



# **The United States' War on Yemen Drone Attacks**

**Report submitted to the Special Rapporteur on the Promotion  
and Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms  
while Countering Terror**

**With the cooperation of Hood  
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**Original version in French**

## 2 Introduction

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From the first air strike in November 2002 until the month of May 2013, there have been between 134 and 226 U.S. military operations in Yemen, including strikes by aircraft, drone missiles, or attacks launched from warships stationed in the Gulf of Aden.<sup>1</sup> However, the exact number of operations is unknown due to the secrecy surrounding the United States' military interventions in Yemen. As such, the number of casualties is also unknown. In a study of civilian victims of U.S. attacks in Yemen by Yemeni journalist Ali Al-Sha'bani, he notes the difficulty of obtaining accurate information about the number of strikes and people affected. In 2012, he counted 109 air strikes in nine provinces, causing the deaths of 490 people, including 390 civilians.<sup>2</sup>

While the Bureau of Investigative Journalism counted nearly 1,150 deaths between 2002 and April 2013 due to U.S. attacks, Dennis Kucinich, a representative of the U.S. Congress, placed the number of deaths in Yemen at 1,952, in a speech to Congress. He says: "We have not declared war on any of these nations [Pakistan, Yemen, Somalia] but our weapons have killed innocent civilians there. Highly reputable research shows that the number of high-level targets killed as a percentage of total casualties is estimated at about 2 percent."<sup>3</sup> The head of national security in Yemen, Ali Hassan Al-Ahmady, announced that during 2012, a hundred members of al-Qaeda had been killed by U.S. aircraft strikes.<sup>4</sup>

In the context of the review of Yemen's period report by the Committee against Torture in May 2010, Alkarama referred to a missile attack by U.S. forces in the village of Al-Ma'jalah that caused the death of more than 50 people, including many children and women.<sup>5</sup> Our organization continues to work on the issue of U.S. military intervention in Yemen. In collaboration with the organization Hood, Alkarama visited sites that had been targeted by drone attacks or U.S. military aircraft strikes. We have gathered testimonies evidence and placed attacks in their political context to enable better understanding of their objectives. However, it is necessary to add that this preliminary information gathered on-site cannot substitute a real investigation whose purpose is not only to confirm the type of attack carried out, but also to establish the chain of command and responsibilities of different actors.

### 2.1 The "Test Phase" of 2002-2009

From 2002, various U.S. agencies began to collect information on Yemeni combatants, especially on their places of residence, in order to eliminate them. The U.S. Department of Defence coordinates covert operations and the *Joint Special Operations Command* (JSOC) is responsible for the operational side. It directs elite troops conducting covert operations by air, sea, and ground, and works closely with the CIA and the U.S. military.

On 3 November 2002, in a joint operation by the CIA and JSOC, Ali Al-Harithi – considered the most important terrorist in Yemen for having planned the attack against the USS Cole in 2000 – along with five other fighters, were targeted by a drone attack. Among them were three suspected members of the Aden-Abyan Islamic Army, as well as Ahmed Hijazi, aka Kamal Derwish, a US-Yemeni citizen that U.S. authorities have portrayed as being a member of a support group that had sent Al-Qaeda materials from the United States.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> These figures were established by the *Bureau of Investigative Journalism* which gathers credible information on clandestine operations by the U.S. in Yemen, Pakistan and Somalia. <http://www.thebureauinvestigates.com/>

<sup>2</sup> « علي الشعباني, ضحايا الطائرات الأمريكية المدنية في اليمن » (in Arabic only - *Civilian Victims of American Aviation in Yemen*), unpublished study prepared in early 2013.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Tilford, *American drones have killed thousands, says Kucinich*, Examiner, 16 November 2012, <http://www.examiner.com/article/american-drones-have-killed-thousands-says-kucinich> (accessed on 25 April 2013)

<sup>4</sup> علي الشعباني, ضحايا الطائرات الأمريكية المدنية في اليمن, unpublished study prepared in early 2013. See note above.

<sup>5</sup> Alkarama, Follow up submission in view of the previous concluding observations of the Committee against Torture for Yemen's 2<sup>nd</sup> periodic review, 9 April 2010, [http://fr.alkarama.org/index.php?option=com\\_docman&task=doc\\_download&qid=325&Itemid=150](http://fr.alkarama.org/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_download&qid=325&Itemid=150) (accessed 25 April 2013).

<sup>6</sup> Jeremy Scahill, *The Dangerous US Game in Yemen*, The Nation, 18 April 2011, <http://www.thenation.com/article/159578/dangerous-us-game-yemen?page=0,1#> (accessed 27 March 2013). In the

For the next seven years until 2009, no direct U.S. military intervention took place and it was not until the election of Barack Obama as president of the United States that the number of drone strikes in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Yemen grew exponentially.

In Yemen, 2009 was a turning point. Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) publicly announced its creation on 24 January, and in the United States, the decision was made by General David Petraeus, commander of CENTCOM, to extend military interventions, especially against AQAP.<sup>7</sup> On 19 January 2010, the organization was formally classified by the U.S. government as a foreign terrorist organization.

At a meeting on 26 June 2009 between General David Petraeus and former Yemeni President Ali Abdullah Saleh, the latter promised cooperation "without restrictions or conditions" in the fight against terrorism. Saleh reportedly said that the government would strive to pursue terrorists in the provinces of Jawf, Marib, Abyan and Hadramout. He also offered a better exchange of information between the two countries.<sup>8</sup>

According to a cable from the U.S. embassy in Sanaa, at a meeting in September 2009 with John Brennan, President Obama former counter-terrorism adviser, former President Saleh granted U.S. forces full access to the territory to carry out anti-terrorist operations.<sup>9</sup> As the Washington Post revealed in early 2010, U.S. military activities increased as of the end of 2009 and the joint efforts of Yemeni and U.S. forces resulted in more than two-dozen ground raids and airstrikes. Dozens of people were killed including six of the 15 men considered the main leaders of al-Qaeda in Yemen. These attacks were approved by President Obama and carried out covertly by dozens of members of the JSOC.<sup>10</sup>

## 2.2 The "Spring" of the Drones

In November 2009, two missile attacks targeted northern Sanaa, the exact number of victims of which remains unknown. On 17 December, the village of Al-Ma'jalah in Abyan province (see section 3.1) was hit by missiles fired from a U.S. ship and more than 50 people died, mostly women and children. On the same day a house in Arhab, a suburb of Sanaa, was attacked by a drone and four people were killed; on the 24th of the same month two attacks were carried out, one in Rafd in Shabwa province in which 34 people died, the other in the province of Abyan of which the death toll is unknown. Other attacks took place on 12, 15 and 20 January 2010.<sup>11</sup>

After the attack on Al-Ma'jalah in which more than 50 civilians were killed, the attack of 24 May 2010 was another setback for the U.S. authorities: the deputy governor of Marib, Jaber Al-Shabwani ( جابر بن علي جابر الشبواني ) and his companions (section 3.2) were killed. As a result, U.S. authorities made the strategic choice to use satellites, drones, and other methods they considered more accurate in the future<sup>12</sup>. According to Hakim Almasmari, "The new approach is a significant escalation of the clandestine American war in Yemen and a substantial expansion of the CIA's drone war."<sup>13</sup>

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meantime, the American authorities acknowledged having killed four American nationals, but did not include Ahmed Hijazi, alias Kamal Derwish in this group.

<sup>7</sup> Jeremy Scahill, *The Dangerous US Game in Yemen*, The Nation, 18 April 2011, <http://www.thenation.com/article/159578/dangerous-us-game-yemen?page=0,1#> (accessed 27 March 2013).

<sup>8</sup> Saleh Tells Petraeus: "no restrictions on CT Cooperation", 9 August 2009, <http://www.cablegatesearch.net/cable.php?id=09SANAA1430&q=poses-to-his-regime-and-his-own-personal-security> (accessed 27 March 2013).

<sup>9</sup> *US Embassy Cables: Bomb al-Qaida where you want, Yemen tells US, but don't blame us if they strike again*, The Guardian, 3 December 2010, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/us-embassy-cables-documents/225085> (accessed 27 March 2013).

<sup>10</sup> Bana Priest, U.S. "Black Ops" Teams Deeply Involved in Yemen, Washington Post, 27 January 2010, <http://afpakwar.com/blog/archives/3771> (accessed 27 March 2013).

<sup>11</sup> Bana Priest, U.S. "Black Ops" Teams Deeply Involved in Yemen, Washington Post, 27 January 2010, <http://afpakwar.com/blog/archives/3771> (accessed 27 March 2013)

<sup>12</sup> <http://www.thebureauinvestigates.com/2012/03/29/yemen-reported-us-covert-actions-since-2001/>

<sup>13</sup> Jeremy Scahill, *Dirty Wars*, Profile Books, 2013, (E-Book, chapter 37 : "Driving Anwar Awlaki to Hell")

<sup>13</sup> Hakim Almasmari, "US makes a drone attack a day in Yemen", 5 June 2011, <http://www.thenational.ae/news/world/middle-east/us-makes-a-drone-attack-a-day-in-yemen#full> (accessed 2 April 2013).

Despite this decision, there were no further attacks by air or drone until May 2011, when the effects of the uprising that had begun three months earlier led to the creation and deployment of the Ansar al-Sharia group affiliated with Al-Qaeda in the south of Yemen.

The Yemeni security forces were mobilized to protect a regime weakened by revolts, and were concentrated in the state capital and other strategic locations. In order to combat armed groups and to regain control of the situation, starting in spring 2011 the Yemeni army used airpower against insurgents in the southern regions while seeking the help of the Saudis and Americans. A major offensive was to be launched in spring 2012, but the popular uprisings were calmed by promises of reform. Former President Ali Abdullah Saleh was eventually replaced by his deputy, Abdul Rab Mansour Hadi, the sole candidate in elections held on 21 February 2012. President Hadi then intensified his cooperation with the Americans.

According to information received by an official of the Ministry of Defence who wishes to remain anonymous, a significant number of drone attacks were held between May and June 2011. They started in the province of Shabwa on 3 May. Luqman Abdullah, deputy governor of Abyan, said in mid-June 2011: "At least 130 people have been killed in the last two week by US drones."<sup>14</sup> According to Ali Abdul Jabbar, director of Dar Ashraf Research Center, in May the drone attacks were aimed at targets in the province of Shabwa; in June, 80% of these were aimed at targets in Abyan. Khulani Ahmad, head of the monitoring committee that was established to assist in the evacuation of residents, said that more than 40,000 people fled Abyan province fearing drone attacks.<sup>15</sup> Other figures show that some 142,000 people were displaced in Abyan in the first half of 2012. The majority of people in fact fled in March 2011 during attacks by the regular army.<sup>16</sup>

To date, 2012 has been the deadliest year in terms of drone strikes or American aircraft attacks, which is clearly related to the Yemeni military offensive in the spring of 2012 against Ansar Al-Sharia, which had occupied a part of the south of the country for nearly a year, particularly in the province of Abyan and border regions. After these groups had been dislodged at the price of hundreds of deaths and tens of thousands of people internally displaced, their members were hunted down in their places of origin or residence. Vehicles carrying them were often targeting, suggesting that local informants transmitted information about the groups. It seems that in some cases, microchips or the location of mobile phones may have helped in the location of wanted individual. Of these, some could have been easily apprehended and brought to justice, but it seems that the approach adopted by the U.S. and Yemeni authorities is one of physical elimination.

Different branches of the American security services, army, JSOC, and the CIA with the support of the Saudi and Yemeni air forces carried out dozens of attacks by aircraft or drones. The attacks targeted individuals and groups viewed as important terrorists, often while they were travelling in vehicles or meeting in homes.

These operations are conducted in a covert way but more and more officials and American experts have begun to speak out on the subject. Ultimately, it seems that few actual leaders of al-Qaeda or Ansar al-Sharia have been killed, while dozens of fighters have died. The American media have echoed this sentiment: "Last month, the White House approved broader targeting guidelines for CIA and military airstrikes in Yemen. U.S. airstrikes may now target militants whose names are not known but who have been deemed a threat to U.S. interests."<sup>17</sup> This shift has serious implications because prior investigation or establishment of facts or charges against suspects is it no longer required.

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<sup>14</sup> Hakim Almasmari, *US makes a drone attack a day in Yemen*, 5 June 2011, <http://www.thenational.ae/news/world/middle-east/us-makes-a-drone-attack-a-day-in-yemen#full> (accessed 2 April 2013).

<sup>15</sup> Hakim Almasmari, *US makes a drone attack a day in Yemen*, 5 June 2011, <http://www.thenational.ae/news/world/middle-east/us-makes-a-drone-attack-a-day-in-yemen#full> (accessed 2 April 2013).

<sup>16</sup> Interview of 29 April 2013 with Abdulrahman Barman, a lawyer.

<sup>17</sup> *U.S. escalates clandestine war in Yemen*, Los Angeles Times, 16 May 2012, [http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/world\\_now/2012/05/washington-escalation-american-clandestine-war-yemen-us-troops-.html](http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/world_now/2012/05/washington-escalation-american-clandestine-war-yemen-us-troops-.html), (accessed 27 April 2013).

Beyond this very uncertain distinction between combatant and civilian, it is clear that many people who are unquestionably civilians have been victims of these raids, whether because attacks failed or because they were deemed "collateral damage" during a strike on a specific target. Civilians bear the brunt of human and technical errors which politicians and the American military are willing to accept in order to continue the drone program. Yemen, following on the heels of Pakistan, has become the laboratory for new methods of warfare, which represent a technological, political, and legal revolution in combat methodology.

### **3 Examples of Targeted Attacks**

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We have documented a series of attacks carried out by military aircraft or drones between 2009 and 2013 in different provinces of Yemen. The political context in which these strikes occur shows that the United States has gone far beyond its stated goal of eliminating terrorists and is in fact directly intervening in an internal conflict currently taking place in Yemen. This interference has serious consequences for the management of internal conflicts by Yemeni society.

A delegation consisting of members of Alkarama and Hood visited several areas that had suffered attacks in order to gather information on strikes that killed civilians and also some cases of the targeted killings of suspected terrorists. We are particularly concerned by killings that may be considered extrajudicial executions as the identity of targets was not established, their responsibility for criminal or terrorist acts was not proven, no charges that could be considered a criminal offense was made against them, or finally, no attempt was made to arrest them and bring them before a judicial authority.

This war of drones and aerial attacks are part of a strategy of terror, the primary victim of which is the civilian population that lives in fear, under permanent harassment night and day for months on end, not knowing when or where the next attack will come as drones buzz overhead. The consequences of the attacks go far beyond the deaths of individuals. Many have been seriously injured and traumatized for life, especially children affected by the attacks.

The modus operandi of these aerial attacks varies according to the circumstances and it is difficult to clearly establish responsible for attacks, and to know in any case whether it was an attack by a drone or a military plane. Some areas are monitored for months by drones and subsequently attacked by American military planes either directly, or with the support of the Yemeni Air Force.

The villages and towns we visited had never before received a visit from a human rights organisation. The residents we interviewed expressed their expectations regarding international public opinion and action by the United Nations. They say that they feel abandoned both by state institutions and the international community, which has not acted to put an end to these violations.

#### **3.1 17 December 2009: The Attack on Al-Maajala (Abyan)**

On 14 December 2009, U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton designated al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) as a terrorist organisation. Two days later at a meeting of several military agencies in the United States, "Operation Copper Dune" was launched. Its goal was to physically eliminate three men, including Muhammed Saleh Al-Anbouri (known as Al-Kazimi) who was accused of organizing a suicide attack on Spanish tourists in 2007 and suspected of planning an attack against the U.S. Embassy in Sanaa.<sup>18</sup> He lived with his family in Al-Maajala, where camps were incorrectly identified by U.S. intelligence as terrorist training camps.

On 2 February 2013 our team visited Al-Ma'jalah, a village in the municipality of Al-Hafd in Abyan province located about 230 km east of Aden, to gather information and meet survivors of the deadliest U.S. attack thus far in Yemen. Residents complained about the lack of government interest in the situation, but also the disinterest of the media and other associations. They say the government

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<sup>18</sup> Gregory D. Johnsen, *The last Refuge, Yemen, Al-Qaeda, and America's war in Arabia*, W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2012, chapter 18 (as it is an electronic book it does not have page numbers).

does not want observers to be informed of the events that took place in Al-Maajala. In view of the scale of the attack and the number of civilian casualties it caused, it is one of the most well-known strikes and in many minds, it marked the beginning of the strategy of U.S. targeted killings even though, as mentioned above, several operations of this type had already taken place in the days that preceded it.

On 17 December 2009 at six o'clock in the morning, four missiles were fired at Al-Maajala. They hit the encampment of the Haidar tribe and killed 14 of its members, mostly women and children, and injuring a girl. Moments later a cruise missile loaded with cluster bombs exploded on the houses of the Al-Anbouri tribe and killed 28 people. This attack hit several homes in which many people were still sleeping. Within a few moments, 55 people were killed including 14 women of whom seven were pregnant, and 21 children (see the list of victims in Annex 1). Yemeni authorities immediately assumed responsibility for the operation and said they had carried it out with warplanes. They declared that the attack was aimed at the 14 men who died, who were all members of Al-Qaeda, including the alleged leader Muhammed Salih Al-Anbouri (محمد صالح محمد علي العنبري) (aka Al-Kazimi). The names of other suspects killed were not formally announced.

In response to the anger expressed by the Yemeni population in reaction, the Yemeni parliament decided to appoint a committee that was formed in early January 2010 and reported in March. It noted that it did not have confirmation of the fact that members of Al-Qaeda were found at the scene and it was not able to establish the existence of a military training camp. The only name it had was that of Mohammad Saleh al-Kazimi, which had been released by the authorities. According to the testimonies of the residents, he had lived with his family at that location. He moved freely through checkpoints manned by the security services without being arrested. The Commission therefore confirmed that if the authorities had wanted to neutralize him, they could have simply arrested him.<sup>19</sup>

Despite attempts by the Yemeni authorities to disguise the origins of the attack, it quickly became clear that only the United States could have carried it out. The debris found at the scene matched a Tomahawk land-attack cruise missile (BGM-109D) of U.S. origin. This machine is designed to carry 166 bombs, each containing approximately 200 iron splinters that can reach a distance of 150 m from the drop point. The munitions may contain incendiary material that also spreads fragments of burning zirconium designed to set fire to flammable objects nearby.<sup>20</sup> This kind of missile is launched from a warship or submarine.

As previously mentioned, the Yemeni government did everything possible to take responsibility for the attack in order to avoid public outcry against foreign intervention in the country. Yemeni Deputy Prime Minister at the time, Rashad al-Alimi, told the U.S. ambassador that "any evidence of greater U.S. involvement, such as fragments of U.S. munitions found at the sites [...] could be explained as equipment purchased from the US." This is despite the fact that the type of missile used is not part of the Yemeni arsenal. He added that the government was very satisfied with this transaction and wanted to continue working with the United States in the fight against terrorism.<sup>21</sup>

The *Bureau of Investigative Journalism* cited *Newsweek* journalist Daniel Klaidman, who had reported that Tom Donilon, the deputy U.S. National Security Adviser, as well as the American ambassador to Yemen and the head of the local CIA office were among dozens of people who were consulted about the attack.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> تقرير اللجنة المكلفة، Special Parliamentary Commission to Investigate the Events in Abya Province, Yemeni Parliament, بتقصي الحقائق حول الأحداث الأمنية بمحافظة أبين ولحج (Report by the Special Parliamentary Commission to Investigate the Events in Abya Province), 2010. The Commission visited the site in early January 2010.

<sup>20</sup> Photos of these fragmentary bombs were transmitted to Amnesty International who referred to this attack in its report on Yemen, written on the basis of the parliamentary commission's work, published a few months later. *Yemen: Cracking down under pressure*, 25 August 2010, <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/MDE31/010/2010/en/da8bd0cc-37ab-4472-80b3-bcf8a48fc827/mde310102010en.pdf> (accessed 29 April 2013).

<sup>21</sup> The US-Embassy Cables, *the US-Embassy Cables: Yemen trumpets strikes on al-Qaida that were Americans' work*, The Guardian, 4 December 2010, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/us-embassy-cables-documents/240955>.

<sup>22</sup> Daniel Klaidman, *Kill or Capture: the War on Terror and the Soul of the Obama Presidency*, The Bureau of Investigative Journalism, *Yemen: reported US covert actions 2001-2011*, YEM 002, <http://www.thebureauinvestigates.com/2012/03/29/yemen-reported-us-covert-actions-since-2001/> (accessed 29 April 2013).

According to the former American ambassador Stephen Seche who met with Rashad Al-Alimi, the Yemeni authorities had recruited politicians and local religious leaders to visit the province of Abyan to explain to the residents the goal of these operations and the danger presented by Al-Qaeda. He claims that the governor of Abyan received \$100,000 in compensation for the families of the victims.<sup>23</sup>

During their visit to the attack sites, Alkarama and Hood representatives met survivors, members of affected families, witnesses that had been rescued immediately after the strikes, members of civil society, and local political leaders. We also visited the impact sites and reviewed the visible traces of the attacks.

The Al-Anbouri family, made up of 48 people, was greatly affected by the attack. The head of the family, Muqbil Salem Luqia Al-Anbouri (مقبيل سالم لوقية), aged 64, reports that the day before the attack, he had gone to the nearby mountain in search of a missing camel: "In the early morning, while I was on my way back, I heard explosions in the distance. I hurried home and at the first site of the massacre, I was in shock. It was a horror: flames everywhere on bodies, trees, and cars. The survivors were trying to rescue the injured and take stock of what happened. Around 8:30 people came together and gathered the remains of the bodies that had been scattered in the trees and on the ground. Most homes and properties were destroyed. Many animals, goats, sheep, and camels had perished."

The residents picked up the shredded body parts of those killed without being able to distinguish one from another. The limbs were often mixed with those of animals that exploded at the same time. Without the ability to identify individuals, families buried their loved ones in a shared grave.

The government failed to provide assistance to victims: they did not participate in the rescue, send ambulances, bring people to hospitals, help identify the dead and wounded, and did not clear the affected area, which to this day remains extremely dangerous due to the munitions that did not detonate on impact. Many people, including children, were killed by these unexploded munitions in the months and years following the attack.

Twenty-eight members of Mr Muqbil Salem Luqia Al-Anbouri's family were killed, among them his children, grandchildren, and his three wives. Only four people present on that day survived, among them two little girls, Samia and Nada, respectively aged two and three years at the time. We were able to meet them in their parents' home where we gathered. Samia was hit in the stomach and back by a bomb fragment, while Nada escaped unscathed. Two other children were seriously injured. Four others were injured, including three children who died on the way to the hospital, which is located a significant distance from the village. Mr Muqbil Salem Luqia Al-Anbouri recounted several different stories from this, his nightmare: "I found my beautiful daughter holding her youngest girl Khadidja. They were still burning even though their bodies were already completely carbonised."

This tragedy caused Mr Al-Anbouri to have a heart attack, which he had to have treated at his own expense in Egypt. He urged us to let the public know that in his opinion, the Yemeni state has "sold itself." He added that it was announced that the government would apologize, but there has never been an apology or explanation to date.

It took protests and public pressure for the state to accept arbitration on the issue of compensation for victims' families in accordance with tribal customs. The representative of the families of those killed has assessed that a total sum of 10 billion Riyals (\$US 47 million) should be paid by the state, but that the case should remain pending until all responsibilities have been established. For its part, the government did not accept the proposed amount and offered only 220 million Riyals in payment, approximately one million dollars. The families refused the sum and have demanded that the issue be brought before an international tribunal to establish accountability and fair compensation.

We also met with Yeslem Al-Anbouri, a 65-year-old parent of the victims. He worked at the time as the deputy mayor of Al-Hafd. He claims that he personally contacted President Saleh following the

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<sup>23</sup> The US-Embassy cables, *US embassy cables: Yemen trumpets strikes on al-Qaida that were Americans' work*, The Guardian, 4 December 2010, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/us-embassy-cables-documents/240955>.

attack to lodge a complaint about the lack of assistance from the state in a region that lacked infrastructure, schools, healthcare, and food. The president told him that "these people were from Al-Qaeda." To Mr Yeslem, this accusation was preposterous. He says, "Maybe the attacks hit us because of an error or we were targeted on the basis of false information, but today, you can see that Al-Qaeda is spread throughout Yemen." On the subject of Muhammed Salah Al-Kazami, he says: "The Yemeni authorities were looking for him for accusations of terrorism, and he perished in this attack even though he had been jailed in Saudi Arabia before being transferred to the Yemeni authorities who imprisoned him for five years before he was judged and acquitted. He moved about freely and could have been arrested legally at any moment."

The committee that went to Al-Ma'alah is the only body that has been mandated to inquire about military attacks orchestrated by the United States. It is almost certain that without the support of this committee, the public would not have been so quickly informed and would have no knowledge as to the identity of the victims. Admittedly, the committee tried its best but its limited means of investigation and the lack of political will of the authorities to support this parliamentary initiative have not allowed it to achieve a result that meets the expectations of victims and civil society. Thus, while it gathered evidence on the ground, the commission did not refer to U.S. responsibility for the attack, although it asked that responsibility for the attack be established and that those responsible be prosecuted. It also clarified some facts about the existence of an al-Qaeda training camp and the presence of Al-Kazimi there, revealing the contradictions between the versions of what had happened put forward national and local authorities. While the governor had put the figure at 14 "terrorists" killed, the Deputy Prime Minister for Defense and Security Rashad al-Alimi said in parliament that 24 terrorists were neutralized during the operation without mentioning a single civilian victim. The commission noted the lies about the identities of victims identified as members of al-Qaeda while noting that members of Al-Qaeda had indeed moved into the region.

The parliamentary commission also reported on statements made by residents to the governor regarding their concerns about a plane flying low over the area for more than two months before the attack. In its recommendations, the commission demanded an inquiry be opened on the errors that had taken place during the attack and insisted that responsibility should be established within three months. To this day the Yemeni authorities have conducted no investigation. The requests for a development fund for the region made by the commission have also never been followed up by appropriate actions.

In addition, as we noted above, the authorities have not secured the area hit by the bombs and a number of unexploded fragments continue to threaten, kill, and injure residents, including children.

- Five days after the attack, on 21 December 2009, while hundreds of members of the tribe gathered to give their condolences, a submunition exploded killing four and injuring 25.
- In 2010, one of the unexploded bombs floated five kilometres downriver and hit a group of people out gathering herbs. The explosion killed two people and injured four others.
- On 24 November 2011, two years after the attack, a child found one of the projectiles and carried it home. It exploded and killed the father, Salem Atef Ali Basyoul ( سالم عاطف علي (بسيول), and injured the mother and three children.

The inhabitants of the region have noted a rise in cases of cancer and wish to know if there is a link with the attack on 17 December 2009. They reported four cases:

- Mohammad Yeslem Faraj Al-Ruhi ( محمد يسلم فرج الروحي ), aged 66, was stricken with cancer and lost his memory after the death of his sister and her children in the bombing in question, according to his family.
- Yaser Ahmed Muqbil Sari' Al-Anbour ( ياسر أحمد مقبل عوض سريع آل عنبور ), 38 years old, died of lung cancer after being hospitalized in Egypt. He was exposed to and breathed gas from the bombs that exploded that day during the relief efforts for victims that survived the attack.

- Salem Nasser 'Ali ( سالم ناصر علي ), aged 54, who died of a cancer of the digestive system despite three hospitalizations in Egypt that he paid for himself. The state only reimbursed him for travel expenses and he was forced to sell his house in Aden to pay for his care.
- Munsir Nasser Ali Al-Ba'la ( منصر ناصر علي البعلة ), 10 years old, who died of leukaemia.

To our knowledge, the United States has never officially recognized their responsibility in the attack and has not paid any compensation to the victims and their families. To this day, it is not known what substances were contained in the bombs, whether the site was contaminated by harmful radioactive substances, and the land has never been cleared.

### 3.2 Targeted Killing at Jaber Al-Shabwani in Marib on 24 May 2010

On 24 May 2010 at approximately 8pm, an American drone targeted two cars between the village of Al-Hawi ( الحوي ) and the lands of the Āl 'Ushan ( آل عوشان ) tribe at Wadi 'Abida ( وادي عبيدة ) in the province of Marib. Three men were killed, including the vice-governor of Marib, Jaber Ben Ali Ben Jaber Al-Shabwani ( جابر بن علي بن جابر الشبواني ), and his two companions Abd Al-Majid Said 'Anij Al-Shabwani ( عبدالمجيد سعيد بن عنيج الشبواني ) and Ali 'Aziz Al-Ja'uri Al-Dhamari ( علي عزيز الجعوري الذماري ). The uncle of Jaber, Fahd ( فهد بن جابر الشبواني ), and a third companion, Fahd Ben Saoud Ben Maj'al Al-Shabwani ( فهد بن سعود بن مجعل الشبواني ), were injured and had to travel to Egypt for treatment. A third person by the name of Muhammed Ben Said Ben Jamil ( محمد بن سعيد بن جميل ) was injured. He is the brother of Ali Ben Said Ben Jamil who was accused of belonging to Al-Qaeda. Jaber Al-Shabwani was planning to meet with members of Al-Qaeda in Wadi 'Abida, including Muhammed Said Ben Jordan ( محمد سعيد بن جردان ), in order to persuade them to abandon their armed struggle.

Alkarama's representative was able to recover some debris of the missiles fired on the men as well as pictures of the deceased victims. He also interviewed several people, including local political and tribal leaders, who reported that the population's anger had been acute, and that clashes had broken out between government forces and armed men from the tribe. Sabotage of pipelines and electrical cables finally forced the government to issue an apology. In response, former President Saleh urgently sent a commission to the site to conduct arbitration according to tribal customs. An investigation was promised, in which influential tribesmen were to participate, which momentarily appeased the population and gave the government some time to recover. A source from the security services took advantage of this lull to claim that Al-Qaeda was responsible for the death of Al-Shabwani and his companions because its members had been called to their headquarters.

The deputy governor's cousin, 'Aidh Al-Shabwani ( عانض الشبواني ), was among the Al-Qaeda members that the men were planning to meet. According to journalist Jeremy Scahill, he was considered an important local Al-Qaeda leader and had twice been targeted by a drone, on 15 and 20 January 2010, without success. The strikes of 24 May 2010 took place near an orange grove he owned.<sup>24</sup> Nearly a year later, the exact circumstances of the deaths of the three men remain unknown, and tribesmen have once again taken up acts of sabotage against oil pipelines to demand clarification on these murders.<sup>25</sup>

As in previous attacks, the Yemeni government assumed responsibility and the Supreme Security Council apologized. But parliament was not satisfied with these explanations and imposed a deadline of 15 days for the government to submit a detailed report on the attacks and other incidents that had taken place in several provinces. Parliament demanded clarification of the security measures taken in the fight against Al-Qaeda and the role of aerial bombing in civilian deaths. Members also asked for details on the air strike that killed Jaber Al-Shabwani. Parliament's request went unanswered, and the

<sup>24</sup> Jeremy Scahill, *The Dangerous US Game in Yemen*, 30 March 2011, <http://www.thenation.com/article/159578/dangerous-us-game-yemen?page=0,2> (accessed 27 April 2013).

<sup>25</sup> مأرب: تفجير انبوب النفط بمنطقة عرق آل شبوان بعد مطالب بالكشف عن قتل جابر الشبواني against the Al Shabuan family pipeline following a request for inquiry into the assassination of Jaber Al-Shabwani), Marib Press, 15 March 2011, [http://marebpress.rdfanpress.com/news\\_details.php?lng=arabic&sid=31940](http://marebpress.rdfanpress.com/news_details.php?lng=arabic&sid=31940) (accessed 27 April 2013).

work of the commission appointed by former President Saleh has not been made public. The U.S. media, however, clearly attributed the attack to the American military. The New York Times reports that "It was a secret mission by the United States military, according to American officials."<sup>26</sup>

The drone attack and the subsequent manner in which it was dealt with by the Yemeni government have led to a split between the Marib tribes and the central government, with the former questioning the latter's legitimacy. For months, acts of sabotage on the pipeline leading to the Red Sea were perpetrated, at the cost of millions of dollars to the state. The appeal of Al-Qaeda has also risen in the region.

Many rumors have circulated about the killings, including that the Yemeni government knowingly provided false information to the U.S. government in order to get rid of Al-Shabwani. Others say that one of his companions had a microchip on him, but for what purpose is unclear. Still others are convinced that the negotiations with Al-Qaeda were initiated by former President Saleh, but that the U.S. authorities disapproved of negotiating with those they consider terrorists. They therefore used the alleged microchip to locate and put an end to the meeting.

The deputy governor's relative was considered an important terrorist by American intelligence agencies and was likely under surveillance for several months. He was killed on 11 July 2011 during a battle in the south of the country (a fight over control of the Abyan region by armed groups). American warships stationed off Zinjibar actively participated in the bombing of the coastal regions.<sup>27</sup>

### **3.3 Azzan (Shabwa) on 30 March 2012**

The city of Azzan contains approximately 6000 inhabitants and is located in the province of Shabwa on the Abyan border. Shabwa is one of the richest governorates in the country because of its oil and gas. However, like other southern regions of the country, it has not benefited from economic development programs, which explains the resistance vis-à-vis the central government that is expressed both in the southern movement and the Islamist movements that include jihadists. Since spring 2011, Ansar al-Sharia has battled the government for control of Azzan. The proclamation of an Islamic emirate in the region provoked bombings by the Yemeni and Saudi armies as well as the U.S. military. Nearly a year after this declaration, the fighters withdrew from the area at the behest of the population to prevent bloodshed in the towns of Zinjibar and Jaar in the neighboring province of Abyan.

One of the largest tribes in Yemen, the Awlaqi tribe, lives in Shabwa province. Several of its members have been the targets of assassinations by American drones, the most famous of which was Anwar Al-Awlaqi, an American-Yemeni transplant who was killed on 30 September 2011. His son, Abdurrahman (aged 16), was killed two weeks later on 14 October 2011. Fahd Muhammed Al-Qas' Al-Awlaqi was killed on 6 May 2012.

The government's military offensive on the rebellious regions grew from March 2012 on. The largest number of aerial strikes took place in May and June 2012. They hit various strongholds of Ansar Al-Sharia including Lahj, Al-Bahdha, and Shabwa, provinces bordering Abyan. The American army supported this offensive with air raids and drone strikes, killing dozens of members of armed groups designated as "officers," as well as many civilians creating an exodus of thousands of inhabitants. A large part of the population had already left the area in the year before the offensive to protect themselves from bombings by the Yemeni army.

The delegation sent by Alkarama and Hood went to Azzan on 3 and 4 February 2013 to gather information on the attack of 30 March 2012 during which three men were killed, two of whom were identified as Al-Qaeda members, while the third was a passerby. Five children were injured by

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<sup>26</sup> Scott Shane, Mark Mazzetti and Robert F. Worth, *Secret Assault on Terrorism widens on two continents*, 14 August 2010, [http://www-nc.nytimes.com/2010/08/15/world/15shadowwar.html?\\_r=6&](http://www-nc.nytimes.com/2010/08/15/world/15shadowwar.html?_r=6&) (accessed 27 April 2013).

<sup>27</sup> Fawaz al-Haidari, Yemen Qaeda chief, *10 soldiers killed in fighting*, AFP, 21 July 2011, <http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5ils8xR1IM4v-Hkc2rk32rrxsDwbQ?docId=CNG.00160d3150daafb184962013408c041e.251> (accessed 27 April 2013).

shrapnel. The delegation met with the children that survived the attack, relatives of those killed, and was consequently able to assess the consequences of the attack.

On 30 March 2012, at around 4 pm, three explosions were heard in quick succession. A drone fired three missiles on a vehicle in which two Al-Qaeda members were travelling<sup>28</sup>, through the center of the city. The two passengers, whose identities are unknown, were killed when the car exploded. The explosion also killed Saleh Muhammed Saleh As-Sunna (صالح محمد صالح السنة), aged 60, who was walking on the other side of the road. He was wounded in his spine and succumbed to his injuries in the hospital. Six children who were playing nearby were injured by the missiles.

No.	Name	Age	Injury
1.	أمين علي حسن الوصابي Amin Ali Hassan Al-Wisabi	13	Hit by shrapnel in the right thigh
2.	حمزة خالد صالح بازياد Hamza Khaled Saleh Ba Ziyad	10	Hit by shrapnel in the chest
3.	صالح علي عمر بازياد Saleh Ali Omar Ba Ziyad	14	Hit by shrapnel in the thigh
4.	مروان ناصر أحمد سليمان بابطاح Merouan Nasser Ahmed Suleiman Ba Btah	14	Hit by shrapnel in the right foot
5.	عبدالله محمد محمد باقطين Muhammed Muhammed Ba Qtiyan	14	Hit by shrapnel in the back
6.	صالح عبدالفتاح عبدالله حيميد باقطين Saleh Abdelfattah Abdallah Haymid Ba Qtiyan	12	Hit by shrapnel in the back

The delegation took their testimonies. Amin Ali Hassan Al-Wisabi reports:

"I was sitting with my friends there, and we were going to play football, when suddenly we were shaken by the sound of a violent explosion. I looked in front of me and saw a car burning. A missile had struck it. Shrapnel hit me in my foot, but I didn't feel any pain, and I ran towards the house with blood flowing from my injury. I saw the car burning beside me and one of my friends lost consciousness. Someone came with a car and took us to the hospital.

One of the victims was a woman by the name of Samira Hamadi Al-Wisabi, aged 48. Her son Nadir, aged 14, recalls: "My mother suffered paralysis during the bombing." Unfortunately we were not able to meet with this woman.

Several houses were destroyed. One of the owners, Mr. Muhammed Bafaqih (محمد بافقيه), aged 35, complained that the government had provided no assistance to the families that had lost their property and loved ones, and they were force to rebuild their own homes.

The delegation met with a man who reported that during the attack of May 2012, his house was destroyed and he had to leave Azzan with his family for seven months to seek refuge in Al-Mukalla.

Another witness, Abdallah Muhammed Al-Wisabi (عبدالله محمد الوصابي), aged 35, confirmed that "American drones continued to fly over our town, even though Al-Qaeda was no longer there." Several inhabitants have expressed terror at the thought of another strike, expecting that they could be hit at any moment. They do not understand why the bombings were carried out in cities when they could just as easily have targeted cars outside of residential areas, or why the suspects were killed rather than arrested.

<sup>28</sup> Media reports referred to the deaths of five Al-Qaeda members during this attack. See *Yemen pipeline sabotaged in drone retaliation*, Al Jazeera, 31 March 2012, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2012/03/2012330235756185277.html> (accessed 27 April 2013).

Azzan has been the scene of several drone attacks in residential areas. During the May 2012 attack, a Land Cruiser vehicle was seen. It was destroyed as well as the house next to which it was parked.

### **3.4 The attacks on Ja'ar (Abyan) of 15 May 2012**

Ja'ar was one of the towns that was most affected by the spring 2012 military offensive. It was occupied for several months by members of Ansar Al-Sharia and extremely violent battles between the armed group and the military were accompanied by aerial bombardments and drone attacks. Alkarama collected testimonies on American and Saudi participation in the Yemeni military's bombings during its visit. It is difficult to determine the exact type of aircraft used during each attack, but it seems certain from the information that we collected that the American presence was intensified during the spring 2012 offensive, as the increased number of strikes attests. The media also referred to the "escalation of the secret US war" in Yemen: "The current military offensive coincides with an increase in U.S. military and CIA airstrikes against Al Qaeda leaders in Yemen. They have relied, in part, on intelligence gathered by CIA operatives and contractors in the contested tribal areas, according to a U.S. source with knowledge of the secret operation."<sup>29</sup>

The widespread violence has forced nearly half of the population to flee and ultimately pushed the armed groups, which had lost many of their members, to withdraw. In June 2012, the conflict had ended but the authorities took no steps to investigate attacks that had killed civilians, nor did they put in place any concrete measures to help the wounded, families of victims, or survivors who had lost their homes and possessions.

During its visit to the region on 1 February 2013, the joint Alkarama and HOOD delegation visited Aden all the way to Jaar, visiting Dufas, Zinjibar, Al-Makhsin and Al-Kud along the way. Zinjibar, the capital of Abyan, is the city most affected by the fighting and bombing. U.S. military forces have participated in attacks targeting the coastal region from warships off the coast, assisted by the Yemeni air force as well as the Saudi Arabian military, which has regularly participated in operations. On the ground, heavy fighting took place between Yemeni soldiers and armed groups supported by local government militias known as "popular committees." The conflict lasted from April 2011 to June 2012. The Yemeni authorities said they regained control of the area from armed groups; the latter in turn announced it had retreated to put an end to the bloodshed of civilians.

The testimonies that we were able to gather illustrated the large number of civilian victims due to bombings, but we do not know the exact number. Observers estimate that dozens of deaths occurred. It appears that residential areas were specifically targeted because of members of Ansar Al-Sharia had taken up residence there. It is difficult to ascertain the origin of the planes used in the attacks. Some witnesses, however, were able to identify Apache-style vehicles as well as some Saudi aircraft.

Ja'ar was targeted in many attacks. On 10 June 2011, an attack on the house of Nadir Nasser Haidara Al-Shadidi in the area of Al-Mashru' in Ja'ar targeted him on the suspicion of him being an Ansar al-Sharia leader (the witnesses were not able to say whether the raid was conducted by a U.S. military aircraft or by a drone). In the attack, an 11-year-old boy, Muti'a Ahmed Haider, was killed with his mother, while his cousin was seriously injured. Nader Al-Shadidi was not present in the house at the time. It appears that he was killed during another American drone attack on 18 October 2012 in an area located in the northwest of Ja'ar.

On 2 September 2011, three women and a man of the same family were killed in the area of Al-Kud situated between Zinjibar and Ja'ar. Few families remained in the region following the attack, most fleeing to Aden or elsewhere out of fear. It appears that this attack was carried out by the Yemeni army. The victims' names are: Anissa Ahmed Ibrahim; her sister, Meriem Ahmed Ibrahim; their mother, Sa'ud Ali Hassan; and the latter's husband, Abdallah Ali Ben Ali.

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<sup>29</sup> *U.S. escalates clandestine war in Yemen*, Los Angeles Times, 16 May 2012, [http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/world\\_now/2012/05/washington-escalation-american-clandestine-war-yemen-us-troops.html](http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/world_now/2012/05/washington-escalation-american-clandestine-war-yemen-us-troops.html), (accessed 27 April 2013)

On 5 September 2011, several bombings targeted Ja'ar. A school that was not being used by any fighters was hit. A woman, Wafa' Muhammed Ahmed Al-Hamza ( وفاء محمد أحمد الحمزة ), was killed, and several other people were injured (two men and two children). The same day, another attack hit the hospital at Al-Razi and the Grand Mosque of Ja'ar. It appears that a small mosque being used by Ansar Al-Sharia members was originally the target. Jaber Qasem Salem ( جابر قاسم سالم ), aged 72, was seriously injured and died of his wounds many weeks later. Some witnesses say that they identified a Saudi plane in the attacks. The mosque was located in the very center of the market and was hit a second time, and the courts and a police station were also targeted. A vendor, Hazza Ahmed Atta Baheb ( أحمد عطا باحبيب ), was killed as well as another man named Haidara Mohsen Ali al Abidi ( حيدرة محسن علي العبيدي ). These three attacks resulted in seven deaths and four injured according to official reports.<sup>30</sup>

The Alkarama delegation visited the city to gather information on the most deadly attack that took place on the morning of 15 May 2012 in which 14 people died. The target was the house of the Al-'Arshani family. A 33-year-old man, Nawir Abdallah Al-'Arshani ( نوير محمد عبدالله العرشاني ), was killed and other people were injured, some seriously. While dozens of people gathered at the scene to rescue the injured, an aircraft returned approximately 15 minutes later, and fired several rockets, which killed 13 men and one woman and injured dozens of others (see the list of those killed in the appendix). It appears that there was an error in the targeting of the attack. Neighboring homes were also destroyed or damaged. Some witnesses are certain that it was an American plane because it was "gray and eagle-shaped," while the Yemeni military would not have any such aircraft.<sup>31</sup>

Our delegation met with witnesses that reported details of the attacks and the context in which they were carried out. One of them explains: "After having targeted the house of the Al-'Ashani family, officials told us that members of Al-Qaeda were located there, but this was a lie. The Yemeni authorities bombed the house in a brutal manner to force the inhabitants to flee Ja'ar, just as they did in Zinjibar. But the majority of inhabitants have not fled their houses." Samira Muhammed Ahmed Al-Sabihi ( سميرة محمد أحمد الصبيحي ), aged 40, was forced to flee her home due to the damage inflicted upon it in the bombing.

One of the witnesses, a taxi driver, told his story: "I heard the detonation of the bomb and saw smoke. I rushed there in my car. Bystanders told me that the house of Al-'Arshani, close to mine, had been targeted. Once I arrived on the scene, I found my home in ruins. Three members of my family had been inside and one of them was injured while the other two remained unharmed. I took them to the home of a relative and returned to the scene. It was while I was arriving that the plane flew over a second time and bombed the people who had been assisting the wounded from the first attack. The missile exploded a few meters from my car, and as I stopped suddenly I noticed the back was on fire. I jumped out as soon as possible from the car and saw numerous bodies around me on the ground, naked and burned. I saw seven or eight people at least die at that moment."

Abdallah Saleh Hussein ( عبدالله صالح حسين ) testified: "After the first strike, I rushed to the scene with my son Muhammed, just like dozens of other people. We were trying to assist the victims when suddenly a second attack took place. I saw many bodies shredded. My son was hit by bomb fragments in the stomach and neck. He died quickly."

Nur 'Udh Haidara Al-Hawla ( نور عوض حيدرة الحولة ), aged 60, suffered a stroke during the second strike at the sight of the victims on the ground. She reported: "The plane bombed close to my home. I heard the explosion, our house was shaken, and there were dead in the streets. I was experiencing high anxiety and had the attack. The State did not help me even though I am a single woman."

Mahdi Said Ba Hassan ( مهدي سعيد باحسن ), a 40-year-old teacher at the faculty at Lawdar explained: "At first, the inhabitants were victims of a blockade by the army even though they had not been a part of the conflict between the government and Ansar Al-Sharia. As part of civil society, they could not

<sup>30</sup> AFP, *Air strikes on Yemen town kill seven civilians: official*, 5 September 2011, <http://dawn.com/2011/09/05/air-strikes-on-yemen-town-kill-seven-civilians-official/>, (accessed 27 April 2013).

<sup>31</sup> Kelly McEvers, *Yemen Airstrikes Punish Militants, And Civilians*, 6 July 2012, <http://www.npr.org/2012/07/06/156367047/yemen-airstrikes-punish-militants-and-civilians>, (accessed 27 April 2013).

combat these armed groups. During the blockade, I tried to bring medical and humanitarian aid to them. But unfortunately the situation worsened when armed men mingled with civilians on the ground. This was when the army began bombing without distinction [between combatants and civilians]. Now, the state should provide for the affected population's needs but they have done nothing. Problems with water, hygiene, and health are enormous, but the authorities take no responsibility."

Fadhil Al-Dhali'i (فضل الضالعي), a researcher and official at the Ministry of Education of Abyan, asks why these houses were bombed in the first place. He asks: "To this day, I do not understand why they would be targeted. The consequences for the residents' peace of mind, especially the children, have been devastating for those who have experienced trauma. The victims have still not been compensated and our message to the international community and the Yemeni government is to come to the aid of the families of the victims."

The city of Ja'ar and its surroundings continued to suffer attacks in the following weeks. Several were particularly deadly for civilians. On 15 June 2012, in Shaqra, a village close to Ja'ar, four houses in which members of armed groups had temporarily stayed prior to the attack, were hit by missiles. It cannot be determined whether they originated from an American warplane or a CIA drone. One woman and four children were killed, and four others were injured. Ali Al-'Amoudi, aged 28, survived the attack and told a journalist while he was still in hospital that his four-year-old son and his six-year-old daughter had died in his arms on the way to the hospital.<sup>32</sup>

### 3.5 Khashamir (Hadramout) on 29 August 2012

As we have mentioned above, the aerial attacks intensified in 2012. The media have listed ten in the province of Hadramout, a region in which Al-Qaeda and Ansar Al-Sharia had no permanent presence established. Most of these strikes targeted passing cars carrying suspected members of these organisations.

The population has been terrorised by the drones that incessantly surveilled their villages at all times of the day, and expected to be attacked since other places had suffered the same fate. The inhabitants of the region regularly protested, organised demonstrations, and lodged complaints with the President of the Republic, all in vain.

Alkarama and Hood visited Khashamir, a village of 250 inhabitants located in area of Al-Qutn, where on 28 August 2012 around 9.30 pm, four missiles were fired from a drone, killing at least five men. At the entrance of the village, people have written inscriptions on the walls to get the attention of visitors: "No to American bombings," "No to the American occupation."

Among the dead is Salem Ben Ahmed ben Salem Ali Jaber (سالم بن احمد بن سالم بن علي جابر), in his forties, and the father of seven children. He was a teacher and imam at the Al-Mutadharirin mosque in Al-Mukalla. He was enrolled in a doctoral program at the University of Hadramout, and was known for his ideas opposing Al-Qaeda. Several days before his death, during his sermon, he urged his compatriots not to be swayed by that organization. He had no relations with any armed groups. That day, however, he was to meet with suspected members of Al-Qaeda who had criticized him for his stance. He went to the meeting place with a companion, a 26-year-old police officer Walid Abdallah Abdelhamud Ben Ali Jaber, وليد عبدالله عبد المحمود بن علي جابر, the father of a child. He also did not have any relations with armed groups.

The explosions occurred some 15 metres away from houses. An eyewitness, Abu 'Issa Rajab Khamis Ba Rif'at (أبو عيسى رجب خميس بارفعة), a shepherd at the scene, saw the attacks: "I was sitting under a palm tree and in front of me were four men. The fifth was sitting in the car. I left the place and headed towards the main road, which is at a distance of 100 meters from the village. A few minutes after crossed the road, I saw a missile on its way to the men. Shortly after that, a second missile

<sup>32</sup> Kelly McEvers, *Yemen Airstrikes Punish Militants, And Civilians*, 6 July 2012, <http://www.npr.org/2012/07/06/156367047/yemen-airstrikes-punish-militants-and-civilians>, list of those killed and injured: [http://sapress.net/index.php?option=com\\_k2&view=item&id=809](http://sapress.net/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=809), (accessed 27 April 2013).

struck nearby. The fifth man got out of the car quickly and ran towards the village. A missile followed him and hit him directly, it was not far from the houses that were damaged by bomb fragments. A fourth missile hit the car. Women and children immediately started screaming. In shock, several women subsequently miscarried. Animals died, and the bodies of all those who died were disintegrated and scattered over a large area.”

The 77-year-old father of Sheikh Salem, Ahmed Ben Salem Saleh Ben Ali Jaber, احمد بن سالم صالح بن علي جابر, testified that he was sitting with his wife in the house courtyard when he saw a missile passing over him and heard a large explosion, immediately followed by the sound of the second, third, and fourth missile. The whole house shook. He stood up and began to leave when his wife fainted. He took her to the interior of the house where the other women were gathered. He then went to where the missiles had struck without any idea of what had happened. A crowd had formed to help the victims. All they could do was gather the shredded remains of humans and animals that they initially placed under an air conditioner.

Ahmed Ben Salem Saleh Ben Ali Jaber remembers: “I had told them that there were too many bodies and it was better to use a freezer. During our discussion on the subject, one of the men came to me and asked, ‘Where is your son Salem?’ I responded that he had left the day before to pay a visit to his friend in a neighboring village and that he would return the next day before leaving to Al-Mukalla where he taught. My partner introduced me to his friend, Saif, at whose home my son had been, and he took my hand and expressed praise to God. That was when I knew my son had been killed. I asked him to go see Salem’s mother who was sick. She had regained consciousness and came out of the house crying and yelling: ‘My son! My son!’ At that moment, she did not know that her son had been killed for certain, but her maternal instinct had warned her. She lost consciousness and had to be taken inside the house where all the women and children were screaming and crying. I then returned home to comfort Um Salem. She spent six weeks praying and crying out to God, and then she died. She was never able to get over the death of her son. Salem left behind seven children and the State has given us no assistance.”

Dr. Abdallah Jaber (عبدالله جابر), aged 40 and a relative of one of the victims, showed members of the human rights delegation missile fragments and traces of the explosions that are still visible on the walls of the houses. The burnt car is still there. He also described what he saw: “The bombing took place after the evening prayer, the missile came from the north. The detonations were heard three kilometres away and the inhabitants went up on their roofs to see what had happened and where the violent explosion had taken place. They rushed to the site of the bombing. The windows were smashed, the walls were cracked, and some rooms collapsed because the buildings were old and made of earth. Upon arriving, the car was still burning. A body had been flung 30 metres, a second 10 metres, and two others two and a half metres away. They were all exploded, and we could not identify them, their limbs ripped apart. Since night was falling, the residents were not able to find all of the body parts, and it was not until the next day that they were all reassembled. Only one face was still recognizable, the other four were not. There were also animals that had been killed and dismembered. Only two bodies could be identified. Several children were brought to the hospital due to their state of shock and panic. We asked ourselves why these bombings had happened, when it would have been possible to arrest the suspects.”

In particular, the inhabitants are very angry about the killing of Sheikh Salem, who was particularly respected by the people of the area. They ask that those responsible are brought to justice for their crimes.

The authorities claimed that all of those killed were members of Al-Qaeda and identified among them Jamal 'Issa Ben Saleh (جمال عيسى بن صلاح), one of 63 prisoners who escaped from Al-Mukalla prison in June 2011. The identities of the other two are not known.

The province was subjected to many attacks during the months of August and September 2012, but these were primarily on vehicles that were not located close to residential areas. Regardless, the attacks provoked the anger of the region’s residents who began organizing demonstrations as of 1

September calling for the end of American intervention in Yemen, the assassination of innocents, and the destruction of houses.<sup>33</sup>

### 3.6 Radaa (Al-Baydha) on 2 September 2012

Al-Baydha is one of the provinces neighboring Abyan that has suffered the spillover effects of the fight against terrorism led by the Yemeni government in cooperation with the United States. The area was under surveillance because of the influence of armed groups in Abyan and the potential threat of an influx of militants into the province. The inhabitants complained that for over a year prior to the attack, drones had been flying over the region. After the retaking of insurgent holdouts in Abyan by the authorities, several combatants fled to neighboring provinces. According to the Yemeni press, members of Ansar Al-Sharia under the orders of Cheikh Qayid Ahmed Al-Dhahab (فايد أحمد الذهب), the emir of Radaa after the assassination of his brother Tariq (طارق أحمد ناصر الذهب), took control of the town of Walad Rabi', a town of approximately 20,000 inhabitants, a few days prior to the attack. This offensive led by armed groups led to the death of one of their most important leaders, Samir Al-Mawri (سمير الماوري).<sup>34</sup>

The drone attack of 2 September took place outside of Wadi Rabi', also administrated by Radaa. It appears to have targeted the car of Abderraouf Al-Dhahab<sup>35</sup>, the brother of the emir, but missed its target hitting a car transporting 14 civilians instead, among them women and children (see the list of victims in the annex). The victims came from the villages of Al-Hamidha and Al-Sabul. Eleven were killed in the strike, their bodies burned. The other three were injured and one of them died several weeks later while in a hospital in Cairo. There were 11 injuries among pedestrians on the scene. Survivors spoke of a plane that targeted the vehicle.

The Yemeni authorities quickly asserted that they had carried out the bombing to kill Abderrauf Al-Dhahab, wanted for his connections with Al-Qaeda. They declared that they had made an error, and the other car was hit due to its proximity to the target. Yemeni officials themselves have conversely acknowledged the missiles came from a U.S. aircraft. Later, U.S. authorities finally confirmed for the first time their responsibility in this attack.<sup>36</sup>

Alkarama and HOOD organised a press conference on 5 September 2012<sup>37</sup> with the families of the victims of this attack, during which they testified that the region had been regularly surveilled by drones for more than a year, and that these observation missions had continued after the massacre. They denied that there had been another vehicle nearby which was hit. The driver of the car, Nasser Mabkhut Al-Sabuli Al-Sabuli (ناصر ميخوت السابولي الصبولي), aged 45, survived the attack and remembers seeing a plane flying over, but had no reason to believe that it would strike the car since it was only carrying civilians. He remembers a deluge of fire, burning bodies near him, and losing consciousness. To this day he is haunted by the memory of the bodies on fire. One of the representatives of the local tribe, Ahmed Said Al-Dhahab, (أحمد سعيد الذهب), has been trying to engage in mediation to resolve the situation in the region and "every time we come to a solution they come to us with airplanes. These are aircraft that aim to seed discord, not just to spy."

It was with great difficulty that our representatives were able to access the public hospital of Sanaa on 4 September 2012 to meet with three survivors. The security services guarded the premises and banned any visits. The director of the hospital of Sanaa told us that three of the victims survived with

<sup>33</sup> Final press release and photos of the meeting organised in Khashamir on 1 September 2012, [www.alqaad.com/vb/showthread.php?t=4592](http://www.alqaad.com/vb/showthread.php?t=4592) (accessed 8 May 2013)002E

<sup>34</sup> "أنصار الشريعة" تسيطر سيطرة كاملة على مديرتي "ولد ربيع" و "محن زيد" في البيضاء", Ansar Al-Sharia has complete control of the municipalities of Walad Rabie and Mahn Zayd in Al-Baydha, Yemen Press, 1 August 2012, <http://yemenpress.com/news11231.html> (accessed 2 May 2013).

<sup>35</sup> *Yemen : 13 civils tués dans une attaque aérienne à Radda* (Yemen : 13 Civilians killed in aerial attack on Radda), 3 September 2012, <http://french.peopledaily.com.cn/International/7933730.html> (accessed 2 May 2013).

<sup>36</sup> Chris Woods, *Who is held to account for deaths by drone in Yemen?*, The Guardian, 6 September 2012, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/sep/06/drone-deaths-yemen> (accessed 2 May 2013).

<sup>37</sup> Alkarama, *Yemen : Alkarama and HOOD organise a meeting with the families of the victims of the American drone attack of 2 December 2012*, 6 September 2012, [http://en.alkarama.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=1001](http://en.alkarama.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1001).

second degree burns while the other victims arrived in the hospital in such a state that they could only be identified by their families through their personal belongings.

The injured spoke to us with difficulty and in a rushed manner: "We returned to the town after everyone had done what they needed to do, and when we arrived on the main road, we saw two airplanes; one of them approached and launched a missile at us. We were thrown from the car and several of us were still alive and trying to flee when the plane fired another missile to kill those who were still alive. Smoke and gas enveloped us on all sides and our bodies were burning." Another survivor reports: "The airplane approached many of us, and it is certain that the pilot could see us and knew that we were civilians, including women and children."

Despite the misfortune that struck the city, it appears that on 20 September 2012 the families of the victims were able to reach an agreement with the Yemeni authorities for financial compensation, according to official sources. In return, they accepted that the funerals of the victims take place under the control of the local authorities in the town of Dhamar and not in their own towns, without publicizing the place and time of the burial. Thus the case was closed. No other legal measure was taken, and the forensic reports establishing the circumstances of death as well as the burial permits have not been released.

The authorities have taken no action to treat the three wounded people and alleviate their suffering, which would require sending them overseas for treatment, as they cannot be treated properly in Sana'a. It was only after the appeals by our organizations at the press conference on 5 September that they were transferred to Egypt. The defence minister gave them two tickets and \$5,000 for each victim and a companion. Muhammed Abdu Jar Allah (محمد عبده جار الله الصبولي) died in Egypt from his injuries. The others returned once their money had run out, unable to complete their treatment.

Among those who died was a 13-year-old boy named Mabrouk Muqbil Al-Daqari (مبروك مقبل علي صالح (الدقاري)), of whom his father said: "Mabrouk left school when he was in the sixth grade to work on a farm and help us financially. Everyone loved Mabrouk, but his grandfather loved him most of all, and to this day we have not been able to tell him of his death."

Eight-year-old Dawla Al-Sabuli (دولة ناصر صلاح ناصر الصبولي), died in the attack with her father and mother while returning from a doctor's visit. What struck us on our visit to the morgue in the hospital of Al-Thawra in Dhamar, where the bodies of victims were stored, was this little girl with her arms wide open. Her relatives told us that little Dawla was hugging her mother at the moment of the strike and that she had died in this position. It was only with great difficulty that they were able to separate the two bodies.

On 12 September 2012, HOOD submitted assorted criminal complaints accompanied by requests to establish an investigation into the presence of U.S. spy planes over the territory of Yemen and armed drones carrying out attacks against to the regional prosecutor. The complaints specified that it is the responsibility of the state to protect citizens. To this day, no investigation has been conducted by the prosecutor to establish responsibility for the crime.

Radaa and the surrounding areas are strategically important due to the highway that passes through, connecting the provinces of the north to those of the south. The Al-Baydha region is distinguished by the rivalry that exists between two branches of the Al-Dhahab families.<sup>38</sup> This tribal conflict has a political connection: one line is allied with the Saleh regime, while the other is in opposition to the regime and supports Al-Qaeda. The American intervention in the form of regular attacks by aircraft and drones has blocked any attempt to reach a negotiated settlement. Ahmed Said Al-Dhahab calls this deplorable and has proposed an initiative since the outset of the conflict that has threatened to

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<sup>38</sup> ناصر علي, *القصة الكاملة لحياة آل الذهب وسيطرة المسلحين على منطقة قيفة في البيضاء*, (The Complete History of the Life of Al-Dhahab and the control of the Qife region of Al-Baydha by armed men) AlAhale.net, 29 January 2013, <http://alahale.net/article/8450> (accessed 6 May 2013).

spill over into the neighboring province of Dhammar. Among his proposals, he has suggested stopping American strikes against Al-Qaeda combatants fleeing Radaa.<sup>39</sup>

### 3.7 Al-Shihr (Hadramout) on 24 December 2012

Before visiting the town of Al-Shihr, representatives of Alkarama and HOOD met with Munir Salem Zin Al-Kaladi (منير سالم زين الكلاذي) in Al-Mukalla, the capital of Hadramout province. He is the brother of Nabil Salem Zin Al-Kaladi (نبيل سالم زين الكلاذي) who was killed on 24 December 2012 in the town of Al-Shihr during a drone attack. At least four people died in this strike. Yemeni authorities claim they were members of Al-Qaeda.

Alkarama had been following the case of Nabil Al-Kaladi for several years, ever since he was arrested and detained without due process. His brother Mounir gave details of his case: Thirty-three-year-old Nabil, was married with one daughter and lived with his family in the "October" neighborhood of Al-Mukalla when he was arrested without a warrant on 21 October 2007 by members of the political police upon his exit from a mosque after noon prayers. He was then kept in detention for nearly five years, including three without any charges being brought against him and without being brought before a judicial authority, or a court judgment. Nobody knew why he was arrested; the authorities claimed that he had a guest at his home who was a person of interest. The latter was eventually arrested and released after three months, while Nabil remained in detention. He was brought before a court specializing in terrorism cases with 12 others on October 10, 2010. To justify this long period of arbitrary detention, he was sentenced to five years in prison for "membership in an armed group". During his detention in the prison of Al-Mukalla he underwent two operations to the kidneys without being released. He participated in several hunger strikes alongside other prisoners because of his arbitrary detention, which is how Alkarama was alerted to his illegal situation.<sup>40</sup> Nabil Al-Kaladi escaped from prison with 62 other inmates in June 2011.

On 24 December 2012, Nabil's family learned of a drone attack which had take place at around 7 pm on a group of men in downtown Al-Shihr from the local media. The men were in a local sports stadium, and Nabil was among those killed. The family was able to identify the half of the body that had not disintegrated in the explosion. To this day, they do not know why he was considered targeted. "The Interior Ministry said among those killed in that attack was Abdullah Bawazir, the chief architect behind a mass prison break last year that freed dozens of fighters who then took arms against the government and helped administer al-Qaeda rule in the south."<sup>41</sup> Several media sources, however, have reported the men were simply Al-Qaeda members.<sup>42</sup> According to United States criteria, they should therefore not have been targeted, as the U.S. only places "senior operatives" on their "kill list".

That day in the stadium, it was not only suspects who were targeted, but also children who were injured and traumatized. One of them is Hamza Hussein Said Ben Dahman (حمزة حسين سعيد بن دحمان), aged 16. His uncle, Muhammed Said Ben Dahman (محمد سعيد بن دحمان) reported that Hamza had gone to Wadi Sam'oun stadium (وادي صمعون) near their home to play football. He recounts the scene: "About 6.30 pm we heard the sound of a drone and Hellfire missiles were fired at a low altitude before exploding against the stadium. After a moment of stupor, families rushed through the streets crowded with children and ran to the stadium. Hamza was in shock; maybe he inhaled fumes from missiles. His body was paralyzed; he lost consciousness and his condition worsened day by day. His father quickly went to Egypt for medical treatment, because doctors here could not identify his illness. We requested

<sup>39</sup> رداع. بؤرة صراع جديدة في اليمن (Radaa, Center of Conflict in Yemen), Al-Jazeera, 30 January 2013, <http://www.aljazeera.net/news/pages/95e09529-bc44-47a8-bb19-14ce6ef0a97f> (accessed 6 May 2013).

<sup>40</sup> Alkarama, Yemen; Scores of arbitrarily detained prisoners go on hunger strike inside Mukalla Political Security Prison, 16 March 2010, [http://ar.alkarama.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=3774:2010-03-16-19-05-57&catid=164:ak-com-yem&Itemid=140](http://ar.alkarama.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3774:2010-03-16-19-05-57&catid=164:ak-com-yem&Itemid=140) (accessed 6 May 2013).

<sup>41</sup> Ahmed Al-Haj, Drone strike in Yemen kills 2 AQ suspects, Associated Press, 28 December 2013 <http://www.marinecorpstimes.com/article/20121228/NEWS/212280305/Drone-strike-in-Yemen-kills-2-AQ-suspect> (accessed 6 May 2013).

<sup>42</sup> Bill Roggio, Jihadist identifies 2 AQAP fighters killed in recent drone strike, 27 December 2012, [http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/12/jihadist\\_identifies.php](http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/12/jihadist_identifies.php) (accessed 6 May 2013).

assistance from the government, but they ignored it and so far we have received no help. The house had to be sold to meet the expenses. "

We learned that Hamza returned home in late February, but his condition has not improved. He is bedridden and cannot move or speak. The family went to Jordan to find a solution to his problem. We met the father, Hussein Said Abdallah Ben Dahman before he left. He reports: "My son was in the stadium when a U.S. drone targeted a group of people. Hamza returned to the house in a total state of depression. His whole body shook and told us he had seen people torn and bloodied. I asked him what happened and he said that U.S. aircraft had carried out the bombing. He put his hand to his throat and he was seized with a nervous breakdown and the inability to breathe. Then he lost consciousness. We brought him to the hospital. His condition worsened and he lost his speech. Previously, he was healthy and now he is sick simply because he is a Yemeni boy in a state that has no regard for its citizens. I sold everything I had to get him medical treatment. My wife sold all her jewelry and I had to borrow large sums of money, to go to Cairo. There, they conducted tests including magnetic resonance imaging (MRI). It was found that my son had a brain injury and could not move. I spent 20 days with him in Cairo and then I had to return home with no money. What happened to my son is the responsibility of the U.S. and Yemeni governments and I ask that they treat him and compensate our family. We now live in fear that he might die, and we fear that he is handicapped for life. I also fear that his mother might become ill due to the state of her son. States and the international community must help us."

The people of Al-Shihr organised large demonstrations to protest against the attack of which Hamza was a victim. The Friday sermons that followed severely criticised the attacks. The protests did not stop until four days later, when an American drone attack in the same town struck two motorcycles killing three people. A child was also hit in the strike.

### **3.8 Al-Shihr (Hadramout) on 28 December 2012**

The people of Al-Shihr were still shaken by the attack on 24 December 2012 when a second bombing hit the city four days later, on 28 December 2012. Witnesses report that at least three missiles were fired at a group of men. One of them, Hassan Ibrahim Suleiman (حسن إبراهيم سليمان), aged 40, says: "When I arrived on the scene of the explosion, I saw parts of a body mixed with parts of the motorcycle. His body was charred. It seems that a missile had missed the target, the second struck a motorcycle with two people on it, and the third blew up the second bike. The three bodies were shredded. We collected the remains without knowing who they were. "

He told us that members of the security services took the bodies and the missile debris away. The three men who were killed could not be identified by the local population because they were not from the town.

The bike that was hit was close to homes. Mawz Hassan Abdullah Hassan (حسن موز عبدالله حسن), aged 9, and who comes from a very poor family was playing outside when he was struck by the blast on the forearm. His mother, Um Hassan, aged 37 reported that "It was a Friday; we were sitting in front of our tent before lunch. My son was playing 50 m away when we heard a loud explosion without knowing where it had occurred. I went out to call my son Hassan, who ran off in the opposite direction to our home. We caught him and brought him back. His hand was bleeding profusely. We asked him what had happened and he fell. He did not know where the injury came from. We took him to the hospital where the doctor warned us that bomb fragment had hit the bone of his forearm and he needed surgery to remove the fragment. We went to the police, who sent us to the security services, and they sent us to the hospital. There, we are told to come back later. All relevant departments ignore our situation and none supports us. We asked for help and the mosque sends us to the head of the security services. After many setbacks we finally sought treatment for Hassan. We had to pay ourselves, while we have 10 children and we are very poor. And now, two months later, Hassan complains of pain in the hand that was hit by the explosion. We'll have to collect 400 riyals to go to Al-Mukalla hospital and have it checked again. We sent a letter to the governor of the province with the medical reports and bills, in vain. The authorities do not help us. "

Usama Salmin Muwafaq (أسامة سالمين موفق), aged 28, told us that "All the protests have been in vain. Local leaders and members of the Ulama gathered after the attacks with local authorities, and a commission was put together to meet with the governor, but this approach is not enough. We learned later that in other provinces the drone attacks have continued. These violations of the law have a negative impact on the authorities of the country."

### 3.9 The Attack on Khawlan (Sanaa) of 23 January 2013

On 23 January 2013 around 8 pm, a vehicle with eight passengers was hit by two missiles fired from a Hellfire drone, which was flying about 1 km from the village of Al Masna'a in the community of Khawlan administrated by the province of Sana'a. The bodies were shredded and charred, scattered and difficult to identify. The target of the attack was Rabie Hamud Lahib (ربيع حمود لاهب), wanted by the Yemeni authorities and presented as a member of al-Qaeda, which some deny. Among those affected were also two civilians unconnected with armed groups.

The delegation from Alkarama visited the site of the attack on 3 May 2012 and was able to view the remains of the damage caused by the attack, even three months after they occurred, and speak with family members of civilian victims.

Inhabitants report having heard the buzzing of drones during the 10 days preceding the strike, a sound resembling that of diesel-powered generators. On the day of the attack, thousands of Shi'ites had gathered to celebrate the birth of the prophet in the town of Jahana, which explains the media interest in this particular attack. The targeted vehicle was near the Central Security forces' barracks where it could easily be intercepted.

The vehicle was driven by Muhsin Muhammed Jamil (محسن محمد جميل), a 20-year-old student who was one of the two civilian victims. He rented his car as a taxi to his uncle Salim Hussein Ahmed Jamil Al-Qawli (سليم حسين أحمد جميل القاولي). The other civilian was his cousin Ali Ali Saleh Al-Qawli (علي علي صالح القاولي), a 33-year-old school teacher in Khawlan. The Ministry of the Interior sent a delegation to the scene that evening to confirm that the two people killed as well as the owner of the vehicle had no relationship with the other passengers.

Ali's brother, Mohamed Ali Al-Qawli (محمد علي القاولي) met with us and reported the details of the attack. He had in his possession fragments of missiles and explosives gathered from the scene of the explosions. He describes, "We were well informed about the drone strikes but they occurred far from home, in Marib, Abyan and we did not feel really concerned. But a month before the incident, we heard a terrible ringing sound and a week later we learned that an attack had targeted Adnan Al-Qadhi near Sanaa<sup>43</sup>. Then 10 days before the attack on 23 January, we heard the sound of drones flying over us. My brother and my cousin had no connection with any organization; having said that however, whoever is targeted by U.S. aircraft, even if he is the greatest criminal, has the right to be tried by an impartial court. My brother and cuisine had been invited to Jahana, and at about seven o'clock they went to the market with colleagues. Two people from Sanhan came to them and asked if they could drive them for a fee. That day, the Houthi community was celebrating the birth of the Prophet and there were fireworks. This is where people saw a drone firing two missiles towards Jahana at 8.10 pm. I was home at that time with colleagues when I received a call informing me of an attack. I called a relative in Jahana who confirmed the information, I asked him to see with his own eyes what happened. Moments later I received another call informing me that the missile had hit my uncle's car where my brother was. I asked my relative who was already on site and he described the car that was on fire to me, giving me the license plate number. My uncle confirmed that it was his car and we went to the scene. We were in shock. Bodies were still burning and their limbs were scattered. There were six victims, my brother, my cousin and four men from Sanhan. We found four craters

<sup>43</sup> Adnan Qadhi was in fact killed on 7 November 2012 by an American drone. Officially, Rabie Hamud Lahib was killed in the same attack, but it was later revealed that he was in fact killed on 23 January 2013. The targeted assassination of Al-Qadhi created an outcry, particularly as he was a colonel in the army, from which he had been receiving a salary, and could therefore have been arrested at any time. See Jeffrey Fleishman and Ken Dilanian, *U.S. drone strategy in Yemen is fraught with peril*, Los Angeles Times, 25 December 2012. <http://articles.latimes.com/2012/dec/25/world/la-fq-yemen-drones-qaeda-20121225> (accessed 8 May 2013).

caused by the impact of the missiles. We tried to put the fire out in the car for more than half an hour, then we collected the scattered limbs until 11 pm when we transported them to the hospital in order to bury them later. (...) The next day we went to the hospital in Jahana in order to prepare the bodies and we were informed that the security services had transferred the bodies to the capital. People's reactions were immediate: they organized road blockades and protests against it. Given these reactions, the authorities called us to give us the bodies at the hospital in Sana'a. At first we were not able to identify them, but we eventually identified our two family members."

Mohamed Al-Qawli told us of the misfortune that struck his family while holding in his hands the fragments of missiles that he showed to us. He concluded: "Here are the gifts and aid and support of the United States to Yemenis. For some time now, we have heard talk of American support to Yemen and we do not know what it means. Now we can see this support thanks to the fragments of these explosives and missiles that kill Yemenis, destroy their spirits and burn their bodies."

We met the relatives of Salim, both overburdened by the misfortune that had befallen them. Salim was the one who had materially supported them with his work with his car, in addition to his work on a farm.

It seems that Rabie Hamud Lahib and Naji Ali Saad were the intended targets of the attacks. However, according to a Finnish journalist who visited the site, Lahib "lived in a village just an hour's drive from the capital Sanaa, he was a neighbour to some of the country's top politicians... [He] was a member of the village council and travelled to the capital Sanaa every other day, passing several military checkpoints on the way."<sup>44</sup>

### **3.10. Attack on Wusab of 17 April 2013**

Wusab is a large city consisting of upper and lower sections, each of which is a separate district. We refer here to the upper part to the west of the province of Dhamar, which in 2004 was populated by nearly 160,000 inhabitants. This is an area neglected by public services, particularly in terms of electric supply, education and health. As a result, many seek work in neighboring countries. Judicial institutions are failing and characterized by arbitrariness and corruption, which has forced people to settle their disputes according to customary rules applied by recognized tribal leaders, who have replaced the state justice system.

The feeling of being neglected by the central government has led tens of thousands of Wusab's residents joining the 2011-2012 protest movement. Dozens of them were killed or wounded during rallies and demonstrations. With the agreement concluded at the initiative of the Gulf Cooperation Council, which ended the uprising, the protesters of Wusab received no representation in the national dialogue conference, and thus decided to create the Wusab movement, following the example of the movement of the South, to gather and voice their demands for increased political, social and economic rights.

On 17 April 2013 at 8.30 pm in the village of Midhlib, Bayt Yahud in upper Wusab, two violent explosions from missiles fired by U.S. drones were heard. They targeted a four-wheel-drive car in which were four people: Hamid Muhammed Radman Al- Hadidi Al-Radami, "الرد حميد محمد ردمان الحدادي", a 40-year-old former soldier, married and father of 8 children; Isma'il Ahmed Muhamad Al-Muqdish (إسماعيل أحمد محمد المقدشي), the father of three children; Mukram Ahmed Hamud Al-Haj Al-Da'ar (مكرم غازي حمود أحمد سعد العماد), a 20-year-old; and Ghazi Hamud Ahmed Saad Al-'Imad (غازي حمود أحمد سعد العماد), a 28-year-old father of two children.

The families of the victims as well as the witnesses that met with Alkarama during the delegation's visit from 10-12 May 2013 reported that Al-Ramadi, Al-Moqdish, and Al-Da'ar were killed in the strike when the missiles hit their car. The fourth victim, Ghazi Al-'Imad, was injured and could not be saved due to the presence of an American plane that was flying over the scene of the attack.

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<sup>44</sup> Daniel Öhman, Lotten Collin, *Innocent people are killed in US drone attacks*, 22 March 2013, <http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=83&artikel=5481640> (accessed 8 May 2013).

Yemeni authorities, as they have in many similar cases, announced the death of a "dangerous terrorist" during an air attack without specifying its origin. They quickly released the names of the four men killed and identified them as terrorists without specifying the acts they have committed.<sup>45</sup> One of the names mentioned as one of the terrorists killed, Najm Al-Din Ali Adallah Al-Ra'i ( نجم الدين علي عبدالله الراعي ) was found alive and was not one of the occupants of the target vehicle. As for Hamid Muhammed Al-Hadidi Radman, known as Al-Radami, he was arrested in 2005 and sentenced to four years in prison on charges of having fought in Iraq against the American occupying force. He was held an additional two years in prison and was finally released in early 2011. Upon his release from prison, he settled in his native village and resumed a normal life while carrying out social work, in particular as a mediator between conflicting parties. The activities of Al-Radami, the former prisoner accused of belonging to Al-Qaeda, have raised doubts of his guilt in some political circles in opposition to the Saleh regime. Numerous articles warning against the activity of Al-Qaeda in Wusab were published. It seems that this was one of the reasons that the area was under continuous observation by drones for more than a year, disturbing many people.

What was the real accusation against Al-Radami? We asked several people including Wadhah Al-Qadhi ( وضاح القاضي ), a young activist calling for non-violent revolution from the region. He tells us: "When the discussion around Al-Radami and suspicious activities increased, I went to see him at his home and I asked him: 'Do you want to transform our region into a center of conflict? Is it not enough that Wusab be neglected and lack all services?' I had not finished telling him what I had to say when I saw him wipe away tears and tell me: 'I do not want a drop of blood to be paid by Wusab and I do not want a single bullet to be fired. I am willing to cooperate with anyone who wants the best for the region and its children.'"

Al-Radami also gave an interview in which he denied any relationship with Al-Qaeda. He claimed to be at the service of his compatriots and was there to help them find justice. He was surprised by the charges against him. This assessment is shared by many people that confirm the positive efforts of Al-Radami and list the conflicts have been resolved through his intercession.

We went to the center of the Security Directorate where we met the director, Ahmed Abu Sha'ie ( أحمد أبو شاعة ), who surprised us by saying that "Hamid Al-Radami was a man who practiced social mediation and helped us to find solutions in some cases. He was not wanted by the authorities, and if there was an arrest warrant against him, we could have easily apprehended him." He had sought clarification from the security services of the province about this murder and been told that he should not interfere.

The night of the American drone attack, residents gathered at the home of Al-Radami awaiting his return to discuss problem relating to the construction of a new road. We talked to Muhammed Al-Hamili Mahfudh, a local council member and director of regulatory administration, who told us: "I thank Alkarama for its visit to the region in order to establish the truth about the crimes committed by the United States with the consent of the Yemeni government. I was in the office with colleagues when around 8 pm we heard the first explosion. We went out to see what had happened when five minutes later a second explosion, stronger than the first, sounded. We went to the scene and people informed us that Sheikh Hamid Al-Radami's car had been targeted by a bombing. In the distance, we heard a voice calling for help, and ran towards it. The car was destroyed, but the fire was not extinguished. Hamid was half projected out of the car, his face was visible as his body burned, with two other bodies inside, charred. There was a fourth person, Ghazi Al-'Imad, thrown a few meters from the car, face down; he was shot in his lower limbs, and was bleeding profusely. He begged us to help but we could not help him. Whenever we approached, the plane that had attacked the car flew down, and we feared that it would bomb us again. It was about 9 pm when I left the scene. I could not stand the situation and I was scared. I called the Director General of Security and the Director of the area on the phone, but I wasn't able to reach them. The duty officer said he had contacted the governor who had assured him he had not been informed of this."

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<sup>45</sup> مصرع ( الردمي ) القيادي في تنظيم القاعدة بغارة جوية في وصاب العالي ( *Death of an Al-Qaeda leader during an aerial attack on Upper Wisab*, 17 April 2013, [http://www.26sep.net/news\\_details.php?lng=arabic&sid=90813](http://www.26sep.net/news_details.php?lng=arabic&sid=90813) (accessed 8 May 2013).

One of Al-Radami's brothers, Ali, confirmed what the previous witness had said, stating they waited overnight to remove the bodies from the site of the attack and bury them. No government official arrived to help. He adds, "We know that the security director and the director of the region fled two or three days before the strike, and that they left the area because they were aware of the attack. We view the union government as responsible, and ask it, if this civilian government does indeed exist, that it open an investigation into this crime and refer the perpetrators to justice. "

Twenty-eight-year-old Salim, was one of Al-Radami's companions and was on his motorcycle about a mile away when the attack took place. He saw the missile shot towards the whereabouts of the Al-Radami's vehicle. He adds "There were two planes that followed, and a third plane flew over to watch the scene. There was about 8 minutes between the first and second strikes. The second was more violent, the ground shook and people panicked. My companion and I were the first to arrive on the scene. We saw the car on fire and I heard one of the passengers, Ghazi, screaming. I got off the bike to help him because he was thrown a few meters but when I approached the plane came down very low and shined red lights on the ground, as if to target my location with a bomb. People in front of me screamed: 'The plane is descending, flee, Salim!' I moved back and joined the front of the crowd. People were petrified with fear at the sight of the plane that flew at low altitude. I still remember the Ghazi's cries, who implored us to rescue him, but we were unable to. For three hours we waited for the plane to disappear in order to help Ghazi. It was difficult to find a driver to take us to the clinic. All were afraid of being bombed. Finally I forced someone to drive us, but unfortunately Ghazi died. The doctor could only state his death and warned us that the local council had issued an order to keep his body on the premises, pending the work of a fact-finding commission."

Najm Al-Din Ali Al-Ra'i Adallah, aged 20, was among those who were officially announced as having been killed in the attack. We were able to meet him. "At the time, I was in at Al-Radami's home and was waiting with others there. I learned through the media that I was one of those who had been killed. I accompanied the Sheikh as a guard. All Shuyukh are accompanied by guards. The spy who informed the U.S. plane did not verify his information, and was prejudiced against me, and so I am targeted for no reason." The attack of 17 April 2013 on Wusab was the subject of a hearing before the Legal Subcommittee.

#### **4 Conclusion: Who is Targeted by the Attacks?**

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To justify the use of armed drones in its fight against terrorism, the American administration pretends that it does not target anyone but important terrorists, "senior operatives" who represent a direct and imminent threat to the United States and their interests and who cannot be arrested to be brought before a court. However, it is undeniable that it is not only leaders of Al-Qaeda that are targeted in Yemen but also simple combatants, affiliated with either Al-Qaeda or Ansar Al-Sharia, an armed Islamic organization that was formed in early 2011 that is fighting the Yemeni government.

It also appears that Islamist leaders known for their current or past opposition to the central government are also targeted, even if it has not been formally established that they have a connection with Al-Qaeda or that they constitute a direct or imminent threat to the United States of America.

One of the difficulties faced by human rights organizations and journalists is the lack of information regarding the individuals that are targeted. In a number of attacks, the bodies of the victims are in such a state that they cannot be identified by witnesses. In several cases, the organizations with which they were allegedly affiliated – Al-Qaeda or Ansar Al-Sharia – publish information about them, but most often almost no information is available about them, or the information from official sources is wrong. More than once a person who was declared dead in a raid turns out to be alive, as illustrated by the case of Rabie Hamud Lahib who was originally reported killed in the attack on 7 November 2012 by a U.S. drone. He was in fact killed in Khawlan on 23 January 2013.

Numerous witnesses and observers confirm that several of the targeted men could have been arrested and brought before a judge without difficulty, as was the case of Muhammed Salah Al-Anbouri, known as Al-Kazimi, who was killed on 17 December 2009 in the attack on Al-Maajala. The parliamentary commission that was formed shortly thereafter and included the governor confirmed that Al-Kazimi

could have been apprehended without trouble. The people of Maajala told the commission that he moved about freely in his own car and could have been arrested at any moment.<sup>46</sup>

One of the targeted men on 23 January 2013 in Khawlan, Rabie Hamud Lahib, was known by all to move about freely and also could have been intercepted at any moment.

The assassination of Hamid Al-Ramdi and four others identified as members of Al-Qaeda in Wusab has had an impact on the United States. According to local security services, he could have been arrested at any moment.<sup>47</sup> Farea al Muslimi, a journalist originally from the village of Wusab, addressed the United States Senate on 23 April 2013 and testified that Hamid Al-Ramdi was not an Al-Qaeda leader. He insisted that Al-Ramdi was in constant contact with city officials and was strongly involved in local life, playing an important role as a mediator in local conflicts.<sup>48</sup>

Among the cases we have documented figure two influential leaders in their regions of origin. Jaber Al-Shabwani, the vice-governor of Marib, who intend to negotiate the surrender of combatants. This initiative was certainly undertaken with the coordination of local officials. One might reasonably ask whether there was reluctance on their part to find an arrangement, and the opportunity presented itself to remove these "nuisances". It is also known that U.S. authorities have always disapproved of such negotiations, although they have a long-established tradition in Yemen.

As for Salem Ben Ahmed ben Salem Ali Jaber, killed during the attack on Khashamir on 29 August 2012, we know that he was going to meet with members of Al-Qaeda, of whom he had disapproved publicly. Who was informed of the meeting, just metres away from homes in his village of origin?

On 24 December 2012, a drone killed a group of men at the center of the town of Al-Shihr, among them Nabil Al-Kaladi and Abdallah Bawazir, two of the 63 prisoners who had escaped Al-Mukalla prison in June 2011. According to their relatives, these two were definitely not a part of Al-Qaeda or Ansar Al-Sharia.<sup>49</sup> They were in Shihr, a city that was not controlled by armed groups, and from where they could easily have been located and arrested.

However, it seems there was the political will to physically eliminate the escaped prisoners who were suspected of belonging to armed groups, regardless of the actual facts of their case. The authorities claimed that all were members of Al-Qaeda to justify their targeted assassination. Among the fugitives, according to our information, was Jamal 'Issa Ben Salah (جمال عيسى بن صلاح), killed in a drone attack on Khashamir on 29 August 2012 where he was found with Salem Jaber (see above), Sami Muhammed Abdallah Bahashuan (سامي محمد عبدالله باحشوان), Hani Muhammed Ben 'Arifun (هاني هاني), (محمد بن عريفون) and Saleh Karama Saleh Ba'ibad (صالح كرامة صالح باعبياد), who were all killed in the strikes of 24 and 28 December 2012 at Shihr.<sup>50</sup> Another escapee, Khaled Batis (خالد باتيس), was killed with other men on 31 August 2012 during a drone attack close to Wahd in Al-Qutn (Hadramout).<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Special Parliamentary Commission to Investigate the Events in Abya Province, Yemeni Parliament, تقرير اللجنة المكلفة بتقصي الحقائق حول الأحداث الأمنية بمحافظة أبين ولحج (Report by the Special Parliamentary Commission to Investigate the Events in Abya Province), 2010, p. 10.

<sup>47</sup> The website of the Minister of Defense confirms he was killed close to his home. مصرع (الردمي) القيادي في تنظيم القاعدة (Death of a Leader, 17 April 2013), [http://26sep.net/news\\_details.php?lng=arabic&sid=90813](http://26sep.net/news_details.php?lng=arabic&sid=90813) (accessed 8 May 2013).

<sup>48</sup> Farea al Muslimi, *My Village Was Attacked by US Drones in Yemen*, 18 April 2013, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/04/yemen-village-drone-attack-wessab.html> (accessed 8 May 2013).

<sup>49</sup> Bill Roggio, *AQAP eulogizes Jihadist who fought in Iraq and was killed in US drone strike in Yemen*, The Long War Journal, 22 January 2013, [http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2013/01/aqap\\_eulogizes\\_jihad.php](http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2013/01/aqap_eulogizes_jihad.php) (accessed 10 May 2012).

<sup>50</sup> مصادر أمنية تكشف عن هوية قتلى الغارة الجوية لمدينة الشحر يوم أمس (Security sources discovered the identity the victim of the aerial bombing at Shihr yesterday), Al-Mukalla al-Yaum, 25 December 2012, <http://98.130.43.69/pages/Details.aspx?ID=18063&c=NewsDetails> (accessed 10 May 2012).

<sup>51</sup> مصدر أمني يؤكد مصرع القيادي في القاعدة خالد باتيس (Security Sources confirm the deaths of Al-Qaeda leader Khaled Batees), Mareb Press, 2 September 2012, [http://marebpress.net/news\\_details.php?sid=47019](http://marebpress.net/news_details.php?sid=47019) (accessed 10 May 2013).

## Annexe 1

### Attack on Al-Maajala (Abyan) of 17 December 2009

Name	Age	Description	Comments
عبد الله مُقبِل سالم لوقيّة Abdallah Muqbil Salem Luqia	37	Father of the family, deceased	
صالحة علي أحمد منصور Saleha Ali Ahmed Mansur	30	Wife, deceased	Pregnant
ابراهيم عبد الله مُقبِل سالم لوقيّة Ibrahim Abdallah Muqbil Salem Luqia	12	Son, deceased	
أسماء عبد الله مُقبِل سالم لوقيّة Asma Abdallah Muqbil Salem Luqia	9	Daughter, deceased	
سلمى عبد الله مُقبِل سالم لوقيّة Salma Abdallah Muqbil Salem Luqia	4	Daughter, deceased	
فاطمة عبدالله مُقبِل سالم Fatima Abdallah Muqbil Salem Luqia	3	Daughter, deceased	
سُمَيّة عبد الله مُقبِل سالم لوقيّة Sumia Abdallah Muqbil Salem Luqia	1.5	Daughter, deceased	
علي مُقبِل سالم لوقيّة Ali Muqbil Salem Luqia	36	Father of the family, deceased	
هنا عِد الله منصور Hana' Abdallah Mansur	28	Wife, deceased	Pregnant
صفاء علي مُقبِل سالم Safa Ali Muqbil Salem	2.5	Daughter, deceased	
خديجة علي مُقبِل سالم Khadija Ali Muqbil Salem	1	Daughter, deceased	
مُقبِل سالم لوقيّة Muqbil Salem Luqia		Father of the family, injured	
فاطمة بِنِلم الراومي Fatima Yeslem Al-Rawmi	67	First Wife, deceased	
مريم عوض ناصر Maryam 'Awdh Nasser	43	Second Wife, deceased	Pregnant
ندی مُقبِل سالم لوقيّة Nada Muqbil Salem Luqia	2.7	Daughter, injured	

جواس مُقْبِل سالم لوقية	1.5	Daughter, injured	
Jawas Muqbil Salem Luqia			
ناصر مهدي أحمد بوه	38	Father of the family	
Nasser Mahdi Ahmed Buh			
مريم مُقْبِل سالم لوقية	28	Wife, deceased	Pregnant
Maryam Muqbil Salem Luqia			
شيخة ناصر مهدي أحمد بوه	3	Daughter, deceased	
Shikha Nasser Mahdi Ahmed Buh			
عيشة ناصر مهدي أحمد بوه	1	Daughter, injured	
'Aisha Nasser Mahdi Ahmed Buh			
عبد الله عوض شيخ	65	Father of the family, deceased	
Abdallah 'Awdh Shikh			
مريم صالح ناصر	54	Wife, injured	
Maryam Saleh Nasser			
مُقْبِل عبد الله عوض شيخ	22	Daughter, deceased	
Muqbil Abdallah 'Awdh Shikh			
احمد عبد الله عوض شيخ	18	Daughter, deceased	
Ahmed Abdallah 'Awdh Shikh			
حُسَيْن عبد الله عوض شيخ	30		
Husain Abdallah 'Awdh Shikh			
حنان محمد جديب	25		Pregnant
Hanan Muhammad Jadib			
مريم حُسَيْن عبد الله عوض	2.9	Daughter deceased	
Maryam Husain 'Abdallah 'Awdh			
خديجة حُسَيْن عبد الله عوض	2	Daughter deceased	
Khadija Husain 'Abdallah 'Awdh			
شفيق حُسَيْن عبد الله عوض	1.5	Son deceased	
Shafiq Husain 'Abdallah 'Awdh			
محمد صالح محمد علي العنبري	38	Father of the family, deceased	
Muhammad Saleh Muhammad Ali Al-'Anbouri			
أمينة عبد الله عوض شيخ	28	Wife, deceased	Pregnant
Amina Abdallah 'Awdh Shikh			
مها محمد صالح	12	Daughter, deceased	
Maha Muhammad Saleh			

صالح محمد صالح Saleh Muhammad Saleh	11	Son, injured	
سُمَيَّة محمد صالح Sumia Muhammad Saleh	9	Daughter, deceased	
شفيقة محمد صالح Shafiqa Muhammad Saleh	4	Daughter, deceased	
شفيق محمد صالح Shafiq Muhammad Saleh	2	Son deceased	
جميلة محمد صالح Jamila Muhammad Saleh	1.2	Daughter, injured	
محمد ناصر عوض جلجلة Muhammad Nasser 'Awdh Jaljala	60	Father of the family, deceased	
نوسة محمد صالح الصورة Nusa Muhammad Saleh Al-Sawt	30	Wife, deceased	
ناصر محمد ناصر Nasser Muhammad Nasser	6	Son, deceased	
أروى محمد ناصر Arwa Muhammad Nasser	4	Daughter, deceased	
فاطمة محمد ناصر Fatima Muhammad Nasser	2	Daughter, deceased	
علي محمد ناصر جلجلة 'Ali Muhammad Nasser Jaljala	35	Father of the family, deceased	
قبلة الخريبي سالم Qibla Al-Kharibi Salem	30	Wife, deceased	
فاطمة علي محمد ناصر Fatima 'Ali Muhammad Nasser	13	Daughter, injured	
أفراح علي محمد ناصر Afrah 'Ali Muhammad Nasser	9	Daughter, deceased	
زايدة علي محمد ناصر Zayida 'Ali Muhammad Nasser	7	Daughter, deceased	
هدى علي محمد ناصر Hada 'Ali Muhammad Nasser	5	Daughter, deceased	
شبيخة علي محمد ناصر Shikha 'Ali Muhammad Nasser	4	Daughter, deceased	

احمد محمد ناصر جلجلة Ahmed Muhammed Nasser Jaljala	32	Father of the family, deceased	
قبلة سالم ناصر Qibla Salem Nasser	25	Wife	Pregnant
مُحسة أحمد عديو Muhsa Ahmed 'Adyu	67	Mother of Ahmed Muhammed Nasser Jaljala, deceased	
سالم عاطف علي بسيول Salem 'Atef 'Ali Basyul	62	Father of the family, deceased	On 24 January 2012, he was killed and four members of the family were injured in the explosion of a bomb in Al-Maajala that had not exploded in the attack.
نور سعيد سالم لطهف Nur Sa'id Salem Lathaf	55	Wife, injured	
وردة سالم عاطف علي Warda Salem 'Atef 'Ali	13	Daughter, injured	
خالد سالم عاطف علي Khaled Salem 'Atef 'Ali	12	Son, injured	
علي سالم عاطف علي 'Ali Salem 'Atef 'Ali	10	Son, injured	

## Annexe 2

### Attacks on Ja'ar (Abyan) of 15 May 2012

Name	Age
نوير محمد عبدالله العرشاني Nawir Muhammed Abdallah Al-'Arshani	33
ماجد أحمد عبدالله عوض النمر Majed Ahmed 'Abdallah 'Awdh Al-Nimr	26
سالم محسن حيدر الجلادي Salem Muhsin Haidar Al-Jaladi	35
أديب أحمد غانم الذبيعي Adib Ahmed Ghanem Al-Duba'i	18
محمد عبدالإله صالح حسين Muhammad 'Abd Al-Ilah Saleh Hussein	30
مُنير بن الحجّي بن العاصي Munir Ben Al-Hajji Ben Al-'assi	25
أحمد عبدالله أحمد الشهاري Ahmed 'Abdallah Ahmed Al-Shihari	26
سالم عبدالله أحمد أبكر Salem Abdallah Ahmed Abkar	40
حُسين مبارك أحمد البُحيث Husain Mubarak Ahmed Al-Buhith	40
عبدالرحمن المطهر Abdurrahman Al-Muttahhar	23
حافظ عبدالله مبارك Hafedh Abdallah Mubarak	25
محسن علي سالم Muhsin 'Ali Salem	23
أمير العزاني Amir Al-'Azani	45
مريم عبدو سعيد علي الحوت Maryam 'Abdu Sa'id 'Ali Al-Hawt	35

## Annexe 3

### attack on Radaa of 2 September 2012

Name	Profession	Age
الصبولي إسماعيل مبخوت محمد Isma'il Mabkhout Muhamad Al Sabuly	Farmer	25
الصبولي الزيدي صدام حسين محمد سعد Saddam Hussein Muhamad Sa'd Al Zaydi Al Sabuly	Student	18
الصبولي جمال محمد عباد Jamal Muhamad Ibad Al Sabuly	Farmer	30
الصبولي عبد الغنى أحمد مبخوت Abdulghani Ahmad Mabkhout Al Sabuly	Student	17
ربيح عبد الله أحمد عبد ربه Abdullah Ahmad Abdulrabo Rabeeh	Employee	23
الفضيلة عبد الله محمد علي Abdullah Muhamad Ali Al Faqeeh	Unemployed	23
الدقاري مبروك مقبل علي صالح Mabruk Muqbal Ali Saleh Al Daqari	Schoolboy	13
الصبولي مسعود علي أحمد مقبل Massaoud Ali Ahmad Muqbal Al Sabuly	Farmer	45
الصبولي ناصر صلاح ناصر Nasser Salah Nasser Al Sabuly	Farmer	50
الدقاري وسيلة علي الفقيه Wassila Ali Al Faqeeh Al Daqari	Housewife	41
الصبولي دولة ناصر صلاح ناصر Dawla Nasser Salah Nasser Al Sabuly	Schoolgirl	8
محمد عبده جار الله الصبولي Muhamad Abdu Jarallah Al Sabuly	Unknown	Unknown