

The role of the media in documenting the crimes of Anfal and Mass graves

Prof.dr. Omed Barzan Brzoo

Dr .Chnar Namq Hasan

Abstract:

The Kurdish people have been subjected to genocide, Anfal and mass graves throughout the history of the Ba'ath regime, but due to the monopoly of the media, inequality and lack of Kurdish media, these crimes have not been documented and recognized internationally.

The aim of this study is to highlight the role of Kurdish media in documenting the crimes of Anfal and mass graves. and to show the extent of the participation of the media in documenting these crimes by paying attention to evidence, monuments, Anfal survivors and relatives of the victims. In addition to showing the role and methods of effective media coverage about the crimes of Anfal and mass graves.

Also, in the scope of the research to answer the main question of the research whether the Kurdish media has been able to play a role in documenting the crimes of Anfal and mass graves? This field research relies on a survey method to collect data and information using survey forms, as well as conducting interviews with a sample of researchers. In addition to the general framework of the research and the theoretical aspects of the research, it presents some conclusions and recommendations.

Keywords: Media - Documentation - Anfal crimes - Mass graves.

0) Introduction:

Throughout the rule of the late Ba'athist regime, the Kurdish people faced crimes of extermination, individual killing, mass killing, Anfal and genocide, which made the deserts of Iraq in particular and

Iraq in general become mass graves for the Kurds. These mass graves remained secret and no one knew.

The massacres of the Kurdish people was not direct and unplanned, but for a long time the Ba'ath media planted a bad image of the Kurds among the masses. This image was created as a result of the long-term influence of the media Genocide with discrimination. In a television message, Saddam himself did not hide this hate speech and published hate speech about the Barzanis in the newspaper Jumhuriya (13/9/1983). The Barzanis were punished and sent to hell. It can be used to counter the misrepresentation used throughout history to distort the image of the Kurds, as well as being an important tool for documenting Anfal and mass graves.

1) Research Methodology:

1/1) Research Problem:

The problem of this research is that in the era of advancement of human rights principles and international agreements and treaties, until this time of writing, the Kurdish people are looking for the bodies of Anfal victims in mass graves.

1/2) Significance of research:

The importance of this research stems from the importance of the subject, which is the role of the media in documenting and introducing the crimes of Anfal and mass graves, so it is the duty of the media to document and convey these facts in order to create international public opinion.

1/3) Research Objective:

- Know the role of Kurdish media in documenting the crimes of Anfal and mass graves.

- Demonstrate the extent of media participation in documenting the crimes of Anfal and mass graves by paying attention to evidence, monuments, Anfal survivors and relatives of the victims.

- Exposing the mass graves and the role of effective media coverage methods about the crimes of Anfal and mass graves.

- Highlight the importance of having a unified archival institution to document the crimes of Anfal and mass graves.

1/4) Research Questions:

- Has the Kurdish media been able to play a role in documenting the crimes of Anfal and mass graves?

- To what extent have the media participated in documenting the crimes of Anfal and mass graves through interviews with the relatives of the victims?

- Which methods of media coverage have been able to show the crimes of Anfal and mass graves more?

- To what extent does the existence of a unified archival institution help to document the crimes of Anfal and mass graves?

1/5) Study community and sample:

This research relies on university students to find out their opinions about Anfal and mass graves and the role of the media in documenting them. For this purpose, a sample of Garmian University (199) students participated in filling out the survey form. For this purpose, a survey form was designed and distributed to the students of the colleges of Garmian University according to the statistical table of the sample identification in the research community, which is about (3750) students.

On the other hand, in order to enrich the research, interviews were conducted with Kurdish activists and writers who consciously observed the media messages of the genocidal regime during the previous regime.

1/6) Type and approach of research:

This study goes into the field of descriptive research, in which the survey method is used in order to collect data and information about the role of the media in documenting the crimes of Anfal and mass graves.

1/7) Research validity and stability:

To ensure the validity and stability of the research, the researchers relied on apparent truth, so they

first presented the survey form to three experts in the field after presenting their comments and ensuring the accuracy of the items.

1/8) Statistical Tools:

The statistical tools used in this study to interpret and analyze the data are percentage and (SPSS), Statistical Package for the Social Sciences.

1/9) Research Areas:

Human Subject: The human subject of this study is the students of Garmian University.

Time scope: The time scope of this study is the beginning of the first semester in September (2025) (when students filled out the survey form).

Area scope: The setting of this study is Garmian University.

1/10) Determination of concepts:

Media: Media in this study refers to the old and new media, which is called classical media and digital media, the first is the means of mass communication, such as: television, radio, magazines and newspapers, etc. The second is the new media sites and platforms available to the consumer on the Internet. Currently, most of the old media tools have their own platforms in the electronic space.

Documentation: The purpose of documentation is to record all the crimes of Anfal and genocide committed against the Kurdish people, whether through writing or reports, reports, articles, films, documentaries, etc. in order to preserve, archive and publish them.

Anfal crimes: All these are crimes committed by the destroyed Ba'athist regime, from the genocide of the Failis and Barzanis and the Anfal campaigns in all its stages in order to erase the identity of the Kurdish people and ethnic cleansing.

Mass graves: Mass graves in this study refer to all the graves that belong to the bodies of martyrs and victims of Anfal in Kurdistan without distinction (Barzani, Sorani, etc.).

1/11) Previous studies:

Emily N Ware's research⁽¹⁾ on the role of the media in the development of conflict - the 1994 Rwandan genocide, media tools play an important role in public policy formulation and agenda setting. He cites reasons that have forced the media to

promote violence instead of playing a peaceful role in promoting peace and democracy, while the media can be a neutral issue and play a balanced role, while examining the challenges faced by media coverage under the umbrella of politics.

Lydia Gachungi's paper ⁽²⁾, entitled *The Role of the Media in Conflict Management: A Case Study of Rwanda and Burundi, 1990-2000*, highlights the role of the media in conflict management, explaining that the media is an important factor in conflict management. The conflicts in Rwanda and Burundi in 1990-2000 are the cases of this paper, the study examines in particular the role of radio as the most powerful media tool in most African countries, where the majority of people are illiterate and too poor to afford television. It concludes, that radio during the conflict and especially Rwanda National Radio and Radio Television Libre des Mille Collines (RTML) was the main media outlet. The study reveals that there is serious suspicion by society about the behavior of the media, especially during conflicts, due to their role in the development of conflicts and expects the media to be part of resolving conflicts by creating an environment of peaceful coexistence.

Finally, the study highlights the fact that if concrete measures and strategies are put in place by conflict managers and by the international community on how the media should act in conflict situations, the media can be an effective tool to send messages about peace, democracy, national tolerance and conflict resolution. On the other hand, if these measures are not affected, the media will continue to contribute to the worsening of existing tensions between and within countries by whipping up nationalist sentiments and ethnic hatred leading to a repeat of the 1994 Rwandan genocide.

2) Theoretical framework of the study:

2/1) Anfal and mass graves are evidence of the crime of Kurdish genocide:

Throughout the history of the Iraqi authoritarian regimes, we Kurds have faced the most brutal campaigns of extermination, Anfal and genocide, from the genocide of the Failis and the Anfal of 8,000 Barzanis to the Anfal of 88 and Koraw. The

extermination of Kurds has not only focused on these, but Kurdish citizens have been constantly disappeared through arrests and secretly subjected to mass killings. In a document entitled *Secret and Personal Book No. 305*, which was sent to the headquarters of the First Iraqi Army Corps on July 8, 1986, the Ba'ath regime quoted Ali Hassan Majid, also known as Ali al-Kimiawi, as saying: They should be interrogated, they may find something else before they are executed ⁽³⁾.

However, the genocide before Anfal in 1988 was different from the genocide of the Anfal campaign, which was conspired in eight stages and officially and openly advocated by Ali Kimyawa, in terms of time, place, mass of the massacre and even the weapons used ⁽⁴⁾. This time, about 182,000 Kurds were killed in all regions and villages of Kurdistan, from Garmian, Badinan and Sewsenan, to the chemical attack on Halabja and the bombing of other areas. In other words, the Anfal campaigns were not a passing event, but a complete project in terms of study, planning and then implementation, which targeted the land before the people ⁽⁵⁾.

After the fall of the Ba'ath regime, these crimes became clear through the discovery of mass graves. Mass graves as evidence of the crimes of genocide against the Kurdish people in international centers is an important and influential factor in the recognition and internationalization of this great crime and proving the crime of genocide, which can ensure compensation for victims. Iraq continues to try to mislead public opinion on this issue by covering up and downplaying this serious crime ⁽⁶⁾. This issue is extremely important, so documenting the Anfal campaign and mass graves is considered the primary duty and responsibility of the media. In order to raise this issue in international centers, legally an effective factor in recognizing and internationalizing this crime It is the duty of the media to continuously present and disseminate information about the genocide of the Kurdish people in order to create public opinion about the genocide of the Kurdish people. To find out the role of the media in covering and documenting the crimes of Anfal, the research examines two types of media. The first is the media coverage of the

Ba'ath regime in presenting the crimes of Anfal:
2/1-1) Media coverage of the Ba'ath regime's media in presenting the crimes of Anfal:

In his book *Controlling the Media*, Naum Chomsky discusses the role, influence and ability of the media to become an effective tool for the masses in order to occupy their minds. Chomsky's view was reflected in the media of the Ba'ath regime, which used the media to beautify the image of the dictatorship of the time.

On the other hand, the media of the destroyed regime was able to mislead public opinion through various ways of presenting events, as it intended about the Anfal and genocide campaigns, due to the lack of a free media to present issues objectively ⁽⁷⁾. However, during the uprising, many documents were seized from Ba'athist institutions, which paved the way for more talk about these crimes ⁽⁸⁾. In addition to these documents, the media must work to publish any video footage of crimes, research confirms how a video becomes evidence against perpetrators of crimes in court ⁽⁹⁾.

Here we present the views of research samples on Iraqi media discourse in the 1980s to prepare and justify the Kurdish genocide and Anfal. This study relies on the views of Kurdish activists and writers who closely monitored the Ba'ath regime's media during the Anfal campaign. Let's better examine the media's messages. The researcher interviewed this selection and asked some questions:

Q1: What was the dominant media discourse in the Iraqi media about Kurdish national rights?

The totalitarian media discourse was in the hands of the ruling Ba'ath Party. This discourse was based on an extreme right-wing nationalist ideology. This media discourse promoted the ideas and principles of the Arab Ba'ath Party by imposing its intellectual hegemony on society and rejecting all other intellectual and political movements ⁽¹⁰⁾. The media adopted a racist and nationalist discourse, based on the extension of Arab nationalism to all other Iraqi nations, including Kurdish nationalism ⁽¹¹⁾. The media discourse of that time was the non-recognition and violation of the national rights of the Kurdish people, including the right to Kurdish education and the right to citizenship ⁽¹²⁾.

Misleading discourse prevailed in the media, having a negative impact on Iraqi, regional and international media circles (Fatih Sangawi, 2021) due to the media's submission to the Ba'ath regime in Iraq, which led to a lack of impartial media discourse ⁽¹³⁾.

The Iraqi media followed the discourse of covering up the truth about the genocide committed against the Kurds in the 1980s, but the Iranian media covered up these crimes ⁽¹⁴⁾.

Q2: What media arts did the media use in to convey their messages?

The Iraqi media used all visual, audio and print media to convey their messages, making use of all journalistic and media arts. These include: news, statements, reports, interviews, articles, etc ⁽¹⁵⁾. In return, he prohibited reports and interviews with pro-regime Kurds on radio and television, or the broadcast of series and films that were in favor of the regime's policies ⁽¹⁶⁾. In addition to publishing false news and false reports with the aim of distorting the facts ⁽¹⁷⁾.

Q3: What are the trends in the media discourse adopted by the Iraqi media regarding the genocide committed against the Kurds in the 1980s?

Iraq had a special ministry of information that distorted the facts and blamed the Kurdish liberation movement for many crimes and described it as a foreign mercenary, while never mentioning the Halabja massacre and any other crimes it committed ⁽¹⁸⁾. Iraq covered up the genocide against the Kurds in all local and Arab media ⁽¹⁹⁾. The Ba'ath media used inappropriate terms to create a negative image of the Kurds, which influenced public opinion, including: calling the Peshmerga "rebels" and likening the Kurdish revolutionaries to saboteurs ⁽²⁰⁾.

Media discourse in the media justified the forced deportations, the programmatic destruction of villages and their concentration in forced labor camps, using the excuse that these actions were to punish the rebels, not civilians ⁽²¹⁾. The media adopted the method of distorting the facts, which led to a media cover-up for the destruction that the Kurdish people faced ⁽²²⁾.

Q4: How did the media use its directed discourse to

portray the Kurds as hostile to the public?

The media was used to promote propaganda as a means of suppressing freedoms, spreading false and misleading information, spreading hostile ideas, and denying citizens the right to seek accurate information ⁽²³⁾. The media campaigns of 1988 paved the way for the attack on Kurdistan, which later led to the Anfal genocide. After the media discourse was able to influence the recipient, by talking about a great victory over Iran through news and publishing pictures of war and slogans of victory on Iraqi channels ⁽²⁴⁾. The Iraqi media tried to mislead public opinion to legitimize crimes committed against the Kurds under the pretext of protecting the country from threats ⁽²⁵⁾. The media sometimes portrayed the Kurds as a backward people, and sometimes as an integral part of the Iraqi people ⁽²⁶⁾. The media was devoted to spreading hate speech among citizens ⁽²⁷⁾.

Q5: What was the purpose of spreading hate speech in the Iraqi media during 1988?

The media played a key role in encouraging the Iraqi street to create conflict between Arabs and Kurds, especially in Kirkuk ⁽²⁸⁾. The aim of the speech was to instill hatred in the minds of the Arabs against the Kurds, especially against the Kurdish opposition parties, thus encouraging them to participate in the genocide of Kurdish civilians during the Anfal campaign ⁽²⁹⁾. The aim of the media in publishing hate speech was to justify Iraqi and international public opinion to pave the way for the genocide of the Kurdish people ⁽³⁰⁾. The aim of the media messages was to spread fear and intimidation among Kurdish citizens ⁽³¹⁾. The aim of the Iraqi media discourse was to produce hostility and hatred to destroy the ranks of citizens ⁽³²⁾.

2/1-2) Duties of the media regarding the documentation of Kurdish genocide and Anfal:

After understanding the role of the Ba'ath regime's media in misleading public opinion and monopolizing the media as a weapon to use against the Kurdish people, we need to know the role of the Kurdish media in presenting the facts and documenting crimes against the Kurds.

Advances in technology and media made it possible to see scenes as they were. Academic research on

visual fields such as film and media has led to a rigorous analysis of genocide images, asking how they contribute to the transmission of events and the preservation of the memory of genocide as a form of memory ⁽³³⁾.

2/2) Functions of the media:

The media has several duties in this regard, including:

1. Publishing news and information about the Kurdish genocide. It is the main duty of the media to work to introduce the genocide, Anfal and all the crimes committed against the Kurdish people. Whether this recognition is national, regional or international.
 2. In addition, the media should present the facts, contribute to changing the directions of public opinion through presenting the facts.
 3. In addition to creating public opinion, it is one of the duties of the media. In order for the Kurdish media to be able to introduce the genocide and crimes against the Kurds, it must work on documenting these crimes, that is, documenting through different genres of media.
 4. The media must educate the society about the genocide so that it does not happen again in the future.
 5. Another duty of the media is to put pressure on governments. For example, the Kurdish media should put pressure on the Iraqi government to bring justice to the crimes of the Ba'ath regime.
 6. It contributes to the documentation of crimes of genocide and mass graves not only by presenting the facts, but can also be a fundamental tool for achieving accountability.
 7. Preserving the public memory of the victims and their stories, creating a historical record free from misrepresentation.
 8. Demand independent accountability and investigation, highlight mass graves when they are discovered, and pressure the international community to recognize the rights of genocide victims.
 9. Fighting justification discourse and denying genocide.
- That is, the media should respond to any attempt to

reduce the crime of genocide and deny it, while fighting propaganda that tries to beautify the faces of the perpetrators of the crime, or justify the perpetrators.

10. Conveying the voices of the victims of Anfal directly through the media and providing them with the opportunity to express their views, which is a fundamental right for the survivors and families of the missing. For example, the right of survivors and families of Anfal victims to have information about the Anfal perpetrators and the media to guide them on how to file a complaint against them.

11. Establishment of a center for documenting Anfal and genocide.

12. Publish all existing documents regarding Anfal, whether they are documents of the regime itself, or international documents, records, reports and documents of the United Nations ⁽³⁴⁾.

13. The responsibility of creating public opinion about the crimes of genocide, Anfal and mass killings falls on the shoulders of the media. Hence, the authorities of these institutions must work to formulate a comprehensive media policy on the coverage and documentation of genocide crimes.

In 1972, Elizabeth Newman developed a theory called the spread of silence, in which she hypothesized that there are three factors through which the media can create public opinion. The second is the universality of its messages. The third assumption is similarity: in the sense that media messages must be similar in structure in order to create a popular agenda and be valued by the recipient ⁽³⁵⁾. Because the media is the most sensitive strategic tool in times of crisis, in the sense that the media can be both the source of the crisis and the foundation of the solution ⁽³⁶⁾.

In addition, inculcation theory emphasizes cognitive inculcation, where the media can instill information in the mind of the recipient through repetition and over a long period of time. This means that the effect here is cumulative over time. Of course, all forms of media are useful for documenting the issue of Anfal, mass graves, genocide and shaping public opinion. In addition to choosing appropriate tools, for example, use local media, which reaches the local audience provided

that its messages are presented in a simple manner to a specific audience. Also, to form public opinion, we can make use of modern media or directed media, since modern web media platforms are of great importance in opinion formation and documentation. If we look at new media platforms, we see that these platforms reach a global audience, and that a platform can be created in different languages. Through the characteristics of digital media, we can interact with the recipient or consumer, despite the widespread nature of the archiving process and the importance of electronic archives. Crossing the boundaries of place, time and proximity is an important advantage of digital media, as well as the advantage of simultaneity and the presence of chat rooms, through which people can get to know each other and exchange opinions and ideas on any topic that occupies their minds.

14. The phenomena of electronic media can be used to document and draft crimes in order to create public opinion, including electronic campaigns through hashtags, electronic petitions and electronic voting, followed and exploited through electronic media.

2/3) Digital Archive on Introducing Anfal and Kurdish Mass Graves:

Digital archives are important in introducing Anfal and mass graves, providing opportunities for nations that suffered from dictatorship and media control, while opening the door to researchers to introduce the history of genocide, Anfal, mass graves, present facts and reject rumors. Therefore, the existence of a unified archival institution is a key factor for documenting important paper archives and digitizing them, documenting and conducting interviews, using oral methods, documenting witness stories in various fields and publishing them digitally.

2/4) Methods of Digitization:

The first is offline, which is used to maintain documents and records of institutions and is important because it is a key principle of e-government, and will play an important role in documenting and promoting Anfal and mass

graves.

The second is online, which is dedicated to publishing articles on electronic sites that are directly archived. The electronic archive feature plays an important role in documenting the Kurdish genocide to obtain.

3) Framework of Research Practice:

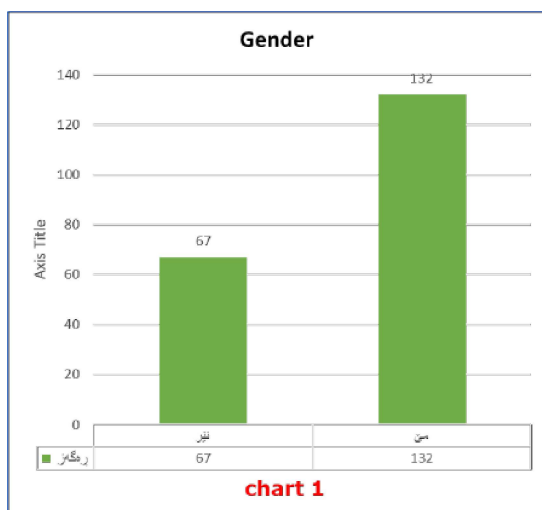
In the practical aspect of this research, the researchers relied on a survey form in order to know the opinion of a sample of students in Garmian University colleges, the sample number is (199) students:

3/1) Data of the study sample according to demographic characteristics:

Gender: Out of (199) students, (67) male students, which is (33.7%), (132) female students, which is (66.3%) participated in this survey, which is mean (1.66) and std. deviation (0.474). See Table and Chart (1).

Gender	Number	The percentage	Mean	Std. Deviation
Male	67	%33.7	1.66	0.474
Female	132	%66.3		

Table (1)



Age: Out of (199) students, (94) students aged (18 to 20) years, which is (47.2%), (95) students aged (21 to 23) years, which is (47.7%), (8) students aged (24 to 26) years, which is (4%). (2) students aged (27 and above), which is (2%) participated in this survey, which is a mean of (1.59) and a standard

deviation of (0.620), see Table (2)

Age	Number	The percentage	Mean	Std. Deviation
18-20	94	%47.2	1.59	0.620
21-23	95	%47.7		
24-26	8	%4		
27 above	2	%1		

Table (2)

Stage: Out of (199) students, (92) students in the second stage, which is (46.2%), (56) students in the third stage, which is (28.1%), (51) students in the fourth grade, which is (25.6%) participated in this survey, which is a mean of (1.79) and a standard deviation of (0.824), see Table (3).

Stage	Frequency	percentage	Mean	Std. Deviation
Second	92	%46.2	1.79	0.824
Third	56	%28.1		
Fourth	51	%25.6		

Table (3)

Specialty: Out of (199) students, (20) students in English department, which is (10.1%), (18) students in Engineering department, which is (9%), (5) students in Biology department, which is (2.5%), (6) students in mathematics department, which is (3%), (6) students in mathematics department, which is (3%), (20) students in medical department, which is (10.1%), (15) students in geography department, which is (7.5%). (10) students in the Physics Department, which is (5%), (16) students in the Kurdish Department, which is (8%), (6) students in the Social Department, which is (3%), (12) students in the Department of Chemistry, which is (6%), (9) students in the Department of History, which is (4.5%), (47) students in the law department, which is (23.6%) participated in this survey. deviations, see Table (4).

Specialty	Frequency	percentage
English	20	%10.1
Engineering	18	%9
Biology	5	%2.5
Mathematics	6	%3

Medical	20	%10.1
Geography	15	%7.5
Psychology	4	%2
Arabic	11	%5.5
Physics	10	%5
Kurdish	16	%8
Social	6	%3
Chemistry	12	%6
History	9	%4.5
Law	47	%23.6
	199	

Time: Out of 199 students in this survey, (17) students spent less than an hour, which is (8.5%). (54) students in (1-2) hours, which is (27.1%), (71) students in (3-4) hours, which is (35.7%), (57) students spend more than (5) hours, which is (28.6%), daily using and watching media and platforms, which is a mean of (2.84) and a standard deviation of (0.938), see Table (5).

Time	Frequency	percentage	Mean	Std. Deviation
Less than an hour	17	%8.5	2.84	0.938
(1-2) hours	54	%27.1		
(3-4) hours	71	%35.7		
more than (5) hours	57	%28.6		

Table (5)

Information acquisition: The tools used by students to acquisition information about Anfal and mass graves, out of (199) students in this survey, (130) students through social networks, which is (65.3%), (8) students through media sites on the Internet, which is (4%), (29) students through television channels, which is (14.6%), (5) students through newspapers and magazines, which is (2.5%), (27) students obtain information through other means, which is (13.6%), which is mean (1.95) and standard deviation (1.459), see Table (6).

Information acquisition	Frequency	percentage	Mean	Std. Deviation
social networks	130	%65.3	1.95	1.459
media sites on the Internet	8	%4		
television channels	29	%14.6		
newspapers and magazines	5	%2.5		
other means	27	%13.6		

Table (6)

Message and Content: The purpose of the media coverage, whether it has been able to show the crimes of Anfal and mass graves, out of (199) students in this survey, (145) students through Video messages and content, which is (72.9%), (2) students through messages and audio content, which is (1%), (18) students through messages and visual content, which is (9%), (20) students through messages and written content, which is (10.1%), (14) students obtain information in other ways, which is (7%), which is the mean (1.77) and the standard deviation (1.346), see Table (7).

Message and Content	Frequency	percentage	Mean	Std. Deviation
Video messages and content	145	%72.9	1.77	1.346
Audio messages and content	2	%1		
Photographic messages and content	18	%9		
Written messages and content	20	%10.1		
other means	14	%7		

Table (7)

3/2) The role of the media in documenting the crimes of Anfal and mass graves:

Table (8) shows the researchers' answers to the research questions. In this table, the frequency, percentage, arithmetic mean, standard deviation and ranking of the answers are presented.

Q.	I totally agree	I agree	I'm neutral	I don't agree	I completely agree	Mean	Std. Deviation	Order of questions					
	n.	p.	n.	p.	n.	p.	n.	p.	n.	p.			
1	43	%21.6	62	%31.2	48	%24.1	31	%15.6	15	%7.5	3.44	1.204	First
2	19	%9.5	86	%43.2	47	%23.6	28	%14.1	19	%9.5	3.29	1.122	second
3	25	%12.6	92	%46.2	47	%23.6	26	%13.1	9	%4.5	3.49	1.019	Sixth
4	30	%15.1	101	%50.8	38	%19.1	19	%9.5	11	%5.5	3.60	1.034	Fourth
5	23	%11.6	88	%44.2	59	%29.6	22	%11.1	7	%3.5	3.49	0.958	Fifth
6	47	%23.6	85	%42.7	55	%27.6	6	%3	6	%3	3.81	0.934	Seventh
7	34	%17.1	75	%37.7	56	%28.1	22	%11.1	12	6%	3.49	1.086	Third

Out of 199 students who participated in this survey, we reached the following results, according to the statistical system (Spss):

Q1: The Kurdish media has not been able to play a proper role in documenting the crimes of Anfal and mass graves. This paragraph comes first, which means that the Kurdish media should review itself to identify its weaknesses on this important issue.

Q2: The media have helped in providing information and showing the facts about Anfal and mass graves. This item ranked second in the researchers' responses, so the media worked to cover the crimes, although not at the required level.

Q3: Electronic media platforms provided more opportunities to promote Anfal and mass graves through various contents.

Q4: The media have participated in documenting the crimes of Anfal and mass graves by conducting interviews with the relatives of the victims.

Q5: Electronic media platforms provided more opportunities to promote Anfal and mass graves through electronic archives.

Q6: The existence of a unified archival institution is a major factor for documenting the crimes of Anfal and mass graves.

Q7: The media outlets have neglected to conduct electronic campaigns to promote the crimes of Anfal and mass graves through new media. This item ranked third, that these campaigns can play an effective role because of the nature of the tool, which crosses the boundaries of time and space and is always available and can be done in any language and directed to Internet users anywhere in the world.

Results:

1. The results of the study showed that females pay more attention to the issue of genocide.
2. Video content and messages have an impact on the recipient through sound and color and movement attracts the recipient's attention.
3. Social networks have provided a good platform for obtaining information about documenting crimes, but the Kurdish media has not been able to play a role in documenting the crimes of Anfal and mass graves.
4. The media helped in providing information and showing the facts about Anfal and mass graves.
5. Despite the importance of electronic public opinion manifestations, the media have neglected to conduct

electronic campaigns to promote the crimes of Anfal and mass graves through new media.

6. Media outlets have been able to use interviews with relatives of victims to document the crimes of Anfal and mass graves.

Recommendations:

1. More attention by the media to documenting crimes in order to introduce them in international centers.
2. Drafting a comprehensive national plan on how to introduce these crimes in order to keep them in the public memory.
3. Work to pay more attention to the media to conduct interviews, receive witness statements, document their statements and document their stories.
4. Using the manifestations of electronic public opinion to create public opinion through new media, which is a favorable ground for conveying the voices of peoples whose voices have not been heard, whether through electronic campaigns, or electronic petitions to recognize the crimes of Anfal and mass graves.

رۆلى مىديا له دۆكيۆمىنتکردن و ناساندنى تاوانه كانى ئەنفال و گۆردبه كۆمه له كاندا

د. چنار نامق حسن

زانکۆی سه‌لاحه‌دین - هه‌ولێر

chnar.hasan@su.edu.krd

07504538311

پ.د. ئومید برزان برزو

زانکۆی گهرمیان

omed.barzan@garmian.edu.krd

07701909222

گهلی کورد به درژیایی میژووی هوکمرانی پژییمی به عس دوچاری تاوانی جینوسایدکردن و شالووهدکانی ئەنفال و گۆری به کومه‌ل و کیمیاباران بۆته‌وه، به لایم به‌هۆی قۆرخکردنی میدیایی و نایه‌کسانی و نه‌بوونی میدیای کوردی نه‌توانراوه، ئەم تاوانانه به‌دۆکیۆمینت بکریت وله رووی جیهانییه‌وه بناسترینت.

ئامانجى ئەم توۋىيىنەۋە ئەۋەيە تىشكېخاتە سەر زانىنى پۇلى مېدىيى كوردى لە بەدۇكىۋمىنتكردى تاۋانەكانى ئەنفال و گۆرەبەكۆمەلەكان و دەرخستى رادەي بەشدارىكردى ئامرازەكانى مېدىا لە دۇكىۋمىنتكردى ئەۋ تاۋانانە لە رېگەي گرنىدان بە بەلگە و شوپنەۋار و دەرېازبوۋانى ئەنفال و كەسوكارى قوربانىيان. وىراي دەرخستى پۇل و شىۋازەكانى رومالكردى مېدىيى كاريگەر سەبارەت بە تاۋانەكانى ئەنفال و گۆرەبەكۆمەلەكان. ھەرۋەھا لە مەۋداي توۋىيىنەۋە بگىن بە ۋەلامى پرسىياري سەرەكى توۋىيىنەۋەكە، ئايا مېدىيى كوردى توانىۋىيەتى پۇل لە بەدۇكىۋمىنتكردى تاۋانەكانى ئەنفال و گۆرەبەكۆمەلەكاندا بگىرت؟

ئەم توڭزىنە ۋە توڭزىنە ۋەكى مەيدانىيە، پشت بەرپىيازى رووپىۋى دەبەستىت لە كۆكردنە ۋەى داتا و زانىارىيەكان بە بەكارهينى فورمى راپرسى، وىراى ئەنجامدانى ئىنتەرفىو لەگەل سامپلىك لە لە توڭزەران. جەگەلە چوارچىۋەى گشتى توڭزىنە ۋە و لایەنى تىۋرى توڭزىنە ۋەكە، كۆمەلىك دەرەنجام و راسپاردە دەخاتەروو.

وشه سەرەکییەکان: میدیا، بەدوکیۆ مینتکردن، تاوانەکانی ئەنفال، گۆرەبە کۆمەڵەکان.

Sources and footnotes:

- 1) Were, Emily. N (2012) The Role of the Media in Escalating Conflict (a Case of the Rwandan Genocide) <https://erepository.uonbi.ac.ke/handle/11295/113>.
- 2) Gachungi, Lydia (2000) The role of the media in conflict management: a case study of Rwanda and Burundi, 1990-2000 https://erepository.uonbi.ac.ke/handle/11295/18579?utm_source=chatgpt.com
- 3) قيس ناصر و عبد الهادي معتوق (2023)، التأسيس المعرفي لدراسة جرائم حزب البعث في العراق (مقدمة عامة)، سلسلة إصدارات المركز العراقي لتوثيق جرائم لتطرف، 3، المطبعة: دار الكفيل، ص ١١٢.
- 4) رائد عبيس (2025)، جامعة الكوفة، أبادة الشعب الكوردي فى تقارير الامم المتحدة بين المنهج الاعلامى والتوثيقى، تويژينه وهكانى دو وهمين كونفرانسى جينوسايدى گهلى كوردو رهنگدانه وهى له (ئهدهب، هونهر، ميديا) دا، سليمانى، ص ٤٧٤.
- 5) (ابراهيم، حبيب (2021)، موقف الصحافة الأوروبية من جرائم الابادة الجماعية ضد الكورد في إقليم كردستان العراق- الأنفال أُنموذجاً، مجلة جامعة دهوك، المجلد: 24 العدد: 1 (العلوم الانسانية والاجتماعية، عدد خاص المؤتمر العلمي الدولي الثاني حول الإبادة الجماعية/مركز دراسات الإبادة الجماعية، دهوك: جامعة دهوك 47- 28 كانون الثاني.
- 6) چنار نامق (2025)، گۆره به کۆمهلهكان وهک بهلگهئى تاوانهكانى جينوسايد، زانکۆى سه لاههدين، وشه.
- 7) چنار نامق، الإبادة الجماعية وأساليب التضليل الإعلامي، دار غيداء للنشر والتوزيع، عمان، ص 138.
- 8) چنار نامق، جينوسايد و ئه نفالم كورد (2013)، له بلاوكراوهكانى كۆمهلهئى رووناكبرى و كۆمهلاههت، كهركوك،

چاپخانه ی کاردۆ، کهرکوک، ۲۰۱۳، ل ۹.

9) Iva Vukušić, Nineteen Minutes of Horror: Insights from the Scorpions Execution Video, onal Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal, Volume 12 Issue 2 Images And Collective Violence: Function, se And Memory, Article 5.

- 10) (حه سۆ هورمی، 2024، چاوپیکه وتن له گه ل چنار نامق.
- 11) عنایت هه له بجهیی، 2024، چاوپیکه وتن له گه ل چنار نامق.
- 12) (شیخ صدیق، 2024، چاوپیکه وتن له گه ل چنار نامق.
- 13) گولناز عه زیز، 2024، چاوپیکه وتن له گه ل چنار نامق.
- 14) برابم محیدین، 2024، چاوپیکه وتن له گه ل چنار نامق.
- 15) شیخ صدیق، 2024، چاوپیکه وتن له گه ل چنار نامق.
- 16) عنایت هه له بجهیی، 2024، چاوپیکه وتن له گه ل چنار نامق.
- 17) ئیسماعیل هه نارهیی، 2024، چاوپیکه وتن له گه ل چنار نامق.
- 18) (حه سۆ هورمی، سه رچاوی پیشتر ناوبرا.
- 19) ئیسماعیل هه نارهیی، سه رچاوی پیشتر ناوبرا.
- 20) برابم محیدین، سه رچاوی پیشتر ناوبرا.
- 21) فاتح سه نگاوی، 2024، چاوپیکه وتن له گه ل چنار نامق.
- 22) گولناز عه زیز، سه رچاوی پیشتر ناوبرا.
- 23) (حه سۆ هورمی، سه رچاوی پیشتر ناوبرا.
- 24) شیخ صدیق، سه رچاوی پیشتر ناوبرا.
- 25) ئیسماعیل هه نارهیی، سه رچاوی پیشتر ناوبرا.
- 26) فاتح سه نگاوی، سه رچاوی پیشتر ناوبرا.
- 27) گولناز عه زیز، سه رچاوی پیشتر ناوبرا.
- 28) (حه سۆ هورمی، سه رچاوی پیشتر ناوبرا.
- 29) عنایت هه له بجهیی، سه رچاوی پیشتر ناوبرا.
- 30) فاتح سه نگاوی، سه رچاوی پیشتر ناوبرا.
- 31) شیخ صدیق، سه رچاوی پیشتر ناوبرا.
- 32) ئیسماعیل هه نارهیی، سه رچاوی پیشتر ناوبرا.
- 33) Lior Zylberman, Reflections on the Significance of Images in Genocide Studies Some Methodological Considerations, Volume 12, Issue2 Image Collective Violence: Function use and memory, article 3, 10-2018.
<https://digitalcommons.usf.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1620&context=gsp>
- 34) رائد عبیس (2025)، جامعة الکوفة، ابادة الشعب الکوردی فی تقارير الامم المتحدة بین المنهج الاعلامی والتوثیقی، توژیینه وهکانی دووهمین کونفرانسی جینۆسایدی گه لی کورد و ڤهنگدانه وهی له (ئه ده ب، هونه ر، میدیا) دا، سلیمانی، ص ۴۸۷.
- 35) جنار نامق (2019)، دور المواقع الالكترونية في تشكيل الرأي العام حول انتهاك حقوق الايزيديه، عمان: دار غيداء للنشر والتوزيع. ص ۱۷۷.
- 36) ئاراز ره مه زان و هه رده وان محمود کاکه شیخ (2021)، راگه یاندن له کاتی قهیرانه کاند، چ/ تاران، ل ۹.