

fromas Duni
for

Appeal to Kurdish Students

Dear friends:

Our "Kurdish Students' Cultural Society in Europe" is going on steadily, faithful to its principal aims as declared in its statute. Its most important purpose is to unite Kurdish students to better serve Kurdish national culture.

The success of our Society depends on your co-operation with its committees, local and executive, on what each of us, whether or not members of these committees, is doing and will do to realize its purposes. It depends on the articles you have been invited to write and which will be published in its bulletin; on the regularity with which subscriptions will be acquitted; on the zeal you will put in carrying out its resolutions and on the control you will exercise over its organs when you prove to be actively interested in its soaring. It is your Society, its aim is to serve you; let us then, in our turn, serve it so that it might fulfil its task and live long and prosper.

Our Society has not yet been able to attain all Kurdish students in Europe. You will agree that it is of everyone's duty to endeavour to establish this contact and communicate to committees the addresses of these students who have not yet been attained, whatever passport they might have and in whatever country they might study, so that our activities circle would always be larger and our union more important and more bound to last. Let us range ourselves under our cultural Society pacific banner so that we could better serve the national culture of our People, his language, literature and history and study objectively the different aspects of his life and make them known to others.

Our great Kurdish People needs us, and, indeed, we are able to accomplish our duty toward him, in the cultural fields, if we unite and pass over the domain of passive feelings to that of rational and courageous action.

Kurdish students wherever you are, unite yourselves in order to better serve the national culture of our People!

This should be our guiding principle and daily slogan.

President of "Kurdish Students' Cultural Society
in Europe",

Ismet Chériff,
Switzerland.

Appel aux étudiants kurdes

Chers amis!

"L'Association Culturelle des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe" va de l'avant, fidèle aux principes énoncés dans son statut. Son objectif le plus important est d'unir les étudiants kurdes pour mieux servir la culture nationale du peuple kurde.

Le succès de notre Association dépend de votre coopération avec ses comités, locaux et directeur, de ce que fait et fera chacun de nous, qu'il soit ou non membre de ces comités, pour atteindre ses objectifs. Cela dépend des articles que vous avez été invités à écrire et qui seront publiés dans son bulletin, de la régularité dans le paiement des cotisations, du zèle qu'on mettra à exécuter ses décisions et du contrôle continu et stimulant que vous exercerez sur ses organes en vous montrant activement soucieux de son essor. Elle est votre Association, ce qu'elle vise c'est de vous servir; mettons-nous donc, à notre tour, à son service pour qu'elle s'acquitte de sa mission et puisse vivre et prospérer.

Notre Association n'a pas eu la possibilité jusqu'ici de se mettre en contact avec tous les étudiants kurdes en Europe. Il est du devoir de chacun de nous de faire son possible pour établir ce contact et communiquer aux comités les adresses de tous les étudiants kurdes qui n'ont pu être atteints, quels que soient les passeports qu'ils portent et les pays où ils étudient, afin que s'agrandisse le cercle de nos activités culturelles. Notre union ne s'en trouve que plus grande et plus apte à durer. Rangeons-nous sous la bannière pacifique de notre chère Association pour mieux servir la culture nationale de notre Peuple, sa langue, sa littérature et son histoire notamment, et pour éclairer scientifiquement les divers aspects de sa vie et les faire connaître au monde.

Notre grand Peuple kurde a besoin de nous, et nous sommes à même d'accomplir notre devoir envers lui, sur le plan culturel, à condition que nous unissions et que nous franchissions le domaine des sentiments passifs par celui de l'action rationnelle et courageuse.

Etudiants kurdes là où vous êtes, unissez-vous pour mieux servir la culture nationale de notre Peuple!

Tel doit être notre principe conducteur, notre slogan de tous les jours.

Le président de l'"Association Culturelle des
Etudiants Kurdes en Europe",

Ismet Chériff,

Suisse.

AN APPROACH TO KURDISH MUSIC

(By Bakir. A. Ali)

London.

Introduction

Human nature is musical itself. Birds and certain animals, as low down the ladder of evolution as snakes, also recognise and even 'appreciate' systematic, concordant and euphonious sounds. We all know one or more stories woven around the fact that snakes respond to whistling and similar sounds. However, human being, due to his higher degree of mental development, not only simply recognises concordant and euphonious sounds from the non-euphonious ones, in other words musical from non-musical, but he also knows and understands their nature. He appreciates and discriminates between them, pours his emotions and wistful desires and whims into them, expresses his sufferings and triumph through them.

Archeological excavations in Iraq (Mesopotamia), Egypt and, probably in India, China and elsewhere, prove beyond any doubt that Man, since the early anthropological days, had a recognition and understanding of this 'natural phenomena of music'.

As early as five thousand years ago, music making and instrumentation were well advanced in Mesopotamia*, Egypt and, perhaps, elsewhere.

It is not going beyond the truth to claim that music since the early days was regarded not as a luxury but almost as an every day necessity of human life.

In our age of atomic energy and 'sputniks', CULTURE is as staple as food, clothing and housing for us to lead a happy life. This may not necessarily apply to the lesser educated ordinary people; yet one wonders what purpose atomic-power and 'sputniks' will serve if they do not mean ultimate prosperity and cultural enrichment of ALL! We are no longer satisfied with the mere requirement of a primitive life. We wish to lead a decent and happy life. Cultural enrichment and intellectual satisfaction are essential for the accomplishment of this happiness.

Man, being social by nature, likes to communicate and express his thoughts, feelings and experience to the others. When he experiences misfortunes and hardships, or is faced with difficulties and disaster, he cries out for help of others. The mere thought of their help, or even their sympathy, will relieve his sorrows and will give him consolation and courage. When he is happy or triumphant he wants to celebrate and does so by expressing his mirth and victory!

Among others, fine arts, sports, literature, poetry and music are foremost in giving strength, elaboration and meaning to these feelings. Music, as history proves, has always been, and will continue to be, the most effective, elaborate and, perhaps, the easiest way of self-expression.

Folklores, lyrics and dances all the world over, since thousands of years, are best acoustic and phonetic documents of the history of peoples throughout these years.

From the emphasis and accentuation already put on music it should be obvious to the readers and colleagues that it is our duty, as the intellectual vanguard of our nation, to give attention, with due responsibility, to this very important part of our national culture. The Wealth of the Kurdish Musical Culture.

Kurds, are, as is a well known fact to their neighbours, a musical nation. If any one had a tour around Kurdistan, particularly the mountainous villages in central Kurdistan, he will be able to whet his appetite with delightful, enchanting and highly colourful lyrics, folk songs and dances. Kurdish music, like central and eastern European, is more inclined to tune and melody colouration though its nonetheless exciting and captivating.

Kurdistan is a beautiful and mountainous country. With freezing cold weather, and deep snow for several months in the year, the life becomes harsh and testing in most parts. But the beauty with which nature shows itself in the following half of the year, and which it bestows so abundantly to its lovers like a nymph on her wedding day, can only inspire its inhabitants with love, glorification and rapture - from the simplest shepherd and cowboy, peasant and forrester to the poet and philosopher of towns and cultural centres.

Added to this caprice of nature from one extreme to another is the nomadic and unsettled life that continued for hundreds of years, and which still exists to some extent. The engagement of many Kurds in commerce and long distance caravans, due to the unique commercial and geographical situation of Kurdistan. All these had their way in forming and developing the characteristic Kurdish music.

No wonder then that one finds such a wide contrast in Kurdish music. A variation is observed from the lucid and amorous duets and lyrics. Leisurely or light hearted and brisk "Halperkê's" (dances) to long breath, high reach "Quater Û Allaweysi's" solo songs and exciting or even tempestuous and blazing rythms and dances.

So far only the original "Halperkê's", "Hayran Û Lawuk" and "Quatar Û allaweysi" songs and lyrics have been mentioned. All these are original and characteristic Kurdish folk music that have been created throughout hundreds of years by thousands of unknown ordinary folk.

As far as musical culture is concerned, it must be admitted, with unparalleled regret, that we have nothing to offer apart from this very rich national wealth of original folk music.

Instrumentation and orchestration are poor. Oboes, flutes, clarinets, "zurra's", drums, "def's", "dumbuk's", etc..have been known since long ago yet one can claim no one characteristic or typical Kurdish musical instrument.

Due to many reasons, chiefly organisational, Kurdish national culture and music have been hindered from further development. Until very recently schools or institutions of any standard, or genuine groupings and organisations that cared and worked for the development and advancement of Kurdish music did not exist. In addition there is the extreme poverty of Kurdish literature in the publications on music by reputable professional musicians.

The task with which the intellectuals are faced, at least in the field of culture, is therefore quite obvious.

The author considers the following suggestions helpful, and worth considering by the interested parties both in an outside Kurdistan.

(I) Formation of societies and groupings by professional and amateur artists and musicians, as a first step forward, with the aim of preservation, standardisation and advancement of Kurdish music.

An extensive research into Kurdish folk music and dances should be given the first priority.

Among other things which such a society or association can fulfill (providing that it is supported and financed by the local authorities and municipalities as well as the educational authorities), and which should be given thought and consideration are the following:

(a) Talented and qualified musicians and teams should be sent to all over Kurdistan to collect and assort the local and provincial lyrics, songs and dances.

(b) Study groups should be sent up for further and broader education of its members, paying due attention to both national and international cultures and music.

(c) Sending a few of its most talented members to higher institutions like the College of Fine Arts and Music in Baghdad or any other similar or better institutions elsewhere - including Europe.

(d) Formation of choral and dancing sub-societies from among the talented amateurs and professionals.

(e) A wide-scale campaign to popularize music among people from all walks of life, particularly among the younger generations.

(f) Particular attention should be paid to musical instrumentation and its development.

(g) Full co-operation with other societies; such as dramatic and literature societies, since music, drama and poetry are all associated together.

(II) Genuine and ceaseless efforts should aim at establishing modern schools and institutions with the object of teaching and advancing Kurdish national musical culture.

(III) Apart from collection and preservation of what we possess, our talented composers should aim at further development and orchestration of those tunes that cry out for orchestral colouration and elaboration.

(IV) New composition and melo-dramatisation of works of the Kurdish poetical and other giants should be the aspiration of our composers and intellectual bodies.

Space does not allow for further elaboration of this important point. It will be enough, however, to remark that Shakespear's "Othello" is already great, it is still greater when it is melo-dramatised by the Italian operatic composer Verdi! Goetes' drama "Faust" is still more poetic when Gounod puts it into an opera and then into a ballet.

Maulawi, Piere-Merd, Be-Kes, Goran, Herdi, and scores of others are waiting impatiently for some one to make their genius still more appreciated!!!

(V) A more liberal and realistic attitude towards the position and participation of the fair-sex (half of the society) should result in enormous enrichment of our national culture and music.

Again space does not permit further explanation however, it must be emphasised that without liberation of women and their active partnership in our national cultural revolution we lose half of the potential talent of the nation.

We have a long way to go, and the road that will lead us to our ultimate aims and ambitions is not bedded with flowers! But never mind the thorns, any genuine effort is absolutely worthwhile and great!

May be one day a Kurdish ensemble and dancing company will dazzle and captivate the Londoners and Parisians as well as any existing ensemble and dancing company succeeds to day!

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« ".....that the peoples of Mesopotamian plains were the pioneers of civilisation, and that they contributed remarkably to the progress of music, must be allowed them. The mere comparison between the advanced structure of Mesopotamian instruments of music, especially in harps and Kithares, with what the Greeks had accomplished, at once proclaims the immense superiority of the former....." »

The New Oxford History of Music. Vol. 1, p. 228.

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To our english speaking friends!

Here is "Kurdistan", the bulletin of "Kurdish Students' Cultural Society in Europe". You are welcome to write in. The Editor will be happy to publish every article conformable to the general aims of our Society.

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A nos amis de langues francaise!

Voici "Kurdistan", le bulletin de "l'Association Culturelle des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe". Ses pages vous sont largement ouvertes! Notre Comité de Rédaction se fera un plaisir de publier tout article conforme aux buts généraux de notre Association.

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The Kurdish language and
its dialects

By: Ismet Chériff
Lausanne, Switzerland.

To treat this subject with sufficient precision, I would have better done to begin with another: the Kurdish people's ethnical genesis and historical formation. But since I am going to deal with this one in another article, we shall just have a glance over the problem of Kurdish origins:

At the dawn of history, i.e. more than thirty centuries before Christ, there were a homogeneous racial and linguistic block of peoples called "Caucasian" or "Japhetic", or "Asiatic" or lastly "Mediterranean" covering all the countries from Spain to India, namely: Spain, Southern France, Italy, Greece, Egean Islands, Turkey, Armenia, Kurdistan, Persia, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Northern India. These peoples were not Aryan, neither Semitic, nor Mongolo-Turcoman, but formed a genuine and independent racial block, spoke more or less kindred languages, (which have not been extinct for centuries, except Georgian and Circassian in the Caucasus, and in the Spanish Pyrénees).

The following were the most autochthonous peoples of these countries.

The Japhetic autochthonous peoples of Kurdistan were the Guti, Hullubi and Kashshu (Kassits) in the Zagros mountains, and the Hurri-Nairi-Urartu in the North and West (Kurdistan of Turkey). But we should notice that the name of "Kurd" and "Kurdistan" was still unknown at that remote time.

In the XXth century before Christ occurred the first Aryan immigration to Kurdistan but it was not sufficiently important to cause any notable aryanisation of the country. As a matter of fact, we should wait until the Xth century before C. to witness the biggest immigration movement of all history: during about three centuries from the tenth to the seventh, wave after wave, the Indo-European tribes literally whirled over northern India, the Iranian Plateau (including Afghanistan and the Zagros of Iranian Kurdistan) and Europe.

The Indo-European tribes or peoples of the Aryan or the Indo-Iranian family who concern almost exclusively Kurds and Kurdish ethnical genesis were, among the most important, the Medes (Madai), Mards (Mardi), Kyrtii (probably Kort), Sagart (Zikurtu), Scythes (Sakka), Cimmerians (Gimmirria) and the Manneans (Mannai). Some historians say that Manneans were not aryan but japhetic. (Between parentheses are the indigenous forms of three names.)

These Aryan tribes of Media (which included Iranian Kurdistan) were all nomad in origin. A huge wall of old States thwarted their westward way: Assyria and Urartu. Finally, the Medes were happy enough to impose their leadership on the other aryan tribes of Media and, together, marched upon Assyria and Urartu, occupied them and destroyed Niniva in 612 B.C. This considerable historical event, crowned with the constitution of the Medic Empire, marks the beginning of Kurdish history; the year of 612 B.C. is the very birthdate of the actual Kurdish people.

How? Because the fall of Assyria, Hurri and Urartu created a vacuum which the victorious Aryan tribes of Media were just too happy and eager to fill. And, indeed it is perfectly well known that a great number of these tribes moved westwards to the Kurdistan of Iraq and of Turkey where they were happy to choose their home. The ancient autochthonous peoples of Kurdistan could not but be aryanised, linguistically, by the new tribes, through a process of historical amalgamation between the two elements, and that was the mechanism of the ethnical genesis of the present Kurdish people. Old Japhetic language disappeared and a new Indo-European one, Kurdish, was born.

All philological specialists say that Kurdish is an Aryan, i.e. Indo-European language of the "Western group of Iranian languages". That is true, but the term "Iranian" in this expression is not used as a synonym for "Persian". "Iranian", here, on scientific grounds, determines a linguistic whole of which, from west to east, Kurdish, Persian, Pushtu (the Afghan or Pathan language) and Baloutsh are the autonomous or independent parts. We say, for instance, "the family of Iranian languages" exactly as we say "the family of Latin languages" which includes French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese; or "the family of Slavic languages", which includes Russian, Polish, Czech, Serbe and Bulgarian, and so on. On this basis, "Persian" is just a unit of the Iranian languages.

The "western Iranian languages" (because there are, also, "eastern Iranian languages") are divided into two groups, that of the "North-west" of which Kurdish is the most important unit, and that of the "South-west" of which Persian is the most important unit. The two groups are linguistically different. The historical schism of western Iranian languages into these two groups has been scientifically traced by many specialists, namely: A. Acinann, Meillet, O. Mann, Lentz (see V. Minorsky). Indeed, if both Kurdish and Persian belong to the same "Iranian" family, there are between them many essential divergences, and Kurdish proves to be quite an independent and a complete language distinct from Persian, as we are told by so many specialists, such as, among others, V. Minorsky and N. Marr the father of Soviet linguistic. Persian is not the origin of Kurdish, neither Kurdish that of Persian.

The eminent Kurdologue who is professor V. Minorsky tells us that Kurdish distinguishes itself from Persian in the following essential features:

- (1) its specific articulation; for instance, some Persian letters are differently articulated in Kurdish, such as "a" which often becomes "h" in Kurdish or even the Semitic letter of "ع" or "ق" (I must add that this occurs in some Kurdish regions only.)
- (2) divergences in the phonetic treatment of the same 'Iranian' materials.
- (3) morphological divergences.
- (4) syntactical divergences.
- (5) lexicological divergences.

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Everybody knows that Kurdish - as well as Persian - is divided into several dialects. Philological specialists demonstrate (but we, Kurds, know it already), that:

- (1) differences among Kurdish dialects are so slight and unimportant that philology must conclude that a Kurdish language does exist. This is one more proof, coming from linguistics of the Kurdish people's ethnical unity.
- (2) divergences between Persian and Kurdish exist between every Kurdish dialect, on one hand, and Persian on the other. This means that all Kurdish dialects are independent of Persian.

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What is the origin of the Kurdish language, and what are the general lines of its evolution?

The solution of this problem depends on a large scale, on that of Kurdish origins and historical formation. We have found that the present Kurdish people has issued from a human amalgamation between the Aryan tribes commanded by Medes and the Japhetic autochthonous population, an amalgamation which was accomplished precisely by that process of organisation - say Kurdinisation - of the latter by those tribes - the "Urman Manda" as used Assyria to call them. On this basis, we can easily advance the following conclusions.

- (a) The origin of the present Kurdish language is the ancient Indo-Iranian language, or dialects, spoken by the Aryan tribes that immigrated to Iranian Kurdistan after the Xth century B.C., and to Kurdistan of Turkey and Iraq after Nineva fall in 612 B.C. This means that the linguistic origin we are finding out is just the language spoken by ancient Medes and extracts from other medii dialects, such as those of Kyrtii, Zikurtu, Scythes.
- (b) We have said that the Japhetic (Caucasian) languages disappeared from Kurdistan after the linguistic aryanisation and, the ethnical Kurdinisation of the autochthonous population by the medo-Kurdish tribes. Indeed, but we must suppose that scraps of ancient Japhetic idioms did actually slip into Indo-European Kurdish in formation in Kurdistan. The Japhetic factor in the formation of the Kurdish language, although quite secondary and of little importance, must not be neglected. As far as I know, it has not yet been the object of a serious and thorough study, but just occasionally surveyed by N. Marr. As an example of the presence of this factor in Kurdish, Marr gives the Kurdish word for mother: "dê" or "diya". This word is actually one of the rare bits of Japhetic in Kurdish, because we find it in Georgian which is one of the very rare old Japhetic languages still in use in the world. The Indo-Iranian term of this word is represented just by the English "mother"; or by "Mère" (French), Mutter (German); "mader" (Persian) and so on. But I should add that the Indo-European term of this word does exist in Kurdish and serves to form the feminine of some animal names. For instance:

"Kew" in Kurdish means "Pigeon"; mê-kew = she-pigeon;
"Ker" " " " "ass"; ma-ker = she-ass;
"hing" " " " "bear"; hinga-mê = she-bear.

(c) Kurdish has evolved in modern times, especially by borrowing vocabulary from neighbouring languages; from Arabic, which, as says the eminent Kurdisant B. NIKITINE, "the Latin of oriental peoples": from modern Persian too, which was, a long while, considered by Kurds as the literary language par excellence; and from Turkish also, Turks having dominated most of the country, politically and militarily, under the Ottoman empire.

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The Russian philologist and historian N. Marr and his Soviet disciples (some of these are Soviet Kurds) refuse such an expression as "family of languages". They deny the existance of families or groups of "Aryan languages", of "Iranian languages", "Latin languages", "Slavic languages" "German languages", or even "Indo-European languages". They consider each language apart as a linguistic an independent entity having its own ascendance and its own evolution and laws. We recognise, as the reader may have noticed it, that each language has its own "History", ascendance and evolution, but this, we believe could not signify that there are no actual kindred languages. Kindred languages do exist, indeed, such as we have said, French and Italian; Russian and Polish; Kurdish and Persian. Under these conditions, the term of "groups" or "families" of languages would prove to be of great help in classifying languages and in all kinds of comparative studies in this field.

As a matter of fact, there is no such thing as a "pure Aryan blood".

This is a chimera which exists just in the unhealthy imagination of some people. I am far from disparaging such a sincere admirer of Kurds and Kurdistan as Major Soane, but am unfortunately abliged, in spite of all the love, say admiration and respect, I may have toward this courageous and passionate author, to repute his assertion that Kurds in their mountain fastness, safeguard "their pure Aryan blood and language". This simplicity is incompatible with the complexity of history. But I should add, to be just, that Soane has the great merit of establishing the intimate historical tie between ancient Medes and the Kurds of today. And this is one of the biggest services rendered to the Kurdish people. The "school Marr" says, with reason, that the tongues of modern peoples cannot be "imported" from somewhere outside, ready made, but are formed during a long historical evolution in the respective homes of each people. This is true for every people, and as far as Kurds are concerned, we have seen that their language, which Marr himself recognises to be "now", "Iranian" or "Aryan", is the result of a long evolution in which the bulk of the Indo-Iranian Medio had astimulated scraps of old Japhetic idioms before acquiring, in modern times, some new forms and some foreign vocabulary. It is now a common idea that languages are not petrified in some forms once for ever, that their evolution is a sign of health, of eternal yough.

Whatever we might think, the part of Medio in the formation of Kurdish remains predominant. The story of Kurdish, should it be expressed in statistics would give probably the following (approximate) table:

Constituiton of Kurdish language.

Proportion %

Scraps of ancient caucasian idioms.....	5%
Medish and other ancient Indo-Iranian dialects of Media..	75%
Acquisitions from modern Persian.....	7.5%
Arabic vocabulary (modern times).....	10%
Turkish vocabulary (modern times).....	2.5%
	<u>100 %</u>

Evidently, these proportions are subject to some variation from one region to another.

This table shows clearly enough that ancient Indo-Iranian medish is the very basis of present Kurdish, or to use other terms, the present Kurdish language is merely the ancient medish after evolution. This means, too, that ancient Kurdish was just medish with relatively rare Japhetic scraps. This is a very important linguistic fact which may be always proved philologically and, besides, we know already that it is corroborated in the historical field, by the major role played by Medes and Media in the Kurdish ethnical genesis.

Indeed, ancient historical Armenians and their authors used to call the idiom spoken by Kurdish tribes "Medes language" and Kurds themselves "Medes" too, but the name of "Kurd" developed progressively out of "Medes". The Armenian word for "Medes" was (and still is I suppose) "Mar" which comes from "Mard" which itself is the archetype of "Mada", so we have the equation.

Mar = Mard = Mad = Mada (Medes) = Kurd. This old "Armenian" equation has been recently verified - Jan. 1937, the Soviet Georgian scientist Abouladze discovered at the Armenian Patriarcal library of Etchmidzine (in Soviet Armenia), an old armenian manuscript book in which he found a whole sentence written, as the book says "in the Medes language". The manuscript book in question dates from before the XIVth century. Philologists studied carefully the precious old sentence "written in the Medes language" and the sentence proved to be of pure Kurdish, of the present Kurdish northern dialect!

And here is the sentence in question: (in Kurdish Latin characters) "P'ak'eÿ xodê, p'ak'eÿ zahm, p'akeÿ vemark, k'oy hati xaçê esk'erm, sehmet-e-me":

"The pure (that is) also God, the pure (that is) also powerful, the pure (that is) also immortal ("without death"), (thou) that hast come to the cross by (thy) mercy (have) pity of us".

(To be Contd.)

(see article signed (V.M.) Minorsky)
Bulletin in No.10 of "Centre
d 'Etudz Kurdes" Paris 1950).

Les principaux buts de l'A.C.E.K.E. :

- 1 - Unir les étudiants kurdes en Europe et organiser des recontres périodiques entre eux;
- 2 - Réaliser l'entraide matérielle entre les étudiants kurdes en Europe;
- 3 - S'occuper de la culture nationale kurde et travailler à son développement;
- 4 - Faire connaître au monde la culture du peuple kurde, son pays et sa situation;
- 5 - Se mettre en contact avec d'autres organisations estudiantines nationales ou internationales en vue de coopération, conformément aux buts de l'Association et dans les limites de son intérêt;
- 6 - Publier un bulletin périodique comme un moyen d'exécution.

گوردیوں دسوز آمادہ م یو عجیبہ عجیبہ کردنی ہے موکارین کہ ہم امیرن
لہری پینختی کومہ ل وگوفارہ کہ دا
پر بدہ پیروزی کومہ ل وگوفارہ کہ تان اکہ م
بڈین بوکورد وگورد تان

برتان
جمال عبداللہم فوار۔ جامعہ منیوتان
گہ مہ ریکا .

یوزائین

لہری کومہ لہری خونید کارانی گوردہ لہ ورویا۔ لہری انگلستان ، لہ
۲۲ / ۱۹۵۸ / ۱ / ۲ / ۱۹۵۷ ، لہ
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لہری (لہری عات ۷,۲۰ - ۱۰,۲۰ لہری
تا لہری نگیں گہ ورو ریلے لہری لہری موکوردی وہ لہری نگیانہ
بانڈ لہری کریں .
داوالہ لہری موکوردی خونید ویتا لہ انگلستان لہری کہ
یارمہ تیمان بہن پونہ رختی لہری تا لہری لہری کہ بہ پونہ لہری
چہری لہری وروزہ ۱۹۵۵ .
انتر لہری تا بہ لہری لہری لہری وروزہ لہری ویتان
وہو تیمان لہری موکوردی مانہ .
کرتیری لہری انگلستان

خونید کارانی گوردہ لہری بندلانہ انگلستان لہری پونہ لہری تا لہری لہری
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یان پینہ کہ لہری کرد . لہری موکارین لہری زوریان لہری خونید پونہ .

«گوردستان» و خویند کاران

زور سوپاسی نه و خویند کارانه نه که مین که نامه یان بوناردین .
 بی گومان ، نه م نامه شیرینه ی خواره وه که ستی به رزی که سو خویند کاریکی
 گوردستان نه دا وه که یوادرین که خویند کارانی گوردنه نه مه ریکا نا هاتنه
 پروژة کانیاں وه هینه دی بوگه یانڈی ده تگ و تراستی گوردستان
 سو دانستوانی نه مه ریکا .

بو مکتیری گوینده ی ده کردنی گوتجاری گوردستان کاک عمر القاضی
 رورتان باشی

مژده ی دانای کومه لی زانستی خویند کارانی گورد له نه وروبا له م ماوه به دا
 به م که یست . بی گومان که روه کومژده به کی زورگه وریه بو که سو گوردیک
 که یوم وایه که برای زانستی که ل کات بوگه لی گورد وریگی بیگه و سن
 و سه به ستی بو رووناک بگانه وه . وه دلنیام که دانای نه م کومه له وه
 ده کردنی گوتجاری گوردستان به یارمه بی گوردانی ولسوز نه م اما نه بیگه نه هینی .
 خویند کارانی گورد له نه مه ریکا له م ماوه ی دوایه دا له به ره سند نان و
 کردنه وه ی لقبی کومه لی تا وبرا و لیره سو دیک زور باشی الله یینی وه به
 تا یبه بی له و دلا تیک وه گو نه مه ریکا که به که یی هوریک له گورد و گوردستان
 ا کا دار نیه .

بی گومان به کی له و نه رکانه کی که به سه رشانی برا گورده کانه وه به له نه مه ریکا
 بلا و کرده وهی اما نه بی گورد وه که یانڈی ده تگ گوردستان به دانستوانی نه مه ریکه .
 بو بیگه هینانی نه م اما نه بیوینته که همیشه خویند کارانی گورد له نه مه ریکا
 ا کا داریان که بیست له سه موهه نفا ویک که نه یین بویشستی زانستی
 گورد تا ترائی به بی ی توانا ده سنی یارمه بی درین بیکه بن و بی به شی
 نه بن له و خرمه ته پیرهزه که له سه رشانی که سو گوردیکه بو بیگه
 هینانی نه و اما نه بی که کومه لی خویند کارانی نه وروپای بو بیگه که تاره .
 نکایه که گوتجاری گوردستان بی به عثمان سه کن . و که روه کو

ده رمان گرون :

بوده رمان گردنی نه م نه خونیه له هه موشتیک باشتر :-

۱- RESORCHIN (۱۰ حب) له ماوه کی لا روز . روزی بیکه م ۶
صه ب ۲ روزی دو صه م ۴ صه ب ۱ روزی سی هه م ۳ صه ب .

۲- PIRIMA QUINE (۱۵ حب) له ماوه کی ها روزی ۱۰
روزی یه لک صه ب بونکه وه کی که میقروبی مالاریای له جهه راوه له تاوه
ایفاناکو ریت .

وا بر وانه کوریت که و آتاوله رزی به بر او هوو له به « مالاریای مزمن »
وانه که نه خوشی پیش نه وه ی به ته وای چاک بیته وه . دوباره بیکه ی
مالاریای یی وه نه دانه وه و نه خوشه که خوشی تا و له رز نه بیته وه . هاپو
خوباراستن له م چه خونه نه بی نه خوشی هه تا کو به ته وای چاک نه بیته وه
له موچه خسته ی هاریک هه بی (PALUDRIN) وه بیکریت هه تا کوله هر بی
مالاریا دانه بیت ، به لام نه وکه سانه ی که له تاوه بی به مالاریا خوشی بپو
نه خونه ره وه تا پیش ماوه ی پته له ۳ ال که تو اینی بلین که را تا و له رز
نایان گریته وه بی جهه له چه نی QUARTANA - M - هه تکه بیکه
پوه دان اینر تا بیته وه وه نه هه میقرو و اینی که له بیفاناکو ریت نه
وه به و دوه و ساله هه موی به ره په ره که نه هه ریت .

جهه ژنی نه وروز

واجبه ژنی ته وروز : یه که م روزی به هه و سه ساله تازه کوردی
(۲۱ / ۲۱ فاله کیو / ۱۹۵۸ فنه ره نشی . ۱ / ۱ / ۵۷۰ کوردی)
تزیلیت پوه وه . به هه مرگه می و خونه و شتی و طمان آوات نه خوارین
که جهه ژنی گه له نه به ژو خونه و بیته که مان ره جهه ژنی له مو کوردی هه
بیدکاری له دهره وه کی ولات پیر و ژنی .

کومیته ی کارنه ری ره ری هه کومه له ی زانسی
خترینه کارانی کورد له نه ورویا .

هر که بچکله به آردله مزاده وه نه دات ، صقروچی نه م نه هومیه نه برینه
 ناوله شی . وه که تا کوچه ند مالیک له وه ویه روانه زانرا که صقرویه که به له
 هر نه چینه هومین وه له وی جائه صینه وه ، به لام به دیار که ون که نه م
 صقرویه یا شی بیه دانی بیکه به رنگه صقرویه وه به له هر نه برون بو
 چله ر وه فاته رفته (طحال) وه ایقان ، وه بوماوه به له وی نه
 مینه وه که نه بوماوه به من اعتماد به هر چه شی صقرویه که نه کات ، له پاشانا
 که بیان نه که رینه وه بومین ، نه بوماوه به شی له :

۱ - M. TERTIANA (۱۰ - ۱۴) روزه .

۴ - M. QUARTANA (۵ - ۷) سه فته به .

۲ - M. TROPICA (۷ - ۱۰) روزه .

چا له یا شی به هر هومینی نه م بوماوه به اینده هوشی له له شی ویاغما
 به دیار که ویت به تا اوله روزه وه نه هوشی که هر روز یک روزه ادا .
 له چه شی به که م روز تا روز ، له چه شی دوولهم دور روز تا
 روز یک . به لام نه م چه شنه (دوولهم) زور که م روزه ادا ، له
 ۱٪ ی نه هوشانی مالاریا توشی نه م چه شنه نه بیکه وه مالک بونه وه
 یان زور زه که ته به ته وای هونکه که ندی که سی پاش به هر
 هوشی . اسال ، که ندی دیکه پاش ، اسال که بیان دوباره توشی
 نه م چه شنه تا اوله روزه بونه وه بی نه هوشی بیان وه به رته وه
 له چه شی بیه م بوماوه ی گرتنی و به دانی تا اوله روزه که به ته و اوته معلوم نینه .
 بیکه له تا اوله رزی که دیاری دانی (اعراض) دیکه که به که م
 که به ته هوشیه که بکات ، له وانه شی که م هوشی ، ماند ووبوت ،
 که م خور دن ، لاوازی وه که روه هاگه و به بوی فاته رفته (طحال)
 نه که رهاتونه هوشی بوماوه بیکه زور بی ده رمان کردن مایه وه .
 وه که م هوشی نه بیه هوشی به بیا بوی زور اعراضی تر .
 ضو پاراستن له م نه هوشیه به له ناوبردی نه هوشی که نه بیت ،
 چه له گومیلکه و هوگه و بوباره کان وه چه له مالان و ته وویله ی
 نه وویله ی دلاخان ... هتد که روه لها به رز کردنی هرسته های زیان .

تاوله رز (مالاريا)

وریا برواندوزی

کلیه ی بزرگ - کُنا

زور که سن واتی نه گاکه نه م نه خوشیه له وولاتی ساردار و نادا، به لام له به برنه وهی که له کوردستانیا زور بلاوه جا به بیه واته ی نه وه وه نه توانین بایین که نه خوشی تاوله رز له روه کو و که له نه بر میانا بلاوه له روه ها له کوردستانیا روه نه دا، چونکه تا سارایه که کوردستان له وولاته سارده کان دُر رزی جهونه وادیا که وت که پیشکله ی «میشوله» ا نه م نه خوشیه، گلیا و چه مه ن و سه وزایی ده وری هورگه و روه یاره کافی خاصه کاخان هه وارگه به تی و نه توانی تا کوبه رزایی «... م» ی زه مین بشتیت. به لام نه وهی شا یاتی باسه نه ویشولانه هه موچه سنلیان توانای بیا و کوردنه وهی تا و له رزیان نیه. نه مانه له ... - ... هه شین وه له و هه موچه دا مه زها (۱۸ - ۲۰) چه شن هه ته ری بلا و کوردنه وهی تا و له رزه هه روه ها چه نه نه خوشیگی ترشی هه به.

پیشکله ی تاوله رز له بله ی که رمایی «۱۶م» وه بو سه ره وه دا نه ژیت، لیره دا خونیده وار بی غومان نه برسی که چون له زستانا که بله ی که رعاه وولاته سارده کان زور نزم نه بینه وه و نه ویشکانه نه توانن بزیق؟ !. وه ایجه نه که رزانیان که ته تانه ته له «اسیریا» ش نه خوشی تاوله رز هه به، نه بی کاکلی نه مه لی کولینه وه. وه له باش لی کولینه وه ته قه لایکی زور دیار که وت که پیشکله له مالان وله تا و مه رومالانتا نه ژری. وه باش نه وهی که نه م جهکا یانه ی نام بر روان به ده رمایی D.D.T وه درمائی تر مالک کرده وه، نسیبه تی نه م نه خورشیه زور که م بو وه له بیانی. له وه وه آشرا بوو که یاریده ده ری پیشکله له ربانیا نه مانه ک: آو، که رمایی مال و نییایی مه رومالانتا و ته را یی «رطوبه» و باران ... هه.

پیشکله ی نه خوشی تاوله رز «نه لوقیاس - ANOPHELES»

باشماوهي زوباني كوردی

٦- له كوردە واریا دوو لهجهی گه وه هه ن - سوراڤی له ناو
 كوردستانی ایرانی به میان كوردستانی عراقدا - كرمانجی كه ناوی به نه
 كه ی سوری كوردستانی عراق و هه مو كوردستانی تركیادا. وه بوی ئه م
 روانه دیاره كوسبگی گه و ره په لای ژور كه سی، وه زور بهار ره و
 نه دا كه سوراڤی و كرمانجی هه ریه كه لهجه ی هوی لای باشته. نه هه
 سنیكی سرو سنیه به لام كه سرو كوسب یو پوراندته وه ی زوبانه
 وه ئه م دوو لهجه یه كه تواریت له یه له تزیك بگریته وه نه گه ر
 هاتو كومه له ی ناو برار سو دیان کی و ه بگریته وه زوبانی كوردی
 بوخته كرا و له م دوو لهجه یه وه ر به سگریته .
 نه مه به كوردی زوبانه كه مان وه به كوردی كه م و كوردی زوبانه كه نا
 وه نه و دوسی دا هینرا واته ی سه ره وه بو نه وه ی زوبانه كه
 مان پیشی بجه یه .

زوبانی كوردی زیندوه و نامریت چو تكه ژه نگیته وه كو هه مو
 زوبانیكی پیشكه ووی كه ، پوراندته وه ویشی هنتی له سه
 جانی كه مو كوردیكه په روه رگیه - زوبان یه كینه له وستانی
 كه گه یی ئه ناسریت ...

الى اخواننا الطلاب العرب

هذه هي « كوردستان » مجلة « الجمعية الثقافية
 للطلاب الاكبراد في اورونا ». ان صفحاتها مفتوحة
 امامكم ، وسوف يسر لجنة التحرير ان تنشر كل
 مقال يتفق والاهداف العامة لجمعيتنا .

بوها و کاری له که لیا ئا به جو ریلک که له ریلک ی هوی ده رنه هیت . بهم
 چه شه ناوی کورد که نه بیری به هینی تی که هتوی اور ویا .
 ۴ - نه ندای کومه له که مان نه هینه وه به نه ندای نه که رهی نه رو یاره
 که رانه وه بو شیمان وه تا مردن . نه مه تر خیک که وه به بو نه ندایم
 که ستی به دلشادی نه کات وه به ربه رزه به بو تی نه ندایم له ناو که م
 کومه له نازداره دا . که روه ها کومینه ی شش رایه ترینه ری کشتی نه توانی
 که نه ندای نا برو داری (عضویه شرق) بیا به که رهی نه ندایم
 که بیا بیا رایه هیت ، وه کومینه ی گشتی نا واتیه تی که که مونه ندا
 میک به هتیار بیت وه نه م نه ندایم وه ر هیت . که وانه
 دامه هینه له ریلک ی یا هس کردین شش هتینی کومه له که ندا .
 نه م پر یارانه به کوری ده ری که قات بو هی بو تی کومه له که مان بو یسه
 وه که رهک هیه له به رهه مو کوردیک بیکات بو کومه له .
 به بیری کومینه ی گشتی نه مه ریلک یه کی به روزه وه نه بیت له
 به ری بیرون . بو مید دارین که نه مه ولد که مونه ندایم کومینه
 ناگا دار بگا که هی به باش نه زانیت کومینه بیکات ، هی به نامه
 نوسین بو کورتیری گشتی وه هی بو کوردستان .
 نا حاجی پر وز نه بیت به پیرینه ده نا هوی تابیت .
 کورتیری گشتی .

پاشما وه ی یادی نیشمان .
 نه که رهی نه مرو دایمی نیشمان
 فریسکو هونو گلای ها وانان
 او نه داری آزادی کوردان
 بیره به ترونو قلاوه و گو تره
 هع چه رهی که ردون که رهی نور داری
 نه که رهی نه مرو نیشمانان
 رولهی نه به زیویاره تی که لان
 هار هار آهنیه تیوهار چار شس گریان
 چاوی له سو و تاو هله ر پیراوان
 به ری تر نه گریه بو خوو سو دوتان
 شاهرو گومی "وان" باشن شاره زا
 بوهاوری یاغان باشن نه که ن داری
 بحر حیره و دی نیر گریان
 زنگاری نه که ن بهی ، ی گومان

له کونگره ی دو هه مدانا ماده بویت ؟

کونگره ی کومه له که مان له لندن له روزی ۲ و ۳ / ۱ / ۱۹۵۸
۲۲ خۆبند کاری کورد ناماره بون ، بوته ری له سویره وه و بو سه رکیشی له نماوه .
هه ندی له بریاره کای کونگره :-

۱- حی کرا بو پاس کرد بی سامانی نیستمانی (تراش) نه نه وه بی ؟
کومبته ی گشتی له جه ریه تی که بنوسی بو روژ نامه و لوقا و فرایان
و ویره و زوبان زانانی کورد وه هانیان بیات بو بیکه وه لهستانی کومه له
یه کی بوژانده وه ی نو بانی کوردی " وه هان دانیان بوژاندهستی کورد
بوته وه یه ک بو کورینی وو شه بیگانه کان بو کوردی ، نه نه نه بیته هوی
بو شه کرد نو بوژانده وه ی زوبانه که مان . دیان کومبته ی گشتی نه بیته
که به پوه ندی له که ل هه حوره گه زانابه کی خرومان یا بیگانه به ستیت
بوته وه ی بغه زمون وه کومه له که مان بپاسن وه که نجی کورد نا گادار که نه ن
له بیرو ویره وه حوره ننه دووی ژیا نی کومه له به تی گه لی کورد
وه بنوسن بو گو قاره که مان " کوردستان "

۲- گو قاری کومه له ناوی " کوردستان " واله به رده ستایه میوه ی داوی کو
نگره به هه به ره نله ده رگای تپانه کومبته وه بو قید بو تی زمانی کوردی ، بو
" قید بو تی به کار لهستانی بیتی لیدی " له نو سینی کوردیدا ، وه بو " نامه ی
خۆبند واران " نه به به گه له هه حوره دو تاریک که یاریده مان
نه دا پتر نه نه وه و وولا ته که مان بپاسین .

۳- نه و خۆبند کارانه ی ناماره نه بون هه میته به دی کونگره دابون
له به رته وه بریار دراکه بانلیک بو هه حو خۆبند کارکی کوردی
حییت بو هان دانیان بو هانده ناو کومه له وه . بانگیکی تیره ریچی
بو که لی کورد و بیا واتی بو ده رختنی ناما نجی کومه له وه بو بیتی
به هه حوره حه یار مه نیه له .

۴- بانگیکی که ده رکت بو کومه له خۆبند کاره بیگانه کان له نه ورویا
وه دیان ده رختنی ناما نجو ریگه ی کومه له که مان وه ناره زوی بو

فیربونی نیی لاتینی

BO XWENDINA VÊ, DIYÊ ELFABÊ KURDÎ BI
ZANIN. EVEGALEK SANABIYE. ME SIH Û DU
DENG HENE. EYE NE:

A B C Ç D Ê Ë F G H Î J K L M
N O P Q R S Ş T U Û V W X Y Z

- A : DAR, PAR, DARA.
B : BAR, BERAN, BELEK.
C : CEMO, CAREK, COTYAR (C = چ)
Ç : ÇENG, ÇEP, ÇAR (Ç = چ)
D : DERM, DENG, DEH, DEST.
E : GELEK, WERE, EREB, HETAV.
Ê : ÊLEK, BÊKES, BÊDEST.
F : FELEK, FERHAD.
G : GERM, GOPAL, GUND (G = گ)
H : HEWAR, HEMO, MEHEMED (H = ه)
I : BIHAR, HILIND, KIGIK. (I = ی)
Î : PÎR, RONAHÎ, TÎR, MÎR.
J : JÎN, JOR, REJO. (J = ج)
K : KOLÎ, KURD, KERWAN. (K = ک)
L : LAW, LING, NALÎN. (L = ل)
M : MERAVÎ, MÊR, MERD. (M = م)
N : NERM, NALÎN, NAN. (N = ن)
O : OSMAN, HÎRO, GOTIN. (O = و drêj)
P : PARE, PÊ, PAYIZ. (P = پ)

- Q : QENC, QELÎN, QUNSil. (Q = ق)
 R : REWADIZ, RENG. (R = ر)
 S : SÎNEM, SERBEST, SEROK. (S = س)
 Ş : ŞÊR, ŞALOK, ŞERM. (Ş = ش)
 T : TIFENG, TEMO, TERAŞ. (T = ت)
 U : DU, KURD, KULAV. (U = و KURT)
 Û : AGIR Û REŞO. GERMÛ SARD (Û, AND و)
 V : HETAV, VAN, EV. (V = ف)
 W : WERE, WAN, WEKO (W = و : EW)
 X : XEBAT, XATÎN, XELAND. (X = خ)
 X̄ : BEXDA, DAX̄, EFAXAN. (X̄ = ع)
 Y : YAR, FREYDON (Y = ی)
 Z : ZEMÎN, ZANÎN. (Z = ز)

GELEK KURD (A) BO (E) DI NIVÎSIN WEKO
 ABDILAZIZ. NIK DILÊ MIN (E) BO (E)
 RAST TIRE, WEKO ERB.
 HER WEKO TU DI BÎNÎ, FÊR BUNA VÊ
 ELFABÊYA ME YA KURDI SANAHIYE Û
 QOTABIYÊN KURD DIKARIN (ETWANIN),
 YEN KO ELFABÊYA INGLÎZÎ BIZANIN,
 GELEK ZÎ JAN DENG A BO XWENDIN
 Û NIVÎSANDINA KURDI FÊR BIN.
 OMÊDA MINE KO HEMÎ KURD MÊ
 YÊ ELFABÊYE FÊR BIBIN.

SALAHEDÎN SEEDILA

— ENGLAND.

به ما و همه لیه کشی گولو گوزار
وورته ی گبای سه و زوله روی دره هتمان
ایمه ی گه و ره کرده کورستانا
چه رفه که ی که ردون بولیت هم لیباین
له ژوروی عراق شاری سلحمانی
هه و ره تریقه پرر فرمه و کرمه
ره شه باو گفهی له ته که لیره لوله
چه ندرگول هه لوه ری هه ندرسه و زی زه ردیوو؟

گوردان له گشت لافر میکیان رزان
وورزی هوبنی گه ری هبویان
بربه سوزده نلبیان وه که زریکه ی شیر
"ههی کورد ته ی که لی آزاد خوشیوت
واجاریکی که شی لهری بی آبروو
موهرکی له شی دایکی نیشتمان
گول، گول ههاته کون دلی به به روش
پیشی خواره وه دلته نگبو هه نه ت
کیو و شاخ و داغ زه وی ترمویه زر
هه مه دان شاری "روژا وای ایران"
به لام پور هوبنی گه ری کوردیتی
ده روی ده روی له پرر ههاته ده ر
به بومه له زه خوروی گه ردونی هه و
به فرسه هولو خولوبه ری ری رفق
برینی هه گبی داکه گولایه وه
هه رفه که ی که ردون دیان بوی هباین
به لام بی لافا و می بومه له زه
چی گولله ی زور دار موچه ی سالانه

له به رسه ماللا و آوازی مه لان
خوروی آوی لیره گردو گسوان
بی داکو دلخوش سه ره زله ژبانان
ته ت له بت کردن ژبانت لی تیکد این؟
تخی به ره و گه ردون لافاوی هاتی
هه همتنه و ناله وزیریکه وزیرمه
ده ستیان نایه بین شاری تازه بوک

به روی پر نازیان له قورروا وون بوو
له م هه رفه دو نه ی که گه ردون بی ی دان
چراخی به ره ی گه رووی گنا وازیان
نایه پاله ده نگنی نیشمانی دلیر
ههی بو نیشمان تاریکی نه ویت
ده ست دریری کرد له توری نه مردوا
گوربه و هه نایه ی گبانی بی امان
چیزی ههات وه که سه ما وری جوش
له ده ست زه مانه ی ناله بار و هه و ت
له م نه ههاته تیه ههاته بوله وله زر
دای پوشی به فرو سه هولی زیستان
جهاهون جهان الله داعی گیتی
ههاته بوله جولد گبو و ژور و زده ر
به هه ژار گبانی له ته لت کرد و که رت
چه ندی تهنکانومه ندی ماوی کرد زه ق
دره هتی ژبان داته کایه وه
ناله ر آخرووف فرمیک و گریان
چی بارانی خورر، بارینی ته زه
یابه ندیو دایا له به تنخانه

هه ليه ست و بويژه گانان

د لدار (۱۹۱۷ - ۱۹۴۸)

- ناوي يونس ده ئوقه له ۲ توبات ۱۹۱۷ له كويه له دايك بوه .
 - ماوستا رقبو حاجي له (شعر و ادبياتي كورري) دا له بابت دلداره وه نه لي :
 لاويكي زرتك و هونين كه ره ، خاوه في بيركي ژرانه و پيرانه به كيا نياي
 خاوين و لهه ستكي به رزي هه به -----
 زور مه فتوي كوردستان و ديمه نه سير بينه كانيه في و نه لي :

توقيله گاهي مني في گومان
 فيري ژباني باخه كانه
 زريقو پاتي جواته كانه
 خورده ي ناوه كه ي نشوه كانه
 هه ويني شعري دليان گرتمروه

كوردستاني هوس نيشتماني هوان
 جاووم بشكوتوي شاهه كانه
 ده ناي ششالي شواته كانه
 قامبه ي كه واني قه ركوه كانه
 نه مانه هه مو كويان كرده وه

به خوشه ويته وولت داود رام
 نومنت خولقان بيته به خهام زبان
 نيشي زيني من زوري نيشته
 توقيلن گاهي مني في گومان

نه و نه مامي بوم له م خاكه دروام
 به لي كوردستان نومنت خولقان
 خوشي زيانم هوشني زينته
 چيونكه كوردستان ، نيشتماني هوان

ياري نيشتمان

تاشتي - نيشطيه ره
 هالاوبان هينا و خستمانه گران
 چه ندي في كردن دلكاوزه بوون
 چه ندمه لي هواني به لي كه و تم كرد

نالهي به سوز و ياري نيشتمان
 ناغم له داخي مه چه كه ي كه ردون
 چه ندي كوئي آلي بي ناو و و شك كرد

وه له ښارستانه د ورو ورو سره رښتورک (که مه) وه مه رته نور د موبق
(چېست خانه) وه مه وښايي ده وره کير او بېک هاتوه وه زور ښان هه توان
داژن، وناوړه ستخانه کانيښيان په وه ده رتوانا د وړه له م ژورانه وه .
۲- خانوي داخراو :

بالا بونه وه ي ښه م ښووه په له خانو تا ښسته زور
که مه به لکوله ما ووي يا نزه سال زياتر ځي په رښايت . نه م ښووه خانوانه
له هوار يان مې ژور و هوليک و مو تپيک و سه رښور کيک و ناوړه ستخا
نه په کي بېک هاتوه وه په زوري له به رد وگه م، وه په رد وچي نه شو
وه يان څښته وگه م، وه څښته وچي نه شو د روست گراوت وه څاره
رراښيان به ناسن يان به گونار ښي ښاوي گراوه .

چاک کردن : په چاک گردني خانوي کور د ښان پيوسته له دوولاهه هه ول بدي
په که م - په کاره ښاني که ره سته په کي قايم وهه ززان . وه لاري دوهم - دانان
ر په کاره ښاني ښووه خانوه په کي وه ها که پاريز گاري له شي لاي وکامه راي
هه موغز ښيک بکات . وه بوبه شي په که م پيوسته مه کينه په رت رباڅهر
په پيا بکريت خونکه به رد له هه موغز ښيک ښاوي په کاساني ده ستا
نه که ديت وه په لوري پگوزر تيه وه بوبه و موغز ښاني که په کار نه هيزيت ،
هه روه ها که م وقل له م ښوويه به ردا ويا نه دا زوره ته ها
پيوستې په مه کينه ي که م وقل مو تاندن هه به .

هه روه هالم وچه وچي نه شو نه مرو له هه موغز ښاني کور ستا نه ده ستا نه
که ديت له گوي زو و باره کان ، پيوسته په رري لي وه رگري له ښوښانه ي
که به په رد وگه م په کار به ښي وه به تا به لي بو ښار ستا ښه کان پيوسته و
خانوانه ي که واله نهو مېک زياتر ښي نه ما پيو ښووي خانو وابه باش
نه زانريت که براده ره (نه ښاره گره کان) مهند کان گونونه وويه ک بېک به ښي
بوته ووي چه ندم ښه ښووه په ک دايښي بود بها تو ښار ستا ښه کان وه ته که ل فاده
ن باره کان دابريه کچه ن بود روست کردني مه ندر کومه له خانو بک و غرو ښسته
وه ي په مانگانه به که وکه سانه ي که پيوستيانه له دها تو ښار د ابو ښو وکر نه ووي
ښم پير و باوړانه که نا تو انري نه مرو په ناساني خپلې پرواي ني بکات .

خانوله کوردستاندا

مهندس عبدالقادر الرزاق

بج گومانه که نمونه ی که ره سته و چه شتی خانوله کوردستاندا زوردوا که وتوه ما
وه بوئه وه ی نه م یا سه به ته واوه تی چا رگریت به بیوی تی نه زانم به کورتی نه ختیگ
له نمونه ی که ره سته و شیوه ی خانوله وه بدویم :-

خانوی کوردستان به دوو به شه وه دانه ش نه گریت .

یه که م - نمونه ی که ره سته ، دوهم - شیوه ی خانو .

۱- نمونه ی که ره سته : ده کوردستانی عراقدا هوار به ش که ره سته هه یه

بو خانو دروست کردن :

۱- له قورر - نه مه ش نه گریت به دوو به شه وه یان به ختی (ختی

کال) یان به قورری دیواره کاتی تی دروست نه گریت وه به دار داره رانه گریت .

۲- به رد - یان له گه ل گه هج یان له گه ل هیم شو یان له گه ل قس به کار

نه هیزی بو بیسته و دیواره کان وه داره رای نه م به شش یان به

دار ، یان به ناسن یان به کونگریتی شیاوی نه گریت .

۳- ختی سور - یان له گه ل گه هج یان چه نتو به کار نه هیزی

وه داره رای نه م به شه ش دیان وه له داره رای به شی به رد وه هابه .

۴- کونگریتی شیاوی - نه مه نمونه که ره سته یه کی تازه یه

تاکسیتا به ته واوه تی بلاونه بوته وه .

ب- شیوه ی خانو :

شیوه ی خانو زوردوا که وتوه به تابه تی

له دیها ته کاندرا چونکه تاکسیته مه رو مالات و خاوه نه کانیان له

یه ک ژور نه ژین ، یان مه رو مالات به ژوری خاوه مالادیت

و نه چیت ، وه خانوی کوردستانی عراقی بو کوسره ی شیوه ی نه گریت

به دوو به شه وه :

۱- خانوی کراوه :

له دیها تا له ژوریک یان دوو ژور زیتریه

گوردانه ي نيبتهن ، به لام له ندي که س توزيلک شکی لهه يه هيو تله که لين که ناوي
گورد لجا به وه له ناوي کاردوخ ناچي . فوره دريلک ملنگي بيووه لامي که وکه سانه
ووتوبه ي که مرانه له رئاگاري نه وه بيهن که واهه مناويلک که ليو رت که واهه
زخاني يه که ميلله نه وه که هيچ پورنه ي تر ، هيچ گيرمان نه که واکوردي نيمرو
کاردوخيه کافي گورن وه نه م ميلله نه تايستانه هه يني وولتا نه زين که
واکاردوخيه کان بيستوسي سه ده له مه و به رتيا ژيا بون .

له لايه کي تره وه زينوقون يي نه ف به وه واهه تا تر بزوت له ده س کاردوخيه کان
رزکاربان نه بوه . نايانه م کاردوخيه نه هه رنه وناوجه يه يه که زينوقون باسي
نه کاته له ژيرده ستان دا بوه وه يا هور وولاته که بان که وره تر بوه ؟
زينوقون هيچ باسي نه وه ناکاته که وولايي کاردوخيه کان مه نو که وره
بوه له به رنه وه تايستان له هومانه وه باين که کاردوخيه کان له ره له
شاهه کافي هه کاري دا ژياوت .

با سه يري بيرو باوهر ي فوره دريلک ملنگي لکه س له م با به ته وه .
يه که م ، به ته واره يي نه زاناره که وولايي گورده کان . کاردوخيه کان
له وناوجه يه زياتر نه بوه که هيچ کي زينوقون باسي نه کاته . نه ره ره
با سي نه ورنگايه نه کاته که له شکره کي پيدا که زاوه ته وه . وه ره تله
فولايي گورده کان به وه ده شته کافي لاي هوار و تاره سلما ي وره وند بويت .
هه هه هه ميدوزاناي يوناني هيچ ناگاري له مه ته بوه .

دوهم ، کتي گورده کان به وه ده شته کان لاي هوار و لاي
سه رو و ره تله وورده وورده روي دا يي به کهي که وره بويي
ژماره يانه وه نيکه لار بونيان له له له ميد يه کان و نه سه يه کاته .
نه مه ده ري نه فاته که هون ميد يه کان و کاردوخيه کان وورده بون به
يه که ته ته وه . که ي گورد که شپاله وولايي گوردستان دانه زين
که نارچه يه کي که وره يه له تا و سه و ده لاي تا وه راسته جا .

نه مه له لايه که وه له لايه کي تره وه نه م هه ندر بوه با سي ده ري نه فاته که
گورد ته ته وه يه کي نور کونه وه له ميوه وه که گوردستان دا ژياوت وه شاستا
نه کي (حضارة) بيپکه و تويان له وي دانه زرا ندره .

به گنوی می میثوی (ایرانی گون - میلهوله) میدیه کان له بیستاله نازربایجان و گوردستان
 و عراقی هم (که نوین - لمدان و کرمان، قه زون کا عراق کله بیغه هان، نه هاوه تد، ری،
 تا ده ربه ندی ده ریای قه زون) دایون وه له خو ویدیا به ره بان به ندوه، له هالیاسی
 (قریل ایوماق) تا وولای یاختر (افغانستانی کلمرو) وه له ده ریای قه زونیه وه تا
 یارین و خوزستان دایون. وه ده ندی له زانالای جو غراضا مو تورا نه که واحدیه کان
 بون به دووبه شه وه، میدیه می له هوره که عراقی هم بوه وه میدیای می که
 نازربایجان بوه. له یاش ۶۱۴ پ.م. زور که م شت ده په له بایه ت میدیه کان وه
 به لام وه کوزا نزاهه حکومتی میدیا یاختر به دووبه نجاسالیک له و توتیه ژیر
 ده سنی حکومتی ئاقله ده بی (ایران) وه ره که دووبه وه له زیوره سنی ایراند کان دایون وین.
 پروقیور سالیس له می کانی کورد له روز که لای ئا سوریه داچی کیدوت وه
 دولا تیان تالای خواروی ده ریای قه زون شه جو. به شی زوریان له بایه ت زمانه وه
 هند و اوروی بون وه له ره که وه ناری بون (میثوی گنای میوزانه کان - به شی دووم)
 میوزانای گون (استایون) له می گولینه وه بیدا له بایه ت وولای نه بعه نه کان
 وه نه لیت که واکورده کان زور کاری که زون وه له نیش و کاری هندسه دا زور
 زوره که بون وه قه رانی نه ره بی (تیکان) له م هوره دیشانه دا هه میله که کنی
 له کورده کان وه رگر شه.

(زینوتون) له به رتو که که بیدا له بایه ت شکانندی له شاری ده هه زار که سی
 یونانیه کان نه لیت که واکانی که رانه وه بیدا توشی قه نه وه به کی زور نازا
 بون وه بی بان نه وین کاردوف وه نه مانه زور نه زیه بی یونانیه کانان داره وه
 له ده ربه ندی زاخودا له شاری زینوتونان ته گله تا و کرده وه تا نزیله
 نزیوتون له گولیان نه بونه ته وه. ونه مه له سالی ۶۰۴ پ.م. دا زوی دا وه.
 وه له باسیه نه م نه ته وه به دا زینوتون نه می که واقه ت به ریان شور نه کرده
 بو ایراند کان وه تا وه کو بهاریک به کی له شاکانی ایران له شکاپی. ۱۰ هه زاری
 نارحوته به ریان، به لام له شکه که بی به به کپاری له تا و هو بوبه ده سا کار و شه کانده.
 ئایا کورده کانی نیسته که له تا و مه ی شانه کانی هه کاری دا نه زین نه و کارده
 هینانه ت که زینوتون باسی کردون وه یا هورنه ته وه به کی تون ؟
 زور له نه شولور به کان نه لیت که وانه و کاردو هینانه با ووبه بیری که م

میٹروی کورد

عراق القاضی - شینگلترہ

پیش تہ وہی بتوانین کھری دوا کہ و تنان باش تی بگہ بن ، بیویستہ لہ بہ رگہ موان
میٹروی گہ لہ ہوشہ و بستہ کہ مان بزائین . کھویہ لہ لہ وہی گہ سیتکہ و تنان دوا تہ خا
تہ وہ یہ کہ وا زور کہ من نامان تاسن وہ ہمہ ندی لہ وہی ناوی ٹیمہ ی بستوہ ، میٹروہ
کہ مانی بہ ہوریکگی ناریکگی بی ووتراوہ . لہ بہ دتہ وہ یہ کہ وا بیویستہ لہ بہ ر شافی
گہ مو ہوشیدہ وارانہ کورد کہ دربی تہ گہ ن لہ وہی میٹروی گہ لہ کہ یان باش تی
یکہ ن بو تہ وہی بتوانن لہ کہ مولایہ ی ہورجہن کہ کوردگی بہ وہ ہون ڈیاوہ وہ
چی لہ بہ بہ رہا تہ وہ بو تہ وہی روا تہی تہ واتہ بہ درو جتہ تہ وہ کہ وامیٹروی
ٹیمہ یان بو کہ لگی ہویان تیکداوہ وہ ہمہ ندی الہ ہوریکان بہ گہ مو ہوریکہ کہ
ناوی ٹیمہ لہ ناویہ دن .



زاناکاتی رہ گہ زی موقوف بر وایان واپہ کہ وادہ ہمہ لہ کی (اہل) کورد ناریہ ،
وہ ہمہ روہ کو دوزراوہ تہ وہ ناریہ بہ شی روزہہ لاتی رہ گہ تہ کی گھنڈ و تہ وریہ
تہ م تہ وہ یہ لہ پیش ... پ . م . لہ ناوہ ی ہوریا ی تہ تو بستہ تہ ڈیان وہ
خہ رنگی تہ رو حالات بہ ہنو کردن یون وہ بہ شکی جھوکیان نوریلہ مصرنیات
بہ کار تہ گھنا . بہ لام روای لہم ناوہ بہ ہورجون وہ رویان گھنڈہ لای ہواروہ
یون بہ دووبہ تہ وہ . بہ شکیان رووی گھنڈہ گھنڈہ تان وہ تہ وہی تریان لہ
شاخہ کاتی کوردستان و ایران دا وادہ تریان .

ناریہ کان نور لہم ناوہ بہ ڈیان پیش تہ وہی بین بہ دووبہ تہ وہ . سیہ کان
وقارہ کان - بہ لام پیشی جہا بونہ وہ یان شیمرا ہوریکہ تیکگی بہ گھنڈیات گہ بو
وہ نور نا ہوریکہ کان و بایلیہ کاتیات گہ راسان کردیوہ . وہ دووریکہ کہ تہ و ہورا
تہ بیویستہ یہ کھری تہ وہی لہ یہ لہ جہا بیبہ وہ وہ بیہ یہ تہ دووریکہ تہ وہ کی
زور لہ یہ لہ جہا وار تہ باتہ تریان و رہ و شتہ وہ .

لہ دوا یی بہ وہی گہ شتہ می پیشی میلاد امید بہ کان جھونہ تیکگی بہ رہیہ ہویان
دامہ زرانہ وہ شاری تہ کیاتان (گہ مہ دانی ٹیمرو) یان کردیہ ناریہ تہ تہ .

نه مه چو تله راسته نيه وه له به رته وهی ووشه ی کوردی هه ت که چنگه یان بگر
 نه وه ، سوینی به کاریکی ده صوده س هه به نه وه ش بیکهینانی "کومه نیک
 بوخته کردتی و بوژانده وهی" له زویان زاناکان و وشه زاناکان و نوسه
 رانی کورد به بیاریت . چو تله کاریکی وایه وه ناچته به ده که هه به لید لوی
 ریکه و نه له هه لنگرا له ر وژ نامه به کرا یا گو فاریکدا ووشه به له یان دون
 راسته یگانه وه . نه م کومه له به نه توانیت به ریکی وه له سه ر ریکه یکی راسته
 پروایه رپوه ، وه ووتار و قه رهنگ و به رراوی له سه زویان ده ریکاته .
 نه م کومه له به نه بیت راسته کردنه وهی زویانی کوردی له خوو ره ووشی کوئی
 یی سوور زنگار یگانه و خوو یی که له مه و به ره بو وه ووشه به کی
 بنگانه یان که نه گوری نه یان کرد به ووشه ی بنگانه به کی تر .

۳- بوخته و بوژانده وهی زویان بلا و کردنه وهی نه ویت ، له به رته مه
 جان کردتی هه له به ست و چیرولک و سامانی نیشمانتی و که کی شتی تر
 که به زویان نه کریست له هه سوکا تیلدا وه به ژماره به کی زور که بیت
 به پیرینه دی . نه سه نه بیته هوی نه وهی که زور ترینی روله ی کورد
 زویانه که یان نه ناسن وه هان نه درین که زویانیان به کار بهینی .
 ۲- هاندانی و وشه زانه کان و بوژه کان بو ده رهینانی نوسین له سه ر
 چور یکی کوردی وه به زویانکی کوردی . به م خوو ره ژاره زوی هۆینده واران
 به تین تر نه بیت بو هۆینده وه به زویانه که یی خویان .

۴- له هه سه گرتنگ ترین کار که زویانی یی بوژ بیریته وه دانانی
 قواعدی زویانه . تاشسته زور دلسوزان هه نسیان به م بیسوینیته
 کردوه وه به گویری تو انایان له م روه وه خنزه تیان کردوه ، به لام
 تاشسته قواعدی زویانه که مان ریک نه هرا وه له سه ر وشه به کی ره ژان ورت .
 ۵- نوسینی زویانه که مان دیسات نه نیا مکی زور گرتنگه ، تاشسته
 دو هور تیت به کار نه هیزیت له کورده واریدا . تینی ژاره یی و ریشی
 وه لهنی گو حانی تیانه که تینی لاتی نه یی یا شته زویانمان نه خانه
 سه ر په ده ی نوسین وه هینه ی دا هه که هه سو کوردان تیکرا نه م
 تینه به کار نا هین . (بوواته لایه ره ۴۴)

زوبان نه (گه ل) پيدا ناکريته وه، نه م به شس سرده ته ديان به پوه ندي زوبانه کان
به يه که وه دور نه خات .

نيمه که کوردين برومان وايه زوبانه که مانه نه ناکريته تو بالاسون زوبانه نار به
کاني قهواره ، لکني به ره به و تاييه تي که لي کورده نه که رنجي نه مرو نه پوزاره
نه وه . نه نجايي دراکه و تني که له که مانه و که مي هاندا نوگوي نه دانه بويش
که دتني به نرته ته که بيني زور که سس برومان لي ناکه ن .

گوماجي تيا نيه که نه و هويانه ي به ره وه ، وه به پوه ندي به هيري که لي کورد
به تاييه لي له که ل قاره کاندا له و روزه وه ي که له گوي ده راي قه زوين بيکه وه
کهانته قهاري (٤٠٠ ، مال يسي عيسي) يو و ولايي کورد ستانواوران وه ديان به پوه
ندي له که ل نه ره به کاندا وه به هيزبوني نه م به پوه ندي به پاش برومان کوردي ته
کيسلام نه مانه هه موي تيا که لي زوبانه که مانان له که ل زوباني نه و که لانه را
که نيانه بيته وه وه که لي چارروي دا که هه نه و و چه به کان و ون بيت به به
کاره نياني و وه ي نه م زوبانه هه نيانه . نه م دريليه ي زوبانه که مان کا
تيا دور دري خايان له به رنه بويي چولانه وه به کي به تين بوردگار بون .

وه ده س پي کوردي نه م به ده يه پوکه که لي به نوسه ران و و بزه زانان بيري که
دلسوزانه يان کرده وه يو پوزان دنه وه ي زوبانه که مان . نه م نه رکه پير وره
دا هه نه که نگاويک نيرا بوسه وه ، نه وه ي که که مرو نه بين له هاب
کوردي نوسه وه له ست و ختولک موه ي تيا که شالي نه و درلسوزانه به
ونه ري که نه واته ي نه مروتن که نه م رنه ورنگه يه هه نگاوي به مودنه تين .
نه م چولانه وه يه نه مرو هيرا يه کي پاش نه دايه زوباني کوردي هونکه زوري
له سامانه مروتن پوه که ي هه رله نيسنه وه دور پوه ته وه . نوسيري که م کورد دنگ
نه وه يه که نه م چولانه وه به له م يالا و کول نه ره ريسنه . زوبان سرنگه ترين سا نازي که رکه
نه م هه نگاوي زوبان پوزانه وه به دانه رله کيشه کان هون نه نجايي باشي وه رکه گرن
وه هون نه بيت با شترين هه نگا و بين که کاري دلسوزان هه تايته به اه بيت .
۱- زوباني کوردي بوسيمي به پوهنه کردن هه به شان به شالي پوزان رنه وه
وه کوي و تمان که لياک و وه يه بيگانه تيا که لروي زوبانه که مان پوه وه هه ندي
له مانه و ايان لي هاتوه که تو ايه به لي نه وانا زوبانه که مان کوردي ديسنه .

به یوه نږدې ژوبانه که مان به ژوبانی فارسه کانه وه ده کو به یوه نږدې ژوبانه نژیکه کان
 له به کتروا به ده کو آره سو ئیبری یا خود ئیظین یو فرسی یا ت کوردیو او ردو . که م له
 به کچو فی ژوبانه نه نه خاکی که ره په یی یو یوه نږدې که لان له ناره خو یا نوا .
 نه وانه تی که نه لین ژوبانی کوردی له کانه له ژوبانی فاسی یا خود ژوبانی تورکی
 یی کومان له ده رای نه زانیدامه له نه که نه ، چو که نه م ورتنه دانه مناره له م
 راسته کوربه و ره خوری میورلی راسته ، بویه که م ورتنه له به رد م ره فته ی
 زانیا ریبا نه کلسینه وه . مئا وه تی که م به یو پوک ورتنه ره که رو ترکی که به تی که ژوبانی
 کوردی له فرسیه وه دا توه نه که ره ها تو زانیا ن که که یی و وینه که نه له به ره خو
 ژوبانه که دا به کتور که هیپین و کولو (یی ، نه ژنو ، سه ر ، کی ، آو ...)
 له یا تی که م به به تابه نیجا یا بزانی زاناکا نه پون ژوبانه کانی گیتی به ش
 نه که ن وه ژوبانی کوردی له کو یه ایه :

- ژوبانه کانی گیتی که کرسن به دو و به شمی پتی شیه وه :
- ۱- ژوبانی پشکه و تو - نه وانه ن که هیا و ده ازی نا و له که ن نه رمان له کتل
 شمی تیا و اه به وه کو فرسی ، آره تی کوردی .
 - ۲- ژوبانی روا که و تو - نه وانه ن که هیا و ازی که م سی یا په یان دیا ده رانکه
 و ته به کچو به دیا وه له ده کیمایی ز خیره تی ، وه کور ژوبانی ، هیسه سه ره کان .
 دیان ژوبانی پشکه و تو نه کرسنه به شمی به وه :
 - ۳- ژوبانه خا به کان - وه کور ژوبانی تورکی - ب - ژوبانه سامه کان - وه کو
 ژوبانی آره یی - ۴ - ژوبانه سو را نیه کان - وه کو ژوبانی تورکی .
 - ۵- به ره وه ی ژوبانی کوردی به راحمانه کله ره به شمی به که م وه ره کرسن .
 ژوبانه کانی گیتی - ژوبانی که که نه ن که نه چینه سه ره وه نه یی
 ناری وه له ناره خو یا نیا نه کرسن به دو و به شمی که هره وه :
 - ۶- به که م : ژوبانی ناری خوارو - نه چینه سه ره ژوبانی سا کرسن ، له م
 ژوبانه کوردیو خا سو نه وانه ی که له ه خوارو یی ناسیا یه کار ده کلسین .
 دوهم : ژوبانی ناری ژو ورو - نه وانه ن که له نه وه یا به کلا کلسین .
 که م به ش کرسنه وه کو ده ره که ویت دا ترا وه به کوربه یی نه چینه نه تی که لرینی
 گیتی وه نه تواری بودوری که به خا کورده یی ره وایه و به سو ده هره که

زوبانی کوردی

نظامیہ عربین - سینٹلرڈ

ہم جو دانستہ وافی روزگہ لایہ ناوہ راست کہم و زور کہہ لی کورد نہ ناسن بہ
 پوہ وانہ یی نہ مہ دانستہ وافی روزگہ لایہ دوور یا خود دانستہ وافی نہ ورویا
 وڈہ مہ رلیا وڈہ قریباً زور کہم وہ یا ہیہ کہہ کہہ ماف نا ناسن . کہم نہ ناسنیہ
 کہ بہ رچہ نہ کویہ کہہ کہہ کرنگلتر مینان کھویہ کی سیاہیہ ، مہ کولہ کہہ لی
 کورد سامانیہ تیبہ لی (دہ ولہ تیکہ) مہ ریبہ کھویہ کھویہ تیبہ وہ نیشہ وانیہ کہہ
 کراوہ بہ سی پارہ پوہ وہ کہہ ریابہ پوہ کہہ ناوردہ ولہ تیبہ پوہ وہ کورنگیا و
 ایران و عراق ، وڈہ مہ یہ بیوتہ کھویہ رنگہ نہ طنہ بدم کہہ کہہ سان بہ کھانی
 نہ وگہ لادعی کہہ کھاوہ تی بوئیانیہ (کیان) یا سی ضرورتیہ لی کجا وہ کھانہ پوہ
 بیت کہہ شیرینی و تالی زبان وہ کورنگہ لیکہ کھانہ ن پورنی تیبہ کھویہ . بہ لام
 کہم کھویہ مہ راجہ کہم ووتہ یہ نیہ بہ کورنگہ کھویہ کی ترہ کہہ کہم ووتہ کی کہہ کولتہ وہ
 نہ وہ کس وہ رام دانہ کھویہ کہم پورسیارہ یہ کہہ : ناا کہہ لی کورد زوبانیہ تیبہ
 کھویہ ہہ یہ بتوانیہ کی ی بیر و باوری دہ ریبہ ؟

یہ لی اگہ لی کورد زوبانیہ تیبہ کھویہ ہہ یہ وہ کہم زوبانیہ زینتہ و
 زور نہ کسبتیہ . زور نہ زانان لیبیان کہہ پایہ نہ کہم زوبانیہ وہ ووتہ
 وہ پوختانان پوہ کردہ وہ پورا ست کردہ وہی کہم پوختانانہ کہم پورسیارہ
 کھوارہ وہ پورسیارہ :

گاہ ریبہ وہ بہ ریبہ کھویہ کھویہ کورد ، روزگہ لذت زانیہ کھویہ تیبہ بالسان کہہ
 SHEEP & CHEVEROLET نہ لی کہہ کورد کہہ لگہ نہ کھانی یا سربانیا زبانہ لیبہ
 پترہ . . . سال وہ تورکہ کان نہ . . . سال کورنگہ کھویہ ، نہ کھانہ کھویہ کورد
 کان کہہ زبان بہ پیکہ وہ وہ نہ مہ رزہ وی کھویہ . کہم رستہ دوور نہ
 تہ و س دانی تورکہ کان دہری کہہ کجا کہہ کورد ٹیلک تیبہ نہ کورنگہ وہ زوبانیہ
 کوردی لیبکی پوہ کہہ کھویہ زوبانیہ کورنگہ تیبہ .

بناء

إيها الطلاب الأكراد الأعزاء :

إن "الجمعية الثقافية للطلاب الأكراد في أوروبا" سائرة قدماً إلى الامام في خدمة الأهداف التي ينص عليها الدستور وأهمها جمع شمل الطلاب الأكراد وتعبئة قواهم المعنوية والمادية من أجل خدمة الثقافة الوطنية الكردية. إنها تسير بخطى هادئة قوية ونجاحها في المستقبل يتوقف علىكم وعلى مقدار تعاونكم مع لجانها الإدارية والفرعية وعلى مقدار ما يبذله كل واحد منا سواء أكان عضواً في هذه اللجان أم لم يكن، من جهود في تحقيق ما يربها، إن نجاحها يتوقف على المقالات التي دعاكم سكرتير التحرير لكتابتها والتي سوف تنشر في مجلاتها الدورية، وعلى الاشتراكات التي سوف تدفعونها بانتظام لهيئتنا فيها، وعلى تنفيذ قراراتها وعلى الرقابة الدائمة التي ستفرضونها بحزم ونشاط على لجانها، إننا جميعاً نثق في خدمتكم فلنكن جميعاً في خدمتها لكي تؤتي رسالتها دائماً وابدأ في المستقبل.

إن جميعنا لم نتمكن لغاية الآن من الاتصال بجميع الطلاب الأكراد في أوروبا، وإن من واجب كل واحد منا سواء أكان عضواً في اللجان الإدارية أم لم يكن أن يسعى جهوداً للاتصال بالطلاب الأكراد المنفرلين أو الذين لم يحدث الاتصال معهم وإعلاء عنانهم إلى اللجان الإدارية لكي ينم تجارتنا وتنوع دائرة نشاطنا الثقافي. لنعمل من أجل الاتصال بكافة الطلاب الأكراد مهما كان جهاز السفر الذي يحملونه ومهما كانت البلاد التي يدرسون فيها وجمع شملهم تحت راية جمعيتنا العزيزة في سبيل خدمة ثقافة شعبنا ولاسيما لغته وآدابها وتاريخها ودراسة مختلف نواحي حياتها ودراسة علمية موضوعية وتعميقها إلى الأخرى.

إن شعبنا الكردي الكبير بحاجة لنا وإنتنا نتطلع أن نقوم بواجباتنا في خدمته من الوجهة الثقافية إذا ما تأزرنا واتحدنا معنوياً وطارياً وقرهنا من نطاق الهاطفة إلى نطاق العمل الجريء والتنفيذ المثلث.

إيها الطلاب الأكراد هيئنا كنتم اتحدوا فيما بينكم لخدمة الثقافة الوطنية الكردية. ذلك هو شعارنا ---

رئيس الجمعية الثقافية للطلاب الأكراد في أوروبا

عبد شريف - سوريا

مانگه

خویندکارانی کوردی خود ویت

کومه لهی زانستی خویندکارانی کورد له نه ورویا به ره و سیه وه نه دروا بوجی به هی کوردی
 نه خجانه کانی که ره ستور ده ری نه خجانه وه گم رنگه نینان کو کورنه وهی خویندکارانی کوردی وه
 به انگرستی هیری مادی وه عنویانه بوپاس کردنی زانستی نیشتمانی کوردی .
 کومه له ده نگاوی باش و به تین نه نی وه سه رکه و نی له ده و اوردا نه که و قبه سه ر
 شانی ئیره وها و کاری تان له گه ل کومسته ی کار به ری به رو کومسته کانی لقه کان ، وه
 جه ند هه ریه کی له نیمه ده ول نه را ، نایا لدم کومستانه داییت وه یا قیانه بیت ، بو
 هانینه دی نه خجانه کانی . سه رکه و نی له که دیتسه به رنه و ووتارانه ی که ماکتری
 گو قرار داوای لی کردن بیوسن ، وه له سه ریاره ی نه خجانه کی که نه بیهن به ریک و
 بیکی وه هانینه دی بریاره کان وه چاودری کردنی کومسته کان که له شه ده ری نه خجانه کانی
 کومه لهی ئیره به ، بو ئیره به ، با هه بو پاسی بکین بو ئه وهی له میش و اردوارو را که رکه کانی به نیت دی .
 کومه له که مان تا نیشتمانه بیتوانه که بگات به هه خویندکارانی کورد له که ورویا ، به بیو نیتسه له
 سه رکه موبه کی له نیمه ، نه تمام له کومسته ی کار به ری و به رو یانه بیت ، به هه و ترانه وه
 هه ول بیات که بگات به و خویندکارانه ی که تا نیشتمانه جورن وه له هه و بیان بیات به کومسته ی
 کار به ری و به به نه وهی به کیه پیمان ته و او بیت و کرداری زانستمان به ره به نیتسه .
 با هه ول بیهن بو ئه نیتسه به هه مو خویندکاره کورده کان له هه چ و ولاریکه وه لها تون
 وه له هه چ و ولاریکه له خوینن وه گویان بکه بینه وه له نیشتمانی کومه لهی خورسه ه
 بستمان بو پاس کردنی ، زانستی که له که مان به تاییه نی ، دهان و وشره و میرو ولی کو
 لینه وه له خویندکارانی که هه مورویه که وه وه که یانستی به خوره وه .
 که لی کوردی مه زت که ره کی به نیمه به ، وه نیمه نه توانی که ده کان چیه به کی بکه من
 بو پاس کردنی به نی زانستی نه که ده موریه نیمه به نیشتمانی وه به له بگن بن وه
 نارجه ی به زه یی وه بو حوته نارجه ی نیشتمانی بی ترسن و به خود .
 نه ی خویندکارانی کورد ، له هه چ گو یه له بن ، به له بگن بو پاس کردنی زانستی نیشتمانی کوردی
 نه مه شیخاری نیمه به ...

سه روکی کومه له زانستی خویندکارانی کورد له نه ورویا .

عممت شریفی - هیسره .

بۆيىك وە ھاياتى زامان زاناکانى كورد بىر بوكرتى كونكره به به بووه رگيراني ووتنه ي بيگانە بو كوردى
وہ پيله هيتاني مە جھه عيكي زحاني كوردى . ناھي كومه له كه مان بگه ي نيت به و زانايانە عيب
(كورد يايگانە) كه له ميوزانسي كوردنە كوليتە وە وە يانگە بدين بو ئه وە ي بىروا وە ي
گە نچاني كورد رووناك بگه تە وە ، نايا به نويسن له گو قاري كوردستان دا وە يا قورد و دياران .
وہ كردي گو قار بىر ياري تى كونكره بو .

گو قاري « كوردستان » هه نكا و يكي گە و رە يە بو پيشه وە ، چىرايه كي به هيتە بو رووناك كورد
نە وە ي نە و رىگانە ي لە گر تە و نانە ، رىگاي خەرمە تە كوردى كورد و كوردستان به هە موانا نا نا وە
، نە و رىگانە ي كه قارە مانە نە به زە كاني كورد زىاني خويان بو پيشه كه س كورد ، رىگاي ھا
نيتە ي هيواي گە لي كورد ، دە بهوتى لە ئىر چىناني بيگانە تا وە كورد به به ربه سى بىرني رگە
مپلله تاني تە وە چان به ساني نە وان به وە و پيشه وە نروا .

داخي گرانه كه واپووتە تي ديانان له كوردستان واي ئى كروون كه هه چوان زحاني قومانت
يا س نازانين . له يە رنە وە سى زمان لەم گو قارە دا هه به . كو ميتە ي نە كردي گو قار هيو
دارە كه به رە به رە نە مە لايە ريتە وە لە دواروژ يكي نرگيا گو قارە كه م كوردى سى لايستى روكلا .
كوميتە نكا له و خويندكارانە نە كاتە كه ناتوانى به كوردى و عىبي و نى گليزى بو سنا ، ووتار
به و زمانە بىرتە كه نە نزانن ، هيدا رە كه بو ئى سى زمانە هيان وە سىنى بو ناردنى ووتارە
نە مە ه لايە كه وە ، له لايە كي ترە وە كوميتە دى خوارە بو هە سرتە وە ي دە رگا بو خويندكارانى
بيگانە (عە رە ب ، ئىنگليز ... هە) بو ئه ووتارايە يي كه لە ل نا ما ئى كومه لە رى نە كه و
هيدا رە كه نە مە نە بيتە كوردى به هيز كوردى نا سنا يى خويندكارانى كورد لە گە ل
خويندكاراني تروا .

نە و كوميتە ي دە كردي گو قار زور به دى سرتە وە ژمارە يي به كە م نە خاتە پيشى
ھاوتان . با دريغي تە كه بن لە ووتار نويسن و پيشه كه س كردي دا هيتان و
ئاموزگاري و لاي بردنى هه مكو چيلە له ريتە يدا تا وە كو گو قارە كه نە بيتە به
مرا يكي راست بو پيشه خستنى چولانە وە ي خويندكاراني كورد نە لايە هە م
له نە ورويا به كو له هە مكو كوردستانيدا .

پيتە خويندە وارى كورد گو قارى كوردستان گو قاري توپە . سە ركه و ن و پيشى
كه و ننى نە كه وپتە سە ريار مە ئى و نا موزگاري تە .
مپتە بو پيشه وە

پيشه کی

له م کاته دا که له به شي زوري کوردستان دا پيشه ناتوانين فيري پيشو ويره و زانتي خومان
پين وه به ده موهوريك ريگه مان لپي گياوه بو ده رختي ناومان له تا و گه لاني جهان دا ،
که ده کياي ميروي که وره نه که وینه سه ريشاني خویندگاري کورد له نه ورويا ، نه وه ش
پرويه گانده کورده بو نيشاني خوشه وسته وده رختي زانتي و خویندگاري زيانمان
بو ميله تاني تر .

له م گومان نيه که وابه شي زوري خویندگان له ميره وه ده ستان به م که ره که کرده وه
خه بيان به ده موهوريك به پينه دي . کونگره ي فين بادن و نه خنامه کاني ياش ده ري نه مان
که چوت پيلانکي ريك و بيك خرايه پيشه وه بو بيك هيناني کومه له ي زانتي خوشه
ويست ، که و ايا شترين ريگايه بوجي به جي کره ني نه و پيوستيا ته ي که کوردستان
خستويه ته سه ريشاني روله کاني .

به لام دهوری خویندگان له به که وه وه چه تده م و کور تيه کی کومپته ي کار به ري و به ري
کومه له بو به له ري نه وه ي که وار در له ناما تده کان ته به ته دي . نه و دو که و تته نه بو به وه ي
که خویندگان بو به ستيت بو کر تتي کونگره ي دوهم بو نه وه ي به به لچاري نه و که م کور
تيا نه و نه و کوسپانه ي که که و توتيه سه ريگايان لري به رن . کونگره و بر يارد ناموز گاره
کاني ياش ده ري نه فاته که هه موبه دله وه وه به خو شه وه نامادون بو به رز کورده وه ي
کومه له وه هانپه دي ناما تده کاني که نه ماته ي خواره و نه .

- ۱- به هيز کورني ناسناني له به يني خویندگاري کورد له نه ورويا وه رايختي به لترينيه .
 - ۲- هانپه دي يارمه تي داني مادي له به يني خویندگاري کورد له نه ورويا .
 - ۳- موهوردان و به رز کورده وه ي زانتي نيشاني کورد .
 - ۴- گه ياندي زانتي و خویندگاري که ل و وولاني کورد به جهان .
 - ۵- ناسناني به يد اکورن له که ل کومه له خویندگاره کاني بيگانه وه يارمه تي دان گري
يان دانه وه نه ي ناما تده و که کليان ريگا نه دا .
 - ۶- ده ر کورني گوجاريک بوجي به جي کردي نه و دامانخانه .
- به کي له بر ياره کاني کونگره نه وه بو که کومه له وه و دو که موهوردان له کونگره کاني کورديا

« کوردستان »

کومه له ی زاننی هونیدکارانی کورد له که وروپا

د شماره ۱ - ۱ - سالی - ۱ - پارت ۱۹۵۸ دانه ی به سی پلنه

Au R.P. Bois O.P.
des Compagnons
de l'A.C.E.H.E. et de
ses successeurs

Cheriff
Laurance
Avril 1958

له شماره یه دا

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1. AN APPROACH TO KURDISH MUSIC.

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2. KURDISH LANGUAGE & ITS DIALECTS.

By: I. CHERIFF.

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*Fransis Drens
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کوردستان



KOMLEY ZANISTÎ XWÊNDIKARANÎ KURD
LE EWROPA

KURDISTAN

کوردستان



KOMLEY ZANISTÎ XWÊNDIKARANÎ KURD
LE EWROPA

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24 OCT. 1958

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5. A Chronicle of Kurdish Sociology.
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7. Two Hours with Professor Wikander.
8. Letters and News.

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THE BIRTH OF A REPUBLIC

On the morning of 14th July, 1958, the world awoke from a deep sleep waiting for what may happen next in the turmoil of mans life under the light which has followed yet another dark night.

Yet it was under the darkness of the previous night towards the beginning of the dawn of the 14th, when and only when the expected event but by no means the expected time has taken place, and the announcers at every broadcasting station all over the world voiced the sensational news from Iraq - Monarchy has been replaced by a Republic as the result of a successful revolt of Iraqi people backed by the full powers of the army. Millions upon millions all over the world rejoiced and shared the people in Iraq the relief that has at last come to them. The relief of breaking a dictatorial regime into pieces and replacing tyranny by justice.

"Kurdistan" also vigorously welcomes this achievement of the Iraqi people and army who for years struggled heroically against the old apparatus of state. It is not only a victory for Arab nationalism, but also a victory for Kurdish people who have suffered just as much, if not more, from the hands of the old rulers in Iraq ever since the death of the Ottoman Empire.

No wonder that the entire Kurdish nation whether in the part grabbed by Turkey or the part grabbed by Persia or the part just freed in Iraq celebrate in open or in secret the birth of the new republic.

"Kurdistan" believes that the main task now is to preserve and strengthen the unbreakable Arab-Kurdish brotherhood; to go forward hand in hand and be on the alert for any eventualities that may arise, and to defend the republic which is the supreme duty of all Kurds and Arabs alike. The desire of both Arabs and Kurds was and remain to be free and independent. The establishment of the republic which has already taken steps that give hope to all Iraqis. The release of the Barzanis out of the camps and prisons of the old regime side by side with hundreds of patriots, is a tremendous step deserving the applause of all Kurds as well as Arabs inside and outside Iraq.

As it is known that the Kurdish people have been deprived from enjoying the most elementary human rights, that is to study in their own language, to have magazines and newspapers in Kurdish, and to organise and develop their culture. Hence it is absolutely necessary to remove the old barriers that have led to this situation. This will result in great advances to be made in Kurdish culture, for without any dispute is rich in variety and attractiveness which can easily repudiate many prejudists who for some seasons or another deliberately deny that this nation has culture at all.

This, no doubt, is the beginning of a bright future for our lands and people who without any hesitation will march forward to achieve ever more success and victories in building a happy and prosperous life.

- - - - -

KURDISH LANGUAGE AND ITS DIALECTS

by
Ismet Cheriff

Kurdish has quite assimilated the foreign vocabulary slipped into it and representing (both Arabic and Turkish) about 12.5% of its volume. It is, therefore, by no means a "mechanical mixture" of foreign dialects as some Kurdish people's enemies would like to say. In fact everybody knows the languages of all other oriental peoples have also assimilated foreign vocabulary as well, in modern times, and even much more than Kurdish has done. The modern Persian language is constituted of the following elements: (a) - Scraps of ancient zaphetic idioms; (b) - the bulk of ancient Indo-Iranian language or dialects spoken by ancient "Pars", "Parthes" and "Haraiva": (c) - A great deal of foreign vocabulary borrowed from neighbours in modern times. The constitution would give, probably the following (and forcibly approximate) statistical table:

<u>Constitution of modern Persian language</u>	<u>Proportion:</u>
Scraps of ancient caucasian idioms	5%
Parsish (Peru) and other ancient Indo Iranian dialects of Iran	55%
Acquisitions from modern Kurdish	5%
Arabic vocabulary (in modern times)	25%
Turkish and Turcoman (Azeri too) vocabulary (in modern times)	10%
	<hr/> 100%

The reader should know that there are always Kurdish equivalent words for Arabic and Turkish vocabulary used in Kurdish. As a matter of fact, these equivalent Kurdish words or some of them are actually in use in some Kurdish region while equivalent Arabic vocabulary is in use in others. Persian, which is a rich language has, too, equivalent Persian words for Arabic vocabulary in use in Persia, most of these old equivalent Persian words had fallen in desuetude and are not in use.

The composition of modern Persian of elements (a), (b) and (c) (see last issue of Kurdistan) - quite like Kurdish - explains, and illustrates, not only the linguistic affinity existing between Persian and Kurdish, but also their divergences.

Indeed, factor (a) which is zaphetic in both languages, is not identical. The Guti, Hullub, Kashshu, Hurri-Nairi-Uratru, these ancient autochthonous peoples of Kurdistan, concern exclusively Kurdistan and not the homes of the Persian people. Persians have, certainly, their ancient autochthonous peoples, and these do not concern Kurdistan.

Factor (b) which is Aryan in both languages, is not identical. Kurds have their Medes, Nards, Kyrtii, Zikurtu, Scythes and Cimmerians of Zayros; Persians have their Pars, Parthes, Haraiva and other ancient "Iranian" tribes as people.

Philologists nowadays demonstrate clearly enough that ancient Medish which is, we know it, to be the very basis of Kurdish, was more or less different from ancient Parsish, which is, with the Parthes language, the very basis of Persian. Differences between ancient Medish and Parsish are, as between Kurdish and Persian, probably of morphological, syntactic and lexicological characters, as well as in phonetic and articulation. I must add, however, that these differences were not so extensive and so deep as between two foreign

languages: the question is likely as between two different, but quite different dialects of one and more ancient common Aryan language. Hereodote himself, the father of history, tells us that Medes and Pars, in that time "could understand one another". Hence difference between Medish and Parsish must have been less extensive and less deep than between Kurdish and Persian, originated, respectively, from those first two languages. Persians can no longer understand Kurds, neither Kurds can understand Persians. Time, evidently, has worked in deepening and widening ancient original divergences.

The factor (c) foreign vocabulary, is much more important in Persian than in Kurdish. About 35% of modern Persian comes from Arabic and Turkish (Turcoman, Azeri) vocabulary, while the proportion, in Kurdish, is just about 12.5%. This means that modern Persian is much further than Kurdish from ancient Indo-Iranian languages or, in other terms, that in their present forms, Kurdish is more Aryan than Persian. We should add, however, that the phonetic treatment of some letters, in some Kurdish regions, reminds Semetic sounds, or may be ancient Japhetic. Proximity to Arabs must be partly responsible for this situation. As a matter of fact it is probable that this phonetic influence is pre-Arabic. On the other hand, it is possible that some ancient Semetic non-Arab elements enter into the racial composition of some Kurdish marginal regions. Ancient Assyria, for example, presently in Iraqi Kurdistan was inhabited by a people who were Semetic in language and Semito-Japhetic in origin. The Medo-Kurdish tribes organised its remains in Iraqi Kurdistan after 612 B.C.

Arabic vocabulary in modern Turkish must have represented, before Ataturk, not less than 35% since, a number of Arabic words have been replaced, in Turkish, by European ones especially French; yet Arabic elements still represent about 15 or 20% in this language. Both Kurdish and Persian elements in Turkish represent about 15% or more, but the Turkish Government considers them as "pure Turanian".

Kurdish seems to be more ancient, more archaical and, hence - as we have already concluded - more Aryan than present Persian. This seems to be particularly true in northern and western Kurdish or Kurmandji which Major Soane believes (and we do) to be extremely near to ancient Aryan holy Avesta book language.

LANGUAGE AND THE NATIONAL IDEA

Let us remember the two important facts mentioned in the first part of this article: 1) that differences among Kurdish dialects are sufficiently little to allow philology to speak of a single Kurdish language, these differences are by no means more important than those we can witness in many other languages and very often they are less important; 2) that the same fundamental differences between Kurdish and Persian do exist between Persian and any Kurdish dialect as well.

These two points are facts well known by all foreign specialist observers. For Kurds they are in evidence. Every Kurd that circumstances had made him leave his dialectal area and go to some other part of Kurdistan knows by experience, that in a very short time (few weeks usually, and, in some cases, a few days) he would be able to understand and speak quite well the Kurdish dialect in use in this other area. Because basic grammar and vocabulary, in Kurdish, are the same everywhere. This fact once was put in doubt by one or two authors in the Soviet Union, but these were severely criticised by all their colleagues, of whom we mention Professor Kurdoev. There is no need to resort to any testimony, although quite numerous, to illustrate or "prove" such an

evidence, but the reader may read, however, to this effect, Professor Wikander's opinion as mentioned in another article of this issue (see "Two hours with Professor Wikander").

The existance of several and still spoken dialects in a great deal of modern languages is a current phenomenon. In Germany, for instance, there are many local German dialects so different from one another that it is hard, sometimes, for some Germans to understand others on dialectal ground. Of course, there is a common German language, the "Hoch Deutsh" or upper German placed above all dialects. But these are always spoken and, sometimes, written.

So is the situation in Italy, too, where people of Milano, for instance can hardly understand the Napolitan "Patos" or the local Italian dialect of Napoli. Of course, there is a common Italian language, the literary one spoken and written by all Italians. But each Italian local dialect has its own folklore and, in some cases, its written literature.

So was the situation in France also, where there were a great number of local dialects or "Patois", but the French royalty succeeded so well in centralising the State administration that Paris dialect spread all over France, rooting out all others almost completely. The dialect of Paris became modern French. However, the French peasantry do not speak French exactly in the same way everywhere and in some remote parts of the country old dialects are still in use.

In all these cases, and in many others, the common written language raised itself above old local dialects belonging generally, to the same national origin. Usually, one of the old dialects, prevailing on others, becomes the written language, common to a whole nation. How and why?

The appearance of a common language, not only spoken but also written by a whole nation, often concurrently to many old national dialects, usually just still spoken, as illustrated above, is due to various considerations: economical, social, political. The normal process is the following: the appearance of capital, at the end of the fuedal system, determines the rise of social middleclasses and these give birth to a national movement which leads generally, to the creation of a National State. One of the consequences of the national movement is the development of a general national culture, but it is the national State, which is the utmost goal and the aim of that movement, that consummates the upraise of a written language common to the whole nation, over old dialects.

Power is a basic need of a State. One common language, spoken and written by all, means more power, a better cemented nation. This is not the only national aim within a State, because the State apparatus, its Administration, its armies of soldiers and officials, its press are the best mould in which the common literary national language might be cast and nourished.

In Central and Eastern Europe, for instance, the rise of middle classes meant not only the appearance of various national movements, but also the growth of several national literary languages which had existed as neglected old popular dialects, often scorned by ancient aristocracy. In Hungary, in Poland, in Czechoslovakia and so on, even in Russia and to some extent Germany, the middle-aged aristocracy used to speak and to write French which was considered as the finest language, while the "humble" peope was always speaking, hardly and seldom writing, various old national dialects, that was rich in folklore, but poor or with no written literature. And these disinherited old dialects, emerging from darkness after the rise of middle classes became flourishing languages.

In the next and probably the last part of this study, we will speak of the various Kurdish dialects and have a glance over the problems of written Kurdish and its unity.

to be continued.

From the KURDISH LITERATURE:

"MEME ALAN"

by

Salah Saadalla - England.

"Meme Alan" is a Kurdish folktale wellknown throughout Kurdistan. Some critics think that it is about two thousand years old. It has been recorded from various story-tellers and published frequently, the marks of time and environment are quite apparent.

"Meme Alan" is a tragic love story whose hero MEM and heroine ZIN have become symbols of love at its purest in Kurdistan.

The story of "Meme Alan" inspired the great Kurdish Poet AHMEDE KHLANE (1591-1652) to write his classic "MEM u ZIN". But it is more than a tragic love story for it also reflects the life of Kurds. In fact the story takes up a symbolic form. It becomes a struggle between Good and Evil the philosophy of pre-destination is apparent throughout.

The story began in a legendary way, as a result of an argument between the three daughters of the prince of the fairies: STERBANO, TAYBANO and HEYVBANO. Sterbano showed jealousy of her two sisters for their "perfect" beauty, the two sisters tried in vain to convince her that they were not so beautiful, that she was exaggerating! "Oh, how unlucky I am" said Sterbano. To prove, the two sisters flew to JEZIR and carried Zin in her bed to Mem's room in his Palace at MIGHRIB (Mem was the Kurdish Prince of that City) A heated argument arose as they awoke and each accused the other intruding. It ended in Mem's favour as they decided to call their maids and guards.

There was no answer to Zin's call. Mem then said:

"Eze bankim hezaru penc sed xuren Kurdane"

"I shall call one thousand and five hundred Kurdish Youth"

the chief of the guard responded at once to Mem's call that convinced Zin.

They fell in love, exchanged rings deciding before they slept to marry in the morning.

Sterbano saw the beauty of Zin and the handsome Mem and she was convinced that there was more beauty than of her sisters, that was some consolation.

Zin was then taken back to her palace. When Mem and Zin awoke in the morning they thought it had all been a dream but the rings told them otherwise.

Mem was fifteen years old, the only son of his old parents. He bade them farewell leaving Mighrib in search of Zin.

An evil man BEKO adviser to prince EZIN, JEZIR'S ruler and ZIN's brother knew of Mem's coming. He sent his daughter to meet Mem. She claimed that she was his sweetheart. Mem discovered the trick and tried to pass her but the girl stood in nude and dared him to do so threatening him with slander.

Mem protested:

"Gote xweska min"

"said my sister"

"Maveje ser min bo bextiyane"

"Do not slander me"

"Je min re dibegin siltane" bajare mixribiyane padisane Kurdane"

"I am called the Sulatan of Mighrib, the Prince of Kurds"

"Hin min bi xerabi cane xwe ranekiryane li tu qizu jinane"

"Never have I looked improperly at a girl or woman".

But Beko's daughter still persisted and demanded marriage from him as a price of her good behaviour. To please her Mem said that "the wolf does not die by

two mouthfuls" that is "for a man marrying two women is easy!" Mem then left her and crossed the Tigris. Arriving at Jezir, he became a guest of the three brothers HESEN, CHEKO and QERETAJIN. After three days Hesen spoke

"Got Bira, hequ mevaniye Se rojin li cem me Kurdane"

"Said, Brother, three days are the rights of hospitality among the Kurds"

"Je Se rojan bi suna, mevan ji dibe xwediye malane"

"After three days the guest becomes a member of the family"

Hesen then promised to serve Mem in every way. Turning to his brothers he said:

"Dine em bi ruje spe ji xwe bi rekin padisane Kurdane"

"We must serve well the Prince of Kurds"

"Ji me xwes ne be dile disminane"

"No happiness shall enter the heart of our enemies"

"Mer tene giredan bi gatinane"

"Men are tied by their words"

Qeretajin promised, too, to serve Mem, then Cheko spoke:

"Got Eger hatibu ji bo Zine"

"Said, If he has come for Zin"

"Heta nina xwestiya min bo u ji niha bi sunda xweyinga mine ji de u bavanc"

"My fiancée, she now becomes my sister"

Zin was engaged to Cheko and when he discovered that Mem was in love with Zin his reaction was sharp and in a mode of anger he tried to go back on his promise. But Hesen, the eldest brother insisted. Tempers were rising high. At last Cheko cooled down, apologised and said he would be Mem's devoted brother.

On the QASTAL WELL a group of pretty girls had gathered around Zin who at fourteen looked like the full moon among stars! Mem went to see her there. When he arrived Mem requested a cup of water from Zin but she refused, fearing gossips! She said that she was not concerned about herself:

"Le xelk we bejin, hey! Paḍisahe Kurdane, Meme Alan"

"But people will say pity Meme Alan, Prince of Kurds".

"Ku li wolate Jezire cu be pist ji ruye toleke jinane"

"went without support in Jezir for a worthless woman"

In the course of his reply Mem said that he was not concerned with Jezir's chiefs:

"Tirsa min ewe ku pere xwina fegiru figaran bi suc birejinim"

"My fear is that the blood of the innocent poor will be shed"

"Ty min nas naki! Ez Memim wergi dinum"

"You do not know me; I am Mem-----"

"Ez ne Tirkim ne Tacikim, ez Kurde compola in ser nisku dil biremin"

"I am not a Turk or Tajik, but a Kurd, spirit steeled, hard-headed and heart wounded".

He again asked for water. Zin then

"Ji ser sere xwe hezar ratir, tertiba bajariyane"

"Removed her veil which is worn by town people"

"Bu mina ser dara esiren Kurdane"

"Became as a woman chief of a Kurdish Clan"

She raised a glass of water and offered it to Mem. Mem then dismounted "as an eagle descending on a flock of KAWS (KAW is a nice bird with a singing voice, it is about the size of a partridge).

Later Cheko and Qeretajin arrived:

"They saw Mem embracing Zin"

"Holding her as a bird holds its victim with its claws"

"Slowly, Slowly dipping Its beak"

"Gently, Gently caressing her".

News of Mem and Zin's meeting quickly spread in the town. Hooligans wanted to attack them. Beko incited prince EZIN, Jezir's ruler and Zin's brother to kill Mem whose purpose Beko alleged was to take over the Principality. A plot was organised to poison Mem. To execute it was declared against Persia but Mem stayed behind (some stories say he did go to war).

Prince Ezin's plot failing, the state of war was ended. He returned unannounced, and, Mem and Zin were quite surprised by his sudden entry. Mem at once hid Zin under his cloak therefore he could not stand up to greet the prince. Beko guessed the reason. The three brothers also arrived on the scene. Realising Mem's critical position Hesen, whose house was near that of the prince, lost no time, he asked his wife SITI to burn his stables when these were in flames the prince wanted to leave but Beko dissuaded him. Siti, urged by her husband burnt the house. Again the prince stood to leave. Again Beko advised him not to. Hesen then threw his son in the blazing fire. Only then did the prince brush aside Beko's advice and left to help put out the fire. As the prince departed, Mem saw Zin off and then ran to extinguish the fire. Happily he saved Hesen's Son, who was unhurt. Mem offered Hesen compensation but he proudly declined.

"Li we deme da zeber hat ku leskere Ecem keiye sinoren Kurdane"

"Then news came through that the Persian troops attacked the Kurdish territory".

"Ku dijmin bi leskereki mezin kebe hidude"me Kurdane"

"A big army of the enemy crossed our Kurdish frontiers"

Mem volunteered but he was rejected. Mem was then handed to Beko who tied him up and threw him in a dungeon. He remained there three days without food.

Beko's daughter went to see Zin. She took with her a poisoned pomegranate, a present to Mem. Zin, grateful took the pomegranate and went to see Mem in his jail. It was Beko's daughter who told her what had happened to Mem.

"Zin bankir, got" Meme dile mino liyane"

"Zin called saying "Mem, my heart is painful"

"Dipe te re dine limin res buye"

"Without you life has become so dark"

Mem replied:

"Minu te me ji herz ditir bi dileki pak"

"Our love has been pure"

"Zine got "Memo, sere min bi qorbano evci bela bu ji me re hat"

"Zin said "Mem, my beloved what a calamity has befallen us"

"Ha ji tere, vi hinare bigire, bixive, heta ji tere cetim xarinek girane"

"Take this pomegranate until I bring you some good food" Mem took the pomegranate. He then told her that he had seen a dream in which Zin would bring Mem a poisoned pomegranate. He would eat it and die and that Zin herself would die seven days later.

Zin got, "Memo ez bi qorbana Sere te, tu mexwe ue mirata hinarana"

Zin said, "Mem, I beg you not to eat that wretched pomegranate"

On the ground that he was a guest. He paid a visit to prince Ezin who suggested a game of chess.

"Mer gote Meme "Mevane nine giranu neja"

"My great and valuable guest"

"Er setrence, keremka pes"iqabil"

"This is chess, would you sit opposite"

"Sertemin eve yeti Siuiko"

"The bet is light"

"Hegi Sikest"

"The loser"

"Evie Pere bi keyha xwe henetku yariye bike"
shall be at the others disposal (To be played with)

Mem consented and won the first three games Beko then suggested that players should change places. As mem raised his eyes in his new place he saw Zin watching from the window.

"Equil terka seri do"

His head became vacant"

"Deste Meme di ser texte sitrente dicum dinatin"

"His hand moved on the chess board"

"Le Meme odi nizani lehistik, ciye Mir Cidike make"

"But Mem no longer knew what the game was, what the Prince did"

the Prince won six games:

Beko got "Mire min ez beni min ne got lehistik siudi cihe"

Beko commented "Sire, did not I say that chess is luck and place?"

"Ku eger mircineke to he be ji bila ne bi ne ninare be"

"Should your death be possible, let it not be by that pomegranate"

"Meme, newara min li te, tu mayni sere min ue yeka hanc"

"O Mem! I appeal to you, do not do that to me"

"Ku bi desti min bimri dine me li min bika dozeke zindane"

"If you die by my hands life will be an unbearable prison for me" Mem replied

"Ez dixwazin bimrin"

"I would like to die"

"Ji bona min en henare pir dermane"

"This pomegranate, for me, is, medicine"

He then took some pipes and ate them. In vain Zin pleaded with him. She then wanted to throw herself in the cell to die with him.

"Meme got, "Zine ti xwes Zine"

"Mem said, "Zin, o sweet Zin"

"Dermame dile mine Kul u bi birini"

"the relief of my wounded heart"

"Ku tu ui biki tue...."

"If you do that....."

"S or u gativen xelke li ser me bi cin bine"

"You will prove gossips and slanders against us"

He was being slowly poisoned and he passed away.

Zin sobbed and wept. She cut her hair as a sign of mourning..

"Di we seue de dara sine xemiland"

"that might the banner of mourning was carried around"

"Sittye bi diste xwe rakir dare sine da ser pista BOZA REWAN"

Siti herself fastened the banner on BOZA REWAN

(Boza Rewan is the names of Mem's horse)

"Dipe Meme re Zin kete pist deriyane"

"After Mem Zin locked herself in her room"

"Caven we pistir dibarandim mina tavern barane"

"Tears pouring down her cheeks".

As Mem predicted, she died on the seventh day. She was buried in a double grave with Mem.

Prince Ezin had no prior knowledge of Beko's action. When he discovered Beko's crime he condemned him to death. Beko was killed by a peasant. As he was passing over the double grave drops of his blood from his wound - fell down and the story says a thorn grew there and separated Mem and Zin in their graves.

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The verses are taken from "Meme Alan" published in Damascus by: CAPXANA KAREM.

DYARI SOUVENIER

by

F.M. RESHA.

Dyari, a book of poems recently written by one of our very young poets, Kameran.

I can tell without any hesitation that they have variety in form and subject, emerged from the sad state of Kurdistan but are not gloomy by all means. Some of them set a personal love against that state and there is a light heartedness in them.

Do they sound "Influenced"? Are they conventional, classical, romantic? Or just poems about love, death and the contrast between our present world and the one we desire.

No doubt that this young poet has been influenced by humanity, love for truth and nature which make his poetic reputation to be secured.

It is a fact that our young poet lives in the world of violent transition, social and intellectual, in which the old ways of thought, morals, behaviour and art - or whole outlook and way of life is questioned. The French Revolution had blown the eighteenth century world sky high, and more gradually but no less effectively, the Industrial Revolution in England was transforming the face of the countryside and way of life of its people.

After the first world war the literary men of our country began to move steadily to enrich the Kurdish literature. Many poets emerged from our land who tend to be in the vanguard of opinion, without sitting quietly. A revolution in poetry had, indeed, been brewing after 1st world war. Kameran without any dispute is one of them, he derives his verses "from the people for the people" as he stated in the dedication of the book. He also wrote: "Before you write, ask yourself from whom in the name of what and for what purpose you are doing it. What place the new poem occupies among the problems which are confronting the society? To what urgent questions will it give an answer? It will be used to look at the poetry for pure enjoyment which one forgets the moment he finishes the reading".

Anyone who is familiar with Kurdish poems written centuries ago or even 50 years back can detect some foreign words - This state of affairs has arisen from our very historical nature with our direct contact with other nations. This fact gave rise to the usage of words which are foreign to our language either Turkish, Arabic or Persian. It took a capable poet, not merely to break with the past but to establish dynamism for the future. And this collection of poems set out deliberately to serve the above mentioned facts and to do away with the past. The love and knowledge of nature developed by Goran but the lofty melody and mysterious beauty adopted by Kameran.

Technically he is brilliant, he is neither repetative nor limited in his choice of words; indeed he is very selective and very cautious. But his great gift is for long poem. His Poem "Flood" is great and powerful; stirs your emotion throughout the 132 verses.

The literal meaning of the words does not get lost in the musical qualities of the language; he firmly believes in his philosophical, moral and social responsibilities.

A CHRONICLE OF KURDISH SOCIOLOGY

We are glad to be able to bring to the attention of Kurdish readers the initiation of a permanent rubica entitled "Chronicle of Kurdish Sociology" in the 3-monthly French Review "Africa and Asia" edited in Paris by the ancient auditors of the Centre of High Studies of Mussulman Administration (Paris University). The September issue of 1957 of the above mentioned Review contains the first "Chronicle"

It is thanks to the initiative of Mr. Peter Rondot, that the "Chronicle" has been able to appear in print, and it is primarily through his solicitude as well as by the sustained collaboration of all those interested, that it will continue, we hope, to appear.

The "Chronicle" such as defined by its protagonist in a Circular addressed to all people interested in Kurdish Sociology, is "a sort of bulletin which could serve as a common ground between specialists in Kurdish studies - geographically widely dispersed - and as a source of information placed at their disposal. The edition of a specialised bulletin on these problems would require, in effect, financial resources which it would be difficult to obtain, particularly as such a publication would not be able to rely on a sufficient number of subscribers. It is because of these circumstances that I have had recourse to the Review "Asia and Africa" which will be able to make room for the Chronicle in most of its issues". The present Chronicle, (should one also read it in the previously mentioned Edition "Africa and Asia" referred to at the beginning of the article) is intended to serve as a liason and source of information among Kurdish students, whose co-operation it wishes and whose contributions it will willingly accept.

I am certain that this undertaking will kindle the interest of Kurdish protagonists too, and to a degree as high as possible and practical, in the face of circumstances such as language difficulties and unfortunate political conditions (which we are well aware of).

The Cultural Society of Kurdish Students in Europe, extremely gratified by this undertaking, will make it its duty to work for the success of the Chronicle etc., in accordance with its own principal aims to serve the national culture of our people.

The Publication of the "Chronicle" and the Review "Africa and Asia" is at the following address:

Mm. Pierre Rondot,
13, Rue du Four,
Paris VI.

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L'ASSOCIATION CULTURELLE DES ETUDIANTS KURDES EN EUROPE

Une (Association culturelle des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe), Komley zanisti Xwendikarani Kurd le Ewropa, a et fondee sous la presidence de M. Ismet Cherif, etudiant a Lausanne. Elle se donne pour objectif d'unir les etudiants kurdes en Europe pour rencontres periodiques et entraide materiells, de travailler au developpement de la culture kurde, et de cooperer a ces fins avec d'autres organisations estudiantines. Elle edite un bulletin periodique, Kurdistan (89, Alston Crescent, Sunderland, England) dont le premier numero, comportant 38 pages roncootees enkurde, arabe, anglais et francais, contient, en particulier, outre un appel aux etudiants kurdes, une (Introduction a la musique kurde), par M. Bakir A. Ali, et un article sur (La langue kurde et ses dialectes), par M. Ismet Cherif.

THE M. V. KURDISTAN.

By: M. Raine.

One day whilst glancing through a local paper, I suddenly noticed the name Kurdistan. This name aroused my interest, since I knew and heard of the country Kurdistan, and discovered that in this case it belonged to a ship which had just arrived in the Tyne dockyards near Newcastle. At once, I decided to see the ship and find out a few details relating to it.

The following day I made inquiries as to where the ship was docked, and eventually found that she was at Wallsend, near the Swan, Hunters Ship - Yard and soon located the site where the Kurdistan was in dry dock undergoing extensive repairs and alterations. I explained my quest to a number of officials and was at length granted permission to go aboard. After passing several offices, the ship came into view. She was far larger than I had expected, but what a sorry state she was in. Much of her upper structure had been dismantled to be replaced by new steel plates and to me seemed like an old lady who had seen many things in her life time and was just ready to die. My guess however was not right for the Kurdistan is in fact only eight years old, just showing how much a ship can deteriorate in such a short period of time. Being an oil tanker and like many other oil tankers, as I was told afterwards, have to have a thorough check up every four years. It may be interesting to state here that it was mainly the walls of the tanks, partly or wholly, that had to be repaired owing to the fact that they were corroded by the liquid they contained.

As said before, the Kurdistan is an oil tanker having a gross tonnage of over 12,600 tons (its net weight is 8,322 tons), was built in Belfast - Ireland by Harland and Wolfe in the year 1950. She is a fair size measuring 487 ft - 5 inch long, 59ft - 5⁵/₈ inch wide and 36ft deep.

The Kurdistan average speed is 11 knots. In her eight years the ship has sailed practically all over the world, her main port of call being Trinidad. Her cargo is oil and other spirits, stored in her 24 tanks spread evenly over the ship. It may be noted that she, who has a crew of 45 is one of 3 or 4 others owned by a firm called the Common Brothers. I asked why the ship had been named Kurdistan, whether there was any particular motive that had influenced the name - but as he had only been on her for a year, the first officer could not answer those questions.

I enjoyed every minute of my tour all over the vessel, the wheel house where the radar screen, the radio apparatus and the echo sounder were installed and then back to the engine room up and down the deck. I was feeling that I was getting nearer and nearer Kurdistan about which I have known so little.

I know that much that Kurdistan the land of Kurds is to-day divided among three states of boiling Middle East, namely Turkey, Persia; and Iraq. All the time I could compare the state of the vessel to that of real Kurdistan, at the end of my visit, I could not help telling my feeling. "I feel sorry for her so much shaken, even two of the letters are missing from her name on the bows", I remarked., "You come after a fortnight and see her; she would be as good as new" the first officer turned and said.

I am sure he was right, but unfortunately I could not go back again. I imagine now that M. V. Kurdistan again sailing through the endless seas and

oceans performing its duty once more happily and with pride.

Perhaps also the Kurdish land will before long be repaired from the damages it has suffered and real Kurdistan once more will take its place among other countries in a friendly and peaceful world.

I would like to thank the first officer of the vessel and the draughtsman on board very much, without whose help this subject could not have been printed in this magazine.

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Giritfi Bujandnewey wflayetani Rojhelat

Nuser: Fereyduñ ERGIN
Werger: XEBAT,
Germanistan.

Beynek lemewpes lejer em nawnisane ser meqalf rojnamey AKSAM i (EWARE) Turki Ke le Estemul der ecet, jimare (14347) salf (40) be mejoy 1.3.1958 bem corey nusibu:

"EW teklifey besi muxalefet kirdibuy le meclisi Nawab, bo bujandnewey kistukal (Iqtisad) le besi Rojhela, wernegira, hoy wernegirtinisi bem core runkirayewe" Em teklifey le layen beri muxalefetewe kirawe ebete hoy letkirdini wilat be 2 besewe, Rojhelat u'rojawa".

Etwanret be assani bivutret, millet be berzu nizim yek parcey durust kirduwe, herweha hemu suceki wilat be yek caw temasa ekret. Belam ewey be dem egutret ocbece kirdinf girane. Beguman ewe lay hemuman askiraye kewe karbedestani hukumet u' rasperrawan (muteshid) arezuy rujhelat naken u' nayanewe be is bu nawcey nawbiraw binerron, belku hemulayek cawyan ebirne cend sarekewe. Beguman herci nawcey naw birawi dibet tegeyistiwe ke leciperesaniyekdaye. Piroblemi (meseley) nawcey nawbiraw egorret legel cegayani tiri turkiya, bujandnewey u' berzkirdnewey zanisti, berengar girtini kemu' kurf masken, pekhenani komeli parastini lossagi u' herweha firedan berhem (intac) be pay xisusiyeti mehelli pewisti be berengar girtin heye. Be pey ew biryarabey ke le merkezewe wergirawe, pewisti berela kirdin u' giwenedane besi nawbiraw, be cend rudawekda le salani raburduda buman der kewtuwe.

Italyayekan le cizirey siqilye u' sardunye destyan be berz kirdinewe u' bujandneweyeki bas u' pareyeki basyan bo terxan kirduwe, bem core tiwaniwyane le maweyeki kemda musteway jiyen lew nawcane berz bikeneewe.

EW be cawderfyey sarinf rojhelat beserya hatiwe ta le cawi beganes gum nabet. "LORD KINROSS" lew babetewe diwawe ke, "Parti Dimokrasi Turki hic core tekbiereki wernegirtiwe bo pesxistini besi rojhelat. Le sali 1951'da "Ford Foundation" biryari dawwe desti yarmeti direj bikat bo durest kirdini cend Enistituteyeki kio le nawcey rojhelat'da. Sa leber her sitek bet Hukumeti Enqere giwey nedawete.

Amade nekirdini pirogramek u' tekbir nekirdin bo bujandnewe u' berz kirdnewey musteway jiyen le nawcey nawbiraw, beguman ziyani wilate".

Bem core nusraweke koyayi det. Beguman lay hemuman askiraye, lereda rojhelati Turkiya, mebes le Kurdistani turkiyaye; ew xake siriney bawubapiri milleti qaremani Kurdi perwerdo kirdiwe.

TWO HOURS WITH PROFESSOR WIKANDER

by

ZHLIAN

I had the opportunity of visiting Sweden last March and was very pleased to be able to have an interview with Professor Stig Wikander, head of the Sauskirt Institute at the University of Upsala, Sweden, for about two hours, during which nothing but science and books were discussed.

Books fill every shelf and corner of his two or three piece office. Many of them are written in Kurdish with Latin, Arabic and Cyrillie Scripts and others are about Kurds in foreign languages. I was very proud to offer him our magazine "Kurdistan" which he accepted with interest and thanks.

The Prof. put his tape recorder on and with emotion, we could hear the contemporary and well-known Kurdish poet "Cegezzwin" reciting one of his patriotic poems; a writer reading a Kurdish story in his pure Kurmanji; a professional singer "denghej" chanting a modern melody and finally intermingled here and there with the prof. own voice, our Kurdish peasants singing with harsh natural voices thousand year old "Stam" and "Lawk", so old! and so melancholic! to correspond to the present conditions of our unhappy, but still proud, courageous and wonderful people.

I did not miss asking the prof. what he thought of Kurdish language and his brief answer was that Kurdish is an Indo-European and a single language in spite of its divisions into regional dialects.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

There is no need for me to make an introduction of Mr. Nikitine. But for the Kurdish reader, and more particularly for our students and youth, it is apt to recall that Mr. Nikitine is one of the brilliant and prolific writers, a shrewd 'connoisseur' of Kurdish affairs (history, language, literature, social and political background) - all the more so for having spent a part of his life in URMLA, Iranian Kurdistan - Mr. Nikitine has been able to enrich Kurdish literature with a long series of articles and literary works, in which the most vigorous scientific objectivity is to be found. The unconcealed sympathy that he has for Kurds is appreciated all the more in a people very often deprived of such a medium of expression. The work of this eminent writer on Kurdistan has been regally crowned by the publication in 1956 (with the concurrence of the National Centre of Scientific Research of France) of a voluminous writing on "Kurds: sociological and historical study".

Perhaps Kurds might not be in agreement with the population figure of 5,000,000 imputed to them; would wish greater scope in the book might be have been devoted to life in the cities, also to the recent evolution of this society (examples of the latter being almost complete disappearance of nomadism in the greater part of Kurdistan, development of urban centres and hence of the 'bourgeoisie' and distinctive crystallisation on a large scale of the idea of Nationalism) - however, all things considered, this latest publication of Mr. Nikitine is none the less very important. It is a veritable mine of valuable knowledge and information, and profound analyses; an indispensable book, not only for the specialist in his quest for knowledge but indeed for every Kurd wishing to be better acquainted with his country and race.

On receiving a copy of the first issue of our modest periodical "Kurdistan" Mr. Nikitine was good enough to write us, and I take the liberty of quoting herewith, in the hope that our own young people may profit therefrom:

".....I enjoyed very much receiving the 1st issue of the magazine "Kurdistan" - now in publication - and I thank you for it. The idea of appealing to Kurdish youth abroad for cultural collaboration is an excellent one. The Kurdish people wherever it may be scattered, has great need that its intellectuals: doctors, veterinary surgeons, engineers, agronomists and other specialists - should all contribute to ameliorate the conditions there.

"Your study of the Kurdish language has interested me. I would point out that many years ago, under the influence of Mr. N. Mass I treated the problem of Japhetic survivals of notably:-

(1) Notes on Kurds, in "Oriental Studies" in honour of Paury", Ox. Univ. Press 1933.

(2) The plural in "T" appeared in organ of the Ethnographical Society of Paris, 1944.

"With my best wishes for success etc....."

Basil Nikitine.

- - - -

I will not need to write at any length in order to identify Mr. Rendot to Kurdish readers. I will simply say that he is a scholar, a methodical and meticulous researcher, who has seen well to pay a tribute to Kurdish Sociology with a number of publications of considerable scientific value; these having appeared in the most specialised periodicals in France. The declared interest he has in Kurdish life, and which appealing to the emotion in some ways, but without the strictest objectivity being impaired,

is manifest particularly in the domain of sociology and the national Movement. This latter movement he has followed with a consistent partiality, indeed with anxious solicitude. His numerous writings, his analyses of the experience "Republic of Mahabad" in the Review "On Islam Spoil" his renderings of memorandi and Kurdish notes, and a very thoroughly annotated work of considerable political interest - all these factors are proof of his interest. The "Chronicle" of Kurdish Sociology is the most recent manifestation of this friendship, and is greatly appreciated. Mr. Rondot has lived among Kurds and speaks their language.

"I thank you, he writes us on receiving the first issue of our magazine "Kurdistan" - very much for sending your bulletin which will be particularly precious to me. I will not fail indeed to comment on it in our Review.....I am delighted that this association has been born, and congratulate you highly on it; I am ever readily at your service for all that could be useful to you and in the interest of Kurdish culture and ideas in Europe, etc."

Peter Rondot.

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NEWS AND VIEWS

(1) On the 4th August, 1958, the third congress of K.S.C.S.E. is to be held in Munich - Germany. The task of the congress is not merely to review the past activities of the society and how much it has achieved, but also to examine the short comings and hence to draw a better and more constructive future policy that has to be executed during the 3rd year of our society's life.

The executive committee believes that this congress is all the more important to be attended by every Kurdish student members and non-members, for the new situation in our land is bound to have effective influence upon our future activities.

(2) Kurdish students in Germany have always been most active in our Society's affairs, but due to some difficulties a whole and combined branch has not yet been formed, although to minor branches, one in Berlin, the other in Munich have successfully emerged as the result of the president's visit.

We are sure that our brothers will before long succeed to form a branch for the whole Germany as has been the desire of all Kurdish students there.

(3) We thank the editorial boards at Jin, Huryea, Hiwa, Safeg for helping in publicising our society among Kurdish people by publishing letters, appeals.. from our society.

We also thank Wahdetel-Talaba - Iraqi Student's Society in U.K. and other magazines that have been publishing friendly and encouraging comments about our Society and its magazine "Kurdistan".

(4) The K.S.C.S.E. has established itself as the vanguard of Kurdish students' movement outside Kurdistan. This has been recognised by many students bodies all over and outside Europe. Organisations that have particularly recognised our society include many Afro-Asians in Europe.

This feature has attracted the attentions of many well-known Kurdish and non-Kurdish organs, groups and individuals.

Among letters of solidarity:

(a) From the distinguished Kurdish leader General Ihsan Nouri Pasha whom we assure that the sole aim of our society is to serve our beloved people's cause particularly in cultural fields.

(b) From a group of Kurdish Students in U.S.A. who also sent an amount of 30 dollars as a contribution in the cause we are serving. We salute their sincerity by desire that have been expressed in their letter of solidarity and goodwill.

A similar letter was received from our brothers Kurdish students in Damascus - U.A.R.

(5) We wholeheartedly congratulate the new Iraqi Republics Government on the occasion of freeing the Barzani Leader Shaikh Ahmed and his colleagues who were victims of tyranny and ruthlessness of the dead regime. This step great as it is, will ever strengthen Kurdish people's support to the republic. We sincerely hope that this is the beginning of a new era in which past evils will vanish and the right of the rest of our leaders and people will be restored.

(6) The K.S.C.S.E. warmly welcomes the opening of a Kurdish Broadcasting service by Radio Cairo, that surely shows the goodwill at the Government and the people of the U.A.R. towards the Kurdish Nation.

Kurdish people have always valued the brotherly link between them and the great Arab people and this broadcast from Cairo will certainly strenghten this link.

We can not by pass this matter without refuting the Persian Government's non-friendly expressions against the U.A.R. Government for having opened the Kurdish broadcast, on the ridiculous ground that it is directed at undermining the "loyalty" of Kurdish population to Persian Government and that Kurdistan is an "integral part" of Persia strange is it not!

- - - - -

from Barzani 3
for

KURDISTAN



FRIENDLY MEETING IN BAGHDAD
Abdul-Karim Kassem, Prime Minister of Iraq, greeting
Mustafa Barzani, the Kurdish leader, on his return from
exile.

KURDISH STUDENTS' SOCIETY IN EUROPE

THIRD CONGRESS SPECIAL NUMBER

PRICE TWO SHILLINGS

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KURDISTAN

Published by the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe

Editor: SALAH M. SAADALLA

NOVEMBER, 1958

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KOMELEY XWÊNDIKARNÎ KURD LE EWROPA

Editorial

The third Congress of the 'Kurdish Students' Society in Europe', held in Munich during 4-8 August, 1958, decided to issue a Special Number of *KURDISTAN* devoted to the Congress.

It is now in your hands, and we hope that it will give you a better idea of our Society, its activities and policy. It is also a Number in which we could report on the outcome of the Revolution in Iraq (the last Number just caught up with the news of the Revolution).

The July 14 Revolution, which liberated Southern Kurdistan along with the rest of Iraq, has given birth to a Provisional Republican Constitution which 'regards the Arabs and Kurds as partners' and 'recognises their respective national rights within Iraq'. For the Kurdish people this is a concrete step in the road of complete liberation and will have a profound effect on those parts of the Kurdish nation which are still in the sphere of imperialist influence, i.e. in Turkey and Iran.

In this short period of time much has been achieved. The pillars of the old oppressive regime have been arrested and charges of corruption and anti-Arab conspiracies have been brought against them. An Agrarian Reform Law which limits land holdings and ensures ownership of land by the peasants has been introduced. All political prisoners have been released. The General Union of Iraqi Students is working openly and students unjustly dismissed are free to resume studying. The cost of living has been stabilised and prices of some essential commodities have actually fallen.

An independent foreign policy has been pursued whose basis is peace, friendship, equality in developing mutual interests with other countries, and support of the Arab national movement. Diplomatic relations have been established with the

Socialist countries and trade agreements have been concluded with U.S.S.R. and other states which will help to free the Iraqi economy from the grip of the Sterling area. The Government has facilitated the return of the great Kurdish leader Mustafa Barzani, together with two of his colleagues, Mir Haj and Khoshawi, from exile and this has immensely strengthened the unity of the Iraqi people. It has appointed a commission to investigate the state of education in Iraqi Kurdistan which has raised the hopes that Kurdish will gradually become the language of instruction in the schools in that part of the country.

The Kurdish people — including students — actively supported the Republic and still do so with much pride. It is indeed the Republic of Arabs and Kurds, whose magnificent unity has been one of the basic factors in the swift success of the Revolution and its rapid consolidation. This factor was stressed by the Prime Minister; 'We have become' he said to a delegation of students of Iraqi Kurdistan and the Kurdish people in Syria, 'due to the co-operation of the Arabs and Kurds a mighty force which frightens the enemy.'

* * *

To the Iraqi members of our Society we say 'Work harder! Qualify sooner! Iraq needs you more than ever before. Doctors and Nurses, Engineers, Teachers, Economists, Physicists, Chemists, Officers, Pilots, and all kinds of technicians, train faster and better, and go home to take part in building a new, free and prosperous life for your six and half million people.'

* * *

The next issue of *Kurdistan* will be as usual. Letters, articles and enquiries are very welcome, and so are any suggestions for improvements. Remember, this is YOUR magazine!

The Third Congress

by Saadi Amin Dizayee (Assistant General Secretary)

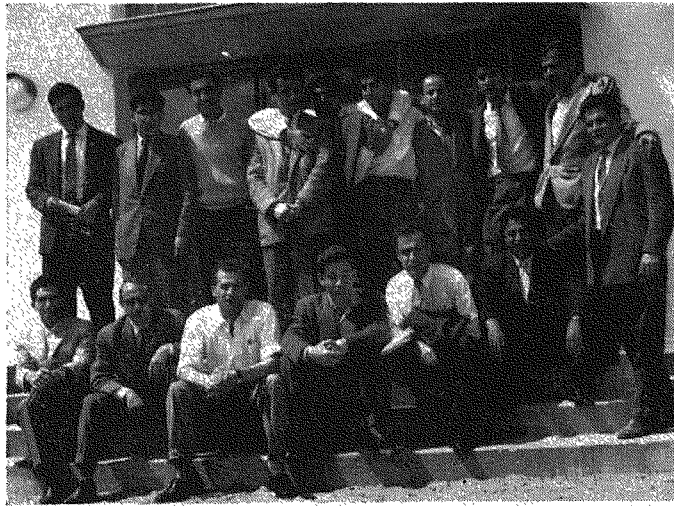
Twenty delegates, Kurdish students from European Universities, attended the Third Congress of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe (K.S.S.E.) which took place in Munich from 4th to 8th August 1958.

Arriving in Munich, we were driven to one of the loveliest hostels I have ever seen. It has been newly built in the suburbs of the city. Its white-washed stone-walls looks on to a beautiful garden

the First Session. The Agenda was adopted after a brief discussion.

It was followed by fraternal greetings to the Congress from the General Union of the Iraqi Students and a representative of Jordanian Students.

The General Secretary then presented his report, and a long discussion followed. The first session ended with the discussion on the Treasurer's report.



SOME DELEGATES AT THE THIRD CONGRESS

Right to left:

Sitting—Shawkat Fawzi, Najib Khaffaf, Salah Al-Atroshi, Wurya Rowandozi, Ismet Cheriff, Widad Omara.

Standing—Rajih Badrawi, Hasan Sulaiman, Dhahir Mahmud Kemal Fuad, Dara Adib, Shawqi Aziz, J. J. Faraj Saadi Amin Dizayee, Omar Al-Qadhi, Osman Gulshin.

with a small circular pool. The hostel is divided into two sections, one of which was reserved entirely for us, our meals being served in the other section, together with students of various nationalities. A very pleasant room was allocated for meetings.

The delegates took their places seated around a long table as the President of the K.S.S.E. opened

The Second Session opened with a report by the Editor of *Kurdistan*. Secretaries of K.S.S.E. branches in Britain, Germany, Austria and Switzerland also presented their reports.

The Aims and Rules of the Society were thoroughly discussed in the Third and Fourth Sessions, and vital changes were made. The Fifth and Sixth Sessions dealt with miscellaneous questions and

resolutions. Also messages and greetings to Congress were read. Finally, the new Executive Committee was elected.

Congress ended with all delegates singing the Kurdish national song 'Kurdistan, Kurdistan.'

Outside the room we could not help congratulating each other on the contributions made towards such a successful Congress.

We have now more confidence in our Society than ever before.

Since the Kurdish Question, generally, is our most important concern and we have no doubts whatsoever that the K.S.S.E. can serve this Question to a great extent, we are therefore determined to serve the Society in every aspect and make *Kurdistan* and the Kurdish people known to the European peoples.

The Munich Congress was the most successful Congress ever held by Kurdish students in Europe.

Students who attended the Congress had a most enjoyable time. Between the meetings they relaxed in the brilliant sunshine, listened to Kurdish music and took part in dancing.

Following the Congress the Warden of the Hostel invited us to a party, attended by all the residents. Kurdish students performed three national dances and the third was joined by all the European students present, boys and girls. Many German students shouted 'Long live Kurdo-German Friendship.'

The Third Congress is over, but we have precious memories which will last a life-time. We are now looking forward to the Fourth Congress to meet once more our Kurdish friends, to reinforce our solidarity and to have a lovely holiday.

The Presidential Address to the Third Congress of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe

The President of the Society, Mr. Ismet Cheriff, in his opening speech said:

"Dear Brothers,

We open now the Third Congress of the Kurdish Students' Cultural Society in Europe (the name until then) and shall review the Society's activities since the second Congress held in London during 2-4 January 1958, discuss various reports and make proposals for the continuation of work, and also elect the Executive Committee according to the Agenda.

I would like, on behalf of the Congress and E.C., to thank our dear brothers, representatives of Iraqi and Jordanians Students, for attending this opening session and to welcome particularly on behalf of the Executive Committee, those of our Kurdish brothers who are attending the Society's Congress for the first time.

All parts of Kurdistan are equally dear to us, we do not differentiate between the sons of Erbil, Sulainaniya, Diyarbekir, Sevrak, Wan, Mehabad, Sunna or Kermenshah, but I do wish to greet especially a representative from Turkey's Kurdistan, for the first time, where nearly fifty per cent

of the Kurdish people endure under a reign of oppression and fascism.

Do let us give him a hearty welcome."

The President then addressed the representative, Osman Gulshin, saying, "Osman, our esteemed colleague, we are very glad to have you with us today, to be with your brothers from Iraqi and Iranian Kurdistan. We hope to have more students from Turkey's Kurdistan to work with us for the culture, independence and liberty of our Kurdistan."

In greeting you today we cannot but regret the inability of a great number of our brothers to attend for reasons well known to you; anyway their hearts and thoughts are with us."

When we met in Wiesbaden in August 1956, I declared that our meeting was a historic one and that it would contribute to the growth of the Kurdish Movement and enlightenment, and said that the eyes of the Kurdish people were centred on us. The same applied to the London Congress as the last two years have already proved to us, and as also will the future, for the increasing importance which our Society is attaining. The zeal of our brothers in some cities of Kurdistan to obtain

the few available copies of our magazine is evidence of the deep affection which the Kurdish people holds for our movement; another witness is the many telegrams and letters that have arrived.

Today the eyes of the Kurdish people are centred upon you in Munich. Our movement, though young and with limited means, represents a mighty moral and ideological force and has its effect on the development of the Kurdish Question. It is a hope of the Kurdish people and a symbol of its struggle for its revival, happiness and freedom. It is more than a symbol, it is a link, one of the many links in the National struggle for the freedom and progress of Kurdistan.

Everyone of us, undoubtedly, has thought about the mighty Iraqi Revolution for freedom and democracy against oppression, corruption and Imperialism, the revolution of the Kurdish and Arabic peoples for the proper independence of Iraq and its Welfare. The Cultural Students' Society greets the popular Iraqi Revolution in which the Arabs and Kurds co-operated. It is the third blow in the East's history, after Suez and the Union of Egypt and Syria, to help crush Imperialism, liberate the Middle East and its various peoples including our Kurdish people and its nation Kurdistan."

" Dear Brothers;

The Second Congress held in London took certain decisions regarding the activities of the Society and the E.C. met after the Congress to carry out those decisions.

The participants in the Third Congress are invited to discuss the work of the E.C., to pass judgement on it, and to draw up the policy of the Society for the coming year.

During the debate on the policy of the Society I shall propose, when the Agenda permits, that a decision be taken to give the Society a militant character, to allow her to participate in the struggle for the progress of the Kurdish people and the freedom of Kurdistan. As you know, the Society's activities up to now have been confined to the cultural field, to the history, language, and literature of the Kurdish people in addition to students' affairs. However, we cannot continue to isolate ourselves from the fight of our people for their freedom and the solution of their National Question, and so, we cannot remain confined to the cultural field with its narrow limits. The Kurdish Youth is a major revolutionary force, and the

Kurdish students in Europe are the vanguard for the Youth, you and the participants of the Congress are responsible before the Kurdish people, before the history of our Nation and before the future generations of Kurdistan, responsible to work for the happiness and freedom of the Nation. The basic aims of the Society permit us to work in this sphere so let us make the pages of our magazine *Kurdistan* a tribune to serve the Kurdish National Culture in its wider context, and the various fields our fields of struggle in the service of our Kurdish people and the freedom of Kurdistan.

The historic stage through which the countries of the Middle East are now passing, in which the national democratic forces co-operate to destroy imperialism, free the peoples and solve their National Question, confronts us with some basic tasks. These are the study of the conditions, and their understanding, the connection between the interests of the peoples of the East, contacting the Youth of our neighbouring peoples, especially our Arab brothers, to bring home to those still unaware of the importance of the Kurdish Question and the necessity for its solution on the basis of the right of self determination, when International and Regional conditions permit.

The Kurdish Question is by no means confined to the boundaries of the Arab states and Iraqi Kurdistan represents but 1/7th or 1/8th of the total area and population of Kurdistan. The affairs of the peoples are closely inter-connected and this should be understood, hence the importance of contacts and brotherly discussions between the Kurdish Youth and the Youth of other nations especially the Arab Youth which occupies the front ranks in the common struggle against imperialism. The Kurdish Youth has long recognised the importance of this understanding in liberating the Middle East but it has looked sadly though not hopelessly at the popular lack of understanding in neighbouring countries with the exception of the Arab public opinion in Iraq. We note this brotherly attitude of Arab Youth in Iraq which could serve as an example. The Arab Youth is no less Arab and does not lack enthusiasm for Arab affairs but its understanding of the conditions of the Kurdish people was a result of neighbourliness and brotherly co-existence between Kurds and Arabs. This understanding can give it a great importance and a special role as a link to strengthen this tie of friendship between the Arab and Kurdish peoples as a whole and not only within Iraq. Anyway a positive development has taken place recently in

Arab Public opinion in the understanding of the facts regarding the Kurdish Question.

The Kurdish Broadcast from Cairo is a good example. The Kurdish Youth is glad to note this development because Arab-Kurdish co-operation is a right way to defeat imperialism in the Middle East as a whole and not merely in Iraq. The battle against imperialism is one and the same whether in Iraq, Iran or Turkey and the defeat of Imperialism means the Achievement of Freedom, Independence, Kurdish Unity, and liberation of neighbouring peoples, especially the Persian and Turkish peoples from their bad conditions.

We are glad—glad for ourselves and for our friends—for the radical solution of the Kurdish problem in the future is one of the main conditions for a lasting peace and understanding between the peoples and governments of this part of the world.

We all know that the International Press and Broadcasts speak very little—and then only distortingly—of the situation of the Kurdish people and its National Question but we, and all far seeing people, know that the Kurdish people constitutes a main democratic force in the Middle East, whose weight in the world balance will be felt sooner or later. We are a part of the forces of freedom and democracy, and any overall

political solution of the problems of the Middle East which does not recognise the National existence of the Kurdish people in this part of the world, cannot be but a temporary and unbalanced settlement. The Kurdish people has a say in the affairs of this part of the world; it is a word of love and peace for their neighbouring peoples and hatred for the international imperialists and the hired Governments of the East. I am referring to the Kurdish people as a whole; for as there is one Arab people, similarly there is one Kurdish people. They are two peoples, Arab and Kurdish, differing in language but agreeing in the struggle for democracy, freedom and peace for all peoples."

"Dear Brothers,

I conclude by wishing every success to the Third Congress in forming a bright spot in the history of Society, but I cannot end my speech, without thanking our Kurdish student brothers, members of the Society, who have made it possible for us to meet in this beautiful place, hoping that they particularly and in general the Kurdish students in Germany will push forward, in co-operation with their colleagues in other European countries in the coming year, our Student Movement and raise high the name of Kurdistan."



The Report of the General Secretary of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe to the Third Congress in Munich

Mr. D. Mehmod Huseyn, the former General Secretary of the Kurdish Students' (until then Cultural) Society in Europe presented the following report to the Third Congress of the Society in Munich:

"Mr. President,
Dear Brothers,

Once again you have responded to the call of our Society to attend the annual Congress.

I am honoured to report to you the work of the Society since the Second Congress held in London 2/3/1958:

Instructed by the Second Congress, the Executive Committee issued a statement on, together with the Rules and Aims, of the Society, which was distributed to many European countries, whereby many more Kurdish students joined the Society, especially in Britain, Austria, Switzerland and Germany. Particularly in Britain; its branch there has been carrying out the main work. A Branch has been formed for Austria—Switzerland. Unfortunately no branch exists in Germany (during the Congress one was formed—EDITOR).

The Executive Committee issued another Statement to the Kurdish newspapers and magazines for publishing the Aims of the Society, calling for moral and material assistance. The result was not very satisfactory.

Letters were also sent to many organisations in Europe. There were many replies, from Afro-Asian Committee and affiliated organisations in Europe,

The Iraqi Students' Society and the Arab Students' Union in U.K. These letters introduced our Society to other people—the Pembroke Dock International Friendship Society in England wrote asking for members to attend their general meeting.

The Society has published the periodical *Kurdistan* and bought Society's stamp, printed official papers and membership cards. It celebrated 'NÜROZ' in London with a party attended by many Kurds, Arabs, British and Afro-Asian friends. Kurdish songs and dances were presented. There were many fraternal speeches. A tea party followed.

Our duty now is to be united. Unity is the key to our success and the achievement of just demands. The name of our Society, founded to serve our people, must be raised high. We should organise the Kurds everywhere in Europe, closely follow the events at home and work here in the best interests of our people. In Iraq, the Kurds and Arabs led by the gallant Army, revolted against oppression and tyranny destroying the chains of slavery and expelled imperialism and burying its dirty conspiracies.

We must offer all we have in order to preserve the Iraqi Republic, sacrificing ourselves if need be. The Republic of Iraq has opened up new horizons before us to achieve our noble aims.

Our Society has proved that it is perfectly capable to lead the Kurdish Student Movement in Europe in a democratic way. Long live our Society! Long live the friendship of Kurdish and other Students!

Report on 'Kurdistan'

Mr. O. Al-Qadhi, the former Editor of *Kurdistan*, said in his report to the Congress that two numbers of the magazine had been issued. The lack of articles prevented more frequent publication. His appeal was for moral and material support.

He proposed that an Editorial Board be formed in one country and urged for short stories and more humorous articles.

He stated that there was no need to publish anything in Kurdish, since the purpose of the magazine, he suggested, was to publicize the cause of the Kurdish people among European nations. If it was not possible to print the magazine in two or more European languages, then it was better to have it printed in one language, such as English, Mr. Al-Qadhi concluded.

Congress hails the Iraqi Revolution

The Third Congress sent the following cable to His Excellency the Prime Minister of Iraq.
'We bless your glorious popular revolution. Support your measures for the freedom and welfare of Iraq and its Arab and Kurdish peoples.'

Congress Writes to President Nasser

Excellency:

The Executive Committee of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe, instructed by the Third Congress of the Society held in Munich during 4-8 August 1958, is honoured to present to your Excellency, your Government and the great people of United Arab Republic the feelings of deep gratitude for the action of your esteemed Government in opening a Kurdish Broadcast Service in Cairo Radio.

The Kurdish Students' Society in Europe contains the educated section of the Kurdish people abroad and in presenting to your Excellency its thanks it expresses the feelings of the Kurdish people who are very happy with the expressions of friendship and understanding shown by their brother and great neighbour the Arab people in its

various countries under your Excellency's leadership and care.

We know that every victory achieved by the Arab nationalism in its mighty battle against imperialism is a victory for Kurdish Nationalism and each step forward by the great Arab people on the road of independence and unity means a step forward that brings the Kurdish people nearer to the achievement of their aspirations to freedom.

Long live the Arab people free and united, long live our Kurdish people, and long may you live leader of the people, a hope and benefactor to our people and to all the Afro-Asian peoples.

Executive Committee

Kurdish Students' Society in Europe."

Letter to Mr. Hammarskjöld

On the recommendation of the Third Congress, the E.C. sent the following letter:—

Mr. D. Hammarskjöld,
Secretary-General of the United Nations,
New York, U.S.A.

"Excellency,

The General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation meets today in a Special Session to discuss the problems of the Middle East. There is a question about which the international press rarely writes, and then usually incorrectly, a question no longer discussed by the international circles concerned, since the Sevres Treaty in 1920. All the same it is still an urgent question and important—the Kurdish Question.

According to the recommendations of the Third Congress of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe held in Munich during 4-8 August 1958, the Executive Committee of the Society is honoured to write you this letter hoping to draw the attention

of the world, and especially of the General Assembly of the U.N.O. to this important question.

We beg you, Excellency, to use your authority according to article 99 of the rules of UNO to place the 'Kurdish File' in the Organisation for discussion anew and put it on the Agenda of the present session of the General Assembly of the U.N.O. If required, the Kurdish Delegation, whose permanent headquarters is in Paris, could participate.

The U.N.O. endeavours to go along a road leading to a lasting peace in the Middle East. Since we believe in the noble mission of the U.N. we beg you to notice that a lasting peace cannot be achieved in this region as long as its main problems remained without a correct solution, particularly as long as the injustice continues against the Kurdish people, the people that was betrayed by the great powers in the Lausanne Treaty in 1923.

The Kurdish Students' Society in Europe contains the educated part of the Kurdish people

abroad and voices the aspirations of the eleven million Kurds inhabiting their native Kurdistan, which is politically divided between Turkey, Iran and Iraq.

The new Republican order in Iraq in recognising the national Kurdish entity and regarding in article III of the new Constitution, the Arabs and Kurds as partners in the Republic with equal national rights, has taken a wide and reasonable step on the road of solving the Kurdish Question. It is our duty to declare our support for the Iraqi Government and state that the Iraqi Government has set an example to both Iran and Turkey in giving a democratic and peaceful solution to the Kurdish Question. This solution cannot affect the permanent right of the Kurdish people as a whole to self-determination.

If the Governments of Turkey and Iran maintain the non-recognition of the Kurdish national entity and follow a policy of national persecution towards the parts of Kurdistan under their rule, they will end up soon by endangering world peace. For these reasons we express our hope that these two governments will recognise the national Kurdish entity and apply a solution to the question inspired by the new Iraqi policy. This will be in the interest of the two countries and also of the peoples of the Middle East.

Please accept, Excellency, our best wishes.

The Executive Committee,

Kurdish Student's Society in Europe."

Letter of the Congress to the Chairman of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Moscow

"Excellency,

The Executive Committee of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe is honoured to present to the Soviet Government the gratitude of the Society's Third Congress held in Munich during 4-8 August 1958, in appreciation of the vast progress which the Kurdish national culture has achieved in the Soviet Union due to the Soviet order.

We also naturally thank the Governments of Armenia, Soviet Azerbaijan, and the many scientists and scientific institutions that have contributed to this progress — such as the Soviet Academy of Sciences and the Oriental Institution in Leningrad.

The Kurdish Students' Society in Europe organises Kurdish students in the various European Universities, in England, Germany, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and France. It aims, in addition to organising the Kurdish Students in Europe, to work for the advancement of the Kurdish national culture and to inform the world about the social, economical, cultural and political conditions of our Kurdish people, its land and history. Our Society was founded in 1956 and held its Third Congress recently in Munich. It is recognised by a great number of organisations and the inter-

national student movements especially the Arab and the Afro-Asian. It also enjoys the active support of the Kurdish people. It publishes a periodical magazine called *Kurdistan* in many languages, including Kurdish.

We know of the cultural and material progress of the small Kurdish minority inhabiting Armenia and Soviet Azerbaijan. It is a rapid progress which we follow with pleasure and is praiseworthy at a time when we cannot but observe sadly the miserable cultural and material conditions in Turkey's Kurdistan with its five million of our people and Iranian Kurdistan with its four millions, under reactionary governments which apply a policy of national persecution in our country. Of all Middle Eastern countries, which incorporate Kurdistan, only the new Republican Iraq recognises fully the national rights of the Kurds and their absolute equality in theory and practice, with their Arab friends and brothers. This heralds great cultural and material progress for Iraqi Kurdistan. This is one of the main reasons of the strong and unhesitating support of the Kurdish people to the new Iraqi Republic and the Arab liberation movement. Other reasons are the Afro-Asian solidarity, the solidarity of all the freedom loving peoples in the struggle against imperialism.

The Kurdish people, with its eleven millions, follow with much interest the continuation of the great construction work which benefits the 100,000 to 150,000 Kurds of Soviet Union. Since the Kurdish cultural centres exist in Iraqi Kurdistan (and to a lesser extent in Syria) and in the Soviet Union and since the last Centre is the most important, for it has published 1,500 books in Kurdish in the Soviet Union during the last thirty years, it is greatly desirable that millions of our people, particularly the youth and students, should be able to take advantage of that. Our Society, which possesses a library, and its members would be happy to obtain copies of the books printed in Kurdish in the Soviet Union.

We ask you to permit us to mention that it would be good to print these books in the Latin Alphabet, so that Soviet Science in the subject of Kurdish studies could be within the reach of our people. The use of this alphabet is gradually spreading especially among the new Kurdish generation and it seems that only those letters will be used in the future and a means of unifying written Kurdish. We were glad to note that the Russian-Kurdish dictionary which appeared in 1957 was printed as far as Kurdish is concerned, in the Latin alphabet so that the Kurds of Middle East can utilise it. This allows us to hope that the future Kurdish publications will be in this alphabet,

at least those which could be used in the Middle East.

The Third Congress also expressed the hope that the Soviet Government will open a daily Kurdish service in Moscow Radio. We permit ourselves to mention that a request on this matter by some Kurdish students was presented to you.

We hope that our Fourth Congress which is likely to be held in Vienna in Summer 1958 will be attended by Observers from Kurdistan and guests representing fraternal students organisations, therefore the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe will be pleased to see among the visitors and observers, Delegates representing the Soviet Student movement and the Soviet Kurdish students for the purpose of cultural co-operation.

In repeating our gratitude to the Government, people and Soviet Science for the encouragement of the Kurdish national culture and the progress of Kurdish studies in your great land, we wish to ask you to accept, your Excellency, our best wishes

Executive Committee,

Kurdish Students' Society in Europe."

Copies of the letter to the Government of Soviet Armenia and Soviet Azerbaijan. Also for information, the final communique together with letter to M. Hammarskjöld.



Congress Call to the Kurdish People

The Third Congress of K.S.S.E. issued the following Call to the Kurdish people in the various regions of Kurdistan:—

To our dear brothers the sons of Kurdistan !

To the gallant Kurdish people !

To the sons of Medea, Saladin and Karim Khan-Zend !

To the sons of our immortal poet Ahmedi Khani, the father of the Kurdish National Idea !

To the sons of the revolutions of Sheikh Said, Aghri-Dagh, Sheikh Mehmod and Barzan.

To those who raised high the flag of Kurdistan in Mehabad, Dersim and Sulaimaniya !

To you who have sacrificed the lives of your innocent sons and suffered calamities for the freedom and happiness of your country !

To you, the heirs of the glories of our people and their revolutionary traditions !

Close your ranks, mobilise your forces to continue and consolidate the struggle for the Freedom and Unity of your nation Kurdistan !

The Third Congress of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe.

Call for a Congress in Southern Kurdistan

The Third Congress of the K.S.S.E. issued the following Call to the people of Southern Kurdistan in the Iraqi Republic.

“The Third Congress of the K.S.S.E. held in Munich, Germany, during 4–8 August 1958, calls upon all parties, organisations, groups, and prominent personalities in Southern Kurdistan, regardless of their political views, to hold a Congress expressing the desire of the people of Southern Kurdistan to support the Iraqi Republic and Arab

Liberation movement in all parts of the Arab nation, emphasising the unity of interests of the Arab and Kurdish nations; to study the conditions in this part of the Kurdish nation; to take decisions to reform and improve them socially, economically, administratively, culturally and nationally; to present them to the Iraqi Republican Government, and to consider the application of these decisions. We further recommend the formation of a permanent Committee elected by the proposed Congress to carry out its resolutions.”

Munich and Wiesbaden

The Kurdish students attending the first Congress (Foundation) of the Kurdish Students Cultural Society in Europe, held a meeting in Wiesbaden, independently and outside the scope of the Society. They passed some resolutions which were subsequently adopted by the Third Congress in Munich:

The resolutions of Wiesbaden were as follows:— That this Meeting—

(1) considers that the Kurds constitute one people with a common territory, language, history, economic ties, entity and national culture, i.e. they possess all the conditions necessary scientifically to constitute a nation.

(2) believes that the right of the Kurdish people to self-determination is a natural right and cannot be denied.

(3) considers that present conditions (1956) in the Middle East do not permit the application of the right of self-determination and, therefore, believes that it is necessary to fight to bring about political and social conditions which will allow the application of this right.

(4) considers that imperialist influence and the feudal and reactionary rule generally constitute the main obstacles to the application of the right of self-determination and, therefore, believes that it is necessary to fight to remove these obstacles and for a real democracy.

(5) considers that democracy together with the struggle against imperialism, feudalism and reactionary rule generally is not merely a means to the right of self-determination, but a necessary pre-

condition for the prosperity of the Kurdish people and any other people.

(6) considers that the Kurdish national movement is a liberation movement against imperialism and is connected in this respect with all other national liberation movements. It, therefore, declares its support of this movement and the struggle of all peoples for their liberty and national sovereignty, particularly the peoples of the Middle East.

(7) believes in the necessity of the co-operation of the Kurdish people with all other freedom loving peoples, especially with the Arab, Persian and Turkish peoples, to achieve democracy because of their common interests in defeating imperialism, feudalism and reaction, taking into account specific conditions in each state of the Middle East.

(8) considers that it is the task of every honourable Kurd, particularly the educated, to study the

Kurdish Question, explain it to local and international public opinion, specially to the neighbouring peoples, as a first step towards the co-operation with these peoples. The meeting also considers it necessary to defend this case before all organisations concerned and generally internationally.

(10) believes in the necessity of cultural relationships between the various Kurdish regions.

(11) believes in the necessity of encouraging and developing the Kurdish national culture in all the Kurdish regions and the struggle particularly for making the Kurdish language the official language of these regions and the attainment of all cultural rights. Meanwhile, the meeting considers that it is the duty of every sincere Kurd, particularly the educated, to serve the Kurdish national Culture in his sphere of work, its introduction to others, and to encourage the formation of Societies for Cultural relations with other peoples.

Other Congress Decisions

Congress also decided—

- ★ To call on Dr. Kamuran Bedir-Khan to write the Grammar of the Kurdish language explained in Turkish for the Kurds of Turkey in Latin alphabet. The society undertakes to have the book printed — Dr. Kamuran has kindly agreed to write the book.
- ★ To apply for admission to the International Union of Students. It also decided to send a letter to the World Federation of Democratic

Youth to accept the Democratic Youth of Southern Kurdistan as a member.

- ★ To call upon the Specialists to write a Kurdish-Turkish and Turkish-Kurdish dictionary in the Northern Kurmanji dialect using Latin alphabet.
- ★ To confer Honorary Membership on Messrs. D. Mehmod Huseyn, B. Ali and O. R. Al-Qadhi, and Life Membership on Arif Kerim, Tahsin Amin, Anwer J. Salim and Fuad Mela Kerim.

The Final Communique of the Third Congress of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe (K.S.S.E.)

The Third Congress of the K.S.S.E. held in Munich, Germany, during 4-8 August 1958, issued the following communique:—

Congress:

(1) Declares its full support for the young Iraqi Republic. It considers the birth of the Republic a crushing blow against imperialism and its agents in their strongest fortress in the Middle East, a mighty step in liberating the various peoples, including the Kurdish people whose land imperial-

ism and local reaction divided, in this sensitive part of the world and the fulfilment of their aspirations to peace, national independence and democracy.

(2) Strongly protests against the Anglo-American invasion of Lebanon and Jordan, which is in violation of the U.N. charter and unprovoked interference in their internal affairs. It demands the immediate withdrawal of the aggressive forces.

(3) Condemns all aggressive pacts, and especially the Baghdad pact, which seeks to maintain the

imperialist influence in the Middle East, and hinders the liberation of the peoples of this region including the Kurdish people.

(4) Adopts the principle of the right of self-determination of all the peoples, including our Kurdish people, under the yoke of imperialism and its stooges, particularly in those parts of the Kurdish nation which have been forcibly incorporated in Turkey and Persia.

(5) Adopts the resolutions of the First Congress of the Kurdish students in Europe held in Wiesbaden, Germany during 10-16 August 1956.

(6) To support and participate in the national and international Student movements, considering itself an undivisible part of those movements.

The General Union of Iraqi Students Greets the Congress

"Brother Kurdish Students: Munich, W. Germany. Warm Greetings. The Executive Committee of the General Union of Iraqi Students in the name of the Union and its member the Students' Union of Iraqi Kurdistan, sends you warm greetings and wishes you success. In doing so it expresses the feelings of your brothers the Iraqi Students, Arabs and Kurds, who are struggling today, united around their Union to safeguard the Iraqi Republic as they have fought in the past shoulder to shoulder, and borne many sacrifices to achieve this great victory of our Iraqi people.

We are confident that the unity in the common struggle between the Kurdish and Arab peoples in Iraq which was the cornerstone in our long and

costly struggle, will be stronger and the finest guarantee in the defence of our Iraqi Republic, the fulfilment of the patriotic and national demands and a contribution towards a better future. We are full of hope that your meeting shall strengthen and deepen the power of this unity.

Imperialism shall be destroyed on the rock of Arab-Kurdish unity.

Long live the unity of the Arabs and Kurdish peoples.

Long live our young Iraqi Republic.

Executive Committee of the
General Union of Iraqi Students."

The Executive Committee of the K.S.S.E., sent the following reply:

"To the Executive Committee of the General Union of Iraqi Students,

Dear Colleagues,

Fraternal greetings.

We received with much pleasure your letter in which you greeted our Third Congress. In thanking you for your friendly feelings towards our Society, we pledge to work with you hand in hand, in order to strengthen friendship between our peoples and

unite in the struggle in the interest of the Arab and Kurdish peoples.

Finally, we wish your organisation all progress and prosperity and call upon you to strengthen our fraternal relations more and more.

Forward for ever.

Long live the Arab-Kurdish friendship.

Long live the young Iraqi Republic.

Executive Committee
Kurdish Student's Society in Europe."

Students' Union of Kurdistan

The Executive Committee of the Students Union of Kurdistan sent a letter to the E.C. of the K.S.S.E., which read in part, "We send you our warmest greetings. We value very much our close

relations and consider you the representatives of the Students of Kurdistan. Forward, for the preservation of the Iraqi Republic, the Republic of the Kurds and Arabs."

The President of the Society sent the following reply:

“The Students’ Union of Kurdistan, Republic of Iraq.

Dear brothers,

Warm Greetings.

We thank your brotherly feelings in greeting our Congress in the letter of the Iraqi Students’ Union, and wish you all progress and success in the service of our nation.

Let us work united to achieve the common aims

of the Arab and Kurdish people and preserve the Republic of Iraq against the imperialist attacks, and for the freedom and independence of Kurdistan.

Long live the Iraqi Students’ Union.

Long live the Students’ Union of Kurdistan.

Long live the Arab-Kurdish Friendship.

Long live the Iraqi Republic.”

Other Greetings to the Congress

Telegram from Egypt:

“We twenty-five Kurdish students in Egyptian Universities strongly back your great Conference. We declare that we uphold your resolutions for the welfare and the advancement of our Kurdish nation.”

Kurdish Students in Egypt.

From Iraqi Students’ Society in United Kingdom (I.S.S. in U.K.)

“Greet your Conference and wish it every success. Our unity is essential. Forward for greater achievements and better future.”

I.S.S. in U.K.

A letter was received from Kurdish Students in Istanbul, congratulating the Congress and referring to obstacles which prevented their attendance.

Letters were also received from Dr. Nureddin Zaza, Honorary Member of the Society, Syria; the Society’s representative in Paris; and Mr. Ahmed Zemji in Mainz greeting the Congress, explaining his, and his colleagues’, inability to attend due to examinations. A congratulatory telegram was received from Mr. Tahsin Amin in London.

Representatives of the Arab Students’ Union and Iraqi students in Munich brought fraternal greetings.

Kurdish Students’ Society in Europe

Aims and Rules of the Society

FIRST, that the name of the Society shall be the Kurdish Students’ Society in Europe (hereafter K.S.S.E.)

SECOND, Basic Aims;

1. Strengthening relations between the Kurdish Students and organising periodic meetings amongst them.

2. Co-operation between the Kurdish students in Europe.

3. Promotion of the Kurdish national culture and work in the interest of the Kurdish people and its National Question.

4. Introduction of the Kurdish national culture, its country, conditions and National Question to the world.

5. Contacting the student and non-student organisations, national and international, within their common aims and interests.

6. Publishing a periodical as its official organ.

THIRD, Membership:

1. Every Kurdish student shall become a member if he or she:—

(i) agrees to the Aims and Rules of the Society and works for their fulfilment;

(ii) pays an annual subscription of £2 or equivalent in other currencies.

2. Non-student Kurds and non-Kurdish students in Europe who support the Aims of the Society may join as Society members with the

approval of the Executive Committee after paying a nominal subscription.

3. Life membership shall be given to every former member after returning to the Kurdish nation.

Honorary membership shall be conferred on prominent people and former members of the Society who have served the Society with distinction.

FOURTH, Organisation:

Organisation of the Society shall be based on the following:—

- (1) The Congress;
- (2) Executive Committee;
- (3) Branches;
- (4) Branch Committees.

(To be continued)

The Executive Committee

The Third Congress of K.S.S.E. elected the following seven members to the Executive Committee for the current year:—

- (1) *President*: Mr. Ismet Cheriff—Switzerland.
- (2) *Vice-President*: Mr. Wurya Rowandozi—Austria.
- (3) *General Secretary*: Mr. Dara Al-Salihi—England.
- (4) *Editor of 'Kurdistan'*: Mr. Salah Saadalla—England.
- (5) *Treasurer and Assistant General Secretary*: Mr. Saadi Amin Dizayee—England.
- (6) *Member*: Mr. Kemal Fuad—Berlin, Germany.
- (7) *Member*: Rajih Bedrawi—Germany

Letters and enquiries regarding the Society should be sent to the General Secretary:

KURDISH STUDENTS' SOCIETY IN EUROPE,
37 KING STREET,
LONDON, W.C.2

Letters, articles and enquiries regarding *Kurdistan* should be sent directly to:

THE EDITOR OF *Kurdistan*,
40 WHEATSTONE ROAD,
SOUTHSEA, HANTS,
ENGLAND.



A HAPPY GROUP OF KURDISH STUDENTS AT NUROZ PARTY
LONDON, 1958

From left to right: D. M. Huseyn, F. Rasha, S. A. Dizayee, O. R. Al-Qadhi, A. Karim, T. Amin, Shafiq, A. N. Al-Saadi, J. J. Fatah, N. J. Salim, B. Ali, S. M. Saadalla, F. Mela Karim.

A Great Loss

We have received with great sorrow the news of the death of 25 students who were on board the Soviet jet *TU-104* which crashed in Russia on October 17, when 65 people were killed.

They included the Treasurer, and Vice-President of the International Union of Students, and delegates from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, British

Guiana, Morocco, German Democratic Republic, Iraq, and the Soviet Union. They also included some Cypriot and Ceylonese students studying in Britain.

These 25 leading students were touring China and North Korea after the Congress. The names of the casualties have not been announced yet.

They Say

“The Kurds are a remarkable and thoroughly lovable people. There are about a million of them in Iraq, perhaps 5 million altogether in Kurdistan, the mountainous area which embraces portions of Iraq, Iran and Turkey. They are shrewd, independent, enormously courageous, and blessed with a sense of humour which makes their very presence stimulating.

Never did we stop to take a picture of a Kurdish family without being asked to remain for a cup of tea. Never did we ask a question which was not answered with a jest. And in Sulaymaniya, known as the capital of Kurdistan, we had an experience which endeared those people to us for ever.”

Jean and Franc Shar,
in the *National Geographic Magazine*.

Washington, October, 1958.

“Words of kindness or descriptions of the good life in America are not, it is thought, likely to ensure the devotion of a people (Kurdish) persecuted by governments receiving American aid.

For many years, the Kurds have been the victims of a conspiracy of silence — the fruit, perhaps, of a sense of shame on the part of nations who promised independence for the Kurds in the Treaty of Sevres, but washed their hands of the matter when four years later, Kurdistan was partitioned by creatures of their own (West's) making.”

New Statesman and Nation—22nd April, 1950.

Oil and Frontiers.

“A million strong, they are (the Kurds) the inhabitants of the northern part of the Country (Iraq) in the Kirkok and Mosul regions where the main oil fields lie . . . They are as unheeding of frontiers as the Bedouin.”

The Daily Telegraph—8/10/58.

“From his youth until the end of the second World War he (Barzani) was an ardent advocate of an autonomous Kurdish republic embracing his one million compatriots in Iraq — representing a one in five minority — and Kurdish tribes just across the Turkish and Persian frontiers. He now returns (from Czechoslovakia) to the mountainous area of northern Iraq where the main oil fields of the predominant British Petroleum Company are situated, employing much Kurdish labour and where his dubious influence leaps the frontiers of two of Britain's Baghdad pact Allies — Turkey and Persia.”

The Sunday Times—21/9/1958.

“The Persian Foreign Minister Mr. Hekmet has expressed in Parliament the bitter resentment of the Government and people at Cairo broadcasts in Kurdish designed to foment unrest among the inhabitants of Kurdistan.

He said that Kurdistan had been an integral part of Persia from time immemorial and he condemned such attempts as interference in Persian internal affairs. Cairo, he suggested, was becoming the stooge of Moscow and vehicle of Communist propaganda, for it was the Russians who tried, without success, to undermine the loyalty of the Kurdish population of Persia with promises of autonomy within the Soviet orbit.”

The Times—June 30, 1958.

“A responsible Foreign Ministry official said that a pro-Egyptian Iraq on her borders would . . . raise the Kurdish problem in a new form which was already an important object of Cairo Radio.”

The Times Correspondent in Tehran
(July 16, 1958).

“In Iraq, it (Russia) is throwing everything on the side of those who wish to resist union with the U.A.R. Moscow had even revived the old idea of an enlarged autonomous State of Kurdistan.

Since there are Kurds in Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria, the conception would play havoc with four frontiers. The Communists were circulating the idea among Kurds as well as left-wing Arabs, but propaganda abruptly ceased when Colonel Abdul (Salam) Aref, then Iraq's Deputy Premier was painlessly shuffled off to be Iraq's Ambassador in Bonn. Colonel Aref who had been loudly advocating amalgamation with the U.A.R. was the darling of the Baathists, who in Syria and Iraq are the Communists' main enemy. Apparently Moscow showed its pleasure at his removal by leaving the Kurds alone.

All is temporarily at peace on the Kurdish front.”

Rawle Knox, *The Observer*, Nov. 2, 1958.

The Last Will?

“The newspaper *Al-Ahram* affirms today that the old strategic plan of the West for the defence of the Near East had as its basis an atomic bombardment of the mountains in Northern Iraq.

Under the title ‘a dangerous secret’ the independent newspaper writes that the plan, prepared by the Americans and the British, had received the approval of Nuri Al-Said's Government — during

a meeting of the Baghdad Pact. The newspaper adds that the West is now facing a difficult task which consists in revising completely their plans of the Near East defence.

Al-Ahram says that the old plan consisted of blocking the valleys of the mountains separating Iraq and Iran by means of atomic explosions which, by contaminating the region, would stop the advance of the Soviet ground troops.

It assures that the U.S. and British airplanes in the Habbaniya base had a mission of completing the bombardment in the case of a general conflagration starting.

It is said that the secret archives of the Baghdad Pact have fallen into the hands of the new Iraqi leaders. A special commission has been constituted for examining the documents.”

Le Monde, Paris, August 12, 1958.

The K.S.S.E. has protested to the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations against this murderous plan. We trust that other organisations and individuals will do the same.

The Question.

To be duped or not to be duped

That is the question.

If you are not duped you will live,

If you are duped you will not.

Nazim Hikmet.

The Population of Kurdistan

by a Correspondent

The population of Kurdistan — the territory covering South-East Turkey, North and North-East Iraq and West Iran with an enclave in North-East Syria — is a good academic subject for discussion. There are so many varying estimates, and the range is quite fantastic. The task is further complicated by the fact that Turkey officially classifies the Kurds as ‘Mountain Turks’. Also in both Turkey and Iran no general census has ever been carried out.

It is only in Iraq and to a lesser extent in Syria that a reasonable estimate can be made.

The Centre for Kurdish Studies in Paris gave the following estimates in 1950:

State	Kurdish Population		
Turkey	4,000,000
Iran	3,000,000
Iraq	1,200,000

Mr. C. J. Edmonds, former British Adviser to the Minister of Interior in Iraq says in his book ‘Kurds, Arabs and Turks’ that ‘I have heard from an exceptionally well informed source that three or even four million is a reasonable estimate for the Kurdish population in Turkey.’ The inaccuracy in the figure for Iran cannot be great.

As for Iraq, the Kurdish population there will soon be known as a result of the general census carried out in 1957, where a definite requirement was to put down as to the language or languages spoken by the person. It will not be far below 1,500,000 but it may reach 1,800,000 (roughly between 23 to 28 per cent of the population of Iraq). To the total must be added 400,000 Kurds in Syria and 100,000 in U.S.S.R., i.e. a reasonable estimate will be 9,000,000. This was the figure given by the Centre for Kurdish Studies in Paris.

Readers are invited to comment on this subject.

Book Review

Kurdistan: Divided Nation of the Middle East

(56pp 4/6)

by S. S. GAVAN (Lawrence and Wishart Ltd.)

This book, just published, gives a short introduction to Kurdistan and the Kurdish people. History, Geography, Economy, Kurdish Language and literature serve as a prelude to the main theme of the book the struggle of the Kurdish people for freedom and unity.

With a foreword by the Kurdish leader, Dr. Kamuran Bedir-Khan, the book, fully documented, contributes to the understanding of the Kurdish Problem and the necessity for its solution on the basis of the legitimate right of the Kurdish people to self-determination. It also refers to the lack of elementary rights of the Kurdish people.

As Dr. Kamuran makes clear in the foreword 'the Kurds are forbidden to declare themselves Kurds, forbidden to speak their language, forbidden

to have their own school and to publish their own periodicals. In the part of Kurdistan which is in Turkey there is only one hospital bed for two hundred thousand Kurds, and in one locality where the population is forty thousand, one school only is available for one hundred children. Even then they are forced to study in the Turkish and Persian languages.'

The July 14th Revolution in Iraq has opened up new vistas before the Kurdish people. Their national rights have been constitutionally recognised, which contrasts sharply with their conditions in Iran and Turkey.

This book is most useful, especially for those who want to have a better grasp of affairs in the Middle East.
Ahmed Al-Saadi.

Iraq — The Facts

by DR. R. M. AJINA

This pamphlet (20 pp, 6d.) was published by the Iraqi Students' Society in U.K. immediately after the July 14th Revolution. It is indeed, as the name signifies, full of facts and figures — mostly statistics from official sources.

In the Section 'Social Background' the author gives horrifying figures on poverty and disease that bring the average expectation of life in Iraq to 28 years. Examining the policy of the former regime he writes that 'only 5.9 per cent of 1953-1954 budget was devoted to the Ministry of Health, 31.8 per cent to Defence, while the percentage to the Police Force was 14 per cent in 1945 and still rising'.

Giving actual figures he writes 'money devoted to health consisted of £3,000,850 and formed 6.38

per cent. £1,550,000 of the sum, over 50 per cent, was spent on salaries, while only half a million pounds was spent on drugs.

In the Section 'Political Background', Dr. Ajina exposes the corrupt and anti-popular nature of the former regime. He traces the history of the relationship between Iraq and Britain, the 1930 Treaty and its imposition on Iraq, to the Portsmouth Treaty of 1948, rejected by the Iraqi people, to the uprising of 1952 and finally the Baghdad Pact.

If you look for facts about Iraq — then read this pamphlet.

Copies of *Iraq — the Facts* are obtainable from:
I.S.S. in U.K., 37 King Street, London, W.C.2.

Nozad M. Tahir.

Freshers

The General Secretary of the K.S.S.E., Mr. Dara Al-Salihi held a Luncheon Party on 25th October in London in honour of the 'Fresher' members of the Society.

In the evening, a joint party by the Arab Students' Union and Iraqi Students' Society was held, also for freshers. Kurdish students presented some national songs.

Letters to the Editor

Self-Determination.

Self-determination is a natural right for all peoples. But this right is denied to the peoples by the imperialist powers.

The Kurds have been deprived of this right. The worst being the partition of Kurdistan by the imperialist states.

As an Iraqi patriot, I support the progressive forces of the world which work for the right of the Kurdish nation to decide its own future.

One point: I would like to ask the Turkish Government, if they believe in the right of self-determination for 80,000 Turks in Cyprus then why do they not believe in the right of 5 million Kurds in Turkey to self-determination?

K. Al-Mallak, Portsmouth.

Cultural Contacts and the Kurdish Question.

I am indeed delighted and interested in having acquainted myself with your Society through your magazine. The Kurdish nation has lain too long under enforced dormancy for economic and political reasons as a divided people and to hear of their gradual re-emergence as a national entity is encouraging news. I join their many friends in wishing them success in the realisation of their hopes of being in the not too distant future, once

again an independent and united people taking their rightful place in the world.

The stand taken by the present Government of Iraq in relation to the Kurdish people, can serve as an example to all their neighbours.

The Kurdish Question remains unresolved, due to the partitioning of Kurdistan for the purpose of exploiting its rich oil deposits by the big Western monopolies. Thus it can only be solved when this barrier has been broken down.

The development and extension of cultural contacts can go a long way towards achieving world-wide recognition as a nation and will acquaint ever wider circles with your problems. The stand taken by your Society and its main organ *Kurdistan* on this subject is gratifying to see.

The decision to adopt the Latin alphabet into the Kurdish language should be very helpful, as wide language differences between peoples does help to maintain their isolation, and this measure will certainly expand spheres of influence by making contacts with other people easier, as well as contributing towards unifying Kurdish dialects.

With best wishes for your success.

Michael Metcalfe,

St. Helier, Jersey,
Channel Islands.

Letter from America

We are sending along with this letter, a statement issued by the 'Kurdish Students' Association in America.' Like all associations, our's requires the support of our students and people. Please bring the statement to the attention of the members of your Society and the readers of your magazine.

We very much favour the exchange of information in the future, on the activities of both our associations in order to co-ordinate our work for

the benefit of our members and the Kurdish people.

Our Association is in its infancy.

It needs greater efforts to make it capable of producing full advantages. We shall endeavour to learn from your past experiences. Please assist our young Association.

For the Kurdish Students' Association in
America. Hikmat T. Fikrat.

The Kurdish Students' Association in America

We announce, with great pleasure, the formation of the Kurdish Students' Association in America. *Kurdistan* has just received a communication to that effect.

Kurdish students held meetings in San Carlos and San Fransesco, U.S.A., during September, discussed ways of promoting the co-operation of the Kurdish students and co-ordinating their efforts for the Kurdish nation. They have long felt the necessity for such a step.

These meetings resolved to establish a Society to be called 'The Kurdish Students' Association in America' which would admit for membership, Kurdish students and non-Kurds who support the Aims of the Association.

The Aims of the Association are as follows:—

1. Organising the Kurds in America, to discuss the problems of the Kurdish people for the realisation of a better life.
2. Introducing the Kurdish people to others.
3. Organising the Kurds in America to promote their welfare.

4. Assisting the Kurdish students in America, especially the newcomers, in the academic field.

5. Gathering of information concerning the research on Kurds.

6. Co-operation with all organisations within the Aims of the Association.

7. Carrying out activities in the interests of the Kurdish people generally.

The Association would endeavour to publish a quarterly magazine in English and Kurdish.

We wish our brothers in America and their newly born Association all success in their work for the progress of the Kurdish people.

The General Secretary of our Society has already written to the Association congratulating and pledging full assistance and support.

The address of the Association is 'Kurdish Students Association, P.O. Box 62, San Carlos, California, U.S.A.



AT NUROZ PARTY, LONDON, 1958

A Kurdish dance performed by A. Karim and S. Amin Dizayee.
In the background, clapping and singing, J. Fatah, T. Amin,
Euad Rasha.

Monsieur D. Hammarskjöld, Secrétaire Général de l'O.N.U., Lake Success, New York, E.U.

Excellence,

L'Assemblée Générale de l'Organisation des Nations Unies se réunit aujourd'hui dans une session extraordinaire pour discuter des problèmes du Moyen-Orient.

Il est une question que l'on évoque rarement—et souvent d'une façon inexacte—dans la presse mondiale; une question dont on ne discute plus—depuis le Traité de Sèvres de 1920—dans les instances internationales, et qui n'en est pas moins considérable et actuelle. Nous avons nommé la question kurde.

C'est dans l'espoir d'attirer l'attention du monde, et plus particulièrement de l'Assemblée Générale de l'O.N.U., sur cette question, importante entre toutes, que le Comité directeur de 'l'Association des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe', sur recommandation du IIIe Congrès général de l'Association, tenu à Munich du 4 au 8 Août 1958, a l'honneur de vous soumettre la présente lettre.

Nous prions votre Excellence d'user de ses attributions énoncées dans l'article 99 de la Charte des Nations Unies pour que le 'dossier kurde' en possession de l'O.N.U. soit réouvert et ladite question portée à l'ordre du jour de la présente Assemblée Générale. La Délégation Kurde, dont le siège permanent se trouve à Paris, pourra, le cas échéant, prendre la défense de notre dossier.

Les Nations Unies se proposent de chercher la voie d'une paix durable pour l'ensemble du Moyen-Orient. C'est parce que nous croyons en la haute mission des Nations Unies que nous vous prions de remarquer qu'aucune paix durable n'est possible dans cette partie du monde tant que ses principales questions n'auront pas été justement résolues et, en l'occurrence, tant que l'injustice commise à l'endroit du peuple kurde et sa cause nationale, trahi par les grandes puissances à la Conférence de Lausanne de 1923, n'aura pas été totalement réparée.

'L'Association des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe', groupant l'élite intellectuelle du peuple kurde à l'étranger, interprète par sa voix les désirs de dix à douze millions de Kurdes habitant un Kurdistan divisé, politiquement, entre la Turquie, l'Irak et l'Irak.

Le nouveau régime républicain en Irak, en reconnaissant le fait national kurde et en précisant, dans l'article 3 de la nouvelle constitution, que la République est une association à droits nationaux égaux entre les Peuples kurde et arabe de l'Irak, fait un pas considérable, et combien raisonnable, dans la voie de la solution de la question kurde.

Il est de notre devoir de proclamer notre soutien au gouvernement irakien et de déclarer que la République irakienne vient de donner l'exemple, par là, tant à l'Irak qu'à la Turquie, pour une solution immédiate, démocratique et pacifique de la question kurde.

Cette solution ne pourra préjuger du droit imprescriptible du peuple kurde, dans son ensemble, à l'auto-disposition.

En persistant à reconnaître le fait national kurde et en continuant à suivre à l'égard des parties du Kurdistan soumises à leurs juridictions respectives une politique d'oppression nationale, d'obscurantisme et d'assimilation, assimilation vouée d'ailleurs à l'échec, les gouvernements de Turquie et d'Irak finiront tôt par compromettre la paix du monde. Aussi formulons-nous le voeu de voir ces deux gouvernements reconnaître, à leur tour, le fait national kurde et procéder, à cet égard, à une solution immédiate inspirée de la nouvelle politique irakienne, ce qui serait dans l'intérêt même de ces deux pays et de tous les peuples du Moyen-Orient.

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

Comité Exécutif de l' A.E.K.E.
le 13 Août 1958.

Son Excellence, Monsieur le Chef du Gouvernement de l'Union des Républiques Socialistes Soviétiques, Moscou

Excellence,

Par la présente, le Comité directeur de 'l'Association des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe' a l'honneur de présenter au Gouvernement de l'Union Soviétique les remerciements unanimement exprimés du III^e Congrès général de ladite Association, tenu à Munich du 4 au 8 Août 1958, en raison de l'essor considérable que la culture nationale kurde a pu réaliser en U.R.S.S., sous le pouvoir des Soviets et grâce à lui.

Nos mêmes remerciements vont aussi, tout naturellement, aux Gouvernements des Républiques de l'Arménie et de l'Azerbaïdjan Soviétiques, ainsi qu'aux nombreux savants et établissements scientifiques intéressés, dont l'Académie Soviétique Orientale de Léninegrad.

'Et l'institut l'Association des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe groupe les étudiants kurdes des diverses universités européennes, en Angleterre, en Allemagne, en Suisse, en Autriche, en Tchécoslovaquie et en France. Elle a pour principaux buts, outre que d'unir les étudiants kurdes en Europe et de leur assurer des rencontres périodiques, de travailler au développement de la culture nationale kurde et de faire connaître au monde la situation sociale, économique, culturelle et politique de notre peuple kurde, ainsi que son pays et son histoire. Constituée en 1956, à la suite d'un premier congrès des étudiants kurdes en Europe, notre Association vient de tenir son III^e Congrès général à Munich, se trouve amicalement reconnue par de nombreux mouvements étudiants étrangers, en particulier par les mouvements étudiants arabe et afro-asiatique, et jouit, bien entendu, du soutien effectif du peuple kurde. Elle publie une revue périodique intitulée 'Kurdistan' en plusieurs langues, dont le kurde.

Nous sommes au courant du progrès culturel — et matériel — dont a bénéficié la petite communauté kurde vivant en Arménie et en Azerbaïdjan Soviétiques: progrès considérable que nous sommes heureux de constater et de mettre en évidence, tout en relevant, avec tristesse, les malheureuses conditions culturelles et matérielles du Kurdistan de Turquie et du Kurdistan d'Iran ou vivent, respectivement, cinq et quatre millions de nos compatriotes, sous des régimes pratiquant une

politique d'oppression nationale et d'obscurantisme à l'égard de notre pays. De tous les pays du Moyen-Orient se partageant le Kurdistan, seul le nouvel Irak républicain reconnaît la plénitude des droits nationaux des Kurdes de ce pays et leur complète égalité, de droit et de fait, avec leurs amis arabes. Il y a là la promesse d'un grand développement, tant culturel que matériel, du Kurdistan irakien. Et c'est l'une des raisons ayant déterminé le peuple kurde et son mouvement national à soutenir vigoureusement et sans réserve la nouvelle République irakienne et le mouvement de libération nationale arabe partout où il se manifeste. L'autre raison déterminante est la solidarité des peuples afro-asiatiques, la solidarité de tous les peuples du monde épris de liberté, dans leur lutte commune contre l'impérialisme.

Le peuple kurde, avec ses onze millions d'hommes, suivra avec le plus grand intérêt la continuation de la grande oeuvre constructive dont bénéficient les cents ou les cent cinquante mille Kurdes de votre grand pays.

Comme les seuls centres culturels kurdes se trouvent actuellement au Kurdistan irakien (et dans une moindre mesure en Syrie) et en U.R.S.S., et comme ce dernier centre est le plus important, étant donné les quelque 1.500 livres qui ont pu être publiés en kurde en Union Soviétique durant les trente dernières années, il sera hautement souhaitable que les millions de notre peuple, et plus particulièrement la jeunesse et les étudiants, puissent en profiter. Plus particulièrement, notre Association, qui possède une bibliothèque kurde, et ses membres seraient très heureux de recevoir des copies des principaux ouvrages publiés en kurde en Union Soviétique.

Pour que la science soviétique en matière d'études kurdes et autre puisse être accessible à notre peuple et sa jeunesse dans une assez grande mesure, permettez-nous d'avancer qu'il sera souhaitable que ces oeuvres soient imprimées en caractères latins. L'emploi de ces caractères se trouve de plus en plus généralisé et ils semblent devoir être les caractères de demain et l'un des moyens d'unifier la langue écrite kurde. Nous avons été heureux de constater que le dictionnaire russo-kurde de 1957 est publié, pour le kurde, en

caractères latins, à l'usage des Kurdes du Moyen-Orient, ce qui nous permet d'espérer que les prochaines publications en kurde, tout au moins celles dont bénéficieraient les Kurdes du Moyen-Orient, seront imprimées en ces mêmes caractères.

Le IIIe Congrès de notre Association a également formulé le vœu que le Gouvernement Soviétique inaugure une émission journalière en kurde à la radio de Moscou. Nous nous permettons de relever qu'une requête à cet effet, signée par nombre d'étudiants kurdes en Europe, vous avait été soumise il y a quelques mois.

Nous espérons que le IVe et prochain Congrès de notre Association qui aura lieu au cours de l'été 1959, probablement à Vienne, brillera surtout par la participation, à titre d'observateurs, de nombreux délégués venant du Kurdistan et de représentants de toutes les organisations estudiantines amies. L'Association des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe serait particulièrement heureuse de

compter parmi les observateurs présents des délégués représentant le mouvement étudiant en U.R.S.S. et des étudiants kurdes soviétiques, dans le but de co-opération culturelle.

En réitérant nos remerciements au Government, au peuple et à la science soviétiques pour l'essor de la culture nationale kurde et des études Kurdes dans votre grand pays, nous vous prions, Excellence, d'agréer l'expression de nos plus hautes considérations.

Comité Executif de l'A.E.K.E.

le 4 Septembre 1958.

P.S.—Veuillez trouver, ci-joint, des copies de cette lettre aux Gouvernements des Républiques de l'Arménie et de l'Azervaidjan Soviétiques, ainsi que des copies du communiqué final du IIIe Congrès de l'A.E.K.E. et d'une lettre que nous avons adressée au Secrétaire Général de l'O.N.U., et ce pour information.

Comite Executif de l'Union Internationale des Etudiants, Vocelova 3, Prague 2

Chers amis !

Par la présente, 'l'Association des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe' a le plaisir et l'honneur de vous présenter une demande d'adhésion à 'l'Union Internationale des Etudiants', comme membre de plein droit.

Dans une lettre précédente, datée du 26 Mai 1958 et adressée à notre ami Dramaliev, Secrétaire de l'I.U.E., nous avons posé la question de co-opération entre l'Union et 'l'Association Culturelle des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe', en sollicitant à celle-ci un statut consultatif à titre provisoire, étant donné que notre Comité directeur n'était pas habilité à faire adhérer l'Association à une organisation internationale quelconque, comme membre de plein droit, sans consulter au préalable notre Congrès général.

Nous sommes heureux de porter à votre connaissance que le IIIe Congrès général de notre Association vient d'avoir lieu à Munich, Allemagne, du 4 au 8 Août 1958. Le Congrès, après avoir modifié quelque peu le statut de l'Association et raté

de son nom le mot 'culterel', dans le but d'élargir le champ de son activité, a voté nombre de résolutions, dont une habilitant le Comité directeur à soumettre une demande d'adhésion pure et simple à l'U.I.E.

Permettez-nous de remarquer que notre Association groupe tous les étudiants kurdes des universités européennes, qu'elle vise, principalement, en plus des buts d'entraide, à faire connaître au monde plus particulièrement au mouvement étudiant international, l'activité et les conditions de vie des étudiants kurdes, ainsi que la culture, le pays et les conditions sociales, économiques et politiques du peuple kurde, le tout dans un esprit de co-opération et d'amitié et pour la cause de la paix entre les peuples. Après deux ans d'existence et un an d'activité effective, 'l'Association des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe' s'est créé un nom et une réputation d'avant-garde, a assuré la publication de son bulletin périodique intitulé 'Kurdistan', qui paraît en plusieurs langues dont le kurde; s'est faite reconnaître par plusieurs mouvements et organisations étudiants, dont 'l'Union Nationale des Etudiants d'Irak, qui vient de déléguer un observateur à notre IIIe Congrès, et, à présent, elle jouit de

l'appui moral du mouvement étudiant arabe et, bien entendu, du soutien effectif du peuple kurde. Notre Association est la seule organisation étudiante kurde à l'étranger et a un caractère largement représentatif. Elle répond donc aux conditions de l'article 4, rubrique des Membres, de la constitution de l'U.I.E.

Nous sommes résolus d'aller de l'avant, mais il nous intéresse au plus haut point de poursuivre notre activité en étroite collaboration avec le mouvement étudiant international et sous l'aile protectrice et amicale de l'U.I.E. C'est la raison pour laquelle nous vous adressons la présente demande d'adhésion.

Avec l'espoir que notre demande sera agréé au plus vite, et en nous rejoignant d'avance de toute l'activité à laquelle il nous sera donné de participer au sien de l'U.I.E., nous vous présentons, chers amis, l'assurance de nos sentiments les plus dévoués.

Comité Executif de l'A.E.K.E.
14 Août 1958.

P.S.:— Vous trouverez, ci-joint, un exemplaire de notre statut avant les derniers amendements. Le nouveau statut amendé vous sera adressé dès qu'il sortira de presse. Vous y trouverez aussi le texte français du communiqué final de notre IIIe Congrès, ainsi que la copie d'une lettre que nous venons d'adresser au Secrétaire Général de l'O.N.U.: vous êtes instamment priés de bien vouloir les publier, tout au moins le communiqué, dans votre organe 'Etudiants du Monde'. Nous vous adressons également un exemplaire de notre revue 'Kurdistan' No. 2, sous pli séparé. Le troisième numéro de Kurdistan, qui sera consacré aux travaux du IIIe Congrès, vous sera envoyé aussi. D'autre part, nous recevrons, avec infiniment de satisfaction, des exemplaires de vos publications.

U.I.E. Reponds a nous Lettre

M. Ismet Cheriff
(Association Des Etudiants
Kurdes en Europe)

Cher Ami,

Nous avons bien reçu votre lettre qui nous disait votre désir de coopérer l'UIE; nous avons également reçu le communiqué sur le résultat de votre dernier congrès. Tout d'abord nous regrettons beaucoup d'avoir tardé à vous répondre. La préparation du Vème congrès de l'UIE et ensuite le congrès lui-même qui a duré jusqu'au début d'Octobre nous ont empêché de faire plus vite.

Nous allons publier le communiqué sur le résultat de votre congrès dans le prochain numéro de notre Bulletin d'information et nous allons vous envoyer régulièrement des publications de l'UIE comme 'ETUDIANT DU MONDE' et le 'BULLE-

TIN D'INFORMATION'. Prochainement vous recevrez la Brochure sur le résultat de notre congrès ainsi que le programme d'activités de l'UIE pour l'année scolaire en cours. Vous pouvez nous renseigner sur les activités qui vous intéressent en particulier.

Nous espérons recevoir plus régulièrement vos publications et et souhaitons que vous nous mettiez au courant de votre activité afin que nous puissions informer l'opinion des Etudiants sur les divers problèmes et activités de votre Association.

En espérant vous lire bientôt, veuillez accepter nos salutations amicales.

S. Babak

Chef Du Bureau Des
Etudiants Anti-Colonialistes
U.I.E. (Praha).

Communiqué

Le IIIe Congrès général de 'l'Association des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe', tenu à Munich, Allemagne, du 4 au 8 Août 1958, déclare dans son communiqué final ce qui suit :

1—Il appuie totalement la nouvelle République irakienne et voit dans son avènement un coup décisif à l'impérialisme et ses valets dans sa forteresse du Moyen-Orient la mieux gardée jusqu'ici. Il considère cet événement comme un pas considérable dans la voie de la libération de tous les peuples de cette importante partie du monde et la réalisation de leurs aspirations nationales relatives à l'indépendance, à la paix, y compris les aspirations à la démocratie et à la paix, y compris les aspirations de notre peuple kurde que l'impérialisme et la réaction locale ont privé de tout droit national et divisé son pays;

2—Il flétrit l'agression anglo-américaine contre le Liban et la Jordanie comme constituant une violation flagrante des principes de la Charte des Nations Unies et une intervention brutale dans les affaires internes de ces pays. Le IIIe Congrès

demande le retrait immédiat des forces de l'aggression;

3—Il condamne les alliances agressives, et en particulier le Pacte de Bagdad qui vise à maintenir l'influence impérialiste au Moyen-Orient et à retarder la libération nationale des peuples de ces régions, dont notre peuple kurde;

4—Il adopte le principe du droit à l'auto-disposition de tous les peuples se trouvant encore sous le joug de l'impérialisme et ses valets, dont notre peuple kurde, notamment dans les parties du Kurdistan que la Turquie et l'Iran continuent à occuper par la force;

5—Il adhère aux onze résolutions de principe élaborées par le Premier Congrès général des étudiants kurdes en Europe, tenu à Wiesbaden, Allemagne, du 10 au 16 Août 1956;

6—Il soutient et participe au mouvement étudiant mondial et considère le nôtre comme faisant partie intégrante de ce mouvement.

Le Onze Résolutions de Principe Elaborées à Wiesbaden

(~~En la Communiqué, Articles~~)

1—La reunion est convaincue que tous Les Kurdes constituent un seul peuple ayant son sol, sa langue, sa constitution historique propre, sa communauté économique, psychologique et sa culture nationale, un peuple qui réunit toutes les conditions scientifiquement nécessaires pour la formation d'une nation;

2—L'article premier se rapporte uniquement au Kurdistan naturel, c.à.d. aux régions du Moyen-Orient habitées par une majorité kurde et constituant une unité géographique;

3—La reunion est convaincue que le droit du peuple kurde à disposer de lui-même est un droit naturel que l'on ne saurait nier;

4—Estimant que les circonstances actuelles dans les pays du Moyen-Orient ne permettent pas de faire usage du droit de libre disposition, la reunion met en évidence la nécessité de lutter en

vue de réaliser les conditions politiques et sociales devant permettre de faire valoir ledit droit;

5—La reunion estime que l'influence impérialiste, avec le pouvoir féodal, ou réactionnaire en général, constituent les obstacles majeurs à l'usage du droit de libre disposition; d'où la nécessité de supprimer ces obstacles et de réaliser une vraie démocratie dans les pays du Moyen-Orient;

6—La reunion considère que la démocratie—et la lutte pour y arriver—n'est pas seulement un moyen de faire valoir le droit à l'auto-disposition, mais aussi une fin en soi-même, une condition essentielle pour assurer le bonheur du peuple kurde et de tout autre peuple;

7—La reunion estime que le mouvement national kurde est un mouvement de libération nationale dirigé contre l'impérialisme, et se trouve par là étroitement lié aux autres mouvements de

libération nationale. La réunion lui accorde son plein appui ainsi qu'à tous les peuples luttant pour leur liberté et leur souveraineté nationale en particulier aux peuples du Moyen-Orient;

8—La réunion met en évidence la nécessité de collaboration entre le peuple kurde et tous les peuples épris de liberté, les peuples arabe, persan et turc en particulier, en raison de leurs intérêts communs à battre l'impérialisme, la féodalité et la réaction, et à réaliser la démocratie. Ce travail de collaboration doit se faire en tenant compte des conditions différentes propres à chacun des Etats du Moyen-Orient;

9—La réunion estime qu'il est du devoir de tout Kurde fidèle à son peuple, les intellectuels notamment, d'étudier la question kurde et de l'expliquer à l'opinion publique locale et mondiale, à celle des peuples voisins en particulier, et ce comme un premier pas pour réaliser la collaboration souhaitée

entre eux. La réunion relève en outre la nécessité de défendre cette question au sein des organisations et dans les milieux internationaux;

10—La réunion met en évidence la nécessité de consolider les liens moraux, intellectuels et culturels entre les diverses régions kurdes;

11—La réunion est d'avis qu'il est nécessaire de développer la culture nationale kurde dans toutes les régions kurdes, et de lutter en particulier pour que la langue kurde soit reconnue comme la langue officielle de ces régions, ainsi que pour la reconnaissance de la plénitude des droits culturels kurdes. En attendant d'attendre à ce but, la réunion estime qu'il est du devoir de tout Kurde fidèle à son peuple, les intellectuels en particulier, de servir personnellement la culture nationale kurde et de la faire connaître aux étrangers. La réunion encourage la constitution de sociétés d'échanges culturels entre les Kurdes et les autres peuples.



Kongrenin Kürt halkına Çağrısı

Avrupadaki Kürt Talebeleri Cemiyeti, Kürdistanın muhtelif yerlerinde yaşayan Kürt halkı için şu çağrıyla neşretmiştir:

Sevgili Kardeşlerimiz Kürdistan çocuklarına !

Cesur Kürt halkına !

Midyanın, Salahettinin ve Kerim Han Zengin çocuklarına !

Ölmez Şairimiz ve Kürt milliyetçiliğinin babası Ahmet Hanî'nin çocuklarına !

Şeyh Sait, Ağır Dağ, Şeyh Mahmut ve Barzan ihtilâllerinin çocuklarına !

Mehabatta, Dersimde, Süleymaniyede Kürt bayrağını Yükseltenlere !

Memleketinizin hürriyeti ve saadeti için azap çeken ve kan döken sizlere !

Halkımız zaferlerinin ve onların ihtilâl ananelerinin varisleri sizlere !

Sınıf farklarınızı unutunuz, kuvvetlerinizi seferber ediniz ve Kürdistan milletinin hürriyeti ve birliği için mücadelenize devam ediniz !

Avrupadaki Kürt
Talebeleri Cemiyetinin Üçüncü Kongresi.

Bangêk bo Geli Kurd

Kongrey Sêhemî Komeley Xwêndikaranî Kurd le Ewropa ke be stra le Myonix—Elmaniya le 4-8 Ab, 1958, em bange pêşkêş be hemo gelî Kurdistan ekat:—

Brayanî xoşewîst, rolekanî Kurdistan !

Ey gelî Kurdî nebez !

Ey rolekanî Mîdya û Selahedîn û Kerîm Hanî Zengî !

Ey rolekanî bwêjî nemir man Ehmedî Xanê !

Ey rolekanî şoreşî Şêx Seîd û Agrî Dax û Şêx Mehmodû Barzan !

Êwe ke alay Kurdistantan le Mehabad û Dersim ê Sulêmanî berz kirdewe !

Êwe ke qorbanitan da be giyanî role nebeze kantan û hezate ha derd û suzatan çeşt le pîlawî serbestî û bextiyarî niştîmaneketana !

Êwe ke mirat girî rewşetî şoreş girî gelekemanî !

Yêk bigrin û hîztan kobkenewe bo ber dewam bcnî têkoşan û be hîzkirdinî le pîlawî ser bestî û Yêkîti niştîmanî xoşewîstman Kurdistan !

Kongrey Sêhemî
Komeley Xwêndikaranî Kurd le Ewropa.

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- U.S.S.R.: 'Rêya Taze, Kovara Qefqasê'.
- Iran: Kurdish Publications are forbidden.
- Turkey — Kurdish Publications are forbidden.

4

KURDISTAN



THE KURDISH PEOPLE CELEBRATED NEWROZ—21st MARCH—THEIR NATIONAL DAY

The picture depicts Kawa the Ironmonger leading the Kurds in their ancient revolt for freedom.

Premier Kassem honoured the occasion (see page 16)

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KURDISTAN

Published periodically by the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe

Editor: SALAH M. SAADALLA

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Editorial

Political events in Iraq have been moving at a breath-taking speed. The last Cabinet reshuffle, in which six Right Wing Ministers were relieved of their posts and replaced by more national democratic elements, coupled with restoration and extension of the democratic liberties consolidated the position of the Republican Government, led by Premier Kassem, and brought about the gradual isolation of the extreme Right and the disintegration of their mass organisation—the Baath—which had become the centre of attraction for the remnants of the former reactionary regime including many feudal elements, turning in fact

into the main downright counter-revolutionary and fascist grouping.

Deprived of popular support the Baathist switched over to conspiracies, in close co-operation with the ruling neo-fascist 'Nationalist Union' clique in the U.A.R.

The counter-revolutionary and openly fascist Shawaf mutiny in Mosul was nothing but a manifestation of the feverish attempts by these reactionary elements to destroy the Republican order and hold the march of democracy by forcing the integration of Iraq with U.A.R.

It was launched under the convenient cloak of 'Arab Nationalism' to shelter the criminal plotters. Having lost their popular basis they turned towards the U.A.R. authorities, to the former Pashas who had their own axe to grind, to rescue them from an inevitable doom.

The upper circles of the U.A.R., bent on the domination of the Arab world especially the annexation of oil rich Iraq, were ready for aggression.

They also raised the slogan of 'Arab Nationalism' (sometimes co-operative democratic Socialism !) to cover up their expansionist designs, although few years ago, the same people were hard at it to prove their Pharaoh origin and nationality !

The plot, however, mis-fired — rather back-fired — owing to the firm stand taken by the Republican forces led by Premier Kassem and the heroic resistance of the masses in Mosul. It is a matter for pride that our Kurdish people took a positive rôle in smashing that dirty plot (it was reported that five thousand armed Kurds took up positions on the hills and a thousand fighters entered Mosul and joined the other Republican forces).

Needless to say, integration and federation are both out of question as long as the anti-Iraqi policy of the U.A.R. continues, for one does not unite with an enemy. Federation, too, is out since it will serve as a screen for further plots.

The crushing of the Shawaf plot was followed by the formal withdrawal from the hated Baghdad Pact, limited purges in the state apparatus, the partial arming of the popular resistance forces and the signing of the Iraqi Soviet Economic Agreement. We welcome these moves and congratulate the Republican Government and its leader Premier Kassem, on their great achievements.

The £50 million Soviet loan covering the cost of many economic projects will doubtless contribute towards raising the standard of living of the people of Iraq.

* * *

Guided by the Provisional Republican Constitution, the Iraqi Government has taken further steps to satisfy the just national rights of the Kurdish people. The return of the rest of the Kurdish refugees in the U.S.S.R. has been facilitated, the four Kurdish patriotic officers executed by the old regime have been posthumously rehabilitated, Newroz has been recognised as the national feast of the Kurdish people, Government advertisements have been authorised to appear in Kurdish for the first time and many more Kurdish journals have been published (including political newspapers which were banned by the former regime).

Above all the Government has decided to set up an 'Education Directorate of Kurdistan' to serve as an independent cultural unit devoted entirely to Iraqi Kurdistan.

This is a democratic gain of tremendous significance. It is a practical recognition of the national structure of the Kurdish people and the first concrete step towards Cultural Autonomy. We have no doubts that the Kurdish language will soon be made official — officially ! The next step is to establish an 'Administrative Region' for Kurdistan, to serve, together with the Education Directorate, as the basis of self-government — cultural and administrative — for Iraqi Kurdistan.

No wonder the Iraqi Republic is considered the Republic of the Kurds and Arabs, and no wonder that the Kurds regard it as their first task to preserve the Republic and carry on its democratic path.

One fantastic charge levelled against the Iraqi Government by the so called 'Arab Nationalists'— has been that the Government incites Arab-Kurdish conflict, although everybody realises that relations between the Kurds and Arabs of Iraq, and indeed the other nationalities, have never been more cordial. Yet at the next spell the Cairo radio calls upon their Kurdish 'brothers' to rise against the Kassem of Iraq !

Yet the essential anti-Kurdish nature of the 'Nationalist Union' regime was revealed by an Egyptian journalist, Riyadh Taha when he complained bitterly that under Nuri no one had ever heard of the Arabs and Kurds in Iraq, 'it was always the Arabs.' Shedding tears on the former corrupt pro-colonialist regime !

* * *

But the Kurds cannot be misled by the demagogues and fire-eaters. Apart from the wise course followed by the great Kurdish leader, Mustafa Barzani (a firm supporter of the Republic and its leader, Premier Kassem) they could compare their conditions in the free Iraqi Kurdistan with those prevailing not only in Turkey and Iran but also in Syria.

The 400,000 Kurds in Syria (about 10% of the population) are denied elementary national and cultural rights. There does not exist one Kurdish school in Syria, the Kurdish language is not taught in the predominantly Kurdish region, no Kurdish journals are allowed to appear (a book on a Kurdish folk-tale appeared about two years ago without the author's name to avoid persecution). A Lebanese newspaper was prohibited from entering Syria after publishing a call by some Kurds for a Kurdish National Congress, and a Syrian news-

paper was suspended for five weeks after publishing an article on Arab-Kurdish brotherhood.

The visit of a Syrian Kurd, Dr Zaza to Iraq was banned—he was brought down from the aircraft in the airport and his passport confiscated, a Kurdish poet, Qedri Jan (Abdul-Qadir Aziz) has been arrested. Kurds are being arrested for the crime of possessing Kurdish books on history, literature and Kurdish alphabet. Kurdish officers and soldiers in the Syrian Army have been dismissed together with many teachers. Kurds cannot obtain jobs without special permits from the C.I.D. Needless to say this is part of the anti-democratic drive in U.A.R., nevertheless a distinct anti-Kurdish policy has been followed by U.A.R. rulers. The swallowing up of Syria by the Egyptian rulers and their subsequent fascist rule, exemplified by the suppression of the cherished democratic liberties, the police terror, the concentration camps, detention without trial, torture and the mad anti-Iraqi campaign, naturally affected the Kurds in Syria (regarded by Egyptian rulers as dangerously pro-Iraq) and aggravated their conditions.

We strongly condemn this fascist terror practised by the U.A.R. rulers and demand the restoration of the democratic rights including the immediate cessation of the persecution of the Kurds in Syria.

* * *

The Conference of the Kurdish Students' Society—United Kingdom Branch, resolved to approach the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations to bring to their attention the violation of the Human Rights of the Kurds by the Turkish and Persian Governments. Is it not a human right for a Kurd to call himself a Kurd? No, say the

Turkish Government, you are 'Mountain Turks.' Five million Kurds in Turkey's Kurdistan are not allowed to have their own schools and publish Kurdish periodicals, no manifestation of Kurdish nationality is permitted.

The situation is similar in Persia. Now the Persian Government has concluded a bilateral military agreement with U.S.A. and started building aggressive military bases in Kurdistan.

The United Nations Commission has now replied that it cannot act on the complaints submitted by individuals — although they have been kind enough to offer to pass on the complaint of the Branch to the Governments concerned.

We are confident that at a suitable time the Iraqi delegation will submit the Kurdish Question to the United Nations. Until then expressions of support to the just aspirations of the Kurdish people and condemnation of denial of their elementary rights by the Turkish, Persian and U.A.R. Governments are welcome.

THE FOURTH CONGRESS

The Fourth Congress of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe will be held this summer. The time and place have provisionally been fixed from 20th-25th July in Vienna. This will give our members an opportunity to participate also in the World Festival of Youth and Students, to be held in Vienna from 26th July to 4th August.

We call upon our entire membership to make every possible effort to attend the Congress and make it a great success.

The Achievements of the Iraqi Republican Government

The Editor of *Kurdistan* asked the Acting Cultural Attaché of the Iraqi Embassy in London, Mr. Abboud Al-Baldawi to list the achievements of the Republican Government of Iraq in the first six months of its existence, and to give the fundamentals of its foreign policy. Mr. Al-Baldawi quickly responded, and stated that the Government:—

1. Declared the Agrarian Reform Law eliminating feudalism and limiting land holdings.
2. Consolidated the slogan of Iraqi Unity (between the Arabs and Kurds and other elements, thus making Iraq a bastion of strength that no power in the world can divide).
3. Recognised the Trade Unions and other social organisations.
4. Restored other democratic rights.
5. Improved the lot of the people by lowering rents, commodity prices and the cost of living and limiting relations between producers and the consumers.
6. Built and opened more primary and secondary schools, opened and widened the capacities of the Evening Institutions, and increased the number of students sent to study abroad, in both Eastern and Western countries.
7. Inaugurated new schemes for expanding irrigation, communications, transport, industry and agriculture.
8. Opened new hospitals.
9. Instigated purges in the Government apparatus and cleared important Government offices of traitors, agents, spies and embezzlers.

10. Abolished the system of Tribal Law.
11. Took measures to improve the countryside.
12. Introduced measures to strengthen the national economy, develop agriculture and raise the material and cultural standards of the people. This is demonstrated by the agreements signed with the United Arab Republic, and with certain neutral Asian and Socialist States.
13. Decided to introduce a Social Security Scheme.
14. Set up the People's Court in Baghdad to submit for trial traitors and foreign agents, and to expose the conspiracies of Imperialism and its agents against Free Arab Nationalism in Iraq and the Arab countries

Continuing on the level of Arab Affairs, he stated that, 'our Republic has taken a stand with the United Arab Republic, and has announced cultural and trade agreements with her

Supported the Free Arab Movement in order to strengthen the Free Arab League

Supported the Algerian Cause, recognised the Free Algerian Government in exile, contributed materially to the Algerian Liberation Army and started a fund for that purpose'

Finally, on the Interational level, Mr. Al-Baldawi stated that the Iraqi Republic:—

Stood from the beginning with the principles of the Bandung Conference and with all freedom and peace loving peoples

Declared its attitude of positive neutrality to the two world camps, and its friendship for, and its peaceful intentions towards all friendly and pe. ce- loving States

Has concluded cultural and trade agreements with certain Socialist States.

The Iraqi Revolution and the Kurdish Question

by SALAH M. SAADALLA, England

To study the effects of the Iraqi Revolution on the Kurdish Question, it is necessary to know some facts on Kurdistan, the Kurdish people and the history of its national Question.

Kurdistan is the region inhabited by the Kurds. It is a vast mountainous country covering East Turkey, West Iran, North and North-East Iraq and North-East Syria; the Kurdish population is estimated at about 8.5 millions, distributed as follows:—

<i>State</i>	<i>Kurdish Population</i>
Turkey	4,000,000
Iran	2,500,000
Iraq	1,500,000
Syria	400,000
U.S.S.R.	100,000
TOTAL	8,500,000

Thus the proportion of the Kurdish population in Iraqi Kurdistan to the total Kurdish population is just over 17.5% and to the population of Iraq is 23%.

The Kurds constitute a nation: they possess all the features which make-up a nation. They are a stable community, occupying a common territory (despite arbitrary frontier divisions), speaking a common language, sharing a common culture, common traditions and customs, and possessing the basis for a single national economy.

The Kurds have inhabited the region which bears their name, since the dawn of history. They

ruled it about 2,000 B.C., and some Kurdish tribes such as Mukri, Baban and Miran are well known as far back as 600 B.C. The independent Kurdish Kingdom of Shahrizor lasted from 11th to 16th century; the Mongols destroyed this kingdom as the Seljoks destroyed the Kurdish Mervanite principality in the 11th century.

The leading role which Saladin, the celebrated Kurd, played in resisting the Crusaders is well known to the world. He united the Kurdish tribes in present Syria under his rule and established the Eyobite principality in the 12th century. The Ottoman armies occupied Kurdistan in the 16th century: in 1848 the last Kurdish principality, Botan, fell to the Ottoman armies. Kurdistan then became divided between Turkey and Persia. In 1876, the Kurdish people revolted, under the leadership of Obaidulla, against the Persian rule, and in 1914 the Kurds of Bitlis rose against the Turkish rule.

With the end of the First World War, the allies divided up the spoils of war. It was generally held that a Kurdish State would be set up — along with others in the Middle East. Major E. W. C. Noel, in a memorandum to the Civil Commissioner at Bagdad on 27th September 1919, stated that, 'there are certain areas in the Eastern Willayets which are populated by a subject people distinct and separate from the Turks; who have suffered from 400 years of Turkish mis-rule and the persistent effort to drown Kurdish nationality, and force the Kurd, an Aryan, to assimilate to a non-Aryan culture and nationality.'

The Sevres Treaty, signed in 1920, recognised in the Articles 62, 63 and 64 the rights of the Kurdish people to an independent and united State, but the Kemalist elements refused to abide by this Treaty, which was supplanted by the Lausanne Treaty (1923), which disregarded the right of the Kurdish people to a national state.

The British political representative in Bagdad, discussing the frontiers of the proposed States of Iraq and Kurdistan after the First World War, stated in a telegram dated 13th June 1919, to the Secretary of State for India, 'For economic and for strategic reasons, and in order to secure to Iraq State the advantages of a mountainous tract, well wooded and capable of great development it is desirable to include Suleimaniya, Rania and Koi-Sanjaq within the limit of the Mesopotamian Administration. Erbil is one of the recognised railway alignments to Mosul and like Aqra should be excluded from Kurdistan (the proposed State after World War I) Dohuk and Zakho must also be regarded as within Mesopotamia but not Amadia.'

Major Noel advised the British Government not to partition Kurdistan, but his view was over-ruled and the British Government aimed first to set up several autonomous Kurdish States. The British and Iraqi Governments, in fact, issued a joint statement in 1922, recognising the right of the Kurds to establish a Kurdish Government within Iraq and hoped 'that the different Kurdish elements would soon reach an agreement among themselves concerning the form and the boundaries of that Government, and its economic relations with the British and Iraqi Governments.'

A Kurdish State was in fact established; it was autonomous, with a ruler, Sheikh Mahmud and a Government headed by Prime Minister Sheikh Qadir, but the British Government sent aircraft which bombed Suleimaniya and dispatched troops which occupied the city and suppressed the young Kurdish Government.

At about the same time, the Kurds rose near Urmia under the leadership of 'Simko' against the Persian rule, demanding self-government. They defeated Persian troops in several battles. It is significant that Major E. J. Ross in a Note to the British Government, on Urmia, in 1919 wrote that, 'As far as can be seen the Persian Government will eventually be thrown out by the Kurds unless we actively intervene. If this section of the Kurdish nation frees itself from the Persian rule which it dislikes and asks to be included in the independent Kurdish State to which it naturally belongs, are we to say "No" and be prepared to keep it out by force? It will be useless to say to the Kurds that we have promised not to touch Persia or to allow

her integrity to be violated. Kurds do not recognise our right to give these pledges at their expense.'

In 1925, the Kurdish people carried out their greatest national revolution in Kharpot, Turkey's Kurdistan, under the leadership of Sheikh Said Pirani, demanding the right of self-determination. The Kurds achieved important military victories and approached Diarbakir which frightened the reactionary Turkish leaders, who declared general mobilisation and suppressed the revolt with outside assistance after a fight lasting many months.

In 1927, the Kurdish people rose once again in the region of Agri-Dagh, after a conference there which united the smaller Kurdish organisations. It lasted a year, during which a Kurdish civil administration was established.

On 6th September 1930, a massacre was carried out by the Iraqi Government troops and their British advisers against the peaceful civilian population of Suleimaniya, an event now called the 'Black Day', the aim being to promote Kurdish Arab enmity. In 1936 and 1937, Kurdish risings broke out in Dersim against the fascist measures of the Turkish rulers.

In 1943 and 1945, the Barzani revolts occurred in Iraqi Kurdistan due to local grievances and for limited national rights which later developed into a manifestation of the Kurdish national aspirations as stated by their leader Mustafa Barzani, 'I appeal to the Kurdish and Arab peoples to co-operate and unify their efforts in the common struggle against a common enemy — imperialism and its agents — so that each people may live in its own land, free and independent.'

In 1946, the courageous Kurdish people achieved a great victory by establishing the Kurdish Democratic Republic of Mehabad in Iranian Kurdistan, which set about (as Justice W. O. Douglas recorded in his book 'Strange Land and Friendly People') to build Kurdish schools, to publish Kurdish books, magazines and newspapers, and proclaimed a Republican Constitution which pledged to defend the interests of the workers by forming trade unions to improve their conditions, and declared the necessity of educating the people regardless of race, religion or sex, and the political, economical and social equality of women with men.

The Kurdish Government distributed land to the peasants and signed a treaty of friendship with the Azerbaijan Republic. Imperialism and Persian reactionaries conspired against this Republic and suppressed it a year after its birth.

Meanwhile the Kurdish nation was being subjected to barbaric campaigns aiming at its complete destruction. Thousands of Kurds were deported to

West Anatolia, their properties confiscated, the Kurdish language banned, cultural Kurdish institutions closed, Kurdish newspapers and magazines banned, even the words 'Kurd' and 'Kurdistan' omitted from text books, and the Turkish authorities started officially to call the Kurds 'Mountain Turks'. The Turkish Government isolated the region of Kurdistan from the outside world and set up a military administration there. Even the Kurdish costume was banned.

The situation was not much better in Iran, although the conditions of the Kurds in Iraq were fairer. The Kurds of U.S.S.R. enjoy their full national rights.

Throughout this period the ties of brotherhood and solidarity were ever strengthening between the Arabs and Kurds of Iraq in the many battles that were raging, in the revolutions of 1920, resistance to the 1930 Treaty, the massacre of Gaworbghi workers in Kirkuk in 1946, the 1948 uprising against the Portsmouth Treaty and the uprising of 1952.

In 1955, the reactionary Iraqi Government signed the Baghdad Pact with the Turkish, Persian, Pakistani and British Governments. Nuri Al-Said made it clear that the Pact was not only intended against the alleged Communist danger but against the Kurdish national movement too. In fact the Baghdad Pact was first applied to the Kurdish people when the Jowanrodi Kurds (rising against the oppression and excessive taxes of the Persian Government) attempted to withdraw into Iraq, but the fire of the Iraqi police drove them back into Iran — into the fire of Persian troops. The situation further worsened after the establishment of the Hashemite Union.

I have attempted to give a brief account of the national struggle of the Kurdish people in the various regions of Kurdistan, to secure their national rights. It would be noted that the Kurdish national movement is an old, deep-rooted, clearly defined and aims basically to achieve the right of self-determination, to free Kurdistan and achieve the national unity of the Kurdish nation. You would also observe that the Kurdish National Question is not newly born but it is a reflection of the continuous denial of the rights of the Kurdish people. It is a national, not a minority question. Talking of Kurdistan as a nation of nomadic tribesmen is false and entirely outdated. It is a society like any other, with practically the whole population sedentary working mainly on agriculture, with the industry expanding slowly, but surely. It is quite clear, too, that it was imperialism which partitioned Kurdistan and deprived the Kurdish people of its rights. It is therefore natural for the Kurdish national movement to concentrate its fight against imperialism and its reactionary agents.

These were the miserable conditions under which the Kurdish people were enduring. Then the dawn of July 14th heralded the revolution of the Iraqi people, Arabs and Kurds, under the leadership of the gallant Army.

The reaction of the Kurdish people was quick and decisive, without hesitation or doubt they welcomed the Revolution and supported it wholeheartedly, and enthusiastically worked to preserve the Republic against all hostile elements. Then the Provisional Constitution was proclaimed; this Constitution considers in Article III the Arabs and Kurds as partners and recognises their national rights within Iraq. This article which was later adopted by the National Union Front, will truly become the corner stone in the liberation of all Kurdistan and the achievement of the national unity of the Kurdish nation. The Kurds were also delighted when the Coat of Arms of the Iraqi Republic was announced (a Kurdish dagger appears with an Arab sword.)

For the Iraqi people, including the Kurds, the old regime was a terrible nightmare. Its collapse and replacement by a Republican democratic order has opened up new vistas of progress and national prosperity before the Kurds and paved the way for the solution of the Kurdish Question, which can only be solved with the establishment and extension of democracy and the recognition of the right of the Kurds to self-determination.

We therefore feel that the first task of the Kurdish people in Iraq is to preserve the Iraqi Republic and consolidate the gains of the 14th July Revolution. In addition, they must assist their brothers, in every possible way, who suffer from the injustice of the reactionary Turkish and Persian Governments; their brothers across the arbitrary frontiers that separate them. The Arab people in Iraq think of their brothers fighting in Algiers, Aden and Oman. Naturally. The Kurdish people too think of their brethren in Iran, Turkey, Syria and the Soviet Union, sharing their happiness and sorrow.

The Kurdish people, as Mustafa Barzani stated to the *News Chronicle* correspondent in Baghdad, are indivisible and the frontiers that separate them artificial. Thus, the liberation of Iraqi Kurdistan will make it a strong base for the Kurdish national movement to render assistance to the Kurds still within the sphere of imperialism.

Colonel Majid Mohamed Amin, the Military Attorney General in the Peoples' Court in Baghdad, rightly stated in the Court on 25.1.1958 that, 'the sons of the partitioned Kurdish nation look with inspiration and delight to their Kurdish brothers in Iraq who gained their freedom on 14th July ...

the revolution of the Arabs and Kurds and other nationalities. Today, Iraqi Kurdistan in the Republic is a torch of hope to the sons of Kurdistan everywhere.' It is therefore of exceptional importance to the Kurdish people and their national movement to achieve self-government — administrative and cultural — in Iraqi Kurdistan.

The reactionary rulers of Turkey and Iran began to worry as a result of the freeing of Iraqi Kurdistan, anticipating some unwelcome consequences in the regions forcibly incorporated in their states. Their broadcasts and press started to attack the Iraqi Republic, protesting and shedding crocodile tears on the alleged bad conditions of the Kurds in Iraq! Mr. Menderes met the Shah of Persia and they found a solution for the whole problem by demanding the incorporation of Iraqi Kurdistan into Iran!

The British press then entered the field. The *Daily Telegraph* (10.12.58) stated that, 'Kurdish nationalism is a genuine aspiration but was being exploited by the Russians . . .' Next day *The Times* correspondent in the Middle East wrote that, 'the Kurds are a powerful minority with a sixth or more of Iraq's total population, with a history of lawlessness and insurrection, and a traditional contempt for Arabs. If serious disaffection could be inspired among them now, Baghdad would be in trouble.' When the incitements to move the Kurds against the republican order failed, these papers concluded in despair that the Kurds were all Communists! Added the *News Chronicle* on 17.12.58, 'The Kurds were Russia's pet Trojan horses long before the 1917 Revolution.'

Incidentally, when some Arab chauvinists began to speculate on the Kurds' intentions, the Iraqi Premier, Abdul-Karim Kassem announced at the Arab Lawyers' Conference in Baghdad that the Kurds had foiled a plot against the Republic in Iraqi Kurdistan and handed over maps and money, given them by plotters, to the government authorities. It is well known now that recent anti-republican plots did not emanate from the Kurdish people, who are loyal to the Arab-Kurdish solidarity and fully co-operate with the Republican authorities. The Premier commended this, saying that, 'we have become a mighty force, frightening the enemy, due to the co-operation of the Arabs and Kurds.*

Following the Revolution, the political parties in Iraqi Kurdistan signed a 'Charter of Co-operation' which included:—

1. The preservation of the Republic and the consolidation of its national and democratic path.

*This solidarity was further demonstrated in the crushing of the Shawaf plot in Mosul.

2. Recognition of the right of the Kurdish people to self-determination.
3. Combating all separatist ideas and movements nurtured by the imperialists, reactionaries and agents to create racial discord or cosmopolitan trends in order to separate Iraqi Kurdistan from the Iraqi Republic. Consolidating the solidarity between the two main nationalities — Arab and Kurd — and developing their common struggle for peace and preservation of the Republican and democratic order.

There are two important points:—

1. The Kurds support the Iraqi Republic absolutely because of the independent foreign policy of the Government, the policy of peaceful co-existence and positive neutrality based on the U.N. Charter and the Bandung Conference, the democratic, anti-imperialist, anti-feudal policy, the many reforms (such as the Agrarian Reform) carried out, which correspond to the deepest aspirations of the Kurdish people.
2. The Kurdish people support the Arab national liberation movement because it is just, anti-imperialist and serves the cause of peace and democracy. They also support the aspiration of the Arab nation for complete independence and national democratic unity.

The Kurds expect that any moves in the future in Iraq towards the Arab Union will be accompanied by steps to extend the Kurdish national rights, such as making the Kurdish language the official language and the language of instruction in schools in Iraqi Kurdistan — the achievement of self-government based on cultural autonomy, and finally the application of the right of self-determination.

Arab-Kurdish friendship is unparalleled in history. It is deep and mutual. It is the basis of their mutual respect for their national rights and their common struggle. Perhaps this explains some remarks by Colonel Mahdawi the President of the Peoples' Court in Baghdad, which implied that, 'The Kurds from Iskanderon to Mahammara will unite by 1960 with the Kurds of Iraq within the Iraqi Republic.'

May be it is a possible solution to the Kurdish Question!

I would like to end this article by quoting a letter from my young brother on the situation in Iraq, for it illustrates our attitude well. He wrote:— 'Brother! We are now in a new era, the era of freedom and peace. We have, fortunately, a leader unique in his selfless service of the people. We love him very much for his modesty and firmness. He holds to Arab-Kurdish brotherhood

and democracy. Today we began enrolling in the Peoples' Militia. We consider this as our duty to the nation in order to preserve the gains of the heroic Republic and the reforms it has carried out. Newroz (Kurdish national day) has become an

official holiday and will be more highly esteemed in the Republic: the Kurds have now a great standing in the Republic. All the Iraqi people, Arabs and Kurds, are solidly united behind their leader, Abdul-Karim Kassem.'



12 YEARS AGO
Qazi Mehemed (left) President of the Kurdish Autonomous Republic of Mehabad was hanged by the Persian Government 12 years ago. On the right is Mustafa Barzani, commander of the armed forces of the Republic, who is now, once again, a 'soldier of the Republic', the Iraqi Republic

The Kurds in Turkey

by JALAL BEYTOSHI, Leipzig, German Democratic Republic

To talk of the Kurdish people, their history and heroic struggle for their independent political structure in Turkey's Kurdistan, it is necessary to go back to study the past of this people and its fights in this part of the world.

To simplify and in order to avoid being charged with partiality we must search for proofs in text books and what the historians have written on the struggle of the Kurdish people. It is also fair to be guided in this by the famous Turkish Traveller Olya Chalabi, who says in his book that there were 11 independent Kurdish states or principalities in the beginning of Sultan Salim's rule, with a flourishing civilisation and 'advanced' science and industry, distributed in Kurdish military triangle between Iran, Iraq and Anadolia Syria and the Caucasus. These states fell before the Ottoman invasions as a result of constant quarrels and disunity.

Yes, they could have resisted but the personal interests of the feudalists and princes were an obstacle. The most important of these principalities were:—

1. Botan, with a population of over 500,000 and one of the best known families was the Azizan.
2. Hakari.
3. Wan.
4. Diarbakir.
5. Bitlis.

I shall briefly describe the last two in the light of Olya's report owing to their importance and their heroic resistance to the Ottoman Turks.

The Diarbakir Principality:—^{Ewliya Çelebi}Olya Chalabi states that the Kurdish state in Diarbakir was distinguished by the heroism of its men and the courage of its organised troops during its independence which enabled it to resist the Ottoman invaders for tens of years. The Ottomans could not break through their forts without heavy casualties and then only after employing tens of thousands of troops. Olya frequently referred to the advance of architecture in the Kurdish State of Diarbakir and of its cultural and scientific standard, which is clearly shown in the advancement of medicine, pharmacy, theology, literature, etc.

The Bitlis Principality:—(Olya Chalabi) states again that it was a great cultural centre containing 20 institutions and more than 70 non-religious schools and many industries especially watch-making. As soon as the Ottomans occupied these principalities they began to rule in the name of religion and intensely spread propaganda for the 'Caliph' which helped them considerably.

But the Kurdish people did not give up the fight. They struggled together with Turkish democrats against the racist policy of the Ottoman leaders. This movement which included armed resistance, lasted from 1875–1886. It was defeated by Turkish-Persian collaboration.

THE KURDS IN THE MUSTAFA KEMAL PERIOD

During the World War I, the Kurdish people suffered heavily, but as the war ended and the Ottoman Empire collapsed they gathered their forces and pressed the world statesmen to grant them their rights. On the other hand the Greeks were attacking Turkey and the Armenians were demanding Qaris and Ardehan. It was then, at a critical time for Turkey that Ataturk appeared. He went to the Kurds, spoke of the Turkish Kurdish friendship, promised them a Kurdish Government and appealed for assistance. The Kurdish leaders responded. So the Turks and Kurds fought unitedly against the Greeks and won. The Kurds also began to demand that the big powers discuss their problem and sent an official delegate 'General Sherif' to represent them in the Peace Conference. The ensuing Sevres Treaty, signed in 1920 recognised in articles 62, 63, 64, the rights of the Kurdish nation to set up an independent state. But these articles of the Sevres Treaty were never carried out and the matter was dropped especially after the Kemalist Coup d'etat. The Big Powers then signed the Lausanne Treaty with Turkey which deprived the Kurdish people of all their national rights and Kurdistan was partitioned between the expansionist states.

This is what took place on the stage of international politics and that is what the imperialists wanted for the Kurdish people. But the Kurds fought on to achieve their national aims and to revenge themselves of those who betrayed promises. Secret Societies were formed and calls were issued to the Kurdish people which resulted in revolutions in the regions of Diarbakir, Mardin and Orfa under the leadership of Sheikh Said Pirani. But the revolution was brutally suppressed and Pirani and Dr. Faud were hanged together with 45 other Leaders.

But that was by no means the end of the struggle. This time a political party called Khoybon —

Independence — was formed with branches in many regions in Turkey's Kurdistan working under the slogan — 'Liberation of Kurdistan.' It was this organisation which led the revolution in the region of Agri-Dagh on the Iranian-Turkish frontier under the leadership of Ihsan Nuri. This revolt was also suppressed. The campaign of suppression was accompanied by shameful and monstrous crimes. During the last four decades the situation has worsened. A clique representing the worst form of reaction has taken and sold out the independence of Turkey. The Turkish authorities used all means to preserve the miserable conditions over power in Kurdistan:

1. They spread the idea that the Kurds are of Turkish origin and those claiming to be Kurds are merely dissidents. The appearance of the Kurds is nothing but a result of the work of imperialists wishing to make Turkey divided and thus created this imaginary nationality! They also say that everyone who speaks the Turkish language is Turkish (Turkish is taught compulsorily in Kurdistan).
2. They have formed a gigantic police force, secret and uniformed to terrorise the citizens, who are arrested at the least sign of opposition and without knowing the date of their trial.
3. They have registered all the Kurdish cultural workers and scientists, etc. as Turks — such as the great Kurdish historian Sharaf-khan of Bitlis.
4. The Kurdish language is officially banned.
5. Deportation policy: The Turkish Government deports the Kurds from their regions to the Turkish regions.
6. There is no Kurdish programme — not even a Kurdish song — in the Broadcasts in Turkey, i.e. the Kurdish people in Turkey numbering over seven million are denied their most elementary rights.

This is what the traitorous Turkish Governments have done against the Kurdish people in Turkey. But can the terror succeed? No. The people of Turkey and the Kurdish people in Turkey's Kurdistan will break their chains. Let them say what they will, the Kurds have preserved all their national features and inhabit their own regions and resist the policy of deportation and do not leave in spite of terror and oppression.

Here are the regions inhabited by the Kurdish people in Turkey:

- (a) The regions inhabited almost exclusively by the Kurds, 95%–100%—
1. Hakari; 2. Wan; 3. Agri; (Karaköse);
 4. Qaris; 5. Arzerom; 6. Bengof; 7. Muske
 8. Bitlis; 9. Sirt; 10. Mardin; 11. Diarbakir; 12. Malatya; 13. Betunjel (Dersim);
 - Tunceli

14. Erzenan; 15. Meresh; 16. Sevas;
17. Razi-Aintap.

- (b) Regions where they form a sizeable proportion:
1. Ankara — the towns of Haimna, Bala and Girsher have Kurdish majorities. 2. Qonya — the Kurds inhabit the regions of Yazghat and Jehanli where they constitute absolute majorities.
- (c) In the region of Nidi Aqsra 50,000 Kurds live.
- (d) In towns in the Adena area, 100,000 Kurds live.
- (e) In Istanbul, 50,000 Kurds live, the figure rising in summer. The main provinces inhabited by the Kurds in Turkey are:

1. Diarbakir — this is an important centre in the heart of Kurdistan; 2. Bitlis; 3. Moshe; 4. Wan; 5. Jabaqchor; 6. Dersim; 7. Qaris; 8. Kerkosh; 9. Mardin.

ROCKET AND ATOMIC BASES

The main Kurdish regions taken by the Turkish Government as military bases near the frontier of the Soviet Union are: 1. Arzerom — where the Turkish third division is stationed under the direction of American militarists. 2. Diarbakir, where airfields have been built especially in the fortified mountain regions. 3. Adena — where American atomic bases have been built. Preparations are being made to build rocket bases there (other atomic and rocket bases are in Izmir and Manis.)

Turkey Reminded of Pledges

The following letter was sent on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe, to Mr. A. Menderes, Turkish Prime Minister during the Greco-Turkish Conference in Zurich:—

The Greece-Turkish Conference opened yesterday in Zurich to find a solution for the Cyprus question; the Executive Committee of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe, wishing for the emergence of a solution for the problem in accord with the interests of the Cypriot people, shall permit itself to review briefly the unhappy conditions under which the five million Kurds live in Turkish Kurdistan in the Eastern provinces of the Republic in order that the Turkish Government may take note of it.

We regret to note that the five million Kurds of Turkey, while suffering as a result of extremely bad economic conditions, are also deprived of all national rights, including the right to study in their own national language.

The Turkish Government goes so far that it even ignores the existence of these five million Kurds. This contradicts what Mr. Ismet Inunu used to declare during the Lausanne Conference in 1922-1923. Indeed, Mr. Inunu used to ascertain during the discussion on the Mosul Question as the conference documents show, that Turkey is a state of two peoples namely the Turkish people and the Kurdish people, that both peoples have absolute rights in participating in the Turkish Government and in full national equality. The miserable conditions of the Kurdish people in Turkey, differ entirely from this picture.

After the failure of the Sevres Treaty in 1920, which decided in favour of establishing an independent Kurdish State or self-governing Kurdish State, the Lausanne Treaty was concluded in 1923

which guaranteed in Articles 38-44 all the non-Turkish elements in Turkey and non-Muslim minorities, minimum cultural rights and freedom of expression and press in their own non-Turkish language. We regret to note that the Turkish Government has not taken into consideration these articles of the Lausanne Treaty, with regard to its Kurdish citizens, who constitute the largest nationality in Turkey after the Turks.

Your Excellency may wish to challenge our estimate of five million Kurds in Turkey. Although we consider this figure correct, probably underestimated, we would remind you that the periodic Bulletin of the Central Bank of the Turkish Republic No. 66, March, 1948, states that the Kurdish language is spoken by 9.16% of the total population of the republic. If we regard your statistics as correct, the Kurdish population will still be about 2,500,000 that is 30 times the number of Turks in Cyprus.

While you are negotiating with the Greek Government to find a solution for the Cyprus Question, to secure the rights of 80,000 to 100,000 Turks on the island, we request you to carry out the promises uttered by the Turkish delegation in the Lausanne Conference, and apply Articles 38, 39 of the Lausanne Treaty in the interests of the Kurds of Turkey and recognise the personality of these as a nationality differing from the Turks and as citizens in the Republic . . . and grant them especially the right to study in their national language and the practicing of any other right born of their national structure within the Turkish Republic."

Copies of the letter were sent to Mr. Karamanlis, Greek Prime Minister, the Secretary General of the United Nations, Human Rights Commission (U.N.). It was also released to the press.

The Kurds in Iran*

A Historic-ethnographic essay by T. F. ARISTOVA

Translation from the Russian by A. N. AL-SADI, London.

Iran is a multi-national state of more than 18 million people. Its territory is inhabited by peoples differing in social, ethnic, linguistic and religious belonging.

The economic and strategic positions of Iran had made her, since a long time, an arena for the struggle of imperialist states. These have converted Iran, now, not only to a cheap source of raw materials but also to a bridgehead for an attack on the Soviet Union.

The imperialists are utilising the Iranian Government as an aggressive political tool against the Iranian people who are to be used as cannon fodder in the imperialist struggle for world supremacy. These policies of the Anglo-American imperialists contradict the interests of the Iranian people who are suffering from imperialist oppression as well as their own bourgeoisie and feudal lords.

The national liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries after the second world war, at a period in which developed a new general crisis of the world capitalist system, acquired far better strength and political maturity in comparison with the anti-imperialist movement after the first world war. This flame of the emancipation movement involved all the colonised east, and Iran in particular.

Among nationalities of Iran, the Kurds occupy a special position. Like others, they are suffering from the colonial system. The position of the Kurdish people is still more complicated since they are divided between several states: Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria.

The fate of the Kurdish people, who are about seven million, in the present era of crises of the colonial system, represent considerable interest, as in many respects does the fate of the neighbouring peoples of the Middle East.

The centuries old Kurdish history had been influenced by many neighbouring states and peoples. This undoubtedly, has affected the Kurds materially as well as spiritually.

In spite of the foreign influence, the Kurds have preserved up till now their own national culture with inherent specific characteristics. In particular, in spite of age long oppression and forcible political assimilation, the Kurds have preserved their own

national language. This confirms the words of Comrade Stalin about the firmness and colossal resistability of language to forcible assimilation.† The Kurds have also preserved their own national costumes and a series of customs and ceremonies.

The study of the history, origin, development and present cultural and material conditions of the Kurdish people, and in the light of these, the possible, future fate of the Kurdish nation appears to be a proper subject for specialised investigation.

The authoress's present thesis concerns the following problems:—

1. To give a general ethnographic description of the Iran Kurds.
2. To show the sweeping national emancipation movement of the Iran Kurds after the second world war.
3. Illustrate by ethnographic material the different fates of the 'foreign' and Soviet Kurds, and compare the two systems (Capitalist and Socialist) and show the change in the life and culture of the Soviet Kurds as a result of the Leninist-Stalinist national policy.

Theoretically and methodologically, the thesis had been based on classical Marxist-Leninist works, in particular the works of Stalin on the national question and his work 'The economic problems of socialism in the U.S.S.R.'

The authoress, in her work, has followed the direction of the well known position of Comrade Stalin. 'Each nation — all alike large and small — has its own qualitative peculiarities which belong to it alone and which are not possessed by others. these peculiarities, in each nation, are deposited in the general treasure of world culture, enriching and supplementing it.'**

The thesis consists of an introduction, five chapters, and conclusions. There is also a supplement as well as an album illustrating the material. Material on the Kurds living in the Armenian S.S.R. had been gathered by the authoress during a visit to the Soviet Armenias' Kurds in 1951.

I The first chapter surveys literature on the Kurds in general and Iran Kurds in particular. This is followed by, the far from complete, ethnographic information chiefly concerning all Kurds without specific isolation of the Iran Kurds.

† Stalin—*Marxism and the Language Question*.

** Stalin in a speech at a dinner given in honour of a Finnish Governmental delegation on 7th April 1948—*Bolshevik* 1948 No. 7.

* The essay was written in 1953 as the authoress' thesis for the degree of candidate of Historical Science at the Institute of Ethnography, Academy of Sciences, USSR.

Most of the works about the Kurds published in Western Europe, had been written by travellers and missionaries. A great number of books devoted to the Kurdish Question were published from the 19th to the beginning of the 20th centuries, in German and French. In the present time considerable number of works on the Kurds had been published in English. Many of these works reflect racialist and chauvinistic tendencies (works of Ripla, Booshan, Brown, Jackson, Shultz and others.)

Some insignificant material is from literature in the Persian language: (Afshar, Nader, Chokhraz and others), and the work of M. Kaeykhan *The general geography of Iran* (1931), A. Razmar *The Military geography of Iran* (1941), R. Yasem *Kurds and their historic and ethnic origin* (1945), from the *Geographic dictionary of the population of Iran*.

The literature on the Persian language propagates the Pan-Iranian theory, that Kurds according to culture, language and religion are Persians (Abbasi, Cendzhabi, R. Yasemi).

Neglect towards the ethnographic study of the Iran Kurds is explained by the self-conceited policy of assimilation followed by the Iranian Government. This makes a feeble attempt to prove that Kurds belong to 'The great and proud Iranian nation' and that Kurds are 'Pure Iranians'.

In the Russian literature until the first half of the 19th century; in the articles of the magazine *Caucasus*, *The Caucasus news department of the Russian Geographical Society*, *Transactions of the Russian Geographical Society*, *Collected material on Asia*, *Collected material describing countries and tribes of the Caucasus*, and others, numerous fragmentary information on the ethnography of the Kurds had been reported by different authors (Arakelyan, Gagaren, Kartsev, Massalski, Maximovith-Vasilkoviski, Khanekov, Zeodlits, Kamcarakan, Khachatoorov, Maonzel and others).

At the end of the first half of the 19th century, works by Russian authors, dedicated especially to the Kurds and their ethnography, began to appear (Abovyan, Larkh, Egiazarov). Of these, the researches of Lezhich, alone are dedicated to Kurds of Iran. The rest of the authors examine the ethnography of Transcaucasus Kurds.

In contrast to West European, as well as Iranian authors, the majority of the Russian investigators are factual. They show that the Kurdish people do have a culture of their own.

Armed with the progressive Marxist-Leninist theory, Soviet specialists on the Kurds, a large number of whom are Kurdish scientific workers, have continued and developed the progressive tendency of the Russian scientists, achieving consider-

able success in the study of history, language and ethnography of the Kurdish people. Abundant material on the history, economics and ethnography of the Kurds is contained in the newspapers *The New East* (1925), *The Agrarian Problem* (1931), the magazine *The Dawn of the East* (1925), *Material on the National-Colonial Problem* (1934), *The Soviet Ethnography* (1949, 1951, 1952). Valuable and interesting material on the ethnography of Iran Kurds is contained in the work of O. L. Vilchevsky 'Kurds of North-West Iran', which is in the form of a short essay. Last but not least, the works of the Kurds: (Amin Avdal, Adzhie Dzhendi, Ch. Bakaev, K. Koordoev). *Haciqé Cindi*

II The second chapter gives general information about the Kurds (where they are settled in the country and their numbers, religion and language, and available ethnographic information) as well as a short historic essay and information (data) about Kurdish tribes in Iran. The historical essay shows that all the history of the Kurdish people is filled with struggle against conquerors (Romans, Arabs, Seljuks, etc.), by preserving their independent culture, language and political independence. The short historical essay covers the period from ancient times up to the second world war. One third of a chapter is devoted to the material conditions and culture of the Iran Kurds from the 19th to the 20th century (occupations, dwellings, women's costumes and ornaments, men's costumes and arms, utensils and food, social and domestic relations, music, dancing and religion).

The social system of the Iran Kurds is characterised by feudal relationships. Their fundamental occupations are cattle breeding and agriculture. Cattle breeding appears to be the main occupation of nomadic and semi-nomadic Kurds, and is based chiefly on breeding small horned cattle (goats). Breeding big horned cattle (buffalos, cows and bulls) have secondary importance.

Agriculture is widespread, to unequal degrees, almost everywhere except at the regions of high mountains.

The food is, fundamentally, from agricultural products: barley, wheat, maize, lentil, sugar-beet and rice here and there. Of industrial crops, tobacco is widespread, vegetable crops are also widespread. The earth of Iran Kurdistan is fertile, but it is treated by primitive tools — a characteristic of the whole of Iran. These are, on the whole, wooden ploughs with iron tips. Other tools used in agriculture processes are: boards for thrashing corn, wooden shovels, pitch forks and similar.

Many Kurds make a living by making and trading in carpets, felts and other wollen goods. Kurdish

carpets, according to their manufacture, may be divided into proper or nap carpets and non-pile carpets. The first category are attributed to: 'Khankefi', 'Emani', 'Cenne', 'Mina-khani'. The second type are the carpets of 'Zili' or 'Bar' and 'Dzhardzhi'. There are detailed drawings of different types of Kurdish carpets.

Felts manufactured by the Kurds are of two types: 'khoresani' — the best quality and 'kolav' which is rougher and gets a worse treatment than the 'khoresani'.

In addition the Iran Kurds make men's waist-coats and caps. From woollen articles: bags, men's, women's and children's socks and stockings, and linen for tents are made.

Kurdish villages are usually divided into several blocks, which are from two to four or more. On the plains few of the towns or villages of Iran Kurds differ from the Persian, Armenian or Azerbaijani villages. The characteristic buildings here are the mud houses with flat roofs.

The chapter also describes Kurdish dwellings with cupola shaped roofs.

Irrespective of building materials; the Kurdish summer quarters, in the interior layout and to a considerable extent in construction, frequently, appear almost of the same type for all settled Kurds

Cupola shaped roofs are the characteristics of the upper apartments. In the centre of the cupola there is an opening for light and smoke (there being no windows).

Such summer dwellings may consist of one or several apartments of square or rectangular shapes. Quality and dimensions depend on the prosperity of the owner. The homes of poor Kurds (the fundamental masses of the population), consist, usually, of one apartment which serves as a dwelling as well as for the upkeep of cattle. With prosperous Kurds, there are special places for accomodating sheep, cattle, etc. Parts of the house are joined by corridors.

Nomadic as well as semi-nomadic Kurds live in the mountains in summer where tents serve as living quarters. The anti-room side of the tent, as a rule, is opened orientated to the east. The back and lateral sides are protected by the section sloping from above and roughly half a meter to the ground. In winter tents are divided, by means of curtains or screens, to several sections.

Available information about the costumes of Iran Kurds describe those existing in the Armenian S.S.R. of the 'Brook' tribe, a considerable fraction of which lives in the North-West of Iran.

The characteristic national costume of the women of Iran Kurds is the woollen knitted belt—

'pishte', the head-dress which has the appearance of a silk clothing or fez, made from cloth and decorated with coins; as well as the absence of yashmak. An inalienable and important part of women's costumes are the numerous adornments (of ears, neck, breasts, wrists and feet).

The description of the male costumes of Iran Kurds is given in the data.

Utensils used by the Kurds may be classified according to the materials they are made from (copper, clay, stone and cast iron).

A chapter investigates the problem of storing food (grains, meat and dairy products). The food of Kurds populating the valleys and occupied in farming is mainly from crops and vegetable dishes. In the food of semi-nomadic and nomadic Kurds, meat and dairy products predominate over crops and vegetables.

A highly original national art had been created by the Kurds. Round dancing 'Govend' is very popular. 'Govend' is of two varieties: a special dance with leaps—'chopi' and a smooth dance—'Nerm'.

The analysis of the material and spiritual culture of the Iran Kurds permits the following conclusions:—

The material and spiritual culture of the Iran Kurds present itself as the produce of centuries old historic development of the proud Kurdish people. It refutes the false racialist 'theory' about the absence of any kind of culture among nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples especially the Kurds.

At the same time one observes, in the culture of the Kurdish people, some distinctions of the other peoples of the Caucasus and the Middle East. This is the result of the prolonged economic, historic and cultural links between the Kurdish and neighbouring peoples.

The development of the national culture of Iran Kurds is hindered by the policy of pan-Iranism followed by the reactionary Iranian Government, and national assimilation to which the Kurds are subjected to.

IV The fourth chapter examines the national liberation movement of the Iran Kurds after the second world war.

Enormous influence on the awakening of the consciousness of the eastern peoples, including the Kurdish people, had been exerted by the Russian Revolution of 1905 and the Great October Socialist Revolution. With this influence, and up to the post-war period, the struggle of the Kurdish people for their own national liberation stood, partly, as the general struggle of the colonial people against

imperialism. In Iran after the second world war, the Kurdish national liberation movement had a high reputation among all the Iranian people. In 1945, the Democratic Party of Kurdistan was created.

As a result of the development of the national liberation movement in the North-West Iran region (Iranian Kurdistan), a Kurdish autonomous government was formed headed by the democratic Party of Kurdistan.

The merits of the D.P.K., like the Democratic Party of Iran Azerbaijan, were—that they carried out extremely significant measures of democratic characters (universal and free instructions in schools in the native language, the opening of national theatres, etc.). This offered the possibility of solving the national question on democratic basis.

The endeavour of the Iran Kurds to achieve their national liberation after the war ended in failure. All their democratic achievements were trampled under foot by the Iranian reactionaries with the active participation of the Anglo-American imperialists.

The struggle of the Kurdish people for liberation did not end, but it is at present more closely connected with the movement of all the Iranian people for the creation of a really democratic Iranian Government.

V The fifth chapter deals with changes in the economy, culture and life of the Kurds living in Soviet Armenia.

The Kurds in the U.S.S.R. are safe from persecution and national assimilation which they suffer abroad — in Iran, Turkey, etc. Material conditions offer the possibility of contrasting the life and well-being of U.S.S.R. and Iran Kurds, not only generally but also on a special example of the 'Brook' tribe which lives in both Iran and U.S.S.R.

In Tsarist Russia the Kurds belonged to one of the very oppressed nomadic peoples.

During the Soviet rule, the Kurdish economy has attained unprecedented successes. In the U.S.S.R. the Kurds have once and for all altered towards a permanent way of life as the result of the setting up of collective farms among Kurdish peasants. This has brought them prosperity.

Armenia's Kurds have carried out big work on the development of stock-raising. Each collective farm has specialised farms: sheep and goat breeding and poultry farms.

For the successful development of the collective farms economy for better cultivation of the land and increase in its crops capacity, various forms of organisation of labour had been adopted. In mixed collective farms, men and women of different nationalities work together side by side (Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Kurds). Many teams in the collective farms are headed not only by Kurdish men but women as well.

With the growth and consolidation of the collective farms' economy, collective farmers became more prosperous. Kurdish population started living in new houses with neat, spacious and airy rooms. The great majority of these new houses have electricity and radios.

* cf. L'Abriqun L'Arni, no 46 (avril 1959), p. 49-55
CR. by B. Nikitine



PERSIAN CRIMES NOT FORGOTTEN

A Persian gendarme holding by the hair the head of the dead Kurdish leader 'Simko' who led the movement for Kurdish self-government in the 'twenties. He was—together with other leaders—invited for negotiations with the Persian authorities but was murdered in Ushnu in a dirty plot (he was asked to parade to have his photo taken and was then murdered).

About the Kurds of the U.S.S.R.

COMMENTARY ON "REYA TEZE"—THE KURDISH JOURNAL FROM EREVAN,

by M. BASIL NIKITINE

(From *The Chronicle of Kurdish Sociology* No. 2, June 1958) in 'L'Afrioue et L'Asie' No. 43 1958

Translated by M. MERDAN, England.

The Kurdish journal *Reya Teze* is published in Erevan by the Communist Party of Soviet Armenia, and has appeared since 1945 in the Cyrillic Alphabet. It provides many points of interest on the development of the Kurdish minority in that region. In the discussion, the accent is on agricultural work, and the changes in rural life in the collective-farms; one learns, then, of very comfortable houses, running water, electricity, schools, sport, medical services, cinemas, broadcasting, clubs and co-operative stores. Movements of flocks has not lessened, but breeding is practised in winter in a very rational manner (using stables, silos of forage and veterinary care).

The main theme is on the increasing of the products of breeding, such as milk, meat and wool. The swine-herds and shepherds who obtain the best results are honoured, and their names and pictures featured in the journal's columns. The subject of hours of work and amount of wages for the collective farm workers raises many discussions. At annual general meetings the collective farms obtaining the best results are quoted as examples to follow, and their hard working members, consequently are rewarded with money and produce. In contrast, the badly managed collective farms are nailed to the pillory, and lack of labour discipline severely criticised. The tasks of agriculture,

sowing, harvesting, construction, are very closely followed. There are many indications given of the successes achieved by the tractor-drivers or by the combine-harvester teams, and their faults criticised, along with the bad state of sheep folds, of agricultural machinery (M.T.S.), etc. Wall-newspapers, Socialist Competition, the Komsoinal (Young Communists) all play a big part and are often discussed.

The country elections for the local Soviets recognise Kurdish candidates, and then at that time give information in party literature on Kurdish customs and culture.

One concludes that in Soviet Armenia there exists a separate Kurdish community which may, one day, make claims in the line of a general national movement, in so far as its particular way of life and outlook is not made into an obstacle by the neighbouring groups of Kurds. As for economic development, it does not seem that the development of private property has harmed the development of the community. The collective farm and the tribe warrant study in comparison.

N.B.—A detailed article on the subject, based on a paper delivered to the Congress of Oriental Studies, held in Munich in 1957, will appear in the revue *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* of Warsaw in 1959.

The Gorky Institute, U.S.S.R., and the 'Kurd Epic Songs'

The journal *Soviet Literature*, 10th Number, 1958, published the following news item:—

"The Gorky Institute of World Literature has undertaken the publication of a series of books called *Epos of the People of the U.S.S.R.*, which is being prepared in co-operation with the institutes of literature of the Union Republics.

The preparation of the first book, *Kurd Epic Songs*, has already been compiled jointly with the Institute of Literature of the Armenian Academy of Sciences.

This is the first time that the finest songs and tales of the Kurd people are presented so fully. The book contains originals of the Kurd epos, their translations into the Russian language, the melodies of these songs, recorded by the Armenian Composer, Komitas, and commentaries."

This fact was discussed at the Conference of K.S.S.E. United Kingdom Branch, and the Editor of this journal was instructed to communicate with the Gorky Institute on behalf of the Branch. The following letter dated 25/1/1959, was subsequently sent:

The Director,
Gorky Institute,
Moscow.

Dear Friend,

I am writing to you on behalf of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe — United Kingdom Branch. I have been instructed by the Conference of this branch, held in London on the 27th December, 1958, to convey to you our sincere gratitude for the magnificent work being done on Kurdish literature by the Gorky Institute. We have just

learnt through the medium of the monthly *Soviet Literature* — 10th English Edition for 1958, of the completion of the book *Kurd Epic Songs*, with originals of the Kurdish epos, their translations into the Russian language, the melodies of these songs recorded by the Armenian composer, Komitas, and commentaries.

For us Kurdish people this is truly a land mark in the history of our culture, and speaks well for the cultural development of all nationalities in the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

We Kurds who do not live in the U.S.S.R. strongly desire to read and study this unique book, and therefore our Society begs you to prepare for us a special edition of this book, printed as follows:

1. As far as Kurdish is concerned, in the Kurdish Latin Alphabet.
2. Omitting the translation into the Russian language.
3. with the texts of the songs, and with their accompanying melodies, in the Kurdish Latin Alphabet.
4. The Kurdish translations of the commentaries, using the Kurdish Latin Alphabet, to be included.

We know that you will appreciate the fact that the use of the Cyrillic Alphabet will greatly limit study of this book outside the U.S.S.R.

The awakening of the Kurdish people, especially after the recognition of their national rights by the new Republican Order in Iraq, has produced a great demand for such cultural works as this. If you could possibly prepare such an edition, and we beg you to do so, we would guarantee ordering it

on a large scale for distribution and sale at least in Iraq, and probably also in Syria and Iran.

We enclose for your general interest a copy of *Kurdistan* — *Divided Nation of the Middle East*, and the third issue of our magazine KURDISTAN.

Yours fraternally,

SALAH SAADALLA.

The Institute very kindly sent the following reply dated 16/3/1959:

Dear Friend,

Permit me to express my deep gratitude for the publications on Kurds and Kurdistan you were kind enough to send us. We examined them with great interest and undoubtedly they will be of considerable aid in our research work on culture of the Kurdian people.

The book you have asked about in your letter, namely *Kurd Epic Songs* was prepared by the research workers of our Institute in collaboration with Manoc Abegyan Literary Institute (Armenia). Since the interest in Kurdian Epic Songs, as well as in the epic songs of other nations is very widely spread among Russian readers, the text of that book is given both in the Kurdian and Russian languages.

As soon as the book is off the press, which will probably be early next year, we shall forward it to you.

Sincerely,

ARPHO PETROSYAN,

Deputy Director,

Gorky Institute of World Literature,
Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., Moscow.

Newroz Celebrations

The Kurdish people celebrated Newroz — the Kurdish National Day — 21st March in the various cities and towns of Kurdistan. This feast of Spring and Freedom was celebrated freely for the first time in Iraqi Kurdistan, as a result of the recognition of the Kurdish national rights embodied in the Provisional Republican Constitution following the 14th July revolution.

PREMIER KASSEM HONOURS THE CELEBRATIONS

The biggest Newroz celebration took place in Bagdad on 23rd March. Premier Abdul Karim Kassem honoured the occasion. Entering the hall, he was loudly cheered. He stayed for two hours. There was a moving scene as he rose to leave, the Kurdish girls in national costume surrounded him,

held him and requested him to stay; Premier Kassem did.

Before leaving, the Prime Minister — planner of the glorious 14th July Revolution and founder of the Republic of Iraq — addressed the meeting. He congratulated them on the occasion of Newroz, the national feast of the Kurdish people as he called it. It was then that he declared that 'to complete your happiness with this feast — Newroz — we shall announce an important event to the people and the world.' Three days later, Iraq officially withdrew from the Baghdad pact. He also said that 'we will have another revolution next month.'

Members of the Peoples' Court, the Soviet Ambassador, delegates from Peoples' China, German Democratic Republic and Bulgaria were

present. The meeting was opened by Dr. Sadiq Atroshi. Mr Jamal Al-Haydari, a leader of the Iraqi Communist Party, and Mr. Hamza Abdulla, leader of the United Democratic Party of Kurdistan, delivered speeches.

Many Kurdish songs and dances were presented; perhaps the finest dance was performed by the

Newroz in Europe

BERLIN. The Kurdish students in Berlin held a party on 21st March to celebrate their national day. The party was also attended by many Arab and German friends.

Mr. Mustafa Saydo delivered a speech of welcome. The party started with the Song of Newroz. Mr. Kemal Fuad, Chairman of the Germany Branch of the K.S.S.E., spoke briefly on the origin of Newroz and the history of the Kurdish people. He condemned the assimilation policy applied by the Turkish, Persian and Syrian Governments against the Kurdish people, and thanked the stand of the Iraqi Republic towards the Kurds. He stated also that the Kurds were not followers of Separatism, but supported voluntary union on the basis of brotherhood, equality and mutual recognition of national rights.

Mr. Kadhim Al-Qorayshi, representing the Iraqi Students' Society in Germany, commended Arab-Kurdish friendship and partnership.

A tea-party followed the presentation of recorded Kurdish songs.

Following the interval, Mr. Abdulla Omar recited the Newroz Song, translated into Arabic; then Mrs. Pirshang Adib also recited selected verses of Kurdish poetry by Kamuran. Miss Mariana then read in German a Kurdish poem called *Fatherland* by Dr. Kamuran Bedir-Khan.

Herr Hilmad Kadanik, after thanking the K.S.S.E., said that the 'German people bear the responsibility for two costly World Wars. However, there are still some people who think of waging a third World War, more destructive than any other before. This calls for vigilance and increased efforts to preserve the World Peace.'

VIENNA. Newroz was celebrated in Vienna, Austria, with a party attended by about 80 students, mainly Iraqis, Syrians and Jordanians. Guests included the Iraqi Consul in Vienna.

Speeches were delivered on Newroz. The support of the Kurdish people to the Republic of Iraq was emphasised, an example being the active part played by the Kurds in suppressing the counter-revolutionary Anti-Republican and U.A.R. inspired rebellion led by Shawaf in Mosul.

Feyli Kurds — of the Kurdish Community in Baghdad.

What a change from the days of the old regime when Newroz celebrations were banned!

Other Newroz celebrations took place in Suleimaniya, Arbil, Kirkuk, Duhok, Zakho, Aqra, Amadia, Khaneqin, Mandali and other towns of Iraqi Kurdistan.

Omar Dizayi presented some songs. Serdar played on the guitar and Abdul-Razzaq Al-Maini spoke on current affairs.

LONDON. On the occasion of the Kurdish New Year — Newroz — the U.K. Branch of the K.S.S.E. staged a social function at the Mahatma Ghandi Hall. The programme was colourful and well arranged. It included some very lively Kurdish national dances from various parts of Kurdistan. The audience was visibly impressed by these performances; though amongst the Society members there were neither sopranos nor crooners, nevertheless a number of national songs — both patriotic and romantic — were sung by the existing talent.

Invitations were sent to various students', bodies and individuals. The response was encouraging. To mention some, representatives of the Iraqi Students' Society, The Arab Students' Union, The Pakistani Youth League and the British-Asian and Overseas Socialist Fellowship were present. Individuals came in great numbers. The Iraqi friends participated in the night's programme, and so did the Pakistani friends.

But the night was not all song and dance entertainment, a number of speeches were delivered. First the Secretary of the U.K. Branch, T. M. Amin, gave a short account of Newroz, Kurdish history, and the present and future democratic aspirations of the Kurdish people. Further, the General-Secretary of the I.S.S., Dhia-al-Iqabi, delivered a short speech in which he expressed the fundamental spirit of brotherhood that exists among Arabs and Kurds under the democratic Republic. In reply Salah Saadalla reciprocated the sentiments and confirmed in even stronger terms the unbreakable partnership between the two. The Secretary of the Pakistani Youth League expressed kind sentiments, and of their mutuality he was assured.

Altogether it was a successful night which indeed helped a bond of amity among the Kurds and the other people present.

NEWROZTAN PÎROZ BE DILÊKI ŞAD,
BE AŞTÎ BI JÎN SERBEST Û AZAD



CELEBRATING 'NEWROZ—THE KURDISH NATIONAL FEAST—IN LONDON

A group of young Kurds perform a national dance. Left to right: Rifat, Shaban, Abdel-Rezzaq, Tariq, Mohamed, Nozad, Jelal.

PREMIER KASSEM SPEAKS OF THE IDEAL UNIVERSITY OF BAGHDAD

Addressing the first Conference of the Union of Teachers in Iraq, Premier Kassem said that the University of Baghdad will be proclaimed soon. It will be made an Ideal University. Premier Kassem said: 'We shall disregard the cost for the sake of science and the flourishing of culture. We shall endeavour to lay the foundation stone of the University before the next July 14th at all costs. The University will cater for 12,000 students.'

Secondary and Intermediate Schools (except the Military Schools). The Government has already recognised the Union. A letter was sent to this Conference on behalf of K.S.S.E. Executive Committee wishing the Conference success and urging continued efforts to further consolidating the Republic and strengthening Kurdish Arab solidarity.

THE MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL

An important and very interesting 10-page essay on 'The Kurds and the Revolution in Iraq' by Mr. C. J. Edmonds appears in the *Middle East Journal*, Volume 13, Number 1, Winter, 1959 with a page devoted to the Third Congress of the 'Kurdish Students' Society in Europe.

KURDISH STUDENTS IN TURKEY

A correspondent informed the K.S.S.E. that an organisation of Kurdish Students in Turkey has just been formed. The Central Committee of this Students' Union (which is underground owing to the absence of Democratic rights in Turkey), has declared its wish to strengthen relations with K.S.S.E.

IRAQ STUDENTS

The Iraqi Students held a Conference to found their Union. Delegates attended from all Colleges,

THE SPRING FESTIVAL OF I.S.S. IN U.K.

The Acting Cultural Attaché of the Iraqi Embassy, Mr. Abboud Al-Baldawi addressed the opening ceremony of the traditional annual Spring Festival of the Iraqi Students in U.K. This year's Festival was held in Sandown I.W. at the end of March for four days. The Festival was filmed. It was highly successful, the attendance reached 260, a record.

Activities of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe

UNITED KINGDOM BRANCH

The U.K. Branch of the K.S.S.E. held its Annual General Meeting on 27/12/1958. It was attended by 24 delegates.

A letter of greeting was received from the Branch of K.S.S.E. in Germany. Mr. Said Taha, the Acting President of the Arab Students' Union in U.K. brought the fraternal greetings of his organisation to the conference.

Reports were presented by the Secretary, the Treasurer, and the Librarian, together with a short report from the Editor of KURDISTAN — a lively discussion followed. It was resolved:

1. To send a letter of greetings to His Excellency, Major-General Abdul-Karim Kassem — Iraqi Premier — in support of the sentences passed by the People's Court and to request their execution, support of the Agrarian Reform Law and to emphasise Arab-Kurdish solidarity. (This letter was sent and received wide publicity in Iraq—EDITOR).
2. To issue a press statement emphasising Arab-Kurdish solidarity and refuting false statements about alleged the malcontent among Iraqi Kurds.
3. To instruct the Editor of KURDISTAN to send a letter of thanks to the Gorky Institute of 'World Literature' in Moscow for their publication of the *Kurd Epic Songs*, and requesting its publication in a special edition.
4. To send letters of protests to the Turkish and Iranian Government condemning their treatment of the Kurds and referring to the forcible eviction of Kurdish tribes from Iran into Iraq.
5. To contact the Afro-Asian students' organisations to strengthen relations and to request affiliation.
6. To celebrate the Kurdish National Day — Newroz — and set up a special committee to organise a party on that occasion.
7. To hold two lectures on the 'Kurdish Question' soon.
8. To publish a Branch magazine in Arabic called *Seda Kurdistan* under the direction of the Editor of KURDISTAN — this magazine will be sold mainly in Iraq.
9. To recommend the publication of a magazine in French and German by the Austria, Switzerland and German branches.

The Branch Committee elected consisted of:—

Mr. Fuad Karim—*Chairman*.

Mr. Tahsin Amin—*Secretary*.

Mr. Ahmed Saadi—*Editor of 'Seda Kurdistan'*.

Mr. Shawqi Aziz—*Treasurer*.

Miss Nazdar Rashid Jawdat—*Member*.

The Conference ended with delegates singing the Kurdish National Song — *Kurdistan Kurdistan*.

SWITZERLAND

The Switzerland Branch of the K.S.S.E. held its Annual Meeting in Geneva at the end of 1958. The meeting:—

1. Adopted unanimously all the resolutions carried by the Third Congress and supported the work of the Executive Committee and the Society.
2. Adopted a resolution calling on the Executive Committee to write a letter to the Iraqi Government supporting the petition of a group of Kurdish educationists for the extension of Kurdish schools in Iraqi Kurdistan and the teaching of the geography and history of Kurdistan.
3. Decided unanimously to call on the Executive Committee to request the Iraqi Government to establish a Kurdish broadcast or extend the present Kurdish programmes especially in the dialects of Kurdistan of Turkey and Iran so that the Kurds of these parts of the Kurdish nation may benefit from the existing freedom due to the Iraqi Revolution.
4. To protest to the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations against the plan of bombing Kurdistan with atomic bombs and publish the protest, together with a comment, as a pamphlet, and circulate it to the international press and international circles.
5. To form a special Committee to organise contacts with Iranian Kurdistan (the Committee was formed of three members all from Iranian Kurdistan).
6. To write to the press which publishes articles on the 'Kurdish Question' and collect what is published in newspapers on Kurdistan and send it to the Kurdish journals.
7. To call on the Executive Committee to send an open letter to the Iranian public opinion and the Iranian Government on the 'Kurdish Question' calling on Iran to carry out reforms in Iranian Kurdistan and to cease the attacks on the Iraqi Republic. It also decided to publish this open letter as a pamphlet.

Branch Committee was elected, consisted of three:—

1. A Kurdish Colleague from Iranian Kurdistan—
President.
2. Hasan Sulaiman—*Secretary.*
3. Qadir Ziyad Gafuri—*Treasurer.*

GERMANY

The Branch Committee of the K.S.S.E. in Germany held meetings in Berlin on 29 and 30/12/58. The Committee:—

1. Accepted all the resolutions of the Third Congress and supported the activities of the Society thereafter.
2. Decided to contact all the Kurdish Students in Germany.
3. Decided to hold a party in Germany on the occasion of Newroz on 21st March, 1959 and to hold a General Meeting of the Branch in

Germany about the same time. It also decided to invite the Switzerland and Austrian Branches of the K.S.S.E. to participate. The party to be held in Munich, if these branches could participate, otherwise to take place in Mainz.

AUSTRIA

The Austrian Branch of the Kurdish Students' Society has been active recently. Apart from intensified efforts to organise all Kurdish students in Austria the Branch has:—

1. Printed the Rules of the Society in German.
2. Translated from Kurdish and published a collection of poems in German by Dr. Kamuran Aali Bedir-Khan.
3. Published a booklet (illustrated) called *Kurdistan in the Way to Freedom.*

Changes in the Executive Committee

The Executive Committee of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe has elected Salah Saadalla as the new Vice-President of the Society, following the resignation of Mr. Wurya Rowandozi the former Vice-President from the Executive Committee. He has also taken over as the Acting President owing to the sudden illness of the President.

Saadi Amin the Assistant General Secretary of the K.S.S.E. has taken over as the Acting General Secretary, owing to the absence of the General Secretary, Dara al-Salihi in Iraq. Mr. Al-Salihi's

application for a re-entry visa to Britain, for the purpose of further academic studies and training, has been refused, which has led the E.C. of the K.S.S.E. to protest and request Mr. R. A. Butler the British Home Secretary to intervene personally so that the authorities concerned may grant Mr. Al-Salihi a re-entry visa to Britain.

All communications to the Society should be addressed to: The Acting Secretary,
Kurdish Students' Society in Europe,
c/o 37 King Street, London, W.C.2., England.

A Press Statement and President Nasser's Comments

The Secretariat of the K.S.S.E., issued a press statement in London on 21/12/58 explaining that the 1,500,000 Kurds of Iraq strongly support the Republican Government. It pointed out that four million Kurds in Turkey and three million Kurds in Iran are absolutely denied any national rights and are brutally oppressed, while in Iraq the Kurds enjoy many national rights. The provisional constitution declares them partners with the Arabs.

The press statement also referred to the agreement reached by the political parties in Iraqi Kurdistan in which they pledge to fight against separatist tendencies.

PRESIDENT NASSER COMMENTS

Our Society, in the absence of the General Secretary, Dara T. Salihi received the following letter dated 15/1/1959 from Mr. Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of the United Arab Republic.

Dear Mr. Salihi,

I am writing to thank you for the Press Release and the valuable commentary contained dealing with the relation between the Kurds and Arabs in the Iraq republic. I should like to point out in this connection that the intriguing spirit between the Kurds and Arabs is an imperialist machination fostered with a view to dissension and shaking the loyalty of our brothers, the Kurds towards the Arab world.

But the steadfast loyalty coupled with their firm belief and foresight outmanouevred imperialist designs. It is much to our satisfaction to find a spirit of peace and sincere collaboration pervading the relations between both elements in Iraq as citizens of equal rights and obligations working collectively for the stability of the republic. With regards.

Yours sincerely, GAMAL ABDEL NASSER,
President of the United Arab Republic.

EDITOR:—The Kurdish Students' Society in Europe issued another statement welcoming President Nasser's letter and, at the same time pointing out to the deterioration of the conditions of the Kurds in Syria (see Editorial) and requesting him to use his powers to halt the anti-Kurdish drive in Syria and grant the Kurds their elementary national and cultural rights and restore democratic rights . . .

However, the situation of the Kurds in Syria has worsened further. While in Iraq, the national conditions of the Kurdish people are improving

rapidly, thanks to the Republican Government, led by Premier Kassem.

We consider the hostile attitude of the U.A.R. authorities towards the democratic Republic of Iraq quite incompatible with the spirit of President Nasser's letter. The persecution of the Kurds in Syria does not endear the U.A.R. policy to us, neither does the attacks on the Iraqi Government and its leader, Premier Kassem who planned the liberation of Iraq including Iraqi Kurdistan. It is high time to stop the attacks against Iraq, and cease the persecution of the Kurds in Syria.

Kurdish Students apply to join I.U.S.

The President of the K.S.S.E., Ismet Cheriff, has sent a letter on behalf of the Executive Committee, to the I.U.S., thanking it for adopting a resolution during the Peking Conference of the I.U.S. 'condemning the policy of the Turkish Government against the five million Kurds in Turkey and for depriving them to study in their national language, and supporting their just demands to enjoy their national rights. It also thanked the I.U.S. and its anti-colonial department for publishing the final

communique of the Third Congress of the K.S.S.E. and for providing us with I.U.S. publications.

The letter also drew the attention of the I.U.S. to the K.S.S.E. letters of 14th August, 1958 and 11th December, 1958, requesting the admission of K.S.S.E. to I.U.S. as an affiliated member representing the Kurdish students in Europe. The letter renewed the application for admission. We trust that the I.U.S. will adopt a positive attitude to our application and admit our Society.

The Press Secretary of the Iraqi Council of Ministers writes to K.S.S.E.

The Vice-President of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe has received the following letter from Major Naaman Mahir, Press Secretary to the Cabinet in Baghdad:—

The Vice-President of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe, Vienna, Austria.

"I have received with thanks, your letter 9/9/1959, together with the two magazines. I have also received your letter addressed to His Excellency the Prime Minister and showed it to him. He was very pleased and expressed his admiration for your efforts.

In thanking your sincere efforts to consolidate the liberation movement in our precious Republic the joint aspiration of the two noble peoples, the Arabs and Kurds, where the sincere elements of these peoples stood up to imperialism and co-operated to defeat it, and God gave them victory. I wish you steady progress and pray that God will guide our steps to serve our nation under the leadership of our inspiring leader and saviour Abdul-Karim Kassem.

With best wishes,,

MAJOR NAAMAN MAHIR,"
Press Secretary to the Cabinet, Baghdad.

This was in reply to a letter from the Vice-President of K.S.S.E. to the Iraqi Premier congratulating him on 'foiling the plot against the Iraqi people and their popular democratic government', assuring him of full support for the steps taken to strike at the conspirators and the imperialist agents who are attempting to overthrow the popular regime for which the Iraqi people, Arabs and Kurds well remember the heavy toll of sacrifices made to achieve it. 'Out Society,' he continued, 'which has decided to defend the Iraqi Republic whether in letters to the United Nations' Secretary, to the Human Rights Commission of U.N. or through the medium of its magazine *Kurdistan*, deems it necessary to warn our Kurdish brothers in Iraq to be more vigilant against the conspiracies and machinations of imperialism and its agents."

NOTE:

ALL communications to this magazine should be addressed to:

THE EDITOR OF 'KURDISTAN',
40 Wheatstone Road,
Southsea, Hants., England.

14th July in Prison

by the Kurdish poet, ABDULLA GORAN

This poem was written by the Kurdish poet, Goran when he heard, while in his prison cell in Iraq, demonstrating people:—

A distant voice . . .
Hardly penetrating the walls
O distant voice
That hardly penetrates the walls
Are you white, black or red?
Advance . . . further . . .
As water pouring on to fire . . .
Descend onto my soul
Spread, in my cell, flowers

The gentle breeze brought to my ear
'Long live the Republic'.
Is it a dream? What Republic?
No, a dream it is not.
But a festival of the Republic.

This voice, this distant wonder,
O, body lying in the cell,
O, chains . . .
Be silent, silent as the stillness in the ear,
And you, the air that strikes my cell,
Slumber like a babe . . .
Let charging bullets of this distant voice
penetrate my hearing
Let it return like the roar of a gun,
And let the sparks of my burning head
kindle into flames.

O you who dwell on a patch of land,
Smile in peace.
The death has passed . . .
(Translated originally from the Kurdish
journal *Hewa*.)

Book Review

KURDISTAN: Auf dem Weg Zur Freiheit. This illustrated pamphlet in German has been published by the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe (Austria Branch).. It is short (17 pages of foolscap) but comprehensive and should prove useful to the German readers.

It starts with a chapter on 'the world press and Kurdistan,' followed by a brief introduction to Kurdish history, population, language and literature. Another chapter is devoted to Kurdistan after the first World War and naturally the Sevres Treaty is featured prominently.

The pamphlet then deals with the Kurdish National Revolution of Barzan in Iraqi Kurdistan and the establishment of the Mehabad Republic in Iranian Kurdistan at the end of Second World War and it ends with discussing the current situation and prospects.

The Austrian Branch has rendered a good service by introducing the Kurdish Question to German readers. It is a good pamphlet. Copies (cost one Deutch Mark, post free), can be had from this journal.

We publish two interesting reviews of a booklet of *Kurdistan: Divided Nation of the Middle East* (reviewed in our last issue) which appeared respectively in *World News* weekly journal of the British Communist Party, and *Socialist Digest*, published monthly by the British Labour Party.

"THE HOLDERS OF THE HILLS"

by EDDIE WOODS

You would have every excuse for not knowing where to look for Kurdistan on the map. Of the struggles of the Kurdish people for independence, your ignorance could also be understandable. But not any longer!

A book just published, *Kurdistan, Divided Nation of the Middle East* by S. S. Gavan (Lawrence and Wishart, 4s. 6d.) goes a long way to correcting the balance. Its pages are packed with information. The origins, history, language, customs and above all, the long struggle for independence — are all covered.

In his review published in the *Daily Worker*, Azmi Ghalib writes: 'The author has performed a great service to the united Arab-Kurdish struggle'. But the book is also very helpful to us in Britain, for there is little information about Kurdistan available in England.

What we do have, mostly written by military men, is extremely suspect. Many things have to be taken into account: the date of publication; the relations existing between this country and the Middle East at the time of writing; and, most confusing of all, the effects the writer might be trying to have on future events in the area. With such mixed motives objectivity tends to take a secondary place.

Let's take some examples! Pick up almost any book on Kurdistan. The frontispiece will almost certainly show a pitiful creature, dirty, emaciated and in rags, with the caption — 'A typical Kurdish beggar'. Living in communities which have been likened to the old Scottish clans, beggars do not become a typical feature.

We read: 'They are troublesome and warlike'. Why are they troublesome — and to whom? One can infer they make trouble for those who try to exploit them. They are 'a lawless people'. But the Kurds have very strict laws. What they do oppose are the attempts of others to decide the government they should have.

Their history dates back thousands of years and many sources suggest they were the people referred to as the Medes in ancient Persian history and mythology. From English sources we hear little until about 1160 and on — the time of the Crusades.

Remember that little story in the school history books? There is a dispute between Richard the Lion-heart and the great Saladin, as to who has the sharpest sword. Richard severs a baulk of timber with one massive swipe.

'But that,' says Saladin, 'shows only the strength of your arm'. He then waves into the air a piece of gossamer silk and lets it fall lightly across his sword where it is parted in two. Saladin was a Kurd whose rule at one time extended over all Egypt and inland Syria.

The past nations famed in Eastern history — Assyrian, Parthian, Greek, Roman and Persian — all invaded Kurdistan. And yet even today, when split up between Turkey, Iraq and Iran, the Kurds still proudly boast. 'We are the holders of the hills and the possessors of the tongue'. Their language is completely different from the countries on to which they have been grafted. Attempts to impose burdensome taxes have had little result due to the hazards of collection in the mountainous regions. Their boast is not an empty one.

Cultural Heritage.

They have been described as having no past heritage of culture. In 1591 at Bayazid, a Turkish frontier town at the foot of Mount Ararat, there resided a famous Kurd, Ahmedi Khani. He wrote a book for the instruction of Kurdish children prefaced with the gentle admonition:

'If your grammar and lessons you fail to construe,

No fame or renown is in store for you.'

How does this tally with a people described as 'malignant, devoid of all humanity, scorning the garment of wisdom'?

In a welcoming preface to S. S. Gavan's book, Emir Kamuran Aali Bedir-Khan, who from Paris has conducted for many years a sustained propaganda fight for the recognition of the Kurds, gives some disturbing facts about present day treatment of his people. He accuses Turkey, Iran and Iraq (the former regime) of attempting to obliterate a nation. Kurds are 'forbidden to have their own schools and publish their own periodicals'. He points out that in Turkey 'there is only one hospital bed for 200,000 Kurds and in one locality where the population is 40,000, one school only is available for 100 children.

Oil—the Key.

Kamuran Bedir-Khan, replying to an enquiry of mine in 1950, wrote: 'It is indeed sad to note that the Big Powers are interested just for the oil and nothing else. That is the reason why it is difficult to see the real face of the question.' Here is the key — *oil!* Once the acquisitive, grasping character of imperialism is understood, much of what appears obscure in the Middle East becomes comprehensible to us.

Are the chances of Kurdish independence any nearer today than at other periods in their long struggle? Seen against the general background of the Middle East movement S. S. Gavan believes they are. Provided the Kurdish people are not misled by the ardent appeals of those who glibly promise easy victory, dependent on there being support for the struggle against imperialism and for peace, the prospects today stand higher.

Of unusual interest in this fascinating book and a pointer to better things for the future, is the information on the participation of the younger people. They seem to get around and, unlike their fathers, will be less likely to fall for the short term promises made by potential exploiters.

To add more flesh to the strong, lineal bone structure of this book, here are some others you might care to look at.

The one I would mention first as more likely to fire your enthusiasm is a novel — *The Diplomat* by James Aldridge. On my showing this to a Kurdish friend he said it was the most penetrating study as well as being the most sympathetic, that he had read in English. Other books are: *Two Years in Kurdistan* by W. R. Hay (1924), *Road Through Kurdistan*, A. M. Hamilton (1937), *The Caliph's Last Heritage*, M. Sykes (1915), *The Kurdish Question* (International Affairs, January 1946).

There are in the Leningrad library the works of poets and philosophers of Kurdistan written many years ago. English translations of these might come our way in the not too distant future.

World News, October 11th, 1958.

WHERE IS KURDISTAN?

Kurdistan: Divided Nation of the Middle East,
S. S. Gavan, *Lawrence and Wishart*, 4s. 6d.

Where is Kurdistan? On the map, of course, it does not exist at all, but there are about eight million Kurds living who feel that Kurdistan is very much a nation. About half of them live in Turkey, a quarter in Persia, somewhat over an eighth in Iraq, and small groups in Syria and the U.S.S.R. So if Kurdistan did exist it would consist of portions of the above-mentioned countries where they come closest together. In Turkey the Kurds have been subjected to drastic oppression since the first world war — rising after rising has been ruthlessly suppressed, and the Kurds are now known as 'mountain Turks' — the Kurdish language and customs have been banned. In Persia the position is easier only because by, and large, Persian Governments have been less efficient than Turkish. Only in Iraq has the Kurds' position been at all tolerable, but even there the old government tried from time to time to suppress Kurdish movements.

Since this book was written there has been a revolution in Iraq, and for the first time a Kurd has become a Cabinet Minister. The great question for Kurds is whether to seek nationhood or full assimilation and political equality within existing countries. In Iraq it looks as if assimilation is winning. As regards Turkey, Mr. Gavan comments: 'It is instructive to note today the apparent insistence of the Turkish Government upon the partition of Cyprus on the ground that 20 per cent. of the population are Turks. By a strange coincidence the Kurds form roughly 20 per cent. of Turkey. One might expect the Turkish Government to apply the right of 'self-determination' to the Kurds. After all, charity begins at home.'

But the international implications of a new nation, splitting Persia and Turkey and stretching from the Soviet Union to Syria are colossal. Mr. Gavan scarcely touches on this aspect of the problem. *Socialist Digest*, Nov. 1958

NEW KURDISH JOURNALS IN IRAQ

Kurdish political journals in Iraq have appeared recently, they include *Azadi*, *Khabat*, *Rizgari*, *Rojani* and *Rasti*.

PROFESSOR MINORSKY PUBLISHES A PAPER ON BANU ANNAZ

The Editor of KURDISTAN wishes to acknowledge gratefully the receipt of a paper from Professor Vladimir Minorsky on the Kurdish principality of Banu Annaz (published in the Encyclopaedia of Islam). Professor Minorsky writes 'Banu Anaz' dynasty, 991 to 1117, in the frontier region between Iraq and Iran which was one of the manifestations of the period 'between the Arabs and the Turks' when in the wake of the westward expansion of the Boyards numerous principalities of Iranian origin sprang up in Adhairbaydjan, and Kurdistan.

As the rise of Banu Annaz was based on the Shādhānjān Kurds, the dynasty should be considered as Kurdish, although the Arabic names and titles of the majority of the rulers indicate the Arab links of the ruling family. The organisation of Banu Annaz was typically semi-nomadic, combined clan living in tents with strongholds, serving as treasuries and refuges in time of danger. The characteristic feature of the Banu Annaz domination was the unusual flexibility of the organisation, now expanding and now shrinking. The existence of several rival branches of the family contributed even more to the vagueness of their territories and the constant displacement of their little known centres.

Professor Minorsky devotes the rest of the paper which is about 1,600 words long to a detailed examination of the history of the principality and its rulers.

Signed articles do not necessarily represent the view or policy of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe.

World Eyes on Vienna: Youth and Student Festival

The World Youth and Students are focusing their attention on the 7th World Festival to be held from 26th July to 4th August in Vienna. It is the Festival of Peace, Friendship and co-existence. Many cultural and sport activities will take place, along with the usual get-togethers between the youth of various countries for the purpose of

promoting mutual understanding, the basis of firm friendship.

We urge our members, and supporters to participate in the Festival and take an active part in its work.

Welcome to the 7th Festival of Youth and Students in Vienna!

WHEN QUOTING FROM THIS MAGAZINE PLEASE REFER TO THE SOURCE.

Kurdistan and the Press

The Kurds and Petroleum

The authorities in the capital of the United Arab Republic follows with interest the efforts of the Kurds of Iraq, numbering about two millions, to obtain their national rights. Owing to their fear that they will be lost in the big Arab Republic they contribute to drawing away Baghdad from Nasser. There are 10 million Kurds distributed between Turkey, Syria, Iran and the Soviet Union (and Iraq). Their region, which is separated by political frontiers, is the region of the great petroleum fields. If they achieve their unity within Kurdistan, they will control almost one half of the petroleum reserves in the world.

Illustra, Lausanne, 13th November, 1958.

“Kassem needs, and is getting the support of the Kurds — Iraq’s largest and toughest minority. They form an important section of the Iraq army, holding many senior posts. The Northern Division stationed at Kirkuk — on Iraq’s oil area — is 80% Kurdish.

By encouraging Kurdish nationalism the Iraqi Government is awakening the old ambitions for an independent Kurdistan which would cut into Turkey, Persia, Syria and Iraq. This is right in line with Soviet policy in the Middle East.”

News Chronicle, 25/11/1958.

MORAL LAPSE

The Kurds have dwelt in present-day Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Syria and the U.S.S.R. for some 4,000 years. One of their main centres is the Iraqi Petroleum producing area.

Washington, during the brief Wilsonian period was concerned with minorities, showed interest in the Kurds. The 1920 Treaty of Sevres foresaw an Independent Kurdistan. But this was never created.

Since their deception at Sevres the Kurds have had a rebellious record. Although Nuri-as-Said had Kurdish blood, he conducted pitiless repressive operations against his kinsmen.

When Iraq’s revolution exploded it was strongly supported by the Kurds.

Under Article III of its constitution El-Kassem’s new State is called an ‘Association of Arabs and Kurds.’

An independent Kurdistan would remake the Middle East map, crumbling the Turkish and Iranian bastions.

It is a tragedy that the free world which for so long ignored the aspirations of the Kurds, must now pay for this moral lapse. For it will be difficult to regain the affections of this thwarted strategically located people.

Meanwhile, Moscow immutably drives a Kurdish wedge through our entire alliance structure down to the Persian Gulf.

C. L. SULZBERGER in *New York Times*,
Foreign Edition, Amsterdam, 8/1/1959.

A VIEW FROM ROME

The Soviet penetration to the Middle East is taking a new path; Kurdish aspiration to autonomy. For four thousand years these tribes which dwell on the mountains near the Persian plateau struggle for independence. They have found understanding in the Soviet agents which renews their determination. From Armenia across the Caucasus mountains, broadcasts of the communist bodies reach their villages which incite them against the ‘blood-suckers of the Kurdish people.’

There are nine million Kurds, 4,500,000 in Turkey or 20% of the population, 2,500,000 in Iran or 13% of the population, 400,000 in Syria, U.A.R. or 10% of the population, 1,500,000 in Iraq or 25% of the population. Moscow propaganda appears clearly especially with the strong Kurdish minority in Iraq. While thinking of their old dream, the bellicose Kurdish tribes in the region of the rich fields in Kirkuk aim to unite in an independent nation, these oil wells present annually to Western Europe 1/6th of its consumption.

La Tribuna Illustra, Rome, 11th January, 1959.

DEMOCRACY

“Democracy in Iraq, where a nationality other than the Arab Nationality exists — namely that of the Kurds — will be a successful test to that of the Arabs: developing in the spirit of the age, along the road of fraternity and co-operation with the Kurdish nationality and other nationalities in Iraq, on the democratic level — this is a precious gain to the Arab nation.”

AL-AHALI, Organ of the National Democrats,
Baghdad. 25/1/1959.

THE KURDISH PROBLEM — SOURCE OF CONFLICT

The Kurdish Problem engrosses certain Western Chancelleries at the present time. They are asking themselves whether the Middle East is not once more becoming the scene of grave troubles, roused

by the chronic antagonisms between the Kurdish Nationalists and the various States which are sheltering them.

The renewal of interest that observers of this problem testify is not fortuitous. Kurdistan, divided at the end of the first world war between states of Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Iran is in effect situated in a key position for the West.

Trouble in Turkey or Iran would endanger the Atlantic Alliance, the Baghdad Pact, and in a general fashion what remains of the Military preparations set up on the Southern Frontiers of the U.S.S.R. A Kurdish uprising in Syria which is not impossible, would have on the other hand decisive consequences on the relations of forces in the Arab worlds, the Kurds in short, are in a territory rich with oil, in Turkey as well as Iran and Iraq . . .

Kurdish Nationalism of which Dr. Kamuran Bedir-Khan is the Western spokesman is no novelty. It has not ceased to 'Manifest' itself since this Indo-European people became conscious of its own existence. It has survived through the ages, almost with stubbornness, survived all the invasions and long periods of slavery. Proud of their ascendance, they founded their first independent State 25 centuries before Christ — the Kurds succeeded more or less to keep their Autonomy until the middle of the 19th century.

It is said that the Iraq Revolution has opened to the Kurdish Nationalists undreamed of perspectives, the new constitution recognises their 'National Rights' within the Iraqi Republic.

The United Democratic Party of Kurdistan . . . openly pursues its policy, the authorities have formed a commission of Kurdish intellectuals to write a history of their people, which will be taught in their establishments of learning, even in purely Arab schools.

For the first time in the annals of the Iraqi State, colleges and universities solely for the Kurds, will be built. A system of administrative autonomy is at least being installed in Iraqi Kurdistan. This state of affairs is not re-assuring to Turkey or Iran, which practice to different degrees, a policy of assimilation . . .

ERIC ROULEAU, in *Le Monde Diplomatique*,
Paris. February, 1959.

DANGER

The close alliance between Premier Kassem and the pro-Soviet Kurdish Leader, Mustafa Barzani is another potential danger to Persia with its large Kurdish minority.

'H.A.R. PHILBY in the *Observer*, 15/2/1959.'

THE RUSSIAN TALE AGAIN

The one million or so Kurds are being told by the Russian Radio that revolution freed their brothers in Iraq. Kurds, say Moscow, are still second-class citizens in Iran. They must rise in violence for their rights.

This makes Iran feel that unless placated, Russia may set up an 'Independent' Kurdish Republic embracing Kurds on both sides of the Russian-Iranian border.

WOODROW WYATT, *Reynold News*, 22/2/1959.

ARAB FEDERATION?

The French Journal *L'Orient* published a report from its correspondent in Damascus on an alleged conversation between the Iraqi and Egyptian Governments to establish a Federal Union consisting of Iraq, Syria and Egypt on the basis of each country retaining a Parliament, a Government and Head of State and a national economy.

L'Orient said that the first contacts with the President Nasser concerned with the principle 'the right of people to self-determination' which Baghdad takes very seriously, the reply of the President of the United Arab Republic, the *L'Orient* continued, has fully satisfied the Iraqi Kurds and their leaders who are concerned with this problem in the first place. Nasser had explained his point of view to the Baizanis who visited him after their return from exile — before returning to Iraq. He agrees to and encourages the existence of a Kurdish State, but only after this plan becomes feasible, i.e. when the Kurdish regions and people in Turkey, Soviet Union, Iran become able to join this State. On this basis, *L'Orient* concluded, Nasser recognises the right of every people to preserve its heritage.

SUSPICIOUS

Anything connected with the Kurds at this moment is liable to awake suspicions. There are Kurds in Russia, as well as in Iraq, Persia, Turkey and Syria, and they have always been an element of instability in a sensitive region of the world though, admittedly, they have not always been themselves to blame. From the days when they harassed the March of Xenophon's Ten Thousand to the Black Sea, the Kurds have inhabited the mountains between the Caucasus and the Mesopotamian Plains, resisting by force outside interference of any sort.

. . . By the end of the first world war a new complication had arisen. On the primitive isolations of the tribesmen was added the more sophisticated claim for statehood. Racially and linguistically the Kurds stand apart from their neighbours, and

in numbers they easily exceed many peoples who have secured independence. In fact, in 1920, at a time when the future of the Mosul Vilayet was still undecided, provision was made for an independent Kurdistan — a fact which the nationalist leaders have never forgotten.

The Times, April 10th, 1959.

KURDISH EXILE'S RETURN

It is Iraq the Kurdish passengers (in the Soviet Ship *Gruziya*) are bound for — not Turkey, not Iran. In all three of these countries, the Kurds have, over many years, been subject to oppression, denied full citizenship, prevented from forming their own communities.

But in Iraq, since July of last year — now written into history as the 'July 14th Revolution' — the situation is changed. The Kurds play a part in the running of the country, have their own journals, schools, and in all ways are the recognised equals of their Iraqi brothers.

Such a position for the Kurds does not as yet exist either in Turkey or Iran. Understandably then, though many Kurds from these two countries have sought asylum in the Soviet Union, we don't hear of passenger-packed steamers chugging back to them.

The return of the Kurdish exiles to Iraq is seen by *The Times* as a Soviet manoeuvre — 'a nuisance value . . . a weapon against Turkey and Persia.'

The known desire of the Kurds for independence, expressed over the years in countless revolts and, since the war, in 15 legal representations to the United Nations is 'the bait dangled before the Kurds by Russia.'

No Short Cuts

Certainly the desire for Kurdish Independence is strong. But they realise there are no short cuts. In the 'Appeal to the Kurds,' issued by the Kurdish Committee in Europe in 1956, it is recognised: 'Our fate depends on that of our neighbours.'

The aim is to work for strengthening friendship and mutual co-operation with the decent elements of the Arabic, Persian and Turkish peoples.

The return to Iraq is a step in that direction. Meanwhile the Soviet Steamer *Gruziya* will berth and its passengers disembark to be reunited with their friends and families.

In the joy of reunion they will be warmed with the fervent Kurdish song of freedom:—

March on! March on! Forward you gay youths!

Tho' the lights are dim in distant tents

The torch of Kurdish freedom burns the brighter.

For the better times to come,
March on, oh gay youths!

EDDIE WOODS, in the *Daily Worker*,
April 21st, 1959.

KURDISTAN—DIVIDED LAND

The news that 835 Kurds from the Soviet Union are on their way to Iraq is certain to be interpreted in some quarters as a move by Russia to aid Brigadier Kassem, by sending troops of a stock which also exists in Iraq . . .

So called Kurdistan includes areas of Persia, Iraq, Iran, Syria and Georgian, Armenian and Azerbaijan Republics of the Soviet Union. About 4,500,000 Kurds live in Turkey, 2,500,000 in Iran, 1,500,000 in Iraq, 400,000 in Syria and perhaps 80,000 in the Soviet Union. The Kurds are a pastoral, partly nomadic people, speaking an Iranian dialect . . .

The Kurdish minorities of the States indicated above have established a tradition of restlessness and a desire for independence, besides a reputation of tough fighters. Their loyalty is basically directed to tribal leaders, although a sense of nationalism has grown to the extent where the States in which the Kurds live have been apprehensive of Separatist Movements . . . the isolation of Kurdish tribes in mountain valleys has been largely responsible for tribal differences in opinion and has also led to considerable differences in spoken Kurdish.

Major Rebellions

The Kurds have conducted several major rebellions since the first world war. After a promise that following the war Turkish -Kurdistan would be established as an independent and autonomous Republic had been revoked . . . a revolt broke out in February, 1925, which took the Turks three months to crush . . .

Economic Reforms

In mid-1958 Iran was reported to be launching an economic development programme in its North-Western border area to be financed from fees the pan-American Oil Company had paid for its recently granted concessions. Iraq has been using its oil revenues for some time in its Kurd-inhabited areas. Mining and increased industrial activity has improved the standard of living of the Iraqi Kurds, and one of the latest industrial schemes was for a petro-Chemical plant at Kirkok. It is reported that further expansion schemes there include fertiliser and man-made fibre-factories.

At this early stage the purpose behind the despatch of presumably Soviet Kurds to Iraq is far from clear. It may well be meant as a gesture of Soviet support for Brigadier Kassem in an area of Iraq which has so far proved exceedingly troublesome . . .

On the other hand assuming the Russian Kurds finally arrive in Iraq, the Iraq Government may find that its Kurd minority reacts sharply against the new arrivals, for even if the Kurds from Russia are of Iraqi origin, they may not be regarded favourably by the Iraqi Kurds.

Financial Times (an extended Summary),
April 10th, 1959

EDITOR:—the only economic reform we are aware of, carried out by the Persian Government in Kurdistan is the extensive building of military bases under the direct control of the United States militarists.

The Persian Government still deprives the Kurdish people of their elementary national rights, such as the right to use the Kurdish language in education and to publish books, newspapers and magazines in Kurdish. Why should a Kurdish child be forced to learn in Persian — a foreign language to him or her — at the age of seven? surely it is common sense that if education is the purpose behind attending the school, then it is better to learn in one own's language.

The Kurds returning from U.S.S.R. were all Barzani refugees, i.e. Iraqi nationals, who retreated to the Soviet Union to escape the persecution of the Iraqi and Persian Governments (it will be remem-

bered that those Barzanis were withdrawing from Iran after the suppression of the Kurdish Democratic Republic of Mehabad by the reactionary Persian Government and its American masters).

Among the 850 Kurdish citizens returning home were 108 women and 252 children. For the last 14 years there has been a persisting demand to grant them amnesty.

Following the 14th July Revolution in Iraq the great Kurdish leader, Mustafa Barzani was permitted to return home in freedom, together with two of his colleagues, Khoshawi and Mir Haj. The last two left after staying for a few weeks for the Soviet Union to bring back the remaining Kurdish refugees. This they have done. Incidentally, just before their return, the Republican Government of Iraq issued a general amnesty of the Kurds who took part in the Barzani Revolt of 1945, including the posthumous rehabilitation of the four patriotic Kurdish officers (Major Izzet Aziz, Captain Mustafa Khoshnaw, Lieutnants' Mehemed Kudsi and Khayrulla Abdul-Karim), who were executed in 1947 in Baghdad.

As to the kind of reception accorded them the correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* in Baghdad reporting on the gigantic demonstration at the conclusion of the Peace Congress in which one million people took part in favour of peace and Premier Kassem said that 'Two groups were the lions of the occasion. These were the heroes of the crushing of the Mosul mutiny and the first ship-load of Kurds who arrived here after their repatriation from Russia.'

A Crime and a Mysterious Death

Mr. Mustafa Akindji, Member of the Grand National Assembly in Turkey (Democrat, Diarbakir) demanded an inquiry in to the murder of 90 Kurdish peasants in Diarbakir at the instigation of Awni Doghan, the former Police Inspector in Turkey's Kurdistan. He also denounced a Bill restricting democratic liberties and then resigned, together with another 19 M.P's, from the ruling Democratic Party. He died later of a mysterious poisoning. No inquest or inquiry was held.

* * *

Leaflets were distributed in Ankara, Izmir and Adana, at the end of July 1958, by the 'National Liberation Committee' attacking the policy of the reactionary Turkish Government. Many Kurdish and Turkish youths were arrested. The Press was prevented to make any references to them. Their

whereabouts is not known. It is believed that they have been murdered by the Turkish authorities.

* * *

It is not enough to say that there are no Kurds in Turkey; we must eliminate them from existence.

AWNI DOGHAN in an article in *Watan*, Istanbul, July, 1958.

* * *

Thirty armed Kurds from Turkey's Kurdistan crossed the Iraqi-Turkish border and joined in the fight against the Shawaf mutineers in Mosul.

PROTEST

102 Kurdish students in Istanbul sent a protest telegram to a Turkish Member of Parliament who called for the persecution of minorities in Turkey as a retaliation for the alleged persecution of the Turkmen in Iraq.

Conference of Iraqi Students in Germany

The Iraqi Students' Society in Germany held its first Conference in Mainz, W. Germany, recently. The K.S.S.E. Germany Branch sent its Secretary, Mr. Rajih Badrawi as a fraternal delegate. Addressing the conference, Mr. Badrawi said that all K.S.S.E. members, from the various regions of Kurdistan, appreciate the noble attitude adopted by our fellow Iraqi Students towards our national and student questions. The common struggle of the true fraternal nationalities was the result of imperialist persecution dictated to the corrupt Monarchist clique. The Kurds strongly supported the 14th July revolution and the Iraqi Republic and the Iraqi Kurdish students loyally support

their Republic and shall not permit any division in the ranks of the Iraqi people.

Mr. Badrawi scorned those who charge the Kurdish students with separatist tendencies and attack the leader of the Iraqi people, Abdul-Karim Kassem. He called for the further consolidation of the Arab-Kurdish brotherhood and ended his speech with 'long live the Iraqi Republic the Republic of the Arabs and Kurds.'

Replying, Mr. Sadiq Al-Biladi, on behalf of the Conference, said that 'we have defeated imperialism, through united Arab-Kurdish solidarity. We salute your efforts to consolidate the brotherhood and friendship between the Arab and Kurdish students.'

An Education Authority for Kurdistan

The Government of Iraq, guided by the recognition of the national rights of the Kurdish people in Article Three of the Provisional Constitution, has decided to set up an 'Education Directorate of Iraqi Kurdistan'. This is a historic event for the Kurdish nation. It is a major advance towards cultural autonomy in Iraqi Kurdistan, and a concrete step — a radical one too — in recognising the national structure of the Kurds. Commenting on the setting up of the Authority, *Ittihad Al-Shaab*, the influential and mass circulating newspaper of Baghdad said, 'this is a triumph for democracy in Iraq and another factor in consolidating brotherly ties between the Arabs and Kurds, and increasing the confidence of the Kurds in our Republic. The

fulfilment of this just demand will be a deadly blow to the Chauvinistic elements who doubt the possibility of rallying the Arabs and Kurds around their Republic.

This important gain, is a glorious characteristic of our democratic Republican regime. We trust that this step will be followed by others to achieve the other democratic national rights of the Kurdish people according to the articles of the Constitution and the will of our people."

Thanks to the Iraqi Government. No wonder the Iraqi people call their Republic the Republic of the Arabs and Kurds. Congratulations to the gallant Kurdish people on a magnificent victory.

Soviet Students Greet Their Kurdish Colleagues

The President of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe, Ismet Cheriff, received the following card from the Student Council of the Executive Committee of the Youth Organisation of the U.S.S.R. :—

"We greet you on the occasion of the New Year, and wish you success in your work for the happiness of the world, for peace and for the strengthening of friendship and co-operation between the students of all countries."

The President sent the following reply on behalf of the Executive Committee of K.S.S.E. :—

"Dear Friends,

The Kurdish Students' Society in Europe received with great pleasure the card which you sent on the occasion of the New Year. We thank you for that, and present in turn our greetings and good wishes for a happy, fruitful and peaceful year, to the Youth and Students of the U.S.S.R. and of all countries.

Our Society wishes to establish ties of friendship and co-operation more regularly with the Student Council of the Youth Organisations of the U.S.S.R. in order to serve the cause of the oppressed peoples who struggle for their freedom against imperialism, and to serve the international student movement and peace.

We are sending you two copies of the third number of our magazine KURDISTAN together with two copies of a pamphlet we published on 'the plan to bomb Kurdistan with atomic bombs.' We will be grateful if you could send a copy of the pamphlet either to the Student Council in Soviet Armenia or to one of the public libraries in the Alagoz region in Soviet Armenia, or to any other region where the Soviet Kurds live in conditions of peace, happiness and full respect for their national rights.

Hoping to hear from you soon, we repeat, dear friends, our best wishes to the students and youth of your great country.'

Iraqi Students' Committee in Vienna

The Iraqi students in Vienna have formed a Committee. The Vice-President of the K.S.S.E. sent a letter to the Committee calling for co-operation. A reply was received which said: 'we support you and shall co-operate for the good of the student movement outside Iraq and in order to repute the slanderous propoganda levelled against our democ-

ratic Republic.' It praised the attitude of the Kurdish people adding 'the attitude of the Kurdish people beside their brother the Arab people in Iraq in consolidating our beloved democratic Republic is the highest example of the solidarity of these two peoples and their mutual affinity.'

Two Communications to Premier Kassem

Saadi Amin, Acting General Secretary of the K.S.S.E. sent, on behalf of the Executive Committee, two telegrams to Premier Kassem in support of his national democratic Government, condemning the Shawaf plot and demanding severe

punishment against traitorous elements.

The second communication was a letter requesting the withdrawal of Iraq from the Baghdad Pact. Iraq quit the Pact in the same day as the letter reached Baghdad!

Return of the Kurdish Refugees from the U.S.S.R.

852 Kurds, including many women and children returned from the U.S.S.R. in the Soviet passenger ship *Gruzia*. They were part of the Barzani Kurds who sought asylum in U.S.S.R. after the reactionary Persian authorities, at the instigation of their American masters, destroyed the Kurdish Democratic Republic of Mehabad and started a savage persecution of the Kurds. Many Kurdish leaders, including Qazi Mehemed, the revered President of that autonomous Republic were murdered.

their Arab brothers they will be the most loyal guardians of democracy.

We salute these Kurdish heroes and thank the Republican Government of Iraq, particularly its great leader, Premier Kassem. We assure him that these gallant Barzanis will be among the finest defenders of the Republic. Together with

The Egyptian propagandists' comments on the return of these beloved sons and daughters of the Kurdish people were quite crazy and utterly despicable. To them, these 852 refugees, Iraqi citizens who suffered much persecution and offered heavy sacrifice in their fight against reactionary regimes in Iraq and Iran and the prevailing foreign domination, were Soviet 'Kurdish volunteer guerrillas', who would occupy Iraq! Such cowardly attitude confirms the apprehension of the Kurdish people about the anti-Kurdish policy of the U.A.R. authorities. This is now quite clear in Syria where the Kurds are openly persecuted. This partly explains the role played by the Kurds in crushing the U.A.R. inspired Shawaf plot in Mosul.

Democratic Revolution

"What deepens the democratic content of our revolution is the fact that it is the revolution of two fraternal nationalities, Arabs and Kurds, and the fact that it materialised was due to the common struggle of the two nationalities on the basis of the recognition of their legitimate national rights. This was incorporated in the Iraqi constitution, which for the first time in the history of Iraq, recognises the national rights of the Kurds. Any basic step which determines the destiny of Iraq should be, undoubtedly, in harmony with the

aspirations of the two fraternal peoples, and in accordance with their wishes . . . this is a fact that distinguishes Iraq from other Arab countries . . .

If the Kurdish Question in Iraq is not clear, not understood, or is unimportant to a considerable number of Arab writers, it is to the Iraqis in the Iraqi Republic clearly understood and very important. If the slogan of Kurdish-Arab brotherhood is provocative to certain people, it is a dynamic force that inspires masses in Iraq."

AZIZ AL-HAJ in *Our Revolution*, Baghdad, 1958.

Iraqi Students Condemn Turkey and Iran

The Conference of the General Union of the Iraqi Students held during 18th-22nd February, adopted the following resolutions:—

"Our Conference considers the policy of national oppression against the Kurdish people in Iran and Turkey a violation of the United Nation Charter

and the Bill of Human Rights therefore it condemns the policy of oppression and national discrimination against the Kurdish Students and the neglect of their national and cultural rights and declares its support to the struggle of the peoples inhabiting these two countries for liberation and independence."

Correspondence

VIEWS ON 'KURDISTAN'.

I thank you very much for your willingness in sending me one number of your magazine, which has particularly aroused my interest and sympathy. I shall not fail to mention it in one of the next editions of *Africa and Asia*, in which, as you perhaps know, there is featured fairly regularly a bulletin on Kurdish Sociology.

I would be very grateful if it would be possible for you to send me two other samples of this magazine, so as to permit me to place it at the disposal of the readers at our library, and to circulate it amongst some friends.

I express the strongest wishes for the happy development of this movement of solidarity between the Kurdish students in Europe, which certainly promises the most happy results.

I beg you, dear sir, to accept the expression of my best and most sympathetic feelings.

PIERRE RONDOT,
13 Rue Du Four, Paris VI.
4th December, 1958.

May I thank you most warmly for your kindness in sending me a copy of the Third Congress's special number of *Kurdistan*: I was extremely interested in this record of Kurdish activity.

Yours sincerely,
FRANK STOAKES,
St. Anthony's College, Oxford.
4th December, 1958.

I am much obliged to you for sending me the special number of *Kurdistan*, which I am very interested to see. I enclose P.O. for 2/6 to cover cost and postage.

Yours sincerely,
C. J. EDMONDS,
Heronden, Hawkhurst, Kent.
9th December, 1958.

I thank you very much for having sent me a copy of *Kurdistan*, giving interesting information about the III Congress of your organisation held at Munich in August. I am pleased to see that the

Kurdish students abroad keep together and prepare themselves to be useful to their countrymen. I also believe that Latin letters would help the expansion of Kurdish literature printed in Erevan. You mention in your bibliography my paper on the Kurdish problem, but in spite of it you would better put my French book *Les Kurdes, Etude Sociologique Et Historique*. Preface de M. L. Massignon, Professeur au Collège de France. 360 p. Paris, 1956, which is more important.

Sincerely yours,
B. NIKITINE,
7 Rue Boileau, Paris, 16.
5th December, 1958.

Thank you very much for your letter. I have passed it on, with the journal, to Mr. A. Wedgwood-Benn, M.P., who is the Chairman of the Mediterranean and Middle East Committee of the Movement for Colonial Freedom. You will appreciate that I have to distribute responsibility in the vast field of colonial affairs among my colleagues and Mr. Wedgwood-Benn is specialising in this area. I know he will be very glad to hear from you at any time about issues which you feel he could usefully raise.

Sincerely yours,
FENNER BROCKWAY,
(Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom).
House of Commons, Westminster, S.W.1.
22nd December, 1958.

EDITOR:—A letter was sent to Mr. Wedgwood-Benn, M.P. on behalf of the Executive Committee of the K.S.S.E., requesting the Movement for Colonial Freedom to raise the Kurdish Question in the appropriate way, to declare support for the right of the Kurdish people to self-determination and condemn the denial of elementary national rights to the Kurds in Turkey and Iran.

The letter made it clear that only in Iraq do the Kurds enjoy national rights.

Mr. Wedgwood-Benn's reply said, in effect, that the 'Kurdish Question is outside our terms of reference.'

OIL

"General Kassem has offered a revolution a month and the foreign Oil Companies can hardly fail to have their place in the series."
DOUGLAS BROWN, *Daily Telegraph*, 6th April, 1959.

ADVERTISEMENT

Two young fully-qualified, experienced English School Teachers require employment in Iraq after September, 1959. Replies should be sent to this Magazine.

Newroz und Kurdistan

VON KAMAL FUAD—Berlin

An diesem Tag, wo wir den letzten Wintertag verabschieden und einen neuen Tag erwarten, den ersten Tag des neuen Jahres im Kurdischen Kalender, möchte ich Ihnen kurz von der Entwicklung und dem Ursprung dieses Festes, das bei den Kurden als Nationalfest gefeiert wird, berichten.

Das Fest wurde das erste Mal ungefähr 700 Jahre vor Christus begangen. Es ist geschichtlich bekannt, das die Iranische Gruppe jedes Jahr den ersten Tag des Frühlings gefeiert haben. Indem sie in der letzten Nacht des Winters aus ihren Städten und Dörfern in die Berge gekommen sind, um Feuer anzuzünden, das bis zum nächsten Morgen brannte. Damit begrüßten sie den neuen Frühlingstag mit seiner Wärme und seinen schönen Farben, den sie mit grosser Freude erwartet hatten. Weshalb die Kurden NEWROZ als Nationalfest begingen und sehr stolz darauf waren, wird verschiedenes berichtet.

Viele hundert Jahre vor Christus lebte ein Tyrann (EJDEHAK), der sich König von Kurdistan nannte. Man sagt, dass er aus Palästina stammte. Er besass zwei riesige Schlangen, die er mit Kinderfleisch fütterte. und anbetete. In jener Zeit lebte der Schmied (KAWÉ) in der Stadt. Er hatte einst neun Kinder, aber acht hatte der König EJDEHAK seinen Schlangen als Futter vorgeworfen. Nun blieb ihm noch das neunte Kind, sein letztes, das am nächsten Tag geopfert werden sollte, am ersten Frühlingstag, an dem Tag, den die Leute feierten. In der Nacht, wo EJDEHAK, der Tyrann mit der königlichen Familie das Frühlingsfest mit Trinken und Spielen feierte, war KAWÉ, der Schmied traurig und verzweifelt und wusste nicht was er tun sollte, weil das letzte Kind ihm am nächsten Tag geraubt werden sollte, um damit die Schlangen zuzufüttern. Als KAWÉ erfahren hatte, das EJDEHAK und der Hof mit Trinken und Spieles beschäftigt waren, um sich am Frühling zuzufreuen, da fasste er den Entschluss, sein letztes Kind nicht zu opfern, sondern alle Kinder vor diesem grausemen Schicksal zu bewahren. Er nahm seinen Hammer in die Hand, stürzte auf die Strasse und rief: "Oh, ihr Leute folgt mir, wir wollen das Schloss und den König EJDEHAK angreifen, um uns von seiner Unterdrückung und Ungerechtigkeit zu befreien!" Bald folgten sie ihm und griffen das Schloss an, töteten den König und seine königliche Familie und befreiten sich und ihre Kinder von diesem Tyrann. Sie wählten dann einen aus ihrer Mitte zum Herrscher, der im Volk sehr beliebt war. Von

diesem Tag an wurde NEWROZ Nationalfeiertag bei den Kurden, ausser, das es auch ein Frühlingsfest war. An diesem Tag erinnern sie sich ihres Helden, des Schmiedes KAWÉ, der sie von der fremden Herrschaft befreit hatte. In dieser Zeit sind die Berge Kurdistan voll Helligkeit von den Feuern, das die Leute bei ihren Feiern auf den Bergen anzünden.

Als die Türken Kurdistan besetzten, hatten sie den Kurden verboten, ihr Nationalfest zu begehen. Dies nutzte aber wenig, da die Kurden sehr an Ihrem Recht hängen.

Nach dem ersten Weltkrieg beham das Fest einen neuen Sinn. Die Kurden versammelten sich, um für Freiheit, Frieden und Demokratie zu kämpfen. Die letzten Versammlungen dieser Art waren im Jahre 1948, 1954 in Sileymania und in den anderen Städten und Dörfern. Hier versammelten sich die Kurden nicht allein, sondern viele andere arabische Freunde aus Basra, Amard, Kut, Nagaf, Bagdad und Mossul nahmen daran teil. NEWROZ war wirklich ein Fest des Friedens und der Freundschaft. Obwohl die alte Regierung das Fest verboten hatte, und viele reiheitsliebende Kurden ins Gefängnis gesteckt hatte, feierten die Kurden heimlich, und die Feuer leuchteten auf den Bergen Kurdistan. Die Versammlung dieser Festtage haben die Freundschaft und den Kampf für den Frieden, die Befreiung und die Demokratie gefestigt.

Ich möchte Ihnen von der Geschichte und dem Kampf unseres Volkes für die Freiheit und Selbständigkeit seit dem Osmanischen Reich bis zum heutigen Tag kurz berichten. Da ich Irakischer Kurde bin, möchte ich Ihnen nur vom Irakischen Teil Kurdistan berichten. Leider wissen veil überhaupt nichts von der Geschichte Kurdistan. Selbst wir Kurden wissen nur wenig davon, da diese Geschichte nie auf einer Schule gelehrt, oder in einer Zeitung gedruckt wurde. Ist das nicht eine Nichtanerkennung des Menschen? Das wird unseren Kampf aber weder verhindern noch hemmen, da wir wissen, dass entrechtete Völker oft revolutionärer und stärker waren als andere.

Die Kurden gehören zu den Indo-Germanischen Völkern, der Iranischen Gruppe.

Kurdistan wurde immer von den Kurden bewohnt, und ist eine ethische, historische und unteilbare Einheit. Im Jahre (800 vor Christus) haben ihre Vorväter, die (MEDAEER) in diesem Gebiet geherrscht, Im südlichen Teil Kurdistan haben die Kurden bis Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts

einige Provinzen, unabhängig, frei und fern vom Türkischen und persischen Einfluss selbst regiert. Einige Provinzen davon waren: Provinz BABAN und MOHAMED PASCHA. Es gelang später den Türken diese Provinzen einzunehmen. Kurz danach haben die freiheitsliebenden Kurden Aufstände gegen die Türken veranstaltet, wie der Aufstand: ABDULRAHMAN PASCHA 1806, HEMEWEND und BARZAN, um ihr Land von fremder Herrschaft zu befreien. Hierbei zeigten die Türken ihre barbarischen Eigenschaften, indem sie die Städte und Dörfer verbrannten und die Führer aufhängten. Im Jahr 1914 wurde der Führer (SCHEICH ABDULSALAM BARZANI, der Vater von MUSTAFA BARZANI) mit drei anderen aufgehängt. Kurz nach Ende des ersten Weltkrieges haben die Grossmächte im Vertrag von (SEVRES) 1920, Artikel (62-64) die Selbständigkeit Kurdistans anerkannt, aber ein paar Jahre später folgte der Vertrag von (LAUSANNA 1923), indem nichts von der Selbständigkeit erwähnt wurde, da die Engländer und Franzosen wirtschaftliche Interessen in Kurdistan hatten.

Im Jahre 1918 kam der Aufstand von (SCHEICH MEHMUD) in Sileymania. Die Engländer haben die Selbständigkeit SCHEICH MEHMUDS anerkannt. Aber ein Jahr später versuchten sie Kurdistan zu beeinflussen. Dies war ihnen aber unmöglich, daher griffen sie Kurdistan an und nahmen SCHEICH MEHMUD am 19. Juni 1919 gefangen. Da die Engländer keine Ruhe in diesem Gebiet bekamen, brachten sie ihn (SCHEICH MEHMUD) zurück.

Aber er war wieder nicht mit den Engländern einverstanden, dass sie im Lande bleiben und die Kurden von ihnen beeinflusst werden. Daraufhin

haben britische Flugzeuge die Städte und Dörfer Kurdistans bombardiert. SCHEICH MEHMUD verliess die Stadt, um die Einwohner vor weiteren Angriffen zu schützen. Damals traf ein Reisender einen alten Mann, der sein zerstörtes Haus wieder aufbaute. Erstaunt fragte er ihn, warum er sein Haus wider aufbaue, wo er doch genau weiss, dass es bald wieder angegriffen wird. Darzuffhin antwortete der alte Mann: "Es ist besser das Haus aufzubauen, als die Feinde glauben zu lassen, dass sie unsere Häuser zerstört haben."

Im Jahre 1924 wurde dieses Gebiet dem Irak zugesprochen und es nannte sich der nördliche Irak. In den dreissiger Jahren haben die Kurden gemeinsam mit den Arabern ihren Kampf fortgesetzt, als sie die Gefahr des Imperialismus erkannten, um ihr Land von den Imperialisten zu befreien und ihre Rechte wieder zu erlangen.

Revolution 1936, Aufstände: GURBAGHI, Januar 1948, November 1952 und am 14. Juli 1958 waren die Folgen des gemeinsamen Kampfes. Am 14. Juli ging die Herrschaft des Imperialismus zu Ende. Die Imperialisten haben ihre letzten Hoffnungen um das Land wieder zu beeinflussen vor einigen Wochen in (MOSSUL) aufgegeben.

Die Kolonialisten und alle denen es nicht gefiel, haben jede Kurdische Nationalbewegung als Trennung vom Irak bezeichnet, um die Araber gegen die Kurden aufzuhetzen, da sie selber im Lande bleiben und regieren wollten.

Die Kurden haben des öfteren versichert, dass sie gegen die Trennung sind und jederzeit für die Irakische Republik zur Verfügung stehen. Trotzdem hängen sie sehr an ihrem Recht.

Berlin, den 21. März 1959. I. NEWROZ 2571.

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KOMELEY XWÊNDIKARANÎ KURD LE EWROPA

KURDISTAN



Kurdish Students' Society in Europe

REPORT OF THE FOURTH CONGRESS

1959

PRICE TWO SHILLINGS

27 FÉV. 1960

Résolutions du congrès de l'association des étudiants kurdes en Europe

- APPUI AU GENERAL KASSEM
- CONDAMNATION DE L'OPPRESSION DONT LA MINORITE KURDE EST L'OBJET EN SYRIE
- RECONNAISSANCE DES DROITS ET LIBERTES NATIONALES AUX KURDES D'IRAN ET DE TURQUIE

Vienne, 27 Juillet. — Une cinquantaine de jeunes Kurdes originaires d'Irak, d'Iran, de Syrie et de Turquie ont participé au cours du week-end au 4ème congrès de l'association des étudiants kurdes en Europe qui s'est tenu à Vienne sous la présidence de M. Ismet Chérif Vally, originaire de Turquie.

Le congrès a adopté une série de résolutions relatives à la situation des minorités kurdes dans les divers pays du Moyen-Orient.

En ce qui concerne l'Irak, les étudiants kurdes d'Europe ont proclamé leur appui au président Kassem tout en lui demandant de grouper toutes les régions kurdes d'Irak en une seule circonscription dotée d'un statut d'autonomie administrative et culturelle.

La résolution relative à la Syrie réclame la reconnaissance des droits nationaux des Kurdes et condamne ce qu'elle appelle l'oppression de cette communauté par le régime actuel.

Une autre résolution réclame le retrait de l'Iran du pacte de Bagdad et, tout en notant que la parution récente en Iran d'un journal en langue kurde constitue un signe encourageant, de-

mande la reconnaissance des droits et libertés nationales aux Kurdes iraniens. Cette dernière exigence est répétée dans la résolution relative à la Turquie.

Seule l'URSS paraît avoir trouvé grâce auprès des étudiants kurdes, dont la majorité réside en pays occidentaux, pour avoir publié un grand nombre d'ouvrages dans leur langue. Encore expriment-ils le vœu que les Soviétiques utilisent, pour ces publications, le caractère latin au lieu du caractère cyrillique. (AFP.)

Souffrant d'un
Mohammed
intervention

KURDISTAN

Published by the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe

Editor: TAHSIN MOHAMMED AMIN

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KOMELEY XWÈNDIKARANÎ KURD LE EWROPA

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

Editorial

On August 10th 1956, a group of Kurdish students met in Wiesbaden, Germany. What they did then, is what we write about now. The meeting was convened on the initiative of a few zealous and inspired patriots, among whom prime credit goes to Dr. Nuraddine Zaza. In a city bustling with holiday-makers, this group sat for nine days of serious discussion and arguments. Out of their labour was born an organization of Kurdish students in Europe — actually the first of its kind, but for an experimental effort on the same line in 1949 discontinued following the birth of the new organization. It was given its present name, The Kurdish Students' Society in Europe, in 1958.

One should ask what was the spirit which inspired those founding members to this noble deed? It was no doubt the desire to bring Kurdish students together — for they cannot be together in their divided homeland — and protect their interests and further their **welfare**. But it was not only that, in fact the driving force was much more than that. Dormant fires have been living inside every Kurd for generations, storing a desire for the liberty and **happiness** of his oppressed people. At Wiesbaden the driving spirit was nothing more or less than the rekindling of these fires. The founders took the road of no return, a road that must inevitably lead to what is the natural due of every people, namely a self-determined free life. But what they set out to do was not the innovation of a movement, rather they followed the lead of past heroes and took up the task where they had left off. Yet in spite of this the Society was, and remains, a students organization, not political in any form. But it is in no way incompatible with the status of a student, that he should share the aims and aspirations of his people. That in fact gives purpose to all his activities.

Today the founders can be proud of their creation. Guided by the basic principles they set down, the Society has proceeded from success to success, with ever increasing zeal and determination. But the four-year life of the Society has not been all smooth and easy progress. An organization with, among other things, a national mission inevitably encounters opposition from without, and differences of opinion from within. Along the road from the Wiesbaden founders' Congress to the Congress in London (December 1957), and the Third Congress in Munich (August 1958), there were points of anti-climax. But that was no cause for alarm. In the free debate of ideas, the right cause need not fear defeat, for truth is on its side; and Thomas Paine said: 'Such is the **irresistible** nature of the truth that all it asks for is the liberty of

appearing'. Basic unity of purpose and oneness of aim was never lost, and was gradually reinforced. To the basic tasks and aims of working for the good of Kurdish students in Europe, and the Kurdish people and their national cause, the Society remained steadfastly loyal.

Nothing is a more telling testimony to the Society's progress than the Fourth Congress at Vienna (July 1959). The 'Spirit of Vienna' was a remarkable reward for four years of labour. Here in spite of the great numbers of participants, there was such unity and complete identity of views, such a burning urge for the realization of our aims, that the men of Wiesbaden could rightly echo the words of Count Camillo de Cavour, the architect of Italian unification, and say 'The die is cast and history is made'.

History is indeed made. The Kurdish Students of Europe have realized, in conformity with the climate of opinion in the fatherland, that there is no turning back or loosing hope. To the public opinion of the world, and of Europe, it must be set out that the legitimate Kurdish case is no different from that of other nationalities. It is a natural right, and if the 'sacredness of all nationalities' is to be respected, then the Kurdish right to self-determination must be recognised. After the 1914-18 War, the hey-day of self-determination, states were made and liberated. But the vile interests of imperialism and local reaction and the mistakes of the Kurds themselves, deprived our nation of its natural right. Today, with world imperialism in defeat and the Kurds united in spirit and action, that error shall be rectified with the co-operation of all peace-loving and democratic peoples of the world.

Already in Iraq, following the glorious revolution of July 14th 1958, under the leadership of the hero of the people, Abdul Karim Qassem, the Kurds have regained many of their lost rights. In that country the eternal brotherhood of the Arabs and Kurds shall serve as an example to be followed by the neighbours of Iraq. With such an encouraging sign in Iraq, what is hope shall become reality.

What the public opinion of the world, especially that of Europe, is asked to note, is that the Kurdish Question is not just a sentimental revival of what most people have gone through in a more romantic age. In fact it is the desire of all Kurds to base their case 'more on reason than on sentiment' — to use the words of Alighieri Dante. Because it is through the application of reason that we realise that there is an abnormal situation in the Middle East which can benefit only imperialism. The good of the people of the area, and hence indirectly the

cause of peace requires a just solution to it. A liberated Kurdish nation in a happier Kurdistan, motivated by democratic principles, can only add to the stability of the area.

On the other hand the Kurdish people have every right to demand of the international community a positive response to their calls. Following a disastrous world war the United Nations was not founded to be merely a debating place. Its high purpose is 'to maintain international peace and security' as stated in Article I of the Charter. One of the best ways to maintain peace and

security is **definitely** the implementation of two other provisions of the Charter. The preamble speaks of 'the equal rights of men and women and of nations, large and small'. And Article I states that one of the purposes of the Organisation is 'to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples'. This being the case, we, on behalf of our people, cannot but persist in striving for what 'the peoples of the United Nations' have already reaffirmed.

Their Fourth Failure

On October 7th 1959, the tragic news of the attempt on Premier Abdul Karim Qassem's life was flashed throughout the world. To all the friends of Iraq and democracy this was a foul deed to be regretted. But to the people of Iraq, Arabs and Kurds alike, this was indeed an occasion for mourning, for anger at this shameful crime against themselves and their republic. Indeed that was so for in that wounded flesh the people find the symbol of their aspirations, and their guarantee for a peaceful and democratic future. But to the joy and exhilaration of all, Iraqi's hero survived and shall soon, to the consternation of the enemies of Iraq — both internal and external — resume his untiring and

relentless drive for the fulfilment of the programme of July 14th 1958.

But this tragic episode throws more light on the band of individuals who since October 1958 have been aiming at undoing the historic work of July 14th. In that autumn, again in December of the same year, then in the abortive Mosul mutiny of 7.3.1959, this band of ambitious power-seekers tried in vain to subvert the democratic regime of Iraq. This latest treasonable addition to that infamous record represents their fourth failure; with the pitiable following they have among the population these conspirators would have had no heart to translate into action the foul scheme



Premier Abdul Karim Qassem

which they harboured in their perverted minds. But encouragement from outside sources was not lacking. World imperialism, still trying to reassert its waning power, and some of Iraq's neighbours having their own schemes against Iraq; these coupled with the isolated forces of reaction inside, provided hope for the conspirators. A vain hope it was. Prime Minister Qassem is safe, and the people of Iraq are more determined than ever to unite and rally around their one and only leader and march undeterred to their destiny.

The public reaction to the attempted assassination is proof enough that the Iraqis, whatever their nationality, will not tolerate an infringement of their rights and a move against their beloved leader by any source whatever.

As far as the Kurds are concerned it is only fair to say that, as such, their stake is slightly higher, for their political and national rights are constitutionally recognized, and hence guaranteed, for the first time. So long as this policy persists, we are confident it will, our Society for its part, like our countrymen the Kurds in Iraq, pledges its support to the revered leader Abdul Karim Qassem.

Political assassination, or its attempt, has always been the weapon of those who have been driven to despair through their own helplessness and inability to achieve their aims by democratic and honourable methods. But those should bear in mind that while it is possible to kill a man it is not possible to kill an idea, and that while it is possible to remove a

symbol it is impossible to remove what it stands for if the 'general will' accepts it. Fortunately in Iraq both the symbol and the idea remain, and the joint enterprise undertaken by the Government and the governed shall reach fruition. In the words of Qassem himself the Iraqi Republic 'has become solid and her structure unshakeable.'

Talking about his country Premier Qassem said in a speech on September 26th 1959: 'Long live this nation as a free nation. Long live this great and triumphant people. Long live this Republic free, and with a consolidated structure'.

On our part we echo his words and wish him well.

N.B. Needless to say at its time, telegrams of support, condolences, and congratulations were sent to Baghdad by our Society and its branches in the United Kingdom, Austria, Switzerland and Germany. In addition our General Secretary sent a letter too, with copies to Baghdad Radio and the Iraqi press.

Text of Article 3 of the Interim — Constitution of the Republic of Iraq:

Article 3

"The structure of Iraq stands on a basis of mutual co-operation among all its citizens, and respect for their rights and protection of their liberty. Arabs and Kurds are considered partners in this nation, and their national rights within the Unity of Iraq are recognized by this constitution."

The Question of the Unification of the Written Kurdish Language Kurmanji or Sorani? *

by ISMET CHERIFF VANLEY, SWITZERLAND.

The following article is a rough and rudimentary consideration of a subject which the writer discusses more fully, and in a rather different fashion, in a pamphlet that will be published separately. Nevertheless it can be considered an approximate summary of the subject of that pamphlet.

Some of my Sorani-speaking compatriots will be probably surprised in reading the question posed in the title, because, in the matter of the Kurdish written language, they have never considered the question in its true national proportions. For them, the musical Sorani dialect, as spoken in the Sulaimani town, and as written in most Kurdish Iraqi publications ever issued, is NATURALLY THE KURDISH LANGUAGE. They bring a question of high national interest to a regional posture. But within the limits of a single region, speaking the same dialect, such a question, indeed, cannot be posed at all. The Kurdish dialects spoken — and sometimes written — elsewhere, in Kurdistan of

Turkey, of Persia and of Syria, or even in the Kurmanji-speaking areas of the Mossoul department, are not even taken into consideration.

Other Sorani-speaking compatriots, more acquainted with general Kurdish problems, in their real national proportions, do pose the question indeed. But many of them still think that Sorani must be THE Kurdish language. They think that since political events were, and are today even more favourable to Sorani, which was able to make, and is still making, huge progress in its written transposition, and since Kurmanji did not benefit by such favourable conditions and could not advance

* cf. P. Rondot, Le Probleme de l'unification⁵ de la Langue Kurde - REI, 1936. III. p. 297-307

in consequence, the Sorani dialect must be the Kurdish language.

Of course, the Kurmanji-speaking Kurds of Turkey, Syria and U.S.S.R. think differently. I have no doubt that for most of them, Kurmanji is THE Kurdish language.

When a Sorani and a Kurmanji Kurd discuss the question together — and usually quite passionately — each one is led to emphasise his dialect's advantages.

The Kurmanji Kurd affords that Kurmanji is spoken by the great majority of Kurdish people, that it has very clear (and numerous) grammatical rules which were scientifically studied and fixed in many grammatical books printed in the Soviet Union in Syria (I) and in Paris (II). He affords too that these Kurdish grammars are written by specialists who know some other Indo-European languages well, and not by people lacking a full knowledge of the Indo-European languages' characteristics, of which Kurdish is one, might lead to imitate closely the Arabic grammar, which is absolutely different. This Kurd might also say that his dialect is already written (not everywhere) in well adapted Latin characters, while Sorani is only written with Arabic characters, which do not fit Kurdish phonetics. If he is fond of history, our Kurd would tell, as well, that Kurmanji is most probably the living speech which is nearest to ancient Aryan languages and especially to that of Zend-Avesta.

Our Sorani-speaking Kurd, in response, spreads out his dialect's advantages. He puts in light its high musicality, the simplicity of its grammatical rules and, lastly, the progress it was able to make after a thirty years' written literary experience in Iraq (3)

Posing the question thus, in a competition form, is a bad way to resolve it.

There have been already two important Kurdish Congresses to discuss the question of the written Kurdish language.

The first one took place in Erivan, Soviet Armenia, summer 1934, and was attended by eminent Kurdish, Armenian and Russian Soviet specialists in Kurdish studies, under the auspices of

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- (1) By the late Emir Celadet A. Bedir-Khan, and recently by others.
 - (2) By Emir Dr. Kamuran A. Bedir-Khan, Professor of Kurdish in the French National School of Living Oriental Languages, Paris.
 - (3) Usually Sorani Kurds find Kurmanji very beautiful, they like very much its letter 'V', very frequently pronounced as in French, and which becomes in the Sorani dialect a 'W', pronounced as in English. Kurmanji is not without resemblance to French.

official Soviet authorities. It was decided to choose Kurmanji, spoken, in the Soviet Union, as the single Kurdish national written language, because of its large diffusion in the major part of Kurdistan, and because of 'the high quality of its literary classical models, represented in the Ehmedi Khani school' (4).

The second one entitled 'Kurdish Teachers Congress', has just taken place in Shaqlawa, Iraqi Kurdistan, September 1959, attended by Kurdish Iraqi teachers. This is a very important event, as the first one was. It has decided that Sorani must be the single Kurdish national written language but that it must benefit from other Kurdish dialects.

It is evident that the resolutions of these two Congresses, to this effect, are, unfortunately, diametrically opposed. One is for Kurmanji, the other for Sorani. But it must be stated that both of them, however important and rejoicing, are not representative of the whole Kurdish nation. The first represented Soviet Kurds, the second, Iraqi Kurds. How much longer to the nation-wide thoroughly representative Kurdish Congress? Let us hope that the first two were just steps towards this one.

Doubtless, Kurmanji is the largest Kurdish dialect. On the basis that the total Kurdish population is about 13 millions (about 12,500,000 in Kurdistan itself, plus 500,000 in the Kutchan-Bujnurd region of Khorassan, North-East Persia), we find that this dialect is spoken by:

6,000,000	Kurds in Turkey (including the Zaza Kurds, about one million, who have a dialect of their own that is near to Hawrami, but who all speak Kurmanji too in their daily life);
800,000	Kurds in Iran (in Western Azerbaijan from Oshnou to the Soviet frontier, and in Khorassan);
650,000	Kurds in the 'Bahdinan' region of Iraqi Kurdistan (in the Kurdish districts of the Mossoul province and in some of that of Erbil, that is about one third of the Iraqi Kurds);
400,000	Kurds in Syria;
150,000	Kurds in U.S.S.R.
8,000,000	The total Kurmanji-speaking Kurds: that is about 62% of the whole Kurdish People.

The other (13-8) five million Kurds do not all speak Sorani. Out of these five millions, about

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- (4) For more details about this first Congress, see Basile Nikitine, 'Les Kurdes, étude sociologique et historique', Paris, 1956, p. 289 (in French).

1,500,000 speak Lori-Bakhtiyari, which is the most southern Kurdish dialect.

Of the remainder (5,000,000 — 1,500,000 = 3,500,000), the majority, living in Iranian Kurdistan chiefly in the Ardelan and Mukri regions, do not speak Sorani also. In fact, Sorani is spoken just by Iraqi Kurds who do not speak Kurmanji, nor Juri-Faili, that is by about 1,200,000 Kurds, or 9% of the whole Kurdish People.

But the Kurdish dialect which prevails in the major part of Iranian Kurdistan is, indeed, quite near to Sorani, and since the Sorani-written Iraqi publications can be easily read and understood by most of Iranian Kurds, it is generally considered that Sorani may be, or rather is (or must be), the written language of these Kurds too. As a matter of fact, the unique Kurdish paper published presently in Persia (5) is written in the Sulaimani Sorani dialect, exactly as in Iraq, which is a very good thing.

Thus widening the Sorani territorial basis, by adding to the Iraqi Sorani-speaking Kurds the majority of Iranian Kurds, the Luri-speaking being included too, it may be considered that this Sorani dialect is, roughly, the language of about five million Kurds representing about 38% of the whole Kurdish people.

As a matter of fact, and if minor local varieties are to be neglected, which is indispensable, it is generally admitted nowadays that there are two main Kurdish dialects:

- (1) The Kurmanji or, which is better called, the Northern dialect, spoken, as we have said, by about 62% of the whole Kurdish People;
- (2) and the Sorani or, which is better called, the Southern dialect, spoken, as we have said — subject to the reservations made — by about 38% of the whole Kurdish People.

Now, to be in the truth, we must admit that differences between the Northern and the Southern dialects are sufficiently important that each dialect is understood only with real difficulties, under present conditions, by those speaking the other. The fact that Kurmanji is written with cyrillic characters in the Soviet Union, with Latin characters in Syria, and presently not at all in Turkey, where Kurds, however, understand all these characters, and not at all in Iraq and Iran, while Sorani is still written only with Arabic characters in Iraq unfortunately widens their differences considerably or, at least, crystallizes them and hence complicates the question.

To resolve the question, I think it is basically wrong to pretend, in the present conditions, that any of these dialects is, or must be, THE written Kurdish language, for the whole nation. Practically disregarding dialect advantages, it is IMPOSSIBLE to impose, under the present political conditions, one of them on the whole Kurdish People.

It was possible to the Sorani dialect to advance as the literary Kurdish language in Iraq, because political conditions permitted those Kurds to have Kurdish papers and books. The same thing happened to Kurds in Syria, but to a much lesser extent, relating to Kurmanji. Kurmanji is also written in the Soviet Union, where it is related that about [1,500 Kurdish books] have been published in the past thirty years. But these publications, unfortunately, because of their cyrillic characters, because they have not been available, for political reasons, to millions of Kurds in Turkey and elsewhere, because of the lack of cultural contact between the bulk of the Kurdish people and the little Kurdish Soviet community, have been of little or no help to Kurmanji, as a wide-spread national written language. The few Kurmanji Kurdish publications tolerated in Syria, and where the written expression attains a relatively high degree of perfection, have been probably of more help because, written with Latin characters, some of them are known in Kurdistan of Turkey. The Kurdish literature of Soviet Kurds could be available to the Kurdish People if written in Latin characters and if, naturally, political conditions permit it, but that is not the case unfortunately. In Syria, some Soviet Kurdish school books were freely put on sale in a few libraries, during the years immediately preceding the formation of the U.A.R., but since that event, this is no longer permitted. The Syrian Kurds complained of the cyrillic characters, and though their language is exactly the same Kurmanji as in the Soviet Union (and Turkey), they did not appreciate very much the style of these school books written, they said, too colloquially, without seeking any literary level. They boasted of being able to write much better, but, needless to say, they were very happy to find their language printed in Soviet Armenia. The complete lack of any reference to the Kurdish nation and to Kurdistan (replaced by references to Armenia and the Soviet Union) was also noticed (6). But the weakest point in the unhappy modern evolution of the 'Kurmanji Story', this old and bright 'Medes tongue', as it used to be called by

(5) This paper is entitled *Kurdistan* and is published in Teheran.

(6) To know more about the Kurdish literature in the Soviet Union, see Thomas Bois, o.p., *Les Kurdes*, Beirut 1958, and *Coup d'oeil sur la littérature Kurde*, Beirut 1955 (both in French).

7 * Au moment où arrivait l'auteur, seule existait 215 numéros (livres, brochures ou pamphlets) édités par les presses soviétiques (cf. Bois, *op. cit.*, 1962)

Armenians in their Historic records (7), is represented by the huge Turkish hiatus. In this so-called democratic and free country of Turkey, where almost one half of the whole Kurdish People is living, but all Kurmanji speaking, and without any rights, any kind of Kurdish publications is strictly forbidden.

This doesn't mean that Kurmanji has no literature. In volume, the Kurdish classical literature composed in Kurmanji is naturally more important than that composed in the other dialects, because the Kurmanji-speaking Kurds are more numerous. The most outstanding and famous classical Kurdish poet, the most popular, too, nowadays among Kurds as well as among foreign specialists and observers, is Ehmedi Khani (8), the very literary father of the Kurdish national idea and whose style, composed in Kurmanji, is always considered as an example having grazed absolute perfection. If, because of the above-mentioned political conditions, Kurmanji has been hindered from pursuing a normal evolution in the domain of literary production and its diffusion, it must be remembered that political conditions are bound to change, likely much more rapidly than some people would like to think.

When Turkey will become more democratic and the Turkish Government will recognize at least the Kurdish People's cultural rights, there is no doubt that the six million Kurds in this country will write their language in Kurmanji, as did Ehmedi Khani three centuries ago, and as do the Kurds of Syria and their contemporary popular poet, Cegerxwin whose patriotic poems are very well known and liked among the Kurds of Turkey too (9). It is certain also that they will do it in Latin characters, as do the Syrian Kurds and the Turks themselves in writing their language. In this event of a democratic evolution in Turkey, implicating the recognition of legitimate Kurdish national and cultural rights, there will not be the least chance that Sorani would be adopted by the Kurds of Turkey as the written language. It has not been adopted by the Kurds of Syria, nor by those of the Soviet Union, it cannot be adopted by those of Turkey, either.

(7) See (in French) *The most ancient Kurdish text* by V. M. (Vladimir Minorsky ?), in *Bulletin du Centre d'etudes Kurdes*, Paris 1950, No. 10.

(8) Ehmedi Khani, born in 1650 in Hakkari, died in 1706 in Beyazid. His most famous work: *Mem-u-Zin*.

(9) Cegerxwin (Wounded Heart) poet of social tendency and Kurdish patriotism, has published [three] 'diwan's' in Kurmanji and Latin characters, fled to Iraq after the U.A.R. constitution in Syria and the campaign against democrats and Kurds.

In these conditions, it is in vain and wrong to insist, as do, already, some of our Sulaimani compatriots, that Sorani is or must be THE written Kurdish language, for the whole nation. Of course, if we had to think not in national terms but only of Iraqi Kurdistan, the question would be different, reserve being made, however, regarding the Kurmanji-speaking Bahdinan region. But we are supposed to discuss a question which has genuine wide-spread national proportions, and not a limited regional one. Any confusion between a part and the whole, between Iraqi Kurdistan and the whole Kurdish fatherland (one part to seven or to eight) perverts the very basis of the question and cannot evidently be taken into consideration.

Let us notice that, since the beginning of 1959, the power governing in Syria tolerates, unfortunately, no more, any Kurdish cultural activity in this country. But here as well as in Turkey and Iran, Kurdish national and cultural rights will be, sooner or later, democratically recognised. It will be harder and harder, hereafter, to ignore the legitimate rights of our valiant Kurdish People. **The time has gone when imperialism and its Oriental agents in the Middle East can perpetrate, in silence and impunity, their misdeeds upon Kurds.**

In the event of a sudden and radical solution of the whole Kurdish national question, by the constitution of a unified State of Kurdistan for example, it is also reasonable to think that Sorani would not be chosen, by some general Kurdish academy or Parliament, as the single Kurdish national written language, because the majority of such an institution and of the Kurdish People would be speaking the Northern dialect and not the Southern. So in the two only possible aspects of the Kurdish national question, either in the event of a democratic and rather slow evolution, or in that of a sudden and rapid solution of the national question, there is no chance that Sorani would be chosen, as the written language, for the majority are Kurmanji speaking.

But on the other hand, it is evident too that the present Sorani literary movement must be continued in Iraq, and if politically possible, in the major part of Iranian Kurdistan also. Kurmanji must not be imposed upon the Sorani-speaking Kurds, as a written language, and vice-versa.

Does this mean that the Kurdish nation will have, or rather is having, its language written simultaneously in its two main dialects, the Northern and the Southern ?

Many Kurds might contest it, but this is the EVIDENCE: the Kurdish language is being written, and it will be written, at least for a long period not easily determined, simultaneously in both Sorani and Kurmanji.

In the present conditions, it is basically wrong to think of imposing one dialect on the whole Kurdish People, because, as explained, this is simply IMPOSSIBLE.

The question must not be, and is not, what dialect Kurds are to choose as against the other, but how to proceed in order not to widen the differences existing between Kurmanji and Sorani, how to proceed to reduce these differences and to make the unification of the Kurdish written language not only possible but also more rapidly realizable. Because this question of unification is one that can be resolved only in THE FUTURE, with a thorough, scientifically prepared and progressive plan.

Norway, where two main dialects exist too, had faced a similar problem. The solution adopted to make knowledge available to all people was to write the national language simultaneously in both dialects. Now, each section of the population, each dialect, has its own publication. But for some time the authorities have endeavoured to create and to propagate a third, but COMMON, dialect, rather language, out of the two existing dialects, so that, in fact, Norwegian is being written in three different varieties. This evolution has not yet come to an end, it is still taking place every day, kindly and slowly, without any constraint. Maybe one day will come when the whole nation will write and read exactly in the same way, but the fact that three different dialects are simultaneously written has not affected the nation's unity. This is the modern way of resolving such problems, it is clever and democratic.

The old and non-democratic way of resolving it was to choose one dialect, naturally that of the reigning dynasty, and to make it the State's official language. After many centuries the dialect chosen becomes a national language, written by the whole nation. But the big question is that during all these centuries the masses speaking the other dialects remained completely illiterate, without any instruction, because they were attached to their regional dialects and were unable, and not willing, to learn the official one. Just some officials could read and write. But in our MODERN times, instruction must be made available to the masses.

Now let us come back to Iraqi Kurdistan where Kurds, thanks to the Kurdo-Arabic Iraqi July Revolution, are free to discuss and to decide such vital national problems.

If, as explained, it is impossible to choose, now, one dialect as a single Kurdish written language for the whole nation, it would be wrong to try to impose Sorani upon the Kurmanji-speaking Iraqi Kurds in the Mosul and Erbil departments.

It must be stated that, surely because of political considerations, only the Sorani dialect was officially written under the monarchist regime. The British mandatory power, and afterwards the reactionary Baghdad Governments, neglected intentionally the Kurmanji-speaking areas of Iraqi Kurdistan, economically and culturally, because of the immediate neighbourhood of the oppressed Kurmanji-speaking Kurdistan of Turkey, and according to some secret agreement within the 'Saadabad' or the 'Baghdad Pact' powers. The Kurmanji-speaking Iraqi Kurds used to attend schools (if ever) in Arabic, and since all Kurdish publications in Iraq were written only in Sorani, this dialect or Arabic was slowly becoming the literary language of those of the Kurmanji-speaking Iraqi Kurds who learned how to write. Needless to say, as explained above, these persons were just a handful, being slowly 'Soranzed', when not assimilated to Arabs. But the big mass of this Kurmanji-speaking populations remained out of reach of this process, entrenched in its splendid isolation of illiteracy.

If this was the situation under the old regime, it would be curious, regrettable, unjust and most harmful to the Kurdish People's high interests for it to continue under the new republican regime.

This is, of course, an 'internal' problem relating to Iraqi Kurds, the new regime does not intervene in such problems. The Revolution gave the Iraqi Kurds the liberty of expression and education in their own language. It is up to them to do it in the dialect they like.

It is said that the Iraqi Government has authorized the publication of some Kurmanji-written Kurdish newspapers, one of which is to be published in Mosul itself under the title of *Roja-Nu* (the NEW DAY). But as of now, I have no knowledge if this has come out.

It is clear that the Kurmanji-speaking Iraqi Kurds must be able to have their own schools and their own press in their own dialect, not in its very local and forcibly diverse varieties, but as found in Ehmedi Khani literary works and as written nowadays in U.S.S.R. and Syria and spoken in Kurdistan of Turkey.

Such a solution of the 'Bahdinan' cultural problem is necessary for five major reasons:

- (1) To avoid eternalising the injustice of depriving these Kurmanji-speaking Iraqi Kurds of their right to have schools and newspapers in their own dialect, an injustice caused by imperialism;
- (2) To make education available to the masses. This will be possible only if Kurmanji is taught in the region;

- (3) Because the dialect spoken in Bahdinan is not an isolated little one that might be neglected, but is precisely Kurmanji, the biggest dialect on a thorough national level;
- (4) To remedy, as it be possible, the complete lack of Kurdish publications in Kurdistan of Turkey. To compensate the fact that Kurmanji was unable to progress normally under Turkey's present reactionary regime. For all Iraqi Kurds, whether they speak Sorani or Kurmanji, this I think, should be a national aim, a patriotic duty. Only Kurmanji publications could be understood in Kurdistan of Turkey;
- (5) Finally, since both Northern and Southern dialects are spoken and widely represented in the free Iraqi Kurdistan, to make possible the above-mentioned progressive solution of the unification of the written Kurdish language on a truly national level. Comparative studies between both dialects would thus be possible.

One primordial condition to make possible this unification in the future, is to write both dialects in the SAME CHARACTERS.

It is practically impossible to conceive Kurmanji being written with Arabic characters, because of the Kurds of Turkey who know only Latin characters, because of the Kurds of Syria who already write their language in Latin characters. The Sorani-speaking youth also think of adopting the same Latin characters. The Kurdish Students' Society in Europe encourages very warmly this tendency and invites its members to popularize Kurdish Latin characters, because only these characters will permit the future unification of our beloved Kurdish language.

Needless to say, this question of Latin characters is quite a technical one, has nothing to do with politics and cannot affect the brotherly union between Arabs and Kurds in Iraq. Iraqi political considerations, on the other hand, must not constitute an obstacle against the use of these characters by Kurds. Latin characters can be introduced progressively in Iraqi Kurdistan, to begin with elementary schools, then higher schools and the press.

Let us conclude, concerning the situation in Iraqi Kurdistan:

- (1) To continue the present Sorani literary movement in Iraq;
- (2) To create and encourage a parallel literary movement in Kurmanji wherever the Northern dialect is spoken, and this to be done in Latin characters, as used by the Kurds in Syria (their experiences might be very profitable);
- (3) To begin to write Sorani also, progressively, with Latin characters;
- (4) Then, and only then, to study seriously, scientifically and patiently how to reduce the differences existing between these two main written dialects.

Any other solution implicating the teaching of Sorani in the Kurmanji-speaking areas of Iraqi Kurdistan means that education cannot attain a wide-spread basis and cannot reach the areas' population, that evident realities prevailing in the other parts of the Kurdish fatherland, especially in Kurdistan of Turkey, have not been taken into consideration, and that the question has not been thought of nor resolved, of course, on a national level relating to the whole nation.

Naturally, it is up to the Kurmanji-speaking Iraqi Kurds, who were rather culturally idle under the old dead regime, to ask the Iraqi authorities to have schools and newspapers in the Northern dialect, and it is up to their Sorani-speaking compatriots to understand and to encourage them.

The Iraqi Kurds have the honour and the merit of being free before the other parts of the Kurdish People. They will have, henceforth, not only the delightful opportunities of realizing more and more progress, but also the heavy responsibility of thinking for other Kurds. a responsibility which must not suffer the error of bad or half-solutions, and which implicates that the whole Kurdish interests must be always present in their mind.

The new 'General Directorate for Public Instruction in Kurdish', created recently by the Iraqi Government, has a very wide field of action before it, and also a big responsibility, to that effect.

I didn't say how exactly the two dialects may be unified. This is a most technical philological problem, and can be resolved only after patient scientific studies, within a long, well prepared programme, by a highly specialized body, representing the Northern and the Southern dialects.

Report on the Fourth Congress

The Annual Congress of the KURDISH STUDENTS' SOCIETY IN EUROPE was held in Vienna from July 23rd to July 25th 1959.

The Congress was opened by the President's address. In it the President, Mr. Ismet Cheriff dealt with various important topics comprehensively. Because of their importance a rather 'long' summary of the speech is necessary and shall follow.

The President's address:

"Honourable Guests and Observers,
Dear Sisters and Brothers,

With this word I wish to announce open the Fourth Congress of our dear Society, the KURDISH STUDENTS' SOCIETY IN EUROPE. First of all I would like to say a word of welcome to each and every guest.

In the name of the Society and this Congress I joyfully greet His Excellency the Iraqi Consul in Vienna. I ask him, in the name of all, to convey our deep gratitude to the Iraqi Chargé d'Affaires, for whom he is deputising, so that the latter can in his turn convey it to the Founder of the Republic of Iraq, its beloved hero and leader Abdul Karim Qassem.

We are profoundly proud that Abdul Karim Qassem has looked upon our Society with kindness and approval. Is not the exchange of letters between his Secretary and our Society, the weekly supply of Government publications received by our Branches, and the letter of appreciation sent by the Iraqi Ministry of Education, all a sign of this? While we express this to his Excellency the Consul, we at the same time raise the hope that in future Congresses we shall see, in addition to the representative of the Democratic Republic of Iraq, the representatives of Turkey, Iran and the United Arab Republic when these have become democratic too. When, one might add, they have recognised by word and deed and in their constitutions, like the Government of Iraq has, the rights of our struggling Kurdish People, whose greatest numbers are in Turkey and Iran. We do not say this as a mere result of momentary jubilation. This in fact is a cherished hope proclaimed by all democratic Kurds in the process of solving the Kurdish problem justly, peacefully and in brotherhood with the neighbouring peoples. It is a hope that we like those three Governments to be aware of, and thus know that the land trampled upon by the hoofs of their horses and the iron of their American arms is Kurdistan, stained by the blood and sweat of the Kurdish People. I feel confident that sooner or

later, our wish will be heeded for the good of these countries themselves and for the good of all the Middle Eastern Peoples, including the Kurdish People.

Now, may I in the name of the Society, welcome the Secretary of the Iraqi Students' Union in Austria, and the Secretary of the Jordanian Students' Union in Austria. I hope this will be the beginning of an era of further co-operation between the various Iraqi and Arab students' organizations and our Society and its Branches.

It is now our pleasure to greet those who are, so to say, one of the family. To Dr. Emir Kameran Bederkhan and his wife we express unanimous and most sincere gratitude and joy at their presence. Dr. Kameran Bederkhan is an Honourary Member of our Society. I do not think it necessary to introduce him to the Congress or to any Kurdish organization for his mere name speaks for him, let alone his deeds. But I take this opportunity to salute, in the name of the Society, the memory of his great grand-father — Prince Bederkhan — who so gallantly struggled to wrest the Kurdish fatherland from the yoke of the Ottoman Empire, between the years 1833-48. I propose that now we give a standing ovation to this present bearer of our spirit in appreciation of a lifetime of work for the Kurdish cause, both in the political and cultural field.

Last, but not least, I welcome another Honorary Member of our Society, the prominent Iraqi Kurd, Mr Rasheed Arif. He has been often a source of help and support for our Society. For that we are deeply grateful. His help to many national organizations in Iraq, is too well known to need comment.

The Society, I repeat, wishes to thank Mr. Rash-eed Arif for his moral support and extensive material aid accorded to us. Through such examples we acquire the feeling that we are not alone.

Brothers,

Some of us here have attended former Congresses, and it is a joy that we meet again. But what is an inspiring observation is that we see so many new members. This is the first congress they have attended. For our Society this is not only a source of joy, but a bright sign of hope. There is absolutely no doubt that the Society shall progress evermore, and from them it shall get a new inspiration. Their contribution, in co-operation with their brothers, to the Society's mission, which is the welfare of the Kurdish Students in Europe and the struggle for the national aspirations of the Kurdish People, shall be profound.

But there is, here, an occasion for regret. Many of our members from the Kurdistans of Turkey, Iran and Syria (U.A.R.), victimised by political circumstances, have been unable to come. The Governments to which they are subject are notorious for their savage treatment of Kurds who take part in the Kurdish liberation movement — which means in essence all the Kurds. Another cause to arouse the wrath of these is that the World Festival of Youth is being held in Vienna immediately after our Congress.

To those who are not present, then, we send our salutations. We promise, as our Society is democratic and all-embracing, to give the fullest consideration to the views and opinions of our absent members in drawing up the Society's policy for the coming year. This is a Society of Students from all parts of divided Kurdistan. Everyone concedes that national liberation is the right of every people. But this cannot be done without struggle. We shall not forgo that struggle and we shall conduct it, in spite of difficulties as above, as one people indissolubly united. To those non-Kurds who have misgivings about our movement we say: we extend to you the hand of friendship and assure you that we are as loyal in our friendship as we are stubborn in the defence of our rights. Our struggle is not a digression from, but part and parcel of the struggle of our friends against imperialism.

One example will show how some friends have unfair misgivings. I tell this because I believe that real friendship must be on a truthful and honest basis. The Third Congress of our Society directed the Executive Committee to apply for membership of the International Union of Students. The Committee did this, in fact I personally wrote the letters. But only after trying many times did we get an answer from the International Union of Students; yet in the answers there was absolutely nothing about the question of our membership. Because of our good relations with the International Union of Students, this caused considerable surprise. After making thorough inquiries in Prague, through some friends, it became known that the International Union of Students will be happy to accept us as members if the delegate of the Iraqi General Students' Union voted in our favour. We then thought this obstacle a very easy one to overcome. Confident of our good relations with the Iraqi General Students' Union, and because of our common efforts in the interests of the Republic of Iraq, we said they will be only too ready to vote for us. We wrote a letter to the Iraqi General Students' Union, and then four more following it. Yet we received no answer. This gave a heavy heart to all our members. Our Society stands well

with the people of Iraq, its Government, and its entire press, both Kurdish and Arabic. Quite often we have done our share, and shall continue to do so, in defending the Iraqi position abroad. Yet the Iraqi General Students' Union chose silence towards us. Thus the fact remains that perhaps only because of this our Society cannot get into the International Union of Students. Now we propose again that our Society be made a member of the International Union of Students.

The Iraqi General Students' Union claims to represent all Iraqi Students, Arabs and Kurds. For this to be consistent with Article 3 of the Interim-Constitution it should recognise our Society as it does Arab Students organizations outside Iraq. We sincerely hope that this problem will be solved in a spirit of brotherhood. Its liquidation is the more desirable since our Society, we are proud to claim, is the only Kurdish organization outside the fatherland that represents the Kurdish People. It has their support, and it is from this that we draw our inspiration.

It has been said that if our Society were an Iraqi organization then such an incident as the one with the Iraqi General Students' Union, already referred to, would not arise. I take this opportunity to say emphatically to everybody who cares to know, that indeed our Society is not an Iraqi organization. The Kurdish Students' Society in Europe is a Kurdish Society, representing Kurdish Students from Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Syria. But Iraq has indeed a special place in our hearts. Since the day that democracy came to stay in Iraq, namely July 14th 1958, the Kurds there, have seen the realisation of a hope. They are considered equal citizens and have been proclaimed partners in the Republic, and their national rights have been recognised. May this Arab-Kurd brotherhood be a glowing example testifying to the need for a similar bond between the Kurdish and Farsi People in Iran and the Kurdish and Turkish People in Turkey. The will of the people thus considered, the Middle East can then become a haven of peace and prosperity. To this end, and for its sacred mission of struggling for the Kurdish national cause of liberation, our Society shall continue its efforts, as a Kurdish organization. Presently, in Iraq, they decided to dissolve the Kurdish organizations such as the Students' Union of Kurdistan of Iraq and its Democratic Youth Organization. This is a matter of internal politics and does not concern us. The rights and wrongs of the steps can only come out in time. But, we shall continue proudly with our 'Kurdish' identity and work according to our constitution. Is this not a right that we can justly claim? In the past the Kurds have been deceived often by world imperialism, as in the treaties of

Sèvres and Lausanne, and by local leaders like the fascist Kamal Ataturk, the hired Nuri Said, President Nasser's officials in Syria, and the Shah of Iran and his ruling clique. With this in mind one can never be too cautious.

Dear brothers, let us glance together at the condition of the Kurds in Iran. There, about four million Kurds live. In spite of the immense size of their land, the Iranian Government restricts the name 'Kurdistan' to a small county. In fact the Kurdistan of Iran extends from, and includes, Luristan in the South to the Southern and Western regions of Azerbaijan in the North. In between lie places like Kermanshah, what is called Kurdistan, Saqiz, Bana, Mariwan and Mahabad where the Republic of 1945 was centred. What was a unified geographic unit since the days of Sultan Singer in the 11th century, has now been divided into bits by the authorities. Some Iranians like to say that the Lurs are not Kurds. But the mere fact that so many Faily Lurs are present in our Congress, participating as members of the Society, is a testimony to the fact that the Lurs are a dear and an integral part of the Kurdish nation.

We must bear in mind that there is a historic tie between the Kurdish people and the Farsi people. Their languages belong to the same group of Indo-Iranian languages. Though they are independent of each other. On the other hand the Kurds are the descendants of the Medes who established the first Iranian Empire. And the Farsi people are the descendants of those who inherited that Empire from the Medes. Because of these connections the ruling circles of Iran claim that the Kurdish language is only a dialect of Farsi. Whilst in fact Kurdish is the older of the two. But their flights into fancy cannot be verified by facts. The relation between the two peoples, philologically or ethnologically is similar to the relation between the French, Italian and Spanish people. In spite of the oppressive conditions under which the Kurds live in Iran, we appreciate the publication of a newspaper — *Kurdistan* — in Teheran in the Surany dialect which recognizes the existence of a Kurdish nation. Of course this can hardly cause overjoy in the light of the fact that the Kurds are deprived of every conceivable national right.

In Turkey, one needs say regrettably little. For there about 45% of the Kurds, that is about six million, live under a system of complete savagery, with pressure and terror prevailing always and everywhere. But in spite of that barbaric rule of the Turkish Government, we see among us today the representative of Kurdish Students and Youths in Kurdistan of Turkey. To show him our joy at his sight let us all give him the ovation that he

deserves. To him we say that no soul shall rest in peace until our people in Turkey are liberated.

In Syria, the Northern region of the U.A.R., the condition of the Kurds has been getting progressively worse. Hundreds are imprisoned, others are dismissed from their work, officers are expelled from the Services, children are prevented from attending school, etc. Our Executive Committee sent letters of protest to the U.N. Human Rights Commission and organized a press-campaign on the subject. This regrettable state of affairs can only benefit imperialism to the detriment of both the Arab and Kurdish People. Our Society as always demands that an end be put to such undemocratic activities.

As to the Soviet Union it is well known that the Kurds there enjoy national rights. These are recognised in the constitutions of the Soviet Socialist Republics of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia. I am happy to say that our Society exchanges publications with the Students Council of the Committee of Soviet Youth Organizations.

Ladies and gentlemen, I beg forgiveness for the length of this talk. I thought a detailed consideration of the whole situation necessary. To conclude, I ask every member to use his rights to the fullest, to shape the future of our Society, for as you know according to our constitution the Annual Congress is the highest authority. Through your efforts we can rest assured that our Society shall play its role in the Kurdish national liberation movement.

Long live the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe,
Long live peoples solidarity for peace,
Long live Arab-Kurdish, Farsi-Kurdish, Turkish-Kurdish brotherhood."

* * *

Following this important speech some of the guests addressed a few words of greetings to the Congress.

His Excellency the Consul of the Republic of Iraq said: "I am indeed happy to be among you. The spirit of the President's speech is a clear indication of the brotherhood of Arabs and Kurds. A bond that shall last forever."

Then Dr. Kameran Bederkhan addressed the Assembly and said: "This is the best day of my life. Seeing you here I feel assured of Kurdistan's rosy future. You will, I feel confident, fulfil the task that will bring our people to victory". Then speaking about Iraq he said: "Iraq is to the East as Rome is to Europe. The name Qassim is dear to our hearts, for that I cry: Long live Abdul

Karim Qassem, Long live Arab-Kurd brotherhood."

(Among the guests were Journalists from Paris and Vienna, come to report on the Congress.)

TELEGRAMS OF GREETING

The guests having spoken, the **Acting General-Secretary** read the following telegrams and letters of greetings addressed to the Congress from various quarters.

A telegram from the Greek Anti-Colonial League:

"Wishing success for Conference and fair settlement national problems."

* * *

Telegram from Kurdish Students in Turkey:

"Hearty salutations. Regret our representative could not take part in your Congress. Your Society has place of honour in our hearts. We vow with you to struggle for a free Kurdistan." Committee of Kurdish Students in Turkey.

* * *

"I am with you — great success — Hearty greetings."

I. BURGUET,
Cuba.

* * *

"We support your proceedings and wish you great success."

ROUSHAN BEDIRKHAN.

* * *

"With the wish and hope that the Kurdish People will derive benefit for their interests and goals from our Congress — I greet you in anticipation."

GUELCIN,
Germany.

THE HERO OF KURDS, MUSTAFA BARZANI SALUTES THE FOURTH CONGRESS

"Honourable Sisters, dear Brothers, participants of the Fourth Congress of the K.S.S.E.:

Salutations to the struggle for the people and the nation.

I received your letter with pride and joy, and deeply regret that, due to the pressure of work and the necessity of my staying in the country at this juncture, I could not participate in your Society's Fourth Congress. But nevertheless I convey to you my complete support for the steps which you

take in the course of making our peoples' voice heard among the nations, bringing that voice to the notice of the people of Europe and the world, revealing the justice of our cause, and clarifying the true attitude of the Kurdish people towards our democratic Republic — the Republic of Arabs and Kurds. Here your democratic Kurdish brothers in the Kurdistan of Iraq struggle with all their powers for the preservation of the Republic and its evolution under the direction of the leader and hero of Arabs and Kurds, Abdul Karim Qassem. Personally I have the honour of being a loyal soldier of the Republic and its leader, Abdul Karim Qassem, and of struggling, within the ranks of our free people, for the people and the nation.

I feel confident that your struggle, which is an inseparable part of the struggle of the masses of Kurdistan for peace, liberation and democracy, shall continue on its correct course. Consequently all honourable citizens and myself are prepared to extend all possible aid to this struggle of yours.

While I greet your invitation to me, I wish you victory in your struggle, and wish your Congress all success in fulfilling its tasks, tasks of improving and extending the techniques of your struggle and activities, and the discharging of national duties incumbent upon you while you are outside the fatherland, at the same time I ask your forgiveness, and a full consideration of my situation, so that I can be excused for not participating in your Congress, which I was longing to attend.

Sincerely,

MUSTAFA BARZANI."



MULLA MUSTAFA BARZANI

**EXTRACT FROM IBRAHIM AHMAD'S
LETTER OF GREETING**

"I deeply regret not being able to attend your Congress, I warmly wish you success in your blessed struggle for good of the Kurdish people, and against imperialism and its agents. I also support your efforts for safe-guarding our democratic Republic — the Republic of Arabs and Kurds — under the leadership of Abdul Karim Qassem.

Forward for democracy, liberty and peace.

Sincerely,

IBRAHIM AHMAD."

N.B.—The Editor not being in possession of the text of this letter, thus apologises for not printing it in full.

Since the Congress, by unanimous decision, decided that the letters of Mustafa Barzani and Ibrahim Ahmad should be officially answered it is appropriate to publish the text of the replies written by the General-Secretary, Kamal Fuad.

"To the unvanquished guide and hero of Kurds, Mustafa Barzani;

Warmest Salutations,

Your letter of greetings and support to the Fourth Congress was received by the participants with profound delight. It brought the utmost of joy to all, and the prolonged applause that followed its reading reflected that. The Congress consequently adopted a unanimous resolution that this answer should be in the name of all.

While we express our sincere gratitude, it is our confident belief that you, the revered leader of the Kurds, shall triumphantly persist in your service to the Kurdish cause, the hopes and aspirations of the Kurdish People, and the safeguarding of the beloved Republic of Iraq — the Democratic Republic of Arabs and Kurds.

Long live your efforts for unifying the struggle of all the divided parts of our beloved Kurdistan, and your movement along the road to a united and free Kurdistan under the banner of democracy and peace.

Long live the Democratic Republic of Iraq — the beloved Republic of Arabs and Kurds."

General Secretary,
Kurdish Students' Society in Europe, Berlin.

"To our veteran struggler, Mr. Ibrahim Ahmad,

In the name of the Society I convey to you our sincere gratitude regarding your valuable letter to our Fourth Congress.

We were overjoyed and exhilarated by the support accorded to us by the Kurdish People and its struggling leaders. To all we proclaim that in fulfilling the 'basic aims' of our Society our efforts have met with increasing success. In the struggle for the solution of the Kurdish national problem, and in enlightening the people of Europe on Kurdistan and its people our Society has done the possible.

The struggle of the Kurdish Students in Europe is an inseparable part of the struggle of the whole Kurdish nation in all the divided parts of Kurdistan. We join our people at home in the crusade for liberty, peace and democracy, so that in the near future, with the support of all peace loving peoples of the world, we can all happily unite in a free and united Kurdistan.

Forward for the good of the Kurds, and for safeguarding the democratic Republic of Iraq — the Republic of Arabs and Kurds."

General Secretary,

Kurdish Students' Society in Europe,
Berlin.

GREETINGS FROM KIRKUK

"Brothers and Sisters,

We convey to you sincere greetings coupled with best wishes for your success.

From Kirkuk — the heart of Kurdistan of Iraq — we support your Congress, convened under the auspices of your great Society to voice the aspirations of the Kurdish people.

We, on our part, and no doubt many other honest and democratic Kurds, would have been happy to partake in this August Congress. But distance separates us. Nevertheless in spirit we share your thoughts and ideas and eagerly await your concluding resolutions.

We are confident that you shall never discard the historic task which you have assumed and shall always step heroically forward. May you succeed in communicating to all the peoples of Europe the voice of the Kurdish People.

Forward for peace, democracy and a liberated Fatherland."

KAKAMAM BOTANI,

Democratic Youth, Kirkuk.

MOHAMAD JALAL,

Students' Committee, Industrial College,
Baghdad.

HASAN HAMA ALI,

Medical College, Istanbul.

"The Fourth Congress of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe.

I am honoured to send you these words of greetings in the name of your Kurdish brothers in Istanbul. We deeply regret our inability to send a delegation. The reasons are perhaps obvious to you all. But we too, like many other honest Kurds pledge to you our support, and declare ourselves ready to undertake any duty that might fall upon us.

Long live the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe,

Long live the struggle of the Kurdish People for liberty and peace."

JABAR SHAIK TAHIR,

For the Kurds in Istanbul.

* * *

From a member of the Society in England:

"Congratulations on the convening of the Fourth Congress. While I deeply regret not being present to share with you this national task, I wish you success in strengthening the unity of the Kurdish Students in Europe, elevating the name of Kurdistan, and informing the public opinion of Europe and the world of the efficacy of the Kurdish case."

NAUZAD AL-MUFTI,

England.

* * *

'The letter of the Iraqi Students' Society in the United Kingdom:

"Dear Sisters and Brothers,

Sincere brotherly greetings.

On the occasion of the Fourth Congress of your Society — the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe — we convey to you most friendly salutations and wish your Congress all success.

Our Society which has in it Arabs and Kurds among Iraqi Students in Britain, is profoundly happy to have most cordial relations with your Branch in Britain.

We are absolutely confident that our solidarity and brotherhood will be progressively strengthened to the benefit of our peoples who are marching towards liberty, democracy and peace.

Long Live Arab-Kurd brotherhood.

Down with imperialist conspiracies aimed at breaking the united ranks and the liberating movements throughout the world."

D. AL-FOABI,

General Secretary, London.

From Portsmouth:

"The President of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe,

We salute your Congress, and wish you continuous success in your work for the Kurdish People.

We Iraqi students are well aware of the sufferings of the Kurdish People in Turkey, Iran and Syria, under fascist dictatorial regimes. Also we are happy indeed to see our Kurdish brothers in Iraq, hand-in-hand with their Arab brothers, labour for stabilizing the bases of democracy in the country and safeguarding the Republic from all danger.

We wish you all success in your struggle to liberate the remaining parts of Kurdistan and eradicate imperialism.

Long live Arab-Kurd brotherhood,

Long live the struggle of the Kurdish People for their freedom and independence."

KAHTAN AL-MALLAK,

For the Executive Committee,
Portsmouth Branch of the Iraqi
Students' Society in U.K.

* * *

From the Iraqi Students' Union in Switzerland:

"Vienna,

The President of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe.

The Iraqi Students' Union in Switzerland takes pleasure in greeting your great Fourth Congress now convened in Vienna. We wish it success in all its tasks. Further we wish you success in your support of our democratic Republic — the Republic of Kurds and Arabs — and in your work for peace and democracy in the Middle East for the freedom and good of all its peoples, including the great Kurdish People.

We hope that the coming year will be marked by even closer co-operation between your Society and our Union.

Please, accept our good wishes.

Long live Arab-Kurd brotherhood,

Long live the solidarity of Iraqi Students in Europe,

Long live our Democratic Republic."

AZIZ MUNIM AL-MULA HAMADI,

General Secretary, Lausanne.

* * *

'PROFESSOR KURDO WRITES TO OUR SOCIETY'

An English translation of the letter received from Qanate Kurdo. It was written in Kurdish, with Latin letter used. Qanate Kurdo is a Kurdish Professor at Leningrad University.

“Dear Friends and Brothers,

Thank you for your telegram. Being ill I unfortunately could not come to Vienna.

Your meeting in Vienna is invaluable for the progress and march of the Kurdish People towards independence, for friendship and brotherhood among the peoples of the world, and for the peace and freedom of all peoples.

Inquiring into the formation of an acceptable Latin Alphabet for the language of all the Kurds is both necessary and valuable. In my opinion the alphabet used in the magazine *Hawar*, should now be made the basis of a new Kurdish alphabet. With the provision that the following letters be added to it: K', P', t', z, G, e'. These sounds do exist in the Kurdish language, but they are not in the alphabet of *Hawar*.

It is necessary that you recognise that a start should be made in using Latin letters in cultural and scientific magazines and periodicals. But the Latin alphabet should replace the Arabic one only gradually for the Kurds in Iraq and Iran use the Arabic letters. Thus until the Kurds and Kurdistan are united it is hard to spread the new Latin letters among all the Kurds. At the moment the Latin alphabet is good for the Kurds of Turkey and Syria and for scientific research on Kurds.

Long live Kurdish Youth,

Long live the Unity and solidarity of Kurdish youth for Kurdistan and the Kurdish People.

Long live the Iraqi Republic — the Republic of Arabs and Kurds.

Long live the Hero of Iraq, Abdul Karim Qassem, Down with colonialism and imperialism.”

QANATE KURDO,

Moscow, 27.7.59.

Next on the agenda of the Congress was the Report of the Acting General Secretary,

Mr. Saadi Amin Dizayee. In his informative report the Acting General Secretary gave the members a detailed survey of the Society's activities since the Third Annual Congress. Whereas space does not permit publication of the whole text, the following is a summary of the most important parts of it, stating only some of the Society's activities over the past year.

“Mr. President,

Dear Sisters and Brothers,

I welcome you most cordially. What a magnificent sight it is to see so many of my brothers here at this Congress, which only goes to prove our

unity of purpose in the service of our people. No doubt, the number would have been even larger if many of our countrymen had not been prevented from attending by the reactionary policies of their Governments. But it is sufficient that we know that their hearts lie with us.

Perhaps it is better that I indicate from the outset that I assumed the responsibilities of General Secretary only six months ago after the General Secretary returned to the homeland. Nevertheless I shall try to inform you of the things done over the whole year.

The concluding communique of the Third Congress was circulated far and wide, in Kurdistan and abroad. It was sent to the newspapers of Iraq, Greece, Morocco, Tunisia, Syria, Egypt and Czechoslovakia. And a copy was sent to Mr. Dag Hammarskjold the U.N. Secretary-General.

A message of thanks was sent to the Government of the United Arab Republic for initiating broadcasting in Kurdish from Cairo.

A letter was sent to the International Union of Students, expressing gratitude at the stand they took on the question of the condition of Kurds in Turkey, at their Congress in Peking, and for their publishing the concluding communique of our Third Congress in one of their magazines. But on the point of our membership in the International Union of Students we are still at loggerheads.

A message of greetings, on the occasion of our New Year, was received from the Students' Council of the Committee of Soviet Youth Organizations. It was, needless to say, promptly replied to.

Letters were sent to Premier Abdul Karim Qassem, expressing our profound gratitude on the return of, first, Mustafa Barzani, and then the other Kurds who were with him, after 12 years exile spent in the Soviet Union. To our leader, Barzani and to his colleagues we sent letters of welcome.

For a certain period the Western newspapers were printing reports that the Kurds in Iraq were on bad terms with the Arabs. Our Society saw fit to expose this lie and emphasise Arab-Kurd solidarity in Iraq. Thus a circular was put out by us emphasising Arab-Kurd brotherhood. Following its circulation we received a letter from President Jamal Abdul Nasser, thanking us for what we had written. We took this opportunity and put out another circular, more or less in answer to President Nasser, stating our devotion to the Republic of Iraq, and asking the Government of the U.A.R. to change its adverse policy towards the Kurds in Syria and allow the use of the Kurdish language in schools for Kurds. After a time a telegram of protest was sent to President Nasser for the arrest and persecution of Kurds in Syria.

Perhaps now is the best time to state that our relations with the Government of Iraq are on most cordial terms. We have received letters and publications from it continuously. And every time that the situation had warranted we had expressed to it our support and gratitude. On numerous occasions, to mention only the treasonable Shawaff mutiny in Mosul, we have stated our devotion to, and support for, the hero of Iraq: Abdul Karim Qassem.

During the past year our Society's ties with many Kurdish Students have been strengthened and some created. This applies especially to our students in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, Syria, and those in Cairo.

At the time of the 'Zurich Conference' on Cyprus, our Society took the opportunity and sent a letter to Adnan Menderes, Prime Minister of Turkey, demanding an end to the oppressive policy towards the Kurdish people, and asking for attempts at a real improvement of the various aspects of their life. A copy of this was sent to Mr Karamanlis, the Prime Minister of Greece.

When the Shah of Iran visited London in May 1959, we sent him a letter, and circulated its text among the press, in which we reminded him of the inhuman conditions under which the Kurds in Iran live, and demanded that they be accorded their due rights and freedoms. As a result of this we received a reply from Mr. Asfandiary, the first Secretary at the Iranian Embassy in London, telling us that the Kurds in Iran are happy and equal citizens. To prove him wrong the Executive Committee sent a delegation of four to the Iranian Embassy in London. The delegation was received by the Iranian Minister, Mr. Qewam, and it put to him the following reasonable proposals:

- (a) That the Kurdish language be used in schools in Kurdistan of Iran, and it should become an official language there.
- (b) The replacement of military rule in Kurdistan by a civil administration.

To these limited demands the Minister only replied that in Iran there is only the Farsi language and Kurdish is a dialect of it. But when the delegation refuted his arguments with scientific and factual evidence, he finally said that he could not remit our proposals to his Government. No wonder, for escaping with wishful thinking is much easier than facing reality. But what they forget in Teheran is that this is a very dangerous practice for its practitioners.

When Eukry Abatha wrote in the Cairo magazine *Al-Musawar* things which did not conform to fact about the Kurds, our Society replied to him in a refutation sent to him and to various newspapers.

The Society, with the co-operation of our Austrian Branch, put out a pamphlet in German,

exposing to European opinion the Kurdish case. Of course this in addition to the normal publication of our organ *Kurdistan*. The Society further has prepared a booklet in French, on the Kurds of Iran, which is now with the printers, and a press interview between our President and the Greek journalist, Mr. Sakatos, which covered a wide range of questions and answers on the Kurdish Question, is now being printed in Greek and shall be translated.*

On the first anniversary of the July 14th Revolution in Iraq, the Society printed and circulated over a thousand greeting cards.

We received a letter from Mr Fenner Brockway, the British Labour M.P. asking that we should, now and then, get in touch with him, so that he can expose the Kurdish case to the Movement for Colonial Freedom.

Sisters and Brothers this is my report and in conclusion I say:

Long live the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe."

The above by no means covers all the valuable details that the Acting General Secretary read out. But it is a representative summary.

* * *

As the Congress progressed, always lively discussion of various items on the agenda was taking place.

Next, the Treasurer, Mr. Saadi Disavee read his report about the Society's finances over the past year. His Balance Sheet was an indication of the growing activities of the Society.

Following him the Editor of KURDISTAN, Mr. Sallah Saadalla read his report concerning the magazine. From what he said, everybody gathered that KURDISTAN had reached a position of eminence. It was now the turn of the Society's various branches to state their progress. The Secretaries of the branches in: Austria, the United Kingdom, Federal German Republic, Democratic German Republic and Switzerland; Messrs. Omar Amin Dizayee, Tahsin Mohammad Amin, Dara Adib, Jalal Baytooshi, and Hassan Sulaiman, respectively read their reports which were all a proof of progress and intense activity throughout the past year.

To acquaint us all with the general situation, now four representatives, one from each part of divided Kurdistan, delivered a short speech. The speeches were an explanation of the condition of the Kurdish People, and a testimony to their undying spirit and unity. Perhaps a quotation from each will indicate their content:

* These two publications have now appeared and are for sale.

"In Turkey savage oppression reigns over us. We must not repeat the mistakes of the past . . . United, we must follow the road of our forefathers and cry: liberty or death".

The Representative from Turkey.

"Though they may use thicker chains to bind us, we are and shall remain Kurds. The day of liberation is near if we do not allow ourselves to be deceived as we often have been".

The Representative from Iran.

"The authorities deprive us of every right. But rest assured that all the Kurds in Syria want to struggle for the Kurdish cause."

The Representative from Syria.

"Before July 14th 1958 we were denied rights. but since the glorious Revolution, under Qassem's leadership, our efforts have brought us close to realising most of our national rights."

The Representative from Iraq.

* * *

On the last day of the Congress, 25.7.1959, the Society's constitution was discussed and amended.

Following the discussion of other general points, elections were held for the new **Executive Committee**. As a result the following were elected to the Seven-Man Committee:

Ismet Cheriff, *President*

Kamal Fuad, *General Secretary*

Woria Rawanduzy, *Vice-President*

Saadi Amin Dizayee, *Treasurer*

Tahsin Mohammad Amin, *Editor of KURDISTAN*

Najib Khaffal, *Member*

Fuad Rasheed, *Member*

N.B.—Mr. Fuad Rasheed has since resigned.

P.S.—The Congress decided that a three-man Editorial Committee, headed by the Editor, be set up. Presently it consists of the Editor and Mr. Saadi Amin Dizayee, with the third member yet un-nominated.

The Congress was successfully concluded with the song:

'Ey Rqib Her Mawe Qewmi Kurd Zuban
Nayskene Daneyi Topi Zeman'.

Constitution of the K.S.S.E.

Following are the 'Basic Aims' of the K.S.S.E. embodied in its constitution, as amended in the Fourth Congress in Vienna:

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

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

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

its national question.

(4) Enlighten the world on the culture, country and condition of the Kurdish people and its national question.

(5) Strengthen the spirit of co-operation and friendship between the Kurdish students and the students of other countries, and contact student and non-student organizations, both national and international, and co-operate with them within the scope of our mutual aims and interests.

The Concluding Communique of the Fourth Congress of the K.S.S.E.

Following is an extract from:

The concluding Communique of the Fourth Congress.

"The Congress:

(1) Supports, unhesitatingly, the Iraqi Republic, its democratic system, and the leadership of Prime Minister Abdul Karim Qassem. It calls on the Iraqi Government to continue pursuing a policy opposed to imperialism and reaction, based on Arab-Kurd solidarity and respect for the rights of nationalities.

(2) Welcomes the decision of the Iraqi Government to set up a Directorate of Education for Kurdistan, and urges its speedy execution. *

(3) Urges the Iraqi Government to execute the policy of regional autonomy — administrative and cultural — for Kurdistan of Iraq, and notes the necessity of inserting relevant articles to that effect in the Republic's new constitution.

(4) Salutes the Iraqi Students' Society in the United Kingdom, and wishes to express gratitude

(2) This has been done though under a different name.

to this courageous Society for its services to the people of Iraq, and its co-operation with our Society.

(5) Believes that the final solution of the Kurdish national problem lies in the liberation of the remaining parts of Kurdistan from imperialism and reaction, and in the formation of democratic Governments, in the states that share Kurdistan, which recognize the Kurdish people and their legitimate rights — the most important of which is the right of national self-determination.

(6) Salutes the struggle of the Kurdish Students in Turkey in combating imperialism and local reaction, and for national liberation. It demands the recognition of the national rights of the Kurds, the denial of which is a form of racial discrimination violating the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Charter of the U.N.

(7) Protests at the behaviour of the Iranian Embassy in London in answering our letter and our

delegation the way they did. It rejects and deplores both their written and verbal replies.

(8) Demands of the Iranian Government a reversal of its policy towards the Kurds in Kurdistan of Iran, and the release of their freedoms and rights. It further demands the withdrawal of Iran from the Baghdad Pact which is counter to the interest of all the Eastern Peoples, including the Kurdish.

(9) Deplores the racial persecution to which the Kurds in Syria (U.A.R.) are subjected and demands an immediate end to it; simultaneously with the release of their democratic rights. It deplores too the activities of U.A.R. against the security and safety of the democratic Republic of Iraq.

(10) Urges the release of the Kurdish national Poet Kadri Jan (Abdul Kadir Aziz) from prison in Syria, and asks for the return of Dr. Nureddine Zaza's withheld passport.

'Focus on Kurdistan'

From the various parts of divided Kurdistan comes encouraging news of activity. This is a brief account of some of it, which though taking place within separate political entities is nevertheless directed towards a common end: That of serving the entire Kurdish nation.

Iran

(1) For some time past a national political Kurdish weekly paper, called *Kurdistan*, has been appearing in Teheran. It is printed in the Sorani dialect under the Editorship of a Abdul Hamid Radia Al-Zamani.

This fact, though surprising in itself, is nevertheless encouraging given the notorious anti-Kurd attitude of the Iranian authorities.

(2) In September 1959, the 14th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic party of Kurdistan, in the part of Kurdistan forcibly annexed to Iran, was held. On that historic occasion, 'reflecting the great triumph of our Kurdish People in its long struggle,' the party put out a declaration.

The declaration states how the party was formed by a Congress of the representatives of the masses held at Mahabad in 1945; and how following this a new Congress was held at which the participants agreed to found the Kurdish Democratic Republic with its capital at Mahabad — (The first President of this Republic was the late Qazi Mohammad, a

hero and dedicated servant and leader of the Kurdish People in his lifetime, and a source of strength and inspiration to the nation in his death. He was hanged by the Government of Iran.)

Then the declaration refers to the fall of the Republic under the brutal superior force of combined Iranian and American troops. It goes on to say 'our nation shall not be defeated by killings, terror, detention, or uprooting its members. Perhaps the best sign of the solidarity, strength of purpose, and determination of our nation is the presence of the large number of troops, nearly half the population, stationed in the districts of Mahabad, Sardasht, Bana, Wormey and Kasser Shereen. This large force, under American officers, betrays the desperate fear in which the rulers of Teheran live.'

Of the way that the Kurdish national liberation movement should be conducted, the party's declaration says: 'Experience has shown that the best road that will bring our nation to its goal is that of unity of the masses, guided by the Democratic party of Kurdistan, and joint struggle with the Farsi and Azerbaijani Peoples against imperialism and for the liberation of all nationalities of Iran.'

The declaration then calls on all parties and national organisations in Iran to unite their efforts so that at least the following minimum can be achieved:

(1) Formation of a broad united front to combat imperialism.

(2) A national Government that will pursue an independent national policy and adopt in its foreign affairs the policy of positive neutrality.

(3) Withdrawal of Iran from the former Bagdad Pact (now the Central Treaty Organization), and the abrogation of the bilateral treaty with the U.S.A.

(4) Release of democratic freedoms, such as freedom of organizations, of parties and other freedoms.

The party subsequently calls on all Kurds to intensify their liberating struggle in order to obtain:

(1) Recognition of the Kurdish nationality, as such, in the Iranian constitution, and the adoption of Kurdish in Education and official correspondence.

(2) Recognition of the Kurds' right to autonomy within the borders of Iran. This to cover all parts of Kurdistan, from Lurstan to Macco, under a local administration responsible for all the Kurdistan of Iran.

After greeting all parties and organizations, specially the **Kurdish Democratic Parties in Iraq, Syria and Turkey**, the declaration ends with the following words:

'Greater strength to the front of peace and democracy. Long live the Republic of Iraq the haven of peace and democracy. Salutations to the Algerian people, in arms to liberate their country. And may peace reign in the world.'

* * *

Iraq

A congress of Kurdish teachers was held during September 11th-13th 1959 in Shaqlawa, a resort in Kurdistan of Iraq. Following is an account of its proceedings based on a Broadcast by Baghdad Radio on September 13th 1959, and a report appearing in the Kurdish daily, Khabat, of September 22nd 1959.*

First, our Society sent the following telegram to the Congress:

"We heartily support the Congress of Kurdish teachers. Hope for early realization of Directorate of Education for Kurdistan."

Kurdish Students' Society in Europe,
8.9.1959.

The purpose of the Congress was: to look into problems connected with Kurdish culture and studies; and naturally to find solutions where necessary. About 300 female and male teachers participated.

The Congress adopted the following recommendations:

- (a) to be held annually;
- (b) the Sorani dialect to be the basis of the Kurdish language in Iraq, and the other dialects be grafted on to it;
- (c) to prepare a History of Kurdish culture and start teaching it in schools throughout Iraq;
- (d) a special Kurdish College be founded at Baghdad University;
- (e) Kurdish History be compiled on a broad scientific and realistic basis. This to be done in a humanitarian, national and progressive spirit to reflect the struggle of the Kurdish People, and its common struggle in league with other peoples, and to make the Kurds aware of their own past, and make known to other people their history. This will serve to create a spirit of brotherhood between the Kurds, their neighbouring peoples, and the people of the world.

The Congress in conclusion adopted the following Resolutions regarding general Education and the question of creating a special body for Kurdish studies in Kurdistan of Iraq, a proposal submitted to the Government of Iraq some time ago:

RESOLUTIONS:

- (1) A Directorate of Education be created for the district of Bahdinan, with its centre at Dohawk.
- (2) Creation of a Directorate of Education for Kurdish studies in Kirkuk, to supervise Kurdish Schools.
- (3) Appointment of assistants to the Directors of Education in DIALA, Koot, Amara, and Baghdad, to supervise Kurdish Schools in these districts.
- (4) All Kurdish teachers to be transferred from various parts of Iraq to the Kurdish regions so that they can be of benefit there.
- (5) Study centres with boarding houses be set up in the mountainous regions to spread education.
- (6) Award of Scholarships for studying abroad, and admittance of students into Baghdad University be proportional to the proportion of Kurds to the total population of Iraq.
- (7) Kurdish language and literature be taught in Secondary Schools in the regions under the Directorate of Kurdish studies, in conformity to a curriculum set by the Ministry of Education.
- (8) In the first three grades of Primary Education, in Kurdish schools teaching in Arabic, the Kurdish language should be used from the present session.

* Voir la liste des participants dans Khabat 21 Hetaim no. 162 (15 sept. 1959), p. 1-5
(140) dont 11 femmes.

- (9) The Kurdish language be gradually introduced into the other grades, where Arabic is being used in teaching.
- (10) As Secondary Education in Kurdish will come gradually, a start should be made now in providing facilities for a greater output of Kurdish teachers.
- (11) Since the Directorate of Kurdish Education is going to draw up the necessary programmes from now, it is imperative that all Kurdish Schools in the provinces of Sulaimani and Arbil, and in the districts of Aqra, Shekhan, Dohawk, Zakho, and Amadia; and the schools in Kirkuk, Diala, Tellaafar and Senjar that will be classified as Kurdish, be attached to the Directorate.
- (12) Correspondence between the Directorate and the areas it covers be in Kurdish.

* * *

On September 21st 1959, a delegation from the Teachers' Society presented the above resolutions of the Kurdish Teachers Congress to the Minister of Education, H. E. Bregadier Mehiadin Abdul Hameed. The Minister accepted the resolutions and emphasized the necessity for the speedy execution of various points.

* * *

The Body often referred to in the above resolutions is the recently created 'Directorate General for Kurdish study'. Dr. Sediq Al-Atrooshi has been appointed the Acting Director General of the above body. Our Society congratulates him and wishes him complete success in his new duties on which the Kurdish People base many hopes for the future. And as the creation of this body is a magnificent demonstration of the democratic nature of the Government of Iraq, we feel proud to express profound gratitude.

ED.

* * *

Turkey

(1) Some time ago the daily *I leri Yurt*, appearing in Diyarbekir — a city in Kurdistan of Turkey, published a Kurdish song in Latin letters. The paper is a Turkish language daily, for in Turkey the Government prohibits the use of the Kurdish

language by the six million Kurds in that country. But its owners and editors are Kurds.

As a result of the publication, cries of anger were raised by many Turkish papers. The Istanbul Turkish diehard daily *Yeni Sabah* published an article on the incident — with a picture of the relevant page of *I leri Yurt* — and demanded that the director and editors of the paper be punished for committing this 'crime'.

(2) It is significant to add that, even before publishing the above song, the director of *I leri Yurt* 'had been accused of 17 crimes' of a similar nature. The Turkish Authorities had detained him and he was to be prosecuted. But scores of Kurdish barristers from various Kurdish cities — Van, Bitlis, Diyarbekir, Ourfa, Maden and others — rushed to his defence. The Turkish government, seeing this surge of solidarity, and fearful of a general outcry — with possible significant repercussions — released him and buried the case.

(3) In a recent purge of active and patriotic Kurdish elements — a normal exercise in "democratic" behaviour of successive Turkish Governments — 80 Kurdish Nationals have been arbitrarily put in prison, without trial and without adherence even to the pure formalities of the rules of law. This is the more revolting, for these men never acted in any form contrary to the interests of the people or the Republic of Turkey.

* * *

The above items of news, though repulsive to any democratic spirit, are nevertheless highly informative. First they indicate the nature of Government in Turkey. Under the guise of a theoretical democracy, a collection of despots — not even comparable with the enlightened despots of the 18th century — rule Turkey in a fashion that is the very negation of democracy. Second to testify to the fact that, in spite of the efforts of successive Turkish Governments since 1920's to deny the existence of a Kurdish nationality and in spite of the policy of 'Turkinisation', the world cannot accept such baseless claims, and that reality cannot be hidden by any measure of a mortal. And Third, they proclaim that a people, in this case the Kurdish people, never die and their sufferings at one stage are only a source of strength for their future struggle for liberation.

ED.

Letter from Syria

There are in Syria, about 400,000 Kurds, and part of divided Kurdistan is now a part of Syria (U.A.R.). Below is an account of their life addressed to the Fourth Congress of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe.

"The Kurds in Syria, noticing the assembly of Kurdish youth in Vienna, send their blessings and wish the Congress complete success.

We take this opportunity to lay before you an account of the oppression under which we live in our own homeland. Some reactionary opportunists, dedicated to evil work, are bent on creating enmity between us and our Arab brothers in the United Arab Republic. It is their aim, that by sowing the seeds of dissension and driving a wedge between the various forces they can undo the unity achieved — a unity which we, on our part, never dreamed will turn to our disadvantage.

The barbaric deeds, past and present, perpetuated upon the Kurds by some Governments of the Baghdad Pact *, like those of Iran and Turkey, are not unexpected by the Kurdish People, for what they have suffered, and are suffering, under those two Governments is too well known to need explanation.

Until the recent past we Kurds in Syria used to extend our hand to our brothers in those two countries in a modest effort to alleviate their misery. But never for a moment did we imagine that in Syria we would receive like treatment — and possibly worse.

We do not recall the Kurds of Syria (now the Northern region of the United Arab Republic) ever creating trouble or spreading discord and dissension in their part of Kurdistan which fate made a part of Syria. We, a minority constituting 10% of the population, always felt with our Arab brothers a common sentiment and desire to work united for the progress of Syria. When the authorities denied the Kurds the most elementary right — the right to study in one's mother tongue — even in private schools which cost the exchequer nil — the latter did not even attempt to redress the wrong by unlawful means. They accepted the reality of the situation, till things were settled to the satisfaction of all. When Syria was a League of Nations mandate, the mandatory authorities tried to create dissension through discrimination by, for example, giving the Armenians their own schools. But this did not bring the Kurds to playing imperialism's game. Those Armenian Schools are still looked

upon favourably by the present authorities (something to their credit) in spite of the very small number of Armenian refugees in Syria. We say refugees for in fact they emigrated to the country from their own land, which is not divided like ours is—a fate which brings us to the present position of being scattered among states of varying political systems. It is not that the Kurds did not feel the injustice of the situation. They did. But they restrained their emotions so that the imperialists would not have the chance to fish in troubled waters.

Life persisted in this pattern, with the Kurds deprived of schools and broadcasting, of writing and publishing in their own language. But their spirits were sustained by the hope that, when the Arabs achieve their true and full independence they will turn to righting wrongs and thus guarantee to the Kurds their inalienable rights. There were at first encouraging signs to justify this hope. For example Egypt included in her broadcasting system from Cairo a special Kurdish section *, in spite of the fact that there are only a handful of immigrant Kurds in Egypt. But, surprisingly, with the dawn of Union — formation of U.A.R. — which the Kurds blessed and rejoiced in, evil-doers with a wanton desire to estrange the Arabs from the Kurds, spared no treacherous trick to bring to fruition their satanic plans. This was not very unexpected. What was totally unexpected was that the newly constituted authorities should lend these opportunists a receptive ear. Consequently from the new 'Leviathan's' wrath oppression engulfed the life of every Kurd in Syria. Accusations were flung around like fireworks, accusing the Kurds of treachery, deceit, and even treason — qualities totally alien to the nature of the Kurd.

Kurdish officers, and others of junior and private's rank, were summarily dismissed from the armed services, so that today these hardly include a Kurd of even the smallest rank. Then in the dismissals from the Civil Services the dispensable were predominantly, if not totally, Kurds. No reason can be conceived for justifying these discriminatory steps except that the victims were, by nature, of a special nationality. Kurdish school children of not more than 10 years of age were scared away from the schools by pressure, intimidation, and even physical force. Members of the Baath party, in the regions of Jezera, Jabal Akrad (Kurdish mountain), and Ein Al-Arab (Arab spring), volunteered for this task, this infamous

* This was before Union with Syria, and it is still on the air.

* Now the Central Treaty Organization — CENTO.

campaign of violence to the point of kidnapping. All this brought back the memory of yester-years when imperialism, then master of this land, used the same policy of restricting education to those allied to its enslaving mission. What is bewildering is how human beings, possessed of reason, can bring themselves to subject others to an injustice which they themselves suffered and struggled against for years, when the wheel of fortune puts them in a position of power? Yes, man is liable to forget. But it is not normal for a man to forget the sufferings of his past, for whatever the circumstances they leave a permanent mark.

While the enlightened conscience of mankind has come to the support of Algeria and Oman to save them from the hell of imperialism's presence, we see the prisons of the Northern region of the United Arab Republic flooded with Kurds whose only guilt is that they were born into a specific nationality. The prisoners themselves cry for a trial. If the authorities agree to this and bring them before the justice of law, then upon the proof of guilt, even the sentence of death shall be ungrudgingly accepted, for in the Kurd's conception of honour a man accepts the consequences of his action. But if the law finds them innocent, will not that put the tyrant in a disgraceful position? If they knew that these prisoners are the only breadwinners of countless miserable families, then perhaps even they would be moved against such manifest injustice. Could this, and the fact of the prisoners' innocence, be why they do not bother to find out?

An old Arabic proverb says: 'A learned enemy is better than an ignorant friend'. While the opportunists stand in between the Kurds and learning, then how can the U.A.R. Government expect only the best to come of them? To be benevolent to this Government we now tell them: in fact this cultural campaign is not the ideal way to exterminate a people whom even the barbarism of the Turks has not been able to kill. To this Government we say: The whole world is engaged in building a stable universal civilization; and conducive to that where do your negative, irrational, and pre-enlightenment policies stand?

The Kurds, for the time being, swallowed the bitter pill of not using their own language at school. But now fortune has taken a harsher turn and they are not allowed to study even in the Arabic schools. This revolting technique is not applied against the Kurds even in Turkey and Iran.

In fact, dear friends, it is impossible to put down in writing the extent to which your countrymen suffer in the Northern region of the U.A.R., especially since the beginning of 1959. Even the simplest member of the Baath party proclaims that

the Kurds no longer have any place in this region, and their only due is emigration or torture and death. They vow that they will carry this out whatever the means, and no matter how dishonourable.

For all that has been said above the Kurds in Syria cry out to your Congress, and build upon it the highest hopes for the future. We ask you to consider the following propositions and strive for their fulfilment so that your countrymen in Syria can enjoy a measure of just life. Your brothers are not refugees, or immigrants in Syria, as some would like to believe. But it was world imperialism which carved up our dear Kurdistan and part of it became incorporated in what is termed Syria. The rich land of the Kurds is well known, and to steal its abundant resources, ambitious forces are prepared even to exterminate its people.

The points we ask you to consider are:

- (1) Since Arabs and Kurds are subject to the same duties, then they should enjoy equal rights.
- (2) To labour for the release of innocent prisoners, and only those proved guilty should be punished.
- (3) In our desire that the name of the U.A.R. should not be tarnished with accusations of tyranny and oppression, innocent dismissed officials should be re-employed.
- (4) Kurds should be admitted to the Police schools and the Military Academy, like their Arab brothers, if they possess the required qualifications, which should depend on merit.
- (5) The dismissed Kurdish officers should be re-engaged in the armed forces, and censorship lifted upon them so that they can play their part in serving the Republic.
- (6) An end be put to removing the Kurds from their own country in an attempt to scatter and assimilate them.
- (7) The Kurds should be accorded the basic and accepted human rights of using their language freely, should be given a fair proportion of broadcasting time, and efforts should be made to raise their standards, in various fields, in parity with the rest of the population.
- (8) So that the two racial entities can live in harmony and peace discriminatory policies should be reversed.
- (9) A Kurdish newspaper should be allowed so that the Kurds can feel more assured.

These points are not all, but a part of what every Kurd feels must be done. Every Kurd, who through misfortune, past blunder, and the dismal policy of imperialism, finds himself a subject of the U.A.R. We ask your Congress to consider and study them,

for they are a reflection of what is lacking in our daily life. We depend on you to do your part in lifting this curtain of misery from over the Kurdish nation, so that we too can live the kind of life that is every people's due in this age of the triumph of right and justice."

From the KURDS IN SYRIA.

Letter from U.S.S.R.

As is well known there are over 100,000 Kurds in the Soviet Union. In an exchange of letters between a Soviet Kurd and a Kurd from Syria studying in East Europe, this is what the former writes:

"Brother Semko,

God bless your days. You do not know me. I am your Kurdish brother, pursuing my studies at the Eastern Institute — Leningrad University — to specialize in Kurdish studies. I heard of you from Qanatê Kurdo. So I write you this letter to get to know you. I think you will answer me. The Kurdish blood is, then, the real cause of our acquaintance."

In another letter, an answer to one written to him by the Kurd from Syria, the Soviet Kurd writes:

"Kurd Brother Semko,

God bless your times. I received your letter with profound happiness. It shows that our aims and ideas are one, namely the liberation of our nation from imperialism and the oppressive black hands of the enemy. To achieve this we need the efforts of all our friends. Therefore it is the duty of Kurdish

The Congress did study these proposals and the Society is pledged to do everything in its capacity to realize them. ED.

youth to educate themselves, to help each other, to think as one mind, and feel with one heart.

God willing, we shall see the day when the Kurdish People rule themselves by themselves, and prove their presence by their determination. I heard that the Kurds publish a magazine KURDISTAN in Europe. Please send me all issues.

My regards to all your friends who are true Kurds, and who burn with the desire for the liberation of the Kurds."

We are grateful to our brother from the Kurdistan of Syria for giving us these extracts.

The Kurds in the Soviet Union enjoy national rights. It is therefore a sign of the remarkable spirit of the Kurd, that in spite of that this young man burns with a desire for his fatherland which is still under alien rule. His ambition is the liberation of Kurdistan, and to him Unity of Spirit, oneness of purpose and united action are the means to that end. It would be indeed a great achievement if every Kurd thought like that. ED.

Letter from Iran

Kurdistan of Iran is the second largest part of our divided nation. The authorities in Teheran try to deny that Lurstan is part of it. To support this foul tactic they have not the slightest shred of evidence. Following is the text of what a Kurd from Lurstan has written to us.

"Lurstan is part of the Kurdish nation—

It forms the Southern part of Kurdistan. It includes the Baktiar — or Great Lur — region, and the Lur-Amala and Peshtkooch-region inhabited by the Faily Kurds.

This territory suffers the same evils that beset the other parts of our land under the reactionary imperialist allied Government of Iran. There is terror and persecution, there is the denial that Lurstan is not part of Kurdistan and is not in-

habited by Kurds *, and there is the tragic lack of health, education and welfare facilities. The territory is under a repressive military administration whose chief pre-occupation is combating the growing national movement in this part of our country.

Needless to say by every conceivable test the sons of Lurstan are original Kurds. Their chief pre-occupation in this part is agricultural — tobacco, wheat and barley — and husbandry. Politically their preoccupation is the struggle for Kurdish self-determination, and are confident that soon this right shall be exercised.

* The weekly Teheran Kurdish paper KURDISTAN — which cannot continue without the grace of the authorities — has recognised that Lurstan is part of the Kurdish nation.

Many youths from Lurstan participated in the Fourth Congress of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe, the standard bearer of the Kurdish cause abroad. We are determined to participate with greater number in the future, because we are convinced of the righteousness of the Society's mission and have full confidence in it.

Long live the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe.

Long live our struggle for self-determination.

Long live our brotherhood with the Farsi people."

SHAWAZ BAKHTIARI,

From Lurstan.

A Voice from Turkey

The following is taken from *Yeni Hayat* — a Turkish language Bulgarian magazine — issue No. 7 1959. The article was written by a Kurd from Kurdistan of Turkey and translated into Kurdish by Mr. Omar Dizayee. This is its English translation:

“The condition of the Kurds in Turkey.

In the Eastern districts of Turkey live over four million Kurds. In Iran, Iraq, Syria (and U.S.S.R.) there are a large number too. The Kurdish population in those countries totals about nine millions. The Kurds are of the Aryan stock and their language is a branch of the Indo-European group.

When, after the first World War, the Western imperialists divided the Ottoman Empire among themselves, the Greeks were marching into Anatolia (Asia Minor). The Turkish people were, as a result, roused to a struggle for independence. For this purpose Mustafa Kemal Ataturk tried to get the Kurds on his side. His efforts brought him to Eastern Anatolia, where the Kurds live, and he busied himself making fiery speeches. He wrote articles, denounced the imperialists and talked of Turkish-Kurdish brotherhood. In his speeches, Ataturk profited from the national consciousness of the Kurds. He gave them his word of 'honour' that if they assist the Turks in these critical times, then afterwards the Turks will even extend the boundaries laid down for the Kurds by the treaty of Sèvres 1920, which recognised their right to independence. Upon this promise the Kurds put their might in Ataturk's hand. Under the name of 'Kurdish volunteers' they fought the Greeks, and thus they helped in expelling the invaders from Anatolia.

For a short while after, Ataturk treated the Kurds well, but his old friendship did not last long. When the occupying foreigner was expelled from Turkey, Ataturk turned face and disgracefully disregarded his pledges. He tore up the treaty of Sèvres and forced the imperialists to conclude the treaty of Lausanne (1923). Because the treaty of Lausanne had no provision for safe-guarding Kurdish rights, the Kurds started demanding them.

But the Kamalist Government did not listen to the clamour. When finally the Kurds observed this, they mobilised all their efforts and in 1925, under the leadership of Shaik Saaid, they lighted the torch of Revolution in the districts of Diar, Bakir, Orfa and Mardin. This rising was bloodily squashed with the assistance of the French. As a result Shaik Saaid and 45 other Kurdish leaders were executed. This did not break the determination and resistance of the Kurds, for in 1927, under the leadership of General Ihsan Nuri, another rising was started this time in the mountain of Agry Dagh which is on the Turko-Iranian frontier. Because the Turkish Army was helpless in putting the revolt down, it asked for the assistance of the Iranian Army. The Iranian Army, fully equipped, moved towards Agry Dagh and the Kurds were thus caught in a crossfire. After a long and heroic stand the revolutionaries were vanquished.

In 1937 the Governments of Turkey, Iran and Iraq signed the Charter of Saad Abbad (the name is one of the Shah's palaces in Teheran). This charter became 'THE' obstacle in the way of Kurdish liberation. Singly the Governments could not cope with the fire of Kurdish Revolution, so they grouped together for the purpose.

In 1937, in the district of Derseem the third rising was kindled. To defeat this one the Turkish Government employed all barbaric methods, even the use of poisonous gas.

In all these struggles over 1.5 million Kurds perished. The Turkish Government used an army of 300,000 for the purpose.

Yet in Iran and Iraq the struggle of the Kurds was continuing. Ever since 1925 the Kurdish districts in Turkey have been under military rule, and all foreigners are prohibited from visiting that region. In this manner, today the whole region is confined in four walls like a prison and no voice from the outside world can be heard. The guards of this huge prison are the Turkish soldiers and its inhabitants are a people deprived of all human rights. In this region no Kurd is permitted to speak

his mother tongue, and until two years ago it lacked a single high school.

To implement the policy of 'Turkinisation', to this day the authorities uproot the Kurds and send them to Anatolia. With every such move the fascist mentality of the Turkish bourgeoisie grows. Turkey claims that anybody living in Turkey is ipso facto a Turk, and thus the Kurds are called the 'mountain Turks'. At the same time as the Turkish bourgeoisie are denying millions of Kurds their natural rights, we see the prophet of Turkish Fascism — Jalal Nuri — rise in Parliament and

say: 'The Kurdish question is finished. By BOMBS we turned the savage Kurds into civilized people.' The fascists of Turkey have erected a tomb on mount Agry Dagh and have inscribed on it the following in Turkish 'Here the Utopia of Kurdistan is buried.'

But whatever the capitalist rulers of Turkey do, it is in vain. The liberty loving Kurdish People shall continue their struggle for a brighter tomorrow. And there is no doubt that its result shall be victory.

A.H.



Kurdistan, Kurdistan, Niştumani Cwan Her Biji Be Şadi Serbesti w Azadi.
Kurdistan, Kurdistan, the beautiful land long live in happiness, in liberty and freedom.

All communications regarding the Society should be addressed to:

The General Secretary,
Berlin-Halensee,
Johann-Sigismund Str. 2
bei Kaminski
Germany.

All communications regarding KURDISTAN should be addressed to:

The Editor of KURDISTAN,
14 Manson Place,
London, S.W.7.

'Innocence in Absentia'

Some time ago the Republican Government of Iraq, in a post mortem order, declared innocent the four Kurdish officers who were hanged by Nuri Said's regime on June 19th 1947, for offering their services to the Kurdish Republic at Mahabad.

On this occasion, in honour of their memory, we print part of their message to the Kurdish People, written one hour after they were convicted to die.

Baghdad, 18th June 1947.

From **Ezat Abdul Aziz, Mustafa Khoshnaw, Khairalla Abdul Karim and Mohammad Mahmood,**
To our Brothers the beloved Kurdish People:

We find ourselves fortunate that in our national duty we did not slacken. Our only advice is that

Kurdish youth and the guardians of our land should forget all selfishness, and make unity their weapon for breaking imperialism's grip and liberating all oppressed peoples.

Brothers,

We are a sign of the Kurdish People's struggle in 1947. You who remain are struggling along the path of honour, and with God's backing our people shall be liberated. We, like free soldiers, tried to the end of human capacity, and thus the gallows—are our end.

Forward then to Unity and to Liberty.
Long live the Kurds,
Long live Kurdistan.

Signed by all four.

Press Comment

This is a translation of the German original of a report on the Fourth Congress of the **KURDISH STUDENTS' SOCIETY IN EUROPE**. We are grateful to Mr. Omar Dizayee for translating the original into Kurdish.

'Meeting Place of Kurds—Vienna'

At a time when Viennese are happy to be spending their Summer holidays in the country-side, and prominent parties leave the city, only the Cabinet and the Political Offices, which always continue to zero hour, remain.

At this time, a small group, who are fanatically attached to their political aspirations, took over the leadership of the Austrian capital from all sides. These strugglers were Kurds, mostly students in the Universities of Europe. These, together with their compatriot students studying in Vienna, and Kurdish politicians who had already arrived, met last week in a patriotic congress which they hold annually after the Summer semester. Two years ago it was held in London, last year in Munich, and this year it is the capital of Austria.

A black-haired Kurdish youth roared at the delegates: 'Let us struggle hand-in-hand for the Kurdish cause, that cause which is coloured by the blood of our forefathers. By their sacred graves let us swear: 'liberty or death'. It is apparent that the Kurds too, like most of the Middle Eastern Peoples, and like the peoples of Europe, in the past, are heated with their own brand of nationalism.

On the map 'Wild Kurdistan' does not form a political unit akin to the modern state. Its 10 million population are a scattered, but stubborn people, divided between Turkey, Iran, Iraq, the Soviet Union, and the Syrian region of the United Arab Republic. Thus we observe that Kurdistan is in the cross current of varying political influences, such as Western democracy, Soviet communism, and Arab nationalism.

Mulla Mustafa Barzani is the symbol of Kurdish ambition, who has been living in the house of Faisal's Premier, Nuri Said — both killed — since the Iraqi Revolution.

This 56 year old Kurdish General, exercises influence not only in the street, but also in the Cabinet rooms and among the Iraqi officers' groups. He returned to Iraq last year after spending 12 years with the Soviet forces with the rank of 'OBERST'.

Many expected that Barzani, indoctrinated in Moscow, will act against Qassen's Revolution through Soviet aid. But this proved wrong, since he has sent a telegram of solidarity to these young Kurds assembled in Vienna, saying 'I want to be considered a soldier of Qassem'.

After a lengthy discussion the Kurds in Vienna were heated up. Besides that the atmosphere was made heavy by the smoke of Middle Eastern cigarettes. The only drink allowed to cool them off was water. It was apparent that the Kurds were

making obvious attempts to keep away from Communism and were associating themselves more with the leader of Iraq, Abdul Karim Qassem. Up to date Qassem is the only person who has, through Article 3 of the new Iraqi interim-constitution, accorded the Kurds a political right. They are all hopeful that Qassem will protect them from Nasser's Arab State."

'Die Wochen Presse,'
Vienna, August 1st 1959.

We wish to point out that, first Mustafa Barzini did not go to the Soviet Union to join the Soviet forces. He was a welcome exile from the terror of Nuri Said.

Secondly our Society is not a political organization and whatever 'isms' the individual member believes in is a personal matter. **Ed.**

* * *

"It began (the Kirkuk disturbance of last July), with the brutal murder of a cafe owner by Kurdish tribesmen in the Iraqi oil centre of Kirkuk. Before order was restored by the arrival of Army reinforcements, Kirkuk had been subjected to a long night of terror by the pro-communist Kurds in league with blood cousins who had mutinied from Army units stationed there and units of the . . . people's Resistance Force."

'Life'—September 14th 1959.

A reputed magazine like *Life* no doubt is aware that reporting of news must either conform to fact, or be an analysis based on reason. The above item is a fabrication, based on the whim of an apparently ignorant reporter, which does unjust harm to

the Kurdish People. We hereby most vigorously protest. What on earth, one might ask, have the Kurds, as such, to gain from killing in their own country? How, in the name of reason, will they turn against a regime which has for the first time constitutionally recognised their national rights?

Mr. Keith Wheeler of *Life* could have at least born that in mind in writing his report. **Ed.**

* * *

"In the mountainous North of Iraq, fierce Kurdish tribesmen are ready to fight for their dream of an independent Kurdistan."

'Newsweek'—October 19th 1959

The Kurds indeed have their own legitimate and realistic aspirations, but their actions are never prejudicial to the interests of Iraq. **Ed.**

* * *

The French language magazine *Europ-Orient*, devoted a special issue — No. 156, July 29th 1959—to full and favourable coverage of the Fourth Congress at Vienna.

The African French language newspaper *Fraterniti* published in Ibadan, Nigeria, had a special article on the Fourth Congress and the Kurdish Question in general, in its issue of July 31st 1959.

The well known French quarterly magazine *Orient* published a special article on the Fourth Congress and its resolutions in its Autumn 1959 issue.

In addition some Greek papers published news of the Fourth Congress too.

The Kurdish Students' Society in Europe and the International Union of Students

Since the Third Congress of our Society in 1958, official efforts have been directed towards securing our Society's membership of the International Union of Students. The latest development of this episode is the letter of our President sent to the International Union of Students concerning the same issue of membership. Below is the text of the letter:

Executive Committee, I.U.S. Vocelova 3, Prague.

"Dear Friends,

In 1958, the Third Congress of the 'Kurdish Students' Society in Europe' had asked its Executive Committee to present to you a request for the admission of our Society to the International Union

of Students, as an affiliated member. We wrote you to that effect on 14th August 1958, 11th December 1958 and 16th January 1959. Unfortunately, up to date we have received no answer to our three applications.

Our Fourth Congress, held recently in Vienna from 22nd to 25th July 1959, having expressed the same desire, we are happy to renew the same request, hoping, as mentioned in one of the resolutions adopted by this last Congress, 'That our Society will be admitted to I.U.S. before the next Congress'.

We consider as very important that the I.U.S. accept our Society's membership in this period

when our Kurdish People needs us in its huge battle against imperialism and for national liberation, when we really need you in our battle for the satisfaction of our people's legitimate aspirations, and when you certainly need us, too, as you need the collaboration of all democratic youth in the world, in your fight for a better life, peace and democracy. We need you now much more than when the Kurdish national question has been resolved. Students organizations of dependent peoples deserve more help than those of free ones. You know that our people are not free, except in Iraq, that our country Kurdistan has been politically divided by imperialism, and that a strong Kurdish national liberation movement does exist.

You have already admitted, as affiliated members, several students organizations of non-independent peoples, many of which are African. We ask you to do the same with us.

Let us remind you, on the other hand, that our organization groups together only the Kurdish students ABROAD — living in Europe — whether they originate from Kurdistan of Turkey, of Iran, of Iraq, or that of Syria; that it is not a Turkish, nor Persian, nor Iraqi, nor Arabic organization, but just Kurdish; that our relationships with the General Students' Union of the Iraqi Republic are most intimate and friendly, and that you have nothing,

in the I.U.S. Constitution, that might hinder our admission, the contrary is in fact more likely.

Lastly, let us inform you, please, that the fears some I.U.S. Executive Committee members seem to have, concerning some objection of the General Students' Union of the Iraqi Republic to our admission to the I.U.S. seem to have, fortunately enough, no ground.

With the hope of receiving a positive reply soon, please do accept, dear Friends, our most democratic salutations.

On behalf of the Executive Committee of
Kurdish Students' Society in Europe,

THE PRESIDENT.

N.B. This letter will be published in our periodical magazine, KURDISTAN.

Annex: The Resolutions of the Fourth Congress of the K.S.S.E.

P.S.: We are sending you the last publications of our Society:

- (1) 'Aspects de la Question nationale en Iran', by Parez Vanly, Paris, July 1959;
- (2) 'Interview on the Kurdish national question', by Ismet Cheriff Vanly, Athenes, June 1959 (in Greek).

The Kurdish Students' Society in Europe and the General Students' Union of the Republic of Iraq

On August 4th 1959, a delegation of three from our Society, consisting of the President, Vice-President, and the Editor of KURDISTAN, met the President of the General Students' Union in the Republic of Iraq, Mr. Mahdi Abdul Karim.

Many points of mutual interest were discussed, and the relations of the two friendly organizations were reviewed. Satisfaction was expressed by both sides that their relations were good, and both expressed determination to further that bond of amity.

These are some of the specific issues raised:

(1) On the question of the admission of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe to the International Union of Students.

Mr. Mahdi Abdul Karim said: 'If the International Union of Students makes the admission of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe subject to

the approval of the Iraqi Union, and that if they receive a letter from the International Union of Students to that effect, they will not object to the admission.' (It is notable here that Mr Abdul Karim did not say they will actively encourage our admission.)

He further said when the issue actually comes under consideration it will be a matter for their Secretariat to decide.

(2) When asked why the Students' Union of Kurdistan had been dissolved, Mr. Mahdi Abdul Karim replied: 'It was done in the interest of the "Unity of the Students movement" in Iraq.'

The delegation of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe replied that though we favour Kurdish bodies in general, such matters are internal to the Iraqi Union and we have no wish to interfere.

(3) Mr. Mahdi Abdul Karim agreed that our Society is not an Iraqi body, but a Kurdish one with its own independent policy.

(4) The basis of co-operation to be in general and

not specific terms.

The meeting, though not producing hundred per cent. agreement, cleared away many misunderstandings and ended in an atmosphere of cordiality.

Miscellaneous

'Iran Insulted'

The Kurdish daily *Khabat* in its issue of September 4th 1959, reports two crimes committed by Americans in Iran.

Both concern the rape of Iranian women.

The first is as follows: Around August 1959 the wife of a Said Mala, from the village of Qom Qalla was returning home with her brother. On their way they met a car load of Americans. The latter offered them a lift. When the woman got in they sped away leaving her brother. They kidnapped her for four days, at the end of which they brought her back to the spot where they kidnapped her, and dropped her in a state of near insanity.

The second incident is as follows: Some Americans took a young girl, just over 10 years, as a maid. One night a group of them, like savage animals, or like 'civilized' Americans without a cent of honour raped the helpless creature.

The families of the two females in question protested to the Iranian Government. But the cowards of Teheran, the hirelings of imperialism, dare not take action against their masters.

For people, or maniacs, reared on Hollywood films and brought up in the Rock 'n' Roll civilization of U.S.A., such sadism must be habitual. But even habit cannot excuse this animal behaviour. This is one of the 'benefits' that the people of Iran get from this hated Government's alliance with the imperialists. People have no objections to have relations with the U.S., as such, but if such people are her ambassadors and such habits her chief export, then one would rather deal with the devil.

Even the stones of Iran, let alone the conscience of its entire people, could rise in protest against such barbarity if they had a tongue. We on our part protest in the strongest possible manner against this crime, this insult to the people of Iran. As one of the victims seems to be a Kurd this makes it even more our duty to protest. From the Government of Iran we demand full protection of our people. If it cannot give it, then the people will be glad to see them go.

To the Authorities in Teheran and to their allies the imperialists we say: the wheel of history is turning, and when shortly it takes its full turn in Iran and the people are liberated, you shall pay the price of your deeds. To be convinced of this inevitable course, you have only to look at the world around you. Ed.

* * *

A book has recently been published in the Soviet Union called:

'KURDISKIE SKAZKI' (KURDISH STORIES)
by I. FARIZOV and M. RUDENKO.

The authors have translated Kurdish stories from the following sources:

- (1) The Book: 'FOLKLORA KERMANJI.' Published in Yarivan in (1934) ?
- (2) The Kurdish magazine *Hawar*. Published by the Bederkhan family.
- (3) Story tellers in Teflees (Georgia) personally interviewed.

The authors state in this work that there is proof that Kurdish literature is at least 1,000 years old.

And the following two books on Kurdish literature — in French — are of great value to everybody seeking knowledge on the subject.

They are both by R. P. Thomas Bois, O.P.

- (1) 'Coup d'oeil sur la litterature Kurde', Beyrouth, Libanon 1955.
- (2) Les Kurdes, Histoire, Sociologie, Litterature, Folklore', Beyrouth, Libanon 1958.

* * *

'The Big Lie'

On June 23rd 1959, the so-called 'Radio Free Iraq' — the voice of traitors and their neighbouring allies — broadcast a declaration in the Arabic language in the name of our Society denouncing Qassem and the Iraqi Republic in most vehement terms.

This fantastic, shameful and groundless fabrication, this biggest of big lies, could not have been thought of even by the 'father' of the big lie Dr. Goebbles himself. Such dishonourable techniques

cannot affect the loyalty of the Kurds to Qassim's democratic regime.

In reply to this fabrication our General Secretary, Mr. Kamal Fuad, put out an immediate declaration, pointing out the utter falacy and baselessness of such wishful thinking. In it he said: 'While we rest assured that everyone who is familiar with the policy of our Society cannot believe such lies, designed to harm the Republic of Iraq, the Republic of Arabs and Kurds, we draw the attention of all — and those crowing for Radio Free Iraq — to what our Kurdish brothers in Syria suffer. Deprived of the simplest of human rights, they live under a rule of oppression, torture and deprivation Denying such voices of evil we take the opportunity to re-affirm our faith in the democratic policy of Iraq and the leadership of Abdul Karim Qassem.' The declaration goes on to say: 'If we had any reservations towards the Republic of Iraq we would voice them freely and courageously without resorting to cowardly means. And we hereby protest most vigorously against the policy which the controllers of that Radio, the men of Cairo, use towards our people in Syria'.

* * *

We also learned that the magazine *Kullu'Shai* (Everything) — in Arabic — in its issue of September 19th 1959, claims that an Iraqi correspondent in London wrote to it accusing the Iraqi Students' Society in the U.K. of co-operating with our Society.

We like to say, as our General Secretary pointed out in the above declaration, 'We are proud of our close ties with the Iraqi Students' Society in the U.K., for we both uphold the same basic common principles and aims which are to the benefit of our two peoples not only in Iraq, but also in all parts of the Arab world and Kurdistan'.

And one can safely say that this feeling is mutual.

* * *

We have been informed that Mr. Othman Ozairy has dedicated the proceeds of his recently published book to our Society. The book is a translation from Arabic and its subject is: 'The History of Teachers Movements in Poland'. (Regret that we have not detailed information about its title or contents. ED.)

On the second page of his book, Mr. Ozairy, we are told, refers to the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe and the part it is playing in the national movement. He says: 'The Kurdish Students in Europe are those who unhesitatingly struggle for the realization of immediate and future aspirations of Kurdistan and its people . . . To the limit of their means and ability they have done their utmost in acquainting the people of Europe with Kurdistan

and its people . . . I am grateful to all members and organizers of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe for what they have done, and wish them success.'

To Mr. Ozairy we say: that it is our pleasure to express the deepest gratitude for your patriotic and kind gesture towards our Society. We do not consider ourselves self-sufficient. It is through the material aid, and primarily the moral encouragement, of people like you that we find ourselves able to overcome obstacles in our way. Our supreme satisfaction is the knowledge that our people at home consider our efforts as part of their own liberating movement. **In such support we find the purpose to lead us on.** ED.

* * *

The following compatriots from Kurdistan of Iraq have sent gifts and letters of support and appreciation to our Society: Miss Anjum Abdulla Zuhdi, Haji Mala Mohammad, Mr. E. askander Hamawandi from Sulaimania and Khanaqin.

For this valuable jesture of solidarity and appreciation the Society wishes to extend their sincere gratitude. From it the Society shall derive the morale to sustain it in its efforts. When a nation is thus united, there is no force that can stand between it and the realization of its aspirations.

* * *

Reply of U.N. Human Rights Commission to the letter of protest, concerning the condition of Kurds in Syria, submitted to it by the K.S.S.E., dated 8th June 1959.

Messieurs,

Je suis chargée d'accuser reception de votre lettre du 8 uijn 1959.

J'ai le regret de vous faire savoir que la Commission des droits de l'homme n'est habilitée a prendre aucune mesure au sujet de communications emanant d'un particulier ou d'une organisation privee.

Conformement a la procedure normale, copie de votre lettre a ete transmise au Gouvernement de la Republique Arabe Unie sous le couvert de l'anonymat. Ce gouvernement est seul juge de la suite a donner a votre reclamation.

Vous trouverez ci-joint, pour votre information, les passages pertinents de la resolution 75 (V) du Conseil economique et social. telle qu'elle a ete modifiee.

Veuillex agreer, Messieurs, l'assurance de ma consideration distinguee.

DORIS M. MAX,

Division des droits de l'homme.

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- Th. Bois—L'Ame des Kurdes à la Lumiere de leur folklore. Beyrouth.
- W. G. Elphinson—The Kurdish Question (International Affairs). London, January 1st 1946.
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- W. A. Wigam—The Cradle of Mankind. 1922.
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- James Aldridge—The Diplomat (novel). The Bodley Head, London.
- S. S. Gavan—Kurdistan: Divided Nation of the Middle East. Lawrence & Wishart, London 1958.
- Shakir Khasbak — The Kurds and the Kurdish Question (in Arabic). Baghdad 1959.
- Kurdistan Auf Dem Weg Zur Freiheit. K.S.S.E. Publication 1959.
- Paréz Vanly—Aspects De La Question Nationale Kurde En Iran. K.S.S.E. Publication 1959.
- Interview on the Kurdish National Question (in Greek). K.S.S.E. Publication 1959.
- Emir K. Bedir-Khan—La Question Kurde. Paris 1959.
- R. P. Thomas Bois, o.p.—Coup d'oeil sur la litterature Kurde. Beyrouth, Libanon, 1955
- By the same author: Les Kurdes, Histoire Sociologie, Litterature, Folklore. Beyrouth, Libanon, 1958.

Kurdish Journals

- Iraq: 'Azadî,' 'Şefeq' — Kirkok; 'Hêwa,' 'Khabat,' 'Rizgari,' 'Rojanî' — Baghdad; 'Hetaw' — Erbil; 'Rastî' — Mosul; 'Jîn' — Sulaimaniya.
- Lebanon: 'Roja Nu, Stêr' — ceased publication.
- Syria: 'Hawar, Ronahi'—ceased publication.
- U.S.S.R.: 'Rêya Taze, Kovara Qefqasê'.
- Iran: 'Kurdistan'—a weekly journal.
- Turkey — Kurdish Publications are forbidden.

KOMELEY XWÊNDIKARANÎ KURD LE EWROPA

KURDISTAN



Kurdish Students' Society in Europe

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KURDISTAN

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

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Editorial

On 'peaceful change'.

The subject of peaceful change has always been central to any consideration of international affairs. In fact it is almost 'the' problem of international relations, for it is always the lack of agreement on some method of peaceful change that ultimately leads to conflict among nations. The importance of the problem was recognised by the framers of both the League of Nations and the United Nations. After both great wars the imperfections of the world were recognised and so it was felt necessary to provide 'an instrumentality for peaceful change'.

Article 19 of the Covenant of the League of Nations stated that 'the Assembly may from time to time advise . . . the consideration of international **conditions** whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world'. Presently the charter of the U.N. contains two provisions for making peaceful change possible. Article 10 states that 'the General Assembly may discuss **any questions or any matters** within the scope of the present charter . . . and . . . may make recommendations to the members of the U.N. or the security council or to both on any such questions and matters'. Further article 14 states 'subject to the provisions of Article 12, the General Assembly may recommend measures for the **peaceful adjustment of any situation**, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations, including situations resulting from a violation of the provisions of the present charter setting forth the purposes and principles of the U.N.' The above provisions show us that peace depends on the ability and willingness of nations, and the international organisations set up by them, to resolve questions and situations of potential danger. In the inter-war period the League could do nothing under article 19. And as we know now, besides the fact that from 1933 onwards Hitler was simply bent on war, the twenty years from 1919 to 1939 were not really a period of peace, but one full of friction and conflict. The lessons of that period and of the second world war should be enough to make the nations more ready to make changes that will ensure peace.

We must bear in mind, always, that peaceful change does not mean only that specific disputes between states should be solved by pacific methods, it also means the adjustment of dangerous situations. For example the general problem of colonialism, so far as present international law is concerned, is not a dispute between two parties that can be resolved in a court or by arbitration. Yet

the gradual liquidation of colonial empires, though not yet complete, has been one of the strongest factors making for peace, for only free and equal people can co-exist in peace. The opposition of the colonialists to this inevitable change sometimes led to conflict, a further indication of the dangers of preventing peaceful change. But just because colonial empires are crumbling that does not mean that peace is no longer in danger. True that only a conflict involving the Great Powers will lead to a general conflagration, but to-day even the most casual observer can see how easy it is for the Great Powers to get involved. And on the other hand so long as the rights of human beings and of nations are violated peace is still in danger.

Today the world has a number of situations which are clearly likely to 'impair the friendly relations among nations', and their continuation is definitely a violation of the purposes and principles of the charter. Examples of these are many today. To mention some one can sight the Congo, Cuba, Algeria, South Africa and Kurdistan. There are of course, other and more dangerous issues in the world, but the peaceful resolution of any one problem will mean so much less danger and a less tense atmosphere. These cases are not exactly similar, but they are all topical problems that need a change to the better if an explosion is to be avoided. The Belgian conspiracy on the Republic of Congo, the American pressure on the Cuban Republic, the war in Algeria, are all cases of the defenders of a dangerous status quo trying hard to prevent a change that will strengthen world stability and peace. The cases of the African population of South Africa and the Kurdish People in Turkey, Iran and Syria are somewhat different, but nevertheless definitely of potential danger. In South Africa the rightful population, and the preponderant majority are denied every right and savagely treated. If this continues the Africans will have to seek some way, even a violent way, of changing it. In Iran, Turkey and Syria over 10 million Kurds (6 in Turkey, 4 in Iran and 400,000 in Syria), occupying their own country Kurdistan, are also denied every right and persecuted. The importance of the 'Kurdish question' is not new. In 1920 the Allied Powers did see an abnormal situation in the Middle East regarding the Kurds. Hence the provision in the treaty of Sevres of that year that the Kurds have autonomy, with the right of independence within one year. And further the abnormality of the situation was recognised by the League Commission, instituted by the Council resolution of September 30th, 1924, to study the question of

the Mosul Wilayat on the spot, when in its report it said that the inhabitants of the disputed Wilayat, predominantly Kurds, wanted to live on their own, in a state of their own. All this came to nothing, thus the question is still alive. Today the Turkish and Iranian authorities, and the U.A.R. authorities regarding the Kurds in Syria, are guilty of every offence against the Kurds including, in the case of Turkey, the denial of nationality which is a violation of article 15 (1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The two governments, like the South African government often does, can hide behind paragraph 7 (article 2) of the charter and say this is an internal matter. That is absolutely absurd. It is the responsibility of all members of the U.N. to promote and encourage 'respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as

to race, sex, language, or religion'. Clearly a change is needed, and it will come, in Kurdistan, in South Africa, or anywhere else where man is denied his natural due. The change in Kurdistan, if it is to be peaceful, can be brought about and guaranteed by the U.N., or by the governments themselves if they only recognise that the interests of Turkey, of Iran, and of the U.A.R. are better secured by promoting harmony among the nationalities by letting them develop side by side in complete freedom and equality. The example of Iraq best illustrates this point. There Kurds and Arabs are equal and work together for the better progress of Iraq.

If the nations of the world, through the U.N. or through common-sense, will not facilitate the changes needed then we oppressed peoples can only say 'instead of leaving injuries to be redressed by God, we have a natural right to relieve ourselves'.

A Study in Contrast

A kurd compares the four inheritors of his land :—

Turkey

THE INCOMPLETE VICTORY

On May 27th 1960 a happy event took place in Turkey. A Revolution deposed the Menderes regime. The movement was a direct result of the courageous sacrifices of the Turkish students, and other people, who fearlessly faced the bullets of Menderes' police. It is now bootless to analyse the many wrongs of the Menderes regime. And the new regime is too new for one to be able to comment with any sense of certainty. But as this change is what the people of Turkey want then the rest of the world should only bless and help it. And there is no doubt that the Turkish people did joyfully greet their Revolution and are determined to defend it. A great step forward has been taken and may it bring good to Turkey.

We as Kurds, seeing that this Revolution was a direct result of the demands of the Turkish people for democracy and justice, welcomed it at first. We still welcome it in so far as it can bring benefits to Turkey. We were prepared to hail General Gursel, we were prepared to 'call out a holiday . . . and strew flowers in his way' for we considered his movement to be one for genuine democracy. Then came the disappointment and the tragic step backwards. In a press conference in Istanbul, General Gursel was asked about the Kurdish problem in Turkey (where six million Kurds live) and his answer was 'there is no such thing as Kurdishness, we are all Turks'. Thus a great opportunity was missed to turn a new leaf in Turkish history and start a life based on justice, equality, mutual

recognition, and harmony among the Turkish and Kurdish nationalities in Turkey. And the answer leaves the victory of Turkish people incomplete, for they want democracy for all the citizens of Turkey, including the Kurds. One cannot say that 6 million Kurds do not exist, or that they are 'mountain Turks', for they are a fact, a reality, they are people, and they have and will forever remain Kurds. Is it not better not to waste time and energy on denying a reality, but to recognise it and proceed from there to reap the benefits of your realism? But General Gursel, unfortunately, chose to go back to the old policy which has been in operation since Ataturk's days. Would it not have been better to live up to the age, recognise the Kurds as free and equal citizens and as people with a distinct nationality? It so happens that the world is full of different nationalities, and many states contain more than one nationality. The example of Turkey's neighbour Iraq is close enough to indicate that a solution can be found, and for the greater good of the country as a whole.

In Turkey, allow us the impertinence General Gursel, there is 'Kurdishness'. Here is the opinion of a learned scholar, Mr. Frank Tachau, who wrote on 'the face of Turkish Nationalism' in the *Middle East Journal* (Summer 1959). He says, when the Republic was established the 'National Pact' was not enough as the basis of unity for 'there were Muslim non-Turks who were fully as suspicious of Turkish rule as were the non-Muslim Communities. The most prominent of these were the **Kurds** of eastern Anatabia'. This suspicion was not a natural

habit, it was the result of centuries of oppression suffered by the Kurds. Was not the Revolution of May 27th 1960 a good chance to dispel this suspicion? The Kurds are brothers of the Turks; why not create an atmosphere where this brotherhood can blossom? The above writer, speaking of the policy of assimilation of nationalities says: not all groups have been 'assimilated' today. 'Those groups which have not been successfully assimilated are also the ones that have maintained their own language or some other such distinctive feature. The **Kurds** again are the most prominent of this type among the Muslims'.

We do not need to prove that there are Kurds in Turkey; we have never needed proof. We just thought it better to quote an independent source. But the whole world knows there is a problem in Turkey, and solving it is not by ignoring or denying it. The Kurds in Kurdistan of Turkey are loyal citizens of the Republic and will defend what the Turkish people will benefit by. But they will definitely reject and oppose to the bitter end such racial and undemocratic policies which General Gursel refuses to abandon. Let us hope, on the other hand, for it is never too late, that the new government will recognise the harm done to the interests of Turkey by this situation and find enough courage to do away with harmful relics of the First Republic.

From what has been said the position of the Kurds in Turkey can be deduced. The oppression and denial of rights is so complete that a Kurd is even forbidden to speak his language in public. He cannot write it either. If this elementary right of speech with the mother tongue is denied to a person what other conceivable right can be enjoyed? And what is the result of this? Only bitterness and conflict. In fact Gursel's government has not even released the Kurds imprisoned, without trial, during Menderes' regime. Here is a list of some of them for the world to know.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Profession</i>
<u>Ziya Serefhan Oglu</u>	Lawyer
<u>Salim E. Oghlo</u>	Captain in the armed forces
<u>Seuket Turunli</u>	Colonel in the armed forces
<u>Dr. Naci Kutley</u>	Physician
<u>Musa Anter</u>	Lawyer (Editor of the paper <i>Ileri Yurt</i>)
<u>Abdulrahman Efem</u>	Owner of <i>Ileri Yurt</i>
<u>Said Kirmiji</u>	Student (medical college)
<u>Eauzi Ausan</u>	Student (law college)
<u>Meded Yas</u>	Student (law college)
<u>Said Bingol</u>	Businessman

There have been reports of torture of the prisoners. We ask those who care about their

fellow men, as most people do, to protest against this and demand that either they be released or charged and tried in a proper court.

Having said this, we hope that our readers and our friends will understand the situation better and can come to their own conclusions. In **Syria (U.A.R.)** the Kurds are no better off than they are in Iran or Turkey. But President Nasser's security system is so tight that we could not get adequate new information for this issue, beyond the fact that things are definitely not improving. (The interested reader can see our issue of November 1959 for the situation in Syria).

* * *

The following letter was received from the Executive Committee of the '**Kurdish Students' Society in Turkey**', another indication that no force can break the bonds that hold the Kurds together. And further a sign of the tragic lack of awareness among the Turkish leaders that it was the peoples desire for democracy that brought them to power.

Dear Friends;

We salute you all as worthy sons of our unfortunate nation. With your efforts, and with the efforts of the youth of Kurdistan, we shall achieve liberty and put an end to this servitude and prolonged misery.

Our organisation here has many enemies, as it would be expected in this country, so beware of opportunists who disguise themselves as one of us.

We are writing to you to tell you something about the recent coup, and its bearing on the Kurds. General Gursel, head of the movement, is from Arzenjan, and he is known there as Jamal Agha — the title the Kurds use there. But he seems to be no different from Ismet Inono, also a Kurd by origin but who made it his duty to do them every savage harm he can. Inono's past part in persecuting the Kurds is well known. (Such individual perversion for personal ends is not unknown in the history of most peoples.) The coup has brought no favourable change for the Kurds. Their nationality is still not recognised and they still are not allowed to speak their language. Many of the more active Kurds sent petitions and telegrams to the leaders of the 'coup' imploring them to release the many Kurds imprisoned and tortured during Menderes' dead regime. But with no avail; in spite of the fact that many, or all, of the other prisoners detained by Menderes, have been released. But it seems that though bad for us the new regime aims at giving freedom of the press and of writing. If so then our young men here might benefit by being able to express their opinions to a limited degree. The people who executed the 'coup' have some Kurds

among them, but they are helpless in the face of the strong authoritarian and Fascist tendencies which are manifest in the identity of outlook between the 'coup' leaders and the peoples Republican party of Inono, which was the party of the dictator Mustafa Kemal.

To be exact seven of our comrades have been released. But there are still 27 people in jail. The condition of these is to be pitied. No one can visit them. They are tortured, and their financial condition is desperate. We and some of our friends did something, within our limited means and abilities, to relieve their condition, but how much can we do? Originally it was intended to release them on June 14th, but the new authorities have shelved that idea.

What we ask from you is to do your utmost, whenever and wherever possible to protest to the world (governments, international organisations, people) the denial of our rights. And keep us informed of what you do.

Dear friends, have the spirit of forgiveness with each other and always be united, for in this lies victory for our cause. Forward brothers to liberty for Kurdistan; the future is on the side of right and justice and those who seek peace. Eternal life to a free Kurdistan and to the struggle of the Kurds against tyranny and oppression. God grant us victory in our mission.

signed
for the Executive Committee,
Turkey, 11.6.1960.

* * *

Iran: 'for whom the Bell tolls'

The sum total of what the Shah and his government (we say 'his' for on one occasion Dr. Eghbal, premier, told parliament, 'I am not interested in your criticism and your complaints. I don't depend on your votes. The Shah has ordered me to serve, and I am his servant',) are doing for the people of Iran is: **nothing**. That is nothing positive. But plenty negative is done (or not done). Iran's independence is not preserved, for Iran is full of U.S. military personnel and bases. Iran's constitution is not respected by the rulers for the constitution says the Shah shall not meddle in the affairs of state, which under **article 45**, are the sole responsibility of the Prime Minister and the council of ministers, (who are presumably 'servants' of the people and of parliament and not of the Shah). And **article 28** directly prohibits the Shah from interfering in the affairs of parliament and the government. All freedoms are denied, the military and secret police rule the country, and the education, economy, health and the social services of the country are totally ignored. Parliamentary opposition is but a mockery, for both the opposition MARDOM (people) party, and the

majority MILIYON (Nationalist) party are the Shah's parties, accusing each other of not fulfilling the Shah's wishes adequately.

Before we say more, lest people accuse us of propaganda, let us quote from a source that will not be suspect as anti-Shah, the American magazine *Time* of July 18th 1960, supporter of the Eisenhower administration — the ally of the Shah — has this to say about the Shah and his government: 'ever since the Shahanshah ousted . . . Mossadagh in 1953, he has ruled with an unabashed if benevolent absolutism'. We think the word benevolent is out of place. Further the magazine says: the Shah 'has lavished much of the oil revenues of Iran in a build-up of the 200,000 man army . . . there is ample cause for unrest in the Shah's Kingdom . . . in his shabby capital of Terehan a minority lives in splendour while the rest exist in the squalor of centuries . . . Iran's growing body of intellectuals, admiring liberty, are humiliated by the servility of their parliament, taught to respect honesty they are disgusted by the pall of corruption that hangs over the Shah's court . . . his secret police are all too often inclined to treat any outspoken critic of the regime as a subversive'. If the situation is such that even *Time* says this, then we need not elaborate.

It is necessary for Kurds to say the above for the Kurds in Kurdistan of Iran have a duty, as loyal citizens of Iran, to join the rest of the population to improve the intolerable rule of the Government of the King of Kings. It must be remembered by all that it grieves a Kurd to see Iran in this situation as much as it grieves any other Iranian.

But let us see what of the Kurds, as Kurds, in Iran. Their nationality is not recognised. The recognition accorded to the Kurdish nationality and language is that they are Iranian and Farsi respectively, and there the matter ends. (This is a huge distortion of the fact that the Kurds, like other Persians are, Aryans, and their language is of the same group as the Farsi). No Kurdish party is allowed. There is only one Kurdish paper and that is in Teheran—named ironically *Kurdistan*—and its primary duty is praise of the Shah. The use of Kurdish is not permitted in schools in Kurdistan, and Kurdish literature is consequently suppressed. Kurdistan is under a form of military 'occupation' and at the slightest suspicion force is used (at the moment there are hundreds of Kurds who have sought asylum in Iraq). In short, every technique is used to make life unpleasant. Recently, under a wave of arrests more than 600 Kurds were imprisoned. They included people from Mahabad, Salmas, Sena (sanandaj), Mariwan, Sardasht, Shno, Bokeran, Bana and Saghiz — all Kurdish towns—and Teheran.

So that world opinion can judge itself here is a list of names, chosen at random, who have been savagely deprived of life and freedom:

Name	Kind of sentence	Profession
<u>Aziz Yusifi</u>	Death	Writer
<u>Ghani Blurian</u>	Death	Writer
<u>Rahmat Shariati</u>	Death	Civil Servant
<u>Ismail Qassimlo</u>	Death	Student
<u>Dr. Ali Maolawi</u>	Life	Surgeon
<u>Mohammad Karimi</u>	Life	Police Force
<u>Mula Mohammed Surini</u>	Life	Theology teacher
<u>Karim Wethoghi</u>	15 years	Shop keeper
<u>Majid Ahamadi</u>	15 years	Land owner
<u>Khail Ahmad</u>	10 years	Shop keeper
<u>Ismail Sarsheh</u>	10 years	Trader

And so the list goes on. Their 'trials' were held in secret and by Military tribunals. **We ask the decent opinion of the world to voice its abhorrence of this denial of justice.** If the Shah's government has the courage we challenge it to hold these trials in the open, under the due process of law, and with the right of the accused to proper defense guaranteed. But alas if this were possible under the Shah's absolute rule, then one would not be able to tell him that if this state of affairs goes on, then some bell definitely 'tolls for thee'.

N.B. — As this issue of Kurdistan was at the printers, this news was received; that the four death sentences sited above have been commuted. We express our gratitude for this humanitarian step. And hope the Teheran authorities will further heed the 'wind of change'.

Our Society received the following letter from Mahabad, Kurdistan of Iran, as another expression of solidarity from the homeland to its youth in Europe. In fact most of the 'letter' is a poem, composed about the four patriots who are so unjustly sentenced to death, and dedicated to our Society. We hope the authorities in Teheran will recognise in it a token of Kurdish solidarity.

The Executive Committee,
The Kurdish Students Society in Europe,

We are most grateful for all your communications with us. Your speedy and courageous work, your sincere and valuable efforts for saving the four struggling sons of our people from the gallows, inspire admiration, respect and profound gratitude. As an expression of these emotions we dedicate this poem to you. (Then follows the long poem — a fine 'funeral oration' of the fallen heroes of Mahabad from Qazi Mohammad, the president of the Kurdish Republic in 1946, to date.)

This is for you, O sons of the fatherland, for you ambassadors of Kurdistan; a thousand and one greetings to you, you the Kurdish students society in Europe.

signed
Mahabad, 3.6.1960

* * *



Kurds, arbitrarily exiled from Kurdistan and Iran, demonstrating their cause in their country of asylum, Iraq.

This being the condition of our people in Turkey and Iran, our society has long considered it its duty to speak out on their behalf whenever that is deemed necessary. In this connection the executive committee, on February 8th, 1960, dispatched two detailed memoranda to the governments of Turkey and Iran. In both, resolute protests were included against their oppressive policies towards the Kurds, policies contrary to the spirit of the age, to International Law and to all moral norms accepted by civilized people, and in violation of the obligations which the two governments have undertaken by being parties to the United Nations Charter, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, The Turkish government was reminded of its gross neglect of all civilized standards by, forceably and deliberately trying to change the nationality of the Kurds, and by denying them even the barest rights (as Kurds) that are the natural due of every people and arbitrarily imprisoning 80 innocent Kurds. The Iranian authorities had, on the other hand, recently imprisoned 600 Kurds, on fabricated charges, under a campaign led by the notorious Brigadier Zehaai of the Security Department. This illegal act, resulting only from the fact that the Kurds had insisted on being Kurds (yet loyal citizens of Iran), was strongly deplored in the memorandum.

On the same day, that is February 8th, 1960, parallel memoranda were sent to the Human Rights Commission of the U.N. bringing to their attention the atrocities of the Turkish and Iranian authorities and reminding them that those actions were contrary to everything that the World organization stood for.

But more recently the government of Iran has sentenced to death four Kurds, who are again 'guilty' of desiring to remain Kurds. **Our Society hereby appeals to world opinion, to all bodies and organizations whose task it is to see justice done; to all individuals who do not want humanity to degenerate to a degree that in our 20th century a dictator King can play with the lives of innocent Iranian Kurds as he pleases, to do everything they can to save these four lives.** Our Society on its part has sent a letter to the Shah of Iran on this matter, and has also brought the matter to the attention of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights by a letter of June 6th, 1960. Because of the gravity of the question below is the text of the presentation to the Shah of Iran, and we ask all our friends to add their voices to ours in demanding, at least the commutation of the death sentences.

To His Majesty the Shah of Iran — Teheran

The executive committee of the Kurdish

Students Society has the honour of laying before your Majesty the following facts.

On November 3rd, 1959, the Iranian security authorities arrested 600 Kurds in Iran. Their only 'guilt' is that they happen to be Kurds and good Iranian citizens. As good Kurds they were asking for improvements in the social, economic and health conditions of the regions inhabited by Kurds, and which constitute Kurdistan of Iran. In the cultural field they were asking for schools where Kurdish could be taught and officially used. As is well known Kurdish is among the oldest and most beautiful of the languages of the Iranian family of languages.

As good Iranian citizens they were grieved by the chaos and corruption of the administrative machine throughout Iran, by the bribery prevailing among high and minor officials, by the backward economic, cultural and health conditions of the people in general, and by the lack of individual and political freedom in the country, except for a tiny minority of favourites. None of this feeling constitutes a violation of any law. And we are confident that our arrested brothers were, and still are, filled with love for Kurdistan of Iran, and for Iran as a whole, and that they desire that Iran should both regain her past glory and march forward to progress.

We have learned that a **military tribunal has sentenced four of our comrades to death.** They are: Aziz Yusifi and Ghani Blorjan both writers from Mahabad, Rahmat Shariati a civil servant in Teheran, and Ismail Qassemlo from Redhaaia. And the same tribunal sentenced thirty other Kurds to terms varying from life imprisonment to ten years.

These men were all illegally arrested and likewise sentenced. Such disregard for law and for the rights of citizens of Iran does not conform with some of the pronouncements of your Majesty. On occasions you have expressed your wish to turn Iran into a modern progressive state, a united nation in which all nationalities live on a basis of equality and individuals dwell in peace and prosperity. Permit us then to emphasise to your Majesty the extensive damage that will be done to Iran as a result of the activities of some of the departments and officials of State who have high-handedly arrested and severely sentenced our people. And if these irresponsible authorities continue to be free to abuse the power of their office, or use it for personal ends, that will definitely lead Iran and the Institutions of Iran to a state of utter chaos. To forestall this, and before it is too late, we ask you to exercise your authority and prevent those circles from doing greater harm.

For the same reasons, and in the name of justice, we ask your Majesty to free the detained persons, the prisoners serving various terms, and above all to save those who are under the sentence of death. And on the general plane we hope that the just national demands of the Kurds in Iran; for better economic, social, health and cultural conditions, and for Kurdish schools for their children, will be met.

Fulfilling the above modest wishes will not only win the gratitude of the Kurdish people in Iran but also that of the entire Kurdish nation, which is divided between several states. It will at the same time strengthen the unity of Iran and the unity between its various nationalities.

But if the death sentences are carried out and the other people are kept in prison that will certainly estrange the Kurds in Iran from the government in Teheran, it will alienate Kurdish opinion outside Iran, and arouse a cry of condemnation from the enlightened public of the world.

Our society, representing students from all all parts of Kurdistan, be it from Iran, Turkey, Iraq, or Syria (U.A.R.), feel confident that in this communication it is reflecting the wishes of the entire Kurdish nation. The fate of the four men condemned to death is in your hands. We feel sure that if your Majesty reacts favourably to this petition you will be taking a step forward in helping Iran towards the progress and freedom which we wish for her.

Please accept our highest respects.

president, Kurdish Students Society in Europe.
Lausanne, 6.6.1960.

* * *

Iraq: Reality testifies

July 14th, 1958. On that historic day the army, with the full and active support of the people, under the leadership of Iraq's hero Abdul Karim Qassim, put an end to forty years of tyranny, of corrupt and opulent monarchy, of servile submission to a ruthless imperialism, of political economic, and social stagnation — except for what came naturally with the passing of the years — due to corruption, feudalism, police rule, and the consequent evils of a 'sick' body politic, and, it is hoped, to the mood of pessimism and the lack of vitality that had gripped the country.

Iraq has just celebrated the second anniversary of that day. Above we said it had put an end to so much. But what has it put in place of that destroyed? First there are factors, which though not tangible to the casual observer, are of supreme importance. The country is truly independent now, with its foreign policy based on the principals of positive

neutralism, the U.N. Charter, and the Bandung principles, rather than on the interests of alien powers. Internally there is a national government headed by the revered leader of the country Abdul Karim Qassim, whose only aim cannot possibly be any other than the furtherance of the interests of Iraq and its people. Then, being free and independent, there is a mood of optimism and hope prevailing in the country. This must be qualified by a certain lack of vitality consequent upon the incessant trouble, external and internal, created by the enemies of Iraq and their local allies. This, though unfortunate, is only a passing phase for with the consolidation of national power no force can cause despair in the people. To continue there is freedom in Iraq: of the press, of expression, of writing, of political and trade union association, and there is equality of all before the law. In fact the government itself can be criticized, and this is a healthy sign for if democracy is to take root no government should put itself above criticism.

Of course it would be dishonest flattery to say that all is perfect in Iraq. It is not. But where on earth, is it? The Republic is young, difficulties and unfortunate political distractions caused by some Iraqis with no sense of public responsibility, have diverted attention from public needs, and experience is still to be gained. There is still much to be done, and no doubt one can point out instances for which a better approach could have been found. But nevertheless the revolutionary change is so profound nothing can stop the tide of progress. In the West, so-called 'experts' on the Middle East often foreshadow doom for Iraq and Iraq's Abdul Karim Qassim. But they have been confounded; and the people of Iraq shall prove them wrong again.

The above consideration has been necessary because it is the duty of every Kurd, from whatever part of Kurdistan, to hold Iraq dear, and explain the truth about it. But what of the Kurds in Kurdistan of Iraq? Article 3 of the **Interim-Constitution** proclaims them partners in the Republic. They speak, read and write in Kurdish. There is a special Kurdish section in Broadcasting and Television services. They have papers of their own, for example *Khabet*, *Jin*, *Azadi*, and others in which they can express their opinions and voice their grievances. There are periodicals like *Hewa*, *Rojy Niji* and *Hetaw*. Needless to say that it is through such media, and through the freedom of expression, that a people can develop its culture, its language, and preserve its customs and traditions. Further the Kurds can freely declare their support for the struggle of their compatriots in other parts of Kurdistan, or protest to the responsible governments against atrocities perpetrated against them.

In fact, following the recent campaigns of arrests and savage sentences passed on Kurds, in Turkey and Iran and Syria, the Kurds in Iraq did voice their protest. And in fact the other sections of the population, the press in general, and many democratic organizations in the country joined this protestation. This is of vital importance for it means that the Kurds in Iraq enjoy the support and goodwill of the rest of the population except for a few extremists. And on the governmental level Prime Minister Abdul Karim Qassim has always taken personal interest in Kurdish problems. This rough outline is only indicative of the harmony that exists, due to the democratic policy of toleration and partnership that is pursued as the foundation of Iraqi national solidarity and progress. We hopefully expect that the Permanent Constitution will contain better guarantees for this happy development. In fact it must, for the Kurds, as partners, have an irrevocable right to that.

Some tell us all this sweet talk of Iraq, and bitter attacks on Turkey, Iran, and U.A.R. are unjustified propaganda. That we totally reject. But we are prepared for challenge. The facts speak for themselves, and we will be happy to meet our challengers to investigate them together. If we have reservations or complaints we voice

them freely, for we believe the government of Iraq welcomes sincerity. For example the 'Directorate of Kurdish Studies' that was set up last year has been, up to now, something of a dead letter. First this body lost its original name, we hope not intentionally changed, and now its implementation is casual at the most. As a consequence of this the use of the Kurdish language in schools in Kurdistan is still far from complete. Further, what has come of some of the resolutions of the congress of Kurdish teachers of September 1959 which were approved by the then Minister of Education? In addition there has been a notable disregard of the spirit of partnership in many official pronouncements, and in the writings and words of unofficial bodies and organisations. All this is unfortunate, and we humbly draw the attention of the government of Iraq to it. If the Kurds are partners, as we know they are, that must be in reality too not just in theory. But nothing will shake our confidence on the good intentions of the government of Iraq, in the leadership of the leader Abdul Karim Qassim, and in the brotherhood of Arabs and Kurds. Such questions that are outstanding can be solved, given goodwill, for the benefit of all Iraq.



H.E. Premier Qassim at the Newroz (Kurdish New Year) Celebrations. Behind him is a poster depicting the Ancient Kurdish Hero Kawa.

In sharp contrast to our relations with the authorities of Turkey and Iran, our communication, printed below, is indicative of the good intentions of the government of the Republic of Iraq towards the Kurds, and of our devotion to the duty of serving that Republic, the Republic of Arabs and Kurds.

To the Leader and Founder of the Republic of Iraq,
Abdul Karim Qassim,

Your Excellency,

Our Society is proud to have received a reply letter on the occasion of your recovery from the criminal attempt on your Excellency's life. Then, your kind oral greetings were conveyed to us and that profoundly exhilarated every one of us. In fact we are always proud of the kindness and patronage that your Excellency shows towards our society, and towards students in general. We are, in our humble way, grateful for the just and rightful stand that your Excellency takes towards the Kurdish nation and its problems. Our nation is a true sister of the great Arab nation. The Kurdish people, whose rights are usurped in Iran, Turkey, and the United Arab Republic, are happy in Iraq — the Iraq of Arabs and Kurds, the Iraq of Arab-Kurd brotherhood, the Iraq of the glorious revolution — may God protect it under your Excellency's effective and popular leadership.

At the very hour when your Excellency led the blessed Revolution, and hence freed the courageous people of Iraq — its Arabs and Kurds — from imperialism, feudalism and tyranny, our Society, with all its branches, surged for its defence from the conspiracies of imperialist and allied sources. We defend the Revolution and shall continue to do so

with all our power be it on the student or international plane, in memoranda, books, publications, circulars, speeches, festive occasions, or in our magazine *KURDISTAN*. Many a time have we cited the policy of the Republic of Iraq, under your leadership, in our memoranda to the United Nations as 'the' democratic method for the peaceful resolution of the Kurdish question. And many a time have we invited the governments of Turkey, Iran, and the U.A.R. to look at Iraq and its Revolution and thus settle the Kurdish national question in the same brotherly fashion. But will tyrants heed the lesson of history?

The scope of our activities is continuously growing and we have branches in most of the countries of west and socialist Europe. Even this is partly due to the practical policy of Iraq, for the majority of our members are from Kurdistan of Iraq, though our society does represent all Kurdish students in Europe. But your Excellency can rest assured that all of them, be they from Kurdistan of Iraq, or that of Iran or Turkey or Syria, have the same warm affection for Iraq.

What the hero of Islam and the East, Salahadin Al-Ayuby (a Kurd), did is a debt, preserved for centuries, which the Arab nation owes the Kurds. How happy we and our people are that the hero Abdul Karim Qassim is discharging it.

Long live as the hero of Arabs and Kurds, as the liquidator of imperialism and reaction, as the benevolent leader of the Republic of Iraq and its people.

With Respects,
for the Executive Committee of the K.S.S.E.,
the President. 25.3.1960.

On Kurdish Literature

This is a very condensed summary of the central theme of the famous Kurdish tale '**Khaj and Siyamend**', translated, with some variations, from **Professor Stig Wikander's** '*Recueil de Textes Kourmandji*' by Omar Dizayi.

KHAJ AND SIYAMEND

The story of *Khaj and Siyamend* is one of the most famous old fairy-tales in Kurdish Literature, and is known by all the Kurds. Like many other authors of Kurdish 'Romances' its author is unknown. He wrote it in two styles: in prose and in narrative poetry. Briefly this is its theme.

Khaj and Siyamend were two lovers; but Khaj's family, far from blessing this romance

forced her to consent to marry another man whom she did not want. But on the Wedding day, Siyamend carried her off from her fiancé and her seven old-fashioned brothers. He took her to the high sipan mountains where nobody could find them and disturb the amorous atmosphere of their hide-out.

Indeed the lofty mount sipan was friendly and sheltered them kindly. For a time they lived in its serenity, happy and gay. One day, under the cool shadows of the mountain side, Siyamend was asleep in the tender arms of his lovable Khaj. While her arms were holding her dearest, her beautiful black eyes fell upon a far away herd of stags coming towards a nearby brook. As the herd

came closer she saw that it was composed of seven stags, a young powerful stag and a Hind. The young stag was continuously forcing the seven away from the Hind, yet they were attempting to approach her again and again. But with no avail; as the young one kept them evictively away, and the Hind tranquilly grazed by its side. Seeing this scene tender Khaj could only remember one thing: the day her Siyamend abducted her from her seven brothers. Being sensitive she wept and her warm tears fell upon the sleeping Siyamend's face. Waking up he looked at her and enquired: "O, light of my eyes, my dearest Khaj, why art thou weeping? Till now thou wert joyful and happy. Why feelest thou sad now and what changes thee thus? Tell me what be the matter?" Khaj refused to tell, but as he persisted she gave in and said: "O, my Siyamend, a while ago a herd of stags came to yonder brook. There was a Hind, a young stag, and seven other stags, the one and the seven were in continuous struggle over the Hind. Thus I remember that day on which you abducted me. The thought came to me; what will be mine end if my love were killed? And for that I wept."

Proud Siyamend could not bear seeing his Khaj so unduly disturbed. He grabbed his arch and went to kill the stag that had caused Khaj's tears to flow. But she begged him and cried — "no, do not do that". He, not hearing her pleas, went undeterred to the brook where the animals were drinking. The young stag was beside the Hind and, unaware of the intruder, received a fatal wound. It circled around and then fell to the ground. Siyamend hurried to it and like a proud hunter held up its horns. But, though in its last breath, the stag was not dead and with a shake of its powerful neck it

tossed Siyamend away. Away and down the deadly depths of the foggy valley below. The fall was fatal for Siyamend fell upon a dry sharp branch which like a dagger mercilessly pierced his body, but leaving him yet alive.

Khaj patiently awaited her love's return. Gradually she grew restless and then proceeded to the brook. There she saw the dead stag, but no Siyamend. Through the silence an anguished voice came to her ear from the depth of the valley. She went up to the edge and looked down. And there she saw what she had feared: Siyamend, her precious love, lying helpless far below.

Here the tale becomes a passionate dialogue between the two. Khaj poetically mourning her lost love from above, and Siyamend muttering his last words to the 'light of his eyes'. At last Khaj calls out to him:

Siyamend, hold out your arms and abide

Here comes Khaj to you, dearest, as thy bride. Then she throws herself down to where her love lies. Thus, refusing to part, they die together.

Legend has it that every springtime red tulips grow on the spot where the two met their fate and two doves fly over symbolising the sweet tragedy of two innocent hearts. The village folk further relate that two bright stars above Mount Sipan always shine to throw light upon the tombs of the two lovers.

(Needless to say translation, and a brief summary at that, never does justice to a work of art. Translating Shakespeare or the Arabian Nights can never convey the beauty and richness of the works. This tragedy of Khaj and Siyamend is truly a classic of the Kurdish language.)

The Branches

Over the past few years our Society has grown steadily. The scope of activities has been widened, membership has increased many fold and new branches have been formed. At the moment of writing the Society has duly constituted Branches in the following countries: The United Kingdom, Switzerland, Austria, the Federal German Republic, The German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Besides this we have members in Roumania, Italy, France, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, though their numbers are not yet large enough to warrant the formation of an official branch.

Whereas the success of the Society depends on the co-operation and effort of its members, and on its being able to include the largest possible number

of Kurdish students in Europe, this wide coverage is conclusive proof of the fact that all Kurdish students are united in joining it as a step to restoring their people's usurped rights. And whereas the activities of the Branches are a vital part of the general effort of the Society, in this issue we put the **spotlight on our Branch in the Federal German Republic** for having been the most active branch over the past year. This is not to belittle the efforts of our members in the other Branches, but on the contrary it is to spur them on to more intensive efforts. And for the less active Branches this can be an example to follow.

The following report was supplied to 'Kurdistan' by the Branch Secretary Mr. Fadhil Ganja Ali. In it he enumerates some of the more important

activities and gives a general picture of the life of the Branch over a period of time.

“1. A most impressive and successful celebration of Nawroz was staged in Munich last March. Among the many attractions was an **Exhibition of Kurdish Handicrafts** which very much impressed the guests. And on this occasion the Munich Branch of the Iraqi Students Society in Federal Germany and Berlin made available to us financial assistance as and if we require it. We sent them a written expression of our gratitude and solidarity.

2. Two delegations interviewed Dr. Kamuran Bedir-Khan, and Dr. Omer Dezi, separately. The result of each was a valuable exchange of ideas.

3. A general Branch meeting was held on 22nd March 1960, and the proceedings were sent to the few members who were not present and to the local and home press.

4. The Branch Library is completely re-organised and put in the care of Dara Yawar.

5. Funds were collected and sent to Berlin to meet the cost of printing of the German language edition of the Society's magazine '*Kurdistan*'. It was duly published and distributed.

6. Some non-Kurds were accepted as associate members.

7. True to article one of our constitution, which provides for mutual help, assistance was given to those of our members who were in financial difficulties.

8. Kurdish students newly arriving from home were met and assisted regarding the academic, social and other aspects of their life. Further they were given adequate information regarding the Society.

9. To establish a more direct link with the homeland and its neighbours, a committee is set up to study the possibility of publishing a periodical in Munich, called '*Voice of Kurdistan*', to be written in Kurdish, Arabic, Persian (Farsi) and Turkish.

10. Adding our voice to that of the other Branches, and to that of the executive committee, a protest telegram was sent to the Turkish government, last February, against the arbitrary arrest and imprisonment of innocent Kurds.

11. An official delegation of ours attended a social function of the Greek Students Society in Munich, upon their invitation. The benefit of such contacts is quite obvious.

12. Our delegation successfully participated in the W.U.S. 'summer night' in Munich. The occasion was invaluable for communicating our case to the participating delegations from all continents.

13. A fund, to which all members contribute, is established to assist one of our comrades from Kurdistan of Turkey.

14. Various efforts to establish and maintain cordial relations with German organisations (hence the German People) are being met with success. These are a few examples of press interest in our problem. The *Suddeutsche* published a fine article on the Kurds (deriving it from our Society's Memorandum to the Turkish government), and so did the *Stuttgarter*. Further in the near future the paper *Acht Uhr*, in consultation with us, is to publish an article entitled *The life of the Members of the Kurdish Students Society in Europe, in Munich*.

15. On June 15th 1960, our Branch, in association with W.U.S. and other students organisations, organised a 'Kurdish Evening', in which entertainment and formal discussion of national questions were effectively mixed.

16. On June 7th 1960 an urgent letter was dispatched to the Shah of Iran protesting against the intention of his government to carry out the death sentences passed on four Kurds in Iran. The Shah was petitioned to commute the sentences. This was of course done by every Branch, supplementing the intensive efforts of the Executive Committee to bring the cases to the attention of the world.

Members are always kept informed of all activities so that, in the fulfilment of its mandate the Branch Committee is never isolated from their will, or deprived of their effective co-operation.”

* * *

Here is a list of the names and addresses of the Branch secretaries, and members of the Executive Committee, so that people and our friends in the various countries of Europe will know whom to communicate with. For there have been cases of uncertainty in which our friends have found difficulty in contacting us.

Communications with **Branches** should be with the following secretaries:

1. **Austria:** RAUF AHMED FATAH
Perinet Gasse 1/5
Wien 20
Austria

2. **Federal Germany:** FADHIL GANJA ALI
Marburg/L
Postlagernd
Germany (DBR)
3. **Switzerland:** HASSAN SULAIMAN
Poste Restante,
Geneve
Switzerland
4. **German Democratic Republic:** AZIZ AHMED AMIN
Berlin-Prenzlauer Berg
Kollwitzstr. 76
Germany (DDR)
5. **Czechoslovakia:** RAMZI KHALEEL SHABAN
D.Z.S. 3187
Stara Boleslav
Czechoslovakia (CSR)
6. **The U.S.S.R.:** K. N. QEFTAN
D 315, bin SA TNNCKNN
Nep 6/2/
Moscow, USSR
7. **United Kingdom:** TAHSIN MOHAMMAD AMIN
16 Taswell Road,
Southsea, Hants,
England

* * *

Communications with the Executive Committee should be addressed to:

Kamal Fuad
(General Secretary)
Johann-Sigismund Str. 2
Helensee, b/Kaminski
Berlin
Germany

Further, communications can be with other members of the Executive committee:

Ismet Cheriff
(President)
10 Ave. Dickens
Lausanne
Switzerland

Woria Ramanduzy
(Vice President)
Gonzaga G. 3/5
Wien 1
Austria

Saadi Amin
(Treasurer)
16 Taswell Rd.
Southsea
Hants, England

Tahsin Mohammad Amin
(Editor of 'Kurdistan')

See Page 2.

Constitution of the K.S.S.E.

Following are the 'Basic Aims' of the K.S.S.E. embodied in its constitution, as amended in the Fourth Congress in Vienna:

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

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

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

its national question.

(4) Enlighten the world on the culture, country and condition of the Kurdish people and its national question.

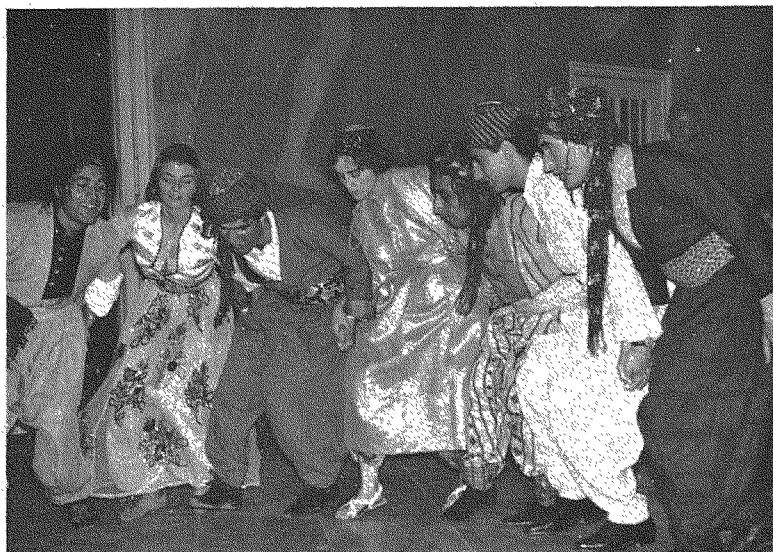
(5) Strengthen the spirit of co-operation and friendship between the Kurdish students and the students of other countries, and contact student and non-student organisations, both national and international, and co-operate with them within the scope of our mutual aims and interests.

NEWROZ IN MUNICH:

From the Album of our branch in Federal Germany



'Shekhani' Dance



'Sueskayee Dance'

NEWROZ IN MUNICH :

From the Album of our branch in Federal Germany



Folk Singing



Handicraft Exhibition

Press Page

The purpose of this section is, as will be guessed anyhow, to give the reader an idea of what the press of various countries says about the Kurds, their country, or their problems.

Extracts from an article by **Hans-Wilfrid von Stockhausen** in the monthly Journal *Politische Studien*, No. 117, January 1960 — published by the College of Political Science, Munich.

“Oil and Mohammad, Kurdish Problems

... The restive tribes of ‘wild Kurdistan’ were in continuous struggle against the beastly suppression of their regional rights by the Ottoman Empire . . . According to the treaty of Sevres of 1920, Turkey was to renounce her claim to territory along the Syrian and Mesopotamian border, and along the northern border of Turkey, in favour of an autonomous Kurdish government. Kurds do not live in Iraq only. But there are 9 to 11 million Kurds: of these about five million live in Eastern Turkey, 3 to 4 million in West Iran, 100,000 in Soviet Azerbaijan, and a large number live in northern Syria . . . When Britain, by resolution of the League of Nations, acquired a 25 year mandate over Iraq, she found that the autonomy she had promised (the Kurds) under different circumstances, was now an unpleasant burden . . . the Kurds suffered under the Hashemite governments in Iraq. On the other hand Mustafa Kemal savagely dealt with them. Countless villages and tribes were destroyed and uprooted by Ataturk and his successors Inono and Menderes. Even today in Akara they deny the existence of a Kurdish problem, which is a fact before their eyes. They call them ‘mountain Turks’ so that they can disregard law and the rights and promises that were first made to the Kurds. The Kurds in Iran are not better off at all. If a Kurdish tribe asks for the simplest of rights or claims the right to preserve its own customs and traditions, the government of Teheran will uproot it and transfer the population to the Farsi districts of North East Iran. The Soviets in fact claim that the ‘Cento’ pact contains a secret clause specifically directed against the Kurds . . . Quassim did his best to fulfil for the Kurds what is contained in Article Three of the Interim-Constitution of Iraq.”

* * *

“In many of the cities in Kurdistan of Turkey, like Moosh, Slevan, Orfa, and Arzanjan, Kurdish children are not allowed to go on to intermediate school . . . In nothing are the Kurds allowed to have an opinion or the right of opposition. They

are imprisoned without trial, and even killed without trial . . . But in spite of all, the Kurdish nation, in its search for liberty and freedom, has never lost hope and never shall.”

By a Kurd in Bulgaria, writing in the paper *Halk Gencligi*, No. 46, December 13th 1959.

“Lately Turkish police have made a wide number of arrests among Kurds in the Turkish capital. About 80 people have been arrested, and it is said these are accused of having had relations with Kurds in Iraq . . . But the Turkish press only reports that some individuals have been detained because they work with foreign elements (not with a foreign country) and have political meetings which are against national interests.”

**A.F.P. (French News Agency),
21st December 1959.**

By way of comment on the above Agency report:

“By orders of the government, the Turkish press was to keep the matter silent . . . the detained persons are nationalist Kurds . . . they work in an organisation spread all over Kurdistan of Turkey, and its aim is to get ‘cultural rights’ for Kurds, for according to a Turkish law passed in 1932 Kurds are forbidden to write in their language . . . this law is still operative . . . the caution of the Turkish authorities is not exaggerated if we think of the fact that the population of the region goes up to 2.5 million or 10% of the total population (of Turkey) according to official estimates; but up to 6 million according to Kurdish national sources.”

Le Monde, 26th December 1959.

The French periodical **Orient** in its issue No. 13, Spring 1960, had extracts from the two memoranda of our society to the U.N. Human Rights Commission concerning the conditions of the Kurd in Turkey and Iran. And also, in its documents section, had the programmes of the Iraqi political parties, among them the Democratic party of Kurdistan of Iraq.

In its issue No. 12, Autumn 1959, the periodical has an article about our society. Here are some extracts.

(See overleaf)

“The Kurdish Congress of Vienna”

“The Kurdish Students’ Society in Europe held its fourth Congress in Vienna from 23rd to 26th of last July (then there is a history of the origins of the society in 1956, and its development). It is not bound to any party, different tendencies co-exist in it . . . It is activated by a dynamic committee . . . it carries out an active propaganda by (various) means . . . the positions which it adopted constituted a particularly clear indication of the state of mind of the young Kurdish intellectuals on the problems of the present and of the future . . . they exercise also an influence, not negligible, in Kurdistan itself . . . the motions noted by the Congress in Vienna are of great interest, because they show clearly the extent and limits of the Kurdish nationalist claims . . . the young intellectuals of Kurdistan intend to obtain, in return for their moderation, quite other things than just promises.”



This photo depicts Qazi Mohammed, President, and Mustafa Barzani, C-in-C of the Armed Forces of the Kurdish Republic of 1945-46.

The President was hanged by the Iranian Authorities, and Barzani is at present Leader of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan, in Iraq.



The late Hero of Kurds, Sheikh Mahmoud, Head of the Kurdish Government (1919-20)

Miscellaneous

The Society's telegram to the 'Summit Conference' last May (which broke up due to the U-2 spying incident).

The Conference of Heads of Government,
Paris.
Excellencies,

We respectfully remind you that the Kurdish people too have the right to unification and liberty.
K.S.S.E.

* * *

Dr. Kamuran Bedir-Khan's telegram to the Shah of Iran regarding the death sentence passed by a military tribunal on four Kurds.
His Majesty the Shah of Iran,
Teheran.

I permit myself the liberty of asking your Majesty to reprieve the death sentences passed by a military tribunal on four Kurdish youths; Aziz Yusefi — Ghani Blurian — Rahmat Sharifi — Ismail Qassemlu. The hanging of Qazy Mohammad and his associates was a great mistake. But your majesty by reprieving these four death sentences will prevent the authorities from committing an even greater mistake which will have incalculable repercussions.

Emir Kamuran Bedir-Khan.

* * *

We have received a present of two valuable books from Mustafa Salim Peshdari — a student at the Medical College, Baghdad. We have received greetings from many well wishing friends. And further our liaison committee in Iraq sent us a box of wonderful articles which included national costumes and many handicrafts which were displayed at the exhibition, organised by our Branch in Federal Germany last March in Munich. Here we like to express our gratitude to all and say it is wonderful to know that your people at home stand by you.

* * *

Upon the invitation of the 'Students Council of the U.S.S.R.', our President, Ismet Cheriff, participated in 'the International Summer School' at Korm on the Black Sea, as the official delegate of our Society. 107 delegates attended, representing 42 countries and 6 international organisations. It covered the period 1st to 12th July 1960.

(Details of this will appear in the next issue of KURDISTAN.)

During a reception of the Iraqi Students Union in Austria, in his honour, Mr. Kamel Chaderchi, leader of the 'National Democratic Party' in Iraq, was asked by a Kurdish student: what is the position of the National Democratic Party regarding the 'Kurdish Question'?

In answer Mr. Chaderchi said: 'We completely support the Kurdish people in obtaining their national rights. And if the other parts of the Kurd's homeland are liberated we shall not stand in the way of its unification. But rather we shall assist them in forming a Kurdish state'. Here an Arab student interjected: Does your excellency mean that we shall cut off a part of Iraq and give it to the Kurds? Mr. Chaderchi answered: 'This is their country'. (This is indeed the solid understanding through which Arab-Kurd brotherhood can be maintained and forever cemented. Ed.).

* * *

The Executive Committee received a letter from the Dutch journalist Van Rooy in which he expresses his support for the just cause of the Kurdish Nation, and his resolve to do everything to bring out its reality and acquaint the European public with that cause. This letter followed an interview Mr. Van Rooy had with our Vice-President. In it he proposes to our Society to help create a 'Kurdistan International Organisation' (International Ge Sellschaft Kurdistan) to serve Kurdish interests.

(We have informed Mr. Van Rooy that his proposal shall be studied at the coming congress in Berlin. Needless to say we are grateful for his interest).

* * *

The Amsterdam weekly Het Vilze Volk, in its issue of 16th June 1960, published an article under the Heading: 'The Long and Bitter Struggle of the Kurds for their Liberty'. In it there is an explanation of past efforts of the Kurdish people, and their present conditions — good in Iraq, bad in Iran, Turkey and Syria. And there are also references to some of our Society's activities.

* * *

Letters to the Editor

These letters were received following the Issue of last November:

The Editor of *Kurdistan*.

Dear Sir,

I should be glad if you would supply regularly two copies of your publication on *Kurdistan*, beginning with the January (1960) issue.

Thanking you in advance,

**Yours faithfully,
Yusuf s. Mardin Press Attache,
Turkish Embassy, London, S.W.1.
February 9th 1960**

* * *

The Editor of *Kurdistan*.

Dear Sir,

I am interested in obtaining a one year subscription to your magazine KURDISTAN beginning with the current issue. Please forward the magazine and your invoice to me at the above address.

**Sincerely,
A. Charles Moss,
American Embassy,
London, W.1.
July 12th 1960**

* * *

The Editor of *Kurdistan*,

Dear friend,

We would like to receive your magazine regularly. Every week we forward to you copies of our weekly paper and hope you will give some to your friends. We await the receipt of your magazine.

**Sincerely,
Dr. Abdul Rahman Mufti Zada,
The Newspaper 'Kurdistan',
Teheran, Iran.
6.12.1959.**

* * *

The Editor of *Kurdistan*,

Dear Sir,

I was very surprised to read in the article 'Focus on Kurdistan', which appeared in the issue of *Kurdistan* dated November 1959, of the allega-

tions of anti-Kurdish activities in Iran. Such a hostile attitude on the part of the Iranian authorities as described in the article has never been and can never be. Kurds in Iran are treated in every respect as all other members of the Iranian community, and this is for the simple reason that they are purely Iranian and are never regarded in any other way in the eyes and hearts of the rest of the Iranian people. Never at any time in history has Kurdistan been separated from Iran and it is therefore meaningless to speak of any part of Kurdistan having been 'forcibly annexed to Iran'.

Such distorted information can have its source only in the propaganda of the enemies of the country, which aims at harming and antagonising the minds of the people. Indeed it is necessary only to contact some of the Kurds themselves in various parts of Iran to discover the true fact, which is that there is not the least discrimination between a Kurdish and any other member of the community in Iran. Every way is open for the Kurds in Iran; many become generals, all can attain the highest positions in public life; there is a special Kurdish radio installation; His Imperial Majesty The Shahanshah devotes personal attention to the development and progress of Kurdistan, willingly receiving the Kurdish leaders and providing for many Kurdish students to continue their studies in Europe. All these things demonstrate how, far from there being any discriminating against Kurds in Iran, they enjoy the full consideration of His Majesty and the Iranian Government.

Kurdistan is rapidly improving in all walks of life; in agriculture and in many other aspects progress is being made. It is, therefore, particularly unfair for Kurds outside Iran to express themselves in opposition to the Iranian authorities, when their brothers in Iran are welcomed there and are attaining a state of prosperity and well-being. It would seem more natural to appreciate and approve of such a state of affairs.

I should be very pleased personally to meet any Kurds over here, and should welcome a talk with them on further aspects of Kurdish life in our country.

**Yours faithfully,
A. Esfendiary.
for Iranian Ambassador,
Iranian Embassy,
London, W.8.
10.2.60.**

(We thank you, Mr. Esfendiary, for your challenging letter. In our magazine all opinions can be expressed. Let us, then, answer the points made one by one.

(i) Kurds are considered purely Iranian and treated equally with other members of the Iranian community: But Sir, do not forget that a fundamental right of a people is their right to a nationality. Quite often the Iranian authorities have misused the fact that the Kurds are Aryan like the Farsi people and that their language belongs to the same family of Iranian languages (or Indo-European, or Indo-Iranian languages, according to the name you choose). Having common origin does not make two people the same. The Germans, for example, are Aryan but that does not make them Iranian. Some languages in Afganistan, Pakistan, India, and even Europe have a common origin with the Iranian group, does that make those people Iranian? Can the Spanish, French, and Italian people be one because they have had some common roots? There are similarities between the languages and characteristics of many peoples, take the Slavs, that does not make them one. The Kurds are a nationality and constitute a nation with their brothers out-side Iran, and this basic fact your government denies. Thus talk of equality is quite meaningless. The Kurds in Iran are proud to be kins of the Farsi people, they are happy to be citizens of Iran, and they are conscious of their links with you; in fact we like all humanity to think of their common origin. But as things are today the Kurds object to your efforts to distort their ethnic origins, their national identity, and the autonomous development of their rich language.

(ii) That Kurdistan has never been separated from Iran: All of Kurdistan has never been part of Iran. Part of it indeed has been. But unreal ancient historic situations are no justification for refusing to recognise a fact. History is full of injustices which are only now being rectified. Human society is progressing and you must agree that the map, the state, and the whole set up of the world, is continuously changing. But yesterday the whole world belonged to colonial Empires, can anybody stop the process of their break-up? No. For people are conscious now and rights cannot be usurped for ever. The Arab lands were part of the Turkish Empire up to the peace settlement of 1919. Could Turkey have insisted on retaining them? Your own Iranian Empire extended far beyond the present frontiers of Iran, and yet you have irrevocably accepted the change. All this is in the march of history and the gradual progress of man towards complete equality for all people. But let us empha-

size that what the Kurd wants is to be free and equal partners in building a happy Iran.

(iii) We reject in the strongest possible terms your accusation that our information has "its source in the propaganda of the enemies of Iran". We believe, as the majority of Iranians (of all nationalities) do, that very much is wrong in Iran. There is bad government, corruption, bribery, Army rule and police terror, squandering of public funds, lack of adequate education, health, social and other services, lack of freedom; of the press, of speech, of assembly etc., and a total disregard for the honour and dignity and independence of the great people of Iran. In fact there is almost nothing that your government does for Iran. All this is wrong, and in our opinion any Iranian who does not openly say it and oppose it (but rather say all is well) is an enemy of the people of Iran.

(iv) Kurds "become generals" and the Shah receives their leaders: What the Kurds need is Kurdish schools, Kurdish papers and magazines (there is a paper in Teheran, called Kurdistan but its primary task is to praise the Shah), a better life, better health, better food, political rights, freedom, and a genuine respect for and recognition of their nationality. As to meeting the Shah, we do not see any value in that.

As to the advances in Kurdistan, that is simply contrary to the fact, for all of Iran is in dire poverty and most of it about at least two centuries behind the atom age. We have seen Kurdistan of Iran and the only thing that one finds in plenty is soldiers and guns. In fact there is news that a tribe is being up-rooted so that your ally the U.S. can build a missile site (we hope this is not true).

(v) You express your wish to see us;

We are always ready, and will be very pleased to meet you or your friends. We are grateful for your suggestion. But the point is this: on a former occasion we met Mr. Qawam, the Minister at your Embassy, and all he would say, and in an insulting manner, was that there is no such thing as a Kurdish language or nationality. Such talk can serve no purpose. But for genuine discussion we are at your disposal.

We apologize for this long answer, but the magazines' columns are open to you if you care to explain your view point. Ed.)

* * *

Review Article

LA QUESTION KURDE
by DR. KAMURAN BEDIR-KHAN
(Paris: Imprimerie Vogue, 1959 — 16 Pages.)
by HASSAN SULAIMAN

*"A thousand friends, is few
one enemy, is too many"*

(Kurdish proverb)

It is significant that the pamphlet begins with this proverb. The usurper governments are not content with dominating Kurdistan and persecuting the Kurdish people, but they have done all they can, through a deliberately false propaganda, to impair the reputation of this peace-loving people, and to distort the true reality of its national cause so as to deprive it of the sympathy of world public opinion. Hence it is extremely necessary to enlighten world opinion on the Kurdish national question. This pamphlet constitutes a successful effort in this field.

In brief and clear terms, the writer explains the significance of the Kurdish 'question' and its implications; he rectifies the distorted idea, which

is spread in many European countries, regarding the Kurds, and he gives an account of the history of the Kurdish people, the geographic situation of Kurdistan and its economic resources. Further he reviews the various movements, in the different parts of Kurdistan, which the Kurds found to be the only means of claiming their liberty.

About two pages of the pamphlet are devoted to the glorious Iraqi Revolution of July 14th, 1958, which, under the leadership of the people's Qassim, liberated Iraq from Imperialism and the reactionary puppet regime, and established a democratic Republic in which Kurds in the Kurdistan of Iraq enjoy liberty and national rights. The writer rightly salutes this historic event. He stresses the reality of Arab-Kurd brotherhood and the fact that the unity of Iraq is as dear to the Kurds as it is to the Arabs.

Despite the small size of the pamphlet, nevertheless to the credit of the writer, it is highly informative for the European reader. With it Dr. Bedir-Khan adds another to the long list of services he has rendered to the cause of his people to which he has devoted all his life.

The Fifth Congress

Very soon our Society will hold its fifth annual congress in Berlin. This is the one occasion on which the past year is reviewed, new elections are held, and policy for the coming year is formulated. It is further an occasion when Kurds from all parts of Kurdistan meet to discuss the problems of their homeland. Thus every member of our Society is urged to do his utmost to attend this great occasion, during which he can join his brothers in struggling for his people, serving his Society, and serving world democracy and peace in general, for the rightful adjustment of any bad situation anywhere in the world, and the freedom of any people in the world cannot but contribute to an atmosphere of peace.

Here is the notice of the Executive Committee, put out earlier, regarding the congress:

Dear brother Members,
Honourable friends,

The Kurdish Students Society in Europe is pleased to announce the convening of its Fifth annual Congress in **West Berlin** from **22nd to 25th August 1960**.

The members of the Society, who come from all parts of Kurdistan, are asked to attend and contribute to its success. In the success of the congress we have a victory for our Society, and a further step forward in the fulfilment of its high

aims. And it is an invaluable opportunity for meeting other Kurds and exchanging ideas regarding the functions of the Society and regarding the just struggle of the Kurdish nation for its rights, its happiness and the self-determination of its destiny.

It gives us extra pleasure to have been able at the same time to organise a 'conference on Kurdish studies', which will be attended by professors and language specialists, to discuss the difficulties in the way of the unification of the Kurdish language and its form of writing.

We invite all to attend the congress, and invite all friendly organisations to participate by sending official delegates or representatives.

Forward in the service of our Society's high aims and in the service of our dear Kurdish nation.

The Executive Committee of
The Kurdish Students Society in Europe
July 1st, 1960

Place of Congress:

Berlin-Schlachtensee,
Potsdamer Chaussee 31-34,
Studentendorf,
Germany (DBR.)

N.B. The opening session will be at 4 p.m., Monday 22nd August, 1960, at the following place:

Berlin Casino Am Funkturm (Presseraum).

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LIBANON 'Rojî Nu, -Stêr'—ceased publication.

SYRIA 'Hawar, Ronahi'—ceased publication.

TURKEY Kurdish Publications are forbidden.

U.S.S.R. Rêya Taze, Kovara Qefqasê.

KOMELEY XWÊNDIKARANÎ KURD LE EWROPA

KURDISTAN



Kurdish Students' Society in Europe

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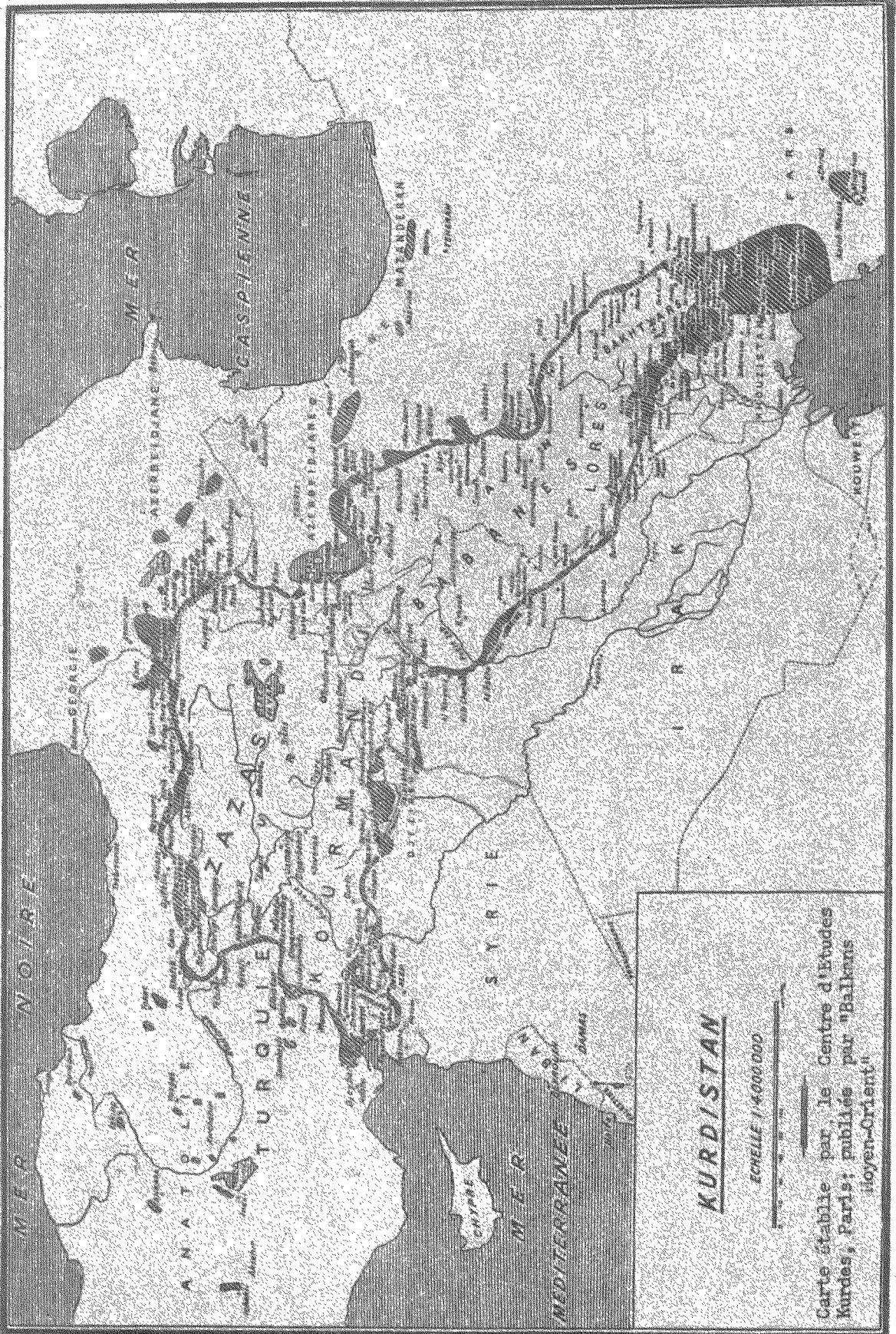
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KOMELEY XWENDIKARANÎ KURD LE EWROPA



KURDISTAN
 Echelle 1:4.000.000
 Carte stable par le Centre d'Etudes
 Kurdes, Paris; publiés par "Balkans
 Moyen-Orient"

Editorial

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Fifth Congress

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I would like to make four points quite clear:



Some delegates at the Fifth Congress

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

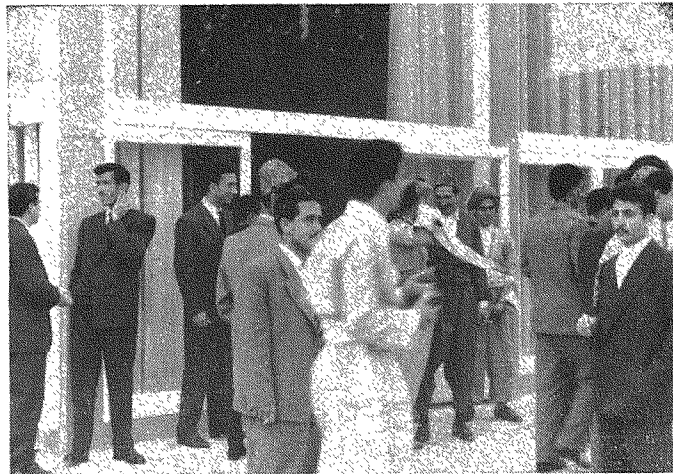
For instance, the Kurdish language must be considered as an official language in all governmental offices in Iraq, exactly as Arabic. On the other hand the Iraqi foreign policy must undertake officially the defence of the Kurdish people and the Kurdish national question outside Iraq, in the same way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

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

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

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

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



Delegates during a break

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

" . . . Dear Colleagues!

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



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

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

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

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

Ladies and Gentlemen — thank you for your attention!"

* * * *

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

As a result the following were elected:

The Executive Committee:

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

Vice-President and Treasurer:

Wurya Rawanduzi — Austria.

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

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

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

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

Member: **Kaus Keftan** — U.S.S.R.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Resolutions of the 5th Congress

Following are some of the resolutions passed by the Congress:

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

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

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

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

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

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

* * * *

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

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

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

* * * *

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

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

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

* * * *

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

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

Constitutions of the K.S.S.E.

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

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

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

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

(4) Enlighten the world on the culture, country and condition of the Kurdish people and its national question.

(5) Strengthen the spirit of co-operation and friendship between the Kurdish students and the students of other countries, and contact student and

non-student organizations, both national and international, and co-operate with them within the scope of our mutual aims and interests.

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

Communications with the Executive Committee should be addressed to :

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

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

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

Correspondence with the Editor should be addressed to

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

CONFERENCE OF KURDOLOGICAL STUDIES

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

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

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

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

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

Telegrams to Turkey and Iran

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

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

Your Excellency,

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

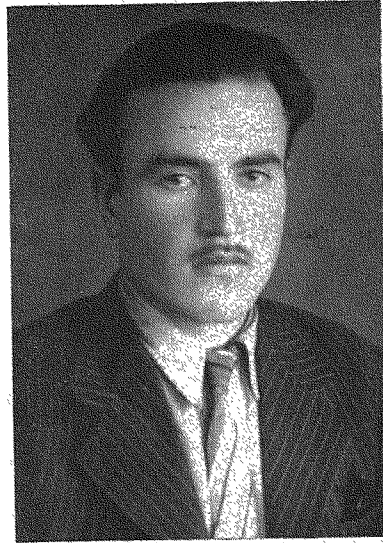
(2) **His Majesty Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlevi, Teheran, Iran.**

Your Majesty,

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



Aziz Yousifi—death sentence



Gheni Blurian—death sentence

6th Congress of the International Union of Students

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WILL BE HELD IN

Amsterdam, Holland at the end of August, 1961

DETAILS LATER

ADNAN KHUDADAD

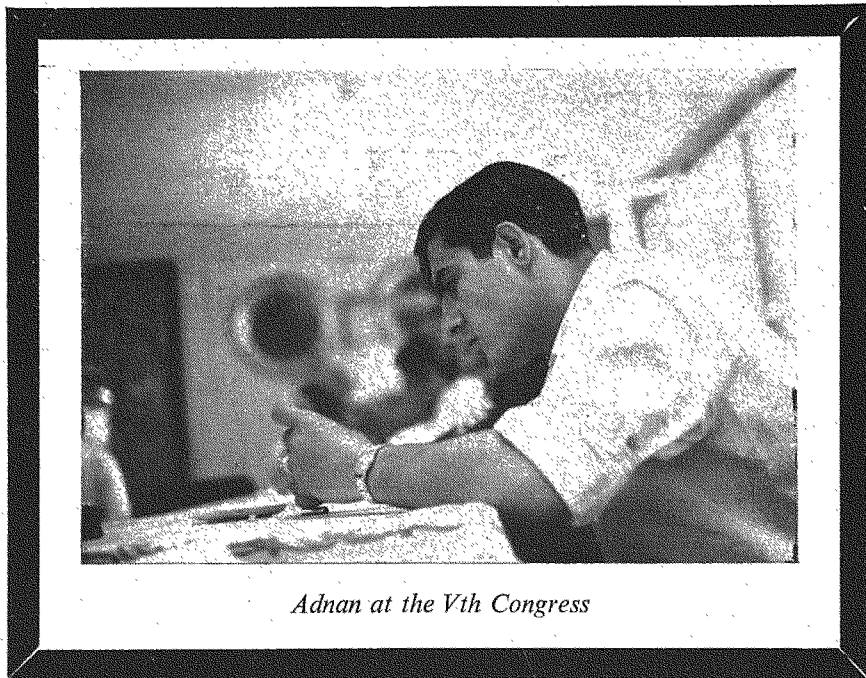
The death of Adnan came as a great shock to the members of our Society. Adnan was killed in a car accident on his way back to Munich on 30th August 1960, after attending the Fifth Congress. Three members of the newly elected Executive Committee were immediately sent to Munich to arrange the funeral.

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

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

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

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



Adnan at the Vth Congress

To My Son

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

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

Adnan Khudadad, Munich 20/6/60.

Declaration of the K.S.S.E.

To all Kurdish Students and Patriots

Dear Fellow Students of Kurdistan!

Dear Kurdish Patriots!

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

Dear Kurdish Students and all Kurdish Patriots!

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

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

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



To those who sacrifice their lives for Kurdistan—Baxtiyar

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

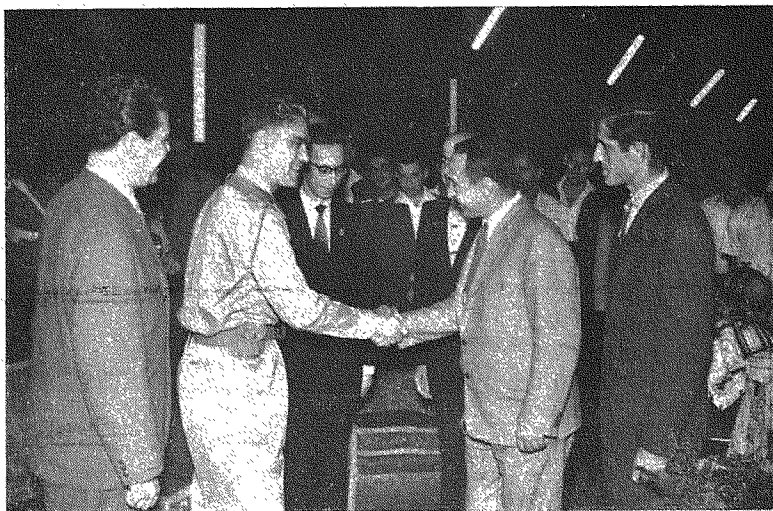
Arab country, an Arab nation, and that the Confederation had very friendly feeling towards Kurds and Kurdish students, but that Kurds in Iraq are a minority, having their own language and comparable to the Berbers in North Africa, in Algeria for example, where the existence of an important Berber population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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* * * *

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The day that Fuad and Genj Ali left Kurdistan



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

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

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



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

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

by ISMET CHERIFF-VANLY, Switzerland

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* * * *

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* * * *

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Copy of the Telegram which was sent to Ankara on 2.1.1961

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

Your Excellency,

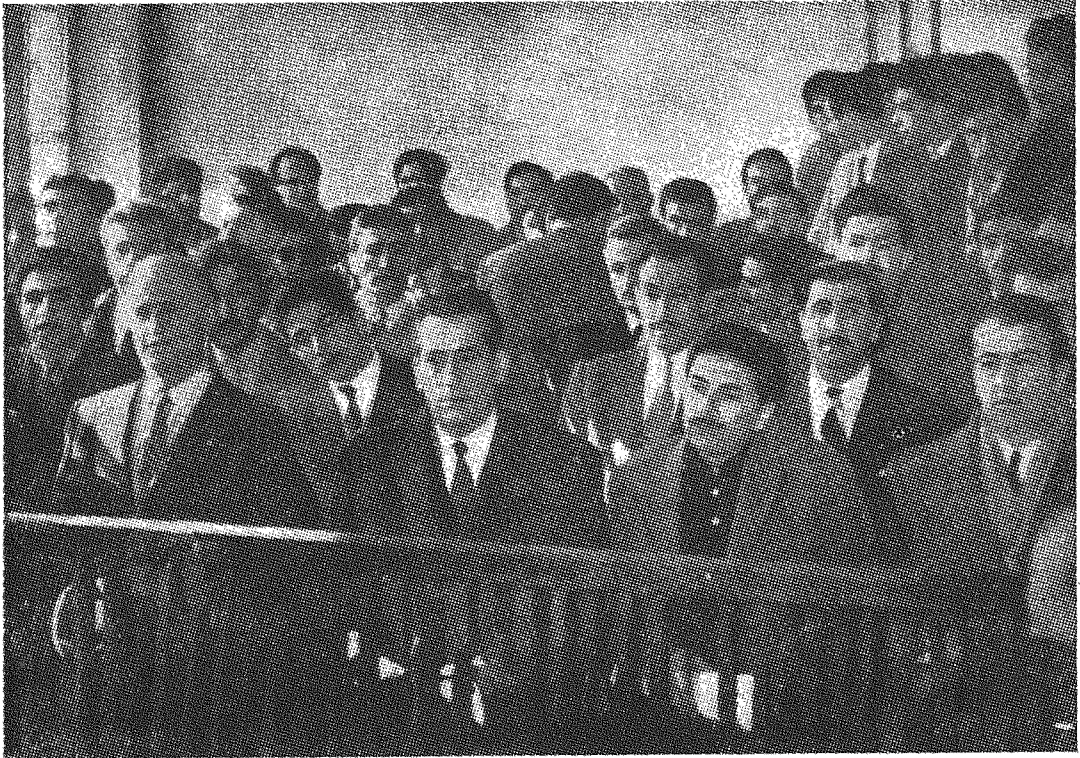
The change of government under your guardianship filled the hearts of the Kurdish people with hope. Nevertheless the detention and suppression of hundreds of Kurdish people goes on. We hear that 49 Kurdish people recently detained were sentenced to secret proceedings; Kurdish people who did not do anything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

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

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

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

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



The 49 Kurds on trial in Ankara

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

Restive Kurds

The Times, December 15th 1960

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Telegrams to Nasser

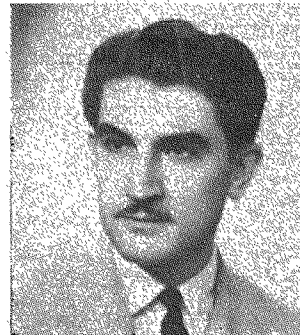
The following telegram was sent to President Nasser of U.A.R., by the Executive Committee of the K.S.S.E.:

President Nasser—Cairo,

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

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

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



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

'International Society—Kurdistan'

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

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

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

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

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

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

* * * *

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

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

friendship league and a centre for democratic action.

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

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN
 will gladly advise you how you can learn more about the Kurds and their country and about what you can do to help your Kurdish friends. A friend in need is a friend indeed. Apply today to **THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN**
Central Office: Da Costastraat, 25/1, Amsterdam-West, Netherlands, or to your local I.S.K. Branch.

Prominent Swiss Protest Against Death Sentences in Iranian Kurdistan

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

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

This statement carries, amongst others, the signatures of:

Karl Barth — Writer from Basle.
 Friedrich Dürrenmatt — Playwright, Geneva.

Ernest Ansermet — Conductor of the Swiss Symphony Orchestra, Geneva.
 P. H. Simon — Professor, Fribourg.
 Max Frisch — Writer, Zurich.
 Walter Muschg, Basel.
 Marcel Reymond — Writer, Geneva.
 Svend Steling-Michaud, Geneva.
 Fredy Buache, Lausanne.
 Charles-Henri Favrod — Journalist, Lausanne.
 Yves Velan — La-Chaux-de-Fonds.
 Charles Brüttsch.
 Jean-Louis Cornuz.
 Union of Students of the Neuchâtel University.

Press Comment

Kurds Stirring Trouble in Iraq; Barzani Tribe Opposes Kassim

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

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

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

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

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

This year there have been reports of unrest

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

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

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

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

* * * *

Forty-nine on Kurdish Plot Charges

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

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

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

* * * *

New Signs of Nationalism in Turkey.

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

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

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

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

Minorities Concerned.

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

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

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

Charge of Agitating for Kurdish State

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

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

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

The Times—January 5th 1961

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

The 'Secret Clauses' of Turkish Policy

Did Menderes want to Atomise Kurdistan?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Newroz in Europe

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

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

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

THE FESTIVAL OF NEWROZ

by M. SALIH KARADAGHI

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

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

Newroz—London, 1961

B.B.C. Television and Kurdistan

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

Dear Mr. Dizayee,

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

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

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

Yours sincerely,

DAVID WHEELER,
Assistant Editor, 'Panorama'.

14th February, 1961.

Letters to the Editor

Dear Sir,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yours faithfully,

JAGINDAR SINGH,
Amristar, Punjab, India.

January 1961.

* * * *

Dear Sir,

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

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

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

Thanking you in anticipation.

Yours faithfully,

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

September 1960.

Dear Sir,

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

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

Hoping to receive your answer, I remain,

Very truly yours,

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

* * * *

Dear Sir,

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

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

Yours faithfully,

COASBY & CO. LTD.
December 1960.

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

* Dear Sirs,

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

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

We look forward to hearing from you shortly and remain,

Yours faithfully,

ANNE TOMKINS,
Secretary to the Service Attaches.

Read

**'Kurdish Facts and
West-Asian Affairs'**

published

MONTHLY

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Kurdish Literature

Hedi Hedi

by Mehmed Bor

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

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

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

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

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

Roji Resi Sesi Eylul

by KEMEL FUAD

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

Yekêk lem raperinane raperinî şeşî eylûlî 1930
bû le Silêmanî. Lem roje da gelî Silemanîy nebez
be gewre û picûkewe wirûja û ser şeqamekanî şarî
girt. Hemû pir be dem hawaryan ekird: 'Eme
kurdin, kurdman ewê.'

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

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

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

Wefdî Kurdistan, millet firoşan
herze wekilî şarî xamoşan

Çepkê le gulî baxekey sera
ke be xwênawî lawan aw dira

Biybene berdem erşî 'Iraqî
bilên yar baqî hem suhbet baqî

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

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

Ewe ew erşey be xwên gulrengê
sucdey bo eben hiç nalên nenge

Kurd nabrêtewe xeyalî xawe
beratî necat be xwên nûsrawe

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

Namey Komele

Bo:

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

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

Ey rolekanî Dersîm û Agrîdax!

Ewe ke peşengî bizûtinewey kurdayetî w rêgak-
erewey xebatî gelî Kurd bûn bo azadî w serbexoyî
w yekêtîy Kurdistanî mezinman! Ewe ke zurbey
gelî kurdî xoşewîstmanin:

Silawêkî germî têkoşan, silawî Komeley Xwên-
dikananî Kurd le Ewropatan pêşkeş bê, silawî ew
xwêndikaraney erkî geyandinî dengî êweyan be
gelanî cihan xistote ser şanyan:

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

Hawrêyanî xoşewîst!

Be lay êmewe ewey zor giring û pêwîste, kobun-
ewetane le dewrî rêkxrawêkî Kurdistanî be-hêz û
gurec û gol da! Damezrandinî partêkî şorişgêr le
Kurdistanî Turkiya erkêkî pirozî emroy serşantane.
Bê damezrandinî rêkxirawêkî ewto, ke têkoşantan
rekbixat û serkirdetan bikat, tenha layengîrî w
çend rekkirawêkî tirî Kurdistan hiç sûdêk nabexşê.
Damezrandinî em core rekkirawewê hengawî yekeme
berew serkewtin. Paşan behêz — kirdinî peywendî
legel ême w rekkirawekanî tirî Kurdistan. Bo
pêkhênanî em core rekkirawewê ewendey le tuwana da
bê, ême amadeyîn bo yarmetî-dantan.

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

Bo pêşewe . . . bo damezrandinî partî dêmok-
ratîy Kurdistanî Turkiya. Bo hênanedîy aman-
cekanî gelî Kurd, le Kurdistanêkî azad û yekgirtû
. . . dîr le destbeserî beğany dagîrker û noker-
ekyanan.

Kamal Fuad,

le batî

'Komîtey berêweberî giştî'.

Komeley Xwendikaranî Kurd le Ewropa

by KEMAL FUAD

Le 10-16 Ab 1956, desteyek le xwêndikaranî
Kurd le Ewropa, le şari Vizbadin (Wiesbaden)-
Elmánya, kobûnewe. Lem kobûneweyê dar
biryar dîra be damezrandinî 'Komeley Xwên-
dikananî Kurd le Ewropa'.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Danîşim le ser textî xunkarî
ya le kolanan bikem hejarî

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

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

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

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

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

(Date) Le 14 Décembre 1960

(No.) B/791

Excellence,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* * * *

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

Monsieur le Président,

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Date) le 15 Janvier 1961

(Numéro) B/818

Monsieur le Président,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* * *

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

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

- (7) Elargir et garantir les droits démocratiques et la liberté d'expression dans l'ensemble de la Turquie;
- (8) Mentionner et garantir les droits du peuple kurde de Turquie dans la constitution définitive de la République.

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

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

Copies a:

- Comité d'Union Nationale, Ankara;
- Union Nationale des Etudiants de Turquie, Ankara;
- Commission des Droits de l'Homme, O.N.U., New-York;
- Comité International de la Croix-Rouge, Genève;
- Union Internationale des Juristes;
- Union Fédérative des Communautés Ethniques Européennes, Danemark;
- Movement for Colonial Freedom, Londres;
- International Society Kurdistan, Amsterdam;
- S.E.M. Hammarskjöld, secrétaire général de l'O.N.U.;
- S.E.M. le Pandit Nehru, premier ministre de l'Inde;
- S.E.M. Khrouchtchev, premier ministre de l'U.R.S.S.;
- S.E.M. Kennedy, Président-élu des Etats-Unis d'Amérique;
- S.E. le général de Gaulle, Président de la République Française;
- S.E. le premier ministre de la Chine Populaire;
- S.E. M. Macmillan, premier ministre de la Grande-Bretagne;
- S.E. le premier ministre de la République populaire de Bulgarie;
- S.E. le premier ministre de la République populaire de Tchécoslovaquie;
- S.E. le premier ministre de la Grèce;
- S.E.M. Sekou Touré, Président de la République de Guinée;

- S.E.M. N'Kroumah, Président de la République du Ghana;
- S.E.M. Senghor, Président de la République du Sénégal;
- S.E.M. M. Keita, Président de la République du Mali;
- S.M. le shah d'Iran;
- S.E.M. Nasser, Président de la République Arabe Unie;
- S.E. le général Kassem, premier ministre de l'Irak;
- Fédération Mondiale de la Jeunesse Démocratique, Budapest;
- Union Internationale des Etudiants, Prague;
- Conférence Internationale des Etudiants, Leiden;
- Afro-Asia, Londres;
- Fédération Pan-Chinoise des Etudiants;
- Comité des Etudiants de l' U.R.S.S.
- F.E.A.N.F., Paris;
- U.G.E.A.O., Dakar;
- Union Générale des Etudiants de la République Irakienne;
- le journal 'Khebat', organe du Parti Démocratie du Kurdistan, Irak;
- La revue 'Kurdistan', Téhéran;
- La revue 'Kurdistan', Angleterre, organe de l' Association des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe;
- La presse mondiale et divers milieux diplomatiques, culturels et étudiants.

Annex:

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



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- LIBANON** ‘Roja Nu, Stêr’—ceased publication.
- SYRIA** ‘Hawar, Ronahi’—ceased publication.
- TURKEY** Kurdish Publications are forbidden.
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KOMELEY XWÊNDIKARANÎ KURD LE EWROPA

23 NOV. 1963

