

# **INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE**

# The Untold Story: The Kurdish Genocide in Iraq

International conference on the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the intervention in Iraq, the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Anfal genocide operation and the chemical attack on Halabja and the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Barzani killings

January 17<sup>th</sup> 2013 at Church House Conference Centre, Westminster, London Hosted by the Kurdistan Regional Government UK Representation



Crowds of mourners greet a procession of coffins bearing the remains of Anfal victims found in mass graves as they arrive for proper burial in Chamchamal, May 2012

### Masoud Barzani

### President of the Kurdistan Region Iraq



Allow me to congratulate you for organizing this important conference in London, The Untold Story: The Kurdish Genocide In Iraq. The intent of this conference is to fully expose the crimes of the former Iraqi regime, which attempted to hide from our shared knowledge and understanding these crimes that shock the human conscience. The Anfal in 1988, the gassing of Halabja in the same year, the mass murder of Faylees in 1979, and crimes against the Barzanis in 1983, were committed against the Kurdish people because of their struggle against oppression and dictatorship. These campaigns led to the murder of 182,000 persons, the destruction of thousands of villages, and displacement of hundreds of thousands of people.

We will never forget those crimes, but they were not just committed against us. While it was our blood that was shed – our children, women, and men whose futures were unfairly stripped from them – these were crimes against the very fabric of humanity. They were crimes against the hope that we may all one day live in peace and security. They were crimes against liberty and basic human dignity and against the long struggle of mankind for basic rights and freedom, and as such, we ask the international community to prevent them happening again.

The 1991 popular uprising in Kurdistan came about as a result of these horrific, inhumane actions against our people, and as the natural result of the Kurdish liberation movement's long struggle for justice, initiated by the late Mustafa Barzani. Because our cause is for greater understanding and tolerance, the victory of our own freedom did not result in retribution against those that harmed us. Our forces captured thousands of soldiers from two Iraqi army divisions in the battle for liberation from dictatorship, some of whom were at least complicit in our long suffering, but we did no harm to these soldiers.

And this is why conferences like this are so important. Dictators and demagogues hide behind the walls they construct between us - they tell us that our suffering is our own, they seek to divide us and to hide our shared desires behind a veil of insecurity, fear, and mistrust. What they do not want us to realize is our strength, bolstered by a wealth of common understanding, which would enable us to realize that these are crimes are committed against us all. It is the silence and division, confusion, and uncertainty of those that would prevent such crimes that enable them to make so many victims of their personal thirst for power.

Every single person in Iraq was a victim of our past. Every man, woman, and child cannot be truly free and secure while others continue to suffer. When we recognize that, we recognize our strength and our ability to work together to construct the future that we want to share. Thus, we reiterate our call on the international community to recognize the crimes committed against the Kurdish people as genocide. I hope this conference furthers our greater understanding of these crimes against humanity and in so doing, enhances our ability to work to prevent their recurrence.



## Nechirvan Barzani

Prime Minister Kurdistan Regional Government

I welcome you all to this international conference in London on the Kurdish genocide. The Kurdistan Regional Government has a clear policy to support the needs and rights of the survivors and the families of the victims, to raise international awareness of the Kurdish genocide and to bring the perpetrators to justice. It is also our moral duty to join the international community in their efforts to prevent genocide throughout the world.

It is very important for the international community to understand that our views and attitudes today are shaped by and reflect our history. In this respect, we are no different from any other nation in the world. We can never forget that for decades a systematic attempt was made to annihilate the Kurdish people in Iraq.

We must keep the memory of this tragedy alive and protect the rights and dignity of the families of the victims, but we have to make progress without allowing hatred or violence in our actions and work. We are taking these steps within our culture of tolerance and peaceful coexistence.

The fact that the Iraqi High Tribunal has recognized four of the many massacres against the Kurdish people as acts of genocide has created an important foundation for our efforts towards wider international recognition. We are grateful for this recognition, and grateful to our friends in the European political parties who have tried to raise awareness of the Kurdish genocide internationally.

Much can be done to help the Kurdish people to cope with the legacy of the genocide. International recognition of the crimes would help to provide closure and assistance to the survivors and the families of the victims. We ask the Iraqi government to compensate them, and we ask the Iraqi Ministry of Human Rights to cooperate with us to forensically examine the evidence in the mass graves and to return the bodies for proper burial.

Since the 2003 liberation of Iraq, mass graves continue to be found in the deserts and other parts of Iraq. Almost every year we return the remains of more newly discovered victims for reburial in their homeland. Despite the years that have passed, the memory of the genocide is very close.

However, for the people of the Kurdistan Region and the KRG, the memory of the genocide is also a driving force that encourages us to build a prosperous, stable, and bright future. Before the fall of the former regime, which controlled what the United Nations could do here, we struggled to provide basic services. Today, 10 years on, we have been able to rebuild our infrastructure and transform our economy. Visitors to our region are surprised at what we have achieved in a short time, but there remains much to do. Last year I visited areas affected by the Anfal campaign. In Halabja, we continue to allocate land and provide house-building funds for the families of the victims.

We must and will continue to do our best to not only recover but also to look forward and offer our people security, peace and prosperity. We are a forward-looking and optimistic people but we will never forget what befell our countrymen. Thank you for participating in this important conference.

### **Alistair Burt MP**

### Minister for the Middle East Foreign and Commonwealth Office, UK



I am very pleased to support today's conference, which I am sorry not to be able to attend in person.

This event comes at the start of a year that will be poignant for many in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq, and in the international community, as we mark the 25th anniversary of the appalling atrocities perpetrated against the Kurds at Halabja and elsewhere by Saddam Hussein's regime. Today's conference is a chance to remember those who suffered across Iraq and elsewhere at the hands of that regime, and to understand how we can help to prevent similar tragedies from ever happening again.

This year, we will of course also mark the 10th anniversary of the 2003 intervention in Iraq, which removed Saddam's regime from power.

But as we start 2013, we should also look forward. Iraq, including the Kurdistan Region, can have a future that is bright, and that is increasingly stable, prosperous and democratic. The UK Government will continue to work with the Kurdistan Regional Government, and others, to help make that future a reality. I plan to visit Erbil in the coming months, and I look forward to seeing the progress and development that I know are taking place across the region.

I wish you all the best for today's event, and for the year ahead.



# Aram Ahmed Mohamed

Minister of Martyrs and Anfal Affairs Kurdistan Regional Government

I would like to welcome you warmly and to thank you for attending this conference. It is unusual for a government to have a minister for martyrs and genocide but this reflects the needs of our nation. Twenty five years on from the Anfal and the attack on Halabja, there are still many widows and families grieving for loved ones who died or disappeared in the genocide. There are many with wounds and illnesses. There are thousands of families wishing for the remains of their loved ones to be returned from the mass graves.

My ministry was established in 2006 and its key tasks are to:

- provide material and moral care to the families of the martyrs and missing people and to those who were political prisoners under the former regime
- hold commemorative events, propose related laws and amendments to the Council of Ministers in order to achieve the functions and objectives of the ministry
- work with the relevant authorities on rebuilding the educational, cultural and social, health and economic well-being of the families of martyrs and Anfal victims
- work in coordination with the federal government, intergovernmental organizations and NGOs to refer the planners and perpetrators of genocide against our people to the competent courts for justice and punishment
- cooperate with the relevant authorities to secure housing for the families of the martyrs and the victims of the Anfal and chemical weapons
- search for those who lost their lives or 'disappeared' in the Anfal and return the bodies found in mass graves to their loved ones in their home towns

Ten years on from the liberation of Iraq in 2013, we can say that we have made progress in providing services and assistance but there are also many challenges to overcome and objectives to achieve, such as securing fair compensation from the Iraqi government, having the genocide recognised internationally and returning the remaining bodies from the many mass graves. This conference is an important step towards achieving at least one of those goals: raising international awareness of the Kurdish genocide and seeking formal recognition.

The work of my ministry is to help victims, survivors and those whose rights as human beings have been trampled on. It is a difficult and painful task but my staff and I are always inspired by the achievements of the survivors and their children, the hope that they still have for the future and the commitment they have to ensuring that genocide doesn't happen again anywhere around the world.

I would like to thank the KRG Representative Bayan Sami Abdul Rahman and her colleagues for organising this conference and in working to make the Kurdish genocide known. I also appreciate the contribution of all the participants of this conference, which will help to support and comfort the families of the victims and to honour the innocents who lost their lives in the genocide.

# Halabja Chemical Victims Society

Halabja Kurdistan Region



We are very pleased to be participating in this international conference in London, The Untold Story: The Kurdish Genocide in Iraq, so that we can share with the world information about the crimes committed against the Kurds by Saddam Hussein's regime. We thank the organisers of this event.

The Halabja Chemical Victims Society is the main organisation representing the people who were violated and attacked by the regime and we, perhaps more than anyone else, appreciate and respect conferences such as this which try to bring the world's attention to the type of atrocities that our people suffered.

One of the biggest crimes committed at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was the chemical and biological bombardment of Halabja. This took place on March 16<sup>th</sup> 1988, in broad day light and in front of the eyes of the United Nations, the Arab League's member states and governments around the world, as well as human rights organisations. In that bombardment more than 5,000 civilians, including children and women, were martyred and more than 10,000 civilians were injured, most of whom still suffer from the effects of poison gas.

We hope that our town is the last place that chemical and biological weapons are used and that Halabja becomes the symbol for the prevention of the use of weapons of mass destruction against civilians. Regrettably, some countries are still producing these weapons and recently there have been unconfirmed reports that these weapons have even been used. This is alarming and raises the fear that atrocities on a mass and historic scale may be repeated. This is one of the main reasons that we believe the world needs to be informed about what happened in Halabja and its consequences, in order to act as a warning that unless we stand against chemical weapons, the catastrophe that took place in our town may happen again.

We call on Britain and other countries that believe in human rights and the universal values of peace, freedom and human dignity, to cooperate with us and recognise the bombardment of Halabja with poison gas and the Anfal campaign as genocide. We also call on the participants of this conference to take on the moral and humane task of using all the tools at their disposal to achieve this aim.

Finally, we would like to express our appreciation to those who have steadfastly stood by us and shown respect for the victims, their families and the survivors of the genocide and to those who are bringing to the world's attention what happened to our nation, through ceremonies, meetings and conferences both inside and outside Kurdistan. We are also grateful to all the individual friends, organisations and countries that continue to support us.

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# **APPG on the Kurdistan Region**

All-Party Parliamentary Group British Parliament

We know from our six extensive fact-finding trips and our regular contacts how the Kurds of Iraq are embracing the future. They have chosen the path of democracy and reform and there has been spectacular progress in the five years in which we have organised parliamentary visits and encouraged greater commercial and cultural connections between the UK and the Kurdistan Region.

The development, for instance, of a brand new energy sector from scratch gives the Kurdistan Region the ability at last to overcome its previous isolation, finance a just society and further improve its services.

But we have also seen for ourselves the continuing impact of the genocide in each of our visits. It was so extensive over so many years that most families have direct experience.

We have visited the notorious Red House in Slemani, just one of a string of barbaric torture centres established by Saddam Hussein, and where thousands perished before it was captured in the 1991 uprising.

We have toured an old concentration camp in Erbil and seen the mass graves in Garmiyan. We know that the systematic effort to eliminate the Kurds involved the razing of many thousands of villages, forcible urbanisation and the organised destruction of its vast agricultural economy which is now slowly being revived.

When we visited the mass graves in the cemetery at Halabja we paid our respects and told civic leaders gathered at the memorial that we pledged that we would do whatever we could to encourage the world to recognise the genocide.

We therefore urge the UK and other governments to mark this year's 25th anniversary of the poison gas attack on Halabja which came near the end of the decades long campaign of genocide.

We know that the Iraqi Kurds do not wish to be trapped and defined by this past but recognising this genocide is morally correct and helps ensure it can never happen again. We believe that this conference can do much to deepen understanding of this dark past and also help build a bright future for the Kurdistan Region.

Nadhim Zahawi MP, Co-Chair of the APPG, has launched an online petition calling for a parliamentary debate on the Kurdish genocide. You can sign the petition here: http://epetitions.direct.gov.uk/petitions/31014

### **Fredrik Malm**

### Chair of the Sweden-Kurdistan Network Swedish Parliament



Last year in December, the Swedish Parliament decided that the al-Anfal campaign was in fact an act of genocide. This decision was, and is, important for several reasons.

First, it is important that the victims of this brutal act are not forgotten, but also that the pain and misery of the relatives of the victims is observed and remembered. This is not solely an act of solidarity with an exposed and persecuted people, it is also a necessity in order for Kurdish society to deal with their common trauma and to move ahead.

Secondly, it is important to augment knowledge about the cruel atrocities and crimes against humanity that the Kurdish people have been exposed to. Augmenting knowledge is imperative in order to be able to formulate adequate policies that can contribute to the solution of the Kurdish issue; it is difficult to understand Kurdish demands if one is unfamiliar with the character of previous regimes in Baghdad.

Thirdly, international support for Kurdish autonomy and for the regional government in Iraqi Kurdistan is essential in times of insecurity and uncertainty about a peaceful future in Iraq. It is with great concern we witness tendencies that might throw Iraq back into violence and misery. If that happens we might yet again witness a central government in Baghdad conducting violence against the Kurdish population.

I hope that the knowledge about the al-Anfal campaign will grow. This can be done in several ways. The issue can be discussed in parliaments around the world in order to increase knowledge and encourage parliamentarians and politicians to address it. If more people, especially young people, are able to visit Halabja and meet survivors and victims, knowledge and awareness of the use of chemical weapons can be passed on to generations to come. The most important resource is the Kurdish Diaspora that with stubbornness and tenacity has pushed the important issue of the oppression of the Kurds higher on the political agenda.



# Bayan Sami Abdul Rahman

Kurdistan Regional Government High Representative to the UK Conference chairman

This year sees a convergence of significant anniversaries of events that have had an immense impact on the people of Kurdistan in Iraq. It is not only the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the poison gas attack on Halabja and the Anfal genocide campaign, it is also the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the abduction and killing of men and boys from the Barzani tribe and the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the West's intervention in Iraq, which we Kurds refer to as the liberation. January 17, the day this conference is being held, marks the 22<sup>nd</sup> year since Operation Desert Storm which triggered a sequence of events that eventually led to the Kurdish Uprising of 1991 and Kurdistan's first breath of freedom.

Apart from noting this unusual coming together of memorable dates, we see this as an opportunity to reveal the horrific crimes that the Kurdish people have fallen victim to since the 1960s, to tell the secret story of life under Saddam Hussein's brutal dictatorship, to give the victims and survivors a voice and to have a debate on the issues that surround genocide. How is genocide legally defined? What are the challenges to legal and political international recognition? What role did the Kurdish diaspora play in raising awareness of the atrocities in their homeland at the time and what is their role today? What can we do to prevent other genocides? How can we ensure that those who helped the perpetrators or profited from those crimes are brought to justice? What lessons can be learnt from experts, NGOs and survivors of other genocides such as in Rwanda and Bosnia?

It is with these questions in mind that we decided to host the first international conference in Britain on the Kurdish genocide. As we look around the Middle East, we see much to be concerned about, including the situation in Syria. The slaughter of people, including children, while the international community vacillates as to how to respond, brings back memories of those events in Iraqi Kurdistan not so long ago. Of course it is not easy to intervene in another country's strife but surely the international community has a responsibility to protect people who have no defence against a well armed dictatorship that does not hesitate to use violence to suppress dissent.

Since we announced this conference, three Kurdish women activists were assassinated in Paris. They strived for Kurdish rights and their murder reminds us that even today, in the heart of Western Europe, Kurds are not safe. Sadly, our history is interspersed with assassinated leaders and activists, yet few Kurds think to give up the struggle for Kurdish rights or to evade the duty to remember and honour those who have been killed.

The subject of this conference shows the dark side of humanity. Yet time and again, listening to the survivors and eyewitnesses to the horrors of poison gas, imprisonment, torture and mass murder, we hear of small gestures of kindness that lifted the spirit of someone who was in utter despair, we hear of the risks people took to save a stranger's life as in the case of the Shia Arab family that rescued Teimour, a young Kurdish boy who had escaped from a pit full of dead bodies. We also see the survivors' desire to forge a better future for their children and to spread the word of peace. We hope that this conference will not only make us listen and search for answers, but also gain inspiration.



Children escaping from bombardment



Omer Khawar and his baby son, killed in Halabja



The identification cards of two boys, found in a mass grave



A father mourns his son in one of many cemeteries for those who died from poison gas

# **INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE**

# The Untold Story: The Kurdish Genocide in Iraq

### Programme

The conference will take place at the Hoare Memorial Hall. All coffee breaks, lunch and reception will take place at the Bishop Partridge Hall.

### 8:30am to 9am - Registration

### 9:15am to 10am – Keynote speeches

**Bayan Sami Abdul Rahman**, Kurdistan Regional Government High Representative to the UK and conference chairman

Muhammad Shiya Al-Sudani, Minister of Human Rights, Republic of Iraq (TBC)

**Aram Ahmed Mohamed**, Minister of Martyrs and Anfal Affairs, Kurdistan Regional Government

### 10am to 11:20am

### Session 1 – Ending the silence on the Kurdish Genocide in Iraq, chaired by Robert Halfon MP

Keynote speaker: Dr Mahmoud Osman, Member of the Council of Representatives, Iraq

**Peter Galbraith**, Member of the Vermont Senate, author, academic, commentator, policy advisor, and former United States diplomat.

**Prof Gareth Stansfield**, Senior Associate Fellow and Director of Middle East Studies at the Royal United Services Institute, and Director of the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies at the University of Exeter

Short film by RW Films about Dr Shorsh Haji, one of the first to collect data about those missing and killed in the Anfal. Dr Haji is a Member of the Council of Representatives, Iraq

**Dr Mowaffak Al-Rubaie**, civil rights campaigner and former Member of the Council of Representatives and National Security Adviser, Iraq

**Tom Hardie-Forsyth**, Senior Advisor to the Prime Minister, Kurdistan Regional Government, and former NATO Senior Committee Chairman

**Ian Hanson,** Deputy Director of Forensic Science, Archaeology and Anthropology, International Commission on Mission Persons (ICMP)

### 11:20am to 11:35am Keynote speech

**Dr Bernard Kouchner**, Co-Founder of Médecins Sans Frontières and France's Minister of Foreign and European Affairs from 2007 to 2010

### 11:35am to 12:50pm Session 2 – The role of the diaspora then and now, chaired by Meg Munn MP

Keynote speaker: **Minister Falah Mustafa Bakir**, Head of the Department of Foreign Relations, Kurdistan Regional Government

Dr Kendal Nezan, President of the Kurdish Institute in Paris, France

**Nadhim Zahawi**, British-Kurdish MP for Stratford Upon Avon and Co-Chair of the All-Party Parliamentary Group on the Kurdistan Region

**Taha Barwary**, Former Minister of Sport and Youth, Kurdistan Regional Government, and activist in the Kurdish community in Sweden

**Prof Dlawer Ala'Aldeen**, Former Minister of Higher Education, Kurdistan Regional Government, and activist in the Kurdish community in Britain

Ihsan Al Hakim, UK and Ireland Representative of the Islamic Supreme Council of Iraq (ISCI)

#### 12:50pm to 1:40pm – LUNCH, served in the Bishop Partridge Hall

#### 1:40pm to 3pm Session 3 – Bringing the perpetrators to justice, chaired by Lord Clement-Jones

Keynote speaker: **Dr Zryan Abdel Yones,** Health Adviser to President Barzani, former Health Minister, Kurdistan Regional Government, and witness in the trial of Saddam Hussein

Simon Minks, Public Prosecutor to the Court of Appeal in The Hague

**Prof Michael Bohlander**, Chair in Comparative and International Criminal Law, Durham Law School, Durham University

**Prof Michael Newton**, Professor of the Practice of Law, Vanderbilt University Law School, USA, and former International Law Advisor to the Iraqi Judicial Chambers in 2006 and 2007

**Gavriel Mairone**, Founder and Managing Partner of MM-LAW LLC, an international US-based law firm representing victims of genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, torture, terrorism and human trafficking

Anne Dubitzky, Executive Director, Global Justice Group, USA

# 3pm to 4:20pm Session 4 – International recognition of genocide, case studies, chaired by Baroness Nicholson

Keynote speaker: Akhtar Chaudhry, Deputy Speaker of Parliament, Norway

Fredrik Malm, MP and Head of the Sweden- Kurdistan Network in the Swedish Parliament

**Gillian Walnes**, MBE, Co-Founder and Executive Director of the Anne Frank Trust UK which is the partner organisation of the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam

**Dr Gregory Kent**, Lecturer in International Relations and Human Rights, University of Roehampton, UK

**David Russell**, Director of Survivors Fund (SURF), a UK-based international non-profit organization which represents and supports survivors of the Rwandan genocide

**Dr Brian Brivati**, Genocide expert, adviser on conflict-affected transition states, former Professor of Contemporary History and Human Rights at Kingston University in the UK

### 4:20pm to 4:40pm BREAK, tea and coffee served in the Bishop Partridge Hall

4:40pm to 6pm Session 5 – Gendercide and survivor and eyewitness accounts, chaired by Fabian Hamilton MP

Keynote speaker: **Richard Beeston**, Foreign Editor of the UK's Times newspaper and Halabja eyewitness 1988

Kamaran Nawrooz Haider, UK Representative of the Halabja Chemical Victims Society

Short film by RW Films on the disappearance of Barzani men and boys

Thana Al Bassam, UK-based survivor of the Faylee-Kurdish genocide

Adam Jones, Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of British Columbia, Canada, and author of *Gendercide and Genocide*.

**6pm to 6:05pm Concluding remarks, Bayan Sami Abdul Rahman**, Kurdistan Regional Government High Representative to the UK, and Conference Chairman

**6:05pm to 6:30pm BREAK** - During the break, a 15-minute film will be shown by the charity SURF (Survivors Fund) on its work in Rwanda

### 6:30pm to 8pm Session 6 – London premier of documentary film Kulajo: My Heart Is Darkened

Dr Brian Brivati will interview the film's Emmy-Award winning producer Gwynne Roberts and take questions from the floor.

Kulajo was one of the thousands of Kurdish villages targeted by Saddam Hussein during his murderous 1988 Anfal campaign. The documentary allows the people - mostly women and children - of one small community to tell their extraordinary stories.

### 8.00pm - 8.45pm - Reception

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### **Conference overview**

The conference will take place at the Hoare Memorial Hall. All coffee breaks, lunch and reception will take place at the Bishop Partridge Hall.

8:30am to 9am	Registration
9:15am to 10am	Keynote speeches
10am to 11:20am	Session 1 – Ending the silence on the Kurdish genocide
11:20am to 11:35am	Keynote speech, Dr Bernard Kouchner
11:35am to 12:50pm	Session 2 – The role of the diaspora, then and now
12:50pm to 1:40pm	Lunch
1:40pm to 3pm	Session 3 - Bringing the perpetrators to justice
3pm to 4:20pm	Session 4 – International recognition of genocide, case studies
4:20pm to 4:40pm	Break
4:40pm to 6pm	Session 5 – Gendercide and survivor and eyewitness accounts
6pm to 6:05pm	Concluding remarks
6:05pm to 6:30pm	Break - A short film will be shown about the work of SURF in Rwanda
6:30pm to 8pm	Session 6 - London premier of documentary film Kulajo, My Heart is Darkened, followed by interview with producer
8pm to 8.45pm	Reception

### **Speaker Profiles**

#### In alphabetical order



#### Dr Zryan Abdel Yones, MBChB, FRCP(Glasg), FRCP(London)

Dr Zryan Abdel Yones is Health Adviser to Kurdistan Region President Masoud Barzani, a position he has held since 2010. Prior to that he was Health Minister for the Kurdistan Region from 2006 to 2009. After completing his medical degree at Mosul University in Iraq in 1979, he joined the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan against Saddam Hussein's regime in 1981. Between 1981 and 1990 Dr Yones treated thousand of injured fighters and civilians, including many with chemical injuries. In 1990, he moved to the UK where he worked in several hospitals and trained as a GP. Dr Yones was a witness in the 2006 trial

of Saddam Hussein, and gave evidence on chemical attacks and the Anfal operation.



# Bayan Sami Abdul Rahman, Kurdistan Regional Government High Representative to the UK, Member of the Leadership Council of the Kurdistan Democratic Party

Bayan Sami Abdul Rahman was appointed Representative in 2005 and reappointed in 2006 after the reunification of the government. Under her leadership, the UK office has helped create and support a task force on the Kurdish genocide that includes MPs, academics, lawyers, survivors and communications experts. During her tenure at the UK Representation, there has been a marked increase in trade, and exchanges in education, capacity building, culture, sport, humanitarian and social affairs between Kurdistan and

the UK. She was voted into the KDP's leadership in 2010. Ms Abdul Rahman was an active member of the UK's Kurdish community from her teens and continues to support the community today. Before her appointment, she was a journalist for 17 years, including at the Financial Times. Her father, Sami Abdul Rahman, a leader of the Kurdish movement, was killed alongside his elder son Salah and 96 others in a suicide bombing in 2004.



# Dlawer Ala'Aldeen, Professor, former Kurdistan Regional Government Minister and campaigner against the use of chemical weapons

Dlawer Ala'Aldeen is Professor of Medicine at the University of Nottingham and former KRG Minister of Higher Education and Scientific Research. His parents and siblings were among the survivors of chemical weapons. In the 1980s, he lobbied for a ban on the production, stockpiling and use of chemical and biological weapons. With colleagues, he carried out extensive investigations and gathered scientific evidence on the use of chemical weapons in Kurdistan. He published the first reliable statistical data on their

use (Death Clouds, 1990). He was an active member of the British Working Party on chemical and biological weapons and Founding Secretary of the Kurdish Scientific and Medical Association, which played an active role in raising awareness of CBW and the plight of the Kurds. Prof Ala'Aldeen and colleagues played key roles in persuading the British and US governments to establish a Safe Haven for the fleeing refugees in Kurdistan.



#### Thana Al Bassam, Survivor

Thana Al Bassam was born in a small town called Alnu'maina, located 140km to the south of Baghdad. She is a Faylee Kurd. The Faylees were targeted in the 1970s and 1980s by Saddam who saw them as a 'Persian threat'. They were forcibly removed from their homes and sent to the Iranian border. They lost all their citizenship rights, and tens of thousands of Faylee men disappeared. During the displacement of the Faylee Kurds from the region in April 1988, Thana lost 22 male relatives, who were arrested and separated from their families, including her grandfathers' family. They were dragged from their

homes at night and were banished to Iran. Ms Al Bassam moved to Britain in 2004.



### Ihsan Al Hakim, UK and Ireland Representative of the Islamic Supreme Council of Iraq (ISCI)

Born in Iraq in 1958, Ihsan Radhi Muhsin Al Hakim went to Baghdad University where he gained a degree in Plastic Art and an MA in Islamic Art History. He worked as a teacher until his arrest by Saddam Hussein's regime in 1983. He was released from prison and left Iraq for Yemen after the uprising in 1991. In 1995 he joined the London office of the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq as ISCI was known then, where he later became the party's PR officer and eventually manager. Since 2008, Mr Al Hakim has been

the UK and Ireland Representative of ISCI, a leading Iraqi political party whose support comes largely from the Shia Muslim community.



#### Dr Mowaffak Al Rubaie, Former National Security Advisor, Iraq

Dr Mowaffak Baqer Al Rubaie is a distinguished Iraqi statesman and active civil rights campaigner. A trained neurologist, Dr Al Rubaie was a pivotal figure in the opposition movement to Saddam Hussein in Iraq throughout the 1970s. He was tortured on three separate occasions and in 1979, he fled Iraq to complete his medical studies in the UK. The day after he left, he was sentenced to death in absentia. Dr Al Rubaie remained in the UK until 2003, working to raise awareness of Saddam Hussein's brutal regime internationally. Upon his return to Iraq, in July 2003, he was appointed to the 25-member

Iraqi Governing Council by the Coalition Provisional Authority. From April 2004 to 2009, he served as National Security Advisor (NSA) to the Coalition Provisional Authority, before being appointed as an MP in Iraq's Council of Representatives (Iraq's Parliament).



#### Muhammad Shiya Al-Sudani, Minister of Human Rights, Republic of Iraq

Muhammad Shiya Al-Sudani was appointed Minister of Human Rights in 2010, prior to which he was the governor of Maysan Province. Mr Al Sudani has a bachelor's degree in agricultural science and a masters degree in project management from the University of Baghdad. In 1980, at the age of ten, Mr Al Sudani witnessed his father and five other family members being executed for their membership of the Islamic Dawa Party. In 1991, Mr Al Sudani was among those that participated in the uprising against Saddam Hussein's regime after the Gulf War.



#### Minister Falah Mustafa Bakir, Head of the Department of Foreign Relations, KRG

Falah Mustafa Bakir was appointed as the first Head of the KRG Department of Foreign Relations with ministerial rank in 2006. He is a graduate of the University of Mosul, has an MA in Development Studies from the University of Bath in the UK, and has completed an executive programme at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government in the US. Mr Bakir served as PR Officer of the Kurdistan Democratic Party from 1996 to 1999 and as the KRG Deputy Minister of Agriculture & Irrigation from 1999 to 2002. He was a Senior Adviser to Prime Minister Barzani from 2002 to 2004 when he was Minister of State. He also served as the KRG's liaison officer to the Coalition Provisional Authority and to the

Multi-National Forces Korean Contingent in 2004. Having been tasked with creating the KRG Department of Foreign Relations, Mr Bakir has managed the Department through the  $5^{th}$ ,  $6^{th}$  and now  $7^{th}$  Cabinets of the KRG.



## Taha Barwary, Former Minister of Sport and Youth, Kurdistan Regional Government, and activist in the Kurdish community in Sweden

Taha Barwary was appointed the KRG's first Minister of Sports and Youth in May 2006-2009. Before this appointment, Mr Barwary was the KRG Representative to the Nordic countries in 1992-1994 and 1999-2009. In this role, Mr Barwary promoted and strengthened the cooperation between the Nordic states, where many Kurdish people sought refuge from Saddam Hussein's brutal regime, and the KRG in many areas such as politics, education and culture. Mr Barwary was Relations Director of the Kurdistan

Democratic Party in Sweden for over six years and worked hard to make the public and officials aware of various Kurdish issues and place them on official agendas. He was also a member of the Iraqi National Congress 1992-2002, the umbrella group for the Iraqi opposition to Saddam Hussein's regime. Mr Barwary was born in Amadiya in Kurdistan and was forced into exile in Iran and later moved to Sweden.



#### **Richard Beeston, Foreign Editor, The Times**

Richard Beeston has worked on The Times for 26 years and for the last five as Foreign Editor. He joined The Times during the Iran-Iraq war and covered the conflict from both sides. In 1988 he was invited by the Iranians to visit the northern front and was taken by Revolutionary Guards to the Iraqi-Kurdish town of Halabja, where he was with the first group of foreign journalists to witness the aftermath of the chemical weapons attack against the Kurdish inhabitants. He went on to cover the first Gulf War from Baghdad and

was then made Middle East correspondent. He spent seven years as Diplomatic Editor, much of it reporting from Iraq during the American occupation.



#### Michael Bohlander, Professor of Law, Durham University

Professor Bohlander has trained judges, prosecutors and government officials in international and comparative criminal law, including the Iraqi High Tribunal which tried Saddam Hussein. From 1999 to 2001 he was the Senior Legal Officer of a Trial Chamber of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in the Hague, when he was involved in the confirmation of the 1999 Kosovo indictment against Slobodan Milosevic, one of the Lasva Valley/Ahmici massacre cases against Kupreskic et al and the so-called "Foca Rape Camp Trial" against Kunarac, Kovac and Vukovic. His publications have been widely cited by courts of domestic and international jurisdictions, including

the Special Court for Sierra Leone, the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia, the Supreme Court of Kosovo, the District Court at Prizren in Kosovo and in several cases before the ICC, ICTY, the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia and the Special Tribunal for Lebanon.



#### Dr Brian Brivati, genocide expert, adviser on conflict-affected transition states

Dr Brian Brivati was formerly Professor of Contemporary History at Kingston University, where he created the University's Human Rights and Genocide Studies programmes at BA and MA level. He was Director of the John Smith Memorial Trust from 2008 to 2012. Dr Brivati is senior adviser at Integrity Research, providing research and consultancy services in conflict, post-conflict and fragile environments. He is a consultant at Project Associates, and is Director of the D Academy which works with companies and other donors to build human capacity in fragile, conflict affected and transition states. Dr

Brivati was a member of the Iraq Commission, a panel of British ministers, MPs and thinkers who came together in 2007 to discuss the future of humanitarian intervention after the conflict in Iraq.



#### Akhtar Chaudhry, Deputy Speaker of Parliament, Norway

Mr Akhtar Chaudhry is a Member and Vice President of the Storting, the Norwegian Parliament, where he represents the Socialist Left Party (SV). Well respected by his peers, Mr Chaudhry has served as Deputy Chair of the Committee on Justice and has been singled out as one the 10 most influential Norwegians with an ethnic minority background. In June 2012 Mr Chaudhry headed a delegation from the Socialist Left party to Iraqi Kurdistan. Following meetings with senior KRG Ministers, genocide survivors and a visit to the Halabja monument, Mr Chaudhry initiated a debate on the genocide in the

Norwegian Parliament. After the debate, the Norwegian Foreign Minister recognized, on the behalf of the Norwegian government, that what happened in Halabja in 1988 was genocide.



### Lord Clement-Jones, Joint Vice-Chair of the All-Party Parliamentary Group on the Kurdistan Region in Iraq

Lord Clement-Jones is a Liberal Democrat member of the House of Lords, a former Spokesman on Culture, Media and Sport and London Managing Partner of DLA Piper, the global law firm. He has been Vice Chairman of the All Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on Iraqi Kurdistan since its formation in 2005 and has been a frequent visitor including to areas most affected by the Anfal genocide. Tim was made a life peer in 1998 and until July 2004 was the Liberal Democrat Health Spokesman. He is a former Chairman of the Liberal Party and former Chairman of the London School of Pharmacy. He is a member of the

Council of University College London. He is also Deputy Chairman of the APPG on China.



#### Anne Dubitzky, Executive Director of the Global Justice Group

Anne Dubitzky has extensive experience in not-for-profit corporate management, having served for almost 20 years as the Vice President for Managed Care Contracting and Marketing for Massachusetts General Hospital (MGH) in Boston and for the Massachusetts General Physicians Organization, the largest physician group practice in Massachusetts. Ms Dubitzky also has experience as an attorney, having practiced in the litigation departments of the Boston, Massachusetts law firms Bingham, Dana & Gould (now Bingham McCutchen) and Burns & Levinson.



#### Peter W. Galbraith, Member of the Vermont Senate, ambassador and author

Ambassador Peter W Galbraith served in senior positions with the US Government and the United Nations and was the first US Ambassador to Croatia. In 1987 he was an eyewitness to the systematic destruction of Kurdish villages in Slemani Governorate. In 1988, he led a mission along the Iraq-Turkey border that documented Iraqi chemical weapons attacks on Kurdish villages in the Duhok Governorate. In 1988, the US Senate unanimously passed legislation that Galbraith wrote, to impose sanctions on Iraq for what the legislation termed the genocide against the Kurds. His written and televised

accounts provided early warning of the catastrophe overtaking the civilian population and contributed to the decision to create a safe haven. In 1992, Galbraith brought out of Iraq 14 tons of captured Iraqi secret police documents detailing the atrocities against the Kurds. Galbraith is the author of the best selling *The End of Iraq: How American Incompetence Created a War Without End (2006)*.

#### Kamaran Haider, Halabja Chemical Victims Society



Kamaran Haider, a citizen of Halabja, was just 11 years old when the town was bombarded with poison gas. His mother, father, brothers and sisters all died in the attack. Kamaran survived by hiding in a makeshift bomb shelter in the garden of his home while others around him died from their wounds. He went to Iran for treatment and was reunited with his grandmother, one of the few survivors from his family. He now lives in Portsmouth with his wife and two children, and represents the Halabja Chemical Victims Society in the UK.



# Robert Halfon MP, Joint Vice-Chair of the All-Party Parliamentary Group on the Kurdistan Region in Iraq

Robert Halfon is the Conservative MP for Harlow, the Vice-Chair of the All-Party Parliamentary Group on the Kurdistan Region in Iraq, and a member of several other parliamentary groups such as the groups for Israel, Saudi Arabia, and the Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity group. Mr Halfon is also Secretary and Treasurer of the APPG for Tamils, and has spoken in Parliament about genocide happening in Sri Lanka. He has also spoken about Kurdish concerns about Iran's nuclear programme.



#### Fabian Hamilton MP

Fabian has represented Leeds North East since 1997. He was born in London in 1955, and was educated at Brentwood School in Essex before attending the University of York in 1974 to study a BA in Politics, Sociology and Economics. He is part of the Kurdistan Region in Iraq All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) and has visited the region. Fabian was also a member of the influential House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee (FAC) from 2001 until 2010. The FAC conducted a number of important enquiries, including one into Israel and Gaza and Afghanistan. Fabian has been to Serbia, Kosovo and Bosnia Herzegovina.



#### Ian Hanson, Deputy Director of Forensic Science for Archaeology and Anthropology, International Commission on Missing Persons

Ian Hanson is Deputy Director of Forensic Science for Archaeology and Anthropology at ICMP. He provides oversight, direction, and planning with relation to the ICMP's involvement in forensic anthropology and archaeology, and is responsible for assisting in development of projects, as well as scientific standards. He also provides management and training assistance to Iraqi Ministries through ICMP's Iraq programme since 2009. The ICMP has been working with the Iraqi Human Rights Ministry since 2004.



### Tom Hardie-Forsyth, Senior Adviser to the Prime Minister's Office, Kurdistan Regional Government, and former NATO Senior Committee Chairman

Tom Hardie-Forsyth is Senior Adviser to the Prime Minister's Office, Kurdistan Regional Government, a post he has held since 2005. A former Senior Official of the UK Cabinet Office Civil Contingencies Secretariat's Policy Directorate, he is also a former Chairman of the NATO Critical Infrastructure Protection Committee, and is a Fellow of the Atlantic Council. Commissioned as an officer in the Royal Signals, he was deployed to Northern Iraq on Operation Provide Comfort with 3 Commando Brigade, Royal Marine Commandos

in March 1991. Subsequently, he helped manage reconstitution and rebuilding work in Kurdistan for five years (1991-1995), helping to rebuild utilities, hospitals, mosques, and churches. He became an adviser to Masoud Barzani and Nechirvan Barzani, the President and Prime Minister of the Kurdistan Regional Government respectively. He is a senior researcher at Coventry University, looking at post-conflict intervention and management.



# Adam Jones, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of British Columbia Okanagan in Kelowna, BC, Canada

Adam Jones, PhD, is a political scientist, writer, and photojournalist. He is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of British Columbia Okanagan. He is executive director of Gendercide Watch. He was chosen as one of Fifty Key Thinkers on the Holocaust and Genocide for the book of that name in 2010. Jones is best known for his work in comparative genocide studies. He is author of a leading textbook in the field, Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction, and author or editor of numerous other works

on genocide and crimes against humanity. In 2005-07, he was Associate Research Fellow in the Genocide Studies Programme at Yale University. He serves as senior book review editor of the Journal of Genocide Research. He visited Iraqi Kurdistan in 2011 for the 3rd International Conference on Mass Graves in Iraq.



# Dr Gregory Kent, Senior Lecturer in International Relations and Human Rights at the University of Roehampton

Dr Gregory Kent is the author of 'Framing War and Genocide' a case study of the Bosnian war and genocide. His research interests include interconnections between war, genocide, communication and policy making. He has worked with the Kurdistan Regional Government as part of the Anfal genocide taskforce, leading the academic strand of activity. Dr Kent is currently working on a monograph on the war in Syria.



### Dr Bernard Kouchner, Co-founder of Médecins Sans Frontières and former French Foreign Minister

Bernard Kouchner co-founded Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) and Médecins du Monde before entering politics and serving as the Minister for Health three times and as Minister of Foreign and European Affairs. Kouchner worked as a doctor for the Red Cross in the 1960s and 1970s, an experience which led him to set up MSF. Turning to politics in the late 1980s, Kouchner began his political career in the Cabinet as 'Secrétaire d'état' for Humanitarian Action. He went on to be appointed Minister of Health in 1992, 1997, and

again in 2001. In the intervening periods, he served in the European Parliament and as the second UN Special Representative and Head of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo. From 2007 to 2010 he was Minister of Foreign and European Affairs. In early 2003, he pronounced himself in favour of removing Saddam Hussein as President of Iraq, arguing that interference against dictatorship should be a global priority.



## Gavriel Mairone, Founder and Managing Partner of MM-LAW LLC, an international human rights law firm

Gavriel Mairone is the founder of MM~LAW LLC, a law firm dedicated exclusively to advancing private human rights law by representation of victims of terrorism, crimes against humanity genocide, torture and human trafficking in private lawsuits to force accountability upon the financiers, profiteers and aiders and abettors of the perpetrators of such crimes. MM~LAW particularly focuses on confronting the international financial and support infrastructure aiding and abetting the various terrorist organizations

connected with global jihad. Gavriel has over 30 years legal experience specializing in international taxation and business planning and specializing over the last decade in international human rights and humanitarian law, counterterrorism and transitional law. He was a commander in Special Forces and Airborne Brigade, 1972-1977. Gavi and MM~LAW currently represent over 12,000 victims of terrorism from 26 countries major lawsuits in the United States and soon to commence in Europe.



#### Fredrick Malm, Member of the Swedish Parliament

Since 2006 Mr Malm has been a Member of the Swedish Parliament, where he represents the Liberal Party (Folkpartiet Liberalerna). He was re-elected in 2010, and has since then served as member in the committee on foreign affairs. Since 2010 Mr Malm has acted as the party's spokesperson in matters regarding foreign affairs. He was previously chairman of the Liberal Youth Organization and has a background as a journalist and editorial writer. Mr Malm has during the last ten years closely followed the developments and events in the Middle East, and more specifically the Kurdish question. He chairs the parliamentary network Sweden-Kurdistan in the Swedish Parliament.

#### Simon Minks, Public Prosecutor to the Court of Appeal in The Hague



Mr Minks has been prosecuting high profile cases at the appeals level for the last eight years, such cases have involved, inter alia, international environmental criminal law, organised crime, terrorism, piracy and war crimes. Notable successes are the convictions of Dutch businessman Van Anraat for his role in war crimes committed in Iraq, specifically the use of chemical weapons against the Kurds, and of two former Afghan generals for torture and war crimes. Mr Minks has also served as the Dutch prosecutorial liaison to the ad hoc Tribunals and the ICC.

#### Aram Ahmed Mohamed, Minister of Martyrs and Anfal Affairs, KRG



Aram Ahmed Mohamed was appointed as the Kurdistan Regional Government Minister of Martyrs and Anfal Affairs in June 2011. Born in Kirkuk in 1958, Minister Mohamed has an MSc in computer networking and worked for 17 years in computer technology and IT networking. He has previously worked as a teacher and headmaster. Mr Mohamed was an active member of the Kurdish community in Britain and worked with NGOs and voluntary organisations in Iraqi-Kurdistan. His ministry is working with the International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP) to train staff to exhume mass graves and Mr

Mohamed has called on the international community to recognise the Kurdish genocide.



**Meg Munn MP, Co-Chair of the All-Party Parliamentary Group on the Kurdistan Region** Elected in 2001 as the Member of Parliament for Sheffield Heeley constituency, she was Minister for Women and Equality (2005-2007), then Foreign Office Minister until October 2008. Since 2008 she has been Chair of the Kurdistan Region in Iraq All-Party Parliamentary Group and has visited the region a number of times, including leading the UKTI/Middle East Association trade delegation to the Erbil International Trade Fair in October 2011. Meg has led numerous training/mentoring sessions and is currently engaged in a long-term project supporting development in the Iraqi Parliament.



#### Michael A Newton, Professor of the Practice of Law, Vanderbilt University Law School

Michael Newton joined Vanderbilt after serving in the Department of Law, United States Military Academy. He co-authored *Enemy of the State: The Trial and Execution of Saddam Hussein*. Professor Newton negotiated the Elements of Crimes document for the ICC and coordinated between the FBI and the ICTY while deploying into Kosovo to do the fieldwork to support the Milosevic indictment. He served in the Office of War Crimes Issues, US Department of State. He was Senior Advisor to the United States Ambassador-at-Large for War Crimes Issues. After helping establish the Iraqi High Tribunal, he served as International Law Advisor to the Judicial Chambers from 2006 to 2008. During his

distinguished military career, he deployed on Operation Provide Comfort to assist Kurdish civilians in Iraq.



#### Dr Kendal Nezan, Co-Founder and President of the Kurdish Institute in Paris

Born in Turkish Kurdistan, Kendal Nezan was stripped of his Turkish citizenship in 1981 by the Ankara military regime because of his peaceful struggle to make the fate of the Kurdish people more widely known to public opinion. He took part in the creation of the France-Kurdistan Association in 1974 together with French intellectuals such as Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Maxime Rodinson, Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Edgar Morin, Bernard Dorin and Gerard Chaliand. He is also co-founder and President of the Kurdish Institute in Paris (1983) and has been an activist in the cause of freedom and human rights for over 40 years. Under his leadership the Institute became the focus of the Kurdish diaspora, promoting Kurdish culture and language.



#### **Baroness Nicholson of Winterbourne**

Baroness Emma Nicholson took her seat in the House of Lords in 1997, having previously served as a Member of the House of Commons and the European Parliament. She is a member of the UK Delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and the European Security and Defence Assembly. She is also Chair of the All-Party Parliamentary Group on Foreign Affairs. Baroness Nicholson served as Chief Observer to the European Union Election Observation Mission to Yemen in 2006, and as a member of the European Union Election Observation Missions to Palestine, Azerbaijan, Lebanon,

Afghanistan, Armenia, and Pakistan. She was President of the first ever EU Permanent Delegation for Relations with Iraq, and was a member of the Delegation for Relations with Iran. Baroness Nicholson is chairman of the Amar Interantional Charitable Foundation which provides education and health services to communities under stress of conflict, including in Iraq.



#### Dr Mahmoud Osman Member of the Iraqi Council of Representatives

Dr Mahmoud Osman is a leading Iraqi statesman and independent Kurdish MP in the Iraqi Council of Representatives. He was born in Slemani in 1938 and completed his degree in medicine at the University of Baghdad. He became politically active at the age of 18 and was a member of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and subsequently founded the Kurdish Socialist Party in 1980. He has fought in the Kurdish mountains and played a diplomatic and negotiating role at various times in the struggle against the former Iraqi regime. Dr Mahmoud Osman was the chief negotiator for Mullah Mustafa Barzani on the 1970 Autonomy Accord. He was appointed to the Iraqi Governing Council in 2003.

Saddam Hussein's regime tried to assassinate him by poisoning him.



#### Gwynne Roberts, Film Maker

Gwynne Roberts has specialised over the past 30 years in producing films on international and human rights issues. He and producer Sadie Wykeham have won many awards including an Emmy for Outstanding Investigative Journalism for Saddam's Road to Hell which dealt with the abduction of 8,000 Barzani Kurds in 1983 by Iraq's secret police. It was shown on PBS, Channel 4, ZDF, and BBC World. They received the Edward R Murrow Award for Best TV Documentary on Foreign Affairs for Iraq's Killing Fields (PBS/BBC), the first film to investigate the Kurdish genocide. Gwynne was the first television journalist to

interview Osama Bin Laden in Afghanistan whilst making The Saudi Tapes for Dispatches Channel 4. Current projects include the Kurdistan Memory Programme which seeks to inform the world about Kurdish history and its role in shaping the political contours of the Middle East.



#### David Russell, Director of Survivors Fund (SURF)

SURF is the principal international organisation representing and supporting survivors of the genocide in Rwanda. SURF works with partner survivor organisations such as AVEGA Agahozo (Association of Widows of the Genocide) and AERG (National Student's Association of Genocide Survivors) to deliver restorative justice to Rwandan genocide survivors. SURF's current focus is an international campaign for the right to reparation for survivors. Before taking up the position of Director at SURF, as a co-founder of The PR Office, David represented an array of international charities including the Nelson

Mandela Foundation and Holocaust Educational Trust.



#### Gareth Stansfield, Senior Associate Fellow and Director of Middle East Studies at the Royal United Services Institute, and Director of the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies at the University of Exeter

Gareth Stansfield is Professor of Middle East Politics at the University of Exeter, where he is also the Director of the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies and Director of Research of the Strategy and Security Institute. He is a Senior Associate Fellow at the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI). He is currently an Honorary Research Fellow attached to the Middle East and North Africa Research Group of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office,

a Visiting Professor of Northwest University, Xi'an, China, and an Honorary Fellow of the University of Pennsylvania's Program on Ethnic Conflict. He is a commentator and adviser on Middle East politics, focusing on Iraq, the Kurdish regions of the Middle East, dynamics of Gulf/Arabian peninsula security, and questions of post-conflict stabilization and nation/state building. In 2009, he served as a Senior Political Adviser to the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI), with special reference to the situation in Kirkuk and Iraq's disputed territories, and is an adviser to Shell on their activities in Iraq.



#### Gillian Walnes MBE, Executive Director, The Anne Frank Trust UK

Gillian Walnes co-founded the Anne Frank Trust in 1990 and has been executive director since then. As well as leading the Trust's development and being the principal spokesperson, Gillian is in charge of internal and external communications with donors, stakeholders and international Anne Frank partners. The Anne Frank Trust UK draws on the power of Anne Frank's life and diary to challenge prejudice and reduce hatred, encouraging people to embrace positive attitudes, responsibility and respect for others. The Trust aims to do this through our educational projects, operating across the country

in schools, prisons and communities. She was awarded the MBE (Member of the Order of the British Empire) in the 2010 Queen's New Years Honours List.

#### Nadhim Zahawi MP, Co-Chair of the All-Party Parliamentary Group on the Kurdistan Region in Iraq, first Kurdish-born British Member of Parliament



Nadhim Zahawi was born June 2<sup>nd</sup> 1967 to Kurdish parents in Iraq. During Saddam Hussein's rise to power and his persecution of the Kurdish people his parents fled Iraq to the UK for safety. He was educated at King's College School in West London followed by University College London where he received a Bachelor of Science in Chemical Engineering. He co-founded and later became chief executive of YouGov, one of the world's leading political and business information gathering companies. Nadhim was elected to the Westminster Parliament in May 2010 and is a member of the Business

Innovation and Skills Select Committee. He regularly visits Iraqi Kurdistan and has launched an online petition calling for a debate in the British parliament on the recognition of the Kurdish genocide. In 1991, he and others helped to organise The Simple Truth concert to raise money for Kurdish refugees stranded in the mountains.



A pair of shoes belonging to a small Kurdish child, found in a mass grave in southern Iraq

# **INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE**

# The Untold Story: The Kurdish Genocide in Iraq

### January 17<sup>th</sup> 2013 at Church House Conference Centre, Westminster, London Hosted by the Kurdistan Regional Government UK Representation

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