



## Genocide and the Assimilation of the Faylee Kurds from Zygmunt Bauman's perspective

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### Abstract

This paper is a methodological analysis research which uses sociological theory, employing Zygmunt Bauman's view of modern genocide - especially the Holocaust - to analyse the process of the Faylee Kurd genocide. The Holocaust undoubtedly manifested distinctive features of modern society, and it reproduced structural sources of genocide that go back many centuries. Some of the main aims of acts of genocide will be discussed, particularly the example of the assimilation and erasure of the Faylee Kurds' identity. These elements are the product of a mentality that is not able to understand modernity and its multiplicities, yet nevertheless, at the same time, one that uses modern tools and systems for genocidal purposes. This paper attempts to show the relationship between the kind of modern mentality in the Middle East that has dominated 'the Iraqi Ba'ath Party' and the Kurdish genocide. It will consider, for example, the efforts of 'the Ba'ath Party' to implement this mentality to ensure that Kurds like the Faylee, who revolted and did not want to accept the hegemony of 'the Ba'ath Party,' would be neutralised and destroyed.

This study explores Bauman's intended warnings that the dangers of Holocaust-type actions and outcomes are still present. After the invasion of Iraq by the United States (US) and its allies in 2003, the Iraqi authorities and regional states continued their policy of extermination and cleansing of the Kurdistan population in general and the Kurdish nation in particular. Such intentions can be seen in the genocide of Yezidi Kurds by ISIS, supported by Arabism and extremism.

**Keywords:** Faylee Kurds Genocide, Assimilation, 'Iraqi Ba'ath Party,' Zygmunt Bauman, Sociological Theory.

## Introduction

Genocide is not a crime that occurs in isolated, shadowy places through one single event. This paper endeavours to shed light on the genocide of the Faylee Kurds in Iraq as one of several Iraqi communities targeted as a consequence of the Ba'ath Party's strategy for destruction. Genocide can be viewed as the deliberate desire to entirely or partially eliminate a religious, racial, national or ethnic group (Ahmad, 2014). Bauman's interpretation of the term sees modern genocide as closely related to both bureaucracy and social engineering and a means to a higher goal of any authoritarian leader (Bishara, 2019).

It can be argued that the genocide against the Kurds started decades before the Anfal in 1988 and has certainly cost countless lives. The 1963 Arabization of the communities surrounding Kirkuk marked the beginning of an act, or process, of genocide that would last for decades. During the 1970s and 1980s, Faylee Kurds, as a distinct group, were systematically deported to Iran. In one instance, in 1983, 8,000 Barzani males were killed. During counterinsurgent military operations in the late 1980s, much effort was also made to wipe out the Kurdish nation in Iraq, with many, many males, females, and children killed. The former Ba'athist regime used chemical weapons to target towns and villages, and many women and children were detained in camps enduring horrendous living circumstances. Chemical weapons were used, most notably in Halabja, and 5,000 innocent people died (Salih, 2020; Ihsan, 2007). During the 1988 Anfal campaign took place, resulting in families being split up, hundreds of thousands of people died, and many still struggle with serious health issues to the present day. During these violent events, the potential of Iraqi Kurdistan's agricultural resources was heavily depleted by the destruction of 4,500 villages between 1976 and 1988, along with the constant undermining of Kurdistan's rural culture and legacy (HRW, 1993).

The campaign to exterminate the Kurds went further than committing many acts of intimidation, as far as the commission of genocide. In committing the crime of genocide, one defined community tends to be targeted with an identifiable characteristic (such as race, tribe, religion, or culture), and a further attempt is made to remove that whole grouping or community from the map. It is relevant that the Faylee Kurds are mostly Shi'a people living in Baghdad, Diyala, Wassit (Kut), Missan, and Basrah Governorates. For generations, they resided in the region between Iraq and Iran, on each side of the Zagros mountains. Despite this long history, the Faylee Kurds' issue, as Shi'a Arabs, relates to the prolonged political conflict between the Ottoman Empire and the Iranian Safavid Empire. Many Iraqi Shi'a and Faylee Kurds identified as pro-Iranian. They were separated from other sections of Iraqi society when the Iraqi state was set up because the Iraqi authorities

believed that the Faylee were originally from Iran (Soheil, 2022; Ihsan, 2007; MRGI, 2017). This paper endeavours to shed light on the genocide of the Faylee Kurds in Iraq as one of several Iraqi communities targeted as a consequence of the Ba'ath Party's strategy for destruction. That is the assimilation of language, culture, identity, and racial cleansing, which was one of the main elements of Ba'athist ideology and politics and connects to the evolution of genocide as conceptualised by Zygmunt Bauman, a Polish-born sociologist and philosopher.

### **The Case of the Faylee Kurds' Genocide**

The Iraqi state's repression of the Kurdish nation and people has arguably intensified over the decades since 1921, when the state was first established. One of the issues discussed by leaders of 'the Ba'ath Party' at its first founding congress was the problem of minorities and how they should be treated. The Ba'ath Party considered the Kurds to be foreigners and guests of Arab territory, just as the Zinjis in South Sudan were equally seen as foreigners and guests of Arab territory. The Party eventually gave its states the right to expel Kurds and Zinjis and ban - or at least sublimate - their language, customs, and culture, with the aim of assimilating it within the mainstream cultures whenever these states chose. Forty years after the establishment of the Iraqi state, Ba'athist leaders continued to believe that two 'nations' or 'peoples' in the Arab world threatened its interests: the Kurds in Iraq and Syria and the Zinjis in southern Sudan. Thus, in their view, these two nations must be destroyed (Mineh, 2012).

Hence the root of the problem begins here, with the Iraqi state's establishment, not at its communities' will. The desire to silence and disappear is based on the wishes and interests of a community of Arabs, especially Sunni Arabs. The state and party consider everything lawful for itself and everything forbidden for the other. To this end, it uses all its intellectual, political, economic, and military capabilities to confront all differences, resulting in crimes of genocide. As mentioned, the horrific killings that "the Ba'ath regime" committed against the Kurds in general have tended to eclipse the crimes against the Faylee Kurds. What is significant here is that numerous academics and commentators have researched systematic oppression and deportations; for instance, in 1993, Human Rights Watch devoted an entire study to the catastrophe. However, most of the information on this case has been made public without there being a formal and detailed inquiry into its causes and into the full effects on the Kurdish nation and Iraqi society (HRW, 1994).

Progression towards committing acts defined as genocide against the Faylees can be attributed to various factors or stages. Firstly, in 1924, the Iraqi Citizenship Law divided the Iraqi people into three groups based on religion and nationality. The Faylees people originated in the region around the Zagros mountains, bordering both Iraq and Iran. They were labelled as of Iranian origin because they were categorised as primarily of Shi'a heritage. This led to them being constantly attacked and expelled from Iraq (Ihsan, 2007; Montgomery, 2019). Another factor was their central role in the Baghdad business sector. Many Faylee Kurds ran their businesses in the Al Shorja neighbourhood, which up until the 1970s served as the centre of Iraq's economy, The Kurdish Faylee also largely controlled the export of products from Iraq to other nations. Some have argued that the government identified and selected them due to their significance to the economy (Ihsan, 2007).

Furthermore, following the Ba'ath revolution in February 1963 and the execution of Abdulkarim Kassim, the Faylee Kurds were the last faction to rebel against the Ba'athists. The Faylee Kurds held patriotic beliefs, which led to them being persecuted, and the Ba'athists never forgot their act of resistance. The campaign against Faylee Kurd intensified when Samir Mir Gullam, a Faylee Kurd, tried to assassinate the deputy prime minister in April 1980. The attempt failed but did kill many university students - but left the intended victim unharmed. Saddam Hussein and his Ba'ath party used this event to justify their opposition to Faylee Kurds. Following the student deaths, Saddam publicly swore that "he would not let the blood of Mustansiria victims go without punishment" (Ahmad, 2014:137; Ihsan, 2007: 47).

In terms of the Nazi Holocaust, German bureaucrats used the language of policy, executive procedures, special activities, and relocation in the east to outline their intentions. Ba'athist administrators similarly discussed collective measures, returning to the national positions, and resettlement in Iraq. Beneath these expressions, however, Iraq's atrocities against the Kurdish nation, particularly against the Faylee Kurds, amounted to genocide (Ahmad, 2014). It was Ali Hassan Al-Majid, also known as Chemical Ali, who took a lead role in defining the group that Genocide would target. The level of repressive actions against the Kurdish nation significantly increased after Al-Majid was selected by the Iraqi Ba'ath Party to eliminate their opponents, in particular the Kurdish nation. He ordered the execution of civilians identified by intelligence services as being against to the regime, as well as near family members of hostile Kurds legal and property rights of targeted residents and villages. (Ihsan, 2007; Ahmad, 2014).

The national census in 1987 was the most significant administrative step for the Iraqi

dictatorship in terms of designating the target group for destruction. The Ba'ath Party offered people living in the forbidden areas two options: they could lose their Iraqi citizenship and be seen as military deserters, or they could return to the national ranks, giving up their homes and means of support. This was realistically a death sentence since the August 1987 census legislation subjected people who declined to be counted to a Revolutionary Command Council, which imposed the death penalty on deserters (Black, 1993). The other option was to undergo forced relocation in an unclean camp under the supervision by security forces. There was a buffer zone created after village evictions within the government-controlled areas and the peshmerga-controlled areas. Al-Majid further targeted groups right up to the census. His intelligence officers compiled thorough case-by-case files on saboteurs' families still living in areas under government control. The dossiers identified women, children, and elderly individuals too, who were forcibly relocated to rural regions, joining their peshmerga relatives.

The Anfal era's choices on who should live and who should die were to be characterised by this case-by-case, family-by-family sorting of the people (Ihsan, 2007).

The massacre of the Faylees began in the early 1970s when more than 40,000 Faylee Kurdish families were relocated to Iran (Kreyenbroek and Sperl, 2005; Salih, 2020). In 1980, Decree 666 ensured that Faylee Kurds were stripped of Iraqi citizenship, and the Iraqi Interior Minister decreed the deportation of the Faylees. "Iranians who are in the country and do not have Iraqi citizenship, also those who have dealt with and have not been issued a decision will be expelled". It is worth mentioning that, as with the Nazi thefts during the Holocaust, the Iraqi government seized their possessions. many of the Faylee families that were sent back to Iran, just like Jews in Eastern Europe, had high levels of education, were thriving financially, and some held significant government positions (Campbell, 2010; Castellino and Cavanaugh, 2013:206; Kreyenbroek and Sperl, 2005: 48).

On February 16, 1981, Saddam Hussein wrote about the Faylee Kurds in the Iraqi government's official newspaper Al-Thawra: "Eradicate this group from Iraq, so that they do not pollute the Iraqi soil, Iraqi air, and Iraqi blood when their blood is mixed with the blood of Iraqis through women and prostitution." This statement of former Iraqi President Saddam Hussein reveals the deeply racist thinking of the Ba'ath Party and its leaders and government in Iraq, especially aiming to eradicate those who differed from him and had an opposite ideology to the Ba'athists (Ihsan, 2007: 48).

## Theory of Zygmunt Bauman's "Modernity and the Holocaust"

In his book *Modernity and the Holocaust*, Zygmunt Bauman (1989) argues that the Holocaust could not have been carried out without intricate planning and execution. Modernity is the focus of Bauman's study of the Holocaust. Modernity is cited by Bauman as one of the main causes or triggers of the Holocaust, because it used efficacy and reason to help the German Nazis organise and carry out their vision of a superior society. Bauman argued that modernity was a representation of the instrumental rationality and depersonalisation of the German bureaucracy, also as a means for the change in the social position of the German Hebrew population. "Modernity is the enormous bowl that holds Bauman's analysis together" (Freeman, 1995; Ritzer and Stepnisky, 2017: 666-670).

The example of the Holocaust differs in some ways from other genocidal acts. It involved barriers meant to defend any society against violence and against efforts to limit the state's authority and institutions. The Holocaust subverted several contemporary strategies and devices that were meant to benefit society. Mass murder stops being unpredictable and becomes something more 'rational', carried out with focused, articulated reasoning. In light of this, according to Bauman, this can be termed "categorical murder" due to the bringing together of the construction of new communities and an ideological stance that promotes one particular community or civilisation. Through this process, specific segments of the population become labelled as undesirable or unneeded because they do not belong in the new, BETTER society and because their existence hampers the development of the aspired new order. Bauman argues that categorical murder is a form of devastation perceived as both purifying and beneficial. A portion of the population get identified as a tumour that required segregation so that they can no longer infect the robust host. Elimination, therefore, is equated to producing something new, in this case, the evolution of a more robust, improved society. Successfully eliminating the tumour enables the production of something better (Bauman, 1989; Docker, 2003).

The plurality – diversity - of our world protects society against a phenomenon like the Holocaust or genocide more broadly. Such dreadful goals can only be played out once proponents have a level of power and authority stronger than plurality itself. It can be argued that the Holocaust differs from previous contemporary events in that it combines elements of modernity that, on their own, would be viable. What is strange in this case is the confluence of certain consequences associated with the idea of modernity and their translation into the instruments of the Holocaust. As a result, the Holocaust helped to make visible tendencies that are often concealed in contemporary society. During the Nazi

dictatorship, of normal, logical, and moral behaviours and social processes were abused and abandoned, targeting millions of people and their lives. As a result, the whole relationship between contemporary civilisation, rationality and scientific advancement and morality and compassionate treatment was brought into question (Ritzer and Stepnisky, 2017; Bauman, 1989). In *Modernity and the Holocaust*, Bauman provocatively contends that rather than serving as a barbarous counterexample to modern morality, the Holocaust was in keeping with many contemporary norms, which are seen as ethically superior in most other situations. The mass slaughter of Jews was thus made feasible by modern ideas like instrumental rationality, rule-following, organising and classifying of all social interaction, and a sophisticated dividing up of labour.

### **The case of the Faylee Kurds genocide, according to Bauman's perspective**

When an authoritarian regime like Saddam Hussein's regime identifies millions of people like the Kurds and other religious and ethnic minorities as an obstacle to a brighter future, then ethnic and religious cleansing is to be expected. Hundreds of thousands of individuals, including Faylee Kurds, have lost their lives in the struggle for a better Iraqi society; most were massacred as the lowest form of - inhuman – life. Bauman's sociological interpretation of the Holocaust is based on modernity itself, which coincides with the genocide of Faylee by the governments of Iraq, especially the government of “Saddam Hussein's Baath party.” This level of mass murder has occurred in the era of modernity, in the 20th and early 21st centuries, when vehicles were invented, scientific progress was made, and other aspects of science and everyday life thrived.

Bauman concentrated on understanding the mechanisms and variables. *Modernity and the Holocaust* is still viewed as a creditable and thorough sociological analysis of the Holocaust. Rather than apportion blame, Bauman attempted to explore the structures and forces that made a happening like the Holocaust possible (Blackshaw, 2005: 43-44). His work is a social examination of this phenomenon; instead of comprehensively detailing the unfolding of the Holocaust, Bauman was interested in why it was accepted and normalised in Nazi Germany; the same question can be asked why the genocide of the Faylee Kurds has not been normal to some extent in Iraqi society, the Middle East, and even the international community.

Bauman employs the word ‘normal’ in his writing about the Holocaust. The term ‘normal’ refers to the methods and steps employed to bring about the Holocaust; they were not unusual. These behaviours and activities still exist in modern society and are considered acceptable. Bureaucracy was one of these common strategies that permitted the Nazis to employ regular, non-violent means instead of violent ones. When implementing the final

solution, these have been the most successful techniques (Ritzer and Stepnisky, 2017). The structured discipline expected is to show complete obedience and perform commands without thinking-through factors. Such discipline was crucial in determining the allegiance of those who carried out the heinous acts of the Holocaust. Essentially, followers had to put off thinking about the repercussions and ramifications of their conduct and shift their moral accountability to their superiors who pass up the chain of command. As a result, an ecosystem of moral ambiguity is generated. Thereupon, in such discipline, an individual becomes personally identified with the organisation, which in turn reduces any sense of personal identity and foregrounds the (ultimate) goal of unconditional devotion to the organisation (Zaretsky, 1992).

It seems worth pointing out is that the Iraqi administration used euphemisms for its acts, just like Nazi Germany did. Ba'athist bureaucrats referred to collective measures, re-enlistment in the national forces, and relocation in the south; Nazi officials spoke of administrative measures, special activities, and resettlement in the east. Despite the euphemisms, it is nevertheless the case that Iraq's crimes against the Kurds constitute genocide, here defined as the deliberate purpose of wiping out a whole or portion of a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group (HRW, 1993).

### **Changing demography through Faylee Kurds genocide**

Contrary to Kurds, who are predominantly Sunni, Faylee Kurds adhere to the Shia sect of Islam. Under Saddam Hussein, Faylee Kurds were persecuted and forced to leave Iraq, largely because of contrived accusations that they were loyal to the Iranian government. As mentioned, many of them lost their Iraqi citizenship and spent decades living as stateless people in Iran (Soheil, 2022). After Saddam Hussein's downfall, many Faylees returned to Iraq but have still struggled to re-claim their nati despite official initiatives to make the process easier (Masko, 2021).

Historically, a majority of Faylee Kurds in Iraq resided in Baghdad's 'Agid Al-Akrad,' a neighbourhood known for its Kurdish population. Nevertheless, in the 1950s, many relocated to wealthier neighbourhoods like Etefiya, Jamila, and Sharih Falastin (Palestine Road). When the Jewish community in Baghdad fled for the newly formed Israel in 1948 and sold all their enterprises and valuables, their financial situation started to alter. By signing contracts with the British government to construct roads in Baghdad's southern regions, they had already established a rising position in trade and business. It is worth mentioning that by awarding or revoking citizenship depending on the political climate and a person's devotion to the dictatorship, "the Ba'ath Party" exploited nationality rules to alter



Iraq's demography and weaken the country's minorities (Ihsan, 2007), linking to Bauman's points about community.

It can be assumed that the ideological motivations for their persecution were significant, plus the economic aspect. Another well-known point about the last stage of their expulsion refers to the economic justifications for their persecution. Some Faylee business and economic elite were called to 'the Chamber of Commerce in Baghdad' in July 1970, apparently to issue them with business permits. They were picked up, robbed of their passports, detained, and deported without informing their families. Their assets and possessions were seized and given to other Iraqi Ba'athists (Nassir, 2012). This situation demonstrates how regional authorities and institutions persecuted a group of civilians while being compromised by Saddam's network. As well as the promise of financial gain and the possibility of Arabizing the nation's economy, they were influenced by a pervasive propaganda campaign against the Faylee Kurds. The government records remained unanalysed for a long time, but eventually they showed up this collusion and the intensifying prosecution. All of this was started by the Commerce Chamber, an organisation founded in 1936 by a coalition of Jewish, Arab, and Iraqi businessmen (Castellino and Cavanaugh, 2013).

In the Holocaust, 'industry', like other modern industries, the means and ends were sometimes switched. This industry could not be easily left aside now that it was created. Abandoning a large industry is costly. If there is no need to produce goods today, instead of dismantling the industry, the production of other goods can be substituted for it. The same thing happened in the Holocaust industry. This industry moved from the selective killing of Jews to the mass killing and the mass killing of Jews to killing disabled people, gipsies, and homosexuals. Moreover, if Hitler's rule continued, it was unknown which groups would turn up tomorrow. According to Bauman's interpretation, Hitler wanted to create a beautiful garden, a garden that needed to be weeded every day so that its beautiful flowers could grow.

### **Assimilation of the Iraqi Kurds**

As highlighted, Iraq's Kurdish nation has been systematically oppressed by Sunni Arab political figures during most of the 20th and early 21st centuries as they worked towards establishing a uniform Sunni Arab identity. Beginning with the establishment of the Iraqi state in 1921, this process of Kurdish identity marginalisation continued until the US-led coalition forces overthrew Saddam's dictatorship in 2003. It is arguable that the Sunni Arab society and the Iraqi state oppressed the Kurdish nation because they perceived a threat from the emergence of a Kurdish identity within the state. As a result, they used harsh

tactics against the Kurds, including denial of Kurdish identity, oppression, de-Kurdification, establishing security belts, population transfers, and, in some cases, ethnic cleansing (Hama, 2017; Krmanj and Rafaat, 2020).

Due to Kurdistan's ties to Iraq, Arab political elites tried to integrate the Kurds into Arab society through a variety of tactics. The 1925 Iraqi constitution's rejection of Kurdish political and national rights was an early and prominent strategy. When the constitution was being drafted, Arab political elites saw the Kurds and the Kurdish language as a danger to the stability of Arab society. As a result of this perceived threat, neither the Kurdish language nor its speakers were recognised as an ethnic group (Mineh, 2012).

The political system in Iraq was committed to creating a nation-state with a single identity, the Arab identity, for the majority of the 20th century. There was little opportunity in that arrangement for ethnic groups to maintain their identities and separate themselves from the hegemonic state. This was especially correct for the Kurds, whose identity was ruthlessly suppressed by Arab Sunni political leaders who were hell-bent on creating a nation and a state. These political elites saw, and continue to see, the Kurdish identity as a threat to both the Sunni Arab identity and to the security of Iraq. As a result, the previous Iraqi administrations used harsh tactics against the Kurds, including denial of their Kurdish identity, harassment, establishing security belts, population transfers, and, in certain cases, ethnic cleansing. Protecting the Arab Sunni identity within the Iraqi state was the main driving force behind the extreme steps taken by Iraqi political leaders at various historical junctures. This led to the Kurdish social identity being viewed as a minority to be integrated and co-opted inside the Arab Sunni identity rather as a referent object of security. Since 1921, Iraq has only had two referent objects: the first is the Iraqi state, and the second is the Sunni Arab identity (Kirmanj, 2013).

Finding Faylee Kurds required close monitoring of all Kurdish national identification cards, possibly through due to the massive bureaucracy in Iraq. Tarik Aziz, the deputy prime minister, oversaw the production of lists of Faylee Kurds to be expelled, the organisation of transportation to the border, the detention of men of military age, and the inventorying and distribution of confiscated property. The creation of the lists of Faylee Kurds was typically left to the local government, the police, commercial institutions, and professional organisations, who for economic and professional reasons, complied with the directives from above, similarly to the Jewish citizens in Germany or Italy, for instance. As a result, this phase was a deadly combination of violence from above and below. The Baghdad Chamber of Commerce incident illustrates the collusion between local

institutions run by people benefitting personally from these policies (Castellino and Cavanaugh, 2013; Ihsan, 2007).

To analyse strategies used by the Faylee Kurds following the traumatic experience in Europe and to avoid such incidents again, the President of Genocide Watch, Gregory Stanton, identified ten phases: organisation, polarisation, preparation, categorisation, symbolism, discrimination, dehumanisation, polarisation, persecutory measures, extermination, and denial (Stanton, 2016). Stanton highlights the criticality of the dehumanisation stage; it evolves the stages of categorisation and symbolisation from divisions in society to genocide. Faylee Kurds in Ba'athist Iraq, sometimes known as 'Iranians,' were not referred to as cockroaches or vermin like Jews were in 'Nazi Germany' or 'Hutus in Rwanda.' However, Saddam dehumanised Faylee Kurds in a different way, by portraying them as having Iraqi blood in them – and proposing that purging Iraq of impurities was the rationale for their expulsion. By doing this, the dictatorship advanced to Bauman's phase of discrimination. In Stanton's opinion, depriving individuals of their rights, including citizenship, was justified, like how Nazi Germany handled Jews using the law, tradition, and political force.

### **The future strategy of Baghdad**

According to McDowall (2007), Arab Sunni politicians in Iraq saw the Kurds as a danger to the state's unity from when the Iraqi state was established in 1921. The king of Iraq at the time, Faisal bin Hussein bin Ali Al-Hashimi, believed that forming an independent Kurdish entity would put at risk Iraq's ability to maintain its integrity. He feared that the Kurds in northern Iraq might band together with Kurds in Turkey, Iran, and Syria and create their own state, which would potentially cause a serious challenge to the Iraqi state. Furthermore, because Kurds are Sunnis, Faisal's judgment was that integrating Kurds into Iraq was essential to protect the Arab Sunni identity from Shiite dominance (McDowall, 2007). This matter of identity – and maintaining Iraq as home of the Arab Sunni in Iraq is a key marker, and an unchanging reference point for security. There was, at the same time, the existential threat from Kurdish aspirations to establish an independent state reflecting their identity as Kurds. By enforcing an Arabization campaign in Kirkuk in 1975, Saddam Hussein ramped up Iraqi pressure to obliterate the city's Kurdish identity. His principal objective was to make all Iraqis become members of the Arab race in the 1980s many Kurds were forcibly evicted from Kirkuk and replaced with Arab families. As a response, the Kurds saw Iraq's policies as a danger to their existence, recognising the risk of the extinction of Kurdish community, culture and people. Such anxiety is justified by the belief that Saddam Hussein's methods of ethnic cleansing, Arabization, and forced population

shift fundamentally transformed Kurdish society. It has been proposed that the process of genocide of the Kurdish Faylee by successive Iraqi governments was interlinked with the policy of cleansing and Arabizing the Kurdish nation. (Ahmad, 2014).

Bauman's work warns that the risk of genocides occurring are not gone forever and that Holocaust-type tragedies can still happen. It is argued here that this theoretical position has been confirmed. After the Iraqi occupation by the United States and its allies in 2003, the Iraqi authorities and the regional states continued the policy of destroying and cleansing the Kurdistan population in general and the Kurdish nation in particular. Mirroring Bauman's claims, the Faylee Kurds have been constantly threatened by Iraqi militias since 2003, or there has been significant expulsion of Kurds from outside Kurdish areas such as Kirkuk, Khanaqin, Salahaddin, Mandali, and others. The genocide of the Yezidi Kurds by ISIS, supported by Arabism and related extremism. Or the threats of the then-Iraqi government authorities in the Kurdistan Region after October 16, 2017. These confirm that the Kurdish nation has always been under threat of extinction, and this could happen repeatedly in the future.

### **Conclusion**

The Holocaust, according to Bauman, was a modern event supported by an enormous bureaucratic based on instrumental rationality. Bauman's purpose aim was to present the highly negative consequences of an imbalanced progress or modernity, the one-sided when it is in the hands of destructive forces like Hitler or Saddam Hussain. Bauman pointed to the emergence of a paradoxical world in which the most anti-modern ideologies and powers use the most advanced products of modernity to protect and sustain their archaic and restrictive traditions.

At the beginning of this article, according to Bauman, one of the characteristics of modernity could manifest through strengthening compliance with existing regulations and orders of superior authorities. The Iraqi military ordered that soldiers salute when performing their duty, in front of those who wear officers' badges. Likewise, as Milgram's experiments show, creating social distance is another important characteristic of modernity. Bauman suggests that both these characteristics serve to weaken ethics in human relations, and his solution to the problems in his book is to strengthen ethics in human relations.

While the Arabization and the persecution of the Faylee Kurds is a process that has occurred over many decades, all other crimes - from the kidnapping and murder of the Barzani through Anfal and Halabja – reflect a steady shift in the state's tactics and timetable, demonstrating his point that genocidal actions remain a real threat, along with the possibility of Holocaust-type tragedies.

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## جینۆساید و تواندنه‌وهی کوردانی فهیلی له روانگهی زیگمۆنت باومانه‌وه

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پوخته

ئهم توێژینه‌وهیه لیکۆلینه‌وهیه‌کی شیکاری میتۆدۆلۆژییه، له تیۆری کۆمه‌لناسی سویدی وه‌رگرتوووه بۆ شیکردنه‌وهی پرۆسه‌ی جینۆسایدی کوردانی فهیلی به‌هه‌لک وه‌رگرتن له روانگهی زیگمۆنت باومان بۆ جینۆسایدی مۆدیرن و به‌تایبه‌تی هۆلۆکۆست. هۆلۆکۆست سه‌رچاوه و پالنه‌ر و پیکهاته کۆنه‌کانی جینۆسایدی به‌ره‌مه‌ینایه‌وه هه‌روه‌ها تاییه‌تمه‌ندییه جیاوازه‌کانی کۆمه‌لگهی مۆدیرنی خسته‌روو. ده‌کریت ئاماژه بدریت به‌ هه‌ندیک له خاله‌ سه‌ره‌کییه‌کانی مه‌به‌ستی جینۆساید، وه‌ک له‌ناوبردن و سه‌پینه‌وهی ناسنامه‌ی نه‌ته‌وه‌یی و ئایینی. که هه‌موو ئه‌مانه به‌ره‌می شیوازی بیرکردنه‌وهی ناته‌واون که له مۆدیرنیته تیگه‌شتوون، که له‌هه‌مان کاتدا ئامرازه مۆدیرنه‌کان بۆ مه‌به‌ستی جینۆساید به‌کارده‌هینریت. له‌م توێژینه‌وه‌یه‌دا هه‌ول دراوه که په‌یوه‌ندی نیوان جوړیک له عه‌قلیه‌تی مۆدیرن له رۆژه‌لاتی ناوه‌راستدا که زال بوو به‌سه‌ر 'پارتی به‌عسی عێراقی' و جینۆسایدی کورددا پيشان بدریت. بۆ نمونه 'حیزی به‌عس' ئهم جوړه بیرکردنه‌وه‌ی جیبه‌جی کرد بۆ له‌ناوبردن کوردانی فهیلی، چونکه ئه‌وان راپه‌رینیان کرد و نه‌یانویست هه‌ژموونی 'حیزی به‌عس' په‌سه‌ند بکه‌ن.

ده‌رئه‌نجامی ئهم لیکۆلینه‌وه‌یه ئه‌وه‌یه که باومان هه‌ولی داوه هۆشدارێ بده‌ت له‌وه‌ی که مه‌ترسییه‌کانی پرۆسه‌ی پاکتاوکردنی نه‌ژادی بۆ هه‌میشه له‌ ناو نه‌چونه و کاره‌ساته‌کانی جوړی هۆلۆکۆست ده‌توانن دووباره‌ بینه‌وه. بۆ نمونه له‌دوای داگیرکردنی عێراق له‌لایه‌ن ئه‌مریکا و هاوپه‌یمانه‌کانیه‌وه له‌سالی 2003 ده‌سه‌لاتدارانی عێراق و ده‌وله‌تانی ناوچه‌که درێژه‌یان به‌ سیاسه‌تی قه‌رکردن و پاکتاوکردنی دانیشتیوانی کوردستان به‌گه‌شتی و نه‌ته‌وه‌ی کورد به‌تایبه‌تیان داوه، وه‌ک جینۆسایدی کورده ئیزیدییه‌کان له‌لایه‌ن داعشه‌وه، که عه‌ره‌به توندروه‌ه‌کان پشتیوانیان له‌م پرۆسه‌یه ده‌کرد.

**کلێه و وشه‌کان:** جینۆسایدی کوردانی فهیلی، تواندنه‌وه، پارتی به‌عسی عێراقی، زیگمۆنت باومان، تیۆری کۆمه‌لناسی.