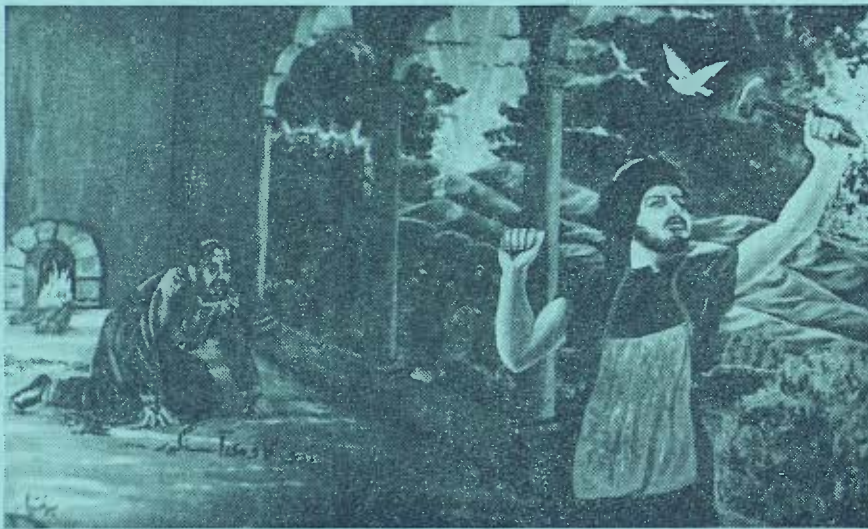


KURDISTAN



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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CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
Editorial	1	A Press Statement by K.S.S.E. and President Nasser's Comment	20
The Achievements of the Iraqi Republican Government — Mr. Abboud Al-Baldawi, Acting Cultural Attache, Iraqi Embassy London	3	14th July in Prison—Poem by Goran	22
The Iraqi Revolution and The Kurdish Question—Salah M. Saadalla	4	Book Review — Kurdistan in the Way to Freedom: <i>World News</i> and <i>Socialist Digest</i> , Reviews of <i>Kurdistan: Divided Nation of the Middle East</i> , Professor Minorsky's Paper on 'Banu Annaz'	22
The Kurds in Turkey—Jalal Beytoshi	8	Kurdistan and the Press	25
Turkey Reminded of Pledges—Letter to Mr. Menderes	10	OTHER ITEMS: Conference of Iraqi Students in Germany, An Education Authority for Kurdistan, Greetings from Soviet Students, Two Communications to Premier Kassem, Kurdish Refugees' Return, etc.	28
The Kurds of Iran — T. F. Aristova, Translated from the Russian by A. N. Al-Saadi	11	Correspondence: Mr. Fenner Brockway, M.P., Mr. C. J. Edmonds, M. Basil Nikitine, Colonel Pierre Rondot, Mr. Frank Stoakes	31
About the Kurds of U.S.S.R. — M. Basil Nikitine commenting on 'Reya Teze'	15	German Section: Newroz and Kurdistan—Kanal Fuad	32
Gorky Institute, U.S.S.R. and <i>Kurd Epic Songs</i>	15		
Newroz Celebrations (in Baghdad, Berlin, Vienna and London)	16		
Activities of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe, (United Kingdom, Switzerland, Austria and Germany)	19		

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 role 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 Interantional 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:—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 racialist 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; (Gerekose);
 4. Qaris; 5. Arzerom; 6. Benger; 7. Moshe
 8. Bitlis; 9. Sirt; 10. Mardin; 11. Diarbakir; 12. Malatya; 13. Betunjel (Dersim);

14. Arzenjan; 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-SAAD, 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.

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, Maoonzel 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 (Obovyanyan, Learch, Egiazarov). Of these, the researches of Learch, 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: (Amir Avdal, Adzhie Dzhendi, Ch. Bakaev, K. Koordoev).

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 accommodating 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.

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.

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.

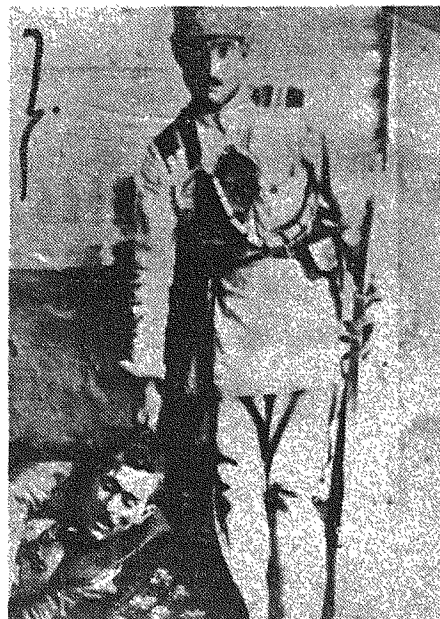
In Tsarist Russia the Kurds belonged to one of the very oppressed nomadic peoples.

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.



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'Afriqne 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 Komsomol (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 landmark 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

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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.

riotic 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 DİLÊKI ŞAD,
BE AŞTÎ BI JÎN SERBEST Û AZAD

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.'

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.

IRAQ STUDENTS

The Iraqi Students held a Conference to found their Union. Delegates attended from all Colleges,

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.

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.

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

communiqué 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. 'Our 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 Shadhandjan 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.

Illustré, 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 Illustrata, 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 Barzanis 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, Lieutenants' 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 Alagöz 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-

ocratic 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 inutual 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.

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

their Arab brothers they will be the most loyal guardians of democracy.

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 Faur, 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 Bolleau, 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, dass bei den Kurden als Nationalfest gefeiert wird, berichten.

Das Fest wurde das erste Mal ungefähr 700 Jahre vor Christus begangen. Es ist geschichtlich behannt, 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 ⁷⁰⁰ 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 Schmeid (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 zufüttern. 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 voller 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 Freiheitsliebende 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 ~~wir~~ ^{wir} 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 ethnische, 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

(IRAK)

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. Darzuehin 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: GÜRBAGHI, 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) ^{versucht} 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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