

new pesh merga

september '82

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After an interruption of almost 3 years Pesh Merga resumes publication with a slight change in the name.

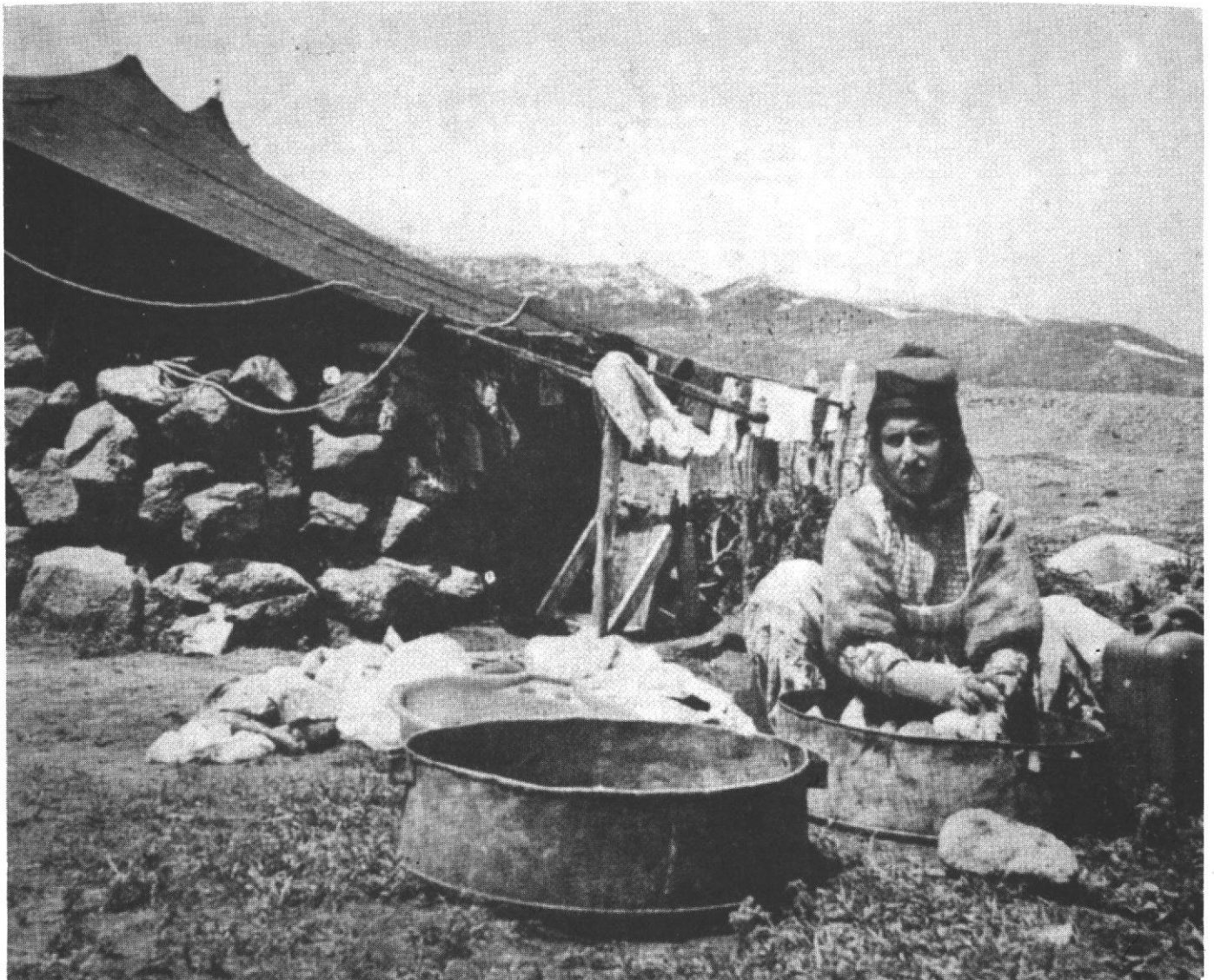
This change reflects, and is due to, political development organizational changes that had led to the establishment of a new political party, namely "The Kurdistan Popular Democratic Party" (K.P.D.P.).

The new Pesh Merga is simultaneously both a continuation of the Pesh Merga and a rupture with it. The New Pesh Merga is the historical continuation of the Pesh Merga and its political continuance. But it will strive more and more to cover the most important developments in all the four parts of our homeland Kurdistan rather than restrict itself to one part, i.e. Kurdistan-Iraq. It will also endeavour to present general, concise studies of certain specific issues and problems related to the Kurdish nation,

whether in Iran, Iraq, Syria or Turkey, and to the Kurdish national minorities in Lebanon and the Soviet Union and to the Kurds living or forced into exile in the Middle East, Europe and North America.

The New Pesh Merga welcomes articles and studies on any aspect of Kurdish society, history, economy and culture, by Kurdish and non-Kurdish contributors. The articles are to be relevant, objective and non-divisive to Kurdish ranks.

Kurdish and non-Kurdish scholars and writers and friends of the Kurdish people and cause are invited to send their contribution to the New Pesh Merga for publication. Kurdish national political, professional, popular and immigrant organizations to send their news and a brief account of their activities for publication in the New Pesh Merga.



DEPORTATION

THE CHAUVINIST IRAQI REGIME CONTINUE THE DEPORTATION OF IRAQI-KURDS.

One of the main features of the present Iraqi leadership is its ultra-nationalist mentality, ideology and policies. However, this ultra-nationalism began showing its true chauvinist and even racist phase as early as 1969-70 but especially after the collapse of the Kurdish armed movement in 1975 when Saddam al-Tikriti, Iraq's strong man, embraced the former Shah of Iran and signed with him an agreement in Algiers against the Kurds.

In the winter of 1969-70, the Iraqi regime deported from Iraq 100,000 people to Iran, the overwhelming majority of them were Kurds, on the pretext that they were Iranians, since April 1980, the same regime has been forcibly deporting Iraqi Kurds to Iran. Up to the end of 1981, about 65,000 have already been deported

and the number is getting bigger and bigger every month. In Jan. 1982, about 1500 people were deported. The overwhelming majority of these people are Kurds.

These people are Iraqis, born in Iraq and hold Iraqi Census Books (Daftar Nofous) and Certificates of Citizenship (Shahadat al-Tinsiyah al-Iraq'iyah).

Most of the young men have done their compulsory military service and have certificates to that effect. The young sons of many of the deported families are still in the Iraqi army. Others have been detained in the Abu Ghraib Prison near Baghdad; about a thousand of them 'rioted' in the summer 1980, and were deported to Iran thereafter. Thousands are still held without changes in the said prison, as well as the Kirkuk and Mosul Prisons. However, thousands of young girls and old women have also been detained. Detention camps have been so crowded that the Iraqi authorities

detained hundreds of them in sportstadiums, such as 'Mal'ab al-Sha-ab' in Baghdad for periods of a few months to a year.

Sanitary conditions are so appalling that lice have infested most of the detainees; as a result of these detention camps authorities have shaven the heads of most detainees, especially the girls and women.

The deportees (the overwhelming majority of them are Kurds) lose their Iraqi citizenship, their movable and immovable property, cash deposits, jewelry (the common fruit of their work and labour. They are insulted, terrorized and the maximum degree of hardship is inflicted upon them during the process of deportation.

The deportees have contributed to Iraq's national struggle and to the progress of the Iraqi society, whether as politicians, physicians, teachers, artists, journalists, merchants, offici-



A bomb-damaged house at Galala.

Lord Kilbracken. Camera Press.

als, soldiers etc. Their only 'fault' is that they are Kurds and have been, and still are, active within the Kurdish national liberation movement.

Although the forefathers of these Kurds may have long ago come from Iranian-Kurdistan (whose national rights the Iraqi regime falsely pretends to sympathize with, and even support), they are part of the Kurdish people in Iraq. They know Kurdish, their mother-tongue, and Arabic, the official language of Iraq. They do not know Persian at all. The claim that they are 'of Iranian origin' is nothing but a pretext well orchestrated by the Iraqi regime and its statecontrolled media to create hatred and intensify its level against the regime in Iran and the Iranians in general. By labeling the deportee Kurds of Iranian origin' it hopes to make these measures more palatable to the Iraqi population at large. However, this policy only reveals the Iraqi regime's true racism not only against the Kurds. It has displaced hundreds of thousands of Kurds in Iraqi Kurdistan and continues to do so under various pretexts, now in the name of border security and now in the name of 'development' in the Kurdish rural areas, now in the name of 'decreasing the pressure in the overcrowded urban areas' (as has recently happened to the city of Suleimaniyah, where 18,000 families as a group only have been ordered to prepare themselves for deportation to other areas of Iraq, on the pretext that the government wants to open streets and roads in the city). While deporting and displacing Iraqi Kurdish citizens the Iraqi regime imports millions of farmers and others from Egypt and Morocco (and other places), giving them very lucrative incentives to move to and settle in the areas from which the Kurds are deported and/or displaced. The main goal of the Iraqi regime is a chauvinist/racist one, aiming at, first by the lowering of the proportion of the Kurds in the Iraqi total population (estimated as between 25% - 33%), secondly, the alteration of population settlement pattern in Kurdistan in order to weaken national coherence (this is at least what the regime hopes to achieve), thirdly to displaced Kurds from strategic and natural resource areas in Kurdistan (such as Kirkuk, Khanaqeen, Sinjar, the border areas, Ain Zala), and last but not least a long-term objective to

wipe-out the Kurds (within Iraq) as a people with a common language, a common culture, a contiguous land area, an intergrated economy, and a common social psychological feeling of belonging together and of being as part of the Kurdish nation. However, the regime's policy and measures are opposed by all the opposition groups in Iraq, regardless of their political colouring. This policy and measures is facing latent opposition by the Iraqi people and this is why the regime is resorting more and more to

ning on behalf of the deportees, their plight and the injustices inflicted upon them. They appealed to him to approach the Iraqi authorities and request them to respect the U.N. Human Rights Declaration and various Covenants, to do away with dividing Iraqi citizens into classes, release the heads of the families and youth of deported families, to send a factfinding mission to the deportee camps. The letter was also sent to all international, political and humanitarian organisations.



Kurdish infants: the sky is their roof. What future is the Iraqi regime letting them have?

secrecy in implementing these measures.

Footnote: I

One of the manifestations of the racist hysteria spread by the Iraqi regime against deportee Iraqi Kurds is that it offers large sums of money to any person who divorces his deported wife or husband; members of the 'armed forces' receive in such cases almost twice as much as civilians. It should be recalled that after the collapse of the Kurdish armed movement in Kurdistan-Iraq, the very same regime decree that any (Arab) Iraqi who married a Kurdish woman would receive a large sum of money. The aim then was assimilation of the Kurds by money besides coercion and outright force. Now, it is 'assimilation' by deportation. The first is assimilation by inclusion and the other assimilation by exclusion.

Footnote: II

At the end of 1981 a delegation of the deportee Kurds sent a letter to the General Secretary of the U.N. explain-

WHILE DEPORTING IRAQI KURDS, THE IRAQI REGIME IMPORTS FOREIGN LABOUR.

One of the long-term aims of the Iraqi regime is the reduction of the proportion of the Kurds in the total population in Iraq as a first step in destroying the Kurdish culture and nation in the country.

A manifestation of this is the fact that while deporting tens of thousands of Iraqi regime imports foreign labour on a mass-scale. It has so far imported an estimated two million farmers from Egypt and Morocco (this is officially confirmed by the weekly magazine 'Alef-Ba', published by Dar-Al-Jamahir, Baghdad, No 655, 15/4/1981, pp 42-45), offering them very lucrative incentives and attractive conditions; land, houses, furniture, food, seeds, salaries, 'even cigarettes', and recently from Tunis (Alef-Ba, No 694, 13/1/1982). In August 1981, the Iraqi and Tunisian governments signed an agreement on the transfer of labour from Tunis to Iraq.

SUMMARY OF THE FINAL COMMUNIQUÉ OF THE FIRST CONGRESS OF KPDP

The founder congress of the Kurdistan Popular Democratic Party (KPDP) was held from 26th to 30th July 1981.

It was attended by delegates representing party organisations in Kurdistan, various countries in Europe, the U.S.A. and Canada.

Preparations for the congress took over a year which aimed at the foundation of a democratic and progressive political organization. Contacts among people who left the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) because of political, organizational and policy differences on essential matters of principle, started then.

The congress receives several messages of solidarity and support from various political organizations in Kurdistan, Iraq and the Middle East as well as from solidarity groups in Europe.

The congress also received a message of congratulation from party organizations among Kurdish refugees and Peshmerga.

The political report was then read, it lasted two whole days and included an introduction explaining the objective justifications for the foundation of a democratic, progressive party in Kurdistan; the eruption of the 26th May 1976 revolution and its deep effects on checking the breakdown of the Kurdish liberation movement as a result of the collapse of March 1975 upon the Iran-Iraq agreement against the Kurdish movement; and the deviation that the May revolution suffered at the hands of the reactionary-rightist tendency and the military-tribalist establishment (that control the centres of power in the party) which is the dominant force in that party.

While commending the stand of the progressive tendency within the Provisional Leadership (1976-1979)

, the report criticized them for abandoning the military-political arena after the 9th Congress of KDP. The report then discussed the prerequisites of an avant-garde party, its ideology and organisations elements structure and communications and relations between its levels. It

discussed the international scene, the situation in the Middle East, the relationships between the Kurdish liberation movement and the Arab, Iranian and Turkish liberation movements. The report emphasized the unity of struggle of all these movements.

The popular line of the party was underlined, and the report stressed the need to broaden and deepen this line, basing it on modern organizational principles. Ideas, stated the report, become a real force when they are accepted and adopted by the people and that these ideas must be concomitant with practice; there must be harmony between thought and practice in the functioning and life of the party.

Putting these theoretical convictions into actual realization depends on the structure of the party, the quality of its membership and especially its leadership cadres and organizations. The report then presented a study of the situation in Iraq, pointing out that the identification by the provisional leadership's report in 1976 of the Iraqi regime was correct. The parasitical-bureaucratic bourgeois nature of the regime has only become more pronounced and dominant, the re-alignment of its foreign policy and economy towards the conservative states of the Middle East and the West is now much clearer and its dictatorial and terroristic practices have reached unprecedented levels of viciousness and cruelty. At the same time the regime has lost its *raison d'être* and suffers from a deep crisis. The war by proxy on behalf of the U.S.A. and the pro-American conservative states of the Middle East launched by the Iraqi regime on Iran has made the regime's crisis more and more acute.

The report called on all Iraqi national and patriotic forces to speed up efforts to complete the all-embracing national front to include all the national forces regardless of their ideologies in order to overthrow the dictatorial Iraqi regime and replace it with a coalition, democratic government.

Discussing the situation in Kurdistan, the report analysed the forces moving the revolution as well as the counter-

forces. It summarized the dislocations suffered by Kurdish society as a result of mass deportation, run-away terrorism and the alteration of the national characteristics of Kurdistan and the suppression of Kurdish culture and folklore by the Iraqi regime.

The report called upon all concerned to stop the fratricidal war in Kurdistan and to establish a Kurdish national front to include all the national and progressive Kurdish forces.

Finally, the report mentioned the activities leading to the founder congress, especially the organizational efforts at home and abroad.

The Congress discussed and analysed the report introducing the necessary amendments and changes it was then adopted unanimously, considering it the program for the party until the next congress.

The Congress decided to name our party, "The Kurdistan Popular Democratic Party" and its central organ "People".

The Congress then adopted scores of resolutions and decisions on various matters.

During the last day of the congress and in an atmosphere of democracy and high sense of responsibility, the Central Committee, the Political Bureau and the General Secretary of the party were elected.

We may add at the end that the congress was a success from all points of view.

1. RESOLUTION CONDEMNING THE DEPORTATION, DISPLACEMENT AND SETTLEMENT CAMPAIGNS.

The Congress condemns the campaigns of mass deportation and displacement and the racist settlement policy, the altering of the national characteristics and the fighting of the national culture in Kurdistan practised by Saddam Hussain's regime against our Kurdish people.

Our party pledges to struggle for putting an end to them and eradicating its consequences; the Party calls upon all Iraqi patriotic forces and parties to condemn these practices and to return

the situation to its normal origins.

2. RESOLUTION CONDEMNING THE DEPORTATION TO OUTSIDE IRAQ.

The Congress condemns the mass deportation of Kurds and others to outside Iraq by the racist regime and demands their return to their homeland Iraq, the return to them of their confiscated property and Iraqi citizenship which were taken away from them and all their rights.

3. RESOLUTION CONDEMNING SADDAM'S WAR OF AGGRESSION AGAINST IRAN.

The Congress strongly condemns Saddam's war of aggression against the people of Iran and their revolution in a war of proxy that destroyed the economies of the two countries and caused the death and disablement of tens of thousands of both peoples. The Congress calls upon all Iraqi national forces of all shades of opinion and the armed forces to stand as one against the regime and to endeavour to topple it to end this destructive war and return relations between the two neighbouring countries to normality.

4. The Congress calls for the continuation of the struggle to overthrow the Iraqi racist, dictatorial regime of Baghdad replacing it for a democratic coalition government and the enjoyment by the Kurdish people of their legitimate national rights.

5. The Congress salutes the Peshmerga, the national guerrilla forces and expresses its readiness to pool all resources and efforts and put them in the service of armed struggle as a correct means of achieving our national, patriotic and democratic aims (besides the other peaceful of struggle), relying on our people and nation and the support and solidarity of the forces of liberation and progress and the world public opinion.

6. The Congress calls upon all the national parties and forces operating in Kurdistan not to resort to violence in solving differences, to reject wrangling and to strive for conciliation and coordination and then the establishment of a Kurdish national front.

7. The Congress authorized the Cen-

tral Committee to strive for the completion of the all-embracing Iraqi national front and to include all national forces as a practical and fundamental step to overthrow the terrorist Iraqi regime and replacing it by a democratic coalition government.

8. RESOLUTION ON THE RIGHT OF THE KURDISH NATION TO SELF DETERMINATION.

We believe in and struggle for the right to self-determination of our Kurdish nation in equality with all the nations of the world. Our party strives to increase consciousness and to

calls for protection and care for the Kurdish language, culture and heritage and the formation of student, youth, women and workers organizations in and outside Kurdistan.

10. RESOLUTION ON KURDISH REFUGEES.

The Congress appeals to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), The Human Rights Commission, the International Red Cross, the humanitarian and charity organizations to care for and secure the livelihood and the social, health and educational aspects of Kurdish



propagate for this right on all levels. The Congress salutes the struggle of all national, progressive forces in all parts of Kurdistan and calls upon all the national forces in the region to support the struggle of our Kurdish nation against injustice and persecution and for their just national rights and its right to self-determination.

9. The Congress condemns the Iraqi dictatorial regime's abolition of the Kurdish cultural institutions and of the major part of Kurdish studies and

refugees where ever they may be.

11. The Congress declares its solidarity with and full support for the struggle of our people in Kurdistan-Turkey for the right of self-determination, condemning the policy of Turkifying the Kurds there. The Congress demands the release of all political prisoners. It calls upon all the national, progressive parties and forces to set establish a Kurdish national front in Kurdistan-Turkey and to coordinate with the Turkish progressive movement against the fascist mili-

tary regime and for a progressive democratic government and the right of the Kurdish people to self-determination.

The Congress protest against the executions, torture and mass arrest of Kurds, Turks and from the minorities by the dictatorial military regime of Ankara.

12. The Congress supports the struggle of the Kurdish people in Kurdistan-Iran for their legitimate national rights, and calls upon the Iranian Islamic Republic to meet the just national demands of the Kurdish people in order to put an end to the war in Kurdistan-Iran.

13. The Congress adopted a resolution supporting the struggle of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, to return and to enjoy the right to self-determination and the establishment of their independent national state in their homeland. The Congress condemns the establishment of Zionist settlement in the occupied Arab lands. The Congress saluted the steadfastness of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the National Front in the occupied Arab lands and condemns the attempts to liquidate Palestinian resistance. The Congress demands the withdrawing of Israel from all occupied Arab lands and condemns the repeated Israeli aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples.

14. The Congress supports the struggle of the Arab liberation movement for full liberation from imperialist influence, the achievement of economic independence, the liberation of Palestine and the achievement of Arab unity.

15. The Congress highly appreciated the recent resolution by the Arab Communist parties to support the right of the Kurdish nation to self-determination and appeals to them to offer more support and backing to this cause on all spheres.

16. The Congress supports the struggle of the national liberation movements in the three continents (Asia, Africa and Latin America) for the completion of their political and economic independence and social progress on the road of liquidating colonialism and neo-colonialism. The

Congress supports the movement of non-alignment and its anti-imperialist, anti-racist and anti-reaction content.

17. The Congress supports the policy of peaceful co-existence detente and disarmament and demands a ban on nuclear weapons. It condemns the manufacture, storing and use of bacteriological and chemical weapons and the neutron bomb.

18. The Congress supports the struggle of all the small nationalities and the national and ethnic minorities all over the world for justice and equality and against the policy of assimilation. We demand that they be given their legitimate national and democratic rights.

19. The Congress condemns physical and psychological torture wherever it may take place; it also condemns imprisonment and detention for on the ground of political reasons. It demands the release of all political prisoners and the adherence to the United Nations covenants and human rights.

20. The Congress condemns the Turkish occupation of Cyprus and demands the withdrawal of the Turkish troops from the island, the safeguarding of the legitimate rights of the Greek and Turkish Cypriots and the independence and unity of the island.

21. The Congress salutes the victory of the Nicaraguan people over the Somoza dictatorship and American im-

perialism; supports the struggle of the people of Salvador against the military junta and condemns the U.S. intervention in that country and its support for the junta with arms, advisers and political and financial backing.

22. The Congress condemns racial discrimination everywhere, especially in South Africa, and declares its support for the struggle of the African People's Congress against the racist regime there and declares its support for the struggle of the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO for independence and national liberation.

The Congress salutes the victory of the people of Zimbabwe and the liquidation of the racist system there.

23. The Congress also adopted other resolutions, among them:

- the support of the national and democratic rights of the Kurdish people in Syria;
- the care for the families of the martyrs of the Kurdish national liberation movement;
- the appreciation for and encouragement of the role played by women in Kurdish politics and trade and popular movement;
- a salute to Quadafi for his historical stance in support of the right of the Kurdish nation to self-determination and the establishment of a Kurdish state;
- and other resolutions on Syria, Afghanistan, Latin America, Ethiopia, Eritrea, the Arab/Persian Gulf, the Polisario, the Arab peoples Congress and Ireland.



The new Kurdish guerrilla fighters.



Amnesty International

FIRST HAND EVIDENCE ON WIDESPREAD TORTURE OF POLITICAL DETAINEES IN IRAQ.

Amnesty International published a report, "IRAQ, Evidence of torture, 1981, and concluded that:

"The consistency between the torture described by the 15 former detainees cited in the report and the torture allegations received by Amnesty International since August 1979 suggest strongly that torture may be continuing and widespread in Iraq.

Political detainees are not protected by any effective legal safeguards against torture. The Iraqi authorities have introduced none of the legislative or administrative measures called for by the U.N. General Assembly Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Being Subjected to Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment which Iraq has officially stated it intends to comply."

We reproduce below important sections of this report for its great importance.

TORTURE IN IRAQ

For many years, including the 12 years of the government's rule, Amnesty International has regularly received 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'ath Party. The interrogation methods of the security forces have been described as brutal, often resulting in permanent physical or mental damage to the victims.

Amnesty International has also received numerous reports of people dying under torture: the bodies of political detainees have been returned to their

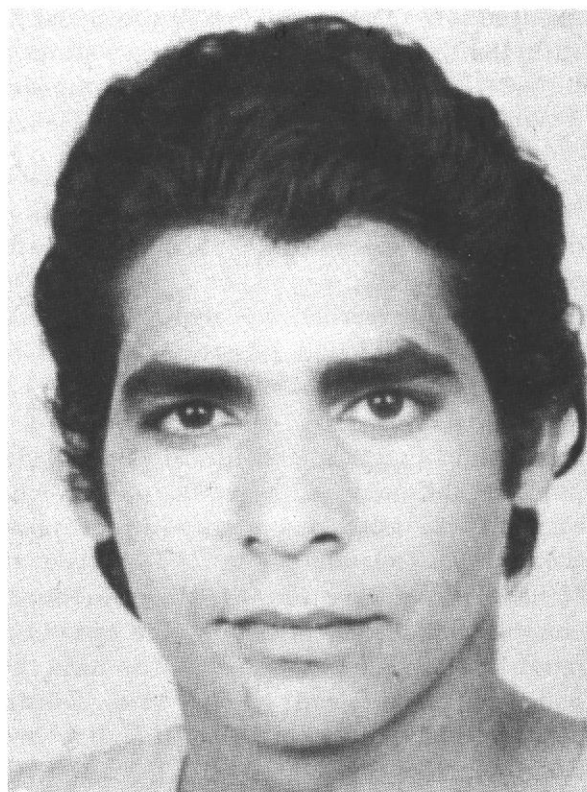
families with evident signs of torture; badly mutilated bodies have also been dumped in the street outside the victims' homes; political detainees have "disappeared" while in prison and are reported to have died under torture. Some prisoners have been reported by the authorities to have been sentenced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

FIRST—HAND TESTIMONIES

In spite of these repeated allegations of torture in Iraq, first-hand testimonies have until recently been rare. In October 1979, however, Amnesty International was able to interview at length and - for the first time - to examine medically an Iraqi exile, Bur-

han Al SHAWI, who said he had been severely tortured in 1978 while in the custody of the security forces; he was willing to have his case and his name widely publicized. The examination was carried out over two days in Copenhagen by members of Amnesty International's Danish Medical Group. The subsequent report was published in *Le Quotidien du médecin* in France on 26 February 1980. This is Case No. 1 in the following report.

In March 1980 it was possible to interview and examine medically another 14 Iraqi exiles who said they had been tortured between September 1976 and August 1979 - but they asked for their names and other identifying information to remain confidential for fear of reprisals against them and their fami-



Burhan Al SHAWI

lies. They are Case Nos. 2 to 15 in this report.

The treatment the 15 Iraqis alleged they were subjected to ranged from crude physical assault with fists, boots, truncheons and whips to sustained beating of the sole of the feet, systematic electric shock torture and mock executions. Torture of a sexual nature featured again and again in the allegations; there were said to have been verbal and actual physical sexual humiliations of men and women detainees - threats to rape them were made, and to rape members of their families and close friends; one detainee stated that he was in fact raped after he had been bound hand and foot to a chair.

All those interviewed said they had suffered blows on the head, body and extremities from fists, feet or rubber truncheons (some rubber truncheons were described as having metal rod inside, others as having bands of metal around them). A few of them said they have been beaten with rope, a wooden stick or a whip made of split electric flex. Three said they have been hit on the genitals, and one that he had received Karate-style blows with the edge of the hand on the lower spine. One man said that during the interrogation he had complained of pain in the lower back and that blows had been directed in that region. Another man said pressure had been applied to his eyes through his blindfold and that his cheeks and lower lip were pressed in his teeth until the lip became swollen. Four people said they had been lifted up and thrown to the ground, or against a wall; four said their hair had been pulled hard.

All said they had been blindfolded during all or most of the interrogation, with their hand tied behind their backs.

One man said he had been completely anaesthetized - when he regained consciousness his symptoms had indicated physical ill-treatment.

Twelve people said they had been subjected to *falanga* (called *falanga* in other countries). The description of this was similar in all cases: the victims were made to lie on their back on the floor with their feet in the air supported by wooden stocks or by a table; they were then beaten on the soles of the feet with a rubber truncheon. Almost all of those interviewed said they were forced to walk or run

up and down the room on hot salty water. One person described how his shoes were forced on to his swollen feet.

Thirteen people said they had been subjected to electrical torture. Three types were described.

* A truncheon-like instrument, usually referred to as an "electric stick", about 30 cm long and with a cable attached to one end, was applied to the sensitive parts of the body, such as the face, breasts and genitals, causing local pains.

* In four cases the current was turned on after separate electrodes had been placed on fingers, nostrils or the abdomen; this caused pain and shivering in the affected area.

* In one case electrodes were applied to the temples and, as the current was turned on, the victim had convulsions and lost consciousness.

Two people said they were burned with cigarettes. One said a small hard metal object the size of a pencil was used to burn him.

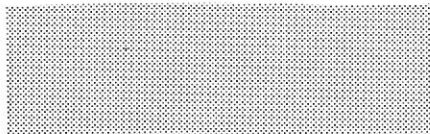
Another man said a vice-like instrument had been placed over his toes and tightened. (This instrument is called *al mangana* in colloquial Arabic.) A 52-year-old man said that on a number of occasions he had been placed in a heated closet full of steam while wearing only his underclothes. The temperature had then been drastically reduced until his clothes froze stiff on his body.

A woman of 31 told of how she had been taken into the prison garden in her nightclothes, blindfolded and with her hands tied behind her. There, in near freezing temperatures, she had been soaked with cold water and left suspended from a step-ladder for several hours.

Six people spoke of suffering extreme physical exhaustion, either through being deprived of sleep or by being suspended by their handcuffed wrists from a wall or a step-ladder for several hours with their toes just touching or just off the ground. One man described how he was forced to stand on one leg for an hour outside the interrogation room; another how he had to raise his left leg and keep his hands on his head for several hours, being beaten when he failed to maintain this position.

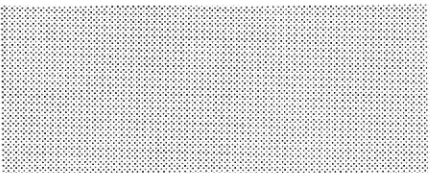
In many cases the interrogators were said to have pretended to adopt a "kind" and "understanding" approach at some stages; for instance, they

would engage in discussions about politics and pretend to support the victim's views, or they would promise them such things as good jobs, entrance to college, passports and "women" if they confessed or signed a declaration.



In 1978 the Iraqi authorities commented on *The Amnesty International Report 1975-76*, which included details of a first-hand account of torture and mentioned that the names had been received of 43 Kurds who had allegedly died under torture during the year in question. In their comments, the Iraqi authorities referred to the Iraqi constitution's prohibition of torture but made no specific reference to the allegations reported

Amnesty International's Secretary General has twice raised the question of torture with Iraqi officials during visits to Bagdad. The first time was in March 1977, when the president of the Iraqi Lawyers' Cooperative said he knew of no cases of torture in Iraq, but would investigate any that were brought to his attention. Although the Secretary General drew his attention to the reports of torture contained in *The Amnesty International Report 1975-76*, the government is not known to have conducted any investigation into the allegations. In May 1979 the Iraqi Minister of Justice assured the Secretary General that whenever allegations of torture were made in court by a defendant, the trial was stopped and the allegations investigated before the proceedings continued. He was, however, able to recall only one such investigation into allegations of torture; this was a case in which a number of policemen were disciplined in the 1960s.



TORTURE AND THE LAW

IRAQ'S INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS

Torture is prohibited in Iraq, both by domestic legislation and by international law. On 25 January 1971 Iraq

ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), Article 7 of which states: "no one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel and inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment". On 9 December 1975 the United Nations Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Being Subjected to Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment¹ was adopted by consensus by the UN General Assembly. According to Article 3 of the declaration, "No State may permit or tolerate torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. Exceptional circumstances such as a state of war or a threat of war, internal political instability or any other public emergency may not be invoked as a justification of torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment."

Although the UN declaration is not a binding legal instrument, the Iraqi Government stated officially on 3 September 1979 that it intended to comply with the declaration and "to continue the implementation, through its national legislation and other effective measures, of the provisions of the said declaration".

Torture is also prohibited under Iraq's domestic legislation. Article 22(a) of its constitution² prohibits "any form of physical and mental torture". Article 127 of the Judicial Procedures Law of 1971 states the "no illegal methods may be used to extract confessions from the accused, including illtreatment, threats to cause harm, enticement, psychological methods or the use of drugs and spirits".

Prohibition alone, however, is not enough: effective mechanisms are needed to enforce that prohibition, as is made in articles 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 of the UN declaration cited above. The point was made several times in Geneva in March 1980, when the 9th session of the Human Rights Committee discussed Iraq's report on its implementation of the ICCPR. Three members of the committee pointed out that despite the general prohibition of torture in Iraq's constitution, mentioned in the Iraqi report, there was no mention of safeguards designed to ensure respect for the prohibition by the security and

police forces. The Iraqi authorities have consistently avoided answering specific questions about these mechanisms. Under UN Resolution 32/63 of 8 December 1977, all member states were asked to provide the Secretary-General of the UN General Assembly with information about the steps they had taken, including legislative and administrative measures, to put into practice the provisions of the Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. The UN questionnaire included the following:

- * What methods are used to ensure the systematic review of interrogation practices and of arrangements for the custody and treatment of persons deprived of their liberty,

with a view to preventing torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment?

- * Which authorities are competent to receive and examine complaints from alleged victims that torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment had been inflicted upon them by or at the instigation of public officials? Describe the conditions under which such complaints are investigated, and the procedures applicable in such cases.
- * Provide information whether, since the adoption of the Declaration, any investigations have been carried out or any proceeding instituted in connection with allegations of torture or other forms of cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.



amnesty international

EVEN SMALL CHILDREN ARE KILLED UNDER TORTURE IN IRAQ



Ali Hama SALIH (above), a twelve year old Iraqi-Kurd, is said to have died under torture while in the custody of Iraq's security forces earlier this year. A schoolboy from the village of Ja'aferan, in Sulaimaniya Province, he was reportedly arrested on 25 February and detained for interrogation in the security force's headquarters in

Karadagh. On 5 March his body is alleged to have been returned to his family severely marked by torture.

Four other Iraqi Kurdish school children of between 12 and 13 years from the village of Kalar, Sulaimaniya Province, are also reported to have been arrested in February 1981. They were members of the Students Union of Kurdistan. Their families have had no word of their fate or whereabouts since their arrest. The charges against the four are not known.

On 9 November AI wrote to President Saddam HUSSAIN of Iraq, urging him to initiate an investigation into the death of Ali Hama Salih and the fate of the four other Kurdish children. Previously, AI members had written about them to the President and to members of the Iraqi Government, but no replies were received.

DECEMBER 1981

newsletter

- * Does the law ensure redress and compensation to the victims of the acts of torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment?
- * Describe the law or practice, if any, which excludes from evidence in any proceedings statements extracted under torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment.

Replying on 1 July 1980, the Iraqi authorities stated:

“The Government of Iraq emphasizes that it has always actively collaborated with the Division of Human Rights in connection with the Declaration on Torture and Others Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment and is always willing to do so if required. The Government of Iraq also declares its intention of acceding to the Convention on torture. The Government of Iraq therefore believes that it is unnecessary to reply to the questionnaire.”

ARREST, DETENTION AND TRIAL PROCEDURES

The 15 Iraqi's who are the subject of this report were all arrested independently of each other and at different times and places. Their descriptions of the arrest and the detention procedures are markedly consistent. They show that there was little or no observance of the legal prohibition of torture contained in the Iraqi Judicial Procedures Law and in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; they also reveal the absence of the safeguarding mechanisms and procedures against torture which are outlined in the UN General Assembly declaration cited above and in Article 9 of the ICCPR.³

ARREST

Most of the 15 victims were arrested by plainclothes security officers, usually armed, sometimes accompanied by police officers; one was arrested by eight members of the popular army (the Ba'ath Party's militia) carrying automatic weapons. In no case was an arrest order produced and in only one case (No. 5) did the arresting authority identify itself. All of those interviewed said they were either taken to the security headquarters immediately after arrest or first to a local police station (to which the securi-

ty forces have access) and then to the security headquarters the same day or the following day. Interrogation started on the first or second day of arrest in all cases.

In almost none of the cases was the accused told the reason for arrest at the time of arrest. In case No. 7, a letter was sent to the office of the accused, requesting him to come to Military Intelligence headquarters for questioning. Most of the other accused were asked to accompany the security officers for about half an hour to answer a few questions either about their political affiliations or someone else's, or about some other problem. It was only when the accused were being transported to or had arrived at the police station or security headquarters that they were told that they were under arrest for their political activity.

DETENTION

Four of those interviewed said they had been brought before a judge or magistrate at some stage of their detention, which lasted from one to 270 days. Two said they were brought before a judge in the security headquarters. One (Case No. 2) said he was brought before a judge two weeks after his arrest, was asked a few questions and told he would have to become a member of the Ba'ath Party if he wished to be released. The other (Case No. 3) saw a judge after the amnesty of August 1979 was declared, to have his case closed.

Two of the 15 were tried; although a number were "threatened" with a trial, none of the 13 others was formally charged. Only two of the 13 were told by their interrogators what they were accused of: Case No. 2, with insulting the government because he tore up a picture of the President, with supporting those who had been executed for political reasons and with reading banned political literature; Case No. 11, with carrying out certain political activities within an illegal political party.

All the interrogations were carried out by members of the security forces. Although accusations were made against some of those arrested, the main purpose of the interrogations appears to have been to extract information about their political activities and to compel them either to join the Ba'ath Party or to sign a declaration committing them to remaining politically independent. The reason for bringing two of the detainees and not others to trial remains unclear. None of the accused was allowed access to a lawyer during detention. In almost all cases families had no contact with the accused; in spite of persistent inquiries they were often unable to get confirmation of the arrest, or to discover the detainee's whereabouts, although one family was able to visit a detainee while he was in pre-trial detention in a police station in Basra.

TRIAL

Of the two who said they were brought to trial, one (Case No. 4) was given a week's notice that he was to be tried. When he asked permission to appoint a defence lawyer he was told it was unnecessary since one would be appointed for him by the court. He was summarily tried *in camera* by the Revolutionary Court in Bagdad. He was accused of insulting the government but one of the two alleged witnesses to this retracted his statement in court. The accused was not allowed to ask questions in court. He was acquitted after his defence lawyer asked his release because of insufficient evidence. The other person to be tried (Case No. 9) was charged with insulting the government, stealing three dinars (worth about £6 at the time) from his office, selling a banned political paper in the street and calling on workers to strike. He was taken to the Revolutionary Court in Bagdad four times but the trial was postponed three times, either because of insufficient evidence or because the papers were not in order. His family had tried to engage a lawyer but could find none willing to take on a security case. When he was eventually brought to trial, he was acquitted because of insufficient evidence - although he was not released until nine days later. Before leaving prison he was again asked to sign the declaration committing himself to remain politically unaffiliated.

ferred from rectal bleeding. Seven described loss of weight (mean 15 kg, range eight to 22 kg) during detention lasting from 23 to 270 days (mean 60 days).

PERSISTENT SYMPTOMS DESCRIBED

Twelve of the fifteen examined complained of all or most of the following persistent mental symptoms: reduced power of concentration; loss of energy; nervousness; depression; fear; reduced self-control; desire for isolation; insomnia and nightmares.

Eight described a tendency to headaches and 11 to impaired memory. Four suffered from sexual dysfunction (impairment).

One had developed frequent spells of headaches and disturbances of vision or palpitations and precordial pains, both followed by a brief loss of consciousness.

One reported impaired hearing in one ear. Palpitations, abdominal pains and menstrual irregularities were also reported.

SIGNS FOUND BY DOCTORS

Ten of those interviewed showed signs of mental dysfunction at the examination.

Eight showed scars compatible with the alleged torture.

Otосcopy revealed a scar in the tympanic membrane of a man who had been subjected to a trauma to the side of the head.

Mild left-sided paresis of the peroneal nerve was found in one person; it affected the way he walked ("drop foot").

Computer tomography scanning of the brain revealed in one case a mild cortical atrophy.

AVAILABLE MEDICAL DOCUMENTATION

One man (Case No. 9) said he had developed a total left-sided pneumothorax after torture. X-rays of the chest taken during his stay in hospital immediately after the alleged torture and his release from prison were shown to the examining doctors, and these confirmed the diagnosis.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Each of the 15 Iraqi exiles examined by the doctors alleged that he or she had been tortured during interrogation by the Iraqi authorities. In all cases the torture described was consistent with the subsequent symptoms and the signs found during the physical examinations. The doctors found nothing inconsistent in their allegations of torture.

Considering that the 15 Iraqis were arrested independently of each other, at different times between September 1976 and August 1979 and in six different towns in Iraq, the descriptions of torture were remarkably uniform. The symptoms described correspond to accounts given by torture victims from other countries subjected to similar kinds of torture. Amnesty International therefore concludes that torture took place during the period September 1976 to August 1979.



CASE HISTORIES

Case No. 1

Burhan Al Shawi, a 24-year-old journalist and writer. He told the examining doctors that at about 5 pm on 3 November 1978 he was arrested in a Bagdad street by plainclothes security officers, who took him to a car parked nearby. He was blindfolded, tied up and kept on the floor of the vehicle during a short ride to the district security headquarters (he knew where he was taken to, being familiar with the neighbourhood). He was kept blindfolded during his detention, which lasted nine days.

Once inside the building he was tied to a chair. In the course of the first two days he was moved from room to room, spending an hour or two in each. He was questioned about his working conditions, what he did in his spare time and his future plans. He was offered something to drink and was also allowed to go to the toilet.

In each of the various rooms there were between two and 10 people who beat him alternately with the flat of the hand, the fist, a hard stick and a whip-like instrument. His face was beaten several times with rods and fists until his lips swelled and bled. In one room two people said how hand-

some he was, kissed him several times, caressed him, pawed over and licked his genitals; after an hour of this he was taken to another room, where he was beaten and kicked. Sometimes he dozed off while sitting in the chair, but never for long.

On the third day he was questioned about his political affiliations and asked to disclose the names of those holding similar views. He was promised a good job if he would disclose the names. Most of the time he lay face down on the floor with his hands tied behind his back. His interrogators trod hard on his body several times. He was beaten on his hands and on the soles of his feet with a stick and a whip, probably made of split electric flex. In another room that same day they tried to induce an erection of his penis, both by hand and mouth. Then the torture became more systematic, taking place every one or two hours. His head was whipped and beaten so hard that he often lost consciousness. In the course of the third or fourth day he lost all sense of time. Once he was tied to a chair, his chest against the seat and his limbs bound to the legs of the chair. He was then punched and beaten with a stick. He fainted several times. After regaining consciousness on one occasion he was aware that his trousers had been removed and realized that he had been raped. He was then made to sit on a cold bottle-like object which was forced into his rectum, causing violent pain. He fainted and woke up when cold water was poured over him. For weeks after this he bled on defecation.

He also received hard karate-style edge-of-hand blows to the lower spine; after this he developed enuresis over a period of days.

His interrogation continued over the next few days, often under the supervision of an officer. The interrogators began systematically burning him with a hard object about the size of a pencil. At first he thought it was a cigarette, but the hot object was pressed against his skin for too long and he felt it could not be one. They started burning the knuckles of his left hand, threatening, if he still refused to disclose any names, to burn his right hand as well so that he could never write again. His left hand was burned in five places and then his legs were burned



ONLY BA'THISTS ARE BRAVE:

TRAGICOMIC S FROM THE IRAQI DICTATOR'S WAR.

Privileges of the Decoration of Bravery are not granted to those "who do not follow the principles of the (Bath) Party and those took part in the November revision". "The Revolution Command Council RCC has taken decisions not to grant the privileges listed in the law of the Decoration of Bravery No. 14 of 1981 and the amendment of the Order of Rafidain Medal No. 5 of 1981 to those who had committed an act contrary to the principles of the Ba'th party or who participated in the November revision". The Ministry of Defence will issue, on the basis of the Council's decision "the necessary directives concerning the Decoration of Bravery and Rafidain Medal, the checking of all the cases of those covered by this decision and all that is required to implement it". (Aléf-Ba, No. 655, 15/4/1981, p.6)

ARMY OFFICERS GET ALL

"The RCC has decided to allow all

officers to receive the car set aside for the military, except those who received one in 1981.

It is known that the cars set aside for the military are import - duty free, sold at cost price plus a small charge to cover administrative expenses.

The RCC also decided that officers have the right to receive a second car two years after receiving the last car". (Aléf-Ba, No. 658, 5/5/1981, p.6).

"The RCC has taken a decision concerning the families that offer more than one dead in the Iraqi megalomaniac's war against Iran.

1 .The parents or dependents of the family that offers more than one martyr in the war are given a residential house or flat according to Prag. 4 of the RCC decision No. 1750 of 29/11/1980.

2 .The family that offers more than one martyr in the war may choose the plot of land that is bigger in area and in the province of its choice should one of the martyr be an officer. Such a family has priority in obtaining a house in the province of its choice instead of the plot

of land.

3....

a If the dependents of the martyr are entitled to a pension salary for more than one martyr, they may choose the higher salary plus 20 %.

b If the dependents of martyr are entitled a pension salary for more than two martyrs, they have the right to have the two higher salaries.

c This decision is to be implemented as from the date it is published in the official gazette and covers those who are martyred from 4/9/1980". (Aléf-Ba, No. 694, 20/1/1982).

WHILE TENS OF THOUSANDS ARE KILLED AND DISABLED AND HUNDREDS OF FAMILIES IN GRIEF, THE IRAQI RACIST PRESIDENT IS BUSY WITH THE BUILDING OF MONUMENTS

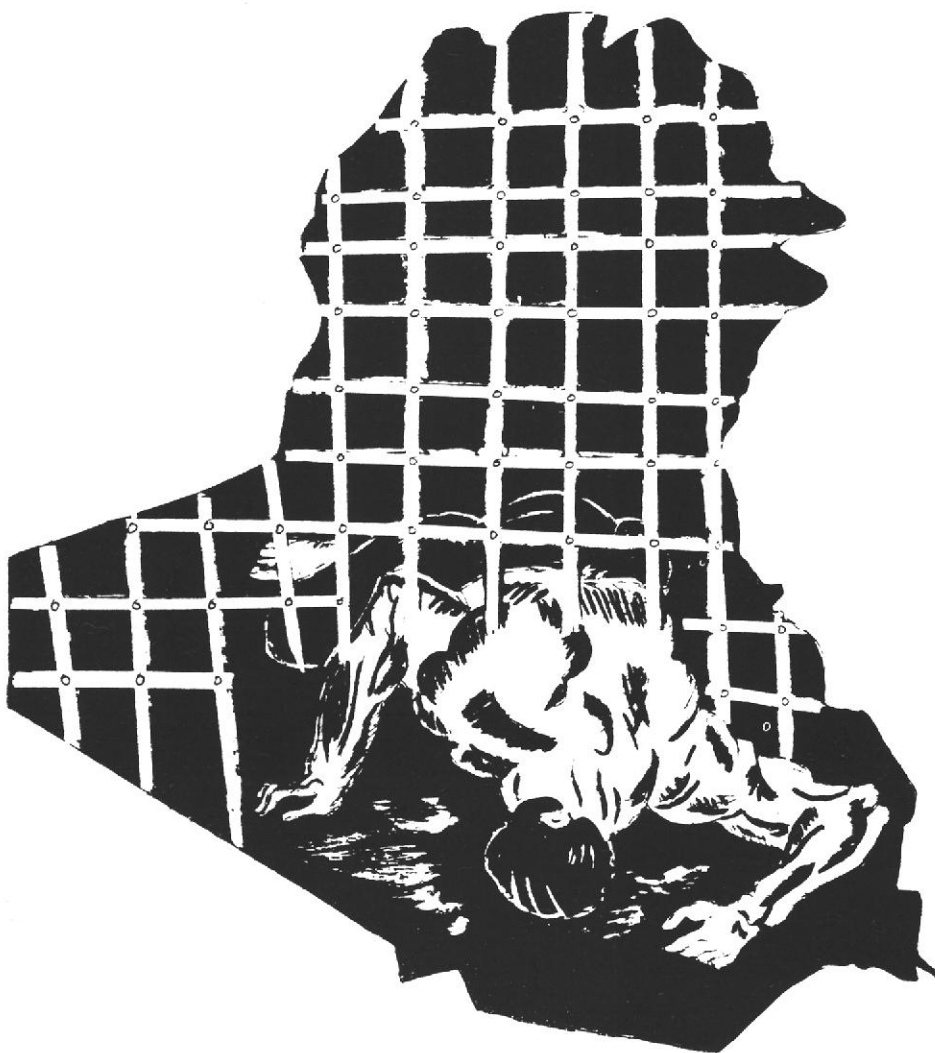
It is estimated that over 60.000 Iraqi troops and civilians have so far been killed, wounded and disabled in the Iraqi day dreamer's war against Iran, the Iraqi economy semi-ruined and suffers enormous dislocations, the oil industry at a virtual stand still, foreign borrowing sky rocketing (it is reliably estimated that Iraqi regime has so far borrowed 25.000 millions dollars, mostly from Saudi-Arabia, Kuwait and the other conservative Gulf states), foreign reserves depleted, remaining industrial plants operating substantially below capacity because their labour force is transferred to the war front, 70.000 Iraqi Kurds deported to neighbouring countries, the brain-drain reaching unprecedented proportions and runaway inflation (estimated at 50% at the end of last year)....

While all this is taking place, the Iraqi dictator is busying himself with the building of a monument of those whom he has sent to a certain death in order to satisfy his megalomania and daydreams of empire-building.



It is a monument for the unknown soldier. There is already an Unknown-soldier monument in Baghdad built during the reign of Abdal Karim Qasim at the beginning of the sixties. It is one of those prestige projects that satisfy the megalomania of the Iraqi dictator.

is not (measured by the possession of) the Citizenship Certificate but by the behaviour, when, where and how it is required, He, who does not belong to the homeland now has no place to belong to.." (Aléf-Ba, No. 649, 9/2/1982, p6).



The funds allotted to the first phase of the project are 30 million Iraqi Dinars (about £ 60 million), to be built by local and Italian firms. It will be built on an area of 300,000 square metres.

(Aléf-Ba, No.649, 9/2/1982, p.p. 48-49).

A NEW THESIS ON WHO IS AN "IRAQI"

In the course of a speech given at a cabinet meeting at the beginning of Jan. 1982, the Iraqi self-appointed lawmaker declared that, "He, who does not actually work with the additional energy is not an Iraqi. -(Being) Iraqi

The crux of the speech is that he who does not do exactly as ordered by the dictator and his henchmen and intelligence apparatus, will be declared non-Iraqi and deported, if allowed to stay alive.

WHY DID THE DICTATOR CRY IN PUBLIC?

While delivering a televised speech on 6th. Jan. 1982, the Iraqi dictator wept when he mentioned the victims he has sent to death in his war against Iran.

Was he really shedding tears? Was he feigning? If he was weeping, what

for? Was it for the dead? Was it for the hundred of thousands of grieved families? Certainly, not. The dictator is not of the kind of soft-hearted or kind-minded person. His hands are deep in the blood of his closest former colleagues, opponents and innocent people. He was crying for his seat of power which is now in danger of being lost because of the dictator's mis calculations. He was crying because reality has destroyed his empire-building daydreams and brought to miserable end his megalomaniac ambitions.

And if he was only feigning to win sympathy from the Iraqi public, he revealed another of his "qualities"; he showed that he is a capable clown of a new type, a clown that makes people laugh by crying himself.

THE MOVABLE AND IMMOVABLE PROPERTY OF DEPORTEE IRAQI KURDS ARE EXPROPRIATED BY THE IRAQI REGIME

The Iraqi regime decided in the summer of 1980 to expropriate the movable and immovable property of all Iraqi Kurds deported to neighbouring countries, confiscate their Iraqi citizenship, detain their young sons (at the beginning but later their daughters too, and for of those awaiting deportation) freeze all transfers of deeds, all bank accounts, the selling of immovable possessions, restrictions on travel etc.....

One of the latest measures was an announce by the member of the so-called Revolution Command Council and first vice-Premier requiring every 'Iraqi citizen' who has financial or others obligations and/or rights relating to the deported Iraqi Kurds must report them to the Office of the General Secretariat for the Liquidation (clearing up) of the Property of Deported Iraqis (read, Kurds) within two months as from May 1981. Anybody who has such obligations and/or rights and does not report them within the set time would be prosecuted, ON THE GROUND THAT THE PROPERTY OF THE DEPORTED KURDS WAS EXPROPRIATED AND CONFISCATED BY THE STATE.

(Aléf-Ba, No. 658, 6/5/1981, p.7) ●

ON THE OPPRESSION OF THE KURDISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

BY
M. EMIN BOZARSLAN
(KURDISH AUTHOR IN SWEDEN)

TALK GIVEN AT THE INTERNATIONAL WRITERS' REUNIONS
LAX HTI, FINLAND, JUNE 15-19-1981

Dear colleagues, dear friends!

It is a great joy indeed for me, a Kurdish author, to meet you my colleagues from so many different countries, gathered here at this international conference.

Dear friends!

Please let me first ask you some questions:

- Can you imagine a language in which it is completely forbidden to write?

- Can you imagine a literature which is not allowed to be written or read?

- Can you imagine a culture that has been threatened by extermination for more than half a century?

- Can you imagine people with a population more than 10 million, that is not allowed to use its own language, its literature and its culture?

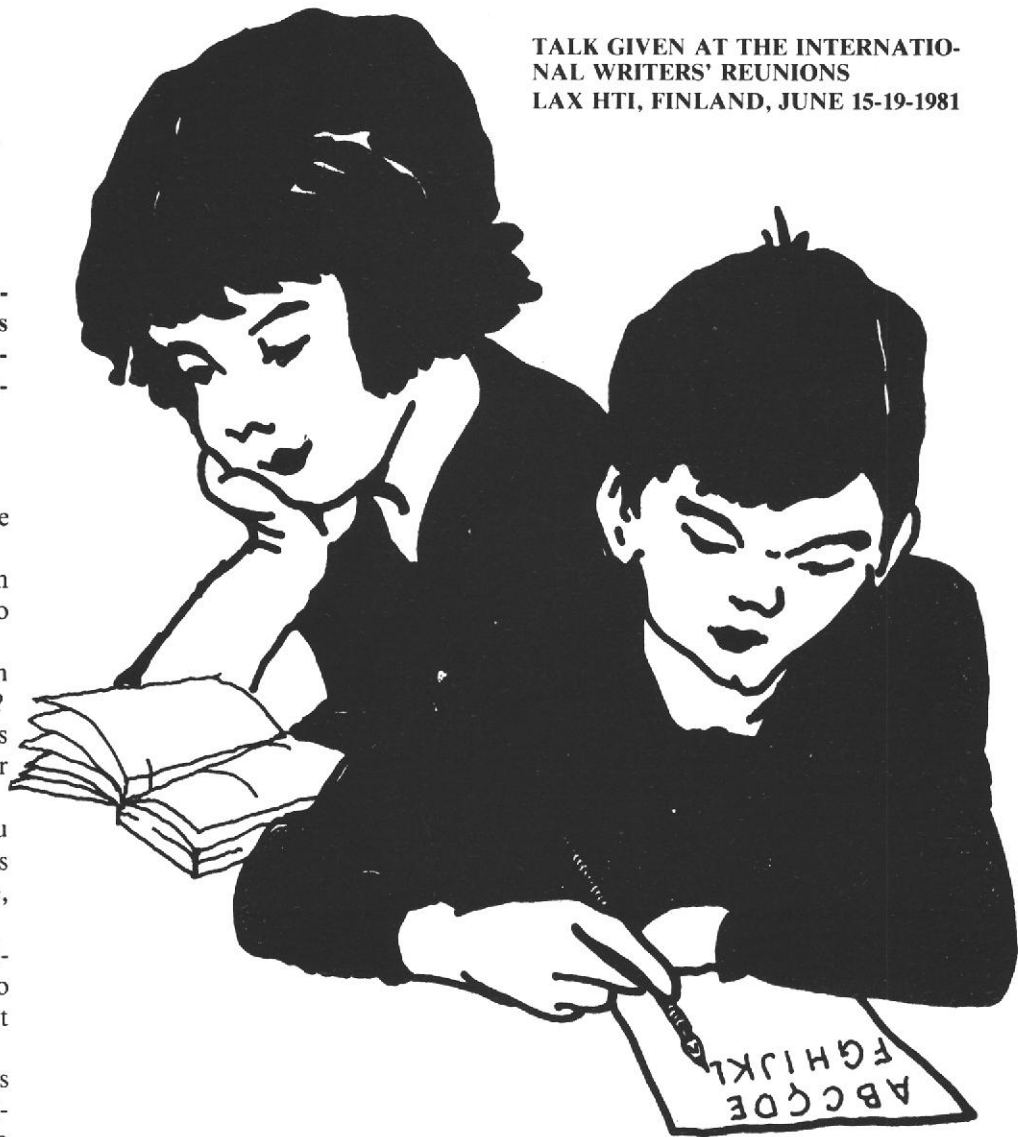
- Can you imagine millions of children who are not allowed in school to study in their own mothertongue, but have to use a foreign language?

- Can you imagine a nation that has signed all international laws and treaties on Human Rights but yet tries to exterminate a culture, kill a literature and forbid a language before the rest of the world with all its democratic and Human Right organisations?

Perhaps these questions and their implications seem unbelievable and untrue. Perhaps you can begin to think that these questions belong to some ancient mythological tales from some barbarian days long ago.

But neither those questions nor their content belong to prehistory. They belong to our days, the twentieth century, and they are about the Kurdish language, the Kurdish culture and the Kurdish literature, that has been totally forbidden by the Turkish state which includes northern Kurdistan.

I am going to tell you about the undemocratic and inhuman repression that is being used by the Turkish state against the Kurdish people, the Kurdish language, the Kurdish culture and the Kurdish literature.



ALFABE

A totally forbidden language.

The Kurdish language is an Indo-European language that is one of the three old major languages in the Middle East (the two other being Arabic and Persian). After 1071 when Turkish tribes began to settle in Anatolia, the Turkish language became the fourth major tongue in the Middle East.

The Kurdish language is spoken by about 20 million people living in Kurdistan, that has been divided between Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. Kurdish minorities also exist in the Soviet Union and Lebanon. Since the middle of

the 1960's many Kurdish immigrants live in every country of the western Europe and Australia.

In the northern Kurdistan, a Turkish colony since 1923, about ten million Kurds are living, which is more than half of the total Kurdish population. There are also about 1 million Kurds living in different parts of Anatolia because they were exiled from Kurdistan by the old Ottoman empire and the Turkish republic. Some of them also moved there during recent years in search of employment.

As I have already said, about 10 million Kurds live in northern Kurdistan

although their language is completely forbidden since 1923. During the feudal Ottoman empire every language spoken within the territory of the empire and among them Kurdish, were allowed. But when the Turkish republic was formed, the Kurdish language was forbidden throughout northern Kurdistan. This situation has continued up until today and the Kurdish language is still forbidden.

It is not allowed to write or to publish books in Kurdish. It is not allowed to print Kurdish papers or magazines. It is not allowed to even write private letters in Kurdish. And it is not allowed to do any research on the Kurdish language.

The Turkish government has continually attempted to exterminate the Kurdish language and assimilate the Kurdish people with the Turks. The Turkish government also uses all facilities possible, such as education, mass media and different kinds of oppression to fulfil this aim.

The only forbidden ABC - book.

In my country you are not even allo-

wed to write and publish a ABC - book in Kurdish. I am fully aware that it is not proper to use oneself as an example. But since in northern Kurdistan there is only one example of an ABC - book and this example involves myself, I just simply have to use myself as an example. And this is the case:

As a Kurdish author I felt the responsibility to my people and my language and I decided in the middle of the sixties to write an ABC - book in Kurdish for Kurdish children and illiterates. The book called ALFABE was published in 1968 in Istanbul, Turkey. This was a great event for the Kurdish people and the Turkish government. Because this book was the only Kurdish ABC - book in northern Kurdistan, every Kurdish child and adult greeted it with great joy. On the other hand the Turkish government reacted strongly towards me and towards the book. After two days, two courts, one in Istanbul, the other in Diyarbakir (the main city in Kurdistan) banned the book and declared it illegal throughout Turkey. Also,

the Turkish authorities accused me of trying to split Turkey and form an independent Kurdish state with this little ABC - book of only 64 pages. Because of this accusation I was kept in prison for four months. The book is still forbidden in Kurdistan and all of Turkey. All this for only one reason: the ABC - book is written in Kurdish and the Kurdish language is forbidden in Turkey.

So, this Kurdish ABC - book, is as far as I know, the only ABC - book in the world that has been forbidden. I have never heard of anything like it anywhere in the world, not even in South Africa. This is a scandal and a black sin against Humanity and Human Rights and the responsibility rests on the Turkish government.

Last year the second edition of this ABC - book was published in Sweden thus becoming the only Kurdish ABC - book in Europe. Kurdish children and adult analpabets in Europe began to use it too.

following-up in next number

news and views

THE KURDISH PROGRAM.

Cultural Survival, New York City, began in 1981 The Kurdish Program and published a brochure spelling out its aims. The Program reads:

"That so large an ethnic group should be allowed to slip between the pages of history by the force of global indifference is tragedy of major proportions.

Our concern for human rights demands that we contradict the Kurdish proverb: "The Kurds have no friends".

To meet the urgency of the situation, Cultural Survival has established a Kurdish Program. The activities of this program will be undertaken in two phases:

The first phase will publicize the Kurdish plight by: Developing educational and resource materials: publications, media publications and exhibiti-

ons. Identifying and creating channels for publicity.

Compiling a resource library. Sponsoring lectures and other educational events.

Collaborating with human rights organizations to aid Kurds.

In the second phase, the program will assist such projects as: Bilingual education for Kurdish students. Scholarship for the education of Kurdish students.

Programs of animal husbandry and general economic development land rights. Experiments in appropriate technology. Health projects, especially tuberculosis - care."

The Kurdish Program organized a series of lectures by Gerald Chaliand, French author and lecturer (editor of "People Without A Country, Zed. Press, Londond, 1980, which was originally written in French. Les Kurdes

et le Kurdistan, Librairie Francois Haspero, 1978), at Dartmouth, Union of Vermont, Yale, Wellerbey, Harvard, Georgetown, New York Univ., Univ. of Pennsylvania, and The Asia Society, between Nov. 12th. and Dec. 3rd 1981.

The Director of the Kurdish Program is Vera Beaudin Saeedpour, Dr. of Ed., who wrote an article on the Demotion of Kurdish culture entitled, "Killing Them Softly", that was published in Pesh Merga, No. 8/9 1977. It is only appropriate to quote the following from the above-mentioned brochure:

"Here is a cultural being systematically demolished, a people being destroyed, and the United States partially responsible for the Kurdish plight - has raised no voice in protest".

PROTEST

STUDENT ORGANISATIONS CONDEMN CRIMINAL KIDNAP ATTEMPT BY IRAQI SECURITY AGENTS IN BIRMINGHAM.

On Sunday 7th Febr. a criminal attempt was made by a gang of three Iraqi Security agents to kidnap a member of Iraqi Students Society in Birmingham. The agents physically assaulted the victim after breaking into his flat at 1.00 a.m., but their attempt to capture him failed as a result of the resistance he offered which drew the attention of neighbours.

This attack came soon after a solidarity meeting on Saturday evening organised by the Midlands Section of CARDRI (Committee Against Repression and for Democratic Rights in Iraq). An attempt by Baath thugs to disrupt the meeting was foiled, and there was evidence of active surveillance outside.

This latest criminal act brings to light once again the real dangers threatening the lives of Iraqi students opposed to the dictatorial regime in Iraq. It exposes more than ever before the role of the Iraqi Embassy and its gun-carrying "diplomats" as a centre for the export of Baath terror to Britain. It has been long exposed as a centre for plotting terrorist activities, compiling Death Lists and carrying out surveillance.

The undersigned organisations strongly condemn this criminal act by Iraqi Security agents, and call for a speedy investigation by the British authorities of the sinister activities of the Iraqi Security agents and its agents. Iraqi Security agents terrorising students, on campus and outside, must be exposed and firmly dealt with. Baath terror in Britain must not be tolerated.

We re-affirm our determination to expose the crimes of the Baath dictatorship and the terrorist role of its instruments abroad: Iraqi Embassies and (NUIS). Solidarity with the Iraqi people and their struggle for democracy and freedom will be enhanced.

- NUS - Wales
- NUS - Scotland
- Birmingham NUS Area
- East Midlands Universities National Committee
- Leicestershire NUS Area
- Cardiff Area Students' Association
- Manchester NUS Area
- Tyne & Wear NUS Area
- NOLS - Birmingham

- London Students Organisation (LSO)
- Left Alliance
- National Students Committee CPGB

STUDENT UNIONS AT:

- Nottingham University
- Newcastle University
- University College of Swansea
- University College of Cardiff
- Manchester University
- UMIST
- Salford University
- Brunel University
- University of Essex
- University of Sussex
- London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE)
- University College - London
- City University
- South Bank Poly
- Middlesex Poly
- Thames Poly
- Polytechnic of Central London
- Queen Mary College, London Univ.
- Goldsmith College, London Univ.
- Chelsea College, London Univ.
- Sheffield City Poly
- North East London Poly
- Polytechnic of North London
- Loughborough SU
- Leicester Poly
- Bolton Institute of Technology
- S't. Johns College
- Open Shaw Technical College
- Trent Poly. in Nottingham
- Teeside Poly
- Newcastle Poly
- Greek Student Federation in Britain
- Turkish Student Federation in

U.K.

- Organisation of Democratic Youth and Student of Iran (ODYSI)
- Kurdish Students Society in Europe - U.K.
- Turkish - Cypriot Students Union in Britain
- Organisation of Iranian Students in Britain (Supporters of Fadiin (Majority)).
- Iraqi Students Society - U.K. (Branch of GUSIR)
- Union of Democratic Egyptian Youth
- Organisation of Sudanese Progressives in U.K. and Ireland.

London, 9th Feb. 1982



THREE MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES CALL FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNI- TED FRONT IN KURDISTAN- TURKEY

Three major political organisations, the Banner of Liberation Organisation (Ala Rizzgari), The Organisation of Kurdistan Patriotic Strugglers (KUK), and the Kurdistan Socialist Party of Turkey, issued a joint statement at the end of January declaring the establishment of close and principled cooperation amongst themselves and calling for broad and intensive cooperation aiming at national and democratic liberation. The statement stressed that the tripartite cooperation cannot, despite its historic significance, be a substitute to the cooperation that must be comprised of all patriotic and progressive force; the organisations consider such cooperation a historical necessity. Cooperation among the political organisations in Kurdistan is imperative today more than any other time in order to mobilize all energies and capabilities and to act immediately without wasting any time to deal with the political fragmentation in the Kurdish national movement, to rebuild it on and foundations supporting the revolutionary forces and to re-gain the confidence of the masses in the originality of their national forces and overthrow the fascist colonial dictatorship in Turkey.



Lebanon's kurds and the problem of citizenship

The question of the Kurds and Arabs of Wadi (Valley) Khalid, and other Muslims in the margins of the Lebanese social life because they do not possess the Lebanese citizenship or any other citizenship showing their national identity and allowing them to participate, like other members of society who belong to it, equality in rights and duties, is a tragic question. It has lasted long, pushed into the background and into obscurity for some time to come to foreground and appear on the surface again, announcing its darkness and demanding justice. Then once again it recedes to its original state, obscurity, to be neglected and forgotten,

What is the reality of the question of this group of Muslims residing in Lebanon but deprived of one of the characteristics of the human being in civilized human societies, namely, citizenship? Does this group of Muslims have the right to Lebanese citizenship? If they have such a right, were from is it derived? What are the legal grounds for this right?

The Kurds were Ottoman subjects who migrated, like other ethnic groups, whether willingly or by force, to the Ottoman Villayts (Provinces) of Syria and Lebanon and others individually or in groups, in search of livelihood to settled in the provinces to which they had migrated, as Ottoman citizens like the other citizens of these Provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

The migrants kept their Ottoman citizenship the whole time these Provinces were part of the Empire, being subject to its sovereignty and rule. This situation in these Provinces did not change until after World War one...

As a result of the defeat of Germany and its allies, among them the Otto-

man Empire the Allies occupied most of the Turkish territories. The Treaty of Sèvres of 1919 was imposed on the Ottoman government, dismembering the Empire. The non-

The Treaty of Lausanne, which settled all questions, included articles about the citizenship of the residents of the territories separated from the Empire, about the public and private



Turkish provinces were separated from it, among them the Arab countries.

That treaty was ill-received by Turkish prominent leaders, among them Mustafa Kemal, who declared the War of Independence.

New difficult and prolonged negotiations were begun between the Allies and the new Turkish government headed by Mustafa Kemal.

The Turkish negotiating-delegation was led by General Ismat İnönü.

The negotiations were concluded between the two sides by signing the Treaty of Lausanne on 24/7/1923.

properties in these territories belonging to the Ottoman Empire, its residents.

Allied's subjects.

1. Acquiring citizenship according to the Treaty of Lausanne of 24/7/1923: The citizenship of the residents of the territories separated from the Ottoman Empire was defined by article 30 of the Treaty Lausanne "All Ottoman subjects residing in the territories separated from Turkey, become, according to the local law, citizens of the state in which these territories were

transferred”.

Article 34 of the same treaty reads: “All Ottoman citizens who are from one of the territories separated from Turkey and who reside abroad on the date the treaty comes into force, may choose the citizenship of the country of their origin, if the government of that country agrees to that, provided that they make their choice within two years of the date the Treaty comes into force.”

Upon the conclusion of the Treaty of Lausanne, which is a binding international document to all signatory countries, among them France,...., a mandatory power in Syria and Lebanon, the French High Commissioner issued on 30/8/1924, the legislative decision No. 2825 containing rules identical to those covered by the Treaty of Lausanne concerning citizenship. Article 1 of the decision reads:

“All Turkish (i.e. Ottoman) subjects residing in the Lebanon on 30/8/1924, who confirmed his Lebanese citizenship is considered from now on as losing his Turkish citizenship”.

This text and other texts concerning the acquisition of the Lebanese citizenship support the decision of the High Commissioner No. 15 of 19/1/1925 concerning Lebanese citizenship.

2. Acquiring citizenship according to the law of Lebanese citizenship issued by decision 5 of 19/1/1925: The decision of the High Commissioner No. 15 of 19/1/1925 on Lebanese citizenship adopted two principles for acquiring original citizenship. These are absolute affinity and birth place in certain cases: it considers in article One, a Lebanese citizen by virtue of birth.
 1. Everyone born in Lebanon who did not acquire a foreign citizenship by birth.
 2. Everyone born in Lebanon of unknown parents or of parents of unknown citizenship.

The decision followed foreign laws which consider it unavoidable to give the born (in Lebanon) citizenship or residence is the other reason for acquiring citizenship.

If it may be supposed that the refugee Kurds did not legally acquire the Lebanese citizenship in accordance with the Treaty of Lausanne and the decision of the High Com-

missioner No. 2825 because it was not established that they were residents in Lebanon on 30/8/1924, certainly the Kurds born in Lebanon after 19/1/1925 (the date that the Law of Lebanese citizenship was issued), are entitled to legally acquire the Lebanese citizenship by being born to parents of unknown citizenship.

The explanation of this is that Kurds who lost their Turkish (Ottoman) citizenship by emigrating from Turkey during or after World War One, and who were not given the Lebanese citizenship by not including them in the population census as Lebanese despite their being entitled by the law to Lebanese citizenship, were entered into population registers as aliens without citizenship. Thus, anyone born to them was entitled to the Lebanese citizenship by law by the fact of being born in Lebanon to parents of unknown citizenship.

From these clear texts, it appears that Kurds and others who were resident of Syria and Lebanon on 30/8/1924 when the Treaty of Lausanne came into force, acquired, like the original residents of Lebanon and those of non-Lebanese origins of other ethnic groups by the force of Law the Lebanese citizenship which does not need any further procedure except those required of the Lebanese who were not registered in 1932 general census of population as resident Lebanese, which is known as The Register.

This citizenship acquired by the force of law covered married couples and offsprings and passed on by the same force after death to their children on the ground that they were born to parents of acquired Lebanese citizenship.

As for the way to prove residence in Lebanon on 30/8/1924. This is something that can be ascertained by various means. Among these means are: aliens' register, investigations by local authorities, legal procedures, such as birth, marriage and death certificates, tax receipts, municipal dues and fees, court sentences, and many other means to prove residence in Lebanon on that date.

This is a short glimpse supported by correct evidence of the situation of

the Kurds and Arabs of Wadi Khalid and others who are deprived of the acquired right to Lebanese citizenship; a deprivation that has no justification except their belonging to one of the two (religious) sides of Lebanese society. We have strived to present this case objectively and truthfully in the hope that it may awaken conscience on all levels in order to do justice to this group deprived of one of the characteristics of its humanity, namely national identity and then Lebanese citizenship.

(This article was translated from the text published by Ruhalat, organ of the Leftist Kurdish Democratic Party in Lebanon, No. 50, January 1981, pp 6-7).

interview

In an interview with Dr. Badr al-Din al-Melli, of the teaching staff of the Lebanese University, Ruhalat asks him:

Q As a Kurd, what are your views on the economic, social and cultural crisis from which the Kurds in Lebanon suffer?

A We must refer to the fact that an untold number of families in Lebanon are of the Kurdish origin. These families came to Lebanon with the conquests. There are families that recall the places from which they came to Lebanon and when they arrived there and others that have forgotten. Some of them have reached important political, social and cultural stations in Lebanon.

There are also Kurds who came to Lebanon about sixty years ago. These number about 80.000 Kurds, most of them coming from the Kurdish areas in Turkey. This group suffers from social and economic handicaps. The most important one being their not being given the Lebanese citizenship. Most of these people are engaged in small-scale commerce and simple services to make a living. There are no industrialists or professionals among them, with very rare exceptions... The percentage of school attendance increases year by year but it is still meagre in comparison with other similar social groups...

If you have found this magazine to be of value in contributing to a greater understanding of the cause of the Kurdish nation, your financial contribution towards the costs of its publication and contribution would be highly appreciated.
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