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2

# On The Kurdish Question At The United Nations

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# **GENERAL MUSTAFA BARZANI**

## **COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE KURDISH REVOLUTIONARY ARMY AND PRESIDENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF IRAQI-KURDISTAN**

May 28, 1974

Your Excellency,  
My Dear Dr. Kurt Waldheim:

The tragic situation in which the Kurdish people find themselves once more in, makes it paramount to call world attention to the crimes perpetrated by the Iraqi government against the Kurdish people who are her subjects.

This is the fifth war, successive Iraqi governments wage against Kurdistan within thirteen years. Three of them have been waged by Baathist Party governments. Perhaps it is more proper to say that during these last thirteen years, the Kurdish people have been living under war conditions, interspersed with peace negotiations and truces — however, exploited by the Iraqi governments to collect new strength for resumption of aggression. In exactly that way the Baathist Party government failed to live up to its obligations under the famous Peace Agreement of March 11, 1970, which has, unfortunately, become a dead letter since March 11, 1974, when the Iraqi government resumed the war against the Kurdish people.

Today, when negotiations and peace are prevailing in solving international problems, the hottest war on earth is being fought against the Kurdish people by their own government. Genocide, destruction, hunger, burning of villages and crops are the order of the day for Iraqi Kurdistan. Half the Kurdish people live under the horror of napalm bombs and fear of poisonous gases. The other half lives under State terror.

This state of affairs can not be considered an internal affair of the Iraqi government any longer, when the simple right to life is denied to the Kurdish people. The world can not remain oblivious of the fact of these crimes against human rights; certainly not the United Nations.

We have, therefore, decided to send abroad Mr. M. M. Abdul Rahman, member of the Political Bureau of the Kurdistan Democratic Party and former Minister for Northern Affairs in the Iraqi Government, and Mr. M. Dizayee, member of the Central Committee of the Kurdistan Democratic Party and former Minister of Public Works and Housing in the Iraqi Government, in order to strengthen the work of the Kurdistan Delegation Abroad, and submit to Your Excellency a Communication concerning the war of genocide and the gross violations of human rights in Kurdistan by the Iraqi government.

On behalf of my people, I ask Your Excellency to give this Communication your personal attention and forward it for action to the appropriate bodies of the United Nations.

We want to live in peace and cooperation with the rest of the Iraqi people who are also suffering greatly from government persecution and terror; their sons being also the victims of this savage war in Kurdistan.

Concerning human rights, treatment of prisoners and waging a fight of self-defence, we have already informed the International Committee of the Red Cross of our compliance with the Geneva Convention. We welcome any inspection team or your personal representative. We ask for your good offices to end this war of genocide.

The Kurdish people and I remain gratefully yours .

Mustafa Barzani

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# KURDISTAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY

## POLITICAL BUREAU

Kurdish Delegation Abroad

June 6, 1974

Your Excellency,

You are again on one of your significant peace missions. The Kurdish people wish you well in your conscientious endeavors for justice and peace, especially while you are currently so close to them in the Middle East. They sincerely hope that you can give some of your time and attention to efforts and considerations of the Kurdish cause — ranking among the foremost just causes in the world today.

Permit us to express our gratitude for the letter (SO 215/1 IRAQ, Division of Human Rights, 3 May 1974) acknowledging receipt of the letter of the Kurdish Delegation Abroad, dated 26 April 1974, and including preliminary *Information* for you. We appreciate your having taken proper steps to deal with it.

Unfortunately, the fears expressed in that letter have come true. Full scale war has been launched by the Iraqi Government against our people in Kurdistan. The armaments at the disposal of the Iraqi forces are of the most modern type. They are being used mercilessly against our people whose sole defence is their sacrifices for justice, freedom and equality in their beautiful homeland.

Since Mid-April bombing and shelling villages and towns, hanging men and women in the squares of the cities, killing animals and burning crops, starvation and killing civilians en masse have become the order of the day in Kurdistan by a government responsible, by all conventions, for the welfare of these unlucky people.

In this era of self-determination of nations, of independence and of the end of colonialism, our people are asking for the simple right of autonomy within a democratic system of government.

The answer of the Iraqi Government to this demand is a racial and colonial type war with acts of genocide and flagrant violations of Human Rights, committed daily both against the Kurds living in the liberated areas of Kurdistan and those Kurds living in towns and cities under Government control. We must add that the Arab people in Iraq are not happier, because they have also lost their personal liberties and political freedoms under the Ba'th Party Government. The present intentions of that Government, as in the past, are to hide this devastating war from the world and in particular from the United Nations. It intends also to consider the matter solely an internal affair of Iraq. But genocide and gross violations of the human rights of the Kurdish people are becoming well known throughout the world. These can in no way be treated as purely internal matters.

We are aware and indeed happy to know that the United Nations has concerned itself with violations of human rights, which were of smaller magnitude, in other countries before. Therefore, our submitting an official *Communication* concerning genocide and gross violations of human rights, pursued systematically for over a decade by the Iraqi Governments against the Kurdish people, which form a minority in Iraq, is more urgent than ever.

We are submitting herewith this *Communication Concerning Gross Violations of Human Rights in Kurdistan, Iraq* which summarizes the sad events in Kurdistan, as envoys of General Mustafa Barzani, President of the Kurdistan Democratic Party and leader of the Kurdish Liberation Movement.

Please accept the covering letter by General Barzani, together with his best personal wishes conveyed through us.

We remain, Sir, respectfully yours,

M. M. Abdul Rahman  
Member of the Political  
Bureau of the  
Kurdistan Democratic Party

M. Dizayee  
Member of the Central Committee  
of  
the Kurdistan Democratic Party

To his Excellency  
The Secretary-General  
United Nations  
New York, N. Y. 10017

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کتاب

**Communication  
Concerning Gross Violations  
Of Human Rights  
In Kurdistan (Iraq)**

کتابخانه

## I. BACKGROUND TO THE CURRENT PHASE OF THE WAR IN KURDISTAN

1. According to the *Treaty of Sevres* (1920), the Kurdish people were given the right of self-determination on an equal basis with the other peoples of the Ottoman Empire. But international interests did not allow the treaty to be implemented. In 1925, the Wilayet of Mosul (Kurdistan), was annexed to Iraq under British Mandate. Britain pledged to the League of Nations that she would ensure that the Kurds enjoyed their national rights — this having been made a condition for the annexation. Ever since then, the people of Kurdistan have struggled with all possible means to obtain their national rights, aiming for autonomy within a democratic government, throughout the present revolution.
2. The present crisis of survival for the Kurdish people commenced on 11 September 1961, when the then Iraqi Government unleashed a war against the Kurdish National Movement, led by the *Kurdistan Democratic Party* (KDP) (founded 16 August 1946), headed by General Mustafa Barzani. The Kurdish response to the attack was the proclamation of the “Kurdish Revolution”. Since that attack 5 regimes and 9 governments have fallen — none of them having been elected, since, unfortunately, the last elections in Iraq had been held in 1958 — on the contrary, they were military, personal or factional dictatorships. They followed each other in trying to solve the Kurdish question by sheer force. It is obvious that there can not be any stability in Iraq, unless this question is solved peacefully and democratically. For further information see attached *Exhibit A* (“On the Kurdish Movement in Iraq”).
3. In 1970, the Iraqi Government, under the leadership of the Ba’th Party, decided after a series of lost battles against the Kurds, to commence peace negotiations with the KDP. The latter entertained serious doubts, as to the good will of the Ba’th Party. Nonetheless, it entered into negotiations, because it had the interests of all the peoples of Iraq at heart. For further information see attached *Exhibit B* (“Background to the March 1970 Agreement”).  
Thus, the famous *Peace Agreement of 11 March 1970* was signed. For its text see attached *Exhibit C* (“Extracts from the Peace Agreement of 11 March 1970”). It agreed in one of its six secret clauses to a population census to be held during 1970. The administrative districts with a 51% Kurdish majority were to be united to form Kurdistan. It agreed to establish a National Assembly in Baghdad. The Iraqi people — Arabs and Kurds alike — would be represented in it. It also included the Kurdish people’s right to be represented proportionately within the Central Government.
4. Unfortunately, already on 14 April 1970 the Peace Agreement was broken for the first time, when an armed attack was launched by government mercenaries on the headquarters of the KDP in Mosul. The population census was never carried out. Instead, an organized policy of Arabization of the rich oil districts of Kurdistan, especially around Kirkuk, Khanaqin and Sinjar was sponsored by the Government. Innocent people were expelled from their ancient homesteads. Others were massacred outright. Their land and



possessions were given over to Arabs who were uprooted elsewhere, in order to be resettled in Kurdish territory. Members of the KDP were tortured and executed in the infamous 'Palace of End' and other prisons. Two assassination attempts were organized by the Ba'th Iraqi Government against General Barzani himself.

All during this period autonomy implementation talks between the Ba'th Party and the KDP were supposed to be going on; in fact, were being carried on in good faith by the Kurdish representatives.

5. During these four years much injury and a great deal of harm was being inflicted on the Kurdish people. Yet, they clung with hope on to the promise of the Peace Agreement. However, they also watched in dismay how dramatically rising oil revenues were being misused to purchase special modern arms and poison gases. At the same time Arab opposition parties and groups were also being eliminated and liquidated by the ruling Ba'th Party.

6. Throughout 1973, the Central Government was preparing for renewing violence, when it announced a unilateral so-called "autonomy law" on 11 March 1974 and had already deployed the bulk of the Iraqi Army and Air Force in Kurdistan.

Contrary to the Peace Agreement, this "autonomy law" was to force the Kurds to abandon one third of their land forever — Kirkuk, Khanaqin, Sinjar, parts of Mandali Shaikman and parts of Hamdanya. It did not mention the participation of the people of Kurdistan in the Central Government, nor was an Iraqi National Assembly mentioned.

No real power was granted to the autonomous administration. In fact, the *Decision No. 307* of the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) (16 March 1974) stipulates the *Law of the Legislative Council for Kurdistan*, as follows. Article 1 states that

"the Council is made up of 80 members who are elected through free and direct elections according to the law of elections for the Legislative Council."

Article 10 states that

"it is possible that the members of the first Legislative Council be chosen not through election."

As a matter of fact, the Central Government has not called for elections to the Legislative Council, but has declared that it will choose its members. Yet, it failed even in that, since very few Kurds are ready to be nominated to it under these conditions. Article 20a of the so-called "autonomy law" states that

"the President of the Republic has the right to dissolve the Legislative Council in case it refuses to give a vote of confidence to his nominees for the Executive Council for more than two times."

The "autonomy law" also deprives Kurdistan of executive power in Justice, Irrigation Affairs, Regional Planning, Industry, Local Security and even Local Police. It fails to provide for economic development of Kurdistan, although Iraqi revenues come in large measures from the Kurdish oil wells, and despite the Government's acknowledgement of the fact that Kurdistan has been kept backward (see *Exhibit C*). Indeed, the so-called "autonomy law" was just a camouflage for the resumption of the war against the Kurds.

7. The KDP had no choice, but to reject such an autonomy settlement. It is a

flagrant violation of the Peace Agreement of 1970 and of the human rights of the Kurdish people. Kurdish Ministers, Governors, Directors, Judges resigned and approximately 100,000 people from all walks of life left the towns and commenced a vast exodus to the liberated area of Kurdistan in the mountains. For further information see attached *Exhibit D* (What Happened 1970-1974?).

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## II. THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT LAUNCHES TOTAL WAR AGAINST THE KURDISH PEOPLE

8. War is the most awful calamity to befall any nation on earth. Kurdistan has experienced five bloody wars since 1961. The Kurdish people know full well the horrors of war. That is why all possible means were employed to avoid it. But the Ba'th Party had made its decision to resume fighting against Kurdistan and consequently remained adamant towards any Kurdish proposals for compromise. The Iraqi Government felt strong, because of the large quantities of modern arms it had in stock and the huge oil revenues it was having at its disposal. The Baathists think they can defy Iraqi and world public opinion, as they have done so on many occasions in the past.

Thus, already prior to the renewed outbreak of aggression against Kurdistan, the Government deployed the Iraqi Army throughout Kurdistan. Four infantry divisions, two armored divisions and one special forces division, as well as war planes (MIG 17, MIG 19, MIG 21, SKOI 7, SOKHOI 20, BADGER and TOPOLOV 22) are stationed in the vicinity of the battle fields at Kirkuk, Mosul and Arbil. The Iraqi Government has also imported since late 1972 sizeable quantities of poison gases, although the Geneva Protocol forbids their use. The Government is purchasing Laser-Ray equipment and many other lethal weapons to be used against the Kurdish civilian population.

9. Due to heavy rains between 11 March and 15 April 1974, the fighting took the form of skirmishes. By mid-April Government forces started their all-out offensive against the Kurdish people. Headed by the experienced General Barzani, Kurdish partisans, *Peshmerga* had no choice but to take up defensive positions all over Kurdistan, thus forcing the Iraqi Army to withdraw from many mountainous areas and towns.

Severe fighting has continued in the hills around the main roads from Kirkuk to Sulaimania, from Kirkuk to south of Rawanduz via Arbil, and from Mosul to Zakho near the Turkish border. The fact that the Iraqi Army is unable to make any headway or successful penetration, has caused the Government to push many additional units of the Army into impossible situations, and caused great losses to them in the ground fighting. For further information see attached *Exhibit E* ("The Deployment of the Iraqi Army against Kurdistan"). The soldiers' morale is very low, because they know they are fighting an unjust war and loosing battle. The *Peshmerga* are defending their fatherland, villages, homes and families with unsurpassed high spirits and morale. They know very well that it will be the end of the Kurdish National Movement and indeed of the Kurdish people, if they fail.

10. War losses have been high. By the end of May, the Government had lost about 50 tanks, about 100 armored and personnel cars. The *Peshmerga* has shot down 32 warplanes. The exact number of Arab soldiers who have been victims of the war policy of the Ba'th Government is unknown. However, the *Peshmerga* buried over 600 bodies which had been found abandoned in the battle fields. The remainder has been buried by the Iraqi Army nearby. Relatives are not informed. It is the Government's aim to keep the Iraqi

people uninformed about the blood baths which are taking place daily in Kurdistan; the victims being Iraqi Arabs and Iraqi Kurds.

Indeed an increasing number of soldiers have left the Army, some of them defecting to the side of the partisans and the rest disappearing into the countryside of southern Iraq.

**11.** In reprisal, the Baathist racial regime is waging a war of genocide against the people of Kurdistan, just as they have attempted to do so in 1963 and in 1969 (see *Exhibit D*). They are using their modern war planes to bombard indiscriminately throughout Kurdistan towns and villages from very high altitudes. Some of these localities are over one hundred km from the battlefields. The Iraqi Air Force uses mainly incendiary and napalm bombs against civilian population.

The following are some of the atrocities committed against the Kurdish civilian population:

On 16 April 1974, Aqra, with a population of 7,000 was heavily bombed. Many houses, churches and mosques were destroyed, collapsing over the bodies of their inhabitants, all civilians.

On 24 April 1974, Qala Diza, with a population of 20,000 was heavily bombed. 131 civilians were killed and over 300 injured. The martyrs were mainly women and children, attending school, since two schools were bombed deliberately.

Between 23 and 27 April 1974, the area of Chouman was bombed, including Gallala, with a population of 5,000. 40 people were killed and 51 injured (see foto in *Exhibit F*).

On 25 and 26 April 1974, Dahok, with a population of 40,000 was shelled. Many people were killed and injured.

On 28 April 1974, the town of Halabja, 80 km from the battle fields, was bombed and over 100 houses were destroyed. 42 people were killed and over 100 were injured. The inhabitants had to evacuate the town and took refuge in the mountains.

Between 21 April and 10 May 1974, Zakho, a town with a population of 25,000 was bombed and shelled. During these 20 days the town kept burning.

By 31 May, the figures for casualties through bombing were 1,534 civilians killed and about 3,500 injured. About 15 towns and 204 villages have been shelled and bombed. For further information see attached *Exhibit F* ("List of 15 Towns and 204 Villages Bombed from mid-April to the End of May 1974").

On 14 April 1974, 11 Kurdish patriots were hanged in Arbil, after having been sentenced to death and tortured in Baghdad. Indeed, some of them had their hands cut off or their eyes gouged out. However, some of these martyrs had been in government custody for one and two years on trumped up charges. The hanging at that time was a deliberate provocation for the KDP.

On 30 April 1974, 5 Kurdish students attending the College of Literature of Bagdad University, were sentenced to death and executed without delay. Among them was a girl, Layla Kassem.

On 8 May 1974, another 6 university students were hanged.

All these martyrs are sentenced to death by a military court in Baghdad, called the *Revolution Tribunal* which dispenses summary sentences against which

there is no appeal to a higher court, no real right of defence. The number of people thus hanged is 22.

Over 80,000 people have been forced to leave Kurdistan, fleeing into Iran and some into Turkey as refugees, because it was impossible for them to work and live under such heavy bombing. Indeed, some areas have had over 200 sorties of bombing. Yet, about one and a half million people live in liberated Kurdistan, subsisting under these terrible conditions of war and of genocide. Most of them are now displaced persons living in caves and in the mountains. Not a day passes without tens of sorties of bombing raids. Not a day or night passes without new victims. Not a day passes without the Baathist authorities forcing a new unhappy lot of Kurdish families from their towns and villages into the mountains, after looting their belongings.

The Iraqi Government has placed Kurdistan under an officially declared economic blockade. Crops are burned extensively. The aim of all this is to cause starvation and death to the Kurdish people. In addition, to the thousands of injured, there are many thousands who are sick, especially from malaria, TB and other diseases and unable to obtain medicines and medical treatment.

These acts of genocide, many atrocities and numerous other brutalities have been committed by the Ba'th Government within less than two months. Thus, one can imagine what lies ahead for the Kurdish people, if steps are not quickly taken by the United Nations and its appropriate organizations, to put an end to this savage war.

12. The danger for international incidents and implications is also rising. The 207 mile long border between Iraq and Turkey is totally controlled by Kurdish forces. Up to now Turkish villages on the border have been bombed three times. The Turkish Government has protested officially. Equally delicate is the even longer border between Iraq and Iran. It is also controlled largely by Kurdish forces. On the Iranian side refugee camps are springing up. Fighting may easily spill over across these frontiers.

### III. THE KURDISH PEOPLE'S PLEA FOR INVOKING LEGAL INSTRUMENTALITIES TO SAFEGUARD THEIR HUMAN RIGHTS

13. It is clear that, for the sake of survival of the Kurdish people, for national tranquility in Iraq and for supporting international peace and security in the troubled Middle East, the Kurdistan Democratic Party will undertake all necessary steps.

It hereby formally asks the United Nations for its help and for its condemnation of the gross violations of human rights perpetrated by the Government of Iraq against the Kurdish people.

It invokes the *United Nations Charter* and the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948). The Republic of Iraq is a signatory of those declarations, conventions and covenants which constitute the legal base for United Nations defence of Human Rights.

Yet Iraq is grossly violating:

Name of Treaty	Iraqi Signature	Iraqi Accession	Number of States Ratified
Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948)		20 January 1959	75
International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965)	18 February 1969	14 January 1970	59
International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966)	18 February 1969	25 January 1971	26 of 35
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966)	18 February 1969	25 January 1971	26 of 35

14. The Kurdistan Democratic Party who is leading the Autonomy Movement in Kurdistan is cognizant of the fact that as aggrieved party it can avail itself of the services of the United Nations in protecting Human Rights. It, therefore, calls attention, inter alia, to the following resolutions:

*ECOSOC Resolution 728F* (30 July 1959), "Communications Concerning Human Rights."

*ECOSOC Resolution 1503 (XLVIII)* (27 May 1970), "Procedure for dealing with communications relating to violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms."

Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities

*Resolution 1 (XXIV)* (13 August 1971) and

*Resolution 2 (XXIV)* (16 August 1971), "Questions of the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including policies of racial discrimination and segregation and of Apartheid in all countries, with particular reference to colonial and other dependent countries and territories."

15. By *Resolution 1768 (LIV)* (18 May 1973), the Economic and Social Council decided to discharge its continuing responsibilities under the Charter annually and especially in consideration of human rights. Paragraph 11 states, therefore:

"In order to fulfill its responsibilities under Article 55 and 56 of the Charter, to promote universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms, shall consider the reports of its functional bodies responsible in the field of human rights and, on that basis, (the Council) shall

(a) make appropriate recommendations to the General Assembly in this field and

(b) examine and approve the work programmes of the UN in the field of human rights."

This Communication is submitted in conformance with provisions made and with full confidence that it will be properly acted upon.

16. The Human Rights which have been violated in all of Iraq, and especially in Kurdistan, are respectfully submitted under the following broad headings of guaranteed Human Rights:

Inviolability of the person:

- protection of the right to life, liberty and security of person
- prohibition of cruelties, inhuman and humiliating treatment and punishment
- prohibition of deprivation of liberty
- prohibition of arbitrary intervention into private life, family, home, the secrecy of the mails and attacks on reputation and honor.

Protection by law:

- the right to recognition as a person before the law
- equality before the law and equal legal protection without any discrimination
- legal guarantee in ordering custody on remand and executing terms of imprisonment
- the right to public trial and due process of law in court
- presumption of innocence and guarantees for defense
- guarantee against retroactive force of criminal law.

Freedom of movement

Civil rights:

- the right to citizenship
- freedom from discrimination, when marrying a foreigner.

Right of property

Freedom of thought, expression, assembly and association:

- right of freedom of thought and conscience
- right to freedom of opinion and expression

- right to freedom of peaceful assembly
- right to freedom of association.

Right to participate directly or through freely elected representatives in running State affairs

- participation in political, social, cultural, economic and legal affairs
- right to elect popular representative bodies
- equal rights to enter civil service.

17. All possible remedies on the state level have been resorted to. No redress has been obtained from the Iraqi Government. The hope of the Kurdish people rests, consequently, with the principles of and the laws on Human Rights.

It is the most profound desire of the Kurdish people, led by the Kurdistan Democratic Party, to live as peaceful citizens in a democratic Iraq in which the basic human rights are respected and guaranteed. The Kurdish people share with the Arabs in Iraq and with all minorities the wish to develop Iraq energetically into a prosperous democratic state for all its inhabitants and into a good neighbor to both the Arab and non-Arab world.

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#### **IV. THE CRIME OF GENOCIDE AGAINST THE KURDISH PEOPLE**

18. The Iraqi Government is pursuing a policy of genocide against the Kurdish people (see para. 11 and *Exhibit G*; also *Exhibits E, F, H and K*).

In the *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide* (1948), acceded to by Iraq in 1959, the contracting parties confirm that Genocide is a crime under international law which they undertake to prevent and to punish.

Genocide is defined as

“any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) killing members of the group,
- (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group,
- (c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part.”

19. Article 1 states,

“the Contracting Parties confirm that genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law.”

It is beyond any doubt that genocide and conspiracy, incitement and attempts to commit it and complicity in it, even if perpetrated by a government in its own territory against its own citizens, is not a matter essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of states, but a matter of international concern.

20. From the lamentably long list of Crimes of Genocide committed by successive Governments in Iraq, in particular by those headed by the Ba'th Party, some examples are herewith reported, in order to underline the tragedy which has befallen the proud Kurdish people and the necessity for instant relief. See para. 11 and for further information see attached *Exhibit G* (“Some Examples of Acts of Genocide against the Kurdish People in Iraq — Civilian Bombings, Massacres, Executions, Atrocities, Expulsions, Deportations and Acts of Terror”). Genocide is being waged against the Kurdish people, because they want to remain loyal to both their culture and nation, and to a democratic Iraqi State.

## V. POLITICAL PERSECUTION OF AND DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE KURDISH PEOPLE

21. The Iraqi Government pursues a well-planned political discrimination, supported by terror, against the Kurdish people, depriving them of the basic political rights. Article 21 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* states that

“everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.”

The general principles examined by the Sub-Commission in 1962 and transmitted to the Commission on Human Rights include:

- all people have the right to self-determination,
- every national of a country is entitled to full political rights,
- freedom of opinion and expression and freedom of peaceful assembly and association are essential to the enjoyment of political rights, and
- those freedoms, and access to the facilities and means for their exercise, shall be ensured to all persons at all times.

Other principles relate to the universality and equality of suffrage, the secrecy of vote, the periodicity of elections, the genuine character of elections and other public consultations, as well as the access to elective and non-elective public office.

22. In 1973 these principles were brought to the attention of governments, international and regional inter-governmental organizations and to the Commission on Human Rights through the Economic and Social Council. They expressed the hope that governments would take into account these principles, when considering the subject of discrimination against political rights.

23. Article 2 of the *Peace Agreement 1970* clearly stated:

“The participation of our Kurdish brothers in the Government without discrimination between Kurds and non-Kurds in appointment to public posts, including important and key posts in the Cabinet, in the Ministries, in the Army Commands and other such posts, had been and still is one of the important points which the Revolution Government aims to achieve. While approving of this principle, the Revolution Government reiterates the need for work to apply it in just proportion, taking into consideration qualifications, population proportion and the deprivation which our Kurdish brothers have suffered in the past.”

Not only does this officially admit to the fact that the Kurdish people have been suffering unjustly under past Iraqi governments, but it also set out a program for Kurdish political involvement in the Iraqi State. This never materialized.

24. The sole Iraqi State policy decision making body, endowed with all executive, legislative, administrative and judicial powers, is the *Revolutionary Command Council (RCC)* (see also para. 6) whose

decisions carry the weight of law. With its small membership, fluctuating between 6 and 12 members, and open only to the Regional Command of the Ba'th Arab Socialist Party, the RCC constitute a definite obstacle for Kurdish and minority participation in any government decisions.

The facts portray this monopoly of governmental participation. About 30% of Iraq's population are Kurds. Yet, Kurds in public office have been intimidated, expelled and liquidated during the past years. In the Ministry of Defense and Army Commands only 2 Kurds are left in any responsible position.

In the Ministry of Oil there are no Kurds in any leading positions at all, although 70% of Iraqi oil comes from Kurdistan. Neither is there a Kurd in any directorate position in the Iraqi National Oil Company (INOC), nor in the fields of Kirkuk, Khankeen and Ain Zala, all located in Kurdistan.

26. The violation of the fundamental right of citizenship has gone so far that the Iraqi Government deprives tens of thousands of native born Kurds of their Iraqi citizenship. See Attached *Exhibit ("Deprivation of Citizenship")*. Article 15 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* declares that everyone has a right to nationality and that no one shall arbitrarily be deprived of it.

political rights to the Kurdish people, but it has even stooped to employing political terror, in order to intimidate and to discourage the Kurdish people even to plead for political rights.

The Government policy of political terror has afflicted many in positions of responsibility. The torture into death of Police Colonel Hussain Shirwani and of Mejeed Haji Qadir, Faiq Kirkukly, Freeq Kirkukly and Hasan Derbund together with additional 83 members of the KDP; the hanging of 11 Kurds on 14 April 1974 (see para. 11 and *Exhibit G*) are all too well known. For further information see attached *Exhibit H ("Some Examples of Victims of Political Terror")*.

26. The violation of the fundamental right of citizenship has gone so far that the Iraqi Government deprives tens of thousands of native born Kurds of their Iraqi citizenship. See attached *Exhibit 1 ("Deprivation of Citizenship")*. Article 15 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* declares that everyone has a right to nationality and that no one shall arbitrarily be deprived of it.

By contrast, in Kurdistan, the Kurdish people live in harmony with the Turkmen, as well as the Chaldean and Assyrian Christians and other minority groups.

## VI. THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT PURSUES A POLICY OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE KURDISH PEOPLE

27. In 1963, the General Assembly proclaimed the *United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination*. It affirmed that discrimination between human beings on the grounds of race, colour, or ethnic origin is an offence to human dignity, a denial of Charter principles, a violation of the rights proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and an obstacle to friendly and peaceful relations among nations. It is capable of seriously disturbing the peace and the security among peoples.

In 1965, the General Assembly adopted and opened for signature and ratification the *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*, acceded to by Iraq in 1970. Racial discrimination is defined as

“any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life.”

In 1972, the General Assembly decided to launch a *Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination*, inaugurating its activities on 10 December 1973, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

28. It is significant that during the very same period, when the family of nations concentrates on the eradication of the worst misuse of power, racialism, the Kurdish people are being subjected to a humiliating and painful policy of racial discrimination at the hands of their own government, through the Iraqi Government's *Policy of Arabization*.

The Kurdish people have tried their utmost to live in harmony with the Arabs of Iraq, on the basis of equality and mutual respect and enjoyment of national rights. Yet, the Iraqi Government is forcing upon the Kurdish people thirteen years of an open racist war. It is shifting Arab populations into regions owned by the Kurds, yet deemed ripe for Arabization. See the attached *Exhibit J* (“Letter by Villages of Jabel Bor”).

The goals of the *Decade* are to promote human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinctions of any kind, such as race, colour and ethnic origin. May the suffering of the Kurdish people not be in vain and all the people in Iraq, as well as in the whole world, cooperate in ending racist perfidy. For further information see attached *Exhibit K* (“Racist Designs of the Ba'th Government”).

## VII. ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION AND DISCRIMINATION IN DEVELOPMENT AND EMPLOYMENT

29. While Kurdistan is the richest area of Iraq, well endowed with oil, minerals and plenty other natural resources; with potentially favorable conditions for irrigated agriculture; and with a future for tourism, budgetary allocations for the development of the area, even during the four years of the *Peace Agreement*, have remained at the low and fluctuating rate of 7 - 12%.

Although 70% of the Iraqi oil revenues come from fields in Kurdistan, less than 5% of these revenues flow into that region. The KDP has proposed that revenues collected in the state and assigned for development and public services should be distributed to all parts of the country on the basis of population. All regions of Iraq should share equitably.

30. In 1970, a decision was made to build an oil refinery, and even though Kirkuk is the oil-producing area, the refinery project was moved to Hammam Alil and this led to a cost increase of 20%. It was done simply to deprive Kurdistan of the benefits from the existence of this project.

While raw materials for iron and steel industries come from Kurdistan – iron ore from Sulaimaniya and natural gas from Kirkuk – the Government has arbitrarily decided to build these projects in Basra in the South.

During the last 4 years many road-building projects were approved for Kurdistan. However all these have been stopped including those which were already in progress. For the next two Five Year Economic Plans for Iraq there are provisions for only two roads in Kurdistan. One is from Kirkuk to Mosul via Makhmur, bypassing Arbil. It is to be built mainly to facilitate the Arabization policy. The other is the Mosul to Zakho road, being built for military reasons. In general there exists a decision not to build roads that lead to the development of a network of communication for Kurdistan. To go from Galala to Qala Diza, a mere distance of 35 miles, one is forced to travel over 200 miles.

Only 3% of the Iraqi industries are located in Kurdistan. Of the 25 members of the Economic Planning Board only one is a Kurd.

31. In 1973, over 1,000 villages of Kurdistan were suffering from acute drought and lack of drinking water. The Government did little more than pay lip-service to disaster relief. Although the rivers Tigris and its tributaries flow from Kurdistan southward, the Government follows a policy of making irrigation projects in the center and south of Iraq. The water of the two largest dams in Iraq, located at Dokan and Derbandikhan in Kurdistan, is also diverted south. The Kirkuk Irrigation Project which costs about 200 million dollars is designed to irrigate areas south and southwest of there, where Arab tribes are brought in and settled. During negotiations to implement the autonomy of Kurdistan, the government remained adamant in refusing to give Kurdistan any power in irrigation affairs.

The peasants of Banjar Ali have been expelled from their village. They had appealed to the Government for permission to return. The Ministry of Northern Affairs forwarded the appeal (No. 24-6-896 of 30 January 1971) to the Governor of Kirkuk. However, the landreform authorities banned the peasants from returning (No. 101051 of 25 October 1971) and from practicing agriculture. As this exchange of letters shows, 600 donums of land were given to persons brought in from outside areas. 1,500 donums were set aside to establish a state farm, leaving the original inhabitants of the village to the mercy of unemployment and hunger.

Land taken from Kurdish landlords in Kirkuk, Khanaqin and Sinjar is thus given to Arabs brought from distant places, instead of being distributed among the Kurdish peasants in the area who have been the actual cultivators of the land and whose livelihood depends on it.

The village of Cherakh, in Dibis is a bi-national village inhabited by Kurds and Arabs in an approximate 50:50 relation. In October 1973, the Government brought 50 Arab families from Diwaniyah, south Iraq, and settled them in Cherakh, in an attempt to increase the proportion of Arabs there, even though the original population of the village, both Kurds and Arabs, were against this measure by the authorities.

Settlers in the non-kurdish regions receive all sorts of Government subsidies, agricultural machinery and support. But in Kurdistan agriculture is left to fend for itself.

32. Discrimination against Kurdish workers in the oil fields has taken on alarming proportions. Thousands of Arab workers and staff are brought into the oil fields to work there and in the refineries, although, there are thousands of Kurdish workers in the areas of Kirkuk, Khanaqin and Zamar unemployed. Kurdish oil workers dismissed show the seriousness of discrimination: 1967 - 2,476, 1973 - 500, February 1974 - 400, March 1974 - 160. While dismissing 500 workers as Kurds, the nationalized Iraqi Petroleum Company addressed a letter to the Finance Office (n. 40362/5366 dated 7 August 1973), requesting 500 Arab workers.

33. Article 25 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* states

“Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing medical care”.

Due to the discrimination against Kurdistan by the Iraqi Government and due to the present genocidal war, the economic conditions of the Kurdish people is such that the economic potential of Kurdistan is not available to its people and the economic benefits alluded to in the Declaration remain completely unrealizable.

This pitiful state of affairs is not new. It is well described and documented in a United Nations Development Program Report, *Exploratory Mission to Northern Iraq* (9 to 28 October 1970). In answer to an official request by the Iraqi Government, in the wake of the last war in Kurdistan, the UNDP sent promptly a mission, headed by Dr. Malek Basbous of Beirut, to survey and study the economic situation, the desperately needed post-war reconstruction and the future development of potentially rich Kurdistan. Reference to this *UNDP Report* is indispensable for anyone wanting to gain a clear and detailed knowledge concerning the economic conditions in Kurdistan.

The UNDP concluded by proposing an immediate Relief Program and by recommending, in addition, a 2-Years and a 7-Years Development Plan for Kurdistan in 1070, which could conceivably have become a model case for United Nations interagency cooperation. For the UNDP conclusions see attached *Exhibit L* ("Recommendations and Relief"). The Iraqi Government did not thank or even answer UNDP. It took no steps whatsoever to implement them.

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## VIII. DISCRIMINATION AGAINST KURDISH CULTURE AND EDUCATION

34. In December 1960, UNESCO adopted a *Convention against Discrimination in Education*. Discrimination covers any distinction, exclusion, limitation, or preference which, being based on race, colour, sex, language, religion, political, or other opinion, national or social origin, or economic condition of birth, has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing equality of treatment in education. Moreover, the role of education in development has become universally recognized.

In 1971, Iraq acceded to the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (1966), whose Article 13 states explicitly,

“the right of everyone to education . . .” and that

“education shall enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society, promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and all racial, ethnic or religious groups . . .”

and that

“the development of a system of schools at all levels shall be actively pursued.”

35. The policy of the Iraqi Government has continuously violated these basic principles, especially during the past 13 years of warfare against the Kurdish people.

The number of students per 1,000 population in two Kurdish and two Arab provinces reflect the underprivileged nature of education in Kurdistan.

Number of Students Per 1000 Population*	Province	Area
122	Diyalah	Non-Kurdish
120	Basrah	Non-Kurdish
70	Arbil	Kurdish
69	Sulaimaniya	Kurdish

\*Figures pertain to 13 September 1971

The share of students from Kurdistan in the total number of students admitted at universities in Iraq proves additional discrimination against Kurds in higher education. The Kurdish population of Iraq is at least 25%.

Year	% of Students from Kurdish Areas To Total Number of Students Admitted to Iraqi Universities
1970-71	6.4%
1971-72	6.1%

For the past ten years no Kurds have been allowed to enter Air Force College. The number of Kurds admitted into the Military and Police Colleges has been about 2% of student body. Kurdish students are rarely accepted at the colleges of Medicine, Engineering and Dentistry. Obvious discrimination is being



practiced against Sulaimaniya University, situated in Kurdistan, through the procedure of centralized registration, being controlled from Baghdad.

Despite the fact that Kirkuk is part of Kurdistan and that the majority of the population is Kurdish, thirty Kurdish students applying for admission at Riyadh Agricultural Secondary School in Kirkuk province were turned down on 23 September 1972 and no Kurds were accepted.

The Iraqi RCC decided 31 August 1972 that the Government of Iraq does not recognize any degree an Iraqi student obtains abroad, if he or she had been given a grant or scholarship from a foreign source, unless a permission to accept same had been previously granted by the Ministry of Education. This decision is directed against the Kurds to whom the Government rarely gives scholarships, but who can also not obtain the aforementioned permission for political reasons.

36. The Minister of Northern Affairs, member of the KDP Politbureau at that time, stated 24 October 1972 that intimidation has been used by official quarters in Khanakeen, such as the Directorate of Education, the Department of Security and the Railway Trade Union, to force Kurds residing in that province to transfer their children from Kurdish language schools to Arab ones. By that date 400 pupils had actually been forced to transfer.

This continued a bitter controversy. Despite the *Peace Agreement*, over 110 schools in the province of Dehok and the Kurdish areas of the province of Nineva had been closed up to the end of 1970. For their names, see attached *Exhibit M* ("List of Kurdish Schools Closed in two Provinces").

The RCC decided at the beginning of May 1973 (by letter No. 27-23-1710) to cancel teaching in the Kurdish language at the schools of Ainkawa. 904 inhabitants have appealed to the RCC to allow their children to learn Kurdish. The RCC remained adamant, however.

In a statistical survey of the villages in the provincial seat of Arbil, where schools are more numerous than in other areas of Kurdistan, it was discovered that illiteracy rate was still much higher there, than the Iraqi average. Among children aged 6-15 it was 80%, among men aged 15-45 also 80% and among women as high as 99.5%. It must be recalled that education is compulsory by law in Iraq.

37. During 1972, the Ministry of Information published over 100 books on various subjects. Not one of these was published in Kurdish or on the Kurds or Kurdistan.

Moreover, the central TV station in Baghdad does not show any TV programs in the Kurdish language, although there is no separate TV station for Kurdish listeners. The 1973-74 investment program allocated 14,214,000 Dinar for the building of new radio and TV stations. Nothing has been allocated to the Kurdish areas.

## IX. CONCLUSION

38. The story of the struggle of the Kurdish people for selfdetermination, equality and peace, and the sufferings they have had to endure in pursuing this goal, is too long and too sad to be all told in this Communication to the United Nations. It merely summarizes the most salient features supporting the claim that gross violations of the basic human rights of the Kurdish people are being committed in Iraq today. It pleads with the United Nations to consider most earnestly the application of its Charter, declarations, conventions and covenants on human rights, to end the war of genocide in Kurdistan and safeguard human rights for the Kurds during this historic Human Right Decade.

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## EXHIBIT A

*Kurdistan Democratic Party  
Information Department  
Know the Kurds Series No. 1  
"On the Kurdish Movement in Iraq"  
June 1973, and Map of Kurdistan*

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KNOW  
THE  
KURDS  
SERIES  
NO.

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# On The Kurdish Movement In Iraq

*Published by*  
The Information Department of  
The Kurdistan Democratic Party

June 1973

## THE KURDS AND THEIR HOMELAND

Although Kurdistan is seen today as only parts of the territories of many states in the Middle East where international frontiers cut across the land and the people, geographically and ethnically these parts of Kurdistan continue to form one homogeneous and contiguous unit where the Kurds form the great majority of the population.

Kurdistan has undergone two major fragmentations, once during the 17th century when it was divided into areas of influence between the Ottoman and the Persian Empires and more recently after World War I when various parts of Kurdistan were added to the territories of the modern states of Iraq, Syria and Turkey. At present therefore, Kurdistan can be said to form the northwestern part of Iran, east and southeastern part of Turkey, northeastern part of Syria, a sliver of Soviet Armenia in the U.S.S.R. and north and northeastern part of Iraq.

The pattern of life within the Kurdish society has slowly but steadily changed from one of nomadism to one of settled communities that pursue a basically agricultural way of life supplemented by the raising of livestock, limited amount of trade, and small locally established handicrafts and industries. Like the rest of the Middle East, Kurdistan is also divided into rural and urban communities where the people live in villages, towns and urban centers. However, in general Kurdistan is the least economically developed areas of the countries among which it is divided.

The Kurds are an Indo-European people and they speak Kurdish which, as an Indo-European language constitutes one of the major languages of the Iranian groups such as Persian, Tajik, Pashtu and others. Perhaps some of the most obvious national characteristics which form a distinct badge of identity for the Kurds are their language, their colorful national costume which distinguishes both Kurdish men and women, and their land of Kurdistan where the Kurds have lived for many centuries.

Although thus far no definitive effort has been made to define the origin of the Kurds, more and more authorities on the subject seem to agree that, based on linguistic arguments and the pattern of movement of the peoples from Central Asia, the Medes can be considered as the ancestors of the present-day Kurd.

A Kurd may be best characterized as a mountaineer well adapted to the terrain and climate of his homeland. He is considered by many to be a brave, gay and sincere person. He is hospitable and makes a good family man and a loving father. Kurdish women are normally considered more free than those among the neighboring peoples. As a religious community the Kurds are faithful and liberal practitioners of Islam, and the Muslim religion is the faith of the great majority of

the Kurds. Although statistics vary as to the number of the Kurds, one may estimate the population of Kurdistan to be between 18-20 million divided among Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria and a small number in the Soviet Union.

Judging from their rich folklore, the Kurds are a people very fond of music, dancing and poetry. Names such as Ahmed i Khane, Haji Qadir Koyi, Piramerd, Mawlawi Goran, Hajar and Bekas are only a few among many poets and literary figures. By the same token Jam'iyati Taali u Taraqi of 1908, the Kurdistan newspaper which was first published in Cairo in 1882 and the organizations of Khoybun of 1927 and Hiwa of 1938 are only a few landmarks in a long series of literary and political efforts made by the Kurds during the 19th and the 20th centuries.

### **EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS IN KURDISTAN**

The many nationalist efforts that have been spent by various Kurdish nationalist groups both in Kurdistan and abroad are the result and reflection of the long and difficult struggle of the Kurdish people in self-defense and against efforts made to deny his existence and to ignore his legitimate nationalist demands.

During and after World War I the Kurdish people struggled for the principle of self-determination and for this the Kurds achieved recognition as a nation within the framework of the Treaty of Sevres of 1920 which specifically provided for the establishment of an independent Kurdistan.

The guiding principle for the nationalist Kurds during and after World War II was the desire for the creation of more widely-based and better organized political efforts which could gather within one body and under one leadership all existing Kurdistani groups and therefore the natural outcome was the birth of the Kurdistan Democratic Party on August 16, 1946 under the guidance and initiative of its president Mustafa Barzani. A remarkable feature of our present Kurdish nationalist movement is the fact that for almost three decades this movement has grown and matured under the leadership of an increasingly popular man like Barzani and has been served by a constantly growing and well-organized political party such as the KDP.

The Kurdistan Democratic Party is a nationalist progressive party which endeavors to serve the people of Kurdistan by initiating and leading lasting social and economic changes within the Kurdish society. It is a party which believes in both principles of democracy and social justice, principles that are reflected in the Party's program and internal regulations which in turn are formulated on the basis of the concept of democratic centralism. The following are a few of KDP's principles as they are stated in its program:

*Article 3.* "We struggle for freedom and for the implementation of the March 11 Agreement in both letter and spirit and to enable the people of Kurdistan to achieve autonomy and to protect, consolidate and develop that autonomy in Kurdistan and within the Iraqi Republic."

*Article 6.* "We struggle for the sake of establishing a popularly elected, revolutionary and democratic form of government. We also struggle to achieve far-reaching social and economic changes within all aspects of the society and to guarantee for all the citizens the freedoms of worship, belief, press, and political association."

*Article 7.* "We struggle: a) for the strengthening of brotherly relations between the Arab and Kurdish nations, b) for the consolidation of brotherhood among the Arabs, the Kurds and the minorities within Iraq and for the strengthening of national unity, c) for the strengthening of bonds of friendship between our Kurdish people and all peoples of the world."

*Article 8.* "a) We struggle for peace in the world and for the lessening of international tensions and we are guided by the principles of the United Nations, the Bandung Conference resolutions, the principles of peaceful co-existence, peaceful solution of international disputes, the banning of nuclear weapons and tests on them, b) We pursue a nationalist anti-imperialist policy and we strive to strengthen friendly relations with all peoples of the world based upon the principle of mutual benefit and the support of national liberation movements waged by people for the sake of independence and the right of self-determination."

*Article 9.* "We endeavor to strengthen bonds of friendship and cooperation between our party and all other Iraqi parties and organizations which believe in the justice of the Kurdish question and which support the common struggle of our party and the other democratic organizations in all parts of Kurdistan. We also endeavor to strengthen ties of friendship with the democratic parties and organizations throughout the world."

*Article 12.* "We struggle to develop our national economy and to raise the standard of living of the people by following the principle of comprehensive economic and social planning, taking into consideration the human and natural resources of the land and hoping to make available the basic needs for development and encouraging both the public and private sectors of the economy while insuring the leading role of the former."

*Article 16.* "We support the new Land Reform Law No. 37 of 1970 in the hope that all farmers of Kurdistan will be able to own some land and so that feudalism in Kurdistan will be uprooted . . ."

*Article 17.* "We believe in the regulating of domestic and foreign trade while assisting and stimulating the business community, all this while taking into consideration the interests of both the public and private sectors based upon the national interest of the country and on the principle of combating monopoly and price speculation. We also believe in establishing commercial ties with other countries based upon the principle of reciprocity and the encouragement of exports and the limiting of imports to the basic and necessary commodities."

*Article 22.* "We support women's political, economic, social and cultural rights and we work to see the necessary laws passed which will guarantee all rights of women prior, during and after childbirth as well as the rights of mothers and children."

*Article 23.* "We struggle to a) guarantee the rights of the Kurdish student and in order to wipe out illiteracy and to give education a nationalist and democratic content while fighting reactionary, fascist and racist tendencies; b) revitalize Kurdish history, literature and art and to enrich them with the humanist elements from other cultures and to protect and preserve historic sites in Kurdistan and to build museums for them; c) to develop the University of Sulaimaniya, protect its independence and to turn it into a center for academic research and for the revitalization of the Kurdish national culture; d) emphasize the teaching of Kurdish language, history and culture during all stages of education, promote the teaching of Kurdish throughout Iraq, establish a Kurdish academy of science, a press and publishing house, and a separate radio and television station in Kurdistan; e) make primary school education compulsory for both sexes, open night schools for workers, farmers and others, and to increase the number of libraries, laboratories and literary clubs in order to raise the cultural and educational standards of the people, f) promote Kurdish art and culture and to use their potentials to serve humanity in general and the objectives and interests of the Kurdish people in particular, and to encourage the literary and artistic movement by increasing the number of assistantships and scholarships, the building of theaters and opening of clubs, g) guarantee the rights of teachers in Kurdistan and to raise their standard in various aspects of their profession."

## **THE KURDISH REVOLUTION AND ITS OBJECTIVES**

The Kurdish revolution which began in September 1961 was a natural reaction to the oppressive and discriminating policies which the Iraqi government was carrying out against the Kurdish people. In the face of constant harassment and in order to defend their national existence and right, the Kurdish people were forced to pick up arms. It is during the last several years of struggle that the Kurdish



Revolution has evolved into a definite political movement the objectives of which have crystalized into the demand of Kurdish autonomy within Iraq.

Since the Kurds constitute one of the two major nationalities within Iraq, they have as a people, put forth the legitimate demand of having their separate and distinct national identity both recognized and respected. Through the many years of association with the Iraqi Arabs and the bitter struggle which they have had to undertake in the face of various Iraqi regimes – particularly since 1961 – the Kurds have come to the conclusion that the only guarantee which will safeguard and promote their nationalist development is through enjoying autonomy within Iraq.

Since the concept and application of Kurdish autonomy is conceived of within the larger framework of the Iraqi state, it is important that there should be no contradictions between the proposed regional (Kurdish) administration and the larger national (Iraqi) form of government. Thus another objective of the Kurdish Revolution is democracy for all of Iraq and this is based on the belief that the best atmosphere within which Kurdish autonomy can flourish is the general framework of a democratic system of government for Iraq as a whole.

The Kurdish Revolution is led by the Kurdistan Democratic Party under the leadership of Barzani who in addition to being the President of KDP and the leader of the Kurdish people and his revolution, is the only man that has successfully led the Kurdish nationalist movement in Iraq and whose leadership is widely believed in and accepted by the Kurdish people.

The political state of affairs in Iraq has been such that while the Kurdish Revolution has continuously grown in its organization and in its positive response to the principle of a peaceful solution for the Kurdish problem within Iraq, various Iraqi regimes have persisted in their insensitive and hostile policies toward the Kurdish people and their movement. However, the failure of racist and aggressive policies on the one hand and the resolution of the Kurdish people for their legitimate demands on the other hand, have finally and after long years of dampened hopes and broken promises brought the Ba'th Arab Socialist Party and the present Iraqi Government to a better and more responsive understanding of the nature of the Kurdish question and it was this understanding which resulted in the conclusion of the March Agreement.

Thus on March 11, 1970 the long and difficult struggle of the Kurdish people ended by the victory of the will of the people of Kurdistan, a victory that produced the March Agreement which recognizes and provides for autonomy for Kurdistan. The cornerstone of the ensuing alliance between the KDP and the Ba'th Arab

Socialist Party is nothing other than the latter's recognition and acceptance of the national rights of the Kurdish people, a recognition which will seem genuine only when the provisions of the Agreement are implemented fully and in good faith.

The March Agreement has established a principle which requires a constitutional, administrative and economic framework within which the concept as well as the practice of Kurdish autonomy must be consolidated. This the ruling Ba'th Arab Socialist Party and the Iraqi Government have failed to produce even after three and a half years of hopeful anticipation by the Kurdish people. This is not an attempt to deny the implementation of minor provisions of the Agreement during this period, but the fact remains that the provisions which have a direct bearing on the preservation and consolidation of the Kurdish national identity and the existence of the Kurdish people in his homeland of Kurdistan, have not only been ignored, but feverish and systematic efforts are being made to blur the reality of Kurdish existence in Southern Kurdistan and to disrupt and distort the geographic and ethnic homogeneity of Kurdistan.

The present policy of Arabization which is being diligently pursued inside Kurdistan is a perfect example of how sincere efforts for the implementation and practice of Kurdish autonomy have been replaced by sinister and systematic plans to arbitrarily detach parts from the area of the proposed Kurdish autonomy and to cut up and divide the area and population of Kurdistan. One has only to follow the progress of this hateful policy in the areas of Kirkuk, Khanaqin, Sinjar and parts of the provinces of Nineveh and Duhok to see in use such measures as the bringing of Arab tribes from outside to settle them in Kurdistan; the deliberate creation of antagonism between the Kurds and the ethnic and religious minorities living in Kurdistan; the resort to terror and the arming and financing of suspicious and pro-government elements; the mass deportation of Kurdish families and clans; and the pursuit of a definite policy of discrimination against the Kurds of these areas by refusing them government jobs and by arbitrarily transferring Kurdish civilian and military officials to the southern part of Iraq. All this is done to make life miserable for the original Kurdish population of these parts and consequently to force them out. One can only wonder whether such treatment by a government of its citizens can ever produce any sense of loyalty and belonging to a system which is so discriminating and which is that hostile. All this is in addition to the plots that are organized against the life of Barzani and the local military attacks which have been carried out against such areas of Kurdistan as 'Aqra, Barzan and others.

No doubt that the accumulative effect of all this has made the implementation of the provisions of the March Agreement more

complicated, although the Kurdish Revolution and the Kurdish people on their part continue to try and overlook the negative aspects of the present policy and to find points of agreement with the government in order to salvage a deteriorating situation and to spare the Iraqi people the recurrence of the sad and regretful events of the past. The Kurdish Revolution's policy of constantly asking the government to put an end to certain undesirable and unworkable policies and to instead cooperate towards a genuine implementation of the March Agreement is based on the belief that this type of cooperation is the only foundation upon which the sovereignty and independence of Iraq can be consolidated and by which peace and stability of not only Iraq but perhaps of the whole area of the Middle East can be affected. On the other hand if our call to reason fails and it is instead met with indifference and hostility, then the Kurdish people will no doubt practice the legitimate right of self defense whenever and wherever that becomes necessary.

The sense of fairness and responsibility that characterizes the leadership of the Kurdish Revolution, and the general feeling that cooperation and friendship with the Christian community is not only necessary but desirable have all caused the Kurdish Revolution to pay particular attention to solving the problems and insuring the well-being of this community in Kurdistan. As a practical application of these principles the Kurdish Revolution and the Kurdistan Democratic Party have established joint committees with the representatives of the Christian community to work with and help the religious leaders particularly in repairing, and preserving their places of worship; to keep contact with the Assyrian speaking community and to focus on their problems by publicising them in the KDP Publications; to ask the Christian community to present its own list of names of people who could be appointed as officials in their own areas; and in general to try and explain to them the rights and privileges which they will enjoy within the framework of an autonomous Kurdistan.

The Kurdish Revolution is also a social movement and as such it both depends on the support of the Kurdish people and strives to translate its own achievements into tangible services for the people of Kurdistan. Having suffered many years of official neglect and lack of development, the Kurdish community has remained plagued with many social and economic ills which require immediate and full attention. More than 75% of the people of Kurdistan remain illiterate, a situation which was aggravated by the constant disruption of education due to the general lack of peace and the lack of educational facilities within the liberated Kurdish areas. All this has led to the growth of a whole generation of Kurdish children without any education. To say that tuberculosis, kidney disease, rickets and

numerous contagious diseases are rampant throughout Kurdistan is to demonstrate in only few examples the constantly deteriorating health condition of the people of Kurdistan. The picture grows gloomier when we realize that health and sanitation facilities practically do not exist in the area and that facilities for the treatment and prevention of various diseases exist on a very limited scale. To effectively demonstrate this lack of medical care, one has only to state the fact that there is only one doctor for every 250,000 of the inhabitants and there is only a very small supporting group of dressers and male nurses.

The Kurdish Revolution therefore must broaden its social content and it intends to do this by focusing on community development in areas where the people need most help. In areas where the community needs direct assistance, such as in health and education, the Kurdish Revolution tries to help by operating the existing schools and hospitals, by opening new ones whenever possible, by attracting doctors and teachers and providing medical care when possible and available.

The Kurdish Revolution's concept of community development is also based on the principle of helping the people to help themselves. The thousands of village communities throughout liberated Kurdistan are not only deprived of basic tools of development, but they often are not even aware of how they can improve their own social and economic conditions with relatively little cost and effort. With all this in mind, the Kurdistan Democratic Party has recently created a Department for Community Development which will try to tackle the problems of rural Kurdistan, specifically those of health and education.

Needless to say that the ambitions and aspirations of this department by far exceed its means, for it is the organ of a movement which in turn is the product of a society that has remained poor and underdeveloped for too long. The fact that Arabization disperses and dislocates our population, and the fact that our political question remains unsolved, and that for more than a decade we have had to put everything else aside and to pick up arms in order to defend ourselves, all these are factors which have prevented the Kurdish Revolution and its various organs from keeping the economic and social conditions of Kurdistan from further deterioration, let alone trying to keep pace with the basic and increasing needs of our community.

While we confirm our belief in the fact that the peaceful solution of the Kurdish question in Iraq, based on the full implementation of the March Agreement and the consolidation of autonomy for Kurdistan, is the most correct and practical way of consolidating peace and national unity, we call upon all concerned and peace-

loving individuals to carry the peaceful message of our Kurdish people home to their peoples and governments. We also ask you to encourage the various humanitarian organizations in your countries to heed the call of the needy people of Kurdistan and to offer their help in the form of food, clothes, medical care and other basic needs. We finally invite the delegates of all friendly nations to come and visit Kurdistan in order to witness the difficult struggle which our people put up for their national existence and their dire need for help to lead a simple and peaceful life.

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## EXHIBIT B

*Kurdistan Democratic Party  
Kurdish Delegation Abroad  
INFORMATION NO. 1  
"Background to the March 1970 Agreement"  
23 April 1974, 3 pages*

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## **Iraqi Kurdistan Autonomy Movement Kurdish Delegation Abroad**

### **Background to the March 1970 Agreement**

Our national question is the legitimate desire of an ancient people to inhabit its own homeland and to determine its own destiny. This determination has enabled the Kurdish people to live bravely and to endure all the tragedies which befell it throughout its history.

The latest in this series of tragedies has been a savage military campaign against Iraqi Kurdistan by successive Iraqi governments during 1961-1970. This campaign intended to destroy our culture and national existence. However, the campaign failed and the will of the Iraqi people won out producing the historic March Agreement.

The Iraqi Kurdistan autonomy movement had once more proven its viability as a resistance movement against racial discrimination and a liberation movement against national oppression. The Ba'th Government had once more to submit to reason and to the desire of all people of Iraq for peace.

The March 11, 1970 Agreement was a harbinger of good will and optimism, especially since it could pave the way for the spread of a democratic atmosphere and the development of the country through diligent and persistent efforts. The Agreement can therefore be considered a victory for the Iraqi people in general and for the Kurdish people in particular. Immediately after the announcement of the Agreement, we began strengthening our relations with the Ba'th Arab Socialist Party. We were guided by the belief that our sincerity in working for the implementation of autonomy for Kurdistan and democratic rule for Iraq could best be demonstrated through efforts of cooperation between our two parties.

### **Failure to Institutionalize the Bi-National and Democratic Character of the Iraqi State**

The historic 15-article Agreement recognized the Kurdish people as a free and equal partner with the Arab people. A period of four years was specified in order to implement the Agreement during which Iraqi Kurdistan would become autonomous.

Since the Kurdish autonomy movement desired to remain an integral part of Iraq, the most fundamental article of the Agreement concerned the carrying out within one year of an official census delineating the boundaries of one united autonomous region for Iraqi Kurdistan. The central government failed to conduct this census. On this issue depends the exercise of genuine



national rights of the Kurdish people. Without a free and unincumbered census the promotion of Kurdish culture and education, of economic development and social services in the interest of a peaceful and prosperous bi-national Iraqi state can not be carried out.

We report with regret that Kurdish experiences during the past four years have dampened the high hopes which the Agreement initially inspired. The central government has not only ignored indefinitely the census which was to determine the boundaries of Iraqi Kurdistan, but has, on the contrary, resorted to large scale and illegal measures to change the ethnic composition of some Kurdish areas. More than 100,000 Kurds have been expelled from their ancient homesteads. Many have died, as they have been pushed into the mountainous regions and even across the frontiers into Iran and Turkey. Instead of an assured homeland, the Kurds suffer a refugee problem. The mass expulsions and deportations of entire clans and whole tribes was carried out under terror and various inhumane means. The Ba'th Government is thus practicing racial discrimination by uprooting large numbers of Kurds from their homelands and by forcefully settling non-Kurdish peoples in new and strange environments, especially in the Kurdish areas of Khanaqin and Sinjar, and the oil-rich province of Kirkuk.

Naturally, under such conditions, our Kurdish people began to rally overwhelmingly around the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) headed by General Mustafa Barzani. Two definite attempts have been made to assassinate Barzani. The plots were organized by well-known government officials. On all social and economic levels discriminatory policies continue to be practiced against Iraqi citizens of Kurdish nationality. For example, Iraqi Kurdish nationals are rejected at military and police colleges; discriminated against in matters of public posts and the allocation of scholarships; and suffer from severe economic neglect and lack of social services. The government even turned down in September 1970 a United Nations offer of \$100 million effort to build projects in Iraqi Kurdistan. Although major Iraqi resources emanate from Iraqi Kurdistan, the Kurdish people are deprived of any serious share therein.

The unilateral announcement of March 11, 1974 by the Ba'th Government, introducing a Kurdish "autonomy", constitutes a breach of the 1970 Agreement, because it attempts to isolate the Kurdish movement for self-determination by circumventing the very party (KDP) with which the March Agreement had been concluded. The negotiations during the past four years increasingly failed to deal with the KDP as the mutually agreed on partner for laying the foundations for a unified, peaceful and prosperous Iraq. Rather, the government hoped to divide the Kurdish people, to intimidate their leaders, and to prepare for military action against them.

The Kurdistan Democratic Party, sadly speaking, began to uncover as early as 1972 a new startling and provocative development on the military front. The Iraqi Government has been obtaining considerable quantities of chemical weapons. The poison gas thus acquired — the use of which is forbidden by international law — is of two kinds. One penetrates the human body through the respiratory system, causing death; the other type causes temporary unconsciousness for a minimum of 48 hours. They are presently being stored in the Taji Camp west of the capital Baghdad, at headquarters of the Iraqi

Army's Second Division in Kirkuk, and with the Fourth Division in Mosul. The Iraqi Army is training with 50,000 gas masks in the use of these deadly and indiscriminate weapons.

The Kurdish people are convinced that a "final solution" — the genocidal ramifications of which can not be ignored — was being prepared for them during the same period, when negotiations for an autonomous status were supposed to be carried out.

### **Resumption of Hostilities**

For more than a decade the Kurdistan Democratic Party and its military arm, the Pesh Marga have been in control of roughly half of the 80,000 square km of Iraqi Kurdistan. Under conditions of war and repression the Kurdish people have built up a de facto autonomy and major governmental services that go with it. The Kurdish people expected that their own established and widely accepted institutions of health, education, justice and community development would be expanded and de jure recognized as a result of the implementation of full autonomy. However, the unilateral offer of the so-called "autonomy" by the Iraqi Government presented less than the people had achieved by their own sacrifices and efforts.

Moreover, the sole guarantee for the best atmosphere within which autonomy, security and prosperity for the Kurdish people can flourish, is the general framework of a democratic system of government for Iraq as a whole. There are various Arab political groups who agree with the views of the Kurdish people on autonomy for Iraqi Kurdistan and democracy for Iraq.

The renewed violence of the Ba'th government against the Kurdish people has released the Kurds from any obligations to look to that government as the sole arbitrator of Kurdish autonomy. The imminent announcement by the KDP declaring Iraqi Kurdistan autonomous according to the Agreement of 1970 purports to end the persistent pursuit of chauvinistic policies by successive Iraqi regimes and prepare the way for genuine negotiations and cooperation between two nations to build one socially just and democratic Iraqi state.

The present unwillingness and inability of the Iraqi government to accord the Kurdish aspirations the internationally recognized form, will contribute inevitably to a serious deterioration of the situation and lessen the chances for establishing lasting peace in the Middle East. As long as the Iraqi government provokes internal hostility in Iraq, a threat to international peace and security remains.

## EXHIBIT C

*United Nations Development Program  
Exploratory Mission to Northern Iraq  
(9 to 28 October 1970)  
Report, vol. 11, Annexes, Summary and Recommendations  
"Extracts from the Peace Agreement of 11 March 1970  
as Taken from the Translation Provided by the  
Ministry and Culture and Information of Iraq"  
January 1971,*

کتابخانه  
اسلامی

The Revolutionary Council, in a statement issued on 11 March 1970, announced a complete and constitutional settlement of the Kurdish issue. The historic announcement was made by the President of the Republic and Chairman of the RCC over Baghdad Television and radio networks. The following is the extracts from the statement:

The Revolutionary Command Council affirms its determination to deepen and broaden all effective measures for achieving the full means of cultural and economic resurgence and general development in the Kurdish area, seeking in the first place to enable the Kurdish masses to exercise their legitimate rights and assure their actual participation in earnest endeavours to build a homeland and struggle for the fulfilment of its major nationalist goals. Thereupon, The Revolutionary Command Council has resolved on the following:

1. The Kurdish language shall be, along side with the Arabic Language, the official language in areas populated by a Kurdish majority. The Kurdish language shall be the language of instruction in these areas. Arabic language shall be taught in all schools, where the Kurdish language is the language of instruction while the Kurdish language shall be taught in schools throughout Iraq as a second language within the limits stipulated by law.

2. The sharing of our Kurdish brothers in Government and non-discrimination between the Kurds and others in the assumption of public offices including sensitive and important posts in the state such as cabinet portfolios, army command, etc., have been and still remain among the important objectives which the Revolutionary Government seeks to achieve. The Revolutionary Government, in approving this principle, stresses the necessity of working for its fulfilment in an equitable ratio with due regard to the principle of efficiency the proportionate distribution of inhabitants and the inequities which had befallen our Kurdish brothers in the past.

3. In view of the state of backwardness which in the past, afflicted the Kurdish nationality from the cultural and educational standpoints, a plan shall be worked out to make good that backwardness. This is to be achieved by: A. Speeding up the implementation of the resolution of the Revolutionary Command Council concerning the language and the cultural right of the Kurdish people and placing under the jurisdiction of the Directorate General of Kurdish Culture and Information the task of preparing and steering radio and television programmes concerning Kurdish national issues.

B. Reinstating all students who were dismissed or were compelled to leave the school on account of the circumstances of violence in the area regardless of their ages or producing a convenient remedy for their problem.

C. Building more schools in the Kurdish area, elevating the standards of schooling and education and admitting in just proportions Kurdish students to universities, military colleges, educational missions and fellowship.

4. In the administrative units, populated by a Kurdish majority, officials shall be from among Kurds or from among persons well-versed in the Kurdish language provided the required number is available. Appointment shall be made of the principal officials — Governor, Qaimaqam, Police Commandant, Security Director, etc. Work will promptly commence to develop state machineries in the area in consultation with the High

Committee supervising the implementation of this statement in a manner assuring such implementation and cementing national unity and stability in the area.

5. The Government concedes to the Kurdish people its right to set up student, youth, women and teachers organisation of its own — such organisations to become affiliated in the corresponding national Iraqi organisations.

A. The operative period of paras (1) and (2) of the RCC's resolution N° 59 dated August 5, 1968, shall be extended right up to the date of the issuance of this statement and shall extend to all of those who took part in the acts of violence in the Kurdish area.

B. Workers, Officials and employees — both civilian and military, shall return to service without this being affected by cadre restrictions. The civilians among them shall be put to use in the Kurdish area within the limits of its requirements.

C. A body of specialists shall be constituted to work for uplifting the Kurdish area in all spheres as quickly as possible and for compensating it for what has descended upon it in the past number of years. An adequate budget is to be set aside for this purpose. The body in question shall operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Northern Affairs.

D. The economic plan shall be drawn up in such a way as to assure equal development to various parts of Iraq with due attention to the Kurdish area.

E. Pension salaries shall be made for the families of those who met with martyrdom in the regrettable circumstances of hostilities from among the members of the Kurdish armed movement and others as well as to the persons who became disabled or deformed as a result of those conditions. This is to be enacted by a special legislation on the pattern of other legislations in force.

F. Speedy efforts shall be made to provide relief to stricken and needy persons through the accomplishment of housing projects and others assuring work to the unemployed. Appropriate in kind and cash subsidies shall also be made available and reasonable compensation offered to those stricken persons who need help. This all is to be entrusted to the High Committee. Excluded from this shall be the persons covered by the above paras.

8. The inhabitants of Arab and Kurdish villages shall be restored to their former places of habitation. As to the villagers of areas where housing units cannot be set up and which are taken over by the Government for public utility purposes under law, they shall be resettled in neighbouring areas and duly compensated.

9. Speedy measures shall be taken to implement the Agrarian Reform law in the Kurdish area and amending it in such a manner as guarantees the liquidation of feudal relations and the acquisition of appropriate plots of land side by side with waiving for them agricultural taxes accumulating over the years of unfortunate hostilities.

10. It has been agreed to amend the Interim Constitution as follows:

A. The people of Iraq is made up of two principal nationalities; the Arab nationality and the Kurdish nationality. This Constitution confirms the national rights of the Kurdish people and the rights of all minorities within the framework of Iraqi unity.

B. The following para shall be added to Article (4) of th Constitution: the Kurdish language, alongside with the Arabic language, shall be an official

language in the Kurdish area.

C. The above shall be confirmed in the Permanent Constitution.

**11.** The broadcasting station and heavy weapons shall be returned to the Government — this being tied up to the implementation of the final stages of the agreement.

**12.** A Kurd shall be one of the vice-presidents.

**13.** The Governorates Law shall be amended in a manner conforming with the substance of this statement.

**14.** Following the announcement of the statement, necessary measures shall be taken, in consultation with the High Committee supervising its implementation to unify the governorates and administrative units populated by a Kurdish majority in accordance with official census operations yet to be made. The state shall endeavour to develop this administrative unity and deepen and broaden the exercising by the Kurdish people therein of the sum of its national rights as a guarantee to its enjoyment of self-rule. Until this administrative unity is achieved, the Kurdish national affairs shall be coordinated through periodical meetings between the High Committee and the governors of the northern area. As the self-rule is to be achieved within the framework of the Iraqi Republic, the exploitation of national riches in the area will naturally be under the jurisdiction of the authorities of this Republic.

**15.** The Kurdish people shall share in the legislative power in a manner proportionate to its population ratio in Iraq.

“Kurdish countrymen, these gains scored by the Revolution will be nothing more than a step for the full achievement of your national goals in the shade of this beloved homeland and the unity of its great people. History will bear witness that you did not have and never will have a sincere brother and dependable ally as the Arab people.

“Masses of our great people. It is your will-power concerning national unity which alone will triumph. On the rock of your appreciation of your historic responsibilities shall be smashed up all endeavours made to undermine your cohesion of struggle. Your struggling masses, shedding off the dust of the intrigues of your enemies and the elements having greedy designs on you, shall proceed together in one mass overflowing with power, consciousness and determination for work and struggle, to come to the help of the major cause of the Arab nation, the Palestine cause and to attain to your sublime goals respecting unity, liberty and socialism.

“Masses of our struggling Arab nation, One of the chapters of the history of this struggling country is thus folded and a new bright one is opened by the hand of the Revolution and the hand of all free strugglers of the country. This is a new chapter where once more on this good land are renewed the conditions of love, peace and fraternity between two nationalities with common history of struggle extending far back into history. Today, tomorrow and forever, theirs will be the honour of reviving their common struggle to destroy the enemies of the two nationalities, the enemies of peoples and of humanity in its entirety, namely imperialism, Zionism and backwardness. Theirs, too, will be the honour of joint contribution to back up human struggle for liberation and advancement and for placing the civilization of the age on foundations of right, equality and justice between all peoples.

Forward to joint struggle, joint hopes and longings and nationalist and human joint victories.

THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND COUNCIL

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## EXHIBIT D

*Kurdistan Democratic Party  
Kurdish Delegation Abroad  
INFORMATION No. 2*

*“What happened during four years to institutionalize  
Kurdish autonomy (1970-1974)?”  
24 April 1974,*

هواننامهی کتیب



## **Iraqi Kurdistan Autonomy Movement Kurdish Delegation Abroad**

### **What Happened During Four Years to Institutionalize Kurdish Autonomy (1970-74)?**

#### **1970**

January: After failure of military campaign against Kurdistan by the Iraqi Army, negotiations begin between the Ba'th Arab Socialist Party and the Kurdistan Democratic Party.

March 11th: Agreement concluded between the Ba'th Government and the Kurdistan Democratic Party on the basis of autonomy for Kurdistan.

End of June: Government announces new Iraqi Constitution. Article on the Kurdish people undermines their recognition as distinct nationality within Iraq.

July 1-10: 8th Congress of the Kurdistan Democratic Party is held in Nawpirdan. Signs of Kurdish disillusionment with the state of affairs noted.

Mid Dec: Attempt on the life of Idris Barzani is made while in Baghdad to congratulate President Bakr on the occasion of the Muslim Feast.

#### **1971**

March 11th: Deadline for the holding of a census to determine area of Kurdish autonomy is ignored.

July: Supported by air power and artillery, the Iraqi Army attacks Barzan region.

September 29th: Attempt is made to assassinate General Barzani: members of religious delegation carrying bombs explode while General Barzani comes out unharmed.

Late September: Forty thousand Faily Kurds are expelled and sent across the border into Iran. Many families remain living in tents as refugees. Iraqi citizenship certificates of many of those expelled are taken away by the Iraqi Army and destroyed.

#### **1972**

July 16th: Second attempt is made on the life of General Barzani (following the execution of Nadhim Kizar, Chief of Iraqi Security, the Ba'th admits Kizar's official role in both attempts on Barzani's life).

#### **1973**

July 17th: Announcement of the National Front between the Ba'th Party

and the Iraqi Communist Party. The Front is fashioned to legitimize Ba'th control of power and the Kurdistan Democratic Party is not consulted on the make-up of that Front.

## 1974

January 17th: Negotiations begin between the Ba'th Government and the Kurdistan Democratic Party for the final formulation of autonomy for Kurdistan.

February: Brigadir Taha al-Shakarchi, notorious for his brutality and massacre of civilians in the Kurdish town of Koysanjaq in 1963, is named as Commander of the newly created 8th Division stationed in Arbil.

400 Kurdish workers and technicians employed in the oilfields of Kirkuk are transferred en masse, and their families are ordered to leave the Kirkuk province immediately. The measure is an obvious intensification of the plan to alter the ethnic composition of the Kirkuk population.

February 8th: Under direct orders of the Governor of Kirkuk and the Commander of the 2nd Division, Kurdish inhabitants of 15 villages in the proximities of the Kirkuk city are forcibly evacuated.

February 18th: Two MI 8 armored helicopters attempt a landing in the Kirkuk area and are shot down by the Pesh Merga.

February 21st: A unit of the Iraqi Army enters the town of Kifri and establishes a garrison and orders the immediate evacuation of 200 inhabitants and their homes are levelled with bulldozers.

February 22nd: Kurdish delegation returns to Baghdad to break the deadlock in negotiations. The delegation is not received and returns to Kurdistan without results.

March 1st: At a cafe frequented by KDP members and students a time bomb explodes killing 3 students and injuring 8 others. Investigation reveals the role of Iraqi Security agents in the incident.

March 3rd: While Kurdish delegation prepares to leave for Baghdad for another round of negotiations, a surprise announcement is made by the Government-sponsored National Front regarding the Government's intention to declare its own plan for Kurdish "autonomy".

March 5th-7th: President Bakr reads on radio and television the political report of the 8th Congress of the Ba'th Arab Socialist Party. The report attacks the Kurdistan Democratic Party and indicates the Government's intention to announce unilaterally its own plan for "autonomy".

March 8th: Idris Barzani flies to Baghdad on a 24-hour mission to negotiate with Vice President Saddam Tikriti. Fruitless meeting. The visit extremely unpopular with Kurdish masses and KDP activists fearing for Idris Barzani's safety, however General Barzani feels it is important to make the final and genuine effort towards a settlement.

March 11th: President Bakr unilaterally announces the law of "autonomy".

## Consequences of Iraqi Government's Unilateral Announcement of "Autonomy"

March 12th: Kurdish Ministers, Governors and senior officials resign.

Saddam Tikriti gives 15-day ultimatum to the Kurds to accept Government's plan.

Exodus of Kurdish civilian population begins from Government-controlled areas to the Kurdish liberated zone.

March 14th: At Galala prominent KDP leaders hold mass meeting and review current situation and discuss future plans. Discussion includes reasons for rejecting the Government's "autonomy", KDP's own plan for autonomy, guidelines to safeguard the safety and well-being of the masses in the liberated areas and under the difficult and rapidly deteriorating conditions, plans for building air-raid shelters, avoiding unnecessary exposure during daytime, night office hours, partial blackout, and camouflage measures.

March 24th: Soviet Defense Minister arrives in Baghdad, reported on a mission to prevent the outbreak of war between the Pesh Merga and the Iraqi Army.

March 26th: Government ultimatum expires.

March 27th: President Bakr announces a 30-day amnesty for government employees to rejoin their posts.

The Ba'th Government begins publication of a newspaper under the name Al-Taakhi which falsely claims to be the organ of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (the official KDP newspaper Taakhi ceased publication on March 12, 1974 due to the current political situation).

March 29th: Radio Kurdistan begins transmission.

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## **Kurdish People Rally to Defend their National Survival**

The exodus of the Kurdish population from the cities and towns of Government-controlled Kurdistan was a political demonstration both in protest against the Ba'th unilateral announcement of Kurdish "autonomy" and in support of KDP's stand under the leadership of General Barzani. In addition to the nearly 100,000 people who have left those areas, others have come in the last few weeks. They are:

- almost the entire police force from the major Kurdish cities (5,000)
- 30 professors and 600 students from the Sulaimani University (the University has been closed down and courses are being conducted in the liberated area)
- 70 doctors (there were only half a dozen doctors in the liberated area before March 11, 1974)
- 150 engineers
- 4,200 teachers
- 250 police officers
- 100 Arab junior officers and soldiers
- workers and technicians, especially those expelled and arbitrarily transferred.
- KDP cadres and activists plus members of affiliated Kurdish organizations

The KDP has set up various committees to absorb and care for these masses. A very difficult situation has arisen due to shortage in housing, food, medical care and under the very severe weather conditions many children and old people have died.

The Kurdistan Women's Union has appealed to international and humanitarian organizations for help.

Ismail Mulla Aziz, one of the three KDP Central Committee members who had left for Baghdad, has now returned to the liberated area and has revealed the Government's plot to subvert the KDP leadership.

Three Arab political parties have in a statement, distributed clandestinely in Baghdad and broadcast over Radio Kurdistan, condemned the Ba'th stand on the Kurdish question and have expressed their support for the stand of the KDP. They consider the Government's version of "autonomy" a retrograde step having dire consequences for both the Arab and Kurdish nations of Iraq. These parties are: Workers Revolutionary Party headed by Ali Salih al-Sadi, former secretary of the Ba'th Party and former Vice Premier in the Iraqi Government; the Socialist Nationalist Congress; and the Arab Socialist Movement.

## **War Comes Again to Kurdistan**

April 1-2: Fighting occurs between Pesh Merga and a column of the Iraqi motorized and armored unit advancing along the Sulaimani-Dukan road. Pesh Merga blocks the road and stops Iraqi advance. Iraqi force estimated as a motorized infantry battalion reinforced by tank units and artillery. Iraqis suffer heavy losses, two tanks and pieces of artillery are destroyed and about

100 soldiers are killed and wounded. Kurdish casualties were three dead and one wounded.

An Iraqi force tries to capture a Kurdish forward position in the Spilik range and Pesh Merga retaliates. Iraqi force retreats leaving four dead, small arms and several communication sets.

April 8th: Heavy air attacks against Kurdish villages in Gali Ali Beg near Rawanduz. Three Iraqi aircraft including a troop carrying helicopter are shot down.

April 9th: Military clash takes place at Cheeman near Kirkuk and the battle lasts from morning until 3:00 p.m.

Iraq applies economic blockade against the Kurdish liberated area to stop virtually all supplies to Iraqi Kurdistan.

April 15: Iraqi Army attacks Spilik near Rawanduz and tries airlifting reinforcements into a beleaguered 3,000-man garrison. Attempt fails.

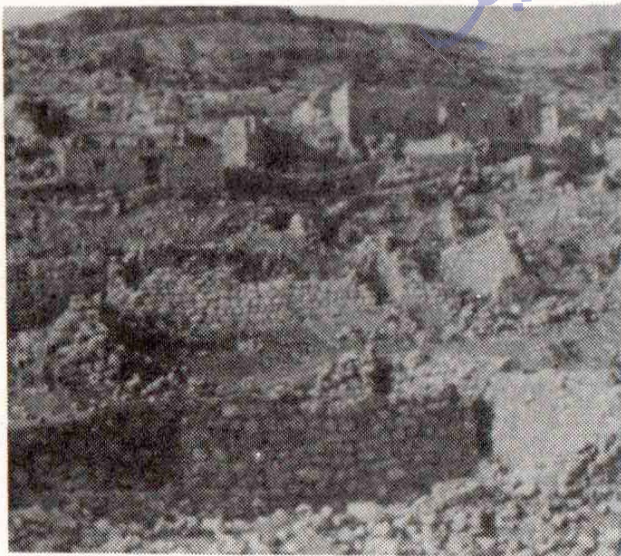
April 18th: Iraqi planes destroy 11 Kurdish villages near the Kirkuk oil fields.

Kurdish Delegation Abroad

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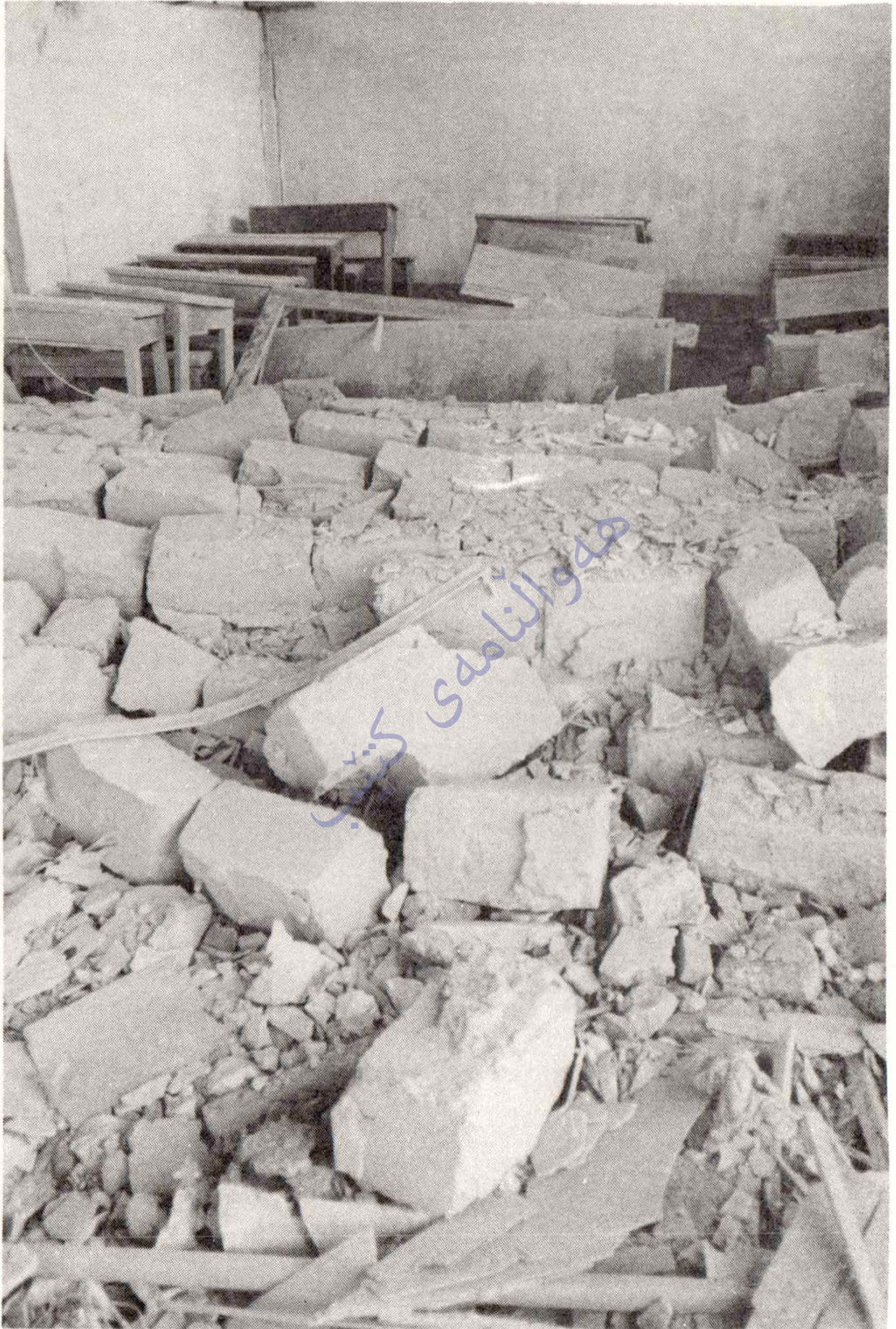
هه و النامه كتيب



*A Sample of Destroyed Kurdish Villages*



*Destroyed quarter in Qala Diza*



*Remnants of a school and students desks*



## EXHIBIT E

*Kurdistan Democratic Party  
Information Department  
"The Deployment of the Iraqi Army against Kurdistan"  
March 1974,*

سکھ و النامہ کی کتب



*Pesh Merga troops at the front brandish guns in preparation for Iraqis attack. PHOTO — DAVID GRAEME-BAKER/SIPA PRESS*



*Pesh Merga with a captured weapon.*



*Despite the high emotional feeling in Kurdistan since the government's bombing of civilian towns, the Iraqi prisoners are well-treated. "It's like home," said one. "No it's better here," rejoined another. Many prisoners openly admit that they were very happy to be taken by the Pesh Merga as they were disillusioned with the war and believe the Kurds have a right to autonomy.*  
PHOTO — DAVID GRAEME-BAKER/SIPA PRESS

## EXHIBIT F

*Kurdistan Democratic Party  
Information Department &  
Kurdish Delegation Abroad  
"List of 15 Towns and 204 Villages Bombed  
from Mid-April to the End of May 1974"  
30 May 1974*

کتابخانه  
کتابخانه

## List of 15 Towns and 205 Villages Bombed in Iraqi Kurdistan by May 1974

### 1. List of Towns Bombed:

Qala Diza  
Halabja  
Rania  
Zakho  
Amadia  
Galala  
Mangaish  
Bamarne

Chouman  
Aqra  
Rawanduz  
Diana  
Heeran  
Aghjlar  
Sangusar

### 2. List of Villages Bombed

### District in which Located

1- Kani Sard  
2- Faqe Jenna  
3- Gollan  
4- Sema Qa  
5- Qarana  
6- Bani Khailan  
7- Jamerga  
8- Aobara  
9- Zhala  
10- Garmek  
11- Bani Bee  
12- Gorgaichowsoor  
13- Jotera  
14- Bejeel  
15- Nahha  
16- Kalash Karam  
17- Bibi  
18- Khanaka  
19- Zana  
20- Jona  
21- Kherpai  
22- Kharos  
23- Smqoq  
24- Mawara  
25- Derbendi Shaq Lawa  
26- Meerawa  
27- Mama Jelka  
28- Dar Qasp  
29- Kova Nook  
30- Deelman  
31- Qasre  
32- Walsh

Derbandikhan  
Derbandikhan  
Derbandikhan  
Taq Taq  
Taq Taq  
Derbandikhan  
Derbandikhan  
Derbandikhan  
Derbandikhan  
Derbandikhan  
Derbandikhan  
Derbandikhan  
Chamchamal  
Rawanduz  
Aqra  
Aqra  
Sulaimani  
Sulaimani  
Aqra  
Aqra  
Aqra  
Aqra  
Aqra  
Aqra  
Shaq lawa  
Shaq Lawa  
Shaq Lawa  
Shaq Lawa  
Shaq Lawa  
Shaq Lawa  
Choumar  
Chouman  
Chouman

## List of Villages Bombed

## District in which Located

List of Villages Bombed	District in which Located
33- Merga	Chouman
34- Sheewalok	Chouman
35- Walze	Chouman
36- Mami Khalan	Chouman
37- Koshkan	Chouman
38- Ben Dayzan	Chouman
39- Now Perdan	Chouman
40- Shaikh Watman	Chouman
41- Haji Omran	Chouman
42- Dailzai	Chouman
43- Dar al-Salam	Chouman
44- Baishai	Chouman
45- Kawarte	Chouman
46- Khanak	Chouman
47- Bar Sereen	Chouman
48- Raizan	Chouman
49- Wasan	Chouman
50- Zeeno	Chouman
51- Derband	Chouman
52- Dola	Zakho
53- Baizehai	Zakho
54- Sharnesh	Zakho
55- Razgari	Zakho
56- Baiva	Zakho
57- Skreen	Amadia
58- Dairai	Amadia
59- Kani Masi	Amadia
60- Qomrie	Amadia
61- Baibo	Amadia
62- Zaweeta	Dahok
63- Swaratooka	Amadia
64- Bistana Gawra	Arbil
65- Bistana Gejka	Arbil
66- Chamerga	Arbil
67- Konna Gorg	Arbil
68- Baiz Agha	Qoisanjaq
69- Goma Sheen	Qoisanjaq
70- Smaqoli Saro	Qoisanjaq
71- Smaqoli Khowro	Qoisanjaq
72- Jeli	Qoisanjaq
73- Haji Qala	Qoisanjaq
74- Turkman Bakh	Kirkut
75- Homarmandan	Kirkut
76- Raidar	Kirkut
77- Bapilan	Kirkut
78- Karaiza	Kirkut
79- Kar Diz	Arbil
80- Rasool Biscoal	Qoisanjaq

## List of Villages Bombed

## District in which Located

81- Akhora	Qoisanjaq
82- Talaban	Qoisanjaq
83- Shakhapeeska	Qoisanjaq
84- Dar Basar	Qoisanjaq
85- Ashkaft Saqa	Qoisanjaq
86- Degala	Qoisanjaq
87- Peerur	Qoisanjaq
88- Bana Mord	Qoisanjaq
89- Harmota	Qoisanjaq
90- Shiwashan	Qoisanjaq
91- Qashqa	Arbil
92- Khorkhor	Arbil
93- Halaja	Arbil
94- Beera Jina	Arbil
95- Lajan	Arbil
96- Nazaneen	Arbil
97- Garota	Shaq Lawa
98- Balisan	Shaq Lawa
99- Kona Flosa	Shaq Lawa
100- Siktan	Shaq Lawa
101- Kani Maran	Qoisanjaq
102- Sordash	Sulaimani
103- Homer Qom	Sulaimani
104- Sargalow	Sulaimani
105- Qalam Pasha	Dokan
106- Haladen	Sulaimani
107- Qamchogha	Sulaimani
108- Marga	Qala Diza
109- Sarsian	Qala Diza
110- Shadala	Sulaimani
111- Choghmagh	Sulaimani
112- Malooma	Sulaimani
113-Qameesh	Chawarta
114- Isawe	Chawarta
115- Khezana	Chawarta
116- Awa Korte	Chawarta
117- Banalai	Chawarta
118- Safra	Chawarta
119- Zaroon	Chawarta
120- Gapilon	Sulaimani
121- Barzinja	Chawarta
122- Soraban	Halabja
123- Biara	Halabja
124- Shorsh	Halabja
125- Khana Sor	Halabja
126- Sar Shata	Halabja
127- Qashan	Chawarta
128- Mawkaba	Chawarta



## List of Villages Bombed

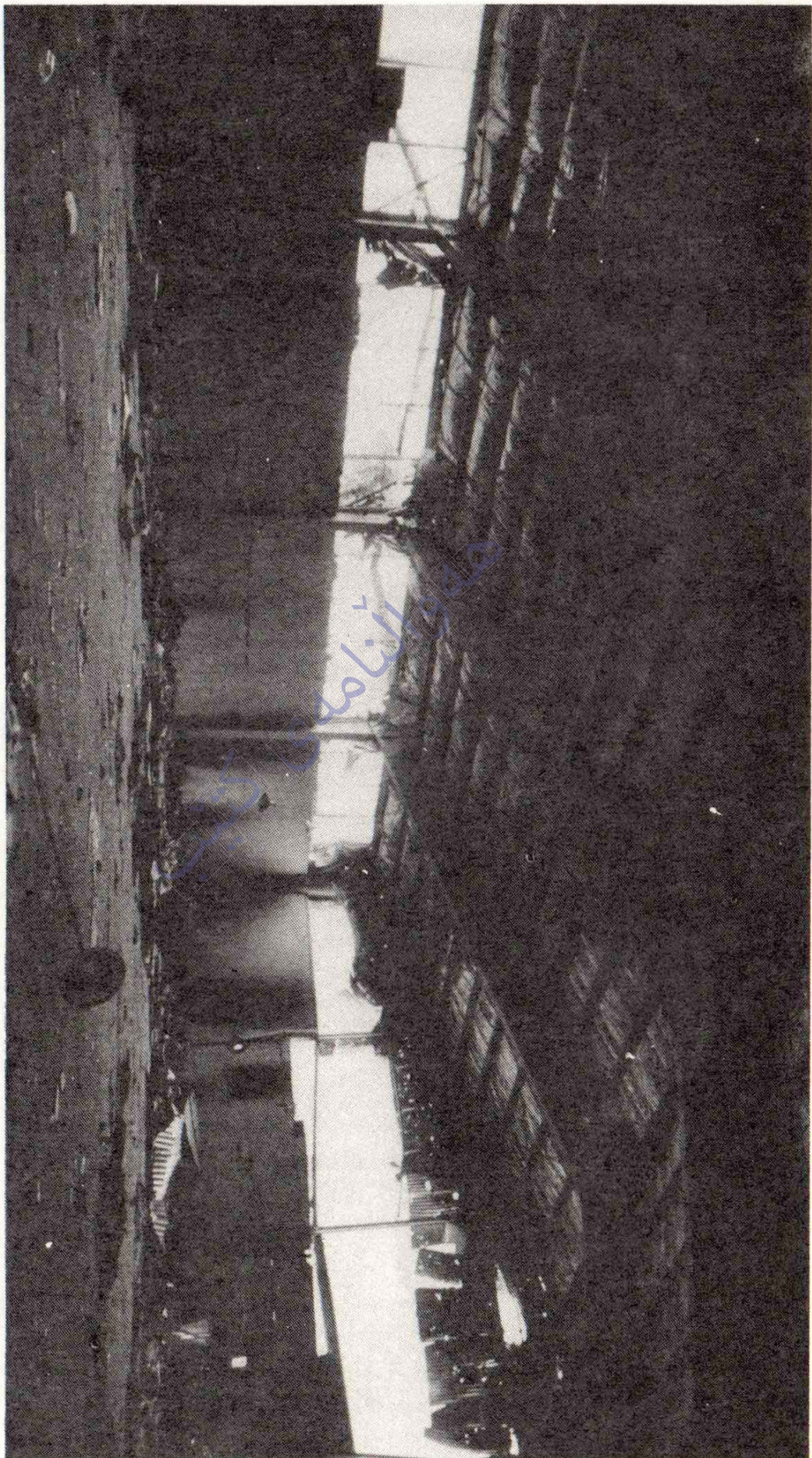
## District in which Located

129- Konna Masi	Chawarta
130- Zarain	Halabja
131- Khaili Baba	Halabja
132- Halshow	Qala Diza
133- Sunai	Qala Diza
134- Shainai	Qala Diza
135- Makho Biznan	Qala Diza
136- Baisheer	Qala Diza
137- Sendolan	Qala Diza
138- Laiwzha	Qala Diza
139- Ain Dizai	Qala Diza
140- Bolai	Qala Diza
141- Sinamoka	Qala Diza
142- Komtan	Qala Diza
143- Dola	Qala Diza
144- Rabat	Kirkuk
145- Khalo Baziani	Kirkuk
146- Qadir Karam	Kirkuk
147- Sodka	Kirkuk
148- Asker	Kirkuk
149- Haidar Abad	Kirkuk
150- Sang Aw	Kirkuk
151- Horain	Khanakeen
152- Shaikha	Khanakeen
153- Peeroz Khan	Khanakeen
154- Sartak	Khanakeen
155- Bakha Hanaran	Khanakeen
156- Pelngan	Rania
157- Betwata	Rania
158- Sarowchawa	Rania
159- Golan	Rania
160- Bar Dang	Rania
161- Norai	Rania
162- Warte	Rania
163- Selai	Qala Diza
164- Bo Griskan	Qala Diza
165- Zargali	Qala Diza
166- Sidakan	Rawandoz
167- Roast	Chouman
168- Araden	Amadia
169- Atroosh	Ain Sefni
170- Shiwashoq	Qoisanjaq
171- Ilala	Qoisanjaq
172- Shawgair	Qoisanjaq
173- Dar Baroo	Qoisanjaq
174- Kani Bizra	Qoisanjaq
175- Awa Kurte	Chawarti
176- Kifra Doal	Rani



*What is left of a family and home after an air attack.*

*QALA DISA – population 25,000, suffered an air attack at 9:15 a.m. 24 April, which lasted 3 minutes. Two Sukhov-7's of the Iraqi government made a low altitude attack on the undefended township – first with bombs, then rockets and finally cannon fire. Hitting the university, the school, the hospital and surrounding houses they inflicted 131 deaths, all civilians – and many wounded. One father of a family of 9 lost every member in his family during the attack – all that he could find of his daughter was a handful of hair.*



## EXHIBIT G

*Kuristan Democratic Party*

*Information Department*

*“Some Examples of Acts of Genocide against the Kurdish People — Civilian Bombings, Massacres, Executions, Atrocities, Expulsions, Deportations and Acts of Terror”*

*20 May 1974,*

سازمان اسناد و کتابخانه ملی  
کتابخانه ملی

## Examples of Acts of Genocide against the Kurdish People — Civilian Bombings, Massacres, Executios, Atrocities, Expulsions, Deportations and Acts of Terror

On 9 June 1963, the Ba'th Government ordered a round-up of 128 innocent Kurds in the city of Sulaimaniya and transported them to the outskirts of that city, where they were executed en masse and dumped into a mass grave.

During the *second half of June 1963*, the Republican Quarter in Kirkuk with 1,200 houses and 24 villages north of the town in the Dibis area, were attacked by tanks and levelled to the ground by bulldozers. Innumerable people were killed, others fled for their lives without any belongings. Up to May 1974, the Government still refuses to allow the people to rebuild their homes. Their land is being exploited by others, despite the fact that there was an explicit clause in the *Peace Agreement 1970*, guaranteeing the return of the villagers to their land. An eyewitness account of this act of genocide was published by a correspondent of the *London Telegraph*. For the names of the villages see also *Exhibits F and I*.

At the *end of June 1963*, on the order of the Ba'th Government, in the Kurdish town of Koy Sanijaq six innocent Kurds were tied to telephone posts and executed.

In *July 1963*, Taha al-Shakarchi (who was appointed in February 1974 commander of the Eighth Iraqi Army Division) was commanding officer of an Army unit near Koy Sanjaq. Near the village of Chinarook he rounded up the 15 Kurdish non-commissioned officers of his unit, forced them into a tea-house, where he had them crushed to death by rolling his tanks over the house. Six months later, and after the collapse of the Ba'th regime, the bodies of the NCOs were discovered.

In *Spring 1966*, in the village of Saruchawa, close to the town of Raniya, and while an Army unit was approaching menacingly, the village elders, led by the village Mulla (village priest), holding out the Koran, appealed for mercy on behalf of the entire village community. In response, they were all mowed down by machine guns and buried in a mass grave.

On *19 August 1969*, the village of Dakan within the Shaikhan district (Mosul province) fell into the hands of an Iraqi Army unit. The Children and women of the village had already taken refuge in a cave close by. Under direct orders of and supervision by the commander of the Fourth Division and the commander of the Shaikhan district, the Iraqi Army surrounded the cave and burned alive the 67 women and children trapped inside.

In *September 1969*, the Christian village of Soria in the Zakho area was surrounded by tanks from every direction and shelled until no inhabitants were left alive.

On *9 October 1969*, a Kurdish representative met the President of the United Nations General Assembly at New York, where he presented to him a memorandum supported with documents and photographs condemning the Government's dastardly acts at the village of Dakan.

On *30 January 1973*, Iraqi Army forces attempted to take over the Shaikhan region of Khaneqin, expelling scores of families from their ancient homesteads and killing innocents who refused to leave. Despite the fact that

representatives of the KDP and the Ba'th Party were negotiating the implementation of the Peace Agreement 1970 on Kurdish Autonomy for Kurdistan, the Ba'th Party ordered to terrorize and to kill systematically the Kurdish population.

On 9 February 1973, Iraqi artillery shelled the village of Yosfan in the Sinjar region. The reason for the indiscriminate and inhuman shelling was the refusal of the local inhabitants to be enrolled in the Ba'th Party. The shooting caused the death of ten women and five children. Eleven members of the local KDP were summarily executed and shot in the open street.

On 26 February 1973, Iraqi soliders employed brutal methods, when searching houses of Kurdish inhabitants of Sinjar.

On 6 March 1973, 46 Kurdish peasants were expelled from the Ghere village in Kirkuk region and Arab tribesmen were settled in their place.

On 7 March 1973, the Ba'th Party gives order to the inhabitants of the village Qazan Belagh, in Qara Hasan, Kirkuk region to evacuate the village under the pretext of national interest. The village is far from any oil fields and any military installations.

On 26 March 1973, a number of Iraqi soldiers, belonging to a unit of the Fourth Division whose commander was on inspection tour, attempted to molest sexually 12-year old Ferma Mohammed from Dinarta in Aqara region. When the child resisted, he was assaulted and knocked unconscious. Thereafter, the Iraqi soldiers bound his legs to a mule, to be dragged along the ground.

On 27 March 1973, the same unit attacked the village of Dinarta, expelling the inhabitants of the village. Nine men were killed, trying to defend the inhabitants, including 65 year old headman Haji Ali Amda.

On 24 April 1973, a telegram of the Zakho region informs the KDP about additional large numbers of refugees fleeing from Sinjar as a result of continual terror being applied by the Iraqi authorities there. The refugees lack food and are shelterless

On 15 May 1973, a brigade of the Iraqi Army enters the village of Teqteq in Shaikhan area. The two hundred families there are terrorized and expelled. They flee into the mountains.

On 22 May 1973, more than two hundred families are terrorized and expelled from Ain Safin region by the Iraqi Army. The families are left shelterless and starving. Although a serious smallpox epidemic breaks out among the children, the Iraqi health centers in the region refuse to treat them. Over one hundred children died.

On 24 May 1973, two bodies are found in the river Wandin Khaneqin. The security forces of the Iraqi Government claimed that these bodies had been washed ashore by a flood. The bodies were, however, identified as of two local men who had been tortured by the Army recruiting forces and had subsequently been shot and thrown into the river.

On 8 June 1973, Iraqi police forces were sent to the villages Annare and Tel-Ades to arrest eight members of the KDP. The remaining villagers were terrorized and all expelled.

On 28 June 1973, Iraqi police forces occupied the village Qamishlan in Khanaqin area. The inhabitants are expelled and flee to the liberated area,

adding to the strain on food and shelters.

On 1 July 1973, an Iraqi Army unit, backed by artillery, started a heavy attack on Khaneqin, causing many casualties among the civilian population.

On 12 September 1973, Iraqi police forces of Kirkuk headquarters, supported by ten armored vehicles, surrounded the village Zerdik, arrested and deported many of its inhabitants. Their fate is unknown.

On 29 January 1974, Iraqi security forces entered Duzkhormatu region in Kirkuk area and arrested eight Turkmen Iraqi citizens. Their fate is unknown.

On 8 February 1974, the Iraqi Government gave orders to the inhabitants of the villages Qerede, Qotaras, Karenmed and Qoshqanje to evacuate their villages within 24 hours.

On 10 February 1974, the following additional villages receive orders to be evacuated within 24 hours. The order is signed by the Central Government's Governor of Kirkuk province and commander of the Second Division under pretext of military security. The inhabitants of the villages Muhhawali, Pelhani, Sarelo, Soy, Serbeshakh, Olafat, Olasor, Jabal Bor, Matare, Tel Sharaw and Charok are forcefully removed within five hours.

**After outbreak of total war in April  
the following examples  
illustrate conditions of genocide:**

On 14 April 1974, 11 Kurdish patriots were hanged in Arbil, after having been sentenced to death and tortured in Bagdad. Indeed, some of them had had their hands cut off or their eyes gouged out. Some of these martyrs had been in government custody for one and two years on trumped up charges. The hanging at that time was a deliberate provocation for the KDP.

On 16 April 1974, Aqra, with a population of 7,000 was heavily bombed. Many houses, churches and mosques were destroyed, collapsing over the bodies of their inhabitants, all civilians.

On 24 April 1974, Qala Diza, with a population of 20,000 was heavily bombed. 131 civilians were killed and over 300 injured. The martyrs were mainly children attending schools, since two schools were bombed deliberately.

Between 23 and 27 April 1974, the area of Chouman was bombed, including Gallala, with a population of 5,000. 40 people were killed and 51 injured. (See photograph in *Exhibit F*).

On 25 and 26 April 1974, Dahok, with a population of 40,000 was shelled. Many people were killed and injured.

On 28 April 1974, the town of Halbja, 80 km from the battle field, was bombed and over 100 houses were destroyed. 42 people were killed and over 100 were injured. The inhabitants had to evacuate the town and took refuge in the mountains.

Between 21 April and 10 May 1974, Zakho, a town with a population of 25,000 was bombed and shelled, During these 20 days the town kept burning.

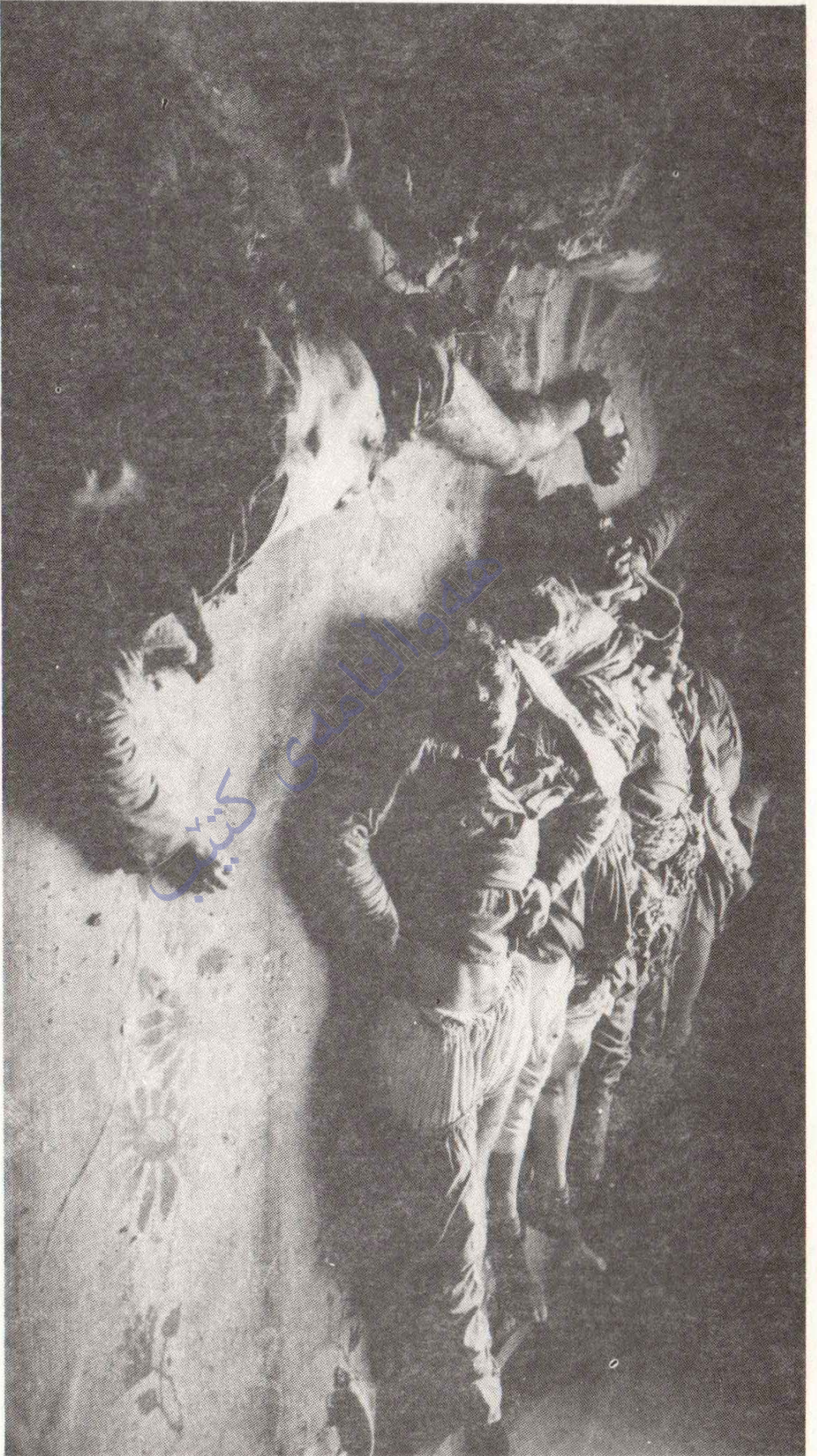
On 30 April 1974, 5 Kurdish students attending the College of Literature of Bagdad University, were sentenced to death and executed. Among them was a girl, Layla Kassem.

On 1 May 1974, the Iraqi Army entered the town Zakho and indiscriminately shot at everybody in sight. 63 persons were killed and over 100 injured, mostly women and children.

On 8 May 1974, another 6 university students were hanged.

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*GALLELA, Kurdistan, 25 April 1974. Air attack arrived at 5:15 a.m. 15 died in the raid, most of them civilians, and many were wounded as a result of one Sukhoy-7 which dropped a series of 500 kilo bombs on the town.*  
**PHOTO — DAVID GARNE-BAKER/SIPA PRESS**



*GALELA, Kurdistan, 29 April 1974. Air attack arrived at 5:15 a.m. Fifteen persons died in the raid, most of them civilians, and many were wounded as a result of one Sukhov-7 which dropped a series of 500 kilo bombs on the town.*

## EXHIBIT H

*Kurdistan Democratic Party  
Kurdish Delegation Abroad  
"Some Examples of Victims of Political Terror"  
30 May 1974,*

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## Some Examples of Victims of Political Terror

1. The following examples illustrate how the policy of political terror reaches into all walks of life.

On 14 April 1970, a savage attack was carried out against the KDP headquarters in Mosul.

In December 1970 An attempt was made on the life of Idris Barzani, while he was in Baghdad to congratulate President Bakr on the occasion of a common Muslim feast.

In October 1971, the Kurdish Iraqi citizen Mestafa Jamil was arrested and asked to provide information about Kurdish leaders. Under torture he lost his toes and was forced to walk on broken glass.

On 29 September 1971, an attempt was made on the life of General Barzani.

In Spring 1972, an attempt on the life of Abdul Wahab Atrushi was made, while serving as Governor of Arbil.

On 16 July 1972, a second attempt was made on the life of General Barzani.

2. Acts of Terror are being carried out also against members of the Ba'th Party and other minority political groups.

*Hardan Tikriti*, former Ba'th Vice-President and Defense Minister was assassinated by Ba'th agents in Kuwait.

*Nassir Al-Hani*, former ambassador to Washington, was found dead in a ditch in Baghdad. His body had been mutilated.

*Ata Abdul Wahab*, prominent member of the National Democratic Party, was kidnapped in Kuwait and transported under sedation to Baghdad, where he was sentenced to death. His fate remains unknown.

*Fuad Rikkabi*, former General Secretary of the Ba'th Party, turned Nassarite, was sentenced to three years in jail and was found murdered several days before his release.

3. Other acts of terror were carried out abroad, in the United Kingdom, Egypt and Pakistan.

## EXHIBIT I

*Kurdistan Democratic Party  
Information Department  
A Faili Kurd Reports on  
"Deprivation of Citizenship"  
May 1974, 2 pages*

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## A Faili Kurd Reports on Deprivation of Citizenship

1. During 1969 and especially since 1971, a systematic policy of mass deportation of Kurds from certain parts of Iraq has been feverishly pursued by the Iraqi regime. Tens of thousands of Faili Kurds have been randomly collected from the streets, from their homes and places of work, tied in chains like slaves, beaten and insulted, then crowded into military trucks and transported to the Iraqi-Iranian border and expelled. This mass deportation was most frantically practiced during the winter of 1971. The people suffered horribly during this coldest season of the year. The expellees were not allowed to carry any belongings, except dire necessities, with them. As a result, many infants and children died of cold, hunger or as a result of shock which befell their mothers.

Most of the male expellees had done their military service in Iraq. They and the women had either Iraqi citizenship certificates or residence permits. When they tried to show these to the police, the police and the militia tore them into pieces and threw them away. Most of the expellees had been born in Iraq and had been living there permanently.

2. At the beginning of 1974, the regime had ordered another 30,000 Kurds from the province of Nineva to leave the country on the pretext that they do not have the Certificate of Citizenship. Once again, these people had been living permanently in Iraq, even before the creation of the State of Iraq itself in 1922. Many of them had done their military service. However, the Turkish government refused to accept them because they do not have Turkish citizenship. Therefore, their fate is still hanging in the air.

3. The law regulating the affairs of aliens in Iraq, *Law No. 36 of 1961* and its recent amendments, exempts all Arabs from any part of the world from the category of aliens, whereas Kurds who have been born in Iraq and have lived there all their lives are considered aliens. While the right granted to all Arab brothers is welcome, Kurds ought to be treated likewise. Presently, discrimination against Kurds is evident in these facts.

4. In *February 1974*, the Revolutionary Command Council issued a law which confirmed an earlier directive that any Iraqi student marrying a foreigner was prohibited from working in the public sector of Iraq. However, if the foreigner happens to be an Arab by ethnic origin, coming from any corner of the world, such person would not fall under that category. It goes without saying that this law has a strong discriminatory nature and racist flavor. It is contrary to the basic human right of choosing one's own spouse and having a family.

## EXHIBIT J

*Kurdistan Democratic Party  
Information Department  
"Letter by Villagers of Jabel Bor"  
9 September 1973*

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**Translation of letter written 9 September 1973 by the inhabitants of Jabal Bor**

To the: Revolutionary Command Council  
Minister of Internal Affairs  
Peace Committee  
Governor of Kirkuk Province  
Minister of Land Reform  
Political Bureau of Kurdistan Democratic Party  
President of Kurdistan Democratic Party  
Third Branch of the KDP

The undersigned, inhabitants of the village Jabal Bor belonging to Kirkuk Province have received an order from the Governor of the Province to evacuate our village completely under the pretext that it lies in a prohibited zone.

It is obvious that we have lived in this village for many generations and over 200 years. We are 45 families who have been working together with our families our farms all our life. We don't know any other place, where we can continue our work.

We ask for your mercy.

Allow us to stay in our village, in order that we may continue our work and continue to serve the country as we did in the past.

Head of the village of Jabal Bor in Kirkuk Province

Abdulrahman Karim

&

45 signatures



## EXHIBIT K

*Kurdistan Democratic Party*

*Kurdish Delegation Abroad*

*INFORMATION No. 3*

*"Racilaist Designs of the Ba'th Government"*

*25 April 1974,*

هه و النامه كئيب

## **Iraqi Kurdistan Autonomy Movement Kurdish Delegation Abroad**

### **Racist Designs of the Ba'th Government**

Facts of history and geography prove that Southern Kurdistan has always been and will continue to be an integral part of Iraqi Kurdistan. The controversial areas of Kirkuk, Khanaqeen, Sinjar and various districts within the provinces of Nineveh and Dihok are parts of the Kurdish territory which have been appended to the Iraqi state, when the latter was created out of the British mandate. In these areas reside minorities of Turkman, Assyrians and Arabs with whom the Kurds have lived in good neighborly relations.

The Ba'th Government and Party know these facts. Yet, they have intentionally taken illegal steps to change the true ethnic composition of these areas by massive resettlement programs. The native Kurds have been expelled. The new settlers are foreign in unfamiliar surroundings. Both, expellees and new settlers suffer by illegal and involuntary changes of domicile.

The Ba'th Government employs the following policies:

1. Non-Kurdish people are brought into Kurdish territory in ever increasing numbers.
2. Animosity is being formented between the Kurdish people and ethnic and religious minorities living inside Iraqi Kurdistan.
3. Mass deportation of Kurdish families and clans, particularly of the Faily Kurds, and of the tribes of Goyan and Omiryan in the province of Nineveh.
4. Confiscation and expropriation of land and property from Kurdish landowners.

Despite the fact that we have on many occasions, through representatives of our Kurdistan Democratic Pary (KPD) at the meetings of the Peace Negotiations Committee in accordance with the March 1970 Agreement, warned against the inhumanity and dangers of these policies, the situtation has continued to deteriorate according to a well conceived plan of racial discrimination and eventual genocide of our people in their homeland Kurdistan.

We continue to condemn these racist policies and we ask our government to put a halt to them in the interest of Iraqi and regional peace. We continue to appeal to Iraqi, Arab and world public opinion to seek out the truth in this matter by coming to Iraqi Kurdistan. We turn to all Arab and international humanitarian and political organizations to mediate and extend a helping hand to the victims.

## Expropriation of Property and Destruction of Kurdish Villages

In the Sinjar District of Nineveh Province the number of villages that have been shelled by Iraqi artillery after the signing of the March 1970 Agreement has reached alarming proportions. Instructions for their destruction have been given to Iraqi artillery units on authority of Iraqi ministers, in order to force the Kurds out of the following villages:

- |                   |              |                |
|-------------------|--------------|----------------|
| 1. Gireeshk       | 2. Hayali    | 3. Khizanok    |
| 4. Bisharko       | 5. Zor Ava   | 6. Hirke       |
| 7. Qiheel         | 8. Shorkan   | 9. Qini        |
| 10. Chimi Jevra   | 11. Yousifa  | 12. Yourk      |
| 13. Rashid        | 14. Torik    | 15. Qarsi      |
| 16. Sharef Eldeen | 17. Qourmaq  | 18. Qizel Qand |
| 19. Orva          | 20. Jevroq   | 21. Zoyani     |
| 22. Jolan         | 23. Qai Ebdi |                |

Villages which have been virtually destroyed by the Iraqi Army during "peace" years are:

- |                |                 |                 |
|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Herdan      | 2. Bakhlif      | 3. Taheze       |
| 4. Zaqrada     | 5. Bitwani      | 6. Hassen       |
| 7. Eldani      | 8. Nissiri      | 9. Qawasi       |
| 10. Gari Zerqa | 11. Du Holi     | 12. Sinoni      |
| 13. Maheas     | 14. Qecha Haji  | 15. Bara        |
| 16. Geri Mar   | 17. Tel Qarach  | 18. Tel Khashab |
| 19. Tanqa      | 20. Sideri      | 21. Ain Gazal   |
| 22. Ain Fati   | 23. Qani Menqan | 24. Eli Serqa   |
| 25. Tapa       |                 |                 |

The number of people affiliated with the KDP and whose land has been expropriated rises steadily. The following Kurdish villages have been expropriated:

- |                      |                     |                     |
|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Northern Qiwaisi  | 2. Southern Qawaisi | 3. Qani Ebdi        |
| 4. Sana'n            | 5. Chimi            | 6. Zo Mani          |
| 7. Ger Zerig         | 8. Qezelqand        | 9. Oshpa            |
| 10. Hireeqo          | 11. Gohball         | 12. Eastern Gohball |
| 13. Chimi Jevra      | 14. Southern Qini   | 15. Northern Qini   |
| 16. Herdan           | 17. Zor Ava         | 18. Bouriq          |
| 19. Rashid           | 20. Qeney           | 21. Yousifan        |
| 22. Sharef Eldeen    | 23. Shirebqa        | 24. Bisharqo        |
| 25. Western Gireeshk | 26. Khizani         | 27. Berana          |
| 28. Qocha Chimi      | 29. Zerwan          | 30. Sin Och         |

Several examples illustrate the policy pursued. In the Shaikhan district the village of Qani Qone was shelled by artillery on February 5, 1973 under orders from the Government. On March 25, 1973, the Iraqi Army surrounded the village of Chifri, Zimar district. The population sensed the approaching danger and fled. The Iraqi soldiers looted the property of the peasants and subsequently destroyed the village, killing some Kurds and wounding many others. On March 12, 1973 and at the time, when the Kurds prepare to celebrate New Roz, the national Kurdish holiday, police and security men began to surround the headquarters of our Kurdistan organizations and opened fire.

## Evacuation of Kurdish Populations

Kirkuk is the largest Kurdish city. In it live some minorities. There has been an agreement between the KDP and the Ba'th Party to administer the city jointly. In reality, however, it is being ruled by a purely Ba'th administration. Moreover, six new quarters have been built in Kirkuk. They are El Karama, El Huriya, 14 Ramadan, El Wahda, Yarmouk and El Andulus. These do not permit housing for Kurds, but for non-Kurdish people brought in from the outside. The use of the Kurdish language within government offices is banned. Its use in schools is being proscribed by city authorities.

In the Dibis District many villages have been forcefully evacuated. Although during the Negotiations for Peace and Autonomy between the Ba'th Government and the KDP an agreement was reached to have the original population return to their homes, Government authorities have so far prevented the carrying out of this step. The Kurdish population can not return to the following villages:

- |                   |                |                  |
|-------------------|----------------|------------------|
| 1. Amsha          | 2. Qara Dara   | 3. Qara Erbat    |
| 4. Qoush Qaya     | 5. Mar'i       | 6. Qotani Gawra  |
| 7. Qotani Khelifa | 8. Kha'neqa    | 9. Hinjeerah     |
| 10. Gir Qachal    | 11. Couplicha  | 12. Sai Qaniyan  |
| 13. Gormail       | 14. Sona Golai | 15. Yarcli       |
| 16. Qargato       | 17. Sheraw     | 18. Bajwan       |
| 19. Isma'il Awa   | 20. Elyawa     | 21. Melhi        |
| 22. Pencha Ali    | 23. Gara       | 24. Idris Babouj |

In the Kifri, Tuz and El Dawida districts, the Kurdish population were forcefully evacuated from the following villages:

- |                    |                  |                 |
|--------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Greater Dolis   | 2. Smaller Dolis | 3. Hashisha     |
| 4. Tel Raba'       | 5. Gompos        | 6. Kerimiya     |
| 7. Sai Qanyan      | 8. Said Wali     | 9. Elbou Sirach |
|                    | Said Eli         |                 |
| 10. Elbou Mohemmed | 11. Eli Baili    | 12. Zanqar      |
| 13. Tapa Bassal    |                  |                 |

The land reform office in this area refuses to give the Kurdish farmers the right to use their lands. Kurdish peasants are intimidated. In the area of Tuz mercenaries have been hired, in order to assault the Kurdish farmers. Thus, many flee for their life, abandoning the land until security returns. That land too is, however, being settled by non-Kurdish people.

From the Khaniqin and Mendeli areas the population has been deported in large numbers to the Iranian border. Others fled into the "liberated" zone of Iraqi Kurdistan. The use of the Kurdish language is banned from government offices and schools. The Kurds are being denied Iraqi citizenship.

### **Gross Violation of Human Rights**

The above illustrate some of the hardships being endured by the Kurdish population of Iraq, only because they want to be Iraqi citizens of Kurdish nationality and participate as full fledged citizens in the upbuilding of the country they share with Arabs and other peoples. Such wanton aggression against an ethnic group betrays clearly gross violations of human rights.

Kurdish Delegation Abroad

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## EXHIBIT L

*United Nations Development Program  
Exploratory Mission to Northern Iraq  
(9 to 28 October 1970)*

*Report, vol. I; Annexes, Summary and Recommendation, vol. II  
"Recommendations and Relief"  
January 1971*

هه و النامه كتيب

# GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

## 1. International Assistance

### A. Summary

The development of the Northern part of Iraq involves a complete reorientation of its present economic, administrative, social and industrial plans. Iraq is one of the most advanced countries of the Middle East as far as formulating and implementing general development plans. But regional plans are still missing. If prepared, as recommended in the section of this report on "Physical Planning and Housing," they should be perfectly integrated within the present system. The Mission believes that it will be a good opportunity for Iraq to benefit from the combined efforts of all the UN specialized agencies in the formulation and implementation of this development program. This will be a regional integrated plan and will serve as an example for the rest of Iraq, the Middle East and other countries.

### B. Recommendations

i) *Under a two-year emergency program,*

a) To invite United Nations bodies and the Specialized Agencies to collaborate in the formulation of this plan and the appropriate implementation thereof. An intensive cooperation is required and should include:

— *Technical Assistance*

- To prepare the different surveys and the feasibility studies requested for this program;
- To offer the necessary technical personnel on an OPEX basis in order to strengthen the technical executive staff until local staff is formed and initiated. An Iraqi contribution similar to those of Saudi Arabia — Libya could be envisaged on a funds-in-trust basis;
- To help on an advisory basis the existing technical and administrative staff.

— *Material Assistance*

- To request cooperation from specialized UN agencies particularly the UN Special Fund and the WFP for the implementation of this program:
- To request financial assistance from the World Bank for high return projects such as underground water exploitation, animal production, basic industries, etc;
- To request the UN contribution to arrange other sources of cooperation particularly through bilateral aid.

## 2. Bi-Lateral Collaboration

### A. Summary

It was noted by the Mission that many developed countries have shown great interest in co-operating with the Government of Iraq for such integrated regional development. Some of those countries have proposed bi-lateral assistance through technical free-of-charge cooperation, loans on a long term basis, or a "bartering" system for payment of material imported or services rendered for Iraqi products, mainly oil, tobacco or cereals.

The main interest in this project is that it could serve as an example of a successful enterprise whereby other regions of Iraq, or other Middle Eastern countries, could benefit from.

With this in mind, it is recommended to divide this region (covering more than 70,000 km<sup>2</sup>) into sections, preferably according to the present administrative divisions by Mohafaza. Then to organize foreign cooperation accordingly and by country — each foreign country will be given the opportunity to develop one Mohafaza through bilateral agreement with the Iraqi Government.

This arrangement would be a great challenge to the participating countries working side by side on the same problems which would make them use their best techniques and equipment. This also will offer the Iraqi authorities the best bilateral cooperation possible and the best quality of work.

It could also develop into a greatly beneficial illustration for the rest of Iraq and all its neighboring countries.

### **B. Recommendations**

i) *Under a two-year emergency program,*

a) To get, with the assistance of the UN, a complete survey of the potential bilateral cooperation possibilities from friendly developed countries on the basis of this development program.

b) To negotiate, through the competent Iraqi authorities, bilateral agreements for such cooperation.

ii) *Under a seven-year program,*

a) To develop long-term agreements for mutual profit in the different fields.

## **3. Study Tours**

### **A. Summary**

In view of the various projects being organized in different fields of activity, the highly responsible people involved in this project, particularly the interested Ministers, members of the Development Board, General Directors and top executives would benefit enormously from visits to similar regional plans that have been successfully conducted by other countries, especially those with similar climates and natural conditions.

### **B. Recommendations**

i) *Under a two-year emergency program,*

a) To organize technical visits to the following projects:

Mezzogiorno (South of Italy)

Bas Rhone Languedoc (France)

Bodajoz (Spain)

TVA and Central California (USA)

Green Plan (Lebanon)

and perhaps other projects in other countries. Such tours would give those responsible for conducting the program a better idea of a successful regional development plan, more experience and information as well as help them establish personal contact for the profitable exchange of information, experience and even personnel in the future. Such visits will also help organize the first training program in these projects.



#### 4. Laws and Legislation

##### A. Summary

Iraq has inherited laws and regulations dating back to the oldest civilizations. Baghdad was the seat of legislation of many Islamic laws which are still in force today. Thus the implementation of such an ambitious development program would affect the whole social structure as it will certainly call for new laws and regulations.

##### B. Recommendations

i) *Under a two-year emergency program,*

a) To study the existing legislation and its application to the new social structure resulting from: cooperatives, new marketing system, underground water exploitation, etc.

b) To amend existing legislation or to pass new laws and *ad hoc* regulations.

هه و النامه كتيب

# RELIEF PROGRAM

## A. Summary

The Northern part of Iraq as delimited in the attached map has suffered great devastation during the past hostilities which were ended by the Peace Agreement of 11 March 1970.

At the request of the Iraqi Government dated 20 May 1970, a Mission was sent by UNDP to:

1. Investigate and appraise the present situation of Northern Iraq and its prospects;
2. To prepare for a general integrated development plan divided into: an urgent action to be implemented in the first two years; a medium-term action to help the area to reach the normal stage of development.

After a three weeks visit to the area, the Mission concluded that prior to any development program there is an urgent need for a *Relief Program* dealing in particular with the problem of displaced and homeless persons. It has been noted that about 700 villages were affected by the hostilities and an average of 40,000 houses destroyed. Approximately 300,000 persons have been displaced or made homeless.

These figures are approximations and have been given to the Mission by the local authorities. The precarious situation of these persons who lost homes, lands, tools, jobs, creates many problems calling for relief aid particularly in the fields noted subsequently.

Since a certain degree of overlapping with the proposals made for the two-year emergency programs is inevitable, the Mission wishes to observe that this *Relief Program* be read in conjunction with the said proposals.

## Clothing and Foot Wear Problems

### A. Summary

There is a great need for proper clothing, particularly for coats and preferably heavy rain coats as this area is exposed to very cold weather in the winter time. The easiest way to meet the needs is to offer the textiles, tailoring will best be made locally according to the local styles and traditions.

Foot wear, particularly leather shoes, is urgently needed as the traditional ones made of cotton and rugs cannot resist moisture. Half-boots could better fit the needs of the weather and of agricultural occupation.

### B. Recommendations

1. To supply clothing material and particularly waterproof textile especially for winter clothes;
2. To supply and develop the use of modern jakard weaving equipment;
3. To supply shoes, especially those made from rubber or plastic;
4. To develop intensive training programs on manufacturing leather shoes and different foot wear.

## Food Problems

### A. Summary

The need for food and particularly for balanced food ration is stressed. The greatest lack is in animal protein food as described under the chapter on "Health." Food deficiencies is the most responsible factor for development of different nutritional diseases. The most urgent relief should be for pregnant women, babies and school children.

### B. Recommendations

Under the two-year emergency program

1. To provide proper supply and distribution of food and aid for specialized agencies particularly UNICEF, WFP, the Red Cross, Caritas, and other relief organizations;
2. To organize a proper distribution system using modern data processing equipment. A specialized Mission of UNRWA could be invited for organization of the storing, accounting and distribution system.
3. To provide through WFP and other sources, balanced food requirements as past wages in kind to labourers employed on high labour intensive projects in road construction, housing and reforestation which need to be undertaken.

## Sanitary Problems

### A. Summary

As described under Health, the sanitary situation requires very urgent aid to control the spread of epidemic diseases and other major ones prevalent in the area.

### B. Recommendations

1. To provide drugs and vitamins in efficient quantities for prevailing diseases;
2. To send a relief corps of medical personnel at all levels;
3. To make available mobile units and ambulances, X-Ray equipment and other medical equipment;
4. To supply existing hospitals and medical centers with the necessary equipment and personnel.

## Housing Problems

### A. Summary

It was reported that about 300,000 persons are now homeless in this place and the town planning and housing project, even if undertaken in a very fast way, will require a certain delay for implementation. It is an urgent necessity to organize shelter for this population and to provide a minimum of furniture.

### B. Recommendations

1. To develop an emergency program using special winterized tents or better portable solid units that later on will serve for community, co-operative, or agricultural use.

2. To provide proper blankets. These may have to be imported at the first stage, but could be locally made with available wools at a later stage.
3. To invite UNICEF, WFP to give priority to this program, and to increase their current assistance substantially in accordance with the magnitude of existing needs.

هه و النامهى كتيب

## EXHIBIT M

*Kurdistan Democratic Party  
Information Department*

*"List of Kurdish Schools Closed in Two Provinces" 1971,*

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In the provinces of Dehok and Nineva only

**List of Schools Closed Up to the End of 1970**

<b>Name of School</b>	<b>District (Nahiya)</b>	<b>County (Qadha)</b>
1. Aitut	Zawita	Dihok
2. Shizi	Sumel	Dihok
3. Zawa	Sumel	Dihok
4. Broshki Sadoon	Dosky	Dihok
5. Der Kejink	Dosky	Dihok
6. Kemka	Dosky	Dihok
7. Bisfeki Sufli	Dosky	Dihok
8. Binda	Dosky	Dihok
9. Kofel	Dosky	Dihok
10. Zewka Abo	Dosky	Dihok
11. Kilnazki	Dosky	Dihok
12. Mejelminmat	Dosky	Dihok
13. Kendkosa	Dosky	Dihok
14. al-Asi	Selefani	Zakho
15. Bezhi	Selefani	Zakho
16. Betas	Selefani	Zakho
17. Derabun	Selefani	Zakho
18. Qasr Mulla Taib	Selefani	Zakho
19. Bijek Sufli	Selefani	Zakho
20. Srukani	Selefani	Zakho
21. Armesht	Selefani	Zakho
22. Koli	Selefani	Zakho
23. Baqya	Selefani	Zakho
24. Dola	Selefani	Zakho
25. Qara Walsa	Selefani	Zakho
26. Birsevi	Sindi	Zakho
27. Bosal	Sindi	Zakho
28. Sherash Islam	Sindi	Zakho
29. Snat	Sindi	Zakho
30. Mersis	Sindi	Zakho
31. Kork	Sindi	Zakho
32. Derashish	Sindi	Zakho
33. Nur Dina	Sindi	Zakho
34. Dar Hozan	Sindi	Zakho
35. Barzar	Sindi	Zakho
36. Batufa	Geli	Zakho
37. Lifo	Geli	Zakho
38. Nafkitdal	Geli	Zakho
39. Afkeni	Geli	Zakho
40. Mela Arab	Geli	Zakho
41. Dimka	Geli	Zakho
42. Derbat Teimur	Geli	Zakho
43. Segeli	Geli	Amadiya
44. Reshawa	Geli	Amadiya

45. Bamerni (boys)	Serseng	Amadiya
46. Bamerni (girls)	Serseng	Amadiya
47. Araden (boys)	Serseng	Amadiya
48. Araden (girls)	Serseng	Amadiya
49. al-Dawudiya	Serseng	Amadiya
50. Esbendar	Serseng	Amadiya
51. Sekrin	Serseng	Amadiya
52. Dehi	Serseng	Amadiya
53. Ineshki	Serseng	Amadiya
54. Swar	Serseng	Amadiya
55. Sheikh Bermus	Serseng	Amadiya
56. Hezanki Zer	Serseng	Amadiya
57. Koramark	Serseng	Amadiya
58. Esbendar Khelfu	Serseng	Amadiya
59. Gewani	Serseng	Amadiya
60. Niruk Situ	Serseng	Amadiya
61. Ji	Serseng	Amadiya
62. Kiryadiri	Serseng	Amadiya
63. Mizi	Serseng	Amadiya
64. Eryan	Serseng	Amadiya
65. Kanimasi	Berwari Bala	Amadiya
66. Terwansh	Berwari Bala	Amadiya
67. Bidewa	Berwari Bala	Amadiya
68. Herur	Berwari Bala	Amadiya
69. Helwa Islam	Berwari Bala	Amadiya
70. Na'i Islam	Berwari Bala	Amadiya
71. Rafina	Berwari Bala	Amadiya
72. Benafi	Berwari Bala	Amadiya
73. Ormil	Berwari Bala	Amadiya
74. Dori	Berwari Bala	Amadiya
75. Lora	Berwari Bala	Amadiya
76. Jelki Ulya	Berwari Bala	Amadiya
77. Urman	Berwari Bala	Amadiya
78. Hisi	Berwari Bala	Amadiya
79. Koka	Berwari Bala	Amadiya
80. Derkeni	Nerawarikan	Amadiya
81. Bibo	Nerawarikan	Amadiya
82. Dotaza	Nerawarikan	Amadiya
83. Nerwa Ulya	Nerawarikan	Amadiya
84. Hora	Nerawarikan	Amadiya
85. Sedni	Nerawarikan	Amadiya
86. Heshi	Nerawarikan	Amadiya
87. Rezka	Nerawarikan	Amadiya
88. Kokhi	Ain Sufni	County Centre
89. Ishkefthiduwani	Ain Sufni	County Centre
90. Doshfan	Ain Sufni	County Centre
91. Shikhkeh	Ain Sufni	Meriba

92. Mersida  
93. Atrush  
94. Hesinka  
95. Nesra  
96. Khorki  
97. Bida  
98. Rebtaki  
99. Berbrur Ulya  
100. Sheikh Hasan  
101. Belta  
102. Shosh  
103. Bakirman  
104. Bira Kabra  
105. Keshkawa  
106. Chemsini  
107. Hert  
108. Benakhi  
109. Hoki  
110. Beninan

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