walked six hours from the rain of bombs in Khanabad:

"A neighbor of ours has a 14 year-old daughter who was killed by a bomb on Wednesday along with her brother. Last week, there was a doctor who was killed with 12 members of his family."

Another woman in a burqa described how a village was struck by U.S. bombs and rockets on Thursday [November 22nd]:

"Five houses were destroyed and all the people were killed."

Kate Holt of **The Independent** [November 25, 2001] reports on the effect of the U.S. bombing of the small market town of Nahrin in Baghlan province:

"The living are as much casualties as the dead. Bibi is one of the thousands of innocent people who have been forced to flee their homes as the bombing of Taliban targets continues in the "war against terrorism". Hers is a terrible tale.

"The bombs started falling from the sky," she recalls. "My husband ran outside to find our son and then he screamed. I ran to the door. He and my son were lying dead. The rest of us left when the fighting had stopped. We just wanted to get away from the bombs and the killing." Severely traumatized by her experiences, Bibi left the remote Afghan village of Nahrin with her five remaining children and traveled south. "I just wanted to reach the safety of a camp, but now we are here there is nothing." Tears are streaming down her face."

### ***Ridiculous? Propaganda? The claim could not be independently verified***

David Rhode wrote in *The New York Times* [December 12, 2001] about the bombing of the village of Mowshkheyl in Paktika province.<sup>87a</sup> At 4 a.m. on Sunday morning December 9th, the American planes struck just as families were preparing the predawn meal that is part of the Muslim holy month of Ramadan. A day earlier a group of "Arabs" had passed through the village on their flight from Kandahar, and a bomb released hundreds of smaller bombs that sprayed the area with shrapnel. Rhode reported Bibi Hawa, aunt of a 6 year old girl paralyzed by the attack, hospitalized in Ghazni. The girl, Palwasha, has a tiny shard of metal which neatly severed her spinal chord. The girl's mother, Rose, was struck by shrapnel which tore through her abdomen. The hospital doctor spoke about other injured dying. Thirteen people

killed and more than 40 were injured, said Bibi Hawa.



Bibi Hawa and her 6 yr old niece

## Appendix 2. Analysis of Discrepancies and Lying in Mainstream Corporate Media

I have chosen to analyze more closely one [of literally hundreds possible] newspaper article published in a major British newspaper, as representative c lies and distortion found in the mainstream press.<sup>87</sup> The authors solemnly intc fewer Afghan civilians have been killed by American bombs than is claimed by Taliban propaganda." Citing "an intelligence report obtained by The Sunday Telegraph" which is purported to have employed data gathered by satellite an unmanned reconnaissance aircraft, they allege that most Taliban claims are falsehoods and propaganda. They then present a listing of Taliban claims and Truth" per intelligence report. No independent research is carried out by the reporters who merely cite the intelligence report! I publish below both 'The Cl and 'The Truth', followed in the last column by my own assessment. Five incic during October 2001 are examined. These five bombing attacks alone, in our estimate, resulted in **a minimum of 239 dead Afghan civilians!**

Who is lying?

Date of U.S. bombing	Taliban 'claim' as stated in the 'report':	Pentagon/State Department 'truth':	My assessment:
October 11	Bombed Karam village, 200 killed.	Hit military base on hillside. While possible civilians killed, Taliban claims are predictably exaggerated	Two jets bomb the mo village of Karam comp of 60 mud houses, dur dinner after evening pr time, killing 100-160 in Karam alone. Reported DAWN, the Guardian, Independent, Internatic Herald Tribune, the Scotsman, the Observ

			and BBC News.
October 13	Missile hits civilian homes in Kabul, killing civilians	Pentagon acknowledges a stray missile accidentally struck a populated Kabul area, killing or injuring civilians.	In early a.m., F-18 dropped 2,000 lb JDAM bombs on the dirt-poor Qila Meer neighborhood, 2 kms. of Kabul airport, killing 10. Reported in : Afghan Press, Los Angeles Times, Frontier Post, Pakistan Observer, the Guardian and BBC News.
October 21	Bombed Herat hospital, killing 100+ civilians.	Pentagon admits missing military barracks, but says hospital is "considerable distance" from where bomb landed and bomb blast unlikely to cause civilian deaths.	F-18 dropped a 1,000 lb cluster bomb on a 200 military hospital and mosque, missing the target by 500-1000 meters. Reported in Afghan Press, Pakistan News Service, Frontier Post, Guardian, Times of India, Agence France Presse and by the U.N.
October 29	Hit mosque in Kandahar, killing civilians. Note; I have NOT been able to find this Taliban claim.	No air strike in the general area. Claim is a lie.	A pre-dawn bombing on October 24th on the mosque in the village of Ishaq Sulaiman near Herat, killing 20. Reported in Agence France Presse, Reuters, DAWN, the Herald, etc.
October 31	Red Crescent clinic in Kandahar hit, killing 11.	A military target was hit and a Red Crescent hospital was in vicinity -- 100s of meters away and was undamaged.	Pre-dawn raid, F-18 dropped 2,000 lb JDAM bombs on a clinic, killing 15-25. The clinic is reduced to a mangled mess of iron and concrete [photo]. Reported in : DAWN, the Times, Independent, the Guardian, Reuters, and Agence France Presse

## Appendix 3. The Aerojet/Honeywell CBU-87 Cluster Bomb

The U.S. delivers approx. 14,500 land mines by 'air delivery' to Afghan civilians as part of 'Enduring Freedom'

**Sunday, November 25th, Kalakan village.** A farmer returns to his village in the evening and is killed as he walks on one of the CBU-87's 202 bomblets.



**Tuesday, November 27th, village of Qala Shater near Herat, a 12yr. Old b** picks up the bright yellow soda-can sized bomblet, loses his arm.

The CBU-87, 1,000 lb. bomb was developed by the Aerojet General Corp. in which produced it along with the Alliant Techsystems Inc. [Hopkins, Minn.]. To the CBU-87s are assembled in an Army factory in southern Kansas, from part supplied by Honeywell [Minn.] and Aerojet [Sacramento].

The 'mother bomb' carries 202 bright yellow bomblets [each the size of a soda can]. The mother bomb explodes about 300-400 feet above earth and the 202 bomblets are dispersed with little parachutes. They are supposed to explode upon landing, but at least 5% do not. The CBU-87's 'footprint' is about 400x800 feet. One CBU-87 spreads bomblets over about three football fields. One B1-B 'Lancer' bomber carries 30 CBU-87 bombs.<sup>88</sup>

To date [November 30th] the US bombers have dropped about 600 CBU-87s in Afghanistan. Assuming a dud rate of 12%,<sup>89</sup> doing the arithmetic, this means there are about 14,500 unexploded bomblets littering the Afghan countryside and villages..... akin to landmines.

## **Appendix 4: Daily Casualty Count Afghan Civilians Killed in U.S Bombing Attacks**

## **Appendix 5: Spatial Distribution of Afghan Civilian Casualties Caused by the U.S Air War, October 7 - December 6th.**

## **Footnotes**

1 The figure of 93 comes from our data compilation [see chart later, citing reports from *Al Jazeera*, the *BBC* [November 1, 2001], and *The Hindu*]. A detailed on-the-scene account is given in "Merciless U.S. Bombing Obliterates Village, 60 Killed," *Dawn* [November 2, 2001]. The U.S. organization, *Human Rights Watch* reported a figure of 35 deaths, but this was based only upon interviews with survivors in a Quetta hospital. Commentator Stephen Gowans, "Our Masters of Propaganda," *Swans Commentary* [November 12, 2001], at [www.swans.com/library/art7/gowans12.html](http://www.swans.com/library/art7/gowans12.html)

2 Murray Campbell, "Bombing of Farming Village Undermines U.S. Credibility," *Toronto Globe & Mail* [November 2, 2001].

3 Richard Norton-Taylor, "The Return of the B-52s," *The Guardian* [November 2, 2001].

4 Norman Solomon, "Orwellian Logic 101 - A Few Simple Lessons," at *FAIR*, [www.fair.org/press/011101solomon.htm](http://www.fair.org/press/011101solomon.htm)

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6 "Taliban Says 20 Civilians Killed in Kabul," *The Guardian* [October 9, 2001]. "I Wish God Destroys Their says 16 year-old bombing victim," from Torkham [October 9, 2001]

7 Richard Lloyd Parry, "Tragic Place in History Claimed by Odd-Job Man," *The Independent* [October 10, 2001]

8 A.J. Chien, "The Civilian Toll," [October 11, 2001] at the *Institute for Health & Social Justice*, available at [www.zmag.org/civiliantoll.htm](http://www.zmag.org/civiliantoll.htm)

9 "37 Killed, 81 Injured in Sunday's Strikes," *Pakistan Observer* [October 9, 2001]

10 "Raids Restart with 76 Reported Dead," *The Guardian* [October 10, 2001]

11 Siddarth Varadarajan, "An Ignoble War," *Times of India* [October 15, 2001]

12 Chris Kromm, "Week One: Operation Infinite Disaster," *CommonDreams* [October 16, 2001] at [www.commondreams.org/views01/1016-03.htm](http://www.commondreams.org/views01/1016-03.htm)

13 as for example in *Los Angeles Times* [October 9, 2001], Derrick Z. Jackson, "Already, One Small Bomb Proved Dumb," *The Boston Globe* [October 10, 2001], *The Washington Post* [October 10, 2001] and *The Independent [U.K.]* [October 14, 2001].

14 from Geov Parrish, "Where the Bodies Are," *Working for Change* [October 22, 2001], at [www.workingforchange.com](http://www.workingforchange.com); and also in *The Frontier Post* [Peshawar] [October 12, 2001] and *BBC News* [October 11, 2001]. On October 25th, a U.S bomb hit the mosque and village of Ishaq Sulaiman near Herat; at least 20 civilians [*Agence France Press*, October 25, 2001, cited in *Dawn* [October 26, 2001]

15 reported in the Robert Nickelsberg and Jane Perlez, "Survivors Recount Fierce American Raid That Fla Village," *New York Times* [November 2, 2001].

16 *Agence France Presse*, Jabal Seraj, "Dix victimes civiles au nord de Kaboul," [www.cyberpresse.ca/reseau/monde/0110/mon\\_101100029502.html](http://www.cyberpresse.ca/reseau/monde/0110/mon_101100029502.html); and "US Bomb Kills 10 Civilians in O Held Afghanistan; Medic," *The Hindustan Times* [October 28, 2001].

17 "Pattern of Error Emerges as Another US Bomb Misses Target," *SABC News* [October 28, 2001]

18 "They Killed All My Children, Husband," *The Times of India* [October 29, 2001]. Another detailed example chronicles how a U.S bomb fell on the mud hut village of Wazir Abad, three kilometers west of Kabul on October 28, 2001, killing two sisters ["Girls Killed as US Bomb Strikes Village, Red Cross Stores Razed," *Relief Web* citing *Re A.F.P.* [October 26, 2001].]

19 Robyn Dixon in Bangi, "Living with War: Dying a Way of Life for Civilians in Afghanistan," *Los Angeles Times* [November 19, 2001].

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21 James S. Robbins, "Humanity of the Air War. Look How Far We Have Come," *The National Review* [October 2001]. Robbins is on the staff of the National Defense University

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24 Emphasis added -- M.H. Paul Richter, "Despite Grim Predictions U.S Battle Toll Still Zero," *Los Angeles Times* [November 24, 2001].

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26 photographs of specific incidents are available at RAWA, "Afghanistan Under the U.S Strikes," October at: <http://rawa.fancymarketing.net/s-photos.htm>

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32d At <http://pubpages.unh.edu/~mwhero1d> under October 13th. The incident was reported in: *The Guardian* [October 15, 2001], the *Los Angeles Times* [October 14, 2001], *Out There News* [October 13, 2001], the *Fr Post* [October 14, 2001], *BBC News* [October 29, 2001], *Pakistan Observer* [October 14, 2001], and *Pakistan Service* [October 14, 2001].

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Craters: 155 villagers killed, *The Associated Press* [December 3, 2001].

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ACKU

The UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Ruud Lubbers, announced on 19 April 2004 that a top priority is to close by the beginning of September all the "new" refugee camps in Pakistan opened to host Afghans who fled war in their homeland after the 11 September 2001 attacks on the United States. Addressing a press conference in Islamabad at the end of his visit to Pakistan, Mr Lubbers said he had discussed this in detail in his meetings with the Government of Pakistan. The "new" camps, which were located at government request in areas close to the Afghan border where security has been a continual concern, have about 200,000 remaining residents who will be offered assistance to return to Afghanistan.

of the UNHCR voluntary repatriation programme began in March 2002, with about 60,000 in less than seven weeks since the 2004 operation began at the end of winter in Afghanistan. Returning refugees receive a travel grant ranging from \$3 to \$30 and an extra \$8 instead of food and other assistance extended in previous years.

UNHCR is repatriating Afghans from Pakistan under a tripartite agreement with the governments of Pakistan and Afghanistan that runs until March 2006. Mr Lubbers said that in his meetings with government officials he had expressed the hope that after the expiry of the agreement, remaining Afghans in Pakistan might be accommodated under other arrangements such as work permits - what he termed a "win-win" solution reflecting the economic benefits such an arrangement could bring to both countries. affect refugees' decisions to return to their country.

Earlier, Lubbers had explained the need to close the "new" camps, pointing to growing security concerns that spoke of Taliban and Al-Qaeda forces possibly finding sanctuary and conducting recruiting in the camps near the border. He added: "We think it's really not good to continue the situation there, it's not good for the people who are living there, it's not good for Pakistan, it's not good for Afghanistan."

UNHCR is repatriating Afghans from Pakistan under a tripartite agreement with the governments of Pakistan and Afghanistan that runs until 2006. In his meetings with Pakistani officials, Lubbers said he had expressed the hope that, after the expiry of the agreement, the remaining Afghans in Pakistan might be accommodated under other arrangements, such as work permits, the UNHCR press statement said.

## **First Int'l. Conference Opens in Kabul**

**19. April 2004, 23:46**

**KABUL, Afghanistan (AP) - A regional economic development conference opened in the Afghan capital on Sunday, the first international meeting to be held in this war-battered land in more than two decades.**

The two-day Economic Cooperation Organization conference brings together representatives of 10 regional countries to discuss ways to improve development and promote trade, with a particular focus on investment opportunities in newer member states such as Afghanistan.

"The conference is an indication that Afghanistan is now open for business," Commerce Minister Savari

Mustafa Kazemi said in a statement. Afghan President Hamid Karzai was to attend the opening ceremony later Sunday.

It has been an important week for Afghanistan's fledgling economic recovery. On Saturday, Karzai and U.S. Ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad donned hardhats at the groundbreaking of a Hyatt Regency hotel being built by Afghan-American and Turkish investors.

The hotel, one of several luxury venues going up in the capital, is scheduled for completion in 18 months, and will have more than 200 rooms, a banquet hall and business facilities.

The ECO conference is bringing together government delegations with banks and aid agencies, as well as potential investors.

Delegates will meet under a giant tent where a historic constitutional convention - or loya jirga - was held in December and January.

The 10 members of ECO are Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Iran, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Turkey, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.

Despite progress toward recovery, Afghanistan is still desperately poor and struggling to cope with an influx of millions of refugees, an ongoing insurgency by Taliban rebels and fractious factional fighting by warlords whose power outside the capital is largely unchallenged

