

# KURDISTAN



Kurdish Students' Society in Europe

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# KURDISTAN

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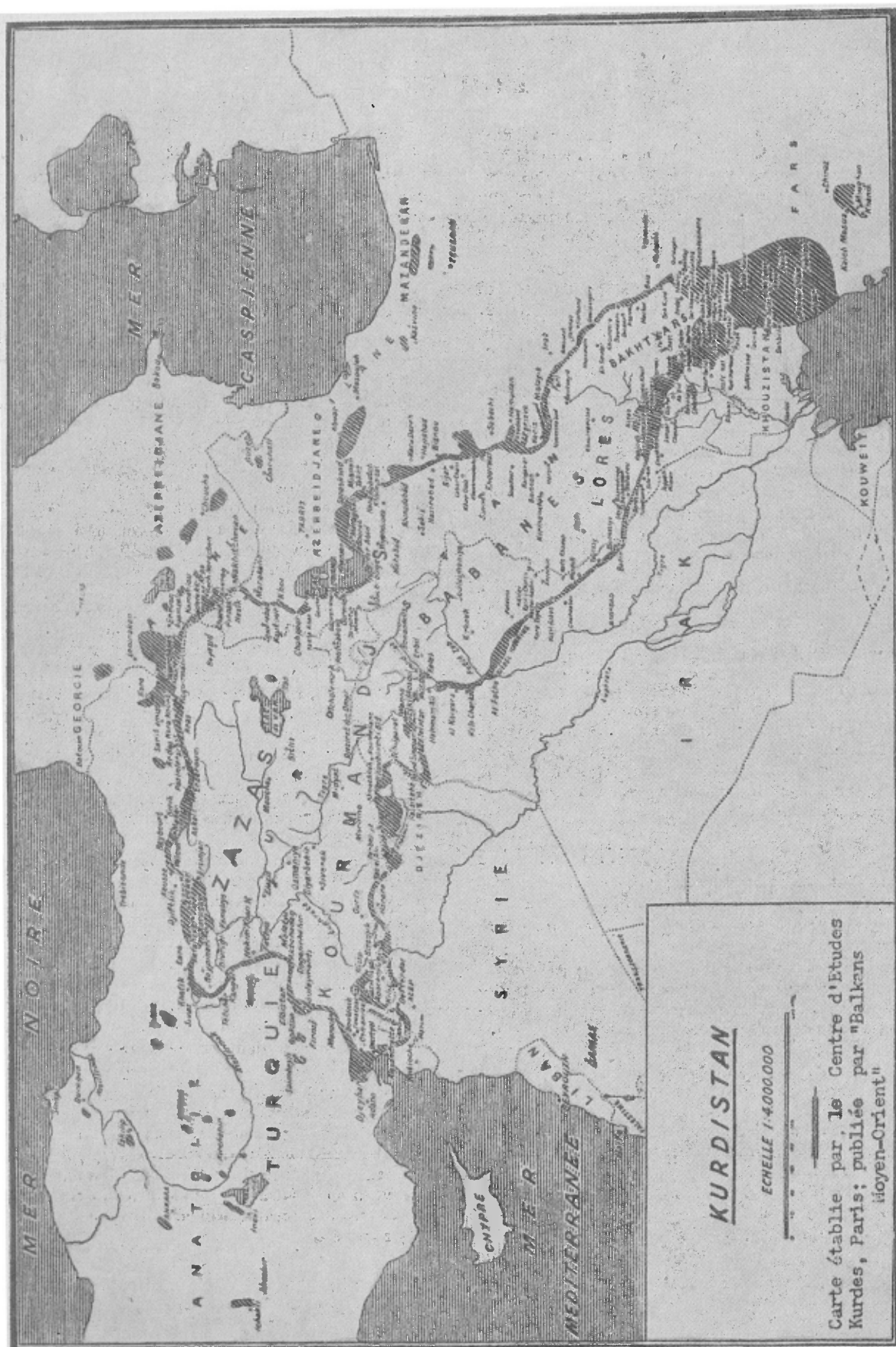
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## CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Editorial .. .. .	3	Activities of the K.S.S.E's Executive Committee .. .. .	25
The Fifth Congress .. .. .	4	Copy of the Telegram which was sent to Ankara .. .. .	26
The Resolutions of the Sixth Congress ..	8	Restive Kurds .. .. .	27
Constitution of the K.S.S.E. .. .. .	9	'International Society—Kurdistan' ..	28
Conference of Kurdological Studies ..	10	Prominent Swiss Protest Against Death Sentences in Iranian Kurdistan .. ..	29
Telegrams to Turkey and Iran .. ..	10	Press Comment .. .. .	29
Sixth Congress of the International Union of Students .. .. .	11	The 'Secret Clauses' of Turkish Policy ..	31
A Tribute to Adnan Khudadad .. ..	12	Newroz in Europe .. .. .	32
Declaration of the K.S.S.E. .. .. .	13	The Festival of Newroz .. .. .	32
Report on the Participation of the K.S.S.E. in the Sixth Congress of the International Union of Students .. .. .	14	B.B.C. Television and Kurdistan .. ..	33
Kurdistan Welcomes the General Secretary of the K.S.S.E. .. .. .	18	Letters to the Editor .. .. .	33
The Problem of Specific Kurdish Organisations .. .. .	19	Kurdish Literature .. .. .	35
		Letters to Monsieur Gamal Abdul Nasser	37
		Letter to General Gursel .. .. .	39

KOMELEY XWÊNDIKARANÎ KURD LE EWROPA



# **KURDISTAN**

ECHELLE 1-4000.000

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## Editorial

Nowadays we see many nations of both East and West striving for the freedom and independence of their homelands, and often we hear that a new state has come into being, after many struggles and great sacrifices on the part of such nations, in order that they might live like all the free and independent peoples.

World opinion today is increasingly united in the realization that it is no longer permissible for any nation to remain under-privileged. For this reason we see articles written in many of the world's newspapers, and hear voices raised in many speeches, in support of this or that cause. Nevertheless the Kurdish nation, which has striven for years without number and sacrificed many of its sons to obtain its national and cultural rights, sees with astonishment how world opinion, as expressed in the press and in international organizations, and the governments of the world individually, have not faced up in a positive manner to the Kurdish problem.

In Kurdistan of Turkey, where more than five million Kurds live, hundreds every month are thrown into prison and the Kurds are denied all human rights. Moreover, this inhuman treatment becomes more savage every day. Although some people imagine that the recent change of government in Turkey will lead to a spread of democracy in the Turkish Republic, we cannot understand how any Turkish government dare mention democracy while it calls the Kurds 'mountain Turks' and denies them all rights, including even that of speaking their own language.

Today the government of General Gursel is engaged in oppressing the Kurdish people even more than previous Turkish governments. The military prisons of Istanbul are full of Kurds, tried in secrecy and without the benefit of the elementary right of defence, a right granted to every defendant in all democratic countries. In the same way Kurds in their thousands are driven out of Kurdistan every year, together with their families, and forced to live in Turkish areas in the west of Turkey, after their land and property in Kurdistan has been summarily seized. Each family is only allowed to take a maximum of 100 kilos. of personal property with it, and in many cases Kurdish men are expelled from Kurdistan, leaving their wives and children at the mercy of the Turkish police and soldiers. Although many newspaper correspondents and news agencies are aware of these facts we see that they consider them of no great importance or interest.

The condition of the Kurds in the Kurdistan of Iran is not much better than that of their brothers in Turkey. A year ago the Persian gendarmerie and the minions of the Shah's government arrested approximately six hundred Kurds in one night and flung them into prison, later to be tried in secret by a military court. Four persons were sentenced to death and many to life imprisonment. Despite the fact that the Shah's government is fully aware that the entire Kurdish nation and its organizations, together with a number of foreign newspapers and organizations, condemn these arbitrary actions we see that those four Kurds are still under the threat of execution and many other Kurds still in prison.

On many occasions the government of Iran states that they are the friends of the Kurds and invites the Kurds living outside Iran to unite with them. They claim that the Kurds of Iran live happily and enjoy all national rights and are served by Kurdish newspapers and broadcasting stations. Evidently the Persian officials have forgotten, or have put out of their minds, the fact that in the Kurdistan of Iran, where nearly four million Kurds live, there is not a single school where a Kurdish child can study in his own language. Likewise, there are no Kurdish newspapers or journals, with the solitary exception of one called ironically *Kurdistan*, a 'weekly' published in Teheran, and not distributed in Kurdistan itself. This is meant only for external propaganda purposes, to praise the Shah and his government and to attack Kurdish organizations, including our own committee, which is supported by the majority of the Kurdish people in Kurdistan.

In Syria, where there are nearly 400,000 Kurds living, more than three hundred Kurdish intellectuals, professional men and personalities have recently been arrested, and twenty-two sentenced to life imprisonment. The Kurds in Syria have been deprived of all national rights.

Those Kurds who have been arrested in Turkey, Iran and Syria are not criminals, nor are they guilty of treason towards those countries. Their only crime has been to demand their legal rights.

The government of Iraq, under the Interim Constitution, grants the Kurds their rights and regards them as equal to the Arabs of Iraq. Nevertheless there are shortcomings. For example, certain Kurdish newspapers in Iraq have been banned. **We hope that these shortcomings will be remedied and that in the new Constitution the rights of the Kurdish people will be proclaimed explicitly and completely.**

We are convinced that the condition of the Kurdish people, especially those in Kurdistan of Turkey, is a matter of grave concern for all peoples of the world, as it threatens to destroy the peace of the Middle East. We wish to bring to the attention of all peoples and governments of the world, through the world press, that if the Kurds remain in their present unfortunate state it must sooner or later cause such grave problems as we cannot believe to be sought by anybody. Accordingly we

ask them to raise their voices in support of the just struggle of the Kurdish nation for its rights, and to demand of these governments that they grant the Kurds their rights.

**It is our opinion that the Kurdish problem cannot be solved without democracy, but at the same time we cannot accept any 'democracy' established at the expense of the Kurdish nation. Moreover, we do not consider that true democracy can be established in the Middle East until the Kurdish problem is solved.**

## *The Fifth Congress*

The Fifth Annual Congress of the K.S.S.E. was held in Berlin from 22nd – 26th August 1960. Nearly eighty delegates, Kurdish students from European Universities who represented all parts of Kurdistan, were present. These students came from Austria, Bulgaria, Great Britain, France, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Switzerland, Soviet Union, Rumania, Federal German Republic, German Democratic Republic and Hungary.

Four Honorary members of the Society, namely Professor Dr. Kamuran Aáli Bedir-Khan and Mdme. Bedir-Khan, General Ihsan Nuri Pasha and Mr. Rashid Arif (Contractor), were present.

Among the guests and observers were Professor Dr. Heinrich Junker, Director of the Near-East Institute at the Humboldt University in Berlin; Dr. Dieter Christensen and his wife — ethnologist and lecturer at the Free University of Berlin; Dr. Heinz Kloss, Director of Institute for Nationalities and Language problems, Kiel; Mr. Silvio van Rooy of Amsterdam, President of I.S.K.; Mr. Simones, Vice-President of I.S.K.; there were also representatives of International Union of Students, General Union of Students of the Iraqi Republic, Iraqi Students Society in G.D.R., Iraqi Student's Society in Bulgaria, Iraqi Student's Union in Federal Republic of Germany, Union of the Democratic Youth in Iraq, Democratic Party of Kurdistan. There were over twenty journalists who represented German and International Press. Representatives of the West Berlin Radio and Television Services were also present and filmed the opening session of the Congress.

The Congress was opened with the Kurdish students singing the National Song: 'Ey Reqîb'. Then the President of the K.S.S.E. rose and delivered the opening address; he welcomed all the guests, one by one, and thanked the organisations, especially I.U.S., G.U.S.I.R. and Democratic Party

of Kurdistan for sending their representatives to the Congress. The President went on to say:

" . . . The unity of all Kurdish democratic forces in each part of our politically divided Kurdistan, the complete co-operation with the democratic forces of the neighbouring peoples within each of the states, where Kurds are living, are two distinct but connected objectives, two important, say indispensable conditions for the success of the Kurdish national liberation movement in the Middle East, and for the complete democratisation of the public life in the Middle-Eastern states, objectives, which will be beneficial to Arabs, Persians, Turks and Kurds.

The realization of one of those two conditions must not be attained at the expense of the other. In Iraq for example the second condition is, happily enough, fully realized through the Arab-Kurdish friendship, through the bi-national partnership in the republic. But the unity of the democratic forces of Iraqi Kurdistan could be and must be better done. This is very important.

As important at least is a third condition: the realization of a better unity, of a better more organic co-ordination within the Kurdish national liberation movement as a whole, across the Middle-Eastern political frontiers, which tear Kurdistan into pieces. **Kurdistan is but one land, but one nation numbering 12 million people and politically divided into four parts.**

The Kurdish national question cannot be resolved without a good and thorough democratisation of the political power in the states of the Middle East. But the contrary is true, and to this point, we would like to draw the attention of all non-Kurdish democratic forces in the Middle East: A good and thorough democratisation of the Middle-Eastern countries cannot be attained without radical solution of the Kurdish national question.

I can say even more: the degree of democratisation of any governmental power in the Middle East can be accurately measured by the amount of the Kurdish national rights, recognized and effectively respected by that government. I beg you only to forgive me for this rather too mathematical expression.

The two aspects of the problems are closely connected. A government, which does not recognize the Kurdish national rights, including self-determination, is not a democratic or not entirely democratic government."

which occurred during this year, is the official recognition by the Iraqi Government of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan in Iraq. For the first time in history a Kurdish party passes from illegality to legality, from underground to overground. This is very important.

But Iraqi Kurds have still some reasons of unsatisfaction, of which the Kurdish press at home speaks enough and which will be explained, on the other hand, in a special booklet written in English, to be published by our Society.

I would like to make four points quite clear:



*Some delegates at the Fifth Congress*

"... Ladies and gentlemen, dear friends. I beg you to be so kind to let me make a very rapid survey of the situation of the Kurdish people in Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Syria.

Since the glorious Iraqi Revolution of July 14th 1958, our Society has undertaken by all the means at its disposal, the defence of the new Republic, that of the Arabs and the Kurds. We will continue to do it.

In our two previous congresses in Munich and Vienna, and through all our publications, we have put in evidence how much the Iraqi Revolution was beneficial not only to the whole Iraqi people, with their two main nationalities, the Arabs and the Kurds, associated constitutionally in the Republic, with equal national rights, but also indirectly the whole Kurdish people, everywhere in Kurdistan.

We shall not repeat the reasons of Kurdish satisfaction, which are well known and will surely remain. A new reason for Kurdish satisfaction,

I—the first is that all these reasons of Kurdish unsatisfaction in Iraq are inherited by the new Republic from ancient monarchic regime and, whence, the Republic power can by no means be considered as responsible of such a situation; II—The second point is this: we consider that the Democratic Republican Government must uproot all the mischief of the ancient regime, including those which strike the Kurdish nationality in particular. Probably the Iraqi Government has not had enough time to find the good solutions to all the problems of which the Iraqi people and especially the Kurds are complaining. III—The third point is that these remarks are made with a perfect constructive and democratic spirit, and that we are confident that the Iraqi Government will find, let us hope it, the good solutions for the problems posed. IV—The fourth point is that, despite these remarks, the situation of the Kurdish people in Iraq is above any comparison with that of the Kurdish people in the neighbouring states, and that

our Society will remain as faithful as in the past in defending the Iraqi Revolution, the Iraqi Democracy and the Iraqi Republican power, against external and internal enemies.

I shall not speak here of these particular but very important problems, which, although inherited from the past, do not let the Iraqi Kurds, to have actually the same right as their friends — the Arabs. I would just denote some of them:

For instance, the Kurdish language must be considered as an official language in all governmental offices in Iraq, exactly as Arabic. On the other hand the Iraqi foreign policy must undertake officially the defence of the Kurdish people and the Kurdish national question outside Iraq, in the same way as it defends the Arab nation elsewhere, in Algeria and Oman for example.

But how this nationality will be associated with their brothers — the Arabs — in the Republic, that is a point which the constitution leaves in silence.

We think that this association could be realized the best through a Kurdish self-Government within Iraq, or, which is even better, by the creation of an Iraqi Federal Republic, as in all democratic bi-national or multi-national states of the world.

Another important problem is that created by Article II of the provisional Iraqi constitution. This article declares that Iraq is a part of the Arab nation. We think that only the Arab Iraq is part of the Arab nation. Iraqi Kurdistan is part of the Kurdish nation.

We are confident that the wisdom of the Iraqi Government, will also find the good solutions for these problems.



*Delegates during a break*

Another problem is the necessity of creating Kurdish faculties, one after one, and later a Kurdish University, in several towns of Iraqi Kurdistan and not elsewhere.

One of the most important problems is that of the necessity of a Kurdish cultural and administrative autonomy in Iraq, involving the unification of all the regions of Iraqi Kurdistan and the creation of a Kurdish self-Government, within the limits of the Republic, according to a famous official Iraqi declaration dated of December 1922 and which has received no application.

Article III of the provisional Iraqi constitution declares Arabs and Kurds as associates in the Republic. This is a very good thing but not sufficient. This is merely an official recognition that within Iraq there is a Kurdish nationality.

At our last congress in Vienna, our Society was pleased enough to salute the publication of a Kurdish newspaper in Teheran called *Kurdistan*, which is still the sole Kurdish newspaper in Iran.

Unfortunately during the last year we could know that this newspaper has no diffusion in Iranian Kurdistan, that it is only sent to some Kurds outside Iran. On the other hand, during this year hundreds of our compatriots in Iran were put in jail and four of them condemned to death. We think that this policy — if continued — will lead Iran to very serious difficulties.

Because we are Kurds — and that we have the most friendly feelings towards the Persian people, we ask the Persian Government to release all Kurdish political prisoners, to permit Kurdish publications of all kind, to create Kurdish schools

and to recognize the cultural and national rights of the Kurdish people within Iran, so that the Kurdish nation can progress together with the rest of the ancient people of Iran, and so that the Kurdish language — that belongs to the Iranian group of languages, can flourish.

When in last March 1960 the Turkish *coup d'etat* rid the Republic of Turkey of Mr. Menderes' tyrannic and corrupt Government, we thought that the Committee of National Union which took the power would recognize the legitimate national rights of the six millions of Kurds, living in the Eastern provinces of Turkey, that is in Kurdistan. Some of the responsables of the new regime declared even that the Committee of 'National Union' respects the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, proclaimed by the United Nations. Unfor-

In Syria too the Kurdish people are deprived of their national rights, some Kurdish patriots are still arrested. We ask President Nasser to order an objective enquiry about the situation of the Kurds in Syria, to release Kurdish political prisoners and to recognize the national rights of the Syrian Kurds, including that to have Kurdish schools and Kurdish newspapers in the region inhabited by them."

" . . . Dear Colleagues!

The congress is the highest authority in the Society. From congress to congress we could see the growth of our organization, the fruit of your work. Let us remain united and indulgent toward each other and towards the others. I salute our great Fifth Congress in Berlin and I wish you good work, good luck, and also — because we need it —



*Mr. S. E. van Rooy (second from right, front row), President of the International Society Kurdistan, at the Vth Congress*

tunately, some weeks ago, General Gursel said that there is no Kurdish question and no Kurds at all in Turkey. This is ridiculous. The treaty of Sèvres of 1920, in its articles 62, 63, 64, recognizes clearly enough not only the existence of a Kurdish nation in Turkey, but also its right to an autonomous Kurdistan.

We are sure that the Turkish people, like the Kurdish people, do not share the very military opinion of the new head of the Turkish Government about the Kurdish question and the problem of Kurdish rights in this Republic. We are sure that the Turkish people, animated more and more by democracy, have already understood that the legitimate national rights of the Kurdish people within Turkey must be recognized, the sooner the better, in the interest of this Republic and of its two main nationalities. The Kurds arrested last December are still in the military prison of Istanbul.

good courage, in the service of our Kurdish people and the Kurdish Students movement.

Ladies and Gentlemen — thank you for your attention!"

\* \* \* \*

After this important speech, many guests spoke and greeted the Congress.

Because of the numerous letters and telegrams of greetings to the Congress, it was decided that at the beginning of each session, some of these should be read.

The opening session was followed by a big dinner party for the guests as well as the members of the Society.

During the next sessions, the General Secretary, the Treasurer, the Editor of KURDISTAN as well as the Branch Secretaries read their reports and each was thoroughly discussed by the delegates.

Below is a short summary of the General Secretary's Report which ran to over 28 pages. We regret that heavy pressure upon space has prevented us from finding room for its full text.

'... Immediately after the 4th Congress, we had about one hundred members in our Society, but the number has now increased to about 200, of whom 76 are present.

During the period between the 4th and 5th Congresses the number of branches has increased from five to eight and there are three more branches in process of formation.

Two issues of KURDISTAN in English and one in German were published. Also, the final communiqué of the 4th Congress together with all memorandums sent to U.N.O. and Middle Eastern governments, where Kurdish people live, were published in English, French and German and distributed.

An emblem for the Society was designed and new membership cards carrying the emblem were issued.

A pamphlet in French about Kurdistan and Kurdish people was published. Also two more pamphlets in English have been prepared.

Delegations were sent to many Congresses held by friendly Students organisations.

A number of Committees were formed in some parts of Kurdistan for direct contact between K.S.S.E. and Kurdish people in Kurdistan.'

Then, the General-Secretary mentioned some obstacles in the way of our Society such as the fact that each member of the E.C. is in a different country in Europe. He also criticized a few Kurdish Students in Europe who are not yet members of the Society, yet some of them are active members in other Societies. He said that the time has come for us all to work genuinely as one body for the service of our beloved nation and country.

The General-Secretary ended his report by saying 'We thank you all for your presence and hope to meet again together with new members next year to renew our brotherhood and reinforce our solidarity'.

'Long live K.S.S.E. Long live our unity'.

The congress passed important resolutions concerning the situation of the Kurdish people in each part of Kurdistan as well as over the strengthening of the democracy and the safeguard of the achievements of the 14th July 1958 Revolution in Iraq.

The congress also dealt with many other important points and after which elections were held for the new EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

As a result the following were elected:

## **The Executive Committee:**

*President:* **Ismet Cheriff-Vanly** — Switzerland.

*Vice-President and Treasurer:*

**Wurya Rawanduzi** — Austria.

*General Secretary:* **Kemal Fuad** — Berlin.

*Editor of KURDISTAN:* **Saadi Amin Dizayee** — Great Britain.

*Member:* **Temo Mirkhaz** — West Germany.

*Member:* **Omer Amin Dizayee** — France.

*Member:* **Kaus Keftan** — U.S.S.R.

The Congress was followed by a celebration in the hall of Berlin University. Many guests were invited from all walks of life, including professors, lecturers, journalists and representatives of Berlin radio and television.

The celebration began with the appearance, in national dress, of our member Abdullah Kadir. He thanked the guests for honouring the celebration with their presence, and went on to give a talk on the Kurdish people and their divided country, illustrated with many coloured slides.

The guests were both impressed and touched by the beautiful pictures of Kurdistan and of the simple life of its people.

After this most informative talk, the artistic group of the Society led by Omer Dizayee and Serdar Remzi gave a most amusing programme under the lights of television projectors, and the guests expressed their appreciation by warmly applauding their efforts. Then the Society's team of dancers, in their colourful national dresses, performed a number of traditional Kurdish dances.

A small Kurdish handicraft exhibition was the centre of attraction during the interval and was greatly appreciated by the many guests.

The celebration ended at midnight and the guests left with a vivid memory of the beauty of Kurdistan and the way of living of the Kurdish people.

## **The Resolutions of the 5th Congress**

Following are some of the resolutions passed by the Congress:

Congress demands that the Turkish Government liberates Kurdish Political Prisoners, recognises the national and cultural rights of the Kurdish people in Kurdistan of Turkey, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and that it guarantees these effectively and constitutionally.

Congress demands that the Turkish Government opens Kurdish schools and a Kurdish radio-station in Kurdistan and permits Kurdish publications in a manner conforming to the interests of our people.

Congress hails the just struggle of our Kurdish people — including that of the students — in Kurdistan of Turkey, along with the Turkish people to obtain their national and cultural rights; it addresses to the militants of the Kurdish National Movement and particularly to all prisoners, the greetings and support of our people in all parts of Kurdistan.

Congress strongly condemns the declaration of General Gursel, denying the existence of a Kurdish people in Turkey, ignoring their millions, and making a mere abstraction of historical, ethnological and geographical facts.

Congress brings to the attention of world public opinion the policy of 'Turkification' and forced transference followed by the Turkish Government with regard to our Kurdish people; it asks all international and democratic organisations, especially the U.N.O., and all men of goodwill in the world to denounce this policy and to help the fight of our people for their legitimate rights.

Congress demands that the Turkish Government indemnifies the families of Kurdish political prisoners.

\* \* \* \*

Congress demands that the Iranian Government officially annuls the death sentence on our four Kurdish compatriots, Ghenei Blurian, Rahmet Sheriati, Aziz Yousifi and Ismail Kasimlu, frees all political prisoners, recognises the national and cultural rights of the Kurdish people in Kurdistan of Iran, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and guarantees them effectively and constitutionally.

Congress demands that the Iranian Government opens Kurdish schools and permits Kurdish publications in Kurdistan of Iran in a manner conforming to the interests of our people.

Congress hails the just struggle of our people, including the students, in Kurdistan of Iran, and that of Persian people, the Azerbaijani people and the ethnic minorities in Iran, to obtain their national and cultural rights; it addresses to the militants of the Kurdish National Movement, and especially to all prisoners, the greetings and support of our people in all parts of Kurdistan.

\* \* \* \*

Congress hails the advances achieved by the Iraqi Government, following the glorious revolution of the 14th July 1958, concerning our Kurdish people; it supports the real democratic regime and calls on the Iraqi people with its two nationalities, Arab and Kurdish, along with the ethnic minorities to unite with their democratic organizations to safeguard the advances of the July 14th Revolution, and to put an end to plots against the Republic and its democratic advances.

Congress reaffirms the right of the Kurdish people in Iraq to cultural and administrative autonomy, and asks that the Iraqi Government and the national and democratic forces in Iraq work for the realization of this objective with the least delay, to consolidate Arab-Kurdish friendship and the unity of Iraq, and calls for the mention and guarantee of this right in the new constitution.

Congress asks the Iraqi Government to remove the remaining injustices of the old regime with regard to the Kurdish people . . .

\* \* \* \*

Congress demands that the Government of U.A.R. frees Kurdish Political Prisoners, recognizes the national and cultural rights of the Kurdish people in Syria, and guarantees them constitutionally and effectively.

Congress demands that the U.A.R. Government opens Kurdish schools, authorises Kurdish newspapers and publications in Syria, and improves the Kurdish programme of 'Radio Cairo' in a manner conforming to the interests of the Kurdish people.

## Constitutions of the K.S.S.E.

Following are the 'Basic Aims' of the K.S.S.E. embodied in its constitution as amended in the Fifth Congress in Berlin:

(1) Strengthen the relationship of Kurdish Students in Europe, and organise meetings between them.

(2) Facilitate mutual aid between Kurdish Students in Europe.

(3) Promote the Kurdish national culture, and work towards the good of the Kurdish people and its national question.

(4) Enlighten the world on the culture, country 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 organizations, both national and international, and co-operate with them within the scope of our mutual aims and interests.

(6) Support all the peoples, including our Kurdish people, in their struggle for national liberation and self-determination.

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### **Communications with the Executive Committee should be addressed to :**

**Ismet Cheriff Vanly** (*President*),  
10 Ave. Dickens,  
Lausanne,  
Switzerland.

**Wurya Rawanduzi** (*Vice-President and Treasurer*),  
Gonzaga G., 3/5,  
Wien I,  
Austria.

**Kemal Fuad** (*General Secretary*),  
Postfach 44,  
Berlin,  
D.D.R.

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Correspondence with the Editor should be addressed to

**Saadi Amin Dizayee**,  
16 Taswell Road,  
Southsea,  
Hants,  
England.

### **CONFERENCE OF KURDOLOGICAL STUDIES**

Following the Fifth Congress and on the initiative of our Society, a conference was held for one day attended by prominent Kurdish and European professors.

More than anything, the participants of this conference occupied themselves with the two main Kurdish dialects (i.e. Kurmanji and Sorani) and their standardization into a universal literary language.

Further, the scientific and technical necessity of the language with latin letters for the Kurdish language were the subject of long deliberation and discussion.

At this conference, resolutions of a scientific nature were passed.

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

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### **Telegrams to Turkey and Iran**

At the opening session of the Fifth Congress the following two telegrams were immediately sent to the Governments of Turkey and Iran:

**(1) His Excellency General Gursel, the Head of Turkish State, Ankara, Turkey.**

Your Excellency,

The Fifth Annual Congress of the Kurdish Students Society in Europe being held in Berlin demands the release of the Kurdish Political Prisoners and the recognition of the cultural and national rights of the Kurdish people in Turkish Kurdistan in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

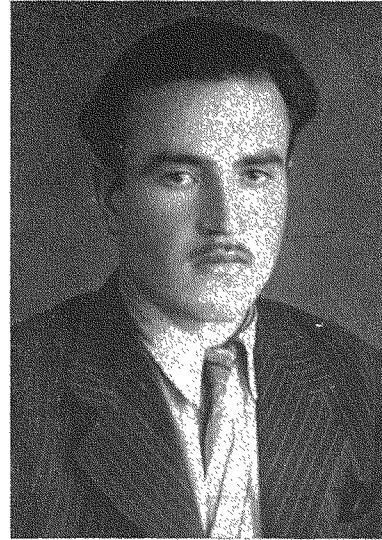
**(2) His Majesty Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlevi, Teheran, Iran.**

Your Majesty,

The Fifth Annual Congress of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe being held in Berlin demands the reprieve of the four Kurdish prisoners condemned to death, Gheni Blurian, Rehmet Sheriati, Ismail Kasimlu and Aziz Yusufi. We demand the release of Kurdish political prisoners and the recognition of the cultural and national rights of the Kurdish people in Kurdistan of Iran in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.



*Aziz Yousifi—death sentence*



*Gheni Blurian—death sentence*

## 6th Congress of the International Union of Students

**Baghdad — Iraq                      8th–19th October 1960**  
**Resolution on the Just National and Cultural**  
**Rights of the Kurdish People**

The 6th Congress of the International Union of Students convened in Baghdad notes:

that the Kurdish people in Turkish Kurdistan and Iranian Kurdistan are deprived of their just cultural and national rights, which constitutes a violation of the principles of democratization of education and the rights of man; that the Kurdish people in Iraqi Kurdistan have obtained some of their cultural rights, being allowed to study in their national language in primary schools;

The Congress appreciates the fact that the Kurdish people in Iraqi Kurdistan have obtained some of their rights, and hopes that their other just national rights will be granted accordingly.

Congress calls on the U.A.R. Government to pay attention to Kurdish culture and to allow Kurdish press and publications;

Congress highly appreciates the struggle of Kurdish students for the attainment of their people's national and cultural rights;

Congress also declares its support to the just demand of the Kurdish people in Iranian and Turkish Kurdistan to enjoy their national and cultural rights.

## THE K.S.S.E's VIth CONGRESS

WILL BE HELD IN

Amsterdam, Holland at the end of August, 1961

DETAILS LATER

# ADNAN KHUDADAD

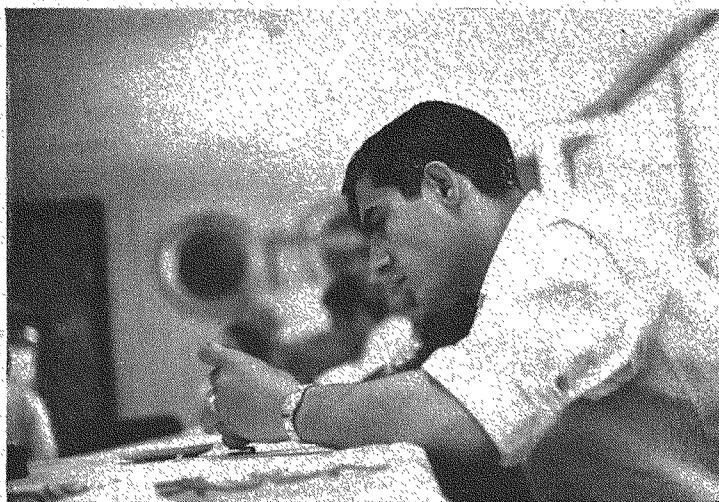
The death of Adnan came as a great shock to the members of our Society. Adnan was killed in a car accident on his way back to Munich on 30th August 1960, after attending the Fifth Congress. Three members of the newly elected Executive Committee were immediately sent to Munich to arrange the funeral.

At the Munich Airport, members of the K.S.S.E. along with representatives of some friendly organizations, stood to attention as they said farewell for ever to their very dear Colleague.

Adnan's body was flown to Baghdad where thousands of people, men and women, young and old awaited it. A representative of the K.S.S.E. flew to Baghdad two days before to participate in the arrangements of the funeral cortège.

So, Adnan too 'has joined the martyrs for Kurdistan', he is gone for ever, but memories of him will always be with us.

Following is a poem written by Adnan, only nine weeks before he died, and was found among the books in his room in Munich:—



*Adnan at the Vth Congress*

## To My Son

My son,  
Do you see what lies yonder,  
On the mountain peaks,  
In the plains  
And the valley beds?  
The riches of Kurdistan!  
But  
Do you see what else there lies  
Beyond the mountains,  
Even beyond the borders?  
There a tyrant rules  
Who plunders our riches,  
Draining the lifeblood of our people.  
My son,

You have both seen and heard,  
But no matter!  
The people shall prevail,  
So rise, my son!  
Give me my trusty blade  
That I may go to join our brave brothers,  
To carry the fight to the border  
And to shatter these shackles.  
If you hear the machine-gun's rattle  
And I am late in returning  
Run to your dear mother's side  
And tell her, 'Mother dear,  
My father has joined the martyrs for Kurdistan!'

**Adnan Khudadad, Munich 20/6/60.**

# Declaration of the K.S.S.E.

## To all Kurdish Students and Patriots

Dear Fellow Students of Kurdistan!

Dear Kurdish Patriots!

A few days ago the 5th Congress of the K.S.S.E. held in Berlin, came to an end. This Congress was the largest and most successful since the foundation of the Society, and in the near future you will see reports of its activities and resolutions in the Kurdish and International Press.

and twelve Kurdish companions to Munich overturned near Münchburg. Adnan was killed immediately and Muhammed Bor, a student from Kurdistan of Turkey, was wounded.

Our late colleague Adnan died in the spring of his life, like a soldier on the field of honour, while striving for the Society, and so for his fatherland. Adnan was Deputy Secretary of the Society's Branch in the Federal German Republic and in his work he was an example of honesty, sincerity and diligence in the cause, as well as being one of the most promising students in his field of study at the University of Munich.



*Adnan (right) accompanied by his colleagues  
on their way to the Congress Hall*

In the last two days the participants have begun to take their leave of Berlin and to return to those European Countries where they are studying.

They set out on their return journey proud and happy at the success of the Congress and the prospects for the future of the Society and the Kurdish Students' movement, which progress steadily towards the fulfilment of their aims — the achievement of our national rights and the freedom of our homeland, Kurdistan.

Our pleasure at being able to announce this progress is only dimmed by our having to announce the sad news of the death of our dear colleague, **ADNAN HUSAIN KHUDADAD**.

Adnan came from Iraqi Kurdistan and belonged to the noble Kurdish clan of the LURS. At dawn, today, the 30th August, the minibus taking Adnan

Dear Kurdish Students and all Kurdish Patriots!

The K.S.S.E., on the occasion of making this sorrowful announcement, asks you to observe the 30th August every year, henceforth, as the **'Day of Endeavour of Kurdish Students'**. Let this day be honoured in commemoration of our martyrs, such as Adnan Khudadad, and Amin Bani before him, who fell victim to the Menderes regime. Let us strive to carry on the patriotic struggle for a free and democratic Kurdistan, the struggle in which Amin Bani and Adnan Khudadad and other Kurdish heroes sacrificed their lives.

We shall never forget their sacrifices, and their honoured memory will always inspire us to continue the struggle.

**K.S.S.E. Executive Committee,  
Berlin 30th August 1960.**



*To those who sacrifice their lives for Kurdistan—Baxtiyar*

## Report on the Participation of the K.S.S.E. in the VIth Congress of the International Union of Students held in Baghdad from October 8th to 19th 1960

The K.S.S.E. delegation was composed of three members: Ismet Cheriff, President of the K.S.S.E.; Kemal Fuad, Secretary-General; Tahsin Amin, former Editor of KURDISTAN, the K.S.S.E. periodical organ.

On October 8th a meeting was held in Baghdad between the K.S.S.E. delegation and four members of the E.C. of the General Union of Students in the Iraqi Republic, including its President Mr. Mehdy Hafiz, its Secretary-General and two members, one of them was Mr. Muhiddine, an Iraqi Kurd. The Kurdish delegation proposed to the Iraqi delegation to issue a joint declaration to be published in the Iraqi press, stating the total agreement of both parties to defend the Iraqi Republic, the Iraqi democracy, already threatened, and the realizations of the Iraqi revolution. The declaration had also to state that the G.U.S.I.R., acting as a host for the whole congress, supported fully the demand of affiliation presented by the K.S.S.E. to the I.U.S. The Iraqi delegation refused to issue such a declaration, assuring orally, however, that it would support that affiliation. Mr. Muhiddine shared the opinion of the K.S.S.E. delegation. The refusal of the G.U.S.I.R. to publish such a joint declaration meant that the E.C. of this

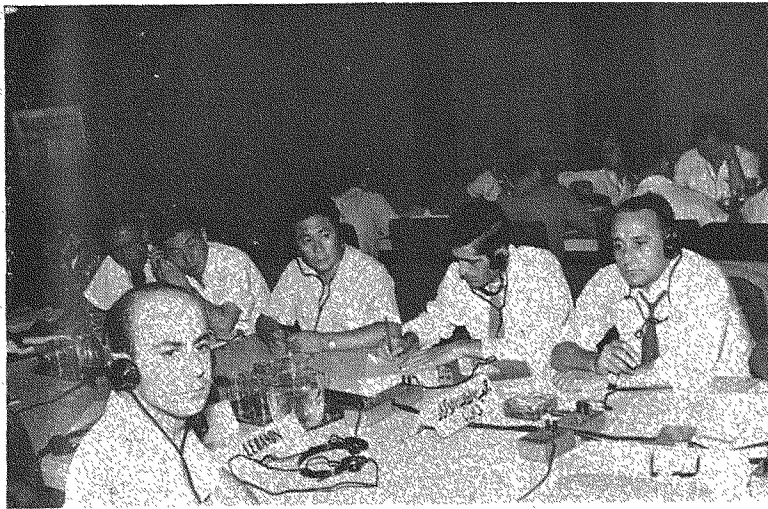
organization was in fact against the affiliation of the K.S.S.E. Unfortunately, the following events confirmed largely this opinion.

On October 10th, in the name of the K.S.S.E. delegation, its President delivered, in French, the K.S.S.E. speech in the plenary session of the I.U.S. congress. During the speech, Mr. Cheriff was interrupted by the Bulgarian delegation 'for a point of order': the speech, said the delegation, is too long, the Arab delegations applauded the Bulgarian one sharing its opinion. But the Chairman, an African friend from Sierra Leone, did not grant the point of order and let the orator continue. In the name of the K.S.S.E. delegation, the orator thanked the Chairman and asked the congress to be patient because it is 'the first time that the K.S.S.E. has the honour of taking part in an I.U.S. congress, and it is important that the congress knows well the Kurdish national question and the conditions in Kurdistan'. The congress applauded and the orator continued. It was, after the refusal of the G.U.S.I.R. to issue the above-mentioned declaration, the second regrettable incident. The congress listened to the speech with great attention, and to some delegations, among which those of Latin America, the Kurdish question was an

important revelation deserving the support of all democratic men in the world. After the speech, a great number of delegations congratulated the Kurdish one.

In its speech, the K.S.S.E. delegation spoke at length of the bad conditions of Kurdistan of Turkey especially after General Gursel's *coup d'etat* of last May. It spoke also of the bad conditions of Kurdish people in Iran and Syria, thanked the Iraqi Government for Article 3 of the provisional constitution, declaring 'Kurds and Arabs as associates in the Republic', but the K.S.S.E. delegation criticized

federation of Students) referred to Iraq as exclusively an Arab country, an Arab people, without any allusion to the existence of a part of Kurdistan within Iraq. The Kurdish delegation was obliged to ask the Chairman the permission to rectify that error, it explained to those Arab delegations that Iraq is the Republic of Arabs and Kurds, according to Article 3, and, whence, it is not exact to refer to this country as 'an Arab State', because it is, in fact, an Arab-Kurdish State. The North-African Confederation pointed out that people in North Africa had always read in books that Iraq was an



*K.S.S.E.'S observers at the I.U.S. 6th Congress in Baghdad*

Article 2 of this same constitution, saying that Iraq is an integral part of the Arab nation. The K.S.S.E. delegation pointed out that only Arab Iraq is a part of the Arab nation, while Iraqi Kurdistan is a part of the Kurdish nation and can by no means be a part of the Arab nation. The delegation also asked the Iraqi Government to grant Iraqi Kurdistan a large autonomy, with a Kurdish self-Government within Iraq. At the end of the speech, the K.S.S.E. delegation pointed out that the Kurdish people in Iraq would be very happy if all the delegations would visit Iraqi Kurdistan, that this visit could be realized with the co-operation of the G.U.S.I.R. and the K.S.S.E. and that, in any way, the K.S.S.E. had the material means to entertain all the delegations in Kurdistan.

The Iraqi delegation seemed not to taste that invitation, the initiative of which was taken by the Kurdish one.

In their speeches, the Arab delegations (U.A.R., Palestine, Jordan, Oman, North-African Con-

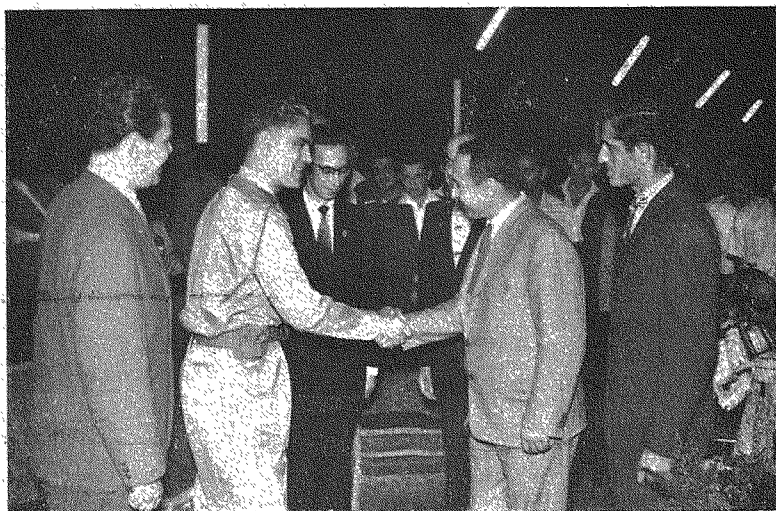
Arab country, an Arab nation, and that the Confederation had very friendly feeling towards Kurds and Kurdish students, but that Kurds in Iraq are a minority, having their own language and comparable to the Berbers in North Africa, in Algeria for example, where the existence of an important Berber population does not mean that Algeria is not an Arab country, and its people an Arab people. The K.S.S.E. delegation explained then that the Kurds are a Nation, a divided nation, having already back some centuries of struggle for national liberation. Mr. Hafiz, President of the Iraqi delegation, said then that Iraq as a whole, in its political frame, is an Arab country, according to Article 2 of the provisional Constitution, but that, within Iraq, Arabs and Kurds are associates. The K.S.S.E. delegation asked the permission to speak once more, with the intention of demonstrating that Article 2 and 3 of that Constitution are contradictory one to another, but other delegations were speaking and it was asked to put an

end to the discussion on the matter. Mr. Hafiz, in his reply, said also that all the Iraqi political parties, including the 'Kurdish Democratic Party' agreed on these two articles of the Constitution, as he explained them.

Since the Democratic Party of Kurdistan in Iraq was involved in the matter, the official organ of this party, *Khebat*, wrote an article entitled 'The Kurdish Nation and Article 2 of the Constitution' in which it was explained that the Party had never accepted Article 2 in that sense, that Article 2 must be modified because Iraqi Kurdistan is not a part

stolen by somebody! Indeed, it was shameful. One of the telegrams was sent in the name of 4,600 Kurdish women from the heroic town of Sulaimani, another in the name of some 1,500 High School Kurdish Students from the same town (there is no University, neither Colleges in Kurdistan). Popular manifestations took place in Kurdistan.

In a private conversation, Mr. Pelikan told Mr. Cheriff that the question of the K.S.S.E. affiliation to the I.U.S. would have been very easy if the congress were held in any other country. In fact, it was a public opinion among the delegates that



*Iraq's Prime Minister, Abdul Karim Kassem, welcomes our Society's representatives*

of the Arab nation but of the Kurdish nation. The attitude of the Iraqi delegation in the congress was firmly criticized in the article. In Kurdistan, not only students but all the Kurdish people were angry. Every day tens of telegrams, signed by thousands of people, and many petitions arrived from Kurdistan, with copies to Mr. Pelikan, President of the I.U.S., to the K.S.S.E. delegation, to the Iraqi delegation and to the newspaper *Khebat*, which published them. In all these telegrams, the Kurdish people greeted the I.U.S. congress, supported the K.S.S.E. delegation and criticized, sometimes violently, the attitude of the Iraqi delegation as explained by its President. Telegrams also were sent from all the K.S.S.E. Sections in Europe. Asked by the K.S.S.E. delegation, in the plenary session, if he had received such telegrams, Mr. Pelikan said he had received none and marked his surprise. The only explanation of this incident is that those telegrams were not delivered to Mr. Pelikan, they must have been

the G.U.S.I.R. was strongly against our affiliation. The G.U.S.I.R. was fearful that the K.S.S.E. pretend representing the Kurdish students in Iraq at its expense. But in adopting this attitude the E.C. of the G.U.S.I.R. became very unpopular in Iraqi Kurdistan. These are errors which will not be forgotten in the future development of the Kurdish students movement, say in the Kurdish national movement.

The only act of co-operation between the G.U.S.I.R. and the K.S.S.E. in the congress was the presentation, jointly by both delegations at the Commission for the democratization of higher education, of a draft resolution on 'The just National and Cultural Rights of the Kurdish People'. It must be stated that this agreement was only possible after a long discussion, and that the Iraqi delegation refused to use, in the paragraph relating to the situation of the Kurds in Syria, the expressions of 'the Kurdish people', 'Kurdish regions' and even that of 'Syria'. In this paragraph

we only 'call on the U.A.R. Government to pay attention to the Kurdish culture and to allow Kurdish press and publications'. The Iraqi delegation said that that was the maximum it was able to accept. Our delegation accepted it to save the agreement.

When this draft-resolution was discussed in the plenary session, the U.A.R. delegation asked the congress to omit the above-mentioned paragraph 'because', said the delegation, 'there is not a Kurdish people in Syria but a Kurdish minority, like the Jews, and it lives well'. The Kurdish delegation explained that the Kurds of Syria are a part of the Kurdish people who are divided only because of the artificial political frontiers which were traced by imperialistic powers without consulting them. The Jordanian and Palestinian delegations replied that indeed there is a country called Kurdistan, but this country is divided only among Turkey, Iran and Iraq and there is no part of Kurdistan in Syria. The Kurdish delegation asked the U.A.R. one, if these Kurds of Syria have schools and newspapers in their language, a question to which was replied that 'these Kurds have the same rights as the Arabs and must learn only Arabic'. 'That means assimilation by force', remarked one of the Kurdish delegates. Many other delegations participated in the discussion, among which the Iraqi and the African ones, which, all, supported that the Kurds of Syria are a part of the Kurdish people and that they must be allowed to enjoy their cultural rights. The resolution was carried out by an overwhelming majority. Only the Palestinian and Jordanian delegations voted against it. The North-African Confederation (Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco) asked the Chairman to note officially that their delegation did not take part in the vote. **The K.S.S.E., U.A.R. and some other delegations did not take part in the vote because they did not have this right, being only observers and not Members of the I.U.S.**

At the Commission against imperialism, the K.S.S.E. delegation presented, alone, a draft-resolution 'On the situation in Kurdistan' mentioning, in one of its paragraphs 'the right of the Kurdish people to the complete national liberation of Kurdistan'. When this draft-resolution came to discussion before the plenary session, the 'Students' Union of the University of Teheran', currently called also Iranian delegation, remarked that the title 'On the Situation in Kurdistan' was not acceptable, because of the word 'Kurdistan'. It proposed another title: 'On the situation of the Kurdish people in Iran, in Irak, in Turkey and in Syria'. The K.S.S.E. delegation said that this title is too long and that the name 'Kurdistan' must be maintained in the title, because Kurdistan is the

country of the Kurdish people, on one hand, and because, on the other, the name 'Kurdistan' covers not only this people but also the national minorities living in this country. The F.E.A.N.F. delegation (Fédération des Etudiants d'Afrique Noire en France; in English: Black Africa Federation of Students in France) said that was an important point and that the name of 'Kurdistan' must be maintained in the title 'because Kurdistan', added the delegation, 'is the homeland of the Kurdish nation, and this nation and its delegation in the congress should be treated equally to the other nations'. The U.G.E.A.O. delegation (Union Generale des Etudiants de l'Afrique Occidentale; in English: General Union of Students of West Africa) said similar things, supporting the Kurdish delegation. So it also was the attitude of many other delegations, among which those of Martinique, Haiti, Cameroun, Sierra Leone, Madagascar, French Guiana, etc. . . . The 'Iranian' delegation remained on its position. This delegation was composed of three members two of them were Persians and the third was a Kurd. This member of the delegation, who was usually silent during the previous sessions, asked to speak and said that he fully supported the title as proposed by the K.S.S.E. delegation and that the name of 'Kurdistan' must be maintained. The other two members of this delegation said then that the three members of their delegation agreed on all matters 'but relating to the Kurdish question, they do not agree' and that the Kurdish member spoke only in his personal name. The African delegations spoke once more and the U.G.E.A.O. in particular, said, **'the Kurdish nation has the right of unifying Kurdistan and of creating an independent Kurdistan, like any other nation'**. The Iraqi delegation said then, by the voice of its President, that the name of 'Kurdistan' was unacceptable in the title and that both titles proposed were to be rejected. There was soon a big noise among the numerous Iraqi delegation, and the Chairman was obliged to remind it, three times, to remain quiet. Mr Kemal Muhiddine, the Kurdish member of the Iraqi delegation, left his Iraqi colleagues and came to the K.S.S.E. delegation, complaining that his Iraqi fellows prevented him by force from speaking, that they cut the electrical connection of the microphone when he was about to speak in favour of the Kurdish proposals. The President of the K.S.S.E. delegation asked for the microphone and submitted to the attention of the congress that regrettable incident and the lack of democracy within the Iraqi delegation. The discussion was going on, very long, 'dramatically', and the Lebanese delegation proposed to the (Bulgarian) Chairman to 'postpone indefinitely the discussion on the draft-

resolution moved by the K.S.S.E.' This proposal gave way to further discussions, in a noisy way. Finally, with the complicity of the Chairman, and despite the protestation of many African and Caribbean delegations, it was decided to postpone the discussion and to leave the whole matter to the meeting of the I.U.S. Executive Committee (which meets twice a year). Mr. Tahsin Amin, of the K.S.S.E. delegation, said that way of escaping problems was not a democratic one, that it was a mere manoeuvre against the K.S.S.E. draft-resolution and that, usually, it is up to congresses to discuss proposals, to accept, amend or reject them, but not to escape them.

As to the question of affiliation of the K.S.S.E. to the I.U.S., the Credential Committee, in its report to the Congress, during the last plenary session on October 19th, said that, after examination, the K.S.S.E. Constitution presented some 'vague points', and that, because of these constitutional considerations, the K.S.S.E. was not eligible as member of the I.U.S., but that it must not be understood that the Credential Committee recommended to the Congress to reject the demand of membership presented by this organization. In fact, the Credential Committee recommended to the Congress not to reject that demand and to leave the whole matter to the decision of the Executive Committee of the I.U.S.

So this question was dealt with in the same manner as the draft resolution on 'The situation in Kurdistan'. The discussions which followed were as long and as passionate. It would be too long to make an account of them. Finally, the President of the K.S.S.E., after thanking once more the I.U.S. for having invited this organization to the Congress, regretted those rather negative decisions, taken in not a very courageous way, under some pressure. He expressed the hope, in the name of the Kurdish

delegation, of continuation of friendship between K.S.S.E. and all I.U.S. members. **He emphasized that the K.S.S.E. shall go on as solid as in the past, in the service of the Kurdish students movement and the Kurdish national liberation question.**

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To be noted, among the telegrams received by the Kurdish delegation, were those sent by the people of Rowandouz, of Amadiya and many other Kurdish towns, as well as those from the workers of Darbendi-Khan dam, the students of Kalat Diza, the peasants' associations in Kurdistan and the Municipality Council, 'in corpore', of the town of Sulaimani.

The Democratic Party of Iraqi Kurdistan backed very vigorously and helped generously the K.S.S.E. delegation.

The K.S.S.E. delegation called on his Excellency General Mustapha Barzani, the beloved national hero of the Kurdish people.

Also in a reception organized for all the participating delegations of the Congress, the K.S.S.E. delegation was presented to his Excellency General Abdul Kerim Kassem.

After the Congress, the K.S.S.E. delegation spent some days in Baghdad, preparing for the journey to Kurdistan, where the Kurdish people were urging it to come every day. Being not Iraqi, the President of the K.S.S.E. was not allowed to visit Kurdistan and had to leave Iraq for Europe when his visa expired on 23rd October.

Of the K.S.S.E. delegation, only Mr. Kemal Fuad, an Iraqi, made the journey to Kurdistan, accompanied by Mr. Fadel Ganj-Ali, Secretary of the K.S.S.E. branch in Western Germany. The journey was very successful, because it proved **how deep is the affection of our courageous Kurdish people towards our militant K.S.S.E.**

## KURDISTAN WELCOMES THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE K.S.S.E.

After attending the Sixth Congress of the I.U.S. in Baghdad, the K.S.S.E. General Secretary, Kemal Fuad, accompanied by Fadhil Genj Ali, the Secretary of the K.S.S.E. Branch in Federal Germany, left Baghdad for a short visit to Kurdistan of Iraq.

Everywhere in Kurdistan, they were welcomed by the Kurdish people who showed their affection for, and love of, our Society.

About fifty miles from the City of Sulaimania, they were greeted by over ninety cars and private

buses packed with people who accompanied them to the City where thousands had already lined up in the streets to welcome the General Secretary and his companion, and their car was continually being stopped by cheering crowds.

During his short stay in Sulaimania, Kemal Fuad, addressed a number of meetings held by various city organizations. Fuad expressed his supreme satisfaction that our people there consider the K.S.S.E.'s efforts as being part of their own liberation movement, and he went on to say, 'We are

happy to know that this fact is also realized by the people all over Kurdistan'. He also thanked our people for their moral and financial support of our Society. Fuad was tumultuously cheered when he said, 'Your past and continuing support will lead us on to achieve our aims and so to add a humble contribution to the liberation of our beloved fatherland.'

The day that Fuad and Genj Ali left Kurdistan



*Our Secretaries with the Editorial Staff of 'Rojî Nuwê', a Kurdish Magazine published in Sulaimania. Left to right: Kameran, F. Genj Ali, J. Shali, K. Fuad, A. Ejder.*

for Europe, people in their thousands came out to bid them farewell.

This visit certainly proved that our people, from all walks of life, are being ever closer drawn together by their struggle for our common aim — an independent Kurdistan. The history of our Society is ample proof that we are as one with this struggle, and knowing and feeling that our people are with us give us ever greater strength.



*K.S.S.E. General Secretary (centre) with our people in Southern Kurdistan.*

## **The Problem of Specific Kurdish Organisations for the creation of an 'All-Kurdistan Federation of Students' Organisations'**

*by ISMET CHERIFF-VANLY, Switzerland*

There is no doubt that the Kurdish people constitute a nation in the full scientific meaning of the term, historically formed and based upon the community of land — Kurdistan, of language, of economical links and of psychological formation, with a national culture.

There is no doubt that this nation, counting more than twelve millions, is an oppressed one in her politically — say artificially divided Kurdistan. Only in Iraqi Kurdistan some cultural rights were recognized to the Kurdish people, after the July Revolution 1958.

There is also no doubt that our nation has the right to struggle for her complete national liberation, according to her inalienable right to self-determination and the general principles of Democracy.

Only reactionary and fascist elements could deny such rights to our people.

But only specific Kurdish organizations can be able to lead successfully the struggle of our people for their complete and legitimate national liberation, and then, once this objective attained, to

build a new Kurdish society, economically prosperous and socially progressive.

To try to build such a progressive society, in Kurdistan and elsewhere in the Middle-Eastern States sharing our country, by oriental non-Kurdish organizations (Iraqi, Iranian, U.A.R. or Turkish), while neglecting the Kurdish national question, means to try to walk against history, to ignore the historical phases through which passes our Kurdish society, that of national liberation.

Because if it is true that this Kurdish question cannot be resolved without democracy, democracy itself in the whole Middle East is impossible as long as the Kurdish national question will not have received its normal and radical solution. And democracy can much better be attained in Kurdistan by the action of specific Kurdish organizations.

The Oriental, not specifically Kurdish organizations operating in the Middle East, underground or in public, have failed, in fact, as far as the Kurdish people are concerned, in two major points:

1. They did not succeed in mobilizing the democratic forces of our people, most probably because of the reasons which follow;

2. They did not resolve the Kurdish national question or, to be more precise, they did not try it, which is very serious. They obviously neglected the national aspect, the most outstanding, of the Kurdish questions. But these oriental, mixed and progressive organizations used to back, and vigorously, the national aims of the dominating nationalities in the Middle-Eastern States: Arabs in Iraq and Syria, Persians in Iran and Turks in Turkey (it is true that the progressive movement in Turkey was very weak).

The big national liberation revolts in Kurdistan of Turkey and of Iraq, the heroic Republic of Mahabad in Kurdistan of Iran were prepared and made by specific Kurdish democratic organizations, and not by those oriental mixed organizations which used to look at them as spectators, which is also very serious.

Kurdish objectives do not figure in the programme, old or present, of the Iranian Tudeh Party. In Syria, progressive Arab movements, among which the Syrian Communist party, also ignored totally the Kurdish question. In Turkey, we have never heard of a progressive Turkish movement struggling also for the solution of the Kurdish national question, a question which concerns, however, six millions of Kurds living in this State, and drastically oppressed. In Iraq, the specifically Arab organizations, whether progressive (like the National Democratic party) or reactionary,

were used to consider the kingdom, and later on the Republic, as an exclusively Arab State, like Lord Curzon and Colonel Wilson did. The reactionary formations were naturally against Kurdish liberation and used to consider the Kurdish national revolts as some kind of banditism. The mixed (Arabo-Kurdish) Communist party itself ignored practically the Kurdish national question until 1956. In this year, in its second congress, and under the pressure of its Kurdish elements, the Iraqi party recognized that Iraqi Kurdistan is a part of the Kurdish nation, divided by imperialism, and that the properly Arab Iraq is a part of the Arab nation. That was a very good resolution. But, curiously enough, this party continued, however, to consider Iraq as an exclusively Arab State. More curiously, this same party retired later on many of its concessions to the Kurdish national liberation movement. The interests and rights of our oppressed Kurdish people were thus often sacrificed whenever the right-wing Arab nationalism was too strong or threatening, or merely for immediate tactical considerations. The Iraqi communist leaders used to say, before the Revolution of 1958, that the Kurdish people in Iraq had to struggle side by side with the Arab people for the liberation of Iraq from British influence and Nury Said, and that only afterwards the Kurdish national question should be resolved. This policy was valuable, especially that the communist party recognized three specific Kurdish organizations, i.e. 'Kurdistan Women's Union', 'Kurdistan Democratic Youth Union' and 'Kurdistan Students' Union', this last being as an autonomous member-organization in the 'General Union of the Iraqi Students'. But amazingly enough, the leading present circles of the Iraqi communist party (or the majority of them, to designate the responsables in these painful specific cases), immediately after July 14th 1958, retired the recognition they had accepted to give, under Nury Said, to the above-mentioned three Kurdish organizations, and this, in the name of the Arabo-Kurdish brotherhood! They said they had been mistaken in recognizing these organizations, that Kurds must not have their own organizations but work indistinctively in united Iraqi ones, in a Republic which they consider, however, as an exclusively Arab State. That was a dramatic error, an error so big that a year later, in July 1959, it was considered in some Iraqi communist circles that to pronounce the name 'Kurdistan' was prejudicial to Iraqi, to the Iraq Revolution, to the Iraqi democracy and to the Arabo-Kurdish brotherhood. This attitude could be explained by the desire of those leading circles to fight the growing influence of the United Kurdish Democratic party which is today, under the name of Kurdistan Democratic Party and

Mustafa Barzani's presidency, at the head of the battle for complete Kurdish national liberation and democracy, in this part of our country. It would have been possible and more conform to democracy and to the interests of our people that the Iraqi communist party maintained its recognition and accepted democratic competition, within those above-mentioned specific Kurdish organizations, with the partisans and friends of Kurdistan Democratic party. It is true that after that attitude, the Iraqi Government promulgated new laws recognizing only general Iraqi organizations. The drama is that these general Iraqi organizations themselves are being systematically annoyed by the Iraqi authorities, and the Iraqi communist party itself, everybody knows it, is in a very uncomfortable situation. The policy of its leading committee regarding the Kurdish problems was not a clever one, neither very democratic, and prejudicial to the interests and rights of our Kurdish people. The Kurdish people in Iraq, guided by Kurdistan Democratic party, are struggling now to recreate the same Kurdish organizations which were theirs three years ago. What a loss of time, what a blow for our still oppressed nation!

Abroad, the name of Kurdistan was almost unknown or distorted. In spite of its feeble means, our 'Kurdish Students' Society in Europe' did, in a period of three years to make a better known Kurdistan, the Kurdish history, culture and national question, what the oriental non-Kurdish students organizations failed or were not willing to do during tens of years. The Kurdish people appreciate our struggle and have a very deep affection toward our militant Society.

Kurdish democratic organizations must be created or recreated, everywhere at home, if not yet, to lead successfully the struggle of our people for complete national liberation, for peace, for democracy, and against imperialism. This is not only a right for our people, but also a condition for efficiency and success. Any objection or tergiversation from the existing oriental non-Kurdish organizations to recognise this fact, would be either a sincere strategical error, as it might happen — but still an error, or concession either to some kind of cosmopolitanism, or to some chauvinistic Arab, Persian or Turkish nationalism. Our people will accept no longer to be sacrificed for such non-democratic considerations. We hope that the sincere non-Kurdish Middle-Eastern democrats, for whom we have great respect, understand this point of view; this is the desire of our people.

Specific Kurdish organizations, when democratically lead, as they must be, do not mean, on

the other hand, isolationism from the general democratic and liberation movement in the world, but just on the contrary.

Specific Kurdish democratic organizations must not only collaborate with oriental non-Kurdish democratic ones, but also they should be allowed, once created, to be united with these last in some federative way, without losing their personalities, whenever the common interests of both parties command it. Of course, this can only happen when the oriental non-Kurdish organizations admit the existence of the Kurdish ones and the legitimacy of their aims, and when the desire of collaboration is mutual.

It must also be added that the specific Kurdish organizations must be opened to all Kurdish patriotical and democratic elements, democratic being taken in the broadest acceptance of the term, and not relating to some political body. All 'Kurdistani' Kurds, that is all Kurds who by their thoughts and their acts are actually willing to work for the radical solution of the Kurdish question, and to serve democratically Kurdistan and the Kurdish people, and all non-Kurdish but Kurdistani elements among the national minority of Kurdistan, must be allowed to join such 'Kurdistani' organizations, Kurdistani being also taken in its broadest meaning. Kurdistani elements belong, no doubt, to diverse Kurdish social classes and might have different ideologies, but they shall all be united on one point: the love of Kurdistan and the desire to accomplish Kurdish national liberation, democratically.

In this case, the oriental non-specifically Kurdish organizations must dissolve their 'sections' if any, in Kurdistan, and accept collaboration, eventually some kind of federalism, with the Kurdistani ones. In Kurdistan, only Kurdish democratic organizations must exist, and, in the long run, they alone can exist.

If the oriental non-specifically Kurdish organizations maintain their 'sections' in Kurdistan, when any, concurrently with the Kurdistani organizations, this would lead, in a first phase, to an inadmissible division of the Kurdish democratic forces (we know already in Kurdistan of Iraq some bad experiences), and in a second phase, to the complete bankruptcy of these concurrent non-Kurdish formations in Kurdistan. We know, in fact, and experiences do not lack, that the deepest feeling of the Kurdish masses is to accomplish Kurdish national liberation — the love of Kurdistan and that the Kurdish elements who might be tempted, under the influence of some bad policy of some

non-Kurdish organizations, to serve much more the other peoples than their own, and the other countries than their own, cannot prosper in Kurdistan. We know, unfortunately, some 'progressive' Kurds, for instance in Syria and Iraq, who used to work for Arab national aims, ignoring totally, or partially, their own people and the Kurdish national question, because such was the policy of some non-Kurdish oriental political parties. These kind of men can no longer prosper among our people.

The Kurds must maintain, as they actually do, the most friendly and brotherly relations with the other peoples, especially with their neighbours of the Middle East. But Kurds must not be asked to forget themselves and their politically divided and actually dependent Kurdistan, and to work for the other peoples. Arabs, Persians and Turks, who, all are not nationally oppressed like the Kurds. We are one of the most oppressed nations on the earth, if not the most oppressed. Our beloved and rich country Kurdistan is not yet recognized, even in international progressive circles — and that was the bitter experience of the K.S.S.E. in this field, as a country, as a territory able and invited to progress towards unity and national independence, and deserving, to this effect, the support of the democratic forces in the world, as it is actually the case with all colonies, big or small. Our Kurdish people do really deserve such a wide support, like African peoples. The African peoples are probably those who understand the best our question, the most friendly attitude of their students delegations in the I.U.S. VIth Congress in Baghdad proves it. We are deeply and obligingly thankful to them. We look to Africa, to its peoples and its students with friendship, with love and hope.

The Kurdish national liberation movement is a democratic one. The national liberation of the Kurdish people and Kurdistan will be a huge step forward in the service of peace and democracy, against imperialism and reaction in the Middle East. Speaking of the Kurds, and noting the insignificant place reserved to them in the books of history, in spite of the eminent historical roll they played in the civilization of the Middle East, a Russian historian who became a famous Soviet linguist, N. Marr, could exclaim, with sympathy: 'This people forgotten by history!' Our people want to be no longer that forgotten nation. Our people want that the name of Kurdistan be as known in the world as that of any still dependent country. And for this, our people want to have their own organizations.

\* \* \* \*

Now we shall speak of this question within the students limits. The idea is to create some Kurdish students organization on the scale of the whole nation, that might be called 'All-Kurdistan Federation of Students' Organizations'. The idea is not that of one or few persons, but, in fact, it incarnates a dream of the overwhelming majority of the Kurdish students, at home and abroad, a dream that may come true, not without difficulty, but surely, if they want to pass to action. That would be one of the most beautiful gifts that the militant Kurdish students could ever offer to their courageous people. And that would be very important on political grounds, because it would lead, sooner or later, to the organic unification of the Kurdish national liberation movement, across the political frontiers.

Owing to the special conditions of each part of our divided Kurdistan, a federative solution must be chosen. Each part of Kurdistan will have its own Kurdish Union of students. Iraqi Kurdistan, for instance, will have its 'Iraqi Kurdistan Union of Students', and so on. These Kurdish Unions of students of Kurdistan of Turkey, of Kurdistan of Iran, of Kurdistan of Iraq and in Syria (U.A.R.), together with the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe, and the Kurdish Students' Society that might be constituted in America, will be all federated in the above-mentioned 'All-Kurdistan Federation of Students' Organizations'.

We — responsables of the K.S.S.E., have already discussed the matter with representative elements of the Kurdish students in Turkey, in Iran, in Iraq and in Syria (U.A.R.). All were very enthusiastic about the idea. All also agreed that: (1) — owing to the present hard political conditions of Kurdistan (2) — in order to satisfy all the federated Kurdish Unions and not to be the prisoner of the special conditions of one part of Kurdistan, (3) — and in order to have the maximum liberty in its activities, the Federation should have its centre in Europe, for the time being. When the political conditions in Kurdistan will have been more favourable, this centre will be transferred to home.

The Federation must be a living incarnation, on students ground, of the unity of our oppressed people, and of their will to resolve, democratically, and thoroughly, the Kurdish national question. Based upon these principles, the Federation's main aims should be: (1) — To unify federally and to organize the Kurdish students movement, (2) — To create mutual assistance among the member-organizations of the Federation, to let the students of each part of Kurdistan know better the problems of the other parts of Kurdistan, cultural and national, and to help the students of these parts in

their struggle for their solution, (3) — To let the Kurdish students participate more actively and rationally in the struggle of our people for national liberation; (4) — To make better known to the world, to foreign national and international organizations, the situation of the Kurdish people, the Kurdish history, culture and national question; (5) — To represent actively the Kurdish students in the international students movement; (6) — To consolidate the friendship and to work for a complete equality, in cultural and national rights, between our people and the neighbouring peoples of the Middle East: Persians, Arabs and Turks, and their students; (7) — To help, by all the means at the disposal of the Kurdish students, the national liberation movement of all dependent, semi-dependent and oppressed peoples; (8) — To participate in the general struggle of the students of all countries for the world peace, for democracy, against colonialism and imperialism.

Since the Federation centre is to be in Europe, the K.S.S.E. will do its best to facilitate the work of the Federation. The K.S.S.E., as any member-organization of the Federation, will keep its own internal organization, but it will put all its departments, bodies and sections, as well as its experience in the students international field, in the service of the Federation and its activities.

Relating to its internal organization, the Federation will have its congress each year somewhere in Europe. All member-organizations will send to the congress their Representatives, duly accredited, and they will have equal rights. The congress will designate the Federation Executive Committee (F.E.C.) representing ALL the member-organizations. This means that the F.E.C. will be composed of an equal number of representatives of each member-organization, designated respectively by them, for instance, two representatives for each member-organization. The K.S.S.E. might be allowed to have a greater number of representatives within the F.E.C., the Federation centre being in Europe. But this question must not raise difficulties, because the K.S.S.E. students are originated from all parts of Kurdistan, and some or all of its representatives in the F.E.C. might also represent one or another of the member-organizations at home. The F.E.C. might have from 9 to 15 members, (even more) according to the number of the member organizations, with a President, two or three Vice-Presidents (or even a maximum of six Vice-Presidents, one for each member-organization), a General-Secretary, three to six Secretaries (for instance, one for each member-organization), a Treasurer, an Editor of the official organ of the Federation. Some of these functions might be

cumulated, according to circumstances, for example the Treasurer might be a Secretary. The members of the Executive Committees of the member-organizations will be eligible as members of the F.E.C. As far as it is possible, it is preferable that the members of the F.E.C. remain in Europe, but some of them might remain in Kurdistan. The ideal would be that the two members of the F.E.C. representing each member-organization remains one in Europe and one at home. For instance, some of the Vice-Presidents of the Federation might remain in Kurdistan, to work also in the Executive Committees of the member-organizations at home. The F.E.C. thus designated will act as a single cohesive body, and its decisions must be respected by all member-organizations. But in its decisions, the F.E.C. must take into consideration the special problems of each member-organization and the special conditions of each part of Kurdistan, according to the Charter of the Kurdish students, elaborated at the Congress of Wiesbaden 1956. Each member-organization will have its own autonomy, and be free in dealing with its own matters, according to the situation of each part of Kurdistan, on the condition to fulfil its engagement towards the Federation and to respect the resolutions and decisions of the Federal bodies (the Congress and the F.E.C.)

Owing to the rather high number of the F.E.C. members and to their dispersion in Europe and, eventually, elsewhere, and in spite of that the F.E.C. should meet twice or three times a year (immediately before and after the annual congress and, if possible, once during the year), it is indispensable to create a smaller body that might be called the Federation Administrative Bureau (F.A.B.); its members, numbering five persons for example, will be designated by the F.E.C. among its own members. The F.A.B. must be able to meet more easily and enabled to deal with current or urgent matters, according to the decisions of the F.E.C. and the general resolutions of the congress. The F.A.B. will be only a body of the F.E.C. and responsible before it, while the F.E.C. itself will be responsible before the congress.

For practical purposes, the Federation congress and the K.S.S.E. congress can or should be held in the same time and place. This means, practically, that all member-organizations will send the greatest number possible of representatives to the annual congress of the K.S.S.E. The place and date of this double congress will be determined by the F.E.C., after consultation with the K.S.S.E.

A special question is what should be the relations between the member-organizations operating in

Kurdistan and the existing oriental students organizations representing the States sharing Kurdistan. For instance, what will be the relations between 'Iraqi-Kurdistan Students' Union', as member-organization of the Federation and the 'General Union of Students in the Iraqi Republic', and so on?

It is to think that the constitution of the Federation should allow its member-organizations not only to collaborate with those oriental non-Kurdish Organizations, but also to join them, in some federative way, according to the principles explained in the first part of this article, under these conditions: (1) — If the general aims and the activity of the oriental general organization are not contradictory with those of the Federation; (2) — If the Kurdish member-organization, thinking that it is a matter of common interest to join also the oriental general Organization concerned, asks to this effect the approval of the Federation; (3) — If the Congress or the F.E.C. approves that demand; (4) — If the oriental general Organization concerned accepts that the Kurdish member-organization will keep its autonomy and its own internal organization and remain at the same time a member of the Federation. Indeed this question of double affiliation or membership is one of collaboration and mutual goodwill that can be settled by direct and friendly negotiations between the Kurdish Federation and its member-organization, on one hand, and the oriental general Organization concerned, on the other.

To speak more specifically, it is to think that the conditions might be realized for 'Iraqi Kurdistan Students' Union' (which was made only immovable after 1958, 'frozen' and not dissolved) to be concurrently member of the Kurdish Federation and the G.U.S.I.R., this in spite of all the regrettable incidents which marked the participation of the K.S.S.E. in the VIth I.U.S. Congress in Baghdad, incidents of which the G.U.S.I.R. is the only responsible. It is up to the students of Iraqi Kurdistan to thaw or to recreate their Kurdish Union, and it is up to the G.U.S.I.R. to prove its goodwill by recognizing the existence of that Union, as a member-organization of this same G.U.S.I.R. (as it was the situation before July 1958) and concurrently as member-organization of the Kurdish Federation to be created. This would be a very important collaboration between all Kurdish students and Iraqi students beneficial for the case of democracy in the Middle East. If the G.U.S.I.R. refuses such a solution which could be, we think, quite desirable by the Kurdish students in Iraq, or if, escaping the problem, it prefers negative tergiversations (as, unfortunately, it is accustomed

to do when Kurdish problems are discussed) the G.U.S.I.R. may know that the Kurdish students will go always on, with or without Iraqi collaboration, in the service of the Kurdish students' movement, of the Kurdish people and of democracy in the Middle East.

We ignore what is the exact present situation of the students' movement in Iran, but if a solution could be found with the Iranian students, similar to that described just above, the Kurdish students would be, we think, very happy.

Unfortunately, for the time being, such a solution seems to be impossible to reach with the official students' organizations of Turkey and the U.A.R., the very existence of the Kurdish people in these States being still officially ignored by them as well as by their respective Governments. We ask the Turkish and U.A.R. students' organizations to be really democratic, to be democratic not only in their writing but also in their actions. We ask the Turkish and U.A.R. students not only to recognise the existence of our people but also to struggle loyally for the recognition of the Kurdish national and cultural rights by those Governments. Once this primordial principle accepted and observed, the dialogue can be engaged. Until then, the Kurdish students will continue carrying on their duty towards their oppressed people and towards democracy, with the help of all good democrats in the world.

\* \* \* \*

Those are the principles, as proposed by the author of these lines, to govern the future 'ALL-Kurdistan Federation of Students' Organizations' the Kurdish students are appealed to create. The Federation might also be called 'Kurdistan National Federation of Students' Organizations', this last appellation seems even to be better than the first, the word 'national' giving in itself the meaning of 'All Kurdistan' and putting in relief the national aspect of the matter. Those principles are naturally mere proposals, but they might constitute a basis for discussion. The Kurdish students, especially in Kurdistan, are appealed to study them, to prepare amendments or, new constructive proposals, in order to create the Federation in the shortest possible time.

But the Federation cannot be created without a minimum of two member-organizations. We have already one Organization, abroad, in Europe, the K.S.S.E. The Kurdish students in all parts of Kurdistan are fervently appealed to create or to recreate their Unions.

The Kurdish students in Turkey are appealed to create their 'Turkish-Kurdistan Union of Students'

(or 'Kurdistan of Turkey Union of Students'), if they believe it will correspond to a national necessity, and we are sure they do. The Kurdish students originated from Kurdistan of Turkey and members of the K.S.S.E. are asked to get in contact with their colleagues at home, to this effect.

The Kurdish students in Iran are appealed to create or recreate their 'Iranian-Kurdistan Union of Students', in the same conditions.

The Kurdish students in Iraq are appealed to recreate their 'Iraqi-Kurdistan Union of Students', in the same conditions.

The Kurdish students in Syria, U.A.R., are appealed to create their Union, in the same conditions.

The Kurdish Students' Society in America are appealed to create their 'Kurdish Students' Society in America'.

The Sixth Congress of the K.S.S.E. will be held in Amsterdam, Holland, in August 1961. The Kurdish students' Organizations that would have been created before that date, as well as the Kurdish students in the parts of Kurdistan where such Organizations could not yet have been

created, are cordially invited to send representative delegates to that K.S.S.E. congress, in order to discuss the creation of the Federation and to adopt its Constitution. A draft Constitution of the Federation will be prepared, as basis for the discussion. The Federation would probably be created at that same congress if the representatives of at least one new Organization, created in Kurdistan, were present. In this case, this or these new Organizations are begged to designate the members they would like to represent them in the F.E.C., so that the Federation can be actually created at the congress. They are also begged to inform the K.S.S.E. Executive Committee of their desire to attend the congress as early as possible.

**Kurdish students wherever you are, in Kurdistan or abroad, let us actively work for the creation of our 'Kurdistan National Federation of Students' Organizations', IN THE SERVICE OF OUR MOST OPPRESSED BUT VALIANT AND INDOMITABLE PEOPLE and of Democracy in the Middle East!**

**Oriental non-Kurdish students, Arabs, Perisnas and Turks, prove your democracy by accepting the friendship we are willing to offer you, but not at the expense of the rights and interests of our people!**

## Activities of the K.S.S.E's Executive Committee

Following are a few of the many activities of the E.C. during the last two months.

1. A memorandum was sent to United Nations Organization on the subject of the imprisonment of the Kurdish patriots in Syria. The Society, as usual, received a reply informing us that the memorandum was being sent to the U.A.R. Government.

2. A memorandum was sent to President Nasser after the announcement of the sentences on Mr. Osman Sabri, Dr. N. Zaza, Mr. Qedrijan and their Colleagues.

3. A memorandum was sent to the U.N. regarding the imprisonment of many Kurdish intellectuals and prominent personalities in Turkey. Also a telegram was sent to General Gursel, Head of the Turkish State, when the trial of 49 Kurdish patriots began in secret on 3.1.1961. The Society

informed many newspapers of this trial and so far some of them have commented on it.

4. A long and sharp reply to the attacks made upon our Society by the Shah's weekly newspaper called *Kurdistan!*, was sent to Teheran.

5. Last month a memorandum was sent to the Iraqi Prime Minister Abdul Karim Kassem regarding the full rights of the Kurdish people in Iraqi Kurdistan and the banning of some Kurdish publications.

6. Wurya Rawanduzi, the Vice-President of the K.S.S.E. represented the Society, as an observer, at the Foundation Conference of the General Union of Iraqi Students' Abroad, held in Prague between 25th and 30th December 1960.

**General Secretary,  
K. FUAD  
Berlin—21.1.1961.**

## Copy of the Telegram which was sent to Ankara on 2.1.1961

His Excellency General Gursel, Head of Turkish State, Ankara.

Your Excellency,

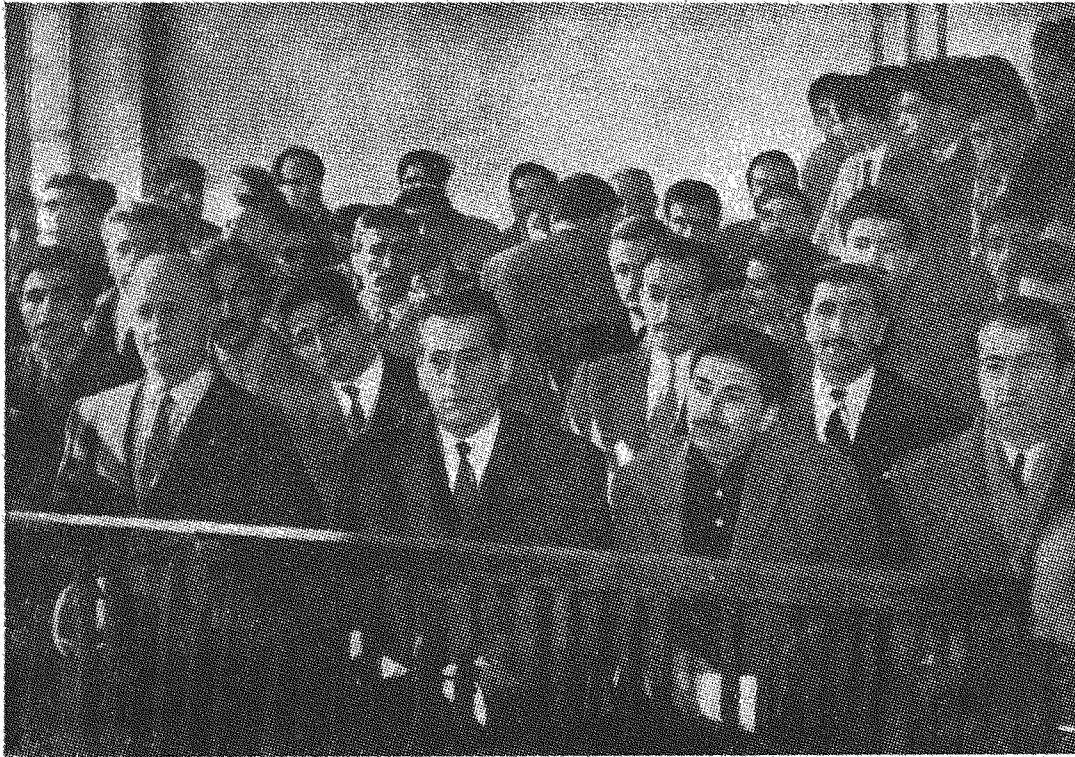
The change of government under your guardianship filled the hearts of the Kurdish people with hope. Nevertheless the detention and suppression of hundreds of Kurdish people goes on. We hear that 49 Kurdish people recently detained were sentenced to secret proceedings; Kurdish people who did not do anything else but to demand the

respect of the cultural and national rights of the Kurdish people.

We ask your Excellency to guarantee defence rights to all accused Kurdish people and as in the case of Yassiada, to employ public proceedings.

In the name of the Kurdish Delegation,  
KAMURAN BEDIR-KHAN.

For the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe,  
President CHERIFF VANLY.



*The 49 Kurds on trial in Ankara*

*They are: Sevket Turan (Major), Naci Kutluay (M.D.), Koca Elbistan (M.D.), Yavuz Camlibel (Army Officer), Mehmet Ali Dinler (Law Student), Yusuf Koçar (Army Officer), Ziya Serefhanoglu (Lawyer), Necdet Ozankara (Law Student), Hasan Akkus (Merchant), Durdu Akkoyunlu (Merchant), Selim Kiliçoglu (Teacher), Sebahattin (Army Officer), Sait Elçi (Accountant), Sait Bingöl (Economy Student), Sitki Elbistan (Law Student), Ali Karahan (Lawyer), Necati Siyahkan (Medical Student), Esat Cemiloglu (Engineer), Sait Kirmizitoprak (Clerk), Yesar Kaya (Economy Student), Faik Savas (Medical Student), Haydar Aksu (Lawyer), Ziya Acar (Law Student), Fadil Budak (Law Student), Halil Demirel (Army Officer), Ferit Bilen (Merchant), Mustafa Direkçigil (M.D.), Feyzi Aysar (M.D.), Hasan Ulus (Contractor), Nazmi Balkas (Agricultural Student), Hüseyin Uçok (Medical Student), Mehmet Cigdem (Decorator), Fevzi Kartal (Lawyer), Mehmet Eydemir (Medical Student), Abdurrahman Efemdolak (Journalist), Musa Anter (Law Student), Cahit Yıldırım (Lawyer), Emin Kotan (Electrician), Okkes Karadag (Labourer), Muhsin Samata (Farmer), Turgut Akin (Law Student), Mustafa Ramanli (Law Student), Mehmet Ozer (Medical Student), Feyzullah Demirtas (Law Student), Cezmi Balkas (Agricultural Student), Palis Yoku (Engineering Student), Smet Balkas (Medical Student), Nurettin Yılmaz (Law Student).*

# Restive Kurds

*The Times*, December 15th 1960

A trial began recently in Damascus of thirty-two Syrian Kurds, who are accused of trying to disrupt the United Arab Republic by setting up an independent State of Kurdistan. Last week, also the Turkish Government announced that fifty-five landowners from eastern Turkey, mostly of Kurdish origin, who were detained after the Army took over in May, are to be resettled in the west. There is no need to look for any direct connexion between the two events. The complaint against the Turkish deportees is that they were parasitic feudal leaders, propped up by the Menderes regime for its own purposes, not that they were nationalist dissidents. On the other hand, here is a reminder that Kurds can at any time be a problem to their host countries, which include Iraq and Iran as well as Turkey and Syria.

Kurdish nationalism of a sort is over a hundred years old. Like their neighbours, the Armenians, Kurdish highlanders periodically took up arms against Ottoman misgovernment, and when reports of independence movements reached them they decided one would suit them too. The high-water of their fortune came when the possibility of an independent Kurdistan was acknowledged by the Treaty of Sèvres. Since then they have remained divided — at least as much by their own tribal rivalries as by lines on the map. What gives them restiveness today is Russia. In the Caucasian republics of the Soviet Union are perhaps 60,000 Kurds — enough to provide a nucleus for propaganda purposes, and a home for refugees. The large Kurdish minorities in neighbouring countries are an obvious field for communist penetration. KHALID BAKDASH, the Syrian communist leader, is a Kurd, and MUSTAFA BARZANI, who had been a thorn in the side of Iraq Governments for more than a decade, was one of the first exiles to return from Russia after the revolution.

Since the end of the First World War Russian policy has blown hot and cold over the concept of independent Kurdistan. Sometimes it has been regarded as a symptom of 'nationalist deviation', and in Iraq, which is now officially an 'Arab and Kurdish Republic', the Kurdish communist party is not secessionist. Elsewhere, however, the nationalist drum can be beaten, and it is often hard for the Governments concerned to know exactly what they are up against. There are still the old-fashioned tribal and religious leaders, hostile to central authority of any sort, and not above taking

Russian help, as in the short-lived Mahabad Republic in Iran at the end of the war. There is the younger educated generation who feel, often with reason, that the outlying provinces where they live are starved of the benefits of progress. And there are the straight communists. The difficulty is to control the latter without curbing the advancing of a people who are, on the whole, being everywhere assimilated with a good measure of success.

**Editor:** The above editorial article of *The Times*, in spite of having some fair information about Kurdish people for the reader, it has also many misleading points. For instance it says, 'on the other hand, there is a reminder that Kurds can at anytime be a problem to their host countries, which include Iraq, Iran as well as Turkey and Syria'.

Indeed the Kurdish people can and shall cause trouble if some of these governments continue to deny them their just rights and unless they prepare for a life based on justice, equality and mutual recognition. But really, what we would like to point out here is that these four countries mentioned in the article are NOT hosts to the Kurdish people, for the Kurdish people lives in its own land — Kurdistan, and the Kurds have inhabited this country since the dawn of history.

The Kurdish people occupies a common territory despite the ARBITRARY FRONTIER DIVISIONS, it speaks a common language, shares a common culture, traditions and customs, and possesses the basis for a single national economy.

The Sèvres Treaty (1920) as is mentioned in the article, recognized in Articles 62, 63 and 64 the rights of the Kurdish people to an independent and united state, but Kemal Ataturk refused to abide by this Treaty, which was supplanted by the Lausanne Treaty in 1923, which disregarded the right of the Kurdish people to a national state.

The attitude of the rulers of Kurdistan towards the Kurdish people has caused many bloody revolts by the Kurds in the past 40 years. The Kurdish people will continue their struggle for their rights, the right to SPEAK and study in Kurdish, the right to be recognized as Kurds and the right of self-determination.

The deportation of Kurds from Kurdistan of Turkey and their resettlement in the Turkish parts of the Republic, has been going on for some time.

But General Gursel now has new excuses for these deportations. The deportees are Menderes supporters!

The recent trials and detention of Kurds in various parts of Kurdistan prove that their assimilation by force or otherwise, is quite impossible. These Kurds, amongst other things, were charged with attempting to set up an independent Kurdish state.

As for the Kurds in the Soviet Union, it is only natural to assume that they support their brothers

in Kurdistan in their every effort for the solution of their national question, but the nationalistic ideas and the efforts to free Kurdistan originate amongst the Kurdish people in Kurdistan herself.

The article also mentions the 'Kurdish Communist Party' in Iraq. There is no such thing as a Kurdish Communist Party. There is, however, a 'Democratic Party of Kurdistan' which was officially licenced by Iraqi Government in February 1960. This Party is headed by Mustafa Barzani.

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## Telegrams to Nasser

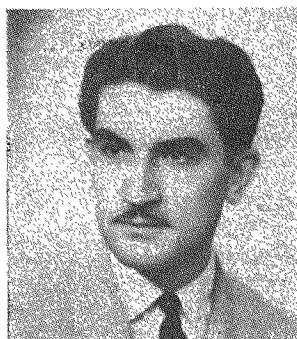
The following telegram was sent to President Nasser of U.A.R., by the Executive Committee of the K.S.S.E.:

President Nasser—Cairo,

We demand the immediate release of our Kurdish patriots in Damascus, especially Dr. Nuraddin Zaza, Osman Sabri, Qadrijan, Muhammed Zelfo and Majeed Hajo.

E.C., K.S.S.E.

— Similar telegrams were also sent to President Nasser by the K.S.S.E. branches all over Europe.



*Dr. N. Zaza, the Founder and Honorary Member of the K.S.S.E.—life imprisonment.*

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## 'International Society—Kurdistan'

An 'International Society Kurdistan' was founded by three Dutchmen in Amsterdam on July 1st 1960. It is now active in about a dozen countries and publishing a monthly information magazine which is the only non-Kurdish periodical entirely devoted to Kurdish and related affairs. The 'International Society Kurdistan' is a progressive, democratic body, politically and ideologically independent and wants to act as a 'pressure group'. In fact it is a dynamic, modern mixture of three types of organisation already known: a scientific society, a multi-national friendship league and a centre for democratic action.

The leaders of the 'International Society Kurdistan' are: **Mr. Silvio van Rooy** (First Chairman), **Mr. Lou Simonse** (Second Chairman), **Dr. Jan Kemp** (Secretary), **Mr. Jouthe Roodbergen** (Second Secretary) and **Mr. Eelco Broeksma** (Treasurer). The Society's offices are in Amsterdam-West (Netherlands), Da Costastraat, 25/1.

Within the framework of I.S.K. there are: a Scientific Council (leading the Society's scientific

activities), a Kurdish Central Library in Europe, a Kurdish Sound Archive and a Kurdish Picture Archive.

The Society's many-sided activities are meeting with increasing interest from several quarters. The Kurdish press in Iraq and several newspapers in Europe have already reported on this initiative in favour of oppressed, divided and under-developed Kurdistan.

Summarizing the results of the first eight months of the 'International Society Kurdistan's' existence, its leaders are optimistic about I.S.K.'s future. Democratic, international solidarity with the Kurds, they feel, could make an important contribution to a brighter future for the Kurdish nation. The Society's monthly information magazine, up till now appearing in German, will come out under the name of '**Kurdish Facts**' in an entirely new form this month. It can be subscribed to at £1.2 annually, airmail outside Europe being charged extra.

\* \* \* \*

Friends of Kurdistan all over the world are now organizing in  
**THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN**

the only international democratic, private agency of non-Kurds seeking to inform other nations on Kurds and Kurdistan supporting systematically the Kurdish struggle for emancipation fighting for friendship between the Kurds, their West-Asian neighbours and all other nations in the world.

**THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN**

is a new type of organization. It's a dynamic mixture of a scientific society, a multi-national

friendship league and a centre for democratic action.

**THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN**

is open to every sincere friend of the Kurds, to everybody really interested in Kurdistan. It has branches in several parts of the world.

**THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN**

will gladly advise you how you can learn more about the Kurds and their country and about what you can do to help your Kurdish friends. A friend in need is a friend indeed. Apply today to

**THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN**

**Central Office: Da Costastraat, 25/1, Amsterdam-West, Netherlands, or to your local I.S.K. Branch.**

## Prominent Swiss Protest Against Death Sentences in Iranian Kurdistan

About 20 prominent Swiss personalities signed a statement condemning the conditions under which the trial of the four Kurds, viz. G. Blurian, R. Shariati, A. Yousifi and I. Kasimlu, was held and whereby the death sentences was passed on all.

They demanded a reprieve for them under the conditions stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

This statement carries, amongst others, the signatures of:

Karl Barth — Writer from Basle.

Friedrich Dürrenmatt — Playwright, Geneva.

Ernest Ansermet — Conductor of the Swiss Symphony Orchestra, Geneva.

P. H. Simon — Professor, Fribourg.

Max Frisch — Writer, Zurich.

Walter Muschg, Basel.

Marcel Reymond — Writer, Geneva.

Svend Steling-Michaud, Geneva.

Fredy Buache, Lausanne.

Charles-Henri Favrod — Journalist, Lausanne.

Yves Velan — La-Chaux-de-Fonds.

Charles Brüttsch.

Jean-Louis Cornuz.

Union of Students of the Neuchâtel University.

## Press Comment

### *Kurds Stirring Trouble in Iraq; Barzani Tribe Opposes Kassim*

Premier Abdul Karim Kassim is having serious difficulty with Iraq's largest minority, the 1,500,000 or so Kurdish tribesmen of the North . . .

. . . The Kurds, a tough, nomadic race of mountaineers, are different in language, customs and even costume from the Arab majority among the 5,000,000 Iraqi. The two peoples are primarily linked by their common belief in Islam.

The dream of most Kurds is a Kurdish national state, embracing all the Kurds in Iraq, Iran, Turkey,

Syria and the Soviet Union. On occasion, the Soviet Union champions these national aims; Moscow now is broadcasting propaganda regularly to the Kurds of Iran.

For forty years the Kurdish question has been causing upheavals in the Middle East. The Royal Government in Iraq, overthrown by General Kassim, July 1958, faced several Kurdish revolts. Mullah Mustapha and his tribe of Iraqi Kurds joined the abortive, Soviet-sponsored revolt in Azerbaijan Province of Iran following World War II.

This year there have been reports of unrest

among the Kurds of South-Eastern Turkey. In Syria, several Kurds are currently being tried on charges of plotting a revolt.

Here (*Iraq . . . Ed.*) the Kurds backed General Kassim's revolution in 1958 in the hope that it offered them some chance of at least local autonomy. Mullah Mustapha returned to Baghdad in triumph after twelve years of exile behind the Iron Curtain . . .

. . . In Baghdad the Kurdish Democratic Party, loosely allied with the Communists, was demanding more rights and benefits for all Kurds. Particularly the party asked for recognition of the Kurdish language in schools and publications and for public works projects . . .

**The 'New York Times, International Edition  
20th December 1960.**

\* \* \* \*

## **Forty-nine on Kurdish Plot Charges**

Charged with attempting to establish a Kurdish State in Eastern Turkey, 49 people appeared before a special military court in Ankara yesterday. The proceedings are being held in camera.

Military and professional men are among those charged. They were arrested in December 1959, but the Menderes regime suppressed the news 'in the interests of the state'.

**'Daily Telegraph'.  
5th January 1961.**

\* \* \* \*

## **New Signs of Nationalism in Turkey.**

Wide comment has been caused by notices which have appeared in the past few days in Istanbul and other parts of Turkey warning all Turkish nationals to speak Turkish in Turkey and telling them to warn those who do not that they must do so. The notices, which have appeared in shop windows, on buses and in other public places, emanate from the Federation of Turkish Students but appear to enjoy the approval of the authorities.

One notice much in evidence reads: 'Compatriots. Speak Turkish. And give a warning to those who don't'. Another shows a map of Turkey in which the words 'in Turkey Turkish is spoken' are written.

The Government of Istanbul, General Refik Tulga, said at a press conference yesterday that foreign languages 'which grate on the Turkish ear'

should not be spoken in loud voices in public places. He did not explain which languages do have this effect on the Turkish ear.

## **Minorities Concerned.**

The outburst of Turkish nationalism, which coincides with other recent manifestations, has caused some consternation among the Greek and Armenian minorities in Istanbul, many of whom have taken Turkish nationality, and whose command of the Turkish tongue is in some instances imperfect. Uneasiness is also among the Kurdish populations in eastern Turkey.

**'The Times'.  
29th August 1960.**

*On these principles, the Turkish government hopes to establish democracy in Turkey! By denying reality and ignoring the six million Kurds, living in Kurdistan of Turkey, and hundreds of thousands of Greek, Armenian and Arab minorities in Turkey, the Turkish government is making a serious mistake which is not in the interest of the country as a whole.* ED.

## **Charge of Agitating for Kurdish State**

The trial of 49 persons accused of agitating in favour of the creation of a separate Kurdish state in Eastern Turkey began in the military court of the Ankara Garrison command here yesterday. After identification of the accused the court decided to continue the trial in secret session.

The accused include lawyers, doctors, university students, engineers and several officers of the armed forces. 27 of them were arrested a year ago under the Menderes regime, while the other 22 were taken into custody after the revolution in May.

Holding the trial in secret conforms with general practice in matters connected with the large Kurdish minority in Eastern Turkey . . .

*The Times—January 5th 1961*

**Get your copy of—  
'Kurdish Facts and  
West-Asian Affairs'  
—every month**

# The 'Secret Clauses' of Turkish Policy

## Did Menderes want to Atomise Kurdistan?

There will shortly be a question, at Yassiada, we hear of things other than Afghan hounds, and it will be behind closed doors that all the circumstances which surrounded the main theme of the infamous Baghdad Pact will be debated.. This Pact has for a long time disturbed the peace of the Middle East, and Celal Bayar and Adnan Menderes carry the responsibility for it, along with the fiery Nouri Said and Anglo-Saxon diplomats. One of the graver consequences of this Pact, dedicated from the moment of signature to the shame of all the Arab people will have been to a violent and successful Soviet offensive, unrest in Iran and Jordan and the Turkish *Coup d'Etat* which, even if it is the last to date, will not end this fine series of disasters for the West.

The initiative for the Pact originated in the U.S.A., the tortuous policy of irascible J. F. Dulles, who had made in the spring of 1953 a study tour of the Middle East, accompanied by Harold Stassen, the Director of the Mutual Society Agency. They at the time were shaping in the State Department the idea of protecting the Middle East from Soviet influence by forming a Northern Bloc, called the 'northern tier' running from Turkey to Pakistan, and passing through Iraq. The year 1955<sup>2</sup> saw the realization of the project abundantly financed and supplied militarily by Washington, under the form of a Pact signed in Baghdad on the 24th of February, between Turkey and Iraq, which Great Britain, Pakistan and Iran joined very quickly.

One can easily imagine the anger of Moscow and the Arab countries who immediately cut off Baghdad from their Community.

However, the Pact on face value was apparently in-offensive; it was only composed of happy formulae, all conforming to international courtesy. It did not make a single precise statement of policy, but its innuendoes were so loaded with menaces that all the ministries concerned could see in it a strong war machine; the references it made to 'subversion' and the need to fight it by all possible means, made of it mainly — an instrument for political intervention by the U.S.A. in the internal affairs of the Member States.

The years 1955, 1956 and 1957 were regularly dedicated to political purges, to the setting up of an administration and economic system, with a policy destined to prepare the big military

manoeuvre of 1958. In January of the same year in Ankara there was in effect a decisive re-union of the Pact in the presence of J. F. Dulles. It was then that, through the indiscretions committed by a high officer, and of which we will say nothing at the moment, the authors revealed the atrocious American decisions. To the fearful populations of the East, peaceful for centuries, the Baghdad Pact promised to bring the atomic danger. On the 21st January the Agency Tass immediately raised its voice against 'the installation of atomic bases near the sacred places of Islam'.

The same day the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs declared that no plane carrying atomic bombs would be allowed to fly over Egypt. Because all these sombre presentiments were confirmed by powerful and under-hand political interventions in Syria, Lebanon and Jordan, Arab public opinion rose. The year 1958 was full of revolts; the bloody revolution in Lebanon; the premature constitution of the U.A.R. and the destruction in Iraq of the Hashemite Monarchy. Conscious of danger, the Iraqi Army rejected the villainous impositions of the Baghdad Pact. We know today what it was all about.

A secret clause, to which Menderes had given his wholehearted approval foresaw in case of imminent danger, the neutralization of all the Kurdish Country by atomic bombardment, to stop a Soviet invasion. It proposed in fact systematic genocide. It is the literal truth that the clause foresaw that, in the event, everything would be organized to empty the country (as a preliminary) of most of the population, by denying the Kurds their supporting social and economic system, in order to make them leave their domain voluntarily.

One understands today why the Kurds have so strongly supported the Iraq Revolution. Having come upon the Pact documents revealing that secret clause, the Kurdish Committee in 1959 sent a memorandum to the Secretary General of U.N.O. who opened an inquiry.

At that time, the military junta of Ankara, fearing a scandal, tried to leave the Baghdad Pact (now called C.E.N.T.O. since the withdrawal of Iraq in 1958).

The Martyrdom of the Kurds hangs pretty heavily on the Turkish conscience; the last massacre we know of was carried out in 1938, when the 11th

Regiment of the 4th Army executed 481 Kurds in the Sansa local, near Erzinkam; the tortured victims were shot in groups of 20 after 20 of their compatriots had dug their graves; the 481st was buried by a soldier.

We have the statement of an eye-witness and other people say that the Commander of that 4th

Army is one of the group responsible for the junta which is in the government today. We understand that they must be pardoned, and we must overlook the fact that they did not turn a hair at lopping off heads under the old regime . . .

'La Tribune des Nations' — Paris, 21st October 1960.

## Newroz in Europe

Newroz — the Kurdish National Day — was, as usual, celebrated by our branches all over Europe. In London, a successful party was given by our U.K. branch. At this party the Branch President spoke of the meaning of Newroz and its history and he also gave an account on the history of the Kurdish people and Kurdistan, as well as the Kurdish National question today. The team of dancers, in their colourful national dresses, performed many

beautiful folk dances. The singers sang lovely Kurdish songs. Coloured slides on Kurdistan were shown to the guests.

M. Salih Karadaghi wrote a poem dedicated to this occasion, and read it splendidly in Kurdish. The English translation of the poem which was read by Said Aziz Dzayi to the guests, is printed below:

## THE FESTIVAL OF NEWROZ

by M. SALIH KARADAGHI

Newroz is a joyful celebration,  
A festival of freedom for the Kurds.  
A time for dancing, a time for freedom  
From bondage, from sadness, from misery.  
In honour of Newroz the gentle meadows,  
The cliffs and slopes, the rough places and smooth,  
The towering heights, the rocky valley beds,  
All bear a flowery mantle, red and gold.  
Swayed by the soft caresses of the breeze  
Wild tulips blow in thousands on the plain.  
The fumitory and the meadow-sweet,  
Anemones, lucerne and common clover,  
Form warp and weft of a dazzling carpet,  
Self-woven, without shuttle, reed or heald.  
The oak-tree by the stream, the terebinth  
Both blossom forth with button buds of green.  
The beautiful light creatures of the air  
Fly by, their feathers fanning us below.  
They flit from tree to tree, from flower to flower,  
Singing merrily on every bough.  
At Newroz the land of Kurdistan  
Throws off at last its sombre winter coat.  
At Newroz-time the Kurdish people all,  
The young and old, the great ones and the small,

Will greet each other with the fervent wish,  
'May this and every day be blessed for you'.  
It was Newroz when Káwa the blacksmith  
Raised above his head the mighty hammer  
To smash the evil dragon Zuhhák's skull,  
As lightning strikes and slits a tree in two.  
The mighty Káwa, champion of the Kurds,  
Set free thereby a host of innocents.  
O Káwa! now all Kurdistan is bound,  
Helpless in the hands of craven tyrants,  
Divided up and portioned out among them,  
Unable to fend off their vicious blows.  
The lightning-clouds of hope are in the sky,  
The heavy-burdened evening clouds of Spring.  
It's clear they bear the soothing rain of freedom  
To shower on each and all impartially.  
I cry to all your loving sons for help,  
To hasten and avenge you with all speed.  
So be of one united heart and soul,  
Unite all Kurdistan from end to end,  
Tread underfoot those who would drain her blood  
And raise aloft the flag of freedom now!

Newroz—London, 1961

## B.B.C. Television and Kurdistan

In reply to a letter written by the President of U.K. branch of the K.S.S.E. to the Editor of 'Panorama', the following letter was received:

Dear Mr. Dizayee,

Thank you for your letter of February 9th. I am sorry you missed our programme on Iraq. Reference was made to the Kurdish population of the country in the course of a short sequence which we filmed in a village about 60 miles east of Sulimaniya.

In the commentary it was stated that about one in four of the Iraq population are Kurds, an Aryan race like most Europeans. Their villages tended to

be extremely poor. Many Kurds allege that the Arabs take the profits from the oil in Kurdish territory and give too little in return. The commentary went on to state that there is a Kurdish population in Persia and Turkey as well and many Kurds still hope for a national state, although in Iraq their more practical aim is, at present, to win greater control of their local affairs.

Yours sincerely,

DAVID WHEELER,  
Assistant Editor, 'Panorama'.

14th February, 1961.

## Letters to the Editor

Dear Sir,

On perusing through a few copies of your magazine, I was very impressed by the excellent work performed by the Kurdish Students in Europe. This, surely, must be an organization unique in its aims and aspirations.

A parallel in such oppression and exploit of a hitherto and potentially great nation by the governments of more than four countries gives the Kurdish problem an individuality of its own. But strangely enough the iniquities suffered by the Kurds seem to acquire the compassion and sympathies of all except those in a position to assist them.

The demagoguery employed by those directly concerned in perpetrating the atrocities on the unfortunate Kurds, who seem to be the victims of circumstances beyond their control, is of vilest form. Passion and prejudice seem to rate as high ideals of the despotic and unjust governments responsible for such repressions — under the name of reason of course!

'Violence is suicide' said Mahatma Gandhi, but the more I cogitate on this the more convinced I am that nowadays violence is the most expedient way of achieving popular and effective world support.

It is true that the Kurds are convinced of the futility of violence and its dreadful immediate consequences, yet how long will they be able to resist drifting towards it, if they are not granted their innate human rights as a people comprising one nation.

However, it is my express desire that such a sorry state of affairs will materialize. But only an independent and impartial organization like the U.N. is in a position to intervene and ensure a peaceful solution. Or, perhaps the U.N.O. is only the champion of 'the man with a whip'.

In conclusion I will quote a few lines by Emerson which convey my feelings on this problem most admirably:—

"Justice Conquers evermore,  
Justice after as before,  
And he who battles on her side,  
God, though he were ten times slain,  
Crowns him victor glorified."

Yours faithfully,

JAGINDAR SINGH,  
Amritsar, Punjab, India.

January 1961.

\* \* \* \*

Dear Sir,

I understand that the Kurdish Students' Society publishes a review called KURDISTAN.

I shall be very grateful if you could let me have this publication and if possible all the back numbers including any special editions of this review.

I shall be pleased to send you a cheque for this.

Thanking you in anticipation.

Yours faithfully,

R. CORNU (Mrs.),  
London, S.W.5.

September 1960.

Dear Sir,

I am doing my Ph.D. on Kurdish question and am particularly interested to know about the Republic of Mehabad. Any material in English, French, Arabic concerning :

1. The life of Qazi; Muhammad, Mustafa Barzani and other Kurdish leaders.
2. The organization and genesis of Komele Party of Mehabad.
3. Programme of the Republic, people, goals.
4. The tragic end of Qazi Muhammad, would immensely interest me. I will certainly appreciate it if you could send your available materials and references which you might know of. If it involves some expenses I would be glad to remit the expenses prior to, or after, the receipt of the materials.

Hoping to receive your answer, I remain,

Very truly yours,

FREE FIROOZI,  
Philadelphia, U.S.A.  
February 1961.

\* \* \* \*

Dear Sir,

We enclose **letter\*** which has been received from the Turkish Embassy.

This has been acknowledged saying that it has been forwarded to the Editor for attention.

Yours faithfully,

COASBY & CO. LTD.  
December 1960.

Turkish Embassy,  
43 Belgrave Square,  
London, S.W.1.

\* Dear Sirs,

The Military Attaché, Colonel Sadi Koças, is anxious to obtain one of your publications which we believe is called KURDISTAN.

It would be very much appreciated if you would kindly supply him with one copy of this publication; if you will inform us of the cost, we shall be glad to send you payment immediately. The name of the author is, we regret, unknown.

We look forward to hearing from you shortly and remain,

Yours faithfully,

ANNE TOMKINS,  
Secretary to the Service Attaches.

## Read

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# Kurdish Literature

## Hedi Hedi

by Mehmed Bor

Wê keko wê bavo, hûn çima sîkîne?  
Bona wê kulla derman qe tunîne?  
Gulan hatiye, giya hêşîn bûye keviran  
Paş keviran, av diherikî kol mişkan  
Hêdî hêdî - - -

Çûcîk dora hêlûna xa di kevî  
Berxa sîs dû diya xa di kevî  
Çawê me derxistin wan mat û mişkan  
Payîz çû, derbez bu Zivistan  
Hêdî hêdî - - -

Wê keko wê bavo, hûn çima rûniştîne?  
Şîna min ber bedena Diyarbekirê raketiye.  
Rewî ban xwedê dikin  
Têr nîzanin çî bikin  
Sîlî dibarî hûrik hûrik  
Cigera min da kevirik  
Wa sîs û helma Şîrê bizinane  
Hewşo teji bûye kalîna karane  
Mira çî? Sosinan çiya zêft kiriye  
Heyfa Kergûyê narda raketiye  
Kêleka çiya yê Mehabadê Xûna şêrkî diherikî  
Hêdî hêdî - - -

Wê keko wê bavo, hûn qe merû nin?  
Wê bedewê wana zozanê me nin?  
Cesedê Xar gûran mar û mişkan  
Lavî min birçî bûye çiçike miya dimijî.  
Çiya Bingolê çima tu tim mijî?  
Wê dewra bixûn rindî heş kir bin keviran.  
Istambolê da bajgûrê me dan tevîran.  
Hinik qertal çûne hîvê  
Dil é min hîna şilî ya Mûsulê dipîve.  
Hêdî hêdî - - -

Wê keko, wê bavo, raste westiyane  
Baranê giran kir li çiyane, ser meytê jinane.  
Herd nerm bû  
Berf helat  
Nesalê da berxawelat  
Çem ê ko hezar salî westa bûbûn hezar kerî  
Şêlî bû liviya rakir serî  
Mî wî çem î da av ka kir  
Xirab bû Diyarbekir, Şên bû Diyarbekir—  
Kevir girêdanê bi xûna bona kemela xanî  
Dilêmin bû hezar kanî, hezar kanî - - -  
Hêdî hêdî - - -

## Roji Resi Sesi Eylul

by KEMEL FUAD

Paş cengî cihanî yekem ta şorişî cwardey temûz  
1958, delî Kurd le Kurdistanî xwarû ('Iraq), le  
pênawî sendinî mafe zewtkirawekanî da, be gelêk  
raperîn û şorişî xweênawî hêlsa.

Yekêk lem raperîrane raperînî şeşî eylûl 1930  
bû le Silêmanî. Lem roje da gelî Silemanî nebez  
be gewre û picûkewe wirûja û ser şeqamekanî şarî  
girt. Hemû pir be dem hawaryan ekird: 'Eme  
kurdîn, kurdman ewê.'

Belam hikûmetî koneperistî 'Iraq, be han û  
yarmetiyî Ingilîzekan, be gulley tifeng û reşaş kewte  
gyanî xelkeke. Be dehan kujran û birîndar kiran,  
deseha giran û xirane bendîxanewe.

Kecî paş em kuştare hendêk le noker û beki-  
regirawekanî ew dewre helsan, wefdêkyan be nawî  
Kurdistanewe rêkxist û çûne Bexda, bo kîrnûş  
birdine berdemî melik Feysel î yekem.

Pîremêrdî xwalêxoş 'bû, ke ew deme kurdayetîy  
ekird, der barey em wefde be beriye le Kurd û  
Kurdistan em helbestey xwarewey wit:

Wefdî Kurdistan, millet firoşan  
herze wekîlî şarî xamoşan

Çepkê le gulî baxekey sera  
ke be xwênawî lawan aw dira

Biybene berdem êrşî 'Iraqî  
bilên yar baqî hem suhbet baqî

Perde w taray sûr berin bo Emîr  
bilên dway kuştar hêştî toy dilgîr

Dek xecalet bin le rûy mehşera  
ême xakî xem ekeyn be sera

Ewe ew êrşey be xwên gulrenge  
sucdey bo eben hîç nalên nenge

Kurd nabrêtewe xeyalî xawe  
beratî necat be xwên nûsrawe

Min rengî sûrim boye xos ewê  
mijdey şefeqî lê der ekewê.

## Namey Komele

Bo:

Gelî Kurdî nebezman le Kurdistanî dagirkirawî  
be zor be Turkiya bestraw!

Ewe, ey rolekanî Şêx Sa'îd û Doktor Fuad!

Ey rolekanî Dersîm û Agrîdax!

Ewe ke peşengî bizûtinewey kurdayetî w rêgakerewey xebatî gelî Kurd bûn bo azadî w serbexoyî w yekêtiy Kurdistanî mezinman! Ewe ke zurbey gelî kurdî xoşewîstmanin:

Silawêkî germî têkoşan, silawî Komeley Xwendikaranî Kurd le Ewropatan pêşkeş bêt, silawî ew xwendikaraneş erkî geyandinî dengî êweyan be gelanî cihan xistote ser şanyan:

Deng û basî têkoşanî nebezaneş êwe le pênewî wergirtinî mafe mirovayetî w netewayetiyekantan da, cêgay ewperî şanazî w bextiyarîmane. Bê guman le ser berdî binaxey têkoşanî êwe, ke zurbey gelî Kurdin, alay Kurdistanî azad û yekgirtûman berz ebetewe.

Hawrêyanî xoşewîst!

Be lay êmewe ewey zor giring û pêwiste, kobunewetane le dewrî rêkxrawêkî Kurdistanî be-hêz û gurc û gol da! Damezrandinî partêkî şorişgêr le Kurdistanî Turkiya erkêkî pirozî emroy serşantane. Bê damezrandinî rêkxirawêkî ewto, ke têkoşantan rekbixat û serkirdetan bikat, tenha layengîrî w çend rekxirawêkî tirî Kurdistan hîç sûdêk nabexşêt. Damezrandinî em core rekxirawe hengawî yekeme berew serkewtin. Paşan behêz — kirdinî peywendî legel ême w rêkxirawekanî tirî Kurdistan. Bo pêkhênanî em core rekxirawe ewendey le tuwana da bêt, ême amadeyîn bo yarmetî-dantan.

Dûbare silawî germman pêşkeş be êwe, ey role nebezekanî Kurdistan. Silawî germman bo ew role nebezaneş le ser mafekanî gelî Kurd xirane bendîxanewe. Silawman bo hawrêkanî Emîn Banî; ewaney bê tirs berengarî hikûmetî koneperistî ser be Imperyalizmî Turkiya, bo mafekanî gelî Kurd tê ekoşin; ew role nebezaneş le dil û derûnî ême w hemû Kurdêkî be-şeref û dilsoz da cêgirin û le bîr nacinewe; ew role nebezaneş cêgay ewprî şanazî w serberzîy ême w hemû gelî Kurdin.

Bo pêşewe . . . bo damezrandinî partî dêmokratîy Kurdistanî Turkiya. Bo hênanedîy amancekanî gelî Kurd, le Kurdistanêkî azad û yekgirtû . . . dîr le destbeserî beğany dagîrker û noker-ekanyan.

**Kamal Fuad,**

le batî

'Komîtey berêweberî giştî'.

## Komeley Xwendikaranî Kurd le Ewropa

by KEMAL FUAD

Le 10-16 Ab 1956, desteyek le xwendikaranî Kurd le Ewropa, le şari Vizbadin (Wiesbaden)-Elmánya, kobûnewe. Lem kobûneweyê dar biryar dira be damezrandinî 'Komeley Xwendikaranî Kurd le Ewropa'.

Komele lew katewe ta êsta 4 kongrey tirî bestuwe: London: 2-4/1/1958; Mûmîx (München): 4-8/8/1958; Vîyenna (Wien): 23-26/7/1959; Berlîn: 22-26/8/1960.

Biryar waye emsal kongrey şeşem le şari Emisterdam (Amsterdam) le 7-14/8/1961 bibestirêt.

Amancî Komele nasîni gelî kurde be gelanî Ewropa w royîştin şan be şanî cûlanewey niştimanî le wilat, bo cêbecêkirdinî meseley niştimanî Kurd. Tekoşanî xwendikaranî Kurd le Ewropa beşêke heşiz ciya nabêtewe le têkoşanî gelî Kurdistan le pênewî azadî w serbexoyî w yekêti da.

Xwendikaranî Kurd le katêk da yadî gel û niştimanî xoşewîstyan ekenewe, zimanî halyan be sozewe em parçe helbeste cuwan û rengîney mamwesta HEJAR elêt:

Be derbederî ya le malî xom  
le xakî 'Ereb, le Eran û Rom

Kok û poşte bim, rût û recal bim  
koşkim de-qat bê, wêrane mal bim

Danişim le ser textî xunkarî  
ya le kolanan bikem hejarî

Azad û serbest, şadan û xendan  
ya zincîr le mil le sûçî zindan

Kurdim û le rêy Kurd û Kurdistan  
Jiyan le pênew, gyan le ser destan

Be kurdî ejîm, be kurdî emrim  
be kurdî edem weramî qebrim

Be Kurdî dîsan zindû eb'mewe  
lew dinyaş bo Kurd têhelec'mewe.

# **Son Excellence Monsieur Gamal Abdul Nasser,** **President de la Republique Arabe Unie,** **Le Caire—R.A.U.**

(Date) Le 14 Décembre 1960

(No.) B/791

Excellence,

Par la présente, le Comité directeur de 'l'Association des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe' vous prie de bien vouloir prendre note de ce qui suit :

Comme vous le savez, la province syrienne de la République Arabe Unie compte, parmi sa population, environ 400'000 Kurdes, vivant principalement au Nord du pays, dans trois régions : le Djézira, Ain-ul-Arab et Kurd-Dagh.

Il est notoire que les Kurdes de Syria non seulement s'étaient bien entendus avec la majorité arabe du pays, mais qu'ils avaient également lutté, côte à côte avec leurs frères arabes, pour libérer la Syrie du mandataire étranger et réaliser son indépendance.

Lorsque la République Arabe Unie se forma par la fusion de la Syrie avec l'Egypte, sous votre leadership, les Kurdes syriens, comme d'ailleurs la totalité du peuple kurde partagé, avec ses douze millions d'hommes, pensaient que c'était là un pas extrêmement important et positif non seulement pour les Arabes, mais aussi pour l'ensemble des mouvements de libération nationale des peuples afro-asiatiques.

Les Kurdes savent que la lutte des Arabes pour leurs aspirations nationales et leur unité s'inscrit, à condition qu'elle soit menée démocratiquement et non au détriment des autres, dans le cadre du mouvement historique général des peuples dépendants ou semi-dépendants contre l'impérialisme, et qu'un pas en avant dans ce sens, favorisera, en fin de compte, leur propre libération.

Les Kurdes avaient aussi une grande confiance dans votre sagesse politique et dans votre désir de favoriser la libération de tous les peuples opprimés.

Malheureusement, depuis bientôt deux ans, les choses se sont gâtées pour les Kurdes de la province syrienne.

Les autorités gouvernant en cette province en votre nom révoquèrent de l'administration la plupart des fonctionnaires kurdes, limogèrent les officiers kurdes, fermèrent très souvent les portes des écoles devant les enfants kurdes et mirent en prison des dizaines de nos compatriotes dont le seul crime est d'aimer leur peuple et de vouloir rester Kurdes.

C'était devant la tombe d'un grand Kurde, le grand Saladin de l'histoire, le vainqueur des croisés

et le sauveur de l'Orient arabo-musulman que vous aviez serré la main du Président Kouatly lors des fêtes ayant marqué la création de la République Arabe Unie.

Est-ce de cette façon que l'on récompense les Kurdes de cette province, descendants ou compatriotes modernes des Kurdes Eyoubides? Les traiter de cette façon, c'est trahir la mémoire de Saladin et manquer aux belles traditions islamiques de la nation arabe que nous aimons.

Les Kurdes de la province syrienne vivent présentement opprimés, sous la menace de la police, privés de tout droit national et culturel, n'ayant aucune école, aucun journal et aucune publication dans leur langue. Les poètes et hommes de lettres kurdes en Syrie sont maintenant en prison ou durent abandonner le pays. Le poète Qadri Can se trouve en prison depuis bientôt une année.

Au mois d'août 1960 l'on procéda à l'arrestation de 300 Kurdes environ, dont on garda en prison un groupe de 32 personnes comprenant, entre autres, le Dr. Noureddine Zaza, membre honoraire et l'un des fondateurs de notre Association, les écrivains Osman Sabri et Rashid Hamo, MM. Abdul Hamid Sulaiman, Shawket Hannan Hamza Nuairan, Majid Hajo, Bilal Mahmoud, Kemal Abdi et Seydo Arslan. Au début du mois courant, ledit groupe des 32 a été traduit devant la cour militaire suprême de la sûreté de l'Etat, sous l'inculpation de tenter de créer un Etat kurde dans certaines régions de la province syrienne.

Il n'est pas exact que le Dr. Zaza et ses amis aient voulu tenter de créer un Etat au détriment de la province syrienne. Un tel projet serait contraire aux aspirations nationales légitimes du peuple kurde, qui lutte pour la libération nationale du Kurdistan et non pour la création d'un Etat kurde en Syrie, ce qui serait inconcevable. Les Kurdes de la province septentrionale de la R.A.U. désirent jouir de droits culturels, avoir des journaux et des écoles en kurde, ce qui renforcerait l'amitié historique arabo-kurde, et non nuire aux intérêts de leurs concitoyens et frères arabes.

Malheureusement, nous venons d'apprendre que la cour militaire suprême de Damas a prononcé des peines de mort à l'encontre du Dr. Noureddine Zaza et de quelques-uns de ses co-inculpés, ainsi que de lourdes peines d'emprisonnement envers d'autres.

Vous savez, Excellence, par vos propres expériences dans le cadre du mouvement national arabe,

qu'il n'est pas possible de réduire un peuple par la force. Il en va de même pour le nôtre.

Nous sommes peiné que l'homme de Suez qui, à la tête du peuple arabe, avait battu les agresseurs impérialistes en 1956-57, permette que de tels actes soient commis dans l'Etat dont il est le chef.

Ces actes sont aussi nuisibles pour l'amitié kurdo-arabe et les futurs rapports entre ces deux nations voisines que la fermeture des journaux kurdes irakiens 'Jin', 'Hetaw' et 'Bangî Kurd', ordonnée récemment par le gouvernement du général Kassem, la traduction de M. Ibrahim Ahmed, secrétaire général du Parti Démocrate du Kurdistan irakien, devant la cour martiale de Bagdad, pour un article écrit dans le journal 'Khebat', organe officiel de ce parti, ou l'expulsion du territoire irakien, par ordre du gouverneur militaire, du président de notre Association, lors d'un voyage qu'il effectua en Irak au cours du mois d'octobre dernier.

Il appartient à votre Excellence de faire cesser cet état de choses, de permettre aux rapports arabo-kurdes de refluer dans la compréhension, dans l'amitié et la paix, pour le plus grand bien de nos deux nations.

Il n'y a aucune raison de se méfier des Kurdes de la province syrienne, et il serait faux et regrettable que les autorités gouvernantes dans cette province se vengent d'eux en imputant à notre peuple du Kurdistan irakien l'échec, en son temps, des projets d'union entre l'Irak et la R.A.U. Notre peuple souhaite au peuple arabe le plus brillant avenir. Nous souhaitons que les Arabes de tous les Etats s'entendent entre eux, pour réaliser pleinement leur libération nationale et sociale, ainsi que leur union politique, selon leurs désirs, car nous avons la conviction, comme nous l'avons dit, que la libération nationale même du Kurdistan, ou tout au moins son obtention d'un statut d'autonomie, ne s'en trouverait que plus facile.

Nous nous permettons de suggérer à votre Excellence de procéder à ce qui suit:

1.—Gracier les Kurdes qui viennent d'être condamnés à mort à Damas;

2.—Ordonner la libération immédiate des prisonniers politiques kurdes détenus dans la province septentrionale;

3.—Demander au gouvernement provincial de Syrie d'ouvrir des écoles enseignant conjointement en kurde et en arabe dans les régions habitées par les Kurdes;;

4.—Demander à ce gouvernement provincial d'autoriser la publication de journaux et de livres kurdes, comme c'était le cas avant 1958;

5.—Demander aux autorités de la province septentrionale de créer un programme kurde journalier à Radio-Damas, et améliorer la qualité du programme kurde à Radio-Le Caire, conformément aux intérêts communs des Arabes et des Kurdes.

Nous avons la conviction qu'en procédant à ces réformes démocratiques et légitimes en faveur des Kurdes de la R.A.U., la République Arabe Unie gagnerait non seulement le loyalisme définitif de ces derniers, mais aussi l'amitié du peuple kurde en Irak, en Iran et en Turquie, dans l'intérêt de nos deux nations et de la paix.

Nous vous prions, Excellence, d'agréer l'expression de nos plus hautes considérations.

Au nom du Comité directeur de l'Association des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe, le président, Ismet Chériff.

\* \* \* \*

(Date) le 21 Décembre 1960  
(No.) B/801

Monsieur le Président,

Par la présente, le Comité directeur de l'Association des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe se fait un devoir de rectifier un point que nous avons énoncé dans la lettre No. B/791, datée le 14 Décembre 1960, que nous avons eu l'honneur d'adresser à votre Excellence.

D'après les dernières nouvelles qui nous sont parvenues, des peines de mort n'ont été prononcées contre aucun des 32 accusés de nos compatriotes kurdes habitant la province syrienne de la R.A.U., jugés récemment par le tribunal militaire supérieur de Damas. Par contre, de très lourdes peines d'emprisonnement, parfois avec des travaux forcés, contre un bon nombre des accusés, ont été malheureusement prononcées.

Nous nous permettons de remarquer que hormis ce point, notre lettre du 14 Décembre reste entièrement valable.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Président, l'expression de nos plus hautes considérations.

Au nom du Comité directeur, le président, Ismet Chériff.

**Son Excellence le General Gursel,  
President et Premier Ministre de la Republique de Turquie,  
Ankara**

(Date) le 15 Janvier 1961  
(Numéro) B/818

Monsieur le Président,

Par la présente, le Comité directeur de 'l' Association des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe' vous prie de bien vouloir prendre note de ce qui suit :

Comme vous n'ignorez sans doute pas, la population de la République de Turquie se compose de deux nationalités principales, ayant chacune ses caractéristiques nationales, dont la langue, le sol et la formation historique propre: les Turcs et les Kurdes. Le peuple kurde de Turquie, comptant environ six millions d'âmes, soit près de 25% de l'ensemble de la population de la République, vit massivement au Kurdistan de Turquie, dans les provinces orientales. Les Kurdes de Turquie représentent environ 45% de l'ensemble du peuple kurde, dont le pays se trouve partagé politiquement entre cet Etat, l'Iran, l'Irak et la Syrie.

Le traité de Sévres de 1920, dans ses articles 62, 63 et 64, (Section 3: Kurdistan) avait préconisé l'autonomie et, dans certaines conditions, l'indépendance du Kurdistan ottoman.

Remplaçant celui de Sévres, le traité de Lausanne de juillet 1923, toujours en vigueur, garantit dans ses articles 38-44 un minimum de droits culturels et la liberté d'expression et de publication en leurs langues maternelles aux groupes ethniques non turcs de la République.

A la Conférence de Lausanne, M. Ismet Inonu avait affirmé que la Turquie était le pays des Turcs et des Kurdes et que les deux peuples y jouiraient de droits nationaux égaux.

Nous avons le regret de constater que ce n'est point le cas et que même les clauses du traité de Lausanne n'ont pas été observées par les divers gouvernements turcs envers les Kurdes.

Tout le monde sait aujourd'hui que les révoltes qui éclatèrent au Kurdistan de Turquie entre 1924 et 1938, à la suite des mesures d'oppression nationale, loin d'être l'expression d'un mouvement réactionnaire ou religieux, comme l'affirmaient les milieux officiels d'Ankara, visaient à la libération nationale du peuple kurde. Tout le monde sait aussi, malgré les sévères consignes du silence ordonnées à l'époque par les autorités turques, que ces révoltes furent écrasées par la force et noyées dans le sang. Enfin, tout le monde sait également aujourd'hui, aussi bien en Turquie qu'à l'étranger,

que la politique de turquisation par la force de notre courageux peuple kurde a complètement échoué. Peut-être savez-vous, Excellence, que dans son ouvrage 'Regards sur l'histoire du monde', le Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, après s'être étonné que les dirigeants turcs aient privé le peuple kurde de ses droits, aussitôt la Turquie libérée de l'hypothèque de 1920, affirme que la lutte de ce peuple pour la reconquête de sa liberté ne pourra jamais s'éteindre. Il en va ainsi.

Nous voilà, en effet, presque revenus au point de départ: après trente-cinq ans de tentatives d'assimilation, de mesures de transfert collectif, de malheurs et d'injustices de toute sorte et d'obscurantisme, la question nationale kurde en Turquie ne se trouve point résolue. Elle reste entière, et dans notre siècle de lumière et de solidarité entre les peuples, où la conscience nationale kurde a atteint son paroxysme aussi bien en Turquie que dans les Etats voisins, cette question ne sera résolue que par la reconnaissance et le respect de la plénitude des droits nationaux et culturels de notre peuple. Toute autre politique signifierait de nouvelles souffrances inutiles et serait du temps perdu, tant pour les Kurdes que les Turcs et les autres peuples du Moyen-Orient.

Lorsque eut lieu, sous votre leadership, le changement de régime du 27 mai dernier en Turquie opéré par le Comité d'Union Nationale, nous avons espéré que le gouvernement de votre Excellence allait mettre un terme aux pénibles conditions d'oppression nationale et de misère que le régime tyrannique de M. Adnan Menderes avait continué d'imposer à notre peuple.

Malheureusement rien de tel ne se produisit, loin de là. Nous avons appris, en effet, ce qui suit:

1.—Les détenus politiques kurdes arrêtés par le gouvernement Menderes en Novembre-Décembre 1959 (les avocats Ali Querhan et Ziya Serefhan, le colonel Sewket Turanli, le médecin Kucu Elbistan, les journalistes Musa Anter et Abdulrahman Efem, l'industriel Orfi Ak Koyonlu, les étudiants Sihab Erdel et Meded Yas — et leurs amis) furent gardés à la prison militaire d'Istanbul par votre gouvernement, alors que les prisonniers politiques turcs de l'ancien régime furent tous libérés.

2.—Votre gouvernement procéda à de nouvelles arrestations parmi les milieux intellectuels et politiques kurdes. Nous disposons d'une liste — incomplète, de 65 noms de compatriotes arrêtés.

3.—D'une façon générale, vous n'avez rien envisagé pour remédier à la situation économique difficile des provinces orientales, c.à.d. du Kurdistan tout en aggravant les conditions d'oppression nationale de notre peuple, en violation avec l'esprit et la lettre de la Charte des Nations Unies et le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes.

4.—Votre gouvernement encouragea de nouvelles mesures d'assimilation, dans le domaine soi-disant culturel. C'est ainsi qu'un certain nombre de personnalités de votre régime, dont le général Fehri Ozdelik, assistèrent le 14 Juillet 1960 à une conférence donnée par M. Necati Akter, professeur d'histoire à l'Université d'Ankara, et à une autre donnée par M. Fahrettin Kirizoglu, professeur d'histoire à l'institut de Arifiye Koy, où les conférenciers prétendirent démontrer que les Kurdes sont 'd'origine turque' et que leur langue n'est qu'un rameau du turc. Savez-vous, Excellence, que de telles affirmations sont gratuites, absurdes, inutiles, n'ont rien de scientifique, qu'elles se trouvent si évidemment en contradiction avec les faits historiques et actuels qu'elles font sourire même les profanes à l'étranger? Car même l'opinion populaire publique sait, sans parler des milieux scientifiques sérieux, que le kurde est une langue indo-européenne, appartenant à la famille iranienne, mais plus vieille et plus pure que le persan, et que les Kurdes se trouvent sur place, au Kurdistan, depuis des milliers d'années, alors que les Turcs ne firent leur apparition en Turquie qu'à partir du XIe siècle de l'ère chrétienne.

5.—Votre gouvernement imposa aux étudiants originaires des 'régions de l'Est', c.à.d. du Kurdistan un examen préalable spécial pour être admis aux universités d'Ankara et d'Istanbul, et portant sur un sujet prétendant que les Kurdes sont d'origine turque.

6.—Dans le cadre d'une campagne organisée pour combattre les langues non-turques parlées en Turquie, dont le kurde est de loin la plus importante l'on trouve encore dans les endroits publics, les autobus et les vitrines, des écriteaux invitant la population à parler 'uniquement en turc'.

7.—Le colonel Kutchuk, membre du C.U.N., au cours du mois de Septembre 1960, et le général Kiziloglu, ministre de l'intérieur, au cours du mois d'Octobre, effectuèrent des voyages d'inspection dans 'les provinces orientales', c.à.d. au Kurdistan. Dans les rapports sur ces voyages qu'ils présentèrent à votre gouvernement et au C.U.N., les deux hommes d'Etat ne cachent pas que les provinces de l'Est traversent une période de 'troubles'. Ils disent aussi que des émissaires traversent clandestinement les frontières, que la 'population de l'Est' entretient des rapports secrets avec les Kurdes de l'Iran, de

l'Irak et de la Syrie et que ses chefs ont pour but de créer une République kurde. Cédant à une habitude vieille de quarante ans et tendant à discréditer le mouvement kurde par une propagande qui ne peut plus réussir, le général et le colonel ne manquent pas d'affirmer que les chefs kurdes sont des réactionnaires, des 'contre-révolutionnaires', des religieux et des féodaux exploitant les paysans. Savez-vous, Excellence, que le mouvement kurde est un mouvement de libération nationale s'inscrivant dans le cadre des idées démocratiques et progressistes qui secouent le monde d'aujourd'hui, et que c'est plutôt votre gouvernement que l'on doit qualifier de réactionnaire tant qu'il continuera à opprimer notre peuple?

8.—A la suite de ces rapports, votre gouvernement promulga au mois d'Octobre 1960 une loi spéciale dite 'Mecburi Iskan Qanunu' (Loi sur l'établissement forcé) comme complément à une ancienne loi des années trente portant le même nom et d'après laquelle votre gouvernement s'érige le droit de transférer par la force de leurs domiciles dans les provinces orientales, en Turquie occidentale, certaines catégories de la population kurde, après avoir confisqué leurs biens. Savez-vous, Excellence, que cette 'loi' viole outrageusement la Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l'Homme adoptée par l'Assemblée générale de l'ONU en Décembre 1948 et que le Comité d'Union Nationale avait proclamé de respecter?

9.—Vous avez appliqué cette loi injuste, tout d'abord à l'encontre des 280 prisonniers politiques kurdes détenus à la prison de Sivas, comme l'annonce d'ailleurs la revue turque 'Kim' du 31 Octobre dernier.

10.—Vous l'avez appliquée ensuite, comme l'a annoncé la presse mondiale, à l'encontre de 54 chefs kurdes déplacés de 'l'Est' et autorisés à emporter à l'exil seulement 100 kgs de biens chacun, tout le reste étant confisqué. Parmi les exilés se trouve un vieillard de 70 ans, M. Riza Said, qui n'est que le fils du héros national kurde Shaikh Said de Piran que le gouvernement turc avait pendu en 1925 à Diyarbakir. Le crime que vous leur reprochez est d'avoir revendiqué les droits nationaux légitimes de leur peuple.

11.—Au mois de Novembre 1960 votre gouvernement voulut mettre à la retraite anticipée 180 professeurs d'université, accusés d'être 'des communistes, des francs-maçons, des agents des bureaux d'information étrangers et travaillant pour la création d'un Kurdistan indépendant', selon les affirmations des colonels Erkazili et Arfan Salomzer et du général commandant la garnison de la ville de Tarsus. Mais votre gouvernement dut battre en retraite devant les protestations du peuple turc, et

les professeurs furent maintenus à leurs postes. Savez-vous, Excellence, que le valeureux peuple turc, à proprement parler, réprouve dans son for intérieurs les conditons d'oppression nationale frappant son ami, son compagnon d'armes et voisin qu'est le peuple kurde, tout en partageant avec lui les misères matérielles répandues dans le pays?

12.—On avait espéré que le colonel Turkes et ses 13 amis du C.U.N. seraient favorables à un Kurdistan autonome, mais ils furent écartés du pouvoir.

13.—Enfin, votre gouvernement a transféré dernièrement, de leur prison de 'Harbiyé', un groupe de 49 autres chefs politiques kurdes, pour la plupart des intellectuels, traduits devant le tribunal militaire d'Ankara, sous l'inculpation d'avoir enfreint l'article 141 de la constitution interdisant la formation d'organisations politiques, et de travailler pour la libération nationale kurde. Leur procès s'est ouvert le 3 Janvier 1961 dans le hall de l'Académie de l'Histoire de Guerre dans le plus grand secret, de façon illégale et sans la moindre garantie de défense pour les accusés. Nous avons été obligés de protester par un télégramme datant du 2 Janvier que nous nous sommes permis d'adresser à votre Excellence, et de porter la nouvelle à la connaissance de la presse mondiale.

\* \* \*

Comme ces malheureuses conditions d'oppression nationale et de misère ne sauraient aboutir à la solution de la question nationale kurde en Turquie, comme elles sont contraires à tous les principes de droit et à la marche de l'histoire, nous nous permettons, Excellence, dans l'intérêt commun à longue échéance de la République et des deux peuples turc et kurde, de vous prier de bien vouloir saisir votre gouvernement et le Comité d'Union Nationale des réformes et projets suivants:

- (1) Rendre public le procès des 49 chefs politiques kurdes;
- (2) Libérer tous les prisonniers politiques kurdes;
- (3) Déclarer le kurde comme langue officielle de l'enseignement dans les provinces et régions orientales à majorité kurde;
- (4) Permettre les publications et la presse kurde;
- (5) Relever le niveau de vie matériel et culturel de la population du Kurdistan, dans le cadre d'un plan pour l'ensemble de la Turquie;
- (6) Unifier les provinces et régions du Kurdistan en un seul territoire et lui accorder un statut d'autonomie, dans le cadre de la République

(7) Elargir et garantir les droits démocratiques et la liberté d'expression dans l'ensemble de la Turquie;

(8) Mentionner et garantir les droits du peuple kurde de Turquie dans la constitution définitive de la République.

Nous vous prions, Monsieur le Président, d'agréer l'expression de nos très hautes considérations.

Au nom du Comité directeur de l'Association des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe:  
le président: Ismet Chériff Vanly.

#### Copies a :

- Comité d'Union Nationale, Ankara;
- Union Nationale des Etudiants de Turquie, Ankara;
- Commission des Droits de l'Homme, O.N.U., New-York;
- Comité International de la Croix-Rouge, Genève;
- Union Internationale des Juristes;
- Union Fédérative des Communautés Ethniques Européennes, Danemark;
- Movement for Colonial Freedom, Londres;
- International Society Kurdistan, Amsterdam;
- S.E.M. Hammarskjöld, secrétaire général de l'O.N.U.;
- S.E.M. le Pandit Nehru, premier ministre de l'Inde;
- S.E.M. Khrouchtchev, premier ministre de l'U.R.S.S.;
- S.E.M. Kennedy, Président-élu des Etats-Unis d'Amérique;
- S.E. le général de Gaulle, Président de la République Française;
- S.E. le premier ministre de la Chine Populaire;
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- S.E.M. Senghor, Président de la République du Sénégal;
- S.E.M. M. Keita, Président de la République du Mali;
- S.M. le shah d'Iran;
- S.E.M. Nasser, Président de la République Arabe Unie;
- S.E. le général Kassem, premier ministre de l'Irak;
- Fédération Mondiale de la Jeunesse Démocratique, Budapest;
- Union Internationale des Etudiants, Prague;
- Conférence Internationale des Etudiants, Leiden;
- Afro-Asia, Londres;
- Fédération Pan-Chinoise des Etudiants;

- Comité des Etudiants de l' U.R.S.S.
- F.E.A.N.F., Paris;
- U.G.E.A.O., Dakar;
- Union Générale des Etudiants de la République Irakienne;
- le journal 'Khebat', organe du Parti Démocratie du Kurdistan, Irak;
- La revue 'Kurdistan', Téhéran;
- La revue 'Kurdistan', Angleterre, organe de l' Association des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe;
- La presse mondiale et divers milieux diplomatiques, culturels et étudiants.

**Annex:**

Notre communication No. B/567 du 8 février 1960 à la Commission des Droits de l'Homme au sujet de la situation au Kurdistan de Turquie.



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