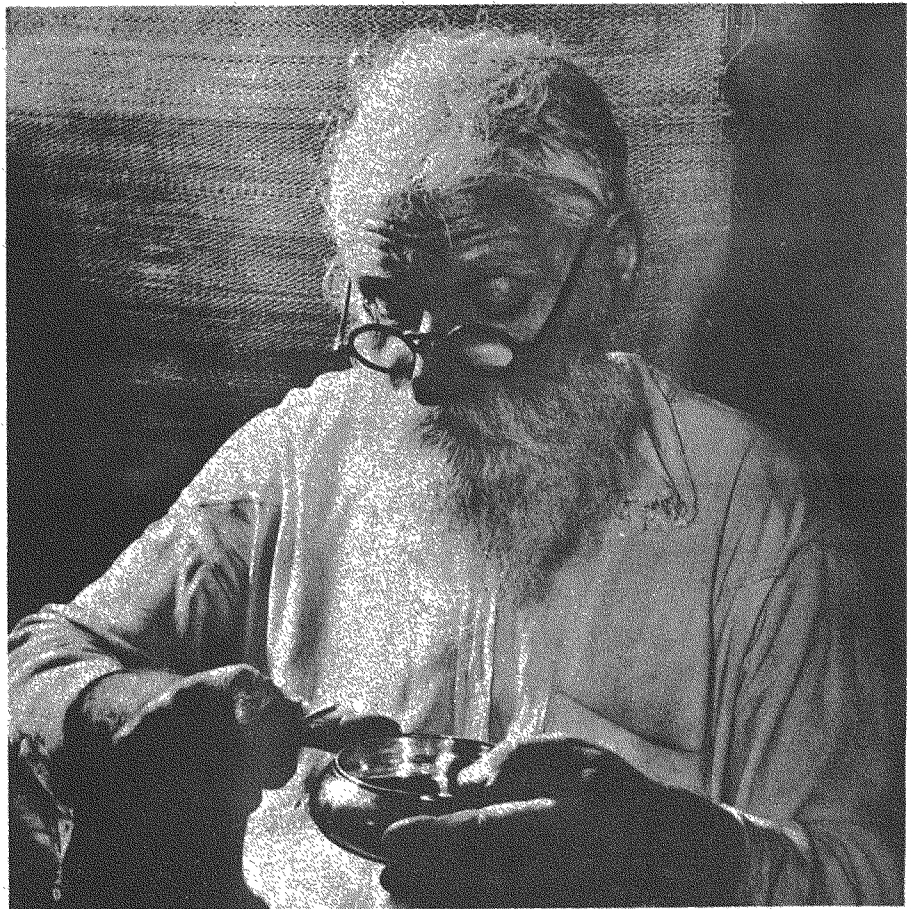








# KURDISH FACTS AND WEST-ASIAN AFFAIRS



Like Damascene blades Kurdish silverware is famous all over West-Asia. Photo shows aged Kurdish artist at work in Iraq.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN

جمعية كوردستان الدولية

REKXRAWÎ CÎHANI KURDISTAN

अंतर्राष्ट्रीय कर्दिस्तान

PERHIMPUNAN INTERNASIONAL KURDISTAN

SOCIEDAD INTERNACIONAL KURDISTAN

MIEÐZYNARODOWE TOWARZYSTWO DLA SPRAW KURDYSTANU

KÛRDÛSTAN MÏLLETTERARASI KURUMU

국제협회 '쿨디스탄'

SOCIETÀ INTERNAZIONALE KURDISTAN

دین الاوسو انیسو کوردستان

INTERNATIONAAL GENOOTSCHAP KOERDISTAN

INTERNATIONALA FORENINGEN KURDISTAN

國際聯合會 顧依斯坦

SOCIETÉ INTERNATIONALE KURDISTAN

لاره بین الملل کوردستان

MEDUNARODNO DRUŠTVO KURDISTAN

МЕЖНАРОДНОЕ ОБЩЕСТВО КУРДИСТАН

SOCIEDADE INTERNACIONAL KURDISTAN

INTERNATIONALE GESELLSCHAFT KURDISTAN

クワターナツク 國際協會

## INTRODUCING A NATION

**KURDS:** Indogermanic (Iranian) nation in West-Asia; some 2,500 years old. Its coherent ethnic area (Kurdistan) borders that of Turks in the West, Armenians & Azerbaijani in the North, Persians in the East, Arabs in the South. Of ± 12 million Kurds, 6 live in Turkish Republic, 3½ in Iran, 1,8 in Iraq, 0,4 in Syria. Small Kurdish enclaves in neighbour-countries: Turkistan, Baluchistan. Culture: oldest K. lit.doc. dates from 834 A.D. Kurmanji dialects, spoken by 60,9% of K. resp.; Arab & Latin characters compete for nation-wide use. Religion: Sunnite Moslems; small Christian, Yezidi & other minorities. Politics: In spite of long K. record against foreign oppression, assimilation, most K. are still deprived of basic rights. Tribal-feudal traditions are giving way to modern, progressive forces, seeking self-emancipation along democratic lines.

## A COUNTRY

**KURDISTAN:** divided, mountainous country of ± 500,000 km<sup>2</sup> in heart of West-Asia. Principal cities: Bitlis, Van, Diarbekir, Erbil, Sulaimaniyah, Kirkuk, Mehabad. Economics: Mountain peasantry (some seasonal nomadism), tobacco, handicrafts, a beginning industry.

## AN INTERNATIONAL

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN (ISK), founded 1. VII. 1960 in the Netherlands, is a non-party, democratic world-wide action group. Aims: Collecting & spreading facts about Kurdistan; aiding Kurdish nation in its struggle for emancipation; promoting friendly relations between Kurds, their neighbours & all other nations. President: Silvio E. van Rooy.

## A PAPER

**KURDISH FACTS AND WEST-ASIAN AFFAIRS (KF)** is the world's only paper about Kurds & Kurdistan. Remit 22 sh., 12 DM or equivalent to "Intern. Society Kurdistan" (account-nr. 23686, Twentsche Bank, Amsterdam) for 12 months KF. Airmail is charged extra. Adv.-rates on request. ISK & KF's address: Da Costastraet 25/I, Amsterdam-W.

# IN - Mail - OUT

## LACKING INTERNATIONAL LAW ON NON-DOMINANT LANGUAGES

"I was --- struck by --- the stirring history and critical present situation of the Kurds. Some remarks you made may well be applied to the situation of the West-European linguistic minorities, which have my foremost attention. So for instance your remark about the inadequate understanding of the Western press (and of the Western man in general) for the "motives behind". Since long I have the impression that people simply do not know what to do with "minorities"; characteristically in this respect is the fact that something as elementary as the right to one's own language is acknowledged explicitly neither in the Rights of Man nor in international law."

(F. N., editorial secretary of "Ons Erfdeel", Raamsdonk, Netherlands)

## COMMUNIST RADIO AND QASSIMS COLONIAL WAR AGAINST KURDS

"Jerevan radio and German Democratic Republic / radio / and Bizim radio said practically nothing about the uprising."

(W. R., Kurd, Vienna)

## Dictators to go

"The news of Syria is most interesting and good also. Kassem will finish as dictator and so will Nasser."

(I. C., Kurd, Lausanne)

## KF/8: COVER ON TURKEY'S KURDS

"It is strange to read that they have no education, no medical help and live in poverty. Let them come here and they'll have everything that any man can have: a good house, with radio, TV-set, refrigerator and so on."

(T. O., Russian girl student, Ashkabad, Turkmen SSR)

KF thinks it is better to help Kurds to improve conditions in their own country (Kurdistan) than sending all the 12 million Kurds to Soviet-Turkmenistan asking for the assets our Russian reader kindly offers them. With a joined international effort

backing them, Kurds will be able one day to shape their own future, like other nations.

## SUSPICION (I)

"About your Kurdish activities I am as suspicious as I was before. --- I never read something negative or critical in KF about the Communist Party or the Soviet Union. --- That you find such suspicion neither in the Anglo-Saxon countries nor in Austria nor in France is not important ---."

(J. E., teacher, Oldenburg, GFR)

KF: Why not read Yugoslav and Albanian press (Western voices being unimportant to you) for criticism of USSR? In finding ISK and KF "suspect" you are in high society: SHAH, GUERSEL, NASSER; QASSIM. Some people (not ISK) even think German activities for self-decision "suspect". It just depends.

## SUSPICION (II)

"When you can answer my question why instead of K(urdish) F(acts) not H(uman) F(acts) and why not all those other matters are mentioned too, like Algeria, Angola, the South of the USA, anti-Semitism, South-Africa etc. then you are welcome; but when you do not know an answer to this I'll believe 'The Times' and in secret help from abroad to the Kurdish revolt and in interests in North-Iraq and then, alas, I'll have to consider you one of those idealistic little money-wolves."

(J. M., graphic designer, Amsterdam)

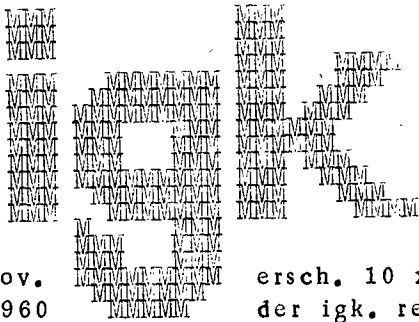
KF: you are invited to take over the debts ISK made on behalf of oppressed Kurdistan. Then you can judge for yourself how it feels to be an "idealistic little money-wolf".

## SUGGESTIONS:

"Couldn't you --- under "Introducing" always print the map (of Kurdistan, KF) perhaps in a small size? It might please many readers who are less familiar with the geographic conditions. Apart from that: what about extending the "Letters to the Editor"-rubric? Readers could get acquainted with one another this way. But I do



15 NOV 1960



Mitarbeiterbrief  
m i t a r b e i t e r b r i e f  
d e r I N T E R N A T I O N A L E N  
G E S E L S C H A F T K U R D I S T A N  
( I . G . K . )  
deutschsprachige Ausgabe Nr. I/1

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der igk. redaktion: molsteeg 7, amsterdam-c.

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### Kurdischer Studentenkongress in Berlin

Die seit 1956 bestehende "Vereinigung Kurdischer Studenten in Europa" (VKSE) hielt vom 22. 25.8.1960 in Westberlin ihre 5. Jahresversammlung. Auf der Eroeffnungssitzung im "Kasino am Funkturm" plaederte VKSE-Praesident Ismet SCHERIF VANLY fuer eine weitere Verwirklichung der in der neuen Irakischen Verrassung verankerten Rechte der Kurden. SCHERIF schlug territorial-administrative und edukationellkulturelle Autonomie fuer Irakisch-Kurdistan vor. Genau so wie sich die irakische Aussenpolitik auch um die ausserirakischen Araber kuemmere, solle sie dies um die ausserirakischen Kurden tun. Erst dann sei die Irakische Republik wirklich ein Staat "der Araber und Kurden".

Die "Internationale Gesellschaft Kurdistan" hatte zum VKSE-Kongress folgende Abordnung entsandt: Silvio VAN ROOY (Delegationsleiter) und Lou SIMONSE (IGK-Vorstandsmitglied fuer studentische Angelegenheiten) aus Amsterdam und Dr. Heinz KLOSS (Leiter der "Forschungsstelle fuer Nationalitaeten- und Sprachenfragen") aus Kiel.

Die "Vereinigung Kurdischer Studenten" erwaegt, ihren 6. Jahreskongress in Amsterdam zu halten, wozu die "Internationale Gesellschaft Kurdistan" weitgehende organisatorische Hilfe zusagte.

### Kurdenverfolgungen in Westasien

Nachdem die wiener Wochenzeitung "Heute" (der SPOe nahestehend) am 18.6. und in Nr 16/1960 ueber die Verhaftung von hunderten von Kurdischen Patrioten in Tuerkisch- bzw, Iranisch-Kurdistan berichtet hatte, erhielt die IGK-Zentrale Mitte Oktober von ihrem Westasienbuero die Nachricht, dass im syrischen Teil der Vereinigten Arabischen Republik 500 Kurden von der Polizei NASSERS verhaftet worden seien. Rund 200 befinden sich noch in Gefangenschaft. In Berlin erfuhr man dass sogar ein 8-jaehriges syrienkurdisches Maedchen von der Strasse weg verhaftet worden sein soll, nur weil es dort ein kurdisches Lied sang. Die entsprechenden Nachrichten in "Heute" stammten von einem schweizerischen und einem niederlaendischen Journalisten.

### Kurdische Bibliografie

In verschiedenen Laendern wird an der baldigen Herausgabe einer "Kurdischen Bibliografie" gearbeitet, die sowohl kurdische als anderssprachige Veroeffentlichungen ueber Kurdistan und die Kurden enthalten soll. Die IGK versucht, diese bibliografischen Anstrengungen zu koordinieren.

### Kurdische Sprachkurse

Fuer Sorani- und Kurmandschi - Kurdisch stehen innerhalb der IGK jetzt Lehrmittel zur Verfuegung. Aspirant-Kurdisch-Studenten werden gebeten, mit der IGK-Zentrale in Verbindung zu setzen unter Angabe der Bereits von ihnen beherrschten bzw, studierten sonstigen Sprachen und ob Sorani oder Kurmandschi oder beides verlangt wird. Verschiedene IGK-Mitglieder machen bereits von den diesbezuglichen Fazilitaeten der "Internationalen Gesellschaft Kurdistan" Gebrauch.

### Vortraege

Es besteht die Moeglichkeit, Vortragsredner ueber Kurdistan zu vermitteln. Es sind sowohl Redner mit west- und mit orientsprachlichen Kenntnissen als mit beiden verfuegbar. Auch Farb- und Schwarz- Weissdias stehen zur

Verfuegung. Verhandlungen ueber Bedingungen finden direkt zwischen den Beteiligten statt.

### IGK - Tonarchiv

Unter Leitung des Herrn Rob MAAS (AMSTERDAM - C., Molsteeg 7) ist ein IGK-Tonarchiv im Aufbau. Es wird ausser Kurdischer Musik auch Interviews und Vortraege enthalten. Das Tonarchiv regelt auch das Foedern von Rundfunksendungen ueber Kurdistan (IGK-Mitglieder mit Verbindungen zum Rundfunk werden gebeten, sich mit dem Tonarchiv in Verbindung zu setzen). Die Herausgabe von Schallplatten mit Kurdischer Musik und uebersetzter kurdischer Literatur (Prosa und Poesie) ist in Vorbereitung.

### Dokumentensammlung

Die Wissenschaftliche Anteilung der IGK plant die Herausgabe einer Reihe von Texten und Dokumenten zur Kurdenfrage. Gedacht wird an diplomatische Noten und Berichte, Vertrags- und Verfassungstexte, Protestschreiben und Reden, IGK-Mitglieder mit Zutritt zu solchen dokumentarischen Unterlagen werden gebeten, sich mit Angabe der erforderlichen Einzelheiten an die IGK-Zentrale zu wenden.

### Zeitungsausschnitte

Alle IGK-Mitglieder werden dringend gebeten, alle bei ihnen anfallenden, vorhandenen oder bekannt gewordenen Artikeln ueber Kurdistan und Kurden in Tageszeitungen und Zeitschriften dem IGK Bibliothekar (Drs. Jan KEMP, Molsteeg 7, Amsterdam-C) zugängig zu machen dabei drei Verfahren moeglich:

- A) Ueberlassen des Ausschnittes an die IGK zum Verbleib;
- B) Leihweise Ueberlassung zwecks Fotokopierung
- c) Beschaffung des jeweiligen Artikels durch die IGK auf Grund der erfolgten Quellenangabe auf Zetteln.

### Kurdologie in Paris

Dr. Kamuran Aali Emir BEDIR-KHAN, Dozent fuer Kurdische Sprache und Literatur an der "Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes" in Paris kann vorlaeufig nicht den ihm von der irakischen Regierung angebotenen Lehrstuhl fuer das gleiche Fach an der Universitaet Bagdad, besetzen, da ihm ein Nachfolger fuer Paris fehlt. In Aussicht genommen war der Surienkurde Dr. Nureddin ZAZA (der damals auch die Gruendung der VKSE instigierte), der jedoch von den VAR-Behoerden wegen kurdisch-patriotischer Betaetigung z.Zt. in Haft gehalten wird, wie man arfuhr.

### Kurdologie im deutschen Sprachgebiet

An der (ost-) berliner Humboldtuniversitaet wird z.Zt. unter Leitung des dortigen Iranisten (und Direktor des Vorderasiatischen Instituts) Herrn Prof. Dr. Heinrich JUNKER eine aktivere deutsche Kurdenforschung vorbereitet. In der westdeutschen Bundesrepublik werden Stimmen laut die fuer die Errichtung eines kurdologischen Lehrstuhls plaedieren, Geruechte ueber die Errichtung eines solchen Lehrstuhls an der Universitaet Wien sich bei Nachfrage als unbegrundet.

### Bundesdeutsche Wissenschaftler im Ausland

Die einflussreiche "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" vom 20.10.1960 berichtet ausfuerhrlich ueber das von der westdeutschen Rektorenkonferenzen gebilligte Memorandum Dr. STEGERS ueber die "Berufung wissenschaftlicher Lehrpersonen ins Ausland und ihre Sicherstellung". Aus einer Reihe von Gruenden sei das Animo deutscher Akademiker, Lehrauftraege im Ausland zu unternehmen praktisch nihil. Nur 58 deutsche Gelehrten aus der bonner Bundesrepublik seien z.Zt. in Entwicklungslaendern Lehrtaetig. Nach Rueckkehr in die Heimat schade eine auslaendische Lehrtaetigkeit das berufliche Fortkommen. "Haeufig" - so berichtet die FAZ - "ist ein Wissenschaftler durch sie fuer manche seiner Kollegen disqualifiziert". Als Loesung schlaegt das Memorandum vor, den Aufgabenbereich der Alexander VON HUMBOLT - Stiftung, die das Studium von Auslandsstudenten in der BRD foerdert, durch eine Abteilung zu erweitern die die Auslandsprofessuren westdeutscher Gelehrten regeln soll.

### Weitere Auslandsstipendien fuer Kurdische Studenten

Wie wir erfahren soll die Sowjetunion 20, Frankreich drei Freiplaetze fuer kurdische Studenten zur Verfuegung gestellt haben. Damit werde sich die Zahl der nichtsovetischen kurdischen Studenten in der UdSSR also nahezu verdoppeln.



## DGB - Appell an Bonn

Der (west-) "Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund" hat an die bonner Bundesregierung appelliert, "allen vom Osten enttauschten farbigen Studenten Stipendien in der Bundesrepublik zu gewahren" so meldet die "Bild-Zeitung" vom 20.10.1960.

## Iranische Regierung beargwohnt Auslandsstudenten

Wie die Wochenzeitung "France Observateur" am 21.7.1960 berichtete, studieren z.Zt 17000 iranische Staatsangehoerigen im Westen, davon 9500 in den USA und Westdeutschland. Die Regierung ZAHEDI habe die von der MOSSADEGH - Regierung eingeleiteten Repatriierungsbewegung unter Studenten (5000 Betroffenen) wieder rueckgaengig zu suchen gemacht da latteren, wie das pariser Blatt schreibt, in ihr Augen "eine zu gefaehrliche Kraft bildeten - - - sehr unzufrieden und gut organisiert."

## Iranische Regierung beargwohnt Auslandsstudenten

(Wie wir aus eigener Quelle hinzufuegen koennen schenkt die iranische Geheimpolizei im Ausland den Kurdischen Studenten iranischer Staatsangehoerigkeit besondere Aufmerksamkeit, wie sich u. a. beim Besuch des Schahs an Europa zeigte.)

## "Elseviers Weekblad" kritisiert tuerkische Regierung

Die rechtsstehende, meinungsmachende amsterdamer Wochenzeitung "Elseviers Weekblad" berichtete am 17.9.'60 ueber die Kampagne "Spricht Tuerkisch ." des neuen tuerkischen Regimes. "Die Tuerkei" so schreibt das blatt "ist ein viel vielspraechigeres Land als man wohl denken wuerde, sogar nach dem Zusammenbruch des ottomanischen Reiches und der Befreiung der verschiedenen unterworfenen Voelkern. Vor allen Dingen gibt es im Osten und Sueden Anatoliens rund vier Millionen Kurden, von denen viele nur die eigene Sprache sprechen, die sich sehr stark von der Tuerkischen unterscheidet; und fast niemand kann dort Tuerkisch lesen oder schreiben. Jahrelang haben die Tuerken versucht, die Kurden Tuerkisch zu lehren, aber wie dem auch sei, die Aktion hat zu keinem ueberwaltigenden Ergebnis gefuehrt. Im Allgemeinen sind die Kurden noch genau so unausstehbar fuer die Tuerken wie sie es schon immer waren." Auch die griechische und die armenische Volksgruppen in der tuerkischen Republik seien von der "Gefahr einer neuen Explosion des tuerkischen Nationalismus" beunruhigt.

## MENDERES und Kurdistan: Atomisierungsplan?

Die pariser Wochenzeitung "La Tribune des Nations" brachte am 21.10.1960 einen sensationellen Artikel ihres Korrespondenten Pierre D'ISTRIA, den man als Berichterstatter zum tuerkischen Prozess gegen die Repräsentanten des "ancien régime" entsandt hat.

"M.MENDERES voulait-il atomiser le pays kurde? heisst die 4-Spalten-Ueberschrift auf der Titelseite des Blattes in dem in dem es ueber den damaligen Bagdad-Pakt u.a. heisst:

"Nous savons aujourd'hui --- Une clause secrète, à laquelle MENDERES avait donné son accord total, prévoyait en cas de danger imminent la neutralisation de tous les pays kurdes, par bombardement atomique, afin de stopper une invasion soviétique, Il s'agissait en fait d'une génocide systematique".

Bekanntlich umfasste das Territorium der damaligen Baghdadpaktstaaten (Tuerkei, Iran, Irak) nahezu das gesamte kurdische Volksgebiet. Nur die nordsyrischen Kurden und die kurdischen Streusiedlungen in Sowjet - Transkaukasien lagen ausserhalb des Baghdadpaktgebietes. D'ISTRIA verfolgt:

"Il es vrai que la clause prévoyait que, dans cette perspective, tout serait mis en ouvre pour vider au préalable le pays de la quasi-totalité de sa population, cela en privant les Kurdes de tout soutien économique et social, afin de les obliger à quitter volontairement leurs domaines. Avant de ruiner leur pays, on voulait d'abord les en expulser par la faim".

Das franzoesische Blatt folgert dann:

"On comprend aujourd'hui la raison pour laquelle les Kurdes ont soutenu si vigoureusement la révolution irakienne. Dès qu'il eut en main les documents du pacte révélant cette clause secrète, le Comité kurde adresse en 1959 un mémorandum au secrétaire général de l'O.N.U. qui ouvrit une enquête.

Das fragliche Schreiben (14.10.1958) sowie die Antwort der UNO (22.10.1958, unterschreiben von Ali NEKUNAM) sind in Abschrift im Besitze der "Kurdischen Zentralbibliothek in Europa".

D'ISTRIA kommt auch auf den Massenmord an Kurden in 1938 in Sansa (Tuerkisch-Kurdistan) zu sprechen, ueber die er der Weltpresse bisher unbekannte Einzelheiten mitteilt und dann vorsichtig andeutet:

"Nous tenons ce récit d'un témoin oculaire et les gens disent que le chef de cette 4e armée était un des responsables de la junte qui gouverne aujourd'hui."

Angesichts dieser Sachlage, haelt es D'ISTRIA fuer unwahrscheinlich, dass die Kurdenfrage im tuerkischen Prozess behandelt werden wird. (Siehe auch; "Niederlaendische presso zur Kurdenfrage", in diesem "Mitarbeiters-brief").

#### Abdullah KADIR in Amsterdam

Der bekannte kurdische Vortragsredner Abdullah KADIR (ehemaliger Leiter des 'Jamiat al-Islam' in Oesterreich) sprach von einem de Rotary-Clubs in Den Haag (Niederlande) und fuehrte in Amsterdam Besprechungen mit Mitgliedern der "Internationalen Gesellschaft Kurdistan" Kadir schilderte die Lage der vierteilten Kurdistan und dankte dem niederlaendischen Volk fuer dessen taetigen Anteilnahme am Emanzipationskampf der Kurden.

#### Niederlaendische Presse zur Kurdenfrage

Am. 10 September 1960 brachten zwei amsterdamer Wochenzeitungen Beitrage zur Kurdenfrage: die Liberale "haagse Post" berichtete ueber den 5. Jahreskongress der "Vereirigung Kurdischer Studenten in Europa" in Berlin (siehe oben) das demokratisch-sozialistische "Vrij Nederland" brachte einen laengeren, bebilderten Artikel "Kurden, unfreies Volk in freien Westasien". Verfasser war der Journalisten Hans DE WEERD.

Auf der darin von ihm augeworfenen Frage "Ob das beue tuerkische Regime des General GUERSEL auch in der Kurdenfrage demokratischer als das von MENDERES sein wird" gab die "INTERNATIONALE GESELLSC HAFT KURDISTAN" in einem Leserbrief am 8.10.1960 im gleichen Blatt eine pessimistische Antwort. Der IGK-Vorstand wies mit Bedauern auf die auf das Verschwinden nichttuerkischer Sprachen in der Tuerkei gerichtete Sprachkampagne der GUERSEL-Regierung hin, auf die Verneinung des Vorhandenseins von Kurden in der Tuerkei durch General GUERSEL selbst und auf die zaehen Geruechte, der General sei asl Kommandant des 4. tuerkischen Armeekorps an antikurdischen Massakern in Anatolien beteiligt gewesen.

Der Vorstand sprach die Hoffnung aus, dass seine Bufuechtungen nicht erfuellen wuerden und nahm im Sinne eines demokratischen Nationalitaetenrechtes gegen jeden wie immer etikettierten Chauvinismus Stellung. Die Tuerken haetten nur dann das Recht, den politischen Status ihren mitwohnenden Nationalitaeten gegeneuber demo demokratisch verhielten. ( Die neue tuerkische Regierung bereitet inzwischen Koordinierte Massnahmen zu Gunsten der Aserbeidschaner, Tataren, Baschkiren, Turkistaner und Jakuten vor.)

#### Kurden in der UdSSr: Sechs Millionen Strassenkehrer?

Das Tageblatt der ndl. kommunistischen Partei "De Waarheid" veroeffentlichte am 30.7.1960 einen Reisbericht seines moskauer Korrespondenten Jan VAN WIERINGEN aus Sowjet-Armenien. In der Hauptstadt Jerewan seien ihm die malerischen Strassenkehrer in ihrer farbenfrohen Nationaltracht "vom rein-touristischen her gesehen am meisten aufgefallen".

Sein Fuehrer, der armenische Leninpreistraeger Garnik AKOPIAN habe ihm erklart

"dass es sich hier um Kurden handelt: 50,000 von ihnen in Armenien, wo sie eine eigene Zeitung in Kurdischer Sprache haben. in der Gesamten Sowjetunion leben 6 Millionen Kurden. Das Strassenkehren ist eine Art Privileg von ihnen."

( Die am 4.2. 1960 von der sowjetischen Presse veroeffentlichten Nationalitaetenergebnisse der letzten Volkszaehlung vom Januar 1959 gab etwa 1% der von "De Waarheid" genannten Gesamtzahl der Kurden in der UdSSR an, die meisten Kurden selbst schaezten die Zahl ihrer Stammesgenossen sowjetischer Staatsangehoerigkeit af 100,000, hoechstens 150,000 Anm. d. IGK)

#### KURDISTAN QUARTERLY / KURDISCHE RUNDSCHAU / REVUE KURDE

Unter diesem ist die erste Nummer einer ab 1961 vierteljaehrlich zu erscheinenden mehrsprachigen Zeitschrift in Vorbereitung, die als einzige nichtkurdische periodische Publikation in der Welt ausschliesslich Kurdischen Fragen gewidmet sein wird. Ausser Aufsactsen wird sie literarische Beitrage enthalten sowie eine Kurdische Chronik, eine Auswertung des gesamten kurdischsprachigen fresse, einen Spiegel von Stimmen aus der Weltpresse zur Kurdenfrage und biographische bibliografische und dokumentarische Anlagen. Die "Kurdistan Quarterly" wird mit Photos, Bildern und Karten illustriert sein. Der Abonnementspreis und die weiteren Einzelheiten werden in einer der naechsten



Nummern des IGK "Mitarbeiterbrief" Bekanntgegeben werden.

Internationale Entwicklungshilfe fuer Kurdistan

Drei Organe der Vereinten Nationen: UNESCC, UNICEF und FAO arbeiten zusammen in einer 5-jahre- Aktion gegen den Hunger in den Entwicklungslaendern. Im Rahmen dieses Planes ist auch die Verbesserung der Getreideproduktion in jenen westasiatischen Staaten vorgesehen, die von Kurden mitwohnt werden. Sofort nach Bekanntwerden dieses Planes hat sich der Praesident der "Internationalen Gesellschaft Kurdistan" an die federfuehrende Koordinierungsinstanz des "Anti-Hunger-5-Jahresplanes" gewandt und die vermittelnde und sonstige Dienste der IGK angeboten beim Organisieren kurdischer Sprachkurse fuer jene Berater und Instrukteure, die im Rahmen der Aktion nach kurdisch- bewohnten Gebieten entsandt werden sollen.

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# BOOKS BANNED

Brig. Ismail al-Arif, the Acting Minister of Guidance has issued an order banning the following books from Iraq:

1 — "The Kurds — who they are and where to are they heading?" by Kadhim Haider, for attacking the Iraq Republic.

2 — "The Revolutionary Basis of Arab Nationalism" — by Ahmad al-Shaibani for being opposed to the policy of the Iraq Republic.

3 — "Get Informed and Inform Others" — by Said Taqiuddin, for being opposed to the policy of the Iraq Republic.

4 — "The Monster and I" — by Said Taqiuddin for being opposed to the policy of the Iraq Republic.

5 — "The memoirs of an Aristocratic Woman" — by Jule Modnet, translated by al-Qissa House, for violating the cause of morality.

6 — "Lectures on Iraq from Occupation to Imperialism" (Second edition) by Abdul Rahman al-Bazaz for attacking the Iraq Republic.

7 — "Auschwitz" — by Dr. Miklos Nyiszli, for containing publicity to Zionism.

8 — "The Catholic Church in the Middle East" — by Raymond Etteldorf, for containing publicity to Zionism and Israel.

9 — "Men Against the Desert" — by Ritchie Calder, for containing publicity to Zionism and Israel.

10 — "Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East" (Vol. II) — by J.C. Hurewitz, for containing publicity to Zionism and Israel.

11 — "Islam and the West" — by Daniel, for slandering the religion of Islam and the Holy Prophet.

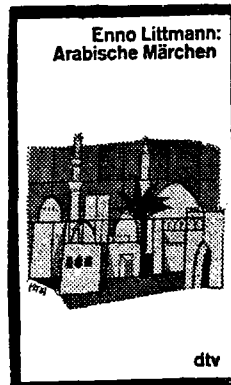
12 — "Mohammed Und Der Koran" — by Rudi Paret for slandering the Holy Prophet.

13 — "The Klaxon Girls" — by Tom Rowland, for contradicting the cause of convention and tradition.

ENNO LITTMANN: "ARABISCHE MAERCHEN"

(Deutscher Taschenbuch-Verlag, Munich, 1961, 213 p.,

DM 2,50)



Lecturing in Oldenburg ultimo November, Abdullah KADIR said folk-customs in the Orient were badly affected by would-be-modernising nationalism. A still more pessimistic statement is preceding the abovementioned book, published in the same month: "die schöne Kunst des Erzählens wird auch im Orient bereits durch die Errungenschaften der modernen Zivilisation verflacht und zum Aussterben verurteilt". Story-telling in advanced parts of Asia like Soviet-Turkistan and North-Azer-

baijan seems, however, still to be flourishing. Scholars of those countries greatly contributed to make Turkic fairy-tales known abroad by translations.

The 24 Arab fairy-tales from West-Asia and North-Africa retold in the book reviewed LITTMANN heard in Jerusalem (1900) from the mother of his servant Salim DSHA 'NINE. Perhaps it was this old Arab woman who (co-)inspired LITTMANN to undertake the huge work listed above - a classic since. So an analphabetic contributed highly to cultural exchange between Orient and Occident, because she knew well the fairy-tales of her Arab nation. Superfluous to say that the LITTMANN-pocket just published needs no recommendation: its author's name just says everything.

PETER BENENSON; "PERSECUTION 1961"

"Penguin Specials" are pockets, which made information history before World War II already, when they were launched by publisher Victor GOLLANCZ (see KF Nr. 8, p. 24). Peter BENENSON's one on "Persecution 1961" is likely to do the same to-day. Issued in October in cooperation with the "Appeal for Amnesty" (see KF/9-10, p. 27) it contains the persecution stories of nine persons in various parts of the world: Maurice AUDIN, a Tunis-born French Communist, Ashton JONES, an American clergyman, Agostinho NETO, an Angolan poet, Patrick DUNCAN, an Anglo-South-African anti-segregationman, Olga IVINSKAYA, a Russian woman-of-letters, Luis TARUC, the Philippine "Huk"-leader, Constantin NOICA, a Rumanian philosopher, Antonion AMAT, a Basque anti-fascist, and HU Feng, a Marxist Chinese writer opposing the MAOist Party-line. All cases are dealt with in detail and "désengagé". Introducing them, BENENSON says they "have been chosen not to chill the reader's blood, but to prick his conscience". Their descriptions may be called essays in the finest sense of the word. In spite of the fact that persecution cases under non-aligned governments are absent in the book, there are very few works which say more about the world-wide struggle of men and nations for freedom than "Persecution 1961". Healthy reading

for everybody, especially for the many who think only their political opponents capable of treading down human rights. 152 pages worth to be published in as many languages as possible.

JANKO LAVRIN: "LEV TOLSTOY IN SELBSTZEUGNISSEN UND BILDDOKUMENTEN" (Rowohlt, Monography-Series, Hamburg, Mai 1961, transl. from the English: Rolf-Dietrich Keil, 178 p., 70 ill., DM 2,50)

Lev Tolstoy, Russia's greatest author (1828-1910) not only deeply influenced literature, but also politico-social thought in the West and the Orient. The pre-1914 international peace movement was closely connected with his name. All major works of Tolstoy being available in several countries in pocket-book-form, a pocket-biography of the "Eremit of Jasnaya Polyana" in German was due indeed. Rowohlt had one translated from the English. Whether pagan "lust for life" is bad and Christian morality is good, as Lavrin suggests a bit simplifyingly, is open to discussion, but spotting this conflict as the central one in Tolstoy's mind may be correct. When Tolstoy's early soldiering in North-Caucasia in the service of Russian conquest is dealt with, the native population gets 1-2 lines only, stating that they are "hostile". Invaded countries generally are. Nevertheless: a noteworthy book, worth having and "digesting".

ELLI ZENKER-STARZACHER:  
"MAERCHEN AUS NAH UND FERN"  
(Stocker-Verlag, Graz & Stuttgart, n. d. (1961) 392 p.)

Mrs. ZENKER, an Austrian, retold 41 fairy-tales taken from 40 books. 13 are from the German-language area, including its lost parts. The other 28 are meant to represent Europe, but the choice is somewhat one-sided. There are 3 tales from Russia, but none from the Ukraine (40 mln people). Malta and Transylvanian Gypsies are included, but the Netherlands language area (17 mln people) ignored. The topical choice is similar. In her 7-page intro, Frau Zenker believes that fairy-tales are "etwas typisch Europäisches". The Orient with its immense riches of fairies is obviously beyond her intellectual horizon. Maria Grengg's numerous illustrations are lively, but mediocre and somewhat out-moded. Did she ever see the lovely, really modern work of her French or Czech fellow-artists? All this does not mean, however, that the publishers did a bad job. Testing their book by reading parts of it to his kids, the reviewer found them generally enthusiastic. And children can be stern judges if it comes to story-telling. If it was Mrs. ZENKER's chief aim to please youthful listeners, she reached it. But theorizing on fairy-tales is another chapter, far more risky than it looks. In spite of the collectress' bourgeois "Kulturpessimismus" about it (TV, you know?) there is doubtlessly a demand for fairy-tales. As to Stocker's: the house is considering a choice of West-Asian fairy-tales, including Kurdish ones. In turn, reading European fairy-tales may be a nice parallel way for Orientals to get acquainted more intimately with the nations in this part of the world.



#### NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY'S 50TH ANNIVERSARY

Millions of books, manuscripts, maps, documents and dias are concentrated in a white, temple-like building between the skyscrapers of New York's Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street (see ill.). It is the library of America's biggest city, "The New York Public Library". Developed into its present form in 1911, it is used by more than 3 million people a year, among them European and Kurdish members of "International Society Kurdistan". The Library, which is said to have the best collection in the world of Armenian books, has also 175 titles on Kurds and Kurdistan: probably the largest one in the U. S. A. It was also one of the first libraries entering into an exchange agreement with ISK's "Kurdische Zentralbibliothek in Europa". Director of both the Oriental and Slavonic division of the New York Public Library is Dr. John L. Mish, who commands 20 languages and has a working knowledge of 15 more. The Oriental division has 70,000 books and subscribes to 2,000 periodicals. "Kurdish Facts" you can also read there. The Library's main reading room has places for 700 readers. The Library's activities are world-wide and its approach of things is a real 20th-century one. In "Search and Research", a nicely illustrated booklet commemorating The New York Public Library's 50th anniversary this year, William K. Zinsser tells: "The man buying political pamphlets in the outdoor markets of Ghana this week is quite likely to be acting on orders from Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street. The sender of these orders, Robert E. Kingery, the Library's chief of acquisitions, recently received his first crate of books from Nigeria. 'It was not up to me', he explained, thumbing through the motley volumes in various tribal languages, 'to say 'only send us what's important or what's good'. These represent the first printed efforts of the Nigerian nation, and some day they will be enormously valuable. We are really collecting the rare books of the future'."

Congrès des Etudiants Kurdes à Berlin :

" L'Union des étudiants kurdes en Europe (VKSE) ", fondée en 1956, tint à Berlin-Ouest, du 22 au 25.8.60 sa cinquième assemblée annuelle. A la séance d'ouverture au "Kasino am Funkturm", le Président de la VKSE Mr. Ismet SCHERIF plaida la cause pour l'accomplissement ultérieur du droit des kurdes dans la nouvelle constitution irakienne. SCHERIF proposa une autonomie territoriale administrative, culturelle et éducationnelle pour le kurdistan irakien. De même que la politique extérieure irakienne affecte les arabes non-irakiens, les kurdes non-irakiens en étaient aussi affectés, c'est là que la République irakienne deviendrait un état " d'Arabes et de Kurdes ".

Pour le congrès VKSE, "L'Association Internationale Kurdistan" forma les délégués suivants : Silvio VAN ROOY (Chef de la Délégation), Lou SIMONSE D'Amsterdam (Membre du comité IGK pour les intérêts estudiantins) et Dr.Heinz KLOSS de Kiel (Directeur de "L'Office d'investigation pour les questions linguistiques et nationales).

"L'Union des Etudiants kurdes" décida de tenir son sixième Congrès annuel à Amsterdam à quoi "L'Association Internationale Kurdistan" promit une aide apprêtée assez considérable.

Persécution des kurdes en Asie-Ouest :

Après que l'Hebdomadaire viennois " Heute " (pro SPO) du 18.6. No. 16/1960 relata l'arrestation de plusieurs centaines de patriotes kurdes en Kurdistan turque, c.à.d. iranien, le siège central de l'IGK reçut de son bureau d'Asie-Ouest la nouvelle de l'arrestation de 500 Kurdes dans la province Syrienne de la RAU, par la police nassérienne. Près de 200 se trouvent toujours en détention. On apprit à Berlin qu'une fillette kurde-syrienne de 8 ans fût arrêtée en chemin pour la seule raison d'avoir fredonné une chanson kurde. Les nouvelles conformes parues dans "Heute", provenaient d'un journaliste suisse et d'un néerlandais.

Bibliographie Kurde :

Dans différents pays, une "Bibliographie kurde" paraîtra dans la prochaine édition et renfermera aussi bien en kurde qu'en d'autres langues des publications sur le Kurdistan et les Kurdes. L'IGK essaie de coordonner ces contentions bibliographiques.

Cours de langues kurdes :

L'enseignement du Sorani et du kurdmanschi kurde est disponible au sein de l'IGK. Les aspirants sont priés de se mettre en contact avec la Centrale IGK en déclarant les langues qu'ils possèdent déjà et celles qu'ils désirent acquérir parmi le

Sorani et le Kurdmandschi. Différents membres de l'IGK profitent déjà de ces facilités relatives à l'Association Internationale Kurdistan ".

Conférences :

Il est actuellement possible d'entendre des conférences sur le Kurdistan. Les orateurs confèrent aussi bien en langues occidentales qu'orientales. (x)  
Les discussions sur ces stipulations se feront directement entre les parties intéressées.

Archive musicale de l'IGK :

Sous la direction de Mr. Rob MAAS (Amsterdam-C., Molsteeg 7) une archive musicale est en cours de préparation. Outre que la musique kurde, elle organisera des conférences et des interviews. L'Archive musicale émet aussi régulièrement des radiodiffusions sur le Kurdistan (membres de l'IGK en relations avec la Radiodiffusion sont priés de contacter l'archive musicale). L'enregistrement de musique kurde et la traduction de la littérature kurde (Prose & Poésie) sont en voie de réalisation.

Recueil de Documents :

La section des Lettres de l'IGK projette de publier une nouvelle édition renfermant une série de textes et documents sur la question kurde. Elle contiendra des notes, des rapports, des conférences et des rédactions diplomatiques. Les membres de l'IGK possédant ces bases documentaires sont priés de s'adresser à la Centrale IGK en présentant là-dessus tous les détails nécessaires.

Brochures de Journaux :

Tous les membres de l'IGK, échéant <sup>tombent</sup> sur des articles nouvellement édités sur le Kurdistan et les kurdes dans des journaux et des périodiques, sont vivement <sup>re-</sup>conjurés de les contacter <sup>ur-</sup>urgemment au bibliothécaire de l'IGK (Dr. Jan KEMP, Molsteeg 7, Amsterdam C.). Pour effectuer cet envoi, il existe trois procédés :

- a) envoyer la découpe elle-même à l'IGK.
- b) sous forme de prêt, autrement dit une photocopie.
- c)

Kurdologie à Paris :

Dr. Kamuran Aali Emir BEDIR-KHAN, Professeur de langue et de littérature kurde à "L'Ecole Nationale des langues orientales vivantes" à Paris, ne peut provisoirement pas accepter d'occuper le poste que lui offre le gouvernement irakien à l'Université de Bagdad étant donné qu'on ne lui trouve pas de successeur pour le moment. En perspective, on désignerait le kurde-syrien Dr. Nureddin ZAZA (qui

dans le temps instaura les bases de la VKSE) et qui toutefois est retenu par les Autorités de la RAU en raison de ses démonstrations patriotiques kurdes.

Kurdologie dans le domaine de la langue allemande :

A L'Université Humboldt de Berlin (Est), une active recherche sur les kurdes est en voie de préparation par le ressortissant iranien (et Directeur de l'Institut des langues asiatiques) Mr. le Professeur Dr. Heinrich Junker. En Allemagne fédérale de l'Ouest, de hautes voix réclament l'institution d'une chaire pour l'enseignement de la kurdologie. Les rumeurs pour l'institution d'une pareille chaire à l'Université de Vienne ne sont pas encore confirmés.

Hommes de Lettres de l'Allemagne Fédérale à l'Etranger :

L'influent journal "Frankfurter Allgemeine" du 20.10.60 détaille d'une façon explicite sur le Mémoire de l'Allemand (Ouest) Dr. STEGER concernant la "Nomination des Professeurs à l'Etranger et la Sécurité dans leur position". Pour des raisons quelconques, l'entreprise de cette commission du corps enseignant se trouvait pratiquement paralysée. 58 Professeurs seulement, provenant de l'Allemagne fédérale de Bonn sont actuellement en activité dans les pays en développement. Après le retour dans la patrie, une éducation acquise dans un pays étranger nuit souvent. " Fréquemment ", ainsi informe FAZ, " elle rend les instructeurs disqualifiés pour leur but auprès de leurs collègues ". Pour résoudre ce problème, le Mémoire nous conseille l'Institut Alexander VON HUMBOLDT lequel est en charge d'instituer une annexe afin de donner la possibilité aux étudiants de la BRD la possibilité d'une expansion qui permettrait aux professeurs étrangers de la BRD de se qualifier et se perfectionner dans leur tâche.

Bourses d'études pour les étudiants kurdes à l'étranger :

Comme nous l'avons appris, l'Union Soviétique met à la disposition 20 places vacantes et la France trois. Avec cela, le nombre des étudiants kurdes non-soviétiques se multipliera.

Le Syndicat des ouvriers allemands (DBG) - Appel à Bonn :

Le "Syndicat des ouvriers allemands" lança un appel au gouvernement fédéral de Bonn. " Tous ceux de l'Est désillusionnent les étudiants de couleur pour l'obtention d'une bourse scolaire en Allemagne fédérale " reportait la Revue " BILD " du 20.10.60.

Le Gouvernement iranien soupçonne les étudiants étrangers :

Comme le relatait l'hebdomadaire " France observateur " du 21.7.60, 17000 citoyens iraniens étudient actuellement en Occident dont 9500 dans la zone américaine et la zone Ouest de l'Allemagne. Le gouvernement ZAHEDI qui essaie de refuter



le décret institué par le gouvernement MOUSSADEGH sur le mouvement de des étudiants (5000 affligés) comme l'écrit la presse parienne " une force ~~très~~ dangereuse bien développée et bien organisée".

Le Gouvernement irakien soupçonne les étudiants étrangers :

(d'une source personnelle, nous ajouterons que la police secrète iranienne à l'étranger remit aux étudiants kurdes des cartes d'identités iraniennes comme le démontre la visite du Chah en Europe.)

"Elseviers Weekblad" critique le gouvernement turque :

L'hebdomadaire amstellodamois "Elseviers Weekblad" du 17.9.60 reporte sur la campagne " Parlez le turque ", du nouveau régime turque. " La Turquie " poursuit le journal " est un pays à plusieurs langues le penserait-on volontiers, jusqu'à l'écroulement du règne ottoman et la libération des différents peuples soumis. Avant toute chose, il se trouve près de quatre millions de kurdes en Anatolie de l'Est et du Sud, parmi lesquels ceux qui ne parlent que leur propre langue qui est d'ailleurs très différentex du turque, persome ou presque personne ne peut lire ou écrire le turque. Durant nombres d'années, les turques ont essayé d'enseigner le turque aux kurdes mais celà menait à des résultats désastreux. En général, comme de tout temps, les kurdes sont insupportables. De même, le groupement des peuples arméniens et grecques en république turque se traduisait en " Danger d'une nouvelle explosion dans le Nationalisme turque ".

Menderes et le Kurdistan : un plan d'atomisation?:

L'hebdomadaire parisien "La tribune des Nations " rapporta le 21.10.60 un article sensationnel de son correspondant Pierre D'ISTRIA qui fût considéré comme le reporter du procès turque contre les Représentants de l'ancien Régime. " Mr. Menderes voulait-il atomiser le pays kurde ? " s'intitulait le titre de la quatrième colonne de la première page du journal concernant le pacte de Baghdad. " Nous sommes aujourd'hui ... une claude secrète, à laquelle Menderes avait donné son accord total, prévoyait en cas de danger imminent la neutralisation de tous les pays kurdes, par bombardement atomique, afin de stopper une invasion soviétique, il s'agissait en fait d'une génocide systématique "

Comme nous le savons, le territoire du pacte de Baghdad d'alors (~~Turki~~ (Turquie, Iran, Irak) enveloppait à peu près tout le territoire kurde. Rien que les kurdes de Syrie Nord et les kurdes en Transcaucasie soviétique se trouvaient hors du territoire du pacte de Baghdad. D'ISTRIA poursuit :

" Il est vrai que la clause prévoyait que, dans cette perspective, tout serait mis en oeuvre pour vider au préalable le pays de la quasi-totalité de sa population, cela en privant les kurdes de tout soutien économique et social, afin de les obliger à quitter volontairement leurs domaines. Avant de ruiner leur pays, on voulait d'abord les en expulser par la faim. "

Le journal français conclut enfin :

" On comprend aujourd'hui la raison pour laquelle les kurdes ont soutenu si vigoureusement la révolution irakienne. Dès qu'il eut en main les documents du pacte révélant cette clause secrète, le Comité kurde adresse en 1959 un Mémo-randum au secrétaire général de l'O.N.U. qui ouvrit une enquête. "

La copie du document en question (14.10.58) ainsi que la réponse de l'O.N.U. (22.10.58) <sup>signé</sup> souscrit par Ali NEKUNAM) sont en possession de la " Bibliothèque centrale kurde en Europe ".

D'ISTRIA cite ensuite le massacre en masse des kurdes en 1938 à Sansa (Kurdistan-turque) qui jusqu'à ce temps-là était inconnu de la presse mondiale et insinue attentivement :

" Nous tenons ce récit d'un témoin oculaire et les gens disent que le chef de cette quatrième armée était un des responsables de la junte qui gouverne aujourd'hui."

D'ISTRIA tient pour invraisemblable que la question kurde soit traitée au procès turque. (voir aussi " Presse néerlandaise sur la question kurde " dans ce bulletin.)

Abdullah KADIR à Amsterdam :

Le conférencier kurde bien connu Abdullah KADIR (Autrefois chef de la "Jamiat Al-Islam" en Autriche) parla d'un Rotary-Club à La Haye (Hollande) et mena des causeries avec des membres de l'Association Internationale Kurdistan, KADIR décrivit la situation du Kurdistan divisé en quatre parties et remercia le peuple néerlandais qui prit vivement part à la lutte d'émancipation des kurdes.

Presse Néerlandaise sur la question kurde :

Le 10 Septembre 1960, deux hebdomadaires amstellodamois firent paraître des articles concernant la question kurde : le libéral "Haagse Post" reportait sur le cinquième Congrès annuel de l'Union des Etudiants kurdes en Europe, à Berlin (voir plus haut). Le démocrate-socialiste "Vrij Nederland" fit paraître un plus long article S'intitulant " Les kurdes, peuple prisonnier (pas libre) dans une Asie-Ouest libre". Le journaliste Hans de WEERD en était le rédacteur. Pour la question " Si le nouveau Régime du Général Gursel sera plus démocratique sur la question kurde que

celui de Menderes ", L'Association Internationale Kurdistan y répondit avec pessimisme dans le même journal du 8.10.60. Le Comité de la IGK notifiât avec regret la campagne que menait le Gouvernement Gursel pour faire disparaître les langues non-turques en Turquie, l'unification des kurdes en Turquie à travers le Général Gursel lui-même et les rumeurs concernant le Général Çomme ayant été le Commandant de la quatrième armée turque dans le massacre kurde en Anatolie.

Le Comité exprima l'espoir de ne sentir point d'appréhension en espérant d'obtenir un droit national démocrate contre ceux qui insistent sur un état chauviniste. Les turques auraient alors le droit de réprimer le statut politique de leur co-habitants contre un statut démocrate. (Le nouveau Gouvernement turque prépare entretemps une prise en mesure coordonnée en faveur des Tartares, des Bachkirs, des Turkistanais et des Yacoutes ).

#### Les Kurdes en URSS : Six Millions de Balayeurs de rues :

Le Journal " DE WAARHEID " du parti communiste néerlandais publia le 30.7.60 les impressions du voyage de son correspondant moscovite Jan VAN WIERINGEN en Arménie Soviétique. Dans la Capitale, Yérévan, les balayeurs de rues, avec leurs habits nationaux de couleurs pittoresques, lui donnèrent une impression purement touristique.

Son guide, l'arménien Léniniste Garnik AKOPIAN lui expliqua alors :

2 " En ce qui concerne les kurdes : 50.000 se trouvent en Arménie et possèdent un journal en langue kurde. Dans toute l'Union Soviétique, vivent six Millions de kurdes. Le Balayage<sup>yagi</sup> des rues est leur spécialité.

(Quand la presse soviétique publia le 4.2.60, le résultat du dernier recensement de Janvier 1959, 1% du nombre des kurdes en URSS mentionné par le "DE WAARHEID" fût déclaré, les kurdes eux-mêmes estiment ~~le nombre~~ à 100.000 le nombre de leurs compatriotes en territoire soviétique (tout au plus à 150.000 regist.de l'IGK).

#### Kurdistan Quarterly/Kurdische Rundschau/Revue Kurde :

Sous ce titre paraîtra à partir de 1961 un périodique en plusieurs langues paraissant trimestriellement et qui traitera la question kurde tout en étant le seul périodique non-kurde. Il renfermera en outre des articles littéraires telle que la Chronique kurde, , l'opinion de la presse mondiale sur la question kurde et une annexe biographique, bibliographique et documentaire. Le "Kurdistan Quarterly" sera illustré de photos, d'images et de cartes. Le prix d'abonnement ainsi que de plus amples détails paraîtront dans un des prochains bulletins de l'IGK.

Aide Internationale pour le Développement du Kurdistan :

Trois Organes des Nations Unies : L'UNESCO, L'UNICEF et le FAO travaillent ensemble un plan d'une ~~première~~ période de cinq années consécutives contre la faim dans les pays en développement. Dans le cadre de ce plan se trouve l'amélioration de la production des céréales dans les états de l'Asie Ouest habités par les kurdes. Après la publication de ce plan, le Président de l'Association Internationale Kurdistan s'adressa aux médiateurs et autres services de l'IGK en leur offrant d'organiser des cours de langue kurde dont les instructeurs devront pénétrer en territoire kurde.

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# IGK/Inf/Nr. 2

# Betritt

# KURDISTAN

Vor Ihnen liegt die zweite Nummer unseres Informationsbriefes. Die Auflage der deutschsprachigen Ausgabe betraegt jetzt 1000 Exemplare monatlich.

Die Seitenzahl ist um mehr als 50 % erhoeht worden und ab Januar 1961 erscheinen wir bebildert. Auch der Name ist - wie wir hoffen - jetzt attraktiver.

Und der Urheber aller dieser Verbesserungen sind SIE, lieber "BK"-leser Ihr positiver Empfang unseres so bescheidenen Dienstes, Ihre materielle Unterstuetzung und Ihre wertvolle Kritik waren es, die all diese Verbesserungen so schnell ermoeglicherten.

Halten Sie uns bitte weiterhin Ihre kritische Treue. Wir werden unsererseits alles uns Moegliche tun, um Sie rasch und regelmaessig, lesbar und zuverlaessig, kurz und buendig zu informieren ueber KURDISTAN und was damit zusammenhaengt.

Denn es sieht danach aus, dass die uralte "Kurdische Frage" einer neuen, dynamischen 'Runde' entgegengeht. (Red. "BK")



Dr. Bedir-Xan: 7 Tage in Amsterdam

Vorstand der Internationalen Gesellschaft Kurdistan

Der Vorstand der IGK setzt sich z.Zt. wie folgt zusammen: 1. Vorsitzender: Silvio VAN ROOY; 2. Vors.: Lou SIMONSE; 1. Sekretar; Drs. Jan KEMP; 2. Sekr.: Joop ROODBERGEN; Schatzmeister: Eelco BROEKSMa, Herr SIMONSE ist gleichzeitig

IGK-Sachbearbeiter fuer Studentenfragen, Herr KEMP Bibliothekar der 'Kurdischen Zentralbibliothek in Europa' der IGK, Eine baldige 'Internationalisierung' des IGK-Vorstandes wird angestrebt.

Ziele der IGK

§ 2 der IGK-Statuten umschreibt die Ziele der "Internationalen Gesellschaft Kurdistan" wie folgt: "a.) Das Sammeln und Verbreiten sachdienlicher Informationen ueber Kurdistan und die Kurden; b.) Materielle und geistige Hilfeleistungen an die Kurden in ihrem Kampfe fuer demokratische Emanzipation und c.) das Beitragen zur Festigung freundschaftlicher Beziehungen zwischen den Kurden, ihren westasiatischen Nachbarn und allen anderen Voelkern der Welt, im Dienste eines wahrhaftigen internationalen Friedens".

Terminologisches und Rechtschreibung

Statt des wegen seines Europa-zentrischen Charakters veralteten Namens "Naher" bzw. "Mittlerer Osten" verwendet die IGK in ihren Publikationen mit Vorliebe den Terminus "Westasien". Fuer die verschiedenen Teile Kurdistans empfiehlt die IGK: "Tuerkisch-Kurdistan" oder "Tuerkisch-Nordkurdistan"; "Syrisch-Kurdistan" oder "Syrisch-Westkurdistan"; "Irakisch-Kurdistan" oder "Irakisch-Suedkurdistan"; "Iranisch-Kurdistan" oder "Iranisch-Ostkurdistan". Fuer Syrisch- und Irakisch-Kurdistan zusammen kann "Arabisch-Kurdistan" gesagt werden. Kurdische Namen wurden in den IGK-Publikationen ab sofort statt phonetisch in Kurdischer Lateintranskription wiedergegeben. Ein diesbezugliches Alphabet mit Aussprache-Hinweisen wird in der naechsten Nummer veroeffentlicht werden.

Dr. Bedir-Xan in den Niederlanden

Der Professor fuer Kurdisch der pariser 'École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes' Dr. Kamuran Aali Emir Bedir-Xan fuehrte Ende Dezember 1960 eine Woche lang Besprechungen mit Vorstandsmitgliedern der IGK in Amsterdam. Mehrere niederlaendische Zeitungen interviewten den Besucher und berichteten ueber den heutigen Stand der kurdischen Nationalbewegung.

IGK und FUEV

Die IGK wird der "Foederalistischen Union Europaeischer Volksgruppen" (FUEV) als korrespondierendes Mitglied beitreten. Zwei der von Kurden mitbewohnten Staaten (die Tuerkei und die UdSSR) liegen teilweise in Europa, wie IGK-Mitglied Dr. Heinrich Kloss (Kiel) auf der am 25/26.11.1960 Muenchen stattfindenden FUEV-Generalversammlung ausfuehrte.

"Wissenschaftlicher Rat der IGK" im Entstehen

Zwecks welweiter Koordinierung der kurdologischen und disziplinverwandten kurdologisch-interessierten Intelligenz wird ein "Wissenschaftlicher Rat der IGK" gebildet. Der Rat ist ein offizielles Organ der IGK und soll u.a. periodisch "Kurdologisch

Weltkongresse" organisieren, deren Ergebnisse in Buchform erscheinen sollen. Die Mitarbeit mehrerer Kurdologen ist bereits gesichert.

IGK und UNO's FAO

Die in der vorigen Nummer unseres Informationsbriefes erwaehnten Versuche der IGK um bei der "Freedom from Hunger Campaign" der Vereinten Nationen die kurdischen Bauern Westasiens in ihrer eigenen Sprache beraten zu lassen, wozu die IGK Hilfe anbot, haben leider zu keinem positiven Ergebnis gefuehrt. Campaign-Coordinator Herr Charles H. Weitz teilte der IGK am 6.12.1960 mit, dass die "responsibility for translating Campaign literature --- and for disseminating this literature" ausschliesslich bei den UN-Mitgliedsstaaten laege und fuehrte dann fort: "Since the Kurds are spread over at least four countries I can only suggest that your Society make separate approaches tot the Governments of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and the United Arab Republic on the question."



Daraufhin begab sich auch Innenminister Kiziloglu (kein Mitglied des Komitees) nach Tuerkisch-Kurdistan. Die tuerkische Regierung erliess nach seiner Rueckkehr ein "Zwangsumsiedlungsgesetz" (Tuerkisch: "Mecburi Iskan Qanunu"). Es handelte sich dabei praktisch um die Erneuerung einer alten Massnahme Atatuerks, die auch die Enteignung der Gueter der Zwangsumgesiedelten vorsah, so berichtete "Kim". Inzwischen begann auch die Weltpresse sich mit der Lage in Tuerkisch-Kurdistan auseinanderzusetzen. "Le Monde" berichtete am 26.10.

#### Guersel flog hin

1960 aus Ankara, General Guersel sei mit einem militaerischen Sonderflugzeug nach Ostanatolien geflogen: "Cette visite est considérée comme une tournée de propaganda auprès des populations." Die amtliche tuerkische Behauptung einer aufgedeckten "Kurdischen Verschwörung" ("Complot Kurde") brachte "Le Monde" zwischen Anfuehrungsstrichen, Ueber das am 25.10.1960 im tuerkischen Staatsblatt veroeffentlichte Zwangsumsiedlungsgesetz meine das Blatt:

#### "Le Monde" zum Gesetz

"Les raisons officielles qui ont motivé ce transfert de population viennent d'être exposées à la presse: sans doute encouragés par des émissaires syriens, irakiens, iraniens et des organisations kurdes clandestines, les agas avaient déployé de gross efforts pour organiser un mouvement.

Deux cent personnes détenues actuellement seront jugées conformément à la nouvelle loi, c'est-à-dire, qu'elles seront déplacées de leurs provinces d'origine et indemnisées en nature et en espèces." In Wirklichkeit waren all diese kurdische Massnahmen in der Tuerkei Guersels jedoch

#### Kurdische Studenten in Europa protestierten

bereits seit Monaten in Ausfuehrung. So spricht eine Erklae- rung vom Vorstand des "Vereins Kurdischer Studenten in Europa" bereits am 30.8.1960 von der antikurdischen "Umsiedlungs- und Tuerkisierungspolitik der jetzigen Regierung der

Tuerkei und wurde vom 5. Jahreskongress der VKSE in einem Protesttelegramm an General Dschemal Guersel u.a. "die Freilassung der Kurdischen politischen Haeflinge" gefordert. Auch die im November in der tuerkischen und internationalen Presse auftauchenden Nachrichten zeigten deutlich, dass die Guersel-Regierung sofort nach ihrer Machtuebernahme antikurdische Massnahmen durchgefuehrte hatte. Am letzten Oktobertag berichtete "KIM" ueber "280 Aghas

#### Haeflingzahlen

und Scheichs" die detiniert seien; naehere Einzelheiten brachte die massgebliche tuerkische Teageszeitung "Cumhuriyet" am 15/16.11.1960 Von 275 Verhafteten in Tuerkisch-Kurdistan seien 31 wieder entlassen worden. Die restlichen 244 befaenden sich im Lager Kabakya Zisi bei Siwas (Nordkurdistan). Unter ihnen gaebe es Personen "die eine Kurdische Regierung wollten", so schrieb das Blatt, Die Haeflinge stammten u.a. aus Erzerum, Wan Diarbekir, Mardin, Gaziantep, Urfa usw. "Cumhuriyet" veroeffentlichte mehrere Namen, darunter von 6 der 7 gefangengehaltenen Kurdischen Parlamentsabgeordneten. 5 davon gehoerten der Demokratischen Partei (Menderes') an, 2 der Republikanischen Partei des (Putsch-Inspirators und bekannten Kurdenfeind) Ismet Inoenue. Sie hatten Flugblaetter gegen Guersel verteilt in der Stadt Kilis. Am naechsten Tag, den 17.11.1960 berichtete eine erfahrungsgemaess zuverlaessige Quelle aus Wien der "Internationalen Gesellschaft Kurdistan", es seien in der Tuerkei 3000 Kurden in Haft und zwar unter sehr schlechten Bedingungen. Die Quelle sprach von einer "heftigen Unterdrueckungswelle" in Tuerkisch-Kurdistan.

#### Entlassungen

Die konservative londoner "Daily Telegraph" berichtete am 23.11.1960 aus Istanbul: "Turkische military leaders have released 193 Kurdisch tribesmen who have been in custody for 5 and half months. They are believed to have supported agitation for a free Kurdisch State in the east of the country. Still under arrest are 55 Kurdisch leaders. They are charged with holding their fanatically-religious followers almost in slavery and inciting them to rebellion. "Die"Daily Telegraph" erinnerte an den Kurdenaufstand von 1926, der von Atatuerks Truppen zerbombt wurde. 29 "ringleaders" seien damals gehaengt worden.

"Times" und "Daily Telegraph" uneinig

Ein "Editorial" in der londoner "Times" beschaeftigte sich am 15.12.1960 mit der gleichen Gruppe von 55, wobei mehrere von denen der "Daily Telegraph" abweichende Erklarungen gemacht wurde. Man vergleiche: "Last week --- the Turkish Government announced that fifty-five landowners from eastern Turkey, mostly of Kurdish origin, who were detained after the Army took over in May, are to be resettled in the West. --- The complaint against the Turkish deportees (gemeint sind Bewohner Tuerkisch-Kurdistans, Anm.) is that they were parasitic feudal leaders, propped up by the Menderes regime for its own purposes, not that they were nationalist dissidents." Material fuer etwaige Nachfolger der Guersel-Regierung, letztere gleichermaßen einer angeblich unzulässig-grossen Kurdenfreundlichkeit zu beschuldigen wie es z. Zt. von dem Guersel-Regime den Menderes-Anhaengeren gegenueber gemacht wird, lieferte (sicherlich ungewollt) der Redakteur Jean Grandmougin, der am 2.12.1960 abends um 19.15 Uhr vor dem Luxemburger Sender Erklaerte:

"En Turquie, la plupart des officiers de la junte militaire qui le Général Gursel a récemment révoqués, sont d'origine kurde, ou favorables à une autonomie kurde."

Inzwischen versuchen die kurdischen Studenten im Ausland, die Weltmeinung gegen die antikurdische Massnahmen der Guersel-Regierung zu mobilisieren. In den "Beschlüssen des 5. Jahreskongresses des Vereins Kurdischer Studenten in Europa (vom 22. bis 26. August 1960 in Westberlin)" liest man unter Punkt Nr 5:

Aufruf kurdischer Studenten an die Welt "Der Kongress macht die oeffentliche Meinung in der ganzen Welt auf die Umsiedlungs- und Tuerkisierungspolitik der jetzigen Regierung in der Tuerkei unserem Volke gegenueber aufmerksam. Der Kongress ruft alle demokratischen Institutionen der Welt, insbesondere die UNO, und alle Menschen mit Ehrgefuehl und Gewissen, diese Politik zu verurteilen und unser Volk beim Kampf um seine natuerlichen Rechte zu unterstuetzen."

"Prozess der 32" in Nassers Syrien

Giselher Wirsing, Chefredakteur der bekannten westdeutschen Wochenzeitung "Christ und Welt", hatte am 15.12.1960 in seinem Blatt geschrieben, die Macht in der syrischen Provinz von Nassers Vereinigten Arabischen Republik habe sich "fast ganz auf den hoechst unbeliebten Innenminister und Chef der Geheimpolizei Sarradsch verlagert", der inzwischen von Nasser mit weiteren Vollmaechten ausgestattet worden sei. Zu Sarradsch' Probleme gehoert auch die "Demokratische Partei Kurdistan in Syrien", die unter den 400.000 Syrienkurden politisch taetig ist.

"La Tribune des Nations" dazu:

"Nous savions que dès le 8 juin dernier il (Nasser, Anm.) fait arrêt en Syrie 213 Kurdes --- 32 d'entre eux viennent d'être traduits de vant les juges militaires pour provocation à la revolte, intelligence avec l'Iraq et attentat à l'Unité de la République. "Also schrieb das pariser Blatt "La Tribune des Nations", das sich immer durch eine gute Kurdistan-Berichterstattung auszeichnet. Es nannte die wichtigsten Namen der 32 Angeklagten im damaszener Kurdenprozess: Dr paed. Nurreddin Zaza; Oberst Mohammed Ali Hasso; die Offiziere Khalil, Omar und Raschid und die Kommissare Schewket Hussein und Ahmet Osman. Die meisten Betroffenen seien Intellektuelle, Beamten oder Kuenstler; DPKiS-Ortsgruppen gaebe es in Damaskus, Aleppo, Dscharablus und Dschesireh. In diesen Orten und Staedten be-

Was wurde gedruckt von DPKiS und wo ?

faendend sich, ist "La Tribune des Nations" (18.11.1960) "des imprimeries clandestines." Drei Wochen frueher - am 26.10.1960 - hatte "Le Monde" jedoch nur von der Entdeckung einer Untergrunddruckerei durch die VAR-Polizei geschrieben. Die bestrebungen der syrienkurdischen Patrioten gab das pariser Blatt wie folgt wieder: "Ils sont accusés d'avoir participé à une organisation préconisant l'octroi des droits politiques et culturels à la population kurde du pays." Radio Luxemburg sprach am 2.12.1960 von "une organisation dont le programme était de créer un Kurdistan autonome." Die londoner "Times" schrieb am 15.12.1960, die Angeklagten seien "accused of trying to disrupt the United Arab Republic by setting up an independent State of Kurdistan." Am Besten zeigte sich auch hier wieder "La Tribune des Nations" informiert, die am 18.11.1960 aus der Programmroschuer "Difficultés et exigences du Mouvement

Erklaerung der



Demokratischen Partei Kurdistan in Syrien. nationale kurde" folgende Erklärung zitieren konnte:  
"Le Kurdistan dans la situation actuelle a besoin d'éléments dynamiques pour entraîner les masses populaires à l'affirmation de leurs véritables droits démocratiques; faire comprendre à l'opinion publique que le Mouvement kurde est d'ordre purement national et n'a d'autre but que l'unification territoriale et politique de la patrie kurde; expliquer clairement que les Kurdes ne sont pas des minorités en Turquie, en Iran, en Irak et en Syrie, mais bien qu'ils constituent un peuple cohérent et homogène installé sur un territoire qui lui est propre, le Kurdistan. Les frontières politiques actuelles étant artificielles, aucun Kurde n'est tenu à les respecter. Pour arriver à leur but, les Kurdes, tout en se gardant de s'immiscer dans les querelles qui sont spécifiquement arabes, doivent collaborer avec tous les éléments progressistes et démocratiques du Proche-Orient."

Gefängnisstrafen und Zwangsarbeit beantragt Am 23.10.1960 wurde die Anklageschrift gegen 32 Kurden durch Generalstaatsanwalt Ahmed Eher SOUBHI verlesen. Die Angeklagten gaben die darin genannten Tatsachen zu. Am 6.12.1960 berichtete das "Journal d'Orient" (Beirut) aus Damaskus über die wie es schrieb seit Februar 1960 inhaftierten 32:

"Le procureur général a requis la peine des travaux forcés à perpétuité pour 13 de ces accusés dont le Dr Noureddine Zaza de Damas qui était le chef ---.

Le tribunal s'est ajourné jusqu'à la semaine prochaine. 13 meneurs ont été maintenus en prison tandis que les autres, à l'encontre desquels des peines allant de 5 à 20 ans de prison ont été demandées, ont été mis en liberté provisoire sous caution."

Die "Demokratische Partei Kurdistan in Syrien" hatte u.a. Nasser wegen dessen kurdenfeindlichen Politik angegriffen, und Iraks Kassem gelobt wegen seiner Politik arabisch-Kurdischer Freundschaft. (Dazu "La Tribune des Nations": "On comprend la colère des autorités du Caire")

Libanon: Einbürgerung von Kurden gefordert Die Nasser-freundliche libanesische Tageszeitung "Sawt al-Uruba" (=Die Stimme des Arabertums) brachte am 19.10.1960 eine ganze Seite unter dem Titel: "Das gesetzmässige Recht der Kurden auf Einbürgerung als libanesische Staatsangehörigen". Der anonyme Verfasser setzte sich darin für eine Einbürgerung kurdischer Einwanderer ein, die sich seit dem Ersten Weltkrieg im Libanon befinden.

Studentenkongress in Bagdad Als der libanesische Artikel erschien, ging in der irakischen Hauptstadt Bagdad gerade der 6. Kongress des "International Union of Students" (IUS, Sitz: Praha) zu Ende (8/19.10.1960) der dort auf Einladung des IUS-Mitgliedsverbandes GUSIR (General Union of Students of the Iraqi Republic) stattgefunden hatte. Zum Generalsekretär des IUS wurde in Bagdad Nuri Abdel Razzak Hassan ernannt, ehemaliger Generalsekretär der IUDY (Iraqi Union of Democratic Youth, Mitgliedsverband der "World Federation of Democratic Youth" - einer Schwesterorganisation des IUS), der einen Monat später von Bagdad nach Prag abreiste, wo er auch seine Universitätsstudien fortzusetzen gedenkt. ("Iraq Times", Bagdad, 20.11.1960).

Kurden suchten Echo Die kurdischen Aspekte des bagdader IUS-Kongresses sind zwar dauerhaft, aber verdienen es, festgehalten zu werden weil sie symptomatisch interessant sind. Als Gast-Beobachter war am IUS-Kongress Ismet Scherif Vanly erschienen, dessen "Verein Kurdischer Studenten in Europa" viermal vergeblich um Aufnahme in IUS nachgesucht hatte. In den jetzt gedruckt vorliegenden Hauptresolutionen des bagdader IUS-Kongresses findet die Kurdenfrage nirgends Erwähnung. Die "Resolution on Imperialism and Colonialism" schweigt genau so über die Kurden wie die "On Neo-Colonialism" oder die IUS-"Resolution on the Maintenance of Peace in the Middle East." Nur Studentendelegationen aus den nichtkommunistischen Ländern setzten sich für die Kurden ein.

Schwarzafrikaner melden sich Ausser lateinamerikanische Studentenführer traten in dieser Beziehung vor allem 2 schwarzafrikanische Studentenverbände hervor: die FÉANF (Fédération des Étudiants de l'Afrique Noire en France; Sitz: Paris) und die UGÉAO (Union Générale des Étudiants d'Afrique Occidentale; Sitz: Dakar). Beide wurden in Bagdad als IUS-Mitglieder akzeptiert, beide luden den KSSE-Präsidenten zu ihrem eigenen Jahreskongress (Dezember) ein. VKSE-Chef Scherif Vanly musste jedoch die Einladungen abschlagen, wohl auch deshalb, weil er kurz nach der Jahreswende die Sitzung seines eigenen KSSE-Exekutivkomitees präsidieren musste.

Im Irak hatte Scherif voruebergehend Schwierigkeiten mit den dortigen Behoerden, bevor er wie - der nach seinem Wohnsitz Lausanne in der Schweiz abreisen konnte. Im Irak verfuegen die Kurdischen Studenten nicht ueber eine eigene Organisation, wie in Europa und in den VS - sie sind dort auf die GUSIR angewiesen, deren Leiter Mahdi Hafiz in Westberlin auch den 5. VKSE-Kongress beiwohnte und zwar - im Gegensatz zum IUS-Vertreter Christianopoulos - vom Anfang bis bis zum Ende.

### Ethnische oder Territorial-Nation ?

Am gleichen 19. Oktober an dem der IUS-GUSIR-Kongress in Bagdad zu Ende ging, veroeffentlichte die fuehrende irak-kurdische Tageszeitung "Xebat" (Chawad = Der Kampf; Organ der "Demokratischen Partei Kurdistan im Irak", Auflage 5000 Ex.) einen Leitartikel "Die kurdische Nation". Vier Wochen spaeter stand "Xebat"-Redakteur Ibrahim Ahmed deshalb (am 17.11.1960) vor dem 2. Militaertribunal in Bagdad. Er wurde beschuldigt, mit seinem Leitartikel die Einheit der irakischen Nation gefaehrdet zu haben. Zu seiner Verteidigung meldeten sich nicht weniger als 24 Rechtsanwaelte und es regnete Proteste von Irak-Kurden. DPP'-Generalsekretaer Ibrahim Ahmed - den gutinformierte Beobachter als den politisch faehigsten Kopf der Partei betrachten - wurde nicht bestraft. Drie andere kurdische Blaetter im Irak wurden jedoch behoerdlich verboten,

### Irak: 3 kurdische Blaetter verboten

weil sie Durchfuehrung des sich auf die kurdisch arabische Gleichberechtigung beziehenden dritten Artikels der Verfassung gefordert hatten. Ihr Erscheinen einstellen mussten deshalb: "Jîn" (= Das Leben - 3 x wochentlich, Sulemaniya): "Denjekurd" (= Die Stimme der Kurden - Tageszeitung, Bagdad) und "Hêtaw" (= Die Sonne, Wochenblatt, Erbil) Ein Redakteur bekam Gefaengnisstrafe, ein anderer wurde verbannt. Dass es sich hierbei nicht um einseitig-antikurdische Massnahmen handelte, duerfte aus der Tatsache hervorgehen, dass auch Irak-arabische Journalisten (so u. a. der Chefredakteur von "Al Hadara", Mohammed Charara) vor dem Militaergericht erscheinen mussten (vgl. "Iraq Times" vom 17.11.1960, Bagdad). Nach dem Verbot dreier kurdischen Blaetter im Irak erscheinen dort immerhin noch 12 andere weiter (vollstaendige Liste in unserer naechsten Nummer), waehrend in der Tuerkei und Syrien keine Kurdenzeitungen legal erscheinen koennen, im Iran eine von der Regierung herausgegeben wird und in Europa nur 2 Studentenzeitschriften (unregelmassig) herauskommen. Obwohl gewisse Erscheinungen, die auf eine Truebung arabisch-kurdischer Freundschaft im Irak seit Herbst 1960 hinweisen weder orientalischen noch westlichen noch auch "oestlichen" Beobachtern verborgen geblieben waren, konnte "La Tribune des Nations" noch am 18.

### Die arabisch-kurdische Freundschaft im Irak

11.1960 schreiben: "Jusqu'ici seul l'Irak a compris les aspirations des Kurdes et les favorise" und Radio Luxemburg noch am 2.12.1960 sagen: "Le général Kassem n'aura-t-il pas beau jeu de favoriser les aspirations des Kurdes?". Ein unabhængiges Blatt wie "Al Hayat" in Beirut (Libanon) deutete denn auch der Ruecktritt des Kassem-Ministers Youssef Awni (Kurde, Mitglied des "Weltfriedensrates") aus der Verschlechterung der Beziehungen zwischen der "Kommunistischen Partei des Irak" (zu welcher zugelassenen Partei auch der ebenfalls zurueckgetretenen Minister Naziha Doulaimi gehoert) und dem Kassem-Regime und nicht aus einer etwaigen Verschlechterung der Lage der Kurden in der Irakischen Republik. ("Al Hayat", 24.11.1960). Ein von den kurdischen Intellektuellen in Europa schaerfsten kritisiertes Bild von arabisch-kurdischen Verhaeltnissen in dem Irak gab der dortige Korrespondent der "New York Times"

### "The New York Times" ueber Kassem & Kurden

Richard P. Hunt. In der "International Edition" seines Blattes vom 28.12.1960 hiesse es u. a.: "Now the Kurdish Democratic Party, which claims to represent all the Kurds in Iraq, is openly hostile to General Kassim --- signs indicate that the alliance between the Kassim government and the Kurds is in danger. This growing rift threatens to shut off one of the principal sources of General Kassim's support. "Ueber die Ursachen der behaupteten Verfremdung meinte Hunt: "Particularly the party asked for recognition of the Kurdish language in schools and publications and for public work projects. Their displeasure with the results began to appear last July 14; when no Kurds marched in the parade celebrating the second anniversary of the revolution. In September, inter-tribal fighting broke out. Led by the Zibari and Baradost tribes, under Mahmoud Khalifa and Sheikh Rashid Lolan, the Kurdish foes of the Barazani began raiding the villages of Mullah Mustapha's followers."

### Barsani eingeladen nach der UdSSR.

Zu den Revolutionsgedenkefeiern Anfang November 1960 lud die Sowjetregierung Mullah Mustafa al-Barsani ein, den Chef der "Demokratischen Partei Kurdistan im Irak". Barsani, der vom kurdischen Volk als Nationalheld verehrt wird, wurde bekannte

durch seinen Anteil an dem Aufstand der Irak-Kurden im Jahre 1943 und zwei Jahre spaeter als Oberbefehlshaber der Kurdischen Republik von Mehabad in West-Iran. Nach 12 Jahren sowjetischen Exils kehrte er nach der Kassem-Revolution in den Irak zurueck, zu dessen heutigem Regime er sich mehrmals bekannte. In der UdSSR fuehrte Barsani diesmal Besprechungen mit Muchitdin(-ow) dem aus Turkistan (Uzbekische SSR) stammende Politiker und Mitglied des Zentralkomitees der KPdSU. Muchitdin erfuellte mit Erfolg mehrere Auftraege seiner Regierung in der afro-asiatischen Voelkerzone, besonders in den Moslem-Laendern. Ueber die Ergebnisse seiner Unterredungen mit Barsani ist zur Zeit noch nichts bekannt. Fest steht, dass das Hauptorgan seiner Partei, das Tageblatt "Xebat", mehrmals den Kommunismus scharf kritisiert hat; das DPK-Organ schrieb u.a.,

#### Demokratischen Partei Kurdistan im Irak und der Kommunismus

der Kommunismus entspreche nicht den Beduerfnissen des kurdischen Volkes. Nichtsdestoweniger versuchten westliche Presseorgane auch in den letzten Monaten immer wieder, die DPKil Barsanis irgendwie mit dem Kommunismus zu identifizieren. "--- the Kurdish communist party is not secessionist" hiess es in "The Times" vom 15.12.1960 ueber den Irak (in dem es nur eine - eben nicht-kommunistische - Kurdische Partei gibt). Die "New York Times" vom 28.12.1960 meinte, die Partei Barsanis sei "loosely allied with the Communists". Die in Bonn erscheinende Zeitschrift "Ost-Probleme" sprach am 19.8.1960 von der DPKil als von einer "KP-Filiale unter Fuehrung von Mustafa al-Barzani". Radio Free Europe's Monatsblatt "Hinter dem Eisernen Vorhang" nannte sie "die kommunistische-gefuehrten Kurdu-Demokraten". Eine "einheitliche Sprachregelung" bei der Beurteilung der DPKil Barsanis war bei diesen vier Blaettern also keineswegs vorhanden.

#### Teherans Kurdenpolitik

Abwartend verhalten sich die Kurden gegeneuber den deutlichen Versuchen der iranischen Regierung, in der Kurdenfrage etwas zu unternehmen. Gewissermassen Sinnbild dieser "neuen Linie" ist die nach wie vor in Teheran erscheinende kurdische Wochenzeitung "Kurdistan", deren Gruendung eine Initiative des Schahs zu Grunde zu liegen scheint. Vorher hatten iranische Regierungsvertreter Kontakt zu fuehrenden Kurden in Westasien und Europa gesucht, ein Kontakt der weiterhin andauert. Zum VKSE-Kongress in Berlin entstadte man, z. B. Ihsan Nuri Pascha (Held des antituerkischen Ararat-Aufstandes 1927-1931). Er wurde vom antikommunistischen Baer-Verlag interviewt und gab eine antikommunistisch und antituerkisch gefaerbte Erklaerung ab, der ein entsprechendes Vorspann des Verlegers beigegeben war. (Vgl. "Die Kurden wollen keine Bergguerken sein !", Art. A/ - 457, ill., vom 22.9.1960, 3 S.). In Teheran bekommt die Kurdologie an der Universitaet ein wenig "Oberwasser", die Todesurteile gegen 4 gefangenen kurdischen Patrioten wurden nicht vollstreckt und anlaesslich des Geburts des Tronfolgers sollen mehrere gefangene kurdische Patrioten aus iranischer Haft entlassen worden sein. Die neue Kurdenpolitik Teherans hat eine

#### Schah-in-Schah zur Lage im Iran

Reihe von Gruenden, die wichtigste duerfte sein, zu verhindern, dass die Irankurden ein Buendnis eingehen mit jenen Kraeften des In- und Auslandes, die einen Sturz der iranischen Monarchie herbeifuehren moechten. Dem nach 1945 als rechtskonservativer Aktivist bekanntgewordenen Hubertus zu Loewenstein gewaehrte der Schah-in-Schah des Iran ein am 27.11.1960 auf der Umschlagseite der hamburger "Welt" veroeffentlichtes Exklusivinterview. Der Schah wuenscht, dass "mehr junge Iraner in Deutschland ausgebildet werden" und tadelt jene westlichen Demokraten, die einen Umsturz im Iran erhoffen. Von der Errichtung einer "Liberalen, parlamentarischen Republik" wuerde in einem solchen Falle niemals die Rede sein, so versicherte der Shah, sondern nur von einem "Sowjet-Iran". Die Kommunisten spielten seiner Meinung nach zur Zeit "im Lande praktisch keine Rolle". Der Herrscher gestand: "Es gab Wahlfalschungen und Schwindeleien aller Art" und meinte, Iran muesse stattdessen "eine wirkliche Volksvertretung haben". Auch sei Lehrer und Wassermangel da und die Armee koenne nicht alle Wehrpflichtigen verwenden. Probleme wie die der Dorfarmut und der mitwohnenden Nationalitaeten (3,5 Mio Ostkurden, 4 Mio Suedaserbeidschaner, usw) blieben im interview unerwaehnt. Loewenstein berichtete: "Der Schah ist optimistisch, was die Zukunft seines Landes anbelangt."

#### "Nah- und Mittelost- Tag" in Bonn

370 Personen, darunter der 1. Vorsitzende der "Internationalen Gesellschaft Kurdistan", nahmen am 29.11.1960 am "Nah- und Mittelost-Tag" in der westdeutschen Bundeshauptstadt Bonn teil. Referenten waren Dr. Alfred Toepfer (1. Vors. des dt. "Nah- & Mittelost-Verein"), Prof. Dr. Alfred Ruestow aus Heidelberg (der die Brauchbarkeit parlamentarischer Demokratie fuer Deutschland bezweifelte), Staatssekretaer des bonner Auswaertigen Amtes Van Scherpenberg, Botschafter

a. D. Hans Podeyn (Praesident des "Deutschen Orient-Instituts") und Dr Ernst Messerschmidt (Redakteur der neuen Zeitschrift "Orient"). Letzterer gab ein ungeschminktes und faktenreiches Bild der Wirtschaft- und Finanzlage im Iran. Der "Deutsche Nah- und Mittelost Verein" erwaegt, kurdischen Fragen groessere Aufmerksamkeit zu widmen, Aber auch im Nachbarland Frankreich scheint man seit der Festigung des gaullistischen Regimes kurdischen Problemen einer erhoehete Aufmerksamkeit zu geben.. Auf mehreren Gebieten werden Initiativen entwickelt, deren ersten konkreten Ergebnisse noch im Jahr 1961 ans Tageslicht treten duerften. Ein interessanter Kommentar zur Kurdenfrage brachte "La Tribune des Nations" am 18.11.1960: "Contentons- nous d'inscrire des préoccupations des chancelleries cet acteur de la onzième heure, l'acteur kurde. Ne le perdons pas de vue. Il tient son rôle. Il n'attend que son heure." Diese Haltung steht in scharfen Gegensatz zu etwa der der offiziosen londoner "Times" die in ihren Editorial vom 15.12.1960 von den Kurden sprach als von einem Volk das "on the whole being everywhere assimilated with a good measure of success", eine Aeusserung, die der "Internationalen Gesellschaft Kurdistan" zu einem Leserbrief veranlasste. In der Bundesrepublik, Deutschland werden inzwischen die ersten Initiativen in der Kurdenfrage entwickelt. So bereitet die "Bruecke der Nationen", das internationale Kulturzentrum der nordwestdeutschen Stadt Oldenburg (i.O.) fuer den 7. & 8.3.1961 zwei "Kurdische Tage" vor. Neben einem Farb-Dias-Referat des bekannten kurdischen Vortragsredners Abdullah Kadir sind verschiedene andere Veranstaltungen geplant. Oldenburg duerfte damit die erste Stadt in Europa sein, die oeffentlich ihr Interesse an Schicksal und Zukunft fuer kurdischen Mitmenschen bekundet.

oo

A U S F O S C H U N G U N D L E H R E o A U S F O R S C H

oo

Durch die Fuelle der anfallenden politischen Nachrichten ueber Kurdistan musste diesmal nicht nur den erweiterten Umfang unseres Informationbriefes ueberschritten werden, sondern wird auch die Kurdologie-Rubrik zu kurz kommen, obwohl gerade diese der Redaktion dieses bescheidenen Blattes sehr nahe am Herzen liegt, faengt doch jede vernuenftige Beschaeftigung mit der Kurdenfrage damit an, dass man sich sachliche Kenntnisse anzueignen sucht. Die wohl erfreulichste aller wissenschaftlich-kulturellen Nachrichten die bis zum Jahreswechsel fuer die Deutsch-sprachigen Freunde Kurdistans und der IGK eintraf, veroeffentlichen wir jedoch gleich hierunter. Noch im Jahre 1961 wird eine deutsch-sprachige Grammatik der kurdischen Sprache (Lateintranskription) erscheinen. Ueber eine Reihe weiterer kurdologischen Veroeffentlichungen die 1961-1962 herauskommen, teilweise schon in Arbeit sind und nahezu ausnahmslos zum festen Handwerkszeug kuenftiger Kurdologen gehoeren duerften, hoffen wir in der naechsten Nummer unseres Bulletin bereits Naeheres zu berichten. Das gleiche gilt fuer die in der Sowjetunion erschienen modernen Woerterbuecher der kurdischen Sprache. Zur sowjetischen Kurdologie noch dies: Der auch als Turkistanforscher hervortretende pariser Orientalist Prof. Dr. A. Bennigsen, veroeffentlichte einen 18 engbedruckte Seiten starken Artikel ueber "Les Kurdes et la Kurdologie en Union Soviétique" in der zum ersten Mal die sowjetische Kurdologie in einer westlichen Sprache zusammenfassend behandelt ist. Eine wertvolle informatorische Hilfe leistete dabei der Ieningrader Sowjetkunde Prof. Dr. Kanate Kurdo(-ew). Etwa gleichzeitig erschien in der leidener "Bibliotheca Orientalis" einen 9 Gross-Seiten starken Beitrag des beiruter Kurdologen Prof. Dr. Thomas Bois O.P.: "Remarques critiques sur la Nomenclature grammaticale Kurde", in dem u.a. verschiedene neuere sowjetische Werke kritisch miteinander verglichen wurden. Desgleichen tat der bekannte franzoesische Kurdenkenner Roger Lescot in seinem Aufsatz "Remarques sur quelques travaux soviétique-de philologie. Kurde" in der pariser Zeitschrift "L'Afrique et l'Asie" Nr.51, 1960. Saemtliche Arbeiten befinden sich in der "Kurdischen Zentralbibliothek in Europa" der IGK in Amsterdam, Das Tonarchiv der IGK haettinzwischen in Zusammenarbeit mit bestehenden Institutionen einen Anfang gemacht mit der zentralen Erfassung aller in oeffentlichen Besitz lagernden kurdischen Musik- und sonstigen Tonaufnahmen. Fuer die Schallplattenserie "Spoken Kurdisch" wurden bereits mehrere Auftrage vorgemerkt;

Kurdische Aussprache-Uebungen auf Tonband sind ab sofort bei der IGK erhaeltlich. Die "Kurdistan Quarterly" wird regelmaessig Beiträge ueber kurdische Musik bringen: der betreffende Experte hat bereits fest seine Mitarbeit zugesagt. Erfassung und Aktivierung "kurdologischer Intelligenz" ist uebrigens an der Tagesordnung, wie es scheint. Der Studenten herangezogen Praesident der VKSE, Ismet Scherif Vanly z.B., wird 1961 an der pariser Sorbonne 12 Vorlesungen ueber Kurdische Geschichte halten. Sein in Westberlin lebender Generalsekretaer Kamal Fuad Steht dem Iranisten der Humboldt-Universitaet, Herrn Prof. Dr. Heinrich Junker, beim Zusammensetzen des Soranikurdisch - Deutschen Woerterbuches zur Seite.

Betrifft:

"BETRIFFT : KURDEN" Der Informationsbrief der IGK, "Betrifft: Kurden" wird ab sofort monatlich erscheinen. Der Jahresabonnementspreis betraegt 12 DM (oder Gegenwert in anderer Waehrung), der fuer Einzelhefte DM. 1,50 Die unter dem alten Namen "IGK-Mitarbeiterbrief" erschienene erste Ausgabe is total ausverkauft, Zahlungen sind zu richten an: Amsterdamsche Bank, Zweigstelle Bilderdijkstraat, Amsterdam - West, auf Namen von S. van Rooy, mit dem Vermerk: "Koerden". Das Lichtbild in dieser Nummer stammt von "Arbeiderspers", Amsterdam.

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DRUCKSACHE  
PRINTED MATTER  
IMPRIME  
DRUKWERK



16 JAN. 1961

*Per. Pore  
Prof. Dr. Thomas Boris O. P.  
Carmel St. Joseph  
Rue Verdun  
Beyrouth  
Lebanon*

From: / Absender: / Exp.:

INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN  
Informationsabteilung  
Da Costastraat 25'  
AMSTERDAM - WEST  
NETHERLANDS.

IGK/Inf./Jan. 1961



22. FEB. 1961

# IGK/Inf/Nr. 3

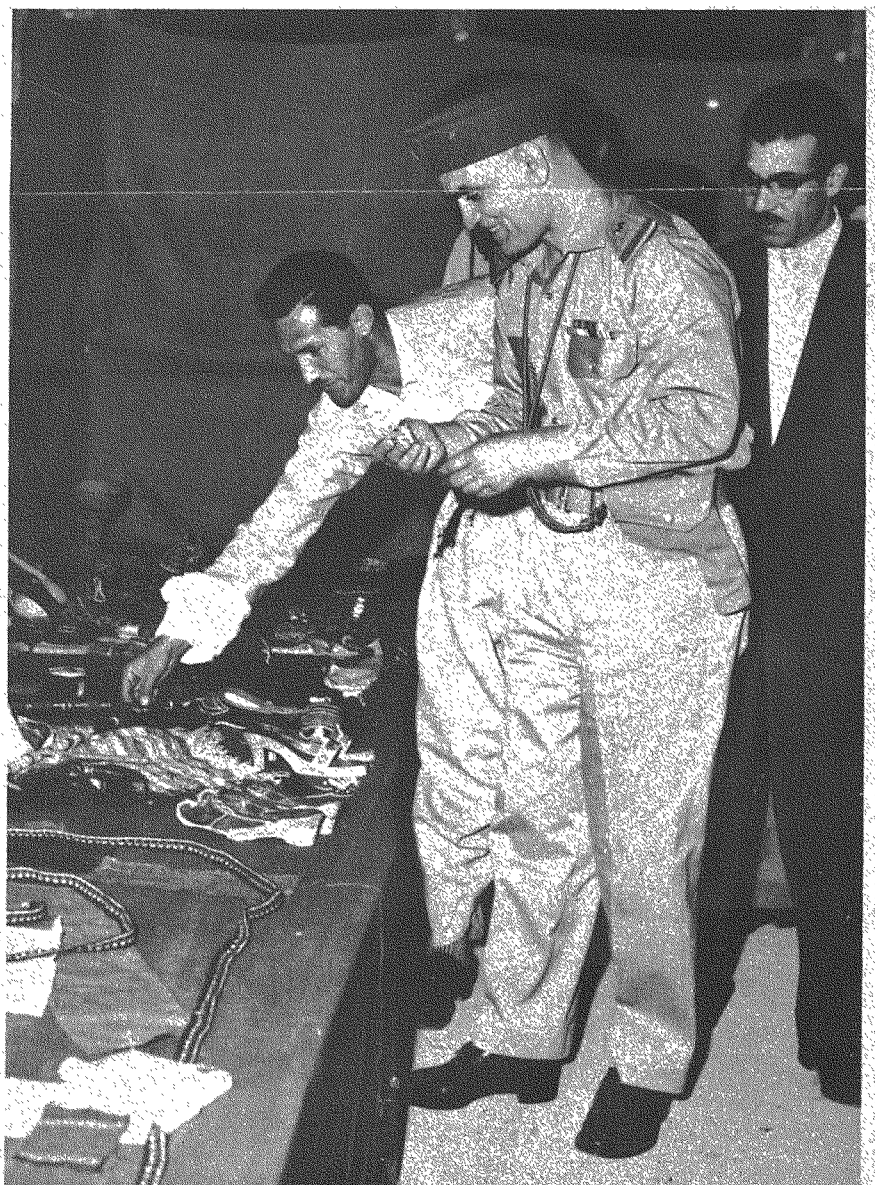
# Betrifft:

# KURDEN

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Vier Erfreuliches gibt es auch dieses Mal weder aus Kurdistan noch aus seinen Nachbarl nder zu berichten. Aber immerhin l sen die zunehmenden Unterdr ckungsmassnahmen gegen die Kurden besonders in der west-europ ischen Presse immer mehr Proteste aus. Es liegt auf der Hand, dass in diesem Klima auch die Arbeit der "Internationalen Gesellschaft Kurdistan" gedeiht. Sie finden in dieser Nummer Reaktionen darauf aus West, Ost und Orient. Wie Sie sehen, hat die Unterst tzung unserer Mitarbeiter und Leser erneut zu Verbesserung des Informationsbulletins gef hrt. Es lohnt sich sehr bald, uns ein wenig zu helfen. Wie Sie das tun k nnen? Ganz einfach: senden Sie uns Presseauschnitte, Informationen, Kritik, Vorschl ge und: etwas Geld. Wir m chten, dass die Kurden mitgedacht werden wenn von west-asiatischen Fragen die Rede ist.

Redaktion "BK"



Irak's Kassem: im Kurdischen Museum

# "BK" - LESER SCHREIBEN

"Man kann Ihnen und den Freunden dieses Werkes wirklich dazu gratulieren, dass ein so wichtiges und verzwicktes Problem nun am richtigen Ende angepackt wird."

(K.H. - Kaufmann - Solingen-Wald, BRD)

" - - - votre excellent bulletin - - - a déjà fait un énorme pas en avant. Je suis entrain de m'occuper des abonnés."

(Dr B.X. - Dozent - Paris)

"Besten Dank für Ihre Nr 2, das ich wesentlich besser als Nr 1 finde und über das ich mich wegen der wirklich interessanten Meldungen usw. sehr gefreut habe. - - - Ein technisch-praktischer Vorschlag: ist's nicht möglich die Hefte so anzulegen (zu drucken), dass die Nachrichten auch archiviert werden können, d.h. dass man sie nur auf eine Seite druckt, die Rückseite leer lässt?"

(H.W. von S. - Journalist - München, BRD)

"Sehr angenehm überrascht war ich von der grossen Materialfülle, die in der Nummer geboten wird. Es ist glaube ich das erste Mal, dass so ausführlich über die Kurdenfrage berichtet und sie von allen Seiten beleuchtet wird."

(Dr M.A. - Dolmetscher - Hamburg, BRD)

"Langsam aber sicher wird es Ihnen gelingen! Nur Mut und Ausdauer!"

(A.K. - Vortragsredner - München, BRD)

"Ich muss gestehen, dass ich beim Lesen Ihres Mitarbeiterbrie-

fes wohl ein wenig erschrocken bin von der grossen Kampfbereitschaft die aus ihren Mitteilungen hervorgeht."

(F.C.W. - Verleger - Leiden/Niederlande)

"Mit grosser Freude erfuhr ich von der Gründung Ihrer Gesellschaft. Als Freund und Kenner des kurdischen Volkes und Landes, die ich auf zwei Studienreisen - - - kennen und schätzen lernte, begrüsse ich es ganz besonders, dass nunmehr mit der IGK eine Gesellschaft der Freunde Kurdistan in's Leben getreten ist, die mit ihrem Bulletin objektiv und 'sine ira et studio' Information über das Geschehen in und über Kurdistan liefern will. Mit Ihrem Informationsblatt schliessen Sie eine von mir schon lange als schmerzlich empfundene Lücke auf dem Zeitschriftenmarkt über Nahostfragen."

(H.B. - Student - Münster, BRD)

"I received with thanks, your very good Bulletin No.2 - - - I think an English edition would be understood by more people."

(I.S.V. - Student - Lausanne, Schweiz)

"Wär es Ihnen möglich, mir noch zwei weitere Exemplare zuzuschicken? - - - Ich finde die - - - Nummer interessant und gut zusammengestellt und darf Ihnen dazu gratulieren."

(Prof.Dr.G.v.M. - Orientalist - Bonn)

" - - - the book "Kurdish Epic Songs" - - - we shall send you the moment it will be published."

(A.P. - stellv.Inst.-Direktor - Moskau)

## IGK-NACHRICHTEN

### IGK-BILDARCHIV GEGRÜNDET

Bildmaterial jeder Art über Kurdistan zu sammeln, zu erfassen und zu vermitteln ist die Aufgabe des eben im Rahmen der IGK gegründeten "Kurdischen Bildarchivs".

### IGK IN JUGOSLAWIEN

Als bisher zehntes Land, in dem die IGK zur bleibenden Tätigkeit schreiten konnte, kam Ende 1960 die Jugoslawische Föderale Volksrepublik (FNRJ) hinzu. Bereits beim berliner VKSE-Kongress im August v.J. hatten kurdische Studenten aus Belgrad berichtet, dort nicht nur Kenntnisse der kurdischen Frage, sondern auch eine grosse Verständnisbereitschaft (verhältnismässig stärker als in einigen Nachbarländern) angetroffen zu haben. Der südslawische IGK-Kern wird von einem serbischen Akademiker in Rijeka geleitet. Auch im VKSE bildet die FNRJ das bisher jüngste "Abteilungsland". In Mossul (Irakisch-Kurdistan) hat Jugoslawien ein Generalkonsulat. Die IGK ist jetzt ständig aktiv in je einem Land des englischen und niederländischen Sprachbereiches, in 2 Ländern des arabischen Kulturkreises und in 3 Ländern des deutschen Sprachraumes; weiter in Frankreich und Schweden.

### KURDISCHE BUCHGEMEINSCHAFT GEPLANT

In Zusammenarbeit mit der IGK erwägt ein niederländischer Verlag die Gründung einer "Kurdischen Buchgemeinschaft". Pro Jahr sollen vier kleine Bücher erscheinen, wovon zwei in kurdischer Sprache. Interessenten werden bereits jetzt um ihre (unverbindliche) Voranmeldung gebeten. Auch die Gegenwartsliteratur Kurdistan (Prosa und Poesie) wird von dem Verlag berücksichtigt werden. Die Reihe wird nicht zuletzt der Verbreitung kurdischer Kultur im Ausland dienen.

"BETRIFFT: KURDEN" is the monthly information service in German of the "International Society Kurdistan", Amsterdam-West, Netherlands, Da Costastraat 25/I. Annual subscription rate: 12 German marks, 1 British Pound or equivalent, airmail postage being charged extra. Payments to "Twentsche Bank n.v.", Amsterdam, to the name of S.v.Rooy, with the addition: "Kurds". Advertising rates are supplied at request.

# Aus KURDISTAN, WESTASIEN UND DER WELT

## IGK WENDET SICH AN ARABISCHE LIGA

An die am 30.1.1961 in Bagdad eröffnete Aussenministerkonferenz der Arabischen Liga wandt sich der Vorstand der "Internationalen Gesellschaft Kurdistan" mit folgender Botschaft zu Gunsten der Kurden in Arabisch Kurdistan:

International society Kurdistan supporting Arab nations movement for unity freedom and prosperity greets Baghdad Conference Arab League wishing it every success - stop - remembering Sultan Saladin it hopes those Arab republics coinhabited by Kurds will try and support same liberties for their Kurdish citizens as claimed justly for all Arabs - IGK Central Committee - Silvio van Rooy - President

Der Appell wurde dem Generalsekretär der Konferenz sowie einer Reihe irakischer Zeitungen in arabischer Sprache übermittelt. Den jeweiligen Redakteuren wurde darauf hingewiesen, dass die IGK gemeinsam mit ihnen kurdisch-arabische Freundschaft fördern helfen wolle.

## "XEBAT" UEBER IGK

Das Zentralorgan der "Demokratischen Partei Kurdistan" im Irak, "Xebat", berichtete auf seiner Titelseite vom 19.1.1961 ausführlich über die Besprechungen Dr Kamuran Aali Emir Bedir-Xans mit den Vorstandsmitgliedern der IGK in Amsterdam (vgl. "BK" Nr. 2, S. 2) und über Ziele und Tätigkeit der "Internationalen Gesellschaft Kurdistan", in publizistischer und wissenschaftlicher Hinsicht. Einer der beiden Beiträge in "Xebat" war bebildert.

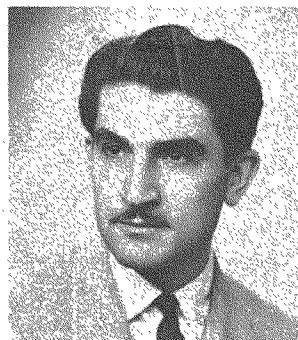
## UEBERNATIONALE ASPEKTE DER KURDENFRAGE

"Dies ist das erste Mal" - so zitierte "Xebat" vom 19.1.1961 Dr Bedir-Xan - "dass eine Gesellschaft von Freunden Kurdistans errichtet wurde." Von IGK-Vorsitzenden van Rooy wurde folgende Erklärung angeführt:

"Selbstverständlich muss noch eine ungeheure Menge Arbeit geleistet werden, aber der Tag wird kommen an dem Araber und Kurden, Perser und Türken alle erkennen werden, dass der beste Weg friedvoll nebeneinander zu leben, demokratische Selbstbestimmung für alle ist. Dann wird der Frieden in Westasien gesichert sein und kein wie immer gearteter Imperialismus wird auch nur die geringste Chance haben, die westasia-

tischen Völker gegeneinander aufzuwiegen. Ein solcher Völkerfriede in Westasien wäre auch im Interesse aller anderen Völker der Welt."

## DER DAMASZENER KURDENPROZESS



Am 2. Verhandlungstag des Prozesses gegen die "Demokratische Partei Kurdistan in Syrien" fand - am 17.12.1961 - in Damaskus die Vernehmung der Hauptangeklagten statt. Nur 13 DPKiS-Führer standen vor Gericht, die 19 übrigen müssten sich den Justizbehörden der nördlichen Region der VAR zur Verfügung halten.

Die Anklage soll den DPKiS-Führern u. a. vorgeworfen haben, ein selbständiges Kurdistan gründen zu wollen. Der Staat sollte laut Ankläger auch die sowjetischen Gebiete mit kurdischer Bevölkerung umfassen und sogar unter Oberhoheit der UdSSR gestellt werden.

Hauptangeklagter Dr Nureddin el-Sasa gab zu, eine Untergrundpartei 1958 gegründet zu haben, bestritt jedoch energisch, damit ein selbständiges Kurdistan haben aufbauen zu wollen. Er beklagte sich - diesbezüglich befragt - über diskriminierende Behandlung durch VAR-syrische Beamten, worauf der Gerichtsvorsitzende u. a. antwortete:

"Wenn Sie Beschwerden gegen einen Beamten haben, können Sie sich an das Gericht wenden."

Gründer der illegalen DPKiS waren - wie der zweite Angeklagte, der abtrennige Kommunist Raschid Hamo, erklärte - ausser Dr Sasa und er selbst die kurdischen Dichter Ikr Chouin und Osman Sabri. Die FPKiS die nach dem Muster einer KP organisiert gewesen sein soll, habe bis Jahresende 1958 100 aktive Mitglieder gehabt. Hamo, der März 1960 festgenommen wurde, erklärte u. a.:

"Wir haben eine kleine Druckerpresse, eine Schreibmaschine und einen Abziehapparat gekauft, Flugblätter verfasst, vervielfältigt und verteilt."

Auch von Kontakten mit dem "Verein Kurdischer Studenten in Europa", mit Paris und mit der "Demokratischen Partei Kurdistan im Irak" des Mullah Mustafa al-Barsani war im Prozess die Rede. Es gelang der Anklage nicht, zu beweisen, dass die Sowjetunion ihre kurdischen Streusiedlungen in Südkasien einem künftigen kurdischen Staat abtreten wollte und dass die

DPKil statt für ein selbständiges Kurdistan für ein Kurdistan unter Sowjet-Oberhoheit arbeitete. Der Generalstaatsanwalt forderte für die 13 Angeklagten lebenslängliche Zuchthausstrafen und für die Uebrigen Haftstrafen zwischen 5 und 20 Jahren. Die Urteile sollen entsprechend gewesen sein, obwohl bei der Drucklegung dieser Nummer darüber noch keine offizielle Bestätigung bei der IGK vorlag.

"PEUPLE", LAUSANNE:

KURDEN SIND STAATSTREU UND VOLKSTREU

Die weilschweizerische sozialistische Tageszeitung "Le Peuple" in Lausanne nahm am 27.12.1960 zum damaszener Kurdenprozess Stellung. Nach einer kleinen Einführung zur Kurdenfrage erinnerte das Blatt an die Entlassungen kurdischer Offiziere und Beamten in VAR-Syrien, an den Verbot dortiger Kurdenzeitungen und an "des mesures policières et judiciaires tres graves". Der Verfasser des Artikels kennt den am 15.12.1919 in Kameschlije geborene Syrienkurdenchef Dr Sasa persönlich aus dessen Studentenzeit. Nureddin Sasa studierte nämlich 1947/1948 und 1951/1952 an der politisch-sozialen Fakultät der Universität Lausannes, wo er am 16.12.1955 promovierte auf einer Arbeit "Etude critique de la notion d'engagement chez Emanuel Mounier". Durch ihn lernte der "Peuple"-Mitarbeiter die kurdische Nationalbewegung kennen, über die er im Kommentar auf die VAR-Urteile sagt:

"Pour qui connait le Mouvement kurde, pour qui sait que les Kurdes demeurent loyaux vis-à-vis de l'Etat dont ils font politiquement partie, mais recherchent avant tout la sauvegarde de leur race et de leur culture, de telles condamnations paraissent impensables."

DR BEDIR-XAN UEBER KURDISTANS WUENSCHEN

Die demokratisch-sozialistische Tageszeitung "Het Vrije Volk" (= "Das freie Volk") in Amsterdam veröffentlichte am 30.12.1961 einen bebilderten Interview mit dem pariser Kurdologen Dr Kamuran Aali Emir Bedir-Xan. Dieser sei, so meinte die weitverbreitete nld. Arbeiterzeitung "ein gewiegter Kämpfer gegen das Unrecht das seinem Volke vor allem in der Türkei zugefügt wird". Das Blatt erinnerte an den Kampf der Bedir-Xan-Fürsten von Botan gegen die osmanische Herrschaft sowie an die Friedensverträge von Sèvres und Lausanne nach dem ersten Weltkrieg.

KURDEN KEINE STÖRENFRIEDE IN WESTASIEN

Ueber die politischen Ansprüche des kurdischen Volkes zitiert "Het Vrije Volk" Dr Bedir Xan in Kursivdruck wie folgt: "Aber wir wollen keine Störenfriede im Nahen Osten sein. Wir brauchen keine Selbständigkeit wenn auch viele der reichsten Oelquellen auf unserem Gebiet liegen. Wir wollen nur unser Volkstum erhalten und wir wünschen uns die normalen Errungenschaften: Schulen, Krankenhäuser und Strassen." Das Interview

ist mit einem kurdischen Sprichwort überschrieben: "Ein gefesselter Löwe ist nicht entehrt".

49 KURDEN VOR GERICHT IN ANKARA

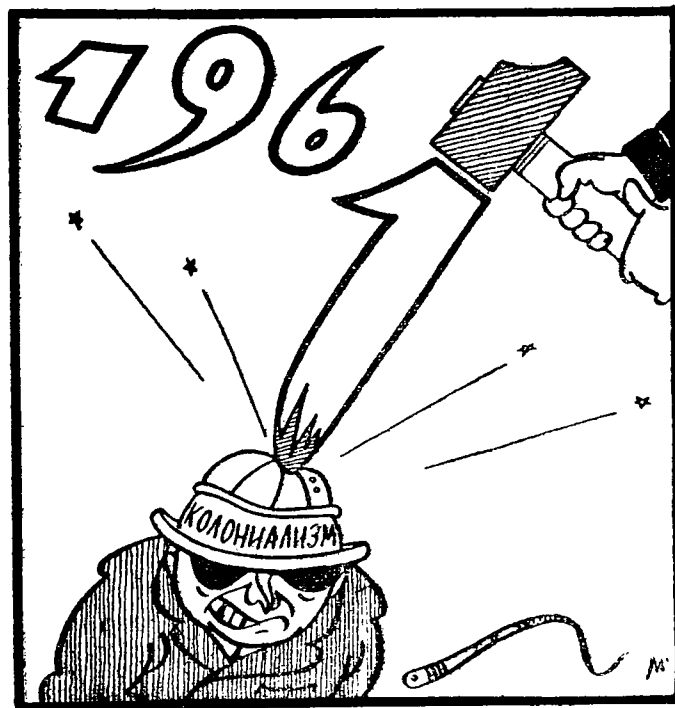
"Denjenigen, die einen kurdischen Staat zu gründen wünschen, wird den Prozess gemacht." Das war die Ueberschrift, unter der das istanbuler Abendblatt "Aksam" vom 4.1.1961 über den ersten Prozesstag (3.1.1961) gegen 49 kurdische Intellektuellen berichtete. "Wegen Gründung eines unabhängiges Staates Kurdistan und Zerstückelung des Vaterlandes aus völkischen Beweggründen", so schreibt der Ankara-Korrespondent, standen die Kurden vor dem Militärgericht. 39 von ihnen seien am 18.11.1959 (also von den Menderes-Behörden, Anm. "BK") verhaftet worden. "Aksam" schreibt: "Bei den meisten der Verhafteten handelte es sich um Akademiker und Inhaber universitärer Diplome. Die Untersuchung, die im Geheimen stattfand, dauerte ein Jahr." Nachdem in der Öffentlichkeit die Anklage aufgenommen und die Identität der Angeklagten festgestellt worden war, ging - am Nachmittag, der Prozess ebenfalls im Geheimen weiter. Die Berufangaben "Aksam"'s über die Kurden bestätigen, dass es sich hier durchweg um Intellektuelle handelt. Ein Bild zeigte ein Teil der gefangenen Kurden auf dem Weg zum Gerichtssaal. Fotokopien aus dem "Aksam"-Bericht erschienen am 18.1.1961 in der irak-kurdischen Tageszeitung "Xebat", die auch die Namen der Angeklagten in einer Liste veröffentlichte. Zwei Proteste gegen den Prozess in Ankara sind an anderer Stelle in dieser Nummer wiedergegeben.

OBERST KUTSCHUK DROHT MIT GENOCIDE

Wie erst jetzt aus einer stockholmer Zeitung dem Ausland bekannt wird, hat Oberst Kutschuk vom türkischen "Komitee der Nationalen Einheit" nach seiner Rückkehr aus Türkisch-Kurdistan (vgl. "BK", Nr.2, S.3) mit Genocide (Völkermord) an die dortigen Kurden gedroht. "Dagens Nyheter" vom 26.11.1961 berichtete hierüber:

"Statt einer auf Verstand und Humanität basierte Politik zu führen die versuchen würde eine vernünftige Lösung der kurdischen Frage herbeizuführen drohen die jungen Offiziere mit neuen Gewaltakten. Etwas über einem Monat her (also Oktober 1960, Anm. "BK") erklärte in diesem Zusammenhang eines der Mitglieder der Junta in einer öffentlichen Rede dass die Armee nicht zögern würde die Dörfer und Städte Kurdistans zu zerbomben, falls es diese unverbesserlichen "Bergtürken" wagen sollen, Zwietracht zu säen, denn "die Türkei ist als Nation und als Land eine unteilbare Einheit" und er liess seine Drohungen kulminieren in einer Vision eines Blutbades, das die Kurden und ihr Land ertrinken lassen würde. Oberst Kutschuk sprach von der Revolution des 27. Mai als milde und weich und sagte offenherzig dass die Armee eiserne Handschuhe zur Hand habe falls das nötig sein sollte."

Karikatur aus der sowjetkurdischen Halbwochenschrift "Ria T'eze" (= "Der neue Weg") in Erewan. Die Kurden in der Sowjetunion verwenden im Gegensatz zu ihren Stammesgenossen in Westasien die international anerkannte christlich-westliche Zeitrechnung. In der kurdischen Zeitrechnung ist der 1. 1. 1961 der 12. Befranbar des Jahres 2572. Kurdisches Neujahr ("New-roz") wird von den kurdischen Studenten in Europa am 21. 3. 1961 in Bonn gefeiert werden.



Das schwedische Blatt kommentierte Kutschuks Genocide-Drohung mit der Bemerkung:  
 "So sprechen - und sprachen immer - Revolutionäre die sich in einem Dilemma befinden."

ter. Wir erfahren, dass 49 Kurden, die neulich verhaftet wurden, im Geheimmverfahren verurteilt werden; Kurden, die nichts anderes getan haben, als die Respektierung der kulturellen und nationalen Rechte des kurdischen Volkes gefordert zu haben. Wir bitten Eure Exzellenz, den beschuldigten Kurden alle Verteidigungsrecht zu garantieren und wie im Prozess von Yassi Ada das öffentliche Verfahren anzuwenden."

#### "RABOTNITSCHESKO DELO" UEBER DIE GUERSEL-JUNTA

#### KURDISCHE STUDENTEN SCHRIEBEN AN GUERSEL

Als "revolutionär" lobt die bulgarische Presse die türkische Militärregierung General Guersels. In "Rabotnitschesko Delo", Zentralorgan der Kommunistischen Partei Bulgariens, hiess es am 27. 11. 1960 u. a. über die Junta: "Die Revolution darf nicht aufhören. Der revolutionäre Drang muss beibehalten werden. Die Offiziere vom Komitee für Nationale Einheit müssen dem perfiden Druck von aussen standhalten und dürfen sich nicht durch Zuflüsterungen einschüchtern lassen, der Meinung der europäischen Öffentlichkeit Rechnung zu tragen." Die Presse Bulgariens (nächstes europäisches Nachbarland der Türkei) widmet den Ereignissen beiderseits des Bosphorus verständlicherweise grosse Aufmerksamkeit.

13 Tage nachdem man - zusammen mit dem Chef der "Délégation Kurde" (am Vorabend des Prozesses in Ankara) ein Telegramm an den türkischen Staatschef gesandt hatte, wandte sich der Vorstand der "Vereinigung Kurdischer Studenten in Europa" erneut an General Guersel, diesmal mit einem Schreiben, das in der uns vorliegenden, vervielfältigten Form - ohne "Verteiler" - 4 Gross-Seiten füllt. In der historischen Einführung zur Kurdenfrage steht folgende interessante Einzelheit:  
 "A la Conférence de Lausanne (1923, Anm. "BK"), M. Ismet Inonu avait affirmé que la Turquie était le pays des Turcs et des Kurdes et que les deux peuples y jouiraient de droits nationaux égaux."

#### TELEGRAMM AUS WIEN AN GENERAL GUERSEL

#### UNTER MENDERES EINGESPERRTE KURDEN WEITER IN HAFT IN ISTANBUL

Einen fast schüchternen Versuch auswärtiger Einflussnahme auf die Politik der Guersel-Regierung stellt das am 2. 1. 1961 aus Wien abgesandte Telegramm dar, das von Dr Bedir-Xan für die "Délégation Kurde" und von Ismet Scherif Vanly für den Vorstand der "Vereinigung Kurdischer Studenten in Europa" unterschrieben wurde. Der Text lautet wie folgt:

"Der Regierungswechsel unter Ihrer hohen Obhut erfüllt die Herzen der Kurden mit Hoffnung. Leider jedoch gehen die Verhaftungen und Unterdrückungen von hunderten von Kurden wei-

Im Militärgefängnis in Istanbul sind - wie auch dem VKSE-Brief an Guersel vom 15. 1. 1961 auch untnommen werden kann, noch heute Kurden eingesperrt, die von der inzwischen von Guersel gestürzten Menderesregierung dort eingeliefert wurden:

die Rechtsanwälte Ali Oerhan und Ziya Serefhan, der Oberst Sewket Turanli, der Arzt Kucu Elbistan, die Journalisten Musa Anter und Abdulrahman Efem, die Unternehmer Orfi Ak Kovonlu, die Studenten Sihab Erdel und Meded Yas, u. a.

#### KURDISCH ALS EINE TURKSPRACHE BEZEICHNET

Linguistisch erstaunliche Theorien wurden (laut gleicher Quelle) verkündet am 14. 7. 1960 auf einer Konferenz, an der u. a. General Fehri Ozdelik, Geschichtspräsident Necati Akter und sein Kollege Prof. Fahrettin Kirizoglu teilnahmen. Die Kurden, so hiess es darauf, seien "türkischer Herkunft" und die kurdische Sprache nichts anderes als eine Art Türkisch. (Das Kurdische ist bekanntlich eine indogermanische Sprache und gehört der iranischen Gruppe an, Anm. "BK".) Die meisten sonst in dem VKSE-Brief genannten Tatsachen sind unseren Lesern bereits bekannt.

#### AUTONOMIEVORSCHLÄGE

Im Interesse des türkischen wie des kurdischen Volkes schlägt der VKSE-Vorstand der Guerselregierung schliesslich folgende demokratische Reformen vor um zu einer vernünftigen Lösung der Frage zu geraten:

- 1)- Rendre public le procès des 49 chefs politiques kurdes;
- 2)- Libérer tous les prisonniers politiques kurdes;
- 3)- Déclarer le kurde comme langue officielle de l'enseignement dans les provinces et régions orientales à majorité kurde;
- 4)- Permettre les publications et la presse kurde;
- 5)- Reléver le niveau de vie matériel et culturel de la population de Kurdistan, dans le cadre d'un plan pour l'ensemble de la Turquie;
- 6)- Unifier les provinces et régions du Kurdistan en un seul territoire et lui accorder un statut d'autonomie, dans le cadre de la République;
- 7)- Elargir et garantir les droits démocratiques et la liberté d'expression dans l'ensemble de la Turquie;
- 8)- Mentionner et garantir les droits du peuple kurde de Turquie dans la constitution définitive de la République."

#### "HORIZONS" UND GUERSEL UEBER GUERSEL

Die Dezembernummer von "Horizons" (der immer lesenswerten französischen Ausgabe von der internationalen Monatsschrift des "Weltfriedensrates") brachte einen ausführlichen Artikel Altinur Aygun's über das neue Régime in der Türkei. Bereits

auf der ersten Seite wurden die griechische, armenische und jüdische Minderheit genannt, die 6 Millionen anatolischen Kurden blieben jedoch auch auf den weiteren 11 Seiten unerwähnt. Ueber den Staatschef General Guersel meinte "Horizons" er zeige sich

"surtout anticolonialiste, soutenant dans toutes ses déclarations la cause des nations combattant pour leur indépendance."

Der türkische WFR-Journalist zitierte auch Guersel über sich selbst:

"Je me considère d'abord comme un être humain, ensuite je suis Turc et enfin Musulman."

#### WIENER "PRESSE" ZUR KURDENFRAGE

"Freiheitskampf 'im wilden Kurdistan'" war die mehrspaltige Überschrift eines ausführlichen Artikels zur Kurdenfrage in der massgeblichen wiener Tageszeitung "Die Presse" (unabh.) vom 14. 12. 1961. Redaktionsmitglied Wolfgang Oberleitner war der Meinung, dass das kurdische Problem "nun in eine aktuelle Phase zu treten scheint" und erinnert daran, dass die kurdische Urbevölkerung Ostanatoliens "lange vor den seldschukischen Reiternomaden diese Teile Kleinasiens bewohnte". Er stellte eine Kontinuität der türkischen Kurdenpolitik unter Atatürk, Menderes und Guersel fest. Auch das Regime des Letzteren sehe sich heute "einem ernstem Problem gegenüber, dem wohl nur durch die Gewährung einer Autonomie an die Kurden begegnet werden kann." (Kurdische Studenten und Stockholms "Dagens Nyheter" schlugen - wie aus diesem "BK"-Heft ersichtlich - fast gleichzeitig dieselbe Lösung vor.)

#### RAETSELN UEBER SOWJETISCHE KURDISTAN-POLITIK

Ueber die Sowjetunion sagte Oberleitner: "Moskau versucht, die Kurden zur Bildung eines unabhängigen Staates zu bewegen, der nicht nur ganz Ostanatolien, sondern auch die Oelgebiete am Persischen Golf und die Felder von Mossul und Kirkuk umfassen würde." (Das im Falle einer solchen Staatsbildung auch südgeorgische und südarmenische Gebiete Ostanatoliens Kurdistan zugeschlagen werden würden, was angesichts der Wiedervereinigungswünsche dieser in der UdSSR durch eigene Unionsrepubliken vertretene Völker unwahrscheinlich wäre, dürfte "Presse"-Redakteur Oberleitner weniger geläufig gewesen sein. Anm.)

#### GESAMTKURDISTAN, PERSERREICH UND PANARABISMUS

Die Kurdenpolitik Bagdads und Teherans brachte "Die Presse" sogar auf einen gemeinsamen Nenner; der Iran und der Irak suchen, so meinte das Blatt "durch ein gewisses Entgegenkommen ihre Minderheiten von revolutionär-separatistischen Bestrebungen abzuhalten." Die Kurdenpolitik der VAR blieb unerwähnt, über die irakische Kurdenpolitik hiess es weiter: "Die Kurden verhalten sich Kassem gegenüber abwartend, weil sie dessen - wenigstens nominelles - Ziel eines Zusammenschlusses

aller Araber ablehnen." (Den Informationen der IGK nach lehnen die Kurden keineswegs einen Zusammenschluss der arabischen Völker sondern nur einen panarabischen Chauvinismus ab. Anm.) Dem Aufsatz lag ein Interview mit Dr Bedir-Xan zu Grunde, über den "Die Presse" meinte, dieser sei "heute wohl der wichtigste Dolmetsch der Forderungen seines Volkes im Westen" und habe "eine bewegtere Vergangenheit als sein Aussehen annehmen" lasse.

#### KURDISCHE STUDENTENFUEHRER TAGTEN IN WIEN

Dr Bedir-Xan wohnte vom 2/5.1.1961 in Wien auch den Vorstandssitzungen der "Vereinigung Kurdischer Studen in Europa" bei. Auf der Agenda standen u. a.: die Finanzlage der VKSE, die Zusammenarbeit mit dem demokratischen, kurdenfreundlichen Kräften im Ausland, die Vereinspublizistik, die Ortswahl für den 6. Jahreskongress, Stipendien für kurdische Studenten in West- und Osteuropa sowie die rezente Entwicklung in den verschiedenen Teilen Kurdistans.

#### KURDEN UND TUERKEN SIECHEN DAHIN

Ueber die ungeheuren Aufgaben, denen sich die neue türkische Regierung gegenüber sieht, berichtete die newyorker Wochenschrift "The New Leader" vom 9.1.1961. Aus türkischen Quellen gab der schweizer Journalist Hans Tutsch (Mitarbeiter der "Neuen Zürcher Zeitung") an, für die etwa 25 Millionen Einwohner der Türkei stünden 12.000 Aerzte zur Verfügung. Da hiervon 6500 in den 5 Grossstädten leben, seien 18 Mio Staatsbürger ohne jede medizinische Versorgung. Es gäbe denn auch 250.000 TB-Patienten, von denen jährlich 10% sterben und 500.000 Syphilitiker, während von jeden tausend Babies 16,5% sterben. Da Türkisch-Kurdistan keine Städte über 100.000 Einwohner zählt dürften die obigen Verhältnisse dort relativ ungünstiger sein als der Landesdurchschnitt angibt.

(Das auch in anderen Teilen Kurdistans die medizinischen Verhältnisse nahezu alles zu wünschen übrig lassen geht z.B. aus dem ausführlichen, gut-bebilderten Beitrag "Il est quatre heures, Docteur Malaria" in "Feuille d'Avis de Lausanne Magazine" vom 4.1.1961 hervor. Hierin wird über die 3-jährige Tätigkeit des italienischen Malaria-Bekämpfers Dr Luigi Mara in Irakisch-Kurdistan berichtet. Aehnliches Erfahrungs- und Bildmaterial besitzt IGK-Mitglied Frau Dr med. Irene von Unruh aus Murau/Oberbayern, deren diesbezüglicher "Orion"-Aufsatz vom Oktober 1958 in der "Kurdischen Zentralbibliothek in Europa" lagert. Anm.)

#### TUTSCH ZUR HAFTWELLE GEGEN TUERKEI-KURDEN

Tutsch' "New Leader"-Artikel enthält einen erneuten Hinweis darauf, dass die Verhaftung nordkurdischer Feudalherrn durch die Türken vor allem nationale statt soziale Beweggründe hat: "The Government would also like to eliminate large-scale landownership. These conditions still predominate in the Kurdish areas - the Turks describe the Kurds as Turks, incidentally - and the Government coldly spurns questions about the po-

litical background of the reform of property." Die Verhaftungen vieler nicht der feudalen Herrschicht angehörenden Nordkurden fand nur in der türkischen, aber nicht in der Weltpresse Erwähnung, soweit die IGK bis jetzt feststellen konnte.

#### AUCH WESTASIATISCHES INTERESSE STEIGT

Von Vertretern zweier westasiatischen Nationen herausgegebenen Blätter brachten Beiträge über Kurdistan: die in Paris erscheinende armenische Zeitschrift "Haratch" am 15.12.1960 mit "Lernen wir unsere Nachbarn - die Kurden - kennen" und die israelische "Jerusalem Post" vom 3.1.1961 mit "The Kurdish Question". (Wir berichten demnächst über diese und einige weiter uns bereits der Quelle nach bekannten Pressebeiträge zur Kurdenfrage. Anm.)

#### "VOGELSTRAUSSPOLITIK" GEGENUEBER "KURDISCHEM SPRENGSTOFF"?

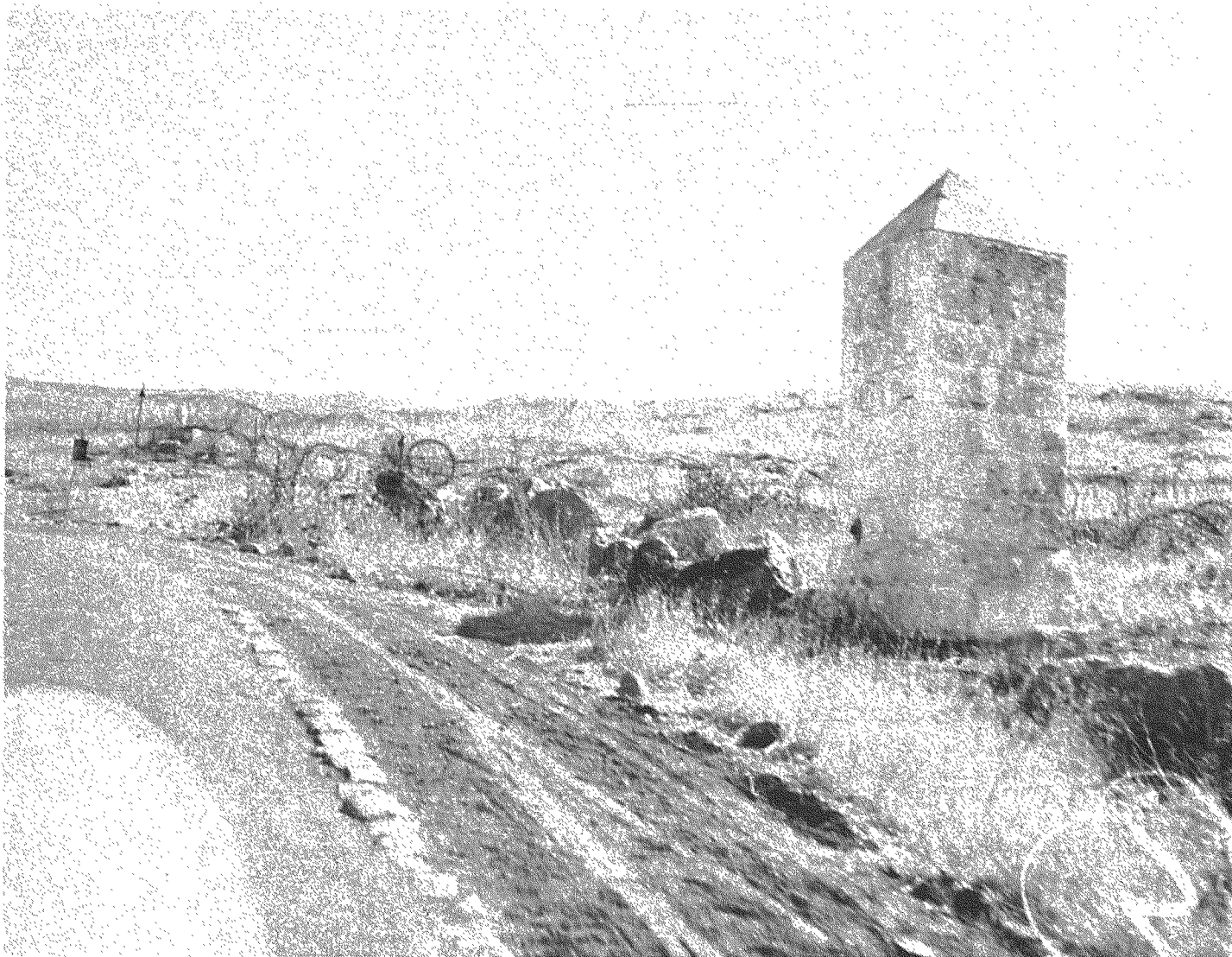
Einen scharfen Angriff auf die neue türkische Regime besonders wegen dessen Kurdenpolitik veröffentlichte die liberale schwedische Tageszeitung "Dagens Nyheter" (Stockholm, 16.11.1961) aus der Feder von ihrem Korrespondenten in Ankara: Agne Hamrin. "Der offizielle Name der Militärjunta", so fängt dieser an, "ist das Komitee der Nationalen Einheit, aber dieser Name ist wie soviele andere Dingen in der heutigen Türkei eine Fiktion. Er umschreibt eher ein erstrebtes Ziel als eine bereits vorhandene Wirklichkeit. Noch stärker: das Ziel scheint sich zu entfernen als Ergebnis der Politik der Offiziersjunta, der wirklichen Regierung des Landes." Es sei, so meint der schwedische Journalist "vielbezeichnend für die Situation, dass die stärkste latente zentrifugale Kraft überhaupt nicht beim Namen genannt wird. - - - Die Existenz der Kurdenfrage wird abgestritten. Nichtsdestoweniger ist es gerade das Vorhandensein der kurdischen Minderheit die für die Türkei als Nationalstaat den gefährlichsten potentiellen Sprengstoff bildet. Es ist eine bedenkliche Vogelstrausspolitik des neuen Regimes die hierdurch an den Tag tritt."

#### KURDISCHE KULIS

Amrin berichtet dann über die im istanbuler Strassenbild auffallenden kurdischen Lastträger (ein Bild war beigegeben): "Gekrümmt unter ihren schweren Lasten ringen sie sich durch den Verkehr und durch die Menschenmengen hindurch. Touristen versäumen nicht, sie zu fotografieren. Sie bilden ja ein so malerisches Element im Strassenbild. Aber diese mit Trägesielen und Trägeküssen ausgerüsteten Sklaven die miserabel bezahlt werden sind in Wirklichkeit alles andere als malerisch. Ihre gebogenen Gestalten symbolisieren das bittere Schicksal des kurdischen Volkes."

(Das auch in anderen Teilen Kurdistans menschliche Lastträger vorkommen, beweist u. a. das Bild wassertragenden Frauen mit einer kilometerweiten Last von etwa 30kg in "Feuille d'Avis de Lausanne Magazine" vom 4.1.1961. Hier handelt es sich aber nicht um die Ausübung eines Berufes sondern um die Erfüllung häuslicher Pflichten. Anm.)





Stacheldraht auf der Grenze zwischen Arabisch-Kurdistan (links) und Türkisch-Kurdistan (rechts) nördlich Syriens (Photo: Ass.Press)

#### VIERGETEILTES VOLKSGBIET

Ueber das nationale Schicksal der Kurden meint Amrin: "Staatsgrenzen zerschneiden willkürlich und brutal dieses wildromantische Bergland, worauf Generationen von Kurden gebrannt haben es in einen homogenen kurdischen Nationalstaat umzuwandern. Für die Verwirklichung dieses Traumes haben sie gekämpft und geblutet."

Ueber die für die Kurden so ungünstige Entwicklung nach dem lausanner Friedensvertrag mit der Türkei erinnert sich der Schwede:

"Aber nun (1923, Anm. "BK") war die weltpolitische Konjunktur nicht länger günstig für die Kurden. Britische und französische Imperialinteressen bildeten einen neuen Faktor die das Endergebnis im Vorteil der kemalistischen Türkei entschieden."

Amrin berichtet dann über die Denationalisierungspolitik aller türkischen Regierungen in Nordkurdistan und wundert sich über das geringe Echo der vielen kurdischen Protesten, so u. a. bei der UNO, dessen "Kurdistanossier" wohl "umfangreich und schwer" sein müsse.

#### ERWEITERTE ROLLE FUER "SOLIDARITAETSKOMITEE DER AFRO-ASIATISCHEN VOELKER"?

Die Empfehlung vieler Afro-Asiaten, im Kongo den wenigstens nationalkongolesisch denkenden Lumumba, den dort nicht zuletzt von Stammesfehden genährten Bürgerkrieg schlichten zu lassen hat weltpolitische Aspekte, die auch zur Kurdenfrage nicht ohne Beziehung sind.

Die parallelen Versuche des Antikommunisten Nasser und der sozialistischen Länder, sich über Lumumba stärker im nicht-islamischen Schwarzafrika der Bantuvölker zu engagieren dürften - in Zusammenhang mit obengenannter Empfehlung, die Hoffnungen jener westlichen Kreise durchkreuzen, die auf kurz oder lang ein Auseinanderfallen der afro-asiatischen Solidaritätsbewegung in eine prokommunistische und eine nichtkommunistische Hälfte erhoffen.

Einige westliche Nachrichtenanalysten meinen nun sogar, dass die Aufforderung des "Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Council" in Kairo an jene afro-asiatischen Staaten, die UNO-Truppen im Kongo haben, diese nicht zurückzuziehen sondern Lumumba

zur Verfügung zu stellen, der Auftakt zu einer Abwendung der Afro-Asiaten von der UNO sein könne.

Sogar die Möglichkeit einer Ausweitung des (mit den sozialistischen Ländern sowie mit dem revolutionierten Ibero-Amerika bereits fest verbundenen) Afro-Asiatischen Solidaritätsrat zu einer Art potentiellen Kontra- bzw. Konkurrenz-UNO wird für nicht ganz ausgeschlossen gehalten, wobei auch auf die chinesische und seit einiger Zeit auch sowjetische Unzufriedenheit mit der UNO hingewiesen wird.

Es könnte im Falle zweier Weltvölkerorganisationen für die vom nordatlantischen Westen wie vom sozialistischen Block heiss umworbenen Afro-Asiaten eine Wahlsituation eintreten, in der sich heute bereits viele afro-asiatischen Studentenverbände sehen. Mehrere davon sind gleichzeitig Korporativ- oder Assoziativmitglied sowohl des westlich-dominierten ISC als des "östlich"-dominierten IUS (siehe auch unter "Aus Forschung und Lehre" in dieser Nr.; Anm.).

Der Kurdische Studentenverein in Europa gehört keiner der beiden Dachorganisationen an. Nur der IUS (darüber in der nächsten Nummer mehr) hat sich mehrmals für die Kurden eingesetzt. Versuche, die AAPSC für die Kurden zu aktivieren, wurden kurdischerseits bereits vor Jahren praktisch aufgegeben, während an die UNO sowohl von kurdischer Seite (VKSE) als von nichtkurdischer (IGK) noch in der zweiten Jahreshälfte von 1960 appelliert wurde, übrigens ebenfalls erfolglos. Inwiefern sich ein etwaiger ausgebauter AAPSC der Kurdenfrage annehmen würde bliebe abzuwarten. (Die von Block-, Staats- und Parteipolitik freie "Internationale Gesellschaft Kurdistan" versucht inzwischen als eine von Privatpersonen getragene Miniatur-"Internationale" die durch das bisherige Fehlen einer völkerrechtlich anerkannten kurdischen Interessenvertretung (etwa: eines kurdischen Staates) bestehende Lücke auf ihre Art zu füllen, wobei auch versucht wird, auf die Nachbarvölker der Kurden einzuwirken.)

#### AFRO-ASIATISCHES SOLIDARITÄTSKOMITEE IM IRAN

Im Dezember 1960 gründete eine Gruppe iranischer Intellektuellen ein nationales "Afro-Asiatisches Solidaritätskomitee" wie sie bereits in vielen asiatischen und afrikanischen Ländern bestehen. Im Preamble zu den Statuten heisst es, die "wachsende Einheit der Völker" Afrikas und Asiens sei "die Gewähr zur Erreichung des gemeinsamen Zieles". Die Ziele des iranischen Komitees seien u. a.

"Arbeit für die friedliche Koexistenz zwischen den afro-asiatischen Völkern; Kampf gegen jede Form von Kolonialismus und Ausbeutung der Völker dieser beiden Kontinente - - - Sicherung der politischen und wirtschaftlichen Unabhängigkeit der afro-asiatischen Völker - - -"

(Quelle: "Bulletin des Weltfriedensrates" No. 1, 8. Jrg., Januar 1961)

#### EINGESTAENDNIS EINES ARABISCHEN ANTIKOMMUNISTEN

In der hannoverschen Monatsschrift "Heimatwacht" erschien Januar 1961 ein Interview mit dem Libanesen Dr. Charles Malik,

ehemaliger Präsident der UNO-Vollversammlung. Ueber die Stellung der afro-asiatischen Emanzipationsbewegung zwischen dem Westen und den sozialistischen Ländern erklärte Malik unter anderen:

"Die wachsende Selbständigkeitsbewegung in Asien und Afrika, eine an sich gute, natürliche Entwicklung, ist zum Teil westfeindlich oder doch in einer Weise kommunistenfreundlich gefärbt, die zu einer Westfeindlichkeit führt."

"Der Kommunismus hat den Asiaten und Afrikanern die Lehre von Marx und Lenin wirkungsvoller nahebringen gewusst als der Westen seine Idee der Freiheit."

Herausgeber der "Heimatwacht" ist der Landesverband Niedersachsen des Bundes der Vertriebenen (BdV).

#### SUEDASERBEIDSCHANER UND OSTKURDEN AKTIV

Am Schluss einer Artikelserie "Ainsi va l'Iran" erinnert der Korrespondent der pariser "Le Monde", Edouard Sablier, am ... 1. 1961 daran, dass Mai 1960 von der iranischen Regierung in Taebri 5 südaserbeidschanische Nationalisten hingerichtet wurden und fügt hinzu: "Parallèlement de mouvements - - - étaient remarqués dans le Kurdistan iranien; ils coïncidaient avec un agitation soudaine qui s'est emparée des zones turque, irakienne, syrienne du Kurdistan." Fast gleichzeitig mit der Hinrichtung der Iran-Aserbeidschaner erfolgten die Todesurteile gegen einige Iran-Kurden, die jedoch nicht vollstreckt wurden. (Siehe unten.)

#### KARL BARTH U. A. SETZEN SICH FUER IRAN-KURDEN EIN

"Feuille d'Avis de Lausanne" (Schweiz) vom 31. 12. 1960 berichtet über einen Appell aus der Schweiz zu Gunsten der drei im Iran zum Tode verurteilten Kurden. Die "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" brachte die Nachricht Mitte Januar. Es handelt sich hier um die Gruppe von 4 Personen, von der bereits im ersten Informationsbulletin der IGK und in der wiener "Heute" die Rede war. Der vierte Verurteilte soll sich als Perser erwiesen haben. "Feuille d'Avis de Lausanne" ist der Meinung, die Todesurteile seien ausgesprochen worden "dans des conditions non conformes aux principes énoncés par la Déclaration des droits de l'homme." Unter den Unterzeichnern des Appells sind der basler Theologe Prof. Dr. Karl Barth, der Schriftsteller Friedrich Duerrenmatt, sowie namhafte schweizer Persönlichkeiten wie Ernest Ansermet, Freddy Buache, P.-Henri Simon, Marcel Raymond, Max Frisch, Ch.-H. Favrod, Yves Velan, Victor Desarzens, Charles Bruetsch, Walther Luethi und Jeanlouis Cornuz. Auch die lausanner Studenten unterschrieben den Appell der bittet "que des mesures urgentes soient prises afin d'écarter le danger qui menace la vie des condamnés de la province irakienne du Kurdistan."

#### DIE ZEITUNGSVERBOTE IN DEM IRAK

Einen deutlichen Beweis dafür, dass das in "BK" Nr. 2 erwähnte Verbot kurdischer Zeitungen im Irak keineswegs eine anti-

kurdische Massnahme war, bildet ein Artikel in "der demokratische Journalist" vom Januar 1961. Das Blatt - Organ der "Internationalen Organisation der Journalisten" aus Praha - nimmt zu dem 1954 von Nur al-Said im Irak erlassenen Pressegesetz Stellung, dass nach kurzer Aufhebung anlässlich des 14. 7. 1958 von der Regierung Kassem 1960 erneut in Kraft gesetzt wurde. Verboten sind jetzt folgende arabische Zeitungen: "Sawt Al-Ahrar", "Al-Thabat", "Al-Hadrada"; "Ittihad-Al-Ummal", "Sawt-Al-Shaab", "Al-Shabiba", "Al-Lam", und (laut "Christ und Welt", Stuttgart, vom 20. 1. 1961: ab Oktober 1960 für 10 Monate) "Ittihad-Al-Shaab", das Zentralorgan der Kommunistischen Partei des Irak; "Der demokratische Journalist" berichtet über strenge Strafmassnahmen gegen mehrere irakische Redakteure, und regt deren Haftentlassung an.

#### BARSANI NOCH IN DER SOWJETUNION

Der Chef der "Demokratischen Partei Kurdistan im Irak", Mulah Mustafa al-Barsani (vgl. "BK" Nr. 2) befindet sich noch immer in Moskau. General Kassem, der bis zum Sommer vorigen Jahres Barsani mehrmals in Privataudienz empfangen hat, verhandelt inzwischen mit Feudalherren anderer "Clans" aus Irakisch-Kurdistan (wie auch mit Vertretern jener turkvölkischen Gruppe aus Kirkuk, die das Objekt der bekannten dortigen Unruhen im Sommer des Jahres 1959 war). Verlässlichen, aber unbestätigten Nachrichten nach soll Barsani in der UdSSR u. a. Bekannten aus seiner früheren dortigen Asylzeit (1946-1958) wiedergetroffen haben, so u. a. den exiltürkischen Dichter und Parteiführer Nasim Hikmet. Die Verwandten Barsanis befinden sich alle noch im Irak, so u. a. sein Sohn. Die Kurden im Irak sind inzwischen aus verständlichen Gründen um Erhaltung und etwaigen Ausbau des in der dortigen Republik Erreichten bemüht.



Mustafa Barsani

#### DIE KURDISCHE PRESSE IN DER IRAKISCHEN REPUBLIK KASSEMS

Wie in der vorigen Nummer angekündigt geben wir untenstehend eine Liste der z. Zt. im Irak erscheinenden kurdischen Blätter, 12 an der Zahl. In der Republik-Hauptstadt Bagdad erscheinen "Azadi" (= "Freiheit", Tageblatt, Hrsgbr: KP-Irak), "Pecewtin" (= "Der Fortschritt", Wochenblatt); "Kurdistan" (Tageblatt); "Denge Kutabiyam" (= "Die Stimme der Studenten", Monatschrift); "Xebat" (= "Der Kampf", Organ der DPKiI; arabisch: "El Nidal"; Tageblatt); "Hewa" (= "Die Hoffnung", monatlich); "Rizgar" (= "Befreiung", Tageblatt); "Ronah" (= "Das Licht", Halbmonatschrift) und "Newroz" (= "Neujahr", Wochenblatt). In Mosul kommt heraus "Rast" (= "Die Wahrheit", Tageblatt), in Kirkuk "Şafaq" (= "Die Morgenröte", Halbmonatschrift); in Sulemaniyah die nach einer ehemaligen syrienkurdischen Monatschrift benannte "Roza Nû" (= "Der neue Tag", ebenfalls monatlich). Das sind also insgesamt 5 (bzw. 6) Tageszeitungen, je 2 Wochen- und Halbmonatschriften und drei Monatschriften. Irakisch-Kurdistan weist damit mehr Zeitungen auf (mit 1, 8 Mio Kurden) als alle anderen kurdischen Landesteile zusammen, die (abgesehen von den 3 Blättern in den sowjetischen Streusiedlungen im Sowjetkaukasus) insgesamt ein kurdisches Wochenblatt ("Kurdistan" in Teheran) zu verzeichnen haben. (Die ebenfalls in vorigen Nummer versprochene Liste kurdischer Lateinbuchstaben muss wegen Platzmangel später abgedruckt werden.)

#### KURDEN UND ARABER IM "FRUCHTBAREN HALBMOND"

Als Gegengewicht gegen den expansiven Panarabismus Nassers machen sich zur Zeit Araber im Irak, Libanon, Syrien und Jordanien Gedanken über eine etwaige Föderation zwischen diesen Ländern, also eine Wiederbelebung des sogenannten "Fruchtbaren Halbmondes". Die Unzufriedenheit vieler Syrer mit dem VAR-Regime (politisch aktive Emigration im Libanon) und die Annäherung zwischen Jordanien und dem Irak werden genau so in diese Erwägung einbezogen wie geschichtlich-traditionelle und wirtschaftlich-geographische Momente. In einem Staatenbund des "Fruchtbaren Halbmondes" würden über 2 Millionen Kurden über 12 Millionen Araber gegenüberstehen. Nicht nur vier ostarabische Länder wären dann wiedervereinigt, sondern auch zwei Teile Kurdistans: Syrisch-West- und Irakisch-Südkurdistan.

#### HALBKURDE STAERKSTER MANN JORDANIENS

Wie aus der jordanischen Hauptstadt Amman berichtet wird, gilt der Chef des dortigen Propaganda- und Rundfunkdienstes, Wasfi Tell als der zur Zeit mächtigste bzw. stärkste Mann des Landes. Tell entstammt einem arabischen Vater und einer kurdischen Mutter und ist ein scharfer Gegner der Politik Nassers.

Einige Gegner Tells behaupten, er stehe im Dienste der britischen "Intelligence". (Im Irak nannte General Kassem in einer Rede dort ortserfahrene britische Agenten bei Namen und beschuldigte sie einer Verschwörung gegen die irakische Armee.)

## KURDISCHE SENDUNGEN DES RADIO KAIRO

Auf 12001 Megahertz strahlt Radio Kairo täglich von 16.45 bis 17.00 MEZ ein Kurmandschi-Kurdisches Programm aus, das aus Vorträgen, Musik und Nachrichten besteht.

# Aus FORSCHUNG UND LEHRE

## BRITISCHER STUDENTENFUEHRER NACH KAIRO

Der Präsident des britischen "National Union of Students", Mr J. Gwyn Morgan besuchte Anfang Februar den Kongress der "General Union of United Arab Republic Students" in Kairo. Zweck seines Besuches war nicht nur die Wiederherstellung der nach dem Suezkrieg 1956 abgebrochenen englisch-ägyptischen Studentenkontakte, sondern auch die Wiederherstellung der Weltstudenteneinheit, wie sie kurz nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg bestand. Der NUS Grossbritanniens vermittelt momentan zwischen der IUS (Sitz: Praha, CSSR) und der ISC (Sitz: Leiden/Niederlande), den beiden internationalen Studentenorganisationen. Ab November verhandelte Morgan bereits in Moskau, Tunis und Rabat.

## MEHR VAR-STUDENTEN NACH ENGLAND?

Wie die britische Sonntagszeitung "Observer" am 29.1.1961 mitteilte, wird Mr Morgan "also investigate the possibility of student exchanges between Britain and the United Arab Republic on much the same basis as these taking place between Britain and Russia." Im Erfolgsfalle könnte das u. U. mit sich bringen, dass auch einige syrienkurdische Studenten in Grossbritannien studieren werden.

## WESTDEUTSCHE UNIVERSITAETEN: ALARMZUSTAND?

Einen geradezu alarmierenden Artikel über die Lage der Universitäten in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland veröffentlichte die (sensationsabholde) "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" am 11. Januar 1961. Bruno Dechamps sprach von der notwendigen "Retung der deutschen hohen Schulen vor Chaos und Bedeutungslosigkeit in letzter Stunde" und stellte fest: "Die Universitäten zehren von ihrer Substanz. Da ist keine Zeit zu verlieren." Etwas weiter heisst es erneut: "Die Zeit ist kostbar. - - - Lange genug fällt die deutsche Wissenschaft zurück." Der "Coing-Plan" (siehe IGK-Informationbulletin Nr.1) sei "das erste konkrete Ergebnis jahrzehntelangen Streits über die Reform, unter dem Druck einer akuten Notlage endlich geboren". Jedoch könne dieser Plan "schliesslich doch noch an der Unentschlossenheit der akademischen Selbstverwaltung zuschanden werden". Trete

dieser Zustand ein, so könne eine "von oben befohlene Reform - - - nicht ausbleiben". Im Schlussabsatz heisst es dann noch: "Die Not der Universitäten ist schlimm. Aber die Notwendigkeiten, die sich daraus ergeben, sind zu lange als lästig angesehen worden".

## "DEUTSCHE FORSCHUNGSGEMEINSCHAFT" ZUR LAGE IN DER ORIENTALISTIK

Als erste Denkschrift der "Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft" in der Memoranden-Reihe zur Lage in den einzelnen Wissenschaften erschien im Franz Steiner-Verlag zu Wiesbaden Prof. Dr. Adam Falkenstein's: "Denkschrift zur Lage der Orientalistik". Die Schrift behandelt sämtliche afro-asiatischen Fächer. Vorgeschlagen wird u. a.: Abrücken von der Ueberzentrierung, die Errichtung neuer Lehrstellen, bessere Bibliotheken, mehr Ausrichtung auf den lebenden Orient, Entlassung der Iranistik aus den Bindungen an Indologie und Islamkunde. Der "Deutsche Wissenschaftsrat" nimmt im Coing-Plan (siehe eben, sowie "BK" Nr.2) ausdrücklich auf die Orientalistik-Denkschrift Prof. Falkensteins Bezug.

## LEHRSTELLE FUER KURDISCH IN WESTDEUTSCHLAND?

Zu Hoffen bleibt, so meinen vor allem westdeutsche IGK-Mitarbeiter, dass im Rahmen der erstrebten Hochschulreform in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland nun auch endlich eine Lehrstelle für Kurdologie errichtet wird. Ein Dozent dafür stehe ja zur Verfügung und ein beträchtlicher Prozentsatz kurdischer Studenten in Europa (etwa ein Drittel) studiere in der BRD. Man solle, so meinen besagte IGK-Mitglieder, an die kurdologischen Leistungen deutschsprachiger Gelehrter aus dem vorigen Jahrhundert anknüpfen und sich ein Beispiel nehmen an England, Frankreich und Russland, die je einer Lehrstelle für Kurdologie besitzen. In der BRD wird Kurdisches höchstens am Rande mitbehandelt im Rahmen der iranischer Dialektforschung, was auch von mehreren westdeutschen Orientalisten lebhaft bedauert wird.

"ATLAS OF THE ARAB WORLD AND THE MIDDLE EAST"

Unter diesem Titel erschien Ende 1960 im niederländisch-indonesischen Verlag "Djambatan" (= "Die Brücke") zu Amsterdam ein graphisch wohltuend-geschmackvoll gestalteter Atlas von etwa 35 x 25 cm, 60 Seiten stark, mit 101 Karten und 42 Bildern sowie einem Register zum Preise von Hfl. 18,50 (= etwa 21 DM). Politische und physikalische Gegebenheiten in dem so wichtigen arabisch-islamischen Teil der afro-asiatischen Völkerzone finden ebenso ihren kartographischen Niederschlag wie Siedlungsformen, Bodenschätze und andere sozialwirtschaftlichen Faktoren. Die Einführung des Islamologen der Universität Manchester, Prof. Dr. C. F. Beckingham, schliesst mit folgenden Worten über die arabischen Staatsmänner:

"They believe that it is only by mastery of modern technology that economic independence can be achieved. Their attempt to do all this without repudiating Arab and Islamic traditions entitles them to the respect and sympathy of other nations."

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KURDISTAN IM NEUEN DJAMBATAN-ATLAS

Die staatspolitische Lage Kurdistans brachte es mit sich, dass dieses Land im Atlas ebensowenig geschlossen behandelt werden konnte wie etwa Gesamt-Aserbeidschan oder Gesamt-Balutschistan. Das über Kurdistan und seine Nachbarländer gebotene Informationsmaterial macht der neue Atlas das Djambatan-Verlages (der bereits einen Atlas zur Geschichte der Moslem-Völker herausbrachte) jedoch auch für jeden kurdisch-interessierten schlechthin unentbehrlich. So steht z. B. das Interessen-Prozentualverhältnis bei den in den verschiedenen Teilen Kurdistans vergebenen Oelkonzessionen bis in Dezimalen genau angegeben. Leider ist die Völkerkarte etwas zu stark schematisiert worden, was u. a. zum Ergebnis hatte, dass die Oelstadt Mossul ausserhalb des kurdischen Siedlungstaumes landete und Volkstumsgrenzen wie die zwischen Türken und Georgiern sowie zwischen Kurden und Persern nicht erkennbar sind.

DRUCKSACHE  
PRINTED MATTER  
IMPRIME  
DRUKWERK



*Rev. Dr. Thomas Patis O. P.  
Professor.*

*Cannet St. Joseph  
Rue Verdun*

*Beirouth  
Aiban*

From: / Absender: / Exp.:

INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN  
Information Department  
Da Costastraat 25'  
AMSTERDAM-WEST  
NETHERLANDS.

ISK/Inf./Febr. 1961



7-5 AVR. 1961

# KURDISH FACTS AND WEST-ASIAN AFFAIRS



FIFTEEN YEARS AGO: The Shah's reconquista of South-Azerbaijan and East-Kurdistan. ABOVE: A Persian Army Captain involved. INSIDE: see "On Record" and "Shah Memoirs". PHOTO: Associated Press.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN

الدولتي جمعية كورستان

KÜRDÜSTAN MİLLETLERARASI KURUMU

REKXRAWÎ ÇIHANÎ KURDISTAN

अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय कर्दस्तान

SOCIETÀ INTERNAZIONALE KURDISTAN

PERHIMPUNAN INTERNASIONAL KURDISTAN

SOCIEDAD INTERNACIONAL KURDISTAN

國際聯合會 顧依斯坦

MİDZY Narodowe Towarzystwo dla spraw KURDYSTANU

Διεθνής Κοινωνία Κουρδιστών

국제 협회 "쿨디스탄"

انجمن بین المللی کورستان

МЕЖНАРОДНОЕ ОБЩЕСТВО КУРДИСТАН

INTERNATIONAAL GENOOTSCHAP KOERDISTAN

INTERNATIONALA FÖRENINGEN KURDISTAN

SOCIEDADE INTERNACIONAL KURDISTAN

INTERNATIONALE GESELLSCHAFT KURDISTAN

انجمن بین المللی کورستان

国際協会の

# IN - Mail - OUT

## MOVED BY ZAZA-PHOTO

"The latest issue of 'Betrifft: Kurden' reached me all right and I thank you very much for it; especially as I discovered - not without emotions - the photo of my old university comrade, Dr Nouredine ZAZA, whose present fate you know better than I do."

(F.G. - foreign editor - Lausanne, Switzerland)

## DIVIDED AZERBAIJAN: KURDISTANS NORTHERN NEIGHBOUR

"It is a sorrowful thing that Azerbaijan and its people is divided into two parts, but we believe that the moment will come and the two parts will unite into one republic."

(F.M. - student - Baku, Azerbaijan SSR)

## PRAISE

"I admire the dynamism and the many-sidedness with which you treat the Kurdish problem."

(Dr H.K. - institute director - Kiel, Germany)

"--- your periodical, to which we attach great value for the study of social history ---"

(International Inst. for Social History, Amsterdam, Netherlands)

"Congratulations for 'Betrifft: Kurden', whose contents and layout I liked very much, and which will certainly not fail to be of influence when you can keep on this way."

(Dr D.C. - music ethnographer - Berlin, Germany)

## FOR KURDISH AND INDIAN FREEDOM

"Being an Indian who has fought for the freedom and human rights for the Indians, I am interested in the Kurdish people and their way of fighting for freedom. We, having won our freedom, are interested in helping whatever way we can, those humans in this world who are still struggling for their human rights. I feel that no human being, however strong and intelligent he thinks he is, has a right to dominate over the other since God made each of us equal and gave us equal rights. I am sure that the day will come, when all the Kurdish people will be united as a nation and I shall be as happy to see the new Kurdistan as I was when my country became independent."

(R.V.N. Rao - engineering student - Besançon, France)

## THE KNOWLEDGE OF OTHER PEOPLES' TROUBLES

"Should, however, Kurdish problems be discussed here too, I won't listen passively, but will be able to stand for a view of my own. And it is precisely the knowledge of other peoples' troubles and the possibilities of helping to solve them, which belong to my professional duties."

(A.B. - civil servant - Vienna, Austria)

## IF THEY ONLY KNEW THE TRUTH

"I am sure your efforts are being greatly appreciated by Kurdish people in Kurdistan, and I, as a Kurd, now feel that the Kurdish people and Kurdistan have friends and sympathizers in the world after all. It would not be hard for the peoples of the world to support the Kurdish people, if only they had a true picture, without any distortion, of the actual situation in Kurdistan and I feel sure that your Society is doing a good work in this respect."

(S.A.D. - student - London, England)

## STANDING ALONE NO LONGER

"As a Kurdish man I was very much attracted by your bulletin about Kurdistan ---. It is a natural thing that your efforts are respected and will be valued by the Kurdish nation especially and all democratically minded people --- will get to know more and more about Kurdish people and their divided country 'Kurdistan'."

"We are grateful to you for assisting us in our struggle for liberty and freedom of our suppressed nation."

(Secretary of the Kurdish students in France)

## ISK AND UNO'S FAO (see Bulletin No.2, p.2)

"It is almost becoming a fact that the Kurdish nation is the most unfortunate nation in the world for not being supported by other nations --- therefore the reply of the --- U.N. was not surprising at all in a way, but nevertheless one can deduct from his suggestion to you that he knows that the governments which are controlling Kurdistan are preventing the Kurdish nation from its slightest human rights. If the cause is like that, I wonder what this gentleman is waiting for not to condemn and warn the Governments of Turkey, Iran and U.A.R. to stop their assimilation policies towards the Kurdish nation which does not suit with them, being members of U.N. according to the Charter they have agreed to. Or is it enough for such governments to pay their annual subscriptions to U.N. and do what they please with the Kurdish nation --- ?"

(R. Sh. - student - Besançon, France)

KURDISH FACTS' Editor entirely agrees that oppressing Kurds is in contradiction with the United Nations' Conventions and he will not fail to stress this over and over. UNO, like its predecessor, the League of Nations, is a League of States and not of Ethnic Peoples. In practice this fact usually jeopardizes democratic action in favour of oppressed nationalities. ISK was founded as an international private agency and pressure group to fill this gap in at least the Kurdish sector.

Though ISK deplores that FAO's 'Freedom from Hunger Campaign'-Coordinator Mr. Weitz believes he could not do or suggest anything more positive in his official capacity, it is glad to find at least some understanding and sympathy.



## CRESCENDO

"Thousand thanks for --- bulletin Nr.3 which has made a Herculean step forward since Nr.2."

(Prof.Dr.K.A.B.K. - Kurdologist - Paris)

## INFORMATION WANTED

"I am most interested in all problems concerning the Kurdish People. In former years, I used to be in the Orient quite often and had the opportunity to study this problem on the spot. I am a journalist now, work for the radio too and should like to write on the Kurdish problem as well when there is an opportunity. I'd be thankful to you for all other material on this problem too.

(E.-C.S. - journalist - Stuttgart, W.-Germany)

THE "INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN" AND THE EDITOR OF "KURDISH FACTS" WISH ALL THEIR KURDISH FRIENDS A

HAPPY NEWROZ

## DEAR READER:

Yes, we did switch over to English. All our German readers read English too, and ISK cannot yet afford more than one edition of its bulletin. English is the most international language, and

this settled the matter, as more and more people not reading German join us or want to subscribe to our periodical. They come from the West and the East and from the Afro-Asian Peoples' Zone. Slowly, but unmistakably, ISK is becoming a really international society, as it wants to be and has to be. Started in November 1960 with 5 mimeographed pages in German, full of printing errors and bare of illustrations, ISK's monthly is now rapidly developing into an "information magazine". A wide variety of rubrics and an ISK-network of informants will make "Kurdish Facts" more than a collection of paper-cuttings talked together. "Kurdish Facts" wants to practise modern, "sociological" journalism, attracting not only a few specialists, but the intelligent lay reader as well. The urgent problems of Kurdistan, Western Asia and the Afro-Asian Peoples' Zone as well as their impact on Orientalistics etc. will be pictured for what they really are: matters of immense "human interest" in the fullest sense of the word. We hope the facts supplied will inspire you to action. In the same way that ISK was started as a new type of organisation, "Kurdish Facts" will be a new type of periodical.

THE EDITOR

From March 1st, 1961 on, our bank account is:  
INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN  
Twentsche Bank N.V.  
Amsterdam-C.  
Netherlands.

# THE KURDOSCOPE

- IRAQI KURDISTAN:** Barzani family curtailed by Baghdad authorities - anti-Barzani tribal chieftains get government support - arrests in 'Democratic Party Kurdistan in Iraq' - suppressed Kurdish papers to re-appear - Iraqi Kurdistan declared 'part of Arab nation'.
- PERSIAN KURDISTAN:** Kurdish patriots still under arrest - minor army raids - Shah memoirs picture all Kurds as "belonging to Iran" and Mehabad Republic (1945-46) as a Communist enterprise - documents prove the reverse - Persian Kurdistan closed to foreigners.
- SYRIAN KURDISTAN:** Nasser said to have accused Syrian Kurds of spoiling UAR-Kassem-deal - grave sentence for 13 Kurds tried in Damascus.
- TURKISH KURDISTAN:** Reportedly, most of the 49 Kurdish intellectuals on trial have been released.
- GENERAL:** "Kurdish Information Agency" abroad projected - 'International Union of Students' issued pro-Kurdish declaration - Joint 'Committee for the Liberation of Kurdistan and Azerbaijan' active in Soviet South-Caucasia - 'International Society Kurdistan' now publishes its monthly in English - German-Kurdish friendship days in Oldenburg, attended by observer of Turkish Embassy in Bonn, got wide publicity.

# INSIDE KURDISTAN

## BARSANI FAMILY CURTAILED

Since Mullah Mustafa al-Barsani is in Moscow, the Baghdad authorities are withdrawing one after another the privileges previously bestowed on the leader of the "Democratic Party Kurdistan in Iraq" and his family. Monthly military government allowances to them are blocked. The State-owned car used by the Barsani's has been taken back and the family has been summoned to leave the house of ex-Premier Nuri Es-Said's son, which was put at their disposal by the Kassem regime.

## MEASURES AGAINST KURDISH PARTY LEADERS

"Khebad", daily of the "Democratic Party Kurdistan in Iraq", reported on January 27th 1961, that Mr. Omar Mustafa, lawyer, had been arrested and sent into exile in Divaniya. Mr. Mustafa has been a member of the Party's Central Committee and Political Bureau since the DPKiI was officially allowed by the Iraqi Military Government. "Khebad" spoke of a "wave of arrests" extending to "even active Party leaders". At that time, Mr. Saleh Yusefi, another DPKiI-Political Bureau member, had been under arrest for four months already. On March 9th, the Arab news-agency and two West-Asian radio stations reported, that a warrant had been issued for the arrest of the lawyer Ibrahim Ahmed, secretary general of the DPKiI & editor-in-chief of "Khebad". Mr. Ahmed was accused of complicity in the assassination of Sheikh Sadiq Kadir. This tribal leader was shot by armed people in the Erbil mountains last February. The next day, however, "Al-Istiqlal" said that the Iraqi authorities had countermanded the warrant.

This is the second time Mr. Ahmed escapes prison. Kurdish observers think Ahmed annoyed the Iraqi authorities by criticising General Kassem's speech before the Iraqi Teachers' Union (see below) in "Khebad" of February 21st.

## SUPPRESSED KURDISH PAPERS RE-APPEARING

The three Kurdish papers suppressed by the Iraqi military authorities (see Bulletin No. 2, page 8) are re-appearing one after another. "Jin" (= "Life") is permitted to be published again, but only once instead of three times a week, as before. In Sulemaniya, "Jin" is the only political periodical of the Kurds (see Bulletin No. 3, page 10). "Hétaw" (= "The Sun"), the Erbil weekly and "Demêkurd" (= "Voice of the Kurds"), the Baghdad daily, are also said to be re-appearing soon. "Hétaw"'s Editor, who was deported to another part of Iraq, is free again in Hewler (= Erbil). Some Arab papers in Iraq will remain suppressed (see Bulletin No. 3, page 9-10).

## PRO-KURDISH ARAB PAPERS IN IRAQ

It is little known abroad that in the Iraqi Republic there are three Arab papers with outspoken sympathies for the Kurdish

cause. Their names: "Ahali" (= "The People"), "El-Beyan" and "El Inçanve" (= "Humanity").

## BAGHDAD ASKED TO SUPPORT NON-IRAQI KURDS

During January, the press in Iraqi Kurdistan demanded Iraqi Government support for the non-Iraqi Kurds on the same lines as the support already given to the non-Iraqi Arabs. As reported in ISK-Bulletin Nr. 1, this demand was also made by Mr. Ismet Sherif Vanly in his opening speech at the 5th annual Kurdish Students' Congress in Europe in West-Berlin (August 1960). Kurds feel such a "Kurdish foreign policy" of the Iraqi Republic would really make this State the "Republic of Arabs and Kurds" they wish it to be.

## INTER-TRIBAL RIVALRIES EXPLOITED

As was first indicated in Europe by the French provincial periodical "L'Alerte" of Dec. 30, 1960, inter-tribal rivalries in Iraqi Kurdistan are being revived to counter the impact of Barzani and his Party.

Already in May 1959 (2 months after the Mosul riots), repatriated Mullah Mustafa Barzani had to fight rival Kurdish chieftains and their tribes. Mullah Hussain with his Mandani's, accused of having sided with King Faisal's forces in July 1958, escaped to Iran. Other armed Barzani opponents at that time were the Baradost tribe, led by Rashid Lolan, and the Nawdasht, a sub-tribe near Erbil. The Baradosts reopened hostilities against the Barzani people in September last year, together with the Zibaris. The latter's chieftain, Mahmud Khalifa of Rawanduz, also fled to Iranian Kurdistan after Barzani's return. With the silent backing of the Persian authorities he undertook raids on Iraqi territory. Mahmud Khalifa is now back home. He is supported by General Kassem, as are Fattah Hirki of Erbil (a Liwah capital and centre of the Dizayees), chieftain of famous warriors, and Mahmud Zibari of Aqrah (in the Mosul Liwah). The Zibaris used to be very influential in the Iraqi Army and Civil Service. They are said to be well-informed on international affairs. Whereas in the mountains the tribal-feudal system is still strong, educated Kurds in the cities think more on modern, Kurdish-national lines.

Meanwhile, the DPKiI is said to have presented a memorandum to the Military Governor of Baghdad, which deals with the Zibari's behaviour.

## KURDS TO INFORM THE WORLD

Kurdish activists, determined to attain freedom and national unity by peaceful means, discovered the vital value of 'public relations'. Repeated "Xebat", chief organ of Iraq's "Democratic Party Kurdistan" in January:

"The Kurdish nation is in urgent need of creating a national organisation to make itself known in the world."

"real folksongs and tunes learned  
--- from renown Kurdish vaga-  
bonds" (see page 10; Omar Dizayee)



Up till now information on Kurdistan outside of the country was mainly supplied by three bodies:

- 1e. the "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe" with HQ in Lausanne/Switzerland since 1956;
- 2e. the "Délégation Kurde" in Paris since 1946, and
- 3e. the "International Society Kurdistan" with HQ in Amsterdam, since 1960.

Apart from that there were only the Kurdish experiences published by journalists, scientists and other travellers who had been on the spot, and finally the sporadic Kurdica given by the big news agencies, generally mirroring the viewpoint of the governments holding parts of Kurdistan.

The "Kurdish Information Agency" suggested, will supposedly be established in a neutral European state, probably in Switzerland.

#### FOREIGN OPINION ON KURDISTAN

Though the overwhelming majority of foreign travellers who made personal acquaintances among the Kurds speak about them highly appreciatively, Kurdish information abroad meets with a litany of long-term obstacles:

- \* The wide-spread misunderstanding that all Kurds are just nomadic trouble-shooters (instead of a nation predominantly consisting of mountain peasants, and simply seeking basic liberties).
- \* The habit of over-rating states at the expense of ethnic nations, ("assimilation" of "non-dominant groups" being advocated), of so-called "historical nations" at the expense of "non-historical" ones and of "Hochkulturen" at the expense of less-wellknown or less-developed ones.
- \* The foreign propaganda of those governments now ruling parts of Kurdistan, especially the U.A.R. and the Cento-Pact-partners Turkey and Iran.
- \* The Big Powers' constant endeavours to become or remain friends with Turkey, Iran and the about 100 million people speaking Arabic.

Whereas numerous non-independent nations (like Poles, Jews, Ukrainians, Indians etc.) possessed a more or less vast information apparatus abroad dozens of years ago, the Kurds did not. In Syria, "Le Nouveau Jour", French-language parallel edition of the Bedir Xan Family's Kurdish paper "Roja Nû" appeared only from 1943 till 1946. Similarly short-lived was the post-war "Bulletin du Centre d'Etudes Kurdes" in Paris. (Of both papers incomplete sets are in ISK's "Central Kurdish Library in Europe"; Ed.)

Friends of Kurdistan think the success of any Kurdish information agency abroad depends firstly on a proper training of more Kurdish journalists, editors and public relation managers, secondly on its funds-raising and salesmanship abilities and last but not least on the co-operation of foreign friends engaged in political and other publicity.

#### KASSEM: ALL IRAQIS "PART OF THE ARAB NATION"

Addressing the Iraqi Teachers' Conference in Baghdad's People's Hall on February 20th, 1961, Kassem said: "I came to destroy imperialism everywhere. I also came to lead by the hand the

victorious Iraqi people and the Arab people everywhere". Iraq's Leader announced: "Very soon we shall take mighty steps in the interest of the immortal Iraqi Republic and the entire Arab nation".

In reply to a Kurdish teacher's questions, General Kassem again dwelt on Iraqi unity "which binds the Arab, Kurdish and Turkmen nationalities and other minorities" and told the questioner: "Brother, you merge with us in Muslim brotherhood. We as Iraqi people are a part of the Arab nation".

The Baghdad radio transmission of the speech etc. took 2 hours and 15 minutes.

#### NASSER: KURDS PREVENTED ARAB UNITY

Nasser accused the (400.000) Kurds of his U.A.R.'s 'Northern Region' Syria of "having torpedoed his famous project of Iraq-U.A.R.-unity", the "Tribune de Lausanne" reported on February 6th, 1961. Nasser believes, the Swiss daily says, that he has sacrificed his own hegemonialist views on Western Asia to this project. The Nasserists are said to believe that Kassem's pro-Kurdish attitude did not reinforce the latter's position, "Tribune" adds.

#### TURKS RELEASED 13 KURDS

It is reported from Vienna that the Turkish authorities have released 13 Kurds out of the 49 intellectuals on trial for Kurdish activities.

#### "TROUW": TURKEY SICK MAN IN NATO

The Amsterdam daily "Trouw" (= "Loyalty") is the mouthpiece of the right wing minority within the Netherlands' 6 million Protestants. On February 8th, it sharply attacked Turkey, reviving the pre-1914 thesis of the "sick man on the Bosphorus". Wrote "Trouw":

"Turkey is a NATO-member, but it is a very weak ally. This country is sick internally. The Kurds live in the border regions of Turkey and the Soviet Union. If a war should break out, one could hardly expect them to choose the side of the Turks. They probably will not fight. It does not make sense to defend your own misery. Fighting is only sensible if there is something to fight for.

General Gursel, the new ruler of Turkey, will surely not bring any improvement to the situation of the Kurds. He has declared that no Kurds at all live in Turkey, a tale which the Turks have already been telling since the first world war. In 1938, General Gursel, then commander of the 4th Turkish army, had 481 Kurds executed at Sansa. Twenty Kurds were forced to dig a large grave and were subsequently shot. The next twenty had to bury them and dig their own grave afterwards. In this way the massacre proceeded until all 481 Kurds were dead."

#### COMMOTION IN PERSIAN KURDISTAN

"The New Leader", an American weekly quoted before in this Bulletin, published a long article on the situation in Iran on February 20th. Just returned from there, West-Asia-expert H.M.Lubchansky found Persia ruled by the Army and by the

SAVAK (Security Service). Taking "a close look at the potential sources of opposition to the Shah" he thinks they are "neither very powerful nor very active". Speaking of what he calls Iran's "tribal areas" Mr. Lubchansky says the only one "in the news is Kurdistan, where noisy efforts are being made to keep the Kurds happy so that they will not support a separatist movement originating in Iraq".

He says Persian Kurdistan is "closed to the casual tourist (for his own protection of course)" and speaks of "minor Army raids --- to disarm tribesmen before they get out of control". In case "major political upheavals were to occur in Teheran or in the provincial cities" Mr. Lubchansky feels "the tribes might well reappear as a disruptive element. One can only guess at the extent of separatist feeling in an area like Kurdistan. It is clear that a cohesive minority nationality group exists, with its own language and customs, a religion (Sunni) different from that of the majority of Iranians (Shii), and ties to fellow tribesmen in neighbouring lands". (Meant are Turkish-, Iraqi- and Syrian Kurdistan. Ed.)

#### DOUBTS SUCCESS OF PERSIAN KURDISH POLICY

Summarizing the situation in Persian Kurdistan, Mr. Lubchansky writes: "Since the 1958 coup in bordering Iraq, the Government has increased expenditures in Kurdistan, while maintaining an implicit threat of repression by force. It remains to be seen whether improvement of social services will suffice to make the Kurds more loyal to Teheran".

(Kurds informed ISK that their compatriots in Iranian Kurdistan are much embittered about the lack of real democratic reforms; that hundreds of Kurds are still in Iranian prisons; and that the four Persian Kurds sentenced to death (and repeatedly reported on in this Bulletin) are still in their deathcells. Ed.)

#### "OPERATION KURDAZ": FIRST PHASE IN SOVIET SOUTH-CAUCASIA

In at least two Caucasian Soviet Republics there are signs of activity of a joint "Committee for the Liberation of Kurdistan and Azerbaijan". The organisation is sometimes called "KurdAz" for short but is also referred to with Russian abbreviations. It was founded last year. "KurdAz" has centres in several places and is assisted by Soviet military authorities in Baku. Specialists are trained, equipped and distributed for a possible "D-Day". Border region incidents possibly connected with these activities are ignored by the Turkish press, Iranian newspapers taking a similar attitude. The Armenian and Azerbaijan Soviet Republics both have Kurdish enclaves, totalling 59,000 people, according to the 1959 census. Some Kurds abroad think the minorities in question might be twice or even thrice as large.

#### BARZANI-INTERVIEW WITH ARAB PAPER

Mulla Mustafa Barzani, the DPKiI-leader, was interviewed by an Arab paper. The translation is in preparation. Next issue of "Kurdish Facts", which will be out on April 15th, will deal with this interesting interview.

#### IBRAHIM AHMED FREE - RIOTS IN KIRKUK

After this issue's deadline, the following news came in: BBC broadcasted in Arabic on March 10th that the Iraqi authorities withdrew their order to arrest Mr. Ibrahim Ahmed, Secretary General of the Democratic Party Kurdistan in Iraq. About the same time, Egyptian newspapers reported riots in Kirkuk (Iraqi Kurdistan) between Turkmens and Kurds. 7 persons are said to have been killed, a hundred to have been wounded.

#### BAATH PARTY'S ADVANCE IN MOSUL

Like in other Iraqi cities, the Baath-Party is regaining influence in Mosul among the Arab population. Mosul, which has about 350,000 inhabitants now, is one of the oil cities in Southern Kurdistan. The Baath Party stands for a Pan-Arab Socialism. Its supporters were said to be active in Syria against Kurds.

#### ISKENDERUN ISSUE AFFECTS KURDS

The United Arab Republic is intensifying its campaign for adhering Turkey's Sandshak of Iskenderun to its territory. Iskenderun, commonly called Alexandrette in the West, was ceded from Syria to Turkey by the French mandatory power shortly before world war II. The Iskenderun district has a mixed Turkish-Arab-Kurdish population. It is shown as predominantly Kurdish on some little known maps of Kurdistan. The homogeneous ethnic area of the Kurds reaches neither the Black Sea nor the Mediterranean nor the Gulf Coast, however. In the Iskenderun district there is also the Musa Dagh, a mountain grown famous by the German-Jewish emigrant writer Franz Werfel's novel "The 40 days of the Musa Dagh" on the massacring of Armenians during world war I.

## BUSINESS AND FINANCE

#### KIRGHIZ-ARAB TRADE

The Kirghiz Socialist Soviet Republic (Soviet Turkistan) will extend its exports to Western Asia this year. Electrical apparatus, complicated centrifuges and tool-making machinery are sold to Iraq, Turkey and the U.A.R. (Source: Soviet "Informatie-Bulletin", Jan. 30th, 1961). Biggest Asian customer of Iraq was Japan up till now.

#### CURRENCY TRANSACTIONS FORBIDDEN IN SYRIA

U.A.R. president Nasser has forbidden all currency transactions in Syria from February 5th on. Currency transfers are also prohibited and travellers leaving the U.A.R.'s "Northern Region" are not allowed to take out sums exceeding 100 Syrian pounds. Measures were due to the currency unification within the U.A.R. They are said to be received with mixed feelings by Syria's merchants.

# On Record

## SHAH'S MEMOIRS ON MEHABAD REPUBLIC

"In 1945, the Russians organized not one but two puppet governments in my country. One of them was the Kurdish republic of Mehabad while the other was called the Autonomous Government of Azerbaijan. The first was situated in the West of the country in an area which was mainly inhabited by Kurdish tribes. The second mainly consisted of our northwestern province of Azerbaijan bordering on Russia. The two governments were installed in December 1945. They both survived about a year. But that year was indeed one of the most critical in our recent history, in which the Communist methods became much clearer to us. The so-called Kurdish republic originated from a nationalist movement of Kurdish tribes stimulated by the British during the first world war and taken over by the Communists in the second world war. The Kurds live in Iran and some other countries; ethnically as well as linguistically they belong to Iran. The Communists infiltrated the Kurdish groups in my country; they wanted to transform North Western Iran into a Soviet satellite and considered the establishment of a Kurdish petty state as a way towards that goal. Later they hoped to expand that state towards the Kurds in Iraq and Turkey, thus the Communist would get an easier access to the Arab world and Africa. The Kurds openly provoked the Government in Teheran and received their orders from abroad. Under Soviet protection the Communist puppet government established the usual governmental apparatuses. But the majority of the Kurdish tribesmen did not trust "their" government. They kept quiet because foreign troops were there, but soon they helped us to restore the central authority."

"In those same days (1946, Ed.) the second puppet government, that of the Kurds, was done away with by our troops with the help of the Kurdish tribes and their local population."

### PRESIDENT OF MEHABAD REPUBLIC TOLD PRESS IN 1946

"The Kurds would be satisfied if the Central Government decided to really apply democratic laws throughout Iran, and recognized the laws now in force in Kurdistan concerning the education of the Kurds and the autonomy of the local administration and army. --- The situation in Kurdistan is very different from that in Azerbaijan. Our country has never been occupied by Soviet troops, and, since the abdication of Rezah Shah, neither the gendarmery nor Iranian troops have penetrated into Kurdistan. Therefore we have been living in practical

independence since that time. We shall never tolerate any further foreign intervention wherever it comes from. The question of Kurdistan is a purely internal affair which should be settled between the Kurds and the Central Government. --- If to-day we have to claim the partial autonomy of our country with persistence, the fault lies with the Central Government who have done nothing for our recovery. We earnestly desire to enter upon the path of progress. We do not desire to imitate either the Americans or the Russians, but we refuse to live in a position of animals of the civilized countries."

(Ghazi Mohammed, president of the Autonomous Kurdish Republic of Mehabad to the correspondent of Agence France Press on June 1st, 1946. On March 31st, after two hours of being tried, Ghazi Mohammed was hanged by the Persians, together with 28 Kurdish autonomist leaders.) 21447)



### AMERICAN DIPLOMAT TESTIFIES:

"--- the town of Mehabad, hitherto a typical provincial town, dull and asleep, had become picturesque and full of activity and life." --- "Great efforts have been made to give a firm foundation to Kurdish education." --- "While terrorism reigns uncontrolled in Azerbaijan, there is very little in Kurdistan; there are no political prisoners; only one or two cases of assassinations, perhaps political, have been reported; only a few Kurds having little sympathy for the regime have taken refuge in Teheran. In the streets of Mahabad you can hear broadcasts from Ankara or London, whereas in Tabriz whoever listens to such broadcasts is punished with death."

"The Iranian military government, in conformity with its programme, succeeded in effacing all trace of the Kurdish regime. Even the Kurd-

ish printing plant was destroyed, education of the Kurd was forbidden and all books in Kurdish were publicly burned."

(Archibald Roosevelt in his article: "The Mahabad Republic", published by "The Middle East Journal", Washington, ~~April~~ <sup>July</sup> 1947.)

### PAKISTANI OFFICER KEEPS SILENT

"In fact, I can give a detailed account of --- Kurdish revolts that occurred between 1945-1949 at Mehabad and at Razzaia (Iran). During that time I was present in that part of the world and to some extent was associated with measures taken towards its suppression. --- I must stop here and leave posterity to judge our actions and give their comments on it after we are dead." (Major Sheikh A. Waheed on page 166 of his book "The

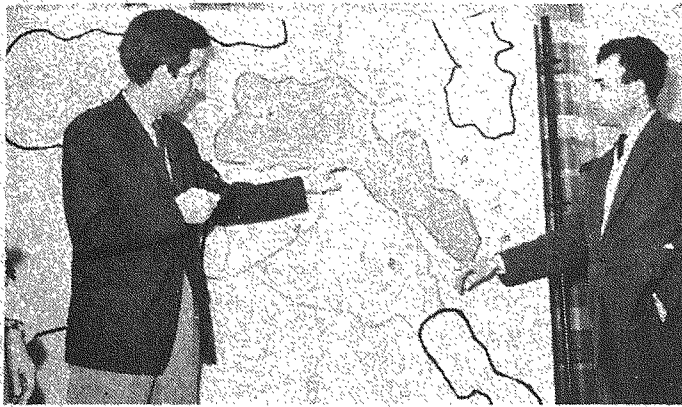


Kurds and their country" - Lahore, 1958 - foreword by General Muhammed Ayub Khan.)

#### SOVIET HISTORIANS NOTED:

At the end of 1945 the Democratic Party Kurdistan was formed in Northern Kurdistan (Mehabad) under the leadership of Mohammed Ghazi, who demanded autonomy for the Kurds in Iran. The Kurdish democrats seized power and formed an autonomous government in Mehabad, led by Mohammed Ghazi. Contrary to Iranian Azerbaijan however, no landreform was realized in Kurdistan."

(Large Soviet Encyclopaedia, 2nd edition, Moscow, 18th volume, article:'Iran'.)



Above:

Kurdish students gave presents to the "Bruecke" after two successful "Kurdish Days" there. Left to right: Jamshid Bedir-Khan, "Bruecke"-manager Dr. Wolfgang Herda, Ibrahim Dizayee and Abdullah Kadir. (photos: Nordhausen)

Left:

Divided Kurdistan was shown on a big map in Oldenburg. The map, pièce-de-milieu of the Kurdish exhibition organised in the "Bruecke-Haus" is explained here by ISK's president Silvio van Rooy and KSSE's vice-president Wiryawanduzi (right).

## SUCCESSFUL "KURDISH DAYS" IN OLDENBURG

"Kurdish Days" were organized in Oldenburg (Northwest-Germany) by the Municipal Authorities and the local branch of the "International Society Kurdistan". They were opened by Stadtrat Kayser in the "Bruecke-Haus" on March 7th. The "Bruecke-Haus" is Oldenburg's International Cultural Centre and is led by Dr. Wolfgang Herda.

ISK-President Silvio van Rooy who had told radio-listeners about divided Kurdistan the previous day, said he was glad about the first official German act of friendship towards the oppressed Kurds. He hoped the Oldenburg initiative might be followed by other cities in Germany and elsewhere. Active international solidarity, van Rooy pointed out, could be a mighty contribution towards a peaceful solution of the Kurdish question. The urgency of this question was then explained by Mr. Woryawanduzi of Vienna, vice-president of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe.

A Kurdish exposition in the "Bruecke-Haus" had many visitors. Its pièce-de-milieu was a large map of divided Kurdistan in vivid colours. There were books and papers on Kurdistan and a rich choice of Kurdish handicraft. Kurdish students from Hannover, Münster and Vienna universities acted as guides. They were in Kurdish national dress, as was the life-size "Miss Kurdistan" dummy, who stole the show in the subsequent press and television reporting.

In the evening, Dr. Dieter Christensen of the West-Berlin "Völkermuseum" showed colour slides on the district of Siirt-Hakkari in Turkish-Kurdistan.

The next morning a press conference took place. Then Kurdish guests and ISK-members from half a dozen German cities were received by the City of Oldenburg who offered a meal and presented books. In the afternoon, Dr. Christensen lectured again, this time on Kurdish music. Among the specimens played was the Kurdish National Anthem of the Mehabad Republic. The last lecture of the Kurdish Days was that of Abdullah Kadir from Munich. He, too, showed colour slides and pictured the Kurdish problem within those of a changing Orient.

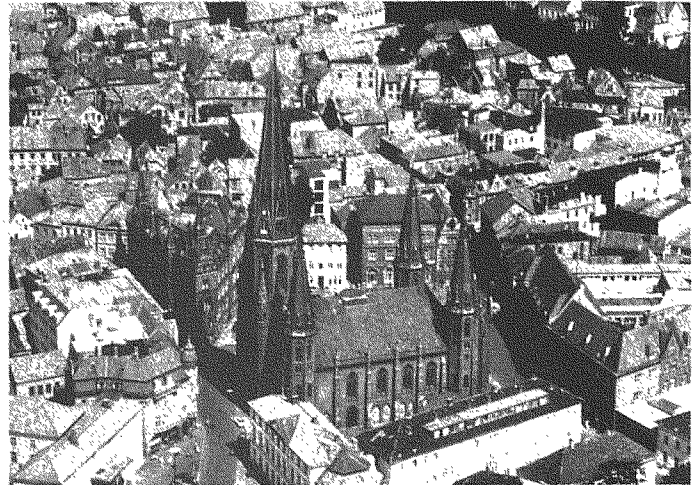
The Kurdish students handed gifts to the "Bruecke", among them beautiful Kurdish clothing and a recording tape with Kurdish music. Among the enthusiastic observers was Mrs. Andres of the Turkish Embassy, who rediscovered the spirit of reconciling nations, so characteristic for her native Austria, in Northern Germany's Oldenburg. Wrote the "Nordwest-Zeitung" in its 5th and last article on the "Kurdish Days":

"The young Kurds parted from Oldenburg in a spirit of enthusiasm yesterday. They were impressed by the openmindedness of many Oldenburg people, which considerably facilitated their mission. To win friends and sympathy for their country: that was the aim of the young students. They have fulfilled their self-chosen task in an excellent manner."



"Bruecke"-manager Dr. Herda invited them to come back and many a journalist stayed longer among the Kurds and their friends than his professional duties required. Oldenburg intellectuals started thinking about a lecturer for Kurdish in case the City should get its university. Radio Bremen availed itself of the opportunity and prepared a long broadcast on Kurdish music with Dr. Christensen. Both KSSE and ISK had won many a new supporter in dynamic Oldenburg.

Oldenburg in Northwest-Germany (see right) was the scene of two "Kurdish Days" on March 7th and 8th, 1961. Organizers were the City of Oldenburg's International Cultural Centre "Die Bruecke" (The Bridge) and the "International Society Kurdistan". Oldenburg is competing with Bremen to become the seat of the projected Northwest German University.



## Voice

OMAR DIZAYEE ON OMAR DIZAYEE

My name is Omar Amin of the Dizayee tribe, born on the 12th of March 1936 at Erbil, Iraqi Kurdistan, as son of the tribal chieftain. When I was only five years old my voice was discovered. At many meetings of the various families of our tribe on occasion of marriages, parties and the like, I used to be the first singer in exchange for a bar of chocolate or some toys. The songs I sang were real folksongs and tunes I learned from our servants, farmers and later on from renown Kurdish vagabonds. At school, my teachers often promised me good marks if I would only sing some songs to them. On March 21st, 1946, New Year's Eve (Newroz, Ed.), I stood for the first time before a microphone in the presence of more than 20.000 people, and in later years, I was invited to nearly all national celebrations at Erbil, Koye, and Kirkuk. 1946-1948 I took part in May demonstrations of Kurdish patriots to obtain national rights for our people, on occasion of which I was raised upon the shoulders in order to sing the Kurdish national lyrics and songs to the thousands present. In 1955 I had eight of my songs recorded at the request of the Kurdish broadcasting unit in Baghdad. The harsh rules and traditions of my tribe were an obstacle in the path of my musical career along which I already intended to proceed when I was only a child. Because of that I could not stay with the Kurdish Radio for a long time. In 1956 I left Kurdistan so as to start my studies abroad. I sang in Muenich for the Kurds from Turkey, Syria and the Soviet Union, and also at many a meeting of IUS and at youth-festivals in Moscow and Vienna. In 1957 I enlisted as a member of KSSE in Vienna, and at the 2nd annual congress I was elected Vice-President of the Society, later on Secretary of our Austrian Branch and at the moment Member of the Central Committee and Manager for Social Affairs of our Society. In the summer of 1960 I sang for German Television in West-Berlin. At the moment I am studying political sciences at the Paris University. I can sing in six foreign languages: English, German and French, Persian, Turkish and Arabic.



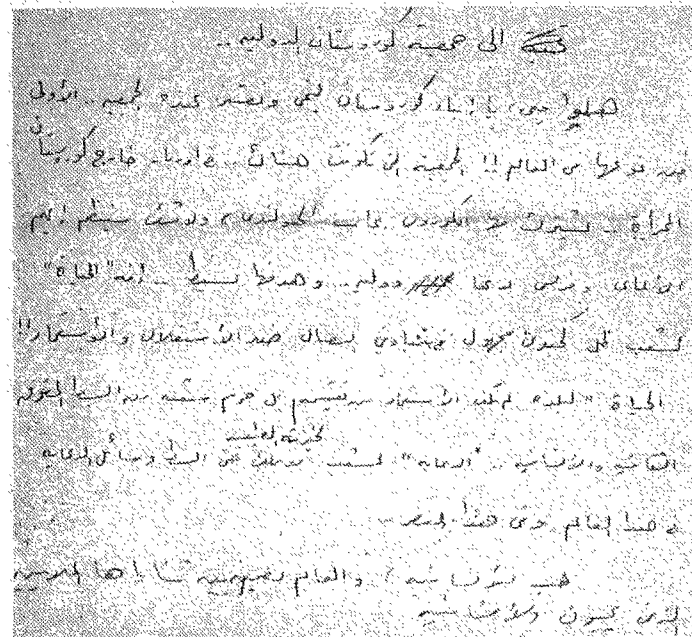
Sweet-voiced Kurd: Omar Dizayee

# People

## TRAGIC DEATH OF PROFESSOR AMIN

(From Khebad, organ of the Democratic Party Kurdistan, 27th January 1961)

"Greetings to the International Society Kurdistan. Greet with me, ye Sons of Kurdistan, and be proud of this first Society of its kind in the world!! The Society that has been founded there in Europe - outside divided Kurdistan - and in which Kurds and Dutchmen collaborate and which will undoubtedly be joined by Germans, thus forming an international gremium. Its goal is simple: It wants "Life" for a nation, which like an unknown soldier sacrificingly fights the battle against Exploitation and Imperialism!! It wants Life for "a country" torn apart by imperialism and which is being deprived of a cultural and human existence of its own. It wants "to make propaganda" for a nation, about which little is known in the world."



Added "Khebad":

"The late Professor Haydar Mohammed Amin wrote these illuminating words a few seconds before his death. He wanted to express in them his opinion and thoughts about the future of his Kurdish people and his country Kurdistan as a reaction to publications of the newspaper "Khebad" on the International Society Kurdistan. But fate interfered with him and did not leave him time to finish his article on this theme, which is rooted in the hearts of the departed and all his Brothers and Sons of Kurdistan."

BÊKES, the great Kurdish poet, celebrated his 43th birthday in Baghdad last January. Kurdish and Arab VIPs did attend the ceremony, among them members of the Iraqi Academy of

Sciences. Similar celebrations took place simultaneously in various cities of Iraqi Kurdistan.

## HUIB HENDRIKSE



The Dutch Protestant daily "Trouw" was the first Western paper doubting Turkey's value as a NATO-ally because of its 6 million suppressed Kurds. The man who wrote this and had the courage to call the Turkish Republic "one large prison for Kurds", was Huib HENDRIKSE. Hendrikse (28), a journalist since 1951, is a reserve officer in the Royal Netherlands Army. Contributor to several Dutch papers, he translated the satirical short-stories of the Soviet writer Zoshchenko from Russian into Dutch. Mr. Hendrikse's Calvinist co-religionists played a leading part in the Netherlands' successful 80-years' rebellion-war against the feudal-clerical regime of the Habsburg Spaniards (1568-1648).

Calvinists living up to this tradition of resistance founded "Trouw" as an underground paper against Nazi occupation rule in 1943. In 1945 it became a daily.

MAHDI AL-HAFIDH is the president of GUSIR, the General Union of Students of the Iraqi Republic, member of IUS. Under Nuri-es-Said he was arrested thrice for illegal student activities.



Among the underground papers of GUIIS (GUSIR's pre-1958 forerunner) was one in Kurdish: "Ti Koshin Kotabian". It was a translation from the Arab GUIIS-organ "Kifah Al-Talabah" (= "The Students' Struggle"). GUSIR supported the pro-Kurdish resolution at the Baghdad IUS Congress last October. Hafidh is shown here with two Kurdish interpreters in Berlin 2 months earlier. The GUSIR-president (24) studies at the Faculty of Education in Baghdad and is a

tireless worker, able organizer and powerful orator.

PRIME MINISTER ADNAN MENDERES, answering opposition leader Ismed INONU's interpellation in the Turkish Chamber of Deputies: "We - after all - have not the blood on our hands of 10,000 Kurds massacred during the time YOU were in power." This remarkable piece of conversation between two Turkish politicians was recalled during the Yassi Ada process when the government-inspired riots against Turkey's Christian minorities were dealt with.

# Protests

## KURDISH STUDENTS APPLY TO RED CROSS

On January 25th, the President of the "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe", Mr. Ismet Sherif Vanly, wrote to the International Red Cross Committee in Geneva about the Kurdish political prisoners in Turkey and Iran. He stressed their bad treatment violating the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights", and requested measures to improve the situation of the Kurdish prisoners.

## USSR AND KURDISH MOVEMENT

"Moscow" - the Vienna daily "Die Presse" wrote on January 14th - "seeks to move the Kurds to establish an independent State." The article's author, Mr. Oberleitner, promptly received a letter from the Kurdish students' vice-president in Europe,

Mr. Worya Rawanduzi. The latter said the Kurdish nation had always fought and will always fight for its rights "without being moved to do so from whatever side" and reminded of the fact that the Kurdish freedom movement "is some centuries old". Mr. Rawanduzi, who is soon to take his medical degree at the Vienna University, added: "Like every other nation in the world, our Kurdish People is trying to get its rights and freedom and accepts friendship no matter from which side it is offered".

## SYRIAN KURDS APPLY TO AAPSC

A group of Syrian Kurds have applied to the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Council, a Paris source reported. Reasons were the U.A.R. measures recently taken against Kurdish activists in Syria. The AAPSC's HQ are in Cairo, Capital of the U.A.R.

# INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

## PRAGUE TO PUBLISH AFRO-ASIAN LABOUR REVIEW

At the Presidium Conference of the "World Federation of Trade Unions" in Berlin (GDR) early in February, Czech representative Mr. Franticek Zupka announced the publication of a Trade Union Review for the Afro-Asian Peoples' Zone. The Review will be published from 1952 on by the TUC of the ČSSR and will probably appear in several Asiatic and African languages.

## IUS' BAGHDAD RESOLUTION ON KURDISTAN

After having reported on the Congress of the "International Union of Students" in Baghdad last October in Bulletin Nr. 2, ISK was approached from several sides, among them IUS itself, whose Japanese vice-president Mr. Yasuo Ishi, wrote: "As a matter of fact, the 6th Congress of the I.U.S. held in Baghdad last October adopted a resolution on the "Just National and Cultural Rights of the Kurdish People" expressing the IUS' deep sympathy towards the Kurdish people and students. In this connection, please find enclosed a copy of the said resolution."

THE EDITOR is glad to bring this interesting document of solidarity to the attention of "Kurdish Facts"-readers. Mr. Ismet Sherif Vanly, president of the "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe", also sent ISK the text below, adding that the resolution was moved by GUSIR (see: "People") and KSSE. Here is its text (meanwhile published in extract in "World Student News"): "The 6th Congress of the International Union of Students convened in Baghdad notes:

- that the Kurdish people in Turkish Kurdistan, and Iranian Kurdistan are deprived of their just cultural and national

rights, which constitutes a violation of the principles of democratization of education and the rights of man;

- that the Kurdish people in Iraqi Kurdistan have obtained some of their cultural rights, being allowed to study in their national language in primary schools.

The Congress appreciates the fact that the Kurdish people in Iraqi Kurdistan have obtained some of their rights, and hopes that their other just national rights will be granted accordingly.

- Congress calls on the UAR Government to pay attention to Kurdish culture and to allow Kurdish press and publications;

- Congress highly appreciates the struggle of Kurdish students for the attainment of their people's national and cultural rights;

- Congress also declares its support to the just demand of the Kurdish people in Iranian and Turkish Kurdistan to enjoy their national and cultural rights."

## IRAQI STUDENTS ABROAD UNITE IN GUIA

40 Iraqi students from Eastern and Western Europe established a "General Union of Iraqi Students Abroad" in Praha/ČSSR between December 25/30, 1960. HQ will be in London. Up till now, Iraqi students abroad - abt 6000 - were organized in different societies. GUIA will consider itself a part of GUSIR and is to get consultative IUS-membership. Representatives of several organisations, including KSSE, attended GUIA's Founding Congress. IUS "News-Service" of Jan./Febr. 1961 said "The repression of Kurdish students and people in Iran and Turkey were condemned".



## UNIVERSITIES

### AFRO-ASIAN LANGUAGES IN WESTERN GERMANY

Federal Education authorities in Western Germany have decided to push seven Afro-Asian languages more than before: Chinese, Japanese, Hindi, Urdu, Persian, Indonesian and Arabic. Though most of these languages are spoken by at least as many millions as is German, they are referred to as "rare languages" ("seltene Sprachen") in the official document. Furthermore, the Bonn permanent federal conference of ministers of education ("Kultusministerkonferenz") is planning the registration of all living languages taught in the German Federal Republic.

### SOLIDARITY WITH TEHERAN STUDENTS

On February 5th, thousands of Teheran students held a protest demonstration against anti-democratic rule in Iran. Similar actions followed at other universities, including that of Tabriz in Persian South Azerbaijan. From Persian East Kurdistan no solidarity actions could be reported as there is no university there. That of Teheran was closed during 12 days. After its reopening lectures found only limited attendance. It took another week to make the normal number of students attend again. Simon Farzami, Teheran correspondent of Britain's (cons.) "Daily Telegraph" was sent to prison by the Iranian police. The reason: his way of reporting on the students' strike. Shortly after, the authorities closed down the Teheran university again. About 600 students are said to have been arrested. In Cologne, hundreds of Persian and other students held a quiet 60-minutes march. Posters demanded "Academic FREEDOM IN IRAN" and "Release of the arrested students", and protested against Iranian police terror. Leaflets dealing with the Persian

student strike and printed in Eastern Berlin were distributed in Western Germany, where newspapers said they gave a distorted picture of what happened.

### IRAQI STUDENT STATISTICS

12606 students, including 4000 girls, were studying at Baghdad University in 1960-61. Iraq's Central Statistical Bureau says in its "Statistical Publication" that 2803 students were admitted for the 1961/62 academic year. 1330 graduated in 1961. The Baghdad university's staff now counts 806 persons, including 91 professors and 154 assistant professors. Its libraries hold 134,228 publications. Students and trainees abroad totalled 6415 on January 1st, 1961. Over 67% are studying in 4 countries: Britain (1851), USA (928), USSR (779) and Western Germany (544). For comparison: at least 250 Kurds study at West- and East-European universities, the majority being from Iraqi Kurdistan (INA).

### KURDISH STUDENTS AND LUMUMBA UNIVERSITY

The Moscow "University for the Friendship of Nations" was re-named "Lumumba-University" after the Congolese leader was killed on the instigation of the Tshombe puppet government. 17 Kurdish students have now matriculated at the Lumumba University. In addition it offered scholarships to some Kurds studying in Munich. German authorities there were slightly annoyed when receiving those students' requests for West-German scholarships, together with the remark that one could go to Moscow in case no German scholarships would be granted.

## RADIO

### RADIO WAR IN ARABIC

Mr. John Osman of Britain's brand-new "Sunday Telegraph" (Febr. 19th, 1961) interviewed Mr. Ahmed Said, head of Radio Cairo's powerful "Voice of Arabs" since its foundation in 1953. Osman says that "The Middle East war of words is waged by 12 Arab states, 11 non-Arab states, three clandestine stations and four Arab stations he (Said, Ed.) described as 'imperialist controlled'", but gives no names. Checking up these totals, ISK's Sound Department found at least 2 states more in the second category, but supposes countries like Western Germany and the Netherlands were neglected because of their scanty radio programs in Arabic. (To come: ISK's survey of the "Radio War for Kurdistan"; Ed.)

## PRESS

### "I. P. I. - REPORT" ON KURDISH PRESS SOON

The "International Press Institute" in Zurich (Switzerland) will hold its 10th Assembly in Tel-Aviv (Israel). In this connection, the May issue of the IPI-report (published in English, French and German) will be entirely dedicated to the press of Western Asia and Egypt, including the Kurdish press.

### NEW AUSTRIAN ORIENT REVIEW: "BUSTAN"

World War Nr. 2 and the "Reich"'s collapse stopped most Orient reviews in the German language area. Whereas German Orientalistics are slowly recovering, the Orient itself is changing with a rapidity perhaps only equalled by that of Islam's first century. Last year, the Viennese "Hammer-Purgstall-Gesellschaft" (which is politically and ideologically independent - like ISK) started a quarterly review on the "Culture, Politics and Economy of the Islamic Countries". It is called "Bustan" and the Editor, Dr. Walter Dostal, can be reached in Vienna I, Dominikanerbastei 6. The "Hammer-Purgstall-Society" was founded in 1958 as a private agency by some officials of Austria's Federal Department of Education. Only 3 persons have paid jobs in the Society, all other work is done gratis by leaders and members. The Society is taking care of Oriental students and visitors and has a branch in Graz. "Bustan"'s second issue contains contributions on Islamic law, Persian lyrics, Middle East oil, the Wahhabite movement and the presentation of every-day life in Islamic parts. The periodical counts 48 pages, numerous illustrations and can be subscribed to at 68 Austrian schillings annually at Austria International GmbH, Vienna I, Wallnerstr. 8. ("Orient" of Hamburg and "L'Orient" of Paris will be reviewed in the next issue of "Kurdish Facts".)

### BOMB-PLOT AGAINST "LE MONDE" FAILED

A bomb, placed in a parked car, exploded before the offices of "Le Monde" in Paris' Rue des Italiens on February 16th,

1961. Several window panes were shattered, 5 cars, including that carrying the bomb, got heavy damage, but there were no casualties or even wounded. "Le Monde" is considered France's best daily and excels in objective reporting on the Algerian and Kurdish struggle for freedom. Though its circulation (210.000) is relatively small compared to that of other French dailies ("France Soir" 1.345.000; "Le Parisien Libéré" 900.000; "Le Figaro" 510.000; "L'Aurore" 475.000 and "L'Humanité" 218.000), "Le Monde" is very influential, being widely sold abroad. In Algeria, it was repeatedly seized by the French authorities.

## BOOKS

### "FISCHER'S WELTALMANACH '61"

#### INVISIBLE KURDS

Frankfurt's Fischer, a leading German publisher, offers a useful pocket-almanac for 1961: 382 pages brimful of information at only DM. 3, 60. Editor Prof. Dr. Gustav Fochler-Hauke did his best to make population statistics too as up to date as possible. But for Kurds, he mainly drew on official material from the States co-inhabited by them. Consequently, millions of Kurds simply vanished, at least on paper. Turkey is listed with 27, 6 million inhabitants, including only 1, 38 million Kurds (instead of 6), Iraq with 6, 75 million, slightly over 1 million being Kurds (in reality: 1, 8). In Iran, co-nationalities are correctly said to make up about 40% of the Shah's 20, 65 million subjects. But there is no ethnical breakdown of these 8, 26 millions into even Azerbaijanis and Kurds, though they total 7, 5 millions in Iran. Syria's Kurds are mentioned, but without percentage (over 8% of 4, 77 million).

### CHINESE PRINT BOOKS IN KURDISH

Guozi Shudian is distributing books printed at Peking's "Foreign Languages Press" in dozens of foreign languages. 12 titles in Kurdish are totalling 40.000 copies, 9 in Azerbaijani and 10 in Georgian 25.000 each. Chief authors are Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tze-Tung, Mark Twain, Howard Fast, Pablo Neruda and Nazi Hikmet.

### SHAH-MEMOIRS: PRIDE & PREJUDICE

Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, Shah-in-Shah of Iran since 1941, has written his autobiography with the help of a Dr. Donald Wilhelm. The book, 300 pages, richly illustrated, appeared last month in several languages, after being pre-serialized in extract in some countries. The English edition, "Mission for my country", (30 sh.) was published by Hutchinson in London. Quotations from the Memoirs in this issue, however, are re-translations from the Dutch version, and may therefore differ slightly from the Hutchinson one. Constantly sneering at his father, founder of the dynasty, the Shah's chief aim seems to be to convince Western readers that his regime is the best bargain for the West, hoping for both that history will give him the time to show so. Clearly feeling himself helpless amidst the incredible mess called Iran, the Shah, who had Islamic religious visions when



he was still a weak child, nevertheless feels that he is the Only One - being the Chosen Man - to clear it up. Compensating for the insufficient results reached, he offers Irano-centrism and similar tranquilizers. Iran's Shah gave Churchill the idea to invade Axis-held Europe in its weak under-belly Italy, Iran was the starting point of the cold war, Iran will be the future model for a new East-West-Synthesis, Iran has always conquered its conquerors by its culture. The Russians are said to become "more conservative every year" and predicted to seek Western help to keep down "the irresistably growing giant of the Far East, grumbling at their backdoor" soon. Etc.etc.

Readers of certain women's weeklies and of the yellow press will be plunging into the chapter on the Shah's three 'oriental fairy-tale' marriages, but miss photos of Queen Farah's two dismissed predecessors. During the Shah's honeymoon with Soraya, who fainted in her bride's dress, Premier Razmara was assassinated. Oil-nationalizing Mossadeq, who succeeded him, finds sharp criticism from his ruler for such varying reasons as xenophobia and high treason, authoritarian behaviour and russo-ophile servility at the same time.

Stereotypical for the way the Shah deals with too-much-known abuses in his 2500-year-old Empire are phrases like this one: "Shortly after, I composed an anti-corruption committee, but the work of that committee stagnated later on by difference of opinion". For the peasants in Iran's 50.000 villages the Shah sees "new hope". In spite of the huge percentage of analphabets he exclaims: "I am so enthusiastic about the education renewal in my country that I could say far more about it". One of the things the monarch DID say is that young Iranians studying abroad "revolt against the delays, the administrative faults and sloppies" in Iran. Such rebellion is, according to the Shah, "the most important disadvantage" of letting youngsters study at foreign universities. Instead of that, youths are recommended to practice what their ruler calls "My Positive Nationalism" in and over chapter nr. VI.

Two attempts to kill him the Shah describes vividly. Comparing his Imperial Army to the forces of the Iraqi Republic, the Shah finds that the Army of much smaller Iraq is as large as his own and far better equipped, especially General Kassem's Airforce. Uncle Sam is reproached for having given war-ridden Yugoslavia twice the amount of material help Iran got since 1945 and at the same time cordially invited to become a full Cento-Pact-partner now. Aware of the fact that VIPs like "Mr. 5%"-junior Gulbenkian or tanker-king Qnassis are not formally on his imperial pay-roll, the Shah candidly confesses that he does not employ "advisers in the usual sense of the word." Summarizing an Iran which bears a striking resemblance to the Russian empire shortly before February 1917, the author assures us: "We are proud of our political and social institutions". Wise-cracked "The Sunday Telegraph" Book Choice about Persia's first Imperial Autobiographer: "Enjoying a dangerous throne".

## RESEARCH TIPS

### SOURCES ON KURDISTAN & WESTERN ASIA

For the "Soviet Bibliographies Series" Project Peter A. Berton of Southern California University (USA) is preparing a volume

listing "Soviet Works on the Middle East". An all-round Kurdish Bibliography is being compiled by Prof. Dr. A. Bennigsen of Paris with Soviet help. It will contain about 5000 items.

Entirely dedicated to Soviet press and book publications on 'the Middle East' is "The Mizan Newsletter", published monthly since January 1959 by Colonel Wheeler's "Central Asian Research Centre" in London S.W.3, 66, King's Road. Its Editor formerly worked in India and Iraq. C.A.R.C.'s main publication, the "Central Asian Review", quarterly covers adjacent areas like Iran too, sometimes dealing with Kurds there.

### DOCTORS THESES ON KURDISTAN IN USA

"The Kurdish Problem" is the title of two Ph.D. theses simultaneously being prepared in the USA. One will be done by Yusuf K. F. Ibish for Harvard, the other by Wadie Jwaideh for Syracuse University. The completion dates of both dissertations are still unknown.

Four other forthcoming works probably of Kurdish interest are B. Flemming's "Historical Geography of Southern Asia Minor" (Ph.D. University of Los Angeles), Dr. Mark J. Dresden's "Comparative Grammar of Iranian Languages" (Pennsylvania), Abdul Amin's "British Tribal Relations in Mesopotamia 1831-1869" (Maryland) and Kerim A. Attar's "The Minorities of Iraq and the League of Nations" (Columbia); the latter two being Ph.D. theses to be delivered this year.

### ARAB-GERMAN DICTIONARY BEING PREPARED

An 'Arab-German Universal Dictionary' is now being prepared for Langenscheidt's publishing house by Dr. Georg Krotkoff of Vienna. He taught Arabic this winter at the Oriental Seminary of Baltimore's Hopkins University in USA. Dr. Krotkoff started studying the language in his mid-teens and continued his study after 1945, taking courses in African languages as well. After taking his Ph.D. degree he taught German at Cairo University from 1951 till 1955 and published the first textbook for German in Arab written since 1945. At Baghdad University Dr. Krotkoff lectured from 1955 till 1959.

### ATATURK ANTHOLOGY IN USSR

A selection from the speeches and articles of Kemal Atatürk is due to appear in Moscow this year, publisher Pavel Chuvikov told the press. The book will probably be printed in several languages. It might contain interesting source material on the Kurdish question, as the biggest Kurdish insurrection against Turkish rule (1927-1931) took place under Atatürk's administration.

### TADZHİK DICTIONARY IN 3 WESTERN LANGUAGES

The Institute for Foreign Languages and Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Tadjik Socialist Soviet Republic (Soviet Turkistan) has compiled an English-Tadjik Dictionary containing 6000 words. German and French parallels are to appear soon. They will help Western Iranists not knowing Russian. Tadjik is an Iranian language and therefore closely related to Persian, Afghan (Pushtu) and Kurdish. It is spoken

by about 4 million people, mainly in Soviet Tadjikistan and the neighbouring eastern parts of Afghan Turkistan. Whereas foreign languages' publishing was mainly concentrated in Moscow until recently, more and more non-Russian republics of the USSR are now printing in Western and Oriental languages. So a 84-page English booklet "Literature of the Azerbaijani People" appeared in Baku in August 1958.

**NEWROZ: KURDISH NEW YEAR**

The Kurds - like their Indogermanic Persian brothers - celebrate "Newroz" as New Year. Newroz (Persian: Noruz) is a typical season feast of pagan origin, like Midwinter (Yule) in Europe's Germanic north. Kurds and other Iranians, however, celebrate the first day of spring as New Year, whereas Indogermanic people farther northwest choose Midwinter as the annual highday. Newroz is celebrated by eating and drinking, singing and dancing, and by kindling big fires on Kurdistan's numerous mountain

tops. Like the Christian church did with the antique Roman New Year in mediaeval Europe, the Osmanli Turkish invaders prohibited the celebration of Newroz as being pagan and therefore incompatible with the New Religion.

So Newroz became a day of Kurdish National consciousness and resistance as well and has remained so ever since. The legend connected with Newroz, too, breathes a spirit of freedom's fight against oppression. Kave, a blacksmith, storms the palace of drunken tyrant Aydehak and his ruling clique. Aydehak's two serpents have already eaten 8 sons of Kave, who refuses to sacrifice his 9th and last one to them. He kills Aydehak with a hammer stroke. So the way is paved for Fereydfn, the just ruler, chosen by the liberated people.

The National Day of most countries was created late and more or less artificially. Kurdistan's Newroz was not. When all Kurds were to adopt the international calendar, Newroz would doubtlessly survive. Its uninterrupted tradition is older than that of January 1st. Celebrated publicly by Kurdish students in Munich, 1960, Newroz found a wide echo. This month, Kurdish and Persian students in Hannover will attend Newroz together, in Iranian brotherhood.

DRUCKSACHE  
 PRINTED MATTER  
 IMPRIME  
 DRUKWERK



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*Mr. Peze  
 Prof. Dr. Thomas Poes O.P.  
 Carmel St. Joseph  
 Rue Verdun  
 Beyrouth / Liban*



12 MAY 1951

# KURDISH FACTS AND WEST-ASIAN AFFAIRS



Mr. Ibrahim AHMED (right) has gone underground in order to avoid being arrested by General Qassim's Military Government. The Secretary-General of the "Democratic Party Kurdistan in Iraq" and Editor-in-Chief of its (suppressed) daily "Khebat" is shown in happier days here. He is talking to Mr. Ismet Sherif Vanly, President of the "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe", who lives in Lausanne, Switzerland. For details, see: "Inside Kurdistan".

INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN

الدوليه جمعيتة كورستان

REKXRAWI CĤANI KURDISTAN

ಕರ್ತವಿಶ್ವ ಕರ್ತವಿ ಕುರ್ದಿಸ್ತಾನ

PERHIMPUNAN INTERNASIONAL KURDISTAN

SOCIEDAD INTERNACIONAL KURDISTAN

MIRDZYNARODOWE TOWARZYSTWO DLA SPRAW KURDYSTANU

KURDÜSTAN MİLLETLERARASI KURUMU

국제협회 "쿨디스탄"

SOCIETÀ INTERNAZIONALE KURDISTAN

INTERNATIONAAL GENOOTSCHAP KOERDISTAN

INTERNATIONALA FÖRENINGEN KURDISTAN

國際聯合會顧依斯坦

SOCIETÈ INTERNATIONALE KURDISTAN

نھاریه بین المللی کورستان

MEĐUNARODNO DRUŠTVO KURDISTAN

МЕЖНАРОДНОЕ ОБЩЕСТВО КУРДИСТАН

SOCIEDADE INTERNACIONAL KURDISTAN

INTERNATIONALE GESELLSCHAFT KURDISTAN

ケリキスグン 國際協會

# IN - Mail - OUT

## AFRO-ASIAN BEWILDERMENT - AND SOLIDARITY

"Your Bulletin "Kurdish Facts and West Asian Affairs" was presented to us by Kurdish friends here. They assured us that your Bulletin is a real picture of what has happened and is still going on in Kurdistan. We are surprised by the treatment Kurdish people get from the governments occupying their divided country. Therefore we wish you a rapid success in achieving the noble task that you are defending and we can assure you of the success as you are defending a just cause and we can see that the Kurdistan people have given thousands of sacrifices and is determined to sacrifice for its freedom and unification. We like to express our sympathy and support for the Kurdish nation and wish them a peaceful success in their struggle."

("Association des Etudiants Afro-Asiatiques", Besançon, France)

THE EDITOR hopes that ever more Afro-Asian students will join ISK to help divided, oppressed and underdeveloped Kurdistan. The first acts of solidarity shown by Afro-Asians studying abroad are most encouraging to both Kurds and ISK. Let us go on in this way!

## TELLING THE WORLD

"There is no dispute that our people as a whole throughout Kurdistan will value your co-operation and efforts for letting the world know about the untold conditions of the Kurdish People of the Middle East."

(S.D., Kurdish student, London)

## PRAISE ACROSS THE CHANNEL

"KURDISH FACTS: Excellent, lively, tremendous important, interesting and well-arranged."

(H.J., Editor, London)

(Sorry we cannot blush any more, Ed.)

## REALISM AND FAITH

"I am convinced that in our struggling way we shall meet many and many great difficulties but those difficulties will strengthen our struggle more and more for realising our noble aim."

(R.S., Kurdish student, Bucarest, Rumania)

## PEN-FRIENDSHIP WITH KURDS

"Could one get into touch with some Kurds directly and exchange letters with them? And if this is possible, how can one set about it?"

(Miss T.B., Økern, Norway)

We think this is a fine idea of our new Norwegian friend. Kurds who want pen-friends and people who like to become one can apply to ISK.

## NETHERLANDS-TURKISH SOCIETY ON KURDS

A fortnight after the article on Turkish-Kurdistan had appeared in the Dutch daily "Trouw" (see "Kurdish Facts" of March) the paper published the following reader's letter from engineer B. Stephan, former adviser to the Turkish Ministry of Defence in Ankara and chairman of the Netherlands-Turkish Society: "The article 'Turkey one large prison for Kurds' in your issue of March 10th bears the character of exaggeration which is always found when minorities express their discontent.

The Kurds form a very annoying minority indeed in the five countries where they have their domiciles, annoying especially because of their fanaticism, lack of discipline and their rebelliousness, characteristics which often bring them into conflict with the country's authorities. It is also clear from those characteristics that in such conflicts with this still primitive, extremely war-minded tribe the authorities in question often have to act strictly and forcefully. That the Kurdish professor Dr Bedir Chan feels he must express a complaint about this can be considered as his right and it is certainly not my aim to attack him on that account.

But real inaccuracies in the article must be disproved, because they give a distorted picture by their exaggeration. So - for instance - 6 million Kurds in Turkey are spoken of, but this is three or four times the real number. They form no more than 7 or 8% of the population. Equally incorrect is the statement that 80% of the Turkish legion in Korea was formed by Kurds, though it is true there were some Kurds in the legion. One of the most striking errors concerns the Turkish Chief of Government, General Gürsel.

During the Kurdish Insurrection of 1936/38, which was harshly suppressed indeed, an insurrection which took place 23 to 25 years ago, the present general Gürsel was still a major or a lieutenant-colonel and thus could not possibly be the commander of the fourth Turkish Army, which - incidentally - did not exist at that time. I shall not discuss what is true of the story about the execution of the death-sentence on 481 rebellious Kurds, but want to point solely to the clear incorrectness with regard to the present Turkish chief of state.

Dr Emir Bedir Chan seems to have visited Turkey not at all or very seldom during the last years and still seems to work on old recollections. It is for this reason that he prefers to ignore - if he knows them at all - the remarkable results reached by the successive Turkish governments' policy of gradual turkification of the Kurds (among others by moving prominent Kurds with their families to domiciles in a fully Turkish surrounding and by the influence of the Turkish military service on Kurdish soldiers returning to their villages). In spite of that this very successful policy is the only realistic solution of the "Kurdish Question", though one might perhaps deplore this from an ethnological point of view."

## "INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN"

### ANSWERS STEPHAN

On April 10th, 1961, the Protestant daily "Trouw" of Amsterdam carried the following answer to Ir. B. Stephan - written by S. E. van Rooy on behalf of the Kurdish nation and ISK:

"The reader's letter of Ir. Stephan in "Trouw" of 24. III. 1961 on account of your courageous article on Turkish Kurdistan of 10. III. 1961 leads us to the following remarks:

Denationalisation of a nation or of part of a nation against the people's will can never be a democratic solution for a nationality-question.

It is therefore with painful bewilderment that we took note of the fact that a Dutchman believes he must openly praise the policy of systematic turkification of the East-Anatolian Kurds pursued by the Turkish government up till now.

Ir. Stephan is doing his Turkish friends an ill service in this. Real friends point out to each other their faults and a government which is systematically driving millions of its subjects into the arms of its regime's inner and outer enemies does not act cleverly at all.

The Kurds in Turkey can only then be expected to take a loyal attitude towards the Turkish government when the latter - in return - shows by acts that it is prepared to respect the rights of the Kurds.

The success of the British Celtic policy (autonomy, bi-lingual two-school-system etc.) and of a nationalities-republic like the Swiss one, which would be defended against any attack whatsoever by all its citizens as one man, proves that democratic solutions of nationalities-questions are in the interest of all involved and by no means as impossible or undesirable as general Gürsel (who blandly denied the existence of Kurds in

Turkey last summer) tries to make other countries believe. Your revelations about the guilt of general Gürsel in the violent death of 481 Kurds in 1938 Mr. Stephan obviously cannot deny conclusively and his disguised question whether Dr. Bedir-Khan has been in Turkey during the last years is really disgusting, as the questioner is in a position to know that this Kurdish scientist and fighter for freedom was sentenced to death by the Turks by default already in 1919, because of his Kurdish patriotic activities.

By not fulfilling the duties she took on at the Lausanne Peace Treaty of 1923 with regard to her Kurdish compatriots, the Turkish government is in a position of flagrant violation of treaty since dozens of years, not to speak even of the Convention on Human Rights also signed by her.

As with sound relations between Turks and Kurds there are not only West-Asiatic but also wider international interests involved and as freedom is something indivisible which can only be realized and defended by common effort, our Society thinks it justified when world opinion starts occupying itself with the sad fate of the Kurds in Turkey.

Exactly as when an almost inestimable service to the Jews but also to the Germans would have been rendered if international pressure had in time put a stop to Hitler's anti-Semitic policy, so an effective incitement of the Turks towards a more democratic Kurdish policy might now prevent many a serious thing. In this connection it is not to be forgotten that the Turkish colonel Kutchuk already threatened genocide against the East-Anatolian Kurds. This is a statement which causes horror and fear in every decent human being and for this reason our Society shall leave no legal means unused to help prevent such a massacre. "

# THE KURDOSCOPE



- IRAQI KURDISTAN:** "Democratic Party Kurdistan in Iraq" frozen / Its cadres arrested or gone underground / Party dailies "Khebat" and "Kurdistan" suppressed / Qassim attends 'Newroz' with Persians instead of with Kurds / Barsani back in Barzan / Anniversary of Kurdish Uprising of 1925 celebrated.
- PERSIAN KURDISTAN:** Pan-Iranist, anti-Semitic and anti-Turkic leaflet distributed by Government agents among Kurds / Kurdish-Persian student solidarity abroad / Kurdish underground in Iran carries on.
- TURKISH KURDISTAN:** Turks ban import of I. S. K. 's Bulletin - and of Bible / Dutch-Turkish polemics on Kurds.
- SYRIAN KURDISTAN:** Improvement of fate of Kurdish prisoners reported from Damascus.
- GENERAL:** Kurdish refugees get Lebanese citizenship / Nasser's prestige growing among Iraqi Arabs / New Kurdish Bible translation considered / Growing activities against I. S. K. by opponents / Iranian "National Front" gains momentum at home and abroad / Shah seeking Soviet support for his régime.

# INSIDE KURDISTAN

## ASSIMILATION OR EMANCIPATION - A HOT DEBATE

It was all in the air in March - not only Spring, but also danger for the Kurds and their Party in Iraq. Baghdad's "Al-Thaura" (= "Revolution"), an Arab paper, openly advocated the idea of assimilating Kurds into Arabs. As soon as the article had appeared, the "Democratic Party Kurdistan in Iraq" launched a counter-offensive.

Whereas "Al-Thaura" was attacked sharply, readers' letters poured in by the dozen and Cabinet Ministers were interviewed on the subject. Brigadier Fuad Arif, Minister of Agriculture, and Colonel Fadil Abbas el-Mahdawi, and Labor & Settlement Minister Hassan Rifat all condemned "Al-Thaura"'s plan sharply in "Khebat" of March 2nd, 1961. On the 5th, it carried protestations by Mustafa Ali, Minister of Justice, Dr. Talaat al-Shibani, Minister of Planning and Maj. Majid Muhammed Amin, military attorney general. Dr. Shibani called it fascist and anti-constitutional. In the left bottom corner on the frontpage, "Khebat"'s 'leader' on the subject of 2 days before was reprinted. Next day, another minister, Rashid Arif, told "Khebat" that assimilation of Kurds was contrary to the Iraqi Revolution's aims and Dr. Gamal Shafik of the Ministry of Labour and Settlement made a similar statement. A press review showed protests from the following Arab papers against assimilation of the Kurds: "Al-Takadum" ("Progress"), "Al-Istiqlal" ("Independence") and "Al-Siyasi el-Jadid" ("The New Politician"). Among those on "Khebat"'s frontpage of the 7th (all still protesting) was Kurdish professor Alaudin of Baghdad university. Readers' letters filled less prominent columns of the Party's paper. But the same issue carried news on the arrest of DPKiI-officials. Inviting all democratic persons, bodies and institutions of the country to join the protest movement, "Khebat" of the 8th wondered about the silence of "Al-Bayan", organ of the "Progressive National Party". Eight days later, an "Al-Bayan" editorial phlegmatically declared that "Al-Thaura" did not represent any special group and that "exaggerations" could never cement Arab-Kurdish brotherhood.

## IRAQ'S "DEMOCRATIC PARTY KURDISTAN" IS FROZEN

To be sure, the DPKiI had shown its ability to mobilize not only Kurdish but also Arabic public opinion in Iraq in favour of the Kurdish cause. Its support was undeniable and so was the democratic character of its views on the Kurdish problem. The string put around the Party's neck became tighter and tighter, however. There was the warrant of arrest against DPKiI-Secretary General Mr. Ibrahim Ahmed (see previous issue). Mr. Ahmed went underground for his own security, in spite of the warrant being countermanded. And on March 15th, "Khebat" had other troubles than replying to the late "Al-Bayan" editorial. Now solidarity acts were requested on behalf of the Party itself. Of the "Central Committee" 5 men were under arrest at that time and most of the local leaders (as in

Mosul, Aqrah, Dukuk and Salahuddin) shared their fate. "Khebat" spoke of "a campaign of harrassment" to which DPKiI was "exposed" and said the arrest of practically all the higher cadres clearly aimed at "freezing" the Kurdish Party.

Still supporting Qassim and the Iraqi Revolution, "Khebat" made ancien régime-minded people and feudalists responsible for what happened to Iraqi Kurds and their Party. But CC members like Omar Mustafa, Salih al-Yusefi, Ali Hamdi, Hashim Al-Akrawi and Ahmed Abdullah were - after all - not arrested by Nuri-es-Said followers of feudal clansmen, but by Iraqi police. And every new issue of "Khebat" after March 15th carried fresh facts on arrests, and forced re-settlements of Kurdish activists into Iraq's Arabic part. Meanwhile, Ramadan, the Islamic month of fasting was nearing its end: Id al-Fitr.

## QASSIM ON NON-ARAB IRAQIS

General Qassim, Iraqi Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief, addressed the officers' club in Baghdad on Saturday morning, March 18th, 1961. It was the first day of Id al-Fitr. Iraqi Unity was the Leitmotiv of the Leader's long speech. He warned the officers to "beware of disunity and intrigue" and advised them to "be on the alert for every intriguer, slanderer and dissenter. We the sons of the triumphant Iraqi people - Arabs, Kurds, Turkmans and other fraternal minorities in this homeland - all become fused with devotion and patriotism". Then he repeated: "Beware of disunity and the intrigue of imperialism".

Whereas the wave of arrests of Kurdish Party leaders was going on and on, Qassim assured his listeners "that the sons of the people from among the brave Arabs, noble Kurds, brotherly Turkmans and other minorities --- all form the triumphant Iraqi people and stand as an impregnable barrier against every ranksplitter. He who splits the ranks is an infiltrator among the sons of the people". Imperialism, Qassim revealed "is making attempts and has glowing dreams of someday returning to this country through its despotic forces or through its stooges". What kind of imperialists were meant and who were considered to be their tools Qassim did not tell his listeners. The brotherhood between the nationalities of the Iraqi Republic was a constantly returning theme in the Leader's long speech. "Partnership among Arabs, Kurds and other fraternal loving minorities --- shall never be divisible" he stressed and then gained applause after saying: "With these minorities we share the same homeland for thousands of years".

## A WEEK FULL OF FEASTS

Officially, it was a week full of feasts for all Iraq. After Id Al-Fitr, Ramadan's end on the 18th, there was "Treeday" on

Right: Kurdish girl from Baghdad



the 21st, then Kurdish "Newroz". The 24th "Freedom Day", celebrated Iraq's withdrawal from the Baghdad Pact in 1959. Finally, on Saturday the 25th, offices etc. were closed too because of the Al-Hurriah day.

But in Iraqi Kurdistan no licences were given by the authorities to celebrate Kurdish New Year. In Baghdad it was possible. Party Leader Barzani not coming out into the open and Secretary General Ibrahim Ahmed already having gone underground, Sayid Jalal Al-Talabani of the DPKil Politbureau delivered the Newroz speech. He had just returned from Vienna and Moscow, having visited the latter city with an engineers' delegation.

Leader Qassim, who had spent every Newroz amidst his Kurdish subjects since the Revolution, went to the Noruz reception of the Shah's ambassador Sayid Abbas Aram this time. He spent 30 minutes at the Iranian Embassy in the morning of the 22nd. It was somewhat like the symbol of a turning tide.

Next day, "Khebat" carried the text of Talabani's speech instead of the normal editorial. In the same issue there was a telegram from the World Federation of Democratic Youth in Budapest.

#### AT HOME AND ABROAD

Still unaware of what was rapidly happening at home in Kurdistan, Kurdish students in Europe celebrated "Newroz" in several cities (so London, Besançon, Hannover, Praha, etc.) mostly in company of Persian, Western and other friends. On March 17th, 22 Kurdish students had heard Nuri Shawez in Bonn. The DPKil-Politbureau member was on a round-Europe trip that brought him to Moscow, Vienna, Munich, Bonn and the Benelux countries. On March 28th, he flew home, reportedly at an earlier date than he had originally planned.

On the same day, the last issue of "Khebat" and of the Kurdish party daily in Kurdish "Kurdistan" appeared. An order of the Military Governor of Iraq (Abdi) silenced both organs and with that - to a very large degree - the "Democratic Party Kurdistan of Iraq" itself. The second phase of the Iraqi Republic's Kurdish policy was over. The third one had begun. So the first week of the Kurdish year 2573 became a noteworthy one. What would be Qassim's next move with the Kurds?

#### BARZANI BACK IN BARZAN: QUIZ CAUSED QUIZ

Four days after the Beyrouth daily "Al-Nahda" had published an interview with Kurdish Party leader Mullah Mustafa al-Barzani, "Khebat" reprinted it on February 24th, 1961. Asked the "1000 dollar question" whether he aimed at an independent Kurdistan or not, Barzani said he wanted the Kurdish legitimate aspirations to be realized without affecting the "existence and integrity of the Iraqi Republic". He dwelt extensively on Kurdish-Arab friendship in Iraq and severely criticized imperialism in general and Turkish and Persian policies in Kurdistan in particular. He even went so far as to suggest to the Arab leaders "to consider the National Kurdish Movement as a part of their own Movement". The interview took place in Baghdad, to which Barzani is said to have returned after his second - 4 months' - sojourn in the Soviet Union. From Baghdad Barzani

reportedly went to his native Barzan, where he has surrounded himself with a bodyguard of reliable fellow-tribesmen. It is from Barzan that Barzani took the lead of the 1942 Kurdish uprising, starting point of his stormy career as a Kurdish Leader. What struck hardest was Barzani's return to Iraq in a period in which Qassim's government clearly tries to liquidate the "Democratic Party Kurdistan in Iraq". Abroad, there were many rumours about Barzani's return too. Some denied he had returned to Iraq at all, others linked up his name with alleged Iraqi plans to put up a possible counter-weight to potential consequences of an eventual second phase of the so-called "Operation 'Kurdaz'", still others told the exact reverse. Kurdish dynamics were - as usual - a grateful topic for political speculations of all kinds.

#### TURKS BAN ISK-BULLETIN

Turkish authorities try and return every ISK-bulletin coming in by mail. In some other West-Asian countries ISK-literature meets with similar obstacles, but nowhere with such consequent severity. Readers fearing to get into trouble when receiving "Kurdish Facts" are requested to inform ISK who will then use special methods of despatch.

#### PAN-IRANIAN PROPAGANDA AMONG KURDS

Agents of the Shah are distributing a 13-page propaganda-leaflet among the Kurds in the Persian-Iraqi border region. The leaflet is in Persian and Kurdish and advocates Pan-Iranism. The historical role of the "Aryan" peoples and their successful struggle against the Semitic and Turkic peoples is traced back till the days of the Assyrian Empire's collapse.

In spite of improving diplomatic relations between Iran and Iraq, Kurds are invited to join the "Iranian Fatherland", thus liberating themselves from the Semitic (read: Arabic) rule they now have to endure.

But like Russian Pan-Slavism, Hitler's Pan-Germanism and Nasser's Pan-Arabism, the real meaning of the pamphlet is not the brotherhood between ethnically and culturally kindred peoples, but the hegemony of the strongest nation within the "ism" in question; here: the Persians (Farzi).

Whereas expansion is sought for the Iranian Empire with "racist" arguments, there is no talk of letting the Shah's Turkic Azerbaijanis and Turkmens join say a Turkic community, nor of ceding Iranian "Arabistan" (the Abadan district) to a "Semitic" or (Pan-)Arab Union. This shows that the all-Iranian unity advocated in the Shah's propaganda leaflet is just Persian imperialism and nothing more. But for issuing and distributing the leaflet there were additional and obvious reasons.

Kurds in predominantly "Semitic" Iraq, where they enjoy far more liberties than their kinsmen in "Iranian" Persia, point out the fact that the Shah started his Kurdish propaganda only after the Kurds gained considerable freedom in the new Iraq of General Kassem. On March 3rd, 1961, "Khebat" attacked the Iranian Prime Minister's statement to "The New York Times" of some months ago that all Kurds feel Iranian and that Persian is their mother tongue. Arguing an increase of



Kurdish liberties in the Iraqi Republic, the Kurdish party daily recommended full execution of article Nr.3 of the Republic's Provisional Constitution.

#### JAILED SYRIAN KURDISH LEADERS: A BETTER FATE

All previous issues of this bulletin carried sad news on the jailed leaders of the underground "Democratic Party Kurdistan in Syria". But here is a translated passage of a letter written in Damascus on March 11th by a Kurdish lady whose family has a long record of Kurdish patriotic activity in all sectors of life. The lady in question visited Dr. Nureddine Zaza in prison.

"Dr. Zaza and Mejid (Hadjo, Ed.) were sentenced to one year. Seven months they already spent. Three months will be deducted (which means a quarter of the total sentence) because of their good conduct (in prison, Ed.). So two months are still remaining, ending on May 19th, 1961. The others have been sentenced to 18 months. Osman Sabri (the poet, see Prof. Stig Wikander's "Recueil de Textes Kourmandji", Uppsala, 1958, Ed.) have been bereft of their civil rights.

All have been transported from the military prison "Mezza" into the civil prison. Their attitude is very fine and they were treated well. "

The Editor is glad to have some good news on Dr. Zaza and his companions at last, especially as there is much anxiety among his old university comrades in the Swiss town of Lausanne (see: "Protest Calendar" in this issue). There were even rumors of death sentences.

#### JEWISH VOICE ON KURDS IN CHANGING IRAQ <sup>x</sup>

Returning to Iraq after having toured Iran and the Gulf states for a long time, the correspondent of the "Jewish Observer and Middle East Review" found the Republic of General Qassim full of changes. Pro-Baath-Party, pro-Nasser and anti-Communist officers are rapidly gaining influence, the correspondent feels. "Popular feeling is", he adds "most decidedly against the Russians". Baghdad Military Governor Colonel Abdi is pictured by the "Jewish Observer etc." as "the spearhead" of the "anti-communist offensive" and "How close Abdi is to the Baath" is "a question a lot of people would like to have answered".

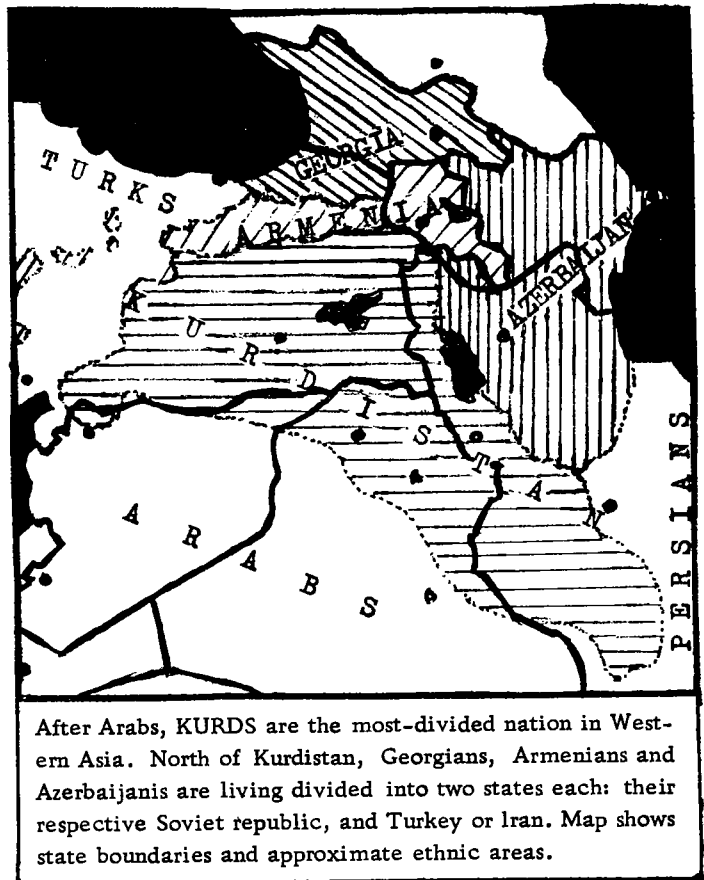
With the Kurds in Iraq the correspondent deals extensively: "One element that cannot be overlooked is the Kurds. They are no longer an indirected minority not quite knowing what they want and still less how to go about getting it. In the past year they have gained a new and obvious confidence. "

Some errors appear in the following quotation from the "Jewish Observer and Middle East Review" on the subject:

"The further you penetrate into Kurdish territories, the more pronounced does this Kurdism become. They are now using their own language on the official administration of their part of the country. Kurdish literature written in Latin characters can be found in the remotest villages, most of it edited by Russians. The language is being taught by young Kurds under the supervision of elders who have spent some time receiving pedagogic instruction in the Soviet Union. "

As a matter of fact, the Latin alphabet for Kurdish was dropped

x cf. O.M.O., 1961, no 11, 17 mars, p. 7.



in the USSR in 1945 and all Kurdish books and papers in Iraq are published in Arabic characters. Iraqi Kurdistan has a stock of home- (not: Soviet-)trained teachers and apart from that nearly all Kurdish literature in Iraqi is in Sorani, not in the Kurmanji dialect used by Soviet, Turkish and Syrian Kurds. That the Jewish correspondent is not quite familiar with the linguistics of Iraq's co-nationalities may be deduced from the fact that he describes "Turcoman" as "a highly specialised form of Turkish".

On the potential Kurdish "Piedmont" in Iraq the correspondent says:

"The Kurdism of the Kurdish lands is now such that Kassem does not even try to impose Arab administrators on them, and even the army unities (quite different from his practice in the south) are drawn from the local populace. At the same time, he cannot be unaware of the growing determination of the Kurds to secure their autonomy. "

Obviously unaware of the repeated measures of the Military Authorities of Qassim against leaders of the "Democratic Party Kurdistan in Iraq", the Jewish weekly says that Qassim "can --- not tackle the Kurds" because of what it calls "the cooperation between Kurdish nationalist leaders and the Russians". No details about this "cooperation" are given, however. But the article is full of such indications. Here is one on China: "People in Baghdad know little of what is going on in the Kurdish part of the country. Sulimaniya, the 'capital' of the determined Kurds, is as far away from Baghdad in the news sense as is China. Indeed, within certain Baghdadi circles, China is much nearer. "



# WEST-ASIAN AFFAIRS

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## IRAN'S NEW PREMIER ON POLICY

On March 12th, Prime Minister Jafar Sharif Emami introduced his new Cabinet to the Majlis, the Shah's parliament. Explaining his policy he showed optimism on Iraqi-Iranian relations and announced that he would go to Moscow "to do away with all misunderstandings with the Soviet Union". Since Western confidence in both the character and the stability of the Shah's regime is clearly declining, the Persian Emperor seems to be determined to keep on, even be it with Soviet backing. Already in his recent memoirs (their political echo falls far short of the Shah's expectations) the ruler expressed his belief that the USSR could and would be a correct political partner of his (feudal) regime.

## IRAQI SECURITY LEADERS VISIT THE WEST

3 weeks were spent in Britain by a number of security directors from Iraq in February. They were received by Mr. Crawford, the Foreign Office's assistant Under-Secretary and said the sojourn had been much to their benefit. To USA went Qassim's Director of Military Intelligence, Colonel Muhsin al Sayid Hadi al-Rafaie. He was accompanied by Colonel Sa'doun Awni Al-Madfai, who is the Secretary of Iraq's Military Government and Chief-of-Staff, ("Iraq Times", March 3rd, 15th, 1961.)

## TUDEH PARTY'S CC PRAISING WESTERN SECURITY

Praise of personal security in the democratic West, seldom heard from pro-Communist speakers, was spent by radio "Peyk-e Iran" of East-Berlin, on February 7th, 1961. Via this "Messenger of Iran" the exiled Central Committee of the Tudeh Party broadcasted at 15.00 h. GMT a statement to Iranian students abroad, in Persian. Referring to the oppression of the student strike at home, it said: "It is true that the Security Organisation has stretched its sanguinary clutches out to reach you. But even so many possibilities for struggle remain open to you. At any rate the bullets of the Shah's gunmen cannot reach you as far as Europe and America, and conditions in Europe and America do not permit them to treat you like those students in Iran. Make use of those possibilities".

## FIRE ARMS LAW IN IRAQ

According to the Iraq "Fire Arms Law" No.4, of 1961, and subsequent instructions, all Iraqi citizens are bound to "report to the authorities concerned for obtaining licences for fire arms, wounding weapons and souvenir weapons or weapons of antiquity" before May 26th, 1961. Offenders will be liable to penalties". (Source: Statement of Brigadier Ahmad Mohammed Yahya, Minister of the Interior of Iraq.)

## "ARTIFICIAL BORDERS" BETWEEN ARABS CRITICIZED

A cultural delegation from the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan spent 7 days in Iraq. When saying farewell to Brigadier Ismail al-Arif, Qassim's Education minister on Thursday morning, March 23rd, 1961, then heard Arif say: "Artificial borders between Arab brothers are only imaginary lines which will soon disappear before the strength of the brotherly ties which bring Arab brothers together on one level". 5 weeks before, General Qassim himself made a similar cryptic remark (see "KF" Nr. 4, p. 6).

## IRANIAN SECURITY CHIEF GOES

After the nation-wide student strike in Iran, the Shah dismissed his Security Chief, general Bakhtiar. The general, who had powerful enemies, was also in charge of most of the Shah's so-called "Kurdish policy". Successor as leader of the "Savak" is Hassan Pakravan.

## 12.000 POLITICAL PRISONERS IN IRAN

12.000 people are under arrest for political reasons in Iran. During the student strike reported on in "Kurdish Facts" ' previous issue, 1200 students were arrested by the Persian police. The exact number of Kurds out of both totals is not known.

## NASSER - AS SEEN BY LAQUEUR

Reviewing Harry Ellis's book "Challenge in the Middle East", West-Asia-expert Walter Z. Laqueur criticizes the former's thesis that "support for Nasser is the best way to stop the Communists". Remembering Suez, anti-Communist Laqueur says: "If the main aim of the West should be to strengthen Nasser, Britain and France, paradoxically enough, have done more towards that end than the American well-wishers of Nasser". Dwelling on the latter's present political position, Laqueur stresses that "there is not the slightest doubt that Nasser's prestige has slipped since 1957 - not only among the Middle-Eastern governments, but also among the Arab peoples, including the population of the northern section of the UAR". ("The New Leader", New York, February 27th, 1961.)

## LITTLE SUPPORT FOR GUERSEL-JUNTA?

Wrote "Nieuw Europa", monthly of the Dutch Europe-Movement in its March 1961 issue: "that --- the revolutionary committee finds little or no support among the masses of the agrarian population".

## IRAN: TO INVEST OR NOT?

The Student Committee of the Iranian "National Front" in Munich-Germany, warned Germans not to waste tax-money

# ON RECORD

## QASSIM ON ORIGIN OF ARABS AND KURDS

General Qassim's speech of February 20th, 1961, before the third Congress of the Teachers' Union of Iraq, was already quoted in our previous issue. It contains, however, some remarks also worth quoting, because they give the Leader's theories on the history of the Arabs and the Kurds, the chief nationalities of his Republic. Qassim's words are taken from the official text of his speech, published by the Iraqi News Agency the same day. They are presented underneath - without comment (Editor).

"Free Arabs have their origin and home in Iraq. They set out from Iraq to Yemen whence they scattered throughout the Arab Peninsula. So did our brother Adnanites and they mixed with each other. Iraq, firstly and lastly, is the home of Arabism, and the home of liberals (applause).

Sisters and brothers,

The Semite languages - foremost of which is Arabic - including Babylonian, Caldean, Assyrian, Phoenician, Ethiopian, Hebrew and others, all have one mother language. The Arab Language has served these languages, and the Arabic Language has its origin and home in Iraq (applause). Study, sisters and brothers, and follow up ancient history and you will find that what immortalized the other languages is Arabic.

I will explain to you why our brother Kurds are called by this name (applause). This name derives from the titles of courage bestowed upon the Kings of Assur and Babylonians, such as Sinharib, Sargon and others. A warrior was given the title of a brave warrior by giving him the name of Kurdu (applause). With the advent of Islam, these became fused with the army of the Moslems and went out on Islamic conquests. They are (of the old inhabitants of Iraq (applause).

We struggle for the sake of Arabism (applause). We struggle for the sake of Arabism as a doctrine that flows in our blood, and do not follow ostensible fronts. Ostensible fronts are what destroy the prestige of Arabism and destroy the bringing to-



## THIS YEAR WITH PERSIANS:

Iraq's Qassim celebrating Newroz with Kurds in 1960. Behind him hangs picture of mythic Kurdish hero Kawa ready to slay tyrant with his hammer.

gether of ranks and disrupt them. I have told you that Arabism has its home and origin in Iraq (applause).

We have assisted the Arab people and assisted our brother Kurds. We are always and ever a support for you. The Arabs and Kurds have merged together in fighting the crusaders. Salah Eddin Al-Ayubi (Sultan Sa'adin, Ed.) set out from Iraq with the army of Arabs and Moslems and fought the imperialists and those who oppressed Palestina at that time. "

on an "incapable and corrupt Government" in Iran, misusing it for other purposes. Stressing the urgent need of "development and construction help" for their country, the Persian students nevertheless suggested a political and economic boycott of the present regime. Found the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" of April 17th, 1961: "The present economic and political situation of Iran is resembling that of 1950, when the West and especially the United States, made further financial support of Iran depend on economic, social and political reforms". The paper reminded its readers of America's refusing further aid to the Shah when he visited the USA then. The Frankfort daily also expressed doubts on economic results of Prime Minister Emami's April mission to Moscow.

## NEW PARTY IN IRAN

Among the new political parties in Iran is an "Iranian League of Socialists of the National Movement", led by Khalil Maleki. Maleki led 4 Shah-supported groups before, all aiming at splitting opposition fronts. He also approached the "National Front", which tries to coordinate Iranian opposition and is both anti-Shah and anti-Tudeh. Asked by "National Front" leaders about his financial sources Maleki confessed his official backing. He is now busily trying to get international recognition as "the" Socialist Party of Iran. "National Front" is doing the same. It looks upon the Maleki Party as a rank-splitter in the opposition movement. The "National Front" is pro-Mossadegh.

# HISTORY

## ANNIVERSARY OF 1925 UPRISING CELEBRATED

The 36th anniversary of the Kurdish insurrection in the Mosul area was celebrated in Iraqi Kurdistan on March 8th, 1961. "Khebat" dedicated nearly one of its daily 4 pages to the event. It was exactly three weeks before the paper was suppressed by the Kassim regime. Quoted at length was Lucien Rambout's "Les Kurdes et le Droit" (Ed. du Cerf, Paris, 1947) and so was India's Pandit Nehru.

The Kurdish revolution of 1925 coincided with diplomatic negotiations on the future of the Mosul 'vilayet'. The Turks, who had risen successfully against foreign victors, wanted to keep it. They claimed an area even exceeding Iraqi Kurdistan. Atatürk's representatives assured the West in Lausanne that the Islamic minorities "were quite satisfied with their fate under Turkish rule". The British (whose "South Kurdistan Force" had crushed the Kurdish State of Sheikh Mahmoud in 1919) were in favour of attaching the Mosul area to Iraq. This State was one of the Arab Kingdoms British agents had helped to set up on former Ottoman territory, in cooperation with Hashemite princes. But the Mosul area had been promised to France as "zone of influence" together with Syria-Lebanon already in 1916.

The third point of view was taken by the League of Nations. It had sent an investigation committee into this part of Kurdistan, and suggested a League of Nations Mandate for 25 years, with 100% autonomy for the Kurds. Hungary's statesman Paul Teleki was chairman of the Committee. Having been educated in the former Danubian Dual Monarchy, he had experience in nationalities-questions.

Discussions were still going on when the Kurdish Uprising in February-April of 1925 under the leadership of Sheikh Said Pfran convincingly proved that the Kurds were not "satisfied" with Turkish rule at all.

Sheikh Said belonged to the influential Sunni order of the Naqshbendi, still an important spiritual force among Moslem Kurds. It was founded in Turkistan, where it influenced the national liberation movement against Russian rule. On Febr. 13th, 1925, the nationalist Turkish government of Atatürk ordered the abolishment of the order's hereditary head in their orbit and this became the signal for a general uprising. In his book "Les Kurdes" (Klincksieck, Paris, 1956), Basil Nikitine maps the area of the revolution as lying roughly between the Kurdish cities of Kharpout, Diarbekir, Bitlis and Siirt. But Pakistani Sheikh A. Waheed in "The Kurds and their Country" (University Book Agency, Lahore, 1958) says: "The intimate connections of Sheikh Saed with other Kurdish Aghas made it a mass revolt of almost all the Kurdish tribes against Turkey and within a short time the thirteen Eastern vilayets (districts) in which the Kurdish population predominated were in a state

of revolt". Prof. Dr. C. Brockelmann says the same in his well-known "Geschichte der Islamischen Völker" (Oldenbourg, Munich-Berlin, 1943).

Politically, Sheikh Said Pfran demanded the installation of Abdul Hamid's son Selim as Caliph and Sultan. With this demand, he stirred unrest in Turkey itself. Monarchists took over the demand and Atatürk had to introduce martial law in Istanbul, the former monarchy capital and the largest city of his own country. On March 7th, 1925, the Kurdish Liberation Army of Sheikh Said took Diarbekir. It managed to hold the town for a few days. Then Turkish forces marched in and the tide turned. According to all sources the Kurdish uprising was suppressed very cruelly during the subsequent weeks and months. After most of the Kurdish leaders had fallen in battle, resistance weakened. Sheikh Said himself was captured in June and subsequently hanged in Ankara, together with 53 of his Kurdish comrades-in-arms.

So the Turks succeeded in keeping at least a part of their once-vast colonial empire: Northern Kurdistan. Southern Kurdistan, however, came under other masters. The League of Nations' committee's recommendation of Kurdish autonomy under League mandate was voted down. In December 1925 the so-called "Brussels line" of October 1924 was accepted and thus became the present Turkish-Iraqi frontier. Like the Turks in 1920, the Iraqi Prime Minister promised in February 1926: "We shall give the Kurds their rights". In fact, Kurdish freedom fighters had contributed to enlarge Iraq by a new and valuable area. On June 5th, 1926, a British-Turkish-Iraqi Treaty finally settled the so-called "Mosul Question". In its report on the problem, the League of Nations investigation committee had said: "S'il fallait tirer une conclusion --- elle conduirait à préconiser la création d'un Etat kurde indépendant ---". On the feelings of the vilayet's population the Report remarked: "Chez les Kurdes on remarque une conscience nationale naissante qui est nettement kurde et pas irakienne". Exactly 20 years before, the famous Swedish explorer Sven Hedin had heard similar things in the village of Dajar in then Kurdish-Turkistan: "The population consists solely of Kurds. When one asks them for the name of the country they answer: 'Kurdistan'. ("Zu Land nach Indien", Vol. I, Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1910.)

It took only two years after the crushed revolution of Sheikh Said Pfran till the world heard again of active Kurdish patriotism. In 1927 several Kurdish organisations united into "Khoyboun", the party that played such an important part in the new uprising against Turkish rule of 1927-1931. Its military leader, Ishan Nuri Pasha, now lives in Teheran, where he wrote his memoirs.

# PEOPLE

## JOINED SOME ARMIES, SAW THE WORLD \*



Mr. 7

4 armies + 3 citizenships

Kurdistan being a predominantly Islamic country by tradition, Kurdish painters are still rare. But still more rare is the career of the Kurdish painter Mr. SEVEN who recently approached ISK from Sweden. Born in Turkish Kurdistan, he deserted from the Turkish Army in 1942. As a good Kurd, he took his gun with him. Then Mr. SEVEN walked from Erzerum to the Syrian border. In Lebanon, he saw asylums and prisons from the inside. The sight being pretty annoying, Mr. Seven ran away farther South, to the then-time British Mandate of Palestine. He entered his Britannic Majesty's Forces there, but deserted to the French Foreign Legion. After the outbreak of the Israeli-Arab War, he joined his fourth army, that of Israel. He was made an Israeli subject but not for long. In 1954 Mr. Seven went to the USA, where he became a citizen and studied painting at the "Art Students League of New York". His pictures show the influence of French impressionist painters, which adds another international characteristic to this roaming Kurd. Having re-crossed the Atlantic, Mr. Seven now lives and paints in Stockholm, the Swedish capital. Financial difficulties prevent him from returning to West Asia at the moment, but he sent ISK 10 dollars. He assured "Kurdish Facts" that he had always overcome his difficulties and would manage to do so again this time. His photo, shown above, was taken several years ago.

## NASSER: SPOTLIGHT ON SELF-STYLED PHARAO

The Hamburg illustrated weekly "Der Stern" (= "The Star") reported on March 26th, 1961: "Gamal Abd-el Nasser (43), Idol on the Nile, ordered to carve out the likeness of his striking features in the rocks of Djebel Margattan near Cairo. After its completion, the super-dimensional work will be flooded by numerous spotlights by night." This news seems to confirm the current opinion among Arab (and Kurdish) anti-Nasserists that the UAR president has Pharaonic aspirations.

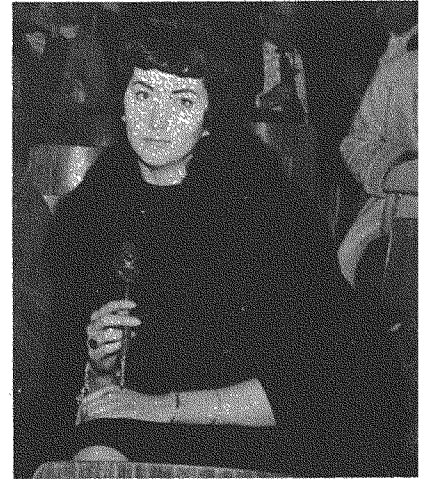
## KURDISH DISSERTATION ON IRAQI LAND DEVELOPMENT

Said Hamid, a Kurd from Iraq, is preparing a doctor's thesis in English on "Land Development in Iraq" to be defended at the University of Kiel, West-Germany. Both the Kurdish and the Arab areas of the Iraqi Republic will be dealt with. Mr. HAMID promised to "Kurdish Facts" to become its agrarian editor.

\* Mr. Wikander le comment et m'en a parlé lors de sa visite à Beyrouth, le 9 mai 1963.

## LONDON NEWROZ

Every visitor of the Kurdish Newroz in England was handed a flower this year by the Kurdish students in the United Kingdom. Here is an (unidentified) London lady who knew how to hold the gift with dignity. In several European cities Kurds celebrated Newroz together with Persians.



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# PROTEST CALENDAR

## UNITED NATIONS APPROACHED AGAIN

On March 25th, 1961, the "Délégation Kurde" of Paris sent 3 letters to the United Nations on the situation of Turkish-Kurdistan. One letter was addressed to Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, UNO's Secretary-General, one to the President of the UNO Committee on Human Rights, and one to the President of the Minorities' Commission. Mr. Hammarskjöld was asked "de ne pas --- laisser pour seule solution le recours désespéré à la violence". The "Délégation Kurde" suggested putting the Kurdish question on the agenda of one of the coming UNO Sessions and sending an investigation committee into Turkish Kurdistan, (On former "League of Nations" similar committee, see history of 1925 Uprising in this issue. Ed.)

When this number went to press, nothing was as yet known about the United Nations' reactions.

## LAUSANNE INTELLECTUALS SOLIDARITY WITH DR. ZAZA

On February 7th, 1961, eighty intellectuals, artists and students in Lausanne/Switzerland, signed a declaration on Dr. Zaza, the imprisoned Syrian Kurdish Leader, and sent it to the U.A.R. Government. Most of those who signed knew Dr. Zaza when he was still a student in Lausanne, contributing "considerably to the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist education of many young Lausanne intellectuals". The democratic ideas spread by Dr. Zaza made Lausanne a centre of pro-Algerian activities in Switzerland. In 1956, Lausanne students officially protested against the Suez invasion - now they told the U.A.R. about their anxiety about Dr. Zaza's fate, especially as no sentences had been published. This, the Lausanne intellectuals said, might harm their sympathy for the U.A.R. ("Le Peuple", the Socialist daily, carried the full text of their declaration a week later.)

# INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

## NATIONALITIES' UNION ON KURDS

The Federal Union of European Nationalities (FUEN) decided at its Munich CC session last December "not to allow the Kurds of Turkish origin to adhere to the FUEN, as their region of domicile is situated in Asia". But afterwards, the "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe" and the "International Society Kurdistan" became corresponding members of FUEN. Spring 1961, the KSSE sent 3 documents to FUEN. They have meanwhile been forwarded to all organisations belonging to FUEN and to all CC members of FUEN. Mrs. Jytte Skadegard, FUEN's secretary-general, suggests to them "to be kind enough to reconsider, after having studied these documents, whether the mentioned decision was just". She stresses "once more that all Turkey comprising Anatolia is member with full rights of the Council of Europe". The documents enclosed to the FUEN letter of April 11th, 1961, were KSSE's letters B/566 and B/567, both of February 2nd, 1960, on the situation in Persian and Turkish Kurdistan respectively, to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights; then KSSE's letter to Turkey's President and Prime Minister General Gürsel of January 15th, 1961. This communication was dealt with extensively in ISK's Bulletin of February, 1961. FUEN will hold its next Congress in Bruges (Flanders) on May 25th-28th. Receivers of the 3 documents were requested to inform FUEN of their opinion soon. Mr. Ismet Sherif Vanly, the Kurdish student leader in Europe and ISK-president Silvio van Rooy will attend the FUEN-Congress.

## WFDY-MONTHLY ON WEST-ASIA AIMS

"Weltjugend", German-language monthly of the "World Federation of Democratic Youth", published a long article on

the League's Policy for 1961 in its first issue of that year. Points were divided into 6 rubrics: "Africa" (Black Africa only), "Asia" (South-, South-East and East-Asia only), "Near and Middle East" (West-Asia & Arab-Africa), "Latin America", "Europe" and "North-America and Australia", thus agitprop prevailing over geography.

Under "Near and Middle East" neither the Iraqi Republic nor the Kurdish Nation, neither the U.A.R. nor Turkey were figuring. "Solidarity with the Youth of Iran" was recommended, however.

"Weltjugend" changed its traditional size and now appears with 96 pages of 16 x 23,5 cm. Normal subscribers received the January issue of "Weltjugend" as late as medio April, still later than is usual for WFDY publications.

## ISC AND AFRO-ASIAN STUDENT PROBLEMS

On March 20th, 1961, the Vienna correspondent of West-Berlin's anti-Communist "Tarantel Press" service had to confess about ISC: "--- the 'International Student Conference' did not care much about the students of the under-developed countries up till now. First its members are too busy with their own problems and second the organisation lacks financial means".

## INTELLIGENCE SERVICES AND ISK

Intelligence activities of 13 countries in Western, Eastern Europe and the Orient on the "International Society Kurdistan" have been spotted so far. ISK took some measures to protect itself and its Kurdish friends against too striking forms of interest from outside.

# UNIVERSITIES

## BAGHDAD UNIVERSITY: ANNIVERSARY AND PLANS

An 8-page article on the 30th anniversary of the Baghdad university was published by the French periodical "L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui". Designs of the University's new buildings were recently exhibited at Accra, the Ghanese capital. About 500 Africans are studying in Baghdad now. 'Working Drawings' for its new buildings were inspected at the Rome offices of the "Architects Collaborative International" by Sayid Fadhil Bayati, Iraqi Director General of Housing. On March 18th, 1961, Qassim said in the Baghdad Officers Club: "We have laid the foundations of the University of Baghdad so that it will serve the people everywhere - Arabs, Kurds, Turkmenians and all other fraternal and loving minorities in our country".

The plan to establish a Kurdish Academy or similar institute in Sulaimaniya (and to develop it into a University later) seems to have been dropped. The Baghdad University, however, has a Kurdish Department.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S FOREIGN STUDENTS

More than half of the ČSSR's 2.700 foreign students come from Africa, Asia or Ibero-America. Most of them got either Czech scholarships or grants from international organisations. In Mariánské Lázně and a number of other language schools foreign youngsters from 80 countries are taught Czech via English, French, Spanish, Portuguese or Arabic. The "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe" has a branch in the ČSSR too. Secretary is Mr. Ali Shaban, who studied in Vienna in the early fifties. In Czechoslovakia foreign students can complete their secondary education first, if necessary.

# students

## KURDISH BOMB-BANNERS MARCHING ON LONDON

Within the Aldermaston marching column of 10.000 young opponents of nuclear bombs, an "Observer" staff reporter remarked a group of Kurdish students. Their country was spelt "Khurdistan" twice in "The Observer" of April 2nd, 1961, and called an "out-of-the-way place". The column's target was London.

## IRANIAN STUDENTS: NEITHER PRO-SHAH NOR PRO-TUDEH

The "Federation of Iranian Students in the German Federal Republic and Berlin" sent a protest to Iranian premier Sharif Emami on March 10th, 1961. Persian government statements that the Iranian student opposition at home and abroad "was due to a well-known, non-student organisation of foreign orientation" were denied. Meant was Iran's pro-Communist Tudeh-Party, which has its exile centre in East Berlin.

The Iranian student leaders in Western Germany and Berlin, Abas Ali Geramimanesh, Mehdi Aryan and Mehdi Zarrabi demanded the re-opening of Teheran University and the release of all students arrested. Copies of the letter were sent to several organisations, newspapers and countries.

## MALTREATMENT OF DEMOCRATIC PERSIAN STUDENTS

In this Bulletin's previous issue an illustrated report was published on the protest march of Persian students in Cologne (W. Germany) who demanded "Academic Freedom in Iran". Six of them were maltreated in the dark after that, reportedly by men hired to that purpose by the Shah's Embassy in Bonn.

## KURDISH STUDENT CONGRESS IN AMSTERDAM

The Central Committee of the "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe", convening in Vienna early in January, resolved to hold the 6th Annual Congress of KSSE in Amsterdam from August 7th-14th, 1961. KSSE was invited to Amsterdam by the "International Society Kurdistan", which already started extensive preparations.

## IRAQI STUDENTS IN USSR:

### KURDISH SUPPORT SOUGHT AGAINST QASSIM

In February, when the socialist countries' drive against Qassim's anti-Communist measures reached a peak, the "League of Iraqi Students" held its second congress in Moscow university. 1500 students took part, radio Moscow told (only 779 Iraqis are student or trainee in USSR, about half of the 1500 must have been non-Iraqi). The Iraqi student organisation in the S.U. claims to include 99% of the Iraqi students studying in institutions --- in Moscow, Baku, --- and Leningrad and that it has Arabs and Kurds and other nationalities in membership". This was told by the League's president Mr. Muhammed Ali Al-Mashttah in a Moscow radio Arabic broadcast on February 11th, 1961. Speaking about the Mosul Communists sentenced to death by Qassim authorities in December the previous day he confessed: "we are deeply perturbed about the threat of our lives". Next day Mr. Mashttah said: "We will stand beside the masses of our Arab and Kurdish peoples in their efforts to advance our Republic and consolidate democracy".

The "International Union of Students" as well as its members and related organisations (GUSIR, GUIA etc.) were clearly seeking Kurdish support against Qassim's policy. It took quite a long time, however, till the USSR permitted the "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe" to open a branch in "Sovëtfstan" as the country is called in Kurdish. But now it has one, Mr. Kawuz N. Kaftan of Moscow and Leningrad being secretary.

*Sommerferien auf Texel*

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# RADIO

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## ARAB STUDENTS ASSISTING BEOGRAD RADIO

Since September 4th, 1960, Radio Beograd is broadcasting 3 Arabic programs a day. Yugoslav broadcasting in Arabic started in June, 1957, with 30 minutes daily. There are now 127 students from the Arab countries in the FNRJug, and 4 Kurds. The latter all study in Beograd, where they live in the City's centre at Bulvar Revolucija. Of the 6 Arab broadcasters of the Yugoslav radio (all Syrians), 4 are students. Another 100 students from the UAR are expected in Yugoslavia soon. (Source: Radio Beograd/Arabic, medio Feb., 1961.) Besides the FNRJ, the Balkan country most active in Arab broadcasting is Bulgaria, which also has an extensive program in Turkish. Kurdish is not yet broadcasted by either Yugoslavia or Bulgaria, though both states show an increasing interest in Kurdish affairs.

## BROADCASTS IN KURDISH: A LIST

To the best of our radio-editor's knowledge this is a complete list of all stations broadcasting in Kurdish. The hours are given in GMT:

Iraq:

Baghdad: 6030 & 3297 kc/s at 0355-0530 and 1300-1700.

Iran:

Teheran: 7030, 1340 & 1090 kc/s at 1730-1830.

Kermanshah: 1090 kc/s at 1530-1600 and 1600-1730.

Mehabad: 7983 kc/s at 1500-1530.

Meshed: 1100 kc/s at 1500-1630.

Rizaiyeh: 8040 & 100 kc/s at 1430-1545.

Sanandaj: 6725 & 920 kc/s at 1430-1600.

Tabriz: 6155 & 640 kc/s at 1500-1530.

United Arab Republic:

Cairo: 12055 kc/s at 1515-1600.

U. S. S. R.:

Erivan: 5740, 863 & 364 kc/s at 0830-0840; 5740 & 863 kc/s at 1330-1400.

# PRESS

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## KURDISH MONTHLY ON

### "INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN"

In the spring of 1960, Iraqi Kurdistan got its soon-leading monthly: "RojfNuwê", published in Sulaimanyia. It has about 100 pages per issue. The February one found international interest in Kurdish affairs increasing, due, it felt, to the activities of the "Democratic Party Kurdistan" and the "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe". Writes RojfNuwê: "This public interest in the Kurdish National Question has found its confirmation in the establishment by non-Kurds of an 'International Society Kurdistan' whose real founders are Silvio van Rooy, Lou Simonse and their Dutch comrades. The Society's aim is solely support and assistance to the Kurdish nation in its struggle for the freedom of its country.

With all our hearts we wish to congratulate this organisation's founders, who have entered upon the path of humanity and we express the hope that the number of members of this society will increase. We say our sincere thanks to all those who --- reach us their hand on the way of the Kurdish Liberation Movement and are sharing the problems of our divided and torn-up country with us. "

## IRAQ WEEKLY IN ENGLISH

INA, the Iraq News Agency, is now publishing 4 daily Bulletins in English and since Jan. 1st, 1961 a mimeographed "Iraq Weekly". It carries Arab and international news, radio and press digests from Iraq, as well as economic, agrarian and sports information, on 30 pages. No price is indicated.

## "THE MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL", WINTER 1961 (USA)

The latest issue of the above mentioned Oriental review, published by the Washington "Middle East Institute", contains an article by Douglas Ashford on the Moroccan elections, one by Ina Gendzier on Egyptian nationalism, and one by Willard Beling on Arab Labour. The latter finds that "Arab labor will certainly become more pro-Arabic sooner than pro-West" and that it is "tending towards neutrality and concern with its own and local affairs". Mr. Beling advises "the West to encourage and support Arab labor and to respect its sincerity relative to its pro-Arab and pan-African standards". A detailed chronicle of events, a document, book reviews, communications and a "Bibliography of Periodical Literature" (with publishers' addresses and subscription rates) make up for the remainder. (\$ 6, -annually.)

## "BUSTAN", HEFT 1/1961 (AUSTRIA)

Relations between the German language area and the Islamic countries are traced by Gustav Stratil-Sauer and Hans Vogel-sang. Ali Hussein Al-Wardi writes on the characteristics of the (Arab) Iraqis, Hilde Seleskowitsch on Al-Ghazali, Peter Fuchs on Sahara tribes. Literary contributions of high quality are the Coptic magic stories collected by Werner Vycichi and the poems by Christine Busta. Energy and industrial development within the Turkish republic are surveyed by Walter Hirschberg.

## DUTCH CATHOLIC PRESS ON KURDS

2 Catholic Dutch papers published long articles on Kurdistan. "De Volkskrant", a leading morning paper, spent half a page on it on April 14th, and father Olaf Hendriks' essay on the Kurds appeared in the monthly "Streven" (= "Endeavour") of March, 1961.

Both articles seem to be written several months ago. They also contain a number of minor errors. They show, however, an outspoken sympathy for the Kurdish cause. Writes "De Volkskrant" on Kurdish freedom: "An old dream must become reality". Realizes the Reverend Hendriks that Kurds are against Cento "because the Cento in its present form will never permit an independent Kurdistan".



# BOOKS

## DOCUMENTATION ON TURKEY'S POLICY TOWARDS KURDS

The "Centre d'Etudes Kurdes" in Paris has prepared a 26-page booklet under the title "La Turquie Moderne face au Kurdistan de la Turquie" ("Modern Turkey in face of Turkish-Kurdistan"). With only a few lines of comment it is giving press quotations on Turkey's Kurdish policy. The cuttings are from 16 French, 10 Turkish, 4 English and 6 other newspapers and periodicals, dating from February 2nd, 1958 to February 17th, 1961. On the cover, Turkey's General Gürsel is quoted with: "Le Peuple Kurde? Ça n'existe pas!", followed by a Kurdish proverb: "La bouche n'est pas un trou de mur, qu'on puisse fermer avec de la boue." ("The mouth is no hole in a wall you can stop with mud.")

The documentation closes with an interview with Dr. Emir Bedir-Khan: "The permanence of the Kurdish Problem", published in the Paris daily "Combat" of February 13th, 1961.

The reader of the booklet can hear both sides: that of Turkish anti-Kurds and that of the international, democratic press. The choice of articles is an objective one and nobody who wants to form his own opinion on the question can leave this documentary booklet unread. Its reviewer hopes many Turks will take the trouble to read it too and realise that an anti-Kurdish policy is not in their Republic's interest.

## GUERSEL BANS BIBLE

Turkish authorities have banned importation and distribution of the Bible. Commented the "1961 Yearbook of Jehovah's Witnesses": "Contrary to the claim and declaration of the new Government that took over, it did not restore freedom, but trampled upon it ---".

## NO FULL BIBLE IN KURDISH YET

Although the Bible or parts of it have been translated into over a thousand languages and dialects, there is no full translation of the Scriptures in Kurmanji or Sorani Kurdish as yet. The oldest Kurdish translation of a Bible section was printed in 1856 in Constantinople (now: Istanbul) by the famous "British and Foreign Bible Society". It was the Gospel of Matthew. The translation was made by an Armenian of Haineah named Stephan who had been employed by American missionaries at Diarbekr in Turkish-Kurdistan. The printing was done in characters of Asia's oldest Christian nation: Armenia, the edition being intended chiefly for the Kurdish minority there. The next year, 1857, all four Gospels were published in the same way.

In 1872, the BFBS's sister organisation ABS (American Bible Society) published the New Testament in full, again in Istanbul in Armenian script (see ill.). Translation work had been done under the direction of Mr. J. G. Bliss, who acted as the ABS' agent in the Levant. 20 years after, the fourth Kurdish Bible publication followed in Istanbul: it was Matthew's Gospel again. American missionaries supervised its renewed translation. The same ABS sponsored the Kurmanji-Kurdish edition

of the Gospels and Acts, published, once more in Istanbul, in 1911. It was translated by three Armenians: Amirkhanian, Der Ghazarian and Abalahadian. The transcription was still Armenian.

Only after World War I, which resulted in a further partition of both Kurdistan and West-Asia as a whole, the first Kurmanji-Kurdish Bible translation in Arabic transcription followed.

BFBS and ABS printed "Inçî Lûqa" (St. Luke's Gospel) and "Inçî Yuhanna" (St. John's Gospel) in cooperation. Both Bible sections appeared in New York in Arabic characters in 1919. In 1922, the Reverend H. H. Riggs brought the St. Matthew's and St. Mark's Gospels in Arabic script, and that of St. Luke a year later.

A Latin-transcribed Kurmanji-Kurdish translation of a Bible portion followed only after world war II, also in ABS-BFBS-coproduction. Solomon's Proverbs appeared as "Metholokên Hegretê Silêman" in Beyrouth in 1947 and have already been reprinted since. The same Lebanese city saw an edition of St. Luke's Gospel in Arabic and Roman characters printed in parallel columns in 1953 ("Incila Luqa. Civata Kiteba Miqe-

### ST. JOHN 3; 16

English (King James Version):

For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.

Mukri-Kurdish (1919):

چونکه خَلا دنیایی وها حَباند که کوری تاقانی خوی  
دا هتا کو هر کس که به وی ایمان بینی هلاک نبی بلا  
ژبانی ابدي بی •

Kermanshahi-Kurdish (1900):

چو خدا و فرجه عالم دوست داشت که کُرْبَنگه  
خوی دانه که ایمان باری هلاک نبی بلکم زنی دایمی داشنبوت

Kurdish (Kurmanji in Armenian characters, 1911):

Օրմա քո խօսեւ ռըսա ժը տիւնեաւ հոզ գըր,  
հոթթա քո Վոռեւ խօի երթոնտ տա. քո հոր քի քո  
սը ռի իման սլնտ' հէրք նոպտ' է' ըմրէ էպէտի  
ժէռա հոպտ.

Kurdish (Kurmanji in Latin characters):

Ji ber ko Xwedê hinde hejî dinyayê kiri bû ko kurê xwe f  
yekane da wê, heta her yekê ko baweriya xwe pê tîne  
helak ne be û xwedî jîneke hetahetayî be.

des"). This is the most recent Kurdish Bible translation the author could find. Both translations were done by Dr. K. A. Bedir-Khan, whose brother Jeladed († 1951) developed the Latin alphabet for the Kurdish language. Father Prof. Dr. Thomas Bois, of the Catholic Dominican Order, acted as an adviser for these two Kurmanji versions.

No translations exist in Sorani proper, only a few in two Kurdish dialects closely related to Sorani: Kermanshah- and Mukri-Kurdish- With a Kermanshahi edition, too, the British were first. BFBS published the St. John's Gospel in Julfa in 1894 in Persian characters. Translator was Mirza Yahia Khan, supervisor Mr. T. R. Hodgson. Six years later the 4 Gospels appeared (Tisdall CMS), translated by the Rev. W. St. Clair. He was assisted by a Kurdish convert to Christianity, Mr. Mirza Ismail of Kermanshah. Germany entered in 1909 when Pastor Dr. von Oertzen of the "Deutsche Orient Mission" published a Mukri-Kurdish translation of the St. Mark's Gospel in Arab characters at Philippolis in Bulgaria. Next year, the "British and Foreign", too, published this Bible section in Mukri-Kurdish. In 1919, the ABS (since 1872 mainly editorially responsible for Kurdish Bibles) printed the 4 Gospels in the same dialect.

The translation was done by the Rev. L. O. Fossum, a member of the United Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. He also wrote "A practical Kurdish Grammar", published in Minneapolis in the same year.

The lack of a full Kurdish Bible translation in Latin characters

is deplored by students of Kurdish as well as by Christians, be it for different reasons. The Kurdish Bible editions mentioned above are very hard to get. An offer to translate the New Testament into Kurdish (Kurmanji) in Latin characters was made recently to one of the big Bible Societies but no decision on the project has been made yet.

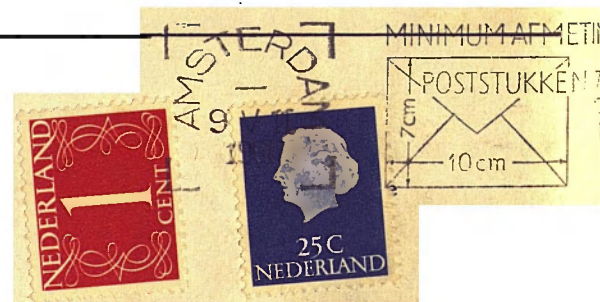
#### PROFESSOR KURDO ON SOVIET KURDOLOGY

"Khebat" of Baghdad printed a short article of Prof. Dr. Qanate Kurdo on Soviet Kurdoology on its frontpage of March 6th, 1961. Caucasus-born Leningrad professor Kurdo (as the Russianized form of his Kurdish name runs) himself plays an important part in the field, especially since he published the 34.000-words "Kurdish-Russian Dictionary"<sup>1)</sup> in July 1960.

Western readers too could read something on the subject, even without knowledge of the Russian and Kurdish languages. London's "Central Asian Review" (Vol. IX, No. 1, 1961) brought a 12-page English translation of "The Development of Soviet Kurdish Studies" by Prof. Dr. K. K. Kurdoev (= Kurdo, Ed.) in "Uchenyye Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedniya", Vol. XXV, 1960 (p. 55-67).

1) K. K. Kurdoev: "Fehenga Kurdf-Rûsf / Kurdsko-Russkii Slovar": Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo Inostrannykh i Natsional'nykh Slovaroj; Moskva, 1960, 890 p.; 14 rubel.

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8 JUN 1961

# KURDISH FACTS AND WEST-ASIAN AFFAIRS



CHILDREN'S TEARS in Turkish Kurdistan. But in this month of May, many adults in the area may weep too, as hundreds of peaceful Kurdish demonstrators have been shot down by Turkish soldiers and policemen. Army planes are roaring over the mountains of Kurdish East Anatolia. (Full story: see under 'Inside Kurdistan'.)

INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN

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جمعية كوردستان

REKXRAWÎ ÇIHANÎ KURDISTAN

सर्कारीय सभित कुर्दिस्तान

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SOCIEDAD INTERNACIONAL KURDISTAN

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Διεθνής Κοινωνία Κουρδισταν

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کوردستان

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# IN - Mail - OUT

## THREE RELUCTANT FEMALES (ON "KURDISH FACTS")

"You are doing the job so clumsily." (Miss H. O., student of Iranistics, Berlin)

"Somewhat on the chattering side. I'm more accustomed to papers like "The New Statesman", you know?" (Mrs. R. M. -R., chemical analyst from Australia)

"So primitive; so affected. And then all those exile governments." (Mrs. M. v. D., Utrecht, German-born, studied African art history and journalism)

## OLDENBURG AND AFTER - I

"During the 'Kurdish Days' --- in Oldenburg I have been made familiar with Kurdistan's situation. I must say frankly that I did not know anything about Kurdistan before; --- I can only thank you with all my heart that you organized this meeting together with the "Brücke", which gave me the opportunity to get acquainted with that country, its inhabitants and their problems. I had the opportunity to speak about the Kurdish problem with some Kurdish students and got a copy of your information paper. This periodical helped me to become still more familiar with the new things --- I heard and saw in Oldenburg. I am convinced that there are many people who do not know anything at the moment about Kurdistan and the special position of this nation, but would certainly join in protesting against the oppressive measures if they would have the opportunity to get acquainted in a similar way with the problems of Kurdistan." (Miss H. R., Oldenburg, Western Germany)

(THE EDITOR fully agrees with Miss R. and thanks her for subscribing to "Kurdish Facts". We received several letters with similar contents from Oldenburg. Since the "Kurdish Days" in the "Brücke-Haus" this North-West-German city has become a "stronghold" of ISK. We are glad to announce that "Kurdish Days" will be held again in Oldenburg in November and that preparations for such days are made in two other German cities at this moment. They'll all be announced duly in "Kurdish Facts".)

## OLDENBURG AND AFTER - II

"Do you know that the German-Turkish Society in Bonn published a short notice about the "Kurdish Days" in Oldenburg in its periodical?" (Dr. D. C., Berlin)

(To be honest, we did not, but will be glad to have the issue in question. May we take this opportunity to repeat that ISK is always thankful for ALL press cuttings concerning Kurds, Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria? Dozens of readers do already help us splendidly in this respect, but the Editor feels that far more could

be done. It does not take much time or money to forward some clippings to Amsterdam now and then but it is an enormous help to our news-staff. Translators for a great many languages are at hand, so do not be afraid too quickly that we cannot read the stuff.)

## HARD FACTS

"In the meantime I received the April issue of "Kurdish Facts"; this time there are very interesting contributions, with which certain circles will be less pleased. These contributions, however, are not of the sort or in such a form as to be called either not to the point, tendentious or imaginary. Anybody feeling it regards him had better take a good look at himself." (A. B., Federal official, Vienna, Austria)

## THE USE OF PROTESTS

"Now tell me what's the real use of all those protests? Is it a matter of self-confirmation? Or do those people really think UNO or Gürsel or Nasser or the Shah will care a dime for their telegrams and letters? Do not they realise that the British recipe "Treat them like gentlemen and they'll act like gentlemen" does not work ALWAYS? Would it not be far better to spare the money of all those expensive telegrams and to invest it in more fruitful activities?" (H. d. W., journalist, Amsterdam)

The Editor does not believe that KSSE, Delegation Kurde etc. who used to send the protests referred to in this letter, have any

HERE ARE SOME BOOKS OF

## *Kurdish interest*

Richard Goold-Adams: MIDDLE EAST JOURNEY

Michael Carroll: FROM A PERSIAN TEAHOUSE

Lord Kinross: WITHIN THE TAURUS

Freya Stark: RIDING TO THE TIGRIS

They were all published by:

**JOHN MURRAY**

50 Albemarle Street

London W. 1

illusions about their results. But it speaks for the democratic character of those organisations that they try the normal methods as long as they can.

#### NEED FOR ENGLISH-KURDISH DICTIONARY

"With regard to your three suggestions, the first one sounds like a good one. I would think that there is a real need for a Kurmanji dictionary and have never seen one in English." (Mr. A. B. R. , diplomat, Madrid)

#### POLEMICS ON "TROUW"-ARTICLE

"Your answer to Ing. Stephan was grand." (V. R. , Kurdish student, Vienna)

#### DEAR READER:

When we predicted a rapid dynamisation of the Kurdish Question some months ago, we did not know that things would be going at this pace. To-day, we dare predict that the most dynamic phase is still to come. Foreign forces aiming at stirring up West-Asia's nations against each other will not hesitate to let a predictable, Eichmann-like "Endlösung" of the Kurdish Quest-

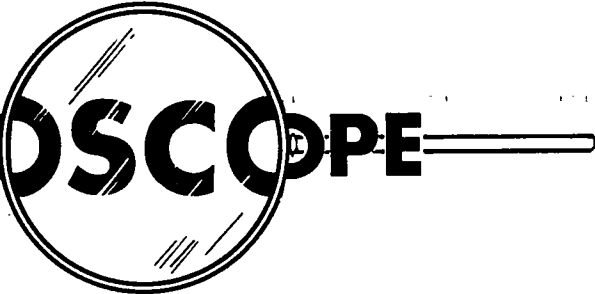
ion happen in front of their very doors. Once having pushed the button, they'll pose as the guardians of human rights in general and that of the Kurds in particular. They'll all assure the world how deeply they deplore what happened.

Facing Mount Ararat and the countries at its foot, I. S. K. finds that it has to practice its principles (see our February issue, p. 2) with full vigour now. And rest assured that there are many unused possibilities, possibilities we all ought to take advantage of, if our service to peace and to Kurdistan is more than lip-service, more than a benevolent interest in an old and 'picturesque' nation. Democracy-in-action is wanted instead, international democracy.

In one word, we need your help more badly than ever before. We simply depend on it to do the job. You all know I. S. K. has no mighty backers. We are a free, private pressure group, the only body in this special field, incidentally. Our echo is unmistakably growing. But it can be far wider and louder when all our readers and friends decide to do something extra. If you really want to help preventing the "Final Solution" indicated above and prefer a REAL solution of the Kurdish question, we are at your service at any time. We are neither demagogues nor over-angry young men nor panic-makers. But tomorrow it MIGHT be too late indeed. That's all we can tell TODAY.

The Editor

# THE KURDOSCOPE



- TURKISH KURDISTAN:** Revolt in nearly the whole area after Turks killed and wounded hundreds of peaceful demonstrators. Air raids reported but not yet confirmed. Turks give deliberately distorted picture of events, close border, ban foreign journalists from Turkish Kurdistan. Process against 49 Kurdish intellectuals, dismissed on caution last January, reopened in Ankara.
- PERSIAN KURDISTAN:** Revolutionary developments in Persia Propria fill Eastern Kurds with new hope. Shah in favour of "Islamic Pact" between Iran, Iraq, Turkey and U. A. R. (which would mean coalition of all Kurdistan's present opponents).
- SYRIAN KURDISTAN:** First jailed leaders of Democratic Party Kurdistan in Syria to be released this month, others in November.
- IRAQI KURDISTAN:** Barzani back in Moscow. Military Government measures against remnants of DPKif apparatus continuing. Warrant of arrest against Al-Talabani. Kurdish Party's CC members all hiding now if not already arrested.
- GENERAL:** Instability of present West-Asian regimes becoming clearer every day. Kurds seem to plan crisis-free action centre in Europe.



# INSIDE KURDISTAN

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## TURKISH KURDISTAN IN REVOLT

The putsch of General Gürsel's Officers Junta (called "Committee for National Unity") was nearing its first birthday. Gürsel himself had already announced his willingness to resign, elections were going to be held soon. Turkish information offices did their best to make the world believe that the revolutionary interim period of military government would soon be followed by a - this time real - Turkish democracy. At the same time, the Government hoped to keep opposition at home quiet. In both cases, the method was the same. It followed the age-old oriental recipe of promising law, order and just rule, thus posing as a wise man, with a heart for the people's wishes. Not all citizens seemed to be convinced by the tune, however. On May 8th, the day that the trial against 49 Kurdish intellectuals was reopened in Ankara (see below), demonstrations were held in six East-Anatolian cities. Kurdish marching columns in Mardin, Deyran, Siverek, Diyarbakir, Bitlis and Van were bearing slogans which left spectators in no doubt about their bearers' feelings: "We are not Turks, we are Kurds!" "Down with Gürsel!", "Down with Menderes!" "Down with İnönü!" and then - summarizing: "All tyrants!" The alternative suggested showed - at the same time - the reasons leading to the harsh opinion on three Turkish Premiers: "The Turkish Government must recognize our national rights!".

## TURKISH REACTIONS

The Turks, however, acted according to another slogan: "Befehl ist Befehl" ("An Order is an Order"). And General Gürsel had told sometime before about his Kurdish citizens: "If they do not keep quiet, the Army will not hesitate to bomb and destroy their towns and villages". Now the Army was called in to reinforce the Police. Without any notice given before, salvos were fired into the demonstrators' columns. As the latter were very numerous, a massacre did not take much time. On the Big Market Square of Mardin 121 people were shot and 354 wounded, in Diyarbakir 194 Kurds were killed and about 400 injured. According to reports still unconfirmed when this issue of "Kurdish Facts" went to press, Ourfa and Bitlis were bombed by the Turkish Army. During previous Kurdish insurrections in Iraq and Iran, similar methods had been used, sometimes with the assistance of Britain's Royal Air Force. The Turks themselves had used poison gas against Kurds in 1930. But the May 1961 incidents were, after all, not an insurrection. After the massacring of demonstrators, however, partisan- resp. guerilla-warfare broke out immediately and Turkish Kurdistan soon was in a state of colonial war. Now the Turks' difficulty was how to prevent these facts reaching the world. At least something had to be told after all.

## HOW THE STORY WAS TOLD

On May 10th, "United Press International" reported from the nearby Syrian town of Aleppo that "about 100 people" had been "killed or wounded" in riots taking place "in 3 districts in the area of Urfa". But it did not state that Urfa is in Turkish-Kurdistan. A tax-increase had been the cause of it all, UPI said. In Ankara the Turks told foreign pressmen that the demonstrations in "Eastern Turkey" had been "provoked" by supporters of Ex-Premier Menderes.

On the 12th, unofficial sources in Ankara said 200 people had been arrested. No breakdown of this number into ethnic nationalities was given, however. Next day (Saturday), General Gürsel himself assured that only 140 people had been put under arrest and that they were all "misguided, innocent citizens".

## OTHER MEASURES

Meanwhile the border between the Turkish Republic and the United Arab Republic had been hastily closed. Foreign journalists and other visitors from abroad were forbidden to enter Turkish-Kurdistan. The state of siege had been proclaimed over the whole territory of the Republic. Turkish press and radio kept as silent about what was going on in the Kurdish part of Anatolia as was possible. And practically no foreign paper took the trouble to lift the lid in order to see what was really in the pot. The Turks could be content again. There were several hundreds of Kurds less in the world, the Army had acted according to Gürsel's orders and in the spirit of Atatürk. As far as foreign attention was paid to the happenings, people believed that it was just a money-matter between some Turks. And that was "nobody's business but the Turks'".

But Kurds managed to get messages out of the country. The news reached Iraqi, reached Iranian, reached Syrian Kurdistan. It reached East and West, In Western Europe, the independent Paris daily "Combat", born in a period of national resistance itself, was the first to recognize the "East Anatolian riots" as "Resistance Kurde en Turquie" (May 13th/14th, 1961). In ISK's HQ, reports from several Kurds came in, independent from one another and more than sufficient to remove even the slightest doubt within KF's news-staff on the horrible things that were going on in Turkish-Kurdistan. They were still going on when this article was concluded.

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Photo right shows Kurdish girl in Turkish-Kurdistan. Girl is Christian, belongs to Syrian-Chaldean Rite.

## RECTIFICATION:

Kurdish girl shown on previous photo page was not from Baghdad but from Sulaimaniyah. The picture, however, was taken in Baghdad.





هه خاکیه تی میلی بو دی کوکراتی  
 ژیریانی خووش بو پیتیری نته وهی کورد  
 ئاسا خو و دروشمی نه باتمانه .  
 هه کجه بات و سهرکه و تخان بو قلم بوی  
 دو ستایه تی نیوان نته وه کاتی  
 ئازا زخوان و بست گری بزوتنه وهی  
 که لاتی ولات داکیلو و وردی لیمبانی  
 له سهرانه سری پیتیرمانه .

# کوردستان

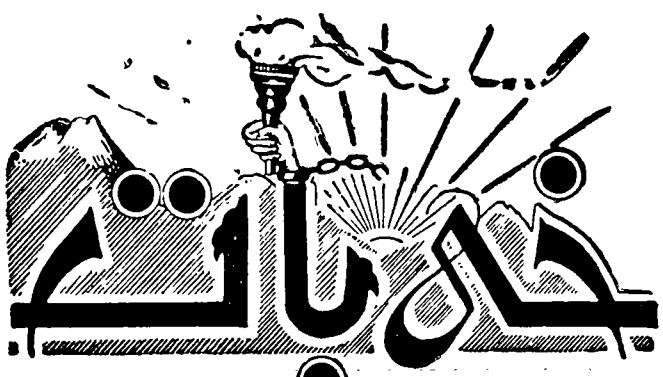
## ئورکانی حزبی دیموکراتی کوردستان

هه و بهری بیکر تویی شتاتی نیوان  
 هه به کاتی شتاتی به راهمه  
 نیمه یالیم و داکیلو لای هه باتمانه  
 ئازا زوان کیران و بیک مینانی قومیتی  
 نیتتانی و دیموکرات و دیاری  
 کردی لاتی که می صافی نته واییتی  
 و پهری ناشتی و ئاسا شمش له  
 جیهان .

له شار دانیه ۵ قران  
 له لادی دانیه ۳ قران

بدواری ۱ رزینی ۱۱۲۴  
 بدواری ۲۳ سپتامبری ۱۹۶۰

ژماره ۲ ( ۱۹۴ )  
 دهوردی سپه ۸



## النضال

لسان الحزب الديموقراطي الكردستاني

### KURDISH PAPERS' FATE IN TWO COUNTRIES: IRAQ AND IRAN

Captions are shown here from the front pages of two leading Kurdish newspapers. Before mountains and torch is the name of "Khebat", recently suppressed in Baghdad. Name is printed in Arab as well as in Kurdish, both in Arab characters. "Khebat" was the chief organ of the "Democratic Party Kurdistan" in Iraq. The organ of the party's sister organisation in Iran, "Kurdistan", is appearing underground in mimeographed form. The heading is printed, however. "Kurdistan" comes out with 8 pages each week, sometimes in two colours. It is published in Persian-Arabic script.

The history of the Kurdish press is still unwritten. From many older papers it might be extremely difficult to get a sufficient number of specimens. The press section of ISK and the Society's Scientific Department are now trying to collect material for at least a short history of the Kurdish press, one of the most interesting sections of press history in general.

#### MASSACRES PREDICTED LAST MARCH

"Freiheit" - the Austrian Christian Democrat Labour weekly - wrote on March 4th, 1961, that "General Gürsel is continuing the traditional policy of suppressing Kurds in Turkey" even "including --- annihilation".

#### BRANCH OFFICES OF KURDISH PARTY CLOSED BY IRAQI POLICE

The local offices of the "Democratic Party Kurdistan in Iraq" in Kirkuk and Mosul have been seized and closed by the Iraqi police. This was reported in "Al Mustaqbal", an Arab daily in Iraq, on April 18th, 1961. Kirkuk and Mosul - the oil cities - are the main concentrations of the Arab minority in Southern Kurdistan.

#### TURKS RE-ARREST 49 KURDS

The 49 Kurds who were on trial in Ankara last January but subsequently released on caution (cf. KF/4) have all been re-

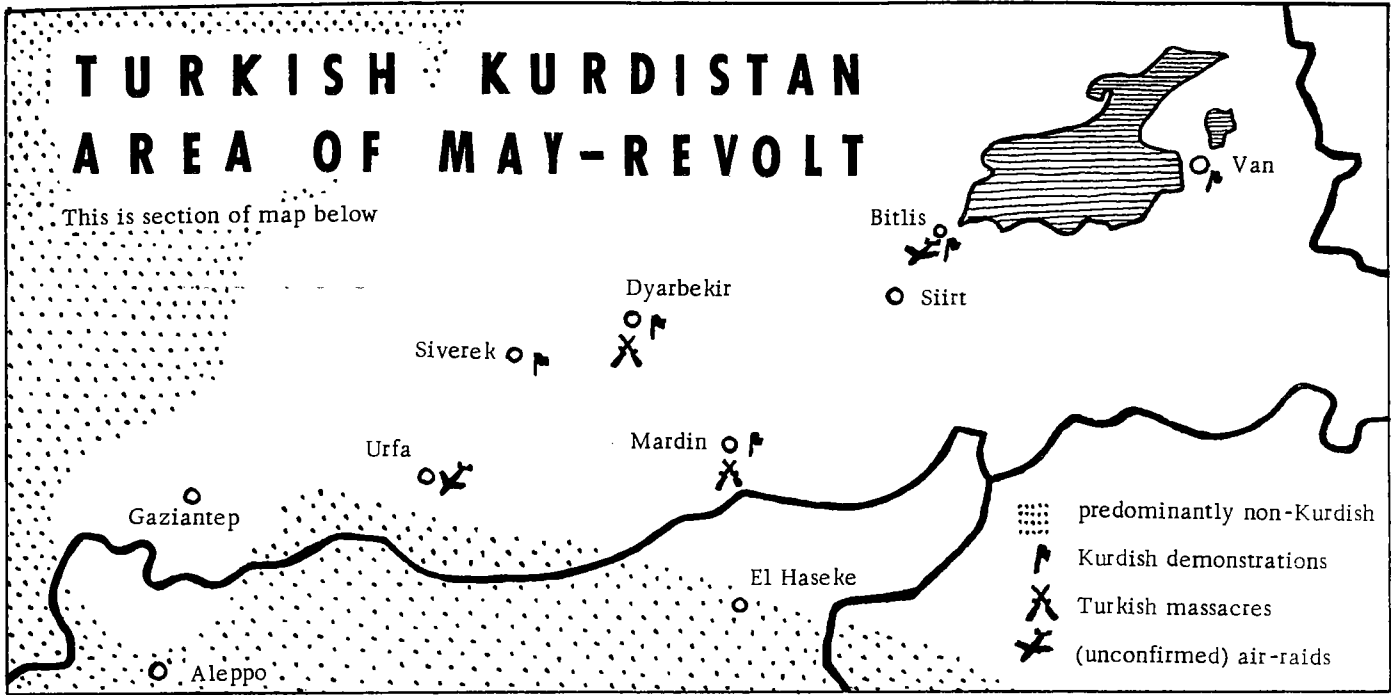
arrested. A second trial opened in Ankara on May 8th, 1961. Among the accused are 4 medical doctors, 3 merchants, 5 officers of the Turkish Army and 21 students. Over half of the accused were pictured in "Kurdistan" of April. The Kurdish student paper also published a full list of names, taken from the Turkish press and from "Khebat". (See KF, Jan. 1961)

#### SYRIAN-KURDISH LEADERS: FREE SOON

Practically the only good news concerning Kurdistan which came in this month is the confirmation of the fact that the jailed leaders of the prohibited "Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria" will be released soon. Those sentenced to 1 year will be free this May, those who got 18 months in November 1961. Original reports reaching Europe, which spoke from life- and even death-sentences, and which caused considerable unrest among Dr. Zaza's Kurdish and foreign friends, proved to be "canards".

#### OPERATION KURDAZ: TADZHIK ASSISTANCE

Several Tadzhiks are assisting in "Operation Kurdaaz", dealt



with in this monthly's March issue. They are probably chosen by Soviet authorities to that purpose, because - like the Kurds - Tadzhihs are predominantly a mountaineer people, speaking an Iranian language. As Kurdistan, Tadzhihistan is a divided country (see KF/4). "Basmachi" partisan warfare against Soviet Russian rule was waged longest in the Tadzhih Pamir mountains in the twenties. (See Soviet novel "Dzhura" by G. Tushkan, German translation, 1951, Berlin.)

### MEASURES AGAINST DEMOCRATIC PARTY KURDISTAN IN IRAQ

A warrant of arrest has been issued last April against Al-Talabani, CC member of the "Democratic Party Kurdistan" in Iraq, and a professional lawyer. Mr. Talabani and all other non-arrested leaders of the Kurdish Party are reported to be hiding. Next month, "Kurdish Facts" hopes to publish a full list of all the Party's CC and Politbureau members, together with the professions and their present fate. Excerpts from the Party programme will be printed in English translation for the first time in this paper.

### IRAQI KURDISTAN & JULY 14TH CELEBRATIONS

Every Iraqi Liwah is to form a special committee for celebrating the Republican Revolution's 3rd Anniversary on July 14th, 1961. Sulaimaniyah and Mosul in Southern Kurdistan were the first cities to get such a committee. That of Sulaimaniyah - centre of Iraqi Kurdistan - is under the District Governor's (Muttasarraf) chairmanship.

### TRAVELLING TO AND IN SOUTHERN KURDISTAN

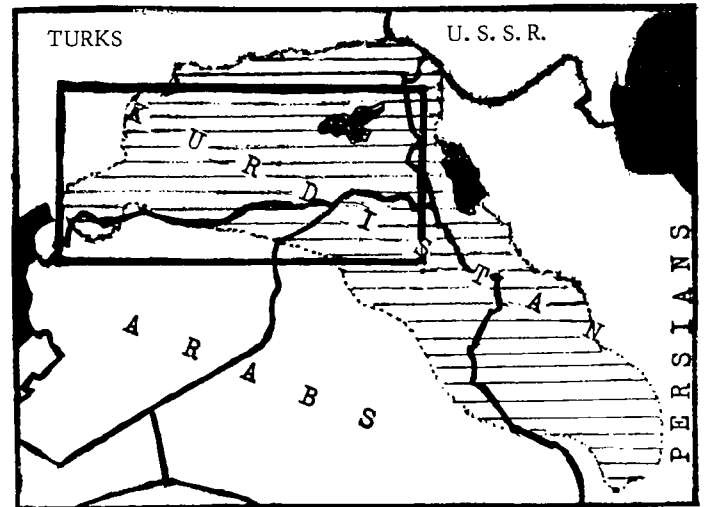
The Kurdish and Arab parts of Iraq are being linked up by more roads. 465 kilometers were recently paved between Kirkuk and Kuwaisenjag, Baghdad & Chamchamal respectively, as well as

between some smaller cities. But lack of roads is not the only difficulty travellers meet with at Kurdistan's southern gates. Reported Munich journalist Hans-Wilfried von Stockhausen in "Deutsche Zeitung" (Stuttgart) of Febr. 6th, 1961: "In Iraq no foreigner is allowed to travel without a written Government permit. When leaving one village for another, one needs the laissez-passer of the local policeman or military commander." Once having arrived in (Iraqi) Kurdistan, Mr. von Stockhausen no longer found any suspicion, he says.

### BARZANI: IN PRISON?

Mullah Mustafa al-Barzani, Leader of the "Democratic Party Kurdistan in Iraq", is said to be under arrest in his native Barzan. Some denied this, told Barzani had just returned from Iraq to Moscow.

(STOP PRESS)



# WEST-ASIAN AFFAIRS

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## ISLAMIC PACT RUMOURS

In several West-Asian capitals there are rumours of a forthcoming so-called "Islamic Pact" between the Shah, Gürsel, Qassim and Nasser. Its aims are obvious: some anti-Communist alliance even if Cento collapses and a modus for an Arab "Axis", between Kairo and Baghdad (leaving both 'Leaders' on their thrones). Pakistan, by far the biggest Islamic State of the world, might also be thought of as a possible "Islamic Pact" partner. In 1958, the Shah planned an "Aryan Pact" between Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan. It was dropped soon. "Aryanism" resp. "Pan-Iranism" is now only used to propagate the enlargement of the Shah's Empire. An "Islamic Pact" also contains possibilities to find a synthesis between two conflicting conceptions for an East-Arab reshuffle: "Fertile Crescent" or Nasser-Qassim deal. Such a synthesis would consolidate the present status of Syria. For Kurds, an "Islamic Pact" would mean a coalition of ALL their opponents.

## THE TIMES

### Qassim: Cult and Guns

"the fashioning round --- Kassim --- of an aura that by comparison makes the personality cult of communists seem flat and prosaic" was criticized by the London "Times" Middle East Correspondent on April 26th, 1961. Though the article was headlined "General Kassim Sits on the Fence", it doubted foreign opinion that in Iraq "there is only emotionalism behind the façade, and that General Kassim is doomed to disappear". "The Times" believed that the Leader is "perhaps more secure" than most foreigners think, because: "In the first place, he has the guns, and only some other soldier with sufficient support in the Army could seize them. Secondly, he is not identified now with either the communists or the nationalists, the two main groups, and he can play one against the other." In how far one can play a group ousted by oneself, "The Times" did not explain.

## "IN PERSIA, CHILDREN'S TEARS ARE FORBIDDEN"

On March 25th, 1961, the "Katholieke Illustratie" of Haarlem, Netherlands, published an article on present-day-Iran by Wilko Bergmans under the above headline. It started by revealing that 6-year-old children are working in the Persian rugs industry. Loaded with government leaflets "which were just a hymn to the Shah and his dynasty", Bergmans had set out to see Persia. He says the country is ruled by 12 capitalist families, then notes: "That the whole of Persia was in a state of happy emotion at the birth of the prince "is a fairy tale one ought to do away with, because it is a lie. The mobilized 'claqueurs' who stood alongside the roads for six guilders a day and threw flowers,

only gave false glamour to the Peacock throne, as the majority of the population was totally indifferent" ---. When the Shah leaves his palace, the "Katholieke Illustratie" correspondent observed, "a vast police force" is guarding him and "immediately behind the Rolls Royce of the Imperial couple there were police cars, in which machine guns were hidden". Near the ultra-modern oil-installations of Abadan human beings live under incredible circumstances. Bergmans calls the Abadan oil plant a "golden calf" which will crumble some day. His report appeared exactly six weeks before premier Ala Amini officially announced that Iran was bankrupt. "The Shah's throne" - Bergmans says - "is wavering on the derricks".

## MOSSADEGH'S SHADOW OVER IRAN

Events in Iran are taking a very rapid course, so rapid that even a chronicle of all which happened during the first weeks of May would be hopelessly out-dated at the time this number reaches its readers. Though the triumph of "we told you so" is generally a sad and poor triumph, we think a certain part of our readers might have found their objections against our way of reporting on West-Asian affairs answered in their own newspapers. For this issue we confine ourselves to localizing the following "trends" in Iran:

- a) the opposition movement is nation-wide, shows solidarity, discipline, concrete aims and constant growth; it is genuine and not "inspired from abroad";
- b) the reactions of the Shah's government are clearly aimed at misleading the population (the umptieth "strong man" premier "to clear it all up", forbidding demonstrations in Teheran, but allowing them on a place 3 km outside of the City; reports on mass arrests of high officials denied next day; etc. etc.)
- c) the prestige of the Shah's regime seems to be waning rapidly abroad as well. Papers still repeating the monarch's memoirs' theses - a few weeks ago - are now confessing the deadlock reached.
- d) Mossadegh's name is mentioned strikingly often in foreign newspapers.

Our comment: The 3,5 million Eastern Kurds especially will be directly affected by a change in Iran. Relations between the Kurdish and Persian population are generally good. Kurdish cooperation with democratic opposition forces in Persia, South-Azerbaijan etc. seems essential. The sooner a common front is organized, the sooner a common gain is possible, and the greater is the chance of a federalisation of the Iranian empire on the basis of its ethnic territories. This would be an enormous step forward in West-Asia indeed and as soon as one important state (as Iran is) shows that the system does work in the Orient as well, others might follow suit after some time. In this connection, too, Kurdish and Persian problems are linked more closely than ever before, it seems.

# ON RECORD

Purpose of this rubric is to publish non-Kurdish documents or text concerning the Kurdish Question. This time, however, we are publishing an interesting quotation from a Kurd: Mr. Ismet Sherif Vanly, president of the "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe". It is taken from a long article by Mr. Sherif, published in the KSSE-organ "Kurdistan" of last month. The Editor's permission for reprint has been obtained. Mr. Sherif is dealing with the urgent need of all-Kurdish organisations, a question growing more acute every day. So we do not doubt readers will be interested to hear a KURDISH voice on it. Here is Mr. Sherif: "The Oriental, not specifically Kurdish organizations operating in the Middle East, underground or in public, have failed, in fact, as far as the Kurdish people are concerned, in two major points:

1. They did not succeed in mobilizing the democratic forces of our people, most probably because of the reasons which follow:

2. They did not resolve the Kurdish national question or, to be more precise, they did not try it, which is very serious. They obviously neglected the national aspect, the most outstanding, of the Kurdish questions. But these oriental, mixed and progressive organizations used to back, and vigorously, the national aims of the dominating nationalities in the Middle-Eastern States: Arabs in Iraq and Syria, Persians in Iran and Turks in Turkey (it is true that the progressive movement in Turkey was very weak).

The big national liberation revolts in Kurdistan of Turkey and of Iraq, the heroic Republic of Mahabad in Kurdistan of Iran were prepared and made by specific Kurdish democratic organizations, and not by those oriental mixed organizations which used to look at them as spectators, which is also very serious. Kurdish objectives do not figure in the programme, old or present, of the Iranian Tudeh Party. In Syria, progressive Arab movements, among which the Syrian Communist party, also ignored totally the Kurdish question. In Turkey, we have never heard of a progressive Turkish movement struggling also for the solution of the Kurdish national question, a question which concerns, however, six millions of Kurds living in this State, and drastically oppressed. In Iraq, the specifically Arab organizations, whether progressive (like the National Democratic party) or reactionary, were used to consider the kingdom, and later on the Republic, as an exclusively Arab State, like Lord Curzon and Colonel Wilson did. The reactionary formations were naturally against Kurdish liberation and used to consider the Kurdish national revolts as some kind of banditism. The mixed (Arabo-Kurdish) Communist party itself ignored practically the Kurdish national question until 1956. In this year, in its second congress, and under the pressure of its Kurdish elements, the Iraqi party recognized that Iraqi Kurdistan is a part of the Kurdish nation, divided by imperialism, and that the properly Arab Iraq is a part of the Arab nation. That was a very good resolution. But, curiously enough, this party continued, how-

ever, to consider Iraq as an exclusively Arab State. More curiously, this same party retired later on many of its concessions to the Kurdish national liberation movement. The interests and rights of our oppressed Kurdish people were thus often sacrificed whenever the right-wing Arab nationalism was too strong or threatening, or merely for immediate tactical considerations. The Iraqi communist leaders used to say, before the Revolution of 1958, that the Kurdish people in Iraq had to struggle side by side with the Arab people for the liberation of Iraq from British influence and Nury Said, and that only afterwards the Kurdish national question should be resolved. This policy was valuable, especially that the communist party recognized three specific Kurdish organizations, i. e. 'Kurdistan Women's Union', 'Kurdistan Democratic Youth Union' and 'Kurdistan Students' Union', this last being as an autonomous member-organization in the 'General Union of the Iraqi Students'. But amazingly enough, the leading present circles of the Iraqi communist party (or the majority of them, to designate the responsables in these painful specific cases), immediately after July 14th, 1958, retired the recognition they had accepted to give, under Nury Said, to the above-mentioned three Kurdish organizations, and this, in the name of the Arabo-Kurdish brotherhood! They said they had been mistaken in recognizing these organizations, that Kurds must not have their own organizations but work indistinctively in united Iraqi ones, in a Republic which they consider, however, as an exclusively Arab State. That was a dramatic error, an error so big that a year later, in July 1959, it was considered in some Iraqi communist circles that to pronounce the name 'Kurdistan' was prejudicial to Iraqi, to the Iraq Revolution, to the Iraqi democracy and to the Arabo-Kurdish brotherhood. This attitude could be explained by the desire of those leading circles to fight the growing influence of the United Kurdish Democratic party which is today, under the name of Kurdistan Democratic Party and Mustafa Barzani's presidency, at the head of the battle for complete Kurdish national liberation and democracy, in this part of our country. It would have been possible and more conform to democracy and to the interests of our people that the Iraqi communist party maintained its recognition and accepted democratic competition, within those above-mentioned specific Kurdish organizations, with the partisans and friends of Kurdistan Democratic party. It is true that after that attitude, the Iraqi Government promulgated new laws recognizing only general Iraqi organizations. The drama is that these general Iraqi organizations themselves are being systematically annoyed by the Iraqi authorities, and the Iraqi communist party itself, everybody knows it, is in a very uncomfortable situation. The policy of its leading committee regarding the Kurdish problems was not a clever one, neither very democratic, and prejudicial to the interests and rights of our Kurdish people. The Kurdish people in Iraq, guided by Kurdistan Democratic party, are struggling now to recreate the



same Kurdish organizations which were theirs three years ago. What a loss of time, what a blow for our still oppressed nation. Abroad, the name of Kurdistan was almost unknown or distorted. In spite of its feeble means, our 'Kurdish Students' Society in Europe' did, in a period of three years to make a better known Kurdistan, the Kurdish history, culture and national question, what the oriental non-Kurdish students organizations failed or were not willing to do during tens of years. The Kurdish people appreciate our struggle and have a very deep affection toward our militant Society.

Kurdish democratic organizations must be created or recreated, everywhere at home, if not yet, to lead successfully the struggle of our people for complete national liberation, for peace, for democracy, and against imperialism. This is not only a right for our people, but also a condition for efficiency and success. Any objection or tergiversation from the existing oriental non-Kurdish organizations to recognise this fact, would be either a sincere strategical error, as it might happen - but still an error, or concession either to some kind of cosmopolitanism, or to some chauvinistic Arab, Persian or Turkish nationalism. Our people will accept no longer to be sacrificed for such non-democratic considerations. We hope that the sincere non-Kurdish Middle-Eastern democrats, for whom we have great respect, understand this point of view; this is the desire of our people.

Specific Kurdish organisations, when democratically led, as they must be, do not mean, on the other hand, isolationism from the general democratic and liberation movement in the world, but just on the contrary.

Specific Kurdish democratic organizations must not only collaborate with oriental non-Kurdish democratic ones, but also they should be allowed, once created, to be united with these last in some federative way, without losing their personalities, whenever the common interests of both parties command it. Of course, this can only happen when the oriental non-Kurdish organizations admit the existence of the Kurdish ones and the legitimacy of their aims, and when the desire of collaboration is mutual."



KURDISH STUDENT CONGRESS IN AMSTERDAM

Contrary to information published in our previous issue, the 6th annual congress of the "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe" in Amsterdam will be held LATER in August than originally planned, viz. from August 21st-27th. Snapshot of Congress Town Amsterdam is shown above.

## RADIO

### RADIO WAR OVER TURKEY

Communist broadcasts in Turkish, frequently dealing with the Kurdish question were discussed in Ankara during the CENTO-pact-minister conference ultimo April.

A radio station called "Bizim (- Our) Radio" and led by Nazim Hikmet is constantly accusing General Gürsel of having betrayed the "May 27th Revolution". On the 31-metre band it daily calls for a real revolution, at 7. 00, 11. 15 & 19. 30 hours, Paris time. Nazim Hikmet (born 1902) is considered the greatest living Turkish poet. Vladimir Mayakovski (1893-1930), the famous Russian futurist, then "Bolshevik" lyric, was his friend and example. In 1923 Hikmet got 15 years' prison because of "left wing" poetry, but later on the sentence was revised. A year after Mayakovski committed suicide under Stalin, Hikmet was accused of Communist agitation.

Shortly before World War II Hikmet's poems were found on Turkish soldiers. Charged with high treason he got 29 years this time, but protests of literary and intellectual men from a great many countries forced his release from prison in 1951. His fame had saved his life and brought him freedom again. He left Turkey and became a leading man in the "World Peace Council" (founded 1949). Nazim Hikmet, whose poems belong to the most favourite program parts of "Our Radio", also leads the Turkish Communist Party in exile.

Turkish jamming of the station proved to be unsuccessful in several parts of the country. Now Gürsel's radio is commenting, "Bizim Radio" is probably in Bulgaria, which has a substantial Turkish minority. (Others say it is in the GDR or Poland.) Another point annoying Ankara is the station's liberal attitude towards the Kurdish question. Contrary to Iran (see KF/5) Turkey makes no counter-broadcasts in Kurdish.



# PEOPLE



Persian girl students dancing Kurdish dances with partners of KSSE in Hannover. Left to right: Ibrahim Dazae, Miss Minasian, Arjumand Sidiq, Miss Azadi, Hashim Amin.

## A KURDISH FAMILY'S FATE IN TURKEY

"--- unfortunately, my only brother has been arrested in Turkish Kurdistan three months ago: Dr. A. B., together with three other relatives of mine. As to my relatives, this is not the first catastrophe, in 1925-26, during the revolution of Sheikh Said, one of my parents, called G. D. E. and his brother were sentenced to death. In 1938, after the insurrection of Dersim, another group of my family --- thirty-one persons in all, was shot before the eyes of two hundreds of my compatriots. In 1959, F. G. and H. I. were put into prison. --- I had to leave Turkey, speaking frankly: to flee Turkey." (Name of writer and his relatives - here indicated by pseudo-initials - are known to the Editor.)

## CONTACTS CORNER:

Mr. Garaban MIKLOS, stud. phil., Balantonfüred, Blala Lujza utca 5, Hungary. Wanted: Books in Turkic languages, especially Azerbaijani, Kazakh & Uzbek. Offered: Magyar gramophone records.

Mr. Anrzej ZABORSKI, stud. phil., Kraków, ul. Worcella 9/5, Poland, invites Kurdish student to spend some time with him and his friends this summer.

Mr. Abraha MICHAEL, Ethiopian student, Faculté de Lettres, Université de Besançon, Doubs, France, wants girl-penfriend interested in politics.

## THURID BERTZEN



One of the first foreign journalists who promised to attend the Kurdish Student Congress in Amsterdam (August 21st-27th, 1961) was Miss Thurid Berntzen (22). She writes for Norwegian Dailies and Socialist Student papers, and studies political sciences at Oslo university. At present Miss Berntzen is preparing articles on the Kurdish question.

THE TURKS EXPELLED Mr. Agne Hamrin, "Dagens Nyheter"'s correspondent in Ankara, because of his article against the anti-Kurdish policy of the Gürsel regime last fall (see our February issue). The Swedish journalist was violently attacked by "Milliyet", a Turkish daily. Mr. Hamrin is now representing his paper in Rome, Italy.

## PRESS

"KURDISTAN" (KSSE) NR 7/8; 1961

"Kurdistan" is a favourite name of Kurdish papers. It was - in fact - the name of the first Kurdish paper appearing. Thuraya Bedir-Khan (1883-1938) published "Kurdistan" in Turkish and Kurdish in Istanbul since 1908, but the next year it was already suppressed, its editor being sentenced to death and thrown into prison. After having been granted pardon, he left the country and continued publication in Cairo during World War Nr. I. Since World War II, two papers bearing the name "Kurdistan" have been suppressed: one in Mehabad (Persian Kurdistan) in 1946, one in Baghdad in 1961. But five other papers called "Kurdistan" were started since 1945: one (pro-Shah) in Teheran, one (pro-Soviet) in Baku (Azerbaijan SSR), one (anti-Shah; appearing underground) in Persian Kurdistan, and two (published in freedom abroad) by the "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe". The German edition (a combined effort of Kurdish students and their friends in the GFR, GDR & Austria) appeared only twice so far, but the English edition published in London remains the KSSE's chief organ. After the Society's 5th annual congress in West-Berlin, the paper got a new Editor: Mr. Saadi Amin Dizayee, 16, Taswell Road, Southsea, Hants., England. Incidentally, there are just as many (7) Dizayees in KSSE as there have been papers called "Kurdistan". Mr. Dizayee has now edited his "maiden" issue: a double number of 44 pages, with 14 ill., a map and a bibliography on Kurdistan, 3 shillings per copy only (obtainable, actually, at both KSSE and ISK). It is undoubtedly the most interesting one published by Kurdish students in Europe up till now. Apart from the articles already excerpted or quoted in this month's "Kurdish Facts", it offers extensive documentation (including press comment and protest letters), a report on the Berlin congress, and literary contributions in Kurdish. Nobody interested in what is going on among Kurdistan's young intellectuals can afford to miss the issue. A suggestion by the reviewer: why not publish the literary contributions in English and Kurdish simultaneously?

# PROTEST CALENDAR

## KURDISH-IRANIAN STUDENT SOLIDARITY

On May 3rd, 1961, the Executive Committee of the "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe" issued a "Press Bulletin on the general situation in Iran and the position of students in particular". Of Iran's Kurds and Azerbaijanis it said: "They share with their Persian friends the sad material conditions and the absence of democratic liberties in their country. They have moreover been robbed of the most elementary of their respective national rights, such as the right to have their own schools and publications in their own language in the territories inhabited by them." In the final paragraph of the handout, KSSE declared its full solidarity with the aims of the students, the teachers and the non-Persian peoples of Iran and identified itself with their aims. There were slight differences between the two translations of the handout. The German version, for instance, spoke of "Völker des Iran", the English one of "Iranian nationality groups".

The German version said that the CENTO-pact was "gegen alle Völker des Mittleren Ostens gerichtet", the English version told CENTO was "against the interest of all Middle East Nations".

## KURDISH STUDENTS' TELEGRAM TO GENERAL GÜRSEL

On the day before the reopening of the Turkish trial against 49 Kurdish intellectuals from East Anatolia, the Kurdish students in Europe sent a three-line protest-telegram against this trial to General Gürsel, the Turkish Military Government leader. Copies were given to several newspapers and international organisations. Of seven official Kurdish protests since January 1st, 1961, three were made by KSSE, another

by KSSE in cooperation with another body. General Gürsel was approached thrice by KSSE this year.

## ANOTHER KURDISH STUDENTS' APPEAL TO UNO

The telegram of protest, sent to General Gürsel by the "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe" on May 7th, 1961, was copied and forwarded to the UNO-Commission on Human Rights in New York by KSSE next day. "The accused (49 Kurdish intellectuals, Ed.)", KSSE-president Ismet Sherif Vanly said in his letter, "solely demanded the most elementary rights of the Kurdish people, outrageously oppressed by actual military government of Ankara." The new trial against the Kurdish intellectuals started on the same day the KSSE-letter was written. What was not yet known then was that partisan warfare in Turkish Kurdistan had broken out at practically the same moment.

## EXPELLED KURDS IN TURKEY: INVESTIGATION WANTED

The European Court of Human Rights has been requested to investigate the forced evacuation of 55 East Anatolian Kurds to Turkey proper. Their names are given in a letter to Court President Sir Humphrey Waldock in Strassbourg, by Dr. K. A. Bedir-Khan of Paris, on April 15th, 1961. It is pointed out that such an expulsion practice is against the 'European Convention of Human Rights', signed by Turkey. Conditions in Turkish-Kurdistan are summarized as a "regime de terreur" in the letter.

# INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

## JAPANESE STUDENT MOVEMENT AND IUS ANALYSED

More than 300.000 Japanese students are organized in "Zengakuren", Japan's "National Federation of Student Self-Government Associations". Zengakuren gained world-wide publicity last year because of its decisive role in toppling the Kishi cabinet and preventing Eisenhower's visit to Japan.

Professor Lewis S. Feuer of California University (Philosophy & Social Science) had extensive talks with practically all old and new Zengakuren leaders and published a 5-page report on his impressions in "The New Leader" (New York) of May 1st, 1961. It is an analytical essay which should be missed by nobody interested in Afro-Asian student affairs. Though faithful members of Prague's IUS, most Zengakuren leaders consider Japan's Communist Party "opportunistic". Even the Communist faction of Zengakuren asked for the expulsion of the entire CC of the Japanese CP in 1958. During the demonstrations of June 1960,

the Party called Zengakuren (who led the Japanese masses at that time), "Trotskyist provocateurs". Various political and ideological trends ranging from Zen-Buddhism to several brands of Marxism and even Blanquism in Zengakuren are intelligently traced and described by Prof. Feuer. Kenichi Koyama (Zengakuren president and Communist till 1958) told Feuer "that even prior to the Hungarian revolt differences of opinion were being sharply debated in the IUS. The West European students constituted the Right wing; the Chinese, Japanese and Arabs were the Left wing; and the Soviet students were the Centre. The Zengakuren pressed for a strong anti-imperialist line; the Soviet students wanted a program for peace and friendship. When the Soviet representatives advised Koyama to read Lenin's 'Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder', he responded by telling them to read 'What Is to Be Done?'. The battle of the pamphlets was finally submerged in a compromise resolution" (1955, ED.). Feuer's article could be of use especially

to those who think of IUS and the Afro-Asian student movement (including its Kurdish sector) in terms of "terrible simplification" only. Things really are not THAT easy.

#### IUS' SIXTH CONGRESS: ALL RESOLUTIONS PUBLISHED

The "International Union of Students" (Vocelova 3, Prague 2, CSSR) has published the "Resolutions of the VIth IUS Congress, Baghdad, 8th to 19th October, 1960" (67 pages). On page 59 it gives the full text of "On the Just National and Cultural Rights of the Kurdish People" printed in "Kurdish Facts" ' March issue under "International Organisations".

#### BAGHDAD CONGRESS: LOOKING BACK IN ANGER

"Kurdistan", the periodical organ of the "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe" (KSSE) appeared (for the 7th time) at practically the same moment. Among other interesting articles it carried a detailed report of the Baghdad KSSE-delegation (consisting of KSSE-president Mr. Ismet Cheriff Vanly, KSSE-secretary-general Mr. Kamal Fuad and then-time "Kurdistan"-editor Mr. Tahsin Amin). It was stated that IUS-President Mr. Jiri Pelikan said he had received none of the numerous telegrams sent to him by Iraqi Kurds who protested against the GUSIR's Arab chauvinism towards their people. "Kurdistan" believes that "those telegrams --- must have been stolen by somebody", then said: "In a private conversation, Mr. Pelikan told Mr. Cheriff that the question of the K. S. S. E. affiliation to the I. U. S. would have been very easy if the congress were held in any other country." (IUS ignored all KSSE's applications for membership since 1958, ED.) "In fact, it was a public opinion among the delegates that the G. U. S. I. R. was strongly against our (KSSE's, ED.) affiliation. The G. U. S. I. R. was fearful that the K. S. S. E. pretend to represent the Kurdish students in Iraq at its expense. But in adopting this attitude the E. C. of the G. U. S. I. R. became very unpopular in Iraqi Kurdistan." The KSSE-organ predicted that "these --- errors --- will not be forgotten --- in the Kurdish national movement." (Cf. ISK-Bulletin of Jan. 1961, page 6-7, and of March, page 11-12.) The resolution on "The Just National and Cultural Rights of the Kurdish People" was "the only act of cooperation between the G. U. S. I. R. and the K. S. S. E. in the congress", "Kurdistan" revealed. Then it told the full story of the Resolution, an "agreement --- only possible after a long discussion". The "General Union of Students of the Iraqi Republic" refused to accept expressions like "the Kurdish People", "Kurdish regions" and even the word "Syria" in the Resolution's paragraph dealing with the U. A. R. policy towards Kurds. The U. A. R. delegation was against this while paragraph, stating that "there is not a Kurdish people in Syria but a Kurdish minority, like the Jews, and it lives well". Jordan and Palestine Arabs also denied that Syrian Kurdistan is part of Kurdistan as a whole. U. A. R. delegates advised the Syrian Kurds to "learn only Arabic". Like KSSE, they could not take part in the vote about the resolution, not being IUS-members. Only the Palestine and Jordan students voted against the resolution which - in spite of Arabic opposition - "was carried out by an overwhelming

majority". Both GUSIR and the Persian delegation protested against a draft resolution "On the situation in Kurdistan" submitted to the Congress' "Commission against imperialism". The session became extremely tumultuous several times, "dramatical", like "Kurdistan" says. The only Kurdish member of the (3-men) Iranian delegation had to speak against his Persian companions. In GUSIR things looked like this: "Mr. Kemal Muhiddine, the Kurdish member of the Iraqi delegation, left his Iraqi colleagues and came to the K. S. S. E. delegation, complaining that his Iraqi fellows prevented him by force from speaking, that they cut the electrical connection of the microphone when he was about to speak in favour of the Kurdish proposals." As reported in ISK's Bulletin before, only African and Caribbean student delegations gave 100% support to KSSE and the Kurdish cause. Both Mr. Ismet Cheriff Vanly and Mr. Tahsin Amin protested against the undemocratic methods used at the IUS congress. Finally, IUS objected again against a IUS-membership for KSSE now, saying the KSSE constitution presented some "vague points". The IUS Credential Committee proposed to leave the matter to the EC of IUS, a suggestion that caused some meaningful comment in "Kurdistan", the KSSE paper. Pan-Arab and Pan-Iranian chauvinism and their silent, though obvious backers were clearly Kurdistan's chief opponents at the Baghdad congress. From Turkey, there were no delegates.

## students

#### BASIC INFORMATION ON KURDISTAN - NEW LEAFLET

A 4-page, English-language leaflet, called "Kurdistan", was published by KSSE (Kurdish Students' Society in Europe) last month. It contains basic (encyclopaedical) information on Kurdistan and on the history of the Kurdish national movement since World War I. Says the leaflet on the crushed Kurdish insurrections: "they have proved to the rulers of Kurdistan and indeed to the world that the Kurds have no desire of giving up their nationality and that they have been and shall remain Kurds forever. They have safeguarded their existence as a people, but they remain and still are an oppressed people ---". The leaflet's publishers "feel sure that the liberation and unification of Kurdistan will ultimately be achieved" and say Kurds "extend the hands of friendship to all peoples of the world and would gladly accept and appreciate the genuine friendship and help from whatever side they might come".

#### NO ROOMS FOR STUDENTS IN WEST-GERMANY: ACTION WANTED

On May 13th, the "Verband deutscher Studentenschaften" (VdS) reported shocking facts on the housing situation for students in the German Federal Republic. In Hamburg, Kiel, Münster, Cologne, Göttingen, Tübingen and Freiburg the situation is worst. In Cologne several students had to spend their first days there in a casualty-ward. Room-rents are rapidly reaching the level of usury. In Munich, the average price for a student room is 100 German Marks but now prices of 200-300 Marks a month

are taken in the City's centre for rooms without any comfort. The "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung", which excels in realistic reporting on West-German university and student life, wrote on May 15th: "Most gravely affected are foreigners from Africa and Asia; numerous room offers carried the notice: "no foreigners"." Kurdish and other Afro-Asian students are invited to report to ISK on experiences as pictured above. When a sufficient number of case histories comes in, the "International Society Kurdistan" will send a documented protest to Federal German authorities. (One of ISK's CC members started a one-man's crusade with lectures in West-Germany last year already, attacking "Frau Wirtin" 's private "war" against Afro-Asian students. He met with the enthusiastic approval of his listeners). "Kurdish Facts" is prepared to publish illustrated case-histories on the practices mentioned in the VdS report. Active international solidarity can stop the usury and xenophobia attitude of the Frau Müller and Frau Meyer types. After their "Wirtschaftswunder", they will experience their "blaues Wunder".

#### STUDENT SUMMER JOBS IN BRITAIN

Every foreign student willing to work in a British hotel or restaurant this summer can get a Ministry of Labour working permit now, no matter whether he/she studies in Britain or in another European country. British Railways, too, are seeking 200 student-workers for the summer months. The "National Union of Students" (NUS) will give details.

#### ALL-KURDISH STUDENT FEDERATION PLANNED

In its 5 years of existence, the "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe" (KSSE) have succeeded in uniting practically all Kurds studying in Europe, irrespective of whether they did so in Western Europe, irrespective also of whether they came from Iraqi-, Turkish-, Persian- or Syrian Kurdistan. The KSSE also succeeded in interesting an increasing number of people and institutions abroad in the Kurdish question. In this connection, it may be added that the establishing of an "International Society Kurdistan" took place after its founders had been in contact with KSSE-students for over a year.

In the national and social emancipation movement of all underdeveloped and/or dependent countries, students played and are still playing a dominant and pioneering role. The militant, nationally and socially conscious student has become a common type in practically all Asian, African and Ibero-American countries.

Like the Kurdish national movement in general, the Kurdish student movement is seriously jeopardized by the fact that the Kurdish ethnic area is divided over four foreign states: the Iranian Empire, the Turkish Republic and two predominantly Arab republics: the U. A. R. and Iraq. Student organizations in these four states are either hostile or indifferent to the Kurdish question and no active support for the Kurdish cause can be expected from them for some time to come.

The KSSE, which can work in freedom and so became the nucleus of an all-Kurdish student movement, developed the following plan this spring:

- a) Organising Kurdish Student Unions in Iraq, Turkey, Syria and Iran;
- b) Reviving the former "Association of Kurdish Students in America" and
- c) Unite KSSE, the four Unions and the Association mentioned into one "All-Kurdistan Federation of Student Organizations".

The plan has already been discussed with students from the various parts of Kurdistan and met with their enthusiastic approval. The chief aim being to make the Kurdish student movement as independent as possible from the (difficult) conditions in divided Kurdistan, HQ will be in Europe. The project bears some parallel to the idea of the (now suppressed) daily "Khebat" of the "Democratic Party Kurdistan in Iraq" to set up a "Kurdish Information Agency" - also with Headquarters in Europe. Friends of the Kurdish cause, who predicted a worsening of conditions for the Kurds in Iraq months ago, also suggested the establishment of a "crisis-proof" centre of Kurdish national activities abroad.

Whereas the West-Asian "home" unions of Kurdish students will have to work "illegally" in most cases, Kurdish activities abroad can be carried out freely. And even in the (theoretical) case that most Kurdish students now active abroad would be, say, arrested by the governments who issued their passports, work on behalf of the Kurdish nation could still be continued now. The reason: a sufficient number of foreign supporters of the Kurdish cause have been "recruited" during the past few years. Even the Kurdish press cannot ever more be totally silenced now, as Kurdish papers can be printed outside Kurdistan as well. And in view of the Kurdish experiences with underground work there are ways and means indeed to let them reach the Kurdish reader at home. West-Asian governments forbidding Kurdish publications would soon find the Kurdish papers "imported" that way more "radical" than those printed legally, as the latter category naturally shows some loyalty to the respective West-Asian government permitting their appearance.

"Dialectically" speaking it may be predicted that any increased oppression of the Kurdish national movement, its students section and its press will - in the long run - strengthen all three. Public opinion abroad, especially in the West, is a thing countries like Turkey and Iran can ignore less successfully than they can public opinion at home.

## BOOKS

#### NEW LEAFLET ON TURKISH-KURDISTAN

"Mijulhega Kurdi" (= "Centre of Kurdish Studies") in Paris has just published a new booklet on the situation in Turkish-North-Kurdistan. As its predecessor reviewed in "Kurdish Facts" last month, it is in French, mimeographed and containing several newspaper quotations from Turkey and Europe. On the 10th and last page, the Centre's publications since 1948 are listed: 5 in French, 1 in German and 3 each in English and Kurdish. (Most of them are in ISK's "Central Kurdish Library in Europe". Ed.)

ERSKINE CHILDERS:

"COMMON SENSE ABOUT THE ARAB WORLD"

After "Common Sense" paperbacks on Russia, China, Africa and India, London's Mr. Victor Gollancz has now published one on the Arab nations, written by the son of an Eireann Cabinet minister. Both the author and his Arab preface-writer feel that "what is needed above all is a radical psychological readjustment on the part of the West to a new dynamic Arab world ---". Arab Awakening is traced back till Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798 and about the post-1914/18 'peace' settlements in West-Asia Childers says: "In Arab history, the year when the Powers made their final decisions at San Remo, 1920, is known as "The Year of Catastrophe". The West's imago of the Arabs is skilfully analysed throughout the ages. Here's a traced phase in the ignoring of millions of urban Arabs: "The idea that all Arabs are nomads of the desert was subtly transformed into the conviction that all 'good' Arabs are of desert aristocracy." Half of the book deals with the dynamic years of 1952-60. Mr. Childers does away with numerous popular misunderstandings and myths on this period and on the Arabs in general, but - unfortunately - repeats the old Western simplifications of the Kurdish question. ("In northern Iraq, there is a large Kurdish community, over 800.000 strong - historically separatist, with a non-Arabic dialect, and strongly wooed by a Kurdish nationalist campaign from Soviet Armenia ---", etc.)

The treatment of Qassim lags somewhat behind the facts but Mr. Childers' belief that the former has got "a long-developing monomania and a profound persecution complex" might be correct. In spite of some inevitable errors, Mr. Childers' book is fair and factual and certainly one of the best shorter treatises on the subject available. (192 pages, 6 sh. net, 1960)

PIERRE RONDOT: A NEW BOOK

Pierre Rondot, the well-known French specialist on Kurdish and West-Asian affairs, will publish a new book this summer. Publisher Frederic Praeger of New York announces: "The Changing Patterns of the Middle East" for July (224 pages, 3 maps, appendices, index, price approx. \$ 4,50). Emphasis is put on Arab nationalism during 1919-1958. Pierre Rondot is Editor-in-Chief of "L'Afrique et l'Asie", a quarterly "Revue Politique, Sociale et Economique", which carries a Kurdish Chronicle regularly (Paris VIe, 13, Rue du Four, NF 3,50 per issue). Colonel Rondot served his country as a soldier, diplomat, scientist and Intelligence man.

HOSTLER'S "TURKISM & THE SOVIETS" IN GERMAN

In 1957, US Airforce Colonel Charles Warren Hostler's book "Turkism and the Soviets / The Turks of the World and their Political Objectives" was published in London by Allen & Unwin. Last year a German translation of it appeared at Metzner's Verlag, Frankfurt/Main & W. Berlin under the title: "Türken und Sowjets / Die historische Lage und die politische Bedeutung der Türken und der Turkvölker in der heutigen Welt". Gisela Alles and Tilemann Stelzenmüller did the translation. An all-round book on the big Turkic family of Osmons, Azer-

baijanis, Tatars, Bashkirs, Turkistani and Yakutians was - indeed - overdue. The Turkic nations are a world-political factor which is often underestimated and evaluating their role in history could contribute to liquidating the out-moded, one-sided Germanic-Romanic conception of history still popular in the West, and its replacement by a "Weltbild" which includes the Slavic and Oriental nations as well.

But when just one book is to fill such an enormous gap of knowledge and understanding, its author must work according to high standards. The reviewer is sorry to say that - in his opinion - Colonel Hostler did not do so.

Even when listing the various Turkic nations and groups he already starts making serious errors (8 million Turkic people in Chinese Turkistan, for instance). Kalmucks and Oirots are sometimes referred to as Turkish peoples, though they are decidedly Mongolian. Non-Soviet Turks are dealt with very superficially. The maps are very bad and contradict each other. The Turkification of all Anatolia is said to have been completed long ago, in spite of many a Kurdish insurrection in that part of the world. The German tradition is not brought up to date by including Soviet cartographic material (the best in this field, as Western experts agree as well) or the results of the Chinese census. Bibliography and index were not included in the German version either.

Even a random listing of Hostler's errors and omissions could fill pages. The book, however, contains a lot of highly interesting material which is either almost inaccessible or was not published earlier. There is no doubt that in the USA much is done to build up Oriental research including that of the Living Orient. But with the money and sources Colonel Hostler had at his disposal, a far better book could have been written. That West-German readers had to do with a book like this is less astonishing, as in Germany there is practically no scientific activity on 20th century Turkic countries. Germany's splendid 19th century tradition of Turkology is as obviously dying as that of Kurdology and it remains to be seen whether it will ever be revived. It is far from impossible that scientific activity on foreign (especially Oriental) countries will lag far behind the constantly growing public interest in those areas one day. The more knowledge is "democratized", the more real leadership of the intellectuals is required. It is no use talking about "world unity", "brotherhood of nations" etc. etc. without supplying FACTS on foreign countries and peoples to both the intelligentsia and the broad public. Let us hope Colonel Hostler will revise his book thoroughly. If he can manage this, we'll certainly greet a second edition with joy.

KURDISH DICTIONARIES IN FRENCH SOON

The Paris "Centre of Kurdish Studies (Mijulgeha Kurdi) has just announced the forthcoming subscription opening for two dictionaries: a French-Kurdish one containing 45.000 words and a Kurdish-French one containing 60.000 words approximately. This is - in fact - the most important news in Kurdish philology since the publication of Professor Kurdo/ev's "Fehenga Kurdi-Rusi" last summer (see KF, April), which contained



34.000 words. The manuscripts now ready for printing were prepared up to over 14.000 words by Jeladet and Kamuran Aali Bedir-Khan and the French Kurdologist Roger Lescot in Damascus before World War II and extended by Dr. Bedir Khan since the Emir started teaching Kurdish Language and Literature at the Paris "Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes" in 1947. The oldest and only Kurdish-French dictionary was published by Jaba in St. Petersburg in 1879, three years after the publication of Bitlisi's "Sheref Nameh" was completed. The Dictionary's Editor was Ferdinand Justi (1837-1907), another well-known Kurdologist of the seventies, who wrote a voluminous Kurdish grammar. Jaba's Kurmanji-Kurdish Dictionary was printed in Arab characters. Unpublished MSs of Jaba's French-Russian-Kurdish and Kurdish-French-Russian dictionaries are in the archives of the Soviet Academy of Sciences in Leningrad. Prof. Qanate Kurdo says.

The preparation and publication of a modern Kurdish Dictionary in a Western language was one of the first big targets of ISK's scientific department. No need to say that the Society is extremely pleased to give its monthly's readers the above-mentioned pre-announcement. A big illustrated article on the history of Kurdish dictionaries is to appear in "Kurdish Facts" this year. As soon as the subscription to the Kurdish-French and French-Kurdish dictionaries is open, it will be carried in each issue of this periodical. Readers are invited to help enable the "Centre of Kurdish Studies" to publish the dictionaries by sub-

scribing to them. Without any "personal cult" it may be said that the dictionaries will add a new page to the long and honourful record of the Bedir-Khan family's pioneer work for Kurdistan's cultural emancipation.

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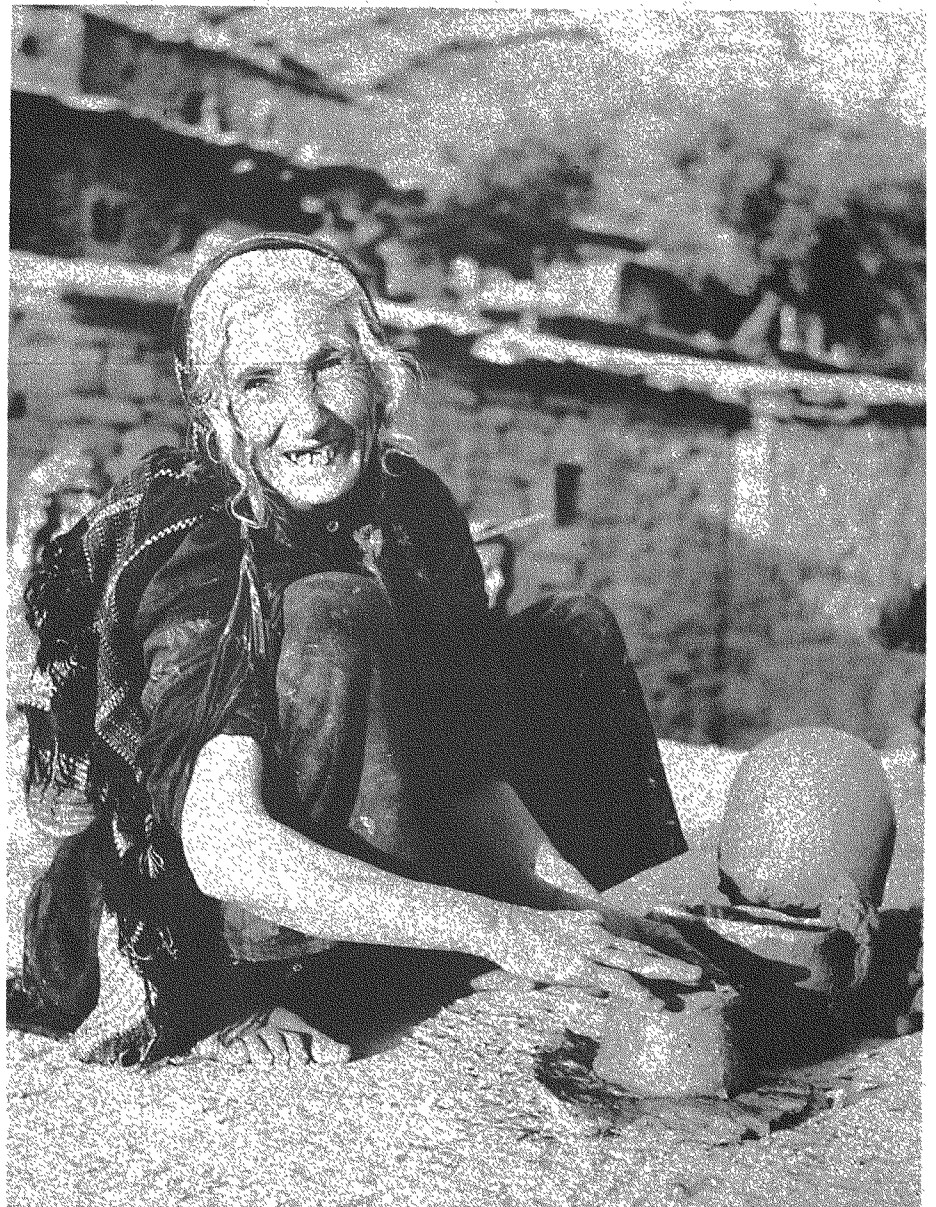


*R.P.  
Prof. Dr. Thomas BOIS O.P.  
carmel St. Joseph  
— Rue Verdun  
Beyrouth  
Lebanon*

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# KURDISH FACTS AND WEST-ASIAN AFFAIRS



In remote areas of Northern Kurdistan, pottery is still done without using a wheel. The job is generally done by aged women, like the one shown here.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN

دولتيه كوردستان

REKXRRAWÎ CÎHANÎ KURDISTAN

अंतर्राष्ट्रीय समाधि कुर्दिस्तान्

PERHIMPUNAN INTERNASIONAL KURDISTAN

SOCIEDAD INTERNACIONAL KURDISTAN

MIĘDZY Narodowe Towarzystwo dla spraw Kurdystanu

KÛRDÛSTAN MİLLETTERARASI KURUMU

국제정회 '쿨디스탄'

SOCIETÀ INTERNAZIONALE KURDISTAN

Διεθνής Κοινωνία Κουρδιστών

INTERNATIONALA GENOOTSCHAP KOERDISTAN

INTERNATIONALA FÖRENINGEN KURDISTAN

國際聯合會顧依斯坦

SOCIÉTÉ INTERNATIONALE KURDISTAN

نھاریه بین المللی کوردستان

MEĐUNARODNO DRUŠTVO KURDISTAN

МЕЖНАРОДНОЕ ОБЩЕСТВО КУРДИСТАН

SOCIEDADE INTERNACIONAL KURDISTAN

INTERNATIONALE GESELLSCHAFT KURDISTAN

クワヂナスラ 國際協會

## KURDISTAN

### (ENCYCLOPAEDIC INFORMATION)

Divided country in West-Asia (Middle East), about 500.000 km<sup>2</sup>; mainly inhabited by KURDS, a 2.500 year-old nation of Iranian (Indogermanic) stock. Their coherent ethnic area is bordered by that of the Turks in the West, the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis in the North, the Persians in the East and the Arabs in the South. Of appr. 12 million Kurds, 5 million live in the Turkish Republic, 3,5 in the Persian Empire, 1,8 in the Iraqi Republic and 400.000 in Syria (UAR). Small Kurdish enclaves exist in Soviet Transcaucasia, Iran and Turkistan. Kurdistan has rich natural resources (especially oil), Mountain peasantry, handicrafts and a beginning industry are the main sources of living. Principal cities: Bitlis, Van, Diarbekir, Sulaimaniyah, Kirkuk, Mehabad, Culture: Oldest Kurdish literary document known dates from

834. Kurmanji & Sorani dialects (spoken by 60% & 9% of Kurds resp.) and Arab & Latin characters are competing for nation-wide use. Religion: Sunni Islam; small Yezidi & Christian minorities. Politics: Kurds have long record of resisting assimilation and foreign oppression. But even now, most Kurds are deprived of their national & cultural rights. Tribal-feudal traditions are now giving way to modern, progressive forces, seeking self-determination along democratic lines.

### INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN (ISK)

A democratic, non-partisan, international action group founded in the Netherlands, July 1960, now working in about 30 countries. Aims: 1°. collecting & supplying facts abt. Kurds & Kurdistan; 2°. aiding Kurdish nation in its struggle for democratic emancipation; 3°. help-

ing to establish friendly relations between Kurds, their neighbours & all other nations of the world. ISK's present Central Committee (CC): Pres.: S. E. van Rooy; Vice-Pres. & Student Aff.: L. Simonse; Sec. - General & Librarian: Drs. J. Kemp; Treasurer: E. W. Broeksma. Address: see below.

### KURDISH FACTS

#### AND WEST-ASIAN AFFAIRS (KF)

Monthly information magazine published by ISK. Editor: Silvio van Rooy, Amsterdam-West, Da Costastraat 25 I, The Netherlands. "Kurdish Facts" wants to tell the world about Kurdistan, and Kurds about world problems of interest to them. 12 issues cost 22 sh., 12 DM or equivalent. Air despatch is charged extra. Payments to "International Society Kurdistan" (acc. nr. 23686), Twentsche Bank N. V., Amsterdam. Advertising rates are supplied upon request.

# IN - Mail - OUT

## NORTH KURDISTAN; ANATOLIA AND 1925-UPRISING

"With your permission, I would like to make you attentive to a common mistake that you make in "Kurdish Facts": you identify Kurdistan of Turkey to Eastern Anatolia. Anatolia, geographically and ethnologically speaking, stretches from Smyrna to the Taurus or ancient Cappadocia, excluding Kurdistan. So that expression cannot designate Kurdistan, whether on geographical and ethnical or political grounds. The expression "Eastern Turkey" to designate Kurdistan is wrong also ethnologically and geographically, but true in regard to the present (and unjust) situation of Kurdistan in Turkey, which is the very negation of our country. When you say "Eastern Turkey" to designate Kurdistan, it is as if you designate Scotland by North England. But this error is impossible in Great Britain because the special status of Scotland is recognized. You know also that the differences between Turkey and Kurdistan (of Turkey) are without comparison with those between England and Scotland. So please keep making use of the expression "Kurdistan of Turkey" or "Northern and

Western Kurdistan": this might become very important politically during the future development of the Kurdish Question. Your article on the Kurdish revolt of Shaikh Said in Turkey, 1925, lacked many historical elements. It gave the impression that that revolt was truly a reactionary one, as pretends the Turkish Government. You know it was national. The chief of the revolt had to be originally a high officer and an educated man: Colonel Khaled Djibrany, who had to be assisted by many other officers. But Turkish police was informed and all those officers had been arrested before the outbreak of the revolt. So Shaikh Said became "incidentally" the head of that revolt. He was indeed a religious man but also a nationalist and the revolt of 1925 was a National one. Was the last Cyprus revolt a religious one because Mgr. Makarius is an ecclesiastic?"

(I. S. V., Kurdish historian, Lausanne)

## IR. STEPHAN TO ANSWER KURDISH LETTERS

According to its Kurdish readers' request KF has redirected all letters sent by them to Ir. Stephan c/o ISK to Ir. Stephan, chair-

man of the "Netherlands-Turkish Society". The mail did come in after "Kurdish Facts" had printed an English translation of the polemic between Ir. Stephan and ISK in the Dutch daily "Trouw" (Amsterdam-C., N. Z. Voorburgwal 225) on the fate of the Kurds in the Turkish Republic. Ir. Stephan, who is 74, has promised ISK to answer all letters personally. But having just left hospital after a heavy operation, he is - unfortunately - unable to do so at the moment, and consequently asks for some patience. Ir. Stephan also states that his letter to "Trouw" was sent as a private comment and that his function in the "Netherlands-Turkish Society" was added by "Trouw" without his previous knowledge.

## THE AGE OF SEEING

"That photo of a Kurdish girl in your May issue one could really love. It's on the wall in my room now."

(Mrs. C. L., housewife, Amsterdam)

## WANTED: ONE MILLION PEOPLE BEFORE JULY 18TH, 1961

"At the moment I am building up a Ger-

man movement called "Die deutsche Nothelferei" and we hope towards God the Almighty that we'll have a million of 'Nothelfer'-adherents within one year. Then we have a political factor, with which and from which we can help the Kurds as we also do with any other nation. I believe, however, that it is now Kurdistan's 'turn', to become free and independent." (G. J. M., Baden-Baden, Western Germany, on July 18th, 1960)

THE EDITOR thanks Mr. V. for the interesting facts given on the 1925 Uprising in Turkish Kurdistan. They were not contained in the usual standard works KF consulted for its short article. In order to avoid the impression that the 1925 Uprising was a solely religious and reactionary affair, we added some quotations about the national feelings of the Northern Kurds. As to geographic terminology, Mr. V. did well to explain that Anatolia is not identical with the Asiatic territory of the present Turkish Republic. The error is very common indeed. (Cf. Gürsel's statement quoted in this issue.) From the beginning, ISK has been keen on a realistic geographical terminology. "Eastern Turkey" it never used for North Kurdistan, except in quotations. The term "Kurdi-

stan of Turkey" is unusual English. When you say British Guyana, French Somaliland or Portuguese Timor, why not Turkish-, Persian-, Syrian- and Iraqi-Kurdistan? May we use this opportunity to ask all our Kurdish and non-Kurdish readers again to contact us at once when they find something in KF they think wrong? All critics can be sure that close attention is paid to their remarks. So we can improve KF's quality together. Many thanks in advance.

**KURDISH VOICE FROM THE LEBANON**

"As long as the Kurds will live they will never forget your endeavours to serve them, and undoubtedly your efforts are of great effect upon them, the thing I felt among a great number of Kurds in Lebanon who expressed affectionately their gratitude and thanks towards your noble aim."

(Mr. H. H., Bhamdoun, Lebanon)  
*Hazret Haco Achmed i Kurd a Alemany 1963*

DEAR READER:

This issue of "Kurdish Facts" has 4 pages more than usual. It is our paper's third enlargement in its 7 months of existence. We dare to try this experiment in spite of the fact that "Kurdish Facts" is still

far from being materially self-supporting. In one word: 4 pages more mean a big risk. But you all know that there is an urgent need to inform the world about what is really happening in Kurdistan, the geographical heart of boiling West-Asia. You also know we are the only non-Kurdish periodical there is on Kurdish affairs. Certainly, our news material is already being excerpted and quoted, subscriptions are coming in and we are often asked for additional information. The scepticism with which certain people received our endeavour is rapidly waning now. That is encouraging, no doubt. But we are still poor, terribly understaffed, without proper office quarters, improvising much. Do not you think that it would pay to invest 12 marks or the equivalent in your country's currency into our "going concern"? Then please fill out the form enclosed and send it to "International Society Kurdistan", Da Costastraat 25 I, Amsterdam-West, The Netherlands. With your money we can do a lot. In this issue, three new rubrics are starting: Literature, Geography and Development. You'll find - as ever - several things we are sure you have not yet read anywhere. We all thank you a lot for your kind cooperation, enabling us to do the job. THE EDITOR

# THE KURDOSCOPE

- IRAQI KURDISTAN:** Headquarters of "Democratic Party Kurdistan" sealed by Baghdad police / Mullah Mustapha al-Barzani sheltering in Barzan since over 2 months / Refuses invitations for Baghdad / His brother Ahmed, assuring Qassim of Kurdish loyalty, received coolly / Palestinian-Arab army trained in Iraqi Kurdistan to invade Israel / Present fate of most DPK-CC-members now ascertained; Ibrahim Ahmed possibly no longer in Iraq.
- TURKISH KURDISTAN:** Turkish massacres of Kurds in May were preceded - three weeks before - by renewed plea of Gürsel for spiritual genocide of Kurds / 8 expelled Kurds arrested on conflicting charges.
- PERSIAN KURDISTAN:** General Teymour Bakhtiar, previous chief of Secret Police responsible for arrest of 200 Kurds / tours Bakhtiar tribal area to recruit fighters / for possible military putsch / to avoid National Front government in Iran / and save Pahlevi monarchy.
- SYRIAN KURDISTAN:** No news of importance during past month.
- GENERAL:** Situation in West-Asia pretty explosive / Turkish officers Junta crumbling / Amini government in Iran given a 50-50 chance at best / Qassim seeks to stabilize position by Pan-Arabism and Islamisation / Tito-Nasser-Axis aims at a "Neutrinform" body for Afro-Asian-Ibero-American countries / Soviet-Kurdish professor Kurdo says ISK is doing great job in the interest of peace and of friendship between nations / Western press starts using news given in "Kurdish Facts" / Kurdish students appealed to Kennedy and Khrushchov at their Vienna meeting / advocating neutralisation of all West-Asia.

# INSIDE KURDISTAN

POLICE SEALS DPK-HQ IN BAGHDAD,  
BARZANI STILL IN BARZAN

Iraqi policemen put seals on the doors of the "Democratic Party Kurdistan" 's Headquarters in Baghdad. Their colleagues were busily rounding up Iraqi left wing organisations, in spite of ever higher protest waves from the Socialist countries. Repeatedly, the Qassim Military Government asked Mullah Mustapha al-Barzani to return to the Republic's capital. But the DPKII-Leader preferred to stay more safely in his native Barzan, where he has a loyal population behind and a devoted Kurdish body-guard (partly dressed in black) around him. There were rumours that Mr. Ibrahim Ahmed, Secretary-General of the DPKII had even left Iraqi territory.

On June 8th, 1961, Mustapha's brother Sheikh Ahmed Barzani, was received by Qassim. Ahmed told the Leader that the Kurds would always remain loyal to the Government. Answered the Faithful Leader that he was absolutely sure about the stability of the Iraqi Republic. This - translated from polite Oriental phrase - meant that Qassim wanted to make clear that he did not need Kurdish loyalty. (Radio Beyrouth, June 11th, 1961.)

## FATE OF OTHER CC MEMBERS OF KURDISH PARTY

At the end of May, Kurdish sources reported the following to ISK on the fate of the "founding fathers" of the "Democratic Party Kurdistan in Iraq":

Under arrest were: Saleh Abdullah Al-Yusefi, a Government employee, since October 1960, and Omar Mustapha, a lawyer since January 1961. Gone underground had Sayid Jalal al-Talabani (who joined CC only after a publisher of the - now suppressed - DPK-daily "Kurdistan" was needed) since the end of March and his fellow lawyer, Shamsuddin Al-Mufti. Still free were Nuri Shawez and Ali Abdullah, both engineers, and Helmi Ali Sherif, journalist and Co-Editor of (suppressed) "Khebat", the Party's chief organ. The fate of the two remaining DPK-CC-members, both of a non-intellectual profession: labourer Ismael Aref and peasant Mullah Abdel Ilah Ismael, was - at that time - unknown to KF's informants.

All-in-all: of 11 persons (including Barzani and Ibrahim Ahmed) 2 were arrested, 3 sheltering or hiding, 1 had possibly left Iraq, 3 were free and the fate of 2 was not certain.

## JOURNEYING BACK INTO WORLD WAR II

Summarizing the situation of the Kurds in Iraq after the Republic's measures against the "Democratic Party Kurdistan" it may be said that conditions are much on the pre-Qassim, pre-Republican line. British officer Richard Goold-Adams described this system in his war-time-record "Middle East Journey" (Murray, London, 1947, p. 94-96) as follows:

"One or two Kurds are normally included in the central Iraqi Government as a matter of political expediency."

"The authority of the central government, legislating from Baghdad, is still slight in many parts of Kurdistan, and it is true that little gets done in the name of Iraq alone. What matters is the attitude of local headmen (see KF/4, p. 4), and it is something on which Iraq may congratulate herself that on the whole there has in fact been loyalty by local sheikhs to the central government. --- it has also been due to the wise policy, pursued by successive Iraqi governments, of not trying to curb Kurdish aspirations too much. Experts point out that Iraq will be wise to remember not only the Scottish analogy but also the solution adopted by the English, namely encouragement rather than suppression of local nationalism. That she has so far pursued this course is shown by the fact that the Kurds have their own schools, judges and officials, and use their own language in all that they do. No previous rulers, be they Turkish or Persian, have given them so much so willingly."

## TEN YEARS LATER: "DOCILE KURDS" DREAM

Downright "optimistic" was Homer Bigart, who reported from Sulaimaniya to "The New York Times" on May 23rd, 1957: "Iraq seems to have solved the Kurdish question. Until recently, the most troublesome of minorities, Iraq's 1.000.000 Kurds now docilely accept the rule of Baghdad. The persistent dream of a Kurdish nation of nearly 5.000.000 carved from Turkey, Iraq, Syria and Soviet Armenia is nearly extinct among southern Kurds who live in Iraq."

But Mr. Bigart's knowledge of Kurdistan's geography proved to be as incorrect as his wishful thinking about "nearly extinct" Kurdish patriotism. A year later, in July 1958, the Kurds enthusiastically supported the overthrow of the Faysal regime of which Mr. Bigart had written in America's most important daily that the Kurds "accepted" its rule "docilely".

## MODERNISATION OF NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Doubtlessly there will be "political experts" now, who say that General Qassim has also "solved the Kurdish question" in Iraq, by buying some tribal chieftains, suppressing the "Democratic Party Kurdistan in Iraq", allowing some Kurdish schools and papers etc. But it remains to be seen whether those self-styled "experts" on Kurdistan are right. History shows that it is easier to oppress a nation or other group downright than to grant it some freedom and afterwards withdraw the concessions. The youth of Kurdistan, especially the intelligentsia, have realized that the feudal-tribal system no longer serves Kurdish freedom and progress. They are thinking on modern lines: democratic, national, social, republican and - activist. They have seen what can be achieved by Kurdish organisations and by organis-

ation as such. They are unlikely to forget that or to remain idle now Western Asia is boiling with unrest, seeking its "new order".

#### BUDGETS OF LIWAHS IN IRAQI KURDISTAN

Qassim's Minister of the Interior has checked, revised and OKayed the budgets of Iraq's 14 districts (Liwah's). Kurds in Iraq are mainly concentrated in five of them: Mosul, Kirkuk, Erbil, Sulaimaniyah and Diala. Expected revenues of these 5 Liwahs for 1961/62 were respectively (in Iraqi dinars) 1,780,000; 352,707; 342,413; 388,000; and 422,000. The approximated expenditures amounted to: 1,380,000; 353,624; 377,000; 381,000 and 421,000. Wrote "Iraq Weekly" of May 19th, 1961: "The local administration budget of Mosul Liwa comes second after Baghdad Liwa as to the magnitude of revenues and expenditures and the important projects it includes." The income of the 5 Liwah's (co-)inhabited by Kurds make up about 41% of the total estimated income of all Iraq's Liwahs for 1961/1962. Their territory is about 25% of that of the entire Republic, their population about 30%.

#### EXPELLED KURDS ARRESTED BY TURKS

Shortly before the Kurdish demonstrations in Turkish Kurdistan opened such a tragic chain-reaction (see KF/7, 0.4), policemen of General Gürsel's Military Government arrested eight prominent Kurdish feudal leaders. This was reported in the Turkish paper "Milliyet" of May 7th. They had already been expelled from (Turkish) Kurdistan and were residing in Bursa. They had to appear in dock on charges of being "reactionary", "making communist propaganda" and aiming at "an independent Kurdish Republic", all, incidentally, at the same time.

#### GUERSEL AGAIN DENIES EXISTENCE OF KURDS

The Turkish State Publishing House has just published a reprint of Sherif Firat's book "The Eastern Regions and the Story of Varto", which appeared in 1945. Firat who was assassinated the same year tried to prove that the Kurds are of Turkish origin. General Gürsel himself seems to be quite enthusiastic about this anti-scientific thesis. Reported "Kim" - a Turkish paper - on April 27th, 1961, that Gürsel recommended the reprint as follows: "This book must be read by all Turkish intellectuals. This book proves that our compatriots who live in the East of Anatolia and who speak a language which does not resemble ours and for this reason consider themselves as a different nation and which we ourselves by our ignorance consider as a different nation are Turks and nothing else. There exists no nation in the world with a personality of its own and calling itself Kurdish. The Kurds are not only our compatriots but also our race brothers. --- All Turkish intellectuals must know that the activities of Kurdism have only the aim of weakening us and wiping us out. Of course, we can never permit that, because the Eastern regions are not only the gate to our country but at the same time its



fortress. If we do not manage to explain these realities to our brothers in the East, if we neglect to enlighten them, they will be incapable of knowing that they are real Turks and of counter-acting the propaganda of Kurdish nationalism. One day our country will be torn into two parts then, because of this low propaganda. If we loose the Eastern regions, it will be difficult to maintain ourselves in central and western Anatolia." Why Kurdish freedom would threaten Turkey Proper, General Gürsel did not trouble to explain. As to "Turkish brotherhood", this was explained exactly two weeks later by the machine guns of his Army in North-Kurdistan, most "enlightening" indeed. Spiritual genocide was - as is usual - followed by physical genocide.

#### REPORTING ON KURDISH MAY-UPRISING AGAINST TURKS

In an - early - report on the commotion in Turkish-Kurdistan, Moscow radio pictured it as a "pro-Menderes plot" on May 11th, 15.30 GMT. The same version was given by Western press and Turkish information services. Only "Combat" of Paris and "Kurdish Facts" of Amsterdam revealed that it was a Kurdish

ish demonstrators, there were some against ex-Premier Menderes.

The Shah regime in Iran, dreaming of a Pan-Iranian expansion of the present Persian empire, immediately tried to take political advantage of the May Revolt (see KF/6, p. 4 and KF/5, p. 6). The Teheran journal "Sahar" ("Dawn") published a long article on "The Fate of the Kurds of Turkey" in its issue Nr. 257 already on May 13th, 1961. Its author, Mr. Muht Tabatabayi, a lawyer, reminded his readers of the service Kurds had paid to the Turkish cause during the rule of the Osmanli Sultans. The Turkish Republic, he added, does not show itself grateful for those services, however. That the same could be said of the Persian empire for the Kurds living there was - of course - not mentioned.

#### KURDISH POLITICAL PRISONERS IN IRAN: CAREER FOR BAKHTIAR?

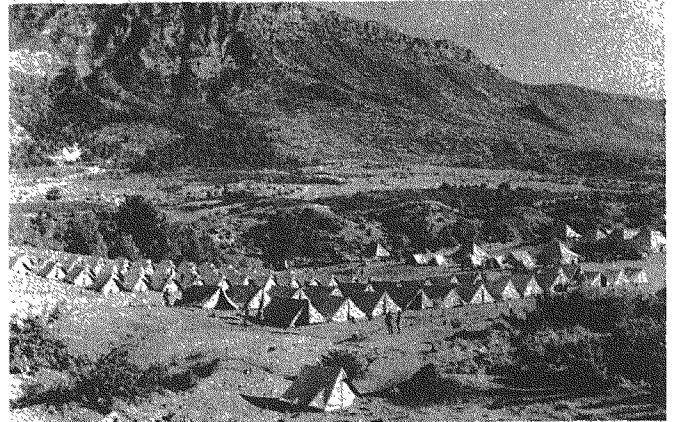
Before the big strike movement in Iran this spring, there were about 200 Kurds in Persian prisons for political reasons. They had been put there under the responsibility of General Teymour Bakhtiar, then chief of "Savak" (Shah's Secret Police). Reporting on Premier Amini's alleged anti-corruption "purge", the American Newsmagazine "Time" of June 9th, 1961, revealed that Bakhtiar "who was born to modest means but now owns a \$ 1.000.000 palace is still free". How many Kurds have been arrested under Bakhtiar's successor General Hassan Pakravan is not yet known.

Why Bakhtiar was not arrested became clear soon. He is said to be the key-man in the plans for a military putsch in Iran (see: West-Asian Affairs) in case the Amini government fails. Bakhtiar is already touring his native tribe's area by jeep to recruit tough fighters for the 'emergency case'. Premier Amini has already mentioned the possibility of a military coup during talks with leaders of the Iranian "National Front".

#### IRAQI KURDISTAN: INVASION ARMY TRAINED

Mountainous Iraqi Kurdistan counts most of the training grounds of General Qassim's "Palestinian Liberation Army". The Army, created by Iraq's Law No. 102 in 1960, consists mainly of Palestine Arabs but is supported by non-Iraqi Arabs as well. It is Qassim's opinion that only a military invasion can replace the present Jordan and Israeli States by an Arab Palestine.

The encamping of a Palestinian Army in Iraqi Kurdistan might have an additional reason: a pretext to have an Arab "striking force" in that area, some observers believe.



Camp of "Palestinian Liberation Army" in Iraqi Kurdistan

#### KURDISH GRAZING GROUNDS IN IRAQI-IRANIAN BORDER REGION

Representatives from the Iraqi and Iranian ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Interior and Justice are working out a Persian-Iraqi draft agreement on grazing grounds. Iraqi News Agency's weekly of May 19th, 1961, wrote: "Commenting on this it has been stated that some of the Iraqi tribes used to graze their livestock in parts of Iranian territory and so do some of Iranian tribes in Iraqi territory". The herdsmen referred to are mainly Kurds. Kurdish clan territories and traditional grazing grounds are as cut apart by Iranian-Iraqi borders as is Kurdistan itself. Season nomadism in Kurdistan resembles similar habits in the German-speaking parts of Europe's Alps; in spite of wide-spread opinion, pure nomads are only a small minority in the Kurdish nation.

A tighter government control of Qassim and the Shah in the Kurdish-inhabited borderlands of their States will probably affect trans-border connections of other than purely agrarian character and important to the Kurdish national movement. Since the Qassim revolution, many persecuted Kurds have been fleeing from Persian to Iraqi territory. The burial of one of them, wounded by Persian frontier guards, was attended by thousands of Kurds in Sulaimaniyah last year.

## WEST-ASIAN AFFAIRS

#### AMERICAN PLAN TO SAVE SHAH?

Some close observers of the Iranian scene believe that certain American circles aim at a military Putsch in Iran on the model of Turkey, South-Korea, Pakistan and Sudan. Zahedi Junior's talks with the Shah in Rome are said to have pointed in this direction. American advisers think that the top of the Iranian Imperial Army is still pro-monarchist and already annoyed quite enough for an "Operation-Zahedi Nr. 2", this time with a nationalist military junta-government as result. Adversaries

of the plan refer to the failure of the US-sponsored invasion into Castro's Cuba and stress that the Shah has become too much a symbol of the present regime to be tolerated much longer by the intelligentsia, the masses and the non-Persian nationalities of Iran. (See also under "Inside Kurdistan".)

French map of 1700 shows "Curdistan" as a country divided between the Turkish and Persian Empires. For details: see under "Geography".





**EUROPA**  
**ASIA**  
**AFRICA**

**CIRCASSIA**  
Cabartei  
Mingrelia  
Guria  
Geezia  
Dagesta  
Chirvan  
Gilan  
Tarki  
Tarku  
Derbent  
Chamaqui  
Bakuge  
Ferabath  
Georgian

**MARE NIGRUM**  
Constantinopel  
Surape  
Trapezonda  
Amasia  
Tocat  
Erzerum  
Ararat  
Gangea  
Istirwan  
Arzingan

**NATOLIA**  
**TURCIA ASIATICA**  
Sotolia  
Alexandreta  
Rhodus  
Cyprus  
Carpur  
Kellat  
Bellis  
Diarbek  
Gerna  
Mosul  
Anah  
Sulmana  
Meschat Ocem  
Jerusalem  
Meschat Ali  
I. Rahemad  
Bagdad  
Scherazur  
Maraon  
Damoc  
Amadan  
Kaschan  
Chulpaigan  
Desert  
Sufra  
CHUSSIS'TAN  
Abuaz  
Deartac

**MARE CASPIUM**  
Terki  
Tarku  
Derbent  
Chamaqui  
Bakuge  
Ferabath  
Georgian  
Amol  
TABRISTAN  
Thus  
Nisch  
Piruzca  
Kom  
Ace  
Toulak

**ARABIA DESERTA**  
Arabia Deserta  
I. Rahemad  
Alkayza  
Faid  
Chastella NAGED  
Iemama  
Iemama  
Hajar  
Tulphat  
Vodana  
Soha

**SINUS PERSICUS**  
Ispahan  
Iesd  
Iesdecas  
Kazarim  
Schirah  
KAR SISTAN  
Passa  
Iar  
Bander Congo  
Gon  
Elca tif  
Flachsa  
BAHREIN  
Tulphat  
Vodana  
Soha

**ARABIA**  
Cocir  
Ghana  
Asouan  
Medina  
Tambo  
Carathaim  
Tatief

**MARE**  
Dongola  
Idhab

## IRAN'S 'NATIONAL FRONT' - CHANCES ANALYSED

Iran's "National Front" has won a battle by forcing the Shah's government to promise early elections. But the latter tries to gain time. New Premier Ali Amini told NF leaders that their movement was heavily infiltrated by people of the outlawed Tudeh-Party, but Allahyer Saleh (64), the National Front leader says only NF "can save Iran from Communism, on the ground that it is the only political organisation untainted by corruption and, therefore, enjoying public confidence". ("Time", June 8th, 1961). When the Shah returned to Iran on May 31st, his plane was escorted by 8 jet-fighters, there was no enthusiasm in Teheran at all. A correspondent of the Amsterdam daily "De Volkskrant" revealed that in spite of this, Teheran radio trick-reported a jubilant welcome by the population, inserting tape-recorded shouting into the broadcast, a falsification the Dutch journalist called "tragi-comical".

A somewhat sceptical picture of the "National Front" was given in Britain's left-wing "New Statesman" of June 9th, 1961. It called the movement "an unofficial and rapidly expanding organisation which attracts anybody who is hostile to the Shah's government - the rag-tag and bobtail of the Mossadeq movement, members of the now suppressed Tudeh (Communist) party, professional men and intellectuals, merchants who complain of the inflation, tribal leaders who resent central government, and a large body of jobless ex-students". It quoted a young Persian lawyer who said that "revolution is not easy in a police state, although some students are ready to die for their beliefs". Who is opposing elections in Iran and with what arguments became clear from an article in "The Times" of June 16th:

"Those people who think the National Front would be bound to win an election and that it --- could not hold the ring against the communists --- make no bones of the fact that they do not want an election." Sometimes it looked like Persian reaction fearing National Front more than it does Communism. NF meanwhile increased its endeavour to show the world that Iranian democratic opposition is not "inspired from abroad" as Teheran used to say.

## IRAQ FROM THE INSIDE - AN "ECONOMIST" VIEW

Now West-Asia is in the news every day, it does pay to invest one shilling and sixpence into a single issue of "The Economist". Here is the analysis this 118 year-old London weekly gave of Iraq's internal situation on June 3rd, 1961:

"How does this Iraq-UAR debate affect the balance of forces in Iraq itself? The credo of the nationalist opposition is Arab unity - that is Iraqi membership of the UAR. But, in the last year or so their ardour for an immediate merger has been tempered. One reason for this is that they have come to realise the strength of the forces at home that oppose union. There are the large ethnic and religious minorities, Kurds and Shi'is, afraid of being swamped in the Arab mass; few people are prepared for the thought of sharing Iraq's oil revenues with their Arab brothers; and, perhaps most important, the army tends to stand for Iraqi separatism, the senior officers wanting power and plum jobs for themselves. The Communists, thrown on the

defensive in Iraq, remain dedicated opponents of Arab unity on President Nasser's terms. Their current tactic - in Iraq as in the UAR and Lebanon - is to clamour for democratic freedom, less out of conviction than to avoid proscription. It is on both these counts - opposition to Nasserism and defence of democracy - that the Communists now seem desirable allies to Mr. Kamil Chaderchi, the veteran leader of the National Democratic Party, who has come out in favour of a popular front."

## PAN-ISLAMISM REVIVED - AND ANALYSED

Pan-Islamism, used in vain by Ottoman sultans and by German backers of Arab nationalists a world war later to start a "Jihad" (Holy War) against the West, is now being revived with a view to other opponents. As was reported last month in KF, Pakistan (the world's biggest Moslem state by far) is involved in plans for an "Islamic Pact". To say it in German: Islamic "Morgensland" is to side with Christian "Abendland". But, secularisation being on the way everywhere, the echo is not as strong as was expected. Wrote Baghdad daily "Sawt-al-Ahrrar" on April 13th, 1961: "The idea of an Islamic Alliance, launched once more by Ayub Khan --- is not new. It is, like the idea of Pan-Arabism, very old". Then the paper protests against the thesis that the Baghdad- (now: Cento-)Pact was already an "Islamic Alliance" nucleus and points to the Pact's hostile attitude towards Moslem Egypt during the Suez crisis. "Sawt-al-Ahrrar" also accuses Cento of colonialism and pro-Zionism. Islam's Unity, the paper believes, can only be achieved by "popular leaders" free from Cento, Seato, etc.

This remark may point to the possible emergence of two brands of Pan-Islamism: one pro- and one anti-Nato. Pan-Arabism and Pan-Europism are, to some degree, propagated in two similarly clashing versions already.

## NOT IN BRISK DEMAND:

### HARD FACTS ON WEST-ASIAN AFFAIRS

Henri Nannen, Chief Editor of Germany's leading illustrated weekly "Der Stern" published full-page ads in prominent German dailies as the "Frankfurter Allgemeine" on June 13th, 1961. Most of the space was filled by the reprint of a realistic article on the terror regime in poor and corrupt Iran, published in his paper in October last year. NANNEN revealed that he had run into trouble with his Government because of "Der Stern"'s fact-giving reports on the Shah's Government and that the same had happened when the paper attacked the Faruk regime in Egypt some years ago. But the subsequent developments had proved that "Der Stern" was right and had informed its 10 million readers according to truth. Added the ad: "Der Stern" does not wait till it is officially 'bon ton' to tell the truth. --- Who is to inform the public about what is really happening in the world if not the press?" "Kurdish Facts", which faced similar complications because of the facts it supplied about Iran and Turkey, congratulated Editor Nannen for his civil courage shown.

# ON RECORD

## PROFESSOR QANATE KURDO ON KURDISTAN AND I. S. K.

Like last month, this rubric is quoting a Kurdish voice, this time not only on the Kurdish Question, but also on ISK. It is with extreme pleasure that we are publishing underneath a letter from Prof. Dr. Qanate Kurdo of Leningrad, an outstanding Kurdish patriot and philologist well-known to our readers already. What strikes most is his skilful articulating of the feelings and beliefs that gave birth to ISK now one year ago. Since then, ISK has gradually ceased to be a "West-European" affair only; it has now supporters in all zones of the world. Peaceful coexistence of people of differing schools of thought is a stage ISK could leave behind already, active cooperation on behalf of divided, oppressed and underdeveloped Kurdistan has come instead. ISK wishes professor Kurdo a long life in the service of his Kurdish nation and of science, progress and freedom in general. At ISK's HQ, he'll always be a most welcome guest.

The Editor

## SOVIET KURDISH PROF. KURDO TO I. S. K.

"I received some copies of your periodical. Please accept my best thanks for your attention to me and for your kindness. The publishing of an information periodical on the present conditions of Kurds and Kurdistan is an extremely valuable and important event in the Kurdish nation's struggle for independence.

You reached the friendly hand of help to the oppressed Kurdish nation. And I, as a Kurd and as a Kurdologist, am greeting with all my heart your kind activities in the field of struggling for the national rights of the Kurds, and offer you my sincere thankfulness. I am convinced that you are not standing alone in these activities. The sympathies of all progressive people of the world are on the side of the bereaved Kurdish nation.

In our era, the era of the collapse of imperialism and colonialism, in a period in which the consolidation of all progressive forces of the peoples of the Orient, including the Kurdish people, is taking place, I am glad to hear that in Western Europe there are friends of the Kurdish nation who have organised the "International Society Kurdistan", and who set themselves the task to inform the countries of the world about the situation of Kurdistan and the Kurds in Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria.

I am especially pleased to hear that your Society has set itself the task of research into the history and cultural history of the Kurdish nation. The freedom-loving and hard-working Kurdish nation always wished and still wishes good and friend-

ly relations with all peoples, especially with the Turkish, Persian and Arab nations. But unfortunately the ruling circles of these states are blinded by chauvinism. They are creating all kinds of barriers upon the path of brotherly togetherness between the Kurds and the nations of their states. Denying the role of the Kurds in the history and cultural history of the people of the Near East, withholding their rights on an independent development, the ruling circles of Turkey, Iraq, Iran and the U. A. R. are doing great harm to their own country and their own nation and thus block the progressive democratic development of the countries of the Near East. But such a situation cannot last long. I am deeply convinced that the hour of liberation of the Kurdish nation will sound and that happy times of cooperation between Kurds, Arabs, Persians and Turks will come again. Then the Kurds, as a nation with rights equal to those of others will be able to pronounce freely and wholeheartedly with thankfulness the names of all those noteworthy persons whose life has been closely connected with the fate of the Kurdish nation, who, in the gloomy days in the history of the Kurdish nation reached a helping hand in the struggle for human rights. Once having torn up Kurdistan, sultanist Turkey and imperial Persia styled themselves as friends of the Kurdish nation. The English and French imperialists also called themselves friends of the Kurdish nation when they were the masters of the countries of the Near East. In a sea of their own blood and on the bones of their brethren - the fighters for Kurdistan's freedom - the Kurdish people got to know the price for that "friendship". History has shown who is a real friend of the Kurdish nation and who is its cruel and blood-thirsty enemy. You and your comrades who declared themselves friends of the Kurdish nation cannot - of course - have anything in common with the Western despots and with the European robbers of the nations of the Orient. You are people of a new generation, of new views, people of the era of brotherhood, based on equality and friendship of all nations. You are people of good will! And it was your conscience that told you to get active for the sake of the bereaved Kurdish people. You are doing a great work in the interest of Peace and of friendship between nations. I hope you'll reach the results wished for. I want to tell you that in the present phase the Kurds in the Near East are a reliable stronghold of progressive force in the battle against colonialism, feudalism, a force in the battle for a genuine democracy. I wish you good health, great results in your sacred cause. Let your truthloving voice merge with the voices of all fighters for the liberation of the discriminated Kurdish nation. Sincerely yours: K. Kurdoey." (Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Institute for the Nations of Asia, Leningrad Branch, Leningrad, Russia.)

# PEOPLE

## "CARLA COURAGE" SAW BARZANI & QASSIM



That no woman can travel alone safely in the Orient is simply not true. Miss CARLA BARTHEEL, from Berlin, spent two years in post-revolutionary Iraq. She travelled and filmed, and had long talks with General Qassim, with Bedu chieftains and with Mullah Mustapha Barzani, Leader of the "Democratic Party Kurdistan". Back in Germany in the spring of 1960 "Carla Courage" as she is called, started lecturing and showed her rich collection of colour slides. Perhaps no woman has done so much to make the New Iraq known abroad. She got enthusiastic reviews from press, radio, TV and educational bodies. Last month, she lectured in Oldenburg (N. W.-Germany), Wrote "Nordwestdeutsche Rundschau" of May 15th, 1961: "The unforgettable 'Kurdish Days' in the "Brücke der Nationen", came to life again, when the Berlin blonde, --- Carla Bartheel, reported on her 2-years stay in Qassim's country with glowing descriptions and colour film documentation ---." After leaving Oldenburg, Miss Bartheel (shown in Bedu dress here) immediately contacted ISK. "Kurdish Facts" hopes to bring her first contribution soon.

YURI GAGARIN, successful Soviet-Russian space-flyer, was congratulated by the "Democratic Party Kurdistan", Radio Moscow broadcasted in English on May 16th, 21. 53 h. GMT. Together with the DPK, the Communist Parties of Lebanon, Algeria and Turkey and the League of Great Somalia congratulated.

## LIBRARIAN OF ISK: DRS. JAN KEMP



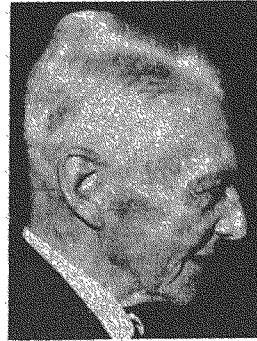
One of the 'founding fathers' of "International Society Kurdistan", Mr. Jan Kemp (30) is now its librarian and secretary-general. He left his native Amsterdam's municipal university in 1956 as a drs. phil. Having a working knowledge of Sanskrit and being interpreter. for New Greek, Drs. Kemp pays a lively interest to the linguistic aspects of the Kurdish question. With

extremely small means, he managed to make ISK's "Kurdische Zentralbibliothek in Europa" an already useful instrument to both the Society and "KF". About 200 titles and 1250 biblio-

graphical entries were collected within 9 months. Says Kemp: "Without the kind and constant help of our Kurdish and other friends, we'd be nowhere yet". Shown without his habitual dustcoat and apple juice here, ISK's Nr. 3-man - a moderate sceptic - has three Big Wishes: mastering Kurdish soon, scientific publications of ISK and - touring Oriental libraries to scan them for Kurdica.

## WERNER-OTTO VON HENTIG: 75 AND STILL GOING STRONG

Diplomats are seldom "hommes engagés". But Dr. Werner-Otto von Hentig, retired German ambassador, is. In Hamburg, he recently celebrated his 75th birthday, ignored by Bonn's "Auswärtiges Amt" because of his non-conformist views and frank speaking. 50 years ago, he started his stirring career in Peking, still imperially ruled then.



At the outbreak of World War I, von Hentig was in Persia. After freeing some Germans arrested by the Russians before hostilities had officially started, he rode back to Germany via Kurdistan. In 1942 - 28 years after - he wrote a book about it: "Heim durch Kurdistan". It contains many interesting details and praise for the Kurdish nation. Back in Berlin 1914, von Hentig and

Oskar von Niedermayer got the order to reach far-away Afghanistan and to stir up that country and India against the British. After 6 months, on horseback and afoot, having crossed the English and Russian sentry-lines, they got to Kabul indeed. Von Hentig's travel story "Diplomatenfahrt ins verschlossene Land" sold 200. 000 copies. Returning via Turkistan, Mongolia and China, he had still to cross the Pacific, the Americas and the Atlantic to get back home. As a stowaway aboard a US vessel he hears Pres. Wilson had declared war on Germany. He jumped overboard, swam 2½ hours in the Ocean and finally did turn up in Berlin. In 1941, he met Kurds again. Syria was still under Pétain's Vichy French at that time and not yet invaded by British and de Gaulle's Free French forces. A prominent Syrian Kurd offered German armistice-commissar von Hentig something like a Kurdish-German alliance.

Individualist von Hentig, soon fed-up with Hitler's way of making policy, enlisted again, as did many Germans with similar feelings who did not want to join their country's war-time enemies. After the German Federal Government was formed in 1949, he represented his country in several important centres of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Zone. Now, retired, he is still as active as ever and there are certainly few Germans with more personal friends in the Orient. No need to say that von Hentig's interest for Kurdistan, too, is still far from being dead.

## QASSIM WANTS ISLAM TO CONQUER WORLD

Qassim asked electro-workers on May 10th: "continue working for your sake until the triumphant Iraqi People and the Arab and MOSLEM NATION will achieve victory ALL OVER THE WORLD" (Text of INA, emphasis by KF).



# PROTEST CALENDAR

## KURDISH STUDENTS' TELEGRAM TO KENNEDY AND KHRUSHCHOV

When USA President Kennedy and Soviet Union Premier Khrushchov arrived in Vienna for their first experimental "summit" there was a telegram from the "Kurdish Students Society in Europe" dated June 3rd, 1961. In nearly 2 pages text it dealt with the fate of the Kurdish nation in the Turkish, Persian, Iraqi and UAR states. As all the facts mentioned in the telegram are known to the readers of "Kurdish Facts" only actual matters are quoted here.

Turkey: "After Gürsel's coup d'etat May 1960 nothing changed except negatively STOP Turkish law 25th October 1960 number 105 allows Turkish government deport Kurdish patriots from Kurdistan by force under false pretext of being Menderes supporters or reactionaries STOP".

Iran: "--- situation no better STOP Widespread poverty government corruption police rule democracy non-existent national oppression of Kurds Azeris Turkomans STOP Hundreds of Kurds imprisoned including four sentenced to death: Blourian Youssefi Kassem lou Sheriete STOP".

Iraq: "After revolution July 1958 certain Kurdish cultural rights recognised STOP Unfortunately during last year situation growing worse under Kassem's dictatorship democracy overthrown Kurdish rights not respected STOP Several heads of Kurdistan democratic party imprisoned and Kurdish national hero Mustapha Barzan sheltering in Barzan STOP".

UAR: "In Syria too Kurdish newspapers publications prohibited STOP Political trial Damas of imprisoned Kurdish leaders STOP".

The final paragraph of the telegram, containing solution suggestions, ran as follows:

"This oppressive situation endangers world peace in Middle East STOP To safeguard this peace and these principles (UNO Charter Conventions, Ed.) we beg your Excellencies to use your influence to urge States dividing Kurdistan to recognise legitimate Kurdish democratic cultural and national rights STOP". As this situation is to large extent maintained by international tension in Middle East we express hope that your talks may achieve

1. Internationally guaranteed real neutralisation of Middle-Eastern States especially Turkey Iran and Iraq with embargo on import of heavy arms and abolition of military bases and treaties.
2. Solution of the Kurdish national question within framework of this neutralisation according to international agreement based on United Nations Charter STOP".

Both statesmen were informed in the KSSE telegram that the "Kurdish people wishing to govern themselves and live freely in Kurdistan will continue fight for national liberation to enjoy self-determination STOP".

## INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

### 11TH ASSEMBLY OF FEDERAL UNION OF EUROPEAN NATIONALITIES

Representatives of several ethnic nationalities in Europe poured into Brugge, Flanders' most beautiful city, on May 25th, 1961. During 4 days, the Concert House was used for the 11th annual congress of the "Federal Union of European Nationalities", founded 1949 in Paris and now led by Folketing-Member Hans Schmidt and Dr. Povl Skadegard, both from Schleswick, the Danish-German contact zone. ISK and KSSE, corresponding members of FUEN since 1960 had both decided to send their respective presidents to the Congress. But as the Belgian representation in Berne refused a visa to Mr. Ismet Sherif Vanly, the latter asked Silvio van Rooy to represent KSSE too. Last-minute intermediation by both the FUEN and ISK at the Belgian Government on behalf of Mr. Vanly having failed, Kurdish interests were advocated for two organisations by one man at the FUEN congress. Even for those who were not "minority"-minded the Bruges Assembly was politically



interesting. Catalans supplied material on the oppression of their people by the Franco government, Bretons told about Brittany's situation under de Gaulle, a few weeks before their peninsula was seething with unrest. Among the numerous Flemish, the name of the Walloon autonomist left-wing leader Renard (70.000 adherents won in a few weeks) proved to be astonishingly popular. A Lap (Samian) told about the situation of his - Europe's northernmost - nation, divided over Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish and Soviet-Russian territories. Walther Schudnagis of Oldenburg Radio (who knew the Kurds from the "Kurdish days" he had reported on) lectured on "TV & Radio in connection with Ethnic Communities", FUEN-co-founder Prof. Brugmans (now in Bruges' "European College") on democratic nationalities policy, etc.

During the Committee sessions the Kurdish question was dealt with. KSSE had asked FUEN to be promoted from a corresponding to an associate member. But most FUEN-members thought that then FUEN's statutes had to be altered first, FUEN being "At the service of European nationalities" only. The fact - stressed by FUEN's leaders - that the Turkish republic was a full member of the Council of Europe did not make Turks or Kurds "European ethnic communities", members argued. With Walloon support vanRooy pointed out that Europe's frontiers were not as linear as was commonly thought and that it was neither ISK's

nor KSSE's intention to have the Kurds labelled as Europeans but to get some support for the oppressed Kurds in the Turkish Republic. A resolution to the latter end was proposed by KSSE. Both KSSE and ISK had sent their information material to the Congress. It found much interest, as did the Kurdish cause in general but FUEN's Statutes remained an obstacle to get KSSE's proposals agreed on. FUEN leaders and members repeatedly regretted that at the moment it was still impossible to widen FUEN's work to non-European areas because neither funds nor a staff were available for such a tremendous lot of additional activity. But Kurdistan had won many new friends and the local "Brugsch Handelsblad" could report that FUEN "decided on a lasting cooperation with the young Kurdish patriots" of KSSE. The editor asked Mr. van Rooy for an illustrated article on Kurdistan and several FUEN-members will receive KF regularly now.

#### QASSIM'S MEASURES AGAINST IRAQI WFDY-MEMBER

The Leaders of the "Iraqi Democratic Youth Organisation" developed since 1951, were arrested by General Qassim's authorities. The "World Federation of Democratic Youth" (HQ: East Berlin) of which IDYO is a member since June 16th, 1959, asked for their release. (Radio Moscow in Arabic, May 11th, 1961, 17, 00 h. GMT.) Against the "General Union of Students of the Iraqi Republic" (IUS-member) no Iraqi Military Government measures have been reported yet.

#### WORLD AMNESTY APPEAL FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS

On May 29th, 1961, a private campaign called "Appeal for Amnesty 1961" was started by some British in London. Campaign leader Mr. John Foster, M. P. (cons.) announced that the Appeal aimed at the release of all political prisoners in the world and that it was non-partisan. ISK drew Mr. Foster's attention to the Kurdish political prisoners in the various parts of Kurdistan. It asked for more information, in order to study a possible cooperation. A similar action, started from France after World War II, led to the release of thousands of Greek revolutionaries. KSSE also showed interest in the "Appeal for Amnesty 1961".

## RADIO

#### "RADIO BERLIN INTERNATIONAL": 3 PROGRAMS IN KURDISH

"Radio Berlin International" (GDR) started with a Kurdish program three times a day on May 23rd, 1961. The part of Berlin incorporated into the GDR is considered the foremost center of the Socialist countries' work among the Kurds. Kurdish is broadcast in the afternoon at 1540/1555 and 1743/1755 hours on the 11697, 11827 and 15489 kc/s band and from 1910/1925 hours on the same wavelengths, except 15489 kc/s. (For other Kurdish programs see KF/5, p. 14.) Persian and Azerbaijani are already broadcast by the East Berlin station "Radio Peyk-e Iran".

#### TUNISIAN RADIO: CALLING ALL ARABS

Like Iraq, Tunisia is seeking to compete with Nasser in All-Arab broadcasting. The country's radio centre in the Djedeida

valley has a Telefunken short-wave transmitter with "a 'curtain' antenna for broadcasts beamed to the Middle East and North Africa". This was announced by Mr. Shedli Klibi, Director-General of the Tunisian Radio and TV in "Radio & Television" 's first issue this year. The periodical, appearing in Praha, is an organ of the OIRT, which has its HQ there. Said Mr. Klibi: "In our short-wave broadcasts we do not aim at broadcasting any political propaganda whatsoever, we endeavour to establish relations with friendly or fraternal countries in order to acquaint them with Tunisia". If Mr. Bourghuiba's broadcasting is done as intelligently as is Tunis' weekly "Afrique-Action", Mr. Klibi is likely to approach his aim very closely. As to Africa, Tunisian Radio is active on broadcasting to its non-Arab peoples as well.

## PRESS

#### "INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS" (MOSCOW) ON ARAB LEAGUE

There is an interesting article on the "Arab League" in the April 1961 issue of "International Affairs", the Moscow "Monthly Journal of Political Analyses" published by the "Soviet Society for the Popularisation of Political and Scientific Knowledge" since 1955. "IA" pictures the League as an instrument of British policy till 1952. After that it "began to play a positive role in the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle". Founded on March 22nd, 1945, the "Arab League" is now financed as follows: UAR: 50,29%, Iraq: 15,89%, Saudi-Arabia: 14,57%, Lebanon: 5,64%, Yemen: 2,82%, and Jordan, Libya, Sudan, Tunisia and Marocco together the remaining 10,70%. HQ are in New York, Washington, San Francisco, Chicago, Ottawa, Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, Geneva and Bonn. "IA" 's organisation structure chart of the Arab League shows that the Secretary General has 3 assistants and 120 employees. Mohammed Abdel Khalek Hassouna (a former Egyptian Cabinet Minister) has the function since 1952. The League has sub-bodies for foreign policy, military affairs, economics and finance, science, culture, health, narcotics, postal services, oil, law, information & publications, development and the boycott of Israel.

On the map showing "Arab League" members, "International Affairs" leaves Iraq's place blank, but shows Iran as a member state, printing "Iraq" over it, a funny error. The monthly is published in Russian, English & French, each abt. 124 pages per issue. Non-Russian editions appear a month after the Russian one, from which they are translated. (Price 1600 NF, 18 DM, 14 sh. or equivalent annually; address: 14 Gorokhovskiy Pereulok, Moscow, USSR.)

#### RUSSIANS ONLY: "PARTLY A MATTER OF CONVENIENCE"

One of the chief troubles retarding public understanding of Kurdish matters is the habit of most newspaper editors to close their eyes to ethnic realities. So every inhabitant of the Turkish Republic automatically becomes a "Turk", every citizen of the Shah's multi-national empire is labelled a "Persian", etc. Even 'intellectuals' mechanically repeat what they have



been taught at school: a fully outworn conception of geography. Of course, the attitude is not restricted to the Kurdish reality alone. This may be seen from the underneath answer of America's leading illustrated "Life" to Mr. Myron Kuropas, a Ukrainian overseas editor.

"Thank you for your letter --- in connection with "Life"'s designation of all members of the Soviet gymnastic troupe as Russians in our --- article ---. We appreciated also your thought of sending us along a copy of "The Trident Quarterly" listing the non-Russian athletes at the 1960 Olympics. Though we realize that Miss Latynina is Ukrainian and that others in the troupe belong to different nationalities, IT HAS BECOME THE CUSTOM IN THIS COUNTRY TO CALL ALL CITIZENS OF THE USSR 'RUSSIANS'. THIS IS PARTLY A MATTER OF CONVENIENCE AND PARTLY A RESULT OF THE FACT THAT THE USSR IS THE SUCCESSOR OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE. (Emphasis ours, KF.) This does not mean, of course, that "Life" is unaware of the many diverse nationalities, with their differing cultures, which make up the Soviet Union. Though we are unable to publish your letter in our 'Letters Column' the editors understand and appreciate your concern for preciseness in this matter and hope you will understand our position also."

So far "Life"'s answer to its Ukrainian reader. Even the existence of a civilized, 40-million nation with a long record of freedom-fighting and a recognized Republic of its own, is practically ignored by a periodical of world reputation, ignored in spite of (anti-Soviet) "Captive Nations Weeks" etc. But whether ignoring Ukrainians, Azerbaijanis, Kurds etc. etc. makes sense in our changing world remains to be seen. There have been French people who used to believe Arab Algerians would be happy to become full-fledged "Français". It took thousands of lives to convince France that they did not. Untold suffering was brought over millions of people. It caused the USA some "inconvenience" too. But what is most interesting to note from the attitude mirrored by "Life"'s letter is that it has fully unpolitical roots, in spite of its outspokenly political significance. Co-nationalities in the orbit of Uncle Sam's adversary are ignored as much as are those ruled by the USA's allies. (See also KF/4, page 6, column 1, "Foreign Opinion on Kurdistan".)

#### INTERNATIONAL PRESS INSTITUTE CONFERENCE IN ISRAEL

From May 30th/June 1st, 1961, the Zürich "International Press Institute" held its 10th Assembly in the Sheraton hotel of Tel-Aviv. Israel's President Ben Zvi opened the IPI-conference. Education Minister Dr. Abba Ebban being present, The latter is also in charge of the Weizmann Institute of Science in Rehovoth, which trains Afro-Asians.

After IPI leaders had explained the Institute's policy in its first decade, Premier David Ben Gurion held a guest lecture. In the afternoon there was a panel "Reporting on the Middle East", the Israeli intelligence chief listening attentively. Gunnar Nilsson of Sweden's "Expressen" and Edouard Sablier of Paris' "Le Monde" told congressists about their respective experiences in the field, heavily criticizing UAR censorship. The delegates were received by Ben Gurion in the evening. On the last may-day, IPI-

journalists, enforced by one layman, asked themselves "Is the Press Falling into Disrepute?" Overcommercialization of newsprint was found a serious fault. "The Press in Asia and Africa" was the topic of the last Assembly-day. A UNESCO delegate developed an aid-program for the press in the newly emerged Afro-Asian states, stressing the necessity of establishing national news agencies there. UNESCO and IPI are to cooperate in this respect. Later on the day, four new EC-members were chosen, from USA, Australia, the Philippines and Nigeria. A reception by the Mayor of Tel Aviv closed the Assembly.

#### NESTOR OF TURKISH JOURNALIST WAS JAILED 5 TIMES

A living illustration of Turkey's freedom of the press is Mr. Ahmed Emin Yalman. This nestor of Turkish journalism was jailed 5 times because of his political beliefs. For this, he was awarded the "Golden Pen of Freedom" by The International Federation of Newspaper and Magazine Publishers on May 28th, 1961, in Elsinore (Denmark). Federation President Tomasse Astarite called Mr. Yalman "a symbol". "Moral Rearmament" hailed him as "having been closely concerned in the solution of the Cyprus-question".

#### "SAMO-KRITIKA" OF TURKISH PRESS - ABROAD

In Strassbourg (France) there is a "Centre International d'Enseignement Supérieur du Journalisme" at the University. It recently published a 120-page book on "L'Information Internationale dans la Presse turque" (12 NF). Its insufficiency and a way out were shown by Turkish journalist Hifzi Topuz. The sad situation of the Turkish press has been a point of grave concern to international press organisations since years. Judging from its situation under the Military Government of the Gürsel Junta, it will continue to be so.

#### ISLAMIC PROPAGANDA PERIODICAL IN GERMAN

"The monthly "Der Islam" is the only periodical appearing in the German language which informs you versedly (sachkundig) about the world of Islam." This typical sample of alleged Oriental humility appears regularly on the second-last page of "Der Islam", an organ of the Ahmadiyya-Movement. The "anti-revolutionist" aim of this Movement is

"to restore the pure and original Islam in the whole world and to spread it everywhere as the last form of the perfect, heavenly creed that has become necessary for all mankind".

Ahmadiyya-founder Hazrat Ahmad, died 1908. His present (second) successor is Mr. S. N. Ahmed, 5 branches in the USA and 6 each in Europe & Africa are listed in "Der Islam", which was founded in 1948 and now counts 12 printed pages per issue. When criticizing superficial Western journalism on Moslem life, the paper asserted last February "that the Qoran contains the right answers to all questions from all times and all countries". There are other religions which make similar claims for their Holy Books. Sceptics may remember the great Persian agnostic Omar Khayyam (1018-1123) who wrote:

"Myself when young did eagerly frequent  
Doctor and saint, and heard great Argument  
About it and about: but evermore  
Came out by the same Door as in I went. "

The founding of an "Islamic Defence Committee" by the UAR's Ministry of Religious Affairs last year and the rapid spread of Islam in Africa are pictured as signs of an Islamic religious revival, though Nasser himself is a prominent free-mason and though most Christian missionaries in Africa believe that Islam is out-running Christian expansion there because it allows more than one woman at the same time to its followers. There is certainly a genuine growing international interest in the Moslem countries and in Islam's heritage. But it may be doubted whether publicity methods of a "protracted religious war" are the ones best suited "to win friends and influence people" in this mid-twentieth century of ours. ("Der Islam" can be got from Zürich, Switzerland, Anna Heerstrasse 18. No subscription price is given.)

#### "EUROPA ETHNICA" (FORMERLY: "NATION UND STAAT")

In May, the Viennese publisher Wilhelm Braumüller despatched the first issue of a quarterly review for nationalities' problems: "Europa Ethnica". As the periodical claims to be the successor of "Nation und Staat" it bears the indication: "18. Jahrgang". "Nation und Staat", which ceased to appear at the end of World War II, carried - above all - news on the then numerous German ethnic enclaves etc. in East Central - and South-East Europe. After 1933, "Nation und Staat" came under Nazi tutelage, as came the "Volksbund für das Deutschtum im Ausland" (VDA) and the Stuttgart institute related with it, all originally founded by convinced democrats.

The new "Europa Ethnica" is closely related to the "Federal Union of European Nationalities" (FUEN). Its Danish Secretary-General, Mr. Povl Skadegard is one of the paper's 4 editors. The others are: Guy Heraud of Strassbourg, Prof. Dr. Johann Wilhelm Mannhardt of Marburg-Lahn university and Theodor Veiter, of Vienna. "Europa Ethnica" was ventured already in 1958, but no subsequent issue appeared until recently. The present one has 48 pages. Prof. Mannhardt traces the scientific sides of the nationality problem, Mr. Heraud tells about the Val d'Aoste, a French minority in the Italian Alps. There are contributions in German, English, as well as in French. "Europa Ethnica" can be subscribed to at 20 DM or Swiss Francs, 120 Austrian Shillings or 5 US dollars annually at Vienna IX, Servitengasse 5. The reviewer hopes that the paper will soon widen its scope to the whole Eurasian continent and to other continents as well. Nationalities questions, long pooh-poohed as "folkloristic" or "annoying" are among the foremost problems of our era. To mention some at random: Pathet Lao, Kurdistan, Tibetan irredenta in the Himalayas, divided Mongolia, Germany and Kamerun, unification problems in Latin America (especially the Caribbean) and the Pushtunistan issue between Pakistan and (multi-national) Afghanistan. Back to Kurdistan: "Europa Ethnica" has several collaborators friendly to the Kurdish cause.

#### "NEW LEFT" QUARTERLY TO APPEAR IN JULY

The Dutch "Socialist Workers Party" is preparing a contact quarterly for (Western-) Europe's left-wing socialists and anti-Soviet communists. The SWP emerged from the "Brug"-group which split from the Netherlands Communist Party in 1958. SWP seeks recognition by the Yugoslav CP. In an 8-page fore-runner called "International Contact Bulletin" it is announced that "New Left Europe" will appear in English, French & German, 16 pages each, from July 1st, 1961 on. To the "New Left" it suggests the slogan: "Socialism is international, revolutionary and humanistic". Mr. W. Gortzak's "Preparatory Commission" says it does "not want Western Europe to become an under-developed socialist area". Reporting on talks with similar groups abroad "ICB" writes: "About such questions as support for the Algerian revolution there should be no difference of opinion". Most leftist Parties in the world hope to regain "socialist unity" and common action with the progressive part of the "bourgeoisie" on the basis of anti-colonialist action. On anti-imperialism there is far more common opinion than on the class struggle question.

#### "ORIENT" (HAMBURG) MAY 1961

Since 1959, the (West-)German Near and Middle East Association is publishing a quarterly magazine called "Orient". It counts 40 pages, costs DM 2,50 per issue for subscribers and is in German, English, French, Turkish, Arabic and Persian simultaneously. Dr. Hans Messerschmidt (cf. ISK-Inf. Nr. 1, 1960) of the "Deutsches Orient Institut" is the Editor-in-Chief. The Association was set up by German industrialists and trading companies and works without Federal subsidies. About 10 pages are dedicated to articles, the remaining 30 to an extensive documentation on all West-Asian & North-African countries, Pakistan and Afghanistan. The chronicle is given per land and in the form of press extracts, but in the three Western languages only. "Orient" has several contributors familiar with Kurdistan, so Dr. Friedrich-Wilhelm Fernau and Dr. Wilfred Madelung, who attended the DPKI's first public festival in Baghdad. The May issue carries articles by Dr. Fernau on Maghrib unification chances, by Dr. Daniel (Federal Ministry of Economy) on the 25th anniversary of the German-Iranian Chamber of Commerce, by Dr. Hans Bobek on development problems in Iran, and economic news. In the Chronicle (Documentation) attention is paid to the deteriorating position of Kurds in Iraq, the Bibliography also lists a Kurdish item, Soviet and Oriental sources are included. "Orient"'s way of reporting on what happens in the countries covered is more lively than that of most other Western Orient periodicals' chronicles. The private initiative shown by the "Nah- und Mittelostverein" is considerable, but was necessary as German Federal authorities fail to inform big business on what is happening in the Orient. In other Western countries such an informative cooperation has been a rule for long. More and more German big business bosses now realise that their Federal authorities have no "feel" at all for that and are starting their own research departments on Oriental (and Socialist) countries. As both the West German state and German industries

committed themselves to contribute milliards of German marks into the 'underdeveloped' countries, private enterprise in West Germany thinks that investments for knowing what is really going on there make sense.

#### "BULLETIN" - AN ORIENT PAPER FROM BRUSSELS

The University of Brussels has a "Centre National pour l'Etude des Problemes du Monde Musulman Contemporain" (= "National Research Centre for the Problems of the Contemporary Islamic World"), at the Pascale Straat Nr. 4. Professor A. Abel is Director of this Centre, which publishes a quarterly "Bulletin" of 150 mimeographed pages in French. They are pretty equally divided between a) articles, b) economic news and c) bibliographies and book reviews, all clearly arranged. Nr. 4 of the New Series 1960-61 contains reflections on Western development aid by Prof. Abel, contributions on Turkish literature (H. Vahbi Eralp), post-revolutionary Iraq (Abd al Aziz al Watani), Malayan-Indonesian divergencies (Tran Buu Khanh) and the Casablanca conference of Jan. 1961 (A. Donckier de Donceel). Kurdistan, too, is paid attention to in the "Bulletin".

#### CONSERVATIVE M. P. EXPECTS:

##### NASSERISM AND TITOISM FOR WESTERN ASIA

When analysing "Middle Eastern Prospects" in the April issue of "Encounter", C. M. Woodehouse finds reasons for "Cautious Optimism": wars exceeding one week, oil-crises a la Mossadeq and Arab unity are highly unlikely, he says. Nasserism gets carefully-worded praise: "unification of the Middle East under President Nasser" would not "necessarily be hostile to British interests" --- "President Nasser may well one day come to be looked on again as the best ruler of Egypt we can hope for". As to Marxism's impact on Islamic West-Asia, conservative M. P. Woodehouse predicts: "Strongly left-wing governments, which will be called Communist, will no doubt continue to come to power and others will oscillate back towards Communism again as before". Arab Communism, "Encounter" expects "to be of an individual brand, like Tito" and "by no means unmanageable in --- dealings with the West".

("Encounter" is the British periodical of the "Congress for Cultural Freedom" group, which also comprises "Der Monat" in West-Berlin, "Forum" in Vienna, etc. Editors are poet Stephen Spender & "Monat"-Editor Melvin Lasky, former pro-Communist intellectuals between the world wars. "Encounter" counts 88 pages monthly, costs 45 sh. annually, appears 25, Haymarket, London S. W. 1; Editor)

## GEOGRAPHY

#### ISK-SECTION FOR GEOGRAPHY FOUNDED: ITS PLANS (see p. 7)

An ISK-Section for Geography was established last month. Its Head is Mr. Hartmut Beckers of Düsseldorf, who was in Kurdistan twice. The Section is collecting information to prepare a Baedeker-like travel-guide of all Kurdistan. Apart from that a number of special maps (economy, tribes & clans, history,

linguistics) are in preparation. KF-readers who feel they could help ISK's Geographical Section by supplying information are invited to contact it. Purchasing for the Section is done by ISK's "Kurdische Zentral-Bibliothek in Europa" ("Kurdish Central Library in Europe") of which Drs. Jan Kemp is in charge. All correspondence can be directed to "International Society Kurdistan", Da Costastraat 25 I, Amsterdam-West.

The map partly reproduced on page 7 was recently acquired by ISK's Library for the Geographical Section. It shows "Curdistan" in 1700 as a country divided between the Turkish and Iranian empires. Full title of map (measuring 48,3 x 58 cms nett and 54 x 65,3 cm gross runs: "ASIA - Concinnata Secundum Observaciones Academiae Regalis Scientiarum et nonnullas alias, et juxta annotationes recentissimas / Per G. de L'Isle Geograph: / Venalis nunc prostat Augustae Vindelicorum apud T. C. Lotter Geogr." It is one of the 134 maps prepared by Guillaume de L'Isle de la Croyere (1675-1726), one of the fathers of modern geography. De L'Isle, who was "first geographer" of King Louis XIV of France, included astronomical observations into cartography. His brother Joseph Nicolas was engaged by Russian tsar Peter II in the year of the latter's death (1725), mainly for research on what is now called the Behring straits.

Shortly after the Napoleonic wars - in 1818 - the first European "area study" of Kurdistan appeared: "Storia della Regione di Kurdistan". It was written by an Italian Dominican priest, father G. Campanile and published in Naples. Last year, Prof. Dr. Thomas Bois of Beyrouth (also a Dominican father) translated it from Italian into French. ISK hopes to arrange publication. "Kurdish Facts" will carry a Kurdish map every month and - in addition - an old map of Kurdistan now and then.

## UNIVERSITIES

#### AL AZHAR UNIVERSITY: MEDIAEVALISM CONSERVED

Nasserism has dropped the original demand of the 1952 officers' revolution in Egypt to modernize Al Azhar university. This was stated in a full-page article on this important centre of Moslem learning in the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" of 16th/17th June, 1961. Al Azhar is now the centre of Nasser's Arab Islamisation drive in Africa. Half of the Continent's population - 85 million people - are Moslems already. Most of Al Azhar's 3000 foreign students are Africans, though there are also 4 Moslems from the USSR and some from the Chinese People's Republic. FAZ-contributor Peter Meyer-Ranke also says, that the Kemal-ist secularisation experiment in Turkey can now be considered as having failed. And Nasser abstains from reforming Al Azhar because he does not want to irritate regimes like those in Saudi Arabia and Yemen. Women are not admitted and the University's few students sent abroad for studying philosophy or sociology are strictly forbidden to study Western Orientalistics. "To sow doubts" Meyer-Ranke says "--- is not the task of Al-Azhar, which' students mainly study by learning the scriptures of their Sheikhs by heart". He himself confesses some doubts, however, whether Al Azhar's mediaevalism will survive indeed. For the

moment, Nationalist Nasser is carrying on the line of Egypt's former occupation power: the Ottoman Turkish sultanate, whose patronising of Cairo's Al-Azhar once contributed to its importance in the Islamic orbit.

#### "INSTITUT DES HAUTES ETUDES D'OUTRE-MER"

500 people, mainly Africans, but many Asians as well, study at the Paris "Institute for Higher Oversea Studies". They come from 20 different countries and are taught by 120 people. Among the latter there are noted professors as Perroux, Leduc, Vedel, Duverger and Andre Philipp, (whose civil courage once impressed premier Khrushhchov). All professors, lecturers etc. have personal experience in the Afro-Asian Peoples' Zone, for which they now train Government and scientific cadres. The "Institut des Hautes Etudes d'Outre Mer" was founded in 1885 as "Ecole Cambodgienne" for Khmer people and future French officials in Khmer (Cambodja) and got its present name in 1959. Of the 500 students who left the Institute last year, 7 became Cabinet ministers, 40 prefects, 6 representatives of their country at the U. N. O. and 5 others Cabinet-chiefs of Prime Ministers. Next year, the Institute will have 600 students. It started with 90 and its house at the Avenue de l'Observatoire has long become too small.

#### FOREIGN STUDENTS IN GERMAN-LANGUAGE AREA

Austria's university rectors have recommended to let all foreign students pass an obligatory examination in the German language. The "Institut für Ausländer-Studium" at the Karl-Marx University in Leipzig (GDR), which was founded in 1953, has resolved to re-baptize itself as "Johann Gotfried Herder-Institut". The institute prepares foreigners for university-study. In West-Germany, there is already a "Herder-Institute" in Marburg-on-the-Lahn since 1950. It studies historical problems of German relations with Slav, Baltic and Magyar peoples. Herder (1744-1803), a German from East-Prussia, was a linguist, philosopher and Protestant theologian who had an enormous, lasting influence on German culture by acquainting his compatriots with the culture of Slavic, Oriental and other foreign nations. About half of the Kurds (120 out of 240) studying in Europe live in the German-language area, the German Federal Republic has most (80). In recent weeks, however, there seems to be a trend to leave the GFR and to continue their studies farther East. This applies especially to Kurdish freshmen in Munich; where an Afro-Asian Students Home will be founded under the patronate of the Bavarian 'Kultusministerium'. The "Jamiat al-Islam" Munich branch has similar plans, as was recently announced in a press-conference given by this international Islamic welfare organisation. Former President of JAI's Austrian branch was Mr. Abdullah Kadir, from Iraqi Kurdistan. Mr. Kadir also effected 4 stipendia for Kurds at the West-German "Akademischer Austauschdienst" but these scholarships have not yet been distributed, as is learnt.

# students

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#### CC OF "KURDISH STUDENTS' SOCIETY IN EUROPE"

The Executive Committee of the "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe" ("Komeley Xwendikarani Kurd Le Ewropa") is now composed as follows:

President: Mr. Jsmet Sherif Vanly (new address: 17 Parc de Valency, Lausanne, Switzerland), Vice-President and Treasurer: Mr. Wirya Rawenduzy (Vienna); Secretary-General: Mr. Kamal Fuad (Berlin-Pankow); Editor of KSSE-organ "Kurdistan": Saadi Amin Dizayee (London); Members: Omar Amin Dizayee (Be-sançon, France) and Kawuz N. Kaftan (Moscow-Leningrad, USSR).

A third member, Hüseyni Adigüsel ("Temo Merxas") recently left the KSSE's EC. He will not be replaced.

KSSE has branches in the following countries: Germany (GFR and GDR), Austria, Switzerland, Great-Britain, France, USSR, CSSR, Bulgarian, Hungarian and Rumanian PR, Yugoslavia, In Italy too, there are some Kurds studying. So KSSE is represented in nearly half of Europe's 25 countries, pretty equally on both sides of the "Curtain" dividing those states into two political camps.

Attention to KSSE's activities is regularly paid in "L'Orient" and "L'Afrique et L'Asie", Oriental periodicals published in Paris, "News Service" of the "International Union of Students" in Praha/CSSR, the Kurdish press in Iraq, and in this paper.

## DEVELOPMENT

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#### HOW TO HELP STARVING MASSES: ON THE SPOT

In a reader's letter to the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" on Christian Projects for Development-Assistance, Dr. Gottfried Erb of Düsseldorf said on June 13th:

"Experience shows that altering the way of life and producing of starving nations can - on many spots - only be reached by year-long work of people who are really prepared to sacrifice." Dr. Erb then pointed to the pioneer work done in this respect by Christian church workers in the Orient. It may be added that help for the Kurdish nation by foreign volunteers on the spot has been studied by ISK's CC since months. A young, experienced Kurdistan-traveller is in charge of the project. Particulars will be published in "Kurdish Facts" as soon as preparations are far enough advanced. "DEVELOPMENT" will be a new rubric in this magazine, with emphasis on international volunteer efforts by young people. One of the main obstacles of applying such practice to Kurdistan is the unwillingness of its "occupation powers" to let foreigners visit (let alone work in) their respective "zone" of Kurdistan. This policy is - as is oppression of the Kurds in general - against their own interest as well, as development in the Kurdish part of their countries would help the latter as a whole.

## ANTI-CORRUPTION INTERNATIONALS? POSSIBLE ROLE OF UNO

Reporting on recent happenings in Iran, the left wing London weekly "New Statesman" (June 9th, 1961) made a suggestion in the field of foreign development-aid. Neither aid absorbed by the receiver's corruption nor tight foreign control on him by the spending power is the way out, the paper feels. "Thus the responsibility for supervising the finance and planning of Persian development should rest with a consortium (not exclusively western) of countries willing to help." It has been recommended before to "internationalize" development-help totally. This would make it impossible to dictate political provisions. It would also help stopping the competition in foreign help for political propaganda reasons. To internationalize control on development-help too, is a new idea and - it seems - not a bad one. The United Nations - mentioned by "The New Statesman" in this connection, could serve as funds-raiser, labour exchange, distributor and controller at the same time.

## ANOTHER TWO REPUBLICS FIX AID AMOUNT

Two politically neutral democracies mainly populated by German-speaking people have recently fixed the amount of their development aid to foreign (predominantly Oriental) States. The "Nationalrat" of Austria agreed on 130 million Schilling (= 5 mio \$), that of Switzerland on 60 million Francs (= 13,9 mio \$) programmes. Both federal parliaments voting unanimously. In Austria an "Arbeitsgemeinschaft für österreichische Entwicklungshilfe" (= "Working Group for Austrian Development Aid") is to act as a coordinating body. In the German Federal Republic, which recently committed itself to pay 5 billion (milliard) marks (= 1,25 billion \$), development aid is not yet fully coordinated. Dozens of private "Arbeitsgemeinschaften" are materialising.

# BOOKS

## C. H. J. MALIEPAARD: "WASSERRÄDER AM EUPHRAT"

Mr. Maliepaard is a Dutchman, and neither a journalist nor a globe-trotting writer nor a political observer. Agrarian matters are his professional field, but they brought him to Iraq for 5 months in the early fifties. The original (Dutch) title of his book was "Zwervend tussen Arabieren en Koerden": "Roaming among Kurds and Arabs". It appeared as "Wasserräder am Euphrat" as a DM 1,90 paper-back in Munich's Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag. Goldmann's are outspokenly interested in Oriental countries, they published a pocket-edition of the Qoran in the Ullman-Winter translation in 1959: 504 pages.

Maliepaard saw most of Iraqi Kurdistan: Kirkuk and Sulemaniyah Erbil and Mosul, Niniveh and Sahak and of course the Rawenduz Gorge. Here is his opinion about Kurdish scenery:

"Kurdistan ist herrlich. Das leise rollende Hügelland ist nach den endlosen Ebenen des eigentlichen Mesopotamien ein Labsal fürs Auge, und die starren, ersten Gebirgszüge, die ihre schnee-

bedeckten Gipfel bis in den wunderbaren Azur des Himmels stossen, bringen einen zur Begeisterung."

Being the son of a country that won its freedom in an 80-years war, Mr. Maliepaard could not but appreciate the air of liberty radiated by every Kurd:

"Ein Volk, mit den Sagen und Gesängen ihrer alten Helden verwoben, in Gewändern gekleidet, die in ihren Farben und Tönungen nicht ihresgleichen auf der Welt haben, von einem Freiheitsdrang, der das Merkmal eines starken Volkes ist. Selbst in der allerjüngsten Geschichte noch haben sie ihr Leben für ihre Unabhängigkeit eingesetzt ---."

In Sulaimaniyah, Maliepaard was the guest of Sheikh Baba-Ali, son of famous Sheikh Mahmoud. Without British support, Maliepaard thinks, the latter's State would have withstood Iraqi-Arab invaders. Though not offering anything new on Iraq or Kurdistan, "Wasserräder am Euphrat" is worth reading because it is sincere, unbiased and spontaneously written. It may be added that Mr. Maliepaard has just published his second book: on Jordan.

## NEW ESSAY ON YEZIDIS BY PROF. THOMAS BOIS

Prof. Dr. Thomas Bois O. P. of Beyrouth, one of France's leading Kurdologists, has just published an important essay on the religious origins of Yezidism (so-called 'Devil-Worshipping'). It appeared in the review "Al-Machriq" (Jan./Feb. and March/April issues, 1961) and is also available separately. Because of the topic's importance, KF intends to bring its review of the essay in the form of a long, illustrated article on the Yezidi's. Because of lack of space, the article will appear in the next issue of this paper instead of in this one.

## FORTHCOMING ARTICLES IN "KURDISH FACTS"

Other forthcoming articles in KF are: "Kurdish writer to get Nobel Prize for Literature?" / "Interview with Mullah-Mustapha al-Barzani" / "Kurdistan in the World-Press of one year" / "The Program of the DPK in Iraq" / "Economic and Energy Map of Turkish Kurdistan". Do not miss them. Subscribe NOW!

## GERMAN ANTHROPOLOGIST TRACES KURDISTAN'S PAST

One of Germany's foremost anthropologists is Prof. Dr. Dr. Egon Freiherr von Eickstedt of Mainz University. His books on the races of humanity are widely read. The latest one, just published by Gustav Fischer Verlag in Stuttgart, deals with "Türken, Kurden und Iraner seit dem Altertum" ("Turks, Kurds and Iranians since Antiquity") and contains results of professor von Eickstedt's journey through West-Asia in the second half of 1956. (123 pages, 46 ill., 2 maps, bibliography.) Using a modern, many-sided approach, the author traces the race-biological evolution of Turks, Kurds and "Farzi" out of ancient races like Hittites, Hurrites, Medes, early Persians, Guteans, Kardukhans, Lores, Elamites etc. Natural geographic entities, cultural and sociological structure-changes, psychology, are all included skillfully in both von Eickstedt's working methods

and their outcome. Sometimes the book reminds of Ludwig ("Rasse-und-Seele") Clauss, sometimes of Soviet Russia's archaeologist ("Choresm") Tolstov.

Von Eickstedt does away with several wide-spread errors but also explains how they could come into being. Having only limited space at his disposal, the reviewer will concentrate on what Prof. von Eickstedt found on the nation this periodical is dedicated to: the Kurds. Tracing back Kurdistan's geographical and ethno-biological continuity, the German anthropologist says:

"Already in the third millennium before Christ --- Sumerians, Babylonians and somewhat later also the Assyrians give conform reports on peoples in the central and northern Zagros, like the Guti, Qurti and the like and whose country is called Gutium. A second line from the North-Zagrian-Taurian area then leads from the Karda of the Sumerians, the Aramaeic Beth-Kardu, the Khardeans of the first millennium before Christ, and the famous and notorious Kardukhi of Xenophon's Anabasis and their country Gorduene (Kurduene) to the present Armenian Kordukh, with which the Kurds are meant. The geographical and ethnical relationship of Guti and Kardu is consequently as clear as their Zusammenlaufen in the present main area of the Kurds.

Already in early antiquity, however, the Guti were not a casually mentioned savage tribe, but a systematically dealt-with nation, taken seriously in the entire 'Weltbild' of the ancient Mesopotamians. Being the people from the North, the Guti were taken to help designing the four world-directions and figures very often in time-symbols, in oracles and in political and military reports. So one omen-work says: "When a natural blitz clarifies the North, the Weather-God will flood Gutium", and then follow the other three prominent world-directions: Akkad, Elam and Amurru. --- Again and again the mountainous country and the far-away-life of the Guteans are stressed, their wide-spread distribution and "noteworthy language".

Gutium's (= Kurdistan's) "rich cities" and "kings" were often mentioned in ancient sources and von Eickstedt says there is no doubt "that the old Guteans had a far better political and economic status than their present descendants. The country was --- relatively more densely populated than now, it yielded more and was able to produce agrarian products, a higher culture and a more complex social structure itself. At any rate it did not consist solely of nomadic or even of only primitive nomadic tribes."

A King like Sargon-(Sharukin)-the-Great of Akkad (plm. 2300 B.C.) was extremely proud of having conquered "Gutium and Lulubium" (= Kurdistan and Loristan). Having listed the important contribution of the ancestors of the present Kurds to the ancient empires of Western Asia, von Eickstedt reconstructs the linguistic Indogermanisation of the latter area in the second millennium before Christ. He finds out the (geopolitical) "Leitmotiv" of Kurdish history, stresses the historical importance of the Median language for the making of the present Kurdish nation and analyses Kurdistan's contemporary situation as follows:

"Since long the neighbouring big states are too strong now for a local uprising to bring the internally divided Kurdish people

their national unity. The latter can only be achieved by political means."

Here speaks a German scientist with a vivid sense for what is happening and developing in his own era and his own world. Unlike many "ivory-tower"-academicians, von Eickstedt has no horror of politics, but fully realizes their importance in human relations.

May his exclusion of the Lores from Kurdistan find opponents, may the numbers of Kurds he gives be lower than those now slowly excepted, the main problems of Kurdistan's past and present are formulated in a mark-hitting way. His book deserves translations into the main world and West-Asian languages. Like the history of Turkistan, the Arab nations etc. that of the Kurdish nation has too long been unduly concentrating on the Islamic, feudal period alone. For this reason too, von Eickstedt's newest book is a "must" for every Kurd seeking national self-understanding and for every foreigner who wants basic information about the Kurds, one of West-Asia's oldest nations. Wirya Rawenduzi, vice-president of KSSE once said that there will be no democracy in West-Asia without a solution of the Kurdish problem. Von Eickstedt shows that there can be no proper understanding of West-Asian history, ancient and after, without thorough research on the Kurds. He is now in West-Asia again, for further investigations on the spot.

#### GERMAN BIOGRAPHY OF ("THE DIPLOMAT") JAMES ALDRIDGE

James Aldridge, whose best novel is of Kurdish interest, became both a journalist and a Marxist in his native Australia. He came to London when he was twenty, in 1938. Surprised by the Russian invasion of Finland during the Nazi-Soviet Pact of next year, he quickly won fame as an "always-on-the-hottest-spot"-war reporter. Essentially a novelist, however, he soon started with (war-)novels: "Signed with their Honour" in 1942 and "The Sea Eagle" in 1944. Both soon found several translations and English-language editions.

In 1949, when Aldridge joined the "World Peace Council", then founded in Paris, The Bodley Head, London, published his best work up till now: "The Diplomat". It deals with the South Azerbaijan and East Kurdish Republics of 1945/46 and was bigger than his two previous works put together. Aldridge, who gained a lively echo in both the "Capitalist" West and the "Socialist" East, has now found his biographer in the country torn up between both camps: Germany. (Helmut FINDEISEN: "James ALDRIDGE / Schriftsteller und Kämpfer", (= "J.A. . Writer and fighter"), VEB Max Niemeyer Verlag, Halle/Saale, GDR, 131 p., DM 11,60.)

Adventure and travel play an important role in Mr. Aldridge's life and writings. His way of raising the big issues of our century is rather that of dialogues between his dramatis personae than of dividing the latter into too-positive and too-negative heroes. There is more of Hemingway, Lawrence and, perhaps, Kisch in his work than of - say - Ehrenburg or Dostoyevski. Aldridge's considerable power of expression is stressed by Mr. Findeisen who believes, however, that "The Diplomat" is not without "cheap effects". Herr Findeisen's main objection against



Aldridge's chef-d'oeuvre is that "the leading role of the working class" is ignored in it. "The chief persons of the novel are bourgeois and aristocratic intellectuals. Among the about eighty acting persons there are no class-conscious English or Iranian workers".

And indeed the Kurd who tells British diplomat Essex that Kurdistan "cannot give up until we have achieved national sovereignty and our equal rights among all peoples" does not belong to either of those two categories. He is simply a Kurdish chieftain, like most of Kurdistan's national leaders. Findeisen, who comments the Kurd's warning with: "In Kurdistan, too, colonialism begins to crumble", does not state explicitly which active brand is meant: Anglo-Saxon or Persian, Arab or Turkish. No subsequent book of Aldridge ever reached the level of "The Diplomat", his German biographer says. The latest one, published in 1957: "I wish he would not die" is titled after a phrase in Nasser's "Philosophy of the Revolution". The novel saw 4 translations, not half as much as did "The Diplomat". After 1957, Findeisen's excellent bibliography lists only one new publication of Aldridge's. The latter, who married an Egyptian journalist in Cairo in 1942, is classified by Herr Findeisen as a powerful, progressive writer and a "Critical realist with strong tendencies towards socialist realism". Findeisen did his job with "Gründlichkeit", after an intelligent, thought-provoking preface.

## LITERATURE

LITERATURE is a new rubric of "Kurdish Facts". It aims at making the treasures of Kurdish literature known to other nations and acquainting Kurds with those of world literature. In future, contributions will usually be published in Kurdish (generally Kurmanji in the Latin Bedir-Xan alphabet) and English. Like KF as a whole, the rubric will know no "ideology bar": you may find King Salomo besides Mao Tze-tung, Shakespeare besides Pablo Neruda. Readers willing and able to make contributions in the form of poems, literary prose, translations from or into Kurdish or illustrations: please contact ISK.

Like the literature of most suppressed countries, that of Kurdistan frequently deals with the Nation's sad fate, and with its future freedom hoped and fought for. It is with such a Kurdish song that we open KF's Literary Rubric:

To die for you, Kurdistan, nothing is sweeter.  
 To be one's own master, to sing proudly in Kurdish,  
 In the flame of our arms, celebrating the glory  
 Of our thousand year's race, of our cherished soil...  
 To be free, to love, to believe and to die.  
 Ask that fountain, it will tell you  
 That in its murmuring there are a thousand sighs,  
 Thousand tears, thousand revolts and thousand hopes.  
 (Translation: Prof. Th. Bois and KF)

Love-songs too often sing of the Kurdish scene. The underneath one was translated into French by Prof. Dr. Thomas Bois of Beyrouth, who also wrote a short literary history of Kurdistan:

Cousine, tes yeux sont feu et lumière,  
 Semblables aux sources de l'Amakhan.

Tu bondis comme le jeune faon de la gazelle  
 Parmi les fleurs de l'Amakhan.

Je suis svelte, ma taille est fine comme le Kandil,  
 Ma gorge est blanche de la blancheur du premier jet de lait.  
 Elle est comme les pommes de Malatia  
 Qui, dans les nuits d'hiver, au chevêt des malades,  
 Sont aigres, amères et douces à la fois...

Les yeux de mon Siyabend sont noirs,  
 Comme les raisins du Sindjer.  
 La taille de mon Siyabend est élancée,  
 Comme les peupliers verdoyants sur les rives de Mourad-Chai.  
 L'âme de mon Siyabend est limpide,  
 Comme les premières neiges qui se posent sur nos meules...

Hosfya Min is the title of a still unprinted Kurdish poem by Mehmed BOR, a KF-reader who will contribute regularly to this paper now. An English translation of this poem will be published later.

Wê caxa ko ez mirim,  
 Dil û gürçiyên min di Süleymanfyeda tiste, kî bikin,  
 Ne bîgtrîn û ne jî bitalen ...  
 Ez hejarim, dirave min Tûntne;  
 Lê kincen min bavên bin nigan;  
 Rêwî bira pêlêkin û bi wer derbaz bibin ...  
 Tenê ser binivîsin;  
 "Xanaçeken wî mîrowî ne kû gerfyadû or ka bê terest,"  
 "Bê zalim, bê xûn, bêgtrî ..."

Meyite min bişevitînî li ser çiyaye Süphane,  
 Xahtya min baven ber bê cargose ...  
 Bira rind bela bi bî li vî welatî,  
 Ne begtrîn, be bitalen û ne jî biqîjen,  
 Qatî bikin, cixarekî bikîştînin tenê ...

Nêzikîya gîştina zevîyan  
 Rûnayîya çaven min bikin bin bîyekî  
 Oî Lor' da kêleka kanyekî ...  
 Li rojen havîne hêlûnen têran dorê hebin rinde;  
 Ma tûne bin, ez ci bikim, hûn çî bikin?  
 Ban xwede nê bikin ...  
 Ji Îsa hezar û nehe sed salt şüva,  
 Tawayekî ne biben wê daka mina dîmra.

We are closing with some lines of "Hajar", a long poem dedicated to the Kurdish Mehabad Republic. Translating was done in cooperation with Mr. R. Shamani, a Kurdish student from Paris. Next issue, Kurdish prose will appear too.

Being not allowed to rest anywhere in my home-land  
 Or being allowed to remain in my house,  
 Whether I am well dressed or having no dress,  
 Whether my palace has ten floors or  
 I am living in a destroyed, cave-like house;  
 Whether being free and happy or  
 Tighted from the neck in an underground prison cave,  
 I am Kurdish and will spend my life  
 For the liberty of Kurds and Kurdistan.

FOR BOOKS OLD AND NEW - AND "KF"



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# IN - Mail - OUT

## THE ELEPHANT AND THE UNDERDOG

DEAR READER:

Touring good old Europe by rail and in the car of friends, I spent some days in Vienna last month. Engaged in public opinion polling when I was only nineteen, I never quite lost the habit. So I showed "Kurdish Facts" to my kind hosts in the Danubian metropolis.

They'd never seen our paper before, but saw quite a bit of the world. When listening to their comment, I had to disagree with one remark: that we give only one viewpoint: ours. I pointed to KF's long quotations of men like Gürsel, Nasser, the Shah and Qassim, enabling the reader to hear all sides. Our critic answered that still it was clear that we disagreed with all of them. At this I replied that when you hear - say - Jews protest against 6 million of them being killed, and then read Mr. Eichmann's or Hitler's or Goebbels' "point of view", to "hear the other side", it is very difficult to agree with the advocates of genocide.

## INTRODUCING

### 1) A NATION

**KURDS:** Indogermanic (Iranian) nation in West-Asia, at least 2,500 years old. Their coherent ethnic area (Kurdistan), is bordered by that of Turks in the West, Armenians and Azerbaijan in the North, Persians in the East and Arabs in the South. Of about 12 million Kurds 6 live in the Turkish Republic, 3.5 in Iran, 1.8 in Iraq, 0.4 in Syria/UAR. Small Kurdish enclaves exist in adjacent countries and in Turkistan and Baluchistan. Religion: predominantly but superficially (Sunnite) Muslims; small Christian, Yazidi a.o. minorities. Culture: Oldest Kurdish literary document dates from 834 A.D. Kurmanji and Sorani dialects, spoken by 60 & 9% of Kurds resp. and Arab & Latin characters compete for nation-wide use. Politics: Kurds have long record of resisting assimilation & foreign oppression. But even now, most Kurds are deprived of their basic rights. Tribal-feudal traditions are giving way to modern, progressive forces, seeking self-determination along democratic lines.

### 2) A COUNTRY

**KURDISTAN:** mountainous, divided country in West-Asia (Near East), of which it is the geographical heart. One of the oldest inhabited parts of the world. 1 500,000 km<sup>2</sup>. Principal cities: Bitlis, Van, Diarbekir, Erbil, Sulaimaniyah, Kirkuk, Mehabad. Mountain peasantry (with seasonal nomadism), handicrafts and a beginning industry are main sources of living. Rich natural resources; especially oil.

### 3) AN INTERNATIONAL

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN (ISK) is a democratic, non-partisan, world-wide private "pressure group" founded in the Netherlands on July 1st, 1961. Aims: 1. collecting and distributing facts about Kurdistan; 2. aiding Kurdish nation in its struggle for emancipation; 3. helping to establish friendly relations between Kurds, their neighbours, and all other nations of the world. Present Central Committee (CC); Pres.: Silvio van Rooy; Secr.: Drs. Jan Kemp; Treasurer: Eelco Broekma. Address: De Constraat 25 1. Amsterdam-West, The Netherlands.

### 4) AND A PAPER

"KURDISH FACTS & WEST-ASIAN AFFAIRS" (KF) happens to be the only paper in the world specialising on Kurdish affairs. Issued monthly by ISK. KF tells other nations about Kurdistan and Kurds about world problems of interest to them. Remit 22 sh., or 12 DM to "International Society Kurdistan", account nr. 23686, Tweentsche Bank N.V., Amsterdam and you get KF a whole year long. Air despatch is charged extra. Advertising rates are supplied upon request.

And genocide is exactly that what Cemal Gürsel and company have in their military minds in case the Kurds refuse to pose as "mountain Turks". The number of Kurds in Turkey is said to be about that of Jews killed by the Nazis: nearly 6 million. During the first World War, one million Armenians were massacred by Turks or at Turkish instigation. The present Gürsel regime leaves us in no doubt that it will repeat this rehearsal on a far bigger scale and with far more modern arms at the first moment the Junta thinks this "necessary".

It is for this reason that we have to raise our voice loudly and make it heard all over the world. The Kurds, who have no state and only little organised publicity abroad, cannot possibly do that yet to the extent necessary. Afro-Asian and other anti-colonialist nations have failed so far to come out openly in UNO in favour of the oppressed Kurdish nation. So a private, international organisation must do the job. It CAN, provided it finds sufficient support.

This simply means that you can help to save human lives with your money order to the "International Society Kurdistan" or to its paper "Kurdish Facts". When you are living in freedom, my wife uses to say, you have co-responsibility for those who are not yet free. When you are living in developed country you have co-responsibility for those who are still living under appalling conditions.

This is why we founded an "International Society Kurdistan" and publish "Kurdish Facts and West-Asian Affairs". This is why we are incessantly bothering you for a concrete contribution in money or by work. Call it "sympathy for the underdog" if you will. Call it "development aid" or call it "democracy in action". You are right in all cases, as you are right when saying we put emphasis on Kurdistan.

During the time the Poles had no state of their own, and were a divided, oppressed and underdeveloped nation like Kurds still are to-day, there was an anecdote. It came to my mind on the journey back home.

An Englishman and a Frenchman, a German and a Pole, the story says, were invited to write something on the topic: "The Elephant". The Briton wrote an adventure-book on "Hunting Elephants", the Frenchman a small book on "L'Elephant et ses amours", the German a standard work of several volumes: "Einführung zur Einleitung in das Wesen der physischen und psychischen Struktur des Elefanten unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der..." etc. etc. The Pole, however, wrote a pamphlet: "The Elephant and the Polish Question".

We might be somewhat like that Polish patriot. We know that. But we also know that it is dangerous to stand by in silence when fellow-humans are treated the way Kurds are treated in West-Asia. We can not save the entire world from poverty, ignorance and oppression with a comparatively small group and still smaller means. Instead of being vague "do-gooders" in development-aid-work. We preferred to choose just a small section of that enormous zone still seeking human dignity and bread: the much-forgotten section called KURDISTAN. After that we stuck to our self-set task, because it is better to do one thing 100% than to do a hundred things inadequately.

There is, of course, plenty of room for similar "internationals" trying to help an other nation in particular. One thing is certain: Realistic thinking has nothing to do with yielding to all powers existing, be they good or evil. Nor has freedom. Freedom is: being able to act according to your conscience and common sense. That's what we try to do. And together, we can accomplish miracles.

Sincerely yours,  
THE EDITOR

## IS KURDISTAN A RUG ONLY?

"I was shocked when a friend of mine showed me page 1009 of "Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary" (2nd ed. 1955, The World Publ. Comp., Cleve-

land & New York), carrying the following entry:

"KURDISTAN: n. any of various rugs, made by Kurds, especially in Iran.

KURD: m. (Turk & Arab.) any of nomadic Moslem people living chiefly in Kurdistan and the Southern Caucasus.

KURDISH: a. of the Kurds, their language, culture, etc.

KURDISH: n. the Iranian language of the Kurds."

The Editor is shocked too. We'll write to Websters' and are already preparing an article on "Kurdistan in big encyclopaedias, old and new". Some encyclopaedic information Kurds & Kurdistan is now published in every KF issue, especially to serve new readers.

#### "THINGS YOU NEVER DREAMT OF IN YOUR PHILOSOPHY"

"Today I was addressed by a Turk I know ---: "You Swine, you Kurdophile" ("Sie Schwein von Kurdenfreund"). --- Some time ago he threatened to inform the Turkish Gestapo and to have me arrested in case I'd cross the Turkish frontier again. Now he is addressing me

like this. --- he is an anti-Gürsel-man, supported Menderes --- he wants to close down all mosques (Islam being 'racially alien': Arab) to expel all Armenians, Lazi, Greeks and to kill all Kurds or to plant each of them separately into a Turkish village and "then" (he says) "we have solved the Kurdish problem forever". When you say something against it as a German, his reply is: surely not very human, but effective; and you have done worse things to the Jews. --- The man is studying philosophy here!! Jesus, in what kind of a world are we living!:"

(H.B., student, Münster university)

KF's ANSWER: Your experiences, dear ISK-member, are the same as those of ISK in general. Carry on. We never said it would be an easy job to convince Turks that hatred against Kurds will lead them nowhere. Phlegm does it. For what some of your compatriots did a generation before you, you are not personally responsible. When you help oppressed Kurdistan, you help democracy in Germany as well. By the way: when the man makes such statements as you quoted in public: there are still judges in Germany. And ISK is willing to testify on Turkish policy in Northern Kurdistan.

#### KURDS OFFER FRIENDSHIP TO ALL, DENY TO BE TROUBLESHOOTERS

"On our congresses and annual conferences we always made clear in our resolutions that we are in conflict with GOVERNMENTS only. We use to have good relations with other NATIONS (for instance the Newroz-celebrations with Persian students). Our behaviour has proved up till now that we are not fanatic or undisciplined at all. With anybody who stretches out his hand to us in good intentions we are glad to cooperate.

We represent a legal claim. Our aim is the recognition of the Kurdish nation in those States in which Kurds are living."

(S.B., for the German branch of the "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe"; emphasis added.)

"One must strengthen friendship between Kurds, Arabs and Persians, in the interest of a democratic and free development."

(A.K., Kurd, Munich, Germany)

#### MAP OF WEST-ASIA (KF/5, p. 7)

"According to its self-set task, your periodical is doubtlessly right when it is (Mail, continued on p. 25)

# THE KURDOSCOPE

- IRAQI KURDISTAN:** Situation of Kurds in some respect already worse than under Nuri-es-Said / Viennese paper says Qassim fought Kurds in the forties / Most of Kurdish papers in Iraq suppressed / New clashes in Kirkuk area / "Kurdish Facts" forbidden in Iraqi Kurdistan / Qassim seeks vainly to put counterweight to DPKiI.
- TURKISH KURDISTAN:** Outwardly calm again / Kurdish novelist writing Turkish considered Nobel Prize candidate / direct radio-link for CENTO between Turkey, Iran and England / uncertain role of Kurdish vilayets in referendum statistics / KF report on May revolt puzzling and annoying Gürsel authorities.
- PERSIAN KURDISTAN:** Co-nationalities' problem under-estimated by most foreign observers / no full cooperation yet between Iranian National Front and Eastern Kurdish resistance movement against present rule in Teheran / Shah rapidly losing foreign sympathy / Peasants' revolts in two cities.
- SYRIAN KURDISTAN:** Dr. Zaza and some other DPKiS leaders set free / Others to follow / Appalling conditions in Nasser's prisons / UAR/Syrian Government continues Arabisation policy against Kurds pursued by their predecessors / Cairo weekly calls Syrian Kurds "Arabs" / Move of Nasser towards Kurds thought possible.
- GENERAL:** Kurdish agrarian crises adds to revolutionary situation / Kurds and Turks participating in cultural performances in Germany / 6th Kurdish students' congress in Europe to be held in Münster-Westfalia, GFR / ISK one year old / Report on all Kurdish political prisoners being prepared for international action / new proof of anti-Kurdish character of Pan-Islamism.



# INSIDE KURDISTAN

## DR. ZAZA FREE

Dr. Nureddin al-Zaza, leader of the illegal "Democratic Party Kurdistan in Syria", was released from prison on June 20th, 1960, together with some of his fellow-patriots. Of 31 DPKIS-leaders, 13 got (like Dr. Zaza) one year, 7 of them were released after 9 months, 6 stayed one month more. Reducing sentences by 25% of the time is usual in Syria. About 15 Kurds (with sentences of 18 months) are still in UAR-prisons in Syria, among them the aged poet Osman Sebrî, Rashid Hamo and Mahmud Shawket Hannan. Dr. Zaza is now back in Damascus, where he has a medical business firm. Sarraj's police keeps him under tight control. Lacking UAR information on the process caused considerable anxiety among Dr. Zaza's many friends in Europe. (See also KF/2, p. 5-6, KF/3, p. 3-4, KF/4, p. 2, KF/5, p. 7, 12, KF/6, p. 6, KF/7, p. 11.)

## KURDISH PRESS IN IRAQ: SUPPRESSIVE MEASURES

Most of the 12 Kurdish papers (among them all dailies) appearing in Iraq after the Qassim revolution have been suppressed by the Military Government. An exact list of what is still appearing will be published in one of our forthcoming issues. The number of Kurdish papers in Iraq is now pretty equal to that under Nuri-es-Said.

## QASSIM VAINLY SEEKS KURDISH COUNTERWEIGHT TO DPK

A fortnight after his interview with the Leader, Sheikh Ahmed al-Barzani (brother of DPK-chief Mullah Mustafa) sent a telegram to Qassim. It was one of the many received after his June 25th declaration on Kuwait. Though the terminus "the sole Leader" was dropped since the Moslem clerics called it blasphemous, Sheikh Ahmed did use it when addressing General Qassim. "In my name and on behalf of all sincere Barzanis", Barzani-Nr-2 said, "I support your formidable step for recovering Kuwait to beloved Iraq". Offering "all sacrifices for guaranteeing the unity of the people", Barzani's brother praised Qassim's "wise command and prudent leadership" and expressed the hope that the latter might be "a victorious leader" and be "preserved as a treasure to the homeland". Of Mullah Mustafa al-Barzani no telegrams to Qassim were reported. The prestige of his DPKiI among Kurds is still high, not in spite of but thanks to Qassim's repressive measures against it. As is reported from a Paris source, Qassim's endeavour to rally Kurdish VIPs against the Party has totally failed. There will be no second honeymoon of Kurdish-Qassim-friendship. And the Faithful Leader's weak position at home as well as abroad is as known in Sulaimaniyah as it is in Baghdad.

## WEST-ASIAN CENSORSHIP AFFECTING KURDS

Cases have been reported to ISK that books of Kurdish interest which were to be sent to abroad were seized by West-Asian

censors, among others in Iraq. The import of "Kurdish Facts" is also banned in practically all countries co-inhabited by Kurds. As is learnt, the censorship measures have two reasons. First there is the anti-Kurdish attitude of the governments involved, second "Kurdish Facts" frank reporting on conditions in the 4 states in question. Due measures have been taken to ensure that "Kurdish Facts" do reach Kurdish people in the UAR/Syria, Iraq, Iran and the Turkish Republic. It is hoped by ISK that West-Asian nations will all realise one day that dictatorial measures block a democratic "togetherness" in the area. Every Turkish, UAR-, Iraqi or Persian official or private citizen who finds something wrong with ISK or "Kurdish Facts" can write to them and will get room to express his opinion. But several invitations to do so have been ignored by all who received them. The Governments holding a part of Kurdistan found it, however, impossible to ignore ISK and KF at all and now vainly hope to silence them by repressive measures. Their parallel endeavour to prevent that Kurdish news reaches foreign countries also failed.

## NEW CLASHES IN MULTI-NATIONAL KIRKUK AREA

Just two years after the bloody troubles in the Kirkuk liwah of Iraqi Kurdistan (July 1959/61), new riots among its multi-national population (Kurds, Turkmens, Arabs) were reported last month.

After some 800 Turkmens had sought refuge in neighbouring Turkish-Kurdistan (like other Turkmens did 1959), the Gürsel government considered to take the matter up with Baghdad. On July 24th, 1961, "The Times" wrote that Ankara regards "The 100,000 or so Turcomans of the Kirkuk area as a Turkish minority for whose welfare it is responsible." Two years ago, the "Democratic Party Kurdistan in Iraq" strongly condemned the Kirkuk bloodshed. Several democratic Kurds saved lives of Turkmen fellow-citizens threatened by mob. In Kifri, Toz-Khormatu and Altun-Köpri, Turkmens and Kurds celebrated the first anniversary of the Qassim revolution in a spirit of fraternisation.

But now the DPK was silenced by the Iraqi Military Government. The Party's papers were suppressed, many of its cadres arrested. And Kurds, Turkmens and Arabs did not have much to rejoice on July 14th, 1961.

No Ankara moves were reported in favour of the Turkic Azerbaijanis oppressed by Gürsel's ally: imperial Iran, which does not even allow a single Azerbaijani paper (a Kurdish one exists). Still the Gürsel junta maintains a secret organisation in the interest of the East-Turkic nations. It is well-financed and manned with intelligent representatives of all Turkic peoples involved.

No secret is the fact that there is more solidarity between Kurds and Azerbaijanis than there is between the latter and their Osmanli brothers. Etatist Turkish chauvinism is not only affecting Kurds but intra-Turkic solidarity as well, no matter how Pan-



Turkist Ankara might turn. Using fellow-Turkic people for Ottoman imperial interests was already practised by Ottoman sultans. They settled the ancestors of Iraq's present Turkmens along strategic roads of their empire running through Kurdish into Arab ethnic territory.

#### SUZLBERGER (N. Y. TIMES) ON KURDISH-SOVIET RELATIONS

Reminiscences of the 1945-46 Kurdish and Azerbaijani Autonomous Republics are still going strong, even abroad. From Teheran, America's top-notch editor Cyrus L. Sulzberger, wrote to his "New York Times" about Iran: that "Russia could try and bite a chunk off this country through revolution by proxy. It could incite the Azerbaijanis or Kurds in the northwest to revolt and establish puppet states with Soviet backing".

Sulzberger saw "every indication", however, that none "of these moves is now contemplated by the Kremlin". The "U. S. S. R. and East Germany", he said "do not seem to be pressing hard for localized insurrections".

This was printed on July 26th, 1961. More or less the opposite had been predicted concerning Kurds by Mr. Sulzberger 3 years ago; in "The New York Times" of October 14th, 1958:

"One might ask what new trump card, if any, the U. S. S. R. hopes to introduce into the precarious Middle Eastern game. The answer is probably to be found among the unhappy Kurds. Some two millions of these people dwell in Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. About all that is needed in the seething Arab world is to have the latent Kurdish question thrown upon the embers of discontent. Is this what the Kremlin now plans - either to blackmail Cairo or Baghdad or, in cahoots with them, to torment the Iranians and Turks?"

Mr. Sulzberger is one of President Kennedy's intellectual advisers.

#### PEASANTS' CRISIS AND THE KURDISH FUTURE

France was seething with peasants' unrest last June when Pierre d'Istria said in "La Tribune des Nations" on the 23rd that "the Kurdish problem imposes itself to the attention of all governments". D'Istria had pointed to parallels between the French and Italian peasants' crises with the revolutionary situation in the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries two months before in the same Paris weekly. Now he said: "In unison with the neutralist nations the Kurds are preparing a sort of conservative revolution, free of a-priori doctrines." The partition of Kurdistan - a thoroughly peasant nation like no other nation in West-Asia - is cutting it off from its natural markets. The low purchasing power of the surrounding peoples is sinking the quality of Kurdistans agrarian/horticultural "exports". Furthermore, Iran, Iraq and Turkey have to import goods from abroad in order to become incorporated into the international monetary system. D'Istria says the Kurds are "condemned to starve by the States of which they are compelled to be a part". It is exactly this mixture of social (economic) with nationalities' conflicts that the author finds to be highly explosive. D'Istria criticizes NATO indifference to suffering Kurdistan and says autonomy or independence for Kurds is the only alternative to anarchy. Finally he declares: "We are nearing the hour in which the

problem of the Kurdish agrarian crisis, which means of the Kurdish nation, can no longer be eluded."

#### ARMENIAN COMMUNIST PARTY DAILY ON KURDS OF THE SSR

On May 5th, 1961, the daily of the CC of the Armenian CP, "Kommunist" (Russian edition), carried an article by the Republic's vice-minister of automobile transport, H. Makhmudoy, on the Kurdish minority in Soviet Armenia. The headline praised Kurds as "the Builders of a New Life", which was underlined in red.

It contains a number of interesting and less-known details on especially the cultural life of Kurds in the Armenian SSR. In 1921 they got their first alphabet. In 1925, 55 schools were opened for the Kurds in Armenia & Soviet-Azerbaijan. In 1938 the Kurdish alphabet in Latin characters was dropped in favour of Russian (Cyrillic) transcription. At the moment, 130 young Kurds are studying at Soviet institutes of higher learning, in Moscow, Leningrad, Erevan, Baku and Tashkent. The Kurdish section of the Soviet Armenian Writers' Union was founded as early as 1932. Since 1937 the Armenian State Publishing house printed 70 books in Kurdish with a total number of 142.000 copies (= plm. 2000 per title). In 1960 the Armenian Academy of Sciences in Erevan established a Kurdish Branch. The first Kurdish Socialist Theatre was opened in 1936, but 10 years earlier, "Armenkino" produced its first film on Kurdish life: "Zare". In 1947 the second one followed: "Kurds of Soviet Armenia", in 1959 the third: "Kurds of Armenia". "Ria Taze" (= "The New Road") the Kurdish-language paper of the CC of the Republic's Communist Party started to appear in 1930. Its interruption is not stated in the article. When the Kurdish Department in the Armenian Broadcasting System was established is not stated either though its existence is explicitly mentioned. In the Republic's Supreme Soviet there are two Kurdish representatives.

#### PROBABLE NASSERIST APPROACH TO KURDS

Since the Nasserist regime in Syria continued the pre-UAR discrimination of Kurds thereby increasing it to oppression, Kurds everywhere are generally anti-Nasser. That there is no real anti-Arabism among Kurds was proved once more during the period of initial Iraqi-Kurdish enthusiasm for Qassim. But since the latter has failed to fulfil his promise to make the Iraqi Republic one "of Arabs and Kurds", the latter's feelings turned against Qassim as they did against Nasser.

Now in Iraq the main opponents of Qassim are the Communists and the Nasserists and Gamal Abdel, perfectly well informed about Qassim's weak position, obviously does not want to see Iraq's 1,8 million Kurds side with the Communists. Such an alliance might enable the latter to win the fight for power in Iraq in case Qassim might fall.

If the above analysis of present Nasserist approach of the Kurdish question is correct, it might explain a number of small facts which cannot be explained easily otherwise.

First there are the sentences in the process against Dr. Zaza's

underground "Democratic Party Kurdistan in Syria". Compared with Nasser's usual practice against political enemies and opponents, the sentences are mild. The reported fact that Nasser's Number One Man in Syria did want to keep Dr. Zaza in prison for some time but that the latter was released duly might also have its special significance in this connection.

#### PRESS PRELUDE TO NEW UAR-TACTICS THOUGHT VISIBLE

It was a Nasserist paper abroad (Beyrouth's "Sawt-al-Uruba") which demanded Lebanese citizenship for Kurdish post-World-War-I-refugees, a measure which was subsequently taken indeed. (See ISK/KF. Nr. 2, p. 6 and KF/5, p. 3.)

Something like an Arab-Kurdish alliance was suggested in Egypt itself this spring. Dwelling on Arab democracy, Kamal Rifaat wrote in the Cairo daily "Akhbar al-Yom" of April 4th, 1961: "Arab nationalism is a historical reality. But in the Arab Fatherland there are other nationalisms, linked with its history since a long time, like Kurdish nationalism. Because the Kurds represent a minority in the Arab world, the history of their fight and their struggle is linked with Arab history. Their aspirations are identical with the Arab ones and up till the present day all endeavours of the colonialists aiming at dividing Kurds and Arabs have failed.

This harmony between Arab, Kurdish, Armenian nationalists and other minorities is one of the mightiest elements of co-operation in the establishment of democracy."

Mr. Rifaat used a terminus: minority, which Kurds dislike to see applied to them. Though it cannot be denied that Kurds are a (numerically & otherwise) "non-dominant group" in two Arab States (UAR/Syria and Iraqi Republic respectively); their coherent and homogenous ethnic area - Kurdistan - does not lie within the Arab area but North of it. Surely the Kurds are as anti-colonialist as are Arabs but it is just for this reason that the Kurdish nation is resisting not only Western, but also Arab hegemonialism.

As Pan-Arabism (Mr. Rifaat's and the UAR's viewpoint) excludes etatism (thinking in state terms only), there is no reason why the same anti-etatist criterion cannot be used when dealing with the Kurdish nation.

Up till now, Arabs failed to seek a true alliance with Kurds, though such an alliance would have strengthened their Arab stand, both internally and towards the CENTO-countries (9,5 million Kurds, nearly 80% of all, live on CENTO-territory in Turkey and Iran).

#### KURDS ARE ARABS, CAIRO WEEKLY SAYS

That the Kurdish fear that Arabs might be trying to "translate back" a possible Arab-Kurdish "togetherness" into Arab chauvinism is a justified fear indeed was demonstrated by the Cairo illustrated weekly "Akher Saa" on June 14th, 1961.

In a (partly-coloured) cover-story on the Kurds of North-East-Syria's Djezireh the paper wrote: "There are 23 clans or more than two thousand Arabs of the same race". Kurds were pictured as Arabs the whole article over, mainly by using and repeating the word "Arab" from the beginning to the end. When the

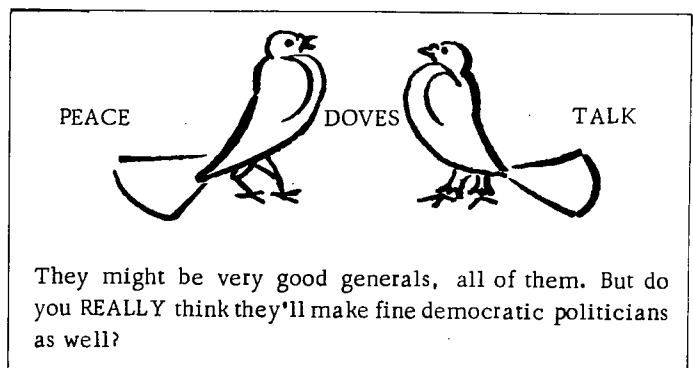
word "Kurdish" was used, it was in a way like this: "The people of Kubur-El-Bid only speak literary Arabic and the ancient Kurdish language has disappeared completely. The favourite song is "Nasser njahabib el Kul" (= "Nasser is the sweetheart of all")".

In spite of lyric praise of the beauty of the Djesireh Kurdish girls and of Kurdish homes ("as nice as the beautiful villa's near Cairo airport"), "Akher Saa"'s article clearly was a plain, old-fashioned piece of Arab chauvinist wishful thinking, much alike to the Osmanli thesis that Kurds are just "Mountain Turks". Nasser will doubtlessly have a tough job in case he is going to approach Kurds. The latter will be hard to convince that a country where the (largely State-directed) press is writing things strikingly similar to the Osmanli thesis that Kurds are "mountain Turks" has liberal views on the Kurdish nation. And even IF the UAR might allow say some Kurdish schools and a Kurdish paper in Syria, tough resistance of Arabisation diehards in the Northern region can be expected. Apart from that, Nasser has not got much time left, even if Iraq's Qassim keeps on to survive politically.

#### REVOLT NEAR TWO CITIES IN PERSIAN KURDISTAN

Peasant revolts are reported to have taken place near two cities in Persian-Kurdistan in July. Angry farmers in the vicinity of Reza'eyeh and Mehabad attacked local landowners who brutally exploited them. The peasants also clashed with the security forces. Both uprisings have been suppressed meanwhile.

The centers mentioned, situated West and South of Lake Urmia respectively (see map) are known strongholds of Kurdish patriotism. Mehabad (also called: Saujbulaq) was the capital of the Autonomous Kurdish Republic of 1945/1946. Its present, the late Ghazi Mohammed, was hanged by the Shah's police (see KF/4, p. 8-9). The Reza'eyeh tribal area was living in practical independence since World War I till it was conquered by the father of the Shah, dynasty-founder Reza Khan Palehvi. As far as can be analysed from the scanty information at hand, last month's peasant revolts in Kurdistan's Persian "zone" had both a national and a social character. The movement was, however, not zone-wide like the May uprising in Turkish Kurdistan.



"Who does not know the name of that man?" (From a poem by Cegerxwin.) Photo right shows Mullah Mustapha al-Barzani, the Kurdish Leader, in Baghdad. (Photo Carla Bartheel, Berlin.) At his left: a bodyguard.



# WEST-ASIAN AFFAIRS

## AFTER KUWAIT: WHAT?

Just when KF's June issue went to press, the Kuwait crisis broke out. There is not so very much left of it at the moment these lines are written. But the oil-sheikhdom-affair between the two KF-dealines is still worth treating.

We have seen Communist, Western and Afro-Asian countries rallying to support the just-won independence of a puppet state created by Western imperialist capitalists some 50 years ago. We have seen how another State, Iraq, equally artificially created in the same period and for the same reason (and enlarged with a part of Kurdistan for also the same reason) turned aggressive against that State, thus proving that oil is as attractive to anti-imperialist Afro-Asians as it was and is to Western invaders. But it would be "bourgeois materialism" to presume that oil was the final aim Qassim was after. Oil was a means to the Lonesome Leader's real aim: to become the boss of at least the Eastern Arabs.

"Contemporary Issues", an international socialist periodical appearing in London, called Qassim "Iraq's Would-Be Nasser" one year ago (May-June issue 1960). But Qassim tried to be more: he (vainly) tried to imitate Suez-Canal-nationaliser Nasser and Iranian-oil-nationaliser Mossadeq at the same time. Kuwait was to be first, then the other oil-sheikhdoms were to follow. Then Qassim would have tried to win power in either Saudi-Arabia or Syria or Jordan or Lebanon, all according to chances.

There are several indications of this multi-phased plan. But it seems Abdel Kerim Qassim is not the man to realise it. His constant assuring that his one-man-business Republic is "immortal" (even Hitler only spoke of a "Thousand Years' Reich") does not improve his weak internal position. Nor does his never omitting the adjective "glorious" when speaking of "the Arab nation" change the undeniable fact that no outer power could

undo Arab unification if the Arabs really wanted it and that it is the Arabs themselves who are the main obstacle on the way to Arab unity.

Though the quick British invasion of Kuwait failed to create a "1958"-feeling to more than a small extent, it contributed to hiding a new phase in Afro-Asian politics. Formerly, the riches of those countries were a point of conflict between Afro-Asians and Europeans. Now they seem to become one between Afro-Asians (in this case: Arabs) themselves.

This forgotten aspect of the Kuwait comedy has striking parallels to the Kurdish tragedy. Kurdistan's minerals (several of them might be still undiscovered) are still in possession of Arabs, of Persians and of Turks, instead of being the property of a Kurdish government or of Kurdish industrialists or of the Kurdish nation as a whole.

The partition of Kurdistan and the annexing of its southern part to Iraq was as artificial as was the creation of the Iraqi and Kuwait states themselves. Certainly the West was mainly responsible for all this. But those who took over since the West and its servants lost influence now cry about "foreign imperialism" as soon as voices are raised in favour of a really new order in West-Asia. Still there are multi-national areas elsewhere, which did realise political and economic unity and where state boundaries are no longer real barriers. A West-Asian Federation is a project from the realisation of which all partners would benefit. It also seems the easiest way to solve - phase by phase - the area's ethnic problems, among them the Kurdish one. A West-Asian Federation would also be strong enough to accept plenty of development-aid from abroad without any political conditions. Close cooperation with a similar All-African Federation could be ensured easily and would make Afro-Asian solidarity more than a common front of mere "anti"-feelings. It would also prevent the mere replacing of foreign imperialism by home-made brands of that outdated commodity.

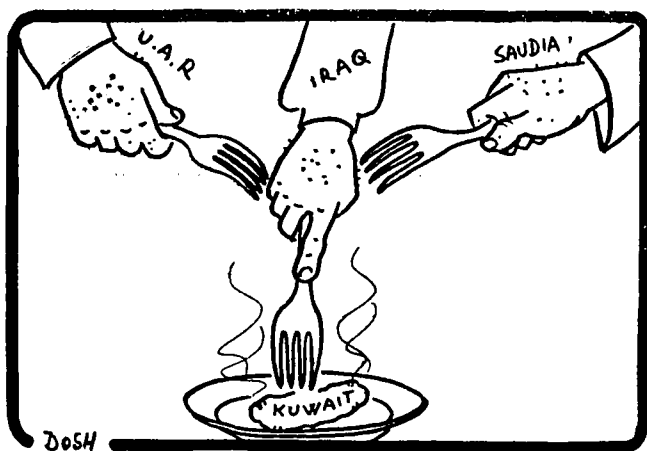


Table Manners!

Arab disunity on the Kuwait issue caused grim satisfaction in Israel. There were some piquant cartoons, like this one, taken from the paper "Maariv".

## LIMELIGHT AND FLASH-BACK: WAS QASSIM PROMOTED AFTER FIGHTING KURDS FOR FAISAL?

Qassim's claim to Kuwait made shortly before his fourth year of power began, caused a great many press articles on the Iraqi Leader.

"The Observer" (London, July 9th, 1961) feared he had "a disturbing lack of mental balance". Clearly referring to Qassim's remark on the genesis of Kuwait, the liberal Sunday paper did not fail to recall that Iraq is "a State artificially created only forty years ago". Finding it "divided between Arabs and Kurds" and many others, Qassim "has maintained power chiefly by playing off his rivals against one another, and in the process has divided an already divided country even further". "The Observer" did not think Qassim's rule much different from the royalist regime preceding it, the Leader holding "tight to the main instrument of power, the Army and the secret





A LEADER THOUGHT UN-BALANCED: QASSIM  
(Photo: Iraqi Ministry of Guidance)

police system inherited from Nuri Said, and when it suited him he has been willing to kill". But Qassim, the paper added, "should not be underestimated. He has shown a shrewd instinct for political manoeuvre" and "is likely to go on surviving so long as the Iraqi Army continues to play safe behind him for fear of something worse". In the "Salzburger Nachrichten" in neutral Austria Herr Clemens Hutter wrote six days later: "The conflict about Kuwait can be basically reduced to one fact: whether Nasser or Qassim can win the leadership of all Arabs". "Heute", the Vienna weekly, called Qassim "a man without a private life" the same day. "Qassim is trembling more than ever before", "Heute" 's Herr E. Gehmacher thinks, and surveying the Leader's biography he reveals that Qassim "fought rebellious Kurds in the North of Iraq" between 1941 and 1948. Immediately after that he was re-accepted into Iraq's Royal

General Staff. So far "Heute", which is generally well-informed on Kurdish affairs. There is testimony of Kurdish soldiers who fought in Qassim's unit against Israel that their commander could speak Kurdish. This is somewhat unusual for a Baghdad-born Arab. It would be interesting to know whether Qassim was taught Kurdish (and why) before he started to fight Kurdish patriots, whether he did so long enough to have sufficient Kurdish conversation practice and whether his promotion afterwards had to do something with his campaigning in Iraqi Kurdistan. As a lot of witnesses are still alive, it cannot be very difficult to find out the facts, facts that might shed a bright light on Qassim's "anti-imperialism" and "Arab-Kurdish-brotherhood" Gospel.

#### MEASURES AGAINST ARMENIAN PARTY IN SYRIA

Charged with "spying for Israel and other foreign powers", many members of the Armenian "Dashnaksutyun" Party were arrested in Syria ultimo July. The UAR police said they found arms, ammunition, wireless sets and sabotage equipment in the Armenians' homes.

Dashnaksutyun was founded in the 1880-ies as a national-democratic party. As long as Tsarist Russia supported Armenians against Turkish oppression, it collaborated with tsarism. Later on it did the same with the Western allies. The Government of the Armenian Republic founded in 1918 was led by Dashnakis. After Soviet troops marched in in 1920, the party went into exile where it still wages many activities.

Unlike Kurds, Armenians are allowed to have their own schools and cultural organisations in the UAR. Political parties of all kinds are, however, forbidden. The number of arrested Dashnaksutyun militants is said to be considerable. Whether the measures taken are a prelude to an all-out drive of Sarraj against Syria's Armenian minority as such is not yet fully visible.

#### KHRUSHCHOV ON ARMENIA:

##### KURDISTAN'S NORTHERN NEIGHBOUR REINVITES DIASPORA

Soviet Armenia seems to reopen its campaign for the remigration of Armenians abroad to the Armenian Socialist Soviet Republic, the only existing Armenian State. From 1946-48 100,000 Armenians in diaspora followed the initial appeals. First were 20,000 Armenians from South Azerbaijan, after the liquidation of its Autonomous Republic by the Persians. A Soviet Law of July 1946 made every Armenian emigrant automatically a Soviet citizen the moment he/she crossed the Soviet border. Some particulars about the emigrants' life in the Armenian SSR can be found in "A Journey through Soviet Armenia", available in Russian, English, French and German (Moscow, 1954). It was written by Marietta Shaginyan, a well-known Russian-born Armenian writer and also contains information on Armenia's Kurds.

Addressing the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet and Party CC, All-Union Premier Khrushchov said on May 6th, 1961: "A hard fate has scattered the Armenian nation all over the world. --- But one thing is certain: Soviet Socialist Armenia is now the centre, the magnet which is attracting the best daughters and sons of the Armenian people. Republican organis-

ations must continue to show solicitude about the work and life of people returning to the homeland."

#### SOVIET AND FOREIGN COMMENT

The same day, Armenian writer and Communist Party CC-member of his SSR, Rachia Kochar, wrote in Moscow's "Literaturnaya Gazeta" that "love and longing call home the Armenian toilers from all corners of the globe". Foreign observers commented that the new Armenian repatriation drive stood in marked contrast to:

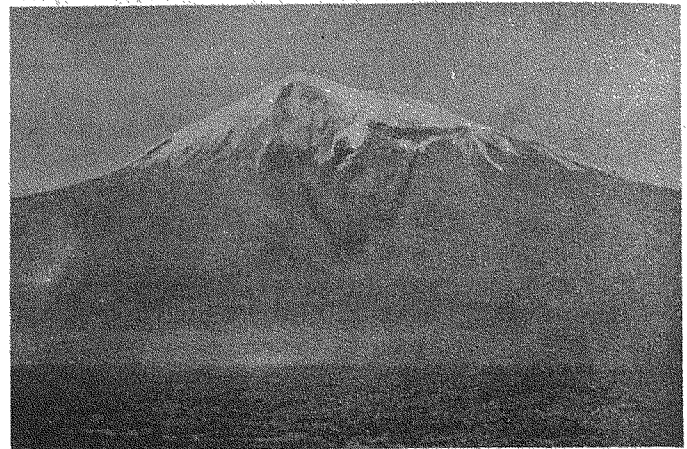
1. the Soviet Union's negative attitude towards Zionism, which invites Jewish diaspora to the State of Israel as Erevan does Armenian diaspora to the Armenian Soviet Republic;
2. the 1959/60 stop to the Soviet drive of 1955 and after (waged from East Berlin) to repatriate especially those who left the USSR since 1941.

On January 15th, 1959, the Armenian Socialist Soviet Republic had 1,768 million inhabitants. The pre-war Census of 1939 had shown that of 2,15 million Soviet Armenians only 1,28 millions (= abt. 10%) lived in Armenia. Thus the number of "Soviet diaspora" Armenians then exceeded that of the non-Soviet ones (870,000 and 750,000 resp.). Minister Mikoyan and General Bagramyan were the VIPs of the first, oil-king Gulbenkian and US-writer Saroyan those of the second category.

#### ARMENIANS AND KURDISTAN

Main cause of the Armenian mass exodus were the massacres in Turkey, partly executed by Kurds. They put practically an end to the once strong ethnic intermingling between Kurds and Armenians. It may be said here that the biggest collective crime in all Kurdish history referred to here was committed on Turkish instigation. But whereas Turkish leaders are still advocating genocide, (now towards 6 million Kurds instead of towards 1 million Armenians), most Kurds deeply deplore the dark page in their nation's past. It was Thuraya Bedir-Xan (1883-1938), first organiser of the Kurdish liberation movement on modern, political lines, who advocated the anti-imperialist alliance between Armenians and Kurds (see Encycl. of Islam). Armenians were the main intermediaries between Russia and the Orient (including Kurdistan) since the 17th century. I. L. Lazarev, an Armenian from Iran, founded the famous "Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages" in Petrograd in 1816. A cornerstone of Russian Orientalistics was laid therewith. Only 40 years later (when an Armenian made the first Kurdish Bible-translation, see KF/5, p. 15) Kurdology was made an independent academic discipline in tsarist Petrograd. So Dr. Qanate Kurdo, again met fruits of Armenian work when he left his native Armenia to become the first Kurdish professor of Kurdology at Leningrad's University (see KF/7, p. 9).

The new Armenian "repatriation" drive might also be of influence on Kurdistan, which, like most West-Asian countries, has an Armenian minority as well. Some Armenians are already on friendly terms with ISK and the Armenian press - both Soviet and diaspora - is paying an increasing interest to Kurdistan, it seems.



Mount Ararat (Agri Dag) equally dear to Armenians and Kurds, was the scene of a big Kurdish uprising against Turks in 1930. According to the legend, Noah's arch stranded on the Ararat. The mountain's present name still reminds of ancient Urartu, of which Armenians and Georgians derive their national past (like Ukrainians and Russians from mediaeval Kiev, Germans and French from the empire of Charlemagne). Ararat's snow-clad top resembles that of Japan's volcano Fuji Yama, which became known all over the world by Hokusai's hundred woodcuts of it.

#### IRAQ TO GET POLICEMEN WHO CAN READ AND WRITE

"It has been suggested", the "Iraq Times" of May 22nd reported "to form a new police corps, to be called elite police corps, whose members must be at least graduates of a primary school. The purpose of this is to raise the cultural standards of the police force in Iraq". The plan was born during the Mutassarifs' (= Districts Governors) Conference. Whether Iraqi Kurdistan was to get policemen knowing their "3 R's" in their Kurdish mother tongue was not stated.

#### IRAQI "MINISTER OF GUIDANCE" DISMISSED



GUIDANCE FAILED:  
AL-SAMIR

Among the Cabinet Ministers Qassim dismissed this summer was that of "Guidance": Al-Samir (see cut). Al-Samir, whose predecessor was actively pro-German during the war, set up a Qassimist "Führerkult" all over the country to make Iraqi State-Nationalism more attractive. But it failed to compete successfully with suppressed ideas like Nasserist Pan-Arabism, Kurdish patriotism, and Communism. New "Minister of Guidance" is Brigadier Ismail Arif, reportedly one of the few men Qassim sometimes listens to. Al-Samir was made Iraqi ambassador to Morocco.

#### IRAQ TIGHTENS SECURITY GRIP ON GUESTS

All hotel proprietors of Iraq have been ordered by the Directorate-General of Security to report on every arriving guest within



24 hours, on all leaving guests every 10th day (stating their next destination) and to warn the police immediately "if they suspect that any of their clients is accused of any crime or that a warrant of arrest has been issued against him or that he arouses suspicion". Security chief Colonel Abdul Majid Jalil stated that previous orders concerning foreigners remain valid. The new instructions quoted were given last May, shortly before Qassim started his Kuwait-drive.

#### THE IRANIAN NATIONAL FRONT AND DR. MOSSADEGH

Reporting on the 100,000 persons' meeting in Teheran where the "National Front" called for immediate elections last May, "Iran Nameh" reported on Keshavarz Sadr's speech as follows: "Explaining Dr. Mossadeq's role in the National Front, the spokesman said that Mossadeq is the leader of the National Front and his position is somewhat analogous to that of the late Mahatma Gandhi in India. He added that Mossadeq is now isolated and the Front has no communication with him." ("Iran Nameh", "A Publication of Iranian Students in the USA", P. O. Box 19, New York 1, N. Y., D 4,00 annually.)

Three Britons who tried to contact Mossadegh in the place where the former Persian premier is held "incommunicado" were arrested by the Shah's police in July. In the same month, practically all leading figures of the "Iranian National Front" were also arrested.

#### KUWAIT CRISIS LINKED WITH AZERBAIJANI PROBLEM

On July 8th, 1961, Amsterdam's Catholic daily "De Volkskrant" printed the following report, within a photo-text, and without giving any news agency source:

"According to reports from Persia the British intervention in Kuwait might cause the Russians to occupy the province of Azerbaijan in Northern Persia. In that case, the Kuwait conflict might have grave consequences."

No logical link-up between the Kuwait crisis and the Azerbaijani problem was given by "De Volkskrant".

#### MOSSADEGH'S FALL IN 1953: U. S. EXPENSES REVEALED

Abolghasem Amini, brother of the Shah's present Premier and like the latter a former Mossadegh-minister, made an interesting contribution to contemporary Oriental history in a letter to "Bakhtar Emrus", organ of the Iranian National Front abroad. Amini revealed that his brother had told him in Rome that the USA spent 5 million dollar for the Zahedi coup against Mossadegh during the time Amini was Minister of Finance. After the money had been put into the Treasury, General Zahedi claimed it, saying the sum was meant to meet the expenses of his coup. Amini then saw certain officials and got another 2 million dollars, for Zahedi, whose monarchist activism consequently made him a dollar-multi-millionaire. (The Shah, in his recent memoirs, reviewed in KF/4, p. 14-15, indicated the "possibility" of US payments to Zahedi but said the main force behind that putsch against Mossadegh was pure Persian "patriotism".)

#### TURKEY'S NEW CONSTITUTION FINDS SMALL SUPPORT

On July 9th, 1961, Turkey held a popular referendum on the new Constitution worked out by the Military Government. Next night, the High Electoral Commission announced that the publication of the referendum's results could not be expected for several days yet. But it appeared that in at least 12 of the 63 vilayets voters had said "no". On the 11th, the London "Times" benevolently called the new constitution "an important stage on Turkey's road back to normality", using (among others) the argument that "the freedom of the press" was "explicitly guaranteed" in the document.

On the 19th, the Gürsel Government published the referendum's results. Of a total registered electorate of 12,735,009 persons, only 10,282,561 or about 75% had taken part. Of them, 6,348,191 had voted YES and 3,934,370 had voted NO. That meant that not yet quite 49,8% of the registered electorate had declared to be in favour of the new Constitution.

At the moment the votes were cast the Turkish Republic had at least 28 million inhabitants. As every Turkish citizen older than 22 years may vote, the total registered electorate forms a much smaller part of the entire population than in other countries with a similar voting system. As the published results of the last (2955) census generally give "10% samples" (% 10 örnekleme) only, it is not hard to guess that not all persons entitled to vote were invited to do so. Nor is it difficult to presume that most of the voters not listed in the registered electorate (perhaps some millions) live in those vilayets where conditions are most primitive: those of Turkish-Kurdistan.

Furthermore it is known that there is a considerable anti-Gürsel opposition in Turkey Proper already, especially among the peasants (Ankara and Istanbul, with their large urban proletariat, voted Yes). According to "The Times" "the west and north-west, and also to some extent the south, --- voted the largest percentage of Noes".

As 12 vilayets might make up for the No-zone of the voting map thus indicated, predominantly Kurdish vilayets (like Urfa, Mardin, Dyarbekir, Bitlis, Van, Siirt) do not seem to be included in that No-zone. Still it is highly improbable that the Northern Kurds, whose anti-Gürsel-demonstrations were oppressed bloodily two months before, (see KF/6, p. 4) have become suddenly pro-Gürsel meanwhile, as they expressed opposite feelings more emphatically than was done in any part of Turkey Proper up till now.

But even if one believes all referendum results to be 100% exact and reliable, the fact remains that besides the present registered electorate there is a considerable number of people entitled to vote who are not registered. And of those registered less than 50% agree with the new constitution. That is - to put it mildly - an extremely small legal basis.

Whether there is democracy or not in Turkey seems to be of little concern to certain Western commentators. Here is what Amsterdam's "Algemeen Handelsblad" wrote on July 18th, 1961: "The Army, which --- possesses political maturity as was shown by the activity of Gürsel, remains --- a guarantee for stability --- in case the democratic experiment might fail." Kurds, more familiar with Turkish "democracy" and "political

maturity" than most foreign journalists, have no illusions whatsoever about the "new constitution" 's alleged blessings.

#### COME-BACK OF NAZI-PARTY UNDER GUERSEL

About two dozen parties are campaigning for the 15 October elections in Gürsel's Turkey. Among those who are "old" newcomers is that of General Cevat Atilhan, Istanbul. Like his - banned - former "Islamic Party" Atilhan's new group stands for Turkic racialism, for Pan-Islamism, authoritarianism and anti-Zionism. Atilhan, who repeatedly got into troubles with the Turkish police in the fifties, is the publisher-editor of a monthly called "The Islamic United Nations" since 1951. In one issue he described at length how he put a Jewish refugee family from Russia to death by starvation in his cellar after World War I. In 1952 Atilhan wrote a book against Freemasonry: "Türk oğlu / Duşmanını Tani". His next book, "Gizi Devlet ve Programı" (1955) dealt with the alleged "Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion" (first printed in Russia). Atilhan cooperates closely with practically all other (Neo-)Nazi groups in Europe, the America's and South-Africa, and with radical Moslem conspirators in Afro-Asian countries. The general is said to be sympathetic with Nasserism and the "Islamic Pact" project and to have some influential friends in the Turkish Army.

#### NEW PHASE IN NASSERIST 'SOCIALISM'

Speaking on occasion of the 9th anniversary of the Egyptian Officers' Putsch (1952) Gamal Abdel Nasser called his "United Arab Republic" a "Socialist State" for the first time. As there had been much talk of "Arab Socialism" before in official UAR-circles and as the Nasser-Tito-Axis (see KF/7, p. 3) is clearly strengthening, the declaration was not surprising.

Surprising was the formula Nasser choose to make the UAR's New, secular creed (ridiculed "Pharaonic Socialism" by its intellectual opponents) attractive to his Islamic fellah's. "We are Socialists", the UAR Leader said. Then he assured: "Socialism dates back to the times of the Prophet Mohammed and till the beginning of time".

Nasser's problem was much like that of 19th-century Russian revolutionists': how to stir feudally and clerically thinking masses for new social ideals? And like the Mullah's and Uleman's in the Islamic Orient, Russia's orthodox popes were those who had most influence on the toiling masses. In the Russian revolutionary movement consultative contacts with clerics led to a lasting influx of reactionary, Russian-messianistic ideas into revolutionary thought. Even people like anarchist Bakunin came under its spell; the latter influenced by an exiled sectarian (Old Believer) bishop in London. And atheist Bakunin was certainly not the last Russian who tried to combine international revolution with Russian hegemonialism.

In Western Europe, Christians fearing to loose ground at the expense of Socialism, made a similar rapprochement to Marxism, starting from the other side. Some of them, like the Swiss theologian Karl Barth (originally a "Christian Socialist"), later

became prophets of a Protestant "Soli Deo Gloria" (All Honour to God, also motto of the Jesuits).

UAR-Socialism will have to be "sold" to three entirely different groups: the Islamic clergy, headed by Al-Azhar University (see KF/7, p. 15-16), the "national bourgeoisie" - deeply influenced first by Western liberalism, then by German national-socialism, afterwards by Soviet Socialism - and finally the urban and agrarian proletariat, whose support is sought by the first and the second group. Neither of the three can be expected to be full-hearted supporters of "Islamic Socialism". And President Tito might be a bit sceptical too about his ally's "Revisionism".

#### STOP PRESS: SUPPRESSED IRAQI PAPERS REAPPEARING

One of the first acts of the Iraqi Ministry of Guidance after the dismissal of Al-Samir was to allow the reappearance of 15 suppressed dailies. The decree was issued on orders of Military Governor Abdi. Whether "Xebat", Arab-language-organ of the "Democratic Party Kurdistan in Iraq" is among the foresaid dailies was not yet known when this number went to press. Four Communist papers, however, were said to be allowed again. This might point to Qassim's traditional policy of playing off his opponents against one another: on the occasion of July 14th, several prominent pro-Nasser Pan-Arabists were released from prison.

#### FORTHCOMING ARTICLES:

##### YEZIDISM AND ITS ORIGINS

(maps, photos, drawings and the review of professor Th. Bois' important new book on the so-called "devil-worshippers").

##### KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES

The first volume of Dr. Mackenzie's standard work, a new major contribution to the subject. Northern Kurdish dialects are excluded as Mr. Mackenzie was not allowed to do research in Turkish Kurdistan.

WEST-ASIAN AREA STUDY PROGRAMS IN THE USA  
Surveying America's universities.

##### THE SIXTH KURDISH STUDENT CONGRESS

KSSE's annual congress, in Münster-Westphalia.

##### THE PROGRAM OF THE KURDISH PARTY

The DPKI-program, quoted and analysed.

##### SYRIA'S NEW BARRAGES

The two now financed by Western Germany, and their consequences for Syria's Kurds.

##### CHINESE POETRY IN ENGLISH AND KURDISH

Marshall Chen Yi's poem on Rousseau.

##### KURDISTAN IN THE WORLD PRESS 1961

Headlines and quotations from several continents.

##### KURD TO WIN NOBEL PRIZE FOR LITERATURE?

Best writer of modern Turkey is a Kurd.

DO NOT MISS THEM! SUBSCRIBE NOW!

# ON RECORD

In this issue, we are returning to this rubric's old line: quoting non-Kurds on Kurdistan, without giving comment. We are publishing a random choice of five ISK-filed foreign voices, which try to picture the Kurdish national movement as being inspired by enemies or opponents of the source in question. As the latter are rather different, the quotations result in a somewhat conflicting chorus, in spite of the common "tune".

ROLF SCHLOSS IN "SCHWEIZERISCHE ALLGEMEINE VOLKSZEITUNG OF APRIL 2nd, 1961, ZOFINGEN:

"General Qassim was to fulfil the promise given in Moscow: to grant an autonomous province to the Kurds in Iraq. But Chief-of-State Qassim, too, is hesitating to meet his evidently premature promise to the Kurds and --- the disappointment of the Kurds seems to develop into a revolution against General Qassim already. In Iraq, Turkey, in Syria and in Persia, courts are dealing daily with Kurds who undermine the State security. Today, they stick to the Soviet Union because of their longing for a State of their own. Again the Kurds are the dangerously glowing red fuse in the Near East."

"IRAQI REVIEW" (WEEKLY SUPPLEMENT TO THE COMMUNIST DAILY "ITTIHAD AL-SHAAB") OF JULY 23rd, 1959:

"While certain political parties and groups believed, erroneously, that the Kurdish problem could be solved by simply seceding and forming a Kurdish state and alleged - with imperialist approval - that whether or not this state was really independent did not matter at all, the Iraqi Communist party emphasized that the Kurdish national question was tied up with that of struggling against imperialism. The solution of this question, the party believed, must be inspired by the interests of the overwhelming majority of the Kurdish people - which are part and parcel of the interests of the entire Iraqi people - and not by those of a clique of reactionary, egotists and feudalists. The feudalists voiced support for secession inasmuch as it left intact their interests and impaired the democratic liberation movement against imperialism, reaction and feudalism. Little doubt then: that the struggle between the secessionist and the masses of the Kurdish people in villages and towns, who adopted the plat-

form of united struggle against the common foe, intensified."

"AL-AKHBAR", CAIRO, APRIL 19th, 1959  
(HEADLINES ONLY)

"2000 new Russian volunteers / Secret Agreement between Qassim and Russia to send volunteers / Russian Army in Iraq to kill the patriots and to erect a Communist regime / Russia to send armed forces to Iraq / Army consists of Kurdish volunteers trained for guerilla-warfare and street-fighting."

LARGE SOVIET ENCYCLOPAEDIA (2ND ED. MOSCOW, 1953, VOL. XVIII, ART. "IRAQ") ON SHEIKH MAHMOUD PERIOD:

"After the occupation of the Mosul area (November 1918, KF) the English occupants tried to win the Kurds, who form 60-70% of the local population, for fighting the Arab national liberation movement and for separation of the Kurdish areas from Turkey. The English imperialists appealed for the founding of an "independent" Kurdistan within the British possessions and so brought the Kurdish feudal leaders on their side. But they did not succeed in tricking the masses of the Kurdish people."

"AL-KIFAH", ARAB DAILY, BEYROUTH, LEBANON ON JANUARY 27th, 1959 (HEADLINES INCLUDED)

"What is behind the Communist-American Rapprochement? / The Revival of the Roosevelt Project to establish a State Kurdistan: / Barzani was called back at the wish of the Americans."

The secret information coming from a reliable source concentrated in an agreement between Qassim and the Americans to establish a Kurdish State. It has become clear that the calling back of Barzani from Czechoslovakia took place at the wish of the Americans, who want to make a deal with him. --- The ties linking Americanism and Communism when establishing the State of Israel are the same who united both to establish Kurdistan: common hatred of Arab unification."

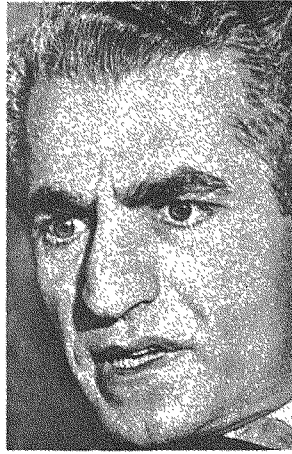
## PEOPLE

### HONEYMOON FOR NORWEGIAN ISK-WORKER

First family news in ISK's world-wide team came from its northernmost activist: Miss Turid Berntzen of Økern, Norway. Last month, she married Mr. Rugaas of Oslo. Both hope to attend the Kurdish Student Congress in Münster/Westphalia in August

and there can be little doubt that Mr. Rugaas, too, will help oppressed Kurds. ISK warmly congratulates its two Norwegian friends, wishing them happiness ever after.

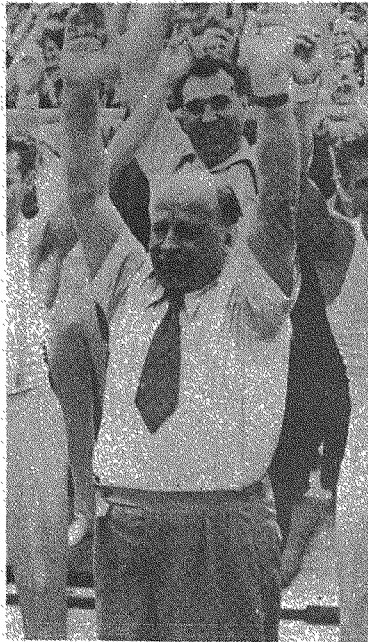
As "International Society Kurdistan" has a great many young people among its members, we expect more "expansion by marriage" in future.



FARAH AND SJAH as pictured in "Quick" of Munich (GFR) on July 9th, 1961. SHE: shot in a Roman shoe shop, buying 12 pairs at once. HE: shot in an "unguarded" moment, terror-stricken. Farah meanwhile fled to a secret Caspian resort.

**GDR'S WALTER ULBRICHT:**

"HANDS UP" IN SORANI  
Whereas linguistic maps of Europe show six smaller and bigger states with a predominantly German-speaking population, Bonn's GFR and East-Berlin's GDR are engaged in a frantic fight about the question whether there are ONE or TWO German states. Kurdish students, living in several of the German-speaking countries, find the latter's respective degree of interest shown in them widely differing. Since about two years, Kurdish-language posters are printed in Dresden for the "Deutsch-Arabishe Gesellschaft" of the GDR (founded 1958). One poster dedicated to sports, showed Walter Ulbricht (68), the GDR's President, Premier and Party Leader, in a somewhat unusual pose. Why Mr. Ulbricht puts his hands up is explained by the photo as well as by its Sorani-Kurdish text, reproduced and translated underneath:



هونهر بودانانی — یاسای بهاندانی  
لاوان بو وهرزهش — نه گهرتهوه  
بو — فالتر ئولبرهشت — سهروکی  
کومپتهی ئیستشاری — کوماری  
ئهلهمانیای دیموکراتی. فالتر  
ئولبرهشت تهانه ئسارهزوی بیینی  
ئاههنگی وهرزهش ناکات بهلکو  
خوشی وهرزهش ئه کا وه لکهم  
وینه یه دا ده رنه که ویت

"The enthusiasm of youth for sport is a merit of Walter Ulbricht, chairman of the Central Committee of the German Democratic Republic. Walter Ulbricht does not only like to attend sport festivals, he also exercises sport himself, as the picture shows."

The poster referred to above was part of a GDR-collection of printed material for use in Iraq. There it was seized by the Qassim authorities, who burnt everything, whether in Arabic or in Kurdish.



Pope John XXIII;  
Neo-Colonialism a  
Danger to world peace.  
Predecessors tried to give  
educational development  
aid to Kurdistan.

POPE JOHN XXIII (79) spiritual head of 400 million Catholics since 1958, published an Encyclica (Popal Letter) about social problems on July 14th, 1961: "Mater et Magistra". Development-aid he called "the perhaps greatest problem of our time". But it is not to be abused for neo-hegemonialist purposes, he added. The Pope called neo-colonialism a danger to world-peace. The Catholic Church, of which John XXIII is the 262th Pope, was probably the first international organisation occupying itself with Kurdish affairs.

Already in the 17th century, its 'Congregatio de Propaganda Fide' tried to give the Kurdish language a Latin alphabet, as the Bedir-Khan family did in the 1920-ies. In 1783, the first Kurdish grammar was written by a Catholic priest, B. Garzoni, who was baptised "Father of Kurdology" by Russian Kurdologist Basil Nikitine (died 1960, see "Press"). The first European area study of Kurdistan (1818) was the work of a Catholic clergyman too (see KF/7, p. 15). Protestant interest in Kurdistan started in the middle of the 19th century. It was a Lutheran missionary, Dr. Fossum, who wrote the first Kurdish national anthem, in Persian Kurdistan. It was to the tune of "Onward Christian Soldiers" and will be dealt with in a forthcoming KF-article on this interesting subject. (One on Kurdish flags is also in the making.)

ABDEL HAMID SARRAJ (right) was Intelligence Chief of the Syrian Army when the country was still independent. After the Union with Egypt Sarraj became Security Chief of the "Northern Region of the UAR". Last spring, "The Reporter", an American newsmagazine, called Sarraj "a pitiless policeman". In May there were rumours among Syrian Kurds that Sarraj had said it would be better to keep former DPKiS-leader Dr. Nureddin Zaza in prison till the latter had forgotten his "dreams about an independent Kurdistan". Dr. Zaza, however, was set free in June, after several requests for earlier release had been turned down. Sarraj now combines practically all UAR-top-functions in Syria, where he helped Nasser to oust Baath, Communists, Kurdish and Armenian patriots and other groups.



# INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

## ONE YEAR "INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN"

On Saturday, June 30th, CC-members had a late talk with one of the Society's section heads from abroad. After midnight, the man was told that it was July 1st, 1961, and thus ISK's first birthday. There were no celebrations. After a short walk to breathe some fresh outdoor air, the guest lay down for a few hours sleep at 3 o'clock before scooting his 300 odd kilometers back home at 9. For all it was just a routine ISK weekend. The balance sheet had been drawn up shortly before. It showed: people in 40 countries reading ISK-literature, 5 enlargements and 2 edition-increases of "Kurdish Facts", 30 public institutions expressing their wish to get KF, much enthusiasm among Kurds at home and abroad, a bigger international interest in Kurdish affairs than was expected when the Society was founded, a debt about as large as was expected, and an ever graver situation in Kurdistan itself. All-in-all the organisation had won many friends and some bitter enemies. CC agreed the endeavour had been worth it and was determined not to disappoint the hopes raised among patriotic Kurds. "There must be somebody who helps them", one ISK-leader remarked, "so why not we? The first year has proved you CAN do a lot, even with small means. The coming years, we'll make them all wonder."

## PRO-KURDISH RESOLUTION

AT WORLD YOUTH FORUM; MOSCOW

A resolution in favour of Kurdistan was presented by ten of the numerous organisations taking part in the "World Youth Forum" in Moscow (July 25th/August 3rd, 1961). The document says that "Kurdistan, country of the Kurdish people, was politically partitioned between various Middle-Eastern states by world imperialism and local reaction" and that "the Kurds find themselves brutally oppressed".

Describing the position of the Kurds in the Turkish Republic, the Resolution states: "The prisons are full of Kurdish and Turkish democrats". Of the Kurds in Iran it is said that they number about 4 million and "live, like the Persian people itself, in misery and under the terror of the Government in Teheran."

Hundreds of Kurdish, Persian and Azer(baijan)i patriots are in prison". Iraqi Kurds enjoy "part of their cultural rights" but are "bereft of all their other national rights". Material conditions are called "difficult" in Iraq and the regime one of "police terror". The UAR policy towards Kurds is characterised as "discriminatory". After having surveyed the position of the Kurds in the various states coinhabited by them. the Resolution says that the Cento-Pact is "directed against all the Peoples of the Middle East", then listing 5 of them: Arabs, Kurds, Turks, Persians and Azerbaijani (called "Azeris"). Georgians, Armenians, Jews and Assyrians are not mentioned. "Liquidation of imperialism and reaction, and the democratisation of the Middle East would permit a just and complete solution of the Kurdish national question", it is said. The resolution's fourth paragraph praises Soviet policy towards Kurds in the three South-Caucasian union republics.

In its decisions the Resolution condemns imperialism and reaction in general and their use against Kurds in particular and calls on Arabs, Turks, Kurds, Persians and Azerbaijani for a "common fight for the liquidation of reaction, militarism and imperialism" in West-Asia and for "the political and social democratisation" of that important part of the world", including the solution of its nationalities problems. Complete support is promised to "the Kurdish nation, its youth and students, in their fight for the national liberation of Kurdistan, on the basis of the democratic right of nations to self-determination".

The "democratic forces and the youth and students organisations" of the world are invited "to support the nations of the Middle-East in their struggle".

The text of the resolution was supplied by the "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe". Co-signatories were three Iraqi organisations (Democratic Youth/Dara Tawfick; Women/Maziha Duleimi; and GUSIR/Khaled Ahmed Zaki), 5 African organisations (FEANF and UGEO, who already supported the Kurdish cause in Baghdad in October 1960, the "General Union of Somali Students", the Trade Union of Gambia, and the "Association of Students of Madegassian origin") and one Greek group: the EOKA of Cyprus. There were some slight alterations in the Resolution's text used above. Of what kind was not yet known when this issue went to press. The Youth Forum did adopt the amended "Resolution on the National Question of Kurdistan".

## RADIO

### NEW BAGHDAD RADIO STATION COMPLETED

After Soviet engineers started building it in the spring of 1960, Baghdad's big new radio station was completed medio July of this year. The station, thought to be a Qassimist competitor of Nasserist "Sawt-al-Uruba" in Cairo (see KF/4, p. 14) has eight 50 Kilowatt short wave transmitters and two 150 KW medium wavelength ones. Because of the Orient's high illiteracy rate, broadcasting is the most important means of mass communication and mass influencing. Besides the UAR's numerical superiority among Arab states and its vast network of agents in Arab and

African countries, UAR-radio strength is considered the third cause of Nasser's relatively strong intra-Arab position. The new Baghdad station is ready at a moment Qassim is in desperate need of advertising his special way to Arab unity to the public abroad.

### DIRECT CENTO-RADIO-LINK LONDON-ANKARA-TEHERAN

A direct radio link between London, Ankara and Teheran, capitals of three CENTO-pact-countries, was established last June. The link is to be extended to Karachi-Pakistan.

## "BIZIM RADIO" ON KURDS AND TURKS

"Bizim Radio", the Communist Turkish radio station in Bulgaria says there are 4 million Kurds in the Turkish Republic. The



POET ON THE AIR:  
NAZIM HIKMET

station repeatedly mentioned the activities of the "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe". The oppositional officers' group around General Turkes (who wants to become Turkey's "Nasser" after "Naguib" Gürsel) was praised as "truly revolutionary" by the station. Nazim Hikmet, who leads it, was called "the greatest Turkish poet of the age" by "The Times" of June 19th, 1961. His radio stations remain a foremost political problem to the Gürsel authorities. The number of Kurds given by "Bizim Radio" is closer to that of the 1955 Turkish census than to the general estimate by Kurdish intellectuals (Cf. KF/6, p. 10.)

## P R E S S

### IMPERIALISM EVERYWHERE (I) FORCE OF A HABITUAL WORD

In its weekly "Iraqi Press Roundup", Baghdad's "Iraq Times" of May 22nd, 1961, willy-nilly invented a new kind of policy: "Positive Imperialism". Excerpting "Al Bilad"'s editorial on the forthcoming Neutral States Conference in Yugoslavia, the paper said:

"Positive imperialism is the enemy of blocs and alliances." Meant was - of course - neutralism, though it remains to be seen why not neutral states too could form a "bloc or alliance".

### IMPERIALISM EVERYWHERE (II) ADAM AND EVE PRESUMABLY ANTI

Import business, up till now usual in capitalist, socialist and neutral countries, is - according to Abdel Karim Qassim, all sheer imperialism. The Leader told electro-workers in Baghdad May 10th:

"Look, brothers, even the button, the garment and the shoes you wear, and even the pens and watches you use or even that which you sit on and that which surrounds you, and the tools and equipment, they are all foreign imperialism, they are the economic imperialism, which we should defeat."

Whether Qassim's listeners enthusiastically started to defeat "that what they sat on" etc. did not become clear from the INA report.

### PAKISTANI NEO-PANISLAMISM: HOSTILE TO KURDISH FREEDOM

Since there are persistent rumours and reports about a projected "Islamic" pact or alliance between CENTO countries and some neutral Arab States (see KF/6-7, both p. 8) it seems desirable

to watch the neo-Panislamist attitude towards the Kurdish question. It is not only a possible alliance between all countries co-inhabited by Kurds that makes the latter reject such plans. It is also the falsification of "Moslem brotherhood between nations" into downright, Asiatic imperialism (self-) "justified by faith". As is known to KF-readers, Pakistan's present President, General Ayub Khan, a champion of political Panislamism, wrote a preface to Major Sheikh A. Waheed's book "The Kurds and their country" (Lahore, 2nd ed., 1958, see KF/4, p. 8-9). Already on March 1st, 1959, the Pakistani weekly "Illustrated" of Karachi said the book showed "how the emphasis on other unities EXCEPT the Islamic one - whatever the reasons for such situation - results in DISASTROUS MOVEMENTS LIKE THOSE OF 'KURDISTAN' and 'Pathanistan'." (Emphasis added.) Algerians will also be interested to hear this Pakistani thesis, since they DO fight French imperialism with a non-Islamic unity concept, the national one. Incidentally, French imperialists still refer to Algerians as "Musulmans" - like tsarist Russia did to its Empire's Turkic nations.

### ULTRA-JOURNALISM: SOME SPECIMEN FROM "ELSEVIERS"

An amusing variation of the monotonous identification of Afro-Asian (including: Kurdish) anti-colonialism with "Communism" appeared in the Netherlands' thickest weekly: "Elseviers", on July 29th, 1961. In his Editorial, "Elseviers" angry old man Hendrik Lunshof launched the following theory:

"Put under pressure, Bourghuiba is trying to replace General de Gaulle's regime in France by a revolution of the extreme right, which would put an end to the French-German cooperation---."

No matter how astonishing this thesis may sound, it cannot be denied that Mr. H. A. Lunshof's "Elseviers Weekblad" DOES like to keep its readers informed on coming things. On February 11th, 1961, "Elseviers" front page carried a 20 x 23½ cm photo of Moise Tshombe, together with a telephonic interview with the Katanga puppet State Chief, who said UNO was "good for nothing". Asked about Lumumba, Tshombe answered "Elseviers"; "We are black people and a black man does not discuss prisoners. We are no Westerners. Don't forget that!"

Asked who were to be Lumumba's judges, the Katanga boss vehemently replied: "That's nobody's business. The way we treat him is OUR affair!"

Then the "Elseviers" journalist dropped the matter. A few weeks later Tshombe's men killed Patrice Lumumba.

### MEET THE PRESS

Receiving English and American newsmen shortly before the 14th July celebrations, General Qassim said: "--- the British people --- I have known to be a meek and mild people. But the British people know nothing except what the Government gives them or what you offer them". Where civilisation was really at home in his opinion the Faithful Leader explained to his guests somewhat later: "The Journalists should believe that Iraq is the cradle of civilisation ---. From this place has spread out civilisation and the whole world is indebted to it".



## YELLOW PRESS SWITCH-OVER ON IRAN

One of the favourite topics of Germany's yellow press (revived after 1945) is the Iranian monarchy. The Shah, his Peacock Throne, his successive wives and Farah's baby are equalled in the headlines by Princess Margaret of England only. The "hidden persuaders" know what they are appealing to when writing for Frau Meyer and Lieschen Müller: the subconscious, romantic longing for crowned heads. It remains a "bombensicheres Geschäft" even when thrones are wavering and revolutions enlarge the number of republics. After the spring crisis in Iran, the German yellow press started to give "inside" information on what was happening in politics behind Teheran's well-guarded palace walls. Without comment, we are quoting one amusing specimen at random, taken from the front page of Düsseldorf's "Neue Welt am Sonnabend" ("New World on Saturday"), of July 8th, 1961:

"That's the latest, really phantastic plan of the communist-coloured "National Movement" in Persia. Empress Farah is to be used as a tool to dethrone Shah Reza Pahlevi! She is to induce her imperial husband to abdicate and to let the young crown prince Cyrus be proclaimed Shah-in-Shah after the former's fall and have him held in tutelage by a Regency's Council until he comes of age."

### --- AND THE OPINION OF "QUICK"

Next day, German weekly-buyers could read more or less the opposite in Munich's (far more serious) illustrated "Quick". Under the headline "Farah, you will not save the throne any more", "Quick"-reporters Hanns Hubmann and Heinrich Fraenkel brought an interesting cross-section through Persian public opinion, interviewing people in several parts of Iran.

### "THE MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL" (WASHINGTON) SPRING 1961

Arnold Hottinger - a Swiss journalist also known for his objective treatment of the Kurdish question - deals with the Lebanese crisis of 1958. J.C. Hurewitz, a Columbia university professor, gives some of his initial research results on "Ottoman Diplomacy and the European State system". Elections and politics in Iran are analysed by Andrew Westwood, a Library of Congress man. James Pain's book on "The Pathan Borderlands" (between Afghanistan and Pakistan) is extracted into an article. Half of the Communications rubric is dedicated to the founding of "International Society Kurdistan" and in the Book Reviews. C.J. Edmonds covers Dr. Majid Khadduri's book on "Independent Iraq 1932-1958" (Oxford University Press, 2nd ed., 1960, 388 p., \$ 7.20). Edmonds - who wrote a work on Kurds, Turks and Arabs - was adviser to the Iraqi ministry of the Interior from 1935 till 1945. Khadduri is an American of Iraqi-Arab descent and editor in chief of "The Middle East Journal".

Edmonds is very stern on Qassim's rule which he thinks "until now --- far more autocratic than anything experienced in the Hashemite era". Westwood is equally frank on Iran. Writing before Amini came to power this spring he predicts: "A clash with wealthy and powerful conservatives would be likely to split

the officer corps along opposite lines" as "The active officers in many of the higher and almost all of the lower class --- appear to share the discontent and attitudes of --- the middle class". After picturing the comeback of Hossein Maki and Dr. Mozaffar Bagha'i he finds: "The popular leaders of the Mossadeghera had the power to crystalize the opposition into action along violent paths. If they did so at this juncture, the Shah --- could not count on support from any quarter".

### "EUROPA ETHNICA" (VIENNA) 1961/62

The issue deals mainly with the 10th annual congress of the "Federal Union of European Nationalities", held in Zuoz (Switzerland) on June 4th-6th, 1960, and with the Faeroer. This North-Atlantic archipel is inhabited by the smallest of the (5) North Germanic nations: 32,500 people seeking statehood. No information appears on the 11th FUEV congress (see KF/7, p. 11-12). 3 of the 5 obituaries deal with scientists who deceased in 1958-1959. Though a scientific quarterly does not need to be up to date, "EE" is going a bit too far behind the facts in some rubrics. 10 pages report on nationalities' life in Western and Eastern Europe. The issue has an interesting motto - taken from the book "Oesterreichische Staatsidee", written by the pro-Habsburg Czech politician Franz Palacky in 1866: "--- in unseren Tagen, wo alle Nationen, selbst die nachlässigsten und apathischesten, erwachen, sobald sie der Zauberstab der modernen Kultur berührt, ist die Misshandlung und Tötung einer Nationalität nicht weniger eine himmelschreiende Sünde als das Quälen und Morden irgendeines vernünftigen Geschöpfes Gottes. --- Die Erhaltung und Fortbildung der Nationalität ist ein Gebot und Gesetz der Sittlichkeit, das durch kein positives Gebot derogiert werden kann." (Also see KF/7, p. 14). Adding a date of appearance to the issue's number and maps to its text would improve "EE", illustrations would certainly be appreciated by its readers too. (Wien, IX, Servitengasses, 20 DM yearly.)

### L'AFRIQUE ET L'ASIE (PARIS) NR. 54, 1961/62

The CHEAM-quarterly (see KF/6, p. 15) of April 1961 pays much attention to the late Basil Nikitine, born 1885 in tsarist Poland, who died on June 7th, 1960 in Montcerf (Seine-Marne) in France, 3 weeks before ISK was founded. His conference of Persian views concerning democracy in the Orient has posthumously been printed as an article. Other contributions to the spring issue are that of Paul Blanc on migration in ex-French Africa and of Pierre Martin on US and French sociology and orientalism. The 9th publication of the paper's "Chronique de Sociologie Kurde" (started by Nikitine in 1957) is an extensive obituary to the famous exile-Russian Kurdologist who started his career as a diplomat. His main work "Les Kurdes" (1948) is called the "première étude exhaustive d'un sujet difficile et peu fouillé jusqu'ici. Ce volume restera pendant de longues années encore l'ouvrage de base sur l'histoire et la sociologie d'un peuple encore mal connu mais aussi riche d'avenir que de passé". The article is written by R. L. which stands for Roger Lescot, a distinguished French Kurdologist.

"L'Afrique et L'Asie" published a bibliography of Nikitine's writings on Kurds and related subjects in 1960 (Nr. 49).

Now Prof. Dr. Vladimir Minorsky is the only living representative abroad of the pre-Soviet, Russian school of Kurdology (and Turkistanology). He is preparing a MS on Kurdish history in Cambridge (England). In spite of his high age, he took part in the Moscow Congress of orientologists last year, warmly welcomed by Soviet and other fellow-scientists.

"BUSTAN" (VIENNA) HEFT 2, 1961

It may be unusual to include ads when reviewing a review, but here is one worth recording: Viennese industrialist Wertheim sold 3000 of his fire-proof safes after demonstrating the fire-resisting capacities of one to a public of VIPs in fire-stricken Constantinople in 1852. All this appears from a nicely-illustrated advertisement of the Austrian Wertheim-Werke in the above-mentioned issue of "Bustan". The articles are no less interesting. The Arab League is described by Mr. Hassan Fakoussa, its Bonn representative, Adolf Grohmann deals with early Qoran MSS, Fridolin Koch with Austro-Egyptian economic relations. Herbert Duda's excellent article on Turkish popular theatre shows the persistence of imperial mentality even among Turkey's so-called lower classes. "Bustan" confirms its initial impression that it found a formula to make its reading equally interesting to both professional Orientalists and interested laymen. Like the multi-language monthly "Poland" from Warsaw, "Bustan" has an air of human warmth around it, but unlike the Polish periodical it seems to avoid political issues, in spite of the word "Politik" in its subtitle.

But as everywhere where politics are treated as a much-too-hot iron, it comes in by the backdoor. Why does a well-known Turkistani scholar as Dr. Baymirza Hayit assure us in his interesting article on Mecca that there are more than 100 million Moslems in the USSR and the Chinese PR? We'd be interested to see his breaking this exaggerated total down into the various nationalities, quite apart from the fact that they can hardly be 100% Islamic any more. Let's hope it was a misprint.

Professor Ernst Bannerth's contribution on contemporary Islamic religious thought, closing with a stirring quotation of Pakistan's great thinker Muhammed Iqbal, has a trend which becomes clear from sentences like this one:

"In der modernen Industriegesellschaft kann also nach den Prinzipien des Islam die Lösung der sozialen Frage gefunden werden."

It might be true, but the question arises why it has not been found before. In order to find out the causes, both religious and other factors must be considered and then Professor Bannerth's method: repeating Islamic rebuffs of foreign criticism, is insufficient. Veil-wearing for women is not strictly prescribed by the Qoran either but as Moslem clerics make a religious point of it, it is only logical that non-Moslems also link it with Islam (and then criticize both the veil-habit and Islam). When the method of Prof. Bannerth would be applied to underdeveloped Christian countries like Eire, Spain or Portugal, a similarly optimistic picture would be the result. Both friends and opponents of social progress can find arguments in Islamic religious

writing and practice shows that they do indeed. Certainly there have been many foreign misunderstandings of Islam, but that's not only the foreigners' guilt. It might be permitted to dwell a bit on Prof. Bannerth's approach as the reviewer feels that realism is a necessary companion of benevolence (and vice versa). Whether the traditionally Islamic nations will stick to Islam or not is, of course, their affair, but both Moslems and foreigners need a thorough search of the causes which led to the Islamic countries' present situation.

Other articles not to be missed in "Bustan" 's summer issue are that of Hans Meliczek on Iraq's agrarian development 1920-60 and that of Çagatay Uluçay on 18th-century Osmanli harems.

#### INDIAN NEWSPAPERS WITHOUT NEWSPRINT

Several Indian newspapers face the possibility of having to close down. The Ministry of Commerce failed to ensure the availability of newsprint against licences issued by them to newspapers on the Rupee Account. And India has no newsprint-stock to meet emergencies. This was announced by "The Indian and Eastern Newspapers Society" in the Indian press last June.

## UNIVERSITIES

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#### WEST GERMANS PREFER TO EDUCATE ORIENTALS "ON THE SPOT"

In Western Germany there is a growing trend to educate youths from the Afro-Asian and Ibero-American Peoples in their own countries rather than in the GFR. Interviewed about the results of the latter system, linguist Miss Eva-Marie Klingler (Freiburg University) probably hit the problem's core when saying: "Oriental students feel lonesome in Germany, but so do most German students". Munich's new newsmagazine "Aktuell" (a heavily financed would-be competitor to Hamburg's "Spiegel") in its first issue had to admit that "spiritual development aid" to students from the underdeveloped countries was lacking, in spite of their German fellow-students' efforts. GFR student officials often lack proper knowledge of English and French (not to speak of Oriental languages) and have no experience in dealing with too-foreign fellow-humans. Said the article's headline: "Without Contact".

Persian stipendiates hostile to the Shah government were accused of "bitterly fighting their own benefactors" and their democratic opposition movement against the present Teheran regime was identified with Communism. It was perfectly in line with the Shah's propaganda services ("Aktuell", 15th July, 1961, p. 50).

The matter of education-on-the-spot was even raised in the Federal Parliament (Bundestag) elections. The liberal "Free Democratic Party" of Dr. von Mende (once a motor of the Federal Youth Scheme) printed part of its Election Appeal as an ad in German university papers. Demanded the FDP:

"Our contribution to development aid shall not be limited to technical and economic measures, but ought to be principally educational assistance (Bildungshilfe). We contribute to peaceful understanding when we serve the young nations with our

spiritual forces. Professional-, handicraft- and agrarian schools erected and maintained with our help in the underdeveloped countries will stir those nations' forces of their own (Eigenkräfte)."

In the same month of July, the Federal Association of Employers (BDA) in Cologne said that Western Germany opened 40 educational institutions in underdeveloped countries since 1958, spending 40 million marks on them. Of all countries, the GFR was at the top in this respect. 73 million marks were scheduled for the establishment of further institutes. Another German measure fitting in with the FDP election wishes was the founding of a West-German university in Tehran, announced some weeks earlier.

#### EUROPEAN PROVINCIALISM: "C'EST SI BON(N)?"

Other points of the FDP Appeal, however, were far from realisation:

"We appeal to the German youth to recognize the great significance of cooperating in the underdeveloped countries for its own future. Work in these young states is a merit. This has to be promoted and ought not to affect one's professional career." As already reported in ISK's first information bulletin, having worked abroad is a serious obstacle for continuing one's academic career in the GFR. This was the fact the FDP was pointing at. The Liberal Party also called the Coing-Plan of the "German Science Council" (see ISK-Bulletin Nr. 2 & 3) "the minimum basis (Mindestvoraussetzung) of a liberal cultural policy". It seems, however, that the plan is considered a maximum instead of a minimum in the circles involved.

West-German officials showed astonishment when Western observers drew their attention to the fact, that the treatment of Oriental and Ibero-American students in the GFR has its "gesamtdeutsche" aspects too. In view of the growing political significance of the Afro-Asian and Latin-American nations, the Germans were told, the question, which of the existing German states is to win most of those nations' students might well be one of the decisive factors in the GFR-GDR fight for the future shape of all Germany. But most of the officials, still sticking to (West)-European provincialism, failed to see the point.

#### MIDDLE EAST SEMINAR ON CYPRUS 1962

The "World University Service" (WUS) West-German branch is planning a Seminar on the Problems of the "Middle East" for 1962. It is to be held on Cyprus and will be led scientifically by Prof. Dr. Otto Spies, the well-known Bonn Orientalist.

#### KURDISH EXHIBITION IN SOFIA THIS AUTUMN?

The university of Sofia, the Bulgarian capital, considers organizing a Kurdish exhibition this autumn. The "International Society Kurdistan", which already organised two Kurdish exhibitions in Germany, has been asked to cooperate. Talks between Sofia University and ISK-officials will take place this August. ISK publications have already been translated into Bulgarian and Turkish, a Sofia source reported last month.

## GEOGRAPHY

#### TURKS NOT ALWAYS DENIED EXISTENCE OF KURDISH NATION (BY ISMET SHERIF VANLY)

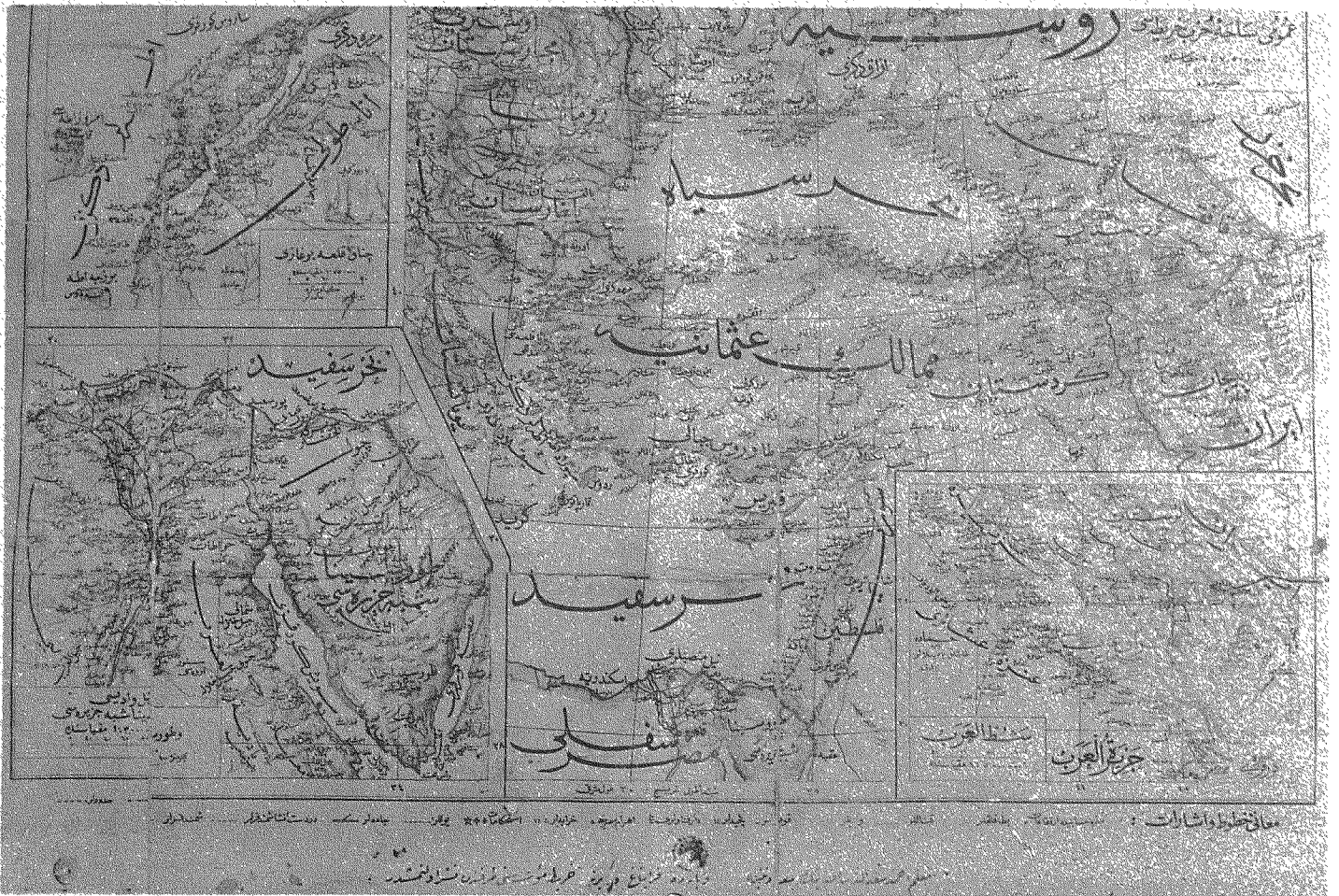
General Gürsel has repeatedly denied the existence of "Turkish Kurdistan, a country which - as is known - was annexed principally after principality by the Ottoman empire after the battle of Tchaldiran in 1514. There, in Northern Kurdistan, Sultan Selim I could beat Shah Ismael of Iran, chiefly because Kurdistans numerous feudal petty states were the Sultan's allies. The annexation of these very states began with the Persian-Ottoman treaty of 1639 (see von Hammer, and Vladimir Minorsky in "Encyclopedie de l'Islam"). Since that date, all Kurdistan except its eastern part was kept by force only within the Ottoman frontiers, whereas Iran's Shahs did the same with East-Kurdistan, including its southernmost part: the Loristan-Bakhtiyar region.

General Gürsel even denies the existence of Kurds as a coherent nationality living on the territory of the Turkish Republic, though the latter's population is Kurdish to a percentage somewhere between 20 and 25%. Together with some Turkish so-called "historians", Gürsel pretends that Kurds are of "purely" Turkish origin and only changed their language for some "obscure" reasons. This anti-scientific theory, which is in evident contradiction to ethnic, historical and geographical facts, has no credit at all in scientific circles. It was launched by Kemalism for clearly political reasons: the vain attempt to assimilate those Kurds who live under Turkish rule.

Research done by authoritative scientists as Rene Grousset, Ghirshman, Furon (French), Hartmann, Noldeke, Lehmann-Haupt (German) and especially the Russian Vladimir Minorsky (England) shows that the Kurdish people was ethnically constituted when, after the fall of Niniveh and the Assyrian empire in 612 B. C., Indo-European tribes (Iranian branch) like Medes, Kyrtili, Zikurtu, Mards a. o. occupied and settled in the country which was to become Kurdistan later on. The Aryan invaders gave their language to the ancient local population with which they mixed: the autochthonous people of Gutim, Lullubum, Mitanni and Hurri.

We know perfectly well that the Indo-European tribes immigrating into Kurdistan had nothing to do with Turkish or Turkic people. We also know for sure to-day (thanks to the above-mentioned scientists) that the ancient autochthonous peoples of Kurdistan were of what is generally called "Caucasian" origin. They used to speak languages akin to present Georgian and Circassian in Caucasia.

The (Osmanli) Turkish people was formed many centuries later, after the Seljuk and Ottoman immigration of what was to become Turkey later on, in the 11th and 13th centuries respectively. It is evident that the Kurdish people not only has nothing to do with the Turks, neither ethnically nor linguistically, but that it is far older as well. At the time Seljuk invaders appeared in Western Asia, Kurdish principalities covered almost the whole area inhabited by Kurds nowadays, whether in present Turkey or Iran or Iraq, including the major part of ancient historical Armenia, from the southern shores of Lake Van till



OFFICIAL TURKISH MAPS FROM WORLD WAR ONE (AND THEREFORE WITH TEXT IN ARAB CHARACTERS) NOT ONLY SHOW KURDISTAN AS A COUNTRY BUT ALSO INDICATE THE SAME AREA AS KURDISH AS IS CLAIMED BY THE KURDS THEMSELVES. BOTH OTTOMAN MAPS ARE FROM THE FILES OF MR. ISMET SHERIF VANLY OF LAUSANNE. THEY ARE DESCRIBED IN DETAIL IN HIS ARTICLE; WHICH EXPLAINS THAT DENYING THE EXISTENCE OF KURDS AS A CO-NATIONALITY WITHIN THE TURKISH REPUBLIC WAS INTRODUCED BY KEMALISM.

Gandja and Dvin (in present Soviet Armenia), beyond the Arax to the North (see: René Grousset: "Histoire de l'Arménie", Payot, Paris, 1947). Amid (= Dyarbekir) was the capital of the important Mervanid Kurdish state, and Dvin, where Sultan Saladin's father was born, that of the Ravadi Shedadite dynasty. However brief this outline may be, it is good to mention the capital book of "Cheref-Nameh", written in 1956 by the Kurdish prince Cheref Khan of Bitlis, a man we may well call "the Father of Kurdish historians". It was published in St. Petersburg by Zernov in 1860-1875. None the less capital is the work of the famous 17th-century Turkish historian Ewliya Tchelebi: "Ewliya Tchelebi Siyahet-namehsi" (= E. T.'s Travels), written in 1653. Both writers gave Kurdistan almost exactly the borders it still has to-day. To this, the Berlin Treaty's 16th article (1878) might be added and the articles 62, 63 and 64 (Section III: Kurdistan) of the Sèvres Treaty in 1923. Equally important are the Sublime Porte's (= Ottoman Government's) official notes addressed to the European Corps diplomatique in Constantinople, on the situation in the "Eastern Vilayets". This was in connect-

ion with the Armenian question during the last century. The name of Kurdistan is frequently mentioned in these notes and the Kurdish provinces are enumerated with precision, sometimes with statistics.

But it is because of two Ottoman maps I found among my papers that I came to write this notice. They are not old and date from the First World War (1914-18). On both of them we find the word "Kurdistan", in Arab characters. The map published on the left page is that of the Ottoman possessions or empire ("Mamalek Osmayya") and called (top right) "General War Zones map" ("Umumi Sahet Harb Kharita si). We find that:

1. Only the names of countries are printed with heavy letters. Among them are, within the empire: Kurdistan, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and outside the empire: Yunanistan (= Greece), Bulgaristan (Bulgaria), Magiaristan (Hungary), Iran etc.
2. The name of "Kurdistan" on this map covers the Ottoman part of Kurdistan only (thus excluding Persian Eastern Kurdistan), precisely from the Iranian border to Malatya, West of the Euphrates. This is exactly the territory inhabited by

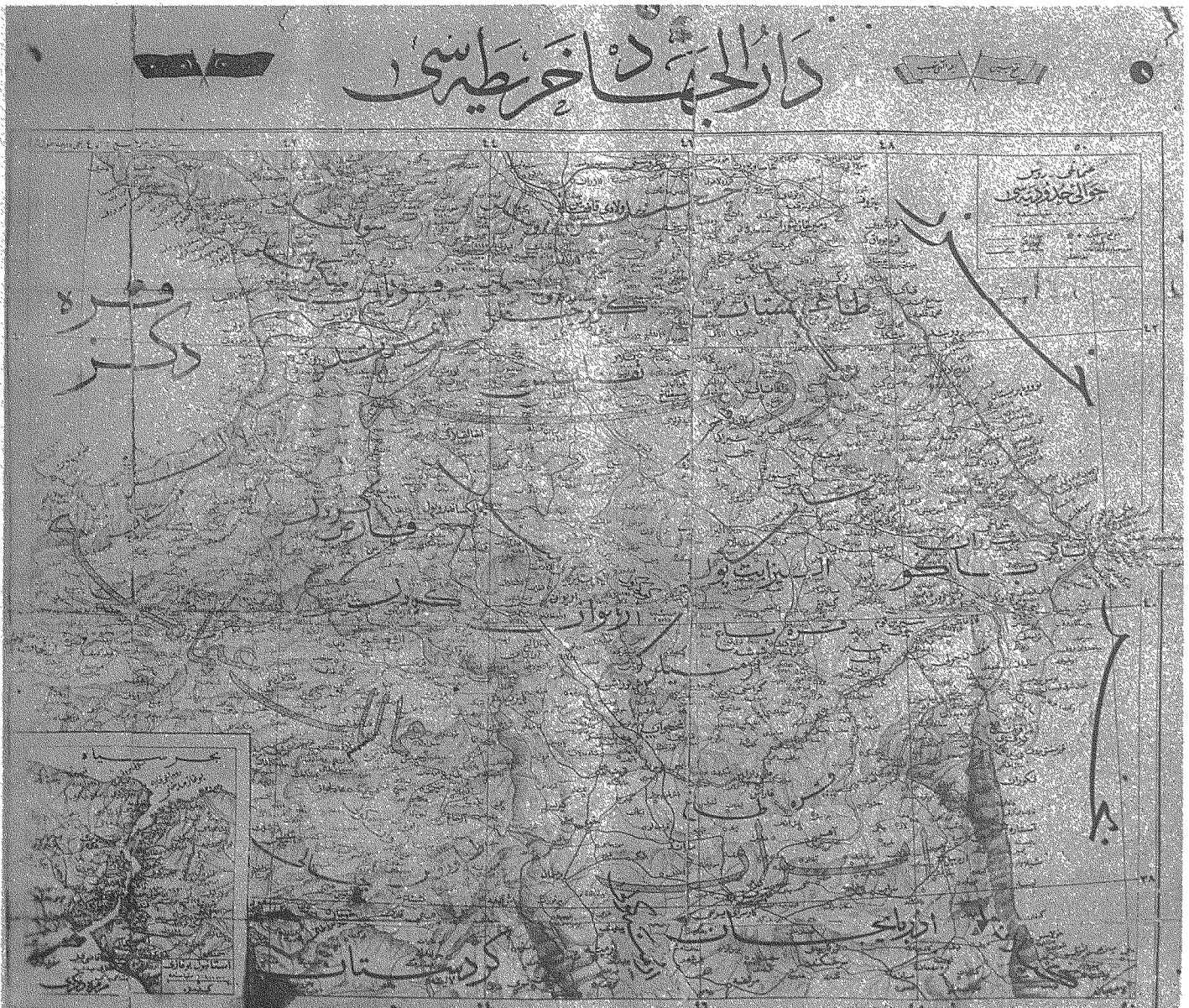


Kurds in 1961 under the Republic and claimed by the Kurdish nation as its own. This is also the same Kurdistan as it was found and described by both Cheref Khan of Bitlis and Ewliya Tchelebi, and before them by an other Kurdish historian, Hakim Idris Bitlisi, in his "Selim 1 Nameh".

3. It is also interesting to note that the word "Iraq" on the map covers only the properly Arab Iraq of to-day, excluding Southern Kurdistan as annexed to Iraq by the British after World War I (in order to exploit its oil resources near Kirkuk). Ethnically and historically speaking, Kurdistan and Iraq are two different things and geographically, Iraq ends where southern Kurdistan begins. The British performed the annexation at the expense of the Kurdish nation's right to self-determination.

The second map (reproduced on right page, KF) entitled "War Zone map" ("Dar al-Jihad Khatita-si") shows only the "Ottoman-Russian frontier zone" (text top, right), that is the Cau-

casus, together with the north-eastern part of present Turkish-Kurdistan. The word "Kurdistan" figures on the map with thick letters (down, left) but the interest of this map lies in the fact that it shows to what point in the North the Kurdish ethnic area does extend: the word "Kurdler" (Kurds) figures on it not only as far north as on the Ararat region, but even beyond Kars to the North, between this town and Lazistan, (Turkish southern Georgia, KF) not far from the Black Sea. The word "Armeniler" (= Armenians) covers more or less exactly the territory of the present Armenian Socialist Soviet Republic. So far the maps. Not only Iraq, but also Turkey and Persia end there where Kurdistan begins. This is not an appeal for separatism but merely a remark based on historical, geographical and ethnical facts. General Gürsel and the neighbouring governments seem to fear Kurdish separatism. But much depends on what Gürsel, Qassim and the Shah are doing and would do with the Kurds. It cannot be doubted that the Kurdish nation has an unalienable right to



self-determination and that it will exercise it as any other nation in this century of national liberation from colonialism. The way General Gürsel seems to seek solving his difficulties in this respect is certainly not the right one. The Kurdish national question could find its solution within the framework of a West-Asian Federation or Confederation, set up by the States concerned, according to the principles of democracy, with friendship, peace, mutual respect and equality between all peoples of the area.

## STUDENTS

### "ARAB STUDENT LEAGUE" IN TURKEY

Contrary to Kurds, Arabs studying in the Turkish Republic are allowed to have a "Student League" of their own. Whereas Kurdish students who want to organise themselves on national lines have to do that illegally in Gürsel's Officers' Republic, the "Arab Student League" is even allowed to attend political highdays of fellow-Arabs abroad. 50 of its members went to Iraq to help celebrate the 14th July. They were accompanied by 20 Turkish teachers and students. ("Iraq Times", July 11th, 1961.)

### SHAH-AMBASSADOR CAUSES PROTEST WAVE ON 2 CONTINENTS

Iranian students' strikes in two continents were caused by Ardeshir Zahedi, the Shah's son-in-law and ambassador to the United States. Zahedi refused to extend the passports of two Persian student leaders in the USA and then a wave of protest set in. Iranian students in USA, England, France, Federal Germany, Austria and Switzerland went to the Shah's embassies and sat down in strike before their doors. All Persian student organisations abroad helped to organise the action. Said a determined spokesman of one branch to ISK: "Perhaps the military government in Iran can silence the students there. But it cannot do so with the Persian students abroad. There are 15,000 of them in Europe and America".

### JAPANESE STUDENT MOVEMENT SPLIT INTO 3 PARTS

The West-German newsagency DPA reported from Tokyo medio July that the once powerful Japanese students' movement Zengakuren (see KF/6, p. 12-13) split into three different organisations after three days of stormy discussions and occasional fist-fights. Since "Kommunist Banto", the majority group, boycotted the conference from the beginning, the minority "Marxist Student League" faction could take the reigns. A third group, directed by the Japanese Communist Party, founded a new Zengakuren, DPA said.

Ideological differences between various brands of Communism/Marxism: Stalinism, Maoism and Titoism played an important part in the split of Asia's most revolutionary, powerful and unified national student movement. The results of letting ideological quarrels prevail over national issues of Japan were that Munich's "Süddeutsche Zeitung" of July 13th, 1961, could predict with satisfaction that

"Der berüchtigte japanische Studentenverband Zengakuren --- in absehbarer Zeit nicht mehr wie --- in Frühsommer 1960 mit Leichtigkeit in Tokio allein 30,000 Demonstranten mobilisieren kann."

In spite of recent endeavour from outside to wreck Kurdish student unity abroad, the "Kurdish Student Society in Europe", accustomed to talk over differing views in a spirit of comradeship and democracy, managed to keep united. Kurds, who have far more experience with infiltrations from outside than insular Japan, realize that only the imperialist enemies benefit from splits within the national student movements of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Zone.

Which group or groups will be recognized by the "International Union of Students" (of which the old Zengakuren was a part) is not yet known for certain, nor whether IUS' Western-dominated counterpart ISC/COSEC will approach one of Zengakuren's successor groups.

### KURDISH & TURKISH STUDENTS TAKE PART IN PERFORMANCES

What is still thought virtually impossible in General Gürsel's "free" Turkish Republic happened twice in one week in Western Germany: Kurdish and Turkish student groups participated, as independent, equal partners, in international performances.

The first was the "Folklore and National Dress Week" held in Bad Niederbreisig, a Rhineland Kurort, from June 29th - July 2nd, 1961. A Kurdish students' group (composed of KSSE-members studying in Paris, Erlangen, Freiburg-Breisgau, Hannover and Bonn) danced and sang there on July 1st and 2nd. The week's highlight was a big defile of all national groups (Africans, Indians, Kurds, Turks and others), its finale a colourful firework display.

On July 8th, Kurdish and Turkish students performed their national songs and dances in Landshut (Bavaria). There the local "Volkshochschule" and the "Akademische Auslandsstelle" of Munich university had organised an "International Evening" in the City Hall. Other nations participating were Greeks, Americans, Hungarians and Indians. UAR-Arabs, also scheduled to take part, did not appear on the scene, but Swedish students filled the gap. Characteristics of the Kurdish dress were shown and explained by Abdullah Kadir. In both German cities Kurds found an enthusiastic public.

Last year, Turks and Kurds took part together for the first time in a German program. It was at the Munich's "International Handicrafts Fair", where "Jamiat al-Islam" organised Oriental performances under the title "Germany and the Islamic Countries".

Hoped German wife Ute of Kurdish Bonn student Mr. Babakhan - after watching the Niederbreisig festival: "It's a wish of the "Kurdish Student Society" that thinking of Kurdistan will not fade out as quickly as the firework".

### TWO REPORTS REQUESTED ON STUDENT SITUATION IN IRAN

The "Verband der schweizerischen Studentenschaften" (VSS, UNEF, Bern, Gesellschaftsstr. 6) has requested the investigation



and Information Committee of the "International Student Conference" (ISC) to prepare a report on the situation of Persian students. The "International Union of Students" (IUS: Praha, Vocelova 3) has made a similar request to the "Teheran University Students Union" (TUSU). As far as is known, none of the reports requested has been submitted or published yet.

#### KURDISH STUDENT DELEGATION TO MOSCOW "YOUTH FORUM"

From July 25th-August 3rd, 1961, a "World Youth Forum" was held in Moscow, USSR. It served a sort of interim Youth Festival. The latter's two-years-frequency was slowed down after the Seventh one had been held in Vienna in August 1959. At the "World Youth Forum", the "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe" was represented by a three-men-delegation, led by KSSE-president Mr. Ismet Sherif Vanly of Lausanne (see also under "International Organisations" in this issue). Also invited to the Forum was ISK's vice-president Mr. Lou Simonse from Amsterdam, who was, however, unable to attend it, for private reasons (practically the same that caused him to resign as Nr. 2 man of the "International Society Kurdistan" some ten days later).

## LABOUR

#### FOREIGN LABOUR IN WESTERN GERMANY

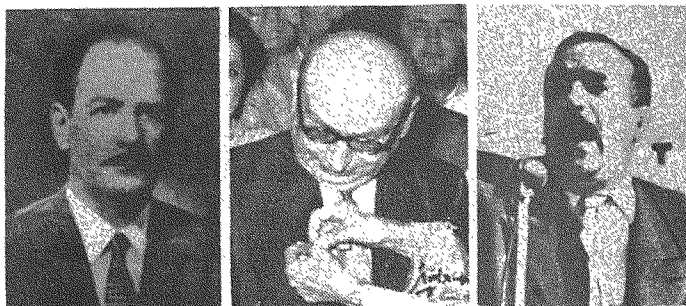
In the German Federal Republic and West-Berlin about 508,000 foreign labourers were working ultimo June, Federal Labour Exchange Offices reported on July 12th. Of all people employed in both areas, 2.4% came from foreign countries. Italians, Greeks and Spaniards make up for the main contingent. Baden-Wurtemberg (S. W. -Germany) and North-Rhine-Westphalia have most foreign labour. The moment France will officially agree to Algeria's independence, a stream of Algerian labourers is expected in the GFR. Algerian labour in France played an important part in the Algerian national liberation movement, especially in financing it and serving as a link between fighting Algeria and its European supporters. During the initial periods, independent Algeria will not be able to absorb all skilled Algerian labour from abroad and France will have to deal with the exodus of Algerian-born Frenchmen and soldiers demobilised from Northern Africa. Furthermore, Algerians will no longer be considered French citizens. Those circumstances will, German federal officials believe, direct the mainstream of Algerian labour in Europe towards Western Germany. But apart from that, labour from other Oriental countries is already pouring in. The strengthening of GFR-UAR-relations might increase the number of Arab workers in the GFR which is small up till now. The rapidly deteriorating economic situation in Gürsel's Turkey causes an influx of Turkish labour into the GFR. One Turkish paper published a cartoon with storks building their nest in a now unused factory chimney. "The storks have come" the text under it satirically announced. Whether there are also Kurds among the citizens of the Turkish Republic seeking work and bread in Federal Germany could not yet be

ascertained, but is thought likely. DGB, the West-German Trade Union Congress, has already opened special offices for the main national groups among foreign workers in the GFR. Labour shortage is still tremendous in Germany and in some allied countries, there is official manpower recruiting by German committees.

## PRISONERS

#### NASSER'S ARAB PRISONERS

"Communists", Hansjakob Stehle wrote about the UAR in the "Frankfurter Allgemeine" of March 13th, 1961, "have not been mentioned since a long time. They are all locked up --- the adherents of the regime say. In reality, most of the alleged "Communists" in the concentration camps (over a dozen are in



Al-Hilou, Dr. Tabet, Bakhdash

desert oases) are mostly people who want to sell the country neither to Moscow nor to a new Farouk, but believe that Egypt would do better without megalomania and with a minimum of democratic liberties and real reforms instead."

That there are Communists indeed in Nasser's prisons was becoming evident soon. Not only during the short but violent USSR-UAR-quarrel of mid-June (in which the Communist prisoners were one of the main issues) but also by the death of one or them: Al-Hilou.

#### LEBANESE COMMUNIST LEADER TORTURED TO DEATH

Farraj Allah Al-Hilou, a prominent Lebanese Communist Leader, had been arrested by the UAR police in Damascus on June 25th, 1959. Two years later he was reported to have died in prison because of his torturing there. He left a widow and three daughters behind.

Al-Hilou joined the combined Syrian-Lebanese Communist Party in 1931. In 1935 he participated in the well-known Khamsini strike in Damascus. In 1939 he was arrested by the French and sentenced to 5 years of prison in Beyrouth. Even before court he won popularity as an anti-imperialist Arab patriot.

After de Gaulle became an ally of Stalin in 1941, the French in Syria released al-Hilou before his term was served. So he could become a co-founder of the Lebanese National Congress of 1943. After the World Peace Council was established in 1949, Al-Hilou became one of its chief West-Asian activists. He cooperated closely with Antoine Tabet of Beyrouth, another WPC-old-timer, who recently got the Lenin Peace Prize.

Al-Hilou's arrest in Syria in 1959 caused an international protest

campaign in Eurasia and Africa. The UAR authorities denied any knowledge of the arrest. Then the Lebanese Government sent an official investigation committee to Syria.

Al-Hilou remained in prison, however. His torturings are said to have taken place in Mezza prison, west of Damascus (the same prison where the leaders of the illegal Democratic Party Kurdistan in Syria were held). Informed about his death, 20,000 Lebanese honoured Al-Hilou by a demonstration in his birth-place, on Sunday June 4th, 1961.

Syrian CP-chief, Khaled Bakhdash (a thoroughly Arabised Kurd) is living in Eastern Europe, mostly in Prague or in Sofia. His underground party apparatus at home is cooperating with those of other forbidden Syrian parties, among them one which was originally pro-Nasser: the Baathists. Egyptian opposition to Nasserism is waged by the "Egyptian Democratic Front", an organisation operating in Europe. Iraqi Baathists, still pro-Nasser, think their Syrian fellow-Baathists are "wrong". Both Baath-wings are against Kurdish nationalism, however.

## DEVELOPMENT

### NEW RAILROAD PLANNED IN IRAQI KURDISTAN

120,000 ID were allocated by the Iraqi Economic Planning-Board to survey the road between Kirkuk and Sulaimaniyah. A railway line between the two Kurdish cities is planned.

### IRAQ RECEIVED MOST SOVIET AID PER CAPITA 1954-60

Listing Soviet development-aid to non-Communist Asian countries, "Novoye Vremya", the multi-language Moscow periodical (Nr. 16, 1961) gave the following top-receivers during the 1954-60 period:

India:	\$ 800,000,000
Indonesia:	\$ 367,500,000
Iraq:	\$ 182,000,000

As the numbers of inhabitants of the three countries are highly different, per-capita-aid to them showed the opposite running order:

	1954-60	annually
Iraq:	\$ 28, --	\$ 4, --
Indonesia:	\$ 4,30	\$ 0,61
India:	\$ 2,10	\$ 0,30

This means that during the 1954-60 period Soviet aid per single Iraqi was 4,375 times that spent per average Indian and Indonesian put together.

### VOLUNTEERS AGAINST UNDER-DEVELOPMENT AND --- RED TAPE

Reinhard Spilker, student of philology in Frankfurt-on-Main, had to apply to the German Federal President Lübke to see whether he could get 100,000 overdue marks within a few days. They had been promised by the Bonn Ministry of Finance to his group of 85 students who volunteered for work in Argentina, Nigeria, Ghana, Sudan, Afghanistan, India, Malaya and Iraq this summer.

Last year, Spilker's first team successfully worked in the Sudan, 6 weeks of at least 48 hours each. The action is linked to the ISSF, German section of the 'International Student Movement for the United Nations'. For the 1961 campaign, the 'Kultur-referat' of the Bonn Foreign Office promised 60,000 marks, but paid only 30,000. Though every student-volunteer of the group supplies 500 DM himself, the total amount did not meet expenses. Things looked brighter after the Finance Ministry's promise, but then "red tape" (bureaucracy) threatened to spoil it all again. Said Spilker to the Hamburg daily "Die Welt": "To-day, you hear about development-aid everywhere; they speak of a duty of the Western world, they demand politico-economic measures, they welcome every human contact, but when you try to realise these universally-backed demands on your own initiative, nobody seems to be really "Zuständig" (officially responsible). One could despair...".

That was said a few days before the groups had planned to set off to the countries they wanted to help with their own hands. Presidential intervention, however, did save the project after Spilker's last-minute effort. The volunteer teams are now at work on their various projects and when the job is done, the group in Iraq intends to visit that country's Kurdish part for a week, ISK learned.

### ARAB DEVELOPMENT SOCIETY

#### REFUSES MONEY COLLECTED BY JEW

One of the few non-profit organisations run by and for Arabs, is the "Arab Development Society", founded by Mr. Musa Alami, a Cambridge-educated Palestinian Arab, in 1949. On a Jordan place where experts said there was no water he found it, set up an 800 acres farm first, then a vocational training centre. Orphans and refugees found food, work and education. But suddenly, the oil company which used to buy the farm's excellent produce, could not do so any more. So the ADS ran into financial difficulties and faced a close-down. £ 50,000 annually were needed, and where to get them? Ultimo May, seven British started a campaign to raise twice the amount at short notice in the U. K. Among the initiators were Anglican Archbishop Campbell of Jerusalem, authoress Freya Stark (who, incidentally, wrote about Kurds as well) and historian Arnold Toynbee (who did the same and got Nasserist praise last year by comparing Israelis with German Nazis).

After an appeal to help ADS had been published in "The Times" of May 25th, "The Observer" followed suit next Sunday, the 28th, both with an article and an appeal. All funds-raisers were full of praise for Mr. Alami. On June 13th, publisher Victor Gollancz declared his support of the Appeal in "The Times" and wrote that gifts could also be sent via his "Jewish Society for Human Service".

Ultimo July, Mr. Musa Alami returned from the USA. On the 27th he informed the public via a reader's letter in "The Times" that his ADS "in present conditions in the Middle East would not feel able to accept any moneys" received in response to the appeal for ADS. Nobody but the ADS itself was authorized to raise funds on behalf of it, he added.

Mr. Victor Gollancz, of whom Alami wrote that he "was not

IN - MAIL - OUT, Continued)

conscientiously considering itself a tendency-paper, but it ought to try most scrupulously then to bring information which is as correct as can be and not to run the risk of having its cipher material and maps reproachfully called "colored".

"A map-sketch in KF of April --- leaves much to be desired in this respect."

(Dr. W. , geographer, Germany)

KF's map was based on four other ones, but meanwhile far better material has come in. An analytical article on the hot problem of Kurdish statistics is in preparation. It will also deal with the peculiarities of censuses in under-developed areas. We do not want to bring "colored" material but just Kurdish FACTS. We are not afraid of correcting ourselves if necessary.

WERNER OTTO VON HENTIG  
(KF/7, p. 11, "People")

"You have pleased me very much by your astonishing knowledge of my life. --- I thank you very much for the friendly appreciation (withheld from other quarters) of my love for the Near East and for these nations who fight for their independence."

(Dr. W. -O. von H., retired ambassador, Hamburg-Nienstedten)

GERMAN ANTHROPOLOGIST TRACES  
KURDISTAN'S PAST (KF/7, p. 17-18)

"I was greatly interested in the extracts

published in "Kurdish Facts" of June 1961, from Prof. Dr. Egon F. von Eickstedt's book on "Türken, Kurden und Iraner seit dem Altertum". Thanks to "KF" for making the important study of so prominent a scientist available to us."

(I. S. V. , Kurdish historian, Lausanne)

LIFE WITH KURDS

"Yes, I have lived among the Kurds for a couple of years of the course of my archeological excavations in northern Iraq, in the Zagros Mountains. I find them fascinating. I should be delighted to receive your information paper."

(Prof. R. S. , New York)

WEST-ASIA'S SMALL  
AND LARGE NATIONS

"Kurdish Facts" which is of much interest to me, the more as I have been occupying myself with the "Kurdish Question" since 15 years, and have written some publications in this field. --- In all of them I always advocated the Kurdish nation's right of self-determination. I pointed out that the small nations of the Near East are living under the terror of the large Islamic nations since centuries, --- and that it ought to be Europe's task to --- conserve those nations' freedom. --- Together with Caucasian and Greek minorities they fight Arabisation and Turkification." (Prof. Dr. A. P. , Vienna)

PRIORITY PROBLEMS

"I do realize the great importance of the Kurdish cause, but from the other side I have to find - and you'll have to agree with me in this - that this problem is not a matter of first order against the background of 'the big news'."

(M. R. , journalist, Amsterdam)

COMMON CAUSE

"The cause you represent is historically and ethically justified."

(Dr. V. N. , Rijeka, FNRJ)

"I am a Kurdish nationalist, you know, and up till now we sacrificed 300,000 Kurdish nationalists in Turkey, which means that they are all dead."

(H. A. , Kurdish laborer, Munich)

A MATTER OF FREQUENCY

Because of our printers' well-deserved vacations, KURDISH FACTS did not appear in July. This 8th number, of 28 pages, is our paper's July-August issue. More voluminous numbers of KF will make up for the number of "missing" pages before the end of the year. So you all get the amount of copy we promised you would for your subscription fees.

THE EDITOR

acquainted with", was Britain's foremost anti-fascist publisher before and during the War. Gollancz' political paperbacks influenced hundreds of thousands. More than once the publisher ran into trouble with official circles because of his militant attitude. The same happened after May 1945, when Gollancz published an illustrated book "In Darkest Germany" on striking misery in the British Occupation Zone. His "Save Europe Now" - drive raised millions of which a big part was spent on starving German children. Mr. Alami, however, did not want Arab kids to be saved by money a Jew had helped to collect for them. Reactions on his refusal were still unknown when this KF-issue went to press.

LAND REFORM IN IRAQ

After the Iraqi's Republic first Land Reform, executed 1958-59 under Minister Kubbah, caused a mess because it was tried to do everything overnight, the second one is going slow. How

slow was indicated by a decision of the "Economic Planning Board" two months before the Iraqi Revolution's third anniversary. Good maps being vital to efficient land distribution, tenders were awarded for airphotographing "two spacious areas" (the E- and B-one) in the country. An INA report in "The Iraq Times" of May 22nd, 1961, commented:

"Topographical surveys importance was evidenced, when Agrarian Reform Law was first put into execution owing to non-availability of accurate topographical drawings and the conditions of the existing drawings."

Twelve days earlier, Qassim himself had assured electro-workers in Baghdad:

"Reclamation of lands will shortly be completed and will be distributed to your brothers. We are at this moment able to distribute land on your brothers the peasants. But land's distribution must be succeeded by its exploitation. Therefore we have to prepare the judicious and guaranteed plan and then have the lands distributed on a scientific basis."

That there was some impatience in the countryside might be concluded from the Leader's repeating:

"As I have told you we could in a week declare the general mobilisation and make the army undertake the task and distribute lands within a week. But it might be an unwise plan. What is the use of distributing land if we are unable to dig in streams and convey irrigation and drinking water. We work to a guaranteed and sure plan. We never make a step but for the interest of the people."

Then the INA-text reported "applause and cheers". After all, electro-workers are no peasants. How long completion of the (second) land reform would exactly take, Qassim did not state. Instead, he revealed that Iraqi's "thanks to God, are now enjoying good life and profuse riches".

#### POLES OFFER TRAINING FACILITIES FOR DIPLOMATS

A new initiative in development-aid was recently taken by the Polish People's Republic. Its foreign representations offer gratis diplomatic training facilities (including the economic field) to intelligent young people in the under-developed countries. Training generally takes place in their own lands but later on a diplomats-school for Afro-Asians and Latin-Americans will probably be founded in Poland, "Tarantel Press" of West Berlin reported on June 30th, 1961.

## LITERATURE

#### POEMS BY OSMAN SEBRI

Among the Kurdish patriots still in Nasser's Syrian prisons is the aged poet Osman Sebrî. According to reports all his teeth have been knocked out by the wardens. Fortunately, Mr. Sebrî is scheduled for release in November 1961. Underneath we are publishing two of his poems. The first one is taken from Dr. Kamuran Aali-Bedir-Xan's booklet "Xwendîna Kurdi" (1938). The second one from Prof. Stig Wikander's "Recueil de textes kurmandji" (Uppsala, 1959).

Me divê her tu bilînd bî  
Ala rengîn kesk û zer  
Him xweşi him ceng û rûmet  
Tên zanîn ji sor û gewr

Dûr nîzîk ezê te hildim  
Tu î xemla banê min  
Ger bivê derman mirin bî  
Bo te gotî canê min

Sê salan bi te kêfxweş bûn  
Agrî, Zîlan, Tendûrek  
Lî peş suhna te bûne ax  
Leşkerên tirk lek bi lek

Dêrsim û Sasûn û Pijder  
Bote xwînê dirêjin  
Herçî xort in herçî kurd in  
Bo te lawjan dibêjin

Lesker im bo te ala min  
Min divê gurmîn û şer  
Duwanzde milyon bûne pandî  
Bo te kurdên pir huner

#### HALÊ WELÊT

Divê tu zanîbî, ev bûne sê sal  
min ne dîn xwîşk û bîra xelkê di mal.  
Ne me dît axa welêt, pîra diyan,  
ne vewxar kewsera gewr ava çîyan:  
Dipirsî îro ji min halê welêt;  
Dê bêjim: Jê diçin sed agir û pêt ...  
çi çîya, deşt û newal, rêl û zimag,  
çi bajar, gund û kelat, avahî, pag,  
Ûeyra bi dar û giya kuç û zinar  
bi girîn, kezab ji min anîne xar.  
Ne kêzan, ne şîvan u şîna giran.  
Sorgerî ava çeman b'xwîna biran.  
Rojê sed êş û birîn renc û keser  
ji dil û cergê di wan dertêne der.  
An dibin armanc ji bo tîra neyar,  
an diçin ji nav welêt bê sîn û war.  
Axivîn j'canê welêt diwazde birîn  
herikin Dicle, Firat deh sala xwîn ...  
Qe nizam hewce ye vî halê xerab  
ku ji min cerg û hinav kirye kebab.  
Bibêjim bê ser û ber bê doz û tol,  
ji me çûn deşt û çîya, namûs û ol.  
Pir sipas bo Xwedê we ew der he dît  
tubê qey nemane mêrxas û egit.  
Welat dîl, xelkê tê de hemî raben  
bê girîn nabînf, qet rûkî liken.

Lack of time prevented the including of an English translation of Mr. Sebrî's poems. But we are publishing a text in both languages underneath:

#### INCÎLA LÛQA, XV, 11-32

11. Lewra her kî ko xwe bilind dike dê nizm bibe, û kî ko xwe nizm dike dê bête bilindkirin. 12. Û gote wî yê ko ew dawet kirî: Gava tu taşteki an şiveki çêki, dostên xwe û brayên xwe û mirovên xwe û çiranên xwe yên dewlemend gazî me ke, ne be ko ew jî te gazî bikin, û ji te re bibe iwêdî. 13. Lê gava ko ziyafetekê çêki, gazî belengazan, qirûtan, lengan, û koran bike. 14. Û dê xweziya te be, lewra ew ni karin ji te re iwêdî vedin. Û di qiyameta sadiqan de dê ji te re iwêdî bête vedan. 15. Û yekî ji wanên pêr re li sifre rûniştî çaxê ko ew bihîst, gote wî: Xwezî bi wî ko dê li nav xundikarîtiya Xwedê de nan bixwe. 16. Lê ewî jê re got: Mirovekî şiveki mezin çêkir, û gelik xelk dawet kir; 17. û çaxê şivê xulamê xwe şand ko ji vexwendîyan re bêje, Werin; her tişt hatiyê pêk anîn. 18. Û hemî bi yek ray destpêkirin xwe bidine paş. Yê pêşîn jê re got, Min erdek kirî, û divê ko herim bibînim; hevî ji te dikim li min me gire. 19. Û yê din got, Min pênc cot ga kirî, û diçim ko wan biceribînim; hevî ji te dikim li min me gire. 20. Yê dîtir got, Ez zewicim, û ji ber hindî ez ni karim bêm. 21. Û

ew xulam hat, û ev tişt ji axayê xwe re qise kir. Hingî xwediye malê xezibî û ji xulamê xwe re got, Bi lez derkeve meydan û kûçeyên bajêr; û belengazan, û qirûtan, û koran, û langan bîne vir. 22. Xulam jî got, Ez xulam, çi ko te emir kirî çêbû, û hêj çî heye. 23. Ê axa ji xulam re got, Derkeve ser reyan û sêncan, û li peyan zor bike ko bêne hundur, ta ko mala min te jî bibe. 24. Lewra ji we re dibêjim, ko ji wan xwendiyar kesek şîva min tam na ke. 25. Ê gelik elalet bi wî re diçûn; û veşerîya û ji wan re got: 26. Eger kesek bête ba min û ji dê û bav û jin û zarok û bira û xwehen xwe, û heta ji canê xwe ne enite, ni kare bibe şagirdê min. 27. Ê kî ko xacê swe hilneyne û li pey min ne keve, ni kare bibe şagirdê min. 28. Lewra kî ji we ko bivê bircekî ava bike, destpêkî ne rûne û mesarifa wê hisêb bike, ka dikare temam bike? 29. Heke ne, çaxê ko hîm deyne û ni karibe temam bike, hemî xelkê ko dê bibînin bi wî dest bi tinazan bikin, 30. û bêjin, Vî mirovî dest bi avakirîna kir û ni kare temam bike. 31. Ya kîjan xundikarek e ko here şerê xundikarekî din, bê ko destpêkî rûne û bifikire ka dikare bi deh hezaran here pêşîya wî yê ko bi bîst hezaran tê ser wî? 32. Lê heke ne, hêj ko dîr e, qasidan dişne û aştiyê dixwaze.

(Incila Luqa, Civata Kiteba Miqedes, Ya yekbuyi, Beirut, 1953)

GOSPEL OF S. LUKE, XV, 11-32

11. And he said, A certain man had two sons: 12. and the younger of them said to his father, Father, give me the portion of thy substance that falleth to me. And he divided unto them his living. 13. And not many days after the younger son gathered all together, and took his journey into a far country; and there he wasted his substance with riotous living. 14. And when he had spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that country; and he began to be in want. 15. And he went and joined himself to one of the citizens of that country; and he sent him into his fields to feed swine. 16. And he would fain have been filled with the husks that the swine did eat: and no man gave unto him. 17. But when he came to himself he said, How many hired servants of my father's have bread enough and to spare, and I perish here with hunger! 18. I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight: 19. I am no more worthy to be called thy son: make me as one of thy hired servants. 20. And he arose, and came to his father. But while he was yet afar off, his father saw him, and was moved with compassion, and ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him. 21. And the son said unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight: I am no more worthy to be called thy son. 22. But the father said to his servants, Bring forth quickly the best robe, and put it on him; and put a ring on his hand, and shoes on his feet: 23. and bring the fatted calf, and kill it, and let us eat, and make merry: 24. for this my son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found. And they began to be merry. 25. Now his elder son was in the field: and as he came and drew nigh to the house, he heard music and dancing. 26. And he called to him one of his servants, and inquired what these things might be. 27. And he said unto him, Thy brother is come; and thy father hath killed the fatted calf, because he hath received him safe and sound. 28. But he

was angry, and would not go in: and his father came out, and intreated him. 29. But he answered and said to his father, Lo, these many years do I serve thee, and I never transgressed a commandment of thine: and yet thou never gavest me a kid, that I might make merry with my friends: 30. but when this thy son came, which hath devoured thy living with harlots, thou killedst for him the fatted calf. 31. And he said unto him, Son, thou art ever with me, and all that is mine is thine. 32. But it was meet to make merry and be glad: for this thy brother was dead, and is alive again; and was lost, and is found.

(Oxford Revised Version, London, 1930)

"DIE WELT" 'S HERRE WEISE: STERN ON SHAH-MEMOIRS

Mohammed Reza Pahlevi's Shah-Memoirs were reviewed in KF Nr. 4, p. 14-15. When next issue (KF/5, p. 8) carried the news: "their political echo falls far short of the Shah's expectations", some readers thought we were printing "wishful thinking" instead of a report. On August 12th, 1961, Wolfgang Weise's recension of the Memoirs' German language edition ("Im Dienst meines Landes", Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 334 p., DM 19,80) in "Die Welt" wrote much like KF. The prominent German daily found the book's "Einfalt schlechthin entwaffnend" and remarked that its "Schönfärberei es in die Nähe eines Reise-prospekt für den sonnigen Süden rückt". Summarized Herr Weise: "dass aus diesem Buch nicht mehr als eine optimistische Darstellung Persiens für das Auffassungsvermögen von Teenagern geworden ist". KF doubts whether German teenagers are that naive. The rare pleas for the "poor Shah" it received came from another generation.

KURD, WRITING TURKISH, TO GET NOBEL-PRIZE?

Yashar Kemal (39) is a Kurd from Turkish Kurdistan who writes in the Osmanli-Turkish language. After some short stories he published a novel "Mehmed my Hawk", since followed by a second one, "The Mainstay". After "Mehmed my Hawk" appeared in an English translation of Edouard Roditi (Pantheon; New York, 1961, 371 p., 4,95 dollar) its author rose to world fame at once. The book deals with the Agha system. Wrote "Time" on June 16th, 1961: "This first lively novel skilfully blends both traditions with a strong individualistic note of its own and suggests that U.S. readers may have been missing something." The London "Times" three days later spoke of a "Golden Age of Novel-Writing" in present Turkey. The paper's Istanbul correspondent said: "The strongest of to-day's writers is generally recognized to be Yashar Kemal ---". Unlike "Time", the "Times" did not mention Mr. Kemal's Kurdish origin, but indicated that his name "has been mentioned in connection with the Nobel Prize for literature". Though there are more people who rose to literary world fame while writing in another language than their mother tongue (cf the sea novels of Polish "Joseph Conrad" in English, Flemish Emile Verhaeren with French books etc.) it illustrates the tragic situation of the Kurdish nation that their top-writers contribute to foreign instead of to Kurdish literature. But the fact also proves that the Turkish thesis that no culturally talented people come from Turkish Kurdistan is contrary to truth. KF has ordered review copies of Kemal's books and will report on them in detail.

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10 500 1961

# KURDISH FACTS AND WEST-ASIAN AFFAIRS



Among the many presents made to the INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN by the KURDISH STUDENTS' SOCIETY IN EUROPE convening in Münster (Westfalia) there was this doll in Kurdish folk dress. Display of Kurdish national costumes always met with great success at exhibitions organised by ISK. The doll was called Zina by ISK's CC - after a character in a famous Kurdish epos.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN

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SOCIETE INTERNATIONALE KURDISTAN

نھساربه بین المللی کوردستان

## INTRODUCING A NATION

**KURDS:** Indogermanic (Iranian) nation in West-Asia; some 2,500 years old. Its coherent ethnic area (Kurdistan) borders that of Turks in the West, Armenians & Azerbaijani in the North, Persians in the East, Arabs in the South. Of ± 12 million Kurds, 6 live in Turkish Republic, 3½ in Iran, 1,8 in Iraq, 0,4 in Syria. Small Kurdish enclaves in neighbour-countries: Turkistan, Baluchistan. Culture: oldest K. lit.doc. dates from 834 A. D. Kurmanji dialects, spoken by 60,9% of K. resp.; Arab & Latin characters compete for nation-wide use. Religion: Sunnite Moslems; small Christian, Yezidi & other minorities. Politics: In spite of long K. record against foreign oppression, assimilation, most K. are still deprived of basic rights. Tribal-feudal traditions are giving way to modern, progressive forces, seeking self-emancipation along democratic lines.

## A COUNTRY

**KURDISTAN:** divided, mountainous country of ± 500,000 km<sup>2</sup> in heart of West-Asia. Principal cities: Bitlis, Van, Diarbekir, Erbil, Sulaimaniyah, Kirkuk, Mehabad. Economics: Mountain peasantry (some seasonal nomadism), tobacco, handicrafts, a beginning industry.

## AN INTERNATIONAL

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN (ISK), founded 1. VII. 1960 in the Netherlands, is a non-party, democratic world-wide action group. Aims: Collecting & spreading facts about Kurdistan; aiding Kurdish nation in its struggle for emancipation; promoting friendly relations between Kurds, their neighbours & all other nations. President: Silvio E. van Rooy.

## A PAPER

**KURDISH FACTS AND WEST-ASIAN AFFAIRS (KF)** is the world's only paper about Kurds & Kurdistan. Remit 22 sh., 12 DM or equivalent to "Intern. Society Kurdistan" (account-nr. 23686, Twentsche Bank, Amsterdam) for 12 months KF. Airmail is charged extra. Adv.-rates on request. ISK & KF's address: Da Costastraat 25/I, Amsterdam-W.

# IN - Mail - OUT

## A POLITICAL EDITOR'S URGENT QUESTIONS

"In view of developments in Iraq I'd be very much obliged to you for a very quick comment --- To outsiders, the underneath questions rise:

- 1e. What real influence has Mulla Mustapha Barazani in the alleged present revolt in North-Iraq?
- 2e. Would an action of Barazani possibly result in an independent Kurdistan-State under Soviet influence (unter sowjetischen Vorzeichen)?
- 3e. What is the "International Society Kurdistan" 's attitude towards the events in Iraq?"

(H. K., Editor, Düsseldorf-Lohausen, Germany)

## A KURDISH DOCTOR'S CONFESSIONS:

"I am very sorry that these news agencies like Associated Press and others create an anti-Kurdish feeling among people who do not like Communism. The Kurdish movement is a national one and it has progressed. The suppressing governments which rule Kurds provoke such an impression. --- I am sure that most of the leaders of this revolution are NOT pro-communist. They are working for the sake of KURDISH welfare and freedom, independency, and at the same time they want the help, assistance and support of all the people of the world, because what they demand is a national and natural right which should have been given to Kurds many years ago. --- I am very anxious about the conditions of my nation as a whole and my relatives who are amidst the fight. --- My single daughter, wife and me are praying with our hearts to help our struggling nation. Although I am not there, my mind is so occupied that I cannot do anything except to write to these ignorant newspapers ---. I am so deeply concerned that I wished to be with our fighting Kurdish national forces and to die with them for the sake of Kurdistan and freedom."

(Dr. D. A. T., Kurd, Glasgow, Scotland)

## ANONYMOUS LETTER

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN received its first anonymous letter. It was written on a cutting from the newspaper "Welt am Sonntag" and mailed in Bernau/Chiemsee in Bavaria. The letter was probably a reaction on one of ISK's, published in the "Süddeutsche Zeitung" of September 29th, 1961, criticizing West-German press information on Kurdistan. Wrote the anonymous: "So you - as a Kurd - want to teach the Federal Republic!?! In Syria a Communist Kurd is a Minister. Get your things in order at home first and do not criticize a Kulturland." By not giving his name and address, the letter's ill-informed writer acted in the same negative "Maulhalten"- (= 'Shut up')-tradition he wanted to teach to Kurds. ISK, which is not a Kurdish organisation, filed the sheet with amusement and informs KF readers here with that Germany is the strongest national branch of its network. Especially in private German circles there is a genuine interest in Kurds and Kurdistan as soon as people get informed about them. Kurds and Germans have many political problems in common and intelligent people of both nations realise, that they can only solve them together and with the help of other democratic forces in the world. ISK is glad when it can contribute to Kurdish-German friendship as well and thanks "Süddeutsche Zeitung" for publishing its letter.

## WRITER'S GIFT

"Thank you for sending me the English-language edition of your monthly information magazine "Kurdish Facts", which brings me current information which interests me greatly. --- I am sending you under separate cover a copy of my study "Principles of Social Organisation in Southern Kurdistan" for your library."

(Dr. F. B., Inst. for Social Anthropology, <sup>with</sup> Bergen, Norway)



**THEIR GRAVEST HOUR**

Dear Reader:

In order to give you a reliable picture on Qassim's colonial war in Southern Kurdi-

stan, we decided to merge our September and October issues. Even the big news agencies and dailies found it hard to get enough trustworthy news on what happened behind the censorship-curtain dictator Qassim had put around his certainly not immortal republic.

We predicted the development in our January issue. We also repeatedly stressed that the West-Asian dictatorships are not as stable as certain foreign politicians like to think.

Meanwhile, the INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN, which entered into its second year of existence last July, has already outlived one of them: the UAR-regime in Syria. Be sure it will outlive other West-Asian dictatorships too. At this moment, Kurds are the only force in West-Asia which fights those dictatorships with arms in hand. The Kurdish nation stands for democracy and for all nations' right to self-decision.

So does INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN and that's why it supports the democratic Kurdish cause. Had Qassim kept his word and fulfilled the hopes of democracy, autonomy and federalism, much bloodshed could have been avoided. Now his Arab soldiers, accustomed to hot plains, can see how to cope with Kurds, accustomed to cold and mountains. Winter is near.

All this does not change the fact that the Kurds are in their gravest hour now. May I ask you personally to do everything you can to help us helping a nation in need? It is only with the moral and material support of ALL OF YOU that we can continue and extend our promising work. When you read this, Kurds are DYING for our common democratic cause. So we could at least PAY something, couldn't we?

*Stevenson* Editor

# THE KURDOSCOPE

**IRAQI KURDISTAN:**

Zibari tribe, financed and armed by Qassim, raids Kurdish villages loyal to leader Barzani / Striking back, Barzani's 'Kurdish National Liberation Forces' totally defeat Zibaris / Qassim, seeing his 'Katanga' scheme fail, sends in troops / Note of Kurds, asking Qassim for the promised autonomy, remains unanswered / Barzani, "Democratic Party Kurdistan" and liberation forces thereupon organise Kurdish administration in Iraqi Kurdistan / Ultimatum sent to Qassim answered by latter with asking 15 days to consider things / During waiting period Qassim's airforce starts bombing Kurdish cities / A real war breaks out / Qassim accuses Britain / Baghdad press says Barzani is captured / British protest / Barzani still free / During September, Kurds switch over to partisan warfare / World press, once being informed on what is happening behind Qassim's censorship-curtain, predicts protracted Kurdish armed resistance / Rumours about Soviet influence on it fade away soon.

**PERSIAN KURDISTAN:**

Shah founds pan-Iranist Party for Kurds / Ihsan Nuri Pasha, hero of Aghri-Dagh-uprising against Turks in 1930, used as political attraction.

**TURKISH KURDISTAN:**

12,000 students are sent into North-Kurdistan to teach only the Turkish language there / Before elections, Turkey's main political parties agree against "separatism".

**SYRIAN KURDISTAN:**

Sudden end of "United Arab Republic" and restoration of Syrian independence, under a liberal regime gives new hope to Syrian Kurds.

**GENERAL:**

Kurds arrested in Lebanon / Kurdish national (con-)federation of students' organisations formed / "Democratic Party Kurdistan" coordinates on all-Kurdish basis / Wave of Kurdish protests against Qassim's colonial war / More Kurdish broadcasting from East-Berlin / Kurds in the news everywhere.

# INSIDE KURDISTAN

## QASSIM'S COLONIAL WAR AGAINST SOUTHERN KURDS

At the beginning of the year, "The Jerusalem Post", observing the Iraqi scene, drew a somewhat prophetic conclusion: "If", so wrote this Israeli English-language paper on January 3rd, 1961, "the Kurdish leaders have now come to the conclusion that they have to resume the struggle against the Central Government, Kassem's position should become considerably more difficult."

At that time, Mullah Mustafa Barzani was still in the Soviet Union. Contrary to some British predictions, however, he did return to Iraq and after there had been some rumours about his whereabouts in Qassim's Republic (see KF/5, p. 6 and KF/6, p. 7) it was heard that he was in his native Barzan. In the meantime, one measure of Qassim (and Abdi) against his "Democratic Party Kurdistan" followed the other, until assimilation (Arabisation) of Iraq's two million Kurds was openly advocated by a Baghdad daily (see KF/5, p. 4). Chief target of Qassim's post-1960 (anti-)Kurdish policy was, of course, the tribe of Kurdish leader Nr. 1, that of the Barzanis. Pakistani major Waheed, who has some experience in fighting Barzani-led Kurds, wrote in 1955: "The Barzani Kurds have assumed great importance since the revolt of Molla Mustafa Barzani 1946-46. The Barzanis are composed mostly of Sayeds who are more educated and enlightened than the other Kurdish tribes". As to Mullah Mustafa himself, he is certainly not a man to live an idle and isolated life as a feudal-tribal leader. He had seen a bit of the world and had learnt what organisation could do. At the same time, there was the experience, not to say the tradition of conspiracy all oppressed people tend to develop. Thus Barzani, knowing that a conflict with Qassimism would be finally inevitable, did what he could do without stirring too much unwanted attention: he organised the soldiers of his tribe to have a striking force, and the cadres nucleus for a possible volunteer army at hand in any case of emergency. Meanwhile, he kept himself in touch with Kurdish activists in Turkish -, Syrian - and Persian Kurdistan, in Arab Mesopotamia and in Europe.

Qassim, probably not wholly uninformed about all this, was determined to crush the Kurdish movement. As was known in the European press in the spring of this year already, his main instruments to do so were dissenting Kurds: the Baradost, Lolan and Zibari tribes especially. Zibari leader Mahmoud's desertion from Barzani in August 1945 had caused the latter to fly into Persian Kurdistan. So neither chieftain could have much hope for mercy from the other. News about "intertribal fighting" in Iraqi Kurdistan now and then even reached the European provincial press. It was nearly always the Zibaris who were mentioned. They had got arms and money from the Qassim-Government. "Ashkias" (hired killers) of the Zibaris murdered members of the "Democratic Party Kurdistan", ransacked isolated villages and behaved like feudal-tribal robber bands used to in the Orient's "protracted Middle Age".

## THE KUWAIT PHASE

Then the Kuwait crisis broke out after Qassim's sudden claiming of the oil-sheikdom as an Iraqi 'qadha' (= subdistrict). There were signs that the Iraqi Army was not for a hundred percent loyal behind Qassim. On August 18th, 1961, London's Conservative "Daily Telegraph" published special correspondence from (of course) Beyrouth, that Qassim's second division had refused to march into Kuwait during the prolonged press conference the Leader gave on Iraq's claim to that area. Now the second division (one of Qassim's five) consisted mainly of Kurds. They had been sent to Iraq's South (Basrah) in order to keep those armed men out of their native Southern Kurdistan. But as far as could be ascertained, Qassim's Kurdish soldiers were not only unwilling to shoot at Kurds but also to do so at Arabs, even when the latter were non-Iraqis, like the Kuwait people. "The Daily Telegraph" even believed that this "disloyalty" to Qassim "saved" Kuwait.

Whether this is true or not has not yet been proved fully. But there were indeed signs that even the Army was becoming sceptical about the Lonesome Leader. There were arrests in the 2nd division's officers' corps, the abovementioned Beyrouth source reported. And the commander - an Arab - was made governor (Mutasarif) of the Diyalah Liwah (district). This was another indication that the "disloyalty" was among his subordinates, thus, very probably, among Kurds. The exact date of the incidents in the second division was not given in "The Daily Telegraph". But it must have been during the same fortnight as that in which the Barzanis defeated the Zibaris.

## ZIBARIS' END

The first battle between both tribes took place on July 15th, reportedly, so one day after the third anniversary of the Iraqi Revolution. Like already in 1960, no Kurds took part in the big procession for Leader Qassim. A second Barzani-Zibari battle took place on the 19th (according to some reports also on the 20th) of July. It meant the end of the Zibaris as an organised tribe. Villages were burnt down. 350 Zibaris were killed, over a 1000 wounded, according to Kurdish and other sources. Over 600 arms, several of them automatic, and an appropriate amount of ammunition fell into Barzani's hands. The remainder of the Zibaris fled to Turkish Kurdistan, where the Turks are said to protect them against their angry fellow-Kurds, who treated the refugees as traitors to the Kurdish cause.

## ARAB PRESS REPORTS

First foreign press reports on this prelude to war in Iraqi Kurdistan appeared already in July in the newspapers of neighbouring West-Asian states. In Beyrouth, the paper of Lebanese ex-President Chamoun "As-Shams" reported from Istanbul (in best Gürselist parlance):

"Communists, members of the National (watani) Kurdish Party, of which Molla Moustafa al-Barzani, the big Communist leader is the chief, burnt numerous villages in the north of Iraq, along the Turkish frontier. The said Communists of Barzani have attacked a group of 60 soldiers of the Iraqi Army and shot 48 of them after a battle which lasted six hours. Numerous arrestations have taken place among the Communist members of the Kurdish national party." (25. VII. 1961.)

Lebanon's pro-Nasserist "As-Siassa" followed suit 5 days later with a far more elaborate report, equally full of distortions. It started by accusing Barzani of wanting "to set up a Kurdish state under patronage of the Soviet Union". The number of dead which "As-Siassa" gave was 100, that of wounded men: "hundreds". At that time probably exaggerating, the paper continued:

"The Iraqi Government has practically lost control in the Li-wahs of Sulaimaniyah, Erbil, Kirkuk and the greater part of Mosul". This was identical with Iraqi Kurdistan. The deputy-prefect and the security chief of Duhok were said to have fled. The news came from Damascus, the UAR's second capital.

#### QASSIM FORBIDS THREE CABINET MINISTERS TO RESIGN

"As-Siassa" correctly reported, however, that Qassim had refused the resignations offered by the following three Ministers of his Cabinet: General Ahmed Yahia (Interior), Dr Talaat al-Shibani (Planning) and Sayed Reshid Mahmoud (Justice). What was true of the alleged "grave threats" Qassim had made to them (in order to prevent them from going), is not yet known for certain.

#### FIRST EUROPEAN PRESS REPORTS

Early in August, Scottish papers reported - also from Damascus - about "tribal fights" in Iraqi Kurdistan. 350 dead and "hundreds" of wounded were reported in both the "Glasgow Herald" and the "Scottish Daily Express" on August 8th, 1961. Strangely enough, the former spoke of conflicts between "leftist and rightist Kurdish tribes". "The Daily Telegraph" even spoke of "the pro-Russian Barzani tribe and their neighbours, the Zibaris" (18. VIII. 1961).

In mid-August, a Flemish daily, the "Antwerpse Gids" (18. VIII. 1961) could report from Baghdad that in spite of Iraqi Government assurances that all was quiet in the North, troubles in Kurdistan were continuing or starting again. Health resorts (Duhok is one, KF) were closed. Iraqi Kurdistan closed to strangers and Barzan, Zibar and Zakho were mentioned as places where fighting had taken place. "Verification of the reports", the "Antwerpse Gids" said, "is impossible". But mostly the European press was silent on Iraqi Kurdistan during August. The "Glasgow Herald" 's information of August 8th, "The Iraqi Army moved in last month" (thus in July, KF), was correct, however. The "Antwerpse Gids", ten days later, reported:

"Troops from the garrison in Mosul and the second division of the army in Kirkuk have been sent into the hills ---!" The KSSE-press-handout of exactly one month later also mentioned the second division "stationed at Kirkuk" as having marched in

(after the Zibaris defeat), though both "Le Monde" of Sept. 26th and the "Daily Telegraph" as mentioned above said the division was at Basrah.

It is known for certain, however, that already in July there were Iraqi Army troop movements into Southern Kurdistan. The aim was to liquidate Barzan, in which the Zibaris had not succeeded. But then another thing happened which Qassim had not expected: the Kurds of Iraq (and not even of Iraq alone) rallied behind Mullah Mustafa Barzani and the "Democratic Party Kurdistan". For the final time in Kurdish history, a foreign ruler failed at the traditional policy of "divide et impera". The fruits of two years of legal, modern party activity among Kurds began to become clear. Apart from that, the combination of both national and social discontent had resulted in an explosive mixture of feelings towards Qassimism.

Iraqi Kurds took a hostile attitude towards the Arab invaders. The latter succeeded, being numerically superior to just one tribe, in surrounding the Barzanis but - reportedly - were encircled in turn by a Kurdish population which left the Baghdad Government in no doubt about its intentions.

#### KURDISH DEMANDS

The demands of Iraqi Kurds, which Barzani stated in a letter to Qassim and his Government, were at that time, as follows:

- a) autonomy for all Iraqi Kurdistan,
- b) release of the political prisoners,
- c) end of repressive measures against Kurdish activists,
- d) no allocation of Kurdish tribal lands to Arab peasants (which was regarded as abuse of the land reform),
- e) increase of the tobacco price.

The exact date of these proposals is not known, but they were probably submitted in July. Point e) points to the agrarian crisis in Iraqi Kurdistan, of which Pierre d'Istria had predicted in "La Tribune des Nations" on June 23rd that it would add to revolutionary development there. Kurdish sources reported later that it had indeed done so.



#### KURDISH CIGARETS:

In spite of Pro-Qassim "brand", catastrophic prices for Kurdish tobacco.

## BARZANI'S AIMS, MEN AND ARMS

Barzani's main aim seems to have been to put some force behind the DPK's demand to Qassim that the latter would fulfill his promise of autonomy. If a Kurdish-ruled Iraqi Kurdistan functioned practically, perhaps Baghdad would be willing to okay such a situation and then, in spite of Qassim's reluctance, article 3 of the provisional Constitution would be realised. Iraq would really be "a Republic of Arabs and Kurds".

In the first stage, Barzani's armed men, which were soon called the "Kurdish national liberation forces", were some 10,000 men strong. The defeat of the Zibaris had supplied them with modern Soviet arms, all from Iraqi Army arsenals, which are well-filled since the Iraqi military purchasing from the USSR. Several papers, especially Nasserist Arab and Conservative British ones, said Barzani got his arms from the USSR directly. This is not according to facts. Most Kurds certainly ignored the Iraqi Government's repeated orders to hand over all private arms, so there was a certain stock of at least rifles etc. before more modern material could be seized. After all, Barzani had not only experience in leading uprisings, but also in getting arms from his enemies. The weeks to come showed that he and his men had not forgotten how to set about it.

MENA (Middle East News Agency, of UAR) reported in September (see "De Volkskrant", Amsterdam, 23.IX.1961) that Barzani had set up a Kurdish state in Iraq in March, and that fighting started from then on. This too, is contrary to truth. Barzani returned from his second stay in the USSR in the strong belief, that only purely Kurdish national organisation could effectively push the Kurdish cause. The preparations Barzani made from (at the latest) March onwards clearly aimed at Kurdish autonomy within Iraq. What could a Kurdish State surrounded by a hostile Iraq, a hostile Turkey, a hostile UAR and a hostile Iran do? Communication with the outer world, vital for almost everything, would be practically impossible. Still, some European newspapers did believe the MENA information. It was, however, not Qassim's concessions to Kurds that made them revolt, but the withdrawal of those concessions. Kurds have been treated that way several times (by Kemal, Reza Pahlevi senior, the British and Nasser) and feeling betrayed always causes emotional reactions. They were still increased by the Kurdish habit to consider everybody thought to be their friend as (more or less) a Kurd. (Qassim, by the way, is said to be an Arabised Kurd, as was - reportedly - Nuri Pasha.)

To Barzani's demands Qassim did not respond. No answer was sent to the North. So, during August, Kurds started to take rule in their country into their own hands. Later on, General Mahmoud Razzak of the Iraqi Army's third division declared that 2000 Koyan-Kurds from Turkish Kurdistan, led by Djami Rashid (a Syrian Kurd) and 1500 Mankours Kurds from Persian Kurdistan, all armed, crossed borders to assist their fellow Kurds in Iraqi Kurdistan. It was an interesting case story under the allegedly "tight control" the CENTO-pact troops of Turkey and Iran claim to exercise at their respective borders.

According to Kurdish sources, the final strength of Barzani's Kurdish National Liberation Forces was some 50,000 men. This outweighed the three Iraqi divisions sent against them, and as

long as no heavy arms and aircraft were used by Qassim's soldiers, Kurds were master of the situation. It is now known for certain that practically all Iraqi Kurdistan has been in the hand of Barzani's Party and Army this summer, including the Yezidis of Djebel Sandjar, who declared their solidarity.

Police stations were taken and un-armed, Kirkuk Mutasarif General Larif el-Daragi, was received with gun-fire when he wanted to "inspect" the Barzan area ("Combat", 18.IX.1961). The people in Halabcha and Tshemshemal drove the Arab garrisons away. Aqra, Dohuk, Amadiyah and Zakho were taken by Barzani's Kurdish liberation forces, which also took the suburbs of Erbil and Sulaimaniyah. Later on Qassim stated that the Kurds had "attacked different places at the same time" (press conference of Sept. 24th) and that "the movement had covered one-third of the country" ("The Guardian", London/Manchester, 25.IX.1961).

## FEARS OF FOREIGN MILITARY INTERVENTION

Towards the end of August, when the war in Iraqi-Kurdistan was still practically unknown to most countries, there were fears of possible foreign intervention in the theatre of operations. Some Kurds expected the Turkish Army to march in, possibly under the pretext of protecting the Turkmen minority in Southern Kurdistan. Other Kurds thought a Persian intervention far more likely, especially because of the Shah's pan-Iranian ambitions towards the Kurds outside his empire. The establishment (be it by force of arms or by peaceful negotiations) of a Kurdish "Piedmont" in the North of Iraq would doubtlessly inspire the Kurds living in neighbouring Turkey, Iran and Syria to press those States' governments for a similar solution. The worsening of the Kurdish position outside Iraq since Qassim's preliminary (phony) concessions to Southern Kurds in 1958/59 was certainly due to this fear. Whether the Western CENTO-pact partners of Turkey and Iran would have tolerated a military adventure on the territory of a neutral neighbour is another question, but all seem to have had confidence in Qassim's military strength in his war against Iraq's Kurdish citizens.

Towards the end of August, the Kurds in turn were still very confident about the outcome of an armed conflict with Qassim. One of the main factors in their calculation was disloyalty in the Iraqi Army towards the country's dictator. Among Kurds in Europe, there were rumours (in August) that Qassim's Air-force had refused to bomb Sulaimaniyah.

## BARZANI'S "ULTIMATUM" TO QASSIM

Barzani himself must also have been pretty confident. After having organised all of Iraqi Kurdistan and with some ten-thousand brave and more or less armed men under his command, he had a far stronger bargaining position than when he was still secretly organising things in the area of his tribe. His brother's (Sheikh Ahmed Barzani's) telegram of loyalty to Qassim (followed by the cool audience) as reported on in KF/8, p. 4 might have been an endeavour to camouflage preliminary activities. But now, on August 30th, Barzani more or less sends an ultimatum to Qassim. According to a KSSE press handout





# KURDISTAN

# IRAQ

Mosul

Arbil (Erbil)

Kirkuk

Sulaimaniya

Jeziira Desert

Sinjar

Basra

Baghdad

Sekil Daglari

Kavuşşabab Dağı

Kochiran Dağı

Reza'eye (Urmia)

Meshouh Dağ

Reza'eye (Urmia)

Reza'eye (Urmia)

Reza'eye (Urmia)

Reza'eye (Urmia)

Reza'eye (Urmia)

Reza'eye (Urmia)

Khoy (Khowy)

Shahrpur (Dizaj)

Reza'eye (Urmia)

Reza'eye (Urmia)

Reza'eye (Urmia)

Reza'eye (Urmia)

Reza'eye (Urmia)

Reza'eye (Urmia)

Reza'eye (Urmia)

Reza'eye (Urmia)

Reza'eye (Urmia)

Tabriz

Maragha

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of September 18th, the contents of this second note were:

1. Kassem should immediately put an end to the period of transition, that is to his personal dictatorship;
2. He should immediately recognize the autonomy of Southern Kurdistan within the boundaries of the Republic;
3. He should immediately restore all democratic liberties in the whole Republic."

Qassim, who had left Barzani's first note unanswered, this time chose another attitude. Through intermediation of the Mutasarif of Erbil (who was still in function, as only the city's outskirts were in Kurdish hands) he asked for a period of 15 days to think it all over. Barzani let him know that this was alright and promised not to attack during the waiting time. Qassim, however, broke his word and did. That marked the beginning of the crucial phase, the phase of slaughter, events that could no longer remain hidden from the world.

#### FULL FIGHTING IS ON

Sources differ as to the exact day the Iraqi Army struck - Edouard Sablier, generally well-informed, says it was on the 10th of September ("Le Monde", 26. IX. 1961). Some Kurds say: the 7th; others: the 12th. KSSE puts things as follows:

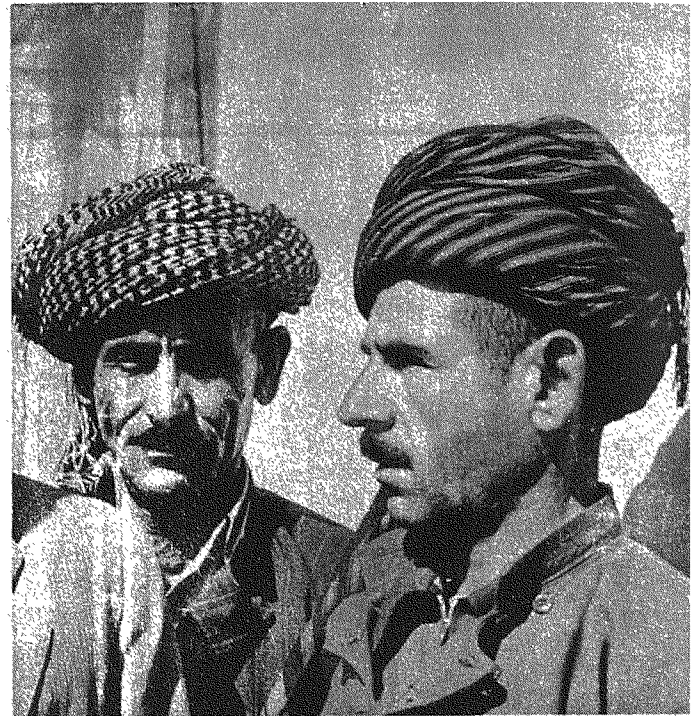
"The 7th of September the Iraqi aviation bombarded Barzan and the battle was engaged between the Iraqi Army and the Kurdish forces. That was the beginning of the revolt."

Though Kurds in Europe speak of the recent events as of a "revolt", a "revolution" or a "Kurdish national revolt", it is clear that the armed clash in Iraqi Kurdistan is essentially a Qassimist colonial war. In between the so-called "inter-tribal fighting" of Barzanis against Zibaris and the September offensive of the Iraqi Army there does not seem to have been any bloodshed of numerical importance. As the Kurdish population of Iraq's North was - on the whole - on Barzani's and the DPK's side, organising Iraqi Kurdistan could be carried out with peaceful methods. Had Qassim, in a last-minute-effort, fulfilled his promises of 1958/59, then a more or less Federal Iraqi Republic would have been a fact. The Kurds and their forces were certainly not looking for war but for autonomy. Qassim, however, preferred the former to the latter.

With some delay, KSSE could publish details like this on the 20th:

"The two Kurdish towns of Amadi(ya) and Dohuk, between Mosul and the Turkish frontier, after having been occupied by Kurdish forces, were completely destroyed by Iraqi Air Force using Rocket Arms. Kurdish forces control major part of Iraqi Kurdistan except Kurdish big towns, fearing that Kassem's rockets would destroy them with their civilian populations. Kurdish forces suggested to Iraqi army the evacuation of Sulaimani and other Kurdish towns of their population to engage loyally the battle for their possession. Kassem refused. He is still bombarding Kurdistan with rockets killing thousands of Kurdish civilians."

Sablier says Aqra too was nearly entirely destroyed by Qassim's bombers. "Combat" (a former resistance paper itself) of Paris reported on the 18th that on September 10th, Qassim had his 1st, 3rd and 4th division in Iraqi Kurdistan. This means that



Two soldiers of Barzani's "Kurdish National Liberation Forces".

about 60% of the Iraqi Army was there. One division was (see above) in the South before Kuwait, the remaining one shielded Baghdad.

On the 17th, Associated Press picked up a MENA report on heavy street fighting in Amadia and Dohuk. Kurds had mortars, the Iraqi Army used bombs and rockets. ("Die Welt", 18. IX. 1961.) "Combat" reported on the 19th that Kurdish forces were advancing towards Kirkuk, the oil city, and towards Sulaimaniyah, that they had cut the road between both cities and defended the Bazian pass. The third Iraqi division was reported to be trying in vain to stop the Kurdish march towards Mosul from which Barzani's forces were only 50 km. On the same day, it was known in Beirut that Barzani's Kurdish National Liberation Forces were in possession of the Derbendi Khan Dam ("Times", 20. IX. 1961, "Le Monde", 21. IX. 1961.)

It seems, however, that most of these reports reached foreign newspapers with about a week's delay. Censorship in Iraq was more severe than ever before. As far as can be ascertained, Qassim's main operations in Southern Kurdistan took place between the 7th and the 15th of September. As bombing from the air was obviously his way to crush the Kurdish Forces, it makes sense to presume that important parts of Iraqi Kurdistan were still in Kurdish armed hands not only during but also after the crucial week just mentioned. This, in turn, explains much of the coincidence between European newspaper reports about an extending revolt and Baghdadi ones about its decline.

#### BAGHDAD BREAKS ITS SILENCE

Incredibly enough, Qassim's Government succeeded in keeping the bloody war in the North out of the Republic's censored press for several days after the beginning of his forces' offensive.

For breaking his silence there might have been various reasons. First he might have feared difficulties in Arab Mesopotamia, then there were the reports from neighbouring countries: Syria, Iran and the Lebanon especially and last but not least there were the Kuwait issue and the stopped oil talks with IPC. Another thing Qassim obviously did not foresee was the continued and even offensive Kurdish resistance even after the first terrible raids of his Airforce. But also after breaking his silence the otherwise talkative Dictator tried to hide as many facts as he could.

The first report in a Baghdad daily on Qassim's colonial war in Southern Kurdistan appeared in "Al Bajan", which wrote on 15. IX. 1961 that there had been "disturbances in North-Iraq resulting in a situation which asks for energetic intervention". It was clear that the slaughter had to be made acceptable to the Iraqi public. Causing fear was one recipe: "the situation", "Al Bajan" predicted, "has become so grave, that it has become necessary to warn the Iraqi citizens against the dangers it could cause". Another recipe used by "Al Bajan", was that of accusing others of having spoiled the Kurds. Those thought guilty were not yet mentioned, that would be up to Leader Qassim himself: So "Al Bajan" made some cryptic remarks about "movements, which, for their own special purposes, make use of the Nationalistic feelings of the Kurds, which they stir artificially".

On the same day, Radio Baghdad brought its first report, equally cryptic. The station said the Government had just won a victory against an "imperialist movement against the security of Iraq" in the North. Whereas Kuwait Radio broadcasted that there was "a large-scale rebellion against the Qassim regime in northern Iraq", radio Baghdad spent much time on "thousands of cables and letters" the Faithful Leader was allegedly receiving from "Arabs, Kurds, Turkmens and other nationalities". Whereas the radio had not yet the courage to tell plainly that it was the Kurds it was all about, it claimed that the numerous messages "strongly condemned the movements of imperialists and their agents". But instead of mentioning the imperialists and their agents by name, Baghdad Radio only spoke of the "criminal acts of traitors, protagonists of separatism and anarchism, feudalists, gangs of mutineers, marauders, thieves and trespassers against the law in northern Iraq". But the litany, in spite of its length, impressed nobody, neither in- nor outside the country. Quite the contrary, foreign newsmen now knew for certain that a real war was going on in Iraqi-Kurdistan. "The Kurdish insurrection threatens Qassim's regime", headlined Paris' "Combat" on the 16th/17th.

#### QASSIM SENDS ENVOY TO MOSCOW

Only "Trybuna Ludu", daily of the Polish Communist Party, was not yet sure. Over 14 lines taken from "Agence France Press" it printed a question: "Kurdish Revolt in Iraq?" (17. IX. 1961). "The causes of the rebellion are not yet known", the paper concluded. In general, the press in the socialist countries was dead silent about Qassim's colonial war in Iraqi Kurdistan, and so was the press of the Communist Parties outside the socialist block. On the very 16th September, the first day nearly all

Western papers wrote about the events in Southern Kurdistan, Qassim sent a military mission to the Soviet Union. It was headed by General Djelal Avkati and had long talks with Prime Minister Khrushchov and Marshall Malinowski.

Well-informed dailies had no doubt what was the real issue at stake: "self-determination for their people" was, according to "Combat" (16/17. IX. 1961) the aim of the fighting Kurds. Meanwhile, Baghdad Radio was rapidly losing its last credit among foreign newsmen. "Le Parisien" wrote on the 18th: "Radio Baghdad announces that the revolt is crushed but troops of reinforcements are sent by train into the North of the country, where the airforce is engaged".

And so it was. Six days later KSSE reported from Lausanne "From September 10th to 18th Kassem's aviation bombarded with rockets Koy-Sandjak, Pezshder, Shehrezur, Ranya, Barzan, Darband-Khan, Amadiya and Dohuk. --- Hard battles around Sulaimani ---".

Whereas "Al Mustaqbal" (17. IX. 1961) of Baghdad wrote that it was "Anglo-American imperialism and its agents who seek to divide Iraq" through a Kurdish uprising, Nasser's MENA repeated that Communist played a major role: "The young Kurdish intellectuals won by Communism wanted to profit from a discord between general Qassim and the Mullah Barzani in order to try again to establish an independent State". Anti-Communist (and anti-British) Qassim, however, said nothing about Communists in the Kurdish Movement (and six days later even denied that there had been any Soviet influence at all). On the 18th, Kairo's "Al Gumhuriya" took over Qassim's accusations against the British, by saying that the Iraqi-Kurdish conflict was "stinking of oil".

Thus, according to the Nasserist press, Western capitalists were working hand in glove with the Communists. World War II Nazi propaganda slogans seemed to have revived. Doubts whether Kurds would win this time were expressed in "L'Aurore" of Paris on the 19th by Henry Benazet. But like all French papers "L'Aurore" too advocated the right of the Kurds to self-determination. It would have been better Benazet declared, to have carried out the paragraphs of the Sevres Treaty of 1920 concerning Kurdish freedom. An Egyptian editorial which was widely quoted in the European press was that of "Al Ahram" (18. IX. 1961). It said the Kurdish revolt was the direct outcome of Qassim's policy. For the remainder, "Al Ahram" mechanically repeated the UAR thesis on Qassim's colonial war in Southern Kurdistan: "Communist and the British company IPC are not far from the scene", the Cairo daily oracled.

On the 19th, when news came from Baghdad that Kurds had seized the Derbendi Khan Dam, practically all foreign papers wrote that the Kurdish uprising was extending. Baghdad radio still started every news broadcast with cables of congratulations to victor Qassim. At that time, Barzani already neared the Iranian border. His HQ were in Halabja, 38 km. from Sulaimaniyah and 10 km. from Persian Kurdistan. Alongside the way from Kirkuk to Sulaimaniyah, not far from Chemchemical where the Kurds drove out Qassim's garrison, was - perhaps symbolically - the place of the "burning fiery furnace" into which, according to the Bible book of Daniel 3, verse 20, Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego were once cast.

## SATURDAY EVENING WITH H. E. THE LEADER

On Saturday evening, September 23rd, Qassim held a press conference. Armed with a bunch of maps, the Son-Of-The-People marched in. The conference lasted five hours and dealt mainly with the "events in the North". There were many questions about the Kurds from English and American newsmen present. Said Qassim: "British and their stooges, including the Americans" had caused the uprising. But, he threatened: "We are going to question them". He also threatened to break off diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom and to close the British Embassy in Baghdad if "its elements and groups fail in the future to refrain from or stop their shameful acts against the safety of the immortal Iraq Republic". 400,000 pounds, Qassim said, had been spent by the British Embassy's men to incite the rebellion in the north, thus weaving "the biggest intrigue against the safety of the Iraq Republic, believing we are not able to destroy it for three years or more". Then he proudly announced that with "careful and accurate planning" the Baghdad Government had been "able to smash imperialism within seven days" in a "swift surprise" action. But the Kurdish resistance was not yet entirely broken. So Qassim made a further announcement: "Within a day or two remnants will be completely destroyed". The word "Kurds" he omitted throughout the long press conference. He spoke of "marauders" instead. But there were two names he could not omit so easily: that of the "Democratic Party Kurdistan" and that of Mullah Mustafa Barzani. Of the first he said it was "abolished" by the Iraqi authorities because the Party failed to hold the annual conventions prescribed in the 1959 Associations Law.

## BARZANIS CALLED "BRITISH AGENTS" BY QASSIM

Trying to find proof for his accusations of the British, Qassim ridiculously pictured Barzani as a tool of British imperialism. The man who had led three Kurdish uprisings against British-backed governments in West-Asia and was pictured as a pro-Communist in many a British newspaper during Qassim's campaign in Southern Kurdistan this summer was now made an argument in Qassim's oil- and Kuwait-dispute. "The Daily Telegraph" reported (25. IX. 1961) that "Gen. Kassem spoke of the complicity of the Barazani brothers with British imperialism since 1933" and "The Times" of the same day said that at the press conference Qassim was "Producing messages which he said had been exchanged between Mulla Mustafa and the British during the previous Kurdish revolt in 1945." Barzani, Qassim added, was either dead or outside Iraq.

The Leader did not wait long for the world's reactions. Of what he said about Barzani's being a British agent, no free paper believed a single word. And Her Britannic Majesty's Foreign Office protested formally against the "wholly unfounded" attack which accused England of engineering a Kurdish revolt in North-Iraq.

## CONTINUED KURDISH RESISTANCE THOUGHT LIKELY

Still after Qassim's Army and Airforce had fought their main

battles against Barzani's Kurdish Liberation Forces, the international press generally agreed on the probability of strong, continued, armed Kurdish resistance against Qassimist rule.

On 20. IX. 1961, the "Scottish Daily Express" said that in Kurdistan's "difficult mountain country --- Barzani's crack marksmen" were "picking off Dictator Kassem's soldiers". Comparing the uprising with previous ones in the same area, its correspondent Robin Stafford found that "it looks this time, as if the "Red Mullah" --- means business".

An editorial in the London "Times" of the same day analysed the situation as follows:

"Experience shows that Kurdish revolts are extremely hard to crush completely. They tend to smoulder on, and even with their improved armaments the Iraqi forces could find a campaign in the north costly and uncertain. Moreover, Iraq as a whole is not so settled that General Kassem could view with unconcern the prospect of tying up a large part of his Army in Kurdistan. Nor, presumably, do the Army officers who are still busy running the country want to go back to campaigning in the mountains."

Next day, Paris' "Le Monde" reported that "the revolt of Kurdistan extends itself over the whole North of the country" (Iraq, KF); on the 22nd, "Die Welt" of Hamburg said "Barzani is reportedly offering tough resistance to the Iraqi forces ---". The same day, "L'Observateur du Moyen Orient et de l'Afrique", whose Editor Jon Kimche is residing in London's Fleet Street, one of the world's centres of newspapers, published the (belated) report of his "special correspondent" in Iraq, starting as follows: "Contrary to what has been announced --- there has been no mass uprising of Kurds against the regime of general Kassem". The remainder of the article was in the same spirit. Still it was headlined: "Things seen in Kurdistan" (Choses vues au Kurdistan). It was an amusing exception in the international press. On the 23rd, Amsterdam's "Volkskrant", a Catholic morning paper headlined: "Revolt of Kurds extending" and stressed the MENA-report "that the troops and airforce of the Iraqi government up till now have not been able to crush the rebellion". "La Tribune de Lausanne", on the same day, printed an article (with Barzani-photo) on its front-page, under the title: "The Kurdish insurrection in Iraq spells a new and grave crisis in the Middle East". All Baghdad routes to the north were full of tanks and heavy artillery. The "Kurdish Liberation Army --- commanded by the famous Mustapha Barzani" the Swiss daily wrote, is preparing for "a long partisan war" and thought it clear that "Qassim will meet considerable difficulties" in the mountains. His position would even be disastrous if the Kurds had friendly states at their side (like Tunisia and Morocco for the Algerian FLN) instead of hostile ones".

Then it was Sunday, the 24th. On Monday, when the first reports were coming in about Barzani's capture, Christian Sulser, in the "Gazette de Lausanne", pointed to the arms the Kurdish patriots possessed now and to their knowledge of the mountainous area involved. He closed his article with quoting Xenophon's "Anabasis" on the outstanding military qualities of the Kardukhis, ancestors of the present Kurds, over 2400 years ago. Next day, Amsterdam's "Nieuws van de Dag" said the Kurdish uprising had "taken proportions which make it more dangerous



for the government of Premier Qassim than has been the crisis about Kuwait".

On the 25th, "The Times" reported from Beirut: "General Kassem indicated the extent of the rebellion when he said the Kurdish 'marauders' burnt at least 50 villages, drove the inhabitants out, attacked police posts with mortars, cut communications and blocked roads with bulldozers". Even Qassim himself showed the seriousness of the situation his policy had provoked. Next day, when some papers already carried the canard (see: on Record) from Iran that Barzani was a Persian prisoner now, the international press' analysis of the military situation was much the same as during the previous week. Wrote "Trouw": "What Qassim seems to fear most is that the Kurds will seize the oil-producing areas in the north --- or will sabotage production. Government troops apparently have these areas firm in hand but warriors from the mountains dominate the surrounding hills and the villages". A still more optimistic picture of the military prospects was given in "Le Monde", where Edouard Sablier dedicated half a page to the "Alerte in Kurdistan". He said: "The Iraqi armed forces are composed of five divisions, being about fifty-thousand men. From this total about a quarter is composed of Kurds, who are the best, if not the only, fighters. A general war between Kurds and Iraqis, would, in spite of the disproportion of material means, doubtlessly turn out, in Kurdistan, to the disadvantage of the former." Summarizing his article, Sablier expected:

"It is for that reason that - if there is no foreign intervention - the Kurdish people hopes this time to see its aspirations triumph: if not an independent and sovereign State, at least autonomous entities within the countries with which - since a shorter or longer period - its existence is associated."

Kurds themselves were equally confident about the final outcome of the struggle in Iraqi Kurdistan. "We are sure" the "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe" concluded its declaration of 18. IX. 1961 "of the final victory of our people." It was printed in capital letters.

#### KURDS SEEK SOCIALIST SUPPORT

Emir Kamuran Aali Bedir Khan has sent a long letter to the Italian Socialist Party leader Giuseppe Saragat on the Kurdish question (Oct. 18, 1961). Kurds hope the Conference of Socialist (social-democratic) parties in Rome in October will adopt a pro-Kurdish resolution. (On August 30th, 1930, the Socialist International condemned both Kemalist Turkish terror against Kurds and the silence of Western public opinion on this barbarity".)

#### BARZANI'S SON SAID TO BE CAUGHT

Iraqi authorities claim they have caught Lukman Barzani, son of the Kurdish leader, in Baghdad.

#### DATE OF BARZANI'S FIRST NOTE TO QASSIM

According to a well-informed Kurdish source in Paris, Barzani sent his first (unanswered) note to Iraq's Qassim on June 8th, 1961, consequently 16 days before the latter launched his claim on Kuwait.



DUHOK was one of the first places mentioned in the news on Qassim's colonial war in Iraqi South Kurdistan.



AMADIYAH is said to be "coventried" (wiped out) by Qassim's Soviet-made bombers. All-in-all, 123 places in Iraqi Kurdistan are said to have suffered serious damage. Barzani's "Kurdish national liberation forces" avoiding of battles in cities like Sulaimaniyah, Erbil and Kirkuk saved them from annihilation. Here an Amadiyah suburb: Sulav.



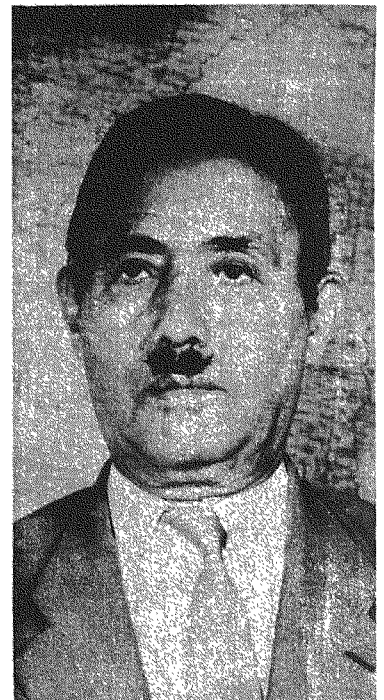
Guerilla warfare in the mountains is reportedly continuing

## PAN-IRANIST "KURDISH" PARTY OF SHAH

Since the Shah-in-Shah of Iran has to show his wealthy Western allies that the empire he has been ruling for 20 years is now on its way to democracy at last, he is busily founding new "political parties". The 3,5 million Eastern Kurds at the Western border of Iran have not been forgotten either. Last April, "Kurdish Facts" reported on a 13-page Pan-Iranist pamphlet in Persian and Kurdish distributed among Kurds in the Iranian-Iraqi border region. The pamphlet advocated "Anschluss" of all Kurds to Persia in order to defend the common Iranian heritage against "Semitic and Turkic rule".

The leaflet was just the opening tune of a political "long play" disc. This summer a "Pan-Iranist Kurdish Party" has been established in Teheran. Its leaders are identical with the same group that publishes the pro-Shah weekly "Kurdistan" there: Dr. Baban and company. The main attraction used by the "Party" is Ihsan Nuri Pasha, hero and military leader of the Ararat-(Aghri Dagh) uprising against Kemalist Turks in 1930. As is known, Ihsan Nuri lives in exile in Teheran, where he is under severe control of the Shah's secret police, the "Savak". His mail the former Kurdish leader has to receive via a postbox, which means only after "Savak" allows him to read it. Signs of Ihsan Nuri Pasha's collaboration with the Shah regime became visible in August 1960, when he visited the 6th annual congress of the "Kurdish Students Society in Europe" in West-Berlin. He was accompanied by a Persian security official, who - however - was not with him all the time. In a 2-hour interview in French with a member of the CC of "International Society Kurdistan", Ihsan Nuri Pasha said that the position of the Kurds in Iran was "good", whereas in Iraq it was "very good". The Kurdish students gave him the reverence a national hero deserved but took a markedly cool attitude towards Nuri Pasha's remarks in favour of the Shah-regime.

Afterwards, he was interviewed by West-Berlin's "Tarantel Press" Service, which had several men at the KSSE congress, who knew how to use their film cameras and tape recorders and also what to do with the material later. A month after the congress, "Tarantel Press" published a handout "Die Kurden wollen keine 'Bergtürken' sein!" ("Kurds do not want to be 'Mountain Turks'!") under Nr. A/-457 with a big photo of Ihsan Nuri (see cut). The service cooperated closely with the Iranian secret police and a photo-with-signature of then-time "Savak"-chief general Bakhtiari (see KF/5, p.8 and KF/7, p. 6) was hanging in the room of "Tarantel Press"-director Heinrich Baer (= Wenzel). Introducing Ihsan Nuri Pasha's remarks, TP said that there are only 5-6 million Kurds instead of 10 million. Persian Kurdistan was referred to as "Zentrum Kurdistans", though it is the country's easternmost part. The Mehabad Republic, TP said, was liquidated because it was pro-Soviet (which is not according to facts). Of Barzani the TP-handout announced that the Kurdish leader after "seinem fünfzehnjährigen Exil politisch eher als kommunistischer Weltrevolutionär unter nationalistischer Tarnung denn als Vorkämpfer der kurdischen Unabhängigkeit angesehen werden kann", which was also contrary to truth. That "Tarantel Press" and the forces behind it were not for Kurdish independence either, became clear from the



IHSAN NURI PASHA

Left: 1930

Right: 1960

hand-out's next paragraph: "Kurdistan ist ein geteiltes Land, seine geo-politische Lage südlich des Kaukasus macht eine separatistische Lösung des kurdischen Problems fragwürdig, solange Moskau der Nutzniesser wäre, und zwei der drei Staaten, in denen die grössten kurdischen Minderheiten leben, - Türkei, Iran und Irak, - sind durch Bündnisse mit der freien Welt eng liiert".

After criticising the Turkish thesis of Kurds being "Mountain Turks", TP then quoted Ihsan Nuri, who reminded of the fact that during the Aghri-Dagh uprising the USSR was against it. But then Ihsan Nuri started telling that "uns der Iran jede nur erdenkliche Hilfe für unseren Freiheitskampf zuteil werden liess". It was in that very year 1930 that another Kurdish leader, Simko, was killed after being cordially invited by the Shah Reza Pahlevi senior's men. The episode was recalled this year in a Simko-biography published in the Kurdish monthly "Roja Nuwe" of Sulaimaniyah (Iraq). Exile-Russian Kurdologist Basil Nikitine (+ 1960), said in his standard-work "Les Kurdes" (Paris 1956, p. 198), that Ihsan Nuri's Kurdish revolt of 1930, "notamment, servit a rapprocher la Perse et la Turquie aux depens des Kurdes; accord du 23 janvier 1932 sur la rectification de la frontiere a l'Ararat. Elle eut aussi des repercussions sur les relations turco-sovietiques: attitude pro-turque des Soviets". Thirty years after, former Kurdish freedom-fighter Ihsan Nuri told TP exactly that which the Shah's officials had ordered him to:

"Nasser schürt die türkisch-kurdischen Spannungen, wahrscheinlich auf sowjetische Empfehlung. Aber auch Teheran



wird von Cairo attackiert, weil es angeblich die Kurden im Iran unterdrückt. Ich lebe seit vielen Jahren im Iran und ich bin in der Lage, dieser verleumderischen Aussage entgegenzutreten. Die Iranische Regierung hat sich stets sehr aufgeschlossen für die kurdischen Belange gezeigt. Rundfunk und Fernsehen bringen Programme in kurdischer Sprache, eine Zeitschrift in Kurdisch erscheint in Teheran. --- Es gibt im Iran keinen politischen Druck gegenüber der kurdischen Minderheit, soweit sich nicht ausländische Interessenten missbräuchlich des Freiheitswillens unseres Volkes bedienen. "

Ihsan Nuri stressed that the Kurds ought "to cooperate closely with people and government of Iran, in order to find - on the basis of a common tradition and a kindred culture - a worthy place --- in this historical constellation".



عەزىزىم شاسوارىكە، گوزەركا، گەر، بە ئەلبورزا  
دەكا، نووكى سمى ئەسبى، لەخارا، تووتيا پەيدا

سیاسی- زانیاری- ویژه یی- کۆمه لایه تی

Paid to praise Shah:  
Teheran weekly "Kurdistan" (heading)

Some 5 months later, the Shah-in-Shah himself published his memoirs, "Mission for my country" (see KF/4, p. 8) stating that Kurds "ethnically as well as linguistically --- belong to Iran". Without any doubt, the Shah will be trying to use the scattered hopes of Iraqi Kurds on Qassim for the new Party's purposes. Though Teheran refrains from comment on recent events in Iraqi-Kurdistan, developments there are followed with very close interest. The Shah's real policy in East-Kurdistan (as well as in South Azerbaijan and Persia proper) is, however, too much known to all concerned to make his financial investments into the "Operation-follow-the-Pan-Iranian-Leader" likely to pay. Apart from that, neither Turks nor Arabs nor Kurds will tolerate a new Persian "Drang nach Westen".

## TURKS SEND 12,000 STUDENTS INTO 'EASTERN VILAYETS'

The Gürsel government has sent 12,000 students into North-Kurdistan for 2 years to teach children there - in Turkish only. Foreign journalists are told that it's all against feudal reaction and ignorance. On 6. XI. 1960, however, "Yeni Istanbul" reported that Kurdish alphabets are sold clandestinely in Diarbekir, on 10. XI. 1960 that there was a clandestine Kurdish school in Tillo, 10 km. south of Siirt. Such things are under severe punishment. The students have to carry out General Gürsel's order to turkify North-Kurdistan. But teachers and pupils can hardly understand each other. Books and buildings are absent in most cases. In civilised multinational states, the native language is taught first, then the lingua franca.

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# WEST-ASIAN AFFAIRS

## LEBANON ARRESTING KURDISH PATRIOTS

Several Kurdish patriots have been arrested in the Lebanon. On August 2nd, 1961, the French-language daily "L'Orient" reported the arrest of Mohammed Osman Al-Laussy in Beyrouth. Al-Laussy was the former district governor of Homs in Syria and is a leading member in the still active "Democratic Party Kurdistan in Syria".

On July 19th, 1961, "Le Jour" (another French-language daily in Beyrouth), reported the arrest of Nouri Ali, said to be an influential member of the "Democratic Party Kurdistan in Iraq". This latter party was called "Parti Populaire Kurde" by "Le Jour", which said that Nouri Ali had "Venue au Liban entreprendre ses coreligionnaires (! KF) pour une action tendant a détacher de la république irakienne les territoires habités par des éléments kurdes en prévision de la création d'un Etat indépendant". Two Kurds of each Iraqi and Turkish Kurdistan were also arrested by the Lebanese police. They were handed over to the Qassim and Gürsel authorities respectively.

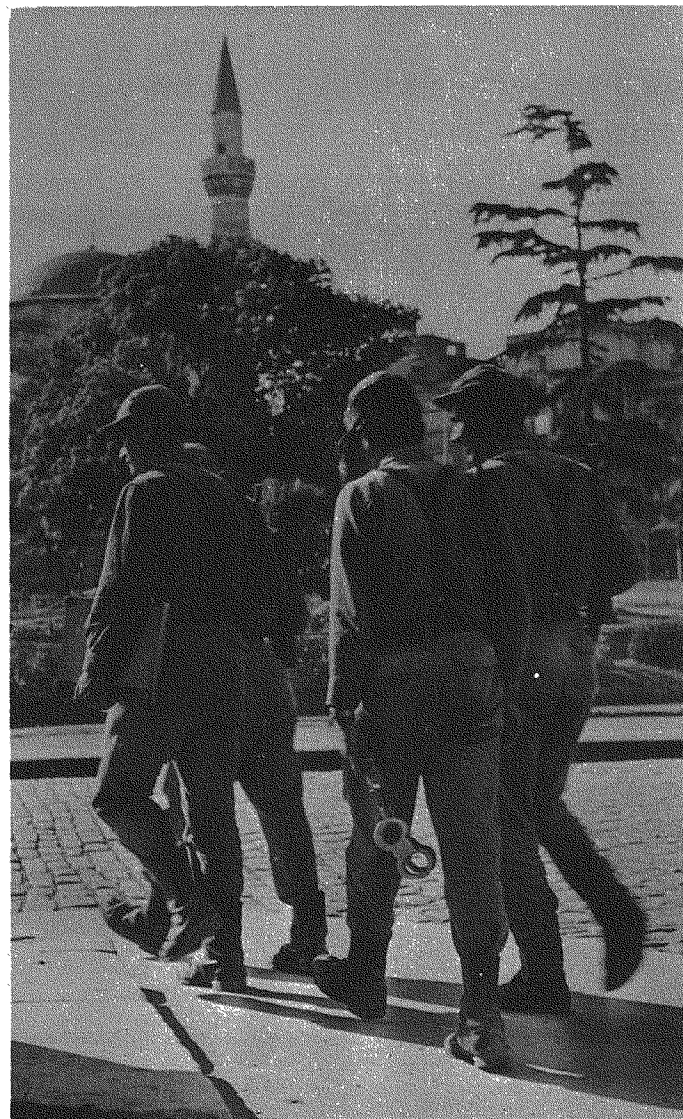
## TURKEY'S NEW PARTIES AGAINST "SEPARATISM"

Turkey's five main political parties, campaigning for the first post-putsch elections on October 15th, agreed on an 11-point declaration, after a 2-days conference with Gürsel-junta-officials, on September 5th. Among the do's there were Atatürkism, freedom of religion and conscience; among the don'ts: neo-Menderism, "right-wing-extremism" (read: Fascism), "left-wing-extremism" (read: Communism), and "Separatism" (read: Kurdish patriotism). Of all "isms", only "separatism" was mentioned twice. After the conference, General Gürsel said he trusted the parties would stick to the agreement. A few days later he added that the Yassıada executions were "a warning to politicians".

## BRITISH TOP-EXPERT LECTURING IN NEW YORK DENIES SOVIET BACKING OF KURDISH INDEPENDENTISM

"Islam and Communism" is a 71-page collection of reports of the June 1960 conference in New York's Carnegie International Center. Sponsor, and subsequently publisher, was the "Institute for the Study of the USSR" in Munich, Germany. One of the 6 speakers was Colonel Geoffrey E. Wheeler of London's "Central Asian Research Centre", a foremost British expert on Soviet-Asian Affairs (cf. KF/4, p. 15 and KF/5, p. 16). Said "old-hand" Wheeler:

"The area composed of north-west Persia, north-east Iraq, eastern Turkey and Transcaucasia (= Kurdistan - Georgia - Armenia - Azerbaijan; KF) is a particularly sensitive one for all the countries concerned, the Soviet Union not excepted. I do not believe that the Russians are at all confident of their ability to keep the situation in this area under their control. Some



Every-day scene in Gürsel's Turkey: "Jandarma" marching out on duty, carrying big list of persons to be arrested (left), heavy handcuffs (foreground) and automatic arms. Snapshot was taken near Istanbul's hippodrome ("At meydanı") in July, 1961. Only a fraction of the numerous arrests is reported in the foreign press. (ISK-photo.)

people think that they may find a solution in creating an independent Kurdistan. The Russians have undoubtedly considered this possibility, but they are almost certainly aware of the great difficulties it presents. All they do is to protest their support for the Kurds in their struggle for freedom WITHIN THE COUNTRIES where they live. In the words of the principal Soviet expert on Kurdish affairs, Kurdoyev, presumably himself a Kurd 'The democratic elements among the Kurdish people

know well that the only way to the solution of the Kurdish question is by the unity of the Kurdish workers with the progressive forces of the Persian, Turkish, and Iraqi peoples and the formation of one front of struggle for freedom and democracy. "It is sometimes forgotten that there are only some 60,000 Kurds in the Soviet Union and that in Transcaucasia where they live the Russians have already quite enough nationality problems to deal with without creating new ones."

#### KURDISH ASPECTS OF NEW SYRIA

Events in West-Asia are taking an evermore rapid course. The War between Kurds and Qassimists was still raging when the founding of the second Syrian Republic on the ruins of the United Arab one provoked world-wide attention. Whereas Communist Tito said it was "a counter-revolution of bourgeois-capitalist reactionaries, Communist Khaled Bakhdash hailed the new Syrian regime as one of liberation (and asked for his re-admission to Syria). He had been the chief cause of the UAR's foundation in 1958.

When Nasser - clearly reluctant - accepted the Syrian offer which resulted in the proclamation of the "United Arab Republic" on February 4th, 1958, he told the Egyptian National Assembly next day: "Perhaps our uncurbed yearnings will prove to be the greatest danger we have to face --- One of our primary duties is, through wisdom, to dam our aspirations ---." But, "l'appétit va en mangeant". During his first visit to Syria as UAR-President, Nasser and Shukri el-Kuwaitly (who recently declared his support for the Kuzhbari regime) were photographed before the tomb of Sultan Saladin (1137-1193), the greatest Kurd who ever lived. Salah-ed-din Yussuf Ibn-Ayub, as his full name was, had united Egypt and Syria in 1183. After having been defeated by the English expeditionary force under King Richard, Sultan Saladin accepted a partition of Palestine between Islam and the West.

UAR-President Nasser liked to be hailed as "the new Saladin", and in turn, Iraq's Qassim (see KF/5, p. 9) also tried to annex the great ruler. Both initially tried to win Kurdish friendship. When Mullah Mustapha Barzani returned from the USSR to his native country in 1958, he had a talk with UAR-President Nasser in Cairo. The press photographers shot both leaders. But when Barzani wanted to return to Iraq via Syria (where 400,000 Kurds are living) it was prohibited by Nasser. Since 1958, however, the authority of Nasser and Qassim has been diminishing, whereas that of Barzani (now the unchallenged leader of the Kurdish nation) increased steadily. After Qassim's colonial war in Iraqi Kurdistan, even the international press begins to realise that Barzani is not just a 'red Mullah', useless to list in the biographical part of "Near East Handbooks", but a factor to be reckoned with. Both Arab rulers, Nasser and Qassim, had a fair chance to win him as an ally. By not taking it and oppressing Arab-Kurdistan they contributed to their own weakening and practically acted as the continuators of foreign, Western imperialism, in many cases even far worse. During the French rule in Syria and Lebanon, Kurdish papers could appear and there were Kurdish broadcasts. But soon after the French left, Kurdish

cultural life in Syria was suppressed by the Arab authorities. This was a great blow, as Syrian Kurds (especially the Bedir-Khan family) had done much pioneering work in the field of the Kurdish cultural and political revival. A century before, from the 1830-ies onward, Syrian Arabs had done similar work for the Arab ethnic orbit and before World War I, Arab nationalists in Damascus and Beyrouth had been leading in the Arab struggle against Ottoman-Turkish imperialism (often criticized by Egyptians).

When this issue went to the printer at last, there was still no reliable news on the attitude of the new Syrian government of premier Kuzhbari towards its Kurdish citizens, not even about the release of Kurdish political prisoners. The end of the UAR does fill, however, Kurdish hearts with hope. In the comparatively liberal climate prevailing in Syria now, there are certainly better chances for a normalisation of Kurdish life than under the dictatorial rule of the UAR-regime and its "pityless policeman" Sarraj, now in prison himself. Kurds in general, and Barzani in particular, are no enemies or adversaries of Arab unity, but decidedly resist Arab chauvinism and dictatorship. Syria's Christian minorities have already declared their loyalty of Kuzhbari's government, but the country's Kurds, who have no legal representation (like all other parties, the "Democratic Party Kurdistan" of Syria is still forbidden) could not do so officially. If the new regime gives the Kurds their normal rights, it will certainly find them loyal and even enthusiastic citizens of free Syria.



Tomb of greatest-ever Kurd, 12th-century Sultan Saladin, stands on Arab soil: in Damascus, capital of the second Syrian Republic.

**Abdülkerim  
Kasim'in basagrısı**

**Révolte kurde : Téhéran juge**

**ALERTE AU KURDISTAN**

**Rewolta Kurdów:  
w Iraku?**

**ODD MEN OUT IN THE  
MIDDLE EAST**

**Freiheitskampf der Kurden**

*Scheich Barzani und Emir Bedir Khan kämpfen um die Zukunft ihres Volkes / Von Peter Unterberger*

**Koerden vechten  
door in Irak**

**Le drame kurde en Irak**

**Confusion  
au Kurdistan**

**Les Kurdes  
contre Kassem**

**KASSEM TEGEN  
IN KURDISTAN**

**BRITAIN ACCUSED  
OF SUPPORTING  
KURD REVOLT**

**THREAT TO CLOSE  
EMBASSY IN IRAQ**

*From Our Middle East  
Correspondent*

**BEIRUT, SEPT. 24**

**Opstand van Koerden  
in Irak uitgebreid**

**MON POINT DE VUE  
par HENRY BÉNAZET  
L'INSURRECTION  
DES KURDES**

**KURDISH**

**THE NATION**

**LES KURDES, L'IRAQ**

**ET UN MOT DE XÉNOPH**

**Bloed stroomt in**

**verdeeld land**

**Tribesmen clash**

**KASSEM'S  
ARMY HUNTS  
REBEL  
'RED MULLAH'**

*From ROBIN STAFFORD  
ISTANBUL, TURKEY*

**L'i  
d'u**

situation grave

soulèvement kurde en Irak  
Kassem chante victoire  
elle est peu vraisemblable

FIGHTING  
REPORTED  
IN IRAK

Trois divisions  
irakiennes contre  
les Kurdes

Kurds in Revolt  
Against Kassem

● Barzani dirige la ré-  
volte  
(De notre correspondant  
particulier)

Aufstand im Irak niedergeschlagen

LE MOUVEMENT INSURRECTIONNEL  
KURDE S'ETEND EN IRAK

ION  
ACE

LE KOERDEN

IRAK : la révolte des  
tribus kurdes (hostiles  
à Kassem) gagnerait en  
ampleur

● Barzani à la tête du soulèvement

Kassem: Aufstand  
Irakische Drohungen gegen London

Kurdish  
Rising

Zapalny punkt Bliskiego Wschodu

Naród, który nie istnieje...

KURDS SEIZE DAM  
IN IRAQ

REBELLION NOT CRUSHED

KASSEM BELOOFDE MAAR DEED NIETS

VOY  
D SEE  
KASSEM

Trouble for Kassim  
La révolte des Kurdes  
EN IRAK  
s'aggrave

IRAK : ÉPREUVE DE  
FORCE ENGAGÉE  
ENTRE KASSEM ET  
LES TRIBUS KURDES

EDENTS' SOCIETY IN EUROPE  
CLARATION ON  
REVOLT OF IRAQI KURDISTAN

LES NATIONALISTES KURDES  
LANCENT UN APPEL A L'O.N.U.

U.K. helped Kurds'  
revolt—Kassim

Lausanne, the 18th September 1961  
Nr. B/I088

Insurrection kurde en Irak, signe précurseur  
de nouvelle et grave crise au Moyen-Orient

KASSIM "VICTORY"

Kurden im Irak  
kämpfen weit

# PROTEST CALENDAR

## "ON THE NATIONAL REVOLT OF IRAQI KURDISTAN"

The "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe" (KSSE) issued a declaration in English "On the National Revolt of Iraqi Kurdistan" on the 18th of September, 1961. It was the first Kurdish organisation abroad to protest against Qassim's colonial war against Kurds. "Once more" - the Declaration started - "the people of Iraqi Kurdistan are obliged to start a Kurdish national revolt, after the bombardment of their country by the Iraqi Air Force, military operations and oppressive measures taken by general Kassem's Government against them." The first of the three stencilled pages mainly deals with the status of South Kurdistan from 1918-61. It reminds of the Teleki Commission plea for a Kurdish state in South Kurdistan in 1924, of the solemn-Iraqi-British pledge to the League of Nations (Dec. 24th, 1922) of Kurdish autonomy within Iraq, and of the subsequent promises of Lord Curzon, U. K. delegation leader in Lausanne 1922/23, which all remained paper and nothing more. After that the post-1958 position of Iraqi Kurds (page 2) and news on the Qassimist-Kurdish war (page 3) is given. Ends the Declaration:

"Our militant "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe", the only Kurdish organisation abroad, member of 'Kurdistan National Federation of Students Organisations', has received mandate to raise the voice of our people abroad. We ask the democratic and students forces in the world to support the national liberation movement of our people. We ask the Governments of friendly countries, the Afro-Asian in particular, to submit officially the national question of Kurdistan to the U. N. O. We ask the U. N. O. to repair the injustice which the L. O. N. was compelled to commit towards Southern Kurdistan. We ask the International Committee of the Red-Cross and the Commission of Human Rights to intervene to cease air bombardment of civilian Kurds, according to international conventions. We ask the great Powers to cease delivering any arms to the Government of Baghdad. We are sure of the final victory of our people." The Declaration was signed: "On behalf of all Kurdish youth and students, the Executive Committee of the K. S. S. E. -President of the Society".

### EMIR BEDİR-KHAN

#### APPEALS TO UNITED NATIONS DIRECTLY

UNO was also approached by Emir Bedir-Khan of Paris (Professeur of Kurdish at the Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes there). In the name of his "Delegation Kurde", Dr. Bedir-Khan sent the following appeal to the United Nations: "The Kurdish people, which is fighting today with arms in hand in Iraq to obtain the recognition of its right to live and to be free, appeals to all nations and governments of the world for help in its struggle against oppression. In the name of human conscience, in the name of the principles of freedom, in the name of the nations' right to self-determination,

the Kurdish People demands that the promises made to it will be kept. It demands the recognition of its just and legitimate claims by the Iraqi Governments, which is the only way to put an end to fighting and to stop bloodshed."

Among the papers publishing the Kurdish appeal to UNO was Paris "Le Monde", which made it front-page news on 24th-25th September. Both Kurdish appeals were submitted in French.

### ARAB LEAGUE APPROACHED

To the Arab League, the following appeal was sent by Emir Bedir-Khan simultaneously:

"The Kurdish people which fights in Iraq to obtain within the framework of Iraq the recognition of its right of existence and of liberty appeals to the noble sentiments of the Arab people to help it in its fight against oppression.

In the name of solidarity of the Arab and Kurdish peoples in the name of the human and religious brotherhood which unites them, it adjures the Arab people and governments to defend its just and legitimate claims, this being the sole means to put an end to fighting and to stop bloodshed.

It asks the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States to transmit this appeal to Arab people and governments."

### KURDISH STUDENTS

#### WRITE TO KENNEDY AND KHRUSHCHOV

Like during the "Vienna Summit" (cf. KF/7, p. 11) the Executive Committee of the "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe" appealed to US President Kennedy and USSR Premier Khrushchov on behalf of oppressed Kurdistan. On Sept. 24th, 1961, the following appeal was sent from Lausanne to both statesmen: "Dear Sir,

We beg to submit to the kind attention of Your Excellency the enclosed documents on the national revolt the Kurdish people have been compelled to start in Iraqi Kurdistan, for their legitimate rights, Iraqi Kurdistan autonomy and Iraqi democracy, against general Kassem's dictatorship and bloody rule. We beg Your Excellency to have the obligingness to perform all proceedings you would think effective in order to make the Iraqi Prime Minister stop destroying, so blindly, Kurdish cities and villages, and killing peaceful civilian Kurdish population, children and women, by his Air Force.

On behalf of all the Kurdish people, and in order to save the life of innocent human beings, we ask earnestly Your Excellency not to deliver any arms to the Government of Baghdad. Contrarily to what has been asserted by Kassem's press and radio, the Kurdish legitimate revolt is going on and will continue till the victory of our people.

We beg to remain

Yours faithfully,  
for the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE of the K. S. S. E.  
the President.



## **ON RECORD: TELEX**

bagdad sept 26 reuter - iraqi authorities have arrested mullah mustafa barazani, north iraq kurdish leader, accusing him of leading the recent abortive kurdish revolt, the newspaper al thawra reported here today. more  
arrest 2 bagdad

al thawra's mosul correspondent said the mullah was arrested yesterday at mehabad, near the iraqi border, and would be handed over to the iraqi authorities.

two pockets of kurdish resistance - at jamanki and dinarta - had been crushed. the newspaper said these were believed to be the last hideouts of the rebels.

rebels had been laying down their arms at government posts in the north, al thawra added.

more

arrestv3 bagdad

the newspaper al-had al-jadeed said today that the military governor of iraq, general ahmed saleh el abdi, had impounded the property of the mullah and his family.

more 1138

arrest 4 bagdad

major-general abdul karim kassem, the iraqi prime minister told a press conference last saturday that the kurdish revolt movement in northern iraq was crushed in seven days and a few remnants were being pursued.

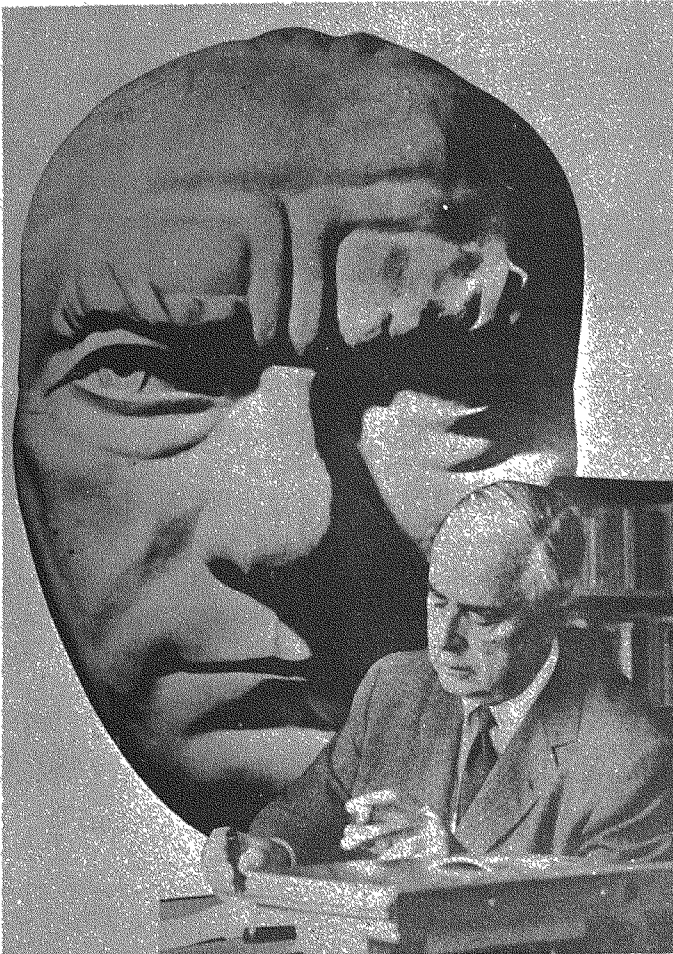
general kassem said he would not seek the extradition of mullah mustafa from any country.

reuter 1201

dpa 200 at

ueberholt dpa 73 (fuehrer des kurden-aufstandes - bagdad)  
festnahme mullah mustafas dementiert

teheran, 26. september 61 dpa - bagdader presseberichte ueber eine verhaftung des kurden-fuehrers mullah mustafa barazani in persien sind am diensttag abend von beamten des persischen sicherheitsdienstes und der armee dementiert worden. mullah mustafa soll vor kurzem anfuhrer einer kurdischen revolte im nordirak gewesen sein. von offizieller seite in teheran wurde hinzugefuegt, dass die persische grenze sorgfaeltig gegen alle illegalen ueberschreitungen abgeriegelt sei.

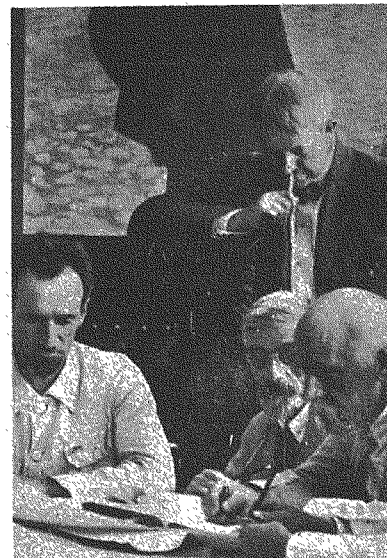


CARL J. BURCKHARDT, Swiss historian, diplomat, man of letters and former International Red Cross President, celebrated his 70th birthday in September. Inspiring representative of that ever-rarer elite of "European gentlemen" he lived up to the latter's definition as given by the Dutch prof. Lud. Grondys: Men of personal courage, profound knowledge and charming manners. Burckhardt's profound humanism and trained eye as a history-observer gave prophetic dimensions to many of his early analyses. In 1923, the year that buried many a Kurdish hope, he wrote on ATATURK's rule: "Mustapha Kemal mit dem schläfrigen, und doch messerscharfen Blick des Tigers --- macht Kulturkampf, er schliesst Moscheen und Klöster, hängt Priester, Mönche und Notabele auf, er leitet den furchtbaren Vorgang der Entwürzelung und Vertreibung uralter Völkerschaften ein. Er wird Schule machen. Er schreibt die Handschrift der näheren Zukunft, mächtigere werden ihm folgen ---." Whereas the forced re-settlement of German and Slav people initiated by Hitler 16 years later (see Burckhardt's book "Meine Danziger Mission") has come to an end, Atatürk's Forced Resettlement Law was renewed in Gürsel's Turkey (see ISK-Bull. Jan. 1961, p. 4) Burckhardt is shown here at home, Atatürk from the work of a Turkish sculptress.

ABDEL KERIM QASSIM (47), Lonesome Leader of the "Immortal Iraqi Republic", is going to marry Miss Saila Al Djanabi (17), daughter of the Director-General of "Iraqi Airways". Djanabi's family, reported "Al Hawadis" (Bejruth) kept the engagement secret for some time. ("Het Vaderland", The Hague, 11. VIII. 1961.)

During October, the civilised world commemorated the anniversary of the birth of the great Norwegian Arctic explorer and humanist Fritjof NANSEN (1861-1930). The first scientific job Nansen got in 1882 was at Bergen Museum, where now Dr. Fredrik Barth, author of "Principles of Social Organisation in Southern Kurdistan" - Oslo 1953 - is working. Nansen himself met Kurds when he visited Turkey and Soviet Armenia in the 1920-ies for the League of Nations. He had got the Nobel Peace Prize in 1923 and as a European humanist was deeply concerned with the tragic fate of the Armenian nation and its refugees. In his book "Through Armenia" (1927), translated into most major languages) he praised Kurdish family-spirit, outer appearance and songs. He was also glad that Kurdish and Armenian political leaders had started cooperation in fighting Turkish tyranny. When his ship "Fram" set out for the North Pole in 1895, Norway was still under Swedish rule. Patriot Nansen opposed it and his pushing of the Norwegian national cause in influential international newspapers like "The Times" contributed much to the peaceful separation of Sweden and Norway. Both countries are still on the best of terms, a clear proof that nationality questions can be solved in a democratic manner.

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN wants to act in the spirit of men like Nansen. It thinks Norwegian ISK-members could do an interesting job by collecting the Kurdish aspects of this Scandinavian "uomo universale" whose life was devoted to his country, science and human society. "Kurdish Facts" will be glad to publish their findings.



Communism, humanism and potential nazism are "co-existing" on this photo, taken in Soviet Armenia in 1925. Fridtjof NANSEN (bottom right) is conferring with Armenian Soviet official ERSINGIAN (bottom left). Standing before picture of LENIN is League of Nations official VIDKUN QUILSING, who became Norway's nazi-leader later on, and was executed in 1945. The illustration is taken from NANSEN's book on his Armenian mission.

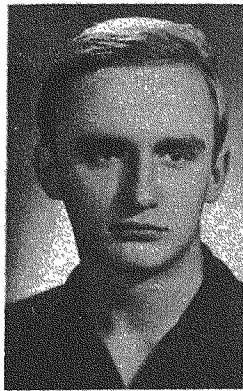
PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (71), Prime Minister of India, of all neutralist VIPs conferring in Beograd had comparatively the

best press in the West. In Socialist Eastern Europe, there were some noteworthy comments too. Wrote columnist "Cat" in Poland's Catholic daily "Slowo Powzeczne" of September 2nd/3rd, 1961:

"Nehru --- wants to play the role of a conciliator in the Berlin conflict. He refused an invitation to visit West-Berlin, he is demonstratively pro-Soviet. Also his ties with the British policy are undeniable. Nehru is --- trying to have the best relations with the Soviet Union, but with intentions not always in keeping with Soviet policy."

Nehru, who advocated self-decision for Kurds in his pre-war book "Glimpses of World-History" remained silent about Kurdistan ever since. So he was in Beograd, though Kurds appealed to the neutralist conference there in order to seek Afro-Asian support.

ANDRZEJ ZABORSKI, one of ISK's earliest members in Eastern Europe, is a student of Oriental languages at the Jagellonian University of Krakow. When he was born in 1942, his native Poland was under enemy occupation. After the first news on the Kurdish uprising had appeared in the Polish press, Mr. Zaborski rushed to the daily "Dziennik Polski" which printed his first article: one on the Kurds and their long fight for freedom (see Press). Mr. Zaborski who studies Kurmanji-Kurdish in his spare time, reports on 19th-century Polish pioneers in Kurdology in this issue of "Kurdish Facts" (see under "Orientalistics").



## PRESS

### ATLANTIC UNCERTAINTY ON SOVIET INTENTIONS TOWARDS IRAN

Eight weeks after America's C. L. Sulzberger had told the readers of the "New York Times" (26.VII.'61) that the USSR did "not seem to be pressing hard for localized insurrections" in Iran (see KF/8, p.5), star-commentator Joseph Alsop of "Times"-competitor "New York Herald Tribune" (20.IX.'61) assured "Trib"-readers of the exact opposite. Said Alsop:

"--- the Soviet propaganda apparatus has carried not only the threat above summarized (intervention, KF), but has also offered repeated reports and/or predictions of revolutions and risings in Iran, of the sort that might be taken as a pretext for intervention. Only five days ago, the Soviet broadcast beamed to Iran's northern province of Azerbaijan wholly falsely announced a general Azerbaijani uprising against the central government."

Alsop meant, of course, only an uprising of Southern Azerbaijanis against the Persian Government, not one including that of Soviet Azerbaijan against the USSR central government also.

### ALSO P CALLS BARZANI "SOVIET AGENT"

Though the "New York Herald Tribune" failed to inform its readers properly on Qassim's colonial war in Iraqi Southern Kurdistan, Alsop referred to these events to back his above-mentioned thesis. Continued the commentator: "Add to this that the Soviet agent among the Kurdish people, Mulla Mustaxa Barzani (spelling NYHT, KF), has been stirring up very grave trouble in neighbouring Iraq's predominantly Kurdish northern provinces. Add further that there are some signs of Kurdish agitation in northern Iran. It can be seen why the American ambassador in Teheran, Julius Holines, recently promised the Iranian government full 'United States support in case of trouble' with the Soviets."

Western policy-makers were as divided over Soviet intentions towards Iran as were the commentators of New York's top-dailies. "Trib"'s Alsop revealed that US State Department thought there would be no Russian invasion into Iran, whereas Britain's Foreign Office believes that "it will happen". Downing Street afterwards said it did not. "Die Welt" (Hamburg) excepting Alsop's comment on 21.IX.'61, let out everything on Kurds and Azerbaijanis.

### PRESS LICENCES WITHDRAWN IN IRAQ

The licences of 7 suppressed Iraqi newspapers and magazines have been withdrawn by the "Ministry of Guidance" on July 30th, 1961. The reason stated was that the (suppressed) papers did not appear for over 6 months, which is against the law. The newspapers thus punished because they obeyed governmental orders are: "Azadi" of Erbil (only Communist paper of Iraqi Kurdistan) and the following Arab papers: "Sada al-Ahali", "Al Haqqa" and "Al-Shabiba" of Mosul, "Al-Rabee" of Kirkuk (all Southern Kurdistan) and "Al Nashat al-Thaqafi" of Najaf, further "Shu'lat al-Ahali" of Kerbela (all Mesopotamia). Since September, both the Kurdish and the Arab press in Iraqi Kurdistan has practically ceased to exist.

### KUWAIT PRESS ON KURDS



The conflict of both Kurds and Kuwaitis with the Qassim regime of Arab Iraq increased the interest of Kuwaitis in Kurdistan. The monthly "Al-Arabi" of August, 1961, published a report on "Iraqi Summer Pastures" dealing with Kurds and Assyrians in the North of Iraqi territory. A map, 18 colour-photographs and 17 black-and-white photographs were illustrating the cover-story. The cut published herewith shows the title page of "Al-Arabi" which measures 17 x 24 cm. The article was written by Mr. Selim Zebal and counted 26 pages (out of 164). The beauty of Kurdish women was praised.

## WORLD PRESS ON WAR IN IRAQI KURDISTAN

Press reporting on Qassim's colonial war in South Kurdistan 1961 was interesting in so many respects, that the material and its analysis would be enough to write a thesis on this case story. ISK's news staff found:

- 1) Most papers depended on the telex of the big news agencies, and the latter mainly depended on the press and the officially given news of Iraq and its main West-Asian neighbour-countries.
- 2) All those countries being "involved" in the Kurdish question and having none too good relations with one another, the agencies' sources could hardly be objective ones.
- 3) This did not only "colour" international reporting on the events, but also restricted and belated it.
- 4) Only the fact that Qassim was obviously lying made the big agencies realise what was really going on in Iraqi Kurdistan.
- 5) Reporting differed widely in various countries and political camps. In the America's and in the socialist countries there was practically nothing about it in the papers. In the Afro-Asian countries newsgiving on Qassim's colonial war was mainly restricted to the West-Asian and Egyptian press.
- 6) Within Western Europe, there were marked differences as well. By far the best (both from a quantitative and a qualitative point of view) was the French press, traditionally pro-Kurdish. Especially "Combat" gave practically a day-to-day service. About half a dozen big French papers published one or more articles on the Kurds, especially written on the occasion by AI experts: Rondot, Sablier, d'Istria, Gache and others. The British press first tended to picture Barzani and his men as "Communists" but returned to facts as soon as British interests were at stake after Qassim's ridiculous accusations. The West-German press mainly copied some agency reports. Having no experienced specialists on Kurdistan, and anxiously backing the Shah and Gürsel regimes (incidentally also the allies of Britain, France and the Netherlands) West-German papers either knew nothing about Kurds or thought the matter too touchy. The Austrian press wrote both "pro" and "anti", according to the newspaper in question. In Switzerland (also predominantly German-speaking, and neutral like Austria) it was the French-language press, especially that of Lausanne that took an attitude like the papers in France proper. In the Netherlands there were very big articles (especially in the Socialist press) which gave a clear and detailed picture of what was happening. Sympathy of most democratic countries was on the side of the Kurds as soon as people learnt the facts and dictator Qassim had dropped his democratic mask.
- 7) Among those not in sympathy with the Kurdish claim for self-determination there were two theses on Barzani and his men: one said they were Communist, the other one told they were tools of the Western oil companies. Trying to "prove" the first one, there were frequent reminders of Barzani's stay in the USSR.
- 8) Apart from the exceptions mentioned above, newsgiving on

the events showed how poorly many papers are informed about Kurds and Kurdistan. Bad maps and statistics appeared. One news agency said "Kurds differ from their fellow-Moslims by language", though there are hundreds of languages in the Moslem orbit. The "tribal warrior" and the "troublesome nomad" (a nineteenth-century image of Kurds) were in frequent use again among superficially-working "journalists". Ignorance naturally jeopardized objectivity even when good intentions existed. And even to expert observers, it was a tough job to find out in detail what was happening.

9) In general, however, there was a real willingness to learn the truth. Urgent questions, requests for documentation, maps, illustrations and even articles-ready-to-print reached "International Society Kurdistan" (CC and individual members) from several countries. They caused a lot of extra-work but here was an opportunity to "distribute factual information on Kurdistan" as ISK's statutes prescribe.

10) ISK-members and Kurdish friends of ISK sent in news, comment, and paper-cuttings from about a dozen countries. From other quarters too there was much cooperation. ISK's network did work and by combined effort a lot could be done. Public opinion is now open to hear about Kurds.

Lack of space prevents KF to print a representative choice of the press comment cuttings available. So this issue only a few specimen are given, next one (November) will bring more. In bibliographically listing the press articles on the events, ISK cooperates with the "Centre of Kurdish Studies" in Paris. Future historians will be glad to find this work done, and the material collected might not be without political significance either. KF's pages 16-17 show some of the Kurdistan headlines from the European press. "On Record" are some authentic agency reports.

## AMERICAN THOUGHTS ON IRAN'S COMING REVOLUTION

Soviet Premier Khrushchov, addressing the 22nd Communist Party Congress in a brand-new hall of the Kremlin, predicted a revolution in Iran. The Shah protested immediately, though confessing he would feel better after abdication. Western democrats, too, expect a revolution in Iran.

In a 4-page article in "The New Leader", of 31. VII/7. VIII. 1961, "New York Times"-contributor Kennet Love, analysed Amini's chances, reminding his readers of "the Shah's uneasiness with strong premiers" and of the possibility that the Iranian "Army chiefs make his (A's) dismissal the price of their continued loyalty. And the Shah is likely to pay the price, even though it means jettisoning the reform program".

The price the people of Iran had to pay then, Mr. Love described as follows: "--- General Timur Bakhtiar, who made a brutal reputation --- will probably be made premier --- Iran would then become a pressure cooker of revolution. Corruption would run rampant in a prediluvian atmosphere of *saive qui peut*. Fears would feed their own fulfilment".

That the West might panic as well as Iranians becomes clear from Mr. Love's prophecies on the new post-revolutionary Iran's policy: "Any revolution is far more likely to draw Iran into the neutralist Afro-Asian bloc than into the Soviet camp, pro-

vided the West resists its tendency to panic at the first bulletins and writes the revolution off immediately as Red". The Persians, "The New Leader" adds "are well aware of the hand American agents and diplomats had in the overthrow of Premier Mossadegh and in nourishing what followed ---. The U. S. is so identified with the regime that any revolution necessarily will be anti-U. S. at the outset". Love warns: "Resentment against the Shah's dependence on the U. S. should not be misconstrued as entirely Communist-inspired hostility. Neutralism --- is an old and deep-rooted tradition in Iranian relations with the world outside ---." Mr. Love advised Americans to "keep cool" if things run hot in Iran.

#### THE TURKISH ELECTIONS

Analysing the results of the referendum on the new Turkish Constitution, KURDISH FACTS of July-August found that of the voters "registered less than 50% agree with the new constitution". We added: "that is - to put it mildly - an extremely small legal basis".

Meanwhile, the text of the new Constitution has been acquired and the main results of the 15-October elections are at hand. Before they were held, we have been asked from several quarters to pay detailed attention to them. We'll do so in our next issue, this one going to the press before the final election results are known. Still we can already note with sadness that our predictive remarks quoted above fully apply to the findings of October 15th as well. Writes "The Times" of 18. X. 1961: "The revolutionary leaders in Turkey have become the victims of their own high-minded miscalculation. --- It is now clear --- that half the voters are out of sympathy with the revolutionary leaders. --- Turkey faces an undoubted emergency, economic as well as political". Says German "Die Welt" of the same day: "das Wahlergebnis zeigt dass --- der Aufstand der Offiziere und Studenten politisch fehlgeschlagen ist. --- Die --- Probleme blieben --- ungelöst. --- Die Unzufriedenheit gärt weiter". Writes "Le Monde", also on Oct. 18th, 1961: "Reste a savoir si les dirigeants militaires acceptent ce verdict". That were three representative dailies from countries General Gürsel's Turkey is politically and military allied with. In its November-issue, KURDISH FACTS will report on what is blocking Turkey's way to democracy and progress.

#### "THE OBSERVER" ON KURDISH POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS

One of the few British papers not trying to identify the Kurdish national movement with "Communism" was "The Observer", the liberal Sunday paper. On 24. IX. 1961 it wrote: "--- reports disagree widely about his (Barzani's, KF) motives. Baghdad radio said he was backed by "imperialists" and a Baghdad newspaper said that the Iraqi Government had found letters written in English to Mullah Mustafa. But to others he is the 'Red Mullah', backed by the Soviet Union. Others still suggested that the Mullah was interested neither in Western imperialism nor in Russian Communism, but purely in the creation of an independent Kurdish State. The last theory would be more consistent both with the Mullah's career and with Kurdish history over the last

4,000 years." Both were subsequently traced then. At the end of its back-page-article "The Observer" referred to the problem again, countering current misunderstandings: "Recently there have been fears that Communist influence among them (the Kurds, KF) was increasing, especially in view of the fact that for the past 30 years the only country with a Kurdish minority to encourage Kurdish nationalism has been Russia. Probably Mullah Mustafa and other tribal leaders do not object to using Russian support, material and moral, in their fight for independence. But just as Kurdish parochialism has so far helped to prevent the achievement of an independent Kurdistan, so it would probably militate against the setting up of a Kurdish People's Republic." ("The Observer" on Qassim: see KF/8, p. 9)

#### BBC'S EXPERT ON SOVIET NATIONALITIES COMMENT ON KURDS

Walter Kolarz, Bohemian-born specialist on Soviet nationalities' politics, was asked by the BBC's "European Service" to comment on "Kurds and Kassem". In a "General News Talk" distributed by the BBC's "Central Research Unit" (No. 2. 162), Kolarz said on September 26th, 1961:

"The Kurdish question is one of the unsolved national problems in the world to-day and Kurdish nationalists would try to keep the issue alive, even if communist support were lacking. --- As to the present troubles in Northern Iraq, they have at least in part their roots in the collapse of those expectations which Kurdish nationalists linked with the establishment of the Iraqi Republic over three years ago."

Kolarz thought the increased communist broadcasting on Kurds, and similar "communist efforts" to be no "determining factor in the outbreak of the latest Kurdish revolt" reminding his readers of the fact that "after all there were Kurdish uprisings in 1919, 1927, 1931, 1933, 1935 and 1943 ---".

(In his book "Russia and her Colonies" (Philip & Son, London, 1952, several reprints, also translated into German) Walter Kolarz wrote nearly 3 pages on "Russia and the Kurdish Problem", stating: "The Kurdish Republic set up with Russian help in 1946 and Quazi Mohammed as Prime Minister was a national Kurdish State and not communist".)

#### KURDS = COMMUNIST: "MONOTONOUS REFRAIN" SAYS D'ISTRIA

In "La Tribune des Nations" (29. IX. 1961) Pierre d'Istria spoke with annoyance about "certain commentators, always the same ones" who did not cease "talking of soviet aid to the Kurdish rebellion. Since years" - d'Istria added - "we are fatigued by this monotonous refrain of the Kurdish-Russian alliance without, incidentally, being given other proofs than those based on guessing."

The French commentator then accused Britain and the USSR alike:

"Since 1957, the Russians came to an understanding with the Anglo-Saxons and Iran to put an end brutally to the Kurdish adventure. Mustapha Barzani got the leisure to think over this

severe lesson: with regard to the USSR, his attitude is that of a diplomat, not of a disciple."

Continuing: d'Istria saw the present Kurdish-Qassimist war as "an affair of internal Iraqi policy", mainly caused by economic circumstances: "The Kurdish drama is nothing but an act of the great agrarian crisis which affects a part of the world and is taking revolutionary allures". (Cf. KF/8, p. 5 and 6.)

Referring to Qassim's "superbombs" on Kurdistan, d'Istria concluded his article as follows: "Great history has always been prepared amidst the humble - with the complicity of Time, which always recompenses those who know to wait."

#### FRIEND AND FOE OF KURDS FIND SOVIET CRITICISM

William O. Douglas, chief justice of the USA and a convinced friend of the Kurdish nation was attacked as a "servant of imperialism" in the Soviet Turkestan daily "Qizil Ozbekistan" (Uzbek SSSR) of April 12th, 1961. Douglas wrote a book on Kurdistan: "Strange lands and friendly people" (London, 1951). Also sharply attacked was Veli Kayum Khan, president of the emigre "National Turkistan Unity Committee". Mr. Kayum, who lives in Western Germany, is - unlike Douglas - an adversary of Kurdish patriotism and is said to cooperate with the present regime in Iran, which refuses home rule to Kurds as well as to Azerbaijanis and Turkmens, Mr. Kayum's kinsmen. Some seven weeks later, the "Uzbek Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries" founded a section for contact with Turkistani emigrants abroad (among whom Kayum is prominent), "Qizil Ozbekistan" reported on June 1st, 1961.

#### AMERICAN JEWS ON KURDISH QUESTION

"Hadoar", the (only) Hebrew weekly in the United States, published "Observations on the Kurdish Problem" by Israel Nasmani in its issue of September 8th, 1961. As soon as the article is translated from Hivri (neo-Hebrew) into English, excerpts will be published in this paper. "Hadoar" is an organ of the "Histadruth Ivri of America", a Jewish trade union.

#### DUTCH JESUIT WEEKLY FOR FEDERALISM IN WEST-ASIA

The West, says Mr. Bart Stuver in "De Linie" (Amsterdam, Oct. 14th, 1961) is not without guilt of the present unrest in the Near East. After World War I the Western allies "put together countries" in "an artificial and often unjust way". Adds the Jesuit weekly: "The old nation of the Kurds is a tragic example" of this policy. "De Linie" thinks that the Western victors had done better if they had formed "a mixed state or federation of Kurds, Armenians and Assyrians who - liberated from the Turkish yoke - could have created in this borderland of Arabs and Turks a peaceful community of Christians and Moslems, of understanding between East and West". Now the Kurds are subject to "a special regime of military oppression" in Western Asia, says "De Linie", which hopes "the Arabs will once realise that unity of Arabs only with discrimination of minorities leads them nowhere in the end".

## RADIO

#### MORE AMERICAN BROADCASTS IN TURKIC TO USSR URGED

A "Moslem Refugee Committee" was set up this summer in New York by ex-Soviet citizens of Turkistani, Tatar, Azerbaijani and North-Caucasian descent. Chairman is Mr. Garip Sultan, an Idel-Ural-Tatar historian. During a conference at the Carnegie International Center in New York the Committee asked president Kennedy for more broadcasts in Turkic of the "Voice of America"-station into the Soviet Union. In 1958, the "Voice" dropped its 15-minutes-daily program in Uzbek. Several employees of the VOA and of the two other American-sponsored anti-Communist radio stations in Munich ("Radio Liberty" of "AmComLib" and "Radio Free Europe") were dismissed recently because of president Kennedy's economizing measures. Present at the Carnegie Center conference (June 27th) were UAR-officials, Turkey's ambassador Menemencioglu and America's Nr. 1-Ukrainian Prof. Dr. Lev Dobriansky, who had repeatedly accused the "Voice" of "Great-Russian bias". The station is run by the "United States Information Agency". The weekly newsheet in Kurdish USIA's Baghdad branch used to publish was discontinued some years ago.

#### "RADIO BERLIN INTERNATIONAL" 20 MINUTES KURDISH MORE

The East Berlin radio has lengthened its four broadcasts in Kurdish by 5 minutes each and shortened its Persian ones accordingly. West-Berlin "Tarantel Press" stated on Sept. 5th, 1961, that Persian broadcasts by "Radio Berlin International" had been dropped in 1958. In fact they have been extended since then. Azerbaijani was added in August 1960, and is also broadcasted 4 times each working-day.

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# STUDENTS

## EUROPE'S KURDISH STUDENTS' SIXTH CONGRESS

Revolutionary developments in Iraqi Kurdistan gave special significance to the 6th annual congress of the "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe". It was held in Westphalian Münster from 21/25. VIII. 1961. A Kurdish flag (made of paper) hang behind the CC's table in "Lindenhof" when Mr. Ismet Sherif Vanly, KSSE-chairman, opened the congress with a long speech. 104 Kurdish students from over a dozen countries and a small number of guests (Kurdish and foreign) were present. Biggest delegation of observers was that of ISK (see below). Budapest's "World Federation of Democratic Youth" was represented by a Kurd, Dara Tawfiq Salihi, Prague's "International Union of Students" by a Puerto Rican, Narciso Rabell. Persian students in Germany had sent an observer and there was also a Turkmen from Kurdistan. Cand. Paul Luft (of Humboldt University, East-Berlin) could attend the congress because he happened to be in the GFR to study the Kurdish literary MSS collected by the late German Kurdologist Oskar Mann.

## THE CONSEQUENCES OF KURDISH PATRIOTISM

Compared to the 5th congress in West-Berlin in 1960, KSSE's 6th one was marked by a more frank, consequently-patriotic Kurdish line. To readers of KSSE's periodical "Kurdistan" this was no surprise, as Mr. Vanly had stressed in its latest issue (see KF/6) that a Kurdish future could only be safeguarded by Kurdish national organisations. This basically meant the abandoning of organising Kurds on the basis of the four existing states co-inhabited by them and of so-called "mixed organisations" (dominated by non-Kurds). Informing congressists in detail about the revolutionary developments in Iraqi South Kurdistan (see "Inside Kurdistan" in this issue) as far as they were known at that time, the KSSE-chairman revealed that the 4 "Democratic Parties Kurdistan" (in Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Syria) had been merged into one organisation now. He announced a similar step of the Kurdish student organisations.

## KURDISH POSITION IN THE WORLD

Dealing with world politics, Vanly said he was "sure that the policy of the Kurdish national liberation movement is to seek, in this world, a neutral position, to adopt positive neutralism, as most of the Afro-Asian nations". He reminded of the KSSE telegram to Kennedy and Khrushchov, and said Kurds supported the U. N. resolution against colonialism. After surveying Kurdish 20th century history, the KSSE-president predicted: "The Kurdish people will never accept the eternal division of their homeland". Kurdistan, Mr. Vanly said, "has not even the advantage, if I can say so, of being recognized as a colony", and then compared his country's fate to that of African countries. In Berlin, in 1960, Mr. Vanly had said the Kurds stood all alone in their struggle. Now he said: "From the international point

of view, the Kurdish people have not yet received the help of any nation".

## OPPOSITION

Already during the first day, there were signs of a certain opposition. Its main spokesmen were Dara Tawfiq Salihi of WFDY and Jalal Baytushi, a KSSE-old-timer of East Berlin. Though he was basically for GUSIR (General Union of Students of the Iraqi Republic), Tawfiq had helped to found KSSE in Wiesbaden in 1956 and had even been its secretary. GUSIR is a member of IUS, which had rejected membership applications of KSSE 5 times. Kurdistan having no universities of its own, most of its politically activated students had become so in non-Kurdish universities (mainly Arab Baghdad) and in Communist-dominated organisations. Now both approaches clashed. Kurdish students not yet being admitted to KSSE membership asked for the reasons of this and generally heard their own previous anti-KSSE-remarks quoted. During the morning of the 22nd August there were such stormy scenes that congress had to be adjourned for 15 minutes, but after that things went on orderly, including the main discussions. The latter came after the branch reports were read and the congress was to okay the formation of an All-Kurdish student federation. There were lengthy talks about the question of what organisations had the right to represent (even solely) Kurdish students (mainly of Iraq). WFDY's Mr. Tawfiq tried to have a decision on this (and thus on the new Federation) postponed. And so did his (34) supporters. When the others showed their determination to get things through, Tawfiq announced he would vote blank, an example immediately followed by those agreeing with him. When the discussions (which lasted far longer than was scheduled because of all this) were closed and the Federation was a fact, IUS's Mr. Rabell congratulated and said the decision was taken in a democratic manner. He also promised the support of IUS.

## ALL-KURDISH STUDENT FEDERATION FORMED

Main result of the 6th KSSE-congress was the establishing of the "Kurdish National Federation of Student Organisations". Its first member organisations are KSSE, the "Union of Students of West-Kurdistan HEVRA" (Turkish Kurdistan) and the "Union of Students of Central-Kurdistan" (Iraqi Kurds). The Iraqi-Kurdish student organisation, which worked underground under the Nuri-es-Said-regime, came into the open after the 1958 revolution but suspended its activities at the wish of the Qassim government, which wanted one organisation for all Iraqi students: the GUSIR. In March 1961, Mr. Kamal Fuad told, the USCK, never having dissolved itself officially, resumed its activities. Both Turco-Kurdish and Iraqi-Kurdish student leaders had signed the "Federation"-agreement with KSSE. The latter (being free) would act as HQ for the whole Federation, into which Syrian-Kurdish and Persian-Kurdish students were invited. Delegates of all three member organisations of the new, all-Kurdish student federation were present in Münster. On September 28th, KSSE's Vanly informed IUS of the KNFSO's formation, said it was "grouping the students of the whole Kurd-

ish nation" and that "ONLY Kurdish student organisations --- represent and have the right to represent the Kurdish students in Kurdistan and abroad" (emphasis original). He asked both GUSIR and IUS to decide on their future relations with the Federation and its member-organisations.

#### CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

The 6th KSSE-congress adopted 43 resolutions and declarations on August 25th, 1961. They dealt with the situation of Kurds in general and under the 4 West-Asian regimes involved in particular, West-Asia's common fight against imperialism and reaction of whatever kind, the Kurdish liberation movement and its leader Barzani, the DPK, the Association of Kurdish Women, the Union of Students of Iraqi Kurdistan, the new all-Kurdish student federation, IUS, GUSIR, WFDY, ISK, the Puerto-Rican "Federacion Universitaria pro Independencia", the Iranian Student Federation in Germany and the Beograd conference of non-aligned countries. The general principle adopted by the resolutions was: "No solution of the Kurdish national question without democracy and neither democracy nor lasting peace in the Middle East without solving the Kurdish national question".

#### NEW CENTRAL COMMITTEE CHOSEN

During the last (night-)session of the KSSE-Congress, Kurdish students in Europe chose the following new CC, President: Ismet Sherif Vanly (Lausanne); deputy-pres. & treasurer: Dr. Wurya Rawanduzi (Vienna), Secretary: Kamal Fuad (East-Berlin); Editor-in-Chief of KSSE-organ "Kurdistan": Saadi Amin Dizayee. Members: Essan Fuad (Leningrad, brother of Kamal Fuad), Omar Dizayee (Paris, formerly Besançon & Munich) and Arjumand Sidiq (Munich). (Cf. KF/7, p. 16 for previous KSSE-CC.)

#### CONGRESS ECHO

The KSSE congress was reported on positively in all (four) local dailies, in the West-German radio and by "dpa", the West-German press-agency. Three of the journalists present decided to keep in touch with KSSE and to support ISK.

#### ISK AND KSSE

"International Society Kurdistan" had sent 5 observers to the KSSE congress: Silvio van Rooy, Drs. Jan Kemp (of ISK's CC, Amsterdam), Dr. Heinz Kloss (Kiel) and Hartmut Beckers (Düsseldorf) and Mrs. Turid Rugaas (Oslo). The MS of Mr. Vanly's opening speech showed 31 lines on ISK, which he called "an important organisation". There was applause after the KSSE-leader said to the ISK-guests: "In the name of KSSE, of Kurdish youth and students, but also, we know it, of our people, we say to the ISK: bravo, thanks and go on! Go on in the service of truth and science!" Thanking Mr. Vanly for his warm words, ISK-president van Rooy said "We never promised you heaven, but we'll be with you forever, no matter whatever may happen". S. A. Dizayee thereupon answered: "It is true you of ISK never

promised us heaven but you are working for a free Kurdistan, which means heaven to us".

Several branch secretaries of KSSE reported on cooperation between their respective branches and ISK and advocated more support. A resolution to that end was agreed on and KSSE-treasurer Rawanduzi collected several hundred marks in 30 minutes to help ISK overcome its critical financial situation. Apart from that there were several presents for ISK, both from KSSE and from individual Kurds (see cover). There was a doll in Kurdish dress, several handicraft objects. The amount of books in Kurdish in ISK's library doubled (from 40 to 80). Closer cooperation between both organisations was discussed and resolved on by the respective CC members. (They already yielded their first results since September.) At the congress the just-published Nr. 8 issue of "Kurdish Facts" was distributed. Said one non-student Kurd: "I pay you one mark per issue now but in Sulaimaniyah, where I come from, I know lots of people who'd gladly pay 10 times as much, only to see this paper". It was just one year after ISK's founders promised at KSSE's West-Berlin congress: "From now on, Kurds will no longer be alone in their struggle".

#### NEW PERSIAN STUDENT LEADERS IN GERMANY

Ten days before Europe's Kurdish students had their congress in Westphalia's Münster (21st-26th August, 1961), the "Federation of Iranian Students in Germany and West-Berlin" had theirs somewhat farther south: in North-Rhinish Düsseldorf (11th-14th August, 1961). They chose a new CC, consisting of H. Massali, Zarin-Kafsh and Kazemi (Kiel).

#### KURDISH STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

After contacting about a dozen of persons and institutions in the USA and elsewhere, KF succeeded in finding out at last what had become of the "Association of Kurdish Students in the USA", founded some years ago at a Californian University. Last month, KF was informed on the "A. K. S. U. S." by one of America's leading Kurdologists as follows: "This organisation never got off the ground. It was never officially organized and remains still an idea. There are perhaps a dozen or two Kurdish students in this country and they have no formal organisation of their own". KF thinks there might be more (in view of the huge number of Iraqi students in the US), will continue its efforts to contact Kurds and their friends in North-America and hopes to report on the results at a later date (Cf. KF/6, p. 14).



## UNIVERSITIES

### SPECIAL COURSES IN VIENNA

The "Afro-Asiatisches Institut" in Vienna this autumn has some special courses to train people for work in Afro-Asian countries. Apart from the language program, trainees will be acquainted with climate, social conditions and "do's and don'ts" of the countries they are going to serve. Austrian industry, government, science and development-aid-bodies cooperate to make the "Afro-Asiatisches Institut" as efficient as is possible.

### ISRAEL TRAINS EXPERTS ON AFRO-ASIAN COUNTRIES

Israel, which seeks to break Arab encirclement by better relations with Afro-Asian countries, has future lecturers on those countries trained abroad (mainly at American and British universities with appropriate "area study programs"). When an adequate staff can be formed from MA's, modern Afro-Asian area studies will be organised at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem as well. Furthermore, a far bigger number of young Israelis is studying abroad for a BA degree in this special field. Once having taken it, they enter the State's payroll (foreign service, armed forces, intelligence, etc.) broadcasting, trade unions, airlines, mercantile marine and other organisations which need trained experts with knowledge of Oriental countries. Apart from that, a growing number of Africans and Asians get Israeli training at the Weizmann Institute of Science in Rehovoth and the Afro-Asian Institute in Tel Aviv. Israeli Minister Dr. Abba Eban is one of the main promoters of this scheme. 200 Israeli experts are now working in Afro-Asian countries as technicians, medical doctors, etc., generally under government contracts.

Snapped Nasser at Belgrado's Neutralists' Conference: "Israel is a bridgehead of Western imperialism in Africa".

## PRISONERS

### THE POLITICAL PRISONERS IN SYRIA

The new regime in Syria has promised to dismiss political prisoners there. Up till now there has been no news about the men of the "Democratic Party Kurdistan" in Mezza prison near Damascus. Kurdish prisoners were also omitted in a (pre-Kouzbari) statement of the "Committee for the Defence of the Syrian Political Prisoners". The document, partly published in the August "Bulletin of the World Peace Council", dealt with Communist prisoners in Syria only, and said no charges had been made yet against the political prisoners. As is known to KF-readers, Kurdish prisoners have been on trial and were sentenced. From the Committee's statement it can be deducted that not only Al-Hilou, but other Syrian Communists too died in prison: Said Droubi, Mouhieddine Falyoun; Pierre Chadarevian, Georges Adass, Farid Haddad, prof. Shaddi Attieh and others. Though several of the Kurdish prisoners have been tortured in Mezza-prison, none of them died as far as is known. (Cf. KF/8, p. 23-24.) Activities on behalf of political prisoners in the former U. A. R. have also been carried out by "Afro-Asia" in

London. This information centre is led by Mrs. B. Hag, of Charing Cross Road, widow of the late W. R. Hay, who wrote "Two years in Kurdistan; experience of a political officer 1918-1920" (London, Sidgwick & Jackson, 1921, XII + 383 p.; ill.).

### "APPEAL FOR AMNESTY 1961" HELPS KURDS

At the request of the non-party campaign "Appeal for Amnesty 1961", the "International Society Kurdistan" is preparing a report on the situation of Kurdish political prisoners in West-Asia. ALL KURDS ABLE TO SUPPLY WHATEVER INFORMATION ON THIS SUBJECT ARE URGENTLY REQUESTED TO CONTACT ISK AT ONCE. SOURCE PROTECTION IS GUARANTEED.

The Appeal was launched on May 29th, 1961, by a group of lawyers, writers and publishers in London, where it set up a Central Office at 1, Mitre Court Buildings (Temple E. C. 4). Joint Directors are Eric Baker, formerly joint secretary of the New Delhi Quaker Centre and secretary of Britain's National Peace Council, and Peter Benenson, who founded the "Justice Group" in 1956. In the Board of Trustees of "Appeal for Amnesty 1961" there are a liberal, a Labour and a conservative MP and some clergymen of the main denominations. The Appeal's fortnightly "Amnesty" costs £ 1/1/- for 6 months. There was a successful conference in Paris on June 20th and national Appeal committees are being set up in various countries. The organisation's first move was one in favour of some democratic lawyers imprisoned in Salazar's semi-fascist Portugal. Adoption of single cases is also practised: a member of the CC of the "Democratic Party Kurdistan", jailed by Qassimists, is on this list. In the autumn, "Persecution 1961" will be published as a Penguin Pocket book. Says "Amnesty": "Our main adversary is not the totalitarian bully --- (but) the apathy of free people".

### ALGERIAN PATRIOT GETS BELGIAN PROTECTION

Mohamed ARBAOUI, an Algerian patriot, escaped prison in Avesnes (French Flanders) and tried to cross the Belgian state frontier. Caught by the Belgian "Rijkswacht" (State guard) on February 11th, 1960, Arboui applied for a refugee status 3 days later. Unfortunately, the Ministry of Justice in Brussels, on the 25th, refused to give the Algerian escapee that status. Arbaoui, however, who got good legal advice, asked the Belgian State Council to declare the Minister's decision nil and void as the latter had failed to consult the "Consultative Committee on Foreigners" as was prescribed in such cases by the Belgian State law on the Aliens Policy of March 28th, 1952. The State Council decided on June 29th, 1961, that Algerian patriot Arbaoui was right. In its decision the Council said: "Even a foreigner who has been ordered before to leave the country but subsequently asks for asylum, can certainly be in circumstances which make him a refugee". (PEV)

ON NEXT PAGE WE PUBLISH A LIST OF PARTICULARS ON FORTY KURDISH POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE TURKISH REPUBLIC.

Name	Profession	Age	Children	Birthplace	Domicile
Sevket Turan	Colonel	41	6	Midyat	Ankara
Selim Kiliçođlu	1st Lieutenant	36	4	Muş	Istanbul
Ziya Sereřhanođlu	Lawyer	40	4	Bitlis	Istanbul
Naci Kutlay	Med. Doctor	31	-	Kars	Ankara
Ali Karahan	Lawyer	38	2	Siverek	Ankara
Musa Anter	Journalist	42	3	Nusybin	Diyarbakir
Orfi Akkoyunlu	Factory-owner	40	-	Malatya	Istanbul
Asad Cemiloglu	Engineer	29	-	Diyarbakir	Diyarbakir
Mustafa Ramanli	Student	19	-	Batman	Ankara
Hasan Ulus	Businessman	51	4	Erzurum	Istanbul
Fezi Afşar	Med. Doctor	32	-	Kars	Istanbul
Seit Kirmizitoprak	Stud. of Medicine	28	-	Drzim	Istanbul
Goco Elbistanli	Med. Doctor	30	-	Sivas	Ankara
Mehmet Emin	Student of law	26	-	Mardip	Istanbul
Seit Elci	Tax-official	35	3	Bingöl	Istanbul
Abdullah Karahan	Engineer	40	-	Siverek	Urfa
Medet --- Serhat	Stud. of law	27	-	Agri	Istanbul
Ali Fuat	Stud. of law	27	-	Malatya	Istanbul
Abdulrahman Efehm ---	Journalist	--	-	Diyarbakir	(Diyarbakir) Istanbul
Canip --- Kadin	Barrister	39	2	Diyarbakir	Diyarbakir
Hüseyin Ulus	Businessman	45	4	Erzurum	Istanbul
Josef Cemiloglu	Army-officer	35	-	Diyarbakir	Ankara
Memet Alidiner	Stud. of law	27	-	-	Istanbul
Yusif Kacar	Officer	39	2	Erzurum	Ankara
Nejdet Ozenkaya	Stud. of law	27	-	-	Istanbul
Hasan Akus	Businessman	33	-	Malatya	Istanbul
Sabahtuđin --- Sephöđk	Army-officer	38	3	Erzurum	Erzicen
Seit Bingöl	Stud. of economics	28	-	Bingöl	Istanbul
Sitki Elbistanli	Stud. of law	26	-	Dersim	Ankara
Neceti Siyahkan	Stud. of medicine	27	-	Elzig	Ankara
Izzet Cemiloglu	Engineer	35	1	Diyarbakir	Diyarbakir
Yađar Kaya	Stud. of agriculture	29	-	Elzig	Istanbul
Faik Safas	Stud. of medicine	28	-	-	Ankara
Hayder Ansu	Barrister	33	-	Derzim	Istanbul
Ziya Acar	Stud. of law	26	-	Erzurum	Ankara
Fadil Burdak	Stud. of law	27	-	Magro	Ankara
Halil Demirel	Army-officer	34	2	Kars	Ankara
Ferit Bilen	Businessman	48	5	Diyarbakir	Istanbul
Mustafa Direkcigil	Med. Doctor	42	2	Diyarbakir	Diyarbakir
Nazmi Balkaç	Stud. of agriculture	27	-	Diyarbakir	Istanbul
Hüseyin Küçük	Stud. of medicine	26	-	Erzurum	Ankara
Mehmet Cigdem	Med. Doctor	39	1	Kars	Ankara
Fezi Kartal	Lawyer	33	-	Malatya	Ankara
Mehmet Eydemir	Stud. of medicine	29	-	-	Ankara
Cahit Yilderun	Lawyer	41	-	-	-
Emin Kotan	Stud. of electricity	--	-	-	-
Okay Karadag	Labourer	--	-	-	-
Muhsim Şenaten	Farmer	--	-	-	-
Turgut Ekin	Stud. of law	31	-	Diyarbakir	Ankara
Mehmet Ozer	Stud. of medicine	32	-	Elzir	Istanbul
Feyzullah Demirkas	Student	--	-	-	-
Gezmi Balkas	Stud. of agriculture	28	-	Diyarbakir	Ankara
Halıs Yakut	Stud. of engineering	--	-	-	-
Samet Balkas	Stud. of medicine	28	-	Diyarbakir	Ankara
Nuretin Yilnaz	Stud. of law	27	-	-	Ankara

# — ORIENTALISTICS —

## POLISH PIONEERS OF KURDOLOGY: CHODŹKO AND ŹABA

A comparison between the history of Poland and that of Kurdistan in the 19th century shows various parallels. Both countries were divided: Kurdistan between two, Poland amongst three enemy states: Prussia, Austria and Russia. Like in Kurdistan, there were several unfortunate national uprisings in Poland: 1830/31, 1846, 1848 and 1863. They resulted in thousands of victims and plunged the country into the fiercest terror.

It was in such a situation that at the university of Vilno (also: Wilna, Vilnius, KF), which was closed by the Russians in 1832 after the uprising, a number of Polish students founded a secret patriotic organisation, the "Filomats and Filarets". They had three great ideals: "Fatherland - Society - Science".

Many "Filomats and Filarets" were interested in Oriental studies, under the direction of such eminent professors as Grodecki, Levelel, Bobrowski and Münnich. Vilno University, founded in 1579 by the King of Poland and Hungary as an Academy, became a University in 1803, when Napoleon erected the so-called "Warsaw Principality". In the early 19th century, the university of Vilno was quite a lively cultural and scientific centre. Its students were romantics, patriots and democrats with all their heart. The great Polish national poet Adam Mickiewicz (1798-1855) was one of their leaders.

In 1823 the members of the underground organisation were arrested by the tsarist police. After a famous process the majority (i. e. the best of Polish youth) was sentenced - because of "widely spreading the unreasonable nationalism by means of science" - to compulsory settlement in Russia. A large part of them decided to go either Petersburg or Kazan (once a capital of Idel-Ural-Tatars, KF) to continue their oriental studies. Among them were Kowalewski, Chodźko, Mickiewicz, Wiernikowski, Pietrazeski. They all became famous Orientalists later on. In Petersburg, there already were Polish students from Vilno. They had come earlier to continue Oriental studies in the tsarist capital: Spitznagel, Zaba and Sekowski. Sekowski was already a professor of Arab philology. One student of each of the two groups mentioned, the early comers and the arrested ones, was to become known in the world as a great pioneer of Kurdology. Their names: Aleksander Chodźko and August Źaba.

Chodźko (1804-1891) was the secretary of the "Filomats and Filarets", a great fan of Byron, intimate friend of Mickiewicz and a talented poet himself. In 1821 he left the faculty of philology with a candidate degree and in Petersburg he attended the "Oriental Institute of the Asiatic Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs", studying Persian. After having completed his studies he was sent to Iran as a dragoman (interpreter, KF) of the Russian consulate in Gilan (Tebriz, Persian South-Azerbaijan) in 1830. Chodźko, who had already had his first literary products published in Poland and Russia, began to study such languages as Kurdish, Azerbaijani and Talysh in Gilan. (Talysh is an Iranian language spoken around the South-Western corner of the Caspian, by a people akin to the Tats or Caucasian mountain Jews, KF.) He also collected folksongs

and folktales. Chodźko's pioneering research resulted in a number of fundamental works still highly appreciated.

His "Etudes philologiques sur la langue Kurde/Dialecte de Soleimanié" was the first description of that important Sulaimaniyah-Kurdish now commonly called Sorani. It was published in the "Journal Asiatique" of Paris in 1857 (Series V, vol. IX, p. 297-356) in Persian characters, with a French transcription. Other works of Chodźko's in the field of Iranistics were: "Specimens of the popular poetry of Persia" (London, 1842), "Grammaire de la langue persane" (Leiden, Netherlands, 1883) and "Theatre Persan" (- etc., Paris, 1878). Apart from those he wrote seven other Orientalist works. In 1841 Chodźko refused to help in the pursuit of tsarist political refugees in Iran and consequently quit Russian service. He went to Paris where he joined Mickiewicz, who had already been there since 1832. They wrote several memoranda on West-Asian affairs for the French Government. Chodźko and Mickiewicz also published a progressive, revolutionary-democratic newspaper: "Tribune des Peuples". It stood for international unity and for the liberty of all oppressed nations. Mickiewicz and Chodźko helped to organise Polish military units (1855) in order to support their Western allies in the Crimean War (1853-56) against Russia. Chodźko also served his host-country scientifically during that war, by writing a Turkish glossary and phrase-book for the French expeditionary forces: "Le Dragoman Turc; donnant les mots et les phrases les plus nécessaires pour la conversation. Vademecum indispensable à l'armée d'Orient" (1854). (1)

Poland's second great pioneer in Kurdology, Aleksander Zaba (Jaba, 1801-1894), first studied in Vilno, then in Petrograd, where he finished his Oriental studies in 1824. Following this he was a dragoman and a Russian consul in Smyrna and Erzerum. He settled down in West-Asia for good and Oriental research became the passion of his life. Contrary to Chodźko who (successfully) tried a great variety of subjects, Zaba concentrated on Kurdish studies only. The first big Kurdish-French, French-Russian-Kurdish and Kurdish-French-Russian dictionaries (the MSS are still at the Leningrad Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences) were his work. So were the "Dialogues kurdes-françaises". Most important was Źaba's 249-page "Recueil de notices et récits kourdes servant à la connaissance de la langue, de la littérature et des tribus du Kourdistan, réunis et traduits en français" (St. Pétersbourg, Eggers, 1860). Źaba's large collection of Oriental books (with 260 MSS) was famous too. The Kurdish manuscripts in it have been described by M. B. Rudenko in "Trudy Gosudarstvennoye Publičnoy Biblioteki imeni Saltykov-Ščedrina" (Vol. II, Nr. V, Leningrad, 1957). On Źaba's "Recueil" professor Qanata Kurdo of Leningrad says (in the preface to his Kurdish-Russian dictionary of 1960): "For Kurdologists this summary till the present day represents a great interest from the point of view of studying history, ethnography and the language of the Kurds in Turkish Kurdistan". This was exactly one century after Źaba's "Recueil" appeared. Two years before Prof. Kurdo, his American fellow-Kurdologist Dr Ernest McCarus, in his (Sulaimaniyah-) "Kurdish Grammar" said in a footnote: "For a description of the earliest-known Kurdish texts, see Alexandre Jaba: "Recueil" ---". Źaba's Kurdish-French dictionary (cf. KF/6, p. 16) had 480



Alesander Chodźko, Polish patriot, poet, politician and scientist, pioneer of 19th-century Kurdology (contemporary drawing).

pages in all. (Auguste Jaba: "Dictionnaire kurde-francais, publie par ordre de l'Academie imperiale des sciences, par M. Ferdinand Justi. St. -Petersbourg, 1879.) According to prof. Kurdo (same intro) it "played a great part in the study of the Kurdish language and till the present day has not lost its importance for the study of Kurdish folklore texts and literature". Both Chodźko and Żaba were members of a people whose country was not marked on the political world-map of their time; there is really something very great and very remarkable for Poles in Żaba's and Chodźko's keen interest in another nation, oppressed like theirs: in Kurds, their culture and literature.

ANDRZEJ ZABORSKI (Kraków)

(1.) The Crimean War (which saw a certain Dr Karl Marx as a war correspondent for American and British papers in which he fiercely attacked "traditional Russian policy") gave birth to a linguistic study on Northern Kurds too. Kurdish prisoners-of-war from the Turkish Army, brought to a PoW-camp in Roslavl, south of Smolensk, were questioned there for scientific purposes by Peter Ivanovich Lerch (1827-1884). This Russian-born German in 1857/58 published his results in German: "Forschungen über die Kurden und die iranischen Nordchaldäer" (St. -Petersburg, Eggers). Volume I (102 pages) contained Kurmanji and Zaza texts with a German translation; Volume II a literary-historical introduction, discussing transcription systems for Kurdish pre-

viously used (80 pages) and a Kurdish-German glossary (30 pages) in Lerch's own transcription. A Russian version had appeared in 1856, when the Crimean War came to its end. In the same year Lerch wrote on his research project in "Mélanges Asiatiques" (p. 621-648). So a German served the Russian empire, Poles the French empire and Kurds the Turkish empire. This is just the kind of "internationalism" one would expect in the nineteenth century, that century of European imperialism overland and overseas.

EDITOR

## BOOKS

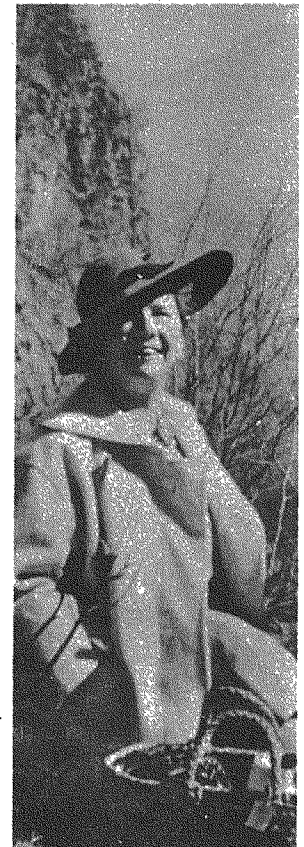
FREYA STARK'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY 1939-1946:

"DUST IN THE LION'S PAW" (Murray, London, 297 p., 25 sh.)

Globe-trotting Freya Stark (see cut) has been known since years as one of the most stirring writers on West-Asia. During the second world war she was attached to the British Ministry of Information and the Foreign Office. She speaks Arabic and some Persian and repeatedly dealt with Kurds in several of her previous books. In her foreword she says about the post-war situation: "The world is already largely relying on persuasion rather than war, and our danger in the vast corruption of words is increasing. --- In one form or another, conscious or unconscious, we have all become propagandists, integrity alone can keep us truthful."

After describing the work of her propaganda-organisation "Brotherhood of Freedom" in an Egypt under Rommel's shadow and in a pro-German Iraq, where the British Embassy was besieged; a mission to roll back North American wartime Zionism, and some assignments in India and Italy, she takes stock. The British propaganda-defeat in West-Asia is in her opinion due to two "infringements of its ("Persuasion's", KF) basic rules; one's own integrity in the first place - in this case a scale of values from which we swerved - and in the second place the neglect of DISINTERESTED (emphasis by Fr. St.) service to those with whom we speak - which, in the eyes of the Arabs, our policy with Israel destroyed. We therefore had no chance as soon as the war was over."

Between those two pleas for renewed British integrity there are the facts. Big ones and minor ones, practically none of them without significance for the historian of contemporary West-Asia, and all described in the typically British tradition: behaviouristically concrete, generally fair,



FREYA STARK



always good-tempered, with fine understatements now and then, and, incidentally, speaking frankly deep feelings instead of sentimentality.

Letters received and sent are quoted often, either in part or in full, numerous diary-entrances make up for another important part of the book. Here's one from a tea-party in Kurdish Sulaimaniyah:

"The dresses gave an Elizabethan effect and Miss Mirza altogether is Venetian Renaissance and might have walked out of the Doge's ceiling or with a gold and blue ribbon under her chin like Beatrice d'Este. The curve and shine of a raven's wing showed her hair under her turban."

Next page (156) she is dealing with politics in war-time Iraqi Kurdistan:

"The Kurds do nothing but ask to be taken over by Britain, and nothing is less likely for Britain to do. All one can say is that it is obviously a British wish that hill regions should be quiet and happy while the Caucasian front draws nearer; and that if the war comes, the Kurds will no doubt help in the fighting and improve their case. As one feels it to be an excellent case already, it is rather depressing."

After this there's a foot-note: "Iraq policy towards the Kurds improved greatly after the war". Miss Stark, full of praise for Nuri es-Said ("grand old man", etc.) and all against Qassim, would do well to hear some Kurds on both. One might guess she does know that freedom for Kurdistan would be the surest way to make "the hill regions quiet and happy". This is how Freya Stark describes their scenery:

"Three and a half hours from Kirkuk, eastward over the little hills, the flowers began: tufts of blue salvia, iris in the ditches, anemones red and presently white - lovely land, locked in snowy hills, rich in small clear streams, where the grape hyacinth lined the damper meadows. Everyone here rode with a gun; ---."

It was the British (and not only the British) policy of first giving freedom to Kurds and then taking it away from them that made Kurds (and the similarly treated Arabs) doubt that very "integrity" Miss Stark realises to be the only sound policy in the long run. "Dust in the Lion's Paw" is a book with a message, the message of facts. People who want to understand British "persuasion" policy in the area, both in its endeavour and in its failure will benefit as much from reading it as will travel- and adventure story-fans. There is a pretty good index and only a few persons dealt with appear under initials only. The others are given in present positions by footnotes. The illustrations are well-chosen. Like most British books, Freya Stark's latest is not very expensive either.

#### KURDOLOGIC PUBLICATIONS

Leningrad's professor Qanate Kurdo has just published an 80-page essay "Kurdskiy Jazyk" (Moscow, 1961, 30 kopeks), dealing with both Kurmanji and Sorani Kurdish. It will be reviewed in November, together with the first volume of Dr. Mackenzie's "Kurdish Dialect Studies". In London, Mr. C. J. Edmonds and Tewfiq Wahby are preparing a Kurdish dictionary. So there is progress in international Kurdology.

## LITERATURE

Last year, Soviet-Armenian Kurdish poet Mikaille Reşid published an anthology of his poems under the title "Dile min" (= "My heart") in Erevan. We publish one of Reşid's poems underneath, together with the French translation of it by Mr. Lucien Ram-bout. The latter is known to even superficial students of the Kurdish question because of his excellent 160-page book "Les Kurdes et le Droit", published by Editions du Cerf of Paris in 1947 in the "Rencontres" series. The poem given here in both versions reflects the conflict between old and new customs. It is a conflict which is not only in Kurdistan or in the Orient. May KF's literary editor take the opportunity and apologise for a serious error made in KF's previous issue? There (p. 26-27) Luke XIV 11-32 in Kurdish was followed by the English version of Luke XV 11-32, instead of that of the corresponding Bible part. When you have an English Bible at hand, you can easily look up the proper translation, however.

Evar Bu!

Evar bû, êvara hêniqbû,  
Evara h'öba min û te bû.  
Ji bîna köllikê biharê  
Serxweş bûm, dilxweş bûm, delalê.

Wî çaxî nehatî, nehatî,  
Û ez mam bi dilê p'er'itî,  
Gozela dilkevîr, bê îsaf,  
Te çima ez hiştîm bê silav?  
Te digot: Nav me da e'det e,  
Qîz naçe t'ö cara bal gede,  
Herkê çû, wê göndda rezîl be,  
Qîzêr'a nav göndda wê şerm be.

Evfntî kirîne bin e'det.  
Çi e'det, xezebe, köl û derd.  
Önda be ew e'det nav me da,  
Kö sûre ort'a dö dilada!

C'etait le soir

C'etait le soir, c'etait le soir frais,  
C'etait le soir de notre amour a nous deux.  
Du parfum des fleurs printanieres  
J'etais enivre, j'etais heureux, o bien-aimee.  
Et alors tu n'es pas venue, tu n'es pas venue.  
Et je suis reste avec mon coeur tourmente,  
O Belle-au-coeur-de-pierre, o inconsciente,  
Pourquoi m'as-tu laisse sans me saluer?  
Tu disais: Chez nous, il y a la coutume.  
Une fille ne va jamais chez un jeune homme.  
Quiconque irait serait meprisee dans le village.  
Pour la fille, dans le village, ce serait une honte!

Le fait d'aimer est soumis a la coutume.  
Quelle coutume? c'est le malheur, la souffrance, le chagrin.  
A bas cette coutume de chez nous  
Qui est un mur entre deux coeurs.

# honing CARTONNAGE

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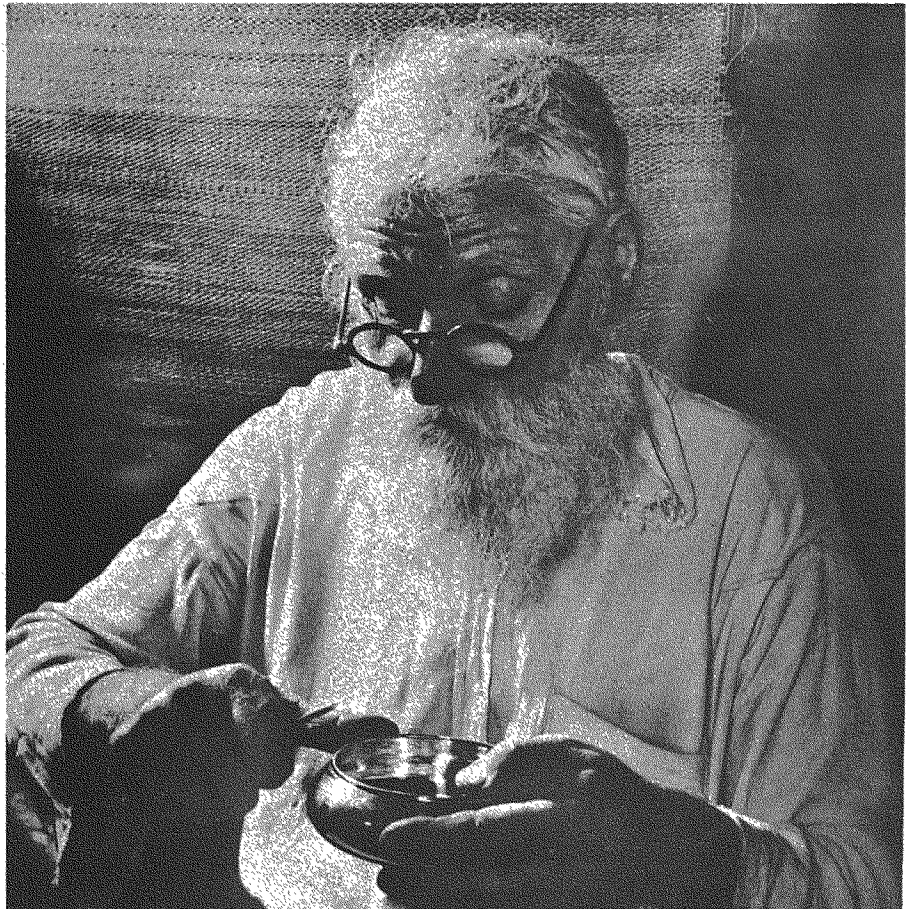
**honing**

Prinsengracht 238  
Amsterdam  
the Netherlands



25 FEB 1962  
(per Bechtus)

# KURDISH FACTS AND WEST-ASIAN AFFAIRS



Like Damascene blades Kurdish silverware is famous all over West-Asia. Photo shows aged Kurdish artist at work in Iraq.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN

کۆمپانی کوردستان

REKXRAWÎ ÇIHANÎ KURDISTAN

சர்வதேச சமீதி குர்திசுத்தான

PERHIMPUNAN INTERNASIONAL KURDISTAN

SOCIEDAD INTERNACIONAL KURDISTAN

MIEDZY Narodowe Towarzystwo dla spraw Kurdyستان

國際聯合會顧依斯坦

SOCIETE INTERNATIONALE KURDISTAN

لاره بين الملل كورستان

KURDISTAN MİLLETTERARASI KURUMU

국제협회 '쿨디스탄'

SOCIETÀ INTERNAZIONALE KURDISTAN

Διεθνής Κοινωνία Κουρδιστών

МЕЖНАРОДНОЕ ОБЩЕСТВО КУРДИСТАНА

SOCIEDADE INTERNACIONAL KURDISTAN

INTERNATIONAL GENOOTSCHAP KOERDISTAN

INTERNATIONALE GESELLSCHAFT KURDISTAN

INTERNATIONALA FÖRENINGEN KURDISTAN

クニナスラ 國際協會

## INTRODUCING A NATION

**KURDS:** Indogermanic (Iranian) nation in West-Asia; some 2,500 years old. Its coherent ethnic area (Kurdistan) borders that of Turks in the West, Armenians & Azerbaijani in the North, Persians in the East, Arabs in the South. Of ± 12 million Kurds, 6 live in Turkish Republic, 3½ in Iran, 1,8 in Iraq, 0,4 in Syria. Small Kurdish enclaves in neighbour-countries: Turkistan, Baluchistan. Culture: oldest K. lit.doc. dates from 834 A. D. Kurmanji dialects, spoken by 60,9% of K. resp.; Arab & Latin characters compete for nation-wide use. Religion: Sunnite Moslems; small Christian, Yezidi & other minorities. Politics: In spite of long K. record against foreign oppression, assimilation, most K. are still deprived of basic rights. Tribal-feudal traditions are giving way to modern, progressive forces, seeking self-emancipation along democratic lines.

## A COUNTRY

**KURDISTAN:** divided, mountainous country of ± 500,000 km<sup>2</sup> in heart of West-Asia. Principal cities: Bitlis, Van, Diarbekir, Erbil, Sulaimaniyah, Kirkuk, Mehabad. Economics: Mountain peasantry (some seasonal nomadism), tobacco, handicrafts, a beginning industry.

## AN INTERNATIONAL

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN (ISK), founded 1. VII. 1960 in the Netherlands, is a non-party, democratic world-wide action group. Aims: Collecting & spreading facts about Kurdistan; aiding Kurdish nation in its struggle for emancipation; promoting friendly relations between Kurds, their neighbours & all other nations. President: Silvio E. van Rooy.

## A PAPER

**KURDISH FACTS AND WEST-ASIAN AFFAIRS (KF)** is the world's only paper about Kurds & Kurdistan. Remit 22 sh., 12 DM or equivalent to "Intern. Society Kurdistan" (account-nr. 23686, Twentsche Bank, Amsterdam) for 12 months KF. Airmail is charged extra. Adv. -rates on request. ISK & KF's address: Da Costastraat 25/I, Amsterdam-W.

# IN - mail - OUT

## LACKING INTERNATIONAL LAW ON NON-DOMINANT LANGUAGES

"I was --- struck by --- the stirring history and critical present situation of the Kurds. Some remarks you made may well be applied to the situation of the West-European linguistic minorities, which have my foremost attention. So for instance your remark about the inadequate understanding of the Western press (and of the Western man in general) for the "motives behind". Since long I have the impression that people simply do not know what to do with "minorities"; characteristically in this respect is the fact that something as elementary as the right to one's own language is acknowledged explicitly neither in the Rights of Man nor in international law." (F. N., editorial secretary of "Ons Erfdeel", Raamsdonk, Netherlands)

## COMMUNIST RADIO AND QASSIMS COLONIAL WAR AGAINST KURDS

"Jerevan radio and German Democratic Republic / radio / and Bizim radio said practically nothing about the uprising." (W. R., Kurd, Vienna)

## Dictators to go

"The news of Syria is most interesting and good also. Kassem will finish as dictator and so will Nasser."

(I. C., Kurd, Lausanne)

## KF/8: COVER ON TURKEY'S KURDS

"It is strange to read that they have no education, no medical help and live in poverty. Let them come here and they'll have everything that any man can have: a good house, with radio, TV-set, refrigerator and so on."

(T. O., Russian girl student, Ashkabad, Turkmen SSR)

KF thinks it is better to help Kurds to improve conditions in their own country (Kurdistan) than sending all the 12 million Kurds to Soviet-Turkmenistan asking for the assets our Russian reader kindly offers them. With a joined international effort

backing them, Kurds will be able one day to shape their own future, like other nations.

## SUSPICION (I)

"About your Kurdish activities I am as suspicious as I was before. --- I never read something negative or critical in KF about the Communist Party or the Soviet Union. --- That you find such suspicion neither in the Anglo-Saxon countries nor in Austria nor in France is not important ---."

(J. E., teacher, Oldenburg, GFR)

KF: Why not read Yugoslav and Albanian press (Western voices being unimportant to you) for criticism of USSR? In finding ISK and KF "suspect" you are in high society: SHAH, GUERSEL, NASSER; QASSIM. Some people (not ISK) even think German activities for self-decision "suspect". It just depends.

## SUSPICION (II)

"When you can answer my question why instead of K(urdish) F(acts) not H(uman) F(acts) and why not all those other matters are mentioned too, like Algeria, Angola, the South of the USA, anti-Semitism, South-Africa etc. then you are welcome; but when you do not know an answer to this I'll believe 'The Times' and in secret help from abroad to the Kurdish revolt and in interests in North-Iraq and then, alas, I'll have to consider you one of those idealistic little money-wolves."

(J. M., graphic designer, Amsterdam)

KF: you are invited to take over the debts ISK made on behalf of oppressed Kurdistan. Then you can judge for yourself how it feels to be an "idealistic little money-wolf".

## SUGGESTIONS:

"Couldn't you --- under "Introducing" always print the map (of Kurdistan, KF) perhaps in a small size? It might please many readers who are less familiar with the geographic conditions. Apart from that: what about extending the "Letters to the Editor"-rubric? Readers could get acquainted with one another this way. But I do



realise that printing costs have to be kept as low as is possible. "

(A. F. , Goethe -Inst. , Bad Reichenhall, Germany)

THE EDITOR received similar suggestions before. We are going to print the mail choice in a smaller type and publish an ethnical map of all West-Asia over the rubric dealing with the area's affairs.

#### WISHFUL THINKING OF CAIRO INFORMATION SERVICES

On October 1st, a Beyrouth ISK member living not far from the UAREmbassy there, reported to KF as follows: "At two o'clock Radio Cairo said Beyrouth faced the biggest manifestation of its history yesterday, in NASSER's favour of course.. I had gone down into the city, in its very centre between 10 o'clock and noon and the city was as quiet as could be. This afternoon I saw three small autobuses filled with street-boys of 15-16 years of age who shouted before the Embassy of the UAR ---. It is very meager. The same radio announced riots in Aleppo. If they are as important

as the demonstrations in Beyrouth, one can be reassured. But Aleppo --- where lives a very strong Christian minority and thousands of Armenians is the last place NASSER could hope to get support from. He is hated there very cordially. "

(Similar phantasies about alleged sympathy for NASSER among Syrian Kurds were reported by Cairo's "Akher Saa", see KF/8.)

DEAR READER:

Unlike some big and small papers we could mention, KURDISH FACTS takes its readers as serious as it does the issue our periodical stands for. Each time when a number of KF is safely at the Amsterdam GPO, those who made it sit down together. Criticism and self-criticism is then given air to. The readers' letters with advice, fault-findings, new ideas and comment are studied carefully. The aim of this periodical conference is to improve KF as much and as fast as possible.

During the past weeks, several readers said KF appeared a bit irregularly. Some used stronger language, though all in a spirit of comradeship. There is no doubt that these readers are right. But the thing is that KF each time has to make the impossible come true. Never forget that we cannot afford to employ a team of full-timers, that ISK works on the basis of still highly insufficient, mostly occasional private gifts. Our number of subscribers could be far bigger if we could invest something in self-advertising. And - of course - if every KF reader would win us a paying new one.

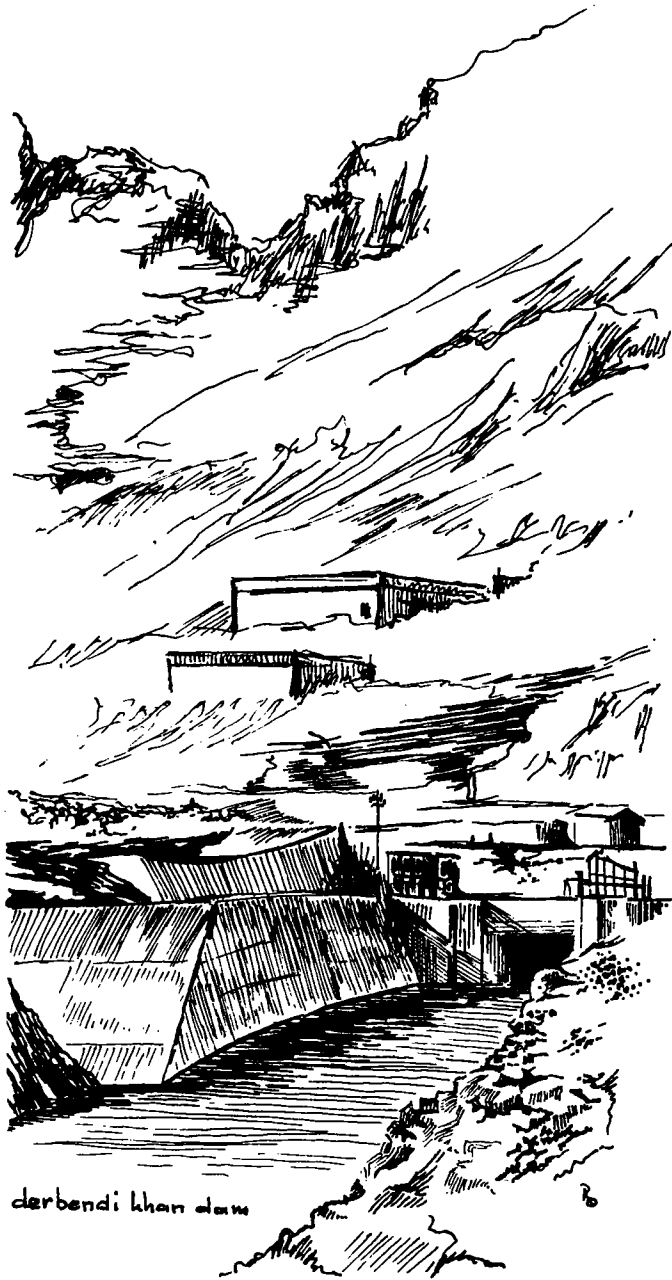
KURDISH FACTS cannot be taken for granted unless all people who like to read it help us to meet with this wish. That is an easy sum to do. You all know there are certain people who are eagerly waiting for the moment this paper disappears from the scene. Whether you prefer to help those people or to help ISK and Kurds we leave entirely to you. We have made up our minds on the point. And so have those who put trust in us.

THE EDITOR

# THE KURDOSCOPE

- SYRIAN KURDISTAN:** Position of Kurds under new regime still unclear / Some other minorities discriminated / SARRAJ's terror-police which hunted Kurds and others was built up by Nazi-German advisers from Cairo / Khaled BAKHDASH expelled again.
- IRAQI KURDISTAN:** Fiercest terror rules / QASSIM flown to Derbendi KHAN Dam / 270 places bombed now / Herds mitrailised to cause famine in winter / BARZANI inspected his 3 partisan armies / Fighting continues / Trial to open / Collaborator killed / Kurdish mass desertions from Iraqi Army and Police.
- TURKISH KURDISTAN:** Continued Presidency for GUERSEL and renewed Premiership for INONU (both active Kurdophobes) spelling ill / Process against 49 Kurdish patriots reopened in Ankara.
- PERSIAN KURDISTAN:** Resistance in East-Kurdistan, South-Azerbaijan and other parts of the Persian empire increased after SHAH's return from France.
- GENERAL:** "Democratic Party Kurdistan" asks KSSE and ISK to keep on informing the world re Kurdish struggle / Praises work done so far / New "Committee for the Defence of Kurdish Rights" formed by intellectuals / CoSec/ISC approaches Kurdish students in Europe / Protests-wave against QASSIM's genocide policy / UNO-Secretary-General U THANT contacted twice.

# INSIDE KURDISTAN



derbendi khan dam

## CAME THE KILLER: QASSIM OPENED UNFINISHED DERBENDI KHAN DAM

Resistance in Iraqi Kurdistan continuing, Leader QASSIM needed showing the world that it was not. For this reason he decided to inaugurate the Derbendi-Khan-Dam, in the Sulaimaniyah-Liwah. Being unable to pose as a triumphator in a "pacified" country, QASSIM went to the spot by plane on 23.XI.1961, exactly 2 months after his notorious press conference in Baghdad (see KF/9-10, p.10), held 4 days after the Dam's seizure by

BARZANI's Kurdish Liberation Forces had been reported (see KF/9-10, p.9).

The Dam, a 26 million Pound project, was far from ready. Building had started in the Nuri-Es-SAID-period, for the Government of Iraqi Development Board. German, American and English companies were taking part: J.A.Jones Construction Co., Chash. H. Tompkins & Co., Tecon Construction Co., Beton- & Monierbau AG and Friedrich Krupp/Dortmunder Union. Flood prevention and irrigating the Liwah of Sulaimaniyah - the Dam's main purposes - were both badly needed, but QASSIM's colonial war held back progress. Now again, the Dam Project was used for the Leader's self-confirmation. After having been flown in (heavily guarded) QASSIM played the old tune, speaking of "peasants, the poor and the frail and those misguided into joining the rash northern insurrection which imperialism guided". They were promised pardoning and process at the same time. Using pluralis majestatis, the Republican Leader added: "We will be more inclined to pardon if they (the Kurds, KF) prove their loyalty".

The very word "Kurds" QASSIM carefully omitted. His few Kurdish listeners did not seem to be impressed. Nor did the British, Kuwait or IPC, which were also threatened with radical steps in the very near future.

## PROPAGANDA ASSISTANCE TO QASSIM IN N. Y. HERALD TRIBUNE

When QASSIM spoke at the Derbendi Khan Dam, the Baghdad correspondent of the "New York Herald Tribune", Mr. H. A. R. PHILBY, cabled these similar to those of the Lonesome Leader to his paper in America. He claimed that BARZANI "according to some reports" was "making his way back to the Soviet Union" and that the "rebels" had "enjoyed the support of the Communists inside Iraq" and "the cautiously expressed sympathy of the Communist bloc". Where, when and by whom it was "expressed", PHILBY failed to report. He was also silent about QASSIM's speech on the same day. How little PHILBY (man-on-the-spot-in-Iraq) really knew about QASSIM's colonial war in South Kurdistan, he confessed by stating that "the details of the outbreak and the course of the fighting are hopelessly obscure". His paper, which has been receiving this one for months, could know, however. PHILBY closed his article (NYHT 24.XI.1961) by doubting "the Russians --- to risk the lasting breach with Gen.Kassem --- massive support for the Kurds would almost certainly cause". This indicated that he was better informed on the alleged foreign support for BARZANI than he liked to confess.

The same applies to Kurdish resistance as such. Whereas PHILBY's article was headlined "Kurdish Revolt Is Suppressed", it stated: "the latest reports suggest that, although the fire has been subdued, the embers have been scattered rather than stamped out".



## BARZANI'S KURDISH ARMY-GROUPS AND THEIR COMMANDERS

Mullah Mustafa BARZANI, of whom the abovementioned "Herald Tribune"-article said that he was "in hiding", inspected his Kurdish National Liberation Forces in all Iraqi Kurdistan in October, in spite of numerous QASSIMist Arab occupation troops. This was reported by Kurdish sources in Paris early in November. The same month ISK's news-staff learnt the location of BARZANI's partisan armies in South Kurdistan, which is as follows: In the Sulaiman-Liwah area there is an army led by Djalal TALABANI, CC-member of the "Democratic Party Kurdistan" who visited Europe some time ago (cf. KF/7, p. 4). In the Mosul-Liwah another army is operating under the command of Ibrahim AHMED (see KF/4, p. 4 and KF/5, cover and p. 4), the DPK Party-Secretary. Finally, there is a Kurdish army in the Erbil-Rawenduz-area, led by Omar DABABA. The latter word (= tank) is the name Omar got when he was still a student at Baghdad Law College under Nuri ES-SAID. His extraordinary power made it possible for him (and some of his fellow-Kurdish students) to escape after being arrested by Nuri's men. Omar's biceps are legendary in South-Kurdistan, a country where Kurdish coolies can lift and carry weights up till 400 kgs. A Kurdish source in Europe which is no supporter at all of DPK stated that the fact that the Kurdish Liberation Forces in Iraq are extremely well-trained and led with military skill greatly contributed to QASSIM's belief that British advisers were behind it all. It may be added that it is often forgotten that BARZANI has not only long military experience - especially in partisan warfare - but also got a thorough military training when he stayed in Soviet exile. As is known, he was made a honorary general of the Soviet Army. This is a rank seldom given to foreigners. BARZANI's immense personal prestige among Kurds further contributed to turning former tribal fighters into modern, disciplined soldiers, operating with as little human losses as possible. The main victims of QASSIM's Arab forces are the Kurdish civilians, which are bombed and starved. Opponents of the DPK believe Kurdish peasants may turn against it when the winter is causing the utmost of misery, but such an attitude is thought most improbable by recent returners from South-Kurdistan. QASSIM's rocket bombs are showing Kurds every day at which side they have to stand, a choice shared by a growing number of people abroad.

## FIERCEST TERROR RULING IN IRAQI KURDISTAN

Repeated defeat of QASSIM's ground forces seems to be the main reason for his continued bombing of Kurdish cities and villages. Mid-November it was reported from private Kurdish sources that some 270 places had been more or less destroyed

by Qassim's Soviet MIG and ILYUSHIN planes. Several cases of systematically mitraillising civilians and herds were also given. The latter aims at causing an all-out famine now winter has come. Sheep-herds are a vital means of living in Iraqi Kurdistan, providing both food and clothing. Observers agree that the terror methods used will hardly bring Southern Kurds to their heels. Partisan warfare also continued during November. From Arab Mesopotamia it is reported that in spite of reluctance against Kurds, QASSIM's merciless bombing finds much criticism. Apart from that there is mourning in many families who lost sons by BARZANI's marksmen's bullets. The war QASSIM wages against his own citizens in "peace"-time is disapproved of. Most Arabs are aware of the fact that Kurds - in spite of everything that happened - still have brotherly feelings towards them. They also know that BARZANI has been the main advocate of a Kurdish-Arab alliance against reaction and imperialism ever since, as many documents prove.



## KURDISH DRESS FORBIDDEN IN ERBIL MUNICIPAL SERVANTS

Officials of the Erbil City have been forbidden in October to wear Kurdish dress. They have to wear Arab or Western clothing instead. Especially elder City servants will have to quit their jobs, having been accustomed to Kurdish dress only all their lives. A previous attempt of the Erbil police chief to make Arab dress compulsory for

all policemen had to be cancelled because of open resistance.

## KURDISH COLLABORATOR KILLED: ANTI-BARZANI COMBINATION SMASHED

Among the few Kurdish tribal and sub-tribal chieftains in QASSIM's pay was the chief of the Hamavand clan. Reportedly,

he was killed early in October at 14 h. in the main street of Sulaimaniyah. Similar acts are reported from Mosul and other places in Iraqi Kurdistan. The petty coalition of Kurds vainly set up by QASSIM to oust the Kurdish national movement in Northern Iraq reportedly consisted of the following tribes: Zibar, Herkis, Lolans, Hamavands and parts of the Khoshnaws. The first three having been described before in KF, it may only be added here that Khoshnaws live near Erbil and the Shaqlawa hill station; Hamavands on both sides of the Iraqi-Iranian state border. The anti-BARZANI-combination is now completely smashed. Its survivors reportedly handed over to DPK-men the arms they had received from Baghdad to fight their fellow-Kurds.

#### MASS DESERTIONS OF KURDS FROM IRAQI ARMY & POLICE

During the past months, QASSIM's much-boasted Iraqi Army has lost thousands of men and arms by desertions of Kurds. Most Kurdish officers, soldiers and policemen manage to get out of Arab Mesopotamia and join BARZANI's Kurdish National Liberation Forces in the North. A case story illustrating this trek is that of the police-station of Rabiha at the Iraqi border. Of the 40 Kurds employed there 39 had left in September. The one who remained was just too old to fight.

#### KURDISH FORCES KEEP QASSIMIST PRISONERS IN THE MOUNTAINS

Many members of the repeatedly-defeated QASSIMist ground forces have been taken prisoner-of-war into the South-Kurdish mountains. Notorious anti-Kurds were also arrested by BARZANI's men. Between Erbil and Shaqlawa armed Kurds captured QASSIM's former police-chief in Erbil, known for his part in the anti-Kurdish policy of the Town major.

#### DEMOCRATIC PARTY KURDISTAN SUPPORTS I. S. K.

An interesting proof of the functioning of BARZANI's "Democratic Party Kurdistan" in war-ridden Northern Iraq came in last month. In a letter via Berlin, the Party declared its support of "International Society Kurdistan". It thanked ISK for the work done for the Kurdish Nation so far and asked for its continuation. KSSE got a similar request. Already on 19. II. 1961, the Party's daily newspaper in Arabic, "Xebat" (suppressed by QASSIM one month later) carried an illustrated front-page story on ISK. Other Kurdish papers in Iraq followed suit. In Münster, a Kurdish student from Turkey told ISK that - when visiting Iraqi Kurdistan - he had heard about ISK's work at three different places there, "Kurdish Facts", banned by QASSIM months ago, still continues to reach Southern and other parts of Kurdistan, thanks to ISK's West-Asian network and to Kurdish experience in underground technics.

#### PROCESS AGAINST 49 KURDISH LEADERS RE-OPENED IN TURKEY

As was reported in the Turkish press early in November, the

process against the 49 Kurdish leaders reopened in Ankara. The Kurdish patriots had been released on caution last January, but were re-arrested in spring. Names were given previously in KF.

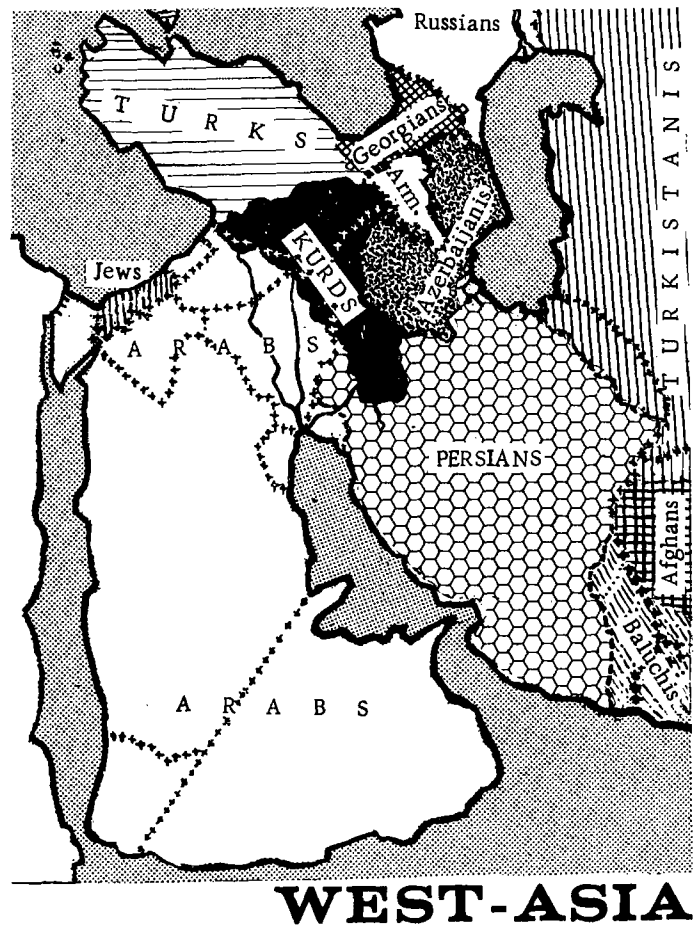
#### ABOLISHMENT OF EXPULSION LAW URGED IN NEW ASSEMBLY

Talat Oguz, representative for Mardin (Turkish-Kurdistan) in the new National Assembly, vainly urged abolishment of the Kemalistic expulsion law (against Kurds) which was renewed by the Gürsel authorities October 1960. (Cf. KF/xx, p. xx.)

#### PERSIAN KURDISTAN:

#### HIGHEST ILLITERACY RATE OF ALL IRAN

According to 1956 statistics, Persian Kurdistan (and Seistan) have the highest illiteracy rates of all Iranian territory. In all Iran, nearly 15% of the population can read and write (Teheran 33%, Kurdistan 7%). For males the corresponding ciphers are: 22, 43 & 12%, for females: 7, 22 & 2% respectively. In view of the PAHLEVI-regime, educational conditions may not have changed much since the 1956 survey. The latter deals with Iranian citizens over 9 years old. During the short-lived "Mehabad Republic" (and other Kurdish experiments to get autonomy within Iran) immediate efforts were made to beat illiteracy, but they have all been crushed by Pahlevi troops. Even Kurdish printing presses were destroyed (1946).



# WEST-ASIAN AFFAIRS



YOUNG AZERBAIJANIS AT WORK: Left: Factory girl in Baku, capital of Soviet (North-)Azerbaijan; right: peasant girl in Persian (South-)Azerbaijan

## KF TO REPORT ON ALL WEST-ASIA NOW: RUBRIC'S SCOPE WIDENED

Some time ago, all Soviet geographers decided to consider the Urals as still belonging to Europe and the Caucasus range as lying in Asia. KF thinks this a sound suggestion and gladly takes it up. Consequently, South-Caucasian countries like Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan will be covered as entities irrespective of which part (Turkish, Persian or Soviet) is concerned. Similarly, not only Syrian, and Mesopotamian Arabs but all Eastern Arabs will be dealt with in this rubric, which will then answer its name properly.

Like Pandit NEHRU and the Antiquities Department of the British Museum, KF prefers the term "West-Asia" to the still familiar, but vague, Europe-centred ones like "Near East" or "Middle East". The map of West-Asia on p. 6. will be printed over this rubric in future, showing (approximately) both state and ethnic boundaries.

## AMERICAN SCEPTICISM ABOUT CENTO-PACT

Turkey and Iran, West-Asia's CENTO-states, vainly tried to get firm military promises from the USA in Washington. After CENTO's first Military Committee-conference held on 7. XI. 1961, Warren ROGERS gave sceptic comment in next day's "New York Herald Tribune". He said CENTO had "never been

a truly workable military alliance" --- "because the primary threat in the Middle East is not military but political".

Reporting on the document which Tass (the Soviet news agency) produced on 18. VIII. 1961 about CENTO-plans to "atomise" parts of Iran and Pakistan (not: Turkey) in case of emergency, the September "Bulletin of the World Peace Council" published a map of CENTO's military bases. CENTO-powers claim the Tass-document is faked. The WPC-map shows 4 CENTO-bases in Kurdistan: Erzerum, Dyarbekir, Kermanshah and Dizful. Launching sites for rockets appear in West-Pakistan only, in Turkey all bases indicated are airfields. Those mapped in Iran are vaguely listed as "other military establishments".

## A R A B S

### NAZIS BUILT UP NASSER'S POLICE REGIME IN SYRIA

German Nazis were instrumental in building up secret police services in Egypt and Syria. On 13. IX. 1961, SARRAJ's key-man George FISHER went to the Damascus GPO to fetch a parcel. Its explosion caused him 3rd-degree burns on face and hands. 15 days later, when the Syrian officers putshed, FISHER was one of the first arrested. FISHER was the post-war pseudo of Alois BRUENNER, once of HIMMLER's "Reichssicherheits-

hauptamt", and an SS-Obersturmbannführer. During World-War II, he reportedly helped Adolf EICHMANN (now on trial in Israel) to liquidate Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe. FISHER-BRUENNER was sent to Syria from Cairo in the spring of 1958, shortly after the UAR was formed. His "Polizeiberatergruppe" helped to recruit a network of 5600 agents for SARRAJ. In Damascus alone it had 18 secret centres. Torturing often occurred, Kurds being among the victims. The real bosses were in Cairo: NASSER's intelligence chief Bourhan ADAM and secret police chief Mohammed STAMBOULI, who got his orders from Marshall AMER (now said to be out of NASSER's favour). SARRAJ and FISHER-BRUENNER will be tried together, the KOUZBARI government announced on 2. XI. 1961.

OTHER CAIRO-NAZI LINKS: AFRO-ASIAN COUNCIL INVOLVED

NASSER's Nazi advisers had been dealt with repeatedly in the Jewish and Western press since the late 50-ies, though not

always with exact details. One of NASSER's propaganda brains was Johann VON LEERS, a Nazi professor who fled to the Argentine in 1945. He was active in the Nazi emigre monthly "Der Weg" of Buenos Aires. VON LEERS wrote an anti-Jewish photo-book "Juden sehen Dich an" before 1933, after left-wingers published "Tiere sehen Dich an", a picture book dealing with Germany's defeated army leaders. NASSER is still popular among Germany's (few) neo-Nazis. One of their VIPs, Herr Karl-Heinz PRIESTER of Wiesbaden († 1960) got the exclusive German-language publication rights for all documents of the "Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Council", an organisation often called 'communist' in the West. In 1959, PRIESTER published documents of the Cairo AAPSC-Conference of 26. XII. 1957-1. I. 1958. Yousef SEBAI, the Egyptian who authorised him to do so, is still AAPSC-Secretary General. He is related to, not identical with the Egyptian star-novelist of the same name.

Cable Address : AFROASIACO CAIRO  
Telephone : 25147 -- 26140

**SECRETARIAT**  
AFRO-ASIAN PEOPLES CONFERENCE  
89, Abdel-Aziz Al Saoud  
Manial El-Roda

Secretary-General : Yousef El Sebai

المنوان الخلفراق : ( افرواسيا.كو ) القاهرة  
تليفون : ٢٦١٤٠ - ٢٥١٤٧

السكرتارية العامة  
لمؤتمر الشعوب الآسيوية الأفريقية  
٨٩ شارع عبد العزيز آل سعود بمنايل الروضة  
السكرتير العام : يوسف السباي

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

The Permanent Secretariat of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity, hereby, gives permission to Mr. KARLHEINZ PRIESTER to publish all documents of the Secretariat in Germany.

*Yousef Sebai*

SECRETARY-GENERAL

Document above shows cooperation between NASSER-dominated AAPSC and German neo-Nazis

A TALE OF TWO CITIES:  
KHALED BAKHDASH OVER WEST-ASIA,  
THE FELLOW-TRAVELLERS WERE PARTY-MEMBERS

As one of the first countries, the Soviet Union officially recognised the new Syrian regime on 7. X. 1961. On the same

day there was a declaration of the outlawed Syrian Communist Party. Its exiled leader, the Arabised Kurd Khaled BAKHDASH, hailed the KUZBARI Government, hoping for freedom to return. But Syria's new Army Chief, Major-General ZAHREDDIN promptly promised he would hang BAKHDASH if he did. Secretary-general BAKHDASH addressed the Moscow Party Congress, then stayed for some weeks after for talks. On 18. XI. 1961 he flew to Prague and boarded a Czech plane for Syria. On the

19th it landed at Damascus airport and Syrian security officials checking the passports recognised BAKHDASH. They sent him back to the plane and so did QASSIM's men in Baghdad, the next stop. BAKHDASH and his 4 fellow-travellers had to spend Sunday-night in the aircraft, before (20. XI. 1961) it flew back to Prague. The 2 Communist papers in Beyrouth which had announced BAKHDASH's participation in the 1. XII. 1961 elections in Syria had reported a bit prematurely. Politically speaking, there have been no "happy landings" for the CP-leader. At home, most of his men arrested under the UAR-regime (which sentenced BAKHDASH to death in absentia) are still kept in prison.

#### SYRIA'S EARLY "AREF-CASE" / MINORITIES AND THE ELECTIONS

Syrian Christians were not allowed to have election-candidate lists of their own. They had to have common ones with Moslem candidates. Biggest Christian group in Syria is the Armenian national minority. The Jewish national minority was not allowed to vote at all. (Arabs in Israel are, the majority of the Israel Communist Party is Arabian.) There was no Kurdish list either. But among the permitted lists there were some favoured by Syria's 400,000 Kurds in the North. Some Kurds arrested under the UAR-police-regime of SARRAJ, now in prison himself, are still kept in custody. Newcomer in Mezza-prison near Damascus is Colonel Haydar KOUZBARI, relative of the Prime Minister and co-engineer of the 28. IX. 1961-coup.

#### AMNESTY IN IRAQ - BUT NOT FOR KURDS

In order to quiet down growing dissatisfaction among the Arab majority of the country, QASSIM has ordered to free "all political prisoners". This was announced by his Military Police Chief General EL-JADDA during a press conference in Baghdad on 25. X. 1961. Among those released was Rashid EL-GAILANI, Prime Minister of a short-lived, pro-German revolutionary Iraqi Government in May 1941 and later on an emigre in Nazi war-time Germany. EL-GAILANI was married to a pretty German blonde. For Kurds there was, however, no amnesty at all. The DPK was forbidden on formal grounds (because it "failed" to hold its periodical annual congress). Trials against captured Kurds were announced but did not take place so far.

#### AREF'S RELEASE FROM PRISON MARKS NEW PHASE OF QASSIMISM

More spectacular than the release of Rashid EL-GAILANI was that of Colonel Abdul Salam AREF (40), first Vice-Premier and Minister of the Interior in the Iraqi Republic (25. XI. 1961). He (not QASSIM) had been the chief engineer of the 14. VII. 1958-coup. When Iraqis shouted "Gamal Abdel NASSER, we are your soldiers!", the West landed troops in Jordan (17. VII. 1958) and Lebanon. The reason: It feared a second Baghdad" - allegedly directed by Egypt and even Moscow. Panarabist AREF hurried to Damascus to see NASSER. But in spite of the revolutionary Pan-Arab mood that summer, Gamal Abdel announced on 22. VII. 1958 that he was in no hurry to get Iraq into his barely 6 months old UAR. Back in Baghdad, AREF

boasted his friendship with NASSER. There were leaflets showing both men smiling on the cover. But QASSIM, backed by Arab democrats, Communists and Kurds, soon ousted AREF. As the latter was very popular among the Army, soldiers' pay was raised first. Then AREF was arrested, stripped of his rank and sentenced to death. But the sentence by Colonel MAHDAWI, then President of the Military Court, was not carried out (neither were several other death-sentences). AREF was sent to prison for life. His newspaper "Al Jumhuriya" was suppressed. The "second Leader of the Revolution" now being out, QASSIM had himself called "The Sole Leader" (sometimes even "The Greatest Leader of the World"). Releasing AREF, the Lonesome Leader hopes to woo the (still strong) forces of (pan-) Arab nationalism in Iraq. In Baghdad Baathists and Communists are fighting to clear their respective stronghold quarters of each others' adherents. Communists, Arab democrats and Kurds being hunted, no other important groups were left for QASSIM to win over anew. Even some NASSER-QASSIM-deal is not fully impossible now, after both dictators suffered a heavy blow (NASSER in Syria, QASSIM in South-Kurdistan). It would spell ill for Kurdish and Arab democrats.

#### WEST-ASIAN COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERS FOLLOW KHRUSHCHOV

Contrary to CP-leaders from East-Asia, those of West-Asia (and Africa) followed KHRUSHCHOV's (not China's) line at the 22nd Soviet Party Congress in Moscow. Albania, the only predominantly Islamic country in Europe, and tiniest people's Democracy, has no influence whatsoever on West-Asian CP-chiefs. Titoism too seems to be on the return in the area, especially after the UAR's breakdown in Syria. It has been reported trustworthily from several quarters that NASSER's energetic nationalisation measures since the UAR's end are inspired by TITO. The latter is said to be very disappointed that he lost his main bridgehead into West-Asia: Syria. "National Communism", however, is still given a chance in the area by Western political analysts "Racist"-inspired Western speculations about a growing Soviet-Chinese rift also continue, often combined with forecasts about an automatic "liberalisation of Russia".

#### ARAB VOICE FOR FEDERALISM SILENCED IN EGYPT

Plans for federalising Western Asia on a supra-ethnic basis have - up till now - been recommended by Atlantic Westerners, Israelis and Kurds respectively. Most of them wanted the whole area to be "non-aligned". One of the first Arabs to advocate openly a similar scheme was Mohammed Fikry ABAZA. He was recently fired as editor-in-chief of the Egyptian illustrated weekly "Al Mussawar" because he suggested neutralisation of all West-Asia and a federation of Arab countries including Egypt and (a reformed) Israel. (Cf. KF/9-10, p. 24.)

#### NEW BRITISH AMBASSADOR TO IRAQ

Sir Humphrey TREVELYAN who recently protested against QASSIM's ridiculous accusations that Britain instigated the Kurdish uprising in North-Iraq, left Baghdad on 29. X. 1961 "for

health reasons". He became U. K. ambassador there 5 months after QASSIM seized power in 1958. Like many British officials in Iraq, Sir Humphrey (55) had previous experience in England's "Indian Civil Service". His successor is Sir Roger ALLEN (52), a Cambridge-educated lawyer, formerly serving in the USSR. the Foreign Office, UNO, West-Germany and Greece, arrived a month later.

#### BRITAIN TO LIQUIDATE BASES ON ARAB SOIL?

Shortage of voluntary military manpower and growing anti-imperialism may result in liquidation of British military bases abroad (Aden, Libya etc.). This is now official Labour Party policy. Two field-m Marshals and one British general also favour the idea. Commented "The Observer": "Two years ago it was still considered dangerously radical, if not actually unpatriotic". (12. XI. 1961.)

#### SOVIET ARMENIA COMPARED TO IRAN & TURKEY



Y. N. ZAROBIAN

At the 22nd congress of the Soviet Communist Party, the achievements of the Armenian SSR were compared with those of neighbouring Iran and Turkey by Yakov Nikitovich ZAROBIAN (53), secretary of the Armenian Communist Party. Soviet Armenia, ZAROBIAN said, is producing 15 times as much electric power as Turkey and 32 times as much as Iran. Armenia has 15 times as many people with higher education than Iran. (Turkey has 28 million inhabitants,

Iran has 21, Soviet Armenia 1, 77.) Comparing the achievements of Soviet republics on a national (instead of an all-Union) basis to those of other countries has become a trend in Soviet life recently. It started in Ukraine, which compared its iron-and-steel production to that of other European countries like Britain, France and Germany.

#### A R M E N I A N S

##### ARMENIAN COMMUNISTS ABROAD

"De Waarheid", daily of the Netherlands Communist Party (on October 23rd, 1961) linked the repatriation of Armenians to the Armenian SSR casually to the socio-economic level reached by the latter (cf. KF/8, p. 9-10). Armenian Communists play an important role in the Communist Parties of West-Asia, including the Tudeh-party: There seem to be some conflicts, however, with Arab Communists. As a result, Artim MADORIAN chief of Syrian Communist Armenians, was shot down in the Lebanon in January 1961. MADORIAN, who has not yet recover-

ed from the seven pistol bullets, favoured a deal with Nasserism as did George HANNA, Arab medical doctor, WPC old-timer, pro-Communist, of Beyrouth. MADORIAN also opposed Khaled BAKHDASH.

#### KURDS SAID TO BE KILLED UNDER STALIN

On 14. XI. 1961, Mr. ZAROBIAN, back from the Moscow Party Congress which saw further anti-STALIN revelations, reported to a meeting of Armenian Communist Party leaders in Yerevan. Insider ZAROBIAN, member of the CC since 1932, accused STALIN's first successor Georgi MALENKOV and said that 3,500 prominent citizens of the Armenian Republic had been arrested in 1937. Added Armenian SSR security chief G. BARDAMIYANTS: "In one month MALENKOV had arrested more than 1,000 people including 100 in Yerevan alone". Other numerous arrests in the Republic took place in 1949. In both cases people were executed without trial or legal investigation. The story was subsequently published in "Kommunist", the Armenian SSR's Party daily. 14 years before, Moscow's "Pravda" (of 26. IX. 1947) reported several Soviet-Armenian institutions had been accused of "bourgeois nationalism" by the Armenian CP. Meanwhile, ISK learnt from an Armenian source that members of Soviet-Armenia's Kurdish enclave fell victim to both Stalinist purges described above.

#### A Z E R B A I J A N I S

##### BAKU'S BAGIROV: TOOL OF "ANTI-PARTY-GROUP"

The now public de-bunking of STALIN at the 22nd Party Congress in Moscow included a statement by Nuritdin Akramovich MUKHITDIN(-OV), member of the All-Union CP-Presidium and of its CC-Secretariat. On 25. X. 1961, MUKHITDINOV declared, dealing with the "Anti-Party-Group":

"In some republics, scoundrels like Mir Djafar BAGIROV enjoyed the protection of MALENKOV, KAGANOVICH and MOLOTOV, and it might have been at their direct indications that they could let despotism and illegality rule."

The name of BAGIROV (BAGIR in Azerbaijani) recalled a stirring chapter from both Kurdish and Azerbaijani history. From 1937-1953 BAGIROV had been Secretary-General of the Azerbaijani Communist Party and President of the Republic's Supreme Soviet. He was one of the most powerful men in Soviet West-Asia. When STALIN, on 29. XII. 1942, thanked Azerbaijani Kolkhozniki for their agrarian war-effort, his telegram was sent to the attention of Comrade BAGIROV.

In November 1945, BAGIROV led the famous "Baku Conference" with Kurdish leaders, very shortly before the founding of the "Autonomous Kurdish Republic" of Mehabad in Northwest-Iran. The conference had also impact on the genesis of the "Democratic Party Kurdistan". The latter replaced the "Komeley", a Kurdish nationalist underground movement, skilfully directed by Mohammed GHAZI, later president of the Mehabad Republic. BAGIROV (and Tudeh) thought "Komeley", which was built up along strictly conspirative lines, "a tool of British intelligence".



Real man behind BAGIROV's bloody purges against Azerbaijani "national-communists" was STALIN's then-time secret police (NKVD-)chief Lawrenti BERIA, a Georgian Jew. He was executed in December 1953, the same year BAGIROV was removed. On 27.V.1956, BAGIROV himself was sentenced to death as "an accomplice of BERIA".



In 1946, the year BARZANI and his men found refuge in Soviet Azerbaijan, BAGIROV praised BERIA's "merciless unmasking of the Trotskyite-Bukharinist and bourgeois-nationalist nests in the country". "Bourgeois-nationalist" was also BAGIROV's opinion of the former "Komeley". PISHEVARI's (South-)Azerbaijani Autonomous Republic" he thought more progressive. It was - like the East-Kurdish one - liquidated by PAHLEVI's troops in 1946. Next year, a campaign was started against the "cult" of the North-Caucasian national hero SHAMIL (1797-1871). SHAMIL's fierce resistance war (1834-1859) against tsarist Russian rule in his country had always been considered progressive, anti-feudal, anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist in Soviet schoolbooks. Zenith of the anti-SHAMIL-drive (1947-1956) was BAGIROV's essay ("K voprosu o kharaktere dvisheniya Myuridizma i Shamilya") in "Bolshevik" (Nr.13, 1950). The STALIN-prize, then just awarded to the Azerbaijani historian Geidar GUSEINOV for his (pro-)SHAMIL book was withdrawn because (as the "Pravda" wrote on 14.V.1950) SHAMIL and his "Muridist" liberation movement were to be considered "reactionary, nationalistic and in the service of English capitalism and the Turkish sultan". In 1956, the year of BAGIROV's death, SHAMIL, GUSEINOV and many others were rehabilitated, SHAMIL is still very popular in Caucasia, especially in the North and in Azerbaijan.

Uzbekistan's MUKHITDINOV, who made the anti-BAGIROV-remark at the Moscow Party Congress, is considered the Soviet Union's Nr.1-Turkistani. Like BAGIROV, he had talks with Mullah Mustafa BARZANI; the last one in November 1960, during the Kurdish Leader's second stay in Russia.

## J E W S

### MARTIN BUBER & PRESIDENT BEN ZVI ON ARAB REFUGEES

Famous philosopher Prof. Dr. Martin BUBER (xx), Jewish president of "Ihud Association for Jewish-Arab Rapprochement" criticised Israel's President BEN ZVI on 15.X.1961. 4 days before, BEN ZVI had refused to admit all Palestine-Arab refugees wishing to repatriate. BUBER and "Ihud" hoped Israel, the Arab States, the refugees and UNO might find a common solution. Most Jews and Arabs sharply rejected the suggestion. Both opponents referred to repeated Arab statements stressing "the refugees' right to destroy Israel". 10 years ago BUBER met with similar Jewish and Arab attacks when he advocated German-Jewish reconciliation.

## M I N O R I T I E S

### AUTONOMY FOR STATUTE DRUSES IN ISRAEL

Israel's 22,000 Druses got internal autonomy in November 1961. Basis was a similar law adopted in Libanon (75,000 Druses) in 1948, and in Syria (90,000) in 1953. In all West-Asia there are about 200,000 Druses in all, believers in a secret, gnostic creed made up of Islamic, Christian and Antique elements. Tough fighters, Druses sided with Jews in the Israeli-Arab war. In 1957 they were recognised as a separate religious community by the Knesseth, the Israeli Parliament. A 3-men "High Council of Druses in Israel" was formed, presided by Sheikh Amin TA-RIF, prominent spiritual leader. Syria's new Commander-in-Chief, recent putschist ZAHREDDIN, is also Druse.

## P E R S I A N S

### TEHERAN STILL SEEKING TRANS-GULF EXPANSION

Since Shah PAHLEVI proclaimed "the rights of Iran in the Persian Gulf" in his August 19th speech in Dovshan-Tapeh, the Persian press is pushing the Shah's claim in a tone very similar to that of Qassim's on Kuwait. Commercial and cultural relations with the Gulf (oil-)sheikhdoms, the "Journal de Teheran" of 11.IX.1961 revealed, are just "first measures for the moment in the sense of safeguarding Iran's rights in the Persian Gulf". The paper blamed Iraqi press for speaking of "the Arab Gulf" instead, and announced Persian counter-moves. "History" and the "Shah-in-Shah" are the "Journal"'s main arguments for annexationism towards the Arab South. Iran already possesses a slice of Arab ethnic soil: the Abadan oil area. Its main Gulf target at the moment is the Bahrein archipel. Under the Gulf (like the Caspian Sea east of Azerbaijan), there are large oil fields. Both are being exploited. (On similar plans towards Iran's Western neighbours: see KF/9-10, p.12-13.)

## SHAH FLEW GOLD-BARS TO PARIS; NEW U. S. INVESTMENTS

The plane which brought the SHAH to Paris on October 10th, also carried 150 million dollars in gold bars. Meanwhile they have been deposited at French and Swiss banks as PAHLEVI's private property. The bars were taken from the "Bank Melli Iran" and counter-value the land recently "presented" by the SHAH to poor Iranian peasants. The SHAH then said it was a "spontaneous" move to improve conditions of the agrarian proletariat. But Paris finance circles say transportation of the gold was the main purpose of the SHAH's visit. Scheduled for 3 days, it lasted nearly a fortnight, because of various investment talks. The emperor bought 8 luxurious new houses in Campagne de Bude, a Geneva suburb. 40 more were purchased by PAHLEVI's Iranian fellow-millionaires. On 13. XI. 1961, Premier AMINI suggested that his "anti-corruption campaign" had the SHAH-support, in spite of reactionary resistance. He also announced that the USA will aid Persia with 40 million dollar, of which 5 million are gratis. So part of the loss Iran suffered in October is already compensated.

## TUDEH PARTY MEMBERS ARRESTED IN ISPAHAN

As was announced by an Army press conference in Teheran on 7. XI. 1961, 86 members of the outlawed, pro-Communist Tudeh-Party have been arrested in Ispahan, after a 5-day strike of textile workers there. The Shah-regime gave big publicity to the arrests and tried to identify the growing opposition-movement led by the "National Front" with Tudeh. This endeavour met with little result among Oriental and European newsmen.

## OPEN OPPOSITION AGAIN IN PERSIA, AFTER SHAH'S RETURN

After several weeks of relative silence, opposition in Iran is making its voice heard again, in spite of most of the 'National Front' leaders having been re-arrested by the Shah's 'Savak' (21. VII. 1961). When premier AMINI visited Teheran university on 26. X. 1961, together with several foreign diplomats on the occasion of UNO-Day, thousands of students shouted anti-regime- and pro-MOSSADEGH-slogans. At the same time, wealthy merchants of the capital's "Bazar" had a political garden-party near the villa of Fatullah FOUROUD, the former Teheran mayor. They unanimously decided to form a pressure group "for safeguarding the constitution". New elections remain the first target of the Iranian opposition, which wants to restore democracy. According to the Iranian Constitution, AMINI's government is ruling illegally because it does not have the mandate of the Majlis (Parliament). Furthermore, art. 48 of the Constitution says that if Parliament is dissolved at the order of the monarch, reasons for dissolution and date of next elections must be given in the same letter. Constitutionally, new elections have to be held within one month then and both houses of Parliament have to be reopened within 3 months after their dismissal. Since the Shah ignored all these constitutional laws, they were pointed to by Allahjar SALEH, one of the 'National Front' leaders, who gave a press conference this summer. Publication of his speech was forbidden in Iran but NF

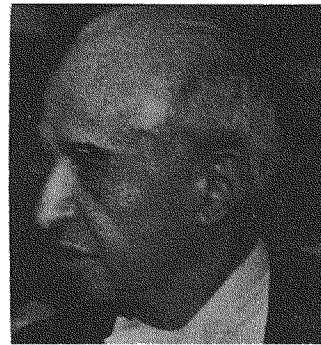
printed it as a leaflet and sent it abroad. ISK's Persian friends got it ultimo August. SALEH reminds the Iranian ruler of his solemn oath to protect the country's constitution (which he does not). Since the Shah's return from Paris (23. X. 1961) Iranian opposition has strengthened its efforts. BEHBAHANI, the chief Shiite leader in Teheran, went to the Emperor to demand new elections. If they are held properly, a big number of seats for 'National Front' is expected.

## T U R K S

### WESTERN EUROPE'S SCEPTICISM ABOUT "NEW" TURKEY

Italy and France are the main West-European adversaries of Turkey's joining the rapidly growing European Economic Community. Only West-Germany is backing it. Most West-European countries point to the fact that Turkish economy under Gürsel and his Junta are in a bigger mess than ever before. Furthermore, the execution of political opponents after the Yassiad trial has made a very bad impression in Western Europe. ~~3~~ **Messaggero** wrote that the cruelty of old Byzantium had been revived by the Turkish junta regime. Main aim of the latter's wish for EEC-membership is to get credits from the West. About this, the EEC is reluctant. Though there is a trend to give EEC-membership to underdeveloped European countries like Greece, Turkey is still considered an Oriental country and not a European one like Kemal Atatürk wanted it to be.

### ALL IN LINE: INONU'S COME-BACK SPELLS ILL FOR KURDS



Ismet INONU's return as Premier under GUERSEL means that Turkey is now ruled by 2 notorious enemies of the Kurdish nation, INONU (77) who fought Arab patriots for the Sultan, distinguished himself in World War I and in ATATUERK's Liberation War. Originally called Mustapha ISMET PASHA, he was re-named in 1934 after a battle

he won in 1921. In 1923 he signed the Lausanne Treaty, having admitted that Turkey is "a country of two peoples": Turks and Kurds. The Treaty's clauses (Section III, art. 38/39) to protect the latter remained "ein Fetzen Papier". INONU, hailed "Victor of Lausanne", was made Premier (1923-24 and 1925-37). Under his rule, 3 major Kurdish uprisings were cruelly crushed: 1925 (250,000 dead), 1930 (poison gas used) and 1937 (40,000). In 1937 ATATUERK dropped INONU as Premier, reportedly because he thought him too pro-Soviet. Treaties chiefly intended to keep down Kurds with the help of the other occupation powers, INONU concluded with Iraq (1937 and 1946) and Iran (1934 and 1937). After ATATUERK's death, he became President (1938-1950). The future of both Kurdish and Turkish freedom under INONU is clear to all who know history. Wrote "The Times" of 5. VII. 1930 about INONU: "The Assembly can indeed be said to resemble a well-trained battalion, its members being smart in appearance, punctual on parade, and always ready to

acclaim the Commanding Officer, General ISMET PASHA". In the same year, INONU himself declared: "The Turkish nation alone has the right to claim ethnic and racial rights in this country". ("Milliyet", 31. VIII. 1930.) His then-time Minister of Justice, Mahmoud ESSAD, was still more frank: "Those who are not of pure Turkish origin have only one right in this country: the right to be servants, the right to be slaves". ("Milliyet", 19. IX. 1930.) Things obviously did not change very much in Turkey since 1930 or 1960.

#### FOUR-FOLD "MYTH OF 20TH CENTURY"-TURKEY FAILED

Like BAYAR and MENDERES, Turkey's present rulers GUERSEL and INONU are justifying their regime by referring to ATATUERK, of whom they were all collaborators. In his name, military dictatorship is continuing, this time under the cloak of a "coalition-government" of which even Turkish papers admit it has nothing to do with democracy.

The ATATUERK-myth is a 4-fold one. It prospers probably because of the undeniable facts that KEMAL's successful "Liberation War" of 40 years ago was epoch-making in West-Asian resistance to European hegemonialism, and that it was local oriental reaction that made the latter possible in the area.

Thinking Turks have realised that time has come to analyse ATATUERKism critically. Doing so, they find that KEMAL did not found a Turkish-national state dropping (Turkish) imperialism, but just tried to keep or re-conquer as much of the ever-smaller Turkish empire as he could. Once the boundaries were fixed, he started to turkify everything non-Osmanli (Kurds, Greeks, Armenians) by sheer force, often outdoing Ottoman imperialism in its methods (gas was used against Kurds in 1930). By trying to "Europeanise" Turkey outwardly by decree (hat for fez etc.) nationalist ATATUERK showed subconscious feelings of inferiority towards the West, feelings compensated by chauvinistic shouting. Secularisation failed because KEMAL's dictatorship had to draw heavily on the Islamic-clerical image of the "Ghazi" (military victor hailed as saint). In fact Moslem feudalism was replaced by romantic nationalism. The "Cumhuriyet Turkiye" was used as a new fetish instead of as a basis for Asiatic democratisation. So even the best reforms failed; in spite of the Latin alphabet introduced, most Turks can still neither write nor read.

The Junta has, however, not yet learned the above lessons. By hanging MENDERES to show the superstitious peasants that their idol was just a mortal being, they merely created another "saint". But if not "the saints (ATATUERK, MENDERES) go marching out" of Osmanli minds, there will be no real progress

for Turkey's intelligentsia, masses and co-nationalities. Historically seen, ATATUERKism is a typical product of the 1920-ies, when similar regimes of frustrated soldiers and intellectuals started to develop in the backward as well as in the advanced countries of Europe. The outcome of most of them is well-known now.



Cemal GUERSEL as shown in Germany's leading satirical weekly "Simplicissimus" (25. XI. 1961, München 2, Amiraplatz 1). Gallows refer to Yassiada death sentences against ousted political opponents. Caricatures of Turkish leader are scarce in both the Western and the Communist press. Some "Simplicissimus" readers found H. M. BROCKMANN's one a welcome variation on the paper's frequent ADENAUER-cartoons.

#### POST-MORTEM ON YASSIADA DEATH-SENTENCES

"Afro-Asian Information and Latin American News Service" (Gamma Publ. Ltd., 15 Craven Street, London, WC2, 25. XI. 1961) wrote about the Yassiada hangings: "The Junta was in a kind of dilemma. It has been reported that the majority was against the executions, and this applied too to the banned leaders like TURKESH. But the younger officers of the air-force violently demanded the executions. They are members of a secret organisation which has 200 followers; they also stand for social reforms but they emphasize that Turkey is not an 'American colony'."

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# KURDS ABROAD

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## TURKISH AND KURDISH LABOUR IN WEST-GERMANY

The number of Turkish and North-Kurdish labourers in Federal Germany (now about 7000) will probably increase soon. The economic crisis continues in Turkey and a German labour-recruitment office has been opened in Istanbul, okayed by the Gürsel government. Turkish and Kurdish workers make up for about 1,4% of all foreign labour in the GFR.

## COMMITTEE OF KURDISH INTELLECTUALS FORMED

A committee of Kurdish intellectuals abroad and at home has been formed to defend the Kurdish Nation's rights. After the "Democratic Party Kurdistan" and the new "Kurdish Federation of Student Organisations" it is the third all-Kurdish organisation. Its provisional HQ will be in Lausanne, Switzerland and Mr. Ismet Sherif Vanly, president of the "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe" is a founding member of the Committee. Its official name (in Kurdish, English, German and French respectively) is: "Komîtey Parêzgarî Maff Netewey Kurd" / "Committee for the Defense of the Kurdish People's Rights" / "Ausschuss für die Verteidigung der Rechte des Kurdischen Volkes" / "Comité pour la Défense des Droits du Peuple Kurde". Its emblem is a burning torch, planted into soil, with two mountains in the background. The new organisation sees its main task lying abroad. Creation of such a body was advocated by the DPK's former daily "Khebat" ("Xebat") in January 1961 (see KF/4, p. 4-6).

## COSEC APPROACHING KURDISH STUDENTS IN EUROPE

The "Coordinating Secretariat" of Students (seat: Leiden, Netherlands) offered cooperation to the "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe" on September 29th, 1961. KSSE accepted. Up till now, CoSec/ISC had been silent about the Kurdish problem (see KF/5, p. 12). But Qassim's colonial war in South Kurdistan and KSSE's 6th congress in Münster/Westfalia helped to create an atmosphere of interest and sympathy for Kurds in a great many countries. Of both CoSec and IUS, several member organisations are KF-receivers.

## KURDISH LEAFLET IN GERMAN (ON WAR IN SOUTH-KURDISTAN)

The "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe" printed its declaration of 18. IX. 1961, Nr. B/1088 in a 7-page German translation: "Deklaration über die Nationalrevolte von Irakisch-Kurdistan". English and French versions were distributed in stencilled form. On the leaflet's cover Kurds declared: "Wir

glauben fest an den endgültigen Sieg unseres Volkes und die Befreiung unserer Heimat!" Copies of the declaration can be obtained from ISK (Da Costastraat 25/I, Amsterdam-West, Netherlands) and from KSSE (17 Chemin Parc de Valency, Lausanne, Switzerland). Please state which version is required and if you can enclose reply postage.

## WHY KURDS REVOLTED: TORTURE OF STUDENTS

In August, a most trustworthy private Kurdish source reported that QASSIM's secret police had arrested a Kurdish student of the Baghdad Engineering College. They tortured him and asked who supported him materially. Finally the student mentioned two of his relatives. Then the police searched their houses. Among the things they found were a few Kurdish books, a map of Kurdistan and an article from the former paper of the "Democratic Party Kurdistan": "Xebat". Though it had all been published quite legally, the lot was confiscated and three of the student's relatives were sent to prison. One was a 62-year-old Kurdish activist, another his son (who wrote the "Xebat"-article seized), also a Baghdad engineering student, the third one an assistant professor of modern history at Baghdad University. Names are not mentioned here, for obvious reasons, one of them being the "Sippenhaft"-practice of dictator QASSIM's police. KF's source stressed that methods were the same under the Nuri ES-SALD regime. Whether the first student's relatives have also been tortured the source could not say.

## KURDS ON TRIAL IN MESOPOTAMIA

The property of 36 active Kurdish patriots in Iraq has been seized by the military authorities there. At a press conference given by general Abdel Kerim EL-JADDA, chief of QASSIM's Military Police, on October 25th, AFP's correspondent learned that the investigation of their cases has been completed and a process was to follow. No further particulars were given.

## NEW BRANCHES OF "KURDISH STUDENTS' SOCIETY IN EUROPE"

The KSSE has now 16 branches in Europe. Apart from the East- and (newly-formed) West-Berlin branch, they are distributed as follows among the three political zones Europe is divided into:

7 of the 8 "Warsaw-Pact-countries" (all but Albania, which has no University yet); 3 (Switzerland, Austria and Yugoslavia) of the 6 neutral states and 4 (England, France, Federal Germany and Italy) of the 12 NATO-countries. Numerically, the "East-

West-Division" between Kurdish students in Europe is still about fifty-fifty. Most pre-war Kurdish students in Europe took their degrees in Switzerland (especially law), England, France and Germany.

#### KURDS AND STUDY OUTSIDE EUROPE

Outside Europe, there are Kurds studying in Mesopotamia (Arab Iraq), Turkey, (Soviet-)Turkistan, Persia, (Persian- and Soviet-) Azerbaijan, Armenia and the United States. Kurdistan itself

has no universities: the suggestion to establish one in Sulaimaniyah has been turned down by Iraq's QASSIM. The Baghdad and Teheran universities have centres for Kurdish studies. Similar facilities exist in London, Ann Arbor (Michigan, USA), Paris and Leningrad universities, and at the Academies of Science of the Armenian and Azerbaijan Soviet Republics. (In the European part of the USSR, Kurds are studying in Russia only: Moscow and Leningrad, not - for instance - Ukrainian Kiev, which had several Chinese and African students during the last years.

## ON RECORD

### GENOCIDE IS AGAINST INTERNATIONAL LAW SINCE 1951

Since 1961 saw and still sees many acts of violence against the Kurdish nation it may be noted that the (anti-) "Genocide Covenant of the United Nations" has been both national and international law since January 12th, 1951, so since ten years. UNO's first declaration against genocide was made on December 11th, 1946, by the General Assembly in its Resolution Nr. 96 (I). The Genocide Convention of December 9th, 1948, was signed by all States possessing a part of Kurdistan. The 4 major articles out of its 19 are reproduced at right from the official United Nations' publication of the Genocide Covenant:

Spiritual genocide (denying the existence of - for instance - the Kurdish nation) is not explicitly mentioned but as it traditionally paves the way for physical genocide, it may fall under paragraph (e) of Article III.

**ARTICLE I.** The Contracting Parties confirm that genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law which they undertake to prevent and to punish.

**ARTICLE II.** In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

**ARTICLE III.** The following acts shall be punishable:

- (a) Genocide;
- (b) Conspiracy to commit genocide;
- (c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;
- (d) Attempt to commit genocide;
- (e) Complicity in genocide.

**ARTICLE IV.** Persons committing genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III shall be punished, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals.

## PEOPLE

### LIFE WITH FATHER

"Mohammed Reza is a very reverent son. He venerates his father in the highest degree and --- passes in silence over the acts of violence by which his father kept himself in power" (Wipert VON BLUECHER, reviewing the SHAH Memoirs in "Mitteilungen des Instituts für Auslandsbeziehungen", Stuttgart, GFR, April-September issue 1961).

Oxford-educated lawyer Peter BENENSON (40) is one of the Directors of the (non-Party) "Amnesty"-Movement, which urges release of Kurdish prisoners-of-conscience too. He founded "Justice", British section of the "International Commission of Jurists" and is still active in both organisations. The Commission's Bizerta-Report caused news-headlines this autumn. Mr. BENENSON's book "Persecution 1961" (see Books).



AN ANALYSIS OF NASSER-IST JUNTA-RULE is offered by Dr. P. J. VATIKIOTIS, associate Professor of Government at Indiana University in Bloomington, USA. Bearing a Greek family name, he was born in Jerusalem, Palestine and lived, travelled and studied in Arab North-Africa and West-Asia some 20 years altogether. In 1959 VATIKIOTIS got a ROCKEFELLER-grant, this year a GUGGENHEIM-one. The latter was for continued research in Cairo, where VATIKIOTIS once got his undergraduate training. Prof. VATIKIOTIS' book "The Egyptian Army in Politics" is reviewed in the next issue.



GENERAL GUERSEL, addressing the first session of the Great National Assembly of Turkey's "Second Republic", contradicted himself when he said: "You have FULL knowledge of the past events. The things you do NOT know will become clear in the course of time". (Emphasis added.) Some of GUERSEL's officials abroad, obviously unwilling to wait so long, started to read "Kurdish Facts" instead. They have ordered additional copies since.

#### PEN-FRIENDS IN JAPAN

One of the most successful pen-friends' clubs in the world was founded ten years ago in Okayama, Japan. Now over a hundred thousand of young Japanese of both sexes are corresponding with an equal number of youngsters abroad. The present Director of the "Okayama Pen Pals Club" (P. O. Box 48, Okayama City, Japan), Mr. Shotaro TAKAHARA, told ISK that Club-members would be glad to get Kurdish pen-friends as well and that his Club would send a delegate to any international convention of ISK. Mr. TAKAHARA saw opportunities for cooperation between "Okayama Pen Pals Club", ISK and Kurdish youth. Application forms can be got from ISK.

#### DIGNITY FIRST, AFRICAN VISITOR TELLS BRITONS

Addressing Oxford's St. Antony's College on October 26th, Senegalese President Leopold SENGHOR said: "Beyond the object-

ive of material wellbeing man aspires to fuller being --- This is especially true in --- the underdeveloped countries. There peoples hunger not so much after American or Russian surpluses, as after independence, dignity, science and culture".



TOUGHEST JOB IN ISK is held by Eelco BROEKSMA (27) who acted as the Society's Treasurer from its beginnings on. Frisian-born, Mr. BROEKSMA is studying Protestant theology since 1954 at Amsterdam's "Free University". First Kurds of his life he met in Vienna in 1959, during the Youth Festival. Now he is raising and administering funds to help the Kurdish Nation. He is also the star-photographer of ISK's CC.

## PROTEST CALENDAR

Underneath is a complete list of all Western-language communications issued by Kurdish organisations abroad after Qassim started his colonial war in Iraqi-Kurdistan.

18. IX. 1961: "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe": "Declaration in the National Revolt of Iraqi Kurdistan", 3 pages, available in English and French (excerpted in KF/9-10, p. 18).

18. IX. 1961: KSSE: "Telegram to His Excellency Premier Khrushchev - Moscow", 8 lines net, in English and French. It asked KHRUSHCHOV "to submit Kurdistan case to UNO".

23(?) IX. 1961 (n. d.): Emir Kamuran Aali BEDIR-KHAN in French to UNO on behalf of "Les Groupements et Associations Kurdes d'Europe", 13 lines net (see KF/9-10, p. 18).

23(?) IX. 1961 (n. d.): Emir BEDIR-KHAN in the same sense to the Arab League (9 lines net, French) (see KF/9-10, p. 18).

24. IX. 1961: KSSE "Appeal to His Excellency Mr. MACMILLAN" (etc.), 17 lines net, in English, (typescript), asking "earnestly not to deliver any arms to the Government of Baghdad" (the copy carries the following N. B.: "A similar appeal has also been addressed to Their Excellencies: President KENNEDY of the U. S. A., Premier KRUCHSHEV of the U. S. S. R. and President TITO of Yugoslavia").

25. IX. 1961: KSSE, letter to KHRUSHCHEV, 18 lines net,

available in English and French. It asks the Soviet Premier "not to believe what Kassem has said in his press conference" (of Sept. 23rd, KF) and begs the former to "do something to save the civilian population and the labourers of Iraqi Kurdistan from the bombs and the crimes of this dictator" (QASSIM, KF).

28. IX. 1961: KSSE to "International Union of Students", Prague, 2 pages in English. (Though the letter mainly dealt with relations between IUS and the newly-founded All-Kurdish Student Federation, it asked IUS "to publish an official circular declaration" condemning QASSIM's air raids and expressing "the support of IUS to the struggle of the Kurdish forces and the Kurdish people --- for a democratic Government in Iraq --- and against dictatorship".) Similar circular declarations have been issued by IUS on various occasions, a fact of which KSSE reminded in the last paragraph of the letter.

28. IX. 1961: KSSE to the International Committee of the Red Cross (2 pages, in French), asking the Committee to undertake steps in Baghdad, and to start an international relief action on behalf of Kurdistan's civilian victims of QASSIM's air-raids.

18. X. 1961: "MEMOIRE SUR LE KURDISTAN D'IRAK" by Emir Dr. BEDIR-KHAN to Signor Giuseppe SARAGAT (Secretary



of the Italian Socialist Party), 4½ pages, French. (Cf. KF/9-10, p. 11.) After a historical survey, the Memorial says "il est indispensable que l'opinion publique mondiale soit avertie des événements d'Irak pour que justice soit enfin rendue au peuple kurde".

6. XI. 1961: KSSE, Delegation Kurde, Committee for the Defense of Kurdish Rights and Executive Committee of the All-Kurdish Student Federation jointly to U THANT, UNO-Secretary-General (3 pages, MS, French). It asked UNO to remind the Iraqi Government of its obligations, to allow the writers to send an observers' delegation to UNO (like FLN was allowed to do) and reminded of the many (fruitless) previous notes sent to UNO on Kurdistan.

After the first general appeal (18. IX. 1961 Declaration) seven appeals were made to mobilise government leaders (top-receiver being KHRUSHCHOV with 3), six to international organisations. No results of these appeals (13 made within 7 weeks) have been reported so far.

28. XI. 1961: Committee for the Defense of the Kurdish People's Rights to Prime Minister QASSIM in Baghdad/Iraq: in English, 25 lines net. It tells QASSIM: "Nobody believes you in the outside world that the legitimate Kurdish popular uprising "has been crushed" or that it is "an imperialistic movement". The letter advises him "to recognize and respect the national rights" of Kurds and "to cease bombarding Kurdistan, to restore democracy". Otherwise, it feels QASSIM will "lose everything".

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## INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

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### ALL-HELP-ONE INTERNATIONALS: NEW WAY OF 'DEVELOPMENT AID'

The November issue of "Semester-Spiegel", student-paper of the Westfalian Wilhelm-University of Münster (GFR) published an article "Die Objektvolk-Internationale / Neue Form der Entwicklungshilfe". ISK-President VAN ROOY explained what could be done by joined, multi-national, non-governmental effort concentrating on one single nation (this its "object"). After giving the "recipe" he told something about the results of "International Society Kurdistan", the first "Objektvolkinternationale".

### WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES ASSEMBLY IN NEW DELHI (INDIA)

On the occasion of the World Council of Churches Assembly, "The Star of the Orient" (a periodical of Indian Christians) asked ISK for an article on "Christianity in Kurdistan" for its special "New Delhi"-issue. It was written and mailed immediately. According to the legend, both Kurdistan and India saw proselytising by the Apostle THOMAS.

### JAMI'AT AL ISLAM: NEW PHASE OF ACTIVITIES THE DEAF WEST TO "FEAR THE WRATH OF THE JUST"

In New York's Hotel Sheraton, over a dozen leading Moslems met for an important conference on October 17th. They were officials of "Jami'at al-Islam", an international Islamic welfare agency with HW in the USA. It is mainly concerned with Moslem refugees, be they Algerian, Palestinian, Turkmen or Huy.

JAI-President Ahmad KAMAL made clear to delegates from Afro-Asian countries that JAI's CC was fed up with launching vain appeals for Cooperation between the West and moderate, demo-

cratic Moslems. JAI, he said, was going to break its silence and to act more directly. On November 1st, 1961, a hand-out on Kamal's speech was translated into several languages and sent to all JAI-members. It revealed that in January 1956 JAI got guarantees of Ferhat ABBAS and other Algerian patriots to give a free Algeria a moderate pro-Western government. The United States, contacted on it, were not interested. A similar move in the Vatican 3 months later yielded no results either. Repeated warnings to the West that the FAISAL/Nuri-ES-SAID regime in Iraq would lead to revolution were also ignored. Warnings since 1957 against the corrupt dictatorship of the SHAH and his clique still find equally deaf ears, though JAI stresses that the present regime in Iran is no "bulwark against Communism" at all. Finally, all endeavours made since 1959 to man United Nations' key offices with more Afro-Asians (of Moslem creed) also remained fruitless. JAI's KAMAL said the clumsiness of the West was caused by legalism especially, knows only governments and does not care about the nations. US Secretary of State refused to see JAI-topmen or other "private persons, even if they would come straight from Peking with MAO Tse-Tung's latest plans", JAI was told.

The Islamic Welfare International thereupon decided to use more radical methods in future. No indication was made about their character in Europe. JAI's main branches are in Munich and Vienna. They show interest in Kurdish matters too. JAI-Munich was instrumental in getting a few places for Kurdish students at West-German universities and the Kurd Abdullah KADIR has been president of JAI-Austria for some time. Several JAI-officials subscribed to KF. JAI's "new look" now comes close to the viewpoint of ISK. The latter fought for Kurdish (Persian, Turkish, Algerian etc.) freedom from the beginning and never hesitated to call an imperialist an imperialist, in spite of constant criticism from several people, including some from JAI.

## UNIVERSITIES

### LIBYA GETS UNIVERSITY

The Baida "Sayyid Muhammed bin Ali AL-SENUSSI religious institute", founded in 1955, was made an Islamic University this autumn by royal Libyan decree. Missions have been sent into Black Africa to recruit students of Arabic, Moslem theology and English.

### HOMES FOR AFRO-ASIAN STUDENTS IN WEST-GERMANY

Professor KOLLMANN, chairman of the "Akademische Auslandsstelle" of Munich University, said over 50% of West-Germany's 22,000 foreign students came from underdeveloped countries, mainly African and Asian ones. Added KOLLMANN: "Wenn sie eines Tages nicht nur als fähige Aerzte, Ingenieure, Wirtschaftler, Architekten, Lehrer oder Chemiker heimkehren sollen, sondern auch als treue Freunde unseres Landes, dann müssen wir ihnen anständige Studentenheime bauen". At a press conference of November 15th, KOLLMANN suggested investing 2-3% of the 5 billion mark of development aid by the GFR into such student homes. But Bonn bureaucracy objected at once: according to the regulations the money could be spent abroad only. The plan is now under discussion at the new Ministry of Development Aid, headed by Prof. Walter SCHEEL.

### ENGLISH EDUCATION UNDER FIRE: THOUGHT TOO "INSULAR"

Britain's Sir William HAYTER fears America will outdo his country in the field of Afro-Asian studies. Many language teachers in this field now working in the USA have been "enticed away from --- Europe by higher pay and better facilities" over the Ocean, HAYTER said in "The Observer" of 29. X. 1961. Admitting the British advantage of having hundreds of people with Afro-Asian experience and knowledge, Sir William sees marked differences between the American and the British approach of the world's non-Western majority: "In America the view is growing that some knowledge of Asia, of Africa and of Eastern Europe ought to be part of the equipment of every educated man. In England --- education in fact tends to be insular in its content". Sir William HAYTER was chairman of the University Grants Committee's "Sub-Committee on Oriental, Slavonic, East European and African Studies", which recently published its report and (modest) recommendations.

### RELUCTANCE OF EUROPEAN SCIENTISTS TO GO ABROAD

Like in Germany (see KF/1, p.2), there is reluctance among scientists in Britain to be sent abroad temporarily if they get "no guarantee whatsoever of being later recalled to the homeland - and indeed rather of, by their withdrawal, improving the field for their less altruistic competitors". This was stated in a reader's letter to "The Times" of 3. XI. 1961 by Prof. George L. G. CATLIN, chairman of the "Committee for the Advancement of Education". Afro-Asian countries, in urgent need of foreign

expert assistance, get less of it than would be possible if there would be more comradeship among Western scientists, or if service abroad would favour one's career as was the case with military in the past colonial era.

## RADIO

### ČSSR'S INDUSTRY SERVES "AFRASLA" RADIO

The Czecho-Slovak Republic (which held a part of Ukrainian ethnic territory between the two world wars), is now a good neighbour of Ukraine, the second-largest Slav country. Reporting on Ukrainian SSR radio, the recent Nr. 5-issue of "Radio and Television" (OIRT-organ, Prague) said Ukrainian broadcasting recently "stressed the good reputation abroad of the Czechoslovak engineering industry. In the course of the last ten years, Czechoslovakia has supplied equipment for hundreds of enterprises in such countries as the UAR, India, Ceylon, Afghanistan, Cuba, Brazil, the Argentine, Guinea, Ghana, Mali, Morocco and Tunisia".

### USSR AND CHINA LEADING IN EXTERNAL BROADCASTING

The Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic are now the leading powers in external broadcasting. China exceeds USA since 1959 and Britain, still first in 1950, ranks fourth. This was stated in the BBC's "Annual Report" over 1960/1961 which also said the number of radio receiving sets in the world had risen from 300 to 350 million during the year under report. New listeners are mostly in the Afro-Asian countries, where illiteracy rates are still high. This means that radio is the mass-medium Nr. 1 there. But Westerners, accustomed to newspaper reading for political information and over-impressed by the impact of television, seem to "hinausprojizieren" their own habits and experiences into areas with totally different conditions. The BBC is alarmed about all this and has talks with the Government to meet the situation. During the last world war, the BBC's foreign broadcasts were a vital allied link to the anti-nazi resistance movements in German-occupied Europe.

## PRESS

**DIE ZEIT**  
**Berliner Zeitung**  
**politische welt**  
**Neue Zürcher Zeitung**  
**Süddeutsche**

### GERMAN PRESS ON KURDS AND QASSIM'S COLONIAL WAR

Suddenly, last summer, the Bonn student-paper "Civis" (10. VII. 1961) revealed about West-Germany's 11,000 Afro-Asian students: "Die zweifellos radikalsten und in der Masse kommunistisch durchsetzten Gruppierungen sind die irakischen und kurdischen Studenten". It added that the "Extremisten aus dem Irak und Kurdistan" distribute Communist propaganda-material from the East in West-Germany and are "a danger" especially to the (UAR-dominated) Arab students in the GFR. Source of

this astonishing report was "akd" (= "Akademischer Nachrichtendienst"). "Civis"-Editor Jochen DENSO launched their canard a few weeks before the "Kurdistan-Firsters" won at the Münster KSSE-Congress. Behind "Civis" is an Association called "Verein zur Förderung der politischen Bildung in der Studentenschaft".

Kurdish students in the GFR sent the article to KF, with bitter comments. In the GDR the situation was similar. On 4. X. 1961, KSSE-Secretary-General Kamal FUAD (Berlin-Pankow) wrote a 4-page reader's letter to the (East-) "Berliner Zeitung". The letter dealt with GDR-press-reporting on Kurds. Found FUAD: "Nur zweimal schrieben Ihre Zeitungen --- etwas Wahres über die Kurden". One of the articles in question was written by a Kurd, student Jalal BAYTOSHI (a KSSE-old-timer) of Magdeburg. Reports in the "Berliner Zeitung" (25-27. IX. 1961) "enthielten nur die Lügen, die KASSEM auf einer Pressekonferenz in Bagdad geäußert hatte", FUAD said, adding: "Ich glaube nicht, dass Sie nichts über KASSEM's regime in Irak wissen". The KSSE-Secretary-General then reported on the barbaric anti-Kurdish measures of dictator QASSIM during the past months, writing: "Man bombardierte --- unsere Dörfer und Städte. Viele friedliche Menschen fanden dabei den Tod. --- Wir alle haben gehofft dass gerade die sozialistischen Länder gegen diese Grausamkeiten protestieren. In dieser Zeit habe ich die falschen Meldungen in Ihrer Zeitung gelesen". FUAD stressed the progressive character of the "Democratic Party Kurdistan" and its struggle and offered to inform BZ about conditions in his homeland.

The same month, QASSIM sent the West-German press attaché in Baghdad, Herr Klaus BLOEMER, home, at Soviet instigation. Germans heard about it from a British paper, the "Daily Herald". Also during the same period, Iraqi Embassy officials in Bonn reportedly thought it proper to tell stipendia-offering Germans that Kurdish students in the GFR were just "rebels".

Germans who really knew Kurdistan had, however, a different opinion. Hans-Wilfried VON STOCKHAUSEN, Oriental correspondent for 38 German and other papers, wrote in "Gong" (Nuremberg) of 22-28. X. 1961: "Der Westen hat seine grosse Chance, bei seinen Verbündeten, der Türkei und Iran, auf eine vernünftige Politik gegenüber den Kurden hinzuwirken, nicht wahrgenommen. --- Noch immer herrscht in östlichen Anatolien das Ausnahmerecht. Niemand darf in diese Gebiete einreisen, in denen der nackte Terror herrscht. Das ist auch im angrenzenden Iran nicht anders. Die Politik der Gewalt reicht jedoch nie über die Gewehre und Bajonette hinaus, auf die sie sich stützt. General Kassem --- der Hass bleibt übrig, der niemals Gutes bewirkt hat. Auch dann noch, wenn in den Dörfern der Kurdenberge wieder neue Häuser stehen, wird in den Herzen der --- Millionen Kurden im Irak die Flamme der Freiheit glühen".

But not all German journalists wrote like Herr VON STOCKHAUSEN. 3 weeks later, the November-issue of "Politische Welt", Bad Godesberg monthly of the "Arbeitsgemeinschaft demokratischer Kreise" (AdK), carried an article by the paper's Istanbul correspondent Herr Franz VON CAUCIG under the headline: "Kurdish Problem remains Dangerous". VON CAUCIG

said that QASSIM's 'pacification' did not mean that the "Kurdish danger" was over now. Though giving pretty correct figures on Kurds in Syria, Iran and Iraq, the AdK-man discovered only "about 2 million" of them in Turkey. Even the census in Turkey found a higher number of Kurds. But German nobleman VON CAUCIG was obviously bowing "ergebenst" to the wishes of Turkish chauvinist petit bourgeois. Producing no other proof than BARZANI's Soviet exile 1946/1958 and the "qui bono?"-question, "Politische Welt" finally described Kurdistan's aims as "the establishment of a Kurdish Republic --- which would doubtlessly be a Soviet satellite". It was the outworn tune again: "Kurds = Communists".

That the AdK-monthly denied the right of self-determination to Kurds while demanding it for Germans had its special reasons. When AdK-President Dr. Hans-Edgar JAHN made his political world-journey "Vom Bosphorus nach Hawaii" recently, he was accompanied through Turkey's "eastern vilayets" by a certain General Cemal GUERSEL in person. GUERSEL did everything he could to influence AdK against Kurds.

As to VON CAUCIG, the Italian-born journalist (60) represented nazi-German papers in Turkey 1933-1939 and democratic ones since 1949. A fortnight later (29. XI. 1961), ISK received a letter from "Politische Welt" closing as follows: "Wir dürfen Ihnen versichern, dass wir den Freiheitskampf Ihres Landes seit jeher mit Interesse verfolgt haben und deshalb besonders erfreut sind an einer Verbindung mit Ihrer Organisation". ISK then asked AdK whether the article in AdK's "Politische Welt" was to be a demonstration of this "interest" and special "joy".

With the prominent Hamburg weekly "Die Zeit" there was also some correspondence. At last, on 24. XI. 1961, the paper carried an objective article on QASSIM's colonial war against Kurds. QASSIM, "Die Zeit" 's Beyrouth correspondent said, "promised a lot to the Kurds ---" but "three years after the revolution the Kurdish tribes were still a minority without rights, just as during the Nuri ES-SAID period". "Die Zeit" also dealt with the baseless rumours about Soviet support for BARZANI's Kurdish National Liberation Forces. KHRUSHCHOV, the paper found, "could not decide to support" BARZANI "with all means that would be necessary for success. QASSIM, on his side, honoured this attitude when he said at the September press conference: 'It has not been established that there were relations between the Soviet Union and the mutineers'".

The pro-Turkish lobby remains strong in Bonn (in East-Berlin it is more pro-Arabism), both in political and scientific sectors. Turcophily predominated in imperial, Weimar-republican and Nazi-Germany too. The form it took was generally one favourable to Turkish imperialism (German Russophily too was always hostile towards the Russian empire's non-Russian nations). Of course now "Cento-alliance" is the main Bonn argument for backing GUERSEL's anti-Kurdish policy, but in fact it is just a new "justification" of a traditional line, perfectly fitting in with "Obrigkeit"-thinking. In private German circles, however, support for Kurds is growing, especially among the young generation.

In Vienna, "Neues Oesterreich" of 26. XI. 1961 dedicated nearly a page to Kurdistan and its students in the Austrian capital. Said KSSE-Treasurer Dr. RAWĒNDŪZY (who will leave the country for the GFR): "The best article in the Western press, so far". Kurdish patriots, "Neues Oesterreich said "do not give up hope. They are fighting on, in their mountains at home with arms in hand and in Europe with publications and memoranda. Viennese Kurds, too, hope that the Kurdish sun-flag will wave one day over a free country; till then the red-white-green must be satisfied with hanging on the walls in their rented rooms".

ISK's work on behalf of the Kurdish Nation was also dealt with in the article, and of "Kurdish Facts" it was said that it informs its readers "thoroughly".

#### "BUSTAN" (VIENNA, HEFT 3/1961)

The Austrian Orient-quarterly contains more socio-political stuff than usual. Several hot irons are touched: Prof. Dr. Walter SCHMIDT introduces Kuwaiti and neighbourly oil, Dr. Mohammed BEHESCHTI Iranian agronomics, Prof. Dr. Karl JETTMAR West-Pakistans mountain peoples (including Pathans; beautiful photos). Prof. Dr. Herbert JANSKY and Algerian Dr. Boulaid DOUDOU offer fine translations of Turkish poetry and Arab anecdotes resp. Croat Dr. R. SNIDARSIC describes the "Shahnaz"-dam, mentioning that it is in the Persian-Kurdish (ethnic) border region in Iran. Kurds are not mentioned in Prof. Dr. Josef HAEKEL's "Ethnographical Travel-notes from the Middle East". In Prof. Dr. Gotthard JAESCHKE's hagiographic life-story of ATATUERK they are only mentioned as mainly living within the 30. X. 1918-armistice-line. JAESCHKE praises ATATUERK's deal with the Russians at the expense of Armenian freedom as "extraordinarily clever". Whether Armenian survivors of ATATUERK's policy towards their nation will think likewise may be doubted but did not Germany itself make equally "clever" deals with the same partner at the cost of Polish freedom? No surprise then to read JAESCHKE's closing remarks in favour of the GUERSEL junta coup. Like most German VIP-advocates of whatever policy Turkey's rulers may follow, Prof. Dr. JAESCHKE served in Turkey (7 years, ATATUERK period). Prof. Heinrich BENEDIKT digs in the Turkish travels of General MIRANDA, an 18-th-century globetrotter. All-in-all, "Bustan" is - as ever - really worthwhile.

#### MR. NEHRU ON ORIENTAL PRESS

Premier NEHRU, addressing the "Commonwealth Press Union" Conference in Delhi on 2. XI. 1961, said Indian papers did not contain enough Afro-Asian news. Confessed NEHRU: "Something that happens in Africa touches us much more emotionally" (than Commonwealth-news). "Intellectually, we are affected by European problems, but the average Indian is affected much more by Asian or African problems". As far as its small space permits, KF tries to bring Afro-Asian news in addition to its Kurdish reports. Since Iraq's flourishing Kurdish press has been suppressed by QASSIM, "Kurdish Facts" has become the only paper in which Kurds can read international news written from a (pro-)Kurdish viewpoint regularly. Plans

for a paper in Kurdish as a joint ISK-Kurdish enterprise have been prepared months ago but funds are lacking. In 1962, however, KF hopes to start with a Kurdish column.

#### U. S. PRESS THOUGHT INADEQUATE ON WEST-ASIA AND OTHER AREAS

West-Asia was listed as one of the areas "finding it increasingly difficult" to inform Americans about their problems and views. This was found by Norton JUSTER, who (in the US edition of the "New York Herald Tribune" of 24. VII. 1961) violently criticised foreign reporting in the American press: "Outside of a few major metropolitan areas, the news coverage is inadequate and incomplete - the constant victim of careful editing by a one-opinion press".

#### AMNESTY MONTHLY BECOMING A QUARTERLY

"Amnesty", the 8-page bi-weekly of the international "Appeal for Amnesty 1961" movement, will become a quarterly next year. As is known, the movement advocates the release of Kurdish political prisoners as well. Material on them is supplied by "International Society Kurdistan" and its Kurdish friends in Europe and West-Asia. A cartoon from the "Amnesty" (18. X. 1961) is reproduced below.



***"There's one thing to be said for imprisonment without trial—It's better than being imprisoned after a mock trial."***

#### HORIZONS (Paris, monthly, pro-Communist, November 1961)

"Les opérations militaires ne paraissent pas avoir atteint une grande intensité. En effet, l'armée irakienne est amoindrie par les défections kurdes, et le mouvement kurde n'a pas pour objectif de conquérir l'Irak ni même de constituer un État indé-

pendant. La revendication, rappelons-la, porte sur l'organisation d'une autonomie au sein de l'État irakien comme au sein des autres États à minorités kurdes. L'idée d'un État, Kurdistan a été parfois avancée, mais ses conditions géographiques ne se prêteraient guère à son développement économique. C'est du moins en ces termes qui raisonne souvent la jeunesse kurde évoluée. "

#### YIDDISH PERIODICAL IN SOVIET-UNION: FIRST SINCE 1948

A more or less sensational newcomer in both the Soviet and Jewish press is "Sowjetisch Heimland", a bi-monthly in Yiddish for the 2,3 million Jews of the USSR. Apart from the local "Birobidshaner Stern" in "Russia's Israel" in East Siberia, there had been no periodical publication in Yiddish in the USSR since November 1948. The paper's first issue (July-August 1961), printed in 25,000 copies, was still silent about Israel, though the USSR was one of the first to recognise that State officially (1948). In London, the October issue of "World Jewry" confessed the "World Jewish Congress" is eagerly looking forward to the second issue of "Sowjetisch Heimland". Publisher is the Soviet Writers' Association.

#### A JOURNALIST'S "WONDERFUL IMPRESSION" OF QASSIM'S IRAQ

Spending a busy day of waiting and bargaining to get Iraqi police permission to use his own, outworn typewriter, Swiss journalist Arnold HOTTINGER kept being on duty. He noted that QASSIM's police is still more suspicious of Arab typewriters than of those with "English letters": "subversive" things could be written on them. Before receiving one of the permit's copies HOTTINGER heard the Police-"aide-de-camp-for-foreigners" tell his servant: "He is a journalist, and we want him to get a wonderful impression of our country". The "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" of 22. XI. 1961 carried the results.

#### FRENCH WPC-MONTHLY ON KURDISH UPRISING

The November issue of "Horizons", French review of the "World-Peace Council" contains a 7-page article: "Le Kurdistan", written by Michel HINCKER. It gives a detailed, objective and clear picture of what happened in South-Kurdistan since June 1961. Pan-Arab nationalism finds criticism. 5 of the 7 illustrations are taken from 3 issues of "Kurdish Facts". The latter's existence is indicated, without mentioning KF's or ISK's name. ("On connaît ---, publiée en Hollande mais en langue anglaise, une revue consacrée aux affaires de ce pays ---".) Some quotations of HINCKER's article are given elsewhere in this issue. When the latter went to press, it was still unknown if and how many of the 9 WPC-sister-monthlies of "Horizons" are bringing the Kurdistan article as well. They are appearing in East-Berlin, Beyrouth, Bucarest, Calcutta, Kozhikode (Japan), Moscow, New Delhi, Sofia and Warsaw.

#### PARIS DAILY DRAWS ATTENTION TO ISK AND KF

In "La Croix" (Paris), the French Orient exporter Pierre RONDOT

called "Kurdish Facts" an "excellent review" on September 29th, 1961, adding name and address of its publisher, ISK. The paper was repeatedly mentioned as a source in Colonel Rondot's detailed article on QASSIM's colonial war in Iraqi-Kurdistan.


#### WALTER LAQUEUR STILL SEES CHANCES FOR NASSER IN SYRIA

Contrary to most Western analysts of West-Asia politics Walter LAQUEUR (author of "Communism and Nationalism in the Middle East") still sees chances for Gamal Abdel NASSER in his lost "Northern Region"; Syria. In "The New Leader" (New York, a bi-weekly since the death of its former Editor Sal LEVITAS 1961) of 16. X. 1961, LAQUEUR thinks NASSER's claim "that three-quarters of his difficulties and worries during the past three years" concerned Syria "hardly surprising" because "An old Arab proverb says that even the Prophet Mohammed would have found it difficult to govern Damascus". When listing anti-NASSER opposition groups, LAQUEUR omits Syrian Kurds. He thinks a new Baath-Communist coalition could make Syrians again "flee with indecent haste into NASSER's embrace. --- The present anti-Cairo coalition may not last for very long and the Egyptian dictator may yet return to Damascus in triumph".

#### "THE MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL" (Washington, Summer 1961)

Vol. 15/Nr. 3 of the quarterly of the "Middle East Institute" in the US capital contains contributions on "Pakistan's Basic Democracy" (Khalid B. SAYEED), "The Libyan Oil Worker" (Fred THOMAS Jr.), "The System of Medicine in Middle East Culture" (Ailon SHILOH) and "Westernised Education in Ottoman Turkey" (Roderick DAVISON). There are important book reviews and the "Bibliography of Periodical Literature" announces that an "attempt is made to survey all periodicals of importance" in the field, including Soviet-Asia. Kurdish item listed this time is I. I. TSUKERMAN: "Classification of non-causative verbs in Kurdish" (in Russian) "Problemy Vostok", no. 1 (1961) 147-9. Among the recent publications announced is Prof. Dr. Hans WEHR's (Münster/Westf., GFR) "Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic", Edited by J. MILTON COWAN. Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1961, XVII + 1110 pages, US \$ 19,25. Cairo emeritus Prof. Hussein K. SELIM attacks Prof. George KIRK's book "Contemporary Arab Politics" (Praeger, New York, 1961) for "using colonialist jargon about the dangers of a power-vacuum" in the Middle-East. He also blames KIRK for praising Nuri ES-SAID of Iraq. Pakistan's AYUB Khan (pictured on MEJ's cover with Pres. KENNEDY) is criticised by SAYEED for failing to put forward a "system --- whereby the more important group, the educated urban classes, may be trained to operate democracy on a national basis".

FOR BOOKS OLD AND NEW - AND "KF"



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## STUDENTS

### GROWING INTERNATIONAL STUDENT SUPPORT FOR KURDS

IN MÜNSTER (GFR) student members of KSSE and ISK collected signatures against QASSIM's merciless policy towards Kurds. The action was run under the watchword: "Stop the massacre". It was supported by both German and Afro-Asian students (including Turks).

IN UTRECHT (Netherlands) ISK-President S. VAN ROOY was invited by several student clubs to lecture on Kurdistan - after students read Dutch press reports on what is going on in North-Iraq and about ISK's efforts on behalf of the oppressed Kurdish nation. New subscribers to this paper were won, and a gift was made to ISK's Kurdish library. Further student support of Kurds and ISK is under serious consideration (23. XI. 1961).

IN AMSTERDAM, Quaker students also asked for an ISK-speaker. They got one on 16. XI. 1961. New subscribers were won. ISK was asked to organise a performance of Kurdish culture (literature, music) in December.

IN WEST-BERLIN, there was a Kurdish evening on 24. XI. 1961. Dr. Dieter CHRISTENSEN from the "Völkerkunde-Museum" lectured and showed colour-slides on Kurdistan. Many Kurdish, German and foreign students attended.

IN OLDENBURG (GFR), Abdullah KADIR lectured in Kurdish dress for students of the "Paedagogische Hochschule", 3 times, on 22/23. XI. 1961. Islam, world politics, development problems in Kurdistan and all West-Asia were his topics. Discussions continued till the small hours in the cosy rooms of "Die Brücke", the City's International Cultural Centre. Radio, press, and ISK-President VAN ROOY were present. Local ISK-friends collected a sum of money, new KF-subscribers were won. "Die Brücke" also plans days about the Turkic nations. Oldenburg has - indeed - nothing "provincial" any more.

IN BRAUNSCHWEIG, 300 German and foreign students signed a telegram asking the United Nations, the International Red Cross and QASSIM to stop "the merciless measures of violence" against Iraqi Kurds. They also asked for an investigation mission of the International Red Cross to South-Kurdistan.

IN HANOVER (10. XI. 1961) the students of the "Technische" and the "Tierärztliche Hochschule" cabled to the International Red Cross on QASSIM's self-censored colonial war against Kurds: "Es besteht der Verdacht, dass hier um des scheinbaren Friedens

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Willen ein ganzes Volk in seiner ethnischen und kulturellen Eigenständigkeit ausgelöscht werden soll".

IN ROME, the newly-founded KSSE-branch there set to work for Kurdistan and ISK, contacting the students of the first European country which did research on Kurds and Kurdistan.

IN PRAGUE, the Executive Committee of the "International Union of Students" accepted the "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe" as an Associated Member. The agreement (1. XII. 1961) is subject to ratification by IUS and KSSE. During the past years, IUS rejected KSSE-membership several times, with various arguments. Art. 6 of the agreement states that KSSE "will have the right to represent its members and participate fully in the proceedings of IUS Congresses and to participate in IUS events".

### BERLIN CRISIS AND KURDS

At the sixth annual congress of the "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe" (see KF/9-10, p. 25-26) one CC-member of KSSE remarked that it looked as if "the Berlin question is becoming a Kurdish question too". He meant that communications between Kurds in the GDR and East-Berlin with those studying in the GFR and West-Berlin had become more difficult. A West-Berlin branch has meanwhile been founded by KSSE, whose secretary-general, Mr. Kamal FUAD, (who also represents the Kurdish Student Union of Iraq) lives in the Eastern part of the city. Berlin is - indeed - as divided as is Kurdistan, a fact to which Mr. Abdullah KADIR (a Kurd from Munich) drew attention already at the 1960 KSSE congress there (which saw the public announcement of ISK's foundation). Both in Berlin and in Kurdistan things have worsened since. Because of the tense situation Afro-Asian students in the German Democratic Republic are recruited for the GDR's armed forces since September; especially those married to German girls. Such foreigners are considered GFR-citizens by law.

### KURDISH ATTITUDE TO FOREIGN MINORITIES

Both the "Democratic Party Kurdistan" and the "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe" are now open to non-Kurdish inhabitants of Kurdistan. Main national minorities in Kurdistan are Arabs, Turks, Turkmens, Azerbaijanis, Persians, Armenians and Assyrians. Both Kurdish organisations hope cooperation with their country's non-Kurdish nationals will help to pave the way to a Federal West-Asia, the minorities being a natural bridge between Kurds and neighbouring nations. Of all national minorities in Kurdistan, the Assyrians are organised best. One of them - an early ISK-member - is preparing an illustrated article on Assyrians for this paper.

"WORLD STUDENT NEWS" ON IRANIAN RESISTANCE:  
ENGLISH AND GERMAN VERSIONS DIFFER

"World Student News" nr. 8/9 carried a 2-page article by Ahmed IRANI: " - Iran - next on the list?" concerning the May events there. The chief organ of the IUS (Prague) made no mention of the (pro-Communist) Tudeh-Party. Instead it found the



80,000-men demonstration "organised by the Iranian National Front". WSN saw "also indications of a united national movement to sweep away the Shah ---".

The article's last sentence differed as follows in WSN's English and German language editions:

"In any such movement, the Iranian students, with their glorious traditions and longstanding history of struggle, will play a very important role together with other sections of the population."

"In einer solchen Bewegung werden die iranischen Studenten eine sehr bedeutende Rolle spielen."

#### VISA FOR BRITAIN REFUSED TO L. U. S. -DELEGATE

Nuri HUSSEIN, Iraqi-Arab official of "International Union of Students" in Prague, and expelled from Britain in 1956, applied for a visa. It was refused. Mr. HUSSEIN wanted to attend the National Council meeting of the "Scottish Union of Students" at St. Andrews ultimo November. In the late fifties, an Iraqi-Kurdish IUS-man was refused a visa too: Mr. Darah Tewfiq SALIH. In Prague's IUS-HQ, the Iraqi element is comparatively strong, especially since 1958.

#### BLACK AFRICAN STUDENT ORGANISATIONS TO MERGE

FEANF, the Federation of Black-African students in France, is to merge with UGÉAO, the West-African Students Union of Dakar University. This is stated in "L'Étudiant d'Afrique Noire" (Nr. 32, Sept./Oct. 1961), the FEANF-Organ of Paris. Both FEANF and UGÉAO/WASU are IUS-members. At the Baghdad IUS-Congress (X. 1961) FEANF was the first Afro-Asian student organisation to defend Kurdish rights (remaining one of the very few since). FEANF-headquarters in Paris were searched by DST (French secret police) on 10. I. 1961, FEANF-President Amady Ali DIENG writes. At the same time, the French government offered substantial subventions to FEANF-branches in the country. DIENG says the reproach that Black-African students in France are working there at French expense against France is not true "Car les 8000 étudiants que nous sommes en France, 4000 sont des non-boursiers vivant de l'aide de leurs parents ou de leur travail; les 4000 boursiers sont des boursiers non de la France, mais de leurs territoires". (6 bis, Cite Rougemont, Paris 9; NF 1 per nr. ; Editor: Mr. Jacques BAROUM.)

## BOOKS

#### KURDISH AND TURKISH FOLK POETRY - A PAPERBACK

Gérard CHALIAND, French poet, publicist and friend of the Kurdish nation has done a fine job by offering beautiful translations in his "Poésie Populaire des Turcs et des Kurdes" (Fr. Maspéro, Paris, 1961, 147 p., no price indicated). Between well-written introductions, the book contains 18 poems by Karadja-OGHLAN, 10 by Pir Sultan ABDAL, and 10 by Yunus EMRE, all translated by Mr. CHALIAND. The Kurdish part of the book has 15 love-songs, 5 epic songs and 10 chansons, finally 10 pages from the famous Kurdish epos Mame Alan (The Fountain of Qastal). Translating from Kurdish is done by

noted experts like Roger LESCOT, Pierre RONDOT, Lucie-Paule MARGUERITE, Hereqoi AZIZAN and Mr. CHALIAND himself. The result is one of the finest books in the field we ever came across. The choice is representative, the French versions are real rebirths of the respective poems, it brings literature that is little known abroad under the eyes of a large public and - finally - it shows how you can love the Kurdish and the Turkish nation at the same time. Your reviewer would like to quote and quote again from this anthology, but printing space does not permit him to do so. May it be just this Kurdish poem, "The Towers of Bitlis" (transl. LESCOT)?

Les tours de Bitlis sont noires,  
- Deux pigeons s'y promènent.  
Ah! Que baiser les fillettes,  
- Chez leur père est chose douce!

Les tours de Bitlis sont blanches,  
- Deux pigeons prennent leur vol.  
Ah! Que baiser les fillettes,  
- Chez leur père est chose douce!

#### CHALIAND: "LA QUESTION KURDE" (Maspéro, Paris, 1961, 32 p.)

Another CHALIAND, this time on Kurds only. It is the abridged printed version of a leaflet already distributed in stencilled form at the 1960 Kurdish student congress in West-Berlin (which Mr. CHALIAND attended). The leaflet was still friendly to QASSIM, but a few lines are added to deal with the sad developments in Iraqi Kurdistan since. KSSE Berlin resolutions are also added.

Says the first phrase of the booklet: "Le conflit judéo-arabe excepté, le problème majeur du Moyen-Orient est la question kurde".

As a motto, CHALIAND uses lines of the great Syrian-Kurdish poet CEGERXWÎN (who was described by Prof. Th. BOIS of Beyrouth in "Cahiers de l'Est", Beyrouth, 1945 and in the Kurdish paper "Roja nû", Nr. 53, 13. VIII. 1945:

#### JUSQU'À QUAND?

Si notre fraternité doit toujours être de cette couleur nous n'en voulons plus.

Nous, toujours tenus par la bride et portant le bât de l'âne; Eux toujours des beys et des aghas, nous toujours pauvres et soumis.

Eux, servant l'ennemi, et nous leurs serviteurs.

Ouvriers, paysans, assez, l'heure est venue, soulevez-vous!  
Jusqu'à quand serons-nous les serviteurs des beys et des aghas?  
Jusqu'à quand serons-nous l'os devant les pattes du chien?

Jusqu'à quand serons-nous prisonniers et torturés dans les prisons?  
Jusqu'à quand gardiens et policiers nous frapperont-ils?  
Jusqu'à quand ces beys et ces aghas nous exploiteront-ils?  
Jusqu'à quand parlerons-nous devant eux en baissant la voix?  
Ouvriers, paysans, assez, l'heure est venue, soulevez-vous!  
Jusqu'à quand serons-nous les serviteurs des beys et des aghas?  
Jusqu'à quand serons-nous l'os devant les pattes du chien?

The poem once again proves that the Kurdish national move-

ment is a progressive movement both in the national and in the social field, that it is not only against imperialism but also against local, including Kurdish, reaction. Certain people in Iraq meanwhile learnt that the words of Cegerxwîn have been understood by the Kurdish nation and are put into practice. Kurds as well as their friends have good reasons for thanking Mr. CHALIAND sincerely for his two new books.

"KURDY" - AN ETHNOGRAPHIC HISTORY  
BY DR. O. VIL'ČEVSKIJ

Among the 5 or 6 leading Kurdologists of the Soviet Union O. VIL'ČEVSKIJ (and TSUKERMAN) rank immediately after Prof. QANATE KURDO(-EV). Among his 11 publications on Kurds listed in ISK's card-index system the oldest one is an article in the then-time Soviet paper "Ateist" (April 1930, Moscow, Nr. 51, p. 81-113), dealing with Yezidism. In 1936 VIL'ČEVSKIJ took part in the All-Union Soviet congress of Kurdologists. His publications include economical, historical, linguistical, bibliographical and ethnographical ones. The theories of the late Soviet linguist MARR on Kurds, their beliefs, language and history, found VIL'ČEVSKIJ's solid criticism. As far as ISK could ascertain, "KURDY / Vvedenie v etničeskuyu istoriyu Kurdsogo naroda" (Izd. Akad. Nauk SSSR, Moskva-Leningrad, 1961, Trudy Inst. Etnografij im. N. N. Miklukho-Maklaya, Nov. Seriya, Tom LXVII) is the writer's first book. Of its 165 pages, some 50 are bibliographical notes. The newest literature is included and various theories on the ethnic origins of Kurds are dealt with in detail. In importance, the work ranks beside NIKITINE's "Les Kurdes": it is a major contribution to the topic. The numbers of Kurds given by VIL'ČEVSKIJ differ from those generally offered. He says in Kurdistan there live 8,5 mln people, of which 75% are Kurds. Kurds outside Kurdistan (enclaves, including the Soviet ones) he estimates at 3-400,000, thus giving a total number of Kurds of 7 million. This estimate differs both from that given by Prof. KURDO and by Kurdish patriots at home and abroad. But, like Walter KOLARZ (whose total estimate is far too low) says, "the statistical question "How many Kurds are there altogether? --- is in itself part of the 'Kurdish problem'". An important advantage of the book under review here is that it deals extensively with the proto-Kurdish peoples and their neighbours: Khurritians, Kutians, Khullubeyans, Kassites, etc. Some maps would have been fine. The book was printed in 1300 copies only, and is sold for 1 rouble 13 kopeks a copy. Unfortunately, bibliographical listings of Western sources contain several printing errors, but this is only a minor "Schönheitsfehler". Kurdologists not knowing Russian will certainly hope it will be translated, like several other outstanding Soviet works on Oriental archeology and ethnography have been already (some can even be had as paperbacks now).

AVRAHAMBEN YAAKOV: "KEHILOTH YEHUDEI KURDISTAN"  
(Ben Zvi Institute, Jerusalem, 1961)

Kurdish Jews were the first oriental Jews who settled in Israel (in 1812). This is stated in the abovementioned work on the

"Jewish Communities of Kurdistan". Its largest is that of Mosul. Literature by Kurdish rabbis from there is published for the first time in BEN YAAKOV's book. His statement that the first description of Kurdistan was made by BENJAMIN OF TUDELA (the famous medieval Jewish traveller) is, however, as incorrect as the one that Kurds did not write their own history. Did BEN YAAKOV never hear of Bitlisi's "Sheref-Nahme"? With Basil NIKITINE's information on Kurdish tolerance towards Jews the author is obviously not familiar either. But the statistics and other information supplied fill many a gap in the scanty historiography of one of Kurdistan's oldest national minorities: the Jews. Their "aliya" (exodus) was especially strong after 1920, when the British and French had taken over large parts of West-Asia.

QASSIM'S INDEX OF FORBIDDEN BOOKS IN "FREE" IRAQ

Like all genuine dictators, Iraq's QASSIM has his index of forbidden books. Lists are regularly issued by Brigadier Ismail AL-ARIF. Below is one reproduced from "The Iraq Times" (28. VII. 1961) Nr. 12, 190, p. 3, col. 1). Topping the litany is an Arab book on Kurds (Kāzīm HAIDAR: "Al-Akrād, mîn-hum wa ilā aina?" Manschūrāt al-fikr al-hurr, Beirut, 1959). Another work banned (not listed below) is Erskine CHILDERS' "Common Sense about the Arabs" (reviewed in - also banned - KF last May).

## ONS ERFDEEL

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# BOOKS BANNED

Brig. Ismail al-Arif, the Acting Minister of Guidance has issued an order banning the following books from Iraq:

1 — "The Kurds — who they are and where to are they heading?" by Kadhim Haider, for attacking the Iraq Republic.

2 — "The Revolutionary Basis of Arab Nationalism" — by Ahmad al-Shaibani for being opposed to the policy of the Iraq Republic.

3 — "Get Informed and Inform Others" — by Said Taqiuddin, for being opposed to the policy of the Iraq Republic.

4 — "The Monster and I" — by Said Taqiuddin for being opposed to the policy of the Iraq Republic.

5 — "The memoirs of an Aristocratic Woman" — by Jule Modnet, translated by al-Qissa House, for violating the cause of morality.

6 — "Lectures on Iraq from Occupation to Imperialism" (second edition) by Abdul Rahman al-Bazaz for attacking the Iraq Republic.

7 — "Auschwitz" — by Dr. Miklos Nyiszli, for containing publicity to Zionism.

8 — "The Catholic Church in the Middle East" — by Raymond Etteldorf, for containing publicity to Zionism and Israel.

9 — "Men Against the Desert" — by Ritchie Calder, for containing publicity to Zionism and Israel.

10 — "Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East" (Vol. II) — by J.C. Hurewitz, for containing publicity to Zionism and Israel.

11 — "Islam and the West" — by Daniel, for slandering the religion of Islam and the Holy Prophet.

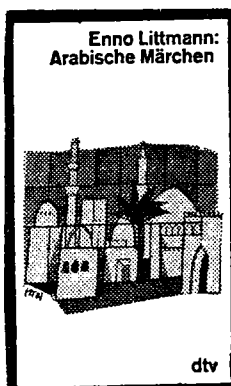
12 — "Mohammed Und Der Koran" — by Rudi Paret for slandering the Holy Prophet.

13 — "The Klaxon Girls" — by Tom Rowland, for contradicting the cause of convention and tradition.

ENNO LITTMANN: "ARABISCHE MAERCHEN"

(Deutscher Taschenbuch-Verlag, Munich, 1961, 213 p.,

DM 2,50)



Lecturing in Oldenburg ultimo November, Abdullah KADIR said folk-customs in the Orient were badly affected by would-be-modernising nationalism. A still more pessimistic statement is preceding the abovementioned book, published in the same month: "die schöne Kunst des Erzählens wird auch im Orient bereits durch die Errungenschaften der modernen Zivilisation verflacht und zum Aussterben verurteilt". Story-telling in advanced parts of Asia like Soviet-Turkistan and North-Azerbaijan seems, however, still to be flourishing. Scholars of those countries greatly contributed to make Turkic fairy-tales known abroad by translations.

The 24 Arab fairy-tales from West-Asia and North-Africa retold in the book reviewed LITTMANN heard in Jerusalem (1900) from the mother of his servant Salim DSHA'NINE. Perhaps it was this old Arab woman who (co-)inspired LITTMANN to undertake the huge work listed above - a classic since. So an analphabetic contributed highly to cultural exchange between Orient and Occident, because she knew well the fairy-tales of her Arab nation. Superfluous to say that the LITTMANN-pocket just published needs no recommendation: its author's name just says everything.

PETER BENENSON; "PERSECUTION 1961"

"Penguin Specials" are pockets, which made information history before World War II already, when they were launched by publisher Victor GOLLANCZ (see KF Nr. 8, p.24). Peter BENENSON's one on "Persecution 1961" is likely to do the same to-day. Issued in October in cooperation with the "Appeal for Amnesty" (see KF/9-10, p.27) it contains the persecution stories of nine persons in various parts of the world: Maurice AUDIN, a Tunis-born French Communist, Ashton JONES, an American clergyman, Agostinho NETO, an Angolan poet, Patrick DUNCAN, an Anglo-South-African anti-segregationman, Olga IVINSKAYA, a Russian woman-of-letters, Luis TARUC, the Philippine "Huk"-leader, Constantin NOICA, a Rumanian philosopher, Antonion AMAT, a Basque anti-fascist, and HU Feng, a Marxist Chinese writer opposing the MAOist Party-line. All cases are dealt with in detail and "désengagé". Introducing them, BENENSON says they "have been chosen not to chill the reader's blood, but to prick his conscience". Their descriptions may be called essays in the finest sense of the word. In spite of the fact that persecution cases under non-aligned governments are absent in the book, there are very few works which say more about the world-wide struggle of men and nations for freedom than "Persecution 1961". Healthy reading

for everybody, especially for the many who think only their political opponents capable of treading down human rights. 152 pages worth to be published in as many languages as possible.

JANKO LAVRIN: "LEV TOLSTOY IN SELBSTZEUGNISSEN UND BILDDOKUMENTEN" (Rowohlt, Monography-Series, Hamburg, Mai 1961, transl. from the English: Rolf-Dietrich Keil, 178 p., 70 ill., DM 2,50)

Lev Tolstoy, Russia's greatest author (1828-1910) not only deeply influenced literature, but also politico-social thought in the West and the Orient. The pre-1914 international peace movement was closely connected with his name. All major works of Tolstoy being available in several countries in pocket-book-form, a pocket-biography of the "Eremit of Jasnaya Polyana" in German was due indeed. Rowohlt had one translated from the English. Whether pagan "lust for life" is bad and Christian morality is good, as Lavrin suggests a bit simplifyingly, is open to discussion, but spotting this conflict as the central one in Tolstoy's mind may be correct. When Tolstoy's early soldiering in North-Caucasia in the service of Russian conquest is dealt with, the native population gets 1-2 lines only, stating that they are "hostile". Invaded countries generally are. Nevertheless: a noteworthy book, worth having and "digesting".

ELLI ZENKER-STARZACHER:  
"MAERCHEN AUS NAH UND FERN"  
(Stocker-Verlag, Graz & Stuttgart, n. d. (1961) 392 p.)

Mrs. ZENKER, an Austrian, retold 41 fairy-tales taken from 40 books. 13 are from the German-language area, including its lost parts. The other 28 are meant to represent Europe, but the choice is somewhat one-sided. There are 3 tales from Russia, but none from the Ukraine (40 mln people). Malta and Transylvanian Gypsies are included, but the Netherlands language area (17 mln people) ignored. The topical choice is similar. In her 7-page intro, Frau Zenker believes that fairy-tales are "etwas typisch Europäisches". The Orient with its immense riches of fairies is obviously beyond her intellectual horizon. Maria Grengg's numerous illustrations are lively, but mediocre and somewhat out-moded. Did she ever see the lovely, really modern work of her French or Czech fellow-artists? All this does not mean, however, that the publishers did a bad job. Testing their book by reading parts of it to his kids, the reviewer found them generally enthusiastic. And children can be stern judges if it comes to story-telling. If it was Mrs. ZENKER's chief aim to please youthful listeners, she reached it. But theorizing on fairy-tales is another chapter, far more risky than it looks. In spite of the collectress' bourgeois "Kulturpessimismus" about it (TV, you know?) there is doubtlessly a demand for fairy-tales. As to Stocker's: the house is considering a choice of West-Asian fairy-tales, including Kurdish ones. In turn, reading European fairy-tales may be a nice parallel way for Orientals to get acquainted more intimately with the nations in this part of the world.



#### NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY'S 50TH ANNIVERSARY

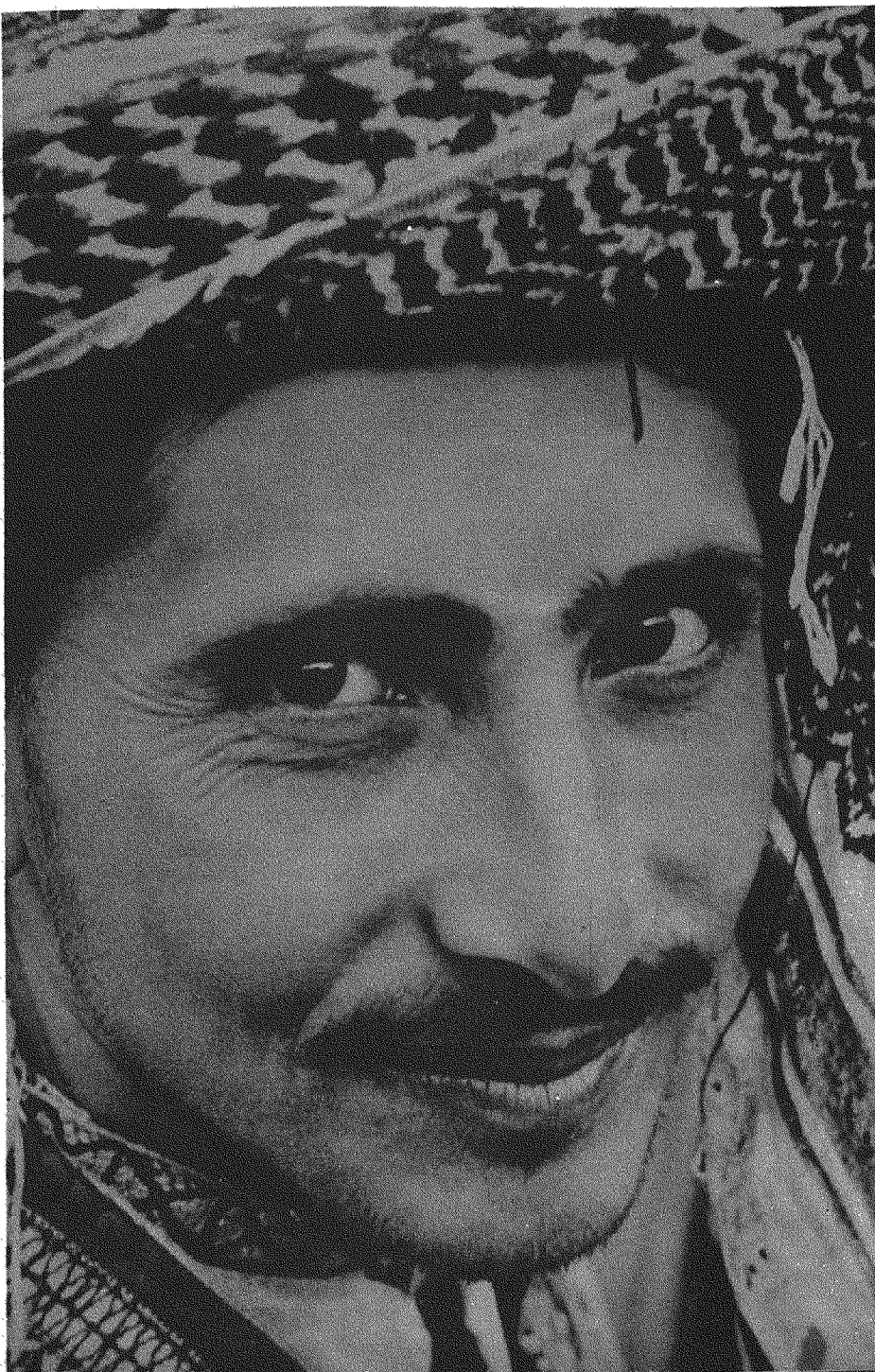
Millions of books, manuscripts, maps, documents and dias are concentrated in a white, temple-like building between the skyscrapers of New York's Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street (see ill.). It is the library of America's biggest city, "The New York Public Library". Developed into its present form in 1911, it is used by more than 3 million people a year, among them European and Kurdish members of "International Society Kurdistan". The Library, which is said to have the best collection in the world of Armenian books, has also 175 titles on Kurds and Kurdistan: probably the largest one in the U. S. A. It was also one of the first libraries entering into an exchange agreement with ISK's "Kurdische Zentralbibliothek in Europa". Director of both the Oriental and Slavonic division of the New York Public Library is Dr. John L. Mish, who commands 20 languages and has a working knowledge of 15 more. The Oriental division has 70,000 books and subscribes to 2,000 periodicals. "Kurdish Facts" you can also read there. The Library's main reading room has places for 700 readers. The Library's activities are world-wide and its approach of things is a real 20th-century one. In "Search and Research", a nicely illustrated booklet commemorating The New York Public Library's 50th anniversary this year, William K. Zinsser tells: "The man buying political pamphlets in the outdoor markets of Ghana this week is quite likely to be acting on orders from Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street. The sender of these orders, Robert E. Kingery, the Library's chief of acquisitions, recently received his first crate of books from Nigeria. 'It was not up to me', he explained, thumbing through the motley volumes in various tribal languages, 'to say 'only send us what's important or what's good'. These represent the first printed efforts of the Nigerian nation, and some day they will be enormously valuable. We are really collecting the rare books of the future'."

13/14

JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1962  
THIRD YEAR OF PUBLICATION  
KF 1962/1-2 (13/14)

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# KURDISH FACTS AND WEST-ASIAN AFFAIRS



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国際協会

# INTRODUCING A NATION

**KURDS:** Indogermanic (Iranian) nation in West-Asia; some 2,500 years old. Its coherent ethnic area (Kurdistan) borders that of Turks in the West, Armenians and Azerbaijani in the North, Persians in the East, Arabs in the South. Of ± 12 million Kurds, 6 live in Turkish Republic, 3½ in Iran, 1,8 in Iraq, 0,4 in Syria. Small Kurdish enclaves in neighbour-countries, Turkistan, Baluchistan. Culture: oldest lit. doc.: 834 A.D. Kurmanji & Sorani dialects, spoken by 60 & 9% of K. resp.; Arab & Latin characters compete for nation-wide use. Religion: Sunnite Moslems; small Christian, Yezidi & other minorities. Politics: In spite of long K. record against foreign oppression, assimilation, most K. are still deprived of basic rights. Tribal-feudal traditions are giving way to modern, progressive forces, seeking self-emancipation along democratic lines.

## A COUNTRY

**KURDISTAN:** divided, mountainous country of ± 500,000 km<sup>2</sup> in heart of West-Asia. Principal cities: Bitlis, Van, Diarbekir, Erbil, Sulaimaniyah, Kirkuk, Mehabad. Economics: Mountain peasantry (some seasonal nomadism), tobacco, handicrafts, a beginning industry, oil.

## AN INTERNATIONAL

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN (ISK), founded 1. VII. 1960 in the Netherlands, is a non-party, democratic world-wide action group. Aims: Collecting & spreading facts about Kurdistan; aiding Kurdish nation in its struggle for emancipation; promoting friendly relations between Kurds, their neighbours & all other nations. President: Silvio E. van Rooy.

## A PAPER

**KURDISH FACTS AND WEST-ASIAN AFFAIRS (KF)** is the world's only paper about everything Kurdish. Remit 30 sh., 15 DM or equivalent to "Intern. Society Kurdistan" (account-nr. 23686, Twentsche Bank, Amsterdam) for 12 months KF. Students 20% reduction. Airmail is charged extra. Adv.-rates on request. ISK & KF's address: Da Costastraat 25/I, Amsterdam-West.

# IN - mail - OUT

### RECENT RETURNERS FROM IRAQI KURDISTAN REPORT TO ISK:

"During my stay at home this autumn I have been asked several times about "International Society Kurdistan" and its leaders. As I know you well I could report in detail."

(I. D., Kurdish student, Hanover, Germany)

"Your Society is very well known in Iraqi Kurdistan and your efforts in aiding the Kurdish nation in its struggle for liberation are highly appreciated."

(H. S., Kurdish lawyer, Lausanne, Switzerland)

"We are very glad to have good friends in Europe who are interested in and take care of Kurdistan and Kurdish peoples. I think that it is our best duty to cooperate with you."

(D. M. S., Kurdish student, Rome)

"QASSIM banned one newspaper because it protested against his action towards the Kurds and had suggested to him a peaceful solution. --- General QASSIM's massacring of Kurds was so inhuman that even the anti-Kurds (Baathists and Arab Nationalists) were saying that this sort of treatment cannot be justified and condemned QASSIM. The approximate casualties of the Kurds were about 10,000. They mention that this sort of exterminating of Kurds has never occurred before, even at the days of Nuri SAID and Prince ABDULLAH."

(X. Y. Z., name and address known to the Editor)

### PRESS (KF/11-12, p. 19) "POLITISCHE WELT" ON KURDS

"Kurdish Facts" objected in print and by letter to Herr VON CAUCIG's article on Kurds in the AdK-monthly "Politische Welt" of Nov.'61. Here is the major part of PW's answer (signed by chief-editor Herr Joh. SEIFERT of 30. XII. 1961) in the original language:

"Es lag unserem Istanbuler Mitarbeiter völlig fern, mit seinem Artikel das kurdische Volk kränken zu wollen. Wir werden selbstverständlich Ihre Darlegungen künftighin bei unserer Arbeit auswerten und auch unserem Mitarbeiter eine Abschrift Ihres Schreibens zustellen, wenn er nach einer längeren Auslandsreise auf seinen Posten zurückgekehrt ist. Unsere Artikel-Überschrift: "Kurdenprobleme bleibt gefährlich" hatte übrigens nicht die Bedeutung einer "kurdischen Gefahr". Es sollte damit nur gesagt werden, dass das Kurdenproblem ein Moment der politischen Spannung in sich birgt. Irgendein absprechendes Urteil über das nationale Sehnen der Kurden hatten wir in keiner Weise - und hatte auch unser Mitarbeiter nicht beabsichtigt. Es ist uns ein Bedürfnis, Ihnen dies mitzuteilen."

"Kurdish Facts" was glad about the exchange of thought opened, but thinks Mr. SEIFERT's answer not satisfactory. Its reply-letter of 4. I. 1962 contained 5 precise questions, of which the first runs as follows:

"Wenn Herr VON CAUCIG Ihrer Meinung nach die kurdische Nationalbewegung nicht als Gefahr betrachtet, warum redet er dann in der 11. Zeile vom 1. Absatz seines Artikels von einer "Kurdengefahr"?"

Up till now, no answer to this second letter was received.

### NASSERIST NAZI-NOMAD VON LEERS (KF/11-12, p. 8)

Anti-Semite VON LEERS asked for a Jewish physician: two days after U. S. troops took Iena in 1945. The doctor came, but politely refused the tea offered by the ex-Professor. When Soviet troops took over the area, VON LEERS went West like IKE's GI's. After having been detained as a Nazi, he escaped to Argentina. In Buenos Aires he was a VIP among the Nazi émigrés publishing the monthly "Der Weg". Just before Juan PERON's regime collapsed, VON LEERS found his third dictator to serve: Gamal Abdel NASSER."

(Dr. H. v. d. B., Oldenburg i. O.)

German philologist Dr. Johann VON LEERS embraced Islam after having been a neo-Germanic pagan in HITLER's Third German Reich. As "Prof. Omar Amin", NASSER's (ex-)adviser lives in a luxurious villa in Cairo. Out of favour, he does translation work now, and teaches German to young Egyptians

(S. A. K., Munich)

### KF/11-12: COVER PHOTO

"The cover photo does not show a Kurd, but a Sabian (Arabic: Subbeh). The Sabians form a sect of their own in Iraq and do use to occupy themselves with silverware. (You'll find more about it in the Fischer-pocketbook of Prof. GLASENAPP "Die nichtchristlichen Religionen"). The photo comes from an Iraqi government calendar. The Sabians are certainly no Kurds."

(A. K., Kurd, Munich)

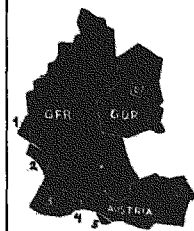
KF got the photo from Iraqi Kurds, without text.

### KF/11-12: HERR FRANZ VON CAUCIG

"Herr Franz VON CAUCIG is no German, but an Austrian from Graz."

(S. A. K., Kurd, Munich)

### GERMAN LANGUAGE-AREA (AFTER 1945)



1. Luxemburg, 2. German Alsatis, 3. German Swiss, 4. Liechtenstein, 5. German South-Tyrolians, 6. Great-Berlin.

Like Kurds and Arabs, German-speaking people live divided in several states. Fully realising the differences resulting from separated historical development, KF uses the adjective "German" for German-speaking people regardless of their passports. The term "Germany" KF uses for GFR and GDR only. MOZART was certainly an Austrian, but - of course - at the same time a German. (Just like Algerians or Kuwaitis are Arabs like Saudis.) KF thinks in BOTH state and ethno-cultural categories. Sole etatism is anti-progressive, be it Oriental or Occidental. Practically all misunderstandings about the Kurdish question, too, spring from etatism.

### HOW STABLE IS WESTERN GERMANY? A SILESIAN'S DOUBTS

"Ill-informed YOU are least of all. Consequently only constant, malicious intentions can be observed (in KF). --- The latest issue (KF/9-10) showed some improvement, but advertising for East-Berlin is still contained in it. --- One thing is sure: in case the Federal Republic, like the former Weimar one, fails to gain continuity (and to this YOU are zealously contributing in KF), you, the Dutch, would be the victims again. --- Think of the intellectuals' role in the Russian revolution, then you'll see better what I mean. --- Please save me from KF from now on." (J. E., teacher, Oldenburg i. O., Germany) KF will gladly meet with Mr. E's modest wish. Sorry we'll have to miss his amazing outbursts of profound misunderstanding; (see KF/11-12, p. 2). For Mr. E's information: no Federal official in Bonn thinks our tiny paper a serious threat to the GFR's 52,000,000 citizens.

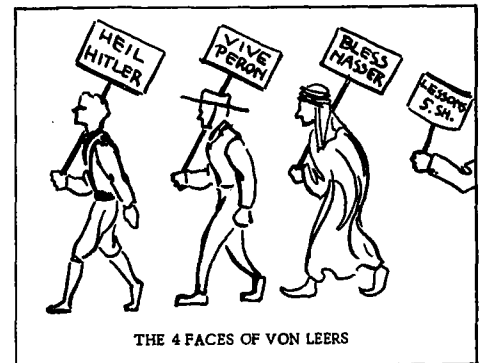
### GERMAN STUDENTS ON KF

"Your paper radiates freshness and courage."

(V. S., stud. med., Munich, Germany)

"My sincere congratulations to the growth of "Kurdish Facts"."

(E. H., stud. phil., Berlin-Schlachtensee)



THE 4 FACES OF VON LEERS



"As to your evidence, that the "Democratic Party Kurdistan" led by Mullah Mustafa Barazani is loyal towards the Iraqi Republic even to-day: this, your evidence is not conform to my experiences. In the years 1950 till 1958 I was in the Arab orbit myself, with short intervals. During this time I had the opportunity to talk with many Kurds in Iran, Iraq, Turkey and also in the Lebanon. It were especially the Kurds of Iran and Iraq who generally put great hopes on Barazani, whose speeches via Tiflis radio were known to them and who was called a Communist by them without contradiction. The Kurds also repeatedly stressed on such occasions that they wanted an independent Kurdistan of their own, comprising all Kurds living within their coherent ethnic area. So far the statements of Kurds."

(H. G., editor, Düsseldorf-Oberkassel)  
 The DPK in its present form was established 1958-1960 after the Iraqi revolution seemed to open a new phase in the history of Kurds and their relations to neighbouring nations, especially the Arabs. Iran did arrest Kurds accusing them of being "Qassim-agents" in 1959. The program of the DPK advocates Kurdish rights within the framework of the Iraqi State. BARZANI himself declared he was proud to be a soldier of QASSIM and the Iraqi Republic. His interview with Arabish and Kurdish papers of ultimo February 1961 was also absolutely loyal to Iraq, and pro-Arab. That was after BARZANI's second sojourn in the USSR. His notes to QASSIM before and during the 1961-62 uprising were on the same line. Originally, in 1958, Kurdish hopes shifted from USSR to Abdul Kerim QASSIM (who did and omitted everything necessary to destroy those hopes). The Kurdish attitude towards the USSR can be compared with that of many non-Communist Europeans, in World War II, who were glad about Soviet-support after 22. VI. 1941 in the fight against HITLER's occupation-regime in their countries. That Kurds long for independence is nothing amazing, most divided and oppressed nations do, once they realise their situation. Among Kurdish activists, Westasian federalism is a growing trend. It shows they are no chauvinists, just democratic patriots. Kurdish "insurgents" happen to be the only people at the moment who defend democracy in all Iraqi with arms in hand.

**MOMENTS OF DESPAIR - AND A NEW HOPE**

"My --- friend --- wrote to me about your ISK and sent me two copies of your KF. To say the truth I was very surprised because I never thought that such a society could exist. So, do please allow me to thank you and wish you all the success. It is really a great help and relief for us to know that we are not left entirely alone, and there are still some people whom we could depend on and trust.

Dear Sir, I hope that you do know well that the Kurds' main problem is not the other nations' understanding of their demands, but --- their own misleading of those demands, their own errors, disagreement and faults and that is all because of their lack of faith in their rights.

The Kurds are illiterates, ignorants and poor. They have been kept away from civilization, robbed from every right of human being, treated even worse than animals by the everlasting hostility of their enemies.

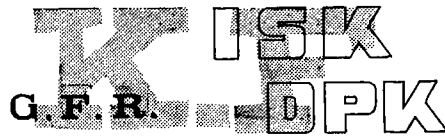
To say the truth, they feel inferior, abandoned and unwanted. They have lost their sense of dignity and pride. They do not believe in their rights of freedom.

I myself an educated Kurd, I feel exactly the way I mentioned. I am nobody, belong to no place. My race and nation or even my land are known to no one. Wherever I go I see hostility in people's eyes. I feel resistance to my mere existence. So! what could I demand and what rights could I fight for?

Dear Sir, I wish I could say more and more, but what for? I know the policy of the great powers, I know my enemies, I have lived all my life among them, and I know my people, the poor Kurds. It needs a miracle to awake them and I doubt that such a miracle would ever exist. So let me beg you, if you really want to help the Kurds, try please to awake them and let them be aware of their existence. Let them know what it means to be a nation, a real existing nation with its own land, language, history, culture and tradition. Then they could demand for their rights and they will succeed. By helping Kurds you shall fulfill your duty towards the human race." (Mrs. P. R., London)

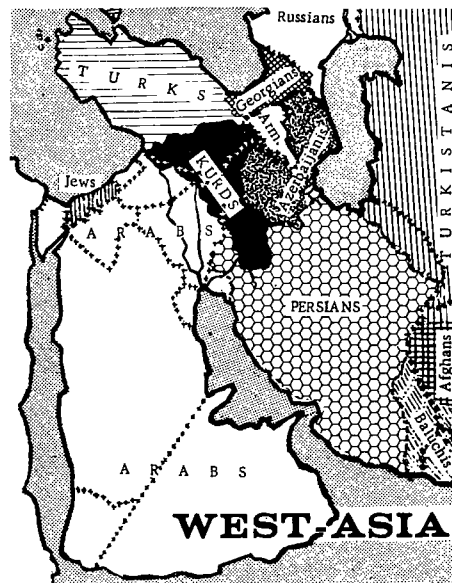
Moments of despair are common to all who ever fought for the future of an oppressed nation, be it their own or that of others. But our time has seen the startling rebirth of many a nation that was believed to be "out" forever. So why could not Kurds? Have Kurds ever been lazy? Have they ever been cowards? Have their enemies ever doubted Kurdish vitality? Three things are needed: know-how, work and money. ISK started with the second one, then got a bit of the first and is sure it will also get the

third. Then it can contribute to training of Kurdish cadres and at the same time teach Kurdistan's oppressors that democratic world opinion will force them one day to change their minds and deeds. The fight for Kurdistan's future is a two-fronts-war. It will be won if there are enough modern Kurdish patriots and enough friends of Kurdistan in the world. THE EDITOR



**ABBREVIATIONS IN KF**

AA: Auswärtiges Amt (German Foreign Office), AAPSC: Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Council (Cairo), ADN: Allgemeine Deutsche Nachrichtenagentur (of GDR), AFRASLA: Africa + (non-Communist) Asia + Latin-America, AP: Associated Press (of America), BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation, CC: Central Committee, CENTO: Central Treaty Organisation (former Baghdad-Pact), CoSec: Coordinating Secretariat (of Students), CP: Communist Party, CSSR: Czechoslovak socialist Republic, DPA: Deutsche Presse-Agentur (of GFR), DPK: Democratic Party Kurdistan (of BARZANI), FAO: Food- & Agricultural Organisation (of UNO), FLN: Front de Liberation Nationale (of Algeria), GDR: German Democratic Republic (of East-Berlin), GFR: German Federal Republic (of Bonn), GPO: General Post Office, GUSIR: General Union of Students of the Iraqi Republic, INA: Iraqi News Agency, INF: Iranian National Front, ISK: International Society Kurdistan, IUS: International Union of Students, KF: Kurdish Facts (and West-Asian Affairs), KSSE: Kurdish Students' Society in Europe, MENA: Middle East News Agency (of UAR), NATO: North-Atlantic Treaty-Organisation, NUS: National Union of Students, PR: People's Republic, SSR: Socialist Soviet-Republic, SU: Soviet-Union, TH: Technische Hochschule, UAR: United Arab Republic (= Egypt), UK: United Kingdom (England, Wales, Scotland and North-Ireland), UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, UNO: United Nations Organisation, UPI: United Press International, USA: United States of America, USSR: Union of Socialist Soviet-Republics, WCC: World Council of Churches, WHO: World Health Organisation, WPC: World Peace Council.

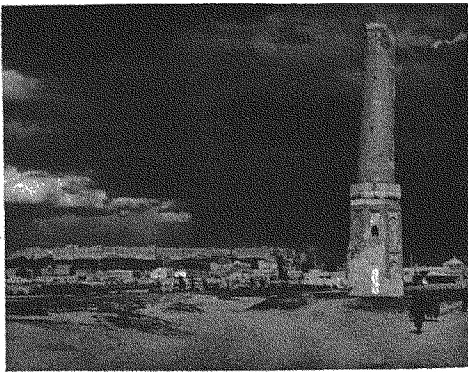


The above map, first published in our previous issue, caused critical comment from KF-readers. It may therefore be repeated here, that the map is only meant to be a rough sketch of the situation. Main purpose of the map is to show the conflicting realities of states and ethnic nations. Nationality problems are as important as (other) social questions. Tension in West-Asia is for a large part due to the lack of Arab unity, to the comeback of Jews to what is now called Israel, to divided Azerbaijan and, of course, to the unsolved problem of Kurdistan. Every endeavour to realise democracy in West-Asia will have to deal with these problems, as it will with foreign imperialism, local reaction, underdevelopment, poverty and ignorance. KF's aim is to make a contribution to coming West-Asian Democracy by giving factual information on the area. RED.

# THE KURDOSCOPE

- IRAQI** Continued warfare and 500 raids by QASSIMist military and police
- KURDISTAN:** units resulted in 10,000 dead and 80,000 shelterless Kurds so far / Reports on Kurdish-Arab truce talks with honorable terms for BARZANI unconfirmed / Some 150 Kurds amnestied; prisons are still full of DPK-men and Kurdish Liberation Army volunteers / BARZANI's brother in Baghdad.
- PERSIAN** Teheran says: ail quiet / steps up Kurdish radio propaganda / scientific article on Kurds at Isfahan university.
- KURDISTAN:**
- SYRIAN** DPK-successes are vain as election-results are frauded / Temporary
- KURDISTAN:** arrest of Dr. Nureddin ZAZA and others.
- TURKISH** Severe famine / BARZANI forces said to have operated on Turkish
- KURDISTAN:** territory / Common (anti-)Kurdish policy reportedly considered in Ankara-Teheran-Baghdad.
- GENERAL:** "Kurdish Students' Society" and "Iranian National Front" in Europe strengthen ties with "International Society Kurdistan".

# INSIDE KURDISTAN



Dark clouds over Kurdistan. Here: Erbil (ancient Arbela).

## RUMOURS ABOUT IRAQI-KURDISH PEACE-TALKS

What may be - potentially - the most sensational news from South-Kurdistan during January: truce talks between QASSIM and BARZANI, is not yet officially confirmed. On 7.1.'62 Iraq's Lonesome Leader had publicly announced for the umpteenth time that the "rebellion in the North" was "crushed" now and that "remnants" had "fled abroad". But in the same speech, he announced a Constitution (one of the democratic demands put forward by BARZANI). Next day, there were rumours in Beyrouth (West-Asia's political gossip-centre Nr. 1) about armistice contacts between Mullah Mustafa and Abdul Kerim. Sheikh Ahmed BARZANI, the former's brother, was in Baghdad at Iraq Govt. - expense with his two sons since weeks. In November he had sent a message of subordination to QASSIM while his brother was still busily defeating the latter's forces. Sheikh Ahmed's name however, was not mentioned in Beyrouth as a negotiator. It was said that a 5-men-QASSIMist delegation was in the North and that BARZANI was laying down acceptable conditions. January 8th was said to be the day a cease-fire came into effect, peace-talks being expected to last 10 days. But medio February there was no news of peace in Iraqi Kurdistan whatsoever in the international press. ISK consulted all its Kurdish contacts about it but only knew something about truce talks at all. Most sources thought them improbable for the moment. What also struck us was that only (some) British papers carried the news (so "The Times" of 10. I. '62 and "Daily Express" of 9. I. '62). Other European dailies were silent about it. The latest detailed report from South Kurdistan used in this issue of KF was dated between 8. I. '62 and 18. I. '62. It did not contain truce-stuff either. Observers agree that BARZANI's military position is comparatively strong at the moment.

## BARZANI'S "OPERATION GELI ZAWETE"

World-press-reports of ultimo December last year on the "renewal" of armed Kurdish resistance in North-Iraq were somewhat lagging behind events. Since summer 1961, Kurdish warfare against Qassimism did not cease at all. Particularly bitter fighting took place between 4-11.XI.1961. BARZANI's "Kurdish National Liberation Forces" then defeated 2 Iraqi Police battalions (over 1000 men) and some 1500 Kurdish mercenaries of QASSIM's. Kurds refer to this battle as to "Operation Geli Zawete". After that, over 20 armed clashes took place till mid-January 1962. In all of them, BARZANI's troops remained victors. In one case more than 80 QASSIM-politicians were taken prisoner. Those captured by patriotic Kurds during the November battle were released soon. Big cities are - as before - avoided by BARZANI's forces who try not to expose civilian population to QASSIM's Soviet-made bombers. The number of military Kurdish casualties is said to be small.

## 86,000 SHELTERLESS PEOPLE IN SOUTH-KURDISTAN

QASSIM's systematic bomb-terror (500 places affected) in Iraqi Kurdistan made 80,000 people shelterless. So many mothers, children and aged people are hungrily roaming through the severe Kurdish winter. Foreign emergency aid (like given to Angola, Algeria, Congo etc.) is absent and even if offered could not possibly reach South Kurdistan via normal ways. Kurdish

casualties, mostly civilians, are generally estimated to be 10,000.

## NEW CRIMES OF ZIBARI SEPARATISTS REVEALED

The Zibari tribe, which was paid and armed by Iraqi dictator QASSIM did - as became known now - not only attack the political followers of BARZANI but also members of Kurdistan's Christian minorities. West of Duhok (Iraqi Kurdistan) Zibaris looted a number of Christian villages. One of their main objects was the Mir-Yakub monastery of the Dominican Fathers, which is inhabited in summer time only. The new Chaldean church of Amadiyah was partly destroyed by Zibaris who also put an end to its library (worth 5000 Iraqi dinars). The library had been built up by a young priest. BARZANI's Kurdish national democrats treat Christian Kurds on a basis of equality with Moslem and other compatriots, as is done with national minorities (Turkmens etc.). All this was reported to ISK from Mosul mid-December.

The total defeat of the Baghdad-supported Zibari separatists by BARZANI's Kurdish National Liberation Forces was greeted with a feeling of relief by Kurdish Christians.

## BARZANI'S FORCES FIGHTING IN TURKISH KURDISTAN

On 31. XII. 1961 Turkish general Nazmi KARAKOC announced in Istanbul that BARZANI's Kurdish forces had killed 25 Kurds who tried to flee over the Iraqi-Turkish border. Operations of the "Kurdish National Liberation Forces" against such remnants of QASSIM-backed, separatist Kurdish feudalism were said to have taken place in Turkish-Kurdistan too. First press reports about the statement of KARAKOC (GUERSEL's commander in the isolated Hakkari district) produced amusing phrases like this one (from "Paris-Presse/Intransigeant" of 2. I. 1962): "Vingt-cinq Turcs d'une tribu berbère qui tentaient de fuir l'Irak ont été massacrés par des Kurdes, sur le territoire turc". Differences between Turks, Berbers and Kurds were obviously unknown to the Paris paper, in spite of the Berber zone in North-Africa's Maghreb. Kurdish military operations in 2 villages near Sîlope (Mardin vilayet) on 15/16. I. 1962 were reported from Mardin on 17. I. 1962.

## IN THE MAKING:

### TURKISH-PERSIAN-IRAQI FRONT AGAINST KURDS

Common measures against Kurds seem to be planned by Turkey, Iran and Iraq. At the 2. I. 1962-session of INONU's Cabinet the unbroken Kurdish revolt in neighbouring Iraq was the main agenda-point. This could be gathered from the Ankara press, of which the paper "Kudret" advocated a joint Turkish-Persian-Iraqi action against the Kurds. Actual causes were the clashes between Turkish border-guards and Kurds during the same days and recent reports on BARZANI's strong military and political position in North-Iraq's mountain-area.



Target for QASSIM's (Russian) bombers: herds in South-Kurdistan. On 9. II. 1962 it was reported that the Soviet Union will supply new arms to QASSIM, in spite of repeated Kurdish appeals to KHRUSHCHOV.

Talks on the Kurdish problem between Iran (CENTO) and Iraq (neutral) already took place in the spring of 1961 (see KF/7, p. 6), thus before the uprising of last summer. As was predicted in KF/11-12, p. 12, Turkey's new Premier Ismet INONU (77) will stick to his traditional anti-Kurdish policy, which included treaties with Iran and Iraq aimed against the Kurdish nation.

## POSSIBLE ROLE

### OF KURDISH "COLLABORATORS" IN NEW SCHEME

Reportedly, the common (anti-)Kurdish policy planned by Turks, Persians and Iraq may consider an endeavour to mobilise Kurdish feudal reactionaries in all three countries against the Kurdish national movement, its leader, party and armed forces. Turkish "journalists" (= military security-men) showed much interest in fled Zibaris and other anti-BARZANI-Kurds bought by QASSIM. Reception-centres were organised for them by the GUERSEL authorities last summer. The SHAH's "Pan-Iranian Kurdish Party" may also be made part of the new scheme. The aim of the "common policy" is to set up Kurds against each other. Cooperation in this field between Ankara, Teheran and Baghdad was repeatedly reached before by Ismet INONU (77), now Turkish premier again (cf KF/9-10, p. 12-13 & KF/11-12, p. 12-13).



Kurdish feudallists who fled for BARZANI's forces after they attacked them in vain are questioned in North Kurdistan by Turkish journalist (right) who wears military uniform.

## NEW TRIAL IN ANKARA AGAINST KURDISH PATRIOTS

The 49 Kurds arrested in Turkish Kurdistan last year, are on trial again in Ankara since 11. XII. 1961, and are expected to be so till about mid-February. Their courageous attitude in prison and dock won them the respect of their Turkish judges, it is trustworthily reported from Ankara.

Mid-February it was reported that 26 of the 49 accused were sentenced to death. Names are not yet known to ISK, but they are included in the list published in KF/9-10 of last year. A photo showing most of the accused was published in "Kurdistan" (KSSE, London) last May and in "Chebat" (Baghdad, DPK) of 14. I. 1961. KSSE applied to GUERSEL by telegram to spare the prisoners' life. The offer of the Norwegian weekly "Orientering" (to ISK) to push the case of one of the 49 might be too late now, however.

## Europäische Begegnung

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KURDISH WOMEN: proud, diligent and alert.  
(Photo reproduced from "Gli indomabili Curdi" in "Atlante", Milano, Italy, 27. X. 1961)





**FAMINE IN TURKISH KURDISTAN,  
WOLVES INVADE SETTLEMENTS**

A severe famine is raging Turkish-North-Kurdistan since December. Many places are isolated because the (scarce) roads cannot be cleared from snow. Hungry wolves invade villages. Sowing-corn and cattle are eaten by the Kurdish population. In the towns, Turkish soldiers are distributing food. GUERSEL's authorities avoid the word famine. They say there is "a scarcity of grain and fodder in East-Turkey". State Minister Prof. FEYZIOGLY (with some of the new MPs) inspected the area several days from 14. I. 1962 on. In Erzerum he told students (16. I. 1962) that national production had to be raised by 7%, and concluded: "And we have the principle to realise the raise

of the living standard and the construction of the country only while maintaining conditions of freedom". Whether starving Kurds under Turkish occupation were much moved by Min. FEYZIOGLU's consolation was not stated in the Osmanli press. "Cumhuriyet" (Istanbul) reported that the USA put 80,000 tons of grain "for East Anatolia" at the disposal of the GUERSEL-government. ISK received no reports about any direct action by American CEN TO/NATO-troops (of nearby Adana etc.) in favour of the famine-stricken people of Turkish-Kurdistan. Kurds in Europe asked ISK to alarm public opinion by writing press articles about the famine. Conditions in neighbouring Iraqi Kurdistan being also very near famine (causes: see KF/11-12) it can be stated that now some 2/3 (50 + 16%) of the Kurdish nation are threatened by starvation.



**AÇ ESNER ..... TOK GEYİRİR.....**

Turkish opposition is growing against the official attitude towards starving North-Kurdistan. Leading daily "Cumhuriyet" (of 20. I. 1962) published the above cartoon. It shows "Eastern compatriot" (= Kurd) at left, dying of hunger, and "Western compatriot" (= Turk) at right, groaning after a far too rich meal.

**KURDS AND QASSIM'S AMNESTY (SEE ALSO KF/11-12, p. 6)**

How many Kurds were "amnestied" by QASSIM is not yet known; the fact that Iraqi authorities avoid using the word Kurds is not making things easier in this respect. Kurds reported to KF that "among 6000 amnestied people" there were also "some hundreds of Kurds". The weekly of QASSIM's "Iraq News Agency" (Nr. 49) said it "learned that 3015 prisoners convicted by military and civil courts were released from all the jails of Iraq" after the measure. Referring to QASSIM's Derbendi-Khan-Dam-speech in South-Kurdistan, "Iraq Weekly" spoke of "the misled peasants and their family, who had been detained during the North-rebellion", and added that the "Military Governor issued an order to release 146" of them. These doubtlessly were Kurds. Contrary to other amnesty-reports, the weekly did not state that the release had been carried out indeed. If one bases oneself on the "Iraq Weekly"-figures, less than 5% of the 3015 amnestied prisoners are Kurds. This is a percentage far below that which the latter are of Iraq's total population (about 27%). Furthermore, since the rebellion, the relative number of Kurds arrested by QASSIM must be higher than that of Arabs. The "New York Herald Tribune" said on 1. I. 1962 that of amnestied Kurds "many reportedly headed north immediately and took up arms". The few (military & civilian) British prisoners of Iraq since the Kuwait crisis have also been released. INA told that "death had been in store for them".

**KURDISH PRISONERS IN IRAN**

Among 650 Kurds are said to be in the SHAH's prisons for political reasons. A list of 27 of them is published below. Running order: name, profession, birthplace, verdict. The number of captured Kurds in Iran has (as that of democratic Persian, Azerbaijani and other involuntary guests of "Savak") gone up during the last months.

Aziz Yusefi, author, 33, Mehabad / Gheny Blurian, author, 37, Mehabad / Rehmet Sheri'eti, official in Teheran, Sineh (death sentence) / Dr. Ali Mewlewy, surgeon in Teheran, Mehabad / Mulla Mohammed Soreny, teacher of religion, Baneh-Soren (for life) / Qadir Debaghy, textile merchant, Seqqz / Medjid Ahmedy, estate owner, Baneh / Qadir Mam Abdullah, farmer's hand, Baneh (15 years) / Khalil Ahmad Zadeh, textile merchant, Baneh / Sherif Fetahy, trader, Baneh / Mustafa Hendjire Reshkeh, farmer's hand, Baneh / Ismail Sersheewy, merchant, Baneh (10 years) / Ghefoor Hadji Sa'aid, tailor, Serdescht / Yusuf Westa Qasimi, carpenter, Serdescht / Ismail Ismailzadeh, apothecary, Serdescht / Mamosta Mulla Rehmany Zeydan, teacher of religion, Khany-Zeydan / Kerim Wethuqy keeper of bookshop, Baneh / Medjid Ahmedy, estate owner Baneh / Mahmood Mengoory, builder, Mehabad / Hussein Fa-



Building at left (Erbil) is used as prison for Kurds since revolt.

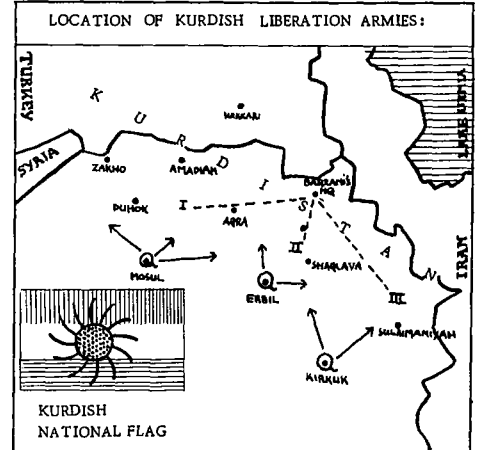
tahy, shopkeeper, Bokan / Ahmed Fat, farmer's hand, Siaqool (village) / Kerimi Kabany, seller of odds, Mehabad / Hadji Khlan, builders' foreman, Mehabad / Mohammed Abdullah Bialeh, carpenter, Mehabad / Aziz Hama Soor, farmer's hand, Koneh Deh / Rehimi Djwanmerdi Qazy, estate owner, Saru-Qameesh (time unknown).

**ELECTION FRAUDS IN SYRIA; NEW ARRESTS OF KURDS**

All "Democratic Party Kurdistan" officials arrested under the UAR-regime have been released by the new Syrian authorities. But the aged Kurdish poet Osman SEBRI (see KF/8, p. 26) had a dispute with the police and was jailed again. Among the 1876 candidates for the elections on 1. XII. 1961 were DPK-chief Dr. Nureddin ZAZA and his friend Mohammed Issa Molla MAHMOUD, another DPK-leader. Candidates had only 2 weeks to make themselves known. ZAZA and MAHMOUD run in Qamislieh, important Kurdish centre in Djesireh. 2 hours before elections began they were arrested, ZAZA because he had made a Kurdish election-speech. No attention was paid to his argument that nothing in the new Syrian Constitution forbade him to do so. The overwhelming majority in Qamislieh voted for ZAZA and MAHMOUD. When voting was still going on, Syrian Army and police troops swept into Qamislieh and dispersed Kurdish voters with the help of rifle-butts and sticks. Collaborators of ZAZA and MAHMOUD were arrested, the voting urns emptied and then re-filled with pro-Government casts. After the fraud, a voting victory for the Government was announced.

**NOTED FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS TRICKED**

In spite of an additional voting day (2. XI. 1961) only 30% of Syrian electorate voted. 97,7% were said to be in favour of the new Constitution, about as much as the Union with Egypt scored in 1958. Minister of the Interior Abdel Salem TERMANI said: "All is remarkably quiet throughout the country and nothing disturbing security has been reported from any part of Syria". "The Times" of London (2. XII. 1961) said it was an "Orderly Poll in Syria" and "Le Monde" (3-4. XII. 1961) spoke of "un calme absolu, sans -- un seul incident". In reality, the Army frauded many election results. Dr. ZAZA, Molla MAHMOUD and their friends launched a lawsuit against the authorities after being released. Arab, Kurdish and Armenian voters with democratic principles all agreed it was Army rule under "coalition government cloak" again.



I Commander: Ibrahim AHMED, II. Commander: Omar DA-BABA, III. Commander: Djalal TALABANI, Q: main Qassimist military bases.

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# WEST-ASIAN AFFAIRS

A R A B S

## GIGANTIC INSTEAD OF IMMORTAL? QASSIM ON IRAQ

General QASSIM improvised a speech for his Army's 5th division on 17. XII. 1961. His usual phrase of "the immortal Iraqi Republic" was absent this time. So was any remark about the Kurds. Speaking of Iraq, the Leader exclaimed: "This is our land, --- no alien --- shall live in this land". QASSIM also expressed the hope that Iraq "becomes a gigantic power".

## BAGHDAD PRESS CAMPAIGN AGAINST WEST-GERMAN DIPLOMATS

After the expulsion of Dr. Klaus BLOEMER, Federal German Embassy press attache in Iraq (see KF/11-12, p. 19), was hailed by most Baghdad dailies, they started a campaign against 2 other GFR-diplomats. In December "Sawt-alAhrar" and "Al-Bilad" demanded the expulsion of Ambassador Werner VON BARGEN and Embassy-Secretary Wilhelm WETTER. Though Bonn tries to avoid annoying QASSIM's Kurd-killing regime, it finds no "Gegenliebe" at all among the latter's adherents.

## IRAQ: OIL AND THE ALMIGHTY

"His Excellency the faithful Leader" - "Iraq Weekly" announced on 15. XII. 1961 - "has declared another Revolution of a series of July 14th blessed Revolutions ---." It was talking about QASSIM's oil-law launched 4 days before. "Law Nr. 80 Defining Oil Exploitation Districts of 1961" marked the end of long, interrupted talks with the IPC. The preamble of the Law (90% of its 15 pages) called the oil companies "despotic" and "oppressive".

It was dealing with the following oil areas: "Iraq Petroleum Company": 12 near Kirkuk, 6 near Bai Hassan, 478, 75 km<sup>2</sup> total; "Basrah Petroleum Company Ltd.": 4 near Ain Zalah and Butmah each, = 45, 50 + 16, 50 = 62 km<sup>2</sup> and "Basrah Petroleum Company Ltd.": 7 near Rumailah (568, 25 km<sup>2</sup>) and 10 near Zubair (559, 75 km<sup>2</sup>), thus totalling 1937, 75 km<sup>2</sup>.

A schedule and maps were added to the Law. Signatories were all members of the Sovereignty Council (3) and the whole Cabinet (13 ministries, 6 ministers, including Premier QASSIM himself, holding 2 each). Even after the Law was a fact, confidence was not 100%, apparently; "Iraq Weekly" (government publication) hoped that Iraq would restore "its oil-rights in full with the help of the Almighty".

## MUFTI HOPES QASSIM WILL NOT BE KILLED

Amin AL-HUSSEINI, ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, ex-Nazi-fellow-traveller and ex-NASSER-adviser, has now set his hopes on Iraq's QASSIM. After the latter amnestied 51 persons (apparently Pan-Arabists) the Mufti cabled to Abdul Kerim: "May Allah fulfill your wishes and protect and save you for Iraq and Palestine". The Mufti is now chairman of an "Arab Higher Body" for the latter country.

## WASFI TAL, NEW JORDAN PREMIER, HAD KURDISH MOTHER:

6 hours after the sudden resigning of Premier Bahjat TALHOUNI (27. I. 1962), Wasfi TAL presented a new 12-men Cabinet to King HUSSEIN of Jordan. TAL had been Nr. 1-man under TALHOUNI's predecessor, Hazza MAJALL. After the latter was killed by a bomb planted by NASSERist agents on 20. VIII. 1960 TAL had become HUSSEIN's ambassador in Baghdad. An energetic, moustached man in his early 40ies, TAL had an Arab father and a Kurdish mother. He was educated at the American University of Beyrouth (once founded by US Presbyterians) and was a British Army Captain. He fought against Israel in 1948 as a volunteer and held the rank of artillery commander in the Syrian army afterwards. In 1949 he went back to Jordan. TAL's main significance for HUSSAIN was his ability to counteract NASSERist propaganda in Jordan. TAL's Cabinet is extra-parliamentary and says it is "Planning for Progress".

## KING WANTS TO KEEP PRINCESS; COUNTERACTS ISLAMIC LAW

Since 5 years, Dinah Abdul MAHID, former wife of Jordan's playboy-king HUSSAIN, is trying in vain to get her daughter

ALIAH back. In spite of a prince now having been born, HUSSAIN keeps refusing. This is against Islamic law. Dinah, an Egyptian millionaire's daughter HUSSAIN met in England, lives in Cairo.

## POST-PUTSCH-MOOD IN LEBANON: N. S. P., ILLEGAL AGAIN

The UAR's collapse on 28. IX. 1961 opened a new area in Pan-Arabism. Instead of inter-Arab experiments too clearly dominated by one State (like NASSER's Egypt), local combinations may arise who are going to compete to win over the whole of the Arab orbit. "Maghreb" being already discussed between Tunesians, Moroccans and Free Algerians in North-Africa, West-Asian Pan-Arabists who are anti-Nasser feel something like an un-Oriental hurry now. So, in the Lebanon, a small but militant Party tried to seize power. It had been founded in 1932 by Antoine SAADE, a Lebanese teacher, as "Greater Syria Party", planning the unification of Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Jordan, Palestine and --- Cyprus. In 1937 the French suppressed the GSP because of its Fascist leanings and contacts (MUS-SOLINI of Italy was very active in the Arab orbit at that time). In 1939 Antoine SAADE was expelled from Syria after an abortive coup attempt. He went to Rio de Janeiro and vainly tried to interest Nazi Germany, America or the Soviet Union in his schemes. In 1947 he was back in Beyrouth, agitating for the so-called "Fertile Crescent". Two years later he launched another abortive coup. On 9. VII. 1949 he was sentenced and shot. His relative, Dr. Abdallah SAADE reorganised what was left of the GPS into the SPP (Syrian People's Party). In Iraq it backed NURI's "Fertile Crescent" and was subsequently forbidden by QASSIM. But in the Lebanon, it was allowed again as "Nationalist-Social Party" that same summer of 1958 because its militants helped to suppress (like US-marines) the NASSERist coup. In spite of backers like ex-president SHAMOUN, the NSP failed to win even one seat in the 1960 elections for Lebanon's 99-men-parliament (one chamber only).

3000 of its 8000 followers (many of them non-Lebanese Arabs) were in the NSP-militia, openly trained with ultra modern weapons in camps throughout the country. In the 30/31. XII. 1961 night, NSP tried to seize power. 8 armoured cars under Army-Captain Fuad AWAD set out from Turys for Beyrouth, after cutting the telephone. But SHEHAB's Security-Chief Col. SAAD watched them coming into the capital from the Defense Ministry balcony: he had been phoned from Sidon. He could count: 40 soldiers only in the column. But elsewhere in Beyrouth, NSP-men in khaki or with party armbands succeeded in arresting VIPs like Lt.-Col. Yussef SHMEIT (Army-Staff-Chief), Lt.-Col. Abdel Kada SHEHAB (garrison commander and relative of Pres. SHEHAB) and Tewfiq JALBOUT (top-security-man). The Defense Ministry could hold the siege till loyalist reinforcements drove in.

## "CRUSHED IN THE CRADLE" - WITH MANY TANKS

At 7 o'clock in the morning (after 5 hours) the Government's counter-offensive set in: tanks, bombers and artillery being used. 3000 NSP-men were captured, 50 killed in action, NSP-strongholds in the countryside (where armed clashes had already been in April) surrounded and brought to heels. Foreign embassies were put under guard, the border was closed, pro-NSP-editors jailed, newspapers from Egypt banned because of "exaggerating reports", a radio transmitter and 2 truckloads of secret NSP-documents seized. Several people suspected Britain to be behind the abortive coup (SHAMOUN had been in London recently, at Christmas London had sent ships to West-Asia, etc.). Sighed the "New York Herald Tribune" of 9. I. 1962 about NSP: "perhaps the most highly organised party in the Middle East except for the Communists". Laicist, anti-Marxist and anti-NASSER, NSP had taken Christian followers as well. Beyrouth confined 60,000 Palestinian Arabs in their camps during the long counter-measures, and Jordan hastened to protest against this. It had been accused of backing NSP by Lebanon itself. First Lebanese government summary of the events (of 31. XII. 1961): "Some mutinous elements have tried to conduct riotous activities in Beirut, but the Army forces crushed the movement in the cradle". It was signed by freed C-i-C SHEHAB. Lebanon, West-Asia's last Arab democracy, was safe again.

## ANOTHER POST-PUTSCH MOOD: SYRIA

Everything in Syria is still dominated by the feeling of relief since the end of NASSERist UAR-rule. Festive illumination was still on in January and September-putsch-stories still in high demand. Syrians told Mr. Bart STRUWER of "De Linie" (a Dutch Catholic weekly) that "especially Americans had let themselves be taken in by NASSER's double-hearted policy which raised money from the US under the mask of anti-Communism". Commented STRUWER (13. I. 1962): "The free Syrian considers it his task to show the world how dangerous this dictatorship (of NASSER, KF) is". His Syrian friends believed "that the West is pressing hard the Arab states to isolate Egypt in order to hasten the downfall of the NASSER-regime".

5 days before Parliament's foreign committee in Damascus said both foreign (= British) naval moves and recent troubles (Lebanon putsch) in West-Asia were "aimed against Syria" directly. On the same day (8. I. 1962) Syria sided with QASSIM, who had just "revealed" that the continued Kurdish armed resistance was the work of "foreign imperialists".

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## BEHIND THE NEW SCENES OF THE SECOND SYRIAN REPUBLIC

Like Lebanon, Syria was making use of the new anti-West wave sweeping over West-Asia since ultimo 1961. After the elections (see "Inside Kurdistan" in this issue) a secret military junta of 22 men is still factually ruling the country. New president Nazim KUDSI and Premier Maruf DAWALIBI both belong to the "North" wing of Syrian politics ("Shaab" = People's Party; stronghold: Aleppo). President of the Chamber, Mamoun KOUZBARI represents the Damas or central wing ("Watani" = National Party). Though SARRAJ will be on public trial (with 60 others, of which 14 in absentia) in the university amphitheatre on 15. II. 1962, nearly all his terror-police-men are still in function. "Baath" is trying to rally opposition behind it, especially the peasants who have been promised "land reform" by NASSER but now do like to see one at last. The tribal organisation is kept quiet by the Damascus centralisers, mostly by giving posts to tribal leaders. Kurds and other minorities are kept down, anti-Israel propaganda is strong, also because of NASSER's radio-propaganda. So is Pan-Arabist propaganda. Relations with QASSIM are constantly improving. An "Arab Common Market" between Syria, Iraq and Lebanon is thought possible. But the shaky regimes of West-Asia's Arab monarchs will be kept out. Nobody wants to be identified with the West.

## A Z E R B A I J A N I S

### NEW PRESIDENT OF SOVIET AZERBAIJAN: MAMED ISKENDEROV



ISKENDEROV

Mamed Abduglu ISKENDER(-OV), premier of the Azerbaijani SSR in the late fifties, was made the Republic's President on 1. I. 1962. Born a poor peasant's son in 1915 in the Kubatly region, he graduated from the Pedagogical Technicum in Baku in 1932, started a technical career in 1935, fought Germans in the Caucasus in World War II and became a CP-member in 1943. Recalled from the Army the same year, he worked as a geologist and defended a Candidate dissertation in that field in 1946. In 1947 he started his party career as a CP-raikom-secretary in Baku. Next year he got the Lenin order and was made deputy Soviet-Azeri Minister of State Control. High posts in oil (from 1949 on) and in the Azerbaijani CP (CC secretary in 1953) made him a deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet in 1954, Prime Minister of Soviet Azerbaijan in 1958. ISKENDEROV, whose family name reminds of ALEXANDER the Great, wrote a 'Soviet Booklet' called "Azerbaijan, a Land in Bloom" (dealing with Soviet Azerbaijan only), which appeared in London (England) and Paris (France) in 1959.

## J E W S

### NASSER'S JEWISH TEENAGERS



Janet and Lily Fadel

After amusing insiders by stating that Syrian Kurds were great admirers of NASSER and that Arabs in all West-Asia are eagerly waiting to join the UAR, Egyptian propaganda services have now produced a new category of alleged NASSER-fans: Oriental Jews. Last year, Cairo radio interviewed 2 Iraqi-Jewish cousins (see cut): Janet and Lily FADEL. The girls, both 16 and ex-Israelis reportedly said Oriental Jews "in Israel greatly admired the UAR-President --- and often sang in community Arab national songs --- broadcasted by Radio Cairo". ("Arab Observer", Cairo, 1. X. 1961). The trouble with NASSER's alleged foreign admirers seems to be that they invariably turn out to bestow their favours on somebody else when it comes to business.

### 15 YEARS IN 5 DAYS: TWO IMPORTANT SPY TRIALS IN ISRAEL

Aharon COHEN, former CC-member of the left-wing Mapam-Party, got 5 years prison for espionage (on behalf of a Com-

munist state) in Haifa on 9. I. 1961. COHEN, famous orientalist, was for Jewish-Arab reconciliation. Arrested in October 1958, he had been released on caution. The 2-days trial was held in camera.

Dr. Israel BEER got 10 years prison, also for being a Communist agent since 1953, on 14. I. 1962. BEER was a key-man in Haganah, a terrorist Jewish underground movement in Palestine. He was one of the world's best military historians and wrote the official history of the Jewish-Arab war of 1948. He had been arrested in March 1961.

## P E R S I A N S

### ISPAHAN "CASE OF THE 94", A MAIN TOPIC OF REGIME PRESS

Iranian newspapers are dedicating much space to the 94 Tudeh-party-members arrested in Isphahan early in November (see KF/11-12, p. 12). The Prosecutor reportedly declared that they were likely to get capital punishment. The charges are: participation in the textile-workers-strike of February 1961, membership of outlawed Tudeh, participation in the teachers-strike which toppled the SHAH's cabinet, listening to Tudeh-broadcasts (see KF/9-10, p. 25), distribution of illegal literature and (as predicted in KF/11-12, p. 12), working for the "Iranian National Front". There have been court sessions behind closed doors. "Trybuna Ludu", the Polish Communist Party daily, believed on 19. XII. 1961 that the press campaign had been launched "to intimidate the population because of the coming elections for Parliament". Tudeh's (exiled) CC published an appeal calling for solidarity actions in favour of the 94 accused.

### AMINI'S "ANTI-CORRUPTION"-DRIVE: PRACTICE OF A CRUSADE

Since "Agrarian Reform" has become the Leitmotiv of the PAHLEVI-propaganda, boasting the "anti-corruption"-drive, the 'Schlager' of AMINI's first weeks in office, is somewhat fading. The end of 1961 meanwhile saw the anti-Mammon-crusade's first results. The moguls of the notorious (state-owned) "National Fishing Company" got imprisonment. But with the exception of NFC-manager (General) NAVIZI, all were set free against caution. AMINI stressed that the campaign had "the SHAH's full support".



INVOLVED IN THE PERSIAN FISHERY CORRUPTION SCANDAL was Madame Ehsan DAVELOO. She held the ex-

portmonopoly of Caspian caviar to Europe. Price-margin (for 2 kg) between both areas: P 80 minus P 28 = P 52. Arrested shortly after "anti-corruptionist" AMINI came to power she was since set free on a caution, that took only a fraction of her many millions.

### AMINI ON PERSIAN KURDISTAN

Iranian Premier AMINI assured on 12. I. 1962 that there was "absolute tranquility" in Persian Kurdistan. 2000 Iraqi Kurds had got asylum there, he added. As is known, Persian Kurds support BARZANI's forces with arms and men. Mullah Mustafa is well-known in the area since the days of the Mehabad-Republic (1945-46). The underground "Democratic Party Kurdistan" of Iran was merged with DPK-Iraq last year.

### THE AGRARIAN REFORM

As usual when things seem to run hot, the PAHLEVI government announced land-reforming measures. Things running very hot indeed in Iran since some weeks, more energetic measures than usual were announced.

Of Iran's 21 million inhabitants, 15 million are peasants. They live in nearly 50,000 villages (= 300 persons per village on the average). 7,000 landowners own 1-5 villages each, 10,000 own more than 5 each, a small group even 50-100 villages each (PAHLEVI himself once possessed a 1000 villages). Now no landowner may have more than 1 village. The remaining are to be purchased by the Government and then sold in 15 annual installments to landless peasants. The Maragheh area (300 villages, 58 possessed by one man) is to be the piloting district. It happens to be in South Azerbaijan but this, the Government assures is only because feudalism is particularly strong there, not because Persian Azerbaijan borders the USSR's North-Azerbaijan. In reality, social tensions in Persian Azerbaijan (and Persian Kurdistan) are strengthened by national (ethnic) tensions, a usually explosive mixture. On 15. XI. 1961 PAHLEVI signed the "Firman" (ukas) re agrarian reform. Over 8 weeks later (11. I. '61) the Majlis (Parliament) passed a law on the reform. The only thing which does not go slow in the land reform is the big propaganda-drum, noisily beaten by Agriculture-Minister Hasan ARSANJANI, a big landowner himself. The annual sum peasants will have to pay (during 15 years) to the State is only slightly less than what they were supposed to pay before to the landowners. But when the peasants are to increase production, equipment, skill, good health and food are vitally necessary. Up till now, land-reform projects in Iran all suffered from the fact that the basic approach of the "reformers" failed to bring about an ALL-OUT-reform which got at the root of evil. FAO-officials of UNO, for instance, tried to persuade peasants to stop growing opium. Peasants often refused, saying opium meant "ready money" and more than they got for more useful products. Scores of similar cases are readily available. How the bankrupt Iranian state is to buy some 3/4 of its own agrarian territory and also to give credits to the new owners of it to make the land yield more, remains to be seen. Even friends of the PAHLEVI-regime are sceptic about this. How confident the AMINI-team itself is about increased agrarian production after the "speedy" reforms may be gathered from the contract he and US-Ambassador Julius HOLMES signed Monday evening 29. I. 1962: America will sell 100,000 tons of grain to Iran at a 30% reduced price.

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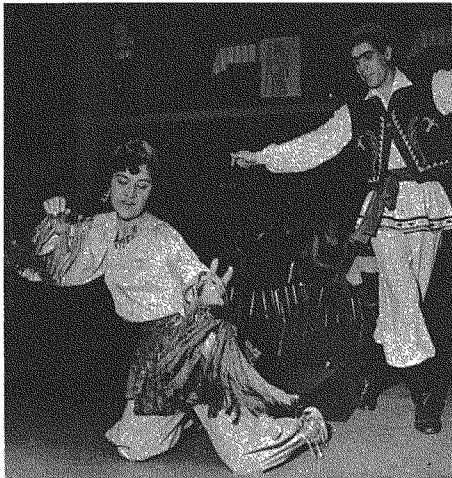




- aspect d'un village kurde -

**IRANIAN NATIONAL FRONT CONFERENCE IN EUROPE**

Representatives of the "Iranian National Front" in 5 West-European countries met in Stuttgart (GFR) on 8/10. XII. 1961 and chose a new Central Committee. In a 5-page declaration the AMINI-government was declared illegal because it violates art. 15-21, 25, 26, 46-48 and 64 of the Iranian Constitution. The INF-representatives stressed: "We have nothing to do with organisations which represent foreign interests in our country, viz. the Tudeh-Party (Communist Party)." Art. 3 of Chapter II of the INF-Statutes explicitly forbids operation with "individuals, associations and organisations who are aligned to a foreign country's policy or yield to it". About the AMINI-government the INF-declaration said: "We appeal to all free States: Dr. AMINI does not represent the Iranian nation but a small corrupt group which sucks the blood of the Iranian people. He who helps such a government supports corruption and oppression." (Similar views on the PAHLEVI-regime were expressed by the international Moslem organisation "Jami'at Al-Islam", see KF/11-12, p. 17).



IRANIAN STUDENTS ABROAD: DETERMINED TO REVIVE A GREAT NATION'S INSPIRING HERITAGE (Hanover Newroz 1961)

**THE BATTLE OF TEHERAN: 21/25. I. 1962**

Discontent about the PAHLEVI-AMINI-rule burst into the open on Sunday 21. I. 1962. It resulted in 4 days of street fighting, the biggest battle Teheran saw since Premier MOSSADEGH's downfall in 1953. Centre of events was the University, where 6000 of the 10,000 students were in action. Slogans demanded elections, dismissal of Premier AMINI, comeback of MOSSADEGH and freedom for democracy. After army and police reinforcements were called into the capital, PAHLEVI-units invaded the campus. It took them hours to drive out the students. University property got damaged, scientific archives were destroyed by the armed hordes. 300 youths, mainly "Iranian National Front"-students were arrested, 400 people wounded on both sides. Teargas-hombs, rifle-buts and batons were used. Among the demonstrators (some of them tried to haul down a SHAH-statue) were high officials of the Education ministry. Because of the invasion of the campus, Rector Dr. Ahmed FARHAD and most of his board-members resigned in protest. The University was closed down for an indefinite period, and security guards kept there. All public meetings were prohibited the same day.

Next day (Monday 22. I. 1962) the world press carried its first reports about the stormy Sunday. Here are figures published by 3 leading Western papers, for comparison:

Name of Daily:	Demonstrators:	Arrested:	Wounded:
THE TIMES (London)	not stated	100	100
N. Y. HERALD TRIB. (Paris)	3000	300	400
DIE WELT (Hamburg)	6000	200	150

Whereas people were reading in "The Times" that the majority of Teheran students were against "the troublemakers", and AMINI-information-officials told foreign newsmen in Teheran that it was the Communists and big landowners who were all behind it, "Iranian National Front" called for a general strike in the capital and got wide response in spite of severe government-measures. Demonstrations now spread over most parts of

Teheran and clashes continued. There was one casualty (the police accused "saboteurs" of killing him). More arrests followed, 6 INF-leaders and 4 opposition-members of the right were captured by "Savak". So things went on for another 2 days. The Cabinet held an emergency meeting. PAHLEVI told ex-Savak-chief Teymour BAKHTIAR to leave Iran immediately (which he did, for Paris) and 160 Mullahs saw the Premier (24. I. 1962). 56 students were kept in custody, the hospitals took care of over 200 seriously wounded (98 policemen, 130 students and others). Only on the evening of the 25th "order" was "fully restored" and no more placards with MOSSADEGH's stern face on it to be seen. Among those arrested on the 3rd day (23. I. 1962) is Said Jaffar BEHBEHANI, son of famous Shiite religious leader Ayatullah BEHBEHANI. In spite of all, the PAHLEVI-government kept telling at home and abroad that the reform measures it is taking meet with "unexpected enthusiasm".

**BIG BROTHER SCAPEGOAT IN THE NEAR NORTH: MOSCOW ACCUSED**

After Radio "Peyk-e-Iran" of East-Berlin, the pro-Communist Tudeh-Party, and the big landowners had been accused of causing the riots, the PAHLEVI government announced that it "considered" to send a protest-note to the USSR accusing Russia of interfering in Persia's internal affairs. On 25. I. 1962 AMINI's spokesman said there was "proof" that 2 of the INF-leaders arrested after the 21. I. 1962 riots had been instructed by Soviet Embassy officials. But when foreign newsmen asked for particulars, Teheran said it could not tell more. On 28. I. 1962 AMINI let announce that the protest-note had been sent off to Moscow. It was now said that "cars of the Soviet Embassy" had been spotted "near the University campus" during the riots. Again, the press got no particulars.

**SOLIDARITY DEMONSTRATIONS IN WEST-ASIA AND EUROPE**

A far more clear language was spoken by the Iranian students outside Teheran. Those of Shiraz and Tabriz universities immediately arranged solidarity demonstrations on behalf of their Teheran brothers. So did Iranian students in Europe. They marched in many cities, so Vienna, Aachen, Paris and London. The confederation of Iranian students abroad organised a "World Solidarity Day with Persian Students". In the European capitals, demonstrations were held before the SHAH's embassies there. In Paris, a strong note of protest was handed in. In London, Persian students carried placards (26. I. 1962) telling: "We demand free elections in Persia"; "Mussadiq, the Leader, the Premier", "Amini, Murderer of Persian Students, Resign" and "Free Students from Torture Chambers". In many places, non-Persians took part in the demonstration, thus showing their solidarity.

**T U R K I S**

**MARXISM SPREADING AMONG TURKISH INTELLECTUALS?**

The "New York Herald Tribune" (somewhat Conservative) said on 3. I. 1962 that "many" of the Turkish intelligentsia "are today either secret Marxists or influenced by Marxist thinking". The paper called this "a new development in traditionally anti-Communist Turkey". It also found that the "true revolutionary element behind the May (1960, KF) coup certainly contained anti-Western tendencies".

**TURKISH NAZIS ACTIVE ON BEHALF OF RUDOLF HESS**

Turkish nazis distributed posters which demanded the release of HITLER's former deputy Rudolf HESS from Spandau prison near Berlin. The action was started by "Northern European Ring", a nazi-minded group led by Britons. The Ring managed to get copies of the poster placed in most Western countries in December. The only Oriental country in which it found distributors was Turkey. (On cooperation between Turkish & Western nazis, see KF/8, p. 12.)

**TURKISH FLEET TO BE STRONGER**

Admiral Nedziden URAN, Commander of the Turkish Fleet, announced speedy measures to reinforce Turkey's military position at sea medio December. A new marine basis (also for submarines) is to be built at Izmir, all ports will get marine bases and more men-of-war are to be built.

**SOCIAL TENSIONS INCREASING**

90,000 Turkish workers demonstrated in Istanbul on 31. XII. 1961. They carried placards with texts like "We are hungry", and demanded the right to strike, and collective labour contracts. The same day, 1000 Istanbul dockers went on strike (a right mentioned in the New Constitution's art. 47). It blocked 18 vessels and 4,556 tons of goods. On 4. I. 1962 work was resumed. Many young officers semi-secretly back the growing social movement in Turkey.

**SOVIETS APPROACH INONU**

INONU's vice-premier said on 30. XII. 1961 that the Soviet Union had offered Turkey a 500 million dollar loan at 1 1/2% interest if Turkey would embark on neutralism. On 4. I. 1962 informed circles in Ankara said Moscow would invite INONU for talks as it had done Mr. MENDERES shortly before 27. V. 1960. 6 days later, INONU assured Turkey would remain loyal to NATO and CENTO. In spite of this and similar official Turkish assurances, the word "semi-neutralism" was already coined in the Western press with regard to present political trends in Turkey.

## PROTEST CALENDAR

The Swiss Federal Republic saw another solidarity-action for oppressed Kurds. 285 academicians, mainly from Lausanne, Geneva and Zürich, appealed to UNO-Secretary U THANT. According to "Le Peuple" (Lausanne, 23. XII. 1961) their letter described QASSIM's systematic bombings of South-Kurdish non-combatants. The professors and students asked "a tous les hommes bonne volonté, a tous les groupements épris de liberté de s'associer a nous pour flétrir cette barbarie" and hoped the United Nations would "intervenir pour mettre fin a ces actes inhumains du gouvernement de Kassem, et de soutenir les droits nationaux legitimes du peuple kurde".

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## INTERNATIONALS

### "SYRIAN" CHRISTIANITY'S BID TO CONVERT AFRO-ASIANS

"Nowhere on any continent has Christianity shown any capacity to make any impression on the mass of Hindu, Buddhist or Islamic people." Thus Dom Bede GRIFFITHS in the special New Delhi issue of the Indian Christian monthly: "The Star of the Orient" (Adur, Nov. 1961).

GRIFFITHS said the ancient schisms in the Church made Christianity "a predominantly European religion". Pointing to the early (mostly Syrian) Christian missionary effort in vast parts of Asia, he saw a big role for the Syrian church, one of the few forms of truly Oriental Christianity still alive. Accusing Europe of having divided Christianity, GRIFFITHS obviously forgot that West-Asia's Nestorianism etc. sprang from causes very similar to those resulting in Protestantism a 1000 years later: a national or zonal revolt against foreign-dominated pseudo-universalism. GRIFFITHS had to admit, that Syrian Christianity was not universalist in form either, but in "its style and spirit --- wholly Semitic". He failed to explain convincingly why this Semitic Christianity would be more attractive to Hindus or Chinese than Latin, Germanic or Slav forms of Christendom. Finally the writer revealed that in spite of their Afro-Asian missionary tasks, India's Syrian Christians "shut themselves up in a kind of separate caste".

### COMMUNISM'S POLYCENTRISM AND "AFRASLA" COUNTRIES

Not only in the religious, but also in the anti-religious camp, zonal brands of universal doctrines are busily competing, especially to win ideologically non-aligned countries. Concluded Walter LAQUEUR in "The New Leader" (N. Y.) of 8. I. 1962: "At any rate, from now on the world - including Russia and China - will have to live with a divided Communist 'system'. This does not necessarily mean that Communism's appeal will diminish. In Asia, Africa and Latin America, where national Communism is obviously more suitable to local conditions, its attractiveness may even be enhanced. Christianity and Islam, it is worth recalling, continued to make considerable progress after important schisms early in their respective histories."

## PEOPLE



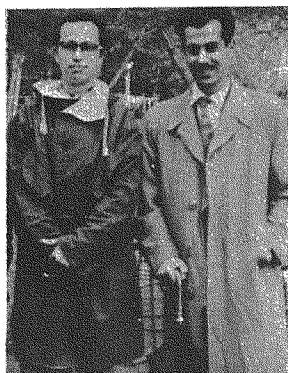
**KHALED EI-NAKCHBENDI**, Kurdish member of Iraq's (3-men) "Sovereignty Council", died after a heart-attack on 23. X. 1961. He was given a state funeral and national mourning was ordered by the QASSIM-government.

**NAKCHBENDI**, born 1912 in Iraqi-Kurdistan, studied at the Baghdad Law College. Under the royalist regime he worked in the Ministry of the Interior and was a Captain in the Iraqi Army. He was Mutasarif (Governor) of the Sulaimaniyah, later of the Erbil Liwah, and made Sovereignty Council Member after 14. VII. 1958. He leaves a wife and about half a dozen children. After **NAKCHBENDI**'s death there are no influential Kurds any more in QASSIM's Iraqi government.

**HELMI SHERIF**, CC-member of the "Democratic Party Kurdistan" & Co-Editor of its suppressed daily "Chebat" in Baghdad was slightly injured in battle while fighting in the "Kurdish National Liberation Forces". Mr. SHERIF was in Europe in August 1960 where he had several talks with officials of "International Society Kurdistan". Some of his relatives study in Europe, all are members of the "Kurdish Students' Society" there.

### WHODUNIT?

KF/11-12 (p. 10) said the Armenian Communist leader **Artim MADORIAN** (Syria) was wounded in Lebanon by men of **BAKH-DASH**, exiled Syrian CP-chief. Lebanese Armenians meanwhile told KF that **SARRAJ** had been behind it instead. (Cf. KF/8, p. 14 & 23, KF's first source was a West-German journalist.)



ISK's Geography-man, Herr **HART-MUT BECKERS**, (Münster University), is shown here with **Mr. Ihsan FUAD** in Sulaimaniyah. Mr. **FUAD** is now secretary of the Kurdish students in Russia. Mr. **Kamal FUAD**, KSSE-Secretary-General, is his brother. Herr **BECKERS** is in Scotland at the moment and studying Jezidi texts. Indogermanists and Jezidi specialists in ISK are now contacting each other. It seems they discovered something new. The big, illustrated article on Jezidism and its origins KF announced also reviewing Prof. Dr. **Thomas BOIS**'s book on it) will appear soon, possibly with results of the above contacts.



**Dr. KAMURAN AALI BEDIR-KHAN** of Paris lectured at a meeting of the "Comité de la Méditerranée" mid-December. His topic: **QASSIM**'s bomb-terror in South-Kurdistan. Prof. **BEDIR-KHAN**'s demand: application of the Kurdistan-clauses of the Sevres Peace-Treaty of 1920. On 13. XII. 1961 the Paris weekly "La Nation Française" published a full-page interview with the Kurdish

Emir. ISK & KF were also dealt with. In January, he explained in a reader's letter to "Le Monde" that the Kurdish Movement was purely national and that it was not inspired by Communism.

KF/4 (p. 10) said Iraqi Kurdish poet **BEKEŞ** celebrated his birthday in January 1961; **BEKEŞ** had already passed away at that time, but the celebrations were in his honour. A translation-error caused the slip.



**RADIO TEHRAN** is playing its part in trying to make Iran's 3,5 million Kurds support the **PAHLEVI**-regime. Photo shows group of Kurdish visitors in Teheran radio studios.

## RADIO

### EGYPTIAN BROADCASTING SYSTEM AS SEEN BY ITS LEADERS

"Radio and Television"'s last (6th) issue of 1961 brought a survey of UAR-radio. The OIRT-organ (Prague 5, Liebknechtova 15) said Egypt's 64 broadcasting hours of each day were divided into 5 programs: the general one (20 hrs), "Voice of the Arabs" (20 hrs), "With the People" (8 hrs, serving all professions), the Second program (for Arab intellectuals, 3 hrs) and finally the "European Local Program" (13 hrs in 5 main European languages). In spite of the huge illiteracy rates in the Arab orbit, UAR's radio said it gets "hundreds of thousands of letters". Each day, 2 of the "60 achievements of the Revolution" of 1952 are "presented --- in a form that is altogether new". **NASSER**'s radio "asked playwrights to write plays with the cooperative movement, Socialism and Democracy as themes". Summarised the (anonymous) Egyptian contributor: "Our problem is in fact, not how to make our Radio usefully attractive, but is indeed, how to continue to be always usefully attractive."

### TURKISH RADIO TO BECOME AN 'INC'

Turkey is going to make its broadcasting system a "Societe Anonyme" before 30. IV. 1962, Press- & Information-Minister **K. EVLIYAOGLU** announced on 27. XII. 1961. TV will be included in the new "Türkiye Radyo ve Televizyonlari". Private investments in "TRT" will be possible.

### THEY SAID:

"The British are more interested in murder than other people. Comparatively, their murder rate is low."

(Patrick O'DONOVAN, 14. II. 1961)

"Far too many Christians have far too long been quite uninstructed concerning the Jewish backgrounds of their faith."

(Mary Ellen CHASE, 14. II. 1961)

"Never had a reigning king so exiting, so moving a story to tell."

(London's "Daily Mail" on 19. II. 1962 about the Memoirs of Jordan's **HUSSAIN**)

"Who thinks of logic? This is the Middle East."

(American in the area to Harold H. MARTIN)

"HEUTE" -  
SAD END OF AUSTRIAN WEEKLY FRIENDLY TO KURDS

A heavy loss hit the German-language press in December when an 'ukas' of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party (SPOe) put a sudden end to "Heute". This lively Vienna weekly, led by Dr. Heinz BRANTL and other young Socialist intellectuals, had been Austria's best since its foundation in 1958. Via "Forum-Verlag", mentioned as proprietor and publisher, most of the money came from SPOe. "Heute" was dropped because of its open letter to KHRUSHCHOV, thought too open by SPOe. No farewell-issue was allowed to appear. "Heute" carried several positive articles on the Kurdish Nation's struggle. (Eugen FLEISCHER, Swiss, on 16. IV. 1960, Silvio VAN ROOY, Dutch, on 18. VI. 1960 & Peter UNTERBERGER, Austrian, on 30. IX. 1961, all in ISK's files.) In several countries 'bright young men' who want journalism based on broad, dynamic democracy, are at odds with powerful private and party 'dogmatists' of both left and right.

HOW ITALIAN PHOTOGRAPHERS SAW KURDISTAN

Splendid photos from Kurdistan appeared on 27. X. 1961 in the Italian geographical weekly "Atlante". 29 of the issue's 44 pages were dedicated to "indomabili Kurdi" (indomitableKurds). The cover-story carried 34 photos (9 full-page, 15 in colour), the best printed choice we ever saw. Its seven sources are: A. BERBENNI, CAMERA PRESS, R. GARDI, LENS SIRMANN PRESS, P. POPPER, RIWKIN and E. TURRI. Of RIWKIN we reproduce one in this KF. Signor Vincenzo PASQUERO's map of Kurdistan leaves much to be desired. In his article to the photos, Signor Eugenio TURRI says: "Come tanti altri popoli del vicino Oriente, i kurdi hanno sofferto drammaticamente le vicende politiche e i mutamenti profondi imposti dal nostro secolo alle minoranze etniche". "Atlante" is published by the Istituto Geografico de Agostini S. p. A. - Novara, and can be had from Milano, via Cernaia 1, Italia, 200 lire a copy.

REALISTIC WESTERN REPORTS ON IRAN  
EXCERPTED IN C. P. -PRESS

The Communist viewpoint towards the present regime in Iran was formulated clearly by the Dutch CP-daily "De Waarheid" on 25. I. 1962. After an excerpt of "Newsweek" 's report on the Persian scene, the party-paper commented that "of all evils under which Persia is sighing, corruption is one of the lesser evils". The chief thing was, "De Waarheid" believed, Iran's dependence on the United States. "Newsweek" was quoted as summarizing: "The danger to Persia - even if there were no Communists - is the danger of a revolution of the poor and hungry."  
"Trybuna Ludu", chief-organ of the Polish CP, also excerpted the Iran-report of a leading American paper. Its 20. XII. 1961 issue used H. E. SALISBURY's article in "The New York Times". Said "Trybuna Ludu": "The Western press recently writes much about conditions in the country of Xerxes and Cyrus."

NEWSGIVING IN AFRICA AND KURDISTAN

UNESCO reported that Africa has now 260 daily newspapers, 21 national news agencies, 85-90% illiterates and 5 million radio receivers. (Radio Hilversum, 21. I. 1962.) The (predominantly) "Black Continent" has about 250 million inhabitants. For comparison: the 1,8 million Kurds in Iraq (often branded as "primitive") had six newspapers till QASSIM suppressed them in 1961. This is about 3 times that of produced by Africans, who have a similar illiterary rate. Unlike Kurdish independence, that of all Africa will be completed in the next few years.

TURKISH PAPERS SUPPRESSED, EDITORS SENTENCED

Accused of "acting against national interests", the following Turkish papers were suppressed at the end of 1961: "Son Havadis" (Istanbul daily, favouring the pro-MENDERES "Justice Party" now in government), "Onçu" (daily) and "Zafer" (weekly). The daily "Yaman" was closed down for a week earlier in 1961. "Onçu" 's Editor-in-chief Prof. Aydin YALCIN got 6 months prison and a PT. 500 fine in Izmir (for praising MENDERES) last autumn. Turgut LAIONCU, Editor of "Birlik" was arrested on the first day it appeared (15. IX. 1961). Most of the measures had to do with the papers' attitude towards the Yas-siada sentences against MENDERES c. s. The latter's policy

against Turkish press freedom was one of the chief causes of GUERSEL's Junta-putsch of 27. V. 1960. Kurdish publications of all kinds (including imports) remain forbidden as well.

WESTERN VIEW ON NEUTRALISM

"Khrushchev can certainly claim that the Spread of anti-Western sentiment in the Afro-Asian world is a tribute to the success of his line, --- But --- any tendency by the uncommitted countries to draw closer together, thus forming an alternative centre of attraction for the newly-emergent peoples, gravely threatens the Soviet Union's aspirations to play the part of leader in the anti-imperialist struggle." (John KEEP in "Survey", London, January 1962)

ARTICLE ON KURDISTAN IN TABRIZ UNIVERSITY REVIEW

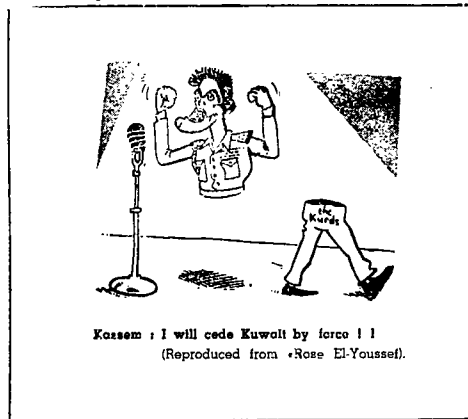
An article called "Cirike Kurde" (Kurdish history) was written by AYYUBIAN and published in the "Review of the Literary Faculty of the University of Tabriz in Persian Azerbaijan (Nr. 2, XIIIth Year, Summer 130/1961). No further details are known to ISK at this moment.

FURTHER ARTICLES ON KURDISTAN

Prof. Dr. Th. BOIS, O. P. of Beyrouth/Lebanon, finished two new articles in Kurdistan ultimo last year. One of 57 p. text and 23 p. of notes deals with Kurdish social life and will probably be published in Tunis. Another, philological one (24 p.) in Leiden's "Bibliotheca Orientalis" which earlier carried a similar essay by the same author.

MEASURES AGAINST "NATIONAL FRONT" PUBLICITY

Among the measures taken by the AMINI-government on order of the SHAH there is one suppressing all papers of the "National Front" opposition movement. Other papers are forbidden to carry publications of the Iranian National Front too. Military pre-censorship secures the strict obedience of this rule, which runs counter to art. Nr. 20 of the Iranian Constitution ("All printed matter apart from books harming the Islamic religion are free and may not be controlled"). Outside Iran, the INF has several publications, however.



An Egyptian view of 1961 that still has actual meaning

ALGEMEEN HANDELSBLAD

"Kassem's failures in his foreign policy are coupled with setbacks in the interior. He did not succeed in putting down the Kurds in the north of the country definitely. In his actions against rebellious Kurdish tribes he had to use his airforce, because the army of which one third consists of Kurds, was not considered sufficiently reliable." (10. I. 1962, Amsterdam, liberal)

COMBAT  
LE JOURNAL DE PARIS

--- comme 'Combat' n'avait cessé de le dire, la revolte kurde n'avait jamais cessé. Jamais le général Kassem n'a pu en venu a bout. Impuissant a la maîtriser, le maître de Baghdad d'a pu que deverser des torrents d'injures sur le leader des Kurdes, Moustapha El Barzani. Cette bassesse supplémentaire est digne de la lâcheté du general Kassem, lorsqu'il décida d'envoyer contre les populations civiles kurdes les 'Ilyouchine' reçus de l'Union soviétique." (Paris, 2. I. 1962)

DAILY EXPRESS

London's "Daily Express" has the reputation of being pathologically anti-German. To Kurds, another nation seeking "Wiedervereinigung in Frieden und Freiheit", it took a similar attitude on 9. I. 1962. The "Daily Express" -correspondent in Beyrouth, Robin STAFFORD reported on the armistice-talks between BARZANI & QASSIM. Kurdish aims he described as follows:

The Red Mullah dreams of setting up eventually an independent Kurdistan, including parts of Iraq, Persia, Turkey, Syria, and the south of Soviet Armenia--reported to have been promised to him by Khrushchev.

Obviously BARZANI's strong position annoyed STAFFORD so much that he produced wilder phantasies than usual. On 20. IX. 1961 he had confined himself to using the word "Russia(n)" thrice, the word "Red" twice and the word "pro-Communist" once in the 6 phrases he cabled from Istanbul on revolting Kurds ("Scottish Daily Express", see also KF/9-19, p. 16, bottom left).

One wonders whether Soviet Leader KHRUSHCHEV will (parallel to his alleged "promises" to BARZANI) tell, say Finnish Communists that they'll get Karelia and the Kola Peninsula if they topple the present government in Helsinki. Without revealing who promised what to whom, the "Daily Express" 's map-makers did their best to make what they called "Red Mullah's Dream State" still larger than described by Mr. STAFFORD. They simply attached all Persian-Azerbaijan and the South of Soviet Azerbaijan to it. The product of the "Daily Express" dreams is reproduced here to amuse KF-readers. However hard times may be for Kurds or ISK, one always finds things to smile about and keep you gay. (Beyrouth, 8. I. 1962)



DIE WELT

"Die --- Kurden streben mit ihren --- Millionen Stammesbrüdern in der Türkei und Persien die Bildung eines eigenen Staates Kurdistan an. Unter Führung des --- Barzani - der lange in Moskau lebte, ohne Kommunist zu sein - haben sich die --- einander oft befehdenden Kurdenstämme gegen Bagdad geeinigt und die Streitmacht Kassem's in Kämpfe verwickelt, bei denen die Armee seit Sommer 1961 sogar Flugzeuge einsetzte." (Essef-Hamburg-Berlin, 12. I. 1962)

FEUILLE D'AVIS DE LAUSANNE

"Cette revolte mine les forces de Kassem. Déjà il n'a pu envahir Koweït, car la division kurde préparée a cet effet régim-bait. Les militaires comprenaient fort bien que le général voulait les éloigner du Kurdistan. Il abut la carte arabe et s'appuie sur les pronasseriens, pourtant peu rélusants en ce moment, Son alliance avec Nasser, durera-t-elle le temps des roses? L'Egypte et l'Irak se disputent la direction de Moyen-Orient. --- Qui mettra les pouces le premier, terrassé par les divisions intérieures? Foin des pronostics. Une seule certitude. Au Moyen-Orient on ne gouverne pas contre les Kurdes. Les Turcs, les Syriens, les Iraniens s'en souviendront-ils a temps!" (J. HELLE, Lausanne, Suisse, 13. I. 1962)

Le Monde

Irak: "Dans le Nord, les Kurdes, auxquels la révolution de juillet 1958 avait promis une autonomie administrative et culturelle, sont soulevés contre l'autorité de Bagdad. Les troupes gouvernementales ne contrôlent que les villes, obligées de céder aux troupes de Mollah Moustapha Barzani la domination des montagnes qui forment la majeure partie du Kurdistan." (Edouard SABLIER, Paris, 24. I. 1962)

## LA LIBRE BELGIQUE

"Les Kurdes d'Irak ont répris les armes. --- Apres des luttes acharnées, le général Kassem declara (1961, KF) que la révolte avait été définitivement matée. Ce n'était qu'une illusion. Le dictateur de Bagdad vient d'admettre qu'une nouvelle mutinerie était en cours dans le nord du pays. Les Kurdes ne se soumettent point. --- On ne peut nier la tenacité des aspirations kurdes a l'indépendance. Elles sont aujourd'hui plus vives que jamais. Le vent du nationalisme ne souffle-t-il pas dans le monde entier? --- On observe, --- que les Kurdes rebelles se trouvent invariablement sous les ordres du fameux Mustafa El Barzani." (Brussels, 16. I. 1962, Catholic, conservative)

## L'Afrique et L'Asie

"A certains égards, cette rébellion kurde rendait indirectement service au general Kassem; mieux encore que l'affaire de Koweït, elle lui assurait le loyalisme de la majorité arabe du pays. Toute la lumière est loin d'être faite sur les circonstances dans lesquelles cette révolte s'est déclenchée; peut-être les Kurdes avaient-ils compte sur des appuis extérieurs; en tout cas ils ont rarement manifesté autant d'assurance et, a l'heure ou ces lignes sont tracées, il semble bien qu'en dépit de la disproportion des forces ils n'aient pas pu être réduits, ce qui permet de penser qu'avec l'approche de la mauvaise saison cette rébellion risque de devenir chronique pour de longs mois, préparant peut-être pour l'avenir des développements d'une certaine ampleur." (Pierre RONDOT, Nr. 56, 4e Trimestre, 1961, Paris)

### "L'UNITA" ON KURDS AND OTHERS IN IRAQ

"L'Unita", chief organ & daily of the Italian CP, has a certain reputation in the international communist press on Mid-East covering. It attacked NASSER earlier than did the Soviet press. On 4. XI. 1961, it took a similar attitude towards QASSIM and his anti-Kurdish policy. "L'Unita" called both "i communiste e i kurdi di Barzani" "democratici sinceri ed onesti". The Kurdish tribal chieftains incited by QASSIM against BARZANI were referred to as "capi tribu reazionari"; QASSIM's sending of General Jalal AWKATI to Moscow as "un'ultra manovra". The paper also protested against the "massacrati" of Kurds by QASSIM, who was called a "dittatore". Writer of the article was Arminio SAVIOLI.

## Neue Zürcher Zeitung

"Es ist erstaunlich, wie wenig das Problem der irakischen Kurden die arabischen Politiker in Bagdad beschäftigt." After summarizing the armed Kurdish resistance and its successes, HOTTINGER showed how Baghdad politicians merely tried to "translate back" that what happened into narrow-minded Arab nationalist categories more familiar to them. Said HOTTINGER's sources: "--- das betrübliche an den Kurdenaufständen sei, dass sie Kassem Gelegenheit gäben, die jungen nationalistischen Offiziere nach Kurdistan abzuschicken, wo sie unter Umständen von den Kurden ermordet würden. Andere wenden sich gegen die Gründung eines Kurdistan und gegen irgendwelche Konzessionen an die Kurden, weil ein kurdischer Kleinstaat - 'gleich wie Israel' - eine Operationsbasis für die Imperialisten gegen das Arabertum" werden müsste. Die Regierung scheint auch nicht allzuviel Gedankenarbeit für das Problem der Kurden aufzuwenden ---."

HOTTINGER advocated a "vernünftige Kurdenpolitik" on the basis of local self-government. (24. XI. 1961, Zürich, Switzerland)

### NIEUWE ROTTERDAMSE COURANT

"Unless foreign intervention enables Iraq to make Kurdistan a new Budapest there is hope for the Kurds to realise their national aspirations. In case they do not manage to get an independent and sovereign State, they hope for autonomous territories within the 5 states with which their fate is connected since a shorter or longer time." (Rotterdam, liberal, 9. X. 1961)

## Abendlicher Merkur

"1960 --- war der in Russland ausgebildete Kurdenoffizier Barzani eifrig dabei, die kurdischen Völker zur Trennung von Irak und zur Bildung einer autonomen kurdischen Republik vor-

zubereiten. --- Im Sommer 1961 brach bei den Kurden in Nordirak der Aufstand los. General Kassem versuchte, ihn niederzuschlagen und, als das nicht gelang, ihn zu verschweigen oder zu bagatellisieren und durch die Anmeldung seiner Ansprüche auf Kuwait die Aufmerksamkeit der Welt von seinen Schwierigkeiten abzulenken. Der kurdische Aufstand konnte bis heute weder niedergeschlagen werden, noch konnte er an Boden gewinnen. --- Nichts spricht dafür, dass die Kurdenkämpfe in Nordirak (im Oelgebiet) aufhören ---." (Christian Democratic Union, Düsseldorf, 3. I. 1962) (KF contacted "Rheinischer Merkur" on some errors contained in the article quoted here.)

## The Daily Telegraph

"Gen. Kassem has now acknowledged --- fierce fighting in Northern Iraq. The Kurds --- are understood to be occupying a major part of the North-West along the frontiers of Persia and Turkey. It appears the Government was surprised --- only three months after they reported annihilation of an earlier Kurdish revolt. --- The ruthless campaign against the Kurds, --- personally conducted by Gen. Kassem, destroyed some 500 Kurdish villages. But it has failed to destroy the --- forces of Mullah Mustafa Barzani ---." (London, 1. I. 1962)

## THE JERUSALEM POST

"--- all the evidence, including the experiences of successive Iraqi administrations, makes it clear that the Kurds have genuine and long-standing grievances against the central government, and that any workable solution to their problem will have to be based on at least a partial response to their demands. --- The evolution of the Kurdish problem in Iraq during the past three decades provides a good illustration of the futility of applying any but a radical treatment to it. --- July 1958 --- seemed a fair beginning for Kassem in his dealings with Kurds. --- Yet Kassem --- probably never meant what he said, failed to translate his promised "partner-ship" into any deeds that the Kurds could value. --- the methods used by the Baghdad authorities --- were ruthless and often discriminating. This led to the alienation of even moderate Kurds. --- Kassem, rather late in the day, recently tried to appease his Kurdish minority by issuing an amnesty --- and going north to celebrate the completion of an irrigation dam in Kurdish provinces. But these have failed to make the necessary impression. The fresh outbreak of violence, which goes on in difficult mountain regions and in hard weather conditions, gives the appearance of becoming a long drawn-out affair --- which may well prevent him (QASSIM, KF) from concentrating on Kuwait." (Editorial, Jerusalem, Israel, 3. I. 1962)

## POST

SEP-CoEditor Harold S. MARTIN: "frightened Kassem is spending his oil money on Russian arms. His survival problem is made more acute by the presence in Iraq of a large and truculent non-Arab population, the Kurds, who, in their mountainous fortresses, have long dreamed of joining their Kurdish brothers in Iran, Turkey and the Soviet Union in an independent Kurdish state. This dream of separation from the Government at Baghdad is secretly supported by the Russians. Periodically Mr. Kassem must send his Russian-made planes and tanks to put down a Kurdish revolt." (Philadelphia, USA, 20. I. 1962) (Thus, if we got Mr. MARTIN right, the Russians are supplying arms to QASSIM to foil a plot they are secretly backing themselves and which aims at ceding a part of their empire. No wonder some people lament they cannot understand Russian, Kurdish and West-Asian politics. It is too intricate indeed, KF)

## THE NEW YORK TIMES

"There is, of course, nothing new in an insurrection by the Kurds of Iraq or in its suppression by the authorities. It was the R.A.F. in the days of the mandate which first policed the turbulent mountaineers from the air. But in the days when light aircraft were used and warnings were first dropped the loss of life and property was small. New techniques and new weapons have enormously increased authority's power of retaliation. As was to be expected the Iraq Government has blamed "imperialism" for what happened. A simpler and more probable explanation is Kurdish disappointment. --- A year ago freedom began to be curtailed. --- the consequence of ruthless suppression is always to breed fresh difficulties. --- The perennial problem

of raising the standard of living and improving the social services in Iraq Kurdistan remain unsolved and harder of solution." (Editorial, London, 1. XI. 1961)

## WEHRpolitische Information

"Ungeachtet der offiziellen 'Neutralität' Moskaus gegenüber der Bagdader Regierung fliegen nächtlich sowjetische Düsenmaschinen in das Aufstandsgebiet und versorgen die Kurden mit --- wichtigem Kriegsmaterial. Der Flug aus Sowjetarmenien über die iranisch-türkischen Grenzberge des Ararat und das Taurus dauert nur eine knappe halbe Stunde. Nur wenige CENTO-Radarstationen kontrollieren in diesem unwegsamen Gebiet den Luftraum. Die kurdischen Partisanen erhalten ausschliesslich Beutewaffen aus dem zweiten Weltkrieg ---. So bleibt den irakischen Sicherungstreitkräften, wenn sie einmal ein Waffenlager erbeuten, verborgen, woher die Waffen der Rebellen stammen." (Cologne, GFR, 26. I. 1962) KF asked the Editor of "Wehrpolitische Information", Dr. Lothar LOHRISCH for a proof of this sensationalist "report" but got no answer yet. We wonder what will happen when QASSIM's men DO find Soviet-made arms on Kurds: arms the latter successfully wrestled from defeated feudals - like Zibaris - and from regular Iraqi units. Then the whole alleged Soviet trick fails.

## Die Wochen-Presse

"Kurdistan blüht die Selbstsucht seiner längst toten Fürsten, der Babans und Ardelans, die im politischen Spiel mit Iran und der Türkei das Land an die beiden grossen Nachbarn verloren (1514, KF). --- Die arabischen Eroberer gingen früher stets behutsam um Kurdistan herum. Erst an den letzten Ausläufern des Gebirgslandes sind die ersten Vorposten des Arabertums zu finden. --- Die Araber sind auf ihren Zügen weit gekommen, die Kurden haben sie nie verdaut, ---." (Vienna, H.L. KASTER, 27. I. 1962)

### "VEREINTE NATIONEN", A LONG-DUE GERMAN PERIODICAL

West-Asian Arabs are represented in the United Nations by 6 delegations; 5 oil-sheikdoms on the Gulf are no members (Qatar, Muscat-Oman, Kuwait, Trucial Oman and Bahrain). Kurdistan, having no state, consequently has no UNO-delegation either, but nor have their northern neighbours: Georgians, Armenians and Azerbaijanis, who have republics in the Soviet-Union. Unlike the Ukrainian and Byelorussian (White-Ruthenian) SSRs, the West-Asian Soviet Republics have no UNO-seats. Europe and West-Asia are the areas with most non-members of UNO. The latter's Demographic Yearbook 1960 lists 6 in the first, 5 in the second area, 19 in the world as a whole. 3 of the 9 West-Asian states joined UNO after 1945: Yemen in 1947, Israel 1949 and Jordan 1955. All this can be gathered from a new German bi-monthly: "Vereinte Nationen", published since January for the (West-)German UNO-Society by August Lutzezyer Verlag in Baden-Baden. (xx x xx cm, 12 DM for six issues a year). Editor-in-chief is Herr Kurt SEINSCH of Bonn, special correspondent in New York Dr. Max BEER. His survey of the main issues at UNO's 16th Ordinary Plenum fill 12 of VN's 36 pages. Neutral looks at UNO are given by Prof. Dr. Max GUGGENHEIM, whose native Switzerland is no United Nations-member. Neither is disunited Germany. Its problems get - of course - much attention in "Vereinte Nationen". And so do Congo's. Your reviewer found the paper is useful though somewhat solemn. It will report on UNO's various agencies (UNESCO, WHO, UNICEF, FAO etc.) as well. Let's hope VN will catch something of the liveliness of "UNESCO-Courier"; it has every chance of becoming worthwhile reading.

### "EUROPA ETHNICA"

(NR 3/1961, Vienna Stuttgart)

The quarterly of the "Federal Union of European Nationalities" contains its first contribution on a non-European group: Pierre GRENIER: "L'ethnie française au Canada". Dr. Friedrich KORRISCH deals with juridical problems, Prof. Dr. ERMACORA with the South-Tyrolian question. The issue's most interesting article is that of Pierre LAURENT on "La langue bretonne dans l'enseignement, l'administration et la radiotélévision" of France. It is the text of his speech at the Bruges 1961 congress of FUEN (see KF/7, p. 11). Developments in Celtic Brittany after that are - unfortunately - not dealt with in EE's chronicle part. In a book-review it is stated: "Der sozialpolitische Wortschatz ist



bei den Deutschen in grosse Unordnung geraten. Bestimmte Worte werden heute in ganz verschiedener Bedeutung gebraucht." In Dr. KORKISCH's article it is said "dass die 'Volksgruppen-problematik' in den Entwicklungsländern --- erst in ihren Anfängen steht". This may be true from a purely judicial point of view, but it is open to doubt in the political field.

"L'AFRIQUE ET L'ASIE (NR 56, 4E TRIMESTRE, 1961) PARIS

Of the 5 articles, there are 2 on Africa: Pierre ALEXANDRE "Sur les possibilites expressives des langues africaines en matiere de terminologie politique" and P. AZAM's "Réflexions sur un cas concret d'assistance technique (Maroc 1956-1959)". On Asia: Georges SPILLMANN: "Nuages sur l'Indochine", Hugues Jean de DIANOUS: "L'Islam en Indonésie (I)" and Chief-Editor Pierre RONDOT about the "Crises orientales (in West-Asia, KF); été 1958, été 1961".

Among the main issues of the latter RONDOT lists the "impatiencie de Moustafa Barzani devants les atemoients du gouvernement de Bagdad". Going deeper into the matter RONDOT thinks QASSIM's breaking of his promises to Kurds a symptom of a "grave faiblesse".

## STUDENTS

### GUSIR ASKS QASSIM FOR ELECTIONS AND MONEY

As was reported in the "News Service" (Dec. 1961) of the "International Union of Students" in Prague, the "General Union of Students of the Iraqi Republic" sent a long letter to QASSIM, GUSIR said that since 1960, Iraqi students "were deprived of the right to conduct their elections, a matter which was justified by unconvincing arguments. Some of the responsible senior officials at the Ministry of Education then declared that new regulations were outlined for the Union. GUSIR, successor to the former GUIIS (General Union of Iraqi students) was created by Qassim's government on 4.XI.1958, who also financed GUSIR. The latter now asked QASSIM to resume financing it and asked for "an audience --- in the very near future". GUSIR, an IUS-member, stressed its "Arab and International" importance. (When it was created, Kurdish students in Iraq were told to join it. Last year, the Kurdish Student Society of Iraq, however, resumed its activities, as Kurds found national Kurdish organisations are the best to serve Kurdish interests.)

### PRACTICE ABROAD:

#### WHO PAYS BEST? MOST GERMAN STUDENTS ASK

From 1950 on, 24.745 West-German students took practice-jobs in other states. 1961 was a top-year with 3000. The "Kuratorium für Praktikantenaustausch beim Akademischen Austauschdienst" (D.A.A.D.) found most students only chose countries where they were paid well. So jobs in Austria, the Netherlands and Turkey were in less demand than those in Sweden and Britain. This was reported by "dpa" on 2. I. 1962. Only 3% of the GFR's students study abroad.

### 300 WEST-GERMAN STUDENTS VOLUNTEER FOR DEVELOPMENT-AID

300 Federal-German students volunteered for working in underdeveloped countries in Asia, Africa and Ibero-America in 1962. The action, set up by Frankfurt student Reinhard SPILKER (see KF/8, p. 24) 2 years ago, is run by the German section of the "International Student Movement for the United Nations". Every student contributes 500 DM himself to his voluntary "Einsatz". 10.000 West-Germans went into underdeveloped countries in 1961.

### "AFRASLA"-STUDENTS IN FIVE MAIN COUNTRIES

ISK's Universities-Department made the following statistic of the number of students from underdeveloped countries per number of inhabitants of the "host"-state:

Country	I Foreign students	II From Underdeveloped countries	III Nr. Inhabitants	IV II compared to III
France	---	16,000	45 mln	2813
West-Germany	22,000	23,000	52 mln	4000
USA	60,000	44,000	180 mln	4091
Great-Britain	25,000	11,000	52 mln	4727
USSR	---	44,000	210 mln	4773

Several countries recently reported on their problems with regard to students from underdeveloped Asian, African and Latin-American countries. Said "The Times" (London) of 5. XII. 1961: "There is no doubt that overseas students do work much harder than their European counterparts". When results were negative sometimes in spite of the effort, this was often due to the students' home education "when they were taught facts by rote rather than being given the tools that would enable them to reason for themselves" the paper said. The U. S. "Institute of International Education" reported that 25% of America's foreign students said they had financial difficulties. After that, racial discrimination was the main complaint. (As to Britain's home students; their "National Union" (NUS) said that "mainly because of financial need, 86 per cent of men and 77 per cent of women --- take vacation work". A raise of grants was also urged.)

### THE REASON WHY NOT

"Sztandar Młodych" (18. XII. 1961), organ of the Polish "Socialist Youth Union", published the results of the SYU's poll "Why do you study?" among its 19,000 student members. A fairly widespread answer: "I am not studying in order to work in the countryside, in an area where there are no facilities, no culture and no civilisation". The Chinese People's Republic reported a similar attitude among a section of its university students.

## UNIVERSITIES

### FORD-FOUNDATION: 14 MILLION DOLLAR TO 4 UNIVERSITIES

On 24. X. 1961 the following FORD-Foundation-grants were announced in New York:  
 2 million \$ for Washington University for "Inner Asian Studies" (Turkistan, Tibet, etc.);  
 2,5 million \$ for Princeton University (New Jersey) for a program covering practically all socialist, Asian, African and Latin-American countries;  
 5,5 million \$ for New York's Columbia University (one of the 2 main US-research-centres on Communist & East-European affairs) for a new institute covering the whole Russian-Chinese orbit, its inter-relations and outward influence;  
 3 million \$ for Michigan university in Ann Arbor for programs on West- & East-Asia. Next day, Michigan university (which is also the centre of Kurdish Studies in America) advertised in the London "Times" for professors in modern Near-Eastern and South-East-Asian history respectively, offering salaries between 7000-15000 dollars annually.

### TURKEY TO GET UNIVERSITY NEAR BULGARIAN BORDER

A law has been proposed in the Turkish Assembly to establish a University in Edirne, in East-Thracia. 80 Assembly members of other districts backed the suggestion as well. Bulgaria's Turkish minority is mainly in West-Thracia.

### CZECHS ALSO FOUND "FRIENDSHIP UNIVERSITY"



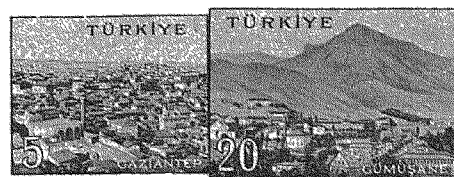
Like the Soviet-Union, the ČSSR has founded a special university for the training of "Afrasla"-students (from non-Communist Asia; Africa & Latin-America). Its name: "University of November 17th". "Tvorba" (Prague) of 14. IX. 1961 expected the number of 2000 Afrasla-students now trained in the Republic to increase by coloured youngsters now studying at West-European universities.

The new university has its provisional quarters in the former building of the Traffic High School at Prague's GORKI Square. At the moment, only a faculty for Czech language-study and general preparation is functioning. The University will also direct the activities of similar centres now scattered over the ČSSR. Faculties for Physics, Technology and Social Studies are planned. Czechs and Slovaks chosen to work in Afrasla-countries will get training at the new university.



KURDISH CITIES ON TURKISH STAMPS

Last year, the Turkish postal authorities issued an interesting series of stamps showing cities within the boundaries of the Turkish republic. Over a dozen North-Kurdish cities were included: Adyamyn (red), Artvin (violet), Diarbekir (orange), Elazig (grey-blue), Erzincan (bright blue), Erzerum (orange), Gaziantep (yellow-green), Gümüsane (steel blue), Hakkari (purple), Karaköse (violet), Kars (bright green), Malatya (bright brown), Siirt (dark brown), Tunceli (orange), Urfa (brown), and Van (dark red). The stamps were issued in 2 sizes each. A sample of both sizes is given in 1:1 repro here, a third stamp (Artvin) is reproduced in enlarged form. Lack of space prevented the publishing this news (which ISK got in September) earlier.



## BOOKS

"THE EGYPTIAN ARMY IN POLITICS" (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, USA, 1961, 300 p., Index, 21 x 14 x 3 cm., D 7,95)

The book was written before the UAR collapsed in West-Asia, but has a note-worthy sub-title: "Pattern for New Nations?" Arab junta-rule in Egypt is analysed with modern, sociological, including socio-psychological methods but with Egyptian and Islamic precedents in mind. The 4-fold frustration of the UAR-founders Prof. VATIKIOTIS finds in the fact that defence matters were mainly looked after by the British before the War, so the Army did not offer much scope for young officers to show their ability, second the foreign domination, third that of Parliamentary routine politicians and fourth the defeat in the Palestine campaign. A table shows that all founder members of the "Free Officers' Committee" were Military Academy pupils: 8 entered 1938, 2 in 1939, one (Khaled MUHIEDDIN) in 1940. These men still rule Egypt today. How a myth and a party had to be improvised after the officers' coup to make the latter something like a revolution is clearly shown. The same applies to conflicts like those between Arabism-firsters and Africa-firsters between Islamists and laicists, between totalitarians and more liberal-minded people. It is tempting to compare Prof. VATIKIOTIS' well-based and balancedly formulated results on Egyptian junta-rule with that in other countries. Before, remarkably enough, there is now junta-rule in pro-Western states (Pakistan, South Korea, Turkey), neutral ones (Sudan, Syria, Iraq) as well as in "post-partisan" republics in the Socialist camp like Yugoslavia, North-Vietnam and China.

### KURDISH FOLK-CUSTOMS AT SUMMER'S END

In "Orientalia Suecana" (Uppsala, Vol. IX, 1960) Prof. Dr. Stig WIKANDER wrote an article titled: "Ein Fest bei den Kurden und im Avesta". It has now appeared in separate print (1961, 4 p.). The well-known Swedish Indogermanist and Kurdologist bases himself on the first Kurmanji-Kurdish novel: Ereb SEMO's "Sivane kurd u Kurden Alagoz". This book appeared in Tiflis (Georgia) in Russian in 1935 and abt. 1945 it was translated back into Kurdish by an anonymous author. Some parts were reprinted from the subsequent Beyrouth edition in Prof. WIKANDER's "Receuil de textes kourmandji" (Uppsala, 1959, p. 44-



46). The essay deals with the "Beran berdan" (The-let-loose-of-the-widder)-feast at summer's end. The sheep and other animals are brought back home, and "paired". Young men fetch the headcloths from the girls they love, headcloths bound around the neck of fine widders by the girls. WIKANDER points to striking parallels in Avestic, ancient Roman and present North-Scandinavian practice. He also says that the customs described are still alive in at least Turkish Kurdistan (Alagoz) and goes into the linguistic side of the matter. The place of Kurdish folklore in the wide Indogermanic community is thus illustrated.

K. K. KURDOEV: "KURDISKIY JAZYK" (= The Kurdish Language) (Akademiya Nauk SSSR, Institut Narodov Azii/Jazyk; Zarubezhnogo Vostoka i Afriki/Pod obschei redakciei Prof. T. P. Serdyuchenko/Izd. Vostochno i Literaturny, Moskva, 1961, 81 p., 30 k.)

The series mentioned above now included a small but highly informative booklet on Kurdish. Both Kurmanji (in Latin transcription) and Sorani-Kurdish (in Arab transcription) are dealt with: text-samples too are given in both kinds of Kurdish, followed by Russian translations. In his introduction, Prof. Qanate Kurdo (ev) gives Kurdish statistics differing from those offered by his Soviet fellow-Kurdologists Dr. Vil'cevskiy. Kurdo believes there are 3,5-4 million Kurds on Turkish territory, 2,5-3 million in Iran, 1,5 million in Iraq and 300/400,000 in Syria. For the USSR he gives the number found by the 1959 Soviet census: 59,000. Thus the total number of Kurds as given by Prof. Kurdo is 8,5 million at a maximum. Of these he estimates that 4-4,5 mln speak Kurmanji (Turkish, Syrian and Soviet Kurds). Kurmanji is called the "North-Western dialect", Sorani the "South-Eastern dialect" of the Kurdish language by Prof. Kurdo. He gives names and dates of several noted Kurdish writers of the past.

In 1929 a Latin alphabet for Kurdish was introduced for Soviet Kurds, in 1931 one for Syrian Kurds (literature in Kurdish printed there till 1947). In 1945 the Soviet-Latin alphabet for Kurdish was replaced by a cyrillic one (this was done earlier for the USSR's Turkic nations, KF).

After briefly dealing with the history of Kurdology, Prof. Kurdo gives short descriptions of Kurdish phonetics, morphology and syntax. Then follow texts, each with a glossary. A bibliography lists 9 Kurdish works (of which 8 stories) and 9 non-Kurdish ones (2 of them Soviet). The booklet is the best short description of Kurdish available and describes translation with major languages. One of its qualities is that it gives an idea of the great problems around the Kurdish language, problems closely connected with oppression and partition in Kurdistan. Of this connection Prof. Kurdo (the world's leading Kurdologist) is well aware.

R. GHIRSHMAN: IRAN, FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE ISLAMIC CONQUEST (Penguin A 239, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, Penguin Books Ltd., 1961, 368 p., 108 text-figs., 48 pils., 7/6 sh.)

In a period where - on almost every field of knowledge - specialists produce an abundant number of highly detailed studies, but where there is a lack of up-to-date comprising summaries (the writing of which, moreover, is often and unhappily enough done by dilettantes and pseudo-scientists) a book like Prof. GHIRSHMAN's cannot be valued highly enough. In this 368-pages paperback the author gives an outline of the history and civilisation of Iran from prehistoric times up to the Islamic conquest. For this task Prof. GHIRSHMAN was apt as no second: Born in 1895, he has been busy at various French excavations in Iran since 1931, and since 1946 as the head of all the French archeological expeditions in that country. So throughout the book the reader feels that there is speaking an expert of the country, its sites, its historic relics, and - above all - its people. And it is - in the opinion of the reviewer - one of the book's greatest advantages that its author is not merely interested in representing facts and finds as such, but as witnesses of the history and the fates of man. So passages about economic, social and intellectual and religious life comprise more than half of the book. All this is accompanied by - considering the price - an astonishing number of text-illustrations and plates. There is only one thing which the reviewer thinks needs improving: the only small bibliography. But this rather small flaw does not in the least lessen his high praise and esteem of the work. It is certainly a book most worthwhile reading attentively, and one which everyone interested in Iranitics should possess. In his conclusion, Prof. GHIRSHMAN expresses his hopes for a happy future of the Iranian people. The reader who has accompanied the author on his way through 4 millenniums of

social and intellectual life and struggle of man in Iran, is considering the present social circumstances in the country, left somewhat thoughtful about that future.

#### KURDISH ARAB DICTIONARY IN IRAQ

Gigou MUKRIYANI has published a "Kurdish-Arab Dictionary of 30,000 words in Hewler (= Erbil) in Iraqi Kurdistan. It was printed at the "Kurdistan" printing shop there in 2533 (this Kurdish year runs from 21. III. 1961-21. III. 1962). KUKRIYANI has several Kurdish works to his credit already.

M. B. RUDENKO supplied a "Description of the Kurdish Manuscripts at the USSR Academy of Science in Leningrad" in Russian and (Kurmanji-Kurdish, 160 p., 1961.

They deal with the ZABA heritage mentioned in KF/9-10, p. 28, in Mr. A. ZABORSKI's article on Polish Kurdologists.

#### NEW KURDISH BOOK IN ARMENIA

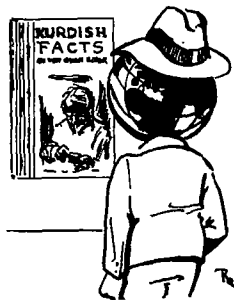
Among the new Soviet-Kurdish publications is "Chazai", a book of stories in (Kurmanji-Kurdish) published late in 1961 by the State Publishing House of the Armenian SSR. Author is Sima SAMAND, a noted Kurdish writer from South-Caucasia. He studied at the Philological Faculty of Erevan University and then worked at the Language Institute of the Armenian Academy of Sciences.

KURDISH PROVERBS (translated from Sorani-Kurdish by Abdullah KADIR)

1. A tired hand rests on a satisfied belly.
2. Don't be so bitter that people throw you over, but don't be so sweet that they swallow you.
3. Not every cloud brings rain.
4. Being fettered does not dishonour the lion.
5. With one hand one cannot applaud.
6. When God is angry with an ant he gives it wings.
7. The friend of my friend is my friend, the enemy of my enemy is my enemy.

## -ABOUT KF-

### "KURDISH FACTS" AROUND THE WORLD



in the above list is Africa (where KF has, however, readers in all main zones: the Arab-Berber North, Black Africa and the partly-white South).

### INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON "KURDISH FACTS"



(Frankfort/Main, 4. VII. 1961): "die Zeitschrift der in West-europa lebenden Kurden";

"NEUES OESTERREICH" (Vienna, 26. XI. 1961): "informiert eingehend über alle Gesichtspunkte der Kurdistan-Frage";  
 "LA NATION FRANCAISE" (Paris, 27. XII. 1961): "On se reporterait utilement à la revue 'Kurdish Facts' publiée aux Pays Bas en anglais";  
 "LA CROIX" (Paris, 20. IX. 1961; Pierre Rondot): "excellente revue";  
 "MÜNSTERSCHE TAGEBLATT" (Münster/Westf., 28. VIII. 1961): "die 'Kurdish Facts' nehmen --- fortlaufend zu Problemen im Mittleren Osten Stellung und behandeln die Gewichtungsverlagerungen, die sich aus der politischen Situation ergeben";  
 "ROJI NUWE" (Sulaimaniyah, Febr. 1961): "support and assistance to the Kurdish nation in its struggle for the freedom of its country";  
 "HET VRIJE VOLK" (Amsterdam, 16. VII. 1960): "--- wenst het Koerdische volk bij zijn streven naar meer vrijheid te helpen, hiervoor belangstelling bij andere volken te wekken en op deze wijze bij te dragen tot gezonde internationale betrekkingen in West-Azië";  
 "NORDWESTZEITUNG" (Oldenburg i. O.; 22. XI. 1961): "einzige, speziell für die Kurden bestimmte Zeitschrift";  
 "KURDISTAN" (London, May 1961): "Get your copy of 'Kurdish Facts' every month".

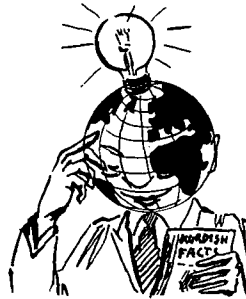
### TIME AND MONEY MATTERS



During the last 6 months of 1961, "Kurdish Facts" appeared in double issues instead of monthly. After this number, we hope to be able to put out one issue a month again. For 12 German Marks or 22 shillings readers got 14,66 pages on the average per month during 1961. This was more than KF promised when it first appeared! Experience has shown that it is absolutely necessary

to raise subscription fees a bit. From January 1962 on, therefore, readers will have to pay 15 DM or P 1.10. - a year. For students, however, we keep our old price. Readers who subscribed and paid in 1961 will be served, too, at that price until their present subscription term expires. Please make ALL remittances to "International Kurdistan", acc.-nr 23686, De Twentsche Bank N. V., Amsterdam. It saves us a lot of running to the GPO or to other banks. We also hope readers will not forget to renew their subscription in time. Our modest, private effort for oppressed Kurds depends solely on the kind help of freedom-loving individuals everywhere.

### ANTI-KURDISH PUBLICITY INCREASING



As could be expected now Kurds in all 4 "zones" of their divided country are vigorously showing they do not want to be Turks, Arabs or Persians, the anti-Kurdish governments in West-Asia are increasing their effort to tell the world otherwise. The principal method used if influencing foreign correspondents on the spot, both of newspapers and newsagencies. On the diplomatic level, there is also activity of this kind. Kurdistan having (in West-Asia) no free press, no national newsagency and - abroad - still a very small PR-apparatus, the fight is somewhat unequal. "Kurdish Facts", however, is there and can do a lot to distribute facts among those interested. In several cases, people changed their minds about Kurds after reading "Kurdish Facts" or being contacted by ISK or KSSE. All this is only a beginning. Making friends everywhere but especially in the Afro-Asian-Ibero-American peoples' zone is essential for the future of Kurdistan, and of that of West-Asian democracy in general. So if you are a Kurd or a friend of the Kurds, please help ISK to tell and sell the story.

honing  
CARTONNAGE

PRINTERS OF:

periodicals

dissertations

reproductions

leaflets

wrappings

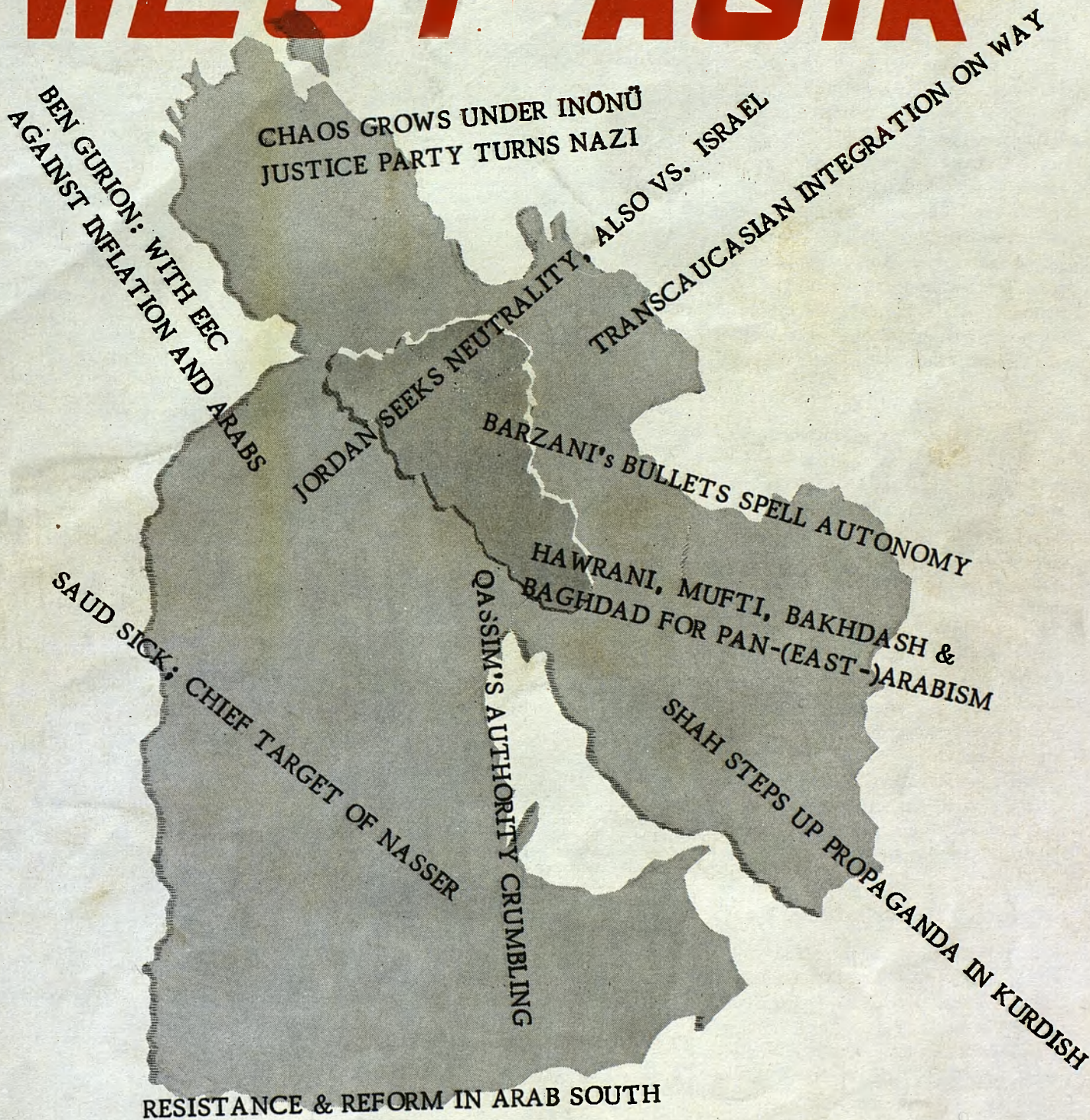
**honing**

Prinsengracht 238  
Amsterdam  
the Netherlands





# KURDISH FACTS WEST-ASIA





## INTRODUCING A NATION

**KURDS:** Indogermanic (Iranian) nation in West-Asia; some 2,500 years old. Its coherent ethnic area (Kurdistan) borders that of Turks in the West, Armenians and Azerbaijani in the North, Persians in the East, Arabs in the South. Of ± 12 million Kurds, 6 live in Turkish Republic, 3½ in Iran, 1,8 in Iraq, 0,4 in Syria. Small Kurdish enclaves in neighbour-countries, Turkistan, Baluchistan. Culture: oldest lit. doc.: 834 A.D. Kurmanji & Sorani dialects, spoken by 60 & 9% of K. resp.; Arab & Latin characters compete for nation-wide use. Religion: Sunnite Moslems; small Christian, Yezidi & other minorities. Politics: In spite of long K. record against foreign oppression, assimilation, most K. are still deprived of basic rights. Tribal-feudal traditions are giving way to modern, progressive forces, seeking self-emancipation along democratic lines.

## A COUNTRY

**KURDISTAN:** divided, mountainous country of ± 500,000 km<sup>2</sup> in heart of West-Asia. Principal cities: Bitlis, Van, Diarbekir, Erbil, Sulaimaniyah, Kirkuk, Mehabad. Economics: Mountain peasantry (some seasonal nomadism), tobacco, handicrafts, a beginning industry, oil.

## AN INTERNATIONAL

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN (ISK), founded 1.VII.1960 in the Netherlands, is a non-party, democratic world-wide action group. Aims: Collecting & spreading facts about Kurdistan; aiding Kurdish nation in its struggle for emancipation; promoting friendly relations between Kurds, their neighbours & all other nations. President: Silvio E. van Rooy.

## A PAPER

**KURDISH FACTS AND WEST-ASIAN AFFAIRS (KF)** is the world's only paper about everything Kurdish. Remit 30 sh., 15 DM or equivalent to "Intern. Society Kurdistan" (account-nr. 23686, Twentsche Bank, Amsterdam) for 12 months KF. Students 20% reduction. Airmail is charged extra. Adv.-rates on request. ISK & KF's address: Da Costastraat 25/I, Amsterdam-West.

# IN - mail - OUT

### APPRECIATION FROM AFRICA

"Thank you very much --- for the back issues of KURDISH FACTS. I must --- congratulate you on the way you manage to present all materials on Kurdistan in an easily read publication. --- I will --- maintain my interest in the Kurds and their problems and will look forward to receiving your magazine." (W. L. E., Diplomat & writer, Dakar, Senegal)

### URGENTLY WANTED: SOME KURDS

"I am an American journalist preparing an article on the Kurdish question. A friend has shown me your November-December issue of "Kurdish Facts": I was very impressed by its knowledge-ability and the broad scope of coverage. I would like to see your current issue. --- There is a distinct possibility of a news-feature on television covering Kurdish narooz celebrations here. Could you perhaps put me in touch with --- Kurdish representatives in London? You will appreciate that there is a certain urgency if television coverage is to be arranged. --- Of course I would be thankful for any information on the present situation in Iraqi Kurdistan." (D. K., London)

### "WEHRPOLITISCHE INFORMATION" WANTS TO KNOW ABOUT KURDS (see KF/13-14, "PRESS", p. 13)

"Your comment to our article --- on the Kurdish question has interested me very much. Before all I am grateful to you that - by your frank criticism - you put our Editors into a position to go deeper into this problem. It must be said indeed that you are right in saying that this nationality question is scarcely known here in Germany --- you will, I suppose --- be willing to supply us with information which is suitable to put the problem of the Kurds into the proper light in German public opinion." (Dr. L. L., Cologne, GFR) (KF is glad about this reaction and made appropriate suggestions to the Editor of "Wehrpolitische Information", which meanwhile published an objective story on Kurdistan.)

### COMMON FATE AND CAUSE SEEN FOR KURDS AND GERMANS

"Already the outer appearance (of KF, KF) is appropriate and solid. --- the contents keep what the outward makeup is promising. The articles I find --- very instructive and interesting. --- the fate of this --- country (Kurdistan, KF) --- reminds me in many respects --- of that of my own heavily-stricken fatherland. If only the problem of Kurdistan would be more known, we Germans might have the best understanding for the struggle of this nation for freedom and independence. --- with all my heart I congratulate you to this fine magazine." (D. K., Düsseldorf, Germany/GFR)

### AMERICAN STUDENT INTERESTED IN IRAQI KURDS

"I have read of the foundation of the International Society Kurdistan in the Spring, 1961, Middle East Journal. I am writing in the hope that your organization might be able to provide information which will be of value to me --- in exploring the subject of minority groups in Iraq as a possible Master's Thesis topic. Since the Kurds are a large and significant minority group in contemporary Iraq, I wish to begin an investigation of their history, culture and language and --- am especially interested in obtaining a knowledge of the Kurdish language. Any assistance which you might offer will be greatly appreciated."

(B.D.C., student of Mid-Eastern Affairs, Portland, Oregon, USA) ISK encouraged Mr. C. to choose the topic he has in mind and offered sources and other assistance to him in America and Eurasia. Requests similar to the above are coming in regularly now and are given careful attention to by ISK's staff. Most students who applied to ISK found they could at least double the quantity and quality of their theses dealing with Kurds by using the material supplied.

### KF/13-14: "PEOPLE" AND "PRESS"

"NACKSHABANDI was not "Mutasarif" of Sulaimaniyah but "Qarim-Qam" in Halabsha which is a district of Sulaimaniyah. --- I cannot understand the use of copying --- articles from

the world press without being --- translated into English."

(J. R. S., Kurdish student, Berlin-Wdf)  
ANSWER: Clippings from the international press are given in other (original) important languages than English alone to keep their documentary value 100%, and because KF is still very much under-staffed. Over 70 dailies and papers are read & analysed regularly and their number is still growing. Everything of Kurdish, West-Asian or related interest is filed carefully, which takes many more working hours. Periodicals similar to KF but with a far larger (and full-time) staff also follow the multi-language practice: "ORIENT" of Hamburg, for instance.

### KF/13-14 FROM A - Z

"Your issue Jan./Feb. was very much interesting. In fact, I have read it from cover to cover the same day I received it." (J. S., West-Berlin)

### THE DIFFERENCE THAT MAKES ONE WONDER

"I was much pleased to receive the new issue of "Kurdish Facts". --- This time again, I was especially astonished about the big difference between what our papers write about West-Asia and that what is really happening there." (F. N., Editor, Raamsdonk, Netherlands)

### URGENTLY NEEDED: A FREE KURDISH RADIO

"A broadcasting station is of considerable influence in making clear to both the neighbouring countries & the outside world the true facts about the Kurdish national movement, because the oppressing governments, especially that of QASSIM, have both radio, newspapers, agents and soon, and it tells the people whatever it wishes, while our counteraction in propaganda is still not sufficient in making the international public opinion alarmed. Believe me, QASSIM has done worse in Kurdistan than the Portuguese in Angola." (Recent Kurdish returner from Iraqi Kurdistan, name & address known to the Editor)  
ANSWER: BARZANI and his Kurdish fighting forces are giving attention to the radio matter. QASSIM is no longer believed by the important press organs of most countries. Several papers who were unfriendly to Kurds before now write objective articles. KURDISH FACTS, now read in 40 countries on all continents, is increasingly quoted, consulted and subscribed to, even during the recent months in which we could not put out an issue for financial reasons. The weekly newsbulletin of "Democratic Party Kurdistan" reaches us regularly in spite of QASSIMist terror. Detailed suggestions for increased Kurdish publicity abroad are now under discussion between Kurds in West-Asia & Europe and ISK. Realisation might be started even this year.

### LOOKING FORWARD TO AUTONOMY-DAY FOR IRAQI KURDS

"The Democratic Party Kurdistan in its March declaration in Kurdish emphasizes that "Our Party, under the leadership of Mustafa BARZANI, will continue the heroic struggle for the achievement of its aims", i.e. "for the national rights of the Kurdish people and for the liberation and unification of Kurdistan." The declaration, which runs to 14 foolscap sheets, also mentions that their present struggle in Iraq is a struggle for the safeguarding of Kurdish rights and democracy in the Iraqi Republic" and it adds "One of the aims of this armed uprising, which is also included in the Party program, is an autonomy for the Kurds within the framework of Iraqi Republic". --- We hope that this day is not far ahead and then we, you and I together with other friends, will meet once again - in Kurdistan." (name and address known to the Editor)

THE EDITOR REGRETS THAT ONLY A VERY FEW CONTRIBUTIONS ON WEST-ASIAN NATIONS OTHER THAN KURDS CAN BE PUBLISHED IN THIS ISSUE. THERE WILL BE MUCH MORE NEXT TIME.

# INSIDE KURDISTAN

In order to fill the gap of three KF-less months as well as possible, events in Kurdistan during the period concerned are presented in the form of a chronicle underneath. It does not claim to be complete, but intentionally includes deliberate disinformation on Kurds supplied by their enemies. As usual, the FACTS from Kurdistan speak for themselves. Continuation of this "Kurdish Chronicle" on a monthly or quarterly basis is under serious consideration. Readers' comment on it is solicited.

(The Editor)

16. II. '62. Reports from Teheran that 16 people were killed, and 200 wounded as well as 200 arrested in recent Kurdish-Iraqi clashes.
18. II. '62. "Gruesome fighting in Kurdistan" headlines "Welt am Sonntag", the GFR's leading Sunday-paper. Swiss correspondent Dr. Wolfgang BRETHERL reports that Iraqi Kurds recently told him in Persian Kurdistan "We'll fight to the end".
20. II. '62. In "Journal de Geneve" Rene PAYOT says: "Les Anglais n'ont jamais eu de sympathie pour le clan des BARZANI".
21. II/1. III. '62. ISK-President VAN ROOY visits GFR, Berlin and GDR, sees Kurds, German orientalist and journalists. Two information-exchange-agreements are concluded.
22. II. '62. "The Kurds cry for help", headlines "National-Zeitung" of Basel (Swiss) over a front-page article by Dr. Wolfgang BRETHERL on re-increasing Kurdish resistance in Iraq.
4. III. '62. QASSIM gives 6-hours interview to "At-Thawra"'s chief editor Yunes ALTA. He affirms that "only a handful" of Kurdish mutineers are left, who have "turned highwaymen" and that their dreams are "shattered" like those of the "imperialists who guided them".
7. III. '62. New "amnesty" offer of QASSIM to fighting Kurds.
13. III. '62. Truce talks between representatives of BARZANI and QASSIM break down definitely.
20. III. '62. ISK-President VANROOY celebrates Newroz with Kurdish students from GFR in Munich. Kurdish Newroz in Prague meets with Iraqi-inspired difficulties. Spring offensive of BARZANI's "Kurdish national liberation forces" starts, inspired by age-old Newroz-legend of heroic blacksmith Kawa who slays tyrant and liberates the people.
22. III. '62. Newroz-celebration by Kurdish students in Tashkent (Soviet-Turkistan) sees 500 people attending.
31. III. '62. East-Berlin Newroz of KSSE draws 700 visitors. In London, KSSE's Newroz is attended by several professors from London and Oxford universities, among them Dr. Wladimir MINORSKI, distinguished Orientalist and Kurdologist.
1. IV. '62. "World Youth" (organ of "World Federation of Democratic Youth" with HQ in Budapest) says: "Undoubtedly, the imperialist powers and their agents seek to take over the Kurdish national movement". It urges autonomy for Iraqi Kurds. Headlines West-Berlin's "nachtdespesche": "Kurds want revolution".
2. IV. '62. Lt. -Col. Sir Rupert HAY, ex-political officer in Iraqi Kurdistan, author of "Two Years in Kurdistan" (1921) dies at Weymouth (68).
10. IV. '62. "Associated Press" agency reports on new, heavy fighting in Iraqi Kurdistan.
12. IV. '62. Radio Baghdad: BARZANI escaped encirclement on 10. IV. Turkish Minister of Interior, Ahmet TOPOLOGLU says 100 Iraqi citizens asked for asylum, but will only get it if they are against BARZANI.
13. IV. '62. "Hürriyet" (Turkey) quotes Radio Baghdad's 12. IV. '62-report on BARZANI.
- 15/16. IV. '62. Near Zakho, a Kurdish battalion led by Issa SIWAR defeats Iraqi battalion. Latter has 81 dead, 133 wounded, 221 taken PoW. Large quantities of arms, equipment and transport means (reportedly also a plane) fall into Kurdish hands.
16. IV. '62. "Al Jihad" (Beyrouth) says a young Kurd vainly tried to liquidate QASSIM in Baghdad.
20. IV. '62. BARZANI launches appeal to world opinion, predicts big offensive of QASSIMists, reports on failed truce talks with them, invites journalists into his area to see for themselves. He guarantees safe conduct by his soldiers.
23. IV. '62. Uncle of BARZANI murdered by QASSIMists. 3 wounded officers of Kurdish Liberation Forces taken from their hospital beds in Mosul and maltreated by QASSIMists. Kurds answer by sentencing 4 captured QASSIMist spies to death before a Military Tribunal of BARZANI's army. BARZANI postpones executions. Turks tell a REUTER-correspondent that "the BARZANI-band was badly defeated". Kamal al-CHADERCHI, former leader of Iraqi "National Democratic Party, urges peace with Kurds at a Baghdad press conference.
24. IV. '62. "Voice of the Arab Nation" broadcasts that - in spite of QASSIM's censorship - Mesopotamian Arabs know that the reinforcement sent to the North "suffered a complete defeat" by BARZANI's troops. It also predicts Kurdish military move into Iraqi-Persian border region, and says Mosul people fear that rebels will seize the city. "Al-Ahram" (Baghdad) - in spite of censorship - writes that over 100 Kurdish villages were bombed to ruins. "The Washington Post" headlines: "Revolt of Kurdish Tribesmen Threatens Iraqi Regime", stresses increasing defections from QASSIM's army. "New York Herald Tribune" reports on BARZANI's manifest asking autonomy, now distributed in QASSIM-held Baghdad.
25. IV. '62. 11 prominent Iraqis signed an appeal for peace with Kurds, the Beyrouth daily "Al Hayat" reports. In Baghdad, the Lebanese paper says, the appeal was published by "Sawt-ul-Ahram". Radio East-Berlin - in Kurdish - quotes article from Iraqi Communist paper "Tariq Ash-Shaab" headlined "The Solution of Kurdistan's Present Crisis is a National Duty Which Should Not Be Delayed". Article says: "Before anything else it is necessary to issue a legal general amnesty for all Kurdish patriots headed by Mulla Mustafa BARZANI" and advocates "National Front" of Kurds and Arabs.
26. IV. '62. Writes "The Guardian": "Observers in Baghdad regard the present uprising as the most serious threat to General Kassem since his military regime came to power".
27. IV. '62. "Al Yom" (Beyrouth) says 100 Iraqi-Kurdish villages were bombed to ruins and 500 Kurds killed in action lately.
28. IV. '62. "The Economist" (London) says Iraqi Baathists are "silent and undecided" on "conditions under which they might negotiate with the Kurdish revolutionaries" and thinks toppling QASSIM "is not thought too serious a problem" as his Army is "baffled". "Al Hayat" (Lebanon) urges peace with Kurds and reprints "Economist"-article on QASSIM in Arab.
29. IV. '62. Iraqi offensive - predicted by BARZANI - starts in South Kurdistan: 20 army battalions and 700 men and 6 police battalions taking part. The "San Francisco Sunday Chronicle" reminds its readers that "Two thousand years before Christ, the Kurds were already entrenched in the fastnesses of their vast mountain plateau to the north of what is now Iraq" and "even then --- had carved themselves a reputation for touchy independence".
30. IV. '62. QASSIM says to "Al-Ahd Al-Jadeed" that reinforcements have been sent to Northern Iraq, for "fighting the enemy and the imperialists". Swiss radio says that Iraqi-Arab press debate on peace with Kurds is reaching its zenith.
1. V. '62. It is reported to ISK that 6000 Christians from the Sapna and Barwari valleys in Iraqi Kurdistan (both Nestorians and Khaldeans) fled to Mosul or Paghda; on the whole, some 10,000 Christians from Iraqi Kurdistan were pillaged and driven from their possessions by QASSIM-sponsored robber bands. In another report to ISK it is stated that QASSIM offers amnesty to Kurdish freedom fighters provided they enlist in his "Palestinian Liberation Army". Fighting concentrates round Penjwin and Chwarta. "Al Akhbar" (Cairo) headlines: "Revolution of Kurds endangers QASSIM's position in Iraq". Like "Al-Amal" (Beyrouth) it reports on Iraqi reinforcements sent into Southern Kurdistan. "Forward Scotland" (Edinburgh) starts supporting Kurdish cause. Extensive article on Kurds in "Baris Dunyasi" (Istanbul). In "Al-Ahd Al-Jadeed" (Baghdad) QASSIM says in interview that Kurdish rebellion is nearly completely crushed and that fresh troops sent north will also carry out military exercises "within the general training program" of Army.
3. V. '62. Munich's "Radio Liberty" interviews a Kurd from Iraq on Kurdish question and Kurdish organisation. Interview is done in Arabic. It is reported to ISK that 20 Iraqi officers (some of them Kurds) are being court-martialled by QASSIMists for not obeying orders. Fighting is now said to take place near Zakho, Amadiya, Koysindjaq and around Sulaimaniyah and Kirkuk. "The Times" says Kurds ignore all QASSIM's alleged amnesties. Lebanese security officials reportedly arrested Moussa Ahmad GHOLAM for letting Kurds enter into Lebanon illegally. QASSIM accuses "oil companies and their puppets" of being behind Kurdish rebels.
4. V. '62. Cairo radio believes BARZANI's forces have isolated Iraqi Kurdistan from Arab Mesopotamia, reports 300 arrests in Baghdad. Interrogations take place under supervision of Abd al-Majid KHALIL, QASSIM's public security chief, Cairo says. Anti-Kurdish article in US-newsmagazine "Time" says that the "Russians are delighted to back BARZANI's plan"; "Time" ignores protesting readers' letters. BARZANI's representation in Europe issues statement on recent battles in Iraqi Kurdistan.
5. V. '62. "Al Ayam" (Damascus) says North-East Syria (Kurdish ethnic territory, KF) hears bombs exploding in nearby Iraqi Kurdistan. "Al-Anwar" (Beyrouth) reports the Kurds crushed one Iraqi army division and that QASSIM's commander in Southern Kurdistan, General Ahmed Kamal AL-KURDI, was called back to Baghdad for refusing to start all-out

offensive against BARZANI. Secret political organisation discovered in Baghdad.

Full-page article on Kurds in "Frankfurter Allgemeine". (GFR). CENTO-chiefs of staff discussed Kurdish revolution in London, it is reported.

7. V. '62. QASSIM has invited more than 150 military advisers from the Soviet Union, reports "U. S. News and World Report", adding: "Observers here say that Moscow has too much at stake in Iraqi to risk antagonizing the Iraqi Government".

"Newsweek" writes: "the Baghdad government of Premier Abdul Karim KASSEM is financially and politically bankrupt - and sure enough, the Kurds are up in arms". 180 people are wounded as Turkish soldiers put down riots in Mardin (Turkish Kurdistan). One Turkish minister (TOPALOGU) and 3 Generals fly to Mardin.

10. V. '62. "Al-Ahd Al-Jadeed" (Baghdad) writes that BARZANI is now totally surrounded by Iraqi soldiers and policemen.

"The Scotsman" reports: "KASSEM dare not use his army".

"Combat" (Paris) says the Kurdish national army controls a third of Iraq, "Wehrpolitische Information" (Cologne); "Kurdish problem now tricky for Moscow, too".

11. V. '62. Reported: 38 people are arrested in Mardin, 6 in Erbaa (both Turkish Kurdistan) after recent riots there (cf. 7. VI). 5 will appear before Turkish military courts. Pro-Kurdish demonstrations in Baghdad reported. Iraqi Attorney-General Safa-Uddin al-AREF alleges in "Al Ayyam" that many Kurds responded to QASSIM's amnesty offer; denies they are arrested all the same.

"Iraqi Federation of Trade Unions" (member of Communist-led "World Federation of Trade Unions") states: "The criminal Mulla Mustafa BARZANI and his gang do not represent noble Kurdish nationalism".

12. V. '62. Joint statement of "Democratic Party Kurdistan" branches in Syria, Iran and Europe in support of BARZANI.

13. V. '62. Reported from Beyrouth: 15,000 Iraqi soldiers are preparing offensive against BARZANI's Kurdish liberation forces. Richard BEESTON ("Sunday Telegraph") quotes a Baghdadian as follows: "If a colonial power did to the Kurds what KASSEM has been doing, there would have been screams of protest in the United Nations long ago". Report to ISK: QASSIM said that Kurdish rebellion is "crushed" now.

14. V. '62. QASSIM tells the Baghdad garrison: "imperialism --- wanted to distract us with the Kurds and the highwaymen. However, we have succeeded in defeating the imperialists and in turning its intrigues against it". Applause follows. In South-Kurdistan, situation grows comparatively calm.

16. V. '62. ISK-President VAN ROOY invited to Poland.

17. V. '62. Clandestine radio station "Voice of the Arab Nation" broadcasts: "In northern Iraq - where the rebels are flouting security and order - all means of communications have been severed between Mosul and the district and subdistricts which supplied many necessities to Mosul. The same thing has happened in Erbil, Sulaimaniyah and Kirkuk".

18. V. '62. Feudal-separatist Muhammed Faris Aga az-ZIBARI (of Zibari-tribe) pledges loyalty to QASSIM, calls peace appeal "a deadly poison", Baghdad radio's Home Service reports.

Travellers from Damascus report in Vienna that QASSIM's offensive in South-Kurdistan failed so far. Full-page article on Kurds in "Christ und Welt" (GFR) by chief-editor Dr. Giselher WIRSING.

19. V. '62. U. S. Embassy in Teheran asks for "one copy of the book entitled 'Kurdish Facts'".

20. V. '62. Report to ISK: Kurdish forces recently defeated about one division of QASSIM's army.

21. V. '62. Report that recent Kurdish pamphlet "Disan BARZANI" (distributed in Iraq) praised ISK and KSSE. BARZANI starts his illustrated underground paper having sent to ISK's HQ in Amsterdam. "Gazette de Lausanne" says "Democratic Party Kurdistan" has 20,000 members in Iraq alone. "New York Herald Tribune" headlines: "Kurdish Revolt May Bring Crisis in Iraq". "American Committee of Liberation" in Munich asks ISK for "a general backgrounder on Kurdistan".

23. V. '62. ISK's "Kurdish Bibliography" extended by 150 entries collected by one ISK-member, now numbers about 1500 items. "The Guardian" (Britain) remembers: "Russia has given no direct backing to Kurdish independence movements" (cf. 20. II).

U. S. Army attache in The Hague asks for "Kurdish Facts".

24. V. '62. BARZANI launches appeal to UNO and several other international organisations. 190 people arrested in Mosul, Iraqi papers report (Baathists, Communists and criminals). "New York Herald Tribune" shows unintentioned humor by headlining: "Kurds' Revolt ended, But Fight Goes On".

25. V. '62. "The Christian Science Monitor", ill-informed on West-Asian geography, estimates total number of Kurds at "about 4,000,000", says that Mehabad republic was proclaimed by BARZANI (instead of GHAZI Mohammed). But it admits that QASSIM is "troubled by Kurdish revolt".

26. V. '62. Pro-Kurdish editorial in Italy's "Corriere della Sera". ISK's protest against disinformation on Kurds published in Amsterdam. Front-page item on Kurds in Turkish daily "Hürriyet".

27. V. '62. "Kurd Revolt Puts Kassem in Danger" headlines the "Washington Post".

BARZANI agents in Beyrouth criticize USSR for identifying Kurdish movement with feudals and capitalists, and USA for identifying Kurdish Movement with Communists. Express need of Kurdish forces for anti-aircraft guns. Praise positive articles in European press and work done by KSSE and ISK.

It is reported that Egypt closely watches the QASSIM-Kurdish war, hoping the former's downfall will bring about a more UAR-friendly regime in Baghdad. A pro-Kurdish editorial in France's best daily "Le Monde" causes widespread interest.

28. V. '62. Iraqi Communist Party asks attention of (exiled, Communist) Tudeh-Party of Iran to the now world-wide moral support for Iraq's fighting Kurds, and asks for solidarity moves of Tudeh with Iraq and Kurdish autonomists.

John OSMAN ("Daily Telegraph") and Scott GIBBONS ("The Daily Express") report on gangster terror in QASSIM-held Mosul. Turks mined their State's border with Iraq through Kurdistan.

29. V. '62. Hundreds of pilgrims from Turkish Kurdistan who went to Kamishlieh (Syrian Kurdistan) to celebrate Bairam are held by Syrian police, it is reported. Turks arrested 400 people from Syria who visited Nusaybin (Turkish Kurdistan).

30. V. '62. "Al Akhbar" (Baghdad) says Kurds lost 150 men near Zakho and are encircled there.

31. V. '62. QASSIM tells Iraqi oilworkers: "I previously said that the imperialist rebellion in the north has already been crushed and it has actually been crushed".

"As-Siassa", Beyrouth headlines that Kurdish "Revolt and Insurrection extends to tribes in the Kirkuk province". "Al-Ahd Al-Jadeed", Baghdad, reports that several of the about 100 intellectuals who signed appeal for Arab-Kurdish peace in Iraq have been questioned and detained by QASSIM's police.

1. VI. '62. Headlines "The Jerusalem Post Weekly": "Kurd Rebels Fighting 'Half Kassem's Army'".

News-staff of ISK extends its press-analysis-program by 5 dailies and a dozen periodicals. ISK's CC resolves to move the Society's offices to bigger quarters in Amsterdam within 1962.

ISK informs International Red Cross Committee on plight of Iraqi Kurds.

British journalist reports to ISK on disinformation on Kurdistan spread by certain Orientals in his country.

2. VI. '62. At the Iranian provincial broadcasting conference it is announced that the Kermanshah station will soon extend its program in "the Kurdish dialect" to 3 hours a day, for Kurds in and outside the Persian empire. Clandestine station "Voice of the Arab Nation" reports on BARZANI's appeal to world opinion and on Kurdish advances near Persian border. QASSIM-inspired editorial by Mohammed Amin DUGHAN in "Ash-Sha'b" (Beyrouth) calls Kurdish revolution in Iraq "nothing but a fictitious story written by certain people". Radio-Baghdad quotes him the same day.

3. VI. '62. BARZANI's representation in Europe directs his appeal to UNO-Secretary General U THANT. Baghdad's "Al-Ahd Al-Jadeed" alleges that BARZANI escaped Iraqi encirclement in woman's clothes. Also reports that QASSIM's (Kurdish) ex-Minister Awni YOUSSEF was questioned because of his appeal to make peace with Kurds. Group of German students in Tuebingen (GFR) asks ISK for material on Kurds and Kurdistan, seeks contact with Kurdish organisations in Europe.

KHRUSHCHOV sends Islamic New Year's wishes to QASSIM, Soviet Union President BREZHNEV does same to Iraqi State Council, Foreign Minister GROMYKO to his Iraqi colleague JAWAD. QASSIM's Iraq gets more official wishes on the occasion than any other Moslem-ruled state.

4. VI. '62. Associated Press reports on BARZANI's appeal. Radio Cairo says that BARZANI's agent in Beyrouth denied that the Kurdish revolution was crushed. The DPK-man produced Iraqi government cables dealing with the uprising's development, BARZANI's representation in Europe send his appeal to the International Red Cross Committee. "Al Kifah" (Beyrouth) quotes Baghdad "Al-Ahd Al-Jadeed" which alleges that BARZANI is "fleeing". Report to ISK that Iraqi general Joseph Malik KHOSABA, an Assyrian, now sides with BARZANI. The latter is estimated to have 15,000/20,000 well-armed and well-equipped soldiers now.

5. VI. '62. BARZANI's representative in Europe sends his appeal to UNO-Committee on Human Rights, Secretariat of AAPSC and International Federation of Democratic Lawyers' to those bodies.

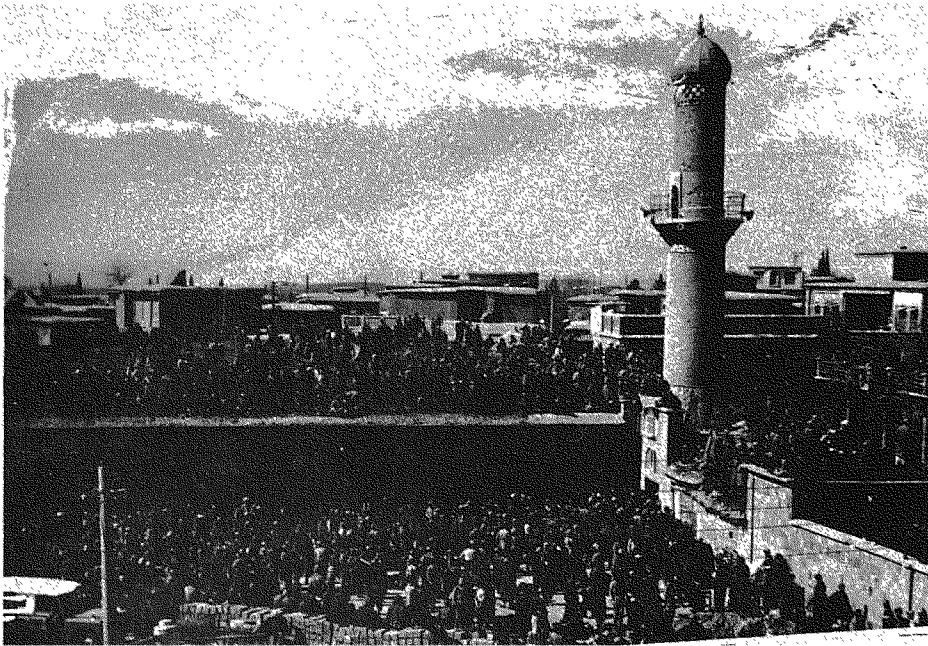
6. VI. '62. QASSIM postpones his much-promised "Constitution", stating that concern for Iraq's security and stability is more important.

7. VI. '62. After having visited South-Kurdistan, Alex EFTY reports (in "The Jerusalem Post Weekly") on "Fear and Turmoil in North Iraq". "Neues Deutschland" of East-Berlin accuses Bonn government of supporting illegal "Kurdish Liberation Committee" in GFR, of training Kurdish insurgents there, allegedly supplied with Bundeswehr officers, arms and equipment. Says this policy proves Bonn's "anti-Arab attitude". Same is broadcast by Radio East-Berlin same day, in Arabic, but not in Kurdish program. In Western Europe, several dailies are publishing BARZANI's appeal to world opinion.

8. VI. '62. Soviet ambassador Mikhail YAKOVLEV sees QASSIM on further assistance of the latter's regime by the USSR.

9. VI. '62. Report to ISK: "Vast Pizder areas are virtually under Kurdish control". BARZANI's representatives in





Above: Pizder chieftains after a conference with General Mustafa BARZANI (center, in civil clothes). One million dinar (Iraqi pounds) was given to the National Movement by Pizder Kurds. Most of the Iraqi part of their tribal area (which extends into Persian Kurdistan) has been freed now. Pizder officers and soldiers are doing fine in BARZANI's "Kurdish National Liberation Forces". Thanks to generous gifts like the one mentioned, the latter can pay the population for the food etc. they get from them, whereas QASSIM's soldiers merely loot.

Bottom: After nearly a year of successful Kurdish partisan resistance against QASSIM's dictatorship, Arab Mesopotamia is growing more and more restive too. Photo shows part of the mass demonstration in Baghdad against QASSIM's useless war in South-Kurdistan and unbearable one-man-rule. Over a hundred prominent persons signed a petition to restore Kurdish-Arab brotherhood and democracy in the Iraqi Republic. QASSIM's police is now behind the initiators.

Europe appeal to United Nations Committee on Human Rights, submit several documents.

10. VI. '62. In the "Sunday Telegraph" Peter MANSFIELD expresses doubts whether QASSIM can lead his increasingly discontent Arab soldiers into summer-offensive against Kurdish armies. 3 Kurdish organisations in Europe ask KHRUSHCHOV to induce UNO to do something for Iraqi Kurds. Teheran broadcasting conference ends; decides new Kurdish program from Kermanshah to start on 19. VIII. '62 (cf. 2. VI).

11. VI. '62. Radio East-Berlin's Kurdish program attacks SHAH's policy towards Iran's Kurds and the announced extension of Pahlavist Kurdish broadcasting from Kermanshah. Baghdad dailies accuse German Federal Government in Bonn of supporting BARZANI's Kurds with arms etc. Radio Cairo quotes "Le Monde" on Kurdistan, says QASSIM has 30,000 soldiers in Iraqi Kurdistan. BARZANI's men said to control a strip of 400 km long northwest from Mosul to East of Baghdad. Radio Cairo says QASSIM-regime is facing its worst crisis so far. Clandestine station "Voice of the Arab Nation" believes that Kurds threatened to blow up oil pipelines if QASSIM does not stop bombing South-Kurdistan. Radio Moscow's Arab program calls Iraq's new diplomatic relations with GDR "A Step in the Interest of all Arabs". Soviet Foreign Minister GROMYKO receives QASSIM's new ambassador Abd al-Muttalib al-AMIN, who said in Baghdad that the day of his appointment to Moscow was the finest in his life.

12. VI. '62. Full-page article on BARZANI's fight published in Vienna's leading daily "Die Presse". BARZANI's representation in Europe issues statement on situation in Iraqi Kurdistan. "At Thawrah", Baghdad, publishes anti-Kurdish interview with QASSIM who says Kurds planned 1961 to ask USA and Britain to send troops into Iraqi Kurdistan to help them. QASSIM makes no statement on alleged Bonn support to BARZANI. The latter is done by East-German news agency ADN, which refers to Baghdad dailies of previous day and says Bundeswehr officers train Kurds in Western Germany.

"The New York Times" headlines: "Kurds Said to Win Battle with Iraqis".

"At-Thawra" publishes new statement of QASSIM who repeats he'll never change his present shirt and that "the rebels (= Kurds, KF) placed great hope in imperialism". Alleges: "They are now like highwaymen and robbers surrounded in one region, lying between Barsarin and Walash --- the siege is tight. Some of the rebels are able to escape the cordon ---". QASSIM calls his July 1958 putsch "the greatest revolution in the 20th century". He praises DUGHAN's (anti-Kurdish) article in Lebanon's "Ash-Sha'b".

Radio East-Berlin (in Kurdish) reads appeal of Iraqi intellectuals and artists (Kurds and Arabs) urging peace between Arabs and Kurds in Iraq by granting the latter's "legal and national rights" in the Republic. 145 names of signatories are read, that of QASSIM's former (Kurdish) Minister Awni YUSSEF at the top. It is added that a great many more signed the appeal, which is also backed by the station.

13. VI. '62. East-German news-agency ADN again links Bonn with Kurdish insurgents. "Daily Express" reports that QASSIM still gets British arms too, because Downing-street thinks "The Iraqis may turn out to be much more cooperative if KASSEM is deposed". Dutch publisher asks ISK whether it could supply MS for a 150-page book on Kurdistan.

14. VI. '62. It is reported that John JERNEGAN, United States' ambassador in Baghdad denied American, West-German and UNO backing of Kurdish revolutionaries. "At-Thawra" says JERNEGAN declared that USA would not intervene in United Nations on behalf of Kurds.

15. VI. '62. Report to ISK that QASSIM has now 20,000

soldiers and 8,000 police troopers in South Kurdistan. An unknown plane bombs Gulyazi in Turkish-Kurdistan. Another report to ISK states: Kurds shot down 3 Iraqi planes; QASSIM's local army commander north of Zakho was killed with 4 of his officers. Addressing Baghdad university, QASSIM says of Iraq: "This is originally an Arab country, and the brave Arabs are the people of this country. Next to them stand the intelligent Kurds who are of Iraqi origin. --- We are one people and one homeland".

16. VI. '62. Radio East-Berlin (in Kurdish) urges cultural emancipation of Kurds in Iran.

18. VI. '62. United Press Correspondent in Beyrouth asks for "Kurdish Facts".

20. VI. '62. Clandestine radio station "Voice of the Arab Nation" calls (pro-Kurdish) leader al-CHADERCHI a "traitor". Inciting Iraqi Army to revolt against QASSIM, the "Voice" says that the latter "has brought mourning to every house in Iraq".

Radio East-Berlin (in Persian & Kurdish) broadcasts the appeal of Iraq's CP (see 28. V. '62) to Iranian Tudeh-Party on Kurdish question.

21. VI. '62. Turkish authorities say the plane that bombed Gulyazi (see 15. VI. '62) was one of Kurdish rebels in Iraq.

23. VI. '62. Radio East-Berlin (in Kurdish) says QASSIM continues the anti-Kurdish line of previous Iraqi rulers "for he has banned the 'Democratic Party Kurdistan', persecuted its leaders, tortured Kurdish nationalists and sought to eradicate the Kurdish people". (As far as could be ascertained by ISK this is the first time DPK is positively mentioned in a Communist statement.) Says Radio East-Berlin: "By bombing the Barzani villages and other tribes of Iraqi Kurdistan, QASSIM proves his lack of political wisdom". The "New York Herald Tribune" calls BARZANI "a distinguished fighter and Kurdish hero".

"Voice of the Arab Nation" station reports on a "large demonstration" in Mosul against "QASSIM's collusion with the mutineers who are sowing evil in the north of Iraq". It grotesquely suggests "that Abd al-Karim QASSIM himself cooperates with Mustafa BARZANI to create anxiety and suspense in the north of Iraq, while claiming that the mutiny movements are meant as a pressure on him to influence his negotiations with the exploitative oil companies".

24. VI. '62. "Journal de Genève" says that of all Kurds, those in Iraq are the most active ones.

25. VI. '62. Kurdish emir Dr. K. A. BEDIR-KHAN of Paris is off to the USA to see UNO-Secretary-General U THANT and Justice William O. DOUGLAS (author of pro-Kurdish book "Strange Lands and Friendly People", 1951) on situation in Iraqi Kurdistan. He is to stay a month in America. Before departing Dr. BEDIR-KHAN consulted BARZANI's representation in Europe.

It is reported to ISK that QASSIM vainly tried to mobilise the Arab tribes of Ubeid (near Kirkuk) and Shammar (near Mosul) against Kurds. Arab tribes in Mesopotamia are said to be discontent about QASSIM, source states.

26. VI. '62. Dutch journalist Peter SCHUMACHER reports he had to shorten his trip into Turkish Kurdistan because Turks stole all his money.

Scientific department of ISK resolves to issue a "Quarterly List of World Press articles on Kurdistan" and starts compiling encyclopaedia of Kurdish things, with extensive cross-reference system.

"At-Thawra" (Baghdad) publishes interview of its Chief-Editor Yunes ALTAI, with QASSIM. The latter alleges BARZANI is surrounded in Ravat area, Erbil Liwah, some 16 km from Iraqi-Persian border (cf. 10. V. '62). QASSIM also pretends he is "astonished" about the "Peace-with-Kurdistan-Appeal" signed in May (cf. 12. VI. '62).

QASSIM assures: "Security prevails in the northern provinces, as it does in other provinces".

27. VI. '62. The Iraqi military court imprisons 5 lawyers and 3 journalists for 5 years each and releases another lawyer for 1000 dinars bail, because they signed the petition for peace with Iraqi Kurds.

28. VI. '62. The Executive Committee of the "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe" congratulates the "International Society Kurdistan" on occasion of the latter's second "birthday" (1. VII. 1960/1962). It stated: "We are glad that we are not so alone any more; our Kurdish nation, incessantly struggling since centuries, very much appreciates your work and support and values your friendship and assistance very much".

Radio East-Berlin (in Kurdish) sharply attacks BBC-covering of Kurdish events in Iraq. Referring to a Persian-language broadcast of Radio-London of the previous day (re QASSIMist trials against Peace-with-Kurds-Appeal-signers) the GDR station accuses BBC of "in effect --- calling upon the Iraqi Government --- to continue fratricidal killing in Iraq". It calls "Radio London --- a Liar for Distorting Iraqi events". West-German sociologist Dr. W. HILDEBRANDT (asking ISK for socio-political information on Kurds) states that he thinks "tribalism and hierarchistic social order" the "traditional strength" of Kurds. He is told the reverse by ISK.

29. VI. '62. "Obviously BARZANI's rebels --- in Kurdistan can still hold out for years against the government-troops" says "Die Zeit". BARZANI's 12 years of Russian exile, the West-German weekly believes "did not suffice to make BARZANI trustworthy in Soviet eyes --- the Arabs are more important to the Soviets" than Kurdish autonomist revolutionaries.

A Swiss journalist, reporting to ISK, expresses his belief that a victory of BEN BELLA in Algeria would spoil chances of Algerian solidarity with Kurdish democrats, as BEN BELLA's "relations with QASSIM are said to be still better and more cordial than with NASSER".

#### ARMY-INTELLIGENCE OF BARZANI'S FORCES IS QUICK AND EFFICIENT

The efficient army intelligence of BARZANI's "Kurdish National Liberation Forces" is one of their outstanding characteristics. It depends on the following factors:

- 1) full cooperation of the Kurdish population of Iraq, including those in Mesopotamian 'diaspora' and in the QASSIM-held parts of Southern Kurdistan;
- 2) Kurds and anti-QASSIM Arabs in the Iraqi Army and Police Forces;
- 3) captured radio and other apparatus;
- 4) hundreds of Iraqi-Arab soldiers taken prisoner by BARZANI's partisans;
- 5) many Kurdish officers got a good training in the USSR, by the British or in the Iraqi Army;
- 7) the partisan-tradition in Kurdistan's age-long struggle for freedom (cf. underground resistance by European nations with similar traditions against the nazi-German invaders during the second world war);
- 8) BARZANI's chivalry attitude towards his opponents, whether captured or not;
- 9) the tribal courier-system and the Oriental ability to convey news quickly, even without modern communication techniques.
- 10) the population's experience that lives can be saved if intelligence on forthcoming QASSIMist military moves reaches the Kurdish fighting forces in time.

#### INFORMATION AND PROPAGANDA SERVICES OF KURDS INCREASED RAPIDLY

After having issued several occasional pamphlets explaining the Kurdish cause and containing news, Kurdish Democrats started an underground weekly in May. It generally has 6-8 pages, neatly hectographed. Every

issue bears another image of Mustafa BARZANI, made after a photo. One can recognise each time which photo was used. From this it can be gathered that Western press articles on fighting Kurds reach them quickly. The underground paper (specimen: see ill.) reaches its readers with amazing regularity, including those in Europe. DPK-agents made Beyrouth into a genuine Kurdish information exchange. Nearly all Western correspondents based there now present detailed facts objectively in their articles. They consult ISK too, both its Beyrouth office and HQ in Amsterdam.

Other European papers, which have no correspondents in West-Asia started using the news coming from there. This has led to an enormous improvement in Kurdistan-covering in the Western press. Agents of QASSIM, PAHLEVI and GUERSEL find it pretty difficult now, to spread their lies in Europe. The facts are quicker, Kurds and Arabs who want to put an end to QASSIM's colonial war in South Kurdistan paint slogans on the walls of Baghdad like "Stop Killing in Kurdistan". BARZANI's official representation in Europe and "International Society Kurdistan" are consulted by individuals, papers, agencies and other institutions nearly every day. Several of the people who contact them were extremely sceptical only a year ago but have meanwhile learnt who tells the truth and who does not. From a propaganda point of view, too, QASSIM is practically isolated outside part of Iraq his soldiers still hold. BARZANI feels strong enough to invite foreign journalists as early as on April 20th, 1962. Safe conduct through QASSIM's lines and Kurdish hospitality in the freed parts of South-Kurdistan are guaranteed to all who come. Several editors are already planning to send one or more men "to the spot". Among Arabs, BARZANI's best propagandist is QASSIM himself. His constant lies and disastrous policy, the trainloads of wounded men returning from the north, the increasing desertions in his armed forces, the dead who are brought in at night (reportedly they are buried secretly) without prayers etc.) make the "Faithful Leader"'s shoutings less and less convincing. His policy towards other questions than that of Kurdish autonomy too estrange QASSIM even from his closest collaborators. The climate for a democratic alliance between Kurds and Arabs in Iraq is visibly growing, the seed once sown by the "Democratic Party Kurdistan"'s Arab-language daily "Khebat" is beginning to bear fruits, 16 months after QASSIM had the paper suppressed.

#### NASSER'S NEW OPPORTUNISM TOWARDS KURDS IS DOOMED TO FAIL

"Nasserists", H. A. R. PHILBY wrote in "The Observer" of 27. V. '62, "are closely watching General KASSIM's difficulties in Kurdistan, in the hope that a spectacular failure there would bring about his fall and replacement by another officer with whom President NASSER could decently come to terms." King SAUD's radio went some steps farther than the London Sunday paper. On 16. VI. '62 the Mecca station's home service told Saudian Arabs that neighbour NASSER was trying to create anarchy in Iraqi, Jordanian and Syrian ranks. Of Iraq in particular it was said that NASSER was feeding the Kurdish uprising there, to bind QASSIM's forces.

Egypt was the fifth country to be "accused" of backing (or even causing) the Kurdish revolution in the Iraqi Republic. First had been the USSR (by some Egyptian and Western papers), then USA and Britain (by QASSIM), after that West-Germany (by East-Germany and QASSIM). Now it was Egypt by Saudia.

Meanwhile, most of the world's informed people realised that BARZANI's fight for autonomy was a purely Kurdish affair. Active support from over the Iraqi border was - and still is - strictly confined to help by non-Iraqi Kurds. NASSER spoilt his chance to make friends with Kurds in 1958 when his UAR-officials in Syria started oppressing Western Kurds there. Kurdish democrats think NASSER's

The only promise he might keep:  
"I'll never take off this shirt." (QASSIM)



Ro de Imp



regime far too fascist to collaborate with. When BARZANI visited NASSER in 1958 (on his way back from Russia to Iraq), the latter prevented the Kurdish leader from traveling back via Syria, where BARZANI is popular among Kurds.

The epoch-making significance of the Kurdish revolution under Mustafa BARZANI lies in the fact that Kurds no longer expect miracles from foreign rulers - and find themselves divided and tricked afterwards - but rely on their own strength and on the progress of democracy in this world. They are aware of the fact that NASSER is building a "Socialist" state with one policeman for every 45 citizens. Kurds have quite another idea of socialism - and some bitter experience with NASSERIST policemen in Syria. The latter's ex-boss, SARRAJ, is now NASSER'S honoured guest in Cairo.

# THINGS SAID

## ANY NON-BELIEVERS?

"Democracy is the regime of virtue and moral. Both exist in our country. This must be stressed." (Turkey's Cemal GUERSEL to journalists in Ankara, 10. II. '62)

## UFF DEM TEPPICH BLEIBEN

"In Hollywood I'll certainly miss my beautiful Berber and Kurdistan rugs." (GRACIA, Princess of Monaco, re-activated movie-star, March, 1962)

## SHOCK-PROOF

"There is no reason to suppose that STALINism was or is regarded as shocking by Middle Easterners." (George LICHTENHEIM, American publicist, 19. III. 1962)

## MADE IN GERMANY

"That there are Kurds, that I admit. But the name of Kurdistan was coined by Karl MAY." (H. KRAEMER, minor Bonn official, March 1962)

## LE ROUGE ET LE NOIR

"Students who study in Moscow return to us as anti-Communists, those returning from Paris come back as Reds." (Leopold SENGHOR, President of Senegal, "News-Week", 2. IV. 1962)

## NOT-TOO-COMMON MARKET

"Lebanon is the centre for smuggling hashish into Egypt and of women into the Arab peninsula." (A Lebanese before BBC-Television on 20. II. 1962; Lebanese radio protested)

## COLONEL BLIMP - STILL GOING STRONG

"For British Conservatives the Middle East is still something of an imperial playground." (American Ray ALAN, 5. II. 1962)

## CONSUMPTION-RESEARCH

"The wolf of imperialism is eating chalk." ("Neues Deutschland", East-Berlin, 21. III. 1962)

## GUIDED MISSILES

". . . a pigmy who by irony of fate has donned the title of king - a title thrown at him as eggs are thrown at bad actors." (A Baghdad daily on Jordan's HUSAIN, January 1962)

## AS YOU LIKE IT

"One of the sinister results of public relations in the modern world is that everyone is trying to find out what the public wants, instead of giving the public a lead." (PARKINSON-law-discoverer Prof. Cyril Northcote PARKINSON)

**Kurds revolt against Kassem**

**Des batailles sanglantes opposent l'armée aux maquisards kurdes**

**General Kassem**

**Kassem wird der Kurden nicht Herr  
Erfolglose Offensive im Nordirak**

**Nouveaux combats entre troupes kurdes et unités iraqiennes**

**STRIJD TEGEN KOERDEN IN IRAK**

**Napalm-Bomben auf verlassene Kassem's Truppen haben bisher wenig Erfolg im Kampf**

**KURDISH REBELS BOMBED IN IRAK**

**Memleketimize iltica etmek istiyor  
Irak'lıların sayısı iki yüzü geçti**

**Grausame Kämpfe in Kurdistan**

**un peuple méconnu de cet Orient**

**The Kurds threaten Kassem**

**كردستان را تهدید می کند**

**Kurds Fight**

**Unified Kurdistan May Be**

**Barazanis Appell an die Weltöffentlichkeit**

**LA RÉVOLTE dans le Kurdistan d'Irak**

**L'armée nationale kurde**

**Revolt of Kurdish**

**PILLAGE**

**IN**

**A VOICE FROM THE STRUGGLING KURDS AND KURDISTAN**

**du territoire contrôlé le territoire de l'Irak**

**Massmord och revolt**

**Kurdish lamslår norra Irak**

**Rebellion Stirs Iraq**

**Molla Barzani Dünya'dan Yardım istiyor**

**Irak, les Kurdes repr**

**Kurdish Rev**

# INTERNATIONALS

NEO-SULTAN-GALIJEVISM IN 'GREAT-EAST-ASIA'? Indonesia's Aidit suggests "Asian Communist International"

An "Asian Communist International" is advocated by D. N. AIDIT, Secretary-General of Indonesia's powerful Communist Party. The CPs of Japan and Burma are said to be in favour, perhaps also that of Vietnam. Soviet-Russia rejected a similar plan by Sultan GALIJEV (a Tatar leader, executed under STALIN in 1929), who mainly aimed at winning over Asia's Islamic nations. Whether Communist China will back AIDIT's suggestion is still unclear but even without MAOist support, an "Asian Communist International" could perhaps be realised, expand to African countries as well and play a Third-Force-role between Russian and Chinese Communism. AIDIT is a strong advocate of Communist cooperation with the 'national bourgeoisie' (including Moslems) to attain final Communist victory. He would probably also cooperate with national-communists, left-wing-socialists and democratic nationalists. AIDIT differs from MAOism because he prefers working in phases to premature 'direct action'.

# REVIEWS

TURKISH BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ENTRIES ON KURDISTAN

ISK- & KSSE-publications were listed bibliographically in Turkey's "YENI YAYINLAR / Aylık Bibliyografya Dergisi" of August 1961. The service appears in Ankara (P. K. 60) since January 1953. These were the entries: "KURDISTAN: YAYIMHAN: Avrupa Kült Talebe Cemiyeti. Londra - Coasby C. Ltd. Sauthsea, Hants. TÜRKIYE KÜRDİSTANINDA AĞRI DAGI HAREKATLİ Süleymaniye (Irak) 1960 Kamuran Matbaası (Kürtçe)." These 2 were listed under "Dergiler" = Journals. Under "Kitaplar" (= Books) one could read: "BETRİFFT: KURDEN. Bastiran: Internationalen Gesellschaft Kürdistan. (Uluslararası Kürdistan Cemiyeti). Amsterdam. (Almanca)."

As far as could be ascertained, no further Kurdish entries appeared in "Yeni Yayınlar" any more. This might be due to the alleged "freedom of the press" in GUERSEL's and INONU's "new" Turkey. KF was, however, glad to gather that there is interest among Turkish intellectuals in Kurdish affairs. The same issue of "Yeni Yayınlar" contained an interesting bibliography of Osmanli newspaper articles on Turkey-after-the-putsch (of 27. V. '60, of course). Most-listed editors were: Refi Cevat ULUNAY (of "Milliyet"), Ali ULVI (of "Cumhuriyet", cartoonist), Vecihi ÜNAL (of "Akşam"), Hamdi VAROĞLU ("Cumhuriyet") and Ahmed Emin YALMAN (see KF/... p. xx) of "Vatan". The period covered in this list was that of 28. V/30. VI '60.

"ATLANTIS", Zürich, June 1962, Persia-Number

After a noteworthy issue on Georgia some months ago, Switzerland's outstanding monthly on travel & foreign countries covers another part of West-Asia: Persia. Half of the text-part goes to George REDARD's intro. It's written well, but not without bias on Persian-Azerbaijan and -Kurdistan. That Lures & Bakhtiars are Kurds, that Soviet Kurds are enclave - not irredenta-Kurds seems unknown to the 'Iranist' author. The photos (of an exquisite beauty) show many tribes & nationalities, but no Kurds or Azerbaijanis (over 35% of Iran's population!). The end of the South-Azerbaijani Autonomous Republic is said to have taken place after "an uprising" in "December 1946", Soviet occupation of the area to have ended in "1945" already. But for Persia Propria, one might well spend the Sw. Fr. 3, 80 required: it's a good bargain. (SEvR)

100 Iraq Towns Reported in Ruins  
In Kurds' Revolt Against Kassim

Kur.  
Gren.

Kassem kämpft an vier Fronten  
LE MASSACRE DES KURDES CONTINUE  
EN IRAK  
où l'ONU n'intervient toujours pas...

Barazani kämpft für

senes Dörfer  
at folk under fem hersker  
of gegen die Kurden

Kurdernes kamp for å bli en nasj

The national problem  
of a whole people

Le chef de la révolte  
kurde lance un appel  
à l'ONU

TRAG  
DEI

Iraq Dispatches  
To Northern S.

Des rebelles kurdes  
lancent un appel  
à l'O. N. U.

كرد و العبيان  
GUERRILLA WAR COMES

KURDS CUT OFF  
IRAQ ARMY  
UNIT

Kassem et l'os

for Autonomy  
Die Kurden rufen um Hilfe  
Ultimate Goal of Struggle

Tribesmen Threatens Iraqi Regi

Kurd Revolt Puts

Kassem in Danger

E AND MURDER  
NORTH IRAQ

Recrudescence de l'insu  
des Kurdes d'Ir

ennent les arme

Die Revolte der Kurden  
General Kassem kämpft hart, aber erfolglos

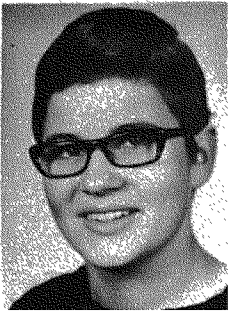
Les Kurdes  
en révolte

olt May Bring on Crisis

Aufstand in den Berg



## PEOPLE



TATJANA FRANZKE (see cut) is now ISK-secretary for Sweden. Correspondence with Miss FRANZKE can be done in Swedish, English and German. The address: Gliavägen 87, c/o Gösta LUNDQVIST, Bromma-Stockholm, Sverige. Regional cooperation of ISK's North-European branch-offices (covering Iceland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and

Finland) is under way. As is known, several Scandinavian scientific and fiction writers produced Kurdica. Press-reactions in Europe's democratic North towards the uprising of Kurds in Iraq showed that their cause has friends and sympathisers among all schools of thought in the five countries.



HERBERT RITTLINGER, a German, is the world's best expert on canoeing. In 1932 he made a canoe-cruise from the Carpathian into the Kurdish mountains. Both Turkey's and Iraq's Kurds revolted at that time, but RITTLINGER paddled down the Euphrate. His book "Faltboot stösst vor" (8th ed., 165 p., 29 ill., DM 4,90) was published by Brock-

haus, Wiesbaden, GFR. So were 10 others, including his famous all-round book on canoeing. Its latest revised edition: "Die neue Schule des Kanusports", just appeared (3rd ed., 450 p., 104 ill., DM 16,50). RITTLINGER likes Kurds and calls Kurdistan "a phantastic country". No need to say that his "Faltboot stösst vor" is in ISK's library.

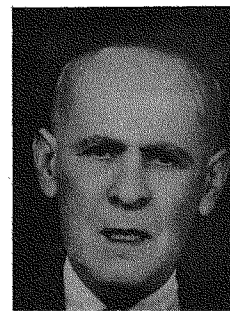


BOBODSHAN GAFUR (53) was given a vast area last February to deal with for the "Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Afro-Asian countries": he heads its Sub-Committee "Asia and Arab Countries", thus including Kurdistan), GAFUROV (as his name runs in Russian rendering) first worked as an educator and Komsomol official, then as a journalist (1929-

36), a CP-official (from 1936 on, member in 1932) and a historian (from 1941 on). During World War II he was a propagandist, from 1946-56 he was first secretary of the Tadzhik CP's Central Committee. Of the USSR-CP he became CC-member in 1952, 2 years later a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Supreme Soviet. In 1955 he published his "Istoriya Tadzhikskogo Naroda" (till 1917, Moscow, 544 p., ill., maps). In 1957 he became chief-editor of "Sovremenny Vostok" (= "The Contemporary Orient"), called "Azii Afrika Segodnaya" since 1961. In 1959 GAFUR, an efficient, STALIN-bred manager, was made Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Soviet Academy of Sciences in Moscow. GAFUR got 5 LENIN-prizes, traveled widely (Bangkok 1956, Munich 1957 etc.). The shoulder to bottom left here belongs to a West-Asian Soviet-Armenian Anastas MIKOYAN.

HILMI ALI SHERIF (31), is in the Central Committee of the "Democratic Party Kurdistan" of Mustafa BARZANI. He is a journalist and was co-editor of the Party's daily "Khebat" till it was suppressed by QASSIM in March 1961. In August 1960 he represented the DPK at the annual congress of the "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe"

held in West-Berlin. There he met 2 of the founders of "International Society Kurdistan", an organisation then barely 3 weeks old. Back in Iraq he wrote the first article on ISK in the Kurdish press. Reportedly, Mr. SHERIF was recently wounded in a local clash between Kurdish democrats and Iraqi Communists.



BASHIR MUSHIR, now in his late sixties, is a Kurdish man of letters, living in Baghdad. His shop and hospitable house were a center of Kurdish social and cultural life in the Iraqi capital till QASSIM's men - unable to deal with Kurds in the North - put an end to it. MUSHIR took care of editing Kurdish literature and is a distinguished

writer and poet himself. "Kurdish Facts" will report more on him in the Literature-rubric.

YEVGENI DMITRIEVICH KISELEV, head of the Middle East Department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry was the man who - last February - handled the reinforced arms and other Soviet support to QASSIM (see KF/13-14, p. 4). After having been Soviet ambassador to Hungary during the height of STALINISM there (1949-54) he was made a staff member of the Foreign Ministry. Dec. 1955 he became ambassador to NASSER, in July '56 also to Yemen and after Syria was subordinated to Egypt, to the UAR. SHEPILOV had already fallen then (June 1957), and was sent back into his native Turkistan. KISELEV left Cairo in 1959 to take his present function. The Soviet-ambassador appointed immediately after QASSIM took power in July 1958, G. T. ZAITSEV, was changed for M. D. YAKOVLEV after the Kurdish revolution in Iraq became world-news in September 1961. He succeeded in turning QASSIM against Bonn.



DAUGHTERS WERE BORN in 2 ISK-families and one KSSE-family this winter. Mr. and Mrs. Tancred RUGAAS (Marmorveien 18, Lambertseter-Oslo, Norway) had LINDA on 14. I. '62, Mr. and Mrs. Silvio VAN ROOY (Da Costastraat 25/1, Amsterdam-W., Netherlands) had BRIGITTE on 6. II. '62. Both babies are likely to become friends of Kurds when growing up. A girl ARIANE was born to KSSE-secretary-general Mr. Kamal FUAD and his wife on 15. XI. 1961 in Berlin-Dankau (Postfach 44), GDR.

MARIETTA SHAGINYAN, 74, Soviet-writer of Armenian descent, recently told Russians that learning German is the best bridge to other European languages. Moscow-born, she worked on her thesis in Germany when the 1914-18-war forced her to go home. She wrote a monography on GOETHE in 1951 and her STALIN-prize-winning "Journey through Soviet Armenia"

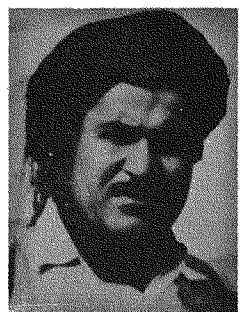
was translated into several languages (German in 1954). Miss SHAGINYAN is active on German matters in the "World Peace Council". Russians seem to follow her linguistic advice. In 1958 4,197,000 people in the RSFSR were learning German, twice the total of those studying other Western languages.



WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS, U. S. Supreme Court Justice, is a friend of Kurds, and author of a sympathetic book about them: "Strange Land and Friendly People" (New York and London 1961, German as "Gärender Orient", 1954). During Emir Dr. BEDIR-KHAN's stay in the USA, DOUGLAS declared (I. VII. '62) that Pentagon support

to Oriental dictators and feudal kings shakes their nations' faith in democratic America. Revolution is "a respectable word" from a freedom-loving point of view, DOUGLAS says, and predicted the downfall of feudal societies. US-Tories now rally against him.

OMAR DABABA (shown in Kurdish national dress here) is one of the most popular and successful partisan leaders in BARZANI's Kurdish National Liberation Forces. The latter are now said to number 5 different armies, totalling about 15-20,000 soldiers. Assyrian Christians, also persecuted by QASSIM's clerico-fascist robber-bands, have their own units in it, one commanded by a courageous Assyrian girl. Contrary to information previously published in KF, DPK-secretary general Ibrahim AHMED (photo see KF/5 cover) does not lead a military unit. He is active in other fields, among them the free Kurdish press, recently renewed by BARZANI's fighting forces. More on Omar DABABA: see KF/12, p. 5.



KURDISH AND OTHER FOLK MUSIC can be ordered from:

**discofiel**  
Molsteeg 9, Amsterdam

**A LETTER FROM TURID RUGAAS:  
STUDYING IN NORWAY**

Last year at the annual congress of KSSE in Münster, West-Germany, I promised some of the students there to write about the possibilities of studying in Norway. I was told the difficulties of getting a university degree in the states coinhabited by Kurds, and how expensive the European universities are, which of course doesn't make it less difficult.

It seems to me that the Scandinavian countries are ideal for students who are of this category. Of course it isn't just to "jump in", but if one is willing to work a little it should be absolutely possible.

Let me make a picture of the situation in Norway, and give you a few advices about where to start.

The university of Oslo is the biggest, with all faculties. There is also one in Bergen. Norwegian students take a loan from the state to finance their studies, and pay it back when they start working. It is a fair chance for everybody to take their exams. Most of these students also work part-time or part of the year to make the loan as little as possible, or just to have plenty of money. - The foreign students are mostly here on scholarships, but when they have stayed the time of invitation they usually continue, financing their own studies by working. That is easy to do, as it doesn't cost anything to go to the university. So as long as they can pay a room and the necessary food and clothing, they can continue. The books are possible to get at the library.

If you intend trying to get a scholarship, the most advisable is to look in the book "Study abroad" given out by UNESCO, and then write to the address it gives for that special scholarship you will try. Kurds should have a better chance than most foreigners to get one. At least I would advise you to try.

If you would try to make your fortune without the start a scholarship gives, you should simply write to the university of Oslo and ask whether your exams are sufficient to allow you to start there. It is not at all difficult to get a permission of staying, and working, and in many cases it is probably the best to get the permissions, go to Oslo, start working and then make your way into the student world. Works are easy to get, too. A room is, as everywhere else, the most difficult, but students help each other, and I know they would do their best to get you one.

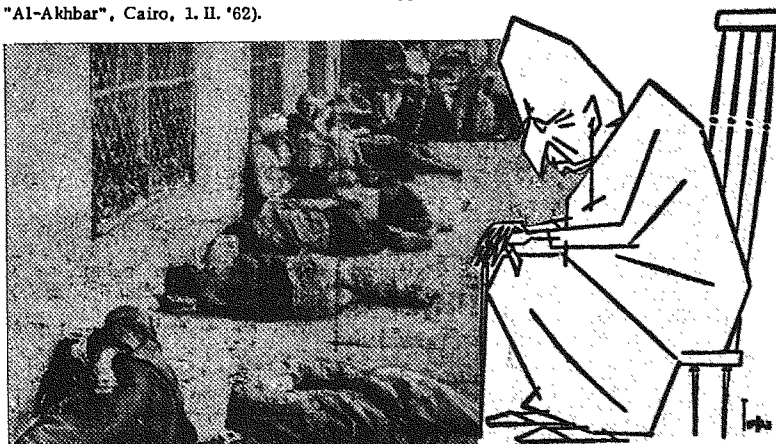
The loans the state is giving to Norwegian students, and foreign students who have had a scholarship and then want to finish their studies at Oslo University, are not for every foreigner. At my request, the office for such loans gave this reply:

"As a principle the Loan Fund gives loans only to Norwegian citizens. In addition to these, loans are given to political fugitives who have a fugitive status in Norway, and not Norwegian citizens who take their education here, have a permanent place of residence in Norway, or have a connection here through marriage or family, and intend to stay here after finished education." In any case I would advise you to think about Norway as a place to get your education. Many have done it before you, and foreigners are always welcome among students. The brand new student town, the International Club, the political and cultural organizations, and your fellow students will all try to make it easy for you.

BACK-COVER shows some recent issues of the new democratic Kurdish underground weekly "Dizan BARZANI" (= "BARZANI again"), appearing in Iraq. It reaches its readers abroad with a remarkable regularity. Since the late summer of 1961, when QASSIM suppressed the last Kurdish papers appearing, there had been no free press organ in the Kurdish language. "Dizan BARZANI" is hectographed and every issue bears a portrait of the Kurdish leader.



Arab rulers of Saudia, Jordan and Yemen, begging the White House for more dollars (from "Al-Akhbar", Cairo, 1. II. '62).



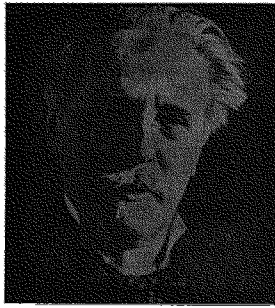
The famine in Turkish Kurdistan has driven thousands of peasants into the cities. Here some of them sleep in the open before a mosque in Dyarbekir (North Kurdistan). Right: Premier Ismet INÖNÜ as seen by a Turkish paper (sources: "Keystone" and "Haagse Post", A'dam, 3 III. '62).

Suppression of Teheran university riots and AMINI's funds-raising journey through Western Europe caused a chain of Iranian student demonstrations there. "Bakhtyar Imruz", organ of the "Iranian National Front" abroad filled a whole issue with press repros. Left: Iranian students besieging the SHAH's embassy in Vienna. Right: PAHLEVI as seen by a German-language cartoonist.



## BOOKS

KARL MAY INTRODUCED KURDISTAN TO THE GERMANS  
50th anniversary of his death commemorated in divided Germany



West-Germans relaxed from Das Wirtschaftswunder, East-Germans from Der Plan. Both used the 31. III / 1. IV. '62-weekend to commemorate the 50th death-anniversary (30. III) of a bourgeois best-seller-writer of proletarian descent: Karl MAY, sort of a "gesamtdutsche" institution since Kaiser WILHELM's days.

On 3. III. '62, Iraqi Kurd

Abdullah KADIR had told his audience in an East-Frisian Volkshochschule that Kurdish students had dropped a plan to visit Karl MAY's grave at Radebeul (near Dresden, GDR) in national dress. Because of politics, KADIR added. The information caused a fat local press headline.

But Germany divided or not, Karl MAY was praised on either side of Iron Curtain and Berlin Wailing-Wall: especially in Bavarian Bamberg and Saxon Radebeul.

Big leap forward through fiction

Born 25. II. 1842 in an area as mountainous as Kurdistan (Erzgebirge), Karl MAY had a family-background of K&the KOLLWITZian poverty. Like most men who were not miners in his native Hohenstein-Ernstthal, his father was a weaver. Karl was the 5th of 14 kids, was blind for some years because certain food-elements lacked. Between 1862 and 1874 Karl MAY served 8 sentences, 8 years in all. In prison he began to write. Main settings of his 70 adventure-books were North-America, the Balkans and West-Asia, areas to which Ernstthal-textiles were exported. During his own production MAY's best fellows were black cigars, dito coffee and dry bread.

Scientific works and travel-stories gave him the necessary background-knowledge, far more than some 20th-century roving correspondents think it their journalistic duty to gather for writing NON-fiction on countries visited. Karl MAY did see some of the countries he had described so vividly and in detail only after his pen had earned him a fortune. But the German romanticist ability of "sich liebevoll hineinleben" made up for most of his lacking experience on the spot.

Teach yourself Kurdistan

Kurdistan Karl MAY never saw, but Kurds found his book "Ins Wilde Kurdistan" (= "Into Savage Kurdistan") did justice to their kinsmen. The work, one of MAY's later ones, is still the sole source of the average German's knowledge about Kurds, if any. Ethnographer Dr. Dieter CHRISTENSEN of the West-Berlin Völkermuseum believes MAY drew heavily on Carl-Friedrich LEHMANN-HAUPT (author of standard-work: "Armenien einst und jetzt", 2 vols.) for information on Kurds and Kurdistan.

Tabu or not tabu: no real question

In the mid-thirties, Nazis quarrelled about Karl MAY till they found out their Führer was fond of his works: that settled the matter. Some 20 years later a similar ideological debate about Karl MAY in the GDR also ended with his acceptance. MAY contributed to "drushba narodov", SED-officials decided. Reportedly, the author's last words before his death (30. III. 1912, from heart-attack) were: "Ich sehe alles rosenrot". The total output of Karl MAY-books in Germany alone numbered some 18 million copies. Half of them were printed, sold and read after the Reich's collapse in May 1945: a revealing case-story of masses in "innere Emigration". MAY showed the Germans a German like they (and he) would have liked to be themselves. And in spite of two world wars and HITLER, ideals did not change very much, apparently. Translated into some 20 languages, MAY's books, including the one on Kurds, are now available in pocket-editions too, so in the GFR & the Netherlands. A more up-to-date German pocket on Kurds & Kurdistan is meanwhile considered for publication by a well-known German house.

KH. G. KOROGLY: "PERSIDSKIE POSLOVITSY I POGOVORKI" Akademiya Nauk SSSR, Institut Narodov Azii, Izdatel'stvo Vostochnoy Literatury, Moskva 1961, 362 p., 90 kp.

Persian Proverbs and Sayings, with their Russian equivalents, and an introduction with appropriate samples from classical

Iranian Literature. The book is a welcome contribution to a somewhat neglected, but very important topic of Persian philology. It is also useful to those who want to get acquainted with the Persian people's way of thinking and feeling. Recommended. (SvR)

A KURDISH "WHITEBOOK" FROM PARIS

Mijulgeha Kurdi; Publications du Centre d'Etudes Kurdes: "L'Épreuve Kurde", Paris, no date / 1962 / stencilled, 30 p. map.

Emir Kamuran Aali BEDIR-KHAN (Bedir-Xan) has just published a "Livre Jaune sur la Question Kurde". In the printed, 2-page-introduction he says: "Alors que les capitaux énormes étaient investis partout par les plans internationaux de développement, la région kurde fut tenue à l'écart des circuits d'affaires". After describing the Kurdish struggle against the background of the country's ruined rural economy, the emir summarizes: "les Kurdes défendent cette indispensable notion de patrie sans laquelle s'éteignent les civilisations. Ils demandent à être reconnus d'abord comme des citoyens à part entière par les quatre Etats souverains dans lesquels ils vivent; ils demandent que soient remplies les promesses solennelles de respecter leurs droits historiques".

The leaflet's first part deals with the 20th-century-history of Iraqi Kurdistan. BARZANI is not mentioned at all and the suppression of the DPK-dailies "Khebat" (Xebat) and "Kurdistan" is said to be part of QASSIM's answer to the DPK's note to Baghdad of 8. VI. 1961. As is known, the dailies' last issues appeared on 28. III. '61 already (see KF/5, p. 6).

Then BEDIR-KHAN reproduces the protest-telegrams sent by KSSE and himself (2 of 22. IX. 1961, listed in KF/11-12, p. 16 under 23 (?)IX. '61 because they were not dated), his letter to SARAGAT of 16. X. '61, KSSE's communication to International Red Cross (28. IX. '61), BX's to UNO (1. XI. '61), the letter of all Kurdish organisations abroad to U THANT (6. XI. '61), an unsigned telegram to the same of 17. XI. '61, BX's letter to U THANT of 6. I. '62. The second half of the leaflet carries BEDIR-KHAN's speech of 26. X. '61 on the revolt in Iraqi Kurdistan (again without any mention of BARZANI who leads it) and a brief survey of Kurdistan's economy.

ZISCHKA'S NEW BOOK TO DEAL WITH KURDS



Dr. Anton ZISCHKA, world-roaming populariser of burning socio-political problems, prepares a new book on underdeveloped countries. One chapter will deal with QASSIM's colonial war against Kurds. There will also be some illustrations on the subject. ZISCHKA, son of an Austrian diplomat and a French mother is married to a Dutchwoman and lives on a

Spanish isle, Mallorca. European integration indeed. By trying out several creeds (Marxism, Nazism and Catholicism) ZISCHKA showed himself a true European in still another sense of the word. Announced ZISCHKA's publisher in the Netherlands: "For every ZISCHKA-reader world-events are an open book".

SOVIET ESSAY ON KURDISH MSS IN LENINGRAD

M. B. RUDENKO: "Opisanie kurdskey rukopisej leningradskoy sobraniy", Akademiya Nauk SSSR - Institut Narodov Azii, Moskva 1960, 124 p. + II facsimile plates, 40 kp.

Although the existence of original Kurdish and a literature written in a literary language had been "discovered" by the Europeans already in the second half of the nineteenth century, we must nevertheless clearly realise how little has been done to investigate it scientifically, to define the original and creative contributions of Kurds in the realm of literature and to render the masterpieces of Kurdish classical literature and of their very rich folklore accessible to the world and first of all to the Kurds themselves. It is due to the tragic fate of the Kurdistan nation that no "History of Kurdish Literature" has been written yet, a few published sketches can only indicate what is still waiting to be explored. Literary pieces edited scientifically are innumerable as well - it will be but a small exaggeration if we say that our knowledge of Kurdish literature may be based rather on . . . bibliographical descriptions of manuscripts. M. B. RUDENKO - Prof. Kurdo's pupil, working on kurdology in Leningrad centre, who has already given us (among others) a preliminary description of Zaba's Kurdish collection of MSS (Vostocnyj Sbornik, in "trudy Gosudarstvennoj Publicnoj Biblio-

teki im. M. E. Saltykova-Scedrina", vol. 11, No. 5, Leningrad 1957) and a valuable sketch of Kurdish literature - "K voprosu o kurdskoj literature" (in "Issledovanija po istorii kulturej narodov Vostoka - Sbornik v cest Akademika I. A. Orbeli", Moskva 1960, pp. 433-440). This time she has published a "Description of the Kurdish Manuscripts of Leningrad collections". What is the value of the collection, what can it contribute to the lore of Kurdish literature judging by M. B. RUDENKO's "Description"? The Leningrad collections together with the one of Mann in Berlin constitute the richest European treasury of Kurdish literary works. In effect it contains 64 MSS which include a great number of greater and minor pieces (a pity that the author has not given us a short "statistical" account of the whole of the collection at the end of the book). "Description" mentions a total of about 14 MSS containing various folklore texts, about 60 literary pieces (some of them being anthologies), 9 works concerning linguistics and 3 on history and ethnography. Most of the pieces are written in Kurmanji, only a few of them being written in Mukri, Gurani, Awromani etc. The most famous names of Kurdish literature are represented - Eli Teremaxi, Heriri Mela Çizri, Feqi Teyran, Mela Bate, Ehmede Xani Mirad Xan Bayezidi etc. (the author uses the Hawar alphabet and says that "Biblical and most popular Moslem names are given in the usual (?) pronunciation" - this is however a contradiction of the practice of her own previously published works - we must appeal to all scientists and publishers that the problem of writing Kurdish names be settled at last, on the basis of Hawar perhaps). Only a few of the MSS have been mentioned in the other, non-Russian collections as yet and quite a majority of them have not been investigated at all. There are 5 autographs at least, a MSS of Mela Mehmud Bayezidi's translation (84) of Sheref-names into Kurdish has been described by M. B. RUDENKO as a unique one, most of the pieces are the original fruit of creative Kurdish mind, only 7 of them being translations of Turkish and Persian. At the moment, nothing can be said about a considerable amount of shorter pieces, surely they also include many unique poems.

What about the origin of the MSS? 57 of them belong to the collection of August Zaba - we may rightly say they have been saved by him and they are also the fruit of his pioneer activity in some ways. A considerable amount of them has been rewritten by his Kurdish friends and consultants at his request or even in memory of his departure from Turkey (No. 43), Mela Mehmud Bayezidi dedicated to Zaba his Kurdish Grammar (No. 77) and made his masterful translation of Sheref-names at Zaba's request. Most of the manuscripts bear the marks of Zaba's scrupulous study - notes, transcriptions and translations into French. Zaba's relations with his Kurdish friends - Mela Mehmud Bayezidi before all, Şeh Nezer, Mela Mistefa, Mela Musa Hekkeri, Hesen Hekim Başı, with the chief of the Djibranlı tribe - Ali-Bek from whom he received one of the MSS as a gift, all these most interesting details would need a special study - some materials are to be found in Russia, I hope. There are 2 MSS of Zaba's works in the collection: a conversation-phrase-book in Kurdish and French (No. 76) and a concise Kurdish-French dictionary of Hekkeri and Rewendi dialects with an introductory note by Mela Mehmud Bayezidi (No. 79). The part by a Polish kurdologist to whom we are indebted for this wonderful collection, not to mention his own most important linguistic works on kurdology, has unfortunately been but very little stressed by M. B. RUDENKO in the "Introduction".

To close this short review it must be said once more that Zaba's heritage together with the rest of the Leningrad collections constitute a most valuable treasury of Kurdish literature - a treasury, which we all hope will be thoroughly investigated in the near future. This is a great task for all the scientists, the task which has not only a scientific character - the masterpieces of Kurdish literature must be researched and published, the literature being the best proof and evidence of the historical and cultural individuality of any nation.

ANDRZEJ ZABORSKI

D. N. MACKENZIE: "THE ORIGIN OF KURDISH"

Transactions of the Philological Society 1961, p. 68-86, Oxford, Blackwell 1961.

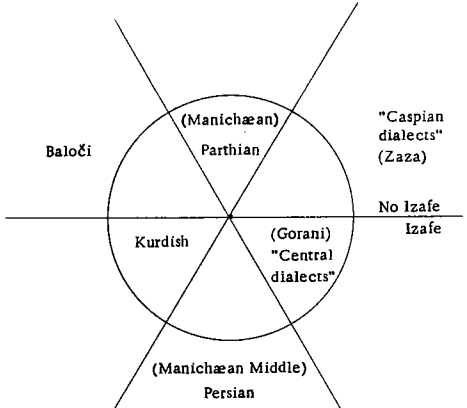
The question of the origin of the Kurds is a crucial one in Kurdistan. Of course one knows that the Kurds of today are an Iranian (Indogermanic) people, but the question of the so-called Kurdish "substrate-populations" has always been ardently discussed. By "substrate populations" we understand populations of the nowadays Kurdish area before the Iranian immigration (about 1000 B.C.), populations who might have amalgamated with the immigrant, conquering Iranian tribes, who imposed their Indogermanic language on them, to finally become the Kurdish people. As such substrate-populations or

Arastu

"Proto-Kurds" have been numbered, by different scholars, nearly all people in the Zagros-Area recorded in history from the 3rd-1st millennium B.C., whenever their name showed some slight resemblance to "Kurd". "Xenophons  $\kappa\alpha\rho\beta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omicron\iota$  have always been the favourite choice of those seeking for progenitors of the Kurds, but we find attempts to link them with the Xalde of Arastu, the Sagatti or Zikirtu (of the Assyrian historians; the reviewer), & even with the Guti-peoples". (p. 68) (Cf. a review on German Prof. EICHSTEDT's book "Kurden, Türken & Iranler . . ." in KF/7, p. 17-18 where the whole question is discussed at length!). Furthermore, & with greater certainty, the  $\kappa\upsilon\rho\tau\iota\omicron\iota$  or Kyrtili mentioned by Polybios, Livius, & Strabo have been regarded as ancestors of the Kurds, and as they all lived in regions of ancient Media & Armenla, the Kurds have been called the descendants of the old (Iranian) Medes; a view which Prof. MINORSKY<sup>1)</sup> strongly endorses.

However, Dr. MACKENZIE has an altogether different view: "In the face of this blend of little fact and much fiction the linguistic evidence gains in importance" (p. 69). Doing quietly away with Russian Prof. MARR's outlived theory that in Kurdish there are rests of a primitive (non-indogermanic) language, which MARR called "K'art" & compared to present-day Georglan, MACKENZIE sees his first task in defining Kurdish by establishing the features which distinguish it from other Iranian languages. His result is, briefly, that there are no traces of any "substrate" influence on Kurdish, as "almost every feature of Kurdish has its counterpart in at least one other Iranian dialect" (p. 70).

But what, then, is the position of Kurdish in the block of Iranian, and are there linguistic evidences for the theory that Kurdish is the successor of (North-West-Iranian) Median? Again, Dr. M.'s results are largely negative. Every single comparison of linguistic phenomena between Kurdish & other Iranian languages (Ossetic, Zaza, Persian, Gorani, Baloci) - and he gives dozens of observations in phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics, which to resume here would exceed the frame of this review - lead to the conclusion that Kurdish is not a north-western Iranian language (as Prof. MINORSKY stated & what, if true, would give strong evidence to the theory of Kurdish being the successor of Median), but (despite its actual geographical position) a south-western-Iranian language, with Baloci (now in the extreme south-west, previously north-western!) & Persian as its nearest relatives. On the other hand, the north-western-Iranian character of Gorani & Zaza (which today is spoken by some isolated tribes among the Kurds of Northern & Central Kurdistan) is quite undiluted. This shows obviously that "both groups must have undergone a considerable displacement" (p. 86). Basing on the main isoglosses which German Prof. Paul TEDESCO gives<sup>2)</sup> (who has suggested similar conclusions about this complex as MACKENZIE), the original position & mutual relations of West-Iranian languages might be shown in a diagram, which the reviewer takes from the article in a simplified manner:



(The 3 dividing lines & the circle stand for the above-mentioned main isoglosses, of which here only the Izafe - No Izafe-Isoglosse is named.)

"The diagram, naturally, represents only one possibility, and has no geographical meaning." (p. 75). This original distribution of the West-Iranian languages, compared with their situation today, leads Dr. MACKENZIE to the following three conclusions about their rearrangement:

- "(1) First, a northward movement of the main body of the Kurds into Armenia, perhaps expelling the Zaza;
- (2) secondly, the occupation of the southern Zagros & the surrounding area by the Goran;

(3) lastly, in more recent times, a secondary expansion of the Kurds, from the North, which led to their overrunning & gradually absorbing all but the surviving Goran!" (p. 86)

The remaining difficulty is, as Dr. M. sees himself, to get "a date to these hypothetical movements; but for a solution of this problem it is necessary to look outside the linguistic evidence". (p. 86). These results, highly illuminative as they are, overthrow many a theory of scholars who just collected some historical records & interpreted them in their prejudicial views. The fact that they were got by mere linguistic research, shows again, in the reviewer's opinion (who is a linguist himself), how many new & truly clarifying results even about non-linguistic fields of knowledge can be derived from efficient linguistic research, & it makes one again deplore the bitter fact that there are only so very few of Dr. M.'s efficiency, expert knowledge & competence in Kurdology.

HARTMUT BECKERS

1) MINORSKY, Vladimir: Les origines des Kurdes, Actes du XXe congrès international des Orientalistes, Leuven (Belgium) 1940, p. 134 ff.

2) TEDESCO, Paul: Dialectologie der West-Iranischen Turfan-Texte, Monde Orientale XV, s. 20 ff.

KRAK DES CHEVALIERS: THE CASTLE OF KURDS

Foreign bases, now a foremost political issue, are nothing new in West-Asia. One of the most famous and lasting ones is seen from the air here. Arabs originally called it "Hosn el Akrad" = "The Castle of Kurds". It was built about 1030 by the emirs of Homs. European crusaders

captured it as early as 1099 and lost it only when the crusades (1096-1200) neared their end, in 1271. Islamic armies thrice tried in vain to recapture this important stronghold. After NUREDDIN's troops had been rebuffed in 1163 and 1166, even the great (Kurdish) Sultan SALADIN met with the same result during a 13-years siege (1175-1188). In the West, the castle is known as "Krak des Chevaliers" and the first part of this name is probably derived from the Arab name for Kurds. The fortress is nearly completely intact. The crusaders did much rebuilding after 1099 and there are stables for a thousand horses. From the towers you can watch everything in wide surroundings. Main occupants were the Knights Hospitaller and the zenith of the power in the basis was between 1218 and 1250. The order still exists in Europe. The aerial photo reproduced here is taken from the British book of Robin FEDDEN and John THOMSON: "Crusader Castles in the Holy Land", which also appeared in German, at Brockhaus Wiesbaden, in 1959. Foreign bases in West-Asia will go when the area's nations will stop quarrelling among each other, when West-Asia's larger nations (Arabs, Turks and Persians) give self-decision to the smaller ones and when the fine military traditions of all of them are pooled and revived to serve a common goal: a free and prosperous West-Asia. This is also one of the aims of the Kurdish movement, which at an early time saw the causal links between foreign imperialism, West-Asian chauvinism and local reaction.



I ro'oja r'eh'etiye  
 Bilivin, em her'ne de'wetê  
 Tek'evne sergovendiye  
 Ha lëxin, lëxin, lëxin!  
 Ha lëxin, lëxin, lëxin!  
 Lawko, xirpani lëxin!  
 Tek'evne sergovendiye,  
 Lawko, xirpani lëxin!  
 Bil'zin l'istka cmaetê  
 Lawko, xirpani lëxin!  
 Sazbendê me Mer'oye  
 Lawko, xirpani lëxin,  
 Lëxin qeydê her'oye.  
 Ha lëxin, lëxin, lëxin.

Ce jour est jour de repos  
 Allons, partons à la noce.  
 Et nous entrons dans la danse.  
 Hé ohé, ohé, ohé!  
 Hé ohé, ohé, ohé!  
 Les gars! Dansons l'khirpani!  
 Et nous entrons dans la danse.  
 Les gars! Dansons l'khirpani!  
 Jouons les jeux du pays,  
 Les gars, dansons l'khirpani!  
 Not' musicien, c'est Maro  
 Les gars, dansons l'khirpani.  
 Dansons, c'est la loi du jour.  
 Hé ohé, ohé, ohé!

DANCE-SONG

(French translation L. R.)  
 Song put to music by CEMILA CASIM.  
 (in the Kurdish journal of Erevan, Keya Taze, no. 104 (1332), december 28th, 1961).



UNIVERSITIES

GUERSEL-GOVERNMENT CONTINUES MENDERES' AMBITIOUS METU-PROJECT

The "Middle East Technical University", 6 km outside Ankara, is to become the world's largest university (11,000 acres). MENDERES started the project in 1956, GUERSEL laid the campus foundation stone last May. The "METU" has now 963 students and a staff of 160. It will cost 50 mio pounds, be ready in plm. 1980 and then have 20,000 students. GUERSEL's government invests 2 mio pounds each year, the West is to pay the rest.

NEW PRESIDENT OF HEBREW UNIVERSITY IS ORIENT-EXPERT WITH AMERICAN EURASIAN EXPERIENCE

Dr. Eliahu ELATH (58) was unanimously chosen President of the Hebrew University in the Israeli sector of Jerusalem on 25/29. III. '62. Born in the tsarist Russian empire, he was arrested under LENIN for Zionism. Released, ELATH came to Palestine (1924) and worked on the land first. Later on he studied at the Jerusalem School for Oriental Studies and wrote two books on West-Asian Arabs. From 1934/45 ELATH headed the Middle East Division of the 'Jewish Agency' in Jerusalem, between 1945/48 its Political Department in Washington. After the founding of the State of Israel, he was made ambassador to the USA (1948/50), later in London ('50-'59). Back home, he became head of the Afro-Asian Institute of Histadruth and President of the Oriental Society of the Hebrew University, the institution at which he once graduated.

What he meant was explained elsewhere in "Entwicklungsländer" by Dr. Klaus BILLERBECK of Hamburg, who wrote:

"Als entwicklungshemmend wirkt sich nicht nur der Mangel an Kapital und technisch-wirtschaftlichem Wissen aus. In vielen Entwicklungsländern ist vielmehr die traditionelle Gesellschaftsstruktur und die Herrschaft einer halbfeudalistischen Oligarchie als das grösste Entwicklungshindernis anzusehen. Während der Mangel an Kapital und technisch-wirtschaftlichem Wissen durch finanzielle und technische Hilfsmassnahmen wenigstens in gewissem Umfange vermindert werden kann, ist es über die Institutionen der Hilfe nicht möglich auch nur indirekt eine Wandlung zu erreichen. Im Gegenteil - und darin liegt wohl das grösste Dilemma der ohnehin schon so problematischen Entwicklungshilfe - führt auf Grund der Verhältnisse in vielen Entwicklungsländern die Gewährung von Hilfe noch zu einer Kräftigung der herrschenden Oligarchien."

This is why demonstrating Persian students during AMINI's recent visit to Bonn and Berlin asked Germans to give him no money. It is exactly for this reason that ISK and KF support the democratic forces among Kurds and their neighbour nations in West-Asia and help them fight feudal reaction (no matter under what cloak or colour the latter may act). Certain circles now blaming our paper

and organisation for doing so, will once realise it fights it in their interest too.

THE CRISIS IN FOREIGN NEWSGIVING ON "AFRASLA" COUNTRIES

This problem, too, has KF's constant and active attention. Let us hear what "Entwicklungsländer"-Editor Dr. REUSS has to say about average reporting on the Orient and Ibero-America:

"Exotische Besonderheiten werden nicht nur bevorzugt, sondern zum Teil sogar für die richtige Form der Berichterstattung über die Entwicklungsländer gehalten. Darin liegt eine Gefahr --- für --- die angestrebte Zusammenarbeit mit den Entwicklungsländern. --- Die Krise in der Berichterstattung über Entwicklungsländer und Entwicklungshilfe muss --- mit aller Energie angepackt werden. Hier ist eine Aufgabe gestellt, der sich jedermann verpflichtet fühlen muss, der politisch denkt und handelt. Es erscheint zweifelhaft, ob diese Aufgaben allein aus privater Initiative gelöst werden können."

The hope may be expressed here that German officials & journalists will solve the problem in the way Dr. REUSS suggests. But before then much water will flow through Rhine, Oder and Danube, your reviewer fears. SvR

DEVELOPMENT

OUTSTANDING GERMAN MONTHLY ALL ABOUT UNDER-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

The findings of real experts on the world's foremost problem: under-development, are expressed courageously in "Entwicklungsländer", a West-German venture started in 1959. 36 pages of exemplary realism each month are offered at 36 DM a year. The man who initiated it all died soon afterwards: Dr. Paul LEVERKUEHN, one of Germany's Orient veterans. Present chief-editor is Dr. Ingo REUSS of Bonn, Pressehaus, publisher August Lutzeyer Verlag in Baden-Baden, Postfach 610, who recently launched "Vereinte Nationen", already reviewed in this paper. The 31. XII. '61 issue of "Entwicklungsländer" carried contributions on the cooperative movement (ORR Dr. H. GLADOSCH), basic education (Dr. H. KLOSS, German UNESCO Committee, member of ISK), development-aid in the agrarian and food sector (Dr. KAPPENSTEIN, Bonn) and on several products in Latin-America, Africa and Eurasia. Two main problems dealt with in the said "Entwicklungsländer"-issue are presented separately underneath, both in quotation and comment. Let us hope all aid-giving governments and organisations will hang articles like that of Dr. BILLERBECK over their desks, beds and baths.

MORE FOREIGN AID TO ORIENTAL FEUDAL REACTIONARIES RESULTS IN MORE POVERTY FOR ORIENTAL MASSES

Nr. 1-VIP contributor to "Entwicklungsländer" is Prof. Dr. Fritz BAADE of the famous "Weltwirtschaftsarchiv". Member of Parliament BAADE is also Director of the German Research Institute for Economic Problems of the Underdeveloped Countries. It is interesting to note that this top-expert was referring to GUERSEL's Turkey especially when he said: "Wenn Mittel und Methoden nicht alsbald geändert werden, muss die Entwicklungshilfe zum grössten Bankrott der Weltgeschichte werden."

Ist das Alter von Mossadeh für die Süddeutsche Zeitung so verteilt der Schah seine Lant wirklich umsonst?

wegen ach

Wie gut die deutsche Presse informiert ist... Wie erwartet, hat den bundesrepublikanischen Leser... knaustvoll beachtetes und reuouchiertes Bild von den... Iran serviert worden!

gierung in Iran

lungen, daß die Studenten... heres Mel durch die Polizei... enten in der ganzen Wel...

STUDIANTS IRANIENS : ETUDIANTS DE FRANCE

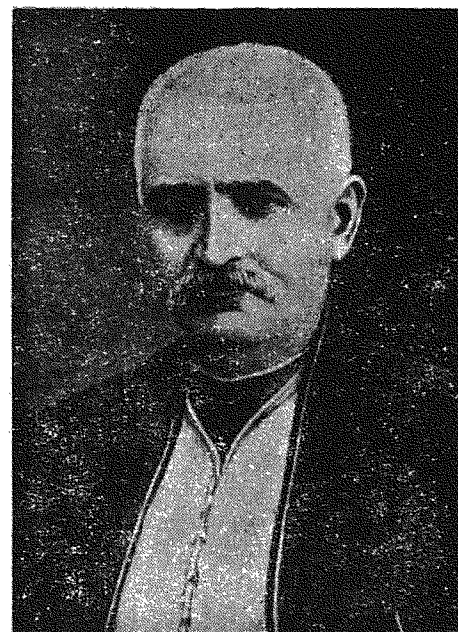
962, au cours d'une manifestation pacifique... l'enceinte de l'Université de Téhéran, org...

Handwritten notes and a telegram in German and Persian. The telegram is dated 24.1.1962 and is addressed to the German government regarding the visit of Dr. Ali Amini. It mentions student demonstrations in Westphalia and the situation in Iran. There are also handwritten notes in Persian and German, including a list of names and dates.



## LITERATURE

FATHER OF MODERN AZERBAIJANI THOUGHT AND LITERATURE:  
150th birthday of Mirza Ahmed-Zade FETH-ALIS (AKHUNDOV)



Right: Azerbaijani writer M.F. AKHUNDOV (1812-1878).  
Left: Dance-suite "Harvest" at AKHUNDOV Opera & Ballet Theatre, Baku.

As is known, the 19th century saw a remarkable awakening of the various Turkic nations of the Russian empire. In Azerbaijan their greatest democratic enlightener and cultural renewer was Mirza Ahmed-Zade FETH-ALIS (1812-1878), now generally referred to as Mirza Fatali AKHUNDOV. This year, Azerbaijanis and their friends all over the world are commemorating the 150th birthday of this great West-Asian. It was in Tbilissi (Tiflis), the Georgian capital, that AKHUNDOV's cradle stood. In 1958 a Georgian, M. MARABISCHVILI, sculptured the statue of AKHUNDOV then erected in Tbilissi's Botanical Garden. But most statues of AKHUNDOV are - of course - in Azerbaijan itself. His first play "The Vesir of the Lenkoran Khanate" (1851) marked the birth of modern Azerbaijani dramaturgy. But only in 1873 was AKHUNDOV played for the first time in Azerbaijani in Baku, where now the Opera and Ballet Theatre bears his name. Best-known among AKHUNDOV's other plays are "Mollah Ibrahim Khalil, the Alchemist", "The Botanist Mr. Jordan", "The bear who defeats robbers", "Advocates" and "Hadji Kara". The latter was made into a motion-picture in Soviet Azerbaijan in 1927/28.

Already during AKHUNDOV's life-time, his plays were translated into Farzi (Persian), Pushtu (Afghan) and other languages and their staging abroad contributed greatly to the emergence of modern dramaturgy in the Islamic Orient. Both as a writer and as a reformer, AKHUNDOV urged democracy, social progress, self-decision of nations, freedom of expression, abolishment of feudalism, emancipation of women. The pioneers of his Turkic fellow-nations in the Russian empire: Tatars of the Crimea, Idel-Ural and Siberia, and Turkistani held the same ideas. They were all men of a broad, progressive, international outlook and so was AKHUNDOV. His anti-imperialism can be seen from the following quotation from his book "Three Letters of the Indian Prince Kemal-ud-DOVLE to the Persian Prince Dshalal-ud-DOVLE and the Answer of the Latter", in which he makes Kemal write to Dshalal:

"If even our padisha is a despot, thank God, he is still of our countrymen; we do not live like you, under the yoke of a foreign nation."

The school of prose-writing AKHUNDOV caused was - before all - inspired by his soon-classic work "The deceived stars", a master-piece of democratic realism. On 22. VII. 1875, six years after the Crimean Tatar Gaspar-ALI (= GASPRINSKY, 1851-1914) started his paper "Tercüman", Baku saw the first issue of an Azeri-Turkic paper: "Ekinçi" (= The Plower). It was inspired by AKHUNDOV and made by Hassan Melik-Zade ZERDABI (= MELIKOV, 1837-1907). Like "Tercüman", the already suppressed, it was soon liquidated by tsarist Russian censors. "Ekinçi" had carried poems by another disciple of AKHUNDOV: Seid Azim SHIWANI (1825-88). A playwright inspired by AKHUNDOV was Nadjaf Bek VEZIR(ov) (1854-1926). Prose-works springing from AKHUNDOV's school included "The travels of Ibrahim-Beg" ("Siahat-nameyi Ibrahim-Beg"), the stories by Zeinal ABDIN from Maraga and Abdurahman TALIB of Tebriz (in Persian Azerbaijan) and the satiric comedies of MIRZA-AGHA.

In order to modernise his Azerbaijani language and the Turkic languages in general, AKHUNDOV advocated the adaptation of Latin transcription for all of them. The first suggestion of this kind had been made by a contemporary of AKHUNDOV, the Polish emigrant Konstanty BORZECKI (1826-76) who lived in Turkey. There AKHUNDOV put forward his ideas of Turkic script reform in person at the Ottoman Academy.

After the downfall of the tsarist Russian and Ottoman Turkish empire, Latin transcription was indeed introduced after all, in the USSR under LENIN and in Turkey under ATATUERK. But STALIN replaced the Latin alphabets by Cyrillic Slavic ones. (The same was, though considerably later, done - 1945 - with Kurdish in Soviet-South-Caucasia. Ed.) Azerbaijanis of Persian Azerbaijan still use Arab letters, in their persianised form.

Azerbaijani people love their classics very dearly. AKHUNDOV has a special place of honour in their hearts. The brisk demand for his works and that of other great Azeri writers can be derived easily from the complaint G. ORUDSHEV (Director of the Main Administration of the Book Network of the Azerbaijani SSR) in "Bakinsky Rabochny" of 3. III. 1955:

"Many of the works beloved by the people, of NIZAMI, FIZULI ---, AKHUNDOV, --- and SABIR are often not to be found on the shelves of bookstores."

Since then, much has improved however, and AKHUNDOV's works are now available everywhere in Soviet North Azerbaijan, both in the original and in good Russian translations. In Baku there is an AKHUNDOV-library of which E. EFENDIEV is the skillful bibliographer. In 1953, A. A. SHARIF published an AKHUNDOV-biography in the "Brief Communications" of the Moscow "Oriental Institute", to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the great writer's death. Azeris abroad also cherish AKHUNDOV's ideas; in 1940 Ahmed CAFEROGLU wrote on them in "Azerbaycan", a paper appearing in Turkey in Osmanli-Turkish then. It was the same H. HUSEIN(-ov) whose anti-imperialist biography of the Caucasian hero SHAMIL (see KF. 11-12, p. 11) met STALIN's and BAGIR (-ov)'s wrath in the early fifties who described (Baku 1942) the progressive "Philosophical Views of M. F. AKHUNDOV". A film, "Sabukhi" about AKHUNDOV's life and work was made the same year.

The South-Azerbaijani Academy of Science in Tebriz, as shortlived as the Autonomous Republic of (Persian) Azerbaijan (1945-46) also paid great attention to the rich heritage of that great West-Asian thinker, reformer, writer and playwright AKHUNDOV. Azerbaijani solidarity with their neighbours, the oppressed Kurds, is also in the spirit of AKHUNDOV, whose solidarity with other oppressed nations in the Orient was exemplary. It may be added that part of the material necessary to write this article was supplied by Azerbaijani friends of this paper and the Society that publishes it. As says (1958) the Azerbaijani literature- and theatre-historian, Mamed ARIF: "AKHUNDOV joined the national voice of Azerbaijani literature of the great orchestra of world literature". That West-Europeans are aware of this, too, may be seen from the name they gave AKHUNDOV long ago: "the Azerbaijani MOLIERE".

*S. I. ...*



النشر في الخارج  
يناير ١٩٦٢



# ديسان بازراني

ملحق نشرو «ديسان بازراني للطبع والنشر في الخارج» - اوائل حزيران ١٩٦٢

اخرا لا:

## فدائ الامم المتحدة

العدد ١٥٦٦

من القارة  
الارضية

ن البارزاني "ازدادت  
تعد نصا بعد التص



كل  
قوة  
تعد  
نفس  
نفس  
الا  
ال

## خطاب لسان الحزب الديمقراطي الكردستاني من منشورات النشرو ديسان بازراني للطبع والنشر في الخارج ١٥ حزيران ١٩٦٢ العدد (٣)



- ما اينما البشعة ايها شعوب ال
- باسم احد الوطنيين من اينما
- معج الشوار اوجه ندادني الحكم، ما
- منظمة الاسم المتحدة .
- لجنة حقوق الانسان .
- جمعية الصليب الاحمر الدولي
- الكونغرسية الدائمة لبروتستانت
- جمعية الحقوق من الديمقراطية
- ايها الصائرين الشرفاء

تعالوا مع الصغير الابر  
التي تحترق بحق شعبنا  
الناس، ويهدم الآلاف من  
والقتل المحرقة .  
دون ملوى .  
تعالوا لانتقال سهم  
التي كارت قتل واقتراب  
البحر، والبرادي، وال  
الدكتاتورية .

ما جسامه شعبتنا ناضل من اجل جبهة اتحاد وطني للعمل :  
ضد الاستعمار وشاهجه وامواره .  
ضد الدكتاتورية القاسية للهادية للشعب واهدائه الكبرى .  
لاقامة نظام الديمقراطية برلماني سلم .  
لتتبع الشرب الاخرية والفعالية بمن الشعبين العربي والكردى .  
لاسترجاع حقوق انبلاذ من شركات النفط الاستعمارية فضلا .  
لضمان حقوق العمال والنساجين الديمقراطية والمعاشية .  
نداء من الحزب الديمقراطي الكردستاني الى جميع الاحزاب السياسية الوطنية .  
التي كانت المنظمات الوطنية في العراق .  
بمساعدة النضال السوري المسلح للشعب الكردي والنضال في جبهة وطنية متحدة  
تتحقق جميع الاهداف الديمقراطية والقوية للشعب !!

DRUKWERK  
PRINTED MATTER  
IMPRIMEE  
DRUCKSACHE

31 JUL. 1963

# KURDISH FACTS WEST-ASIA

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Again an Iraqi Government has broken its promises of autonomy for Southern Kurds. It is the sixth time since British victors in West-Asia created the state of Iraq against both Kurdish and Arab wishes of unity and freedom, against the solemn promise of "self-decision of nations" made by Western democracies. Again war has been declared against Kurds.

Things, however, have changed since World War I. Kurdistan has now a united national movement under an able, determined and inspiring leader, General Mullah Mustafa BARZANI.

World opinion is - generally speaking - on the side of the Kurds. There is little doubt in the international press that Baghdad's Arab imperialism will prove to be a paper tiger. Informed observers predict the allegedly pro-Western "collective-leadership"-fascism of the Baath even a shorter rule than the "anti-imperialist" one-man's-business-fascism of its predecessor, General Abdul Kerim QASSIM. The first signs of weakening of the Baghdad Baathists can already be

seen. In order to keep the Army and the people in check, they had to enlist a fascist militia of 40.000 men. But even there, resistance is beginning. "Nation-

# AGAIN

al Guard"-students are being replaced by Beduin warriors. The mobilisation of the 1939, 1940 & 1941 classes is meeting with difficulties. The feudalist Kurdish mercenaries employed by Hashemites, Qassim and Baath against BARZANI (like the Zibari tribe) are taking

the latter's side now. Whole companies of the Iraqi Army "desert" to the Kurdish Army, which has a growing number of Arab volunteers. Baghdad's daily war reports on South Kurdistan exhausted Baath's stock of paper victories in less than 3 weeks. The only South-Kurdish city of importance Mesopotamians could capture in their campaign, Koi-Sanjaq, is in Kurdish hands again.

But final victory for Kurds can only be accomplished if they find reliable, democratic partners in Arab Mesopotamia and if world-democratic solidarity with Kurds can be organised effectively.

This is why we did publish and now publish again "Kurdish Facts". All you remit to ISK's banking account stated elsewhere in this issue is ammunition for Kurdistan's "second front", the front of informing the world and getting active on Kurdish & West-Asian freedom's behalf. Please help Kurds win this war against fascism - and a democratic peace at last.

Silvio VAN ROOY, Editor

# INSIDE KURDISTAN

## THE WAR

9. 6. 1963: All Iraqi Kurdistan and adjacent Mesopotamian territory is made into one "Northern" military region under Brig. Fathi SAQILLI.

Dust-to-dawn curfew around Habbanyah airbase (under QASSIM main starting point of air-raids on South-Kurdistan). Col. Jalal TALABANI, BARZANI's chief negotiator for autonomy & "roving ambassador" (who is still believed to be in Beirut by "The Times" correspondent there) arrives in Vienna for talks with Dr. Wuriya RAWENDUZI, Press etc. Remaining members of his delegation (Saleh YUSEFI, Sheikh Hasan KHANAQA, Masoud MUHAMMAD, Assaid AGID & Sheikh BABERK) are seized by Baghdad police. (YUSEFI, chief of DPK Baghdad branch, was arrested under QASSIM and freed on 8. 2. '63, KF)

10. 6. 1963: Iraqi ultimatum accuses Kurds of separatism, pro-communism, zionism, banditry. Tells them to surrender all arms in 24 hours or be liquidated. Starts the ultimatum "In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate". BARZANI rejects ultimatum. In a Baghdad-press conference trying to justify his aggressive war, Baath propagandamin. Saleh AL-SAADi says about Kurds: "But we give them an inch and they ask for a full yard". Radio Lausanne broadcast communique of BARZANI's "Committee for the Defense of the Kurdish People's Rights" (seat: Renens/Vaud, Secretary Ismet Sberif VANLY).

Syrian radio commentator calls Jalal TALABANI "an old imperialist agent". Hostilities start. 200 Iraqis are killed nr Azmir (Sulaimani area). Corpses of an Iraqi Army colonel and an Airforce officer are brought to Baghdad.

Says Baathist Government: "We have decided to try and purge, from today on, the whole northern area of Iraq of the gang of BARZANI". Says commander SAQILLI: "We shall bomb and destroy every village from where shots are fired.

--- People who help Kurdish insurgents shall be punished severely".

In "Algemeen Handelsblad", a big article dealing with last pre-war-weeks appears. Emergency-meeting of ISK-leaders on new war.

11. 6. 1963: Full-scale Arab operations in South Kurdistan start in the evening. Same time, TALABANI arrives in Paris to see VIPs, press, etc. Dr. K. A. BEDIR-KHAN intermediates publicity contacts. "Le Soir", Beirut, writes; "En Irak, il s'agit d'un veritable conflit de nationalites, sinon de races". "Lissan Ul Hal" says Kurdish question is before all a human question. "Al Hayat" writes that history of Turkish rule over Arabs ought to teach the latter a lesson re Kurds.

Anti-Kurdish press-conference in Beirut by Iraqi charge d'affaires Nazem JAWAD who calls Kurdistan "another Israel". Iraqi Govt. OKayed TALABANI's Cairo trip, he says. He alleges that BARZANI has only 3000 followers.

"The Times" expects "fitful summer campaign" of Baathists against Kurds. It publishes letter by Saadi Amin DIZAYEE, West-Berlin-based leader in KSSE (Kurdish Students' Society in Europe). "The Times" editorial sees chief danger in a NASSERist-Kurdish alliance. "De Volkskrant", Amsterdam, headlines: "Deceived Kurds Demand Freedom". In USA, "Christian Science Monitor", of Boston calls Gen. BARZANI "red Mullah" and ex-Premier of --- South-Azerbaijan after 1939-45 war. "Le Figaro" publishes interview TALABANI gave in Beirut.

Successful press-conference of TALABANI in Vienna at 8. 30. He says: "We are in search of volunteers from the already liberated Afro-Asian countries.

--- We are no Communists nor shall we accept volunteers from the Soviet Union. --- We do not wish military support from one of the big power blocs, we do not want to be aligned but to keep neutral." "Kurds reject Baghdad ultimatum" headlines "Le Soir" of Bei-

rut in enormous letters. Iraqi Pres. AREF tells MENA: "The Kurdish problem will soon be regulated thanks to the effort of the Army and the support of the Arab & Kurdish population. --- The time of patience and negotiations is over." AREF calls situation in North-Iraq "very good".

12. 6. 1963: Abdel Kadem HATEM, Egyptian Culture- & Inf.-Min., counters allegations of Iraqi dailies "At-Taliah" & "Al Jahamir" that radio Cairo's Kurdish program called Iraqi Govt. "criminal" because it declared war on Kurds. INA & Baghdad radio allege that Arab forces are advancing in South-Kurdistan. Pres. AREF inspects the front. Iraqi mil. - governor tells Kurds to surrender before 25. 6. 1963.

"Al Jumhuriya", Kairo daily, criticises Baath but denies existence of "in Iraqi Kurdistan", says it is just "North-Iraq" which it calls a "part of the Arab homeland".

"Kurier", Vienna, publishes exclusive interview with TALABANI who appeals to Kurds' "friends in the whole world for financial and material help".

Iraqi government orders mobilisation of all young men able to bear arms against Kurds. "Pravda" (Moscow) says Baathists used negotiations "only as an opportunity to gain time to regroup forces for continuing the struggle against Kurds". West-European press publishes BARZANI's declaration on new war: "We have no other choice than to resist, to defend our people and our villages. We are no aggressors because we are only waging a defensive war. We shall continue the struggle".

In Dutch radio (VARA-Hilversum) ISK-Preş. VAN ROOY says Baath is Nazi and predicts a free South-Kurdistan.

13. 6. 1963: Joint Syrian-Yemenite communique on occasion of President SALLAL's visit to Damas promises support against free Kurds.

"The Guardian" (Manchester-London) sees "no reason to suppose that the new Government will be any more success-

full against Kurds than was QASSIM and feels "it can hardly be more ruthless", further that "neither side can win this war". "De Telegraaf", Amsterdam, feels that because of war in Kurdistan, Baath-regime "is risking its own existence". Kurdish army has now destroyed 6 Iraqi tanks and downed 4 aircraft. "Combat" of Paris supports Kurds. "Le Figaro" says W-European Govts. are worried about Egyptian-Soviet radio similarity on Kurds.

ISK-Pres. VAN ROOY arrives in Paris and sees Col. TALABANI and other Kurdish leaders. On ISK, TALABANI says: "You are famous in Kurdistan". Conference of VAN ROOY with Paris ISK-people & French personalities. Says radio Moscow in Arabic: "The Kurds are not aggressors. Their fight is purely defensive ---." "Die Welt" (Hamburg) headlines: "Cairo holds back in Kurds-conflict". Its Kairo correspondent sees "strict neutrality" of Egypt on the matter. He fears Moscow "could now become the natural ally" of Kurds.

"Neues Deutschland" (E-Berlin) says war in S-Kurdistan is under personal command of Iraqi Pres. ARIF.

Iraqi infantry, tanks, aircraft, attack Saladdin (Pir Mam) health resort. Kurds Make 51 PoWs, wound 120 and kill 4 Iraqis, seize 40 soviet machineguns, 4 British ones, 12 Russian pistols, and ammunition.

14. 6. 1963: "Milliyet" says S. E. -frontiers of Turkish republic are reinforced militarily because of Kurdish war. "Turkish and Iraqi border authorities will cooperate when necessary" the paper adds. Iraqi War Report on Kurds starts calling Kurdish feudal-separatists "Saladin Riders". Bedu irregulars "El Wahid Riders". Baath created a QASSIM-like situation in Iraq, says HAIKAL in his "Al Ahram"-editorial. "Al-Baath" (Damascus) accuses Egyptians of pro-BARZANI-propaganda, especially reprint of "Pravda" art. on Kurds in Cairo press.

13 of Iraq's 16 Army brigades are in S-Kurdistan now says "Neue Zürcher Zeitung": Headlines Israel's "Jerusalem Post": "Kurds in a Position of Strength".

15. 6. 1963: Iraqi units clash with Kurdish troops nr Derbendi-i-Khan & Bazian. Kurds seize 7 tanks, burn 12 aircraft,

down one ILYUSHIN plane, kill 130 Iraqis. Koi-Sanjaq totally destroyed & taken by Baathists. Since 10. 6 30 Iraqi Army officers went over to Kurds. In Rawenduz area an Iraqi regt. is said to have surrendered to BARZANI's forces. Dutch radio broadcasts ISK-President VAN ROOY's interview with Col. TALABANI from Paris. Pro-Kurdish, anti-QASSIM and anti-Baath declaration of "Tass", Soviet news agency: "The Soviet people --- express full support to struggling Iraqi Kurds" --- "This is the concern of all countries". "The Times" headlines: "Kurds driven to the hills" and believes: "The Kurds cannot speak for themselves". In an interview, Mesopotamian dictator AS-SAADi predicts war in S-Kurdistan will last 2-3 months. Radio East Berlin's "Iran" program describes Iraqi Arabs & Kurds as "all lions, tigers, heroes and fighters --- against the abject Baghdad coupmakers".

16. 6. 1963: "Jerusalem Post" predicts NASSER will betray Kurds, as did Baath. "Al-Baath" of Damascus says Syrian Kurds are against BARZANI (meanwhile Syrian police is hunting them). "Barada (Damascus) publishes anti-Kurdish statement of 5 Syrian NASSERists. "National Voice of Iran" stations on "just struggle of the Kurdish brethren in Iraq". Iraqi "Directorate of Military Operation" can only report local successes of Baath-Army. Radio East-Berlin attacks BBC-reporting on Kurdish feudal separatists who pledged loyalty to Baghdad on TV: Khan Kholay ZIBARI & Sheikh Mahmoud NAQSHBANDI.

17. 6. 1963: Baath-led Iraqi Teachers Union denounces BARZANI. ASSAADI, AMMASH + Iraqi Airforce Commander visit Kirkuk & Mosul. Defense Ministry mobilises 1939, 1940 and 1941 classes. Pres. AREF receives NASSER's ambassador Syria's "Al-Baath" demands that Fg. Information-Min. HATEM takes clear stand on Kurds. The paper attacks BARZANI's movement as separatist, pro-imperialist and pro-Zionist. "National Voice of Iran" against savage Baathist brutality towards Kurds. Proclamation Nr. 28 of Brig. AS-SAQILLI says: "The criminal --- BARZANI and his traitorous gang, which is composed of followers of the Kurdish Democratic Party and

Communists --- has destroyed villages, killed innocent people, spread evil ---". AS-SAQILLI calls his own proclamation "a sign of mercy shown by the authorities to the citizens". Sir Robert URQUHART (Britain) informs ISK that his art. in "The Glasgow Herald" of 22. 5. '63 in which he made a picture of an atomised Kurdistan in the early 70ies was meant as "a high compliment --- to the Kurds". The Scottish paper refuses to print ISK's letter of protest. VAN ROOY's art. in (socialist) "Het Vrije Volk" (Amsterdam) is quoted by CP-daily "De Waarheid".

18. 6. 1963: Baghdad is already less self-assured on its Kurdistan-campaign, reports "Neue Zuercher Zeitung". "Daily Worker" of British CP says Iraqis yesterday "continued --- bombing villages with rockets, burning crops with napalm and massacring hundreds of Kurdish women and children. --- Troops have been given permission to shoot people out of hand ---".

19. 6. 1963: It is reported that Kurds blew up 2 oilwells at IPC field of Jombour, 30 km south of Kirkuk. 5 IPC men were killed. "Daily Telegraph" and "Volkskrant" report on Iraqi massacring of Kurds. Says "De Volkskrant": "The Kurdish struggle for freedom gets more and more sympathy from abroad. --- It is clear that the yearlong struggle of the Kurds is reaching a crisis." Zibaris (formerly pro-Baghdad) now side with BARZANI, it is learnt. In "Le Monde" Eric ROULEAU believes that a secret agreement between AFLAQ, ATASSI + Baghdad preceded new war against Kurds.

20. 6. 1963: TALABANI leaves Paris for Berlin. VAN ROOY interviewed by "Jerusalem Post". Radio Ankara announces that Turkish oil production 1962 was 34,8% over that of 1961. North-Kurdish oil seems to have played an important part in it.

22. 6. 1963: Koi-Sanjaq, only worthwhile Kurdish city conquered during the Baathist campaign, is captured by Kurdish Army. 7 machineguns, 17 cases with ammunition and 120 various arms fall into Kurdish hands. Radio Baghdad comments on 20. 6. "Pra-



vada" article re Kurds recalls anti-BARZANI statement by Iraqi CP of 1956. "At Taliah", Baghdad, on BARZANI's "black imperialist history", Baath-radio says BARZANI will be crushed like QASSIM.

23. 6. 1963: "The Observer" and "The Sunday Telegraph" on Kurds. "National Voice of Iran" station says Baghdad Govt. prestige goes down, Kurdish prestige up. 28 Kirkuk 1959 mutineers shot in Baghdad. Baghdad announces capture of Koi Sanjaq. Surian Min. of Inf. AIJUNDI calls on all Arabs to support Baghdad against Kurds & says Kurdish "insurgents" are "dependent" on Israel.

Joint Algerian-Syrian Communique of backing Baghdad "against the rebellious movement of the agent secessionist group of Kurds". Premier AL-BAKR in Kirkuk. Defense Min. says callup of 1939-40-41 classes is for 6 weeks training only. "Welt am Sonntag" publishes BARZANI's letter to BEDIR-KHAN. "Newsweek" quotations of BARZANI: "We Kurds know how to defend ourselves" and of TALA-BANI: "We will enter into battle on our own terms. And we will certainly attack the oilfields. We are ready to cooperate with anyone who is willing to help us, even evil sources."

24. 6. 1963: Bobodzahn GAFUR(-ov), chairman of Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, sends telegram to U-THANT, ag. Arabo-Kurdish war. An Iraqi-paid body calling itself "Arab-Kurdish association" in Lebanon issues anti-BARZANI statement. (Broadcasted 26. 4. by Baghdad radio). Kurdish section of Leningrad "Institut Narodow Azii", under famous Kurdologist Prof. Qanate Kurdo (Soviet Kurd) protests against Baath's anti-Kurdish war. Iraqi Army Bulletin on South-Kurdistan lists 3 items only. Nasserist radio attacks BBC-reporting on Kurds and calls BARZANI's movement a "purely imperialist action". AL BAKR leaves Kirkuk for Mosul. Radio Baghdad attacks pro-Kurdish Arab papers. Radio Moscow says in Arabic that CIA-chief McCONE is big shareholder of IPC, whose interests are defended by Baath.

25. 6. 1963: INA spreads misinformation on alleged BARZANI-Israel contacts. "Barada" (Syria) says BARZANI abandon-

ned Turkish & Persian Kurdistan and now concentrates on destroying Iraq & Syrians". Radio Iran Courier" says "The Iraqi Kurds are fighting for the freedom and independence of Iraq". Iraq extends enlistment period for 1940-41 classes to 30. 6. 1939 callup is dropped. A Committee for the welfare of Arab troops in Kurdistan is formed. Radio Moscow says West investigated war against Kurds.

26. 6. 1963: New phantasies on Kurds: Beirut quotes Baghdad radio on alleged Israeli support for Kurds. Some NASSERist & Lebanese papers believe Soviets sent "400 officers" to Kurdish forces. Meagre Baghdad bulletin on Kurdish war. "AI Jamahir", mouthpiece of Iraqi Baath publ. statement by Def. Min. AM-MASH who accuses BARZANI of burning 80 Zibari-villages before 9. 9. 1961 (this proves that Baath is just continuing QASSIM's work: the later incited Zibari feudalists against their democratic fellow-Kurds led by BARZANI, KF). Radio Moscow says in Arabic that CENTO-intervention in Iraqi war is possible. ISK is informed that Baathist garrisons in Rawenduz, Dahok and the Iraqi police station of Harir are ringed by Kurdish Army. Rescue efforts by Iraqis from Shaqlawa failed.

42 Iraqi irregulars were killed during street-fighting, in Sulaimani. All Iraqi policemen of the Ranya garrison went over to the Kurds. Col. Abdul Rahman AL-DJUDI's 1st Btl. of 20 Iraqi Regt. was liquidated in a battle nr Said Sadik. 170 dead, 140 wounded, the rest was taken PoW by Kurds. 3 Iraqi planes were downed & 25 Iraqi paratroopers killed nr Khanaqin, where an Iraqi airborne regiment guards oil installations.

350 Kurdish feudalist irregulars fighting for Baath were killed during a battle nr Bamerni (a bombed-out village in Bah-dinan-area, where people speak Kurmanji-Kurdish and which has Christian minority).

70 Iraqi soldiers fell nr Spillek health resort. They were buried at Sulaimani cemetery. Same day, 17 Iraqi soldiers, 13 policemen and 3 Kurdish soldiers were killed in Azmir-clash. So far this information-source.

27. 6. 1963: Conflict in Syria between

Baath-party and General HARIRI, who is against Syrian participation in war against Kurds. Syrian Army leadership is purged of HARIRI-followers.

Hospitals in Damas, Deir-ez-Zor & Haseke now crowded with wounded Iraqi soldiers. Syrian MIGs & ILYUSHINs and infantry take part in Iraqi war ag. Kurds. Kurds tell ISK they took an Iraqi battalion PoW nr Rawenduz, another nr Derbendi-i-Khan, ISK-leaders meet in Amsterdam to discuss further steps. Iraqi Army Bulletin: "Our forces pursued remnants of the insurgents". "AI Jamahir" accuses USSR, USA, UK, France & Israel of morally backing BARZANI, says UPI publishes Kurdish news that indicates they are in close touch with BARZANI's men. (The latter is true since ISK intermediated this early in 1962.) "AI Jamahir" alleges: "Yes, the campaign has ended" (like QASSIM did before, KF). GAFUROV & Kurdish students Diyab Shawan FUAD denounce Iraqi-war ag. Kurds in Moscow radio. Iraqi CP-Politbureau member Anwar MUSTAFA (exile) appeals on behalf of Iraqi Kurds (also via Moscow radio).

28. 6. 1963: Radio Moscow broadcasts Berlin interview by Aleksandr ZHOLT-VER with Col. TALABANI, recording his voice, Says the Kurdish emissary: "The struggle of the Kurdish revolutionary army and of the democratic forces in Kurdistan under the leadership of Gen. BARZANI, leader of the Kurdish Democratic Party, is the struggle of the whole Iraqi people to set up a true democracy in Iraq. --- Arab democrats --- will side --- with the Kurdish revolution." Radio Moscow itself (also in Arabic): "The policy of extermination practised by the Baathists in northern Iraq is being carried out with direct military support from London." (250 Saracen troop-carriers, Hawker Hunter aircraft which use napalm bombs.) Other commentary by Soviet radio in Arab repudiates lie by Syrian paper "Barada" that QASSIM was secret agent of "Communist Kurds".

In "Al Ahram", of Cairo, NASSER-mouthpiece HAIKAL publishes "Documents" on Kurds. He alleges that TALA-BANI during his talks with NASSER called the "Committee for the Defense

of the Kurdish People's Rights" of Lausanne a "group of some Kurdish students in Switzerland of which some were "communists", and that the "Committee's statement did not air official Kurdish viewpoint (in reality, the Committee is BARZANI's official representation in Europe since summer 1962. Its secretary, VANLY was with TALABANI in Paris) where they live in same St. Germain hotel, KF). HAIKAL also accuses Iraqi dictator AS-SAADi of a secret agreement with Iraqi Kurds granting the latter independence after realisation of federal "UAR Nr. 2". HAIKAL makes NASSER pose as "anti-separatist" and seeker of peaceful solution of Kurdish problem. "Committee for the Defense of the Kurdish People's Rights" publishes communique on war in South-Kurdistan. It announces recapture of Koi-Sanjaq (22.6). With "a HITLER-like barbarity Iraqis drove 200.000 Kurds from their Kirkuk homes.

Turkish Minister of the Interior, Hifzi Oguz BEKATA, tells that twelve Kurds have been arrested by the National Security Organisation. Two of them are of Iraqi origin. BEKATA says that Kurds are of the same root as Turkmens and Uzbeks (thus Turkic, KF). Those arrested were in touch with BARZANI's movement and its organisations in Europe. Documents proving this are supplied by the Minister in photostats. Two of the seized Kurds were students from Istanbul. All are accused of "separatism" and "communism". It is also alleged that one of them "received orders from outside and aid from a representative in Turkey of some states which have taken an interest in the Kurdish issue".

"Radio Iran Courier" calls on Iraqi Kurds to form partisan groups, operating "behind the enemy lines". (This has been done by Kurds for a long time, KF.)

29. 6. 1963: In "De Groene Amsterdammer" (a Dutch socialist weekly), ISK-Pres. S. E. VAN ROOY predicts that the Kurdish issue may be brought before the United Nations soon and that a communist country is likely to launch this first. VAN ROOY urges a joint Western-Soviet policy on behalf of Kurds, on the model of the joint British-Soviet statement concerning Laos. "East" and "West"

have nothing to reproach each other for when it comes to leaving Kurds in the lurch.

Baghdad TV produces a "Kurdish officer" who, in Arabic, attacks BARZANI, alleging the latter has "contacts" with Israel "through Kurdish student organisations in Europe". INA (Iraqi news-agency) reveals that Gen. TALABANI, Ibrahim AHMED, and Omar Mustafa DAHABA are former communists (a fact known since long to all concerned and never kept a secret, KF). Adds INA: "Mustafa BARZANI can never be a progressive leader". "Al-Jamahir" (Iraqi Baath chief organ) sides with Chinese in Soviet-Maoist rift, because of KHRUSHCHEV's (sudden) Kurdophilia. Swiss-based "Committee for the Defense of the Kurdish People's Rights" issues a statement by Gen. BARZANI. In East-Germany, the central Committee of the exiled communist Tudeh Party makes an announcement on Iraqi Baath's "treacherous attack on the Kurdish people's liberation movement". It reproaches Syrian, Turkish and Iranian governments of siding with Baghdad against Kurds.

30. 6. 1963: Iraqi war minister Lt-Gen. Salih Mahdi AMMASH extends surrender-period for Kurds from June 30th to July 10th 1963. (QASSIM made a singular move shortly before his downfall.) Iraqi Army report speaks of Kurds, "strong positions taking advantage of the rugged terrain". "The Observer" prints 2 readers' letters on Kurds. One anti from Fuad AL-RAWI, Iraqi charge d'affairs in UK, one pro, by Mr. P. SCHUMACHER, ISK-vice-pres., The Hague. "Sunday Express" publishes West-Berlin interview with TALABANI who says Kurds will strike at oil wells (of IPC) whenever and wherever they can. The interview was intermediated by ISK with the help of British circles friendly to Kurds.

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 m ARAB DEMOCRATS ARE URG- m  
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 The new Arab-Kurdish war in Iraq started by Baath is likely to run into the same

deadlock as the one started by QASSIM. The Arabs can bomb but not conquer South-Kurdistan. Nor can they oust BARZANI politically. The Kurds can neither bomb nor conquer Mesopotamia but can topple Baghdad rulers. They were the main cause of QASSIM's downfall.

Though the subject seems to be tabu in most countries, it cannot be denied that the more active strata of the All-Arab unity movement is fascistoid, nor democratic. Neither democrats nor Communists have been able to set up an All-Arab unity movement of their own.

For the Kurds (but not only for them) it is the question where to find an Arab ally in Iraq strong enough to resist fascism and other foreign ideologies and democratic enough to okay genuine federalism in Iraq and elsewhere.

If there is not such a partner, the same thing that happened after the fall of QASSIM might happen after the collapse of Baath.

Judging from BARZANI's statements both in former and recent years, he is well aware of this problem.

And already in August 1960, Mr. Ismet Sherif VANLY, now BARZANI's official representative in Europe, suggested that Iraq might care for non-Iraqi Kurds in the same way as for non-Iraqi Arabs. Had QASSIM followed this advice, Iraq could have become a nucleus of democracy in both Kurdistan and all-Arabia. Now Jalal TALABANI, BARZANI's "roving ambassador" since February 1962, revealed that the number of Arab volunteers in the Kurdish Army is growing. ISK knows there were already some in QASSIM's time. One of them wrote home to Mesopotamia that he felt he was "serving a just cause" under Kurdish leader BARZANI. It is also encouraging that so many Arab intellectuals signed the "Peace-with-Kurds"-appeal mid-1962. Still more encouraging is the fact that the press of some Arab countries (so Lebanon) is now friendly towards Kurds. Egyptian press once anti, is now neutral on this issue. BARZANI's democratic Kurdish movement prevents fascist schemes of Arab unity from being realised: "UAR" Nr. 2 and Baath istan. So Kurds help to clear the way for a democratic "Wahdawayah Arabiyah".

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 m KURDISH ARMY STRIKES AT m  
 m OILFIELD NEAR KIRKUK: MORE m  
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Both in Vienna and in Paris Colonel TALABANI said Kurds would strike at oil-installations if the 'Iraq Petroleum Company' would continue to pay royalties to the Baathist rulers in Baghdad. A few days later Kurdish soldiers reportedly blew up the wells of Jombour, 30 km south of Kirkuk. There was no comment from IPC so far and most of the international press was silent about it too. Already in 1962, Kurds showed they were able to strike at IPC-fields. In the Hewler-area they succesfully attacked the station near Tek-Tek, took 28 PoWs and destroyed a small radio transmitter and 7 cars. Later in the year they kidnapped IPCofficials Derek DANKWORTH near Ain Zalah and Frank GOSLING in the Qanachq hills. Both were treated very well and released via Persian Kurdistan.

Oil-revenues form 70% of Iraqi income. If IPC-installations are destroyed the company is no longer bound to pay royalties. Baghdadis then unable soon to buy Soviet and other aircraft to massacre Kurds and to pay its soldiers and mercenaries. Kurdistan could do without oil (in fact it never saw much of its blessings) as it has white energy and coal in abundance. QASSIM's plan to nationalise Iraqi oil with Communist help is said to have been one of the main reasons why Britain got interested in his Baathist opponents late last year. IPC is, however, against the American-Egyptian plan to concentrate all East-Arabic & South-Kurdish oil into one body.

Baathist plans to build a strong Baathistan, first by uniting Iraq & Syria, then incorporating Kuwait (and other Arab states) will fail as the Kurdish resistance will doubtlessly break the neck of Baathism. Soviet-discovered oil in Syrian Kurdistan is not yet exploited but part of the Iranian and Turkish oil comes from Kurdish ethnic territory. Abadan, Iran's main oil centre, is Arab ethnic territory. Baathists claim it for that reason.

A fair share for Kurds in Iraqi oil royal-

ties was one of the main stumbling blocks during Kurdish-Arab autonomy talks in Baghdad and elsewhere.

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 m IRAQI ARABS ARE COMMIT- m  
 m TING GHASTLY WAR-CRIMES m  
 m IN SOUTHERN KURDISTAN m  
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Newspapers holding absolutely opposed creeds agree on the fact that the Baathist armies and bands are trying to massacre Kurds systematically. On 18. 6. 1963 the "Daily Worker", chief organ of the British Communist Party, wrote: "The Iraqi authorities yesterday continued their military campaign --- bombing villages with rockets, burning crops with napalm and massacring Kurdish women and children.

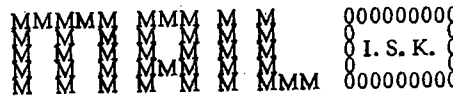
Whole villages have been razed to the ground by tanks moving and crushing every cottage after bombing. All agricultural implements have been destroyed. Troops have been given permission to shoot people out of hand and, so far, according to official figures, over 500 people have been shot."

Next day, "De Volkskrant", Nr. 1 Catholic daily in the Netherlands, reported: "All villages of the Kurds within a radius of over 30 km around the oil-city of Kirkuk have been razed to the ground, after having been taken under fire by artillery and tanks first. An eyewitness told that near Dibbis dam a tank-squadron first fully demolishes a Kurdish village. Then the flying villagers were pursued by infantry of the National Guard and shot by the dozen while flying. Plantings were trodden down and cattle was slaughtered without more ado. Dozens of other villages between Sulaimani and Halabcha underwent the same fate."

Several war-criminals from the QASSIMist Army have been immediately re-employed by the Baathists after they seized power on 8. 2. 1963. Weeks before the new war started Baathist senior officers and cabinet ministers openly told foreign correspondents in Baghdad that they could do away with "Barzani's gang" in 7-10 days if given the tools. Discontent about the constant defeats in Southern Kurdistan among higher Iraqi officers was one of the main causes of

QASSIM's fall. Units led by such officers played an important part in the 8. 2. '63 coup in Mesopotamia.

"De Volkskrant" is even more frank than the English CP-paper and says Iraqi troops commit "systematic annihilation" of Kurds.



ITALIAN DREW EUROPE'S FIRST MAP OF KURDISTAN: IN 1561

"The earliest map with the name Kurd or Kurdistan, which we have found in the Museum collections, is a map of Asia by J. GASTALDI published in 1561 by A. LAFRERI at Rome) with the title: "La Descrittione delle Prima Parte dell' Asia". "

(BRITISH MUSEUM, Map Room; R. A. SHELTON, Superintendent, London)

MAIL IS VANISHING IN TURKEY

"Things are growing worse and worse with Turkish postal services. Apart from the fact that one out of every 4 letters (in both directions) never arrives, they do not know what to do with registered mail. The following happened: That guy in Istanbul whom I found that interpreter job here did not get the job because the letter lay 4 days in some shop and after that he had to pay a bakshish still! --- It is hair-raising. And you can't do anything against it."

(P. SCHUMACHER, The Hague)

A GOLD-MINE FOR HER: KF

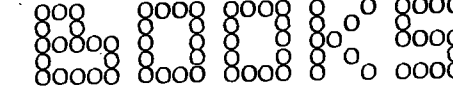
"--- the bibliographical materials --- presented in "Kurdish Facts" --- are a goldmine to anyone wishing to do research in this subject. I --- have found out many facts which the American & British press have never mentioned."

(Mrs. L. WENNER, Washington)

UNITED PRESS: KF "VALUABLE"

"Kurdish Facts --- just as valuable as I expected."

(UPI-Correspondent Ray L. MOLONEY, Beirut)



Books on the Kurdish language and literature are slowly but constantly increasing

« لعنات الزيبار » بالثور الأتراد . وتلتحق مظم وحدات الجيتي  
العراقي بالجيتي اللدري والذي نظم الآن بين صفوفه عدداً كبيراً  
من فدائي العرب . أما أخبار بغداد اليومية عن الحرب في جنوب  
كردستان فأتت تتكلم عن « انتصارات على لورق » حققها  
البعثيون في أقل من ثلاثة أسابيع . وإن المدينة الوحيدة المهمة  
التي يتطعم البعثيون السيطرة عليها في حملتهم « كوي سنجه »  
نظي الآن بأيدي الأتراد .

ولكن الضرر الذي للأتراد يكمن أن يحقق فقط ، إذا  
وجدوا هؤلاء شركاء ديمقراطيين يعتمد عليهم في سبب لفرق .  
وإذا نظم رضا من الديمقراطي العالمي بصورة فعالة .  
هذا هو سبب لماذا أصدرنا وسنصدر الآن ثانية « حقائق  
كردية » . إن لنا تقدمونه من معونة إلى حساب « بهمة  
كردستان العاطية » والمذكور في محل آخر من هذا العدد هو  
عناد « لجهمة كردستان الثانية » « جهمة تعريف وتنوير  
العالم مما يجري في كردستان وبهعله يقف موقفاً فعالاً  
بجانب حرية الأتراد وحرية آسيا الغربية . نلتقى ساعة  
الأتراد ليحققوا انتصارهم في حربهم هذا ضد الفاشية -  
وفي الأخير سلام ديمقراطي .

كلمة التحرير " مجلة " حقائق كردية / وآسيا الغربية "  
تموز عام ١٩٦٢ ( العدد ١٦ ) - سلفيو شان روي -

## مرة أخرى

مرة أخرى تنفض حكومة عراقية وعودها للاعطاء، الحكومة القومية  
للاكراد الجنوب، انرا المرة، لادسة منذ ان ظفقت انتصارات  
البريطانيين في غرب آسيا دولة العراق ضد رغبات كلا الطرفين  
اللدي والعزي في الوحدة والحرية، ضد الوعد المقاطع لحق  
"تقرير المصير للشعوب" والذي اوجدهت الديمقراطية الغربية  
خلدا يعلن الحرب مرة أخرى ضد الاكراد.

على أية حال فان امورا كثيرة قد تغيرت منذ الحرب العالمية  
الاولى، فلدرستان الآن حركة وطنية موحدة تحت قيادة قديرة  
وعلمية ومحسوبة الا وهو الجنرال علا مصطفى البرزاني.  
وان الرأي العام العالمي عموماً هو بجانب الاكراد، وهناك أدنى  
شك في الصعانة العالمية بأن الاستعمار العزي في بغداد سيبرهن  
كونه شمر من ورق، ويقدر المراقبون المطلعون « للقيادة الحمايية »  
لحزب البعث الفاشي والداعية موالداً للفرج حكماً أقصر من حكم  
شوخى فاشي أدعى معادته للاستعمار وهو "الدكتاتور عبد الكريم  
قاسم". ويمكن الآن ان تلاحظ العلاقات الاولى لضعف بعثي  
بغداد، ولغرض كبت جماح البعث والحيتي فانهم عندوا ما يدعى  
"بالحرس القوي"، الفاشي قوامه أربعون ألف شخص، ولكن  
حين هنا ما ان المقاومة قد بدت، فالطلبة المنتهين الى "الحرس  
القوي" يفرون بحاربين من البدو، وتغير حوالد عام ١٩٤٩، ١٩٤٠،  
١٩٤١ تلقى صعوبات صعبة، ويلتحق مرتزقة أقطاعي الاكراد الذين  
جندهم الحكم الهاشمي وحكم القاسمي وأجراً البعث ضد البرزاني



in number, marking thus an evident progress in the realm of Kurdish studies in general. As far as concerning the linguistics, Dr. MACKENZIE's "Kurdish Dialect Studies" I & II are, it is to be said already at the very beginning of this note, of the greatest scientific importance and interest perhaps.

In spite of a long history of Kurdish language studies which is, as MACKENZIE points out even longer than that of most modern Iranian languages, and in spite of the relatively numerous publications on the subject, we possessed no classification of the dialects whatsoever and the existing descriptions of the dialects spoken in Southern Kurdistan could not stand the modern scientific criticism in most cases, being also far from giving an exhaustive language material to rely on.

The author - actually a lecturer in Iranian languages at the school of Oriental African Studies, University of London - has spent about 10 months in Iraqi Kurdistan in 1954/55.

The present volumes contain grammatical sketches (KDS I) and the newly collected texts (KDS II) present the result of his linguistic field work. Unfortunately, it was found impossible to do the same work in Turkish Kurdistan because of the well-known approach of Turkish authorities to anything that concerns Kurds & Kurdistan. Here I am obliged to quote Dr. MACKENZIE who says in the preface: "In Iraq my work was lightened by the liberal help and interest of many Kurds of all stations of life."

The dialects spoken chiefly in Sulejmanija, Arbil and Mosul provinces of Northern Iraq, of which a modern and thorough linguistic description has been given are according to Dr. MACKENZIE's grouping:

GROUP I	X	GROUP II
(CENTRAL)	X	(NORTHERN)
Suleimani	X	Surci
Bingird	X	Akre
Pizdar	X	Amadiye
Mukri	X	Barwari-Zor
Arbil	X	Gulli
Rewardiz	X	Zakho
Xosnaw	X	(Sheikhan)

Apart from the phonological difference between the groups there is a number of contrasting morphological features like

the existence of suffix pronouns in the central dialects, there are differences in the passive construction, in the use of indefinite nominal suffix, in the distinction of grammatical gender in singular both in case endings and in Izafe, in the formation of tenses etc., etc.

The texts included in KDS-2 however being unequal both in their size and character because of the difficulties connected with finding trustworthy informants (a problem well known to anybody who was doing any linguistic field work in areas like Southern Kurdistan), they give clear specimens of the dialects and thus form the basis for any linguistic research actually available. According to the author's note the tape-recordings of these texts can be obtained of the tape which was sent to him - this must meet with the approval of all those who are interested in the Kurdish language.

Several times in KDS the author made some references to the famous but little-known MSS materials collected by the late Oskar MANN which are divided between the 'Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur' at Mainz and the 'Institut fuer Orientforschung' of the 'Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften' in Berlin. MANN's MSS contain the most important linguistic material on Kurdish dialects spoken in Turkish Kurdistan before the displacement of Kurdish tribes which followed the first World War and we may hope only that these valuable materials will be published in the near future in as brilliant a form as Dr. MACKENZIE's "Kurdish Dialect Studies".

(Andrzej ZABORSKI, Krakow)

#### DOSSIER ON KURDS FOR 1 FRANC

The April 1963 issue of "Fiches d'Information/Etudes anticolonialistes" (118 Avenue Victor Hugo, Paris 16e) bears the title "Le Dossier Kurde". It is one of the best brief general surveys of the Kurdish problem ISK ever saw. 18 pages, map, bibliography. 1 NF on CCP 19.654.70 of Monsieur P. GOLDMANN, Paris and you'll get a copy. "Kurdish Facts" is referred to several times.

The underneath books of Kurdish interest have been acquired recently by the Library of "International Society Kurdistan"

and will be reviewed in KF's later issues:  
I. I. TSUKERMAN: "Ocherk Kurd skoj Grammatiki" (Short Kurdish Grammar), 1'd. Vostochnoj Literaturi, Moskva, 1962 239 p. Akademiya SSSR, Institut Narodov Azii.

Adzhiye DZHINDI: "Kurdskie Epicheskie Pesni Skazy" (Kurdish Epic Songs & Tales) Izd. Vostochnoj Literaturi, Moskva, 1962 243 p. (with bibliography, 5 songs with music-notes, Kurdish part of the book is in BAKAEV's Cyrillic transcription) Akademiya Nauk SSR, Institut Mirowoj Literatury im. A. M. GORKOGO.

Miroslaw ZIKMUND & Jiri HANZELKA: "Kurdistan" (photobook, Iraqi Kurdistan only) Artia, Prague, 1962 (text in German).

Muhammad Awik ZAKI: "Halasat ta'rih al-Kurd" (History of the Kurds), Baghdad 1962.

(Prof. Dr.) John JOSEPH: "The Nestorians and their Muslim Neighbors", Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1961, 281 p.  
Serif FIRAT: "Dogu Illeri ve Varto Tarihi" (The Eastern Regions & the Story of Varto), Milli Egitim Basimevi, Ankara, 1961, 176 p.

Alan A. KRUTCHOFF: "Should Any Foreign Power Aid the Kurdish Rebellion?" (MS, USA, 31 p.).

(Prof. Dr.) Thomas BOIS O. P.: "La Vie Sociale des Kurdes", Extrait de la Revue AL-MACHRIQ Juillet-october 1962. Imprimerie Catholique, Beyrouth, 1962, (65 p., 200 footnotes).

Ch. Kh. BAKAEV: "Govor Kurdov Turkmenii" (Language of the Kurds of Turkmenistan), Izd. Akademiya Nauk SSSR, Moskva, 1962 (phonetics, grammar, texts and glossary), 270 p., Inst. Yazykoznanija. (Transcription of Kurdish in Cyrillic script).

Secondary sources and works published before 1960 are not included in this list.  
William L. EAGLETON: "The Kurdish Republic of 1946", Chatham House, London, 1962 (on Mehabad-Republic).

FORTHCOMING BOOKS on Kurdistan are a Kurmanji textbook (with grammar, glossary & texts) by Prof. Thomas BOIS O. P., a travel-story through liberated South-Kurdistan by Dana Adams SCHMIDT, correspondent of "The New York Times" who interviewed Gen. BARZANI last summer, and an intro-



DOCUMENT NR. 1: KURDISH DEMANDS PRESENTED TO THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAQ ON 24 APRIL 1963 AS A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON THE FUTURE OF (SOUTHERN) KURDISTAN

Une fraternité arabo-kurde, destinée à renforcer les solides relations et les liens qui ont uni ensemble les peuples arabe et kurde depuis l'apparition de l'Islam jusqu'à présent, et un dévouement sincère à la coexistence des Arabes et des Kurdes ne peuvent réussir que si nous sommes préparés à bâtir cette coexistence sur un fondement fort et solide et si possible selon des vérités historiques fondamentales. Le meilleur lien entre des peuples est une union fraternelle volontaire; seule elle peut se développer, s'épanouir et durer. Un amalgame forcé ou une absorption ne peut aboutir qu'à des conflits, des problèmes et l'inimitié entre les peuples. Une union volontaire n'est fraternelle que si elle est basée sur une reconnaissance franche et complète des droits des nations coexistantes, habitant de ce fait ces nations à exercer leurs droits nationaux démocratiques à l'intérieur du cadre général de cette union.

L'histoire a montré qu'une union volontaire de nations est plus forte et plus solide que des annexions forcées ou des absorptions. La première se développe et croît, tandis que les autres s'évanouissent et meurent.

L'histoire montre aussi que l'unité d'un état basée sur une union volontaire peut être assurée et restera forte. Elle se développera, s'épanouira et restera stable. Par contre, l'unité d'un état établie sur la base de l'annexion ou de l'absorption reste faible, mal jointe et condamnée à s'effondrer à tout moment.

La vérité sur les états modernes est que l'autorité nationale à l'intérieur du gouvernement fédéral, où des nationalités fraternelles exercent leur autorité dans l'administration de leurs affaires particulières, politiques, économiques, culturelles et sociales, est la meilleure garantie de la permanence de l'union volontaire. Cette autorité nationale constitue l'essence de l'union et forme sa base la plus ferme. Nous avons maints exemples, tels ceux de la Suisse, de la Yougoslavie, de la Tchécoslovaquie, de la Fédération indienne et de la Nigéria qui toutes ont réalisé d'excellentes unions

volontaires au grand bénéfice de tous, même au regard de l'unité elle-même de l'état. Cependant les bénéfices de ce type d'union volontaire sont nombreux et significatifs au point que les nations-soeurs le considèrent comme la meilleure forme de démocratie. C'est le cas de la République Arabe Unie sur la formation de laquelle trois pays arabes se sont mis d'accord.

Ainsi les nationalités fraternelles vivant en un état unique jouissent de leurs droits nationaux au moyen de leurs conseils spéciaux législatif et exécutif, non seulement en harmonie avec l'unité de l'état mais en la renforçant, en l'affirmant et en fortifiant grandement les parties composantes.

A la lumière de ces vérités nous pouvons dire que l'acceptation par le Gouvernement irakien de ce plan que nous présentons ici pour réaliser les justes demandes nationales du peuple kurde et en dévouement et sincérité envers l'unité nationale du peuple irakien auquel nous voulons force, stabilité et prospérité, sera une importante contribution au renforcement de la véritable unité irakienne et une affirmation de la fraternité arabo-kurde.

Nous espérons que le gouvernement irakien actuel appliquera les principes de l'idéologie que ses leaders ont proclamés, - principes des droits des peuples à l'auto-détermination et de la fraternité arabo-kurde, - et qu'il fera droit à ce plan.

#### TEXTE DES PROPOSITIONS KURDES

I. La République d'Irak sera un état uni composé de deux nationalités principales, les Arabes et les Kurdes, jouissant de droits égaux. Toutes les deux ont exprimé leurs désirs sur la base du droit à l'auto-détermination.

II. La Constitution irakienne doit inclure des clauses concernant l'organisation du corps législatif suprême de la République du Président de la République et du Gouvernement. La Constitution inclura éga-

lement l'organisation d'un corps national permettant au peuple kurde d'exercer ces droits nationaux en matières législatives, exécutives et judiciaires dans la région du Kurdistan.

III. Les matières suivantes seraient du ressort du Gouvernement central: 1. le chef de l'état, 2. les Affaires étrangères, comprenant: (a) la représentation diplomatique, consulaire et commerciale, (b) les accords et traités internationaux, (c) les Nations Unies, (d) la déclaration de guerre et la conclusion de la paix, 3. la défense nationale (forces de terre, de mer et de l'air), 4. la monnaie et son émission, 5. les affaires pétrolières, 6. les douanes, 7. les ports et aéroports internationaux, 8. les postes, télégraphes et téléphones, 9. les chemins de fer et routes principales, 10. les questions de citoyenneté, 11. l'organisation du budget national, 12. la supervision des stations centrales de radio et de télévision, 13. l'énergie atomique.

IV. 1. Le peuple kurde jouira de ses droits nationaux au moyen d'un Conseil exécutif dérivé d'une Assemblée législative qui, à son tour, sera élue par les habitants du Kurdistan par élection directe, libre et secrète. 2. Le gouvernement national (i. e. régional), en conformité avec l'article second, sera responsable des matières suivantes: 1) justice, 2) affaires intérieures, 3) enseignement et éducation, 4) santé publique, 5) agriculture, 6) tabac, 7) municipalités, 8) travail, 9) affaires sociales, 10) planning de développement et estivation, 11) toutes les autres matières qui ne sont pas spécifiquement attribuées au gouvernement central. 3. L'assemblée législative par des lois appropriées exercera les droits mentionnés au paragraphe 2 ci-dessus. Elle élira aussi le président du Conseil exécutif et aura le droit de lui retirer sa confiance à lui et aux membres du Conseil exécutif, 4. le conseil exécutif exercera les pouvoirs exécutifs en prenant l'initiative d'organisations nationales pertinentes stipulées au paragraphe 2 ci-dessus et en rendant effectives les lois portées par le comité

législatif ou les lois et ordres généraux publiés par le gouvernement central lorsqu'ils concernent le Kurdistan. Il nommera aussi les fonctionnaires de l'organisation administrative et des autres services de la région. Il sera responsable devant le Conseil législatif pour toutes ses actions.

V. Le financement de l'organisation nationale dans la région du Kurdistan proviendra de ce qui suit: 1. Ressources locales, impôts et taxes payables au Kurdistan. 2. La part du Kurdistan, en proportion du nombre des habitants du Kurdistan par rapport au nombre total des habitants de l'Irak, dans: a) les revenus du pétrole, b) les douanes, c) les aéroports, d) les ports, e) le change et les banques nationales, f) les chemins de fer, g) les postes, télégraphes et téléphones. Après en avoir soustrait les dépenses pour: a) la Présidence, b) la Défense, c) les Affaires étrangères, d) les experts, e) les dépenses des Ministères du Pétrole, des PTT et de la Direction de l'estivage, en proportion du nombre des habitants de l'Irak, et les dépenses pour les chemins de fer et les routes publiques en proportion de leur longueur au Kurdistan par rapport aux longueurs en Irak. 3. La part du Kurdistan dans l'assistance et les emprunts étrangers que recoit le gouvernement sera dans la même proportion. 4. Les emprunts intérieurs, les emprunts non militaires et l'aide que se procure le Kurdistan. 5. Les importations de tabac, les lieux d'estivage, les forêts. 6. Le Kurdistan doit être considéré comme participant, en proportion du nombre de ses habitants par rapport à la population totale de l'Irak, aux institutions, projets et services administratifs intéressés au bien public.

VI. La région du Kurdistan sera composée des liwas de Sulaimaniya, Kirkuk, Arbil et des Qazas et Nahiyas des liwas de Mossoul et de Diyala où la majorité des habitants est kurde.

VII. Le Vice-Président de la République d'Irak sera un Kurde, élu par le peuple du Kurdistan de la même manière qu'est élu le Président de la République.

VIII. La Constitution doit garantir à l'entité nationale les droits culturels, sociaux et économiques dans la région du Kurdistan, et les libertés démocratiques

et religieuses aux groupes minoritaires de citoyens, tels que les Turcomans, les Assyriens, les Chaldéens, les Arméniens et les autres éléments et sectes religieuses, ce qui inclut la garantie de leur complète égalité de droits et de devoirs avec les membres des nationalités arabe et kurde. Elle leur garantira une représentation dans les assemblées législatives et les conseils exécutifs, tout comme aux autres groupes, dans une juste proportion.

#### CLAUSES GENERALES

1. Le peuple kurde sera représenté dans l'Assemblée Nationale irakienne par un nombre de députés en proportion de la population du Kurdistan dans la population de l'Irak.

2. Le peuple kurde aura dans le cabinet central un nombre de ministres dans la même proportion.

3. La proportion des fonctionnaires kurdes dans les ministères centraux sera du même ordre.

4. a) On recevra à l'Université de Bagdad et aux Instituts supérieurs irakiens un nombre d'étudiants du Kurdistan en proportion de sa population en Irak. b) Le gouvernement enverra annuellement parmi ses boursiers, les boursiers des gouvernements étrangers et les subventions étrangères un nombre d'étudiants du Kurdistan en proportion de sa population en Irak.

5. Un des adjoints du chef de l'Etat-Major de l'armée sera Kurde.

6. L'armée irakienne gardera son nom. Au cas de changement de son nom, on donnera à sa partie kurde le nom de "FAILAQ" du Kurdistan.

7. Les fils du Kurdistan feront leur service militaire. Les officiers et sous-officiers éliminés pour des raisons politiques nationales seront réintégrés dans l'armée irakienne.

8. On recevra aux écoles militaire, de police, d'Etat-Major, d'aviation et aux autres établissements militaires un nombre d'étudiants du Kurdistan en proportion de sa population en Irak.

9. C'est le gouvernement central qui enverra des forces supplémentaires dans la région du Kurdistan en cas de possibilité d'attaque étrangère ou de menace réelle d'hostilité étrangère contre la République irakienne. Dans les autres cas, il faudra prendre l'accord des Conseils législatif et exécutif du Kurdistan.

10. Les mouvements de répression militaire de l'armée irakienne à l'intérieur du Kurdistan se feront avec l'accord de son Conseil législatif ou à la demande du Conseil exécutif.

11. On considérera comme nul tout décret législatif quelle qu'en soit l'origine, s'il en découlait une restriction des droits nationaux et démocratiques du peuple kurde, ou s'il en restreignait les droits d'en jouir.

12. La loi martiale, au Kurdistan, dans des cas autres que la déclaration de guerre ou l'existence d'un danger réel d'agression étrangère, doit être proclamé avec l'agrément du Conseil législatif.

13. L'un des actuels ministres kurdes doit être chargé de la formation du Conseil exécutif provisoire pour exercer temporairement l'autorité du Conseil. Les élections pour le Conseil législatif doivent avoir lieu dans une période qui ne doit pas excéder quatre mois à dater de sa fondation (du Conseil provisoire).

14. Les effets du gouvernement d'oppression doivent être effacés par une juste et prompte compensation à tous ceux qui ont subi des dommages du fait de la Guerre du Kurdistan, dans une période qui n'excèdera pas quatre mois.

15. En cas de changement de la nationalité irakienne en nationalité arabe, il sera spécifié dans les documents, comme certificats de naissance, cartes d'identité et passeports, que le porteur est un Kurdistani dans la République Arabe Unie s'il est citoyen originaire de la région du Kurdistan, et qu'il est Kurde, s'il est d'origine kurde.

16. Si le drapeau irakien est changé, ou si l'emblème de l'état irakien est changé, on ajoutera à l'un et à l'autre un symbole kurde.

DOCUMENT NR. 2: TEXT OF THE BAATHIST ULTIMATUM TO KURDISH DEMOCRATS OF 10 JUNE 1963 ("PROCLAMATION BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND", taken from BBC-monitoring of Baghdad radio of 10. 6.

1963, 03. 30 GMT)

*Traduction française partielle, in Soyou BLAU, Le Peuple Kurde (1963), p. 75-76.*

In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate, the 14th Ramadan revolution emerged from the second heroic national struggle against the Qasimist regime which was hostile to the aspirations and the goals of the people for freedom, democracy and national and social prosperity. The revolution was proclaimed to end that regime and its supporters, and to amend all the irregular conditions which Qasim created throughout four and a half years, particularly those irregular conditions which he created between the Arabs and Kurds who lived together for many centuries in amity, solidarity, and common fate. The revolution also emerged to achieve a colossal upsurge of development so as to bring Iraq out of backwardness and poverty to prosperity and progressiveness. To fulfil these objectives, and in accordance with the desire of the National Council of the Revolutionary Command to rapidly correct the injustice the Kurdish citizens suffered during the black Qasimist regime, the revolution immediately ordered a cease-fire in the areas of military operations in the north, released the Kurdish political prisoners who had been imprisoned by Qasim, and returned to their duties and work the Kurdish officials, employees and workers who had been dismissed by Qasim's arbitrary officials, so that they, the Kurds, might share the work of building the new revolutionary society with their other brothers. The revolutionary command also took various firm and immediate measures to remove the economic blockade imposed by Qasim on the northern regions, so that the economic life might prosper and everybody would enjoy prosperity and well-being.

The revolution further resorted to restoring confidence between the Arabs and the Kurds which Qasim's criminal regime had destroyed. It sent a people's delegation composed of Shaykh Muhammed Rida ash-Shabibi, Husayn Jama'il, Fa'iq as-Samarra'i, Faysal Habib al-Khayzaran, Dr. Abd al-Aziz ad-Duri, and Zayd Ahmad Uthman to hold discussions with Mustafa Barzani's representatives. This delegation kept in continuous contact with officials in order to establish a

permanent peace in the northern regions, to strengthen the historic relations between the Arabs and the Kurds, and to fulfil the Kurds' aspirations for increasing their share in national prosperity and progressiveness in Iraq.

At the same time, our people know well that the irregular circumstances which caused the fighting between Qasim's Government and the Barzanis were removed by the emergence of the popular democratic regime which represents all the people, their goals and interests. Despite the fact that Mustafa Barzani and his group do not enjoy the right to represent all the Kurds, and despite the fact that the Barzanis were the groups which supported Qasim's irregular dictatorial regime with all their capacity and supported him in carrying out the dreadful bloody massacres in Mosul and Kirkuk, despite the Barzanis' friendliness with the local communists in their criminal and hostile policy towards the people and their aspirations for freedom, democracy and national prosperity, and despite their clear feudal identity and their relationship with imperialism and Zionism, their antagonism and their committing of crimes against other Kurdish citizens - despite all these things, the revolutionary Government consolidated its belief in the unity of the fate of the Arabs and Kurds. This belief caused the Government to allow the Kurds to take part in the official and popular delegations which studied the unity affairs in the Arab countries and to keep the Kurds in close contact with the negotiations on federal unity between Egypt, Syria and Iraq.

After the revolution, the Government studied Mustafa Barzani's demand and in accordance with its belief that it should take urgent and serious measures to grant the Kurds' demands and realise their aspirations for national prosperity and actual participation in the revolutionary Government, the National Council of the Revolutionary Command announced on 9th March 1963 its historic proclamation applying the system of decentralisation. This was announced only one month after the inception of the revolution and at a time when danger

was threatening it from all sides. The revolutionary Government speeded up the formation of official and popular committees to study the principle of decentralisation and to draft the best legislation for it. The special bill concerning the system of decentralisation was actually prepared. The revolutionary Government urgently reconsidered the economic plan which provided for the reconstruction of the areas destroyed in the fighting between Qasim and the Barzanis and the development of many projects in the northern region which would bring economic prosperity in that part of the homeland and transfer it from conditions of backwardness to conditions of progressiveness.

Citizens, in its first proclamation and in two other proclamations by its command council and in its transitory programme, the revolution announced its belief in the Kurds' aspirations for increasing their share in the operations for national prosperity and progressiveness in Iraq. The national Government acted faithfully and sincerely from the beginning to reach a peaceful and rapid solution of the problem which was created during the Qasimist regime. This problem, which has remained unsolved until now, has harmed the national economy, badly disrupted security, and hindered all reconstruction and development projects in the northern region - industrial projects and irrigation, agrarian reform, summer resorts and tourism projects.

The feudalist secessionist group, which is known for its bonds with imperialism, reaction and Zionism, and which supported Qasim's reactionary dictatorial regime for a long time, was not influenced by this honourable attitude adopted by the national Government. This group did not take into consideration the legitimate rights of the Kurds and all the people of Iraq, nor did it forestall the shedding the blood of citizens - Arabs and Kurds - or provide security and stability to end the irregular conditions. This group did not place the interests of the homeland and the interests of the masses of the Kurds above their selfish servile interests; it did not



lay aside its opportunist ambitions in dominating the Kurdish masses, but acted like gangsters and adopted stubborn attitudes.

The national Government has confirmed beyond any doubt that such attitudes cannot help to develop the economic and social life of the Kurds, nor are they aimed at consolidating fraternity between the Arabs and the Kurds and providing work and prosperity for them, but are aimed at a secessionist, reactionary, imperialist demand closely connected with the interests of ambitious foreign States. The aim of this demand is to threaten the independence of Iraq, its national unity and its revolutionary uprising. There are many incidents which brand these feudalist groups with their secessionist intentions and their desire to destroy every attempt to reach a peaceful solution. Here are some of these incidents: (1) The sheltering of all communists, murderers, and fugitives wanted by justice, whether civilians or military personnel, and not handing them over to Government officials. (2) The moving about of the remnants of these armed gangs in the villages of the northern (?region) and the use of intimidation and threats to citizens to cause them to join these gangs and the imposition of taxes and collection of arms from peaceful citizens. (3) The issuance of instructions by the representatives of the insurgents (Arabic: mutamarridin) to the citizens in the northern region not to consult Government officials, but to consult these insurgents in all matters concerning the citizens. (4) The searching of cars on main roads and the looting and stealing of citizens' funds and property. (5) The attacking of remote police posts, the capture of members of the police, the looting of their arms and the equipment of the posts. (6) The cutting of telephone lines between towns and provincial capitals (Arabic: qasabat) to influence the Government officials' work and hinder their official dealings with the citizens. (7) Firing on members of the Armed Forces. (8) The kidnapping of citizens and administrative officials such as the district officer of (?Marjasur) and the kidnapping of three members of the National Guard in Makhmur, five persons in Altun Kupri, and five others in the area of (?Ayn Dibis). (9) On 5th May 1963, 300 outlawed persons and communist fugitives attacks the village of

(?Bin Nasir) and looted arms and funds and attacked peaceful citizens. (10) On 14th May 1963, the secessionists opened fire on army units working in the area of the national electricity authority in (?Ad-Dibis). (11) Outlawed Jabbar al-Jabbari and Adil Izzat, accompanied by 150 of their outlawed followers, attacked the Qarah Hasan area, seized the weapons in the village and withdrew towards the village of (?Tasiyat al-Jabbari). All of these people are Barzani's followers. (12) The secessionists in the Harir area attacked an ambulance while it was carrying a sick soldier and seized two rifles with their ammunition from the two soldiers who were accompanying the patient. (13) On 28th May 1963, they attacked the village of (?Zalyah) in the Maydan area and killed Nuri (?Zalya) and burned the village, because (?Zalya) refused to cooperate with them. The inhabitants of the village were obliged to resort to the Maydan police. (14) On 4th June 1963, the secessionists and fugitive communists opened fire on a unit of the Salah ad-Din cavalry corps. The clash lasted for about five hours after which the mutineers withdrew having lost 16 persons killed, 30 injured and eight captured. Sami Abd Ghazalan of the cavalry corps, leader of the (?Silfani) tribe, was killed. (15) On 5th June 1963, the secessionists opened fire on police working in Jabal (?Qarah Shuk) while the latter were searching for communists, fugitives, and insurgents (Arabic: usah) who were carrying out provocative activities in the area and who killed one youth in the National Guard. (16) Secessionist Umar Mustafa, alias Umar Dabbabah, took over the office of the lawyer Kamal Muhyi ad-Din (?Suqwasanjaq) as a court room and imposed arbitrary judgements on innocent people. (17) The secessionists in Amadiyah, (?Zawita), Zakhu, and other regions stopped cars, seized some passengers, kidnapped some officials, and prevented citizens from doing their work. (18) The criminals opened fire at a helicopter which was flying over the (?Shamshaman) area and hit the pilot in the leg. (19) The traitor secessionists have formed an anarchist court in Khanaqin which sentenced four innocent citizens to death and executed the sentence. (20) On 6th June 1963, the insurgents confronted a supply convoy at the (?Admar) post and a severe battle

followed which lasted for hours. (22) On 8th June 1963, the outlaws confronted and opened fire on another supply convoy in the (?Kalar) area. (23) On 8th June 1963, they also attacked a military convoy (words indistinct) while it was making normal movements in the (?Sili) area and killed Lt. Abbas Kamal and three soldiers of various ranks, wounded 23 NCOs and one soldier, and maliciously burned four military vehicles. These excessive acts of disorder were committed by the traitor secessionists during the period of talks, in addition to their criminal acts in inciting Kurdish members of the army and police to desert with their arms. In accordance with the aforementioned, with our interest in protecting the citizens in the northern regions, in restoring security and stability in the homeland so that the national Government may implement all provisions of the transitional programme of the National Council of the Revolutionary Command, and in accordance with the wish of the people to protect their independence and national unity against the whims of traitor reactionary secessionists, we have decided to clear the remnants of the Barzanis and their followers from the northern regions as from today. We also have decided to consider all the northern regions as an active operations area. The National Council of the Revolutionary Command warns this traitor group, which acts against the will of the people and their national unity, to lay down their arms within 24 hours from the time this warning is broadcast and to declare its support for the popular national Government, in order to spare the area from the calamities of combat and to see that everybody works for his free and prosperous homeland. Otherwise, the National Council will hold this group responsible for the whole outcome of its traitorous attitudes. Citizens, the National Council of the Revolutionary Command asks all citizens to aid and support the Armed Forces and Government officials in putting an end to this traitor group and to report anybody who contemplates helping this group in any way. Long live the blessed 14th Ramadan revolution and death to the traitor secessionists and enemies of the people. (Signed) The National Council of the Revolutionary Command. Issued in Baghdad, 10th June 1963.

10.8.3  
17 AOUT 1963

# KURDISH FACTS WEST-ASIA

## **THIS GIRL**

### **is Margerita Georges**

She is a Christian girl from South-Kurdistan, one of the Assyro-Khaldeans, who are united with Rome. Kurdish Feudal-separatists serving QASSIM plundered her village and murdered her father. So Margerita set out to found the HQ of General Mullah Mustafa BARZANI, the Kurdish leader. She wanted to fight in the "Pesh-Merga", his liberation army.

Margerita GEORGES had secondary education. BARZANI offered her a post as secretary in his (constantly moving) headquarters. But she refused. She wanted to revenge her father by fighting the Arab fascists herself.

After she had helped to organise the badly-needed medical services for the Kurdish partisans Margerita got what she wanted: a military unit of her own. She commands it with skill and courage. No woman is now more popular among Kurdish freedom-fighters than Assyrian Margerita. Poems are written about her. Her photo (shown here) is distributed among the partisans. And in Mesopotamia, it is sold clandestinely. The money is for the Kurdish cause. Baath hates Margerita as much as Margerita hates Baath. Already in the first days of the new war, Baghdad TV told that Miss GEORGES was "a Russian woman that BARZANI brought with him from the Soviet Union". But her story is too well known to make this fascist lie work. The foreign press writes about her. We are proud we can introduce her to our readers. In Margerita, we greet the free women of Kurdistan and all Christians who side with BARZANI. You'll find a fine photo of the Kurdish Leader on page 8-9 of this issue.



# mail

## KURDISTAN MAKING HISTORY

"From "Keesing's Contemporary Archives" I regularly receive "Kurdish Facts" and I can assure you that I think it a valuable publication."

(Drs. Leonhard BIEGEL, lecturer on Afro-Asian Contemporary History at the University of Amsterdam)

## HOPING FOR HUMANITY

"I hope that the ISK will persuade the Red Cross Society to enter Kurdistan via Persia to help Kurdish prisoners, the wounded and the hungry. The Red Cross Society has played an important role in Yemen as the "Daily Telegraph" wrote 4 weeks ago."

(Kurdish surgeon, name and address known to the editor)

## IRON CURTAIN AROUND IRAQ

"Absolutely no Westerners not connected with the embassy or oil company are getting visas into Iraq or Iran from Kuwait. Also we have met two (American and Swiss) couples who came from the north just days before the rioting broke out in Tehran, and they could get no visa (even transit) through Iraq. They came from Ankara, all the way east to Van, across to Urmia."

(From ISK's Kuwait correspondents on 12. 6. 1963, name withheld for obvious reasons)

## VISITOR BECAME A FRIEND

"I was pleased to learn of the existence of your organization and of its activities. During the time I was in Iraq, I made several trips through Iraqi Kurdistan and found the Kurds to be charming and friendly people. Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of my book, 'Iraq's People and Resources' --- I hope it will prove useful. I would be happy to receive --- any --- materials that the 'International Society Kurdistan' publishes in English."

(Doris G. PHILLIPS, Ass. -Prof. of Economics, Washington State University, USA)

ITALIAN SCIENTIST TELLS THE PRESS  
"--- my interest in Kurds is not limited

to the scientific knowledge, also my political conceptions bring me to support the struggle of Kurds for autonomy and independence. Personally in some contributions to 'Relazione Internazionale' (an Italian weekly particularly devoted to international problems, to which I collaborate) I tried to raise a certain interest for Kurdish problems --- in last days I've contacted some representatives of the press in order that they give more attention to Kurdish question."

(Dr. Giorgio PACIFICI, Milan, Italy)

## PHILBY - THE SCARLET PIMPERNEL

"There are rumours here that Kim

PHILBY is not in Eastern Europe but in ---Kurdistan. Remember Mac's suggestion that PHILBY was on some special assignment? Be sure Kim does not like the "Arab fascists".

Another thing: "The Economist" and "The Observer" are among the few papers in Britain who cover Kurdish affairs in a decent manner. It is certainly not a mere coincidence that PHILBY was their Middle East correspondent."

(name and address of author are known to KF. As the sender of this letter will have learnt from the press, PHILBY is in Moscow, KF.)

## DON'T NEGLECT THE SECOND FRONT

The main thing this paper can do for oppressed Kurds is to get public opinion moving. The chances for that are better than ever, the necessity greater than ever. Because what the Baath-fascists are doing in South-Kurdistan is downright genocide.

The Kurdish question is definitely "internationalised" now. Democratic and Communist papers suddenly show an amazing similarity of opinion on the Kurdish question. These are new, encouraging developments. But what will the United Nations do? How will its members vote when the Mongolian draught-resolution on behalf of Iraqi Kurds is dealt with in September?

The utmost information-effort is necessary. It is clear that the Kurdish organisations are not yet able to publish an organ abroad. But provided ISK gets enough help, the friends of Kurdistan it organised can. It is not enough that we can now speak on the radio, placing articles in many countries can influence a number of important dailies & news-agencies and can hardly deal with the scores of requests for information coming in. Publicity for Kurdistan is the second front of Kurdish freedom. It is an important front because it can strike at the killers of Kurdistan from the rear. It can contribute to having them cut off from their foreign backers, to isolate them further from the peoples they oppress, to unite their

opponents among the freedom-loving nations and governments abroad.

Though there cannot be any doubt that Kurds will hold out in the mountains, the situation is grave enough. There is little chance that Turkey and Iran will allow aid-missions of the International Red Cross into neighbouring Iraqi Kurdistan through their territory. Baathist dictatorship in Syria is seriously blocking the "Western route" as well. Still worse: the war against Kurds is part of a wider fascist Arab plan (a plan not only Baathist) to liquidate all "minorities in the Arab homeland". There are certain foreign industrialists willing to profit from helping these Arab imperialists. ISK possesses alarming intelligence about that. It is not solely the West-German advisers of NASSER. If you want to know, please subscribe to KURDISH FACTS for at least one year. The things we have in mind here will never be published by the usual papers. But they are of tremendous importance, comparable to HITLER's plans to wipe out Jews and Gypsies. Timely revelations in a serious manner can thwart those plans. Help us doing this. Put some money into an envelope and drop it into the next letterbox. The danger of fascism in underdeveloped countries is far bigger than many people believe. And fascism is a thing one must fight wherever one finds it.

The Editor

# INSIDE KURDISTAN

1. 7. 1963: Iraqi Pres. returns to Baghdad by air after inspection tour on the Kurdish front. Iraqis who evade military service get extended grace till 30. 7. 1963 (another sign of absent Iraqi enthusiasm for war against Kurds).

In Baghdad, a 4th paper appears: "Ar-Raid al-Arabi" ("Arab Pioneer"). Its first issue carries an exclusive interview with Mesopotamian Baath leader Ali Salik AS-SAADi (Deputy Premier and Propaganda Minister). Wise-cracks AS-SAADi: "There is no doubt that the information and propaganda media are a double-edged weapon". In Damascus, too, a new daily appears: "Al-Thawrah".

In radio Moscow's Arab program, V. POLYANSKY comments on Baath's miscalculation that they could subdue Southern Kurds in 2-3 weeks. He predicts Baath a fate similar to that of NURI Es-Said and QASSIM.

"The New York Times" reports from Beirut that Iraqi troops fighting Kurds are supported by a Syrian battalion, and some Syrian aircraft of the Soviet MIG-type.

Earl Bertrand RUSSELL says British arms-deliveries to Iraq, are "shameful".

Iraqi Army report admits that after fall of Koi Sanjaq there was a battle with Kurds in Hibat Sultan mountains.

Pres. AREF addresses Iraqi troops in South-Kurdistan.

"The World Today", monthly of Royal Institute of Int. Affairs, London says: "--- what specifically are the Kurdish grievances no responsible Arab is prepared to discuss in public". Iraqi govt. "is not powerful enough to crush Kurdish leaders", paper says.

Radio "Peyk-e Iran" attacks Persian education policy in East-Kurdistan and says SHAH is hated by Kurds.

2. 7. 1963: Mongolian radio (Ulan Bator) broadcasts text of letter from MPR For. Min. OUGERSUREN, to UNO's U THANT with wide memoire encl, against Iraqi genocide ag. Kurds.

"Yeni Istanbul", chief organ of Turkist opposition in Turkey publishes long article on Kurdish activities in this Re-

public. Contacts with KSSE and ISK in Europe are given attention to.

Iraqi Def.Min. Lt.Gen. Salih Mahdi AM-MASH says Iraqi rejected a U.S. offer for military aid in the interview with "Ash-Shaab" giving this news. AMMASH says on campaign in South-Kurdistan "I do not consider this a real war. It is only a national picnic". 8 villages, mentioned in daily Iraqi Army report on the war.

New American Ambassador to Iraq, Robert C. STRONG, presents his credentials. Baghdad reports oil Min. Ahmad Hasan Al-BATAR's "cordial" meeting with IPC-representatives (15 minutes). Baghdad's "Ash-Shaab" on campaign against Kurds. Radio Moscow (Arabic) calls Mongolian UNO-initiative on behalf of Iraqi Kurds "important and just", says it "must be supported".

Moscow student molest meeting against anti-Kurdish war in Iraq. Among those present are widows of 2 Arab communists shot in Iraq (Yusuf SALMAN "Fahad" 1949 and Salam ADIL, 1963). Speakers include: Spiro FAKHURI (Lebanon, pres. of "Int. Students' Committee for the Defense of the Rights of the Iraqi People"), Ihsan FUAD (secr. of KSSE's branch in USSR), Prof. Salakh HALIS & Dr. Badr AS-SIBAI, repr. of organisation working with the (Prague-based) "Int. Committee for the Defense of the Rights of the Iraqi People", African student leaders in Russia, Soviet Peace Committee (WPC-affiliate) and Soviet Afro-Asian solidarity committee (pres. Bobodshan GAFURI-ON). A protest telegram is sent to Iraqi Government.

It is reported from Beirut that Syria will form a fascist militia (Baathist "National Guard") on the Iraqi model. Army units opposed to Baath can be sent from Syria into Iraq, some source says.

Communique distributed by Dr. K. A. BEDIR-XAN from Paris says that in first 2 weeks of new war, Iraqi Kurds killed over 1300 Baath-soldiers, captured 720, downed 8 planes including one Syrian aircraft, seized 20 tanks, 9 grenadethrowers, 1000 guns and many other arms.

"Washington Post" publishes 2 readers' letters: one anti-Kurdish from A. H. ALJUBOURI, 1st Iraqi Embassy secretary in USA and one by Mr. Omar HELMET (for the Kurdish students in the United States) who says: "the fight for autonomy has turned into a fight for existence". ALJUBOURI denies there is war in Iraq at all. Swiss "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" points attention to view of "Al Ahram" 's HAI-KAL that Iraq must handle Kurdish matter in better way in order to improve its relations with USSR against growing Israeli pressure on United Nations.

Iraqi rejects United States' military aid offer but Def.-Min. Lt. Salih Mahdi AMMASH does not state why. Mr. Denis HEALEY, Labour shadow def.-min. and 3 other Labour M.P.'s arrive in Baghdad from Cairo.

3. 7. 1963: Staff Brig. Gen. Said Fathi AS-SAQILLI, Iraqi commander in Kurdistan, shows his sadism in his "proclamation Nr. 33". After reporting the hanging of three "criminals" he concludes: "There is life in punishment, to people with reason". Radio Baghdad addresses Soviets directly "Moscow rulers, your dirty campaign against the Iraqi Republic --- and your support for the movement of the traitor imperialist stooge, BARZANI, were not in vain". In conclusion, station threatens: "no pity will be shown to this misled clique ---".

"Das Freie Wort" (GFR) says the coming weeks will show in how far Iraqi Pres. AREF is supported by the Army. It reminds him of QASSIM's fate. French news agency AFP publishes Dr. Bedir-Xan's communique on South-Kurdistan of 30. 6. 1963, including the news that BARZANI's men downed 7 Iraqi and 1 Syrian plane. 167 villages were bombed and/or strafed, 634 civilians killed, 1309 wounded, including 137 children under 3, the communique states.

At 3 a. m. alarm is given in Al Rashid camp near Baghdad. Communists and other opposition groups take advantage of refusal of Iraqi soldiers to march against Kurds. It is tried to free prisoners, of which there are 1000 at Al-Rashid.

Fierce shooting. 2 Baathist ministers, **Hazim JAWAD** (Interior) and **Talib Hussain ASH-SHAHIB** (For. Aff.) have to be freed from the hands of the rebels. Afterwards, HEALEY c. s. see Iraqi For. Min. **Talib Hussain SHAHIB** in Baghdad.

Radio Baghdad sees Western-Israeli-Soviet anti-Baath alliance. Mongolian People's Republic asks UNO's Sec.-Gen. **UTHANT** to put question of Iraqi genocide against Kurds on agenda of 18th Assembly (see "Documents"). Thereupon, Iraq breaks off diplomatic relations with Mongolia. For. Min. **SHAHIB** says Ulan Bator took "hostile attitude" against Baghdad.

Radio Moscow, in Arabic, attacks Iraqi War-Min. **AMMASH** description of Kurdish war as "a picnic" and says: "The Iraqi rulers may prevent foreign correspondents from going to northern Iraq and prevent the representative of **Bertrand RUSSELL**, the famous peace struggler, from visiting Iraq, but it is impossible for them to stifle the truth or bury it forever. The murderers of the Kurdish people will not escape punishment".

Iraqi Airforce destroyed 167 villages and killed 2000 Kurds, radio Moscow says. (This is based on Dr. **BEDIR-XAN**'s communique, KF.)

Tudeh Party statement on Kurds is broadcast by East German radio in Kurdish.

4. 7. 1963: Radio Moscow (Russian program) on war in Iraqi Kurdistan: "Washington and London are more than alive behind the scenes" and deals with their arms-offers to Baghdad.

"Izvestiya" alleges that Iraqi genocide against Kurds is being conducted with **CENTO** help. It quotes "Al-Haqaiq" of Cairo which said Iran and Turkey offered troops to Baghdad against Kurds. "Izvestiya" also speaks of a common Turkish-Persian-Iraqi military plan against Kurds. "Voice of the Iraqi People" (Arab program of East-Berlin's "Radio Iran Courier") calls **BEDIR-XAN**'s Paris statement of 30. 6. 1963 on publication "by the Kurdish Revolutionary Command". Moscow, Mongolia and **BARZANI** cannot impede (Baathist) "revolution", radio Baghdad believes. Syrian radio speaks of "triple alliance" of imperialists, communists and **BARZANI** ag. Iraqi regime. "Radio Iran Courier" says in

Kurdish that Turks killed one million Kurds in all since Republic was founded. One of the 12 Kurds arrested late in June, **Zia Sharaf KHAJOGU**, edited Kurdish paper "Reya Rasl/Dogru Yol" and prepared a Kurdish grammar. Another, said **ILCHI**, was accused of preparing a Kurdish encyclopaedia. It says **BEKATA** (Turkish Int. Min.) "must remember that the 1920 Sevres agreement stipulated that all Kurdistan, including Turkish Kurdistan, were to unite, as a single government and attain independence". "Le Monde"-headline on Turkey: "La répression antikurde s'intensifie". Front-page-article of Madrid daily "ABC" on Iraq and Kurds tells about successes of **BARZANI**'s soldiers. "Algemeen Handelsblad" of Amsterdam headlines: "Kurds far from being beaten". Paper exposes lie of Baghdad daily "Al-Jamahir" (27. 6. 1963) that "the campaign has ended". Egyptian Pres. **NASSER** announces speedy liquidation of his concentration camps. In an interview with "Le Monde" 's **Eric ROULEAU** the Rais says he was "very much surprised" that Baath resumed war against Kurds, as Col. **TALABANI** had assured him that Kurds would be the last to violate the truce. He also recalls the Baathist promise of Kurdish autonomy to **BARZANI** (the secret pre 8. 2. 1963 agreement, KF). **NASSER** adds that **TALABANI**'s ideas on "decentralisation" differ from his.

"L'Aurore", Paris says that Iraqi defeats in Southern Kurdistan silenced Baghdad's victory-optimism on a Blitz-campaign. Turkmen readers' letters in "Pravda" supporting Kurds and condemning **AREF**-regime.

5. 7. 1963: Mongolia sharply condemns Iraqi break-off of diplomatic relations with MPR. Genocide is not just "an internal matter", Ulan Bator's note says. All freedom-loving nations must fight such practice, Mongolians say.

"Al-Baath" of Damascus attacks **HAIKAL** of Cairo's "Al Ahram" 's article of same day on Kurds as too neutral. Baghdad vaguely reports successes in upper Great Eal Valley. (Statement of Def. Min. **AMMASH** to "Al-Jamahid".)

British Labour-MP's leave Mesopotamia for Syria. Radio Baghdad at 8 h. GMT: "At 9. 00 hours this morning, our valiant

units entered Raniyah district. All the villages of the area have announced their allegiance to the National Government and their readiness to fight against **BARZANI**". Radio East-Berlin (Kurdish) quotes Lebanese "Al Akhbar" of 16. 6. 1963 which says Iraqi War against Kurds will weaken the Arab cause.

6. 7. 1963: Iraqi purchasing mission under Col. **Ghazi Ghiath ALDEEN**, acting director-general of Iraqi railways sets out for Britain and USA to buy jet airliners. In UK they were to see "British Aircraft Corporation" works at Weybridge and **HAVILLAND** factory at Hatfield, Herts. **NASSER** (by telephone) congratulates **AREF** on thwarting of Al-Rashid camp revolt.

In Iraq, public is asked to contribute for the Arab Army in South-Kurdistan.

Radio Moscow (Arab program) accuses the West of backing Iraq against Kurds in EcoSoc. of UNO. Mongolia breaks off relations with Iraq. Iraqi Director General of Irrigation, Dr. **Bagir Kashif ALGHATA**, announces enormous development projects for "the northern region", including a dam.

6-page article on Kurds of Iraq in Hungarian paper "Elet Tudomány" with Czech photos, one of them on paper's front page.

8. 7. 1963: **AS-SAQILLI**'s "Communique No. 34" on war in S-Kurdistan alleges that **BARZANI**'s soldiers are in "a death-bed delirium" and "will soon fall into the lowest parts of the inferno". Baath "will strike with an iron fist" and its soldiers get a "warm welcome" in the north "everywhere". Thus the Mesopotamian commander for South-Kurdistan, who adds that Iraqi Govt. "safeguarded a decent life" for Kurds. "Al Taliah" urges private gifts for the Iraqi Army in South-Kurdistan. Tass + Radio Moscow give (from Tehran) eyewitness report of Al Rashid camp rising, showing "how unpopular in the Iraqi Army itself is the fratricidal war unleashed by the Baath leaders against the Kurdish people".

"Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" writes (editorial): "Es wird sich erst zeigen, ob die Aktion der mongolischen Kommunisten nur als ein Versuchsballon Moskaus zu werten ist oder bereits als ein erster Schritt, dem weitere folgen werden." (The answer to this question comes the

very same day: Soviet delegation-chief at UNO's "Economical and Social Council" (EcoSoc), BORISSOV, hands letter to the Council's Pres. which suggests additional agenda-point running: "The policy of genocide conducted by the Iraqi Republic against the Kurdish people". A memo on the topic and a draught-resolution are added. The latter asks Iraqi Govt. to stop all military operations against Kurds at once. "Peyk-e Iran" station in East Germany attacks Iraqi Embassy handout in Tehran on alleged end of Kurdistan-campaign.



Col. Jalal TALABANI

Syria's ousted chief-of-staff Major-Gen. Ziad EL-HARIRI arrives in Paris in the night.

9. 7. 1963: Soviet For. Min. GROMYKO hands statement to Iraqi Ambassador in Moscow (text: see "Documents").

Iraqi "Directorate of Military Operations" lists the following Kurdish cities as being pro-Baghdad: "Durzi, Zibari, Hargi, Burwari, Rikami, Manzuri, Yazidi (sic), Shurfani, Sandi, Baradisti (Khalifah Samad group), Suffi, (Rashid LOLAN group), Kaki, Daudi, Briugani, Duski and Mirani" (rendering in Arabic, as given by radio Baghdad, not in Kurdish, KF). Iraqi girls are offered free training as pilots.

"Davar", the daily of Israel's "Hista-

druth" sees a "certain common denominator between the behaviour of the Egyptians towards the Yemenites, and that of the Iraqis towards the Kurds. The common element is the cruel and illegal character of their actions; another common aspect is the elegant silence with which important international factors are attempting to ignore them." Paper attacks US-support for NASSER and forecasts: "The U. S., but not only the U. S., will have to pay".

Big article by Raymond GUYOT in "L'Humanité", chief organ of French CP: "Aux côtés des démocrates irakiens arabes et kurdes". "The Jerusalem Post" editorial on HARIRI crisis in Syria says: "--- HARIRI was opposed to Syria's materially helping the Iraqi Ba'ath in its war against the Kurds". In Baghdad Baathist Min. of Labour Hamid KHAL-KHALI, addressing Western journalists, attacks Soviet moves on behalf of Kurds. It is reported from London that Christian missionaries who left Kurdistan since Iraqis resumed war said that the latter "surrounded a number of villages, penning the Kurdish population inside, while planes and artillery methodically destroyed the houses one by one".

10. 7. 1963: Iraqi Def. Min. AMMASH extends surrender period for Kurds until 30. 7. 1963, otherwise they will be shot or imprisoned. AMMASH, Hazim JAWAD + Col. Khalid Makhi AL-HASHIMI fly to Kirkuk HQ "Al Talidh" on Baghdad's "success" ag. Kurds. Radio Moscow in Arabic: "Iraqi soldiers do not wish to fight the Kurds". In Turkish, it defends Iraqi Kurdish autonomy claims. Says the station: "Help from other countries of the Near East enables the fascist tyrants in Baghdad to continue the destruction of innocent Kurds ---".

A Kurdish anthology is published in Soviet Georgia (second time, first was in 1960, KF). "The New York Times" publishes anti-Kurdish reader's letter of Adnan PACHACHI, permanent repr. of Iraqi to UNO, directed ag. the paper's editorial "War on the Kurds". "New York Herald Tribune" reports that in Azni, South-Kurdish village, Iraqis "under command of Brig. Sadek MUSTAFA, reportedly used a shield of Kurdish women and children in front of their units" and

that "when Kurds ambushing units on the nearby hills opened fire on the troops after the living shield had passed by, Iraqi tanks deliberately mowed down the women and children covering the retreat of the troops". (This happened on 13. 6. 1963, KF.) In "Trouw", Dutch Protestant daily, an Assyrian (Christian) refugee from Iraq reports on plight of Kurds, Communists and Christians there. "In Iraq a terrible terror is reigning", the article headline says. In "New Times", Moscow, G. MIRSKI calls BARZANI, DPK + Pesh-Merga "an important progressive force" in Iraq. After Baath had crushed democratic Arabs, they attacked the Kurds, paper says.

"Pravda" prints Soviet warnings to Iraq, Syria, Iran and Turkey. AFP reports from Moscow that USSR will start "Captive Nations' Week" of its own. (USA started weeks like this, dealing only with nations under Russian and Chinese Communist rule like Hungarians, Ukrainians, Turkistanis, Tibetans, etc. The "Captive Nations Week" always meets with violent Communist counter propaganda, KF.) Observers believe the Soviet "Captive Nations Week" will also deal with Kurds. "Our Radio" (exile Turkish station, comm.) demands constitutional rights for "the 4. 000. 000 Kurds living in Eastern Turkey in primitive conditions". USSR threatens to convene UN Security Council on Iraqi genocide ag. Kurds.

Dr. Nikolai T. FEDORENKO, permanent Soviet repr. of UNO Security Council, tells its chairman, Morocco's Ahmed BEN HIMA that non-Iraqi intervention in Baghdad's genocide war against Kurds causes explosive situation. Though Syria, and not Turkey or Iran, participates in Baath's war against Kurds, the letter says: "The leaders of the CENTO colonial bloc must clearly understand that any interference by neighbouring states in the events in Iraq may result in --- a serious threat to peace in --- the Near and Middle East". Intervention also threatens USSR Security, FEDORENKO assures.

Iraqi Def. Min. Gen. Saleh AMMASH says Kurds get another 20 days to surrender. Baghdad radio promises "amnesty" then but is ignored by Kurdish democrats.



General Hassan ABBOVA, former military commander in Mosul, is sentenced to death because of 1959 activities there. KURDISH FACTS reappears after one year of silence.

11. 7. 1963: Iraqi For. Min. spokesman tells INA (Iraqi News Agency) re Soviet stand on BARZANI: "It is surprising that those who are using this gang (free Kurds KF) --- have forgotten that they themselves maintained a long silence when tyrant --- QASSIM launched a war against the Kurdish citizens in collusion with the agent BARZANI". Spokesman (in true colonialist tradition) calls Baath's war in South-Kurdistan "a purely domestic event". "Al Jamahir" (Baathist, Baghdad, calls on all people in the world "who believe in --- the right to self-determination" to support Iraq against Kurds. Pres. AREF in Kirkuk to see South-Kurdish front. For. Min. JAWAD alleges that BARZANI is near collapse. Radio Baghdad broadcasts a statement from a so-called "Kurdish Revolutionary Vanguard in Iraq" signed by Shahin TALA-BANI, against communist propaganda on Iraq Syrian Foreign Ministry and press ("Al-Baath" and "Ath-Thawrah") against Soviet statement on Iraqi Kurds. Kermanshah-radio program in Kurdish (though now only broadcasting in Sorani + Kurmanji and not in Kermanshahi and Horami) is silent on war in South-Kurdistan.

"Al-Baath" of Baghdad: "All the Arab people from the Gulf to the Ocean regard the BARZANI mutiny as an attempt to create another Israel in the Arab homeland". It is reported from Beirut that a journalist with the Arab Army in South Kurdistan estimates there are between 500-1000 "Saladin Riders" in Agra sector. Iraqi Army is not large enough to occupy all South-Kurdistan effectively, same source (Dr. A. HOTTINGER of "Neue Zürcher Zeitung") believes.

Baghdad radio on USSR: "The Iraqi Government will not allow any foreign power to proclaim itself the protector or the guardian of mutineers in Iraq". In UNO, Iraq accused Soviet Union of inciting Kurds against Baghdad. Dr. Adnan PACHACHI says that Moscow's "unbridled hostility" shocked Arabs and that Soviet attitude is "unwarranted interfer-

ence" in internal Iraqi affairs. Syrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs decries participation of its army and airforce in Iraqi war against Kurds.

Headline of "Le Monde" editorial: "Le problème Kurde internationalisé". It asks: "What will be the attitude of the Western powers towards the diplomatic offensive of the USSR?" "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" (GFR) suggests that KHRUSHCHOV wants to make South-Kurdistan into "another Vietnam". In the "Economic and Social Council" of the U.N., Soviet repr. ARKADIEV's proposal to put Iraqi genocide against Kurds on the agenda as an additional point is defeated with 13 against (USA, UK, Jordan, a.o.), 3 neutral (Athiopia, Senegal + Yugoslavia) and 2 in favour (USSR + CSSR). US-repr. Jonathan BINGHAM, says his no is "not based on the matter's merits but on the procedure aspect --- because the council is not the proper body to deal with this question now".

12. 7. 1963: Pres. AREF back in Baghdad, says: "We shall always triumph". Another (Iraqi-paid) "Kurdish" organisation the "Kurdish-Arab Brotherhood League" is mentioned in Baghdad radio. Further Mesopotamian press attacks on USSR. Syria's "Ath-Thawrah" calls Soviet attitude towards BARZANI "strange". A Damascus radio commentator alleges that BARZANI-"plot" is aimed against "the whole Arab world" and wants to repeat "Palestine calamity in northern Iraq". "The Times" reports from Beirut: "According to a report from Amman even Jordan has, in the name of Arab cooperation, promised support to Iraq" against Kurds. "The Times" alleges that Turkey "has more than two million Kurds and Iran more than one million". (More exact figures: 5-6 and 3,5 million respectively, KF.)

Radio Station "National Voice of Iran" refers to non-Iraqi Arab youth demonstrations in favour of Kurds. "Our Radio" (Turkish exile station) again asks constitutional rights in Turkey for Northern Kurds. "The Voice of Iran" (NASSERist) says economic situation in Iran is bad "especially in Kermanshah and Kurdistan" (the former is also in East-Kurdistan, KF). "Die Welt", Hamburg, re-

calls "Neues Deutschland" (E-Berlin) article of 7. 6. 1962 (see KF/15, p. 4-5) which called Kurds fighting QASSIM "bandits" and "counter-revolutionaries". But now the SED-daily calls fighting Kurds "patriotic forces" and "democratic". Comments "Die Welt": "selten ist die Doppelzüngigkeit der Kommunistischen Propagandisten in Ost-Berlin so klar zutage getreten, wie in der Frage der Irakischen Kurden".

"Frankfurter Rundschau" and "Freie Presse" (GFR) report on hunger strike of Kurdish student ADIGÜSEL in Munich prison. "Aftonposten", Oslo, expects diplomatic break with USSR by Iraq on Kurds.

13. 7. 1963: A recent Assyrian refugee from Iraq says on Dutch radio that Iraqi "Christians oppose this war against Kurds. But non-Arab Iraqis, especially the Christians, see the case of Kurds as their own case. Many of them joined the Kurdish forces of General BARZANI wholeheartedly because they feel that these forces are defending THEIR rights too and stand for human dignity now insulted in Iraq". ISK-Pres. VAN ROOY (also on Dutch radio) urges backing of Mongolia. UNO note against genocide of Kurds.

"Algemeen Handelsblad" editorial "Genocide in Iraq" urges Western moves on behalf of Southern Kurds. "Neues Deutschland" (E-Berlin) headlines: "Riots in Iraqi Army (Resistance towards Kurdistan War)". "Frankfurter Allgemeine" publishes long article by Erich HELMENS-DORFER, first Western journalist in South-Kurdistan after 8. 6. 1963, first German journalist in liberated South Kurdistan. There is tension between General BARZANI and the DPK under Ibrahim AHMED, paper says. (HELMENS-DORFER did not see the Kurdish leader.) Paper suggests that IPC is secretly supporting Kurdish Army financially (which is reportedly not true, KF). "Amerikanische Korrespondenz", Bonn-based propaganda-organ of "Arab League", repeats INAMENA-report on alleged Israeli financial support to BARZANI "to rebel against the Iraqi government". Radio Moscow (in Arabic) attacks British press covering of war in Kurdistan. On occasion of "14th July", Iraqi Government promotes several war-criminals in Kurdish Army.

"Peyk-e Iran" (GDR radio) says in Kurdish: "In the battlefield the soldiers are not willing to attack the Kurds". So far more than 10,000 soldiers and officers of the Iraqi Army have joined the Kurds. It calls on non-Iraqi Kurds as well to support Kurds in Iraq.

14. 7. 1963: Iraqi Premier Ahmed Hassan AL-BAKR (on "14th July") alleges Baghdad has allocated 10 million dinars to rehabilitate areas "destroyed by BARZANI in the north". Radio Baghdad said some "Kurds" protested at Soviet Embassy there ag. Soviet propaganda.

It is reported in East-Berlin that on 29. 6. 1963 the following persons signed a common anti-Baathist statement in West-Berlin: Col. Jalal TALABANI (emissary) of General Mulla Mustafa BARZANI, Ismet Sherif VANLY (Committee for the Defense of the Kurdish People's Rights) and Muhammad Mahdi AL-SAWAHIRI (Chairman of the Prague-based "Higher Committee of the Movement in Exile for the Defense of the Iraqi People"). Statement (not distributed to Western press) says that all parties signing "possess a firm and unshakable belief in democracy as the ideal way of ruling Iraq". Protest march against Iraqi Baathism in London (main sponsors: "Movement for the Defense of the Iraqi People", "Iraqi Students' Society in the U. K.", "Kurdish Students' Society in Europe"). 500 students took part.

"Nedelya", weekly supplement of "Izvestiya" (USSR), brings reportage from Kurdistan in which it is alleged that Kurds greet with "Salam Aleikum" (which is Arab). "Izvestiya" itself calls Baath a "racist" party. At Iraqi "National Day" celebration, Pres. AREF announces: "our armed forces have already cleared the greater part of northern Iraq of the mutineers and made their final end very close". "Organisation of Jews from Kurdistan in Israel" vainly urges Israeli government to "raise its voice --- against the slaughter of the Kurds" in Iraq. Foreign Ministry of Israel says the "matter had not yet come up for discussion" at the Ministry.

15. 7. 1963: It is reported from Tehran that BARZANI's men kidnapped 2 West-Germans: Gerhard LIESCHE (33, from W-Berlin) and Hans HATZ (54, of Tacherting near Traunstein, Upper Ba-

varia). Both are well and will be released via Persian Kurdistan as were their British predecessors of IPC in 1962.

"Voice of the Iraqi People" (E-German Radio, Arabic) broadcasts excerpts from a communique by VANLY's "Committee for the Defense of the Kurdish People's Rights" in Lausanne. It says AFLAQists are enemies of Arab people. "Bizim Radiozi" deals with oppression of Kurds, says CEN TO prepares to help Iraqi Baath and that mid-Eastern peace is in danger.

16. 7. 1963: In a letter to Premier McMILLAN, For. Min. Lord HOME and opposition leader Harold WILSON of Britain, Kurdish Dr. K. A. BEDIR-XAN of Paris accuses U.K. of grave responsibility for Iraqi crimes against Kurds and asks Britain not to deliver arms to Baath-regime.

"Preuves-Informations", a handout-service run by the French Department of the "Congress for Cultural Freedom"-group publishes 4 pages: "Guerre en Kurdistan Irakien" with photo of Assyro-Khaldean partisan hero Marguerita GEORGES in BARZANI's Army and Armand GASPARD's interview with Col. Jalal TALABANI of Pesh-Merga and DPK-CC. Dmitriy VOLZHSKIY comments in Moscow radio: "The fate of the Kurds is the least of the Western propagandists' worries". He says: USA refused a Visa to Jalal TALABANI who was to take part in U. N. discussion on basis of the Mongolian note. Iraqi radio quotes Spanish paper "Hoy" on Israeli-Kurdish collaboration. Kurdish feudal separatists (Rashid LOLAN, and 3 BARADOST chieftains) congratulate coup-junta on "victory over BARZANIS".

17. 7. 1963: Radio Baghdad (in Kurdish) attacks VANLY's "Committee for Defense of the Rights of the Kurdish People". It alleges "it is rather to murder Kurds". Then says: "The Committee members have nothing to do except visit Lausanne and Paris nightclubs". Finally, radio Baghdad shouts: "You disgraced criminals, everyone knows you by now" (but gives no names, not even that of VANLY). Iraqi aircraft bombs tents in Turkish Kurdistan. No victims. It is reported from Greece that Damascus permitted Britain to fly military aircraft over Syrian territory into Iraq.

"New Times" ("Neue Zeit") of Moscow

says that Baghdad-Khannaqin roads are destroyed. British Foreign Office confirms that Abdul Rahman AL-BAZZAZ has been appointed Iraqi ambassador in London, thus resuming diplomatic relations broken off in 1958. ISK-Pres. VAN ROOY in West-Germany.

18. 7. 1963: "Associated Press"-correspondent Alex EFTY reports from Southern Kurdistan via Persia (released 23. 7. 1963 by AP) on battle for strategically important (and touristically famous) Rowanduz Gorge. He quotes BARZANI's commander there, Col. Aziz AKRAWI (39 ex-Iraqi staff-officer) as follows: "The shells have been coming down on us like rain for the last five days now. But Kurds will keep the Gorge. Its loss would cut liberated Southern Kurdistan into 2 parts. But we shall never let them do this". An Iraqi brigade and its armored support are ringed by BARZANI's troops. Asked an angry AKRAWI: "Why is the West helping the fascist government of Baghdad? We are not Communists --- we are just fighting for our national rights. But nobody helps us". Kurdish commander says "present policy is to isolate and render ineffective as many army troops as possible. --- we could do more if we had better arms. Why does not the West help us?"

"Le Monde" publishes Dr. BEDIR-XAN's letter to British politicians (see 16. 7. 1963 + Documents). "Die Welt" says West must back Kurdish autonomism.

"France-Observateur", socialist Paris weekly, compares Kurds to the (non-Arab) Berbers in the Maghreb, BARZANI is shown on horseback. "Voice of the Iraqi People" (East-Germany) refers to Persian daily "Keyhan" of 25. 6. 1963 re lecture of British Ambassador Sir Denis WRIGHT in Tehran who said fighting against Kurds threatens British oil interests and that Britain, for that reason, helps Baath with arms. Station calls on Iraqi Army to revolt against Baath and "to collaborate with your Kurdish brothers". In "The Jerusalem Post", Robert STEPHENS (diplomatic correspondent of "The Observer", London) says: "it is quite clear from past Soviet policy that Russian support of the Kurds is purely tactical. It would be dropped overnight if it showed signs of damaging

# **BARZANI**

**still**

**going**

**strong**

David ADAMSON of "The Sunday Telegraph" made this photo of General Mullah Mustafa BARZANI mid-December 1962. The Kurdish leader is reading a 5-languages edition of the famous "Rubaiyat" by Omar KHAYYAM.

## **XVI**

**Think, in this batter'd Caravan-  
serai**

**Whose Doorways are alternate  
Night and Day,**

**How Sultan after Sultan with  
his Pomp**

**Abode his Hour or two, and  
went his way.**

(from Edward FITZGERALD's English translation)

The photo was presented to ISK by Mr. ADAMSON who used copies of this paper to prepare himself for his journey into the liberated part of Kurdistan. At the exhibition "Unknown Kurdistan" in the Amsterdam Public Library (see KF/16, p. 8) ISK showed the photo of BARZANI together with clippings from the international press in 1961, 1962 and 1963 erroneously reporting BARZANI's death.







the broader Soviet interest of expanding influence in the Arab states".

19. 7. 1963: A journalist just back from "Baathistan" and Kurdistan reports in "The Jewish Observer and Middle East Review": "I must tell you that the situation has never been more confused - or more dangerous. --- BARZANI - and even more his younger lieutenants - are bitterly disillusioned with what they describe as "their betrayal by the West ---". It is reported that MAO's China strongly supports Iraqi Baath-fascists and attacks what Chinese communists call "the reactionary nationalising of BARZANI and his Kurds". Furthermore, "Jewish Observer" says that forthcoming Kurdish moves against IPC-oil-installations "may internationalise the Kurdish question much more significantly than the Soviet attempt to exploit it for Soviet propaganda purposes". "Nieuw Israelitisch Weekblad" quotes new Israeli ambassador to Netherlands, David SHEALTIEL on Kurds: "We understand that every nation wants freedom. On the other side, rest in the Middle East is of the highest importance for Israel. Army unrest as such is bad for our State".

Iraqi Army Report on South-Kurdistan says "our brave units and the Salah ad-Din horse rushed forward to hunt down the remnants of the traitorous BARZANI remnants in their own territory". Director of Military operations in S-Kurdistan urges inhabitants of villages in Kurik, Nawakkin and Saijamak districts "to call at the advance command of the second Regiment in Khulayfan". This is the first time the Iraqi Army report carries such an appeal.

Defense Min. Saleh Mahdi AMMASH congratulates Iraq's "victorious forces in the north".

20. 7. 1963: Radio Ankara says Turkish For. Ministry sent note to Iraq on bombing of Turkish territory on 17. 7. 1963 by Iraqi aircraft. Afro-Asian Writers' Conference closes on Bali (Indonesia). Not a word about Kurds. No Kurdish writer was present. "The Iraqi government --- does not want to admit that the Kurds are solidarily standing behind BARZANI and his party indeed", "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" says. "Süddeutsche Zeitung" asks: "Geht der Kampf der Kurden zu Ende?" Poorly informed, its Beirut cor-

respondent Heinz ZIMMERMAN calls "Voice of the Arab Nation" a "new Soviet station". 8000 members of new Syrian fascist militia (Baathist "National Guard") arrive in Baghdad (Lebanese newspaper "Sawt al-Urubah" says).

Radio Moscow Arab program says that both Algeria's "Ash-Shaab" and Tunisia's "As-Sabah" published pro-Baath and anti-Kurdish articles. Both papers saw Western-Soviet unity in favour of BARZANIs and against Baghdad.

21. 7. 1963: A statement of the Syrian Communist Party "issued towards the end of June" against the Iraqi "war of annihilation --- against the brotherly Kurdish people" is broadcast by East-Germany based "Voice of the Iraqi People". It urges Kurdish autonomy (in Iraq, Syria is not mentioned in this respect). Syrian CP denies Kurdistan is "a second Israel". 22. 7. 1963: In New York, agenda for 18th Assembly of United Nations (starting 17. 9. 1963) is published. Among its 77 points is Iraqi genocide against Kurds. Thus the Mongolian proposal is accepted. Amusing headline in "New York Herald Tribune": "Kurds Can Look Back on 4 Milleniums of Rebellion".

Baghdad radio announces Iraqi Army exercises with live ammunition and tanks in Shaqlawah area (South-Kurdistan) for 24. 7. 1963. Observers feat the manoeuvres will serve as a pretext to massacre more Kurds. Celebrating Liberation of Egypt from the British, NASSER makes a long anti-Baath speech in Cairo. He says no amity is possible with the fascist Baath party. He concentrates on Syria mentioning Iraq only in passing and is completely silent on the Baathist genocide war in Southern Kurdistan. ISK's Mr. Peter SCHUMACHER is off to Eastern Europe. Before going to Israel, U. K. official of "New Left in Israel"-movement Chaim PESSAH calls on ISK's HQ in Amsterdam.

23. 7. 1963: Since 11. 6. 1963, 875 villages in Southern Kurdistan were destroyed, correspondent of Lebanese paper "El Jerida" reports. He has just returned from Iraq.

24. 7. 1963: Radio Baghdad quotes "El Arab" magazine which says it is time the USSR realised that "BARZANI and Israel are the same". Without mentioning NASSER explicitly, Damascus Baath-

ist radio says Syria was "desillusioned" by "a friend" who poured out "personal resentments against Syria" but failed to hate BARZANI and Israel. Radio Moscow reveals that Iraqi Baath dissolved the National Democratic Party (whose aged leader, Kamal AL-CHADERCHI, is a friend of the Kurds, KF). Kirim Muhammad ALI, first Iraqi student to come to USSR (1957) attacks Iraqi Baathist (via youth program of Radio Moscow, home service) for killing communists and Kurds. (ALI was arrested in 1950, 17 yrs old, as a Communist.)

Several Western papers, among them "New York Herald Tribune", publish EFTY's AP-dispatch with appeal of AKRAWI, Kurdish partisan commander in Rowanduz Gorge, to the West to help Kurds. "Neues Deutschland" leaves these passages out and concentrates on the military rather than on the political side.

26. 7. 1963: Reuter reports that West-Germany will lend 15.000.000 pounds to Iraq. Closer economic and cultural ties are expected between ADENAUER's Germany and Baathist Iraq. "The Jerusalem Post Weekly" headlines: "Ba'th bathed in blood", and predicts: "the Iraqi Ba'thists are certain to influence Kurdish nationalist sentiment and make a compromise even more difficult to obtain". It says NASSERists suggested to incorporate a clause on South-Kurdistan into Arab-Unity Charter but "the Iraqis objected energetically to such a clause" because, as one of them said, "it would raise the heads of the Kurds".

"Neues Deutschland" (E-Berlin) prints ADN report saying that 19 Iraqi officers were sentenced to death in Baghdad and had refused to take part in war against Kurds. They were participators in Al-Rashid camp coup that failed.

Iraq's Military Governor-General, Brig. Rashid MULISH, launches his Proclamation No. 88, to the Kurds. It says 310 Iraqi Army NCO's and men surrendered to Iraqi Forces and that 1646 "tribesmen" joined "Saladin riders". Proclamation tries to split Kurds but clearly indicates that BARZANI's Army is still strong.

Because of our printer's vacation the monthly Chronicle of Kurdish events and statements had to be closed 5 days earlier than usual. The Editor

## GERMANY

### COMMUNISTS PLACED TOP-AGENTS IN BONN'S INTELLIGENCE SERVICE

The only organisation of Nazi Germany that survived the Reich's defeat and allied occupation was the "Abteilung Fremde Heere Ost" ("Foreign Armies - East") General Reinhard GEHLEN led in the General Staff. In the spring of 1945 he surrendered to the Americans who soon used him, his material and his men. It then became known as the GEHLEN-organisation. In accordance with the conditions GEHLEN had made, the German Federla Republic got the same results of GEHLEN's findings as did the USA.

In 1956 the GEHLEN-service became a purely (West-)German affair again, and was re-named "Bundesnachrichtendienst" or "BND" for short (Federal Intelligence Service). Its operational HQ remained in the Nazi-built & regularly altered compound in Pullach, a Munich suburb. But in 1950-51, the Soviets (closely co-operating with East-Berlin) managed to place several agents into the GEHLEN-organisation. They were the former SS-officers and nazi security-officials Heinz FELFE, 45, Hans CLEMENS, 61, and Erwin TIEBEL, 60. Arrested late in 1961, they got severe sentences in Karlsruhe on 23. 7. '63: 14, 10 and 3 years of hard labour respectively, combined with high fines. FELFE led GEHLEN's department that specialised on Soviet intelligence and even continued working when in prison.

Though it was suggested in Karlsruhe that greed for gain had been the defendants' main motiv, it is clear that the real background was somewhat different. It was doubtlessly the German national frustration after the GFR-GDR-partition of Germany's main part in 1949 that made nazis like FELFE work with the Russians. During the period he and his companions were recruited, Communists tried to exploit frustrated German nationalism against Bonn and the West. East-Berlin financed a number of neutralist, nationalist periodicals, wooed ex-soldiers. In many cases, nazis (especially HITLER-Youth-leaders) worked close-

ly with Communist agents. Often German nationalist publicists did not know who really financed them. But after 1951/52 and especially after STALIN's death, the endeavour of a right-wing-left-wing united action against Bonn ebbed down. The BND, still suffering from the "military mind" springing from its origins, is known as a mediocre service at its best. For Oriental intelligence it heavily draws on the secret services of German allies like Turkey, Persia etc. Consequently, the BND is far from Kurdo-phile. Several of the "Press-services" reportedly helping GEHLEN (so in West-Berlin, Stuttgart-Degerloch and Wiesbaden) tried to get information on Kurds in a very rude manner. "Kurdish Facts" was the first paper to reveal "Tarantel Press" links with the SHAH's "Savak" in Sept.-Oct. 1961. The Cologne-based "Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz" (Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution) has much the same line on Kurds as has the BND. The BAFV's British-backed chief Dr. Otto JOHN fled to East-Berlin in July 1954. A frustrated anti-fascist, he told there that the Organisation-GEHLEN was full of Nazis. Security in divided Germany is as complicated as one would expect.

## THINGS SAID

### LOST TRIBES WESTWARD HO!

"We know that 2 million Kurds got lost in Italy." (Witty Bashir MUSHIR in letter to 7th KSE-Congress.)

### WOT, NO KURDS?

"Errors are there to be made." (Brunswick chief-mayor Mrs. Martha FUCHS on 10. 8. '62 after she discovered that only 4 of 120 officially invited Kurdish students showed up.)

### INCLUDING KURDISH INDEPENDENCE, MR. SECRETARY?

"To win the global struggle for freedom and against Communism --- the U.S. and its friends must achieve a world free of aggression --- a world of independent nations ---." (U. S. Secretary of State Dean RUSK on 13. 8. '62.)

### SOUTH OF THE BORDER, DOWN INDIA WAY

"The Americans say they don't want war,

nor do the British, the French and others - whom could we fight even if wanted to?" (China's Foreign Minister Marshall CHEN Yi.)

WHY TURKEY IS NO DEMOCRACY YET  
"In a democracy, there are no violent measures." (Turkish President General Cemal GUERSEL to "Cumhuriyet".)

### AND KURDS, AND ARMENIANS, AND ANGOLESE?

"The people who have suffered most from discrimination and humiliation, the Jews and the Negroes, are now free and can hold up their heads in equality with other nations." (Israeli Foreign Minister Golda MEIR on 17. 7. 1961.)

### DIFFERENT IN THE ORIENT

"Europe today is not anti-American. It is simply becoming indifferent to America." (Newsweek's Eldon GRIFFITHS on 30. 7. '62.)

### FORECASTS BY ISK

"You are famous in Kurdistan." (Col. Jalal TALABANI on ISK in Paris.)

## BOOKS

Taufiq WAHBY: "THE KURDISH GRAMMAR" Part I, Chapter I, The fixed rules of writing the Kurdish in Arabic characters, several sentences in twelve exercises and a Kurdish Folk-Lore, with their Arabic translations. 56 + 4 p. Part I, Chapter II, the Eight Parts of Speech, the Different kinds of Sentences, Exercises and a Kurdish Folk-Lore, with their Arabic translations. 57-112 + 4 p. Baghdad, 1956. Edited by the author. (Title in Arabic: "Qawā'id al-lughat al-kurdīya". Most of it is a translation of Col. WAHBY's well-known Kurdish Grammar in Kurdish "Dastūr-i Zmān-i Kurdī" of 1929, which also had one part, the second one never having been published.)

I. M. ORANSKIY: "IRANSKIE YAZYKI", Akademiya Nauk SSSR, Institut Narodov Azii. Izd. Vostochnoj Literatury, Moskva, 1963. 204 p. (Kurdish gets 4 pages and an equal number of items in the bibliography: BAKAEV's 1957 dictionary, KURDOEV's 1957 Grammar, FARIZOV's 1957 Dictionary and - of course - KURDOEV's pace-setting 1960 Dictionary. Interesting map at the end, showing



Lures and Bakhtyars as a separate entity besides Kurds. Many Turkish enclaves in North-Kurdistan, some Azerbaijani areas West of Urmia-Lake, vast Kurdish enclaves in Persian Turkistan, nearly half of Afghanistan Tadjik, Baluchistan reaching fast till the Persian Gulf bend and Karachi, the Pakistan capital as lying in a partly Baluchi-speaking area. The Deshte-Kebir and Lut deserts shown as uninhabited, only some 50% of Iranian state territory is given as Persian-language area. The smaller Iranian tongues and dialects get due treatment. Useful both for beginners as a general introduction and for learned Iranists.)

Bozorg ALAWI: "KÄMPFENDES IRAN", Dietz-Verlag, Ostberlin, 1955, 190 p. An account of 20th century Iran written by a well-known poet, who is now a Tudeh-party emigrant in the GDR. The South-Azerbaijani question is treated, but not the East-Kurdish one in Iran. Interesting criticism of Dr. MOSSADEGH, who was able to topple the PAHLEVI-regime if he'd wanted to do so. ALAWI now teaches at HUMBOLDT-university.

Dr. Maximilian SCHEER: "IRAK/DÜRSTENDES LAND", Verlag der Nation, Ostberlin, 1959, ill., 295 pp. Reportage on Iraq shortly after QASSIM took power. Some slander about the Kurdish movement. Vividly written.

Pierre ROSSI: "L'IRAK DES RÉVOLTES", Éditions du Seuil, Paris, 1962. 323 p. Will be reviewed in detail later.

Günther NOLLAY & Hans-Jürgen WIEHE: "ROTE SPUREN IM ORIENT" (Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan). Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, Köln, 1963. 189 pp. Two West-German security officials toured the 3 countries in 1960. Does not offer much not yet published in foreign literature. The part on Afghanistan is best. What is written on Kurds is clearly influenced by the security-colleagues of the CENTO-states holding parts of Kurdistan. Mediocre.

## — PERIODICALS —

"DENG", Doğunun sesidir / Hêviya Rojhilat, Istanbul, 15. 5. 1963, 16 p., ill. (Turkish-Kurdish review, but mainly in Kurdish.) First and last issue of this legal

Kurdish paper in the Turkish Republic. Editor and Publisher have been under arrest since. Well-done. Much literature. Most surprising article: "Türkler ve Kürdler" by Ziya GÖKALP. The latter was a Kurd from Diarbekir who turned into the prophet of Blood-and-Bottom-Panturanism before 1914. (ISK plans a GÖKALP-"study in compensation nationalism".)

"INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR", Dutch imitation of "The World Today" of Chatham House (Nederlandsch Genootschap voor Internationale Zaken, The Hague and Koninklijk Instituut voor Internationale Betrekkingen, Brussels) on 22. 6. 1963 dedicated its whole issue to the Arabs: "De Arabische wereld in de ban van het veld winnend radikalisme" ("The Arab world under the spell of increasing radicalism"). Author is Drs. Leo C. BIEGEL, lecturer for contemporary Afro-Asian history at Amsterdam University. 255-320 p. Written one month after the abortive Arab Federation Charter of 17. 4. 1963. But concluding with an IBNKHALDOEN quotation at the address of present Arab leaders: "Injustice causes the collapse of a civilisation".

"CAHIERS DE L'ORIENT CONTEMPORAIN". Publishers: La Documentation Française, Paris, 1962. Prepared by Institut d'Études Islamiques de l'Université de Paris / Centre d'Études de l'Orient Contemporain / Direction de la Documentation. Gives chronicle and documents over the last quarter of 1962. XXXV-L and 319-496 p. Most useful. Contrary to many periodicals on the Orient, the "Cahiers" do not neglect Kurds. Chronology is better than that of "The Middle East Journal", Washington.

"PRZEGLAD ORIENTALISTYCZNY", Kwartalnik. Polskie Towarzystwo Orientalistyczne. Nr. 1 (45) Warszawa, 1963. Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe. 86 p., ill. Carrying on the old tradition of "Rocznik Orientalistyczny" started in 1916, but is fully in Polish. Unfortunately, it locates ISK's HQ at Leiden instead of in Amsterdam. Among its constants are articles on Mesrop MACHTOTZ and translations from the Vietnamese, Japanese and Turkish languages.

Veröffentlichungen der Liga der Ara-

bischen Staaten, Kairo; Nr. 10, Jrg. 4, Nov. 1961: "DAS KÖNIGREICH SAUDISCH-ARABIEN". Herausgeber: Delegation der Liga der Arabischen Staaten, Bonn. 59 p., ill. One-sided, propagandistic, carefully avoiding the problems that really matter in Saudia.

Mazen WALID: "IRAK. PARTIS POLITIQUES ET VÉRITÉ DE LA RÉVOLUTION", in "Travaux et Jours", revue bimestrielle, Beyrouth, mars-mai 1963, Nr. 9, p. 4-30. Also ends with a warning to the present Arab leaders. Publisher is Saint Joseph University, B.P. 293, Beyrouth. Each article is preceded by an Arab summary.

(If not otherwise stated, books and periodicals reviewed are recent acquisitions of ISK's library. Ed.)

BO HEMÛ EW KURDANEY GOVAREKE MAN EXÖNDINEWE!

Dawa le hemû ew xonerewane ekeyin ke jimarey pêşu (KF/16) yan pê ne geyiştuwe be zûtrîn kat nawûnîşanî xoyan binêrin bo em şoney xwarewe:

ISK, Da Costastraat 25/1, Amsterdam-West, The Netherlands.

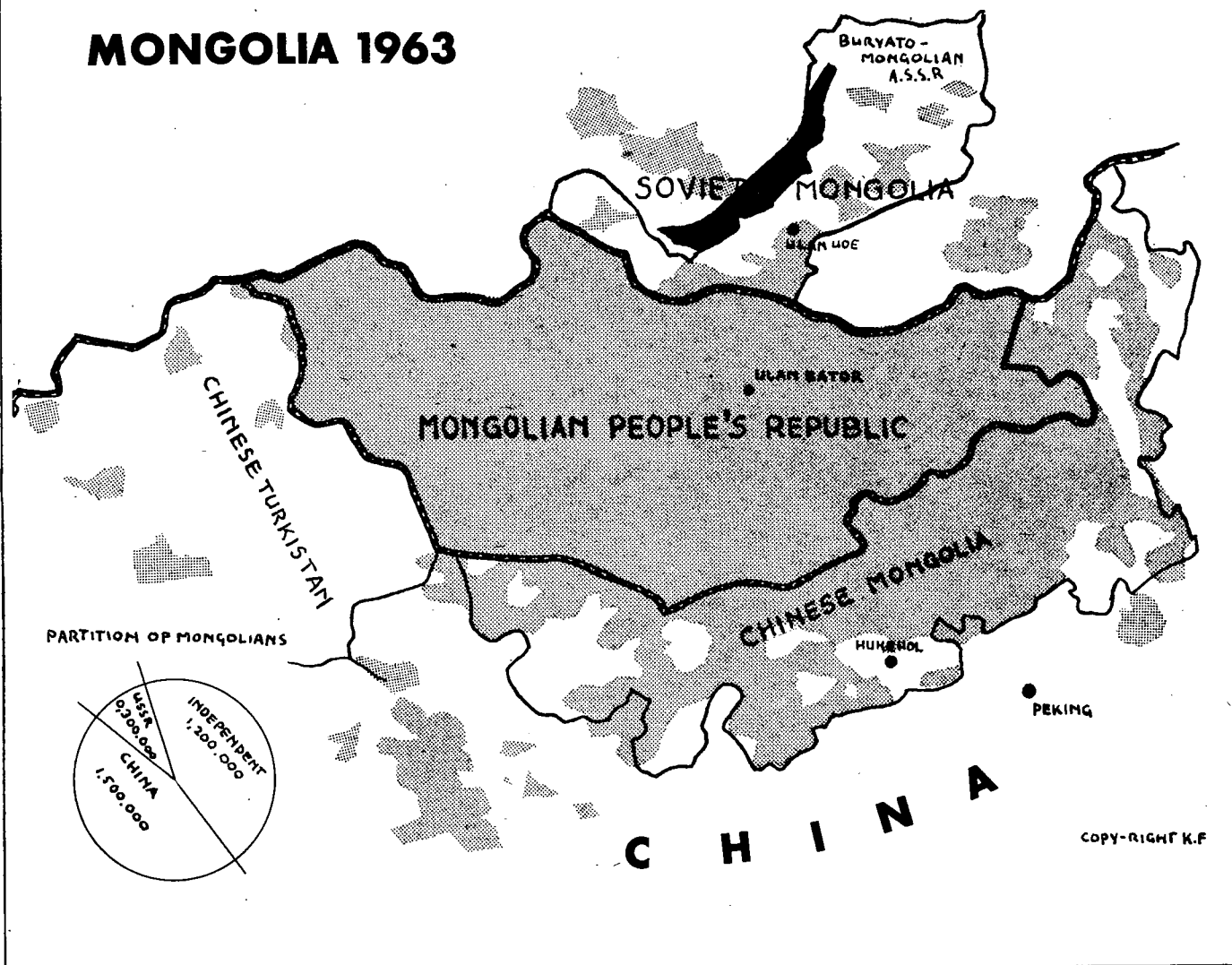
Tikaye eweşman bo binûse çendit pare dawe w be kê w le kö? Eger nawûnîşanî xoşit gori le paşerojda, ewa tikaye ISK agadar hike bo ewey dilnîya bin lewey ke (Kurdish Facts) it Carêkî tir be rêkûpêkî pê egatewe. Lêreda fêz ekeyin em hele le dest nedegin û ew rastîye bihênînewe bîr hemwan ke eger HER xonereweyekî Kurd tenya yek dane. ABÛNE peyda bika, rojnamekeman le barî abûrîyewe xó raegrê. Ca kewate tikaye yarmetîman bide w le Cîhan bigeyene ke cî le Kurdistanda rû eda. Tenya eger Kurdekan yarmetî ISK biden, ISK etwanî be tewawî yarmetî Kurdistan bida.

SERNUSER

Serinc

Eger xöndkaran - Le barî êsteyanda - tuwanîyan belge pîşan biden ke natwanin abûney (KF) biden - wek encamêk bo kar û kirdarî xönrêjaney Qasimêkan rû Be'sîyekan beramberyan - bêguman ew deme Karêkî taybetî ekrê boyan. De le ber ewe tikaye ISK agadar bike w dilnîyaş be hemû nameyek reçaw egrê.

# MONGOLIA 1963



Year after year, Kurdish organisations sent their complaints to the United Nations. A short but polite answer was the only result.

On 2.7.1963 however, a young member-state of the UNO came out in favour of oppressed Kurds: the Mongolian People's Republic. Seven centuries ago, Kurdish soldiers had saved Arab Mesopotamia from a Mongol invasion and after that delayed a second one. Now Mongols, by peaceful means, are trying to save South-Kurdistan from invasions from Arab Mesopotamia.

Mongolia is - like Kurdistan - a partitioned country. If one lets alone the Mongol enclaves in China Proper and in Chinese East-Turkistan, the Mongol ethnic area consists of three parts:

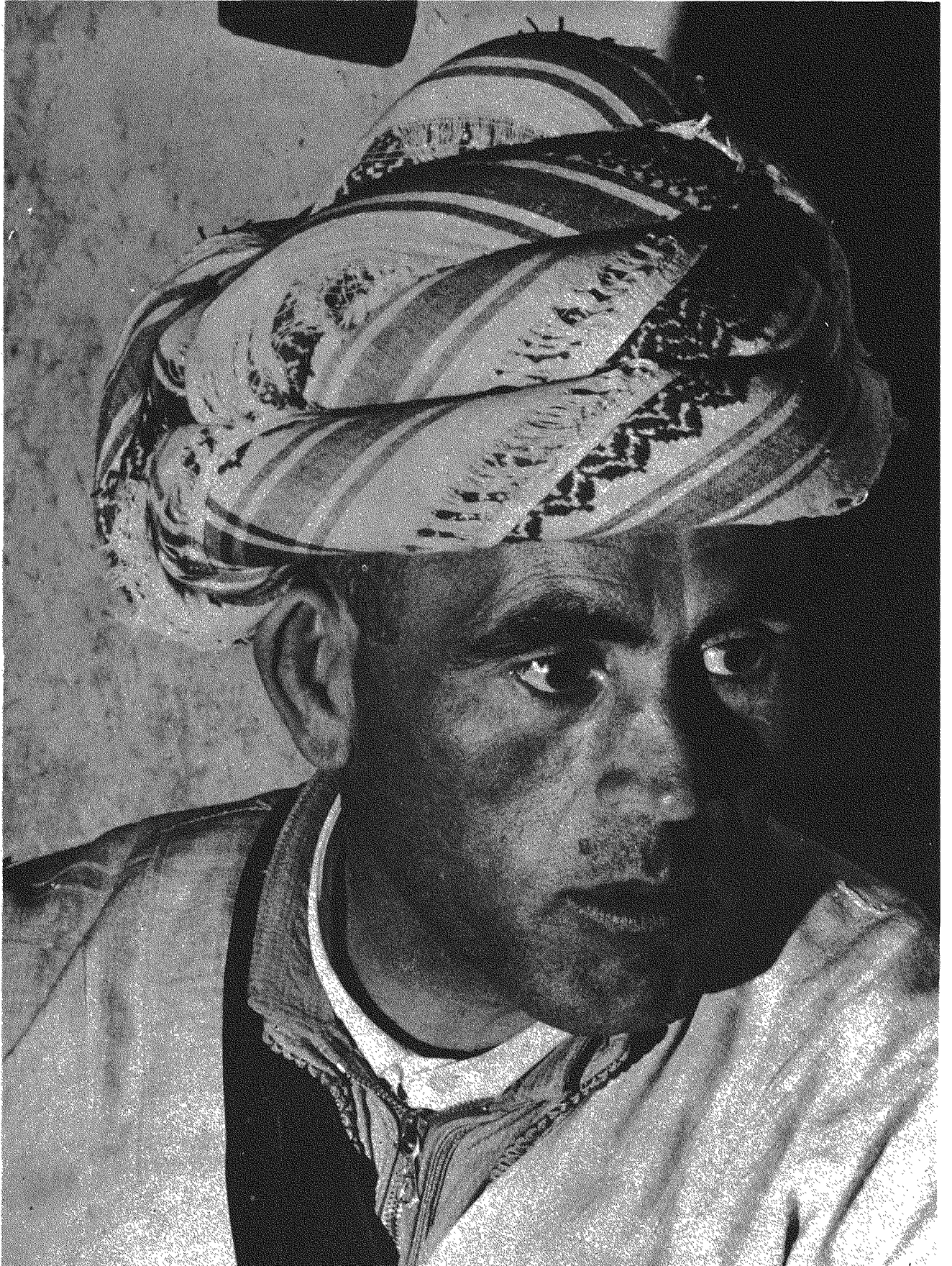
a) northern or Buryato-Mongolia with

nearly 300.000 Mongols. It was conquered by Russian Cossacks in the 17-18th century and since then a flow of East-Slav settlers came over the country. Part of Soviet Mongolia forms the "Buryato-Mongolian Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic" in the Siberian part of the R. S. F. S. R., largest republic of the USSR. But even in the Buryatian ASSR Mongols are a minority now, numerically speaking.

b) Central Mongolia, which is sinocentrically called "Outer Mongolia" in the West but officially is the "Mongol People's Republic". It emerged in the early twenties after this part of Mongolia had succeeded in separating itself from the Chinese empire when it collapsed in 1911. In the MPR there are 1.2 million Mon-

gols or 40% of them all.  
c) Southern and Eastern Mongolia (outdatedly known as "Inner Mongolia") which since 1946 is an "Autonomous Region" in the "Chinese People's Republic" (founded in 1949). Here lives half of the Mongolian people: 1,5 million. But 6 million Chinese have also poured into the region, thus outnumbering the original population 4 x 1.

Summarising one can say that Mongolia as a whole is divided politically between 3 Communist Republics: USSR, MPR and ChPR. In the 'ideological' Moscow-Peking-rift Mongols side with KHRUSHCHOV. Both Russia and East-Germany do much to push Mongolia which is also a member of the "Comecon" (East-European Economic Council).



A KURDISH PARTISAN LEADER

(photo LOVAT, Paris)

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# DOCUMENTS

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## THE MONGOLIAN REQUEST TO THE UNITED NATIONS TO STOP IRAQI GENOCIDE AGAINST THE KURDS.

CABLE DATED 29 JUNE 1963 FROM THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I am instructed by the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic, in accordance with rule 13 of the rules of procedure, to request the inclusion in the provisional agenda of the eighteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly, as an item of an important and urgent character, of the question "The policy of genocide carried out by the Government of the Republic of Iraq against the Kurdish people".

In accordance with rule 20 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, an explanatory memorandum is annexed hereto.

### EXPLANATORY MEMORANDUM

At the present time, the attention of all Members of the United Nations is fixed on the grave and fateful events taking place in the northern areas of the Republic of Iraq. On 10 June 1963, in response to the Kurdish people's just demand for national autonomy within the framework of the Iraqi State, the Iraqi Government launched large-scale military operations against the Kurdish people with troops, aircraft, tanks and artillery. In the course of those punitive operations, which embrace all of northern Iraq, Kurdish villages throughout whole regions are being burnt to the ground, the peaceful Kurdish population - including women, children and old people - is being exterminated, and the indigenous inhabitants are being driven en masse from their homes. Thus, the Iraqi Government is carrying out a policy of bloody repression against the Kurdish people, which is a distinct ethnic group, comprises nearly one quarter of the population of Iraq, and has inhabited the northern areas of the country from

time immemorial. It is clear that the very existence of the Kurdish people in Iraq is threatened.

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic draws the attention of the United Nations General Assembly to the fact that these actions of the Iraqi Government against the Kurdish people constitute genocide, which is a violation of the United Nations Charter, has been condemned by all mankind, and was declared a crime under international law in the General Assembly resolution of 11 December 1946.

In view of the foregoing, the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic considers it essential that at its eighteenth session the United Nations General Assembly should examine, as an item of an important and urgent character, the question "The policy of genocide carried out by the Government of the Republic of Iraq against the Kurdish people".

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic submits the following draft resolution on this question for consideration by the General Assembly:

"The General Assembly,

"Profoundly disturbed at the mass extermination of the Kurdish people taking place in the Republic of Iraq,

"Recognizing that the actions of the Iraqi authorities against the Kurdish population constitute genocide against the Kurds,

"Recalling that the General Assembly in its resolution of 11 December 1946 affirmed that genocide was a crime condemned by the civilized world and contrary to the spirit and aims of the United Nations, whether that crime was committed on religious, racial, political or any other grounds,

"Condemns the actions of the Government of the Republic of Iraq against the Kurdish population of Iraq,

"Calls upon the Iraqi Government to cease all military operations against the Kurdish population and to resume negotiations with representatives of the Kurds regarding the satisfaction of their national demands."

## TEXT OF STATEMENT HANDED TO IRAQI AMBASSADOR BY SOMET FOREIGN MINISTER ANDREJ GRO-MYKO ON 9th JULY

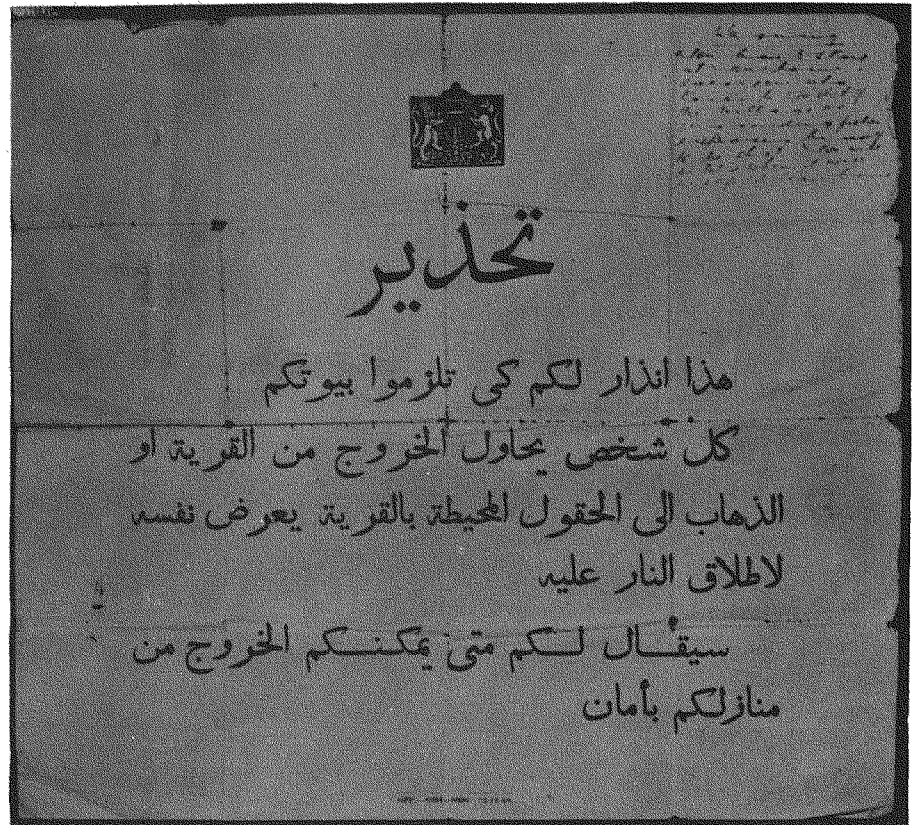
The Iraqi Government is without doubt aware of the resolute condemnation by the Soviet people and other peoples of the world of the bloody outrages being committed by the Iraqi authorities against the peaceful Kurdish people, who account for nearly one quarter of the population of the country. There is no doubt that such developments can only weaken the Iraqi State and damage its international positions and also enable the forces of colonialism to make use of these events for undermining Iraq's independence and for strengthening their positions in the Near and Middle East. In these circumstances the Soviet Government finds it necessary to draw the Iraqi Government's attention to the threat that arises due to the interference of other States in the events now taking place in the north of Iraq. This interference is fraught with definite danger to the cause of maintaining peace in the area of the Near and Middle East.

According to the information at the disposal of the Government of the USSR, the member States of the military colonialist CENTO bloc rejected by the Iraqi people have embarked on the road of interference in the events taking place in the north of Iraq up to and including measures of military nature. According to official statements of representatives of the member States of the CENTO bloc in which the imperialist Powers play first fiddle, a special discussion was held by this bloc on the question of outlining general policy with regard to the movement of the Kurds and the position of the Iraqi Kurds was discussed from the viewpoint of taking joint measures against the Kurds. The press of the Arab countries has reported a number of conferences of military representatives of Iraq, Turkey and Iran which also discussed plans for military operations against the Kurds with a view to suppressing the Kurdish movement and it was planned to use



Before the Iraqi Government had enough aircraft and personnel to bomb its own citizens and country, the job was usually done by Britain's "Royal Airforce". Several Kurdish uprisings in the thirties and forties owed their collapse mainly to RAF-intervention on behalf of the Hashemites. Here is a pamphlet dropped by RAF-planes in 1938. Translated

'WARNING. You have to stay at your home. Everyone who tries to go out of the village or surrounding fields exposes himself to be shot. You will be told when it will be safe to leave house.'. QASSIM, when he took up this tradition of bombing and strafing on 9.9.1961, had his Airforce drop leaflets too. Some were reproduced in the Kurdish underground press in Iraq. Baath, that started bombing before it declared war on the Kurdish Army, does not even drop leaflets. Apart from that, it also destroys villages with tanks and bulldozers and then accuses BARZANI of destroying South-Kurdistan.



troops of certain States neighbouring on Iraq for fighting against the Kurds on the territory of Iraq. According to the same reports, agreement was reached during these conferences on joint military operations against the Kurds. The armed forces of Syria are also known to directly participate in the battles against the Kurds in the north of Iraq.

No matter how accurate these or other details in the reports about the developments in northern Iraq may be, everything goes to show that the fact of the implication of foreign States in these developments gives rise to no doubts. This gives ground for serious concern on the part of every Government which is aware of its responsibility for the destinies of the world.

The Soviet Government finds it necessary to emphasise resolutely that the policy of the Iraqi Government, which gives the imperialist forces an opportunity for interference in the Near and Middle East, is fraught with serious consequences.

All this brings back to mind the events connected with the preparation and carrying out of the tripartite imperialist

aggression against Egypt in the autumn of 1956.

The interference of foreign States in the developments now taking place in the territory of the Iraqi State is a matter of concern not only to Iraq. The dragging into the conflict of other forces and other States and the granting to external forces linked with the aggressive military political blocs of strongholds close to the Soviet frontiers creates a threat to the security of a number of States, including the Soviet Union.

Taking all this into consideration, the Government of the Soviet Union is compelled to issue this statement and the warning it contains. The Soviet Government sincerely hopes that the Government of Iraq will not permit the continuation of foreign interference in the events now taking place in the north of Iraq and will put an end to this interference.

The Soviet government takes this opportunity to declare that, given a reciprocal desire on the part of Iraq, it will continue pursuing the policy of developing good relations with the Iraqi Republic.

## KURDISH FACTS

### WEST - ASIA

(KF) is the world's only paper about everything Kurdish. Remit 30 sh., 15 DM or equivalent to "International Society Kurdistan", (account-nr. 23686, Twentsche Bank, Amsterdam) for 12 months KF. Students 20% reduction, dealers 33,3%. Airmail is charged extra. Adv.-rates on request. Publisher: INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN. Editor: Silvio E. VAN ROOY, Address: Da Costastraet 25 I, Amsterdam-West, The Netherlands.



## **BARZANI**

**still**

**going**

**strong**

David ADAMSON of "The Sunday Telegraph" made this photo of General Mullah Mustafa BARZANI mid-December 1962. The Kurdish leader is reading a 5-languages edition of the famous "Rubaiyat" by Omar KHAYYAM.

**XVI**

**Think, in this batter'd Caravan-  
serai  
Whose Doorways are alternate  
Night and Day,  
How Sultan after Sultan with  
his Pomp  
Abode his Hour or two, and  
went his way.**

(from Edward FITZGERALD's English translation)

The photo was presented to ISK by Mr. ADAMSON who used copies of this paper to prepare himself for his journey into the liberated part of Kurdistan. At the exhibition "Unknown Kurdistan" in the Amsterdam Public Library (see KF/16, p. 8) ISK showed the photo of BARZANI together with clippings from the international press in 1961, 1962 and 1963 erroneously reporting BARZANI's death.











