

Threatened Peoples

Report No. 4

February 1991

GERMANY AND GENOCIDE IN IRAQ

persecution and extermination of Kurds and Assyrian Christians

1968-1990



Tilman Zülch
Inse Geismar

SOCIETY FOR THREATENED PEOPLES
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Kurdistan und die Kurden

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"Das internationale Standardwerk über Geschichte, Ökonomie, Sozialstruktur, gegenwärtige Situation und die Befreiungsbewegungen der Kurden in Irak, Iran, Syrien, Türkei", so die renommierte Tageszeitung "Le Monde" (Paris). Zwei Kapitel in diesem überwiegend von Kurden verfaßten Buch (französische Originalausgabe: 1978) sind zudem den Kurden in der Sowjetunion und der kurdischen Republik Mahabad (1945/46) gewidmet.

Bd.2 - Ismet Chérif Vanly,
Göttingen/Wien
1986,
pogrom Tb 1014,
274 S., DM 19,80

Diskriminierung und Verfolgung der Kurden in der Türkei und im Irak, ihr Widerstand und ihre Organisationen sind Gegenstand dieses Buches von I. Ch. Vanly. Ausführliche Bibliographie und Adressen kurdischer Organisationen, zahlreiche Fotos.

Bd.3 - Ismet Chérif Vanly,
Göttingen/Wien
1988, pogrom Tb
1017, 132 S.,
DM 14,80

Die Situation der Kurden im syrischen Kurdistan sowie die kurdische Diaspora in Jordanien, im Libanon, in der UdSSR und in Westeuropa. Vanly geht ausführlich auf die sowjetische Kurdenpolitik ein. Geheime Botschaftspapiere der Amerikaner, die während der Teheraner Botschaftsbesetzung 1980 veröffentlicht wurden, beschreiben die Kurdenpolitik im Nahen Osten aus amerikanischer Sicht.

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THE FOREIGN OFFICE HAS NO KNOWLEDGE OF THE DELIBERATE PERSECUTION OF ASSYRIAN CHRISTIANS DUE TO THEIR RELIGION.
(FOREIGN OFFICE 510 - 516 - 7794, BONN, FEB.5, 1988, DR. MÜLLER-CHORUS.)

THE EMBASSY CANNOT JUDGE WHETHER OR NOT A MEMBER OF THE KURDISH ETHNIC GROUP ... MUST, UPON RETURN TO IRAQ, FACE PERSECUTION IN THE SENSE OF PARAGRAPH 28 OF THE RESIDENT ALIEN CODE (AUSLÄNDERGESETZ).
THE PERSECUTION OF KURDS OR OF SPECIFIC KURDISH SUBGROUPS HAS NOT OCCURRED IN IRAQ SINCE THE CESSATION OF FIGHTING.
WEST GERMAN EMBASSY, BAGHDAD, NOV.11, 1975. LETTER TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE IN BONN.)

IN THE PRESENT SITUATION, THE BAGHDAD EMBASSY HAS NO CONFIRMABLE INFORMATION INDICATING THAT KURDS, UPON THEIR RETURN TO IRAQ, ARE PERSECUTED SOLELY BECAUSE THEY ARE MEMBERS OF THE KURDISH ETHNIC GROUP. THE FOREIGN OFFICE, FURTHER, DOES NOT HAVE SUFFICIENT INFORMATION INDICATING THAT THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT TARGETS THE KURDS FOR PERSECUTION, MURDERING THEM AND SYSTEMATICALLY DESTROYING THEIR IDENTITY.
(FOREIGN OFFICE 514 - 516 - 11311, BONN, NOV.8, 1990, ON BEHALF OF MEISNER)

CONTENTS

GERMANY AND GENOCIDE IN IRAQ

**SOCIETY FOR THREATENED PEOPLES AGAINST THE COMPANIES
KARL KOLB Ltd. AND PILOT PLANT**

**Simon Wiesenthal, Simone Veil and others:
APPEAL FOR THE KURDS AND THE CHRISTIAN ASSYRIAN
POPULATION IN IRAQ**

**Simon Wiesenthal Center, Los Angeles, California:
THE POISON GAS CONNECTION (extracts)**

**The Society for Threatened Peoples:
A HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATION FOR MINORITIES**

	Page
FOREWORD	4
GENOCIDE IN IRAQ	6
1. EXECUTIONS AND MASS EXECUTIONS	7
2. MASSACRES	12
3. DISAPPEARANCES	16
4. IMPRISONMENT AND DEPORTATION OF FAMILY MEMBERS	16
5. POISONING AND ASSASSINATIONS	17
6. DEPORTATIONS	19
7. USE OF POISON GAS WITHIN IRAQ	22
8. PERSECUTION AND MURDER OF ASSYRIAN CHRISTIANS	26

GESELLSCHAFT FÜR BEDROHTE VÖLKER

Menschenrechtsorganisation für ethnische, rassische und religiöse Minderheiten

society for threatened peoples · association pour les peuples menacés · asociación para la defensa de los pueblos amenazados

GERMANY AND GENOCIDE IN IRAQ:

Germany must live up to its evident
responsibilities

(Some initiatives, campaigns and actions
of the Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker)

presented at a Press Conference on 25 Feb. 1991
in Jerusalem

When in January 1991, after the beginning of the Second Gulf War Iraq's dictator Saddam Hussein started menacing Israel with missiles and Israel indeed became victim of the Iraqi aggression, an outcry of horror went around the world. One was expecting poison gas attacks at any hour and Israel then was not prepared for appropriate defence against the death bearing missiles.

Since 1983/84 the American State Department, the Central Intelligence Agency CIA, the BBC, the Jerusalem Post, amongst others, had pointed out that German companies especially Karl Kolb Ltd. and its daughter Pilot Plant of Dreieich were in the frontline in building up chemical weapons industries in Iraq. The near hysterical mass-tourism of German politicians to Israel after that, amongst them Hans Jochen Vogel, leader of the Social Democratic Party, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Liberal leader and Foreign Minister, and Christian Democratic Mrs. Rita Süßmuth, President of the German Bundestag, bore witness to the latent bad conscience of German politicians.

Over years a multitude of German media and the Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker as the second largest human rights organization in Germany had exposed the tight military collaboration of German firms in the built up of chemical, biological, nuclear industries and those for missiles. Our human rights organization had documented the training of Iraqi technical officers at Bundeswehr-institutions. These warnings, informations, appeals, and protests addressed to German politicians initiated a bulk of publications in the German written, spoken and televised media. In the following pages we wish to document some excerpts from these human rights campaigns which our organization has initiated against German participation both in the industrial as in the political area.

1st August 1980 - action against state terrorism:

The coordinator Near East of our organization informed West-Berlin's state security institutions of an imminent attempt by Iraqi agents involving two Iraqi diplomats to blow up the site of the annual congress of the Kurdish Student Society in Europe (KSSE) in Berlin. At the last minute, local police is able to arrest one agent with a bomb case in his hands. If the bomb had blown up, more than 50 delegates and some 200 guests and families of delegates would have met certain death.

This cooperation with local security authorities was part of our campaign to expose Iraqi diplomatic representations in London, Paris, Bukarest, Aden, Beirut, Lausanne, Genevre, Kabul, Karatschi, New Delhi and Canberra as centres of Iraqi state

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terrorism. One member of our Advisory Council, the Kurdish writer Dr. Ismet Sherif Vanly, was shot through the head three times by a member of the Iraqi diplomatic representation in Geneva.

Consequently on 18th August 1980 our organization demanded the arrest of a number of Iraqis connected to Iraqi diplomatic missions. The German government however as most other governments remained largely inactive and even allowed the return to Germany of some of the diplomats involved in the assassination attempt in Berlin.

These events reinforced our conviction that not only state terrorism but also the so-called illegal arms exports are the result not of political negligence but of an inadequate political framework lacking moral dimensions.

6th July 1987/ 27th July 1987/ 21st August 1990 - a training of Iraqi military officers:

In a press statement in 1987 our organization published the results of its own research which testified that at the University of the Bundeswehr in Neubiberg/Munich at least seven Iraqi officers were undergoing scientific and military training. We published the relevant contract signed between the Iraqi Airforce and the subcontractor to the deal, the airspace company Dornier and the liberal educational Carl-Duisberg-Centren. In the statement our chairman Tilman Zülch reminded of the running Gulf War and of the Kurdish and Assyrian victims of the Iraqi dictator.

On 27th July our organization once more demanded that the Federal Government should stop the training program for Iraqi officers jointly undertaken by the Bundeswehrhochschule, Dornier, and Carl-Duisberg-Centren. By that time Dornier in cooperation with its French partner Dassault had delivered at least 31 Alpha-Jets to the Iraqi Airforce. Our organization could prove that the then Defence minister Wörner was lying when he stated that only one Iraqi cadet of the Iraqi navy was receiving training in Germany.

In August 1990, our research concluded that the training had been carried on despite the protest right through to the middle of 1990. At the date of the UN-embargo, training of three Iraqi officers was still going on and was to be concluded by the end of August, i.e. weeks after it was established.

Here again, the German government and its defense ministry denied the facts until they were faced with the proofs to the contrary. It did not hesitate to deliberately spread lies and false information as long as it could get away with it.

GERMAN ARMS EXPORTS

Starting in 1970 that is right since its foundation, our organization was publicizing facts about German arms deals with the Third World, training of officers of armies actually engaged in genocidal repression against minorities (Indonesia, Nigeria, Sudan, Athiopia, Iraq, Iran etc.). In 1981 it started a campaign against the liberalization by the then Social Democratic and Liberal coalition government of Mr. Schmidt concerning arms exports and exports of military products from joint ventures between German and European companies. To no avail. This induced us to intensify our research in order to produce more and unrefutable evidence for particular breaches of both German law and international conventions.

Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm:

On 6th September 1990 two of our activists, Alexander Sternberg-Spohr and Tilman Zülch, "visited" a compound of Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm (MBB)-Company in Ottobrunn/Höhenkirchen near Munich which so far had been kept secret by the company. In the presence of journalists from "Der Spiegel", the RTL-television and the "Bayerische Rundfunk", they discovered more than 60 parcels with spare parts for helicopters which lay there packed for delivery to the Iraqi Airforce and the Iraqi Peoples Army. For demonstration they opened one or two of the parcels.

Next to the spare parts for delivery to Iraq they found a large number of containers and parcels addressed to the Royal Jordanian Airforce. All of them bore levels with the same code numbers and reference numbers as those found on the parcels for Iraq. This implies that after the embargo MBB must have tried to circumvent embargo restrictions by delivery via Jordan.

Other evidence found suggested that at least six technicians of MBB were at that time (i.e. end of August 1990) building up a helicopter repair shop near Baghdad for repairs and maintenance of the commando type helicopters MBB had earlier delivered for the use of the supreme commander of the Iraqi Armed Forces, i.e. President Saddam Hussein, and for the use by divisional commanders during ground level action of their troops as command ships. From the entourage of Mr. Willy Brandt who took the so-called German "hostages" from Baghdad back to Germany we learned that the MBB-technicians very reluctantly joined this return trip and took the next plane back to Baghdad via Amman. We suspect some of them might still be in Iraq.

Demands for more control over German technicians and managers abroad:

Resulting from this experience our human rights organization on 26th November 1990 issued a statement demanding amongst others that German authorities should set up an inquiry about the activities of each of the German technicians having returned to Germany. "Each returnee should give a detailed account of where and at which projects he had been working in Iraq." A day later the coordinator Near East gave precise names of companies where he said he had evidence about that their personal was still working on military projects in Iraq: Züblin AG of Stuttgart, Strabag, MBB, Gildemeister of Bielefeld, Consen. Only after the first Scud missiles had actually hit Israel, some politicians made this demand their own including the President of the German Arab Friendship Society, Economics minister Möllemann.

Chemical weapons:

Being in permanent contact with the various groups of the Kurdish resistance in Iraq and their leaders since more than 20 years the Society for Threatened Peoples at an early date was informed by the Kurdish leadership of the first use of chemical weapons against Kurdish villages in Iraq since spring 1987. Numerous press statements starting in April of that year not only gave the facts about each victimized Kurdish and Assyrian village in North of Iraq, but pointed to the companies and politicians in Germany responsible for it.

The permanent recording of each attack with chemical weapons on the Kurdish and Assyrian population culminated in the

publication of the first comprehensive factual and medical 50-page-report "On the Use of Chemical Weapons by the Iraqi Armed Forces Against the Kurdish Civilian Population in Iraq - April to Oct.1987". This was done even before the United Nations Secretary General published his very fragmentary report on the same issue and months before the Halabja massacre drew worldwide attention.

In summer 1987, our human rights organization had started a nationwide campaign to inform the public in which it pinned down and named amongst others Karl Kolb Ltd. as one of the main suppliers of know how and technology for the Samarra gas factory. Though it was relying on information given by the CIA, the Jerusalem Post, BBC, and other media the companies successfully brought forwards an injunction in a Bonn court against our human rights organization. This was only possible because responsible government circles including the Defense Committee of the German Bundestag withheld essential information and documents necessary to defy the injunction at the Bonn court. The full story of this is described in the appendix in the document which we presented in Paris on the occasion of the International Conference on Chemical Weapons on 10th January 1989.

Despite declarations of the Federal Government and in particular of Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, nothing actually happened in the way of really curbing these murderous exports by German companies. Even after the Rabta affair, the German government extended Hermes-Credit reassurances to many of the German companies which had already been named as doing immoral business with Iraq. After the occupation of Kuwait, and still a the fine of twice half a million German Marks on our back for contravening the injunction relating to Karl Kolb, we decided to act again in order to finally force both our courts and our government into taking action against those criminals. On 17th of August 1990 some of us demonstrated in front of Karl Kolb demanding immediate action and reparation to the gas victims. A week later the managers of Karl Kolb were arrested but released on bail after the shortlived public uproar had calmed down.

All along, Mr.Gwynne Roberts, member of our Advisory council, and free lance journalist from London, with his documentary films produced for the BBC, Channel IV, and other international TV-networks had risen the campaign on an international level. He was the first to bring soil samples from the so far unaccessible Northern Kurdish areas in Iraq which were analyzed in European laboratories and which produced unrefutable evidence that poison gas had been used South of the Turkish border as well. Gwynne Roberts recently was able to prove the existence of Uranium mines and nuclear production sites in the Kurdish mountains in Northern Iraq by way of computer simulation. Last month he was also able to document the very intensive cooperation between the former East German State Security Service (STASI) and the various Iraqi security services.

As much as the Society for Threatened Peoples, Mr.Roberts, in his international publications warned at a very early stage of the possibility that German export policies in connection especially with chemical weapons and missiles productions sites would in the end endanger the existence of Israel.

On 29th March 1990 our human rights organization for instance published a press statement headed "He who gets away unpunished for annihilating a whole Kurdish town with chemical weapons, will

also be ready to annihilate Israel with atomic weapons". The statement ended with the warning "the Gesellschaft sees the danger that middle range missiles produced with the assistance of German firms will be used for nuclear aggression against Israel."

Actions for Kurdish gas refugees:

With the increasing flow of Kurdish and Christian-Assyrian refugees from the area which was under attack by chemical weapons, coming first in 1987 to Iran and then, since August 1988, to Turkey, and faced with the initial reluctance of, or impossibility for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and of private and church charities and aid organizations to extend assistance to them, the Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker undertook the pioneering task to demonstrate to these organizations that assistance could be safely channeled to the refugees and that it would be used in a way that met the usual standards required by such agencies. This was especially true for assistance in Iran in 1987 and it was successful. The situation of the Iraqi Kurdish gas refugees in Turkey has been monitored by our organization since the very first day of their breaking through the Iraqi-Turkish border in 1988. Despite the obstacles put in the way of international and private aid agencies and government assistance programs by the Turkish government we were able to provide important direct assistance in form of cash money to each of the refugee families. Lately we broke the embargo put on foreign aid to the three Kurdish refugee camps by the Turkish authorities since June 1990. By a mixture of obstinate naivness, silent diplomacy, and a good measure of friendly blackmail we convinced both the German government, the German Red Cross, the Turkish Authorities and last not least the Federal Parliament that some 2.000 new tents at a value or more than two million DM have to be provided to the camp of Mardin. The setting up of these tents is under way at the moment.

Some immediate consequences for German politics proposed:

As a German based human rights organization we feel that it is our primordial duty to clean at our own doorsteps first. Seeing the obvious responsibility of both East and West Germany in the buildup and arming of the most horrifying barbarian regime in the world which is Saddam's dictatorship, and seeing in particular the German assistance, first in security matters, second in gas and missile production, third in the political field we are convinced that Germany bears particular responsibility towards the suffering minorities of Iraq and towards these refugees in particular. Germany now must live up to these responsibilities.

The Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker therefore is striving to make the Federal Government to publicly admit its obligations towards these populations and to declare itself a patron to them. This would imply that Germany at all international and bilateral levels makes itself a porte-parole for their interests. It furthermore means that it pays generous reparations to the gas victims from Iraq and that it takes special interests in the future education and upbringing of the families of the victims. We expect our government to finally support the initiative advanced by the "Appeal for the Kurds and the Christian Assyrian Population in Iraq" initiated by our society and supported amongst others by

Simon Wiesenthal for the "Bund Jüdischer Verfolgter des Naziregimes", by Simone Veil, the former President of the European Parliament, by Daniel Jacoby, President of the International Federation for Human Rights, by Lesley Roberts, director of the Anti-Slavery Society, by the Raoul-Wallenberg Society, and the Movement contre le racisme (MRAP). The appeal calls for an international conference convened by the Secretary General of the United Nations on the Kurdish question and for the establishment of an internationally guaranteed autonomous area within the defined Kurdish settlement region of Northern Iraq. Constitutionally secured ethnic rights in a country like Iraq in which any ability of the body politic to act has been annihilated by 20 years of barbarian rule, are the only guarantee that a repetition of a dictatorship like that of the Baath Party will not emerge again under a different mask.

GESELLSCHAFT FÜR BEDROHTE VÖLKER

Menschenrechtsorganisation für ethnische, rassische und religiöse Minderheiten
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Paris, 10 Jan. 1989

- Germany based human rights organisation:

W.-German government has favoured participation of German companies in the build-up of chemical weapons industries in Iraq

- At least twelve German firms co-responsible for gassing of more than 15,000 Kurds and Assyrian Christians in Northern Iraq

- The German human rights organisation GESELLSCHAFT FÜR BEDROHTE VÖLKER (Society for Threatened Peoples) announces it has now taken first steps to bring legal action against responsible firms in the name of individual Kurdish and Assyrian victims of Iraqi assaults with chemical weapons



The Germany based human rights and minority rights organisation Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker (Society for Threatened Peoples), acting on behalf of a number of individual Kurdish and Assyrian Christian victims of Iraqi chemical warfare, has made the initial concrete steps last week for taking legal action against those German firms against which public investigation or prosecution have been opened in the Federal Republic of Germany in relation with the construction and operation of industrial installations for production of chemical weapons in Iraq. Investigation by German authorities in the past and present implicated the following German companies: Karl Kolb (of Dreieich); Preussag (Hannover); Water Engineering Technology (Hamburg); Pilot Plant (Dreieich); Heßberg-Bau (Schifferstadt); Rhein-Bayern (of Kaufbeuren); Krausskopf (Hamburg); Ludwig Hammer (Kleinwestheim); Conrad; Quast (Düren); Schott & Gen. (Mainz); amongst others.

Solicitors of the human rights organisation presently are examining with which of the mandates that have been proposed to them by a number of Kurdish and Christian Assyrian victims from Northern Iraq they ought to institute legal proceedings against which company and/or institution, and whether these mandates are only allowing for a suit for individual damages from the companies for suffering incurred by chemical attacks or for a more extensive legal action before this background for assistance in war crimes and in genocide according to national and international law.

The lawyers are furthermore examining the consequences and possible applicability of a decision taken by a French court in Paris on 1 July 1988 in a lawsuit brought against the French company of Thomson-Brandt-Armements by the Association européenne Droit contre raison d'Etat, which stated "that the delivery of military equipment (by Thomson) to Iraq inconstestably (was) against the

defence of international humanitarian law", and which moreover admitted the individual accountability and responsibility of each single firm for its deliveries even when they had been authorized by the state or its institutions.

Our human rights organisation was encouraged to take such steps by the recent publication of an "information" of the German Federal Government to the Federal Parliament (Bundestag) citing expert opinion obtained by the Darmstadt public prosecution, which confirms earlier allegations of the Society for Threatened Peoples (supported by evidence of the US State Department and by a number of prominent media like the New York Times, Jerusalem Post, BBC Panorama and others) against German firms in relation to the Iraqi chemical weapons productions, notably against Karl Kolb and its daughter company Pilot Plant, both of Dreieich in the Federal county of Hesse.

In the view of the Society for Threatened Peoples, at least 12 German companies and the German Federal Government must account to the international public for participating in the build-up of chemical weapons industries, even when such allegations in the case of Libya cannot be substantiated. - As early as 1984 the US Department of State, as well as the New York Times, Jerusalem Post and other national and international media had reported and warned that the German Company of Karl Kolb and its daughter Pilot Plant were exporting installations and equipment for the production of poison gas to Iraq. In this context later further firms (as listed above) were named as being implicated in such deals. Because of these international allegations initial inquests by the Customs Investigation Department of Hesse had been opened as early as 1984.

As from April 1987 on, the Iraqi Air Force and Armed Forces had started using chemical weapons not solely against the Iranian Armed Forces, as it had continuously been doing since 1983, but against its own Kurdish and Assyrian-Christian population in Northern Iraq as well. In the following months the Society for Threatened Peoples, as a human rights organisation for ethnic, racial and religious minorities, repeatedly drew the attention of the German language media and public to these assaults with chemical weapons.

In June 1987, our organisation directly related the exports of the two mentioned German companies, that is Karl Kolb and Pilot Plant, not only to the build-up of the chemical weapons industrial complex at Samarra/Iraq but to the attacks with poison gas on Kurdish and Christian Assyrian settlements in Northern Iraq, and thus made the companies directly accountable for the dreadful death of several hundred people, who, up to that date, had fallen victims to Iraqi poison gas.

Instead of suing, for instance, the much mightier BBC or Austrian Television, which had accused the same firms, the two companies then obtained a temporary injunction at a Bonn court, published on 10 August 1987, which prohibited, on penalty of two times half a million German Marks, both our human rights organisation and its responsible for the Middle East to further continue to publicly state such a causal relation - the one between the victimized Kurds and Christians on the one hand and the German companies on the other.

The fact of the delivery of installations for the Samarra complex was not questioned at any time by either the Bonn court or later by a second instance court in Cologne which the companies had seized with the demand for implementing the penalty for breach of the temporary injunction, unsuccessfully though.

The medias' response to the legal proceedings in Bonn and Cologne, and hundreds of protests that were sparked off by the current campaign of our human rights organisation, in November 1987, finally, led to the Darmstadt public prosecutor for the Land Hesse to take action. More than one thousand files were confiscated from twelve companies.

Although, at the demand of the public prosecutor in Darmstadt, the Institute for Criminal Investigation at the German Customs Authority, which is dependant on the Federal Ministry of Economy, was involved in the investigations as well, the public prosecution announced that it will not be able to publish final conclusions of its investigation before spring 1989. However, the actual state of investigation would not allow anyore any doubts, that exportation to Iraq of material that could be used in production of chemical weapons of sorts had been carried out by elusion of the law.

The date line of December 1st, 1988, set ultimatively and unanimously by all factions of the German Federal Parliament for the Federal Government to report on the state of investigations underway, finally produced only a "Provisional Information" of the government to Parliament, the publication of which was overtaken by the breaking news of yet another possible involvement of a German company, this time in the build-up of a Libyan chemical weapons plant. This provisional report, however, states that the last expert opinion obtained in the case reaffirmed without doubt that production of chemical weapons and toxic materials would be possible with the aid of the installations exported from Germany to Iraq. The news received rather little attention amongst the publications about the German governments protestations against the new US-allegations in relation to Libya along the same lines as the dementies produced by the Federal German government in 1984 and 1987 in relation to Iraq.

The Society for Threatened Peoples (Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker) reproaches the German Federal Government with having lent its countenance to the German contribution to the build-up of an Iraqi poison gas industry out of consideration for the longstanding excellent economic exchanges with Iraq and their future perspectives. This must appear the more strange as the Iraqi government, during the past years, has repeatedly even used the same cyanide gas that was used in Auschwitz as well, for to perpetrate massacres amongst the Kurdish and Assyrian civil population of Iraq in a manner quite comparable to the operations of the national-socialist "Einsatzkommandos" in Eastern Europe.

Thus, only three days after the Iraqi-Iranian cease-fire, in the valley of Bazi, north-west of Barzan in Northern Iraq, 416 known families with altogether more than 3000 people, Muslim Kurds and Assyrian Christians alike, who had taken last refuge there, were exterminated by the Iraqi army with poison gas. The few surviving wounded were piled up later by Iraqi army soldiers wearing gas masks, irrigated with gasoline and set afire, in order to eradicate the traces of this horrid war crime and hide it from the public. There are fifteen eyewitness accounts available both on tape and video, interrogated by independent observers, thus by Gwynne Roberts and some of them by our Middle Eastern responsible.

The Society for Threatened Peoples against this background poses the question to the European and American public, as to what else must happen for that the guidelines of "Vergangenheitsbewältigung" that have painfully emerged and imposed themselves from the crimes of Hitler and of Stalin as well, be applied to present day war crimes as well?

The allegations which were made since 1984 against German companies, are the gravest that have been brought forward against Germany since Auschwitz: with assistance of German firms more than 15,000 Iraqi citizens, mostly women and children, of Kurdish and Assyrian Christian nationality have been exterminated by their own government. Against this horrible background the Society for Threatened Peoples reproaches the German Federal Government with having deliberately, wilfully or carelessly obstructed the necessary speedy inquiries.

As for the individual companies, the Society for Threatened Peoples assumes that most of the concerned German firms, by their sheer longstanding cooperation with the Iraqi government were very well aware of the consequences of their involvement as well as of the purpose and final destination of their exports, as much as they were aware of the nature of the Iraqi Barbary. This is especially true for the two companies of Karl Kolb and Pilot Plant who for more than two decades have had a permanent representation in Baghdad.

The GESELLSCHAFT FÜR BEDROHTE VÖLKER, SOCIETY FOR THREATENED PEOPLES, is a human rights organisation for persecuted ethnic, racial and religious minorities. Since its foundation in 1970 it has taken up, and publicised, the plight of so-called minorities all over the world regardless of political blocks and affiliation, in the East, in the West, and in the Third World. In the German speaking countries it is, after amnesty international, the second largest human rights organisation, and has sections in Switzerland, Austria and West-Germany (headoffice in Göttingen/Germany).

Since 20 years the Society has kept in close touch with developments in various parts of Kurdistan (Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Syria) and has continuously tried to publicise human rights violations and genocidal attempts by the respective governments. On Dec. 3, 1987, it published the first comprehensive, 50 page report "On the Use of Chemical Weapons by the Iraqi Armed Forces Against the Kurdish Civilian Population in Iraq - April to Oct. 1987", many months before the United Nations Secretary General dared to release his, heavily censured and curtailed, report on this Iraqi crime of war and genocide.

The Society usually publishes in German.

COMMUNIQUE DE PRESSE

On ne parle pas des victimes des gaz toxiques

Des organisations de défense des droits de l'homme demandent que soient prises enfin des mesures concrètes contre les entreprises responsables

A l'occasion de la conférence sur les armes chimiques:

L'association pour la défense des peuples menacés (Göttingen R.F.A.) et la Fédération Internationale des droits de l'Homme (Paris) déplorent que l'accès à la Conférence ait été refusé aux minorités Kurdes et Assyro Chaldéennes du Nord Irak victimes principales de l'utilisation de ces gaz toxiques par le gouvernement Iraquien. En effet, on dénombre environ 15.000 morts dans la population civile et 100.000 personnes se sont réfugiées en Turquie et en Iran ; suite à cette agression les deux organisations demandent:

1. Que des mesures soient prises et des sanctions infligées afin d'empêcher l'Irak d'effectuer de nouvelles agressions par armes chimiques, ce qui implique que le complexe industriel de Samara et d'autres installations similaires soient démantelées sous contrôle international et, en particulier, celui des Etats-Unis et de l'Union Soviétique.
2. Que la Convention de Genève de 1925, interdisant l'utilisation de gaz toxiques entre Etats soit complétée par une interdiction d'une telle utilisation lors des conflits intérieurs à un état



3. Que les responsables politiques irakiens et les entreprises occidentales, ayant vendu les équipements de production de gaz toxiques, soient chargés d'indemniser les victimes
4. Que les réfugiés du Kurdistan en Turquie et en Iran soient placés sous la protection des organisations internationales telles que la Croix Rouge et l'ONU
5. Que des observateurs indépendants et, notamment ceux des organisations non gouvernementales, soient autorisés à enquêter librement en Irak.

Les deux organisations constatent en outre que des entreprises occidentales livrent actuellement dans plusieurs pays des installations susceptibles de produire des armes chimiques ; leurs responsabilités dans l'intensification des risques de guerre chimique doivent être clairement établies et dénoncées et des sanctions économiques contre ces entreprises doivent être prises afin de les mettre au banc du commerce international.

Paris, le 10 janvier 1989

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society for threatened peoples, pf 2024, d- 3400 goettingen

20.1.1989 p r e s s s t a t e m e n t

the germany based human rights association declares that c-weapons debate in germany has been deliberately excluding kurdish and assyrian christian victims of german and iraqi policies on chemical weapons - german government should open negotiations over damages for kurdish gas victims with kurdish and assyrian leaders barzani, talabani and fathallah

dear editors,
following is the letter of our association to the federal chancellor dr. helmut kohl.

dear mr. federal chancellor,
between april 1987, and october 1988, the iraqi airforce has been continuously carrying out attacks with poison gas on kurdish and assyrian villages in northern iraq. meanwhile, there is irrefutable evidence that at least 15 german companies, amongst them karl kolb and the now liquidated pilot plant, both of hesse, participated in the build-up of the iraqi c-weapons industry. 15.000 kurdish and christian assyrian people died in the gas. at least 180.000 kurds and christian assyrians from northern iraq have fled before these assaults to the two neighbouring countries of turkey and iran.

the society for threatened peoples regrets that the federal government has not responded to the informations, allegations and accusations, though nearly every german paper and radiostation had reported on our allegations. furthermore, in december 1987, we had submitted to your government a comprehensive and detailed report, which later on was documented fullpage in a national german paper as well, under the heading 'the bombing aircraft threw the mustard gas containers right into the middle of the villages' (frankfurter rundschau, 23.2.1988).

we feel it appropriate for the federal government now to demonstrate a generous approach towards the victims. we ask you, dear mr. federal chancellor, to officially receive, at earliest possible convenience, mrrs. masud barzani and jalal talabani as representatives of the kurdish population, and mr. gewargis fathallah, for the persecuted christian assyrian ethnic group. topics ought to cover adequate reparations for the families of the 15.000 murdered gas victims by the german companies and a generous and direct humanitarian aid for the kurdish and assyrian refugees in iran by the government.

tilman zuelch
chairman

GESELLSCHAFT FÜR BEDROHTE VÖLKER

Menschenrechtsorganisation für ethnische, rassische und religiöse Minderheiten

Society for threatened peoples - association pour les peuples menacés - asociación para la defensa de los pueblos amenazados

APPEAL FOR THE KURDS AND THE CHRISTIAN ASSYRIAN POPULATION IN IRAQ

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Nr. 1917 (BLZ 26050001)

The organizations, institutions and individuals signing this petition appeal to the European public and to their governments in both East and West, to the USA, and to those states, especially amongst the Arab countries, which are supporting them, to look beyond the defence of Kuwait's independence, and to recall and consider the basic human and ethnic rights of the people of Iraq, particularly the Kurds and Assyrians.

"As victims of the misled "Realpolitik" of East and West, the Kurdish people are entitled to reparations. At an international conference convened by the General Secretary of the United Nations, the crimes of genocide against the Kurds should be pointed out, discussed, and condemned." (Sakharov. 13. Oktober 1989) The undersigned join the late Nobel Prize-winner in this demand.

The signing parties also deem unconditionally necessary the creation of an internationally guaranteed autonomous area within the defined Kurdish settlement region of North Iraq. This Kurdish autonomy must be extended to include the Assyrian Christians and other religious and ethnic minorities in Kurdistan by way of an ethnic statute.

Tilman Zülch, Chairman, Society for Threatened People, Göttingen

Daniel Jacoby, President of the International Federation for

Human Rights, Paris

Simone Veil, first President of the European Parliament

Jogvan Sundstein, Gouvernor of the Faeroer-Islands

Raul-Wallenberg-Society, Budapest

Lesley Roberts, Director of the Anti Slavery Society

Mouloud Aounit, Secretary General, MRAP (Mouvement contre le racisme)

Simon Wiesenthal, Präsident des Bundes Jüdischer Verfolgter
des Nazirgimes

F O U N D A T I O N

The Iraqi annexation of Kuwait has caused an international wave of indignation, solidarity and co-operation. The world press, finally, is condemning the Iraqi head of state, Saddam Hussein al-Takriti, as an inhuman dictator. An international military force in the Persian Gulf has been mounted to prevent further aggression against other Arab countries and to force Hussein to retreat from Kuwait.

However, totalitarian dictatorship in Iraq did not start just recently. Beginning in 1968, the leading party, the Baath, has been shaped by an Arab-chauvinist and totalitarian ideology. Since then the Baath has persecuted all democratic opposition and has had most opponents liquidated, even if they were abroad or within Hussein's own leadership clique. These murders have included leaders of the Kurdish minority. Hussein's rule can only be described as barbaric. The most important characteristic of his regime is the complete annihilation of any political life by physical terror, murder, and corruption, and by the complete control of citizens through six secret services and the ever-present mass organizations that spread even into the privacy of family life. A block warden system makes a mental concentration camp of these social nuclei.

A policy of genocidal crimes has been directed against the Kurdish people and the small group of Christian Assyrians in an attempt to destroy the only living force that has been able, through all the years, to question the Baath's claim to exclusive power.

According to investigations carried out by the Society for Threatened Peoples, the International Federation for Human Rights, and numerous other human rights organizations, the current situation of the Kurds and the Assyrian Christians in Iraq is as follows: By now 1.5 million Kurds and 75,000 Assyrian Christians have been expelled and deported; at least 4,000 villages have been razed; the homeland of the Kurds and Assyrians in Northern Iraq has been turned into a barren wasteland. At least 15,000 Kurds and Christian Assyrian civilians have fallen victim to the internationally-outlawed poison gas the regime has used against its own people. According to an estimate by the Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker, the Iraqi Kurds have lost 200,000 relatives through persecution since 1968. The Kurds have suffered napalm bombings, massacres of villages, mass executions of their males, internment in concentration camps, incarceration and torture (including that of children), the "disappearance" of thousands of people (in particular members of the Barzani Federation), disease and hunger. Some 20,000 Assyrian Christians and 1,000 non-Muslim Yezidi as well as hundreds of Turkomans died together with these Kurdish victims.



Despite this holocaust, committed under the eyes of the entire world, the industrial countries of both East and West have persistently given aid to establish the immense military and security machinery of Iraq. Without hesitation they have helped to set up research and production sites for chemical, biological, and atomic weapons as well as missiles. The countries of the European Common Market have been particularly involved. The East Europeans helped create the most infamous Secret Service force in the Near East using technological help from the West.

The European public, claiming to have learned a lesson from the crimes of National Socialism, and now coming to terms with Stalinist crimes, seems to have accepted the genocide of the Kurds and Assyrian Christians in Iraq. Thus companies and governments of both East and West share the responsibility and blame for these crimes.

Tilman Zülch

Chairman of the
Society for Threatened Peoples,
Göttingen
(Telefax: 0551-58023)

Daniel Jacoby

Chairman of the
International Federation
for Human Rights, Paris

B.J.V.N. BUND JÜDISCHER VERFOLGTER DES NAZIREGIMES

1010 WIEN 1, SALZTORGASSE 6/IV/5 . TELEFON 63 91 31

An die
Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker
z.Hd.d.Herrn Tilman Zülch
Groner Str. 40
D 3400 Göttingen

Wien, den 22. Jänner 1991

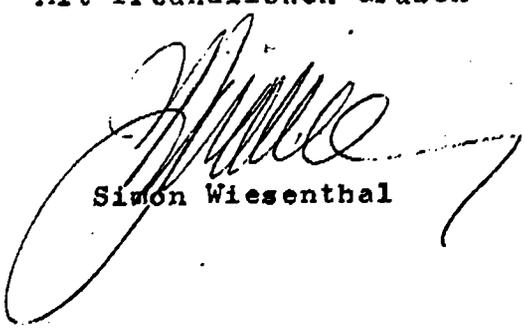
FAX 06 0551 58028

Sehr geehrter Herr Zülch!

Danke bestens für die Übersendung des Internationalen
Appells für das kurdische Volk und die christlich-assy-
rische Volksgruppe des Irak.

Ich unterstütze diesen Appell und möchte, daß Sie meinen
Namen unter diese Proklamation setzen. Bitte, schreiben
Sie "Simon Wiesenthal, Präsident des Bundes Jüdischer Ver-
folgter des Naziregimes, Wien".

Mit freundlichen Grüßen


Simon Wiesenthal



Simone VEIL
Député au
Parlement européen

Strasbourg, le 26 octobre 90,

Monsieur Le Président,

Vous m'avez récemment écrit pour me demander de soutenir l'action que mène l'Association pour les Peuples menacés notamment les Kurdes du Nord de l'Irak.

Je vous prie de trouver ci-joint l' "Appel pour les Kurdes d'Irak" que vous m'aviez adressé et dont je vous fait retour après l'avoir signé.

Je vous prie d'agréer, Monsieur Le Président, l'expression de ma considération distinguée.

(Simone Veil)

Monsieur Tilman Zülch
Président
Association pour les peuples menacés
Groner Strasse 40 Postfach 2024
Postfach 2024
D-3400 Göttingen

The Poison Gas Connection

*Western suppliers of unconventional weapons
and technologies to Iraq and Libya*

A Special Report
Commissioned by the
Simon Wiesenthal Center

Prepared by
Kenneth R. Timmerman

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The Poison Gas Connection

Tesa Josef Kühn Anton Eyerle Aviatec (Rheinmetall subsidiary)	FRG FRG FRG FRG	?? BW CW CW	?? Mycotoxins TH-2, T-2 Mobile toxicological labs Saad 16: wind tunnel for for missile and aerodynamics research	Monde et Vie 23/8/90 Spiegel 33/90 Spiegel 4/89
BP Carl Zeiss Deutsch BP Heberger Bau GmbH I.B.I. Industriewerke Karlsruhe, Augsburg (IWK.A) Inraplan Ivoco/Magirus/Deutz Karl Kolb	FRG FRG FRG FRG FRG FRG FRG FRG FRG	CW CW CW CW CW CW CW CW CW	Military research Equipment for Saad 16 CW lab Military research Buildings for CW plant Construction, procurement Machinetools, CW packing Project 9230, nerve gas plant, Vehicule for mobile labs Saad 16, laboratory equipment for material testing; biological agent equipment; Prime contractor of Samarra CW plant	Spiegel 33/1990, Profil 6/3/89 Spiegel 13/89, 33/90 Spiegel 13/89, 33/1990 Bundestag, 20/12/88 Spiegel 3/89, Stern 26/6/89 Spiegel 24/6/89 Stern 1/89, NBC News Spiegel 4/89
MBB Pilot Plant, dissolved Plato-Kuehn	FRG FRG FRG	CW CW CW	CW lab equipment for Saad 16 equipment for Samarra plant Toxins	NYT 8/8/84, Spiegel 3/89, Stern 27/3/89, Christian Science Monitor 13/12/89 Stern 26/1/89 Spiegel 3/89, NY Times Spiegel 30/1/89
Preussag	FRG	CW	Water-treatment, buildings for Samarra CW facility	BBC Panorama 2/2/87, Spiegel 13/8/90
Quast	FRG	CW	Reactor vessels for Sarin; corrosion-resistant alloy parts	BBC Panorama 2/2/87, Christian Science Monitor 13/1/89 Spiegel 13/8/90
Rhein-Bayern Vehicle Construction Rhema-Labortechnik	FRG FRG	CW CW	Mobile toxicological lab Inhalation system for toxic research	Spiegel 4/89 Washington Times 31/1/89 Monde et Vie Spiegel 34/90, NY Times Stern 26/1/89
Sigma Chemie Sigma Chemie W.E.T Engineering WTB Walter Thost Boswau AEG	FRG FRG FRG FRG FRG	CW CW CW CW MT	Precursors for BW ?? Precursors, production plant Nerve gas plants Weapons and ammunition production equipment	Spiegel 33/1990
Blohm Maschinbau	FRG	MT	Saad 16, computer controlled grinding facilities	Spiegel 13/89, 33/1990
Brown Boveri Daimler-Benz Degussa	FRG FRG FRG	MT MT MT	Electronics Vehicules Saad 16, military research; unspecified equip at CW plant	Profil, 8/5/89 Monde et Vie 23/8/90
Fritz Werner Industrie Ausrüstungen	FRG	MT	Machine-tools	Spiegel 13/89, 33/1990 Spiegel 13/89, Monde et Vie 23/8/90
Gildemeister Projecta GmbH	FRG	MT	General contractor for SAAD 16 missile programs, computer programs; supplied machine tools, test equipment	Stern 26/1/89, 9/8/90 Spiegel 13/89, 24/90 Financial Times 21/11/89 Stern 26/6/89 Der Spiegel 28/90 Financial Times 21/11/89, Spiegel 28/90 Spiegel 33/1990
GPA Integral/Sauer Informatic/IC:E Leifeld & Co M.A.N.	FRG FRG FRG FRG	MT MT MT MT	Consen group Saad 16, computer programs Rocket nozzles, via Nasr (GB) Tadji, missile launcher parts	
Maschinenfabrik Ravensburg	FRG	MT	machine-tools	

The Poison Gas Connection

Mausser-Werke MBB	FRG	MT	Saad 16, research	Spiegel 13/89, 33/1990
	FRG	MT	Training, engineering, R&D; electronics & testing of Condor II missile	Stern 9/8/90
Nickel GmbH (Hamburg) PBG (Freiburg) Promex Explorations GmbH Rheinmetall	FRG	MT	Climate control, missile plant	Vienna Profil, 8/5/89
	FRG	MT	Consen group; missile tech	FT 20/11/89
	FRG	MT	Middleman, CW, missile tech	Mednews 3.12 (12/4/90)
	FRG	MT	Tadji, missile propellants; parent firm of Aviatest	Spiegel 28/90, Monde et Vie, Profil 6/3/89
Siemens	FRG	MT	Electronic rocket fuel mixers; precision lathes and computer control equipment; programming equipment for Tadji complex; non-echoing room for Saad 16 missile R&D	(DS 27/3/89)
International Trade Consulting SA Transtecnica (MBB subsidiary)	FRG	MT	Main Saad 16 subcontractor, providing lab equipment for missile and CW R&D	Stern 26/1/89; NBC News, 3/3/89, Spiegel 18/89, 19/89
Waldrich-Siegen	FRG	MT	Machine-tools at missile plant	K. Timmerman; La Grande Fauche (Paris, Editions Plon, 1989).
Wegmann	FRG	MT	Tractor rocket launch system	Financial Times 20/11/89
				50
Weiss Technik Dillinger Huette-Saarstahl Export-Union GmbH	FRG	MT	Hot & cold chambers	Vienna Profil, 8/5/89
	FRG	Nuclear	Special steels for centrifuges	Spiegel, 13/8/90
Ferrostaal (MAN subsidiary) H+H Metalform GmbH	FRG	Nuclear	Metal for production of gas centrifuges	Spiegel 13/8/90
	FRG	Nuclear	Main contractor, Tadji	Spiegel 28/90, 32/90, 33/90
	FRG	Nuclear	Rolling mill to manufacture centrifuges, computer controlled facility for material checks, hardening of cannon barrels, cartridge cases, missile bodies	Spiegel 9/7/90, 13/8/90, 33/90, AFP
	FRG	Nuclear	Ring magnets for uranium enrichment processing plant; SCUD-missile upgrade	Spiegel 35/90, 20/8/90
Inwako GmbH	FRG	Nuclear	Reactor core technologies	Mednews 2/4/90
	FRG	Nuclear	Tadji, high-temperature furnace; recasting plants for cannon factory	Nucleonics Week 9/8/90, Spiegel 6/8/90, 32/90, 33/90
KWU Leybold AG	FRG	Nuclear	Middleman for H+H	Der Spiegel 18/12/89
	FRG	Nuclear	U-235 fuel pins; blocked	Spiegel 33/1990; Energy Daily, 2/10/80
MAN. Technologies Ltd Nukem	FRG	Nuclear	Marsing steel for centrifuge production at Tadji complex	Spiegel 33/1990
Saarstahl	FRG	Nuclear	Materials testing, Tadji	Spiegel 33/90
TUV ABB (Mannheim)	FRG	WT	Electrical equipment for furnaces at Tadji complex	Spiegel 28/90, 33/1990
	FRG	WT	Casting technology for cannon plant at Tadji	Spiegel, 32/90, 33/1990



The Poison Gas Connection

Schirmer-Platz-Scheinplamp	FRG	WT	Weapon and ammunition production facilities	Spiegel 33/1990
Schmidt, Kranz & Co	FRG	WT	Computer controlled facility for materials checks, hardening of artillery tubes	Spiegel 33/90
SMS Hasenclever	FRG	WT	Forging press for Tadj	Spiegel 32/90, 33/1990
TBT Tiefbohrtechnik	FRG	WT	Machine tools, Tadj complex	Spiegel 32/1990
Thyssen	FRG	WT	??	Spiegel 33/1990 (13/8/90)
Zublin	FRG	WT	Steel plant at Tadj complex	Spiegel 28/90, 33/1990
Dango & Dienenthal	FRG	WY	Molten metal treatment, Tadj	Spiegel 9/7/90, 33/1990
Körber AG (parent firm of Blohm)	FRG	MT	Machine-tools for Suad 16	Spiegel 13/89
Daimler Benz	FRG	WT	Security vehicles	Der Spiegel 27/3/89
Dynamit Nobel (Troisdorf)	FRG	WT	Explosives	Spiegel 33/1990
Faun	FRG	WT	Transportation facilities	Spiegel 13/8/90
Hochtief (Essen)	FRG	WT	Construction, Tadj	Spiegel 28/90, 32/90, 33/1990
Klöckner Industrie-Anlage GmbH	FRG	WT	Steel boiler, foundry, compressors, machine parts for Tadj	Spiegel 9/8/90, 32/90, 33/1990
Krauss-Kopf	FRG	WT	Unspecified equipment at weapons plant	International Herald Tribune 7-8/1/89
Lasco Umformtechnik	FRG	WT	Weapon and ammunition manufacturing facilities	Spiegel 33/1990
LOI Industrieofenanlagen	FRG	WT	Special furnaces for hardening steel at Tadj complex	SPIEGEL 32/90, 33/1990
Ludwig Hammer	FRG	WT	Unspecified equipment at weapons plant	International Herald Tribune 7-8/1/89
M.A.N. Roland	FRG	WT	Transportation equipment	Spiegel 13/8/90
Mannesmann (Duisberg)	FRG	WT	Super gun components	Spiegel 33/1990
Mannesmann Demag-Hüttentechnik	FRG	WT	Casting equipment for Tadj	Spiegel 28/90
Mannesmann-Rexroth	FRG	WT	Components for super-gun	Groot Bijgaarden De Standaard (Belgium) 8/5/90
Marposs (Krefeld)	FRG	WT	Weapon and ammunition production facilities	Spiegel 33/1990
Mauschka	FRG	WT	Parent of Leico (Leifeld & Co)	Spiegel 9/7/90
MBB	FRG	WT	License for fuel-air explosives	BBC Panorama 3/9/90
Kavensourg	FRG	WT	Boring equipment for cannon manufacturer at Tadj	Spiegel 32/90, 33/90
Ruhrgas	FRG	WT	Tadj	Spiegel 32/90, 33/90

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Society for threatened Peoples

GfbV — Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker

“Cultural and physical genocide must be opposed wherever it occurs.”

It is high time we recognized the preservation of endangered peoples for what it is: not simply an act of commiseration, but, above all, an act of self-preservation. For, among those peoples, everything our industrialized, utilitarian age has taken from us is preserved, at least in vestigial form. If we wish to become truly human, then we need development aid from those we — in our blind arrogance — call “underdeveloped.”

Robert Jungk

The *Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker* (GfBV), today's foremost German human rights organization after Amnesty International, came into being in 1970. The group emerged from the movement *Aktion Biafrahilfe*, which had been founded in 1968 by two Hamburg students as a reaction against the genocide committed against the Ibos.

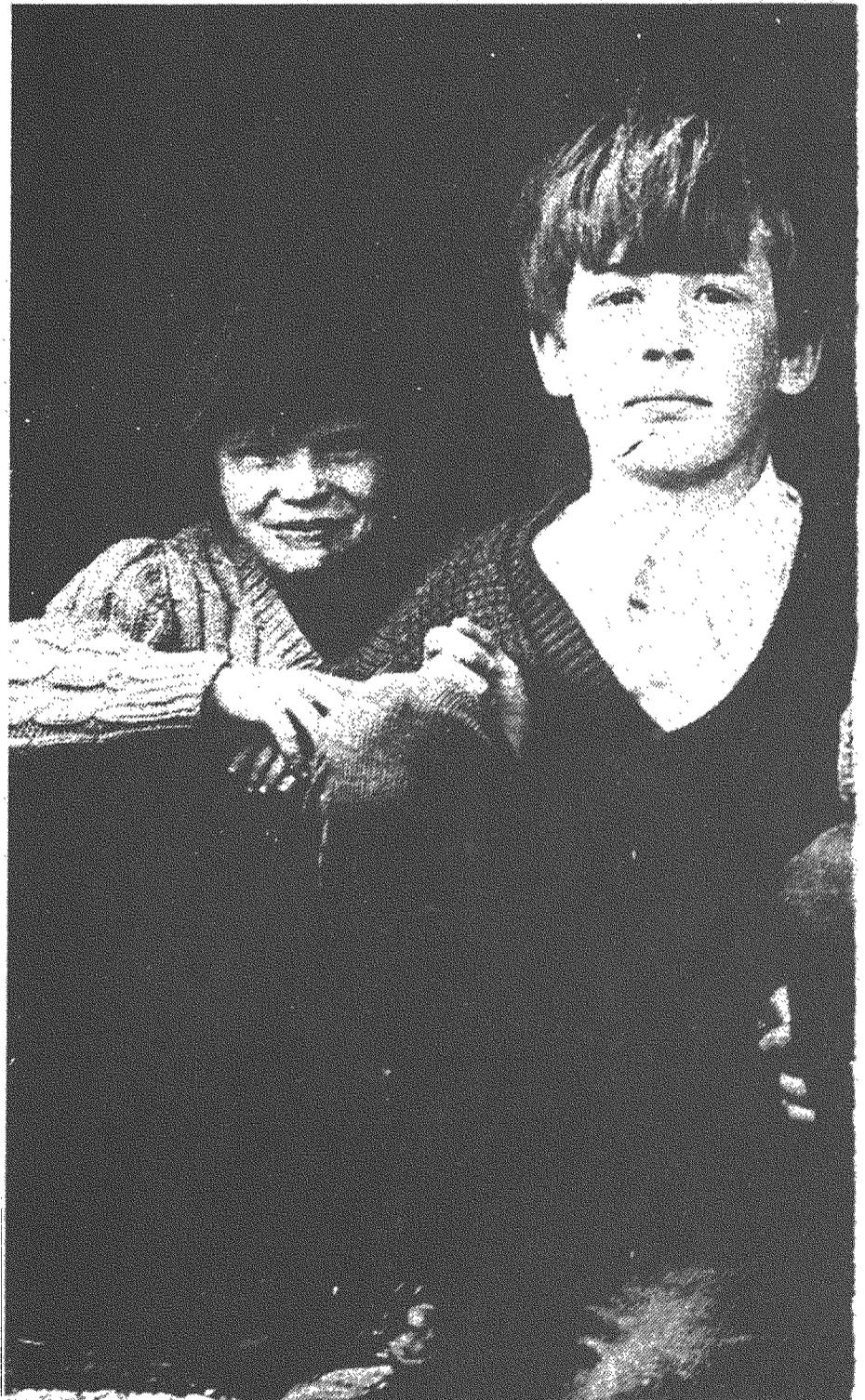
After decolonization, the Biafra crisis provoked a new type of minority conflict: the revolt of ethnic groups within *Third World* states, most of which were arbitrary creations by colonial powers. The *Third World solidarity movement* was not prepared to cope with conflicts of this type. The young French doctor, Bernard Kouchner, now international renowned as the founder of the *doctors across borders* movement, criticized this failure on his return from Biafra in 1970: *The Left has closed its eyes against the extermination of the ... Biafrans, Kurds, South Sudanese, Indians of Mato Grosso ...; the only point of interest to them is whether the dying belong to the Left or not.*

From the beginning, the GfBV, like Amnesty International, has opposed political bias of all kinds; as a human rights organization, it supports endangered and persecuted ethnic, racial, and religious minorities in numerous states and political systems. It interceded on behalf of Tibetans during the Chinese cultural revolution (which, at the time, was widely glorified in our hemisphere), on behalf of Crimean Tatars resettled by force in the USSR, on behalf of Indians of both Americas, on behalf of Eritreans, Kabyles of Algeria, the Saharwis, and Australian Aborigines. Condemning, as it does, both the US threat to Nicaragua and the suppression of Misitos by the Sandinistas, the GfBV has established itself in the appropriate position for that kind of organization: between all possible schools, the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* has commented.

One of the GfBV's main tasks is the battle against both cultural extermination (“ethnocide”) and physical extermination (“genocide”). To this end, it has always placed particular importance on genocidal crimes against peoples *no one speaks of*, i.e. West Papuans of New Guinea, the Hill Tribes and Biharis of Bangladesh, Nagas and Mizos in India, and many others. The crime of genocide was defined, in the 1948 United Nations Genocide Convention as

an act with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group, as such. The crime of ethnocide is defined by the GfBV as follows:

Ethnocide is the annihilation of the cultural, linguistic, and ethnic character of a national group, or its assimilation by force, in other words the destruction of national identity.



Some of the methods used to bring about ethnocide are:

1. resettlement of a national group by force (deportation; settlement in areas outside the group's home region);
2. suppression of cultural activities and of the use of the native tongue, in spoken or written form (penalization of use of the native tongue outside private houses; non-acceptance of the language for official use or in the mass media; alteration of family and place names by force; compulsory use of particular alphabets, etc.);
3. demographic and economic manipulations (deliberate impoverishment of the indigenous population leading to its emigration, with simultaneous economic incentives to attract immigration of alien elements);
4. destruction of traditional economic systems, particularly of tribal peoples
 - by settling vagrant or nomadic peoples by force
 - by destroying their ecological resources (particularly through the exploitation of natural resources, deforestation, building dams, etc.);
5. enforced missionization (enforced Christianization, Islamization, etc.).

The focal points of the GfBV's work are:

1. distributing information (with the help of about 30 regional working groups, the specialized magazine and pocket book series *pogrom*, each with about 3.600 subscribers, and by regular public campaigns in the German-language media);

2. protest actions against human rights violations (by way of the "action leaflet" *Vierte Welt aktuell* (German) and "Actions for threatened peoples" (English, French, Spanish);
3. supporting self-administration projects, cooperatives, newspapers, and civil rights movements of threatened minorities;
4. promoting tours, press conferences, and the establishment of contacts, for minority group spokesmen in the Federal Republic of Germany;
5. assisting political refugees by providing expertise and documentary material for lawyers and courts, and, in some cases, individual aid;
6. providing expert advice to journalists, authors, publishers, and other organizations.

By organizing and implementing numerous human rights actions, often in coordination with a worldwide network of organizations, action committees, and civil rights and peoples' rights movements among the endangered peoples themselves, a number of favorable results have been achieved:

- In conducting research and providing basic information on the approximately 20.000 Christian Assyrians of New-Aramaic idiom living among us, the GfBV was instrumental in gaining recognition as political refugees.
- The wide publicity given in the German media to the genocide committed against Armenians in 1915-18 was made possible by four hitherto unmatched GfBV documents. These also were published and acknowledged internationally.
- From 1970 until 1976, the GfBV was the only German institution doing "pioneer work" on behalf of Kurds, of whom no less than 300.000 are now living among us.
- By organizing effective publicity tours of the Federal Republic for spokesmen of Indian civil rights movements from North, Central, and South America it has been possible to awaken continuous interest and attention among the churches, humanitarian organizations, and Third World groups. This has led to the formation of a large number of action groups in support of the Indian peoples, particularly in Latin America.
- It was the GfBV which stimulated discussion, at national and international levels, about the genocide against the "gypsies" (a taboo subject in Germany until 1978). This resulted in public rehabilitation of this ethnic group as well as the elimination of numerous discriminatory regulations, which were in force in Germany between 1945 and 1979. Since then the proper terms *Roma* and *Sinti* have been widely accepted, and civil rights groups of this German national minority are now subsidized by Federal and *Länder* governments.

In 1983, the dramatic intensification of discriminatory measures by German authorities against so-called *guest workers* ("Gastarbeiter", the German term for foreign laborers), political refugees enjoying political asylum, and stateless Roma, led to numerous GfBV activities on behalf of Assyrians, Kurds, Jesidi, Tamils, South Sudanese, Roma, and others. It is one of the facts of our time that the activity for an organization such as the *Gesellschaft für Bedrohte Völker* is increasing rather than decreasing.

Translation by J. and D. Clayton

(Text edited 1985/86)



Threatened Peoples

Report No. 4

February 1991

GERMANY AND GENOCIDE IN IRAQ

persecution and extermination of Kurds and Assyrian Christians

1968-1990



Tilman Zülch
Inse Geismar

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FOREWORD

The second Gulf War has begun. No event since World War II has caused such deep consternation in Germany as has the international UN alliance's attack on Iraq under the leadership of the United States. "No blood for oil" is the slogan of the peace movement, which simply and rightly assumes that the international effort dedicated to the liberation of Kuwait would not have come into existence if the area's only product were barley; but the military action of the UN alliance is now directed against a barbaric regime.

For twenty-two years the world has looked on as one of the cruellest dictatorships in the world has, with almost all of the means at its disposal, continually committed genocide-like crimes against the Kurds and Assyrian Christians of northern Iraq. For over two centuries, Kurds and Assyrians in Iraq have suffered imprisonment, torture, executions, mass executions, the massacre of entire villages, assassinations, deportations, and bombardments with phosphorus, napalm, and poison gas.

Since 1970 the Society for Threatened Peoples (die Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker - GfbV) has persistently drawn attention to the military support provided to the Baath dictatorship by both West and East Germany. While the GDR, with the help of its national security service (STASI), built up similar security networks in Iraq and placed military advisors at Iraq's disposal, West Germany trained Iraqi pilots and officers at its own military facilities and over 180 German companies helped Iraq to build up its various weapons industries, including the production of poison gas, missiles, and atomic and biological weapons.

With innumerable appeals, initiatives, letter campaigns, demonstrations, etc., our human rights organization opposed this German involvement in Iraq and showed it to be a concrete contribution to the genocidal crimes committed against both nationalities. But the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide, which had been signed by the German Federal Government, was disregarded by both the companies involved and the various German governments in office. For years no great attention was paid (and this is true of churches, unions, and political parties) to the fate of the Kurds and the Assyrian Christians, and to the sale of weapons to Iraq. The protests that now have arisen to preserve the peace have come too late.

The news reports on the war are conducted, especially on the television stations, like sports coverage. A series of other wars, that have claimed far more civilian lives, in south Sudan, in Ethiopia, in Afghanistan or in East Timor, drag on. German weapons are involved in these wars, too. Tragically, the peace movement is only marginally aware of them. The first Gulf War claimed 1.5 million victims. Hundreds of thousands of children and teenagers died as soldiers on the

front. Kurds and Assyrians were also murdered during this time. Their plight did not attract a great deal of attention, not even when 15,000 of them were murdered by a poison gas attack carried out by their own government.

At the high point of the first Gulf War Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher visited Iran along with thirty leading West German industrial managers. To "welcome" him, so to speak, a hundred political prisoners were executed; the executions did not cease during his visit, and after his departure they were continued to an even greater extent. When Genscher spoke of a joint human rights meeting with Khomeini's politicians, no cries of protest were heard in Germany.

The Soviet army has begun to come down heavily on the Baltic Republics; only a few hundred people have gone out on German streets to protest. Human rights organizations "falling between two stools," must also point out these shortcomings of the peace movement.

Other than the Palestinian issue, the Kurds in the media are discussed in passing only. The Palestinian's right to existence has never been really at stake. The Palestinians might deplore their lack of selfdetermination, their fate in Jordan, Lebanon and Israel. They might even deplore the terrible treatment their working force in Iraq has been receiving by Saddam Hussein's institutions when he thought he didn't need them any more. For the Kurds, on the other hand, especially those of Iraq, their mere existence and their survival is in question since Saddam Hussein started his campaign of deportation many years ago and his bombing of the Kurdish areas with chemical weapons four years ago. Iraq is committing a crime of physical genocide against the Kurds and it is tragic that the representatives of the Palestinians including the PLO are expressing solidarity with Saddam Hussein, the murderer of the Kurds. The need for a just and durable solution for the cohabitation of the Palestinians and Israel is not questioned but the search for a solution to the problems of the Kurdish people must now be given a central importance.

The Society for Threatened Peoples, together with the International Federation for Human Rights (Paris), the Raoul Wallenberg Society (Budapest), The Anti-Slavery Society (London), the Movement Against Racism (Paris), and the president of the Alliance of Jews Persecuted During the Nazi Regime, Simon Wiesenthal, as well as the first president of the European Parliament, Simone Veil, have called for a United Nations international conference on the genocide-like crimes committed against the Kurdish people, as well as the creation of an autonomous region in the areas of Kurdish settlement in Iraq, to be safeguarded by international guarantees. This Kurdish autonomy must be supplemented by an ethnic group statute for the Assyrian Christians and other religious minorities. Only such a solution will prevent future persecution of minorities in Iraq.

Tilman Zülch, Chairman
Society for Threatened Peoples

GENOCIDE IN IRAQ

For two decades The Society for Threatened Peoples (die Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker - GfbV) has, in German-speaking regions, persistently drawn attention to the human rights violations committed in Iraq since the Baath party's assumption of power. Along with the documentation by the Society for Threatened Peoples, an irrefutable abundance of reports from organizations such as Helsinki Watch, International Federation for Human Rights, Cultural Survival, Index on Censorship, amnesty international, the Arab Union of Lawyers, and innumerable other renowned institutions, as well as reports by the American Congress, the British Government and the Human Rights Sub-Committee of the UN Decolonization Committee on Genocide, are in existence. Despite countless human rights documentations and campaigns, press releases, petitions by international bodies, and appeals to federal governments and international institutions, no appreciable successes against the Baath dictatorship, which has been in power since 1968, could be achieved. On the contrary, the human rights violations have increased, qualitatively and quantitatively, to such an extent that human rights organizations rightly call the Iraqi dictatorship one of the most barbaric political systems of our time.

Oriented to a radical Arab nationalistic ideology that calls for the unification of all Arab countries and regions between the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf into one Arab nation, the Baath government aims at destroying Iraq's ethnic and religious diversity and, at the same time, at the elimination of all political opposition. Twenty-seven percent of Iraq's population are Kurds (approx. 5 million); of these, 80,000 are non-Muslim Yezidis. There are at least 400,000 oriental Christians, predominantly Aramaic-speaking Assyrians of the Nestorian or Chaldai faith. There are 300,000 members of the Turkmens, a Turkish-speaking ethnic group. The Islamic Arab majority population are two-thirds Schiite and one-third Sunnite. There are, in addition, smaller ethnic and religious minorities, among them the Jews and the Mandaens.

The Iraqi policies of destruction, forced political conformity, and forced assimilation of ever-greater numbers of the largest national minority, the Kurds, and also the Christian Assyrian ethnic groups residing in northern Iraq, represents the systematic violation of the 1948 UN convention on the prevention and punishment of genocide.

The Society for Threatened Peoples accuses the Iraqi Baath junta of murdering over 200,000 Kurds and 20,000 Assyrian Christians between 1968 and 1990, predominantly civilians (if one takes into account those who died of starvation, illness, and exhaustion as the result of Iraqi military operations, the death toll could probably be doubled). Four to five thousand villages (mostly in the mountainous region of north Iraq) were deliberately destroyed. One-and-a half to two

million people were deported from their homelands, 13,000 Kurds and 2,000 Assyrian Christians were murdered by poison gas, a series of village communities were collectively massacred. Mass shootings of Kurds and Assyrian Christians occurred both in and out of prison. Thousands were tortured to death, including many children under the age of fourteen. Tens of thousands of people - the Barzani Kurds alone suffered the loss of 8,000 victims - disappeared, apparently, forever. Countless Kurdish and Assyrian politicians and traditional leaders fell victim to poison gas attacks and assassinations, carried out above all by representatives of Iraq's diplomatic service.

Victims of the most serious human rights violations also include the Turkish-speaking Turkmen population as well as the long-settled minority groups such as the Mandaens, who were driven out of southern Iraq by Saddam Hussein, and the few Jews still remaining in Iraq. Likewise, large parts of the religious and political leadership of the Shiite-Islamic majority in Iraq were eliminated.

Since 1979, The Society for Threatened Peoples has repeatedly criticized the political stance of the Federal Republic of Germany towards Iraq, and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs has been asked why the various Federal Governments have placed such a high value on economic relations with Iraq and such a low value on the human rights question.

1. EXECUTIONS AND MASS EXECUTIONS

The execution of members of ethnic and religious groups, political prisoners, and members of oppositional political parties, as well as dissident members of the Baath Party, has long been a fact of everyday life in Iraq. According to paragraph No.111 of the Iraqi Penal Law of 1969, which has been repeatedly supplemented or altered, the death sentence applies to all those who:

- leave Iraq and do not return
- desert from the army
- flee to a foreign country
- apply for asylum in a foreign country
- join an opposition (illegal) political party
- agitate against the government
- incite another person, even a member of their own family, to opposition against the government
- deride the president, the Baath Party, or the members of Parliament
- take up arms against the government
- work together with a hostile government
- own a typewriter without the permission of the government
- betray government secrets (including reporting on torture).



According to the Iraq Chronicles, No.3124, Nov. 17, 1986, the resolution of the Revolutionary Council No. 840 was as follows:

"Under the terms of section (1) of Paragraph 42 of the Iraqi Basic Law, the Revolutionary Council, in its session of Nov. 4, 1986, has decided the following:

First:

The text of Paragraph 225 of the Penal Code No.(111) from the year 1969 shall be altered as follows:

1. Whoever publicly insults the President, his representatives, the Revolutionary Council, The Arabic Socialist Baath Party, the National Assembly, or the Government, will be sentenced to life imprisonment with confiscation of all movable and immovable property. The death sentence will be imposed when the insult and/or the attack takes place with the deliberate intention of inciting public opinion against the authority of the state.

2. Whoever publicly insults the Judiciary, the Armed Forces or other public institutions, authorities or national organizations will be sentenced to up to seven years of imprisonment with fines.

Second:

Paragraph 226 of the Penal Code is annulled.

Third:

This ruling takes effect from the date of its publication in the "National Report."

Saddam Hussein

Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council

Iraqi Chronicles No.3124
From Nov. 17, 1986

695

"The constitution and the Iraqi legislation contain regulations and safeguards that guarantee the dignity and freedom of the people... The application of justice and the existing practice confirm the observance of these principles." With these words the President of the Iraqi Revolutionary Tribunal answered, in June 1984, an inquiry by amnesty international (ai).

The following summary of the facts collected by amnesty international (ai) between 1974 and 1986 and published in the yearly report gives an unambiguous picture. It must be taken into account that the reports from ai as a rule give rather low estimates; especially in Iraq, the figures are generally far exceeded by the reality. The following list includes other victims along with the Kurds and Assyrians.

June 1974 to June 1976: The number of known executions (291) is the highest in the Middle East. The victims of the death sentences, which were primarily given by military courts, were 39 Kurdish students, 150 politically active Kurds, 5 Shiites, 6 members of the armed forces, and 91 people who belonged to no one unified group. Seventy Kurds in Abu-Ghraib Prison and in Mossul Prison await execution in the near future. The Kurdish population was also the main focus of arbitrary political arrests: 1974-75, during the dispute with this group, 550 Kurds were supposedly imprisoned, and another 270 since the Iran-Iraq peace treaty of March 6, 1975. Another 200 to 250 former Freemasons, along with 30 Shiites, were arrested as possible enemies of the state. Some were sentenced to imprisonments. The number of unknown cases is

considerable. New reports of arrests, above all of members of the Shiite majority in Iraq, are constantly appearing (without exact figures). The torture of political prisoners occurs, now as before, regularly.

Both official and unofficial sources report on a consistently high number of executions in the time period from June 1976 to June 1977. According to Iraqi exiles, several hundred Kurds were executed after they gave themselves up to the Iraqi authorities following the government's announcement of a series of pardons in connection with the Iran-Iraq agreement of March 6, 1975. Some 60,000 members of this group have been held since March 1975 in camps in southern Iraq.

June 1977 to June 1978: The number of arrests made without legal proceedings increased. Of these, the largest number of arrested persons were members of the Kurdish population. Amnesty international issued the names of over 760 arrested or detained Kurdish opposition members and family members of the Pesh Mergas. In addition, the organization learned the names of 200 Kurds who had been executed since January 1976 (mainly in the Mossul Prison). The total number of executed Kurds, however, was at least 253, since another 53 Kurds whose names are unknown must be added to the total. These were killed in a single night some time in June-July 1977 in Mossul Prison. They were charged with being members of a Kurdish political party. Besides this, there was documentary evidence proving the execution of 28 members of the armed forces who were politically active.

June 1978 to May 1979: Members of illegal Kurdish parties or the Kurdish militia continue to be arrested and executed for their opposition to the economic politics of the government and to the continuing deportation of Kurdish village dwellers from the border areas. Along with the former Freemasons, Shiites, and Kurds, for the first time members of Christian communities (an estimated 60 to 600 people) were arrested. Unofficial sources speak of further thousands of arrests of members and sympathizers of the Iraqi Communist Party. All are believed to have been severely tortured; charges were never brought against them. At least eleven of them were still in prison as late as the end of 1979.

May 1979 to April 1980: Executions occurred more frequently than in past years, above all as a penalty for non-violent political activities: ai received names and detailed information on a total of over 140 people who were executed between May 1979 and April 1980. In the proceedings before the Revolutionary Tribunal in Baghdad and the respective tribunals that issued the majority of death sentences, elementary guarantees of rights were lacking. Confessions were obtained through torture. This is particularly true of the special tribunal in Kirkuk, which was employed particularly in proceedings against Kurds who had been arrested in the autonomous region and accused of political crimes.

April 1980 to December 1980: Starting in May 1980, ai received alarming reports of alleged poisonings of political suspects: A number of people who were arrested under suspicion of being political opponents were said to have been given something to drink shortly before their release, and

to have become ill some time after their release. In the cases of three people - two of whom have already died - sufficient evidence to verify the allegations was available to the organization. Torture and executions continued unabated: ai received the names of 13 people who had been killed by torture since June 1979. In November a total of 81 Kurds were sentenced to die. Twenty-five of these sentences are believed to already have been carried out.

January 1, 1981 to December 31, 1981: according to official reports, 350 people were executed in 1981. The actual number could be much higher. This is indicated by the sporadic reports of mass executions that reached ai: in June 1981 the special tribunal in Kirkuk imposed the death sentence on 27 Iraqi Kurds because they were said to be - or so read the legal opinion justifying their sentence - members of the outlawed Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK). Another 140 members of the PUK were executed in Abu-Ghraib Prison shortly after their arrest at the end of September. On March 16 the Syrian newspaper Al Ba'ath reported the execution of 176 members of the Iraqi armed forces; according to official sources, 38 Iraqi pro-Syrian Ba'ath party sympathizers were executed on September 26. This wave of executions is connected to the increasing activity of opposition groups since the beginning of the Iran-Iraq war; the deportation of tens of thousands of Iraqi Shiites can also be seen as a result of this increased activity.

January 1, 1982 to December 31, 1982: Alone the separate reports that reach ai speak of a total of 238 dead in mass executions: 27 Turkmens, 10 members and supporters of the PUK, 166 Shiites and 35 members of the Iraqi Communist Party. In addition, the reports indicate that "several army officers" were executed because of their "failure" in the Iran-Iraq war, and that 29 people were tortured to death between the years 1979 and 1981. Ai received the names of hundreds of people who had been incarcerated on political grounds since 1979; opposition and exile Iraqi sources speak of thousands of political prisoners.

January 1, 1983 to December 31, 1983: For 1983, ai lists over 300 executions; the organization assumes, however, that the actual number is higher. Victims were army officers, deserters, those who refused to serve in the military, and members of parties in active opposition to the government. Exact figures on the extent of political imprisonments are not available. The following case offers an impression of the extent of the incarcerations: At the beginning of May, over 130 members of the family of Ayatollah Muhammed Bagher Al Hakim, who lives in Iran and is the spokesman of the Iraqi opposition group Shi'a, were arrested and incarcerated; some were tortured. Six of them were later executed.

January 1, 1984 to December 31, 1984: At least another several hundred people are imprisoned on political grounds. In August alone, the security forces arrest more than 150 Assyrians because of their political activities. The available information is not sufficient to give an exact count of the number of executions. However, ai assumes that in 1984 hundreds of executions took place. Besides members of the military, those executed included school children and university students, Kurds, members of the outlawed Al Da'wa

Islamiyya (Call of Islam), and people convicted of various crimes.

January 1, 1985 to December 31, 1985: Relatives of people being searched for (primarily deserters from the army or members of the Pesh Mergas) are increasingly taken as hostages. Victims of this state action were, for example, 300 children, aged ten to fourteen years, who were taken in September and October, and three of whom died as the consequence of torture inflicted upon them during their incarceration. Exact details on the number of executions were not available to ai: the organization assumes that hundreds of death sentences have been carried out. Scant material is available on 111 executions. These involve around 60 Kurds, 3 Assyrians, 10 members of the Hakim family (see above), as well as members of the Iraqi Communist Party and the Al Da'awa Al Islamiyya. In addition, government troops killed more than 300 Kurds when they demonstrated in Sulaimaniya and Arbil in October against the execution of ten Kurds and the arrest of several hundred more in these northern parts of the country.

January 1, 1986 to December 31, 1986: Reports reach ai of the execution of a total of 38 Kurdish university and high school students (mostly PUK sympathizers, some of whom were under 18 years of age), 25 members of the Kurdish Democratic Party and the Kurdish Socialist Party of Iraq, and seven people accused of business crimes. The actual number of executions in 1986 is estimated by the organization to be several hundred; and through new laws, the number of crimes punishable by the death sentence increases. The 300 Kurdish children who were arrested in October 1985 and several hundred other people arrested in Sulaimaniya and Arbil are considered to have "disappeared."

January 1, 1987 to October 31, 1987: amnesty international, in its 1988 yearly report, confirms various reports by the Society for Threatened Peoples and other human rights organizations on the murder of the Kurds. Of the 29 executed children and youths - out of 300 incarcerated children and youths - the report read: "many of the young people were beaten, sexually abused, and tortured with electrical shocks." The disappearance of 178 Shiites was confirmed. In November and December at least 360 prisoners - mainly Kurds and including 17 children between the ages of 14 and 17 - were executed. At the end of 1987 ai reported that 40 opponents of the government were poisoned with thallium by the security forces.

January 1, 1988 to December 31, 1988: According to ai, in 1988 more than 6,000 people, mainly unarmed civilians, were deliberately killed. In its 1989 yearly report ai confirms the longtime view of the Society for Threatened Peoples that "these murders were a part of a systematic and deliberate policy of the Iraqi government to eliminate parts of the Kurdish civilian population." On April 2, 400 civilians were executed in the Tamjaro barracks after being wounded in a chemical weapon attack on their villages in the area around Karadagh. Ai also confirms that on August 28, near the city of Dohuk, 1,000 Kurds were executed after summary trials and buried in mass graves nearby.

January 1, 1989 to December 31, 1989: Various people who had returned to Iraq in 1988 were arrested in 1989 and tortured or executed. Thousands of political prisoners remain imprisoned without indictments or trials. Ai lists as "disappeared" a further 178 members of Shiite families and the 8,000 followers of the Barzani Kurds, as well as 353 Kurds who were arrested in August 1988. Among these were 52 children between 11 and 15 years of age. Also listed as "disappeared" are 33 Assyrians who returned from other countries under amnesty in 1988. In 1989 ai heard for the first time reports of at first 11 and later 83 executions of deserters in the city of Al'Amara in July and December 1988. In January 1984, 14 army members, including 3 generals as well as members of the Baath Party, were executed for conspiracy. Four others, including one Brigadier General, were executed in July 1989. Seven of the Kurds, who were actually covered by the amnesty, were executed in Dibs, near Kirkuk, and four more in April, three in Abu-Ghraib Prison and one in Kirkuk.

2. MASSACRES

Mass liquidation of families, especially Kurdish families, has been a part of Baath government policy since the beginning of the 1970s. Victims of these crimes were, again and again, Kurdish and Assyrian Christian village communities in northern Iraq.

On August 18, 1977, Patrick Montgomery, Secretary General of the Anti-Slavery Society, reported to the Sub-Committee for the Protection of Minorities, a department of the United Nations, on the destruction of 63 Kurdish villages by bulldozers and the murder of 32 Kurdish children, women and old people. The names of all the dead were known.

On March 1, 1988, an eye witness from the Society for Threatened Peoples reported on the liquidation of 21 Kurds in the village of Schaklawo in the province of Arbil. On Feb. 2, 1988, The Society for Threatened Peoples sent out a press release describing the massacre of 250 women, children and old people in the region of Cimen, north of Kirkuk, on Nov. 20, 1987.

According to various eyewitness reports and human rights organizations (among them Urgent Action, Sept. 9, 1988), after the occupation of villages in Dohuk by the Iraqi army on Aug. 28, 1988, 1,000 arrested villagers were executed and buried in mass graves. On September 2, 1988, 3,000 of the refugees caught by the Iraqi army near the Turkish border were shot

On March 8, 1990 the Society for Threatened Peoples presented the press with a list of over 353 missing Kurds from the Amadiya district. The press statement read:

"The Society for Threatened Peoples received information today on renewed persecution of the Kurds in Iraq. Between the 3rd and 5th of March, 1990, some 30 Kurds were carried off from the detention camp near Raniya in the province of Sulaimaniya to an unknown place and ten more were shot. They had left the camp, which is guarded by the military, "without

permission," in order to look for work. The occupants of the camp had been deported there from their villages in Kaldize in the summer of 1988. They no longer receive money in these compulsory camps, and cannot work, so they suffer from malnutrition. Our human rights organization received this information from a well-informed and reliable Kurdish source.

On September 8, 1988, the Society for Threatened Peoples presented the press with a list of 1,248 Kurds who Saddam Hussein had had murdered after the Iraqi amnesty of March 1975 had come into effect. Those murdered included well-known personalities, such as Salih Yussifi, the former Iraqi State Minister; Dara Tawfik, Chief Editor of the Kurdish newspaper "Al Taakhi," organ of the Kurdish Democratic Party; Dr. Hussein Barzani, lecturer at the University of Sulaimaniya; Kadir Kaban, an important Kurdish singer; Ale Hazhar, school headmaster; and Shaokat Akrawi.

A report on an especially horrible mass execution of 5,000 political prisoners on September 12, 1984 was handed in by the British Labour Member of Parliament and president of the International Committee for the Release of Detained and Disappeared Women in Iraq by Dr. Oonagh McDonald (March 14, 1986) and by another Labour Member of Parliament, Ann Clwyd (Minister president for Cynon Valley). The majority of these prisoners had refused military service; political opponents (from the Islamic, Communist and leftist Baath Parties), as well as some hundred Kurds, were included among the victims. "After the execution a slip of paper with the name and address of the executed was tied around the neck of each corpse. The families of the dead were forced to appear at the prison with a car and a coffin. The bodies were handed over only upon payment of 50 Iraqi dinars to cover the cost of execution. The families were warned that their sons, as cowards and conspirators, could not receive a normal funeral."

The newspaper Badil al-Islami (No.16, Jan. 21, 1988) reported the execution of 700 Kurdish, Arabic and Turkmenish political prisoners on New Year's Eve 1987-1988 in Abu-Ghraib prison. Forty-six of the prisoners came from the Kurdish city of Sulaimaniya. Their bodies were returned to the city on January 5, 1988. The victims were listed by name.

That Saddam Hussein did not shrink from imprisoning and executing children or youths was frequently reported by different human rights organizations. On February 13, 1987 the Society for Threatened Peoples said, in a statement to the press:

"From normally reliable Kurdish sources, the Society for Threatened Peoples has been told that between 70 and 150 (the number varies with the source) Kurdish children and young people had been executed in the second half of January of this year in Iraq. All of those executed came from the Kurdish province Sulaimaniya. The human rights organization has, at this point, a list of 29 names (available upon request). Fourteen of the youths who are known by name were minors. All of the bodies handed over to the families - after they had paid the fee for the execution - had had the eyes removed.



It is to be feared that such executions will continue, since the regime of President Saddam Hussein has taken three hundred children and youths hostage since October 1985 from the city of Sulaimaniya alone. Most of these are members of the families of Kurds who have refused military service or deserted, and it is hoped that their executions will serve as a deterrent. An escaped prison-mate of the children sent a written report to the Society for Threatened Peoples (available upon request) by way of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan.

The prisoners (who are since known to have been executed) were, together with these three hundred youths, interrogated by military security forces in Sulaimaniya after demonstrations by children, youths and students (Society for Threatened Peoples, on Nov. 12, 1985 and a yearly report 1986) in the city of Sulaimaniya in September and October, 1985. After interrogation they were taken to an unknown place of detention. The families have since then received no news at all about the whereabouts of their children, nor has amnesty international. Directly after the mass arrests of 1985, three dead children (between 11 and 14 years old) with clear signs of torture on their bodies were thrown in front of their parent's homes. The above was also confirmed by ai in its 1986 yearly report.

In December 1986, The Society for Threatened Peoples received information in December 1986 from an escaped Kurdish eyewitness who had been held in the security forces prison in Sulaimaniya along with these children.

He described the reasons for his arrest as follows:

"I was held prisoner for seven months in 1985 by the security forces of the Iraqi government. I was tortured because I was suspected of being in contact with members of the PUK and the Pesh Mergas (Kurdish freedom fighters). I was to be forced, through torture, into giving the security forces background information about my political work and into betraying the names of my politically active friends."

He told us what he, as a prisoner of the Iraqi regime, had seen of the children and what he had had to experience with them.

"I spent the first days in solitary confinement. My eyes were covered, and I could not see anyone or have contact with any other prisoners. Finally, after I had been tormented this way for about two weeks, I was taken by the security forces and locked into a tiny cell, no larger than 10 square meters, with nine other men.

After some time we were taken to a slightly larger cell, but we only stayed there for five days without new prisoners joining us. Then we were dragged into the corridor by the security officers. I supposed that the new cell would be needed for new prisoners. But what I then had to see, as I sat chained in the corridor, was worse than I had feared: The security officers drove about 300 young Kurds, aged 12 to 17 years (I estimated), through the corridor into the cell. The children were treated brutally by the guards of the security forces. With blows and kicks the young people were driven forward. I could make no contact with the children except with my eyes.

When all the children had been driven into the cell, we who were sitting in the corridor were separated. Three of us,

including myself, who had given the Iraqi regime none of the information they wanted despite torture, were locked in with the children. After that the security officers threw another seven prisoners into our room.

A cruel night followed. We were constantly watched through a hole in the door, so we could hardly talk at all to one another. The cell was so small that only a few of the children, who were chained to each other in pairs, could sit on the cold bare floor. The rest of us stood close together in the cold room. Since the cell had no windows, there was hardly any more oxygen to breathe. But these inhuman conditions were not our only torments. Every hour the torturers from the security forces appeared at the door, selected three to five prisoners (children and adults), and dragged them into another cell for torture. Those who had been tortured were simply thrown back into the cell by the guards. They were often covered with blood, and we could clearly see the marks of blows and electric shocks on their bodies.

We tried to help them as best we could. The fear in our cell grew. The children could hardly endure this torture - they trembled and howled. The air in the cell grew even closer and the floor became more smeared with blood.

In the middle of the night three young boys were taken out of the cell for torture. They were so badly injured by the torture that they were taken to the military hospital by the security officers, for the Iraqi government does not want prisoners with information to die before they talk under torture. When the children were back in the cell, one boy told us that it was 3:00 a.m. and that a doctor had told the security officers that the children should not be tortured any more.

Several children tried to sleep on the floor. One boy who had been in the hospital lay very quietly, and we thought that he had finally fallen asleep. But when the guards took the children out, we knew that he had died because of the torture. No one knows what happened to his body after that. In the next weeks our situation changed hardly at all. Three times a day we were thrown food - in the morning, one roll for two prisoners, at noon one plate of food for ten prisoners and at night a pear or five grapes for each person. If anyone complained of hunger he received torture instead of food.

Since we were seldom allowed to visit the toilets, the children often dirtied their clothing. The leader of the prison ordered the other prisoners to punish these children. We had to beat the children with a rubber truncheon. Whoever refused would themselves be tortured.

During interrogation and torture, the children were frightened with false information. At this time more children died from the torture.

Every week ten or more prisoners disappeared from our cell. They were taken before the judge who came to the jail every Thursday to sentence the prisoners and in this way to sort them. The judge signed whatever the security forces told him to. There was no defense possible for the prisoners. With this sort of sentencing, the Iraqi regime seeks to legalize its crimes.

When I was released from prison, only a few children remained in the cell. I don't know where the others were taken. But on my trips to the toilets or to interrogation, I heard, from the screams of the prisoners, that there were still children

in the prison. If these were children from our cell or other incarcerated and tortured children, I cannot say."

3. DISAPPEARANCES

Iraqi emigrants have repeatedly reported that incarcerated or interned Iraqi citizens particularly Kurds disappear without a trace after their arrests. Causing prisoners to disappear has become more and more the practice in recent years, especially by military dictators. The fate of those missing in Argentina and Chile, obviously liquidated by the military dictatorships, has been condemned worldwide. Today the mass graves in which these victims were thrown by members of the army are being opened. In Iraq, the fates of ten thousand missing persons remain unclear. Their numbers increase along with those of the deported, arrested and secretly executed.

The worst case, in numerical terms, of missing persons is that of 8,000 Barzani Kurds, whose fate has been publicized again and again by the Society for Threatened Peoples, whose ATP press statement of 2.2.1988 states:

"On July 30, 1983, 8.000 so-called Barzani Kurds, relatives and family of the Kurdish leader General Mustafa Barzani (died 1979), were taken out of an internment camp near Arbil in a surprise action. They were loaded into trucks and taken away to an unknown destination. Since then there has been no sign of life from them. They were mainly women, children and old people, aged 12 to 80 years. The Society for Threatened Peoples knows by name 2,280 of those 8,000 kidnapped people.

In February 1988, usually reliable sources in the Iraqi opposition published the names of 426 Kurdish survivors of Iraqi poison gas attacks who had sought medical aid in government hospitals in the larger Kurdish cities of Arbil and Sulaimaniya, and who had since then disappeared.

On March 8, 1990, the Society for Threatened Peoples was forced to give up for the time being their search for information concerning the disappearance of 353 Kurdish heads of families from the Beregara and Rekan regions. These Kurds belonged to village whose populations were being forcibly deported to military camps around Sersenk and in the process, they were separated from their wives and children. They were first taken to the prison of Dahok Qala, and there tortured and interrogated. According to one source they were still alive on September 1, 1988, but since then there has been no sign of them.

4. IMPRISONMENT AND DEPORTATION OF FAMILY MEMBERS

True to the National Socialist model, Saddam Hussein holds people responsible for the political behaviour of their relatives. When one family member flees from Iraq, removes himself to the mountains, joins an opposition or resistance group, or deserts from the army, all close relatives must count on being imprisoned, interned or deported. The Society for Threatened Peoples has recorded various testimony to this effect from involved persons.

5. POISONINGS AND ASSASSINATIONS

The terrorization and elimination of the political opposition in Iraq as well as of the members of ethnic and religious groups has in no way been limited by Saddam Hussein's government to Iraqi territory. Rather, in neighbouring countries as well as in Europe and overseas, assaults are perpetrated on personalities of the Kurdish, Assyrian, Shiite, communist, or democratic resistance. In many cases this persecution ended with political figures being successfully "eliminated". In many cases, members of the Iraqi diplomatic service took part in the attempted or successfully completed murderous attacks. Iraqi diplomacy is largely an instrument of the national security services and the special security forces of the Baath Party, which arose from the underground terror commandos of the party in the 1960's. Head of the service is Saddun Shaker, a cousin of the vice president of the "Revolutionary Commando Council" of the Baath Party in Iraq, Saddam Hussein Takriti. The Commando Council is the true law-making and governing power in the country. Iraqi diplomats have in many cases participated directly in political murders and espionage in: the USA, Canada, France, Great Britain, Switzerland, Austria, Rumania, Lebanon, Pakistan, India, Afghanistan and South Yemen. The Society for Threatened Peoples gives just a small example of these types of incidents in the following:

- In December 1976, the US Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms caught the Iraqi chief delegate to the United Nations, Abdul Karim Al Shaikhly, in an attempt to smuggle 100 machine guns.

- In October 1976 in Lausanne the Iraqi consul and representative of his country in the United Nation Council in Geneva, Nabil Najim Al-Takriti, organized a firearms attack on the Kurdish representative, author and Society for Threatened Peoples advisory board member Dr. Ismet Sherif Vanly. Vanly survived with severe injuries.

- In July 1978, an official of the Iraqi Ministry of Justice, Abdul Rahman Al-Shukr (holder of a diplomatic passport), organized the assassination of the former Iraqi Prime Minister General Al-Naif in London. Great Britain thereupon expelled 11 Iraqi agents, including the Military Attaché, the Trade and Culture Attaché, the third secretary and a Consul from the Iraqi Embassy in London because of their complicity in Naif's murder. Al-Shukri was convicted.

- Iraqi diplomats from the embassy in Paris shot at the French police in July 1978, when they arrested an intruder in the embassy. The Iraqi diplomats killed a police inspector and wounded two others; the prisoner was killed instantly. French officials try to hush up the event.

- In January 1979 "Iraqi diplomats", who had been staying in the embassy of their country in Vienna for half a year, committed a gun attack on Masoud Barzani, the son of the Kurdish leader Mustafa Barzani. Masoud Barzani escaped, two Kurdish students were severely injured. The attack was organized by Abdul Hussein Al-Jamali, Undersecretary of State in the Iraqi Foreign Ministry and by Kadhim Jawad, director of the press attaché in the Iraqi Foreign Ministry and first vice-president of the so-called "International Progress Organization". Other "diplomats" took part in the preparation



for the attack, including the current security agent of the Iraqi embassy in Bonn. Incidentally, the tip to the German "services", that a killer commando of Iraqis had entered the Federal Republic of Germany to carry out attacks on exiled Kurdish political figures came from Vienna (The tip was discovered by amnesty international through an indiscretion and publicized by them).

- In February 1979, the Swedish police discovered an espionage ring of the Iraqi services which was aimed at the Kurdish, Assyrian, Palestinian and Iraqi refugees in Sweden (and which also delivered information to the CIA). Involved in the affair: the Iraqi Ambassador in Germany, Al-Bayraqdar, plus the Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of Trade in Baghdad, Mahdi Muhsin Ouda, and - as in the attack on General Naif in London - Ghassan Marhun, the chairman of the Iraqi Industrial Association (who at the same time acted as the intermediary for the German-Arabic Chamber of Commerce), as well the military attaché to the Iraqi embassy in Bonn was involved. Sweden expelled the Iraqi military attaché in Stockholm and the first and second embassy council.

- On June 2, 1979, the security agent of the Iraqi embassy in Aden, South Yemen, Bahir Mohammed, along with the Iraqi ambassador Saik Hamid (who took part in the murder plot against Masoud Barzani in Vienna) assassinated the Kurdish professor Tewfik Rushdie, a functionary of the Iraqi Communist Party. The participants were arrested.

- The security agent of the Iraqi embassy in Lebanon, together with members of the People's Front for Liberation of Palestine, assassinated on June 20, 1979, the Iraqi acting editor-in-chief of the PLO newspaper "Falsti al-Thawra", Adil Abdel Majid Wasfi, a member of the Iraqi Communist Party.

- On August 11, 1980 the Society for Threatened Peoples was able to alert the Berlin police to a planned bomb attack on the 21st Congress of the Association of Kurdish Students Abroad. The Society had received a tip from other Kurds. The Berlin Criminal Investigation Departement arrested the first secretary Kahlid J.Jaber and the embassy electrician Haj-Ali Mahmud of the Iraqi embassy in Berlin at the last minute. The attack, which had been planned in East Berlin, could have resulted in a blood-bath among the 120 participants in the Kurdish Congress and among the German guests of the youth hotel. The Society for Threatened Peoples protested on April 18, 1980, against the expulsion of two Iraqi assassins with diplomatic status in fact - a decision made by the Schmidt government and the Berlin Senate. The Society charged the Schmidt government with "giving one of the most barbarian regimes in the world carte blanche for further murders."

- On January 17, 1988 the prominent Shiite leader Amhdi Al-Hakim was shot during the Islamic Conference in Khartoum by Iraqi agents. Al-Hakim held a British passport. (I.S.V., 18.2.1988)

- On January 25, 1988 an attempt on the life of the exiled Iraqi politician Ahmad Al-Nahar after an attack on his house miscarried. Al-Nahar's wife was killed in the attack. (I.S.V., 18.2.1988)

- On January 20, 1988, the Iraqi opposition member Ale Abdullah Rahim Sharif died of thallium poisoning in a London hospital after a dinner with Iraqi government officials. (I.S.V., 18.2.1988)

- In February 1990 the American FBI prevented an attempt on the life of the chairman of the Assyrian National Congress, Dr.Sargou Dadesho in Modesto, California. Dadesho had made an

appointment with the Iraqi Kurdish politician Talabani for the time of the attack. The assassin, who had been paid by Iraq, remains in California under indictment. Also belonging to the particularly macabre methods of the Iraqi secret service are poisoning attempts against members of the opposition within the country. The "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" reported on 22.12.1987 a statement to the press made by the Society for Threatened Peoples:

"The well-known Kurdish opposition politician Mahmud Tschawresh was, according to Kurdish spokesmen, the target of a poisoning attempt by the Iraqi authorities. As reported by the Society for Threatened Peoples located in Göttingen, Tschawresh, at a Kurdish resistance camp near Sulaimaniya in Northern Iraq, had eaten a communal meal several days ago that was apparently poisoned with thallium. Kurdish spokesmen now report that the Iraqi secret service had mixed the thallium with the tomato paste with which the meal was prepared. Besides the mother of the Kurdish politician, six other people died after eating the meal. According to the report, also among the "poisoned" were the former Kurdish "External Affairs Minister" Mahmud Othman, his colleague Adnan Mufti, as well as the famous Kurdish poet Sami Shores. Hundreds of people in the camp of Merga suffered from the results of the poisoning: hair loss, vision impairment or even blindness.

According to the Society in Göttingen, Baghdad has already undertaken similar poisoning actions in the past. In 1970, Iraqi officials in the north, in the city of Dohuk near the Turkish-Iraqi border, poisoned wheat with thallium. Dozens of farmers died in the incident.

The Society's information was, according to the "Tages-spiegel" of Jan. 14, 1988, confirmed by ai:

"The prisoner's organization Amnesty International has charged the Iraqi security forces with poisoning at least 40 Kurdish members of the opposition in the last year, killing three of them. Amnesty has secretly been informed of a deliberate application of thallium-containing poison, Three members of the Kurdish rebels, according to the report, died in November of last year as a result of poisoning by the well-known rat poison. Three others were flown to England shortly before Christmas for treatment. There the local doctor diagnosed severe illness as a result of acute thallium poisoning.

In the northern Iraqi city of Merga, at the end of November 1987, ten members of the Kurdish opposition group, aged 14 to 60, were poisoned, apparently by an agent of the Iraqi security forces."

6. DEPORTATIONS

As early as the period of 1971-1972 Iraq had driven out 40,000 Shiite Kurds (who call themselves Faili Kurds) from Iraq into Iran. This Shiite minority within the larger minority of the Sunnite Kurds lived along the Iraq border south of Kanakin in the direction of Mandali. In 1974 the

Society for Threatened Peoples actively protested the continuation of deportations (pogrom Nr. 29/30, 1974). In the second half of the seventies about 200,000 Iraqis of "Iranian origin", many of them Faili Kurds, were suspected of being a "fifth column" for Iran and the "spearhead of Iranian ambition". They were expelled to Iran.

At a press conference held in the British Lower House on the occasion of the establishment of the British Kurdish Friendship Society on June 17, 1975, the Society for Threatened Peoples called attention to the mass deportation of Kurds and Christian Assyrians in southern Iraq. Alexander Sternberg-Spohr, the representative of the Society for Threatened Peoples, quoted reports of farmers in Kanakin being forced overnight to leave their homelands. Some 20.000 Kurds were taken in transport trucks and forced to resettle in southern Iraq. In November 1975 the Society for Threatened Peoples together with human rights groups in the Netherlands estimated the number of deported Kurds to have reached 200.000, and they named 116 affected villages. On November 22, 1975, the "Wiener Kurier" reported the forced resettlement of 25.000 Kurdish speaking Yezidi from the Sindjar Mountains. On December 21, 1975, the German Associated Press released a statement from the lawyer Ismet Sherif Vanly, himself a Kurd and the spokesman for the Kurds in western Europe (Vanly is a council member of the Society for Threatened Peoples and shortly after this release he was the victim of an Iraqi attack). Vanly denounced the forced deportation into southern Iraq of 150.000 Kurds who had returned to their homelands from Iran. On March 18, 1976, "Le Monde" verified the deportation of 200.000 Kurds and in November of the same year the French "League against Anti-Semitism" spoke of 300.000 deported Kurds. In 1977 "Le Monde Diplomatique" named 100.000-300.000 deportees. In the same year the General Secretary of the "Anti-Slavery Society" protested against the destruction by bulldozers of 163 Kurdish villages. On July 19, 1978, the German News Service, citing Turkish newspapers, reported the appearance of a zone empty of humans in northern Iraq, and the following September 18, the Iraqi Baath newspaper "Al Thawra" admitted to the deportation of 28.000 rural Kurdish families. At the same time Kurdish sources (KDP press release, September 21, 1978) reported the destruction of 424 Kurdish villages.

All these deportations were carried out by the "Higher Committee for the Affairs of the North", with Saddam Hussein as Chairman.

In the summer of 1988, after their last military offensive, (for the time being at least) in the Kurdish areas of the northern Iraq partially controlled by Kurdish guerillas, the Iraqi Government began creating a completely depopulated zone. According to official Iraqi sources, a depopulated security strip 30 kilometers wide and 1200 kilometers long is to be established along the borders to Iran, Turkey, and Syria. All these border areas belong to the traditional Kurdish territory and include the pocket territories of Nestorian Assyrians, the Chaldeans, as well as Kurdish-speaking Yezidis. The depopulation of Northern Iraq also includes a number of areas within the Kurdish territory. In 1989/90 the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) named 4.000 villages destroyed since 1975 and 220.000 deported families.

Today the PUK and the other large party of the Kurdish movement, the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) speak of 5.000 destroyed and burned villages and 1,5 million people directly involved. The Society for Threatened Peoples has examined the various reports and considers these figures to be realistic when one includes all the minorities involved since 1970. According to a statement from the organization "medico international", whole towns such as Qala Diza (population 80.000), Dokan (60.00), Sengaser (42.000), Tschoman (35.000), Pendschwin (31.000), Halabja (with a population of 22.000 and already attacked with chemical weapons in March 1988) and Churnal (17.00) were levelled to the ground and their inhabitants deported. Further cities such as Rania (population 120.000) and Koi Sandschak (50.000) have been informed that a similar fate awaits them.

The international press, and a number of different human rights organizations have repeatedly reported these human rights violations. The Turkish newspaper "Milliyet" verified in July, 1987 the repeated reports of forced resettlement. Near the town of Kirkuk alone, 100 Kurdish villages were cleared and their people resettled in the neighborhood of the Jordanian and Saudi Arabian borders. The October 26, 1987 "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" confirmed the forced settlement of Kurdish villagers between Mosul and Arbil, and reported other villagers being transported to desert areas. On June 28, 1988 the "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" reported the eviction of some 70.000 from the area around the Kurdish cities of Arbil, Sulaimaniya and Kirkuk as well as the deportation of 30.000 inhabitants from the town of Dokan. Edward Mortimer, the well-known British Middle East expert, called attention to the mass deportations of 300.000 in the "Financial Times" on June 3, 1989

In mid September, 1988, Saddam Hussein allowed 200 international journalists to fly into the Iraqi-Kurdish territory in the north, after he had occupied it. At that time about 150.000 - 200.000 Kurds had fled from the poison gas attacks into Turkey and Iran. Jürgen Gottschlich, correspondent for the Berlin "Tageszeitung", together with a number of his colleagues, recognized from the air former Kurdish villages as black patches in the Balisan Valley near Hadsch Omran as they flew over in Iraqi military helicopters. He wrote in the "taz", September 21, 1988: "As the helicopter drones along the Iraqi-Turkish border, a blackened strip stretches out below us. Destroyed villages, the houses crushed by bombs, burned fields between stripped bare mountains, nowhere can humans be seen. From Zakho, the border area where Iraq, Turkey, and Syria meet to Amadiya, once the most beautiful Kurdish city on the most northern point along the Turkish border, it was a picture of destruction. For the people who lived here, the question of whether Iraq used chemical weapons to devastate the area or not is secondary. Even if the accusation proves false, the Baghdad government has achieved its goal after 30 years of almost continual struggle against the rebellious Kurds. More than 4.000 villages in the mountains of northern Iraq have been destroyed, the people have fled over the border or they have been herded together in barracks easily controlled in the flatlands. Thus the resettlement policy for the Kurdish people, a policy starting in the seventies with deportations



to the south and systematically continued in the eighties, has been brought to a close."

According to a circular issued December 1990/January 1991 by the "International Federation for Human Rights" (Paris) the expulsion of people from the four medium-sized cities, including Rania with a population of 120.000, has already begun. According to their estimated figures, half of the Kurdish population already lives in so-called rehabilitation centers, usually without employment and dependent on welfare. This means the number of forcibly relocated Kurds could already have reached two million. The Society for Threatened Peoples has continually brought these deportations to the attention of the German press.

7. USE OF POISON GAS WITHIN IRAQ

The use of poison gas against the Kurds and Christian Assyrians in 1987 and 1988 has now been confirmed by countless international institutions and experts (e.g. Colonel Imobersteg from the Swiss army and the British toxicologist Dr. Alistair Haye), and above it all has been investigated on the scene by Gwynne Roberts, the well-known British expert on the Middle East.

The Society for Threatened Peoples was able to inform the German public of the poison gas attacks on the Kurd and Christian-Assyrian villages just a few days after they occurred, for they received their information from Kurdish sources long proven reliable. Indeed, in retrospect their reports have all been shown to be accurate.

In November/December 1987, the Society for Threatened Peoples could present Alexander Sternberg-Spohr's "Report on the Use of Chemical Warfare by the Iraqi Armed Forces against the Kurdish Civilian Population in their own Land - April to October 1987". This report was first published in the "Frankfurter Rundschau" and received considerable attention.

The Society for Threatened Peoples continually stressed the plight of the Kurdish poison gas victims in press releases, and regretted that their fate received such meager notice in the German Federal Republic in view of the fact that German firms played a central role in establishing the Iraqi poison gas industry.

According to final estimates made by our human rights organization, 5.000 people died in the town of Halabja, 3.000 in the Bazeh Valley, and a further 8.000 in the Kurdish regions of Soran, Badinan and Balak. Among the predominantly Kurdish victims there were also 2.000 Assyrian Christians, both Nestorians and Chaldeans.

September 9, 1987: The Society for Threatened Peoples reports Iraqi Air Force poison gas attacks on at least 40 Kurdish villages and towns in the districts of Mawat, Shar Bazher, Surdash, Marga and Quala Diza north and east of Sulaimaniya. An appeal to the German Armed Forces to provide antidotes and protective clothing was met with silence. The "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" carried the report September 10,

publishing a Dementi by the Iraqi Government in the same issue.

December 9, 1987: The Society for Threatened Peoples issues a press statement pointing out that between April and October 1987 the Iraqi Air Force had bombed 200 Kurdish villages with mustard gas and the nerve gases Tabun and Sarin. The names of 560 victims who had died as a result of these attacks were known to the Society.

February 2, 1988: According to reliable sources known to the Society for Threatened Peoples, 426 severely injured Kurdish victims of poison gas have "disappeared without trace".

"The human rights organization reported yesterday that Iraqi Security Forces took the Kurds from the hospital and transported them to an unknown destination. The Society's report is based on information received from Kurdish opposition in Iraq.

The victims of the gas attacks had sought help in hospitals within the government controlled cities of Arbil and Sulaimaniya, the Society reported. The Security Forces had legitimized the deportation of the 426 wounded Kurds by referring to a decree issued June 22, 1987 by the "Authority of the Autonomous Region", Majid, a Cousin of the Iraqi President, Saddam Hussein. This decree, according to the human rights organization, declares large parts of northern Iraq to be "death zones", in which every person between the ages of 15 and 70 who is found there can face a death penalty." (The "Tagesspiegel, February 3, 1988)

March 18, 1988: The Iraqi Air Force kills 5.000 Kurdish civilians in the Iraq-Kurdish city of Halabja through the use of poison gas. Some 10.000 are injured.

March 29, 1988: After the poison gas attack by the Iraqi Air Force on Halabja, the Society for Threatened Peoples released the following statement:

"Representatives of the world press have confirmed the use of cyanide, mustard gas, and other poison gasses against the Kurdish civilian population in the city of Halabja. The instant death of many thousands can be traced to cyanide and mustard gas. This same type of gas was used to murder millions of European Jews in Auschwitz. The Society for Threatened Peoples considers the Iraqi denial of using poisonous gas against civilian Kurds, in the face of the proven reports by the German and international media, to be both shameless and cold blooded. Our human rights organization points out that this type of poison gas attack has been carried out by the Iraqi Air Force against Kurdish and Christian Assyrian villages since April, 1987." (Press release from the Society for Threatened Peoples, March 29, 1988)

March 29, 1988: On a German television evening news report, Tilman Zülch, President of the Society for Threatened Peoples, names German companies responsible for establishing the Iraqi poison gas industry in Samarra, and six seriously injured poison gas victims arrive in Frankfurt, having been flown in from Iran.

April 4, 1988: A Society for Threatened Peoples press statement reads as follows:

Since March 25 and continuing until noon yesterday, the Iraqi Air Force has ceaselessly attacked the following villages in the area of Qadaragh, 40 kilometers southwest of Sulaimaniya, with chemical weapons: Sewsenan, Balkha, Dukan, Jafaran, Wylan and Sole. The report came last night from reliable Kurdish sources in Iran, that 64 armed Kurdish partisans and over 300 civilians have been killed in these attacks. Mustard gas and a quick working cyanide were used.

On March 26, 27, and the 28th, Iraqi troops gathered together more than 400 severely and mildly wounded civilian poison gas victims, 150 of which were children. They were taken to the military camp Tanjaro near Sulaimaniya and there they were executed on April 2. In May of the previous year, 386 wounded civilian poison gas victims were collected together (under the pretense of administering medical aid) in the village Wezzanan, in the region of Arbil, where they were later executed."

On July 6, 1988, the Society for Threatened Peoples protested the visit of Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Azis in Bonn, and his reception by Genscher, Kohl, and President von Weizsäcker in a Press release. On the day of his arrival a Hermes-Credit of 300 million DM was due to be paid. The press statement continued:

"According to Tilman Zülch, president of the Society for Threatened Peoples, the Iraqi Foreign Minister and the Chief of State Saddam Hussein must be considered war criminals under the standards set by the Nürnberg Trials because of their mass use of poison gas killing thousands of civilians. President Weizsäcker's and the government's policy of coming to terms with the Nazi horrors remains suspect as long as no consequences are taken concerning how to deal with war crimes committed today." During his Bonn stay, the Iraqi Foreign Minister openly confessed for the first time that his government had used poison gas.

September 6, 1988. The following press statement of the Society for Threatened Peoples was issued: "Last night new information from the Iraqi-Turkish border area in Kurdistan has reached the Society for Threatened Peoples. Severe poison gas attacks from the Iraqi Air Force have claimed victims in the Subna Valley, running between the cities of Sakcho and Ahmadia in the Badinan area. The population is mainly Assyrian-Chaldean Christians. The Assyrian-Chaldean villages Kawi, Hayes, Nosaka, Bas and Nerwa have been seriously affected. The precise number of deaths is still unknown.

According to usually very reliable Kurdish sources, 2.000 Kurdish (and Christian) civilians in the Badinan district have already lost their lives through poison gas and massacres. Iraqi military supposedly shot numerous Kurdish civilians while taking them into custody. Of the civilian population of the Badinan district about 5.000 Kurdish people have been injured. Among the 123.000 Kurdish refugees there are presently 4.000 to 6.000 Assyrian Christians.

September 21, 1988: The "Frankfurter Rundschau" reported about a statement to the press made by the Society for Threatened Peoples: "Based on statements by Kurdish refugees, the Society reports that between the 25th and 30th of August, there were poison gas attacks on the Kurdish civilian

population in various areas. On August 30 there was a "massive attack" on 130 Kurdish and Assyrian Christian families in the valley of Bazi. According to Kurdish refugees, there were few survivors."

In a statement to the press on August 27, 1988, the Society for Threatened Peoples released new information about poison gas attacks on Kurdish and Assyrian villages in Iraq: "The Iraqi Air Forces bombed Kurdish and Assyrian villages in Iraq near the Turkish and Iranian borders with poison gas on Thursday, August 25. While the peace talks between Iran and Iraq were beginning in Geneva under the auspices of UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, in Amadiya, near the Iraqi-Turkish border, the Kurdish and Assyrian villages Binkawe, Bire and Endze were being attacked with chemical weapons. In the Iranian-Iraqi border areas, that is in the areas controlled by the UNIIMOG, there were attacks by units of the Iraqi Air Force, armed with chemical weapons, on the villages of Xete, Warte, Binaren, Hejjan, m'Ahaista and Alana in the valley of Dol-e Balisan in the Khoshnaveti region of Arbil Province on the same day. The number of dead and wounded is in the hundreds."

December 7, 1988: Press statement of the Society for Threatened Peoples: "The 'Society for Threatened Peoples' submitted proof of renewed Iraqi poison gas attacks on Kurdish villages: The Society for Threatened Peoples has received information today about an Iraqi poison gas attack on Kurdish and Assyrian settlements in the Bassay-Valley in Iraqi-Kurdistan on 29.8.1988. The information was not made public to the world until now. According to the well-known British journalist Gwynne Roberts, 1.500 to 5.000 people were killed in the attack. A few days ago, Roberts was able to talk to 15 survivors of the poison gas attack. They report that one day after the attack, 2.000 Iraqi soldiers with gas masks arrived in the village. They doused the several thousand victims, many of them still living, and including severely wounded children, with kerosene and set them on fire.

Roberts also took soil samples in various places in Iraqi-Kurdistan on November 6, 1988 near the villages of Siero and Serwa, to scientifically establish the use of poison gas by the Iraqi Army. Analyses of the samples in a British research institute (Clayton Bostock Hill Rigby Insitute, Birmingham) showed traces of mustard gas in the soil. The following substances were found: 1,4 - Diathane, c4.h8.0.s./ 1,4 - Oxathiane, ca.h8.0.s./ 1,1 - Thiobis-Ethene, c4.h6.s.(mustard gas). Roberts also brought a gas mask from an Iraqi soldier and a medicine kit of an Iraqi army member with him from the war zone. In the medicine bag he found the poison gas antidote Athropine, which is used after a gas attack. The German chairman of the Society for Threatened Peoples, Tilman Zülch, and Gwynne Roberts will present this evidence of Iraqi poison gas attacks to the Foreign Office in Bonn this afternoon.

Especially shocking were the testimonies of the survivors that Roberts interviewed. One of the survivors reported: "There must have been 3.000 bodies and thousands of dead animals. The dead had a film over their eyes, and a horrible foam came from their nostrils and the corners of their mouths. The skin blistered and peeled off. Some completely disfigured children were moaning." Another eyewitness reported: "The first body I saw was completely black. It was

unbelievable. I went past the dead and heard the screams of a few survivors. Most of the dead were children."

In the meantime there have been enough reports to confirm the events in Bazeh Valley. To the knowledge of the Society for Threatened Peoples, events occurred as follows:

"Poison gas war in the Middle East has been a horrible reality for the Iraqi Kurds long before August 28, 1988. On that day, more than 3.000 women, children and old people, along with several hundred Assyrian Christians, fled from the approaching Iraqi troops through the Bazeh Valley to the safety of the Turkish-Iraqi border. Now only a few hundred meters separated the refugees from Turkish soil. But Iraqi tanks patrol the border. A few hours later an Iraqi airplane approached. Again and again it flew over the valley, releasing its deadly cargo: poison gas. From a nearby mountain five Kurds watched the cloud of gas enshroud the valley. Most of the victims died in agony, only a few, severely injured, survived.

The next morning Iraqi soldiers, equipped with gas masks, approached. They carried the dead and injured onto a heap, poured kerosene over them, and set them on fire. Like the people in the Bazeh valley, 13.000 Kurdish civilians and 2.000 Assyrian Christians have died since 1987 from Iraqi poison gas."

On the occasion of the International Conference on Chemical Weapons in Paris, January 10, 1989, where 100 governments took part, the Society for Threatened Peoples and the International Federation for Human Rights organized an international press conference. The organizations sponsored presentations by the toxicologists Dr. Howard Ho of Harvard University, and Dr. Alistair Haye from the University of Leeds. They had examined both Kurdish poison gas victims and soil samples from Iraq. The journalist Gwynne Roberts from London and Sebastian Knauer also took part in the press conference. Both had worked intensively on the entanglements of European arms manufacturers. Six western television stations carried the conference. No German news team was present. The human rights organizations made strong accusations against western companies, especially against those from West Germany who share responsibility for the extermination of thousands of Kurds in Iraq.

8. PERSECUTION AND DESTRUCTION OF ASSYRIAN CHRISTIANS

The Assyrian Christians, as an ethnic group, primarily located in northern Iraq, who, before the Baath-Party assumed power in 1968, have essentially shared the fate of the Iraqi Kurds. We have selected here a few exemplary cases. Members of both ethnic groups suffered from most of the crimes of the Iraqi Baath-Dictatorship, so that it is not always possible here to show the specific share of the Assyrian Christians.

The "Assyrians" are the descendents of the long-settled population of Upper Mesopotamia. Their mother tongue is a modern form of Aramaic, the mother tongue of Jesus. In Iraq, the Assyrian population belongs mainly to the Christian

faiths of Chaldaee and Nestor, as well as a smaller part which belongs to the Jacobites (the Syrian-Orthodox). The total number of Assyrian Christians is about 400.000. Some estimates are considerably higher.

The Assyrian community was particularly affected by the mass deportation of the population out of the northern Iraqi border region, during which 4.000 - 5.000 villages were leveled by the Iraqi military.

As early as March 1979, the Society for Threatened Peoples reported on the destruction of the following Assyrian or Kurdish-Assyrian villages: Sulawa (Shaikhan), Barawi-Zhuri, Khazna, Shikhan, Diri (the latter is purely Assyrian, all Arbil), Malachta, Bitawar, Yati, Shamaila, Dori, Mai, Sardeshti, Kareh, Kero, Bashis, Ziwa Shikan, Siri, Kala or Qala (all Amadiya), Bitanure, Batufa, Sorya (Assyrian massacre in 1969!) and Mata. These were made known through interviews with Iraqi-Assyrian refugees.

Along with the villages, numerous churches and monasteries were destroyed. After new attacks by the Iraqi army, in part using chemical weapons in April 1987, the following Assyrian villages were destroyed, according to information from Assyrian witnesses:

1. in the Broari Bala district, the villages Kani Masi, Totha, Shimaje, Tishish Djidid Ki, Muska;
2. in the El Amadije district, the villages Dijoi, Mirstik, Mahoudi, Komani, Bibadi, Blijani, Biinather;
3. in the Ser Senk district, the villages Ten, Ser Darauer, Dazike;
4. in the Zaiote district, the villages Bablo and Dizi;
5. in the Raouendos district, the village Litho;
6. in the Sehel district, the villages Sitchi, Hesirki and Krmaoa;
7. in the Nejnaoar district, the villages Keshka-Oar, Jem Eshret, Chlilani, Hizani, Alia, Hizani Sofla, Hoseirani, Soli Belment, Miroki, Djem Rabatki, Adosh and Mesi;
8. in the Etrosh district, the villages Asach, Armath and Bibosi.

Since 1968, many Assyrian churches and monasteries have been destroyed in the course of raids on Assyrian village communities, after massacres, during air attacks and after forced relocations, but also because of administrative regulations of the Baath-Party. A few examples:

- Cathedral Mar Sia, Bagdag/Kar-Aded Merjem (it is the largest of the Eastern churches), 1985;
- Monastery Mar Musha, Broari Bala (1.300 years old), 1977;
- Church Mar Kurkis, Broari Bala (1.300 years old), 1977;
- Monastery Mar Guyomar, Broari Bala (1.400 years old), 1977;
- Church of the Virgin Mary, Broari Bala (newly-built), 1977;
- Church Mar Junan, Ser Nesht (50 years old), 1977;
- Monastery Mar Hanana, Fahro (1.300 years old), 1977 etc.

In 1987, international Assyrian organizations identified a total of 85 ruins of destroyed Chaldean and Nestorian monasteries and churches.

From April 1987 to August 1988 the Assyrian Christian community in northern Iraq was also attacked with chemical weapons by the Iraqi army. The Society for Threatened Peoples

reported on September 6, 1988, after talking to eyewitnesses, that about 4.000 to 6.000 Assyrian refugees were fleeing to Turkey. In the Subna Valley, not far from the Turkish border, five Assyrian villages were victims of poison gas attacks. The Society for Threatened Peoples estimates that the number of Assyrian victims of the poison gas could amount to 2.000. The Assyrian Christians have suffered no less than the Kurdish civilian population from the countless mass executions and massacres since 1968. Assyrian eyewitnesses report again and again massacres in Assyrian villages, for example in Dakan and Soyra on August 16, 1969, one year after power was seized by the Baath-Party. Various European newspapers reported these murders, including Le Monde November 7, 69. In a mountain cave near Dakan, Iraqi units burned 29 women, 37 children and an old man alive.

Assyrians have been repeatedly arrested and executed. In February 1985 the Assyrian opposition members Yubert Benyamin Slemon (29), Johann Isho Gago Simon (32) and Yousip Zibari Hormizd (34) were executed. Alone April of 1985 the names of 150 Assyrian political prisoners were known to the Assyrian Association of Great Britain (Iraq Solidarity Voice No.13, April 1985). In February 1979, the Society for Threatened Peoples protested to the Iraqi government against the incarceration of 600 Assyrian Christians, who had been imprisoned since November 1978. Assyrian witnesses reported to the Society for Threatened Peoples that the Nestorian priest Shemon Slimon Zaya (born 1958), who, along with 11 congregation members including women and children, had returned to Iraq on Saddam Hussein's promise of amnesty, was executed on September 15, 1989 with his followers in Baghdad.

Assyrian Christians in exile have suffered along with Kurds from attacks and poisoning attempts by the Iraqi government. During the 11th International Conference of the Assyrian Universal Alliance in Sydney, Australia, nine participants were killed by an Iraqi agent with potassium cyanide, according to reports by British and Australian newspapers (Sun, Sydney Morning and Daily Mirror, all 22.11.78). In 1979 the Swedish government expelled three workers from the Iraqi embassy because of their attempts to put pressure on the 5.000 members of the Assyrian congregation in Sweden.

Even the most basic minority rights of the Assyrian nationals are suppressed by Iraq. Since 1980 the Assyrian-Aramaic schools have been closed, newspapers and school books were not allowed to be published, Assyrian organizations and cultural groups had to take on Arabic names. The "Syrian" (Aramaic) Academy, which was allowed to open in 1973, had to close. The Assyrian churches were put under control of the Ministry for Islamic Affairs.

Particularly affected were the Assyrian communities during the first Gulf war. Up to 1984, according to Assyrian organizations, 15.000 Assyrians fell in combat against Iran after being forcibly recruited into the army.

Signed:
Tilman Zülch

Inse Geismar

Note:

We must apologize that, because of time pressure, we have only been able to select a few cases from all the information available on genocide committed by the dictator Saddam Hussein in Iraqi-Kurdistan.

pogrom

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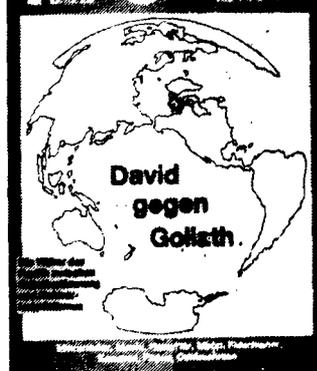
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