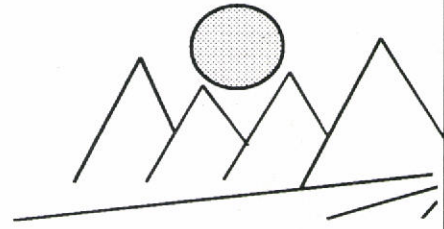


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Iraq needs the

Winds of Change

Human rights, democracy and national rights

Published by:
THE KURDISTAN POPULAR DEMOCRATIC PARTY (KPDP)



LET
"THE WINDS OF DEMOCRACY"
REPLACE
"THE WINDS OF DEATH"

Fundamental and far-reaching changes have swept across many countries in various parts of the world, from Eastern Europe to Africa, South America and Asia. However, the Middle East, "the most volatile and dangerous spot" on the globe and one of the birth-places of "Oriental Despotism" has unfortunately lagged behind in this respect, although it is in most need of such changes.

Many a Middle Eastern country has for long been placed in the top of the lists, prepared by diverse human rights organizations, of countries committing the most flagrant violations of human rights against both individuals and groups of people. These violations include killing, torture, arbitrary arrest, trial by "special" tribunals, mass population transfer, forced exile, and so on and so forth.

These countries have political systems that lack democratic and constitutional institutions and checks-and-controls. Some of them do have such institutions, but they are only "nominal" and at best function as rubber stamps (a la Romania and other East European systems before recent changes) to give an air of legitimacy to the extra-constitutional and extra-judiciary measures taken by the authorities, and/or to achieve "acceptability" abroad.

Some of these governments have tried to deny these violations and/or justify them by alternate "extra-ordinary situation(s)" facing the "country" or the "nation" (read the "government"). These extra-ordinary situations can vary from military to political, economic or social events.

Although it is sometimes both inaccurate and dangerous to draw analogies between political systems in different regions of the world, it is nevertheless safe to draw attention to the many parallels between the East European political systems and those of the Middle East. One basic difference between the two varieties is the role of violence; it is more readily resorted to and used with vengeance in the Middle East.

Our Kurdish people in all parts of Kurdistan, especially in Kurdistan Iraq, have suffered so greatly and for so long. It is time to take serious and lasting measures to bring to an end the oppression of our people, to take steps to develop our under-underdeveloped Kurdish regions and let our people live a productive life in peace, security and freedom. This will need changes in the political systems towards more constitutional and legal freedoms and checks-and-controls, towards an open society, adherence to the letter-and-spirit of the law, respect of human rights and dignity, acceptance of cultural and national accord in diversity, and towards political pluralism. In short towards democracy and freedom.

**IT IS TIME TO REPLACE "THE WINDS OF DEATH" BY THE WINDS OF CHANGE,
THE WINDS OF DEMOCRACY, THE WINDS OF LIFE.**

Excerpts from
**The
 Political Report
 of KPDP's Second Congress**

The KPDP held its second congress, named after the fallen party leader Nouri Shaways, from 26 to 30 December 1989 under the banner "FOR THE UNITY OF THE KURDISH LIBERATION MOVEMENT, FOR DEMOCRACY AND THE DIGNITY OF MAN IN IRAQ". The party's Secretary-General presented the Central Committee's political report which dealt with some aspects of the international situation, the Middle East region and the Arab area and Iraq; it analyzed the state of the Kurdish Liberation Movement as a whole and the situation in Kurdistan Iraq in particular. The report also discussed the state of our party up to the congress, the progress it has achieved and the tasks it faces at present.

The New International Situation:

The report discussed in detail the important developments taking place in many countries in the world and the region and observed that they signal the growing desire by many peoples for democracy and against all forms and shades of dictatorship. The report noticed that the problems accumulating in the East European countries are a result of the absence of democracy more than any other reason. The report stressed that socialism must not be presented as a substitute for, or a negation of, democracy. Socialism cannot be implemented and fulfilled without democracy. At the same time the report disputed the thesis that recent developments prove that there are no social classes and strata and that there is neither left-wing or right-wing forces nor exploitation in a society. The report emphasized that there are social conflicts and exploitation of the Third World countries by the capitalist world.

The report observed that East and West are now agreed on finding peaceful solutions to regional conflicts taking into account the interests of the various parties involved. On the question of international sympathy and solidarity with the Kurdish issue, the report emphasized that winning world public opinion and international support in addition to the strength of the internal conditions of the Kurdish movement itself are the prerequisites for the triumph of the movement. It, therefore, called for the development of diplomatic activities and international publicity; this in turn requires unity of action and the speeding up of efforts to establish an all-Kurdish broad umbrella, especially abroad. The report emphasized, in this context, the importance of the Paris Conference and the coming Stockholm Conference on the Kurds and considered them as key accomplishments for the Kurdish movement and its friends abroad.

The Middle East:

One of the most important events in the region was the cease fire in the Iraq-Iran war which put an end to the bleeding, economic destruction and to the possibility of the war spreading to other countries. The report referred to the failure of the one-party regimes and dictatorships in the region, such as Tunisia, Algeria, Sudan (before the military takeover), and Turkey. However, it observed that these developments are only first and rudimentary steps. The peoples of the region have to struggle long to achieve democracy. The other developments are the formation of two economic cum-political-military blocks, one in North Africa and the other among Egypt, Iraq, Jordan and North Yemen; the Palestinian Intefadha and the declaration of a Palestinian state; the developments in the Lebanon; and the unsolved nationalities problems in some countries such as southern Sudan, Berber in Algeria, and Eritrea in Ethiopia.

The Situation in Iraq:

The report analyzed recent extensive economic changes introduced by the regime. State-owned enterprises have been sold to the private sector; run-away inflation is sky-rocketing; and the social benefits of the working people have been reduced. The report observed that the regime's attempt to appear "democratic" is partly related to the necessity of "softening" the rigid bureaucratic and regimented political system to the needs of the new economic order, and partly to the regime's need for foreign loans and a more acceptable "picture" abroad. Nevertheless, the regime has not taken serious steps to introduce democracy. The recent elections "produced a parliament" no less a rubber-stamp than its predecessor. The regime's policy towards the Kurdish people is as arbitrary and tyrannic as ever (it is based fundamentally on subjugation, population dispersal through large-scale population transfers, restrictions on national and cultural manifestations and development, use of all weapons - including chemical weapons- against Kurdish dissidents, and the destruction of many towns and vast rural areas in Kurdistan). The regime is still engaged in foreign adventures (Lebanon, for example), has refused to solve the border problem with Kuwait, has failed to pay back due loans to its Arab lenders, and has created the "workers problem" with Egypt.

The Kurdish Liberation Movement:

The report observed that despite harsh and brutal measures the liberation movement of our Kurdish people has not been suppressed. The struggle has been broadened to include the political, military, economic and cultural fields, both at home and abroad. The failure to solve the Kurdish issue has made it an element of instability within many Middle Eastern countries and in the bilateral and multilateral relations between them. It also observed that the Kurdish question has not been solved in any of the countries where the Kurds live.

The report discussed the situation in Kurdistan Turkey where the regime still denies the very existence of the Kurds in the country. It noticed that the KPDP was among the first to welcome the formation of TEVGER

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and stressed the importance of consolidating the bonds between TEVGER and the Kurdistan Front. The report referred to the present possibilities of the struggle for a constitutional recognition of the Kurdish people and for legal Kurdish political activities in Turkey.

It also discussed the situation in Kurdistan Iran and observed that the Kurdish question there has not found its way to a solution. The report called for a just and peaceful solution satisfying the legitimate rights of the Kurdish people through negotiations.

The report then discussed the struggle of the Kurdish people in Kurdistan Syria for their political and cultural rights, for their citizenships which they have been stripped of since 1963. It reiterated our party's praise for the Democratic Alliance and said that it ought to be consolidated and broadened.

The report discussed the situation of the Kurdish people in the USSR observing that the new historical facts revealed after Perestroika indicate the scale of the injustice that befallen the Kurds in Azerbaijan during the Stalin era when the "Kurdistan Autonomous Region" (formed after the 1917 revolution) in Azerbaijan was dismantled, when large numbers of Kurds were displaced and deported to outlying areas. The report emphasized that our party strongly supports the demands of the Kurds in the USSR for autonomy and for regaining their abrogated rights.

The report observed the recent positive developments on the international level in favor of the Kurdish question, especially after the use of chemical weapons in Kurdistan. But it has observed the subjective factor manifesting itself in the absence of a united Kurdish representation, especially abroad. It emphasized that any delay in the formation of such a united organizational setup and the overall umbrella organization will diminish the possibilities of the Kurds gaining representation in competent international organizations.

The report praised and saluted the Kurdish mass and professional organizations abroad which include members from all parts of Kurdistan and called for supporting and strengthening them.

Kurdistan Iraq:

The report referred to the atrocities committed during recent years by the Iraqi dictatorship against our Kurdish people including the use of chemical weapons. The report discussed both the objective and subjective factors leading to the August-September 1988 collapse, maintaining that the latter subjective factors are political in essence despite the general military character of that collapse; it emphasized that from the point of view of costs to our people, it was a human tragedy. However, the circumstances of this collapse are less unfavorable than those of the 1975 collapse since there is an explicit will to continue the struggle, and the international dimensions of the Kurdish issue are much better now than before.

The report analyzed the Kurdistan Front and emphasized that political pluralism is healthy and normal whereas internal armed conflict is inadmissible and abnormal. Pluralism can be transformed into a practical

form of unity acceptable to every party. It stressed the need to consolidate, develop and complete the Front.

The report emphasized that the solution of the Kurdish problem lies in the establishment of a democratic and federal system in Iraq.

The report then discussed the situation of the Kurdish refugees in Iran and Turkey and emphasized that humanitarian aid to these refugees need be increased and that they be granted refugee status in accordance with the Geneva Convention.

The report contends that dialogue, even among opponents, is an acceptable form of struggle. The Kurdish Liberation Movement cannot refuse dialogue as a principle. However, the measures taken last year by the Iraqi authorities, such as the depopulation of Qala-Diza town, do not offer constructive signals. The preparation of favorable grounds for serious dialogue and genuine national reconciliation requires several democratic measures in Iraq in general and in Kurdistan in particular.

The Party:

The party had more favorable prospects to function in the provinces of Dahok and Nineva (Mosul) after its conference of 1987; its political and guerrilla activities increased there as a result. However, party action had come to a virtual, but brief, halt as a result of the 1988 collapse. Nevertheless, our party cadre and Peshmerga returned to the area after less than two months. The party considers guerrilla activities as a legitimate form of action under currently prevailing conditions. Ideologically, the party continues its progressive policy and popular engagement, taking into account current developments in the world. The report emphasized the importance of the further consolidation of the current internal democratic life in the party. It also discussed the state of the various party organizations and the party's contacts with other political and non-political forces



Iraqi forces invaded Kuwait on the 2 August. The official reasons for this act were that Kuwait and United Arab Emirates had exceeded their OPEC quotas and that Kuwait was "stealing" oil from wells belonging to Iraq, that its government was in collusion with the USA to undermine the Iraqi economy and that Kuwait constitutes "an historical part of Iraq".

The Real Reason:

Although the Iraqi regime and its apologists put forward these factors as the reasons for invading and annexing Kuwait, we believe that among the real reasons behind the invasion are the following:

1- The Economic crisis:

The Iraqi economy has been suffering from an acute crisis since soon after the start of the war with Iran. The regime had been able to "ride" out the crisis during the eight years of war by massive foreign loans, especially from the Gulf Arab governments. Hence, Iraq's 80 billion foreign debts.

Because of the regime's brutal and irrational policy of forcibly depopulating Kurdistan by mass displacement of the Kurdish inhabitants of over 3,000 hamlets, villages and towns to arid but easily controllable areas has increased Iraq's dependence on imported agricultural and animal produce, especially grains. Hence, Iraq's imports of basic foodstuffs exceeding 80% of local needs (civilian imports amounted to 11 billion US dollar in 1989).

The regime's obsession with very costly grandeur military projects has burdened the economy and the foreign exchange earnings since components to these industries are imported (5 billion dollars in 1989). Another burden on these earnings are the transfers by foreign workers to their home countries (1 billion dollars in 1989). The fourth burden is the servicing of foreign debt (3 billion dollars in 1989).

Iraq's foreign earnings from oil exports amounted to 15 billion dollars, the deficit in 1989 being 5 billion dollars.

Moreover, inflation was 50% in 1989 and on the increase.

2- Access to the international sea lanes:

To meet the crisis the regime's only option is to increase oil production and exports. Exporting oil from Iraq is under the "control" of foreign governments. Iraqi oil pipelines pass through Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, Israel, Turkey and Saudi Arabia. The regime needs routes that are under its total "control". Hence, its eyes on Kuwait as the only practical "independent" access route for Iraqi oil exports.

3- More oil resources:

The annexation of Kuwait puts at the disposal of the Iraqi

regime about 22% of the world proven reserves of raw oil. This gives it tremendous economics and political powers. Kuwait's oil wells will almost double Iraq's oil revenues. Moreover, Kuwait's debts on Iraq amounting to more than 8 billion dollars will be written off.

4- Distracting opinion from domestic problems:

Iraqi society has been made a closed society very tightly controlled from above through networks of ruthless security and intelligence services with unlimited powers. But the winds of change blowing over Eastern Europe and elsewhere and sweeping away many a dictatorship have had their effects even on the Iraqi society. Hence, the regimes propaganda about a permanent constitution, freedom of press and political pluralism in order to absorb local demands for change. But such changes threaten the very foundations of the regime since democracy and freedom and pluralism are irreconcilable with a closed society and a police state.

By "creating" foreign enemies and embarking on foreign adventures, i.e., invading and annexing Kuwait and "facing up to the imperialist enemy despoiling the holy shrines" the regime hopes to silence local demands for political, economic and social change.

5- The militarization of society:

A link in the chain of total control of society and the silencing of demands for change is the militarization of society. Hence, the formation or reformation of 25 army divisions, the re-activation of "People's Army" and calling to service all Iraqi men born between 1961 and 1967. This militarization of society "gives" the regime the "legitimacy" it needs in order not to introduce political changes, since, in the logic of the regime it will be "unpatriotic" to demand changes when "the homeland faces external threats".

6- Assuming the leadership of the Arab world:

The regime aspires to assume the leadership of the Arab world. Iraqi leadership seems to believe that it is the rightful regime to assume this role. Such a role will satisfy both Bathist tents and the personal ambitions of the Iraqi leadership. Such a role requires, in the regime's opinion it seems, not only military might but also economic muscle.

Since persuasion and dialogue is alien to the regime, it applies externally the same "methodology" it has so successfully applied internally. The basic components in this methodology are "the goods", "the bads" and "liquidation". The goods include, among other things, political and economic incentives, while the bads include, among others, threats and the use of force and finally the liquidation of the target.

continues on page 34

The Final Statement of the ordinary annual conference of the Europe Branch of the KPDP

The Europe Branch of our party held its ordinary annual conference in July. It was opened by standing in silence for a minute in respect for the memory of the fallen patriots of our party and the Kurdish Liberation Movement (KLM) various European countries were read, discussed and voted upon. The new Working Committee of the Branch was then elected.

In the last day of the conference the Secretary-General of the party held a seminar of the delegates and other members of the party. He analyzed the latest situation in Kurdistan and the expected future developments facing the KLM in Iraq and in Kurdistan as a whole. The analysis was followed by frank, constructive and lengthy discussions.

The conference discussed in details two fundamental issues: the current situation in Kurdistan, and the organizational state of the party and the Branch.

The situation in Kurdistan since August 1988 has witnessed the intensification and deepening of the Iraqi regime's attack on our people. The process of mass, forcible displacement of Kurds and the depopulation of vast areas of Kurdistan. The deportees and re-settled under strict restrictions in areas that can be easier controlled militarily, economically and otherwise. The areas affected are more than 36000 square kilometers (1200 kilometers long and 30 kilometers wide). The number of Kurds, Assyrian and Turkomans, affected by these measures is hundreds of thousands. These measures are a violation of the United Nations' Covenant on Political and Civil Rights and the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights approved by the General Assembly in 1966 and later ratified by the Iraqi government. These covenants include, among other things, that the signatory government respect every citizen's right to freely choose the place of his residence. The conference emphasized in this context that the dictatorial regime's objective is to crush "once and for all" the Kurds as an

opposition force threatening the regime internally by dispersing the Kurdish people and destroying the intertwined complex demographic, economic, social, cultural and political structures of Kurdish society and rebuilding them the dominant Ba'ath mold.

The conference also referred to some of the mistakes which have helped facilitate and hasten the implementation of the regime's plans. The dictatorial regime of Saddam Hussein began soon after the cease fire in the Gulf War meting out mass punishment against our people, imposing upon them large-scale psychological and physical torture, at which the regime is known to excel.

The conference discussed in details and depth the crisis of the KLM in Kurdistan Iraq since the debacle of 1988. The fundamental and critical structural fault, and at the same time the dilemma, of the KLM was identified. It is basically the "transient power" of some of its group. This power is in reality their ultimate weakness. This weakness has always constituted the whole movement's decisive weakness for a variety of reasons. This "transient power" is acquired from foreign sources and its elements are outside the control and the decisions of these groups. Therefore, they are unable to deploy and use them (the elements of the transient power) in accordance with the requirements of their situation and of the special conditions and circumstances of the Kurdish movement. The elements of this "transient power" are given and/or suspended, used and/or abandoned, by the foreign sources that give them and have the actual and total control over these elements. Therefore, this "transient power" is in reality the ultimate weakness of these groups and the movement as a whole during the critical and fateful times; this is due to a number of instrumental internal and external factors at work in the Kurdish movement resulting from the present level of the economic, social, political, and cultural development of the society of Kurdistan. This structural fault has revealed itself

more than once in recent Kurdish history, and in a crystal clear manifestation in March 1975 and again in August 1988. The adversaries of our nation have exploited this structural fault cleverly against the Kurdish Movement (directly in March 1975 when Saddam Hussein compromised and agreed with the then Shah of Iran in order to cut off the "elements of transient power" of the Kurdish movement supplied by the Shah and thus ensure its collapse) but more than one group within the Kurdish movement itself refuse to publicly admit it if they themselves are part of it.

The conference also discussed the other weaknesses suffered by the movement for some time now.

This structural fault, besides the other factors of weakness which strength it, is the decisive reason behind the failures and scarce achievements of the movement in Iraq and some other parts of Kurdistan, despite the enormous sacrifices given and suffering sustained by our people for many decades. It is also the reason behind the confusion surrounding current objectives and future aims and vision.

The Secretary-General and the conference underlined the importance our party and Branch give to the Kurdistan Front and its intention to participate in the building and development of its institutions and the enhancement of its activities in all fields everywhere. The Front represents the unity of the KLM both at home and abroad. It reflects the demands and aspirations of our people for the unity of the ranks of the movement in the face of the existing real and dangerous threats. Moreover, no people has achieved victory without unity of ranks. The Front is, therefore, the first step on this long and difficult road.

The conference then discussed the situation of the Kurdish nation and stress the need to exert more efforts in order to hold an All-Kurdish National Congress attended by representatives of the forces of the Kurdish Liberation Movement from all parts of Kurdistan. The conference also dealt with the tragic situation of the Kurdish refugees in the camps in Turkey; it

noticed the many restrictions and pressures imposed upon them, the poor levels of sanitary and nutritional conditions in these camps, and the poisoning of thousands of them in the Mardin camp. The conference also dealt with the sanitary and nutritional conditions of the Kurdish refugees in the camps, villages and towns in Iran, who number about 250,000 (refugees from the 1975 collapse, war refugees and deport Fails Kurds). The conference discussed various ways of enhancing efforts aiming at securing humanitarian aid from different sources to these refugees.

The conference expressed its thanks and appreciation to all humanitarian organizations that have helped and still help the refugees in Iran and Turkey, such as the Swedish Red Cross, the Swedish Save The Children, Madame Mitterrand, the European Community. The conference called upon all concerned not to use this aid to make political "gains" at the expense of neglecting the difficulties facing all the refugees.

The conference saluted all the rank and file of our party everywhere, the patriots of our nation all over Kurdistan, especially political prisoners withering in the prisons of dictatorships, the refugees in the camps, villages and towns. The conference also greeted the 8th anniversary of the founding of the party.

The conference then discussed in detail and in an atmosphere of democracy and frankness the organizational situation of the party and the Europe Branch. It adopted some resolution and made a number of proposals and recommendations in this field.

The conference was concluded with the patriotic song Eiraqib, with every delegate full of hope and faith in the future of our people, nation and party, and with everyone determined to follow the correct policies of our party.



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THE ANNUAL SESSION OF THE UNITED
NATIONS COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
IN GENEVA AND THE QUESTION OF
KURDISH HUMAN RIGHTS

STATEMENT BY THE INTERNATIONAL
UNION OF STUDENTS TO THE 45TH
SESSION OF THE UN COMMISSION ON
HUMAN RIGHTS IN GENEVA

Between the end of January and beginning of March 1989 the 45th Session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights was held in Geneva. It was attended by representatives of various East and West European, African, Arabic, Islamic, and South North American countries. It was also attended by representatives of various non-governmental organizations. Amnesty International and the International Union of Students, among others, presented statements on the tragic situation of the Kurdish people in Kurdistan as a whole and on Kurdistan Iraq in particular.

The Iraqi government's representative at the Commission on Human Rights was ironically the notorious torturer and for chief of the security apparatus Barzan Tikriti, the Iraqi dictator's half brother.

A resolution condemning the Iraqi government's flagrant human rights violations was presented on 23 February but was voted down, opposed by the following delegations: Iraq, Morocco, Cyprus, Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Philippines, Rwanda, Senegal, Somalia, Brazil, Panama, Peru, Venezuela, Bulgaria, DDR, Ukraine, Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, China, Cuba, and Ethiopia. The following delegations abstained: Nigeria, Gambia, Swaziland, Botswana, Togo, Columbia and Argentina.

Those voting in support of the resolution were: Japan, Canada, USA, Italy, France, Belgium, Britain, West Germany, Spain, Portugal, and Sweden.

A "milder" resolution was tabled on 7 March but again was voted down by 17 votes against and 14 in favor. The Iraqi government was supported by the Arab and Islamic delegations, whereas delegates of the socialist countries abstained.

Below are excerpts from that statement dated 1 March 1989.

"today, I would like to focus on the tragedy and suffering of a people, which up to a year ago was a forgotten nation, the Kurdish people, the largest nation in the world without its own state.

"Over 25 million have been divided among several countries, Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Syria, and yet facing one of the most barbaric campaigns of genocide. In Turkey, there are well over 10 million Kurds and yet they are not recognized and are called (Mountain Turkey). They are deprived of their human rights. In Iran, there are about 7 million Kurds; they also are deprived of their human and national rights. The Islamic Republic of Iran is waging every means of chauvinist policy against the Kurdish people.

"Many of you might have seen the picture of a father hold his baby in futile attempt to save his child from poison gas. That terrible event took place on 16th March 1988 in the Kurdish town of HALABJA in Iraqi Kurdistan...5000 were poisoned by their own government, the Iraqi government, using internationally banned chemical weapons on a population whose only crime was that of being Kurdish and wanting to live freely in their own country...

"The HALABJA massacre wasn't the first or the last massacre of the Kurdish people by the Iraqi government. While the Kurdish people welcomed the end of the Iraq-Iran war, the war against the Kurdish people never came to an end. The Iraqi government have waged a war of genocide against the Kurdish people using different means of destruction. Today, there is not one single village left in Iraqi Kurdistan which has not been destroyed, over 200,000 Kurds deported in 1988 only, and over 10,000 executed since 1980.

"We believe that the Iraqi government has committed grave crimes against the people.



THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALLY RECEIVES A KURDISH DELEGATION

- * France's First Lady welcomes the delegation
- * Meeting with Mme Minister at the Foreign Office
- * Visit to the Elysee
- * A well attended press conference

A delegation from Kurdistan Iraq visited Paris from 18th to 21st September. During its visit, the delegation was received by France's First Lady Mme Mitterrand, Head of the Fondation France Liberte, invited by the Minister of Human Rights to a luncheon, officially received at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by a Minister, received at the Elysee, visited the Parliament and the headquarters of the ruling Socialist Party, and held a press conference attended by 67 French and foreign journalists and people from various radio and television stations.

The visit was successful and represents a diplomatic victory for the Kurdish people and movement since it is the first time in recent years that a Kurdish delegation is officially received by a European government.

The delegation included Mr. Jalal Talabani, Secretary-General of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), Mr. Sami Rahman, Secretary-General of the Kurdistan Popular Democratic Party (KPDP) and a former minister in the Iraqi government, Mr. Muhsin Dizae, representative of Mr. Masoud Barzani and a former minister in the Iraqi government, and Dr. Mahmoud Othman, a member of the leadership of the Kurdistan Socialist Party-Iraq (KSP-I).

We take this opportunity to express our appreciation to all

*We ask for
internationa recognition*

against humanity. They therefore make a war of genocide carried out by different means.

"Today the very existence of the Kurdish people is in danger. We think that the Kurdish people like all other nations have a right to live freely and we ask:

**HOW LONG WILL THIS SUFFERING
CONTINUE?**

Mass executions of army officers and ruling Ba'th party officials

Amnesty International (AI) has received reports that 14 army personnel and officials of the ruling Ba'th party were executed in early January 1988 for alleged participation in a coup attempt.

Large numbers of military personnel and civilians, as many as 200, were believed to have been arrested in the third week of December 1988 on suspicion of plotting a coup. AI has received the names of 21 of them. Most of the arrests were said to have been carried out in Baghdad, the capital, Mosul, in north-western Iraq, and Samarra, north of Baghdad.

And mass execution of "deserters"

AI has also received reports that 83 people were arrested in June and July 1988 and were reported to have been executed in December. The majority of them were hiding in villages around the Koi Sanjaq area in Arbil in Kurdistan.

IRAQ: Death penalty shrouded in secrecy

AI adds that in Iraq the death penalty is shrouded in secrecy. Hundreds of people are reportedly executed every year, mostly after death sentences have been imposed by special courts and without any right of appeal.

"In Iraqi courts lawyers are government-appointed and their access to clients is severely restricted. Confessions extracted under torture are frequently used as a basis for conviction and defendants on trial for their lives are denied the right to call witnesses or to submit evidence in their defence."

(AI, Newsletter, September 1989).

* * *

Komala's second-in-command murdered

According to a Komala source Monday 4 Sept a member of its Central Committee, Siddiq Kamangar, was murdered in Kurdistan on 3 Sept. The murder took place in Kurdistan Iraq and was committed by Kamangar's own guard who fled the scene of the crime. (Swedish daily Dagens Nyheter, 6 Sept 1989).

IRAQ: Baath party organisations given official sanction to kill on the spot without trial

Saddam Hussein, the Iraqi president, has issued a decree giving his Baath party organisations official sanctions to kill. Here is the translation of the full text of the decree:

"Decision no.: 700

te: 27/8/1988n accordance with Paragraph (A) of Article 42 of the Constitution, the Revolution Command Council decided in its meeting of 27/8/1988 the following;

1- The penalty of execution is to be carried out by the party organisation, after ascertaining the act of desertion or draft dodging, on every deserter and draft dodger captured on or after 8/8/1988 regardless of the number of desertions and their duration.

Every repentant deserter and draft dodger who surrenders after 8/8/1988 is to be sent to his military unit in order that military laws and regulations be applied to him.

2- The contents of the decision of the Revolution Command Council no. 10 (ten) dated 3/1/1988 (third of january nineteen eighty eight) apply to all repentant deserters and draft dodgers who surrender or are captured until 7/8/1988 (inside).

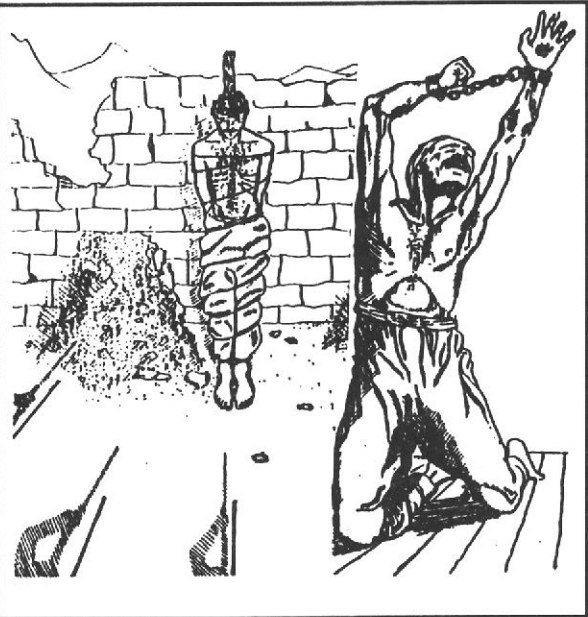
3- The penalty of execution is to be carried out by the party organisation on every party member of the rank of member of leadership of a Division in the Baath Arab Socialist party and below as well as on every security official and police official who has information on the presence of deserters or draft dodgers in the area for which he is responsible and fails to take action against them or fails to inform the authorities about them.

. The case of the party member who is of the rank of member of leadership of a Division or higher, who has information on the presence of deserters or draft dodgers and fails to take action against them or inform the competent authorities about them, will be put before comrade the Regional Secretary, the President to decide what he sees appropriate about him.

4- This decision is implemented from the date of its issue and it is implemented by all those concerned.

Saddam Hussein, Chairman, Revolution Command Council"

New Pesh-Merga note: The ceasefire in the Gulf war came into effect in mid-August. This decision, taken ten days later, is the dictator's vengeance against those who refused to participate in "his" war.



IT IS TIME TO DECLARE NULL AND VOID THESE EXTRA-JUDICIARY MEASURES.

THE ASSASSINATION OF Dr. ABDUL RAHMAN QASSEMLOU

A spokesman for the Political Bureau of our party stated the following on 17 July 1989: The assassination of Dr. Abdul Rahman QassemLou, Secretary General of the Kurdistan Democratic Party-Iran, one of his comrades (Abdullah Qaderi) and Dr. Fadil Mahmoud Rasoul, during a meeting with representatives of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the Austrian capital Vienna on 13 July 1989, is a cowardice act only the enemies of the Kurdish liberation movement and chauvinists spiteful of the just aspirations of our people as well as those opposed to a peaceful and democratic settlement of the Kurdish issue.

While expressing our deep sorrow for this enormous loss to our Kurdish people and their liberation movement, we strongly condemn all those who lie behind this cowardice act.

We call, at the same time, upon the Austrian Government to make all possible efforts in order to reveal the identity of the culprits who committed this hideous crime.

We also call upon the international community and all humanitarian organizations to denounce all acts of organized terrorism directed against our Kurdish people, both individuals and groups.

A DEMONSTRATION IN STOCKHOLM ON THE 40TH DAY OF THE MURDER OF DR QASSEMLOU AND HIS COMPATRIOTS

The Kurdish community in Stockholm organized a demonstration on 19 August 1989 on the 40th day of the murder of DR. QassemLou, the General Secretary of the Kurdistan Democratic Party - Iran, Abdullah Qaderi, member of the Central Committee and chairman of the Europe Branch of the KDP-I, and Dr. Fadil Resul, an Iraqi Kurd, in Vienna in July.

The following groups sponsored and took part in the demonstration:

- The Kurdistan Democratic Party - Iran
- TEVGER, the front of a number of Kurdish parties from Kurdistan Turkey
- Kurdistan Front, Nordic Representation,

Kurdistan Iraq

- Hekariya Kurden,
Kurdistan Syria

- The Kurdish
D e m o c r a t i c

Progressive Party of Syria

- Coordinating Committee of Kurdish Political Organisations in Sweden

- The Federation of Kurdish Associations in Sweden

The demonstration marched through the central area of Stockholm towards the Austrian Embassy in the Swedish capital. The demonstration denounced the murder, condemned the culprits and demanded from the competent Austrian authorities to make public the results of their investigations and identify the culprits.



And Iran's official view of the murder

"According to the Public Relations Section at the Foreign Ministry of Iran," during the last few months and in the aftermath of the developments in Kurdistan Iraq, some Iranian Kurdish groups...expressed willingness...to negotiate with the Islamic republic in this respect through some Iraqi Kurds who have good ties with the Islamic Republic.

"After discussing the matter and holding preliminary talks, relative trust was established that the move was serious and genuine. Therefore, negotiations were held on Tuesday in the presence of the representative of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) in Austria as a mediator in the matter.

"According to the statement the participants in the meeting were victims of a terrorist attack, by a person or persons, in which QassemLou, his assistant, and Dr. Fadhil Rasool the representative of the Patriotic Union of Iran, were killed, and the representative of Iran severely wounded..."
Tehran weekly, Keyhan Arabic, 20 July 1989.

MILITARY COMMUNIQUE NO 12

* On the night of 20/21, May 1989 a joint force from the Kurdistan Popular Democratic Party (KPDP), The Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), and the Iraqi Communist Party (ICP)-Kurdistan Region, launched an attack on two military positions in SARI GURGAVA, DIRELOOK Sub-District, Amadiya District, Dahok Province. The attack lasted for two hours and resulted in:
-the total destruction of the two military position
-putting out of action a heavy machine-gun and many military personnel.

The joint force returned safely to base despite attempts by the Iraqi air force to locate them.

* On the night of 30/31 May, a KPDP guerrilla force from the Halabja Base launched a surprise attack on the military hill-top outpost of SHIRKOZ on the road of Kanibi, in the Shler-Penjwin area. The outpost was destroyed and its occupants put out of action.

* On the night of 1/2 July, a KPDP guerrilla force from the Halabja Base launched a surprise attack on a military hill-top outpost in the area of KOLI, on the road leading to the village of SHAWLI, using RPG shells. Many military personnel were put out of action. The force returned safely to base.

MILITARY COMMUNIQUE**NO 13**

* On 6 July, a KPDP guerrilla force attacked a military hill-top outpost south of the village of DARUKHAN, on the road from PENJWIN to SULEIMANIYA. At the same time another KPDP force lay in ambush on the road leading to the outpost. The first force attacked the outpost and the other force engaged a military convoy. RPG, medium weight and heavy weapons were used in the operation.

The operation resulted in the total destruction of the outpost and many casualties among its occupants as well as the putting out of action of the military convoy.

The following dead military personnel could be identified:

- Reserve sergeant Ibrahim from Baghdad, military unit No 1716, Regiment 1, Platoon 27.
- Reserve sergeant Raham from Diwaniyeh, military unit No 1716, Regiment 1, Platoon 27.
- Private Nawwaf from Ramadi, military unit No 1716, Regiment 1, Platoon 27.
- Private Ali Nasir from Baghdad, military unit No 1716, Regiment 1, Platoon 27.

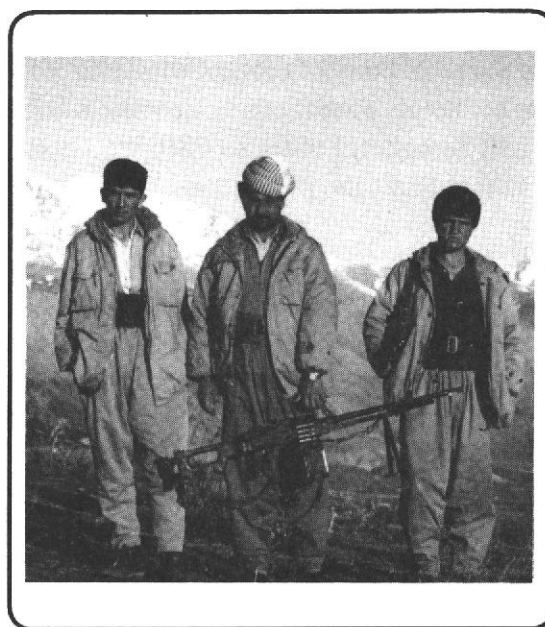
- Private Hashim Diwan from Diwaniyeh, military unit No 1716, Regiment 1, Platoon 27.

The following soldiers were wounded:

- Private Seido from Nineva, military unit No 1716, Regiment 1, Platoon 27.
- Private Raffo from Nineva, military unit No 1716, Regiment 1, h)atoon 27.
- Private Khalaf from Nineva, military unit No 1716, Regiment 1, Platoon 27.

Reserve private Kadhim Elewi Manhoosh from Wasit, born 1955, military unit No 1716, Regiment 1, Platoon 27, was taken captive.

The guerrilla force then returned safely to base. And as usual, the Iraqi military machine launched an indiscriminate artillery attack on the area.



**KURDISTAN FRONT DELEGATION
ATTENDS THE 8TH CONGRESS
OF THE
SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL**

A Kurdistan Front (KF) delegation attended the 8th congress of the Socialist International (SI) held in Stockholm during 20-22 June 1989.

The KF delegation met during the congress with: Willy Brandt, president of SI; Pentti Vnen, the outgoing General Secretary of SI; Ingvar Carlsson, Chairman of SAP and Prime Minister of Sweden; Michael Rochard, the French Socialist Party, PS; Franz Vranitzky, the Socialist Party of Austria, SPOe; Hans-Jochen Vogel, the Socialist Party of Germany, SPD; Neil Kinnock, The Labour Party (Britain); Win Kok, Labour Party, PvdA (Netherlands); Bennito Craxi, Italian Socialist Party, PSI; Erdal In, Social Democratic Party (SHP), Turkey; Walid Jumblatt, Progressive Socialist Party, PSP, Lebanon; Karen Brutents, Communist Party of the Soviet Union; Oliver Tambo, Chairman, African National Congress (ANC); and Yaser Abid Rubbeh, PLO.

Aspects of the Kurdish people's situation were referred to in the speeches delivered to the congress by: Peter Jankowitsch, Secretary of International Relations, the Austria SPOe, who referred to the continuation of the persecution of the Kurdish people in Iran, Iraq and Turkey; Pierre Mauroy, the Socialist Party of France, who referred to the use of chemical weapons against the Kurds; and Walid Jumblatt, Lebanese PSP, who discussed in some detail the persecution of the Kurds in Iraq.

The "Congress Resolution" referred to the Kurds under the "Regional Issues" sub-title: "In various parts of the world situations exist in where the values and aspirations espoused by the SI are called into question, and where peace and disarmament are far from achievement. For example,...and the persecution of Kurdish minorities remains a tragic fact."

The SI 8th Congress was also attended by a delegation representing the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK)-Kurdistan Iraq, as well as a delegation from the Kurdistan Democratic Party-Iran.

Brief information on

THE KURDISTAN FRONT (Iraq)

The establishment of the KURDISTAN FRONT was announced in a statement issued on 12 May 1988. The FRONT has the following members which all have equal standing as well as equal rights and duties within the FRONT:

The Kurdish Socialist Party (PASOK)
The Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK)
The Kurdistan Region Organization of the Iraqi Communist Party (ICP)
The Kurdistan Popular Democratic Party (KPDP)
The Kurdistan Socialist Party-Iraq (KSP-I)
The Kurdistan Democratic Party-Iraq (KDP)

The FRONT has the following leading bodies:
The POLITICAL LEADERSHIP: It includes representatives of all member parties. These representatives are either the first or the second leading figure, or both, of each party.

The POLITICAL LEADERSHIP leads the FRONT and all its institutions. Its decisions are taken by consensus.

The EXECUTIVE BUREAU: It is a bureau made up of a leading figure from each of the FRONT's member parties. It follows up the decisions made by the POLITICAL LEADERSHIP.

The DELEGATION ABROAD: All the member parties of the FRONT are represented in this delegation. It is responsible for the national, regional and international relations of the Kurdish movement. It has representatives in: the Nordic Countries (Stockholm), North America (Washington), the Eastern Europe (Prague), Western Europe (London), and the Arab and Islamic Countries (Damascus).

MASS DISPLACEMENT OF KURDS IN IRAQ

General Assembly and officially ratified by Iraq.

The Iraqi dictatorial regime is continuing its long-term plans of forcibly displacing the Kurdish people and depopulating Kurdistan. At the end of May this year the whole population of the camp of Twasooran were displaced (this being the second time the 1885 households consisting of 10,000 people are displaced; first from their villages to the camp and now from the camp to elsewhere). A few days later, the displacement of the inhabitants of the city of Qala Diza and a number of nearby villages was started by the military and security forces.

Some of these Kurds are forcibly resettled in camps in Aski-Kalak (near Mosul), Singaw and Taslooja (in Kirkuk province).

The deportees are forced to leave behind all their properties and personal belongings, except for a few personal effects.

The Iraqi dictatorial regime's claim that these people are being displaced to keep them away from the borders with Iran is refuted by its very huge efforts to re-construct, among others, the city of Basra and the town of Faw, the former less than 30 kilometers and the latter less than one kilometer from the borders with Iran, but in the southern Arab part of Iraq. Its other claim that these people are displaced in order to "develop" them is clearly false because, first, this "displacement cum depopulation for development" is being applied in the Kurdish area only and not in the rest of Iraq; secondly, rather relatively well developed infrastructures do exist already in these towns and villages; and thirdly, no such method is found in the framework of economic development and regional planning anywhere in the world (except claims by dictatorial regimes engaged in a policy of "ending once and for all" nationality and ethnic problems in their countries). Furthermore, it is clear that these measures taken by the Iraqi regime are flagrant violations of the United Nations 1966 Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Covenant and the Civil and Political Rights covenant passed by the

After denying the facts the Iraqi dictatorship admits forcibly displacing Kurds

The inhabitants of more areas in Kurdistan were then served notice by the Iraqi authorities to prepare themselves for "evacuation". This came in the heels of the completion of the forcible displacement of the inhabitants of the whole area of Qala Diza, the nearby townships and villages and a camp, in early June, which affected tens of thousands of Kurds. The new areas are located within the Iraqi regime's "TOTAL EVACUATION AREAS" in Kurdistan. They include:

SHIRWAN MAZIN, MERGA SOOR, DEGALA, and the KHORMAL CAMP.

(The camp's inhabitants had already been displaced once before.)

The fundamental objectives of the Iraqi regime's "TOTAL EVACUATION AREA" plan are: to "liquidate" the Kurdish national liberation movement; to eradicate "once and for all" the Kurdish people's legitimate national aspirations; and to crush the last viable center of democratic opposition to the regime.

However, after denying it was engaged in a process of mass displacement of Kurds and large-scale depopulation of Kurdistan, the government-controlled Baghdad daily al-Iraq, 16 June 1989, admitted that the regime was forcibly displacing Kurds from their towns, townships and villages in Kurdistan (TT-Reuter, Baghdad). This admission confirmed the reports given by the Kurdistan Front to the world public opinion and denied by Iraqi officials.

The Iraqi regime continued to implement, unhindered, its long-term plans to "end" (physically, psychologically, politically, socially and economically) a people and an ethnic group of more than four million and their legitimate aspirations when it saw that there was no real objection to its policy from the outside world. It

actually and correctly interpreted the silence of, and the credits, loans, trade concessions and the supply of lethal and non-lethal "materials" from, the outside world, as signs of real intentions meaning either "encouragement" or "tacit acceptance" of its measures. "Business as usual" prevailed, and the "oral" outrage expressed by some turned into dead silence despite the fact that these measures constitute, by any "civilized" standard, flagrant violations of elementary human rights and of the UN Charter, the UN Civil and Political Covenant and the Economic, Social and Cultural Covenant of 1966.

WHEN "EVERYTHING WENT AS PLANNED" THE IRAQI DICTATORSHIP OFFICIALLY CONCEDED THE FACTS

Reuter news agency reported from the Iraqi capital Baghdad on 25 June 1989 that the Iraqi government plans to evacuate all the inhabitants of a "security-zone" that is 20 miles (30 kilometers) wide along Iraq's northern and north-eastern borders.

This so-called "SECURITY ZONE" is identical with what Iraqi official documents call the "TOTAL EVACUATION AREAS" plan according to which hundreds of thousands of Kurdish families have been, are being, or will be displaced. These areas include big towns, townships and villages, such as ZAKHO, AMADIYAH, BATUFA, IBRAHIM KHALIL, SARSANG, DIRALOOK, MERGA SOOR, DIYANA, RAWANDUZ, KHANAQIN, SOORDASH, QALA DIZA, DIGALA, RANYA and MENDILI, in addition to between 10 and 15 camps housing Kurds who had already been forcibly displaced during previous phases of this total depopulation plan. The current phase was started in the Qala Diza area, and the towns of Qala Diza and Digala are now ghost towns. Identity Card given to displaced Kurds by military and security forces:

TRANSLATION FROM ARABIC

Deportee Identity Card

Tripartite name or the family head:

Number of members of the family:

Precious place of residence: Pimalak

Area where he wishes to be re-settled: Arbil

Province: Arbil Chairman of the (second) committee:(signature)

The new city:

17/4 /1989

Notes:

- 1- The name and number of family members of the identity card holder has been removed for fear for the family's safety and life.
- 2- The printed part of the identity card is in bold letters while the filled in information is in underlined normal letters.

WHILE KURDISTAN IS BEING DESTROYED FEVERISH EFFORTS TO RECONSTRUCT THE SOUTH

Although the Iraqi regime recently officially announced that its plans to create a no-mans land along the borders with Turkey and Iran for "security reasons" cover the whole border areas its action is contrary to what it says.

The truth is emerging on the real target of these measures, namely, the displacement of the Kurds and the depopulation and destruction of Kurdistan. While the regime has been destroying historic and productive Kurdish towns and villages, with relatively well developed infrastructures, on a large scale and with vengeful speed, it is, at the same time and contrary to its claims, engaged in feverish reconstruction and investment efforts to rebuild the city of Basra ("less than 30 kilometers from the Iranian border") and the town of Faw, only 400 meters from the Iranian borders. "Saddam Hussein is fiercely determined to rebuild Faw: all Iraqi citizens have been pressed into service, physically or financially, by official decree (and the ruling Ba'ath party is making sure they comply)...and Saddam Hussein had \$5 billion set aside for restoring (Basra)...although many of the people who...fled the city...do not appear to be too anxious to move into (the) city." "Indeed, the whole of southern Iraq...is now one vast building site where the bulk of the reconstruction work is concentrated." (Le Monde July 20, published in The Guardian Weekly,

"On June 2 the minister of local government...was dismissed from his post...(and) local reports spoke of inefficiency particularly in connection with the reconstruction of...Basra." (The Economist Intelligence Unit, Iraq, Country Report No 3, 1989, pages 8-9). According to the same publication and on the basis of estimates published by the Gulf International Bank, Iraqi government expenditures on priority projects include:

Khor al-Zubair petrochemical works:	\$ 2 billion
Basra (immediate):	\$ 2.5 "
Basra (longer term):	\$13 "
Shatt al-Arab:	\$ 5 "
Southern ports:	\$ 1.5 "
Total	\$24.0 billion

All these areas are within 30 kilometers from the border with Iran, but in the southern non-Kurdish part of Iraq.

Therefore, it is quite obvious that the Iraqi dictatorial regime and its apologists are misleading world public opinion by claiming that the regimes measure apply to all parts of Iraq and all the Iraqi population; these destructive measures are clearly directed against the Kurdish people and their country Kurdistan as a means of mass punishment.



THE SWEDISH FOREIGN MINISTER, MR. STEN ANDERSSON: SWEDEN OPPOSES THE FORCIBLE DISPLACEMENT OF THE KURDISH PEOPLE IN IRAQ

Answer to parliamentary question 1988/1989:662 on the forcible displacement of Kurds in Iraq.

Mr. Speaker, Ingbritt Irhammar has asked me whether the Government intends to send a protest to the Iraqi regime against the forcible displacement of Kurds.

I have earlier in various contexts expressed the Government's view on discrimination and injustice against the Kurds, latest in the Parliament on March 17 this year. Let me once again reaffirm that the rules for the respect of human rights apply alike to all people, even those belonging to minority groups. All have the same rights.

The Kurdish minorities live in an exposed situation in the border zones between five countries. The world has several times been informed of shaking accounts of outrages against the Kurds. Tens of thousands of Kurds have been forced to flee their homes and many live under harsh conditions in refugee camps.

The cultural identity of the Kurds must be preserved. Concrete measures must, therefore, be taken by the countries concerned so that the Kurds can keep and develop their culture and benefit from the economic development regardless of in which country they live.

In Iraq the Kurds have been given a certain degree of autonomy. This is thought to be far from being enough to meet the demands of the Kurds, and foremost to guarantee their human

Displacement of people against their wish violates fundamental human values and principles. Sweden has long worked actively for the protection of minority groups and respect for human rights. The Swedish Government will continue to clearly and unambiguously criticize violations of international law. It is important that all feel a common responsibility to improve the situation of the Kurds.

It is hope that the Iraqi government, and the governments in the countries with Kurdish minorities, will understand the seriousness in Sweden's traditional engagement for human rights and take notice of our viewpoints.

Mrs. Ingbritt Irhammar (C):

Mr. Speaker, I thank for the answer.

Iraq has since 1977 undertaken to obliterate Kurdish villages displace the population. 4 000 villages have disappeared in Kurdistan Iraq and a million people have been forced to leave their homes. Kurds have been killed by various means.

Last year, 9 000 Kurds were killed by chemical weapons in Iraq. Kurds in their thousands fled to, among others, Turkey and Iran.

As I conveyed in my question, the Iraq regime continues now to implement its plans of forcibly displacing Kurds from the Arbil and Suleimaniya provinces. Kurds who protest against this forcible displacement can be arrested and they risk both torture and execution.

It is important to establish, as Sten Andersson does in his reply, that displacement of people against their wish is against fundamental human values and principles. I interpret the Foreign Minister's answers to mean that the government uses every opportunity to convey its views on the matter to the government of Iraq. Iraq's action is a violation of the covenants on human rights. Therefore, it is deemed more appropriate to follow how the 4 million Kurds in Iraq will be treated by the government there in the future. I myself shall continue to carefully follow this question, and I intend to return to this issue.

YET ANOTHER CASE OF FOOD POISONING IN THE KURDISH REFUGEE CAMPS IN TURKEY



According to refugee and Turkish sources, hundreds of Iraqi Kurdish refugees in the Diyarbakir refugee camp showed strong symptoms of, and have been treated in hospitals for, food poisoning after taking their daily food ration on 1st February 1990; among others, they suffer from abdominal pain, vomiting and headache. About 400 children, 380 women and 120 men are among the victims. This is the third time that Iraqi Kurdish refugee in Turkey have fallen victim to food poisoning:

1 At the beginning of June 1989, the first mass food poisoning "incident" took place at the camp of MARDIN.

2 In mid-December 1989, another food poisoning "incident" happened at the refugee camp of MUSH.

3 And now yet another food poisoning "incident" occurs in DIYARBAKIR. These "incidents" have been attributed to either Iraqi agents working in with Turkish local collaborators, or old and bad flour and yeast used in preparing the bread given to the refugees.

Whatever the "reasons" and whoever is responsible for the series of "incidents", the aim is obviously to pressure and frighten the refugees into fleeing Turkey.

As a host country Turkey is responsible for the safety of these refugees and as an United Nations international organ entrusted with the task of helping refugees, the UNHCR is responsible to intervene on behalf of the refugees.

Regrettably, neither of them have done what is expected and required of them to protect the Iraqi Kurdish refugees.

**DEMOCRACY, SOCIAL JUSTICE
AND NATIONAL RIGHTS ARE
THE REAL GUARANTEES FOR
PEACE, SECURITY AND
DEVELOPMENT IN IRAQ AND
THE OTHER COUNTRIES.**

REPORT ON THE SITUATION OF IRAQI KURDISH REFUGEES IN IRAN

Below is important information on the number, location and economic, social, educational and psychological conditions under which live the Iraqi Kurdish refugees in Iran.

1. NUMBER AND LOCATIONS:

Number of refugees: The majority of Kurdish refugees in Iran arrived during the large influx of refugees in 1988, including 20,500 refugees who had first gone to Turkey. Due to the harsh treatment of Kurdish refugees by the Turkish authorities, the refugees left Turkey for Iran. Of these refugees, 280 women and children died as a result of mines and severe weather conditions.

i: Refugees under the supervision of the committee in the three provinces of Bakhtaran, Kurdistan and the Western Azerbaijan. The number of refugee "sites" in these provinces is: 23 camps (6 in Bakhtaran, 7 in Kurdistan and 10 in Western Azerbaijan); 13 towns; and 157 villages. The total number of refugees in all these "sites" is 101,206 making up 18,942 families.

2604 families (14,056 refugees) in Bakhtaran
3650 families (17,718 refugees) in Kurdistan
12688 families (69,482 refugees) in western Azerbaijan.

ii: Refugees not under the supervision of the committee. The majority of them are Faili Kurds (expelled from Iraq during 1971-1989); they are spread over many provinces in Iran. There are also refugees from 1974-75. According to representatives of Faili Kurds and the pre-1988 refugees, their number exceeds 277,000.

iii: Refugees living inside Kurdistan Iraq close to the border of Iran; they are more than 4000. They live in tents and mud houses in Dolakoga, Niuzang, Sheni, Zeli, Khwagerk and Surin. The total number of refugees from Kurdistan Iraq presently in Iran (1971-1988) is 382,398.

Location of refugees:

Camps: the total number is 23 camps located as follows: 6 in the province of Bakhtaran, 7 in the province of Kurdistan, 10 in the province of Western Azerbaijan.

Villages: there are refugees in 157 villages.

Towns: there are refugees in 13 towns.

2. LIVING CONDITIONS:

From the beginning of the influx of refugees into Iran, refugee families were distributed among towns and villages in the above-mentioned three provinces close to the border. During the winter/spring of 1988, many of these refugees lived under very harsh conditions. Between 20-30 families arrived a day and 4-6 of them lived in village mosques, shops, or storehouses. More than 5,500 families lived in tents provided by Iran and located in snow and mud. The Iranian Red Crescent Society started in May 1988 building 20 camps; they already had 3 completed camps. But these 20 camps are not yet ready. They still lack fresh water, electricity, sewerage, bathing facilities, doors and windows, schools, hospitals and mosques. All these camps have a capacity of only 7000 families. Many refugees have already moved in and others been informed that they can move in before winter. More than half of the refugee families have to stay in villages, in storehouses or in towns, in expensive and small rooms. The rooms in the camps are small. Each family is allocated a 3x4 meter/room; most of them are without cooking or washing facilities.

3. FOOD SITUATION:

At different occasions during 1988, the Iranian Red Crescent Society supplied foodstuffs to the refugees; however, they were of neither good quality nor sufficient quantity. Those living in the refugee camps have been better off than

those living in towns and villages. Refugees living in villages and towns received help for the first time in 1989. This help varied greatly from province to province. In Bakhtaran the refugees received ration cards to buy food in 1988. In Kurdistan they received ration cards in 1989 (45 families have received no help at all). In Western Azerbaijan the refugees were given ration cards at the beginning in 1989; hundreds of families have not received help yet, and food is often sold to the refugees at market price in this province. The distributed foodstuffs have two shortcomings: the monthly ration is too small and lasts for only 15-20 days, it lacks necessary items, such as tomato paste, salt and potatoes. In some places and during a period of five months meat was part of the ration distributed to the refugees only once.

4. ECONOMIC SITUATION:

All refugees have fled Iraq leaving behind all their belongings. The help distributed to them is not enough and people can not afford to buy clothes or shoes or pay high rents. In Iran, almost everything is bought either with ration cards or with cash at market prices ten times higher than ration card prices. Unemployment is high which makes it difficult for the refugees to get a job.

5. COOKING EQUIPMENT:

Being without clothes, shoes, sleeping mats, covers, heaters and cooking equipments is part of the everyday life of the refugees. Less than half (approximately 45%) of them receive one blanket and a worn out sleeping mat per person per year. A family gets one sweater or a pair of shoes once a year. Many of the refugees do not get even this. People have to repair what they have and rely on Iranian distributors of clothes. A family of seven, for example, has two eating plates and four blankets.

6. SOCIAL CONDITIONS:

Being far from relatives and home, being hungry, thinking of one's destroyed country and relatives who have disappeared or killed, is what the refugees live with daily. These conditions cause depression. Many a refugee family often sit and weep. Unemployment, idleness and the inability to plan for the future, reinforce the refugees sense of frustration hopelessness and give them ample idle time and all its consequences. And all this further deepens their depression, despair and apathy.

7. LEGAL STATUS:

Many (45%) of the refugees have the a White Cards, which is used for two purposes: _ to get ration cards_ to use as some kind of identity paper. In some places this card is only valid for 6 months while in others for one year. The White Card is required for visiting relatives in other camps, towns and villages within the province where they live. But a special permit is necessary to visit relatives in another province. This permit is very difficult to get. About 15% of the refugees who arrived in Iran before 1988 have a Green Card, which makes it easier for them to get a ration card or a job or start a company.

8. EDUCATION:

Although the government of Iran has decided that for 1988/89 school year refugees students at the elementary and higher levels would have places in the available schools in the camps, towns and villages, only a few students have been able to attend schools. This is due to either lack of schools or to the refugees' difficult situation; two additional reasons are: (a) education is in Persian and only those who do well during the first year may continue; and (b) the educational systems in Iran and Iraq are very different. Hundreds of high-school-educated refugees have not been able to continue their studies. This problem is likely to remain unsolved for the coming years.

9. HEALTH AND HOSPITALS:

There are hundreds or even thousands of refugees wounded either during attacks by chemical weapons and other weapons or as a result of cold weather. Some have been treated by doctors at small medical stations kept by some members of the Front and the local authorities, especially those who were wounded in Halabja and the village of Shanakhesha. The Kurdistan Front has a number of physicians in the camps and other places where the refugees live; however, they are very few and have no medicines. Last fall and winter malaria and lung diseases were common among the refugees in the camps of Zewa, Piranshahr and Sardasht, causing the death of 70 children and adults. During the months of June and July 1989 diarrhea and vomiting spread in the camps of Piranshahr and Sardasht. The sick were

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NEW PESHMERGA

treated at the local hospitals and by Kurdish doctors. There are both doctors and other trained medical staff among the refugees as well as in the Kurdistan Front. They could, if they had proper equipment, help the refugees. Some members of the Front have set up medical posts for refugees around the camps and villages in Piranshahr and Sardasht as well as the camp of Zewa.

10. NEEDS AND REQUIREMENTS:

A. Visits and publicity: To visit the refugees and witness and publicize their difficult and unfair situation.

B. Humanitarian aid: To help them survive the forthcoming winter; it is necessary to complete the building of the camps and supply them with schools and medical centers as well as sewerage, electricity and washing facilities. New camps are needed to shelter the thousands of families who now live in tents and villages. The camps ought to be able to give shelter to 6000-6500 families in the following regions:

Sardasht: 3 camps for 1200 families; Zewa and Urumiyeh; 3 camps for 2500 families.

Sheno and Naqada: 3 camps for 1800 families; Bana: 2 camps for 1000 families.

C. Food stuffs: The presently distributed food quantities and quality are not sufficient. Rice, cooking fat, sugar, tea, beans, potatoes, flour and meat are needed. About 100,000 refugees in the above mentioned three provinces have these needs all the year round. Plans for food stuff distribution can be drawn later for the refugees outside these three provinces in Iran.

D. Clothing: Almost all the refugees need jackets, shoes, material to sew their own clothes, blankets, sleeping mats, and several housing utensils such as heaters, pots and plates.

E. Cash supplement: The refugees are in need of help in the form of a cash supplement the size of which depending on the size of each family.

F. Schooling: If schools are built they would need: chairs, tables, blackboards, books, paper and pens. Education

THE KURDISH PEOPLE CELEBRATE NAWROZ

The Kurdish people have celebrated NEWROZ, the new year, which starts on 21 March of every year.

NAWROZ is both a national day, representing the triumph of justice over despotism and of the people over the tyrant. It also signals the beginning of spring and of the merger of man with nature.

Celebrations have taken place openly, especially abroad among Kurdish refugees and exiles, or clandestinely.

Our Party Congratulates Mr. Mandela and the ANC on his release from Prison

Our party has written the following letter to Mr. Nelson Mandela on the occasion of his visit to Stockholm congratulating him, the ANC and the South African

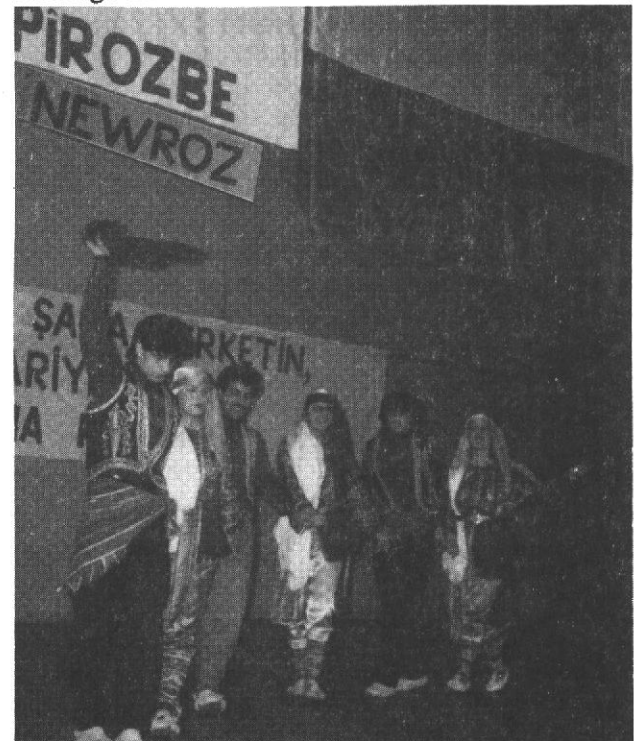
"Mr. Nelson Mandela
The African National Congress

Dear Friends,
We the Political Bureau of our Kurdistan Popular Democratic Party, wishes to express to you, the ANC and the South African people, our joy and congratulations on your release from prison.

You long and tedious but steadfast years in prison have been an inspiration not only to the people, strugglers and patriots in South Africa but also to all oppressed peoples everywhere. Our Kurdish people is divided between four countries - Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey - in the Middle East and has for decades been suffering from oppression and national discrimination. Our people and party have been following with great interest and admiration the news of the just struggle of the people of South Africa, the ANC and you personally.

We wish you best of health and look forward to solidarity between our peoples and parties. We also wish Mr. Oliver Tambo, whom we had the honor to meet briefly during last year's congress of the Socialist International in Stockholm, speedy recovery.

Best regards.



THE KURDISH ISSUE IN THE ARAB MEDIA

The Egyptian Daily Al-Ahram International on:

THE KURDISH ISSUE

It is natural that states end to oppose all attempts of cessation or division of its subject.. This is what the states, namely, Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria, within whose territories the Kurds live have done.

It is also natural that the Kurdish people strive for a free and just life, and to try to reaffirm their identity and to enjoy some form of independence.

Between these two opposing ideas, the Kurds have been accused of treason, divisiveness and separatism. A struggle has arisen between them and the regimes of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria which has been going on for the past seventy years.

Kemal Ataturk denied the existence of the Kurdish nationality...and claimed that the Kurds are mountain Turks, and that all means must be used to melt them into the Turkish pot on the basis that they (the Kurds) were lagged behind progress and civilization.

At the same time a policy of mass deportation was started during his era, and the Kurdish people lost a great deal in population during this struggle.

This is what has happened in Turkey.. As to the modern history of Iraq since the monarchy [and the regime] of Nuori Al-Saeed, the situation [of the Kurds] was one of extreme misery, and the Kurds remained the target of war launched against them by successive regimes.

The situation is not better in Syria than in other countries. The same attitude and the same repressive policy is practiced towards them.

In Iran, the Kurdish people suffered greatly during the time of the Shah from the repressive police state; and Kurdistan was the most neglected and underdeveloped region as a result of the Shah's racist policy.

Then came the Islamic revolution and Imam Khomeini..And the hopes of the Kurdish people were high, but stand of the regime has not changed much.. although the reasons for the dispute became different.

What is new in the attitude towards the Kurdish issue today is that it is presented on the Islamic level.

ليس غريبا على صدام حسين وهو الذي دفن الالف الاكراد من شعبه في شمال العراق احياء في الموصل واربيل واغتصب نساءهم وشرد اسرهم وباع اطفالهم في السوق

(Written by Ahmad Bahjat in the very influential Egyptian

The pro-Saudi daily al-Sharq al-Awsat:

Kurdish political parties' satisfaction with Baghdad's decision to pardon Talabani

London: "al-Sharq al-Awsat"
From Salih Qallab

The initiative taken by the Iraqi President Saddam Hussein a few days ago, which included a new general amnesty that this time covered Jalal Talabani who is considered the most prominent figure within the Kurdish leadership abroad, has opened new, encouraging vistas for a total national reconciliation in the north of Iraq; it will end the tense security situation [prevailing] since the well known March Agreement which the Iraqi government reached with the Kurdish parties and forces in the Iraqi Kurdistan region in the mid-seventies.

Informed sources have confirmed that the Iraqi President's initiative has come to give impetus to negotiations that had started earlier between representatives of the Iraqi government and representatives of the Kurdish movements; it is also an indicator that these negotiations have achieved progress that can be built upon and have entered an important phase in the national conciliation sponsored by President Saddam.

Arab circles have started, in accordance with the Iraqi President's directives and in the aftermath of the ceasefire in the Iraqi-Iranian war, a mediation between the Iraqi government and the forces of the Kurdish opposition. However, that mediation did not achieve the desired success due to many regional and international complications then. A general amnesty was issued at that time which excluded Jalal Talabani, whom the Iraqi authorities hold responsible for the collapse of a previous attempt at the beginning of the eighties that could have ended in the nomination of a number of Kurds as ministers in the Iraqi government.

"al-Sharq al-Awsat" has learnt that the new contacts have achieved great progress and succeeded in arranging a meeting in an advance post in the Kurdistan region between a government delegation headed by Mr. Fadhil Barrak, a confidant of the president, and a delegation of

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the Kurdish parties and forces among them the party headed by Masoud Barzani, son of Mulla Mustafa Barzani who had led the Kurdish movement for many years before his death in the second half of the seventies.

Besides this meeting, which is considered a substantial development and a big step in the national conciliation in Kurdistan Iraq, the "al-Sharq al-Awsat" has learnt that the period prior to the declaration of the Iraqi general amnesty witnessed contacts with the forces of the Kurdish opposition abroad carried out by a prominent Iraqi-Kurdish personality with direct access to President Saddam Hussein; it has also learnt that the past two days have witnessed meetings held on this level in Paris between this personality and one of the most prominent leaders abroad of the Iraqi-Kurdish opposition.

A sense of satisfaction prevails among the Kurdish opposition abroad and a conviction that time is ripe for putting an end to extra-ordinary situation in northern Iraq and a stop to this bleeding which has cost Iraq and the people of Iraq a lot, and which external forces try to exploit to hit at the historical fraternity between the Kurds and the Arab nation.

A high responsible [figure] in the Kurdish movement has confirmed to "al-Sharq al-Awsat" that the Iraqi President's initiative is genuine and sincere [and aims at] re-arranging the Iraqi home and to continue the reconstruction march forward. He said that international changes that we witness at this stage and everywhere must push leaders of the Kurdish forces to respond positively to President Saddam's initiative.

He emphasized that leaving the wound open favors only forces hostile to the Iraq's Kurds' aspirations and the forces hostile to the Arab nation.

This responsible [figure] explained that the entire Kurdish movements have the readiness to return to the March Agreement which gives the Iraqi Kurds autonomy within the unity of the Iraqi soil, and which determine the required checks and controls for the relations between the central government in Baghdad and the autonomous rule in the northern areas.



SCANDALS SURROUND THE IRAQ REGIME

After the Italian bank scandal, mentioned elsewhere in this number of New Pesh-Merga, many scandals have surfaced, which reveal the involvement of the Iraqi regime in, among others, international smuggling activities and fraud.

THE KURDS MOURN THE VICTIMS OF HALABJA

The Kurds have given their respects to the 5,000 victims of the hideous crime committed by the Iraqi authorities in Halabja on 16 and 17 March 1988. On those terrible two days, Iraqi air force planes dropped poison gas bombed on the Kurdish town of Halabja with a population of 75,000.

The live evidence broadcast on the television sets shocked the world. The 5,000 killed and 7,000 wounded in the attack were mostly children and women. Yet the Iraqi authorities continue to give contradictory accounts of the attack. First came the typical denials. Then came the usual attack on the media for giving publicity to the "event". Then half acknowledging the fact but blaming that it was done by "the other side". However, the evidence is much stronger than any denial.

The crime has struck the Kurdish conscience very deeply and has united the Kurds from all parts of our divided homeland Kurdistan.

Abroad, Kurds from all walks of life and from all parts of Kurdistan have demonstrated or otherwise given respect to the victims of Halabja. And people in Kurdistan Turkey and in many towns went out in large demonstrations, which were suppressed by the security forces with brutality not only against the demonstrators but also against onlookers including foreign journalists.



Democracy in Iraq

self-determination in Kurdistan



Observer's journalist on charges of "spying", British customs at London's Heathrow airport seized a consignment of triggers for nuclear bombs.

Soon after a consignment of "pipes" were seized by customs officers at the port of Middlesbrough suspecting that the pipes are not for a "petro-chemical" plant but rather constitute parts for a huge gun capable of launching chemical or nuclear weapons.

Then came the Saddam Hussein threat "to burn half of Israel with our fire if it did something against Iraqi".

More scandals followed about recoil devices for such a gun.

THE PARIS CONFERENCE ON THE KURDS

THE PARIS INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE THE KURDS: HUMAN RIGHTS AND CULTURAL IDENTITY 14-15 October 1989

An international conference was held in Paris, 14-15 October 1989, under the sponsorship of France's First Lady Madame. Danielle MITTERRAND and organized by the Kurdish Institute of Paris with the aid of Fondation France-Libertes-Danielle Mitterrand.

The theme of the conference was THE KURDS: HUMAN RIGHTS AND CULTURAL IDENTITY. Nationally and Internationally well known figures, such as Mme. Mitterrand, Mr. Clairborne Pell (Chairman of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee), Lord Avebury (Chairman of the British Parliamentary Human Rights Group), Mr. Bernard Kouchner (French Secretary of State for Humanitarian Action), Mr. Claude Cheysson (former French Minister of Foreign Affairs), Thomas Hammarberg (former President of Amnesty International, President of Save the Children -Sweden, Vice Chairman of the Swedish Committee for the Human Rights of the Kurds), William Eagleton (former U.S. Ambassador to Baghdad and Damascus), Peter W. Galbraith (U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee), Mrs. Bonner (Professor Andrei Sakharov's wife).

The conference was also attended by many prominent Kurdish politicians from Kurdistan. Among politicians from Kurdistan Iraq present were Mr. Jalal Talabani, Mr. Sami Rahman, Mr. Rasoul Mamend, Mr. Muhsin Dizai.

Several humanitarian and non-governmental organizations as well a number of Kurdish and non-Kurdish parliamentarians, academicians, artists ..etc. participated in the conference.

The conference received extensive media coverage. According to sources at the Kurdish Institute of Paris, "more than 120 journalists" covered the event.

The conference adopted a number of resolutions (published in this issue of New Pesh-Merga) and ended with a press conference.

The Paris Conference is a welcome manifestation of international solidarity with our Kurdish people and a signal to the authorities in the countries where the Kurds live that their violations of human rights and disregard for international law have not gone unnoticed by the world.

The conference resulted in good media coverage that reminded the world public opinion of the acuteness of the Kurdish issue and plight of the Kurdish people.

The conference resolutions need be followed up and implemented in order to get more tangible and concrete results.

It is the Kurdish people and their political forces in Kurdistan that are the real actors in any eventual political solution of the Kurdish issue. For achieving such an eventual solution, international solidarity -in various forms and contents- is not only welcome and necessary, it can be both a prerequisite and decisive, especially in the present day international situation of open inter-dependence.

Much of the credit for holding the conference in Paris goes to Mme. Danielle Mitterrand, who has been the untiring driving force behind French and some international solidarity with the Kurdish people in general.

THE PARIS CONFERENCE: SPEECH BY MR. CLAIRBORNE PELL CHAIRMAN OF U.S. SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

At the outset I would like to congratulate Mme. Mitterrand, Le Foundation des Droits Humaines, and the Institut Kurde for serving as host to this conference. We live in a world of increased sensitivity to human rights. From the vantage point of Capitol Hill, I see this sensitivity not only in the concerns of Members of Congress and the Administration, but also in the reaction of ordinary Americans. From Cambodia to El Salvador, from South Africa to Tibet, Americans write or phone their representatives in support of strong governmental action on human rights. Some of these interventions reflect the work of organized groups, such as Amnesty International. Sometimes the outpouring is a spontaneous reaction to images brought home to Americans on television and through the newspapers. Such an outpouring occurred when Chinese troops slaughtered hundreds of students, almost live on television, in and around Tiananmen Square.

By contrast, Americans, and I think other Westerners, have shown relatively less interest in the fate of 17 million Kurds. This is not because the human rights problems of the Kurds are less severe than those of other peoples. In one country, the Kurdish people are denied the right to speak their own language outside the privacy of their home, to publish in their own language, or to send their children to schools where their native

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tongue is spoken. In another country where Kurds live, Kurdish leaders have been persecuted and killed. The reach of that country's repressive apparatus apparently has extended to Europe where at least one assassination has been carried out. Finally, in Iraq the Kurds have seen their villages razed to the ground, their children tortured and killed, and their people massacred by weapons so horrible that they have been banned by international agreement for more than 60 years.

No, in terms of the severity of the problem, the Kurds should be near the top, not at the bottom, of our human rights agenda. One reason the Kurds have not received the priority they deserve is that so little attention has been paid to their plight. Another reason is that too many governments are too concerned about alienating the oil-rich or politically powerful nations where the Kurdish people reside.

This conference constitutes the most important international effort to focus on the Kurds in a very long period of time. I would again like to express my appreciation to Mme. Mitterrand and the other organizers for their efforts. I am honored to be asked to participate in this endeavor.

Like most Americans, even those involved in foreign policy, I have not devoted much thought to Kurdish issues. But I was shocked last year by the sudden exodus of tens of thousands of Iraqi Kurds and by their reports of chemical weapon use.

I knew these reports to be true. A year before, I had commissioned a committee staff study of the Iran-Iraq War and a member of that team had been one of a few westerners able to visit Iraqi Kurdistan. That report described the destruction of hundreds of Kurdish villages. With the chemical weapons, the Iraqi Regime was escalating its anti-Kurdish policy to a new level of inhumanity.

On September 7, the Senate resumed session after its summer recess. On September 8, I introduced S2763, "The Prevention of Genocide Act of 1988" which would have imposed sweeping sanctions against Iraq. And on September 9 the Senate unanimously passed the bill.

For those of you familiar with our legislative process, you will appreciate how unusual it is for the Senate to act with such dispatch. The vote reflected the outrage of my colleagues and our concern about the consequences of world inattentions to the use of chemical weapons.

The Iraqi Sanctions bill passed the Senate three times and the House of Representatives twice. Unfortunately time ran out on the session before it could be enacted.

Like you, I was extremely disappointed. Our legislative system is extremely complex and, even in the best of circumstances, it is hard to get action. At the end of a Congress—it is almost impossible to pass a bill from scratch.

However, the issue is not dead. Building on last year's effort, I introduced this year S. 195 "The Prevention of Chemical Weapons Act of 1989". This bill will impose complete severance of economic relations between the United States and any country that uses chemical or biological weapons in violation of international law.

Ten days ago this bill was approved by a unanimous vote of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. We are building on the efforts of last year. We are also sending message to the government of Iraq and that message is very simple: Never Again.

The United States is a major economic power and our action should deter potential users of chemical weapons. We are, however, no longer the preeminent power. Therefore if our approach of automatic sanctions against chemical weapons use is to be truly effective, it must be internationalized. It is an approach, which I commend to European and Japanese friends.

The chemical weapons issue provides a very important way to highlight the gross mistreatment of the Kurdish people. It should not, however, be our sole focus.

We must resolve to continually raise the problem of the Kurds - to hold the feet of the Iraqi dictatorship to the fire.

This year I have sponsored legislation requiring the President to evaluate Iraq's treatment of the Kurds against the standard as to whether such treatment "constitutes a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights". If Iraq's conduct meets that standard, then it's subject to various penalties under U.S. law.

We must also raise the treatment of the Kurds in various international fora. I would hope our government, and others, would place the Kurds on the agenda of U.N.

**FROM SENATOR EDWARD M.
KENNEDY
TO THE PARIS CONFERENCE ON THE
KURDS**

I wish I could be with you today as you gather to advance the cause of human rights and cultural preservation of the Kurds.

Let me first commend one dedicated individual whose persistent efforts have made this important conference a reality—Mrs. Danielle Mitterrand. I am confident that the Kurdish Institute of Paris will serve as a beacon of hope to the millions of Kurds around the world who seek a brighter, and just future. I share with each of you here today your abiding commitment to advance the cause of the Kurdish people. We must join together in advancing

the cause of justice and respect for human rights for the Kurdish people.

The Kurds are heir to one of the oldest, richest cultures in human history. Dating back to the Medes, their culture has given birth to writers, philosophers, great musicians and poets who have enriched many nations across the earth. Yet time and time again, this priceless culture has been threatened by forces much more powerful.

Far too often throughout history, the Kurds have been treated as pawns in regional conflicts, their people have been persecuted and their culture repressed. Earlier this year, the Iraqi Government began a massive campaign to relocate by force tens of thousands of Kurds in northern Iraq to other parts of the country. Last year, thousands of Kurds died from the poison gas attacks by Iraq and thousands more had to flee to Turkey, Iran and Syria.

The Kurdish people have suffered far too much for far too long. We must rededicate ourselves to ending the suffering.

REMARKS TO THE PARIS CONFERENCE

by Peter W. Galbraith
Professional Staff Member
Committee on Foreign Relations
U.S. Senate

I will confirm my remarks to the plight of the Iraqi Kurds. In connection with Senate Foreign Relations Committee assessments of the Iran-Iraq war, I twice had occasion to visit Iraqi Kurdistan, in 1984 and 1987. Between those visits I was able to witness the sharp deterioration in the treatment of the Kurdish population by the Iraqi government.

In 1988 the plight of the Iraqi Kurds burst onto the international consciousness, first with the graphic reports of a poison gas attack on the Kurdish city of Halabja and then with the massive outflow of refugees from northern Iraq in September, bringing with them tales of a broad chemical weapons offensive by the Iraqi army.

In connection with legislation that Senator Pell introduced to sanction Iraq for this use of chemical weapons against the Kurds, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee asked me to lead a mission to report on and document the use of chemical weapons. I shall summarize the findings of that mission, discuss last year's sanctions legislation which was not enacted, and finally offer some thoughts on the future of chemical weapons legislation and what might be done to ameliorate the conditions of the Iraqi Kurds.

First, to restate the principle conclusions of our fact-finding mission, we found overwhelming evidence that Iraq did use chemical weapons on Kurdish civilians in northern Iraq in a major offensive that began August 25, 1988. The offensive was intended to break the Kurdish insurgency and accomplished that objective.

These chemical weapons attacks were part of an Iraqi military policy intended to depopulate large parts of Iraqi Kurdistan. Elements of the policy include: (1) the destruction of villages and towns throughout Kurdistan; (2) the relocation of the Kurdish population into concentrated new settlements where military control can be exercised; (3) the deportation of Kurds to areas outside of Kurdistan; (4) the use of terror tactics, including lethal poison gas to drive civilians out of the areas to be depopulated.

The end result of this policy could be the destruction of the Kurdish identity, Kurdish culture, and a way of life that has endured for centuries.

This policy has been carried out with great brutality and with a cynical disregard for world opinion and international law. Our fact-finding mission documented chemical weapons attacks on 49 villages; we believe the actual total to be much higher. The chemical weapons attacks were followed by military operations in which many survivors who chose to remain in Iraq (or could not reach Turkish sanctuary) were massacred. Drawing on interviews, we estimated that the total cumulative civilian casualties from the chemical weapons attacks and the follow-on military operations were in the thousands. However, our information comes from only that part of Iraq where Kurds had access to refuge in Turkey. If the same kinds of military operations took place deeper in Iraqi Kurdistan as took place in the border areas, the Kurdish death toll could have been in the tens or hundreds of thousands.

We do not know the total casualties. We do not know with any degree of certainty what has happened in Iraqi Kurdistan over the last year. Ever since Iraqi soldiers sealed the border with Turkey at the beginning of September 1988, a deadly silence has descended on Iraqi Kurdistan.

Because the Iraqis questioned the evidence of poison gas use, let me also restate what the evidence was. In the last week of August and the first week of September, 1988, some 65 thousands people came unexpectedly across the Iraq-Turkey border. Although they came from many different villages spread over a very mountainous terrain, they reported essentially the same set of facts.

Beginning around dawn on August 25, Iraqi warplanes and helicopters dropped bombs containing chemical weapons on villages in the Dihok, Zakho and Amadiyah regions of Iraq. Generally, each aircraft dropped three or four bombs. These bombs made only a weak sound and then a cloud spread out from the center of the explosion. The air smelled of bad garlic, rotten onions, or bad apples. Many of those exposed to the gas dropped dead instantly or very quickly. The bodies, according to some, appeared frozen. The livestock died and birds fell out of the sky. These attacks continued until August 28. Thereafter troops wearing protective clothes entered the villages. In some places, such as the village of Baze, Iraqi forces opened fire with machine guns on the survivors and then

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bulldozed the bodies into mass graves.

This account is drawn on interviews conducted by my team with several hundred refugees from all the major Kurdish refugee camps and gathering areas. These interviews were conducted in the second week of September, just after the events described took place. We interviewed all kinds of people: Pesh Merga, civilian men, women, and children. And, we had no trouble finding witnesses; indeed, I would estimate that one-half to three-fourths of the refugee population were eye-witnesses to the events I described.

Some have argued that there was no "real" or physical evidence of the attacks. This is not entirely true, of course. A British television crew entered Iraq and unearthed bomb fragments that contained traces of chemical weapons. According to press reports, Secretary Shultz relied in part on technical evidence when he charged Iraq with the use of chemical weapons on September 8. However, in my judgment, the conclusive evidence came from the victims themselves. Under Anglo-Saxon law — and I think this is pretty good standard — the greatest weight in a criminal trial is eye-witness evidence. The accounts of Iraq's use of chemical weapons were corroborated by thousands of eye-witnesses.

These eye-witnesses accounts also fit with known Iraqi behavior. Eight different United Nations investigative teams found and documented Iraqi use of chemical weapons against Iran in violation of international law. Iraq's Foreign Minister and Deputy Prime Minister, Tariq Aziz, admitted to use of chemical weapons against Iran.

With regard to the Kurds, Iraq's brutality is equally undeniable and un denied. During my September 1987 trip, on the road from Baghdad to Jalawla to Darbandikhan to Suleimanyeh to Kirkuk, I counted more than forty Kurdish villages that had been destroyed recently. These villages were not in remote areas. They were on the principal roads of Iraqi Kurdistan. A regime that would callously destroy hundreds of villages that had been in place for centuries, that would make the first large-scale use of chemical weapons in international conflict since World War I, is certainly a regime capable of using chemical weapons against its people.

Iraq's attack on its Kurdish population began on August 25, 1988 — that is to say, five days after a ceasefire went into effect in the Iran-Iraq war. In the case of the Kurds, chemical weapons were used against unarmed civilians and against insurgents without aircraft, without heavy artillery, and without any means of threatening the Arab-Iraqi homeland or the regime of President Saddam Hussein. While international law allows no defense of necessity so as to permit the use of chemical weapons, Iraq claims the use was justified by the life-or-death nature of the war with Iran. No such compulsion existed in the case of the Kurds. Indeed, the destruction of the Kurdish insurgency could have been accomplished as effectively by Iraq's

battle-tested troops without resorting to chemical weapons and without massacring innocent civilians.

Why then did Iraq choose to use chemical weapons on its Kurdish population? Because Saddam Hussein's government thought it could get away with it. They believed the world did not care about chemical weapons and that the world did not care about the Kurds.

Partly, they were wrong. The reports of chemical weapons use reached the United States over the Labor Day weekend, that is in early September. On September 7, the Senate came back into session. On September 8, Senator Pell introduced "The Prevention of Genocide Act of 1988" which imposed stiff sanctions against Iraq for its use of chemical weapons and for its policy of destroying Iraq's Kurdish population. On September 9, the Senate unanimously adopted the sanctions legislation. Two further times the Senate approved sanctions and twice the House of Representatives passed a milder version of the sanctions. While the two Houses did agree on a common version, parliamentary squabbles — and the firm opposition of the Reagan Administration — prevented the final enactment of the sanctions bill.

This was a tragedy. Iraq in the end paid no price for its use of chemical weapons. But I think our efforts accomplished something. First, it caught Iraq's attention. Passage of sanctions produced the largest anti-American demonstration in Baghdad in 20 years. Some in the executive branch expressed concern about the damage done to U.S.-Iraq relations; I consider the demonstration a compliment to the Senate stand. Most important, however, Iraq stopped using chemical weapons.

Now the Foreign Relations Committee has approved a new sanctions bill. It will not reach back and punish Iraq for its past action. It will, however, impose a complete severance of economic relations between the U.S. and any country uses chemical weapons in violation of international law or against its own citizens. I believe there is an excellent chance this measure will become law, and, if so, this will be one positive product of last year's initiative.

A unilateral U.S. action will not of course be as effective as concerted action by the Western nations. I would therefore hope our sanctions approach might be considered by the major Western economic powers. A united front on our part will defeat any effort by an economically powerful state such as Iraq to circumvent the effectiveness of sanctions.

In our concern about the use of chemical weapons, we must not lose sight of the underlying human rights problem of the Iraqi Kurds. As I noted above, Iraq could have used conventional means to accomplish the same ends for which it used chemical weapons. For Iraq, the use of chemical weapons was merely a matter of speed and economy. From the point of view of the Kurds, we will

have accomplished little if we stop the use of poison gas but if villages continue to be destroyed, if people are moved to inhospitable environments, if children continue to be kidnapped and murdered.

The community of civilized nations should use every forum to raise concerns about the plight of the Iraqi Kurds.

THE PARIS CONFERENCE: GWYNNE ROBERTS, A BRITISH TELEVISION JOURNALIST ON "PHYSICAL EVIDENCE" OF CHEMICAL WEAPON USE AGAINST KURDS

I visited Kurdistan November 1988, entering the region on perhaps the most emotionally exhausted journey I have ever undertaken.

The purpose was to find conclusive proof that Iraq had indeed used poison gas against the Kurds. The assignment was successful. The samples I brought back to Britain were tested by two laboratories - one a commercial laboratory in Birmingham, the other Britain's Chemical Defence Establishment at Porton Fown.

With one exception, all the samples of earth and sheep's wool were contaminated with mustard gas.

Iraq denied the evidence.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE "THE KURDS: HUMAN RIGHTS AND CULTURAL IDENTITY"

RESOLUTION

The International Conference "The Kurds: Human Rights and Cultural Identity", meeting in Paris on October 14-15, 1989 on the initiative of France-Libertes and the Kurdish Institute, in concluding:

and considering that the Kurds, a people divided among several countries, is enduring a tragic fate only because of their desire to preserve their cultural identity and defend their legitimate political and democratic rights in each of the countries in which they live,

express the desire:

- that its work be continued by the establishment of permanent missions responsible for defending human rights in the countries where the Kurdish people live, missions which are open to members of the parliaments of all democratic countries, and asks France-Libertes to act towards this goal;

- that representatives of the Kurdish people be invited to address the European Parliament, the Council of Europe and all major international institutions;

- that national governments prohibit the production of chemical weapons and also that the governments support an international agreement to impose economic and political sanctions against countries which use chemical or biological weapons in violation of international law;

- recommends the immediate creation of a representative organization of the Kurdish people as a whole with the aim of obtaining observer status in the United Nations General Assembly;

- requests, on Professor Sakharov's initiative, that the UN, as guardian of international peace, convene a special session of the General Assembly, on the Kurdish issue;

- draws attention to the tragic condition of the Kurdish refugees and insists that talks with the High Commission on Refugees be held immediately, so that an active and effective support, which took into consideration the wishes and aspirations of the people particularly concerning humanitarian aid, could be brought to bear; a special meeting of the H.C.R. could be devoted to this problem;

- denounces the fate reserved for the displaced Kurdish populations and asks the states involved to respect the relevant principles of International Law, including humanitarian aid, if the people request it;

- requests to this end that the right of free access to victims be granted to intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations, acting in an impartial and neutral way in conformity with United Nations General Assembly

Le Monde on the Paris Conference

During the first international conference about the Kurdish question held in Paris during 14 and 15 October 1989, Iraq topped the list of regimes persecuting the Kurdish people.

The Iraqi regime tried to get a member of the Legislative Council in Kurdistan to address the conference. But delegates rejected to let a mercenary of the Iraqi regime to attend, despite attempts by Dr. Bernard Kouchner, French Secretary of State for Humanitarian Action to

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justify that attempt. This has led to the controversy which Mr. Jalal Talabani expressed as follows' "Is the French government involved in a policy of double-dealing vis-a-vis the Kurdish question?"

The initiative for holding the conference has been taken by the Kurdish Institute of Paris and it was sponsored by Mme. Danielle Mitterrand, who is the Chairperson of the Fondation-France-Liberté.

Mme. Mitterrand has, meanwhile, accepted an invitation from the Iraqi government to visit Kurdistan, on the condition that she be accompanied by representatives of French human rights organizations.

At the end of the conference, the conferees demanded that the Kurds be give the status of observer at the United Nations General Assembly.

Le Figaro on the Paris Conference

Encircled Kurdistan

Thirteen months after the cease fire between Iraq and Iran, the Iraqi army is still in a state of war in Kurdistan. This army numbers 200,000-300,000 men.

The numbers speak less than the scenes. On the road between Mosul and Dahok one can see a Popular Army outpost every kilometer.

A diplomat who is well-informed about Iraq, says, "I believe that Baghdad will not forget the cooperation between the Kurds and the Iranians during the Gulf war, particularly during 1987 and 1988".

Another observer commented, "The Iraqi president Saddam Hussein never consented to giving power to the big Kurdish families, neither in Baghdad nor in Kurdistan. Even Taha M. Marouf, the vice president is nothing more than a protocol personality".

Liberation on the Paris Conference

The conference which had the theme: "Human Rights and Cultural Identity" ended on Sunday 15 October 1989 after scoring success for being the first conference of its kind.

All Kurdish organizations and personalities attended this conference which was called for jointly by the Kurdish Institute of Paris and Fondation France-Liberté headed by Mme. Mitterrand, the President's wife.

During the two days conference were presented the painful tragedy, political suppression and cultural oppression which the Kurdish people have suffered and still suffer.

The conference took a number of resolutions.

But there are a number of obstacles facing the realization of some of these resolutions.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE HUMAN RIGHTS IN KURDISTAN

Bremen, W. Germany

14 - 16 April 1989

DECLARATION

"The International Conference "Human Rights in Kurdistan" was held from 14th to 16th April 1989 at the Polytechnic of Bremen, under the auspices of the President of the Bremen State Parliament, Dr. Dieter Klink. Parliamentarians, academics, journalists and creative artists from 16 countries participated. The conference declares on the situation of the Kurdish people and the violations of human rights as follows:

The Kurdish people is one of the oldest in the Middle East, with its own culture and history, and a population of over 20 million people. In its divided homeland -in Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria- it experiences extreme oppression. These states deny national and democratic rights to the Kurds. The struggle of the Kurds for a life in freedom in their country and for equality with all other peoples has to this day been brutally suppressed. The Conference was able to document this with examples from Turkey and Iraq."

.....

In view of the threat of the elimination of the Kurdish people, the International Conference "Human Rights in Kurdistan" makes the following demands:

-the United Nations must urgently place the situation of the Kurdish people on its agenda and within the framework of international law and the principles of equality and the right to self-determination of peoples to work toward the solution of the problems.

- member states of the Council of Europe, signatories of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, to which Turkey belongs, and the European Community, to which Turkey has applied for membership, must force the Turkish government to live up to their international obligations and to act on the relevant human rights principles.

- the which are working for a peaceful solution of the conflict in the Middle East must ensure that the Kurdish question is taken up at the forthcoming conference on the

Middle East and facilitate the participation of the political representatives of the Kurds in the Middle East Peace Conference.

- the Secretary General of the United Nations and the participants in efforts to secure peace at the end of the Gulf War must ensure the involvement of representatives of the Kurdish people.

- and, until human rights are fully observed in Kurdistan, industrial nations must end all kinds of military aid and all types of financial credits to Iraq, Turkey and Iran.

- all human beings and organizations should protest against the oppression of the Kurdish people, against the destruction of their historical and cultural heritage and their national identity, against deportation from their original homeland and the resulting impoverishment. Increased activity is urgently needed so that displaced people can return home, the fate of the "missing" is clarified and refugees from Iraqi Kurdistan are accorded refugee status by the Turkish government, in accordance with the Geneva Convention.

- to ensure that Kurds living as immigrant minorities outside Kurdistan can enjoy their cultural and linguistic human rights, governments should provide support for the maintenance and promotion of Kurdish language and culture, in the education system, in the media, and in dealings with authorities.

• • • • •

"Ban trade with Iraq to save the Kurds

SIR, Helga Graham's article on the plight of the Kurds (last week) neatly highlighted the contradictions in the Government's policy towards Iraq. While the Government is only too willing to condemn for its use of chemical weapons - now finally verified by the Ministry of Defence - it continues to dampen its messages with strenuous attempts to encourage bilateral trade, and by exhibiting at the Baghdad Arms Fair.

While Government Ministers lead delegations to Baghdad in order to boost trade, and while export credits are given for British companies, the subjugation of the Kurds continues. They are herded into camps, tortured and sprayed with chemical weapons.

As Helga Graham points out, Hussein seems to be moving inexorably toward a "final solution" to the Kurdish 'problem', the first stage of which is to move the Kurds into a small number of concentrated areas, where they can be better controlled. The result is a tinderbox of repressed tension.

The international community should wake up to their fate. We accuse current Western policy towards Iraq of being totally bankrupt. It is simply not working. It is not enough to feign outrage while openly encouraging trade with Iraq. That signals the wrong message and it is interpreted by the Iraqis as tacit consent.

The time for mere condemnations is over. It must be made clear to the Iraqi Government that if this barbarism continues Iraq herself will suffer. Real pressure must be brought upon the regime. This means an end to trade agreements. It means unified action from the UN to hit the Iraqis where it hurts - in their pockets.

While we insist on 'business as usual' with this dictatorship, we give a green light to genocide. Helga Graham's article made it clear that the horror is far from over. To stand mute, to fail to act in face of such atrocities will rightly be seen as shameful by future generations.

Donald Anderson MP,

Ban trade with Iraq to save the Kurds

Traditionally, wars have been the period during which governments have tried to get rid of 'troublesome' minorities; the Armenians in World War I and the Jews during World War II are cases in point. The indications are that Saddam Hussein has the same fate in mind for the Kurds.

To describe Saddam's treatment of the Kurds since the outbreak of the Gulf War as an act of genocide would not be an exaggeration. Cynics may argue that in all wars innocent civilians get killed or displaced. This might have gained credence had the Iraqi regime turned over a new leaf after the ceasefire with Iran. But barely a month later tens of thousands of Kurdish families found themselves fleeing for their lives to Turkey, and hardly a month has passed since without people being executed in the towns of Arbil, Sulaimanya and Dehok.

This month, half the population of Kal'a Diza and the whole population of Ranya and Sangasar (approximately 200,000 people) have been served notice to leave their homes.

Helga Graham's advocacy of economic sanctions against Iraq is the only effective leverage to bring pressure to bear on Saddam.

Western and Eastern powers as well as 'moderate' Arab countries are all responsible for sustaining what Helga Graham aptly calls 'the Frankenstein Monster' which is Saddam Hussein. Need they be reminded that Frankenstein turned against his own creator.

*The world is a rose
smell it and give it to a friend.*



**Amnesty International:
THE YOUNGEST VICTIMS
Children jailed, tortured and killed**

Children stimulate our protective instincts. Their vulnerability and innocence demand special care. Yet in countries ... children are unjustly imprisoned, tortured and killed by agents of the state.

In the prisons of Iraq brutal treatment of children has become routine practice. "Usually they keep [infants] in a separate cell next to the mother's or father's cell and deprive them of milk in order to force the parents to confess. I saw a five-month-old baby screaming in this state" a former political prisoner told AI.

Kurds living in Iraq have suffered mass killings at the hands of the state. Among the victims have been children, infants and babies.

About 300 Kurdish children and youths were seized by Iraqi security forces in 1985, apparently as hostages to force relatives to turn themselves in. At least three are believed to have died as a result of torture that reportedly included beating, whipping, sexual abuse and electric shocks.

Another 29 Kurds were executed without trial in January 1987. Later that year 150 Kurdish political prisoners were executed without trial in Abu Ghraib prison. Eight were school students; one was only 14 years old.

It is impossible to know how many children were among the estimated 5000 victims of a chemical weapons attack by Iraqi forces on the town of Halabja in northern [Kurdistan] Iraq in March 1988. Since then, despite world outrage at the use of chemical weapons, hundreds more Kurdish families in the area have been killed, and tens of thousands made homeless -their villages razed; their crops and orchard uprooted; and their springs blocked with cement.

In Turkey too Kurds of all ages suffer persecution. A 17-year-old schoolgirl from Konya was imprisoned in mid-April for two months just for saying that she was of Kurdish origin.

**THOSE WHO DO NOT LEARN
HISTORY
ARE DOOMED TO REPEAT IT.**

En English saying.

**IRAQ IN AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL'S
ANNUAL REPORT 1989**

Large numbers of Kurds and other government opponents were extrajudicially killed by Iraqi Government forces. Among the victims were whole families, including children. Thousands of political prisoners, among them prisoners of conscience, continued to be arbitrarily arrested and detained. Many were held for long periods without trial or following summary trials. Torture of political prisoners remained widespread, as did the "disappearance" of large numbers of people, many of whom, it was feared, had been killed. Hundreds of people were reportedly executed; in most cases it was difficult to ascertain whether they had been tried and sentenced to death or extrajudicially executed.

In July the Iran-Iraq war came to an end. In the months before the ceasefire Iraqi Government forces had carried out a series of attacks on Kurdish civilians, including in areas in which the Kurdish armed opposition was active. In the weeks following the ceasefire there were similar attacks on Kurdish civilians, thousands of whom fled Iraq to neighbouring countries.

1- Over 6,000 people, the majority unarmed civilians, were reported to have been deliberately killed by government forces and information was received about the deliberate killing of hundreds others in 1987. Many were the victims of extrajudicially execution; the great majority were Kurdish civilians.

2- Some 400 Kurdish civilians, among them women and children, were reported to have been executed on 2 April at Tanjaro Military Garrison, Sulaimaniya Province.

3- Information was also received that in April 1987 some 360 people from the village of Shaikh Wasan, Arbil province, had been detained.

4- On 16 and 17 March an estimated 5000 people were deliberately killed and thousands wounded as a result of chemical weapon attacks on the town of Halabja, Sulaimaniya province.

Thousands of political prisoners, including possible prisoners of conscience, continued to be detained without charge or trial, or after summary trials. They include actual or suspected members of prohibited political parties such as al-Da'wa al-Islamiyyah; the Iraqi Communist Party; the Kurdistan Democratic Party; the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan; the Kurdistan Socialist Party-Iraq; and the Kurdistan Popular Democratic Party.

In May Amnesty International submitted information about its concerns in Iraq to the United Nations procedure (under Economic and Social Council Resolutions 728F/1503) for confidentially reviewing communications about human rights violations.



TORTURE IN IRAQ A FIRST HAND EXPERIENCE

"Poetic travels into the hell of an Iraqi prison for
'traitors'"

"It was very cold at the end of the that winter, in March, after the execution of the young poet Abdul Jabbar Issa, from Basra, southern Iraq, who was accused of publishing some poems against the Iraqi dictatorial regime. After his execution, on March 11, I went to Mosul, 400 miles north of Baghdad, to celebrate with the Kurds the anniversary of the independence of Kurdistan from Iraq.

I had written a poem asking for freedom and democracy for my Iraqi people. I read that poem to an assembly of Kurds at Sinjar, western Mosul. At 6 pm on that day I was arrested by the security forces and taken by Land Rover, escorted by six gunmen, to their headquarters in Mosul.

My friend Mattow, who had been my escort, was arrested with me.

We arrived in Mosul at 3am. They pushed us into a dank, wet room, the floor of which was covered with dirty water. There were four tins full of human dirt in a row by the wall. There was no proper bed and nowhere dry on the floor.

We spent the next four hours talking, each perched on tins like a couple of cats trying to escape from a flood. At 7.30am the heavy door was opened and we were handcuffed together. We were interviewed by two security officers. One of them wrote down my name and asked me. "What is your occupation?"

"A director at the Ministry of Industry" I replied.

"What are you doing here in Mosul?" he asked.

"I came to celebrate with the Kurds at Sinjar."

"Are you Kurdish?"

"No."

"Why then do you celebrate if you're not Kurdish?"

"What is wrong with that?" I asked.

"It means you're a traitor" he explained.

Then he left me and started, along with other officers, to torture my friend Mattow, who was a Kurd. They tortured him by hitting him with electric rods,

When they found that he had nothing to say they released him and said they would take me to Baghdad to face my own "Hell."

They handcuffed me and put me into a Volkswagen car. I was escorted by two officers, and four others followed in another car. They were all armed with machine guns. After four hours, at 4pm, we arrived in Baghdad.

I was taken to headquarters of the Baghdad security forces. They ordered me to sit on the cold floor in reception as they waited to find a place for me in their overcrowded cells. After three hours, I was taken by two very big gunmen into a single, cold, dark cell with no bedding. I found only a tin for my waste, but I felt better because at least this cell wasn't flooded.

I took my jacket and shoes off to make a pillow, a very hard pillow. I slept in terror. The door of the cell was opened at 3am. They took me out, blindfolded, to an unknown place. After walking for 10 minutes I was led, still blindfolded, to the first floor.

They asked me to explain the poem which I had read to the assembly in Mosul. After I had done this they started torturing me by attaching one end of an electric wire to my left big toe and the other to my penis.

They put the power on and I lost consciousness for about an hour, then they repeated this with the electric wire attached to my right foot. Again I passed out. While I lay half dead on the floor they tried to revive me by torturing me with cigarettes and steel rods.

When I regained consciousness again, they tied my head and both legs together and put me into a tyre. They started to spin it; two men on either side kept spinning me round and round. In addition to all this, I was completely naked, they'd even taken off my pants.

Then they started to beat me. Two men were beating me with electric rods, hitting my testicles. Afterwards, my testicles were so enlarged they came down to my knees. I stopped eating food, couldn't walk, couldn't talk and my whole body was inflamed.

Next day they hit and kicked me on the inflamed parts of my body to hurt me even more. My head was injured, my nose was bleeding, my urine was full of blood. Eventually, a military doctor was called. He told them to stop torturing me otherwise I would die. But they didn't.

They made me sign a piece of paper without telling me what was on it. After about six months of torture they sent me for trial to a military -so-called "revolutionary"- court, without a solicitor or any legal defence.

**IRAQ'S AMBASSADOR TO BRITAIN:
IRAQI REGIME "MISTREATS ALL ITS
CITIZENS EQUALLY"**

"In one of his final official engagements -a private session with MPs at the House of Commons- he (the Iraqi Ambassador to Britain) complained about the apparent British obsession with Iraq's abuse of its Kurdish minority. The government of Saddam Hussein, he insisted, mistreated all its citizens equally. Recently, for example, it had executed a former mayor of Baghdad -An Arab- and he hadn't heard any complaints about that."

"Dr. Mashat was the chap who sought to persuade British viewers that the Iraqi chemical weapons attack which killed 5,000 in the town of Halabja last year was in fact a deception campaign by the fiendish Iranians."



**UPPSALA UNIVERSITY STAFF
PROTEST
AGAINST THE USE OF CHEMICAL
WEAPONS
BY IRAQ AGAINST THE KURDISH
PEOPLE**

The undersigned along with a hundred other teaching staff at the Faculties of Pharmacy and Medicine, Uppsala University, Sweden, have protested, in a joint letter to the Iraqi government, against its acts in northern Iraq [Kurdistan] in which chemical weapons were used against the Kurdish population. The text of the letter reads as follows:

"TO THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT
Sirs,

Convincing evidence has been presented to show that chemical warfare was used during the conflict between Iraq and Iran, now brought to cease-fire. Clinical observations and chemical analyses, among others in Swedish hospitals and laboratories, have shown Iranian soldiers to have been afflicted by chemicals classically used in warfare.

These previous events unfortunately lend support to the accusations that Iraq, within its own northern territory during the spring of 1988, used several most toxic chemicals against its own inhabitants - the Kurdish group. Several thousand casualties were then reported. New reports on the use of chemicals against the Kurdish people at the end of August and beginning of September this year have appeared.

This information has struck us with consternation. Several of us, undersigned professors and teachers at the Faculties of Pharmacy and Medicine of Uppsala University, Sweden,

have taken part in the training of physicians, pharmacists and chemists from Iraq who have studied here for a Ph.D. in the 1980s. We made this effort in the belief that the training of these students would contribute to the development of Iraqi medicine, and to the awareness of the harmful effects of drugs and chemicals, as well as of the beneficial ones.

The idea that Iraq would use chemicals to extinguish groups of people within its own boundaries is terrifying. Such an act is unworthy of a country working to improve its scientific and medical standards. We, the undersigned, therefore urge the Iraqi Government to work for a immediate and peaceful solution of the present conflict with the Kurdish people. Under no circumstances should chemicals be used deliberately to extinguish human life."



**Le Monde: An inauspicious moment
to begin rearming Iraq**

Iraq's attempts to restore financial credibility are aimed above all at restoring its arsenal. It was hardly coincidence therefore that the weapons group Dassault was among the first to express satisfaction when the rescheduling agreement was announced on September 15. The agreement was a necessary precondition for finalising negotiations on the sale of 50 Mirage 2000s to Baghdad. The Iraqis are also known to have built up a financial and industrial network to give them access to advance military technology and provide them with improved medium-range missiles.

Helping to rearm Iraq is a heavy responsibility...

At a time when celebrating a new international climate is fashionable and when we are concerned with putting an end to regional conflicts, isn't it somewhat irresponsible

to blow on fires that are barely out? Isn't it better to envisage the possibility of these countries -and others- joining together to cooperate on the basis of reconstruction and rejection of over-armament?
(Excerpts from Le Monde, 17/18 September)

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IRAQ'S FOREIGN DEBTS: USD 80 BILLION

According to the French publication *Marchés Arabes* (Arab Markets), No. 677 of 25 September 1989, Iraq's foreign debts are estimated to amount to be USD 80 billions. This sum includes USD 30 billions. owed to the Gulf states, 16 billions to Western countries and 14 billions (military purchases) to the communist countries.

French debts amount to FRF 25 billions (more than USD 4 billions) and French military sales to Iraq will be FRF

The Kurdish nation numbering 25 million are entitled to their human, democratic, and national rights including the right to self-determination

IRAQI REGIME'S COMPLICITY IN AN INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL FRAUD

The Iraqi regime, through the Central Bank of Iraq, has been engaged in an international financial fraud, amounting to up to 3,000 million US Dollars, and involving the Italy's largest state-owned commercial bank, Banca Nazionale del Lavoro (BNL), Atlanta Branch, USA.

The BNL, Atlanta Branch has issued or confirmed unauthorized letters of credit amounting to US \$ 3,000, which the bank has refused to honor.

One of the consequences of this state-sponsored fraud en large is a law suit filed by the American company, Lummus Crest, involved in building the new refinery No. 2 outside Baghdad, the Iraqi capital. The law suit which was filed at the district court of Atlanta on 2 October 1989 asks the BNL to uphold the validity of the letters of credit, originally issued by the Central Bank of Iraq. BNL has refused to pay the value of the letters of credits

At around mid-July, the US and Italian authorities started to investigate the activities of the Atlanta branch of BNL which, it emerged, had confirmed or issued letters of credit worth up to 3,000 million US Dollars for Iraq.

**IRAQI REGIME:
CLANDESTINE METHODS TO BUY
CHEMICAL WEAPON-MISSILE-
NUCLEAR WEAPON
TECHNOLOGY**

Attempt by Iraq to buy a variety of technology in the West using clandestine methods have finally begun to attract increasing publicity. It is widely assumed that the Iraqi regime's efforts to buy chemical weapon-missile-nuclear technology, associated with investments in West European companies, are on the verge of being revealed, to the embarrassment of the Baghdad government.

For example, "Iraqi businessmen" linked to the regime have been investing in the British machine tool industry. They have been trying to invest in a Northern Ireland company. This move has provoked resistance from the British government. The Machine tool company, Matrix Churchill, is based in Coventry and was purchased in a management buy-out two years ago, cofinanced by 4,000,000 Pounds of Iraqi money. The Iraqi money was channeled through the London registered company Technology and Development Group (TDP), which is a subsidiary of al-Arabi Trading Company of Baghdad. Two of the Iraqi directors of TDP are known to be former officials of the Nasr State Enterprise for Mechanical Industries at Taji, north of Baghdad. Earlier this year TDG, together with a Canadian partner, the Space Research Corporation, bought the former factory in Northern Ireland of the defunct aircraft manufacturer, Lear Fan. After the purchase of Lear Fan, the British government moved to stop a grant of 2,400,000 Pounds being awarded to the company because of fears that the plastic composite equipment in the plant would be used to help Iraq develop its capability of making long range missiles.



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NEW PESHMERGA

A SWEDISH PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION VISITS KURDISTAN IRAQ

MP Stig Alemyr, the ruling Social Democratic Party,
MP Inger Koch, Moderate Party.

A Swedish parliamentary delegation, accompanied by a number of free lance journalists and a photographer, visited Kurdistan Iraq at the beginning of March. The delegation included parliamentarians from all the political parties that have representatives in the parliament. The delegation was invited by the Iraqi regime.

The delegation visited many areas of Kurdistan, including destroyed villages and towns. However, it was not allowed to meet political prisoners nor visit prisons as it requested.

The delegation held a joint press conference at the Parliament House on 6 March. "We have many unanswered questions, many concrete questions about concrete cases of torture, execution and disappearance, which we will continue to pursue until we get an answer." emphasizes the Social Democratic parliamentarian Mr. Hans-Goeran Franck.

Ms. Ingbritt Irhammar, from the Center Party, and Ms. Berith Eriksson, from the Left Party Communists, drew parallels between [the uprooting of Kurdish villages in Iraq and] the uprooting of villages in Rumania, which was part of dictator Ceausecus' program but which was never implemented. This policy drew great international attention whereas little is known about the mass displacement of Kurds in Iraq.

Ms. Ingela Maartensson, from the People Party, spoke of the great uneasiness which dominated the atmosphere when one took up sensitive questions such as a dictator with strong personality cult surrounding the leader Saddam Hussein.

The delegation included Ms. Ranghild Pohanka, from the Environment Party.

Mr. Ferda Turan and Mr. Andres Forsstroem, both free lance journalists, wrote long articles in the mass distribution evening daily Expressen and the mass distribution daily Dagens Nyheter. Both vividly described the harsh conditions under which the Kurdish people live and the tight controls imposed on the population and visitors to the Kurdish areas.

Some members of the delegation were subjected to various forms of harassment and "attempts"; luggage and passports disappeared on departure!

The members of the delegation raised the Kurdish issue in the Swedish parliament during a general political discussion on 14 March. The speakers referred to the suppression of the Kurds in all parts of Kurdistan and demanded that Sweden takes a more active role in defence of the human rights of the Kurds. Among the speakers who raised the Kurdish issue were:



Effat Ghazi

Daughter of the Mahabad Republic President Murdered by a Letter Bomb

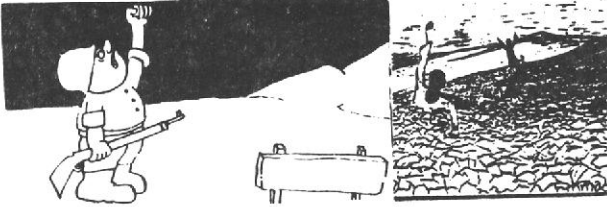
On Thursday 6 September 1990, Mrs. Efat Ghazi, aged 54 and married with 2 daughters, was murdered by a letter bomb that exploded when she picked up the mail from the letter box of her home in the city of Vaesteraas in Sweden.

According to the police, the letter was address to her husband, Mr. Amir Ghazi, who had been a member of the Political Bureau of the Kurdistan Democratic Party-Iran (KDP-I) and a leading member of the newly formed Kurdistan Independence Party.

Mrs. Efat Ghazi, was the daughter of the President of the first Kurdish republic, the Mahabad Republic of 1946, which was crushed by the forces of the former Shah of Iran. Her father, the late Ghazi Muhammad, was hanged to death in the same spot in the city of Mahabad from which he proclaimed the republic.

The Swedish police and the Ghazi family believe that the letter bomb was actually meant for the husband. The general feeling is that this hideous murder was an act of state terrorism aimed at silencing the opposition by physical liquidation.

from page 4 Iraq invades and Annexes Kuwait



An element in this endeavor is the use of Arab nationalist and Islamic fundamentalist rhetorics.

The Kurdish movement and the current crisis

The Kurdish movement, as everybody knows, has fought the Iraqi regime's ruthless and anti-democratic policy against the Kurdish people, the policy of mass displacement of the Kurdish people and the dislocation of the economy of Kurdistan. The Kurdish people have been the main victims of Iraq's use of chemical weapons against civilian target. Kurdish children, women and men have been the victims of "disappearance", torture, imprisonment and execution. Apart from a number of humanitarian organizations and good individuals, our people were left alone to suffer in silence while the governments of the world, Arab, Islamic, Western, Eastern and neutral looked the other way in callousness and ignored the Kurds pleas for word or a whisper of protest against these flagrant violations of human rights.

The Bush Administration and before it the Reagan Administration not only opposed the unanimous decisions of the Congress to send signals to the Iraqi regime that these policies were unacceptable, but also strived to appease the Iraqi regime by granting all the help it needed.

The invasion, annexation and spoliation of Kuwait is only a normal extension of the Iraqi regimes policies inside Iraq, particularly vis-a-vis the Kurdish people.

Those who appeased the regime, the USA and the West, the Soviet Union and the East, the Arab and Islamic governments bear a direct responsibility for what has been happening since 2 August 1990.

We the Kurds have opposed and fought the Iraqi regime and its ruthless domestic policies and will continue to do so until the Kurdish people regain their human, democratic and national rights. We do naturally oppose the analogies of these policies abroad, including the use of force to solve disputes and the forcible annexation of other countries and territories.

However, we refuse to be burned in the present crisis, particularly not for those who played blind and deaf all along and especially during our most exacting hours of need, and because we have been victims of such use of force and such forcible annexation without anybody doing anything.

Why should many more thousands of Kurdish children and women be gassed to death in the cause of those who left the Kurds to alone endure great suffering and ignored their pleas for help, those who propped up, by money and weapons and technology and political support, a regime that has gassed to death thousands and thousands of children and women in Halabja, Badinan and elsewhere in Kurdistan?

TWO SUCCESS STORIES IN THE NEW GENERATION OF KURDISH REFUGEES IN EUROPE

Below are short interviews with two young ladies who have made it in Europe. The first is a journalist working in England and the second is an athlete active in France.

Bayan Raman, a journalist:

Pesh-Merga (P-M): Would you please introduce yourself to the readers of New-Peshmerga.

Bayan Raman (BR): My name is Bayan Raman. I live and work in London as a journalist.

P-M: In what newspaper do you write?

BR: I am a sub-editor for a local paper in London and Southeast England. And recently I have started working for national and international magazines and newspapers.

N-P: Do you find any difficulties working as a journalist in Europe with your Kurdish background?

BR: No not at all. I have been fortunate enough to go to England at a young age. So I speak English very well. And being a Kurd has some advantages, believe or not. It means that I have some political background that most people of my age probably do not have. I studied history at university which again built up my political background. I think it has helped me so far.

N-P: What are your impressions about the Paris Conference?

BR: Personally, I have been very surprised that so many people attended. For example, Madame Mitterrand was there the whole two days. Senator Pell was there. And a lot of French, English and Swedish people were there. From that point of view, I think the Kurds are going to achieve a lot internationally. Some people think my generation might be pushed into terrorism because the old generation has failed to achieve. But if conferences like this are held I think people of my age group will see it a step forward. And I personally believe that it is a great step forward. And I have a great deal of hope for the future from this conference.

N-P: Are you going to report on the conference to any publication in England or elsewhere?

BR: I am hoping to write for Middle East magazine. Whether they accept my report or not we will have to see.

N-P: Many Kurdish women, especially those coming from a rural background, have great difficulties adopting to West European life. What have your experiences been in this field?

BR: I have been very fortunate in that both my parents have encouraged me, my brothers and sisters to study and to work hard. And that has always been part of our life. From that point of view I have had no difficulty what so ever> In fact I have been pushed into doing a lot of things that at the time perhaps I did not realize how important

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they were and how they would help me later on in the future.

I think Kurdish women should play a greater role in society and in politics. As I live in London I attend event held for the Kurds in London. When it is a party, something to enjoy, all the women and children come, but when it is something political it is only men. I think this is a great shame. It is a shame on Kurdish men and Kurdish women. Kurdish women should be allowed to take part in political events and I think my generation will hopefully do that and take full active parts in Kurdish politics.

N-P: Do you think that the facts you have just mentioned are the result of the attitudes of Kurdish men or the combination of the attitudes of Kurdish women and Kurdish men? Is the blame to be put on Kurdish men alone or do women bear part of the responsibility of this situation?

BR: I think the blame lies generally with the Kurdish society. It would be unrealistic to expect Kurdish women to lead the world into feminism. Even in the West women are not treated equally. So it would be unrealistic to expect Kurdish women suddenly to jump ahead. I think most of the blame does lie with the men but the women do have to take some of the blame too. It is the responsibility of both parents, i.e., both women and men, to encourage the future generation to take steps forward. It is difficult to say its men's fault or women's fault; it is generally society's fault.

N-P: Could you please tell us why you have chosen journalism and not any other subject?

BR: I chose journalism because I have never been scientific at school. My weak subjects were chemistry and physics so I tended to go towards the arts. Besides, nobody can stop me talking and asking questions. So it was natural that I should become a journalist. When I studied history at university I realized that it was definitely what I wanted to do. I have been very lucky to have found a job in journalism straight away. And I enjoy it a great deal.

N-P: Some Kurdish parents fear that the children will be only partially Kurdish because they are assimilated from kindergarten and school age. Do you think that these fears are warranted? Or is the future Kurdish generation a lost generation? If your answer is no, do you think you are a typical example of the future Kurdish generation in Europe?

BR: My answer is definitely no. They are not a lost generation. If I think of my age group, from early to mid-twenties, who have studied and been brought up in Europe, you cannot escape being Kurdish. You are given a Kurdish name and everybody asks you what your name means, why are Kurdish, what Kurdistan is and so on. I think there is a danger that the next generation Kurds might become Western or lost in society but that can be easily stopped by making being a Kurdish person something to be proud of, something for people to enjoy. I mean we

all know young people are only interested in music and television and pop stars and going to the cinema. I think it is the job of Kurdish cultural centers and organizations, such as the Kurdish Culture Centre in London, to put on plays and music and dance to make life enjoyable for Kurdish people.

So I do not think there is too much danger of Kurdish children disappearing into the West. If being a Kurd is made easy and fun then young people, specially children, will enjoy being Kurdish.

N-P: Thank you very much and very good luck.

2- Evin Ibrahim, a fencing champion:

N-P: Would you please introduce yourself and your interest in the sport of fencing.

Evin Ibrahim (EI): My name is Evin Ibrahim and I am 15 years old. I live near Paris. My origin is Kurdish. My hobby is fencing. I have been fencing for four years. I am number in France.

N-P: Since you have made such a high achievement and are second in France in fencing, you have certainly won other prizes. Would you kindly tell something about them?

EI: I have won the encyclopedia Robert, lots of books and many medals. I have won prizes in France, Germany, Italy and Britain.

N-P: How do people react when they hear your name which is not typically French?

EI: At the beginning they do not understand my name because it is not a common name in France. I then tell them that my name is Evin which is a Kurdish name.

N-P: How do you feel as being a Kurd?

EI: I feel I am more Kurd than French because I feel different from my friends. I feel stronger in my heart and body than my friends. And that is a very important thing. Feeling being both Kurdish and French is a very positive and important thing in my life.

N-P: Although you are still rather young, could you tell what you think the second generation Kurds living in France or Europe will be?

EI: I believe if the second generation Kurds are in solidarity and hold together, then I think they will be very important in the years to come.

N-P: At home you have a mixture of the French and Kurdish cultures, but outside your home you are exposed only to the French culture. Do you find any conflict or difficulty between your background culture and your surrounding culture?

EI: I live very well with both cultures. My French friends draw upon their French culture, but I draw from both the French and the Kurdish cultures. And that gives me strength and puts me in a better situation.

N-P: You have recently been in Germany with a French fencing team. How was the result for you?

EI: I was the first among the French girls visiting Germany.

N-P: What are your plans for the future? Do you hope to become a world champion in fencing? And would like to be called then Evin Ibrahim the Kurd?

EI: I have no ambitions at the moment.

Our party believes in the equal rights and responsibilities of men and women

IRAQI KURDISH REFUGEES IN TURKEY

There are in eastern Turkey at present approximately 30,000 refugees from Kurdistan Iraq who fled poison gas bombing in August-September 1988. They are "housed" in three camps:

A- Diyarbakir: The refugees are housed in extremely over-crowded flats. They have a certain degree of freedom of movement within the city of Diyarbakir. Their living conditions are, relatively speaking, less harsh than the other two camps.

B- Kiziltepe: The camp is located near the town of Mardin. The refugees are housed in tents surrounded by barbed wire and armed guards. Their movement outside the camp is restricted and requires an official permit. The living conditions are very harsh during both the summer, when temperatures rise high, and winter, when temperatures drop to near or below zero.

C- Mus (pronounced Mush): The camp is located outside the town of Mus. The refugees are watched by armed guards and their freedom of movement is restricted and they live in isolation. Conditions have been so harsh that the refugees went out in a protest demonstration about a month ago.

1- Major Events:

There have been cases of "food poisoning" in all the three camps at different times during the period June 1989 and May 1990 (and another one, this time "water poisoning" in mid-June 1990 in the refugee camp of ZEWA in western Iran). Thousands of refugees were hospitalized suffering from various symptoms of poisoning. Iraqi government agents have been suspected of being behind these "incidents".



Evin IBRAHIM, Vice-Championne

The Kurdistan Front (Iraq) Participates in and Congratulates the 31st Congress of the Swedish Social Democratic Party

The Scandinavian Representative of the Kurdistan Front (Iraq) has taken part in the 31st Congress of the Swedish Social Democratic Party held during September 15-21, 1990 and delivered the following letter of solidarity.

"Dear Friends,

Allow me to convey to you, on behalf of the Kurdistan Front (Iraq), our warm fraternal greetings and best wishes for a very successful congress and to thank you for inviting me to be with you.

The congress is held at time when the Swedish society is facing many important issues that will determine its direction during the coming years. The decisions taken by your congress will certainly play a decisive role in shaping that future.

Your congress also comes at a time of great developments and significant changes in Eastern Europe, the Middle East and elsewhere in the world. Some of these developments and changes, for example in Eastern Europe, are positive and very welcome as they enhance freedom, democracy and peace. Others, such as the Gulf crisis, are negative and damaging to regional and world peace, security and international law.

The denial and violation of the human, national and democratic rights of the Kurdish people is one of the factors of instability and in the Middle East region. Very seldom have governments in the post World-War-Two period gassed to death thousands and displaced hundreds of thousands of their own citizens, destroyed thousands of their villages and towns, and dislocated their region's economy as the various regimes have done to the Kurdish people and their homeland Kurdistan.

We are hopeful that your 31st congress will adopt a resolution of solidarity with the Kurdish people and in support of their human, cultural and democratic rights.

Please accept our heartfelt thanks, high esteem and respect for your party's stand on the plight of the Kurdish people.

***Solidarity with and recognition of the
Kurdish people's
legitimate human, democratic and***

BRIEF INFORMATION ON THE KPDP

The Kurdistan Popular Democratic Party was established by a founding congress convened on 26-30 July 1981. Many of the leading figures and rank-and-file of the party have (had) been active in Kurdish politics for many decades. The decision to found the KPDP was based on reasons relating to political action and convictions. The KPDP has so far also held the first conference in December 1987 and the second congress in December 1989 despite the harsh condition under which it has functioned.

The general trend has been a continuous growth of the party's membership, activities and ties. The party is functional in Kurdistan and among Kurds in the Middle East, Europe, North America, Australia and elsewhere.

The party's structure as well as relations between its various organizations are based on democratic principles. This means that decisions are taken by majority (when consensus cannot be achieved); that selection to party posts is through elections rather than appointment; and that action is taken on the basis of conviction and participation and not on compulsion or imposition.

The KPDP is a progressive party striving to bring about economic, social, political and cultural development, but it insists at the same time on its respect for our people's national traditions.

Our party's fundamental objective is that the Kurdish people must be able to exercise their right to self-determination. To achieve this objective, the party employs all available political means.

The KPDP is of the opinion that the Kurdish movement is in need of structural and other changes both in its political action and tenets as well as its main internal and external relationships.

Our party is a founding member of the Kurdistan Front and looks forward to seeing more progress in its work. The KPDP also has good ties with fraternal parties from the other parts of our divided homeland Kurdistan.

The attainment of international solidarity with our Kurdish people and nation and of political and diplomatic recognition of the Kurdish movement are important integral parts of our party's political strategy abroad.

For correspondence and contributions, please write to:

**Newpeshmerga
KPDP
Box 5042
131 05 Nack
SEDEN**

Political and Diplomatic Recognition of Kurdish rights

