

DR. JAWAD MELLA

**Kurdistan and The Kurds
A Divided Homeland and
a Nation without State**

*Western Kurdistan Association
Publications*

Dr. Jawad Mella
Kurdistan and The Kurds
A Divided Homeland and a Nation without State

Introduction by:
Dr. Jemal Nebez

WKA
Palingswick House
241 King Street
London W6 9LP
U. K.
Tel: 0208 7487874
Fax: 0208 7416436

e.mails:
wka@knc.org.uk
KNC@ribrahim.de

www.knc.org.uk
www.rojava.com
www.kncscandinavia.com

All Rights Reserved

ISBN: 0 9529951 7 4

Western Kurdistan Association
Publications – London 2005

This book is dedicated to:

The souls of the glorious martyrs of Kurdistan and KNC, General Aziz Aqrawi and Rahber Jalal Mamesh...

The souls of the glorious martyrs for independent of Kurdistan and freedom of the Kurds, Mustafa Barzani, Sheikh Mahmud Hafid, Qazi Mohamed, Sheikh Said Piran, Seid Riza, Jeladet Bedirkhan and Osman Sabri.

The masses of our proud Kurdish people in All parts of Kurdistan.

The holders of the flag of Kurdayetî and friends of the Kurdish thinker Jemal Nebez.

Acknowledgement

I thank everyone who participated in producing this edition and mention specifically Dr. Jemal Nebez, Dr. Jemal Rashid Ahmed, Dr. Ashti Nader, Dep. Ing. Bruska Ibrahim, Mrs Irmgard Ibrahim and to the Trustees of Awards For All.

Contents

Foreword by Dr. Jemal Nebez	9
Introduction.....	11
Necessary Words.....	17
Part One: Kurdistan and Kurdish Society.....	19
Part Two: The Kurds in History (up to the Nineteenth Century).....	51
Part Three: The Kurdish Governments and Revolutions (from the beginning of the 20th Century to the Present).....	81
Part Four: The Kurdish Cause Ideologically, Politically and In Practice.....	147
Conclusion	199
Appendixes.....	203
Documents, Pictures and Maps.....	227

Foreword regarding this book and its author

The subject of this book is the Kurds and their homeland Kurdistan. The Kurds are an ancient people with a past full of political, scientific, literary, artistic and military activities. They participated in building numerous states and empires. Among them were born distinguished philosophers and thinkers as well as great leaders that served and are still serving the neighbouring peoples such as Arabs, Persians and Turks. These people resided and are still residing in a land that is considered the cradle of the human civilisation. Their homeland Kurdistan is rich with waters, oil, minerals, agricultural merchandises and animal products. However, the luck betrayed these people and the history dealt them a lousy deal so they were denied not only their own national state, but the simplest of human rights also. The devious powers divided them according to their greedy materialistic ambitions between artificial uncivilised states with barbaric bloodthirsty rulers who do not know the meaning of human rights or give any weight to justice or law. Thus the Kurd is regarded a criminal as soon as he is born just because he is Kurdish, because the rules of dictators and laws of despotism would not allow the birth of humans as Kurds, as they would be created with the word guilty associated with them.

The author of this book, the scholar Jawad Mella is a known Kurdish politician. He was born into a Kurdish family thirsty for freedom and emancipation from injustice; an educated family of literature and science. He grew up within this honourable family and carried out political activities since young age, so he became accustomed to imprisonment and detentions. My first

meeting with him was in 1970 in Berlin. I appreciated him and befriended him since, and found him a man with distinguished noble characteristics. He is loyal to his beliefs, with extraordinary social skills, does not like hypocrisy or false compliments, does not hesitate or change his colours like a chameleon, he says and writes what he sees as true and right, and does not fear critics for that. In addition he is very humble and always searches for the truth. These characteristics are difficult to find in a modern political personality.

Jawad Mella was the first who called for a formation of a Kurdistan government in exile and he invited all for patient work in order to gather all spread forces of Kurdistan in the multitude of parties and organisations and unify the potential energies of independent scientific, literary and artistic personalities, as well as different original Kurdish schools of philosophical thought and Kurdistan religions and sects, all under one covering national umbrella, and to melt them all in one direction by finding denominator for all of them while each keeping their individuality and identity.

As a result of those gratifying efforts the Kurdistan National Congress was born in 1985 working to achieve the independence for Kurdistan, that elementary right that does not need any evidence or proof.

Berlin on 1/7/2000

Dr. Jemal Nebez

Introduction

Although I have written this book of mine more than twenty years ago, the issues I have stated and changes I anticipated as well as my views regarding the international and regional relations were all proven to be right. Also the subject of the book remains important and temporary as it is regarding the independence of Kurdistan, which the Kurdish people are still struggling to achieve. The non-achievement of the independence for Kurdistan up to now is due to several internal and external factors. Hence the question that I would like to ask our Kurdish people is that why did the Vietnamese manage within ten years of struggle to force their freedom and inflict defeat upon the Americans who have the mightiest military powers in the world? Why did the Algerians also manage just within ten years of struggle to force their freedom and inflict defeat upon the French who have one of the mightiest military powers in the world? This is at a time that the Kurdish people have not been complacent with their duties and the sacrifices they have made were not less than those of the Vietnamese and the Algerians. That is why I am absolutely convinced that the main problem of the Kurdish people is the fact that there is no Kurdish leadership free and independent in its decisions from the states that occupy Kurdistan. Indeed the liberation of Kurdistan can never be achieved from Tehran, Ankara, Damascus or Baghdad, and anyone who depends on any of those Capitals would not get a result better than the fate of the September Revolution under the command of the late Mella Mustafa Barzani and his still vivid experience. The revolution commanded by him, during its 14 years from 1961 to 1975, achieved a lot of

historical victories both politically and militarily. Nevertheless, it dissipated on 6 March 1975, within 24 hours, as a result of the Treaty of Algiers between Iran and Iraq. The reason was the late Mella Mustafa put his trust in the Iranian state (in order to gain from the conflicts between Iraq and Iran) despite the fact that the revolution had more than 150 thousand armed fighters in 1975. Unfortunately, Mr Abdullah Ocalan, the leader of the Kurdistan Workers Party, repeated the same mistake of the late Mella Mustafa by putting his trust in the Syrian state that colonises a part of Kurdistan. As soon as the Syrian – Turkish agreement was signed in the city of Adhana in November 1998, the revolution of the Kurdistan Workers Party that also lasted for 14 years, 1984–1998, fell. However, its fall was not quick and obvious but gradual. That is because they did not have liberated areas as was the case with the late Mella Mustafa. For this reason, once again, I warn all organisations not to distance themselves from the holy aim of the Kurdish people: the independence of Kurdistan and reject any patchy solutions for the Kurdish cause including autonomy, federalism or confederacy and not to put their trust in the colonisers of Kurdistan because they, however different on the face of it, are always united on not allowing the Kurdish people gaining even the smallest and the most unworthy of rights, for they do not accept in principle the existence of the Kurdish people. For the thousandth time I repeat that the destiny has put us among savage states that do not recognise the human and democratic rights of their own people, so how can we then ask them to recognise the national rights of another people!! The only solution, with such people, is to put borders between our homeland and their homelands. Those who think

that the Turkish generals and Iraq's nationalists or other occupiers of Kurdistan could be democrats and then do us a favour by giving the Kurdish people their national rights are definitely dreaming!! Furthermore, suppose those regimes colonising Kurdistan by a stroke of magic became democratic regimes, who told the democratic politicians that those colonisers would get rid of their colonial ambitions... as the majority of empires and colonising states in history were democratic or even the philosophers of democracy. So, the demand for a Kurdish state is not a fantasy but demanding anything else or less is the real fantasy.

Since I was a leading member of the Democratic Kurdish Party in Syria between 1964 and 1969 and a comrade to my teacher the late Apo Osman Sabri, the Secretary of the Party then, and later as a leading member of the KAJYK Party in 1970 and a comrade to my teacher Dr Jemal Nebez the founder of KAJYK thought, I have been calling for the formation of a Kurdistan government and parliament or a national assembly in exile. As I have written in page 96 of this book, which was titled as "Kurdistan, a Homeland and a Nation Without State" in its first Arabic edition in 1985:

“Until that starting time the Kurdish liberation movement should take first practical steps towards the establishment of a Kurdish state by getting the permission from a neutral country to act as a center and headquarter for a Kurdish government in exile for the time being. Also to take the responsibility for all the questions and affairs that are intended to liberate the Kurds and Kurdistan and from the date of its announcement carry out all the functions and authority of a Kurdish government in the fields of

diplomacy, media and military. Until the time of the decisive strike to end the unnatural circumstances in Kurdistan, the Kurds must have the awareness to observe all the changes and transformations in the international and regional politics and create conditions for those changes and transformations and accelerating them to be used for the advantage of initiating the moving of the Kurdish government in exile to Kurdistan and announcing a Kurdish state there.”

Had the Kurdish liberation movement carried out what I said in the above paragraph of my book in 1985 they would have been able by now to prepare the Kurdish nation for practising power in Southern Kurdistan as it was given to them by the international community in the aftermath of the Gulf War of 1991.

In the years 1989 and 1991 with the cooperation of the preparation committee the first and second Kurdistan National Congress were held in London in order to form a Kurdistan national assembly and a Kurdish government in exile for all the parts of Kurdistan. This exactly as Ghandi of India, Mandela of South Africa and many other liberation movements of the world did and liberated their peoples via a national congress. In 1996 the third Kurdistan National Congress was held in Paris (1), which was on time and successful despite the opposition of the direct and indirect, open and covert enemies of Kurds and Kurdistan. For the sake of the truth and history we should emphasise that the success of this third Congress was due to the efforts of the martyr Rahbar Jalal Mamesh, the Secretary of the KNC in Finland.

In addition the fourth Kurdistan National Congress was held on 10-11 /10/ 1998 in London in the presence

of a massive audience from the representatives of Kurdish and foreign organisations. The Congress received several supporting letters from international political personalities such as Boutros Boutros Ghali the general secretary of the UN (third Congress) and Mr Tony Blair, head of the British government (fourth Congress). The Congress adopted the Kurdistan National Pact. The KNC holds regular contacts with all parts of Kurdistan in addition to international contacts in order to explain the national cause of Kurdistan. One of such was the visit of a delegation of the KNC to the Libyan Jamahiriya on 20-29/1/1997 and meeting the leader of the Arabic revolution brother Moamar Al-Qaddafi by an official invitation. Brother Moamar showed a kind of understanding of the Kurdish cause unprecedented by the Kurdish people. He is the only head of state in the world calling for a Kurdish state since a quarter of a century. When the Kurdish delegation introduced the Kurdistan flag as a present to the leader of the Arabic revolution, he stood to his feet as a sign of respect to the flag of Kurdistan, then he hold a side of it examining it warmly and then folded it and kissed it, then put it on his head. These were wonderful religious moments for Kurdistan in the presence of the hero of Africa and the East Colonel Moamar Al-Qaddafi that could not be described by any language.

The fourth Kurdistan National Congress held on 10-11 October 1998 in London was a great quality leap as the first cornerstone was set on the path of a Kurdish state in the presence of a massive audience from the representatives of friendly Kurdish and foreign organisations. The congress discussed the project of constitution, amended and agreed it. A committee was formed to follow up the question of forming a Kurdistan

government in exile that issued the congress's announcement in this regard and commenced its contacts to announce a Kurdish government in exile. The KNC is still continuing its efforts without any tiredness or hesitation with all Kurdistan organisations and personalities to hold a fifth Kurdistan National Congress and declaration of a Kurdistan government in exile (for all parts of Kurdistan). As only this would be the first practical step towards the independence of Kurdistan and liberation of the Kurdish people.

However, the Kurdish uprising in Western Kurdistan on 11-12 March 2004 presented the opportunity to declare the Western Kurdistan government in exile and the KNC held a special conference in the German town of Herne on 25/4/2004 in order to announce the Western Kurdistan government in exile. The conference made several decisions the most important of which was the declaration of the Western Kurdistan Government in Exile.

And may God dispense success.

Jawad Mella

London 11 March 2005 A.C. = 2705 Kurdish

Necessary Words

The Kurdish Question is that of a persecuted people aiming at forming an independent nation and lifting the rule of persecution and social injustice. The Kurdish Question has existed since the beginning of the nineteenth century and has, at different stages, occupied the forefront of events in the Middle East. It remains one of the earliest national questions in the region without a resolution to date due to its complexity and numerous external factors. These are crude oil, strategic geographic position, water supply, in addition to Kurdistan being divided between five countries and political units (Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria and the Former Soviet Union). The break-up of the Soviet Union has further divided our Kurdistan into two parts, the first bordering the Republic of Armenia and the second the Republic of Azerbaijan.

That is why the issues involving the identity of the Kurdish people and its particularity had to be dealt with in this book as a realistic background for the right of the Kurdish people to build their own united and independent nation state. In explaining the roots of the Kurdish Question, the issues that take up much of the space in this book are the geography of Kurdistan, the history of the Kurdish people, its cultural and intellectual characteristics and its political inclinations. Consequently, we can identify the factors that have contributed in preventing the social, economic and political development of Kurdistan and its national liberation objectively and subjectively, as well as the role of tribal leaders, thinkers and scientists in this.

I present this modest work for the use of research and study in good faith, judgement, conscience and belief for the solution of the problem of the national liberation of Kurdistan and the Kurdish people. I hope the readers will come forth with suggestions, with further research and study of a more complete and encompassing nature including the bases and broad outlines proposed in my book.

And may God bless Kurdistan.

Jawad Mella

Part One

Kurdistan and Kurdish Society

Chapter I

Kurdistan; Geography and Demography

Chapter II

Social and economic life in Kurdistan

Chapter III

Spiritual Life, Religious Creeds and their Sufi
ways in Kurdistan

Chapter IV

The Kurdish Language and Literature

Chapter I

Kurdistan; Geography and Demography

Kurdistan has been the Kurdish people's homeland since the dawn of history. It occupies a vast territory in the Middle East. According to the Islamic Encyclopaedia: "All territories where the Kurdish people have resided and continue to reside until the present time are called Kurdistan."

Hence, we can specify the geographic position of Kurdistan with respect to the following two points:

First: The areas where the Kurdish people live at present.

Second: The definitions given by Scholars of Eastern Studies and historians of territories characterised by Kurdish presence throughout history.

Based on these two points, it can be said that Kurdistan extends from the East between the Gulf and the Caspian Sea. The Eastern Studies Historian *Norman* mentions in his book *The Ancient History of the East*: "The dwellings of the Kurdish people and its residence extended from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea", including Lurs and Bakhtiaris in the extreme south to the northern Elam, Kermanshah and Hamadan "which was the capital of the Median Kurdish Empire in the 7th century BC.

The border lines of Kurdistan in the North going from the Caspian Sea to the West towards the Black Sea passing

through the Ararat (Aghri) Mountains, as far as the imagining line from Trebizon on the Black Sea shores towards Adana and Alexandrite on the Mediterranean Sea, represent the northern and western borders of Kurdistan. As for the Southern borderline, it extends from Alexandrite in wide shape angle, one of its sides gone for Alexandrite in a straight line toward Mosul (2) and the other side of the angle extending from Mosul to the Persian Gulf passing by Mendeli, Badra, Zerbathiah and Kut in the South East of Baghdad as mentioned by Al-Mustawfi Al-Qazwini and Matthew the Orfali between the 11th and the 12th centuries.

Kurdistan is characterised by its beautiful mountains and fertile land and abundance of water springs and its water supplies and the Tigris and Euphrates, the most important rivers of the Middle East start from Kurdistan in addition to a host of large natural lakes such as Lakes Van and Urmia and those present in the mountain heights and tops. The agricultural wealth is diverse including fruit, vegetables, seeds, cotton and tobacco.

Forests cover around 6% of the territory from the North, 32% from the East, 8% from the South and 5% from the West of Kurdistan. This relatively small proportion of forest is a result of the planning aimed at the annihilation of it by the colonising governments since it represents natural Kurdish wealth and protects the environment becoming an important helping factor in the struggle for the liberation of Kurdistan.

Some of the important minerals in Kurdistan are uranium, iron, copper, sulphur, silver, gold, mercury, marble, coal in addition to seas of crude oil. Colonising governments boast of their production of minerals which in actual fact are Kurdistan's raw material and products.

For example, crude oil is extracted by Syria, from the part of Kurdistan, Jazeera, that falls within its territories, the same can be said of Iraq and the oil extracted from Mosul, Kirkuk and Khanaqeen. Turkey's petroleum is also extracted from Kurdistan within Turkish territory at Batman, as is the case in Iran.

I recall when I was in the East of Kurdistan in 1982, petrol (ejected all by itself) in the west of Urmia in the area of Margawar, by some coincidence was ignited so the land was on fire burning for over 4 months until the winter snows came and extinguished the fire. This drove some European politicians to say that the Kurdish question is an economic crude-oil-related problem in addition to being a national liberation movement.

In addition to all of these points, the geographic position that Kurdistan is endowed with presents a special sensitive point politically and strategically, as it lies between the Soviet Union and Europe from its land and sea frontiers such as the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea on one hand and Asia and the East of the African continent from the Gulf on the other hand. It is rare to find an area as that of Kurdistan covering a surface of approximately _ million square km with a unique strategic position in the world.

It is difficult to make a clear evaluation of the population of the Kurdish people at present. Kurdistan suffers from a colonisation and division between 5 nations and governments alien from it. Some of them deny its existence amongst them let alone to accept its national rights. This is in addition to millions of Kurds dispensed in different parts of the world.

Turkey says Kurds are the mountain Turks. The Persians

say that Kurds are part of the Persian nation and the Kurdish language is one of the Persian dialects. In that, they have succeeded to a certain extent, dispersing that myth among our nation's people (Lors and Bakhtiaris), exploiting the Shiite link they have with the Moslem Persian faith. As for Iraq, it has followed a policy of cutting off entire provinces and towns and population relocation forcing the migrating of the Kurds from the strategic and border towns near Turkey and Iran as part of their Racial Project of Iraq known as the Green Belt. The result was the forceful migration of the inhabitants of more than 4,000 Kurdish frontier villages. And in order to ascertain that the Kurds would not return to their villages again they have been gathered by the Iraqi authorities in special camps after burning down their villages and pouring cement down their water wells. This was part of what I witnessed during my tour of Kurdistan throughout 1982 – 84. As for Syria, forced migration and national persecution have always accompanied the Kurdish people to become a form of patriotism for the rulers.

For this reason it is difficult to assess the number of the Kurdish population accurately. The only statistics are those of the governments which colonise Kurdistan and one has to take into consideration the fact that many Kurdish tribes refuse to register themselves in any census. In addition to this, census attempts made to count the Kurdish population were faced with the different faiths and sects.... An example of this is that the Yazidis and the Christians were always set aside from Kurdish origins and nationality.

Based on the above, the Kurdish population in Kurdistan can be roughly estimated at 40 million divided as follows:

- Kurds in the Northern Kurdistan (and Turkey): 20 million
- Kurds in the Eastern Kurdistan (and Iran): 10 million
- Kurds in the Southern Kurdistan (and Iraq): 6 million
- Kurds in the Western Kurdistan (and Syria): 3 million
- Kurds in Red Kurdistan (and the former Soviet Union): 1 million.

In actual fact, the numbers of the Kurdish people and the geographic surface of Kurdistan are bigger than what we have cited above. The reason for this is that there has been a great deal of forced assimilation into Arabic, Turkish and Persian cultures and nations in the Kurdish regions. Another factor, which contributes to the greater numbers, is that many of the peoples who have emigrated from Kurdistan at different times such as the Lan people in the Caucasus, the Beluchistan people divided and colonised between Iran and Pakistan and Afghanistan in addition to millions of Kurds living in different countries of the world as Jordan, Lebanon, Israel and Egypt. In Europe alone there are more than one million Kurds. Kurds have become naturalized in their new countries of residence bearing the passports of these countries, so if we were to pick Syria for the sake of example (and not as a statistic) – more than half of the old families based in Damascus can trace their origins back to the Kurds. Such families as the Khani, Zaiem, El Estiwani and Yousef, Kamlmaz, El Abid, Elazim, El Kuatly and others. The same is true in the case of other cities and areas in Syria.

These families are not included in the 200,000 Kurds officially counted as living in the Kurdish Quarters “Hay Al-Akrad” and “Zorava” in Damascus in addition to the Kurds in the Kurdish Mountain in the Lattakia region

(this is independent from the Kurdish Mountain in the north of Aleppo which is considered as part of Kurdistan). In addition to the many dozens of Kurdish villages in Horan and Golan, and in the Ghouta of Damascus and the hundred of thousands of Kurds who live in Syrian cities such as Humos, Hamma, Edleb and others.

If we were to consider all those Kurds who are in Kirdakh, Kubani and Jazeera as the original Kurdish areas, the number of Kurds in Syria would reach 4 million and God knows if not even more.

Chapter II

Social and economic life in Kurdistan

The majority of the Kurdish people have Islam as their religion, mostly the Sunnite creed, with some being Shiites, specifically Lor Kurds and the Bakhtiaris. Some follow the Alevite faith specifically in the Dersim region. This, in addition to the Yezdis in Sheikhan and Sanjar regions and the Red Kurdistan. There are also minority religion groups amongst Kurds, the most important of which are the Christian, Jewish, Zoroastrian faiths as well as the Ahl Alhaq (Kakaies), Sarahli.

The tribal affiliations are still very strong, specifically in the villages in Kurdistan. The reason for this affiliation is the lack of a Kurdish authority or government protecting Kurdish affairs. In this respect, Kurdish tribes have always played a very important role in the existence and protection of their flock. Another important factor that has helped the Kurdish people remain proudly on its ancestral lands to this day despite the lack of a Kurdish government authority, and in spite of all discriminatory efforts against it, are the lofty mountains of Kurdistan. Their dangerous passes and snow-covered peaks are impossible crossings for the most powerful armies allowing but the strongest of eagles to soar in their skies.

During his wars against Russia, Napoleon Bonaparte said, "There are three invincible generals in the country of the Russians; these are the vastness of the land, the biting cold and the valleys". Likewise, our homeland

and our people own three invincible generals.

The first one is that of the mountains, the second one that of the snows and the third is Kurdayetî (the idea of Kurdish identity) that will guarantee victory and independence if the Kurds arm themselves with it, understand it and are able to apply it practically.

These credos, together with the circumstances that have characterised life in the snowy mountains, have played an important role in the social and intellectual development of the Kurdish people.

It would be relevant to mention that travellers and oriental scholars who have known the Kurds and shared their existence have expressed deep appreciation towards Kurdish traditions and the Kurd's noble and steadfast character with its many positive traits. It is with pleasure and great pride that I state the opinion within a circle of foreign British acquaintances about our noble and devoted people:

“Domestic and family matters amongst the Kurdish people have attained a high degree of importance in refinement and progress. The Kurd is good natured and kind, proud and welcoming to his guests. The Kurdish woman has a higher degree of innocent freedom compared to her Turkish and Iranian counterparts, as she is not veiled. Kurds do not advocate polygamy in general, with the exception of few of the wealthy amongst them, and they like music and dance to a great extent.”

Many oriental scholars have written various books about the Kurds. I would like to cite a few of these such as Alexandre Jaba in his book “A Collection of studies and observations about Kurdistan”, 1860 and Basil Nikitin in his book “Some observations about the Kurds”, and

the book of Major Soane “To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in disguise”, and the book “Kurdistan or Death” by Rene Maurice (translated into Arabic by attorney Georgis Fathullah with an introduction and analysis by Jawad Mella) and likewise the book “The Kurdish National movement” by the well-known French author Chris Cutschera published in Paris in 1979 and “After Such Knowledge, What Forgiveness” by the American author Jonathan C. Randal, the Arabic language edition of which has been published by Dar El Nahaar in Beirut in 1997.

The clash between circumstances throughout history together with the unusual political conditions of which our homeland still suffers have contributed to the slow development of production forces within the Kurdish community. Part of these factors and circumstances have been the ongoing wars on Kurdish land and the systematic acquisition by the region’s governments of our Homeland’s bounty. The inefficiency of these governments in economic management has not made things any easier. In addition, the transfers of trade routes to sea helped by the Suez Canal and modern air transport have further isolated our homeland from the global trade routes of the Old World.

The urbanisation phenomenon in the world has not helped in development either. Urban crafts have replaced agricultural ones. The import of foreign-manufactured goods has contributed to the further deterioration of local traditional Kurdish crafts while international trade has taken another route through the intermediary of Persian, Turkish and Arab merchants.

Moreover, Kurdish petroleum has attracted many interests in the region and a petroleum industry has been created becoming the only heavy industry on Kurdistan

without, however, the involvement of Kurdish workers in it. This has been carefully devised in order to prevent the creation of a socially more conscious Kurdish working class than the farmers and the inhabitants of the region. In order to realise this Turkey has set the example of extracting the Kurdish petroleum and transporting it via pipelines to Turkish ports where it is distilled and processed away from the Kurdish work force. This led to the absence of a Kurdish working class on the one hand, and to the exploitation of petroleum by foreign petroleum companies and colonising governments in Kurdistan. This also prevented the emergence of a national Kurdish industrial bourgeoisie.

Other industries such as mining did not experience any noticeable growth while the same applies to the traditional domestic industries with the exception of carpet weaving industries and consumer industries. As for agriculture, it constitutes the main economy in Kurdistan, along with animal husbandry, whereby together they form the most important part of agricultural production at 64% of the national income and industry. While petroleum production guarantees 26% of its income, the remaining branches of economy together represent only 10%. These percentages give us a clear idea about the weakness of the industrial sector in Kurdistan and the extent to which the Kurdish people is unable to benefit from its own petroleum industry.

Therefore, it is possible to say that Kurdistan is an agricultural land that has excellent quantities of raw material and that it is governed by the exploitative relationships of its colonisers ideologically, politically and economically, whereby the Kurdish cities have become profitable markets. Thus, they acquire the raw

materials from Kurdistan and sell the manufactured and imported goods to its people.

This, in addition to what we have mentioned above in terms of the different forms of unfair treatment, lack of freedom and the exploitation of the wealth of the Kurdish people have led to the emergence of the modern Kurdish Liberation movement. This movement aims not only for the political and national liberation of Kurdish society but for its economic, social and ideological liberation and freedom once and for all from all forms of exploitation that have accompanied it for long years of darkness and lack of justice.

It is on this path and for this lofty purpose that the freedom fighters of Kurdistan forge their battle for the sake of building an independent Kurdish homeland with a new set of economic and social relationships concerning the Kurdish individual's quest to master of his own will and national rule.

Since the major uprising in Southern Kurdistan in 1991, new and concrete evidence has begun to point towards the Kurdish will and determination and towards a new beginning for the Kurds and Kurdistan. Southern Kurdistan became an international solicitor for the Kurdish cause, through a Kurdish administration that proceeded by organising Kurdish parliamentary elections. As a result, a governing body was formed with all the different organisational divisions in which the different Kurdish political parties and groups participated. The official and practical withdrawal of Baghdad of its administration from Kurdish territory was another important pointer confirming the legality of this situation for Kurdistan. More importantly, the international community backed up by the United Nations Resolution, has determined the

sale of a limited percentage of Kurdish petroleum (extracted from the Arab and Kurdish regions) for the purchase of food and medication as part of the exchange of petroleum for food. Therefore the United Nations has decreed the separation of Kurdistan from Iraq economically. All Iraqi regions pay directly to Baghdad, whereas the Kurdish regions pay directly to the Kurdish people without the intermediary of Baghdad.

As a result, the administrative and legal independence of Southern Kurdistan from Iraq, the declaration of petroleum in exchange of food and the decision on an independent economic plan for Kurdistan linked directly to the United Nations, became additional pointers towards the economic independence of Kurdistan.

Chapter III

Spiritual Life, Religious Creeds and their Sufi ways in Kurdistan

Sufi ways have played an important role in the Kurdish liberation movement since most of the Sufi Sheikhs were leaders of the people whereby they defended the rights of their followers and dependents from their cells and helped them against the injustice caused by the colonising countries to Kurdistan. Some of these Sheikhs are: Sheikh Mahmoud El Hafid, King of Kurdistan (1919-1923), one of the most well known Sheikhs of the Qaderiah way, and the leader of the Kurdish liberation revolutions in Southern Kurdistan after World War II.

Sheikh Said Piran leader of the Kurdish Revolution in 1925, Sheikh Ubeid Ullah El-Nahri leader of the Kurdish Revolution in 1880 and the Barzan “Sheikhdom” that led the Kurdish Revolutions during the thirties and forties in the 19th Century were followers of the Naqishbandi creed.

I will present some details about the struggles and revolutions of the Barzan “Sheikhdom” as one of the everlastingly glorious moments in the history of our people:

The first Naqishbandi Sheikh in Barzan was the Mullah Abdel Rahman ordained head of the following in the thirties in the 19th Century. The main goals of the Sheikhdom at his time, and at the time of his predecessor

Sheikh Abdel Salam, were education, research, reading and copying of books as well as the implementation of the ways of the creed and the confirmation of its laws. His era was characterised by a peaceful period free of incidents worthy of any mention. His son Sheikh Mohammad succeeded him following his death in 1884.

Sheikh Mohammed was known for his simplicity and his rejection of superficial appearances and love of ownership of real estate and financial wealth. He was modest and did not feel superior over others. He refused to eat wheat bread as he considered this the privilege of the wealthy. He didn't sleep on soft beds and his cottage was no different from the huts of most of the villagers. Moreover, he didn't allow his women to adorn themselves in gold and jewellery. This had attracted the attention of foreign travellers who had visited Kurdistan such as the priest Wiegman had noted during his visit to Sheikh Barzan 1907-1910 as follows:

“While most Kurdish Sheikhs, even those of a lesser hierarchy than the Barzan Sheikhs, live in citadels this Sheikh lives amongst his own people. This type of behaviour, indicative of extreme simplicity, has made of the Barzan Sheikh one of the greatest and most influential leaders of the mountains and he is the most revered and respected of them”.

When the Ottoman authorities realised the power and influence of the Barzan Sheikhdom they convoked Sheikh Mohammed to Mosul in 1885 and compelled him to stay there. It was not too long before he ran away returning to Barzan. This resulted in a series of battles and blood shed between his supporters on the one hand and the local feudal lords and leaders on the other. They collaborated on the side of the Ottoman government driven

by fear of their own personal gains and in protection of their positions in view of the increasing influence of the Sheikhdom, extending into worldly matters as well as the spiritual ones.

In spite of the unification of the regional feudal lords and their wars against Sheikh Barzan in 1893, they were unable to conquer him. Finally, they were able to deceive him and hand him over to the Ottoman authorities that in turn imprisoned him in the city of Batlis. The Ottomans released him towards the end of spring of 1894 because of their politics of weakening one local leader at the expense of another. However, when he returned to Barzan, opposition grew against the Sheikhdom of Barzan and the period between 1895-1896 was characterised with battles and severe bloodshed that ended with the victory of the Barzan Sheikhdom. This led to a new era of total change in the Northern society and its tradition of feuds giving way to forgiveness and forgetting. This is what eventually facilitated unification and accord.

Sheikh Mohammed died in 1902 and was succeeded by his son Sheikh Abdel Salam the second who began his reign by establishing tight links with the leaders of the Kurdish movement for the sake of a unified struggle. Some of these leaders were: The General Sherif Pasha, Sheikh Abdel Kader El-Nahri and Amin Ali Badirkhan. Most worthy of mention is his report written in 1907 asking the Ottoman authorities to make Kurdish the official language and the language of instruction in schools. In addition, he asked for improvements in the administrative, legal and fiscal apparatus.

Because of this report, the Ottoman government convoked Sheikh Mohammed to negotiations. This invitation turned out to be nothing but a trap set for his

assassination in order to get rid of him. However, he escaped thanks to the shrewdness of his heroic men, and the battles were inflamed once again. The Battle of Piers was the first of a series. Six thousand Ottoman soldiers fought armed with six heavy artillery tanks. Sheikh Barzan came out victorious in the first round, however, he chose to withdraw from the second round in order to avoid further bloodshed, and retreated to the mountains disguised in the habits of dervishes and students of philosophy. Once the army had retreated, he returned to Barzan. The Ottomans prepared another attack and the two sides confronted each other at the decisive battle of *Seribaz* in 1909 where the Sheikh drove out a sweeping victory and captured an entire Ottoman battalion together with its three tanks. As a result, the Ottoman authorities sent out a government delegation, in order to negotiate with him, headed by Colonel Safwat Beg. The delegation presented the government's readiness to accept the Sheikh's victory, proposed compensation for the damage caused in the region, promised to bring social services to Barzan, guaranteed the retreat of the Ottoman forces from the region and imposed sanctions against officials and feudal lords in opposition to the Sheikh. In exchange, peace would be established in the region and the heavy artillery captured by Sheikh Barzan during the previous battles would be returned. In 1910, the first official school was inaugurated in Barzan.

In the year 1912, Colonel Safwat Beg who was one of the foremost leaders of the Freedom and Equality Party of Turkey assassinated the Turkish Prime Minister Marshal Mahmud Shawkat Pasha and took refuge with Sheikh Barzan. In early 1913, the Ottoman authorities discovered his hiding place and the Mayor of Mosul

demanded his hand over. Sheikh Abdel Salam helped him escape to the Sheikhdom of *Nahri* in the mountains of *Hakari*. As a result, the authorities launched a huge military attack, armed with tanks and artillery, on Barzan. The Sheikh confronted them together with his followers and they fought the famous battle of *Pilah*. In view of the great military superiority of the Ottomans, the Sheikh ordered his followers with a cease-fire and a retreat to Iran in April 1914.

After establishing communication with the Kurdish leaders in Iran as well as the Russians for the sake of supporting his just struggle against the injustice of the Ottoman authorities, he set off to return to Barzan. On his way there, he was captured and taken to Mosul where the Mayor of Mosul ordered his execution by hanging in the night of 1 January 1914 together with two of his men and one of the Rekani's leaders.

The Ottomans hid their corpses by fear that they would become a shrine and a symbol for the struggle. A few hours following the execution, Britain mounted a military campaign against Iraq in the Gulf of Basra. In view of this incident, the author of "Barzan and the Movement of Kurdish National Consciousness" (Perash) related the following:

"Although the word 'if' does not have a place in the analysis of historical events and their effects on the changes and human societies, and even though one cannot reverse the clock and put back the time, one cannot but help think of the important role that was assigned to Sheikh Abdel Salam 'if' he had remained alive. What will be the outcome of his people's Question after the end of World War I."

After Sheikh Abdel Salam's martyrdom in 1914, his brother Sheikh Ahmad governed his Sheikhdom. The spirit of brotherhood and love established by the previous Sheikhs of Barzan rendered the Barzans into a unified force that helped Sheikh Ahmad in leading a number of uprisings and revolutions in the thirties and forties in the 20th century. This also helped his brother Mullah Mustafa gather a big group of supporters around him. These people became the nucleus for the army of the Kurdish Republic in 1946 while some of them became the core group of the revolution of 11 September 1961. Had it not been for their loyalty, Mullah Mustafa would have been assassinated during the first year of the revolution. I met with these heroes in 1972 in *Haj Omran*, which is where the Iraqi authorities attempted the assassination of Mullah Mustafa when an Iraqi criminal launched a hand grenade in the direction of Mullah Mustafa. Thanks to his four bodyguards who threw themselves at him and protected him with their own bodies, he was saved, while the shrapnel hit them.

At that time I remember having asked one of those heroes, how could he explain such a rare kind of heroism and he replied saying that they were loyal to Mullah Mustafa not only because he was the leader of the Kurdish Revolution, but more importantly, because he was Sheikh Barzan's brother.

Indeed these were the heroes who had fought against the Iranian government in Mahabad in 1946, and who had fought against the Iraqi government before that, and also who had fought against the Turkish government during the war retreating into the Soviet Union in 1947 where they stayed for twelve years and suffered much specifically during Stalin's Regime. After returning from

the Soviet Union, they took part in the Kurdish Revolution from the 11th September 1961 until its end in 1975. I visited them many times in 1984 in the Zewah camp in the Eastern part of Kurdistan. Their life conditions there were infernal as they were sleeping ten or fifteen to a room, with inadequate sanitation attached to the rooms. Daily existence was limited to bare minimums and culture was banned altogether. This was indeed a very strange and unusual condition in this nuclear age of space travel. What was striking was the fact that not even one of them ever complained or objected to the situation instead they were loyal followers.

I found the answer to my surprise with one of the followers of this long journey since 1942. He was sitting on one corner holding tight onto his rifle (Brno). I approached him and asked, "You are almost seventy years old, and you have born your rifle since 1942. What is it that makes you still bear it?" He answered me in all simplicity; "I have made an oath to Sheikh Barzan." He said this; well aware that those he made his oath to have long left this world. However, the tradition and the Sufi training of the Barzan Sheikhdom was such that followers kept oaths beyond any limits.

The spiritual loyalty towards the Barzan Sheikhdom had attained such a degree that members of the congregation would bring their annual agricultural production and animals to the Sheikh in order for him to divide it all equitably amongst the followers even if there would be those who had no product at all. This led to the equal distribution of good so that when one of them needed something he would be able to take it from someone else because the ongoing understanding was that their goods belonged to Sheikh Barzan.

Chapter IV

The Kurdish Language and Literature

The Kurdish language is the national language specific to the Kurdish people. It belongs to the pure and ancient Indo-European group of languages. The Kurdish language still contains Indian and Aryan words and units. And like many world languages, Kurdish became independent from the Indo-Aryan group of languages once its components were complete. Then it was divided into the different dialects because of geographic and human factors. The absence of a Kurdish Nation unifying all of Kurdistan geographically and historically on the one hand, and the harsh mountainous nature making communication difficult between the different parts of Kurdistan especially during the snowy winters on the other, contributed to the development of many different local dialects. However, in spite of the existence of many different dialects, they are all easy to understand between themselves. Some of the most important ones are:

1. Northern Kurmanji: More than half of the Kurdish nation speaks this dialect. It is spread over the North of Kurdistan (with the exception of the Dersim region, where it is the *Zaza* dialect that is spoken). Also, it is spoken in the Western part of Kurdistan and the Soviet Union, and the *Badinan* region in the Southern part of Kurdistan and the region extending to the West of Lake Urmia in the city of *Shno* until the farthest Northern points in the Eastern part of Kurdistan.

2. Middle Kurmanji/Sorani: This is the second widest spread dialect amongst the Kurds, however it is the first in terms of linguistic development and it is the language of instruction used in the schools for over eighty years in the Southern parts of Kurdistan. Everyone who is Kurdish speaks this dialect in the Southern parts, except the region of Badinan where it is the Northern Kurmanji that is widespread, as well as the region of Horaman where it is the Horamani dialect that is spoken and the region of Southern Mandali where the Fayli Kurds live. The Sorani is spoken by the Kurds in the Eastern part of Kurdistan and the Middle region, which falls between Sinah and Mahabad.
3. Southern Kurmanji including Lor with its different branches Lik, Fayli, Bakhtiari. In terms of its speak it's considered the third dialect of Kurdish. It is spoken by the Kurds living in the region south of the Middle Kurmanji/Sorani and extends until the Gulf.
4. The other dialect branches are the Horamy, Gorany and the Zaza.

The Kurdish language is an independent language in and of itself with its own grammatical rules and units and its own specific developments. It is not a distorted Turkish dialect or a Persian one as claimed by Turkish and Persian chauvinists (see the report of League of the Nations on the Mosul Governorate Cause).

Like the Persians and other nations in the region Kurds have used the Arabic alphabet ever since they have embraced Islam. The Kurds in Iran and Iraq still use the improved Arabic alphabet while the Kurds in the Soviet

Union use the Cyrillic alphabet and those in Turkey and Syria use the Latin alphabet. Linguists specialised in the Kurdish language such as Aziz Akrawi, Osman Sabri Faridun Rafiq Hilmi and Jemal Nebez agree on the convenience of the Latin alphabet for the Kurdish language.

The most well-known classic in Kurdish literature is “Mem and Zein” written in verse by the Great Kurdish poet Ahmadi Khani. Many other poems and epics exist which however have been dispersed over the centuries and have not been written down for our generation. Kurdish literature has developed mostly in the seventeenth century. However, poetry has been ever present in all areas of Kurdish literature. The novel form is less widespread as compared to the short story with many more writers.

The Kurds have had many prominent poets throughout the centuries such as the likes of: Ahmadi Khani, Mullah Jazeeri, Ali Hariri, Mawlawi, Nali, Salem, Haji Qadir Koi, Mawlana Khalid, and Ahmad Mokhtar. In the twentieth century poets such as Piramerd, Fayiq Bekas, Hajar Mokriani, Osman Sabri, Jegerkhuin, Kamil Jir, Ahmad Hardi, Abdallah Peshew, Sabri Botani and others emerged.

Many Kurdish writers also wrote about the Kurdish people and its National rights such as Sharaf Khan Batlisi, Mohammed Amin Zaki, Mohammed Ali Aouni, Jalal Talbani, Jemal Nebez, Masoud Barzani, Osman Sabri, Ismat Sherif Wanli, Hamresh Rasho, Kamal Mazhar, Jamal Rashid Ahmad, Masoud Mohamad, Mohamad Saleh Gabouri, Jalil Jalili, Abdel Rahman Kasemlou, Khalid Younis Khalid, Izzeddin Mella Ali, Delawer Zengi, Sabah Ghaleb, Abu Tara, Shahin Baker Sourekli, Serbest

Tawfiq, Rahbar Jalal Mamesh, Ako Mohamed, Khalil Rashou, Zoheir Abdel Malek, Salah Jamour, Aziz Akrawi, Ali Jafar, Hoshang Sabri, Sirwan Kawosi, Hawre Bakhawan, Marwan Ali, Nizar Mohammed, Ali Sido Gorani, Mahabad Kurdi, Muhammad Barzinji, Sheikh Omar Gharib, Samal Shali, Mihrdad Azadi, Georges Fat Hullah, Sabir Kokayi, the author and many others that it will take many pages to mention.

The purpose in this research is the evaluation of Kurdish literature and the definition of its national role as well as the analysis of its current state and what it should do in order for it to play a decisive role in the Kurdish Liberation movement. Some people think that literature is not important in a general way and it is only for the few with a special taste for it. The truth is that this opinion is an erroneous one, and it has been cultivated by the colonisers to confine literature to a small circle of intellectuals and prevent it from expressing the emotions and complaints of the population at large. The fact remains that literature, any literature, has a strong influence in the existence of societies and the political development of civilisations. Literature can thus be considered a measure of the degree of civilisation attained by any society.

In that respect, poetry, prose, folklore and other forms of literature do not come to exist by mere coincidences and they do not represent magic accessible to some and not to others. Literature is a direct result of the development of civilisations and a reflection of their reality. In addition, it is the foundations of their existence and of the political currents that come out of this existence.

Different currents throughout the centuries have influenced the literatures of different nations. The literature of national liberation movements has passed

through different stages of the struggle of nations. In most cases, literature is linked to contemporary politics or national interests, or in any way dependent of the social struggles of any nation or its liberation movements. Literature has always been an important and indivisible part of these struggles throughout the centuries.

When the authors, the poets or the novelists write there is no doubt that they are recording ideas they believe in. These ideas are the direct result of a belief system, of principles, of a stand from national and social issues and a certain body of knowledge. In this manner, writers who advocate colonial ideas and write in opposition to the peoples' revolutions stress in their writings that societies cannot be equal and that people are different like the five fingers of the hand are from each other. They also advocate that masters and slaves have always existed and that the small and the big co-exist side by side. They also present a picture of the Feudal Lords and Governors as though they are deities, while they refer to the people as cattle and sheep who do not understand anything and are good at nothing. In contrast to this we find freedom writers describe the people as the workers who labour in constructing history and in changing the world and they expose the unnatural state of affairs whereby smaller nations suffer because of national persecution.

In the same way the colonising forces advocate that literature is universal and that it belongs to all of humanity. They also say that confining the author to his national expression is a form of intellectual terrorism that leads to the confinement of his creative energies. The aim of these policies is to keep literature within the confines of the ruling majority and in its hands. This prevents the

people form expressing itself. Literature is not a political speech nor is it ordinary words but it is the finest form of expression and the most precise of forms. This is why it can have a very strong effect on the peoples' minds and thoughts. There is not a person who is not touched after hearing a beautiful poem, reading a beautiful story, or seeing a beautiful work of art. In this manner, literature is one of the most important factors affecting the human thought process. It may also be a double-edged sword used in favour of the people if written in simple language accessible to the people, directly touching their hearts and with a national and revolutionary content. It can also uncover social injustices and can show social problems and struggles as well as exposing national oppression. It can also protect the rights of the colonised against the colonisers; it can prepare the people for a revolution and can instil in them a feeling of optimism towards the future.

The Kurdish poet Ahmadi Khani has long ago excelled in his poetic work "Mem and Zein" by laying the foundations of a philosophy for the Kurdish liberation movement as far back as three hundred and fifty years ago. He says, "**bê ceng û cîdal û tehwir nayê Kurdistan bête teswir.**" „**Kurdistan will not be free without war, politics and bravery**“

“Do not imagine that without war, politics and progress you will ever see Kurdistan free.” He also lays the social foundations for the Kurdish people calling for equality between the different factions of society, through the love that has united in his story between the Princess Zein and the son of the people Mam.

The qualities of concerned literature and what we expect from our Kurdish literature:

1. That it should have a revolutionary and liberation

oriented content and that it should lean completely towards the revolution. What I mean by the revolution is the liberation movement that opts for a radical change represented in the national social revolution and which works towards the break up of the exploitative systems and the liberation of the Homeland from colonisers.

2. That our literature should be in opposition to that of the colonisers and their agents such as the Soviets and the Cosmopolitans. It should also wage a ruthless war against all non patriotic elements. It should be the real measure of the degree of patriotism of any literary person, their opposition towards the enemies of the Kurdish people and their commitment to the Kurdish revolution and in benefit of the people.
3. Our literature should be written in a popular language accessible to the majority of the Kurdish nation. Difficult works written in a complex style tend to stay within a small shell and revolve around in a closed circle of intellectuals and literary people thus distances itself from the masses. In this way it cannot help with the solution of its problems regardless of what its content or subject matter might be. Therefore literature should be written for the masses and it must be understood and assimilated by them.
4. Literary persons should take the stance of the pupil and not the guide in front of the masses. They should learn from them, from their experiences and their struggles. They should mirror these experiences in a fine artistic manner and render them back to the masses highlighting the mistakes in order to help avoid them and highlighting the positive in order to continue in it.
5. Literature should be optimistic mirroring the bright

side of life, inspiring hope in the future and promoting struggle and the revolution.

6. What should our stand be regarding ancient literature? Shall we learn from it or refuse it entirely? In reality we need to study ancient literature in order to learn from it and in order to be able to build a bridge linking the old and the new. This is important in order for our literature to preserve its authenticity and the link with the history of our people. We should not derive our literary thoughts from other nations whatever their civilization because the roots of literature should be within its own society. It is also our duty to study our own literature and history before studying the literature and history of other nations.
7. Literature should also play a role in social issues fighting ignorance, backwardness, provinciality, sectarianism and feudalism and should promote gender equality. This will not be possible without destroying the colonial and backward thinking in all its forms and the construction of a new society based on the liberation of the land and the Kurdish individual at the same time.
8. Literature should not be in conflict with the religious affiliations of the masses. Instead it should respect them. It should not hurt their feelings and it should not lay out problems that the masses cannot comprehend. It should not expect to eradicate, in one stroke, what hundreds of thousand of years of tradition have built up. This does not mean that literature should remain at the level of the masses. Literature offers the masses its exemplary thinking but if it progresses too much it can distance and isolate itself.

In short, literature should guide a generation of revolutionaries and become a weapon and a revolutionary article in the hands of the masses in order in its battle to fulfil its goals of national liberation and human respect for the Kurdish people. It is not possible for our literature to become a channel between the nation and its enemies or be a literature of accord since what is beneficial to the people is always in discord with what is beneficial to the colonisers. This is why literature has to stand by the nation and play its role in the Kurdish Nation's struggle for national and social liberation.

Part Two

The Kurds in History

Chapter I:

Kurdish Governments from ancient ages
until the arrival of Islam

Chapter II:

Kurdish Governments and Revolutions
since the arrival of Islam until the beginning
of the 19th Century

Chapter III:

Kurdish Governments and Revolutions
during the 19th Century

Chapter I

Kurdish Governments from ancient times until the arrival of Islam

Anyone looking into the history of his own nations needs, first and foremost has to research into its native land of origin. According to most researchers specialised in the East, this native land is the one traced back to the second human era. It was inhabited from the early ages of human history by the nations in the *Zagros* mountains composed of the *Lulu* and the *Gutti - Jutti*.

And the Khaldeans, the Sumarians and Hurians. All these ancient peoples form the ancient roots of the Kurdish people that have displayed strong political activity in the epochs of each of the Sumerians, Acadian and the Assyrians.

In addition, there were waves of migration of Arian (Indo-European) race towards the *Zagros* Mountains, first to their East and eventually to their West. Curzon, the researcher says in his preface to his travels in Iran:

“It is highly likely that these migratory movements happened 20 centuries BC. These migrants colonised the peoples of the *Zagros* mountains and Kurdistan and made them subject to their own Kings turning them all into Aryans. The Medeans were the greatest and strongest of these migrant populations.

1. **The LULU people:** According to an antique panel discovered near Zahao going back to the eras of the

Kings Lulu and Kouti 2800 BC., the Lulu Nation had settled in the present day area of Suleimaneya with part of them living in Syria. This has been confirmed in a study by Dr. Speitzer. And according to Assyrian documents the lands of the Lulu were characterised by an advanced degree of architecture and civilisation.

2. **KOUTI:** One of the better known peoples of the Zagros mountains. They have taken over the lands of the Sumerians and Accadians in 2649 BC. Their reign lasted 125 years. (Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Ancient History vol.1, p.432). In the 26th century 2524 BC the King of Ur conquered the Kouti government in Acad which resulted in the Kouti tribes returning to the mountains and taking refuge there. The Assyrian King Shelmanaser the First 1261-1280 BC., says in reference to his wars against the Kouti people: “The Kouti people who in the sky of this era shone like brilliant stars was not only qualified by force and majesty alone, but it was known for its valour and determination; for its strength and perseverance. This nation has resisted my will with all its might and anguish and has onlastingly opposed me”. This anecdote shows us what this nation had achieved in terms of power. We are able to imagine its nature and its great qualities. This is the fact that we are faced with today when looking at the excellent valour and rare determination and will.

3. **KASSI :** Another of the Zagros mountain peoples who have at first settled in the KERMANSHA area. The exact time of their arrival in this region is not known. Around the middle of the 8th Century BC, the Kassians

conquered Babylon and established a strong government known as *Kardoniash* in the Sumerian and Accadian lands. They prospered during six centuries 1746 -1171BC.

4. **Khaldian-Urartians:** The Khaldian reign extended from the Togja lake and the Alexandra pole in the Caucasus and the Euphrates in the West to Lake Urmia in the East and until Rawandous and the northern part of Syria to the South. The capital of Khaldeans was the city of Tushpa (present day Van). It was built by the Khaldean King Sardoris the First. In 840 BC. Towards the end of the seventh century BC the Khaldean government was incorporated with the Median Kurdish Empire.

5. **SUBARIANS :** The first time we come across the name of this nation is on an antique plate that can be traced back to the thirtieth century BC. The word Subarian does not refer to a nation in the historical sense. Rather, it was a name coined by the Sumerians to designate a geographic (topography) referring by it to the regions inhabited by the Kurds today. The word was SU-BIR and in time it was converted to SUBAR-TU by the Accadians, meaning heights, the Highlands and later on, the North. This term SUBARIAN was also used in reference to a geographic surface that extended from the area North West to the Ilam countries to the Amanous Mountains on the Mediterranean Sea. Toward the end of the Assyrian reign, the name Subarian disappeared and instead of it the name of another nation came into use, known as the Nairi. It is certain that the Nairi people are an important part of the different components of the Subarian people. The vestiges and monuments of the

Nairi and their descendants are still in prominence in the region between the two rivers, in the birthplace of the great patriot and revolutionary Sheikh Ubeidulah Al-Nahri. The Oriental scholar Major Soane says the following about Nairi in his book entitled: "To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in disguise" London 1912:

"The Assyrian nation is the only nation that was able to penetrate into the lands of the Nairi, the inhabitants of which were not any less passionate about their independence and any less inclined towards freedom than the present day Kurdish people. In fact, the total resistance to assimilation of this brave nation into the neighbouring superpowers completely stirs the imagination and creates total disbelief... The impression the Kurdish people have left on the historians and Orientalists is that a Kurd does not accept submission and humiliation. The Kurd cannot be suppressed and loves progress and innovation but will not give up an inch of his native land. The Kurd has deep hatred towards the peoples and nations that conspire to govern his faith according to their own rules. Instead, he prefers to retreat to his mountains retaining his national dignity and preserving his ancient and pure Arian language".

6. **The Medes:** These are an Indo-European people who lived in the North Western part of Iran in the land of the Medes since the ninth century BC. And who have conquered their neighbouring lands gradually. At the end of the eighth century BC, they were able to establish an independent government and subject the neighbouring people of Parsai to their rule. Then they built the city of Akbatan-Hamadan and made it their capital. The Kurdish Median King Kaikhisro Houkh Shtar was successful in

conquering the Assyrian Empire and in taking over its capital Ninveh in 612 BC. By doing this, he lay the foundations of the great Median Kurdish Empire and that is the start of the Kurdish calendar, the 1st of Nawroz, corresponding to the 21st of March, which became the Kurdish New Year. The country was in the height of its glory during his reign and its borders extended from Bakhtriana-Bukhara in the East to the river Qezil Ermaq in the West and from the Caspian Sea in the North to the Persian Gulf in the South. The Empire lasted until 550 BC until it fell by the hand of the Akhmini King – Korsh. After that, Alexander the Macedonian defeated Kurdistan as one of the many Eastern countries he conquered.

The Greek Historian and Army General Xenophon refers to the Kurdish people as Kardokhoy in his book (Anabasis–Return of the Ten Thousand). He describes the trials and tribulations suffered by his ten thousand head army at the hands of the Kardokhoy people on its way back after his battle with the Persians. In the Zakho pass they were defeated and were driven all the way to Trebizond in an unending battle. Xenophon also writes in his book that: “The Kardokhoy people will never submit to the Persians or obey them. One of the Persian kings had once marched on them with a huge army of one hundred and twenty thousand soldiers and the Kardokhoy people had destroyed them completely.”

God the Almighty bears Holy witness to the Kurdish people’s valour in the holy Koran. According to the scholar Mahmoud Al Alousi’s eminent interpretation, like many other prominent interpreters’ words, in the Al-Fatih Surat of the Koran we read the following compassionate verse:

“You will report to the people of strong determination”
The people referred to in the Holy Verse are the Kurds as they were known for their strength and determination.

According to the information that has reached us from inscriptions on ancient plates and from what we know from the Orientalists and researchers about the origins of the Kurdish people, it is possible to deduce that the Kurdish people’s native Homeland lies in what is today known as Kurdistan. Some disparity has resulted from constant displacement and re-settlement in other parts due to endless persecution and forced migration of the Kurdish people from Mosul, Aleppo, Adana, Urmia, Tabriz and Tripoli.

Since the fall of the Medean Empire, Kurdistan has been subjected to attacks by countless peoples and governments who have tried to colonise and conquer it. Some of these conquerors were Akhminians, Alexander the Macedonian, the ten thousand Greeks, the Akshanians, the Sassanians, the Armenians, the Romans, the Arabs, Khawarzmis, the Seljuks, the Tatars, Holako, the Mongols, Timourlenk, Khazr, the Ottomans, the Russians, the English and the French. Throughout all this, the Kurdish tribes have been able to preserve their internal independence during the different phases of history.

In addition to these invasions, most of the wars between the Roman and Persian Empires and between the Ottoman and Saffawid Persian Empires, or the wars between the Tatars, the Mongols and the Seljuks from one side and the Abbasids, the Ayyoubids and the Memlouks from the other, have taken place on the lands of Kurdistan. All that the Kurds have got from these wars have been endless suffering and disasters the likes of which are very rare in the history of Mankind. Many religions spread in

Kurdistan as a result, such as Mithrai, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, and Christianity at the beginning of the 2nd Century AD, Maniya, in the fourth Century AD.

Zoroastrianism remained the main religion of the governing bodies of the Kurdish people from the 6th century BC up to the arrival of Islam.

Chapter II

The Kurdish Governments and Revolutions Since the Start of Islam until the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century

From the early days of the spread of Islam in Kurdistan, the Kurdish people have been able to distinguish between the ill intentions of the racist governing bodies of Arabs, Turks or Persians and the pure feelings of religious faith of the Kurdish people. They have seen how the former have tried to exploit them in the name of Holy Islam; in itself free of any racism and prejudice, and have understood that the goal behind these actions is nothing but the take over and colonisation of Kurdistan. For this reason the reaction of the Kurdish people to the colonisers has been violent from the start. This reaction has been manifested in constant revolutions and bloodbaths for the sake of National independence for Kurdistan. This becomes evident in the following expose that sums up the history of those revolutions and their accompanying numerous Kurdish governments:

The great Kurdish leader Abu Moslem El Khorasani has eradicated the racist Umayyad kingdom by bringing his support to the Abbasid Nation, believing that this would improve the state of the Kurdish people. However matters only worsened for the people. Upon this when

he revolted against the Abbasids precipitated by his assassination. (5)

The Kurds of Mosul rose in revolt under the leadership of Ga'afar Ben Mir Hassan who had fought and defeated the army of the Abbasid Khalif Al Moetassem Billah. The battles between them were bloody and ruthless, and they ended with the defeat of Prince Gaafar in 840 AD. However, he refused to turn himself in and fought to his last breath then he drank poison and died a hero's death. (Al-Kamil 1-6 page 208)

In 846 AD a great Kurdish Revolution erupted in the regions of Asfahan mountains and the Fars. The Mosul Kurds took part as well in a revolution under the leadership of Misawir Bin Abdel Hamid in 866 AD against the Abbasids. In the same way, the Kurds participated in the Zenj revolution in the different parts of Basra as well as participating in Yacoub Al Saffar's revolution in 850 AD where they excelled in heroic deeds under the sublime leadership of the Kurdish leader Mohammed Bin Abdallah Hazarmerdi who kept kindled the spirit of the revolution for three years (Al Tabari – Vol 11, pages 200-256).

And in the year 906 AD the leader of the Hathbanian Kurdish tribe Mohamed Bin Hilal revolted while his forces were about to conquer the city of Mosul. However, the Abbasid armies flooded and surrounded his forces from all sides and forced him to surrender and to guarantee peace. Therefore Mohammed Bin Hilal himself went hostage to Mosul to reassure that he meant the peace, but the Abbasids killed him there. (Al-Kamil vol 2, page 213). In the same year, Dissam Bim Ibrahim laid the foundation of the Kurdish Hathbanian government.

In the year 951 AD, the first Kurdish government was

established in the north of Azerbaijan and south western part of the Caucasus. This was the Shadadiya government which lasted until 1164 AD.

In 959 AD, the second Kurdish government was established. This was the *Brzikani – Hasnawiah* government on the land of Kurdistan between Hamadan and Shahrzour, and lasted until 1015 AD.

In 980 AD the Abbasid Caliph U'dhud Al-Dawlah sent an army against risen Kurds in Hakari surrounding them and put pressure on them. However, he failed to conquer them, so, he resorted to trickery by giving them immunity and guarantees of security. But after their submission and surrender according to the terms of agreement, he betrayed them and annihilated all of them (Al-Kamel Vol. 8, Page 257).

In the same year 980 AD, the chief of the Hamidiah Kurdish tribe, Baz Abu Shuja' established his government in Middle Kurdistan that lasted for a hundred and ten years.

In 990 AD, the Kurdish government, known by the name Bani Anaz or Bani Ayar, was established and according to Ibn Al-Atheer and Sharafnamah its rule lasted for seventy years.

Between the years 1029 – 1035 AD there was a Kurdish government called Ruwadih that made Tabriz its capital.

There was also the Kurdish government of Shwankara from 1035 to 1355 AD in the Fars region.

During the same period the first Kurdish Ayobi state was established and this family completely ruled Egypt from 1173 AD. Then its rule spread to Egypt, Syria, Kurdistan, Armenia, Yemen, Tripoli and Barqa. Its golden age was at the time of Saladin and after his death it

disintegrated. The longest lasting part under the Ayobis was the *Hassankifa* state that lasted until the occupation of Kurdistan by the Ottomans. Even now the Turkish state, with help of the Europeans, is building a dam on the Tigris River in order to sink Hassankifa and other Kurdish historical sites so that they disappear.

After the fall of the Zangis government there was another Kurdish government in Botan – Jazeert Ibn Omar, called Azizan or Aziziah. Its rule also lasted until the Ottoman occupation of Kurdistan. It was this same ruling family that produced Baderkhan Pasha the chief of Baderkhan family and leader of the Kurdish revolution in the first half of the nineteenth century.

In 1185 AD, during the rule of Caliph Al-Nasser Lidin Allah, there was a rift between the Kurds and the Turks that led to a nationalist revolution all over the regions of Syria, Kurdistan and Azerbaijan lasting for two years. Although a peace agreement was signed, it did not last and the fighting started again and resulted in the displacement of the Kurds from parts of Syria, Kilikia and Adana. This was confirmed by Ibn Al-Atheer (Vol. 11, page 334) that these uprisings were widespread and reached Mosul and Jazeera as well.

The era of the Iranian Safawids was characterised by oppression and aggression against the Kurdish people, especially at the time of Shah Ismail Safawid who exceeded all in his oppression and despotism. Once he approached the town of Khui in Eastern Kurdistan, so eleven Kurdish princes came to meet him and express their submission and peace, but, contrary to what they were hoping, he arrested them all and put them in prison, then appointed Persian Safawid rulers in their places. Among those princes there was King Khalil, the ruler of

Hassankifa and brother in law of Shah Ismail himself, and he stayed in Tabriz Prison for three whole years. They were only rescued when Shah Ismail was defeated by the Ottoman Sultan Salem in the famous battle of Chalderan. This was the reason that led some Kurdish princes and first of all Sheikh Idris Batlisi to support the Ottomans in that deciding battle in 1514 AD. So, the Kurds themselves played a major role in defeating the Persian Safawids and thus offering Kurdistan to the Ottoman Turks like a piece of cake. Although the Kurds did not agree to fight on their side before Sheikh Idris Batlisi, representing the Kurdish princes, had signed agreements and treaties carrying the name of the Sultan and including:

- 1- Preserving the independence and freedom of the Kurdish princedoms (numbered as 46).
- 2- The Kurds would support the Turks in all their wars.
- 3- The Turks would support the Kurds against foreign aggression.
- 4- The Kurds would pay the official taxes and customs to Sultan's Treasury.

This treaty between the Sultan and the Kurdish princedoms and governments was signed in 1514 AD in Kurdistan.

However, the Ottoman government violated the conditions of the treaty after fifteen years from its signing and adopted the policy of gradual extermination against the Kurdish princedoms until the last of those Kurdish princedoms was destroyed in 1850 AD (see, The Summary of the History of the Kurds and Kurdistan, by the scholar Muhammad Amin Zaki, Vol. 1, page 171).

Although Kurdistan never submitted completely to any occupiers, no one managed to take advantage of the Kurds as the Ottomans, with Sheikh Idris Batlisi becoming instrumental in this, as they managed to exploit the Kurds by dividing their homeland into maximum possible administrations in order to exterminate the ancient Kurdish princedoms and control them forever.

According to this division the Diarbakir province was divided into nineteen Sunjuqs (Ottoman administration units) of which eleven were, as the Anatolian administration units, under the direct control of the Turks and the remaining eight independent under the rule of the Kurdish princes. These were: Samghan, Qolip, Mehranieh, Tarjil, Ataq, Pirtek, Chiachqur and Chirmek. The princedom in these Sunjuqs was on hereditary basis, from fathers to sons. In addition there were five governments in the Diarbakir province directly related to the Sultan: Ageel, Palu, Jazeert Ibn Omar, Hazu and Ganj. According to what is stated in the *Jahannama* book two other governments were added in a later stage, which were Khabur and Alishkurd governments. The rulers of these related governments had the title of Mir-e-Miran (Prince of the Princes) and they were completely independent in regard to their internal affairs (see *Sharafnama*, Olia Chalabi, Mu'zin Zadeh, Hammer). This administration system was not specific to Diarbakir province only, but was extended to other provinces of Kurdistan as we can see in Van province, which was consisted of thirty seven Sunjuqs and four Kurdish governments under the direct control of the Sultan. These were:

- 1- **Hakari government:** with permanent army forces of ten thousand fighters, increasing to fifty thousand in

war situations.

- 2- **Batlis government:** with a military force similar to Hakari.
- 3- **Mahmoudi government:** in the East of Van with about a hundred and twenty Kurdish tribes and military force of six thousand fighters.
- 4- **Piniansh government:** it was neighbouring Mahmoudi government with similar military force. As mentioned by Olia Chalabi (Part 4, page 178) there were also five other Kurdish governments belonging to the Iranian government, which were: Qatur, Piradozi, Jolani, Demdemi and Denbiki.

After the defeat of the Iranian Safawids by the Ottoman Turks in the battle of Chalderan (1514 AD) and signing of the Zahaw Treaty in 1639 AD, according to which they agreed on fixing their political borders and divide Kurdistan between themselves into Eastern Kurdistan under Iranian occupation and the majority of Kurdistan as an Ottoman Turkish colony, it became regarded as the first division of Kurdistan.

This division did not stop the two states from fighting up until the end of the World War I, because each of them had the ambition to annex all the Kurdistan lands to itself.

Until this fixing of the borders there were many wars between the Safawids and the Ottomans making the land of Kurdistan as a stage for them. At the same time the Kurdish people were in the state of constant uprising and revolution against the division and occupation of their country by foreigners. There were many heroic epics of sacrifice for national sovereignty:

The battle of Demdem Castle starting on 5 December 1608 AD

The Demdem Castle is situated in the Eastern Kurdistan near the city of Urmia. The hero of this epic was *Amir Khan Yekdest* one of the princes and chiefs of the famous Kurdish Bradost tribe against the Persian armies that were numbered as twenty three times more than the Kurdish forces. Because of this numerical advantage the Persians managed to occupy the castle, but not before the Kurdish heroes defended it to the end tower by tower and foot by foot. Although the Persians offered immunity to the defenders, the patriotic passion prevented them from seeing the enemies occupying the land of Kurdistan and preferred the death rather. It lasted until all the defenders were martyred and the Persians did not spare even the non-fighters among them.

There is no space to describe all the events of this eternal patriotic story and the rare kind of courage and sacrifice, as it deserves a separate book by itself to be read by the coming generations for ever to commemorate its heroism for eternity.

The Massacre of the Mukri Tribes

When the prince of the Mukri tribes *Qubad Khan* refused to participate with the Persians in the siege of Demdem Castle, Shah Abbas Safawid decided to eliminate the Mukri tribes completely for violating his orders. He led his army by himself towards the town of *Maragha* in Eastern Kurdistan in 1610 AD. At the same time he expressed his “royal” sympathies towards Qubad Khan who was deceived by them and went with some other Mukri leaders and a force of 150 Kurdish horsemen to

greet the Shah. On arrival the Shah used all his skilful trickery to murder all of them in the most traitorous manner. Then the murderous Shah went to the castle of Kadul and committed the worst kind of massacres against the Mukri tribes killing thousands of the innocent Kurdish Mukris and capturing thousands of women and children.

The Junbulat Revolution

Junbulat is the Kurdish family which inherited the rule of the *Kils* city since ancient times. Prince Hussein was the head of the family and Mayor of Aleppo at the time when the Ottoman emperor went to occupy Iran. Prince Hussein refused to answer the emperor's call to participate in his campaign of the Iranian war. For this he was killed using traitorous methods. Then his brother, Prince Ali, carried out a revolution against the Ottomans and fought them in 1607 AD with an army of forty thousand Kurdish fighters capturing Aleppo, Damascus and the Sham Tripoli. After some violent battles the Ottomans forced him to surrender. He was pardoned by the Ottoman Sultan and appointed as a Mayor of Tamashwar, a province of Austria, but he sent after him secret assassins to kill him in the city of Belgrade on his way to his new job's headquarters (6). The politician Walid Jinpilat, the son of the great Lebanese leader Kamal Jinpilat, is a descendant of this ancient and courageous Kurdish family.

Massacres of the Kurdish Ashi Tribe

When the Ottoman Prime Minister Murad Pasha died in 1611 AD, Nasuh Pasha was a Mayor of Diarbakir. He took over a castle belonging to the Kurdish Ashi tribe and gathered four thousand of their women and

children in an area with trunks and killed them by asphyxiation by releasing smoke over them. The Ottoman Sultan awarded this murderer with titles of the Leader and the Prime Minister for his atrocities against the Kurdish people. After three years the divine justice punished this butcher, as the Ottoman Sultan ordered his asphyxiation in the same manner in 1614 AD for Sultan's reasons (7).

The Islamic Encyclopaedia mentions that most of the Ottoman army members that arrived in Baghdad to reoccupy it in 1621 AD were Kurds. Also the Shah Abbas Safawid formed most of the units of the Iranian army from the Kurdish Mukri tribes and with them he managed to defeat the Ottoman army several times (8).

In that period of time the scholar and great Kurdish patriot, Prince Sharaf Khan Batlisi, God bless his soul, vigorously attempted to spread the spirit of unity and solidarity among the Kurdish people and called for the establishment of political unity and united front among the national governments and principedoms in the form of a federation with the city of Botan–Jazeert Ibn Omar in its centre. However, the conspiracies of the Safawids and the Ottomans and their administrative and political measures that tried always to divide and conquer the Kurds using Machiavellian methods, prevented him from achieving his aim that the Kurdish freedom lovers still struggle for, as the colonisers of Kurdistan continue with their deceiving Machiavellian policies in the hope of lengthening their colonisation time.

Regarding the Ottomans' policies against the Kurds, the Islamic Encyclopaedia states the following: “One of the results of the 1639 treaty between the Ottomans and the Safawids was that the major part of the Kurds and

Kurdistan fell under the Turkish occupation and after that when the Ottomans government's interest diminished regarding the Iranian Safawid government, it started to implement a centralised policy in Kurdistan with enthusiasm and intensity. One of the foremost instigators and supporters of this policy was *Malik Ahmad Pasha*, the son of law of Sultan Murad the Forth. This minister was appointed as a Mayor of Diarbakir after the occupation of Baghdad and took every opportunity in putting into practice the Turkish policy of breaking the authority of the Kurdish principedoms and their national administrations. Thus as a result of this policy Malik Ahmad Pasha managed to reduce the Greater Kurdistan to such a degree of demolition and insignificance that it became just a small part of the Van province.

The History of Iran as written by Sir Malcolm states, regarding the policies of the Iranians towards Kurdistan, that: "In 1727 A.D., Nadir Shah wanted to incite the two Kurdish tribes of Chamkizk and Qarachulu in Khorasan against the Turkmans and clash them together, but they did not listen to him. So, the Shah became angry with them and displaced them to the Mashad region as revenge."

In 1753 A.D. the Kurdish Zandi government was established and lasted for forty one years. After the end of the Zandi government, the founder of the Qajari government, Agha Muhammad Khan Qajari, resorted to displace and disperse the Kurds, especially the Zandi tribe, from Kurdistan to various parts of Iran and replaced them with Turkmans.

Chapter III

The Kurdish Revolutions and Governments during the Nineteenth Century

Kurdistan during the Nineteenth was a stage for various wars, revolutions and uprisings that we summarise as follows:

Revolution of the Mili Tribes

The revolution of the Mili tribes took place in Mardin under the leadership of Taymour and Ibrahim Pasha with many ups and downs.

The Kurdish Revolution in Van and Diarbakir Regions

The Revolution in the Van region was led by Darwish Pasha who made his area independent and issued money carrying his name. He defeated the Turks in several wars, so at the end they resorted to trickery and arrested him then killed him. Thus the revolution was stopped for a while.

The Revolutions of Baban Princedom

In 1788 A.D. Prince Abdulrahman Pasha Baban took over the princedom and his rule lasted twenty four years. He was striving to establish a Kurdish government, but after him the struggle for power among his grandsons made them weaker in front of the Ottomans' army forces.

Our ancestors recall the story of this struggle as a result of which the Turks captured Prince Ahmad Baban and his competitor, his cousin, and took them as prisoners to Istanbul. The Ottoman Sultan gave them a palace to live in. It was said that one day Prince Ahmad and his cousin were sitting in the presence of the Ottoman Sultan and the cousin was making jesters and signs to Prince Ahmad that he failed to understand... When they were out the Prince asked about the meaning of those signs and jesters and his cousin said: I was very thirsty, but with respect to you and your presence I could not speak. The Prince then told him that had you respected me before in Kurdistan to the same degree we would not have reached this state of captivity and insult.

The Great Revolution of Soran Princedom

In 1826 A.D. Prince Mohamed Pasha Rawanduzi took over the princedom and within four years of his rule he put the foundations for a Kurdish state and built a cannon factory in Rawanduz (9).

The great revolutionary hero Prince Mohamed Pasha Rawanduzi carried out several battles with the Turkish armies with continuous success. However, the trickery of the Ottomans led to the fact that one of the Kurdish religious clerics, known as *Mella Khati* issued a Fatwa that anyone who fights the Ottoman Muslims “his war is illegal and his wife is divorced.” Thus this very stupid Fatwa put an end to the victories and assigned duties for the Kurds towards the “Muslim Caliph” without mentioning their rights and giving all the rights to the Caliph without any duties towards his Kurdish Muslim subjects!! Such imbalance between rights and duties is

always a sign and real and only expression of the state of slavery and exploitation.

In order to prevent bloodshed, Prince Mohamed Pasha surrendered to the Ottomans who send him to Istanbul. The Ottoman Sultan apparently gave him amnesty in order to guarantee the support of Mella Khati and his followers who enabled the Ottomans to capture him. However, as always the Ottomans had other secret plans and sent someone to kill him while passing through the town of Siwas on his way back to Rawanduz. This was the end of the majority of the Kurdish leaders and princes, especially those who trusted the colonisers of Kurdistan.

The Revolution of Badinan Princedom

In 1830 A.D., Prince Ismail Pasha Badinani ignited a revolution in the areas of Amedy, Duhok and Akra. The revolution lasted for about ten years with ups and downs against the Ottoman army. At the end the Ottomans surrounded him in the Amedy Castle and captured him. He spent his life in prison in Baghdad.

The Great Revolution of Botan Princedom

In 1812 A.D., Prince Badirkhan Pasha took over the Princedom of *Jazeert Ibn Omar–Botan* at the age of eighteen. In 1842 A.D., he announced the independence of Kurdistan from the Ottomans state and defeated all their military campaigns. He established a gun factory and another for ammunitions in the town of Jazeera. He issued money carrying his name and the authority of his government reached up to Mosul, Rawanduz, Shino, Urmia and Diarbakir. However, at the end this courageous prince was defeated because of treason by his own Chief

of Army and cousin Prince Ezzaddine Shear, and was captured in the battle of Orkh Castle, which was his last battle in 1848 A.D. Then he was exiled by the Ottomans, together with his family, outside Kurdistan.

Descendants of Baderkhan Pasha

The decedents of Baderkhan Pasha attempted several times to return to Kurdistan to start another revolution under the command of Othman, Hussein and Kanaan Pasha in 1987 A.D. or under the command of the Princes Medhat and Amin Ali Beg (father of the two princes Jaladat and Kameran Baderkhan) in 1989 A.D. However, their revolutions were not successful.

The Revolution of Prince Ezzaddine Shear Botani

Prince Ezzaddine realised that the Ottomans had given him false promises for his treason against the courageous Prince Baderkhan Pasha (10), which was a high Ottoman medal with the picture of Orkh Castle! (The same castle where the great Prince Baderkhan was surrounded). Realising that he was shamefully deceived, Prince Ezzaddine woke up to reality – and though it was too late, he discovered that the Ottomans are not friends of one Prince and enemies of the other, but enemies of the Kurdish nation and its aspirations – so, he was full of remorse for his treason against his people and their liberation movement. Thus he started his revolution that lasted from 1853 to 1864 A.D., and ended when he was killed by the Ottomans. This nationalist revolution of Prince Ezzaddine Shear deserves studying and research to establish whether he was a traitor for the Kurdish nation or had personal disagreements with his cousin

Prince Baderkhan the Great. It is very unfortunate to see that this historical event repeated throughout the history of our Kurdish society in the ancient and modern times.

The Revolution of Sheikh Ubaidullah Nehri and the Kurdistan National Congress

In 1880, Sheikh Ubaidullah Nehri contacted the British through the British General Consul in Anatolia asking for international support to the cause of Kurdistan and stressing that he would guarantee the rights for the Christians in Kurdistan. In the same year, Sheikh Ubaidullah held a Kurdistan National Congress in Shamdinan and invited all the Kurdish leaders. This was the greatest national congress in the Nineteenth century, in which 220 tribal and religious leaders and representatives of the regions of Sulaimany, Amedy, Horaman, Botan, Sason, Sirt, Diarbakir, Moush, Van and various areas of Eastern Kurdistan came together. During the congress, Sheikh Ubaidullah declared his principal aim, which was to establish a union between the Kurdish tribes and preparation for a revolution against the Ottoman and Iranian states. He spoke also about the necessity for the independence of Kurdistan. Before the start of the revolution, Sheikh Ubaidullah sent a letter to the Persian ruler of Urmia informing him about the decision to declare a Kurdish revolution. In his letter he mentioned the reasons for the revolution, which were the cruel treatment of the Kurdish tribes by the Iranian and Ottoman authorities and that the Kurds in Iran and Ottoman state “have decided to form one state ...” His revolution started in 1880 in the town of Shamdinan and involved the forces of more than fifty thousand fighters. However, the armies of Russia, Ottomans and Iran surrounded him

from all sides and forced him to surrender in 1883. He was exiled to Hijaz and died in the holy city of Medina.

In the spring of 1984 I met Mr Mousa, one of the grandsons of Sheikh Ubaidullah Nehri.. and he carries a lot of memories and aspirations (11).

In general, we can say that, all the revolutions mentioned above and the revolutions of Prince Ibn Janbulat, Prince Amir Khan Bradosti and Taimour Pasha Mili and his descendants that all had one aim to liberate Kurds and Kurdistan. In his famous book "*A primitive life among the Kurds*", page 216, Major Melengan supports our view and says:

"The Kurdish people since ancient times have lived preserving their national identity and inherited traditions despite the succession of events and circumstances that they withstood. The events and reality of Kurdistan in the nineteenth century showed clearly the existence of the nationality sense in such event as the revolutions of Mohamed Pasha Rawanduzi, Ahmad Pasha Baban and Baderkhan Pasha... I personally met Ahmad Pasha Baban and Rasul Pasha Rawanduzi, and other Kurdish princes and discussed this matter, so I discovered that the nationalistic tendencies and the will for independence were not extinguished among the Kurdish people."

It is certain that all those revolutions lacked continuity and methods because they were spontaneous and without planning. Most of them were also local and individual with differences, internal problems and jealousy between various Princedoms and sometimes inside one Princedom. This was deepened by the Machiavellian policies of the Ottomans as well as committing mass murders, massacres and mass executions against the Kurdish people (12).

All these were among the factors that failed the Kurdish liberation movement generally and prevented achieving any objectives of independence for Kurdistan.

In addition the majority of the Kurdish leaders were not up to those great tasks and were not aware of all the factors and circumstances surrounding them. Their abilities in organisation, administration and ruling were below par as the establishment of a state and protecting it requires an effective administration and organisational apparatus to execute the rules and laws that realise the will of the leader in all circumstances.

Part Three

The Kurdish Governments and Revolutions from the beginning of the 20th Century to the Present

Chapter I

The Kurdish Revolutions and Movements in Eastern Kurdistan

Ismail Shakak's (Samko Agha) Revolutions 1920-1930

The formation of the Kurdistan Republic in 1946

The Kurdish Revolution in Eastern Kurdistan and its evaluation

Chapter II

The Kurdish Revolutions and Movements in Northern Kurdistan

The standpoint of the Kurds from the Armenian Massacres

Ibrahim Pasha Milli's Revolution in 1908

The Great Kurdish Revolution in 1925 under the leadership of
Sheikh Saïd Piran

The Revolution of the Mardissian Tribes under the leadership of
Shukri Agha and Apo Osman Sabri

Khoyboun and the Ararat (Aghri) Revolution 1927-1930

The Dersim Revolution under the leadership of Saied Riza 1937

The Kurdish Revolution in 1984-1999 under the leadership of the
Kurdistan Workers Party and its following

Chapter III

The Western Kurdistan which is occupied by Syria

The Project of a Kurdish State in Western Kurdistan and the assassination of Prince Jaladat Badirkhan

The Genocide of the Kurds in Western Kurdistan

The burning up of the Amuda Cinema in 1960 – The Singular Census 1962 and the Arab Belt 1967

The burning up of Al-Hasakah Central Prison 1993

Chapter IV

The Revolutions and Kurdish Movements in Southern Kurdistan

The Revolutions of Sheikh Mahmoud Hafid King of Kurdistan 1919-1924

The Barzan Revolutions 1934-1945

The 11 September 1961 revolution under the leadership of Mella Mostafa Barzani and its evaluation

The Great Popular Uprising 1991 and the Government and Parliament of Kurdistan 1992

Chapter I

The Kurdish Revolutions and Movements in Eastern Kurdistan

Ismail Shakak's (Samko Agha) Revolutions 1920-1930

The creation of the Kurdistan Republic in 1946

The Kurdish Revolution and its evaluation in Eastern Kurdistan

In 1912, the Organisation for the Liberation of Kurdistan was formed in Eastern Kurdistan with the purpose of acquiring basic rights for the Kurdish people. It continued working quite actively in this respect promoting a number of visible national slogans. Soon after, another organisation, the Jihanzani was formed, aiming at the fusion of the many paths of the Kurdish struggle into one.

In the earlier parts of 1913, the freedom fighter Abdel Rezak Badirkhan founded a cultural organisation in Eastern Kurdistan; in the city of *Khoi* and under its auspices he inaugurated the first Kurdish school in Eastern Kurdistan on 4th November 1913. During the WW I a Kurdish liberation revolution was headed by Qazi Fattah (the younger brother of Qazi Mohamed's grandfather). In 1920, it was the hero Ismail Shakak (Samko Agha), chief of the Shakak tribe, who became the bearer of the Kurdish revolutionary flag. His headquarters were based

in the City of Urmia. He led many battles against the Iranian government in defence of the Kurdish people and their national rights. The Iranian authorities assassinated him in 1930 (13).

The Republic of Kurdistan 1946

The birth of the Republic of Kurdistan in 1946 under the presidency of Qazi Mohammed constitutes one of the important events in Eastern Kurdistan. It lasted one year because of the intricate plots attacking it from every side. The retreat of the Russian forces in favour of the Iranians in exchange of granting them the right to extract petroleum in Iran did not help much either. The American military intervention pushed the Iranian sources to the colonisation of Kurdistan once again. All these movements led to the fall of the Republic facilitated by an Iranian military move. After feeling let down by Kurdistan's friends, Qazi Mohamed went to Teheran in order to negotiate with the Iranian authorities for a mutually acceptable solution to the Kurdish problem. The Shah of Iran welcomed him at first, but later on ordered his assassination, along with two of his accompanying ministers. This was to be the ideal solution for the colonisers of Kurdistan.

Indeed, while the Republic of Kurdistan fell, albeit temporarily, the revolutions of the Kurdish people continued in Eastern Kurdistan erupting on every possible occasion. Of these, we can cite the Revolution of the Juanro Kurdish clans in the 50s, and the revolution led by the freedom fighter Faek Amin and his supporters in 1967. Then there was the coup by the martyr Ahmed Tawfiq and his followers who fought the Iranian

authorities under the name *Komeley Yeksani*. There were also the attacks by the military forces of the Komele, the forces of Sinar Agha Shakak and the forces of Tahir Khan son of Simko Agha Shakak and the Kurdistan Democratic Party, which was the strongest and most organised of them all under the leadership of the martyr Dr. Abdulrahman Qasimlo 1980-1989.

The Kurdish Revolution in Eastern Kurdistan under the leadership of the Kurdish Democratic Party and Dr. Abdulrahman Qasimlo

The Kurdish people were subjected, before the advent of the Monarchy in Iran, to a host of persecutions and the abjuration of their designated national rights. This suppression was not only against the revolutionary movements but also against the basic rights of the Kurdish people to freedom of expression. The Iranian Savak “the Iranian secret police” ruled in Eastern Kurdistan with an iron fist. The Kurds considered the fall of the Shah’s regime in Iran and the formation of the Iranian Islamic Republic as good news and they took to the streets in support of the new regime under the leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini. The Kurdish fighters returned to Iran, at their head Dr. Abdulrahman Qasimlo who had escaped outside the homeland. Many of the Kurdish political prisoners, such as Mr. Ghani Blourian who had served a record time of 27 years, were released of Iranian prisons. However, the local, regional, and national factors pushed the Kurds to bear arms once again and start a revolution under the leadership of the Kurdish Democratic Party and its Secretary General Dr. Abdulrahman Qasimlo. Nevertheless, at the end of the Iran-Iraq war in 1989, the persistence of numerous regional and national factors

contributed to the prolongation of the Kurdish revolution. Soon the local forces were unable to resist the Iranian army. As a result, the revolutionary forces retreated from the Eastern regions of Kurdistan and left the political boundaries of Iran. Some of them went to Iraq, others to Turkey, and still others to Europe.

From the start, the Kurdish revolution had misjudged its own forces and capacities and the loyalty of its supporters. It was also mistaken in putting its trust in the Iranian authorities. When Dr. Abdulrahman Qasimlo was to meet with a group of Iranian Savak Officers in the Austrian capital Vienna on 13/7/1989, he decided to go without any personal protection. He was assassinated during the meeting. His assassination put a damper on the Revolution and slowed it down tremendously. The assassination of Dr. Saiid Sharafkandi, successor to Dr. Qasimlo as Secretary General to the Party, in Berlin in 1993 was another blow. May God bless their souls and receive them in his vast paradise. The hope is that Mustafa Hijri, the current Secretary General, will not commit the same mistakes as his predecessors Dr. Qasimlo and Dr. Sharafkandi that cost their lives and lead to breakdown of the Kurdish revolution.

It is important to mention that the Kurds of Eastern Kurdistan, and their compatriots in other parts of the country, are like the fire under the rubble waiting for another opportunity. When Mr. Abdallah Ocalan was abducted in February 1999, the Iranian authorities allowed the Kurdish people in Eastern Kurdistan to come out in protest and ask for his liberation. The Kurds came out in protest in the thousands, but very soon, the slogans in favour for the liberation of Mr. Abdallah Ocalan turned into slogans in favour of the liberation of Kurdistan. As

a result, the Iranian security forces opened fire on the rebels, and dozens of protesters, martyrs for freedom, were killed in the streets of Eastern Kurdistan. Many thought the Kurdish resistance force dead long ago, but as already mentioned, it is very much alive and awaiting the next round. The Kurdish masses in the Eastern part of Kurdistan will soon be demanding their independence as they manifested during the protests.

Chapter II

The Revolutions and the Kurdish liberation movements in Northern Kurdistan

The Kurdish Standpoint from the Armenian Massacres

The Armenian massacres, implemented by the Turks with unprecedented barbarism and violence, are important incidents during that period. It is important to talk about the Kurdish standpoint from these massacres since they happened on the Kurdish lands.

The renowned historian Arnold Toynbee wrote about these in a very touching manner to Lord James Bryce who responded to it by a speech he made in the House of Lords in which he mentioned the following:

He was not “referring to the massacres” as the result of an eruption of the anger of the Moslems against the Christian Armenians, but it all falls within the strategies of the Nation and its desires “meaning that the massacres were synchronized with the desires of the Ottoman Empire”.

The Armenian Massacres were bigger and deeper in significance than a blind religious strife on the side of the Kurds or the Armenians regardless.

Ottoman Minister of Interior Talaat Pasha’s telegram to the Governor of Aleppo went as follows:

“I have informed them beforehand, that according to the orders of the Organisation [the Organisation of the

Unionists] it has been decided to definitively eradicate the Armenians from Turkey.” The telegram goes on to mention. “You must put an end to the Armenians, do not pay any attention whatsoever to age, presence to men or to women.” (Kurdistan during the years of WW I, Dr. Kamal Mazhar Ahmad. pp. 278-2)

The Turkish authorities tried to absolve themselves of the responsibility for the Armenian massacres and tried to put the accusation on the Kurdish people in any way they could. The Ottomans used to bring their prisoners from the different regions, to dress them in the Kurdish national costumes and send them in hordes to cities like Erzeroum and Diyarbekir to participate in the extermination operations. (Ref: Abdelaziz Yamelki in “Kurdistan and the Kurds” (Ikhtlalelray p.62)

By the same token, the Turkish authorities sent out soldiers in Kurdish attire to implement these massacres. The Turkish authorities also recruited Kurds in the Hamidian cavalry (14), however, the Kurdish tribes refused to take part in these forces that were initially used to counteract the Russian invasion and curb the Kurdish, Armenian or Arab liberation movements. None of the tribes joined in the Dersim region whatsoever. The Kurdish leaders did not respond to the invitation of the Ottoman Government, instead they openly fought them. Of these fighters were the Badirkhanis, the Shamzinis, Sheikh Mohmoud El Hafid, Sheikh Abdelsalam El Barzani, and the leaders of Bashder, Hamawend and El Gaf.

In this respect, we portray what was published in the paper ‘Kurdistan’ that heavily criticized the Hamidian groups (15). In its 18th issue, published on the 15th September 1901, referring to it as a disgraceful institution,

and the newspaper mentioned in its front page the conditions that led to the formation of this institution, and mentioned as a very important point, the following:

“Zaki Pasha decided to form the Hamidian cavalry and wanted to turn them into a weapon for the suppression of the Armenian National movement so that the Kurdish and Armenian peoples should not unite against Abdul Hamid’s dominance.” (source: Dr. Kamal Mazhar Ahmad, p.90)

The Ottomans had a vested interest, in the long run, to prevent the Kurds and the Armenians from cooperating in the face of Ottoman rule of which both were victims. Instead, they promoted animosity between the two sides. The Kurdish newspaper pointed out, more than once, the dangers of the feelings of animosity for the Armenians and by the same token for the Kurds. (ref: issue no.26 published on the 14th December in 1901)

What has become known about Ibrahim Pasha El Melli, and his prominent role in the formation of the Hamidian Cavalry forces, that he took a very positive stance from the Armenians, and was able to rescue close to ten thousand Armenians. (Ref: Mark Sykes, The Caliph’s Last Heritage, p.3)

Whereas Mahmoud Zadeh Beit Allah who was known for his humanity and courage rescued the entire inhabitants of the Max region from death. (Ref: The Genocide of the Armenians, pp100-101)

The Kurds were also responsible for the rescue of more than five thousand Armenians in the Dersim region from certain death. The Yezdi Kurds also rescued many of the Armenians who took refuge with them and did not hand them over to the authorities in spite of all the pressure.

This is a fact confirmed by the Armenians and the academician Orbelli.

The meeting between the leader of the Armenians Dashnak party with Abdel Rahman Badirkhan, one of the Kurdish leaders in Geneva with the purpose of unifying the demands of the Armenians and the Kurds witnesses to the excellent and strong relations between the two people.

Following the meeting, and based on it, Abdel Rahman Badirkhan published an article in the Kurdish language in Arabic letters in the newspaper Troshak (The Flag), organ of the Dashnak party. (ref: The History of the Armenian Nation , Dr. K.A. Astarjian, published in Mosul, 1951, p.315)

These relations are also referred to in the publications of General Sherif Pasha (16) in the newspaper of El Mashrouteya in 1914, in which he criticised the racist policies of the Unionists (Ittihad) in relation to the Armenian massacres.

This rapprochement was also supported by bi-lateral accord between Boghos Nubar Pasha, representative of the Armenian people, and General Sherif Pasha, representative of the Kurdish people during the peace treaty of 1919 in Paris. They presented a joint memo to the representatives of the union of nations after WW I, relating to the rights of the Kurdish and Armenian people in forming their respective independent homelands. The treaty of Sevres was the result of these efforts.

The Koyboun party further deepened and harmonised the relations between it and the Armenian leaders. They signed the historic treaty of political and military cooperation between the Kurds and the Armenians in

1927. This document is living proof that the Kurdish people and the Kurdish liberation movement have had and continue to have feelings of admiration and respect towards the Armenian people.

The gravest mistake the Armenians committed during that period was their cooperation with the Turkish Unionist government, because the Ottomans had massacred over 300,000 Armenians. This, however, stood between them and their success as a nation, because the moment the Unionists came to power, they dispersed and massacred over one and a half million Armenians. This misjudgement brought about the undesirable results. These are similar mistakes to those committed, even to this day, by the Kurdish Liberation Movement, whereby they join forces with one coloniser of Kurdistan against another, or by supporting opposition powers to the colonisers of Kurdistan. The moment the opposition forces come to power themselves, they prove to be even worse than their predecessors and the previous rulers.

Having exposed the Kurdish standpoint towards the Armenian massacres, we now return to the events of Kurdistan.

General Sharif Pasha and his effort to obtain independence for Kurdistan by diplomatic methods in the aftermath of the World War 1

General Sharif Pasha was from Sulaimaniah and a General in the Ottoman army. He also held several diplomatic positions for the Ottomans in many European countries. After the fall of the Ottoman Empire, he found that the Kurdish people could demand their right for independence, after the abolishment of the Islamic (Ottoman) cover. He took on the responsibility of representing the Kurdish people in the peace conference that was organised in Paris to discuss the affairs of world nations after the World War 1. He submitted two memorandums and two maps of Kurdistan to the conference, including demands and rights of the Kurdish people. The first one dated 22 March 1919, and the second one on 1st March 1920. In January 1919 General Sharif Pasha signed an agreement with the representative of the Armenian people *Bougus Nobar Pasha* so that both Kurds and Armenians submitted a joint memorandum to the Peace Conference to determine the rights of both nations. This diplomatic activity led to the signing of Sevres Treaty on 10 August 1920. The Treaty stated the right of forming a Kurdish state and an Armenian one. However, when Mustafa Kemal came to power in Turkey and threatened the west that he will turn Turkey to a communist country moving in the orbit of the Soviet Union, by actually signing several agreements with the Soviets, the west started carrying out all his demands to prevent that. The first of those was to cancel the Sevres Treaty on the condition of keeping distance from the Soviets. Thus, the west offered Mustafa Kemal the

alternative treaty of Lausanne of 1923 that ignored the Kurdish cause and reduced all the Kurdish affairs to the problem of Mosul.

A mixed international committee was formed from representatives of *Hungary, Sweden, Belgium, Turkey and Iraq* to study the situation in this *Wilayet Mosul* and polling its population!... without any representative of the Kurdish people in this international committee or any view in its activities or results.

At the end this international committee completed its work and submitted its report to the League of Nations on 16 July 1925. Based on this report the League of Nations made its decision on 16 October 1925 to join the Mosul Wilayet with the Iraqi state.

The following is a translation of the Third Article of that decision:

“The British government as the Mandate holding state has the responsibility to introduce to the Council arrangements to carry out the terms and conditions of the committee, to carry out a referendum among the Kurds in Iraq to establish a local administration for them, as mentioned in the conclusions of the detailed report submitted to the Council.”

On the basis of the request of the League Council, on 3 September 1926, the British Minister of the Colonies sent a detailed letter to the Council including the actions of the Iraqi government and its good intentions towards justice to the Kurds and guarantying their rights in Iraq! (17).

After the World War 1, the Kurdish people started great heroic revolutions and epics in their frustration at the failure of the political and diplomatic attempts carried

out by the Kurdish organizations and personalities.

The following are the most important ones of those heroic epics in Northern Kurdistan:

Revolution of Ibrahim Pasha Milli

Ibrahim Pasha Milli was the head of the Kurdish Milli tribe, and one of the commanders of the Kurdish Al-Hamidia forces formed by the Ottoman authorities. However, when he rejected the request of the Ottomans to participate with them in their war against Greece, he declared a revolution and asked for independence... Many intense battles occurred between his forces and the Ottomans after which he was eventually defeated and surrounded on Abdulaziz Mountain –part of the Syrian Kurdistan at present-. He was arrested there and was executed by the Ottomans in 1908.

Before the World War 1, the Ottoman state took the opportunity of the Russians being preoccupied, and sent an army to occupy Urmia, Shino and Mahabad, thus penetrating the Iranian borders agreed according to the Zahaw Treaty of 1639. For those reasons were not permanently determined up to that time. However, the Russians also entered the North Kurdistan and reached as far as *Khoi and Urmia* forcing the Ottomans to withdraw, and a committee was formed from English, Turkish and Iranian representatives, assigned to determine the borders between the two sides. The committee began its work in 1913 then stopped as the World War 1 started.

The Turks used the opportunity of the World War 1 in a devastating way to strike at the Kurdish liberation movement, starting by their call for jihad against the infidels!! And exploiting the religious sentiments to draft

most of the Kurdish intellectuals and youth to military service and fighting fronts... thus emptying thousands of households from their young men and leaving behind only children, women and elderly in the name of military recruitment. This led to the loss of half a million of the best Kurdish young men falling as victims of the war, as the majority of the Ottoman armies (the sixth, the ninth, the tenth, the eleventh and twelfth) were from the Kurdish people. In addition to that the Ottomans displaced more than seven hundred thousand Kurds from Kurdistan and forced them to go to the west of Turkey, causing the death of majority of them on their way because of hunger, illness and severe cold. Those of them who were from Mosul came to the point to eat the flesh of their dead on the road. What made the matters worse was the fact that the Ottoman armies camping in Kurdistan forced the Kurdish population to supply them with products.

It is very difficult to describe the real images of tragedy, of the extent of destruction and devastation that occurred in Kurdistan.

Another factor caused by the policies of the Ottoman occupiers that led to a negative effect in the development of the Kurdish struggle during that period was the fact that many different factions in the territories of Kurdistan in their internal struggle attempted to direct the Kurdish anger in a direction that served their own interests and against their own enemies. Such a phenomenon is still affecting the situation up to now.

The Ottoman Turks even in those critical circumstances had never tried to gain the loyalty of the Kurdish politicians and religious leaders to their side. On the contrary, they intensified their racism and barbarism by expelling and disintegrating the Kurdish people. They erected hanging

poles in many towns of Kurdistan and hanged the Kurdish tribal chiefs, intellectuals and peasants. As a small example we mention that on 1st December 1914 they hanged the great revolutionary and patriot Sheikh Abdulsalam Barzani together with two of his men and one of the leaders of the *Rekanis* in Mosul. Then the Ottomans took the opportunity of declaring the war against Russia to attack the Russian Consulate in Bedlis and arrest the Kurdish leader *Mella Salim Khizani* and his comrades who led the revolution of Batlis and took refuge there after the failure of their liberation attempt. They hanged them immediately and left their bodies hanging for several days in the streets, in order to terrorise the Kurdish people in those areas (see *The Kurdish Cause*, Dr Bla J Sherko, page 50).

They also assassinated others using barbaric methods as the assassination of the late Sheikh Saïid, father of Sheikh Mahmoud Hafid, together with his son Sheikh Ahmad and a number of his men after their expulsion to Mosul on the eve of the World War 1 (18). They also conspired to loot the house of Sheikh Mahmoud Hafid in Sulaimany in order to weaken the influence of the Kurdish leaders (See “Kurdistan in the Years of World War One” by Dr Kamal Mazhar Ahmad).

This is what happened as far as the policies of the Ottomans concerned, but even their enemies, the Russians, the English and the French also could not understand the reality of the aspirations of the Kurdish people, or perhaps, their own interests denied them that opportunity.

In one secret document, the Russian Consul in *Urmia* admitted clearly that the Russians looked into the Kurdish question and the future of Kurdistan mainly through the establishment of an Armenian independent state (See

Lazarev, "Kurdistan", page 301). This was the Russian position before the Socialist Revolution of 1917, and still the same position presides even after the revolution, apart from few adjustments that I will come to later.

However, the fact that made the Russian officials apply some changes to their Kurdish policies was related to their ambitions as stated in the secret *Sikes–Picot* agreement that affiliated large areas of Kurdistan to Russia, and uncovered this treaty after the communist revolution in 1917. Thus Russia lost its part of Kurdistan apart from a small part.

The advance of Russia in Kurdistan was an expression of that treaty and the secret letter sent by the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs *Sazanov* in April 1916 to the French ambassador in Petrograd as follows:

- 1- The Russian would take the areas of Arzarom, Trabzon, Van and Batlis up to a place on the west of Trabzon on the shores of Black Sea to be determined later.
- 2- The areas of Kurdistan from west of Van and Batlis, and between Moush, Saarid, Tigris River, Jazeert Ibn Omar and the mountain terrain surrounding Amedy and Margwar should be left to Russia, and in turn she (meaning Russia) would recognize the right of France on the areas situated between Qaisaria and Kharput. (See: V. Cluchnikov and A. Sabakin, op. cit vol 11, p 42).

The second division of Kurdistan came about according to the *Sikes–Picot* Treaty of 1916, which divided the possessions of the Ottoman Empire between Britain, France and Russia. Thus the English occupied the Arabic Iraq and affiliated south of Kurdistan to it, the French occupied Syria and affiliated west of Kurdistan to it, and

the Russian army advanced to the south and occupied many Kurdish cities in the east of Kurdistan. In order to stabilize their own rule, the Russians freed the head of Shikak tribe, Ismail Agha (Simko), who was imprisoned by them, on the condition of his cooperation with them. This as it seems included paying him a reward of five thousand golden Rubles after his release, and he was appointed as a ruler on some Kurdish areas. The Russians continued their advance until in the spring of 1916 they arrived at the borders of the Southern Kurdistan from three directions: Khanaqin, Sulaimany and Rawanduz.

All this did not prevent the Kurdish people or discourage them from the Kurdish liberation struggle. Thus the Botan Revolution of 1915 and revolutions of Batlis, Mardin and Diarbakir 1917 took place. In addition to other armed Kurdish revolutions, the Kurdish liberation movement resorted to political and diplomatic activities. The number of Kurdish associations and organizations increased and their influence was widely spread among the people, especially the intellectuals. This was due to their wide distribution of announcements and publications that were full of liberation ideas and intensified attacks on the colonizers. Among those publications we find one of them with such an expressive title as: "This Land Belongs to Us"

In 1902 the first Kurdish political organization was formed in Egypt under the name: "Association of the Powerful Will of Kurdistan".

In 1908 the organization "Association of the Kurds Exalting and Development" was established in Istanbul, whose founders were: Amin Ali Badirkhan, Genral Sharif Pasha, Sheikh Abdulqadir Nahri and Colonel Aldamad Zulkufil Pasha. In the same year another organization

("Association of Spreading Kurdish Culture" was established in Istanbul. In 1910 the organization "Association of Hope" was established in Istanbul by the Kurdish students.

The Great Kurdish Revolution of 1925 under the Command of Sheikh Saiid Piran

The heroic epic of Sheikh Saiid Piran and his great revolution around Diarbakir and Kharput in 1925 was as other Kurdish revolutions aiming to gain the independence for Kurdistan. The heroic Sheikh decided to occupy the city of Diarbakir and announce a Kurdish state from there. However, he was not successful, because he was not prepared enough for such a mission. As the military commander of the revolution, the martyr Khalid Jibrany, was arrested by the Turkish authorities before the start of the revolution, on his way to take his military responsibilities. The revolution also did not have the necessary Intelligence Service to inform it about the enemy's movements inside the city, that is why the revolution was surprised by more advanced units of the Turkish army and the defeat was inevitable. So, the leader was arrested and executed after a fake trial together with forty six of the commanders of the revolution, among them the martyr Dr Fuad, the First Secretary to Sheikh Saiid, Saied Mohamed and his father Sheikh Abdulqadir Nahri, and the revolutionary activist Fahmi Laji.

The martyr Sheikh Saiid Piran was an example for all Kurdish revolutionaries. His activist behavior with the revolutionaries was a result of his nationalistic views, although he was one of the prominent Sheikhs of the Naqashbandi sect in Kurdistan. As an example for that let us mention:

“The activist Fahmi Laji was one of the Sheikh Saiid’s assistants and close to him; at the same time he was one of those who had not much regard for religious issues. When some people criticized the Sheikh for taking such a atheist person as his assistant!! Sheikh Saiid would answer: Fahmi is an atheist more than any other atheist person and he is infidel more than any infidel. However, he is a good Kurd. He would then say: if he dies do not bury him in Muslim graveyards; that it is the most I can do, other than that holding him to an account must be left to his God because He is the highest judge.”

We must mention that the Kurdish nationalistic feelings were not crystallized in the minds of people, that is why when Sheikh Saiid was brought to his trial, the judge told him: why do you fight the Turkish government? His answer was far from the Kurdish cause and anything to do with Kurds. He knew how to give an answer that causes a huge effect in the soul of the Kurdish people by saying his famous words: “I fight you because you are infidels.” These words and the way he became a martyr caused a popular uprising and the Kurdish tribes, even those who were against his revolution for a while, took to the revolution after his death. Kurdish revolutions started in all parts of Kurdistan under the control of Turkey. However, their reactions were on the individual basis

without coordination, as a direct reaction to the execution of Sheikh Saiid and his comrades. That is why they all failed. An old man from those who lived that era told me once: “After the revolution of Sheikh Saiid Piran, there were Kurdish uprisings in all areas and mountains, unfortunately each one was apart from the other, so there was no communication or cooperation between them, which enabled the Turks to overpower

them and eliminate them one after the other.” I will mention here just a few examples from those revolutions:

Khoyboun and Revolution of Aghri 1927 – 1930

In the aftermath of the World War I the Kurds formed a political group in Istanbul under the name “Association of Kurdish Independence” led by Sheikh Abdulqadir, son of Sheikh Ubaidullah Nahri, and involved all the Kurdish Chiefs and Princes. Then the Baderkhan family separated from them and established another group under the name “Association of Social Formations in Kurdistan”. In addition to that there was another group “Association of the Kurdish People”.

As soon as the Kemalists entered Istanbul they started eliminating the members of these associations and anyone associated with the Kurdish liberation movement. All those organisations were dissolved, and another organization was formed outside Turkey to unify all those who were previously members of the above mentioned organizations. The new organization was called “Khoyboun = Independence”. The Aghri Revolution of 1927 was under the leadership of General Ihsan Noori Pasha (18), managed and organized by Khoyboun Party. In order to gain victory, the Khoyboun organization created internal, regional and international relations with chiefs of the Kurdish tribes and the friendly neighboring peoples. As part of those relations we mention the political and military treaty with the Armenian liberation movement. The scholar Ibrahim Mella (the author’s father) was a prominent member of the Khoyboun Party. When the Aghri Revolution failed in 1930, the activities of Khoyboun also faded and its members resorted to

the fields of political agitation and diplomatic struggle for the Kurdish liberation movement.

Revolution of the Merdisian Tribe 1926 under the Command of Shukri Agha

After the martyrdom of Sheikh Saiid Piran the chiefs of Merdisian tribe gathered and decided to start a revolution against the Turkish state as a continuation to the revolution of the martyred Sheikh. However, before the start of the revolution there was a Turkish spy in their gathering who disclosed their secret and the chiefs of that tribe were captured by the Turkish authorities before doing anything. Among them were the heroic main chief of the tribe Shukri Agha and his nephew Apo Osman Sabri.

During their trial the Turkish General Public Attorney poured a lot of accusations on them. Then the judge asked Shukri Agha to reply to the accusations by presenting his views and defending himself.

Shukri Agha said: “The words spoken by him are nothing but the words of an enemy and not a General Attorney. If you want me to defend myself, give me a dagger to do so, for that is the only language that our enemies understand ... “ The judge told him: “Oh, Shukri Agha you are in a court and not in Merdisian Mountains.” All the leaders of our Kurdish people had stands similar to the stand of Shukri Agha and such stands remain in the conscience of Kurdish activists for ever and ever.

Shukri Agha and his comrades knew in advance that the sentence against them would be an execution as it was the trend against all Kurdish revolutionaries that stood in front of the “Turkish Independent Courts”

renowned for their racism and unjust sentences against the Kurdish nation and their liberation movement. That is why, when a relative visited them in the prison, the revolutionary activist Osman asked him to bring a pistol, next time he visits, to kill the judge during his pronouncing of the sentence, but his paternal uncle Shukri Agha did not accept that. He said: "They will execute us, but you shall survive because you are under eighteen and it is not allowed by law to execute you. You should get out of prison to execute my will, which is what I say to you:

You must kill the spy that betrayed us to the enemy." And indeed Shukri Agha and his comrades were executed with their chins up and their last words were their hope for a liberated Kurdistan. The revolutionary activist Osman Sabri was released and he killed the traitor in public according to the will. Then he went to the mountains of his tribe's area to declare a revolution. However, after becoming convinced that he could not succeed alone, he went to Sulaimany and Barzan, where he met Sheikh Mahmoud Hafid and Sheikh Ahmad Barzani in 1927 in order to unify the forces of the Kurdish liberation movement, but he did not succeed in his mission for several reasons. Then he returned to his tribe's homeland to find her surrounded by authority's forces and no chance for any movement. So, he left the area and went to the Syrian Kurdistan, where he participated in the formation of the Khoyboun Party and Aghri Revolution under the command of General Ihsan Noori Pasha who lifted on the revolution's headquarters the flag of Kurdistan, which was of these colours: red at the top, green in the bottom and the white colour in between with the shining sun of Kurdistan in the middle in yellow. This was the same flag presented by General Sherif Pasha to the Peace

Conference in Paris in 1919, and the same flag lifted by General Ihsan Noori on the Revolution's command headquarter in Aghri Mountains in 1927-1930. The flag was also raised by Qazi Muhammad in Charchira Square in the city of Mahabad after the establishment of the Kurdistan Republic in 1946.

After that the Turkish authorities asked the French authorities mandated to rule Syria to expel the heroic revolutionary Osman Sabri (Apo) as far as a hundred kilometers from the Turkish borders because he is a danger for them. So, the French authorities expelled him to Damascus. Nevertheless, he continued his activities and communications with Kurdistan, so the Turkish authorities asked the French to expel him from Syria altogether. Thus the French authorities sent him to exile to Mauritius Island in Africa, together with his sister and his son Walato. After two years of vigorous attempts he managed to come back to Syria and stayed there until he deceased on 11/10/1993, blessed be his soul and heaven be his place. Apo was subject to a lot of persecution and arrests from both French authorities and Syrian authorities. Despite of their attempts to tempt him at times or terrorize him other times, he remained unwavering and a great example for all Kurdish activists for ever, as it will be shown in the following.

The revolutions in Northern Kurdistan as affiliated to the Turkish state were accompanied by terrible waves of executions carried out by the renowned Turkish Independent Courts, especially after the World War I. Furthermore, there were forced displacement and expulsion of the population from the Kurdish uprising areas. This policy was intensified after the revolution led by Saied Reza in 1937, which was oppressed by the

Turks in a barbaric manner using all their weaponry including poisonous gases... this forced the commander of the revolution Saied Reza to ask for a ceasefire in order to stop the bloodshed. He then claimed refuge in the Russian Consulate in Betlis and stayed there until the start of the World War II in 1939. The Turks took this opportunity and stormed the Russian Consulate and captured Saied Reza, and executed him. When the World War II started, the Northern Kurdistan came out of a long dark period of massacres and executions, and expulsions, in addition to assassinations of Kurdish activists in the street such as that happened later to the campaigner Faeq Bojaq in 1958, and the assassination of Welato, the son of the revolutionary Apo Osman Sabri, in 1970.

Up to now, the Kurdistan liberation activists face executions and assassinations inside the Turkish prisons, as well as killing them under torture without them wavering and they remain on their refusal of the presence of the Turkish colonial forces inside Kurdistan despite of all the sacrifices towards that aim.

The Kurdish Revolution in Northern Kurdistan under the Leadership of Abdullah Ocalan, the President of the Kurdistan Workers Party

As I mentioned before, the Kurdish people in Northern Kurdistan carried out several revolutions in order to acquire independence. However, for subjective and international reasons, they failed to gain a complete victory leading to independence. Those Kurdish revolutions were defeated and their leaders were executed, in addition to annihilating of the populations of entire areas, as it

happened to the occupants of the Zilan valley who were gathered in the valley and burnt to death without any survivors.

Thus was how the rule of Mustafa Kemal and the new Turkish Republic started, and since then the Turkish constitution declared that there is only one people in Turkey, and that is the Turkish people. All others are not legal. Furthermore, the Turkish education programs state that the Turkish people are the origin of all people, meaning that all other peoples in the world were born out of the Turkish nation, and the Turkish language is the origin of all the languages of the world. This led the leader of the Nazi Germany, Adolph Hitler to say that he was educated by the ideas of Mustafa Kemal.

Since the twenties of the twentieth century and up to the Turkish military coup in 1980, the Kurdish people lived ups and downs. However, whenever the democratic wave was strengthened the Kurdish parties, instead of unifying their efforts and take advantage, they would start fighting between themselves. In this way the best of the Kurdish activists were killed and eliminated. While, as soon as the democratic wave passes and a military coup takes over, the Kurdish-Kurdish antagonism stops and the Turkish authority takes over the elimination of the Kurds. The most recent of these coups was in 1980 under the command of General Kanan Evren, after which all the Kurdish parties fled Turkey and resided in Syria. The strongest of those parties at the time was Alai Rizgari Party under the leadership of the revolutionary lady Khajo. Our comrades in Pasok Party informed me that when the activist Khajo visited the Peshmarga headquarters there, she was accompanied by 40 Peshmarga (Freedom fighters). While the Kawa Party was subjected to a huge

strike when their leaders (16 members of the leadership) crossed to Syria, as they were attacked at night by the Turkish forces inside the Syrian territories, in a house near the town of Qamishli, and killed all of them. As for the Kurdistan Workers Party and their leader Mr. Abdullah Ocalan, they went to Damascus and signed an agreement with the Syrian authorities to guarantee their stay and train their members. Thus since then the Syrian government ordered the expulsion of all Kurdish Parties that have been displaced from Northern Kurdistan, leaving only the Kurdistan Workers Party.

The Kurdistan Workers Party called for the independence of Kurdistan and mixed this exalted aim with a collection of Marxist-Stalinist ideas that totally contradict the idea of Kurdish national liberation. For example, every nation has only one flag, but the Kurdistan Workers Party raised numerous flags such as a red flag, or one with a red star, or the same colours of the Kurdistan flag without the sun, or a flag decorated with a sickle and a hammer.. etc. This, in addition to inhabiting the bad ideas of Stalinism such as the worship of personalities and other nonsense ideas that have been renounced by the history, made those members graduating from the training camps of the Kurdistan Workers Party in Syria and Lebanon to be just subjects who had been brainwashed. The graduates were to swear the allegiance by each advancing from their row and putting their hand on a picture of Mr. Abdullah Ocalan. That means the graduates did not plead allegiance to the people, or homeland, or God, but just to Mr. Ocalan!! Such an action no dictator in the world had dared to take... Such actions were intentionally planned to relate the Kurdish liberation movement to the personality of Mr. Abdullah

Ocalan only and cut all relations with the movement and the past and the future of the Kurdish people... until they came to a point of calling the historical flag of Kurdistan with the sun on it as the flag of Mr. Kemal Burqai!! (one of the leaders of a Party competing with the KWP). This despite the fact that the flag of Kurdistan was raised by all the Kurdish revolutions since the start of the past century. The flag was also raised by the martyr Qazi Muhammad, the President of the Kurdistan Republic in city of Mahabad, the capital of the Republic, when he declared the Republic in 1946, and the sun on the Kurdistan flag has been a Kurdish symbol for more than five thousand years.

In addition the KWP played on the emotions of the Kurdish people by announcing the motto of independent Kurdistan from Damascus!! But everyone knows how the Damascus regime dealt with the Kurdish people in Syria using policies of racist ethnic oppression and denying all national, social and political rights for the Kurds. They don't even recognize the existence of the Kurdish people in Syria despite that the population of the Kurds is more than two millions. So, the motto of independent Kurdistan was not for the independence of Kurdistan in reality, but for personal and partisan interests. When they made gains and a huge number of masses recruited into their Party from all parts of Kurdistan, the KWP omitted the independence of Kurdistan from their program without anyone objecting, because their members had been brainwashed with Marxist slogans and animosity against the west, and even against the whole world as if the KWP is there to free the humanity from the western hegemony!! This is before liberating oneself. As a result of these policies the KWP made the countries that occupy

Kurdistan friends and the entire world enemies of the Kurdish people. While it was supposed to be completely the opposite. On this basis the KWP signed agreements with the security services of Syria, Iraq and Iran contrary to the interests of the Kurdish people in those three states. In addition to that Turkey was secretly happy with the methods and policies of the KWP, for as we see later, this gave Turkey the excuse to destroy 4000 Kurdish villages and oppress the Kurdish patriots, as well as gaining the opinions of the world to its side, showing the Kurdish liberation movement as a leftist terrorist movement rejected by the international community.

We emphasise that the behavior of the KWP was in the interest of Turkey because it enabled her to gain maximum advantages from the Kurdish cause on the regional and international levels. Even a British report published by the British newspaper "Sunday Times" on 22 August 1999 emphasises this. The report says: Turkey asked a British institution specialized in security matters to put surveillance on Mr. Ocalan. The report also mentions that the security institution supplied Turkey with a video showing the private life of Mr. Ocalan in his house in the city of Damascus. The mentioned security firm suggested to Turkey in 1995 assassinating him for "£5.75 m", but Turkey refused the offer!! This means that Turkey would like Mr. Ocalan to stay alive.

Thus Mr. Ocalan presented all the colonizers of Kurdistan with great services, for example by saying: "There is no part of Kurdistan inside the borders of Kurdistan, and the government of Southern Kurdistan is like a knife in the back of the Arab homeland and Iran", and stating that he is the one who created the Kurdish people, and other chaotic statements, which are very far

from any patriotism and Kurdish morality. That is why it is not surprising that Turkey did not agree to kill him.

During the visit of the American President to Syria in 1996, the Kurdistan Parliament gathered in Copenhagen in Denmark, I was then still a member in that Parliament and on that occasion I stood up in the Parliament and I said that “you should be aware and careful from the peace treaty that might be signed between Syria and Israel as the American President intends to achieve.” I also said: “If the agreement between Israel and Syria takes place it means a Syrian – Turkish agreement, and then we see the danger. We do not want to see the revolution in Northern Kurdistan crumbles as happened to the revolution of the late Mella Mustafa after the Iraqi – Iranian agreement in 1975.” I remember that time one of the leaders of the KWP answered me by saying: “Our revolution is so great that it is unjust to compare it with the revolution of Mella Mustafa.” I told him that I hope that is right and there is no great and non-great revolutions as all the revolutions in our history came to complement the previous ones. The time proved what I mentioned and indeed Syria betrayed the KWP as I expected.

Since expelling the KWP from Syria according to the traitorous Adana treaty between Syria and Turkey, which was the main reason for arresting their leader, and up to now they have not directed even one word of criticism against Syria, and Syria is still some sacred thing for them. What is the meaning of that? Their demonstrations throughout the streets of Europe are chanting with slogans against the American and Israeli “traitors!!”, and raising red flags with the sickle and hammer. It was not Israel and neither America that betrayed them as Syria did after a friendship lasting 14 years. After all I repeat what I

said earlier: any Kurdish movement that depends on any of the occupiers of Kurdistan for support, would not gain except more than even more pains and losses for the Kurdish people and their liberation movement.

This does not mean in any case that the KWP was all negatives and had no positive sides at all. Among its positive sides: it managed to recruit a huge number of Kurdish people inside and outside Kurdistan, thus managing to organize for the first time in history a demonstration for hundred thousand Kurds in Germany. It also established the first satellite TV covering Europe and Kurdistan, which enabled more familiarization for the Kurdish cause in the world. However, this does not mean and does not give them the right, at all, to create side fights with the government of Southern Kurdistan or any other Kurdish Parties, and never gives them the right to attack any Kurdish meeting using batons and glass just because they are not its leaders, as it happened in the meeting “A step towards the Kurdistan National Congress” in June 1997 in the city of Bonn in Germany, when around a hundred persons attacked the meeting shouting long live Apo and independence for Kurdistan “in Turkish language” and beat up the members of the Congress among whom there were Kurdish scientists, engineers, doctors, artists and politicians such as Dr Jamal Nebez who has a history of more than half a century of struggle for the independence of Kurdistan. The reason for that attack was just the fact that the KWP was not heading the meeting!! I believe if only ten of those were with their leader, he would not have been captured in Kenya, and if only five of them were in the streets of Istanbul and carry out what any other liberation movement does in the streets of the capital cities of the states that

occupy their countries, the situation of the Kurdish people would not have been as it is now... I have to emphasise that an honourable Kurdish patriot is like a lion in the face of the occupiers of Kurdistan and is a brother and a friend with other Kurds even if he disagrees with their ideas. However, the KWP was acting the complete opposite. This is what radically contradicts one of the pillars of the national security that the KWP is not aware of or ignores, or at best it looks into the Kurdish national security through political and partisan interests. If not, why else the KWP made concessions to the Iranian, Turkish, Syrian and Iraqi authorities with or without any considerations, while they refuse even greeting their Kurdish brothers just because of differences in opinions... When the KWP announced their departure from the armed military struggle, Dr Jemal Nebez wrote in "Kurdistani Noi" newspaper, the organ of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan in Sulaimany, and suggested that the KWP fighters should hand over their weapons to a committee consisting of the representatives of all the Kurdish Parties and the government in Southern Kurdistan, and for the government of Southern Kurdistan to allow those fighters to live in Southern Kurdistan as any other citizen, the militants of the KWP attacked in articles in the same newspaper Dr Jemal's suggestion, while they did not even open their mouths when later they surrendered with their weapons to the Turkish authorities!! Indeed, had the KWP made 1% of their concessions to their Kurdish brothers instead of the occupiers of Kurdistan the armed revolution would not have failed and their leader would not have been captured. I hope that the KWP would take a lesson from this in the future.

Chapter III

Western Kurdistan Linked to the Syrian State

As to the Western Kurdistan, it has been linked forcefully to the newly established Syrian State in the aftermath of the World War I. Its situation is not better than that of the other parts of Kurdistan. At the beginning the French had a project to create in Syria a state in Damascus, a state for the Alawis on the Shore, a state for the Druz in the South and a Kurdish state in the North. The French authorities even asked the Prince Jaladat Baderkhan to carry out the project of the Kurdish state in the Kurdish areas of Jazeera, Kobani and Afrin. At the time the Kurdish intellectuals were inside the large Syrian cities, especially Damascus. That is why Prince Jaladat asked the Kurdish teachers and lecturers to move with their work into the Kurdish areas in order to educate and prepare for establishing the state institutions. Among those teachers who moved from Damascus to the Kurdish villages in Jazeera area for example there were: Izat Filo, Rashid Jalou and Ibrahim Mella, the author's father. However, the French authorities changed their plan later and made one state of Syria. During the French rule the Kurds enjoyed some social and cultural rights, such as establishing literature associations and social and cultural clubs, as well as publishing Kurdish magazines and newspapers, for example the magazines Hawar and Ronahi and Kurdistan Club. The great activist Osman Sabri and Prince Jaladat Baderkhan were among the first who carried out such activities.

Among the first books published in that era there were the first poem book of the great poet “*Jigerkhoin*” and the best book regarding the Kurdish language grammar “*Rezman*” by the Kurdish writer “*Rashid Kurd*”, and the most beautiful poetic and prose writings about the Kurdish cause in a simple and expressive manner (Bahoz = Hurricane, Darden Me = Our Troubles), and a poem book by the leader and great writer Apo Osman Sabri, whose poem book was published in Europe as “*Apo*” which means Uncle, and it is the name that he has been known by in the Kurdish society since more than half a century.

When the French left Syria and the Syrians took the power in 1946, they hurried to close all the Kurdish associations, clubs and newspapers, and even confiscated all the Kurdish publications in the markets and homes. Then they started to practice the policy of ignoring the existence of the Kurdish people and denying their ethnic rights.

Project of a Kurdish State in Western Kurdistan

In 1949, the courageous Kurdish Officer General Husni Zaeem carried out the first military coup in Syria and became the President of the Syrian Republic. He appointed the martyr Muhsin Berazi, one of the chiefs of the Kurdish tribe Berazi, to form the council of ministers from a group of Kurdish ministers and other Syrians who were not hostile to the Kurdish people. The President General Husni Zaeem informed Prince Jaladat Baderkhan to restart his activities to form a Kurdish state in the Syrian Kurdistan. He gave him all the authorities and told him: do not be afraid and do not hesitate with anything, I am

the President of the Republic and in agreement with the Prime Minister on all arrangements to declare a Kurdish state; those arrangements are according to the plan of Prince Kameran Baderkhan, which stated that a Kurdish state should be declared in the part that has been linked to the weakest state, and at the time Syria was the weakest. So, Prince Kameran carried out international contacts including with the Israeli State and promised them a peace agreement with Syria if they support a Kurdish state in Syria. (See: Mosad and Neighbouring Countries, Shlomo Nekdimon (the relation Officer between Israel and the Kurdish Revolution in the seventies), First Edition in Hebrew 1997, and Second Edition in Arabic, Translated by Bader Aqily, Published by Dar Al-Jalil Publishing in Jordan.

However, not all wishes come true, and just after three months of the Kurdish rule in Syria, Colonel Sami Al-Hannawi carried out another military coup and overthrew the Syrian government killing its Kurdish leaders first of whom were the glorious martyrs Zaeem and Berazi. After investigations by the Syrian Intelligence Services it was discovered that the two Princes Jaladat and Kameran were behind the Zaeem's coup, so, they arranged a plan to assassinate the two princes. Thus on 15/7/1951 they assassinated Prince Jaladat Baderkhan using a prearranged incident of water tank explosion that martyred him. As for Prince Kameran, he fled Syria since then and never returned until he died in Paris, mercy be on their souls and heaven be their place. The murders of Zeem, Berazi and Baderkhan extinguished the high hopes of the Kurdish people for a while.

However, the rule of Colonel Sami Al-Hannawi did not last more than few months and another coup under

the command of Adeeb Sheeshakly overthrew him. He fled Syria to Beirut, but the Kurdish hero "*Hersho Berazi*" managed to find him and killed him as a revenge for Zaeem and Berazi's death. I met the hero Hersho Berazi in 1972 in Beirut where he was residing.

In 1958 it was the era of the unification between Syria and Egypt; the era that challenged the Kurdish nationalistic feeling by the current of the Arabic nationalism and its racist practices of denying the existence of the Kurdish people and part of their homeland Kurdistan inside their political borders. Thus they changed the name Syrian Republic to the United Arab Republic. The new regime also dismissed the Kurdish Officers and officials from the Syrian army and sensitive positions; among those: General Tawfiq Nizamaddeen the General Chief of Staff of the Syrian army and General Mahmoud Shawkat commander of the Syrian-Israeli front, and hundreds others. That was not the policy of the Egyptian President Jamal Abdunnasser who had good relations with the late Mella Mustafa Barzani and many positive stands towards the Kurds. Among those stands was a Kurdish daily program from the Cairo radio directed at the Kurdish people and in Kurdish language. All what was happening in Syria, was an expression of the desires of the Baathist fascists controlling the power in Syria at the time. The Deputy President to President Abdunnasser in Syria was Mr. Akram Al-Horani, one of the Baath Party high ranked figures. It is true that the late Abdunnasser was an Arab nationalist, but he was not a chauvinist and racist towards other nationalities.

Mass murder of the Kurdish children in Western Kurdistan

One of the horrific racist crimes committed by the Syrian Intelligence against the Kurdish people in Syria during the Unification period was the massacre in a cinema house in the town of *Amuda*) where 380 innocent Kurdish children became victims and burned to death while watching a movie about the Algerian revolution on 13/11/1960. On 28 September 1961 the Syrian-Egyptian Unification fell by a military coup and the families of the victims of Amuda massacre took legal actions in Syrian courts against the criminals who committed that horrible crime. Those involved were interrogated and it occurred that they were associated with the Syrian Intelligence Services and as a reply to the court they said that they were only carrying out orders of the state as nothing but employees. So the state judge declared their innocence and thus provided further proof that the Syrian government will go on carrying out its racist policy of discrimination, extermination of the Kurdish people or assimilating them into Arabs.

The Arab Belt and the Emergency Census in Western Kurdistan

In addition to dismissing the Kurdish military officers and not admitting Kurdish students into teaching and military colleges, the Syrian government that followed the Syrian-Egyptian Unification government in 1961 was even more racist and against the Kurdish existence. It issued the jurisdiction act no (93) dated 23/8/1962 according to which an emergency census was held in Al-Jazeera province *Hasaka* in the Syrian part of Kurdistan

and in 1963 the Syrian government applied the law of agricultural reform all over Syria except the Kurdish part. Thus the government tried to bring the results of the census into practice on 10/4/1966 and as a result the names of one hundred and fifty thousand Kurds (their number has risen recently to 400 thousand through births) were lost from the census files and became without a Syrian nationality certificate. Most of those were residents of the Syrian-Turkish-Iraqi borders, where the Syrian government intended to apply its racist project, which was called "*the Arab Belt*" and aims to isolate the Western Kurdistan (Syrian Kurdistan) from both Northern Kurdistan (Turkish Kurdistan) and Southern Kurdistan (Iraqi Kurdistan) using an Arab human shield along the international borders 375 Km long and 15 Km wide starting from the town of Ras Al-Ain to the town of Tel Kuchek. The objective of the Syrian government is clear and it is to satisfy the evil desires of the chauvinist and racist Arabs. Other than that why is it those people up to now are deprived of the Syrian nationality that they deserve even if they were not of Syrian origins as the Syrian government claims as they have been living for half a century in Syria without nationality while carrying out all the duties of a Syrian citizen including compulsory military service!! Only after depriving the Kurds from the Syrian nationality, the agricultural reform was implemented in the Kurdish areas. According to this racist plan the government took the lands of the Kurdish feudal landowners but did not distribute them among the Kurdish peasants because as a result of the forged census they were not Syrians anymore and thus have no right of possession. So, the Kurdish lands were given to the Arabs displaced by the Syrian government from Al-

Ghumar areas to replace the Kurds as part of the racist Arab belt project.

In the beginning of 1967 the Syrian authorities started the second stage of their racist project by carrying out armed raids against the Kurdish villages to terrorize the Kurdish population into leaving the Kurdish border areas and replace them with Arab subjects.

The Syrian government actually did this and started with the heroic village of *Ali Fro*, but its population challenged the Intelligence and police officials by sitting in front of the Syrian armed and military vehicles and declared: run over us and kill us but we shall never leave our place. So, the authorities arrested more than two hundred Kurds from that village, the majority of whom were women and children. They were driven to Hasaka prison with their blood flowing from the intense beating with rifle butts and boots of the chauvinist Arabs. Faced with this stand of the heroic Kurdish masses the Syrian authorities reviewed their method of implementing their project of Arab belt and resolved to another method by settling the Arab subjects in the area and building exemplary villages for them beside each Kurdish village giving them the lands of the Kurdish village and supplying them with water, electricity, supply institutions, all services and every other public services necessary for modern life, while depriving the Kurdish village from such services. In addition those Arabs were given arms and exempted from military services as the Syrian government regarded them as being in the front against the second Israel as the Arab chauvinism enjoys calling Kurdistan.. Is Kurdistan really a second Israel? Or they with their racist policies are creating a second Palestinian tragedy!! Thus since 1967 the Kurdish people on the

Kurdish border areas were left without lands and nationality, streaming to immigrate to make their living and find a trade voluntarily and without noise.

After the incident in the heroic village of Ali Firo the Kurdish masses were submerged into the frenzy of unprecedented activity such as calling for general strike and distributing publications and announcements condemning the racist actions of the Syrian authorities. The Syrian Security forces answered this massive uprising by arresting many Kurds in 1967, at the head of them the activist Apo Osman Sabri, his son Hosheng and the author.

In the beginning of July 1972 the Syrian authorities made another step towards the final cleansing of the Kurds in the Arab belt area. This was by giving an ultimatum to the population to leave the area in a maximum period of three months. By the end of it on 22/9/1972 the Al-Thawra newspaper of Damascus published an extension to the ultimatum until the end of the current month for all the "Turks" who reside in Syria to leave the country. This was another ignoring of the Kurdish existence in Syria as the announcement by the minister of interior published in the above newspaper describes them as Turks, as the Turkish government that up to now calls the Kurdish people the Mountains Turks!!.

Following up this racist war against the Kurdish people the authorities sealed off several shops in the city of Qamishli as their owners could not register the shops under their names because of loosing their nationality. In June 1972 the Syrian authorities distributed ration coupons among all the Syrian population except hundreds of thousands of Kurds deprived from nationality in order to make their lives difficult and force them to leave. The authorities also continued their arabisation of those

areas by changing the Kurdish names of villages to Arabic names and thus *Derek – Tel Kuchek – Chil Agha* became *Al-Malikia – Al-Ya’rubia – Al-Jawadia* successively. There is not enough space to mention all the racist crimes and unjust emergency laws against the Kurdish people, as even those Kurds who have the Syrian nationality are regarded as second class citizens.

After implementing all their racist projects the Syrian authorities resolved to buying sick personalities of the Kurdish society and formed cartoon organizations for them allowing some of them to criticize the authority about miser issues that have nothing to do with the Kurdish cause. This was in order to control the Kurdish youth and receive monthly reports regarding their movements in exchange for wages.

However, the Syrian government failed in its policy of discrimination, pursuing, imprisonment and oppression of the Kurdish people because of the heroism of the liberty lovers of Kurdistan. I mention few examples:

In the beginning of 1969 I was present in one of the open trials in the state security court of Damascus, which was trying the great activist Apo Osman Sabri (19).

I would like to give evidence for the sake of the truth and history regarding the heroism and patriotism of Apo as he created a heroic image reflecting the heroism of his martyred uncle Shukri Agha. As the attorney general of the state security court asked him: what sort of work do you do in the party? Apo answered him with a loud courageous voice: I am the leader of the party. Then the attorney general stood up and hit the table in front of him saying: are you still the leader (..meaning that how could you say such a thing in front of us, the poor attorney

general not knowing that Apo has never feared anyone). So, Apo answered him even with a stronger voice: yes I still am.

I also remember that once before the trial a delegation from the Syrian government visited him and told him: we do believe in the justness of the Kurdish cause but there are few officials who do not, that is why we ask you to convince them. Apo told them: if you really believe in the justness of the Kurdish cause you are more close to them, so, go and convince your comrades. This was only an attempt to confuse the Kurdish patriotic stand of Apo.

In order to continue on the path of Apo Osman Sabri's activism, I and a group of Kurdish patriots established Western Kurdistan Association in the UK to promote the cause of the Kurdish people in Western Kurdistan on the international stage. Since its establishment, the Association has organized several conferences and press and media interviews. It also opened branches in several European countries. The London office of the Association issues the newsletter Binxete.

In 1970 the Syrian authorities arrested the activist *Haj Deham Mero* and ten of his comrades. They were placed in prison without trials and after ten years Haj Deham was released because of his old age. As it is the authorities arrest Kurds without any reason and subject them to the most horrendous kind of racism, but at the same time they play hosts for Kurds from other parts of Kurdistan on condition that they do not defend the rights of the Kurdish people in Western Kurdistan (the part annexed by the Syrian state) and their national, democratic and human rights.

In 1980 the Syrian Intelligence arrested Hamid Sino and Bahjat Muhammad. The first died within days after his release and the second came out mentally disturbed after being the first of his class during his studies.

In 1993 the Syrian Intelligence burnt the Kurdish prisoners in Hasaka Central Prison to death. 72 of them died and dozens others were injured in one of those clear actions committed by the Arab chauvinism to cleanse the Kurds ethnically.

The Syrian authorities also arrested five Kurdish students in the town of Qamishli (Gharbi Sulaiman and his friends) because they shouted slogans: (long live the Arabic – Kurdish brotherhood) during the celebrations of the Baath Party anniversary on 8 March 1972. For this slogan they were arrested for two whole years!! Well done for such a Syrian racist regime that do not want others as brothers!.

Chapter IV

Revolutions and Kurdish Movements in Southern Kurdistan

Revolutions of Sheikh Mahmoud Hafid, King of Kurdistan

Since 1913 Sheikh Mahmoud Hafid tried to make an agreement with Kamel Pasha and Hussein Pasha, the two sons of Baderkhan Pasha, to participate in the struggle to free Kurdistan from the Ottomans control and establish a federal Kurdish state. At the same time he sent several letters to Russian officials regarding the political future of Kurdistan.

In 1915, Sheikh Mahmoud led a large Kurdish force into the area of Basra in the south of Iraq to prevent the English from entering Iraq. But he withdrew from Basra when he received information that the Russian army had entered into Kurdistan. He went back with his forces to Kurdistan and repelled the Russian army's advance in the sectors of Penguin and Rawanduz and forced them to retreat into Iran... After that Sheikh Mahmoud made an agreement with the representatives of the British forces in Baghdad, after its occupation, to recognize the independence of Kurdistan. So, they recognized the government established by him in Southern Kurdistan with its centre in Sulaimany, and recognized Sheikh Mahmoud as a General Governor of Kurdistan. The government established by Sheikh Mahmoud in Kurdistan in 1919 was the first national state in the Middle East as there were no national Turkish, Iraqi, Syrian or Iranian

states yet. However, the British soon changed their policy and fought Sheikh Mahmoud. When the British forces reached Kurdistan many violent battles took place between them and the Kurdish forces under the command of Sheikh Mahmoud. The last of those battles happened in the Bazian passageway, where 200 Kurdish revolutionary fighters were martyred and 80 others were injured among them was Sheikh Mahmoud who was injured near a rock he was fighting behind and later this rock became known as the "Hero's Rock = Barda Qaraman" after the heroic Sheikh. He was then captured injured by the British forces and sentenced to death. Then the sentence was changed into exile in fear of the Kurdish people's reaction.

Sheikh Mahmoud remained in his exile in India until 1922 when he was brought back to Sulaimany. He entered into the city as a victorious and was received with a huge popular reception. On 14/9/1922 he announced himself as the King of Kurdistan and Sulaimany as his Capital. In his time a first Kurdish government in the twentieth century was formed to administer in Kurdistan and lasted until 1924. Then problems started again between him and the British forces and violent battles took place between them, the most famous of which was the *Awbareek* battle in 1931 where the success was with Sheikh Mahmoud, but he fell into an ambush set to him by the English. Thus he was exiled to Al-Nasseriah, then to Baghdad. When the World War II started, Sheikh Mahmoud took the opportunity to flee back to Kurdistan, but the Iraqi authorities and the British forced him to stay under compulsory residence in Darikaly village near Sulaimany. He stayed there without any memorable events until he died at the night of 9/10/1956, peace be upon his soul. One of the important things carried out by Sheikh

Mahmoud was his plea to Lenin, the Soviet Union leader, to help the Kurdish liberation revolution, after his plea to the Tsarist Russia before that (20).

Revolutions of Barzan

The Barzan revolutions and uprisings took place successively since the end of the nineteenth century until the start of the World War I, when they stopped after the execution of Sheikh Abdulsalam Barzani in 1914 (see part of Sophie Methods). The Barzanis restarted their revolutions during the thirties and the forties of twentieth century, the last of which was in Southern Kurdistan in 1945. However, the Barzanis continued their struggle inside another part of Kurdistan by participation in establishing the Kurdistan Republic in Eastern Kurdistan in 1946.

As for the other parts of Southern Kurdistan, the Kurdish liberation movement developed notably after the successive revolutions of Sheikh Mahmoud Hafid, King of Kurdistan, and this led to the foundation of a nucleus for the political struggle. On the sixth of September 1930, the Kurdish people organized in the streets of Sulaimany the first political national demonstration in Kurdistan. Also the coup carried out by the Iraqi army's Chief of Staff, the Kurdish Officer *Bakir Sidqi* in 1936 had a great effect among the Kurdish intellectuals, as his coup was in reality a Kurdish revolution. He ordered the transfer of the arms and equipments of the Iraqi army from the south to Kurdistan and asked for support from the most famous German army officers to set up a plan for the defense of Kurdistan. He also rejected all applications from any Iraqi Arab for admission to military

colleges in 1936 because those colleges were saturated by the Kurdish applicants. In addition to that he made several preparations to declare the independence of Kurdistan. However, the conspiracy on his life came before that and this hero *Bakir Sidqi* was assassinated in the city of Mosul before he accomplished his historic mission.

These developments also led to the Birth of the “*Jiyanewey Kurd*” Party in 1942 whose ideas were an expression of Kurdish people’s aspirations for liberation and unification of Kurdistan. In 1959 another party “*KAJYK*” was born and continued the path of the Kurdish revolutions and movements that asked for a Kurdish state and established the philosophical foundations for the liberation and independence of Kurdistan in the book “*Kajyknama = the Kajyk Massage*”.

These developments had a large role in the establishment of the Kurdistan Democratic Party – Iran in 1945 and the Kurdistan Democratic Party – Iraq in 1946, and in later dates, in the fifties and sixties, parties with identical names were also established in the Western Kurdistan (Syrian Kurdistan) and Northern Kurdistan (Turkish Kurdistan). All this also had a huge effect on the ignition of 11 September 1961 Revolution under the command of the late Mella Mustafa Barzani. The revolution had a great echo in the consciousness of the Kurdish people and in the other parts of Kurdistan, especially after the agreement of 11 March 1970 that also led to the creation of numerous Kurdish parties in the Northern and the Western Kurdistan. The fall of the mentioned Revolution in 1975 led to establishment of several Kurdish parties in the Southern and the Eastern Kurdistan. The heroic struggle of the 11 September 1961

Revolution that lasted for 14 years managed to achieve wonderful military victories and introduced the Kurdish people internationally, in addition to gathering all the sects of the Kurdish people around it (21). It is necessary to clarify and evaluate that period, especially the sudden downfall of 1975, in a separate research so that the people would get the whole truth.

The Kurdish Revolution Of 11 September 1961 In The Southern Kurdistan Under The Command Of The Late Mella Mustafa Barzani And Its Evaluation

After the coup of 14 July 1958 the Kurdish people gained the first official recognition of the existence of the Kurdish people. As the second article of the temporary Iraqi constitution stated that the Arabs and the Kurds are partners in the homeland. The legal clarification of partnership means the full independence of all partners and consequently each partner has the right to end his partnership with the other party if the partnership became a liability for his interests and rule. Those who do not like the existence of an independent Kurdish identity in the region soon started using their corrupt pens and conspiracies to ignite the hostility and calling the Iraqi government to annihilate the separatist Kurdish movement. They also started promoting the solution of the Kurdish case in Iraq not by recognizing the legitimate national rights of the Kurdish people, but by ignoring them and melting the Kurdish people into the Arabism and Arab nation. This as a result led to the fact that the President of the Iraqi Republic Abdulkarim Qasem came under the influence of such hostile notions and started in a number of his speeches to convince the general public that “the Kurds are Arabs in origin”. On the other hand

a group of Kurdish feudal chiefs whose interests were harmed by the applications of the Agricultural Reform Law also supported the confrontational methods and started challenging the Iraqi government's decisions. Thus Qasem's government refused the requests and suggestions of the Kurdish liberation movement to resolve the disagreements via dialogue methods and perpetrated terror against the Kurdish patriots intending through that to kill off the movement by force. In September 1961 Qasem started the war, and the Kurdish people were forced to resolve to arms to defend their existence and rights (22).

The war operations started on 11 September 1961 between the Kurdish revolutionaries and the Iraqi army when forces of the two sides were not equal at all. That is why the leadership of the Kurdish liberation movement could not withstand the attack of 30 thousand soldiers of the Iraqi army equipped with the most modern war machines, airplanes, tanks and rocket cannons by less than five thousand Kurdish volunteers armed with rifles only. At the beginning of the campaign the government forces managed to repel the Kurdish divisions faraway as these divisions withdrew into the mountains with some losses. In addition the Iraqi army resorted to a widespread terror against the unarmed civilians in a hope to destroy the will of the Kurdish people, by issuing arrest warrants and mass executions of those Kurds who were suspected of offering support to the revolutionaries or sympathizing with them, along with regular raids by the Iraqi air force on Kurdish villages killing in their bombardment the elderly, women and children, and destroying fields and cattle in an extremely barbaric manner. As a result 330 Kurdish villages were turned into ruins and over 200 thousand Kurds lost their abode places and source of living.

However, the victories of the Iraqi army were temporary

and after one month from the start of war operations the Kurdish leadership saw the formation of a liberation army consisting of more than 20 thousand "*Peshmarga*" fighters. This led to the withdrawal of the Iraqi army in October 1961 from a large part of the regions they had occupied.

In the spring of 1961 the Iraqi government started a new and large attack on Kurdistan, but this attack ended in total failure as the revolution managed to repel it and carry out counterattacks.

On 8 February 1963 the Baath Party carried out a military coup and overthrew the rule of Abdulkarim Qasem. On 10th of June 1963 the Baathists restarted the war against the Kurdish people. However, the military faction of Abdulsalam Arif took the opportunity of the internal clashes of the Baath Party's leadership and carried out another coup on 18 November 1963. After several failed attempts to break the will of the Kurdish people the government was forced to make an agreement with the leadership of the Kurdish revolution on 10 February 1964 regarding a ceasefire instead of fulfilling the demands of the Kurdish people. The temporary constitution issued by the government on 4th May 1964 stopped at declaring the equal rights for all ethnicities in a vague unclear manner. As usual after a period of rest the Iraqi government restarted the war. This time the fighting was commenced by the attack of Iraqi army on 4th April 1965 and the fighting continued until the government of Abdulrahman Al-Bazzaz declared a program for a peaceful solution of the Kurdish question within the Iraqi Republic in his announcement, which was broadcasted on 29 June 1966. This happened after the failure of the Iraqi military attempts, especially after their profound

defeat in the famous battle of Handreen in May 1966 (23)... and also the failure of their huge conspiracy to divide the ranks of the Kurdish revolution.

As for the government of Tahir Yahia, which was formed in the aftermath of the 5th of June War between the Arabs and Israel, it declared in speeches the intention to carry out the agreement of 29 June. However, in reality, it carried on as all other Iraqi governments to impede any attempts for agreement.

On 17 July 1968 the Baath Party carried out another military coup and removed Abdulrahman Arif from the power, and appointed Ahmad Hassan Al-Bakir as the ruler of Iraq.

After failing in resolving the Kurdish question in Iraq militarily, and failing also in wavering the unity of the ranks of the Kurds, the Baathist government issued the declaration of 11th March 1970, which included awarding the Kurdish people the autonomy after a transitional period of four years – such a long period for the implementation of the autonomy was in reality a clear sign for the evil intentions of the Iraqi government – in order to kill off the revolution by other ways, which included the attempt to assassinate the leader, Barzani, and thus throwing back the Kurdish cause to its starting point. That is why the government never started the implementation of the declaration and carried out successive conspiracies. All attempts to assassinate Mella Mustafa in Haji Omeran failed. As did the attempt to assassinate his son Idris in Baghdad. As soon as the transitional period expired the government forces were ready militarily, politically and internationally to strike at the Kurdish revolution. On the other hand the government succeeded in achieving several of its aims by weakening the Kurdish revolution

and isolating it locally and internationally from the political parties and countries that were on friendly terms with the revolution before the fatal transitional period. As this period ended on 11th March 1974, the Iraqi government issued the Autonomy Law in a defected and provocation manner that forced the leadership of the revolution to reject it, and the Baathists declared war. The war was extremely violent and lasted from March 1974 until March 1975. After finding out that there was no use in continuing the fighting once again, despite their Friendship Treaty with the Soviet Union that provided unlimited military, economical and media support, they left the arms of the Soviet Union to lay once again in the arms of the West. The Iraqi government threw aside its shame and political dignity for the sake of achieving only one aim, which was to strangle the voice of the peaceful Kurdish people who have the desire to gain their right of living as any other people.

The Iraqi regime signed the traitorous agreement in the city of Algiers with the meanwhile deceased Shah Muhammad Reza Pahlavi on 6 March 1975, according to which Iraq made all possible concessions to Iran fulfilling all the Iranian ambitions (no matter if it was regarding Kurdish, Iraqi or Arab affairs, starting with the Kurdish strategic mountain heights and half of Shat al-Arab river, to conceding Arabistan and handing over the leaders of the Arabistan Liberation Movement who had taken refuge in Baghdad. They also gave the permission for the Iranian influence to spread into the Gulf and occupy the islands of Tumb al-Kubra, Tumb al-Sughra and Abu Musa. All this was in order to make possible for the countries of Iraq, Iran and Turkey altogether siege Kurdistan and the Kurdish liberation movement; in

addition to the continuous Soviet support at the time.)

This forced the leadership of the Kurdish revolution in Southern Kurdistan to announce its cessation after more than fourteen years of standing and achieving victories, and glorious heroism in the face of conspiracies. The glorious Barzani left Kurdistan and lived his last days in America until his death on 1/3/1979. Thus the revolution did not stop because of a military defeat, but a political defeat as a result of a traitorous international conspiracy. It is certainly for the future stage and future leaders of the Kurdish liberation movement to put all the issues into their place. We can not here at this time but to show some of the points of mistakes and faults that accompanied the birth and development of the Revolution of 11th September, which had a profound effect on its failure.

In addition the halt of the Revolution and the setback needs looking into reconsideration, discussion and accountability in order to do a sincere, courageous and new evaluation in a radical way.

The Revolution of 11th September was born without prior planning because the Iraqi government forced the war upon the Kurdish people. However, during the 14 years life of the Revolution its leadership could not create an overall national program – compare for example that more than one hundred and fifty years ago the prince Muhammad Pasha Rawanduzi managed to setup a factory for cannon making during a revolution that lasted only for four years- in addition to the huge mistake of the Revolution of 11th September in calling for the autonomy, which is fatal for the Kurdish cause. This led the French writer *Chris Cutschera* to state in his book “*The Kurdish National Movement*”, published in Paris in 1979, page

355, in regard to the policies of the Kurdish parties who ask for the autonomy for each part of Kurdistan within the borders of those countries, in his comment: “If the Kurds accept this kind of form for the relation between the oppressor and the oppressed as an eternal fact, by just accepting the notion of “autonomy” they have already lost half of the battle.”

It is true that the Kurdish revolutions that asked for the autonomy publicly in the past, and up to now demand a Kurdish state in private, only through the leaders of those Kurdish revolutions, who asked for a Kurdish state and independence of Kurdistan, will ever have a chance for that. In this regard Dr Henry Kissinger, the former American Secretary of State in the USA in his memoirs: “Mella Mustafa suggested to the United States on 16 March 1974 the following:

Mella Mustafa presented his strategy in two lines: presenting a support of 180 millions in US dollars in order to gain a real autonomy; and the second option: presenting a support of 360 million US dollars in order to get a complete independence of Kurdistan.” (See the Third Part of the memoirs of Henry Kissinger, page 576-596; Henry Kissinger – Years of Renewal, The concluding Volume of his Memoirs, Simon & Schuster, New York, 1999, reprinted with a foreword by Dr. Jawad Mella, London 2003).

The Regional Conspiracies against the Revolution of 11th September 1961

In addition to all what has been mentioned the attempts of the Iraqi intelligence services with cooperation with the Turkish, Iranian and Syrian intelligence services materialized in several conspiracies whose aim was to

create a psychological barrier around the Revolution to isolate it from the Kurdish people inside the other parts of Kurdistan, I will mention just few examples of those:

The plot of the Iranian intelligence services on the life of the activist Faeq Amin and his comrades in 1967.

The plot of the Syrian intelligence services to involve the Revolution in the question of the unification of the Kurdish parties in Syria in 1970, as the conference they held in the Southern Kurdistan was supposed to be for the unification of two parties only. However, the conference turned out to be a spring board for the creation of several Kurdish parties in an astonishing manner.

The plot of the Turkish intelligence services was to assassinate two activists (Saied Alchi and Dr Shivan) in 1971; they were both among the leaders of the Kurdish national movement in the Northern Kurdistan.

There is also another point, which is more dangerous than all the above, which is that the Kurdish revolutions since a long past time and through the Barzani revolutions in the thirties and forties under the command of Sheikh Ahmad Barzani, and the Kingdom of Kurdistan under the glorious King of Kurdistan, Sheikh Mahmud Hafid 1919-1924, and the Great Kurdish Revolution under the command of Sheikh Saiid Piran, and up to the Republic of Kurdistan 1946 under the leadership of Qazi Muhammad, and the Revolution of 11th September 1961 under the command of the nationalist leader Mella Mustafa Barzani, and even the latest revolutions in the Southern, Eastern and Northern Kurdistan under the command of Abdulrahman Qasimlo, Abdullah Ocalan, Masood Barzani and Jalal Talabani, the Kurdish liberation movement faces the question of the aggression on

Kurdistan with a logic neglecting the national future of the Kurdish nation and even neglected and removed this aggression from their logic (24).

Nobody at all can doubt the fact that this confrontation is not an easy job! No one also has any doubts that bringing to a result and dealing with the Kurdish cause is not an easy job! We have also no doubt that the Kurdish liberation movement up to now, despite what its organizations and leaders have achieved, could not resolve any part of this question and the danger is still there threatening to swallow the Kurdish homeland and annihilate the Kurdish people. That is why the Kurdish liberation movement is asked to review all the forms of its struggle and aims, and to use new methods other than those that the time and experience proved useless.

The Great Kurdish Uprising And International Protection 1991

Parliament And Government Of Kurdistan In The Safe Haven 1992

The popular Kurdish uprising in the Southern Kurdistan is the most important event in the twentieth century in Kurdistan, as the unorganized Kurdish people managed to liberate all the Kurdish regions including the large cities, the first of which was Kerkuk. Such a thing had never been achieved previously.

I participated in the Revolution in the Southern Kurdistan when it was under the command of the late Mella Mustafa Barzani; I participated once again in the years 1982 to 1984 and both times I was in the region of Qandil Mountains (4000 meter high) . Although there was a time difference of more than ten years between the

two occasions, the Kurdish liberation movement was in a setback equivalent to more than fifty years instead of moving forward. In the seventies all the Kurdish people supported the Revolution while in the eighties the revolution did not have more than two thousand fighters affiliated to all the Kurdish factions and parties; in the same time the Iraqi authorities were commanding and controlling more than half a million armed Kurds. This was the situation when I left Kurdistan and came to Europe at the end of 1984. However, in 1988 there were signs on the horizon that the Iraqi-Iran war might stop. So, the Iraqi authorities started a widespread plan to burn Kurdistan so that the victims from the Kurdish people would be regarded as part of their war with Iran and not as part of their racist war against the Kurdish people. Thus on 16 March 1988 the Iraqi government attacked the town of Halabja with chemical weapons and repeated such attacks in other regions of Kurdistan such as Badinan and the Balisan Valley. Also in the summer of 1988 Iraq carried out its operations unfamously known as the “*Anfal Operations*”. The word Anfal is taken from one of the verses of the holy Quran, in which the Exalted Allah permits the Moslems to attack the infidels in their areas allowing to rape their women, insult their honor, take their property and kill their men... Indeed the criminal Iraqi regime regarded itself as a Moslem regime and regarded the Kurds as infidels!! As a result of these operations the Iraqi regime amassed 182 thousand male Kurds between the ages of 12 and 80 from various Kurdish areas and villages, and carried them in trucks to the deserts of the Southern Iraq, where bulldozers started digging large pits and the kidnapped Kurds were put down, killed and covered.

In addition to that the Iraqi authorities raided the homes of Kurdish personalities and confiscated all published documents concerning the Kurdish people and their culture, and then burnt them as they burnt a lot of government documents noting the existence and rights of the Kurdish people. As soon as it was 1989 and the agreement to stop the Iraqi-Iran war was signed, the bleeding Kurdistan was left to suffer from horrible wounds and its sadness for losing so many of its young, and the ruin of homes and villages, and the destruction of its historical and cultural sites.

The stopping of the war in itself caused a huge damage to the fighting forces of the Southern and Eastern Kurdistan, for the Iraqi regime was supplying the Kurdish fighters who were fighting by its side against Iran; and in a similar fashion the Iranian regime was supplying the Kurdish fighters who were fighting by its side against Iraq, then both Iraq and Iran regarded the role of the Kurdish fighters as ended as the war between them stopped.

The Kurdish organizations were in the state of total defeat to the extent that they failed to carry the voice of the Kurdish people regarding the massacres they were subjected to in 1988 to the outside world because they themselves had no voice or influence left... This tragic situation lasted until the year 1990 when the Iraqi regime committed the fatal mistake of occupying the State of Kuwait. Then the whole world, its armies and media stood against the Iraqi regime, revealing its crimes against the Kuwaitis and started digging up the regime's past and its crimes against the Arab people and the Kurdish people in Iraq. When the media in the West showed the crimes of the Iraqi regime against the Kurdish people,

even the American President George Bush mentioned them in one of his speeches by saying: “One can not forget the picture of that Kurdish woman hugging her child to protect him from the effect of the chemical bombs...” So, the American President asked the wounded Kurdish people to take their revenge and attack the positions of the Iraqi regime in Kurdistan. Hearing such words, the Kurdish people attacked in a flash, including even those half a million Kurds armed by the Iraqi regime itself, and revenge was taken from the Iraqi forces by driving them out of Kurdistan.. However, some of the Kurds wanted to follow up this operation and go as far as south of Iraq to liberate the Arabs also, especially the Shiites of the south, but such a thing was not included in the American plans and the American authorities could not tolerate the possibility of the Shiites taking the hold on the power in Iraq because that would have led to an alliance between them and the Iranian regime, which was the main reason for the west’s deals throughout the eight years of the Iraq-Iran war to prevent such a thing from happening. Thus the Americans gave the green light to Saddam Hussein to strike at the Kurdish advance to the Arabic south. So, he sent his planes carrying a smoke or a smoke like dust, and chemical bombs smoke... When such bombs were thrown towards Kurdistan, the Kurdish people left their areas and took refuge in the mountains on the Iranian and Turkish borders in a way that it was called the largest and quickest exodus in the history... One of the Turkish officials was quoted to say that he has previously seen the exodus of thousands of people, but he has never seen a whole people’s exodus from their land and country.

During the two months of March and April 1991, the

Kurdish cause took the first pages of the international press and the priority in the media news and pictures. The tragedy of the Kurdish people and the death of children and elderly people in the snows of those high mountains from cold and hunger, was broadcasted... the Kurds in the outside world declared their solidarity with the mass exodus by organizing demonstrations and pickets in front of the American and British embassies, and announced hunger strikes to put pressure on the western countries to intervene and put an end to this tragedy, during which our comrades, the members of Kurdistan National Congress participated in all those demonstrations and hunger strikes raising the flag of Kurdistan. For example: I was with the comrades of KNC raising the flag of Kurdistan in front of the American embassy in London and every day I would enter the embassy with the flag, and present letters addressed to the American President asking him to intervene quickly. The letters were sometimes for pleading and others for criticizing ... this situation lasted for several weeks until the western forces intervened and provided protection to the Kurdish people. Only then the pickets stopped. However, the media in the west continued in its support to the Kurdish people until the leaders of the Kurdish organizations went to Baghdad and kissed the criminal Saddam Hussein. After that the media stopped to mention Kurds because they made up with their murderous oppressors and there was no reason for others to intervene and defend them!!

This had a negative effect on the international politics, just as one example we mention: when Mr. John Major the British Prime Minister declared in the conference of his party that he would support the independence of Kurdistan the leaders of the Kurdish parties in Southern

Kurdistan declared that they are holding on to the autonomy (as a solution for the Kurdish question) and approached Saddam Hussein. This led to the fact that the British Prime Minister, Mr. John Major dropped the notion of “*Independence of Kurdistan*” and limited it to regarding Kurdistan as “*Free Zone*”, and after that to a “*Safe Haven*”, then at the end Kurdistan went on to be called a “*No Fly Zone*”. This also led Mr. John Major to mention in answer to one of my letters to him on 1/5/1992 something to the meaning that he can not work towards the independence of Kurdistan because the leaders of the Kurdish society are demanding autonomy.

However, the international community was influenced by the events and forced their governments to intervene to regard Kurdistan as free and safe area. In this way the parliamentary elections were held under the supervision of United Nations and in March 1992 the Kurdistan Parliament held its first session, then the Kurdish government and administrations were formed after the withdrawal of the Iraqi administrations in an actual and official manner. Even bearing in mind all the Kurdish deficiencies, the invitations by the United States government to the Kurdish leaders and official meetings with them mean that the United States need the Kurds, and the Kurdish leadership in this case should have asked the United States to open a Kurdish airport, and make the latitude line 36 proportional to include Mosul, Kerkuk, Khanaqeen and Mandali within the liberated regions, and raise the flag of Kurdistan, issue Kurdish banknotes and establish a Kurdistan Central Bank, as well as investing in the petrol and asking for foreign experts' support to build up the Kurdish economy... and other important issues. With all our appreciation to the difficult

circumstances of the Kurdish leadership because of the regional countries, it is still without doubt the start of a new dawn and the Kurds are ruling themselves, and Kurdistan is slowly approaching the declaration of a Kurdish state under the pressure of status quo. If it was possible to avoid the internal Kurdish disagreements a Kurdistan State would become an inevitable thing not only for the Southern Kurdistan, as it is now going in that direction, but also an overall state that includes all parts of Kurdistan.

Part Four

The Kurdish Cause Ideologically, Politically And In Practice

Chapter I

The Suggested Solutions For The Kurdish Cause

Chapter II

Missions Of Kurdish Liberation Movement

Chapter III

Kurdistan And The International Policies

Chapter IV

Kurdism, The Slogan Of Kurdish Liberation Movement

Chapter V

The Demand For A Kurdish State: Why?
How? And When?

Chapter VI

Kurdistan National Congress - A Tool
For A Kurdish State

Chapter I

The Suggested Solutions For The Kurdish Cause

As a result of the successive Kurdish revolutions and uprisings in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and especially after the operations of genocide and mass displacement in the aftermath of the World War I against the Kurds in Northern Kurdistan, and also the genocide against the Kurds in Southern Kurdistan during the Iraq-Iran war, including the following examples: detaining 5000 Fayli Kurds in 1980, kidnapping 8000 Barzani Kurds in 1982, the genocide operations using chemical weapons in Halabja, Badinan and the Balisan Valley, and the Anfal operations with victims exceeding 182,000 Kurds in 1988; in addition to the destruction of more than ten thousand Kurdish villages in both Northern and Southern Kurdistan... all this emphasized the importance of finding a just and permanent solution for the Kurdish question because setting a peaceful solution to this question has become an overwhelming priority. Before going into the details we have to mention some of the currently suggested solutions:

1-The Solutions by the Countries Occupying Kurdistan:

The solutions and policies offered by those countries that occupy Kurdistan and behind them those countries

that are ambitious about buying resources and selling manufactured products, in addition to numerous Kurdish and non Kurdish organizations, all take the same line, which is No for a Kurdish State and No for a liberated independent Kurdistan. Although some of those disagree in some tactical questions, in practice the plots to dissolve the nationality (ethnic cleansing) are happening continuously by displacing the Kurdish people and dispersing them into other nationalities. This is quite obvious to anyone who watches and follows the Kurdish cause. The Kurdish people have been subjected to such policies in all the parts of Kurdistan for many years by all those countries that are occupying them. This is clear in such projects as the Arabic Belt and the Green Belt projects in the parts of Kurdistan affiliated to Syria and Iraq successively. The events that happened to our Kurdish people in the Red Kurdistan Republic affiliated to the Soviet Union when Stalin ordered the break up of the Republic and annexed its Capital Lachin to Azerbaijan, and displaced its population and spread them among nine Soviet Republics in 1930, are another example of such evil plans.

2- The Kurdish Solution:

There are those who ask the occupying governments to treat the Kurdish people in a human way so they may enjoy the right of citizenship in those occupying countries,

There are also those who ask for the formation of administrative institutions to include and contain the Kurdish districts and provinces and to allow the Kurdish dance, music and national Kurdish folklore under the supervision of the occupying countries. There are even

those – who exaggerate, according to the occupiers - and asked for more than dancing. This is done under several pretenses such as “local rule” or “decentralized rule”. But the most famous of these is “autonomy” with its several sorts “the abstract, the true, the full, the incomplete or the deficient autonomy”. Then lately another one occurred under the name of “federalism”, which sooner or later, will have its own brands also. This one also would stay as a Kurdish demand until the people of Kurdistan will discover its unfruitfulness as its predecessors because it is no different from the others, as long as it is limited to the borders of the countries occupying Kurdistan. All of these names are the same old autonomy and the changing of the name is just for deception and play with the words, because demanding even an empire within the political borders of this country or that is nothing but the confirmation of the old notion of autonomy.

It’s my national duty to discuss the painful events that our Kurdish people have lived through and are still suffering badly from. As the reason for this suffering is not at all because of the disregard in carrying out duties or negligence in sacrifices, but the reason is in the wrong stating of the question itself. The Revolution of 11th September 1961, for example, managed to gain the right of autonomy with less than twenty thousand Peshmarga fighters in 1970. However, it could not hold on to it with more than one hundred and fifty thousand Peshmarga fighters in 1975. Do those who struggle for the sake of autonomy today remember what the experience of the 11th March 1970 brought upon the Kurdish people? If they do not remember let me remind them as this could be useful for those who can understand:

- On the first year of the “historic!” March declaration, the Iraqi government expelled forty thousand of our Fayli Kurdish people to Iran and confiscated their properties and belongings.
- The Iraqi authorities carried out explosions at the Kurdish Revolution’s offices in Mosul, Singar and Khanaqeen, in addition to several successive assassination attempts on the members and representatives of the Revolution in Baghdad and other cities and areas.
- They also actually assassinated numerous activists and leaders of the Revolution.
- They detained thousands from all factions of the Kurdish people and murdered many of them under physical torture such as the martyred Colonel Hussein Shirwani.
- The Iraqi regime spent millions of dinars to buy the weak consciences and plant terrorists inside the political and military formations of the Revolution.
- The Iraqi government also during the process of carrying out the autonomy for Kurdistan managed to isolate the Revolution from its friends. This was done by tempting some of them by friendship treaties and generous trade contracts, or tempting others by appointing them in high positions in its useless ministries.
- In addition to all that the Iraqi authorities swamped the bookshops in Kurdistan with all sorts of Maoist, Trotskyite, Red-Starred and other mind disturbing books, which have no trace in the Baghdad bookshops, with the intention to involve the Kurdish people with side problems that have no bearing to the essence of the Kurdish question at all.

Wasn’t it necessary to study the experience of the 11th March 1970 declaration of autonomy?

It is the most practical, clear and proving experience regarding the fact that the autonomy is a failed cause. It is obvious that the question of autonomy depends on many multisided circumstances. As when the government is weak the autonomy would be agreed, but as soon as it is strengthened it declares: "No to Autonomy". In this way the events continue in succession and if we, the Kurds, would not change they would continue forever; as it is mentioned in the holy Koran: "Allah does not change the circumstances of any nation until they change their own selves."

I think everyone remembers when the Iraqi regime was about to declare the autonomy for Kurdistan after negotiations with the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan in 1984, and how it changed that arrangement after a visit to Baghdad by the head of the fascist Turkish regime *Kanaan Evren* who spoiled those negotiations.

The enemies of our Kurdish people were always in disagreement, nevertheless they always agree on their hostile stand towards the Kurdish people. This has been on the same line since the first division of Kurdistan between the Persian and the Ottoman Empires (after numerous wars between the two Empires, and signing of the Zehab treaty of 1639 A.C. regarding the determination of the international borders between them). And the second division was according to the Sykes-Picot Treaty of 1916. This treaty was to divide the territories of the Ottoman Empire which was an ally to the defeated Germany during the World War I, among Britain and France as spoils of war and regions of influence. Thus they created several Arab states in addition to the states of Turkey and Iran. We were hoping that they would do the same with Kurdistan and create several Kurdish states.

However, they did what was not in anyone's thoughts; as they divided Kurdistan into several parts and gave each part to the neighboring artificially created countries. They did not leave even one foot of land of Kurdistan to the Kurds. Such an injustice which was done using methods full of plots and conspiracies had no precedence in history. The most distressing fact is that these countries to which parts of Kurdistan have been affiliated to, today regard those parts as part of their homelands!! In front of such agreement between those countries we have no choice but to agree on one policy among ourselves. This is because the occupiers of Kurdistan would resist any rights to the Kurds, be it the right to *a Kurdish state or autonomy, federalism or confederalism*. On this basis they would never allow us autonomy, because they understand this will be nothing but a first step towards the independence. Let us, for the sake of argument, suppose that they would agree to allow us autonomy, which I see as impossible; is the autonomy worth of all those bitter tragedies and great sacrifices? As the autonomy is not a national right at all, but according to its legal definition it is only administrative division for a group of districts with particular geographical and economical characteristics. This means that the unification of those districts or provinces under a larger administrative province or autonomous area is just for making its administration easier, nothing more nothing less. The notion of autonomy is just an evil plot that infected the Kurdish liberation movement. The occupiers of Kurdistan implanted this idea into the Kurdish liberation movement in order to keep their artificial borders as they are now. However strong the Kurdish revolution becomes the maximum they can gain is an autonomous area under

the control of the central government and within its political borders. It is not important to curse the colonialism and calling it by all sorts of bad adjectives and descriptions, but the most important thing is that we, who claim that we defend the Kurdish people, would not call for concepts much worse than the acts of those colonizers. Our demands for petty rights in each part of our homeland within the political borders of the countries occupying Kurdistan means that we, the Kurds, are fixing those borders that have been sketched by the colonizers to separate Kurdistan's regions from each other. In addition to all that those slogans of petty rights have denied the Kurdish people from international support; for first of all it implies to the outside world that we are not a Kurdish nation that ask for independence and getting rid of colonialism, and secondly it implies to the international community that the Kurdish question is just an internal affair within the borders of several countries, and so, the international community has no right to intervene in the internal affairs of sovereign countries!

Furthermore, the international community is building its foreign policies on the basis of purely economical interests. In the circumstances of autonomy, i.e. teaching Kurdish language in schools and universities, has no effect on international politics whatsoever. While if we demand an independent Kurdish state, it means that we shall become the owners of our homeland Kurdistan's resources with petrol being just one of them (for example the Kurdistan land produces more than twenty million barrels of petrol each day), then the international politics would move to regard our interests.

Perhaps these notions would not appeal to some of those who carry stereotyped ideas and principles and

stamped them as rightwing, extremist and chauvinist views. However, we answer them in advance that such description as chauvinism has not been ever for the oppressed but for the oppressors; and never in the history there has been a people oppressed and their rights neglected yet described as chauvinists at the same time. As for extremism so where is the extremism in calling for our natural rights that all the nations in the world are enjoying. We are not asking for more than them, so if doing that we were regarded as chauvinists and extremists, then all the nations of the world have piped us in extremism and chauvinism by establishing their own states. As for the rightwing description we say that let them read the theories of the left well to understand that we are asking for the right of self-determination for the Kurdish people transforming them in this way from the slavery formation into freedom, and such transformation is a progressive revolutionary one. A progressive revolution is to put an end to all outdated regressive phenomena and create a new life much more advanced. Also on the other hand the application of autonomy (rather than independence) would economically result only in the support and guarantees for the interests of the bourgeoisie in the cities of Kurdistan, because its interests are reflected in the continuation of its dependence on the Arabic, Turkish and Persian bourgeoisie in the capitals of the countries occupying Kurdistan.

The autonomy is another political and economical nail in the coffin of the Kurdish people in order to exploit them economically in the interest of the local bourgeoisie and politically, ideologically as well as economically in the interest of the bourgeoisie of the countries occupying Kurdistan. On that basis the independence of Kurdistan

is regarded as a strike against the interests of the local and occupying bourgeoisie, and liberates the people of Kurdistan from oppression and national and class exploitation in the same time.

Let alone the demagogic and ambiguous ideas of those who carry the slogan of the autonomy for Kurdistan within the borders of the countries occupying Kurdistan by insisting on democracy. As they say: "There will not be autonomy without a democratic life." This is while they and everyone knows that those governments are not ready even to understand what democracy means, as they deny their own Arabic, Turkish and Persian people the simplest democratic and human rights. So, how can we ask them to recognize the national rights of the Kurdish people? This is a condition for an impossible and unrealistic strange demand!! One who has not something cannot award it. If you think that it is difficult to achieve an independent Kurdish state, then to sustain an autonomy within such sort of states is impossible.

I am not against democracy and for the peoples of the world to enjoy it. However, I am saying that as a loyalty to the blood of our martyrs that it is a pity for the intellectuals and leaders of my people to condition and relate the possibility for our people to be able to read and write in their own language with the application of any system in other peoples' countries. Let us leave the peoples of our region alone to choose any regime they desire (as we are not their keepers), they may even choose a regime better than a democracy! So, once again let them choose and let our people choose their own system and state.

Let us now turn our attention to another side of the suffering, as many of the Kurdish parties call for the

rights of the Kurdish people and Marxism as their thought and ideology. Most of these parties are intensely hostile towards each other, or even each one regards the other Kurdish parties as their main enemy. In this regard they have created their own grounds for hostility as some of them pretend to be Marxists, others Marxist-Leninists, Marxist-Leninist-Trotskyites, Marxist-Maoists or Marxist-Leninists of Anwar Khoja line... etc.

After the creation of modern mathematics I was expecting that some Kurdish parties would occur regarding it as their ideology and accuse anyone who uses the theories of the first scientist of mathematics, Pythagoras, of reactionarism and being an agent. In any case, what they regard as important is to create points of disagreement and be hostile against their own brothers in existence and destiny just for adding a word or two after Marxist or Scientific. Here I would like to mention a historic anecdote. If someone wonders why the Ottoman Emperor, Muhammad Al-Fateh managed to liberate Constantinople after others had failed, the answer can be found in the dark corners of history. That is, when Muhammad Al-Fateh did so, the people of Constantinople were divided among themselves arguing whether the angels are male or female. This “ideological disagreement” led to a war between the two sides, that divided the unity of the city and killed the best of their youth, and a golden opportunity was created for anyone who wanted to strike at the Capital of the Eastern Roman Empire at the time. What is happening to our Kurdish people now reminds me of that historic event, because of the similarity of the arguments in regard to their pettiness. As there is no relation whatsoever between such issues as defending one’s homeland against aggressors and

whether angels are male or female, or whether Trotsky is more right than Mao. Moreover, those whom we disagree about and kill each other for, have been dug out from graves by their own people to be tried for crimes against humanity committed by them. It is worth to mention also that Marxism itself says “within any political entity should be only one Marxist party, as the other ones would be dissidents...” So, if those calling for Marxism are truthful, let them unite in one party as Marxism demands, and if those who call for the Kurdish people’s rights are truthful, let them stand in one line like all successful liberation movements in the world. Also before demanding a democratic regime for the countries that occupy Kurdistan let them apply it on themselves first, and not to force their own dictatorship on their people by preaching regimes and theories before even achieving their unity and political independence as a minimum requirement for a democratic life.

My dear fellow countrymen do not be angry with my criticism of the struggle of many great men who sacrificed a lot for autonomy, democracy and Marxism. I am not blaming them or you, for the conspiracy on Kurdistan is huge and much bigger than our imagination of it. This is because our enemies have capabilities available to them so that they always managed to get in front of the events and limit our opportunities. (25)

My dear heroic fellow countrymen, the right is the right and it cannot be divided into half or quarter rights. On the basis of this eternal and permanent right came the thought of the principal notion, the second stand inside the Kurdistan arena as the notion of self determination without any conditions and establishment of a Kurdish state on the whole land of Kurdistan. By calling for a

Kurdish state we call for unification of Kurdistan and say to those who refuse that we are not separatists but they are the ones who are separatists by calling for the separation of the parts of Kurdistan from each other. These kinds of concepts have been planted by our enemies in the minds of our youth in a clever evil manner. We can see many examples for them all the time such as the announcement of amnesties by those governments who occupy Kurdistan to forgive Kurdish activists from time to time. These governments kill and displace the Kurdish people; they burn their villages and deny them the simplest of their national and human rights after confiscating their country and sovereignty. After committing all these crimes against the Kurdish people, they announce in all rudeness that they forgive them!! While in reality the Kurdish people are the ones who should have the right to issue an amnesty for those criminals who kill their sons and not the other way round. Indeed the concepts are turned upside down so much that some people believe the lies and others are about to forget the truth.

Finally there is another point to clarify the attitude of the colonialist ideas that are materialized in wasting the Kurdish energy in acting for a democratic system in their capitals for one purpose only that is to divert the Kurdish nation from their highest aim, which is the independence for Kurdistan. So those who support the position of the countries occupying parts of Kurdistan say that the achievement of the rights of the Kurdish people only can occur through achieving democracy, and that those countries occupying Kurdistan would grant the Kurdish people their rights as soon as those countries become democratic. While calling for a Kurdish state – according to their claims - is just a fiction and dreams.

However, our position in that regard is to say in short that Kurdistan is not a fiction and the Kurdish people is not a dream and fantasy but, on the contrary, they are a historical, anthropological, geographical and cultural reality clear to everyone. The ones who are actually submerged in fantasies, dreams and fictions are those who think that dictatorial regimes such as the Iranian, Syrian and the Iraqis, as well as the fascist Turkish generals could be turned into doves and democratic people! To clarify the dimensions of this colonialist democratic game even more we can mention that the most of colonialist countries in ancient and modern history were democratic states, even some of them were the founders of the philosophical basis of democracy such as Greece, and nevertheless, Alexander Macedonian colonized half of the world. Then came the Roman state with its famous Senate and other democratic institutions but it was also a colonizing state. Also the largest democracies right now in the world still have their colonies here and there. The mere existence of those who still call for the democratization of the colonialist regimes is an obvious proof for the size of the Kurdish people's tragedy.

So, it is through action for a Kurdish state that the solidarity between the Kurdish revolutionaries and liberals is possible with Arab, Turk and Persian revolutionaries and liberals; and only through this confirmation of rights and stand there could be cooperation between Kurds and friendly Arab, Turkish and Persian peoples. Through this principal position and natural right the region can live in security and peace.

There could not be cooperation between colonizers and colonies.

There could not be solidarity between exploiters and exploited.

There could not be security and peace between slave-owners and slaves.

Cooperation, solidarity, security and peace cannot be achieved without an end to racism, nationalist oppression, exploitation, taking away rights and detachment.

Chapter II

Missions Of Kurdish Liberation Movement

Now, what are the missions and the aims of the Kurdish liberation movement in this stage and how to achieve them? What is its position and how can it rescue Kurdistan from its current situation?

These are our responsibilities, and the masses must evaluate and understand them, and if they act upon them it will be easy to direct the general struggle and leading it towards the right ways.

The Kurdish liberation movement has to identify its main missions truthfully, faithfully and clearly in this situation that requires such morality in every action especially since the Kurdish society has been subjected to more than one shock during its history. Creating mutual trust between the Kurdish masses and the liberation movement is the starting point to a true and correct struggle serving the interests and cause of the Kurdish nation.

So, the Kurdish liberation movement is asked to:

- First: Create mutual and complete trust between them and the Kurdish masses as a basis through which they can play their role and achieve their missions completely.
- Second: The Kurdish liberation movement is asked to create trust in recruitment of the forces of the masses and directing them in the right direction by supporting and organizing their powers and capabilities.
- Third: The Kurdish liberation movement is asked to

refresh the political and revolutionary, and national liberationist vitality of the youth and intensify their role in practice.

- Fourth: The Kurdish liberation movement is asked to study the reality of the public sects and sectors, their problems and the extent of their support and supply to liberation issues.
- Five: The Kurdish liberation movement is asked to study the subject of armed struggle and its present situation, and its future in regard to quantity and quality.
- Six: The Kurdish liberation movement is asked to regain, support, develop and utilize various human and economic capabilities... ideologically and practically in service of liberation.
- Seven: The Kurdish liberation movement is asked to draw a plan to make use of the resources in Kurdistan, mainly water and petrol, and put them in the service of liberation, and not the opposite as it is now.
- Eight: The Kurdish liberation movement is asked to establish an overall national and unifying vision on international and Kurdistan grounds, and that can be established through the Kurdistan National Congress.
- Nine: The Kurdish liberation movement is asked to a straight and courageous definition of the enemies and friends of the Kurdish people. The friends are all those who recognize the right of the Kurdish people to have their independent political entity and the enemies are any non Kurdish authority in Kurdistan, regardless to the political affiliations of those friends and enemies.
- Ten: The Kurdish liberation movement is asked to put their struggle actions within a complete plan for the national future of the Kurdish nation, and not make

their struggle actions just as reactions to the racist policies against our people in any region or time. As the decreasing or stoppages of racist policies do not mean at all that everything is alright but just a breathing space for those racists and a preparation period for later atrocities.

- Eleven: The Kurdish liberation movement is asked not only to move from the stage of reactions to stage of planning and execution towards the liberation of Kurdistan but also to transfer in practice the struggle from self-defense to put an end to the aggression of the occupiers of Kurdistan in their own headquarters and slay them; as the self-defense is a principal human right and self-defense cannot achieve the independence or change of realities at all.
- Twelve: The Kurdish liberation movement is asked to carry out a continuous struggle without any pauses and negotiations barring those that announce the independence for Kurdistan and identify its borders in an official way and under international supervision, and on a neutral ground outside the Middle East area.
- Thirteen: The Kurdish liberation movement is asked not to put any trust whatsoever in the occupiers of Kurdistan. Thus they must not accept any poisonous support from any state that occupies a part of Kurdistan against any other of those states. This is because any treaty between the occupiers of Kurdistan would cause the fall of any new uprising. Just as examples we mention that the agreement between Iraq and Iran on 6 March 1975 ended the huge Kurdish revolution in the Southern Kurdistan. Their agreement also in 1989 ended the Kurdish revolution in Eastern Kurdistan and resulted in the assassination of its leader Dr. Abdulrahman

Qasimlo. Also the agreement between Syria and Turkey in 1998 led to the fall of the Kurdish revolution in Northern Kurdistan and the capture of its leader Abdullah Ocalan. Are not these examples enough to take the lessons and avoid that in the future?

- Fourteen: The Kurdish liberation movement is asked to uncover and announce those who trade with destinies of the Kurds and Kurdistan. The history teaches us that whenever any Kurdish revolution falls it is followed by some groups who as a reaction announce the mistakes of that revolution and put the blame on this person or that. However, after a while those same groups commit to the same game... etc. So, the Kurdish people should be more aware and join the ranks of a movement that represents what they believe in so that they could be able to check a lot of their suffering and the suffering of all the other peoples in the region. So, if they believe in liberation of Kurdistan and creating a Kurdish state they should join with a Kurdish movement that aims to establish a Kurdish state without any beating round the bushes, otherwise the suffering of the Kurdish people would have no end.
- Fifteen: The Kurdish liberation movement is asked to create a new form and a new Kurdish national liberation organization in a way that the leadership decisions would reflect their will and the revolution should as any other revolution in the world have a pyramid structure. The leadership at the top of the pyramid should rely and take its power from commanders and gradually enlarging circles until it reaches the wide basis of masses. I am saying this because unfortunately our revolutions were upside down and their pyramids were standing on their top rather than basis. That is why we saw that when

the leader of any of those revolutions was martyred, withdrew or captured, or the winds blew that revolution would fall and start again from zero. In this way the authoritarianism with the leadership of the revolution would make the start and end of the revolution much more simple than opening a shop or a business store.

Those are the main missions and the general line that give a short answer to many questions that the Kurdish liberation movement should take the responsibility for in this stage for the present and the future of the Kurds. Having said that the ambitions of the occupiers would not stop at this and therefore the liberals of Kurdistan have the duty to evaluate this stage in a clear nationalistic fashion so that we can achieve victory.

Chapter III

Kurdistan And The International Policies

The line of ideological and political division of the cold war in the aftermath of the World War II was extending throughout the world as a deep trench with no hope of any bridges between the two sides!! The line was extending from Berlin and the German problem to the middle of Europe (Czechoslovakia and Hungary) then to the Balkans, and Middle East (Kurdistan and the Palestinian question), then to Asia and the struggle for the Indian continent and the Indian ocean, then to Indo-China and finally ends up in Korea. This long zigzag line had masses on both sides in constant clashing. On the one hand the United States of America was heading the capitalist system and on the other hand the Soviet Union was heading the communist system. All the other powers outside this ideological and political division had to choose where to stand. So, military alliances and political coalitions were established. At the time there was some kind of deterrent preventing Saddam to some extent from igniting destructive wars. That deterrent was nuclear force. The situation changed step by step. At first there was a possibility that Saddam could cause a world war even with nuclear weapons present. However, after huge developments in the destructive force of such weapons and their transportation means, such as by long range missiles and possibility of hiding them in deep oceans by carrying them on submarines or directing them

from outer space via satellites; it became clear that a world war is impossible. A supporting factor for this was the strategy of using nuclear weapons; as they stopped being directed against other nations' armies only, but to all their resources also. So, any direct strike to paralyze and kill to the real centers of power would not be withstood by anyone, be it the first striker or waiting for the second strike. Thus the impossibility of a nuclear war between the two super powers; the United States of America and the Soviet Union, led to the fact that the other groups realized in turn that the protective umbrella provided by their senior partner would not be able to protect them, and the United States would not instigate a war unless the threat was to America directly. The same goes to the Soviet Union also. In this way the ideological and political division which divided the world into two camps all through the cold war from 1945 to 1970 ended completely in 1972 barring few spread groups, which started to dissolve. France under General de Gaulles for instance started looking for its own methods for national security because America could not protect it, as did China under Mao Tzu Tong by looking for own protection as the Soviet Union could not provide protection, and many others...

The only exception was Kurdistan and the Kurdish liberation movement that did not look for own national security and stayed in danger in the new balance of the world as it was during the old balance. Even after the two super powers during *Kennedy–Khrushchov* era moved from the possibility of clashing to possibility of understanding, as it was summarized by the American President Nixon during the meeting of spring 1972 in Moscow, which was an important decisive moment by

stating: “We have moved from a clashing period to a negotiation period and to understanding period.” Thus the world system stopped to be bipolar with a defined line between the two poles, but became several powers. Although the Soviet Union and the USA remained as superpowers, they lost the absolute power of authority. Western Europe emerged as a bloc and with Britain joining in the beginning of 1973 the triangle of Paris – Bonn – London was created. Also the Chinese and Japanese blocs emerged, in addition to other blocs that were looking for a role for themselves proportional to their powers such as the international Zionism and Mohamed Reza Pahlavi, the Iranian Shah who wanted to control the Middle East by creating a bloc from the Gulf states intervening for that purpose in the affairs of America by spending billions to support one candidate of the presidency against the other.

The least expected things happen; who could have believed that West Germany and East Germany would sign a treaty; and who would have believed that an Arab nationalist party such as *Ba'ath Party* would concede Arab lands to the Iranian Shah with an area exceeding the area of Palestine as a price for extinguishing the fire of the Kurdish revolution. Also who would have believed that the Socialist countries would receive the Iranian Shah as if he was Lenin of the East? Who would have believed the fall of Shah and his huge power on the hands of clerics? Who would have believed that someday Khomeini would fly directly from Paris to Teheran under the eyes of Shah's army and intelligence services? All this happened and is still happening in the world but the situation of Kurdistan is still the same without any favorable changes because the Kurdish liberation

movement deprived itself from taking advantage of any changes and amendments in international politics by demanding “*autonomy for Kurdistan*”. As by using this cliché the cause of Kurdistan became regarded an internal affair of those countries in the Middle East and the international law does not allow and does not give any right for intervention in the internal affairs of any country.

No one can stop the struggle because it is an essential nature of things. So, if it was possible to make it less intensive on the international level at the top in fear of a nuclear war, it is not possible to stop it at the basis. Moreover, the intensity increases at the basis as a natural reaction to the restrictions at the top. We are on the verge of changes and nationalistic, sectarian and racial struggles the like of which history had never seen. On top of that those countries would not like to create new areas of conflict for themselves... so, they would not involve in a war for any reason outside their direct interests. Therefore they try their best to reach an understanding and attempt to solve the problems that are threatening to them and ignore non threatening ones. Thus the criteria by which the powerful countries act in relation to other peoples and smaller countries is interest, pure and simple. The international press published what was said by the last Soviet leader *Gorbachev* to the British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher during their meeting in London just before he became the Soviet Premiere repeating the words of the British Diplomat Lord Palmerton: “There are no permanent allies but permanent interests.”

Also a western politician said in relation to the Kurdish liberation movement: “It cannot protect our interests and cannot threaten our interests.” This means that our movement can be ignored in the international political

arena, as no one has any interest in caring for our cause because we have no power either to protect or to threaten as an independent power from the countries in the region. It looks like that the Soviets applied this policy with some tactics added to it summarized in not ignoring the Kurdish cause completely, as this would bring up hostility and anger of the Kurdish people, but just not getting involved in the Kurdish game, because the establishment of a Kurdish state would anger the governments of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. This was the most convenient choice as by this they managed to “kill two birds using one stone” i.e. using the Kurdish nationalist movement whenever they had the opportunity and there were circumstances as a pressure tool on the states that divide Kurdistan. This was an attempt to finish or limit the American and European influence and replacing it with their own influence (see the article by *N. Bekas* entitled “Choices of the Soviet Policy towards the Kurdish Case” published in Issue 2 of *Kurdish Studies*, magazine of “*Kurdish Institute in Paris*”).

This is the international situation, and if we think about it thoroughly it makes our choice of way more definite than before and defines our aims in a clear way. All this does not mean that there is no chance to establish a Kurdish state; on the contrary there have been opportunities always. We can see other countries in the world wasting opportunities for example Shah of Iran and Numairi in Sudan who were ousted from power by public uprisings. So, we have to prepare ourselves to take the initiative and the coming opportunity.

In addition and as I mentioned before the international policy is based on interests and interests alone, and there is no consistency in it, so that the friend of today becomes

an enemy tomorrow, and the enemy of today becomes a friend tomorrow. So the Kurdish liberation movement has to be persistent and continue to be patient with iron nerves until it's inevitable to find someone who answers the invitation and opens the doors for its wishes.

This is what I wrote in the first edition of this book in 1985 regarding the international policy and now after 20 years I did not change a word, but I would like to add the following:

All my predictions regarding the international policy have become true, especially in relation to the end of struggle and confrontation between the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States of America, and the start of an era of understanding between them. Indeed the times have changed and the two sides have become even friendlier than I expected. The Soviet Union has disintegrated into several republics and those republics are even asking to join the western NATO alliance. Even the Communist Party of Italy, which is regarded the strongest communist party in Western Europe, did not change anything in the pro-Western policy of Italy or its membership of NATO when it came to power in 1997. Now it asks to remove the economical sanctions against Saddam's regime.

Also I predicted that: "We are on the verge of changes and nationalistic, sectarian and racial struggles the like of which history has never seen", and indeed it was like I said as summarized bellow:

In the American continent: Argentina announced war against Britain for the Falkland Islands. The internal wars intensified between mafia gangs inside most of the American countries, especially South Americans with

their respective governments allegedly for drug trafficking and other illegal trading. In reality those internal wars are for the purpose of oppressing the Latin American peoples, breaking their will and exploit them. One of those hammers that hits on the security and safety of the Latin American peoples and exploits them for the benefit of the international capitalism is the Chilian General *Pinochet* who visited Europe and America several times when he was carrying out whatever demanded from him, each time carrying with him a collection of trade contracts. No one showed any reservation against him until he was out of power in Chile and visited Britain in 1999. Then he was arrested because he came for treatment and did not have any trade contracts on him!!

As for Europe, after the disintegration of the Soviet Union into several republics, many of them started a war against the other such as the nationalistic war between Azerbaijan and Armenia, and the religious wars between Russia on the one hand and each of Daghistan, Chechnya and others on the other. After the disintegration of Yugoslavia also into five republics racial wars and ethnic cleansing started between the Serbs and each of Kosovo and Bosnia.

Even the peoples of Great Britain started facing openly sectarian and nationalistic wars between the central government in London and each of the peoples of Ireland, Scotland and Wales. In addition to the nationalistic wars of the Bask people in Spain and the nationalistic and religious war in Cyprus, and also the racial confrontation between Turkey and each of Russia, Bulgaria, Greece, Armenia and Syria.

As for Africa, racial, sectarian and nationalistic wars took on huge dimensions and reached the level of mass

extermination in Somalia, Eritrea, Southern Sudan, Biafra people in Nigeria, tribes of Rwanda, Algeria, Western Sahara, Darfour and others.

As for Asia, sectarian, nationalistic and racial wars are intensified more than others starting from the war in East Timor in Indonesia, Cashmere in India, Tamils in Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Yemen, Iraq – Iran – Kuwait, and Lebanon – Palestine – Israel. However, the most ancient and complicated of them is the Kurdish – Iraqi – Turkish – Iranian – Syrian war. Nevertheless, the world had almost ignored this war despite of what the Iraqi, Turkish, Syrian and Iranian governments committed against the Kurdish people from chemical bombardment of Kurdistan to Anfal operations that cost the lives of 182 thousand Kurds and destruction of more than 10 thousand Kurdish villages in addition to hundreds thousands of Kurdish martyrs and dozens thousands of political prisoners... All this , and still the Kurdish cause was far from any consideration by the international policy until Saddam made his historic mistake by invading the State of Kuwait. Only after that the world started listing his crimes among which what he committed against the Kurdish people, so the Kurdish cause took its role on the stage of international policy. However, this was just on a humanitarian basis and for the following reasons:

1. The states occupying Kurdistan managed to derail the Kurdish liberation movement from its natural path of demanding a Kurdish state by supporting regional Kurdish organizations.
2. The regional organizations of Kurdistan divided the Kurdish people into Syrian, Iraqi, Iranian or Turkish, which made it easier for the states occupying Kurdistan to ignite problems between them and create internal

Kurdish-Kurdish fighting. While even the Sykes – Picot Treaty only managed to divide Kurdistan geographically, but not the Kurdish people as such. The regional organizations carried out this mission. One must remember that in 1946 Kurds from Syria, Iraq and Turkey participated in establishing a Kurdish Republic in the other part of Kurdistan occupied by Iran. This showed the highest level of Kurdish nationalist awareness.

3. Since 1945 the world has been divided into two camps, one against America and one with America. During all this period the countries occupying Kurdistan, one or two of them were against America and the rest of them with America. That is why all those who are against America and friends with America in the whole world, were always against the independence of Kurdistan to please those countries that occupy Kurdistan.
4. The regional organizations of Kurdistan demonstrated a false impression for the world that the Kurdish people are among their “brothers” in Syria, Turkey, Iraq and Iran, and they are just an ethnic minority asking for a local autonomy, which denied the Kurdish people the chance of taking advantage of the anti-colonialism in international law.
5. The regional organizations of Kurdistan tied up the Kurdish people in such a way that made it easy for the states occupying Kurdistan to mass-murder and massacre the Kurds, and contain them ideologically. If a man beats his wife, she would ask for divorce, but the regional organizations see millions of Kurds being killed without bringing themselves to demand a “divorce” from those states and declare a Kurdish state.

If the Kurdish people want to have a role in the international politics they should do the following:

1. Define the Kurdish people as one, and Kurdistan as one whole being divided between several states, and demand to remove the state of colonialism from Kurdistan according to the international law and such international organizations as the United Nations.

2. Establish one national organization for all the Kurdish people in all the parts of Kurdistan, calling for independence.

3. Define the states that occupy Kurdistan as colonialists, from whose control Kurdistan has to be liberated.

4. Define all the countries of the world, except those occupying Kurdistan, as friendly countries and people.

5. Gather all the powers of the Kurdish people in any part that has the opportunity to gain independence.

Chapter IV

Kurdayeti, The Slogan Of Kurdish Liberation Movement

I do not want to appease anyone and do not wish to attack anyone. I just want to clarify my opinion in a current discussion allowing myself to put the points on the “i”s. This is to pay my respect and glorification to the greatest teacher of all “*Kurdayetî*”, the eternal non-extinguishable slogan of the Kurdish liberation movement. Had this slogan been in the forefront of the struggle arena it would have put an end to all internal disagreements and conflicts. As a concern for the path taken by our heroic Kurdish people and in order that the shed blood of our martyrs in Qandil Mountains and Shahrzoor Step, as well as the tears pouring in Mahabad and Barzan, and blood and sweat running on the land of Diarbakir, Qamishli and Afrin would no go wasted. This entire struggle for being or not being has nothing to do with the polemics and discussions as the Kurdish revolutionaries throughout history build the glorious site of the philosophy of *Kurdayetî* brick by brick. This philosophy does not need any discussions or confrontations but as soon as it is taken in by the masses there would not be any other result but the holy march of our people to cleanse Kurdistan from any alien presence.

The freedom lovers of Kurdistan are requested to complete the site built by Kurdistan liberation and independence revolutionaries taking their inspiration of

Kurdayetî from the original traditions and reality of their Kurdish people that loves silence and lives for sacrifices, and dies defending their existence, rights and dignity.

However, these days some people call for *Kurdayetî* and liberation of Kurdistan while previously accused those who raised the banner of *Kurdayetî* of extremism and militancy... And in a surprising turn of events they are now going even further by giving certifications “of *Kurdayetî*” to whoever they like and denying others. Those groups who nowadays distribute such certifications are playing an opportunistic role and vandalize that noble site wasting sacred blood and glorious history in an attempt to change the path of history and struggle traditions.

The traditions of *Kurdayetî* are a natural product of the experiences of successive Kurdish revolutions. So, let those know that the freedom loving revolutionaries would not allow breaking up the inheritance of the traditions and would not divide the Kurdish revolution to be sold in parts in the auctions of discussions and confrontations. Let them also know that there are able, powerful and sincere youths spreading between the Mediterranean and the Gulf going through Afrin, Dersim, Lachin, Sulaimany, Erbil, Duhok, Diarbakir, Mahabad, Sinna and Loristan; going seriously forward to achieve the aims, protect the valuable traditions and making the way of the revolution for liberation; and they would not allow anyone to determine their path and limit their characteristics and identity; for this is an aggression against the rights of people and those who carry the weapon of Kurdish nationalist liberation ideas “*Kurdayetî*” are the owners of the decision without any sponsors.

Those who call for “*Kurdayetî*” falsely would be exposed by their actions and cannot stop with their egoism

the march of the faithful, and cannot succeed in their false accusations as well as their failure in restricting the greed of the occupiers by showing their devotion to them. *Kurdayetî* is not a cheap conspiracy or dividing the struggle, but it is a great honor, a courageous defense and undivided unity.

Those who insult *Kurdayetî*, the Kurds and Kurdistan, and all noble and honorable activists, are not Kurds and have nothing to do with them.

Those who love their egos, arrogant, spread false accusations, dividers and separators are not Kurds.

Those who show themselves as false monks of *Kurdayetî*, the fat cats who are afraid to expose lies and open the windows for a fresh air, and far from a courageous stance and shed blood and sweat are also not Kurds.

Those who plant suspicion against real freedom loving nationalists regarding their behavior, devotion and stances, and against their writings and sacrifices of their calm peaceful and prosperous lives, are not Kurds.

Those who trade and do business to make themselves rich by projects and articles of *Kurdayetî*, working in the stock market of letters and words without sincerity and colorfulness, with one eye on the money and asking for a price for each speech without any shame are also not Kurds.

Those who cross the limit of shame by joining the occupiers and supporting the evil ones and making fun of the faithful ones are not Kurds.

Those midgets (by their words, ideas and actions and not height or dimensions) who want to use the ignorance and conspiracy to turn giants into midgets are also no Kurds..

Those who publish newspapers carrying the banner of *Kurdayetî* and monopolize them to bark like a dog and bite honorable, faithful and true men, are not Kurds.

Those who devote their time to distribute descriptions of the false claimers of *Kurdayetî*, Kurds and Kurdistan, are not Kurds.

Those who hesitate cannot choose *Kurdayeti*, as *Kurdayetî* is unity, stance and insisting on truth for the truth. Those who have shortcoming behavior and imagination cannot choose *Kurdayetî*, as *Kurdayetî* is a force, revolution, sacrifice and farsighted.

Those who carry the banner of *Kurdayetî* in Kurdistan are planting fields and protecting the honor, they fight against the counter revolution and prepare themselves to a holy march to cleanse Kurdistan from colonizers and establish a Kurdish state.

Kurdayetî is something to do with conscience and liberation of national ideology from external influences on the Kurdish society, and aims to liberate the Kurdish human and his thinking before liberating mountains and valleys of Kurdistan.

Kurdayetî is a philosophical social method aiming to liberate the Kurdish society from outdated social and economical systems, and a struggle against all kinds of colonialism and devotion to the cause of unifying and liberating Kurdistan and establishing a Kurdish state.

What I mentioned above was not because of a sudden anger or pain because of a wounded ego, neither it was to settle old accounts or boost or satisfy one's ego. I just wanted to establish the basic nuclear for a program that has been ignored for a long time and stop beating around the bush or discussion of the matters behind closed doors.

I wanted to open the doors to sweat, blood and fresh air.
I wanted to determine who is Kurdish, and who are the
freedom lovers of Kurdistan who struggle seriously and
sincerely with a patient power and faith similar to those
of Qindiil and Aghri Mountains.

Chapter V

The Demand For A Kurdish State: Why? How? And When?

On 25/1/1985 I participated in a conference held in Geneva, Switzerland by European organizations to discuss the Kurdish cause, and all the Kurdish representatives such as Dr Esmat Sharif Wanli, Dr Salah Jumor and Dr Hoshang Osman Sabri, and Europeans came to the conclusion that the only natural solution for the Kurdish question is a Kurdish state.

When I returned from that conference I started consultations to establish Kurdistan National Congress as a tool for a state because I became convinced that it was not possible to get back the leadership of the late Mella Mustafa Barzani that used to unify the Kurdish people. Any of the current parties and leaderships on the Kurdistan ground cannot alone carry out that task; that is why there is a need for a national organization acting as an umbrella covering all the Kurdish people including all the organizations. Only in this way we can have one slogan and one flag to one Kurdish people and one Kurdistan homeland, in order to establish one Kurdish state.

The Kurdish state is the subject of this book and I know in advance and can imagine the angry reaction and hostile objections to this notion. That is why I start by calling for cool nerves and reason hoping that we all

have awareness and free our spirits by using logic and taking inspiration from the reality to understand that our security is in danger more than any time before. This danger cannot go away unless the illusions go away.

Yes, I call for a Kurdish state and I do not see any other way to the national security and peace for the Kurdish people.

So, let us now leave all those who become angry for their anger and go forward truthfully and seriously and ask why a Kurdish state? How can it be? And when?

As the first and last objective of the Kurdish people is a Kurdish state to secure protection, peace and stability and to enable them to express themselves and their identity in their homeland Kurdistan.

Let us start with “why” and state that the national security of the Kurds is indeed in danger to the extent of threatening our existence. All the peoples on our Earth planet protect themselves by establishing national states to face any eminent danger and force their respect on others. However, some of these peoples use their states as weapons against other stateless nations, as is the case for our Kurdish people and their suffering blackmail on the hands of the governments occupying and dividing Kurdistan.

The occupiers of our homeland Kurdistan by creating their artificial political borders disintegrated Kurdistan and built their states, peace and security on the account of our state, peace and security.

The occupiers of Kurdistan with their states surround our will and at the same time carry out their plans to control us and protect themselves by this in fear that we refuse their control. Thus their independence is the exact

equivalent to our demission.

By establishing a Kurdish state we are aiming to end the blockade on our will and to face the plans of the colonizing control, and to protect the peace so that it will not turn into a hostage in the hands of the occupiers of Kurdistan and threaten the world whenever they like claiming that they are preventing the Kurdish genie from leaving its lamp.

It's no use to claim peace or pretend civilization, and pretences of courage would not help us either.

The establishment of a Kurdish state alone can protect peace as it is only this that can threaten the balance of power between the Kurds on the one hand and the occupiers of Kurdistan on the other.

The establishment of a Kurdish state alone can protect the civilization because it alone can threaten the balance between the barbarism of the occupiers of Kurdistan and the humanism of the Kurds.

The establishment of a Kurdish state alone can protect the independence of the peoples in the region because it alone can create a balance of rights and duties between the peoples and states of the region in a just way.

It is no use to us to talk like the occupiers of Kurdistan about things such as brotherhood because they live within peaceful and secure borders and have states and governments. We can talk their talk only when we have similar peace and security as their own. If we do not have similar peace and secure destiny as theirs we cannot be truthful in repeating their claims.

The establishment of a Kurdish state exceeds the courage in the heart. That is why I said that the pretence of courage would not help us in facing to total destruction

with which the cowards want to tear apart the land, the people and the courage.

To those who may accuse us of threatening the independence of the states neighboring Kurdistan we reply that they are talking about an independence that we do not know about. We may ask them: where is the independence on our land? We can say also that the independence of the world is not our responsibility alone. We have only one truth to throw at them, which is that we have not seen any independence for long years. Instead our rights have been snatched and divided among neighboring countries. We are not separatists but we are asking for the reunification of the parts of Kurdistan.

The civilized people who shout at us: you are supporters of war and not peace; have no right to do so. In fact by doing this they are the actual supporters of war.

To those who call for peace and warn from the danger of war, we reply that their "peace" is unjust, aggressive and barbaric. Our children's bodies have been torn apart by the bombs of their peace. Our bodies have been burnt by the napalms of their peace. Our women are widowed in the shadows of their peace and we are dying every day under this pretence of peace. So, we have the right to accuse them of hypocrisy. For it is they who endanger the world peace and independence of peoples by manufacturing and trading in tools of destruction and war. If the peace and independence of any one are subjected to risks, their responsibility for this is the most and especially much more than ours. I think summarization into points is the best to reply for the question:

Why a Kurdish state?

1. Any one who has a state, he has also weight and effective say in international politics, as well as the right for existence.

2. A state would protect its citizens, and as long as we do not have one we live without protection, and a person who lives in an independent state does not need any other country to protect him and defend his rights and interests.

3. Our national interest in facing the aggression of the occupiers of Kurdistan obliges us to create a Kurdish state to repel that aggression.

4. A Kurdish state to the Kurdish nation is the best weapon for reinforcement, security, reply and repelling and as long as the colonizers of Kurdistan own such weapons to fend us off, it is a fantasy, misconception and a chaotic game to ignore arming with a state to face and repel them.

5. Without a Kurdish national state, we would be victims of this era both in war and peace. It is like being a lamb under the authority of a stick one time and a knife at another.

6. Our strategy in our homeland Kurdistan and its future horizon should not be hand tied against those who blackmail us. If we have lost years in the past in our silence regarding the blackmail from the colonizers of Kurdistan, we should not lose the future also.

7. A Kurdish state for the Kurdish nation is our only available choice for us to cancel the borders between the parts of Kurdistan and reunify them by establishing a Kurdish state that is long overdue.

That is why we should have a Kurdish state.

And now I will answer the second question:

How To Build Up A Kurdish State?

The answer to the question “why” was easy. My fear is the tools to answer the question “how” is more difficult. The most difficult part might be because the Kurdish nation is divided between five countries that each occupied one part, that is *Turkey, Syria, Iran, Iraq and the former Soviet Union*. Moreover the Kurdish liberation movement has been infected by several leaderships, each claiming various reasons for their existence and excuses for going on. So, the decision centers were spread and multiple according to the multiplicity of leaderships and their wills. This was the first difficulty and the second one is the idea of the national security that has not yet found a place appropriate to its importance in the conscience of some Kurds and even in their minds. Some Kurds believe that their distance from their country provides security for them. Others think their closeness to America or Russia provides the required security.. Others of them do not know anything about security except the security of their positions and inheriting it down to their offspring. Some others, unfortunately, believe in their illusion and fear that other Kurds are more dangerous to them than the real enemy, the colonizers of Kurdistan.

If the first difficulty was the dissolution and the second was the absence of the idea of national security, the third one is the fear of courageous initiative and creative imagination. As still some Kurds are afraid of even speaking about a Kurdish state and their thinking avoids imagining it.

However, this proves opposite among other Kurds,

and these other Kurds should take the initiative courageously and creatively, and after taking practical steps towards a Kurdish state they can face to the hesitating Kurds and teach them lessons in initiative, courage and creativeness.

In the face of the technological advance of the colonizers of Kurdistan such efforts could face brutal attacks, but it should be faced with the Kurdish persistence and determination. In addition to that such an event (declaration of a Kurdish state) would shock the colonizers and freeze their thinking on the day that will inevitably come. Only then the peace and Kurdish people will be liberated from blackmail, and an end will come to the ambitions of the colonizers that will start leaving the land of Kurdistan forever.

When Will A Kurdish State Be Announced?

As for when a Kurdish state will be announced, this is a very sensitive subject, and it should be thoroughly studied, and the starting date should be decided on that basis. Of course this time the Kurdish liberation movement should carry this out.

Until that starting time the Kurdish liberation movement should take first practical steps towards the establishment of a Kurdish state by getting the permission from a neutral country to act as a center and headquarter for a Kurdish government in exile for the time being. Also to take the responsibility for all the questions and affairs that are intended to liberate the Kurds and Kurdistan and from the date of its announcement carry out all the functions and authority of a Kurdish government in the fields of diplomacy, media and military. Until the time of the

decisive strike to end the unnatural circumstances in Kurdistan, the Kurds must have the awareness to observe all the changes and transformations in the international and regional politics and create conditions for those changes and transformations and accelerate them to be used for the advantage of initiating the moving of the Kurdish government in exile to Kurdistan and announcing a Kurdish state there.

After all that I would like to say that the governments of the colonizers of Kurdistan are oppressive, unjust and brutal and want peace and surrender from us, but not peace for us. They frighten us with possible destruction and fail to see the already present destruction. They do not respect anything but force and cannot be answered or equalized but by force. Yes I call for a Kurdish state and cannot see any other way for the Kurdish security or Kurdish peace, or else for Kurdish rights.

If the independence of the colonizers of Kurdistan is threatened by a Kurdish state, Kurdistan itself cannot go on being a hostage for peace.

The Kurds in all cases want liberty for the others as they love it for themselves. That is why they do not fall for blackmail and want to spread it in the whole world.

It should be clear to every one that the Kurds have never occupied other people's countries. All what they want is to live on their own unoccupied land after unprecedented sacrificing for its liberation. This is not chauvinism or extremism, but it is calling for the simplest rights for simplest people. Thus for the sake of a Kurdish state it was necessary to find the tool to accomplish this noble aim, that is why the Kurdistan National Congress was founded.

Chapter VI

Kurdistan National Congress - A Tool For A Kurdish State

The Kurdistan National Congress was established on 14 April 1984. It has to be mentioned that first people who called for the idea of a Kurdistan National Congress were a group of freedom loving Kurds in the front line of which were Dr Jemal Nebez, General Aziz Aqrawi, Dr Muhammad Saleh Gabouri, Sheikh Latif Sheikh Al-Islami and the author.

From 19 to 20 / 8 / 1989 the first conference of the KNC was held in London. On 30 – 31 / 8 / 1991 the second conference of the KNC was held also in London. On 18 – 19 / 9 / 1996 the third conference of the KNC was held in Paris. On 10 – 11 / 10 / 1998 the fourth conference of the KNC was held again in London. This last one was the most important because the members of the conference discussed the project of the constitution and it was amended after its official approval.

The aim of the KNC is to carry out political and diplomatic work for the independence and establishment of a Kurdish state on the whole land of Kurdistan. This cannot be achieved without a central authority for the Kurdish nation gathering all the Kurdish parties, organizations and political, scientific, intellectual and social Kurdish personalities, and including the regional Kurdistan governments and parliaments under one

umbrella, that is the KNC. Only in this way we can make the Kurdish masses regain their trust and gain the respect of the outside world. Thus taking gradual steps towards the independence, the first of which is forming the government of Kurdistan (the Greater Kurdistan) in exile and other foundations of the Kurdish state. Then to transfer this government and its institutions to Kurdistan as soon as have a first international or regional opportunity arises. Moreover, to act for creating and crystallizing is such favorable circumstances. The KNC would not miss any occasion or opportunity to serve the Kurdish cause wherever it was. For example when Mr. Bachar Al-Asad came to power in Syria I wrote an article for the Arabic press regarding the suffering of the Kurdish people in Western Kurdistan.

The KNC believes that the establishment of a Kurdistan government in exile is a practical step towards the independence of Kurdistan and a Kurdish state. Considering that the KNC is the highest legislative authority for the Kurdish people in all regions of Kurdistan, it was established and its constitution was approved during the fourth conference held in London on 10 – 11 / 10 / 1998. As I mentioned before a Kurdistan government in exile would be its executive authority. The participants of the fourth conference of the KNC decided to postpone the discussion on forming a government until the fifth conference to give another opportunity to those who did not participate in the fourth conference. Among the important decisions and recommendations was the formation of a committee to follow up the formation of the Kurdistan government in exile. For this reason the conference leadership sent a delegation to Kurdistan carrying a general announcement to all organizations and

social, cultural, scientific and political personalities of Kurdistan to participate in the fifth conference which will be dedicated especially to discussions regarding the forming of a Kurdish government and its institutions. The general announcement issued by the conference contains three types of participation: open participation, non-open participation or a third choice for those who cannot, due to their present circumstances, have any form of participation: by asking them not to blockade the road to forming a Kurdish government in exile. This government is not a substitute to the regional Kurdistan government and parliaments existing here and there. It is but a complementary to them, and all the regional organizations should take their place inside the KNC and the Kurdistan government in exile, which would be for the whole Kurdish people and the whole Kurdistan region.

The Kurdistan government in exile is the executive authority of the KNC and has the same aim of the KNC, i.e. to establish a Kurdish state on the whole land of our homeland Kurdistan. The international official recognition would come with time if the world finds us united behind our demands seriously and persistently. In this regard the fourth conference of the KNC has received congratulation letters from several politicians of the world for its holding, the first of whom was Mr. Tony Blair, the Prime Minister of Britain. This has more significance than that the world is expecting from us to have a national orientation and act as a people of a population of more than 40 million and to practice our normal right in freedom and independence. Indeed the congratulation of the British government for holding the fourth conference of the KNC has a positive significance on the way to an official international recognition. Not

to gain an immediate recognition from the international institutions does not mean at all that we should hesitate in forming a Kurdistan government in exile, for this is our duty. We have to carry out this duty with or without international recognition and not to hesitate, as some do, in establishing a Kurdish state because Syria, Turkey, Iran or Iraq would not accept the establishment of a Kurdish state!!

The dozens of parties and organizations that are members of the KNC inside and outside the homeland did not lose any of their independence by being members and participating in the national centralism, since the KNC is the only organization that welcomes all parties, organizations, sects, Kurdistan regions and all ideologies from far right to far left... in another word the whole Kurdish people.

Once again we repeat the appeal of the KNC to the Kurdish parties, organizations and political, scientific, cultural and social personalities to contact the KNC delegation in order to participate in the fifth conference and form a Kurdish government in exile. Let us start our real liberation march and prove our existence in this world as a nation.

The most important decisions of the fourth conference:

1. After discussion and alterations to the points of the constitution of the Kurdistan National Congress, voting took place and it was approved as the constitution to be implemented from this date forward.
2. Forming a committee to follow up the question of establishing the Kurdish Government in exile to carry

out communications inside Kurdistan with organisations and dignitaries of Kurdistan, and giving them another chance to explain the necessity of forming the Kurdish Government in exile, and inviting them to participate in the fifth congress which shall be dedicated specifically for the issue of announcing the Kurdish Government in exile, which covers all regions of Kurdistan to represent the Kurdish nation (40 million) on the international scene as a nation that has the right for independence. Otherwise, at least for those organisations and dignitaries that have certain connections which prevent them from participating - not to stand as an obstacle in the path of the Kurdish state i.e. not to be hostile to the Kurdish state, even if they are not able to work for it.

CONCLUSION

I stated in this book many problems and suffering of our Kurdish people and their liberation movement within a summarized and simple narration of their long history that is full of tragedies, huge sacrifices and great revolutions.

I did not write it in Kurdish language to have a reference in Arabic language and hoping to translate it into Kurdish and other languages in the future to spread its benefit. (Mr. Sherko Jalal Mamesh carried out the translation of this book into Kurdish, and it was published in series in “Dilanbar” magazine, published by the late Rahbar Jalal Mamesh, the Secretary of the KNC in Finland. It was also translated into Turkish).

In this book I put the dots on the “i”’s reminding and clarifying that throughout our history we had dozens of Kurdish independent governments, the last of which was the Southern Kurdistan Kingdom under King Sheikh Mahmoud Hafid in 1922 and the Kurdistan Republic of 1946 in Eastern Kurdistan. There were also dozens, even hundreds of Kurdish revolutions that were not successful in establishing a Kurdish state.

There are also dozens of Kurdish parties, associations, organizations and newspapers that called and struggled for a Kurdish state such as Khoyboun Party, J.K., KAJYK, and finally the Kurdistan National Congress and Western Kurdistan Government in Exile.

In addition many Kurdish leaders, political personalities, writers, poets and scientists dedicated their

writings and ideas to this holy purpose such as Dr Jemal Nebez and Dr Muhammad Saleh Gabouri.

We also stand humbly and proudly for scours of martyrs who gave their lives for the liberation of the Kurds and Kurdistan.

There have been dozens of international conferences, organizations, personalities, writers, journalists and politicians from foreigners who encouraged the Kurdish people to demand their natural right in a Kurdish state.

After all this there are still those who go backwards and suggest weak half solutions to the Kurdish cause, designed by the colonialists for them so that the Kurdish liberation movement does not catch the fruits of their struggle and sacrifices whatever strength it achieves.

The corner stone of any reasonable notion for the Kurdish liberation movement is the unity of the Kurdish people and its organizations and rejecting the regionalism built by the colonialists as well as avoiding blind partisanship, i.e. those who regard their own party is the right one and the others are traitors. The faith in the unity of the Kurdish people and their homeland Kurdistan would bring about understanding and leads to putting the Kurdish national security above all other considerations. This also brings about preserving the lives and dignity of the Kurdish people and not compromising it to please this country or that.

There is a story about four bulls living in peace and harmony in a wood with their bright colors (red, white, green and yellow) adding a beautiful touch to the area as if a bunch of flowers. They shared the sweetness and bitterness of life until a wild beast arrived at the wood with only one intention, and that was to take off the

wood and its riches. However, the bulls were stronger than it, so it resorted to tricks and spoke to three of them individually and convinced them to get rid of the white bull because it is atheist and blocks the path of the beast whenever it wants to pray!! The bulls agreed and the beast took the white bull somewhere out of view and ate it. Then the beast met the green and yellow bulls and convinced them that the red bull is ill with mad cow disease and kills and destroys, so it is a danger for the whole wood itself and they should get rid of it. Then it took the red bull to eat it but could not manage because it was strong. So, it put the bull in a cage until to eat it in the future when it is weak. Then the beast convinced the yellow bull that they do not need to share the riches of the wood with the green bull and they should get rid of it. When time came for the yellow bull itself to be eaten it said these famous words: I was eaten the day the white bull was eaten.

So, the unity is the corner stone, and the wrong stating of any problem makes it impossible to solve even with its liberation movement having million fighters.

Hence the capitals of the countries occupying Kurdistan, be they democratic or not, have no right to intervene in the way that the Kurdish people choose to practice their rights. The Kurds are the only ones that should have the Kurdish decision and no one else.

In conclusion, the proper stating of the Kurdish cause as I mentioned from the beginning to the end of this book makes it possible for the Kurdish people to reach their objectives and their liberation movement to succeed with only half of the resources available to them, and half of the forces existing nowadays in the Kurdistan land.

The book is finished with the grace of God.

Appendix

1) This delay in holding the third conference was because of the liberation of part of Southern Kurdistan and forming government and parliament of Kurdistan there. We were very optimistic in this regard and expected that they would be transformed little by little to contain the whole Kurdish people or at least they would permit us to hold the third conference of the KNC in Kurdistan beside their regional parliament. However, none of these happened because of their regional and international circumstances and we appreciate that. During that period a number of Kurds who were members of the Turkish parliament fled to Europe and worked on forming a Kurdish parliament in exile on 12 April 1995 in the Hague in Holland. I was invited to it and became a member of that parliament and worked in the committee of foreign relations as a representative of the idea of forming the Kurdistan National Congress in the Kurdistan parliament in exile. That was after the Kurdistan parliament adopted the idea of the KNC, and I showed my readiness to unite all efforts in that regard. A committee was formed to make contacts to form a Congress in Brussels and I participated in its work also and participated in interviews and forums on Kurdish television Med-TV dedicated to the Kurdistan National Congress. However, all of a sudden and from the start of 1996 the Kurdish TV and the Kurdistan parliament in exile stopped any mention of the KNC. So, during the meeting of the Kurdistan parliament in Rome on 15/7/1996, I spoke in

that regard, and as a representative of the KNC in the parliament I made a suggestion that the Congress committee (which I was heading for the past ten years) should call to hold the third conference of the KNC in Paris. Immediately after me, Mr. Zubeir Aidar (head of the Kurdistan parliament's management committee) stood and supported holding the conference in Paris. This was also in presence of Mr. Yesnar Kaya who did not show any reservations regarding the holding of the third conference of the KNC in Paris. However, Mr. Yesnar Kaya called me to Brussels just ten days before holding the conference and asked me to cancel the conference because, in his opinion, the Kurdistan National Congress is a conspiracy and harmful. He literally told me: Hussein Yelderm and Kendal Nazan are behind this conspiracy!! Then I returned to London to consult with the preparation committee of the conference and asked for their views regarding this strange demand. Their decision was as mine, not to postpone the conference and at the same time we should consider other people's views. So, I sent a letter by fax to Mr. Yesnar Kaya asking him to answer me in writing within 48 hours regarding the conspiracy he mentioned and the harmfulness of the KNC, in order to inform the delegates of the conference and free the preparation committee from the responsibility of postponing the conference. But Mr. Yesnar Kaya did not reply to the letter. So, we decided to hold the conference despite receiving threats directly and indirectly from him. And the conference was held despite the hostilities against it. The irony is in the fact that Mr. Kendal Nazan made huge efforts to stop the conference from being held in one of the halls of the French parliament. So, the KNC decided to hold the conference in another

place because Mr. Kendal Nazan was thinking that the Kurdistan Workers Party was behind the idea of the KNC. There is also the astonishing fact that Mr. Marwan Zarki (Al-Agha) and Mr. Omer Ausi, the chief editor of “Saut Kurdistan” magazine, which is issued by the PKK in Damascus [this magazine is not the same “Saut Kurdistan” that is published in Austria with Mr. Abu Tara as its chief editor], attended the conference, and they informed me that Mr. Abdullah Ocalan had not issued any instructions indicating that he was against the conference, and had it been the case they would not have attended the third conference in Paris. When they went back I gave them a letter to Mr. Abdullah Ocalan to make him aware of the acts of Mr. Yeshar Kaya that contradicted his instructions.

My main difference with the Kurdistan parliament in exile (more exactly with Mr. Yeshar Kaya who always tries to distance freedom loving patriots from the centers of power) was their opposition to the idea of a Kurdistan National Congress. That is why I forwarded my resignation because the issue of the KNC is a strategic issue, and I cannot compromise to ignore it whatever the circumstances. The second point that made me not sorry to resign from the Kurdistan parliament in exile was the letter of Mr. Abdullah Ocalan to the parliament which was read by the chairman of the parliament during its meeting in the Norwegian capital Oslo on 20 November 1996 in which he said: “From now on your name will be the Federal Parliament of Kurdistan (as part of Kurdistan affiliated to the Turkish state) instead of the Kurdistan parliament in exile.” The thing that worries me most and makes me bitter is the fact that we are on the verge of the twenty first century and the intellectual factions of

the Kurdish people still cannot express their opinions freely. For example whenever a high ranking member of the PKK supported an issue in the parliament all the others supported it even without discussion, let alone if the words came from the leader of the PKK himself. As for the style, the parliament was obsessed with contacting any opposition groups to any government in the world!! For example when I was a member of the foreign relations committee of the Kurdistan parliament in exile I carried out contacts with numerous governments of the world to explain the cause of Kurdistan, among them Arabic countries and first of all Egypt. I held meetings with Egyptian officials, but at the same time (without the knowledge of the foreign relations committee of the Kurdistan parliament and all of a sudden) the chairman of the Kurdistan parliament in exile Mr. Yesnar Kaya carried out a visit to Egypt and contacted the Egyptian opposition organizations that fight against the government, thus blocking my attempts with the Egyptian government that were about to give fruit. I sincerely believe that Mr. Yesnar Kaya and his kinds, by their foreign policies, deprive the Kurdish people from any international support. For example they were asking their members in 1996 to make contacts with the Labour Party who was in the opposition and against the ruling Conservative Party. When I was asking them to contact Lord Jeffrey Archer, a friend of the Kurdish people and one of the most prominent British personalities in the ruling Conservative Party, they would accuse Lord Archer of being an imperialist and capitalist. However, those same people started contacting Lord Jeffrey Archer when his Party lost the elections and became the opposition!! And started publishing photos of Lord Archer in their publications.

They also cut their intense contacts with the Labour Party when they came to power in Britain. God works in mysterious ways!! I can confirm that those people have dodgy ways in international and Kurdish politics and they themselves fought against the KNC and they themselves sent Mr. Abdullah Ocalan to Kenya in order to be arrested.

2) The population of Mosul in the fourth century (A.H.) were predominantly Kurds; this was stated in the book “Countries of the Oriental Kalifat” by the Oriental specialist “Losterling” Page 88. The outstanding “von Hammer” mentioned in his history of the Ottoman Empire V. 4: “The populations of Mosul itself are Kurds and speak Kurdish language and in addition they speak the Arabic, Turkish and Farsi languages.”

3) The Syrian authorities changed the name of ‘Hay Al-Akrad’ (Kurds Quarter) to Hay Ruknaldeen. Although we are proud of Ruknaldeen who was one of the ministers of Saladin (Sultan Salahadin Al-Ayoubi) and his tomb is in the same quarter that is another matter and does not give the right to the Syrian authorities to cancel the name of ‘Hay Al-Akrad’. This was not done because of their love to Ruknaldeen at all, but their purpose was to cancel the name of the Kurds that was teasing their racist feelings. I still remember that until the sixties there were large metallic signs with ‘Hay Al-Akrad’ written on them and hanged in front and on the back of coaches carrying passengers between the center of the Damascus city and ‘Hay Al-Akrad’. This was one of the images annoying the Arab chauvinists that led to mistrust between the

Kurds and Arabs which caused a huge harm to the Arab nationality more than to the Kurdish nationality. For example had it not been for the Arab chauvinism the Kurdish people in Southern Kurdistan under the Iraqi rule would have enjoyed autonomy or federalism decades ago. However, the chauvinism and racism made them blind in hearts and minds which led to the current situation when the Kurds are enjoying federalism under international protection and the Southern Kurdistan is practically separated from Iraq and the coming days promise even more than that if the chauvinism continues in its arrogance and injustice.

4) This is an old Turkish habit in dealing with the bodies of the Kurdistan martyrs by hiding them so that they would not turn into evidence for their crimes and deprive the Kurds of historical symbols that ignite the patriotic feeling among them. For example they stole and hid the bodies of all revolutionaries, first of all, the bodies of Sheikh Saiid Piran and his comrades after executing them in 1925 in Diarbakir. However, the exalted God does not punish people in the world after death only but sometimes in this world also. For example the descendants of those who killed the leaders of the Kurdish people were demonstrating in a hypocritical way on the shores of the Marmora Sea opposite the Emrali Island where Mr. Abdullah Ocalan, leader of the PKK, was imprisoned in 1999. They were shouting that the Kurds had killed their sons. While we are sure that most of those killed in the Kurdish – Turkish war are Kurds and even the Turkish soldiers who were killed were also Kurds as 90% of the Turkish soldiers in the region of Kurdistan are of Kurdish ethnicity. The ancestors of those

demonstrators killed the Kurdish leaders and massacred millions of the Kurdish people. When God saw that these people are demonstrating for a false claim and hypocrisy, He used His justice by creating an earthquake in the same place where they sent Mr. Abdullah Ocalan blindfolded to Emrali Island. That earthquake killed more than 40 thousand Turks among whom were first of all those hypocritical demonstrators and 500 of Turkish military officers from the Turkish navy that transferred Mr. Ocalan to Emrali. They were all buried in mass graves, those living of them not knowing where their relatives are buried. We are not here chaffing at the affairs of God, but He always delivers His promises to punish the brutal aggressors.

5) This same thing is happening now to the Kurdish liberation movement. As some Kurds think that some of the opposition personalities from the Arabs, Turks or Persians are better politically than their racist rulers. Thus they fall in the mistake of supporting this side against the other side and sacrifice thousands of lives to overthrow the ruler. But when the opposition side gets to the power it turns out to be even more racist than the predecessor. So, all those who struggled to replace one ruler with another have always failed as the Kurdish cause has nothing to do with the type of rulers in the capitals of the countries occupying Kurdistan, but it is the cause of a political entity for the Kurdish nation.

6) Indeed he was killed traitorously as his brother Prince Hussein was killed before, and as many others before that. This is a normal result for those who trust

the colonizers and their false amnesties. It is unfortunate that still some Kurds await eagerly to welcome any nice word spoken to them by the wolves of the colonizers of Kurdistan just like an orphan child is happy when he is given a sweet even if the giver was the person who killed his father and stole his money.

7) God's justice took revenge from those who signed the traitorous treaty of 6 March 1974 in Algeria between the Iranian Shah Muhammad Reza, Saddam Hussein and Hawari Bumedien. Thus Muhammad Reza died in destitute moving from one country to another without being given refuge... Hawari Bumedien died from a disease no doctor neither in the East nor in the West knew what it was. As for the third one Saddam Hussein, he dies hundred times a day, not knowing how to get himself out of trouble, living in humiliation with sanctions against his people as a result of his policies. That was the fate of those who signed and supported the Treaty of Algiers, who quashed the aspirations of the Kurdish people for national liberation. They did not listen to the cries of the children of Kurdistan and their bereaved mothers, so God's justice answered the prayers of the martyrs' souls and sent His revenge, as He did with the butcher Nasuh Pasha previously. So, the aggressors and colonizers cannot get away with their brutality.

8) I remember in summer 1983 when I was in Eastern Kurdistan, the Iraqi planes bombed the city of Mahabad in Eastern Kurdistan so the Iranian planes replied by bombing the city of Amedi in Southern Kurdistan. The two cities are Kurdish and the victims on both sides are

Kurds and yet, they call the war: the Iraq – Iran war!!!

Secondly even now the soldiers in several units of the armies in Iraq, Iran, Syria and Turkey are Kurds and most of the victims in conflicts between them are Kurds. There are also victims such I call voluntary ones, such as when some Kurds were fighting the Safavids in order to appease the Ottomans and vice versa. Unfortunately the same shameful behavior is repeated during the Iraq – Iran war and furthermore some Kurds even go further to spare any effort from the colonizers of Kurdistan by fighting and killing their Kurdish brothers who have the same blood and the same cause as theirs. They do this face to face and state that they are of sound mind with no traces of regret, and even more unfortunate is the fact that they do this in the name of the Kurdish liberation struggle for Kurds and Kurdistan!

9) After almost a hundred years the British occupied Iraq and saw the cannons of Kurdish Prince Muhammad Pasha still standing at the entrance of the Rawanduz castle and of many cities of Kurdistan. They were astonished how the heavy industry of the Kurds was on the same level of development as that of the Europeans at the time. They took some cannons to the museums in Baghdad as evidence of civilization. Those cannons were until recently used to fire to announce the time of fasting and breaking the fast during the holy month of Ramadan. However, the Iraqi regimes ordered to remove them from all the Kurdish cities so that the Kurds would not have anything to be proud of.

10) The colonizers usually would not use their own

people to achieve their goals when they can find many agents ready to serve them and achieve what they want, and when these are finished they usually neglect them as a useless piece of furniture!! The best example in this regard is a Kurdish personality that was not an agent or servant for the foreigners, but had great achievements renowned in history. That is the great Kurdish leader Saladin (Salahadin Al-Ayoubi) who saved the Middle East from Western colonization during the most dangerous era of crusades. The tomb of this glorious mujahid is now in a neglected place in a neglected quarter of Damascus officially known as *Mazabel* (i.e. rubbish) quarter. The name comes from manufacturing “*shanglish*”, *kind of food*, which was used to be fortified with *Zabel* (animal waste). That was the fate of this great mujahid. There is no square, building, park or public place named after him, while you can find the most enormous square, the most beautiful park, a huge statue, a modern museum and a residential quarter named after *Adnan Al-Malki* who was an Arab officer who was assassinated in a stadium while watching football. This officer did not fight even one battle for his country and did not liberate one inch of it. This is how they regard their own and that is how they regard the others even if they were of greatness of Saladin. (It looks like the Syrian authorities have read the first edition of this book in 1985, as since then they have started paying a little more attention to Sultan Saladin and his heritage not out of believe but out of shame).

11) Sayed Mousa is the son of Sayed Muhammad son of Sheikh Abdulqadir son of Sheikh Ubaidullah Nahri. He, his mother and his uncle took refuge in Iran while

still infant just after the Turks hanged his father and grandfather side by side with Sheikh Saiid Piran, the martyrs of liberation of Kurdistan after the failure of the 1925 revolution. Sayed Mousa was one of the three hundred Kurdish youths sent by the government of the Kurdistan Republic in 1946 to the Soviet Union to study in the military colleges to graduate as officers for the new Kurdish republic. Their studies were disrupted, and they returned back to Kurdistan. When the revolution started in Southern Kurdistan, Sayed Mousa and fifty of his followers joined the revolution. In 1980, Sayed Mousa formed Kurdish armed forces and led them to protect the rights of the Kurdish people in Eastern Kurdistan. However, after internal clashes between some Kurdish armed factions he dissolved his forces in order not to participate in the Kurdish – Kurdish clashes.

12) The mass murders, massacres and mass executions committed by the Ottomans against the Kurdish people were not their only “civilized” achievement. As their history is full of massacres, genocides, displacements and brutalities since they formed their first Inkishariah brigades in the sixteenth century up until the fall of their Empire at the start of this century and establishment of the Turkish Republic, which was nothing but an extension to the same Ottoman ideology with a new name. Our Kurdish people have an ancient and deep-rooted civilization, which is one of the reasons of the Ottomans' hostility against them. This is because the inheritors of the stupid Inkishariah mentality are naturally hostile towards original ideas carrying the nucleus of development over their minds that stopped developing at the level of instincts. The best invention they have is

Nargila (an instrument for smoking) and the best architectural site left by their sultans is Haremlek (a palace for their harem). In their kingdom of instincts, thinking was forbidden, the mind was confiscated and the freedom of expression was a crime punished by Khazuq (an instrument of obscene torture) also an invention of their barbaric and brutal minds. When our people fell under the whip of the Inkisharieh, it was inevitable that violence and massacres would dominate since the battle of Chalderan in 1514 up until now. This sort of backward colonizers that were part of the fate of the Kurdish people had a huge effect on the stumbling of the Kurdish liberation movement and the fact that the Kurdish people were left behind the march of civilization and modern revolutionary developments.

13) During the eighties his son Taher Khan formed Kurdish forces under the name “*Simko Agha Forces*” to protect the Kurdish people from the Iranian aggression.

14) Alai is a Turkish expression for what is now known as brigade and consists of three battalions with 1500 to 2100 military personals.

15) Sultan Abdulhamid was afraid of the Turkish army and its officers, so he resorted to forming paramilitary forces from tribal Arabs and Kurds and gave their leaders military ranks as in the army and provided them with a lot of money to become special forces and come to his rescue whenever needed.

16) General Sharif Pasha is a prominent Kurdish

personality and was the representative of the Kurdish people during the peace conference and the Treaty of Sevres in the aftermath of the World War I and before that he held several military and diplomatic positions in the Ottoman era.

17) In this way the international politics forced the Kurdish people to depend on the good intentions and justice of the Iraqi government. Is it possible for colonizers to be just ever? Is it possible for the wolf to have good intentions for the lamb? But that is what the international politics wanted for us. We were not backwards to the extent not to deserve a political entity for ourselves. Some may say that we were in this regard behind many European countries; this could be true in some regards. However, those who got hold of their political entity in the Middle East (where Kurdistan is) were in no better situation than the Kurdish people at all. The British brought kings for them from outside their country and appointed the descendants of Sharif Hussein (Sharif of Mecca) Kings for Syria, Iraq and Jordan. While the Kurds at that time had already their leaders, politicians, princes and kings. However, instead of leaving them alone to rule their homeland Kurdistan, they were murdered, sent to exile or imprisoned. Furthermore, the colonizers of Kurdistan brutally clamped down on all Kurdish liberation revolutions, and each time killed and displaced millions of the Kurdish people. The Kurds did not have kings alone, but they had scientists, literary figures and thinkers more than their neighbors. The creative works of some of those even exceeded the borders of Kurdistan to enrich the thought and literature of the neighboring people. For example: Muhammad Kurd Ali, the founder of the Arabic

Scientific Association in Damascus, who stayed as its chairman for twelve years because there was no one among the Arabs better than him in literature and Arabic language.

18) The Ottoman administration conspired to cause this murder incident by igniting the common people of Mosul. They left them murder the Sheikh and some of his followers without giving them any protection while one Turkish gendarme would have been enough to repel those commons from their despicable act.

19) General Ihsan Nouri Pasha was one of the leaders of Khoibun and general commander of the Kurdish revolution from 1927 – 1930. After the failure of the revolution he became a political refugee in Iran, where he suffered poverty and destitute. So, his wife worked as a tailor of clothes in order to provide for themselves. After the revolution in Kurdistan ended in 1975, there was a political vacuum, and people turned to General Ihsan Nouri to fill the gap. That is why Shah of Iran conspired to assassinate him in 1976 in one of the streets of Tehran with a road accident involving a motorcycle, peace be upon his soul.

20) The great activist Apo Osman Sabri was arrested eighteen times by the Syrian, Turkish and French authorities, and in all periods: progressive and non progressive, because he was only carrying out his struggle for the rights of the Kurdish people. The Kurdish liberation movement has never seen a more courageous and more faithful leader at all times of colonization of Kurdistan. However, at the end of his life he decided to stop political

activities because of what was happening inside the Kurdish liberation movement. Nevertheless, he stayed a teacher and a reference for all freedom loving and patriotic Kurds, until his death in Damascus on 11/10/1993. He was buried in the martyrs cemetery in the town of Darbasia in western Kurdistan, peace be upon his soul.

21) The Kurdish revolutionaries asked eastern and western countries for support in their struggle for the independence of Kurdistan, but the answer was always negative.

22) The large advance of the Kurdish liberation movement in Southern Kurdistan led to the fact that the activists from the other parts of Kurdistan followed the events and participated in their struggle. The author has tried humbly to strengthen the relations between all the factions of the Kurdish liberation movement by attending conferences in Southern Kurdistan and responding to the invitation of the late Mella Mustafa Barzani to meet him after attending the seventh conference of the Kurdistan Students Union, which was held in Sulaimaniah in April 1972, when the author was then a student and representing the National Union of Kurdish Students in Western Kurdistan a sub organization of the KAJYK party.

23) Indeed Qasim recognized some national rights of the Kurdish people in Southern Kurdistan, but he broke his promises later. However, I would like to say that in such a sensitive stage of the history of our people, as a Kurd and without any political and party interests, for the sake of truth and historical correctness, that Qasim

fixed in the Iraqi constitution the partnership of the Kurds and the Arabs in the Iraqi homeland. The Kurdistan Democratic Party opened their headquarters in Baghdad officially and published their publications openly. In addition the government took practical steps towards the partnership on all levels, such as printing a Kurdish dagger beside an Arabic sword on the Iraqi notes etc. These were great achievements and a victory for the Kurds taken from Qasim without any violence or revolution. Qasim was not weak when he recognized these rights of the Kurdish people, on the contrary he was at the peak of his strength and all the eyes of the world were on him. Qasim put the last nail in the coffin of the Baghdad Alliance that was founded mainly to clamp down on the Kurdish liberation movement. In this regard Qasim had unlimited support from most of the Arab countries, the socialist block countries and the Organization of the Non-Allied countries. In other words, Turkey and Iran saw themselves surrounded from the north by the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, and from the south by Qasim and the Arabs (especially the Egyptian President Jamal Abdul Nasser who was one of the first who called for a Kurdish uprising in Iran and Turkey and for this purpose the Egyptian Radio was transmitting programs in Kurdish language). Indeed, had the aspiration of the leadership of the Kurdistan Democratic Party in Southern Kurdistan been on a higher level than their regional aspirations, they would have used all the forces mentioned and the power of the masses in Southern Kurdistan to ignite revolution in the Northern or Eastern Kurdistan occupied by Turkey and Iran, or both. Especially since they would always cooperate to clamp down on the revolution even if it was in another part of Kurdistan. I am sure that a

Kurdish state would have been a certainty and the Soviets might have supported a Kurdish state more than their support to Vietnam. That is because of the strategic importance of Kurdistan and its proximity to them, allowing them access to the Arab World and Africa. However, the leadership of the KDP at the time were basing their policies on their party and regional interests only. This situation – i.e. narrow partisan interests and regionalism – deprived the Kurdish people from taking advantage of the opportunities and instead of taking advantage of all those forces mentioned they ignited a revolution in Southern Kurdistan, putting the best sons of the Kurdish people in a huge risk. At the same time they tried to blame everything on Qasim once or the late Mella Mustafa Barzani on other occasions. In order for them to stay in power, they brainwashed the Kurdish people with notions, example of which are mentioned below:

A.They told the Kurdish people that the Soviet Union would never support any military close to their borders, which later proved wrong by the Soviets' support to Afghanistan.

B.They never recognized the existence of part of Kurdistan within the borders of the Soviet Union, and that is why they never mentioned a word regarding the Red Kurdistan Republic established in Lenin times (1921) which lasted for nine years until 1930 when Stalin destroyed it and scattered its population over all the republics of the Soviet Union. All this for a studying grant or to keep their good relations with the Iraqi Communist Party.

C.This faction not now and not ever believed in a Kurdish state saying as an excuse that the great powers

do not desire it. How can they want the world to recognize a Kurdish state if they themselves do not demand one! Or saying that the situation of Southern Kurdistan does not allow it because there is no access to the outside world. Yet after the second Gulf war it occurred that not only there is such access, but Iraq itself had access to the outside world through Kurdistan and its border point of Ibrahim Khalil. As for the great powers, we see that they spend billions of dollars to protect Kurdistan since 1991, and we know that the West would not spend anything without a reward or plans. Therefore they have an interest in separating Kurdistan from Iraq. Is not that a green light from the West to declare a Kurdish state, and even it was not so, should not we take advantage of this protection that surely would not last forever.

24) This made the French journalist *René Maurice* in his book “Kurdistan or Death”, translated by the solicitor Georges Fathullah into Arabic in 1988, written by him after his visit to Kurdistan and witnessing the famous battle of “Handreen” between the Iraqi army and the Kurdish Peshmarga between 1 – 12 May 1966, after mentioning the heroic actions of the Kurdish forces (3500 Peshmarga facing 35000 Iraqi soldiers armed with planes and modern equipments and also accompanied with thousands of mercenaries) and painting a very good picture of that battle and how the heroic Peshmarga achieved victory at last with an attack lasting only one hundred and eighty minutes in an epic way. Renet at the end speaks painfully and in sorrow about wasting all this heroism and sacrifices without asking for an independent Kurdish state, saying: “Is there anyone in the world who dares to regard the Polish people who were in the last

century divided between Russia, Prussia and Austria as a minority? Or we the French, were not we someday divided between Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, Italy and Spain? Did we accept to be seen as a minority? Why then they refuse to recognize the Kurdish people with their rich history of traditions and glory, proud and persistent, characteristics they inherited generation after generation, people with population more than the population of any Arab country with the exception of Egypt. Who dares to deny their rights? Is it Togo, Dahomi, Chad, Congo Brazzaville, Yemen or Kuwait? Of course the Kurds are not planning to achieve their dream of independence, although that is their final aim. For them and the practical international community there are too many borders to be amended.” Indeed René, you have said the truth and I hope that my people would listen to you (author).

25) The reason for ignoring the view into the national future of the Kurdish liberation movement is due to several historic factors still standing, and I summarize them in the following: the Kurdish Zoroastrian religious scholars since six centuries BC until the Islamic invasions were followers of the Persian Zoroastrian religious scholars. After adopting Islam the Kurdish Islamic religious scholars continued to be followers but this time to the Arabic and Turkish Islamic religious scholars, and the Kurdish Shiite religious scholars to the Iranian Shiite religious scholars. In addition the Kurdish feudal leaders followed them in order to gain titles of (Beg and Pasha) from the Arabic, Turkish and Persian authorities. Those colonizers under the cover of different sects and ideologies attempted to keep the Kurdish people from scientific and industrial progress. They used all available methods to

prevent enlightened and industrial classes to develop and to keep only shepherds and peasants. This policy weakened the bourgeois class in Kurdistan and prevented it from playing an active role in the liberation movement as in other countries. Thus the Kurdish liberation movement remained stumbling and did not find a path for independence until the end of the World War II when a new generation of Kurdish youth who were more conscious and aware about the national cause of the Kurds started working towards the liberation of Kurdistan. This direction was about to destroy all what was built by the colonizers throughout of history and to spoil the attachment to them forever. So, the colonizers replied by attempting to empty the Kurdish liberation movement from its true essence by creating the notions of the right of self determination through what was called autonomy, and thus it became a vicious circle and a game to entertain the Kurdish masses and wasting their energies. Even worse than that, when the democratic struggle grew in strength they joined the question of autonomy with the struggle for a democratic rule in the countries that colonize Kurdistan so that the Kurdish democrats fall for it and make them a prey and complete conscious followers of the Arab, Turkish and Iranian democrats. On the other hand I would like to mention the Kurdish Marxists who fell under the control of the Arab, Turkish and Iranian Marxists and furthermore to countries such as Russia, China and Albania. Did the Kurdish Zoroastrians gain their rights after following for more than a thousand years? Did the Kurdish Muslims gain their rights after following for one thousand and four hundred years? And now who would say that the Kurdish democrats and Marxists with their following to the Arab, Turkish and Iranian democrats

and Marxists will gain the rights for the Kurdish people? I would like to tell them if their ancestors throughout two thousand and four hundred years gained nothing but mass murders, displacement and oppression, their fate would not be better even after two thousand and four hundred more years. I would like to apologize to them that today is not like the past and we have no time to wait, because in two thousand four hundred years time we may not find even one Kurd to enjoy the fruit of their struggle, and the Kurdish liberation movement should concentrate on the interests of Kurds and Kurdistan.

26) In addition to this some people imported canned theories and applied them to our people and our liberation movement such as what the Chinese leader Mao Zedong said regarding a long lasting war without knowledge that the Chinese leader applied this to their war against Japan because the Chinese had the following advantages: the difference in population numbers and the large distance between the two countries, which led to huge difficulties and costs that tired the Japanese in a long lasting war. This was a theory based on studies and science that is why it succeeded there in that country's circumstances, but this does not mean that it is valid everywhere and all the time. Here I want to mention an example that I experienced more than 40 years ago: I still remember what Mr. Salah Badradeen said during the seventh conference of the Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria held in the town of Amuda in September 1969: "The implication of the racist policy of the Arab belt in Syria is in the interests of the Kurdish people!!" His reasoning for that was: "The great Lenin (according to his words) the founder of the Soviet state carried out his first revolution in 1905

and failed because he depended on the peasants. So, he tried again inside the cities in 1917 and succeeded because he relied on the power of the workers' class". After this "scientific example" he astonished those present who were 20 members representing the Kurdish areas, by putting the question of the Arab belt to vote. Only the great activist Apo Osman Sabri, me and four other comrades voted for resisting the Arab belt policy because we considered that any people who would not resist what concerns his every day life would be defeated from within and would never show resistance to open a Kurdish language school, while in case of resisting the people may suffer imprisonment and surveillance but they create a generation of heroes. Mr. Salah Badradeen forgot that the Kurdish cause is the cause of land and homeland and if the Kurdish people are separated from their land they would turn into but a disintegrated community. What happened with Lenin was something quite different and had nothing to do with our cause. However, Mr. Badradeen and his kind were against the late Mella Mustafa Barzani when all other people were with him. I remember very well when Mr. Muhammad Amin Faraj, the representative of Mr. Jalal Talabani met the historic leader of the Kurdish people in Syria Apo Osman Sabri in 1966 in Damascus, he asked Apo to ask the members of the Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria who were studying in Europe, to have a neutral stance towards the differences between the faction of the political bureau of the KDP and Mella Mustafa. Apo replied that there is no neutrality in this case because as long as the political bureau is in Baghdad and Mella Mustafa is leading the Kurdish revolution I am with Mella Mustafa without reservations. At the same time Mr. Salah Badradeen was against the reasoning

of Apo because he claimed that Mella Mustafa is a backward and tribal person, but the political bureau members are our party comrades and we should support them against Mella Mustafa. When it was supposed to stand in the face of the racist policy of the Arab belt in 1967, Mr. Salah Badradeen was close to Syrian Security services. When the resistance movement in Syria fell, as the Party Secretary Apo Osman Sabri resigned, and with him the honorable patriots members of the Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria, Mr. Salah Badradeen became assured that the Kurdish liberation movement in Syria is weak and his mission is accomplished, he turned in the beginning of seventies just after the March Declaration from the Syrian Security services to the Iraqi Security services. People of the kind of Salah Badradeen exist anytime anywhere, inside the Kurdish liberation movement in Syria or in Iraq, or indeed in the Palestinian movement. He was just an international agent exactly of the kind of an estate agent who does not care whether the property sold by him is good or bad, cheap or not, or who makes the profit; all he cares about is his commission. Hence some people may think that when Mr. Salah Badradeen acts as a mediator between the Kurds and any government or between the Palestinians, by this he is carrying out a great patriotic job, but on the contrary we should not accuse him of such a thing! In fact he is looking to the one who pays best and we should not confuse faithful people and agents. The question of Mr. Salah Badradeen being an agent to the Syrian Intelligence is confirmed even by his good friend Karim Hussami in his published memoirs in Kurdish in Sweden. There are also some who have information regarding Salah Badradeen's spy and criminal contacts when he was in

East Germany at the time of the fallen dictator Honecker and it was no coincident that he ran away to the safe haven in the south after the fall of the fascist dictatorship system that was covering up for him. And we shall come back to this subject.

DOCUMENTS, PICTURES AND MAPS

TREATY OF SEVRES

**is the most important international treaty
recognise the Kurdish State and Kurdistan:**

10 August 1920

TREATY OF SEVRES

SECTION III

KURDISTAN

Article 62

A Commission sitting in Constantinople and composed of three members appointed by the British, French and Italian Governments respectively shall draft within six months from the coming into force of the present Treaty a scheme of local autonomy for the predominantly Kurdish areas lying east of the Euphrates, south of the southern boundary of Armenia as it may be hereafter determined, and north of the frontier of Turkey with Syria and Mesopotamia, as defined in Article 27,II (2) and (3).

If unanimity cannot be secured on any question, it will be referred by the members of the Commission to their respective Governments. The scheme shall contain full safe guards for the protection of the Assyro-Chaldeans and other racial or religious minorities within these areas,

and with this object a Commission composed of British, French, Italian and Kurdish representatives shall visit the spot to examine and decide what rectifications, if any should be made in the Turkish frontier where, under the provisions of the present Treaty, that frontier coincides with that of Persia.

Article 63

The Turkish Government hereby agrees to accept and execute the decisions of both the Commissions mentioned in Article 62 within three months from their communication to the said Government.

Article 64

If within one year from the coming into force of the present Treaty the Kurdish people within the areas defined in Article 62 shall address themselves to the Council of League of Nations in such a manner as to show that a majority of the population of these areas desires independence from Turkey, and if the Council then considers that these peoples are capable of such independence and recommends that it should be granted to them, Turkey hereby agrees to execute such a recommendation, and to renounce all rights and title over these areas.

The detailed provisions for such renunciation will form the subject of a separate agreement between the Principal Allied Powers and Turkey.

If and when such renunciation takes place, no objection will be risen by the Principal Allied Powers to the voluntary adhesion to such an **Independent Kurdish State** of the Kurds inhabiting that part of Kurdistan which has hitherto been included in Mosul vilayet.

This is a complete copy of the most important Treaty between two main leaders of Kurdish and Armenians nations in 1927, the treaty shows the good relation between the Kurds and the Armenians and itself shows that the Kurds are not responsible on the Turkish genocide against the Armenians in 1915:

The Treaty of Political and Military Cooperation
Dachnaksoutioun-Hoyboun

Treaty agreed to between the Armenian Revolutionary Party
Dachnaksoutioun and the Kurdish National League Hoyboun.

The major parties to the contract,

Mr. Vahan Papazian, delegate plenipotentiary of the
Dachnaksoutioun Party on the one hand, and,

Messrs. Cheikh Ali Riza Effendi de Palou, Dr. Chukri Sekban Bey,
Moustapha Chahin Bey - chief of the Barazi tribe, Hadjo Agha-
chief of the tribe Hawirkan, Emin Agha - chief of the Ramman
tribe, Kerim Rustem Bey de Souleymani, Memdoun Selim Bey de Van,
and Djeladet Aali Bey Badr-Khan, all members of the central
committee of the Kurdish National League, on the other hand,

In consideration of the strong fraternal feelings that both
peoples feel toward each other; convinced of the urgent necessity
of a collaboration between both Aryan races in order to guarantee
their respective existence; considering the communality of
national aspiration and political independence which inspire both
nations,

have concluded the present military and political treaty and have
agreed to the following modalities:

Article 1. Both parties recognize in reciprocity the rights to
independence of Kurdistan and of a unified Armenia and vow
mutually to help each other by all possible means, for the
defense of these rights.

Article 2. Both parties without distinction of territories
belonging to Armenia or Kurdistan will pursue the struggle
against the common enemy with the common goal of the liberation
of both countries.

The drawing of the borders between both nations will take place
according to the following principles:

A. The size of the indigenous populations of Kurds and Armenians
before the 1914 World War will serve as a basis for this
division.

B. While taking into account the ethnic and juridical principles
proclaimed by the treaty of Sevres, article 89 of this treaty
which attributes the "vilayets" de Van, Bitlia and Erzeroum to
Armenia is null and void; however both parties recognize their
respective rights to the above-mentioned "vilayets".

C. In the drawing of the borders, both parties will have to take
into account the political and economic interests as well as the
natural defense of both respective countries.

Article 3. The present treaty being an offensive and defensive alliance pact between both parties to the contract against the common enemy, the Turanian Turkish element, the parties promise in case of an aggression directed against one or the other countries, separately or jointly, to come to each other's aid in order to repulse the attack. Both parties will fight collectively any initiative of the Turkish government aiming at replacing the local population of their common territories with foreign elements.

Article 4. Both parties contract to lead an efficient propaganda, oral or written, in order to propagate the concept of Kurdish-Armenian cooperation and to make it take root within both countries.

Article 5. The party Dachnaksoutioun promises to initiate propaganda through the appropriate channels in favor of the Kurdish cause on behalf of the political circles and public opinion in Europe and America while at the same time countering any propaganda or provocation coming from the Turko-Turanian side.

Article 6. The party Dachnaksoutioun promises to provide provisional subsidies to the Kurdish National League Hoyboun and to come to its aid morally, technically, and in providing experts for the tasks dealing with organization or other matters.

Article 7. The party Dachnaksoutioun will provide help to the National League Hoyboun in order to initiate the necessary steps relating to the American and European states, as well as other states and peoples directly interested in their destiny, in order to acquire their cooperation on behalf of the Kurdish cause.

Article 8. The party Dachnaksoutioun will keep a permanent general representative attached to the central committee of the National Kurdish League Hoyboun, in order to maintain channels of communication between both organizations and, if need be, to take part in the deliberations of the central committee of Hoyboun, in order to come to its aid in all its tasks and to assure a very close level of cooperation.

Article 9. The party Dachnaksoutioun and the Kurdish National League Hoyboun, considering the non-recognition of the rights of Armenia and of Kurdistan on their common territories, as well as their independence, consider themselves in a state of war against the Turkish government. Consequently, both parties to this contract agree not to enter in any relationship with the Turkish government, nor even with a third party without a previous agreement between both parties.

Article 10. The party Dachnaksoutioun, upon the common report of both parties, will join its military forces with the Kurdish Operational Troops and will try to provide weapons and munitions necessary to the above-mentioned operations.

The party Dachnaksoutioun will name its military attache to the central committee Hoyboun or to the Kurdish general staff, along with technicians. The military attache with his technical staff will take part in the deliberations and in the operations as good comrades and collaborators.

Article 11. The matters of general policies and of the executions of the decisions taken in common accord will be entrusted to a mixed commission composed of the delegates of both parties and if need be to one or to several delegates of even one party alone.

Article 12. The party Dachnaksoutioun promises to aid materially and morally the courses which will be instituted in order to prepare Kurdish organizations, propagandists and technicians.

Article 13. Both parties to this treaty contract, on the basis of this agreement, to conclude within one year the accords concerning the matters of transit, customs, port, the right of minorities, exchange of populations, and any other matter not included in the present treaty. The question of the eventual conclusion of a Kurdish-Armenian confederation will be taken into account by both parties.

Article 14. The parties contract to recognize the proportion of the public debts accrued to them according to the territories which will be attributed to each party. They also recognize any railway and mining concession or concessions of other types already granted to any foreign power.

Article 15. For any disagreement, either of interpretation, or relating to any matters not covered by this treaty, both parties will have to have recourse in all cases to an arbitration whose designation will be made by common accord.

Article 16. The present political and military treaty will be kept secret. If one of the parties believes it to be necessary to communicate it in part or in totality to any third party, the previous consent of the other party to this contract is obligatory.

Article 17. The present treaty will establish the relationship between the two countries until the end of their common struggle for their freedom and their independence. Any changes or additions brought to this present treaty can only be made with the common consent of both parties.

Article 18. The present political and military treaty becomes valid as soon as it is signed by both parties to the contract.

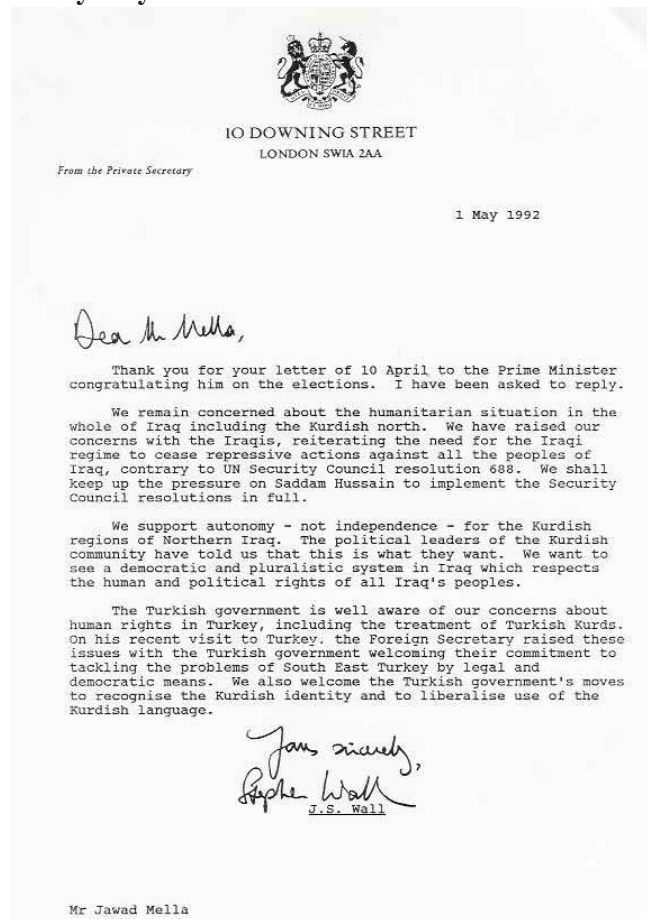
Article 19. The text of this treaty is written in French and is published in two copies.

Made in Beirut on the twenty-ninth of October, nineteen hundred and twenty-seven.

Signature for the Armenian Revolutionary Party Dachnaksoutioun

Signatures for the Kurdish National League Hoyboun

One of the most important letter that recieved from His Excellency John Major, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom in 1992, when I have asked him to adopt the Kurdish state in Southern Kurdistan, you can understand from the letter and behind the lines that the great powers in the world as Britain are supporting independence for Kurdistan but they can't to do any thing for the Kurdish state because, that the Kurdish leaders are asking for autonomy only:



THE NATIONAL PACT OF KURDISTAN

We the signers below are representatives of political parties and organisations, the cultural and social Kurdistan institutions, patriotic personalities, the participants of the Forth Kurdistan National Congress in 10-11 October 1998. We have decided to comply with the form and contents of the clauses of the National Pact of Kurdistan, and any one who violates any of its clauses would be regarded as defying the will of the Kurdistan society:

- The people of Kurdistan: (with the population of 40 millions of Kurdish majority and ethnic minorities) have a civilization going back to thousands of years living in their homeland of Kurdistan.
- Kurdistan: is the homeland for the Kurdish people and all the brotherly minorities who live together on the land of Kurdistan, it has the area of 550 thousand square Kilometres, covering a landscape situation between the two meridians 35-55 and the two parallels 34-40, and extends from Hurmiz passage at East to the Mediterranean at West, and Caucasus at North as mentioned in the book of Sharafnama by its author Sharaf Khan Al-Batlisi.
- International treaties : The people of Kurdistan reject all the present political international borders which absorbed Kurdistan to the benefit of the states of the region without any right to do that and without any consent from the people of Kurdistan. This rejection is a legal one because neither the people of Kurdistan nor any representative of them has signed any of those treaties regarding this matter, and the Kurdish people have the right of self-determination on the basis of freedom and

equality. The use of this right of self-determination must be on free terms and for the sake of gaining freedom.

- The flag of Kurdistan: Red on the top, then white, and then green, and on the white strip there is a shining sun in yellow. This is the flag that was presented by General Sharif Pasha with his memorandum about the independence of Kurdistan for the peace conference of 1919 in Paris after the World War One as a result of which there was a decision about the future of Kurdistan in the treaty of Sevres.
- The national anthem of Kurdistan: is the same as the national anthem for the Kurdistan Republic of 1946.
- Blood, property and honour of the people of Kurdistan: are sacred and protected matters which can not be wasted under any circumstances.
- Thoughts, believes, religion and individual liberties: should not be harmed in any way and should be subjects of respect.
- The national security of the Kurdish people: should have the first priority in all aspects and also in the relations of the Kurdistan parties among themselves, and especially their international relations with the states that occupy and share Kurdistan.
- The Kurdistan National Congress has to create necessary laws to protect the rights and duties in all aspects (the law of parties, organisations and professional unions, as well as regional, tribal and religious organisations ...etc.) in order not to give any chance to any one to blow away or impede the march of the liberation of Kurdistan.
- Working towards forming a nucleus for united informational, political, economical and military forces

of the Kurdish nation, including those organisations that care about the united struggle for Kurdistan, and should have an immediate target of resolving problems between the organisations and finding a recipe for an agreement in order to make these forces a corner stone for building a united Kurdistan national liberation movement which will be the true weapon for the liberation of Kurdistan. For only with our unity we can gain the respect and trust of our people and the outside world.

The end announcement by the conference held on 25/4/2004 in the German town of Herne for the declaration of the Western Kurdistan Government in Exile

To the Kurdish masses everywhere and the friends of a free and independent Kurdistan

We have to congratulate the Kurdish people and their friends for the news of declaration of the Government of Western Kurdistan in Exile from the German town of Herne on 25/4/2004. This will be a historical turning point in the political life of the Kurdish people by moving from the condition of organisations and parties to the condition of a Kurdish state that would melt the Kurdish forces into a liberation movement for our homeland, Kurdistan. It also creates a central national authority that rises to the standard of international states and governments in relations and diplomacy. The liberation of our homeland is the right way for achieving the Kurdish national identity, as well as their national security and protection of the honour and preciousness of the blood of our Kurdish people. Those who think that the above can be achieved without the establishment of a Kurdish state are mistaken.

During this historic meeting in the town of Herne, a number of Kurdish politicians and intellectuals gathered on the occasion of the forty days anniversary of glorious Kurdish uprising in Western Kurdistan and in a mourning ceremony for the martyrs of the uprising there was a minute of silence at the start of the conference, then the Kurdish national anthem (Ay Raqib). This was followed by a speech regarding the uprising by the conference executive the activist Rizgar Qasim. Then Dr Jawad Mella read the political report and Dr Alan Qadir read the legal report. Then the questions by those present were answered and the question of declaration of the Government of Western Kurdistan and its constitution was adopted and the suggestions in this regard were put to voting.

The following decisions were made unanimously:

1. Declaration of the Government of Western Kurdistan in Exile, the names and number of the members of the government to be announced shortly after consultations.
3. Adopting the project of constitution of the Government of Western Kurdistan in Exile as suggested by the preparatory committee and a legal committee was formed from: the lawyer Bavi Shorish, Dr Alan Qadir and solicitor Sulaiman Jaziry, to be formulated legally.
4. Adopting the announcement of the preparatory committee of the Government of Western Kurdistan as well as the political and legal reports with their contents of suggestions in addition to the suggestions of the audience as follows:
5. Officially asking the United Nations to send international forces to Western Kurdistan in order to

put it under international protection after the bloody massacres committed by the Syrian government against our Kurdish people since the glorious uprising of 12/4/2004.

6. Initiating a legal action at the International Justice Court in Lahay against the criminal murderers heading the Syrian regime to be tried for crimes against humanity and committing mass murders against the Kurdish people in Western Kurdistan during the current uprising and before that during the painful events of burning alive the Kurdish children in the town of Amuda in 1960 and burning alive of the Kurdish prisoners in the Central Prison of the city of Hasaka in 1993, and others.
7. Adopting all means to defend the Kurdish people who are subjected to imprisonment and murdering under torture in the Syrian prisons.
8. Supporting the USA government's decision of imposing economical sanctions against Damascus and putting the Syrian regime on the list of the states exporting terrorism.

The conference received many faxes and letters of support from various parts of the world and the audience was from the Kurdish residents of various cities of Germany as well as delegations from France, Netherlands and Austria. There were also Kurdish personalities from Southern Kurdistan such as Dr Jamal Nebez and engineer Bruska Ibrahim and others. In addition there were representatives of the Kurdish TV and internet sites. The conference was ended with the Kurdish anthem (Ay Raqib).

COMMUNIQUÉ NO (1)

From the meeting of the Western Kurdistan Government in Exile In its headquarters in London on 3/7/2004

To the Kurdish masses everywhere, and friends of free and independent Kurdistan

We would like to congratulate the Kurdish people and their friends for the announcement of the birth of the Western Kurdistan Government in Exile from the German town of Herne on 25/4/2004 and the first meeting of the Government in London on 3/7/2004, which will become a historical turning point in the political life of the Kurdish people and a transformation from the state of organisations and parties to a Kurdish state that dissolves the Kurdish forces into the mainstream of liberation movement of our homeland Kurdistan and provide a central and national authority that develop the situation to the level of international states and governments of international relations and diplomacy. The liberation of the homeland is the right way to achieve the national identity and the Kurdish national security, and preserve the honour, stateliness and dignity as well as the blood of our Kurdish people. Any one who thinks that it's possible to guarantee any of those without a Kurdish state is mistaken.

The following are the decisions of the meeting:

To form the Western Kurdistan Government in Exile in this stage of five ministries:

1- Ministry of foreign affairs and diplomatic relations;

and opening embassies of the Western Kurdistan Government in various countries.

- 2- Ministry of internal affairs and organisation of masses.
- 3- Ministry of information. Establishment of a satellite TV station.
- 4- Ministry of national security and the institution of nationalist cadres.
- 5- Ministry of petrol. To use the Kurdish oil as a weapon for the independence of Kurdistan.

A special committee for each ministry would carry out its management.

The meeting adopted the charter of the Western Kurdistan government and the final announcement of the Herne meeting to be acted upon.

A number of members of the Western Kurdistan Government who reside in the UK attended the meeting and the meeting was opened by the Kurdish national anthem (Ay Raqib) and by a minute silence for the martyrs of the continuous uprising that first started in the Qamishli stadium on 12/3/2004 and all martyrs of Kurdistan. The meeting was ended by exchanging congratulations and applause for the achieved success.

Charter Of The Western Kurdistan Government In Exile

The Kurdish nation is one of the largest nations of the Middle East and the largest in the world without a state. Kurdistan, as all the current countries of the Middle East, except Iran, was under the control of the Ottoman Empire. As a result of the World War 1 and disintegration of the Ottoman Empire (1918), it seemed that the most reasonable solution was to give Kurdistan the right of national independence. Although the Sevres Treaty (1920) stated the establishment of an independent Kurdish state, Mustafa Kemal, as he became the leader of the Turks, refused to recognise that and threatened to make Turkey a communist state. This was one of the reasons that pushed the allied nations to introduce another Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 in which they ignored the Sevres Treaty in what concerns the Kurdish people and Kurdistan. After that and according to a France - Turkey agreement, the railway line between Mosul and Aleppo became a borderline between Turkey and Syria. As a result of such agreements and treaties Kurdistan was divided without any legal basis or any taking account of the opinion of the Kurdish people at all. The Kurds had never accepted this and started a long struggle against those states artificially created by the allies and occupying Kurdistan, namely; Iraq, Turkey, Syria, Iran and the former Soviet Union. Those governments since have been using the worst kinds of oppression policies against the Kurds, unprecedented in the history of humanity.

During the last eighty years the Kurds were deprived of national rights and their homeland, Kurdistan, divided and occupied as an international colony and the Kurds were persecuted, massacred, oppressed and deprived of

the simplest of human rights.

Now the Kurds started in reality, especially after the tragedy of Halabja and recent continuous genocide operation, demanding independence from Iraq and all other countries occupying Kurdistan. However, whether asking for full independence or a limited autonomy, or even extending electricity to their villages, the answer is always a cruel deprivation and more hideous oppression.

The France – Turkey agreement (the Ankara agreement of 1921) determined the borders that separated the Kurdistan of Syria from the Kurdistan homeland. As a result thousands of families were divided and those above the railway line became under the Turkish occupation (thus became Turks according to the Turkish government's claims) and those to the south of the railway line became under the Syrian occupation (and became Arabs according to the Syrian constitution). The latter part now has the population of more than 3 million people.

During the twenties and thirties, the Kurds in Syria that was occupied by the French enjoyed a relative freedom of publication and distribution, and had their own clubs and organisations under the French mandate. But when Syria gained its independence in 1946 and the Arabs controlled the government, the Kurds lost all what they had gained. All Kurdish organisations and clubs were banned, all Kurdish publications, books, magazines and newspapers, old or new, were confiscated. The leaders of the Kurdish people were exiled or executed. In the following we give some examples of such crimes:

1. The French mandate authorities in Syria send the great Kurdish leader Apo Osman Sabri in 1930 to the Island of Madagascar. He was brought back after a huge

pressure from the Kurds on the authorities. Since then and until his death in 1993 this Kurdish hero was subjected to arrest more than 18 times and spent more than 12 years in Syrian prisons, and he was not allowed to travel because the Syrian government withdrew his Syrian nationality certificate in 1962.

2. In 1951 the Syrian authorities assassinated Prince Jaladet Baderkhan and exiled his brother (Prince Kameran), and a number of other Kurdish personalities such as Dr Nooraldine Zaza.
3. In 1958 the Syrian authorities dismissed hundreds of Kurdish officers from the army because of their Kurdish ethnicity. Among them: General Tawfiq Nezamadine, the Commander in Chief of the Syrian army; General Mahmoud Shawkat, Colonel Foad Melatli, Colonel Bakri Qutrush...
4. The Syrian authorities murdered 380 children in the city of Amuda by burning them to death inside a cinema while they were watching a movie on 13/11/1960.
5. In 1962 the Syrian authorities deprived 150,000 Kurds from the region of Al-Jazeera of the Syrian nationality with their population today reaching more than half a million of Kurds.
6. In 1967 the Syrian authorities initiated a racist policy named "Arabic Belt" aiming to displace the Kurdish population from borders with Turkey and Iraq (15 Km in width and 375 Km long) and replace them with Arabs. The purpose was to separate the Kurds of Al-Jazeera from the other parts of Kurdistan in Iraq and Turkey using a human Arabic belt and to create new modern Arab settlements beside each Kurdish village deprived of any necessary services.

7. Continuous arrest of Kurdish patriots, for example the arrest of Haj Deham Mero and his companions in Syria for more than 15 years without trials and eventually releasing Haj Deham because of the old age and illness. Many of the Kurdish political prisoners were murdered such as Dr Hamid Sino or given drugs to make them ill including mentally as it happened to Mr Bahjat Muhammad who came out of prison with his mind lost after he was the first of his class during studies.
8. On 21 March 1986 the Syrian authorities prevented the Kurds from celebrating their national feast "Nawruz". The Kurds organised a peaceful demonstration in the streets of Damascus to protest and when the demonstrators approached the President's palace the guards shot at them killing a young man and injuring dozens of the Kurds.
9. The Syrian authorities burned 72 Kurdish prisoners to death in the Kurdish town of Hasaka on 23/3/1993.
10. There are hundreds of schools in Syria today teaching languages such as English, French, German, Spanish, Armenian, Turkish, Farsi and Hebrew, but there is no even one school in Syria to teach the Kurdish language.
11. The great Kurdish uprising in Western Kurdistan that started on 12/3/2004 is a beginning of the path for the independence of Western Kurdistan from the Syrian occupation.
12. The Syrian constitution does not recognise the existence of the Kurds and uses martial laws and extraordinary acts against them. The number of the Kurdish political prisoners is always in thousands and even those who demand a Syrian nationality as it happened

during the Kurdish demonstrations in Damascus on 15/12/2002 in front of the Syrian parliament, demonstration of the Kurdish children deprived of nationality in front of the UN headquarters in Damascus 25/6/2003, and demonstration of Aleppo on 30/6/2003. This abnormal circumstances of the Kurdish people in Syria at the start of the 21st century and during this time of changes all over the world, demands change. But the Syrian government dose not want any changes, so the door is opened for as to make those changes using all methods even if we are forced to ask for the foreign help.

We invite the Kurdish nation to participate with the WKG and its organisations to serve the unity, peace and the KURDISH NATIONAL SECURITY interests, which are much more important than any individual, tribal, region's, organisation's and party's interests.

Article One

AIMS OF THE WESTERN KURDISTAN GOVERNMENT IN EXILE

1. To save the Kurdish Nation from the threat of national annihilation, genocide, successive massacres, massive deportations, permanent wars, military occupation, continual humiliation, systematic repressions, coercive economic, social and cultural foreign domination.
2. Liberate our homeland Kurdistan from foreign occupation.
3. To establish favourable circumstances which enable the Kurdish people to freely determine their own destiny, self-determination, and political, economic, social and cultural independence without interference of foreign powers
4. To realize the sovereignty of the Kurdish people in their own historical homeland, to create a state of Kurdistan and to elect democratically the legitimate representatives of the Kurdish people in Western Kurdistan Government.
5. To exploit our national resources, specially the oil, for independence and development of Kurdistan.
6. To re-establish peace and human dignity in Kurdistan, and realize the fundamental rights and freedom of all the citizens of Kurdistan without any discrimination regarding race, ethnic, religion, sex or social backgrounds.
7. To give ethnic, religious, and sectarian minorities, who live in Kurdistan, their rights within limitation of the aims and principles of this Charter.

8. To remove traces of ignorance and exploitation and of the change of the national structure resulted from foreign occupation.
9. To develop all spheres of Kurdistan.
10. To find relations based on harmony, peace and security with all the neighbouring nations on the ground of equality and mutual interests.
11. To respect international conventions and treaties, and participate in the promotion of regional and international peace and security.
12. To participate to build up peace and security in the area, and in the world.
13. Since Kurdistan is a historical, geographical and civilisation country, never to give up any part of it, and to refuse every act, agreement or treaty, aiming to divide or occupy Kurdistan. The borders of Kurdistan are as mentioned by Betlisi in his book Sharafnamah in 1596-1597.

In order to achieve these aims

Western Kurdistan Government in Exile should:

1. Proclaim that the right of self-determination of the Kurdish people means: the right of independence and creation of a state on the integral territories of their homeland Kurdistan.
2. Unify all the national potentials and capabilities of all opinions in order to liberate Kurdistan from foreign colonization and occupation with the right of using all possible means.
3. Favour negotiations and relations, based on the right of an independent Kurdistan and equal rights of the

Kurdish nation, with all the neighbouring nations, and develop relations with all nations based on equality and non interference in national affairs, with the aim of promoting regional and international peace, security and stability.

4. Obtain international support for the Kurdistan national liberation movement, international recognition of the legitimate right of the Kurdish people for self-determination, and creation of an independent non-aligned democratic Kurdistan State.
5. Develop fraternal relations among all Kurdistan citizens and all political, cultural and social organizations, and prepare appropriate circumstances for them to actively participate in the struggle for independence.
6. Find a basic democratic foundation in order that the Kurdistan citizens shall be able to elect their legitimate representatives in Western Kurdistan and to prepare adequate domestic and international conditions for the creation of an independent democratic and non aligned state in Kurdistan.
7. Become the highest central institution of Kurdistan where all political and non-political organizations and patriotic personalities can air their views and unite efforts to achieve these aims.
8. Be recognized as the sole legitimate authority of Kurdistan by all nations, states, intergovernmental and regional organizations, and above all the United Nations.

Article Two

PRINCIPLES

In pursuit of the aims stated in Article 1, Western Kurdistan Government in Exile and its members shall act in accordance with the following principles:

1. Western Kurdistan Government in Exile shall derive its decisions and laws from the Kurdish people and their believes.
2. Western Kurdistan Government in Exile is based on the principle that the Kurdish people have the right of self - determination, the right to choose their representatives democratically and the right to have their national government.
3. Western Kurdistan Government in Exile is based on the principle that the Kurdish people have the right to control their homeland and national resources.
4. Western Kurdistan Government in Exile is based on the principle of equality for all its members.
5. Western Kurdistan Government in Exile shall participate actively in the Kurdistan national liberation movement aiming at creating an independent state in Kurdistan; they shall participate in preparation and discussion of national policies.
6. Western Kurdistan Government in Exile shall not establish relations with the States occupying Kurdistan unless these States recognize officially the right of Kurdistan to be independent.
7. Western Kurdistan Government in Exile shall avoid in their conducts threat or use of force of any type against each other.
8. Western Kurdistan Government in Exile shall ensure

that the citizens, organizations and associations which have not yet agreed on a Western Kurdistan Government in Exile charter, act in accordance with these principles so far as it may be necessary to maintain the national unity and promote the struggle for the independence of Kurdistan.

Article Three

Membership

1. Members shall be of Kurdish origin, or of origin belonging to the ethnic or religious minorities who live in Kurdistan and have a profound association with Kurdistan.
2. Every citizen, male or female, of the eligible age of 18 or more who meets the above condition (Article 3 paragraph 1) and accepts the obligations outlined in this Charter has the right to be a Member in Western Kurdistan Government in Exile.
3. Western Kurdistan Government in Exile organised on pyramid system.
4. All Western Kurdistan Government in Exile candidates shall submit their written candidacy, together with brief curriculum vitae, to the president of Western Kurdistan Government in Exile before the beginning of the session.
5. Any Member who shall persistently violate the principles outlined in this Charter may be expelled from Western Kurdistan Government in Exile.
6. Any Member shall be expelled from office if she / he proved guilty of bribery, fraud, indecency, treachery and neglect of duty.

7. Members are not allowed to use force, violation or threat against each other. Any Member who violates this principle shall face automatic dismissal.

Article Four

Bodies of Western Kurdistan Government in Exile

1. The General Conference is the highest legislative power in Kurdistan: The Assembly of Kurdistan National Congress and the Western Kurdistan Government in Exile President and its Ministries: Home Office, Foreign Office, Media & Communication Office, Economic and Financial Office, Defence National Security Office, Oil Office, Juridical and Legislative Office, Social and Health Office, Educational and Cultural Office and the Secretariat.
2. President of the Kurdistan National Congress: Has the power of the President of Kurdistan Republic, to sign the international treaties and to choose the Prime Minister.
3. Western Kurdistan Government in Exile is the highest executive power in Kurdistan: The Prime Minister and the Ministries of: Home Office, Foreign Office, Media & Communication Office, Economic and Financial Office, Defence National Security Office, Oil Office, Juridical and Legislative Office, Social and Health Office, Educational and Cultural Office and the Secretariat.
4. The Prime Minister is the President of the Government and is responsible to put the State Policy in action.
5. The Ministries working as committees, secretaries and advisers are responsible on the policy of the State in their areas.

Article Five

Budget

The budget of the Western Kurdistan Government in Exile is from membership fees, donations and economical projects.

Article Six

State Structure

Our state is a democratic republic with civil society, all the citizens, women or men, are equal and the army is for defence of the people, homeland and republic.

Article Seven

Economic Structure

The Kurdistan Republic adopts a free market system.

Article Eight

Social Welfare

Have free education, health service, and providing employment and dignified living for each citizen.

Article Nine

Education and Information

Establishing a Kurdish education and information curriculum that creates new patriotic generations by using media institutions and courses for patriotic cadres specialised in various fields so that there would not be any chance for the colonialists to return.

Article Ten

Foreign Policy

In the foreign policy as in any other field the interests of the Kurdish people and Kurdish national security should be above everything else when dealing with the great powers and the democratic forces that believe in the right of our people and independence of Kurdistan on the basis of mutual interests and cooperation.

Article Eleven

Modification of Charter

1. This Charter may be modified only after the consent of three quarters of the Members of the general conference.
2. The aims of Western Kurdistan Government in Exile which are the basic constitutional elements can not be modified except by a popular plebiscite after obtaining the national independence and the creation of a State of Kurdistan.

Article Twelve

Constitutional Structure

This Charter shall be the principal law in Kurdistan and shall be applied in all its regions until the final constitution of a Kurdistan State shall be announced and approved by the people.

This Charter shall nullify all constitutions and laws applied in Kurdistan by the occupying foreign States.

This Charter shall be effective from the date of Herne conference in 25.4.2004.

This Charter shall be published in the official newspaper

and in the Kurdish and international newspapers. All those who are concerned shall be informed.

A successful Kurdish demonstration in front of the office of the British government

On 25/8/2004 the Western Kurdistan Government in Exile, Western Kurdistan Association, Kurdistan National Congress, the High Committee of the Referendum for the Independence of Kurdistan and the Kurdish community in the UK organised a mass demonstration in front of the office of the British Prime Minister. At one o'clock pm a delegation of six participants of the demonstration was met by the Mr Tony Blair's secretary who received the demands of the demonstrators to put the Western Kurdistan (Kurdistan of Syria) under international protection as a step towards independence and send investigation committees regarding the killing of Kurds in the streets of Kurdish towns, and killing Kurdish prisoners under torture, in Syria. In this regard some documents were delivered among which was a live video of the killing of the Kurds in the streets of Qamishli by the hands of Baathist chauvinist gangs during the great Kurdish uprising on 12/3/2004.

The demonstrators demanded also to carry out a referendum in all the parts of Kurdistan and for this purpose a file of 10,000 signatures gathered from the Kurdish community in the UK was delivered to the office of the British PM for a referendum in Kurdistan for independence.

Long live Kurdistan free and independent

**Dr Jawad Mella letter on Western Kurdistan to His
Excellency Tony Blair**

**Mr. Tony Blair
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom
10 Downing Street
London SW1A 2AA**

London 25th August 2004

Dear Mr. Blair,

**On behalf of the Western Kurdistan Government
in Exile and the Kurdish community in the United
Kingdom and of many other institutions and
organisations, we are all in front your office to present
you the following memorandum:**

The Kurdish population is more than 40 million. We believe that the Kurdish people and their homeland Kurdistan have been subjected to the worst kind of colonialism and partition for a century.

At the end of World War II, Germany was divided, 40 years later they united again, but Kurdistan now more than 80 years has been divided and the Kurdish people did not occupy or kill others. We hope it is the time for Kurdistan to be united and free again, and to end this unbearable situation. In return for liberty and self-determination of Kurdistan **you will have in the Middle East a new democratic State based on the Western system and an opponent to international terrorism.**

During the war on terror in Iraq there were mass demonstrations and terrorist activities in all the Middle East countries against the allied forces even in those

countries that regard themselves as friends of the allies. The only exception was Kurdistan where there was no opposition whatsoever to the allied forces both publicly or officially.

The Kurds have never been far from your side and regard themselves as the best friends of the western, democracy and pluralism, as seen at the new Kurdish authority in Southern Kurdistan (Iraqi Kurdistan) and during the Kurdish uprising in Western Kurdistan (Syrian Kurdistan) on 12th March 2004, the Syrian Kurds raised the British and American flags side by side with Kurdistan flag as we today do in front of your office.

Iran under the Shah's regime was a good friend to the West, and it was stronger than Turkey, but in 24 hours you lost Iran, and it became one of the main supporters of terrorists, and maybe this will soon happen to the new Islamic Turkish Government as well. **However an independent Kurdish state with your support and protection would not let you down.** The whole world witnessed this fact at the time of the liberation and all through last year when the Kurdish community in Britain and in Kurdistan were very interested in your ideas and proud of the actions that you took also they believe you are a brave leader and a great politician for Britain and the world.

Most of the terrorists in Iraq are coming from Syria to Iraq. So, the main step to secure stability in Iraq is to liberate Syria from the Baath party's dictatorship. **When the Syrian Kurdistan will be liberated there will be a natural path for Iraqi Kurdistan to the Mediterranean Sea and to the rest of the world.**

Therefore we demand from the allied forces and the international community their support for the

Kurdish people to gain their freedom and independence through a general referendum for all Kurdistan because today is the best time to correct the unfair treatment that the international community has done to the Kurds last century.

The Kurdish people collected 1,700,000 signatures for referendum in Kurdistan, and we here in Britain collected about 10,000 signatures.

Please find enclosed 10,000 signatures of the Kurds in Britain, we hand it to your Excellency to support the case of referendum of Independence Kurdistan, because until now, nobody asked the Kurdish people: “what do you want”?

We are looking forward to hear from you soon, **to have a meeting with your Excellency to tell your Excellency more about Western Kurdistan Government in Exile, the future of Kurdistan and on the following points:**

- **To establishing a “Save Haven”** for the Syrian Kurds and to protect them from the killing by the savage and racist Syrian regime.

- **To make investigation about the 9000 Syrian Kurdish prisoners, many of them been killed under very bad torturing.** Amnesty International mentioned last week that Mr. Ahmed Maamo Kanjo from Ras Al-Ain city and Mr. Ahmed Hussein Hussein, from Hasakah city have been killed in the Syrian prisons under torture by the Syrian security services.

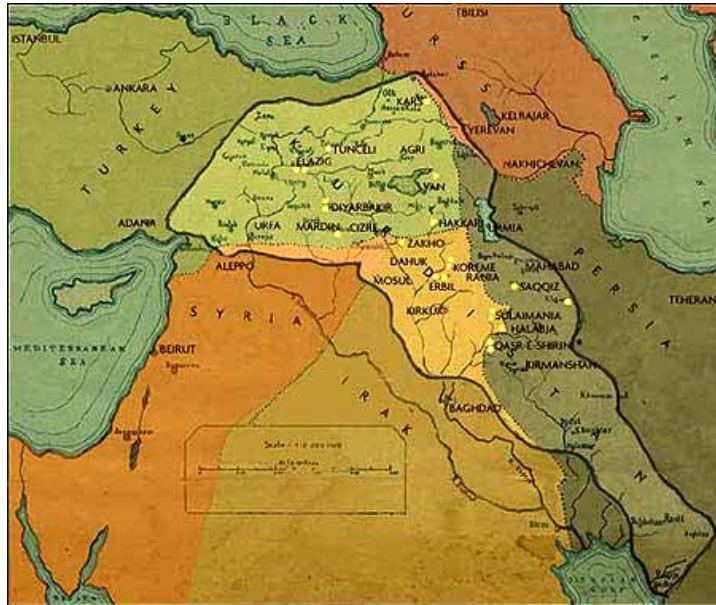
Please find enclosed a video cassette, which shows how the Syrian police and the secret police are shooting the Kurds in the streets in the Kurdish city Qamishly during the Kurdish uprising on 12 March 2004.

Yours sincerely
Dr. Jawad Mella
President
Western Kurdistan Government in Exile

Representatives of the following institutions and organisations have signed the memorandum:

- **Kurdistan National Congress - KNC**
- **“Referendum for All Kurdistan” Commission**
- **Friends of Independence of Kurdistan**
- **Kurdish Academy of science and Arts**
- **Western Kurdistan Association**
- **Kurdish Human Rights Commission**
- **Kurdish Students and Youths Union**
- **Kurdish Women Union**
- **Kurdish Writers and intellectuals Union**

Map of Kurdistan, produced by Khoyboun Party 1945



**Dr. Jawad Mella Letter on EU Turkish Membership
to His Excellency Tony Blair**

**Mr. Tony Blair
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom
10 Downing Street
London SW1A 2AA**

Merry Christmas & A Happy New Year

Dear Mr. Blair,

22nd December 2004

On behalf of the Kurdish people and many Kurdish institutions and organisations, we would like to present you the following memorandum regarding the decision about entry talks for the Turkish EU membership:

Your Excellency said that a deal bringing Turkey a step closer to EU membership would be of “fundamental importance” to the peace and security of the world.

But the fact is that the European approach during the recent talks with the Turkish delegation was very disappointing and even shocking for the Kurdish people, because the European representatives didn't mention the fate and the rights of 25 million Kurds living in Turkey with one single word and in this respect didn't make any demands to the Turkish government.

This means a heavy setback for the European idea of freedom and equality, which has been signed and promoted by so many European governments and representatives.

This approach of your and other European governments is very similar to the British appeasement policy versus Nazi Germany during the agreement of Munich in 1938 when Czechoslovakia was sacrificed to the German aggressor, and Chamberlain's "peace in our time" led directly to World War II.

Likewise it's a very short-sighted policy always to make concessions to Turkey and always to tolerate the permanent oppression of the Kurdish people. For example, as you certainly know, the Kurdish Member of Parliament Mrs. Leyla Zana was sentenced to imprisonment for 15 years because she spoke one sentence in Kurdish language in front of the Turkish Parliament. That's Turkey as it is just now, and they are longing to imprison Mrs. Zana again.

No European government seems really to concern about the fact that Erdogan's so highly praised reforms exist on paper only up till now. We are deeply afraid that Kurdish human and political rights might be ignored in future, too, since at this critical moment of decision even the mere words Kurds and Kurdistan were not allowed to be mentioned, in order to avoid Turkey to be offended by the mention of these words.

This way the European Union will no longer be a stronghold of human rights and liberty and equality of nations. In contrary it will be conquered by the Trojan horse of Kemalist Fascism.

As long as Turkey will not recognize the existence of 25 million Kurds within her frontiers and will not recognize the culture and the human rights of these 25 million Kurds, there shouldn't take place any negotiations about Turkey's entry to the EU. And Turkey will be able

to do that only when there will be a new and really democratic Turkish constitution, respecting human and political rights of all nationalities living in Turkey. Likewise the Turkish military has to be deprived of all its political, economical and social power. Because it is the military always defending Kemalism and fighting Kurdish culture, language and national rights.

As long as Europe is wearing a muzzle ordered by Turkey and doesn't even dare to use the words Kurds and Kurdistan, Turkey's and Europe's problems won't be solved, and they won't be any better than the European representatives who sacrificed Czechoslovakia to Hitler.

We are hoping very much, Your Excellency might share the Kurdish worries about European policy with Turkey, and might do much more in future to defend the human and political rights of the Kurds in Turkey.

Yours sincerely

Dr. Jawad Mella

President

Kurdistan National Congress - KNC

Representatives of the following institutions and organisations:

- Western Kurdistan Government in Exile**
- “Referendum for All Kurdistan” Commission**
- Friends of Independence of Kurdistan**
- Kurdish Academy of Science and Arts**
- Western Kurdistan Association**
- Kurdish Human Rights Commission**
- The National Union of the Kurdish Students and Youths**

- **Kurdish Women Union**
- **Kurdish Writers and Intellectuals Union**
- **Kurdish Medical Association**

A copy to: the European Union and the European Parliament

Many important letters received from the leaders of the world regarding the Syrian regime genocide against the Kurdish people in Western Kurdistan on 11-12 March 2004, and on other parts of Kurdistan, below some of them:



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Direct Communications Unit

31 August 2004

Dr Jawad Mella
Western Kurdistan Association
Palingswick House
241 King Street
London
W6 9LP

Dear Dr Mella

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you for your recent letter and the enclosed books and video.

The matter you raise is the responsibility of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, therefore he has asked that your letter be forwarded to that Department so that they are also aware of your views.

Yours sincerely

ROBERT GARDIKIOTIS



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Direct Communications Office

16 November 2004

Dr Jawad Mella
Western Kurdistan Association
Palingswick House
241 King Street
London
W6 9LP

Dear Dr Mella

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you for your recent letter and the copy of your book, 'The Colonial Policy of the Syrian Ba'ath Party in Western Kurdistan.

Yours sincerely

MIKE WILLIAMS



BUCKINGHAM PALACE

18th May, 2004.

Dear Dr. Mella,

The Queen has asked me to thank you for your letter of 4th May.

Careful note has been taken of your hope that the Western Kurdistan Government be allowed a monitoring representative in the General Assembly of the United Nations, however, I am afraid that this is not a matter in which Her Majesty would intervene.

As a constitutional Sovereign, The Queen acts on the advice of her Ministers, and I have, therefore, been instructed to send your letter to the Right Honourable Jack Straw MP, the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, so that he may know of your approach to Her Majesty on this matter and may consider the points you raise.

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. Sonia Bonici
Senior Correspondence Officer

Dr. Jawad Mella



Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office

09 June 2004

Dr. Jawad Mella
President, Western Kurdistan Government in Exile
Palingswick House
241 King Street
London W6 9LP

Foreign and Commonwealth Office,
Room K269
King Charles Street
London SW1A 2AH
Tel: 0207-008-3658
Fax: 0207-008-2462
E-mail: david.beeney@fco.gov.uk

Dear Dr. Mella,

Thank you for your letter of 18th May to Her Majesty the Queen about Western Kurdistan. Your letter has been passed to me for reply.

Our Embassy in Damascus is monitoring events in the North East of Syria following the recent disturbances in Qamishli. We have raised our concerns with the Syrian authorities about the disturbances, and the standing of the Syrian Kurdish population. Whilst we welcome the current calm we will continue to closely monitor the situation.

We have a number of serious concerns about Syria's human rights record, in particular the continued practices of arbitrary arrests, unfair trials, the detention of political prisoners and torture which run contrary to international human rights norms. I hope Syria's inclusion in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office's Human Rights Annual Report 2003 reflects the importance that we attach to this issue. We regularly express our concerns to the Syrian Government, both bilaterally and through the European Union.

Further information about our policies towards Syria can be found in the 'Key Foreign Policy Issues' section of the FCO website at www.fco.gov.uk

Yours sincerely,

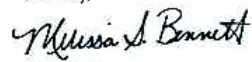
David Beeney
Near East and North Africa Department

THE WHITE HOUSE

Thank you for your kind invitation to President Bush. Due to mail screening procedures, our office only recently received your request. I apologize that we were unable to respond prior to your event. Thank you for understanding.

The President sends his best wishes.

Sincerely,



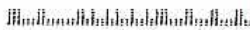
Melissa S. Bennett
Special Assistant to the President and
Director of Appointments and Scheduling

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



Dr. Jawad Mella
WKA, Palingswick House
241 King Street
London W6 9LP, United Kingdom



00144/2000 



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Direct Communication Unit

24 December 2003

Dr Jawad Mella
Western Kurdistan Association
Palingswick House
241 King Street
London
W6 9LP

Dear Dr Mella

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you for your recent letter.

Mr Blair is grateful to you for letting him have your views which he was interested to see.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'M. Dowding'.

MATT DOWDING

**Memorandum by Kurdish Children in Syria
To the United Nations' Childhood
Organisation in Syria**

**Mr Muhammad Ben Edriss El-Elmi
Representative of the UN Childhood Organisation in Syria
Director of the UNISEF Office in Damascus**

Dear Sir,

You are aware that the General Assembly of the UN issued the declaration of the child's rights on 20/11/1959 (to enable him to enjoy a happy childhood, for his benefit and the benefit of the society...), and Syria was one of the first countries to sign it. On the basis of the legal and ethic requirements of that declaration, we the Kurdish children in Syria appeal to you to intervene with the Syrian government to respect its own agreement and signature, and to protect our childhood and our rights as stated in that declaration from the discrimination practices carried out within the framework of a chauvinistic policy towards our Kurdish people in Syria.

At the time that the declaration stated the necessity (for a child to enjoy all the rights without discrimination because of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political views, ethnic origin or social background...) and also stated the necessity (for a child to be protected from any practices that may result in racial or any other kind of discrimination...), the deprivation remains the basic standard in dealing with the Kurdish children that are born with discrimination attached to them with birth and receives the shock of a bitter reality involving all Kurdish families in general.

Although respect for human rights including that of children is regarded one of the basic standards of the civilised progress those basics cannot find applications for our Kurdish people among whom children are deprived even from nationality or belonging to a family!! At the time that the declaration of child rights states that (he should have the right to have a name, nationality and surname...), the nationality has been withdrawn from a quarter of a million of Kurdish people among whom there are 100 thousand children born to parents deprived of nationality according to the census carried out in the province of Hasaka on 5/10/1962. They were all classified as foreigners in a precedent never seen before in relations between a state and its citizens. In addition to that there are large numbers of children unregistered born to a father deprived of nationality and a mother who is a citizen as the official courts would not allow their marriage to be registered.

The Syrian authorities also neglect others articles of the agreement regarding child's rights by insisting on the Arabisation of the names of Kurdish children and preventing them from studying their mother tongue although the declaration states (children from ethnic minorities or aboriginal populations have the right to freely enjoy their own culture, religion and language...). We hope that through you our voice reaches the Syrian authorities demanding justice as innocent victims of discrimination and persecution and to stop all racist policies and projects that confiscated our rights as children of persecuted people in away concerning humanity and childhood everywhere.

Our best regards

Kurdish children in Syria

25/6/2003

BEIRUT, June 25 (Reuters) - Syria detained eight Members of its Kurdish minority on Wednesday after breaking up a children's protest in Damascus demanding the Kurdish language be taught in schools...

...About 200 Kurdish children marched to the headquarters of the United Nations children's agency, where scuffles broke out with security forces.

"They broke up the protest violently and arrested a number of the children's parents. The number that we have arrived at up to now is eight who are with the security apparatus,"....

The protesters also demanded full citizenship rights for Kurds, who say they make up over three million of Syria's population of roughly 17 million.

Syrian officials were not available for immediate comment.

This is the second time in under a year that Kurds have been detained in Syria after protesting to demand more rights. Syrian officials reject any reference to the Kurds as a distinct minority, stressing the importance of national unity in dealing with the largely Kurdish northeast of the country.

**Statement From The Amnesty International
about the Kurdish Children Demonstration**

PUBLIC

AI Index: MDE 24/021/2003

26 June 2003

**UA 188/03 Possible prisoners of conscience/fear of
torture or ill-treatment/incommunicado detention**

**SYRIA Mohammed Mustafa (m)
 Khaled Ahmed 'Ali (m)
 Sherif Ramadhan (m)
 'Amr Mourad (m)
 Salar Saleh (m)
 Hosam Muhammed Amin (m)
 Hussayn Ramadhan (m)**

The seven men named above were detained on 25 June by Syrian security forces. They are reportedly being held incommunicado and without charge at Mezze Police Station in Damascus and are at risk of torture or ill-treatment in detention. They may be prisoners of conscience, detained solely for exercising their right to freedom of expression.

The men, all Syrian Kurds, were detained during a peaceful protest outside the Damascus headquarters of UNICEF, the United Nations Children's Fund, to mark World Children's Day. Between two hundred and three

hundred demonstrators, including a number of children, were calling for civil and political rights for the Syrian Kurdish population, including the right of Syrian Kurdish children to be taught in the Kurdish language. The demonstration was dispersed violently by police and security forces, and about twenty people were injured, including two who needed hospital treatment. Eight protesters were arrested but one, reportedly a journalist for an American media channel, was released shortly afterwards.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Torture and ill-treatment is routinely inflicted on Syrian Kurdish political detainees while they are held incommunicado in Syrian prisons and detention centres. The Syrian authorities impose heavy restrictions on the production and circulation of Kurdish literature, including books and music.

In the past, the Syrian authorities have arrested and detained Syrian Kurds without charge for their involvement in the organization of Kurdish cultural activities. On 15 December 2002, prisoners of conscience Hassan Saleh and Marwan ‘Uthman, leading members of the Syrian Kurdish Yeketi Party, were detained in Damascus after being invited to a meeting by the Minister of the Interior, Major General ‘Ali Hammud (see UA 366/02, MDE 24/012/2002, 18 December 2002, and follow-ups). Their detention came five days after a peaceful demonstration in front of the National Assembly in Damascus, similarly demanding greater protection for

the rights of Kurds living in Syria. Hassan Saleh and Marwan 'Uthman are being tried before the Supreme State Security Court (SSSC). Amnesty International considers trials held before the SSSC to be grossly unfair.

**Statement From The Amnesty International
About the Syrian regime genocide against the
Kurdish people in Western Kurdistan**

PUBLIC **AI Index: MDE 24/019/2004**
16 March 2004

UA 110/04 **Mass arrests/Fear of torture and ill-**
treatment

SYRIA **Hundreds of Syrian Kurds**

Hundreds of Syrian Kurds have reportedly been arrested, and around 25 have been killed, following violent clashes at a football match on 12 March. Those detained appear to have been targeted because of their Kurdish ethnicity: their whereabouts are now unknown, and this puts them at grave risk of torture and ill-treatment.

The arrests reportedly followed clashes between rival fans at a football match in the city of Qamishli. One team's supporters were mainly Kurdish, while the other's were mainly Arabs. The security forces reportedly opened fire into the crowd, killing between 19 and 22 Kurds. Three children were said to have been killed in a stampede as the crowds tried to escape. Following this incident clashes between Syrian Kurds and Syrian security forces broke out in towns and cities including Qamishli, Aleppo, al-Hassaka (all in the north) and the capital, Damascus. Hundreds of men, and boys as young as 14, were apparently arrested at their homes.

A number of those detained are reported to be Kurdish students at the university of Damascus. Names provided to Amnesty International are: Fahima Asko (f); Sourya Amko (f); 'Ali Huseini (f); Mizgin Huseini (f); Nasiba Huseini (f); Nizar Kousa (m); Jawdan Huseini (m); Jawan Hasse (m); Nawras Moura'i (m); Sipan Sayda (m); Sarteep Youssef (m); and Darchin Huchik (m).

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

An estimated 1.5 million Kurds live in Syria, making up about 10% of the population, mostly in the Jazira area in the northeast of the country. Some 150,000 are denied Syrian nationality and civil rights. There is a history of violent confrontation between the Syrian authorities and the Kurds. In March 1986, during clashes at the Kurdish New Year festival of *Newroz*, several people were killed. In October 1992 Kurds marked the 30th anniversary of the census which deprived many of them of Syrian nationality and basic civil rights. In response Syrian security forces carried out mass arrests. In 1995 the Syrian authorities banned the traditional *Newroz* celebrations and dozens of Kurds were arrested. Seven Syrian Kurdish men were reportedly arrested at their homes in the early hours of 9 March 2004, the day after Kurdish demonstrations in Qamishli and al-Hassaka (see UA 107/04, MDE 24/018/2004, 12 March 2004).

KURDISH DEMONSTRATION IN LONDON

On Saturday 26/7/2003 from 12 to 3 pm the Kurdish community in the UK organised a demonstration in front of the Syrian embassy in London. Several organisations, Kurdish personalities and their friends participated in solidarity with the struggle of the Kurdish people in their homeland and in support to the peaceful Kurdish demonstrations that took place on 25/6/2003 in Damascus and on 30/6/2003 in Aleppo that resulted in the arrest of dozens and several Kurdish children injured.

The demonstrators expressed their solidarity by raising the flag of Kurdistan and shouting and written banners in English, Arabic and Kurdish such as:

- Independence and freedom for the Kurds in the Western Kurdistan annexed by Syria.
- Racist and terrorist Syrian regime, get out of Kurdistan.
- Freedom for the Kurdish political prisoners.
- Shame for the 21st century that Kurds are still in slavery and Kurdistan is colonised.
- Asad = Terrorism.
- Kurdistan for the Kurds.

The demonstrators expressed their feelings to condemn the oppressive inhumane practices of the racist Syrian regime against the Kurdish people and the Syrian people by using Kurdish traditional music instruments and dances and simultaneous whistling that created an unusual noise in the streets of London.

Finally the director of the Western Kurdistan

Association presented a memorandum for the Syrian President: Bachar Al-Asad by putting it in the letter box of the Syrian Embassy. Others also put the flag of Kurdistan and a newspaper with the pictures of the killed sons of Saddam Hussein with this reminder written on it: “This will be your fate also, Bachar Asad, unless you stop the path of dictatorship and recognise the rights of the Kurdish people in Syria”.

One of the demonstrators left the flag of Kurdistan raised in front of the embassy as an every day reminder for what they have committed against the Kurdish people.

Dr Jawad Mella
Chairman
Western Kurdistan Association
Palingswick House
241 King Street
London W6 9LP

UNICEF UK
Africa House
64-76 Kingsway
London WC2B 6NR

Telephone 020 7405 5582
Facsimile 020 7405 2332
Email enquiries@unicef.org.uk
www.unicef.org.uk

19 November 2003

Dear Dr Mella

Thank you for your letter of 12 November addressed to Jill Shutt following your telephone conversation with her last week.

As you know, I referred your query to the UNICEF Representative in Syria, Mohamed Bendriss Alami, and I have now had a response from him.

I understand from Jill that when you spoke you mentioned that the demonstrators in Damascus were prohibited from entering the UNICEF office by the police. Mr Alami tells me that the UNICEF office is open and that the police are not controlling access to it, except for security control in front of the main gate.

With regard to your suggestion that we assist in the production of materials, I regret that we are not in a position to help with this. The UK Committee for UNICEF exists solely to support UNICEF and its work for children in the developing world. A meeting with UNICEF UK would not be appropriate and any queries should be direct to the UNICEF office in Damascus.

Mr Alami has updated me on the situation in Syria and I am outlining his response below:

- 1 UNICEF is very concerned by the subject raised by the Kurdish children who demonstrated on 25 June 2003 and we consider that rights claimed are covered by the Convention ratified by the Syrian Government in 1993.
- 2 The problem of Kurdish children in Syria is a very sensitive issue and the political situation in the sub-region (Iraq) makes it again more difficult. On 25-26 June 2003 the Syrian Government celebrated the International Day of the Child and several activities were planned under the patronage of Mrs Bashar, the spouse of President Bashar.
- 3 The three Kurdish political parties organised this manifestation mobilizing children and people starting from Hassokah Raqqa and Aleppo in the North and Damascus, the capital. Apparently the police were aware of this movement and they organized a roadblock to stop the manifestation before reaching the UNICEF office. There was no incident within the UNICEF premises or in front of the UNICEF office. Incidents occurring in public places are under the control of the national authorities; UNICEF does not have authority out of its premises and we cannot intervene in subjects on which we have not necessary and comprehensive information to take any position. We are a UN agency, guided by rules and regulations and we have a Basic Cooperation Agreement with the host party.

Page 2
Letter to Dr Jawad Mella
19 November 2003

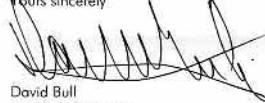
- 4 Our mandate is to advocate for the protection of children's rights, to help meet their basic needs and to expand their opportunities to reach their full potential within the framework of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. To do so we have several mechanisms established at country/international level: The National High Committee for Childhood in Damascus and the Committee on the Rights of the Child in Geneva.
- 5 Syria is a well-known country with a mosaic of ethnic groups even among Christians, Muslims and others. A good number of the Kurdish are part of the Syrian society and they are enjoying their civil, political and economic rights according to the Syrian constitution. Few reached high level in the Government's hierarchy. A large number have not had Syrian Nationality since 1967 and this is the base of the conflict. UNICEF does not want to get into partisan issues of particular ethnic groups because this could jeopardize our action in favour of a large number of children.
- 6 UNICEF has already raised the issues of Nationality, Registration and Cultural Rights in several meetings held with Government, and the same questions were asked by the Committee on the Rights for Children in Geneva on 3 June 2003, during the review of the Syrian report. The Government position is that Arabic is the Official Language in Syria, according to the National Constitution, and education is compulsory and free of charge for all the Syrian children, including Kurdish children.

I am sorry I am unable to help you but do please contact Mr Alami at the UNICEF office in Damascus if you have any further queries. The address there is:

UNICEF
P.O. Box 9413
Damascus
Syrian Arab Republic

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely



David Bull
Executive Director

copy: Mohammed Bendriss Alami (Representative, UNICEF Syria)

Three milion Kurds lost their lives during the 20th century in all parts of Kurdistan by the most savage regimes of Syria, Turkey, Iraq and Iran.



Some pictures from the genocide of the Iraqi regime against the Kurdish people in Halabja city in 16-17/3/1988, just few days before Newroz, the Kurdish New Year on 21th March. Exactly as the genocide of the Syrian regime against the Kurdish people in the Kurdish cities in 11-12/3/2004, just less than two weeks before Newroz, the Kurdish New Year.



**Some photos of the Kurdish Martyrs in the Syrian regime
genocide against the Kurdish people in 11-12/3/2004.**



Sheikh Latif Mariwani, KNC representative in the demonstration front of the American Embassy in London March-April 1991, during of two millions Kurds run away from the killing of the Iraqi regime to Iran and Turkey... KNC members and supporters had for two month demonstrations here in London and every where in the world with hundreds of memorandums to all leaders of the world to help the Kurdish people, the only organisation raised Kurdistan Flag as shown in the picture.



The Kurdish children demonstration in Damascus in 25 June 2003



The Kurdish people in Syria burned the Syrian Flag and destroyed the statues of Hafiz Assad the father of the Syrian dictator Bashar Al-Assad, in the Kurdish cities during the Kurdish uprising in Western Kurdistan 11-12/3/2004



destroying statues of Hafiz Assad



Demonstration of the Western Kurdistan Government in front of His Excellency Tony Blair office, the UK Prime Minister on 25/8/2004



A group of the Kurdish women participated in the Kurdish demonstration.



Demonstration of the Western Kurdistan Government in front of His Excellency Tony Blair office, the UK Prime Minister on 25/8/2004

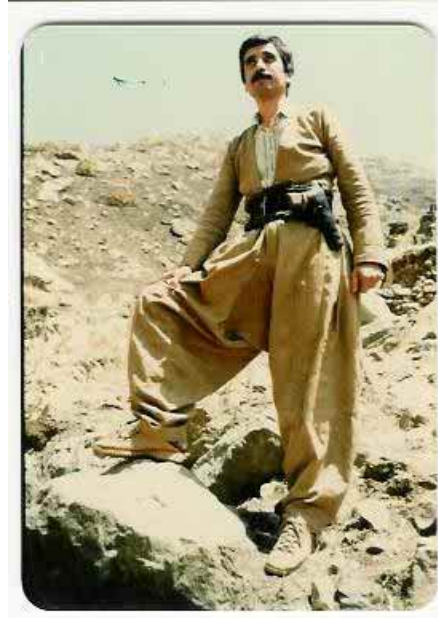




**Representatives of the Western Kurdistan Government to Mr.
Tony Blair, the UK Prime Minister on 25/8/2004**



Mr. Ibrahim Mella (father of the author), during Kurdistan revolution in Ararat (Northern Kurdistan) 1927-1930.



Southern Kurdistan 1982 – Jawad Mella, member of the leadership of PASOK party with a group of his Peshmerga, the Kurdish Freedom Fighters.





**Mr. Nizar Mohamed, KNC representative in Sulaimania 2003
with an American officer during leberating Kurdistan**



President of KNC Dr. Jawad Mella and President of KDP Mr. Masoud Barzani and Dr Madih Naqishbandi Member of the KNC Leadership.



President of KNC Dr. Jawad Mella and President of PUK Mr. Jalal Talebani and Mr. Sheikh Latif Mariwani Member of the KNC Leadership.



President of Libya His Excellency Colonel Moamar Al Qaddafi is receiving the Kurdistan Flag from the President of KNC Dr. Jawad Mella.



President of KNC Dr. Jawad Mella wearing the Kurdish customs and the Kurdistan Flag front of him in the Al Mathaba, the International Conference held in Libya in 30-31/8/2000 its members about 500 representatives, 15 States Presidents and 60 Foreign Ministers and Ambassadors of deferent nations from all around the world.

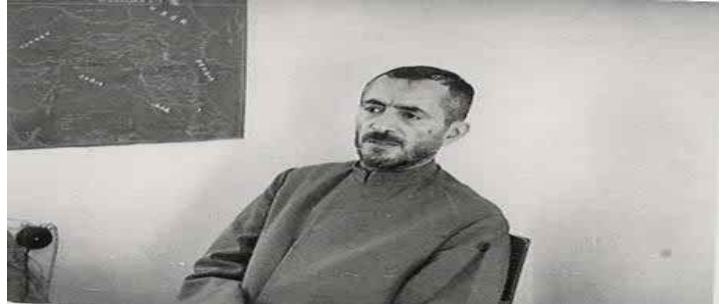


President of KNC Dr. Jawad Mella and His Excellency Lord Jeffrey Archer and Mrs. Sofi Todd in 1997 with Kurdistan Flag.

His Excellency Lord Archer in the House of Commons on 17 March 1997 said: I hope to see in my life time a Kurdish State



Mr. Sherwan Rashid, The KNC representative visited Southern Kurdistan and have a meeting in the office of the Lawyer Kamil Jeer, the secretary of KNC Leadership in Southern Kurdistan, the KNC representative in Sulaimania Mr. Nizar Mohamed and Hawler representative Sheikh Ahmed were attended the meeting as well.



President of Kurdistan Republic in Eastern Kurdistan, Mahabad 1946



King of Southern Kurdistan Sheikh Mahmood Hafid, Sulaimani 1919-1924
The Kurdish leader Mustafa Barzani, Southern Kurdistan 1903-1969
The Kurdish leader Apo Osman Sabri, Western Kurdistan 1905-1993



General Ihsan Nouri Pasha, leader of Northern Kurdistan revolution
1927-1930



**The KNC Emblem, The Kurdistan Flag inside the shape of the
Greater Kurdistan**



**The Medes, The Kurdish Empire Emblem
3000 years ago**