

KURDISTAN



Kurdish Students' Society in Europe

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KURDISTAN

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KOMELEY XWENDIKARANÊ KURD LE EWROPA



A unit of the Kurdish Revolutionary Army.

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**Opinions and statistical data submitted by individuals
do not necessarily bind the Society.**

EDITORIAL

According to recent reports from Iraq, the Government has completed its plans to launch a new aggressive war, with preliminary vilification, against the Kurdish people, (military operations commenced officially on 3rd of April). Aerial bombardment of the Kurdish towns and villages is being resumed; the familiar pattern of repressive measures is under way. Indeed this is not the first time an Iraqi regime has violently assaulted Kurdistan. It has been a salient feature of all Iraqi regimes ever since the establishment of the Iraqi state after the First World War. Southern Kurdistan was then annexed, against the wishes of its inhabitants, to this new artificial state, which came under the British mandate. Subsequently the R.A.F., on many occasions, bombarded the Kurdish area to force the Kurdish people into submission to the alien rule of Baghdad.

Since then, Iraqi administrations have come and gone but the Kurdish problem has remained unsolved. The problem consists of Kurdish demands for recognition of national and cultural rights, which are no more excessive than those enjoyed by most civilised nations. But Iraqi Governments have persistently turned a deaf ear to Kurdish aspirations, and have shown remarkable unwillingness to achieve a just solution to the problem. They have essayed various techniques of ruthless vigour to achieve their own 'Final Solution' for the Kurdish question. Fortunately until now these efforts have been in vain, due primarily to the consolidated and unbending belief of the Kurds in their just cause; hence the continuous Kurdish struggle for national liberation.

The Kurdish people supported the July 1958 Revolution from the outset, and pinned their hopes on the Republican regime for the achievement of their national rights. In fact during the first two years of the new Government considerable progress was made - at least on paper. But soon Kurdish disappointment crept in, when the whole policy was reversed. Inspired by Arab xenophobic elements and apparently satisfying his megalomaniacal instincts, General Kassim commenced a provocative and insulting campaign against the Kurds. This vile campaign reached the level of Government advocacy of a grand policy of the "Arabification" of the Kurdish people. As part of its overall plan the Government supplied a few reactionary tribes with money and arms, in order to terrorise Kurdish towns and villages. Eventually the Kurds were forced to take up arms and defend their lives, and in order to obtain the legitimate national rights.

On 11th September 1961 Kassim ordered the savage bombing of the civilian population of the Kurdish towns and villages, which was followed by a vicious attack by the Army, using all kinds of destructive modern weapons. Hundreds of women, children and old folk lost their lives. Crops were destroyed and an economic blockade was imposed to starve off the population of Kurdistan.

Kassim pronounced, optimistically in a press conference on 23rd of September, on his disillusioned campaign as follows:- "Our glorious victorious Armed Forces have been able to stamp out completely the rebellion in the North". But soon it became clear that in fact the Revolution had become more popular and widespread, in spite of repetitive gladiatorial pronouncements by the 'Sole Leader'. The Kurdish War resulted in the downfall of the Kassim regime, when, on 8th Feb. 1963, a group of Arab nationalists staged a coup d' état; taking advantage of the political

vacuum in the Arab South and the military defeats of the Iraqi Army in the battles fought with the Kurdish Army — "PESH MERGA". Fighting ceased and the new Baath Government promised to fulfil all the Kurdish demands. The Kurdish delegation began negotiations with the Government, which lasted more than three months, without reaching an acceptable formula for agreement. It became obvious to the Kurds that the Government had no genuine desire to reach any agreement, and that the Baathists were merely playing for time so that they strengthen themselves for another bout, suddenly members of the Kurdish delegation were arrested and subjected to savage torturing at the hands of the Baathists' private army — the so-called National Guard. ,

On the (10th June 1963), the Government announced the beginning of another attack on Kurdistan, repeating all previous methods of committing atrocities used by former Iraqi regimes. The only difference this time was that operations against the Kurds were on a wider scale than hitherto; it amounted to a war of extermination. It was a sad day for all the professed ideals of Arab nationalism, when this nationalism was extended to absorb Kurdish national rights. If the Arabs believe in the inherent right of all peoples of self-determination, how can they morally justify this kind of crude imperialism?

The Baath campaign was unprecedented in its ruthlessness, in the history of Iraq. The then Minister of Defence (Amash) had the audacity to call the savage war: "a national picnic undertaken by our troops in the North". What a picnic! The criminal regime of the Baath was toppled on 18th of Nov. 1963, when yet another military junta, led by Arif, seized power. General Amash found elsewhere to do his picnicking!

At the same time the Kurdish Revolution was making great strides towards achieving its aims—"PUSH MERGA" enjoyed the overwhelming support of the Kurdish people. Meanwhile the Government troops were in an utter state of chaos and completely demoralised. The Revolution was spreading all the time and gaining sympathy both at home and abroad. It became the focal point for Arabs as well as Kurds in order to rid Iraq of the military dictatorship. Therefore, Arif was trying desperately to stop the fighting, because of his vulnerable position. As the result of this the Government signed a cease-fire agreement with Mulla Mustapha Barzani, on 10th of Feb. 1964. This agreement was hailed by some as the beginning of a new chapter in Kurdo-Iraqi relations, and they considered it a positive step towards achieving Kurdish rights.

Subsequent events, unfortunately, proved the naïveté of such wishful thinking. Arif's aim was to save his shaky regime from crumbling, and at the same time present the agreement to the general public as a final settlement for the Kurdish problem. This is born out by the behaviour of the Arif Government, which denies even the existence of a Kurdish problem. In fact this was predicted by leaders of the Kurdistan Democratic Party soon after the signing of the cease-fire, having acquired considerable experience of past Iraqi deceptive tactics.

The friendly dialogue between Barzani and the Government did not last for long. The traditional campaign, based on distortion and lies, is now revived. The economic blockade is being reimposed on Kurdistan. Vast quantities of

napalm and poisonous gas have been bought and are used daily against the Kurdish civilian population. It was reported in *The Times* (London) on March 26, 1965, that the Iraqi Government has bought 70,000 gas-masks. Therefore after more than a year of truce the situation in Kurdistan remains as explosive as ever, if not more so. This Journal would like to clarify certain aspects of the Kurdish demands.

First of all Kurdish demands are, by any criteria, very clear and reasonable. In an age when colonial peoples of the world are increasingly achieving full independence and national sovereignty, it is surely odd for the Kurdish people to be deprived of the right of self-administration and be denied the exercise of these elementary rights. The Iraqi Government refuses to recognise the Kurds as a separate nation from the Arabs, and considers both Kurds and Arabs of Iraq as being part of the greater Arab nation (Article 3 of the Constitution announced on 3rd May 1964). This is a flagrant denial of all historical truths and ethnological facts. For the Kurdish people has never been a constituent part of the Arab nation, nor of any other nation for that matter. Like all other nations, the Kurds have their exclusive national characteristics, and have inhabited their own land, Kurdistan, for thousands of years; even before the Arab migration to Mesopotamia. The Iraqi Government does not permit satisfactory education in Kurdish language for the Kurds. Obvious discrimination is practised against the Kurds in the Army, Civil Service and in schools and the university. The Government exploits the rich wealth of Kurdistan with no comparable reward to the area. Instead lethal weapons are bought to devastate Kurdistan and cripple its economy. The Government has forcibly evacuated the Kurdish population of more than 40 villages in Kirkuk and Arbil areas, and replaced them with Arab tribes, with particular expertise in looting and brigandage. The Kurds in Iraq are not only deprived of democratic and social rights, but are further denied elementary national and humanitarian rights contained in the Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Charter. For example once in Kirkuk, an entire suburb of about 500 houses, occupied by Kurdish peasants were given 24 hours to evacuate. Later, army tanks and bulldozers cut down the entire suburb. This was described by Arif as "cleaning the houses"!

Secondly Kurdish people of Iraq have always tried to gain their rights through peaceful means. But every time the government forces them to take up arms to defend their very existence. Although Iraqi Governments try hard to pin the responsibility for resumption of fighting on Kurdish shoulders. But the facts speak for themselves.

During the past year the Kurdish leaders have shown inexhaustible patience and self-control in their negotiations with the government. But the government was only procrastinating and demanded that the Kurds lay down their arms. This demand at least would have seemed reasonable, had the government fulfilled a few of its promises to the Kurds. For example, the Kurdish Army released all Iraqi prisoners, captured during the fighting, whilst more than half of Kurdish prisoners are still inside Iraqi jails, suffering from tortures and maltreatment. Moreover, these are civilian prisoners who are simply suspected of being sympathisers with the Kurdish Revolution.

Thirdly, experiences of recent years in Iraq prove that the Kurdish problem cannot be settled in isolation of the question of democracy in Iraq, and under military dictatorial regimes. Talks of finding a peaceful solution under the present regime are unrealistic and illusory. After all Arif was himself the President during the Baath regime and has never been reported to disagree with their policy towards the Kurds. On the contrary, his support was vehement and he still shows total ignorance of Kurds and Kurdistan. A government which adopts a chauvinistic Arab policy is no friend of the Kurdish people. The present regime continues a policy of blinded animosity towards the Kurds. The immediate task of all enlightened Iraqi political forces is to overthrow the present dictatorship, and replace it with a truly representative government based on national consensus and parliamentary democracy. It was the failure of these forces to co-operate with the Kurdish Revolution to overthrow Kassim, which gave the Baath ample opportunity to seize power. Lest the same mistake is repeated, all these political forces must support the Kurdish Revolution and make it the focal point for national unity. It is the only practical way to restore democracy and stability in Iraq. The natural corollary to this policy is the recognition of Kurdish people's national rights, on the basis of autonomy for Kurdistan within Iraq.

INTRODUCTION

A NATION AND A COUNTRY: Kurds and Kurdistan: Indo-European (Iranian branch) nation in west Asia; some 2500 years old. Mentioned in Xenophon's *Anabasis* (401 B.C.), divided politically between Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria; its country's area 400,000 square kilometers, mountainous, cold in winter and moderate in summer, rich in natural resources especially oil, famous for tobacco.

Population: 12 million Kurds, 6 live in Turkish Kurdistan, 3.5 in Iranian Kurdistan, 2 million in Iraqi Kurdistan, 400,000 in Syria, 100,000 in USSR (in Middle Caucasian Republics), some minorities in Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Khurasan and Lebanon, of a common history and language, forms a united geographical and national entity. In spite of long Kurdish record against foreign oppression and assimilation, especially in the last 150 years, in which they conducted many national revolutions, the Kurds in all parts of Kurdistan are still deprived

of basic political, national and even cultural rights. Latest revolution in Iraqi Kurdistan started on 11th September 1961 which is still continuing under the leadership of the (KDP) Kurdistan Democratic Party, its main principles are: a democratic parliamentary system in Iraq which guarantees an autonomous rule for Kurdistan within Iraq.

Principal Cities: Kurdistan of Turkey: Van, Bitlis, Diarbekir; Kurdistan of Iran: Mehabad, Saqiz, Senendej, Kirmanshah; Kurdistan of Iraq: Sulaimania, Arbil (Hewlêr), Koysinjak, Kirkuk, Dihok, Khaniqin; Kurdistan of Syria: Kamichlie, Amouda, Derbasi, Afrin.

The Society: Kurdish Students' Society in Europe, founded August 16, 1956 in a meeting by 17 Kurdish students studying at various universities in Europe, in Wiesbaden (FGR); had nine congresses; has branches in the following countries: UK, France, Austria, FGR, W. Berlin, GDR.

CSSR, Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, USSR; has members also in the following countries: Switzerland, Italy, Rumania; its members add up to 450; publishes a magazine in English called Kurdistan; has publications in different European and eastern languages.

2— Basic Aims:

- A— Strengthen the relationship of Kurdish Students in Europe, and provide assistance in their academic problems.
- B— Facilitate mutual aid between Kurdish Students in Europe.
- C— Promote the Kurdish National Culture, and work towards the good of the Kurdish people and its national question.
- D— Enlighten the world on the culture, country and condition of the Kurdish people and its national question.
- E— Strengthen the spirit of co-operation and friendship between the Kurdish students and the students of other countries, and contact student and non-student organisations, both national and international, and co-operate with them in the scope of our mutual aims and interests.
- F— Contribute in the struggle of our people and support all peoples in the struggle against Imperialism, Reactionaries and Dictatorial Regimes, for world peace, democracy, national liberation and self-determination.

Headquarters: W. Berlin.

General Secretary: Saadi Amin Dizayee
1 Berlin 15
Xantener Str. 16
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Kurdish Political Parties:

- KDP Iran (founded in Mehabad on Oct. 25 1945)
- KDP Iraq (founded in Sulaimania on Aug. 16 1946)
- Kurdish democratic Party in Syria (founded in the middle of 1958)

Kurdish Organisations:

- Kurdistan Union of Students — Iraq (founded in 1953)
- Kurdish Students' Union in Syria (founded in 1963)
- Kurdish Students' Society in Europe (founded in 1956)
- Kurdish Students' Organisation in USA (founded in 1962)
- Committee for the Defence of the Kurdish People's rights, (founded in 1961).
- Kurdistan Union of Democratic Youth — Iraq (founded in 1957)
- Kurdistan Union of Democratic Women — Iraq (founded in 1958)
- Kurdistan Union of Teachers — Iraq (founded in 1962)

Kurdish Papers and Magazines:

The first Kurdish weekly literary paper was published in 1897 in Istanbul, by Madhat Bedir-Khan named Kurd-

istan, Kurmanji dialect, it was transferred to Cairo and back to Istanbul when the Ottoman Constitution was declared, ceased publication in 1916.

After this about 100 more papers and magazines were published which have either, ceased publication or banned from publication of which we mention:

- Roji Kurd (Istanbul 1911-13)
- Bangi Kurd (Baghdad 1913)
- Pêşkewtin (Sulaimania 1919-1922)
- Bangi Kurdistan (Baghdad 1925-1926)
- Zari Kurmançî (Rawanduz 1926-32)
- Jîn (Sulaimania 26, 1, 39 - 8, 2, 1963)
- Dengi Getî i Taze (Baghdad 1943-48)
- Hawar (Damascus 1932, Latin Scripts)
- Gelawêj (Baghdad 1939-1949)
- Ronahî (Damascus 1941-1946, Latin Scripts)
- Kurdistan (Mehabad 1946)
- Nişîman (Mehabad 1943-1945)
- Rojanu (Beyrouth 1943-46, Latin Scripts)
- Stêr (Beyrouth 1943-45)
- Nizar (Baghdad 1948-49)
- Hîwa (Baghdad July 1957 - April 1962)
- Xebat (Baghdad 1959-61)
- Blêse (Sulaimani Aug. 1959 - May 1960)
- Roji Nwê (Sulaimani April 1960 - Aug. 1961)
- Ronahî (Baghdad Oct. 1960 - May 1961)
- Kurdistan (Tehran May 1960 - May 1963)

The only legal kurdish paper now is Riya Taze in Kurmanji Dialect, Syrillic Scripts which appears since 1943 in Yerevan. The following papers appear secretly now: **Khebat** (of KDP Iraq), last issue, No. 473 of Jan. 1964, in Arabic and Kurdish; **Rizgarî Kurdistan** (of KDP Iraq — Sulaimania Branch), last issue, No. 4, first year, Dec. 1963; **Dengi Kurd** of (KDP in Syria), last issue received in Europe was No. 8 of March 1964 in Kurmanji dialect and latin scripts.

Since first World War One (1918), more than 1000 books and pamphlets have been published in Kurdish in latin and arabic scripts, of 8-700 pages in volume. 75% of these appeared in Iraq.

Kurdish Broadcasting Services (Run by the states where Kurds live)

- Baghdad — Iraq.
- Kirmanshah — Iran.
- Yerevan — Armenia — USSR.

Also the secret broadcasting stations, Paiki Iran and The Voice of the Iraki people have Kurdish programs.

Famous Kurdish Dictionaries:

- Raber, Arabic-Kurdish, by Giu Mukiryani, Arbil 1950.
- Farhangi Mardukh, Kurdisî-Persian-Arabic, by Ayetulla Muhamed Mardukh Kurdistani, Tehran 1955.
- Farizov, I.O.: Russko — Kurdish, Slovar — Moskva 1957.
- Kurdoyev, K.K.: Kurdsko — Russki, Slovar — Moskva 1960.
- Farhangi Khal, Kurdish-Kurdish, by Sheikh Muhamed Khal, first and second volumes only, Sulaimania 1960, 1964.
- Farhangi Mehabad, Kurdish-Arabic, by Giu Mukiryani, Arbil 1961.
- Kurdish-English dictionary — T. Wahby and C. J. Edmonds — under publication.

NATURAL RESOURCES OF IRAQI KURDISTAN

I. PETROL

Found in abundance in 3 Kurdish Regions: Kirkuk, Ain Zala and Khanakin.

II. IRON DEPOSITS

There exist two very rich deposits of iron, one in the region of Sulaimania; the other in the region of Rawanduz. These deposits are not only very rich in iron mineral, but also very easily exploitable.

In effect, the firm STE INVESTIGATION, after two years of research and digging, concluded it is possible to make:

1. An extraction installation can be built and the transport between Sulaimania and the deposit will be assured by cable car.
2. The installation of crushing and concentration of minerals.
This mineral could be:
— exported
— furnished to an independent steel mill
The procedure employed is: Krupp-Rennes.

III. NATURAL GAS

Very important wells of natural gas exist in the region of Chamchamal.

This gas does **NOT** contain sulphur. Consequently, it is very easy to exploit. The existence of this gas can give birth to very important industries. For example:

- Gas Chemical Industries
- Synthetic Fertilizers
- Electric Power

Consequently, the region of Sulaimanieh can become a very important industrial centre, thanks to the existence of natural gas and iron deposits found to be abundant.

IV. ELECTRICAL ENERGY

An important electric power centre can be established in the region of Chamchamal. Such a centre is very important, as it will assure an independent electric system from that in the Arab section of Iraq.

Actually, the two large dams of Derbendikhan and Dokan are used for irrigation and water regulation purposes; but during the construction of these dams, it was foreseen that turbines can be installed, and consequently, electric centres created. In that way, the Kurdistan of Iraq can get power from three important, large electric centres.

V. CEMENT

The region of Sulaimania is also very rich in limestone "limestone and Krupp". For the time being, there is a cement factory in the region using this limestone — that is, the cement of Sarchinar.

VI. SUGAR REFINING

In one of the Plains of Sulaimania, attempts were made to grow sugar beets. These showed the earth was favourable for this, and the yield per acre is very high. Everything is now ready for the installation of a sugar refinery.

VII. TEXTILE INDUSTRY

On the Plain of Mosul, there is sufficient cotton production to install an important textile industry.

Taking also into consideration that Kurdistan is an important area for sheep raising, a wool industry can be developed.

VIII. TOBACCO

A very important tobacco culture of very high quality grows in Kurdistan. Using modern methods, cigarettes of high quality can be exported.

IX. SOUDE CAUSTIQUE ET CLORE

(CAUSTIC SODA AND CHLORINE)

In the Kirkuk region, there is a deposit of salt important enough for the establishment of a factory for Soude Caustique et Chlore (Caustic Soda and Chlorine).

X. CHROME

There are strong possibilities of finding chrome deep in the ground which would be the continuation of the chrome mines in Turkish Kurdistan.

XI. MARBLE

It exists in every corner of Kurdistan.

XII. MILK PRODUCTS

As Kurdistan is an important sheep-raising country, an important milk industry can be established.

(Report extracted from the studies of the Development Board of Iraq which is composed of English, American and French Engineers).

"10th Anniversary of KSSE"

"10th anniversary of KSSE" All members: Come celebrate, come rejoice, at the 10th anniversary congress of our society. It will be held in West Berlin from 17th to 23rd August, 1965. Kurdish students in Europe: Through the KSSE you have all done a magnificent job for our nation. Let us continue this. Let us be as always the shrill voice of our nation abroad, let us meet in West Berlin.

FOCUS ON KSSE

THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE OF THE NINTH CONGRESS OF THE KURDISH STUDENTS SOCIETY IN EUROPE:

The Ninth Congress of KSSE was held in Hannover — FGR — from 3 - 9 August 1964 under the slogan:

“down with military dictatorship, up with the democratic parliamentary system”.

The Congress was attended by (183) Kurdish students studying at various universities in Europe, representing the following branches: United Kingdom, France, Austria, Federal German Republic, West Berlin, German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Hungary, USSR, the congress was also attended by delegates from Rumania and Italy.

At the same time, messages and telegrams were received from members who could not attend because of their difficult circumstances.

The congress commenced with the Kurdish National Hymn (Ey reqib her mawe qewmi Kurd ziman) on the 3rd of August, 1964, at 5 p.m. in (Haus Humanitas); afterwards, all the participants stood for one minute in memory of the Martyrs of the Kurdistan Revolution in Iraqi Kurdistan.

formed by various branches of the society. A band then played and the guests danced till early hours of the morning.

The Congress's sittings continued up to the 9th of August; in these sittings the Executive report, the finance and the branch reports were discussed.

The Congress passed important resolutions concerning the situation in Iraqi Kurdistan, it condemned the Provisional Constitution and the government's decision to establish a single political party (The Arab Socialist Union). It, also, condemned the conspiratorial collaboration of the Iraqi Government and the reactionaries to split the Kurdish national liberation Movement.

The Congress urged Mustafa Barzani not to deviate from the basic principles of the Kurdish revolution and to resolve his differences with the other leaders of the revolution in order to secure the lawful national rights of the Kurdish People.

The Congress declared its full support with the memorandum presented by the Kurdistan Democratic Party, on 3-6-64, to the Iraqi Prime Minister concerning the national and democratic rights of the Kurdish People. It also declared its support with the memorandum presented,



CSSR Branch in a demonstration

The Congress was then addressed by the President who began with welcoming the guests and then gave an account of the political situation in Kurdistan; this was followed by speeches from the guests among whom were: Mrs. Marta Fox (the mayoress of the city of Braunschweig), Mr. Mohamed Mahdi Al-Jawahiri, the great Arab poet, Mr. Nouri Shawais, a member of the political bureau of KDP in Iraq, and Mr. Michael Steadman, representative of the International Union of Students.

On 7. 8. 1964 a “Kurdish Evening” was arranged and hundreds of guests were present. The program included a lecture on Kurdistan with the aid of some colourful slides, then Kurdish dances, music and songs were per-

formed on 1-6-64, by Mr. Kamil Chadirchi, leader of the National Democratic Party, concerning the Provisional Constitution.

The congress showed its appreciation and gratitude to the world public opinion, national and international organisations and personalities who supported the just rights of the Kurdish People and condemned all atrocities committed against our nation.

The congress strongly condemned the hostile policy of the Baathist regime in Damascus against our people. It, simultaneously demanded the release of all Kurdish political prisoners in Syria, Turkey and Iran.

The congress received telegrams and letters of greet-



U.K. Branch students in Belfast University



USSR Branch Annual meeting

ings from many organisations of whom we mention the following: The Kurdish Students Organisation in the USA, WFDY, COSEC and ISC. (The Telegram of ISC).

TELEGRAMS:

SECRETARIAT REGRETS IMPOSSIBLE ATTEND NINTH CONGRESS OF KURDISH STUDENTS IN EUROPE DUE TO PRIOR COMMITMENTS STOP BEST WISHES FOR MOST SUCCESFUL MEETING STOP ISC DEEPLY INTERESTED IN CONDITIONS OF STUDENTS STUDYING OVERSEAS AND LOOKS FORWARD TO COOPERATION WITH YOU STOP PLEASE SEND RESULTS OF YOUR CONGRES REGARDS = INTERNATIONAL STUDENT CONFERENCE SECRATIAT +++COL 22 +

A number of journalists and distinguished guests were present at the Congress. Amendments were made to the original constitution; many recommendations and resolutions were adopted by the congress. These were followed, finally, by the election of the new General Executive Committee.

In the morning of 9-8-64 the Congress ended with the Kurdish National Hymn. Then the students congratulated each other for their most successful congress and promised their firm determination in fulfilling their duties towards the Society and our Kurdish Nation.

The Executive Bureau
Hannover 10-8-1964.



Demonstration in Prague

P.S.

The first meeting of the new executive committee was held on the 9th of August, 1964, where the president, the vice-president, the general secretary, the general treasurer, the editor of Kurdistan and the executive bureau were elected.

ACTIVITIES OF THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

A four-man delegation, formed of the General Secretary, two members of GEC and a reserve member of KSSE, attended the World Forum of Solidarity of Youth and Students in the Fight for National Independence and Liberation, for peace, held in Moscow from 16-24 September 1964. At the Forum our delegation gave a full report on Kurdistan and sent a petition to the Iraqi Gov-

ernment signed by 83 delegations. A Resolution was also adopted on the Kurdish Question. Our delegation later on was invited for a week-visit to the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan where they spent an unforgettable week.

A three-man delegation formed of the General Secretary, the vice-president and a reserve member, of KSSE attended the 8th Congress of the International Union of Students, held in Sofia, Bulgaria, from November 28th to December 7th, 1964. At the Congress our delegation presented a report on the political situation in Kurdistan supported by a document, which were distributed among the delegates. A resolution was adopted in support of the struggle of the Kurdish people and a telegram was sent to the Turkish Government to release Kurdish political prisoners. The Kurdish Students Society was accepted unanimously as a full-member of the IUS.

A delegation formed of the president, the vice-president, secretary of GDR Branch of KSSE attended the World Youth Conference, held in Berlin-GDR on 12-13th August 1964, for the 50th Anniversary of the First World War and 25th Anniversary of the Second World War. A speech was given on behalf of KSSE and contacts were made with many delegations attending the Conference.

A delegate from the General Executive Committee of KSSE attended the International Conference for Amnesty for the political prisoners in Iraq, held in London on 6-7th February, 1965. A report on the situation of the Kurdish political prisoners, was presented to the Conference together with other documents concerning the situation in Iraqi Kurdistan. A petition was also sent to Arif, president of Iraq, signed by all the delegates attend-

ing the Conference. Our delegate also participated in the meetings of the International Continuing Committee formed by the Conference.

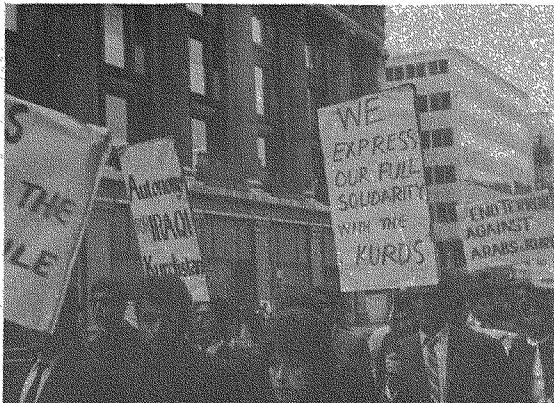
Based on a resolution by the 9th Congress of KSSE, the president of the Society together with the Secretary of the Committee for the Defence of the Kurdish people's rights, were sent to Iraqi Kurdistan in order to mediate and preserve the national Unity of the Revolution and to elaborate to the members of our Society the real facts about the situation of the Revolution in Iraqi Kurdistan. They held many meetings with the delegates of the political-bureau of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, Mulla Mustafa Barzani and many others.

At the first meeting of the Command Council of the Kurdish Revolution, held in Boskin on 9th October 1964; the president of the Society gave a speech, in presence of Mulla Mustafa Barzani, in which he emphasized on the Unity of the Revolution and the preservation of the right of the Kurdish people to autonomy. He also said that division can only benefit the enemies of the revolution and made clear our Society's stand regarding the difficulties between the leaders of the revolution as expressed at the 9th Congress.

In mid-December the president came back to Europe.

— The GEC had many publications in different languages since the 9th Congress.

— It published the third issue of (Hêvya Welêt) a Magazine that is published in the Northern Kermanji dialect under the directorship of the GEC.



Demonstration in London



Activities of the Branches

- Since the ninth Congress, the following branches have held their annual meetings, in which their matters were discussed and new executives were elected: U.K., Austria, FGR, W. Berlin, GDR, ČSSR, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, USSR.
- On 10 Feb. 1965, our branches in ČSSR and USSR in collaboration with the Iraqi students in these countries held meetings. After a year had passed of the cease-fire agreement, in which they condemned the Iraqi Government in not recognising the rights of the Kurdish people. Petitions were delivered to the Iraqi Embassies in these two countries where they blamed the Iraqi government for the renewal of war in Kurdistan.
- Our branches in U.K., FGR, GDR, ČSSR, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, USSR, France and

Austria organised Newroz celebrations presenting Kurdish activities to European audiences e.g. dances, lectures, music...

- With deep gratitude we mention the aid the Iraqi Students have given to their Kurdish colleagues in the USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, ČSSR, and GDR.
- We are glad to report that our branch's celebration in the ČSSR was attended by the well-known Iraqi democrat Muhammad Mahdi Al-Jawahiri and Dr. Faisal El-Samir. The great Arab poet Al-Al-Jawahiri gave a very outstanding speech in which he saluted the struggle of the Kurdish people under the heroic leadership of the Kurdistan Democratic Party.
- The GDR branch of our society is publishing a magazine in Kurdish and Arabic called (the Voice of the Kurdish Youth).

The General Secretary Addresses the IUS 8th Congress

The K.S.S.E.'s General Secretary in long speech gave a vivid account of the present situation in Kurdistan and the history of the Kurdish people and students struggle in all parts of Kurdistan. He then concentrated on Iraqi Kurdistan and said

"...The Iraqi Revolution of 1958 which abolished the monarchy, got rid of the rotten Nuri Said gang and made Iraq a Republic, with the popular support of both Arabs and Kurds, greatly changed the face of the entire Middle East. For a while democratic liberties were restored to the people. A provisional constitution recognised in Article 3 the bi-national character of the republic in the form of an Arab-Kurdish association which allowed equal national rights to the two principal nationalities whilst respecting the rights of minorities. But, unfortunately, this state of affairs did not last very long. General Kasseim, the then Prime Minister of Iraq not only deviated from the principles of the July Revolution, but also chose the way of personal and arbitrary dictatorial tyranny, betraying the hopes that had been nourished on the basis of these principles. He strangled democratic liberties and paved the way for the reactionary elements and imperialist agents in their activities against the young republic, while the Iraqi prisons were overflowing with democrats, men and women, Arabs and Kurds alike. But Kasseim went further still when he attacked Kurdistan on September 9th 1961. He tried to terrorise the Kurdish people by systematic air and heavy artillery attacks. But in reality, Kasseim was condemning his own regime to death. It was Kasseim's policy and his stubbornness which threw the country into the hands of a group of fanatic Arab nationalists and fascist Baathists, and so a new era began. On the dark morning of February 8th 1963 this group in a successful coup d' état overthrew Kasseim and raised to power Colonel Abdul Salam Arif at the head of a Baathist government. It would not only be too long, but also unpleasant to give an account of the crimes committed by the Ba'athists against the Iraqi people. However the day (June 10 1963) they declared the war of extermination on the Kurdish people was the beginning of their miserable end. Almost the whole of the Iraqi forces together with units of the Syrian army and Ba'athist national guards were let loose in Kurdistan burning-destroying villages, killing and hunting down men, women and children with machine guns as they marched. But the Kurdish Revolutionary Armed forces heroically resisted the aggressors and taught them a lesson they were never to forget.

The Kurdish cause soon won the support of democrats in Iraq and indeed throughout the world. They all condemned the inhuman action of the Ba'athists against the Iraqi people as a whole and the Kurds in particular. They all supported the moderate Kurdish demands and found them reasonable. Here I must thank the IUS for its stand regarding the question of the people and their armed struggle in Iraqi Kurdistan."

Our general secretary after explaining, in details, the main aims of the revolution (i.e. to establish democracy and parliamentary system in Iraq; and autonomy for Iraqi Kurdistan within the framework of the Iraqi Republic), went on to say

"...The Kurds have always wanted a peaceful solution to the whole question. They were always ready to negotiate, if Baghdad had wished it, within the Kurdish movement, there are no tendencies whatsoever other than willingness for a peaceful settlement. But the Kurds are prepared to go to war and fight if they have to.

In February of this year, a cease-fire agreement between the Iraqi government and the Kurds was signed. Here it must be pointed out that at the time of signing this agreement all of Iraqi Kurdistan, except three cities, was under the direct control of the Kurds. And although the hands of President Arif were still red with the blood of Kurds and Arabs in Iraq, the Kurds proved their goodwill and showed their desire to put an end to bloodshed and expressed their readiness for negotiation.

By now a period of almost ten months has passed since the cease-fire agreement was signed during which the Arif regime has showed not the slightest desire to negotiate for a just and peaceful solution. And despite the fact that there is no governmental authority existing in Iraqi Kurdistan, the responsible officials in Baghdad stubbornly declare on numerous occasions that the Kurdish movement has been crushed and their problem has been solved. During the last ten months the Iraqi government has not only showed unwillingness to solve the Kurdish question justly, but has also made many provocations. A provisional constitution was drawn up which denied the Kurds their very existence let alone their national rights. It did not even measure up to the previous constitution despite the latter's many shortcomings. The government or rather Arif himself, has made and is still making attempts to institute complete Union with the United Arab Republic without first giving any logical consideration to the countless problems existing in Iraq or without even taking into consideration the opinion of the Kurds who constitute one-third of the Iraqi people. We must stress that we, Kurds, are not at all against the Union of Arab States; on the contrary, we support all efforts on the part of the Arab leaders to unite them on the basis of democracy and the good of the Arab nation. On the other hand we neither can nor will support any form of Union aimed at the violation of Kurdish national rights. And I am sure you agree that the events of the last three years have proved beyond any shadow of a doubt that the Kurds and their Revolutionary Armed forces cannot be ignored.

The Iraqi regime is also trying to impose a single "Arab Socialist Union" upon the bi-national Iraqi people, and thus to deny the Kurds and the many democratic forces in Iraq their freedom of expression.

We believe that the Iraqi government, by any standards, is a reactionary military dictatorship whose problem is how to stay in power and not how to govern. Thousands of Iraqi democrats are still in prison, many facing death sentence and persecution. The Arif regime is even trying to terrorise, in vain of course, the Iraqi nationals abroad by withdrawing their passports or denying them Iraqi nationality. President Arif's mentality of governing or what he calls "social reforms" does not belong to this century and probably not to the last one, either..."

TO ALL MEMBERS

Keep in touch with our students in U.S.A., support and follow the activities of the "Kurdish Students Organisation in U.S.A.", Subscribe to their informative Magazine "The Kurdish Journal".

Address: **The Kurdish Journal**
1216 Martle Ave. No. 201,
Takoma Park, Maryland 20012

KSSE JOINS THE IUS:

More than a score of applications for the IUS membership, full and associate, were considered by the 8th Congress in Sofia. Our society was accepted unanimously and the head of our delegation thanked the Congress participants for the unanimous vote and praised the IUS for its stand regarding the Kurdish people's struggle. He went on to say: "The news of KSSE's membership to the IUS will be received by our members all over Europe, by



Our delegation at I.U.S. Congress

the Kurdish students in all parts of Kurdistan and by the students who are members of the revolutionary armed forces in Iraqi Kurdistan, with great enthusiasm and satisfaction". He then talked about the role of the students in the struggle for national liberation and asked for Unity of the world students and concluded by saying, "There might be, among us, differences of opinion on some minor issues or even major issues, but there are ample reasons and enough points of agreement to work together shoulder to shoulder for a better future".



CSSR Branch in May day march

"LIGHT ON THE SECRET WAR IN IRAQ"

"Iraqi Army of 50,000 and Air Force renew their War
of Extermination against the Kurds"

NEWS BACK-GROUND:

— In September 1961, the Kurds ultimately had to conduct a revolution against Kassim's continuous refusal to recognise Kurdish national and democratic rights. And because of Kassim's declaration of an aggressive war against them.

— In February 1962 Kassim's regime was overthrown by the Baath Party. And a cease-fire was initiated by the Kurds, negotiations continued up to 10th June, when the government suddenly declared a war of extermination against the Kurdish people and the negotiating delegation was imprisoned and tortured. The war was waged in a most ruthless manner and was deplored by every democratically minded person and peace-loving nations of the world.

— The Baath was overthrown on November 18, 1963 by Arif and other nationalists.

— A cease-fire agreement was declared with the government, and some negotiations took place in May 1964.

— The Kurdistan Democratic Party presented the government with a memorandum in June 1964, clarifying the demands of the Kurdish revolutions, as a step for further negotiations. But no reply was received from the government.

— On 11th October 1964, the Kurds presented the

government with another memorandum which received no reply as well.

— The government sent recommendations of the Iraqi Intelligence Service, for the solution of the Kurdish problem, to the Kurdish Minister Masoud Mohamed to take to the leaders of the Kurdish revolution.

— On 27-10-64, the Kurds replied to the Prime Minister, Tahir Yahya, demanding negotiations and the fulfilment of the rights of the Kurdish people as mentioned in the memorandum of 11-10-64. Again there was no reply but a letter was sent to the Kurdish minister, by the Prime Minister, full of threats. (On 31-10-64). This letter was sent to the Kurdish leaders, where they replied on 27-11-64, stressing, again, for negotiations.

— The Iraqi Interior Minister, who went to check certain military divisions in Kurdistan, was supposed to meet the Kurdish leaders and discuss matters. But he did not go. Instead he sent a letter on 2-12-64.

— On 6-12-64, the Kurdish leaders replied stressing again for peace and negotiations.

— In the beginning of January 1965, a Kurdish delegation went to Baghdad for negotiations. But on 21-1-65, the Iraqi Cabinet refused all the Kurdish demands. And the delegation returned to Kurdistan.

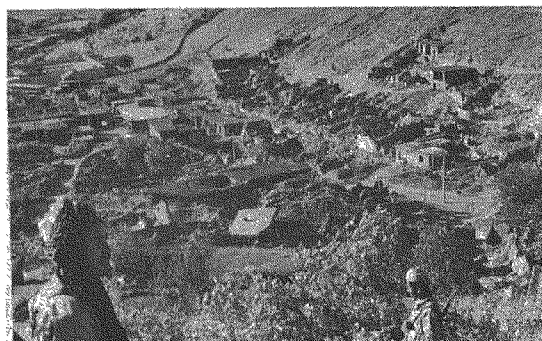
— On 10-2-65, The Kurdish people declared a general strike in Kurdistan, as a protest against the govern-

ment and because one year had passed on the cease-fire agreement without any achievements.

— From the beginning of March, the government has been massing troops around Kurdistan for a new onslaught. And verbal attacks have started since then in the papers and the broadcasting service.

THE WAR IN THE IRAQI KURDISTAN

For the past few months, since 4th April last to be specific, there have been persistent rumours and press reports that the Baghdad Government's war against the Kurdish People in Iraq has been renewed. The fact is that the press reports are correct and matters have gone beyond rumours. Iraqi Government troops, some 40,000 strong — that is the bulk of the Iraqi Army — supported by the the Iraqi Air force have, in fact, renewed land and air attacks against the Kurdish People in a further futile attempt to subdue the legitimate aspirations of the Kurds to self-rule within the Republic of Iraq, by ruthless means and barbaric attacks with modern weapons of mass destruction.



The Iraqi Air force leaves its trace in a Kurdish village

The responsibility for this unnecessary war lies entirely with the Iraqi Government. The Kurdish people and the Kurdish leaders have made their desire for peace and a peaceful solution abundantly clear. During the truce period which lasted from 10th Feb., 1964 to early April, 1965 (though the Iraqi authorities do not publicly admit that they have broken the truce) the Kurdish leaders went more than half way to find a peaceful solution, and with reasonable good will from the other side it could have been found. In fact the Kurds went so far to water down their original demands, which even in their extreme form are no more than the justified wish of a people for self rule, in order to make it easier for the Baghdad Government to see reason and come to terms and also to prove their peaceful intentions. But the Government refused even to consider seriously any of the Kurdish proposals. In fact it was at this time making military preparations for a new attack. It bought aeroplanes, guns, Napalm and gas bombs. (One consignment of these bombs was valued at £2.5 million). It also bought 70,000 gas masks and even 2 million sand bags which were urgently imported for war purposes.

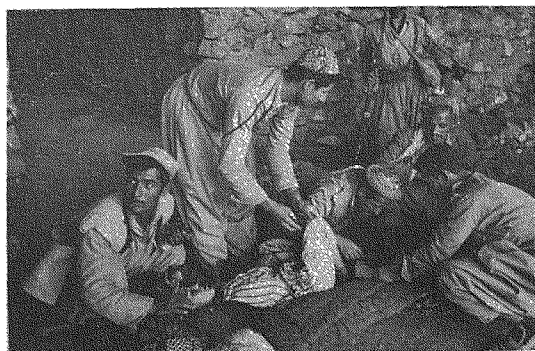
The Government in Baghdad is quite obviously a military dictatorship which has no regard for the interests and rights either of the Kurdish people, or of the Iraqi in general, and that being its nature it is heading for a war of extermination against the Kurds. This military dictator-

ship refuses to see reason. If it did, a peaceful solution could easily have been found. It has purchased very modern weapons fully realising the horrors these can inflict on a helpless people.

The vilest fact about the Iraqi Government's war against the Kurds is that it is conducted in secrecy, that is without any public declaration or official confirmation of it. The Government thinks it can go on killing, burning and destroying in Kurdistan without World Public Opinion and the community of states knowing about these dreadful deeds. This, of course, is wishful thinking by criminally minded individuals, for the World is aware of what is happening in Iraq.

Against this background, we appeal to all decent people who want peace, who respect human rights, who abhor fascist methods of repression and who are friends of the Kurdish people, to do all they can to prevent arms of all kinds being delivered to the Iraqi regime and to prevent its officers and military personnel from being trained in various methods of war fare by different countries who have no reason to help dictatorship against a people demanding no more than minimum rights.

IS IT NOT HIGH TIME TO PUT AN END TO THIS WAR?



A wounded boy

POISON GAS TOO, MARSHAL ARIF?

According to the Associated Press, on the 12th of March from Beirut and London, the Iraqi Government has purchased 70,000 gas masks. The troops are now trained to use P. Gas against the Kurds. It continues that the government "has massed its only five divisions (40,00) around the Kurdish area ready for a new onslaught".

"Ed. The massing of 40,000 troops, around Kurdistan was reported by the following papers):

- a — Lisan Al-Hal — Beirut — (14/3/65)
- b — B.B.C. (Arabic) — London — (13/3/65)
- c — Daily Express — London — (11/3/65)
- d — Daily Telegraph — London — (13/3/65)

— (Also United Press and some of them even reported that bombing has taken place and that president Arif has given orders "to settle the Kurdish problem once and for all".

IRAQ'S DEMOCRACY AND NATIONAL SOCIALISM!!!

Iraq's Revenues (in Royalties) from petroleum only for the year 1964 was (£165) millions, the petrol which is

being extracted from wells in Kurdistan. During that year sum of £3 millions was spent in Kurdistan, a third of the country, not on development programmes, but to strengthen its military positions by repairing posts or building new ones.

And we hear every now and then, that the government has allocated an amount of (£10) million to be spent on compensation to the Kurds and for development programmes. But that was false as well, especially that the government is preparing for a war of extermination against the Kurds and has again applied an economic blockade on Kurdistan.

This is Arif's democracy, socialism and equality!

Bearing in mind that the government has carried none of its obligations as demanded by the cease-fire agreement of 10-2-64, when Kurdish prisoners are not released, compensation has not been paid to the victims of the war, the Kurds who were thrown out of their villages in Kirkuk and Arbil areas which were occupied by Arab tribes at the time of the Baath regime (1963), have not been yet allowed to return to their villages, Kurdish Civil Servants and students who were dismissed and expelled from their Universities because of the Kurdish revolution are still not returned. And finally, above all, it refused to recognise the national rights of the Kurdish people.

The Government papers and propaganda machines have started a vicious attack on the Kurdish people and their just demands to autonomy since 1-3-1965. If it denotes anything, it is a downright denial of people's just rights and it represents a policy of discrimination which violates Iraq's obligations and commitments under the declaration of 1926 with Great Britain, the mandatory power, when the vilayat of Mosul was attached to Iraq. And the parliamentary declaration of 5th May 1932 when Iraq was accepted as a member in the League of Nations. Also Arif's declaration of 10th February 1964 when the cease-fire agreement was achieved, in which he declared that "we recognise the national rights of the Kurdish people within the national Unity of Iraq".

Arif's Government is pursuing a policy of Arab Masterhip above other nationalities in Iraq. And Fascist cries are heard in its propaganda machines to Arabise and assimilate the Kurds and "solve" the Kurdish Question "once and for all" (i.e. exterminate them).



Partisans in training

PRESS REPORTS ON THE WAR IN IRAQI KURDISTAN

The Times, Jan. 23rd 65:

The Baghdad government had not observed the terms of the cease-fire and had used force to drive some Kurd peasants from their villages... The Kurds did not want war and would never start it but would continue building their autonomy and their own administration. They hoped friendly countries and the United Nations would intervene in time to prevent another war and all powers would refrain from delivering arms to Iraq until the Kurdish problem was solved.

The Times, 26th March 1965:

Reports in the Middle East that large numbers of gas masks have been bought by the Iraqi Government are now given full credence by travellers from Baghdad... The belief is that these purchases may be connected with an imminent offensive by the Baghdad Government against the Kurds in northern Iraq.

The Observer, April 4th 1965:

After a year of truce, President Arif of Iraq is about to make another attempt to settle the Kurdish problem by force... The Kurdish nationalists have been fighting since 1961 to secure some kind of self-government for nearly 2 million Kurds living in the North of Iraq. By the time of the 1964 cease-fire they had wrested control of most of their area from Baghdad. The government retained power only in the larger towns and along main roads.

Daily Telegraph, April 21st:

According to some reports, the Iraqi Air force has begun using Napalm against Kurdish strongholds... Brig. Abdul Razzak the air force commander announced today that he had received new planes and would be receiving others.



Ready for the aggressors

The Sunday Times, 16th May 1965:

A total news blackout has been imposed on the third attempt by the Iraqi Government in five years to achieve a military solution to the country's chronic Kurdish problem. The mere use of the word Kurdish in a telegram I received while in Baghdad was enough to have me summoned by the Baghdad military censor to explain its meaning... Since the Iraqi army went into action again during the first week of April, Mig and Hawker Hunters of the Iraqi

airforce have been bombing and strafing Kurdish villages and most recent reports say 20 of them have been flattened around Erbil and Mousil... However early this week it decided to arrest about 30 leading Kurds in Baghdad including several noted for their moderation...

The Daily Telegraph, 4th May 1965:

Two months ago, in a bid to avert a new war in the north, Mustapha (Barzani) put forward new and suprisingly moderate proposals dropping demands for a share of the oil revenue and the creation of a separate Kurdish province. He requested merely the teaching of Kurdish as the official language in Kurdish areas, the employment of Kurdish officials instead of Arabs, and permission to maintain a small standing army of 3,000 for a transition period of 2 years... Incredibly, the Arif regime chose to interpret these new proposals as a sign of Kurdish weakness, rejected them and moved the bulk of the Iraqi army, 40,000 troops, up north with the hope of intimidating the Kurds...

Although large-scale military operations and air strafing have now been going on in northern Iraq for a month Baghdad is still trying to maintain a news blackout (as far as official spokesmen are concerned not a shot has been fired). But as casualties and coffins arrive back in the capital a total clampdown of official news is rebounding on the government....



Partisans on Guard

The Guardian, 8th May 1965:

Heavy fighting has broken out between Iraqi troops and Kurdistan rebels with heavy losses on both sides, according to reports reaching Beirut... The failure of this attack provoked an Iraqi attack on Kurdish civilians in Sulaimania on Apr. 28th in which a large number of Kurds were killed or wounded B.U.P.

Le Monde, 14th May 1965:

On the 5th of April five Iraqi divisions mounted an attack on the Kurdish mountains under the control of Gen. Barzani's troops. Two days earlier tanks occupied the streets of Sulaimania, the heart of the Kurdish National Movement, intimidating people on every side. The Government of Baghdad thus brought an end without warning to the truce of Feb. 1964, it is the third time in four years the official Arab authorities unleashed a military offensive in order to dislodge the autonomy demanding Kurds from their positions.

Contrary to his predecessors, Marshal Arif did not consider it wise to announce that fighting had begun again Baghdad radio was very discreet, the Iraqi press wild

denouncing the Barzani bandits and the separatists did not utter a word about the movement of the troops and the bombings from the air in the north of the country, every thing taking place as if the government was wary of criticism by world opinion, and they hoped to win under the greatest secrecy what must be called, a war.

The experiment did however show even if it is impossible for the Kurdish Nationalists to win decisive victories on the battlefield over the central government, the latter itself is not in a position to dislodge the Kurdish fighters from the territory over which they have almost total control over the population.

Two successive regimes both Gen. Kassim and the Baathists were forced to withdraw after being exhausted by a useless fighting. The former Baathist leaders had thought that the success was due to special military plans, but neither the destruction with Napalm of hundreds of Kurdish villages nor the massive bombardments could not put an end to Kurdish resistance...

The Daily Telegraph, 3rd May 1965

IRAQI REGIME'S SURVIVAL HANGS IN BALANCE

President Arif's regime in Iraq is facing a crisis as casualties from the war against the Kurds in the North begin to fill up Baghdad hospitals. The possibility of the Government's downfall is being openly discussed in streets and coffee shops.



Economic stagnation, anti-Egyptian resentment and growing opposition from the Shia Moslem sect appear to be bringing events to a climax. The atmosphere recalls that preceding the overthrow of the Kassem régime two years ago.

The National Revolutionary Command Council is divided between pro-Nasserites and Iraqi nationalists. This division is believed to be reflected in the armed forces.

President's warning

President Arif, looking markedly thin and haggard, made a public statement at the week-end warning the population against internal threats to the country.

The campaign against the Kurdish rebels began officially on April 3. But, on Egyptian advice, the authorities are trying to keep the whole operation secret.

Over 40,000 troops, the bulk of the Iraqi Army, are now committed in the north. So far the Iraqis have suffered at least three serious military reverses.

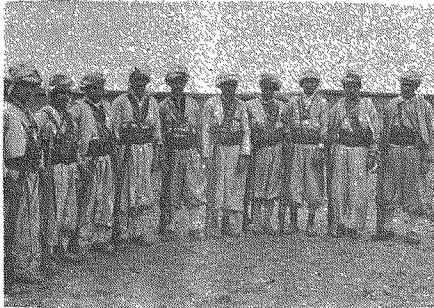
Most of the fatal casualties are being buried in the north, but some officers have been brought south to their homes for burial.

Classical tactics

The Kurdish guerrillas, believed to number over 10,000, are employing classical mountain warfare tactics, withdrawing before the Iraqi advance and then hitting back in ambushes and night attacks.

An Iraqi battalion, encamped between Kirkuk and Erbil, suffered heavy casualties when it was broken up by Kurdish mortar fire. The Kurds repulsed an air-supported attack by Iraqi paratroopers at Dohuk in the far north.

The Kurds, who have now closed their divided ranks under the leadership of Gen. Barzani, say that 750 Iraqi troops have already deserted.



Some tribal partisans

The Evening Standard, 19th May 1965

KURDS WILL 'FIGHT TO THE DEATH'

Fighting in Northern Iraq between Kurds and Arabs is daily increasing in intensity, and so far the Kurds are winning.

I saw conclusive evidence of this during a week-long visit to the battle areas, as guest of the leader of the Kurdish revolt, 63-year-old Mullah Mustafa Barzani.

The latest battle being fought is at Bamarne, in the oil-rich Mosul district, where an Iraqi battalion has been surrounded and is under continuous fire.

It is one of a series of battles which have been taking place in this mountainous region during the past month. But little is known in the world of this fighting.

Objectives

The Kurds have no broadcasting station to announce their victories. The Iraqis are understandably reticent concerning their defeats and few journalists venture into this out-of-way war.

The Iraqi army launched an offensive against the Kurds at the end of March. Its plan of action was three-fold:

1. —To capture a chain of strategically-placed hilltops, thus enabling its army freer movement within Kurdish-held areas.
2. —To capture the territory alongside the Persian border, cutting the Kurds off from retreat into Persia, and preventing them from receiving help which the Iraqis believed the Persians might provide.
3. —An inward thrust into the heart of the Kurdish-held areas to annihilate the armed forces of the Kurdish revolt.

For this objectives, the Iraqi army has placed four and a half divisions in the field at Erbil, Kirkuk, Suleimaniya, all in the Dohuk-Zakho area. A newly-formed and incomplete fifth division is at Khanaqin.

Easy Job?

On the face of it, theirs is an easy job. They enjoy overwhelming superiority in numbers and firepower; they have full armour, artillery and aeroplane support.

Against them the "Pesh Merga" (meaning in Kurdish "In Front of Death"), the Mullah's partisan army of 12,000 tribesmen, is armed only with rifles, and short of ammunition and of everything else.

Yet this puny force has so far not only succeeded in keeping the Iraqi army at bay but has inflicted heavy losses on it. On the Zakho front two brigades failed to capture

two key mountains overlooking Zakho. After three days of bitter fighting they withdrew, leaving sixty dead.

On the Suleimaniya front, the 3rd division lost 73 killed. And in the Khanaqin area the 3rd brigade left 104 dead on the Bamo range, after 36 hours of fierce fighting.

Since the outbreak of the fighting the "Pesh Merga" has struck repeatedly at the Iraqi forces. In an ambush of an Iraqi brigade on its way from Kirkuk to Rania over a hundred Iraqi soldiers were killed.

The reasons

The Mullah, sitting crosslegged on a rug in one of the mud huts of a village less than 20 kilometres from the outposts of an Iraqi brigade, explained to me why they were fighting.

"We are more than two million Kurds in Iraq today", he said. "More than a third of the entire population. Our territory is the richest in Iraq—within it are the oil wells which maintain Iraq's economy, and our land is the most fertile in the country.

"In every sense of the word our people are a separate nation from that of the Arabs; we have our own language, our own heritage and culture, we are of Aryan and not Semitic descent and we have lived as a separate entity throughout the ages.

"Yet the Arabs do not recognise our right to live as Kurds. They forbid our children to learn the Kurdish language, and they forcibly transplant our people to other parts of Iraq".

Live as brothers

The Mullah continued: "We tried our utmost to prevent this war. We sent delegates to Baghdad to negotiate. All we asked for was a measure of autonomy — Kurdish schools, Kurdish officials. But to no avail.

"Some begged me: 'Let us live as brothers in peace', to which I replied: 'If we are brothers, how is it that one

brother has five loaves of bread and does not give even one to his brother who is hungry?"

"If we had enough rifles," the Mullah went on, "the Pesh Merga would number 50,000. Every day I have to turn back volunteers because I have nothing to arm them with".

Typical of the Kurdish attitude were the words of Abdallah Ahmed Pijdari, commander of a force of a thousand Pesh Merga in the hills around Ruwanduz, who told me: "I want to live in liberty. I prefer to die than to live under the oppression of the Arabs".

And the Mullah emphasized: "We shall fight to the end. They will never succeed in dislodging us from these hills, and we shall take by force what we tried to obtain by peaceful methods".

The Observer, 23rd May 1965:

HELPING THE WEAK

Although three successive Iraqi Governments have tried unsuccessfully to subdue by force the demand of their Kurdish minority for a degree of self-government, Baghdad still refuses to seek a settlement of this painful conflict through genuine negotiations.

While there is not much Britain can do directly to help the Kurds, we could respond to the appeal of their leadership for the suspension of British arms shipments to Iraq. It would, clearly, be impossible to distinguish between the kind of arms that the Iraqis need for their war against the Kurds from their wider military requirements: but their only other military quarrel at present appears to be the sterile one with Israel. Would it not be wise to place a total embargo on British arms shipments to Iraq until their Government has substituted negotiations with the Kurds for the use of force?

The principle of an arms embargo has been adopted in the case of South Africa because a minority there oppresses a majority; should the same principle not apply where a majority is engaged in the brutal suppression of a minority?

The Daily Telegraph, 21st May 1965:

STOP ARMS SUPPLY TO IRAQ, SAY KURDS

An urgent appeal to Britain to stop sending to Iraq arms which could be used against the Kurdish rebels was made in London yesterday by Mr. Jalal Talabani.

Although Mr. Healey, Minister of Defence, refused in Parliament on Wednesday to disclose details of military supplies to Iraq, Mr. Talabani said Britain had sent armoured helicopters, Hawker Hunter jet fighters and rockets, and artillery ammunition.

Both Russia and America had said they would not send more arms to Iraq.

Mr. Talabani has seen a number of M.P.s who, he hopes, will seek to influence the Government to stop further arms supplies to Iraq.

Question for Government

Mr. Will Griffiths, Labour M.P. for Manchester Exchange, said that he and Mr. Yates, Conservative M.P. for the Wrekin, will seek opportunities to raise the question with the Government next week.

Mr. Talabani hopes also to have the Kurdish case brought to the attention of the United Nations General Assembly.

This was the third time in four years, under three different régimes, that an Iraqi Government had unleashed war against the Kurds, he said. They numbered about two million, a third of the population.

They did not ask for more than autonomy within the Iraqi Republic. All States with a variety of nationalities, such as Switzerland, Yugoslavia and India, had adopted this system of governing.

"Against our people"

"We request all Governments not to supply any arms or other military assistance to the Iraqi Government. Such arms will be used ruthlessly against our people".

Mr. Talabani, 31, a leader of the now illegal Kurdish Democratic party, leaves London on Monday for Paris and Berlin. He expects to be back by the end of the month.

The Times, 21st May, 1965:

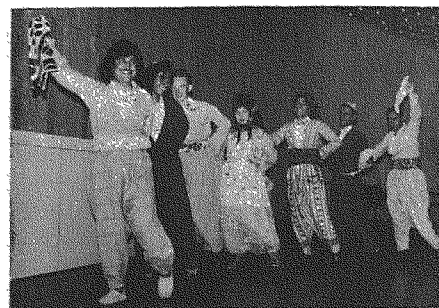
IRAQ ACCUSED OF USING GAS

Since the fighting in Kurdistan started up again at the beginning of April the Iraq Army has used gas on at least two occasions, according to Mr. Jalal Talabani who, with two other members of the political bureau of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, gave a press conference in London yesterday.

He said that the gas, the exact nature of which had not yet been analysed, had been sent to Iraq by a Swiss firm through its branch in Italy. Gas bombs had also been supplied by Germany, and Egypt had provided the Iraq Army with 15,000 gasmasks. Napalm had also been used in the present campaign.

Mr. Talabani regretted that British arms were still being delivered to Iraq. He mentioned Hawker Hunter aircraft with rockets, helicopters, and ammunition for artillery supplied in the days of the monarchy, as arms known to have been supplied. He said that the Governments of both the United States and Russia had told the Iraq Government that it could expect no more supplies of arms as long as the fighting in Kurdistan continued.

It was clear that Mr. Talabani and his colleagues had no hopes from the present Iraq Government, which he referred to as "the military junta in Baghdad". He said that it had never really tried to negotiate seriously, and was now relying solely on force to crush the Kurds. Mr. Talabani said the Kurdish aim was autonomy within the framework of the Iraq Republic, and suggested that the Indian and Yugoslav examples were of the sort which would satisfy Kurdish nationalism.



Kurdish students performing a dance at Brunswick University in F.G.R.

“SUPPORT AND SYMPATHY For Kurds”

The following petitions and Resolutions were sent to
the Iraqi Government in support of the Kurds

**His Excellency Abdul-Salam Arif,
The President of the Iraqi Republic**

We, the undersigned youth and student organisations participating in the World Forum of Solidarity of Youth and Students in the Fight for National Independence and Liberation, for Peace in Moscow from 16 - 23 September 1964, after realising the serious situation in Iraqi Kurdistan which **can only endanger Iraq's** national independence and unity, demand that:

Your government and your excellency should act immediately to solve the Kurdish problem peacefully and justfully on the basis of the demands of the Kurdish Revolution in securing their national and democratic rights within the Iraqi Republic.

We regret to note, after seven months of signing the cease-fire agreement, that the Kurdish problem is still far from being solved and the Iraqi Authorities hesitate to admit and put into practice the lawful rights of the people of Iraqi Kurdistan. And even the terms of the cease-fire agreement have not been fulfilled.

Leaving the Kurdish problem unsolved in spite of the government's promises to recognise the national rights of the Kurds and solve the problem peacefully, puts the Iraqi people (Kurds and Arabs) in face of the danger of renewal of war between brothers, and paves the way for the reactionaries and pro-imperialist elements to pass their conspiracies against the national independence of Iraq.

We believe that the solution of the Kurdish problem in a manner that satisfies the National aspirations of the Kurdish people is in the interest of both Kurds and Arabs and would be a decisive step towards the preservation of the national unity and independence and the success of democratic and social reforms in Iraq.

Signatures on the petition

1. United Democratic Youth Organisation (EDON) — Cyprus.
2. General Union of Senegalese Students (UGES) — Senegal.
3. The Union of Communist Students of Spain — Spain.
4. Council of African Organisations — (CAO) — U.K.
5. Ceylon Students Association in Moscow — Ceylon.
6. Ceylon National Union of Students — Ceylon.
7. (WASU) West African Students Union — Europe.
8. Young Communist League — Denmark.
9. Laos Delegation to the Forum — Laos.
10. Union of Young Communists — Cuba.
11. Federation of University Students — Cuba.
12. General Union of Congolese Students — Congo.
13. Somali Youth Union — Somali.
14. Deutsche Jugend - Gemeinschaft — W. Germany.
15. Union of West African Students (UGEAO) — Africa - Dakar.
16. Democratic Youth of Portugal — Portugal.
17. Workers Union of Bolivia — Bolivia.
18. Young Communists of Perú — Perú.
19. Youth Front — Indonesia.
20. Youth Organisation — Nepal.
21. Youth Organisation — Sweden.
22. Progressive Youth Organisation — British Guiana.
23. Du Bois Clubs — U.S.A.
24. The Communist Youth — France.
25. Free German Youth — W. Berlin.
26. League of Socialist Youth — Japan.
27. Young Communist League — Britain.
28. Z.A.P.U. — Southern Rhodesia:
29. F.A.S.C.S: — Southern Rhodesia:
30. Young Communists — Argentine.
31. Partira Socialista Argentino De Vanguardia — Argentine.
32. Juventud Demo - Progresista — Argentine.
33. UNEB and Ali Organisations — Brazil.
34. Kenya Youth League — Kenya.
35. United National Independence Party — N. Rhodesia.
36. (MUBEF) Movement des Etudiants Universitaires Belgeue d'Expenion Française — Belgium.
37. Norwegian Liberal Youth — Norway.
38. Union of Socialist Youth in Norway — Norway.
39. Pro-Independence Youth Movement — Puerto Rico.
40. Federation of University students for Independence— Puerto Rico.
41. Unitory Patriotic Action — Puerto Rico.
42. Communist Students of Belgium — Belgium.
43. Federation se Centros Universitarios — Venezuela.
44. Frece Östen, Jugend — Austria.
45. Jeunesse du Movement National de la Revolution — Congo.
46. Jeunesse du M.P.L.A — Angola:
47. MOPOCO - Juventud — Paraguay.
48. Federation of Communist Youth — Paraguay.
49. Qdo Revolucionaris Federista — Paraguay.
50. F. I. de L. — Uruguay.
51. M.R.O. — Uruguay.
52. C.O.T. — Uruguay.
53. K.S.S.E. — Europe:
54. Committee of the Youth Organisations of USSR — USSR.
55. Young Pioneers — Ghana.
56. Polish Committee of the Co-operation of Youth Organisations — Poland.
57. Council of the National Youth of Hungary — Hungary.
58. Free German Youth — DDR.
59. French Delegation to Forum — France.
60. Communist Youth of France — France.
61. National Union of Students of France (UNEF) — France.
62. Jeunesse Armenienne de France — France.
63. Federazione Giovanile Lounlists — Italy.
64. Federazione Giovanile Socialista (PSIUP) — Italy.
65. Youth Congress — India.
66. Federation of Student Associations of Madagascar — Madagascar.
67. Federation de la Jeunesse democratique de Madagascar — Madagascar.
68. L'Union de la Jeunesse Checoslovaque — CSSR.
69. National Liberation Front — Saudi Arabia.
70. Jordanian Delegation to Forum — Jordan.
71. Federation of Democratic Forces — Arabian Peninsula.
72. National Liberation Front — Bahrain.

73. Youth Union — Tunis.
74. United Youth Organisation — Yemen.
75. Union Jeunesse Democratique du syria — Syria.
76. Lique de la Jeunesse Démocratique du Liban — Lebanon.
77. Moroccan Youth Organisation — Morocco.
78. Union of Somali Students — Somalie.
79. Peoples Youth of Iran — Iran.
80. Sudanese Youth Union — Sudan.
81. Democratic Youth Federation — Iraq.
82. Organisation de la Jeunesse Democratique de Lybie — Lybia.
83. Democratic Youth of Senegal — Senegal.

His Excellency Abdul-Salam Arif
The president of the Iraqi Republic

6th February, 65

We, the undersigned personalities are very deeply concerned about the serious situation in Iraqi Kurdistan and the continual denial of the just Kurdish national rights.

We are very concerned about the late clashes, reported in the western press, between the Kurdish partisans and the government forces as a result of your government's poor handling of the situation, which can only endanger Iraq's safety and security.

Yet there is nothing in the Kurdish problem which could not be solved by negotiation, (a right which your government has denied the Kurds until now) for the Kurds are not asking for separation, but for autonomous rule within the framework of the Iraqi Republic, a demand which hardly calls for the renewal of war against the peace-loving Kurdish people. The demands of the Kurds seem to us strictly within the terms of the rights of man accepted by all freedom-loving, democratically-minded people, and we take our stand in support of them on these humanitarian grounds.

We believe that the solution of the Kurdish Question in a manner that satisfies the national aspirations of the Kurdish people is in the interests of both Kurds and Arabs and would be a decisive step towards the preservation of the national unity and independence in Iraq.

Signatories

Maxime Rodinson
 Giuliarro Pajetta
 Boris Polevoi
 Diana Pym
 M. R. Turner
 C. Whittleton
 M. Tsangarides
 H. S. Tougmatchi
 Joyce Lussu
 Don Taylor
 E. O. Thompens
 Bayo Omoniyi
 Thetis Kotzaki
 C. Seifert
 Will Griffiths
 Ethel Mannin
 Pierre Couteau
 Nazeeha Duleyimj
 F. El-Janin
 H. K. Ahmed
 Idris Cox
 Metoui Nauedduie
 Al-Jawahiri

Country

France
 Italy
 Soviet Union
 Great Britain
 Great Britain
 Great Britain
 Cyprus
 Iraq
 Italy
 West African Students
 Umien (Gambia)
 IUS
 Nigerian Union
 Greece
 Great Britain
 Great Britain
 France
 Iraq
 Iraq
 Iraq
 Britain
 Tunisia
 Iraq

**RESOLUTIONS IN SUPPORT OF THE
 KURDISH PEOPLE**

Resolution of the World Forum on the Kurdistan Question

- Considering that the problem of the Kurdish nation — which was forcibly divided between, Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria by the imperialists — is of a democratic and anti-imperialist nature, and it is a matter of self-determination.
- Considering that the Kurdish people are deprived of all their legitimate rights.
- Supports the struggle, demands all lawful rights of the Kurdish people in all parts of Kurdistan.
- Express complete solidarity with the Kurdish students, youth and people.

The World Forum of Solidarity of Youth and Students in the Fight for National Independence and Liberation, for Peace, held in Moscow, 16-24 September, 1964 considered the Kurdish Problem in Iraq after listening to the various reports.

— welcomed the ceasefire in Iraqi Kurdistan between the Iraqi authorities and Kurdish revolution. Thus good chances have been created for the peaceful, democratic solution of the problem, but regrets the hesitation of the Iraqi authorities to implement the cease fire terms and to clearly admit the national rights of the Kurdish people.

— considered the double oppression to which the Kurdish people are subjected as a nation living in Iraq and as part of the Iraqi people who suffer from persecution and suppression of democratic liberties.

— considered the just struggle of the Kurdish people for their national rights and just demands and the realisation of which will be achieved in the common struggle of the Iraqi people, Arabs and Kurds against imperialist reactionary machination, for democracy and national construction.

— considered that the solution of the Kurdish problem democratically will deal the imperialists a decisive blow and defeat their endeavours to restore their domination in Iraq.

The World Forum of Solidarity:

— supports strongly the struggle of the Kurdish people, for their just national rights and demands.

— affirms its solidarity with Iraqi youth and people Arabs and Kurds in the struggle for the just national rights for the Kurdish people and democracy in Iraq.

— calls upon democrats and anti-imperialist youth movements to give their active moral and material solidarity to the Kurdish people, to the thousands of refugees and homeless population.

calls upon the Iraqi government to solve the Kurdish problem peacefully and justly through negotiations on the basis of the Kurdish revolution demands in order to avoid the resumption of war in Iraqi Kurdistan.

RESOLUTION ON THE KURDISH PROBLEM

The 8th Congress of the International Union of Students, meeting in Sofia, Bulgaria, from November 28th to December 7th, 1964:

Considering

- that the Kurdish nation is forcibly divided by imperialists between Turkey, Iran, Syria and Iraq, and that the rights of all Kurdish people in these countries have been and continue to be denied them;
- that the Kurdish people in Iraq, Turkey and Iran are still suffering oppression under the Governments of

these countries and are still denied the legitimate rights of a sovereign people;

- that the Kurdish people in Iraq have suffered a long history of persecution in different forms under the Nuri Said, Kassem, Baathist and the present Arif regimes, and that this has involved the destruction of their villages, the tragic loss of civilian lives and appalling human privation;
- that the new Iraqi Constitution accords to the Kurdish people no distinct nationality consonant with their political and cultural heritage and their nationalist aspirations;
- that the problems of the Kurdish people in Iraq are an integral part of the whole question of democracy in Iraq, and of the struggle against internal Iraqi reaction and the criminal activities of imperialism and its agents;

MEMORANDUM ON THE PROBLEM OF IRAQI KURDISTAN TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Kurdistan belongs to those rugged regions through which no invasion has passed without perishing or being transformed. It is an area of high mountains where the beginnings of the people go back into antiquity as witnessed by the customs and beliefs to which they adhere. The present habitation of the Kurds is distinguished by its structure and resources of the Anatolian plateau, the plain of Mesopotamia and the highland of Iran. Kurdistan is a geographic entity forming the lines of a ridge. Naturally protected, the area of Kurdistan favoured the formation of an integrated society with its own type of human relationship, its own civilisation.

Since June 8, 1961, there exists a state of war between the people of Kurdistan and the Iraqi government.

After the First World War, the British government created the state of Iraq by combining a part of the Arab lands with the southern part of Kurdistan. This putting together of two different peoples and countries was dictated mainly by imperial reasons and oil interests. The British government by creating Iraq in this fashion did it on the pretext that the Arab territory alone would not be viable economically and could not be defended militarily. It is evident that these proceedings were in flagrant violation of the Wilsonian principle of self-determination of peoples and the declaration of France and Great Britain on November 8, 1918, that their aim in the Near East was "the establishment of national governments and administrations deriving their authority from the initiative and free choice of the indigenous populations.

Not only did the creation of Iraq in this fashion run counter to the above declaration, but the Treaty of Sevres of August 10, 1920, Section III Kurdistan, Article 64, para. 3 established conclusively that the inclusion of South Kurdistan into Iraq was provisional only, reading that "no objection will be raised by the Principal Allied Powers to the voluntary adhesion to such independent Kurdish State of the Kurds inhabiting that part of Kurdistan which has hitherto been included in the Mosul Vilayet", i.e. Iraqi Kurdistan. No consideration was taken of the aspirations of the Kurdish people motivated by their ethnic and cultural individuality. It was therefore natural that the

Supports

- the struggles of the Kurdish people in Turkey, Iran, Syria and in particular in Iraqi Kurdistan and demands the recognition of their legitimate national rights;
- the just demand of the Kurdish revolution in Iraq for autonomy of Iraqi Kurdistan within the framework of the Iraqi Republic and the restoration of democracy for Arabs and Kurds in the whole of Iraq;

Instructs the Secretariat to render all possible moral and material support to the struggling Kurdish people and to the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe and the General Union of Students in the Iraqi Republic in their fight for democracy in Iraq and the legitimate rights of the Kurdish people.

Deplores the negative attitude of the present Iraqi regime towards the Kurdish question which will lead to further complicating the situation in Iraq and calls on the government to solve the question peacefully and justly.

Kurds, as much, if not more, than the peoples of the old vilayets of Baghdad and Basrah, expected national independence. Now it appeared that the British efforts in reality aimed only in detaching the south western part of Kurdistan territory (where the oil wells lie) from the rest of Kurdistan before the fate of the latter was definitely decided, in order to join it, against the unanimous will of the Kurdish population, to Iraq, a new national entity purely Arab in essence.

The Kurds resisted and there followed a series of revolts. On December 24, 1922, the British High Commissioner made the following statement: "His Britannic Majesty's Government and the Government of Iraq recognise the right of the Kurds living within the frontiers of Iraq to establish a Kurdish government inside these frontiers. They hope that the different Kurdish elements will as soon as possible reach an agreement among themselves concerning the form they desire this government to take and the boundaries to which they wish to extend. The Kurds will send responsible delegates to discuss the economic and political relations with His Britannic Majesty's Government and the Iraqi Government.

This statement, like the others, remained a dead letter. An Anglo-Iraqi Treaty was signed in 1930 and thereafter Iraq became a member of the League of Nations. Great agitation resulted among the Kurds. This is how Captain Philip Mumford, for seven years member of the British Intelligence Service, reported on developments: "The Anglo-Iraqi Treaty, defining our relations with Iraq when this country would have become independent, was published in June 1930. There followed petitions and disturbances among the Kurds who attempted, wisely or not, to boycott the elections of that summer. This agitation ended by a revolt when the Iraqi army fired on a Kurdish crowd. Sheik Mahmoud took this as a pretext to launch an open revolt. Mahmoud asked for a limited form of autonomy under British protection and protested against the direct influence of the government of Baghdad. It was hoped that the government would be able to settle the conflict alone. It quickly became evident that this was out of the question owing to the depth of Kurdish feeling

and the incompetence of the Arab army. The Royal Air Force had to bear the largest part of the operations. The bombing of Kurdish villages became inevitable if the rebellion were to be got under control. And even then Sheikh Mahmoud did not surrender until eight months later..." (From a lecture given at an ordinary session of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xx, January 1933).

In a concluding note (S.G. of May 8, 1931) Sir Henry Conway Dobbs, former Iraqi High Commissioner, exactly summed up the situation of the Kurds in Iraq and defined the responsibilities of Great Britain: "It is a fact that there is a danger that British forces can come to be employed as a mercenary instrument of tyranny in the hands of a government which is encouraged to commit acts of tyranny against its subjects, knowing that they are deprived of the natural remedy against tyranny, that is, hope of a successful insurrection. And the weight of this system will fall in the first place on the non-Arabs, the most important and most warlike minority, the Kurds."

These uprisings have never completely ceased. It is a fact that for two years the Iraqi army has been unable to crush the Kurdish warriors in the field, although it has been especially trained by the British in mountain warfare and provided with small tanks designed for operations in mountainous country. It has therefore ruthlessly resorted to air bombardments, artillery and tank attacks against the civilian population in an effort to destroy the Kurdish people. Big towns like Amadiye, Raniye, Koysandjak and others have been completely destroyed. An economic blockade of Iraqi Kurdistan deprives the people of all aid from outside.

After the coup d'état of 1958, the provisional constitution of Iraq, Article III, declared that the natural rights of the Kurds were guaranteed by that constitution. The Iraqi government stated that they were partners in the country. But no measure was taken to implement that statement.

Weakened by its military defeats, the regime of Kassem was overthrown in February 1963. The Kurdish people then stopped the fight: the new masters in Baghdad having in effect promised that the claim of autonomy in Iraqi Kurdistan will be satisfied. After a period marked by subterfuge, the National Command of the Revolutionary Council declared officially on March 11, the Vice-President of the Iraqi government, M. Saleh el Saadi declared solemnly: "The Kurdish provinces will receive their own administration in all their dominions... The decision we have taken is primarily to conform to the principles of the rights of the people to choose their future, and secondly it is the result of an objective analysis of the actual situation in Iraq."

An official delegation began then negotiations with the Government in Baghdad. On April 24, 1963, after the publication of the tripartite agreement of Cairo regarding the creation of an Egyptian—Syrian—Iraqi federation, the Kurdish delegation presented to the Iraqi government a memorandum outlining a basis for negotiations concerning the future of Kurdistan.

The Baath party in power in Iraq tried to gain time. For this Pan-Arabic, chauvinistic and Fascist party it is very difficult to recognise the autonomy of the Kurds. While the negotiations were in full progress, Baghdad suddenly in a vehement proclamation accused the General Moustapha el Barzani to be "associated with the imperialistic, reactionaries and Zionists" (!!!) and demanded of all insurgents to deliver up their arms within twentyfour hours. But the fact was that the military attack against

the Kurds had already begun and the airplanes did not cease — and still do not cease — to bombard the villages. A veritable genocide is in progress.

In September 1963 the Congress of the International Red Cross in Geneva received a message from General Barzani, commander-in-chief of the revolutionary army in Kurdistan, in which he protested against the genocide of the "civilian and unarmed masses of his people." After pointing out that the Iraqi army "blindly bombs the cities and villages of Kurdistan, killing hundred of women, children and aged people, and continue in the systematic massacre or collective transfer by force of the civilian population of the oil regions of Kurdistan", General Barzani demands compliance with the laws of warfare and invited the International Red Cross to visit the liberated regions of Kurdistan, asking at the same time for medical aid and food for a population threatened by famine. The Iraqi government has refused all aid offered to the Kurdish civilian population by the International Red Cross.

Furthermore, In August 1963 the Kurdish army command, in compliance with the provisions of the Geneva Convention, submitted a list of Iraqi army personnel which they had made prisoners, in order to effect an exchange of prisoners. The International Red Cross in turn approached the Iraqi government to furnish it with a list of Kurdish army prisoners in their hands so that an exchange may be effected in due course. The Iraqi government never replied to this request for the simple reason that they murder all Kurdish prisoners. Likewise the appeal of the Red Cross to be permitted to bring medical aid and essential food stuffs to the suffering Kurdish civilian population remained unanswered. When the Iraqi atrocities became known, American humanitarian societies and others approached the Iraqi government with a view to obtaining permission for sending help to the Kurdish population but again all efforts met with the inhuman refusal of the Iraqi government.

These developments have indeed proved beyond doubt that the Iraqi government is not, and has never been, able to solve the Kurdish and other of its problems in a peaceful and democratic way. The successive bloody coups d'état are a further evidence of its complete inability to deal successfully with its internal and external problems. Obviously, this is one of the main causes of the intense suffering of not only the Kurdish people, but also of the Arab population and the artificial animosity existing between the two nations.

The public opinion of the world, the governments of many states and a number of internationally known humanitarian societies have condemned the operations of the Iraqi government as genocide. So have many correspondents of some of the leading newspapers of the world, notably Dana Adams Schmidt of the New York Times, M. Eric Rouleau of "Le Monde", Jean Charles Clauvel of the "Figaro", Richard J. Ander Egg of the Swiss Radio, David Adamson of the Sunday Telegraph, and Peter Zahn and Mr. Lovar, who made a television film and have seen with their own eyes the outrageous crimes of the Iraqi government.

As you know, the Kurdish question has been brought to the notice of the United Nations and the Social and Economic Committee, and has been the subject of an exchange of notes between various governments. It is no longer a question within the sole competence of the Iraqi government, but has assumed international dimensions. Although the Iraqi government has for more than two years

(continued on page 28)

“CONTRIBUTIONS & LITERATURE”

THE ORIGINS OF THE KURDS AND THEIR LANGUAGE

“The unity of the Kurds must be explained by a Median basis.”
Professor Vladimir Minorsky.

Colonel Wahby, the foremost Kurdologist of the present time, presented this lecture to the K.S.S.E., U.K. branch conference on 22nd December, 1964. His first major work was the pioneer Kurdish grammar, *Dastûr i Zemân i Kurdî* published in 1929-30. His latest is the Clarendon Press — Oxford, *Kurdish-English Dictionary* of which he is co-author with C. J. Edmonds.

KURDISTAN

When I was invited to speak here today my hosts kindly left me the choice of subject on which to speak. I decided that the best choice for this audience, would be to speak on the first and most important question in Kurdology, that is, the origins of the Kurds and their language.

Those Islamic historians who dealt with the origins of the Kurds did so in terms of myth and legend. Their work was without historical or intellectual value. But in recent centuries, particularly in the present one, European scholars have become concerned with the problem and begun research which continues today. Among those whose work and opinions we must take into account is Professor Vladimir Minorsky. In a paper presented to the 20 International Congress of Orientalists in Brussels in 1938. Professor Minorsky spoke on the origins of the Kurds. He said at that time: “The unity of the Kurds must be explained by a Median basis”. The argument made by Professor Minorsky and others in favour of a Median basis of Kurds are lengthy and, for those concerned, easily available. Rather than extensively repeat them here, it seems to me more important and also better suited to this occasion to deal with some of the objections raised against connecting the Kurds with the Medes.

If we find that such objections are based on faulty evidence we, in effect, strengthen the theory which I too support that the Kurds of today are descendents of the Medes.

The most important objections to such a belief are found in an article by Dr. D. N. MacKenzie, published in the *Transactions of the Philological Society* for 1961.

In this article, ‘The Origins of Kurdish’, Dr. MacKenzie makes comparisons between Kurdish and various other Iranian languages, including Persian, based on P. Tedesco’s ‘*Dialektologie Der Westiranischen Turfantexte*’. From these comparisons he deduces that Kurdish should be considered as influenced by Middle Persian which belongs to the Iranian South-West. He doubts the view taken by Professor Minorsky and other scholars, the Kurdish belongs to the Iranian North-West, the area which includes the historical home of the Medes. Dr. MacKenzie dismisses the idea that the Medes are ancestors of today’s Kurds.

Dr. MacKenzie does not insist on his conclusions. He offers a hypothesis, not a proven theory. In my opinion this is just as well. Dr. MacKenzie, who is lecturer in Kurdish at the London School of African and Oriental Studies, is a linguist of repute. But I fear I must question the validity of the evidence he has collected in support of his hypothesis.

The possible identification of today’s Kurds with the Medes obviously touches vitally on the Kurds sense of their historical identity and for those who believe in this connection Dr. MacKenzie’s words sometimes fall harshly. He writes: “The modern Kurds approach to history is also refreshingly simple. Feeling a need for heroic ancestors, and finding the imperial Medes, so to speak, unemployed, they make no bones about casting them in the role. Indeed it is now fashionable among them to use a so-called Median era, obtained by adding to our date the figure 612, the date of the conquest of Ninevah by the Medes. In the face of this blend of little fact and much fiction the linguistic evidence gains in importance”.

Well, it was not the Kurds that decided to make the fall of Ninevah the beginning of an era, it was the official Persian ‘Council of Iranology’ that decided to use 612 B.C. in this way.

Dr. MacKenzie, finding the historical evidence for linking the Medes and Kurds a blend of little fact and much fiction, argues that consequently the linguistic evidence increases in importance for determining the possibility of this link.

Certainly there are problems in establishing a proven historical connection. But before passing on to Dr. MacKenzie’s linguistic arguments we should consider one puzzle of history for which I wish to suggest a possible solution. The puzzle is, what happened to the Medes?

The Northern Iraq of today to the eastern shores of the Tigris River was, in the end of the fifth Century B.C., a part of the homeland of the Medes (see Xenophon, *Anabasis*).

By the end of the seventh century the name of a nation called the Mâd (Medes) was no longer known in Iran. There exist, however, historical records showing that by the end of the Sassanian period the name ‘Mâd’ (Mede) continued in the developed forms of ‘Mây’ and ‘Mâs’. In the early Islamic period the name survived as ‘Mâh’. All these forms were names of areas. In addition the Christian Aramaic records kept the name in its original form ‘Mâdây’ up to the end of the sassanian period; ‘Mâdâyâ’ in Aramaic meant the Mede (Median). What then were the events that erased from memory this once imperial people? We do not know of any catastrophe in the Sassanian period which could have caused the annihilation of the Medes. I would suggest that if the name Mâd disappeared the Medes themselves have certainly survived. The present sedentary Kurds are in my opinion the descendents of the Medes. The strong Indo-Iranian Kurdish tribes together with other kindred nomads, with whom they afterwards mixed, threatened Media from early

times. The Greek historian Polybius (c. 205-125 B.C.) describing Media in his General History says that all boundaries of the Median country were covered with Greek towns built, after Alexander's conquest, to check the neighbouring barbarians. In the reign of Seleucus II Callinicus (246-226 B.C.) the mountaineer tribes who had strongholds were beyond the control of the Greek government as Hasan Pir Niya, the Iranian historian tells us.

All through the Seleucid period, the government was unable to control the nomadic and semi-nomadic people. Under the Seleucids' successors, the Arsacids, whose loose rule ended in 224 A.D., the local feudal rulers were more powerful and the nomadic domination increased over the peasantry. It seems that towards the end of Parthian rule the Aryan Kurds predominated in and around the mountainous parts of Media.

This suggests itself as the reason for the attack on and subjugation of Media as the first goal of the first Sassanian King, Ardashîr i Pâpakân (225-241 A.D.) when he set out to impose his rule throughout the Parthian empire. The Kâr-nâmak i Artaxshîr i Pâpakân a mixture of history and legend, which records Ardashîr's conquests, shows clearly that the two names 'Mâsî' (Mâdî) and Kurd denoted one and the same nation. At least this was so at the end of the sixth century A.D., the date attributed to the Kâr-nâmak. The work, written in Pahlavi, and giving details of Ardashîr's attack on the Medes narrates: "Ardashîr (after killing the Parthian King Ardavân V) collected a large army from Zâbul and went to fight Kurdân(1) Shâhi Mâsî (Kurdân Shâ the Median) V-1"

The Kâr-nâmak in the same chapter says: "The Median army believed that they were safe from Ardashîr who was defeated and had retreated to the Persian country." The narrative continues: "Ardashîr prepared four thousand men and made a surprise raid on them (the Medians). He killed of the Kurds one thousand men, took prisoner the remainder who were broken and wounded, and captured from the King of the Kurds and his sons many goods". (V-9-11).

It is to be understood from the above quotations that the Kâr-nâmak's author of the end of the 6th century looked at the Medes and the Kurds as the same people, as we have already mentioned.

According to a fifth century Aramaic History of Erbil 'The Sassanian King Shâhpuhr I, in the first year of his reign (242 A.D.) fought the Medes of the mountains and conquered them in a violent battle".

These mountaineer Medes must be Kurds.

Among fourth century Aramaic ecclesiastical records of Erbil I have found a personal name suggesting an affinity between Kurdish and Media. The name is Kor-kshêd, who was governor of Erbil in 372 A.D. His name is developed from 'Xvar-Xshêd' which derives from Avestic 'hvare xshaeta' (the shining sun). Here 'x-' has developed to 'k-', a development characteristic of the Kermânjî language.

Among the Middle Persian documents in the Turfan trove this same word is given in its Persian form 'xor-shêd'.

The Avestic 'hvare xshaeta' in Sassanian Pahlavi developed to 'xorshêd' and in New Persian to 'xurshîd' (sun). The governor's name indicates that he was not a Persian. Un-Persian in form his name is familiar to Kurdish. If not actually a Kurd, he was a Mede.

In modern Kurdish 'sun' is 'xor' with the original xv-*khv-*. But Kurdish still keeps the form 'kor' to mean (sun) in such words as 'kelâw-qorî' (sun-hat), 'qorî' or 'qorîtân' (chameleon); qorîX xori (related to the sun)(2)

Another interesting name, found in an Aramaic martyrology of 362 A.D., is the place name 'Qsatrâ Bêt Zabdây'. 'Qsatrâ Kshatra Xshatra' is developed for Avestic (Median) 'xshathra' (kingdom, dominion). But 'qshatrâ' could also mean district or town. Bêt Zabdây of the Aramians being a district in the classic Corduene, it may have been identical with the Kurdish town Stalka K *Xshatra-ka on the Tigris mentioned by classic Armenian writers.

'Qshatra' (Kshatra) would then have been a Kurdo Median pronunciation of the fourth century A.D.

The areas where the Kurds imposed themselves were to become the modern Kurdistan in the widest meaning of the term. But the Kurds did not impose their name on all Medes. In what became Northern Azarbaijan, a part of the inhabitants were later to become Turkified. Other areas around the north west and western shore of the Caspian Sea and in Central Iran were not called Kurdish, although some of these dialects are related to Kermânjî. But over a wide area the name of Kurd embraced that of Mede and of other Aryan tribes. I would suggest that the name Mede was absorbed under the Kurds in a way reminiscent of developments in France, where the name of Frank superseded that of Gaul.

After the disappearance of the name 'Mâd', we do not know exactly when, a distinction began to be made between the Kurds proper, as it were, and the sedentary Kermânjs.

The first, calling themselves 'Kurd', referred to the sedentaries as Kermânj. The name 'Kermânj' has continued to be used by the people themselves.

In the Sorân and Mukrî provinces villagers today are referred to as Kermânj, but as used by tribal people and town-dwellers the name connotes 'Serf'. The people of the Iranian province of Kurdistan that is of Sena and the people of Khânaqîn refer to those living to their respective west and north (other than the Gorâns) as 'Kermânjî'. The people of Sulaimani and Karkuk have forgotten the name although the non-Gorân sedentary elements of those provinces were doubtless Kermânj. Those who have forgotten the name Kermânj, call their villagers (serfs), 'Meskên' which may have meant (dwellers of village). The Kurds north of the greater Zâb, in particular describe themselves as 'Kermânj' and their language as 'Kermânjî'. The author of the epic Mam u Zîn (1963), the greater Kurdish poet Ahmad i Khânî, writing in Northern Kermânjî uses the names Kurd and Kermânj interchangeably:

Dâ xalq nabîjaten ku akrâd,
Bê Mârifaten, bê asl u benyâd.
Let men not say that the Kurds,
Are without knowledge, without origin.
Befker, zhe Arab hatâ va Gurjân.
Kermânjî ya, bû ya shebh i burjân.
See, from the Arabs as far as the Georgians,
There are Kermânj who are become like towers.

The name Kermânj is being replaced throughout Kurdistan by 'Kurd'. As this social and linguistic change continues the word Kermânjî may be preserved in use by our application of it to the greater Kurdish dialect. This greater Kurdish dialect is divided into three main groups:

1. Northern Kermânjî.
2. Southern Kermânjî (Sorânî—Mukrî—Sulaimani—Senayî)
3. Kirmanshahî (Kalhurî—Lakî—Peshtkûhî).

(1) with pahlavî 't'.

(2) 'r' in 'qorî' is rolled.

The boundary between the Northern and Southern Kermânjî runs approximately from the southern end of Lake Razâiyya to the nearest point on the Great Zâb, and thence along that river to its mouth. I have mentioned the distribution of the dialects to check the widespread present mislocation of Sorânî. I first described in detail this distribution in my article on the Kurdish dialects in the Magazine of Galâwêzh, No. 4 April 1940, Baghdad.

Now let us return to our subject: Dr. MacKenzie writes: "In fact the only evident reference to the Kurds in the classical authors before our era would seem to be those of Polybius, Livy and Strabo to the «Κύρτιοι» or 'Cyrtili' respectively. The two historians mention them only as contingents of slingers in the armies of Media and Asia Minor, while Strabo, more explicitly, names them as wild mountaineers living in Media and Armenia but also in Persia. With this solitary exception all the positive evidence points to the Kurds being a Median people, a view which professor Minorsky endorses".

Scholars who have studied a connection between «Καρδοῦχοι» and «Κύρτιοι» and between them and the name 'Kurd', all agree that the «Κύρτιοι» are the ancestors of the Kurds. But they differ about Xenophon's «Καρδοῦχοι». Some believe that «Καρδοῦ» and «Κύρτι» both are older forms of the name 'Kurd', while others deny «Καρδοῦχοι» has a connection with the name 'Kurd'.

One supporter of the first position is G. R. Driver. Driver giving a long list of names taken from the classical writers, says that these names bear the root of the name 'Kurd', (The Name Kurd..., JRAS, 1923). Here are a few of those classical names as examples:

| | |
|--------------------|--------------|
| Καρδ - οῦ (- χοι) | «Καρδοῦχοι» |
| Κύρτ - ι (- οί) | «Κύρτιοι» |
| Cord-u (-eni) | 'Cordueni' |
| Gord-y (-aeon) | 'Gordyaean', |
| Gord-i (-aei) | 'Gordiaei' |
| Cord-u (-ena) | 'Gorduenta' |
| Syriac: Qard-û | 'Qardû'. |

Driver has gone beyond that: "It is" he says "not unlikely that the earliest trace of Kurds is to be found on a Sumerian claytablet of the third millenia B.C.". on which 'the land of Kar-da' is mentioned".

This tablet belongs to the reign of King Shu-Sin of Ur (1978 - 1970 B.C.), and the name is possible to be read also 'Kardaka' (Ignate, HAS., 38).

The vowels which follow the dentals of the root in all those classical names seem to me of interest. They are either 'i' or 'u' which I conjecture to have been evolved from '-aka-'. It is possible then, if I am not mistaken, to imagine that 'Kard-u', 'Gord-i', «Κύρτιοι» 'Cord-u', as all the other names in the list, could be developments of the form 'Kardaka' mentioned in the Sumerian tablet.

This development came to my attention through its similarity to one of the characteristics which today separate the different Kermânjî dialects from each other. To give only one example: the original form of the word for (house) has been 'xân-ak'. This word, in the Northern Kermânjî Group of dialects, the Sorânî dialect and in the Kermânjî Group of dialects, has become 'xân-i', in the Mukri and Sulaimani dialects it is 'xân-û' while in the Senayî dialect the form is 'xân-eg' which is the second step in the evolution from xânak: xân-ak > xân-ek > xân-eg > xân-û, xân-i. Many other examples could be shown, particularly the past participles. The Kurdish

'-aka' is the well-known Indo-Iranian suffix which is originally Indo-European.

Dr. MacKenzie in setting out his hypothesis is concerned with linguistic evidence rather than with history. Indeed he admits that he cannot provide an historical time when and where, as he suggests, Kurdish might have come under the influence of the Middle Persian Language. So he offers only linguistic evidence to support this idea, an idea unsympathetic to our belief that the Kurds of today are descended from the Medes.

Although very little is known about the Median language its principal dialect appears to have been the Avestic. Certainly Median was the basic language of what we call the North West Group of Iranian Languages, and it is generally agreed among linguists that modern Kurdish is indeed a language of the North West Group. The forerunners of modern Kurdish included Aryan Old Kurdish and Avestic-Median.

On examining Dr. MacKenzie's evidence I find it to be something less than compelling.

Among evidence of a Middle Persian influence on Kurdish, Dr. MacKenzie raises two points familiar to students of Iranian languages.

One is the change in Persian, Kurdish and Baluchî languages from the archaic 'y' at the beginning of words to the present 'j', while in the Gorânî dialect, which shows the northern characteristics, this change did not take place. As the change in Kermânjî, Baluchî and Persian, then Kurdish, Dr. MacKenzie feels, must have been influenced by Middle Persian. But would Dr. MacKenzie, using the same reasoning, argue the same cause for the change from an initial 'y' in Baluchî and other Iranian dialects? Gorânî, which is supposed to have kept the archaic form, does in fact show the change in one of its dialects, Hawrâmî. One word showing this change is the word for 'feast', it is now 'jazhn' in Hawrâmî (Persian 'Jashn'). A few other words showing the change are 'yâma', meaning (glass), now 'jâm'; 'yavan', meaning (young), is now 'jwân' meaning (beautiful) and 'yâtu', (sorcerer), now 'jâdû', old Persian, 'yauviyâ', (stream), now 'jo'.

If the Hawrâmî words are considered to have been borrowed from Persian, rather than having evolved within the dialect, then the same explanation would be due in the case of Kermânjî and other dialects' words beginning with 'j' instead of the initial Avestic 'y'.

I find, however, in Kermânjî traces of the archaic 'Y' in the words 'kô' «ku-yê» «ku-yây» corresponding to the Persian 'ku-jâ' (where), and again in the words 'amê' «âm-yâ» and 'awê' «aw-yây» corresponding to the Persian 'ân-jâ', 'ân-jâ' (here), (there).

On the other hand in Kermânjî the form 'jê' «yây» is used to mean (place) as does the Persian 'Jây'. Hawrâmî still keeps 'y' in the word 'yâ-ga' which is in Kermânjî 'jêga' (place).

The second point Dr. MacKenzie raises concerning Gorânî dialects deals with another change at the beginning of words, the change from an archaic 'hw-' to the present 'w-'. Dr. MacKenzie argues that this change in Gorânî shows that these dialects are closer to Baluchî which also shows it, while Kurdish is closer to Persian, because in Kurdish and Persian 'hw-' changed to 'xw-'. I do not believe it is possible to judge from this agreement that a peculiar affinity exists between Persian and Kurdish. Nearly all the Iranian dialects from Pâmîr in the North East to Gilân and Kurdistan in the North West as well as those of central Iran have changed the initial 'hw-' to 'xw-'

just as in Persian. Exceptions to this are the Gorânî, Zâzâyî and Baluchî dialects and a single word in the Lâsgardî dialect; the word is 'wov' Avestic 'hvafna' (sleep). The Median development 'hw-> f-' will be discussed below.

Casting further doubt on the development of Kurdish from Median, Dr. MacKenzie next writes: "It is worth noticing in passing that Kurdish does not accord with one peculiarity which may be ascribable to Median, that is to say, the development of 'hw-' to 'f-'.

This peculiarity of 'hw-> f-' is found only in the word 'farnah' as it appears in the Median personal name, Vindafarnah, an aide of Darius in his recapture of the Axamaenid throne (521 B.C.). Median 'farnah' is derived from Avestic 'xvarenah' (splendid, glory).

The name of a hero in Arbil in the 4th C. A.D. was composed with 'far'. This hero was surnamed 'Qardâgh' (Kardak). According to Aramaic christian records his proper name was 'Gupar-Ashnaps', a metathesis of *'Par-Gushnasp', an Aramaic pronunciation of Median name *'Far-Gushnasp' (the glory of 'Gushnasp), meaning (the glory of the god 'Varhrân' or 'Bahrâm') whose surname means either (hero) or (Kurd), he converted to christianity and was martyred in 359 A.D.

In the New Persian there are two synonym words 'xurra' and 'farr(a)' (glory). The second one is inherited from the Median. In Kurdish we have 'far'(1) and not 'xura'; but we have a word 'wura' (moral) which seems to have developed like the Persian 'xurra' from the Avestic 'hvarenah': 'hw-> w-'.

It should not, of course, be expected of Kurdish that it preserve such a peculiarity with rare exceptions lost in all the other non-Persian dialects. The exceptions are found in a village in Fars and in two small villages in the central desert of Iran.

In the Bâdînânî (a sub-dialect of the Northern Kermânjî) in Iraqi Kurdistan, however, there are places where the people say 'fâren' instead of 'xâren' (to eat). In the Northern Kermânjî and also in Hawrâmî 'âfer' is used rather than 'Axur' (manger, stable). In the South Kermânjî we have 'fênek' (cool) as compared with the Persian 'xunuk', and other words which show 'x-> f-'.

Today the word 'far' is used in Kurdish as well as in Persian. In its colloquial Kurdish use it is always in a compound indicating the absence of the quality it represents, as in English 'couth' is used in uncouth. In the Mukrî dialect, however, 'far' is found in the compound adjective 'bad-far'. 'Bad-far' is exact modern Kurdish for the Avestic 'dush-hvarenah' meaning inglorious or villainous.

To illustrate his placing of Kurdish, Dr. MacKenzie has designed a diagram derived from a table of Iranian dialects compiled by the philologist Tedesco. Dr. MacKenzie, in describing the diagrams says, "Here again Kurdish seems to be marked off from Median if we can judge from the name of the Median capital. The Greek forms Ἀγδάτανα Ἐκδάτανα, and the old Persian Ha(n) gmatâna are generally taken to contain the same '-gmata-' form, not found in Kurdish".

Let us consider these two alternative forms. From the Avestic '-gat-' and '-gmat-' Kurdish has kept the form *'agat', to use in conjugating as in 'haten' the verb (to come). In Persian 'to come' is 'âmadan', which uses the other form *'agmat' in the conjugation. Dr. MacKenzie sees this as an indication that Kurdish is not closely related to Median, because Kurdish does not use '-gmat'

while Persian does. But Kurdish in fact does have a conjugated verb using this form which in its original gives 'Hangmatâna' (the modern Hamadân).

It is a verb found in Northern Kermânjî in the transitive form 'hingâvten' and in the intransitive form 'hingivten'. In other Kermânjî dialects it is intransitive 'angûten' and the transitive 'angâvten'.

Perhaps Dr. McKenzie has seen the northern forms given in Jaba's French-Kurdish dictionary. But Jaba's etymology is incorrect. Jaba writes that the verb 'hingivten' is formed from the same root as 'katen' (kaften). But I am convinced that the verb originates from 'hangmata-' with the 'm' developed into a 'v' and 'w'.

'Angâvten' means (hit a mark, to score), or literally, (to bring together). In southern Kurdish there is a synonym for 'angâvten' which is 'pêkân'. This new word seems to be composed of 'pa-yak-dân' which strictly means (to bring together), (to strike together), but in practice means (to hit the mark).

'Augûten' (hingivten), an intransitive verb universal in Kermânjî and meaning to stumble, is even nearer to original 'hangmat-'. Significantly, this verb and transitive 'angâvten' do not exist in either Persian or Hawrâmî. But 'angâvten' is found in Parthian. The Parthian verb is 'angawdan', meaning to (end) or (terminate).

Another two Kurdish words derived similarly from 'hangma-': 'âkâm' (end, conclusion) and 'anjâma' (hinge), indicate a relationship with the North-West dialects.

Dr. MacKenzie suggests another characteristic which would align Kurdish with Persian while distancing it from Parthian. This is the use of izâfa in Kurdish and middle Persian but not Parthian. However, to argue from this that Kurdish is closer to the middle Persian than to Parthian is fallacious, because the izâfa, which is also used in Zâzâ, Gorânî and other central dialects, derives from the Avestic relative pronoun 'ya', feminine 'yâ'. Kurdish follows Avestic in using izâfa, and it is not responsible for the loss of izâfa in Parthian. The Kermânjî dialects of Kirmanshah, Sena, Karkuk Province and even the Jâfs have already dropped the izâfa after nouns ending in consonants.

Dr. MacKenzie again sees Kurdish as influenced by Middle Persian in the development of the original Iranian initial 'dw-' to 'd-'. This view is also unconvincing. The development appears also in Baluchî as well as in Persian. Its development in these three languages has two similar sources: 1. 'du-' of the Middle Persian, 2. 'du-' of the younger Avesta.

If 'd-' of the new Persian is taken as a development of the 'du-' of the middle Persian, why cannot the 'd-' of Kurdish and Baluchî be derived from the Avestic 'du-'? Neither Kurdish nor Baluchî in this development are influenced by middle Persian. I wish to recall here Tedesco's words which I should have mentioned earlier: "Entwicklungen können immer unabhangig voneinander bloss parallel sein".

Tedesco, pointing to the North-Western word for milk, 'shîr' observes that the South-Western word is 'shîr' and that 'shîr' is the word used in Kurdish. Dr. MacKenzie takes this as another mean to align Kurdish with middle Persian. But the 'shîr' is not used only in Kermânjî and Baluchî, it is used also in Gahwârayî and Bâjalânî which are Gorânî dialects and in the Central dialects such as Farizandî, Natanzî, Yarnî, Shahmîrzâdî, as well as Gilakî.

(1) Kurdish 'far' with rolled 'r'.

It is seen in the Ossetic in the form of 'axshîr', and closer to the original form, in the Pâmîr dialect Munjî, 'xshîr'. On the other hand in the Kirmanshahî Kermânjî (milk) is 'Shefta'. The form 'shîr' in Kurdish may be a borrowing from new Persian or not, 'Shift' continues to be found in Kermânjî in a few words such as 'shûti' meaning (water-melon) and sheft-a-jê' (a perennially fertile woman).

Once more Dr. MacKenzie seeks to place Kurdish closer to Middle Persian than to the North-Western Group. He writes:

"Again Kurdish appears to share the development of Old Iranian 'ôr' to 's' with Persian. The only example Tedesco quoted with justifiable caution was the numeral 'three', the Kurdish 'sê'. But to this one can add a word most unlikely to have been borrowed, as its nearest traceable relative is found only in the Bâshkardî dialect of Makrân. The Kurdish word is 'pê-xwâs' or 'pê-xâwus' (barefoot) Bâshkardî 'pâ-xwâves'. Gorânî, in contrast, has 'pâ-wirwâ', and in Zahrâi one finds 'pâ-xarwâ' and 'pâ-xârâpâ'."

Dr. MacKenzie continues:

"All these forms can be traced back, as was kindly pointed out to me by Dr. I. Gershevitch, who discovered the Bâshkardî, to the Avestic x^v-â-aoôra (having one's own footwear, thus:

Avestic x^v-â-aoôra-λ *xwâussa-λ xwâs (in Kurdish)

λ *(x)wâu(h)raλ *wâwirλ wirwâ (in Gorânî)

(cf. Gorânî, yarê '3' ζ*hrê ζ*ôrayah- (1), and the metathesis in Central Kurdish 'birwâ' ζ'bâwi' (belief)

λ *x(w)âu(h)ra-λ *xâru-(+pâ) (in Zahrâi)

(Cf. Zahrâi xas- 'sleep' ζx^vafsa-)"

The etymology of pê-xwâs, etc. is not so complicated, indeed it is simple:

Let us see beginning with the Gorânî form 'pâ-wirwâ'. This word is a compound adjective apparently composed of pâ-wê-rwâ, (a person who goes on his own feet or a barefoot man). The Zahrâi 'pâ-xarwâ' seems similarly composed from 'pâ-xa-rwâ' and has the same meaning as a second Zahrâi form 'pâ-xa-râpâ', with the Avestic form 'rap' instead of 'raw' meaning the same as the Gorânî 'pâ-wê-rwâ'.

Now we come to the Kermânjî word and find that it is 'pê-xo-âs' meaning the same as the foregoing compounds, and made with the Avestic 'âs' instead of the Avestic 'rap'. All these forms go back to a possibly Median origin.

In these circumstances there seems no reason to accept that Kurdish has followed the Persian pattern in changing 'ôr' to 's'. In passing the number 'thirty' in Hawrânî is 'sî' which is the Persian form.

Dr. MacKenzie mentions still other forms to show Kurdish may be closer to Persian than to Median. On the way he attributes an imaginary origin to the Kurdish word 'pâlâwtên'(2) (to filter). Instead of the imaginary *'para-dâwaya-', I suggest as more likely the Avestic 'apa-raethwa' which in the southern language Pâzand is 'pârûdan' and in Sassanian Pahlavi and Persian 'pâlûdan'. But Kurdish 'pârzûn' and Hawrâmî 'parzên' seem derived from the Avestic 'pairi-heretz' meaning (to filter thoroughly). Dr. MacKenzie finds a tendency in Kurdish for the '-rz-' to become an '-l-' as in Persian. He presents a list of words showing in their Kurdish form the allegedly more

Persian '-l-' and in Baluchî the more north-western '-rz-'. He writes that: "The difference between Kurdish and Baluchî in this respect suggests that proto-Kurdish was in closer contact with the middle Persian South."

But in fact Kermânjî has kept '-rz-' in a number of words while Baluchî in at least one word which is not a loan word from Persian has changed '-rz-' to '-l-'. The word is 'siphulk', Avestic 'sperezan' (spleen). The changing of '-rz-' to '-l-' should not be regarded as indicating a definite South-Western formative influence. The example of such words as 'sipurz' (spleen) in the Middle Persian, and 'sepel' and 'espul' (spleen) in the Central Iranian, Gahwârayî (Gorâmî) and Kâshân dialects argue forcefully against such an assumption. It is also found in the Hawrâmî 'mel' (Avestic 'mrz'), (neck).

Dr. MacKenzie also suggests that in Kurdish the combination '-nd-' as in Middle Persian has become simply '-n-'.

The answer is that the combined sound 'nd' does not exist in Northern Kermânjî, Mukrî, or Sorânî dialects. Both sounds are pronounced separately and 'd' is not dropped. There are, however, in these dialects a very few words in which 'd' and 'g' of Sulaimani 'nd'(3), 'ng' combination are dropped, such as 'banî' (tied) ['banî' in Sena means (tied, prisoner), in Sorânî, Mukrî and Sulaimani, however, in the form of 'bandî' (prisoner)], hinak, hanêk (little), dan (sound), bân (call).

In Sulaimani 'nd'(3) is combined and interchanged with the combination 'ng' and vice versa; each is pronounced as a single sound and with something of twang 'nd'(1) being nasal and 'ng' guttural. On the other hand in Sulaimani often and Senayî and Kirmanshahî always 'nd'(1) becomes 'n'. Even in Hawrâmî '-nd-'(1) has become 'n'.

(My detailed study of the development of 'd' in Kurdish be found in Galâwêzh, No. 4, 1940, where it was first published.)

Have the Kirmanshahî, particularly, Hawrâmî dropped 'd' in the 'nd'(1) combination under the influence of the Middle Persian? Of course not. It must be noted that neither in the Sassanian Pahlavi (unlike the Manichaean Middle Persian) nor in the New Persian has the 'nd' been dropped in favour of 'n' alone.

Finally Dr. MacKenzie writes: "A last agreement between Kurdish and Persian is in the preservation of initial 'fr-' while in many North-West Iranian dialects this has become 'hr-' of the like and in Baluchî's ""

But in Hawrâmî where the 'fr-' has been changed to 'har-' as in the word 'harmana' (work), the original 'f-' is kept in the infinitive 'farmâwây' (to order).

Dr. MacKenzie's point is weakened by the example of Kermânjî words in which the original 'f' in 'fr' has changed to 'h'. For example the Avestic 'frâyah', comparative adjective (more) is now in Sulaimani 'hara' (most) which is used with an adjective to make it superlative, as 'hara kurt' (shortest). Similarly the Avestic 'frâ-' meaning (forth), has become in Kermânjî 'harâ'(2) and 'râ'(2), e.g. 'harâ'(2) kerden, 'râ'(2) kerden', to run.

Dr. MacKenzie set out on a bold and original venture of linguistic detection. Unfortunately an examination of the suggestions he offers in support of his hypothesis are, as I hope this talk has shown, not satisfactory.

Indeed investigation of Dr. MacKenzie's account reinforces the more familiar belief. In so far as we can now

(1) with rolled 'r'. (2) with velar 'l'. (3) with softened 'd'.

determine, the weight of evidence strongly indicates that the position of the Kurdish language is among the North-Western Iranian group. By an unexceptional extension we may properly assume that Kurdish is in direct descent from the Aryan Kurdish-Avestic-Median languages.

I wish to conclude by reiterating the crucially important assertion made by Professor Minorsky. For me there is no reason to qualify, as Dr. McKenzie did, Minorsky's statement that "the unity of the Kurds must be explained by its Median basis." On the contrary I see every reason to support it.

To put it another way: I would say that "while the first proto Indo-Iranian Kurds were not, the Kurds of today are Medes".

This evening I have been occupied with refuting arguments which cast doubt on a Kurdish Median connection. But on another occasion I should like to present to you positive evidence for the relationship between Avestic-Median and Kurdish, including evidence from my own observations.

(1) with softened 'd'.

(2) with rolled 'r'.

(continued from page 22)

announced to the world that the Kurdish Liberation Movement has been crushed, yet in spite of the gigantic array of tanks, heavy artillery, airplanes throwing incendiary bombs, etc., the world knows that the very opposite is true, that the Kurdish Liberation Army is today more successful in its operations than ever.

Since the establishment of the United Nations, this great organisation has been instrumental in obtaining the independence of many nations, some of them even smaller in number and of less ancient civilisation than the Kurds. The United Nations has acted in this matter as the sensitive conscience of mankind. The Kurdish people in Iraq, who number two millions, almost a third of the total population, form a distinct ethnic group and have a right to the fulfilment of their national aspirations. Despite the incredible injustice and cruelties perpetrated against them and in spite of their deep attachment to their national identity, knowing that their inalienable rights are more precious than considerations of appeasement, they demand nothing more than national autonomy within the state of Iraq. This modest demand is a clear evidence that there exists no animosity between the Kurdish and Arab peoples, and that it is the burden of the Iraqi government to have to recognise the natural and historical claims of the Kurds. For centuries there has existed a bond of friendship and mutual respect between the Kurds and the Arabs.

The Kurdish people appeal to the conscience of all nations for active and sympathetic help. They are entitled

to the right of self-determination conceded to all peoples, great and small. They cannot achieve their freedom without the moral support of the governments assembled at the United Nations. We would wish that every delegate to the United Nations would acquaint himself with all the facts concerning the Kurdish problem which cries out for a just solution. We call on all governments to put aside all considerations of a false peace and co-operate wholeheartedly in the struggle of the Kurdish people for self-determination.

It is almost half a century since the Kurdish people have pressed for the fulfilment of the promises made to them after the First World War, tens of thousands of Kurdish men, women and children have been slaughtered, thousands of Kurdish towns and villages destroyed, unspeakable tragedies occur daily, and yet the Iraqi government is allowed to continue its dreadful course without any action taken against it or official protest from the United Nations members.

As you are aware, the Mongolian delegation to the United Nations very graciously consented to bring the Kurdish Problem before the present session of the United Nations but was obliged to withdraw its proposal for lack of sufficient support. It is the fervent hope of the Kurdish people that in the not distant future the governments represented at the United Nations in sufficient number will realise the importance of the Kurdish problem and support placing it on the agenda of the United Nations meetings.

DR. K. BEDIR-KHAN



MY FRIENDS THE KURDS

By A. M. Hamilton.

Whenever the subject of "Kurdish Uprisings" and the suggested Kurdish Autonomy crops up I find I am suspected, unreasonably it seems to me, of taking sides with the Kurds. For I say that an apparently insoluble problem is really easy both to understand and to solve if one cares to study the matter. This may be because I lived for some 4 years in the heart of Kurdistan and know the history of the present troubles so well that I get restive and impatient with those who don't care to listen when I insist that the Kurds, far from being the robbers and ogres of the Middle East are just as understandable in their outlook as myself or my next door neighbour. They have however a weakness common to nearly all highland peoples and in the past have been noted for quarrels and feuds amongst themselves, sometimes very sanguinary affairs. This they must overcome and be helped to overcome by all who wish them well. If they can agree and work with a common policy under leaders all accept, they will become at once a great people. For they have fine basic qualities, not the least being a burning pride "Az Kurmanj" meaning "I am a Kurd!"

To show that until recently the world believed the Kurds to be savages and always in the wrong — a view now changing as shown in recent press reports and books — I recall many years ago being at a meeting of a learned society in London which was discussing the part played by the RAF in 1931-32 in extricating Iraq Army columns then in great difficulties in the Barzan area near where I was constructing the Rowanduz Road. Thinking that with my on-the-spot knowledge I could give useful and interesting information I stood up rather hesitantly (I was very young then) at the end of this discussion on "mountain warfare" and almost wrecked the meeting! For I said that a mere local Kurdish dispute between Shaikh Ahmad of Barzan and a neighbouring Shaikh should not have involved a major Iraq Army movement at all. The RAF action in support of it would then never have been needed. As we had treated a casualty of this local dispute in my road construction First Aid tent (for we treated anyone who liked to come there with whatever injury or illness, my own men or any others) I knew enough of the details and that it was a local feud such as there had always been. There was certainly nothing fighting a war about! I believe I went on to say that I considered the Iraq Army could just as well have conducted its manoeuvres on the deserts near Baghdad, and the RAF could then have been spared the distasteful task of wasting time and ammunition on tribal folk they hadn't the slightest animosity towards. Nor, I insisted, had these tribesmen any towards the RAF. This was shown by the kindly, indeed fraternal treatment, of the one or two injured pilots who had fallen into the Kurds hands. They were nursed till better, then returned to their units. Strange warfare indeed! To say at such a meeting that the objects of a war were non-existent against people with the reputation of the Kurds was sheer blasphemy; the chairman, an elderly Air Marshal whom I afterwards came to know much better thought then that at least I must be an imposter. So in summing up he said acidly "As for the speaker who claims he has lived amongst Kurds I need say no more."

None of us knew it then thought it is clear enough now that this ill judged action against Shaikh Ahmad and his brother Mulla Mustapha would have such far reaching

consequences. History may well have turned on the little Barzan affair. Though the RAF may have scorned to attack defenceless Kurdish tribal villages — I don't recall that they ever did — the recent Iraq revolutionary administrations have thought very differently. They have regarded it as a matter of prestige to harm Kurdistan from the air and on the ground to the greatest extent they can even to the destruction of crops and Kurdish economy. No small part of Iraq's income has been wasted on weapons and operations to this end. The Kurd feels, and who wouldn't? that he has a right to peaceful existence in his own country, through Kurdish Autonomy if not otherwise.

Perhaps as an engineer I am apt to put forward engineering as an answer to many present world problems — provided always that the engineering work, when it is done, is correctly used for the benefit of all. For instance it is no use engineers erecting countless broadcasting stations if all they can recite is the claptrap of "colonialism and imperialism abolished, democracy upheld" or else "communism rooted out" for these phrases are meaningless in themselves and they harm cooperation. They will not feed, shelter or keep mankind warm or cool. The world today just as always has to sow and to reap. That is what matters. In dry countries this means dams, irrigation and scientific cropping. The last edition of my book Road Through Kurdistan includes articles I wrote for the Baghdad Times in 1930 on my suggested plans for Iraq covering buildings, communications, inland water transport, dams and hydro-electric power. These were ambitious proposals for a small country like Iraq but much was happening in the way of carrying them out. These schemes were to apply to all Iraq and very much to Kurdistan where the mountains presented an even more challenging problem to development and improvement of human affairs than did the plains. At the same time the accompanying requirements of education, medical, welfare and many other services were to be met. I was the Iraq appointments officer in London at that time and sent many engineers to Iraq. Few of them are there now owing to so great a part of Iraq's money being spent on unnecessary war and so little on construction.

One might say that my own engineering formula, call it Hamilton's Law if you like or "Pulling the same way gets further than pulling opposite ways", PROGRESS = COOPERATIVE WORK + EVERYONE'S EFFORTS has special application to Kurdistan and to Iraq. I once mentioned a similar engineering solution for the problems of another country' pre-Suez Egypt. It was at a similar learned gathering to the one first mentioned and I said that the already spectacular work of British engineers in the Nile Valley with dams like Aswan should be pressed on with rather than the encouraging of new race issues in the Middle East, then as now such a sore point. The Israeli issue which I refer to has I think lost Britain her former place in Nile development work, but I wish all success to the Russian engineers who are carrying our labours on. Engineering progress at least seems to have world-wide acceptance when politics and race issues can be poles apart!

Returning now to Kurdistan, if the development of this land cannot be conducted **peacefully** with the cooperation of Iraq then some line must be drawn the north and east of which will be Autonomous Kurdistan or just

Kurdistan and the development of this region must go on independently. I may say this is not an entirely new idea. One of the last Air Vice Marshals who commanded the RAF in Iraq once drew such a line demarking Iraqi-Kurdistan as he thought it should be to meet some deep differences of outlook that he believed lay between Kurd and Arab. He showed it to me and I know it was seriously discussed at a high level. It might suit the Assyrians too he thought. But with the coming of Qazzaz as both a Kurd and a senior Minister there then appeared to be no

need to consider Kurdistan as better off out of Iraq — with proper cooperation they were better together.

If the Kurds become completely united in their aim then all things are possible. In any new "set up" they will have to win to their side not only Kurds of all tribes and outlook but their fellow mountain peoples and neighbours, Assyrians, Yezidis, Turkomans, Armenians, even win grace also with Iran and Turkey. At their peril they must not repeat feuding or division amongst themselves.

THE CONQUEST OF FORTRESS DIMDIM

Based on the Narration of TARIKHI ALAMARAI
and the Kurdish Folklore (1)

by Kamal Fuad

1. The Kurds in the Time of the SAFAWID State and the Ottoman Realm

The continuous wars between the Safawid State and the Ottoman Realm plunged the Kurds into extreme misery. Kurdistan was always the battlefield of these two states when they attacked each other. The end, at which either of the two states aimed, was to conquer the Kurdish principalities existing at that time and to use them as their "chess-men". When (1501) Shah Ismail I came into power, he continued the cruel policy of Aq-Qoyunlu (2) against the Kurds. He tried to abolish the last remaining Kurdish principalities. He treated the Kurds particularly cruelly because of the religious conflicts. (3)

The policy of the Ottomans towards the Kurds differed not essentially from that of the Safawids. In diplomatic ways and by promises they tried to get the Kurds under their rule. Sultan Saleem (1467-1520) invited the famous theologian Mulla Idris al-Bidlisi (4), who at that time had a great influence of the Kurds, to meet him. He provided him with facilities, made him gifts and ordered him to speak in his name of the Kurdish sovereigns to gain them over to him in case of war against the "common enemy", the Shiites and their leader, Shah Ismail. Bidlisi succeeded in accomplishing his "task".

When the Sultan invaded Iran, sixteen Kurdish sovereigns joined him. During the victorious battle of Chaldiran (1514),

the Sultan became aware of what importance the help of the Kurds had been to him.

Back to his residence Edirne, assisted by Bidlisi the sultan succeeded in uniting the Kurdish principalities to his realm. Bidlisi concluded a treaty with the Kurdish princes in the name of the sultan, which secured full independency regarding their properties to the Kurdish princes and assistance in case of attacks by foreign powers. In return the Kurds engaged themselves to pay tribute to the sultan and assist him in case of war.

Before fifteen years had passed, however, the treaty was violated by the Turks. Step by step they abolished the independency of the Kurdish principalities. By the mid of the nineteenth century they had exterminated even the last independent Kurdish principality, Botan (1848).

So the Kurds lost their independency little by little by the Safawids and Ottomans.

Kurdistan was divided into two great parts. One part of the country was incorporated into the Ottoman, the other one into the Persian realm.

But the Kurds did not humble themselves to foreign rule. Many bloody revolts occurred during that time. One of the numerous battles for the defence of their liberty was the heroic combat of the Kurds on the Fortress Dimdim.

(to be continued)

(1) Homework for the civil-service examination 1962. The theme was given by Professor Dr. Heinrich F. J. Junker, director of the Near Eastern Institute of Humboldt University of Berlin. The theme embraces the following: i) The Kurds at the time of the Safawid State, ii) The conquest of Fortress Dimdim according to the narration of Iskender Munshi, iii) The conquest of Fortress Dimdim according to the Kurdish folklore, iv) The conquest of Fortress Dimdim according to the new Kurdish literature, v) Mukri wording in Kurdisized Arab transcription: a) as a tale in prose, b) epic songs and as appendix, Mukri textes spoken on tape recorders with a sketch of the fortress Dimdim.

(2) Aq-Qoyunlu (1378-1502) and Qara-Qoyunlu (1378-1468) two Turkish dynasties. Verbal translation: the white sheep and the black sheep.

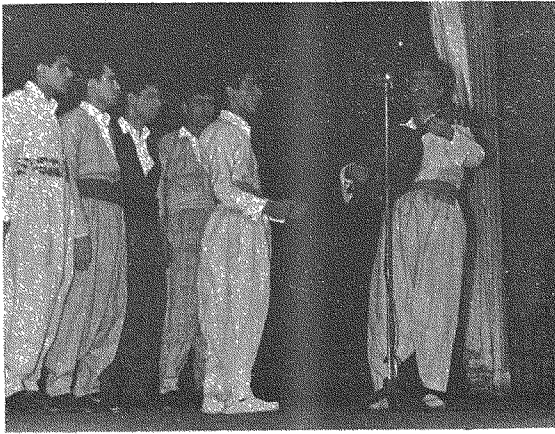
(3) The greater part of the Kurds are Sunnits. This is

why the Shiitish Safawids did not trust the Kurds, particularly in war against the Sunnite Ottomans.

(4) Mulla Idris al-Bidlisi, the famous Kurdish theologian, contemporary and constant companion of Sultan Saleem exercised a great influence on the Kurds. It was by him that Sultan Saleem succeeded in annexing the Kurdish principalities to his realm. His most famous works are 'Hesht Bihisht' and 'Salim Name'. The later work is written in prose and verse. He died shortly after the death of Sultan Saleem in Istanbul (end 1520). (see Encyclopaedia of Islam, volume I page 1207/8; London 1960). The meanings of the Kurdish historians about his behaviour are different. Some say he assisted the Sultan to annex the Kurdish principalities to his realm for the benefit of the Kurds, others see in him the greatest traitor in Kurdish history.

THE NEWROZ - FEAST

Every year at the first night in spring, the Kurds say Fare - Well to the winter, its cold, its frost and its dark days and welcome the new year by a great celebration. The flames of a big fire flare up to the sky from all peaks of the high Kurdish mountains at that night and show the Kurds that the winter has gone. This feast symbolizes also the inner feelings of the Kurds, and their national feelings. A national feeling that could not be eliminated in spite of the difficulties and oppressions they had to endure during various centuries. This feast (Newroz, meaning New Day) is said to have been celebrated from time immemorial. The People of Iran have celebrated it as their New Year Day when the winter goes and spring comes with its warmth, its light, its beauty and colourfulness.



Newroz in Prague

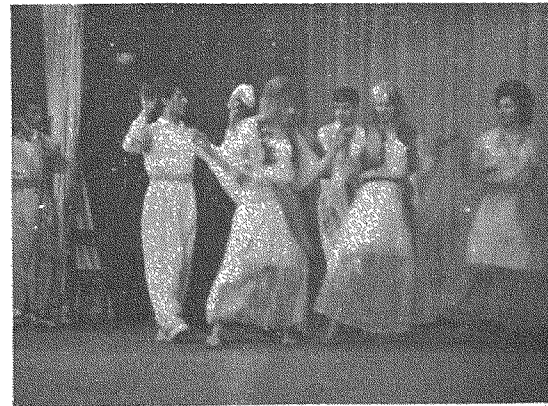
There are many opinions on why the Kurds consider this feast as their national holiday. One legend accounts for the feast as follows:

Once upon a time, hundreds of years ago, there lived a very cruel sovereign in Iran, whose name was EJDEHAK. They say he had been of Semetic origine. He possessed two huge snakes. Every day they were fed with the cerebrum of two young people. At the same time there lived also a black smith named KAWE, who had eighteen children. 17 of them had been killed by EJDEHAK in order to feed his snakes. One day, EJDEHAK requested the last child. This day was NEWROZ. EJDEHAK celebrated this feast with his courtmen. They spent the whole night in high spirits, drinking and dancing. KAWE, however, for grief

about his last son, could not celebrate this feast. All over again he sought for a way to save his child. So he took a hammer, made a flag out of his loin-cloth and called the Kurds to make themselves free from this cruel tyrant. The people crowded around him and they set out for EJDEHAK's Palace. They made an assault upon his palace, conquered it and KAWE killed EJDEHAK with his hammer. Thereupon the Kurds chose the most able man among them as leader. His name was FEREYDUN.

Every year from that time on, the Kurds celebrate a great feast on this day in order to reminded of the bold deeds of the blacksmith KAWE. And every year anew the Kurds promise to strive after the liberty of the Kurdish people.

When the Ottomans had conquered Kurdistan, they did not allow to celebrate this festival any longer, pretend-



ing that these ideas were against the Islam religion. But the Kurds, as they never esteemed the foreign rulers, kept on celebrating their festival. On Newroz, the fires lit the mountains of Kurdistan even during the hardest time they had to go through, and when the flames blazed high up, also the hearts of the Kurds beat higher.

After the end of the second world war, this festival got a new sense. By celebrating Newroz, the friendship and the fight for peace and democracy grew more vigorous.

Let the fires of this year's Newroz-feast burn brighter than ever to outshine the dark nights of the Kurds and to encourage them in their ardent hope that the day will come when also they will be liberated from all oppressors, together with their Arab, Persian and Turkish friends.

Berlin, 21st March 1965

1st Newroz 2577*)

*) The Kurdish calendar is divided into:

| | | |
|--------|-----------|---------------------------------|
| Spring | Newroz | (21st March — 20th April) |
| | Gulan | (21st April — 21 May) and |
| | Cozerdan | 22nd May — 21st June). |
| Summer | Xermanan | (22nd June — 22nd July) |
| | Pûşper | (23rd July — 22nd August and |
| | Gelawêj | (23rd August — 22nd Spetember). |
| Autumn | Rezber | 23rd September — 22nd October) |
| | Gelarêzan | 23rd October—21st November) and |
| | Sermawez | 22nd November — 20th December) |
| Winter | Befranbar | 21st December — 20th January) |
| | Rêbandan | 21st January—20th February) and |
| | Reşemê | 21st February — 20th March). |

1) The Kurdish Scholar Colonel Taufiq Wahby sees the Kurdish Calendar as follows:

Kurdish Months

| | |
|-------------|---------------------|
| NÖROJ | March — April |
| GULAN | April — May |
| BARANBIRAN | May — June |
| CERMACIMAN | June — July |
| GELAWÊJ | July — August |
| BEREPAYÎZ | August — September |
| MÎRAN | September — October |
| GELARÊZAN | October to November |
| AGIRDAN | November — December |
| SEHOLBENDAN | December — January |
| NAWZISTAN | January — February |
| POLAN | February — March |

This calendar is to be published in the Kurdish - English dictionary by Col. T. Wahby and C. J. Edmonds.

DWA TIRI KEWAN

IBRAHIM EHMED 1949

Dwa tîrî kewanî xoç bihawêje, hele duşmin!
Dwa serkewtinî toye, dwa nûçî gele duşmin!
Şewî tirsandînit samî nemawe, tarîk û rûne
Be asoy erxwanîda, hetaw lewdîw keke Duşmin!

Ç gewecî hej beser key xor be hêlek pêşî gîrawe
We yaxû çerxî mejû key be berdî êwe westawe
Hemû (pê-şkewtinêkî) to, berew çalî neman etba
Hemû serkewtinêkîşit, be wêney bilqî ser awe

Ewa Hitler xudawendî şerî ser rûy zamîn bû xo
Qelay sermayedarî pir tifaqî asinî bû xo
Le rûy azadî xwazana wekû şûrayî çîn bû xo
Hemû Elmaniyay nazî le dasta wek nigî bû xo

Kwa vermaxtî elmanî ke etwit her zarûy xwêne?
Kwa luftvafe ew hêze neparêze merg çêne?
Kwa topî? kwa tankî? kwa istolî bê wêne?
Be carê gorî gum bû, giştî wek xoy bê ser û şwêne

Le lay ême helengutin yekem hengawî zal bûne
Le naw botey xebata tuwanewe her şertî qal bûne
Le nûçdan û helengûtin, niye bakî gelî kurdan
We kû rêgey xebatî xoy şikanî toy lela rûne

Legel karwanî rizgarî gelan erwa be çalakî
Le dûrî rêw, lesexî cêw, dirî duşmin niye bakî
Ne ladan û, ne koldan û, ne westanî heye hergîz
Pişû nada heta nebrê regî çewasanewew makî.



Newroz in Sulaimania

2) The *Shâhnâma* of Firdausi, translated from Persian by A.G. Warner & E. Warner, has made a mention of the relation between Kawe, Ejlehak (Zahak) and Fereydun as follows:

With the accession of Zahhak evil becomes triumphant everywhere. He practices and encourages black acts, idolatry, and human sacrifice. He has a warning dream concerning his destined Conqueror Faridun, whom he strives in vain to capture. At length the people, driven to exasperation by Zahhak, revolt to Faridun at the instigation of Kawa the smith. Faridun and Zahhak meet, and the latter

MELAY BITLISî(*)

IHSAN FUAD

Ba Melay Bitlisî sed car giyanî zindû bêtewe
Xo firoşî baw bisênê, Kurd biçewsênêtewe
Leşkirî zordarî sed car danî ba rîç bêtewe
Hêrişî Kurd kuştinî, xwên riştinî nebrêtewe
Kurdê ta em serdeme mabê le nasorû xema
Xawen niyazî duşminanî, taze çon etwêtewe
Heyfe kurdê rast le naw em xakeda perwerde bê
Bawerî kurdayetî perkaw le bîrî çêtewe
Hênde rara bê leber tirsî jiyay ser şor bika
Rêy neberdî ber bida, bo dilî biygorêtewe
Peşte-malê bê be ber bêganewe negrîs û pîs
Bo meramî xo firoşî gwê bicûlênêtewe
Rûn be dû çawî bibînê qewmekey xwên dabînê
Çawî daxa malî bo duşmin birazênêtewe
Herçî wicdan bê be serya pê binê bakî nebê
Rû reşê bê şermezarî rûy reşî negrêtewe
Xaw ê xêzanî feramoşî biyabanê bika
Gurg û seg têy ber bibin wicdanî nekulênêtewe
Xak û xolî têkelî xwênî ciger goşey bika
Koşki axay pê durust ka xelki pê berz bêtewe
Heyfe kurdêkî wiha lem xakeda bibyew bijî
Meşki wek ejdehak nepjêt û pan nekrêtewe
Helgirî dinyayê hîway Komeley Xwendkarî Kurd
Mangî hîwaman legelta berze edrewşêtewe
Sercemî ba gişt serncê beyne xakî mîdyay
Rûberûy zordar biwestin kurd nerûtênêtewe
Xwên le cergî kurdewar dête xwarê sûr û ges
Wek Siyawayşe le binda ta be key nebrêtewe
Tubî xwa besye îtir, dilî le rade tê perî
Em gele ta key be damawî bilawênêtewe
Boç newey tazey le tewqa bê, serû pay darizê
Her le naw eşkenceda bê beş le jîn bitlêtewe
Sa be qurbane pelamarê qelay reş leq bika
Hêrşê merdane bê kurdane danemrêtewe
Agirê her ços bisênê, toleyek pîrşing bida
Şorişêk gerdûn le ber demya serî şor bêtewe
Em pelaney laperey kurdî pelawî kirduwe
Her Meger lafawî xwênî wek şebeq biysirêtewe.

(x) Le kongirey noye-mî komêle da (Hanover, 3-9, 8, 64) le layen Kak Ihsan xoye-we xwêndirayewe.

is taken prisoner.

The reader will notice that Zahhak is not slain by Faridun but imprisoned — a point indicative of his supernatural character; and also that the legend of Kawa the smith is, as one would naturally expect, a West Iranian tradition, as shown by its association with the city of Isfahan.

The natives of the town of Damawand, situated on the south side of the mountain of that name, still celebrate a feast, called "Idi Kurd", or the Kurds' Holiday, to commemorate the death of Zahhak.

KURDISH PROVERBS

- 1— A thousand years faithful service to the foreigner and all you get is trouble.
Hezar sal bikey bêgane peristî har d'ênî nishistî
- 2.— The tree says if the axe handle isn't my wood, the axe head will never cut me.
Dar elê tewr kilk y le xom nebê, na m birê.
- 3— We make it, others take it.
Kirde y ême w birde y xelkî.
- 4— "Blind man, what do you want?" — Two good eyes".
Köre chît ewe? Dû chaw y sagh.
- 5— When you sabre with one hand have a shield in the other.
Ke shîr it weshand qelghan it pê bê.
- 6— For the poor Kurd wolf or horseman is all the same.
Bo Kurd y hejar, chi gurg chi suwar.
- 7— I prayed to my patron saint — he turned out to be an Arab.
Hîwa man be Weys bu, ew ysh Areb der chu.
~~Hîwa man be Weys bu, ew ysh Arebe der chu.~~
- 8— Brothers together but purses separate.
Bira man birayî, kise mau ciyayî.
- 9— One rose doesn't make it springtime.
Be gulêk behar na yêt.
- 10—A thousand friends, too few — one enemy, too many.
Hezar dost kem e yek, duşmin zor e.
- 11—Asked who his witness was the fox answered:
"My tail".
Be rêwî yan wut: kê shahêd it e, wuty: kilk im.
- 12—Thieves' mate and traveller's companion.
Sherîk y diz e w refiq y qafîle ye.
- 13—Words by the thousands and two are useful.
Qise hezar e w duwan y bekar e.
- 14—Hardly room enough for the fox and he brings his brush.
Rêwî be kunewe ne echu, hejkêk y be duwawe bu.
- 15—Some bread for me and some barley for my donkey.
Nan bo xom u co bo kereke m.
- 16—Asked why he was thin bellied the ant replied,
"I do my own work myself."
Le mêrûle yan pirsî: bochî nowqed it varîk e, wuty: îsh y xom xom ey bînim.
- 17—He has one head but a thousand plans.
Serêk y he ye w hezar sewda.
- 18—Every wisdom from a loss.
Her eqle le xesarêk.
- 19—Nobody calls his own dough sour.
Kes be do y xoy na lê tirsh e.
- 20—Scared of the donkey he plays the lion with its pack.
Be ker na wêrê, be kurtan shêr e.
- 21—A full plate, a peaceful home.
Kase y pin ashtî y mal e.

BOOK REVIEW

THE KURDISH REPUBLIC OF 1946.

By William Eagleton, Jr.

PP. VII, 142, 32 plates.

Oxford University Press, 1963, 30 s. in U.K.

It is a great pleasure to me, as a Kurd, to record my admiration for this capable and neutral author and his infatigable endeavours in gathering together the recollections of people in various countries on the growth of the Kurdish national movement, the formation of the political parties in Mahabad, the consecutive events of the creation of a Kurdish republic there, and the inevitable end of it and of its unfortunate leaders.

Mr. W. Eagleton has selected with great intelligence reliable accounts and put them together in this excellent book, in a chain interpolated by his critical comments and explanations.

He believes that the Kurds are not of the Indo-European origin (pp. 1-3). This theory has already its adherents. There are, however, strong arguments against it, which there is no room here to amplify. According to these arguments one can believe that the Nordic Kurds may have, in the end of the 3rd millenium B.C., been among those Indo-Iranians who afterwards formed the Mittannian Kingdom in Northern Mesopotamia.

Unfortunately the author's map of Kurdistan (p. 37) does not show more than the boundary of the Kirmanji dialect speaking Kurds, including small islands of Zaza and Goran dialects. The figures he gives for the total number of the Kurds (p. 38) are based on official estimates which have, for political reasons, tended to minimise the population.

Mr. Eagleton tells the story of the retreat of the Barzanis to the U.S.S.R. under the command of Mulla Mustafa, which started on 11th March, 1947 and was carried out successfully through the territories of three states: Iran — Iraq — Turkey — Iran, the Barzanis fighting the Iranian army troops, that attacked them from the rear and tried to block their way. It deserves to be regarded as a smaller version of the retreat of the Ten Thousands under Xenophon 2348 years earlier. It is a pity that there was not a Xenophon among the retreating force to immortalize its heroism. Many thanks however, are due to the author who has shown very clearly the gallantry of the operation.

It is to be hoped that this worthwhile book will be translated into Kurdish. For it is full of important lessons for them.

TAUFIQ WAHBY*

* Published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Part 1/2 — 1964.

Review of "Journey Among Brave Men"

by Dana Adams Schmidt 1964

It is very rare that a book can be so topical, yet certain such a fascinating panorama of adventure and experience as this book does. It has all the thrill and dash of an adventure story, coupled with a vivid and emotional description of a people fighting to be left to their own. In one respect it is a work of tragedy; in this it is almost Shakespearian in aspect as it reveals to us the way tragedy can be avoided.

This moving story of the two million Kurds of Iraq brings to light an area which is shrouded in the isolation of both the Cold War and its mountain fastness. Iraqi Kurdistan is engaged in its war for autonomy as the author mysteriously and lugubriously leaves the safety of Beirut to be led in a circumspective route to the war term area.

The beauty of the land, its richness, the spirit of its people, as well as the ever annoying flies comes through to the reader as the author attempts to follow a line of the leader of the Kurdish rebellion Mustafa Barzani. Barzani is typical of his people in his love of honour, his will to endure and fight, and in his intellectual isolation. The Kurds know as little of the "outside world" as the outside world knows of them. The world is one in which small nations have no rights, and the will of the two great powers, the Soviet Union and the United States of America, remains the ultimate hope of success or failure of an autonomous Kurdistan.

Education seems to Barzani's people to be the panacea for all their difficulties, and the subjugation of Kurdistan under the Turks and later the Arabs is held to be the reason for this glaring deficiency in intellectual growth. In some 290 pages emerges the story of a Kurdish language and culture; an emotional affiliation more to the Indo-European than the Arab world.

There exists among the Kurds a consciousness of a national identity that has been established in brilliant flickerings of past glories; glories that are not forgotten but are rather relayed from generation to generation in fable, legend, and apocryphal tale.

To the Kurds the author was the American Government and people. He was the first American who had come to them during their struggle, and it was to him that Barzani and his colleagues made their appeal for American aid. The Migs, and Illusions of the Iraqi government were constant reminders to the Kurds of the Soviet Union's participation in the rebellion. The burnt villages and the maimed bodies of innocent villagers bear full witness to this modern tragedy.

The author tries to explain America's responsibility to her neighboring allies Turkey and Iran which have substantial Kurdish populations. To those who see little beyond their own borders it is the business at hand that worries them, and not the thought of tomorrow's fears. Barzani declared that if the American's had an opportunity they would also supply arms to the Iraqi government. This statement has been borne out by recent announcements of the American intention to conclude an arms deal with Iraq. To the Kurds it is clear that "East and West in their struggle for power think only of themselves". Help us and we will be your friends; Do not help us and we will have to find other friends, Barzani says. No country could wish for a more straightforward appeal. That the United States will have to pay for its blindness later is not the tragedy.

The tragedy is that the Kurds have to pay it now. Life may pass, but the honour of "Brave Men" will always remain.

B. KAPLAN

American Research Student

THE KURDS AND KURDISTAN

By Derek Kinnane

(Institute of race-relations, Oxford University Press,
London 1964, 8s. 6d. in U.K.)

Mr. Kinnane has managed in his book to handle a broad subject in concise and authoritative terms. Often in an attempt to be concise authors either sacrifice important points or have their readers in a confused and perplexed state, but fortunately Mr. Kinnane demonstrates neither of these failings. Within a span of 85 pages he introduces us to the present-day Kurdish struggles, especially in Iraq, to Kurdish society, and to Kurdish history nearly avoiding, however, the "scholarly dispute" of the origins of the Kurds.

He has offered several points which are controversial, one being the population of the Kurds. His estimate is around six millions, which only recently Dana Adams Schmidt, author of *Journey Among Brave Men*, thought the Kurdish population to be more than ten million. But on the whole Mr. Kinnane has written the kind of book which can be well used as an introduction to "the Kurds and their national problem".

Of particular interest was Chapter IX, "The present War in Iraq". The author gives us the background of the war, considers in some detail the Kurdish fight against Kassim, the Baathists, and Arif, and also discusses the leadership and ideology of Mulla Mustafa Barzani and the Kurdistan Democratic Party. This chapter is particularly important because it reveals to us many facts which were not generally known to the World. For example, Mr. Kinnane notes that:

"On 28th October 1963 the international League for the Rights of Man, a body recognised by the United Nations, condemned the Iraqi Government for its 'mass slaughter' and 'virtual genocide'.

The Kurds and Kurdistan is extremely helpful to those in Europe following the present struggle of the Kurdish people in Iraq.

from **The Kurdish Journal**

Vol. 1, No. 4 Oct. 1964

(The Magazine of the Kurdish
Students Organisation in USA)

(Ed. during 1964 many books were published on the Kurdistan Question of which we mention the following which are to be reviewed in our next issue:

- 1— **The Kurdish War**
by David Adamson — London — 1964.
- 2— **Alt-kurdische Kamp — und Liebeslieder** —
München — 1964. by Abbas Hilmi.
- 3— **Barba za Kurdistan** —
by Khalfin, N.A. — Moskva 1964.
- 4— **Kurdistan i Kurds-kaya problema**
by Lazarev, M.S. — Moskva 1964.

KURDISH SPOKESMEN VISIT EUROPE

Jalal Talabani and Dr. Aziz, leaders of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan, have been touring Europe for the past few months explaining to public opinion the justice of the Kurdish cause in Iraq and exposing the Iraq Government's attempts to keep its war against the Kurds secret. While in London in May Mr. Talabani met a group of MPs at the House of Commons, and held a press conference, explained the Kurdish Question to the British public on B.B.C. Television. At every opportunity he emphasized the Kurd's desire for a peaceful settlement, yet failing this, he made clear our determination to resist aggression.

PRESS STATEMENT

20 May, 1965.

The Iraqi Government is continuing its aggressive war against the Kurdish people. This is the third time in four years, and under three different regimes, that an Iraqi Government has unleashed war against the Kurds, who constitute one third of the Iraqi population. Like its predecessor the Arif government is using the most modern conventional weapons of mass destruction against our people, including napalm. Our demands are legitimate and minimal, in this nuclear and space age. We do not ask for more than autonomy within the Iraqi Republic. All modern States with a variety of nationalities have adopted this rule of Government, e.g. Switzerland, India, Yugoslavia.

It is not difficult to understand the aggressive attitude

of successive Iraqi Governments towards the Kurdish problem. It lies in the fact that all these Governments, while trying to exterminate the Kurdish people, were pursuing, at the same time, a repressive and dictatorial policy against the Arabs and against other minorities in Iraq.

We believe that our problem will not be solved until a democratic parliamentary regime is established in Bagdad.

In order to achieve this aim, we will continue our armed struggle in Iraqi Kurdistan, at the same time trying to unite all the nationalist and democratic forces of the whole country to remove the present Government and to establish a democratic parliamentary and non-aligned regime, which will guarantee autonomy for the Kurds and democracy for all the Iraqi people.

We request all governments not to supply any arms or other military assistance to the present Iraqi Government. Such arms will be used ruthlessly and crudely against our people. Our final aim is peace, based on justice and democracy. We call upon all nations and governments to use all that is in their power to put an end to this cruel and aggressive war.

On behalf of the
KURDISTAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF IRAQ
JELAL TALABANI
Dr. AZIZ

MISCELLANEOUS

Telegram to Great Powers and U.N.

The following are the texts of two telegrams sent by the "COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENCE OF KURDISH PEOPLE'S RIGHTS" to the foreign Ministers of the Great Powers while in Vienna in May 1965, and to U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations on the renewal of war in Iraqi Kurdistan.

His Excellency

The Foreign Minister of U.S.A.
The Foreign Minister of England
The Foreign Minister of France
The Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R.

Despite the cease-fire agreement between the Iraqi dictatorial Regime and the Kurdish leader on February 10th 1964, the military government in Baghdad again started war against the Kurdish people.

The Kurdish problem is not an internal one for Iraq as the government of Baghdad asserts without justification. It is an international problem for the following reasons:—

A. The precedent of the treaty of Sevres of August 10,

1920 which anticipated in article 62, 63, 64 the independence of Kurdistan including South Kurdistan (now Iraqi Kurdistan).

- B. The British, after the first world war linked South Kurdistan to Iraq, the state created by them and against the will of the Kurdish people.
- C. The joint Anglo-Iraqi declaration of December 24, 1922, communicated to the League of Nations formally recognized the rights of the Kurds so included within the frontiers of Iraq to establish an Autonomous government.
- D. The People of Southern Kurdistan have never agreed that their Country could be annexed to Iraq against their will. The decision of December 16, 1925 of the Council of the League of Nations, concerning the matter of Mosul vilayet and confirming this annexation changed. The government of Baghdad with precise international obligations having as its aim the setting up of a Kurdish administrative and cultural Autonomy under international guarantees covering the Kurd provinces within the frontiers of Iraq. However none of this has been honored by the Iraqi government.

- E. The new war now being waged by the Iraqi government against Kurdistan is clearly violating the convention for the repression and punishment of the crime of Genocide, as well as the universal declaration of the rights of man and of the resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations on the right of peoples of self-determination.
- F. Finally, there was a foreign military intervention in the war against the Kurdish people waged by the Syrian army in the summer of 1963. Presently military forces of United Arab Republic are stationed in Iraq. For the mentioned reasons we request your excellency to take the necessary measures:
1. To stop the Iraqi military operations in Kurdistan and to stop without delay the war of Genocide against the Kurdish people.
 2. Not to send ARMS and MUNITIONS to the dictatorial regime in Baghdad because these arms are used to kill the people in Iraq and to DESTROY KURDISTAN MORE.
 3. To advise the Iraqi-government to solve the problem peacefully in giving Autonomy to Iraqi Kurdistan in the framework of Iraqi Republic with adequate international guarantees provided Iraq remains independent.

On the other hand if Iraq decides to join any sort of an Arab union the solution to the question will be that freely chosen by the Kurdistan people by an act of self-determination carried out under international control and with adequate international guarantees.

COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENCE
OF KURDISH PEOPLE'S RIGHTS

14. 5. 1965 West-Berlin

Excellency U-Thant,
UN Secretary General
Vienna I.
Your Excellency!

In the past we have submitted to you telegrams and memoranda, copies of which were at the same time passed to the Heads of States of the great powers and heads of Governments of Nations not aligned to either power block. In these we explained at length and in detail the position of the Kurds in Iraqi Kurdistan, as well as suggestions aimed at finding a solution for the problems involved.

Unfortunately back in 1962-63 the Kurdish delegation in New York was not given an opportunity of a personal talk with your excellency.

Despite the fact of the armistice between the military government in Baghdad and the leaders of the Kurdish revolution for 14 months, the Kurds in Iraq did not get autonomy. The Kurds did and do everything in their power to solve the problem by peaceful means, or at least bring solution nearer by way of negotiations.

The extensive arms purchases that were recently made by the Baghdad-regime (gas masks and gas bombs, napalm and poison gas grenades) give cause to worry and anxiety. Our experience with the ever changing governments in Baghdad justify our worst fears, i.e. that these terrible and internationally repudiated arms will be used against our Kurdish people.

The campaign of propaganda and calumnisation launched recently against us by the dictator-regime in Baghdad with a view to slandering the Kurdish movement in all parts of the world in reality is nothing but a curtain behind which the Baghdad government tries to hide the recent attack on our homeland and further measures to suppress our people.

Although every people is entitled to self-determination and many peoples have secured their full independence, the Kurdish people does not ask for more than administrative and cultural autonomy under the sovereignty of the Iraqi Republic. It will be recalled that the refusal and suppression of these justified demands brought about, at the time, the downfall of both the Kassem and the Baath regimes.

Despite the last appeal made by president Nasser to both the Iraqi Government and the Kurds to solve the problem peacefully, the Iraqi Government has begun the war against the Kurds.

On April 4, 1965, the Iraqi troops opened fire on the civilian population of Sulaimania in streets, shops and coffee-houses, killing more than 30 men, women and children, and wounding more than one hundred. The corpses lied in the streets for many days. On the 10th of April a second massacre of Kurdish people took place again in Sulaimania.

Since April 15, 1965 Iraqi jet planes are again bombing Kurdish territory with rockets and napalm bombs.

We therefore ask you, your Excellency, to afford to the Kurdish delegation presently in New York the opportunity of expounding the Kurdish problem to you as it really is.

Believing in right and justice and trusting in the high aims of the UNO and the Human Rights Declaration, and, last but not least, deeply interested in maintaining peace in the Near East, we ask your Excellency to take up personally the thoroughly justified cause of the Kurdish people and to stop the Baghdad regime from carrying out the extrmination of our people.

The responsibility for this resumed military aggression lies solely with the Baghdad regime.

COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE
KURDISH PEOPLE'S RIGHTS
TELEGRAM

Vienna
Hotel Imperial

West-Berlin, 27. 4. 1965

TELEGRAM

The Kurdish delegation in U.S.A.

Mr. Ismet Cheriff Secretary General of the Committee for the Defense of the Kurdish People's Rights, and Mr. Saadi Dizayee, KSSE Gen. Sec/ry, while in N.Y. to bring the Kurdish question in Iraq to the attention of the U.N. and U Thant the Secretary-General, and to inform the American public of the war being waged against the Kurds by the military junta of Baghdad submitted the following Communication:

His Excellency U Thant
Secretary - General
United Nations
New York, New York.
Your Excellency:

Enclosed we have the honor to present to you a letter dated January 7, 1965, that General Mustafa Barzani, President of the Command Council of the Revolution of Iraqi-Kurdistan, entrusted to me for your Excellency, dealing with the situation in Iraqi-Kurdistan.

We would like to state that since January 7, 1965, the fears of General Barzani have been proved exact, and a new Iraqi military aggression, not declared officially by the Baghdad government, is actually under way against the Iraqi - Kurdistan people, and against the defensive positions of our revolutionary army, supported by planes, artillery and tanks.

In these circumstances, and in conformity with the last instructions that we have received from the Command Council of the Kurdish revolution, and of its President, and in view of the extreme gravity of the situation, and the fact that it threatens the peace of the entire region, we are urgently addressing your Excellency and the United Nations, requesting you to consent to make use of the authority given you under Article 99 of the Charter on the following lines:

1. Call a quick meeting of the Security Council and inform it of the national issue of Iraqi-Kurdistan, and of the aggressive and semi-colonial war taking place since September 1961.
2. Put the same question on the agenda of the next General Assembly of the United Nations.
3. We request the United Nations to intervene rapidly in the conflict and to take in this respect the following decisions:
 - a) Halt immediately the Iraqi military operations in Kurdistan, and stop without delay the war of genocide against the Kurdish people.
 - b) Send an international commission of inquiry and international force to Kurdistan, pending the finding of a peaceable solution to the conflict.
 - c) Under the auspices of the United Nations, find a peaceful solution to the national question of Iraqi Kurdistan on the following terms:

Autonomy of Iraqi-Kurdistan in the framework of the Iraqi Republic, with adequate international guarantees, provided Iraq remains independent.

On the other hand, if Iraq decides to join any sort of an Arab union, the question will be that freely chosen by the Kurdish people by an act of self-determination carried out under international control, and with adequate international guarantees.

4. We request you to kindly grant us a meeting so that we may discuss with your Excellency full details of the problem and the steps to be taken with regard to it.

May we also invite the attention of your Excellency to the fact that the national question of Iraqi-Kurdistan and the war which is getting under way is not an internal problem for Iraq as the government of Baghdad asserts without justification. It is an international problem for the following reasons:

- a) The precedent of the Treaty of Sevres of August 10, 1920 which anticipated in Article 62, 63, and 64, the independence of Kurdistan, including southern Kurdistan, which it today called Iraqi.
- b) The British, after the first World War, linked Southern Kurdistan to Iraq, the state created by them, and against the will of the Kurdish people.
- c) The joint Anglo-Iraqi declaration of December 24, 1922, communicated to the League of Nations, formally recognized the rights of the Kurds so included within the frontiers of Iraq to establish an autonomous Kurd government.
- d) The people of Southern Kurdistan have never agreed that their country could be annexed to Iraq against their will. Even the decision of December 16, 1925 of the Council of the League of Nations concerning the matter of the Mosul vilayet, confirming this annexation, charged the government of Baghdad with precise international obligations, having as its aim the setting up of a Kurd administrative and cultural autonomy, under international guarantees, covering the Kurd provinces within the frontiers of Iraq. However, none of this has been honored by the Iraq government.
- e) The Iraqi government in waging war against Kurdistan is conspicuously violating the Convention for the Repression and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, in addition to the Universal Declaration of human rights, the resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations on the right of peoples of self-determination.
- f) Finally, there was a foreign military intervention in the war against the Kurdish people waged by the Syrian Army in the summer of 1963. Presently military forces of the UAR are stationed in Iraq.

In expectation of having the honor of an interview with your Excellency we express our highest regards.

Respectfully,
Kurdish Delegation
New York
April 20, 1965

In a further communication addressed to the U.N. delegates they stated: "We wish to call to the attention of your Delegation that in our letter of April 20 to U Thant, as well as in "fact sheet", we have listed the legal, historical and political facts which made our question of autonomy an international one, falling within the jurisdiction of the U.N. and not, as the Baghdad Government insists without basis, an internal Iraqi problem.

In this Connection we wish to recall how quickly the U.N. took steps in the Algerian - French conflict while Algeria was considered by France a "French province" and France was a member of the U.N.; we also point out that the Iraqi-Kurdistan war is now in the fourth year".

Views Expressed in the British press

A Letter to "The Observer" — June 6, 1965

Sir.—I read with great surprise your comments, in your issue dated May 23, about the Kurds in Iraq under the heading "Helping the weak".

The trouble in north Iraq is essentially between a band of mutineers, who happen to be of Kurdish origin and who are supported mostly through fear and terror by a fraction of the Iraqi Kurds, and the legitimate Government of the Republic of Iraq.

Whereas the Government of South Africa has created a policy of **apartheid** and thus deprived the vast majority of the indigenous population of their basic human rights, in contrast the Kurds in Iraq, who constitute barely one-seventh of the total population, play a great part in the Iraqi Government, both as Ambassadors Ministers and Army officials, as well as in all aspects of political life. Their participation in the government of the country is high in relation to their numbers and they are, in fact, fully integrated, through inter-marriage in all parts of the country, with the political, economic, social and public life of the country in all its phases. It is apparent, therefore, that to suggest an analogy as between South Africa and Iraq is quite out of place.

The suggestion that an embargo should be placed on the shipment of arms to Iraq is very astonishing, since it overtly advocates British interference in the internal affairs of any country with which a deal is concluded — a situation which would lead other countries to look to other sources than British with which to conclude their commercial deals, where unconditional transactions are obtainable.

Abdul Rahman Al-Bazzaz

Iraqi Embassy, S.W.7.

A Letter to "The Observer" — June 13, 1965

Sir.—As one who recently visited the Kurdish areas of Iraq, I would like to dispute the statements made by H.E. the Ambassador of Iraq, Mr Al-Pazzaz, regarding the war being waged in Iraqi Kurdistan.

Far from being "a band of mutineers", as the Iraqi Ambassador claimed, the Kurds of Iraq are a well-organised political entity fighting a war of national independence, and the vast majority of the Kurdish population of Iraq is supporting this struggle. I saw ample evidence of this during my visit.

In contrast to the rosy picture painted by the Ambassador, the Kurds are being treated as second-class citizens in Iraq; their integration into the life of the country, about which the Ambassador wrote so enthusiastically, is in fact carried out forcibly, as the inhabitants of entire Kurdish villages in the north are removed to the south and Arab tribes are settled in their stead. As for their participation in the government of the country, nearly all the Kurds have been removed from positions of responsibility in Government offices, and many Kurdish students in the universities and academies have been forced to quit their studies.

The analogy between Iraq and South Africa is, therefore, not so out of place as would seem from the Amba-

sador's letter. The Kurds are in fact fighting a war against colonialism — Arab colonialism.

Brussels.

B. Seal

A Letter to "The Daily Telegraph" — June 2, 1965

Sir.—May I express appreciation of Mr. Edmund Townshend's article (May 21) giving the case for the Kurds, as stated to some Members of the House of Commons by Jalal Talabani?

Though Kurdish autonomy within Iraq is to some extent a new idea it has been suggested before. In 1925 Sheikh Mahmoud of Sulaimania wanted a completely independent Kurdistan, printed his own stamps and created his own force — armed with British rifles! And immediately after World War II Air Vice-Marshal de Crespigny, then in command of RAF bases in Iraq, recommended an independent or autonomous Kurdistan. He proposed defining a boundary to the Kurdish mountainous areas where-in Kurds, Assyrians and other mountain peoples should manage their own affairs.

The proposed "de Crespigny Line" was not dissimilar in position from that given recently on a map of Iraqi Kurdistan in "Journey Among Brave Men" by the **New York Times** journalist Dana Adams Schmidt, which shows the line actually held by the Kurds when Schmidt visited them in 1964.

Thus if the Iraq Government has the wisdom to disengage her Army (supported it is said by a considerable and expensive and unpopular Egyptian force) from Kurdistan it will find it a far better investment in the long run to pay to an autonomous Kurdistan such oil royalties as are due to her with her two million population, rather than to face endless and recurrent war.

If this is considered loss of face it is even more undesirable for the Iraq Government to have to look forward to steadily growing world opinion against it. The attack upon two million Kurds by Arab forces combined to annihilate them is as gross "Imperialism" as could be imagined, and Egypt's liberated African neighbours are likely to say so.

It has been suggested that Britain is not guiltless in that arms were offered to Iraq when Russia dried up her supplies, provided they were not employed against Kuwait — the inference being that they could be used against Kurdistan, and are being so used. This surely is not true and we must find means to dispel or disprove it. Perhaps the best way would be to refuse to take oil from Iraq as long as the war against Kurdistan continues. Or alternatively let the oil be purchased but under the condition that the appropriate proportion of the payment due from the United Kingdom should be handed over to the Kurds through their leaders Mulla Mustapha and Jalal Talabani.

The need for funds in Kurdistan to cope even with their casualties, their burnt crops and ruined villages is not inconsiderable for no Red Cross can as yet help them in their mountain isolation. Their legal position in being entitled to their share of Iraq oil revenue (some £100 million a year) is undeniable — they helped to produce it.

Yours faithfully,
A. M. HAMILTON

London, S.W.1.

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