

The United Nation's Silence on Genocide in Kurdistan:

Anfal and the Families of Anfal Victims

Adalat Omar (2004)

Translated by Aso Piri (2022)

Mahtab Publication



Object: The United Nation's Silence on Genocide in Kurdistan

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Cover Designer: Rebwar Cheraghi

Page Layout Designer: Rebwar Cheraghi

Publishing supervisor: Samira Azimi

Circulation: 500 copies

First printing: Kermanshah, 2022

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ISBN: 9786226193559 (paperback)

ISBN: 9786226193566 (ebook)



Mahtab Gharb publication

Address: Hafez mall, Dabir Azam, Kermanshah, Iran Tel: (0098) 83-37238450 | (0098) 9399262628 E-mail: mahtab.book@yahoo.com سرشناسه : عمر، عدالت، ۱۹۷۰-م.

Omar, Adalat, 1970-

The United Nation's silence on Genocide in : عنوان و نام پدیدآور

Kurdistan[Book]/ author Adalat Omar; translated by Aso piri

مشخصات نشر : کرمانشاه: ماهتاب غرب، ۱۴۰۱=۲۰۲۲م

مشخصات ظاهری : 92 ص.؛ ۱۷×۱۱ سم.

978-622-6193-55-9 : شابک

978-622-6193-56-6: شابکالکترونیکی

وضعیت فهرست نویسی : فیپا

یادداشت : زبان: انگلیسی.

يادداشت : كتاب حاضر ترجمه انگليسي مقاله اي با عنوان "

بیدهنگی نه ته وه یه کگر تووه کان (UN) به رامبه رجینوساید له کوردستان و که سوکاری جینوساید کراوان وه ک نموه نه نه نفال " میباشد.

آوانویسی عنوان : یونایتدنیشن 'ز...

Anfal Campaign, Iraq, 1987-1988 : موضوع

موضوع : جنگ ایران و عراق، ۱۳۵۷-۱۳۵۹ -- فجایع -- عراق

العمادة Iran-Iraq War, 1980-1988 -- Atrocities -- Iraq : موضوع

موضوع : نسل کشی -- عراق -- کردستان

Genocide -- Iraq -- Kurdistan (Province) : موضوع

موضوع : كردستان (عراق) - تاريخ - قرن ۲۰م. - پوشش مطبوعاتي

موضوع -- History -- 20th : موضوع

century -- Press coverage

شناسه افزوده : پیری، اَسو، -1371، مترجم

Piri, Aso: شناسه افزوده

رده بن*دی* دیویی : 7044092/956 شماره کتابشناسی ملی : ۸۹۸۸٦٦١

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Note

After the Kurdish nation's uprising and the forced migration of millions of Kurds in 1991 and the subsequent establishment of the Kurdistan Regional Government, a new phase began for the Kurdish people. However, the Iraqi regime continued to punish Kurdistan by imposing economic sanctions. This led to Kurdistan facing two sanctions, one imposed by the United Nations and other powers and the other by the Iraqi regime. As a result, Kurdistan found itself in an unstable situation, with the families of genocide victims, mostly women and children, particularly affected. The United Nations remained silent on this issue and failed to provide compensation to the victims, especially the relatives of the victims of genocide in Kurdistan, as they did in other countries.

This research was presented in Southern Kurdish Women Conference, in Sweden in 2004.

Adalat omar (2005)

I am to pave all the world, with my deepest sorrow (Anfal)!

Any fellow, form anywhere, gifted me with a brilliant tear,

I place it in the eyes of my soul, and I would keep it for now and more!

Any fellow, who has uttered a word even,

On this Holocaust of unfair,

I would send him a hundred words, of love and hugs!

But! Even if it is the God, the Prophet or it's the Lord, if I find them ignoring it,

I would never like to see them, I won't listen to them at all!

Sherko Bekas

Goristani Chirakan¹

^{1 |} This part is translated by Sirwan Feyzi Khazaei

To:

Pure souls of 182000 victims of Anfal

Survivors of Anfal

All those who have done a work related to Anfal



TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

work, especially for those nations who have experienced it. Anfal,

as the genocide of the Kurdish people, is a long-lasting catastrophe that has never gained enough international attention. Not only Anfal but also any other genocide can never be scrutinized as they were. However, it is worth a try. Investigating genocides may help prevent more similar acts in the future.

The word "genocide" is derived from the ancient Greek word "genos" (race, tribe) and the Latin word "cide" (killing) (Lemkin 1944, p.l). According to Oxford Languages, genocide is defined as "the deliberate killing of a large number of people from a particular nation or ethnic group with the aim of destroying that nation or group."

Defining the same issue, The United Nation's Convention for Genocide (1948), Article 2 asserts that:

Genocide means any of the following acts committed with the "intent" to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group, as such:

- a) Killing members of the group;
- b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; deliberately inflicting on

the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;

- c) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group:
- d) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Anfal, as the genocide of the Kurdish nation, corresponds to the above lines and has been recognized as a genocide by some countries and organizations.

Anfal occurred in eight stages:

1) The Ba'ath regime, on the morning of February 23, 1988, attacked the (PUK) headquarters and the surrounding villages of the region.

The Peshmerga resisted for more than one month, so the Iraqi army resorted to chemical weapons. They launched chemical attacks on Sergalou, Bergalou, and several other areas. On March 19, the end of the first stage of Anfal was announced.

- 2) On March 22, the second stage of Anfal began with the attack of the army forces, warplanes, and artillery on the Oaradagh region. They launched chemical attacks on Sewsinan, Jafran, Misoyi, and Kewi Zarda regions. This stage ended on April 1.
- 3) The third stage, the biggest of Anfal, began with the Army's attack on Garmian on April 7. The largest number of men, women, and children were arrested and forcibly disappeared at this stage. The Ba'ath regime's forc-

es, along with the use of chemical weapons in "Tazashar" in the Qader Karam region, forced the people to surrender themselves. The commander-in-chief of the Iraqi Armed Forces announced the end of this stage on April 20.

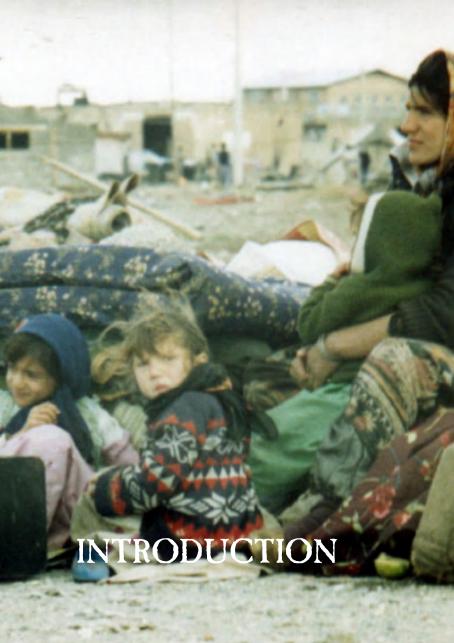
- 4) On May 3, the fourth stage began with an attack on Zebichuk valley, which includes Oalasiwka, Sheikh Bazini, Shwan area, and Koya plain. In the early hours of this stage, eight Pilatus warplanes launched chemical attacks on Goktapa and Askar villages, resulting in the martyrdom of more than 200 people. After a few day, the end of this stage was announced May 8.
- 5) The fifth, sixth and seventh phases of Anfal were carried out in the valleys between Shaqlawa Mountain and Ruanduz from May

15 to August 25, 1988. During this period, several chemical attacks were carried out on Balisan, Hiran, Samaquli, Wara and Akoyan. Faqihan, Malekan Valley and other mountainous areas. These attacks caused loss of life and environmental damage in the area.

6) The final stage of Anfal began on August 25. In this stage, a large number of men, women, and children were arrested and disappeared, . Finally, on September 6, 1988, the eighth stage of Anfal ended. During this stage, the most areas chemical attacks were carried out Many people were killed and injured.

(Piri and Muradi 2021, p.15-19).





INTRODUCTION

oppression and ethnic cleansing in their homeland throughout history.

In Iraqi Kurdistan, successive regimes of Iraq have attempted to destroy the Kurdish national identity. They have made every effort to oppress and distress the Kurdish people continuously. Their actions have been carefully planned and executed using detailed tactics and strategies. These include forced mass displacement of Kurds from

their homeland, Arabization of Kurdish regions through the transfer of Arab populations and providing them with homes and possessions, destruction of Kurdish villages and regions, and the use of chemical weapons on Kurdish cities and regions. Halabja is a particularly notable case, where more than 5,000 people were killed by chemical gas and tens of thousands were affected, with ongoing suffering due to the effects of those gases. These actions represent a series of crimes committed by Iraqi regimes against the Kurds.

The culmination of these crimes was the Anfal campaign, carried out in a pre-designed program by the Iraqi Ba'ath regime. This campaign consisted of eight separate stages from February 26 to September 6, 1988. Unfortunately, the international community, the United Nations

(UN), and Human Rights Organizations remained intentionally silent about it. During the Anfal campaign, more than 182,000 Kurdish civilians were victimized and over 4,500 villages were burned and razed to the ground. Regrettably, the world remained silent, and even the extensive scale and cruelty of the campaign failed to receive media coverage or discussion.

It is also important to mention that even before the Anfal campaign in 1988, the policy of ethnic cleansing against the Kurds was carried out in various forms. In the 1970s, tens of thousands of Feyli Kurds were affected, and in 1983, more than 8,000 Barzani males disappeared in a pre-planned process orchestrated by the Ba'ath regime. Until now, their fate remains unknown.

Certainly, the international community, the

UN, and powerful countries bear direct responsibility for this heinous crime. The world's bipolar division into Eastern and Western Blocs, along with their shared interests, were immediate factors in suppressing and concealing these crimes.

Given the diverse political situation of the region, the liberation of Iraq from Saddam's reigme, and the discovery of hundreds of mass graves that serve as undeniable evidence of the Anfal genocide, it is crucial for the international community, especially the United Nations (UN), to give it utmost attention. Moreover, the international community must immediately prioritize the internationalization of the Anfal issue. Additionally, survivors and their families should be duly compensated for the losses and suffering they have endured.

In May 1991, the UN Security Council established a compensation delegation through the adoption of Resolution 692 to compensate Kuwait from Iraqi government revenues. This included allocating five percent of Iraq's oil and petroleum product sales. It is important to note that this compensation for Kuwait also encompassed the budget of Iraqi Kurdistan, even though Kurdistan itself was the first victim of the Ba'ath regime without receiving any compensation. The UN's compensation delegation stipulated that Iraq must pay \$52.4 million to compensate individuals, companies, and governments that suffered as a result of the invasion of Kuwait in 1991.

Just as the UN compelled Iraq to compensate the families of missing Kuwaitis who were arrested

during the invasion of Kuwait by the Iraqi Ba'ath regime in 1990, we also hope that Anfal victims and their families will be rightfully compensated. that the number of missing Anfal victims is 182.000.

I hope that my research can exert pressure on the international community and the Iraqi government to provide compensation to the Kurdish victims of genocide and war crimes and their families.



2) The UN's silence at the time of Anfal attacks



ANFAL MEANING AND CONCEPT

of the Our'an, the book of Muslims.

Anfal means the spoils of war that

warriors obtain through the use of force and violence. During that time, Muslims were fighting enemies (infidels) and according to the rules of this Surah, the warriors were allowed to take for themselves any property or animals they had acquired, including children and women taken as slaves. The males were killed. Therefore, the operations against the Kurds were called Anfal and

gave them legitimacy under the rule of the Iraqi state during the Ba'ath regime according to Decision 4008 issued by Ali Hassan al-Majid during the Anfal period and is considered a manifesto of genocide against the Kurdish people.

The Anfal campaigns were a planned strategy to destroy and mass kill the Kurdish nation. At the same time, it was a brutal attempt by the Iraqi Ba'ath regime to destroy the nature, geography and demography of Kurdistan in order to Arabize the Kurdish homeland. This strategy was based on the Ba'ath Party's ideology that all minorities living in Arab territory were foreigners with no rights.

Consistent with their view, ethnic minorities unable to assimilate into Arab society are subject to special laws that regulate their rights and obligations in a way that prevents them from posing a threat to Arab interests, effectively treating them as foreigners. If these minorities pose a threat to Arab interests, they may be expelled. In addition, it should prohibit the establishment of schools, organizations and newspapers in their own language, as well as the promotion of nationalism.

This ideology of the Iraqi regime was partly implemented in 1988 through the Anfal process in the Kurdish areas, which was witnessed by the international community, the United Nations and the whole world.

Deportation and Arabization was the main policy of the Ba'ath regime to assimilate the

^{1 |} Amin Qader Mina, Iraqi Strategic Security and culminating Ba'athist crimes. Second edition 1999. Published by Kurdistan Strategy Center, p.69.

Kurds by converting them into an Arab nation and occupying the Kurdish homeland. Kurds were forcibly relocated and then deported to remote areas, forced to live in sparsely populated Kurdish communities far from their original places of residence. This was done to eradicate the deported Kurds and discourage them from returning to their homeland¹.

The Anfal process threatened the demographic existence of the Kurdish nation, aimed at reducing the Kurdish population compared to the Arabs in order to make Iraqi Arabs the absolute majority and reduce the Kurds to a minority in Iraq. This policy of racial chauvinism was achieved by distorting the true history of the Kurds, deportation

^{1 |} Stran Abdulla, Secrets of Arabization and Displacement. Sulaymaniyah, Roon Publication, p.5.

and mass killings. The Ba'ath regime was committed to implementing this policy!.

Throughout the 1960s until March 9, 2003, when the Ba'ath regime collapsed and Iraq was liberated, successive Iraqi regimes pursued this policy. Kurds were deported from their homeland and replaced by Arabs brought from southern and central Iraq. This policy was particularly evident in Kirkuk, supported in various ways and its consequences have not yet been resolved. The Anfal process was not only a Kurdish genocide, but also destroyed wildlife, habitat and all animals in Kurdistan. About 5 million livestock². were lost when villages were removed.

In addition, it included the destruction of ve-

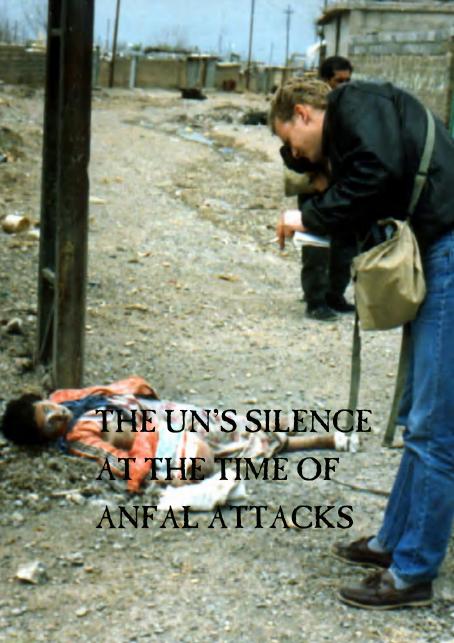
^{1 |} Amin Qader Mina, the same cited source, p.263.

^{2 |} Latif Fatih, Ethnic Cleaning Process. Anfal magazine, issue 1, p.39

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On Genocide in Kurdistan

hicles, agricultural machinery, farms, beehives, orchards, and numerous trees. Many houses were burned down, causing a significant unemployment problem and damaging the environment of Kurdish society.



THE UN'S SILENCE

AT THE TIME OF ANFAL ATTACKS

t is obvious that the Anfal process has begun in front of the whole world, the international community, pow-

erful countries, international human rights institutions and the United Nations. They were all aware of all the crimes and actions, big and small, in the process and the international media were aware, especially when Iraq issued military and press statements and implemented the process.

The question is why the UN and the interna-

tional community have remained silent? And how did the United Nations react at the time?

Here we have to acknowledge certain truths and simply go through them, because truths cover up and hide crimes.

It is known that during the Iraq-Iraq war (1980-1988), all the powers and the five permanent members of the UN Security Council openly supported the Iraqi regime. They supported it, providing it with food and weapons, some of which through their companies supplied the regime with biological chemical weapons, which they later used against the Kurds. The members of the Permanent Security Council would undoubtedly exercise their veto power against all resolutions that did not suit their interests.

Therefore, the United Nations chose to remain silent about the Anfal campaign against the Kurdish nation and the genocide of 182,000 innocent people.

Even this silence continued with the submission of dozens of reports, memoranda and appeals by Kurdish friends and Kurdish people's leadership to human rights organizations, the United Nations (UN), the International Red Cross and Amnesty International, which are listed below:

In a memorandum submitted to the UN Human Rights Committee by the Kurdistan Front, which consisted of six Kurdish political forces, on February 24, 1989, it presented the victims of the Anfal operation in Kirkuk and Sulaymaniyah provinces

In both March and April 1988, losses were as follows!:

- 1) 728 villages and towns were destroyed.
- 2) 40,000 families have been forcibly displaced and 16,000 are in prisons of Iraqi regimes.
- 3) 7407 women are imprisoned in Dubz prison.
- 4) 5,600 women from different areas are imprisoned in Yaichi District Prison.
- 5) 4,560 children and women were taken captive and dozens of children died, and several children aged 6 months to 1 year were sold for 50 Iraqi dinars each.
- 6) 7640 men executed.
- 7) Insulting women's morality and dignity and torturing them is far from human customs and traditions.

^{1 |} Media Department in the Political Bureau of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), genocide crimes in Kurdistan in 1988, Khabat Press, pp. 27-28.

In another memorandum sent to the International Committee of the Red Cross in 1989 on the occasion of the anniversary of the Convention on the Prohibition of Genocide, the list of names and ages of 33 people during Anfal 6 in June 1988, They were sent to Topzawa after their arrest.

The women and children were transferred to Dubz prison, then the old men to Nugrasalman prison and the youth went missing¹.

The United Nations has not only ignored the calls of the Kurdish people, but also ignored the reports and calls of the Europeans. In September 1988, Galbraith and Van Hollen, two members of the Iraqi parliament, interviewed two people in the

^{1 |} Yousef Dizayi, Anfal Catastrophe and its Dimensions. First edition, Erbil 2001, p.134.

camps to investigate the situation of Iraqi Kurdish refugees who had fled to Turkey in fear of the Iraqi regime's brutality and the Anfal campaign.

About 1,300 people, mostly women and children, were killed in Baze and buried in a mass grave by the Iraqi army Another 300 people died from chemical weapons¹.

The report of the Istanbul Branch of the Human Rights Association, submitted to HRW and the United Nations in 1990, detailed hundreds of thousands of refugees whose villages were destroyed and displaced².

^{1 |} Middle East Watch, Genocide in Iraq-The Anfal Campaign Against the Kurds, translated by Mohammad Hama Salih Tofiq. Tishk Publication, Sulaymaniyah,2004, p.358.

^{2 |} Ismail Beshikchi, Kurdistan an International Colony, translated by Rebwar Rashid. First volume, Roshenbiri Publication, Erbil 1993, p.135,138-139.

In a report to the United Nations and the UN. Human Rights Organization, Amnesty International (AI) received a list of 353 three hundred and fifty-three people executed by bullets, including 52 people aged between 11 and 17).

Thus, we can assert that the United Nations (UN) demonstrated negligence during the Anfal campaign, despite the existence of numerous compelling evidence of the Iraqi regime's brutality and crimes. This negligence can be seen as the UN's participation in the crimes committed against the Kurdish nation, as it failed to fulfill its responsibility. Many countries, whose interests aligned with the Iraqi regime at that time, regarded the crimes and massacres against the Kurdish nation

^{1 |} Jasem Tofiq, Genocide is not an Internal Issue. Siyasati Dawli magazine, third issue, 1992, p.13.

as an internal problem and refrained from intervention.

In 2001, Andreas Mavromatis, the UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights, visited Baghdad, Iraq to investigate human rights violations and genocide in Iraq for his annual report. However, despite the request of 22 civil society organizations to visit Kurdistan and witness the Ba'ath regime's violations, he refused, possibly due to a cover-up of the regime's crimes. Despite having the necessary documents and information, such as the Middle East Watch report titled "Genocide in Iraq: The Anfal Campaign Against the Kurds," which was later published as a book.

Nevertheless, after the fall of the Ba'ath regime in 2003, with the assistance of the Kurdistan Regional Government's representative in Geneva,

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On Genocide in Kurdistan

Dinar Zebari, the Kurdistan Ministry of Human Rights sent a delegation to Jordan to meet with the United Nations (UN) in December 2003. I was a member of this group as a representative of the Anfal Center. We provided the necessary documents on the crimes of genocide against the Kurdish people and presented photographs of mass graves discovered after the regime's fall. This enabled us to present the strongest evidence and witnesses of the Anfal genocide and chemical attacks during the meeting. Consequently, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights officially referred to human rights violations in Iraq, particularly in Kurdistan, and specifically mentioned the Anfal campaign as genocide (refer to point 9, article 13 of 14/3/2004).

Following the Kurdish people's uprising in Iraq in the spring of 1991 and the liberation of the Kurdistan Region, various organizations and individuals have conducted research on the Anfal genocide. However, no conclusive results have been obtained thus far. On February 18, 1992, the UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights, Max van der Stuijl, prepared a report in which he stated that the Iraqi regime had carried out mass deportations, arrests, killings, and had severely hindered the lives and development of Kurdish areas through its cruel policies.

Reports from Human Rights Watch and Middle East Watch, which visited Kurdistan in 1992, contained around 14 tons of documents related to the Anfal genocide. These documents are currently in the National Archives of the United States and were partially published as part of a book titled "Genocide in Iraqi Kurdistan."

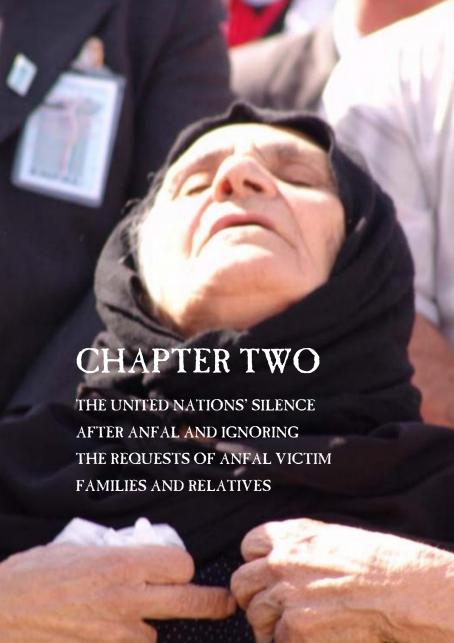
The medical reports from the Physicians for Human Rights (PHR) in 1992 substantiate the fact that the extermination process of the Kurds (genocide) took place in Kurdistan.

It is worth mentioning that the Anfal Center has issued several memoranda regarding the search and investigation of Anfal victims and the disappeared. One of the most significant actions was a massive mass march held on October 30, 2002. A seven-member committee visited UNOHCI and submitted a memorandum to the organization's director, Hussein Al-Alfi, from Yemen. We discussed the fate of the Anfal victims and reached out to the United Nations to help us determine the fate of the Anfal victims. But the reply was ir-

relevant, and Al-Alfy declared, "See that the note will not leave my room." 1.

This demonstrates the UN's complete subordination to the Iraqi Ba'ath regime and its full support by remaining silent and not issuing reports on the regime's violations against the Kurdish people.

^{1 |} Maref Omar Gul, Kurdistan Genocide in front of International New Law. first edition, Amsterdam, 1997, p.39.



CHAPTER TWO

THE UNITED NATIONS' SILENCE
AFTER ANFAL AND IGNORING
THE REQUESTS OF ANFAL VICTIM
FAMILIES AND RELATIVES

hen we discuss the families of missing Kurds in the Anfal operations, we are referring to women who have en-

dured immense suffering and have lost their family members. These women have become victims of the notorious Anfal operations and continue to suffer to this day, especially those who bear the brunt of the negative consequences and dete-

riorating conditions. In particular, women who have lost their husbands and have no knowledge of their fate face numerous family problems.

The Iraqi regime treated imprisoned women in a merciless manner, violating their dignity, honor, and subjecting them to abuse and torture. One of the most abhorrent actions of the Iraqi regime was the trafficking of imprisoned women as slaves. This barbaric crime harkens back to the dark ages. The regime sold these women slaves to nightclubs in Arab countries and Egypt. A document from one of the Iraqi intelligence services indicated that 19 imprisoned Kurdish women, aged 17 to 29, were sold to a nightclub in one of those countries.

Following the March 1991 uprising of the Kurdish people against the Iraqi regime and the establishment of the regional parliament (Nation-

al Assembly) and government in the Kurdistan region in May 1992, numerous UN agencies and NGOs arrived in Iraq, including Kurdistan.

It is evident that the main role of the UN, including commissions such as the Human Rights Commission and the Compensation Commission, is to provide humanitarian services worldwide. However, the services provided by the UN over the years have been insufficient in addressing the physical and psychological suffering and needs of the citizens of Kurdistan, particularly the families of missing Kurds in the Anfal operations who have experienced the destruction of their homes and the loss of relatives such as fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters.

In contrast, compensation was provided for Kuwait under the approval of the United Nations

Compensation Commission of the UN Security Council, totaling \$52.4 billion under Resolution 687 of 1991. However, why have the 182,000 Anfal Kurds been neglected? Is this fair considering that both sets of victims were under the same Iraqi regime? What explains this distinction and discrimination?

Additionally, regarding Turkey's compensation, Turkey received \$1 billion as a result of economic damages under decision 986. Despite this, during the economic embargo imposed on Iraq by UN resolution, Iraq to smuggle and oil at a cheap price to Turkey in front of the world.

The failure of UN agencies to effectively manage and provide services in Kurdistan after the implementation of decision 986 (oil-for-food resolution) was evident. Citizens have officially crit-

randa to UN agencies expressing their grievances.

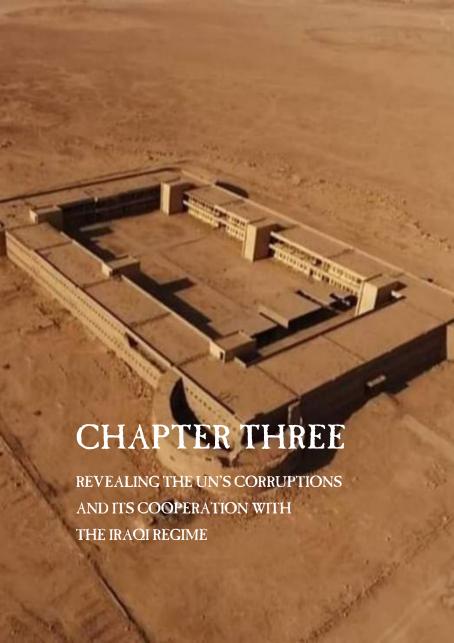
As an example, On February 14, 2000, the governor of Erbil submitted a memorandum to the relevant UN authorities regarding the distribution of food items and the retention of some of these items as loans by the United Nations. The amount of food that remains with the United Nations (UN) should be returned to the citizens because it is their rightful.

It has also been discussed with the UN's administrators and its related organizations several times to devote the budget of 986 Resolution to reduce electricity problems in Kurdistan. Not only the problem was not solved but also it became worse.

^{1 |} Gulan weekly, NO 266, 2000/02/17, p.7.

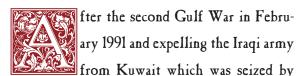
The UN has not done anything to compensate for the families of Anfal victims especially the women. It was possible for the UN to not only compensate for them but also provide them with various projects in Iraqi government in or-der to reduce their adversity and difficulty of life at least. We, in the Center of Anfal, have had some meetings with some organizations of the UN and proposed some projects for helping the families of Anfal victims especially the women but all of them were ignored. In 2002, we had a meeting with Kurdistan Reconstruction and Housing Minister to discuss a mechanism to do such projects. He said: the UN does not let projects be done by the Center of Anfal under the name of Anfal, because Baghdad does not accept and will obstruct it. Visiting Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) which is an organization of the UN, we discussed the same subject. They said: "no project will be done under the name of the families of Anfal victims. We can do some projects under the name of families the poor without or under the name of widows. It is also written in reports that the husbands of these widows or their family male members have been killed in Qadisiya war (Iran-Iraq war).

It is necessary to mention that the projects under the name of the families of Anfal victims or it is better to say under the name of families the poor have not surpassed a few animals and household appliances which has not only decreased their adversity but also deepened their. Because compensating for these families by a few animals and birds has affected them negatively psychologically.



CHAPTER THREE

REVEALING THE UN'S CORRUPTIONS AND ITS COOPERATION WITH THE IRAOI REGIME



Iraq, the UN and its Security Council imposed several Decisions on Iraq.

One of those Decision was economical sanctions which had profound impacts on the economic infrastructures of the country and ruined them fundamentally.

This caused the Iraqi nations, especially the Kurdish nation, to live in extreme poverty.

After the Kurdish nation uprising in 1991, the Iraqi regime itself imposed burdensome sanctions on Kurdistan. So, Kurdistan was surrounded by two sanctions simultaneously. One was the UN's sanction on Iraq and the other was the Iraqi regime's sanction on Kurdistan. This caused Kurdistan to live in a critical condition. Moreover, the Kurdish borders had been closed before.

This situation persisted until the issuance of UN Resolution 986, also known as the Memorandum of Understanding on Oil for Food. This resolution aimed to reduce poverty and alleviate the suffering of the Iraqi people as a whole, including the Kurdish people to some extent. However, the allocation provided was insufficient for the Kurd-

ish people, as the United Nations only designated 13% of Iraqi oil revenues to Kurdistan.

This amount was significantly small compared to the size of the population and the needs of the Kurdish people, who had endured years of war crimes, genocide, and inhumane treatment. Additionally, approximately 80% of the population had been displaced and had recently returned to Kurdistan.

Resolution 986 was expected to improve the living conditions of the people and bring about positive changes. However, this did not happen. The dire economic situation in Iraq was highlighted by a Spanish delegation, stating that half of the population lived in poverty with a monthly family income of only \$9. The UN Oil-for-Food program continued, but it did not alleviate the

suffering of the Iraqi people. The report also mentioned that 4.5 million people in Iraq were living in poverty and inflation had reached 500%.

Of course, Kurdistan was not excluded and experienced the same difficult situation. it was the United Nations and its organizations that made matters worse by acting poorly and preventing appropriate action.

These alarming facts were confirmed by UN administrators and organizations. The executive director of the UN office in Iraq, Benon Sevan, who was accused of corruption, admitted the flaws in the program and he said at a press conference on the continuation of UN Resolution 986 in Kurdistan.. "We are working in a complex framework and never look for logic in the

^{1 |} Gulan weekly, No (283) 15/6/2000, p.55

program because the program is all illogical,"1.

The revelation of corruption within the UN's Oil-for-Food program has damaged its trust and authority within the international community. Extensive studies and investigations, including those conducted by a special delegation, have raised doubts even about the Secretary-General at the time, Kofi Annan (1997-2006). These reports provide evidence of corruption, including documents that demonstrate how the former Iraqi government under Saddam Hussein earned \$2 billion through illegal trade facilitated within the framework of the United Nations².

This resulted in severe criticism and actions being taken against Benon Sevan, the major

^{1 |} Gulan weekly, NO 291, 2000/08/10, p.8

^{2 |} http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle east/4131602.stm

executive director of the oil-for-food program in Iraq. He was accused of involvement in illegal oil trade transactions and having a contract with a Swiss company that benefited Boutros Ghali, the former Secretary-General of the UN from 1992-1996. Sevan profited around \$1.5 billion from these activities, while Saddam Hussein and other former Iraqi officials profited over \$8.5 billion through the same program.

The UN established a three-member independent inquiry, chaired by former US Federal Reserve chairman Paul A. Volker, and including Justice Richard Goldstone from South Africa and Professor Mark Pieth from Switzerland.

These corrupt practices by UN administrators directly caused many obstacles and problems in

^{1 |} http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle east/4232629.stm

implementing the program. The extent of corruption also contributed to international pressure for Kofi Annan to resign. Consequently, the Secretary-General of the UN recently called for reforming the UN mechanism.

In August, the investigators submitted a third report, known as the Volcker Report, in which In part, he revealed that Mr Sevan had received about \$150.000 in cash bribes!

Regarding the availability of medicines, which has been a critical need for the Kurdish people, the parties involved in Resolution 986 have shown significant delays and negligence. This is due to the banning and non-importation of Some types of medicines by the United Nations, preventing them from entering Iraq.

^{1 |} Volcker panel report in full

Moreover, the distribution of medicines by organizations was carried out in coordination with the former Iraqi regime, resulting in a lack of proper distribution and many essential medicines not reaching Kurdistan. As a consequence, many people suffered and lost their lives without access to necessary medications.

Whenever the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) protested and followed up on the issue, the response was that they would only bring and distribute the medicines provided by the Iraqi government to Kurdistan."

All of these documents and points highlight the fact that the UN did not serve the people of Kurdistan. They resulted in poor service to the Kurdish people, especially the families of

^{1 |} Gulan weekly, NO 333, 2001/06/07, p.46.

Anfal victims, missing individuals, and residents of villages targeted in the Anfal campaign and subjected to chemical and biological weapons. Not only were their problems left unresolved, but they were also easily forgotten.



CONCLUSION



t the end of this study, the main findings can be summarized as follows:

First, the Anfal campaign stands as one of the largest and most brutal crimes committed against the Kurdish nation, with the regime's objective being ethnic cleansing and eradicating Kurdish heritage.

Second, the United Nations (UN) and the international community bear significant responsibility for this tragedy due to their si-

lence, inaction, and failure to respond to the demands of Kurdish leadership, the Kurdish people, and human rights organizations.

Third, the negligence of the United Nations (UN) in providing necessary assistance to the Kurdish people, particularly the relatives and families of Anfal victims and the disappeared.

Fourth, recent evidence, documents, and investigations demonstrate the involvement of the UN, particularly the supervisors of the Oil for Food program in Resolution 986, in corruption and collaboration with the former Iraqi regime, resulting in the illicit accumulation of tens of millions of dollars. Furthermore, the director of the program in Iraq, Benon Sevan, has been officially accused of corruption.

SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

First, the crime of Anfal should be recognized as genocide on the international stage, and influential countries should use diplomatic channels to raise awareness about the oppression of the Kurdish people and seek justice.

Second, urge the United Nations to dispatch a specialized and official committee to Kurdistan to conduct a thorough investigation into this crime and witness firsthand the remaining evidence and its ongoing impact. The United Nations possesses all the necessary information and documentation.

Third, the Kurdistan Regional Government should continue sending specialized and expert delegations to address human rights violations and the genocide committed during the fall of the Ba'ath regime in Iraq, particularly the Anfal campaigns.

Fourth, call on the United Nations (UN) to bring those involved in this crime, especially the leaders of the former Iraqi regime who are currently residing outside Iraq, including Nizar Khazraj, to an international court and hold them accountable.

Fifth, the United Nations should review its institutions and organizations, especially in light of the evidence and documents indicating the involvement of UN officials with the former Iraqi regime and their corrupt practices.

Sixth, the UN should actively fulfill its role in assisting the Iraqi people as a whole and the Kurdish people in particular, including the families of Anfal victims and victims of chemical weapons. The establishment of the Missing Iraqis agency in Kurdistan, following pressure and demands from the Kurdish group during the meeting of (UNAMI) in Amman, Jordan, from 14 to 18/01/2005, should be supported.

Seventh, women, who constitute a significant portion of Kurdistan society, are experiencing the long-lasting consequences of this crime, especially unaccompanied women whose husbands or sons have been affected by the attacks. Support should be provided to help them overcome the hardships they have endured for the past 35 years.

PHOTO ALBUM

























































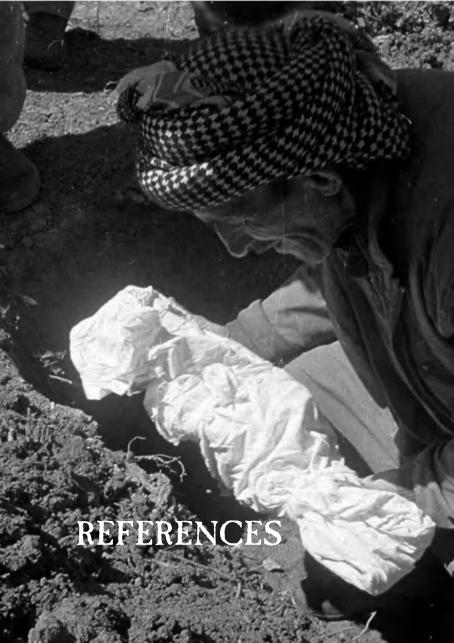












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