

KURDISTAN



Kurdish Students' Society in Europe

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KURDISTAN



K.S.S.E.

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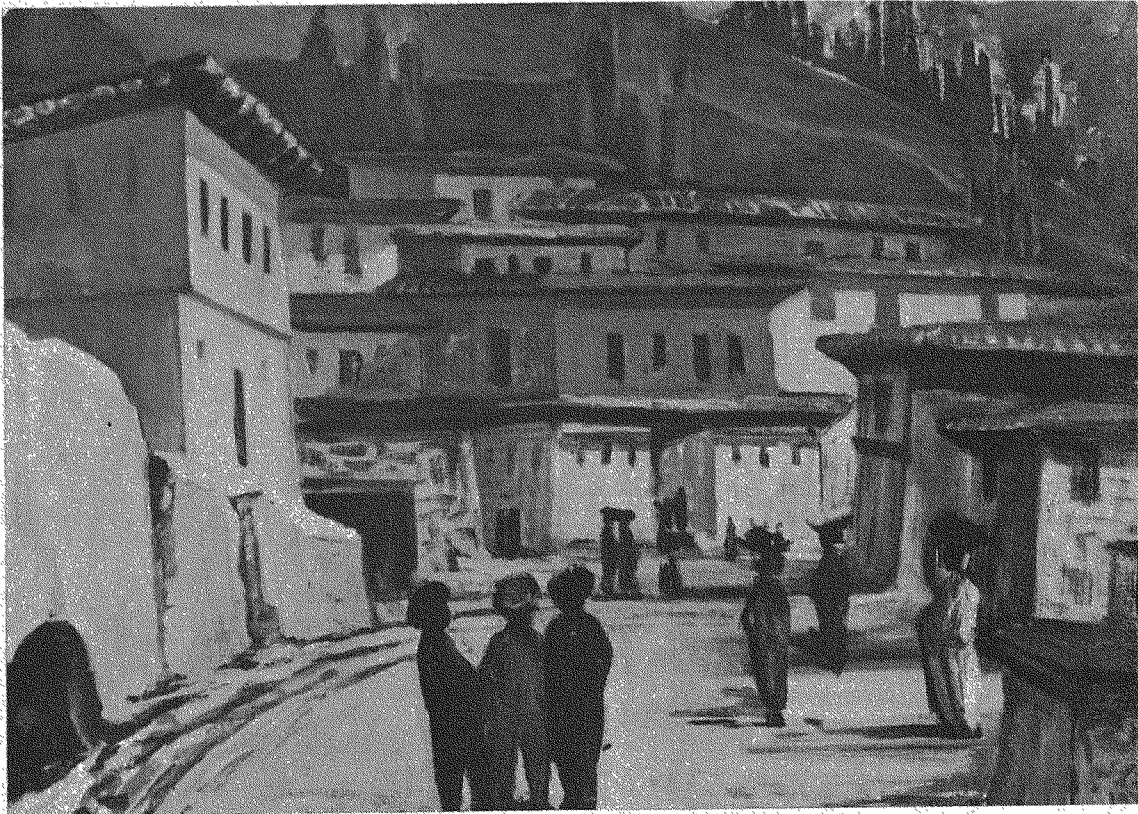
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KOMELEY XWENDIKARANI KURD LE EWROPA



Romantic village of Kurdistan

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

Editorial

The Twelfth Congress :

With the exception of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe's Second Congress, which was held in London at the end of December 1957, all other congresses have been held in summer, and mostly in August. The Twelfth Congress was also to take place from 17th to 22nd August of this year. While everything in Vienna was set and delegates from all over Europe were preparing for departure, the Austrian authorities announced on August 10th 1967 that the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe Congress was not going to be allowed in Vienna, and measures would be taken by various Austrian Embassies in Europe not to grant entry visas to the Kurds. This sudden and surprise action by the Austrian Government, at such short notice, caused understandably numerous problems and inconvenience for us. According to some Austrian papers the Iraqi Government had exerted pressure on the Austrians and threatened them with a break in diplomatic relations. The same papers have later published a Government Communiqué stating that the action was taken by the Austrians alone and under no pressure whatever. The Executive Committee of the K.S.S.E. had promptly sent a letter to the Austrian Ministry of Internal Affairs deploring their action, which was considered unfair, to say the least. In a very long letter, dated November 1967, to the K.S.S.E. Secretariat the Austrian Government tries to defend its action and gives its neutrality and good relations with the countries dividing Kurdistan as main reasons behind that stand. We do not wish to go into details of how wide a country's neutrality can be interpreted, but we do wish to point out that there have been in Austria, since 1955, various activities from different organisations which have not always pleased some governments with whom Austria has good relations.

The Kurdish Students, in their divided land, are deprived of all academic rights, let alone the right to meet and form their own organisations openly, and they see the Austrian Government's action as an indirect support to the fascist and narrow-minded policies of the governments in Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria in their desperate attempt to silence the ever-rising voices of the Kurdish students and people will condemn the action of their government in forbidding our Congress in such a manner.

The Congress had to be postponed. Now, thanks to the efforts of Yugoslav students and the authorities concerned, our Twelfth Congress will be held in Belgrade from 27th to 31st December 1967.

Holding the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe's Annual Congress this year in Yugoslavia has a great significance; it is the first time for a general Kurdish Students' Congress in Europe to take place in a socialist country; it proves that the world is much wider than Austrian territories and shows that the Kurds are not, after all, entirely alone, friendless and without sympathies in this wide world. In the name of all Kurdish students in fifteen European countries, the Executive Committee of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe expresses its profound thanks and gratitude to the Yugoslav students and Government.

Kurdistan :

Towards the end of June 1966, a twelve-point agreement was reached between the Kurds and the Iraqi Government in order to "end the bloodshed and guarantee the equal rights of the Kurds and Arabs". The Kurdish Students in Europe, at the conclusion of the Eleventh Congress in August 1966, in West Berlin, found these point insufficient and unanimously adopted a resolution calling for a speedy implementation of the twelve points which were regarded as a step towards achieving the Kurdish revolution's main objectives, viz. Autonomy for Kurdistan within the framework of a democratic Iraq.

Eighteen months have passed since the agreement was announced, and each of the four government which came to power during this period endorsed the "Peace Plan" without taking any serious action to apply it. The present government forms, now and then, committees and sub-committees to "deal with the Kurdish problem", but these committees have had no effective say and even their authorities are vaguely defined, therefore they, in effect, only help to prolong the present state of stalemate in Kurdistan, which could before long become explosive again. The rulers in Baghdad do not seem to realise that the Kurdish question is the most important problem facing Iraq today, and without a just and honourable solution to it there can be no stability and peace in the country. It is high time for the present government in Baghdad to learn, even a little, from the events of the past six years. Leaving the Kurdish question unresolved, continuing the policy of previous governments in detailing a large number of political prisoners, Kurds and Arabs, and denying the Iraqi people all democratic rights will undoubtedly result in no better end for this government than that of the numerous government which have come and gone since 1961. This policy would leave Iraq continuing to struggle between survival and complete destruction.

While the cause of present anarchy in Iraq is well known to the world in general and neighbouring countries in particular, the short-sighted leaders of Turkey, Iran and Syria have renewed their activities in oppressing the Kurdish people. Governments of Turkey and Iran have recently intensified the persecution of the Kurds. There have been talks in Iran of armed resistance to these measures. These governments should at long last realize that the policies of force can actually be substituted by reason and logic in solving the Kurdish question.

The ruling Syrian Ba'athists, who claim to be progressive and true socialists, are busy carrying out their "Arab Belt" plan, whereby nearly 150,000 Kurdish peasants living on a strip of land seven miles deep, adjacent to the Iraqi and Turkish frontiers, are to be removed southwards to the desert and to be replaced by Arabs and Bedouins from elsewhere. Another 150,000 Kurds have been, as a result of a new population census, deprived of their Syrian nationality. The Kurds in Syria are being persecuted in a most ugly manner, their land and properties are being confiscated and they have become victims of the reactionary fascist policy, no matter how loud the Ba'athists in Damascus may boast of their socialism and "progressive policies". It is quite a paradox when 100 square miles of Syrian territory is under Israeli occu-

pation, the Syrian Ba'athists should display their own meagre muscles in the face of the peaceful Kurdish population, which has no wish other than to live in peace and harmony with its Arab compatriots. It is an absolute hypocrisy to talk of socialism and equality when nearly half a million Kurds in Syria do not have the right to lead a normal life, without even considering their national rights within the Syrian Republic.

“Human Rights Year” has just started (December

10th) to mark the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The twelve million Kurds have no reason to celebrate this important occasion. They are fallen victims of world politics. We hope that in the coming year some pressure from the signatories of the U.D.H.R. would be put upon the governments of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria in order to put an end to this neo-barbarism, injustice and human suffering in Kurdistan. It is their moral duty.

KURDISH STUDENTS SOCIETY IN EUROPE 1966 - 1967

on the 16th August, 1957, seventeen Kurdish students in Wiesbaden (F.G.R.), at a meeting decided to establish a Cultural Society of the Kurdish Students in Europe.

The SECOND CONGRESS of the Society, was held from 2nd to 4th January, 1958, in London, and it was attended by twenty-two Kurdish students.

The THIRD CONGRESS was held from the 4th to 8th August, 1958, in Munich, and it was attended by seventeen Kurdish students. During this Congress it was decided to change the name of the Society to the KURDISH STUDENTS SOCIETY IN EUROPE.

The FOURTH CONGRESS was held from the 23rd to 26th July, 1959, in Vienna, and it was attended by forty Kurdish students.

The FIFTH CONGRESS was held from the 22nd to 26th August, 1960, in West Berlin, and it was attended by seventy-three Kurdish students.

The SIXTH CONGRESS was held from the 21st to 26th August, 1961, in Münster (F.G.R.) and it was attended by one hundred and nine Kurdish students.

The SEVENTH CONGRESS was held from the 9th to 10th August, 1962, in Braunschweig (F.G.R.), and it was attended by one hundred and ten Kurdish students.

The EIGHTH CONGRESS was held from the 9th to 15th August, 1963, in Munich, and it was attended by one hundred and fifty-six Kurdish students.

The NINTH CONGRESS was held from the 3rd to 9th August, 1964, in Hanover, and it was attended by one hundred and eighty-three Kurdish students.

The TENTH CONGRESS was held from 17th to 22nd August, 1965, in West Berlin, and it was attended by one hundred and twenty-five Kurdish students.

The ELEVENTH CONGRESS was held from the 26th to 30th August, 1966, in West Berlin, and it was attended by one hundred and seventeen Kurdish students.

Apart from the Kurdish students who are studying at various Universities in Europe, many representatives of other organisations and a number of Journalists and distinguished guests were present at the Congresses.

The Organ of the Society is the KURDISTAN MAGAZINE and so far ten issues of it in English, one in German in

1958, and one in Arabic in 1960, have been published and many other publications in different European languages have been published by the General Committee and Branch Committees.

In June 1966, the General Committee, issued the first edition of PIRSING MAGAZINE, literary and cultural magazine, which is published in the Kurdish language.

The Society has four hundred and fifty members and they are studying in the following countries:-

Sweden, U.K., France, Austria, F.G.R., West Berlin, G.D.R., Poland, C.S.S.R., Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Roumania, and U.S.S.R.

The Society has contact with about one hundred students and non-student organisations for exchanging publications and delegations in their Conferences.

The Society has been a member of I.U.S. since December, 1964.

Basic Aims:

- 1 Strengthen the relationship of the Kurdish students in Europe, and to help solve their academic problems.
- 2 Facilitate mutual aid between Kurdish Students in Europe.
- 3 Promote the Kurdish National Culture, and work towards the good of the people and its national question.
- 4 Enlighten the world on the culture, country (Kurdistan), and condition of the Kurdish people and its national question.
- 5 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.
- 6 Contribute in the struggle of our people and support all peoples in the struggle against Imperialism, Reactionaries and Dictatorial Regimes for world peace, democracy and liberty.

THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE OF THE ELEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE KURDISH STUDENTS SOCIETY IN EUROPE

The Eleventh Congress of the K.S.S.E. took place in West Berlin from the 26th to 30th August, 1966, under the slogan:-

"For a peaceful settlement of the Kurdish Problem in Iraq on the basis of Autonomy and Democracy."

The Congress was attended by one hundred and seventeen Kurdish students studying at various universities in Europe, representing the following branches:-

The United Kingdom, France, The Federal German Republic, West Berlin, The German Democratic Republic, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, and the U.S.S.R.

Messages and telegrams were received from those who could not attend because of their difficult circumstances.

The Congress was opened in the (Free University), in West Berlin, and all the participants stood in silence for one minute in memory of the Martyrs of Kurdistan.

The Congress was then addressed by the President, who began by welcoming the guests and he gave an account of the political situation in Kurdistan. Then there followed speeches from the guests.

The Congress' settings continued up to the 30th August during these settings, the Executive report, the Finance and the Branch reports were discussed.

The Congress passed important resolutions and many recommendations were adopted by the Congress. Finally the new members of the Executive Committee were elected and the Congress ended with the Kurdish National Anthem (Ey regib her mawe gewmi Kurd Ziman).

The Executive Committee of the K.S.S.E.

31st August, 1966.

Some of the Resolutions of the Eleventh Congress

Considering that the cease-fire is a right step towards solving the Kurdish problem peacefully, the Congress urges the sincere Partisans of Kurdistan to be aware of the plans of imperialists and reactionaries in their efforts to split our revolution, without fulfilling our aims in an Autonomous Kurdistan within the framework of a democratic Iraq, and this mainly depends on ending the military dictatorship regime and establishing a parliamentary and democratic system.

The Congress salutes all the democratic and national forces in Iraq, and calls on all of them to unite in a National Democratic Front to overcome the dictatorship regime and to establish a parliamentary democratic government which will bring in the Kurdish National Rights (Autonomy for Kurdistan), and defend freedom, peace and unity of the Republic or Iraq, and stand against Imperialistic plans and its tools.

The Congress asks for Democratic Freedom in Iraq, and demands the release of all political prisoners.

The Congress condemns the re-arrest of Syrian Kurds, and demands their release and asks for equality among Syrians and to return national identities which have been taken away by unjustifiable action from thousands of Kurds and the Congress asks for national and cultural rights for the Kurdish people in Syria.

The Congress requests the government of Iran to grant cultural and national rights in Iran, and to open schools

and to allow Kurdish publications and to improve the social and economic situation of the Kurdish people, and to release all political prisoners.

The Congress showed its approval with the explanation of the Kurdish question in the Turkish Press and magazines by progressive and democratic Turks; and the Congress asks the Turkish Government to grant the national rights of the Kurdish people in Turkey and to allow the opening of schools and publications in the Kurdish language and to improve the social and economic situation of the Kurdish people in Turkey.

The Congress supports all the nations in the world in their struggle against imperialism and reactionaries for peace, liberty, democracy and equality.

The Congress condemns the action of aggression by imperialistic countries in the internal affairs of other countries and it supports the struggle of the Vietnamese people against American aggression in their country.

ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY AFTER THE ELEVENTH CONGRESS

Submitting a memorandum to the Iraqi Government.

Submitting a memorandum to the Syrian Government about the exploitation of the Kurdish people in Syria and excluding them from their national rights.

An appeal to all the national forces in Kurdistan to co-operate and work together to strengthen our revolution and to achieve the aims of the revolution.

The second number of Pirsing was published in the Kurdish language, and its contents were:-

- 1 Witari Pirsing - Destay Nuseran.
- 2 Yadi Sehidani Kurdistan - K.B.G.
- 3 Berew Rûnaki - I.A.
- 4 Pirsing le tay terazûda - K.M.
- 5 Tanya Kijoley Rûs - Kakay Rêbwar.
- 6 Le Cwarinekani Besir Mûsir - K.C.K.
- 7 Pirsing La esoy derbederiya - I.F.
- 8 Le sire bilaw nekrawekani
Haci Qadiri Koyi.
- 9 Le baxi gulek.
- 10 Tifeny u demancey Sikaw.
- 11 Zimane Eraniyekan.
- 12 Ehmedi Xani

Preparation for the Twelfth Congress which was to be held in August 1967, in Vienna.

Strengthen relationship between our society and other national and international organisations in the scope of our mutual aims and interests.

A delegation of the Society attended the Ninth Congress of the International Union of Students, held in Ulan Bator, Mongolia, from the 27th March to 5th April, 1967. At the Congress our delegation presented a report on the political situation in Kurdistan and introduced a plan on the Kurdish situation which was accepted by all the delegates, and the Congress passed a few resolutions in support of the Kurdistan people.

Two representatives of our society attended a seminar organised by the I.U.S. and F.D.J. from the 8th to 14th February, 1967.

A delegation of the Society attended a seminar held by the Yugoslav Union of Students from the 20th to 30th July, 1967(in Yugoslavia).

A SELECTION OF THE MAIN PUBLICATIONS OF OUR SOCIETY WILL NOW FOLLOW.

FACTS CONCERNING THE PRESENT SITUATION IN IRAQI KURDISTAN

On the 29th June, 1966, the Iraqi Government declared a plan consisting of 12 clauses as a settlement to the Kurdish problem at present existing in Iraqi Kurdistan. Excluding the clauses which are no more than attempts to re-establish the situation before the flare up of the revolution of September, 1961, this plan does not exceed, first civil rights, and secondly cultural rights.

These rights, and even the autonomy which is demanded by our people do not exceed the rights of any minority group. It is obvious that the Kurds of Iraqi are not a mere minority group but constitute one third of the Iraqi population. We believe that there will not be a complete settlement without a democratic regime which could guarantee autonomy for Iraqi Kurdistan within the Iraqi republic and respect all the minority rights which have been achieved by many countries in the world. For example Yugoslavia which, despite being formed from six unitary republics and two autonomous regions, allows full cultural rights to any national minority living in any one of these republics. This solution of the national question in Yugoslavia has resulted in a strengthening of unity and progress in the welfare of the people.

In spite of this our Society welcomed the Government plans as a step towards re-establishing normality in the country and put an end to the blood shed between Kurds and Arabs. Now, six months after the declaration of the 29th of June 1966, the Iraqi Government has only fulfilled a very small part of the 12 clauses of the plan. They have released a small number of Kurdish prisoners, re-employed some Kurdish individuals and paid some compensation to those who suffered because of the war. This does not fulfill the demands for which our people have been struggling.

The Government has not yet made any effort to allow our people any cultural rights. Publications in Kurdish are prohibited and Kurdish is not recognised as an official language in Kurdistan. The agreement made, that Kurdish villagers who had been forced from their homes and replaced by Arabs would be allowed to return, has not been honoured.

The Government should not hesitate to fulfil its plan with the utmost speed so as to avoid a resumption of the fruitless war and the same hazards and troubles for itself and for Iraqi people, otherwise the full responsibility of a resumption of war will fall entirely on the Iraqi Government.

The present attempts to make use of existing differences between some Kurdish National forces will not help in solving the crises; on the contrary it will undoubtedly add further complications. The previous Government tried this method in 1964 and failed; its fate is not likely to be any better today. The right approach towards solving the Kurdish problem is by granting the just demands of the Kurdish people. Safeguarding the countries independence and its national unity requires an acceleration in the fulfilment of these primary demands and ending the situation of emergency in Iraq.

The Iraqi Government would be better to follow a course of wisdom and abandon past methods which have proved to be useless. National progressive Forces in Iraq, those whose concern is in the best interest of both Arab and Kurd, are called to do their utmost to prevent a resumption of conflict in Kurdistan by compelling the Iraqi Government to fulfill the plan of the 29th of June 1966, concerning the Kurdish people.

19th February 1967

General Committee of K.S.S.E.

AN EXPOSITION FROM K.S.S.E. ABOUT THE OPPRESSION OF THE KURDISH PEOPLE IN SYRIA

Our Society welcomed the changes in the policies of the 'Ba'ath Socialist Party, which rules Syria, and we were very optimistic about these changes, both as far as the situation in Syria and the attitude of this Party towards the Kurdish question are concerned. The change from National Socialism to Scientific Socialism it was hoped would be accompanied by a change in its policies towards the Kurdish question generally and the Kurds in Syria in particular. We very much regret to say that its attitude has worsened daily towards the Kurdish question in spite of increased claims of its 'leftist policies'. For instance, after the ceasefire agreement between the Iraqi Government and Kurdish forces and the subsequent declaration of 29th July, 1966, which contained some rights for the Kurds in Iraq, the Syrian Government took a very aggressive attitude towards the declaration and described it as a 'plot' and 'separation' and so forth, customary 'accusations' to which the Arab and international public opinion are used to hearing, without considering the miseries this war has brought to both the Kurds and Arabs since 1961, and the damage it has done to their struggle against their common enemy—the Imperialist.

It did not stop there, the Syrian Government increased its fascist methods towards the Kurds in Syria. Hundreds were subjected to imprisonment and the 'Syrian National identity' was withdrawn from hundreds of others. They were also forced to evacuate their villages and the 'Land Reform Scheme' was not applied to Kurdish farmers. They also refused to accept Kurdish graduates in the civil service and other posts.

Briefly, the Syrian Government looks towards the Kurds as an enemy, and tries by all methods to withdraw the simplest of nationalist rights. Clearly these methods do not agree at all with the principles the Ba'ath Party demands and neither do they do the Syrian or the Arab cause any good.

The Syrian Government ought to take a firm stand against the plots of Imperialism and its oil companies in the area, instead of using its power on a friendly nation. Had the Syrian Government been truthful about its claims of 'liberty, unity and Socialism', it would offer a friendly helping hand to the Kurdish people and ensure their equality in Syria, not to exercise against them an outdated racialist policy. The Syrian struggle is against Imperialism and Zionism, not against a people friendly towards the Arabs.

The suppression of 10% of Syria's population from their national rights does not agree at all with 'Scientific Socialism' which is what the Ba'ath Party claims. The progressive steps in the political and economical fields should be free from chauvinism. Indeed the 'Scientific Socialism' and 'National Suppression' contradict each other. Talk of unity will not mean anything as long as those doing it do their best to widen the gap of hatred between the citizens of one country. We, therefore, call upon all those who defend human rights, to support the removal of 'Nationalist suppression' to which our Kurdish people in Syria are being subjected. We also call upon all Arabs and Kurds to work towards strengthening friendship ties and uniting on one front, as our struggle for the rights of both nations requires.

March 1967

General Committee of K.S.S.E.

**THE KURDISH STUDENT SOCIETY IN EUROPE
CONDEMNS THE ISRAELI-IMPERIALIST
AGGRESSION AGAINST THE ARABS, DESPITE :**

- 1 The chauvinistic stand taken by the Nationalist forces in the Arab countries towards the Kurdish question.
- 2 The armed aggression against our people in Iraq over a period of five years at the hands of the military dictators.
- 3 The suppression of the Kurdish citizens in Syria at the hands of the ruling Ba'arh Party.

Starting from its belief in the principles of the solidarity amongst all the peoples of the world in their struggle against imperialism and dictatorship, and moving towards freedom, democracy and world peace", and owing to the Eleventh Annual Congress' resolution affirming its support of the Arab Liberation Movement against Imperialism and Zionism and for independence and democracy. Our Society reaffirms its support to the rightful demands of the Arab people in Palestine, and fully supports the national liberation movement of the Arab countries.

It is our belief that the only way to the realisation of the Arab people's hopes—eliminating the imperialist influence, the completion of its' independence, checking the results of the last aggression and solving the Palestine problem in a manner which guarantees the rights of the Arab in Palestine together with the peace and stability of that area, thus silencing both the Imperialists and Israel and repelling their conspiracies of aggression—is through the establishment of truly democratic regimes in the Arab countries, the solution of the internal problems and conditions, achieving a higher standard of living economically socially and culturally.

Finally we state that the first step we envisage for bringing about a solution for the present crisis in the Middle East, is that the United Nations, together with all peace-loving countries, try seriously by all possible means to force Israel to 1. withdraw from the areas that it has occupied through the recent aggression, 2. put an end to its criminal policy and 3. guarantee that there are no future acts of aggression.

Middle of June 1967. General Executive of the K.S.S.E.

**MEMORANDUM OF THE KURDISH STUDENTS'
SOCIETY IN EUROPE TO THE PRESIDENT OF
THE REPUBLIC OF IRAQ**

To his Excellency, the President of the Iraqi Republic,
Major-General Abdul-Rahman Mohammed Arif:
"Greetings,

Our Society, like all the friends and sincere citizens of Iraq, welcomed the declaration ending the military operations in Kurdistan in June 1966. This revived our hopes of solving the Kurdish problem through peaceful means, that could put an end to a war between brothers that has lasted so long and cost our country so much heartache. Thus it has become clear that a solution of this problem could not have been brought about by force and violence. The ex-premier, Dr. Abdul Rahman Al-Bazzaz, stressed at the time in the statement, that he made on Baghdad Radio and Television, on the 29th June 1966, that the Kurdish problem is very real and could not be solved by force. His

statement included a plan consisting of twelve points which suggested a 'solution to the problem of Northern Iraq.' Nevertheless, the above mentioned programme, despite the fact that it met only the minimum demands of our people, was accepted by the leaders of the Kurdish revolution, who were eager to create an atmosphere favourable for restoring peace and to save the people of Iraq from the tragedy of the war in Kurdistan.

We deeply regret that a whole year has elapsed since that statement was made and none of its clauses have been fulfilled except some minor and almost negligible demands.

With regard to the cultural demands, we have so far not heard of a single book, magazine or newspaper being published in Kurdish. The Kurdish language has not been introduced into the teaching syllabuses of any of the schools of the areas where the majority of the inhabitants are Kurds. How can a nation be deprived from learning its own language in the second half of the 20th century? Or, is it right to prevent one-third of the population of a country from publishing a newspaper, magazine or book in its own national language? World public opinion will no doubt condemn such a situation.

Finally, we sincerely hope that the Iraqi Government will follow the path of justice and wisdom and move quickly to implement the declaration of 29th June 1966, resulting in freeing itself and the Iraqi people from the burdens of the existing conditions.

With kind regards",

29th June 1967.

The Executive of the K.S.S.E.

**THE KURDISH STUDENTS SOCIETY IN EUROPE
DISCUSSES THE UNRISING IN IRAN**

After the revolution in 1958 in Iraq, and the formation of the Iraqi Republic, which it was hoped would be democratic and guarantee the Kurdish national right, many Kurdish patriots took this opportunity to serve the Kurdistan cause, and decided to go to Iraqi Kurdistan. When at that time the Iraqi Government attacked Kurdistan and the Kurdish revolution started, these Iranian Kurds joined in the revolution because they sincerely believed that any Kurdistan triumphs in Iraq would be a triumph for Kurds everywhere, since the Kurdistan problems are similar throughout Kurdistan.

Unfortunately Iranian security Forces captured some of these partisans and in one day eight of them were executed (in Khana), in Iran by Iranian forces. Some of the others were killed or persecuted by the police. The rest of the Iranian Kurds decided to leave Iranian Kurdistan and go to certain places from where they could resist the Iranian forces so that they would not be handed back to the Iranian authorities. The Iranian Government started once again to exploit the Kurdish people in Iran and many Kurds are now in prison where they are subjected to torture.

Our Society salutes the struggle of our people in Iran and condemns the unjust action by the Iranian Government and we ask the Iranian Government to release all political prisoners and give the Kurdish people their national rights.

23rd August 1967.

General Committee of K.S.S.E.

**SPEECH OF THE DELEGATION OF THE KURDISH STUDENTS' SOCIETY
IN EUROPE AT THE 12th SEMINAR HELD BY THE YUGOSLAV UNION
OF STUDENTS, DUBROVNIK, YUGOSLAVIA, 20th-30th JULY, 1967**

Mr. President,
Dear Friends,

On behalf of the Kurdish Students Society in Europe I would like to thank the Yugoslav Union of Students and the League of Yugoslav Universities for their friendly invitations to us to take part in this international Seminar.

We are quite sure that such meetings between the various international students organisations will help to strengthen the relations between the students of all countries and constitute a solid basis for a better understanding in this world for the cause of peace and progress.
Dear Friends,

Allow me to inform you briefly about our Students' organisation:

The Kurdish Students' Society in Europe was established in 1956. Next month it will hold its 12th annual Congress in Vienna between the 17th and 22nd August. The Society has branches in 15 European countries and includes about 400 members who are studying in Europe and who come from all parts of Kurdistan.

The aims of the Society are to organise the work and the fight of the Kurdish students in Europe for peace and democracy, for achieving the national rights of the Kurdish people and also for the cultivation of the Kurdish language and culture, as well as collaboration with all progressive organisations for the common cause.

The Kurdish people live in the near East. Their country 'Kurdistan' is divided among Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. In all these countries the Kurdish people have been deprived of all their cultural and national rights. In the Turkish part of Kurdistan the Kurds are officially called "Mountain Kurds" and the Kurdish language is banned there. In Iran there are no Kurdish schools and no Kurdish books, newspapers or magazines published. In Syria the present Government considers itself to be socialist and progressive takes a very hostile attitude towards the Kurdish people. This attitude is very regrettable and we hope that this policy of repression carried on against the Kurdish population in Syria should be brought to an end and the legitimate rights of the Kurds should be recognised. It is quite evident to everybody that socialism and suppression are contradictory to each other.

In Iraq our people have been subjected to an unjust and cruel war waged by the Iraqi Government and lasted for five years (from September 1961 until June 1966). Our people have only demanded a minimum of his national rights, but we have got nothing more than bombs that burnt and destroyed our villages and towns. Nevertheless, we hope that the Iraqi Government will stand up for the promises stated in the agreement of the 29th June 1966. We also hope that this war shall never start again and that the rights of the Kurds will be realised. No one will benefit

from a flare-up of a new war except the imperialists whose interest is to hamper the progress of the countries in this part of the world.

The national movement of the Kurds is a democratic and peace-loving movement which supports all anti-imperialist movements throughout the world, especially of those people with whom the Kurds are living together, that is the Turks, Persians and the Arabs. From this very attitude we have condemned the Israeli aggression against the Arabs as we have firmly stood against the American aggression in Vietnam. We hope that this burning problem in the Middle East should be solved by peaceful means. Only in peace can the countries of the Middle East overcome their social, political and economic difficulties. The large amounts spent on armament should be used to change the miserable conditions under which the majority live. Only by this means each country in the region will be able to raise the living standard of its population and pay much more attention to solve its internal problems as the case in Iraq and Syria in respect to the Kurds. It would have been much better for the Iraqi Government to spare the large amounts of money spent in the war against the Kurds for beneficial projects.

Dear Friends,

I think it is difficult—after this quick survey of the conditions under which the Kurds are living—to talk about the problems of university life in our land. There is no university in any part of Kurdistan. On the contrary, the Kurds are deprived from their own language. We are in need of primary and secondary schools. We hope that all the participants in this Seminar will transmit the voice of our people to their peoples and support our fight for a peaceful and just solution for the Kurdish problem.

Long live the struggle of all students and peoples throughout the world for peace, national independence and democracy.

Thank you for your attention.

**An Appeal from K.S.S.E. to the Kurdish People
on the Sixth Anniversary of the Kurdish Revolution
in Iraqi Kurdistan**

The appeal gives a brief account of the political situation in Iraqi Kurdistan and urges all the partisans and Kurdish people to be really united in their struggle against their enemies. It urges all the Kurdish people, especially the partisans, to co-operate in every respect and not to give up the struggle until the aims of the revolution have been achieved and to solve their conflicts so that they will be able to crush the common enemy.

September 1967.

General Committee of K.S.S.E.

SUPPORT FOR THE KURDS

The following Resolutions were passed in support
of the Kurds

Resolution of the 9th Congress of the International Union of Students on the Kurdish Question

The 9th Congress of the IUS Meeting in Ulan Bator, Mongolia
from March 26th — April 5th, 1967

Considering

- 1 the division of the Kurdish nation by the imperialists between Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria and the suppression of Kurdish national rights in these countries.
- 2 the continuous suppression of the Kurdish people in Turkish and Iranish Kurdistan and their deprivation of the most elementary legitimate national rights.
- 3 the recent developments in Iraqi Kurdistan and the termination of hostilities in accordance with the June 29, 1966 Agreement, which came as a result of the resurgence of forces of the Kurdish revolution, but which has not been implemented due to the fact that the Iraqi Government did not fulfil any of its promises;
- 4 that the struggle for democracy and against the imperialists and their agents forms a cornerstone of the fight of Iraqi people, Arabs and Kurds alike;
- 5 that the progressive steps taken in Syria in the struggle against imperialism and zionism and the fulfilment of progressive achievements in the social and economic fields are at variance with the lack of understanding on the part of the Syrian authorities for the Kurdish question, and the national rights of the Kurds in Syria, which result in the deprivation of many of them of their citizenship and cultural rights;

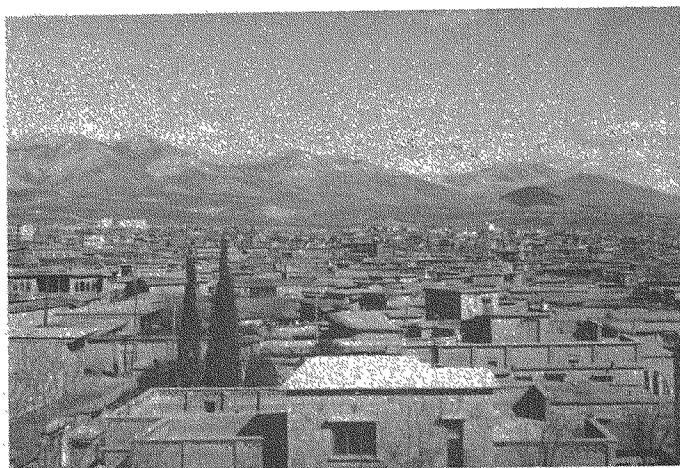
Resolves

- 6 to support the Kurdish people in their struggle for their national and cultural rights against imperialism and reaction and their intrigues;
- 7 to support, by all moral and material means, the struggle of the Kurdish people in Iraqi Kurdistan to achieve their objectives in autonomy and democracy;

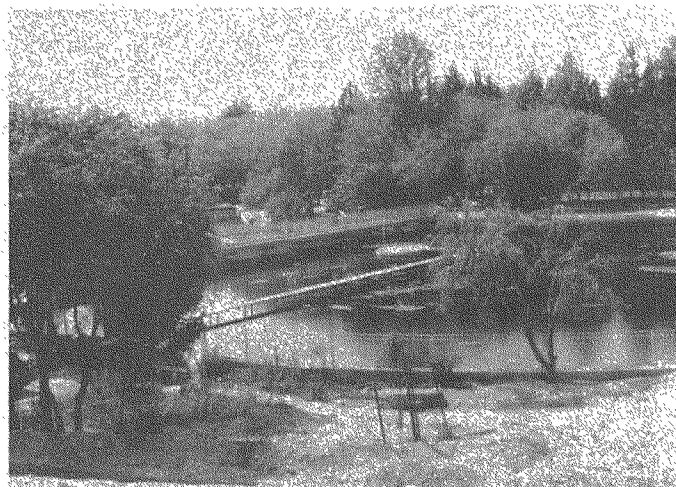
- 8 DEMANDS that the Iraqi Government implement the June 29, 1966 Armistice Agreement with its declared stipulations as well as the other agreements attached to it, in a manner ensuring autonomy for Iraqi Kurdistan, a matter which is closely connected with the establishment of a progressive national democratic regime in Iraq;
- 9 CALLS UPON the Syrian Government to reconsider its position with regard to the Kurdish problem, a matter which would undoubtedly strengthen the internal front to resist imperialism and zionism, and to carry out a radical social transformation in the interest of the Syrian people;
- 10 MANDATES to IUS Secretariat to extend all possible material and moral support to the struggle of the Kurdish people; to increase its support to KSSE and GUSIR and salute their struggle for the implementation of their aims in the fight for democracy, against imperialism and reaction and for peace.

Moved by: Kurdish Students Society in Europe, UNEA; Algeria, UNUL; Lebanon, GUSIR; Iraq, UNEM; Morocco, C.N.U.S.; Ceylon, GHANASO; Ghana, UGEAN; Yugoslavia, YUS.

Seconded by: FDJ; GDR, Student Council of CSM; Czechoslovakia, UFUCH; Chili Student Council of the USSR, NSC; Bulgaria, UASR; Rumania, ZENGA-KUREN;! Japan, UMS; Mongolia, FEUU; Uruguay, FEANF.



Sulaimania — Iraqi Kurdistan



Sarchinar -- Iraqi Kurdistan

Overseas Students' Conference

London, 28th — 29th October, 1966

introduction

As most of you know, in Iraq there are Arab people, who constitute the majority of the population, and Kurdish people, who constitute about one third of the population. The Iraqi people as a whole have suffered a great deal of suppression and denial of free democratic expression of beliefs and political opinions. The Kurdish people, a nation with a distinct national entity, are denied, in addition to the sufferings shared by all Iraqi people, Arabs and Kurds, the basic rights of identity as Kurds: use of their own language and self-government (autonomy) within the Iraqi republic. The Iraqi people fully support the just demands of the Kurdish people, namely, autonomy within the Iraqi republic. Kurdish students have suffered a great deal, side by side with their fellow students, fighting for the same ends, for better education.

World and national public opinion supported the Kurdish people during the war of discrimination which was waged by the successive dictatorship governments which have taken power in Iraq since 1961 until now. There are signs that the Iraqi government is now preparing another offensive action against the Kurdish people.

Today, in Iraq, the people are fighting against dictatorship, for a democratic government for fulfilling the demands of the Kurdish people and for the release of about 5,000 political prisoners, many of whom are students, teachers and university lecturers.

These are the main problems faced by the Iraqi people which need the active support and solidarity of students and public opinion.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE CONFERENCE

- Having considered the situation in Iraq and recognising the suffering of the Iraqi people. Conference declares—
- support for the Iraqi people in their struggle for democracy, the release of all political prisoners and condemns the action of the Iraqi Government for their policy of suppression and military dictatorship.
 - alarm at the news of a new offensive prepared by the Iraqi Government against the Kurdish people and declares support for the Kurdish people and their demands especially for self government within Iraqi Republic.



A bombed village — Iraqi Kurdistan

THE FORMATION OF THE KURDISH SOCIETY AT LIVERPOOL SOCIETY

To:

The Secretary,
Students' Union,
Liverpool University.

Dear Secretary,

The Kurdish Students of Liverpool University would like to organise themselves in order to enjoy the academic life in the best way possible and to show their British colleagues some features of the life and culture of the Kurdish people and explain the position in Kurdistan.

They hope to organise some social activities as well as general political debates and meetings.

The students have signed this application to support the formation of a Kurdish Society and I hope you can kindly accept this application along with the enclosed constitution of the Society.

(Signed by)
30 Supporters.

From:

The Vice-President,
for Guild Affairs,
Liverpool University.

Dear Sir,

The application of the Kurdistan Society for 'B' Society status has now been approved.

I have retained the Constitution which you sent to me and I should appreciate it if any future change to the Constitution are notified to whoever may be the Vice-President for Guild Affairs at that time.

Your sincerely,
Vice-President.

WHY NOT IN VIENNA ?

The Twelfth Congress of the Kurdish Students' Society was supposed to be held in Vienna from the 17th to 22nd August, 1967, but a week before it was due the Austrian Ministry of Interior, informed the Society that the Congress would not be allowed to take place in Austria. Immediately the Executive Committee informed all the members of the Society about this action against the Congress and asked

THE TWELFTH CONGRESS

The Kurdish Students' Society in Europe is pleased to announce that its Twelfth Annual Congress will be held in Yugoslavia from the 26th to 31st December 1967. Every member of our society is urged to do his utmost to attend this Congress.

PLACE OF CONGRESS
SXETOZARA MARKOVICA 79.
BEOGRAD. Tel: 642120.

by the means of letters, the Austrian Authorities for their reasons and even now the real explanations have not been given to our Society.

Here we would like to mention that the Ministry of the Interior in Austria said that their action was taken as a result of a request from the Iraqi Government, but the Iraqi Embassy denied this.

A Viennese newspaper, on the 21st August, 1967, wrote an article about the cancellation of the Congress, and said that the decision was taken by the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of External Affairs without the Iraqies having been involved.

This is what the paper said:-

"u wien (r). Zu der Meldug über die Asage eires Kongresses Kurdischer Studenten in Wien teilt das Aussen ministerium mit, dass keine Intervention der irakischer Botschaft erfolgt sei, Sondern die Absage aus engen Erveägungen des Aussen und Innenministeriums erfolgate"

Die Presse, Wien, 21.8.1967

IRAQI KURDISTAN UNION OF STUDENTS

- 1 In August 1967 the Secretariat of I.K.U.S. sent a letter to K.S.S.E. to congratulate the Twelfth Congress.
- 2 In July 1967 the I.K.U.S. published "Voice of Kurdistan Union of Students," which is the organ of I.K.U.S., and content :
 - (a) Life in a peaceful Kurdistan.
 - (b) About a year after the 29th June '66 declaration.
 - (c) Complications in our present struggle.
 - (d) About the Imperialistic conspiracy.
 - (e) With the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe.
 - (f) Twenty years after martyring of the four Kurdish officers.

The above articles show and explain the policy of I.K.U.S. like any other progressive Kurdish organisation in their struggle for the Kurdish cause.

The K.S.S.E. salutes the struggle of I.K.U.S. and wish to thank them for informing the Society about their activities.

We hope that our co-operation will continue on a much wider scale for achieving our just and national rights.

QUOTATIONS

"When each of you has this faith and is ready to seal it with his own blood, then alone will you have a country, not before."

*Mazzini's address to the Young Men of Italy
in 1859*

"Die on your feet sooner than live on your knees."

Dr. HEINZ KLOSS

Some European Analogies to the Kurdish question

The Kurds certainly are justified in feeling that among the suppressed nationalities the world over they are holding a place that is unique. When recently I wrote a sketchy survey of present-day linguistic conditions all over the world (it appeared in the "Bildungsbuch" of the Buerchilde Gutenberg in Frankfurt-Main) I found out, and stated, that the Kurds are by far the largest of those small nations or—to put it the other way round—of those linguistic communities which are all but deprived of even the most elementary rights. Their numerical strength is about twice that of other large disinherited groups—the 5-6 million Catalans in Spain for instance, or the 5-7 million Quecha speaking inhabitants of the Andes.

Still the Catalans are the one European ethnic group whose history and present status bears much resemblance to that of the Kurds: they are the only ethnic group west of the Iron Curtain which while not being the leading nationality in one or the European countries is sufficiently strong numerically to make the thought of setting up a separate independent state not look unreasonable. At the same time they are deprived of all linguistic rights. As a part of the leftish Spanish Republic (1931-39) Catalonia enjoyed a high degree of autonomy which made possible an almost unbelievable unfolding of the Catalan language and literature.

A more specific parallel may be drawn between the situation of the Catalan people and the Kurds of Iran, as contrasted with that of the other Kurds.

In Turkey, Irak, Syria the national languages—Turkish and Arabic—are totally unrelated to Kurdish. The Kurds in these countries can become ethnic Turks or ethnic Arabs only by completely abandoning their ancestral tongue not only as a means of written and published communication, but also the language of hearth and home. The Turkish and Arab nationalists can transform the Kurds into ethnic Turks and ethnic Arabs merely by completely weeding-out the Kurdish tongue, by suppressing its oral use as well as its use as a literary vehicle.

The Persian tongue on the other hand, is closely akin to Kurdish, both belonging to the same family of Iranian languages as Pashtu and the language of Tadjikistan.

The Persian Government, in order to transform the Kurds into ethnic Persians, does not have to uproot the Kurds language completely. It may permit its use as a medium of oral communication, while at the same time forbidding its being used in books and periodicals, i.e. by relegating it to the status of a mere dialect subordinated to its close relative, the Persian tongue.

All this corresponds to the relation between the Spanish and Catalan languages. The Spanish government does not try to annihilate the Catalan language—as it does try to destroy the Basque speech-community. It is quite content to have Catalan live on as a spoken tongue, as an unwritten vernacular, playing the inferior role of a Spanish dialect. But it insists on Spanish to be the only language taught in the schools, used in the newspapers, and in those books which contain non-narrative prose. (And it is books of this type which in modern times determine the rank, prestige, and status of a cultural language, not books containing fiction or poetry).

The manifold similarities between Catalans and Kurds suggest that the leaders of these two nations might do well to get together, to exchange views and to discuss opportunities for co-operation, e.g. with regard to NUESCO or to the United Nations.

One of the many odds the Kurds have to cope with is the fact that so far they did not (and could not) succeed in having the language of their printed literature adopt a uniform shape. Instead they have two literary dialects, to wit, Sorani and Kurmandshi.

This situation, bad as it is, is by no means as unique as some Kurds may be inclined to think. You will find it repeated in the situation of the Norwegian nation. In Norway the autochthonous literary language had disappeared many centuries ago. Instead, Danish had become their literary vehicle, the language of writings, the church and public life. In the course of the 19th century there developed two indigenous literary languages. One was based on the Danish tongue but incorporated thousands of words from Norwegian dialects and even changed the morphological structure of Norwegian Danish. This language became known by the names of Riksmål and of Bokmal. The other literary dialect called Landsmal or Nynorsk, came into being by means of a fusion of local dialects which avoided all traces of Danish influence. In both tongues, books have been published which are regarded by world opinions as being of enduring poetic value. Among the best-known Riksmål authors are Bjørson Hamsun and Sigrid Undset, among Landsmal authors Arne Garborg and Olaf Duun. In fact Riksmål dominates all the cities and the rural population of the North and Southeast, while Landsmal prevails among most inhabitants of the Southwest.

Both tongues are recognised as official languages. Local school boards have free choice to have the elementary schools conducted in either tongue. But - if Landsmal is preferred as the medium of instruction, the schools must impart to the pupils also a reading knowledge of Riksmål and vice versa.

During the fifties a strong movement has developed in favour of a fusion of the two languages by making them over into a new amalgam to be called Samnorsk.

Some of my readers may dismiss the story of Norwegian linguistic "bifurcation" because it tells of a nation disposing of a sovereign state. But we find analogous situations among nations which are "minorities" in the sense that the term used by UNO—i.e. which are non-dominant ethnic groups.

Among the one million Bretons of Little Brittany (la Bretagne) in western France there sprang up two literary languages, the one based on the closely related dialects of Kernev (frz. Cornouaille) Leon, and Treger (frz. Treguier) and therefore called "K.L.T.", the other based on the very much differing dialect of Vannes, the Vannetais. For a long time both varieties of written Breton lived side by side. But in 1941, at a meeting of Breton scholars and authors, it was decided to abandon the Vannetais in favour of KLT which with regard to certain details of spelling was made a little more similar to the yielding tongue. This

reaction was perhaps typical of a linguistically oppressed little nation which cannot afford to split energies by sustaining two varieties of its written language. (But this solution to be true was possible only because the Bretons were contrary to the Kurds, living within the boundaries of a single state).

Of course the most salient and at the same time the most tragic feature about the Kurds is the fact that the territory where their language is spoken, is divided by state boundaries. True enough there is one ethnic group in Europe which is spread over three states: the Lapps (or Sames) are living in the northern districts of Finland, Sweden and Norway. But there are too few of them (at most 50,000 in all) to give their problem political importance. Still it is worth stating how well they are being treated by their respective governments; joint institutions of the Lapps in the three countries are not merely tolerated but actively encouraged and government-supported.

There is one great nation in Europe the past fate of which bears a striking resemblance to the present-day fate of the Kurds, namely the Polish people. Their territory

was divided until World War I, among Czarist Russia, imperial Austria and imperial Germany. Just as the Kurds are much more akin, linguistically to the Persians than to the othertwo nations ruling them so were the Poles close relatives of the Russians, both nations speaking Slawic languages. But while in at least one of their three main divisions, namely in "Austrian Poland" (i.e. the province of Galicia) the Poles enjoyed completely unfettered cultural and regional autonomy, the Kurds are much worse off.

Another divided nation that comes to mind when we speak of the fate of the Kurds are the Quecha (or Ketshua) roughly 5-7 million Indians speaking the same tongue but fragmented by the state boundaries of Peru (where they form 50% of the inhabitants), Ecuador and Bolivia. But while they are still largely devoid of a consciousness of kind, while most of them are still in a tribalistic state of mind, the Kurds definately are not. They are closer to Europe than the Quechua are, not only geographically but also mentally—and even linguistically since their language belongs to the Indo-European family of tongues. And so their fate should be close to the hearts of all thoughtful Europeans.



*A mountain mass, wild and defiant.
Has gathered blue heaven in its embrace.
The mantle of its peak very white snow.
Dark with forest its silent dale.*

*Komele Saxèk Sextu gerdin kes
Asmani sini girtota hawes
Serposi lutkey hefri zor sipi
Be daristan res naw doli kipi.*

GORAN 1904 - 1962

The Conquest of Fortress Dimdim

Part II

The Conquest of the Fortress Dimdim
According to the Report of Iskender Munshi
by Kamal Fuad

1

Iskender Beg Turkmen or Iskender Munshi (1560-1635), the historian of the Safawi state in the epoch of Shah Abbas I (1570-1628) wrote a historical work comprising three volumes (Tarikh-i Alamardi-e Abbasi) on the Safawi dynasty.

In the first volume he reports on the beginning and the reign of the Safawi dynasty up to the epoch of Shah Abbas I. In the second volume he describes the first thirty years of the reign of Shah Abbas I (1586-1616). In the third volume he depicts the last twelve years of the reign of Shah Abbas up to the time when Shah Safi (1628) seized power.

The Turkomans played a great role in the period of the Safawis. So Iskender Munshi belonged also to the special favourites of Shah Abbas. He often accompanied him and witnessed many of his military expeditions.

In the second volume (Teheran issue 1335/1956 p. 791-811) he gives an account of the conquest of the fortress Dimdim in the 23rd resp., 24th year of the reign of Shah Abbas (1608/9). As he lets us know he was an eyewitness of this event. Therefore, his report is of historical value⁵ though it reveals distinctly a preconceived opinion. Apart from the traditional Kurdish folk-lore, his report is the only trustworthy source on the conquest of Dimdim.⁶)

2

In the epoch of Shah Abbas I the Kurd Qardtaj from the Bradost tribe⁷ who was well-disposed toward the Shah was appointed chief of the Targawar and Margawar territories which belonged to the provinces of Urmid and Ushnu.

When the Kurds opposed the Persian rule a Kurdish prince of Bradost, Muhamed Beg, assisted the Ottoman sultan to stabilize his power over the Kurds. Amirkhan, a prince from the Bradost tribe disobeyed Muhamed Beg. He went to Omar Beg of Soran and stayed with him for a while. In one of the many actions against the Ottoman followers he lost one of his hands. He therefore held the Turkish nick-name Chulaq (the one-armed)⁸.

When riots were breaking out in Azerbaijan and Shah Abbas was on his way to Nachichevan and Yerevan, Amir Khan set out to see him. Shah Abbas welcomed him cordially and made him chief of the Bradost tribe and of the territories of Taragawar and Maragawar and, besides, he awarded him the title of Khan. He also gave him the provinces of Urmia and Ushnu which had yet been under a Qizilbash governor⁹ in the epoch of Tahmasp I (1524-1576). By order of Shah Abbas goldsmiths made a hand from pure gold set in diamonds for Amir Khan. He said good-bye to the Shah and took over his new official duties.

His power was growing from day to day. He was gaining great influence among the Kurds. He succeeded in depriving the Ottomans of some territories. Many Kurdish tribal princes joined him. All over Kurdistan he became well-known by his strong army. "He became haughty and

the desire for independence arose in his black soul". (Munshi, p.792)

3

After having quelled the revolt of Jaghal Oghlu in Azerbaijan in the vicinity of Tabriz, Shah Abbas set out for Salmas. Amirkhan who had learned of his arrival went to him and explained to the Shah that the fortress of Urmia was in a very bad condition and that he was not able to defend himself against attacks. He therefore asked him to grant him the permission to build a new fortress for the protection of his clan and its borders at a more suitable place. The Shah gave his consent.

Thus Amir Khan laid the foundations for a fortress at a high place of the Jimjim range of mountains, at a distance of three farsakh¹⁰ from Urmia but already in the Faragawar territory. At this place, so the Kurds told, there stood a fortress called Dimdim before the Islam appeared and in the epoch of the Sasanis but it decayed by the time.

Pir Budaq Khan, the Amiru I-Umara of Tabris made the Shah withdraw the consent already given for the construction of the fortress. He informed Shah Abbas that Amir Khan was not more loyal to him and intended to plot a revolt against him. Shah Abbas believed Pir Budaq and said to him: "You are the Amiru I-Umara of this territory, therefore you are responsible that this problem comes to a good end. Send a prudent man to Amir Khan and get him to say that I should think it better if he would stop building the fortress". (Munshi, u. 793). By order of the Shah, Pir Budaq sent a messenger to Amir Khan to inform him as follows: "Though your loyalty and your devotion to the Shah are well-known, your adversaries will calumniate you for building the fortress. But if you intend to protect yourself against the followers of the Ottomans, be sure that the fortresses of Tabriz and Yerevan are far more important than the fortress of Dimdim.

But if you are afraid of the Kurdish tribal princes, be sure that we will always assist you by order of the Shah. Also on the Urmia fortress the Bradost Kurds can defend themselves for a few days in case of an attack. It will be better for you to stop building and to follow our friendly advice in order not to give your adversaries the opportunity of calumniating you". (Munshi, p. 793)

Amir Khan disregarded this advice and made the people carry on with building the fortress.

At that time Abdal Khan of Mukri, a brother of Shaikh Haidar, who had opposed the Shah set out for Amir Khan with twenty of his followers. Amir Khan welcomed him cordially and appointed him his first brother-in-arms.

12,000 Jalalis¹¹, persecuted by the Ottomans, came to Iran the Shah appointed Budaq Khan their chief. But he demanded Amir Khan to shelter 8,000 Jalalis. Amir Khan wrote to the Shah: "Pir Budaq and myself are not on friendly terms because he talked about me in a rather prejudiced way; therefore I cannot provide an army that is under the command of Pir Budaq Khan". (Munshi, p. 793) In order to satisfy Amir Khan, Pir Budaq was dismissed

as chief. A prince from the Iraq, Hassan Khan took his place. But the Shah demanded of Amir Khan that one of his sons of a confidant should properly explain the dismissal of Pir Budaq to the Kurdish tribal prince.

Hassan Khan of Istajlu and the chiefs of the Qizilbashes of Maraghe joined Muhammad Pasha and the Jalalis and decided to go to the Shah. They asked Amir Khan to follow them. But Amir did not trust them. He answered: "The Jalalis are selfish and inconstant people and I do not trust them though they are friends of the Qizilbashes now; therefore, I refuse to accompany the 7,000 to 8,000 Jalalis. Later on I shall send messengers to the Shah". (Munshi, p. 794)

The Qizilbashes regarded this reply as a disobedience. They tried by all means to take Amir Khan along with them to the Shah. Once again they wrote to Amir Khan: "On our way to the Shah we shall spend a few days in your country; prepare a banquet for us and we shall talk over everything". (Munshi, p. 794) Amir Khan did not reply to this letter of Hassan Khan. When the army marched through Amir Khan's country, the Jalalis attacked the Bradost Kurds. They defended themselves. In this fight two Jalalis were killed and some of them injured. Hassan Khan received information of this fight. He called the Jalalis back who pitched their tents half a farsakh from the fortress of Dimdim. From the fortress the Kurds started to fire at the army camp. Hassan sent a messenger to Amir Khan in order to learn the reason for the attack against the camp. He answered: "When you attack my country, we are forced to defend ourselves". (Wurdi, p.13) Negotiations were not possible now.

The Kurds divided into larger groups, undertook sallies from the castle and killed many Qizilbashes and Jalalis. The Kurds in the fortress defended themselves against these attacks. The fight went on for several days. The enemies vowed blood feud.

Shah Abbas who stayed at Ardebil at that time learned of these events. He sent I'timadu-d-daule Hatim Beg into the

The Jalalis came as far as to the base of the fortress. Both sides suffered heavy casualties. The fights were getting more violent all the time. About 300 to 400 Jalali Kurds (one of them was Muhammad Beg Tawil) who were discontented with Muhammad Pasha, went over to Amir Khan. On account of this fact the fight intensified. Muhammad Pasha, the leader of the Jalalis was afraid of losing still more of his men. Hassan Khan and the Qizilbash princes derived profit from these hard fights. They conquered all the country of Amir Khan and occupied it. fighting zone in order to find a solution. Should Amir Khan still be loyal to the Shah, the Jalalis had to be quietened and should he withdraw from the fortress. But if Amir Khan should disobey, his revolt would be put down

by violence and the country split up among the Jalalis. He received 5,000 tomans from the Jalalis and was fully authorised to finish the "mutiny".

4

I'timadu-d-daule left Ardebil and set out for Tabriz where he met Pir Budaq Khan and artillery commander Berkhurdar Beg Anis with the troops commanded by them. About 2,000 Jalalis who had just come back from Ardehan and some of the Kurdish governors appointed by the Shah from Salmas and other towns marched to the castle. On 5th December 1608, they arrived at Urmia. They met Hassan Khan, Muhammad Pasha of Jalali and the Qizilbash princes with the troops of Urmia. The siege of the fortress Dimdim started now.

The next day I'timadu-d-daule sent one of his confidants to him accompanied by Agha Muhammad Tsuji who was acquainted with Amir Khan. They tried to persuade Amir Khan to leave the fortress. But Amir Khan answered them: "I entrenched myself in my fortress on account of the offences of the Jalalis and because I do not trust Hassan Khan. Muhammad Pasha seeks the possession of my country. I am not a rebel against the Shah. I only defend my tribe and my country and I ask the Shah to exempt me this winter from my duties. I shall give the Shah one of my sons as hostage. When the Shah will go to his summer residence this spring, I shall go and see him myself".

I'timadu-d-daule agreed to this solution. But he demanded Amir Khan to keep his promises because his "mutiny" was already known everywhere. He invited Amir Khan to call on him with all his relations and become friends again with the Qizilbash prince. But he himself would come to the fortress the next day. So there would be peace and the friendship would be strengthened. Amir Khan gave his consent. The following day I'timadu-d-daule waited in vain for Amir Khan's arrival. Nobody left the fortress. Once again he sent Agha Muhammad to Amir Khan. After his return Agha Muhammad gave the following report: "After numerous discussion with the wise men of the Bradost tribe who had already many experiences with the malice and the treacheries of the Qizilbashes and Jalalis. Amir Khan explained to him that he does not trust the protection of I'timadu-d-daule because he was a learned Tajik and not a warrior. Furthermore Amir Khan said that he will not give in and when he thought it right he would send one of his sons with presents to the Shah. But if you are determined to begin with the siege of the fortress he did not see any other way out than to defend himself". (Munshi, p. 796)

I'timadu-d-daule and his chiefs decided to besiege the fortress. They informed the Shah of their plan. Thus the battle of the fortress of Dimdim started.

(To be continued)

5 "This report of an eye-witness Mirza Iskander which gives a strict account of his personal participation in the campaign is the more important for us as the same fight is the subject of the most beautiful and most popular Kurdish epic poems, namely of the poem of the heroic defence of Dimdim Castle by the chief of the Bradost Amir Khan, the "Khan Goldhand". (Oskar Mann, the dialect of the Mukri-Kurds, part I, introduction XIX, XX Berlin 1906).

6 Within the last thirty years some Kurdish historians and authors also wrote about the siege of the fortress Dimdim. But they did not add any news to the report of Iskander Munshi.

7 You'll find the Bradost tribe today in the Targawar and Maragawar plains in Iranian Kurdistan; it spreads to Lolan and Diyane in Iraqi Kurdistan.

8 The Kurds call him Ahmed Xan-i Lepzêrin (Ahmed Khan Goldhand).

9 Qizilbash = Turkish word, means 'redheaded'. In the epoch of the Safawids the soldiers wore a red headgear: that is why Qizilbash became the nick-name of the Shiites.

10 Linear measure about 6240 m.

11 Jalali is a great Kurdish tribe divided into several subtribes. His residential area is situated along the Iranian-Soviet-Turkish border, mainly in Turkish Kurdistan. About 200 villages in Iranian Kurdistan are in possession of this tribe. Its members fought under their leader Jalalud-din against the Ottomans but had to fly from them to Iran. The Jalalis played a negative role in Kurdish revolts and the Ottomans and Safawids took advantage of them in their campaign and used them, in particular, against the Kurds

KURDISTAN AND THE KURDISH WAR

Lecture by Mr. Francis J. Golding, M.A., Oxon., on behalf of the Kurdish Society of Liverpool University to the "Students Peace Week" in the Mountford Hall of the Union Society at 1 p.m. on Tuesday 21st November 1967.

The Kurdish Society of Liverpool University was given one of the sessions of the University's "Peace Week", 20th to 26th November, 1967. The spokesman chosen was Mr. Francis J. Golding, an M.A. of Oxford University, who has travelled widely in all the Middle Eastern countries during the last 40 years, and is one of Britain's most knowledgeable experts in the history, languages, literature and personalities of Iran in particular. Mr. Golding's first visit to Iraqi and Irani Kurdistan was in 1929 and his latest in 1963. He is a personal friend of many of the Kurdish leaders in all sections of the Kurdish people.

After a three-quarters of an hour lecture, illustrated by 40 splendid slides of the Kurdish terrain and people, their way of life, their sufferings under Iraqi bombing, their military and political success and of the leaders of the military and political branches of the Kurdish Revolution, the meeting was thrown open and many searching questions were asked which showed the interest and intelligent participation of the members of the audience in the occasion.

Mr. Golding began with a brief sketch of Kurdish history from the descent of the Guti on to the Iraqi plain 4,200 years ago and ending with the 12 points proposed by the Bazzaz government and the present ceasefire. He concluded.

"Surrounding nations must look back to a great but bygone past. The Kurds know that their greatness lies in the future. Fate has given them possession of an area which geopolitically is central, lying as it does

where the communist world and non-communist world face each other,

where the Arab-speaking Muslims adjoin non-Arab-speaking Muslims,

where the Turanian, Semitic and Aryan races mingle, where the Aryan race, stretching from central India to Northern Ireland, pivots where the civilisation of Europe meets the civilisation of Asia,

where the fortress of the 'Northern Tier' of the CENTO Pact stands,

where the path passes which Russia since Peter the Great's day has wanted to secure her passage to a harbour on the warm waters of the Gulf,

where the oil rises near Kirkuk on which Iraq's finances depend.

It is out of date in the 20th century for one community to impose its will upon another by military force. An age which has learnt to split the atom must discover the art of uniting humanity or destroy itself. The technology which can reach the moon and the planets can modernise mankind's living with labour-saving devices and increased productivity in every field. Now man himself must be modernised.

The divisive and destructive elements which lurk in human nature's heart — greed and fear, lust and hate — must be changed. Mankind must learn to use the mastery over nature that science provides. Science's next task is to train the spirit of man to master human nature. Then all the latent human forces can be harnessed to serve the population of the world.

There can be no effective military disarmament without a moral re-arming of humanity. For peace is not simply an absence of armed hostilities. It means people becoming different. It comes not by chance but by change. Deprive men of weapons without a change of heart and they will still destroy each other. Change men's hearts and they themselves will turn their weapons into beneficent tools of progress.

Division has been the hallmark of our age. Unity is the grace of rebirth. Switzerland, and to a degree the United Kingdom, have demonstrated the political and economic viability and world outreach which can be enjoyed by a country that nourishes a multi-racial society. Iraq is admirably situated to be just such a multi-racial society.

The majority of Kurds and Iraqis both are Sunni Muslims. The Shi's too encircle their holy places Kerbela and Najaf. In Iraq, also, dwell a number of Christian minorities. Iraq possesses two languages and two cultures, the Aryan Kurdish and the Semitic Arabic.

The world is waiting for the prophetic voice of the Arabs proclaiming and demonstrating a lesson in how to live. The Arab name will be extolled when the Arabs rise to their destiny and provide "a girder of unity for civilisation" and "an answer to their divisive materialisms for both East and West". In the fulfilment of this calling Iraq has been given a key post. A settlement is very near. An enlightened Statesmanship could make it a reality and work out its details to the glory of the Arab name and the advancement of mankind.

It is the duty of all nations which, for commercial, ideological reasons, have involved themselves in the area, to put their full effort now into bringing about that enlightened peace which will enable the Iraqi Kurds, the Iraqi Arabs, and Iraq as a united community to take their rightful place on the world stage in the family of nations.

After Mr. Golding's lecture a number of questions were asked, eg:

1. Q. Has there been no move towards the creation of a single united Kurdistan, including all the Kurds of Russia, Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Iran?
 - A. The Kurds have never wanted separation. They see their best contribution in becoming integrated communities within the homelands in which they dwell. Far too many questions, like that of sovereignty over the Kirkuk oilwells, economic viability, and disruption of existing frontiers, are involved, to make a single independent and separated Kurdistan a possibility at least until a very distant future.
2. Q Does not the Kurdish demand for a fair share in the oil revenues which accrue from extraction on Kurdish soil raise many difficulties in the attempt to implement the 12 points of the settlement proposed by the Bazzaz government?
 - A This is a matter which can be approached from various angles. They may be called the angles of

greed, of justice and of humanity. It may well be asked who has a right to the profits derived from treasures hidden in the soil — people who have lived there for millenia without ever exploiting those treasures, or people who by their skill and hard work raise those treasures to the light and put them at the disposal of mankind? Greed and legalism fight on this point. It is however outdated now that the world is a neighbourhood and it is the task of those most advanced in any technique to aid all their fellow human beings in mastery of those same techniques and also in the right use of the power and wealth that derives from their exploitation. There is undoubtedly haggling in progress about the true use of the oil revenues. It is one of the many places where mankind has not yet risen to the stature demanded of human nature by the new age which science has produced.

3. Q What were the motives which made Britain fail to carry out her promises to the Kurds, Armenians, Assyrians and other minorities after World War I.

A Britain had many reasons, powerful though not just. She was tired after a war in which the cream of her manhood had been destroyed. She was entering a period of desperate unemployment and economic crisis at home. She was face to face with the French over the question of the Hashemite Princes and their placing in accordance with promises made by the Foreign Office through Lawrence — in fact there was actually armed conflict between French and British troops in Damascus. The British withdrew and put King Feisal in Baghdad and then drew some straight lines round a piece of desert and gave it to King Abdullah under the name of Transjordan with its centre in Amman. Moreover certain groups of diplomats and commercial people came forward who had not lived through the past and who applied rule of thumb principles of national interest, scorning and setting aside as impracticable idealism the views of those like Major Noel whose intimate knowledge of people, facts and history on the spot produced official reports advocating that we should keep our word.

4. Q What is the total Kurdish population, how are they distributed, and what proportion do they form of the countries where they live?

A Twelve million is an estimated figure since there has not been a census. The Kurds in Russia are a very tiny proportion even of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia, without saying anything of the vast USSR, variously estimated at between 10,000 and 500,000. Those in Syria are perhaps 400,000 or one in ten of the Syrian population. There may be between three and four million in Iran or, say one in six or seven of the Irani people. Of the remaining seven million say five million are in Turkey — one in four of the population and the remainder in Iraq representing at least two in five of the total population of that country.

5. Q Do you think there is any hope of a just solution being brought to pass? Is it true that successive Iraqi governments since General Kasim have launched the military on the Kurds to keep them busy and prevent a new military coup?

A I believe that there is every hope of a just solution very speedily. This is a situation in which the United Nations could enact a truly peacemaking role and bring both parties to the negotiating table, backed by all the other nations that have interests in the area and lead them to far-reaching agreement. It is the duty of all of us in every country in the world to publicise the Kurd-Iraqi situation and bring to bear every influence we can to produce the desirable result. Many competent observers and in particular the two journalists, Dana Adams Schmidt of New York and David Adamson of London who made journeys in the area in 1963/64, say that one of the motives in the renewals of Iraqi military attacks was in each case the military junta's fear that the army which had put them into power in Baghdad would throw them out again and substitute other officers. The Kurdish leaders are convinced that the Kurds must negotiate from a background of strength. They therefore keep 9,000 men under arms in the mountains which causes a certain difficulty because one of the 12 points (No. 10) requires the return of all Kurdish members of the armed forces, of the police force and the cavalry to return to their original units, and all civilian members of the resistance forces to surrender their arms to the central government and this the Kurds will not do until they are sure that a just settlement is not only agreed but will also be carried out.

THE KURDS IN SYRIA

by Omar Sheikmous

The last twenty years have seen a vast outpouring of paper definitions and agreements on human rights, they have also seen government after government disregard these rights in favour of *raison d'état* with a cynicism more appropriate to the Eighteenth Century; and brutalities committed against individuals or communities, often enough by their immediate neighbour, that are not easily paralleled in the blackest ages of human history. One wonders whether we are not retreating inexorably to barbarism.

The denial of liberty is one aspect of this regression. Political imprisonment used to be universal and is still something entirely normal in most parts of the world. But there was a time when the world's democrats regarded these things as a good deal more outrageous than they seem today. The imprisonment of nationalist leaders was one of the arguments used by democrats against colonialism, but the nationalists were hardly in the seats of power than they started imitating and even going further than their colonial masters.

Plain violence is still more typical of our enlightened age. Leave Nazism aside; we can still believe that Hitler was one of history's aberrations. Yet the era that began in August, 1945, with the annihilation of more than 100,000 Japanese civilians has seen at least two major massacres: the mutual slaughter of Moslems and Sikhs and Hindus in India, and the systematic destruction of Indonesian Communists two years ago. This is quite a record for twenty years, but it is only the worst part of a continuous process of savagery now almost accepted as normal.

The most striking thing about this savagery is indeed not that it occurs but that it is accepted. The liberal conscience, fairly active thirty or even twenty years ago, has been battered into taking for granted things that would once have aroused it to a fury of action. A European statesman could stump his country ninety years ago denouncing atrocities in Bulgaria; the atrocities in Indonesia last year barely troubled the world press or its politicians.

Many ordinary people do not support, in fact absolutely abhor, United States action in Vietnam; but how many of them seek to change it.

A world that once banned gas as inhuman weapon of war—and made the ban stick until the Americans in Vietnam, the Egyptians in Yemen and the Iraqis in Kurdistan got away with using it—now certainly discuss the inexpediency of multiplying atomic weapons but would not waste ten minutes trying to ban them, or napalm, on the argument that their use is wrong. How many people care about genocide in Southern Sudan, or have even heard of it? How many anti-racialists have seriously raised a finger to help the victims of South Africa in any particular way?

With a few honourable exceptions, we have come to accept the use of violence against peoples and against individuals. Torture, murder, political imprisonment, mass repression, I say helplessly, are facts of life.

The problem of the Kurds in Syria is one of these numerous cases that exist in the world. A minority of

500,000 people that constitute ten per cent. of the Syrian population and live compactly in three Kurdish regions in Northern Syria (Jazireh, Kurdagh and Ain Arab), where they form the overwhelming majority. The Kurds have inhabited their lands long before the Arabs migrated to Syria and Mesopotamia, they are denied their rights to language, culture, education, employment, organisation and freedom of speech; they are being discriminated against, deprived of their nationality, deported in their masses, and forcibly assimilated. The repressive acts of the Syrian governments are contradictory to this whole set of international conventions and declarations:

- 1—1966 Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.
- 2—1966 Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.
- 3—1962 General Assembly Resolution on the Prevention and Eradication of Racial Prejudice and National and Religious Intolerance.
- 4—1960 Declaration for the RIGHT of Nations to Self-Determination.
- 5—1966 Convention of the Elimination of All forms of Racial Discrimination.
- 6—1959 ILO Convention Concerning Discrimination in Employment and Occupation.
- 7—1959 General Assembly Declaration of the Rights of The Child.
- 8—1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- 9—1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.
- 10—UNESCO Convention and Recommendation against Discrimination in Education.
- 11—Draft Principles of the Right of Every Man to be Free from Arbitrary Arrest, Detention and Exile.
- 12—Draft Convention and Draft Declaration on Freedom of Information.

But will the United Nations, the International Commission for Human Rights, U.N. Sub-Commission on the Prevention and Protection of Minorities, or the majority of world opinion do anything about it? I doubt it.

Perhaps it is better for the world that a small nation like the Kurds be destroyed. At least one problem would be finished with, no matter how barbarously, savagely and unjustly it is done!!!

The Kurds themselves, in Syria, cannot resist their oppressors by means of an armed revolt or civil disobedience because of their limited means and because such a move would be used by the Syrian government as a pretext to outrightly annihilate the Kurds rather than forcibly assimilate them.

In making this appeal of mine to the conscience of the world, I am sure that nothing much would be done, but I still hope for a continuous pressure of the thin skin of morality which has kept the human society human and to show the chauvinistic teenagers of the Syrian government that they will not and cannot get away with everything.

The ironical thing about the situation of the Kurds in Syria is that they are suffering the worst at the hands of

a so-called progressive socialist government. I leave the judgement for the objective readers to decide, from the following short account of the numerous cases of oppression practised against the Kurds, including an article in the Syrian government's party newspaper, whether it is related in any way to any brand of socialist beliefs and standards other than national socialism.

To their claim of socialist principles I have only a quotation from Lenin (who I trust they pretend some adherence to at times) that would suffice to unmask their fascist deeds:

"A socialist, who is a member of a dominant nation, and does not further the rights of oppressed nations to separation during peace nor during a war, is neither a socialist, nor an internationalist, but a chauvinist."

Indeed, it was a sad day for all the professed ideals of Arab nationalism, when this nationalism was extended to absorb Kurdish national, cultural and human rights. If the Arabs believe in the inherent right of all peoples to self-determination, how can they morally justify this?

The following is a short account of various atrocities committed against the Kurds by various Syrian governments between 1959-67:

A—In the summer of 1960 the Syrian government arrested more than 70 Kurdish patriots including the majority of the members of the leadership of the Kurdish Democratic Party for no reason other than forming Kurdish organisations and publishing clandestine Kurdish newspapers and pamphlets. These people were subjected to indignant torture for six months before they were publicly tried. At the same time there were hundreds of Kurdish patriots hiding in the fields, mountains and villages to escape persecution.

B—About ten Kurdish patriots were kept in prison from the beginning of 1959 to the end of 1961 without any trial, because of their belief in the legitimate rights of the Kurdish people.

C—Between September 1961 and December 1962 more than 500 Kurds, including 100 school children, were imprisoned and tortured without any charges or trial.

D—from 1962 onwards, hundreds of Kurds are imprisoned yearly on 21st of March, the Kurdish National Day and the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

E—In the summer of 1962, a ruthless policy of discrimination was conducted by the then government. Deliberate plans were drawn (i.e. Arab Belt) that would be pursued by every succeeding Syrian government for the forced assimilation of the Kurds through mass deportation, withdrawal of citizenship, distribution of land to Arabs and a general census for the Kurdish areas (Jazireh alone) in November 1962, for the implementation of the plan.

THE BAATH REGIME, MARCH 1963:

At the time of the Baath campaign against the Kurds in Iraq (June 1963), the Baath government in Syria was making life unbearable for the Kurdish inhabitants in Syria through emergency laws by searching houses, arresting people and intimidating them at any hour of the day or night.

Every new-born Kurd who does not have an Arabic name is refused Syrian nationality.

Any Kurd who owns a book in Kurdish or about the Kurds in any language, even if it is an alphabet, is persecuted and imprisoned for a minimum period of one year.

Kurdish workers are dismissed from their work and are refused membership of the existing trade unions on the grounds that they are not Arabs.

In 1966 more than 150 Kurds applied to the teachers training school; none were accepted on the grounds that they were not Arabs.

Kurdish students are refused membership in the National Union of Students of Syria e.g. in Hasaka; 28 membership applications to the students' union were rejected and crossed in red: "Rejected because Kurds".

Scholarships are refused to Kurdish students.

Kurdish peasants are refused membership in the peasant organisations.

The Kurds are not allowed to celebrate their traditional and national holidays and, when they do secretly, they are imprisoned in their hundreds.

Kurds are not accepted in the military college and those who had belonged to the officers corps have been expelled. There are many cases of expulsion from the army lower ranks, including privates, for no reason other than being Kurds.

Many Kurdish officials who were employed in the different governmental services have been dismissed; the very few left are exiled to isolated areas in Syria.

From 1963 until now the number of Kurdish qualified teachers employed by the government is non-existent, although their number has increased considerably.

The Kurdish areas have been deliberately neglected, without any development schemes. The population is left to hunger, disease and the worst possible living conditions.

The benefits of the land reform system are denied to Kurdish peasants. They are expelled from their villages, some of which had been acquired in the 1959 land reform.

In February 1964 in the Kurdish town of "Ain Arab" one hundred Kurds were arrested summarily and tortured fearfully in the local prison and a military curfew was imposed on the town for two successive days for an alleged revolt by the Kurds encouraged by their intelligentsia. Of the 100 arrested people, the majority were released a few weeks later, while Ibrahim Abdo, Mohamed Ali, Ali Hemi Ziri, Nabo Ahmed Haj Ali, Mahmoud Mustafa were kept in prison for about six months.

In February 1964, in the village of "Mirate", which is populated by Kurds, a certain Arab teacher named "Sameer Jabri", who was dissatisfied with his living conditions in the small village school one day went to the local police office and told them that he had been attacked by the villagers (in the hope that he might get transferred to another school). In fact nothing of the sort had happened. The local police officer, instead of investigating the matter, went to the village and started beating every person at random and using the most insulting and uncivilised language that could be heard. He then brought two women to the house of the village mayor (Mukhtar-Kurdish), and beat them barbarously on the bottom of their feet with wooden sticks in front of the other villagers.

"THE ARAB BELT POLICY (Al-Hizam Al-Arabi)"

This policy was initiated by the government that seized power after the break between Syria and Egypt in September 1961. The aim of the policy was to draw a plan that would be pursued by all successive Syrian governments for the forced assimilation of the Kurds and the destruction of their existence through mass deportation, withdrawal of citizenship, distribution of their lands to Arab tribesmen and the migration of the rest to semi-desert areas in the interior of Syria.

On 28th August 1962 this government issued a legislative decree (No. 93) for an exceptional census in the Kurdish region (Djazira) alone. This was mainly done for the fabrication of the statistics to implement the "Arab Belt" plan.

The ruling clique of today has put into practice the results of that phoney census. First, by issuing special decrees on 4th October 1966 to expel a large number of Kurds; second, more than 100,000 Kurds have been deprived of their citizenship because they were not registered in the civil records before 1924; third, the imposition of an economic blockade on the area; fourth, Kurds are arrested summarily for no reason other than to frighten the Kurds and force them to leave Syria as on 21st August 1966, where 150 Kurds from all walks of life were imprisoned and tortured for more than nine months without any charges or trial.

The majority of the Kurds in this area have been declared "foreigners" or "refugees"; many families have been separated. The following cases have been chosen at random because there are thousands of such cases:

For example: Hussain Daud from "Haram Hasan" is a citizen while his father mother and his brothers have been classified as foreigners; Ahmed Shouzi from "Kamichlie", some members of his family have been classified as foreigners; Mulla Tahir, some of his sons are classified as foreigners, while he has retained Syrian citizenship; many people who have served in the armed forces or are secondary school leavers have been classified as foreigners, e.g. Jamil Mikram, a lawyer and a school teacher, who was also employed on one of the committees of the 1962 Census, has been deprived of his citizenship and classified as a foreigner; at times the population of a whole village are deprived of nationality, e.g. "Haj Nasser" village (about 500 people), "Hilely" village (about 1,500); some villagers in "Ghezalike", "Tirbe Sippi" and some near "Kamichlie" were expelled to Turkey, but the Turkish authorities refused them on the ground that they are not her nationals.

In fact the Census showed that the percentage of Arabs not registered in 1924 was much higher than that of the Kurds. But the government is determined to carry on with its wicked plan and announced that there were officials on the Census committees who sympathised with the Kurds and declared on 28th August 1966 that the Ministry of the Interior would make investigations of its own into the lists. This led to a further 150,000 withdrawals of citizenship from Kurds.

The following are incidents that were mainly encouraged by the Government for the implementation of its plan:

Shaikh Daham Al-Hadi, chief of the Shammar Arab Tribe, has with the government's support forcibly taken the following three Kurdish villages from its legal owners (Shabak, Abra and Kaffa Dinna) and has killed four peasants and wounded four without being persecuted or even questioned.

The government has warned the inhabitants of 100 Kurdish villages along the border (15 kilometres strip) to evacuate their villages. But the socialist government !! did not feel generous enough to tell them where to ? or how ? and without preparing any refugee camps for them no matter how remote.

Peasants of "Ali Fero" village were refused permission by the land reform commission to plough their land because the village is included in the "Arab Belt".

In 1967 the government took the land from Kurdish peasants in "Tel Jimal", "Gir Kafk" and "Gir Ziarat" villages; these lands were distributed to them in the 1959 land reform. The government then gave the land to an Arab feudal Shaikh.

In January 1967 Kurdish peasants in "Kherab Kurt" village, near "Kamichlie", were refused their land because it is included in the "Arab Belt". Their land was then rented by a big Arab landowner, "George Zirinb", from the land reform commission while it refused to receive a delegation of peasants.

One wonders what sort of socialism this is, that supports the feudalists against the peasants.

There are numerous villages as these that are denied to their legal owners. The land is not exploited by the land commission, either. These villages are either rented to rich landowners or are left untouched, while the poor Kurdish peasants are left to starve and live under appalling circumstances.

On 25th December 1966 Kurdish peasants sent a delegation to meet the President of the Republic to complain about the hard and unjust treatment they are receiving. The President refused to meet them or accept their petition.

In 1965, the Commander (Mudir Nahya - Arabic) of "Jel Agha", a Kurdish town, arrested many villagers (among them women), tied them, nakedly all together and started to beat and torture them barbarously.

On 7th August 1966 the Mudir Nahya of "Amouda" attacked a few houses in the early hours of the morning, using the search for smugglers as a pretext, by breaking the doors and windows and screaming, which frightened the hell out of children; then he arrested the following people, together with their wives, took them to the local prison and tortured them all together. Afterwards he shaved the women's heads. (Izzeddin Jali, Bashir Joan, Khalil Kaloun, Mohamed Ali Bashi and Mohamed Sabbouha.)

Around the same period in 1966, the customs officers killed a woman in "Derbasia" while searching her home and after torturing her in the most indignant manner.

The latest developments in September, 1967:

The "Arab Belt" policy has been extended to include the other Kurdish areas of "Kurdagh", "Ann Arab" and Kurdish towns.

In June 1967 the Baathist newspaper "Al-Thawra" published a decision of the Ministry of the Interior by which the name of three Kurdish villages were changed into Arabic so that:

"Tel Gihan" has become "Tel Jihad";

"Shorik" has become "Al-Yarmouk";

"Chaghir Bazaar" has become "Hittin".

(A glorious achievement for the Arab Nation no doubt.)

Many peasant families have started to emigrate to Turkey, e.g. Khalid Badir, Muslim, Hilou and Bozo Dodky (three brothers) from villages around "Seri

Kanye"; Haj Muhamed Saadou from "Tel Aboud" near "Derbasia"; Akkash from "Hobkanly" near "Afrin".

The newly formed Bureau for Agricultural Interests by the land reform commission in Hasaka has started ploughing all the confiscated lands in the "Arab Belt"; it has also ploughed the "bhor" lands to deprive the people of the areas for pastures and hence give up cattle breeding, which is vital for them.

The Article in the Newspaper "AL-MUNADHEL"

The following is a text of an article that was published in the middle of December 1966 by the newspaper "Al-Munadhel" No. 11, the spokesman of the International Leadership of the "Baath Arab Socialist Party". The reader will notice that the Baathists in a desperate attempt to present their racist policies in the most respectable manner by calling the Arab Belt Policy the "Proposition for the Establishment of State Farms in Djazira".

The Text of the Article :

THE PROPOSITION FOR STATE FARMS IN DJAZIRA

"The dangers that were and still are threatening our Arab nation in the North of Iraq have been accumulating in the Djazira province for the last few years. These dangers (threats) are creations of the Imperialists. It is of an absolute necessity to deal with the problem there, since it had been neglected by previous governments, who failed to find radical solutions for it. Therefore, we present the following report of the National Peasant Bureau concerning measures that have been implemented and recommendations for the immediate future :

"Between 13-29/11/1966, Comrade Naeem Juma was delegated by the National Peasant Bureau to Djazira province to discuss the report of the Djazira Branch of the Party, 'The Basic Lines for the Establishment of State Farms in Djazira' with the local leadership and the administrative comrade (Muhafiz - Arabic). After discussions it became clear that it is of extreme importance to exploit the confiscated lands and state properties in 1966-67."

The report then goes on to give an idea about the natural, productive, social and political aspects of the province.

"The Political Aspect of the Province :"

"Feudalism is prominent in this area which has connections with Imperialism, and since the area is mainly populated by non-Arabs, especially the Kurds who are doing their utmost to establish a national state on our Northern border with the support of the Imperialists, as well as the plotting and spying that could easily occur because of the nature of our border and because the adjacent areas in Iraq and Turkey are populated by Kurds, we deem it of absolute necessity to **Arabise this area**, which is the only secure measure to implement for the safeguarding of our borders and hence the security of the state. In general one can assert that the easy access to the border between us and Turkey would encourage spying and more Kurdish immigration from Turkey, and

since these areas are populated by Kurds inside Turkey it constitutes a permanent threat and danger to our glorious Arab nation, especially that this area is extremely important agriculturally and industrially, particularly after the discovery of oil.

"These measures have already been taken by the local authorities and the Party:

- 1—The Chief Administrative Comrade (Muhafiz) issued an ultimatum, prior to the ploughing and seeding seasons, to all the inhabitants of the belt not to exploit the land.
- 2—The Bureau for Confiscated Lands and State Properties in the Belt has drawn surveying maps which would be provided to the National Leadership of the Party.
- 3—The bureaus for land reform are preparing plans to evacuate 4,000 families from villages in the Belt to areas outside the Belt; this can be done easily and without any difficulties. There are also about 5,000 families who are estate owners and cannot be deported without temptation and facilities to be provided by the government. There are also about 250,000 foreigners (as a result of the 1962 Census). The opinion of the Party and local authorities concerning these foreigners is to provoke and make difficulties for them by every means to stop them from residing near the border and use force against them, not to provide them with any employment and issue them with temporary residential permits which would be abolished gradually in order to force them to emigrate to outside Syria within five years.
- 4—The Party and the Peasants Union are co-operating to find ardent believers in Arab Nationalism to act as armed workers in the Belt.
- 5—To form public seminars to explain the wisdom of the decision to the population and the threat that endangers the area from feudalism and Imperialism.

The National Peasant Bureau, after above discussions, states the following :

- A—Although the local authority's ultimatum to the population has simplified their task and their opinion is to compensate the owners of the land by bartering the state owned lands in Djazira for the privately owned villages. But since the confiscated villages number 319, while state owned villages are only 66, this would create many problems. We, the National Peasant Bureau, therefore suggest :

- 1—The issuing of a governmental decree to the effect that the whole area is confiscated and the government may exploit these lands in any manner it deems fit, because the situation cannot stand as it is, and the state owned villages cannot and should not be bartered for privately owned villages, especially that those villages that are privately owned belong to the **Non-Arab elements**.
- 2—To change the residential nature of the area by deportation and to change radically the non-Arab character of the areas adjacent to the border.

(End of Article)

COMMENT ON THE ARTICLE

There is no need to condemn the report, for it is self-condemnatory by the inclusion of deliberate distorted facts and truisms.

In all the history of Syria there has not been one single case of spying, for any power or state, in the area.

Since 1954, the nature of the border between Syria and Turkey has been one of the most guarded and preserved for the prevention of population movements in order to prevent contacts between the Kurds on both sides of the frontier. The border is one of the tightest in the world because of the instalment of three lines of barbed wires and plantation of mines between them, all along the Syrian border with Turkey ever since 1954. So the fallacies about spying and further Kurdish immigration to Syria fall flatly to the ground.

As for the comic accusation that the Kurds are always

connected with the Imperialists. This has become so familiar with governments who, out of deficiencies in their system, failures of their policies or the increasing unpopularity of their regime, try to find suitable scape-goats.

The very simple fact is that those people in the Syrian government, who are responsible for these policies, are racialists and most probably mentally sick.

Finally, I do hope that every democratically-minded person in the world would add his voice to that of the helpless Kurds in Syria to curb this vicious racial onslaught on their basic rights, and help them to achieve those rights which are minimal indeed in this day and age, i.e. human, national and cultural rights; elimination of racial discrimination; elimination of national oppression; publication of Kurdish literature; education in Kurdish for the areas that are populated by Kurds; political, civil, social and economical freedoms.



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