

PESH MERGA

ISSUE NO. 18

MARCH 1989

THE INTERNATIONAL PUBLICATION OF KURDISH AFFAIRS



■ The plight of Kurdish refugees

■ Conditions in Iraqi Kurdistan

■ Iraq: The post - war challenge

■ Turkey's dual policy

A LETTER FROM MASSOUD BARZANI



The kurds call their partisans "Pesh Merga". It literally means 'those who face death'. Prepared to face death? Why is it that in a world seeking to settle international and regional conflicts peacefully, a people should proclaim their preparedness to die?

The answer lies in the harsh reality imposed on the Kurdish nation. The Kurds are subjected to a policy of cruel persecution and deprivation of their political and national rights. Isolated from the world, ignored by the international community, the Kurds are struggling for self-preservation.

In Iraq, the Kurdish people are condemned to a campaign that has all the hallmarks of genocide: a premeditated and systematic extermination of our population. Thousands have perished through Iraqi chemical attacks. Entire rural districts and villages have been devastated and wiped out and a sizeable proportion of the civilian population killed or driven out. Tens of thousands have been displaced, interned and deported to areas in southern Iraq. Thousands more have disappeared and been imprisoned. Their land has been confiscated and Arabised. The sheer scale and severity of the Iraqi government campaign points to an unashamed attempt to eradicate the cultural and historical identity of Kurdistan.

Therefore, the Pesh Merga are prepared to die rather than yield. They are ready to pay any price for their people's freedom and democracy.

It is this strong conviction in the justice of their cause, that transforms these sheperds, farmers, workers, artisans and intellectuals into an indestructible force, ready for every sacrifice?

The whole world recognises the legitimacy of our struggle which is carried out in self-defence. Division has no place among our ranks any more. We are united in the Iraqi Kurdistan Front and speak with one voice.

We urge governments, national and international organisations and individuals to intercede in an effort to further human tragedy.

The *Pesh Merga* publication which carries the most highly cherished name in the Kurdish culture of resistance, can fulfill a valuable role in awakening the public conscience to the tragedy of our people. Being well-balanced and informative we hope that the *Pesh Merga* will get its message across.

M. Barzani

PESH MERGA

THE INTERNATIONAL PUBLICATION OF KURDISH AFFAIRS

ON THE NEW EDITION

The Pesh Merga resumes publication with this new edition.

First published in November 1974 as a quarterly magazine, it was established to provide an insight into the story of the Kurdish struggle, its motivation and aspirations.

After the appearance of 17 issues, publication has been discontinued since May 1983. This long break was mainly due to circumstances beyond our control and resources. The editorial group deeply regret this long and unfortunate discontinuation and apologise to all readers and subscribers who have shown interest in the Kurdish cause.

The decision to resume publication comes at a time when a great urgency is felt to provide systematic and concrete information about the political, human and military situation of the Kurdish people. The Pesh Merga is intended to awaken the public conscience to the suffering of the Kurdish nation. The relevant issues concerning developments in Iraqi Kurdistan will be presented as objectively as possible.

Today, the Pesh Merga will remain firmly committed to that task. Perhaps, after having perused its contents, there will be readers who will be moved to enquire deeper into the issue and ultimately to speak out in support of the democratic and human rights of the Kurds.

This is the prayer of the people of Kurdistan.

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Editorial

NO CHOICE BUT TO CONTINUE ARMED STRUGGLE

The option of armed struggle was imposed on us. We resorted to armed struggle not because we had any love for violence or war, but because the path of non-violence was closed by the Iraqi Ba'thist regime. Our late leader Mustapha Barzani always reiterated this fact and emphasised the aggressive nature of the Iraqi war against the Kurdish people. It is a war which is basically aimed at destroying the Kurds' national identity and dismantling their ancestral homeland. Now more than two decades ago, the choice we were presented with was to fight or submit.

By their violence, brutality and daily atrocities the Baghdad regime has turned our struggle into a bloody one. The regime imposes a fascist reign of terror, where all civil and political rights are violated, and the KDP together with other political parties are banned and open political activities severely prohibited or criminalised, where membership of the party is a "treasonable" offence... How then, under such conditions, are we supposed to exercise a non-violent option? What alternative forms of struggle remain open to us? These questions seem legitimate, yet the nature of the Iraqi political structure does not allow such questions to be raised, let alone adequate answers given to them.

In view of recent developments in

Iraqi Kurdistan, namely the introduction of chemical warfare by the regime, the high toll of civilian casualties and the destruction of life in the countryside with the uprooting of whole communities, has led some observers to question the viability and effectiveness of armed struggle as a means of promoting the Kurdish cause. They ponder over a non-violent means of struggle to halt further eradication of the Kurdish entity, even if it goes as far as accepting a measure of coexistence with the present regime.

In the end, all we are being told is that we must submit and accept to be co-opted into Saddam's chauvinistic and dictatorial schemes.

Inside the country, we are prohibited from engaging in any political activity, civil disobedience or participation in a genuinely democratic process. Meanwhile the regime's relentless campaign of repression is escalating. The sheer scale and severity of its campaign points to an unashamed attempt to eradicate the cultural and historical identity of Kurdistan. Next we are told that armed struggle is self-defeating and we should give it up. In simple terms, we are being advised to give up the struggle, to surrender.

The events of the past year clearly demonstrate that what we are facing now has all the hallmarks of geno-

cide: a premeditated and systematic extermination of our people. The chemical slaughter of Halabja in March 1988, the obliteration of tens of villages by chemical weapons during August in the Dahok province, and the accompanied massacres and killings of civilians which lead to the mass exodus of nearly 100,000 people to Turkey and Iran, reveal that the very existence of our people is in jeopardy.

Therefore, the mass political struggle will continue in many forms, regardless of what Saddam's fascist dictatorship does. And so too will armed struggle - and that without any apology - because we assert our right to resist and end tyranny in much the same way as the people of Europe asserted their right to do so and actually took up arms to resist and overthrow the tyranny of Nazism and fascism.

We are not passive victims, offering our bodies to be gassed, tortured or shot at. We are freedom fighters, conscious of our responsibility and duty to our people, the Iraqi people in general and to the international community as a whole. We shall continue to utilise different forms of struggle, armed and unarmed and the purposeful unity in action of the masses of Kurdistan to pursue the struggle until final victory is achieved.

We are too painfully aware that the

ferocity of the Baghdad monster knows no bounds, and that the struggle is long and arduous. There are no easy victories.

However, the fact that tens of thousands of our people sought refuge in Turkey and Iran in the aftermath of the regime's military and chemical onslaught in last August on the liberated zone, is a historic re-affirmation of the will of our people to liberate themselves and not to be cowed into submission. It is also a rebuff to all those who questioned the popular base of the KDP and the present Kurdish national movement.

War is a difficult matter. There is never war without innocent victims, without civilian suffering. The genocidal nature of the Iraqi war against the Kurdish people has caused untold misery and irreparable damage.

The Second World War ended half a century ago. The victims were civilians. We are far from saying that the civilians will be victims - but if that is the price we have to pay, we are prepared to pay any price for our liberation.

It is argued, and will be argued, that negotiations are the most preferable way to maintain and improve on the government's "autonomy" scheme! The KDP and the Iraqi Kurdistan Front believe in a peaceful and democratic solution to the Kurdish question in Iraq. If negotiations were aimed at the transformation of Iraq into a democratic country in which human, civil and political rights of all Iraqis would be guaranteed, oppressive and repressive measures replaced, and a genuine autonomy in Kurdistan established for the Kurds to exercise their right of self-determination, then negotiations could be considered.

However history has shown that the present regime is disinclined to meet the legitimate national and democratic demands of our people, and its complete intransigence makes any peaceful solution a remote possibility, since the regime believes that it disposes of enough brute force to remain in power for ever. It believes that it will succeed where Hitler and other infamous despotic rulers failed.

In the final communique of its meeting on the 20th July 1988, the Central Committee of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) affirmed our party's commitment to continue the struggle.

The Central Committee, while it is aware of the enormity of the dangers and threats to the struggle of our people, is certain that our people will undertake the struggle with higher morale and will work out new means of struggle under the new conditions. Freedom fighters will go to battle armed with daggers if not rifles, and history will prove once again that the people of Kurdistan will never be defeated.

We seek inspiration from the justice of our cause and the legitimacy of our struggle against injustice and extermination and for social justice.

We are conscious of our responsibility to lead the struggle for national liberation and will never capitulate. The party whose history is saturated with the blood of countless heroes, will remain faithful to the people's cause and to the memory of those who died in execution chambers, in Halabja, in Bazi valley and in dozens of other stricken towns and villages.

The struggle of our people is not defeated and the spirit of the people is not broken. The continuation of the guerrilla war by the Pesh Mergas

against all odds, the sense of defiance among our people at home and in the refugee camps, and the formulation of new organisational forms and tactics under the united leadership of the Iraqi Kurdistan Front, testify to this assertion.

This determination to fight on despite the declared cease-fire in the Gulf War, is indicative of the fact that our struggle is not a by-product of the catastrophic war, or to say the least, determined by its outcome. We have no regret seeing the Iran-Iraq war end peacefully, since the war has indeed overshadowed our just cause, and wrought devastating damage in Iraqi Kurdistan.

Over the years, the KDP has carried out the most controlled campaign of armed resistance. Our morality as freedom fighters dictates that we respect the values underpinning the humane conduct of war. We have strictly exhibited a high-level of self-restraint.

We realise that any other course of action would play into the hands of the enemy and would be counter-productive, as it would undermine the sympathy our people have in today's world.

We know that the prime task of defeating this evil system rests with our people and with the unity of struggle of the Iraqi opposition forces, but those who wish us success can play a part in shortening this process by even more resolute actions of solidarity.

On the 1st of March 1979, Mustapha Barzani, freedom fighter, founder of the KDP and leader of the Kurdish National Movement died in a Washington hospital, leaving a nation in mourning for the giant who was the mainstay of the Kurdish national resistance for half a century.

BARZANI 1903-1979

A tribute on the 10th anniversary of his death



Barzani: A living symbol of Freedom

He was born in the village of Barzan (to an ancient house of Soufi Shaykhs, who had administered jurisprudence in a radical liberal way. As their popularity and influence increased, they incurred the wrath of a decaying and corrupt Ottoman empire and by the late nineteenth Century they were in constant conflict with the Ottomans and their medieval tribal chiefs who felt that the polarity taking place would undermine their authority).

Barzani's earliest memories as a child, were of being with his mother in a prison cell at Mosul, as a hostage to the Wali (Governor). His eldest brother, Shaykh Abdulsalam, who was later executed by the Ottomans, was at the time leading a rebellion against the extortion and heavy taxations of Turkish officials.

A lifetime of fighting for peace, justice and dignity for his people would be a literal eulogy for a man, who against tremendous odds kept faith and never lost hope, whether against the might of the British Empire (which annexed southern Kurdistan against the wishes of the Kurds to its creation, the state of Iraq), or ruthless despotes like Nuri Alsaïd, Kassem the shah, Saddam, etc. His epic march through Iraq, Turkey and Iran to the Soviet Union in June 1947 with only 500 men against the armies and airforces of these states - after the collapse of the embryonic Mahabad Republic of

which he was Army General - epitomizes his spirit and determination.

He was to spend 12 years in the Soviet Union until his return to a hero's welcome after the July 1958 revolution in Iraq. During these long and painful years outside Kurdistan, he maintained contact and oversaw the development of the KDP, into becoming the vanguard of Kurdish struggle.

Barzani was first and foremost a man of peace and pleaded with Presidents or Army Sergeants to stop fighting and respect life. But in the brutal, revengeful and myopic ruling cliques of the Middle East no one would listen to reason. In his last appeal to the ruling Ba'athists on the 17th March 1975, after the Algiers agreement between Saddam and the Shah, in which the former conceded Iraqi territory in return for the latter's help in crushing the Kurdish revolution, he said: "Do not concede to the outsiders but to your compatriots within Iraq, otherwise a sea of blood shall engulf all." How prophetic these words were: five years later Saddam tried to regain honour and territory and engaged in a futile war with Iran.

When founding our Party in 1946, Barzani united for the first time the

tribal and rural elements with the urban intelligentsia and their diverse political parties and groupings into a pragmatic (rather than dogmatic) forum to voice the aspirations of Kurds, whom the post Yalta world ignored totally and left to the mercy of client states of colonialism as part of their 'Internal Affairs'.

The reverse of March 1975 when Iran and Iraq, under U.S. instigation, conspired to end the 13-year old 11th September revolution, was not a setback for Barzani, but a setback among the many that the Kurds have faced. He was working till the very end to reorganize and continue the struggle. He died far away from his beloved homeland, leaving us the mantle of struggle, which we shall carry on until victory, and be true to the Spirit of Barzani.

Ten years after his passing, Barzani remains the inspiration and ideal for today's Kurdish youth, who are fired by the spirit, tenacity and resilience of the legend that never wavered in his commitment to the struggle for freedom and democracy.

NEWS & COMMENTS

PRESIDENT ASSAD MEETS BARZANI

Mr Massoud Barzani, the KDP leader was received by His Excellency President Hafiz al - Assad, President of the Syrian Arab Republic, in Damascus on the 19th December 1988. The meeting centered on regional issues, relations with Syria and the activities of the Iraqi opposition movement. Unity of all forces opposed to the dictatorial regime in Iraq, and means of stepping up action were highlighted during the talks. The meeting was covered by the national media, and was reported by the Syrian Arab News Agency (SANA) and the press. The meeting was also covered by the Syrian Television News. Mr Barzani, on behalf of the Kurdish people and the Iraqi Kurdistan Front, expressed appreciation for President Assad's understanding of and sympathy to the suffering of the Kurdish people, and for his support of the struggle of the Iraqi people.

NEW TOWNS OF IMPRISONMENT

The Iraqi Minister of Local Government announced on 10th December 1988, that (22) new towns will be built in the three provinces of the "Autonomous Region", Erbil, Sulimanya and Dahok. Each town will accommodate between 10,000

and 15,000 inhabitants. Accordingly almost a quarter of a million Kurds would be affected by the new compulsory resettlement drive. The Minister Adnan Dawoud added, that "certain measures and restrictions are considered to build the new towns away from the borders area". The 'Security' considerations also mean that the sites of the new towns are removed from the mountainous region. In fact, this plan is an advanced version of the old "strategic hamlets" and resettlement camps, which the regime has established throughout Kurdistan since 1976. Although the policy of resettlement is not new to the Kurdish people, the scale of the new relocation programme is alarming. It clearly shows the determination of the Iraqi Ba'athist regime to destroy the traditional way of life in Kurdistan. The displaced Kurds who would be housed in the new towns would be no more than prisoners within their own country. It seems that our people's share in the Iraqi reconstruction plan is new towns of imprisonment. Surely the uprooting of whole communities against their will, and the restrictions imposed upon their freedom of movement and the accompanied physical assault and deprivation involve the violation of humanitarian principles. These violations can not be regarded as falling solely within the domestic jurisdiction of Iraq. Both the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights have confirmed the legitimacy of interna-

tional community's concern for the protection of fundamental rights and freedom

IRAQ ACCUSED OF KILLING CHILDREN AND OF OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES

Amnesty International charged the Iraqi government in a news release on 28 February 1989, of routinely torturing, abusing, imprisoning and even executing children, as a way of extracting confessions from members of the political opposition.

AI said that young people have become the innocent victims of a policy of repression and deliberate killing. In another report 'Focus March 1989', AI cited the execution of four K.D.P. supporters aged between 14-17 in 1987. AI also named 6 children under the age of 13 imprisoned between 1982-1987 with their relatives who were KDP members. The photos of four children among the thousands of members of the Barzani community who 'disappeared' following their mass arrest by Iraqi forces in August 1983. Among some 8000 seized were 315 named children and juveniles aged between 8 and 17. Nothing has been heard of them since.

In its written intervention of 1st March at the 45th session of the UN Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, AI stated:

"Iraq clearly and incontrovertibly presents a situation of the most

grant and massive violation of human rights. We can think of none which cries out more for international attention and action."

A recent US State Department report on human rights abuses confirmed that the Iraqi government killed 8000 Kurds last year, mainly by poison gas in Halabja and Dahok province. The report also accused Iraq of a deliberate policy of depopulating Kurdish regions in the country through poison gas attacks.

BUSINESS AS USUAL

During the 25th Baghdad International Trade Fair held from 1-15 November 1988, a number of western governments rewarded the Iraqi regime with lavish credits. According to the Middle East Economic Digest 25 November 1988, the UK doubled its 1989 credit line to £340 million (\$598 million), and the US government renewed a \$1,000 million in export credit available this year. Ireland has made more \$150 million in export credit available this year, while the West German government has introduced a system whereby DM 300 million (\$170 million) in credit is made available once certain repayment conditions are made. Other countries followed suit.

This western aid followed the public condemnation of the regime for its proven use of chemical weapons against the Kurdish population in August 1988, by the same governments.

In today's world, gassing is no longer a danger only for remote Kurdish

Hussein, who has already made use of the weapons technology he possesses, will hold it to ransom. Now, unless responsible democracies act to punish the evil regime for using such weapons, future generations will be condemned to capitulation, or destruction.

IRAQI OPPOSITION ALIANCE TO FORM

Extensive talks have been going on in Damascus between all the main political trends of the Iraqi opposition movement to form a broad-based alliance.

The participants are the Iraqi Kurdistan Front, the Supreme Council of Islamic Revolution in Iraq and the Iraqi democratic and Arab national parties. Mr. Massoud Barzani is taking part in these talks on behalf of the political leadership of the Kurdistan Front. Major obstacles of reconciling different political and ideological views have been overcome. A three page political Charter has been approved, while the status of the alliance is still being finalised. The aim of the new alliance is to defeat Saddam Hussein's dictatorship and establish a democratic regime in which all the legitimate Kurdish national rights will be met.

For the first time all the Iraqi forces are engaged in a serious discussion about the future of the country in the post Gulf war era.

The formation of the alliance will surely advance the struggle of the overwhelming majority of Iraqi people for democracy, lasting peace and social justice.

REBUILDING HALABJA

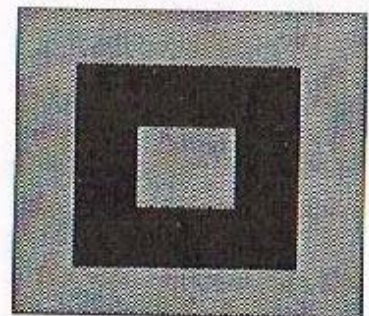
The Iraqi News Agency report that under the strict orders of President Saddam Hussein the 'steadfast town of Halabja is to be built within four months', INA 10 December 1988. Up to 6,000 plots have been allocated and work is underway for construction and provision of services.

What the agency did not tell us is that the entire population of Halabja has been massacred, disabled or driven out by the regime's well known chemical slaughter of the town on 16 and 17 March 1988. 5000 innocent Kurds perished and thousands more were injured by the 'president's' mustard and nerve gas attack on the town.

According to the relocation plan a new site for Halabja has been chosen south of Sulimanya.

They can build a new town but they cannot build the confidence of the people of Kurdistan. Halabja will be remembered in Kurdish history forever as a symbol of the 'president's' generosity towards the Kurdish people'. It will also be cited in the history of chemical warfare as a crime against humanity.

To commemorate the first anniversary of the Halabja massacre the Iraqi Kurdistan Front is organising a series of activities wherever Kurdish communities exist.



The plight of Kurdish refugees from Iraq in Turkey and Iran, without adequate food supplies, shelter or medical care, is one which should cause the international community and aid agencies considerable concern.

The root causes of the refugee movement into neighbouring countries has been the relentless Iraqi war and the systematic use of chemical weapons against the Kurdish population in the liberated zone.

Although the Kurdish issue has attracted much publicity recently, the international community, the concerned UN agencies and the relief organisations have tended to ignore the suffering of these unfortunate gas and war victims. Surely the world community has the means to come to their rescue and provide them with material assistance and to reinforce their legal protection.

Despite the fact that the mass exodus of Kurdish refugees has been mainly caused by the extensive and systematic use of internationally banned weapons, no concrete action has been taken to punish Iraq for using these atrocious weapons of mass murder. Nevertheless, one would expect a world standing up in horror, if only on the grounds that there are people in such great need and that so little is being done to help.

Refugee problems are political problems and must be seen as such. Any effort to alleviate the suffering of refugees should deal with the situations that create refugees. In this respect, the concerned UN bodies could play a more active role to ensure that political issues affecting exiled Kurdish communities are taken up in appropriate international fora.

Kurdish refugees have no legal refu-

gee status. They are considered to be guests, and their position is therefore a precarious one. Almost all refugees are suffering from severe hardship. Conditions in the camps are horrendous and the provision of shelter, clothing and health care is minimal. Being stateless and running for their lives from chemical attacks into unwelcoming countries, where they undergo appalling suffering from material deprivation and vicious winter weather, the Kurdish refugees cry out for desperately needed action, for aid.

The following is an update report on the situation of Kurdish refugees in Turkey.

PLIGHT OF IRAQI KURDS IN TURKISH CAMPS

"We aren't dying but not quite living either."

A Kurdish woman refugee at

Mus camp

"The Independent"

1) According to official Turkish figures, the number of Kurdish refugees from Iraq still remaining in Turkey is (36,475). Now they live in three camps: A- Mardin (15,500) B- Diyarbakir (12,975) C- Mus (8,000) These refugees were among nearly 100,000 who fled into Turkey and Iran following chemical attacks in late August 1988. From the start

of the influx the Turkish authorities gave different figures. They played the 'numbers game' to underestimate and belittle the gravity of the situation. Later on they forcibly expelled over 40,000 refugees into Iran. There are still several thousands unregistered refugees living with their relatives in Kurdish villages in Turkey, or stranded on the Iraqi-Turkish border. Therefore it is important that Turkey, the host government, should be persuaded to accept an independent census of its refugee populations. 2) The Turkish security forces guard the refugees like hostages within barbed wired camps. The refugees are in a state of virtual imprisonment and live in an atmosphere of fear. In Mardin camp only six people are allowed out of the camp a day under police escort. The same measures apply to the other two camps in varying degrees. Contacts with local Kurds of Turkey are monitored, discouraged and prohibited. The authorities still refuse to grant them legal status as political refugees. They are simply temporary guests. The security forces also carry out routine harassment and pressurise them into returning to Iraq or moving on to Iran. In November 1988, they forcibly expelled nearly 40,000 refugees to Iran. The explanation given, which was untrue, was that they responded to calls by the KDP leaders. The main reason, in fact, was that as long as they refused to take

KURDISH REFUGEES IN TURKEY AND IRAN

advantage of the Iraqi amnesty which expired on 6 October 1988, they should join other refugees in Iran because Turkey can not cope with a large refugee population. Earlier in September a refugee was shot dead and two injured by the Turkish police in Silopi camp, after a skirmish between a group of refugees and an Iraqi security delegation invited by the Turks to the camp. In Diyarbakir camp 12 KDP Pesh Mergas were arrested in late September and then released in December on a flimsy charge. The camps are infiltrated by security agents whose purpose is to collect intelligence and influence people to collaborate with them. On 13 December 1988, a Turkish official and security delegation visited Iraq to co-ordinate activities regarding the helpless refugees. The composition of the delegation is self-explanatory. Its members were the super governor of Turkish Kurdistan - South Eastern provinces - Hayri Ozokglou and the governors of Mus, Mardin and Diyarbakir as well as military and security officials.

3) Since early September 1988, the refugees in Mardin have been living in a tented camp, while others have been housed in Mus and Diyarbakir. Accommodation is inferior. Comparatively, the worst affected are those in Mardin camp. It is overcrowded and the tents can not keep out the rain and are poor protection against the vicious winter, where the temperature drops to below - 15 C. In Mus the refugees have half a breezeblock house per family. In Diyarbakir the new flats consist of 2 small bedrooms and a hall and each holds up to 30 people.

4) Children die everyday in the camps from malnutrition, disease or just sheer cold. At one stage there were between 8 - 10 children dying every day. There are shortages of

essentials ; no babyfood or fresh milk. Since their arrival, as many as 240 people have died in Mardin and 46 in Diyarbakir. Many of the dead were suffering from the effects of poison gas and typhoid. The most prevalent diseases among the refugees are chicken pox, small pox, poliomyelitis, rickets, malaria, T.B., gastro-enteritis, diphteria, cholera and typhoid. Medical care is insufficient and there is an acute shortage of medicine. In Mardin camp there were 2000 cases of diseases among the refugees toward the end of December. Certainly the few clinics set up by the authorities are incapable of meeting the health needs of the refugee populations. Food supplies are distributed fortnightly. They are poor and scanty as is the provision of heating.

5) Turkey has consistently refused to allow international relief agencies to provide crucially needed aid and facilities. Dismissing all offers of humanitarian aid by governments and humanitarian organisations as damaging to their national pride, the Turks have asked instead for \$300 million in cash or resettlement of half the number of refugees. This stance is unrealistic, since money is normally given by governments and aid agencies to UN bodies to care for the refugees. This stubborn attitude underlines a desire not to internationalise the issue and not to offend Iraq, with whom Turkey enjoys a valuable commercial and security relationship. However, due to the international publicity given to the deteriorating conditions of the refugees, and as a result of certain appeals and pressures brought upon the Ankara government by some western governments as well as international organisations, a deal is being negotiated since early December 1988 between the Turkish foreign ministry and the UN High

Commissioner for Refugees under which the refugees receive aide, but it has not been finalised. The amount of international aid pledged so far is ludicrous. Only \$1,5 million had been promised from Denmark, the European Community and the Red Cross societies of Britain and Luxembourg. It is hoped that after the agreement between Turkey and the UNHCR, more generous aid will be forthcoming to alleviate the plight of the refugees in Turkey.

THE SITUATION OF KURDISH REFUGEES IN IRAN

1) The total number of Kurdish refugees from Iraq in Iran is approximately (150,000). They include three distinct categories, for periods varying from three months to fourteen years. The most recent arrivals in Iran are (46,770) who fled Iraqi chemical attacks in August 1988 or were expelled from Turkey to Iran. A second category includes those refugees who were forced to leave their homes as a result of the Iraqi war in Kurdistan and the Iran-Iraq war fought on Kurdish territories, as well as the surviving inhabitants of the chemically bombarded town of Halabja in March 1988. The third group is made up of refugees who sought refuge after the 6th March Algeris Accord of 1975. Their number is estimated to be 60,000.

2) Apart from the third group who have been scattered throughout Iranian cities since 1975, the rest live in three Iranian provinces: West Azerbaijan, Kordistan and Bakhtaran in western Iran. The majority live in West Azerbaijan in the following camps and reception centres: Zewa, Khoi, Salmas, Oshneviyah, Naghada, Serdasht and Urmya, Saez, Baneh and Merivan in Kor-

distan province and in Ramsar in Bakhtaran.

3) Most of the old refugees of 1975 are employed as workers in the Iranian factories or as seasonal workers. The authorities have occasionally provided the second group with material assistance and have issued refugee certificates for them which entitle them to education and national health care and travel permits. The recent arrivals are the most desperate group of refugees, as they brought nothing with them and the vast majority lacked basic necessities.

4) Although the Iranian Islamic government, through the Red Crescent Society and the organs of the Interior Ministry have provided them with basic aid, yet the presence large number of Afghan and Iraqi refugees, together with a large population of displaced Iranians from the war stricken Southern provinces, has stretched the country's resources and made the provision of adequate assistance, shelter and health care restrained and insufficient. In fact, the authorities have not made any serious attempt to improve the welfare of Kurdish refugees. As such decisions are frequently coloured by political and economic considerations, access for international aid has also been restrictive in the past.

5) Nearly all of the refugee camps and centres are located in a mountainous region of western Iran, 2000 metres high, and with the onset of icy winter, with heavy snowfall reaching up to two metres depth and temperatures down to - 10 C in some areas, the supply of warm clothing, cover and shelter materials is a top priority. Many children and elderly people have died from malnutrition, severe cold and lack of health care.

6) The conditions of Kurdish refugees are relatively better than in

Turkey. In Iran the refugees' freedom of movement is less restricted and the authorities have recently given their approval for international aid to reach them. However, they too suffer from insufficient material aid, health care and shelter.

7) So far only a convoy of ICRC emergency aid has reached the recent arrivals in late October 1988. A proposed aid programme by the UNHCR has not yet materialised and no international aid has been forthcoming. The most urgent needs of refugees include medicine, baby food, warm clothing, cover, ground-sheets and other essential items.

Beyond the short-term deprivations and degradation of Kurdish refu-

gees lies the ordeal of never belonging; of being dispossessed of homeland and rights. Depression, loneliness, the feeling of being cut off from relatives, friends and means of livelihood have profound effects on Kurdish refugees both in Iran and Turkey. This traumatic reality coupled with the indifference of the international community to their plight, and the symbolic amount of international aid diverted to them, has made their conditions extremely unbearable. No effort has been made to enable them to realise their own potential to become independent, self-sufficient people able to determine their own future.



Kurdish refugees at Zewa Camp - Iran



TURKEY'S DUEL POLICY

The influx of Kurdish refugees from Iraq into Turkey to escape genocide, has put the Turkish regime in a dilemma. On the one hand, Turkey has a longstanding record of animosity towards all things Kurdish, and it has its own problem of denying the very existence of over 10 million Kurds in Turkey. On the other hand, the regime in the full glare of international publicity, wanted to take credit for giving refuge to the Kurdish victims of war and gas to improve its tainted image regarding the treatment of Kurds, and its violation of human right at home. This quandry has been reflected in a dual policy towards the refugees. Despite its initial refusal in late August 1988 to take the refugees fleeing from chemical attacks, Turkey won acclaim for allowing them in. We in the KDP and the Iraqi Kurdistan Front and many governments appreciated their humanitarian stance. Mr. Torgout Ozal described the Iraqi military campaign as a massacre of innocent civilians, in which all kind of weapons were used. Turkish officials and parliamentarians confirmed the use of chemical weapons on the civilians by the Iraqi forces. In fact many of

the refugees died on Turkish soil suffering from the effects of poison gas, and many were suffering from chemical injuries. Yet, all of a sudden this attitude changed markedly, as subsequent events proved! Not wishing to damage relations with Iraq, a valuable trade and security partner, the Turkish regime went to great lengths to cover up evidence of Iraqi use of chemical weapons. They refused access to a UN expert team to investigate the situation on the spot. Their own investigation sinisterly cleared Iraq. Local Turkish medical staff were pressured to remain silent. Refugees injured by chemical weapons were taken away on arrival and scattered in different hospitals, thereby denying access to them by independent observers and in some cases they were even denied proper medical care. Harassment and intimidation of refugees, coupled with deprivation of material assistance and international aid, went hand in hand to make life unbearable for its powerless guests. Despite the strict orders passed by the authorities, forbidding local people to contact the refugees, the Kurdish people from Turkey showed remarkable solidarity with their fellow Kurds from Iraq. Through private means they provided every conceivable aid and assistance. We feel that Turkey should be compelled to show itself as a civilised nation bound by the Geneva conventions and all the Council of Europe's other relevant agreements.

We hope that Turkey will observe a more humanitarian stand towards her helpless guests.

AN APPEAL BY IRAQI KURDISTAN FRONT

The Iraqi Kurdistan Front, on behalf of the innocent Kurdish victims of chemical warfare in Iraqi Kurdistan, welcomes the attempts of the Paris conference to stop the proliferation of chemical weapons.

We are, however, disappointed that the Kurdish people who have suffered so much through Iraq's deployment of these terrifying weapons have no representative at the conference.

We would like to emphasise our conviction that, unless punitive measures are taken against governments guilty of using poison gas, very little can come out of the Paris initiative.

It is imperative that any future international convention banning these weapons should contain provisions to prevent their use by governments against their own people.

Safeguards against further deployment of chemical weapons must be firmly upheld by the international community and not ignored, as has been the case in northern Iraq.

We fear we are already witnessing a world-wide prolition

of chemical weapons because of the failure to punish countries guilty of using them, notably Iraq.

We are also deeply concerned by Iraq's development and deployment of other prohibited weapons.

We have evidence that the Iraqi regime has used biological warfare agents against Kurdish civilians on a number of occasions. Outbreaks of virulent water-borne diseases resembling typhoid have been deliberately caused by biological "bombs" in Kurdish areas.

We have established the location of one plant producing these weapons in Salman Pak east of Baghdad.

Our people have been decimated by chemicals. If the world community continues to overlook the deployment of these atrocious weapons, the fate of the entire human race could be at stake.

We appeal to you to consider this in your deliberations. The survival of our children depends on you.

Iraqi Kurdistan Front, London.

6th January, 1989

The Front is an alliance of six Iraqi Kurdish parties and was formed in May, 1988.

Its members are the KDP, PUK, KSP, KPDP, ICP (Kurdistan Region), and KSP (PASOG).

WHAT HAPPENED TO IRAQI KURDISTAN

The Kurdish people in Iraq are facing a major crisis precipitated by the government's relentless campaign to eliminate their national identity and eradicate the cultural and historical character of Kurdistan. Immediately, after the cease-fire of the Gulf war, the regime threw the bulk of its armed forces into Kurdistan to liquidate the Kurdish population of the liberated region. Almost the entire range of weaponry in the Iraqi arsenal had been tried, including the extensive use of chemical weapons. The available evidence indicated the deployment of germ warfare too.

Atrocities are perpetrated every single day, with death and destruction wrought upon the people of Kurdistan. Indeed the very existence of our people is in jeopardy. The curtain of silence which has descended upon Iraqi Kurdistan can not hide this painful truth.

The following report is an attempt to present the recent development in a

systematic and comprehensive way. However, before doing so, it is extremely important to clarify a widely held misconception about the Kurdish struggle in Iraq, since many observers viewed the Kurdish movement as an extension of the Iraq-Iran war. They regarded the movement's expansion in the early eighties as a direct by-product of the continuation of the war, without any due respect to the dynamism of the Kurdish struggle as such. They believed that the movement was doomed to failure the moment the war stopped. Even Iraqi army brutality and massacres of innocent civilians were cynically justified as 'bound to happen' because Iraqi Kurds allied themselves with Iran during the war. This simplified view is a total misrepresentation of the facts of the overall situation.

In fact, the Kurdish legitimate struggle for basic democratic rights and autonomy antedate the Iraq-Iran war by more than a decade. The failure of successive Iraqi regimes,

most notably the present one, to solve the national issue in a peaceful and democratic way has aggravated the situation. Instead of seeking a peaceful and democratic solution to the Kurdish national question, on which the whole stability of Iraq depends, the regime has resorted to force and went to compromise and concede the country's sovereignty to neighbouring countries in a bid to put down the movement. The Algeris Accord of 6 March 1975 is a case in point. The security agreement of hot pursuit with the Turkish Junta is also another outstanding example. These shameful concessions have brought devastating damage to the country. Notwithstanding, the option of armed struggle was imposed on our people, since the path of non-violence was closed by the Iraqi Ba'thist dictatorship. Their war in Kurdistan, which took on a genocidal nature, was separate from their war against Iran. Therefore, the choice we were presented with was to fight or submit and accept to be co-opted into Saddam's dictatorial schemes.

Thus, the determination to fight on despite the declared cease-fire in the Gulf war was indicative of the fact that our resistance movement is by no means determined by the outcome of the Iraq-Iran war.

And contrary to the conventional wisdom, the Kurdish people have no regret seeing the catastrophic Gulf war end peacefully, for the war had indeed overshadowed our just struggle, and brought devastating damage and untold human misery into Iraqi Kurdistan and to the peoples of Iran and Iraq.

It is true that we have co-operated with the Iranian regime to fight the common enemy, and the geopolitical situation within which the armed struggle is conducted make this kind of mutual alliance a fact of life. We tried very hard not to be totally



Four survivors from Bazi Gorge

immersed in the war, but it was just impossible to sit on the fence when the aim of the Iraqi opposition was to defeat Saddam's dictatorship by all possible means.

In fact, before the Iranian Islamic leadership's unconditional acceptance of the UN Security Council Resolution 598 on 18 July 1988, the Iraqi Kurdistan Front called (in early June) for a peaceful end to the Gulf war as well as to the Iraqi war against the Kurdish people. Mr. Massoud Barzani announced on 20 July 1988 that "just as our national struggle is distinct from the Gulf war, we reiterate that security and stability will not prevail in the region as long as the cause of the Kurdish people is not resolved on the basis of recognising the legitimate national rights of our people." He appealed in his statement to the international community to prevent the further extermination of Kurdish people by the regime and "to take into consideration our just and legitimate rights in any comprehensive settlement".

Conscious of our responsibility not to be cowed into submission, the Central Committee of the KDP resolved on 20 July 1988 to defend the existence of our people and plans were drawn up to prepare for confronting the expected ruthless onslaught on the liberated areas.

Not surprisingly, on 19th July, the day following Iran's acceptance of resolution 598, the Iraqi army began a massive offensive supported by heavy artillery and air bombardment against the KDP at Sherwan and Sidakan, near the intersection of the Iraqi-Iranian-Turkish borders.

For nearly (50) days the KDP Pesh Mergas fought the army, frustrating all its attempts to break through this strategic area.

The battle of Khakork as it is known, was an epic engagement in the history of Kurdish resistance. It was

supervised and conducted by Mr. Massoud Barzani and the party's leadership, with the aim of showing the world over that the regime's war against the Kurdish people is continuing unabated despite the declared ceasefire in the Gulf war. This historic confrontation lasted from 19 July till 5 September 1988.

The army, frustrated by its failure to stamp out resistance by conventional means, started to use chemical weapons. Thus, on 30/31 July war planes dropped chemical bombs on a number of villages, hamlets and guerrilla bases in the Balisan valley (Khate, Ware, Heran, Nazaneen and Semaqolee) in the Sheqlawa district. This was an enclave of liberated area behind the army build-up further south.

On 1-3 August the army extensively bombed the populated area of Sherwan and north Sidakan as well as the Pesh Merga front with chemical weapons. Two villages were directly hit, Ari and Sino Zerwa. 63 villagers and guerrillas were affected.

At this stage the army had committed only the 1st and 5th Army Corps with dozens of support units. As fighting escalated towards the D day of 20 August, further reinforcements were brought in from the southern front.

For the overall campaign the regime deployed (4) of its Army Corps with the 7th Army and the Army of Presidential Guards despatched to Dahok and Mosul provinces. With a total of over 60,000 troops the army started a major onslaught on the entire liberated zones, stretching from Zakho in the West to the Iranian borders in the East, along the 340 kms long front adjacent to the Turkish frontier. The onslaught covered the districts of Zakho, Amadya and Dahok in the Dahok province, the districts of Sheikhan and Acra in Mosul province, and

Sherwan and Rawendoz in Erbil province. In this chunk of liberated territories nearly 150,000 people lived in several hundred remaining villages. Its size was estimated to be 10,000 sq kms, in which the KDP has its main bases and administration headquarters. In the provinces of Sulimanya and Kirkuk and in particular the districts of Kefri and Karadagh, a similar campaign was under way.

When the ceasefire was officially announced on 20 August, fierce fighting was raging in Kurdistan. In an epic-like confrontation, the KDP Pesh Mergas fought the Iraqi army, driving back attack after attack and inflicting heavy casualties on the enemy. Several army units were totally wiped out in the Khakork mountains.

The KDP leadership committed itself to this confrontation, to relieve pressure on other liberated territories and to attract international attention to the plight of the Kurdish people in the aftermath of the Gulf-war.

Towards the start of the Geneva peace talks (25 August) between Iraq and Iran under the auspices of the UN, fighting continued unabated. By then, the army had massed a huge number of troops and armoury in Zakho, Dahok and Mosul for a major offensive on all fronts. Knowing that their campaign would be costly and uncertain, the regime had decided on chemical warfare as a "final solution".

Thus, at a time the world over was hopefully watching the peace talks to end the catastrophic Gulf war, the regime acted again in defiance of international law and the will of UN Security Council resolution 620, which was adopted early August, advocating to take "effective meas-

ures" against any country guilty of using chemical warfare in future conflict.

Tragically, on the same day, 25 August at 6 a.m. the Iraqi army launched yet another barbaric chemical attack on defenceless civilians in the liberated zone of Badinan in Dahok, Mosul and Erbil provinces. With (200) war planes they bombarded the entire region with chemical and conventional weapons. Dozens of peaceful villages came under direct chemical attacks designed to break the will of resistance among the unprotected population. Panic and horror spread easily.

The extensive use of poison gas took place on three successive days from 25-27 August, and continued selectively throughout the last week of August right up to 1 September 1988.

77 villages and numerous gorges and valleys were attacked with chemical weapons. A list of these villages as well as their casualty figures, is provided elsewhere in this issue. The KDP main base, the First Branch, at Ziewa Shekan came under severe and constant chemical bombardment and shelling. The other party's regional bases suffered too. However, precautions had been taken earlier.

For the unprotected population it was not too difficult to recognise Saddam Hussein's weapon of terror. The bombs that fell on their homes and villages did not produce a large explosion. Only a faint noise that produced a yellowish cloud spreading to become a thin mist. The air was filled with what smelt like a mixture of garlic and rotten fruit. Those who were close to the bombs died instantly. A yellow liquid oozed out of their eyes and mouths and their bodies were blackened. The symptomology indicated

the use of nerve agents besides mustard gas.

The injured found it difficult to breathe and began to vomit. Many suffered temporary blindness and blurred vision. Skin discoloration, burns, severe itching and muscle spasms were very common. Other symptoms were a state of "utter drunkenness" leading the victims to start tearing off their clothes. Children were seen jumping about before dying.

People felt confused and powerless. Many ran and submerged themselves in nearby streams, placed wet cloth over their heads to escape the gas. Livestock, pet animals, birds and wild life died. Vegetation dried up and leaves fell off the trees.

The exodus of refugees started to move towards the Turkish border. Families could not bury their dead, and many of the severely injured could not make their way and had to remain behind.

Pesh Merga units engaged the enemy on several occasions to delay their advance into the area. Several units were obliterated by the deadly gas. As a result, nearly 100,000 people began to make their way on foot and on the backs of animals across the rough mountain terrain towards the Turkish border. On their way they were several times attacked at night by low flying helicopter gunships. The Turkish authorities at first turned down several appeals for refuge. This desperate situation led the KDP leader Mr. Massoud Barzani to send a strongly worded warning to the Turks to allow in the women and children and the injured, or the Pesh Merga would turn against Turkey. This strong warning, coupled with an international media campaign directed by the KDP and the international intervention that followed, embarrassed

Turkey and influenced its subsequent admission of the refugees.

When the army moved in in late August and sealed off the main Zakho-Amadya-Barzan road, cutting off escape routes, almost 45,000 civilians in Shiekhan, Dahok and Acra region were trapped. In accordance with its strict orders "to annihilate all human and animal presence in the region", the army committed a number of ghastly massacres.

In the Baze Gorge in the Mateen mountains north of Amadya, some (2980) people were hiding. The gorge was attacked twice by six war planes dropping chemical bombs and explosives on the defenseless people. They were all massacred, except a few survivors. On 29 August Iraqi soldiers entered the valley wearing gas masks and protective clothing. They piled up the bodies in heaps and burnt them.

When (37) men from the two villages of Korima and Chelki in Dahok region surrendered to the army, they were rounded up and publicly executed. (20) names are known of these victims :

- 1- Khalil Mohammed, 2- Salam Khalil, 3- Adnan Khalil, 4- Taher Mustapha, 5- Zahier Mustapha, 6- Zubier Mustapha, 7- Jabar Jamdi, 8- Hameed Hafzellah, 9- Sadeek Hafzellah, 10- Shaban Hussein, 11- Sekvan Hussein, 12- Mohammed Ayob, 13- Ahmed Yacob, 14- Sharif Fatah, 15- Murad Hakeem, 16- Abdul Satar Sharief, 17- Akrem Sharief, 19- Nari Abdul Qader, 20- Rashied Saffar.

In another incident, 12 men with their families surrendered in Kokare village, Rekan region. They were shot dead in front of their families.

The brutality and savagery of Saddam's troops was unprecedented. They killed people on sight, dynamited and razed every single

village to the ground. Fields, crops and orchards were burnt down. The only remaining villages were completely destroyed. A list of (473) destroyed villages is published in this issue.

While this war of genocide was going on, fierce and intensive fighting was escalating in Khakork region. The Pesh Merga under the command of Mr. Barzani scored major victories over the enemy. The troops were suffering from low morale: having survived 8 years of war with Iran, they had not wish to perish in Kurdistan mountains. The following army units were crippled and lost nearly (8450) men killed and wounded: the 33rd Division, the 45th Division, the 35th Division, the 18th Division, the 68th Special Forces Brigade, the 66th Special Forces Brigade, the 702nd Infantry Brigade, the 402nd Infantry Brigade, the 120th Commando Brigade, the 2nd Commando Brigade and 1st independent Commando Battalion, and a whole unit of the internal security forces. Tens of officers and soldiers were taken prisoners.

Over (1000) bodies belonging to the Iraqi troops were left in the battlefield, including a number of officers. The Pesh Merga shot down (4) helicopter gunships. They also captured over (600) pieces of light arms, (35) RPGs and (18) wireless radio sets. A substantial amount of ammunition and military equipment was also seized. The Pesh Merga suffered (133) casualties including dead and injured. A number of indispensable commanders were among those killed in action.

On the other side, Iraqi troops and gunship followed the refugees inside Turkish territory firing at random at their temporary camps. They were later moved further into Turkey.

The worldwide international campaign by the KDP, the Iraqi Kurdistan Front and the Kurdish communities abroad, drew impressive and unprecedented attention from the international media, world leaders, governments and international organisations to the tragic situation in Kurdistan and to the war of genocide perpetrated against the Kurdish people. A worldwide condemnation of Saddam's regime dominated the events in August, September, October and November 1988. The Iraqi regime was immensely discredited in the civilised world.

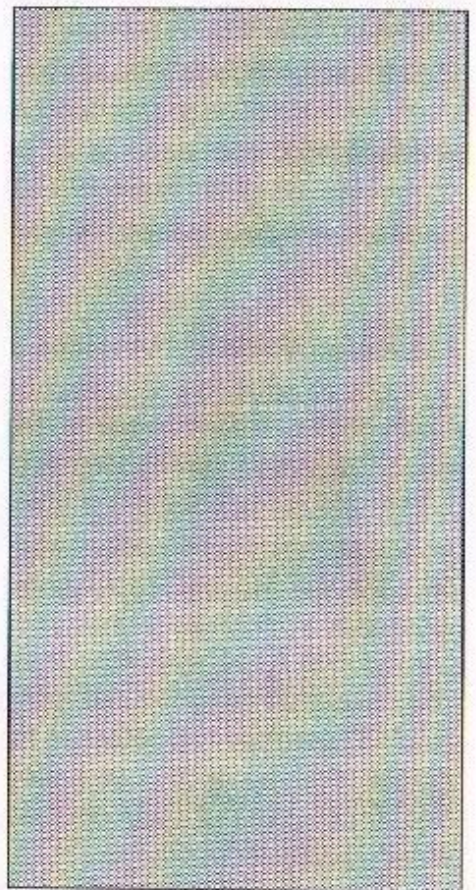
Though strong the public and diplomatic protest was, the outspoken governments of USA, UK and western European countries failed to live up to their commitment to take punitive measures against the guilty regime of Iraq. Conclusive evidence of the use of chemical weapons existed, and was confirmed in the staff report to the US Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, by American doctors of 'Physicians for Human Rights' (PHR), by consistent eye witness accounts of the refugees and by physical evidence brought from Iraqi Kurdistan by the experienced reporter *Gwynn Roberts*, and lately by the British Defence Ministry and US intelligence sources; and Iraq's refusal to admit a UN expert team to investigate the charges, all confirms the use of chemical weapons.

The failure of the international community to act betrays a chronic policy whereby economic considerations take precedence over human misery and over human rights. Contradictory statements emerged from Baghdad about the duration of the military campaign. The life President Saddam Hussein, claimed that the operation was carried out within two days only, while his

defence minister said that the operation began on 27 August and ended on 5 September 1988. Both were lying. The latest military campaign started immediately after Iran's acceptance of the ceasefire. In fact the ambition of the Iraqi dictatorship to dominate the Kurds' lives has existed since 1961 and is still continuing. Although the summer campaign has caused immense suffering and cruel persecution it failed to stamp out Kurdish resistance. Pesh Merga units remained inside and continue to operate deep inside the country. The party urban network is still operative. New tactics and plans have been put into action. Our people are now united more than ever under the united leadership of Iraqi Kurdistan Front.

A better international understanding of the Kurdish issue has recently developed.

All these factors are on our side to the struggle of our people forward.



THE MILITARY SITUATION

Despite the Iraqi regime's pretensions of having put down the armed struggle movement in Kurdistan, Pesh Merga operations continue against Iraqi troops. Today Pesh Merga units are operating deep inside the country. New tactics of action and survival have been devised.

While acknowledging the harsh conditions of struggle prevailing in Kurdistan, in view of the introduction of chemical weapons by the regime and the total destruction of life in the countryside, coupled with forcible eviction of the population as well as the increase in the number of troops deployed in the region, the Pesh Merga forces show no sign of wavering in their commitment to the struggle for freedom and democracy.

Recently the Pesh Mergas carried out the following military operations

A Amadya district - Dahok province

- On 14 November 1988, the K.D.P. guerrillas launched a major attack on the Iraqi army battalion base at Nero-Seto close to the Turkish border. After fierce fighting, the Pesh Merga destroyed and overran the base. About 40 soldiers were killed and dozens injured. Considerable amounts of arms and ammunition were captured.

This operation was the most significant and daring attack ever since the Iraqi summer offensive, as it came at a time when the regime was claiming to have destroyed the Kurdish resistance movement. It also happened during a period of sinister military collaboration between the Iraqi and Turkish forces against the Pesh Merga bases along the boarder area.

- On 25 November 1988, a Pesh Merga unit clashed with an Iraqi Army detachment near the location of Ziawa village in the Nero-Rekan region. In the ensuing fighting the enemy force dispersed leaving

behind the bodies of (4) dead soldiers. The Pesh Merga recovered (4) AK Klashenikov guns with a quantity of ammunition. No casualties were sustained by the Pesh Merga.

- On 6 December 1988, a Pesh Merga unit ambushed an army force near the site of Reshma village in the Nero-Rekan area of Amadya district. The enemy sustained a number of casualties. The bodies of two soldiers were left on the battle field by the fleeing group. The Pesh Merga recovered (2) AK guns.

Sheqlawa - Erbil province

- On 12 November 1988, a Pesh Merga patrol spotted a group of soldiers in the ruins of Shiekh Wasan village engaged in removing usable building material from the devastated houses for the nearby army camp. An ambush was laid down by the Pesh Merga on their way. When their army vehicle approached, the guerrillas opened fire killing all its five occupants and destroying their IVA troop carrier. Corporal Ali Farhan Saqir of the (6059) Unit, Corporal Kazim Suliman Wahied of the (3185) Unit and soldier Abdulwahid Ali Walie of (3186) Unit were identified by their ID, while a sergeant and a fifth soldier were not recognised. Three AK guns were recovered.

- On 5 December 1988, a Pesh Merga force operating in the Erbil plain clashed with a sizeable army detachment near the village of Shewa Rash close to Aski Kalak Bridge between Erbil and Mosul. The enemy called upon further reinforcements from Erbil. Heavy fighting took place when the new reinforcements tried to encircle the Pesh Mergas. Heavy fighting lasted for more than 3 hours with the Pesh Mergas inflicting heavy casualties on the advancing troops. Our forces managed to break through enemy lines. A Pesh Merga was killed and two were captured during this confrontation. Enemy casualties were not known, but believed to be in tens.

Kirkuk

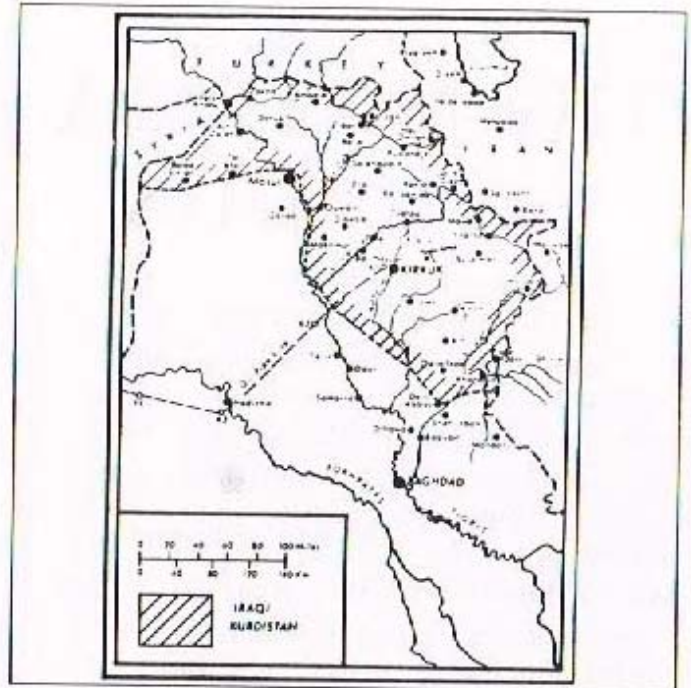
- On 9 October 1988, a squad of our urban guerrillas opened fire on a security car in the main centre of Kirkuk. The car carried a plate No 23563 Tamim, Private. Two high ranking security officers were killed instantly. They were Captain Mohamed Mattar and Major Sa'ed Jabar. Both were assistants to Kirkuk Security's General Director.

● On 11 October 1988, another squad opened fire on a military intelligence car on the road between Tikrit and Kirkuk. An army officer and his driver were killed.

Qala Diza - Sulimanya

● On 25 October 1988, a Pesh Merga squad opened fire on military forces near Shienawe village in Qala Diza. The enemy suffered a number of casualties, leaving behind the bodies of three dead members. They were identified as lieutenant Amer Mossa Omar, soldier Morteza Mustapha and radio operator-soldier Satar Aboud. The Pesh Merga recovered three light weapons.

● On 25 November 1988, a Pesh Merga unit shot dead a security agent Omar Osman Rashied at the centre of Qala Diza town. The day time shooting took place near Khanaga central Mosque.



KDP's guerrillas fighting against all odds

The end of the Gulf-war has been interpreted as a victory for Saddam Hussein's regime, but the reality is that Iraq's success has been merely for the regime to have survived in a war no-one won.

Now, it is doubtful whether the Iraqi regime can manage the peace as well as it handled the war. During the war, the regime had a captive audience at home and also largely in the Arab Fold with massive international support from the major powers to face up to the spread of the radical Islamic movement.

The cease-fire, however, produced a combination of fresh problems which are threatening the authority of the regime. The new challenges are in the political sphere, in the dead-locked peace talks with Iran, and on the domestic economic front. These problems will certainly tax the regime's energy in the same way that the war drained its money and manpower.

On the political front, Iraq's prospects are almost entirely contingent upon the moves of one individual, the absolute dictator and president for life, Saddam Hussein himself. With little to show at home for the eight-year lasting war, the people are persistently asking the daunting question - "why the war?". Social, human and economic pressures and disruptions are building up.

Recently, the regime has been challenged from within the heart of the military establishment. Early this year a coup by air force officers was failed. 22 officers were executed in January 1989. A war of purges of high ranking officers immediately followed. Reports confirm that about 200 senior army officers have been retired, arrested or executed. Two prominent Ba'ath party officials, Abdullah Salom Samarie and Taha Ahmed Azoz, have been executed, as they were believed to have had a

IRAQ THE POST-WAR CHALLENGE

part in the attempted coup. The head of the notorious Iraqi intelligence - Mukhabarat - was dismissed.

Another major factor causing unrest within the regime has been a feud within Saddam's family over his decision to take a second wife a year ago. Since then, many of the most sensitive positions have been filled either by his own family or relatives of his first wife, and disorder and distrust have resurfaced.

The one million strong army has not been mobilised and it will be kept under arm until a peace treaty is signed. Saddam has fanatically pursued a political style fashioned on an all-seasons heroism. After the war he has changed his image to that of an Arab statesman with a finger in every pie. The establishment of the Arab Co-operation Council in February 1989 between Iraq, Jordan, Egypt, and North Yemen, came to overshadow the rising domestic challenges and to play a role within the moderate Arab camp. The prospects of integration between its members are bleak as all the four members are ridden with economic degeneration.

The regime is still inclined to solve the boarder issue with Kuwait and has involved itself in Lebanon providing military assistance to the Christian Maronite militia to undermine the Syrian influence. The regime is intimidating the Gulf Co-operation Council members which indicates that it will be more adventurous and ambitious in the region. Most importantly, the Kurdish prob-

lem is still unresolved and with continuation of guerrilla war Kurdistan, stability cannot be maintained for the post-war reconstruction. The Iraqi opposition forces are now working to set up a broad-based coalition for a united and joint action to defeat the dictatorship and install a democratic regime.

The peace talks

The UN-sponsored peace talks in Geneva, which were supposed to lead to a comprehensive permanent peace have been deadlocked for the past three months. After three sessions the talks broke down because of differences over priorities and what constitutes a cease-fire. Iraq is demanding a revision of the 6th March Algiers Treaty 1975 which defined the international boundary as running through the middle of the Shatt al-Arab waterway. Ironically, it was Saddam Hussein who signed the shameful treaty with the deposed Shah. In it he conceded Iraqi sovereignty in exchange for Iran's blocking aid to the Kurdish movement. It was he again who tore up and revoked the agreement as unjust and agreed under duress. That lead him to launch his war against Iran on 22d September 1980.

Iran declares that the international boundary should be adhered to and it wants to restore the pre-war line of sovereignty line which ran down the middle of the waterway. The Iranians also want the next step to be the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from enclaves they hold on Iranian territory.

The Iraqi regime wants full sovereignty over the Shatt and wants priority to be given to the restoration of freedom of navigation to and from the port of Basra and the clearing and opening of the Shatt.

The two parties hold divergent views on when the withdrawal of forces to the internationally recognised boundaries should begin.

With these stumbling blocks, delays will inevitably occur in progress towards a peace treaty.

For Iraq, a return to a comprehensive war is unlikely but the need to maintain a high degree of military mobilisation and defense spending remains an added drain on financial resources with serious political implications too.

Other more important issues in the Security Council resolution concerning compensation and the opportunity of blame have not yet been dealt with.

The economic challenge

Iraq is estimated to have about \$ 100,000 million worth of international commercial and military debt. Around \$45,000 million is due annually.

Meeting debt obligations is a priority, and if the country goes ahead with its reconstruction plan, its debt will sky-rocket.

Iraq's balance of payments is projected to record a \$4,000 million current account deficit. Despite its production of an average 2.5 million b/d of crude oil a price slump has meant that export earnings are down. Import and development will continue to be hampered. Since the cease-fire, Arab Gulf aid has been dramatically reduced.

The regime has introduced a plan for economic liberalisation by a return to a system of private enterprise. Steps have been taken to revive the private sector, although it has no industrial experience. A sell-off of state farms and industries has started,

and hotel and tourist services are being privatised.

Sharp increases in food prices and the disappearance of certain essential items, together with a high inflation rate, mismanagement, profiteering at the public expense and a cut down on imports, has hit hard the majority of Iraqi people, especially those who are on fixed salaries.

Despite hopes to the contrary, the end of the war has not automatically brought a prosperous new era. The regime's failure to meet the popular post-war expectation has aggravated its dilemma.

Ba'thist-style democracy

Since November 1988, the regime has announced every now and again a new package of political reforms. Its pundits have branded the post-war era 'the era of democracy under the victorious leader Saddam Hussein'. The new measures include: the formation of new political parties in order to have a multi-party system; the release of political prisoners except 'spies or those who worked as spies for Iran or for the Iranian army'; along with a pledge to adhere strictly to the policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, particularly Arab countries - states interfering in Iraq's own internal affairs were excluded; a commitment to more respect for human rights; a referendum on a permanent constitution which has been provisional since 1958; a free election for the 'national assembly' on 1 April 1989.

These measures are not genuine, since they come at a time when the regime wants to improve its image and international standing after being discredited. This package is mainly intended to appease the western audience in the face of the worldwide condemnation of its behaviour in relation to the gassing of the Kurds and its ruthless treatment of the Kurdish people and its appalling

human rights record.

Because of Saddam and his Ba'th party's ruthless monopolisation of power for the past 20 years, these reforms can not be serious. There is no evidence that the regime is prepared to relinquish total control of the country's affairs.

Elections is perhaps the wrong word, because elections are associated with democracy. When an undemocratic regime like the Saddam regime talks of 'elections' there is something wrong somewhere, since all executive, juridical and legislative powers of the state are vested in the Revolutionary Command Council. State repression and daily violation of human rights continue unabated. The Baghdad regime is speaking with many tongues. If the regime has announced these reforms for purely external consumption, it is not because it has had a change of heart. It is because the international tide towards democracy, the respect of human rights, and the peaceful settlement of conflicts is so loud that it cannot be ignored.

The regime is perfectly aware of what it has to do in order to have a truly democratic system of government and to find a peaceful and democratic solution to the Kurdish question.

By attempting to 'democratise' its rules, the Saddam regime hopes to win legitimacy and respectability which is denied to it by the overwhelming majority of Iraqi people. External solidarity has helped considerably to sustain the spirit of resistance of Iraqi people, who are engaged in a determined struggle against dictatorship and for human and democratic rights.

What is needed is increased pressure on the regime on all fronts, and Saddam only deserves to be treated as an outcast by all those who are revolted by his tyranny and his crimes against humanity. ■

CONDITIONS IN IRAQI KURDISTAN

As a result of the Iraqi military and chemical onslaught in August-September 1988, nearly 45,000 people in the liberated areas of Dahok and Mosul were trapped and taken into custody by the army. They were taken off to Bahrka and Chezhnikan camps near Erbil. Left to their own devices in the open without shelter, food and basic amenities, they were constantly harassed and intimidated by the authorities. They were saved only by the people of Erbil, who defied security restrictions and provided generous relief aid. A group of a dozen Pesh Merga (guerrillas), who surrendered under the terms of amnesty were killed under torture in the Dahok Fort (Qala). Several thousand Pesh Merga were separated from their families, then transferred to a prison camp at Salamiya near Mosul. They have not been heard of since.

Those refugees who accepted the month-long General Amnesty (6 September - 6 October) were also dumped in the same camps. Only 1500 refugees returned from Turkey. Another 30,000 refugees, mainly the inhabitants of Halabja, returned from Iran.

The Iraqi amnesty did not include the 8,000 Kurds from Barzan region, who were arrested en masse in August 1983 and have since disappeared.

The Kurdish prisoners who were held before the announcement of the amnesty were also excluded. Reports confirmed the execution of

tens of them. The amnesty did not cover the army deserters either. 49 of the returnees faced execution in late December in Erbil army camp. Two other internment camps have been set up to accommodate the displaced persons and returnees from Sulimanya and Kirkuk provinces. One camp is in Bainchan near Dokan, Sulimanya, the other is in Debis, Kirkuk. The exact number of people held is unknown, though it is believed to be around 40,000 inhabitants.

Conditions in these camps are atrocious. An indication of that can be deduced from the language of the general amnesty issued by the Revolutionary Command Council. The statement described the Kurds as *'despised and damned people'* and called down God's curse upon them until Judgment Day.

They were told by officials that they would not be returning to their homes and villages and be resettled elsewhere. Their fate at the time of writing this report remains uncertain. Their camps are sealed off by the security forces and they are subjected to all sorts of degrading treatment.

A mysterious disease, resembling cholera and typhoid, spread mainly among the able-bodied men. Severe diarrhea and a semi-paralysis affecting their ability to walk were

common symptoms. The symptomology suggests they had been exposed to a kind of germ and biological agents - another deadly weapon the Iraqi army possesses. Now the entire Kurdish countryside has been cleared out and devastated. The destruction of the last remaining 478 villages in Dahok and Mosul provinces (Budinan region) meant that almost 4000 villages which represent 90 % of Kurdish rural communities have been wiped out.

The Guerrilla war

Pesh Merga units remained in Iraqi Kurdistan. They operate in small highly mobile groups to escape gas attacks and to survive in a barren land. Small bases have been set up. No commitment to hold onto territory or to engage in frontal confrontation, has been made; instead operations have been moved deep inside the country. There is a great emphasis now on moving guerrilla attacks into urban centres and into major Iraqi cities. Selective disruption and attacks on Iraqi infrastructure and economic interests is considered in order to dispense and sap enemy resources.

Since the summer campaign, a number of Pesh Merga operations have taken place. Details of these operations are printed in this issue.



Deportations to southern Iraq

Since last April, the authorities have deported the inhabitants of the Germyan, Shewan and Garadagh regions of Sulimanya to Nokrat-Salmon and Araer in the southern deserts of Naserya province near the Saudi Arabian boarder.

These people, numbering 35,000, were civilians and farmers evicted by the army after their villages, fields and livestock had been destroyed. They undergo immense hardship in conditions similar to concentration camps. Apart from material deprivation and harassment, the psychological shock of being uprooted and unprotected is intolerable.

As a result of maltreatment, a sizeable number of old men, women and children have perished. The following have recently died in Nokrat-Salmon camp :

- 1- Mohamed Saleh, born 1919;
- 2- Abdullah Siema, born 1924, from Tapa Soz village;
- 3- Farah Eizagol, born 1919, woman from Kala To village;
- 4- Ahmed Kader, born 1929, from Kala To village;
- 5- Said Bisan, born 1934, from Balka village;
- 6- Pirot Suliman Khan, born 1919, from Kala To village;
- 7- Sabria Mohamed, born 1949, woman from Balka village;
- 8- Abbas Ali, born 1939, from Wali Hapez village;
- 9- Ahmed Mohamed, born 1929, from Aziz Kad village;
- 10- Mohamed Majed, born 1921, from Chewar Shakh village;
- 11- Jabar Hameed, born 1919, from Sari Rash village;
- 12- Mohamad Ameen Nezar, born 1914, from Homer Mel village.

Under the terms of the amnesty only a minority of the deportees - around 5,000 people - have been brought back to Kurdistan and dumped in

Bainchan and Dibis camps. This group included elderly people, women and children. The fate and whereabouts of their menfolk is unknown.

The Government's plan

The government's attitude towards the Kurdish people was amply put forward by Adnan Khairallah, the Defense Minister, in his press conference on the 15th September 1988: *'Why this outcry about the Kurds? After all, they are only a section of our Iraqi people and we feel free to deal with them the way we want to.'*

Another Iraqi official, Latif Nassief Jassem, the Minister of Information, said in an interview with the Observer (18 Dec. 1988): *"We will chase them to hell and use any force necessary to exterminate them."*

The northern Kurdish provinces are still run by an absolute ruler, Ali Hassan AL-Majeed, Saddam's cousin. He is embodied with powers that overlap all legal and constitutional laws.

A new plan to build (22) new cities in Kurdistan is in progress. When completed a quarter of a million Kurds will be resettled against their will in the new security controlled towns.

The government has ordered all Kurds living in Baghdad, Mosul and Kirkuk to move into the autonomous region by 21st March 1989. Those who disobey will face forced eviction and the confiscation of their property. A security consideration is behind the new move.

The destruction of district towns is continuing. The town of Simmel on the international highway between Turkey and Iraq in the Dahok province was erased in December 1988. Its inhabitants have been dispersed within the province. The town of Bayechi in Kirkuk has been evicted

and destroyed, because a new deposit of oil has been discovered. The inhabitants of Debaga (20,000) in Erbil have been asked to evacuate the town in December 1988 to pave the way for Arab settlement.

The policy of Arabisation has been escalated, affecting even other minorities in Kurdistan such as the Turkomans and the tiny Shabak sect, living around Mosul. The latter have been removed and resettled in Hareer in Erbil.

Some (20) light Regiments of pro-government Kurdish auxiliaries have been disbanded. Their members are asked to join military service. During the war, they had joined these semi-military units to avoid being drafted into the army.

The government admitted violation of human rights in Kurdistan, but used the war situation as justification to this. New promises of activating its autonomy are being made. These overtures come after rising dissatisfaction among the Kurdish population and as a response to international pressure.

Recently, the government scheme of autonomy has been given increased media coverage. However, experience has shown that its autonomy is nothing less than window-dressing solely preserved in the interest of public relations. Its institutions are devoid of any real power and serve only to rubber stamp central government policy directives. Those Kurds who have been co-opted to run the autonomy are powerless pawns stripped of all decisionmaking authority affecting the development of the region.

The overwhelming majority of Kurds realize that unless there is a democratic regime, a representative autonomy cannot be envisaged in Kurdistan.

478 VILLAGES DESTROYED

A list of (478) Kurdish villages destroyed by the Iraqi army during the summer offensive between 25 August and 15 September 1988.

In these villages lived nearly 150,000 inhabitants. They were thriving communities in the liberated area adjacent to the Turkish boarder. By demolishing them, the regime has virtually obliterated 90% of rural communities, bringing the number of destroyed villages in Iraqi Kurdistan to over 4000 in total.

Following the savage Iraqi military onslaught, their inhabitants were driven out. The majority sought refuge in Turkey and Iran to escape extermination, while others were trapped and faced internment camps in Iraq.



Amadya district Dahok province

1 - Ekmalla	36 - Heror	72 - Bellava	109 - Siedara	146 - Beznor
2 - Hesse	37 - Taha Bala	73 - Pase	110 - Chem Je	147 - Saka
3 - Merdinke	38 - Batifa Syda	74 - Dergeni	111 - Bienstane	148 - Biebo
4 - Kani Baste	39 - Babier	75 - Hamza	112 - Hosse	149 - Karou
5 - Kani Sier	40 - Kani Masi	76 - Zielie	113 - Tu Shambeik	150 - Kani pieng
6 - Qaserke	41 - Warneil	77 - Sherte	114 - Reshma	151 - Bietfa
7 - Dargelle	42 - Jedeidke	78 - Korko	115 - Gali Diera	152 - Sienya
8 - Khanke	43 - Tanlava	79 - Banarni	116 - Qaserke	153 - Kokare
9 - Kara Daraghe	44 - Bendare	80 - Seri	117 - Chem syda	154 - Sieta
10 - Meglana	45 - Gelbeshe	81 - Arze	118 - Ziewka-Rekan	155 - Pawan
11 - Maleichta	46 - Kani Guizke	82 - Sela Huare	119 - Kheshkasha	156 - Mezhe
12 - Hare	47 - Ziwa Shiek Mes	83 - Ared Nazhore	120 - Shamke	157 - Bansara
13 - Baloka	48 - Kani Guizke	84 - Shieva Chenare	121 - Pier Avdala	158 - Zier
14 - Moreska	49 - Banka	85 - Segere	122 - Shiekh Mama	159 - Maydan
15 - Champelke	50 - Deshesh	86 - Kani Sarke-Nerwa	123 - Warkhal	160 - Razga
16 - Beshelle	51 - Babgorya	87 - Gouherze	124 - Shet Yannis	161 - Miska
17 - Kani Mazne	52 - Kiesta	88 - Nerwa Zhure	125 - Nero Seto	162 - Bieda
18 - Baze	53 - Briem Zella	89 - Rashava	126 - Ziewha Shekha	163 - Mieze
19 - Hattorshe	54 - Kani Balav	90 - Spear	127 - Totem	164 - Pesh Nerwa
20 - Belizane	55 - Berchi	91 - Nezare	128 - Mazre	165 - Kolka
21 - Gerka	56 - Kalla Shekho	92 - Elleh	129 - Artes	166 - Botke
22 - Alkeshke	57 - Guezke	93 - Mamke	130 - Chem Tu	167 - Riednya
23 - Ravina	58 - Dukere	94 - Eva Raza	131 - Allaya	168 - Karagou
24 - Dereshke	59 - Kani Seve	95 - Berpane	132 - Belova	169 - Spindar Khalfo
25 - Teshesh	60 - Hasan pierka	96 - Bieroman	133 - Sherana	170 - Kavna Meshe
26 - Savrya	61 - Shekafta mamen	97 - Ziewa Shekan	134 - Garaya	171 - Havandka
27 - Tene	62 - Dawede	98 - Karoke	135 - Ziewa syda	172 - Sengerke
28 - Sherifa	63 - Benavi - Nehil	99 - Kara	136 - Mczhe	173 - Spindar
29 - Tuller	64 - Shiekh mema	100 - Biebakere	137 - Razok	174 - Sosya
30 - Benavi	65 - Wera	101 - Kheraba	138 - Bawerke	175 - Ber Ashe
31 - Kani Zerkishke	66 - Dehe	102 - Sarke	139 - Sware	176 - Kanemaze
32 - Kani Sarke	67 - Ziewka	103 - Shelaza	140 - Marane	177 - Bierkyat
33 - Ura	68 - Botya	104 - Biesape	141 - Chamanke	178 - Bielembasa
34 - Serarou	69 - Hadene	105 - Guilka	142 - Gavarke	179 - Nerwa Zhere
35 - Qoumri	70 - Sergale	106 - Sieda	143 - Kherabya	180 - Serne
	71 - Geragou	107 - Asahe	144 - Karava	181 - Bashe
		108 - Sorya	145 - Dieberke	182 - Shivye

183 - Etot	242 - Navkandala	306 - Tirka Zhor	365 - Qargarava	424 - Hoke
184 - Gali Goutke	243 - Bakolatke	307 - Kabarok	366 - Botershe	425 - Diezgera
185 - Menyanesh	244 - Tuka	308 - Sersilavke	367 - Bakhornif	426 - Argen
186 - Dowheke	245 - Bieghabar	309 - Mergasora	368 - Bakoze	427 - Charbout
187 - Bezele	246 - Gre	310 - Livo	369 - Biske	428 - Priesa
188 - Rieng Brakh	249 - Sarke	311 - Dahle	370 - Bajele	429 - Khasto
189 - Garave	247 - Govke	312 - Balgeshk	371 - Ekmala-Doski	
190 - Hieryashke	249 - Bani	313 - Bildesha	373 - Palana	Shiekhan District
191 - Hora	250 - Diereshk	314 - Misaka	373 - Arda	Mosul Province
192 - Pieshya	251 - Merge	315 - Shier Khazek	374 - Kovel	430 - Chemane
193 - Khare	252 - Avahe	316 - Kala Khare	375 - Zicvnke	431 - Balata
194 - Biya	253 - Bielijan	317 - Berke	376 - Gerbarazke	432 - Rabatke
195 - Senja	254 - Riwan	318 - Barhule	377 - Pirafate	433 - Khoret Mezin
196 - Setap	255 - Shelan	319 - Kahnyatya	378 - Pida	434 - Bilan
197 - Khalka	256 - Swele	320 - Nermek	379 - Bani-Mezori	435 - Balie
198 - Merwanes	257 - Haftaneen	321 - Russe	380 - Kezo	436 - Mersida
199 - Ziewa	258 - Koro	322 - Ekmala Swele	381 - Zerhawa	437 - Gali Roman
200 - Cheye	259 - Mamiesa	323 - Bietalma	382 - Dergal	438 - Biedarke
201 - Biere	260 - Banka	324 - Sindava	383 - Allenke	439 - Nesra
202 - Ekmala-Gara	261 - Avllah	325 - Chejahore	384 - Shawrek	440 - Biere
203 - Kierya	262 - Mienen	326 - Khoke	385 - Alakina	441 - Tella
204 - Pieparkha	263 - Sarore	327 - Bandero	386 - Banasora	442 - Baltik
205 - Ziewka Zher	264 - Kaloke	328 - Serebaste	387 - Peshtgree	443 - Brifka
206 - Ballet	265 - Zaweta	329 - Galipesagha	388 - Linava	444 - Kalinee
207 - Bawerka Kabe	267 - Dolla	330 - Kerkerank	389 - Ziewa Shafeq	445 - Hasnaka
208 - Mahide	268 - Tahlava	331 - Eri	390 - Germavok	446 - Basefre
209 - Dierash	269 - Chemtire	332 - Allinish	391 - Osmana	447 - Merga Hale
210 - Mergatu	270 - Berkavre	333 - Karpet Zher	392 - Gund Kosa	448 - Serkaf
211 - Pierhozana	271 - Kherkhabka	334 - Tirka Nave	393 - Ras Alien	
212 - Afoke	271 - Herkond		394 - Melhemban	Merga Sor District
213 - Banya Chemanke	273 - Tirka Zher	Dahok District	395 - Banda	Erbil province
214 - Baramienko	274 - Behrava	Dahok Province	396 - Majelmakht	449 - Edelpe
215 - Stokorke	275 - Serko	335 - Talwa	397 - Gundeknabi	450 - Ziet
216 - Biebade	276 - Ziewka-Sondi	336 - Zorine		451 - Selke
217 - Shkaft	277 - Khandak	337 - Sorya	Acra District	452 - Pendro
218 - Gondkereme	278 - Bieghabar Zhor	338 - Biedile	Mosul province	453 - Banan
219 - Misalaka	279 - Barzirk	339 - Zinava	398 - Kanya Gole	455 - Argosh
220 - Kanyanieroke	280 - Kovka Zher	340 - Gelnask	399 - Gali Kuer	456 - Mawata
221 - Merstake	281 - Derang Ava	341 - Brohajara	400 - Sarke-Zibar	457 - Spindar
222 - Kanya Baska	282 - Ava Tika	342 - Babolchi ke	401 - Shnya Zher	458 - Herkopedan
223 - Shevasierka	283 - Bahnen	343 - Bishenke	402 - Chem Chale	459 - Basya
224 - Khorpenya	284 - Gouldya	344 - Kamaka	403 - Dopere	460 - Deri
225 - Khalata	285 - Korka	345 - Germava	404 - Kadana	461 - Hake
226 - Kani Mochke	286 - Shievye	346 - Botya	405 - Saft	462 - Stone
227 - Ravala	287 - Keshan	347 - Gazi Ava	406 - Bota	463 - Moka
228 - Aliele	289 - Nezdour	348 - Scravli	407 - Esomara	464 - Barzan
229 - Atosh	290 - Kuranish	349 - Naveshke	408 - Sevre	465 - Hostan
230 - Chem Rabatke	291 - Bosol	350 - Bava	409 - Kafya	466 - Resha
231 - Mielberke	292 - Khizava	351 - Barozhk	410 - Sirane	467 - Havenka
232 - Shaja	293 - Siesnk	352 - Korima	411 - Khalana	468 - Rezan
233 - Gueze	294 - Pierbela	353 - Ziewka Kandala	412 - Bani	469 - Bie
Zakho district	295 - Shiekha Meze	354 - Alkishke	413 - Chemshert	470 - Kanibot
Dahok province.	296 - Bazengera	355 - Gondek	414 - Duke	471 - Bidaron
234 - Khashesh	297 - Marses	356 - Avrike	415 - Haren	472 - Bekhshash
235 - Bezah	298 - Mergaques	357 - Binarinke	416 - Babola	473 - Bazibarosh
236 - Doubanke	299 - Bietas	358 - Gaberke	417 - Helora	474 - Tel
237 - Zorava	300 - Armesht	359 - Kanya u marka	418 - Kani Guzk	475 - Shengel
238 - Khelaft	301 - Chem Qasahate	360 - Borjen	419 - Alka	476 - Dawidka
239 - Pieraka	302 - Tela Koro	361 - Cheran	420 - Chenarok	477 - Hizan
240 - Espendarok	303 - Chemke dala	362 - Navdara	421 - Bierkakor	478 - Palana
241 - Omarava	304 - Berkavra	363 - Kerpele	422 - Sirane Zhor	
	205 - Kerpet	364 - Ziewke	423 - Shnya Zhor	

77 VILLAGES GASED

A list of (77) Kurdish villages exposed to chemical weapons on 25 August - 1 September 1988. The gas attacks claimed the lives of as many as (3496) Kurds. Hundreds more were exposed to poison gas. Besides chemical warfare, the entire range of weaponry in the Iraqi arsenal has been tried against the regions' Kurdish population. In the following named villages, the death toll was very high among children, women and the elderly, notably from the extensive use of chemical weapons.

Baze Gorge (No5)

A barbaric chemical massacre was committed against (2980) hiding Kurds on 29 August 1988. Their bodies were later heaped in

groups and burned down, by Iraqi soldiers wearing gas masks and protective clothing.

Barjen (No 52) 80 killed.

Warneil and Babier (No 28,4) 200 killed.

Barhule and Bielijan (No 44, 42) 75 killed, including 50 women.

Guldya (No43) 44 killed.

Ekmalla (No 1) 33 killed.

Hesse (No2) - 50 killed.

Berchi (No 29) 20 killed.

Tuka (No 40) 14 killed

Amadya district

Dahok province

- 1 - Ekmalla
- 2 - Hesse
- 3 - Kheraba
- 4 - Babier
- 5 - Baze & Baze Gorge
- 6 - Asahe
- 7 - Miska
- 8 - Afoke
- 9 - Ziewa Shekan
- 10 - Kara
- 11 - Serne
- 12 - Merstake
- 13 - Etot
- 14 - Nerwa
- 15 - Dergeni
- 16 - Rashava
- 17 - Bashe
- 18 - Kani pieng
- 19 - Spear
- 20 - Shivye
- 21 - Karou
- 22 - Ballet
- 23 - Sherana
- 24 - Riednya
- 25 - Ziewka Shekha
- 26 - Geregou
- 27 - Gouherze
- 28 - Warneil
- 29 - Berchi
- 30 - Sarke
- 31 - Ravala
- 32 - Menyanesh
- 33 - Mergatu
- 34 - Bawerke
- 35 - Banka
- 36 - Benavi - Nehil
- 37 - Mezhe
- 38 - Biya
- 39 - Spindar Khalfo

Zako district

Dahok province

- 40 - Tuka
- 41 - Doubanke
- 42 - Bielijan
- 43 - Gouldya
- 44 - Barhule
- 45 - Haftaneen

- 46 - Barzirk
- 47 - Nezdour
- 48 - Armesht
- 49 - Gali pesagha
- 50 - Berkavre
- 51 - Telakoro

Dahok district

Dahok province

- 52 - Borjen
- 53 - Babokhike
- 54 - Dergal
- 55 - Gelnaske
- 56 - Banasora
- 57 - Zinava
- 58 - Zerhawa
- 59 - Naveshe

Serseng district

(Sheikhan region)

Dahok province

- 60 - Sware
 - 61 - Spindara
 - 62 - Kanya Basha
 - 63 - Bielembasa
 - 64 - Allilul
 - 65 - Khorponya
- Acra District-Mosul Province**
- 66 - Chem chale
 - 67 - Priesse

Mergasoor District

Erbil Province

- 68 - Meroz
- 69 - Spindar
- 70 - Stone
- 71 - Mawata
- 72 - Bazi-Barozh

Sheqlawa District

Erbil Province

- 73 - Heran

- 74 - Nazaneen

Rawendoz District

Erbil Province

- 75 - Khate

- 76 - Ware

- 77 - Sinozerwa

THE OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUE OF THE 7TH PERIODIC MEETING OF THE MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE KDP

The Seventh Ordinary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Kurdistan Democratic Party was held over three days, on 15 to 17th of November 1988.

The meeting began with the observance of a minute's silence in memory of the late leader Mustapha Barzani, the patriots of both Kurdish Liberation Movement and the Iraqi Democratic Movement, who have lost their lives in the line of duty, and the victims of the barbaric chemical warfare in Halabja, Badinan and other regions of Kurdistan.

Reports by various sections of the Party were received and debated, with a high degree of solidarity and responsibility, concerning political, military, organisational and financial matters. Attention was focused on the latest events precipitated by the Iraqi regime's chemical attacks on the Kurdish liberated areas and its depopulation programme in Kurdistan. The meeting discussed and approved measures designed to defeat the Iraqi government's recent onslaught, and to ensure the continuation of the legitimate struggle of our peace-loving people for democracy in Iraq and genuine autonomy in Kurdistan, as well as safeguarding the administrative and cultural rights of other ethnic minorities.

The meeting reviewed the Party's alliances in the 1980s, particularly the Patriotic and Democratic Front whose performance and prospects of further progress were fully appraised. The meeting also emphasised the significance of the Iraqi Kurdistan Front and the urgent need to strengthen and consolidate its institutions. The Central Committee stressed the need to foster a wide patriotic alliance incorporating all the national, democratic and Islamic forces opposed to the Baghdad regime. The prospect of establishing this united Iraqi front was highlighted as a natural response to growing popular demand, and a positive step towards resolving the crisis in Iraq. This alliance is envisaged in order to restore genuine peace, reconstruct the country and promote the legitimate aspirations of the Kurdish people which were outlined in the Declaration of 11th March 1970. This would serve the interest of national unity and strengthen the bond of brotherhood between Kurds

and Arabs.

Reflecting on Arab and international relations, the meeting emphasised the need for promoting existing links with Arab and international liberation and peace movements. The participants also called for the continuation of efforts to gain greater international support for our people's just cause.

The Central Committee thoroughly examined the organisational and military affairs of various branches and committees, and objectively assessed the negative effects the use of the internationally banned chemical weapons and the escalation of the recent fascist onslaught have had on the overall struggle of our people. The performance of the Kurdistan Revolutionary Army (Pesh Merga) and the popular resistance in Khakork (Siedakan, Erbil Province) and in the first branch zone (Dahok and Nienavah Provinces) was appraised, and their heroism was saluted.

The meeting also examined reports on the conditions of the Kurdish refugees in Turkey and Iran, as well as the plight of the Kurdish deportees inside Iraq. Recommendations were outlined for improving conditions wherever possible, and for exposing the atrocities perpetrated on them by the Iraqi regime.

The Central Committee expressed appreciation of the countries and organisations which have provided help and facilities to Kurdish refugees.

The meeting also expressed the Party's gratitude to all parties and forces who spoke out in support of the Kurdish cause and expressed their solidarity with the plight of our people.

Finally, the meeting passed a number of resolutions concerning the preparations underway for convening the 10th Party Congress. The participants set up a Preparatory Committee for the forthcoming congress. The 7th periodic meeting of the Central Committee rounded up its proceedings on a high note of confidence in achieving victory for our people's just struggle.

The Central Committee
Kurdistan Democratic Party / Iraq
17th November 1988

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Wednesday 30 November 1988

FOREIGN & COMMONWEALTH
AFFAIRS

Chemical Weapons

1. **Mr. Atkinson:** *To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs what representations he has made to his Iraqi counterpart on the use of chemical weapons against their Kurdish population.*

The Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs (Sir Geoffrey Howe): We have repeatedly condemned Iraq for its use of chemical weapons. I made that absolutely clear to the Iraqi Minister of State for Foreign Affairs on 21 September, as did my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster at the highest level in Baghdad earlier this month. We noted with concern last week's television documentary containing further reports of Iraqi CW use in August. They underline the importance of the international conference to be held in Paris in January to reaffirm the authority of the 1925 Geneva protocol banning CW use.

Mr. Atkinson: *As it is now clear that Iraq has perpetrated the most appalling atrocities on its Kurdish population using poisonous gas, does my right hon. and learned Friend accept that to seek better relations with Iraq at this time is to send a mixed message - that Iraq can get away with genocide in violation of the Geneva protocol to which it is a party? Will my right hon. and learned Friend raise the matter with our European colleagues at the forthcoming Rhodes conference?*

Sir Geoffrey Howe: We have certainly been appalled by the suffering inflicted as a result of the large-scale displacement of Kurds from their homes in Iraq. We have proclaimed the evidence of CW use as compelling but not conclusive. It is clear that Iraq has a case to answer and we have been in the forefront of pressing that case in respect of those barbaric weapons. We want

a total ban - that is the importance of the Paris Conference. As to the second part of my hon. Friend's question, there is no way that the Iraqis could have misunderstood the firmness of our position on chemical weapons. As I said, it was underlined by my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster when he was in Iraq a short time ago.

In such a situation, one can do one of two things. One can isolate Iraq and make its unacceptable behaviour more likely, or one can try to establish and maintain a working relationship, to make clear our very strong views on that aspect of Iraq's behaviour. This matter is one of constant concern. Last week, I told the House that it will be permanently on the international agenda, so it may be discussed in one form or another at the Rhodes summit.

Mrs. Ann Clwyd (Cynon Valley): *Why does not the Foreign Secretary follow the lead of the United States Congress, which, when it reconvenes in January, will impose economic sanctions against Iraq? Why will not the British Government do the same? Does not the right hon. and learned Gentleman see any inconsistency between the Foreign and Commonwealth Office condemning violations of human rights in Iraq and the Department of Trade and Industry stiching up massive trade agreements with that country without once mentioning the subject of human rights?*

Sir Geoffrey Howe: In the last part of her question the hon. Lady misses the central point of my main answer. During the course of my right hon. Friend's visit to Baghdad, he took the opportunity to emphasise how strongly we feel about the use of chemical weapons and the importance that we attach to the matter. The hon. Lady is wrong to believe that the United States Congress has passed sanctions legislation - it has not done so. The American Administration is opposed to sanctions, and we believe that is entirely consistent. It is not likely that any effective consequence will follow from the unilateral imposition of economic sanctions in this case. It would not prevent the use of chemical weapons

by Iraq. We shall continue pressing the case as vigorously and energetically as we have already. Being in the forefront of those pressing it. We shall continue in that fashion.

Mr. Bowis : *Does my right hon. Friend agree that, apart from a stop to this hideous practice, what the Kurdish people need most is humanitarian aid from the world community? Will he make a commitment on behalf of Her Majesty's Government that that will be forthcoming as a matter of urgency?*

Sir Geoffrey Howe : My hon Friend is entirely right. The exodus that has taken place has created a major humanitarian problem. We have already contributed some £250,000 for humanitarian assistance, and we have told the Turkish authorities that we are prepared to consider applications for an extension of that in the ordinary way.

Mr. Robertson : *The Foreign Secretary says that evidence of Iraq's use of chemical weapons is "compelling but not conclusive" - a grand new phrase to hide the Government's increasingly fudging position. Did he see the programme on Channel 4 last Wednesday night which brought forward conclusive proof both of the slaughter of the Kurds in northern Iraq and of the use of deadly poisons in those attacks?*

Surely there is something indecent in the sight of the Foreign Office condemning the use of chemical weapons, followed by that of a Cabinet Minister going to Baghdad touting for trade and business and doubling trade credits to Iraq, without any linked condition that Iraq desist from the vile slaughter of so many people in the northern provinces.

Sir Geoffrey Howe : I entirely understand the deep concern of the House at the allegations of the use of chemical weapons, but I repudiate absolutely any impression that the United Kingdom has not been in the van of those pressing this case. In fact we have been simultaneously denounced by many people in the Arab world for being so far in the forefront of the attack. We have sustained our position. It was we who took the matter up in the United Nations and pressed for an authoritative independent investigation and we should still like such an investigation to take place, but we have received insufficient support from our colleagues in the United Nations. We were ready to welcome Iraq's undertaking not to use chemical weapons either inside or outside the country, given as a result of our represen-

tations, and we shall continue to press the case. But it would be wholly foolish, when the rest of the world is continuing to maintain trading relations with a large and important country, for us single-handed and unilaterally to make such a protest.

The House must understand that we are maintaining contact with Iraq and pressing the case against chemical weapons. We are looking at any evidence that is forthcoming, and we are acting more energetically and effectively than any other country.

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

CHEMICAL WARFARE

Dr. Thomas : To ask the Secretary of State for Defence if any stocks of chemical warfare agents are kept at Porton Down or other Ministry of Defence research establishments for the purpose of experimental research on protective measures for civilians and military personnel against chemical warfare attack.

Mr. Spinks : I refer the hon. Member to my reply to the hon. Member for Newport, West (Mr. Flynn) on 25 January at column 653.

Mr. Robertson : To ask the Secretary of State for Defence if any tests have been undertaken at Porton Down on any soil samples from the Kurdish areas of Iraq; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Archie Hamilton : The CDE Porton Down has carried out a scientific analysis of soil samples provided by Mr. Gwynne Roberts, a Channel 4 reporter. The analysis, which was given to Mr. Roberts on 11 January, shows that the samples contained traces of sulphur mustard and related compounds together with traces of the explosive Tetryl. We cannot confirm the circumstances in which these samples were collected, but have no reason to doubt Mr. Roberts' account that these were collected in northern Iraq. The Government believe that this, following previous indications amounts to convincing evidence that chemical weapons have been used by Iraq against their Kurdish population.

House of Commons
Official Report
31 January 1989

KURDISH REFUGEES FACE EXPULSION

AI has called on the Turkish Government to allow international protection for thousands of Kurdish refugees in Turkey, amid reports that some have been threatened with repatriation to Iraq against their will.

It urged the government to continue the positive action taken in granting temporary refuge on humanitarian grounds to some 50,000 Kurds by ensuring that a suitable international agency be involved.

The call followed a fact-finding visit by AI delegates in October to five refugee camps in south-eastern Turkey: Kiziltepe and Silopi camps in Mardin province, Diyarbakir camp, and Uzunsirt and Suustu camps in Hakkari province. AI delegates interviewed scores of refugees who have fled Iraq in August and September 1988 after military attacks against Kurdish villages in northern Iraq resulted in the deaths of hundreds of unarmed civilians.

Many of the refugees told AI that they had been asked by Turkish authorities whether they wished to return to Iraq or go to a third country and that some of them, having agreed to return, later changed their minds, but were forced onto buses bound for Iraq.

AI had earlier expressed fears to the Turkish authorities for the safety of some 1,400 refugees who had been repatriated following the amnesty

announced by the Iraqi Government on 6 September. AI had received reports in the past of Kurds being imprisoned to previous amnesties.

Other refugees interviewed claimed they were being pressurized to go to Iran and that they were sometimes threatened with repatriation if they refused.

Accounts given to AI of attacks by Iraqi forces using tanks, helicopter gunships, artillery and chemical weapons were consistent with earlier reports received.

Some of the refugees interviewed said members of their families, including children, had died immediately after chemical attacks. Other had been too seriously wounded to flee.

AI believes that the killings reflect a deliberate Iraqi policy to eliminate large numbers of Kurdish civilians both as punishment for their imputed political sympathies and in retaliation for the activities of the opposition forces.

AI met eight Turkish doctors who said they had examined nine refugees who claimed that they had been subjected to chemical attacks.

The doctors told AI that since there were no visible symptoms resulting from the use of chemical weapons, laboratory tests had not been carried out.

Turkish officials declined to carry out an investigation requested by AI into the fate of 21 named refugees reported to have entered Turkey between 28 and 29 August suffering from the effects of chemical attacks.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL
NEWSLETTER, JANUARY 1989



These Kurds were among thousands who found temporary refuge in camps in south-eastern Turkey in August. Their future remains unclear

The ICRC assists Iraqi Kurds in Iran

The ICRC provided the Iranian Red Crescent Society with emergency relief supplies for Kurdish refugees in north-western Iran in September, after thousands of Iraqi Kurds arrived across the border from Iraq and Turkey.

The action was taken following a survey of three refugee camps in Iran's Western Azerbaijan province. Two ICRC delegates, together with representatives of the UNHCR (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) and the Iranian authorities, carried out the survey which revealed urgent needs among the refugees.

The total number of Iraqi Kurds in the province was estimated at over 17,000 at mid-September. In addition to the most recent influx, around 9,000 people were still on the spot having arrived earlier in the year after the events at Halabja. The camps in which they are accommodated are in a mountainous region 2,000 metres high, with night temperatures of between five and 10°C in September. Within a month or two it will be winter and the snow that falls in the area easily reaches a depth of two or more metres.

While the Iranian authorities, assisted by the Iranian Red Crescent, had set up temporary reception centres and were building or repairing permanent settlements, a large number of the new refugees lacked basic necessities. There were not enough tents to shelter all the recent arrivals, while most of those already living in tents did not have groundsheets to protect them from the cold and damp. The vast majority did not have blankets or any means to cook the food rations they were receiving.

In view of the urgency of the situation, the ICRC offered to provide emergency relief materials to cover the needs of the refugees for two months. The UNHCR will take charge of their longer-term well-being. The proposed assistance included 60,000 blankets, 1,000 tents, 2,000 kitchen sets and 4,000 groundsheets.

The ICRC immediately requested National Societies to provide contributions in cash or in kind for the programme which aimed to assist up to 20,000 Iraqi Kurds in Iran. The first batch of materials was handed over to the Iranian Red Crescent for distribution in mid-September.

Meanwhile, over 50,000 Iraqi civilians had arrived in Turkey. Under a national



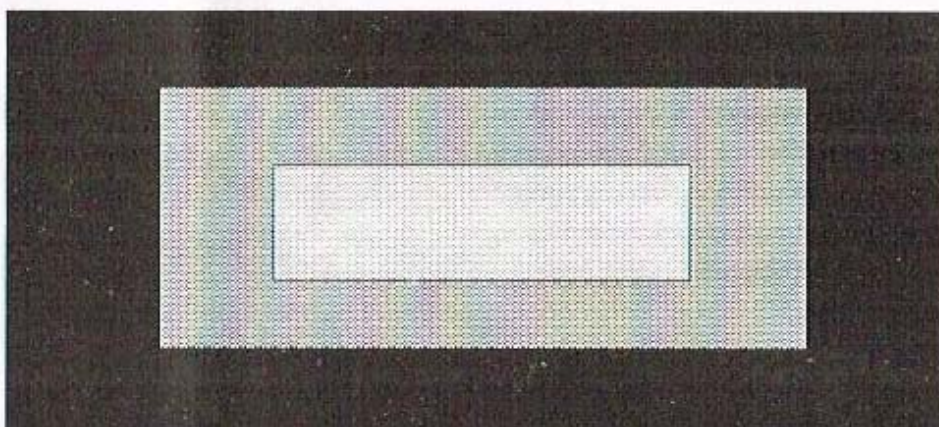
Iraqi Kurds who have taken refuge across the border in Turkey.

emergency plan, the Turkish authorities moved them to transit centres away from the border area in September. The Turkish Red Crescent was in charge of providing temporary shelter, blankets, clothing, medical care and other essential services.

At the request of the Turkish authorities, the ICRC sent two delegates to Ankara to discuss the possibility of providing emergency assistance for the Iraqis who had taken refuge in Turkey. The delegates

were joined by a doctor and a sanitary engineer a few days later when they left for the south-east of the country to evaluate the eventual necessity for the ICRC to provide humanitarian assistance.

The ICRC also approached the Iraqi authorities in September to remind them of their obligations under the Geneva Conventions to protect the civilian population and to offer its humanitarian services. However, Iraq turned down the offer.



Iraqi Kurds on the move

In 1988, the media drew international attention to the plight of Iraqi Kurdish refugees in Iran and Turkey. As we go to press, in mid-November, approximately 36,000 Kurdish refugees remain in temporary accommodation centres at three different locations in Turkey, while three Iranian provinces, Bakhtaran, Kurdistan and West Azarbaijan, are host to some 72,000 refugees.

UNHCR began its programme of assistance to Iraqi Kurds in the Islamic Republic of Iran in July 1987. In May of that year, some 10,000 Iraqi Kurds fled into the Iranian provinces of Bakhtaran and Kurdistan. The numbers climbed steeply in March 1988, when 60,000 Kurds fled across the border from areas in the north-east of Iraq. Most arrived once again in Bakhtaran and Kurdistan, but 9,000 crossed into West Azarbaijan province as well. A joint UNHCR/International Committee of the Red Cross assessment mission was undertaken in April 1988, following which both organizations launched an emergency operation in the three affected provinces, in co-operation with the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran. UNHCR has allocated US\$ 5.5 million to assist the new arrivals since 1987.

A further wave of Iraqi Kurdish refugees began to arrive in Iran in early September 1988, in the province of West Azarbaijan. At the same time, large numbers of Iraqi

Kurds; others had simply transited through Turkey on their own. The High Commissioner immediately allocated a further US\$ 751,900 to assist the Iraqi Kurds in Iran, and, in early November, additional needs of the new arrivals were being assessed. With the onset of winter weather, the supply of warm clothing and shelter materials was a top priority.

UNHCR's programme complements the substantial assistance provided by the Iranian Government, which supplies many of the food commodities for the refugees, the relief and administrative services, and housing valued at US\$ 27 million for refugees in the three affected provinces. The World Food Programme announced on 21 October 1988 an emergency operation valued at US\$ 1.95 million to supply wheat, rice, pulses and vegetable oil to Iraqi Kurds in Western Iran through the end of 1988.

Following the September 1988 announcement by the Government of Iraq of an amnesty for Kurds, many of the refugees in Bakhtaran and Kurdistan decided to repatriate. An estimated 45,000 Kurds returned to Iraq from Iran before the amnesty expired in early October, and 1,500 are reported to have repatriated from Turkey.

The influx of Iraqi Kurds into Turkey during the last few days of August and the first weeks of September 1988 was extremely rapid. By 12 September, 51,000 persons had been sheltered by the Turkish government in temporary accommodation centres at Diyarbakir, Mardin, Silopi and Yuksekova. By early November, however, their numbers had been reduced to 36,000, following the transfer of 12,600 persons to Turkey and the return of an estimated 1,500 to Iraq.

As cold weather began in some regions where the Iraqi Kurds were housed, the Turkish government took steps to relocate many of them to warmer areas. By mid-November, the temporary accommodation centres at Yuksekova and Silopi had been dismantled, and their inhabitants moved to more temperate regions: 8,469 persons were transferred to a new facility at Mus, while the remainder went to Mardin (Kizil-tepe), bringing the population in that centre to more than 15,000.

JUDITH KUMIN

Following the September 1988 announcement by the Government of Iraq of an amnesty for Kurds, many of the refugees in Bakhtaran and Kurdistan decided to repatriate.

Kurds crossed the border into Turkey in search of refuge. By the end of the first week in November, there were an estimated 38,000 new arrivals in the Iranian province of West Azarbaijan. Of this number, 11,000 had come directly from Iraq, while the remainder had arrived via Turkey. Some had spent several weeks in the accommodation centres set up by the Turkish government for the



A temporary accommodation centre in Turkey.

REFUGEE - No. 59 December 1988

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

PHR VISITS KURDS, FINDS IRAQ USED CHEMICAL WEAPONS

Just after 6 a.m. on August 25, 1988, an eight-year-old girl named Aagiza saw planes suddenly appear over the mountain tops and unload bombs on Ekmala, her Kurdish village in northern Iraq. Minutes later, she watched her parents and twenty-year-old brother die, and then she saw their skin blacken.

With other survivors, she undertook an arduous trip over high mountain passes into southeastern Turkey. She coughed, vomited and had bloody diarrhea. During the journey, her skin stung from blisters, which six weeks later are still healing.

The young girl now lives in a tent camp near the Turkish boarder with Syria, with her three sisters and a surviving brother. As winter approaches in the highlands, they have no idea where they will live for the next week or thereafter. She is one of the estimated 60-80,000 people who fled from Iraq in the wake of the attacks.

Aagiza was interviewed by three physicians representing PHR who traveled to Turkey from October 7 to 16, 1988 and concluded that chemical weapons were used by Iraq in attacks on Kurdish villages on August 25, 1988. In refugee camps in eastern Turkey, they used a detailed questionnaire prepared specially for the mission. They collected information from over two dozen refugees who originated from ten separate villages in northern Iraq and ranged in age from 6 to 70.

According to the physician team, the testimony of these and other Kurdish refugees pointed to the use of chemical weapons:

* Bombing runs by low-flying jets

were followed by the appearance of dark yellow clouds from the bomb-bursts;

* Death came suddenly to birds and domestic fowl, followed by sheep, goats, cows and mules. Humans also died within minutes without evidence of physical trauma, according to respondents who witnessed more than 65 deaths in the ten villages described in the survey;

* Refugees who had been within 75 to 500 metres of bomb bursts described skin blistering which began within 30 minutes of exposure, and a characteristic pattern of severe irritation of the nose, mouth, skin and respiratory passages, nausea and/or vomiting, diarrhea, headache, and painful urination.

It was impossible to determine the number of weapons used, the scale of the attacks, or the exact composition of the chemical agents used. Although Iraq has denied using chemical weapons in its attacks on Kurdish villages in August, it is known to possess and to have used them repeatedly in its war with Iran and in attacks in the spring of 1988 against Kurdish villages, killing hundreds or possibly thousands. This has been documented during the last five years by the UN.

The PHR team included Robert Cook-Deegan, M.D., PHR board member and Senior Research Fellow at Georgetown University; Howard Hu, M.D., an internist and specialist in environmental medicine and epidemiology at Harvard Medical School, and Asfandiar Shukri, M.D., Chief of Emergency Medicine at Northwest

General Hospital in Detroit. Dr. Shukri participated as an observer and interpreter for the mission team.

Healing Burns Examined

On physical examination, the physicians documented characteristic healing skin burns on several refugees. One man whom the team examined had a band around his waist of hyperpigmentation surrounded by depigmented areas previously covered by blisters. He stated that these lesions had previously contained clear amber fluid. The description conforms to accounts of chemical burn injuries in World War 1 and in recent United Nations reports.

Access Limited

Regional Turkish officials permitted the physicians to enter only two of the five camps they requested to visit. In addition they could not examine the most severely affected Kurds, who died either at the time of the attack or were too debilitated to make the trek to Turkey. The PHR physicians could not visit the actual sites of the attacks, as the Iraqi Government never responded to a request from PHR to allow access. Kurdish representatives report that 21 injured Kurds were rushed to the boarder and handed over to Turkish authorities for treatment. Their whereabouts are currently unknown. PHR has organized a Chemical and Biological Weapons Working Group under the chairmanship of Victor Sidel, M.D. The organization intends to continue fact-finding and public education on chemical and biological warfare and work for the total elimination of these weapons. A full report on the team's findings is in preparation.

PHYSICIANS FOR
HUMAN RIGHTS (PHR)
RECORD
VOL. II, Issue 1, Fall 1988

This document has been captured by the KDP forces in Deralok - Amadiya District in January 1988.

In the Name of God the Compassionate the Merciful

Headquarters
The Command of Erbil District
"Operations"

“Victory is Ours”

No. - H1277
Date - 3/8/1986

To : All units of the District (24th Battallion)
Subject : Control over distribution of biological and chemical (materials).

(With reference to the letter of the interior Ministry personal and highly confidential 288 on 18/5/1986, and the letter of the Defence Ministry personal and highly confidential 10/35 on 25/6/1986 which was sent to the training office by Ref 36 on 27/5/1986 and based on the original letter of the special bureau of the Army Chief of Staff personal and highly confidential 5801 on 26/5/1986 which was sent to us through the command of the Fifth Army Corp personal and highly 1530 on 21/6/1986 which referred to the sub-committee letter on the control over the distribution of Biological and Chemical (Materials) personal and highly confidential 32 on 23/6/1986 which was sent to us accompanied by the letter of the command of the Light National Defence Forces /15 personal and highly confidential 2/2 on 24/7/1986.

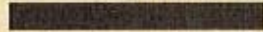
It is required to carry out a half-yearly stock-take for all materials at the disposal of units. Please note that the stock-lists must be submitted (by all the command bodies) to us by 6/8/1986, and we should be informed in due course.

General
Delah Abdul Wahab Ezzat
Commander of Erbil District

[illegible]

هه و النامه ی کتبر

PESH MERGA



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