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cc Jonathan Powell
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SADDAM'S RECORD OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES

I understand that the Prime Minister has called for a paper on Saddam's record of human rights abuses which might be published alongside the WMD paper.

2. The attached paper (less the opening paragraph, which I have inserted) was commissioned to form part of the package which the Foreign Secretary would have made public at the beginning of this week. It sets out such information as we have, about ongoing human rights abuses. It makes no reference to earlier well documented atrocities, such as the gassing of his own population at Halabja, the mis-treatment of the civilian population of occupied Kuwait in 1990/91 and the draining of the marshes of Southern Iraq in the course of the 1990s, on the grounds that all of these are well documented and, to that extent, old hat.

3. I have asked the FCO to dig out material produced in the past – eg around the time of Desert Fox – in case the Prime Minister decides that what is needed is a more comprehensive treatment of Saddam's human rights record going back to the 1980s. It might not be possible to work this up before Easter, but it would be possible to have a further paper available for the Prime Minister to take with him to Crawford at the end of next week.


TOM MCKANE

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IRAQI HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES

Not only does Saddam Hussein represent a threat to international security because of his continuing development of weapons of mass destruction, his record of systematic abuse of human rights is chilling. The gassing of his own people at Halabja, the oppression of the Kurds and the Marsh Arabs and the horrific treatment of the civilian population of Kuwait during the occupation of 1990/1991 are well documented. This paper provides a summary of ongoing human rights abuses

- Following serious Shia unrest in early 1999, in response to the Iraqi regime's probable involvement in the murder of the leading Iraqi Shia cleric Ayatollah MUHAMMAD SADR, Iraqi security forces were involved in efforts to break-up Shia Friday prayers in Baghdad and other cities. Large numbers of Shias were rounded-up, imprisoned without trial and tortured.
- In response to on-going attacks on government buildings and officials in southern Iraq during 1999, the Iraqi army and militia forces destroyed entire Shia villages in the south. This was a continuation of the regime's policy, pursued throughout the 1990s, to force the population in the marshes area of southern Iraq to relocate to urban areas where it was unable to offer assistance to anti-regime elements and could be controlled more effectively by the regime's security forces.
- Executions are carried out without due process of law. Between 1993 and 1998 around 3,000 prisoners from the "Mahjar" prison (see below) were executed in an execution area called the "Hadiqa" (garden) near to the prison. The "Hadiqa" consisted of an open area and sand bank which was covered by a steel awning. Prisoners from the "Mahjar" were executed in the Hadiqa by machine gun. A Special Oversight Committee at the prison decides on the executions. In 1998, the Head of the Committee was a Colonel FARHAN AL-KUWAISI.
- Political prisoners are held in inhumane and degrading conditions throughout Iraq:
 - The "Mahjar" prison located on the Police Training College site in central Baghdad formerly housed the Police Dog Training Centre. The normal occupancy of the "Mahjar" is 600-700 people but it can hold up to 2,000. Thirty of the cells are underground and thirty other cells used to be dog kennels and are used only in emergency. The AL-FAW construction company rebuilt the cells that used to be dog kennels after the initial prisoners contracted scabies attributed to contamination left behind by the police dogs. Prisoners are beaten twice a day and the women regularly raped by their guards. They receive no medical treatment, but some prisoners have survived up to a year in the "Mahjar". The AL-FAW company has also built two large oil storage tanks each with a capacity of 36,000 litres close to the "Mahjar". The tanks are full of petrol and are connected by pipes to the prison

buildings in the "Mahjar". The prison authorities have instructions to set light to the petrol and destroy the "Mahjar" in an emergency.

- The "Sijn Al-Tarbut" (the casket prison) is located on the third underground level of the new Directorate of General Security (DGS) building in Baghdad. The prisoners here are kept in rows of rectangular steel boxes, as found in mortuaries, until they either confess to their crimes or die. There are around 100-150 boxes which are opened for half an hour a day to allow the prisoners some light and air. The prisoners receive only liquids. Only male prisoners are kept here.
- The "Qurtiyya" (the can) prison is located in a DGS compound in the Talbiyyah area of the Saddam City district of Baghdad. This consists of 50-60 metal boxes the size of old tea chests in which detainees are locked under the same conditions as the "Sijn Al-Tarbut". Each box has a tap for a water and a floor made of mesh to allow the detainees to defaecate. Only male prisoners are kept here.
- Senior regime officials and leading personalities are involved in the abuse of due process of law and in torture. General 'ABD HAMUD, the head of SADDAM HUSSEIN's private office, plays a direct role in supervising all of these prisons and their security. Both he and SADDAM HUSSEIN sign the death warrants for prisoners. The archive files holding these death warrants are kept hidden within the cafeteria area on the eighth floor of the main Ministry of Interior building in Baghdad. SADDAM's eldest son UDAI maintains a private torture chamber, known as the "Ghurfa Hamra" (Red Room) in a building on the banks of the Tigris disguised as an electricity installation.
- Families are punished/pressured for the wrong-doings of other family members:
 - In mid February 1999 the brother of a senior London-based member of the Iraqi National Accord (INA) was arrested by Iraqi Intelligence (DGI) in Basra and forced to phone his brother in the UK and explain his predicament. A DGI officer subsequently spoke to the INA member and demanded that he co-operate with the DGI.
 - In January 1999 the DGI phoned another INA official, who was told that his children and brother were under arrest and would face punishment if he did not co-operate with the DGI. The DGI demanded details on the home, car and routines of INA head Dr AYAD ALLAWI.
 - Since August 2000 the Baghdad regime has introduced a policy of Arabisation in northern Iraq to remove Kurdish claims to the oil-rich area around the city of Kirkuk. Kurdish reports indicate that four million square metres of agricultural land owned by Kurds has been confiscated and redistributed to Iraqi Arabs. Elsewhere in Al-Tam'im (Kirkuk) governorate the regime was said to be selling off plots of land

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in 300 square metre batches for 25,000 dinars and also distributing land to army officers of the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and above in order to buy loyalty. From our own sources we know that Arabs from southern Iraq have been offered incentives to move into the Kirkuk area and, in disputes with their Kurdish neighbours, are always favoured by the authorities. In addition, ethnic Kurds and Turcomans have been prevented from buying property and those who own property and wish to sell have to do so to an Arab. Kurds have also been encouraged to change the ethnicity on their identity cards to Arab as part of this process.

- Separately, in late 2001 Iraqi Christians were ordered to change Christian sounding names into Arabic names in order to limit ethnicity in Iraq to either Arab or Kurd.
- We are also aware of a particularly nasty example of torture involving a family which was arrested in late 2000 and taken to two separate interrogation centres within Republican Guard facilities located along the road to Abu Ghraib. The husband was held in one centre whilst the wife and children were held at a women's facility. The husband and wife were interrogated under torture about the husband's sale of a vehicle which, the interrogators said, had been captured by Iraqi security forces during a raid on Iraqi oppositionists. The interrogators said separately to both husband and wife that they would cease the torture if they signed confessions admitting to be collaborating with the oppositionists. They refused. The wife was stripped naked and cigarettes stubbed out on all parts of her body whenever she refused to implicate her husband. She was beaten and thrown around the interrogation room. Her children were forced to watch the torture. She was eventually released, having been told that her husband would continue being tortured until she returned to confess. She was arrested again two weeks later and the same pattern of torture was repeated, leaving her a psychological wreck. During his interrogation, the husband's arms were tied behind his back and he was then suspended in the air using a hook hung from the ceiling. This caused intense pain as his shoulder muscles and ligaments were torn. After a period, the interrogators entered the room and the husband was unhooked and placed in a chair in the middle of the room. From close range, he was then shot at with a pistol whenever he refused to agree to sign his confession. Sometimes shots were fired which missed his body, at other times the pistol muzzle was placed against his fingers, toes or arms and fired so as to mutilate these areas. Over the following two weeks further interrogations occurred at intervals, following periods of food and water deprivation. Eventually a bribe was paid to an Iraqi Intelligence officer by the husband's and wife's wider family and both the husband and wife were released. They subsequently escaped Iraq.

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