



Arif qurbany & Abdulhasen Mohan Murad



Abdulhasen Mohan Murad

The consecutive governments have signed most of the treaties that respect the human rights but in fact they violate all of them. They have broken world record of murdering human rights activists and duly elected parliamentarians. Security Forces are rewarded for beheading Kurdish citizens and posing in front of TV cameras claiming that what they carry are heads of Kurdish rebels!

Turkish military authorities refused every international effort to find a fair and a peaceful solution to the Kurdish questions. Instead of investing money in developing the shaky economy, they purchase sophisticated military equipment for destructions in Kurdistan.

The most barbarian occupying regime among all, no doubt is Iraq. The unfair treatment of the Kurdish people of Iraq started in 1920s by the Britain. For many geopolitical and economic interests they robbed off their rights of self-determination rule and annexed their land to the newly established Pro-British Iraqi Government in Baghdad violating Sever Treaty Found by British and French governments.

The Kurds were regarded as Iraqi citizens. They were used to consolidate the Sunni Arabs populations against the Shiites. Arab tribes were urged to inhabit in areas around Kirkuk's oil rich city. From that day and on the Arabization of that historic Kurdish city had started. For the same reasons Mussel District was annexed to Iraq as well.

No doubt the most tragic suffering of the Kurdish people came from the Arab Chauvinist Ba'ath Party. They first came to power in 1963. In June of that year, General Sdik

Introduction

The Kurds are a nation that live in their own traditional homeland know as Kurdistan. Their homeland is divided among occupied states of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria, also none of these states ever made a proper statistics to know what the population of the Kurds are but the number must be over 30 million inhabitants.

None of these governments allow the Kurds to enjoy their basic rights like establishing their own state or enjoying a real self-rule.

Turkey occupies the largest portion of Kurdistan. The biggest Kurdish population lives in that part of Kurdistan which is called Anatoly or southeast of Turkey. The citizens of Kurdish origin live under Turks oppression for long centuries.

The Kurdish real identity is either denied or misrepresented. Today they say there are no Kurds in Turkey, tomorrow they are primitive mountainous Turks the other day they are a group of bandits. Their language is forbidden and their culture is never respected. All these and the Turks classify themselves as seculars and best democrats of the whole region, they even try to become a member of the most prestigious body in the, the European Union.

Beside all these crimes the Arabization of Kirkuk and tens of towns and villages in Kurdistan had continued.

Syria, ruled by a twin Ba'ath party had started the same plan of eradicating of the Kurdish population even earlier than their partner in Iraq, but they do it with less noise. Iran is not prepared to grant their Kurdish population the constitutional rights either. Instead they murder the Kurdish leaders wherever they are.

The big question that rises here is; why Arabs und Turks conceal such shameless enmity against their peaceful neighbors the Kurds?

Most probably the reason is; none of them is the real owner of the land known as Kurdistan. Kurdistan, the oldest land inhabited by the human being. And the inhabitants of this land are the Kurds them selves.

Congressman Filner gives this valuable information on this subject during a speech addressing the House of Representatives on May 1st 1997; telling the following facts: (The Kurds have resided in their present homelands for thousands of years. Kurdish Guti kings have ruled Persia and Mesopotamia over 4000 years ago. Before that, the Neolithic revolution probably first took place in Kurdistan, around 7000 B.C., 3,500 years before similar development in Europe.

Some of the earliest towns and villages as well as other human settlements, have been discovered in Kurdistan. Yet, one of the largest nations in the Middle East is prevented from exercising sovereignty over any part of its own land. It is an International colony, governed over by the states of Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria.)

In the year the New-Yorker Magazine Awake had published an article, describing Kurdistan as the land of Adam and Eve, and for that reason Abraham visited that region enjoying the life of the divine land.

Mustafa carried out a mass killing campaign against the civilian inhabitants of Suleimanya city. Few months later that party was toppled by another military coup. However, they managed to come back to rule Baghdad once more in 1968.

Saddam Hussein was the most criminal character of that regime. He began with exterminating almost all his comrades in the party to pave the way to establish one of the most tyrannical regimes of the recent history. He engineered a full scale genocidal campaign against this nation. As George Quintan put in forwarding a similar book, Saddam Hussein had started, in 1983 with mass-killing of eight thousand Barzani men who were living peacefully in collective settlement controlled by his regime's army. All efforts including European diplomatic mediations had failed to find a single trace of them.

Yet the worst to come, Saddam had appointed his cousin Ali Hassan "Ali the Chemical" As his right hand to carry out his notorious genocidal plan. Ali resumed his work in April 15th 1987, beginning with chemical bombardment of more than twenty Kurdish towns and villages including Halabja and Balisan. Thousands of defend less civilians were killed.

As from February 1988, the greatest crimes of late twenty's century had begun. The name Qur'an Sura "Anfal" was chosen for this dirty criminal campaign. Eight operations of mass killing and mass burring were carried out between February and August of that year. Tons of documents are now available in the US. These prove that 182,000 men, women and children were killed and buried together in the Arabia Desert. The Arab Witness who is interviewed in this book claims that he buried a one month old infant alive.

Forward

In a series of booklets of recording the stories of Anfal witnesses, I have tried to reveal some hidden aspects of this horrific genocidal campaign that Saddam Hussein's regime carried out against the Kurdish people of Iraq. Those witnesses were Anfal subjects who could one or another escape the firing squads. For the safety of the Witnesses and their families, we intensified the publishing works after the fall of Saddam' regime in 2003.

Fortunately after his fall a witness of another category turned up an executioner not a victim!

The witness is Abdulhasen Murad, an Arab born in the south of Iraq. Murad had worked for a long time with Iraqi security forces as a shovel driver. Murad's job was covering the victims with sand no matter whether they were alive or dead.

Within the Arabization plan of the Kurdish city of Kirkuk, Abdulhasen has got a house in Kirkuk. He was provided with false papers to prove that he was a descent inhabitant of Kirkuk.

The shovel driver claimed that he felt guilty of cooperating with The Ba'ath gang killing and burying masses of innocent people especially a one month old baby who was buried alive. I took the opportunity to meet him in Kurdistan and to record this interview and to publish this little but valuable book on this interview.

Arif Qurbani

For all these reasons, the occupiers of Kurdistan are trying to claim the ownership of this prestigious land. Seemingly, they think that they can not do that with out getting rid of the original people.

Abdulkarim Uzeri.

How many brothers and sister do you have?

I have one brother and four sisters. All together we are eight persons.

Was there a school in your village?

Yes, there was one school known by the name of our village Umm Re'an.

Did you learn there?

Yes, I did.

Did your sisters and your brother go to the school?

No, I was the only one.

Why?

Well, the life in the country side needs manpower. It needs people for farming, for looking after sheep and making the living of the big family. We were no exception; we had to do all these works. Working is more preferable in the village life.

How did your father let you going to the school after all?

Well such decisions were taken by our father. I did not like going to school at all, but never asked me. I was a child and found myself in the school with out my brother and sisters. They might have wished to go, but they had no chance.

Was there a higher school, such as secondary school in Umm Re'an?

No, not at all, even that school was only three years long instead of six.

Does this mean that you have only attended for only three years?

This how the interview started:

Will you be so kind to tell us your name?

My name is Abdulhasen Mohan Murad.

When were you born?

I was born in 1961.

Where?

I was born In Kut*.

Do you mean in Kut city itself?

No I'm born in a village called Umm Re'an in Hay County which is belong to the governorate of Kut

What was your father's profession?

He worked as a farmer.

Was he an educate man?

Do you mean my father?

Yes, I do.

No, I don't think so. He had never been to school.

How was the living standard of your family?

Our life was not bad

*Kut is a city in the southern part of Iraq.

Actually I had been transferred many times, to many places in Iraq. However, I remained In Baghdad until 1980. As the directorate of nationality and traveling was divided three different branches; mainly to watch foreigner in Iraq and to collect information on Iraqi citizens, I had to be in Ar-Ar* Intelligence Directorate. There was a passport office in Ar-Ar, too.

Were you the one who chose the section or you were assigned to?

No, the choice was not mine. Lists of names were circulated and we were transferred accordingly.

So when did you join the intelligence services?

In 1980, the time I left Baghdad to Ar-Ar.

What was your duty in that intelligence office?

I was only a driver. I did not have any task of intelligence nature.

Were you a private driver of one of the high ranked officers?

No, I was only a driver of big vehicles.

What kind of vehicles do you mean?

I mean Shovels, Lorries, and Diggers.

*This is a desert where tens of thousand Anfal victims were buried. It lies in the west of the Iraqi capital.

No, I studied further. I went to the center of the district Hay to finish the primary and the intermediate schools. But I could not pass the final exam, and I could not try again, because for a villager like me it wasn't easy to pay for the expenses in the town. So I decided to look for a job to make my living.

Did you find a working place? What was the nature of your job?

I found a job in an office for nationality and travel documents. I worked as a policeman.

Can you remember the date of your employment?

Yes, I know it by heart. It was March 30th 1978.

Where was that?

In the same office that I have just mentioned.

My question is about the police headquarter, was it in Hay district or the city of Kut?

I was employed by the governorate of Kut.

May I ask about your salary?

Yes, why not my salary was fifty three Iraqi Dinars.

How long did you stay there?

I stayed there for only four months, and then I was transferred to Baghdad, but I worked for the same office.

I should have asked you earlier, how was it possible to be recruited as a police man in 1978 while you were under 18?

That is because I had asked them to be recruited as a volunteer. In that case age was not considered.

Can you remember the last time you been in Baghdad?

No, to be honest they were used in other directorates of farming in the area.

Let us make the question clearer. Why did the security forces need shovels and diggers?

Well, they used them for leveling the yards of the offices building and for the reconstruction of the roads that they needed.

I think that we started to understand each other. So can you tell me for what other purposes were those machines used?

As I told you, they were used for the works that they were purchased.

Can you give me more examples?

Yes, they used them to dig the yards and build underground prisons in the directorate of the security departments. To keep their secrecy, they could only use their own equipment.

Have you yourself dug such prisons in the security offices that you worked for?

Well, I wasn't the only driver working there. Each office has had many drivers. Probably some did that while I was on leave.

It is normal that drivers like you were doing the works that were ordered by the higher ranking. So it doesn't matter who were digging you or your friends, what is important is jails were built in the yards.

Yes, for several times jails were built inside the security offices outside the main cities, and in the military barracks. We did the digging and they built whatever they wanted including prisons.

What had a security agency had to with these heavy equipments?

They had every type of heavy machines. They used them for their special tasks and private purposes.

What kind of private purposes do you mean? Can you please make it clearer?

Well the chives of security forces have had private farms and they ordered to use these heavy machines in their farms.

We all know that those chives of security forces have got benefit of using whatever tools and equipment their hands can reach. But it is doubtful that all these equipment were purchased only for private farms. Isn't it logic that they used for military purposes?

When I was transferred there, I found all these heavy vehicles already there. The security forces were used to have such machines almost everywhere they existed. Therefore, I don't know for what purposes they have got them.

When you joined them and worked in different places, did you ever ask what all these machines are for?

No, I swear that I never asked.

Well, when you became a driver of one of those heavy machines, wasn't it obvious how they are using them?

As I told you before, they were used in the private farms of the bosses.

It is clear that you have worked for security departments for a long time. It is well known that these departments are a bit secretive. So how could they abuse all those machines for only private purposes, taking into consideration that other places like ministry of agriculture badly needed them?

secrets between you and your God. So can you tell us what is not revealed?

Well, as I told you, the regime made lots of crimes. They killed lots of people and threw them wherever they liked and we were ordered to use our shovels to cover them with sand. There were too many places like that. God knows where the locations of all these mass graves are. I am sure none of their families know the whereabouts of those victims.

This means that you agree with me how important the information that you revealed will be.

Yes, yes, I agree.

So how long did you stay in Ar-Ar desert?

I stayed there for over two years.

When did you arrive there? Did you see corps of massacred people on your arrival?

I saw nothing at the beginning.

Do you mean that the security forces hadn't yet started the mass killing?

My dear friend, the securities duty is not detaining and collecting people to kill them. They rather watch and collect information about some people. When somebody works against the regime, then, he will be imprisoned and tortured until he admits what he was doing or what he was hiding. Then after, he will be transferred to the higher authorities to take a sentence to stay in prison or to be executed. But if he doesn't admit, he will be transferred to the main security office in Baghdad. There they will know what they will do with him.

Do you mean that you did not see or attend any killing or execution?

For what other purposes were these shovels and diggers used?

For the purposes that I have already explained. We are all Iraqis; we have all witnessed the atrocities of Saddam Hussein's regime. After he was removed from power, many secret documents had been reviled. Thousands of mass graves have been discovered; they contained tens of thousands of innocent people corps. In some cases members of families were buried together. Relatives or concerned people were never informed about the fate of their dears. In the end we all know what Saddam Hussein was doing, but what is important is that whoever has information about his crimes can be a witness. Be quite sure that what you are doing is of a great humanitarian importance. It makes your conscience relax. You serve your self psychologically and God will reward you for that. So if you tell us what you have seen, what have you heard and what you know, we will make useful documents out of the information you provide. Your witnessing will be reliable documents that serve the whole people of Iraq.

I do not ask you to tell things that haven't happened or you don't know about. So just tell us what the reality is.?

I fully agree with you, the regime was fully tyrannical. Killed lots of people, executed scores of innocent people without trial. They did not even bother to give the corps back to the families; they just left them in pits and ordered the shovel drivers with sand. I do not see my self guilty with all those crimes; I only covered the victims with sand. I swear by God that I tell the truth.

We all agree that you did what you have been ordered. You did your duty and you are required to do us a great favor by narrating the works that you were obliged to do. There are

How come you didn't know your own cousin, the one who would be your wife?

Well, the reason is my uncle had got married in Baghdad, while we were living in Umm Re'an village. At that time it was not easy for villagers to visit relatives in a big city as Baghdad. So I got a chance to visit my uncle's family when I joined my work in Baghdad but I found that my uncle was dead long ago and leaving to daughters behind. I married one of them; who was married and divorced and looking after her six children.

Do you mean your wife was married to another man and was a mother of six?

Yes, that is right.

How many children do you have on your own?

I have six children too

Do you mean that you have six children all together?

Yes that is right.

Will you tell us the names and gender of your own six children?

Yes of course. Evan is our first daughter, born 1984, Ahmad and Suzan are twins born 1985, our son Salam born 1986, Mua'tez and Salman, our last two sons born in 1987 and 1988. So I have two daughters and four sons.

Evan and Suzan are two Kurdish names. Why did Choose Kurdish names?

I have Kurdish friends. They have chosen those two names.

Are they going to school?

Not all of them.

No I didn't, because, the execution was not done there. In some cases, some detainees died under the torture. Killing under torture had happened in the general security of Baghdad, especially at the end of Iraq-Iran war. I was there before the end of the war.

Where did they send you after being transferred from Ar-Ar Desert?

When I was in the security office of Ar-Ar, I was sent several times to have training courses in the general security of Baghdad.

What kinds of training courses did you attend?

I attended driving courses.

Are you sure?

My dear, I only came here for fear of God and to do my humanitarian duty. I have no reason to lie. I told you from the very beginning that my job was a driver.

Okay, let's go back to the time when you returned from Ar-Ar. What did you do next?

I was transferred to the passport office of Rumady city. Then I was transferred to general security in Baghdad. At that time, in 1983-1984, Ali Hassan Al-Majeed was our director. Then I was once more transferred to my own city Kut.

When did you get married?

I got married in 15th March 1983, when I found myself financially able to support a family.

Did you know your wife before getting married to her?

My wife is my cousin. But honestly we didn't know each other before getting married.

I know that, but you worked for the security department especially in Baghdad. Can you at least tell us something about the methods of torturing?

I promised you to tell what ever I know and whatever I saw. I don't know to hide anything for the fear of God, I want to reveal all the secrets that I know, no more, no less and God is witness.

So you neither saw anything nor heard from anybody what was going on?

What do you mean?

I mean the tortures.

Of course, I have heard about the torture from others, I heard many stories but as I told you at the beginning, I would say what I had seen.

Would you like to tell us a couple of torturing stories that you heard about?

Torture was used as a mean to force people to admit what they have done or they know about others. Some were tortured to death, other were cut to pieces. There was a method to pull a man from both legs until he is torn to two parts. In addition, there was psychological torture, this done by bringing other members of the family and torturing them until the concerned person say: Stop I say what you want me to say. I personally had seen murdering people, and piling there corps to be thrown into the mass graves later on. You better ask me about such things!

All right, although our goal as for this interview is learning what you have experienced during Anfal operations, but you can still tell us about torture, fear and murder performed by Saddam Hussein's gang. It would be better to

Why you did not give equal chances to all of them?

My both daughters had finished the primary school and stopped. Ahmed did the same. The others are still going, but I don't know for how long they are going to continue.

Do you the reasons why they left their educations?

Well poverty is the main reason. Our life was difficult. The salary that I received was not enough to cover our expenses. I could not offer to send all of them together. For this reason Ahmad left the school and started working as a shoe shiner.

Excuse me I feel that you feel bad when we talk about your family's life so let's leave that. When you were in Baghdad general security, it was certainly like butchery, can you tell us some details about Baghdad general security?

By God, I don't know what to tell. You mentioned that it was like butchery. I agree with you that it was like butchery but human butchery not animal's.

Have you been a witness of those crimes? Can you give us some examples?

Anybody who was there knows what had happened. They even skinned human there!

There were many different kinds of devilish torture machines which were brought from abroad.

Do you know from which countries they were brought?

No I don't, only high ranked officers knew where they were brought from.

How did they torture people there?

By God, I don't know. I was just a driver and had nothing to do with torturing.

No, in the beginning I told you that each security office had its own shovels and drivers. So the order was including names and places of work. For example; Abdul- Hassan from Kut, and Farhan from Al- Najaf

Would be transferred to the party' organization of the North, under Ali Hassan Al- Majeed.

How many drivers were transferred according to that order?

As from Kut, I was the only person.

Did that happen according to your request, or you were chosen by your directorate?

No, it was neither upon my request nor my directorate's. The names had been chosen in Baghdad.

So, you had chosen by general security directorate for this mission?

Yes, it was like that.

What rank did you have in the security agency?

I worked as a civil servant only. I was just a driver.

I didn't ask about your job. I asked about your rank, which rank did you have?

At that time I had no rank, but later on, I became a commissioner.

Were you a member of the Ba'ath party as well?

Yes, I was a member of the party.

When did you become a member?

You know that it was impossible to get a job, any job with out being a member of that party especially you apply for a job in

start with Anfal right now. So what do you know about Anfal then?

I can remember a lot, I can tell a lot.

Can you start with what you have seen?

Yes, I am ready to tell every thing. I am ready to speak to televisions and the international media. I am ready to narrate all the stories that I know. I am willing to stand before an international court as a witness. I swear by God that I will tell the truth, all the truth. I am here in front of you just for fear of God. For the last fifteen years, memories struck my mind just like movies. The sight of killing and burying all those innocent women and children can not be forgotten, especially the sight of that 35 days old baby that I buried it alive!

Where did work when Anfal begun?

To be honest I don't When Anfal had Begun, therefore I can not tell you were I was.

As a military campaign it started on 18th Feb. 1988.

At that time I was working for Kut's Security Services.

When and how have you been transferred to the regions of Anfal Military Operations? How did you participate?

I received an ordering transfer from the security office of Kut on 17th.July 1988. Accordingly I was moved to the North Organization of the Ba'ath Party.

Who issued that order? Was it Kut's directorate?

The original order was issued by the headquarter in Baghdad and was send to our branch in Kut

Was the order only for your transfer?

Do not worry, this story takes too many questions because hundred of thousand of People are waiting for kind of information that you are going to provide.

Alright, but you discuss type of questions that are not related to me!

Then let us start from the point when you were transferred to the North Organization of the Party, What happened then after?

Well, the headquarters of Baghdad had ordered me to work in Kirkuk with the North Organization of the Party.

Can remember the date?

Yes, it was 21st July, 1988.

Where you alone?

No, there were many other drivers, but they came from different places.

Can you remember your colleagues' names?

Yes, I can remember them, but in some cases I can only remember their first names. Among them were; Farhan Jaber from Najaf, Sent from the security office of his city. Sa'adi from Baghdad, and was from that office. Ahmad Ismael from Tikrit, and was sent from Tikrit's security office. And Ali was from the southern city of Dewania. On the day of our arrival to the party's office in Kirkuk we were sent to a food store by the road that leads to the capital; (this store is now turned to a car exhibition.).

There, Close to the store, we had seen a number of shovels, diggers, trucks and trailers. They were all carrying governmental plate numbers belong to the ministry of housing.

the security services. Therefore, I had planned for the membership and to get employed.

This means than when had started, you were already a member of the Ba'ath party for 11 years. What grade did you hold at that time?

I was only a simple member.

When you had been chosen for such an important mission by the security headquarters, you must have been a high ranked member, isn't that right?

The mechanism of the Ba'ath party was so; it was only essential to get a job, once you get an employment in the security services then you are a trusted person. Moreover, when I was transferred from one place to another, the party connection was ignored.

So for what reason had you been chosen for that important task?

The reason, as I think was being well-trained shovel and digger driver.

Nevertheless, you were not the only driver who was chosen for the Anfal operations. Does this mean the training was the only reason?

I think what was important to them was to use shovel driver from their own security departments, so there was no difference between this and that. But sir; what strange questions are you asking? You see that I came here voluntarily to respond to my conscience responsibility, I want to inform you about the facts and the cases that I've witnessed. I am not speaking under torture, so ask about what you want to know.

go shopping we will be attacked by knives and guns. On the other hand they were asking us to be brave.

You told me that you had remained in Kirkuk till August, what happened after that?

On that very day, the same Major Toghan came around and talked in private with Major Abed. Shortly after they called me and Farhan, and ordered us to along with another man who from Al-Majeed's brigade to go to a place called Topzawa (the same place where we are doing this interview.). At that time, I mean 15 years ago we started burying Anfal victims in the mass-graves pits and covering them with sands. Both Major Abed and Major Toghan attended that operation.

When they took you to Topzawa, did you ask them where and why they were taking you?

We could never ask such questions. We were only obedient drivers.

What did those two officers told you when you arrived in Topzawa camp?

Nothing in the beginning, but later on they ordered us to start digging.

Who issued the order?

I have just told you, the two officers; Abed and Toghan.

Well, did you start digging immediately?

Yes, at the beginning we were ordered to dig square holes. Later, they told us to dig rectangular holes.

Who was there except you, Farhan, Major Nazhan and Major Abed?

But they were all run by a company called Ashore. However, we were all accommodated there, some on the first floor and the rest in the basement.

Who was in charge of that place? To whom did he belong?

His name was Major Abed, he was commanding several troops. He was working for the Ba'ath party under (Ali the Chemical.)

For how long did you remain there?

If I remember well, we stayed there for twenty days, until 11th Aug. 1988.

Were you allowed to go round Kirkuk city?

No, we were not allowed to wander around. An officer came to us and gave strict instruction not to leave the place.

Who was he?

His name was Major Nazhan Toghan. A commander of Ali Hassan Al-Majeed's body guards, He told us that Kirkuk is a Kurdish city and the Kurds will kill us if they now that we are from the security services.

Did you believe what Major Toghan had told you about the Kurds of Kirkuk?

Yes indeed, we were scared. They were there before us and new the situations better than us.

Did you ask him why the Kurds are going to kill you?

Oh no, who would dare to ask such questions? They practiced a terrible policy. Our lives were always under threat.

Can you make it clearer?

Whenever they wanted to terrify us, they would have created fearful stories. One the one hand they were telling us that if we

How many pits did you dig?

I remember, we dug about 4-5 pits. Each of them was 20-25m in dimensions and about 3m deep.

Were you instructed how deep they should be or you did it according to your will?

No, it was Major Toghan who was supervising and telling us what to do.

What did you all do after 8 o'clock in the evening?

When the digging was finished, we all returned to our places in the city of Kirkuk.

On the 11th of August, did you do anything else apart of digging pits?

No, apart of the digging I didn't do anything else on that date.

So you said that you covered the victims with sand, when did you do that?

It was the next day in the evening, 12th of August 10 o'clock in the evening when we did the covering.

What did you think about your job when on 12th of August you realized that you are burying masses of Anfal victims?

To be honest, nothing was special on that day. We were used to do many secret works. Many times we were ordered to dig holes for military ammunition. In the beginning, I did not expect that this time the pits will be for human beings. We realized from the dimension and depth of the pits that there is something unusual going on.

On that day, did any of the officers such as Toghan, Abed, Tahir and Habush come to you at your working place to tell you something significant?

There were Hassan Majeed's private guards. They were about ten or so.

Why were all those private guards there? Was Ali Hassan Majeed himself there?

No he wasn't there. His guards were guarding the area, bulldozers and of course Major Nazhan and Major Abed.

When you saw those guards and Majors coming to that place, haven't you asked why you had been brought there? Haven't you asked yourself this question?

No, because I knew that they had something in that desert that was why we were brought there.

Did you think that these holes are human graves?

At the beginning, I thought they were for something else. But when we reached the place and saw that the area was a desert, I was afraid. I thought that there was something because the area was empty at that time. Later on, these villages were constructed and inhabited by Arabs.

Did you ask your friend Farhan what were all these digging and pits for? Could you discuss it together?

No, I couldn't ask him because we were on different bulldozers.

Who ordered you where to dig?

Major Nazhan did.

When did you start digging the holes?

We started at 9 o'clock in the morning.

How long were you busy with digging?

Till about 8 o'clock in the evening.

Which direction did you take to reach your working place on that night?

We had taken the Arafa- K1 road*, direction of Baghdad. The body guards were leading the convoy. They stopped at a point called Yaichi**. It was near Topzawa itself.

What type of work did you expect to do in a place you have been to just a day before?

In the beginning I thought that we were going to dig more and more, but what I found was quite different.

What have you seen then?

I found the pits that we had dug before were surrounded with Special Forces.

What about the previous night, they were not around?

No, only the officers Abed and Toghan and their body guards were there. But the night after, the place came under the tight security measures.

*Arafa K1 road connects the Arafa quarter of Kirkuk city with K1 oil fields.

** Yaichi is a small village west of Kirkuk, near to Topzawa concentration camp.

No, nobody had told us anything but we were always ready. It was not necessary to tell us to prepare ourselves. We were always ready to act.

Were Asked to be always ready, always be on alert?

As I have told earlier, we were ordered not to leave our residing places. This means that we were always on alert.

On 12th of August, were you informed about the nature of the work that you are going to do?

We were at that place until ten o'clock at night when Major Nazham came and informed us that we must go to do an important mission.

Did they tell you that they will send you to that important work the day before?

No, they did not tell us.

What were you doing before that officer came to you?

Nothing very special, we were sitting and chatting. Somehow we were happy because our live was normal so far.

Were you happy because of Anfal or you have not been involved yet?

We were happy because Iraq-Iran war was over; so the Iraqi people could have a piece of mind, can enjoy peace after along destructing war.

Was the Major alone when he and ordered to move?

No, he was never alone. When he came to us at that night, he was accompanied by for Mercedes cars. They were full with body guards. All the cars were white in color.

What did you do on arrival?

We waited for orders. We waited to know what kind of works we have to do.

Before being ordered, what have you seen anyway?

I know that we want to hear me saying that I was only a spectator.

I am not deciding any thing. All I want to know is what had happened in front of your eyes?

We could see all that happened.

Like what?

Like the mass killing of the young Kurdish people.

When you reached there have you found the young people were prepared for the firing squash?

No, when we arrived there, we only so Tahir and Toghan with there body guards.

When were the Anfal victims brought to that shooting place?

Before bringing the victims, they brought the Executioners.

Did you see the executioners by your own eyes?

Yes, I saw them personally.

When they brought the executioners groups, on which side of the pit were you standing? What was the distance between you and the executioners?

We were all together.

Were the Special Forces mixed with army troops, intelligence police or Kurdish mercenaries?

Really I don't know. There were a big number of forces. I can not tell whether they were mixed with others or not. However, they would not allow Kurdish soldiers or Kurdish mercenaries to be around. They thought that Kurds will not keep the secrecy of massacring their own people.

Can you put us in a better figure? Can you give a clear description?

Describing what? Is there a good description for such crimes? I can say that they were killing the whole Kurdish people together. They executed such horrific crimes before us that man can not describe. It's easier to be narrated by those who planned them.

Please don't get me wrong. When I ask you to describe the crimes, I do not mean how you did them. All that I mean is what have seen?

It was 10 o'clock at night when we left Kirkuk toward Topzawa. We were rather late and it was not easy to see and remember everything?

You told me that you have seen lot of forces controlling the hills and main roads to Topzawa, so in addition to those Special Forces have you seen any known military officers or other chiefs?

Oh yes, Major Nazhan Toghan was there in front of every body. We also saw Tahir Jalil Habush standing on one of the hills around. This man was one of the directors of the North Organization of the party. He later became the governor of Anbar district, then the general directorate of the Iraqi intelligence services.

I explained to you to what extension your and others testimonies are important for the international court.

Arabs, by no mean are our enemies but there are certain criminals among them who must be identified and trialed.

Why Arabs? Not all Arabs are criminals. It the Ba'ath party who carried out crimes against Arabs and Kurds alike, especially against Shiite Arabs.

Let's come back to the main issue. Let me make it clearer that those criminals are important for the international court not for the revenge.

The executioners were eleven persons; Lieutenant One Saeeb, lieutenant One Saeem, Lieutenant One Saood from Ali Hassan's Brigade and Major Abed with his men.

Did all of them use pistols?

Yes, all of them were carrying same kinds of pistols. They were muffled types.

What were the executioners doing before the arrival of the victims?

They were just walking around and waiting for their preys.

When the Anfal victims were brought?

Not long after were they took us to the killing field. I think all the steps were planed together.

How did they brig them? I mean by what kind of vehicles?

They brought them with trucks.

What kind of trucks?

They looked like ambulance, but they were longer and larger.

Were you on your shovel? Were you far away from Tahir Habush and Major Toghhan? How about the executioner teams?

We were all close to each others. We switched off the machines and went near the pit side.

Do you mean that you were close to the killers and you could their uniforms and there gun?

Yes, I could see them closely. They were in dark-green uniforms which was special for military intelligence services and high ranking officers. They were carrying pistols in there hands.

Did they carry other types of weapons?

No, no other weapons.

Does this mean that Anfal victims were shot by pistols?

Yes, as far as that group of victims are concerned.

Did the executioners wear masks on their faces? Have you seen any of them face to face? If yes can you recognize them?

Yes, I can. Indeed I know some of them personally.

How did you get acquainted with them?

I was together with some them for twenty days. The officers were there too. That's how I have got acquainted with them.

Could you tell how did they look like?

I told you that I will talk about the places of mass graves. But you are asking me about the executioners. May be tomorrow you ask where they were from then you may ask me about their whereabouts.

Do mean the (Pshten)?

Yes, that is what I mean. Pshtens and Kurdish Turbans were used to tie hands and eyes.

How do you remember that?

I remember it as the night of horrific crimes.

Anyway, was it a dark night or brightened by the moon light?

It was neither to dark nor so clear.

You said that each officer used his pistol and shot the victims, did they do that in turn or they did all together?

They did in the following way: Each took a charge of a queue of people by the edge of the pit and started shooting them after the order had been issued. Then the corpses were pushed into the pit.

Who was ordering the shooting?

I do not know.

All these have happened in front of your eyes and you don't who was ordering?

It is true that the things were happening in front of our eyes, but as for me I was engaged making the shovel ready, therefore I was not aware of what was going on.

Were the victims standing during the killing process?

No each officer got a person took him to the edge of the pit, letting him sit in squatting position. Then he put one his knees on the hands of the victim which were tied from behind, holding the head with one hand and putting the pistol on the back of the head and waited for the order to shoot.

How many trucks have you seen?

I think they were six.

Could you see their plate numbers?

No, I could not.

Did the truck come close to the pits?

Yes, they came near the edges of the pit.

Can you describe the process of the killing?

Did the victims come down in queues?

The first and the main point is the killing was under the command of Tahir Habush. He ordered all us to switch on all our machines. Even the bulldozers were switched on to make noises. The victims' trucks were heavily guarded. The trucks were brought one by one to the side of the pit; two guards were engaged to watch the doors of the trucks. The victims were brought in singles in front of the officers, and they started shooting them at head. There after the bodies were thrown to the holes.

Were the victims blindfolded and hands tied before being shot?

Yes, I saw that all of them were blindfolded.

When did they do the blindfolding?

I don't know they were brought like that.

What was used to blindfold them?

Most of them were bound by their own piece of cloth that Kurds put round their waist. Sorry
I don't what's called in Kurdish.

I felt that I was taking part in the atrocity.

If so, why did you do it?

Would I have refused to obey them, I would have received the same killing shots.

Did anybody tell you that you would have the same fate if you refuse to carry out their orders?

Yes, I was told that over hundred times.

When and where were you told that?

We were told that in every meeting.

What kinds of meeting do you mean? Did you hold meetings before that Anfal operation?

No, but were told in the previous meetings.

When exactly?

Do you want to learn about the atrocity of Anfal or about other things? My dear the Ba'ath party was a criminal group. Once a colleague of mine was in a consolation and failed to attend his working place. He was trailed and executed just for that! How about if refuse doing your duty?

How did you cover the victims?

We covered the corpses with the same sands that we had dug it the night before.

Was the operation of 12th of August the first criminal operation you took part in?

I did not take part in any crime whatsoever. The criminals are those who ordered the killing and did the shooting. What was our guilt? I came on my own will, I came to tell the truth and I am not listed among the criminals.

No one of the Kurdish victims tried to escape or to attack the killers? No body tried to challenge them or talking to them?

I did not hear any thing and I did see any body trying anything, simply there was no chance to do anything. What can poor prisoners with eye folded and tied hands to while all these guns pointed to their heads?

Do you think that some of the victims might have not died, and somehow they remained alive?

Well, they might have not died immediately. But after all we buried them in sands. There was no chance for surviving at all.

Were all the victims killed in the same way?

As I told you there full load of six trucks, each one contained fifty people, the total of 300 victims were divided over four pits, so each 75 of them were burred in one hole. Therefore I could not see all of them.

Those who were in the bus realized that there brother were going to shot dead and soon their turn would come, did they try to do anything for their own survival?

As I explained to you they couldn't much, because of folded eyes and tied hands, and may they hoped to be kept alive.

What hopes to you talk about, especially when they heard the shots that penetrate the heads of their fellow Kurds?

That is right but the pistols were muffled and the sound of the heavy machines were deafening. It's possible that they never heard the sound of the killing pistols. However, the whole process did not take too long.

How was your feeling when so people killed in front your eyes and they had to be buried by you?

Did tell the story of what you have seen at that to anybody?

No, I did not dare to mention any thing to any body. I remembered well what Toghan had told us.

What about your friends? Did they ask where had you been or where did they take you?

The night before we told them we were digging and we told them the same story again.

Did they believe you?

I think yes. In the meantime, they did not dare to ask more.

Did you spend an ordinary night?

How come I spent an ordinary night after all? I told you that for the last 15 years that scenery had never left my mind. I never had a peaceful mind since.

Could you sleep that night?

No not at all.

How about Farhan?

I don' think he could sleep either.

What were you thinking about? Did you think of escaping and telling the whole world what was going on?

Well, in the beginning those who were shot, we thought they might be guilty, But in the course of Anfal, we have got to understand that it was a process of mass killing. I was shocked by the number of the slaughtered innocent people.

You mentioned that after the slaughtering and burying them, you realized that they were only Kurds subjected to the Anfal campaign. How did you get to know that?

Excuse me! Back to our discussion, was that the first killing process you attended?

Yes.

And was it the last one?

No, it was not the last one.

Have you witnessed other mass killings?

Yes, I did, later on I took part in burying of children and women.

Where was that?

That was in Tuzkhurmatu area south of Kirkuk city.

How you spent your night, after returning from that terrible mission, I mean after burying the Anfal victims?

After finishing the killing campaign, they called me and my friend to a meeting that was attended by the body guards. They threatened us not reveal the secret of that operation.

Who hold that meeting?

Major Toghan Al Tikrity.

Can you remember what did he say?

He told us that what you have seen with our eyes, will happen to us too if do not keep our mouths shut.

Did any body asked him why?

No, no body dared to open his mouth.

What did you do after the meeting?

We returned to our places in Kirkuk.

Did you have a better feeling after talking to your wife?

Somehow yes.

How was your wife's reaction after narrating that fearful story?

She was as disturbed as I was, but could we do?

Didn't she ask you not to go back, to leave your job and stay in hiding?

She was never happy with my job and always wished me to find another working place near our home.

Didn't you think to leave the Ba'ath regime and go in hiding?

Where could man run away to, we had no chance. The regime's detectives were every where. No where was safe.

After returning to Kirkuk did find any thin have changed?

Yes when I went back I found that many things have changed.

Can you mention some examples?

When I went back to the headquarters I couldn't find the other drivers.

What happened to them?

They were sent to another place. We were also asked to join them.

Where was that new place?

It was some where between Tuzkhurmatu and Hmreen hills.

What were they doing when you found them? Were they busy digging again?

When we return to our living place, some guards brought us food and told us the story of Anfal.

What did they say?

We asked them about the slaughtered people, they told us they the same people who were hold in Topzawa camp.

How could you dare to ask them such risky questions?

They brought food for to us, they sat down and chatted with. We found them friendly. We asked them and they did not hesitate to answer.

Have heard about the term of Anfal before?

No, I only heard about it that night.

How about the next day?

We were given three days rest. We went home to stay with our families.

Could speak to your family about those days you spend them in Kirkuk?

You really ask strange questions!

Well you were in a bad psychological condition, nobody note any thing, and you didn't express your self?

When I reached home I was very disturbed, my head was just about to explode. My wife realized that and kept asking me questions and I told her every thing and asked her not to reveal the secret.

Were you not afraid of the consequences of telling the story?

Yes, I was aware of that, but I trusted my and wife had promised me to keep our secret. In the mean time I needed some body to talk to.

No, I don't but it must have been some where other than Hmreen and Tuzkhurmatu.

Can you remember where exactly you buried the new victims?

We buried them some where between Hmreen hills and the road to Tuzkhurmatu.

Were all of them of young ages?

No they were a mixture of young and old ages, and men, women and children.

Were they were shot in same way it was in Yaichi and Topzawa?

No, this time it was amass shooting.

What do you mean by the mass shooting?

They were gathered in masses and were shot all together by K 47.

Were the executioner teams the same as before?

Yes, the same team of the eleven officers that I mentioned before.

When they brought new groups of victims, did they separate them according to age or gender?

No, the separation had happened well before.

At first they brought the young people, slaughtered them very quickly, but they others before even finishing the burying.

Did they park the trucks near to the pits?

Not very far. However the place was full of pits. The plane at the foot of the hill was all dug. So if a truck was far away from

Well, we found some new pits were ready. The security was as tight as usual. We started to work again with out any discussion.

So you started digging again?

Yes indeed.

When did they bring new Anfal subjects?

I can not remember that date.

How many days after your three days rest?

I can not remember because we were sent to many other places near that area. Our shovels arrived a bit late.

What I mean is the date where you resumed burying the victims again.

Believe me I can not recall any dates. However the process continued until 15th of September 1988.

Do you mean the slaughtering was continues from 11th of August till 15th of September.

Yes, but that the time that I know about and I can witness it.

Let come to the operations of Tuzkhurmatu, Can you tell me what you have seen there?

As I told I Can remember the date but it happened few days later.

Do you think the other drivers, apart of you and Farhan, have participated in the digging and burying process?

Yes of course, they had the same duty. For several nights they were engaged in same activities but in other places.

Do you roughly were they where sent?

But they were going to die any way.

They could not do any thing but crying.

Were the men crying?

Yes they were crying.

You mentioned that the transferring process was going quickly. Did the others, I mean women and children arrived during the shooting of the young groups?

Yes they arrived during the shooting, because the trucks were in a convoy and they were not far from each others.

Do you know where they brought from?

Yes I do, the men were brought from Topzawa camp, but women and children from Dibis camp which is also close to Kirkuk city.

Did you start covering the slaughtered victims soon after the shooting or you waited all the executions were over?

We had to wait until the end of the firing squad.

Was there only one team to shoot?

Yes, only one team was there, the team of the eleven officers.

How could those officers kill all those people?

Why not that is the easiest thing to, just press the trigger of the gun machine and kill as much as you want. Besides, the victims were prepared for them.

Who had prepared them?

The Special Forces did the preparation. I told you that several times. They had even brought the victims down down from the trucks and put them before their guns.

one pit it must have been close to another one. However, they have been shot and buried near the closest pit.

Can you give more details about the shooting?

Yes, special guards brought the detainees down from the trucks and ordered them to move toward on of the pits.

Were they eye folded?

No, not eye folded but their hands were tied from behind.

So the shootings had happened in front of their eyes!

Yes when those poor people reached the firing-squad place, the shooting had started.

Who ordered the shooting?

Major Abed ordered it.

What did he say?

He just said "shoot" and the shooting started like rain.

How many solders were shooting?

The same eleven officers shot them.

Did all of them take part in the shooting?

Yes, all of them took part.

Were those officers standing in regular lines when they executed the victims?

No they were not in lines, but they were ready to shoot.

No body tried to escape?

What are you talking about? The whole place was guarded by the Special Forces. Guns from every where were pointed at them. No body stood a chance to escape.

Are you sure?

Yes of course.

Do you mean that she could speak Arabic in a way that you could get her point?

She was an Arab herself.

Are you serious?

Yes, I am.

What was she doing among all those unfortunate Kurds?

She was just arrested like them!

How did you know?

As I told you, I spoke to her.

Did she say that she was an Arab?

Yes she said so and I believed her because she speaking Arabic very fluently, and when I asked her where did she learn Arabic: She said that she was an Arab.

Did she explain how she was arrested?

Yes, she explained many things to me. She told that she was a doctor from Hilla city < south of Baghdad > and was a member of the Iraqi Communist Party.

Did you ask her how she came under arrest?

Yes, she told that she working for the local committee of the Kurdish town of Koisanjaq east of Erbil.

Did you feel sad for her?

Telling you the truth; yes, especially when I knew that she was a lady doctor.

Were old peoples' hands tied too?

No.

How about their eyes?

They were not eye folded either.

Their hands were free. Did they try to rebel?

They were weakened in prison and controlled by very strong forces. They had no chance whatsoever.

According to your description, the victims were just brought and pushed in front of the killers. Isn't that right?

Yes, that is quite right. They pushed them like animals and were shot all together.

No body was able to find a way to survive like asking a soldier to ease his escape!

The bullets were coming like rain. There was no chance for a slightest move. No body could help at all.

Had it happened that an old man, a woman or a child, going to a soldier or an officer begging to save his or her life? Or asking for what reason they receive this punishment?

Yes that had happened. A woman came to me and asked me those questions.

Do you know Kurdish?

No.

So how did you know what she was asking for?

I understood what she was asking for, because she was speaking in Arabic.

Arab city in Iraq to the Kurdish city of Kirkuk, will be given a piece of land and an amount of money enough to build a house on it, The aim of this decision was to increase the Arab population against the Kurds and of course to change the demographic status of the place, and claiming that majority are Arabs and thus it's not a Kurdish city. However, because I was working for the security services I was given a house.

Was it a governmental house?

No it belonged to a Turkman family. It was confiscated by the government. They gave to and changed the registration papers into my name.

Did you ask about the legality status of that transfer process?

We were not used to ask such questions. There was an office for housing that changed the houses ownership, they gave the number of the house and told me that it was mine and I accepted the offer.

You got it officially from the security department, but what about your conscience? How could you live in a house that its real owner was forced out of it?

The authority had confiscated it and changed the ownership to me. This wasn't any of my business.

You said before that you had discussed the Anfal matter with your wife, did she inform any body else about it?

I am sure she did not do that for fear of execution.

Did you make any contact with any Kurdish people? Did anybody come to ask you about the fate of their loved ones?

Kurds and Arabs did not trust each other any more. Any contacts with the Kurds would have been investigated by the

Wasn't because she was an Arab?

No, may be because I had talked with her.

How about the others? How about all those old people, women and children?

I told you that I never had a restful mind for the past fifteen years. I always dreamt about them.

What had affected you in the first place, during the Anfal campaigns?

Among that group, the Arabic doctor and a one month old infant buried carried by its mother. I think the baby was not hit by any bullets, this means I buried that baby alive.

Are you sure that the baby was not hit and you buried it alive?

Not quite sure about being hit or not but it was definitely alive during the burring.

Did you ever try to leave the whole thing and go back to your city?

Well in the beginning of 1989, when I was working in a farm called I was ill treated by an officer name lieutenant Khattab. He treated us like animals. I managed to transfer myself to Baghdad's General Security. Soon after, a decree was issued by the Iraqi leadership saying that any Arab person who transfers his civil registration file to the city of Kirkuk will be well rewarded. Therefore, I transferred the whole family to Kirkuk and we live there since.

How were you rewarded when you transferred yourself to Kirkuk?

Well, the decree was from the Ba'ath party and government, it stated that any Arab citizen who transfer him/her self from any

From the very beginning I want to tell you that you are an extra ordinary intelligent man.

Why do you think so?

Because, you are well educated, you were to school for nine long years. Moreover, you served the Ba'ath party and the security services for 25 years and you still carry a commissioner rank while other with fewer educations and shorter services have got higher positions. So what is exactly your rank?

As I told you I am a commissioner. It is up to you to believe it or not.

Well, I have doubt!

It is you right to be doubtful.

Now let's come back to our subject, what have you done after liberation of Iraq?

After the occupation of Baghdad airport I returned to my family in Kirkuk.

When did you think about telling your story?

I started planning that when the city of Kirkuk came under the control of the Kurds.

How did you start?

At first I tried to see the Governor of Rizgar Ali. I tried for three days but I was not allowed to meet him.

Did you tell anybody that you have reasons to see him?

Yes I did, but no body listened to me.

Did you tell them that you are coming from an important place and have important information to tell?

security men. Kurdish were implanted among them, we knew that some of them were providing secret information to our departments. So I found better to be more careful.

During the up rise of the Iraqi people in 1991, Kirkuk was fallen under the Kurdish forces, did make any contact at that time?

During the uprising I escaped from Kirkuk and took my family to avoid the revenge of the Kurds. I did not have any chance to talk to the Kurdish forces.

You suffered from psychological troubles. You felt guilty and wanted to speak out, why didn't you to Kurdish massive liberated region to talk with them?

Because, in 1991 I was transferred to the security branch of Najaf which is far away from the Kurdish area, Nevertheless, I have had a friend who managed to escape but his wife was imprisoned instead. The wife was pregnant and gave birth to the child in prison. The child was one year and a half when they were released.

Did you, at least try to leave the security job and find a peaceful one?

No, in fact I transferred myself to the Mansoor security office of Kirkuk.

Till when did you stay there?

I stayed there until a short time before the toppling of Saddam Hussein regime.

Where have you been during the toppling of that regime?

I was working for the Airport of Baghdad.

I have been given only \$50. I swear that I will keep that banknote forever. To me this is a symbol not a price for the information that I had provided.

Did you narrate the story to any body else?

As I told you I am ready to give my testimony in front of any international tribunal. But as for now, if the Kurdish authorities ask me to keep the secrecy for the convenient time, I am ready to do so.

Our conversation is about to come to an end, may ask if you want to regret for what you have done to the Kurdish people?

No, I don't want to. Why should I regret?

At least because for all the crimes executed by your armed forces, some of them happened in front of your eyes.

No I needn't regret. I am not the one who ordered the killing. I am here to do the right thing to tell you what had happened.

Some times man wishes not to have been born to see such horrible crimes. As for your part, didn't you wish to be illiterate, remained at home and never had mixed with such criminals?

What I wished was to have the power to stop Anfal crimes.

Thank you for being with us. I hope that we will meet again to prepare a file on your testimony and send it an international tribunal about Anfal genocidal crimes, but right now we will publish a book about your testimony.
Fine.

Yes I did.

What was their response?

No response at all.

What do you think the reason was?

I think the reason was that so many Arabs went there and complained about their new situation or their cars and properties have been confiscated. They thought that I was there for similar reasons.

And did you try anywhere else?

Yes I tried with the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) but in vain.

Why did you try the PUK?

Because, they suffered a lot from Anfal campaign.

And later on how did you reach the right people?

What happened was one day while I was looking after my sheep a passer-by passed I realized that he was a Kurd. I asked him to join me to have a chat. He accepted and came to my house. Then I told him my story. He found that it was better to tell the story to a PUK chief. Two days later a committee came to visit me.

Then we went to see the mass graves areas where I had worked. After all here we are together recording the story.

Did anybody reward you for your valuable information?

Yes, I was rewarded.

May ask how much have you received?























