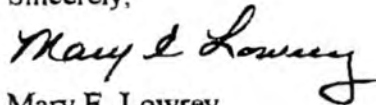


*file Iraq***facsimile**
TRANSMITTAL

to: Ms. Hillary Clinton
fax #: 202-456-6244
re: Kurdish Refugee Children
date: November 6, 1997
pages: 5, including this cover sheet.

I am sending you an update on a situation regarding the Kurdish political refugee family of Falah Kokoiy and his six young children who remain behind in IRAQ. Dr. James Dunn of the Baptist Joint Committee has worked with the White House on this issue just prior to the evacuation last fall. You and the President were extremely helpful at that time, and because of your past interest, I hope that you might be interested in this specific family situation and possibly be able to help us in any way possible. Please feel free to share these documents with the National Security Council staff and anyone else that you feel may be appropriate.

Sincerely,



Mary E. Lowrey

cc: Melanne Verveer

November 5, 1997

I am writing to update you on behalf of the family of Falah M. Kokoiy. Mr. Kokoiy, his wife, Fakhryia and eldest son, Sarko are part of the recent group of political refugees from Kurdistan (Iraq) admitted to the US in the spring of this year (1997). Mr. Kokoiy and his family are now living in the Gainesville, GA area and are one of four families that our church is assisting with resettlement issues. Since the family's arrival here and our now almost daily contacts, and improving English abilities, we have learned much more about the details involved in this family's separation caused by the evacuation to the US. I am also enclosing copies of two recent newspaper articles relating additional facts about this case.

This family has SIX CHILDREN (aged 6yrs - 19yrs) REMAINING IN IRAQ in the custody of various family members. Obviously, this is a terribly distressing and debilitating situation for the parents. The unique and tragic reality is that these children were literally turned back at the Turkey/Iraq border in the December evacuation amid a horribly traumatic and heart-rending separation. The family was operating under the understanding that the entire family would be evacuated because of their employment/connection to an NGO (H.A.D. - a German based relief construction organization) operating in northern Iraq. Tragically, and I have come to learn, frequently typical in this kind of a situation, there was tremendous uncertainty and misunderstandings as to when, how, and what would actually be done for these people. Mr and Mrs Kokoiy and their eldest son were allowed across the border. The younger children's names had somehow been deleted from the previously submitted and approved list of "eligibles" and were therefore denied travel across the border. Even direct personal appeal to a "Col. Gray" (apparently the US Officer in Command of the operation) was to no avail, instead the Kokoiy's were given (I'm sure well-meaning but apparently untrue) information that once they were established in the US, they would be able to bring their children to the US. Thus, the family began it's long and painful separation. As difficult and unfortunate as that situation was, it seemed the best course of action at the time due to the extraordinarily difficult conditions.

The appropriate papers have been translated, forms filed and the official request for Visa 92's has been made to the INS (Receipt # SRC 97 169 52360). At this point in time (11/97), no response has been received by the family from INS. Responses to earlier Congressional and Executive correspondence has been either non-existent or almost identical; basically that the Dept of State has completed its involvement in this issue and any additional people entering the US will have to do so through the "regular" process via the INS. Due to the extraordinary circumstances involved in this particular situation, and since our government was in fact, instrumental in establishing the evacuation policy and seeing to its correct and appropriate implementation, we feel that there is justifiable responsibility on the part of our officials to see to it that this family get reunited as quickly as possible. That there were definitely violations regarding the evacuation of many "ineligible" persons is a documented and documentable fact; this, in our minds, gives additional credence to the necessity and appropriateness of continued involvement by the Dept of State and/or other US officials in rectifying this situation as quickly as possible.

Please, this time, let's be able to proudly say that the US will have completed the right thing that we began. We are looking for any and all help from any source and we intend to do EVERYTHING possible in order to obtain the safe and swift release of these children from Iraq and reunite this family. If there is anything at all that you can do, or if you know of anyone who can help, please make contact via any of the following methods: mail (Lowrey, 5439 Concord Circle, Gainesville, GA 30507), phone (770-967-4347 or 770-488-5000 - ask for Mary), email (mcll@cdc.gov), or fax (770-488-5966).

The whole experience of working with these families (our church has sponsored four, and five other families are sponsored by a sister church in our area), has truly been a new education. I am tremendously impressed with the strength and desire of these people to make a new life for themselves and their families here in the US; and at the same time, I cannot conceive of the pain and horror of having to leave your whole life at a moment's notice due to the whims of an insane ruler!! The US gov't has acted honorably in granting refugee status to these people (whose only "crime" was to earn a living from a humanitarian organization - trying to assist their own people in a desperate time); PLEASE let us continue the humane (and RIGHT) thing we have begun by getting these particular children reunited with their parents as well as other similar situations.

Sincerely,



David and Mary E. Lowrey
5439 Concord Circle
Gainesville, GA 30507

The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

Sunday Reader

Losing mussels
Bivalves' decline is a warning to humans, G6

UP TO SPEED, G2
DAYE BARRY, G8

A choice at the border

Kurdish refugees struggle to reunite their family in Georgia

By Elizabeth Kurylo
STAFF WRITER

The last time Fahkriya Kokoiy saw six of her children, they were at the border of Turkey and Iraq, waving goodbye. That was a year ago. The thought of it makes her cry.

Bad advice at the time, combined with strict immigration rules since, have kept the children, ages 6 to 19, trapped in northern Iraq. They are on their own, struggling to find food and shelter. And there is little hope that they will see their mother again soon.

Kokoiy is Kurdish. Last December, the U.S. government was helping her family flee Saddam Hussein and Iraqi forces that had threatened to kill them. Her eldest son, Sarko, had worked for a German humanitarian group that got some money from the U.S. government. For that, he was branded a traitor and a spy and put on a hit list. He signed up to be evacuated and asked to take his parents and siblings with him.

But at the Turkish border, his siblings were turned away. Someone apparently forgot to put their names on the evacuation list. And in the chaos, the Americans in charge of the exodus weren't interested in sob stories.

Today, in her modest home near Gainesville, the 46-year-old mother clings to her children's photos and tearful memories. And she wonders if she made a horrible mistake.

"I cannot live without them," she said through an interpreter. "If I cannot get them over here, I will go back."

In many ways, her life has never been better. She, her husband and her eldest son have full-time, minimum-wage jobs, two used cars and the support of local church members who have helped them get furniture, food and clothes. They rent a two-bedroom house with pale yellow siding and a small front porch.

In Iraq, her children are raising themselves, because their impoverished grandfather, who took them in for awhile, has no money even to feed them. The two girls and four boys don't go to school. Fearing the Iraqi secret police, they hide during the day. The 19-year-old, Zimmako, occasionally earns money as a soldier. When he is off fighting, his 16-year-old brother, Halah, is in charge.

Leaving them at the border was hard, said their 41-year-old father, Falah. But it was a family decision based on information they received at the time. "We were told it would take a couple of months for us to claim them and do the paperwork once we arrived in the U.S.," he said through an interpreter.

"I was thinking of not passing the border and staying with them," he said, "but we sat down together and our children said that our best chance was for us to go ahead and get them to the U.S. later."

After an emotional farewell, the children trekked 250 treacherous miles through the mountains to the Kurdish town of Sulaymania.

Their parents and older brother,



1989

Growing family: The Kokoiy family poses for a snapshot together. In back are Falah Kokoiy (father), Fahkriya Kokoiy (mother), Zimmako and Sarko. Another child was born to the family after the photo was taken.



1997

Waiting for reunion: Fahkriya and Falah Kokoiy and son Sarko arrived safely in the United States, but six children remain in Iraq. The State Department helped evacuate 6,500 Kurds from Iraq last year.

meanwhile, moved to America. With the help of members of Chestnut Mountain Baptist Church near Gainesville, the Kokoiy family fled Iraq. They would allow their children to join them here. But even if the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service says they can come, it won't be easy, because the children are stuck in a country that has no diplomatic relations with the United States.

The children would have to go to a U.S. Embassy to get their visas. The nearest one is in Turkey, whose border they could not cross last year. "That's a big problem," said Andrew Lluberes, an INS spokesman in Washington.

Family separations are common during refugee crises, and more than half the victims are children. Ordinarily, refugees can be reunited with family members in the United States in a matter of months. "But this is a very unique situation here," Lluberes said.

The State Department, which evacuated 6,500 Kurds from northern Iraq last year, is not willing to help the Kokoiy now. It was an "extraordinary, one-time

effort," State Department official Pamela H. Lewis said in an Aug. 18 letter to Gainesville church members.

U.S. officials wouldn't let anyone pass if their name wasn't on the evacuation list, said Bashar Barwari, 32, a Kurdish neighbor of the Kokoiy family. They told Barwari and his wife, Awaz, that they couldn't bring their 36-day-old daughter, Lava, to America, because her name wasn't on the list. She was born after the list was made. He said he begged, and officials relented.

While Barwari cuddles his daughter, now 1, Falah Kokoiy considers his next step.

"When we decided to come here, we wanted to be Americans," he said. "I'm waiting for the day my children come here. They are supposed to be here."

He is willing to wait for responses to dozens of letters written by church members to the White House, members of Congress, the INS and the State Department. But his wife says she is losing patience. "I cannot wait any more. If things don't work out, I have no choice. I'll have to go back."



More than 6,500 Kurds with U.S. ties were evacuated from northern Iraq last year. During the Gulf War, they had worked for the U.S. military, the CIA and U.S.-funded relief organizations. They all moved to the United States, with about 500 settling in metro Atlanta.

VERNON GARNE / Staff



THE TIMES

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Sports
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GAINESVILLE, GEORGIA

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1997

Forecast



Thursday:
Partly cloudy.
High in the upper 60s.
Low in the 40s.
Friday:
Scattered showers.
High in the 60s.
Details: 2A

Lake meeting clears some sewer rumors

A Gwinnett County official told some 70 Lake Lanier-area residents Tuesday that work along Buford Dam Road isn't linked to Gwinnett's immediate sewage treatment plans.

But the growing county has targeted the 38,000-acre lake as a site for future wastewater discharges. And so have other governments around Lanier.

Story, 1B

St. Augustine home to a bevy of ghosts

Forget Salem. Forget Amityville. If you want a city where things go bump in the night all the time, head to the Florida coast and the nation's oldest city.

St. Augustine, Fla., a settlement established in 1562 some 40 miles south of Jacksonville, has so many reputed spooks and ghouls that there are nightly walking tours named "A Ghostly Experience."

Story, 3A

Hundreds fear HIV, hepatitis from shots

Hundreds of residents who received flu shots at town-sponsored clinics in Monroe, Conn., fear that they may have been exposed to the hepatitis and AIDS viruses because a doctor failed to change syringes between patients.

More than 450 residents, most of them elderly, packed a high school auditorium Tuesday and grilled state health officials for several hours about the possible risk.

Story, 5A

Inside

ANN LANDERS..... 5D
BUSINESS..... 6A, 6C

East Hall ROTC: Looking their best



Alex Chare, right, scans a line of other East Hall Junior Navy ROTC cadets Tuesday during the group's annual inspection. The East Hall ROTC unit is one of only two in Northeast Georgia's public schools. Story, 1B

Kurds fight to reunite family

S. Hall residents work to rescue children in Iraq

By Clay Lambert
The Times



Mary Lowrey has helped Kokoly's adjust to daily life in U.S.

Tears spread across the landscape of her weathered face as suddenly as a springtime cloudburst.

Fakhryia Kokoly had heard enough of a language that seemed to become more foreign by the day. The 41-year-old Kurdish refugee understood enough English to know they were talking about her six children.

The children she may never see again.

"She wants to go home to the children," a friend said. "Even if it means she will die."

Mary Lowrey is nothing if not a friend to Fakhryia, her husband Falah, their eldest son Sarko and 33 other Kurdish refugees who found their

way to a pair of South Hall churches earlier this year. Lowrey has helped the Kokolys with everything from natural gas hookups to transportation around Chestnut Mountain.

It would be difficult to say who is learning more, faster: the Kokolys or the Lowreys.

For each, these are desperate days of struggling to understand foreign languages and the nearly unfathomable maze of international regulations separating a mother and her children.

"I think America is better than my country," Sarko Kokoly said in thoughtful, halting En-



JIM COOK JR./The Times

glish. "There is no fighting here. In my country — every time fighting."

job is familiar: he wears a blue Brako-O cap and matching uniform after work.

But his eyes — big, brown orbs almost hidden by drooping lids — are the kind of tired eyes made weary from watching the weight of the world fall on your family.

Please see Kurds, 6A

Judge dismisses most of publisher's claims

By Melanie Beard
The Times



FLOWERY BRANCH

the council conspired against her to deprive her of her constitutional rights and that a conspiracy

Wall S braces more t

World markets sustain rebound

The Associated Press

NEW YORK — The record-setting selloff. The unprecedented rebound. And there's no guarantee the Wall Street roller coaster is over.

"You don't know if it's a dead-cat bounce or a resumption of the bull market," said Byron Wien, U.S. investment strategist at Morgan Stanley Dean Witter.

Selective bargain-hunting fueled a buying frenzy Tuesday that resulted in the busiest day in U.S. stock market history, wiping out more than half of Monday's 554-point plunge.

Asian markets, including Tokyo's benchmark Nikkei Stock Average, rebounded strongly this morning in obvious relief. The Hong Kong Stock Exchange was up more than 19 percent.

The Dow Jones industrial average opened Tuesday with a 178-point drop, then surged an unprecedented 337.14 to 7,498.32. More than 1 billion shares were traded on the New York Stock Exchange and the Nasdaq, both records. Nearly 3 billion shares changed hands on all U.S. markets.

IBM's early announcement that it would buy back up to \$3.5 billion worth of its stock, boosting value and attracting buyers, was a turning point.

As the stock of International Business Machines went higher, so did share prices of other big companies hammered by worries that economic turmoil in Southeast Asia would hurt their profits.

"Investors have learned to buy on the dips. As soon as they saw a stabl-

up and down -- obviously no keepers.

●Kurds

(Continued from Page 1A)

Last year, Sarko Kokoiy was a storekeeper in the extreme northern mountains of Iraq known as Kurdistan. As an eldest son in a land of perpetual war among Turkey, Iraq and the landless Kurds, life was difficult.

In response to relentless violence, the Kokoitys joined a German humanitarian organization dedicated to building homes for those made homeless by the war.

In response to that, Hussein issued a death sentence.

Long, difficult journey

The Kokoitys came to Hall County from northern Iraq along a twisting line that crossed half the globe, from Turkey to Guam to Erie, Pa., and finally Chestnut Mountain.

Their journey began with renewed fighting in northern Iraq in August 1996. Iraqi troops flooded the mountains, and suddenly the terrain was too hot for the United States Agency for International Development and its U.S. military guard. The United States ceased humanitarian efforts and withdrew, taking 6,500 Kurdish nationals with them.

According to United States Department of State documents, the Kokoitys were among the final group of 3,780 Kurds who worked for 23 U.S.-funded organizations to be granted asylum.

The Kokoiy family made its way from Halabja north to Duhuk, near the Turkish border. Fakhryia Kokoiy's tears began to flow here.

"When they got to the border (relief workers) read the names of those granted asylum and the children's names were not on the list," Lowrey explained.

with a slow smile. "We don't like the bread. We will bake our own bread."

Wishing for a reunion

The Kokoitys say they won't be a truly American family until reunited with their children. It remains a long road.

The State Department says it was happy to grant asylum to the Kokoitys but has no plans to be of any further help. A letter from Pamela Lewis of the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration reads in part:

"Asylum processing of these Iraqis was an extraordinary, one-time effort requiring coordination among a number of U.S. government agencies, the government of Turkey and others. The U.S. government has no plans to move additional family members from northern Iraq."

Undeterred, several South Hall families have written letters to U.S. congressmen hoping elected officials would in-

tervene in the struggle. Lowrey said only Sens. Paul Coverdell and Max Cleland have responded among Georgia's congressional delegation.

"Sen. Coverdell has received information on this case and plans to pursue resolution however possible," Jonathon Baron, Coverdell's spokesman said Tuesday.

Mary Lowrey is one of about 20 members of Chestnut Mountain Baptist Church who have toiled at making Hall County a more hospitable place for the Iraqi expatriates. Others at Blackshear Place Baptist Church have worked equally hard for the four families it sponsors.

"For most of us it has been a tremendous eye-opener," she said. "I have learned that we are all of one family."

Lowrey yearns for a day when that family is not splintered -- a day when Zimnako, Halah, Sherko, Arozuh, Awardd and Serkoat are reunited with their mother, fa-

ther and brother.

"I'm hoping that someone influential will read this and help," she said.

Before meeting the Kokoitys in March, Lowrey's images of Iraq came from the American media during the Gulf War.

That was a painful time for the Lowreys. One son, Brett Lowrey, was a Marine. Another, Chris Busbee, worked aboard a Naval nuclear submarine. Both were stationed in the Persian Gulf.

"I was emotionally very angry," Lowrey said. "I had already made up my mind that if my son died for an oil well, I was going to be a long time coming to grips with that."

Six years later, surrounded by a dozen sorrowful Iraqi citizens whom fate had made friends, Lowrey considered life's latest turn.

"It is ironic," she said. "This is true."

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LEVEL 1 - 3 OF 4 STORIES

Copyright 1996 The New York Times Company
The New York Times

May 21, 1996, Tuesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 1; Column 4; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 1290 words

HEADLINE: ACCORD REACHED BY IRAQ AND U.N. FOR OIL EXPORTS

BYLINE: By BARBARA CROSSETTE

DATELINE: UNITED NATIONS, May 20

BODY:

Iraq and the United Nations signed an agreement today allowing the Iraqis to sell oil for the first time since their 1990 invasion of Kuwait in order to pay for the urgent needs of a civilian population suffering from six years of tight international sanctions.

The agreement permits Iraq to sell up to \$1 billion worth of oil every 90 days, under tight United Nations supervision, with most of the money to buy food and medicine.

The deal sets aside one-third of money for a compensation fund for victims of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990. In addition, \$130 million to \$150 million of the relief goods will be reserved for Kurds in northern Iraq, a minority abused in the past by Baghdad.

Oil industry experts say the sudden infusion of Iraqi oil into the world market could mean a drop in oil prices of \$2 to \$3 a barrel. [Page A8.]

That could translate into something of a political windfall for the Clinton Administration, which is under pressure to stem the rise in gasoline prices.

The deal today became possible when negotiators for President Saddam Hussein of Iraq dropped demands that Baghdad choose the bank to manage the oil money, that it and not the United Nations deliver relief to the Kurds, and that United Nations inspectors have limited authority to check compliance.

Oil is not expected to begin flowing for a number of weeks, perhaps months, because some operational details remain to be worked out. But diplomats and United Nations officials say they believe that the Iraqis mean business now, unlike the situation four years ago, when a similar plan collapsed. Since the earlier deal broke down, hundreds of thousands of Iraqis have become malnourished or ill, with many dying from lack of medication, United Nations agencies estimate.

"This resolution is based on one of the most important objectives of the United Nations, which is to alleviate the problem of poverty -- and the poorest of the poor were suffering in Iraq," Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali



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said after announcing the agreement to the Security Council, which adopted the plan in April 1995 and has been waiting a year for an Iraqi response.

Reuters reported that news of the agreement, broadcast on state radio and television, set off street celebrations in Baghdad. Iraqis embraced each other and fired volleys of shots into the air.

Food vendors cut prices for eggs, sugar, rice, tea and cooking oils in anticipation that supplies would soon increase, the agency reported.

The new agreement does not change the broad sanctions still in place against Iraq. In order to have those lifted, and be free to sell oil in unrestricted quantities for purposes of its own choosing, Iraq will have to prove that its weapons of mass destruction have been eliminated, and it will also have to return looted Kuwaiti property and account for 600 Kuwaitis still missing after the 1990 invasion and the 1991 war in the Persian Gulf.

The United States has accused the Iraqi leader of building palaces and indulging in other luxuries while letting his population suffer as a way of generating international sympathy for an end to sanctions.

"The whole point here is that Saddam Hussein has been using his people as pawns in order to try to get a change in the sanctions regime," said Madeleine K. Albright, the chief United States delegate. This resolution would "remove that blackmail," she said. "The sanctions will stay in place until he abides by all the resolutions."

Under the plan, accepted by President Hussein after several months of off-and-on negotiations here, Iraq may sell up to \$2 billion in oil during a six-month period, renewable if Baghdad meets all the conditions of the agreement, which will be monitored by the United Nations. Compliance with the accord will be checked by the Security Council every 90 days. Its Iraqi sanctions committee will be involved in all phases of the operation.

The agreement would add about 700,000 barrels a day of Iraqi oil to world supplies at current prices. Before the 1990 embargo, Iraq supplied about 3 million barrels daily, or about 4 percent of world supplies.

Iraq has the world's second-largest oil reserves after Saudi Arabia. Officially, reserves stand at more than 100 billion barrels, more than a tenth of the world's untapped oil. But analysts say the supply may be twice that amount.

The plan outlined today requires that Iraqi oil must pass through pipelines the West regards as relatively easy to monitor -- the Kirkuk-Yumurtalik pipeline across Turkey to the Mediterranean, or through Iraq's oil terminal at Mina al-Bakr on the Persian Gulf. The new accord, in the form of a memorandum of understanding signed by Iraq's negotiator, Abdul Amir al-Anbari, and the United Nations legal counsel, Under Secretary General Hans Corell of Sweden, leaves a few procedures still to be worked out, including how foods, medicines and other goods will be distributed.

During the last two weeks, prodded by objections from the United States and Britain, negotiators turned down an Iraqi request for greater authority over how supplies get to Kurds in the north of Iraq. Today's deal provides for United



Nations agencies to deliver the aid.

Iraq also lost a bid to choose the bank to be used for an escrow account to be handled by the United Nations. The bank will now be chosen by officials here, who will control the account so that Iraq cannot divert money or obtain credit for other purposes beyond humanitarian relief.

The agreement also promises that United Nations inspectors will have freedom to visit any site in Iraq to see if the goods imported are reaching the most needy.

"The United States intends to hold Iraq's feet to the fire to assure that this agreement is not violated," an American diplomat said today. Although some countries, notably Russia and France, had argued for some relaxation of sanctions more than a year ago, Iraq lost most of its support after disclosures last summer about the extent to which the Iraqis had been lying about their nuclear, biological and chemical weapons programs.

But there was always a sense that something had to be done to relieve the sufferings of Iraqis, said Emilio J. Cardenas, the Argentine envoy who helped draft the United Nations resolution on selling oil for humanitarian needs. "The general feeling by last year was that this was pretty much overdue," he said. "The reports we were operating with indicated that there was a lot of suffering in Baghdad and a number of other Iraqi cities. There was a prevailing mood all last year and this year that something had to be done."

Under the sanctions resolutions enacted following the Persian Gulf war, Iraq has been permitted to import medicines, food and other necessities. But increasing shortages of hard currency have made that very difficult. American officials say that what money is available has not gone to repairing or restocking hospitals or other urgently needed civilian projects.

Some Iraqi oil has been smuggled out of the country in recent years. President Clinton recently reported to Congressional committees watching sanctions that some small shipments of oil had been intercepted. A senior United States official said today that the plan accepted by Iraq this morning would make it easier to keep sanctions in place indefinitely, a goal shared by Britain. Britain and the United States have at times been isolated on the Security Council, where other members say that the aim of Washington and London is not to punish the Iraqi leader but to topple him.

"This agreement is the best way to lock in a coalition in favor of maintaining sanctions against those who are squishy on Iraq," the senior American official said.

GRAPHIC: Graph: "Back in Business" shows crude oil production in Iraq and Iraq's share of the world oil market. (Source: Energy Information Administration, Oil & Gas Journal) (pg. A8)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: May 21, 1996



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LEVEL 1 - 2 OF 4 STORIES

Copyright 1996 The New York Times Company
The New York Times

May 21, 1996, Tuesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 22; Column 1; Editorial Desk

LENGTH: 422 words

HEADLINE: A Good Oil Deal With Iraq

BODY:

Tough-minded American bargaining, unaccustomed realism by Saddam Hussein and six years of steadfastness by the United Nations have produced the first positive diplomatic agreement with Iraq since the end of the Persian Gulf war.

Under the terms of a deal reached yesterday between the U.N. and Baghdad, Iraq will be allowed to resume limited oil sales for the first time since its August 1990 invasion of Kuwait. Iraq may now sell \$2 billion worth of oil every six months and use the proceeds, under U.N. supervision, to provide its people with food and medicine and compensate victims of the invasion. Some of the oil revenue will also help pay for the U.N. monitoring of the Iraqi military and weapons programs. The wider embargo against Iraqi exports remains in place pending Baghdad's full compliance with the arms control measures it accepted at the end of the war.

When international economic sanctions were first imposed after the 1990 invasion, it did not seem likely they would remain in effect this long. But Baghdad's insistence on staying in Kuwait until forcibly dislodged and its resistance to carrying out the terms of the April 1991 cease-fire resolution forced a lengthy diplomatic stalemate that brought hardship to millions of innocent Iraqi citizens.

The Security Council first offered supervised humanitarian oil sales years ago. But Mr. Hussein repeatedly turned the offer down. With the comforts of the regime's inner circle undiminished and its grip on power secure, the Iraqi dictator hoped he could parlay international sympathy for his people's suffering into a complete lifting of sanctions without satisfying the arms control terms. That hope collapsed last summer, when Iraqi deceptions on missiles and biological and chemical weapons were exposed.

Soon after that, Baghdad began serious negotiations on supervised sales. But the United States and Britain rightly challenged an early draft agreement because it left too much scope for Iraq to manipulate oil funds, withhold food from the Kurdish minority and restrict U.N. monitors. Iraqi and U.N. negotiators then reworked the language, fully satisfying Washington and London. The revised document was sent on to Baghdad, and over the weekend Mr. Hussein gave his personal approval.

The final agreement, announced yesterday, brings diplomatic credit to the Clinton Administration, reinforcement to the principle of international economic cooperation for common goals and the prospect of timely relief to Iraq's hungry



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LEVEL 1 - 1 OF 4 STORIES

Copyright 1996 The Washington Post
The Washington Post

May 22, 1996, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: OP-ED; Pg. A21

LENGTH: 565 words

HEADLINE: A Lifeline For Starving Iraqis

BYLINE: Madeleine K. Albright

BODY:

At long last Baghdad has accepted a United Nations plan to sell \$ 2 billion of oil over six months and use the proceeds to pay for food and medicine. The agreement will not only help end the suffering of the Iraqi people; it will also prevent Saddam Hussein from using innocent civilians as bargaining chips in a desperate attempt to prompt the United Nations to lift what have become the tightest and most comprehensive sanctions ever imposed.

Why did Iraq finally agree to this proposal -- U.N. Security Council Resolution 986 -- first drafted by the United States and adopted by the United Nations more than a year ago?

Baghdad finally accepted that economic sanctions would not be lifted prematurely and that its only chance to ease the growing economic distress in Iraq was this humanitarian plan.

Until Monday, Saddam tried to use the Iraqi people as hostages to bargain for concessions. In fact, none of the sanctions has ever prevented Iraq from importing food and medicine. His goal was to play on the compassion of the world to gain the lifting of sanctions -- a goal that has been and will continue to be denied because of his repeated renegeing on a series of obligations to the international community.

After the gulf war, some hoped that Iraq might do what was necessary for sanctions to be removed. Instead, Saddam proceeded on a campaign of destruction and terror against the Shiites in the south, the Kurds in the north and anyone else he perceived as a threat to his power. Meanwhile, U.N. inspectors found proof that the regime continued to divert Iraq's scarce resources to rebuilding the country's military infrastructure. The remainder has gone to enriching his cronies, so that the elite lead the good life in lavish palaces while the people fight for scraps of food.

Iraq will now be allowed to sell oil, but only to buy humanitarian supplies. The plan Iraq has accepted will make sure that these supplies are provided equitably to the entire Iraqi population and Saddam will not have access to the money. It will ensure adequate long-term funding for U.N. agencies in Iraq, including the U.N. commission responsible for preventing Iraq from rebuilding weapons of mass destruction; generate hundreds of millions of dollars to compensate victims of the gulf war; provide for the repair of the Iraq-Turkey



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The Washington Post, May 22, 1996

oil pipeline, thus easing the impact of sanctions on Turkey; and substantially improve the lives of Kurds in northern Iraq.

Except for this limited export of oil, the tough sanctions against Iraq will remain in full effect. And key safeguards prevent the Iraqi authorities from diverting the proceeds of the oil sales for illegitimate purposes. U.N. personnel will inspect the flow of goods into Iraq and oil out of Iraq; disbursement of all proceeds from the oil sales will be controlled by the United Nations through an escrow account; U.N. inspectors will monitor whether food and medicine are getting to the people in need; and as a member of the committee that oversees this arrangement, the United States can at any time stop the oil from flowing if Baghdad attempts to circumvent these safeguards. As a final protection, if the United States and the Security Council are not satisfied with Iraq's performance, the plan will not be renewed after its six-month trial period.

The writer is U.S. ambassador to the United Nations.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

COUNTRY: IRAQ;

LOAD-DATE: May 22, 1996May 22, 1996



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file Iraq

THE WHITE HOUSE

January 21, 1999

Annar Cassam
Bureau De Liaison
Palais Des Nations
1211 Geneve 10
SWITZERLAND

Dear Mr. Cassam:

Thank you for the beautiful card and your kind message. Also, I appreciate your sending the informative and alarming *Guardian* article concerning Iraqi and British babies. I have forwarded it to my staff for review.

With gratitude for your thoughtfulness and best wishes for the year ahead, I remain

Sincerely yours,


Hillary Rodham Clinton

Dear Mrs. Aintan,

I had the pleasure of meeting you in Geneva in May this year - we talked of your visit to Tanzania.

I send you my best wishes for continued courage and fortitude - and a speedy end to your ordeal.

I also send you this article on what is happening to Iraqi (and British) babies - I have a feeling this type of information may not be getting through to you.

Sincere regards,

Ann Cassam



MEILLEURS VŒUX
SEASON'S GREETINGS

ANNAR CASSAM
DIRECTOR

G2

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Did we do this?

Maggie O'Kane on the hidden legacy of the Gulf war



PHOTOGRAPH BY JULIA GUEST. ONE YEAR OLD, HAMED AMER, WHOSE SKULL INJURIES TO GROW

One million rounds of bullets tipped with uranium were fired during the Gulf war. They slice through tanks. And this is what they do to humans

Maggie O'Kane reports on Iraq's deformed children, victims of a war they never knew

The movement inside her body is strange: different from her three other children. As Suad Jope waits for her birth-time, she passes the hours and the spasms announcing it by sliding her back along the maternity corridor's grubby cream walls.

It's night now, the early hours. In the afternoon, her consultant, Dr Haifa Ashahine, had stood over her bed, taken a Biro from the left breast pocket of her white doctor's coat and traced the spine of Suad's child, holding the X-ray above her head towards a strip light on the ceiling.

At 34, and already the mother of three children, Suad has been through this all before. Her heavy cotton nightgown is sprinkled with pale apple blossoms and hangs down almost covering the puffy ankles of a woman approaching labour. That afternoon, Dr Haifa Ashahine had stopped and said: "See, the spine ends here. There is no head."

Dr Ashahine, a senior gynaecologist at the Saddam Hussein Children's Hospital in southern Iraq, is not shocked. If it is not a child without a brain, then maybe it's one with a giant head, stumpy arms like those of a thalidomide victim, two fingers instead of five, a heart with missing valves, missing ears. The deformities have one thing in common: they are congenital.

In Iraq, the health authorities say that at least three times more children are being born with congenital deformities than before the Gulf war. Now, in both Britain and the United States, veterans of that same war are coming forward with reports of sick and dying children. In Britain, the Ministry of Defence has agreed to an £800,000 independent survey of reproduction that will cover every veteran that served in the Gulf.

Last summer, the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine carried out a pilot study of 400 veterans. On the basis of that, they have given the go-ahead for a survey of every serviceman and woman who served in the Gulf war. The study is to include specific questions about "occupation and environmental exposures". According to the MoD, no results will be available before the year 2000.

The brutal irony is that the most likely origin of this gene-twisting force is not Iraq, but Western. During the

100-hour ground war of February 1991, coalition planes fired at least one million rounds of ammunition coated in a radioactive material known as depleted uranium, or DU.

There is another explanation for this genetic plague: the environmental pollution caused when chemical and biological centres were blown up in an effort to "degrade" the Iraqi arsenal. But radiation from depleted uranium rounds remains the most plausible explanation.

"We know that depleted uranium is toxic and can cause diseases," says Dr Howard Urnovitz, a microbiologist who has testified before the Presidential Advisory Committee on Gulf War Veterans' Illnesses.

"This is the beginning," says Dr Jawad-al Ali, a paediatrician and fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons. He is based in southern Iraq's largest hospital and has spent three years researching congenital defects and cancers in children. "Something happened to our environment in that war. Maybe it was DU or maybe it was the chemicals that were released when we were bombed — we can't say for sure yet, but something has happened to our environment."

"We even see it in the plant and agricultural life. Giant marrows, huge tomatoes — it's clear that there has been some sort of genetic modification since the war."

In a Guardian investigation which has involved talking to doctors all over central and southern Iraq — inspecting maternity logs, birth defect registers and personal records taken by midwives and paediatricians — a terrifying pattern emerges. There has been a clear increase in birth defects, ranging from thalidomide-type deformities to entire villages where the children of different families are being born blind or with internal congenital defects in the heart and lungs. The highest concentration is in the south of Iraq.

Two hours south of the southern Iraqi city of Basra, the road comes to an abrupt stop at a fence of barbed wire some eight metres high. This is the controlled zone, a graveyard of rusting Iraqi tanks riddled with bullets and abandoned there since the war. The Guardian was the first independent foreign newspaper to enter the region since the war. Using simple radiation Geiger counters, we measured high levels of radiation in the destroyed tanks and in the desert that surrounded them. The source of the radiation was a substance that had never been used in the battlefield before the Gulf war. Iraq became the laboratory for an untested and unknown material — DU.

A byproduct of the manufacture of nuclear weapons and energy production techniques used in nuclear

power plants, DU is the heaviest metal in the world. Britain imported 500 tonnes from the US in 1981. Its attraction is that bullets tipped with DU are so tough that they can slice through tanks like a knife through butter.

The problem is that when DU-tipped bullets hit the target they explode, sending millions of tiny radioactive particles into the atmosphere. "This is when it becomes most dangerous," says Arjun Makihani, the President of the US Institute for Energy and Environmental Research. Once released, the particles can be directly inhaled, can pollute the water table and enter the food chain, spreading radioactive pollution over thousands of square miles. Exposure to this kind of radiation, as well as to chemical pollution, can cause genetic damage because of the ease with which the uranium can cross the placenta to the foetus (1). According to the Department of Defense in the United States, at least 40 tonnes of DU were left on the battlefields of southern Iraq.

Professor Selma al-Taha is 62 and wears a finely woven headscarf of white silk over an impeccable bun. From a pint-sized office on the fourth floor of the Baab al-Muadam medical college — dedicated, as every establishment in Iraq is, to Saddam Hussein — she runs the country's only functioning genetics laboratory. She studied for a masters degree in Human Genetics at Edinburgh University and worked in the Western General Hospital in the city. "Such a lovely city, so easy to get around," she says. "And the picnics, I remember the picnics."

In 1975 she established the first genetics laboratory in Iraq and is the country's leading geneticist. "I first began noticing the increase around 1993," she says. "By the end of the year I was sure there was something wrong. We've no idea of the real scale of it, because most of it is happening in the south and people nowadays have no money to travel to the capital. Still, from the data it's clear that we were being presented with complicated congenital defects that we have either never seen before, or only very rarely seen."

"Something has happened to the environment since the war. It is true that it could be pollution due to smoke or chemicals, but the reason we believe the most probable cause is radiation is because radiation is most effective on a fast-changing organism like a foetus or a growing child. Also, the organs most susceptible to radiation, after the kidneys, are the reproductive organ — the gonads and the ovaries.

"We are getting a huge increase in late miscarriages for unknown reasons. We're getting mothers as young as 20 giving birth to mongol babies, which shouldn't happen. My research shows that the number of children born with Down's syndrome-type defects has tripled since the war." She admits her statistics are sketchy and that from her Baghdad headquarters she can't monitor the whole country.

Twenty-five-year old Dr Zenad Mohammed is making her own attempt to monitor the problem. She is five months pregnant and doing her maternity training in the Saddam Hussein Teaching Hospital in Basra — a jumble of one-storey buildings with peeling white paint, filled with a pale odour of disinfectant. Outside, two decorators are delicately crafting the green, white and orange stripes of the Iraqi flag on to the concrete. Dr Zenad is carrying her first baby and she watches these things very, very carefully. "I'm scanning myself every day. I know I shouldn't but I'm terrified."

For the past three months Dr Zenad, terrified of giving birth to a deformed child, has been monitoring the birth defects in their delivery room, where 20 to 30 babies are born daily. She keeps her findings in a hard-backed grey notebook. In a scrawny blue Biro she has divided the page into columns, in which she writes the sexes, dates of birth and weights of the babies. In a fourth column, she logs their deformities. She begins:

"August — we had three babies born with no head. Four had abnormally large heads. In September we had six with no heads, none with large heads and two with short limbs. In October, one with no head, four with big heads and four with deformed limbs or other types of deformities."

Stuck up on the hot water boiler: of a kitchen in Wiltshire is a typewritten letter from the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. It is inviting Darren and Julia Office to take part in a survey to investigate the "effects of serving in the Gulf war, and in the armed forces in general, on reproduction and child health". Their daughter Kimberley has a congenital deformity that affects her chromosomes. She is almost six, but the size of a three-year-old. Her deformity has led to heart and lung problems. When it was diagnosed, their doctors told them to go away and **page 4**



Legacy... Iraqi health authorities report a tripling of deformed babies since the end of the Gulf war

ALL PHOTOGRAPHS: JULIA GUEST



Pass notes

No 1320

Impeachment



Age: 622.

Appearance: Infrequent.

Come on, we all know this is about Clinton. Who's that a picture of? That's Warren Hastings (1732-1818), the first Governor-General of Bengal.

And what's he got to do with it? Hastings was the Slick Willie of his day. Chronically bogged down in messy Anglo-Indian politics, he returned to England to find himself impeached in the House of Lords.

Don't tell me, he had an affair with an intern and lied about it to a special investigator? Not quite, but the allegations against Hastings wouldn't look out of place in the modern world: there was a cash-for-troops scandal, an extortion charge, a bit of treaty-breaking...

Sounds like the man was completely corrupt: No, he wasn't. But it took seven years and 145 sittings of the House of Lords to find that out.

Even more deadly than reading the Starr report, then: Indeed. The Hastings impeachment was so tedious, in fact, that the English more or less dumped the procedure. Only one Brit has been impeached since — Lord Melville, in 1806.

When did Hastings's impeachment happen? Well, Edmund Burke, the great Whig, began proceedings in 1786, convinced Pitt the Younger of his case, and the trial began in 1788.

Wasn't that... Yes, exactly the time the hallowed American Constitution was being framed. It would appear that the Hastings case excited the founding fathers so much that they slapped it into Article II, Section 4.

Even though we'd decided the procedure was too long-winded: There's also the small matter that the British executive is responsible to the House of Commons, which, with a simple vote of no confidence, can dump a prime minister any time it likes.

And what happened to Warren? He was acquitted on all charges, but the trial left him a ruined man, and only the generosity of the East India Company saved him from poverty in old age.

Any other great British impeachments? Well, there was the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud, who was impeached in 1640 for treason and beheaded on Tower Hill...

Now there's an idea.

1000 years in 500 days will appear in tomorrow's G2

'In August we had three babies born with no heads. In September we had six ...'

page 2 enjoy her life because she might not have long. It was, they said, "just one of those things".

Warminster is bleak on a wet Saturday in December. It is a military town with two army bases and an unmanned train station with a screen that advises travellers to London to change at Salisbury. The Offices' terraced home is comfortable and their daughter, Kimberley, with her stack of books and Barbie doll, gets the lavish love and care of a six-year-old whose suffering has broken her parents' heart. There is a Spice Girls video and a video recorder poised to tape their last Christmas together on the wine- and purple-checked sofa before the arrival of the new baby.

"I started to think about it when I learned that out of the 27 in my group, three of us had children who are sick," says Darren. "There was a baby that died at birth, another one and our Kimberley. We were talking among ourselves, and people were saying that there were too many sick babies. It's the kiddies I'm thinking about."

Julie is due to give birth to her second child in three weeks. As the birth approaches, she is becoming more and more worried: "I just thought that we had to come forward and talk about this. There are a lot who don't, because they're still in the services and afraid of making a fuss. I can't put my hand on my heart and say it was the Gulf war — I don't know. Nobody knows yet. But there are too many people talking about the defor-

mities. We were two healthy young people. We had no history of congenital illness."

Darren went to the Gulf in October 1990 with the Queen's Royal Irish Hussars. For most of the war he and his regiment were far from the fighting, but for the last seven days they were at the front, at the Basra Road, where some of a heavy air bombardment in the final days of the war led to the death of thousands. It was here that the greatest number of depleted uranium rounds were fired.

Darren and his unit reached the road after the dead had been looted but before their bodies had been removed: "We were on the road for about 10 hours. It was after the ceasefire, and with a couple of the guys we went wandering through the wreckage. We had never heard of depleted uranium and hadn't been warned about taking any precautions."

The village of Abbarra is two hours' drive north of Baghdad, close to the Iranian border where the brick factories bake mud in the traditional way and the land is fertile with aubergine and cucumber. In a compound, the neighbours have gathered, and hot, sweet tea from delicate glasses is offered while the children of the blind families are sent for.

Since the war, five children from three separate families have been born here in this tiny village with a strange congenital blindness. These



families are the subject of a special study by the Baghdad Genetic Clinic. "All their fathers served in the war," says Professor Selma al-Taha. "There is no history of any kind of congenital blindness and they are all from different families. The only other possibility is vitamin deficiency, but they are farmers and relatively well off in that respect." One of the children, Azhar, is four. She moves across the mats of the meeting room, arms outstretched, feeling the air in front of her, calling for her father.

The concern in Iraq is that the radiation from DU, which has a radioactive half-life of at least 4,000 years is spreading around the country. "It's in the food chain now," says Professor al-Taha. "Dates are being

sent from the south — oranges, tomatoes, there isn't any way to control the spread." The birth of deformed babies is not confined to the south.

Dr Basma Al Asam has been a gynaecologist for 22 years. She works in the Al Manoor hospital in Baghdad, one of the city's poorest. "I've been watching this for seven years now," she says, "and it is increasing and increasing. We're not just seeing babies born with congenital abnormalities, but very late spontaneous abortion because of congenital defects. In the past we used to see maybe one a month. Now it is two or three cases per day. I've had three cases this morning and it's only 11.20."

The price of cleaning up the radioactive mess in the Persian Gulf is enormous. It would cost "billions" even if it were feasible, says Leonard Dietz, an atomic scientist who wrote a report for the US Energy Department.

In the days that followed the retreat and defeat of Iraqi troops, thousands of coalition soldiers were on the ground among the radioactive tanks. Some picked fragments of bullets as souvenirs and wore them around their necks. "The Gulf war was the first time we saw Soviet tanks," says Chris Kornkven, who served with the US's 304th Combat Support Group. "Many of us started climbing around in them." It was also common practice among British soldiers. "We all did it," says Darren Office. "A gang of us would go out — not too far from our tanks

— and have a look about. Lads larking around."

So far, only one British soldier has been tested for DU: Ray Bristow, who served with his unit on the notorious Basra Road. Bristow's test was carried out by Dr Asaf Darakovic, associate member of the American College of Physicians and professor of radiology and nuclear medicine at Georgetown University in Washington DC. He told Bristow last month that a test had revealed the level of radioactivity in his urine was 100 times greater than was safe. Dr Darakovic also told Bristow that of 24 servicemen he tested for radioactivity from the 144 New Jersey Transport and Resupply Corps, 14 out of 24 tested positive for radioactivity.

At a two-day conference held in Baghdad earlier this month to discuss the use of DU in the Gulf, there was little outside interest. The agency news reports barely warranted a line of reporting in Britain and the US. "The problem is that no one is taking this seriously," says Dr Sami-al Arajick, organiser of the conference. "They are saying it is all Iraqi propaganda. But it is a nightmare and it is not just us Iraqis who will find that out."

"Do your people in England know about this yet?" asks Professor Selma al-Taha. "They don't believe us, do they?"

1: Research carried at Oak Ridge National Laboratories which controversially used uranium compounds to trace the passage of calcium from the placenta to the foetus.



Deformed ... (right) a baby beng treated for a congenital head growth; and (above) a mother tends her child, who has leukaemia

file Iraq

Danou's file

#

Via Facsimile Transmission

November 15, 1996

Melanne Verveer
The White House

Dear Melanne:

Congratulations to the President and the First Lady for their sweeping re-election victory. American voters certainly were justified and the countless hours of hard work you and others put in are to be commended.

As you know, several weeks ago I had the honor to be present at Maryanne Alix's luncheon with Mrs. Clinton and spoke with her about the suffering children of Iraq. She responded by saying that she wanted to look into this matter, but not until after the elections. I hope I am not adding to your busy schedule, but the situation in Iraq has not gotten any better and, if anything, is worse. As you know, one of the greatest concerns is to make certain that any humanitarian aid or assistance with food and medical products is delivered and received as intended by the needy. I will be more than willing to take a leadership role to develop such a plan as well as to solicit private donations to provide a short term solution until the U.N. Resolution 986 or some other governmental solution is available. In order for such a plan to be successful, it must be undertaken under a legitimate structure that has the approval of the U.S. and the U.N. I am available to meet with you or anyone else that Mrs. Clinton feels should be involved to begin this work.

Reports of famine and starvation were recently documented in the Detroit Free Press (I have included a copy of the article for your information). America and its citizens have a long history of providing aid to disadvantaged children around the world and I hope that a program can be started to deal with the needs of the Iraqi children.

I look forward to hearing from you on this matter at your earliest opportunity.

Sincerely,



Sam A. Danou

Attachment
& Send Via Post