

# NEW PESHMERGA

A MAGAZINE OF KURDISH AFFAIRS AND STUDIES

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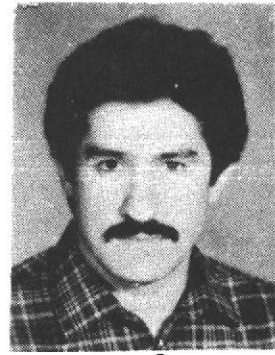
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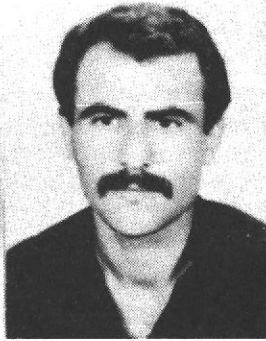
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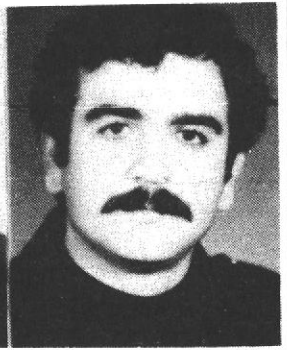
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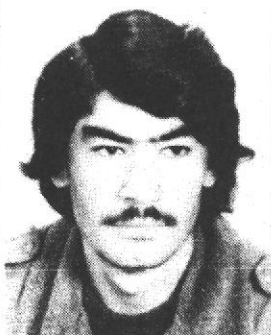
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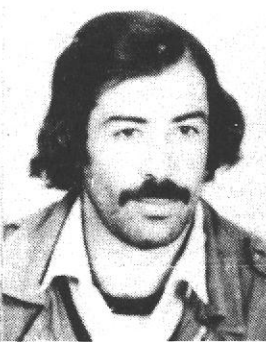
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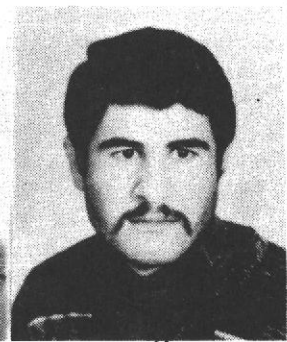
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CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER AND LEADING CADRES OF OUR  
PARTY EXECUTED BY THE IRAQI DICTATORIAL REGIME AT THE END OF  
MARCH 1985

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RIGHTS: A CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER  
AND 12 CADRES OF OUR PARTY, AS WELL  
AS HUNDREDS OF OTHER KURDS, WERE  
EXECUTED AT THE END OF MARCH

The Iraqi dictatorial regime of Saddam Husain Tikriti, the tyrant, committed yet another violation of human rights by executing the Central Committee member, Ezzat Abdul Aziz, and 12 cadres of our party on 31 March. Their bodies were returned to their families at the beginning of April. The victims had not been tried according to internationally accepted codes of justice and procedures for fair trials and were not permitted to defend themselves or have access to defence lawyers. They were "tried" by a so-called "Special Court". Moreover, they were not allowed to receive relatives or family members before being hanged; and this is contrary to all normal practices all over the world. A few days later the families of the victims were "notified" of the hanging, told to collect the bodies of their dear ones and ordered not to hold mourning ceremonies or burial rites.

The executed had been captured by Iraqi troops on 31 May 1984 near the river Tigris in Zakho District while on a political mission. They were subjected to various forms and methods of physical and psychological torture, for which the Iraqi regime is quite notorious and which has been documented by, among others, Amnesty International.

News filtering from Iraq confirm that over 100 (or 570 according to some sources) Kurds were executed during the March-April wave of executions in Iraq; they were sympathizers of Kurdish opposition parties or people refusing to take part in Tikriti's war against Iran.

The Kurdish people in Iraq and elsewhere deeply deplored and condemned this crime and expressed their sympathies with the victims' families and our party. Despite the ban on holding burial rites, rows and rows of people did follow the coffin of Ezzat Abdul Aziz on its way to his birth-place Amadiya and large crowds gathered during his burial.

Most of the executed played very

prominent roles in our party, both before and after its formation. They took part in the hard struggle of the party and were not discouraged by difficulties or dangers. They offered their lives for the sake of our people's just and legitimate national cause.

The party members executed were:

1- EZZAT ABDUL AZIZ: Born in Amadiya in 1950. Left behind a wife and a 2 years old son. He was named after an uncle of the same name, a patriotic army officer executed by the Iraqi regime in 1948 for taking part in a Kurdish revolt. He was a Central Committee member. He was humane, humble, courageous and always ready to help. He was liked and loved by all who knew him and was known for his selflessness and a spirit of sacrifice and perseverance. Ezzat joined the Kurdish national liberation movement (KNLM) while still a youth. He left Europe for Kurdistan in 1976 to take part in the liberation movement. He became a refugee once again in 1980 but returned to Kurdistan three years later when he was captured by the enemy. He has been physically liquidated but his spirit will continue to inspire all Kurdish patriots for generations to come.

2- YOUNIS MUSTAFA SHEIKHANI: Born in Sheikhan in 1956. He joined KNLM in his youth and was therefore banished, imprisoned and tortured by the former Shah's SAVAK so severely that he developed irreparable spinal damages. He was jailed several times for his political views and/or activities. Younis was a fighter, an orator, a writer and a poet and wrote poems for Kurdistan and Palestine. He was, until his capture, in charge of the First Branch of our party in the Provinces of Dahok and Nineva (Mosul).

3- SHAMS AL-DIN MUHAMMAD HAJI: Born in Dahok in 1952; left behind a wife and a child. He was a worker and then became an outstanding and courageous guerrilla leader. Haji was imprisoned by the Turkish regime twice for his political activities and managed to escape during a transfer from one prison to another.

4- JAMAL MUHAMMAD SHINO: Born in Dahok in 1955; left behind a wife and 4 children. He was a guerrilla fighter for a long time. He was

imprisoned by the former Shah's regime for his national agitation and was a good party and guerrilla cadre.

5- MISKIN BARO ALI: Born in Sheikhan in 1957; left behind a wife and 2 children. He was a teacher and then became a political cadre. He was imprisoned and tortured by the Iraqi regime to get a "confession" from him but resisted despite severe torture and was released after a year. Miskin joined KNLM in the seventies.

6- ANWAR MUHAMMAD SALIH: Born in Bamerni in 1964. He was a student and because the political cell he was a member of was uncovered he had to join KNLM at the age of 15. He was arrested by the Turkish regime but was released because he was a minor.

7- OMAR TAHA OMAR: Born in Sarsang in 1961.

8- AHMAD TAHA UBAID: Born in Dahok in 1959.

9- SHAKIR ALI ISMAIL: Born in Dahok in 1957.

10-YASIN MUHAMMAD YASIN: Born in Dahok in 1956.

11-YASIN IBRAHIM AHMAD: Born in Sarsang in 1963.

12-AHMAD TAHIR ARTOOSHI: Born in Dahok in 1953. Left behind a wife and 2 children.

13-JAMAL BAKUZI: Born in Dahok in 1957.

These fallen comrades represented the determination and resolution of our people and party, their readiness to sacrifice everything for the sake of their cause, and the strength and forward-looking spirit of the party. While mourning these fallen heroes, our party pledges itself to increase its resoluteness and determination, intensify its struggle alongside other parties, particularly the members of the Patriotic Democratic Front against the Iraqi dictatorship until it is overthrown and replaced by a democratic government, and work harder to realize the legitimate national rights of our Kurdish people.

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\*  
\* CONDEMN \*  
\* ALL POLITICAL \*  
\* EXECUTIONS \*  
\* IN IRAQ \*  
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## PROTEST ACTION AGAINST THE EXECUTIONS

### 1- Demonstration in Stockholm:

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Over 500 Kurds, Iraqis, Swedes and others took part in a protest demonstration on 28 April against the execution of our 13 comrades and against the Iraqi dictatorship. The demonstration marched from the centre of Stockholm to the Iraqi embassy, shouting slogans of condemnation of the perpetrators of this crime and of solidarity with the Kurdish people. The demonstration adopted a protest resolution sent to Saddam Husain Tikriti, President of Iraq, the United Nations Secretary-General, the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister of Sweden.

### 2- Picket in London:

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Scores of Kurds and others organized a picket in front of the Iraqi embassy on 24 April, the 11th anniversary of the bombing of the town of Qala Diza by the Iraqi Air Force, in protest against the executions.

### 3- Demonstration in Vienna:

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Over 200 people demonstrated in Vienna on 21 May against the execution of Kurds in Iraq.

### 4- Protest meeting in Amsterdam:

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A protest meeting was held in Amsterdam on 18 May organized by the Patriotic Democratic Front (PDF) attended by representatives of many parties against the execution of Kurds by the Iraqi regime.

### 5- Letters of protest:

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Many parties and members of parliament, from, among others, Holland, Sweden, England, have sent letters of protest to the Iraqi regime or to their governments to enquire about these human rights violations by the Iraqi dictatorship.

### 6- Amnesty International:

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AI sent out an "URGENT ACTION" on 19 April concerning "extrajudicial execution" in Iraq asking people to protest these executions.

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## A SWEDISH JOURNALIST'S OBSERVATIONS ON SOME ASPECTS OF LIFE IN IRAQ

Staffan Heimarsson, a Swedish journalist, has visited Iraq and reported to the Swedish daily evening paper, AFTON BLADET, on some aspects of life in Iraq. Because these observations are important and cast light on some reality of life in Iraq that the authorities there have made great efforts to hide from the outside world, NEW PESH-MERGA publishes excerpts from his articles, stated below chronologically as published in the paper.

19 April 1985

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Baghdad, Iraq. When we write home to our relatives in Sweden, related a female Swede living in Baghdad, we say: it is not the war we are afraid of. It is SäPO (the Swedish Security Police). The Swedish SäPO.

This fear has started since the Iraqi agent, who had sought political asylum (in Sweden), Majid Husain was found murdered in the outskirts of Stockholm.

The Swedes living in Baghdad are afraid that tracing the murder will lead to one or many Arab embassies in Stockholm.

-If this will be the case, said a Swedish industrialist here, then I hope the leadership of the police will have the sense to keep silent. Otherwisw ....

What the Swedes are afraid of is that in case some proceedings should be taken against an Iraqi (in Sweden), probably an arrest, this will have immediate consequences here.

### AN INDUSTRIALIST PUT IN PRISON

-The answer will be that a Swede will be taken as a hostage by the Iraqi authorities. This has happened, as many Swedes point out to Afton Bladet, when the Swedish SäPO arrested an Iraqi physician who spied on Iraqi political refugees in Sweden. A leading Swedish industrialist in Baghdad, OLOF EKBERG, of Skanska (a Swedish firm) was put in prison on the basis of a completely trumped up charge, namely that a number of cargo manifests were irregular. EKBERG was not set free until after many weeks (NEW PESH-MERGA: actually after 85 days according to Ekberg himself.

A veteran among the Swedes living in Baghdad, ANDERS TUPFFER, of the telephone firm Eriksson concern, who has been here for about four years, confirms this anxiety and speaks of the risk of "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth" measures (by the Iraqi authorities).

20 April

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For five years the four million residents of Baghdad have lived in the thought that the war with Iran and their country rages on. But it did not concern the capital. Reports to the (outside) world read unambiguously and truthfully: everything is normal.

Baghdad builds and blooms. New hotels, the most magnificent in the world. New bridges over the Tigris. New express ways through the centre of the city. Many government buildings in marble. Many Toyota cars on the streets. The war was not noticed.

But then the sound of explosions was heard in the middle of the city. A bank was blown up. The missiles hit (the city) eight times between magnificent high buildings.

### BAGHDAD LOSES ITS BREATH

It was a punch on the solar plexus. Baghdad lost its breath. The inhabitants lost their self-confidence. The regime was struck with paranoia.

Did the rockets really come from Iran itself? Or had they been fired from trucks inside Iraq? Were not a number of these explosions actually car-bombs? Do the Shia Muslim suicide squads operate in our midst?

Baghdad became immediately marked by the war. The airport here is so magnificent that Arlanda (Stockholm's airport) is, in comparison, Krylbo (a small village) railway station. But wide adhesive tape run over all windowpanes in the terminal building in order to prevent splinter glass from flying in all directions when the explosions come. Green sign-posts point to the nearest shelter. Not even taxi cabs are allowed to drive to the vicinity of the terminal. They must be parked 400 metres away from the building. All forms of hand bags are forbidden in the country's airline (offices). You are not even allowed to carry a bag with a book in

A TERRORIST AIR ATTACK BY IRAQI  
FORCES ON A KURDISH REFUGEE CAMP

it.

Security men at the ministries open the engine hood even of government vehicles looking for bombs. Concrete defences block all access driveways. Cars may not drive close to hotels. If they explode, they will not anyway do so near buildings.

CONTROL IS EASILY ENFORCED IN A COUNTRY WHERE THREE MILLION OF THE 14 MILLION POPULATION ARE TIED IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER TO THE SECURITY APPARATUS. WHEN ONE WANTS TO ILLUSTRATE THE EXTENT OF A POLICE STATE, ONE USES TO POINT OUT THAT IT IS FORBIDDEN FOR CITIZENS IN IRAQ TO HAVE A TYPE-WRITER. A TYPE-WRITER IS SUSPECT AND SUBVERSIVE.

I HAVE ALWAYS THOUGHT THAT THE STORY (OF THE FORBIDDEN TYPE-WRITER) WAS INVENTED. But when I arrived here and had with me "the new technique", which Afton Bladet's directors are so proud of - a portable word-processor and the ... called (modem) which transmits my letters to the computer at Vattugatan (in Stockholm) when I put the telephone receiver on it (if God permits and the weather allows) I found otherwise.

This modem with two membranes, a circuit-breaker, 8 small batteries and a flex became a worry for the intelligence men (at Baghdad Airport). My explanation that it transmits sound to a computer did not make things easier. CONFISCATION.

AFTER A FEW DAY'S WRESTLING MATCH WITH THE BUREAUCRACY I GOT MY MODEM LOOSE. I TRAVELED BACK TO THE AIRPORT AND WAS TAKEN TO A WAREHOUSE FOR CONFISCATED PROPERTY. AND WHAT DID I SEE? YES, PILES OF TYPE-WRITERS, SHELVES UPON SHELVES WITH BROTHER, OLYMPUS, ERICA, SILVER REED AND REMINGTON.

IT WAS AFTERALL TRUE WHAT WAS SAID ABOUT THE ILLEGALITY OF HAVING A TYP-WRITER, AND AFTERALL NOT ONLY FOR (IRAQI) CITIZENS BUT ALSO FOR VISITORS. A VOLVO MAN WAS ABLE AFTER A WHILE TO GET HIS MACHINE LOOSE. BUT THE SECURITY MEN HAD FILED IN THE LETTRS AND IN THIS WAY THEY WOULD BE ABLE IN THE FUTURE TO TRACE BACK ANY POSSIBLE WRITTEN PRODUCTION HOSTILE TO THE REGIME.

TO THE ATMOSPHERE OF SURVEILLANCE AND SPYING, EXPLOSIONS HAVE NOW BEEN ADDED IN EARNEST. IT IS GRANTED THAT RESIDENTS OF BAGHDAD BEGIN TO HAVE A DEEP SIGH.

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At 9.45 hours on 9 June 1985, eight Iraqi war planes strafed and bombed the refugee camp of ZEWA in Kurdistan Iran, where thousands of Iraqi Kurds are housed. This savage and brutal attack left at least 148 people dead and 200 others wounded, mostly children and women. Among the dead were 20 Kurds from Kurdistan Iran. Moreover, the only school and mosque in the camp were completely destroyed and scores of houses and small shops were demolished. Many families were totally annihilated and only one child of 7 families remained alive.

This was an unprovoked direct and purposeful terror attack on Iraqi Kurdish refugees by the Iraqi armed forces. The Kurdish areas on both sides of the Iraq-Iran borders have suffered great damages and a large number of civilian casualties during the five-year old war launched by the Iraqi regime of Saddam Husain Tikriti.

Our Kurdish people in all parts of our divided homeland have shown time after time that, at times of peril and tragedies, they are above differences and do help each others. Our Kurdish people in Kurdistan Iran gave their help to their brethren the refugees by various means. The oppressor regimes do not differentiate between Kurds from one parts of Kurdistan or another; they distribute their oppression and terror equally if they can reach them.

Moreover, the Iraqi terrorist regime refused to give guarantees not to bomb the camp during a United Nations delegation visit to the refugee camp in order to assess the casualties and damage inflicted by the air raid. Thus, the regime exposed once again its blatant disregard of international law and humanitarian considerations.

We strongly condemn this terrorist crime perpetrated by the Iraqi regime against Kurdish refugees and feel confidence that it will not weaken our people's resolve to continue the struggle until this regime is overthrown and replaced by a democratic one that, among others, guarantee and respect our Kurdish people's legitimate national rights.

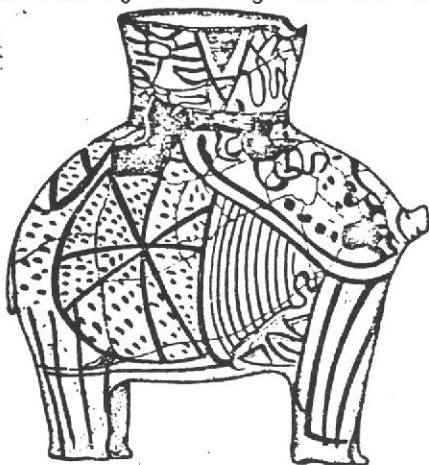
## THE ORIGINS OF KURDISH CIVILIZATION

(Cont. of the "First Masters")

By J. Kurdo

Chatal-Huuk is situated 32 miles (51 km) south-east of Konya. The earliest examples of the human figurines date back to the 7th mill. B.C. Stone, marble, calcite and alabaster were used. The figurines are varied, so they should be considered separately. In the 7th layer three stone figurines were found - two male and one female. The three of are seated. The one male piece wears a beard, the hands are on the head of a bull, the eyes are oval and the nose is in relief. The Huuk examples were predominantly contained in the 7th and 6th layers and in different sanctuaries. A stone female figurine belongs to the 6th layer is dressed in a long gown with the hands on the stomach. The eyes, the lips and the nose are precisely represented. Two marble female figurines of the same layer show a very fine sense for plasticity; they sit hand in hand, so that their bodies become one.

Another stone ensemble consists of two women, a child and two leopards. The two females seated behind the animals, while the child rides one of the leopards. The boy is inclined forward with his hands on the head of the animal. One of the females is a ripe woman and the other a girl dressed in a leather gown like that of the leopard. The last stone figurines, found in Huuk and which we shall consider here, are of a male and a female. The male is seated on a bench, with the hands on his knees. The female has very broad thighs and the hands are clasped on the stomach. The first clay figurines appear in the 6th layer. One of them is a representation of a woman having an exaggerated stomach (pregnant?) and seated. The hands, legs and breasts are covered by the sign of the cross.



The 30 figurines found in Yarim-tepe I belong to eneolithic sculpture as well. Some of them stand and seem more schematic than those from Hadjilar. The hands appear as semicircles and the legs are not shown at all. The pieces have no sex, the eyes are applied. They are made of clay and their height varies between 3,5 and 10 cm. The proportions, the closed legs and the conical hairdress of one example mark a similarity to the figurines of Charmo. The eneolithic plastic has subperiods in its development, the examples found in Choga-Mami near the town of Meneli or Mendili (Kurdistan Iraq) date back to the beginning of the Eneolithe. All the Choga-Mami's pieces show an intention to ornamentation. The heads are made of green or green-grey clay. Analyses show three main types of female figurines: a) with applied eyes and lips, pinched ears and nose and high hairdress, b) it differs from a only in the height of the hairdress, and c) with the ears and nose applied. The hands are usually clasped and the shoulders stay in ratio to the waist as 3 to 1. The necklace is either applied or drawn. The body is covered by circlets and/or strokes. The figurines from Choga-Mami resemble those from Yarim-tepe I. The only difference is that the first type express an intention to ornamentation, while the second are more schematical. Both types characterize one and the same epoch, from the middle of the 6th mill. B.C. to its end when a new culture appeared and th plastic art changed. The boundries of the new culture were Karchemish, Rewanduz and Diarbakir. The brightest examples of the anthropomorphic art belong to Arapatchia, Tepe Gawra and Yarim-tepe II. The Arapatchia's examples show domination of schematic elements. Half of the found objects have no sex or limbs. The majority are made of clay, baked and red coloured. The examples from Yarim-tepe II look more real.

In conclusion, human ideas concerning supernatural powers during the Eneolithe became more abstrct and differentiatd than those from the Neolithe. This was a consequence of changes in the economic and social life.

The upper layers contain a great number of clay figurines. A female seated figurine which belongs to the 4th layer, i.e., the 6th milli B.C., wears a flat cap. The dress is alluded -the spots on the breasts and the stomach suggest a leopard leather -the same as that of the stone figurine. Some pieces are made of alabaster and marble. In the 3rd layer two female figurines, one of stone and the other of marble, were found both in usual hand pose. Together with them the archeologists found a clay female statuette with two leopard babies on her knees. Their tails hang over her shoulders. Among the pieces of the 2nd layer the majority are made of clay. It is in this layer where a representation of a woman in child-birth is found. It is a splendid woman with her hands on the heads of two leopards. Between the wide opened legs one can see the head of the child. The examples of Chatal-Huuk give the possibility to trace the changes in the development of the oldest sculpture -the gradual decrease of the relative portion of the male figurine in comparison with those of the early Neolithic when they comprised 30% of the whole number; the change of the material used, the replacement of stone by clay. It is important to mention here that the figurines from Chatal-Huuk are not schematized. This statement gets clearer if one makes a comparison with the figurines from Chukurkent, another village, situated in the fruit plains around Konya.

Another interesting complex with rather unique finds is the settlement of Hadjilar near Chatal-Huuk. Its layers date back to the 8th-6th mill. B.C. It is the 6th mill. layer where the anthropomorphic figurines belong. They show two main types, naturalistic and schematized. The first have a good expressed sex as well as limbs, dress and face. They prevail in number. The second are mainly females in different poses. Some have as an attribute leopard or human babies. The hands are clasped beyond the breast. The mouth is missing (absent). The seat and stomach are treated differently. Both the first and second type were usually made of brown and grey clay. Their particular characteristics should be mentioned, namely, that the

different parts were made separately and afterwards attached to each other by the means of wooden sticks. The details and the eyes were drawn or engraved. The naturalistic figurines can not be considered as portraits of different persons, but as defined types of people. The first masters seem to have felt obliged to reflect the productive function of the woman, but sometimes one can see features of real women. The proportions of almost all figurines are extremely well sustained. One can trace the ratios among the different body parts since ratios are kept precisely. The figurines from Hadjilar represent ripe women and girls. The latter have a tress on their head and no exaggerated body parts. The women have different hairdresses, long gowns and emphasized seat and stomach. There are no male statuettes found in Hadjilar. The figurines from this village are very interesting because some of them are in motherhood.

The early settlement of Charmo gives the possibility to study not only the Neolithic ceramics but the early sculpture as well. 5000 fragments belonging to different examples represent the artistic activity in this village. 1100 of them belong to zoomorphic figurines. Among the anthropomorphic ones there are females, pregnant or not, males in different poses. The females are more naturalistically treated than the males. The eyes are oval and applied but when engraved the form is oval and almond like. The nose is always shown while the mouth is not. The hands are either clasped or near the hips. The feet of the seated figurines are always outstretched. This characteristic is typical for other human sculpture centres in Kurdistan, e.g., Tepe Guran and Tepe Sarab near Kermashan (Kurdistan Iran). The clay female figurines have the specificity of representing neither the face nor the hands. The neck is usually long and the breasts are situated in its base.

Eneolithic examples appear again in Hadjilar but not so numerous as the neolithic. Five layers contain 27 pieces and almost all of them continue the traditions of the former epoch. The latest examples show different treatment, they get more schematic. (To be continued)



## BOOK REVIEW

The Sons of Saladin.  
The Kurds - The Defrauded People  
By Gunther Deschner  
Munich, Droemer Knaur, 1985, 351  
pages.

Review by Mrs. Marion Miran  
"WE WILL WIN, AND EVEN IF TOOK 100  
YEARS."

Gunther Deschner concludes his book with this quotation of the Kurdish politician, Sami Rahman, and with it he joins the row of German experts on the problem of the Kurds. He is a journalist and Head of a department at "Die Welt".

The author has made great many journeys to the remote areas and villages of Kurdistan and to the hiding places of the Pesh-Mergas. This is reflected in his description of the Kurds' fight for self-determination.

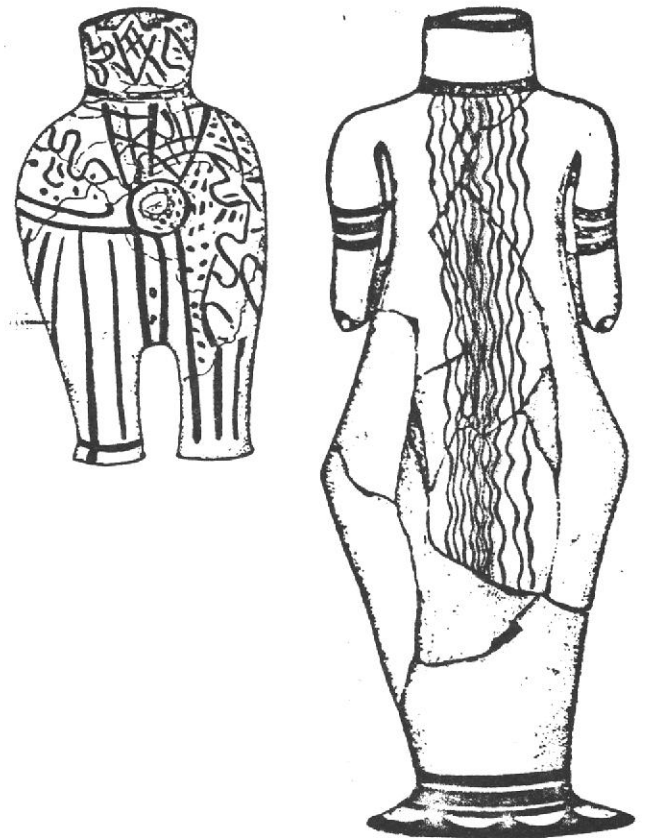
Beside a short excursion into Kurdish history in the second chapter and an analysis, in two chapters, of the situation of the Kurdish people in Turkey, Deschner concentrates his attention on the most important historical events and figures in Kurdistan. He writes about the Republic of Mahabad and reviews the period since then and the path the Kurds had gone through under Mustafa Barzani, the revolution of 1961 and the eventual defeat of 1975. These two events are prominent in Kurdish history during this century and are discussed in detail by the author.

His main sources of information are the press and other written material; besides, he used as sources interviews with leaders of the Kurdish movement. For example, Sami Rahman is quoted several times when he was Secretary-General of the KDP under the Barzanis. He also quotes Ghassemilou as well as Barzani himself.

Deschner sets the military confrontations against the policies of Iraq and Iran and in this way references are made to the action and reaction of the Kurdish fighters to decisions made in Baghdad and Tehran. By the way he presents the subject, mostly from the Kurdish viewpoint, and the views of the Kurdish politicians he had interviewed, Deschner creates sympathy for the Kurds and their situation among his

readers, sympathy for a betrayed people that wants from national oppression. Moreover, he refers to the crucial factor in the discussion of national rights and freedoms in the Middle East, namely, petroleum. The author reports about various political backgrounds but fails to commit himself or declare his. He remains all through the book a publicist and a reporter.

In conclusion, this is a book, the like of which are rare in German, which is worth reading by German speakers as well as by interested Kurds. It will be for the Germans a mirror of the eventful Kurdish history and of Kurdish demands. For the Kurds, the author is, as the book shows, sympathetic towards the Kurdish people and their fight for independence; he tries to acquaint another society with this struggle. However, he does that systematically only up to 1979 (although the book was published in 1983). There are references to more recent events, but they are mentioned only for the purpose of explaining earlier events. New tendencies in the Kurdish national liberation movement since 1980 are largely left unnoticed. One can only hope that someone (not necessarily from Europe) will take upon him/herself this task.



# TORTURE IN IRAQ

## TORTURE IN IRAQ      TORTURE IN IRAQ

By Amnesty International  
15 April 1985

### BACKGROUND INFORMATION

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In its report IRAQ: EVIDENCE OF TORTURE, published in April 1981, Amnesty International (AI) stated that it had regularly received over several years allegations of the routine torture of political suspects in the custody of Iraq's security forces. In most cases the purpose of the torture was said to be to extract confessions for use as evidence in court or to force detainees to renounce their illegal political affiliations and join the ruling Ba'th Party. The interrogations methods of the security forces were described as brutal, often resulting in permanent physical or mental damage to the victims.

AI also stated that it had received numerous reports of people dying under torture: the bodies of political detainees have been returned to their families with evident signs of torture; badly mutilated bodies have also been dumped in the street outside the victims' homes; political detainees have "disappeared" while in prison and are reported to have died under torture. Some prisoners have been reported by the authorities to have been sentenced to death and executed for political offences -but unofficial sources say they died under torture before any alleged trial.

In 1979 and 1980, 15 Iraqis (one of whom agreed to be identified) who alleged they had been tortured while in the custody of Iraqi security forces between September 1976 and August 1979, were interviewed and medically examined by a panel of AI doctors. Details of their case histories are contained in the above-mentioned report. All but one had reportedly been held incommunicado during their detention for periods ranging from 21 to 270

days. AI CONCLUDED THAT THE FINDINGS OF THE MEDICAL EXAMINATIONS WERE CONSISTENT WITH ALLEGATIONS THAT TORTURE HAD TAKEN PLACE DURING THE PERIOD STATED, THAT THE CONSISTENCY BETWEEN THE TORTURE DESCRIBED BY THE 15 FORMER DETAINEES AND THE TORTURE ALLEGATIONS RECEIVED BY AI SINCE AUGUST 1979 INDICATED THAT TORTURE MIGHT BE CONTINUING ON A WIDE SCALE IN IRAQ; AND THAT POLITICAL DETAINEES WERE NOT PROTECTED BY ANY EFFECTIVE LEGAL SAFEGUARDS AGAINST TORTURE.

Among the recommendations to the Iraqi Government, AI urged that President Saddam Hussain issue and make widely and forcefully known a policy statement that the government condemns and will not permit torture in Iraq; that no person be arrested except on a warrant from the appropriate authorities; that the government take effective measures to ensure that prisoners are not held in incommunicado detention so as to avoid facilitating their ill-treatment; that it instructs all prosecution authorities not to submit in evidence before any court confessions or other statements obtained as a result of torture, and that it take effective measures to implement Articles 8, 9, 10 and 11 of the Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Being Subjected to Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.

The Iraqi Government responded to the report on 27 April 1981 and described it as "without foundation"...In 1982 AI called upon the Iraqi Government to receive an AI mission to discuss the report and aspects of legal and administrative practice. The government agreed to receive an AI delegation at the beginning of 1983...

On 6 May 1983 AI submitted a memorandum to the Iraqi Government, based on the mission's findings, which included detailed recommendations for measures to protect human rights. On 28 June 1983 the government responded to this memorandum stating, among other things, that the allegations of

TORTURE IN IRAQ    TORTURE IN IRAQ  
TORTURE IN IRAQ

torture were false... THE GOVERNMENT ALSO OFFERED TO INVESTIGATE ALLEGATIONS OF TORTURE MADE IN THE 1981 AI REPORT IRAQ: EVIDENCE OF TORTURE, IF THE VICTIMS, WHO HAD BEEN INTERVIEWED IN EXILE, WERE IDENTIFIED AND RETURNED TO IRAQ.

On 5 October AI replied to the government and on 19 October published its Report and Recommendations of an Amnesty International Mission to the Government of the Republic of Iraq 22-28 January 1983 including the government's response and Amnesty International comments... However AI disclosed the names of 22 other people said to have died under torture while in custody between 1976 and 1981 and called upon the government to investigate these cases. IN DECEMBER 1983 THE GOVERNMENT REPLIED TO AI ACCUSING IT OF PREJUDICE and stating that the names AI had submitted were fictitious.

Since the mission, AI has continued to receive allegations of the torture of detainees in the custody of the Iraqi security forces. Reports received by the organization indicated that torture most often occurred immediately after arrest and during interrogation in pre-trial detention while detainees were allegedly held incommunicado....

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL BELIEVES THAT ARREST AND DETENTION PROCEDURES FOR POLITICAL SUSPECTS AS LAID DOWN IN THE CODE OF CRIMINAL PROCEDURES ARE STILL NOT FOLLOWED, AND THAT THE LEGAL PROHIBITION ON TORTURE IN IRAQ'S CONSTITUTION CONTINUES TO BE DISREGARDED IN PRACTICE.

TYPES OF ALLEGATIONS RECEIVED BY AI

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The allegations of torture or ill-treatment which have been made to AI by former detainees over the past few years have included the following:

1-Beating on all parts of the body, particularly the head, genitals and spine, involving slapping, kicking or punching. Blows are reportedly administered with fists, feet, rubber

truncheons (some with a metal rod inside), rope, hose, wooden sticks or whips;

2-Falaqa: beating the soles of the feet while the victim is strapped to a table with the legs raised. Sometimes the victim is then said to be forced to walk or run around the room on hot, salty water;

3-Al-Mangana: clamp-like instrument which is placed over the toes and tightened;

4-EXTRACTING FINGER AND TOE NAILS.

5-Applying pressure to the eye through blindfolds;

6-Suspending the victim by handcuffed wrists from the wall, ceiling or a ladder for several hours;

7-Suspending the victim by the wrists or ankles from a rotating fan in the ceiling, and beating him/her as he/she rotates;

8-Forcing victims to stand on one leg and/or keep the arms raised for long periods, accompanied by beating if the position is not maintained;

9-APPLYING ELECTRICITY TO SENSITIVE PARTS OF THE BODY, INCLUDING THE NOSTRILS, EARS, TEMPLES, NIPPLES, KIDNEY REGION, FINGERS, TOES AND GENITALS.

This is said to be administered with a truncheon-like instrument with a cable attached to one end (known as the 'electric stick') or with electrodes;

10-FORCING THE VICTIM TO STEP IN A BATH FULL OF WATER THROUGH WHICH AN ELECTRIC CURRENT IS RUNNING;

11-BURNING PARTS OF THE BODY WITH CIGARETTES, HOT DOMESTIC IRONS, ELECTRIC HOT PLATES OR GAS FLAMES;

12-'ELECTRIC CHAIR' -A METAL PLAQUE FIXED TO THE WALL COMPRISING FIVE BARS WHICH LACERATE THE BACK OF THE VICTIM WHO IS TIED TO IT;

13-TYING THE VICTIM BY THE WRISTS AND ANKLES TO A CROSS BAR WHICH IS THEN TURNED OVER FLAMES (LIKE A ROASTING SPIT);

14-FIXING THE HEAD OF THE VICTIM IN A CABIN WITH INTENSE ULTRA-VIOLET RAYS, WHICH BURN THE EYES;

15-PLACING THE HALF-NAKED VICTIM IN A HEATED CLOSET FULL OF STEAM, THEN REDUCING THE TEMPERATURE DRASTICALLY;

- 16-Pouring cold water onto the victim while standing in the open air in near-freezing temperatures;
- 17-POURING WATER OVER THE NOSE AND MOUTH OF THE VICTIM, CAUSING NEAR SUFFOCATION;
- 18-THROWING THE VICTIM TO A DISTANCE OF 2-3 METRES FROM A TYPE OF EJECTOR-CHAIR;
- 19-'THE WHEEL' -A MACHINE TO WHICH THE VICTIM IS TIED AND THEN STRETCHED BY TURNING A HANDLE;
- 20-SEXUAL ABUSES OR ASSAULTS, INCLUDING FORCING THE VICTIM TO SIT ON BOTTLE NECKS OR INSERTING A BOTTLE OR WIRE INTO THE RECTUM;
- 21-Prolonged solitary confinement;
- 22-MUTILATION OF THE BODY, INCLUDING GOUGING OUT THE EYES, CUTTING OFF THE NOSE, EARS, BREASTS, PENIS, AXING THE LIMBS, PEELING THE SKIN OR CUTTING IT OPEN WITH A SHARP INSTRUMENT, HAMMERING NAILS INTO THE BODY; THREATS OF SUCH MUTILATION;
- 23-Threatening the victim with the arrest, torture and rape of relatives;
- 24-Forcing the victim to listen to or watch other detainees being tortured;
- 25-Playing during interrogation or in the cell tape recording of animal noises or of family members crying or being insulted;
- 26-Threatening the victim with death or execution, or with being charged with a capital offence;
- 27-SUBJECTING THE VICTIM TO MOCK EXECUTIONS, INCLUDING BY SHOOTING STRANGULATION AND DROWNING;
- 28-Degrading the victim by using obscene language or insults or by forcing him/her to undress in front of guards of the opposite sex;
- 29-DEPRIVATION OF SLEEP, FOOD, WATER, FRESH AIR, TOILET OR WASHING FACILITIES, VISITS BY RELATIVES, AND MEDICAL TREATMENT;
- 30-Offering the victim 'rewards' in exchange for an undertaking to remain politically unaffiliated.

The AI's Torture in Iraq then reports in detail 5 case histories; they are:

- a) Neji Bennour, a 36-year-old Tunisian, tortured.
- b) Robert Spurling, an American aged 50, tortured.
- c) A fourth-year medical student from Basra, Iraq, tortured to death.
- d) A former prisoner, aged 44, who was held in Baghdad's Abu Ghraib and Central prisons, tortured.
- e) An Iraqi doctor of medicine

testified to AI in 1984 that he witnessed and was forced to participate in the taking of blood from prisoners which resulted in their death.

(Emphasis added by NEW PESH-MERGA)  
 These practices violate Article 22(a) of the 1970 Interim Constitution of Iraq, Article 127 of Iraq's Code of Criminal Procedures, No. 23 of 1971, Article 7 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ratified by Iraq on 25 January 1971), and Article 3 of the UN Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Being Subjected to Torture or Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (which Iraq undertook in September 1979 to comply with).

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WHILE THE IRAQI PEOPLE SUFFER ENORMOUSLY, THE IRAQI DICTATOR INDULGES IN SUPER LUXURY PRIVATE SPENDING FROM STATE FUNDS

Bild, 24 February 1985 ----->

The most expensive cars in the world. One of them is the ASTON MARTIN LAGONDA.

(1)The disco-sound through the desert: from the powerful stereo loud-speakers.

(2)The grid in front of the radiator is of pure 24 carat gold: no scratches by stones which do not exist in the desert. The 8 cylinder (5.3 l) is of 300 horse-power and has a speed of 225 km/h.

(3)The exhaust pipes are made of gold.

(4)The Lagonda doors can be opened only by a coded number combination.

(5)There is a TV screen next to the front seat provided with video-games. The gear handle is also of gold. There are buttons for air-conditioning and opening and shutting the windows automatically.

\*OVERALL GILTTERS 24 CARAT GOLD. THE PRESIDENT OF THE STATE OF IRAQ, GENERAL SADDAM HUSSEIN AL-TIKRITI, WILL DRIVE IN HIS KINGDOM IN THIS CAR, THE ENGLISH ASTON MARTIN LAGONDA, WHICH HAS UNDERGONE STYLING MODIFICATIONS AT THE STYLING-GARAGE OF HAMBURG IN ORDER TO APPEAR MORE GRANDIOSE AND POWERFUL.

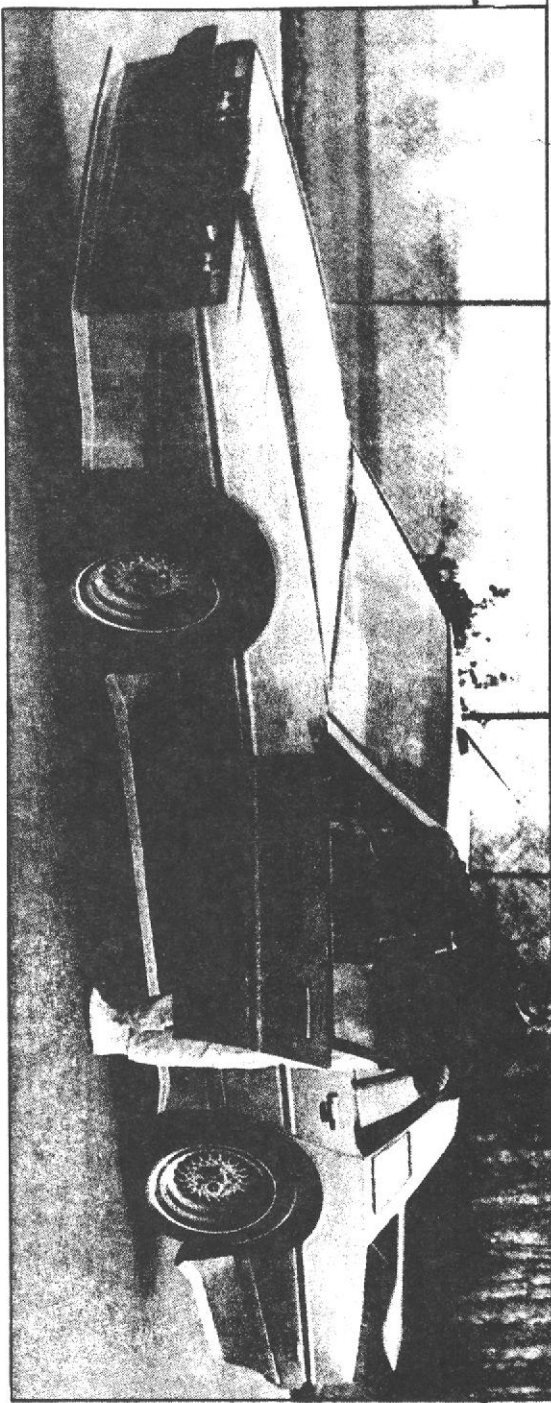
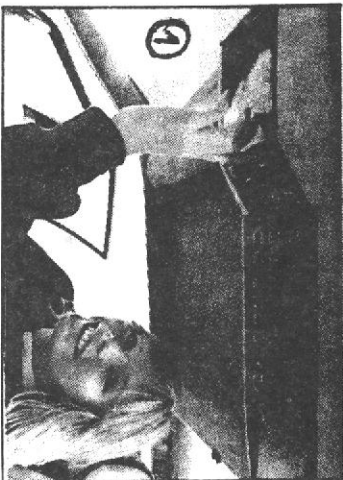
FULL PRICE: 500,000 D MARKS.

THIS CAR IS NOW PARKED ON A SHIP ABOUT TO SAIL TO DELIVER IT TO ITS NEW OWNER.

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## Auto aktuell

Durch die Wüste im Disco-Sound: Rie- sige Stereo-Anlage Spoiler und Heck- flügel aus Ham- burg: Aston Martin



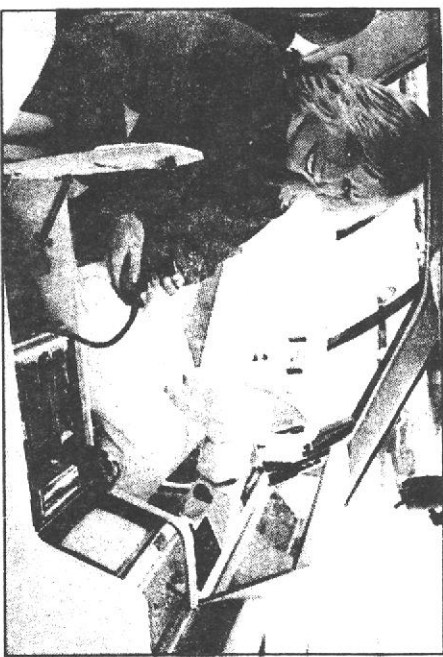
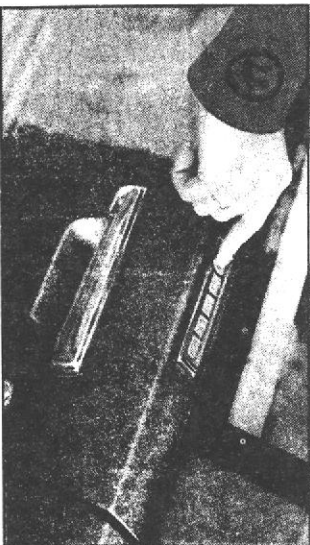
Der Kühlergrill strahlt in 24 Karat: Gut, daß es in der Wüste kaum Steinschlag gibt. Der Achtzylinder (5,3l) hat über 300 PS und ist 225 km/h schnell

Fotos: KLAUS KUHNIGK

## Falkenkopf in Gold als Schaltknüppel



Die Doppelrohre des Auspuffs – ohne Katy, dafür aus Gold Lagonda öfne Dich – aber nur wenn die Ge- heimzahl stimmt



In der Mittelkonsole der TV-Schirm mit Video-Spiel. Der Schalthebhel ist ein Falkenkopf - auch aus Gold. Daneben die Bedienung für Klimaanlage und Fensterheber

\*Überall strahlt 24karätiges Gold. Auch am Kühler und den Auspuffrohren. So wird Iraks Staatspräsident General Saddam Hussein Al Takriti bald durch sein Reich brausen. Der englische Aston Martin Lagonda wurde in der Hamburger Styling-Garage noch edler gemacht. Komplettpreis: Rund 500 000 Mark. Das Schmuckstück ist gerade per Schiff unterwegs zu seinem neuen Besitzer.

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## THE KURDS AND THE KURDISH ISSUE

### THE KURDS AND THE KURDISH ISSUE

By M. Lazaref,  
Doctor of Historical Sciences

The Kurds, the largest ethnic group in the Middle East region hitherto deprived of national rights, are one of the most ancient peoples dwelling South-West Asia. The existence of the Kurds have very clearly been referred to two thousand years BC (Before Christ). The Kurds have since constituted an inseparable part of all military, political and cultural developments taking place at any time in the historically famous empires and contemporary states of the region. The Kurdish people have given birth to many great military leaders, such as SALADDIN EYUBI who triumphed over the Crusaders, and prominent politicians, as well as stars in the fields of the arts and letters. The Kurds have played a substantial role in the national liberation movements of all the peoples of Turkey, Iran and the Arab states against colonialism, as well as in the struggle against imperialism and reaction. Therefore, the more attention given to the Kurdish people, their history, culture and current affairs, does not require any further explanation.

First of all, the Kurds ought to be identified and recognized as a people existing by itself with its own clear ethnic characteristics which are supported and verified by irrefutable scientific data. This matter must be emphasized because the chauvinist circles in some of the Middle Eastern countries have tried and still try to deny the authentic identity of the Kurds and identify them as Turks, Persians or Arabs, or at least consider them as particular ethnic groups, whereas the vast majority of Kurds form one ethnic unit both linguistically and geographically. The Kurds have their own language -Kurdish- which belongs to the group of Western Iranian languages; it is a progressing language with an ancient history upon which one of the richest literatures has grown. One of its features is the plurality of its dialects which can be grouped into two main forms: the North-Western (or Northern), called Kermanji, and the South-Eastern (or Southern or Middle), often called Surani. Modern

Kurdish literary language develops within these two forms. Latin alphabets, with necessary modifications, are used in Kermanji, while Arabic alphabets are used in Surani; the Kurds in the Soviet Union use Russian characters.

Despite the plurality of literary forms and the existence of various dialects and alphabets (characters or script), the Kurdish language has served for many centuries as a living material basis for the development of a genuine and united Kurdish national culture. This culture has given great examples of folkloric and written works of creativity and ingenuity, which have played a big role in the civilization of the peoples of South-Western Asia. This fact alone suffices to repudiate the false claims of those who deny the genuine ethnic-national identity of the Kurdish people.

The Kurdish people have dwelled since ancient times and still dwell the same vast area situated in South-West Asia. This area is called Kurdistan (meaning the land of the Kurds) since the 12th century. This name has only an ethnic significance since Kurdistan has, as it is known, no fixed political boundaries and, therefore, all figures referring to its location and area have the character of being estimates and approximate.

The Kurds' homeland is situated between 34-40 degrees latitude north and 38-48 degrees longitude east. Kurdistan consists of all the central parts of the area of the four corners (or angles) defined by the Black Sea in the north-west, the Mediterranean Sea in the south-west, the Caspian Sea in the north-east and the Persian Gulf in the south-east. Kurdistan extends for about 1000 kilometres from west to east and 300-500 kms from north to south. Its total area is over 450,000 square kms; this means that Kurdistan is about twice as big as states like England and West Germany. About half this area is situated within the borders of contemporary Turkey, 150,000 square kms in Iran, 75,000 square kms in Iraq and 15,000 square kms in Syria. Some Kurds live outside this area (i.e., in western Turkey, northern and eastern Iran, Lebanon, Afghanistan, Pakistan and the Soviet

Transcaucasian and Central Asian republics).

Thus, Kurdistan is geographically divided among four Middle Eastern states; and, therefore, it enters (as a factor) in their internal life and external affairs. The land areas inhabited by Kurds border the Transcaucasian frontiers of the Soviet Union. All this has determined the vital significance of the Kurds not only in Middle Eastern politics but also in international affairs too.

However, the role of Kurdistan in international affairs is not determined solely by its location. Two prominent factors can be mentioned: the land terrain and natural resources. Kurdistan is mostly a mountainous land through which stretches from east to west and from north to south the plateau known as the Armenian-Kurdish plateau and the Zagros mountains, the peaks of some of which are 3000-4000 metres high. Consequently, Kurdistan is considered from the geographical viewpoint as a formidable land fortress, especially in winter when snow and rain usually fall heavily.

The most important natural resources of Kurdistan are petroleum of course. The oil-fields of Kirkuk (Kurdistan Iraq) are very famous for their international record production (5,000-10,000 tonnes a day), production of oil for each metre dug in (3,300 tonnes) and the basic cost of extraction (it was 4.3 cents a barrel, compared to 151 cents in the USA, 63 cents in Venezuela, 9.8 cents in Kuwait and 9.5 cents in Saudi Arabia, in the mid-sixties). Most petroleum deposits in Kurdistan Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Syria are exploited at present. The other oil deposits are located in its neighbourhood (One may mention the richest international reservoir of "black gold" in the Persian Gulf area). The Kurdish lands are rich in other natural resources, most important of which are chromium ore, the mines of which are located in Kurdistan Turkey. Water resources in Kurdistan have a tremendous economic potential. Last but not least, the country enjoys favourable conditions for the development of forestry and agriculture, especially live-stock production, because of the abundance of excellent pastures.

The Kurds constitute the vast majority of the inhabitants of Kurdistan. Despite the lack of precise data, the Kurdish majority, according to various estimates, exceeds 75% of the total population and reaches 90% in some areas of Kurdistan. The number of Kurds today is estimated to be 20,000,000, more than 85% of them inhabiting Kurdistan. According to approximate statistics, 47% of the Kurds are within the state of Turkey, 31% within Iran, 16% within Iraq and 3.5% within Syria, whereas 1% live in the Soviet Union and 1.5% in other countries. Two very important conclusions can be arrived at from these figures. The first: the Kurds are numerically the largest people in the world hitherto deprived of their national rights (except the Kurds of the Soviet Union of course). And, the second: the Kurds constitute the largest ethnic minority in the states of the Middle East that divide Kurdistan (as they constitute 23.8% of the population of Turkey, 16% of Iran, 28% of Iraq and 11% of Syria). These statistics alone are sufficient to indicate the importance of the unity and indivisibility of the Kurdish issue.

Religiously, the majority of Kurds are Sunni Muslims, about a quarter of them are Shia Muslims (mostly believers in the extreme tendency with the Shia: Ali-Allahis and Ahl Al-Haq, who are called Alawis in Turkey). There are about 200,000 Yazidi Kurds who practice a particular worship which has absorbed some features of Islam in addition to the ancient eastern beliefs; in the view of some reliable Orientalists, the Yazidi religion is an original Kurdish religion that has been modified by the influence of Islam. Moreover, the Islamic religion has not pushed its roots deep among the Kurdish popular masses. It is worthwhile to refer in this context to the Turkish proverb which runs as follows: "A Kurd is only a Muslim when compared to an infidel." Therefore, there have been widespread networks of apostate heretics in the past and on a more limited scale at present in Kurdistan; these are apostate heretics from the point of view of orthodox Islam (the Straight View). These were different dervish groups and methods that played a big

role in the religious, social and cultural life of the Kurds.

As for the degree of social-economic-cultural development, the Kurds are an eastern type people. The areas inhabited by Kurds are located within states (at the stage of) developing capitalism, with strong remnants of feudal social relationships and even pre-feudal ones. However, the areas inhabited by Kurds are characterised by a lower level of economic development and social-cultural relationships in comparison with areas inhabited by the Turks, Persians and Arabs. This is due to several reasons, some of them historical and political that have led to the creation of the worst conditions and obstacles on the road to social-economic-cultural progress. Under these conditions have the Kurdish people lived and still live, deprived of the right of self-determination.

Thus, we find the strongest tribal remnants in Kurdish society; the remnants of the near past, i.e., the division of the Kurdish people into tribes and tribal federations, reappear again and again, especially in Kurdistan, Iran and Iraq. By absorbing some features associated with the tribal system, the unique system of feudal relationships, which has subordinated the economic privileges and the political power of the Kurdish worldly and spiritual feudal lords (who are mostly tribal chieftains), exists by its prominent features in all parts of Kurdistan.

This traditional mode of Kurdish society has changed greatly now under the influence of the process of irreversible progress. Capitalist development (particularly in Kurdistan, Turkey) leads to the undermining of the position of Kurdish feudal lords and the appearance of owners who manage their wealth by capitalist methods, the formation of the urban national commercial bourgeoisie at the beginning, and later of the industrial bourgeoisie as well, the growth of the middle classes and the formation of the Kurdish proletarian cadres. The increase in population concentration (or centres), migration (to the farthest areas from villages and pasture lands) and emigration (basically from Kurdistan, Turkey) to

the countries of the "European Common Market", lead to the quick undermining of tribal relationships and their economic basis, namely, live-stock rearing by nomads. This objectively progressive process has been more rapid in Kurdistan, Turkey, but yet gradually covers the other areas of "the Kurds' homeland".

Despite all this, contemporary Kurdish society is still socially at a low level of development, as the conditions of political thoughts belonging to the pre-capitalist days still influence all areas of its life.

This is reflected directly in the situation of the Kurdish popular masses that suffer all the burdens of the economic transitional stage through which now pass the areas inhabited by Kurds. The traditional methods characterising the so-called "pastoral (or nomadic) feudalism" are undermined. Growing capitalism has not yet been able to bring about the development of the forces of production sufficiently. The decrease in the traditional live-stock rearing as a basis of tribal economy has not been accompanied by stronger agricultural production, whether in animal breeding or land cultivation. The insufficient development of industry and handicrafts in Kurdistan lead to an acute shortage of work opportunities (or places) for the propertyless (or dispossessed) farmers and craftsmen. This, in turn, leads to the migration of Kurdish workers to the areas of industrial centres in the countries they live in or to other countries in search of work. And because of their low educational levels, they mostly take non-skilled jobs and, thus, suffer particularly from strong exploitation.

The social-economic conditions of the Kurdish toilers are worse than that of Turkish, Persian or Arab workers, peasants and craftsmen. Per capita income in Kurdistan, Iran in 1975 was about USD 150 whereas the per capita income in Iran as a whole was USD 1340 in the same year. The Kurdish areas in Iraq get less than 10% of the development plan allocations and there are plans to build in Kurdistan only 4 out of 150 industrial projects to be built in the rest of Iraq, despite the fact that raw materials



(necessary for the metal industries and oil) are located in Kurdistan. There was in Kurdistan Turkey only one physician (medical doctor) for every 10,000 inhabitants in 1970, whereas there were an average of 4.3 physicians for every 10,000 inhabitants in the rest of Turkey. There are areas (in Kurdistan inhabited by more than 20,000 people without a single physician. More than 50% of all families in Kurdistan Iran live in one room, whereas 80% of all houses are mud buildings or holes dug in the earth. The population of Kurdistan Iran and Iraq have enjoyed much less of the flow of "petro-dollars" earned by these two states in recent decades as a result of the steady increase in oil prices. Thus, the areas inhabited by Kurds in Turkey, Iran and the Arab countries are less developed and underdeveloped even when considering the low indicators (in comparison with the level in the developed, industrialized states) which characterize the contemporary Middle Eastern countries. This is the outcome of the oppression of the Kurds during many centuries by the ruling circles and dominant classes in the states among which Kurdistan has been divided. The Kurdish people have been exploited and oppressed by both the ruling circles in the Middle East and the imperialist states which ruled Kurdistan for a long time either directly or indirectly (especially in Iraq which was under British control over 40 years). Naturally, these conditions create, on the one hand, numerous and complex obstacles on the road to national development by the Kurdish people. And they, on the other hand, facilitate the exploitation by internal and external reactionary forces of the social-economic-cultural underdevelopment of the Kurds (such as tribal strife and the illiteracy of the masses) to serve their own ends. As a result of this, the Kurdish question has been and still is one of the most complex and difficult national questions in the Middle East region.

The Kurds are a people with a tremendous determination in their love of freedom. Kurdish history overflows with liberation uprisings against foreign injustices. The

eventual failure of these uprisings in the old times was due to feudal fragmentation which was dominant in Kurdistan and the might (power) of the military empires that dismembered and annexed Kurdish lords continuously. The Kurdish liberation movement grew and became more active during the 19th century, after the decline of the Ottoman empire and Iran under the Shahs, which had earlier divided Kurdistan at the beginning of the 16th century. The movement developed into a genuinely national movement because it had as an ultimate goal the formation of a united Kurdish state.

But serious obstacles have arisen on the way to realizing the Kurdish people's national aspirations. Among the most important of them are: the intensification of the interference by the colonial powers, which aimed at the exploitation of the weaknesses of Ottoman Turkey and Iran in order to penetrate their economies and important strategic areas. They widely used the national movements for this purpose and aiming at displaying them as owing their allegiance to, and of being pawns in the hands of, imperialism and inciting one against the other, bribing feudal-tribal and clerical chiefs ...etc. The ethnic groups, within the Ottoman Empire and Iran, struggling for their freedom did not gain anything from this interference; on the contrary, the situation of these ethnic groups, among them the Kurds, became even more complex and worsened in many respects. As a result, the Kurdish people became more divided after World War One and the Kurds who lived in the Arab provinces of Ottoman Turkey found themselves in Iraq and Syria now, the former under British colonial rule and the latter under French colonialism. The direct imperialist penetration created new obstacles to the solution of the Kurdish national question. This is on the one hand.

On the other hand, the revolutionary fervor all over the world after the October revolution and the dawn of the era of crisis and decline of the colonial system of imperialism opened up for the Kurdish people avenues unexperienced before. This has had a decisive influence on the future of the Kurdish people, rather than the

temporary difficulties which were experienced as a result of imperialist increased activities in the Middle East. The experience of the Soviet Union in solving the national question has constituted an important inspiration for the Kurdish people, including the granting to the Kurds in the Soviet Union, living mainly in the Transcaucasian Republics, all the requirements for a free national development.

During the 1920s and 1930s a wave of tribal Kurdish uprisings swept over Turkey, Iran and Iraq directed against imperialist control and the chauvinist policy of the Middle Eastern governments concerning the Kurdish question. The Kurds suffered defeat again and were unable to realize their legitimate demands, even partially, in any of these countries. The outcome was influenced by the military-political weakness of these uprisings, in addition to the predominance of the ancient social values in Kurdish society and the international situation which was unfavourable to the Kurds. However, that era was characterized by the transformation of the Kurdish national movement to a new phase. The sheer necessity dictated itself clearly, especially the abandoning of the feudal-tribal methods in the struggle and the importance of establishing effective mass organizations able to mobilize the whole people behind them. The Kurdish people benefitted from the lessons of the period between the two world wars during the revolutionary awakening of their struggle at the end of World War Two and afterwards.

The international historical changes taking place after World War Two have been characterized by the dawn of a new stage in the history of the Kurdish national movement. This stage can be identified by the driving forces, the leadership and the character of the struggle as revolutionary-democratic, although this movement unites, from the social class point of view, a broad array of forces. The struggle of the Kurds for the right of national self-determination has become wider and based on democratic basis within a broad front. Moreover, the social motives in this struggle gain ever greater attention, motives which

safeguard the class interests of the toiling masses in particular.

The movement was led by the Kurdistan Democratic Party in Iran (KDP-I) that emerged immediately after World War Two and which included essentially all the patriotic forces in Kurdish society struggling for self-determination. Afterwards, other parties, having the same name, were formed in Iraq and Turkey. KDP-I performed an important organizational role in mobilizing the Kurdish movement in Iran after the war as well as inside the Kurdish nationalist movement of the Kurds of Iraq in the sixties and the first half of the seventies. Kurdistan Iran and Iraq was the main arena of nationalist struggle during the whole period after the war; its recognized leader (until the mid-seventies) was the leader of the KDP Iraq, Mustafa Barzani, the greatest but controversial (contradictory) personality in the Kurdish nationalist movement during the twentieth century.

The sum total of the hard struggle of the Kurdish people for their rights is many-sided. It reflects not only the whole complexity and contradictions on the Middle Eastern and world levels; it also reflects the historically created inequalities in the internal social-economic-political development in the various parts of Kurdistan. Thus, the Kurds in Turkey have obtained nothing and their situation remains as before without a solution, deprived of every expression of their national life, including the right of education in schools and the right to publish books (and others) in their language. According to the official chauvinist tenet, the Kurds are often called in Turkey "Mountain Turks" and every political activity among them is crushed viciously.

The situation in Kurdistan Iran takes somewhat another form. Here, and because of a number of objective factors, conditions have been present for the spread of the Kurdish nationalist movement. For the first time in Kurdish history, a republican, autonomous system was established for a time in Kurdistan Iran after World Two. But it was crushed at the end of 1946 by the joint forces of the Iranian

reactionary forces and imperialism. The tyrannical government of the Shah viciously crushed the Kurdish national movement in Iran for over 30 years (official propaganda used to call the Kurds "Persians who temporarily lost their national traditions"). But it used to carry out that policy with well known flexibility, while trying to manipulate and direct the Kurdish movement in neighbouring Iraq for its own objectives. The Iranian revolution and the Iraq-Iran war that immediately followed it soon led to the emergence of the Kurdish movement in Iran anew. It is very clear now that the necessity of solving the national question, including the Kurdish issue, dictates itself with strong force.

The national movement in Kurdistan Iraq has gained the widest dimensions. It has begun since 1961 (with some cease fires) and the government forces were unable to destroy it in any way. The movement stopped only when the new leadership in Baghdad, that came to power in 1968, offered serious concessions. The law issued on 11 March 1974, which recognized the Kurds' right to autonomy, has an historic importance although it did not meet all the legitimate demands of the Kurds (especially in the geographic area) and has not been implemented completely, neither in form nor in content (or neither in letter nor spirit). The law was a precedent that may show the direction that may be followed in order to come closer to the solution of the Kurdish question. The Kurdish people of 20 million aspire to gain their rights (though simple at the beginning) in all parts of Kurdistan and struggle to attain the right of self-determination, the most important content of which at present is national autonomy. This struggle is indeed long and difficult. The enemies of the Kurdish people have created many serious obstacles on the road to the realization of the ultimate objective. However, there are encouraging signs now because the view that considers the necessity of profound improvement in the miserable conditions from which the Kurds are suffering is becoming steadily broadly accepted.

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## KURDISH SOLIDARITY SOCIETY IN U.S.A AND CANADA

The formation of a new Kurdish organization by the name of Kurdistan Solidarity Society (KSS). The primary aim of the organization is to make the Kurdish nation and its situation known to the people of the United States and Canada. Other principal objectives of the Society are:

1- The KSS is a democratic, social and cultural organization aiming at establishing democracy and freedom for the Kurds and other Middle Eastern nations.

2- As a democratic organization, it stands against all forms of imperialism, foreign domination, racism, class oppression and ethnic persecution.

3- The KSS is an independent body and does not belong to any existing Kurdish political party or faction but is ready to cooperate with all within the framework of Kurdish national interests.

4- The organization will undertake special studies about Kurdish history, language and literature.

5- The organization will organize seminars about different aspects of the Kurdish life.

6- The organization will celebrate the Kurdish national day "New Roz" and other important events in Kurdish history.

7- The KSS will publish a monthly political and literary magazine in the Kurdish language.

Membership in KSS is open to all those who believe in the principles of democracy and freedom and wish to support the Kurdish national rights. Kurds and non-Kurds are, therefore, eligible for membership.

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WE STRUGGLE TO REALIZE  
THE KURDISH NATION'S  
RIGHT TO  
SELF-DETERMINATION

((New Pesh-Merga footnote: The above was the English translation of the Arabic translation of the article written by Dr. M. Lazaref in Russian which was published in the Soviet periodical "Asia and Africa Today", No. 12, 1983)).

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## STOCKHOLMS CONFERENCE ON HUMAN AND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS IN TURKEY

A conference on human and democratic rights in Turkey was held in Stockholm on 16-17 February 1985, attended by representatives of almost all the Swedish parties represented in the parliament, with the Social Democratic Workers Party (SPD) and the Vönster Partiet Kommunisterna (VPK) playing prominent roles. Mr. Hans-Göran Frank, MP from SPD, and Osvald Söderqvist, MP from VPK were presents; both, especially Mr. Söderqvist, are well-known among the Kurds as friends and defenders of the Kurdish people's human, democratic and national rights, both in Sweden, Kurdistan and elsewhere.

The conference discussed a number of reports on various aspects and issues of human and democratic rights in Turkey since the military coup of 1980. All these reports are critical of the situation and practices in Turkey since that coup. They refer to the various forms and methods of human, political and civil rights violations committed by the military and "civilian" rulers of the country in all the fields these reports refer to.

The conference was also attended by a number of Turkish organisations and individuals. Some Turkish parties, such as Bulent Ecevit's social democratic party, declined to attend on the pretext that the letter of invitation spoke of "organizations from Turkey" instead of "Turkish organizations"; they also state in a leaflet that, "Our Swedish friends are not aware of the truth. Those who use the expression "from Turkey" instead of "Turkish" are those who support separatist movements... We can neither be together with nor support those who try to avoid this name, namely Turk, and who differentiate between nation and fatherland, Turk and from Turkey."

The final statement of the Conference did not refer to the Kurdish question, by name or otherwise, but concentrated on other major and general issues concerning the actual situation in Turkey as a whole in order to "create a broad front", as the Chairman, Mr. H-G. Frank, put it. The only words that can be construed to be about Kurds is the statement's

reference to the "important population groups forcibly transferred from the Eastern to the Western part of the country, which caused them difficult problems."

For us, Turkish chauvinism, of all shades and colours, cannot hide itself; it is very transparent and our people experience it everyday. But the fact that the conference succumbed to this pressure is a weakness, although it was done in good faith by the majority present.

The fact that over 10 million Kurds live in Turkey is totally rejected and even denied by Turkish chauvinists, who call these millions "Mountain Turks", thus indulging in infantile self-deception. And the fact that these millions are colonially ruled by the Turkish state since the 1920s is entirely ignored and those who hold such a view are imprisoned, tortured and put to death; the most striking example is that of Professor Dr. Ismail Basikci, whose case Amnesty International, among others, has documented. A good instance of this chauvinism (albeit in disguise) is the statement to the Swedish daily, Dagens Nyheter, 24/6/1985, by Bulent Ecevit in which he bluntly and categorically claims that, "There exists no Kurdish question but a problem of backwardness and semi-feudal situation in Eastern Turkey." He does not, however, tell why just this particular area is "backward" and has a "semi-feudal situation", whereas the rest of Turkey is otherwise.

Appeasing chauvinism and other forces following in its footsteps will only make a bad situation worse and create more problems than solving standing ones. The conference should have accepted Kurdish demands for the discussion of the Kurdish question in Turkey.

The conference made the following demands:

1- The restoration of parliamentary democracy in Turkey.

2- The respect of basic human rights and the safeguarding of citizens freedoms of expression, of the press and of political and trade union activities.

3- The immediate lifting of martial law in the whole country.

4- The abolition of the death penalty and the suspension of all executions.

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## A RECOVERED PERIODICAL, A REGAINED HISTORY

Emin Bozarslan, a Kurdish author from Turkey, came to Sweden about six years ago. He became a member of the Swedish Writers' Union and lives in Uppsala now. He was imprisoned many times in Turkey for writing in the Kurdish language -among other things, a Kurdish ABC book. The following is the story of the Kurdish periodical, from the period immediately after World War One, which Emin Bozarslan has discovered and transliterated from Arabic to Latin alphabets.

There was a strong national liberation movement in Kurdistan at the beginning of the twentieth century. An organization by the name of "Kurdistan Association for Development" was formed in 1918. A periodical called "JIN" -meaning "life"- was published; altogether 25 issues had been published, the latest in October 1919, before it was banned.

Emin Bozarslan had heard rumours about the existence of this publication but neither he nor anyone he knew had seen it.

Ataturk (Mustafa Kamal, the then President of Turkey) banned the Kurdish language in 1923. Not only this, but the possession of any books or periodicals in Kurdish was banned too. All such books and periodicals which the Turkish authorities discovered were destroyed.

The Kurds had an uprising in 1925 which did not achieve its aims. Hundreds of thousands of Kurds were killed in the fighting. Those books and periodicals which had not been burnt earlier were put to flames at the book stake then. The chairman of the Kurdistan Association for Development and many who contributed to JIN were executed.

After more than 40 years, i.e. in 1968, Emin Bozarslan looked for a book in a Turkish book collection. He suddenly found a bound collection of periodicals written in Arabic script and began to read it; he discovered that it was a complete collection of the 25 issues of JIN.

Where Emin Bozarslan found this treasure and how he brought it to Sweden are things he does not want to talk about; there may be many hidden Kurdish writings and he does not want

to put the Turkish authorities on the right track. E. Bozarslan has no idea about who originally bound it and was successful in hiding it. To his knowledge this is the only collection of JIN that exists.

Bozarslan was imprisoned shortly after making this discovery on another charge, namely, for writing his ABC-book. But he immediately resolved to transliterate the collection to Latin alphabets. There are now only few Kurds in Turkey who can read Arabic script (and a few Turks who can do this -and this explains why the periodical had not been discovered). Ataturk introduced Latin alphabets in 1928 and all Kurds are obliged to learn in Turkish.

When Bozarslan fled to Sweden in 1978 he entrusted the collection to a good friend whom he could depend upon -he did not dare take it with him. When it became clear that he could stay in Sweden he told his friend, who through two other friends, was able to get it out of Turkey. Bozarslan had his treasure in his hands in the summer of 1979.

He has worked on the transliteration from Arabic to Latin script for five years. Certain parts of the periodical are written in Turkish using Arabic script. Even these parts have been transliterated... The whole edition will be in five parts. It is the first part which is published now. The Cultural Council and Uppsala Cultural Board in Sweden have provided financial aid.

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IT IS DIFFICULT FOR US HERE IN SWEDEN TO TRULY UNDERSTAND HOW IT FEELS FOR A PEOPLE TO BE DEPRIVED OF ALL THEIR WRITTEN LITERATURE AND WRITTEN DOCUMENTS OF THEIR HISTORY.

We now know, thanks to JIN, that a Kurdish Women Association was formed in 1919. The association's aims were to open schools for fatherless Kurdish children and to find work for Kurdish youth; courses in sewing and other subjects were started for Kurdish girls, theatre plays were performed ...etc. A complimentary poem to the Women Association by poet Evdirehim Rehmi published in JIN begins as follows:

I asked the time: how have you developed like this?

Time answered: it is thanks to the

women.

The women do not rest, they work day and night.

They bring up the children and give the land its life.

Man is by nature neither good nor evil.

If we become good it is due to the upbringing by the mothers.

I have been told that the mothers have built an association.

May God support them and make everything well for them.

The poem ends with the poet saying that he cannot find a proper present for the women, but he is ready to sacrifice his life for them.

A great deal of contemporary history from the twentieth century's early years has come to light by the discovery of this periodical; one can, for example, get acquainted with the programme of the Kurdish Students Association and one learns, on the whole, much about how Kurdish intellectuals worked at the turn of the century. The periodical does not only give good information on how the Kurdish society looked like, how the youth and workers movements in Kurdistan took shape and so forth, but it also contains a number of literary stuff -from proverbs, fairy-tales, mythology, short stories to poems.

All the five volumes of this discovered Kurdish periodical will be published before the end of 1986, if everything goes well. Emin Bozarslan ends his story with hopefulness.

(Translated from Swedish from FURFATTAREN, organ of the Swedish Writers' Union, No. 4/1985.)

NEW PESH-MERGA FOOTNOTE: While applauding the important work and contribution of Emin Bozarslan and other Kurds in this field, we would like to draw attention to two main conclusions that we can arrive at from the above account about JIN:

1- It shows how extensive and intensive is the repression and suppression of the Kurdish people and everything related to them and their homeland.

2- It also shows that the present state of under-underdevelopment of Kurdish society, economy, education ...etc is partially due to this extensive and intensive repression and suppression.

5 - A general amnesty for all political prisoners.

6- The suspension of all trials of individuals for their views and trade union activities.

7- Guaranteeing that torture and other brutal treatment of prisoners do not take place.

8- The suspension of forcible deportation and the return of deportees who wish to go back to their original places of residence.

9- Demanding from Turkey to take immediate measures and decisions guaranteeing the development of democracy in the country and the respect of basic human rights and making this a pre-condition for its continued membership of the European Council; Turkey must abide by the Council's decisions.

The conference called upon "all governments, political parties, trade unions and others and upon individuals to support by all possible means activities aiming at the development of democracy and the respect of basic human rights in Turkey. We can best show our solidarity with the Turkish people by our support of those who struggle inside Turkey for these same aims."

#### IRAQI-TURKISH CO-OPERATION IN PERSECUTING THE KURDS

IN SEPTEMBER 1982, 14 IRAQI KURDS WERE ARRESTED BY THE TURKISH AUTHORITIES IN SOUTH-EASTERN TURKEY. AFTER SPENDING ABOUT 20 MONTHS IN TURKISH PRISONS, THREE OF THEM: SULAIMAN SAID, 55 YEARS OLD, MUHAMMAD SALIH OMAR, 18 YEAR OLD AND KEMAL YASIN, MIDDLE AGED, WERE HANDED OVER TO THE IRAQI AUTHORITIES ON 7 SEPTEMBER 1984. ALL THREE WERE EXECUTED IN THE MOSUL PRISON, NORTHERN IRAQ, AT THE BEGINNING OF APRIL THIS YEAR, ALONG WITH HUNDRED OTHER KURDS. THE OTHER 11 WERE HANDED OVER TO IRAN. THIS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS BY BOTH REGIMES IS YET ANOTHER EVIDENCE OF THE CLOSE CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO CHAUVINIST REGIMES TO SUPPRESS THE KURDISH PEOPLE.

ABDUCTION AND DISMEMBERMENT IN SWEDEN OF A FORMER CAPTAIN BY THE VERY SYSTEM AND INTELLIGENCE APPARATUS HE HAD SERVED

MAJID HUSAIN WAS A CAPTAIN IN THE IRAQI GENERAL INTELLIGENCE (AL-MUKHABARAT AL-AMMAH) AND SERVED THE IRAQI REGIME LOYALLY AND DEVOTEDLY FOR MANY YEARS. BUT WHEN HE WAS GIVEN A TASK ABROAD SO MURDEROUS AND ABHORENT, AS HE USED TO SAY, HE QUESTIONED THE MISSION AND THEN REFUSED TO CARRY IT OUT. HE WAS THEN THREATENED, WHILE STILL ABROAD, BY THE HEAD OF THE APPARATUS, BARZAN TIKRITI, THE IRAQI PRESIDENT'S HALF BROTHER, WHO, ACCORDING TO MAJID HUSAIN, SAID TO HIM ON THE TELEPHON, "I WILL MAKE YOU EAT FROM YOUR OWN FLESH FOR DISOBEYING MY ORDERS". MAJID HUSAIN THEN SECRETLY LEFT KUWAIT AND ROAMED MANY COUNTRIES IN EUROPE, NORTH AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST BEFORE COMING TO SWEDEN, WHERE HE APPLIED FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM. WHEN HIS APPLICATION RAN INTO DIFFICULTIES, BECAUSE SWEDISH AUTHORITIES DID NOT BELIEVE HIS STORY, HE HAD INTERVIEWS WITH SOME SWEDISH PAPERS IN THE MIDDLE OF DECEMBER 1984 IN WHICH HE THREATENED TO EXPOSE IRAQI ILLEGAL INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES IN WESTERN EUROPE AND ELSEWHERE. AT THE BEGINNING OF JANUARY 1985, MAJID HUSAIN DISAPPEARED WITHOUT A TRACE. IN THE MIDDLE OF MARCH, THE SWEDISH POLICE FOUND THE BODY NEAR STOCKHOLM. IT WAS "BESTIALLY" DISMEMBERED AND CUT INTO AT LEAST 50 PIECES, THE KILLER(S) PURPOSELY TAKING CARE TO LEAVE INTACT THE PARTS THAT MAKE A POSITIVE IDENTIFICATION POSSIBLE, SAID THE SWEDISH POLICE. THE PARTS DID NOT DISINTEGRATE BECAUSE OF THE COLD AND HEAVY SNOW.

ACCORDING TO THE SWEDISH POLICE, MAJID HUSAIN WAS "TRAPPED" BY A WELL-BUILT WOMAN, WITH A LEBANESE ARABIC ACCENT, TAKEN TO A HOTEL IN THE CENTRE OF STOCKHOLM, KILLED AND DISMEMBERED (AND WAS MADE TO EAT FROM HIS OWN FLESH, POSSIBLY!), PACKED IN SUITCASES AND PLASTIC (CARRIER) BAGS WHICH WERE TRANSPORTED AND DUMPED IN THE SOUTHERN OUTSKIRTS OF STOCKHOLM. ALL AVAILABLE INFORMATION POINT TO AN ORGANIZED CRIME COMMITTED BY A BODY WITH EXPERIENC IN SUCH CRIMES, HAVING HIT SQUADS AND ACCESS TO INTELLIGENCE AND OTHER ASSISTANCE BOTH IN IRAQ AND SWEDEN. THE ONLY CANDIDATE WITH SUCH "QUALIFICATIONS" IS THE IRAQI REGIME AND ITS "LONG ARM" (AS PRESIDENT SADDAM HUSAIN HAS PUBLICALLY BOASTED), THE NOTORIOUS "AL-MUKHABARAT AL-AMMAH", THE GENERAL INTELLIGENCE. THE HIT SQUAD HAS COME FROM BAGHDAD, CARRIED OUT ITS BEASTLY "MISSION" UNDETECTED, "RETURNED SAFELY TO ITS BASE", AND THEN ITS MEMBERS WERE GIVEN CASH REWARDS (AND PROBABLY MEDALS) FOR "BRAVERY" -THE AGENTS, IN SWEDEN OR ELSEWHERE, WHO HELPED FACILITATE THE "ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THEIR MISSION" HAVE PROBABLY ALSO BEEN AWARDED WITH CASH AND OTHER THINGS. THE SWEDISH AUTHORITIES HAVE BEEN RATHER TOO CAREFUL ON THIS CASE -AND ANOTHER WHICH INVOLVES THE "BESTIAL" MURDER OF A YOUNG KURD IN STOCKHOLM IN JUNE THIS YEAR. THEY SAY THAT THE CULPRITS HAVE "ALREADY LEFT SWEDEN AND, THEREFORE, CANNOT, EVEN IF IDENTIFIED, BE BROUGHT TO JUSTICE". IS THE CASE CLOSED JUST BECAUSE THE ACT OF "BESTIAL" TERROR IS COMMITTED BY A STATE?

THE IRAQI DICTATORIAL REGIME POISONS A PRIEST  
A LETTER FROM THE ASSYRIAN DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

In its letter dated 24 May 1985, The Assyrian Democratic Movement confirmed that Gorgis Youkhanis Gorgis, aged 22, from Andulus Quarters, Kirkuk, was executed without trial on 2 January 1985, for not joining the army. After the execution, his family was ordered not to hold the usual church ceremonies for the dead.

However, Father Younan Kina of the Eastern Church, aged 51, from Almas Quarters, Kirkuk, not a family member, carried out his religious duty and performed the church and burial ceremonies for the late Gorgis. He had also visited the family of the late Yousif Toma Hermiz, also executed by the Iraqi regime. Father Kina was summoned to the Kirkuk Security Directorate, on 3 January. On 4 January, Father Kani died of poisoning. Evidence available to the Assyrian Democratic Movement (ADM) points to the fact that he was poisoned while he was interrogated the day before.

ADM's letter also refers to the deportation of the inhabitants of the village of Mulla Arab and the leveling with the earth by bulldozers of the said village inhabited by Christian Assyrians, as well as three other villages inhabited by Kurds, in Zakho, Kurdistan Iraq, at the beginning of February this year for no known reasons.

The ADM's letter was addressed to Amnesty International and other international humanitarian organizations.

Our Party strongly condemns these violations of human and religious rights committed by the Iraqi dictatorial regime.

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