

Report

Iraq: continuous and silent ethnic cleansing

Displaced persons in Iraqi Kurdistan and Iraqi refugees in Iran

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INTRODUCTION

The investigation mission particularly wishes to thank the persons who, with courage, patience and determination, accepted to testify. We are also grateful to Mr Ismail Kamandar Fattah, to the representatives of the Kurdish authorities and the members of Iraqi political parties in exile, to the Kurdish non-governmental and governmental organisations, to the Iraqi human rights and humanitarian organisations based in Iran, and to the interpreters, Barzan and Hamid, for their translation and investigation work.

A. Mandate and objectives of the investigation commission

The International Alliance for Justice (AIJ) and the International Federation of Human Rights Leagues (FIDH) conducted an investigation and observation mission from July 9 to July 25, 2002, among internally displaced persons located in the autonomous Iraqi Kurdistan, and Iraqi Shiite refugees living in the Islamic Republic of Iran.

The members of the mission were Fabienne Messica for the FIDH and Françoise Brié for the AIJ.

Their mandate was to investigate the causes of displacement of Iraqis hosted in the Kurdish autonomous region and the reasons that push Iraqi refugees into exile in Iran.

The mission also wished to collect information on the current state of human rights in Iraq, on the living conditions of families housed in camps for displaced persons and refugees, on the management and the hosting of these populations by the international community. The goal was to determine if, in the current political context, the policy of repression, forced enrolment in the army, terror, forced arabisation and ethnic cleansing, as witnessed during the previous joint mission¹ conducted by the FIDH and the AIJ, were still being pursued.

B. Witness interviews

The investigation mission interviewed:

- 80 witnesses in the camps of internally displaced persons in Kurdistan, the refugee camps in Iran and in districts selected according to the random sample method. The interviews were conducted with the help of an independent translator.

- Kurdish authorities

- Kurdish civil governmental organisations
- Kurdish non-governmental organisations
- Iraqi human rights and humanitarian organisations based in Iran
- International organisations

Witnesses were met in the camps of displaced persons (such as Barda Qaraman, Binaslawa and Daratou), in the collective towns built by the Iraqi regime to group Kurdish populations in the 1970s and 1980s (such as Smood, Piryadi and Shorish), in former public buildings of the cities of Suleimaniya and Chemchemal, in private houses where displaced persons were resettled and in the offices of human rights or women's rights organisations.

The amount of displacements Iraqis have been confronted with needs to be stressed: each family has had to flee because of the repressive policy that does not spare anyone, men, women or children, some families have been displaced several times. The different communities have been used against one another and have become pawns in a policy aiming at destroying them one after the other.

Since Saddam Hussein's rise to power, the regime has enforced ethnocidal policies against Kurds and Shiites, the assimilation of minorities such as the Assyro-Chaldeans, the suppression of dissent, the enrolment of youth and repeated terror campaigns, sometimes conducted without any motive whatsoever.

Each of the interviewees stressed the fact that the threat of forced displacement, deportation or execution against them and their families was permanent. For years and even until today, the lack of reaction of the international community concerning the state of human rights in Iraq has given Saddam Hussein and his clique a right of life and death over entire communities.

Saddam Hussein's regime also requires absolute discretion among the population and the secret services in order to make everything look normal to foreign observers and to prevent any reaction within the population: prohibition of public displays of mourning during executions or funeral services, displacement of families by successive small groups separated in different districts, harassment operations and arrests during the night, creation of many secret detention centres, kidnappings of relatives or "tribe" members and disappearances.

C. General background

After the second Gulf War and the repression of civilian populations in 1991, Iraq was divided into three zones: a no-flight zone in the South, a Kurdish-controlled area which is also a no-flight zone and a zone controlled by Saddam Hussein's regime.

The latter zone includes many towns in which Kurds account for the majority of the population: Kirkuk, Khanaqin, Sinjar, the cities of origin of most of the displaced persons interviewed by the mission.

In their majority, internally displaced persons and refugees are Kurds who were forced by the Iraqi army or militias to flee their villages or towns, Shiites who are also the victims of repression, Assyrians (Christians), Turkomans deported to Kurdistan, opponents to the regime and Sunni Arab families.

Iraq has not signed the 1951 international convention relating to the status of refugees and its related New York protocol.

D. Investigation conditions of the mission in autonomous Iraqi Kurdistan

The mission, which was allowed to move and investigate freely, focused on determining the causes of the displacements of persons, of ethnic cleansing or political exile that raise issues concerning status and rights. Its goal was to determine if the Arabisation policy and ethnic cleansing against Kurds ended in 1990 or if it continued in a new context.

The majority of the interviewed witnesses refused to have their identities disclosed. Most of them describe repression as a policy that targets well beyond a single person, threatening an entire family, a "clan", or a neighbourhood. All the witnesses stressed the fear of reprisals on close friends and family. Many displaced persons and refugees were forced to flee because a relative, even distant, was a target of the Iraqi authorities. Even in autonomous Kurdistan, witnesses fear Iraqi intelligence services or services from neighbouring countries and mention a state of relative insecurity.

The families flee after an almost always identical process of terror, which includes the arrest of a close relative, breaking into homes both day and night, confiscation of identity papers and withdrawal of ration cards, threats over the children if their

family refuses to see them enrolled in Saddam Hussein's army (Al Qods), Saddam's Fedayin (Youth) or into the Ashbal Saddam². The fleeing families cannot receive any help without the official document certifying their displacement, which the Iraqi authorities are supposed to deliver but now refuse to do so in order to conceal the ongoing ethnic cleansing.

Many of the witnesses we met are women, widows, often exhausted and traumatised by the worst episodes of repression between 1980 and 1986. They witnessed the destruction of their villages, summary executions, kidnappings, and were sometimes even forced to watch their children being tortured. These women only hope for one thing: to return their village, to die there even if it is reduced to ashes.

Finally, as confirmed by Kurdish authorities and independent international organisations working in Kurdistan, the United Nations personnel will not accept to meet with international organisations without Baghdad's prior approval to go to the autonomous Kurdish region.

We have also seen a very paradoxical situation: the region enjoys administrative and economic autonomy, which has enabled it to implement a large building programme of housing and public facilities, in particular elementary and secondary schools (1,200 schools were built between 1990 and 2001), but suffers from an unstable political situation worsened by the feeling of neglect of a society deprived of exchanges with the outside world; in other words an emergent civil society that benefits from political liberties, but lives in isolation.

E. Investigation conditions of the mission in Iran

Even if the fear of agents of the Iraqi regime is less visible in Iran than in Jordan or in Syria³, refugees still live in fear of being sent back to Iraq. Their economic situation is generally appalling. Refugees are not allowed to work, therefore they are maintained in a difficult economic situation in camps where they sometimes live for over ten years. The mission could meet freely with humanitarian or human rights organisations. However, the mission members were escorted by a Ministry of the Interior official during their visits to the camps. The mission was nevertheless able to interview witnesses without the presence of Iranian officials or camp administration staff.

1. International Alliance for Justice (AIJ), International Federation of Human Rights Leagues (FIDH), Iraq: an intolerable, forgotten and unpunished repression. Investigation report on the state of Human Rights, December 2001, 42 p. available at <http://www.fidh.org> and <http://www.aij.org>

2. Saddam's "cubs".

3. AIJ/FIDH, Iraq, December 2001, op. cit.

I. THE PEOPLE OF IRAQ: A HISTORY OF EXILES

1.1 A mosaic of people

Iraq's complexity and wealth are due to its position as the crossroads of many ethnic groups who settled in the country. Some areas, such as the North, are mainly populated by Kurds, and the South is mainly populated by Shiite Arabs, whereas the country's capital Baghdad and, to a lesser extent, Bassorah, have become a melting pot of different ethnic groups. Population censuses after 1968, the year of Saddam Hussein's rise to power, have modified some aspects of this ethnic mosaic. Apart from the Kurds and the Turkomans, other communities such as the Assyro-Chaldeans or the Yezidis have been forced to register as Arabs. The previous 1957 census provides more reliable information about the composition of the different communities of Iraq.

Besides, the continuation of the Arabisation policy which led to the deportation and forced displacement of entire communities contributed to the exodus of several millions of Iraqis and greatly modified the geographical distribution and the composition of the Iraqi population. The Arabisation policy, which is one of the most striking phenomena of the last three decades, was enforced in a context in which the victims were totally deprived of any protection.

According to the Iraqi constitution, Iraq is made up of Arabs mostly, of Kurds, and of minorities. Most of them are Muslims. The current population of the country is estimated at 23 million.

Iraq is a country of great ethnic and religious diversity, with a majority of Shiites and a large Sunni minority, but Iraq also includes several other ethnic, religious or linguistic groups such as Turkomans, Yezidi, Shabak and Kakai Kurds, as well as Assyrians, Armenians, Sabeans, etc.

Shiites, who are a majority of Iraqi Arabs and a large minority of Turkomans and Kurds, represent between 60% and 65% of the population, while Sunni Kurds constitute between 18 and 20%, Sunni Arabs together with Turkomans between 13 and 15%, and finally Yezidis and Christians approximately 3%.

The Yezidis are a Kurmanji-speaking group and are exclusively Kurdish. Yezidi beliefs incorporate aspects of several major religions in the region, including Islam, Zoroastrianism, and Christianity.

Assyrians, Chaldeans and Armenians constitute an important part of the Roman Catholic and Nestorian Orthodox minority. They live mainly in Iraqi Kurdistan and they speak Syriac, Chaldean or Armenian. The Turkomans live in the cities of Arbil and Kirkuk. Shiite and Fayli Kurds accounted for 15% of

the Kurdish population of Iraq before the waves of deportation.

1.2 Forced displacements, deportations and migratory waves

Without exaggeration, a close link can be established between the rise to power of the Baath party in July 1968 and the forced displacements, deportations and migratory waves.

Forced displacements and deportations

- One of the first ultranationalist political acts of the Baathist regime was to deport more than 250,000 Iraqis, mostly Fayli Kurds, to Iran in 1969 and 1971⁴, under the pretext that they were of Iranian origin.

- This was carried out simultaneously with a systematic Arabisation policy of the Kurdish provinces of Kirkuk, Mosul, Dehok, and the towns of Khanaqin, Mandali and their surroundings. This policy is still enforced today.

The population is displaced in the southern regions or in collective camps and is replaced, often forcibly, by Arab tribes from different provinces.

- Between 1974 and 1975, the war resumed between the Kurds and the Iraqi regime. After the 1975 Algiers Agreement between Iran and Iraq and the end of the Kurdish movement, 200,000 Kurds left for Iran and hundreds of thousands of others were displaced to the South. All the leaders of the Kurdistan Democratic Party⁵ were forced into exile or deported to Kout, Amara and Nassirya.

Following an "amnesty" granted by the regime, several thousands of families returned to Iraq. But a few months later, the Iraqi regime accelerated the Arabisation process, the deportation of the Kurdish populations and their replacement by Arab tribes. The people living in the region of Barzan were transferred to the South, and authorised to return 5 years later to collective camps in Arbil⁶. Among the villages that were evacuated and destroyed, there were many Assyro-Chaldean and Yezidi villages (see Appendix A).

In the 1980s, the destruction of Kurdish villages and towns continued and it climaxed during the Anfal⁷ operations. The Kurdish residents of the destroyed towns and villages, of the governorates of Kirkuk, Arbil, Dehok and Suleimanya were either executed or grouped in collective camps.

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Approximately a million people, mainly Kurds, but also Turkomans and Assyrians, have been displaced since the 1970s⁴. This includes, for instance, 37,720 families from the governorate of Kirkuk who were displaced between 1970 and 1990. 182,000 other persons went missing, mainly from the same region of Kirkuk.

- After the gas attack on the town of Halabja in March 1988, which killed 5,000 people, approximately 80,000 persons from the region fled to Iran. In August 1988, 60,000 persons left the Badinan region for Turkey⁵ after similar attacks with chemical weapons.

- In 1980, between 200,000 and 300,000 persons (Fayli Kurds, Shiite Arabs and non-Kurdish Iranians, either of Iraqi origin or who had been in Iraq for several generations) were deported to Iran. Between 7,000 and 10,000 men were taken as hostages and have been missing since. Deportations of thousands of people continued during the Iran-Iraq war.

Wars and repression

- Between 1980 and 1988: several thousands of Christian families left Iraq during the first Gulf War. This phenomenon, which began more conspicuously during the 1970s and even before, has not ceased since. Although precise data is not available, it is estimated that tens of thousands of families have left Iraq.

- During this war, many Iraqi deserters and Shiite families found refuge from repression in the southern marshlands or in Iran. Tens of thousands of people were involved.

- Immediately after the end of the Iran-Iraq war and the invasion of Kuwait, between 1988 and 1990, several thousands of families were forced to flee the marshlands of the South to Iran, following the repression of opponents to the Iraqi regime.

- The second Gulf War broke out in 1991. Thousands of soldiers surrendered to the coalition forces. Among them, many did not return to Iraq and claimed asylum in third countries. In March 1991, an uprising broke out in 14 out of

the 18 Iraqi provinces. They were no longer under the regime's control. The crushing of the rebellion by the army resulted in the death of 200,000 Shiite Arabs in the south of the country, the death of several thousands of Kurds, as well as a massive exodus. 2 million Kurds found refuge in Turkey and Iran before returning to their land, after the adoption of Resolution 688 and the establishment of a protected zone in northern Iraq. Tens of thousands of Shiites fled to the marshlands and to Iran, 33,000 persons went to Saudi Arabia, and thousands of others went to Syria, Kuwait, Jordan or Lebanon.

- From then until now, repression intensified against all those who had participated, actively or not, in the uprising and against all those suspected of dissent. The lack of long-term security in the Kurdish region, and to a lesser extent, the sanitary and economic conditions that result from the sanctions¹⁰, also account for the exile of thousands of persons to Iran, Jordan, Turkey, Syria and Lebanon.

Ongoing forced Arabisation and drainage of the marshlands

- From 1991 to 2001, the regime continued its policy of Arabisation and ethnic cleansing in the Kurdish regions under its control. Tens of thousands of people were displaced, mainly in the regions of Kirkuk, Khanaqin and Mandeli, and also in the South.

- The deliberate and systematic drainage of the marshlands, where people involved in the uprising found refuge, intensified after 1991. Between 1993 and 1995, a new wave of thousands of marshland Arabs arrived in Iran. Among the estimated 400,000 to 500,000 people who lived in the marshlands, 100,000 have probably been killed during the 1990s, 200,000 were deported to the big cities of the South and throughout the country, tens of thousands fled to Iran, and it is said that maybe 30,000 still live in the northern part of the Huwaiza¹¹ marshland.

Inter-Kurdish conflicts

- In 1996, according to a UNHCR press release dated September 12, the Iranian government announced the arrival

4. Ismail Kamandar Fattah, International conference on Iraqi refugees and displaced persons, Paris, July 2002 (www.a-ij.org ; www.fidh.org ; www.france-libertes.fr)

5. Led by Mostafa Barzani at that time.

6. Chris Kutchera: *Le défi kurde*; Bayard Editions; 350 p.

7. Named after a Koranic verse which justifies the pillage of the property of infidels. "Anfal" means the "spoils of war". The Anfal operations were conducted by the Iraqi regime to destroy 4,500 villages or towns throughout Kurdistan.

8. Bakhtiar Amin, International conference on Iraqi refugees and displaced persons, Paris, July 2002, op. cit.

9. Françoise Brié, research on the short-term and long-term consequences of chemical attacks in Iraqi Kurdistan, Paris XI University, June 2002.

10. Dr Bayan Alaraji Alhakim, IRAC : Symposium on Genocide Campaigns in Iraq, London, July 27, 2002.

11. The AMAR foundation, the Iraqi marshlands, a human and environmental study, London, 2001.

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of 39,000 Iraqi Kurdish refugees. According to the UNHCR estimations, 15,000 lived in tents in the valleys and villages north of the town of Penjween, at the border with Iran. These population movements from the region and the town of Suleimanya resulted from inter-Kurdish fighting between the KDP and the KPU¹². Today, most of the Kurdish refugees have returned to their region.

Endless terror

Between 1995 and 2002, thousands of Iraqi refugees fled to Iraq's neighbouring countries. Since 1999, the flow of refugees has significantly decreased in Iran due to increasing economic and sometimes political difficulties.

12. Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and Kurdistan Patriotic Union (KPU).

II. FORCED INTERNAL DISPLACEMENTS: THE ETHNIC CLEANSING OF KURDISH REGIONS CONTINUES

2.1 Iraq among the countries with the highest number of displaced persons

Statistics show the scale of displacements that have occurred. In October 2000, according to Benon Savan, executive director of the United Nations' Oil-for-Food Programme, 805,000 persons were displaced in the North of Iraq, representing 23% of the total Kurdish population of the autonomous zones.

Internally displaced persons¹³ account for 31% of the population in Suleimanya, 28% in Arbil, 24% in Dehok, and 17% in Derbendikhan.

In 2002, the US Committee for Refugees¹⁴ ranks Iraq among the 10 countries with the highest number of internally displaced persons, estimated at between 700,000 and 900,000 persons. Displacements have occurred throughout the country, in the North, in Central Iraq, in the South where an estimated 100,000 displaced persons live, and also in Baghdad, where several uprising attempts were crushed.

Mr. Sadun Faili, advisor at the Ministry of Human Rights in Suleimanya, stresses how difficult it is to find out the exact number of displaced persons: *"There are currently many displaced persons who are returning to their families in the Kurdish region, but who do not want to be registered for fear of reprisals against their relatives who are still in the government-controlled areas"*.

Let us recall that in order to be granted the right to receive food ration cards in the Kurdish region, the families must first be removed from the lists held by the Iraqi authorities. The United Nations agencies therefore transmit their names to the regions controlled by the regime. This obligation is used as a means of control and repression of the population. It is an element of the surveillance system organised by the Baath party.

Thus, as noted by a displaced person bitterly: *"In order to get food ration cards here, you need to register with the World Food Programme, then your application is sent to Baghdad for verification. This procedure takes six months, and it enables them to know where you are"*.

According to the Ministry of Human Rights, the number of displaced persons varies from one week to another depending on the regime's policy. Other factors intervene, such as the appointment of a new governor who, in order to display his loyalty to the regime, will launch a more important campaign of deportations. The registration of deported people is performed in different zones according to

geographic origin: the displaced persons from Jalawla and Mandeli go to Kalar and Kifri; those from Kirkuk go to Chemchemal and Shorsh, and those from Mosul go to Arbil. Displacements and deportations have reached different levels depending on the regions: thus in Mandeli 100% of the Kurdish population has been displaced since 1975; in Khanaqin, 70% of the population was displaced, before the end of the 1970s. The workers from Khanaqin were then sent to Suleimanya to work in sugar and cement factories; the other families went to Baghdad. In Kirkuk, displacements started a long time ago, but they have increased since 1990. In other regions such as Qadirkaram, some families were victims of the Anfal operations after being deported.

2.2 Forced displacements and demographic changes within Iraq

The displacements of population in Iraq started immediately after the Baath party's first coup in 1963. Saddam Hussein and his top aides used ruthless repression to ensure their domination and their control over a country where Kurds and Shiites constitute the majority of the population. The Arabisation of the Kurdish regions, the destruction of the marshlands in the South and the deportations have been planned and systematically implemented for over 30 years, with complete impunity and in total indifference. One after another, the rights and the identities of the different communities have been negated and, because they resisted, entire communities have been persecuted, for example in the South of Iraq where the regime inflicted collective punishments on the population of many villages, which were burned and destroyed.

One of the interviewees said: "The Iraqi regime respects nothing, neither the international laws, nor its own national legislation. It has absolute power over the Iraqi population. It does not consider itself as belonging to the international community for all that concerns the most basic rights of the population. It changed demography, not only in the Kurdish regions, but also by transferring Arabs to the Kurdish areas, offering them money for everything, including weddings and housing, and providing them with land. The international community never reacted nor did it exercise the slightest pressure. One just has to look at the situation concerning the missing persons. There are over 182,000 Kurds who are reported missing. Was there any reaction? None. Resolution

688 is constantly violated. Iraqi society and its communities have been completely torn to pieces."

2.3 Control of oil resources and borders

Iraq has the second largest oil reserves in the world. In the Kurdish regions, in particular in Kirkuk, the oil fields are easily exploitable, and they have accounted for 70% of Iraq's oil production in the 1970s¹⁵. The 1957 census estimated that Kurds accounted for 48.3% of Kirkuk's population, while Arabs accounted for 28.2% and Turkomans 21.2%¹⁶. Saddam Hussein and his close supporters have always sought to change the religious and demographic composition of the country by expropriating the populations that could prevent them from having total control of the huge oil reserves.

The 1975 Algiers Agreement, which established the creation of a 25 km no man's land at the borders, enabled the regime to use an international agreement in order to destroy all the towns and villages located in that zone. Saddam Hussein's regime has always used the international conflicts that it has itself provoked to justify the deportations and displacements of the Iraqi population. This has been the case for the deportation of the Fayli Kurds, of the Kurdish population living close to the borders, and the people from the marshlands in the South of Iraq - the regime presented their lifestyle as backwards and dangerous in terms of sanitary and social conditions.

2.4 Endless displacements

The population movements are constant and thousands of people have been uprooted several times during their life, they have been resettled in collective camps after months of detention in military camps, then they have been deported again, or they have fled conflicts and repression for a future made of yet more displacements.

For example, a woman currently living with her husband and three of her eight children in 2 rooms once used as locker rooms in an old stadium that is now partly destroyed, declared: "During the Anfal operations, we were deported from our village named Benaka near Kirkuk. We settled in another village called Qadir-karam, then in Kirkuk in the Shorija district so that my husband could find a job. We were arabised in 1991. Saddam Hussein's men told us: *"If you do not leave, we are going to torture you and destroy your house"*. We were forced to go from Kirkuk to Chemchemical and the regime stole our house. In 1991, after the uprising, when the Iraqi army took control of Kurdistan, we fled to Iran. We were then renting our house and we were not able to take

anything with us. When we returned from Iran, we found a shelter in Chemchemical but we had to move several times: 2 years ago, we were living in a different neighbourhood. We went to see the governor, and he told us that we could stay in the stadium basement but that he could always make us move out since it is a public building. I don't know where to go anymore".

2.5 Harassment of the Kurdish autonomous region

After the imposition of an internal embargo decided by the Iraqi regime starting in October 1991, the repatriation of all the officials and civil servants in 1992, the withdrawal of 25 dinar bills¹⁷ in 1993, followed by the printing of new bills bearing the effigy of Saddam Hussein¹⁸, everything was attempted in order to stifle the economy of the Kurdish autonomous region. Since 1991, the Iraqi regime has intensified the deportation of poor families to that zone, which results in a heavier economic burden for the Kurdish authorities and families.

This situation is well summarised by a statement by Mr Muhammad Ihsan, Minister of Human Rights in Arbil: *"The Iraqi regime started its Arabisation policy a long time ago. It has always thought that it would stay in power for a long time and has thus allowed for a slow and constant Arabisation policy. This policy, which started in the 1960s, is not new and it has been a "success". Currently, the regime continues this policy not only to modify the composition of Iraq's population, but also to destabilise the Kurdish autonomous region with the objective of putting an end to the experience that is carried out in the North of Iraq. It is hard for us to respond to the needs of all the families that arrive"*.

2.6 Organisation of ethnic cleansing and deportations

All the testimonies and documents collected during this mission tally and confirm that ethnic cleansing has been going on for decades. It is carried out with great speed in villages or smaller towns such as Sinjar, and in highly populated regions like Kirkuk, it takes longer - the regime takes its time in order to avoid internal rebellion and international blame.

Whether it be by thousands as with the victims of the Anfal operations or the Fayli Kurds, when the Iraqi regime was preparing and waging war against Iran, or family by family, in a more continuous and discrete but nevertheless ruthless way, men, women and children have been and still are the victims of arbitrary decisions and violence.

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The army surrounds the areas that are planned for destruction and evacuation, the residents are grouped, abused and often executed.

A woman recalls the story of her deportation from Khatanan during the Anfal operations: *"In 1988, the army arrested the inhabitants of several villages. I remember that there were 17 trucks packed with people. They put us together in the same place, outdoors, for 3 days. It was very cold and we had to sit on the ground with our children. Then one night, they brought us to a military camp in Chemchamal. From there, we were transferred by truck then by bus to Tobzawa. They called us by our names, and they accused us of being peshmergas¹⁹ and said we carried weapons. We were very scared.*

After 5 nights, they separated the children from the mothers, including my youngest son who was only 5 years old at the time. After an hour, they brought the children back and we were deported to Dubs where we stayed for 7 and a half months. It was awful, dark and filthy. It was a military base. One day, my daughter was ill so I asked if she could be given some medication. In order to punish me and also because I had asked for shoes, they forced me and my 6 children to stay outdoors for one day and one night. When we waited in line for some bread, they refused to give us any. In these barracks, when children died, they fed the bodies to the dogs. They have left us with nothing and have destroyed everything: we have lost everything. We have been banished from the region where we lived. Today, our village, where 27 families used to live, is controlled by the regime".

In the 110 "modern"²⁰ towns, as they are called by the regime, which were built in the 1980s to group displaced people, or in the Kurdish zones that are yet to be Arabised today, the same methods of terror are used against the population: tight control by secret services that monitor every movement, intrusions in homes by day or night and arrests.

Although the Arabisation policy has particularly targeted Kirkuk because of its oil fields, it was also carried out in regions outside of the Kirkuk governorate such as Dehok,

Khanaqin, Douz Khurmatu, Dubs, Douskhurmatou, Makhmour, Mosul. The displaced persons are not allowed to return to their region of origin (see Appendix B).

The Arabisation policy has been enforced since 1991, in total violation of resolution 688 and all international treaties on the respect of human rights. Thus, in July 2002, in the Makhmour area, Kurdish leaders reported that members of the Baath party came to the area of Shamamek and gave the villagers 24 hours to evacuate their homes, and threatened them.

In September 2001, in order to legalise the Arabisation policy, the Revolutionary Command Council issued its resolution number 199 which grants each Iraqi the "right" to change his or her ethnic identity to that of Arab. It is in fact compulsory. The people whose names appear on lists have to choose between forced displacement or having their ethnic identity changed.

In most cases, all the belongings of the deported people are confiscated, and their identity papers are destroyed so that they are unable to prove their origin. Even the tombstone inscriptions in cemeteries have been changed.

A man who was deported from Kirkuk recalls: *"I was living in Rahimawa, a district of Kirkuk. Members of the Baath party came to see me three times to ask me to become a member of the party and to change my "nationality" and they threatened to deport me. I refused so I was deported along with 13 relatives. There is a document that you have to sign, which says that you are an Arab. The governor maintains lists of families that are supposed to be deported. A few families are selected in each district, as it is more discrete than the deportation of whole districts, which could result in riots. If you are in good terms with the Mukhabarat²¹, they leave you alone. If you pay, your name is removed from the list... until the next time when you have to pay again. My father was put in jail for a month, then they put all our belongings in a truck and we were deported. Two days later, my neighbour was deported. I think that about 1,000 people have been deported in my neighbourhood."*

13. According to Nasreen M Sideek Barwari, Minister of Reconstruction and Development, who was interviewed in Arbil.

14. According to the US Committee for Refugees, there are 600,000 internally displaced persons in the three autonomous Kurdish governorates and 100,000 in the South of the country, mostly from the marshlands.

15. Refugees in their own country; Maggy Zanger Middle East report 222, Spring 2002.

16. In 1921, when the British occupied Iraq, they also made an estimation of the ethnic composition of Kirkuk's population: 75,000 Kurds, 35,000 Turkomans, 10,000 Arabs, 1,000 Jews and 600 Assyro-Chaldeans.

17. FIDH, France Libertés; Report of investigation mission in Iraqi Kurdistan, special issue No 178; October 1993.

18. On December 3, 2002, officials of the Security in Suleimanya, quoted by Kurdish Media, report the arrest of several agents of the Iraqi regime carrying thousands of dollars and Iraqi dinars, who were ordered to buy old circulating dinars in the Kurdish zone in order to destabilize the region.

19. Kurdish fighter.

20. In reality, the towns were collective camps, surrounded by the army, and sometimes by barbed wire.

21. Secret services.

III. DISPLACED PERSONS IN IRAQI KURDISTAN

The mission stresses the fact that the majority of the families that were interviewed have been the victims of serious, massive and repeated abuses, including the disappearance of part of their family, the separation from their village or district community, or withdrawal of current food ration cards (see Appendix D).

All the witnesses, without exception, live in fear of Saddam Hussein taking control of the Kurdish autonomous region. Whether they be Fayli Kurds, Turkomans, Assyro-Chaldeans or Kurds from Kirkuk or Baghdad, Arabs from central Iraq, Anfal victims, or displaced persons from the 1991 exodus or the inter-Kurdish conflict in 1996, all the persons that were interviewed by the mission wish to return to their towns or villages of origin.

The accounts of the victims reveal continuous hardship to which no one sees an end. They show the distress, the resignation, and the extremely violent experiences that these people have been through, in particular during the Anfal operations.

A woman, who still lives in a collective town, speaks both in the present and in the past tense about her village, from which she was expelled, and about her missing relatives:

"Our village, Oulijan Amin Qaraman, was very rich. Fourteen families have returned, but we haven't. I am alone with my husband and we are too old to work as farmers. I want to know where my children are and return with them. In our family there were 11 of us. I had three daughters, one son, his wife and four grandchildren.

Early in the morning on April 14, 1988, our village was shelled and we fled on tractors without being able to take anything with us, or to save anything. We were all alive when we reached Milasura. My son then said he was going to get some food but that was impossible because we were surrounded by military vehicles, tanks and armed soldiers. They took us to Qoratu, a village where we stayed in a military camp for two nights without water or anything to eat. Other people arrived. There were a lot of people. Then they made us board military trucks. We did not know where we were going but we thought they were sending us to Iran. In fact, our destination was Tobzawa, a destroyed town that Saddam Hussein has turned into a military camp. There were men, women and children. They separated the old people from the young ones. The older people like us were taken to Nouqrat Salman where we stayed for 7 months. We don't know where the younger people and most of the children were taken. We have not

seen them since. In some cases, the soldiers gave the grandchildren to the older people. But personally I could not save my children.

They brought in wild black dogs that would bite us. The bodies of the people who died were left lying outdoors and the dogs came to eat them. My mother was eaten by the dogs in front of my eyes.

Every Friday, they released a group of people and told them that the younger people would return. One night, it was our turn. They took us to Suleymanya in a closed car. There, they left us in a street telling us to go to Smood. We went to Smood alone on buses. There were only old people left.

I saw my children for the last time in Tobzawa. Some people managed to escape and related that the prisoners were put under the burning sun in a very hot place without shoes, and that they were forced to dance in front of the guards. I want to know where they are."

According to a survey carried out by the United Nations agency HABITAT²² in 2001²³, the majority of displaced persons is composed of families deported from their villages in the 1970s and 1980s and until the second Gulf War. They were deported from the provinces of Dehok, Arbil, Suleimanya, as well as from the cities of Kirkuk, Mosul, Khanaqin, Mandeli and the corresponding provinces, and from regions located south of these areas, controlled by the regime.

The other categories of displaced persons include:

- Non-Arabs who fled during the 1991 exodus and who were banished by the regime from the 14 provinces in which the 1991 uprising took place, and on which the regime restored its rule;
- The people deported since 1991 as a result of the Arabisation policy, especially in the city of Kirkuk;
- The people who returned from Iran or Turkey where they found refuge and who are banished from the zones controlled by the regime (for instance Fayli Kurds);
- The persons displaced as a result of Inter-Kurdish fighting (between KPU, KDP and PKK²⁴);
- The people who flee from repression and who have found refuge in the Kurdish autonomous region (Shiite or Sunni Arabs, Turkomans, Assyro-Chaldeans, Yezidis and others).

Incursions from neighbouring states and attacks of the Iraqi army in the autonomous zone have also provoked new

displacements of populations in the regions near the border or close to the front line with the Iraqi army. This permanent lack of security in the short term, combined with the long term concerns for all Iraqi Kurds living in the region, is a strong factor in the increase of the number of candidates for exile.

3.1 The Anfalis²⁵ : separation of families and extermination

Iraq is the country with the highest number of missing persons (see Appendix E), estimated at over 200,000, including between 7,000 and 10,000 Fayli Kurds who went missing in 1980, 8,000 Barzanis who went missing in 1983, and 182,000 people who went missing after the Anfal operations according to the Kurdish authorities. Tens of thousands of other people also went missing, especially in the South, where Saddam Hussein's revenge after the 1991 uprising struck several towns, and also many villages that were burned and shelled.

During the Anfal operations, the regime particularly targeted men and their male descendants, but also, in some regions, entire families including women and children as related by a survivor: *"In 1987, the region of Sangaw was destroyed, including Turkai Shekha Sura, my village, where between 75 and 100 families lived. There were 11 of us in our family, my parents and 9 children. 7 of us were "Anfalised". My 3 sisters and I are the only 4 survivors, because we were outside looking after the cattle. When the army arrived, we fled to the mountains. My aunts, my uncles and my cousins all went missing. In total, 30 family members living in the same village went missing.*

The village was controlled by the peshmergas and it was destroyed one year later, in 1988, immediately after the war. In 1987, they had built the collective "town" of Smood and we went to live there until 1991.

We have reconstructed the village with our money and friends' money. Nobody helped us. There was not enough money, but with all the people who disappeared, the biggest problem was the lack of labour."

Some interviewees report that, in 1987, in the Kalar region, they saw military trucks packed with people from villages arriving in the Liwa Bariq military camp (which included a torture centre like every other military camp) where they were executed. In several locations, the mission met families who survived these Anfal operations that have been qualified as genocide by several human rights organisations as well as the United Nations' Special Rapporteur on Iraq.

There are no precise statistics on the Anfal victims but local human rights organisations working with women and orphans are trying to establish the list of missing persons (see

Appendix F). They have also counted 600 orphans in Kalar and the surroundings, 75 widows in the town itself, 147 in the collective town of Smood and 250 in Kifri. The collective town of Smood, that the mission visited, is in fact a camp surrounded by checkpoints guarded by the military, where no one can enter without authorisation. In Smood, there are men and women who do not have any relatives with them anymore. The survivors were at the mercy of the guards, as a woman who survived the operations recalled: *"Sometimes the soldiers took the pretty girls and brought them back after a few hours. No one knew what was going on then."*

The inhabitants of several villages were also exterminated by chemical bombings or executed. A woman from the village of Goptapa related: *"20 relatives who lived in the same region as I did were killed by the chemical attacks. During the Anfal operations, families were killed in front of my eyes, and survivors, like me, were forced to step on their bodies. The Iraqi army took men, women and children, and even my father-in-law, who was old"*.

In other cases, they were grouped in military camps and sorted. All the witnesses confirm that many people went missing and that the families were systematically separated. The separation was sometimes planned step by step in different locations and, in some cases the commanders of the operations did as they wished.

In general, males over 10 years were separated from their relatives, and then it was the young women's turn to be separated from the group. The other family members were often left for days in the big Kurdish cities such as Suleimanya, probably to just frighten the population.

In the majority of cases, males over 10 years old and the young women were never seen again, as stressed by a witness: *"The soldiers came to our village and took us all by force to Milasura. They said that they were going to send us to town and give us some land. I was ten years old at that time and I remember that it was raining; it was in the winter of 1988. They took us in trucks to Kalar and then to Qoratu. The inhabitants of many villages were taken at the same time on the same day. From Qoratu, we were taken to Tobzawa, then to Dubs. They kept on hitting us. The men, except the elderly, and some women, were taken away from the others."*

A man from the Kirkuk governorate recalls: *"During the years 1986/87, we had already been warned on several occasions that our village, named Khormal and located close to the main road, would be destroyed and that the villagers would be transferred to collective towns. One day, the army came and told us to pack our belongings in tractors and installed us on the side of the main road. I was 9 years old at that time. Then soldiers took us to Chemchamal in a military unit, where we joined many people from other villages. My 5 year-old*

brother and my three sisters were present. My three other brothers, aged respectively 14, 15 and 16, were separated from us: they told us that they were taking them to Kirkuk.

The people from Kirkuk were taken to Dubs. There, they separated the children from their mothers and they put them in a room for 2 days without anything to eat or drink. The young women were separated from the older ones and the same went for the remaining men. Many young women disappeared. Some survivors estimate their number at 200. Many of the missing persons are said to have been taken to Abu Greb while others were deported to Ramadia.

Finally, they transported us in trucks to a jail called Nuqrat Salman. We didn't know what was going to happen to us, we were terrorised. We stayed in this jail for five and a half months with only three pieces of bread and a little bit of water each day. My younger brother died of hunger. How many of us were there? I don't know. Maybe 10,000. There were only women, children and old people.

Four of my uncles are gone (he shows their pictures) as well as my three brothers and the younger one who died in prison. Then, they separated us into three groups. My group was taken to Suleimanya, then to Bazian, then back to Suleimanya where they let us free. We stayed there for a while because we had parents there, then we came to this collective town. The police was making intrusions all the time to verify that no one was staying with us. We had a lot of health problems and we were not allowed to go further than 1 km out of the camp."

3.2 Ethnic cleansing in the Kirkuk region: over 30 years of forced displacements and Arabisation policy

Successive measures²⁶ have been taken for the Arabisation of Kirkuk. The destruction of villages and neighbourhoods were not sufficient. Prohibitions and destruction are increasing: Kurds are not allowed to work, to buy, sell, or inherit; people are not allowed to teach in another language than Arabic, to give Kurdish, Turkoman or Assyro-Chaldean names to their children²⁷, to send them to school, to have a telephone, to cultivate. The streets were renamed and the old citadel, as well as mosques, churches, etc. were destroyed. The decisions of the Revolutionary Command Council often remain secret before being brutally enforced by the various security services. As a result, the people targeted are unable to react.

With the current system of food ration cards, the regime has better control over the families in the districts that are under tight control. The regime knows who is Kurdish, who is Turkoman and who is Assyrian. It uses every means of terror against the population, especially at night. This is also the

case in Baghdad, where it must be more discrete because of the international presence.

The Iraqi regime is waging a psychological war to force families to leave, by cutting off electricity or water. The agents of the various security services²⁸, such as the Mukhabarat, make incessant visits and telephone calls, to ask the people to join the Baath party, to recruit for Saddam's Feddayis or Al Qods, the new army by Saddam Hussein to control the population. The families are then caught in a spiral of violence that does not cease until they leave.

Relatives are threatened, arrested or abused, as was the case for the family of a woman who arrived in the Kurdish autonomous region in May 2002 with her six children. Her son was arrested two years ago after an administrative demand to show an identification card. Immediately after his arrival, he was jailed in the building of the general security of Kirkuk, which is located in the Shorija district. He was tortured for three days and went mad as a result. The family lives under a tent with the young man who has serious psychological problems, remaining silent for long periods of time or moving about for no reason.

Any attitude that is considered suspect by the regime leads to deportation. For example, a taxi driver who lived in the Shorija district and who arrived in February 2002 related: "One day, I did not accept to take a member of the party for a ride. That's why they deported me. All my family is Kurdish and was deported 5 years before me. Kurds have no right in Kirkuk. The authorities refused to issue identity papers to my family and I wasn't allowed to send my children to school. Saddam's Feddayis or members of Al Qods came at night to ask me to join Al Qods' army, but I refused. So they sent me to jail for a month.

A truck took my belongings and a member of the Mukhabarat came with us to the checkpoint at the Kurdish autonomous region. I had two houses in Kirkuk. The government has confiscated them. I did not feel good here, so I decided to return, but the Mukhabarat told me that if I came back, they would put me in jail for 6 months. 5 families were deported at the same time as mine. The others went to Suleimanya."

The families feel threatened and finally give up and leave, often without anything, as a witness reported: "In 1995, I was deported because I was Kurdish. My house was confiscated and given to an Arab family. That was the decision. You can't say anything. They had taken my 21-year old son as a hostage until I left. They let him go once I was gone. It is mostly the Kurds who are deported, and sometimes the Turkomans."

Those who resist undergo new types of pressure. It is only a matter of days before those who refuse to change their ethnic identity are deported: "I arrived in this camp in June 1999. I come from the Leylan region close to Kirkuk. The members of

the Baath party (men dressed in military suits) asked me to change my "nationality", which I refused. I was immediately jailed for a month and deported on the day of my release from prison. They loaded my belongings in a truck and transferred me with 3 other families (including one of my neighbours). I was able to take my belongings with me, except for the electrical appliances. Before, I was living in the village of Kochak along with 55 other families who were separated into different regions. Our village was destroyed on March 12, 1986 by the army, and then rebuilt for Arab families from Haweija."

The system of ethnic cleansing also consists in getting as much as possible out of the people targeted by the deportations, who often pay important sums of money to members of the Baath party or the security services in order to avoid deportation. An electrician, father of six children, describes his deportation: "We arrived in this camp on June 12, 2002. I refused to change my "nationality" and that is the reason why I ended up here. In Kirkuk, the members of the security services told us we had 8 days to leave town. This had already happened to us. I had paid and they "forgot" my name the previous time. But the last time, I didn't have enough money and I was deported."

In the regions that the regime wants to arabise, the seizure of real estate is systematic and houses as well as lands are given or sold to Arab people for nothing. The newcomers receive property deeds on which the names of the expropriated owners have been changed (see Appendix G).

An expropriated person expressed his anger: "One just has to read the regime's newspaper, *Tamin*, to verify. It includes a section announcing land distributions to good civil servants, to policemen, etc. All this belonged to someone before but not a word is said about the previous owners!"

A man from Laylan related: "I was living in Behanlou with 70 other families. In February 1986, the army gave us 10 days to leave the village. Everybody left and 30 Arab families were brought in from Bassorah and replaced us in the years 1992 and 1993. Some families left for Tuz, Suleimanya, or Arbil. We went to Laylan. On May 15, 1997, we were forced to leave Laylan. The security forces told me: "Either you leave for the South with your belongings or, if you choose Kurdistan, you leave without a thing. You have a week to decide." We owned a house in Laylan for which I have the property deed. The ministry sold the same deed at a low price to an Arab family and the new owner comes from an Arab village called Yarimja. Here, there are 12 families from Laylan in the same situation. My house was worth 3 million dinars and it was sold for 700,000 dinars. The Baath party keeps the money and no one knows where it goes. Seven families were deported at the same time as us and I know 80 other families that were

deported from Laylan and went in different directions to Barda Qaraman, Arbil or Suleimanya. One family went to Nassiryah in the South but they came back because they could not live there."

For the past few months, to avoid leaving evidence, the regime is pressuring the families so that they don't testify. It withdraws food ration cards and destroys every official document to make it difficult for people to benefit from aid in the Kurdish autonomous region: "An officer came to make an inventory of our belongings, then we loaded everything in a truck that was waiting and we went to the police office to sign documents. Then we were taken to the security forces where we were threatened to say that we were volunteering to leave and that we were not forced to do so. I know at least 200 families who have been deported". Another witness confirms: "As I had refused to join the intelligence services, my ration card was withdrawn. When I arrived in Arbil, I did not immediately get a ration card. I had to wait four months before getting one."

A man who used to live in Khanaqin reported that the Estikhbarat²⁹ came every night to his house. In 1975, he was living in the village of Alyawa where 48 families lived, and he was displaced to Samawa, a town located in the Al Muthana governorate until 1997: "In Samawa, our life was difficult and the Arabs would insult us and call us horrible names. In 1980, the Estikhbarat imprisoned me for 8 months. I left for Khanaqin in the middle of 1998 because I was threatened. In Khanaqin, they came very often to wake us up during the night to scare us, then I was summoned to the governor's security office where I was informed that I had to leave. They forced me to sign a paper specifying that no one was forcing me to leave, that I was leaving voluntarily. They threatened me with a three-month jail sentence if I did not sign. I had three houses in Khanaqin that were given to the Arabs."

3.3 Forced enrolment

The control and surveillance of the population is enforced by the many different official security services³⁰ (General Security Service, republican guard, popular militia, etc.) or secret services (Estikhbarat and Mukhabarat), but also through the forced enrolment of adults in the armed forces, including the new "Jerusalem liberation army" (Al Qods' army) or, for the younger people, Saddam's Feddayis and the Ashbal Saddam. Those who refuse are subjected to various measures including the withdrawal of food ration cards or, for the people living in the regions still to be arabised, deportation.

An Assyrian woman relates how her son fled: "During the Iran-Iraq war, the town where I lived lost at least 975 soldiers.

Personally, I lost my husband and two of my sons. My youngest son fled to Turkey and I am looking for him. They wanted him to join Al Qods' army or Saddam's Feddayis. He fled to avoid signing a document mentioning that he accepted his enrolment.

They take children from the age of 6 in the Ashbal Saddam and from the age of 14 in the Feddayis. In Al Qods' army, they also enrol primary school teachers. In fact, joining this army is mandatory for anyone under 60, even women. Those who refuse have their ration cards withdrawn, and people come at two or three o'clock in the morning to arrest them. Al Qods' recruits are trained outside of town, where there are left without anything. The "training" is just meant to learn how to live without food or water. The people have to train from six o'clock in the morning to two o'clock in the afternoon without anything. They are fed with dog or rat meat. Simultaneously, the humanitarian aid provided by international organisations goes to party members."

The families know about the abuses that their children are victim of and they do not want them to be enrolled. A witness from Baghdad recalls how he paid to save his son and how he fled leaving everything he owned behind him: "I arrived here about a year ago. Two years ago, they came and took my 16 year-old son to the police to intimidate us and to force him to join Al Qods. I paid in order to have him released. The authorities took everything from me: my ration card, my restaurant and my money. If you do something that they do not like, they withdraw your ration card. They threaten people for no reason, just to force them to be on their side: they were coming to my house, insulting me and asking me to sign papers, but I didn't know what was written on them. If I asked why, their only answer was: "Shut up". They had simply decided to arrest me."

Other interviewees report: "When I was in Kirkuk, the security services generally came after two o'clock in the morning and asked my brothers to join the Baath party and Al Qods' army. Sometimes, they also came early in the morning in private cars and looked for them in the bazaar. They also arrested people under the pretext of theft. They always caused us trouble because we hadn't joined the Baath party. My nephew is here because they wanted to enrol him in Al Qods' army and force him to quit his studies".

3.4 Forced displacements as means of repression on the families of political opponents

Pressure on presumed political opponents or persons suspected of dissent takes various forms. For close relations of members of the opposition or persons in exile who testify against the regime, sanctions are immediate and extremely violent: the families are shown and threatened on Iraqi satellite television. Video tapes showing the rape of women are sent to the women's families. Family members who stay behind are arrested, abused and forced to telephone the people in exile to make them stop any type of activism. Deportation and seizure of property are other elements of this repressive arsenal that targets entire families or even entire communities.

For example, several close relations of journalists or opponents in exile related their painful experience: *"I arrived with two cousins. My family joined me later after paying \$400 to cross the demarcation line with the Kurdish region. When he (the journalist) left, his relatives were pressured and now his whole family is pressured. They took 16 men from the family to the television studios to speak on satellite television to say that they had no respect for him. They imprisoned 150 people from his family, some went missing, others have been executed and a few were released. Farmers and people who were close to him had their harvests destroyed and water supply cut off for 6 months. I had to leave my house, my land, and the regime took everything from me. There is no humanity in our lives. Life means nothing to those people."*

Another person reports: *"Every two or three months, they would arrest me and keep me for three days. They would blindfold me and hit me. Then they would release me. They wanted to know what I knew about him. The Iraqi regime seized my land and I arrived in Kurdistan three years ago. Being a Shiite, I have no rights, as Shiites are simply repressed. I received information about the killing of 40 persons one month ago in Kerbala, next to the Al Hussein mosque on the road to Tauerige, between Kerbala and Hilla".*

3.5 Forced displacement of minorities: Assyro-Chaldeans and Turkomans

ASSYRO-CHALDEANS

Assyrians are the first peoples to have lived in Mesopotamia. In Iraq, historians date their existence back to 4,750 BC. Throughout the years, they have maintained their culture, their traditions and their language, Syriac Aramean. Their territory stretches over Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, all the way to Turkey and Iran. The number of Assyrians in Iraq is estimated between 700,000 and 1.5 million and most of them live in the cities and governorates in which their historical villages and areas are located.

At the beginning of the century, in a country where the ideology was based on concepts of unity and national sovereignty, Assyrians demanded that their rights, their identity and their culture be respected and they asked to be considered like any other citizen and not as second hand citizens. As a punishment, their national identity was negated and they were subjected to massive repression, harassment and executions. The 1933 Sumel massacre, when close to 3,000 people were killed, is a key date in Assyrian political history. Desperate and isolated, Assyro-Chaldeans started to leave: important communities were thus established at that time in North America and Europe. At the same time, the number of Assyrians in Iraq decreased.

Between 1970 and 1980, the ruling power allowed for a certain easing of the situation of Assyrians, enabling them to establish a few cultural groups such as the Assyrian club of Baghdad and to edit a publication in Syriac. In fact in 1972, the authorities decided to allow and support cultural rights of Syriac-speaking people. It was also decided that the Syriac language would be used in schools where Assyrians accounted for the majority of students. In the beginning of 1979, a new generation of young educated Assyrians started to organise cultural events.

But this did not last. Once they had gained international recognition and legitimacy, the Iraqi authorities started to neutralise then suppress all the rights they had granted, first of all with the nomination of Assyrians dedicated to the regime in the decision-making circles of their institutions, then by interfering with the activities of Assyrian groups. The promised Assyrian education system was never created. However, the regime enforced an Arabisation campaign and, in 1977, it made a census during which Assyrians were forced to choose between the Kurdish or the Arabic "nationality" depending on the region where they lived. Those who insisted to be registered as Assyrians were removed from the lists or arbitrarily registered as Arabs or Kurds. The same method was used again in 1987.

The members of Assyrian political parties, such as the Assyrian Democratic Movement, founded in 1979, were repressed: the regime carried out arrests, executions, destruction of over 200 villages, dozens of churches and monasteries (see Appendix H) and deportations. 1,000 Assyrians went missing during the Anfal operations (see Appendix I), and dozens of others went missing during the 1991 exodus (see Appendix J). Several clergymen also went missing (see Appendix K).

Currently, in the regions controlled by the Iraqi regime, Assyrians are not allowed to give an Assyrian name to their children and they are forced to change their "nationality" if they do not want to lose their jobs or be deported. To force people to leave, some public resources such as water are confiscated or used in the sole benefit of the agents of the regime. As elsewhere in the country, many landowners have no title deeds for property as it has often been passed down from generation to generation. This makes them all the more vulnerable.

The number of Assyrian families remaining in Kirkuk is estimated at 1,000. Other Assyrian families live in Mosul or Baghdad. 50,000 Assyrians are settled in Iraqi Kurdistan in Dehok, Zakho, Koysinjak and Suleimanya. 15,000 are settled in Ankawa. The inhabitants from villages such as Kan, Nala, Nllamé, Izané, Qeskawa, or Khallamé could not return after the fighting between the KDP, the PKK and the Turkish army.

In 1991, after the Gulf War and the establishment of a protected zone in the 3 northern governorates, Assyrians had the possibility to participate in the Kurdish autonomous parliament and in the regional government. Assyrians were also allowed to exercise their cultural, social and political rights. Newspapers and magazines in Syriac are currently published in Iraqi Kurdistan. 100 books have also been published in Syriac. A 1992 parliament decision allows people of non-Kurdish cultural origin to educate their children in their own language. Following this decision, more than 38 primary and secondary schools were opened for 3,000 children. Five Assyrian representatives have been elected to the Kurdish parliament.

TURKMOMANS

The number of Turkomans in Iraq³¹ is estimated at half a million by most experts. Turkomans make up a distinct ethnic group, with their own language and culture. Most of them have been living in the provinces of Kirkuk and Mosul since the eleventh century. Their identity and rights are flouted and they suffer from many discriminatory measures. They have no freedom of speech and they are not allowed to teach in their own language or to live in their places of residence.

The simple fact of belonging to a minority becomes suspect especially for people who have relatives in autonomous Kurdistan or in exile. The pressure and the threats are permanent, and arrests and abuses are frequent. After a few months, the relatives flee to save their lives.

A member of the Assyro-Chaldean community relates his tale of suffering before he arrived in Arbil: *"My brothers are abroad, so we became "friends of the West". The relatives of one of them were imprisoned and he always calls to have some news. We have no idea of what happened to them and we can't ask anything or we might be imprisoned. My sister tried to get some information through clergymen but wasn't able to learn anything. She was also afraid and went far away from Baghdad like I did.*

I arrived alone here. After I left, 15 persons came, from different branches of the Mukhabarat, dressed in civilian clothes, to see the members of my family. They even looked inside the fridge. They said that if I did not return, they would put them all in jail. My family quickly fled without taking anything but papers and a few clothes. Here, we were helped by the people, the sisters and those who left before us. In Baghdad, there is no stability, no security and a lot of thefts. Here, there are six of us living in a single room. If they learn that you work in the field of politics or human rights in Kurdistan, the consequences are terrible for the relatives that stayed in Iraq."

Another interviewee whose son enrolled as a peshmerga in Iraqi Kurdistan relates: *"The Mukhabarat came to our house every day to ask us where my son was. They threatened to throw us out and withdraw our ration cards, which they eventually did. They arrested me several times. They told me they had received information about who I was. Once, I was locked up for five days in the prison of the Mukhabarat in Hamdania in the special wing for political prisoners and deserters and left without food for two days. I was blindfolded all the time, even when I ate. They told me: "You have three days to sign this document and bring back your son, or your life will end here". They tortured me with electricity. I was scared for my family, so we took our belongings and we left with all the children. I was depressed and was thinking of*

committing suicide. I was in the army for twelve years. Normally, service in the army lasts three years for men without diplomas and two years for those who have diplomas. But it always lasts longer in reality. I never missed a day and here is how they thanked me. As soon as we can, we will return to our house. A few days ago, I received a message from my brother by phone telling me to come back otherwise my house would be emptied by the regime and confiscated. I can't reach my family in the village and I know that they also ask questions to the neighbours."

After the Kurds, the Turkomans as well as the Assyro-Chaldeans were subjected to the Arabisation policy in the middle of the 1980s. They were forced to choose between becoming Arabic or being deported to the Kurdish region.

In Kirkuk, the least movement needs to be approved by the security services that tightly control each district and that have unlimited power in their operations.

A shopkeeper who fled in 1992 recalls the omnipresence of security services, the reigning terror and suspicion, even within families: *"In each street, someone will tell that you are Kurdish or Turkoman. In every community, there are members of the Mukhabarat who listen if you speak Kurdish or Turkoman. Friends don't exist there. Everyone suspects everyone else.*

They treat us very badly: early in the morning, when everybody is asleep, they push the door without authorisation and enter. At night too, five or six people may enter your house without showing concern for the women and children. They insult us: "You are in contact with the opposition, with such and such a party, etc." They look for weapons in the house and turn everything upside down. They do this every week or every two weeks. I have experienced this type of terror. Once, they arrested me and released me after a day of detention. That's just the way it is. They didn't ask me any questions. They locked me in a jail just to scare me. There were ten of us, Kurds and Turkomans, in a small room. I saw a Kurdish man who bore torture marks. I was scared because there was a Mukhabarat with us. I was released but the others stayed in prison. I don't know why. Afterwards, I was frightened, so I left for Arbil, alone, without my family. I told my wife to tell the

neighbours that I was in Baghdad, otherwise the security forces would have arrested her and my children. They are merciless and torture even women and children."

B. arrived in the Kurdish autonomous region in 1997: *"In Kirkuk, we were permanently watched and disturbed by the Mukhabarat. An authorisation was required for every movement, whether it be to visit a family member or anyone else, even within the town limits, or to move house. This took a long time. We had to give them money, in order for things to go faster. Otherwise, it was often simply impossible to get any authorisation". A primary school teacher confirms: "There is a Mukhabarat office in every neighbourhood in Kirkuk that controls the movements of everyone. Kurds and Turkomans have to ask for an authorisation to move. They cannot carry out any type of activity outside the authorised zones".*

According to the Turkomans that were interviewed, their situation worsened significantly after the 1991 uprising. Violence is omnipresent in the districts: *"Everything is worse. For example, before 1991, one had the right to give Turkoman first names to the children. After 1991, it was prohibited. We spoke Turkoman among ourselves but we had to speak Arabic with the Arabs. They threatened to force me to enrol in the army. Then, I refused to change my "nationality" when they asked me to do so." Another Turkoman reports: "The districts of Kirkuk are mixed and there used to be no difference between the Arabs and people from other ethnic groups. Then the authorities started to "fix" the census results before publication by registering many people as Arabs. The "nationality" isn't mentioned on the identity papers, but using the 1957 and 1977 census, Saddam knows who is Turkoman and who is Kurdish. The Baath party arrests Kurdish and Turkoman women: some come back and others don't. They always find a motive to capture them and no one can hire a lawyer for their defence."*

The Iraqi regime methodically destroys all property deeds of Kurds, Turkomans and Assyro-Chaldeans, thus making impossible any purchase or sales transaction involving owners who do not bear Arab names. A primary school teacher who lived in the Turkoman district of Azadi Khaymawa reports: *"I wasn't left with any choice. They forced us to leave and we lost everything. In Iraq, there are several "nationalities" and we are second-hand citizens. If you want to buy a house in Kirkuk, you have to register it under the name of an Arab person. I had an associate, a friend who gave me a paper for my belongings, and who gave me money to buy some of my property without anyone knowing it. But other families arrive here without saying anything, without taking anything with them". Another interviewee: "All property has to be registered under an Arab name. Mine was registered through a family member who is Arab. There are no more*

Turkoman families. Those who stayed have changed their 'nationality'."

3.6 Exodus and the impossible return

After the second Gulf War, an uprising broke out in the town of Kirkuk but it was rapidly crushed by the republican guard and heavily armed militiamen loyal to the regime.

The population and the peshmergas of the Kurdish parties, unprepared and under-equipped, had to escape to the east of the country and try to cross the Iranian border. Part of the Kirkuk governorate was not included in the protection zone established during the "Provide Comfort" operations. This was supposed to enable the return of the people who were forced out of their homes during the 1991 exodus. The regime took advantage of the fact that thousands of persons had left the governorate and destroyed many Kurdish districts in the city of Kirkuk, as well as villages in the surroundings. It also banished the families of refugees or displaced persons and did not allow them to return.

Several interviewees related the story of the loss of their homes: *"I was living in the Shorija district in Kirkuk. We fled to Iran during the attack of Kirkuk, after the 1991 uprising. We could not take anything with us, because Saddam shelled the town and we had to leave very quickly. My cousin's house was destroyed after 1991."*

"In Shorija, they destroyed 400 houses after the uprising and 4,000 people from this district went missing. On April 2, 1991, during the attack on the town of Dubs, the army stopped buses in the street and took 75 Turkomans who were executed on that same day in the cemetery close to the military base."

3.7 Displacement of Arab families to Kurdistan

Corruption is the rule within the various security services, at all levels of the Baath party, as well as in the army. The people in charge of the ethnic cleansing operations in the previously mentioned regions take advantage of the deportations to get rich and extort money. The people listed for deportation try in vain to stay by paying, but this only delays their forcible displacement.

Along with the expropriation of non-Arab families, a series of measures was taken to encourage the installation of Arab families. A large part of the plundered property is distributed to members of Saddam Hussein's family, to the heads of local branches of the Baath party, to high-ranking officers and to their families.

All the declarations of the people who were interviewed confirm this:

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"If you're Turkoman, you have no rights. Arabs receive money to stay. Why would the poor Arabs from the South refuse? That is the reason why Arab families are replacing the Turkomans."

"If you're Turkoman, you can't buy from or sell anything to Turkomans or Kurds. If you buy a car, you can't register it under your name if you don't pay \$1,000. Nothing is demanded from Arabs. Arabs don't help us except if we give them money and, afterwards, they sometimes try to take our houses from us. What can we do about it?"

"We come from the village of Smour which was destroyed in 1984 because the Estikhabarat thought the village hosted peshmergas. We couldn't take anything with us and we were deported to Tahour, a collective town located between Tikrit and Kirkuk, where we stayed for thirteen years. We were deported in 1997 and our houses were given to Arabs from southern Iraq. They are Shiites or Sunnis from Bassorah, Rumadia or Tikrit. They are offered 10,000 Iraqi dinars, as well as a house or a piece of land to settle on."

3.8 Persons displaced as a result of the inter-Kurdish conflict

Between 1994 and 1996, the two main Kurdish parties, KPU and KDP, engaged in a war of fratricide that left thousands dead and resulted in displacements between the two regions in which each party has the majority.

The main causes of conflict are the distribution of the income generated by the taxes imposed at the borders, and the political and military control of the Kurdish region. Rising tension between the two parties has stemmed from the following factors: the encirclement of the Kurdish region, which makes it totally dependent on the kindness of neighbouring states, the attempts to destabilise the

experiment of the Kurdish autonomous region (several millions of Kurds are currently living in Iran, as well as in Turkey, where their rights are flouted, and hundreds of thousands of Kurds live in Syria in similar conditions) and finally, the lack of a long-term international solution in the entire region.

During the conflict, families were forced to move to the zones controlled by the party they were affiliated to. Thus, KDP supporters were displaced to the Dehok and Arbil governorates and KPU supporters to the governorate of Suleimanya.

The number of people who were displaced during this period is estimated at 100,000. Since the agreements between the two parties, the Ministry of Reconstruction in Arbil estimates at 2,429 the number of families that returned to their region of origin. According to a Habitat survey in 2001, there are over 40,000 displaced persons in the regions that are now under the rule of the two autonomous administrations. Joint programs have been implemented for the return of displaced persons with their transportation fees being covered and 10,000 dinars in aid being granted.

All of the witnesses who were interviewed report that they were pressured to leave their region: *"I was employed by the KDP in December 1994 in Chemchemical. During the inter-Kurdish fighting, the members of the KPU asked me to join them. Since I refused, they asked me to stay home. As I couldn't live without working, I went to Shaqlawa in 1994 and in Arbil in October 1996. I didn't ask to return after the agreements between the Kurdish parties because my children are peshmergas for the KDP and I don't want to return without them. I only took a few blankets and sold my house. The rest of my belongings are at my neighbour's."*

Similar stories of persons working for the KPU and deported from Arbil were heard in Suleimanya.

22. United Nations Human Settlements Program.

23. Quoted by Nasreen M Sideek Barwari, Minister of Reconstruction and Development, who was met in Arbil.

24. Kurdistan Workers Party in Turkey .

25. Name of the victims of the Anfal operations.

26. For a description of the measures taken by the regime, see Nouri Talabany, International conference on Iraqi refugees and displaced persons, July 2002, op. cit.

27. The first names were changed at the time of the child's declaration.

28. AIJ/FIDH, Iraq 2001, op. cit.

29. military intelligence services.

30. See AIJ/FIDH report, Iraq, 2001, op. cit.

31. Some Turkoman political organizations estimate their number between 1.5 million and 2 million.

IV. THE SITUATION IN AUTONOMOUS IRAQI KURDISTAN

Subjected to a double regime of sanctions, the one imposed to Iraq by the United Nations and the one imposed by the Iraqi regime to the autonomous region since 1992, the Kurdish population and authorities have taken up a incredible challenge, that of the reconstruction of the majority of the towns and villages destroyed by Saddam Hussein (which amount to 75% according to Kurdish authorities). Many international non-governmental organisations that have supported this effort have left the region and only a few continue their aid operations, which are considered as being very efficient by the Kurdish authorities.

Since the beginning of the Oil-for-Food program, the infant mortality rate has decreased in the three autonomous Kurdish governorates, and the food situation has improved. The majority of the interviewees have ration cards and the Kurdish authorities report that at least 50% of the population is surviving thanks to the organisation of food distribution. This is the case for most of the people who were recently deported from the Kirkuk governorate.

The program, which enables the distribution of 13% of the oil income³² to the Kurdish region, has however generated many problems, in particular for farmers who are not always able to sell their products, thus slowing their return to the villages. The majority of the products distributed through the Oil-for-Food programme is imported.

According to several interviewees, the dominant role left to the regime concerning many decisions, and the refusal of Baghdad to issue visas for specific technical staff, significantly hinder the projects that the local authorities want to implement in the framework of this programme. They stress the fact that the Iraqi regime refuses any action for the long-term such as the development of an electricity supply network, or the building of dams and factories, which are essential for the Kurdish region.

The lack of long-term investment in development projects has resulted in an insecure situation and economic instability which is made all the more difficult as Kurdish authorities have to face up to the resettlement of thousands of displaced persons and the continuous arrival of people deported from the regions controlled by the regime. The majority of emergency and resettlement programmes are managed by the United Nations agencies. But bureaucratic obstacles seriously slow down the routing of aid and many displaced persons have not been resettled and still live in tents or in tumbledown buildings.

The three governorates of the autonomous region also suffer from insecurity due to the presence of groups linked to the regime or radical Islamist groups³³, like in Halabja, Biara, Tawela, where they plan attacks on public buildings, particularly targeting working women and foreigners. In June 2002, a bomb explosion in a restaurant killed a person and injured 22, and one and half months before, two persons were injured in the Shaqlawa region in Gali Ali Bag (see Appendix L). The regular army and the republican guards are on alert around the Kurdish region and the Kurdish population does not feel secure.

There are a few independent local organisations in Kurdistan that are trying to develop. The minorities have a few rights (education of their children in their mother tongue, the right to publish in their own language). Other progress should also be noted, with a moratorium on capital executions since 1992, and the passing of a few laws in favour of women's rights.

4.1 Resettlement of displaced persons

A list of 379 sites with displaced persons has been established by the various Kurdish ministries. The majority of the displaced persons live in the collective towns built by the regime to group the people deported in the 1970s and 1980s, either because they could not return to their villages, or because they are recently deported people that the Kurdish authorities are unable to rehouse elsewhere.

Others live in old military camps or bases, in public buildings which are often partially destroyed (former schools, stadiums, etc.), especially people displaced from the Kirkuk governorate in 1991 or people displaced because of inter-Kurdish fighting. All categories of displaced persons are represented in the tent camps (Anfali, Kirkuki, Fayli). This is also the case in tumbledown private buildings, in the new housing units in towns or suburbs built by the Kurdish authorities or local or international organisations. Others live with their family or rent their own house if they can afford to. Finally, thanks to both the individual and collective effort of the Kurds, many villages destroyed by the regime have been reconstructed and host their original inhabitants.

When a newly deported family arrives at the first control post with a deportation certificate, if one was issued, it is registered by the Kurdish administration and the local committees. After registration, the family receives ration cards and a tent within a certain period of time.

According to Kurdish authorities, priority criteria³⁴ for rehousing have been established but the lack of vacant units and the lack of available land make this task difficult. Besides, the investigation mission also met several families who have been living in tents for years with people who are very ill or suffering from psychological disorders, and who have not been rehoused.

4.2 Living conditions of displaced persons

The most destitute people are those who have been living in tents for years, those who arrive from Iran, and those who live in tumbledown public buildings. Many of these displaced persons complained about their living conditions, about the rehousing delays, about their lack of income and of jobs. The majority of them had ration cards but many complained about the quantity of supplies that they received, which according to them, was sufficient for only 20 days. Among the recently displaced persons, some have had to wait for several weeks before getting a new ration card, corresponding to the time it took for their name to be removed from the lists in the zones controlled by the regime.

The lack of long-term development projects does not favour economic activity among displaced persons who, for the majority, remain unemployed with large families to support. Some people related their difficulties: *"We live in appalling conditions, we have to go get water in gallons. We live in this school but the Ministry of Education told us to leave, and we don't know where to go. We have so many children to protect and these living conditions drive us mad."*

Another one reported: *"I have been living here for 3 years. Only my son was able to go to school, but he has difficulties writing in Kurdish as he used to go an Arabic-speaking school. My older children can't go to school because their diplomas were not accepted here. The Kurdish government promised to give us a house in 2002. I have the registration number and I'm still waiting. Our living conditions were better in Khanaqin but we didn't have any freedom. Here I know people who live in even worse conditions."*

4.3 Reasons of non-return to the villages of origin

Given the serious abuses that they were the victims of, no one among the displaced persons expressed the desire to return to the areas controlled by the Iraqi regime.

Returning to the villages that were destroyed in the 1970s and 1980s which are in the area corresponding to the current Kurdish autonomous region is sometimes impossible, either because of the landmines that surround the villages, or

because sometimes all the men from the same family are missing (Anfal widows).

As mentioned earlier, the villagers are often unable to sell their production and return to the collective towns.

Finally, access to schools for children from the villages remains very limited, despite the efforts that were made in the field of reconstruction of schools, especially in secondary education.

Anti-personnel landmines: a major cause of non-return

According to the Mines Advisory Group, which provides training in demining since 1993, and Norwegian People's Aid, Kurdistan is one of the most heavily mined regions in the world, with between 8 and 10 million anti-personnel landmines. The mines were laid at different times, during the conflict between Iraq and the Kurds in the 1960s, and during the Iran-Iraq war to prevent the people from returning to their destroyed villages or after the Anfal operations. Mines were laid everywhere, even in the water springs. The Iraqi army left no map of the mined areas and the regime³⁵ refuses to provide information on that subject. In a September 2001, a survey of the UNOPS³⁶, quoted by the Kurdish authorities, identified 3,400 mined areas.

The number of people killed or injured by landmines is estimated at 10,000 since 1991. During the first years after the establishment of the Kurdish protected zone, the people returned to their villages to cultivate the land without taking the necessary precautions. The establishment of demarcation lines around the mine fields and the appropriate training of personnel often took place a long time after the return of the people in the villages. Today, even if the majority of the explosives have been destroyed, there remain many mine fields with different types of landmines (Italian, Russian, Yugoslav and Chinese). The mines are transported by rain or snow and can thus be found anywhere. In the village of Dashty Tleh in the Sharbazher region, 17 people have been injured since they returned to their village. In Williawa, the demining of three mine fields was necessary before the resettlement of the inhabitants. Only three families returned to Dashty Kharman, which is surrounded by 15 mine fields. Many families prefer not to take risks and to stay in the towns. This is especially true for the Anfal widows who cannot manage working in the fields alone and looking after their children.

Besides, the Iraqi regime does not allow the United Nations agencies to organise demining within 5 kilometres of the borders. And towns, such as Penjween, and many villages are located in these zones. The villagers, sometimes the Anfal widows, finally end up demining themselves, with all the risks

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that this entails. According to the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL), Iraqi authorities refuse to grant visas to members of organisations³⁷ with demining projects in the North of Iraq and refused to allow UN agencies to have contact, according to resolution 688, with those who arrive in Iraqi Kurdistan without passing through Baghdad. This was confirmed to us by several people. It is also the case for people working in other fields. This fact is really detrimental to the efficiency of the programmes implemented in the region. How can one also not establish a parallel between this situation and the one that prevailed in the 1990s when the United Nations agencies required total co-ordination with them from the same organisations?

Specific difficulties encountered by the Anfal women

For years, Kurdish society, which remains very traditional, did not allow the greater majority of wives of missing men, or the

Anfal widows, to marry again or to have a job outside of their home. Several women's organisations obtained an improvement of their condition from the Kurdish authorities, with the allocation of a pension (starting at 200 ID³⁸). International organisations also try to develop projects to help them return to their villages. But their situation and that of their family remains very precarious in most of the cases.

A woman reports: "Half of the village returned, the other half didn't, either because they can't afford it or because their husband is dead or missing. A woman is working for the Women's Unions. She earns 100 ID per month and 200 ID as an Anfal widow. If she returned to her village, she would lose her job. Her children are in secondary school. She can't cultivate the land and take care of her children at the same time."

32. \$15 billion, which represents five times the UN budget, have transited on the escrow account which manages all Iraqi oil income.

33. Which includes Ansar al Islam, a group suspected of having links with Al Qaeda.

34. A few families have left the government controlled zones for economic reasons.

35. Iraq has not signed the Ottawa Convention Banning Landmines, nor the Convention on non-conventional arms control.

36. United Nations Office for Project Services.

37. Rachel Stohl, Senior Analyst, Weekly Defense Monitor (Center for Defense Information), November 15, 2002.

38. Some current prices in Iraqi Kurdistan:

- imported rice: 3 Dinars/ kg, local rice: 10 Dinars/kg

- meat, 35 ID/kg

- watermelon, 2 ID/kg

- house rent for 6 persons in a town: 1500 ID/month

V. IRAQI REFUGEES IN IRAN

5.1 Introduction

Iraqi refugees in Iran live in camps managed by the Iranian authorities or they are scattered in towns and villages. Estimations say that there are approximately 50,000 refugees living in the 14 camps managed by the Ministry of Interior, 6 of which are located in Khuzistan. Some of the bigger camps such as the Ashrafi Asfahani camp, which was created to host 7,000 persons but whose population in reality is closer to 13,000, or the camp of Ansar which normally hosts 3,500 people, are estimated to host a total of 20,000 persons. There also exist about 10 other camps hosting less than 3,000 persons each.

The mission was able to visit the latter camp, as well as to go to the cities of Teheran and Qom in order to meet refugees. Other Iraqis are said to have grouped themselves alongside several roads, building settlement locations which are not registered as camps and which, as a result, do not receive aid. This is also said to be the case in towns and in most villages. According to the interviewees, it is those refugees who are not in the camps that need help the most, especially in Khuzistan where there is said to be 44 resettlement locations in the area between Ahwaz, Susangerd and Hoveyzeh, such as Serâ-i-Khorranshahr (16,000 refugees) Nabi Akra and Qand-o-Chekar. These refugees do not receive any aid from the government or international agencies and have to provide for their own needs, at a time when the legislation related to the work of refugees has toughened in Iran.

The people from the marshlands of southern Iraq seem to have grouped together in villages and in the camps, along with people who fled after the second Gulf War. Most of the refugees live outside of the camps (80% according to the interviewees). Most of them arrived in the 1980s, but also after 1991, as the mission could note.

The people met by the mission were Fayli Kurds or Shiite Arabs from southern Iraq or from Baghdad.

The Iraqis who were interviewed live in particularly difficult conditions. In the camps, which are controlled by the Iranian authorities, they are not allowed to come and go without prior authorisation and they are not allowed to work. The mission could also take note of cases of malnutrition among children and of the extreme poverty of the populations. Information received after the mission mention the deterioration of the situation, in particular concerning water supply in some camps.

In the cities, where refugees have more freedom of movement, their economic situation remains precarious as the green card issued to refugees who are officially registered does not theoretically give them the right to exercise any professional activity. A woman whose husband died in Iran, and who is in charge of three daughters and a son, is hopelessly waiting for the UNHCR's answer to her claim for asylum in Europe:

"Friends of mine bought some equipment to help me survive. I am scared here and I can't completely provide for the needs of my children because I am not allowed to work with the green card. I have been in Iran for over twenty years. We do not exist. Neither for Iran nor Iraq. I am depressed. My daughters were born in Iran and still don't have an identity card. Renting an apartment is very expensive. Two of my brothers were arrested in Iraq and I haven't had any news about them. The other members of my family are here and they are also poor. Women alone without a husband should be helped by the State or organisations."

Part of the deported Fayli, even though they have been living for generations in Iraq or in the territories attached to the modern Iraqi state in 1921 after the fall of the Ottoman Empire, have never received any identification papers from the Iraqi regime. Some had the Iranian "nationality" for generations and were thus granted with the same rights as Iranians in Iran. However it is difficult for them to be employed in official positions in certain administrations.

But for a lot of other refugees, rehabilitation is impossible in Iran. Since they receive little aid, especially when they live in cities, they are all candidates for exile to a third country. Some refugees in the camps complained about being pressured and not receiving enough food. None expressed the will to return to Iraq, stressing the fact that their life and that of their family would be at risk there. Another refugee relates that on July 23, two Iraqis were said to have been shown up on a programme on the Iraqi satellite television: back from Iran, they "confessed" that leaving Iraq was a mistake and they made a call to everyone to support Saddam Hussein.

According to some of the people we met, the refugees were better treated before the second Gulf War, because there were more opportunities for them to work. Since September 2001, the registration card delivered during the census only grants the right to stay. The same year, the Iranian authorities adopted a law concerning the 5-year plan for development in

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which, according to article 48, the employment of a foreigner without a work permit is prohibited and punishable with heavy fines and a six-month prison sentence.

Refugees are concerned for their children. Among the young Iraqis who fled, many have been tortured and were forced to give up their studies after pressure or proscription.

A few words suffice for the call made by one of them: *"No other youth in the world has gone through as much suffering, but nobody wants to hear about it. Schools are lacking for us here and since the education system and the language are very different from ours, it is very difficult for us to go school. We are asking for protection, shelter and help for the young refugees and for the use of the Oil-for-Food resolution to help refugees in Iran, Syria, etc."*

5.2 Circumstances of the exodus of refugees

According to the Iraqi human rights organisations that were met on location, the large majority of refugees in Iran is composed of Fayli Kurds, of opponents to the regime or relatives of opponents, and people, mostly Shiites, who fled

after the 1991 uprising, and people from the marshlands of southern Iraq.

Many officers, soldiers and opponents fleeing the regime found refuge in the marshlands, which offered a protective environment with very dense vegetation. Iraqi authorities used every means available to destroy this place of refuge by building dams, by bombing the region, by poisoning the water and the animals, in particular buffaloes (Jamus, known for their milk production). All the people living in the marshlands have fled to Iran or were displaced in the Iraqi towns of Kerbala, Najaf, Amara and Nassyriah. Many of them were killed. The main factors of exodus to Iran are the deportation of Fayli Kurds and the repression against Shiites after the uprisings, as well as the repression against regime opponents and their families. The interviewees, especially women, have endured the whole arsenal of repressive measures: harassment, arrests, torture, disappearances or execution of their close relations, despoilment or destruction of their property. They had no other choice than to leave.

5.3 The case of Fayli Kurds

FAYLI KURDS

The Faylis from Iraq are Shiite Muslims who come from different regions, such as Sa'diyya, Jalawla, Mandeli, Zurbatiya, Badra, Chaykh Sa'ad, Ali Al Garbi, Al Hayy, Al No'maniyya and Ali Chardji, as far as the outskirts of Bassorah in the strip of land bordering with Iran. Another part of the Fayli population from the Persian Empire, regions that correspond to today's Iran, settled in Baghdad at least two centuries before the creation of the modern Iraqi state in 1920. Some Faylis lived in areas that were united with Iraq well before the creation of the Iraqi state in the beginning of the 20th century, but the successive Iraqi authorities never granted the Iraqi "nationality" to some of them, who eternally remained non-Iraqis. *"The deliberate confessionalist and racist policy of the modern Iraqi state, along with its Arabisation policy of the Kurdish provinces, led to the deportation of hundreds of thousands of Shiite Fayli Kurds, and their replacement by millions of Sunni Arab workers in an attempt to invert the Shiite majority in Iraq. Before the last deportation wave that began in 1980 in the cities of Baghdad, Bassorah, and Amara, it can be estimated without exaggeration that the Fayli Kurds accounted for between 15 and 20% of Iraqi Kurds."*³⁹

Hundreds of thousands of Fayli Kurds were deported to Iran in successive waves between 1969 and the beginning of the 1980s. Between 7,000 and 10,000 persons were kidnapped from their families and kept as hostages. Very little information is available about what happened to them. In April 1980, they were locked up in the prison camps of Hella and Nugrat Salman among others, according to tribes who live close to the detention centres and who tried to help them. Some sources report the arrival of between 50 and 60 Fayli Kurds in Iran in 1986, during the Iran-Iraq war, after being used to demine the roads for the Iraqi army, or used as guinea

pigs for experiments with chemical and biological weapons. Since the second Gulf War, some Fayli families have returned to Iraqi Kurdistan. But they are a minority compared to the families who migrated to Europe, to the United States, or who remain in Iran. Without much support in Iraqi Kurdistan, having lost all their property, and looking after their widely-scattered community, Fayli Kurds are still in a particularly difficult situation today.

A woman from Khanaqin, deported to Iran in 1980, lives in a tent camp for displaced persons in Iraqi Kurdistan. One of her sons went missing in 1980. Her two other sons are in Iran.

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She relates: *"The Baath party deported my family and the family of my two brothers because we were Kurdish. We stayed for 20 years in Iran and, in August 2000, we came back because we wanted to go back to our country of origin. In Iran, we had a house and a store in Ilam. I worked in Iran for 5 years. In 2000, they told us that we weren't allowed to work anymore because we were Iraqi Kurds. We knew that our land was controlled by the Iraqi government, but what could we do in Iran without a job? I know over 1,000 Kurdish families with the same fate, but most of them stayed in Iran to try to keep their businesses. We left with 5 other Fayli families from Ilam. Forty other Fayli families from Khanaqin, Mandeli, Badra, Jasan, Zirbatiya and Kut also live in this tent camp"*.

During the 1980 deportations, Fayli Kurds were the victims of extreme violence. Disappearances were accompanied by abuse, seizure of all property and deportation to Iran in such appalling conditions that entire families perished.

Several women whose husbands are missing relate: *"My sister and I were deported to Iran in 1980 and the regime confiscated all our belongings. They told us that we were originally from Iran. My house is now occupied by Baathists, even though we were Iraqis. What right did they have, which law allowed them to do this?*

Before we reached the border, they took all our papers, and a pregnant woman from our family died at this border. What could we take with us at 1:30 in the morning? My 6-month old son almost died as we had neither milk nor food. We stayed 21 days next to the border because the Iranians wanted to control the arrivals. There were over 10,000 of us. In 1980, there were a lot of roundups and some of the deported people were sent out to mine fields, and others were attacked by gangs when they crossed the border."

Another woman relates: *"Nobody came to tell us that we were forced to go. They arrested us at one o'clock in the morning. One night they took a family. The other night they took another family. In prison, it was cold, there was no water, no place to sleep and no toilets. With butter and clothes, we started some fire to heat the water and wash ourselves. But the children fell sick anyway. In the beginning, they took the whole family blindfolded to Khazemieh in Baghdad. The children were so scared that they urinated and defecated on themselves. Personally, I lost an eye in prison. There were 3,000 of us in 3 rooms, all Fayli Kurds from Iraq. There was no room to sleep and my daughter would sleep in a non-horizontal position. It was very dirty and there were a lot of parasites. Some old people and children died, as well as one person who suffered from asthma. The guards also brought in two persons with mental illness to provoke trouble. There was one woman suffering from severe burns who had been taken out of the hospital. She also died.*

They confiscated our gold and all of our identification papers. We owned several houses, a factory, a building and cars. They sold everything and took the money. We were left in Juandroud, close to the border from where we walked for 3 days until we reached the first Iranian town. During this journey, people died because of the cold, others stepped on landmines. This was during the Iran-Iraq war. Gangs attacked us to take our money or to take the women. In February 1982, we were put into camps by Iranians in Jehroum, close to Ispahan, for 2 months, then we were released. We tried to go to Turkey via Kurdistan."

5.4 Prisoners and missing persons: amnesty or hoax?

The "amnesties" issued by the Iraqi regime

The "amnesties" issued by the Iraqi regime are quickly contradicted. They are followed by contrary measures or they do not make any sense. In 1975, a large number of persons returned to Iraq after Saddam Hussein issued an "amnesty". A year later, their villages were destroyed and many were arrested or went missing⁴⁰. This led to new exiles and forced displacements.

In June 1999, the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC), highest ruling body in Iraq, chaired by Saddam Hussein, issued decree number 110, which granted an amnesty to certain refugees. But in November 1999, a new law was issued to prohibit attempts to leave the territory, which became punishable by a 10-year prison sentence!

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Human rights organisations are deeply concerned about the situation of prisoners and missing persons in Iraq. Depending on the sources, the number of inmates in jails throughout the country is estimated at several thousands and the fate of many remains unknown. The number of missing persons is estimated at over 200,000. This number can be matched with the information that our organisations collected about the prison clean-out operations, which started in the 1990s and during which several thousands of prisoners may have died. These operations, conducted by Saddam Hussein's second son, Qsay, consist in emptying overcrowded jails by executing hundreds of inmates on Wednesdays and Sundays⁴¹.

Most of Iraq's detention centres are not accessible, contrary to what the regime's propaganda tried to demonstrate when it invited dozens of journalists to attend a build-up on the occasion of the "amnesty" of October 2002. The so-called "amnesties" issued by the regime only show how a few persons exercise the right of life and death over millions of people. The mission was able to collect a list of almost two hundred detention centres scattered throughout the country (see Appendix M). Others speak about the existence of over 300 secret prisons⁴², which are located in stores, public buildings, and ministries, such as the Ministry of Agriculture, including underground prisons⁴³. Every military base has its own detention centre for political prisoners. During the mission in July 2002, several interviewees talked about these secret prisons scattered throughout the country. A displaced Turkoman related: *"There exist all kinds of prisons. Many of them are secret. Others are located in the government buildings, others are known such as Saray."*

The mission would like to recall that in March 1991, during the uprising, when Kurds took control of buildings of the military security and information services, they liberated 130 political prisoners in Suleimanya, held in a secret prison which included collective and individual cells, as well as two torture rooms⁴⁴.

After the latest "amnesty" that was issued in October 2002, the organisation for political prisoners of Arbil in Iraqi Kurdistan established a list of 70 Kurdish common law prisoners who would still be in prisons, and it estimates the number of Kurdish political prisoners still imprisoned at 3,000. Other sources have announced the death of ex-inmates only a few days after their liberation. They may have been poisoned with Thallium.

Iraqi human rights organisations have all denounced this "amnesty"⁴⁵ and many calls were made to Saddam Hussein to throw light on the fate of between 7,000 and 10,000 Fayli Kurds, of the families of clergymen such as Al Hakim and Sadr, who have been arrested and are missing since. In

Lebanon, the committee of Lebanese prisoners in jail in Iraq published a list of 12 Lebanese prisoners detained in Iraq between 1980 and 1991, like Sheikh Jaafar, who was a teacher at the Shiite religious school in Najaf, and his son, detained with other Lebanese Shiite Sheikhs like Taleb Khalil, Sadeq Faqih, Mahdi Faqih and his brother⁴⁶.

Several interviewees talked about the secret prisons and about their close relatives who were arrested never to be seen again: *"In November 1981, the members of my family were deported from their houses in Baghdad and taken to the general secret prison. My husband and my son Salam, who was not involved in any political activity and who wasn't married, were separated from me and my 4 daughters aged respectively 18, 16, 13 and 10. Since then, I haven't had any news of the two men as well as from four of my brothers, nor from a friend, who was an engineer, from his wife and his son, who was not even a month old when he was imprisoned. My eldest brother, his wife and their two children are in Iran. I came with his five sisters to Iran. The husband of one of the sisters, who was an ophthalmologist, was imprisoned and she hasn't heard from him since. Another one of the sisters, called Salam, was arrested while she was pregnant, and I don't know what happened to her. There are 12 members of my family who have been imprisoned and from whom I haven't had any news⁴⁷.*

It wasn't a real prison but an administrative building. One day, the United Nations or NGOs came to the building. The guards brought us a heating system for that day, telling us that we would be released. In reality, we were deported to Iran. When we arrived, we had nothing, no papers, no job, and we were confronted with major difficulties."

Another one relates: *"In Baghdad, I lived in Kademir. The security forces came and took us to the border before the war in 1980. My husband was beaten up one day at the college and came back with a bloody head because he refused to become a member of the Baath party. My two brothers were arrested and I haven't had any news of them in the past 22 years."*

A woman who lived in Kazimiya related: *"My sister is in Iraq and her son is in jail there. She has had no news of him since he was arrested for demonstrating against Saddam in November 1979. There are a lot of prisoners and nobody knows where they are. People get arrested just because they go to the mosque."*

The mission met five Kurdish prisoners⁴⁸ who had been arrested together after school, when they were 15 years old. They were released together after 15 years of detention in Abu Ghreb. They described the tortures, the inhuman and degrading treatment they were subjected to, as soon as they were interrogated by the security services in Suleimanya, and

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at every stage of their detention: in the military centre, then in the Mukhabarat centre in Baghdad, and finally in Abu Ghreb. They confirm the extent of the executions that take place in the country (see Appendix N), which has the highest number of decrees that lead to the death penalty. They report about the much-publicised "amnesties" issued by Baghdad.

"During our detention, Saddam Hussein announced an amnesty 5 times but we were not freed because we were accused of being spies. The public declarations are false, because different rules apply within the prisons. We were freed after 15 years and 10 days of detention, on May 29, 2002."

"We were 15 years old when we were arrested in school on May 19, 1987, during a final exam, because we were members of the Kurdistan Patriotic Union. A "jash"⁴⁹ gave us away. We were brought to the Military Agency Centre and questioned for 8 days. They tortured us to make us confess that we belonged to the KPU.

Then for 10 days, we were brought to the security building where they used all means of torture: hanging, electricity, beating with cables. There were between 40 and 60 of us locked in a four by five metre room. We saw the father of someone suffer 4 months of torture in order to force him to sign a document. Torture is used individually or collectively. Women (sometimes their sisters) are brought and tortured in front of the inmates, and they are at the least, stripped of their clothes.

There were no blankets or heating during the winter. It was dirty. The food was dirty too and there was barely enough for 5 to 10 people. Sanitary conditions were appalling and we received no medication when we were ill or when we were tortured. We were constantly tortured during the first month, then randomly until our trial. In 1987, the security guards called Raid Rahim (4 stars), Asoun (3 stars) and Abas (2 stars) inflicted collective punishments. The prison staff would change often. Many of the people who were locked up with us perished, either due to the lack of medication, or torture. This was like an execution before trial to punish the inmates. We think that 20% of the inmates died during torture sessions. We witnessed the execution of 15 persons only in our wing during our detention. In 1988, we saw women, children and old people who were locked up during the Anfal operations. Then they were taken elsewhere. We don't know where.

Then we were transferred to Baghdad on March 14, 1989, to appear before the revolutionary court of the Baath party. There was a military lawyer who didn't say anything. We didn't understand well anyway because we didn't speak Arabic. It was a very large room. The court was composed of men from the military. The judge, called Awad Bender (he is no longer a

judge since 1991) was a military man who was surrounded by two military officers who bore 7 stars. There were other men in uniform who guarded the room in front of us. A 5-star officer presented our case. After the sentence (we were sentenced to 15 years in prison), they tied our hands behind our backs and put us outside. There was another group after us waiting to be judged. This military court is the most important and the most dangerous. They judged us collectively as though we were one person. Other similar special courts exist, with the same operating mode. Only the people change.

Afterwards, we were taken to the Mukhabarat building, a centre called Karada Khalij, known under the name of Mukhabarat Akimia.

In this centre, there were several doors, including one for inmates under sentence of death.

In Suleimanya, we saw the execution of minors, who were younger than 15 years old. In 1987, 3 young boys were killed in front of the school.

After the sentence, we were transferred to Abu Ghreb in the political prisoners' wing. This wing also included a special space for death row prisoners. In 1991, 170 death sentences were executed. In 1991, 3 of us were questioned once again for 7 months, along with many others. We saw approximately 400 persons who were brought there to be questioned. 73 of them were sentenced to death.

In 1993, guards came to announce that the entire family of one inmate, Ouda, who was from Amara (close to the Iranian border), had been executed. He threw himself screaming on one of the posters of Saddam Hussein that covered the walls. He was immediately executed and his dead body was left exposed for 2 days in the middle of the jail.

In December 1996, after the attempted assassination of Uday, some inmates were questioned again and 900 persons were sentenced to death in one month.

We didn't always stay in the same cell. In 1991, during the second Gulf War, two of us were taken to Mosul. The person in charge of general security in Iraq was Sabawi, who is the brother of Saddam Hussein. For 4 years, the head of Abu Ghreb was a 6-star officer named Nazhan. He is now in charge of the general security for southern Iraq.

Inside the prison, it is military rules that apply. There is no health system. There isn't even room to sleep. After the sentence, they torture you in individual rooms under any pretext or because they feel like it.

Every now and then, families managed to provide inmates with medication during visits. In the winter, it was very cold and we couldn't sleep. There were between 35 and 40 of us locked in a 3 by 4 metre room. During the family visits, they used psychological torture. We received the first visit from our

family on April 8, 1989. Corruption was the rule. Families had to pay for the right to visit. If we wanted to eat meat, or to get some food when there was nothing to eat, we had to pay. Everything cost double price in the prison. Sometimes, there were between 500 and 900 inmates in the same place. There was no room to sleep, so some inmates slept in the corridors. We could read books brought by the family but we were not allowed to write. After our sentence, we had no freedom anyway. Everything was forbidden and the guards pressured us. We can't give you the names of the other inmates, even those who died, for fear of reprisals against their families.

In the political prisoners' wing, we estimate the number of prisoners of opinion at 4,000 for a total of 60,000 inmates. Some prisoners had been sentenced to hand amputation for theft. For several thousands of prisoners, the sentence has not been executed yet and they are waiting for "pardon" because they can't be released otherwise. We heard that the ICRC came to visit foreign inmates. Nobody came to see us."

5.5 Violence against women

From Iraqi Kurdistan to Iran, all Iraqi women have been confronted with various types of trauma in a society where extreme violence is the rule. Not only have they suffered the disappearance of close relatives, sometimes their children, they have also been arrested, tortured and forced into exile. In a very conservative society, very few of the many widows have been able to find a stable economical situation and to marry again. Several women inmates relate how they were humiliated, and sometimes raped, during their detention in Iraq. Like the Kurdish women who were victims of the Anfal, they received almost no help or care and did not get the necessary moral and financial compensation. Several women who suffered from psychological and physical trauma are asking to receive medical care in specific rehabilitation centres. Their financial difficulties make them even more destitute.

Nevertheless, some have been opposing the regime in different ways, like this 31-year old student, who was arrested in 1991 with eleven other women and kept in detention for 10 days by the security in the 3rd group prison in Bassorah for participation in the uprising. She was questioned and saw some women being tortured, some of which were executed. Banned from the university after her release, she was transferred from town to town. She lost her parents and can't contact her sisters for fear of reprisal against them. She only asks for one thing, which is asylum in Europe.

Harassed by the security services of the Iraqi regime, the women speak of permanent oppression, continual visits by day and night and pressure on the relatives, in its various forms, which can be the execution of children. Thus, an old woman from Bassorah reports the arrest of her first son when he was 12, the execution of her second son when he was 13 in 1984 in her house, and her arrest in Kerbala with 15 women and children.

Like men, the women were transferred to different jails during their detention, which makes it all the more difficult for their families to know where they are. A woman relates: "I was taken to several prisons, first in Mosul, then in Kerbala, then in Baghdad." Another woman reports: "I left Iraq in 1991. They killed my father, my brothers, my nephews and their friends. I was living in Bassorah. I was arrested in 1983 with my nephew. I was transferred to the security in Al Thaoura where I was tortured after my trial before the court of Al Thaoura. I was taken to the Al Rachad prison in Baghdad where I stayed during 7 years. There is also a special women's prison for women, where there are about 100 inmates."

Several women met in Iran related not only the ill-treatment in prison, but also the suicide of women after they had been taken away by guards for a few days then brought back. These modest testimonies let us suspect the nature of the degrading treatments that pushed these women to commit suicide.

Another woman, aged 37, relates her suffering during her detention in January 1984: "I was 27 when I was arrested under false pretexts and unfounded political accusations. They took me to a room with other women. They blindfolded me and tied my hands in my back. They hung me and subjected me to electric shocks on the most sensitive body parts. When they let us back on the floor, they beat us up. I was very tired after being tortured and I often woke up in another room. I couldn't walk anymore. There were a lot of other women and children in prison with me. They took 3 women away among us and they came back holding their clothes."

5.6 Extrajudicial executions in the aftermath of the 1991 uprising

Several people who were met were forced to flee after the uprising in southern Iraq. The 1991 uprising was crushed throughout the country. In Kirkuk, which was one of the main centres of rebellion in March 1991, the regime intensified the Arabisation of the city, the destruction of the Kurdish districts. In the South, massive executions and destruction have been ongoing since that time, after which many of the witnesses who were met fled the country. Not only political activists, but also civilians, men, women and children have

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been executed, not only at the climax of repression, in 1991, but throughout the 1990s, in particular in 1993 and 1994.

A witness reports the extent of the executions:

"Many people, men and women, were killed after the uprising. They used all means: hanging, drowning, firearms. People were buried in common graves. Some are buried close to the road between Fao and Bassorah, close to the petrochemical complex.

The Iraqi regime killed my husband after the 1991 uprising after accusing him of being a member of the Al Dawa party.

Prisoners told us that he had been killed, even though he was an old man. People told me that his body was thrown in a common grave. They destroyed my house in Iraq. I have nothing left. I am poor. 14 houses were destroyed along with my own house after the uprising. They wanted to take my children but I fled through the marshlands with one of my sons. 2 cousins of mine were killed in 1991, as well as the women and children who belonged to my family."

Another person relates that after the 1991 uprising, a cousin and 5 of her nephews were killed (their names were given to the investigation mission).

39. Ismaïl Kamandar Fattah, op. cit.

40. Chris Kutchera, op. cit.

41. According to the Iraqi Human Rights Group, an information services agent, Khaled Sajed Al-Janabi, who defected and fled to Jordan in June 1999, revealed the execution of approximately 2,000 prisoners in a single day, on April 27, 1998. Maher Fakher Al-Khachan, a doctor who worked in the Abu Ghreb jail before his exile made revelations about massive and systematic executions of prisoners.

42. Dr Walid Hilli, Iraqi Human Rights Group, Symposium " genocide campaigns in Iraq ", IRAC, July 27, 2002, London

43. AIJ/FIDH, 2001 report, op. cit.

44. Chris Kutschera; op cit.

45. Kurdish Media 11/20/2002, R.M.Ahmad.

46. The Daily Star, November 21, 2002.

47. Jabbar Kasim Kaitoli (1929) his husband, Amar Jabbar Kaitoli (1964) his son, Shukir Mahmood Kaitoli (1942) his brother, Wahab Mahmood Kaitoli (1948) brother, Nabil Mahmood Kaitoli (1957) brother, Salam Mahmood Kaitoli (1959) brother, Selam Mahmood Kaitoli (1955) sister, Abdul wahab Al Utaibi Selma's husband, Nahida Ahmed Wahab's wife, Ussama Wahab aged 20 days son of Nahida, Shahab Ahmed Aziz born in 1942, Taha Salim Noor Mohammadi born in 1944.

48. Nzar Jalal Salah, Asfandiyar Muhmed Majeed, Kamaran Abdulla Ahmed, Rebwar Umear Othman, Burhan Raof Rahman.

49. Armed collaborator of the regime.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

For several decades in Iraq, millions of persons have been displaced, deported or forced into exile. The information collected during this mission shows the organisation, by the security services, the Baath party and the army, of the expropriation, deportation and sometimes the execution of peoples settled in Iraq for centuries in certain regions of Iraq.

In some cases, this policy was enforced brutally, as for Fayli Kurds. In other cases, it was enforced through the creation of a permanent and unbearable state of terror, which enables Saddam Hussein's regime to go forward with its plans, which consist in excluding entire communities from their country.

Witnesses recalled the price paid by their communities during the Anfal operations or the deportation of Fayli Kurds, which have been qualified as crimes of genocide by several international organisations, and during which hundreds of thousands of people died or disappeared. Since then, and despite the evidence and the publication of various reports, the Revolutionary Command Council, which is composed exclusively of close relations of Saddam Hussein and his lieutenants, continues the ethnic cleansing of Kurdish, Turkoman and Assyro-Chaldean populations in the Kurdish regions under its control, as well as the deportation of Shiite populations from the southern half of the Iraqi territory, especially in the marshlands.

The majority of the interviewees were forced to move several times to flee from massive abuses. Entire families or communities fled to save their lives, were subjected to all kinds of violence, which struck even women and children. The number of executed persons, prisoners and missing persons is particularly striking. All the security services, the military and the Baath party apparatus participate in the multiple abuses at different levels.

Besides, the mission noted the weak presence of international humanitarian organisations and sponsors in the Kurdish autonomous region and alongside Iraqi refugees. In the meantime, the situation in the camps of displaced persons remains unsatisfying. Some families are provided with insufficient food, and all the families live in poor sanitary conditions. Most of them live in tents or in corrugated iron barracks, which are extremely hot in the summer and extremely cold in the winter. Some displaced persons could not get the ration cards due according to the Oil-for-Food programme, because of the Iraqi authorities' refusal to provide them with the necessary documents. In spite of the efforts made by the

Kurdish authorities in the field of education in the autonomous region, not all the displaced children go to school, because of lack of money to buy clothes for school, or because they have to work to provide for the needs of their family.

In the Kurdish region, the progress made towards the emergence of a civil society, as well as long-term development projects, need to be supported and strengthened. The United Nations and the European institutions have to get involved in this direction in Iraqi Kurdistan, in support of local and international non-governmental organisations.

On that subject, the investigation mission recalls the resolution 688 of the United Nations Security Council, the ECOSOC resolution E/RES/1991/5, that call for all states and organisations to help Iraqi refugees and displaced persons and to coordinate their efforts.

The great majority of Iraqis who have fled, who were deported, or who were displaced, survive in their first countries of asylum in often appalling economical, physical and psychological conditions.

All the refugees and displaced persons expressed the will to return to their regions of origin if their lives were no longer in danger. Given the destruction, the despoilments and the multiple movements of population, the return of refugees and displaced persons to the regions of origin, if it occurs, will be complex and must be prepared by local authorities and international organisations. The investigation mission would like to recall that it was able to take note of the continuation of the ethnic cleansing enforced by the current regime, based on documents and verified testimonies. It was also able to take note of the permanent and daily flow of displaced persons and refugees, which is a consequence of the regime's policy.

For years, the international community has displayed a serious lack of interest on the serious and massive abuse committed by this regime. The lack of international political will to end these abuses has continued and irreparable things have occurred. The international community must at least provide asylum for Iraqi refugees, but it is often refused. Most importantly, the international community must take necessary action to put an end to the total immunity of the Iraqi leaders, who are responsible for the most serious international crimes, including crimes against Humanity.

VII. RECOMMENDATIONS

For years, human rights organisations have been making recommendations to the Iraqi authorities. Although none has had any effect, the investigation mission still wishes to list its recommendations to the Iraqi authorities to recall all the obligations that they should have undertaken in order to improve the state of human rights.

In compliance with international commitments undertaken by Iraq, and particularly the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, AIJ and the FIDH hereby call on:

The Iraqi authorities

1. to respect the rights of minorities and abandon the policy of Arabisation and racial discrimination, more specifically in relation to communities subjected to ethnic cleansing and deportation;
2. to put an end to the enforcement of the policy of repression of populations;
3. to institute a moratorium on executions, to abolish capital punishment and to put an end to all extra-judicial executions and the disappearance of missing persons;
4. to respect the rights of women, to put an immediate end to all rapes and kidnapping of women;
5. to respect freedom of opinion, expression, conscience and association, and immediately release prisoners of conscience;
6. to respect the right to a fair trial;
7. to put an end to systematic torture and other forms of cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment; to ratify and enforce the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment;
8. to respect the rights of the child and put an end to training of minors and related practices contravening the Convention on the Rights of the Child signed by Iraq on June 15, 1994.
9. to stop all assassinations and persecution of Shiite spiritual leaders and their followers;
10. to ratify Protocols I and II annexed to the Geneva Convention of August 12, 1949, on the protection of victims of international or non-international armed conflict;
11. to ensure that staple products are provided to all Iraqis and to stop the practice of suspending ration tickets;
12. to allow the UN Special Rapporteur on Iraq, independent

international observers and non-governmental organisations to visit Iraq to investigate the state of human rights and the humanitarian situation;

13. to provide full information on the fate of missing persons and pay compensation to their families;
14. to allow displaced persons in Iraq and refugees granted international protection to return to the country and pay them compensation for damages;
15. to respect all United Nations resolutions.

The International Community

With reference to a number of recommendations contained in previous reports⁵⁰, the FIDH and AIJ call on the international community:

16. to take very firm measures, in compliance with the United Nations' mandate and role, to put an end to the policy of ethnic cleansing and deportation of populations, and specifically the following measures:
17. to ensure that the Iraqi government respects both the spirit and letter of Security Council Resolution number 688;
18. to set up an international commission of inquiry into missing persons covering the entire country, and specifically the disappearance of 7,000 Fayli Kurds and 182,000 Kurds during the Anfal operations;
19. to set up an international commission of inquiry into the fate of thousands of prisoners scattered throughout the Iraqi territory;
20. not to make the civilian population of Iraq pay the price for the failures of the international community and the crimes of Iraqi officials and to take into consideration the situation of the 3.5 million Kurds in the Kurdish autonomous region;
21. to freeze all assets of Iraqi officials and use them to support Iraqi refugees and displaced persons, along with part of the Oil-for-Food program, which must be managed by the UN on the entire Iraqi territory;
22. create a new specific European fund for the help of Iraqi refugees and displaced persons;
23. host Iraqi refugees in accordance to the Geneva Convention of 1951 and its additional Protocol of 1967;
24. to Arab countries and Iran, to sign and ratify the Geneva Convention of 1951 and its additional Protocol of 1967;
25. to refer to the recommendations in the reports mentioned above, as well as the report dated February 18, 1992, by the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights in

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Iraq, the report by Middle East Watch in July 1993, the resolution passed by the European Parliament in November 2000 which "urges the Council and Member States to take the initiative of proposing, within the framework of the United Nations, that an ad hoc international criminal tribunal on Iraq be set up for the purpose of investigating the responsibility of Saddam Hussein's regime in war crimes, crimes against humanity and crimes of genocide", and the resolution of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights E/CN.4/RES/2001/14;

Given that the International Criminal Tribunal will not take effect retroactively and that Kurdish civilian communities are entitled to truth and justice, in the light of the crime of genocide and/or crimes against humanity perpetrated against them they,

request that a commission be established under the mandate of the Secretary General of the United Nations and/or the Security Council for the purpose of investigating crimes committed in Iraq, and in particular any in the categories of war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide, then establish an ad hoc International Criminal Tribunal to try the persons responsible for these crimes.

26. to ensure that a mechanism for monitoring the situation on human rights is instituted with observers deployed throughout Iraq;

27. to demand that Iraq grant access to its national territory for the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights and different human rights organisations;

28. to invite the Special Rapporteur on violence and women to visit the country as soon as possible to investigate cases of violence perpetrated against Iraqi women;

29. to invite special rapporteurs on torture, extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, freedom of religion and expression and the United Nations Secretary General's special representative on internally displaced persons to visit the country;

30. to ask the working group on minorities within the United Nations Sub-Committee on human rights to study the situation in Iraq;

31. to pay compensation to victims of repression in Iraq, in particular relatives of missing persons, relatives of victims of Iraqi state terrorism, internally displaced persons subjected to ethnic cleansing, and survivors of chemical and biological gas attacks, working through the compensation committee or funds from accounts frozen or from Iraqi oil sales.

50. FIDH / France Libertés reports no. 178 (October 1993) and no. 194 (January 1995). FIDH and AIJ report "Iraq, an intolerable, forgotten and unpunished repression" and FIDH no 321 (December 2001) "The sanctions against Iraq from the point of view of Human Rights: a devastating, unjustified and unacceptable method".

Between 3 and 4 million Iraqis scattered throughout the world

The extent and seriousness of the exodus of Iraqis remains, for the most part, unknown. The conditions and causes of their exile and their survival in appalling conditions are ignored, and silence remains on the causes of this exile. The issue of Iraqi refugees is very seldom mentioned in international reports and the underlying political logic, which dates back long before the Gulf War, is rarely explained.

For decades, thousands of Iraqis have been fleeing the country to save their lives and the lives of their relatives. Many of them perished during their exodus, either after stepping on landmines which have been laid everywhere in Iraq, and specifically in old Kurdish villages and the main roads of communication, or they were shot by Iraqi border patrols or killed by smugglers, or they drowned during their journey on makeshift boats. For example, in 2000, at least 271 Iraqis drowned during their escape, between Indonesia and Australia, and in the Aegean Sea.

The statistics on the number of refugees provided by international organisations are always inferior to reality for two reasons: many refugees do not apply for asylum in fear of being deported back to Iraq, which for many, would mean certain death. Besides, many refugees have seen their asylum claim rejected and now live undocumented⁵¹.

The report by the US Committee for Refugees⁵² in 2002 estimates the number of Iraqis living outside Iraq for proven persecutions between one and two million in 2001, among which only 300,000 were granted with an official status of refugee or asylum seeker, mainly in the Western world. According to the same organisation, the Iraqi regime, in a document issued by the authorities and published in Arab newspapers in March 2002, estimated at 1.5 million the number of Iraqi asylum seekers in the past ten years. Other sources⁵³ estimate the number of Iraqis in exile at 5 million, which is more than one quarter of the Iraqi population. The UNHCR⁵⁴ established a list of 530,112 persons who were formally registered as refugees at the end of 2001.

Given the different figures provided, a fair estimation for the number of Iraqis⁵⁵ in exile would be between three and four million. This number increases every day as the departures continue, while no concrete measures are taken towards the Iraqi regime to put an end to the policy of repression, or to bring some security in the long-term for the Kurds who live in the autonomous zone.

UNHCR testimonies and statistics show how Iraqis are scattered throughout the world, in the Middle-East (Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Yemen), Russia, Ukraine, former Yugoslavia, Asia (Pakistan, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Iran, India, and Turkey), Europe (Baltic countries, Scandinavia, Hungary, Switzerland, Cyprus, European Union countries), on the American continent, (Canada, USA, Mexico), all the way to the Pacific (in Australia and Indonesia) and Africa (Kenya, Tunisia).

51. Publication of the CIEMI, Migrations Société, Les mouvements de réfugiés Vol 14, n°83, September-October 2002, p 77-90; Françoise Brié ; réfugiés et personnes déplacées d'Afghanistan, d'Irak, d'Iran et d'Asie Centrale.

52. US Committee for Refugees, World refugee survey 2002, Washington: USCR, 2002, 290 p.

53. Le Monde : "En Jordanie, les exilés irakiens partagent une peur : Saddam Hussein" ; Patrice Claude ; November 5, 2002.

54. 2001 UNHCR population statistics (provisional) : indicative refugee population and major changes by country of asylum.

55. AIJ/ FIDH, Iraq, December 2001, op. cit.

Iraqi refugees without a host country?

Many countries, including in Europe, have recently taken measures to prevent the arrival or the exodus of Iraqis. Thus, despite the calls on the European countries made by the Iraqi opposition, including the two Kurdish parties⁵⁶, to suspend their decision to organise the return of Kurdish refugees, Sweden⁵⁷ adopted a restrictive policy in 2002 for Iraqi Kurd asylum seekers from the 3 governorates of Northern Iraq, while France and the United Kingdom negotiated and found a "solution" for the closure of the Sangatte centre for refugees. Except for Great Britain, no other European country participates in the air protection of Kurdish populations. Besides, the state of human rights in Turkey, where many of the Iraqi Kurdish refugees are deported, apparently remains one of the stumbling blocks for its bid to join Europe. Finally, no discussions on the long-term protection and the opening up of the Kurdish region are on the agenda.

With a potential war on the horizon, Iraq's neighbours fear a massive flow of refugees. Jordan took measures to reinforce controls at its borders⁵⁸. The Turkish government, who wants to avoid the repetition of the 1991 scenario, has announced the potential projection of troops inside Iraq to prevent massive population movements towards its borders in case of conflict. A plan to host refugees, dated October 22 and signed by Bulent Ecevit, previews the establishment of 18 camps, including 12 in Iraq, to provide shelter to 275,000 refugees. The camps located in Turkey would be opened only if the camps located in Iraq reached full capacity. The United Nations agencies in charge of refugees were informed of the Turkish plan⁵⁹. In Iran, the UNHCR is allowed to bring tens of thousands of tents and commodities to the western region of Iran to provide for a new wave of refugees⁶⁰. But the Iranian government⁶¹ announced that the potential refugees would receive help at the border on Iraqi territory.

Otherwise, contacts have been established between Iraq and its neighbours such as Iran, on the occasion of the 5th meeting of the Iran-Iraq committee on June 17, 2002, which resulted in the signing of a protocol of collaboration for the voluntary return of refugees as of July 15, 2002. The measures taken in the past months by most of Iraq's neighbours (who, except Turkey, have not signed the Geneva convention) are reasons of concern for the lives of many Iraqis.

Subjected to the fear of reprisals by Iraqi agents against their relatives in Iraq and to the fear of deportation⁶² from the countries of first asylum, Iraqis nevertheless keep on leaving their country despite the risks.

56. Govari Gulan; May 3, 2001.

57. Associated Press; November 11, 2002.

58. Proche-Orient info: "La Jordanie renforce ses mesures aux frontières afin d'empêcher l'arrivée massive de réfugiés irakiens"; October 3, 2002.

59. Dexter Filkins, The New York Times, Monday, November 25, 2002.

60. Jonathan Steele; The Guardian; March 16, 2002.

61. AFP August 6, 2002.

62. Urgent call by Amnesty International, April 12, 2001, on threats of deportation of Abd al Ridha Jazi al Ibrahim, deserter of the Iraqi army in 1983, in exile in Jordan, arrested on April 2, 2001. In Iraq, desertion in time of war is punishable by death.

Main countries of asylum of Iraqi refugees

Iran

Iran is the country with the highest number of registered Iraqi refugees (in Iran, having the refugee status does not always mean being granted the refugee status as defined by the Geneva convention).

In 1999, some sources estimated the number of Iraqi refugees in Iran at over 500,000; in 2000, according to a UNHCR document on refugees, there were 580,000 Iraqi refugees in Iran⁶³; and the US Committee for Refugees⁶⁴ estimated this number at 510,000 for the same year.

According to an Iranian official survey which data was not communicated, there were 203,000 Iraqis on Iranian territory in September 2001. We are all the more puzzled by these figures, as the UNHCR⁶⁵ reports that, for the same year 2001, it was in charge of 386,000 Iraqis, and that it provided assistance to 286,000 refugees.

The UNHCR office in Teheran reported the return of 3,637 Iraqis in 2000, among which a part went to the Kurdish region, the return of 9,716 persons to Iraq in 2001, among which 3,116 were helped by the UNHCR, and the voluntary return of 6,600 Iraqis after the new "amnesty" issued by the regime in 1999.

A refugee in Iran relates: *"In 2001, a certain number of Shiites returned because of the insufficient aid provided by Iran which was in a difficult economical situation, because of the lack of jobs, of medical care, or because of the malnutrition and absence of a future for their children". According to him, the first people who returned to Iraq were well treated so that others would be encouraged to return. Afterwards, the men were divided in three groups, the members of the first group were executed, the members of the second group were put in prison and the members of the last group were enrolled in Al Qods' army and used to attack the tribes of southern Iraq where they come from. "Now, the other refugees are scared."*

Almost 100,000 Fayli Kurds have left Iran for Europe (Sweden, England, Germany and Holland), and to a lesser extent, the United States, Australia or Iraqi Kurdistan. Among the Iraqi Kurdish refugees still in Iran⁶⁶ there are many people from villages located in regions controlled by the Iraqi regime and who do not want to return⁶⁷.

The mission estimated at almost 400,000 the number of Iraqi refugees of all origins who currently live in Iran.

Saudi Arabia

According to Amnesty International⁶⁸, 5,100 Iraqis out of the 33,000 persons who found refuge in Saudi Arabia in the 1990s still lived in appalling conditions in the Al Rafha refugee camp (located five kilometres away from the Iraqi border) in July 2002. Dozens of them had begun a hunger strike in June 2001⁶⁹ in order to protest about their fate and the end of the resettlement policy of refugees in host countries since 1997.

Saudi Arabia considers the refugees as "guests", and as such deprives them of the guarantees provided by international law, and it has planned on issuing new identity cards which will be "impossible to forge", starting in 2003. The Iraqi refugees who were able to leave Saudi Arabia have resettled in the United States, Australia, Canada, in European countries and in Iran.

Syria

The US Committee for Refugees⁷⁰ estimates that 40,000 Iraqis are living in Syria. Like in Jordan, they are not officially recognised as refugees and most of them live in appalling conditions, without any protection and without the rights due to refugees⁷¹. On November 6, 2001, Syria promulgated a decree demanding citizens of Arab countries living in the country to go to official services in order to be granted a residence permit.

63. AIJ/FIDH, Iraq, December 2001; op. cit.

64. US Committee for refugees; op. cit.

65. UNHCR, global report 2001.

66. According to a survey by Habitat (United Nations Human Settlements Programme), 39,985 refugees from Iran and 2,552 from Turkey returned to Iraqi Kurdistan, but they are displaced there, as they could not return to their region of origin.

67. A woman, who was met in a camp for displaced persons, relates that in 1988, her entire village (500 families, approximately 3,000 persons) fled in Iran to Baneh, Kam Jaran, Saqz, where they were housed in tents for a year, then in houses until 2000. She returned to Kurdistan on November 19, 2000, but the majority of the village's families stayed in Iran.

68. Patrick Delouvain, Iraqi refugees in the Middle East (Saudi Arabia), international conference on Iraqi refugees and displaced persons, op. cit.

69. AFP, July 29, 2001.

70. US Committee for Refugees, op. cit.

71. AIJ/FIDH, Iraq, December 2001, op. cit.

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Jordan

There are no official statistics on the number of Iraqi refugees in Jordan and, until November 2002, Iraqis were granted a 6-month residence permit. The majority of Iraqis who arrived in Jordan did not return to their country or left Jordan in search of a host country. According to estimations, 5 million Iraqis are currently in exile and 1.5 million have gone through the Jordanian capital⁷², where different sources currently estimate their number at between 300,000 and 500,000.

On November 10, 2002, Jordan reduced the length of the authorised stay of Iraqis from 6 months to 14 days, even though they live there in fear of Iraqi secret services and in fear of being deported to Iraq.

Lebanon

In 2001, the US Committee for Refugees estimated that 4,200 Iraqi refugees were living in this country. Iraqi asylum seekers constitute 75% of the people recognised as asylum seekers.

In August 2000, a circular gave 2 months to all illegal foreign residents to regularise their situation, and since May 31st, 2002, it is impossible to have one's status regularised. Human rights organisations⁷³ are very concerned about deportations of Iraqis back to Iraq. At least 300 persons were deported to countries where they may be subjected to forcible return. Between 15 and 30 persons at least have been killed during the deportation and 2 Iraqi refugees⁷⁴ died in detention in Lebanon.

Kuwait, Yemen

In 2001, the US Committee for Refugees estimated that 15,000 Iraqi refugees or asylum seekers were living in Kuwait and 200 were living in Yemen.

Turkey

950 Iraqi asylum seekers or refugees have been officially declared in 2001, but many Iraqi refugees go through or live on Turkish territory without any status. Some Iraqi Kurds are fleeing radical Islamist groups based in Kurdistan. Sources estimate that tens of thousands of undeclared Iraqi refugees are living in Turkey. Thus, out of 82 illegal immigrants who landed in Cyprus, 45 were Iraqi men who arrived via Turkey⁷⁵, and over 13,000 persons were arrested between January and October 2002 for attempting to cross the border between Iraq and Turkey. Most of them were Iraqis⁷⁶. In 2001, the UNHCR⁷⁷ helped 474 Iraqi refugees in Turkey to resettle in a third country.

Europe

Hundreds of thousands of Iraqis are in Europe.

In England, there are 120,000 Iraqi Kurdish refugees who came during three waves of Kurdish immigration: a few thousand came after the fall of the Kurdish armed movement following the Algiers Agreement in 1975; 10,000 persons came during the genocide of the 1980s; and since the second Gulf War, 100,000 Kurds have claimed asylum to flee from the policy of repression enforced in Iraq, from the inter-Kurdish fighting, from the attacks perpetrated by regional powers in the Kurdish region and from the economic situation resulting from the double regime of sanctions⁷⁸ imposed on the region.

72. Le Monde, op.cit

73. Réfugiés et demandeurs d'asile non-palestiniens au Liban : quel avenir ? FIDH report; June 2002

74. Amnesty International, May 3, 2002

75. AP November 27, 2001

76. Dexter Filkins; op. cit.

77. 2001 UNHCR population statistics; op. cit.

78. Rebwar Fattah, International conference on Iraqi refugees and displaced persons, July 2002; op. cit.

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Amnesty International⁷⁹, quoting the UNHCR, reports the hosting of 146,000 Iraqis in Europe between 1992 and 1999, of 35,000 Iraqis in 2000 (11,721 in Germany, 7,080 in England and 3,518 in Sweden), and in 2001, according to the US Committee for Refugees, there were 41,238 asylum claims (17,708 in Germany, 6,805 in England, 6,206 in Sweden and 1,400 in Switzerland). France accepts only 250 Iraqi refugees approximately per year. In July, August and September 2002, Iraqi asylum seekers constituted the largest group of asylum seekers for the third consecutive quarter with 4,300 persons⁸⁰.

According to an investigation in 2002⁸¹, 33.5% of the refugees of the Sangatte centre were Iraqis, the majority of them being Kurds, who explained that they left Iraq because of war or political persecutions. 1,000 Iraqis will be accepted in England after the closure of the Sangatte camp in December 2002.

The deportation measures and agreements signed with Turkey against Iraqi Kurds who seek asylum are enforced by many European countries: Germany, Denmark, Switzerland, the United Kingdom⁸², Holland⁸³, where the government has ordered 9,000 Iraqi asylum seekers to leave the country since 2000, Sweden⁸⁴ where 3,000 Kurdish asylum seekers are under the threat of being deported since April 2001. Even so, people continue to arrive from Iraq. Thus, in Italy, several boats carrying over 500 Iraqi Kurds were intercepted⁸⁵. In Greece, in 2001, the government suspended the deportation to Turkey of 55 Afghans and Iraqi Kurds against their will, after the protests that arose after the forcible return in the same country of 34 persons, including an Iraqi refugee who bore torture marks⁸⁶.

United States, Canada, Mexico

In September 2001, almost one hundred Iraqis were locked in a detention centre at the Mexican border⁸⁷, while waiting to be granted the refugee status in the USA and move to Detroit or San Diego where the Assyro-Chaldean community lives.

In the United States, just in the state Michigan, 249,000 persons with Iraqi origins live. The United States was the destination of the majority of the Iraqis who were allowed to leave the Al Rafha camp in Saudi Arabia. The Iraq Foundation, which provides assistance to Iraqi refugees who arrive in the USA, estimates at between 30,000 and 40,000 the number of Iraqi political refugees who arrived between 1992 and 2000. The UNHCR⁸⁸ established a list of 19,077 Iraqi refugees in the United States and a list of 6,001 in Canada at the end of 2001.

Indonesia

Indonesia has become a transit point for migrants making their way to Australia by boat from the islands of the Indonesian archipelago.

In 2001, several dozens of Iraqis gathered in front of the UNHCR office in Jakarta and asked for help to resettle in a third country. A refugee reported the presence of at least 500 Iraqis without any status in Indonesia, who are waiting for help from the United Nations⁸⁹. In 2001, several dozens of Iraqis were detained in the city of Medan in Sumatra Island for illegal entry in Indonesia. All of them asked not to be deported back to Iraq because of the persecutions of Saddam Hussein's regime⁹⁰.

79. Patrick Delouvain ; op. cit.

80. Kurdish media : 29/11/2002.

81. Smaïn Laacher ; conférence internationale sur les réfugiés et déplacés irakiens ; op. cit.

82. The Guardian, April 25, 2001.

83. AP April 26, 2001.

84. AP April 11, 2002.

85. AP Nicole Winfield August 25, 2002; BBC Monitoring International report dated March 5, 2001.

86. Amnesty International, December 6, 2001.

87. World News, September 22, 2001 World News.

88. UNHCR 2001, population statistics (provisional): Indicative refugee population and major changes by major origin and country of asylum.

89. AP, January 19, 2001

90. AFP, April 19, 2001.

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Australia and Papua New Guinea

According to the UNHCR⁹¹, there were 10,014 Iraqis in Australia in 2001.

Many Iraqis drowned during their attempt to reach these countries where they can be locked in camps that are run by private companies in charge of their surveillance. In August 2001, Amnesty International made an urgent call to the Australian authorities to accept a ship with 438 refugees on board. Most of the ship passengers came from Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan. In 2002, there were 400 Iraqis in the island states of Papua New Guinea and Mao Ru.

Armenia, Azerbaijan, Russia

Reports have revealed the imprisonment of several dozens of Iraqi refugees in 2002 for illegal entry into these countries⁹², but also in the Baltic countries⁹³, which have not signed the 1951 international Convention relating to the status of refugees and its related Protocol.

Pakistan

There are several hundreds of refugees in this country, and the UNHCR⁹⁴ helped with the resettlement of 184 refugees in third countries in 2001.

REFUGEES IN IRAQ

In 2001, according to the US Committee for Refugees⁹⁵, there were over 127,700 refugees in Iraq (23,900 from Iran, 12,600 from Turkey, among which with a majority of Kurds, 90,000 Palestinians, and 1,200 refugees of other "nationalities").

According to the agreement signed in March 2001 between the Iranian and Iraqi governments and the UNHCR, a first group of 125 Iranian refugees were repatriated in July 2002 from Iraq under the auspices of the UNHCR⁹⁶. According to the United Nations agency, 8,000 persons applied for voluntary repatriation in Iran in the framework of this program. Iranian asylum seekers also continue to arrive in Iraq.

23,000 Iranian refugees live in Iraq since the Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988), including 16,000 Iranian Kurds living in the camp of Al Tash, and 7,000 Iranian Arabs in the south of Iraq.

For refugees who live in the Kurdish autonomous region, the Iraqi regime announced that it did not consider them as refugees, which makes their claim for asylum in a third country all the more difficult. In 2001 and 2002, Iranian refugees demonstrated several times in front of the UNHCR offices in Suleimanya and Arbil to protest against this situation and to ask for accelerated procedures.

The number of Iranian refugees in the Kurdish region is estimated at between 7,000 and 8,000. Some have integrated in the region and work there. This is not the case for the refugees of the Al Tash camp that is located in an area controlled by the Iraqi regime. The information received about the situation of these refugees, stresses their poor physical and psychological conditions. The mission calls on the Western states to accept the refugees who have been in this camp for over 20 years.

91. UNHCR 2001, population statistics; op. cit.

92. Refugees Magazine, June 29, 2002, Christiane Berthiaume.

93. BBC International, June 9, 2001; World news, April 27, 2002.

94. UNHCR, population statistics; op. cit.

95. US Committee for Refugees Country report: Iraq 2002.

96. July 16, 2002, UNHCR Geneva.

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Appendix A

Names of Assyro-Chaldean villages populated by Assyrians, Chaldeans and sometimes Yezidi Kurds, which have been destroyed by Saddam Hussein's regime. Most of the villages had churches and schools.

(Source: Assyrian Democratic Movement)

| N° | Name of village | Region or main town | Governorate | Notes |
|-----|-----------------|---------------------|-------------|---|
| 1. | DEHEE | Sarsink | Dehok | Destroyed in 1987; 50 families |
| 2. | TIN | Sarsink | Dehok | Destroyed in 1987; 45 families |
| 3. | DAWODIYA | Sarsink | Dehok | Destroyed in 1987; 82 families |
| 4. | DOHUKEE | Sarsink | Dehok | Destroyed in 1988; 60 families |
| 5. | ARADEN | Sarsink | Dehok | Destroyed in 1987; 220 families |
| 6. | SARDAWARA | Sarsink | Dehok | Destroyed in 1987; 30 families |
| 7. | BUBAWA | Sarsink | Dehok | Destroyed in 1987; 32 families |
| 8. | SIKRIENEE | Sarsink | Dehok | Destroyed in 1987; 37 families |
| 9. | DEEREE | Amadiya | Dehok | Destroyed in 1987; 70 families |
| 10. | MERESTIK | Amadiya | Dehok | Destroyed in 1987; 5 families |
| 11. | HAVENDKEE | Amadiya | Dehok | |
| 12. | DERIGNEE | Amadiya | Dehok | Destroyed in 1988; 40 families |
| 13. | MAHOODEE | Amadiya | Dehok | Destroyed in 1988; 8 families |
| 14. | BEBEDEE | Amadiya | Dehok | Destroyed in 1987; 75 families |
| 15. | BELIJANEE | Amadiya | Dehok | Destroyed in 1987; 28 families |
| 16. | HAMZIYA | Amadiya | Dehok | Destroyed in 1987; 32 families |
| 17. | HEESH | Rekan | Dehok | Destroyed in 1978; 100 families |
| 18. | ISTEP | Rekan | Dehok | Destroyed in 1978; 35 families |
| 19. | MAYDEN | Rekan | Dehok | Destroyed in 1978; 25 families |
| 20. | BASH | Nerwa | Dehok | Destroyed in 1978; 50 families |
| 21. | QARO | Nerwa | Dehok | Destroyed in 1978; 50 families |
| 22. | WEELA | Nerwa | Dehok | Destroyed in 1978; 20 families |
| 23. | NERWAH | Nerwa | Dehok | Destroyed in 1978; 60 families |
| 24. | BET- BALUK | Barwari Bala | Dehok | Destroyed in 1978; 15 families |
| 25. | MAGREBIYA | Barwari Bala | Dehok | Destroyed in 1978; 8 families |
| 26. | JAMDASTIENA | Barwari Bala | Dehok | Destroyed in 1978; 5 families |
| 27. | SARDASHTEE | Barwari Bala | Dehok | Destroyed in 1978; 90 families |
| 28. | MALAKHTA | Barwari Bala | Dehok | Destroyed in 1978; 15 families |
| 29. | KHWARA | Barwari Bala | Dehok | Destroyed in 1978; 16 families |
| 30. | BOTARA | Barwari Bala | Dehok | Destroyed in 1978; 8 families |
| 31. | HALWA | Barwari Bala | Dehok | Destroyed in 1978; 60 families |
| 32. | IKRIE | Barwari Bala | Dehok | Destroyed in 1978; 35 families |
| 33. | BETH-TANOREE | Barwari Bala | Dehok | Destroyed in 1978; 24 families |
| 34. | DORE | Barwari Bala | Dehok | Destroyed ⁹⁷ in 1978; 100 families |
| 35. | BETH-QOLKEE | Barwari Bala | Dehok | Destroyed in 1978; 8 families |
| 36. | BETH SHMAYAYEE | Barwari Bala | Dehok | Destroyed in 1978; 50 families |
| 37. | MAYEE | Barwari Bala | Dehok | Destroyed in 1978; 35 families |
| 38. | JALIK | Barwari Bala | Dehok | Destroyed in 1978; 100 families |
| 39. | UPER-JAQALA | Barwari Bala | Dehok | Destroyed in 1978; 35 families |
| 40. | LOWER-JAQALA | Barwari Bala | Dehok | Destroyed in 1978; 20 families |
| 41. | IYAT | Barwari Bala | Dehok | Destroyed in 1978; 40 families |
| 42. | TASHISH | Barwari Bala | Dehok | Destroyed in 1987; 70 families |
| 43. | KANYA BALAWEE | Barwari Bala | Dehok | Destroyed in 1988; 70 families |
| 44. | JAMIKEE | Barwari Bala | Dehok | Destroyed in 1988; 4 families |
| 45. | KANYA -MASE | Barwari Bala | Dehok | Destroyed in 1988; 140 families |
| 46. | MUSAKA | Barwari Bala | Dehok | Destroyed in 1988; 35 families |
| 47. | TOTHE-HEMAYEE | Barwari Bala | Dehok | Destroyed in 1988; 10 families |
| 48. | BAZ | Barwari Bala | Dehok | Destroyed in 1988; 20 families |
| 49. | JADIDEE | Barwari Bala | Dehok | Destroyed in 1988; 13 families |
| 50. | DERISHKEE | Barwari Bala | Dehok | Destroyed in 1988; 50 families |
| 51. | HAYES | Barwari Bala | Dehok | Destroyed in 1988; 50 families |
| 52. | MARKAJIYA | Barwari Bala | Dehok | Destroyed in 1988; 12 families |
| 53. | BABILO | Zawita | Dehok | Destroyed in 1987; 35 families |
| 54. | YARDA | Zakho | Dehok | Destroyed in 1975; 60 families |
| 55. | ALANASH | Zakho | Dehok | Destroyed in 1975; 40 families |
| 56. | SANAAT | Zakho | Dehok | Destroyed in 1975; 120 families |
| 57. | DERASHISH | Zakho | Dehok | Destroyed in 1975; 50 families |
| 58. | BENAKHER | Zakho | Dehok | Destroyed in 1975; 10 families |
| 59. | BAHNUNA | Zakho | Dehok | Destroyed in 1975; 30 families |
| 60. | SHWADEN | Zakho | Dehok | Destroyed in 1975; 35 families |

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| | | | | |
|-----|----------------|----------------|---------|--|
| 1. | DEHEEREE | Zakho | Dehok | Destroyed in 1975; 15 families |
| 2. | STBLAN | Zakho | Dehok | Destroyed in 1975; 20 families |
| 3. | BEE DARO | Zakho | Dehok | Destroyed in 1975; 130 families |
| 4. | SHKAFT-MARA | Zakho | Dehok | Destroyed in 1975; 30 families |
| 5. | DASHT-NACH | Zakho | Dehok | Destroyed in 1975; 15 families |
| 6. | BIRKA | Zakho | Dehok | Destroyed in 1977; 35 families |
| 7. | SHARANESH | Zakho | Dehok | Destroyed in 1987; 80 families |
| 8. | LEEVO | Zakho | Dehok | Destroyed in 1988; 140 families |
| 9. | NAF-KANDAL | Zakho | Dehok | Destroyed in 1988; 110 families |
| 10. | MALA-ARAB | Zakho | Dehok | Destroyed in 1988; 60 families |
| 11. | MERGA-SOR | Zakho | Dehok | Destroyed in 1988; 60 families |
| 12. | BAJEDA | Slevani | Dehok | Destroyed in 1975; 30 families |
| 13. | UPER-AVZROK | Slevani | Dehok | Destroyed in 1975; 60 families |
| 14. | SURIA | Slevani | Dehok | Destroyed in 1975; 40 families |
| 15. | AFZAROK-HAMO | Slevani | Dehok | Destroyed in 1975; 50 families |
| 16. | SHKAFDEL | Slevani | Dehok | Destroyed in 1975; 20 families |
| 17. | BAKHLOOJA | Slevani | Dehok | Destroyed in 1975; 8 families |
| 18. | HAWRASKEE | Slevani | Dehok | Destroyed in 1975; 10 families |
| 19. | MAWANA | Slevani | Dehok | Destroyed in 1975; 10 families |
| 20. | KONDI-KOSA | Dosky | Dehok | Destroyed in 1988; 80 families |
| 21. | BADALIYA | Sumail | Dehok | Destroyed in 1983; 60 families |
| 22. | HESHARGEE | Sumail | Dehok | Destroyed in 1987; 8 families |
| 23. | SHEYUS | Sumail | Dehok | Destroyed in 1987; 80 families |
| 24. | SORKA | Sumail | Dehok | Destroyed in 1987; 30 families |
| 25. | BAKHITMA | Sumail | Dehok | Destroyed in 1987; 140 families |
| 26. | GUHANA | Aqrah | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1986; 35 families |
| 27. | KASHKAWA | Aqrah | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1987; 100 families |
| 28. | HEEZANEE | Aqrah | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1987; 110 families |
| 29. | KHALEYLANEE | Aqrah | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1987; 25 families |
| 30. | JAMEE-SENEE | Aqrah | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1987; 30 families |
| 31. | ZOLEE | Aqrah | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1987; 34 families |
| 32. | BELMENT | Aqrah | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1987; 35 families |
| 33. | JAMEE-ABATKEE | Aqrah | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1987; 45 families |
| 34. | MERUGEE | Aqrah | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1987; 35 families |
| 35. | ATUSH | Aqrah | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1988; 25 families |
| 36. | JAM-ESHRET | Aqrah | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1988; 25 families |
| 37. | HAZARJOOT | Aqrah | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1988; 35 families |
| 38. | ARMASH | Atrouch | Dehok | Destroyed in 1987; 55 families |
| 39. | AZAKH | Atrouch | Dehok | Destroyed in 1987; 50 families |
| 40. | DEZEE | Atrouch | Dehok | Destroyed in 1987; 90 families |
| 41. | TAFTIYA | Ain Sifnée | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1988; 5 families |
| 42. | FESHKHABOUR | Zakho | Dehok | Destroyed in 1976; c ⁹⁸ . Yezidi |
| 43. | DERABOON | Zakho | Dehok | Destroyed in 1976; c. Yezidi |
| 44. | QARAWOLA | Zakho | Dehok | Destroyed in 1976; c. Yezidi |
| 45. | BERSVE | Zakho | Dehok | Destroyed in 1976; ⁹⁹ |
| 46. | AVGNI | Zakho | Dehok | Destroyed in 1976 |
| 47. | SLIWANE | Sliwane | Dehok | Destroyed in 1976 |
| 48. | MARYAKO | Sumail | Dehok | Destroyed in 1976 ¹⁰⁰ ; 20 families |
| 49. | MALTAYA | Sumail | Dehok | Destroyed in 1986 |
| 50. | KARRANA | Sumail | Dehok | Destroyed in 1976 |
| 51. | KHERBASLA | Sumail | Dehok | Destroyed in 1987 |
| 52. | KHRABKULKE | Sumeil | Dehok | Destroyed in 1987 |
| 53. | NERWAKHTETA | Nerwa Amadia | Dehok | Destroyed in 1976 |
| 54. | HOSSAREK | Barwar Amadia | Dehok | Destroyed in 1977 |
| 55. | TAJIKA | Sarsank Amadia | Dehok | Destroyed in 1987 |
| 56. | BARDARACH | Sarsank Amadia | Dehok | Destroyed in 1987 |
| 57. | EINECHKKE | Sarsank Amadia | Dehok | Destroyed in 1986 |
| 58. | AQDECH | Sarsank Amadia | Dehok | Transformed into a refugee camp |
| 59. | BET ANATHA | Sarsank Amadia | Dehok | Destroyed in 1987 |
| 60. | BANASORA | Amadia | Dehok | Destroyed in 1987 |
| 61. | KOMANE | Amadia | Dehok | Transformed into a refugee camp |
| 62. | DAWRIYA | Nahla – Aqrah | Nineveh | |
| 63. | GEARBICH | Nahla – Aqrah | Nineveh | |
| 64. | Haut GEARBICH | Nahla – Aqrah | Nineveh | |
| 65. | CHAMCHALE | Nahla – Aqrah | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1963 |
| 66. | ESSEN | Nahla – Aqrah | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1987 |
| 67. | ARGEN | Nahla – Aqrah | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1987 |
| 68. | MEAZE | Nahla – Aqrah | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1987 |
| 69. | ALOLEN | Nahla – Aqrah | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1987 |
| 70. | TAKHED TURKAYE | Nahla – Aqrah | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1987 |

“Iraq: continuous and silent ethnic cleansing”

| | | | | |
|-----|---------------|-----------------|---------|---|
| 1. | KHURPANIYA | Atrosh | Nineveh | Arabised |
| 2. | CHAVRIKE | Atrosh | Nineveh | Arabised |
| 3. | BOBOZE | Atrosh | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1987 |
| 4. | DERALOGH | Atrosh | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1987 |
| 5. | KORADEARE | Atrosh | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1963 |
| 6. | BEDOLE | Atrosh | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1963 |
| 7. | KALINUE | Atrosh | Nineveh | |
| 8. | DERAKHIDIR | Atrosh | Nineveh | |
| 9. | BELLAN | Atrosh | Nineveh | |
| 10. | TELLAN | Atrosh | Nineveh | |
| 11. | BEERE | Atrosh | Nineveh | |
| 12. | BESARE | Atrosh | Nineveh | |
| 13. | BASKADEARE | Atrosh | Nineveh | |
| 14. | HAROONA | Atrosh | Nineveh | |
| 15. | GEARQAWA | Sumail (Semele) | Dehok | Destroyed in 1976 |
| 16. | DERKA | Barwar-Amadia | Dehok | Destroyed in 1976 |
| 17. | BAZIBE | Barwar-Amadia | Dehok | Destroyed in 1976 |
| 18. | KAFTEWMARDINA | Barwar-Amadia | Dehok | Destroyed in 1976 |
| 19. | ZUINKE | Barwar-Amadia | Dehok | Destroyed in 1976 |
| 20. | HURKE | Barwar-Amadia | Dehok | Destroyed in 1963 |
| 21. | REKAN | Rekan-Amadia | Dehok | Destroyed in 1963 |
| 22. | LICH | Rekan-Amadia | Dehok | Destroyed in 1963 |
| 23. | SPE | Rekan-Amadia | Dehok | |
| 24. | BELEMBASE | Nahla | Nineveh | |
| 25. | DAWIDE | Nahla | Nineveh | |
| 26. | V. SAURA | Nahla | Nineveh | |
| 27. | BAS SAURA | Nahla | Nineveh | |
| 28. | RASUL AIN | Aqrah | Nineveh | |
| 29. | KHERPE | Aqrah | Nineveh | |
| 30. | GUNDEK | Aqrah | Nineveh | |
| 31. | MERGA | Aqrah | Nineveh | |
| 32. | MAHARA | Aqrah | Nineveh | |
| 33. | BEDIAL | Aqrah | Nineveh | |
| 34. | ARDEL | Aqrah | Nineveh | |
| 35. | BETAS | Harir | Arbil | Destroyed in 1963 |
| 36. | HENARUK | Harir | Arbil | Destroyed in 1963 |
| 37. | DARBANDUK | Harir | Arbil | Destroyed in 1963 |
| 38. | SEDAR | Nahla | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1963 |
| 39. | BENDWAYE | Alqush | Nineveh | Arabised en 1976 |
| 40. | BADRIYA | Alqush | Nineveh | Arabised en 1976 |
| 41. | JARWANA | Alqush | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1963; c.Yezidi. |
| 42. | ALMAMAN | Alqush | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1963; c.Yezidi. |
| 43. | MERISTEG | Alqush | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1976 |
| 44. | UMMAIRI | Alqush | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1976 |
| 45. | BEBOZE | Alqush | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1976 |
| 46. | QASRUNE | Alqush | Nineveh | Arabised in 1976; c.Yezidi. |
| 47. | AINHELWA | Alqush | Nineveh | Arabised in 1976 |
| 48. | JAMBOOR | Alqush | Nineveh | Arabised in 1976; c.Yezidi. |
| 49. | NASSIRIYA | Alqush | Nineveh | Arabised in 1976; c.Yezidi. |
| 50. | SALEHIYA | Alqush | Nineveh | Arabised in 1976 |
| 51. | DOSTAKA | Alqush | Nineveh | Arabised in 1976; c.Yezidi. |
| 52. | TELKHICH | Alqush | Nineveh | Arabised in 1976; c.Yezidi. |
| 53. | GREAPAN | Alqush | Nineveh | Arabised in 1976; c.Yezidi. |
| 54. | KHOCHABA | Alqush | Nineveh | Arabised in 1976; c.Yezidi. |
| 55. | BERISTEG | Alqush | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1963; c.Yezidi |
| 56. | KHERCHENIYA | Alqush | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1976; c.Yezidi |
| 57. | REQAWA | Alqush | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1976; c.Yezidi |
| 58. | BAQASREE | Ein Sifneh | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1976 ¹⁰¹ ; c.Yezidi |
| 59. | BERISTEKE | Ein Sifneh | Nineveh | Destroyed several times ¹⁰² ; c.Yezidi |
| 60. | MAHATE | Ein Sifneh | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1976; c.Yezidi |
| 61. | MAM RACHAN | Ein Sifneh | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1976; c.Yezidi |
| 62. | KANDALE | Ein Sifneh | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1976; c.Yezidi |
| 63. | MAHMOUDA | Ein Sifneh | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1976; c.Yezidi |
| 64. | MOQOBLE | Ein Sifneh | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1976; c.Yezidi |
| 65. | BETNARE | Ein Sifneh | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1976; c.Yezidi |
| 66. | MOUSAKA | Ein Sifneh | Nineveh | Destroyed in 1976; c.Yezidi |

97. The historic monastery of Mar Qauyoma and the Saint George Church were also destroyed.

98. Community.

99. Transformed into a centre for the grouping of the people of the village and surrounding villages. The village main square was transformed into a military camp with prohibited access.

100. Destroyed with the historic Maryako monastery .

101. 50 families.

102. The Kurdish population returned and reconstructed the village several times.

“Iraq: continuous and silent ethnic cleansing”

Appendix B

This document concerns the research by Iraqi authorities of displaced persons who returned to the areas from where they had been deported.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate
Republic of Iraq

Central commune of Kirkuk
Security committee

Number:

(confidential)

Date: / 3 / 1999

To: Governorate of Al-Taamim (Kirkuk) / Information on the population

Subject: relocated persons from the autonomous governorates

Local committees have informed us of the presence of the displaced persons whose names and addresses are listed hereunder. They shall be brought to the Security Committee for arrest and deportation to their regions of origin.

Haamed Taha Abdallah
Head of the central commune of Kirkuk
/ 3 / 1999

| Notes | Governorate of origin | home number | Names |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Kurd displaced to Al-Anbar | Al-Anbar | 4 home numbers are listed | The names of 4 persons are listed |
| | Arbil | | |
| | Arbil | | |
| | Arbil | | |

"Iraq: continuous and silent ethnic cleansing"

Before Decree 199, the obligation to change one's ethnicity to Arab was unofficial but widely used and applied.

The following document was issued by the Secretary of the National Security Council, allowing the displaced Shabak Kurds to return to their region of origin under the condition that they change their ethnicity to Arab.

Emblem of
the Iraqi
Republic

November 990
49236

**Republic of Iraq
Presidency of the Republic
Office of the Secretary of the National Security Council**

Number / 7 / 992
Date : / 11 / 1990
16 / Rabii Al-Awal / 1411

To: / Ministry of Interior / Office of the Minister
/ Ministry of city governments / Office of the Minister

Subject: change of nationality

In reference to your letter to the Presidency headquarters number Ch. A./1/6/3202 of / 8 / 1989, the return of displaced Shebek tribe elements from the governorates of Arbil and Suleymania to their previous places of residence in the governorate of Nineveh, is allowed under the condition that they recover their Arab ethnicity.

Do as necessary to achieve this
Respectfully

(signature)
Secretary of the National Security Council

Copy to /
Cabinet of the President / Your letter Q / 27959 of / 10 / 1990

Respectfully

1 - 1
(confidential)

Appendix C
Decree number 199 relative to change of nationality

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

Republic of Iraq
Revolutionary Command Council Decree
Decree no. 199
Date: 18/Jamadi Al-Aakhira/1433
09/2001

Decision

Considering situations inherited from the Ottoman era and in order to provide each Iraqi with the opportunity to choose their nationality in harmony with the principles of the Arab and Socialist Baath party, according to which: is Arab anyone who lives in an Arab country, speaks Arabic and chooses the Arab ethnicity, in reference to paragraph (A) of article 41 of the Constitution, the Revolutionary Command Council has decided the following:

First – any Iraqi, aged over 18, is allowed to apply for a change of his ethnicity to Arab.

Second – the change application must be made to the registry and nationality office in which the applicant is registered.

Third – the director of the registry and nationality office of the concerned governorate treats the applications within a period of 60 days after the date of application.

Fourth – the decision of change of nationality will be inscribed in the registry and will be used for all other modifications of registries and other official documents.

Fifth – the Ministry of Interior will send out directives in order to facilitate the enforcement and the execution of this decision.

Sixth – this decision is applicable from the day of publication in the official bulletin.

Saddam Hussein
Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council

Appendix D

Translation of an official document ordering the cancellation of the ration card of a displaced person.

| | | |
|--|--|---|
| In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate ¹⁰³ | | |
| | People's council / division of Al-Taamim | |
| Number / 6 Date / 1 / 96 | | |
| To / People's council, head of the district of Al-Andalos Subject / withdrawal of food ration card | | |
| In reference of your letter 11 \ 9 of 1/1996. Please inform us of the reference and date of the letter of displacement of the person by the name of (name follows) to enable contact with the relevant authorities for the withdrawal of the person's ration card. | | |
| For information and to take the necessary action Respectfully | | |
| <table border="1"><tr><td style="text-align: center;">Head of the district of Al-Taamim People's council, head of the district of Al-Taamim</td></tr></table> | | Head of the district of Al-Taamim People's council, head of the district of Al-Taamim |
| Head of the district of Al-Taamim People's council, head of the district of Al-Taamim | | |
| (signature) Comrade Qasem Mohammad Ali Al-Soaydi Chairman of the People's Council, head of district | | |

103. The complete text of this document is hand written with an official stamp of the Baath party and signed by a party member.

Appendix E

Missing persons

(Source: Human rights documentation centre)

◆ **Incomplete list of ulemas and clerics arrested by the Iraqi regime and reported missing since; this list includes non - Iraqi citizens:**

1. Muhammad Hussein Charif Kacheh Al -Ghetaa.
2. Fayçal Muhammad Al-Baghdadi.
3. Muhammad Hussein Abbas Al -Torihi.
4. Ammar Abboud Bahr Al -Oloum.
5. Ahmad Douir Hachouch Al -Bahadeli.
6. Muhammad Nasser Muhammad.
7. Kamal Muhammad Soltan Kalanter.
8. Muhammad Redha Al -Saïd Mohsen Al -Hakim.
9. Ali Saïd Al -Hakim.
10. Ahmad Muhammad Jafar Al -Hakim.
11. Hassan Muhammad Jafar Al -Hakim.
12. Ali Muhammad Jafar Al -Hakim.
13. Muhammad Jafar Muhammad Al Sadeq.
14. Muhammad Taqi Jafar Al -Morechi.
15. Jafar Moussa Bahr Al -Oloum.
16. Alaa El-Din Ali Bahr Al -Oloum.
17. Moqdad Hussein Al -Kelidar.
18. Muhammad Baqer Muhammad Ibrahim A bdul-Hadi.
19. Hadi Al-Jessani.
20. Ahmad Al-Dejeli.
21. Mahdi Mourtadha Al -KhelKhali (Iran)
22. Ali Muhammad Taqi Waez Zadeh (Iran)
23. Muhammad Baqer Habib Husseinian (Iran)
24. Hussein Jaouad Al Ali Al -Chahroudi (Iran)
25. Muhammad Ali Mir Salari (Iran)
26. Baqer Moussa Ismaël (Pakistan)
27. Assad Allah Souleiman Mahmoud (Afghanistan)
28. Hassan Ali Kadhem Charaf (Bahreïn)
29. Abbas Hussein Chah Ahmad (India)
30. Taleb Al-Khalil (Lebanon)

◆ **Incomplete list of arrested persons from whom relatives are without any news since their departure from Iraq**

1. Majid Haider-Khana Moradi born in 1965 in Baghdad.
2. Saad Fayçal Hassan Al -Rabii born in 1957 in Dyala.
3. Ali Abd Ali Al -Khalidi born in 1958 in Babel.
4. Abd-Al Razzaq Ali Jasem Al -Gharbaoui born in 1959 in Missan.
5. Hilal Alwan Fattah Al -Waseti born in 1956 in Waset .
6. Youssef Rachid Muhammad Jafar born in 1960 in Kerbala.
7. Fouad Abd -Al Emir Hassan born in 1953 in Kerbala.
8. Salaam Abd Ali Abd -Al Baqi born in 1959 in Baghdad.
9. Adel Mohsen Abd Mechkin born in 1960 in Baghdad.
10. Abd-Al Khaleq Ibrahim born in Baghdad.
11. Jalil Mansour Youssef born in 1956 in Baghdad.
12. Nazem Turki Jomaa born in 1954 in Baghdad.
13. Hachem Abbas Al -Neqqach born in 1960 in Kerbala.
14. Majed Ali Muhammad Rahim born in 1960 in Baghdad.
15. Jasem Muhammad Nadher born in 1947 in Baghdad.
16. Dière Hassan Muhammad Ali born in 1961 in Baghdad.
17. Abbas Salman Ismaël born in 1957 in Baghdad.
18. Fadhel Jaouad Hussein born in 1960 in Al -Qadesiya.
19. Jalil Radhi Hamza born in 1961 in Babel.
20. Ayad Kazem Muhammad Jaouad born in 1961 in Al -Nadjaf.
21. Hamed Abbas Morad born in 1957 in Missan.
22. Qassem Borhan Khalifa born in 1951 in Missan.
23. Walid Hassan Ali born in 1960 in Baghdad.
24. Sadeq Mansour Saleh born in 1958 in Baghdad.
25. Hecham Hassan Faradj born in 1954 in Baghdad.

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◆ **Incomplete list of imprisoned persons. No information on their fate could be obtained.**

1. Hassan Abd-Al Hussein Abd-Al Mohsen born in 1962, arrested in the governorate of Bassorah in 1980 for links with the Islamist opposition.
2. Hamed Maktouf Hamid Al -Taii born in 1959, arrested in the governorate of Al Taamim en 1980 suspected of having links with the Islamist opposition.
3. Rifaat Abd Al-Wahed Tabour born in 1961 arrested in the capital of Baghdad in 1979 for links with the Islamist opposition.
4. Khaled Hamid Abda llah Al-Miahi born in 1964 arrested in the governorate of Bassorah in 1980 for links with the Islamist opposition.
5. Zidan Idan Jaoui Hamidaoui born in 1945 arrested in the governorate of Bassorah in 1979 for links with the Islamist opposition.
6. Jassem Mez'el Abed Al-Saedi born in 1967 arrested in the governorate of Bassorah - qadha Al-Medina after the 1991 uprising.
7. Bachaar Zohèr Ayyoub Al -Ramadhan born in 1976 arrested in the governorate of Al -Nadjaf - qadha Al-Kefal in 1991 after the crushing of the uprising.
8. Hakim Joda Taher Al -Saedi born in 1970 arrested in the governorate of Missan in 1991 after the crushing of the uprising.
9. Jamil Abd Al -Ghani Hafez Al -Fayçal born in 1970 arrested in the governorate of Zi Qar in 1991 after the crushing of the uprising.
10. Haidar Ali Hussein Al -Soudani born in 1966 arrested in the governorate of Missan - district of Al -Erouba in 1991 after the crushing of the uprising.
11. Dakhel Abd Ali Jalil Al -Saedi born in 1962 arrested in the governorate of Bassorah - qadha Al-Medina in 1991 after the crushing of the uprising.
12. Rahi Nasser Al -Moussawi born in 1958 arrested in the governorate of Al -Nadjaf - district of Al -Ansar in 1991 after the crushing of the uprising.
13. Sami Chaalan Hassan born in 1972 arrested in the governorate of Ziqâr - qadha Al-Chatra in 1991 after the crushing of the uprising.
14. Abd Al-Abbas Salem Saleh Machkour born in 1965 arrested in the governorate of Bassorah - Qadha Al-Tannouma in 1991 after the crushing of the uprising.
15. Sajed Ofi Hamdan born in 1967 arrested in the governorate of Missan in 1991 after the crushing of the uprising.
16. Adel Chedher Awaad Al -Miahi born in 1957 arrested in the governorate of Bassorah qadha Chat Al -Arab in 1991 after the crushing of the uprising.
17. Rissan Kadhém To'ma born in 1966 arrested in the governorate of Bassorah - qadha Al-Qourna in 1991 after the crushing of the uprising.
18. Mithal Ali Soufi Al -Asadi born in 1974 arrested in the governorate of Zi qar - qadha Al-Chebaich in 1992 accused of being a member of the opposition.
19. Kadhém Abd Al -Hussein Issa born in 1956 arrested in the governorate of Missan - district of Al -Erouba in 1991 after the crushing of the uprising.
20. Fattah Abd Al -Mahdi Abd Al -Hussein Khayyat born in 1959 arrested in the governorate of Kerbala - Bab El-Taq in 1991 after the crushing of the uprising.
21. Akram Jassem Kadhém Al -Tayyar born in 1963 arrested in the governorate of Saladin - district of Al -Dejèl in 1982.
22. Ali Muhammad Hadi Al -Kelabi born in 1958 arrested in the governorate of Saladin - District of Al -Dejèl in 1982.
23. Ayad Hassan Al -Sameraï born in 1961 arrested in the governorate of Saladin - District of Al -Dejèl in 1982.
24. Thamer Hani Hassan Soheil Al -Haidari born in 1961 arrested in the governorate of Saladin - District of Al -Dejèl in 1982.
25. Hamid Abbas Al -Ameri born in 1942 arrested in the governorate of Saladin - District of Al -Dejèl in 1982.
26. Qaïs Aziz Jaouad Al -Zobeidi born in 1962 arrested in the governorate of Saladin - District of Al -Dejèl in 1982.
27. Zohèr Hamid Jafar Al -Mousawi born in 1945 arrested in the governorate of Saladin - District of Al -Dejèl in 1982.
28. Sabah Jassem Saleh Al -Khafaji born in 1965 arrested in the governorate of Saladin - District of Al -Dejèl in 1982.
29. Mohsen Hassan Mohammad Al -Zobedi born in 1964 arrested in the governorate of Saladin - District of Al -Dejèl in 1982.
30. Mahmoud Sarhan Hamid born in 1961 arrested in the governorate of Saladin - District of Al -Dejèl in 1982.
31. Ahmad Abd Al -Amir Moussa Al -Jebouri born in 1964 arrested in Baghdad - qhadha Al -Mahmoudia in 1982.
32. Ahmad Abd Al -Razzaq Charif Aal Salman born in 1958 arrested in the capital of Baghdad in - Medinat Al -Houriyya the 2nd in 1982.
33. Bachir Jabar Zaghir born in 1970 arrested in the governorate of Bassorah - qadha Al-Qorna in 1992.
34. Jabar Faradj Moussa born in 1959 arrested in the governorate of Al -Nadjaf in 1979.
35. Hareth Mahdi Mohammad Al -Ejeli born in 1963 arrested in the governorate of Waset - qadha Al-Souera in 1980.
36. Hussein Kadhém Al -Khafaji born in 1952 arrested in the capital of Baghdad - district of Al -Chorta 1980.
37. Haider Chemkhi Hadi Al -Waeli born in 1966 arrested in the capital of Baghdad - Technology Institute in 1986.

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1. Radhi Abd Al-Hussein Al-Temimi born in 1939 arrested north of the capital of Baghdad – close to the camp of Al -Taji in 1980.
2. Raad Ali Abd Al -Mousawi born in 1968 arrested in the capital of Baghdad - Al-Moustanseria University in 1979.
3. Raad Rasoul Abd Al -Hadi Al-Ansari born in 1965 arrested in the governorate of Al -Nadjaf in 1984.
4. Riadh Hezeri Erèbi Al -Idani born in 1956 arrested in the governorate of Bassorah - qadha Al-Tannouma in 1982.
5. Qasem Rekan Abd Al -Karim Al-Hassan born in 1963 arrested in the governorate of Bassorah - qadha Al-Qorna in 1980.
6. Karim Taleb Khenfer Al -Maleki born in 1962 arrested in the governorate of Bassorah - Al-Yaqdha high school in 1986.
7. Mohammad Saket Souadi Al -Bahadeli born in 1954 arrested in the governorate of Missan - district of Hai Al-Moallem in 1991.
8. Modher Mohammad Abboud born in 1960 arrested in the governorate of Bassorah - qadha Al-Medina in 1980.
9. Mouaffaq Jaseem Mahmoud Al -Saedi born in 1964 arrested in the governorate of Missan - qadha Al-Kehla in 1981.
10. Maitham Issa Haider Al-Mousawi born in 1960 arrested in the governorate of Missan – Republican Hospital in 1981.
11. Nasser Naïf Hachem Al -Hassani born in 1949 arrested in the governorate of Bassorah - qadha Al-Tannouma in 1980.
12. Nehad Abd Al -Adel Abbas Al -Jebouri born in 1961 arrested in the capital of Baghdad - Al-Azamiyya in 1980.
13. Yasser Mohsen Helifi Al -Rouemi born in 1970 arrested in the governorate of Bassorah - Al-Achchar in 1993.
14. Nouri Mohammad Hachem Al -Husseini born in 1944 arrested in the governorate of Al -Nadjaf - district of Al -Ghadir in 1979.
15. Abou Baker Othman Khorchid born in 1963 arrested in the governorate of Al -Taamim - district of Qader Karam in 1988 during the Anfal operations.
16. Bahia Mohammad born in 1948 arrested in the governorate of Al Taamim - district of Qader Karam in 1988 (Al -Anfal).
17. Hamid Hassan Mohammad born in 1974 arrested in the governorate of Souleymania - qadha Kalar in 1988 (Al -Anfal).
18. Beghrao Mohammad Amin born in 1965 arrested in the governorate of Souleymania - Qadha Chemchemical in 1987 (Al -Anfal).
19. Nameq Mohammad Faradj born in 1956 arrested in the governorate of Souleymania - qadha Chemchemical in 1987 (Al -Anfal).
20. Delsoz Ibrahim Mohammad born in 1986 arrested in the governorate of Souleymania - qadha Chemchemical in 1988 (Al -Anfal).
21. Omar Ahmad Abdallah born in 1961 arrested in the governorate of Al -Taamim - District of Qara Hassan in 1988 (Al -Anfal).
22. Nasr-Aldin Ahmad Rasoul born in 1970 arrested in the governorate of Souleymania - qadha Dokan in 1987 (Al -Anfal).
23. Asma Ali Younes born in 1958 arrested in the governorate of Dehok - Spindari village in 1988 (Al -Anfal).
24. Azad Amin Mohammad born in 1960 arrested in the governorate of Al Taamim - District of Chwan in 1988 (Al -Anfal).
25. Bahroz Hama Khorchid Hama born in 1967 arrested in the governorate of Al -Taamim in 1988, accused of being a member of the Kurdish opposition.
26. Azad Hussein Mahmoud born in 1968 arrested in the governorate of Souleymania in 1987, accused of participation in a public demonstration.
27. Jafar Fariq Faradj born in 1964 arrested in the governorate of Al Taamim in 1988, accused of being a member of the Kurdish opposition.
28. Mozan Hamed Chefleh born in 1945 arrested in the governorate of Missan - qadha Al-Kehla in 1983.
29. Younes Ali Lotfallah born in 1950 arrested in the governorate of Souleymania - Khormal in 1982.

Appendix F

Villages of the district of Awa –Spi (Garmian region) destroyed during the Anfal operations and incomplete list of victims of the Anfal operations in the Garmian region

1. Khani Saroo
2. Khani Khwaroo
3. Alayani Gawra
4. Alayani Bichook
5. Sar rash
6. Kani Obed
7. Hawara Qulla
8. Hawara Raqa
9. Kaka Bra
10. Tapa Spi
11. Qulijian Amin
12. Qulijian Sarhad
13. Kurda Meer Qallwaz Luqman
14. Faqeh Mostafa
15. Koeek
16. Topkhana
17. Malla Homar
18. Harmalla
19. Spi sar
20. Bagzada
21. Hassan Prchin
22. Tilakoy Ahmad Agha
23. Tallabi
24. Brahim Ghullam
25. Takya Kon
26. Abdullah Hawri
27. Bawakr
28. Ramazan Mamka
29. Qawalli
30. Qalla Charmalla
31. Piramoni
32. Ban Zekhal
33. Bnakai Shanazar
34. Tawsana
35. Bakragar

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| | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| Jawhir Sharif Zorab | Galawij Sharif Zorab | Kalsoum Aziz Mahmoud | Nihayte Muhamd Saiide |
| Gourgia Muhamad Amin | Amina Ali Hama mine | Sara Ali Muhamad | Fathya Raza Muhamad |
| Amina Saiid Kadir | Njiba Ibrahim Ghafur | Warda Muhamad Ibrahim | Sbriya Raza Rahim |
| Rbia Tofik Aziz | Hmdia Abdikarim Rostam | Kfia Kdir Mustafa | Khurshida Zorab Hamaka |
| Dulbar Muhamad Ahmad | Miryam Ahmad Muhamad | Hbiba Muhamad Hassan | Sabria Abdikarim Rashid |
| Garda Ali Muhamad | Sultana Rashid Hassan | Gouljina Aziz Abdula | Khawar Saiid Muhamad |
| Atiia Sediq Ahmad | Razia Muhamad Saïd | Jiran Ahmad Muhamad | Miryam Muhamad Karim |
| Fikria Sharif Ahmad | Fawzia Abdula Rahim | Lyla Tofiq Rashid | Rejaw Wahab Muhamad |
| Amina Abdikarim Star | Fawzia Mahmoud Amin | Sabha Ahmad Muhamad | Wadia jouma Muhamad |
| Amina Abdikarim Amin | Rounak Shukir Ghafur | Gulik Muhamad Mahmud | Fikria Taib Nouri |
| Nazira Muhamad Haidar | Nasrin Majid Saïd | Shukria Abdul Ali | Sabiha Muhamad Hasan |
| Gharbia Ali Karim | Banat Faraj Ahmad | Fawzia Karim Zorab | Hamdia Muhamad Amin |
| Zubeda Muhamad Raza | Shukria Wali Babafars | Amina Muhamad Osman | Ismat Sabir Muhamad |
| Mina Ali Babafaris | Shamsa Kadir Muhamad | Rewaj Kdir Shafiq | Amina Rashid Muhedine |
| Fahima Kaka Hassan | Nasrin Rashid Ahmad | Aysha Abdula Rahman | Fathia Ibrahim Muhamad |
| Amina Jalal Muhamad | Sadia Salih Karim | Hamdia Salih Karim | Rashan Tofiq |
| Shukria Rashid Khurshid | Habiba Faraj Ahmad | Sabria Rostam Faraj | Aftaw Aziz Majid |
| Kafia Hassan Majid | Rada Hassan Salih | Sossan Baba Yaba | Suhaila Tofiq Rostam |
| Fatima Karim Muhamad | Lamia Ahmad Ismail | Manija Ali Hamasalih | Fatima Hmasalih Majid |
| Gulbakh Kadir Sarhang | Dulbar Aziz Muhamad | Fahima Rostam Mahmoud | Jemina Rahim Hassan |
| Aisha Muhamad Salih | Goula Hama Salih Ali | Galawij Majid Kadir | Jamila Faris Aziz |
| Najiba Muhamad hama | Shukria Ahmad Ali | Najiba Muhamad Rahim | Nashmil Ahmad Ali |
| Oulfat Muhamad Ahmad | Salma Mahmoud Kadir | Lyla Haa Rashid Ahmad | Fathia Samin Amin |
| Pershing Salih Muhamad | Suad Shukir Ghalib | Rejaw Ismail Aziz | Fatima Abdula Rahman |
| Piroz Ahmad Hassan | Hanar khwakaram Hamid | Atia Hussene Ahmad | Muhtab Muhamad Amin |
| Nazira Amin Sediq | Badria Kadir Sharif | Sabria Muhamad Mhamad | Rejaw Abdlrahman Karim |
| Sabria Hama salih Gharib | Touba Hama amin Karim | Jyan Salih Najim | Rahma Hassan Mahmoud |
| Altoun Mhamad Mahmud | Ingé Rashid Muhaidine | Talia Ali Muhamad | Garda Adulkarim Ali |
| Rahma Hassan Razay | Jahan Dawd Rassoul | Aisha Ali Muhlmad | Jahan Muhama Rahman |
| Zamo Mjid Dawd | Rabia Rostam Muhamad | Akhtar Maha Latif | Malia Aziz Taha |
| Mahroub Muhamad | Sabiha Ahmad Haidar | Fikrya Aziz Ismail | Hanar Nouri Gaidan |
| Rahma Hssene Muhedine | Akhtar Ibrahim Muhedine | Nazira Kaka Braim | Narinj Ahmad Samin |
| Shukria Hassan Hussene | Nazmia Hassan Muhamad | Khawla Ibrahim Kadir | Réhan Shukir Muhamad |
| Halwa Ahmad Rostam | Nadim Omr Khatab | Garib Fatah Karim | Hadi Rashid Hassan |
| Shamsa Sharif Karam | Fazila Majid Rashid | Nakhshin Shukir Mahmud | Manija Ali Mahmud |
| Sharia Garib Abdula | Sadiq Mahmu Ali Murad | Ajiba Samad Abdalraman | Kadria Saïd Omar |
| Fawzia Kadir Rashid | Rasmia Rahman Ibrahim | Gula Hamasalih Ai Abas | Fahima Saïd Mahmud |
| Amina Sharif Amin | Muhiba Muhamad Saim | Hassiba Muhamad Kadir | Asmar Ismail Hussene |
| Amina Ali Rostam | Amira Jalal Muhamad | Yazi Karim Aziz | Kameron Ftatah Hamid |
| Piroz Abdula Majid | Wtha Salih Marouf | Khourassan Muhamad | Rashid Abas Khidir |
| Najiba Hamasalih Ahmad | Shawkia Aziz Sulaiman | Rabia Baba Yaba | Hasiba Ahmad Muhamad |
| Fakhria Muhamad Baba | Rana Hamasalih Rostam | Fatima Hamasalih Asad | Samira Hama Amin Raza |
| Muhamad Rafat Hama | Hussene Abdul Hama | Hama Amin Muhamad | Assi Rashid Karim |
| Nouri Ahmad Ali | Amin Rostam Rassoul | Sara Muhamad Nawkhas | Aziz Rashid Karim |
| Muhamad Najmaddin Ra shi | Taha Aziz Muhamad | Hassan Muhamad Rassoul | Ay Sulaiman Hawass |
| Kadir Rassoul Nawkhas | Hama Amin Muhamad | Baba Kadir Rashid | Fatah Muhamad Mustafa |
| Ahmad Salih Rassoul | Fatah Saïd Ahmad | Muhamad Ahmad Sharif | Ismail Jabar Mussa |
| Nargis Ahmad Nazir | Muhamad Hussein Rostam | Hamafaraj Shaswar Aziz | Mhamad Tofiq Muhamad |
| Rashid Karim Rassoul | Rahim Faque Omar | Khalid Assi Muhamad | Massud Muhamad Rashid |
| Ali Osmu Muhamad | Ismail Omar Kaka | Ali Hussene | Hussene Assi Karim |
| Kamal Khasraw Zanal | Bakir Maruf Rostam | Ata Hama Amin | Kameron Aziz Amin |
| Khurshid Abdlkadir Rasul | Akram Muhamad Karim | Kameron Muhamad Amin | Simko Ali Saïd |
| Aram Raza Shukir | Shakwan Ahmad Mhamad | Ismail Ibrahim Fatah | Araz Shukor Muhamad |
| Zordar Hussene Salih | Taha Rostam Hama Amin | Aram Mustafa Majid | Rounak Izadin Amin |
| Ai Hassan Aziz | Muhamad Ai Karim | Mansur Majid Salih | Nabard Ai Fatah |
| Shalal Ismail Muhamad | Wrya Abdilaziz Muhedin | Salih Tofiq Mahmud | Amina Hassan Muradkhan |
| Jwamer Jabar Tahir | Faiq Ibrahim Hassan | Fatah Muhamad M ustafa | Nahia Ahmad Rashid |
| Habiba Arif Safar | Rasmia Muhamad Alaka | | |

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Data on orphans after the Anfal operations

| Number | Year of birth | Number of family members | Previous place of residence | Current residence |
|--------|---------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. | 1989 | 4 | Tapa – Sepi | Kalar |
| 2. | 1987 | 5 | Chamar | Kalar |
| 3. | 1988 | 4 | Garmik | Kalar |
| 4. | 1986 | 4 | Garmik | Kalar |

Answers of one of the children to a questionnaire established by local organisations

1. Who has a job in your family? Nobody.
2. Do you have a school bag? No.
3. How many clothes do you have? I wear my older brother's clothes.
4. When was the last time you bought new clothes? I have never had new clothes.
5. How many times do you eat meat per month? If we don't have guests, we don't eat meat.
6. Are you expecting the return of the Anfal? Yes.
7. Who would you want to lodge a complaint against? The Iraqi regime and Ali Hassan Al -Madjid.
8. Do you have pictures of your father? Yes.
9. Do you often look at them? Yes.
10. Do you want the accused to be tried? Yes.
11. Did the "Jashes" participate in the Anfal operations? Yes.
12. Do you know them? I was young at that time, I don't remember.
13. Do you have toys? No.
14. Who told you the story of the Anfal? My grandmother.
15. Do you what the Anfal are? It is the Iraqi regime that committed them; my father, my uncle and many other people among my relatives were Anfalised.
16. Do you have relatives who were in "Nugra, Salman or Tobza wa^{is}"? Yes, my grandmother. Two of my cousins died in Tobzawa. They were 3 and 4 months old.
17. Do you want to return to your village? No.
18. How many times a day do you hear the word Anfal? Over 10 times.
19. Do the people respect you as Anfal victims? What I feel is that we are not respected as we should be.
20. Do your friends talk about the Anfal? Yes.
21. What does the regional government represent for you? It does not support us as it should. My family receives aid only from the organisation called Save the Children .
22. What do you want to be in the future? I would like to become a teacher, I am asking the regional government and all the NGO's for support in order to be able to finish my studies.

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Appendix G

Property deeds containing similar information but different names issued by the Iraqi authorities to two different persons (one was deported to Iraqi Kurdistan and expropriated, the other is the new owner)

1st document:

| | | | | | | | | |
|--|--------------------|-------------|--|---|------------------------------|--|------------------|--|
| Property deed copy number (23) | | | Republic of Iraq (Emblem of the Republic) | | | Ministry of Justice General division of property deeds Office of property deeds in Al Taamim | | |
| Temporary deed for permanent case | | | | | | | | |
| Description of permanent property deed | | | Province | Region | District | Floor number | Apartment number | |
| Number | Date | Case number | Al Taamim | | | | | |
| 151 | 985/ August | 378 | | | | | | |
| Category of property ¹⁰⁵ | | District | Street | Door number | Portion number | Sector number | Sector name | |
| | | - | - | | 289/118 | 28 | Leylan | |
| Type of property | | | Arsa¹⁰⁶ | <u>Composition:-</u> | | | | |
| Category of property | | | Global and full property | -- | | | | |
| Identification of owner or user and category: | | | | Surface area | | | | |
| The Iraqi / Ali Rachid Karim | | | | Square meters | Olk | Donam | | |
| | | | | 90 / - | 2 | | | |
| | | | | <u>Type of case:-</u> Appropriation | | | | |
| Notes on guarantees and on the place of registration ¹⁰⁷ - Concerned by decision 120 from the year 1982 Concerned by decision 418 from the year 1984 And according to the approbation of the Ministry of Al-Hokm Al-Mahalli | | | | | | | | |
| Value | | | In compensation | | | Tax amount | | |
| Dinar | Fils | | Dinar | Fils | Dinar | Fils | | |
| - | - | | 880 | - | 880 | | | |
| The office of property deeds in Al Taamim | | | | | Official stamp and signature | | | |
| date and stamp | | | | | | | | |

105. Exact description and address of property.

106. Can be translated by "long term lease".

107. Information about decisions, decrees, orders, etc. governing the case.

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2nd document:

Property deed copy number (23)

Republic of Iraq

Ministry of Justice
General division of property deeds
Office of property deeds in
Al Taamim

(Emblem of the Republic)

Temporary deed for

| Description of permanent title deed | | | Governorate | Region | District | Floor number | Apartment number | |
|---|----------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------|------------------------------|---------------|------------------|--|
| Number | Date | Case number | Al Taamim | | | | | |
| 151 | 985/ August | 378 | | | | | | |
| Category of property | | Mahallat | Street | Door number | Portion number | Sector number | Sector name | |
| | | - | - | - | 289 / 118 | 28 | Leylan | |
| Type of property | | Arsa | Composition:- - | | | | | |
| Category of property | | Global and full property | | | | | | |
| Identification of owner or user and category: The Iraqi / Ali Rachid Karim | | | Surface area | | | | | |
| | | | Square meters | Olk | Donam | | | |
| | | | 90 / 00 | 2 | | | | |
| | | | Type of case:- Appropriation | | | | | |
| Notes on guarantees and on the place of registration: Concerned by decision 120 from the year 1982 Concerned by decision 418 from the year 1984 And according to the approbation of the Ministry of Al-Hokm Al-Mahalli | | | | | | | | |
| Value | | In compensation | | Tax amount | | | | |
| Dinar | Fils | Dinar | Fils | Dinar | Fils | | | |
| - | - | 880 | - | 880 | | | | |
| The office of property deeds in Al Taamim and stamp | | | | date | Official stamp and signature | | | |

Appendix H

List of churches destroyed by Saddam Hussein's regime

(Source: Assyrian Democratic Movement)

1. Cathedral of Mar Zayah: located in the district of Karradet Mariam in Baghdad, the largest church that was destroyed in the beginning of 1985
2. Monastery of Mar Mosheh: located in Jakalah in the region of Barwareh Bala
3. Church of Mar Gewargis: located in the village of Dooreh in the region of Barwareh Bala, built in the 8th century, destroyed in 1977.
4. Monastery of Mar Qayoomah: in the village of Dooreh in the region of Barwareh Bala. One of the most famous monasteries of Iraq, built in the 7th century, destroyed in 1977
5. Church of Matmaryam: located in the village of Mach in the region of Barwareh Bala, built in the 20th century, destroyed in 1997
6. Church of Mar Younan: located in the village of Aqreh in the region of Barwareh Bala, built in the 20th century, destroyed in 1977
7. Church of Matmaryam: located in the village of Sardasht, built in the 1950s, destroyed in 1977
8. Monastery of Mar Khnana: located in the village Qaroo in Neroi, built in the 8th century, destroyed by Iraqi army bombings in 1977
9. Church of Mar Qoryaqos: located in the village of Qarro in Neroi, built in the 8th century, destroyed in 1977
10. Church of Mar Zakka: located in the village of Bash in Neroi, built in the 20th century, destroyed in 1977.
11. Church of Martmaryam: located in the village of Welah in Neroi, built in the 20th century, destroyed in 1977.
12. Church of Qadishtah Shmoneh: located in the village of Welah in Neroi, built in the 20th century, destroyed in 1977.
13. Church of Aba Sarabion: located in the village of Badleh in Summel, built in 1984, destroyed in 1988
14. Church of Matmaryam: located in the region of Giribass in Dehok, confiscated by the regime in 1982 to prevent its use by the Assyrians under the pretext of its proximity with the security services headquarters in Dehok
15. Orphanage of the Chaldean Catholic Church: located in Keli Zaweta in Dehok, confiscated by the regime and used as a military camp for the Popular army
16. Church of Mar Yousip Khnanishoo: located in Harir in Arbil, destroyed in 1976 under the pretext of widening the main street of the town
17. Monastery of Mar Yaqoo of the Chaldean Catholic Church: located in the village of Mar Yaqoo, built in the 7th century, destroyed in 1976
18. Monastery of Mar Audisho: located in the village of Dereh in the region Amadia, built in the 8th century, Destroyed in 1988.
19. Church of Mar Kardagh: in the village of Dereh, region of Amadia, destroyed in 1988.
20. Church of Mar Yohanna: located in the village of Dawoodiya in the region of Amadia Sarsang, destroyed in 1988
21. Monastery of Mar Yousif: located in the village of Derigne in the region of Amadia, built in the 7th century, Destroyed in 1988
22. Church of Martshmoni: located in the village of Betbade in the region of Amadia, destroyed in 1988
23. Church of Mar Georgis: located in the village of Hizane in the region of Nahla Eqra, destroyed in 1988
24. Church of Mar Daniel: located in the village of Bakhetme in the region of Semele, destroyed in 1988

Appendix I

List of 115 missing Assyrian citizens, kidnapped during the Anfal operations in August 1988

Village of Gondekossa in the region of Dosky/ Dehok

1. Bakos Toma Bakos, born in 1918
2. Margerate Dinkha Goreal, born in 1918
3. Toma Bakos Toma, born in 1930
4. Iliishwa Moshi Odisho, born in 1934
5. Shoshin Toma Bakos, girl aged 16
6. Sargon Toma Bakos, boy aged 14
7. Sanharib Toma Bakos, boy aged 9
8. Ashur Toma Bakos, boy aged 13
9. Shmoni Toma Bakos, girl aged 11
10. Shimun Moshi Odisho, born in 1932
11. Yasmi Harron, born in 1950
12. Mariam Moshi Odisho, born in 1956
13. Serin Moshi Odisho, born in 1954
14. Jwani Moshi Odisho, born in 1952
15. Samir Shimun Moshi, born in 1977
16. Sami Shimun Moshi, boy aged 7
17. Dani Shimun Moshi, boy born in 1988
18. Samera Shimun Moshi, girl aged 5
19. Amera Shimun Moshi, girl aged 9
20. Dalya Shimun Moshi, girl aged 10
21. Moshi Shimun Moshi, boy aged 3
22. Ismail Ayobkhan Khoshaba, born in 1966
23. Margerate Yalda Harron, born in 1968
24. Welter Ismail Ayobkhan, boy aged 2
25. Nadia Ismail Ayobkhan, girl aged 2
26. Yousif Ayobkhan Khoshaba, born in 1969
27. Mariam Tobia Mekhail, born in 1918
28. Shimun Georges Yawella, born in 1932
29. Ayob Shimun Georges, born in 1934
30. Isho Shimun Georges, born in 1940
31. Odisho Sharwen Odisho, born in 1949
32. Shlemon Sharwen Odisho, born in 1958
33. Shoshin Sharwen Odisho, born in 1963

Village of Qarou, region of Nerwa/ Dehok

34. Hormiz Shmuel Yousif, born in 1955
35. Sherin Khoshaba Odisho, born in 1956
36. Jamila Hormiz Shmuel, girl aged 10
37. Khoshaba Hormiz Shmuel, boy aged 5
38. Jullite Hormiz Shmuel, girl aged 2
39. Afram Hormiz Shmuel, boy aged 1
40. Shabi Shmuel Yousif, born in 1956
41. Khanzada Yokhana Shlemon, born in 1956
42. Samia Shabi Shmuel, girl aged 9
43. Wardia Shabi Shmuel, girl aged 7

44. Tawer Shabi Shmuel, boy aged 4
45. Romiel Shabi Shmuel, boy aged 2
46. Shlemon Yokhana Shlemon, born in 1950
47. Helani Dawod Yousif, born in 1953
48. Harbia Shlemon Yokhana, girl aged 6
49. Ramzi Shlemon Yokhana, boy aged 2
50. Isho Oraha Nessian, born in 1962
51. Jiye Dawod Yousif, born in 1963
52. Sawsan Isho Oraha, girl aged 5
53. Mariam Isho Oraha, girl aged 3
54. Skharia Aziz Yakoub, born in 1956
55. Zaia Yakoub Aziz, born in 1969
56. Hamani Mekhael Yousif, born in 1925
57. Warda Shlemon Ishaya, born in 1912
58. Badrya Shapera Rasha, born in 1913
59. Ishaya Warda Shlemon, born in 1966
60. Ulfya Aziz Yakoub, born in 1969
61. Nisha Ishaya Warda, boy born in 1988
62. Goreyal Yuokhana Pitros, born in 1954
63. Badry Khnano Qasho, born in 1965
64. Ummta Goreyal Youkhana, girl aged 1
65. Yakou Kako Matte, born in 1954
66. Pityo Yousif Mekhael, boy aged 13

Village of Bash, region of Nerwa/ Dehok

67. Keena Gilliana Keena, born in 1917
68. Hormiz Keena Gilliana, born in 1969
69. Amjad Sharro Gilliana, born in 1969
70. Ismail Dawod Youkhana, born in 1966
71. Gullazer Dawod Youkhana, born in 1969
72. Marbena Dawod Youkhana born in 1960
73. Jullite Leon Oraha, born in 1968
74. Lalya Marbena Dawod, girl aged 9
75. Robell Marbena Dawod, boy aged 7
76. Shimun Marbena Dawod, boy aged 3
77. Arbell Marbena Dawod, girl aged 2
78. Khana Sawa Hormiz, born in 1955
79. Nirges Yuokhana Dawoa, girl aged 13
80. Fireyal Youkhana Dawod, girl aged 12
81. Nahrain Youkhana, girl aged 5
82. Isho Youkhana Dawod, boy aged 3
83. Shameran Youkhana Dawod, girl aged 2
84. Fareda Issa Oraha, born in 1958

Village of Wella, region of Newa/ Dehok

85. Ameer Brekha Benyamen, born in 1981
86. Ameera Brekha Benyamen, girl aged 3
87. Thamera Brekha Benyamen, girl aged 1

Village of Derigny, region of Amadia/ Dehok

- 88. Warda Isho Warda, born in 1965
- 89. Munera Marogel Moshi, born in 1967
- 90. Georges Warda Isho, boy aged 2
- 91. Warda Mekhael, born in 1953, missing with his 6 children
- 92. Mallo Marogel Moshi, born in 1955

Village of Kani Belav, region of Bawari Balla

- 93. Beronya Warda, born in 1945
- 94. Nabel Yousif Warda, born in 1969
- 95. Napolion Yousif Warda, boy aged 16
- 96. Warda Khamis, born in 1942

Village of Baz, region of Bawari Balla

- 97. Iskharia Yousif, born in 1948
- 98. Ismail Yousif, born in 1954
- 99. Shony Nessian, born in 1954
- 100. Naze Nessian, born in 1954
- 101. Dawod Oshana, born in 1954

Village of Mosaka, region of Bawari Bella

- 102. Yousif, born in 1954
- 103. Nimroud, born in 1954

Village of Ain-Sefni, region of Nineveh

- 104. Sherin Shimun, born in 1954
- 105. Femme of Laith Hormiz Oshana, born in 1954, missing with his 6 children
- 106. Ashur Slewo, born in 1954

Village of Derigny, region of Nineveh

- 107. Atran Warda Isho, boy aged 2

Village of Dawadiya, region of Nineveh

- 108. Isshaq Adam Isshaq, born in 1959
- 109. Cathrine Oraba, born in 1934
- 110. Khoshabo Yako Isho, born in 1950
- 111. Sultane Khoshabo Isho, girl aged 9
- 112. Yalda Odisho Qurio, born in 1928

Village of Tiny, region of Nineveh

- 113. Jamila Yousif Zaya, born in 1930
- 114. Isshaq Hanna Isshaq, born in 1923

Village of Mangish, region of Nineveh

- 115. Lucya, born in 1940

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Appendix J

Lists of persons of Assyrian origin from northern Iraq who went missing during the 1991 exodus

(Source: Assyrian Democratic Movement)

| N° | District | Location | Names |
|----|---------------------|----------------|-------------------------|
| 1 | Sarsink | Chalé (Turkey) | Sahira Dawood Yaukho |
| 2 | Komany | Chalé (Turkey) | Jamil Gewargis Hana |
| 3 | Amadia | Chalé (Turkey) | Shlimon Nona Marok |
| 4 | Dregny Village | Chalé (Turkey) | Yonan Nissan Yonan |
| 5 | Dery Village | Chalé (Turkey) | Rabina Sabri Aman |
| 6 | Amadia | Chalé (Turkey) | Sarra Zaia Bakos |
| 7 | Sarsink | Chalé (Turkey) | Toma Shamon Toma |
| 8 | Dehok Barashky | Turkish border | Yalda Yousif Yalda |
| 9 | Dehok Jamia | Turkish border | Nano Gewargis Khaye |
| 10 | Gonad Kosa village | Turkish border | Farid Ghareeb Yonan |
| 11 | Dehok Shela | Turkish border | Atour Benyamen Dawo od |
| 12 | Zakho Bersevy | Turkish border | Sabria Yousif Slewo |
| 13 | Zakho Bersevy | Turkish border | Bebony Estefan |
| 14 | Sarsink | Turkish border | Isho Giliana Isho |
| 15 | Gonada Kosa village | Turkish border | Daddy Shlimon |
| 16 | Aqra | Turkish border | Yonadam Zaia Yaqo |
| 17 | Dehok – Shila | Turkish border | Nargez Iskaria Hormiz |
| 18 | Zakho | Turkish border | Yokhaba Sliman |
| 19 | Zakho | Turkish border | Linda Yoaresh |
| 20 | Kore Gavana | Turkish border | Oshana Benyamin Marqus |
| 21 | Kore Gavana | Chalé (Turkey) | Elishwa Daniel |
| 22 | Kore Gavana | Chalé (Turkey) | Hawel Ywanes |
| 23 | Kore Gavana | Chalé (Turkey) | Jendo Lawando |
| 24 | Kore Gavana | Chalé (Turkey) | Maty Dinkha |
| 25 | Kore Gavana | Chalé (Turkey) | Yonadam Gewargis |
| 26 | Kore Gavana | Chalé (Turkey) | Sliwa Jado |
| 27 | Kore Gavana | Chalé (Turkey) | Shamon Ishaq |
| 28 | Kore gavana | Chalé (Turkey) | Sorma Mirza |
| 29 | Dehok jamia | Chalé (Turkey) | Khanno Tabsima Kanno |
| 30 | Diralok | Chalé (Turkey) | Khana Giliana Kina |
| 31 | Diralok | Chalé (Turkey) | Ashorina Youkhana Yalda |

Appendix K

List of Christian clergymen assassinated by Saddam Hussein's regime

(Source: Assyrian Democratic Movement)

1. Mar Youalah, bishop poisoned by the General Security Service in 1972
2. Quryaqos Moses, archbishop of Amadia bishopric, after drinking poisoned coffee in 1973
3. Patriarch Mar Esha Shimon, assassinated by Iraqi secret services in the USA in 1975
4. Hanna Abdul Ahad Sher, priest assassinated in front of the church of Shaqlawa after Good Friday service on April 28, 1986
5. Younan Kena, priest of the Eastern church, who died after drinking poisoned coffee at the direction of security in Kirkuk in 1985
6. Stefan Kacho, archbishop of Zakho, chased and assassinated by a military vehicle in an accident in 1986
7. Shimon Shlemon Zaia, curate of the village of Bersivy, hanged in 1989 after his return from a refugee camp in Diyarbakir in Turkey. He returned after an amnesty issued by Saddam Hussein for all Iraqi people condemned for fleeing chemical weapons during the Anfal operations.
8. Zaia Bobo Dobato, priest of Mosul, who was deported in Iran and who died in exile in Ourmieh in 1989

Appendix L

List of attacks perpetrated in Arbil between January and June 2002

- 1- 1/10/2002: attack in the district of Azadi close to the surrounding walls of François Hariri stadium.
- 2- 2/18/2002: explosion of a homemade bomb in front of a store.
- 3- 2/18/2002: explosion in the district of Koran close in the proximity of a medical centre and a hairdressing salon.
- 4- 3/8/2002: explosion in Chera Swar, close to Arbil, leading to one victim: M. Chakir Qader Mostafa
- 5- 3/11/2002: explosion close to a factory on the road to Makhmour.
- 6- 3/14/2002: in Chera Swar close to Arbil, explosion of a homemade bomb; one person was killed and another was seriously injured.
- 7- 6/7/2002: in Gali Ali Bag, explosion of a homemade bomb; 3 people injured.
- 8- 6/7/2002: explosion in Chaklawa close to a restaurant; 3 people injured.
- 9- 6/26/2002: attack in a garden; one child was killed and 23 other persons were injured.

Appendix M

Incomplete list of prisons and detention centres created by the Iraqi regime¹⁰⁸

(Source: Human rights documentation centre)

1. prisons of Abu Ghreb (on the road between Baghdad and Al-Fallouja)
2. Al-Fdhélyya prison (Baghdad)
3. detention centre of the Security Service Headquarters - Al-Kerrada Al-Cherqyya (Baghdad)
4. detention centre of the Security Service of Baghdad of Al-Kerrada (Baghdad)
5. camp prisons of Al-Rachid (Baghdad)
6. camp prisons of Al-Tadji (Baghdad)
7. prison Al-Zafaranyya for women (Baghdad)
8. prison Al-Zafaranyya for men (Baghdad)
9. prison of the 4th section of the Ministry of Defence (Baghdad)
10. military centre of Al-Harithyya (Baghdad)
11. detention centre of Al-Rejebyya (Baghdad)
12. detention centre of the Security of Al-Rosafa (Baghdad)
13. detention centre of the Security of Al-Kadhemyya (Baghdad)
14. detention centre of the Security of Otéfiat Al-Djisir, Al-Kadhemyya (Baghdad)
15. detention centre of Al-Rachedyya (Baghdad)
16. detention centre of the Security of Medinat Al-Horyya the 1st (Baghdad)
17. detention centre of the Security of Medinat Al-Horyya the 2nd (Baghdad)
18. detention centre of the Security of Al-Thaoura which includes several buildings in the district of Al-Thaoura (Baghdad)
19. detention centre of Al-Slèkh (Baghdad; Saba Abkar)
20. detention centre of Salman Bak (Baghdad; Salman Bak)
21. detention centre of Saïd Mohammad (Baghdad)
22. detention centre of the Security of Al-Dora (Baghdad)
23. detention centre of the Security of Al-Chola (Baghdad)
24. detention centre of the district of Al-Adel (Baghdad)
25. detention centre of the police of Al-Sarai (Baghdad)
26. detention centre of Al-Tarmyya (Baghdad)
27. detention centre of Baghdad Al-Djedida (Baghdad)
28. detention centres of the Republican guard in several areas of Baghdad.
29. detention centres of the Popular army in several areas of Baghdad.
30. detention centres of Saddam's special security service - in Baghdad.

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31. military intelligence centres in several areas of Baghdad.
32. detention centre of the General registry office (Baghdad)
33. detention centre of the General Office of the Inzibat (Baghdad)
34. prison of Al-Mahmoudyya (Babel)
35. detention centre of the Security of Al-Youssefyia (Babel)
36. detention centre of the Security of Al-Mesayyeb (Babel)
37. detention centre of Al-Mehaouil (Babel)
38. detention centre of Saddat Al-Hendyya (Babel)
39. detention centre of Al-Eskandaryya (Babel)
40. detention centre of Al-Medhatyya (Babel)
41. detention centre of Al-Hachemyya (Babel)
42. detention centre of Al-Hamza (Babel)
43. detention centre of Al-Qasem (Babel)
44. detention centre of Al-Kefel (Babel)
45. detention centre of the Security of Touèridj (Babel)
46. grand prison of Al-Hella in Bab Al-Mechhed (Babel)
47. detention centre of the Security of Al-Hella (Babel)
48. prison of Al-Tahmazyya ; Al-Hella (Babel)
49. detention centre of Al-Koufa (Al-Nadjaf)
50. detention centre of the Security of Nadjaf (Al-Nadjaf)
51. prison of Al-Nadjaf (Nadjaf)
52. prison Kmil (sous terrain) (Nadjaf)
53. detention centre of Khan Al-Mosalli (Khan Al-Mosalli, Nadjaf)
54. detention centre of Oum Al-Qeroun (Nadjaf)
55. detention centre of Hai Saad (Nadjaf)
56. detention centre of Waqsa (Nadjaf)
57. detention centre of Bir Al-Nesef (Nadjaf)
58. detention centre of Al-Soukr (Nadjaf)
59. detention centre of Al-Sahen (centre of Nadjaf)
60. detention centre of Al-Otichi (Kerbala)
61. prison of Al-Hai Al-Abbasi (Kerbala)
62. detention centre of Bahr Al-Meleh (Kerbala)
63. detention centre of Al-Rezaza (Kerbala)
64. detention centre of Saïd Mohammad (Kerbala)
65. detention centre of Khan Al-Nakhila (Kerbala)
66. detention centre of intelligence services (Kerbala)
67. prison of Al-Akhider (Kerbala)
68. prison Ain Al-Tamer (Kerbala)
69. prison of Al-Dyouanyya (Qadesyya)
70. prison of Al-Chamyia (Al-Qadesyya)
71. detention centre of the Security of Al-Dyouanyya (Al-Qadesyya)
72. detention centre of Al-Chamyia (Al-Qadesyya)
73. detention centre of Al-Chenafyya (Al-Qadesyya)
74. detention centre of Saïd Abbas (Al-Qadesyya)
75. detention centre of Qalat Al-Saghir (Al-Qadesyya)
76. prison of Al-Rawached (Al-Qadesyya)
77. prison of Afak (Al-Qadesyya)
78. detention centre of Qalat Madjnouna (Al-Qadesyya)
79. detention centre of Abou Tbikh (Al-Qadesyya)
80. prison of Al-Semawa - Medinat Al-Semawa (Al-Mouthanna)

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81. prison of Al-Rometha (Al-Mouthana)
82. detention centre of Al-Hafedh (Al-Mouthanna)
83. detention centre of Chtat (Al-Mouthanna)
84. detention centre of Al-Qasir (Al-Mouthanna)
85. detention centre of Al-Hamdanyya (Al-Mouthanna)
86. prison Naqrat Al-Salman, district of Al-Salman (Al-Mouthanna)
87. prison Al-Semawa (underground prison) (Al-Mouthanna)
88. detention centre of Al-Rometha (Al-Mouthanna)
89. detention centre of Al-Abtyya (Al-Mouthanna)
90. central prison of Al-Kout (governorate of Al-Waset)
91. detention centre of the Security of Al-Kout (Waset)
92. detention centre of the Security of Al-Hai (Waset)
93. detention centre of Al-Nemanyya (Waset)
94. detention centre of Badra (Waset)
95. detention centre of Al-Azizyya (Waset)
96. detention centre of Al-Souera (Waset)
97. detention centre of Djessan (Waset)
98. prison centrale of Al-Emara (Missan)
99. detention centre of the Security of Al-Emara (Missan)
100. detention centre of the Security of Al-Madjar Al-Kebir (Missan)
101. detention centre of Ali Al-Gharbi (Missan)
102. prison of Qalat Saleh (Missan)
103. detention centre of Qalat Saleh (Missan)
104. detention centre of Al-Aziz (Missan)
105. detention centre of Al-Kahla (Missan)
106. detention centre of Al-Helfaya (Missan)
107. detention centre of Al-Kyara (Missan)
108. detention centre of the Security of Al-Naseryya (district of Al-Naseryya in the governorate of Zi Qar)
109. central prison of Al-Naseryya (Zi Qar)
110. detention centre of Qalat Soker (Zi Qar)
111. detention centre of the Security of Souq Al-Chioukh (Zi Qar)
112. detention centre of Al-Refaai (Zi Qar)
113. detention centre of Al-Chetra (Zi Qar)
114. detention centre of Al-Djebaich (Zi Qar)
115. detention centre of Hadj Yasin (Zi Qar)
116. detention centre of Al-Batha (Zi Qar)
117. detention centre of Souq Al-Chioukh (Zi Qar)
118. detention centre of Al-Khedr (Zi Qar)
119. detention centre of Al-Ghobichyya (Zi Qar)
120. prison centrale of Bassorah (governorate of Al-Bassorah)
121. detention centre of the Security of Al-Bassorah
122. detention centre of Al-Qorna (Bassorah)
123. detention centre of Al-Djebaich (Bassorah)
124. prison of Al-Haretha (Bassorah)
125. detention centre of Abou Al-Khasib (Bassorah)
126. prison of Al-Zober (Bassorah)
127. detention centre of the Security of Al-Zober (Bassorah)
128. detention centre of Al-Fao (Bassorah)
129. detention centre of Kout Zain (Bassorah)
130. detention centre of Oum Qasr (Bassorah)

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131. prison of Al-Romela (Bassorah)
132. detention centre of Al-Achchar (Bassorah)
133. detention centre of Al-Chalmdja (Bassorah)
134. military prison of Al-Choeiba (Bassorah)
135. prison of Baqouba (governorate of Dyala)
136. detention centre of Khan Bani Saad (Dyala)
137. detention centre of Al-Moqdadyya (Dyala)
138. prison of Mandeli (Dyala)
139. prison of Khanaqin (Dyala)
140. detention centre of Jalaoula (Dyala)
141. detention centre of Al-Khales (Dyala)
142. detention centre of Djadidat Al-Chat (Dyala)
143. prison of Samerra (governorate of Saladin)
144. detention centre of the Security of Samerra (Saladin)
145. detention centre of the Security of Bedji (Saladin)
146. prison of Bedji (Saladin)
147. detention centre of the Security of Tikrit (Saladin)
148. special detention centres in the governorate of Saladin
149. detention centre of Balad (Saladin)
150. detention centre of Lake Al-Therthar (Saladin)
151. prison of Al-Ramadi (governorate of Al-Anbar)
152. detention centre of the Security of Al-Ramadi (Anbar)
153. detention centre of Al-Falloudja (Anbar)
154. detention centre of the Security of Al-Habbanyya (Anbar)
155. detention centre of the Al-Habbanyya camp (Anbar)
156. detention centre of the Security of Aana (Anbar)
157. detention centre of Al-Qaïm (Al-Anbar)
158. detention centre of Al-Rotba (Anbar)
159. central prison of Kirkuk (governorate of Al Taamim, Kirkuk)
160. detention centre of the Security of Kirkuk (Kirkuk)
161. detention centre of the Security of Touz Khermato (Kirkuk)
162. detention centre of Kefri (Kirkuk)
163. detention centres of military intelligence forces in Kirkuk (Kirkuk)
164. detention centre of Chemchemical (Kirkuk)
165. detention centre of Al-Houedja (Kirkuk)
166. detention centre of the police headquarters in Kirkuk (Kirkuk)
167. prison of Al-Suleimanya (governorate of Al-Suleimanya)
168. detention centre of the Security of Al-Suleimanya (Suleimanya)
169. detention centres of military intelligence services in Suleimanya (Suleimanya)
170. detention centre of Halabja (Suleimanya)
171. detention centre of Qala Deza (Suleimanya)
172. detention centre of Ranya (Suleimanya)
173. detention centre of Pandjeouin (Suleimanya)
174. prison of Sousa (Suleimanya)
175. prison of Dokan (Suleimanya)
176. central prison of Arbil (governorate of Arbil)
177. detention centre of the Security of Arbil (Arbil)
178. prison of Al-Qala (Arbil)
179. detention centre of Rawandoz (Arbil)
180. detention centre of Saladin (Arbil)

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181. detention centre of Chaqlawa (Arbil)
182. detention centre of Hadj Omeran (Arbil)
183. prison of Dehok (governorate of Dehok)
184. detention centre of the Security of Dehok (Dehok)
185. detention centre of the Security of Aqra (Dehok)
186. detention centre of the Security of Al-Emadyya (Dehok)
187. detention centre of the Security of Zakho (Dehok)
188. detention centres of military intelligence services in Dehok (Dehok)
189. central prison of Al-Mousel (governorate of Nineveh)
190. military prison of Al-Ghezlani (Nineveh)
191. detention centre of the Security of Al-Mousel (Nineveh)
192. Ain Zala prison (Nineveh)
193. detention centre of Ain Sefni (Nineveh)
194. detention centre of Hammam Al-Alil (Nineveh)
195. detention centre of Al-Khedr (Nineveh)
196. detention centre of Tel Afar (Nineveh)
197. detention centre of Sindjar (Nineveh)
198. headquarters of the Security in Dehok (Dehok)
199. prison of Benkerd (Suleimanya)

108. According to our sources, most of these prisons still exist in the zone controlled by the regime.

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Appendix N
Incomplete list of Shiite dignitaries and clergymen assassinated by Saddam Hussein's regime

(Source: Human rights documentation centre)

| N° | Name | Town | Year | Circumstances of death |
|-----|---------------------------------|-------------------------|------|--|
| 1. | Ayatollah Mirza Ali Al -Gheroui | Nadjaf | 1998 | Assassinated between Kerbala and Nadjaf |
| 2. | Ayatollah Mortadha Al -Brojerdi | Nadjaf | 1998 | Assassinated in the main street of Nadjaf |
| 3. | Mohammad Taqi Al -Khoei | Nadjaf | 1994 | Killed in an unexplained car accident between Kerbala and Nadjaf |
| 4. | Amin Al-Khelkhali | Nadjaf | 1994 | Killed in an unexplained car accident between Kerbala and Nadjaf |
| 5. | Mohammad Al -Qojani | Nadjaf | 1989 | Arrested: his fate remains unknown |
| 6. | Mahdi Al-Hakim | London | 1988 | Assassinated at the Khartoum Hilton (Sudan) |
| 7. | Abd Al-Ghani Al -Djazaéri | Hira – Nadjaf | 1988 | Poisoned with thallium |
| 8. | Mohammad Ali Al -Irouani | Koufa – Nadjaf | 1988 | Extrajudicial execution |
| 9. | Mohammad Al -Zameli | Koufa – Nadjaf | 1988 | Arrested: his fate remains unknown |
| 10. | Ali Al-Abedi | Missan | 1988 | Poisoned with thallium |
| 11. | Abd Al-Amir Al-Khoéledi | Al-Hella | 1988 | Poisoned with thallium |
| 12. | Abd Al-Redha Al-Safi | Kerbala | 1987 | Killed by security services |
| 13. | Abd Al-Rasoul Ali Khan | Nadjaf | 1986 | Poisoned with thallium |
| 14. | Mohsen Zaer Dahham | Nadjaf | 1986 | Poisoned with thallium |
| 15. | Hassan Al-Haydari | Baghdad - Kadhemiyya | 1986 | Poisoned with thallium |
| 16. | Jaber Abou Al -Reha | Nadjaf | 1985 | Poisoned with thallium |
| 17. | Mohammad Ali Al -Chahrestani | Kerbala | 1985 | Killed by security services |
| 18. | Hussein Abbas Al -Milani | Nadjaf | 1985 | Judged and executed at the Security tribunal of Al-Thaoura |
| 19. | Mohsen Abbas Al -Milani | Nadjaf | 1985 | Judged and executed at the Security tribunal of Al-Thaoura |
| 20. | Khazaal Al-Soudani | Kreaat – Baghdad | 1979 | Judged and executed at the Security tribunal of Al-Thaoura |
| 21. | Abd Al-Jabbar Al-Hachemi | Nadjaf | 1979 | Judged and executed at the Security tribunal of Al-Thaoura |
| 22. | Najah Al-Mousawi | Horiyya – Baghdad | 1979 | Judged and executed at the Security tribunal of Al-Thaoura |
| 23. | Nazem Al-Khozaii | Ghammas – Diouanyya | 1979 | Assassinated in the street |
| 24. | Ibrahim Qanbar | Khales – Diyala | 1979 | Judged and executed at the Security tribunal of Al-Thaoura |
| 25. | Abd Al-Rahim Al-Yaseri | Khales – Diyala | 1979 | Judged and executed at the Security tribunal of Al-Thaoura |
| 26. | Abbas Al-Choki | Thaoura – Baghdad | 1979 | Judged and executed at the Security tribunal of Al-Thaoura |
| 27. | Mohammad Al-Bachiri | Kirkuk | 1979 | Killed by security services |
| 28. | Abbas Al-Torkomani | Kirkuk | 1979 | Killed by security services |
| 29. | Jaber Al-Nomani | Al-Nomaniyya | 1979 | Judged and executed at the Security tribunal of Al-Thaoura |
| 30. | Abd Al-Hakim Al-Nomani | Al-Nomaniyya | 1979 | Judged and executed at the Security tribunal of Al-Thaoura |

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|-----|---|-----------------------|------|--|
| 1. | Abd Al-Khaleq Al-Awadi | Nadjaf | 1979 | Judged and executed at the Security tribunal of Al-Thaoura |
| 2. | Abd Al-Azim Al-Asadi | Jamila–Baghdad | 1979 | Killed by security services |
| 3. | Mohammad Hassan Al -Kaabi | Thaoura – Baghdad | 1979 | Judged and executed at the Security tribunal of Al-Thaoura |
| 4. | Moslem Mohammad Ali Al -Jaberi | Al-Fohoud – Naseriyya | 1979 | Killed by security services |
| 5. | Jaouad Al-Helou | Al-Mechkhab – Nadjaf | 1979 | Poisoned with thallium |
| 6. | Nazem Al-Basri | Karrada – Baghdad | 1979 | Judged and executed at the Security tribunal of Al-Thaoura |
| 7. | Abd Al-Jabbar Al-Basri | Al-Salam – Baghdad | 1979 | Judged and executed at the Security tribunal of Al-Thaoura |
| 8. | Ayatollah Qasim Al -Mobarqaa | Thaoura – Baghdad | 1979 | Judged and executed at the Security tribunal of Al-Thaoura |
| 9. | Mohammad Redha Mohammad Hussein Al -Hakim | Nadjaf | 1985 | Executed in the General Security Service |
| 10. | Abd Al-Hadi Mohsen Al -Hakim | Nadjaf | 1985 | Executed in the General Security Service |
| 11. | Abd Al-Saheb Mohammad Hussein Al-Hakim | Nadjaf | 1985 | Executed in the General Security Service |
| 12. | Mohammad Hassan Mohammad Ali Al-Hakim | Nadjaf | 1985 | Intravenous injection of poison |
| 13. | Hassan Abd Al-Hadi Al-Hakim | Nadjaf | 1985 | Executed in the General Security Service |
| 14. | Ayatollah Abd Al-Majid Mahmoud Al -Hakim | Nadjaf | 1985 | Executed in the General Security Service |
| 15. | Majed Al-Badrawi | Koufa – Nadjaf | 1985 | Executed in the General Security Service |
| 16. | Ayatollah Nasr Alla Al -Mostanbet | Nadjaf | 1985 | Intravenous injection of poison at home |
| 17. | Abbas Al-Metraoui | Al-Qasem – Diouanyya | 1985 | Arrested: his fate remains unknown |
| 18. | Ali Qebila | Nadjaf | 1985 | Arrested: his fate remains unknown |
| 19. | Aziz Al-Emari | Nadjaf | 1985 | Killed by security services |
| 20. | Hamid Al-Koatoui | Al-Kout | 1985 | Arrested: his fate remains unknown |
| 21. | Issam Chobar | Al-Bassorah | 1984 | Assassinated between Kerbala and Nadjaf |
| 22. | Mohammad Younes Al -Asadi | Al-Bayyaa – Baghdad | 1984 | Killed by security services |
| 23. | Hussein Joda | Ghammas – Diouaniyya | 1984 | Killed under torture |
| 24. | Nour Mohammad Al -Belkhi | Nadjaf | 1984 | Judged and executed at the Security tribunal of Al-Thaoura |
| 25. | Jabbar Jaralla Alla | Nadjaf | 1984 | Judged and executed at the Security tribunal of Al-Thaoura |
| 26. | Salah Al-Saaedi | Kerbala | 1984 | Arrested: his fate remains unknown |
| 27. | Baqer Abd Al -Saheb Al-Mousawi | Nadjaf | 1984 | Killed under torture at the age of 14 |
| 28. | Abd Al-Jalil Mal-Alla | Baqouba | 1980 | Killed during his arrested |
| 29. | Hassan Al-Bahadeli | Missan | 1980 | Killed under torture |
| 30. | Abd Al-Amir Al-Saaedi | Touéridj – Kerbala | 1980 | Intravenous injection of poison |
| 31. | Abd Al-Monem Al-Saaedi | Missan | 1980 | Judged and executed at the Security tribunal of Al-Thaoura |
| 32. | Charif Al-Jaberi | Nadjaf | 1980 | Judged and executed at the Security tribunal of Al-Thaoura |
| 33. | Zaïn Alabedin Al -Mousawi | Al-Kefel – Al-Hella | 1980 | Judged and executed at the Security tribunal of Al-Thaoura |
| 34. | Zaid Al-Mousawi | Al-Kefel – Al-Hella | 1980 | Judged and executed at the Security tribunal of Al-Thaoura |
| 35. | Farhan Al-Baghdadi | Kadhemiyya – Baghdad | 1980 | Judged and executed at the Security tribunal of Al-Thaoura |
| 36. | Nazem Al-Nadjafi | Nadjaf | 1980 | Executed in the General Security Service |
| 37. | Mohammad Sadeq Al -Batat | Al-Kefel – Al-Hella | 1980 | Executed in the General Security Service |
| 38. | Qasem Hadi Dhaïf | Al-Bayyaa – Baghdad | 1980 | Executed in the General Security Service |
| 39. | Saleh Hadi Al-Hasnawi | Douayya – Naseriyya | 1980 | Executed in the General Security Service |

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|-----|--|-----------------------|------|--|
| 1. | Mohammad Al-Yousefi | Nadjaf | 1980 | Judged and executed at the Security tribunal of Al-Thaoura |
| 2. | Ayatollah Mohammad Taqi Al -Jawaheri | Nadjaf | 1980 | Arrested: his fate remains unknown |
| 3. | Mohammad Al-Demawandi | Nadjaf | 1980 | Arrested: his fate remains unknown |
| 4. | Abd Al-Razzaq Ahmad Al -Jawaheri | Kerbala | 1980 | Killed at the Security Headquarters |
| 5. | Abd Al-Hussein Habib Alla Al -Haeri | Kerbala | 1980 | Executed in the General Security Service |
| 6. | Abd Al-Khaleq Ammach Al -Hedni | Baghdad | 1979 | Judged and executed at the Security tribunal of Al-Thaoura |
| 7. | Sadeq Al-Asadi | Baghdad | 1979 | Executed in the General Security Service |
| 8. | Ayatollah Mahdi Al -Qazouini | Kerbala | 1982 | Arrested: his fate remains unknown |
| 9. | Ayyoub Al-Bahadeli | Missan | 1982 | Executed in the General Security Service |
| 10. | Abd Al-Mottaleb Abou Al-Riha | Nadjaf | 1982 | Poisoned with thallium |
| 11. | Ali Aziz Hussein | Kadhemyya – Baghdad | 1981 | Executed in the General Security Service |
| 12. | Hadi Al-Oemmi | Nadjaf | 1981 | Arrested: his fate remains unknown |
| 13. | Mohammad Al -Tabtabaai | Kerbala | 1981 | Arrested and sentenced to life in prison |
| 14. | Nathar Hussein Al -Kachmiri | Nadjaf | 1981 | Arrested: his fate remains unknown |
| 15. | Mahdi Al-Bachiri | Toz – Kirkuk | 1981 | Killed by security services |
| 16. | Jalil Ibrahim | Toz – Kirkuk | 1981 | Killed by security services |
| 17. | Ahmad Al-Ansari | Nadjaf | 1981 | Arrested: his fate remains unknown |
| 18. | Abbas Al-Bahbahai | Nadjaf | 1981 | Arrested: his fate remains unknown |
| 19. | Ayatollah Mohammad Baqer Al -Sader | Nadjaf | 1980 | Executed in the General Security Service |
| 20. | Ali Akbar Hachemian | Nadjaf | 1980 | Arrested: his fate remains unknown |
| 21. | Saleh Al-Refaaï | Nadjaf | 1980 | Executed in the General Security Service |
| 22. | Sadeq Hassan Al -Yaquobi | Baghdad | 1980 | Executed in the General Security Service |
| 23. | Salem Al-Baghdadi | Kadhemyya – Baghdad | 1980 | Executed in the General Security Service |
| 24. | Hassan Al-Chirazi | Beirut | 1980 | Assassinated in Beirut |
| 25. | Ayatollah Mohammad Taher Al -Haydari | Baghdad | 1980 | Poisoned with thallium |
| 26. | Hassan Moèn | Nadjaf | 1980 | Killed under torture |
| 27. | Abd Al-Baqi Al-Mousawi | Nadjaf | 1984 | Killed under torture at the age of 17 |
| 28. | Ayatollah Abd Al -Saheb Mohsen Al -Hakim | Nadjaf | 1983 | Executed in the General Security Service |
| 29. | Kamal Al-Din Yousef Al -Hakim | Nadjaf | 1983 | Executed in the General Security Service |
| 30. | Alaa Al-din Mohsen Al-Hakim | Nadjaf | 1983 | Executed in the General Security Service |
| 31. | Abd Al-Wahab Yousef Al-Hakim | Nadjaf | 1983 | Executed in the General Security Service |
| 32. | Mohammad Hussein Mohsen Al -Hakim | Nadjaf | 1983 | Executed in the General Security Service |
| 33. | Mohammad Ali Al -Gheroui | Chamiyya – Diouaniyya | 1983 | Executed in the General Security Service |
| 34. | Nazem Ghoulam Al-Mandalawi | Mandeli – Dyala | 1983 | Judged and executed at the Security tribunal of Al-Thaoura |
| 35. | Abd Al-Razzaq Al-Baghdadi | Nadjaf | 1983 | Arrested: his fate remains unknown |
| 36. | Kazem Chebr | Nadjaf | 1983 | Arrested: his fate remains unknown |
| 37. | Ghali Al-Asadi | Al-Naseryya | 1983 | Poisoned with thallium |
| 38. | Abbas Al-Helou | Koufa – Nadjaf | 1982 | Poisoned with thallium, in the direction of the Security of Nadjaf |
| 39. | Abd Al-Saheb Al-Helou | Mechkhab – Nadjaf | 1982 | Arrested with his son: their fate remains unknown |
| 40. | Kazem Al-Helou | Haswa | 1982 | Killed under torture |
| 41. | Ayatollah Mohammad Taqi Al -Jalali | Al-Qasem – Diouanyya | 1982 | Judged and executed at the Security tribunal of Al-Thaoura |

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|-----|--------------------------|-------------------|------|--|
| 1. | Saber Al-Charè | Nadjaf | 1982 | Arrested: his fate remains unknown |
| 2. | Jaouad Al-Khersan | Nadjaf | 1982 | Arrested: his fate remains unknown |
| 3. | Jasem Al-Kaabi | Nadjaf | 1982 | Arrested: his fate remains unknown |
| 4. | Zia Al-Din Al-Hachemi | Nadjaf | 1982 | Executed in the General Security Service |
| 5. | Mahdi Al-Samawi | Al-Samawa | 1979 | Judged and executed at the Security tribunal of Al-Thaoura |
| 6. | Ayatollah Qasem Chebr | Al-Nomaniyya | 1979 | Judged and executed at the Security tribunal of Al-Thaoura |
| 7. | Taher Abou Raghif | Al-Bassorah | 1977 | Killed in an unexplained car accident |
| 8. | Azzeddine Al-Qabanji | Nadjaf | 1974 | Judged and executed at the Security tribunal of Al-Thaoura |
| 9. | Imad Al-Din Al-Tabtabai | Nadjaf | 1974 | Judged and executed at the Security tribunal of Al-Thaoura |
| 10. | Aref Al-Basri | Kerrada – Baghdad | 1974 | Judged and executed at the Security tribunal of Al-Thaoura |
| 11. | Abd Al-Zahraa Al-Kaabi | Kerbala | 1972 | Poisoned with thallium |
| 12. | Ahmad Faradj Al-Bahadeli | Nadjaf | 1971 | Poisoned with thallium |
| 13. | Mohammad Hassan Al-Haéri | Nadjaf | 1970 | Poisoned with thallium |



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