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"مؤتمر بين الإدارات حول شؤون الشرق الأوسط. مذكرة السكرتير: الوضع في كردستان"

المكتبة البريطانية: أوراق خاصة وسجلات من مكتب الهند

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أغسطس ١٩١٩ (ميلادي)

الإنجليزية في اللاتينية

ملف واحد (٣ أوراق)

رخصة حكومة مفتوحة

المؤسسة المالكة

المرجع

التاريخ/ التواريخ

لغة الكتابة

الحجم والشكل

حق النشر



حول هذا السجل

يتكون هذا الملف من مذكرة تبين بالتفصيل نضال الأكراد من أجل الاستقلال داخل العراق، مع الأخذ
بعين الاعتبار وقائع سنة ١٩١٩. تشمل الوثيقة ما يلي:

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- العداوات القائمة بين الأكراد والأتراك
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- المشاعر المختلطة لمن يعيشون في بلاد الرافدين تجاه البريطانيين وتدخلهم في شؤون المنطقة
- أعمال العنف تجاه المسؤولين البريطانيين في بلاد الرافدين.

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B. 330.

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SECRET.

Book copy

Inter-Departmental Conference on Middle Eastern Affairs.

SECRETARY'S NOTE.

Numbers in brackets refer to Foreign Office papers, not attached.

SITUATION IN KURDISTAN.

IN January of this year a body, calling itself the "Committee of Kurdish Independence in Egypt," appealed for British assistance in forming a Kurdish State. Their petitions were sent in original to Paris. Shortly afterwards the British Military Mission at Paris reported that M. Picot had telegraphed declining to accept a suggestion of the late Sir Mark Sykes that an independent Kurdish Emirate should be created, to include Mosul. He considered that such a plan would be contrary to French interests, and that it would sacrifice peoples, such as the Chaldeans, Nestorians, &c., who have been traditionally protected by the French. [3050] [3063] [16746]

Early in March a report was received from G.H.Q., Mesopotamia, to the effect that one Kiamil Badr Khan was said to have been elected President of an autonomous State in the neighbourhood of Mardin. I.D.C.E. 438, p. 1.

A later report indicated that the C.U.P. were enlisting Kurdish sympathies by assuming the title of "Committee for Turco-Kurdish Independence." They were creating unrest among the Turks and Kurds in the Urfah-Mardin-Diabekr area, where open declarations were being made against foreign interference. I.D.C.E. 508, p. 2.

On the 12th March the Civil Commissioner, Baghdad, with the approval of the G.O.C., Mesopotamia, suggested that Major E. W. C. Noel should be sent to Nisibin in a civil capacity to obtain information regarding the political situation as between Kurds and Turks in that area, and regarding the economic conditions, for communication to His Majesty's Government in connection with the proposals for the disposal of this area at the Peace Conference. [43735]

On the 28th March the Civil Commissioner reported that the leading spirits in the movement in favour of Kurdish independence under the Turkish aegis at Constantinople were Abdul Kadir, Abdullah Jodat, and Suleiman Nazif. These individuals were said to be in close touch with Badr Khan, and also with Sureya Badr Khan in Egypt. [50784]

On the 1st April Major Noel left Baghdad for Nisibin. On the same day it was decided that General Allenby should occupy the Baghdad Railway from Jerablus to Nisibin inclusive. [51154]

On the 5th April General Allenby reported that certain Kurdish chiefs in the Nisibin area had sent in messages to us that they wished to come under British influence, and did not wish for independence. They were opposed to the Kurds of Mardin and Diabekr. General Allenby recommended them to apply to the Mesopotamian authorities for guidance since they were not at that time within his sphere of occupation and control. I.D.C.E. 817, p. 3.

On the 7th April a report was received that Captain Pearson, a British political officer, had been murdered at Zakho, and on the same day the High Commissioner, Constantinople, stated that the son of the President of the Turkish Council of State was being sent by the Turkish Government to Nisibin, and afterwards to the Zakho area for the purpose of restoring order. [53756]

On the 8th April the suggestion was made by the G.O.C., Mesopotamia, that pressure should be brought to bear by the High Commissioner, Constantinople, on the Turkish Government with a view to their taking punitive military action in the Zakho district, as this area lay beyond the Armistice frontier, and was out of reach of both General Marshall and General Allenby.

The High Commissioner, Constantinople, anticipated little result from Turkish military operations; he saw in the Kurdish disturbances a phase of the widespread activity of the C.U.P. and their Pan-Islamic, Egyptian-Nationalist, and possibly Indian-Nationalist, and Bolshevik connections. He could easily believe that Abdullah Jodat and Suleiman Nazif were working in Turkish interests, as they did not join in the representations of the Kurdish Committee. On the other hand, he was inclined to the

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opinion that Abdul Kadir and the Badr Khans were strongly pro-British, and unlikely to associate themselves with the C.U.P.

[59486] The pro-British sentiments of the Badr Khan family were confirmed in the joint letter from the Egyptian members of it, which was received on the 16th April, in which they complained bitterly of the treatment they had received from the Turks, demanded compensation, and claimed that they represented the original ruling family of Kurdistan.

On the 13th April the G.O.C., Mesopotamia, reported that it had been found possible to occupy the Zakho area with troops from the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force, and on the 23rd April the G.O.C., Mesopotamia, withdrew his request for Turkish military action, but considered that the Turkish Government should be pressed to maintain order over the areas in their occupation.

[62773] On the same date the High Commissioner, Constantinople, telegraphed a report of an interview between Mr. Ryan and Abdul Kadir, in which the latter complained that the Turkish Government had made the despatch of a mission, which they were sending to Asia Minor a pretext for abandoning the proposal for sending his son to Kurdistan. He said that if the British wished the country pacified he would undertake to go there himself, or to send a representative accompanied by a British officer, and would guarantee a satisfactory result. He anticipated trouble if the Kurds were to be placed under Armenian domination. The High Commissioner considered that Abdul Kadir and Abdullah Jodat were honest in their protestations of anti-Turkish sentiments. He said he was increasingly impressed with the difficulty of reconciling Armenian claims with satisfactory treatment of the Kurds, and asked that he might be informed of His Majesty's Government's views regarding Kurdistan. This question was referred to Mr. Balfour in Paris.

[63250] Also on the same date the Civil Commissioner, Baghdad, reported that Abdul Kadir's nephew—Sheikh Taha—was anxious to visit Baghdad, and that he proposed to allow him to come down and to hear what he had to say.

[63251] He also reported that telegrams had been received by certain notables of Mardin from Abdul Kadir and the Badr Khans urging them to spread Kurdish propaganda.

[66086] On the 26th April the Civil Commissioner, Baghdad, repeated a telegram from Major Noel, who had arrived at Nisibin, in which he reported that the anti-British agitation was due to the fear of a policy of retaliation against Moslems for massacres of Christians. He suggested that a general amnesty should be proclaimed in regard to Kurds for all murders committed at the instigation of, or on the direct orders of, the Turks, and that a formal declaration should be made that nothing further would be demanded of them than the restitution of immovable property. This telegram was also referred to Mr. Balfour in Paris.

[68668] On the 3rd May Mr. Balfour suggested that the High Commissioner at Constantinople be instructed to confine himself to advising the Kurds to remain quiet and desist from agitation pending the decision of the Peace Conference, where their claims were known; and on 7th May he made a further suggestion that Major Noel should be instructed to give private assurances that no vindictive policy would be pursued and that Kurdish grievances were not being lost sight of by the Peace Conference. Meanwhile the High Commissioner at Constantinople had again pointed out in a telegram received on the 5th May that the situation in Kurdistan was very disquieting and suggested three alternative courses for His Majesty's Government:—

1. To disinterest themselves in what happened outside the sphere of their occupation so far as taking any action was concerned.
2. To make use of the Turkish Government and to rely on such action as they might be able to take under the advice of His Majesty's Government.
3. To make use of such influential Kurdish elements as desired to stand well with them.

He pointed out that the whole question depended greatly on how far the encouragement of Kurdish individuals would square with the views of His Majesty's Government regarding the future administration of Kurdistan and how far it was possible to encourage the hope that His Majesty's Government would not be a party to placing the Kurds under Armenian domination.

[72388] The High Commissioner, Constantinople, telegraphed again on the 12th May that the Grand Vizier was willing to allow Abdul Kadir to go to Kurdistan on a mission of pacification, though he felt anxious from the Turkish point of view as to what might be the result of his journey. He again repeated his belief that the main cause of the agitation amongst the Kurds was the fear of falling under Armenian rule.

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On the same day the Civil Commissioner, Baghdad, expressed the opinion that Abdul Kadir had been so long away from Kurdistan, and was on such bad terms with his nephew, Sheikh Taha, that he would be of no use unless he were prepared to restrict his activity to Kurdish areas west of longitude 42. He thought, however, that the Badr Khan family might be of immediate use on the spot, and suggested that the brothers should be sent from Constantinople to meet Major Noel at Aleppo, where they might be joined by Sureya Badr Khan from Egypt, and proceed with Major Noel on a mission to Kurdistan, if the relations of His Majesty's Government with France and the progress of peace negotiations permitted. He recommended that the third course proposed by the High Commissioner, Constantinople, should be adopted, and that assurances should be given of an amnesty and freedom from Armenian domination in areas predominantly Kurdish. He considered that to give effect to this policy it was necessary that Kurdish questions should be dealt with from a single centre as far as possible, and he therefore recommended that he should be authorised to deal with Kurdish affairs on behalf of His Majesty's Government in all areas east of the Euphrates through Major Noel, keeping the G.O.C., Egyptforce, and the High Commissioner, Constantinople, fully informed. He had interviewed Sheikh Taha, who declared himself ready to help in every possible way to establish a British protectorate in Kurdistan on condition that an amnesty should be proclaimed; that the Kurds should be formed into large autonomous groups; that they should not be placed under Armenian or Nestorian domination; and that His Majesty's Government should provide them with the same material assistance as was being provided in Iraq.

[73951]
I.D.C.E.
1331, p. 7.

On the 22nd May the India Office supported the Civil Commissioner's proposals in a letter to the Foreign Office, and on the 29th May the Foreign Office concurred, with certain reservations.

[77686]

On the 5th June the India Office telegraphed to the Civil Commissioner, Baghdad, authorising him to assume charge of Kurdish affairs on condition that he abstained from drawing His Majesty's Government into any military commitments beyond their present sphere, and made it clear to all concerned that the proposed mission of Major Noel and the Badr Khans was not intended to commit His Majesty's Government to more than the maintenance of order in Kurdish areas in co-operation with the Turkish authorities on the spot, pending the result of the Peace Conference. He was to act in closest consultation, not merely communication, with the High Commissioner, Constantinople, and was to take no important step without his concurrence. He was also to keep the G.O.C., Egyptforce, informed. As regards the amnesty he was not to go beyond the assurance that no vindictive policy would be pursued and was to limit the second proposed assurance to freedom from unrestricted Armenian domination. Special importance was attached in the case of both these assurances to the qualification that they should be given only so far as His Majesty's Government was concerned. He was asked to give an indication of the areas he considered predominantly Kurdish. This telegram was repeated by the Foreign Office to the High Commissioner, Constantinople, and a copy was sent to the Director of Military Intelligence on the 6th June.

[85374]
I.D.C.E.
2658, p. 8.

Meanwhile, the claims of Cherif Pazha, the leader of the Kurdish delegation at the Peace Conference in Paris, assumed a certain prominence in view of a long despatch, dated the 20th May, which was received from him by Mr. Balfour, in which he asked that his aspirations to the Chiefship of Kurdistan should receive some encouragement. At the same time, he stated that if His Majesty's Government could find another leader possessed of the necessary qualifications he would not be averse from being relieved of the responsibilities and sacrifices involved in the organisation of a Kurdish State.

[79991]

Another potential claimant, in the person of Sheikh Mahmoud of Suleimaniyeh, permanently disqualified himself from any further consideration at about the same time by leading an unexpected local outbreak, which was suppressed by military measures.

[80974]

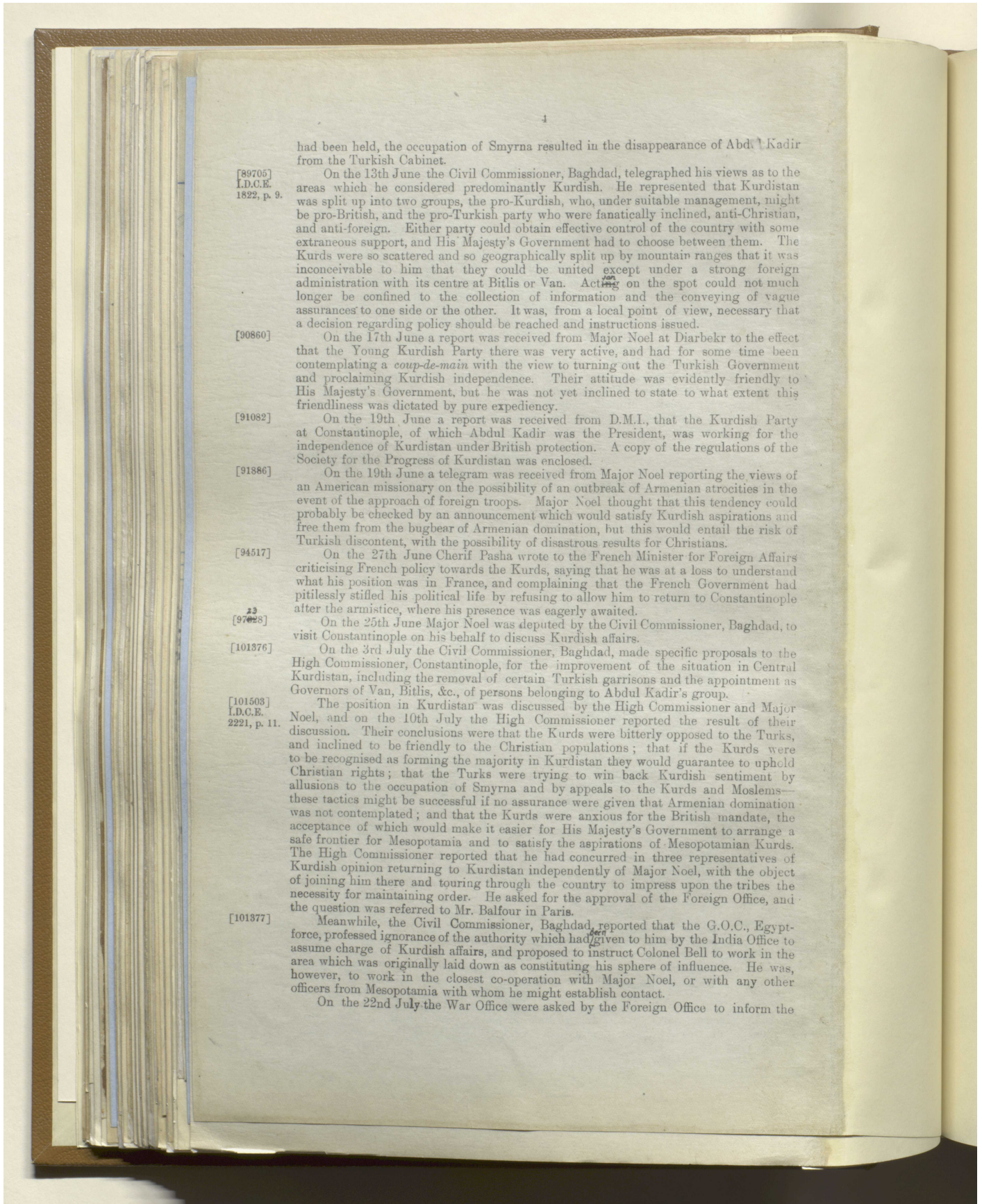
On the 2nd June a despatch was received from the High Commissioner, Constantinople, reporting interviews with Abdul Kadir and the Grand Vizier. The latter expressed grave apprehension as to what might occur if the decision was announced of the constitution of an Armenian State. He found himself somewhat embarrassed by the presence of Abdul Kadir in his Cabinet, and felt that the Turkish Government could hardly support Abdul Kadir's propaganda for Kurdish independence. Abdul Kadir expressed great bitterness against the Turkish Government, and emphasised the desire of himself and his compatriots to see Kurdistan given a new start under British auspices. The one thing they were apprehensive of was Armenian domination. Shortly after these two conversations

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had been held, the occupation of Smyrna resulted in the disappearance of Abdul Kadir from the Turkish Cabinet.

[89705]
I.D.C.E.
1822, p. 9.

On the 13th June the Civil Commissioner, Baghdad, telegraphed his views as to the areas which he considered predominantly Kurdish. He represented that Kurdistan was split up into two groups, the pro-Kurdish, who, under suitable management, might be pro-British, and the pro-Turkish party who were fanatically inclined, anti-Christian, and anti-foreign. Either party could obtain effective control of the country with some extraneous support, and His Majesty's Government had to choose between them. The Kurds were so scattered and so geographically split up by mountain ranges that it was inconceivable to him that they could be united except under a strong foreign administration with its centre at Bitlis or Van. Acting on the spot could not much longer be confined to the collection of information and the conveying of vague assurances to one side or the other. It was, from a local point of view, necessary that a decision regarding policy should be reached and instructions issued.

[90860]

On the 17th June a report was received from Major Noel at Diarbekr to the effect that the Young Kurdish Party there was very active, and had for some time been contemplating a *coup-de-main* with the view to turning out the Turkish Government and proclaiming Kurdish independence. Their attitude was evidently friendly to His Majesty's Government, but he was not yet inclined to state to what extent this friendliness was dictated by pure expediency.

[91082]

On the 19th June a report was received from D.M.I., that the Kurdish Party at Constantinople, of which Abdul Kadir was the President, was working for the independence of Kurdistan under British protection. A copy of the regulations of the Society for the Progress of Kurdistan was enclosed.

[91886]

On the 19th June a telegram was received from Major Noel reporting the views of an American missionary on the possibility of an outbreak of Armenian atrocities in the event of the approach of foreign troops. Major Noel thought that this tendency could probably be checked by an announcement which would satisfy Kurdish aspirations and free them from the bugbear of Armenian domination, but this would entail the risk of Turkish discontent, with the possibility of disastrous results for Christians.

[94517]

On the 27th June Cherif Pasha wrote to the French Minister for Foreign Affairs criticising French policy towards the Kurds, saying that he was at a loss to understand what his position was in France, and complaining that the French Government had pitilessly stifled his political life by refusing to allow him to return to Constantinople after the armistice, where his presence was eagerly awaited.

[97028]

On the 25th June Major Noel was deputed by the Civil Commissioner, Baghdad, to visit Constantinople on his behalf to discuss Kurdish affairs.

[101376]

On the 3rd July the Civil Commissioner, Baghdad, made specific proposals to the High Commissioner, Constantinople, for the improvement of the situation in Central Kurdistan, including the removal of certain Turkish garrisons and the appointment as Governors of Van, Bitlis, &c., of persons belonging to Abdul Kadir's group.

[101503]

I.D.C.E.
2221, p. 11.

The position in Kurdistan was discussed by the High Commissioner and Major Noel, and on the 10th July the High Commissioner reported the result of their discussion. Their conclusions were that the Kurds were bitterly opposed to the Turks, and inclined to be friendly to the Christian populations; that if the Kurds were to be recognised as forming the majority in Kurdistan they would guarantee to uphold Christian rights; that the Turks were trying to win back Kurdish sentiment by allusions to the occupation of Smyrna and by appeals to the Kurds and Moslems—these tactics might be successful if no assurance were given that Armenian domination was not contemplated; and that the Kurds were anxious for the British mandate, the acceptance of which would make it easier for His Majesty's Government to arrange a safe frontier for Mesopotamia and to satisfy the aspirations of Mesopotamian Kurds. The High Commissioner reported that he had concurred in three representatives of Kurdish opinion returning to Kurdistan independently of Major Noel, with the object of joining him there and touring through the country to impress upon the tribes the necessity for maintaining order. He asked for the approval of the Foreign Office, and the question was referred to Mr. Balfour in Paris.

[101377]

Meanwhile, the Civil Commissioner, Baghdad, reported that the G.O.C., Egypt-force, professed ignorance of the authority which had been given to him by the India Office to assume charge of Kurdish affairs, and proposed to instruct Colonel Bell to work in the area which was originally laid down as constituting his sphere of influence. He was, however, to work in the closest co-operation with Major Noel, or with any other officers from Mesopotamia with whom he might establish contact.

On the 22nd July the War Office were asked by the Foreign Office to inform the

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G.O.C., Egyptforce, of the decision that the Civil Commissioner, Baghdad, should assume control of Kurdish affairs on the lines laid down in India Office telegram of the 5th June.

On the 13th July the High Commissioner, Constantinople, telegraphed that the breach between the Turks and the Kurds was already too wide for there to be any hope of the Turkish Government appointing Kurdish Walis for Van, Bitlis, &c., as suggested by the Civil Commissioner, Baghdad, on the 3rd July. [103197] L.D.C.E. 2287, p. 12.

He suggested that it would be better to await the result of Major Noel's mission, and on the following day the Civil Commissioner concurred in this proposal. [104260]

On the 15th July the G.O.C., Mesopotamia, telegraphed drawing attention to the extension of military responsibility and increase of forces which would be entailed in the policy proposed by the Civil Commissioner in his telegram of the 13th June. [106843]

On the 20th July a report was received that two British Political Officers had been murdered at Amadia, which is about 60 miles N.N.E. of Mosul, and not far from Zakho, where Captain Pearson had been murdered on the 4th April. A detachment of troops had originally been sent to Amadia to facilitate the repatriation of Christians from Bacuba, but had been withdrawn in June as the position was unsatisfactory from a military point of view. [107928]

The outbreak resulting in the murder of these two officers was considered by the C.C., Baghdad, to have a definite anti-Christian as well as anti-Government origin. [109489]

The Kurdish mission left Constantinople on the 24th July, and official approval of the course adopted was expressed by Mr. Balfour and conveyed to the High Commissioner on the 30th July. [107408] [108648]

On the 29th July Cherif Pasha announced that he had been elected head of the future Kurdish State, and suggested the despatch of a Mixed Commission of his own and British representatives to tour the predominantly Kurdish areas. [111245]

The Foreign Office consider that Cherif Pasha's age and long residence in Paris entirely unfit him for the rôle of Chief of Kurdistan, and suggest that a summary of his proposals should be telegraphed simultaneously to Constantinople and Baghdad for observations.

On the 5th August a long report by Major Noel on the Kurdish situation was received in the Foreign Office. He suggested a compromise for reconciling Kurdish with Armenian claims, which included the collection of six Eastern vilayets under one mandatory power, and their sub-division into provinces or zones, of which the southern would be exclusively Kurdish, the northern exclusively Armenian, and the Central zone mixed. Each zone would have its own local administration and self-government, which would be subject to some independent centre either outside the six vilayets or in the central zone. He considered that the only alternative would be the adoption of the proposals made by the Civil Commissioner, Baghdad, in his telegram of the 13th June. [112902] L.D.C.E. 2659, p. 13.

On the 5th August a despatch was received from the High Commissioner, Constantinople, reporting a conversation between the members of the Kurdish Committee and members of the Turkish Government, in which the possible autonomy of Kurdistan under the Turks was discussed. [112204]

On the same day the Chief Political Officer, Egyptforce, telegraphed that he had received a visit from Arif Pasha al Mardini and Sureya Badr Khan, who claimed that they represented the principal Kurdish families. Their object was the eventual independence of the Kurds, pending which they were prepared to accept a restricted British mandate. Arif Pasha has since been despatched to Aleppo to meet Major Noel at the request of the Civil Commissioner, Baghdad, and efforts are being made to induce Sureya Badr Khan to accompany him. [115754] L.D.C.E. 2570, p. 14.

On the 11th August the War Office suggested to the Foreign Office that the whole question of the policy of His Majesty's Government in Kurdistan should be discussed by the I.D.C.E. They had telegraphed to the G.O.C., Egyptforce, asking for his views on the authority given to the Civil Commissioner, Baghdad, in the India Office telegram of the 5th June. [115217]

The High Commissioner, Constantinople, has also been asked by the Foreign Office to telegraph his considered views on the proposals made by the Civil Commissioner, Baghdad, and Major Noel with the least possible delay.

On the 16th August the views of the G.O.C., Mesopotamia, were received. He considered that the main principle of solution of the question should provide for the formation of an Armenian province consisting of the vilayets of Erzerum and Trebizond, and a Kurdish province of the remaining four vilayets. This solution would not permit any reduction for the present in the British garrison in Mesopotamia. L.D.C.E. 2650, p. 16.

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