

KURDISTAN



Kurdish Students' Society in Europe

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KURDISTAN

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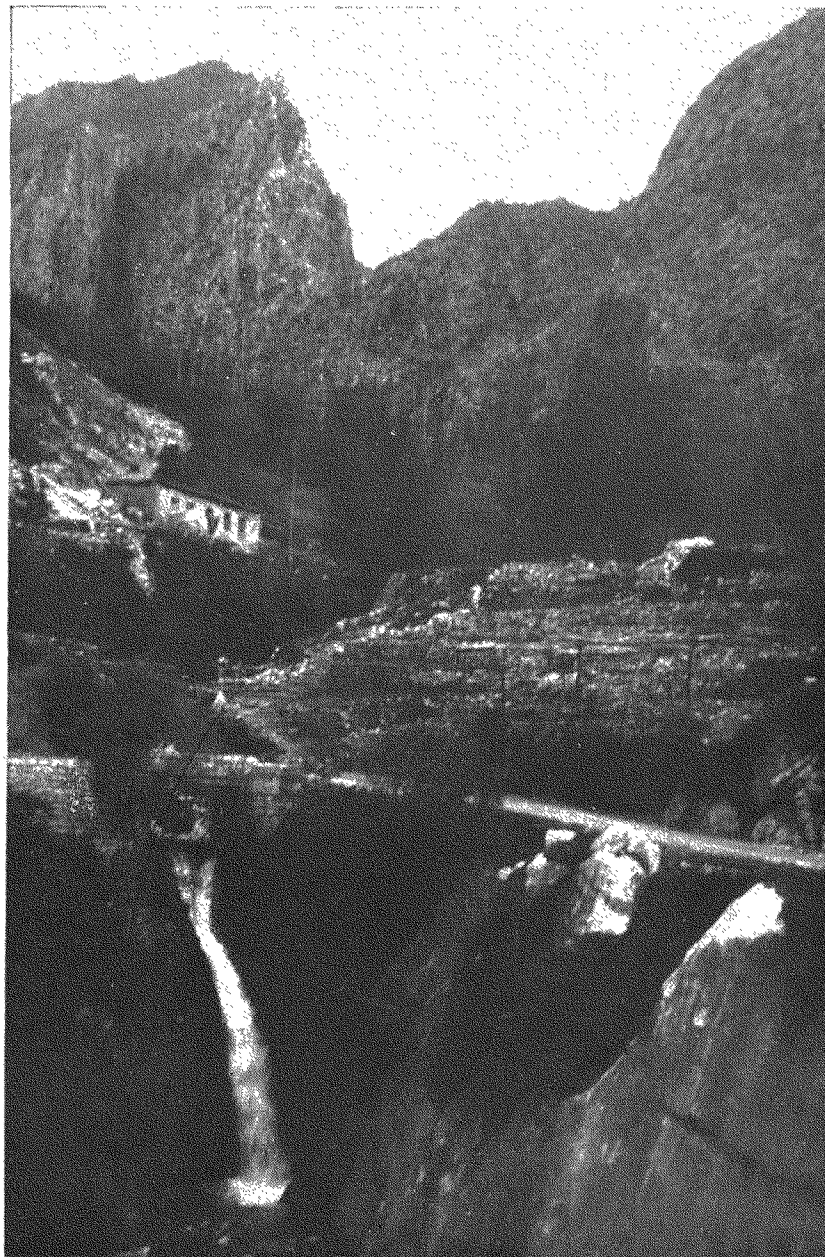
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KURDISTAN

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Opinions and statistical data submitted by individuals do not necessarily bind the Society

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Editorial

On 'peaceful change'.

The subject of peaceful change has always been central to any consideration of international affairs. In fact it is almost 'the' problem of international relations, for it is always the lack of agreement on some method of peaceful change that ultimately leads to conflict among nations. The importance of the problem was recognised by the framers of both the League of Nations and the United Nations. After both great wars the imperfections of the world were recognised and so it was felt necessary to provide 'an instrumentality for peaceful change'.

Article 19 of the Covenant of the League of Nations stated that 'the Assembly may from time to time advise . . . the consideration of international **conditions** whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world'. Presently the charter of the U.N. contains two provisions for making peaceful change possible. Article 10 states that 'the General Assembly may discuss **any questions or any matters** within the scope of the present charter . . . and . . . may make recommendations to the members of the U.N. or the security council or to both on any such questions and matters'. Further article 14 states 'subject to the provisions of Article 12, the General Assembly may recommend measures for the **peaceful adjustment of any situation**, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations, including situations resulting from a violation of the provisions of the present charter setting forth the purposes and principles of the U.N.' The above provisions show us that peace depends on the ability and willingness of nations, and the international organisations set up by them, to resolve questions and situations of potential danger. In the inter-war period the League could do nothing under article 19. And as we know now, besides the fact that from 1933 onwards Hitler was simply bent on war, the twenty years from 1919 to 1939 were not really a period of peace, but one full of friction and conflict. The lessons of that period and of the second world war should be enough to make the nations more ready to make changes that will ensure peace.

We must bear in mind, always, that peaceful change does not mean only that specific disputes between states should be solved by pacific methods, it also means the adjustment of dangerous situations. For example the general problem of colonialism, so far as present international law is concerned, is not a dispute between two parties that can be resolved in a court or by arbitration. Yet

the gradual liquidation of colonial empires, though not yet complete, has been one of the strongest factors making for peace, for only free and equal people can co-exist in peace. The opposition of the colonialists to this inevitable change sometimes led to conflict, a further indication of the dangers of preventing peaceful change. But just because colonial empires are crumbling that does not mean that peace is no longer in danger. True that only a conflict involving the Great Powers will lead to a general conflagration, but to-day even the most casual observer can see how easy it is for the Great Powers to get involved. And on the other hand so long as the rights of human beings and of nations are violated peace is still in danger.

Today the world has a number of situations which are clearly likely to 'impair the friendly relations among nations', and their continuation is definitely a violation of the purposes and principles of the charter. Examples of these are many today. To mention some one can sight the Congo, Cuba, Algeria, South Africa and Kurdistan. There are of course, other and more dangerous issues in the world, but the peaceful resolution of any one problem will mean so much less danger and a less tense atmosphere. These cases are not exactly similar, but they are all topical problems that need a change to the better if an explosion is to be avoided. The Belgian conspiracy on the Republic of Congo, the American pressure on the Cuban Republic, the war in Algeria, are all cases of the defenders of a dangerous status quo trying hard to prevent a change that will strengthen world stability and peace. The cases of the African population of South Africa and the Kurdish People in Turkey, Iran and Syria are somewhat different, but nevertheless definitely of potential danger. In South Africa the rightful population, and the preponderant majority are denied every right and savagely treated. If this continues the Africans will have to seek some way, even a violent way, of changing it. In Iran, Turkey and Syria over 10 million Kurds (6 in Turkey, 4 in Iran and 400,000 in Syria), occupying their own country Kurdistan, are also denied every right and persecuted. The importance of the 'Kurdish question' is not new. In 1920 the Allied Powers did see an abnormal situation in the Middle East regarding the Kurds. Hence the provision in the treaty of Sevres of that year that the Kurds have autonomy, with the right of independence within one year. And further the abnormality of the situation was recognised by the League Commission, instituted by the Council resolution of September 30th, 1924, to study the question of

the Mosul Wilayat on the spot, when in its report it said that the inhabitants of the disputed Wilayat, predominantly Kurds, wanted to live on their own, in a state of their own. All this came to nothing, thus the question is still alive. Today the Turkish and Iranian authorities, and the U.A.R. authorities regarding the Kurds in Syria, are guilty of every offence against the Kurds including, in the case of Turkey, the denial of nationality which is a violation of article 15 (1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The two governments, like the South African government often does, can hide behind paragraph 7 (article 2) of the charter and say this is an internal matter. That is absolutely absurd. It is the responsibility of all members of the U.N. to promote and encourage 'respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as

to race, sex, language, or religion'. Clearly a change is needed, and it will come, in Kurdistan, in South Africa, or anywhere else where man is denied his natural due. The change in Kurdistan, if it is to be peaceful, can be brought about and guaranteed by the U.N., or by the governments themselves if they only recognise that the interests of Turkey, of Iran, and of the U.A.R. are better secured by promoting harmony among the nationalities by letting them develop side by side in complete freedom and equality. The example of Iraq best illustrates this point. There Kurds and Arabs are equal and work together for the better progress of Iraq.

If the nations of the world, through the U.N. or through common-sense, will not facilitate the changes needed then we oppressed peoples can only say 'instead of leaving injuries to be redressed by God, we have a natural right to relieve ourselves'.

A Study in Contrast

A kurd compares the four inheritors of his land :—

Turkey

THE INCOMPLETE VICTORY

On May 27th 1960 a happy event took place in Turkey. A Revolution deposed the Menderes regime. The movement was a direct result of the courageous sacrifices of the Turkish students, and other people, who fearlessly faced the bullets of Menderes' police. It is now bootless to analyse the many wrongs of the Menderes regime. And the new regime is too new for one to be able to comment with any sense of certainty. But as this change is what the people of Turkey want then the rest of the world should only bless and help it. And there is no doubt that the Turkish people did joyfully greet their Revolution and are determined to defend it. A great step forward has been taken and may it bring good to Turkey.

We as Kurds, seeing that this Revolution was a direct result of the demands of the Turkish people for democracy and justice, welcomed it at first. We still welcome it in so far as it can bring benefits to Turkey. We were prepared to hail General Gursel, we were prepared to 'call out a holiday . . . and strew flowers in his way' for we considered his movement to be one for genuine democracy. Then came the disappointment and the tragic step backwards. In a press conference in Istanbul, General Gursel was asked about the Kurdish problem in Turkey (where six million Kurds live) and his answer was 'there is no such thing as Kurdishness, we are all Turks'. Thus a great opportunity was missed to turn a new leaf in Turkish history and start a life based on justice, equality, mutual

recognition, and harmony among the Turkish and Kurdish nationalities in Turkey. And the answer leaves the victory of Turkish people incomplete, for they want democracy for all the citizens of Turkey, including the Kurds. One cannot say that 6 million Kurds do not exist, or that they are 'mountain Turks', for they are a fact, a reality, they are people, and they have and will forever remain Kurds. Is it not better not to waste time and energy on denying a reality, but to recognise it and proceed from there to reap the benefits of your realism? But General Gursel, unfortunately, chose to go back to the old policy which has been in operation since Ataturk's days. Would it not have been better to live up to the age, recognise the Kurds as free and equal citizens and as people with a distinct nationality? It so happens that the world is full of different nationalities, and many states contain more than one nationality. The example of Turkey's neighbour Iraq is close enough to indicate that a solution can be found, and for the greater good of the country as a whole.

In Turkey, allow us the impertinence General Gursel, there is 'Kurdishness'. Here is the opinion of a learned scholar, Mr. Frank Tachau, who wrote on '**the face of Turkish Nationalism in the Middle East Journal (Summer 1959)**'. He says, when the Republic was established the 'National Pact' was not enough as the basis of unity for 'there were Muslim non-Turks who were fully as suspicious of Turkish rule as were the non-Muslim Communities. The most prominent of these were the **Kurds** of eastern Anatabia'. This suspicion was not a natural

habit, it was the result of centuries of oppression suffered by the Kurds. Was not the Revolution of May 27th 1960 a good chance to dispel this suspicion? The Kurds are brothers of the Turks; why not create an atmosphere where this brotherhood can blossom? The above writer, speaking of the policy of assimilation of nationalities says: not all groups have been 'assimilated' today. 'Those groups which have not been successfully assimilated are also the ones that have maintained their own language or some other such distinctive feature. The **Kurds** again are the most prominent of this type among the Muslims'.

We do not need to prove that there are Kurds in Turkey; we have never needed proof. We just thought it better to quote an independent source. But the whole world knows there is a problem in Turkey, and solving it is not by ignoring or denying it. The Kurds in Kurdistan of Turkey are loyal citizens of the Republic and will defend what the Turkish people will benefit by. But they will definitely reject and oppose to the bitter end such racial and undemocratic policies which General Gursel refuses to abandon. Let us hope, on the other hand, for it is never too late, that the new government will recognise the harm done to the interests of Turkey by this situation and find enough courage to do away with harmful relics of the First Republic.

From what has been said the position of the Kurds in Turkey can be deduced. The oppression and denial of rights is so complete that a Kurd is even forbidden to speak his language in public. He cannot write it either. If this elementary right of speech with the mother tongue is denied to a person what other conceivable right can be enjoyed? And what is the result of this? Only bitterness and conflict. In fact Gursel's government has not even released the Kurds imprisoned, without trial, during Menderes' regime. Here is a list of some of them for the world to know.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Profession</i>
Ziya Serefhan Oglu	Lawyer
Salim F. Oghlo	Captain in the armed forces
Seuket Turunli	Colonel in the armed forces
Dr. Naci Kutley	Physician
Musa Anter	Lawyer (Editor of the paper <i>Ileri Yurt</i>)
Abdulrahman Efem	Owner of <i>Ileri Yurt</i>
Said Kirmiji	Student (medical college)
Fauzi Ausan	Student (law college)
Meded Yas	Student (law college)
Said Bingol	Businessman

There have been reports of torture of the prisoners. We ask those who care about their

fellow men, as most people do, to protest against this and demand that either they be released or charged and tried in a proper court.

Having said this, we hope that our readers and our friends will understand the situation better and can come to their own conclusions. In **Syria (U.A.R.)** the Kurds are no better off than they are in Iran or Turkey. But President Nasser's security system is so tight that we could not get adequate new information for this issue, beyond the fact that things are definitely not improving. (The interested reader can see our issue of November 1959 for the situation in Syria).

* * *

The following letter was received from the Executive Committee of the '**Kurdish Students Society in Turkey**', another indication that no force can break the bonds that hold the Kurds together. And further a sign of the tragic lack of awareness among the Turkish leaders that it was the peoples desire for democracy that brought them to power.

Dear Friends;

We salute you all as worthy sons of our unfortunate nation. With your efforts, and with the efforts of the youth of Kurdistan, we shall achieve liberty and put an end to this servitude and prolonged misery.

Our organisation here has many enemies, as it would be expected in this country, so beware of opportunists who disguise themselves as one of us.

We are writing to you to tell you something about the recent coup, and its bearing on the Kurds. General Gursel, head of the movement, is from Arzenjan, and he is known there as Jamal Agha — the title the Kurds use there. But he seems to be no different from Ismet Inono, also a Kurd by origin but who made it his duty to do them every savage harm he can. Inono's past part in persecuting the Kurds is well known. (Such individual perversion for personal ends is not unknown in the history of most peoples.) The coup has brought no favourable change for the Kurds. Their nationality is still not recognised and they still are not allowed to speak their language. Many of the more active Kurds sent petitions and telegrams to the leaders of the 'coup' imploring them to release the many Kurds imprisoned and tortured during Menderes' dead regime. But with no avail; in spite of the fact that many, or all, of the other prisoners detained by Menderes, have been released. But it seems that though bad for us the new regime aims at giving freedom of the press and of writing. If so then our young men here might benefit by being able to express their opinions to a limited degree. The people who executed the 'coup' have some Kurds

among them, but they are helpless in the face of the strong authoritarian and Fascist tendencies which are manifest in the identity of outlook between the 'coup' leaders and the peoples Republican party of Inono, which was the party of the dictator Mustafa Kemal.

To be exact seven of our comrades have been released. But there are still 27 people in jail. The condition of these is to be pitied. No one can visit them. They are tortured, and their financial condition is desperate. We and some of our friends did something, within our limited means and abilities, to relieve their condition, but how much can we do? Originally it was intended to release them on June 14th, but the new authorities have shelved that idea.

What we ask from you is to do your utmost, whenever and wherever possible to protest to the world (governments, international organisations, people) the denial of our rights. And keep us informed of what you do.

Dear friends, have the spirit of forgiveness with each other and always be united, for in this lies victory for our cause. Forward brothers to liberty for Kurdistan; the future is on the side of right and justice and those who seek peace. Eternal life to a free Kurdistan and to the struggle of the Kurds against tyranny and oppression. God grant us victory in our mission.

signed
for the Executive Committee,
Turkey, 11.6.1960.

* * *

Iran: 'for whom the Bell tolls'

The sum total of what the Shah and his government (we say 'his' for on one occasion Dr. Eghbal, premier, told parliament, 'I am not interested in your criticism and your complaints. I don't depend on your votes. The Shah has ordered me to serve, and I am his servant') are doing for the people of Iran is: **nothing**. That is nothing positive. But plenty negative is done (or not done). Iran's independence is not preserved, for Iran is full of U.S. military personnel and bases. Iran's constitution is not respected by the rulers for the constitution says the Shah shall not meddle in the affairs of state, which under **article 45**, are the sole responsibility of the Prime Minister and the council of ministers, (who are presumably 'servants' of the people and of parliament and not of the Shah). And **article 28** directly prohibits the Shah from interfering in the affairs of parliament and the government. All freedoms are denied, the military and secret police rule the country, and the education, economy, health and the social services of the country are totally ignored. Parliamentary opposition is but a mockery, for both the opposition **MARDOM** (people) party, and the

majority **MILIYON** (Nationalist) party are the Shah's parties, accusing each other of not fulfilling the Shah's wishes adequately.

Before we say more, lest people accuse us of propaganda, let us quote from a source that will not be suspect as anti-Shah, the American magazine *Time* of July 18th 1960, supporter of the Eisenhower administration — the ally of the Shah — has this to say about the Shah and his government: 'ever since the Shahanshah ousted . . . Mossadagh in 1953, he has ruled with an unabashed if benevolent absolutism'. We think the word benevolent is out of place. Further the magazine says: the Shah 'has lavished much of the oil revenues of Iran in a build-up of the 200,000 man army . . . there is ample cause for unrest in the Shah's Kingdom . . . in his shabby capital of Terehan a minority lives in splendour while the rest exist in the squalor of centuries . . . Iran's growing body of intellectuals, admiring liberty, are humiliated by the servility of their parliament, taught to respect honesty they are disgusted by the pall of corruption that hangs over the Shah's court . . . his secret police are all too often inclined to treat any outspoken critic of the regime as a subversive'. If the situation is such that even *Time* says this, then we need not elaborate.

It is necessary for Kurds to say the above for the Kurds in Kurdistan of Iran have a duty, as loyal citizens of Iran, to join the rest of the population to improve the intolerable rule of the Government of the King of Kings. It must be remembered by all that it grieves a Kurd to see Iran in this situation as much as it grieves any other Iranian.

But let us see what of the Kurds, as Kurds, in Iran. Their nationality is not recognised. The recognition accorded to the Kurdish nationality and language is that they are Iranian and Farsi respectively, and there the matter ends. (This is a huge distortion of the fact that the Kurds, like other Persians are, Aryans, and their language is of the same group as the Farsi). No Kurdish party is allowed. There is only one Kurdish paper and that is in Teheran—named ironically *Kurdistan*—and its primary duty is praise of the Shah. The use of Kurdish is not permitted in schools in Kurdistan, and Kurdish literature is consequently suppressed. Kurdistan is under a form of military 'occupation' and at the slightest suspicion force is used (at the moment there are hundreds of Kurds who have sought asylum in Iraq). In short, every technique is used to make life unpleasant. Recently, under a wave of arrests more than 600 Kurds were imprisoned. They included people from Mahabad, Salmas, Sena (sanandaj), Mariwan, Sardasht, Shno, Bokan, Bana and Saghiz — all Kurdish towns—and Teheran.

So that world opinion can judge itself here is a list of names, chosen at random, who have been savagely deprived of life and freedom:

Name	Kind of sentence	Profession
Aziz Yusifi	Death	Writer
Ghani Blurian	Death	Writer
Rahmat Shariati	Death	Civil Servant
Ismail Qassimlo	Death	Student
Dr. Ali Maolawi	Life	Surgeon
Mohammad Karimi	Life	Police Force
Mula Mohammed Surini	Life	Theology teacher
Karim Wethoghi	15 years	Shop keeper
Majid Ahamadi	15 years	Land owner
Khalil Ahmad	10 years	Shop keeper
Ismail Sarshew	10 years	Trader

And so the list goes on. Their 'trials' were held in secret and by Military tribunals. **We ask the decent opinion of the world to voice its abhorrence of this denial of justice.** If the Shah's government has the courage we challenge it to hold these trials in the open, under the due process of law, and with the right of the accused to proper defense guaranteed. But alas if this were possible under the Shah's absolute rule, then one would not be able to tell him that if this state of affairs goes on, then some bell definitely 'tolls for thee'.

N.B. — As this issue of *Kurdistan* was at the printers, this news was received; that the four death sentences sited above have been commuted. We express our gratitude for this humanitarian step. And hope the Teheran authorities will further heed the 'wind of change'.

Our Society received the following letter from Mahabad, Kurdistan of Iran, as another expression of solidarity from the homeland to its youth in Europe. In fact most of the 'letter' is a poem, composed about the four patriots who are so unjustly sentenced to death, and dedicated to our Society. We hope the authorities in Teheran will recognise in it a token of Kurdish solidarity.

The Executive Committee,
The Kurdish Students Society in Europe,

We are most grateful for all your communications with us. Your speedy and courageous work, your sincere and valuable efforts for saving the four struggling sons of our people from the gallows, inspire admiration, respect and profound gratitude. As an expression of these emotions we dedicate this poem to you. (Then follows the long poem — a fine 'funeral oration' of the fallen heroes of Mahabad from Qazi Mohammad, the president of the Kurdish Republic in 1946, to date.)

This is for you, O sons of the fatherland, for you ambassadors of Kurdistan; a thousand and one greetings to you, you the Kurdish students society in Europe.

signed
Mahabad, 3.6.1960

* * *



Kurds, arbitrarily exiled from Kurdistan and Iran, demonstrating their cause in their country of asylum, Iraq.

This being the condition of our people in Turkey and Iran, our society has long considered it its duty to speak out on their behalf whenever that is deemed necessary. In this connection the executive committee, on February 8th, 1960, dispatched two detailed memoranda to the governments of Turkey and Iran. In both, resolute protests were included against their oppressive policies towards the Kurds, policies contrary to the spirit of the age, to International Law and to all moral norms accepted by civilized people, and in violation of the obligations which the two governments have undertaken by being parties to the United Nations Charter, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, The Turkish government was reminded of its gross neglect of all civilized standards by, forceably and deliberately trying to change the nationality of the Kurds, and by denying them even the barest rights (as Kurds) that are the natural due of every people and arbitrarily imprisoning 80 innocent Kurds. The Iranian authorities had, on the other hand, recently imprisoned 600 Kurds, on fabricated charges, under a campaign led by the notorious Brigadier Zebaa'i of the Security Department. This illegal act, resulting only from the fact that the Kurds had insisted on being Kurds (yet loyal citizens of Iran), was strongly deplored in the memorandum.

On the same day, that is February 8th, 1960, parallel memoranda were sent to the Human Rights Commission of the U.N. bringing to their attention the atrocities of the Turkish and Iranian authorities and reminding them that those actions were contrary to everything that the World organization stood for.

But more recently the government of Iran has sentenced to death four Kurds, who are again 'guilty' of desiring to remain Kurds. **Our Society hereby appeals to world opinion, to all bodies and organizations whose task it is to see justice done; to all individuals who do not want humanity to degenerate to a degree that in our 20th century a dictator King can play with the lives of innocent Iranian Kurds as he pleases, to do everything they can to save these four lives.** Our Society on its part has sent a letter to the Shah of Iran on this matter, and has also brought the matter to the attention of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights by a letter of June 6th, 1960. Because of the gravity of the question below is the text of the presentation to the Shah of Iran, and we ask all our friends to add their voices to ours in demanding, at least the commutation of the death sentences.

To His Majesty the Shah of Iran — Teheran

The executive committee of the Kurdish

Students Society has the honour of laying before your Majesty the following facts.

On November 3rd, 1959, the Iranian security authorities arrested 600 Kurds in Iran. Their only 'guilt' is that they happen to be Kurds and good Iranian citizens. As good Kurds they were asking for improvements in the social, economic and health conditions of the regions inhabited by Kurds, and which constitute Kurdistan of Iran. In the cultural field they were asking for schools where Kurdish could be taught and officially used. As is well known Kurdish is among the oldest and most beautiful of the languages of the Iranian family of languages.

As good Iranian citizens they were grieved by the chaos and corruption of the administrative machine throughout Iran, by the bribery prevailing among high and minor officials, by the backward economic, cultural and health conditions of the people in general, and by the lack of individual and political freedom in the country, except for a tiny minority of favourites. None of this feeling constitutes a violation of any law. And we are confident that our arrested brothers were, and still are, filled with love for Kurdistan of Iran, and for Iran as a whole, and that they desire that Iran should both regain her past glory and march forward to progress.

We have learned that a **military tribunal has sentenced four of our comrades to death.** They are: Aziz Yusifi and Ghani Blorian both writers from Mahabad, Rahinat Shariati a civil servant in Teheran, and Ismail Qassemlo from Redhaaia. And the same tribunal sentenced thirty other Kurds to terms varying from life imprisonment to ten years.

These men were all illegally arrested and likewise sentenced. Such disregard for law and for the rights of citizens of Iran does not conform with some of the pronouncements of your Majesty. On occasions you have expressed your wish to turn Iran into a modern progressive state, a united nation in which all nationalities live on a basis of equality and individuals dwell in peace and prosperity. Permit us then to emphasise to your Majesty the extensive damage that will be done to Iran as a result of the activities of some of the departments and officials of State who have high-handedly arrested and severely sentenced our people. And if these irresponsible authorities continue to be free to abuse the power of their office, or use it for personal ends, that will definitely lead Iran and the Institutions of Iran to a state of utter chaos. To forestall this, and before it is too late, we ask you to exercise your authority and prevent those circles from doing greater harm.

For the same reasons, and in the name of justice, we ask your Majesty to free the detained persons, the prisoners serving various terms, and above all to save those who are under the sentence of death. And on the general plane we hope that the just national demands of the Kurds in Iran; for better economic, social, health and cultural conditions, and for Kurdish schools for their children, will be met.

Fulfilling the above modest wishes will not only win the gratitude of the Kurdish people in Iran but also that of the entire Kurdish nation, which is divided between several states. It will at the same time strengthen the unity of Iran and the unity between its various nationalities.

But if the death sentences are carried out and the other people are kept in prison that will certainly estrange the Kurds in Iran from the government in Teheran, it will alienate Kurdish opinion outside Iran, and arouse a cry of condemnation from the enlightened public of the world.

Our society, representing students from all parts of Kurdistan, be it from Iran, Turkey, Iraq, or Syria (U.A.R.), feel confident that in this communication it is reflecting the wishes of the entire Kurdish nation. The fate of the four men condemned to death is in your hands. We feel sure that if your Majesty reacts favourably to this petition you will be taking a step forward in helping Iran towards the progress and freedom which we wish for her.

Please accept our highest respects.

president, Kurdish Students Society in Europe.
Lausanne, 6.6.1960.

* * *

Iraq: Reality testifies

July 14th, 1958. On that historic day the army, with the full and active support of the people, under the leadership of Iraq's hero Abdul Karim Qassim, put an end to forty years of tyranny, of corrupt and opulent monarchy, of servile submission to a ruthless imperialism, of political economic, and social stagnation — except for what came naturally with the passing of the years — due to corruption, feudalism, police rule, and the consequent evils of a 'sick' body politic, and, it is hoped, to the mood of pessimism and the lack of vitality that had gripped the country.

Iraq has just celebrated the second anniversary of that day. Above we said it had put an end to so much. But what has it put in place of that destroyed? First there are factors, which though not tangible to the casual observer, are of supreme importance. The country is truly independent now, with its foreign policy based on the principals of positive

neutralism, the U.N. Charter, and the Bandung principles, rather than on the interests of alien powers. Internally there is a national government headed by the revered leader of the country Abdul Karim Qassim, whose only aim cannot possibly be any other than the furtherance of the interests of Iraq and its people. Then, being free and independent, there is a mood of optimism and hope prevailing in the country. This must be qualified by a certain lack of vitality consequent upon the incessant trouble, external and internal, created by the enemies of Iraq and their local allies. This, though unfortunate, is only a passing phase for with the consolidation of national power no force can cause despair in the people. To continue there is freedom in Iraq: of the press, of expression, of writing, of political and trade union association, and there is equality of all before the law. In fact the government itself can be criticized, and this is a healthy sign for if democracy is to take root no government should put itself above criticism.

Of course it would be dishonest flattery to say that all is perfect in Iraq. It is not. But where on earth, is it? The Republic is young, difficulties and unfortunate political distractions caused by some Iraqis with no sense of public responsibility, have diverted attention from public needs, and experience is still to be gained. There is still much to be done, and no doubt one can point out instances for which a better approach could have been found. But nevertheless the revolutionary change is so profound nothing can stop the tide of progress. In the West, so-called 'experts' on the Middle East often foreshadow doom for Iraq and Iraq's Abdul Karim Qassim. But they have been confounded; and the people of Iraq shall prove them wrong again.

The above consideration has been necessary because it is the duty of every Kurd, from whatever part of Kurdistan, to hold Iraq dear, and explain the truth about it. But what of the Kurds in Kurdistan of Iraq? Article 3 of the Interim-Constitution proclaims them partners in the Republic. They speak, read and write in Kurdish. There is a special Kurdish section in Broadcasting and Television services. They have papers of their own, for example *Khahet*, *Jin*, *Azadi*, and others in which they can express their opinions and voice their grievances. There are periodicals like *Hewa*, *Rojy Nûvî* and *Hetaw*. Needless to say that it is through such media, and through the freedom of expression, that a people can develop its culture, its language, and preserve its customs and traditions. Further the Kurds can freely declare their support for the struggle of their compatriots in other parts of Kurdistan, or protest to the responsible governments against atrocities perpetrated against them.

In fact, following the recent campaigns of arrests and savage sentences passed on Kurds, in Turkey and Iran and Syria, the Kurds in Iraq did voice their protest. And in fact the other sections of the population, the press in general, and many democratic organizations in the country joined this protestation. This is of vital importance for it means that the Kurds in Iraq enjoy the support and goodwill of the rest of the population except for a few extremists. And on the governmental level Prime Minister Abdul Karim Qassim has always taken personal interest in Kurdish problems. This rough outline is only indicative of the harmony that exists, due to the democratic policy of toleration and partnership that is pursued as the foundation of Iraqi national solidarity and progress. We hopefully expect that the Permanent Constitution will contain better guarantees for this happy development. In fact it must, for the Kurds, as partners, have an irrevocable right to that.

Some tell us all this sweet talk of Iraq, and bitter attacks on Turkey, Iran, and U.A.R. are unjustified propaganda. That we totally reject. But we are prepared for challenge. The facts speak for themselves, and we will be happy to meet our challengers to investigate them together. If we have reservations or complaints we voice

them freely, for we believe the government of Iraq welcomes sincerity. For example the 'Directorate of Kurdish Studies' that was set up last year has been, up to now, something of a dead letter. First this body lost its original name, we hope not intentionally changed, and now its implementation is casual at the most. As a consequence of this the use of the Kurdish language in schools in Kurdistan is still far from complete. Further, what has come of some of the resolutions of the congress of Kurdish teachers of September 1959 which were approved by the then Minister of Education? In addition there has been a notable disregard of the spirit of partnership in many official pronouncements, and in the writings and words of unofficial bodies and organisations. All this is unfortunate, and we humbly draw the attention of the government of Iraq to it. If the Kurds are partners, as we know they are, that must be in reality too not just in theory. But nothing will shake our confidence on the good intentions of the government of Iraq, in the leadership of the leader Abdul Karim Qassim, and in the brotherhood of Arabs and Kurds. Such questions that are outstanding can be solved, given goodwill, for the benefit of all Iraq.



H.E. Premier Qassim at the Newroz (Kurdish New Year) Celebrations. Behind him is a poster depicting the Ancient Kurdish Hero Kawa.

In sharp contrast to our relations with the authorities of Turkey and Iran, our communication, printed below, is indicative of the good intentions of the government of the Republic of Iraq towards the Kurds, and of our devotion to the duty of serving that Republic, the Republic of Arabs and Kurds.

To the Leader and Founder of the Republic of Iraq,
Abdul Karim Qassim,

Your Excellency,

Our Society is proud to have received a reply letter on the occasion of your recovery from the criminal attempt on your Excellency's life. Then, your kind oral greetings were conveyed to us and that profoundly exhilarated every one of us. In fact we are always proud of the kindness and patronage that your Excellency shows towards our society, and towards students in general. We are, in our humble way, grateful for the just and rightful stand that your Excellency takes towards the Kurdish nation and its problems. Our nation is a true sister of the great Arab nation. The Kurdish people, whose rights are usurped in Iran, Turkey, and the United Arab Republic, are happy in Iraq — the Iraq of Arabs and Kurds, the Iraq of Arab-Kurd brotherhood, the Iraq of the glorious revolution — may God protect it under your Excellency's effective and popular leadership.

At the very hour when your Excellency led the blessed Revolution, and hence freed the courageous people of Iraq — its Arabs and Kurds — from imperialism, feudalism and tyranny, our Society, with all its branches, surged for its defence from the conspiracies of imperialist and allied sources. We defend the Revolution and shall continue to do so

with all our power be it on the student or international plane, in memoranda, books, publications, circulars, speeches, festive occasions, or in our magazine KURDISTAN. Many a time have we cited the policy of the Republic of Iraq, under your leadership, in our memoranda to the United Nations as 'the' democratic method for the peaceful resolution of the Kurdish question. And many a time have we invited the governments of Turkey, Iran, and the U.A.R. to look at Iraq and its Revolution and thus settle the Kurdish national question in the same brotherly fashion. But will tyrants heed the lesson of history?

The scope of our activities is continuously growing and we have branches in most of the countries of west and socialist Europe. Even this is partly due to the practical policy of Iraq, for the majority of our members are from Kurdistan of Iraq, though our society does represent all Kurdish students in Europe. But your Excellency can rest assured that all of them, be they from Kurdistan of Iraq, or that of Iran or Turkey or Syria, have the same warm affection for Iraq.

What the hero of Islam and the East, Salahadin Al-Ayubiy (a Kurd), did is a debt, preserved for centuries, which the Arab nation owes the Kurds. How happy we and our people are that the hero Abdul Karim Qassim is discharging it.

Long live as the hero of Arabs and Kurds, as the liquidator of imperialism and reaction, as the benevolent leader of the Republic of Iraq and its people.

With Respects,
for the Executive Committee of the K.S.S.E.,
the President. 25.3.1960.

On Kurdish Literature

This is a very condensed summary of the central theme of the famous Kurdish tale '**Khaj and Siyamend**', translated, with some variations, from **Professor Stig Wikander's** '*Recheil de Textes Kourmandji*' by Omar Dizayi.

KHAJ AND SIYAMEND

The story of *Khaj and Siyamend* is one of the most famous old fairy-tales in Kurdish Literature, and is known by all the Kurds. Like many other authors of Kurdish 'Romances' its author is unknown. He wrote it in two styles: in prose and in narrative poetry. Briefly this is its theme.

Khaj and Siyamend were two lovers; but Khaj's family, far from blessing this romance

forced her to consent to marry another man whom she did not want. But on the Wedding day, Siyamend carried her off from her fiancé and her seven old-fashioned brothers. He took her to the high sipan mountains where nobody could find them and disturb the amorous atmosphere of their hide-out.

Indeed the lofty mount sipan was friendly and sheltered them kindly. For a time they lived in its serenity, happy and gay. One day, under the cool shadows of the mountain side, Siyamend was asleep in the tender arms of his lovable Khaj. While her arms were holding her dearest, her beautiful black eyes fell upon a far away herd of stags coming towards a nearby brook. As the herd

came closer she saw that it was composed of seven stags, a young powerful stag and a Hind. The young stag was continuously forcing the seven away from the Hind, yet they were attempting to approach her again and again. But with no avail; as the young one kept them evictively away, and the Hind tranquilly grazed by its side. Seeing this scene tender Khaj could only remember one thing: the day her Siyamend abducted her from her seven brothers. Being sensitive she wept and her warm tears fell upon the sleeping Siyamend's face. Waking up he looked at her and enquired: "O, light of my eyes, my dearest Khaj, why art thou weeping? Till now thou wert joyful and happy. Why feelest thou sad now and what changes thee thus? Tell me what be the matter?" Khaj refused to tell, but as he persisted she gave in and said: "O, my Siyamend, a while ago a herd of stags came to yonder brook. There was a Hind, a young stag, and seven other stags, the one and the seven were in continuous struggle over the Hind. Thus I remember that day on which you abducted me. The thought came to me; what will be mine end if my love were killed? And for that I wept."

Proud Siyamend could not bear seeing his Khaj so unduly disturbed. He grabbed his arch and went to kill the stag that had caused Khaj's tears to flow. But she begged him and cried — "no, do not do that". He, not hearing her pleas, went undeterred to the brook where the animals were drinking. The young stag was beside the Hind and, unaware of the intruder, received a fatal wound. It circled around and then fell to the ground. Siyamend hurried to it and like a proud hunter held up its horns. But, though in its last breath, the stag was not dead and with a shake of its powerful neck it

tossed Siyamend away. Away and down the deadly depths of the foggy valley below. The fall was fatal for Siyamend fell upon a dry sharp branch which like a dagger mercilessly pierced his body, but leaving him yet alive.

Khaj patiently awaited her love's return. Gradually she grew restless and then proceeded to the brook. There she saw the dead stag, but no Siyamend. Through the silence an anguished voice came to her ear from the depth of the valley. She went up to the edge and looked down. And there she saw what she had feared: Siyamend, her precious love, lying helpless far below.

Here the tale becomes a passionate dialogue between the two. Khaj poetically mourning her lost love from above, and Siyamend muttering his last words to the 'light of his eyes'. At last Khaj calls out to him:

Siyamend, hold out your arms and abide

Here comes Khaj to you, dearest, as thy bride. Then she throws herself down to where her love lies. Thus, refusing to part, they die together.

Legend has it that every springtime red tulips grow on the spot where the two met their fate and two doves fly over symbolising the sweet tragedy of two innocent hearts. The village folk further relate that two bright stars above Mount Sipan always shine to throw light upon the tombs of the two lovers.

(Needless to say translation, and a brief summary at that, never does justice to a work of art. Translating Shakespeare or the Arabian Nights can never convey the beauty and richness of the works. This tragedy of Khaj and Siyamend is truly a classic of the Kurdish language.)

The Branches

Over the past few years our Society has grown steadily. The scope of activities has been widened, membership has increased many fold and new branches have been formed. At the moment of writing the Society has duly constituted Branches in the following countries: The United Kingdom, Switzerland, Austria, the Federal German Republic, The German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Besides this we have members in Roumania, Italy, France, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, though their numbers are not yet large enough to warrant the formation of an official branch.

Whereas the success of the Society depends on the co-operation and effort of its members, and on its being able to include the largest possible number

of Kurdish students in Europe, this wide coverage is conclusive proof of the fact that all Kurdish students are united in joining it as a step to restoring their people's usurped rights. And whereas the activities of the Branches are a vital part of the general effort of the Society, in this issue we put the **spotlight on our Branch in the Federal German Republic** for having been the most active branch over the past year. This is not to belittle the efforts of our members in the other Branches, but on the contrary it is to spur them on to more intensive efforts. And for the less active Branches this can be an example to follow.

The following report was supplied to 'Kurdistan' by the Branch Secretary Mr. Fadhil Ganja Ali. In it he enumerates some of the more important

activities and gives a general picture of the life of the Branch over a period of time.

“1. A most impressive and successful celebration of Nawroz was staged in Munich last March. Among the many attractions was an **Exhibition of Kurdish Handicrafts** which very much impressed the guests. And on this occasion the Munich Branch of the Iraqi Students Society in Federal Germany and Berlin made available to us financial assistance as and if we require it. We sent them a written expression of our gratitude and solidarity.

2. Two delegations interviewed Dr. Kamuran Bedir-Khan, and Dr. Omer Dezi, separately. The result of each was a valuable exchange of ideas.

3. A general Branch meeting was held on 22nd March 1960, and the proceedings were sent to the few members who were not present and to the local and home press.

4. The Branch Library is completely re-organised and put in the care of Dara Yawar.

5. Funds were collected and sent to Berlin to meet the cost of printing of the German language edition of the Society's magazine '*Kurdistan*'. It was duly published and distributed.

6. Some non-Kurds were accepted as associate members.

7. True to article one of our constitution, which provides for mutual help, assistance was given to those of our members who were in financial difficulties.

8. Kurdish students newly arriving from home were met and assisted regarding the academic, social and other aspects of their life. Further they were given adequate information regarding the Society.

9. To establish a more direct link with the homeland and its neighbours, a committee is set up to study the possibility of publishing a periodical in Munich, called '*Voice of Kurdistan*', to be written in Kurdish, Arabic, Persian (Farsi) and Turkish.

10. Adding our voice to that of the other Branches, and to that of the executive committee, a protest telegram was sent to the Turkish government, last February, against the arbitrary arrest and imprisonment of innocent Kurds.

11. An official delegation of ours attended a social function of the Greek Students Society in Munich, upon their invitation. The benefit of such contacts is quite obvious.

12. Our delegation successfully participated in the W.U.S. 'summer night' in Munich. The occasion was invaluable for communicating our case to the participating delegations from all continents.

13. A fund, to which all members contribute, is established to assist one of our comrades from Kurdistan of Turkey.

14. Various efforts to establish and maintain cordial relations with German organisations (hence the German People) are being met with success. These are a few examples of press interest in our problem. The *Suddeutsche* published a fine article on the Kurds (deriving it from our Society's Memorandum to the Turkish government), and so did the *Stuttgarter*. Further in the near future the paper *Acht Uhr*, in consultation with us, is to publish an article entitled *The life of the Members of the Kurdish Students Society in Europe, in Munich*.

15. On June 15th 1960, our Branch, in association with W.U.S. and other students organisations, organised a 'Kurdish Evening', in which entertainment and formal discussion of national questions were effectively mixed.

16. On June 7th 1960 an urgent letter was dispatched to the Shah of Iran protesting against the intention of his government to carry out the death sentences passed on four Kurds in Iran. The Shah was petitioned to commute the sentences. This was of course done by every Branch, supplementing the intensive efforts of the Executive Committee to bring the cases to the attention of the world.

Members are always kept informed of all activities so that, in the fulfilment of its mandate the Branch Committee is never isolated from their will, or deprived of their effective co-operation.”

* * *

Here is a list of the names and addresses of the Branch secretaries, and members of the Executive Committee, so that people and our friends in the various countries of Europe will know whom to communicate with. For there have been cases of uncertainty in which our friends have found difficulty in contacting us.

Communications with **Branches** should be with the following secretaries:

1. **Austria:** RAUF AHMED FATTAH
Perinet Gasse 1/5
Wien 20
Austria

2. **Federal Germany:** FADHIL GANJA ALI
Marburg/L
Postlagernd
Germany (DBR)
3. **Switzerland:** HASSAN SULAIMAN
Poste Restante,
Geneve
Switzerland
4. **German Democratic Republic:** AZIZ AHMED AMIN
Berlin-Prenzlauer Berg
Kollwitzstr. 76
Germany (DDR)
5. **Czechoslovakia:** RAMZI KHALEEL SHABAN
D.Z.S. 3187
Stara Boleslav
Czechoslovakia (CSR)
6. **The U.S.S.R.:** K. N. QEFTAN
D 315, bin SA TNNCKNN
Nep 6/2/
Moscow, USSR
7. **United Kingdom:** TAHSIN MOHAMMAD AMIN
16 Taswell Road,
Southsea, Hants,
England

* * *

Communications with the Executive Committee should be addressed to:

Kamal Fuad
(General Secretary)
Johann-Sigismund Str. 2
Helensee, b/Kaminski
Berlin
Germany

Further, communications can be with other members of the Executive committee:

Ismet Cheriff
(President)
10 Ave. Dickens
Lausanne
Switzerland

Woria Ramanduzy
(Vice President)
Gonzaga G. 3/5
Wien 1
Austria

Saadi Amin
(Treasurer)
16 Taswell Rd.
Southsea
Hants, England

Tahsin Mohammad Amin
(Editor of 'Kurdistan')
See Page 2.

Constitution of the K.S.S.E.

Following are the 'Basic Aims' of the K.S.S.E. embodied in its constitution, as amended in the Fourth Congress in Vienna:

(1) Strengthen the relationship of Kurdish Students in Europe, and organise meetings between them.

(2) Facilitate mutual aid between Kurdish Students in Europe.

(3) Promote the Kurdish national culture, and work towards the good of the Kurdish people and

its national question.

(4) Enlighten the world on the culture, country and condition of the Kurdish people and its national question.

(5) Strengthen the spirit of co-operation and friendship between the Kurdish students and the students of other countries, and contact student and non-student organisations, both national and international, and co-operate with them within the scope of our mutual aims and interests.

Press Page

The purpose of this section is, as will be guessed anyhow, to give the reader an idea of what the press of various countries says about the Kurds, their country, or their problems.

Extracts from an article by **Hans-Wilfrid von Stockhausen** in the monthly *Journal Politische Studien*, No. 117, January 1960 — published by the College of Political Science, Munich.

“Oil and Mohammad, Kurdish Problems

. . . The restive tribes of ‘wild Kurdistan’ were in continuous struggle against the beastly suppression of their regional rights by the Ottoman Empire . . . According to the treaty of Sevres of 1920, Turkey was to renounce her claim to territory along the Syrian and Mesopotamian border, and along the northern border of Turkey, in favour of an autonomous Kurdish government. Kurds do not live in Iraq only. But there are 9 to 11 million Kurds: of these about five million live in Eastern Turkey, 3 to 4 million in West Iran, 100,000 in Soviet Azerbaijan, and a large number live in northern Syria . . . When Britain, by resolution of the League of Nations, acquired a 25 year mandate over Iraq, she found that the autonomy she had promised (the Kurds) under different circumstances, was now an unpleasant burden . . . the Kurds suffered under the Hashemite governments in Iraq. On the other hand Mustafa Kemal savagely dealt with them. Countless villages and tribes were destroyed and uprooted by Ataturk and his successors Inono and Menderes. Even today in Akara they deny the existence of a Kurdish problem, which is a fact before their eyes. They call them ‘mountain Turks’ so that they can disregard law and the rights and promises that were first made to the Kurds. The Kurds in Iran are not better off at all. If a Kurdish tribe asks for the simplest of rights or claims the right to preserve its own customs and traditions, the government of Teheran will uproot it and transfer the population to the Farsi districts of North East Iran. The Soviets in fact claim that the ‘Cento’ pact contains a secret clause specifically directed against the Kurds . . . Quassim did his best to fulfil for the Kurds what is contained in Article Three of the Interim-Constitution of Iraq.”

* * *

“In many of the cities in Kurdistan of Turkey, like Moosh, Slevan, Orfa, and Arzanjan, Kurdish children are not allowed to go on to intermediate school . . . In nothing are the Kurds allowed to have an opinion or the right of opposition. They

are imprisoned without trial, and even killed without trial . . . But in spite of all, the Kurdish nation, in its search for liberty and freedom, has never lost hope and never shall.”

By a Kurd in Bulgaria, writing in the paper *Halk Gencligi*, No. 46, December 13th 1959.

“Lately Turkish police have made a wide number of arrests among Kurds in the Turkish capital. About 80 people have been arrested, and it is said these are accused of having had relations with Kurds in Iraq . . . But the Turkish press only reports that some individuals have been detained because they work with foreign elements (not with a foreign country) and have political meetings which are against national interests.”

**A.F.P. (French News Agency),
21st December 1959.**

By way of comment on the above Agency report:

“By orders of the government, the Turkish press was to keep the matter silent . . . the detained persons are nationalist Kurds . . . they work in an organisation spread all over Kurdistan of Turkey, and its aim is to get ‘cultural rights’ for Kurds, for according to a Turkish law passed in 1932 Kurds are forbidden to write in their language . . . this law is still operative . . . the caution of the Turkish authorities is not exaggerated if we think of the fact that the population of the region goes up to 2.5 million or 10% of the total population (of Turkey) according to official estimates; but up to 6 million according to Kurdish national sources.”

Le Monde, 26th December 1959.

The French periodical **Orient** in its issue No. 13, Spring 1960, had extracts from the two memoranda of our society to the U.N. Human Rights Commission concerning the conditions of the Kurd in Turkey and Iran. And also, in its documents section, had the programmes of the Iraqi political parties, among them the Democratic party of Kurdistan of Iraq.

In its issue No. 12, Autumn 1959, the periodical has an article about our society. Here are some extracts.

(See overleaf)

“The Kurdish Congress of Vienna”

“The Kurdish Students’ Society in Europe held its fourth Congress in Vienna from 23rd to 26th of last July (then there is a history of the origins of the society in 1956, and its development). It is not bound to any party, different tendencies co-exist in it . . . It is activated by a dynamic committee . . . it carries out an active propaganda by (various) means . . . the positions which it adopted constituted a particularly clear indication of the state of mind of the young Kurdish intellectuals on the problems of the present and of the future . . . they exercise also an influence, not negligible, in Kurdistan itself . . . the motions noted by the Congress in Vienna are of great interest, because they show clearly the extent and limits of the Kurdish nationalist claims . . . the young intellectuals of Kurdistan intend to obtain, in return for their moderation, quite other things than just promises.”



This photo depicts Qazi Mohammed, President, and Mustafa Barzani, C-in-C of the Armed Forces of the Kurdish Republic of 1945-46.

The President was hanged by the Iranian Authorities, and Barzani is at present Leader of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan, in Iraq.



The late Hero of Kurds, Sheikh Mahmoud, Head of the Kurdish Government (1919-20)

Miscellaneous

The Society's telegram to the 'Summit Conference' last May (which broke up due to the U-2 spying incident).

The Conference, of Heads of Government,
Paris,
Excellencies,

We respectfully remind you that the Kurdish people too have the right to unification and liberty.
K.S.S.E.

* * *

Dr. Kamuran Bedir-Khan's telegram to the Shah of Iran regarding the death sentence passed by a military tribunal on four Kurds.
His Majesty the Shah of Iran,
Teheran.

I permit myself the liberty of asking your Majesty to reprieve the death sentences passed by a military tribunal on four Kurdish youths; A ziz Yusefi — Ghani Blurian — Rahmat Sharifi — Ismail Qassemli. The hanging of Qazy Mohammad and his associates was a great mistake. But your majesty by reprieving these four death sentences will prevent the authorities from committing an even greater mistake which will have incalculable repercussions.

Emir Kamuran Bedir-Khan.

* * *

We have received a present of two valuable books from Mustafa Salim Peshdari — a student at the Medical College, Baghdad. We have received greetings from many well wishing friends. And further our liaison committee in Iraq sent us a box of wonderful articles which included national costumes and many handicrafts which were displayed at the exhibition, organised by our Branch in Federal Germany last March in Munich. Here we like to express our gratitude to all and say it is wonderful to know that your people at home stand by you.

* * *

Upon the invitation of the 'Students Council of the U.S.S.R.', our President, Ismet Cheriff, participated in 'the International Summer School' at Korm on the Black Sea, as the official delegate of our Society. 107 delegates attended, representing 42 countries and 6 international organisations. It covered the period 1st to 12th July 1960.

(Details of this will appear in the next issue of KURDISTAN.)

During a reception of the Iraqi Students Union in Austria, in his honour, **Mr. Kamel Chaderchi**, leader of the 'National Democratic Party' in Iraq, was asked by a Kurdish student: what is the position of the National Democratic Party regarding the 'Kurdish Question' ?

In answer Mr. Chaderchi said: 'We completely support the Kurdish people in obtaining their national rights. And if the other parts of the Kurd's homeland are liberated we shall not stand in the way of its unification. But rather we shall assist them in forming a Kurdish state'. Here an Arab student interjected: Does your excellency mean that we shall cut off a part of Iraq and give it to the Kurds ? Mr. Chaderchi answered: 'This is their country'. (This is indeed the solid understanding through which Arab-Kurd brotherhood can be maintained and forever cemented. **Ed.**)

* * *

The Executive Committee received a letter from the Dutch journalist Van Rooy in which he expresses his support for the just cause of the Kurdish Nation, and his resolve to do everything to bring out its reality and acquaint the European public with that cause. This letter followed an interview Mr. Van Rooy had with our Vice-President. In it he proposes to our Society to help create a 'Kurdistan International Organisation' (International Ge Sellschaft Kurdistan) to serve Kurdish interests.

(We have informed Mr. Van Rooy that his proposal shall be studied at the coming congress in Berlin. Needless to say we are grateful for his interest).

* * *

The Amsterdam weekly *Het Vilze Volk*, in its issue of 16th June 1960, published an article under the Heading: '**The Long and Bitter Struggle of the Kurds for their Liberty**'. In it there is an explanation of past efforts of the Kurdish people, and their present conditions — good in Iraq, bad in Iran, Turkey and Syria. And there are also references to some of our Society's activities.

* * *

Letters to the Editor

These letters were received following the Issue of last November:

The Editor of *Kurdistan*.

Dear Sir,

I should be glad if you would supply regularly two copies of your publication on *Kurdistan*, beginning with the January (1960) issue.

Thanking you in advance,

**Yours faithfully,
Yusuf s. Mardin Press Attache,
Turkish Embassy, London, S.W.1.
February 9th 1960**

* * *

The Editor of *Kurdistan*.

Dear Sir,

I am interested in obtaining a one year subscription to your magazine KURDISTAN beginning with the current issue. Please forward the magazine and your invoice to me at the above address.

**Sincerely,
A. Charles Moss,
American Embassy,
London, W.1.
July 12th 1960**

* * *

The Editor of *Kurdistan*,

Dear friend,

We would like to receive your magazine regularly. Every week we forward to you copies of our weekly paper and hope you will give some to your friends. We await the receipt of your magazine.

**Sincerely,
Dr. Abdul Rahman Mufti Zada,
The Newspaper 'Kurdistan',
Teheran, Iran.
6.12.1959.**

* * *

The Editor of *Kurdistan*,

Dear Sir,

I was very surprised to read in the article 'Focus on Kurdistan', which appeared in the issue of *Kurdistan* dated November 1959, of the allega-

tions of anti-Kurdish activities in Iran. Such a hostile attitude on the part of the Iranian authorities as described in the article has never been and can never be. Kurds in Iran are treated in every respect as all other members of the Iranian community, and this is for the simple reason that they are purely Iranian and are never regarded in any other way in the eyes and hearts of the rest of the Iranian people. Never at any time in history has Kurdistan been separated from Iran and it is therefore meaningless to speak of any part of Kurdistan having been 'forcibly annexed to Iran'.

Such distorted information can have its source only in the propaganda of the enemies of the country, which aims at harming and antagonising the minds of the people. Indeed it is necessary only to contact some of the Kurds themselves in various parts of Iran to discover the true fact, which is that there is not the least discrimination between a Kurdish and any other member of the community in Iran. Every way is open for the Kurds in Iran; many become generals, all can attain the highest positions in public life; there is a special Kurdish radio installation; His Imperial Majesty The Shahanshah devotes personal attention to the development and progress of Kurdistan, willingly receiving the Kurdish leaders and providing for many Kurdish students to continue their studies in Europe. All these things demonstrate how, far from there being any discriminating against Kurds in Iran, they enjoy the full consideration of His Majesty and the Iranian Government.

Kurdistan is rapidly improving in all walks of life; in agriculture and in many other aspects progress is being made. It is, therefore, particularly unfair for Kurds outside Iran to express themselves in opposition to the Iranian authorities, when their brothers in Iran are welcomed there and are attaining a state of prosperity and well-being. It would seem more natural to appreciate and approve of such a state of affairs.

I should be very pleased personally to meet any Kurds over here, and should welcome a talk with them on further aspects of Kurdish life in our country.

**Yours faithfully,
A. Esfendiary,
for Iranian Ambassador,
Iranian Embassy,
London, W.8.
10.2.60.**

(We thank you, Mr. Esfendiary, for your challenging letter. In our magazine all opinions can be expressed. Let us, then, answer the points made one by one.

(i) Kurds are considered purely Iranian and treated equally with other members of the Iranian community: But Sir, do not forget that a fundamental right of a people is their right to a nationality. Quite often the Iranian authorities have misused the fact that the Kurds are Aryan like the Farsi people and that their language belongs to the same family of Iranian languages (or Indo-European, or Indo-Iranian languages, according to the name you choose). Having common origin does not make two people the same. The Germans, for example, are Aryan but that does not make them Iranian. Some languages in Afganistan, Pakistan, India, and even Europe have a common origin with the Iranian group, does that make those people Iranian? Can the Spanish, French, and Italian people be one because they have had some common roots? There are similarities between the languages and characteristics of many peoples, take the Slavs, that does not make them one. The Kurds are a nationality and constitute a nation with their brothers out-side Iran, and this basic fact your government denies. Thus talk of equality is quite meaningless. The Kurds in Iran are proud to be kins of the Farsi people, they are happy to be citizens of Iran, and they are conscious of their links with you; in fact we like all humanity to think of their common origin. But as things are today the Kurds object to your efforts to distort their ethnic origins, their national identity, and the autonomous development of their rich language.

(ii) That Kurdistan has never been separated from Iran: All of Kurdistan has never been part of Iran. Part of it indeed has been. But unreal ancient historic situations are no justification for refusing to recognise a fact. History is full of injustices which are only now being rectified. Human society is progressing and you must agree that the map, the state, and the whole set up of the world, is continuously changing. But yesterday the whole world belonged to colonial Empires, can anybody stop the process of their break-up? No. For people are conscious now and rights cannot be usurped for ever. The Arab lands were part of the Turkish Empire up to the peace settlement of 1919. Could Turkey have insisted on retaining them? Your own Iranian Empire extended far beyond the present frontiers of Iran, and yet you have irrevocably accepted the change. All this is in the march of history and the gradual progress of man towards complete equality for all people. But let us empha-

size that what the Kurd wants is to be free and equal partners in building a happy Iran.

(iii) We reject in the strongest possible terms your accusation that our information has "its source in the propaganda of the enemies of Iran". We believe, as the majority of Iranians (of all nationalities) do, that very much is wrong in Iran. There is bad government, corruption, bribery, Army rule and police terror, squandering of public funds, lack of adequate education, health, social and other services, lack of freedom; of the press, of speech, of assembly etc., and a total disregard for the honour and dignity and independence of the great people of Iran. In fact there is almost nothing that your government does for Iran. All this is wrong, and in our opinion any Iranian who does not openly say it and oppose it (but rather say all is well) is an enemy of the people of Iran.

(iv) Kurds "become generals" and the Shah receives their leaders: What the Kurds need is Kurdish schools, Kurdish papers and magazines (there is a paper in Teheran, called Kurdistan but its primary task is to praise the Shah), a better life, better health, better food, political rights, freedom, and a genuine respect for and recognition of their nationality. As to meeting the Shah, we do not see any value in that.

As to the advances in Kurdistan, that is simply contrary to the fact, for all of Iran is in dire poverty and most of it about at least two centuries behind the atom age. We have seen Kurdistan of Iran and the only thing that one finds in plenty is soldiers and guns. In fact there is news that a tribe is being uprooted so that your ally the U.S. can build a missile site (we hope this is not true).

(v) You express your wish to see us;

We are always ready, and will be very pleased to meet you or your friends. We are grateful for your suggestion. But the point is this: on a former occasion we met Mr. Qawam, the Minister at your Embassy, and all he would say, and in an insulting manner, was that there is no such thing as a Kurdish language or nationality. Such talk can serve no purpose. But for genuine discussion we are at your disposal.

We apologize for this long answer, but the magazines' columns are open to you if you care to explain your view point. **Ed.**)

* * *

Review Article

LA QUESTION KURDE
by DR. KAMURAN BEDIR-KHAN
(Paris: Imprimerie Vogue, 1959 — 16 Pages.)
by HASSAN SULAIMAN

*"A thousand friends, is few ,
one enemy, is too many ,"*

(Kurdish proverb)

It is significant that the pamphlet begins with this proverb. The usurper governments are not content with dominating Kurdistan and persecuting the Kurdish people, but they have done all they can, through a deliberately false propaganda, to impair the reputation of this peace-loving people, and to distort the true reality of its national cause so as to deprive it of the sympathy of world public opinion. Hence it is extremely necessary to enlighten world opinion on the Kurdish national question. This pamphlet constitutes a successful effort in this field.

In brief and clear terms, the writer explains the significance of the Kurdish 'question' and its implications; he rectifies the distorted idea, which

is spread in many European countries, regarding the Kurds, and he gives an account of the history of the Kurdish people, the geographic situation of Kurdistan and its economic resources. Further he reviews the various movements, in the different parts of Kurdistan, which the Kurds found to be the only means of claiming their liberty.

About two pages of the pamphlet are devoted to the glorious Iraqi Revolution of July 14th, 1958, which, under the leadership of the people's Qassim, liberated Iraq from Imperialism and the reactionary puppet regime, and established a democratic Republic in which Kurds in the Kurdistan of Iraq enjoy liberty and national rights. The writer rightly salutes this historic event. He stresses the reality of Arab-Kurd brotherhood and the fact that the unity of Iraq is as dear to the Kurds as it is to the Arabs.

Despite the small size of the pamphlet, nevertheless to the credit of the writer, it is highly informative for the European reader. With it Dr. Bedir-Khan adds another to the long list of services he has rendered to the cause of his people to which he has devoted all his life.

The Fifth Congress

Very soon our Society will hold its fifth annual congress in Berlin. This is the one occasion on which the past year is reviewed, new elections are held, and policy for the coming year is formulated. It is further an occasion when Kurds from all parts of Kurdistan meet to discuss the problems of their homeland. Thus every member of our Society is urged to do his utmost to attend this great occasion, during which he can join his brothers in struggling for his people, serving his Society, and serving world democracy and peace in general, for the rightful adjustment of any bad situation anywhere in the world, and the freedom of any people in the world cannot but contribute to an atmosphere of peace.

Here is the notice of the Executive Committee, put out earlier, regarding the congress:

Dear brother Members,
Honourable friends,

The Kurdish Students Society in Europe is pleased to announce the convening of its Fifth annual Congress in **West Berlin** from **22nd to 25th August 1960**.

The members of the Society, who come from all parts of Kurdistan, are asked to attend and contribute to its success. In the success of the congress we have a victory for our Society, and a further step forward in the fulfilment of its high

aims. And it is an invaluable opportunity for meeting other Kurds and exchanging ideas regarding the functions of the Society and regarding the just struggle of the Kurdish nation for its rights, its happiness and the self-determination of its destiny.

It gives us extra pleasure to have been able at the same time to organise a 'conference on Kurdish studies', which will be attended by professors and language specialists, to discuss the difficulties in the way of the unification of the Kurdish language and its form of writing.

We invite all to attend the congress, and invite all friendly organisations to participate by sending official delegates or representatives.

Forward in the service of our Society's high aims and in the service of our dear Kurdish nation.

The Executive Committee of
The Kurdish Students Society in Europe
July 1st, 1960

Place of Congress:

Berlin-Schlachtensee,
Potsdamer Chaussee 31-34,
Studentendorf,
Germany (DBR.)

N.B. The opening session will be at 4 p.m., Monday 22nd August, 1960, at the following place:
Berlin Casino Am Funkturm (Presseraum).

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TURKEY Kurdish Publications are forbidden.

U.S.S.R. Rêya Taze, Kovara Qefqasê.

KOMELEY XWÊNDIKARANÎ KURD LE EWROPA

