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it is common knowledge that unity of ranks in any political movement is an essential pre-requisite for achieving victory and winning rights; it is also a fundamental precondition for overthrowing oppressors and defeating foes. If this is true in general, it is even much more so in the case of the Kurdish people and nation that are divided in a number of ways that are not of their own making.

Kurdistan and, by corollary, the Kurdish nation are, firstly, divided geographically by natural obstacles (this fact should be considered within the context of under-development of Kurdistan - underdeveloped areas in underdeveloped countries). These obstacles to national unity can be overcome through the process of development.

They are, secondly, divided "inter-nationally" among several states by external forces (by the Ottoman and Saffawid empires during the sixteen and seventeen centuries and once again by the British and French colonial powers after World War One) which imposed arbitrary borders on the Kurdish nation. The effects of this division was not felt initially since the arbitrarily imposed borders existed only on maps and not in reality. But the more consolidated these states became the more they imposed this division, often in a vicious manner (depopulation of border areas, mass deportation of Kurds from one country to another, destruction of the human settlements and of the environment of the border areas and security and military coordination and operations in these border areas). This externally imposed division can be removed by a long and complex process involving foremost indigenous but also exogenous radical changes in the balance of power, way of thinking, resoluteness and coordination among the political movements of the four parts of Kurdistan.

The Kurdish nation is, thirdly, socially divided into social classes and groups, tribes and clans, rural and urban populations etc. This is not a specific feature of Kurdish society but a concurrent characteristic of all human societies at certain stages of their development. This division can be overcome in the long-run by the process of development and a just and equitable social system.

The Kurdish nation is, fourthly, internally politically divided into various parties. This division would not be so dangerous and damaging if it was contained within acceptable peaceful limits, kept within the realm of political and/or ideological competition and struggle, played-down or put aside in the face of dangers and perils threatening the existence, future development and the very idea of a "Kurdish nation" and Kurdish self-determination.

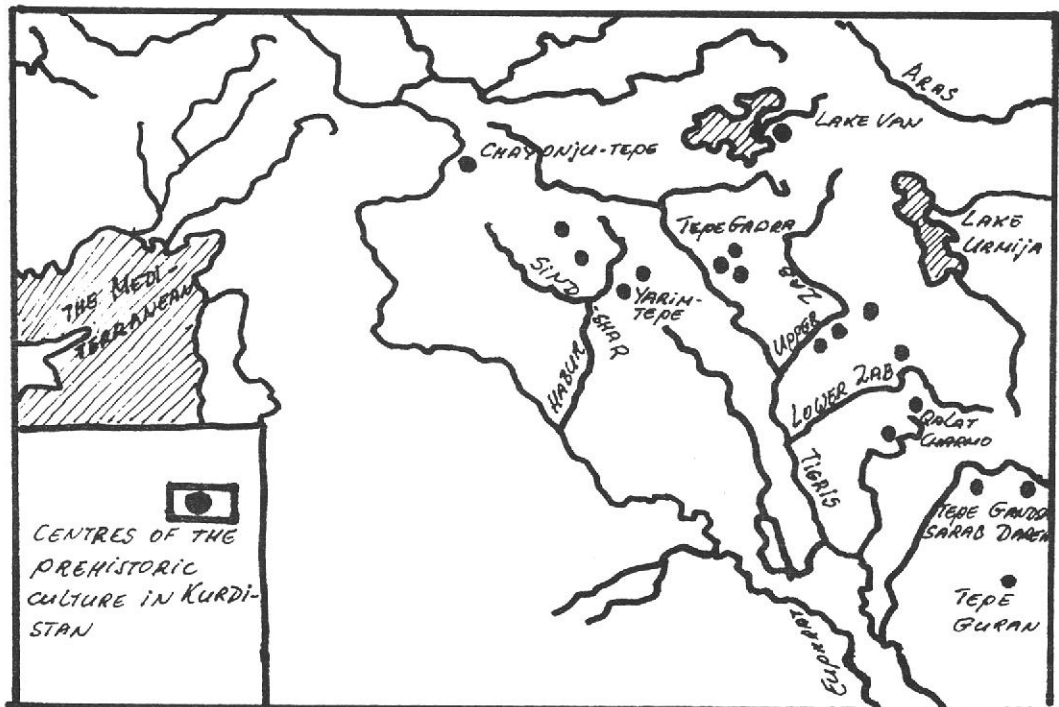
The first three divisions are either nature made or externally imposed or an inherent characteristic of human societies and can all be tackled and minimized or even removed in a long run complex process of development involving many forces and elements. But the fourth division is relatively the easiest to solve by human action and yet the most dangerous. It is the most dangerous because it delays the achievement of any rights by the Kurdish people. It diverts Kurdish energies, efforts and resources away from the main declared objectives of these parties and of the Kurdish nation and waste Kurdish forces and capabilities and consumes them to no national purpose. It creates in the Kurdish nation heavy wounds and leaves deep scars that cannot be easily removed. It contributes to the demoralization of the Kurdish people and, if allowed to continue and get out of control, neutralize them and may thus keep them out of the struggle - and this is suicide itself. It also re-enforces the other divisions referred to above. Last but not least, it helps create negative and harmful impression about the Kurdish nation, or at least the Kurdish movement and its leaders.

It should not be forgotten for a moment that the oppressors and foes of our nation and its legitimate and just aspirations feed and intensify this dangerous aspect of the Kurdish movement and draw great comfort and make big gains from it and its continuation because it perfectly serves their basic long-term and short-term objective of frustrating Kurdish efforts to achieve victory and attain their human, democratic and national rights.

It is relatively the easiest of the divisions to overcome by human action because it is within the immediate reach of Kurdish political forces through good-will, a sense of national responsibility, consideration for the long-term interests of the Kurdish nation, preventing enemy fingers from meddling into Kurdish affairs, giving less supremacy to short-term party gains and selfish leadership ambitions and vengeance, not playing in the hands of the enemies and falling into their traps -aid, negotiation and the like, a realisation that the use of armed violence as a means of solving inter-Kurdish differences brings nothing to the Kurdish nation but tragedies, catastrophe, humiliation and perils and does not really solve problems among Kurdish forces, but only renders great services to the oppressors and enemies of the Kurdish people.

Our party, the KPDP, has, unfortunately, not been saved from this inter-Kurdish fighting despite its efforts to avoid it at any cost. However, it has offered great political sacrifices and made great efforts in order not to be once again drawn to such fighting because our party believes firmly that there is no hope and no other way for the Kurdish nation to attain its rights other than national reconciliation and accord, national cooperation and coordination, national unity today and not tomorrow. Without national unity there can be no national rights and no victory -national unity within each part of Kurdistan and national unity in Kurdistan as a whole. Unless this fact is recognized and worked for by all political forces in Kurdistan, talk about achieving victory or attaining rights for the Kurdish people and nation by this or that political party is an exercise in self-deception, idle talk and leads nowhere.

We call upon all political forces in Kurdistan to work for national unity by deeds and not only by words and call upon the genuine friends -not the "false friends" who are partially responsible for the current inter-Kurdish fighting- of the Kurdish people and nation to use their influence with Kurdish forces to bring about national accord and unity and the abandonment of the use of armed violence in solving inter-Kurdish differences. However, the responsibility for achieving this rests first and foremost with Kurdish political forces themselves.



THE MAP OF KURDISTAN IN PREHISTORIC TIMES /4000 B.C. - 4000 B.C./

I- Prehistoric Times

The subject of this expose is the history of the land of Kurdistan, that ancient land where the agrarian revolution took place -the basic one in the history of mankind. this revolution created the premises for the genesis of peoples, cities, states, crafts, trade, literature, art and culture. It also gave the possibility to the inhabitants of the considered territory to part with the primitive society and create the class society and the state thousands of years before other peoples.

Today's political boundaries in the Middle East can be considered to be the result of modern historical events. After the end of World War One, Britain and France divided the possessions of the Ottoman Empire. The mountains of Northern Kurdistan remained under the control of the Turkish state although the native population of the region -the Kurds- struggled for many years against the Ottoman rule. The French got Syria and the British occupied Iraq. Thus, the densely populated areas of Kurdistan came under foreign rule and the Kurdish nation became divided by frontiers which are neither ethnical nor historical. Taking this fact into consideration, we should understand that Kurdistan does not comprise the province in Iran having the same name but the totality of all the territories populated by Kurds and their ancestors for thousands of years. As a result of foreign invasions, many of the Kurdish regions have changed their ethnical composition and appearance. Therefore, we should deal not only with the land of the Kurds, which is populated up till now by its original inhabitants, but also with the ancient history of their land as well.

According to archeologists, the territory of Kurdistan has been settled since the epoch of the Middle Palaeolithic. This epoch coincides in time with the first stage of the last Glacial period in Europe. The freezing of the mountainous area under consideration grew and during its maxima the snow cover came to lower areas. Nevertheless, the climate stayed quite dry, though moister than today. Steppe vegetation prevailed and woods covered great areas in the mountainous regions. The beginning of the Middle Palaeolithic culture (culture is used here in the archeological sense, meaning the totality of material remains) dates back to a hundred thousand years, its later stages dating to 55-35 thousand years ago. The majority of the palaeolithic remains in Kurdistan belong to its later period, such as the remains from the caves of Kujundji, Shanidar, Hazarmerd, which date back to 50-40 thousand years ago. The most famous monument from this period is the cave of Behistun. Two-thirds of the animal bone remains left by hunters belong to deers and one-third to wild horses. The quantity of bones found in the said cave is very considerable. The main type of economy during the Middle Palaeolithic was collective hunting of wild animals. Different communities specialized in hunting different kinds of animals. The communities were formed on the basis of joint labour activity and some degree of kinship. The communities may be regarded as parts of unions that resemble tribes. A community which was part of such a "pre-tribe" had traditions of preparing implements and living habits similar to those of other communities belonging to the "pre-tribe". There were many locations of such "pre-tribes" from this period in the Zagros. The Neanderthalian is the bearer of the Middle Palaeolithic culture.

Homo sapiens appeared in Kurdistan between the Middle and the Late Palaeolithic. At about 35 000 B.C. the Bradost culture developed in our land. It is represented by remains in the caves of Shanidar and Gare-Har and in the rock shelter of Varvacy near Kermashan. Some time later at the very end of the Palaeolithic the Zarzi culture spreaded in the Zagros. The people made a living out of hunting and gathering plants and roots during this period. The latest period of the Zarzi culture is considered to be the 2nd millennium B.C. Climatic conditions since the period of the Bradost culture began to change in Kurdistan. The mountains and foothills became depopulated, the reason being the cold weather prevailing between 28 000 and 14 000 B.C. At about 14 000 B.C. the climate became warmer once again. The population followed the animal in the mountains and the animals, in their

turn, followed the vegetation cover. It was during this period that cave Shanidar once again gave shelter to hunters. During the 9th millennium, it served as a cemetery for the people from Zemi Chemi, a camp situated on the Upper Zab river. The inhabitants of Zemi Chemi hunted goats, deers and bears. Bones of wolves, beavers and jackles are found as well. However, there are no plant remains to be found, but a knife made of stone and could have served as a sickle suggests the idea of harvesting during the 9th millennium B.C. Hand baskets, mortars and very primitive mills found in the cave speaks in favour of this hypothesis. Camp Zemi Chemi is the location of evidence of another important phenomenon. This phenomenon took place during this time in Kurdistan and led to the first great division of labour. It is called "domestication". Goats and sheep were first domesticated, the home regions of which being the difficultly approachable mountains. In comparison with the sensible steppe animals, such as gazelles and antelopes, the domestication of goats and sheep had an advantage, namely that they did not go in great herds and once caught they propagated very easily. Domestication is a process and not a single act. Its social consequences were permanent settlements and very rapid growth of the human population. It was in Kurdistan that for the first time in the history of mankind the domestication of wild animals began.

Traces of domesticated animals, foremost goats, have been found in the layers of Gandsh-Dareh and belong to the 8th and 7th millennium. The most ancient methods of building dwellings by means of clay and unbaked bricks can be observed in the layers of the village of Gandsh-Dareh. The walls of these dwellings were made of stone or clay blocks of up to one metre long. In the upper layers (i.e. the more recent ones) the rectangular dwellings were build of clay and adobe and later by small pieces of adobe only. Mortars and huge vessels, which had walls of up to 4 cm thick speak for the widespread use of plant food in Gandsh-Dareh. The pottery of this area is one of the first of its kind to be produced in the world. To the same historical period belongs Tepe Guran. Its inhabitants lived at the beginning in dugouts and hovels. The pottery from Tepe Guran belonged to a later period, but was from the very start a painted one. Its decorations were small lines but became later more complicated during the 7th millennium when it was characterized by geometrical elements. This decoration was typical for other parts of Kurdistan as well. Archeologists have found the remains of one of the first neolithic villages called Qalat Charo near Tepe Guran and Gandsh-Dareh. It is situated in the foothills of the Zagros, between Dyala and the Lower Zab. 95% of the animal bones found in Charo belong to fully domesticated animals. There have been found among these remains stone tools, vessels made of clay and straw, zoomorphic and antropomorphic figurines. Haraba Kara Chiwar, Kani Sur and Tepe Sarab are other neolithic villages in the same region.

Chayonju-tepe, situated on the tributary of the river Tigris north-west of the city of Diyarbakir, characterizes the 8th millennium in the northern part of our country. This tepe consists of five settled layers dating back from between 7500 and 6800 B.C. In Chayonju on can follow the evolution of the economy -excavations give us reason to say so. The only domesticated animal of the first two layers is the dog and the food is hazel nuts, vetch and othes. There is, from the upper layers, proof of domesticated goats and sheep, but hunting as a sources of meet did not cease. The buildings of this period had a stone base and one of them might have been a temple. These layers show the transition from a food-gathering to a food-producing economy. The inhabitants sowed *Triticum monococcum* and *Triticum dicoccum*. The implements used were mainly the sickle which was made of stone. From the third layer on, the population produced clay vessels. The copper deposits, situated about 20 km away from the Tepe, gave them the possibility of making copper pearles and needles. The layer before the last contained a workshop 5m x 8m and consisted of 6 rooms -for work and products- meeting the needs of the whole settlement. (to be followed).

"In order to overthrow the fascist, agent regime in Iraq and establish a democratic rule to solve the acute problems from which the Iraqi people are suffering.

And in view of the dangers threatening the Arab national existence, the necessity of returning Iraq to the national struggle, and because the overthrow of this fascist, agent regime has become a revolutionary, patriotic and national duty, a duty of the Iraqi masses represented by their vital forces, and out of a sense of national and patriotic responsibility by the Iraqi patriotic, national and revolutionary forces.

These parties, forces and patriotic personalities held a series of gatherings and meetings crowned by an all-comprising gathering in Tripoli on 6th February 1983, during the holding of the Congress of Opposition Parties and Forces in the Arab Homeland in the Popular Socialist Arab Libyan Jamahiriyyah.

Their will and the will of the Iraqi popular masses have prevailed. And these parties, forces and patriotic personalities are:

The Arab Socialist Movement

The Socialist Party, Iraq

The Kurdistan Socialist Party, Iraq

The Ba'th Arab Socialist Party, Command of Iraq

The Organisation of the Popular Liberation Army, Iraq

The Kurdistan Democratic Party

The Union of Democratic, Socialist Unionists

The Kurdistan Democratic Union

The Iraqi People's Congress

The Iraqi Communist Party

The Kurdistan Popular Democratic Party

The Movement of Democratic Vanguard

The Socialist Nationalist Congress

The Detachments of the Iraqi Revolution

The Independent Democrats

The Patriotic Union of Kurdistan

The Movement of Free Unionists

The Organisation of Patriotic, Democratic Turkomans

The Arab Socialist Labour Party

They have decided the following:-

1- They have taken a final decision to unite themselves within a broad national front open to the revolutionary Islamic forces and the patriotic forces and personalities.

2- They have agreed on a political programme for the front defined as follows:-

A- The overthrow of the fascist, agent regime in Iraq.

B- The establishment of a democratic rule which is popular and unionist.

C- It is up to the Iraqi people to choose by its free will the type of regime it desires to have after the overthrow of the fascist, agent regime.

D- Granting genuine autonomy to Kurdistan-Iraq and safeguarding the rights of the Turkomans and other minorities.

3- To hold a meeting to decide on the programme and statute of the front on 25th February 1983.

4- The union through the front is to be realised within a month as from the date of signing this declaration.

They have also decided to promptly and as from 6th February 1983 (carry out) the following:

a- Stop the propaganda campaigns among themselves.

b- Stop disputes and armed confrontations among themselves immediately.

Issued in Tripoli on 22nd Rabi' al-Akhar 1392, 6th February 1983.

The Central Committee of the KPDP held a plenary meeting attended by its members and substitute members during the second half of November last. The meeting reviewed the international, Middle Eastern, Iraqi and Kurdish situations as well as internal and external party affairs.

The communiqué devoted the bulk of its attention to the situation in Iraq, Kurdistan-Iraq and Kurdistan as a whole.

It stressed that the first important event in the region was the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the other being the continued war launched by Saddam Husain's fascist regime against the Iranian revolution. This war has become at its current phase and for various reasons a war of total attrition waged by Iranian troops against the forces of the aggressive fascist Iraqi regime. The devastating consequences of this war for the Iraqi people are countless. There is not a single Iraqi family that has not been afflicted by it. We do not know in history of a war of this enormity of losses, both material and human, and of such trivial reasons for launching it, yet those launching it still remaining in power. We believe that this war will bring about the overthrow of the bloody dictatorial regime of Baghdad sooner or later. This conclusion is significant. But what is more important is our realisation that one of the fundamental factors contributing to the survival of the regime and the continuation of its crimes against the people and the country is the disunity of the national opposition. This disunity is directly responsible for the lack of broad popular mobilization until now despite the suffering of the Iraqi people with all its segments and groups. Grieving mothers, wives and orphans are sky-rocketing in number and in suffering. Their tragedies could not be made less painful by material and financial compensation given to them by the regime at the early phases of the war in an attempt to absorb popular indignation at the huge human losses sustained in the war.

Even in these deteriorating conditions for the regime, it is continuing the implementation of its policy of deporting and assimilating the Kurds, dismembering Kurdistan and imprisoning and executing Kurds for the most trivial reasons.

The creation of effective and serious resistance against the regime, the mobilization of the popular masses and the offering of solutions to the country's acute problems are all dependent on the unity of ranks of the national opposition with all its groupings.

The report presented to the Central Committee meeting expressed regret and bitterness at the continuation of inter-Kurdish fighting from which not a single force operating in Kurdistan has been saved, not even our party despite its great efforts to avoid it.

Our party had to operate and move under such complicated circumstances; to build its institutions and organisations, implement its programme, present itself as a principled progressive revolutionary party that relies and depends on the popular masses as a subject and object of liberation and adhere to its genuine progressive programme adopted by the founding congress of the party.

The report then reviewed the ideological, informational and organisational aspects of the party and evaluated its Kurdish, Iraqi, Kurdistan, Arab and international relations. The report discussed, moreover, in detail armed struggle and the circumstances and conditions surrounding it.

A comprehensive discussion was held on how to rectify the shortcomings in the party's functions in all fields. It was agreed that it was not enough to be satisfied with the positive results achieved on various levels alone, but it is also necessary to build upon these positive results in order to develop party functions and operations and to achieve more progress in this field. The Central Committee adopted a number of decisions in this respect.

The report laid emphasis more than once on the necessity of total adherence to revolutionary practice and behaviour by party members at various levels of responsibility wherever they may be, because this is the tangible measure of the degree of their perception of the real meaning of progressive thinking.

The Central Committee paid special attention to the question of relations

with other Kurdish parties. It considered the establishment and consolidation of relations among Kurdish forces a matter of utmost importance for avoiding inter-Kurdish fighting and for uniting efforts against the Iraqi regime which resorts to all conceivable means to crush the Kurdish liberation movement, such as aggravating disunity and encouraging inter-Kurdish fighting. This question was considered by the Central Committee to be of particular importance because the Kurdish forces are armed and there always exists the possibility and danger of differences being turning or being turned into armed clashes. Out of a sense of national responsibility, total adherence to objective reality and in due respect to the wishes of our brave people, the Central Committee decided to take a series of initiatives aiming at narrowing and bridging differences in the Kurdish ranks, consolidating and developing relations between our party, on the one hand, and the rest of the Kurdish forces, on the other, as part of our party's efforts to uniting them in a progressive front. This will contribute to and consolidate the unity of the Iraqi national movement. This is also in accordance with the decisions of the founding congress of our party.

Last but not least, the Central Committee decided that, on the basis of our party's broad national ties, the Political Bureau should continue its efforts aiming at the convening of a broad congress in cooperation with the other national and progressive forces. Such an all-Kurdish national congress is the corner-stone in the progress, development and unity of the Kurdish liberation movement and its ability to play its part in the struggle for national and democratic rights and the right of self-determination for the Kurdish nation and against imperialism, Zionism and reactionary forces.



Interview With The Kurdish Director Of The Prize-winning Film "YOL"

The Kurdish film director, actor and writer, Yilmaz Gueney, who had written the manuscript of the prize-winning film "Yol" (meaning the "Road") while sitting in prison in Turkey, has been in Paris to play in a new film.

It will be his first film in freedom after having written the manuscripts of four films in the prison cell in Turkey since 1974. Gueney relates in an interview with TT (the Swedish News Agency) from his temporary residence in Paris on the film "Yol", his time in prison and his views on art and politics.

Gueney fled from prison during a leave fifteen months ago and has since been in Switzerland keeping out of sight of the Turkish authorities.

"The new film is based on an uprising in the children cell in Ankara in 1976. It resulted in my transfer from there to the prison in Kayseri bordering Kurdistan in eastern Turkey," stated he.

"Yol" is forbidden in Turkey. The Kurds, who constitute a minority (over 10 million) in Turkey and live in a large area, Kurdistan, extending over many countries have been oppressed by a long series of regimes. The present military government (in Turkey) is no exception.

Yilmaz Gueney was imprisoned in 1961 for having published a book which the authorities considered to contain "communist propaganda".

Gueney adds that, "people in Turkey live under various forms of oppression. The first form is the oppression under the military junta. Before the junta took over power, it was other reactionary governments which oppressed the Kurds. Besides, traditions, customs and moral values from the feudal society still survive and constitute another form of oppression.

"We cannot search for the adversary, the foe, only outside ourselves, but also in our own conscious and way of thinking. The film shows in this respect the double oppression which people live under in Turkey and above all in Kurdistan."

The Guardian, March 13,

1983

NAWAF ROSAN, the Arab sentenced to 35 years' imprisonment at the Old Bailey on Saturday for attempting to murder Israel's Ambassador to Britain last summer, is a colonel in the Iraqi Intelligence Service, a Guardian investigation has established.

Baghdad, it now seems almost certain, ordered the London shooting so that Israel would retaliate against the Palestinians in Lebanon and thus provide Iraq with a desperately needed excuse to end the Gulf War with Iran in the name of Arab unity.

Rosan's true identity, which did not emerge during the five-week trial provides firm evidence of official Iraqi control over the operations of the Abu Nidal group, the dissident, Baghdad-based Palestinian organisation which claimed responsibility for the shooting of the ambassador, Mr. Shlomo Argov, outside the Dorchester Hotel on June 3.

According to intelligence sources, Rosan, the organiser of the three-man hit team, is also the deputy commander of Abu Nidal's special operations section. His job is to keep the terrorist group in line with the wishes of the Iraqi regime.

His plan worked up to a point. The Israelis did invade on June 6, three days after the Park Lane shooting, and on June 10 the Iraqis offered Iran a unilateral ceasefire which was scornfully rejected. Some 20 000 people died in Lebanon and the PLO was defeated, but the Gulf War continues.

Rosan's official Iraqi status may not have been known to his accomplices, Marwan Al-Banna, aged 21, and Ghassan Said, 23, the man who fired the shot. Both men, who were each gaoled for 30 years, are Palestinians from the West Bank and Al-Banna is related to Abu Nidal himself, whose real name is Sabri Al-Banna.

Rosan's identity which has been confirmed independently to the Guardian by Arab, Israeli and British sources, has been known in Whitehall (British Prime Minister's office) for some time. A decision appears to have been taken not to make it public so as not to damage sensitive relations with Iraq.

In 1978 Britain expelled 11 Iraqi Embassy staff after the shooting of a former Iraqi Prime Minister in London. But no action was taken publically after Iraqi diplomats were implicated in the siege of the nearby Iranian embassy by Baghdad-trained Iranian Arabs in May 1980.

In view of the highly favourable trade relations Britain now has with Iraq, and the perception that it is -at least publically- playing an increasingly moderate role in the Arab-Israeli conflict, punitive action by the Foreign Office seems equally unlikely now.

The US State Department, however, is trying to keep Iraq off a list of "nations supporting terrorism" as a prelude to the restoration of full diplomatic relations with Baghdad, will be embarrassed by the Iraqi role in the Argov shooting.

Rosan smirked as he was led down to the cells after being sentenced by Mr. Justice Mars-Jones on Saturday. The three had denied all the charges against them and Said was acquitted of attempting to murder Mr Argov's Special Branch bodyguard.

Neither of the young Palestinians spoke after sentence but Rosan said through his counsel that he would serve his 35 years with "strength and fortitude". The Iraqi agent who start a war to stop another showed no remorse.

The Iranians, curiously, understood precisely what happened. On the day Baghdad offered its ceasefire in the Gulf War, Tehran Radio commentary described the Iraqi scenario for ending the conflict.

"A member of Abu Nidal's network, the agent of Iraqi Intelligence, shoots the Israeli Ambassador in London to provide the enemy with the pretext to unleash his tyrannical aggression.

"After five days of ferocious war in Lebanon, the Iraqi regime announces its intention to ceasefire. The Iraqis justify this by saying that the

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AN UNKNOWN ENVIRONMENTAL CATASTROPHE IN IRAQ
"Biggest environmental catastrophe
so far in the twentieth century".

9

Excerpts from a report written by the Swedish expert, Prof. Arne Jernelöv, working at the time with the World Health Organisation (WHO) on the "biggest environmental catastrophe so far in the twentieth century", namely, the mercury poisoning of a vast number of the population of the countryside (in Iraq) by chemically treated grain which had caused the death of hundreds of people and the hospitalization of at least 10 000 people.

For the first time now, and after 10 years of secrecy, the matter has come to light.

In January and May 1972, Jernelöv travelled to Iraq in order to get, together with local and US experts, a picture of the situation of the poisoning and to draw general outlines on rehabilitational and other measures.

What had actually happened was the following:-

Iraq bought in 1970 a large quantity of wheat and corn from Mexico and the USA. It was to be used for sowing. The grain had been treated with a mercury solution against fungus diseases, a method that had previously been used in Sweden too but which was at the time (1971) prohibited in both Sweden and the USA because of its great environmental risks.

Inefficient administration and transportation in Iraq caused the sowing seeds not to reach farmers in the countryside until after the sowing season had passed.

Many people did the obvious, namely, use the seeds as fodder or to feed domestic animals with them. To the extent that there was a warning text on the sacks, it was either in Spanish or English. But most of the recipient farmers were, however, illiterate.

The poisoning struck with violent force...with the typical mercury poisoning: difficulty of coordinated muscular movements, reduced field of vision, blindness and death.

"When I first visited Iraq in January 1971, there was chaos in the foodstuff branch for fear of poisoning", states Prof. Jernelöv. "Nobody dared eat just anything produced at home, bread, meat, egg...etc, neither fish nor game. The only reasonably safe things were dates and US war-time tinned goods from the 1940s: corned beef that did not clear the long storage period especially well but which commanded and fetched astronomical prices."

When the catastrophic situation came to the attention of the authorities in Baghdad, they reacted in a panicky manner and the situation became worse. Orders were sent down to all who had any remaining stores of grain to deliver them to the local authorities within two weeks, otherwise they would be harshly punished.

It was only that information often did not reach villages in the countryside before the passage of two weeks (from the date of sending it).

Facing the threat of being caught with forbidden sacks, many farmers dumped the grain in the countryside: in dikes, brooks, water canals, or anywhere possible.

The Iraqis who died or became blind had got in them too high acute doses of methyl-mercury.

Arne Jernelöv points out, meanwhile, in his report from 1972 that many people who unwittingly eaten the grain live dangerously the rest of their lives.

He gives an account of a partial investigation which was conducted in a village in north-eastern (i.e., KURDISTAN) Iraq.

"1 200 people lived there. 482 of them were taken to hospital, 81 died and 94 became blind or paralysed. The village received 84 tonnes of wheat and 30 tonnes of corn; 34 tonnes was consumed."

From the Stockholm daily Svenska Dagbladet, 15th December 1982.

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object is to resist the Israeli invasion."

* Police mounted a special guard over the wife of the jury foreman in the case after she was followed home and threats were made against her, Scotland Yard said."

British MP tables motion against persecution of Kurds

10

Turkey's army is stepping up its attack on the Kurds (24% of the population). recent reports, officially undenied, accuse Turkey's fascist junta of transferring army units and material from the west to the east (Kurdistan). Already confronted by a massive army presence, Turkey's Kurds are now facing genocide.

CDDRT Chair Ernie Roberts MP demanded Government assistance for Kurdish refugees in a parliamentary motion tabled a few weeks ago. In less than a fortnight it has received support from dozens of other MP's.

The motion reads as follows:

"That this House is aware of the repressive nature of the regimes of Turkey, Iran and Iraq, now occupying Kurdistan, which is denying basic human rights to the Kurdish people, resulting in a continuous exodus of refugees from Kurdistan from a situation where they are not allowed to publish, read or write their own language nor express their culture; that this situation has worsened in the recent past with the indiscriminate bombing and raiding of Kurdish villages, and the mass executions and imprisonment of suspected Kurdish activists, when many survivors from peaceful demonstration in Iraqi Kurdistan fled to the mountains and made their way through Iran to seek refuge in Europe; and therefore urges the Government to allow the Kurds to remain the United Kingdom as refugees."

(From CDDRT Newsletter, February 1983 and Turkey Today, March 1983).

Why did not Saddam Husain attend the Non-aligned Summit Conference?

The Seventh Non-aligned Summit Conference will be remembered for the readmission of Egypt into the movement, for its failure to bring about a ceasefire between Iran and Iraq and for stringent security measures. Since Jawaharlal Nehru was the father of the concept of non-alignment, it is appropriate that the summit should be in Delhi and that the movement's new chairman should be Nehru's daughter.

...It is the Gulf war which has forced a rapprochement between the one-time 'super-rejectionist' Iraq and the 'capitulationist' Egypt. The Gulf war hangs over the conference like a depression -demonstrating the impotence of the movement's leaders, but at the same time providing suspense and drama to an otherwise stage-managed gathering.

The surprise landing of 150 Iraqi commandos at Delhi airport on 3 March as the advance guard for their President was taken as proof that Saddam Hussein would attend the summit -which, but for the Gulf war, would have taken place in Baghdad last September. To ensure Saddam Hussein's safety, the Indians reportedly agreed to delay the announcement of his arrival in Delhi. Yet, in the end, he did not turn up.

Three factors seem to have kept him away. Nothing could guarantee him immunity from attack in the air. He wanted an advance assurance that the next summit would be held in Baghdad -and did not get it. Most importantly, given the rising unpopularity in Iraq of the war, he was afraid of a coup against him in his absence.

(New Statesman 11 March 1983)

Turkey: Health fears for Kurdish prisoners

Amnesty International (AI) has asked permission to send a team to a Turkish military prison to check on reports that nearly 100 Kurdish prisoners are in poor health as a result of torture and harsh prison conditions.

The prisoners are among a large number of ethnic Kurds held at Diyarbakir Military Prison in eastern Turkey. Many said to have been convicted of violent acts, but some are not charged with any form of violence.

AI has received the names of nearly 100 said to be in poor health. Four are said to have suffered especially. They include former Diyarbakir Mayor Mehdi Zana; a lawyer, Mumtaz Kotan, and Pasa Uzun, former chairman of an ethnic

Kurdish association.

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In a letter to the Turkish ambassador in London, AI asked for permission to send a delegation including doctors to the prison. It also asked for details and any medical reports which exists on the health of the named men.

The letter was sent on 27 May 1982. No answer has been received yet.

Mehdi Zana is one of the bestknown leaders of the ethnic Kurds of eastern Turkey, the country's largest minority and estimated to number several million. His sister has said he underwent prolonged torture, and foreign observers who saw him on trial earlier this year said he was almost unrecognizable and appeared to be physically broken.

FORCED CONFESSIONS

AI has expressed concern in the past that some of the Kurds found guilty of violence were convicted after making confessions reported to have been extracted under torture. Others have been imprisoned for declaring that they were Kurds.

Sociologist Ismail Besikci, who is not Kurdish, was sentenced in March 1982 to 10 years in prison for referring to the Kurds as a separate ethnic group. It was the third time he was imprisoned for expressing this view.

Turkish government policy has long held that the Kurds are not a distinct group. Since the military coup of September 1980, thousands of Kurds have been among those imprisoned. Some are accused of violence aimed at secession, but others have been charged with "separatism" or "Kurdish propaganda" for affirming the existence of a Kurdish minority.

* A fourth man named in AI's news release was a lawyer, Huseyin Yildirim. AI has received reports that he was released from custody during July but has not been able to confirm them.

(AI Newsletter, September 1982).

AI confirmed that H. Yildirim was released in July and later left Turkey. He has since been given an extensive medical examination in Sweden and was twice interviewed by AI. AI Newsletter, April 1983, published an extensive interview with him in which he gave a detailed account of torture methods and prison conditions in Turkey.

Swedish Immigration Minister: Treat Kurds generously

Application for political asylum in Sweden made by Kurds will be treated in a generous spirit. This was promised by Anita Gradin, Immigration Minister, in the parliament on Tuesday.

The leader of the People Party (Folkpartiet), Ola Ullsten, had in question, taken up those refugees who are sent from one country to another in Europe according to the principle that asylum should be sought in the country the refugee comes to first.

"The Kurds are sent like the Flying Dutch from one country to another", thought Ullsten. He stressed that humanitarian considerations must have first priority.

Anita Gradin underlined the importance that Sweden follows a generous refugee policy. She explained also that the Swedish Government is ready to discuss the problem with other European countries.

"It is important that countries share the burden jointly".

(The Stockholm daily, Dagens Nyheter, April, 1983).

Turkey makes map reference a crime

A globe in the Istanbul offices of the West German airline Lufthansa, has led to a demand for a three-year prison sentence for Mr. Franz Reissig, the company's Istanbul deputy manager.

The out-dated globe showed the Black Sea separatist Greek state of Pontus which flourished briefly at the end of the First World War. It also contained a geographical reference to Kurdistan for the area now comprising eastern Turkey, northern Iraq, and western Iran. The globe was used as part of a publicity photograph for Lufthansa in the Istanbul Rotary Club magazine.

A reader spotted the offending words and reported the matter to the public prosecutor who has now started proceedings against Mr. Reissig who was in

charge of the office at the time.

"He is such an unlucky man," said a Lufthansa official. "No one can remember how long ago the globe was brought here or who did it. No one bothered about such things until now."

The prosecution is especially sensitive as it raises the possibility of a confrontation between the military Government and the West German administration, which is one of its principal defenders in Europe.

There has been such a prosecution before and there would appear to be a general effort to obliterate the words Kurdistan and Pontus from the historical and geographical records.

(The Guardian, London, 23 March 1983).

KURDISH COMMUNITY IN CANADA CELEBRATES "NEWROZ"

The Kurdish community in Canada celebrated NEWROZ in London, Ontario, on March 19, 1983. It was attended by more than 300 people, Kurds and guests, including a number of the Canadian Parliament, the Mayor of London, the President of the Committee for Human Rights in London, a representative of the Lybian Jamahiriyah Students Union and representatives of a number of immigrant communities in Canada.

The celebration was began with the song "Newroz" and included a speech briefly explaining the history of Newroz and the Kurds and the political and social conditions under which the Kurdish people in all parts of Kurdistan are living. Talks were given by the Mayor of London, a member of Parliament and the representative of the Lybian Jamahiriyah Students Union.

Participants had an opportunity to have a taste of Kurdish dancing and food. Canadian mass media covered the event; Canadian TV showed parts of the celebration and newspapers published articles on Newroz and on the Kurds.

INSTITUT KURDE DE PARIS

Boite Postale 66 - 75662 PARIS CEDEX 14

CCP 573895 E PARIS

At the end of 1982, the INSTITUT KURDE DE PARIS was officially announced in the mass media. Its main aims were stated in the following:-

"The millenary culture of the 20 million Kurds

in the Near East is in danger of daying

Banished, suffering a systematic destruction from the States which have divided the Kurdish nation, this unique part of the world's cultural heritage thus incurs the risk of disappearing for ever. Confronted with this peril, the Kurdish artists, writers, historians, and linguists now living in exile in Europe, aware that a people deprived of its culture is doomed to die slowly, have just created a Kurdish Insititute to prevent the genocide of their culture. Faced with the silence and inactivity of international organizations (UNO, UNESCO, etc.), the Kurdish people whose very existence is threatened, needs the help of other people. Your cooperation is vital.

() I wish to participate in the action of rescuing the Kurdish culture. I send a check for FF for account of Institut kurde.

() I wish to receive a documentation and information bulletin from the Institut kurde."

MORE THAN 44 500 POLITICAL PRISONES IN TURKEY

According to the Times of 13th January, since the 12th September 1980 coup 27 818 people have been sentenced to prison terms of from one to 36 years by Turkish military courts. 9 817 prisoners are awaiting trial at the moment and 6 942 are under investigation. These figures, which we may assume to be conservative, indicate that at least 44 577 people are trapped at one stage or another of the junta's "legal" network.

With 98 people already having been sentenced to death, 3 000 more are facing a possible death sentence.

(Turkey Today, March 1983).

Digging In

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Iraq Puts Development On Hold to Finance War With Shrinking Resources
 Choosing Guns to Butter, Baghdad Faces a Stretch Of Economic Austerity
 New Threat: Oil Price Decline

By Karen Elliot House

BYBLON, Iraq—"Before Nebuchardnezar, Now Saddam Hussein."

So proclaimed a sign here at Iraq's most famous ruin, 50 miles south of Baghdad, the capital. However presumptuous this likening of Iraq's president to ancient Babylon's most famous king, the two probably do have one thing in common -sleepless nights. King Nebuchardnezar, according to the Bible, suffered bad dreams, Saddam Hussein must have nightmares.

His worst nightmare, as it happens, isn't the war with Iran. For the moment, Iraq appears able hold the Iranians at bay, though not defeat them. The new threat is a deepening economic crisis.

For the first time since Saddam Hussein attacked Iran 2.5 years ago, his regime is acknowledging it can't fight a war and develop the country at the same time. And war comes first.

So Iraq's leaders have slammed the brakes on development and are jerking the economy in the direction of austerity and sacrifice. Imports are being curtailed, payments to foreign contractors are being withheld and overseas workers are going home. Hard currency is so scarce that ambassadors are being charged \$150 to use the VID lounge at Baghdad's gleaming new Saddam Hussein Airport.

LONG FALL

All this in a country that three years ago appeared to have it all: \$35 billion in hard-currency reserve, a literate and industrious population of 13 million and a place as the third largest producer among the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, with annual oil income of \$26 billion.

But the war gobbled up most of the reserves. Last April, Syria closed the pipe-line that carries oil from Iraq for Export, slashing Iraq's oil revenues to about \$8 billion in 1982. Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, which contributed about \$20 billion in aid to Iraq in 1981, all but halted cash payments last year.

And now another blow, the decline in oil prices.

In its humbled circumstances, Iraq is groping for friends. France, West Germany, Japan and others, however, seem mainly concerned with whether their companies are going to be paid for billions of dollars of unfinished Iraqi projects. The U.S., with less investment at risk here, remains politically cool to Iraqi overtures.

Not so Moscow. The Soviets have seized on Iraq's economic plight to soothe bitterness here about their earlier unrequited flirtation with Ayatollah Khomeini's Iran. Especially, Moscow has just concluded an arms deal on credit, according to Taha Yasin Ramadan, the deputy premier and a key figure in the shadowy Revolutionary Command Council that rigidly rules Iraq.

But the grim numbers and the scramble for friends don't tell the whole story. What is most striking to a visitor here after a 10-month absence is the mood. Everywhere one gets a whiff of desperation, a sense of national exhaustion. Despite Iraq's enormous long-term potential and Saddam Hussein's herculean efforts to insulate Iraqis from the war, the outlook here—at least for the next several years—is for struggle, sacrifice and suffering.

OFFICIAL OPTIMISM

The pressures of the moment clearly show in interviews with two of Iraq's most powerful men—Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz and Mr. Ramadan. Both, not surprisingly, emphasize the temporary nature of Iraq's economic squeeze and the will of its leadership to triumph.

"We've survived an ideological war and a military war with Iran," says Mr. Aziz. "Now we're in an economic war. We're not experts but we're strugglers."

Iraq's leaders are struggling to persuade foreign companies to work now and

gamble on compensation in the future from revenue of a big oil pipeline not yet built.

NOT TO WORRY

Specifically, Mr. Aziz says, companies are being told that in 1983 and 1984 they won't be paid in hard currency. A few priority projects will get "partial payment." Iraq has missed payments on about \$1 billion of projects being built by West German companies since last November, and it has told West Germany that it won't be able to pay all the money it owes this year and next.

Nevertheless, Mr. Aziz says companies needn't worry. Even if the costly war continues and the pipeline through Syria remains closed, he says, Iraq will increase its oil exports by 1986, when it expects to open a 1.5-million-barrel-a-day pipeline through Saudi Arabia to the Red Sea. But construction hasn't started, and the Saudis have been dragging their feet on the project.

Meanwhile, companies that can't come up with their own financing for 1983 are beginning to be told they can shut down and go home.

The countries most exposed here are Japan, West Germany and France, with trade totaling \$7.4 billion in 1981, the last year for which figures are available. The U.S. had less than \$1 billion in trade with Iraq that year. Mr. Aziz acknowledges that most companies haven't yet decided what to do, but says, "We are optimistic that most want to stay here."

His future and that of the regime may depend on his ability to project that optimism to increasingly nervous foreign contractors and governments.

BUSINESS JITTERS

Businessmen and commercial attaches at embassies in Baghdad aren't nearly as optimistic as Mr. Aziz. They huddle together, sharing tales of hard times and trading bits of information on how Iraq is handling contracts. Nearly every ambassador seems to have been drafted to plead the case of his country's businessmen in talks with elusive government officials.

"Money is the only thing we talk about now," says a veteran European ambassador.

Still gambling on Iraq's long-term potential, European governments are scrambling to find ways - guarantees, credits and other means - to keep their companies in business here. Businessmen won't talk for the record, lest they jeopardize their companies. Most haven't been told anything by the government. But, says one, "The rumors going around say it's going to be a bleak year."

LEADING INDICATORS

They look for little signs. The budget is late, a bad sign. Housing prices are falling, another bad sign because it implies exodus. Most other prices are rising, also a bad sign. Beef is \$15 a pound, double last year's price. Cigarettes have climbed to \$4 a pack. Vegetables are getting scarce in markets. Cauliflower, a rare find, is \$6 a head.

But more unnerving are the tales of currency grabs. One businessman asked his home office to wire \$1,000 so he could take a trip to Europe. When the money arrived, the bank refused to yield the dollars, offering instead Iraqi dinars. Only by obtaining special government permission for the trip was he able to obtain dollars, and then only \$500.

The managing director of a Jordanian-Italian-West German consortium with \$1.6 billion contract to build a big dam at Mosul in Northern Iraq says his group hasn't been paid any hard currency since October. The consortium, backed by German and Italian guarantees, isn't ready to pull out, but work is grinding to a halt anyway. The reason: The Iraqis, drastically short of refined petroleum, can't provide enough fuel to keep the army of earth-moving equipment running.

WORKERS' SQUEEZE

Most cruelly affected by the currency restrictions are foreign laborers. The Filipino youth who brings breakfast in a Baghdad hotel barely gets the tray down before he asks, "You want to change money?"

"No."

"You give me dollars, I give you dinars. I give you better rate than the bank," he pleads. "Change with me." Though he is forbidden to exchange dinars at a bank himself, if he can get his hands on dollars through other

means, he says, "I put them in an envelope and mail it home." Since early this year, foreign workers have been permitted to send home only small amounts of foreign currency. So everywhere they try black-market exchanges or spend unwanted dinars on whatever is available. At Babylon's ruins, a steady stream of Asians and Arabs pose for Polaroid snapshots in front of the lone remaining stone lion. The pictures cost the equivalent of \$4 each, but at least they can be mailed home.

GOING HOME

Currency restrictions coupled with shrinking job opportunities are producing an exodus of these workers. Western diplomats estimate that 30,000 Egyptian and 15,000 Pakistanis have left in the past several months. When the Baghdad airport opens after dark each evening, the midnight flight to Jordan is crammed with Egyptians. Some of these tired, tattered men try to escape with something of value - a tape player or transistor radio - but customs agents force them to leave these behind. One sign of the exodus: Iraqi dinars are so plentiful in Jordan that the money changers there offer double the official rate in Iraq.

MILITARY MORALE

At the front as elsewhere, there is a palpable sense of weariness and unease. In hopes of stopping the war, Iraq last summer pulled its troops out of Iran to positions along the Iraq-Iran border. The ploy didn't work; Iran continues to attack. The latest offensive last month still is sputtering along.

The strain of the past year shows clearly in the face of Gen. Hosham Sabah al Fakrey, the commander of the Fourth Army Corps at Meisan in southern Iraq, the scee of the latest fighting. The general, a round, red-faced man zipped up in an olive-green uniform, looks and sounds exhausted. Gone are the smiles and jokes of last spring. Gone, too, are the hopes he expressed then that the war might end. "The iranians always say this is the last battle," he says, "but their leaders are sick-minded."

Soon it's dusk, and the only sound is the explosion of artillery fire from Iranian positions about a mile away. On this visit to the front Iraqi commanders don't boast of superior military might, only of the rightness of their cause. They don't pass the Pepsi and take visitors on a good-humored's tour of art produced by soldiers in their spare time, as they did a year ago. It's deadly serious at the front now.

Captain Nefil, Gen. Fakrey's aide, says he is recovering from a shoulder wound. The injury won him a hero's badge from Saddam Hussein and a new Toyota, as well as an early promotion to colonel. Widows and mothers also have been getting new Toyotas to compensate for the loss of a man, part of a Hussein effort to anesthetize Iraqis to the pain of war.

But Foreign Minister Aziz says the Toyota imports are about to cease, a casualty of the austerity campaign. In this as in so many other ways, the anesthesia is wearing off in Iraq.

(The Wall Street Journal, Europe, Vol. I No. 34, March 17, 1983.)

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

The mystery of the Iraqi military helicopter crashing in Italian mountains

The press in Italy published on March 23 the news of the crashing of a military Soviet-built "MI-8" Iraq helicopter on the mountains near Vicenza. A group of Iraqi military personnel consisting of 15 men were booked in in two hotels in Venice, 8 in Hotel Cipriani and 7 in Hotel Ala. The 8 men left their hotel at 10.30 and were aboard their military helicopter at 12.42. The helicopter exploded at 13.20 local time on a snow-covered mountain. Police hurried to the scene of the incident. A number of policemen were sent to hotel Ala to protect the other 7 Iraqis from any eventuality. But to their surprise they found none of them at the hotel and neither have the Italian authorities been able to discover their whereabouts. This was just one of several military mission sent by Iraq to Italy for taining in "electronic warfare". Other missions were expected to arrive.

On the anniversary of our glorious national day, Newroz, the day of struggle, freedom and victory over injustice and tyranny, we extend warm congratulations to the Kurdish people and the Iraqi people wishing them a happy new year. We hope that during the coming new year national unity will be consolidated and the will of the people is realized in overthrowing the bloody fascist regime of present day "Dhahhak" (a historic tyrant), Saddam Husain, and establishing a patriotic coalition rule that will end the destructive war (with Iran) and bring about democracy in Iraq and the legitimate national rights for the Kurdish people.

We did stress in the statement issued by our party, KPDP, on the last anniversary of Newroz the necessity of closing their ranks by the national Kurdish forces. But, regrettably, this closing of ranks has not been achieved. On the contrary, the past year witnessed many clashes and the blood of innocent Peshmergas, who have given their lives for the sake of the liberation of their people, has been shed for no objective justification. Therefore, we cannot but repeat again our call on this great anniversary, especially since all parties concerned have signed the Tripoli Declaration that included an agreement on, among others, the immediate cessation of armed clashes and propaganda campaigns and the formation of a broad front of the Iraqi national forces. We wish to emphasize here that fighting or clashing in Kurdistan has a direct negative effect not only on the unity of ranks in Kurdistan but also on the unity of the Iraqi national movement. The establishment of normal fraternal relations among Kurdish forces is an essential pre-condition for the unity of the opposition Iraqi patriotic forces and for the victory of the hoped for broad national front.

Our party has struggled in the Kurdish arena and has offered, and still offers, considerable sacrifices for the sake of establishing normal fraternal relations between itself and other Kurdish parties and forces. We have refused, with firmness and determination, to be drawn to the pitfalls of reacting to certain negative features in relations between our party and any other friendly party. We have, on the contrary, strived to solve these negative features through fraternal dialogues with the aim of reforming and developing these relations because of the necessity of good relations in this respect.

Our party has, on the Iraqi level, joined last year the Patriotic National Democratic Front (PNDF) which comprises the largest number of the national and progressive forces. Our party sincerely and seriously struggles within the ranks of the PNDP, which has not let an opportunity pass without exploiting it to close the ranks of all national forces. All hopes have, since 6th February (the date of the Tripoli Declaration), been pinned on the establishment of a united national front on the basis of the Tripoli Declaration.

Our high concern for and repeated emphasis on the unity of ranks is due to our conviction that this unity is the secure path towards genuine and decisive victory over the fascist, agent regime and over imperialism and Zionism.

Moreover, huge responsibilities rest upon the shoulders of the Iraqi, both Arab and Kurdish, national opposition since the invasion of Lebanon by the Zionist forces last year and the subsequent massacre of the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples there. Our party believes that the best form of solidarity with the two fraternal Lebanese and Palestinian peoples and with the Arab liberation movement facing Zionist and US imperialist threats in its other bastions, especially Syria and the Libyan Jamahiriyah, is the sincere and decisive struggle to topple the fascist, agent regime and returning Iraq, with its large material and human potential, to the ranks of Arab liberation. This will change the balance of power in favour of the national liberation movement and to disadvantage of imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

Victory to the struggle for national unity.

Long-live solidarity between the Arab and Kurdish nations. And long-live people's struggle for peace, liberation, democracy and socialism.

On May 25, 1983, the Turkish army invaded the southern part of our home-land, Kurdistan-Iraq. According to reports reaching New Peshmerga the theatre of operations of the invading army extends from Zakho in the west to Amidi (Amadiyah) in the east. These troops have orders allowing them to operate to a depth of up to 200 kilometre inside Iraq. Although press estimates of the size of the invading army varies enormously, some sources maintain that it involves 40 000 men.

The invasion was carried out by the prior knowledge and consent of the Iraqi regime.

Turkey cannot have launched this operation without the approval and consent of both the U.S.A. and NATO, especially since NATO forces were almost concurrently conducting military manoeuvres in Agri immediately north of the theatre of this operation.

Our party, the Kurdistan Popular Democratic Party, sent on May 28 the following letter to the United Nations Secretary-General:

"On 25th May thousands of well-armed Turkish forces invaded our homeland Kurdistan-Iraq with the objective of suppressing the liberation movement of our people.

The invasion has brought about the destruction of the means of living of thousands of people, especially those who have refused to obey the forcible deportation imposed on our people by Saddam Hussein's fascist regime. It has also led to the shedding of much blood as the invading Turkish forces meet stiff resistance from our people.

This barbaric aggression by the Turkish military fascist regime, NATO member, against our oppressed people has come without any justification or provocation or threat to Iraq's sovereignty and is a clear violation of the United Nations Charter and a threat to peace in the region. It is, moreover, the initial phase of a much broader and bigger aggression planned by the Iraqi and Turkish regimes in accordance with a secret agreement in violation of the UN Charter.

The agent Saddam Hussein's regime's calling in of Turkish forces to crush an internal popular revolution that began in 1961 is a clear indication of its impotence and does not give this aggression any international legitimacy. Governments' first duty is to protect their peoples from foreign aggression and not to call in foreign forces to crush them. The gravity of the situation is not affected by the attempts of the Turkish regime to play-down the size of the aggression and its consequences.

We most strongly condemn and protest against this barbaric invasion and call upon Your Excellency, the permanent members of the Security Council and all those who are concerned about peace in the region and the world over to take the necessary steps to bring about the withdrawal of the aggressive Turkish forces, the condemnation of the invaders and the punishment of the aggressors.

With our high esteem and best wishes."

Copies of the letter were sent to the Permanent Members of the Security Council, the Governments of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America, France, the United Kingdom and the People's Republic of China, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India and Chairman of the Non-Aligned Countries, Brother Moammar Kaddafi, President Hafidh Asad, Comrade Ali Nasir Muhammad, Mri Chadli Kleibi, General Secretary of the Arab League, Mr. Olof Palme, Dr. Fidel Castro, Helmut Kohl and the Government of Turkey.

Kurdish parties have condemned this aggression and demanded the immediate withdrawal of the invading army from our homeland.

The following Kurdish parties, for example, have issued a joint statement condemning the invasion. The statement says, among other things, that, "Turkey has become a centre for the U.S. Rapid Deployment Forces; NATO military bases have been enlarged and new bases been built. NATO forces conduct manoeuvres in Kurdistan-Turkey near the Soviet borders under the code-name Express 83.

Thus, the war of annihilation carried out by the Turkish military junta against the Kurdish people take place concurrently with the manoeuvres of

the Rapid Deployment Forces and NATO troops in Turkey which began only a few hours after the arrival of the U.S. Armed Forces Commander in Ankara on May 25."

The statement expressed confidence that the Kurdish people will continue to struggle and will not bend to aggression. It also emphasized that the Kurdish people and their national and patriotic forces in Kurdistan Iraq are not alone; it called upon them to work together in order to foil the enemy's objectives and plans."

The statement was signed by: the Leftist Kurdish Party-Syria, the Party of the Kurdish Popular Union-Syria, Kurdish Democratic Party-Syria, the Kurdish Progressive Popular Party-Syria, Rezgari, Ala Rezgari, Movement for the Liberation of Kurdistan (KUK), Tikoshin (Struggle), the Progressive Party of Kurdistan Workers (P.P.K.K.), the Kurdistan Socialist Party-Turkey.

INTERVIEW WITH THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE KURDISTAN SOCIALIST PARTY - TURKEY, KAMAL BARKAI

Peshang, the Kurdish language organ of the KPDP, has interviewed Kamal Barkai, the General Secretary of the Kurdistan Socialist Party-Turkey. New Peshmerga publishes here excerpts from this interview. The interview was conducted before the invasion of Kurdistan-Iraq by the Turkish army.

"Q- How do you view the situation in Kurdistan-Turkey and Turkey as a whole, economically, politically and socially after the military coup?

A- As you know, the economic situation in Turkey has been deteriorating for several years. Foreign debts, especially from the imperialist states, is about \$30 billion. Turkey is poor in oil resources and therefore foreign trade is centred on obtaining oil. The Turkish economy is sustained by its immigrant labour working in Western Europe. But this source is not sufficient. Therefore, there is marked exploitation of workers and farmers and peasants in Kurdistan.

There has not been any broad democratic system in Turkey at any time. The police and gendarme have always done great injustice to the Turkish patriots and the Kurdish people. The workers' movement and the movement of progressive democrats began in 1960 and became stronger in 1970. But the reactionary forces were alarmed by this development and therefore the military clique took power once again. The military regime could not, however, smash the national and leftist forces. Turkey entered an era of semi-democracy in 1974. This enabled the Kurdish and Turkish national and democratic forces to raise their heads.

The history of organizing political parties and forces in Kurdistan-Turkey is not a long one. The Kurdistan Democratic Party was founded in 1965-1966. However, and after 1970, consciousness spread and swept all over Kurdistan and organizations became stronger among workers, students and peasants, as well as among Turkish workers, teachers and other democratic forces. This strength has upset the reactionary forces, especially big capitalism, and imperialism. After the victory of the Iranian peoples and the coming to power of a revolutionary regime in Afghanistan, imperialism became very alarmed. Therefore, it wanted to give Turkey a semblance of a "stable" regime and at the same time destroy the movement of patriotic Kurds and Turks and open the door for its troops and weapons.

As you also know, the Turkish army took power and a fascist regime was established. The national and democratic forces were unable to prevent the army from taking over. Neither were they able to mobilize the people to rise up because of the lack of a united front among them. The fascist regime has imprisoned tens of thousands of people and the gendarme killed thousands others. The printing houses where the newspapers, bulletins and books of the revolutionary forces were printed were closed. Great injustice was done our people and homeland. There is not a single village that has not been subjected to the oppression of the Turkish army. Although the Kurdish and Turkish peoples have been subjected to the injustice and tyranny of the fascist regime, we believe that it cannot continue with this because there is a deep struggle going on between itself and the people.

The Kurdish and Turkish peoples are becoming more and more aware and political parties and revolutionary forces continue their struggle, though

obviously not as before. But our party believes that the fascist regime cannot continue remaining in power long. Therefore, it tries to reduce excesses somewhat in order to prolong its life in power and prevent the Turkish and Kurdish peoples working in the ranks of their political parties from raising their heads. But this aim cannot be achieved. We can observe that it cannot crush the movements of the Kurdish and Turkish peoples. Kurdistan and Turkey will witness an all-out revolution in coming few years that will destroy the fascist regime and liberate the Kurdish people.

Q- We would like you to tell us about the history of the formation of your party, its present thinking and its views on the solution of the Kurdish question?

A- Our party was founded in 1975 after the failure of the revolution in Kurdistan-Iraq. As a matter of fact, all the national forces in Kurdistan-Turkey had pinned great hopes on the revolution in Kurdistan-Iraq. It was hoped that one part of Kurdistan would be liberated. But unfortunately the revolution failed and did so for fundamental reasons. The revolution's leadership committed grave mistakes, particularly in latter years. It tied the revolution to imperialism in the hope that U.S. imperialism would support the Kurdish people in founding a state in Kurdistan.

Our party was found at a time when our people was without hope and demoralized. There were many people who thought that it was next to impossible for the Kurdish people to rise up again.

One has to, first and foremost, believe in one's people, particularly the workers and peasants. In order to be, in our opinion, able to seriously lead a revolution we must build a revolutionary party of workers and poor peasants; a party that has a socialist path. Therefore, we believe that Kurdistan-Turkey needs a revolutionary party, a party of workers and peasants. Our party has played an important role in increasing the consciousness of the Kurdish people and in acquainting progressive Turkish forces with the Kurdish question. Our publications were in both Kurdish and Turkish; we were active in the democratic organisations; we spread socialist ideas among the people in order to make workers and peasants aware of them; we called for a front against the fascist regime and imperialism. But, unfortunately, the time was short.

Our party perceives the Kurdish revolution as a national, patriotic revolution, because we must first liberate our homeland, we must raise the level of consciousness of workers and peasants and liberate them from the bonds of reaction so that they join the ranks of the revolutionary parties that defend their rights and strive to liberate them.

Q- Does your party believe in the Kurdish people's right to self-determination?

A- If a revolution takes place in Kurdistan and Turkey -and we believe it will- then it means that imperialism will be expelled from the country, the economy of Kurdistan be built, agriculture and industry be developed, oil, iron ore and phosphate be exploited for the purpose of development and Kurdish become an official language. Thereafter, and if our party with other socialist parties will be able to lead the revolution, we will continue the revolution towards socialism. If it will be possible to establish a democratic, revolutionary rule in Kurdistan and Turkey, we can establish a federation in cooperation with the Turkish people, i.e., we can found a Kurdish republic and a Turkish republic co-existing side by side, as in the case of the Soviet Union.

But if a big revolution takes place in Kurdistan in which our party participates and if there is in power a chauvinistic regime in Turkey, then the Kurdish people will continue the revolution and establish an independent state. This means that in both of the afore-mentioned possible outcomes the Kurdish people must be liberated, must not be subjected to national injustice, the resources of Kurdistan must not be plundered and the Kurdish people must rule over its own affairs.

Q- What are your views on the other parts of Kurdistan?

A- We do not interfere in the affairs of political parties from other parts of Kurdistan. Meanwhile, we support the progressive parties and cooperate with them. However, the Kurdish parties in Kurdistan-Iraq demand autonomy.

We respect their opinion and back them to gain their rights; we do the same concerning Kurdistan-Iran. We do not question their demand of autonomy. We all must back each other according to our own circumstances and thus support the Kurdish people anywhere they may be. We do not say that our activities are confined to Kurdistan-Turkey or that we have no ties with the other parts of Kurdistan. We demand the right of self-determination. This is part of our party's programme. This means that we believe in our Kurdish people's right to self-determination. All that our people demands is its rights. Our party strives to liberate Kurdistan."

THE ENTIRE AL-HAKIM FAMILY ARRESTED AND MANY OF THEM EXECUTED

The entire Al-Hakim family and relatives, about 80 people aged from 14 to 75 including ailing women and men, have been detained by the Iraqi security and intelligence apparatus because they relate to the religious opposition leader Muhammad Baqir Al-Hakim. A number of these detainees have already been executed. The Iraqi Islamic Council has strongly condemned these arrests and demanded their immediate freeing.

Glory to the martyrs of Kurdistan, of the Iraqi national movement and of all Arab and international liberation movements.

Political Bureau

The Kurdistan Popular Democratic Party

21st March 1983.

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If you have found this publication to be of value in contributing to a better understanding of the cause of the Kurdish nation, your contribution towards the costs of its publication and distribution would be highly appreciated. Contributions may be made payable to:

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THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE CONVENING OF
THE FOUNDING CONGRESS OF KPDP

The founding congress of the Kurdistan Popular Democratic Party was held between 26th and 30th July 1981. Since then the party has made several achievements on the organisational, ideological and political levels. It has also made good progress in the publicity and publication fields. Its contacts, ties and relations with other political parties and organisations from all parts of Kurdistan have witnessed both quantitative and qualitative improvements. Its ties with progressive forces in Iraq, the Middle East and other parts of the world have been broadened and consolidated. Our party has played a marked role in efforts aiming at the establishment of national fronts in Kurdistan-Iraq, Iraq and Kurdistan at large. It has avoided being drawn to the futile and fatal inter-Kurdish fighting at great costs to itself and enormous sacrifices on its part; but, at the same time, this policy has won our party respect among the people and the genuine friends and allies of our people. However, the party has not achieved all its set aims due to factors outside its own control or, otherwise, due to certain weaknesses within the party itself or in the Kurdish liberation movement. One of these as yet not achieved aims is the "unhindered" operating by its guerrilla forces inside Kurdistan-Iraq. Our party will do all it possibly can to achieve this aim without being dragged to any inter-Kurdish fighting with any force hostile to the Iraqi dictatorship. The other as yet not achieved aim is the establishment of the national fronts in Kurdistan-Iraq, Iraq and Kurdistan at large. The third not yet achieved aim is to have some friends of our people transform their support to political solidarity and material help. Ideological cohesion and unity must be achieved on all party levels as well as adherence in practice and every-day to the theories the founding congress has set. Nevertheless, our party will exert more efforts to attain these and other aims, studying its experience and drawing lessons from it, reinforcing the positive results accomplished and taking necessary measures to correct, rectify or eradicate the negative ones as the situation may require.

We take this opportunity to extend warm greetings and heart-felt congratulations to our Kurdish people and nation, to all our party's members and supporters and to thank our nation's friends who have stood by our people's and our party's side and extended a helping hand without asking for something in return and without abandoning us in our hour of need. We thank the Kurdish people and nation everywhere and give our respects to the fallen comrades.

