

Iraq: The world would not listen

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**"DISAPPEARANCES" AND POLITICAL KILLINGS:
HUMAN RIGHTS CRISIS OF THE 1990s**

A MANUAL FOR ACTION

Chapter C-1

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Pre-Publication Version

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This is a pre-publication version of Chapter C-1 of the Amnesty International report *"Disappearances" and Political Killings: Human Rights Crisis of the 1990s - A Manual for Action*. Reference is also made in this chapter to Chapter C-6, "Morocco: The 'disappeared' reappear" and Chapter G-6, "Action through the United Nations and regional institutions", which have also been issued in a pre-publication version.

Chapter C-1

Iraq:

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It is always hard to know where to begin in trying to describe Iraq's human rights record. There are numerous examples of gross and consistent human rights violations coming under all parts of Amnesty International's mandate. This is not new in Iraq's history, but the past 13 years have been marked by the especially brutal suppression of all forms of internal dissent, with no end in sight. Judging by the reactions of the international community, however, one cannot help forming the impression that outside the country, Iraq's appalling human rights record is a recent discovery.

Until Iraq invaded neighbouring Kuwait on 2 August 1990, the political and strategic interests of those states which were in a position to exert pressure on Iraq resulted in the international community effectively turning a blind eye to the atrocities being committed by the Iraqi Government throughout the 1980s. The same interests dictated those states' actions after the restoration of Kuwait's sovereignty in 1991 and the mass uprising in Iraq which followed.

In publishing its report in December 1990 on human rights violations by Iraqi forces in occupied Kuwait, Amnesty International said:

"Those violations which have been reported since 2 August [1990] are entirely consistent with abuses known to have been committed in Iraq over many years...Amnesty International has repeatedly placed such information on the public record, and regrets that until the invasion of Kuwait, the international community did not see fit to apply serious pressure in an attempt to put an end to these abuses."

Unfortunately, since 1991 the world's attention has once again shifted away from the human rights crisis in Iraq. Amnesty International's proposals for action to prevent further human rights violations have gone largely unheeded.

"Disappearances"

As in other countries, the issue of "disappearances" in Iraq has always been one of the most difficult areas to investigate and on which to mobilise effective action. The scale of "disappearances" remains difficult to gauge precisely. Even today, when parts of Iraq have become more accessible to international agencies, it is impossible to put an accurate figure on the number of victims. It would be safe to say, however, that several hundred thousand people "disappeared" in Iraq during the 1980s. The victims include a wide variety of people and groups: Kurds, Arabs, Turcomans, Assyrians; Sunni and Shi'a Muslims, Christians and others; men, women and children; members of prohibited political parties and

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their families; military personnel and deserters; disaffected members of the ruling elite; relatives of deportees; Iraqis returning from abroad to benefit from officially-declared amnesties and others. The list of victims appears endless.

Once a person has "disappeared", it is virtually impossible in most cases to discover his or her fate or whereabouts. Usually the families of the "disappeared" remain ignorant of their fate until they are either released or confirmed to have been executed. In the latter case, the bodies of the victims are sometimes returned to the families. In such cases families are frequently forced to pay a fee to cover "state expenses" - including the cost of the bullets used in the execution. In other instances, however, the bodies are never returned, and families live for years in hope of seeing alive "disappeared" relatives who are long since dead.

To exacerbate the problem, the question of using the courts or other domestic remedies in the search for the "disappeared" does not apply in Iraq. The average Iraqi family would not dare to make inquiries with the authorities about those who have gone missing, for fear of meeting the same fate. At best, Iraqi officials deny holding the persons in question in their custody, even in cases where there were eye-witnesses to the arrests. When Amnesty International submitted to the authorities a list of "disappeared" persons in the early 1980s, asking for information about them, the government responded that the names were fictitious.

The government's responses over the years, together with the recent discoveries of mass graves in both northern and southern Iraq, have led Amnesty International to fear that many victims of "disappearance" have been killed, including thousands who "disappeared" *en masse* in specific incidents. Perhaps the best known of these was the "disappearance" of an estimated 8,000 Kurds of the Barzani clan in 1983. All were males between the ages of 8 and 70; all were arrested during the first 10 days of August 1983 in the province of Arbil and have not been seen since. One month after their unacknowledged arrests, President Saddam Hussain said in a speech that "those people were severely punished and went to Hell...".

In the spring of 1988, whole Kurdish families "disappeared" from hundreds of villages after they were rounded up by government forces - ostensibly to be transferred to areas which offered improved living conditions. Many of the villagers had surrendered to the authorities in order to benefit from officially-declared amnesties. The information available today suggests that this wave of arrests - commonly referred to as Operation Anfal - resulted in the "disappearance" of over 100,000 Kurdish civilians in the space of three to four months (some Kurdish estimates place the figure higher, at between 150,000 and 180,000 victims). Amnesty International has obtained the names of over 17,000 of them (almost 6,000 of these names were obtained by Amnesty International from relatives of the "disappeared" during a research visit to only six refugee camps in Iran in May 1990).

During negotiations with the Iraqi Government for greater autonomy in 1991, the opposition Iraqi Kurdistan Front demanded information on the fate and whereabouts of the 8,000 "disappeared" Barzanis and of the victims of Operation Anfal. The Front was reportedly made to understand by Iraqi Government negotiators that they were no longer alive.

However, it emerged after the March 1991 mass uprising in Iraq that many other people who had "disappeared" in the 1970s and 1980s were still alive. During their brief control of major cities and towns in northern and southern Iraq, opposition forces broke into prisons and detention centres, releasing the inmates. Hundreds of them had been held in secret underground detention centres with no entrance or exit visible to the outside world. Among them were people who had been arrested in the 1970s during the presidency of Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr, before President Saddam Hussain came to power.

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Since the crushing of the uprising, many other people have "disappeared" after being arrested on suspicion of having participated in the uprising. They include scores of Shi'a Muslim clerics and students of religion from southern Iraq.

Extrajudicial executions

As with "disappearances", the issue of extrajudicial executions in Iraq has been difficult to investigate and to put a figure on; but it can be estimated that, in addition to those of the "disappeared" who were executed or otherwise killed, hundreds of thousands of other people have been the victims of extrajudicial executions during the 1980s. The killing of an estimated 5,000 civilians through the use of chemical weapons in the Kurdish town of Halabja in March 1988 was the most notorious example, rapidly hitting the world headlines because the authorities in neighbouring Iran were able to take journalists into the border town. The news reached the rest of the world, but within Iraq it was another matter altogether. Many Iraqis did not realise the extent of the massacre, and were not able to learn of the devastation that was wreaked in Halabja until after the March 1991 uprising.

There have undoubtedly been a number of Halabja-type killings in Iraq's recent history, some of which are only now coming to the surface. Still other incidents which Amnesty International and others placed on the public record were either disbelieved or ignored. For example, chemical weapons had been used on Iraqi civilians as early as April 1987 (and, earlier, against Iranian soldiers during the Iran-Iraq war of 1980-1988)ⁱ, albeit on a smaller scale. Even after world-wide condemnation of the Halabja massacre, Iraq continued to use chemical weapons against its civilians, culminating in the August-September 1988 offensive which triggered the exodus of over 50,000 Kurds to southern Turkey.

In Iraq over the years, the perpetration of extrajudicial executions has been developed into a fine art. The methods used include the use of chemical weapons against civilians; mass executions by firing squad; burying people alive or tying heavy weights to their feet and pushing them into rivers while alive; poisoning through the use of thallium (a substance used in rat poison) and other poisons; bleeding prisoners and detainees to death; assassinations by shooting; and "accidental deaths" supposedly occurring in car accidents or helicopter crashes. In addition, thousands of people have died in custody in unknown circumstances, or as a result of torture.

The victims are from the same categories as those listed above with regard to "disappearances". The problems encountered in the investigation of extrajudicial executions are also the same: no domestic remedies available to relatives; a lack of access to Iraq by outside investigators; and a state of fear pervading every level of society in Iraq, preventing the victims' families and others concerned about human rights from making even the simplest inquiries.

Since the March 1991 uprising, however, more information has come to light about the nature and scale of atrocities committed in previous years. Sources of information have included thousands of documents, videotapes, films, photographs and other material seized by government opponents from intelligence and security forces buildings during the uprising. Iraqi intelligence and security personnel, many of whom were trained by advisers from the secret police of the former German Democratic Republic, the Stasi, were in the habit of recording for posterity the atrocities they committed. Some of the videotape material, for example, shows officials including government ministers talking in no uncertain terms about their plans to eliminate individuals or groups of people.

Another important source of information has been the series of mass graves recently discovered in

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northern Iraq. The absence of government forces in parts of the Kurdish region in the north has enabled some qualified international human rights organisations to investigate the graves. (Mass graves in southern Iraq could not be investigated because government forces remain in control there.) One mass grave on the outskirts of the Kurdish city of Arbil contained the remains of 107 Kurdish villagers killed in 1987: they were among a group of some 360 people who had survived chemical weapons attacks and had later been arrested after seeking medical treatment in Arbil's hospitals. Amnesty International had reported in 1988 that they were said to have been executed.

Amnesty International's appeals: falling on deaf ears

Over the years Amnesty International has repeatedly pressed the Iraqi Government to stop extrajudicial executions, torture, the use of the death penalty and other human rights violations and to clarify the fate of the "disappeared". Many Amnesty International members around the world have sent appeals, and trade unions, religious groups, many members of the public, and some governments have lent their support. These appeals have been consistently rebuffed by the Iraqi authorities through misinformation and blanket denials.

Only once, in 1983, was Amnesty International able to send a high-level delegation to Iraq for talks with the government. The visit was unproductive. No information of significance was obtained by Amnesty International; the government did not respond positively to any of Amnesty International's concerns; while the fact that Amnesty International visited Iraq was cited repeatedly by the government in later years as proof of its supposed openness.

Since 1985, Amnesty International's public profile on Iraq has gradually increased in line with the deterioration in the human rights situation in the country. Major documents were issued on matters such as torture (1985), the death penalty (1987), and human rights violations against children (1989). Amnesty International members around the world sent appeals to the Iraqi authorities and sought to publicize the organization's concerns.

Although these efforts helped to raise public awareness outside the country, this was small comfort to those at the receiving end of human rights abuses in Iraq. The problem did not lie in the lack of effort on Amnesty International's part: it was simply that the odds stacked up against it were too high.

In its work for human rights in Iraq, Amnesty International was facing a government that continued to sanction atrocities as a matter of policy. It was facing an apathetic United Nations that failed, through any of its machinery, to issue a single statement criticizing or condemning Iraq prior to 2 August 1990. It was facing a multitude of states whose perceived geo-political interests at the time did not accommodate any intervention with Iraq on human rights issues. During the Iran-Iraq war, the United States and other major Western powers, as well as their Arab allies (the Gulf States in particular), deemed it imperative to continue supporting Iraq for a variety of reasons, most important of which was to contain the spread of what they perceived as Islamic fundamentalism emanating from Iran. In addition, Iraq remained a lucrative market for the arms industry (as did Iran). After the cessation of hostilities in July 1988, there were prospects of investment to look forward to. The benefits of rebuilding a shattered economy were too great to resist, and the human rights factor was submerged by such considerations.

Attitudes changed after the invasion of Kuwait, when Amnesty International was suddenly inundated with inquiries and requests relating to the nature of the Iraqi regime and the human rights violations it had committed. This newly-found interest in human rights did not last long, however, as evidenced by the

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absence of a human rights component in the UN-sponsored ceasefire agreement of April 1991, as well as in the subsequent Memorandum of Understanding negotiated between the UN and the Iraqi Government. Furthermore, as the international community stood by while thousands of Iraqi civilians were being killed by their government's helicopter gunships as they fled towards Iran and Turkey in the aftermath of the uprising which followed the ceasefire, it was clear that human rights considerations had once again sunk to the bottom of the international agenda, and with remarkable speed.

The UN Commission on Human Rights: calls for action repulsed

Amnesty International has also tried to draw attention to Iraqi human rights violations at the UN and other intergovernmental organizations. Since 1986 Amnesty International's concerns in Iraq have been repeatedly mentioned in oral statements at the annual sessions of the UN Commission on Human Rights and its Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, but with little result.ⁱⁱ

- At the 1986 session of the Commission on Human Rights, Amnesty International decried arbitrary arrests, torture and executions in Iraq. The statement caused a stir at the Commission and received some attention in the news media, but the Commission did not take any action.
- At the 1988 session of the Commission on Human Rights, Amnesty International drew attention to mass extrajudicial executions in Iraq. The statement was delivered two weeks before the Halabja killings. No action was taken by the Commission.
- At the 1988 session of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, Amnesty International drew attention to extrajudicial executions perpetrated over the previous 18 months, including specific instances of mass killings of detainees and unarmed civilians by firing squad as well as the use of chemical weapons against civilians. The statement cited several chemical attacks, beginning in April 1987 and culminating in the Halabja killings.

What was unusual about this statement was that it expressed concern not only about past human rights violations but also about further violations which might be perpetrated if no action was taken. This point was prompted by fears that once Iraq's war with Iran had ended, the Iraqi Government might turn its full attention to its opponents at home. Amnesty International warned of further chemical weapons attacks and urged the Sub-Commission in the strongest terms to take action. However, the Sub-Commission did not do so.

Exercising his right of reply, the Iraqi member of the Sub-Commission said he failed to see how Amnesty International could "predict" what might happen in the future. Even as he spoke, the Iraqi Government had already launched another chemical weapons offensive in the north, reaching a peak at the end of August and in early September. Some 57,000 Kurds fled across the border into Turkey, while hundreds of others perished.

- At the 1989 session of the Commission on Human Rights, Amnesty International again cited "disappearances" and extrajudicial executions in Iraq. A few days earlier, Amnesty International had published a report detailing human rights violations against children in Iraq, including "disappearances" and killings. Because of the emotive subject of the report, which included photographs, testimonies and lists of victims, it received extensive coverage in the news media and substantially increased the pressure on the Commission to take action on Iraq.

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During the debate in the Commission, many government delegations and non-governmental organisations expressed serious concern about human rights in Iraq. A resolution was drafted, supported by eleven UN member states, calling for the appointment of a Special Rapporteur to study Iraq's human rights record. The proposal failed, while at the same time Iraq was dropped from scrutiny under the confidential "1503 procedure" (see Chapter G-6) by which the UN examines evidence of a consistent pattern of gross violations of human rights in a given country.

In response, Amnesty International took the unusual step of publicly criticizing the Commission on Human Rights for its failure to act. In a statement to the press, Amnesty International said that "the Commission's decision seemed irreconcilable with a genuine commitment to bring a halt to human rights violations in Iraq" and that the Commission had effectively "sent a signal to victims of abuse and their families that certain human rights situations might be immune from UN concern."

- At the 1989 session of the Sub-Commission, Amnesty International again drew attention to "disappearances" in Iraq. The Iraqi delegate attending the Sub-Commission dismissed Amnesty International's claims as fabrications and emphasized his government's supposed "willingness to cooperate with Amnesty International." In addition, the (governmental) Iraqi Human Rights Commission invited the members of the Sub-Commission to visit Iraq. This move effectively deferred any proposed action by the Sub-Commission.

- At the 1990 session of the Commission on Human Rights, Iraq was one of six countries highlighted in a statement by Amnesty International on extrajudicial executions and the failure of governments to bring perpetrators to justice. The debate at this session was again dominated by Iraq's invitation to Sub-Commission members. No action was taken by the Commission.

- The next session of the Sub-Commission began in August 1990, just four days after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Four members of the Sub-Commission who had accepted the Iraqi Government's invitation to visit Iraq reported back on their findings, but at that juncture it was too little, too late. Iraq's international isolation in the aftermath of the Kuwait invasion dominated the debate, and was clearly of paramount importance in securing the adoption of a resolution recommending that the Commission on Human Rights consider the appointment of a Special Rapporteur on Iraq.

- In 1991 the Commission on Human Rights adopted the Sub-Commission's recommendation and finally agreed to appoint a Special Rapporteur. This decision was made possible by a very changed political climate. Government delegations were vocal in their condemnation of Iraq, although the focus was mainly on human rights violations in Iraqi-occupied Kuwait. Amnesty International and other non-governmental organizations sought to redress the balance by reminding the Commission of similar violations perpetrated in Iraq over many years.

- At the 1991 session of the Sub-Commission, Amnesty International said that steps were urgently needed to protect Kurds, Arab Shi'a Muslims and others at risk of further human rights violations. This point was taken up in a resolution adopted by the Sub-Commission which expressed grave concern at the "flagrant and massive violations of human rights" in Iraq, specifically mentioning the Kurdish and Shi'a Arab populations.ⁱⁱⁱ

The lack of UN action on Iraq before 1990 can be attributed to the skilful behind-the-scenes efforts of Iraq and the inclination of the majority of governments to put national interest above international human rights concerns. Amnesty International and other non-governmental organizations had urged sympathetic member states to sponsor resolutions on human rights violations in Iraq, and several draft resolutions

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were introduced at various sessions of the Commission and the Sub-Commission. Until the invasion of Kuwait, Iraq was always able to ensure their defeat through procedural motions not to take a vote on the substantive resolutions, which were introduced by friendly member states, Jordan and Morocco in particular.^{iv} By the time of the 1990 session of the Commission on Human Rights, no friendly state was willing to do this, and Iraq was forced to introduce the motion itself.

It is also worth noting that, despite Iraq's apparent non-susceptibility to pressure of this kind, it always tried to reconcile the commission of atrocities at home with the maintenance of a "reasonable" image abroad. To ensure that action would be blocked, Iraq's delegates at the UN engaged in intense lobbying behind the scenes, trading votes with other member states who were under scrutiny for human rights violations. At the 1988 Sub-Commission session, the Iraqi representatives even asked Amnesty International to withdraw its statement (after it had been delivered), adding that their information suggested that Amnesty International was "in league with the Iraqi opposition at the highest level in order to overthrow the government".

Amnesty International's proposal for on-site human rights monitoring

Amnesty International's efforts to raise its concerns in the UN were not limited to those UN bodies which traditionally deal with human rights. On 8 September 1988 Amnesty International made an unprecedented appeal to the UN Security Council to act immediately to stop the massacre of Kurdish citizens by Iraqi forces. The appeal was prompted by a drastic deterioration in the human rights situation in Iraq, with thousands of Kurds killed in chemical weapons attacks, coupled with a sense of frustration at the failure of the UN Sub-Commission to act, despite Amnesty International's strong statement to the Sub-Commission in August.

Amnesty International's initiative was widely covered by the news media. It succeeded in re-focusing world attention on the plight of the Kurds, but the interest waned soon thereafter. Several Security Council members responded to Amnesty International, stressing their concern about human rights in Iraq but stopping short of saying they would take the matter further. The UN Secretary-General asked to send a team to Iraq to investigate reports of the use of chemical weapons, but Iraq's summary rejection of the proposal put an end to the matter.

In July 1991, in another unprecedented move, Amnesty International publicly called on the UN to establish an international on-site monitoring operation in Iraq to prevent further torture, killings and other abuses by government forces. It recommended that the special UN operation should be empowered to investigate abuses, ensure protection for victims and work with the government to help enforce international standards for the protection of human rights. Its powers were to include visiting detention centres, interviewing political prisoners and observing trials.

Amnesty International's proposal was sent to the UN Secretary-General. Advance copies were also sent to permanent and non-permanent members of the UN Security Council.^v

The response was not encouraging. The Secretary-General wrote to Amnesty International reaffirming his concern about the situation in Iraq but saying that the proposal should more appropriately be dealt with by the UN Centre for Human Rights in Geneva.

Amnesty International also approached the UN Secretary-General's Executive Delegate, Prince Sadruddin

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Aga Khan, who had been responsible for negotiating the UN's April 1991 Memorandum of Understanding with the Iraqi Government. This agreement concerned the provision of humanitarian assistance and relief, in particular to displaced persons and returnees, and the setting up of UN sub-offices and Humanitarian Centres (UNHUCs) in Iraq. An integral part of the agreement was the deployment of a UN Guard Contingent of 500 guards, to be assigned as needed to transit centres and UNHUCs. Amnesty International asked Prince Sadruddin and his aides to discuss the extent to which monitoring of the human rights situation was being carried out by this operation or could be incorporated in it. Amnesty International also recommended that the humanitarian assistance being provided should be extended to Iraq's prison population, where it was much needed.

Again, the response was not encouraging. In the face of Iraq's belligerent attitude to all things emanating from the UN, the sense was that nothing could be done on strictly human rights issues through the Memorandum of Understanding. Even so, it is likely that the presence of UN and international non-governmental organization personnel in Iraq helped prevent a massive deterioration in human rights after the crushing of the mass uprising in the spring of 1991.

As Amnesty International pressed for UN action on human rights in the second half of 1991, it became clear that the political climate, hostile to Iraq after the invasion of Kuwait, had once more changed. Those who found Amnesty International's human rights monitoring proposal not feasible were correct in saying that the political will to follow it through did not exist. In fact it had never existed with regard to action on strictly human rights issues. Hence, as mentioned earlier in this paper, the absence of a human rights component in either the cease-fire agreement reached after the ground war or the Memorandum of Understanding.

In 1992 the UN Special Rapporteur on Iraq, who had visited the country in January, submitted his report to the Commission on Human Rights. Given the limited time and resources of his operation, his efforts were commendable. His recommendations echoed Amnesty International's proposal for on-site human rights monitoring. The Special Rapporteur recommended

"...that the Commission on Human Rights, confronted with such an intolerable situation, does not confine itself to condemnation alone. In his view, this exceptionally grave situation demands an exceptional response - a response that would have to be considered as disproportionate in most other cases of human rights violations. Specifically, the Special Rapporteur recommends the sending to Iraq of a team of human rights monitors who would remain in Iraq until the human rights situation had drastically improved and who should be able to: (i) move freely in any part of Iraq; (ii) investigate information concerning alleged violations of human rights; (iii) visit, without prior notification and at the time of their choosing, places where persons are deprived of their liberty; and (iv) observe trials and court proceedings."^{vi}

Even though the Special Rapporteur urged "that no effort be spared to ensure that the monitoring system comes into being as soon as possible"^{vii}, the Commission did not act on this recommendation in 1992. In 1993, however, it adopted a resolution on Iraq (number 1993/74) requesting the UN Secretary-General to send human rights monitors "to such locations as would facilitate improved information flows and assessment" - nearly two years after Amnesty International had made the proposal. The monitoring operation had not been established as of the time of the present report.

It should be mentioned, finally, that Amnesty International's European sections have done considerable work over the years to raise human rights violations in Iraq at the level of the European Community (EC). The European Parliament, the parliamentary body of the EC, has normally been less reticent than the UN in condemning Iraq's human rights record. A number of the resolutions adopted by it were based on

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information provided by Amnesty International. Apart from sending a European Parliament delegation to southern Turkey to investigate allegations of the use of chemical weapons against Iraqi Kurds in the 1988 offensive, these resolutions did not usually lead to action on the part of EC member states. However, at a time when a "conspiracy of silence" about the human rights situation in Iraq prevailed, these public statements at the European level had rather more value than the dozen or so resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council after 2 August 1990.

Notes

i1. The use of poisonous gases in warfare is forbidden under the Geneva Protocol of 1925, adopted in reaction to the horrors of gas attacks in the First World War. In attacking soldiers with chemical weapons, Iraq was violating its obligations under international law as a party (with Iran) to the Geneva Protocol of 1925. The relative lack of international protest over these attacks must have encouraged President Saddam Hussein to believe there would be little outcry if he turned the same weapons against his own citizens.

iiThe annual sessions of the Commission on Human Rights in February and March and the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in August are the major events in the UN calendar of human rights discussions. The workings of these two UN bodies are described in Chapter G-6.

iiiOther UN-related bodies and procedures where human rights violations in Iraq have been considered are the Special Rapporteur on torture, the Working Group on arbitrary detention, the confidential 1503 procedure of the Commission on Human Rights, and the Human Rights Committee established under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in its consideration of Iraq's periodic reports under the Covenant. In particular, "disappearances" and extrajudicial executions in Iraq have been taken up by the thematic mechanisms which report to the Commission on Human Rights, notably the Special Rapporteur on summary or arbitrary executions and the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances. The latter has taken up the largest number of cases, many of which remain unresolved. Sadly, these cases represent only a tiny fraction of the actual number of "disappearances" perpetrated in Iraq. It was interesting to note that in the Working Group's report to the 1992 session of the Commission on Human Rights, Sri Lanka was said to have the highest number of "disappearances" of any country in the world, 12,000 such cases having been recorded since 1983 by the Working Group, which visited the country in 1991. Should the Working Group ever gain access to Iraq, its members would find that 12,000 "disappearances" represent the average for a "good" year there.

ivMorocco itself had been eliminating real or suspected dissidents through "disappearance" (see Chapter C-6).

vThe proposal was published as Amnesty International, "The need for further United Nations action to protect human rights in Iraq", AI Index: MDE 14/06/91, 15 July 1991.

viUN Commission on Human Rights, 48th session, Report on the situation of human rights in Iraq, prepared by Mr. Max van der Stoep, Special Rapporteur..., UN document No. E/CN.4/1992/31, 18 February 1992, paragraph 156.

viiIbid., paragraph 157.