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Kurdistan

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STUDENTS SOCIETY IN EUROPE

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K.S.S.E. AIMS



"Kurdistan", the official organ of Kurdish Students Society in Europe, (K.S.S.E.), tries to give an idea about the country of Kurdistan and the contemporary situation in which the Kurdish people live. The K.S.S.E.'s constitution states that the Society will endeavour to enlighten the world on the culture of Kurdistan, the condition of the Kurdish people and the question of self-determination; to strengthen the relationship of Kurdish students in Europe and to help to solve their academic problems and facilitate mutual aid between them while in Europe; to strengthen the spirit of co-operation and friendship between Kurdish students and students of other countries, to make contact with students and non-student organizations, both national and international, and co-operate with them in the scope of our mutual aims and interests, to promote the national Kurdish culture and to work towards the good of the Kurdish people, to contribute towards the struggle of the divided Kurdish people, support all peoples in the struggle against imperialism, racial discrimination and dictatorial regimes, and consolidate with all peace-loving freedom fighters for peace, democracy and liberty. Although "Kurdistan" is a student magazine, it has a much wider responsibility – the highlighting of the Kurdish society's basic political and economic condition and clarification of the natural and just requirements and demands for a better and fairer way of life. These tasks are inevitable for Kurdish students abroad for a variety of reasons. Firstly, they constitute a major element in the drive towards informing and explaining problems related to Kurds and Kurdistan to the outside world. Secondly, there are better opportunities in Europe to express freely what Kurdish individuals think about general issues than elsewhere, particularly in the Kurdish peoples' own country (divided Kurdistan). Therefore it is necessary for Kurdish students abroad to recognize these responsibilities. They can do this, first of all, by achieving educationally what they have set out to achieve by acquiring new knowledge – scientific, technical, or otherwise, but at the same time they must recognize their other responsibilities whilst staying abroad, and naturally when they complete their studies. Through K.S.S.E., individual Kurdish students can realize their duties to a very large extent, as practice has shown us. This has been borne out by the remarkable success of the Society's activities since it was founded in 1956. Membership of the Society has grown from a mere 17 members to hundreds. The society, furthermore, has gained international recognition by becoming a member of the International Union of Students (I.U.S.) in 1964.

Finally, the primary aim of K.S.S.E. should be to encourage its members to assist the people of Kurdistan after completing their training and education. This can be realized by undertaking the various tasks involved in running a Kurdish autonomous administration in Kurdistan-Iraq. The economic and human needs are vast. There is a great shortage of teachers and doctors in Kurdistan, especially in the liberated area. We hope "Kurdistan" will be of service in this task.

General Executive Committee

Kurdistan Politics in Perspective

The condition of the Kurds in Iran and Turkey remains as it has been for the last decade. There have been a few indications, at least superficially, that the Kurdish problem is being treated seriously and perhaps more realistically. For example, the words "Kurds" and "Kurdistan" are no longer taboo in the Turkish press. But this in itself does not constitute any real progress towards recognizing the national human rights of the Kurds. In fact these minor changes have been generated by the effect of events in Kurdistan-Iraq. In Iran the Kurds are still deprived of basic national rights such as education in their own language, the right to enjoy and promote their cultural heritage and other natural rights, whilst in Turkey – in addition to the absence of any national rights for the Kurdish people – the Turkish Government still maintains a racist stand against them by not recognizing in any form the distinct national entity of the Kurdish people. As for the Kurds in Syria, they have been subject, like those of their brothers in Kurdistan-Iraq, to a vicious policy of Arabisation by the fanatical Baathists. The situation has reached the point where an important Minister in the Government, Mohammed Talab Hilal, advocates in a widely-published book the adoption of a Hitlerian policy of shifting and dispersing Kurdish native population from Kurdish areas, so that the Kurdish community as such has no recognized entity. In fact the government has already started implementing this policy which is known as the "Arab Belt Plan".

The major political interest at the moment surrounds political events in Kurdistan-Iraq, where the resistance movement has been consolidating in order to achieve a viable autonomy since September 1961.

The success of this revolutionary movement has attracted a great deal of attention in the Middle East and internationally. One can definitely state that the Kurdish problem has become a major element in the regional and international conflicts of the latter half of the twentieth century. It is gradually becoming obvious that permanent stability in the Middle East area depends partly on a just and satisfactory settlement of the Kurdish issue. This can be achieved

in the last analysis only by listening attentively to the emergent voice of the Kurdish people in the form of its *de facto* administration in Kurdistan-Iraq. Furthermore, it is necessary for the international organizations to take a serious interest in the legitimate rights of the Kurds as a nation. It is futile, as was attempted in the case of South Africa, to argue, for example, that the conflict between Kurdistan and Iraq is a purely internal affair. Although the Charter of the United Nations clearly recognizes the sovereignty of each state, it also recognizes the necessity of securing and protecting the human rights and fundamental freedoms of each nation. As stated in the preamble: "We the peoples of the U.N., determined to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women of nations, large and small... have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims."

Article 62, paragraph 2 of the Charter states that the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) may make recommendations for the purpose of promoting respect for, and observance of human rights and fundamental freedom for all. Furthermore, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognizes the inherent dignity and the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family as the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world.

There is a common thread running through the history of the Kurdish liberation movement since 1961. It is the readiness of the citizens of Kurdistan to defend and strive for their national existence and legitimate rights, regardless of sacrifices and deprivations which they have to undergo. The unswerving loyalty to these aims is symbolised by the way the movement has developed from a disorganized resistance movement to a *de facto* autonomous administration, which is organized politically by the Kurdistan Democratic Party (K.D.P.) and other leading intellectual patriots, and protected militarily by the Kurdistan Revolutionary Army of Pesh Merga. This in fact constitutes a significant shift in the status of the Kurdish movement's relations with Iraq, and thus military dictatorships ruling over Iraq can no longer with impunity trample upon the rights of the Kurdish people. Not that they have learnt the lessons of other governments' imperialistic policies of recognizing, even belatedly, the rights of individual nations to human rights and self-determination. For in spite of the willingness shown by Kurdish patriots to try to reach a peaceful and fair settlement of the Kurdish problem during the last

eight years, Iraqi Governments have persisted in attempting to find means by which they can destroy Kurdish people as a community. It is obvious that all the three cease-fire agreements between the Kurdish Revolution and Iraq have been of a purely tactical nature, and efforts on the part of the Baghdad Government to stall for time rather than genuine attempts towards a reasonable settlement. No doubt the Kurdish leadership has drawn its own conclusion from the treacherous past behaviour of the Iraqi Government. First of all it is essential to guard against dictatorial regimes. Secondly, the movement cannot indefinitely delay the progress of its political and economic aims and therefore must find its own ways of achieving them. This is particularly important regarding the recognition of the autonomous status of Kurdistan and the legitimacy of the Iraqi state.

There must come a time when Kurds declare and implement fully all the necessary elements of an autonomous entity. Iraqi intransigence will therefore only make future agreement more difficult to reach. It is clearly in the interest of both the Kurds and the Arab peoples to recognize and respect each other's rights. But violent attempts at imposing one dictatorial regime in the name of Arab Nationalism on Kurdistan is bound to fail and lead to further violence and brutality. This is indeed occurring now. The Baathist military junta are copying Nazi tactics and methods in the aggression against the Kurdish people. The Iraqi army has been systematically destroying hundreds of villages in Kurdistan as part and parcel of their scorched-earth policy; bombing of civilians with napalm and incendiaries is a daily routine. Kurdish peasants have been evicted from over 300 villages in the oil-producing region of Kirkuk and also in Hawler (Arbil). Arab tribes have been settled in their places, taking illegal possession of Kurdish lands, houses and property. Kurdish civilians in occupied zones are at the mercy of Iraqi garrisons.

In spite of all this, the Kurdish national liberation movement has not only survived but maintained and enlarged the liberated areas of Kurdistan. This is mainly because the Kurdish forces enjoy superiority over the enemy, for Kurdish partisans fight for a cause in which they passionately believe, on territory which is their own and amidst a population which identifies itself with the revolutionary struggle for an autonomous Kurdistan.

In addition to the criminal war that the Iraqi Government is waging against the Kurds, it is

cruelly suppressing all political opposition, particularly democratic and progressive Arab elements. There are thousands of citizens in Iraqi jails who are tortured and maltreated, with scant hope of ever being charged in a court of law. It is the duty of all democratic elements in Iraq to align themselves with the Kurdish movement in order to achieve a democratic government in the country and securing the just right of the Kurdish people to an autonomous Kurdistan.

Editor



Opinions expressed by individuals in this journal do not necessarily reflect those of the society. Editor.

Unconstitutional Treatment of the Kurds in Turkey

BY S. ARARATI

According to reports which appeared in Turkish newspapers such as Yeni Istanbul and Dunya of the 31st January, 1968, the Turkish police have arrested nine Kurds in Diyarbekir. For Kurds to be put in prison in Turkey is nothing new and is no sensation either. What is new, however, is the "spirit" of the indictment, which says that the persons arrested were members of the Kurdish "Secret State". As so often before, many "documents" — it says — had fallen into the hands of the police.

ethnic group to write in their own language (see translation of extracts from the Turkish Constitution). But if the Kurds do this or own books in the Kurdish language, they have to expect terms of imprisonment; it is not the Constitution but "Special Laws" and police measures that are applied.

We want to draw the attention of the Turkish Government to the fact that their policy of discrimination towards the Kurdish population is a flagrant violation of its own Constitution and of civil and human rights.

Paragraph 2. The Republic of Turkey is based on the elementary principles of human rights. It is a national democracy and a State based on law and social justice.

Paragraph 8. The laws must not be in contradiction with the constitution.

Paragraph 12. Before the law everybody is equal notwithstanding his language, his ethnical membership, his sex, his political conviction, his religious denomination. No privileges must be accorded to any person, family, group or class.

Paragraph 20. Everyone enjoys liberty of thought and opinion. Everyone has the right to express and spread his thoughts and opinion by word, in writing, images, or in any other way, either alone or with others. Nobody can be forced to express his thoughts and his opinion.

Paragraph 30. After anyone has been arrested he must — except for the time required to bring him before the nearest Court — be taken within 24 hours before the Examining Magistrate. After the expiry of 24 hours he must not be deprived of his liberty without the decision of a judge. The arrest of a person must be made known to his relatives as soon as the arrested person is brought before the Examining Magistrate.

EXTRACTS
FROM THE
TURKISH
CONSTITUTION

Contrary to the usual legal customs, these Kurds will not appear in Court in the Kurdish city of Diyarbekir where they were arrested, but in the Turkish city of Antalya (on the Mediterranean). Since their arrest they have been in solitary confinement there and cannot be visited by their relatives. The reason for the choice of this place of internment will be known to those who are conversant with the policy of the Turkish Government and the methods of the police towards the Kurds. Evidently the imprisonment which has already lasted 8 months is still not sufficient for the psychological "treatment" of these people so that their trial has not even been started yet.

The "documents" are nothing more than literature in the Kurdish language, which contains nothing political. Of the existence of a Kurdish "Secret State" nobody in the world knows anything except the Turkish police. The Constitution of Turkey does not forbid any

It cannot any longer withhold the right of cultural activities from the Kurdish people and it must not suppress cultural democratisation by police measures. By doing so it is working against the national unity of Turkey. The last thing we want is the "Sick Man on the Bosphorus" who is nothing but a dangerous product of the present policy of discrimination of the peoples in Turkey, and of an undemocratic attitude. The fact of ethnical disunity in Turkey can only be transformed into a lasting meaningful unity if the Turkish Government makes efforts to create the necessary political and legal basis so that Turks, Lazicans, Kurds, Circassians, Armenians and Arabs do not suffer discrimination and are respected in the exercise of their cultures. Otherwise the Turkish Government cannot expect anything else than to be the stooge of the enemies of Turkey and thus of the Turkish population.

K.S.S.E. 12th CONGRESS

Resolutions

BELGRADE JANUARY 1969

- The Congress:
GREETS —The Kurdish Revolution In Iraqi Kurdistan and expresses solidarity with it.
—The Partisans (Pesh Merga'), who have carried arms and faced death to defend our national rights and holds in great esteem their precious sacrifices in the cause of the revolution.
—Mustafa Barzani, and thanks him for the letter which the conference received from him.
URGES —All organisations and political groups of the Kurdish Nation to support the revolution in order to achieve autonomy for Kurdistan within a free and democratic Iraq.
- The Congress:
EXPRESSES —Its anxiety about the friction between the national groups in Iraqi Kurdistan.
URGES —All the people concerned to put an end to this friction and to work, instead, for the interests of our national demands and the revolution and its aims. It also urges them to stand united against all plans which aim at inhibiting the Kurdish national question.
- The Congress:
CONSIDERS —The present system of government in Iraq as a military dictatorship that stands against the Iraqi nation's basic democratic rights.
—That it is isolated from the Iraqi people and, by disregarding the demands of the Arabs and Kurds in Iraq, denies them their basic democratic rights.
That it is withholding the fulfilment of the 29th of June agreement.
—That the fundamental solution to the Iraqi people's problems, including the Kurdish war, lies in having a national and progressive coalition government which would ensure democracy for Iraq and autonomy for Kurdistan.
- The Congress:
EXTENDS —Its greetings to all the national groups in Iraq and asks them to unite in a progressive national and democratic front in order to bring an end to the military dictatorship in Iraq. To form a progressive and national coalition government which would fulfil the demands of the Kurdish people, secure the independence and unity of the Republic of Iraq and stand against Imperialistic plots.
- The Congress:
URGES —The Iraqi Government to fulfil, in its entirety, the items of the 29th of June agreement.
DEMANDS —Full democratic rights for the Iraqi people.
—The release of all political prisoners in Iraq.
—That the blackmailing of prisoners, by forcing them to sign documents repudiating their beliefs as a condition for their release, should cease forthwith.
- The Congress:
CONDEMNES —The Iraqi Government's withdrawal of passports and withholding of grants and scholarships of some Iraqi students.
DEMANDS —The restoration of passports, grants and scholarships to these students, despite their ideological beliefs.
- The Congress: while appreciating the progressive social and economic changes in Syria,
CONDEMNES —The discrimination policy of the Syrian Government against our Kurdish people in Syria. This policy is not in

accordance with the Syrian Government's claims of socialism, freedom and progress.

DEMANDS —A stop to the fascist (Arab Belt) scheme.

The restoration of Syrian national identity withdrawn from tens of thousands of Kurds.

—The release of all political prisoners in Syria.

—The return of all the deported people, especially the Kurdish patriot Othman Sabri.

—A stop to the discrimination against the Kurds, and demands equality with the Arabs especially as regards land reform laws.

—The fulfilment of the civil and educational rights of the Kurdish people in Syria.

8. The Congress:

GREETES —The Kurdish Uprising in Iranian Kurdistan.

CONDEMNS —The police state policy towards the Kurds in Iran.

DEMANDS —The fulfilment of the Kurdish national and democratic rights.

—That the Kurds be allowed to have their own schools and be allowed to publish newspapers in Kurdish.

—A rise in the standards of health, economy and education in Iranian Kurdistan.

—The release of all political prisoners and cessation of aggressive actions against the Kurdish people in Iran.

9. The Congress:

SUPPORTS —The struggle of the Iranian students against the Imperialistic regime of the Shahinshah and their struggle for a progressive and democratic regime which would recognise the national and democratic rights of the Kurdish people in Iran.

10. The Congress:

DEMANDS —The cessation of the Turkish Government's policy to ignore the existence of a Kurdish nationality in Turkey.

—The recognition by the Turkish Government of the national and democratic rights of the Kurdish people in Turkey and a rise in the stands of the economy, health, social aspects and education of the Kurdish people in Turkey.

—That the Kurdish people be permitted to have their own publication and radio programmes in Kurdish.

—That all people in Turkey, regardless of national identity and ideological beliefs, be considered equal.

CONDEMNS —The Toranian ideas which refuse to recognise the non-Turkish nations and consider all inhabitants of Turkey as Turks.

11. The Congress:

DEMANDS —The release of all political prisoners in Turkey.

CONDEMNS —The deporting of 16 Kurds from their home land to parts of Western Turkey
—The re-trial of 20 Kurds, who, when tried two years ago, were declared innocent.

—The denial of prerogative to two Kurdish members of the Turkish Parliament.

The demoting of Kurdish officers serving in the Turkish army.

12. The Congress:

URGES —The Arab citizens, the political parties and organisations, both national and governmental, in the Arab countries to reject the reactionary and chauvinistic propaganda against the aims and principles of the Kurdish movement.

—These people to understand thoroughly the Kurdish national question for the sake of strengthening the ties of friendship between the Arabs and the Kurds and their common struggle against Imperialism, reactionary regimes and military dictatorships and to work for peace, national liberation and democracy.

13. The Congress:

SUPPORTS —The struggle of the Arab people against Imperialism and Zionism and their struggle for democracy and social and economic reforms.

—The Palestinian people in their struggle to retain their national rights.

DEMANDS —The withdrawal of aggressors from the occupied territory.

14. The Congress:

SUPPORTS —All the progressive liberation movements in the world which aim at putting an end to world Imperialism and at building a world based on equality, peace and freedom.

CONDEMNS —The intervention of the Imperialists in other countries' internal affairs.

GREETES —The Vietnamese people in their struggle against American aggression and for the liberation of the rest of their country.

SUPPORTS —The struggle of the Greeks against the military junta for freedom and democracy.

15. The Congress:

THANKS —All organisations that supported the society and assisted her in holding this conference, especially the Union of Yugoslavian Students.

—All the people and organisations who sent greetings, especially those who sent representatives to the conference.

HOPES —That the ties of friendship between us will always remain strong in order to achieve our common aims.



BRANCH ACTIVITIES

K.S.S.E. has branches in almost all European countries, including United Kingdom, France, Sweden, West Germany, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Soviet Union and Austria. The following is a summary of some of the branches' activities (which regrettably had to be condensed owing to lack of space).

U.S.S.R. Branch

The Soviet Branch held its annual conference on 2nd February 1969 at Friendship University, in Moscow, under the following main slogans:

DEMOCRACY FOR IRAQ AND AUTONOMY FOR KURDISTAN-IRAQ.
LONG LIVE THE KURDISH REVOLUTION AND ITS LEADERSHIP.
LONG LIVE SOVIET-KURDISH FRIENDSHIP.
FOR EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS.

Many guests attended the conference, including the representative of the Council for Foreign Students Affairs in the Soviet Ministry of Higher Education and a representative of Komsmol, who both made speeches reaffirming friendly relations between Kurdish and Soviet students. The delegates represented branches in Moscow, Leningrad, Baku, Karkof, Kier, Tashkant and Kirsindar. Among the resolutions the conference approved were:

1. Greeting the Kurdish armed Revolution in Kurdistan-Iraq, and the partisans of Pesh Merga and its wise leadership led by General Mustifa Barzani.

2. Calling all progressive national political forces in Iraq to form a united front for the overthrow of the militaristic and dictatorial Baathist regime, and the forming of a democratic coalition government, which believes in democracy for Iraq and autonomy for Kurdistan-Iraq.

3. Condemning the policy of national oppression and discrimination directed by the reactionary regimes against the Kurdish people in Turkey and Iran, and demanding from the governments of Iran and Turkey the guarantee of the Kurdish people's national rights.

4. Supporting the heroic Vietnamese struggle against American Imperialism.

The Soviet Branch has been very active in establishing relations with friendly organisations in the Soviet Union. For instance, the Secretary of the Branch, Husain Barzani, was elected as chairman of the International Student Camping - Friendship event in the city of Rustov last summer. The branch participated in a student seminar under the title of "The role of students in the national liberation movement". Further-

more, two lectures were given in the name of the Society, one about the Revolution in Kurdistan-Iraq and the other about the Kurdish student movement abroad.

Finally, the Branch celebrated the Kurdish national day* of Newroz at one of the big factories in Moscow, which was attended by many guests including prominent Kurdish soviet citizens. Among them, Firozov, Dr. Bikaev, Dr. Abdul Rehman Kirmani, Dr. Sultany and the famous orientalist Dr. Aristova.

The Branch issued several issues of a periodical called Nishtiman.

Swedish Branch

Although one of the smallest branches of K.S.S.E. it is one of the most active. Within K.S.S.E. it maintains well organised communications with the General Executive Committee and the committees of all the branches. It has wide contacts with many student and youth organisations as well as political and humanitarian ones.

The Swedish Branch has contributed to the formation of Kurdish-Scandinavian committees, and its co-operation particularly with the Kurdish-Swedish committee (Svensk-Kurd Kommittee), has contributed to the wide publicity given to the Kurdish question in Scandinavia.

One of the outstanding activities of the Swedish Branch is the collection of medical supplies for the victims of war in Kurdistan-Iraq, where supplies are blockaded by the Iraqi government. Amnesty International is amongst those organisations which receives reports on the Kurdish situation from the branch.

The Swedish Branch has prominent contacts with the Press, and the Broadcasting Corporation in Sweden. Within the past year nine lectures have been given by the branch to the Political Parties, student and youth organisations. The Branch has organised a small Kurdish Exhibition in Stockholm.

The Swedish Branch held its fourth general annual meeting on February 28th 1969 in Stockholm. At this meeting many resolutions were passed amongst them were:

1. The Meeting greets wholeheartedly the Kurdistan Democratic Party, Kurdistan Revolutionary Army, the Command Council of the Revolution in Kurdistan-Iraq and the veteran leader, General Mustapha Barzani.
2. The Meeting calls upon all freedom-loving and peace-loving people in the world to denounce and condemn the Baathist atrocities committed in Kurdistan-Iraq.
3. The Meeting condemns the new offensive by Baghdad military government against innocent civilian population of Kurdistan.
4. The Meeting protests against the discriminatory and chauvinistic treatment of the Kurds by the Turkish and Iranian governments and calls upon those governments to stop the suppression of Kurdish basic human and national legitimate rights. Furthermore, the Meeting condemns the Baathist military dictatorship of Syria and its fascist policies such as the 'Arab Belt Plan' with the intention of the destruction of the Kurdish community in Syria.
5. The Meeting expresses its solidarity with all the liberation movements and greets the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against American aggression. It also supports the just struggle of the Palestinian people for their self-determination.
6. The Meeting thanks all the humanitarian organisations that help the Kurdish people.



Polish Branch

Since its establishment in 1962 the Polish Branch of K.S.S.E. has been very active in promoting the cause of the Kurdish people and their just national rights. This year in particular there have been many opportunities where the Society has taken part in activities to publicise the tragic conditions under which our people live in Kurdistan, particularly in Kurdistan-Iraq, where the government has been waging a war. The Branch has taken part in many exhibitions held in different towns of Poland by presenting facets of Kurdish life; traditions,



Polish Branch in a demonstration

customs and national culture. The Branch organised a special exhibition on the current revolution in Kurdistan-Iraq in six towns. The Branch maintains very friendly relations with all public organisations in Poland. Furthermore, the Branch has been influential in presenting special programmes on T.V. and radio. The National Union of Polish Students has been very helpful regarding the presentation of our activities.

D.D.R. Branch

The annual conference was held on 22nd March 1969 at the city of Meersburg. Fifty members participated and it was attended by student delegates from Syria, Iraq, Lebanon and a representative of the Arab Students' Society. The conference discussed many important student and political topics, particularly the grave situation in Kurdistan. At the end of the conference, certain resolutions were passed, among them:

1. The meeting greets the revolution in Kurdistan-Iraq and its leadership.
2. Greets the struggle of the Iraqi people against the dictatorial Baathist regime and calls upon them to unite their efforts in a National front.
3. Condemns the fanatic Baathist rulers of Syria and demands full recognition of the Kurdish peoples' rights.
4. Condemns the Iraqi government for the suppression of the democratic movements of student and youth.
5. Deplores the cold blooded assassination of the University student Mutasher Hawas.

U.K. Branch

The U.K. Branch, being historically the first branch of the Society to be established, still holds an important position in enhancing the just cause of Kurdish students and the overall cause of Kurdistan in its activities throughout Britain. The Branch has established permanent and friendly relations with many students and other organisations, such as the Iraqi Students' Society in the U.K., the Co-ordinating Committee for Overseas Students and the National Union of Students. It has taken an active part in activities pertaining to liberation movements throughout the world, while at the same time being concerned with student problems in particular.

Prior to the Annual General Meeting of the U.K. Branch, a social gathering was arranged on the Kurdish national day of Newroz. Among the resolutions of the Annual General Meeting were:

The Meeting:

1. Warmly greets our Kurdish peoples' revolution in Kurdistan-Iraq and commends the spirit of sacrifice of the partisans of Pesh Merga, the steady shield for the defence of the Kurdish people, and the achievement of their national rights. It also greets the leadership of the Kurdish Revolution - in particular, the Commander-in-Chief, General Mustafa Barzani and members of the Command Council.
 2. Condemns the chauvinistic, racist and militaristic Baathist regime in Iraq and deplores its actions against the Kurdish people.
 3. Condemns the oppressive policies of those governments ruling other parts of Kurdistan, which flagrantly deny the Kurdish people basic and fundamental national rights.
 4. Supports the memorandum presented by Dr. K. Bederkan, the representative of the Kurdish Command Council to the United Nations and its Secretary-General, requesting the organisation to intervene and appoint an international mediator in order to assist in finding a just solution for the Kurdish problem in Kurdistan-Iraq.
 5. Thanks the International Union of Students for granting K.S.S.E. two scholarships.
- The Branch has been very active in issuing publications on various political occasions, such as the following two statements:

THE SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE KURDISH REVOLUTION

On 11th September, 1961 the Iraqi Army under dictator Kassim launched a full-scale attack on Kurdistan in an attempt to suppress all Kurdish demands for national and cultural rights by brutal force. The undisguised aim of the offensive was to deprive a nation of its own natural identity, to impose upon it a foreign culture by force, to rob it of its natural riches, and thus to bring about the physical annihilation of the Kurdish people in Iraq. It was, inevitably, in response to this savage attack that the Kurdish Revolution was born on 11th September, 1961. On this historic day Kurdish patriots from towns and villages of Kurdistan rallied to the defence of their country and formed a revolutionary movement with the Kurdish Revolutionary Army — PESH MERGA — as its main shield. The Revolution proclaimed the twin aims of its armed resistance and struggle against military dictatorship: first, autonomy for Kurdistan, and secondly, restoration of democratic and parliamentary life in Iraq. Up to now, the struggle has continued without any discernible signs of a just and lasting settlement of the Kurdish problem in Kurdistan — Iraq.

The Executive Committee of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe, U.K. Branch, on behalf of all our members, bow to the memory of the martyrs in the cause of freedom for Kurdistan. Their sacrifice, their courage, their generosity will always serve as an impetus to every Kurd to continue the struggle for freedom and integrity. We also extend our warm greetings to all members of PESH MERGA, the bastions of proud Kurdistan against assimilation and domination.

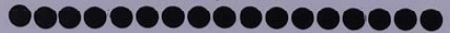
Since the beginning of our Kurdish Revolution numerous Iraqi Governments have come to power (all through force). These regimes have all been dominated by a military clique in Baghdad who treat politics as a game of musical chairs, with one clique of officers replacing another. The people of the country whose livelihood is directly affected by political and economic decisions have been totally disregarded and unconsulted in the making of these vital decisions. The wealth of the country is daily squandered on unnecessary military expenditure and the maintenance of a privileged officer class.

Moreover, to date, Kurdish demands for national rights have fallen on deaf ears. Baghdad Governments have repeatedly refused to countenance our justified claims, preferring a "solution" based upon the use of force or trickery.

In spite of the negative attitudes of Iraqi regimes the people of Kurdistan — Iraq have not relinquished the hope of a peaceful solution to the Kurdish problem. But any lasting settlement must be based on the idea of an autonomous Kurdistan so that the national rights of the Kurds are explicitly recognised and fully guaranteed.

As we commemorate the Seventh Anniversary of the Kurdish Revolution, we feel duty bound to emphasise our solidarity with the Kurdish cause and renew our pledge to work for the peace and dignity of our Kurdistan. May the example of those who have paid the price of fighting oppression with their lives be a lesson to us all.

The Executive Committee
Kurdish Student's Society in Europe — U.K. Branch
11th Sept. 1968



**STATEMENT
ON RISING TENSION IN KURDISTAN**

Recent reports confirm that the Iraqi Air Force has resumed bombing many areas of Kurdistan. There are ominous signs indicating that the Iraqi Government is once again resorting to its previous aggressive tactics in dealing with the Kurdish problem.

The Baathist military junta is conducting a campaign to vilify the Kurdish movement as a preliminary step for waging yet another military offensive against Kurdistan. The Baathists' first campaign was launched on the 11th June, 1963. It was unparalleled in its savagery; the burning and bombing of Kurdistan villages razing them flat; the mass eviction of Kurdish families and an inhuman economic blockade of the region.

Eventually the military onslaught resulted in the downfall of the regime in November, 1963. Unfortunately, with the help of other army officers, the Baathists managed to grab power again on 17th July, 1968. Initially they declared that their policy was to reach a peaceful solution of the Kurdish question. But judging by their recent actions, they seem to have learnt nothing from their past experience. On the contrary, their plans are even more sinister.

First, they have decreed a new constitution which blatantly reflects the racist and xenophobic nature of their policy. Article One of the Constitution asserts that "The Iraqi people are part of the Arab nation and their aim is comprehensive Arab unity". Apart from defying all historical, geographical and ethnic realities, it is clearly a violation of the principle of equal rights of Kurds and Arab, when the constitution brands the Kurdish people as being part of the Arab nation. It is the duty of every Kurd to fight against this pernicious colonial doctrine.

Secondly, the Iraqi Government is massing troops in Kurdistan and the Army has violated the cease-fire agreement of 29th June, 1966, on several occasions.

Thirdly, the dictatorial Baathist regime is using oppression and cruelty against people of varied political persuasions, and from all walks of life, who are held in prison, subjected to torture and deprived of elementary justice. There is a distinct absence of the right of individuals and associations to freedom of assembly and freedom of political choice.

Finally, the Army is spending lavishly on the recruitment of mercenaries — Jash — to fight the Kurdish Liberation Movement. It directs and encourages these quisling forces to harass and terrorise civilian population of major Kurdish towns, such as Hawler, Sulaimani, Kirkuk and Halabja.

In response to the intransigent and negative attitude of the Iraqi regimes for the last seven years, Kurdish patriots have set up their own administration in the liberated parts of Kurdistan. The main aims of the Kurdish struggle are:—

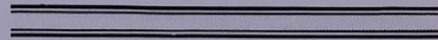
- (a) securing autonomy for Kurdistan;
- (b) achieving democracy for Iraq.

Our Society is gravely concerned about the deteriorating situation resulting from the violation by the Iraqi Government of solemn pledges and obligations. We condemn the Baathist junta for its indiscriminate bombing of Kurdish towns and villages. We deplore the collaboration of the Jash hirelings with the evil plans of the Iraqi Army.

Sooner or later, the national rights of the Kurdish people must be recognised and guaranteed; the name Kurdistan must be recognised and its boundaries within Iraq delineated as a basis for a peaceful solution of the problem.

We support the recent appeal, made by the Command Council of the Kurdish Revolution to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, for the appointment of a United Nations mediator as on other similar occasions, in order to assist in finding a peaceful and equitable formula.

KURDISH STUDENTS' SOCIETY IN EUROPE.
Executive Committee — U.K. Branch
27th Jan. 1969



13TH CONGRESS OF K.S.S.E.

The Kurdish Student's Society in Europe will hold its 13th Annual Congress in West Berlin from 11th to 17th August 1969.

Address of the Congress is:—

**1 Berlin,
Buckower Chaussee, 114,
Jugendgaesthaus,**

Tel: 7425059



West Berlin Branch

The Branch began its annual conference on 2nd March 1969, with guests from other branches. Amongst its resolutions were:

1. Greet our people at home and the Pesh Merga heroes who have been struggling and sacrificing their lives in defence of our people and its existence in Kurdistan. Urge the revolutionaries and their leadership for increased resistance to Iraqi Government for the attainment of autonomy for Kurdistan-Iraq.

2. Condemns the discriminating and chauvinistic policies of the Baathists in Syria against the Kurdish people. Demands an immediate halt to the Arab Belt policy in Kurdish areas and the restoration of nationality to those Kurds deprived of it simply because they are Kurds.
3. Supports all liberation movements in the world aiming at self-determination for the oppressed nations of the world.



A demonstration
in
LONDON

GEN. EXEC. MEETING

The General Executive Committee held a meeting in Berlin, from 14th — 17th March 1969, which was attended by five members and two reserve members, to discuss its activities since their last meeting at Warsaw in August 1968, and to plan future activities until the 13th Congress.

The Meeting discussed the secretariat report which covered all activities since the Warsaw meeting, and voted unanimously in favour of the report. The General Treasurer presented his financial report which was approved.

On the internal matters of the organisation, the Committee accepted the resignation of one of its members who returned home. A reserve member was elected in his place.

The Committee decided to urge each branch to collect all members' subscriptions, and to ask them for the General Treasury's share in the budget, to enable them to undertake efficiently the responsibilities of the Society.

Each member of the Committee presented his report on the branch which he conducts.

The meeting urged all the Kurdish students to contribute Kurdish articles for the Society's magazine (Pirshing).

The Committee discussed the situation in all parts

of Kurdistan, particularly the situation in Iraqi-Kurdistan. This was followed by a discussion on the Middle East crisis and its implications on the Kurdish question.

The Meeting made many decisions, including the following:

1. K.S.S.E. greets the revolution in Kurdistan-Iraq and the Kurdistan Revolutionary Army, which protects our Kurdish nation from the aggressive enemies.

2. The recent events in Iraq indicate that the Baathist regime is not only incapable of solving the radical problems of democracy and stability in Iraq as a whole, but is a corrupt regime which leads Iraq to yet further destruction, and to serious deterioration of the economic situation. This regime, which brings a continuation of the 1963 corruption, has no support in the country. Therefore it is of the utmost importance for all Iraqi democratic and progressive elements to unite in a national front to oust this military dictatorship, and to establish a constitutional parliamentary government to restore stability and peace in Iraq.

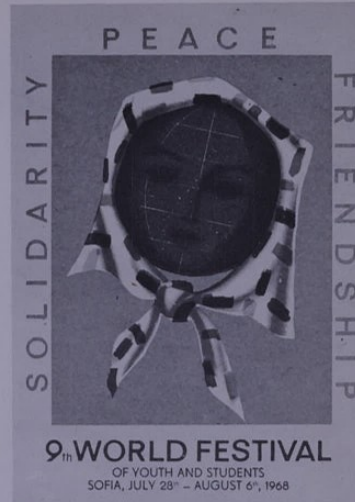
The Meeting once more condemned the racist treatment and discrimination by the reactionary governments of Iran, Turkey and Syria, and demanded basic human rights for the Kurds in those countries.

Sofia International Festival

The 9th World Festival of Youth and Students was held in Sofia, Bulgaria, from 26th July to 6th August 1968. Among those who participated in the festival was a delegation from the Kurdish Students Society in Europe (KSSE), which included a secretariat member of the General Executive Committee.

The festival's activities were conducted under the banner of Solidarity, Peace and Friendship of all peoples of the world. Over 15,000 Young delegates, representing millions of workers, peasants and students from every corner of the globe, regardless of their political, religious and ideological persuasions and affiliations, took part in this historic festival. Prominent themes of the festival were the rising awareness of the new generations everywhere regarding their role in the struggle against imperialism, neo-colonialism, colonial wars, military dictatorships, and corrupt and fascist regimes. During the festival, the young men and women of various countries expressed their united stand against the policy of aggression and oppression everywhere, and they showed their determination to support and enhance all progressive, democratic and peace-loving movements.

A major topic in all the meetings and rallies was the courageous struggle of the Vietnamese people against American aggression and intervention. The youth of the



world clearly showed its solidarity and sympathy with the heroic Vietnamese Liberation Movement. Undoubtedly the evil forces of imperialism will eventually have to retreat in the face of the resistance in Vietnam and the wrath of all peace-loving countries of the world. The festival expressed its solidarity with the African nations fighting against colonialist and racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia, and called for an immediate elimination of all forms of racial discrimination and barriers throughout the world. Furthermore, the festival expressed its support for the legitimate rights of the Palestine people.



It was particularly interesting for the Kurdish students coming from their divided country that a prominent slogan of the festival was: "We express our solidarity with all freedom fighters in the world." Indeed the Kurdish delegation found an abundance of respect and sympathy for the Kurdish Liberation Movement among the participants.

The Kurdish delegation undertook several activities during the festival. First, a leaflet on behalf of KSSE, containing a statement on the current conditions of Kurdish students at home and abroad, was distributed. It also explained the bitter life of Kurdish youth and students under the exploiting regimes ruling over Kurdistan, the military dictatorship and fascist regimes in Iraq and Syria; and the reactionary and corrupt regimes in Turkey and Iran. A specific account was given of the dangerous political situation in Iraqi Kurdistan, where for the last eight years our people have resisted and struggled heroically under the leadership of General Mustapha Barzani and the Kurdistan Democratic Party against the colonial and genocidal war conducted by the Iraqi military dictatorship. The leaflet exposed the undisguised aim of this war to deprive our Kurdish nation of its national identity, to impose a foreign culture on it by force, to rob it of its natural riches and thus to bring about the physical eradication of the Kurdish nation within Iraq. The leaflet furthermore explained briefly the basic aims of the revolution in Iraqi Kurdistan and the insistence of the Kurdish people on their right to self-determination to be enjoyed in the form of autonomy within the framework of a

democratic constitutional Iraqi state. Finally, the leaflet called upon all the participants in the festival to transmit the voice of the Kurdish people to their peoples and asked for a solid support of our just struggle for a peaceful and democratic solution to the Kurdish problem.

The natural reactions of the delegates was strong solidarity with our just cause and struggle for freedom and peace. Thus at the end of the Kurdish festival a letter signed by 33 delegations was sent to the President of Iraq, expressing full support for the Kurdish demands in Iraqi Kurdistan.

The signatory delegations represented democratic youth and students movements in the following countries:-

Sweden, Denmark, Sudan, Bulgaria, Tunisia, Iran, Norway, Nigeria, India, Congo (Brazzaville), Chile, Mali, Guinea, Hungary, Morocco, Iraq, Sierra Leone, Austria, Somali, Greece, Ireland, France, Tanzania, Brazil, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Yemen, South Africa, Czechoslovakia, South West Africa, Palestine, West Germany and Great Britain.

The highlight of the festival was the popular procession of all delegations to the festival from 143 countries of the world. At the head of the procession were banners of the World Federations of Democratic Youth (W.F.D.Y.) and the International Union of Students (I.U.S.). The marchers were particularly heartened when young men and women from Vietnam took part in the procession.

From A Delegate

* * * * *

* TWO SCHOLARSHIPS FOR K.S.S.E. FROM *
* I.U.S. *
* * * * *

* The General Executive Committee of Kurdish Students Society in Europe expresses its deep thanks and appreciation to the International Union of Students for granting two scholarships to our organisation. We hope that this international organisation will succeed in its vital support to all students of the world and in promoting students' solidarity for peace, democracy and better opportunities. This is not the first time that I.U.S. has granted scholarships and other assistance to K.S.S.E. since we have become a member of the organisation. *
* * * * *

THE REMNANTS OF MITHRAISM
IN HATRA AND IRAQI KURDISTAN
AND ITS TRACES IN YAZĪDĪSM:
(1)
THE YAZĪDĪS ARE NOT DEVIL-WORSHIPPERS



Taufiq Wahby

TAUFIQ WAHBY

INTRODUCTION:

The Directorate-General of Antiquities in Iraq entrusted the excavations of Al-Hadhar, or Hatra, in 1951 and 1954, to Mr Fuād Safar (2), an able and distinguished official, now Inspector General, of its department.

My colleague Fuād Safar, with his wide knowledge and efforts, made valuable contributions to archaeology, considered among the best during those years.

In Spring 1955 when I was asked to give a lecture on Yazīdism at the British Institute Club in Baghdad, I remembered the sculptures of the Hatra excavations which had already been transferred to the Iraqi Museum in Baghdad. I started to prepare my new lecture on Yazīdism by studying them. As a result of my studies of those sculptures and plates, I found that gods of Mithraism were worshipped at Hatra.

In the lecture that I delivered after those studies, I explained my suggested identification of a number of the Hatra sculptures, and proposed that a Mithraic cult was practiced not only at Hatra, but east of the Tigris River and among the Kurds, and that Devil – worship among the Yazīdīs may have a connection with Mithraism in which Ahriman was worshipped as a god of evil.

For the last lecture that I delivered at the Royal Asiatic Society in London, in March 1959, under the title "The remains of Mithraism in Iraq and the religions of the Yazīdīs," I extended my researches and studies on the subject. I explained in that lecture my identification of eleven sculptures and plates among the finds of Hatra (3).

Finally, I published a booklet in 1962 (4) which contained a summary of my studies, which had continued for more than thirty years, on Yazīdism. In this booklet I published my proposed discovery of a Mithraic culture practised in Hatra, and tried to prove for the first time that the Yazīdīs are not devil-worshippers.

Taufiq Wahby (B.1891) is a well known Kurdologist. His major work was "Pioneer Kurdish Grammar" (Dustur i Ziman i Kurdī) published 1929-1930 which he has been teaching ever since. His most recent work is (Kurdish Studies Part.1) published by Kurdica 1968—London.

.....
The booklet was, as a matter of fact, an article prepared to be published in a journal, so it was very brief. Now I have decided to publish some necessary comments and details of its contents, in the form of appendices, when opportunities occur

THE IDENTIFICATION OF ELEVEN PICTURES OF HATRA

In the booklet I have mentioned only the names of eleven figures of the finds of Hatra, together with their Mithraic identifications suggested by myself (p.p. 7, 8) without publishing detailed commentaries which I had explained in my above-mentioned lecture of March 1959 (+).

(+) These details were handed over to a young man by the name of Shawkat Ismail who attempted to translate them into Arabic. I did not, however, approve his translation since it contained many errors, particularly in his translation of the scientific terms and I kept the handwritten copy of his translation.

I was, thereafter, surprised and dismayed when the Arabic translation of my identifications of Hatra pictures was published in a newspaper in Baghdad – under the name of Shawkat Ismail – who failed to mention the true authorship of the article. Furthermore, he included the first part of my article on the Kurdish Home (Kurdistan) (Kurdish Studies 1968). I find it necessary to mention here this unethical conduct of young Shawkat Ismail.



(5)

PLATE (1.A.)



PLATE (1.B.)

These two pictures, (a) and (b), show a statue, from the front and from behind. I believe it is a statue of Zurvan (Time), the supreme Zurvanic and Mithraic God who virtually unites in his person the power of all the gods, who he alone has begotten (6), and who was closely united and identified with the Firmament or material Cosmos (7), and identified with Destiny (8), and apportions Fortune and Fate whether good or bad, on the Earth (9).

In picture (a), Zurvān wears in front a multiplex tunic to below his knees, similar to the Phrygian or Mithraic garments. It has no opening at the collar as if it were an imitation of the "Sudra", the Zoroastrian shirt. He wears over the tunic a mantle, also multiplex, suspended over his shoulders. His garments appear, with their form and ornaments, glorious and majestic indeed.

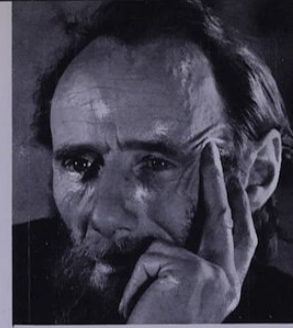
The head is missing, but the beard, identifying him as Saturn, remains. Malcolm A.R. Colledge, in his book, "The Parthians," (10) p.231, identifies this picture with Ashur-Bel. His main clue for this identification is the form of the beard, of which he says "The beard is almost Assyrian". Colledge should have examined the forms of some of Iranian beards, belonging to a later period than the Assyrian period, before identifying this picture. For example, the beards of Darius the Great and that of his son Xerxes are of special interest.

continued on Page 25

KURDISTAN

Mon Amour

Lord Kilbracken



Lord Kilbracken, who lives in Ireland, is a member of the U.K. Parliamentary Labour Party and has travelled very extensively as foreign correspondent. He is an honours graduate of Oxford University and the author of six books. He has twice visited the liberated areas of Iraqi Kurdistan.

It wasn't supposed to be a holiday but it turned out to be far better than a holiday. I went back this spring to Kurdistan to spend two joyous weeks with the revolutionary army of General Mustafa Barzani which is fighting for Kurdish autonomy within the Iraqi state.

For two-and-a-half years, since the ceasefire of mid-1966 (which is when I was last there), an uneasy armed truce reigned between the Kurds and Arabs as fruitless attempts were made with successive Baghdad govern-

Kurdish troops with a British-made 25-pounder trained at 4-mile range on the Iraqi Government garrison at Rawanduz.



ments to find a peaceful settlement. But it quickly became obvious that this would never be possible after last year's rise to power of the present Baathist regime, a military dictatorship which in no sense represents the people, and during last winter the shaky armistice ended. By March there was fighting on many sectors of the front and I made up my mind to return there.

If Iraqi Kurdistan were as accessible as—let us say—Switzerland and if there were no war there, it would



very quickly become one of the happiest and loveliest tourist centres in the world—and would lose, I suppose, all its charm and delight in the process. But those are two very big ifs; it's almost as inaccessible as anywhere in the world, and the war—even if a cautious visitor stays well behind the lines—means that one may have to dive for cover at short notice occasionally when the Hunters or Migs come over. So it remains totally unspoilt—a savage tract of mountain and valley, almost the size of England but with only two million inhabitants, of breathtaking beauty and superb climate, and its people the kindest, the happiest and most hospitable that it's possible to imagine.



One of the thousands of villages in Kurdistan-Iraq bombed by the Iraqi Air Force

And, for the moment, I have it (as it were) very nearly to myself. That's how inaccessible it is. In peacetime it's easy enough to drive from Baghdad to Kirkuk or Erbil and then to make one's way along one or other of several passable if rather adventurous routes to the great mountainous hinterland. But now the front line runs clear across such paths, and it is possible to enter the 'liberated area' where Barzani's writ runs only by sneaking very unofficially across one of the mountain



From the late April snow of a deserted and perilous pass, at something over 7,000 feet in the rugged Zaghros, I made my way by mule and jeep to a smiling valley not so far behind the lines, where a mountain torrent roared in spate, sometimes through deep ravines where the broken road clung precariously to the rocks, sometimes through wide and fertile country, brilliant with spring flowers, where sheep and goats grazed or where corn or tobacco were growing. And all the



passes between it and Turkey or Iran. A few westerners beside myself—but they are very few indeed—have discovered a way in and possess the equally indispensable *entree* to make use of this knowledge. A condition of acquiring this was that I should reveal its details to nobody, still less the very curious arrangements made to facilitate my progress, so on these matters I can write no more; meantime a flood of summer tourists is very unlikely indeed to disturb my Kurdish delights.



wonderful Kurds: the handsome women and girls, usually bare-headed and unveiled, in their brilliantly coloured dresses (in absolute contrast to the shapeless blacks and browns of Arabs, Azerbaijanis, Persians and the rest); the lovely children; and the men, laughing and turbaned, often fair and blue-eyed always in baggy trousers with a bright entwined sash, a dagger protruding from it. And the soldiers, of whom there are now 15,000 under arms fine fighters known always as the



In the front line; a Kurdish officer and a Kurdistan Democratic Party local leader looks out towards the Iraqi-held garrison town of Rawanduz which can be seen in the valley a short distance away

pesh merga, meaning those who face death: the same but in khaki—no badges of rank, no insignia, no medal ribbons, no brass—their turbans white-and-scarlet or white-and-black, a hundred bullets in their belt and a rifle or submachine-gun slung carelessly from a shoulder. To any of these men I'd gladly trust my life (as indeed I have done) and not give it another thought.

I moved around freely wherever I wanted to go: to Barzani's GHQ, hidden in deep mountains, for several long meetings; to the trading centre of Galala; to the rebel radio station in a lofty cave, to the only hospital—and to the very edge of no-man's-land within sight and range of the Government barracks at Rawanduz. But most nights I spent in the two-roomed mud-brick house that had been put at my disposal with my own *pesh merga* to look after me, outside a river village which was serving for the moment as revolutionary headquarters (and cannot therefore be named). There was much work to be done—but what a life to be led in those long sunny days when Britain was still shivering!



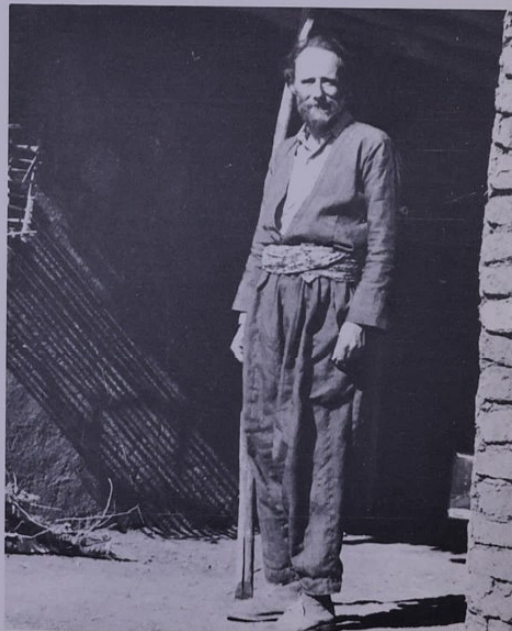


Nine-year-old Kurdish Shepherd

I would wake and rise at 5.30 with the daylight, for no sunrise was to be missed as the first long, sharp shadows were cast across the snow of the westerly mountain range; walk by the river (which has its kingfishers) till the shadows had shortened and the sun had reached the valley; return for the splendid breakfast that would by now be waiting for me—quinces and oranges, cheese from sheeps' milk, fried eggs, yoghurt—unleavened bread, wild honey and many cups of coffee—on the table set in the sunshine on the water-meadow by the house. Now was the most likely time for the Migs or Hunters to come over, and I would have my camera at the ready, but they flew too high to be in range for me—for the men with the Oerlikon on the craggy peak above me. Then out and about my business, at the slow and happy pace at which life moves with country people, all of them so infallibly kind, so friendly, so responsive. A wave and a conventional greeting—*Roz bash* meaning 'Good day' or *Salaam* meaning 'Peace'—and always men would jump smiling to their feet with waves and returned *salaams*, and in some strange way we would manage to communicate. I would walk over the hills—what skiing there could be here in the winters!—and return before dusk to watch the sun fall behind the mountains as the first stars faintly gleamed.

Such was my life for those two happy weeks—how far removed from the neuroses and anxieties that pursue us all down grey London streets. . . And I was sad to leave, like leaving a loved mistress; but Kurdistan, dear Kurdistan, I will return to you again—*insh' Allah* I will return.

Lord Kilbracken in Kurdish costume



continued from page 19

Mithraic Zurvān, was called Kronos and also Saturn. Under his beard there is a necklace, the ends of which are hidden beneath his cloak. He has no hands, both arms are mutilated near above them.

On his breast is a bust of the god Mithra-Shamash (Invincible Sun) (11); his head is surrounded by twelve rays, alluding to the twelve signs of the Zodiac which were worshipped in Mithraism (12), his mantle, typically Mithraic, is fastened to his right shoulder.

On the statue can be seen a belt, the end of which disappears when it joins the arms of the statue. It may represent a thunder belt.

At the feet of the statue is the statue of a woman, wrapped in a mantle, kneeling on the left knee, both hands covered with the mantle, raised in a posture together with that of her head. Her look is one of supplication. On her head there is a Royal Cap with seven sides which allude to the seven planets. The planets and constellations, the course of which determined terrestrial destinies, were worshipped in Mithraism (13). This is the picture of the goddess of Chance (Tyche), which is identified with Zurvān, the Firmament (14). The covering of her hands in the picture alludes to the mysterious nature of fate.

In picture (b), the back of the statue of the supreme god is covered with the skin of a fish, and in its centre is the head of a Medusa with two wings on its cap, alluding to the moon.

At the feet of the great statue, there stand two eagles, one on each side, their faces towards the front; with their wings they cover both sides and back of the deity. Their wings symbolize promptitude and rapidity in course and execution.

Within the statue are symbols of the Four Elements that compose the universe and were worshipped in the Mysteries. In front, Mihr (Helios) alludes to Fire, and the eagles allude to Air; at the back, the skin of the fish alludes to Water, and the snakes of Medusa to Earth.

In Zurvānism Fire and Air (warm and dry) are substances of Ohrmazd, and Water and Earth (moist and cold) are substances of Ahriman (15). Fire and Air are male, Water and Earth are Female (16).

Thus the front of the statue in picture (a) alludes to the God of Good, Ohrmazd and his world of light—with the exception of Tyche—while the back picture, (b), alludes to the God of Evil, Ahriman and his world of darkness. The front also alludes to day, the summery half of the year between the two equinoxes, and to life; the back alludes to night, the wintry half of the year, and to death. Zurvan is hermaphrodite, the origin of all origins, and comprises good and evil, light and darkness, heat and cold, life and death.

The four wings allude also to the four seasons, and to the four cardinal winds which were worshipped in the mystery (17).

This statue, which we have identified with the Supreme God, TIME, is the most important of the statues found in the Mithraic religion of Hatra, because it is a collection of symbols indicating the faculties and powers existing in the supreme God Zurvan who gave all his faculties and powers to his two sons, the two Gods to whom he entrusted the rule of the universe. He

gave the rule of the world of light to the God of Good, and the rule of the world of darkness to the God of Evil, and he does not interfere with their affairs. But more than this, it is the most important of their statues, because it represents the great God of Destiny.

People were more afraid of him than they were of the Mithraic Ahriman. They submitted to him, and accepted every calamity that befell them, without taking any measures or showing any opposition. They worshipped him as the God of Destiny, which meant blind unopposed submission to fatalism. This belief must have led to the practice of sorcery and religious-magic in Hatra more than anywhere else.

This is indeed a fine artistic statue of the great God of the Mithraic Cosmos or Firmament. It has no equal among the Mithraic remains existing in the world today. It is a collection of Mithraic theological symbols thought up by a brilliant Mithraic Greet artist.



(18)
PLATE (2)

It seems to me that this picture is of the Supreme God Zurvān in Parthian dress, who is about to perform a sacrifice in order that his son, Ohrmazd, might be born of him. The snake behind his neck alludes to the doubt that assailed him, and also caused the conception of the God of Evil, Ahriman.



(19)
PLATE (3.A.)

This plate shows Mithraic Ahriman, the God of Death and Darkness, the Monarch of the Empire of the Underworld, standing in his palace, surrounded by dreadful and deadly creatures. He is the son of the supreme God, Zurvān (Time) and brother of the God of Good, Ohrmazd. Although he was the God of Evil, he could be appeased with gifts and prayers, unlike the Zoroastrian Devil, Ahriman. The Greeks identified him as the God of the Underworld and the King of the World of the Dead; as the dark-haired Pluto, or Hades, brother of the God Zeus, who was identified by them with Ohrmazd.

He is dressed in the Royal Parthian military uniform, with a commanding officer's belt, sword and battle-axe. Over his head is a crown, between two small horns, which symbolized divinity. Over the crown is the eagle, with spread wings, symbol of divine promptness. From both sides of his forehead protrude small snakes. His face is that of a very fearsome person: his threatening wide open eyes, his terrifying nose, and the wild heavy black hair and his moustache and beard peculiar to Hades (20), are of special interest.

His neck is wrapped round with a snake. From his shoulders protrude two other snakes with their heads facing his ears. There are also snakes on his feet. In his right hand he raises a battle-axe, one end of which is a snake, symbolizing eagerness for destruction. In his left hand he holds the hilt of his sword. At the lower fringes of his garment are two bells, one on each side. Their sounds announce to the dangerous underground creatures, and to the souls of the dead, that he is present. In illustrated classical Persian manuscripts such as the SHĀHNAMĀ, the devs are depicted with bells at the corners of their garments. The snakes may represent also the souls of the dead. Beside him is the classical,

three-headed dog, Cerberus of Greek Mythology, who was the guard of the souls of the dead. At his neck is a bell, and he is attached by a leash, also a snake, to the belt of the Prince of the underworld. On the latter's right side, two snakes are attached to his waist, one with raised head, the other with drooping head; and at his left side there is a third snake with raised head. From behind him, somewhat hidden by his sword and the skirts of his garment, there protrudes what seems to be a club.

On his left side rise two large snakes, one with its head towards him, the other with its head towards a seated deity. Near his head on the left is a scorpion; there is another to the right of his feet.

In the right-hand bottom corner, a lion lies in the distance, as can be seen from under the body of the dog. The animals we have mentioned may well represent the four elements and the four seasons, which were worshipped in Mithraism; the bird on Ahriman's head may signify air and spring, the scorpions water (being the name of the second sign of the Zodiac in the autumn season, the month of rain), the snake earth and winter, and the lion fire and summer.

To the right of Ahriman may be seen the standard of the Mithraic army and temple. The Mithraic standard will be explained later.

A woman dressed in long garments, whose head is veiled, is seated behind the left of Ahriman, far away in the right corner of the plate; she is the Goddess Hekate, whose name perhaps means The Distant One (21). In Greek mythology she has three personalities, and reigns over the sea, earth and sky. She is identified with Persephone, (22) the Goddess of the Underworld, and is the wife of Pluto (Hades). As Hades is identified with Mithraic Ahriman, so Hekate might well have been identified with Ahriman's Consort Jahi (23).



PLATE (3.B.)

She is on her throne, with a crown on her head, topped with an eagle with outspread wings, like the one on her husband's Ahriman's head. In her left hand she holds a sceptre which is the Mithraic standard, and in her right is, or was, something that might have been a torch (24). She is flanked by a lion on the right, and a dog on the left, standing in front of which were drawn two fishes facing each other with the Goddess on the same base. I believe that the eagle, the lion, the dog and the fishes are symbols of her triple reign. According to Greek beliefs she was the Goddess of sorceries, and had governorship in the sky, the earth and the sea, or hell. So the bird on her head alludes to the sky; the lion and the dog beside her allude to the earth; the fishes allude to the sea, (see Plate 3 (B)).

I would like to quote M.F. Coumfont's opinion about the possibility of identifying Ahriman — Hades with the Babylonian God Nergal: — "*L'influence de la religion babylonienne, où le sombre royaume des morts est gouverné par Nergal et par sa compagne Allāt, ne pouvait que favoriser une pareille conception*".

Finally, the identification of this god of darkness with the Ahriman of Hades (Pluto), was suggested for the first time, in my lecture in 1955, and later published in 1962 (25).



PLATE (4)

It appears to me that this is an altar in front of which is another bas-relief of the God of the underworld, Mithraic (Mithraic) Ahriman. Here also, he raises a battle-axe ending with a snake in his right hand, and he upholds two snakes in his left. Behind his waist are seen hilts of two daggers. One of his horns seems to have been broken. Over his head Mihr (Sun) rises among the mountain rocks (26).



(27)
PLATE (5)

This is the bust of Mithra Mihr (Sun) (28), rising on rocks; he was identified in Babylon with Shamash, or Sun, and by the Greeks with Helios. He appears daily before sunrise on the rocky summits of the mountains in the East; during the day he traverses the wide firmament. In Mithraism he was a warrior God, the god of armies, the protector of kings.

In this bust there can be seen, over his hairy head, a cloud from which come twelve rays, symbols of the twelve signs of the Zodiac. On his forehead he has two small horns, between which appears a part of the edge of a crown. A necklace hangs from his thick neck over his breast. He is wearing a Zoroastrian shirt and over it a mantle. A disc is attached to each of his shoulders in front, with a ribbon hanging down. Each disc contains the bas-relief of an eagle. These two eagles form, with the head of the deity, a triad. The eagle on his left side, stretching its right wing, may represent the deity beginning to rise from the horizon; and the eagle on his right side, with its closing wings, may represent his setting on the horizon. The heads of the birds show the direction of the flight from east to west of the deity who is facing towards the south. His face alludes to his full appearance in his journey through the sky.



(29)

PLATE (6)

In this plate there are two pictures, one of an eagle, the other of a standard.

First, the Eagle:

It appears that the eagle, which is a symbol of might and speed, was in Hatra, in this form, the symbol of the great god Zurvān (Time-Firmanent), identified with Destiny, in his rapidity in executing the course of immutable fate on all persons and things. Around its neck is a collar; and a belt descends from under the right side of this collar down to the eagle's left side, and disappears under its belly. It is possible that the belt may represent the Milky Way, and the collar the Zodiac.

Second, the Standard:

The standard, as can be seen, was composed of a number of symbols set up along a pole, which ended with a crescent-shaped trident, on the centre of which is an eagle like the eagle representing the Firmanent which is seen beside the standard. Does this trident symbolize a triad composed of the supreme God, Zurvān or Time, and his two vice-regents, Ohrmazd and Ahriman, who we have already mentioned? Perhaps it does.

Under the crescent-shaped trident is the God Mithra, with his twelve rays, representing the signs of the Zodiac. Under Mithra is the Orb, symbol of rule over the world, and under the Orb a number of rings, symbols of sovereignty. From behind the crescent falls the drapery of the standard. This standard might have been the standard of the Mithraic army and temples in Hatra.

We see a corrupt form of this standard today with the Yazidis, who call it Sanjāq or flat, it represents especially their god Tāwus ē Malak³⁹, (the peacock of angels).



(31)

PLATE (7)

This is the bust of the Moon Goddess MANH or Mah, (in Greek Selene), whom the Mithraists worshipped (32).

This Goddess, who was described by the Greeks as the "broad-faced one", appears here as a charming, beautiful lady symbolized by the crescent which can be seen beneath her breasts. The two small discs, attached to her shoulders, seem probably to be the symbols of her waxing and waning, forming a triad with her face. It is not possible to distinguish these symbols perfectly on the photograph.

(33)

PLATE (8)



This plate depicts a lunar trinity in which can be seen the Goddess MĀNH (Selene), the "broad-faced" Moon-Goddess in its three aspects. To the right, as can be seen, is the crescent behind its broad face, which symbolizes the moon in its first phase, that is waxing; in the centre it appears in its middle phase as full moon; and to the left in its third phase of waning. In the first and third pictures the shoulders and upper arms are wrapped on to the edge of the garment on the left shoulder. The middle picture has no garment over the shoulders, symbolizing the uncovered full moon.



(34)

PLATE (9)

I think that this is the trinity of the powerful Moon Goddess, represented under the port of Athene. She is wearing a high crested cap. The picture on the right, with her raising her right hand, represents the rising of the new Moon; the one on the left, with the lowering of her right hand, which is broken, represents the waning of the moon. In the middle is Athene with, on her breasts, "the head of Medusa, the image of the Full Moon" (35).

On her shield, which is at her side under her left hand, a crescent can be seen. Her right hand (broken) is holding the lance at her side. The lion in front of her denotes her strength.



(36)

PLATE (10)

This is the picture of the Hellenic God, Heracles, who was identified with the Mithraic God, Verethraghna (37). Mr. Cummont finally says:

"Verethraghna is transformed to Hercules" (38). The name Verethraghna was developed in Middle Iranian to Varhran, Varhrām; Vahram, and in the new Persian to Bahram, which is the name of the planet Mars, the God of war (39).



(40)

PLATE (11)

This seems to represent a group of Mithraists wearing the masks and garb suited to their ranks and titles, animal or personal ranks which have been given to the initiates according to the degrees to which they had been promoted.

ABBREVIATIONS

- CMM. Franz Cummont, "The Mysteries of Mithra".
 CTMM. Franz Cummont, "Textes et Monuments
 Figures relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra."
 2 Vols.
 CKGG. Carl Kerenyi, "The Gods of the Greeks."
 TYMY. "The Remnants of Mithraism in Hatra and
 Iraqi Kurdistan and its Traces in Yazidism;
 the Yazidīs are not Devil-Worshippers."
 London, 1962.
 ZZD. R.C. Zaehner, "Zurvān, a Zoroastrian
 Dilemma".
 MCP. Malcolm A.R. Colledge, "The Parthian",
 London, 1967.
 TWBG. Taufiq Wahby, Bahrām i Gor.

1. TWMY.
2. TWMY, P.2.
3. TWMY, pp.7-8.
4. TWMY.
5. TWMY, p.8. No.6 and 7, (Dec. the 18th 1954).
6. CTMM. Vol. 1, pp. 85, 87.
7. CTMM. Vol. 1, pp.85, 87.
8. CTMM, pp. 124-125.
9. ZZD., pp. 59, 161, 254.
10. MCP.
11. CMM., p.95.
12. CMM., p. 121.
13. CMM., p. 148.

14. CMM., pp.95, 124.
15. ZZD., p. 267.
16. ZZD., p.75.
17. CMM., pp. 115, 127, 223.
18. TWMM., p.8, No.8.
19. TWMM., p.8 No.11.
20. CKGG., p. 211.
21. CKGG., p. 30.
22. CKGG., p. 31.
23. CTMM, Vol. 1. p. 139.
24. CTMM., Vol. 1. p. 141.
25. TWMY., p. 8.
26. TWMY., p.8. No.10.
27. TWMY., p.7 No.8.
28. CMM. p.95.
29. TWMY., P.7 No.9.
30. TWMY., pp. 39-40.
31. TWMY., p.7. No.7.
32. CMM., p.119.
33. TWMY., p.7. No.3.
34. TWMY., p.8. No.2.
35. CTMM. Vol. i. p.150.
36. TWMY., p.8. No.3.
37. CMM., p.5, 20, 127.
38. CMM., p.222.
39. TWBG., pp.45-51.
40. TWMY., p.8. No.7.



A Kurdish girl

THE KURDISH WAR IN IRAQ:

THE CONSTITUTIONAL BACKGROUND¹

C. J. Edmonds²

Recent events in Iraq have once more drawn attention to the Kurdish problem.

The Kurds, as a more or less homogeneous community, are established astride the frontiers of Turkey, Persia, (3) and Iraq, with small overlaps into Syria and Soviet Transcaucasia. In Iraq they form an important minority of about one-fifth of the total population; in Turkey and Persia, if the actual numbers are higher, the proportions are substantially lower.

In 1918 the aspirations of the non-Turkish peoples of the Ottoman Empire were encouraged by Turkey's military defeat, coupled with Point 12 of President Woodrow Wilson's 14-point 'Programme of the World's Peace' stipulating that they should be 'assured of an absolute, unmolested opportunity of autonomous development'. The Treaty of Sevres (August 1920) included provision for the recognition or creation not only of the Arab States of Hijaz, Syria, and Iraq, but also, in what is now Eastern Turkey, of an Armenia and of a Kurdistan, to which the Kurds of the Mosul Vilayet, then in British occupation, were to be free to adhere. Although the Treaty did not apply to them, the Kurds of Persia could not remain unaffected by the ambitions and hopes of their kinsmen across a very artificial boundary.

Owing to the rise of Mustafa Kemal the Treaty was never ratified. It was replaced by the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), which repeated the provision for the three Arab States but did not mention an Armenia or a Kurdistan. The future ownership of the Mosul Vilayet was, however, excluded from the settlement and left for direct negotiation between Turkey and Great Britain, the Mandatory Power for Iraq. The negotiations broke down and the dispute was referred to the League of Nations; in December 1925 the Council gave its award in favour of Iraq, subject to certain guarantees. By the tripartite Treaty of Ankara (June 1926) Turkey finally renounced her sovereignty over the vilayet. In 1932 Iraq was

admitted to the League, and the British Mandate came to an end.

From 1920 onwards armed Kurdish nationalistic movements, of varying importance but all short-lived, occurred in all three countries. In Iraq, nationalistic activity has been the most persistent and successful because it is only there that the Kurds are officially and legally recognized as an ethnic minority having certain rights of their own *qua* Kurds. This exceptional situation derives from the following facts:

(i) In 1918 British policy, dictated it is true by military considerations but fully in accord with the ideals of President Wilson's Point 12, was at first to avoid commitments in the hills by forming one or more semi-autonomous Kurdish provinces to be loosely attached to whatever regular administration might eventually be established in the plains. Such a regime was actually set up for a time in the region of Sulaymani, where there was an influential 'intellectual' class of former Ottoman officers and civil servants, and Kurdish was introduced as the language of the administration and of instruction in the schools.

(ii) From 1920 to 1923 there was an obligation on the Mandatory Power to keep open for the Kurds of Mosul the possibility of adhering to a Kurdish State that might be formed.

(iii) In 1925 the League of Nations made it a condition of its Mosul award that 'regard should be had to the desires expressed by the Kurds that officials of Kurdish race should be appointed for the administration of their country, the dispensation of justice, and teaching in the schools, and that Kurdish should be the official language of all these services'.

(iv) In 1931, in the context of Iraq's application for admission to the League, the Government enacted a 'Local Languages Law' which specified the administrative units to which these stipulations should apply.

(v) In 1932, when Iraq was admitted, a fresh statement of the Government's undertakings was demanded and given in a 'Declaration' which was to rank as part of the Constitution and 'to be a matter of international concern'.

It seems to follow that the United Nations, as successors of the League, would have a definite *locus standi* to interest themselves in the Kurdish question in Iraq, if they were so minded.

(1) This article was published in *The World Today* journal of the Royal Institute of the International Affairs in Dec. 1968.

(2) Mr. Edmonds served for twenty-five years in Iraq, for the last ten, 1935-45, as Advisor to the Ministry of the Interior; author of *Kurds, Turks, and Arabs* (London, C.U.P., 1957).

(3) In the present context it is convenient to use the name 'Persia' rather than 'Iran' for the political entity and so reserve the adjective 'Iranian' for use in its wider ethnic connotation (embracing not only the Persians but also the Kurds, whatever their political allegiance).

An admirable account of conditions and developments in Iraqi Kurdistan under the monarchy will be found in *The World Today* of October 1956. It appeared to most competent observers at that time that, failing some major political cataclysm, international or internal, concerted armed revolt was becoming more and more improbable with every year that passed. It was not that there were no grievances. Quite apart from the Kurds' initial unwillingness to accept subordination to the Arabs who, like themselves, had been a subject race, it was widely felt, not entirely without reason, that the guarantees given to the League in 1925 and again in 1932 were either being ignored or, at best, grudgingly implemented, and that the Kurdish districts were not getting their fair share of social services, particularly education at all levels, or of development projects.

A few days after the Iraqi Revolution of 14 July 1958 which overthrew the monarchy, the new Head of State, General Abd al-Karim Qasim, promulgated a 'Temporary Constitution' which, although it described Iraq as part of the Arab world, went on (Article 3) to refer specifically to the Kurds as co-partners with the Arabs within the framework of Iraqi unity, and to guarantee their communal rights. Mulla Mustafa of Barzan, a typical Kurdish tribal chieftain with a long record of resistance to the normal processes of ordered administration, was brought back from exile in Soviet Russia and built up into an all-Iraqi figure, a champion of the struggle against 'the imperialists and their stooges.' It was confidently assumed that the equality thus proclaimed would mean a considerable measure of administrative devolution, a fairer share than theretofore in development projects and social services, and enhanced status for the Kurdish language; and on this assumption the various Kurdish organizations, in Iraq and abroad, rallied to the support of the new regime.

But, as the months went by without any serious attempt to implement the promise implicit in the Temporary Constitution, a mounting spirit of disillusion amongst the Kurds was matched by a growing tendency in Baghdad to deny the right of the Kurds to any special recognition at all. In the autumn of 1960 the strongly left-wing Democratic Party of Kurdistan (Iraq Branch), (4) of which Mulla Mustafa had, somewhat incongruously perhaps, been elected President, was declared illegal, some of its office-holders were arrested, and several newspapers were suppressed. Mustafa himself returned from a visit to Russia to find the house, car, and salary allotted to him after his triumphal return in 1958 withdrawn, and retired to Barzan.

Fighting broke out in Sept. 1961, and the Government forces having suffered a series of reverses at several points in the arc of mountains from Zakho in the north-west of the Kurdish area to Khanagin in the south-east. Qasim resorted to massive retaliation from the air, inflicting great suffering on the civil population. These brutal air operations tended to unite all shades of Kurdish opinion and to give the revolt the character of a national uprising. This does not mean that the Kurdish front has been absolutely solid throughout. Tribal and personal alliances and feuds die hard, and the Government has recruited, where possible, auxiliaries of disident tribesmen, named officially (after the most

famous Kurd in history who is also a hero to the Arabs) 'Saladin's Cavaliers' but generally known in Kurdistan as the 'mokes'. The war, now over seven years old, has been interrupted by three long periods of uneasy armistice and fruitless negotiations.

The first cease-fire followed the overthrow and death of Qasim in February 1963 at the hands of a military junta associated with the extreme pan-Arab Ba'ath party and led by General Tahir Yahya, who became Chief of the General Staff. General Abd as-Salam Arif, who had been Qasim's principal colleague in 1958, was brought back as President of the Republic, and General Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr became Prime Minister. In March, after a visit by Tahir Yahya to Mulla Mustafa, the Government issued a proclamation recognizing 'the natural rights of the Kurdish people on the basis of decentralization'.

A delegation was sent to Baghdad to negotiate the details, and on 24 April published a statement of Kurdish claims for Home Rule, evidently intended as the opening move in some hard bargaining. It was never discussed. On 10 June the Government arrested the Kurdish representatives, issued an ultimatum demanding the surrender of Mulla Mustafa and his forces within twenty-four hours, and launched an offensive with a savagery far exceeding Qasim's. The Kurdish quarter of Kirkuk city was bulldozed out of existence, and the inhabitants of many Kurdish villages in the Kirkuk and Arbil plains were driven out to make way for Arab settlers.

In the meantime, almost simultaneously with the opening of the offensive, the Government had published its scheme of decentralization. It provided: (i) that the country should be divided into six Regions to be named after the cities of Mosul, Kirkuk, Sulaymani, Baghdad, Hilla, and Basra, each (except the first two) comprising two or more *liwas* (5), (ii) that the Sulaymani Region should include the *liwas* of Arbil, Sulaymani (plus one *qada* transferred from Kirkuk), and a new *liwa* of Dihok to consist of five Kurdish *qadas* detached from Mosul *liwa*; and (iii) that in the Sulaymani Region Kurdish should rank as an official language together with Arabic, and that the language of public instruction should be Kurdish in the primary and intermediate classes of schools, with Arabic in the secondary classes. The new Regions of Mosul and Kirkuk would each consist of what remained of the present *liwa* of the same name.

(4) In Persia, a committee of Kurdish 'intellectuals', styling itself the Democratic Party of Kurdistan and supported by influential tribal chiefs, had taken advantage of the collapse of central Government authority that followed the Anglo-Russian invasion of August 1941 and of the benevolence of the Russian military command in Azerbaijan, and had taken control of the south-western part of that province. In January 1946 an autonomous Kurdish republic was proclaimed, with its capital at Mahabad; it lasted barely eleven months, however.

(5) For purposes of administration Iraq is divided into fourteen *liwas*, each sub-divided into two or more *qadas*, further subdivided into *nahiyas*. The great majority of the Kurds are established in the former vilayet of Mosul, now the *liwas* of Mosul, Arbil, Sulaymani, and Kirkuk, but they spill over into the former vilayet of Baghdad at its eastern end, now the *liwa* of Diyala.

In one respect the scheme would have marked an important advance: the proposed partition of the great, unwieldy *liwa* of Mosul by the creation of a new all-Kurdish *liwa* of Dihok. The Kurds, however, argue that the scheme, even if it had been sincerely meant, would have been unacceptable because it ignored completely the presence of large homogeneous Kurdish majorities in the greater part of Kirkuk *liwa* and in a large part of Diyala.

In the middle of November 1963 the Ba'ath regime was overthrown, the President, Abd as-Salam Arif, assumed more direct control, and Tahir Yahya became Prime Minister. The change was followed in February 1964 by the second cease-fire, and negotiations between Arif and Mulla Mustafa. These were not helped by a new Temporary Constitution, Article 19 of which did mention the Kurds, but only in a bald statement even less satisfactory than Article 3 of Qasim's Constitution. No progress was made, but full-scale fighting was not resumed until April 1965, when the Government committed even larger forces than before.

At the beginning of September of that year Tahir Yahya resigned the Premiership, and was succeeded, at one short remove, by Abd ar-Rahman Bazzaz, the only civilian to have held the office since 1958. In the interval, on 9 September, an amendment to Article 19 had been promulgated to read: 'This Constitution confirms the national rights of Kurds within the framework of the fraternal national unity of the Iraqi people'. The change of Prime Minister was followed by the usual lull in hostilities and the usual assurances of the new administration's good intentions. But no serious discussions ensued, and the Government, encouraged perhaps by the defection of several 'intellectual' members of the Democratic Party of whom the most active was Jalal Talabani, demanded that the 'rebels' should first lay down their arms.

Desultory fighting was soon resumed. The death in a helicopter crash of President Abd as-Salam Arif on 13 April 1966 and the succession of his elder brother Abd ar-Rahman Arif brought no change of policy. On 1 May the army opened a much-heralded offensive, but suffered its most serious defeat of the whole war on the 12th, when two battalions were very badly mauled on the heights of Handran above Rawandiz. After a period of intensive retaliatory bombing, the third formal cease-fire was agreed to in the middle of June on the initiative of the Prime Minister, who, on the 29th, broadcast a 12-point programme, which was accepted by Mulla Mustafa as a starting-point for fresh negotiations.

This important pronouncement, since officially known as the 'Declaration (or Agreement) of 29 June 1966', has been adopted by subsequent administrations as the basis for their promises of 'a just and peaceable settlement'. It may be summarized as follows: (1) the recognition of 'Kurdish nationality' to be confirmed in the Permanent Constitution; (2) enactment of a Provincial Administration Law providing for decentralization and the transfer of wide powers to locally elected councils; (3) use of Kurdish for administration and public instruction; (4 and 5) early parliamentary elections, and representation of the Kurds in the National Assembly and all branches of the public

service in proportion to their numbers in the total population; (6) generous grants for study abroad at all levels, establishment of a faculty of Kurdish studies in Baghdad University, and, eventually, of branches of the University in 'the north', (7) appointment of Kurdish officials to Kurdish districts; (8) permission for political association and for literary and political publications; (9 and 10) a general amnesty 'when violence ends' to include persons already convicted and deserters reporting with their arms, disbandment of the Cavaliers, and reappointment of absentee officials as far as possible to their previous posts; (11) formation of a special Ministry to supervise reconstruction and compensation for sufferers 'in the north', and to co-ordinate administration in the various Kurdish districts; (12) resettlement of persons evicted from their homes or compensation in lieu.

The Baghdad press has recently mentioned three supplementary 'unpublished articles', which were presumably added at some point in the subsequent discussions. These promised: (i) release of all political prisoners; (ii) specific permission for the Democratic Party of Kurdistan to function publicly; and (iii) formation of all Kurdish districts of the Mosul *liwa* into a new *liwa* of Dihok.

Chances of a settlement on the basis of the Declaration have, however, been bedevilled by frequent changes of Cabinet or regime. Bazzaz resigned on 6 August 1966. He was succeeded, at two removes, at the end of July 1967, by Tahir Yahya, who lasted just a year, until 17 July 1968. The Arif regime was then toppled by a junta of officers styling themselves the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC), and General Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr emerged as President. On 30 July, after a little local difficulty with his new Prime Minister, who seems to have sought to make the Cabinet independent of the overall control of the RCC, and with the Minister of Defence, he dismissed them and himself assumed the Premiership in addition to his other duties.

The situation that has obtained in Iraqi Kurdistan since the third cease-fire of June 1966, as described by recent arrivals in Britain, is so extraordinary that even the author of *Alice through the Looking Glass* could hardly have invented a story quite so topsy-turvy. Evidently neither side, each for its own reasons, is anxious to resume open hostilities just yet. The army has continued to garrison the towns and some of the larger villages. Officials nominated by the Government, most of them Kurds, have been allowed to proceed even to isolated posts, but are unable to exercise very much authority. Schoolmasters paid by Baghdad are, of course, welcomed, and even customs-and-excise men are tolerated, since they are not in a position to be a nuisance and their certificates of origin allow the valuable tobacco crop to be sold in Baghdad without complications with the monopoly. But the Commandos (*Peshmerge*) of Mulla Mustafa dominate much of the countryside and collect taxes for the 'Free Kurdish' organization.

After each change of Cabinet or regime the incoming rulers have issued a statement of policy, including a promise to 'seek a just and peaceful settlement of the

north'. Visits to Mulla Mustafa by deputations of Ministers, high-ranking officers, and (on one occasion) even the President himself have been frequent, and Kurdish negotiating teams have spent long periods in Baghdad. Exasperated by the absence of progress towards the promised decentralization, Mulla Mustafa has from time to time issued a new letter (sometimes called an ultimatum) restating the Kurdish demands, Kurdish Ministers, who had been induced to join a new Cabinet or had accepted the *fait accompli* of their inclusion in the published list without their previous knowledge, have resigned, and rumours have circulated of an imminent renewal of the war.

On the other hand, both sides have made conciliatory gestures as the result of some of these contacts. In 1966 Mulla Mustafa, in addition to admitting the officials, called off his wireless propaganda and handed back several captured heavy guns for which he had no ammunition. The Government has mitigated its blockade and, more recently, Tahir Yahya, during his second term of office, restored to their former inhabitants the villages in which Arabs were planted in 1963.

Although successive administrations thus seem to have recognized that any real settlement would have to be negotiated with Mulla Mustafa, they have sought to divide and rule by still maintaining large forces of well-paid Cavaliers to co-operate with the army. But these are of two kinds: the Old Cavaliers, mostly in the north and drawn from tribes with ancient feuds with Barzan, and, in the south, the New Cavaliers, mercenaries attracted as individuals by the high pay and now associated with Talabani and his group of dissident Democrats, who are collaborating with the Government. Such fighting as has occurred seems generally to have resulted from unpremeditated encounters, and at least on one occasion there has been a clash between the Old Cavaliers and the New.

All recent evidence tends to confirm that it is Mulla Mustafa, and not the 'intellectual' Talabani, who enjoys the support of most of the rising generation of Kurdish nationalists both at home and in the student associations of Europe and America. Mustafa, of course, came back from one year with the Mahabad Republic and eleven years in Soviet Russia a very different person from the comparatively unsophisticated tribesman who fled the country in 1945; he now has the assistance of a committee representative of all classes. An interesting sidelight on his prestige is furnished by the current vogue for the ladies of Sulaymani, long the cultural centre of modern Kurdish nationalism, to affect the Barzani variety of the national costume as an alternative to their own.

The return to power in July 1968 of Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr at the head of the same group of officers who were responsible for the savage policies of 1963 might seem to augur ill for any chances of a settlement. But his announcements of a determination to bring about a just and peaceful solution on the basis of the Declaration of 1966 were unusually emphatic. They were quickly followed by two Decrees, the first for an immediate start with the implementation of Article 6 of the Declaration by the formation of a Kurdish Cultural Academy and the nomination of a committee to draft a Law for a University of Sulaymani, and the second

(based on parts of Articles 9 and 10) proclaiming a general amnesty (in which the condition that deserters from the army and police must return with their arms was waived) and directing the restoration of dismissed civil servants as far as possible to their previous posts. On the other hand, the appointment as Minister of State of a friend of Talabani, had led to the resignation of two Ministers who had joined the Cabinet as representative Kurds.

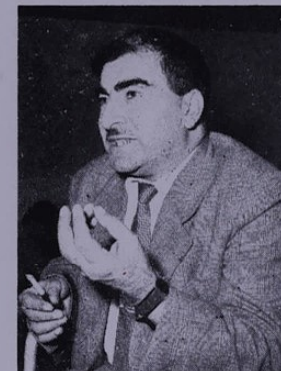
An interview given on 25 August by Mustafa to an Iraqi journalist, suppressed by the censorship but published in *al Nahar* of Beirut on 9 September, throws an interesting light on his present policy. He explained that, while not hostile to the new regime, he has 'withdrawn from active participation' (presumably a reference to the resignations) because of its failure to honour three undertakings given at the time of the formation of the Cabinet: (i) that the Cabinet should include four Kurdish Ministers and nobody hostile to the Kurdish people; (ii) that the Agreement of 29 June 1966 would be fully implemented (as regards the action already taken, Kurds had not been among the political detainees so far released, and the formation of a Kurdish Cultural Academy was the least urgent of all matters covered); and (iii) that representatives of other political persuasions should be included in a coalition (the Kurdish struggle, although the most important, being only one of several political movements claiming to have a say in directing government policy as a whole).

Any remaining hopes of progress can hardly have been encouraged by the promulgation, on 22 September, of yet another Temporary Constitution which: (i) affirms even more categorically than before that 'the Iraqi people are part of the Arab nation and that their aim is comprehensive Arab unity' and that 'the Government obligates itself to work for the realization of this unity' (Article 1); and (ii) mentions the Kurds once, it is true, but only in a package statement that, in regard to their rights and obligations, 'all Iraqis, including Arabs and Kurds' are equal before the law and are required to co-operate in safeguarding the homeland, and that their national rights are guaranteed within the framework of Iraqi unity (Article 21). A fulsomely worded announcement two days later that the Iranian New Year's Day (Nawruz, 21 March) is to be observed annually as an official Kurdish holiday is likely to be received as another piece of irrelevant window-dressing.

The most positive action which the regime could take to prove its good faith would seem to be to make a start with the implementation of Article 2 of the 1966 Declaration by the enactment, to be confirmed in due course by the promised elected Parliament (Article 4), of a Provincial Administration Law providing for real decentralization on the lines already promised. But there is always present in the Iraqi 'establishment' a chauvinistic pan-Arab element determined to wreck any fair settlement which a liberal-minded Prime Minister might sincerely wish to make, and at the moment of writing (mid-November) it looks as if this element is once more getting its way.

DOCUMENTS DOCUMENTS DO

Barzani writes to de Gaulle



General Mustapha Barzani

"Would the Kurdish People be less dear to you than the Vietnamese?"

This message comes from, without doubt, the oldest resistance fighter in the world. He joined the Kurdish resistance movement thirty-three years ago, and since then he has practically never left it. For the last six years he has been leading a pitched battle in defence of the legitimate rights of his people.

The name of this exceptional man, by now legendary, is Mustapha Barzani.

Since the "Depeche du Midi" revealed, eighteen months ago, the atrocious genocide to which the Kurdish people have fallen victim, it has never ceased to denounce this inhuman conflict in which the interests of oil and politics combine to conceal the systematic extermination of thousands of women and children. The particular relations that were recently established between France and Iraq, and seem to cover an oil armament trust, threaten to condemn the Kurdish people to still further massacres. . . . Already, awareness of this drama is stirring up the conscience of mankind.

In France the Committee of Relief for the stricken population of Kurdistan has appealed to the French government to subject the supply of arms to Iraq to the formal understanding that they are not to be used against the Kurdish people.

It is with this hope that General Mustapha Barzani, the leader of the Command Council of the Revolution in Kurdistan-Iraq, addressed the following message to General de Gaulle, which we quote in full.

La Depeche du Midi
February, 8th 1968.

General,

Allow an old man, who has been fighting since his youth for the freedom and dignity of his people, to send you this supreme appeal. You are the greatest resistance fighter in Europe and you freed your country; you cannot but sympathize, therefore, with the almost desperate battle the Kurdish mountain people have been fighting for the last six years in Northern Iraq. Furthermore, you are President of France, the very nation that gave the world the idea of political freedom and the right of all people to self-determination. Last but not least, you are General de Gaulle, liberator

of the French overseas countries, a true adversary of all means of oppression and a true friend of all men who fight for freedom.

General, you did not fail to denounce the Vietnam war; I am sure the fate of the Kurdish people is not less dear to you than that of the Vietnamese. We are utterly alone in our fight for national survival; the U.N. ignore us and certain great powers compete with each other to supply Iraq with modern arms aimed at our destruction. De Gaulle's France remains therefore our one and only hope.

Iraqis are requesting arms from France. Without a prior settlement of the Kurdish problem, however, the supply of these arms will only lead to still further destruction of our country and to the massacre of our women and children.

The Koran says: "For every man there is a small heaven in the skies towards which he may turn in prayer" You and France are the heaven in our sky. Mustapha Barzani.

Iraqi-Kurdistan
February, 1968.

After this letter was sent to General de Gaulle a statement was issued by many prominent public figures in France including M.Francois Mauriac (the novelist), M.Leo Hamon (a Gaullist deputy) and M.Wladimir d'Ormesson (Director General of the state Radio and Television service), urging the French Government to supply arms to Iraq on the condition that they would not be used against the Kurdish population.

MEMORANDUM ON THE KURDISH QUESTION PRESENTED TO THE UNITED NATIONS IN NOVEMBER 1968

The Kurdish Nation is still living under the shocking shadow of a grave danger to its total physical existence. Serious threats still hang over this nation, and behind the relative quiet, which is nothing but a fiction, lies a tremendous amount of tension, which without an advanced warning may bring about a most serious explosion which in turn will cause the renewal of the genocide which successive Iraqi Governments have since 1961 been conducting against the Kurds.

The history of the Kurds dates well into ancient times. Today, it is known that in the period of about 6000 — 9000 B.C. the Kurdish population turned from the economy of recolte (i.e. consumption) in order to reorganize itself within the framework of the economy of production.

The Kurdish nation, a people of Indo-European stock and linguistically belonging to the Iranian group of languages, possess a magnificent history based upon great values of human traditions. The nation has been ruled for the last 25 centuries by 25 kings of the same family.

Today, in Iraq there are about 2,000,000 Kurds (the total Iraqi population is about 7,000,000) living in an area of 80,000 square kilometers (the total area of Iraq is 444,442 square kilometers). The history of the Kurds is a story of heroic existence; and its modern history witnesses the everlasting struggle for self-determination. The purpose here is not to elaborate upon the evolution of the Kurdish history but rather to shortly describe the war of genocide which the Iraqi Government, regardless of the changes in the regime, conducts against them since 1961.

In 1961, and during the following two years, the Iraqi Armed Forces, equipped with the most modern arms — from airplanes to cannons — waged a war the purpose of which was to exterminate the Kurdish people. It is therefore no wonder that all members of Kurdish nation rallied under the flag of rebellion carried by General Mustafa Barazani. Due to the heroic stand in the fights that were imposed upon them, the Kurds forced the National Council of the Iraqi Revolution to recognize in March 1963 the "National Rights of the Kurdish Nation."



Emir Kamuran, A. Bedir-Khan

The Kurds believed those promises and started to establish contacts to examine their realization. However, it became clear that all the contacts and the talks were intended to deceive the Kurds. For in February 1965 the Iraqi Minister of Interior Mr. Subhi Abed El-Hamid declared that "Iraq does not intend to grant autonomy to the Kurds, in the present or in the future," and the new war in which the Kurdish nation heroically stood its ground against the wild warfare conducted by the Iraqi military forces fully spread again. Regardless of the heavy losses accrued to the Kurds they refused to surrender, forcing the Iraqi leadership to admit its military defeat and its failure to silence the Kurdish voice. On June 29, 1966 the former Iraqi Prime-Minister Abed El-Rahman Bazzaz signed an agreement

with the leaders of the Kurdish Revolution which was in essence a recognition of the Kurdish right for autonomy, and a promise to respect and honor it. A coup eliminated Bazzaz and successive governments have denied this new obligation to the Kurdish people.

Two years have elapsed since then, and in Iraq governments and regimes have changed. Iraqi leaders try to renounce the identity of the Kurdish Nation and continue to negate their right to lead an autonomous life. The Kurds do not ask a separation from Iraq. They simply ask for the right to live as a national minority (which is about 30% of the total population), to speak their own language, to open their own schools, and to conduct their own affairs. But these elementary rights are obviously considered to be exaggerated in the eyes of the ruling government in Baghdad.

In this war, which has flared up several times since 1961, the Kurdish Nation has suffered more than 60,000 casualties and more than 3,000 destroyed villages. These figures are not imaginary. Foreign newsmen and observers who visited Kurdistan in recent years have testified to this fact.

On July 2, 1963 the People's Republic of Mongolia decided to bring the crime of genocide perpetrated by the Government of Iraq against the Kurdish people before the next (18th) session of the United Nations' General Assembly. Also on July 9 of the same year, the head of the Soviet delegation at the 36th session of the U.N. Economic and Social Council, held in Geneva requested in an official letter to place on the agenda of the Council "the policy of genocide which is being pursued by the Government of the Republic of Iraq against the Kurdish people." It is also to keep in mind that the former U.S. Secretary of Defense, Mr. Robert Macnamara, speaking on the Middle East, said that one of the three questions worrying the U.S. Government is the bad treatment reserved for the Kurdish people.

The right of the Kurdish people to exist as a nation has been recognized through legal, international guarantees even in modern times. The Sevres Treaty of 1920, in the section entitled "Kurdistan" and under Articles 62, 63, and 64 formed the modalities for the establishment of a Kurdish state. Article 64 of that Treaty states that no objection will be raised by the Allied Nations regarding voluntary membership to this independent Kurdish state, the Kurds who live in Kurdistan (in Iraq). Through political maneuvers, this part of Kurdistan was kept within Iraq against the will of the Kurdish population.

In a joint Declaration of the British Government and the Baghdad regime, dated December 24, 1922, officially communicated to the League of Nations, the following terms of the right of autonomy of southern Kurdistan within Iraq were stipulated:

"The Government of His Britannic Majesty and the Government of Iraq recognize the rights of the Kurds living within the frontiers of Iraq, to establish a Kurdish Government within these frontiers. They hope that the different Kurdish groups will arrive as soon as possible at an arrangement among them on the form they desire for this government and the limits within which they would like it to extend. They will send responsible delegates to discuss their economic and political relations with the Government of His Britannic Majesty and the Government of Iraq."

Action on the part of the Iraqi Government to implement the terms of this Declaration has always been stalled and never implemented. There were several uprisings with the aim to establish within Iraq an autonomous Kurdish territory, but they were all forcibly and with great bloodshed suppressed by the Baghdad government.

The leaders of the Kurdish Nation have tried for years to call the attention of international bodies to their cry of help for the international consciousness to awaken and call upon the Iraqi government to recognize the elementary human rights of the Kurdish people before it is too late, before a new war is waged against them.

Emir Kamuran A. Bedir-Khan

Envoy of the Command
Council of the Kurdish Revolution
in Iraqi Kurdistan

New York
November 15th 1968

His Excellency U Thant
Secretary-General
United Nations
New York, N.Y.

Your Excellency:

In the memorandum which I had the honor of presenting on November 15, 1968 I attracted your Excellency's attention to the dangerous situation in Iraq between the Kurds and the Baghdad Government which is a result of the Government's refusal to honor its obligations.

As it must be known to your Excellency, more than half of the Kurdish territory (an area of about 80,000 square kilometers) has been under the full control of the Kurds where there already exists a de facto autonomous administration since 1961. Consequently, this territory is under the sovereignty of the Kurds, an area into which no one, not even an Iraqi minister can enter without permission from the Kurdish authorities.

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This situation has lasted for seven years.

In the light of these facts, it is more than misleading for any Iraqi Government to claim that the Kurdish question is an internal affair. These facts prove that the Iraqi governments have been unable to break the will of the Kurdish people to achieve their legitimate rights in a full autonomy. The only thing that these governments have done has been to bring misery and destruction to the civilian population through their indiscriminate air attacks.

We Kurds are a peace-loving people and you your Excellency, are the man in the highest position of authority and responsibility for keeping justice and peace throughout the world. Thus in the name of the Command Council of the Kurdish Revolution and its leader His Excellency General Mustafa Barzani, I am urging your Excellency to name a United Nations mediator, as you have wisely done on other similar occasions, to intervene and settle the Kurdish question in a just and peaceful manner.

Please your Excellency accept my highest considerations.

Respectfully,

Emir Kamuran A. Bedir-Khan
Envoy of the Command
Council of the Kurdish Revolution
in Iraqi Kurdistan
New York
November 18th 1968

Emir Bedirkhan writes to the Secretary General of the United Nations.

His Excellency U Thant
Secretary-General
United Nations
New York, N.Y.

May 16, 69

Your Excellency:

In the name of the Kurdish people and their leader, Mustafa Barzani, I submit this appeal for your kind consideration.

It is a known fact that for the past eight years the Kurdish people living in the northern part of Iraq, have been subjected to severe military attacks, from ground and by air, in addition to the application of an intolerable economic blockade, depriving the whole Kurdish community of nutrition, education and other necessary amenities of life, by successive Iraqi dictatorial governments who have assumed power by military coups.

No doubt your Excellency is well familiar with the recent history of Iraq. At the end of the first world war the new state of Iraq was carved out of the Ottoman Empire, with Faisal the first imposed on Iraq as king, by the British government.

Despite the composition of Iraqi population representing a number of indigenous minorities, the Arab majority rule became dominant from the start, thus on many occasions stepping on the legitimate rights of these non Arab population, particularly the Kurds. This situation led to many uprisings by the Kurds against trespassing on their right by the Arab authorities supported by the British, because of their oil interests which lies mainly in Kurdish Territory.

However these differences were some what composed and the situation had become tolerable, specially after the second world war, when the discrimination against the Kurds was lessened.

Unfortunately with the advent of the revolutionary era, this picture was reserved, particularly with the appearance of young militant Arab Nationalist Officers on the scene, who become bent on the total assimilation of non Arab minorities, specially the Kurds, who constitute so large a portion of the people of that country.

War have been waged by these Arab Nationalist enthusiasts against the Kurds with unrelenting ferocity using all the modern means which the present military science has produced and which most of the great powers have been pleased to place at their disposal, for money obtained from oil revenues, drived from Kurdish soil.

Despite all sincere attempts to reach an amicable solution by the Kurds, the Iraqi authorities instead of responding in a similar spirit have used periods of truces provided for the conduct of such talks, to regroup for eventual resumption of hostilities at their choice. The closest point to a genuine agreement was reached during the tenure of office by Abdulrahman Bazaz as prime minister, in June 1966, which policy although declaredly upheld by successive governments, no results have been obtained, because of their evasive tactics to impliment this agreement, and again resorted to taking full advantage of the lull, in the fighting, in order to get the army ready for the resumption of hostilities, and finally the present extremist government embarked on a most barbaric air and ground attack, indiscriminately on the Kurdish population on January 3, 1969. The infitral reports of these operations show that the losses suffered by the innocent population both in life and properties have been on a scale surpassing all previous operation.

This in short is the sad history of the helpless Kurds of Iraq, who have lived there from recorded history, deprived of every worldly possession and even their lives for the simple fact that they want a democratic regime under which they could live as equals with other

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BRITISH ARMS AND THE KURDS

On Thursday, 15th May 1969, while the use of British aircraft by the United States in Vietnam was under discussion in the House of Lords, Lord Kilbracken asked: "If it is undesirable to supply military aircraft to the United States in Vietnam, is it not all the more undesirable to supply them to such a Government as

that in Baghdad, which is using them indiscriminately against the civilian population in Kurdistan?" The Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Housing and Local Government (Lord Kennet), replied that he would need notice of the question.

FRENCH ARMS AND THE KURDS

M. Ruais asks the Foreign Minister how he has ensured or intends to ensure that the arms France is engaging to supply to Iraq will under no circumstances be used to start once more the war of extermination waged against the Kurdish people of Iraq since 1961 and interrupted by the ceasefire of June 1966. The French people, who have been the first to exalt the rights of man, could not allow French armaments to be used for the denial of not only the freedom but also the very existence of the Kurds in Iraq, whose heroism they unanimously applaud. M. Ruais asks, in cases where the undertakings obtained from the Iraqi Government have not been kept, what concrete steps of a political and military kind the French Government envisages, to oppose the recommencement of genocide against the Kurdish people of Iraq. (Question of January 27th 1968).

Answer:

The Iraqi Government has often let it be known through its official representatives that it was resolved to find a peaceful solution to the problems that a Kurdish minority in the North of Iraq poses, problems that naturally arise from Iraqi sovereignty. General Aref himself declared during an interview in the course of his recent visit to Paris: "Since 1966, peace reigns in the North of Iraq, and it is absurd, unthinkable, that we should again take up hostilities against our brother Kurds." It comes out, finally, from the meetings that took place between General Aref and the French President, as the communique states that was published on February 10th, "that in military matters it is above all a question of Iraq affirming her independence and contributing to the maintenance of peace."

The General Executive Committee of K.S.S.E. presented a memorandum to His Excellency, Nur Al din Al Attassi, President of the Arab Republic of Syria, dated 22nd Nov. 1968 of which the following are extracts:

"The Kurdish Students' Society in Europe expresses its anxiety regarding the dangerous policy which your government implements to suppress 500,000 Kurds in Syria."

"The intention of the Syrian government to cancel the citizenship of over 120,000 Syrian Kurds in an attempt to destroy the Kurdish community and is a provocative encroachment which will create a grave situation."

"This policy is not in conformity with traditional Arab courtesy; and certainly contradicts the principles of socialism which your government claims to follow."

"The Kurdish people have always stood by the Arab

people in their just struggle for freedom and legitimate rights. The Arab people who suffered the bitterness of colonial domination would surely denounce the policy of oppression against the Kurds. Furthermore, it is not in the interest of the Arab nation to lose the Kurdish people as a friendly neighbour."

"A realistic understanding is of the utmost necessity if reason and logic are to prevail in the context of the present Middle East situation."

"In the name of all Kurdish students in Europe, we urge your Excellency to put all your efforts into stopping this aggression, of which your government will bear the consequences."

General Executive Committee of K.S.S.E., Berlin.

Outlines of

Kurdish Chronology

in Modern Times

I. Ottoman Empire to WWII—Latent Nationalism

Up to mid-19th century, Kurdistan has known very long periods of *de facto* and *de jure* self-rule in the form of autonomous principalities.

- 1843–46** The last of these principalities of Vadr-Khan Bek revolted against Ottoman oppression and was one of the last to be finally suppressed in 1847.
- 1849** The Ottoman Sultan destroyed the autonomous government of Bitlis founded by Hakim Idris.
- 1878–81** Uprising against the Ottomans led by Sheikh Obeidallah.
- 1892** The Ottoman Government opened "tribal schools" in Constantinople and Baghdad.
- 1898** Kurdistan, the bilingual (Kurdo-Turk) organ appears in Cairo under the editorship of the Bedr-Khan's.
- 1908** First attempts at organizing a national Kurdish Movement.
- 1910** The *Hewa* (hope) society is founded in Northern Iraq.
- 8.11.1918** After the signature on 30.10.18 of the armistice with Turkey (at Mudros) a joint Franco-British Declaration was issued on 8.11.18 confirming that the two powers had but one aim i.e. that of "the complete and definitive liberation of the peoples oppressed by the Ottomans and the establishment of national governments and administrations drawing their authority and inspiration from a free choice of the indigenous populations".
- 1.12.18** Sheikh Mahmud presents Sir Arnold Wilson with a document signed by 40 tribal chiefs demanding the granting of certain rights to the Kurdish people.
- 23.5.19** Sheikh Mahmud revolts against the British in Sulaimani.
- 1919–1930** A period of unbroken struggle against the British carried on under Sheikh Mahmud Berzendji of Sulaimani — a revolt accompanied by bloody repressions and deportations.
- 10.8.20** The Treaty of Sevres, envisaging the creation of an Independent Kurdistan.
- 1920** The Kurds boycotted the Referendum held by Iraq for approving the accession of Prince Feisal I.
- 24.6.23** The Treaty of Lausanne, (replacing the Treaty of Sevres) between the Allies and Turkey — excluding the Kurdish Question and the fate of the Mosul region).

- 24.12.24** A Statement made by the British High Commissioner "recognizing the right of the Kurds living within the frontiers of Iraq to establish a Kurdish Government inside these frontiers".
- 1925** The Three-man Commission of the League of Nations polled Kurdish leaders concluding that they preferred Turkish Administration to Arab rule.
- Feb. Apr. 1925** The Revolt of Sheikh Said.
- 16.12.25** The Council of the League of Nations adopts the border line between Turkey and Iraq annexing Mosul to Iraq for 25 years against the will of its Kurdish population.
- 1927** The creation of the Kurdish National Committee in Iraq Khoybun marking the beginning of the contemporary struggle.
- 1930** The Anglo-Iraqi Treaty.
- 1943–45** A revolt led by Sheikh Ahmad and Sheikh Latif, lasting until October 1945.
- 1945** Memorandum addressed by Kurds to the United Nations Constitutive Assembly outlining national claims.

II. Post W W II the Present National Revolution

- 14.7.58** The Republican Revolution in Iraq.
- 27.7.58** The Promulgation of the Provisional Constitution of Iraq. Article 3 of which reads: "the Arabs and the Kurds are partners in this fatherland".
- 7.10.58** Mustafa Barzani returns to Iraq from exile in the Soviet Union.
- Oct. 1960** The Kurdish daily *Khabat* attacked Gen. Kassem for failing to implement Art. 3 of the Constitution.
- 8.6.61** Breakout of the present war in the first stage of which the army remained passive. The period of the first 3 months was characterized by mercenaries (Jahsh) being employed against the patriots — with airforce indiscriminately bombing peaceful villages.
- 11.9.61** As the main bulk of the Baghdad army went into action against the Kurds, our fighters have launched a general attack thus marking the turning of the revolt into a national Revolution.
- March 62** A whole battalion is wiped out by our fighters in the Zakho region.
- August 62** The oil pipelines of the I.P.C. near Kirkuk are sabotaged.

- 11.3.63** Declaration of the Revolutionary Council (Baath) that "this Council recognized the rights of the Kurdish people".
- April 63** Negotiations with the government of Baghdad.
- 24.4.63** Kurdish Memorandum with a detailed definition of demands and the claim of autonomy (Hakim Dhati).
- 1.6.63** A Project of Decentralization in Iraq envisaging the creation of an administrative entity in the North (Baath).
- 10.6.63** War breaks out again (following the fall of the Baath government), the new government addressing the Kurds with an ultimatum to lay down arms within 24 hours.
- 28.10.63** "The International League for the Rights of Man" condemned the Iraqi Government for its "mass slaughter" and "virtual genocide".
- 10.2.64** Barzani & Aref announce a cease-fire.
- 26.5.64** The Accord on Union between Egypt and Iraq is concluded without consulting the Kurds.
- 29.9.64** "Conference of the People" at Qala-Diza —
- 25.10.64** Communique of the K. D. P. — on the setting up of the Council of the Revolution.
- Oct. 64** Negotiations and talks are opened (in secret) — 8 months after cease-fire.
- 11.10.64** Barzani submits a memorandum defining Kurdish claims and safeguards.
- End April 1965** Iraqi army resumes the war.
- Oct. 65 — Jan 66** Iraqi army implements policy of total destruction of Kurdish villages on an unprecedented scale.
- 9–16.1.66** A major Iraqi army attack against our forces in the Penjwin sector is repulsed.
- 30.1.66** Barzani's Memorandum on genocide and other atrocities perpetrated against the Kurds — submitted to the Secretary General of the United Nations and other international bodies.
- Dec. 65 — Jan. 66** Our units launch continuous attacks and raids, on army units, bases, camps, installations in Erbil, Kirkuk, Sulaimaniya, Khanagin and other sectors.
- 3.5.66** The Iraqi Army launches an all out offensive in the Rawanduz area.
- 12.5.66** In a Counter-attack by the Kurdish Forces the Iraqi 4th Brigade is entirely destroyed on Handren Mountain.
- Jun 29.66** Cease-fire agreement, accompanied by 15-point programme of the Iraqi Government which was accepted by the Command Council of the Revolution as a foundation for a peaceful settlement.
- Dec 11.66** Memorandum from Barzani to the Iraqi Government holding them responsible for not implementing the 15-point programme and declaring the failure of the government in honouring its promises.
- Jan 5.67** Letter from Barzani to U Thant informing the Secretary General of the U.N. of the serious situation facing Kurdistan-Iraq.
- Jul 17.68** Baathist Coup d'Etat in Baghdad.
- 23.9.68** The Command Council of the Revolution in Kurdistan-Iraq including all members of Kurdistan Democratic Party's Central Committee held a general meeting.
- Nov. 68** Hostilities started by the Baathist regime.
- Nov. 18.68** Envoy of the Command Council of the Revolution in Kurdistan-Iraq presented a memorandum on the current situation to the United Nations and urging U Thant to nominate a UN mediator to intervene in the settlement of the Kurdish question in a just and peaceful manner.
- Mar. 1.69** Major attack on the Kirkuk oil installation reported in full by Lord Kilbracken, which was published on 11th May 1969 in the Sunday Times of London.
- Mar. 10.69** Daily Telegraph of London reports "heavy fighting and napalm bombing by the Iraqi Army and Air Force".

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Iraqi nationals.

At this juncture we bring to your Excellency's sense of justice the inhuman measures taken by the present dictatorial, military authorities of Baghdad, with the hope of your Excellency using all the measures at your Excellency's disposal to bring an end to this destructions of innocent, and defenseless civil lives and their properties.

Finally it is our greatest faith in your Excellency's personal aim to bring about a rule of justice and order in this turbulent world that we submit this appeal, hoping that the Kurds will not be left to be destroyed by default.

Please, your Excellency, accept my highest considerations.

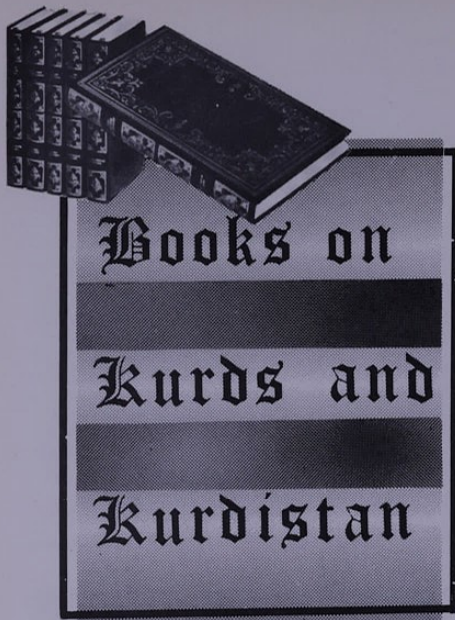
Emir Kamuran A. Bedir Khan

Kurdistan.

A country with vast and varied natural resources, Kurdistan is capable of self-support, with abundant water resources and forests which cover wide areas of its mountains. Though agriculture, for the present, remains the backbone of the Kurdish economy, Kurdistan has all the potentialities for industrialization and for substantial exports.

Iraqi Kurdistan is rich in some of the world's oldest oil-fields, such as Kirkuk, Ain-Zaleh and Khanakin. Proven oil reserves, as yet unexploited, remain vast. Yet the Kurds themselves derive no benefits from their natural wealth. The tremendous oil revenues, which in 1965 alone reached \$ 400 million, have been and are being entirely spent by the Baghdad Government in the Southern part of Iraq and on the war of repression against the Kurds.

Besides its oil, Kurdistan is extremely rich in coal, iron and chrome. It also possesses considerable resources of natural gas, all awaiting exploitation. Great hydroelectric plants could be established by harnessing the current of the country's swift-flowing rivers, thus providing new sources of power to promote industrialization.



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