

PESH MERGA

Nos, 14/15 March & June 1979

- THE LATE BARZANI
- DISPLACEMENT OF THE KURDS
- PERSECUTION OF THE SHI'A IN IRAQ

- REPRESSION OF THE CHRISTIANS BY THE REGIME

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- AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL ON IRAQ

- IRAQI-TURKISH MILITARY CO-ORDINATION

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"Pesh Merga" is the Kurdish name for the guerrilla fighters struggling in Iraqi Kurdistan and means "Forward of Death". (Ready to die)

and executed. A new generation is leading a guerrilla war anew.

Our colleagues Klaus Imbeck and Klaus P. Siebahn stayed five harsh weeks with these people and their sad problem, to find a tragedy of a minority persecuted for a long time. The Kurds. Because of the international situation, no one pays them any attention.

Soldiers of the Kurdish guerrillas, the Pesh Merga, blew up the "Voice of Kurdistan" radio station and surrendered. The war for autonomy became hopeless. This was four years ago.

The persecution of Kurds in Iraq and Turkey continues. Arrests, torture and executions continue. Now, the Pesh Mergas prepare for "a new war". And every guerrilla uses the old Kurdish proverb: "welcome by eye and heart".

"Since the Iraqi Army burnt about 500 Kurdish villages in Summer 1978, numerous displaced persons went to the mountains, to the Pesh Merga. There live the guerrillas with their families in caves and in primitive holes.

The Kurds pray to God as do their enemies. The Kurds are the descendants of the 4000 year old "Qurti". "We are the sons of blood and revolution, and our history has always been bloody" says one of their songs.

Half a million displaced persons; thus ended the previous war. On 6 March 1975, the Shah stopped the supply of arms to the Pesh Mergas. In return, Iraq gave him the freedom of navigation in the Shatt-al-Arab. . . The guerrillas could not continue.

They have told us to be careful. Klaus flew to Ankara and I to Istanbul. We met in Adana at night. From one of the minarets came the loud-speaker shrilling "There is no God but Allah". . .

We laughed, each of us knowing why: we were not searched during our entry. I was carrying the address. It was coded and hidden in a way no one could discover. The two letters each the size of a stamp were carried by Klaus in a paper tissue packet in one of his pockets. We did not know what was in the letters. They were folded, wrapped by transparent selotape and numbered (1) and (2). We have not been asked to be cautious for nothing: four years ago MIT (the Turkish National Intelligence Organisation) kidnapped 'Hurriyet' correspondent "Asis Korkmas" and most probably killed him. And three years ago a film crew were held and their documents, films and equipment were confiscated.

The next day we travelled by bus to Gaziantep. We carried our rucksacks, cameras and travel tickets and were on our way east like many at the end of the year. We had booked tickets for a flight from Tehran to Hamburg to be produced if needed.

A photograph of painters painting a picture of Barzani and another photograph of Sami and the caption: "Mulla Mustafa Barzani in Exile in Washington." "We shall always be proud of him" said Sami the new 'chief ideologist' of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, a copy of the new programme of the Party in his hand.

The next morning we went to the mountains. . . The Turkish border guards do not come here at all, our guide told us. The mountains are very high. At a height of 2600 metres, snow covers everything.

We crossed the Turkish-Iraqi frontiers, and in the next village we saw the houses without roofs. . . under

a walnut tree sat 100 armed men. When we arrived they all rose to greet and welcome us. . . This is a Pesh Merga headquarters. Here, in the remote mountains, is the 'new war'. The villages are without roofs, having been destroyed by the Iraqi army.

With the sunrise the next day we received a comment on the old war; it was a short comment "We made mistakes, have identified them and learned and benefitted from them" said Muhammad Mahmoud Abdul Rahman, 46 years old, an electrical engineer and the chief theoretician of the new Provisional Leadership. He spoke much about the legendary Kurdish leader and the late President of the KDP Mustafa Barzani. "All Kurds respect and esteem him", said the new man with dark hair, whose nom de guerre is 'Sami'. "He tried his best during half a century. At the end he became old and things were mostly in the hands of others. And finally, many people acted in his name. We shall always remain proud of him - but we are not now of his generation".

"A little bit above" said Sarbast. "Look at the trees forming the shape of the letter 'V'. 800 metres to the left. . ." he was explaining in the military fashion.

Sarbast was an officer in the Iraq Army and in 1972 he went to the mountains. His brother was arrested and executed recently.

I could not see anything even with good binoculars. 800 metres to the left was a Battalion HQ of the Iraqi Army, about 600 soldiers equipped with the most modern weapons.

The Pesh Merga were not many. . . about 10, with old, light arms, Kalashnikovs of a DDR and Chinese make, and one RPG7 with five rockets.

We must march single file said Sarbast. We sent the guerrillas one at a time at 3 minute intervals around the Iraqi positions. We were not fired on. After three hours we were in Argosh.

The smell of the smoke was cold, but one of the houses was still burning. The Iraqis deported the inhabitants and after three days the 280 houses were blown up.

In the ruins we stumbled on aluminium plates and tea pots which were still in their places. We left them where they were because we had enough of them. There is plenty of them everywhere because the Iraqis have destroyed many villages in these mountains.

Under the walnut trees are still the school desks. There were three schools in Argosh. Beside a desk there was a school book "Where is Yusuf?" on one page and on another page "Where is Laila?" written.

Then came the cats; I tried to count them, but their number increased and increased. Darkness fell. We made a bonfire and entered our sleeping bags. The cats came nearer. "They await the return of the inhabitants of Argosh" said Sarbast. "When the snow falls" he said, "these cats will die". Snow will soon be falling. Next day, we withdrew to our main base, to Sami. There was smoke above the Iraqi positions. "They are probably leaving their positions" said Sarbast, "they no longer need them. The villages have been destroyed, and there are only groups of displaced people living in the valleys".

Among the displaced people was the Mukhtar (Headman) of Argosh. Iraqi soldiers had detained him when he was collecting grass for his goats. "I knew they would beat me", said the village Mukhtar, who is 50 years old, "but I no longer felt anything". He was accused of receiving letters from Barzani from Washington. "I am a simple man", said the Mukhtar. "I have seen Barzani only once in my life and that was years ago". He was thrown into prison, beaten, given electric shocks and a pistol barrel was put into his mouth. "In a small room in Kirkuk prison there are

25-40 prisoners. Women prisoners were screaming so agonisingly that we could not help crying" said the Mukhtar. After six months he was released and fled to the mountains. Where else could he go? There is nothing left of Argosh but the traces of destruction. One of his sons has fallen in battle and the other is getting training on a Doshka at the main HQ. He is one of 12 youths getting the training. With this Doshka the Pesh Merga shot down 5 helicopters. The gun was made in 1945 and now guards the radio station which was bought in Sweden. . . it has a 400 watt power. . .

Despite the general optimism in the main HQ, Sami said "We cannot open a front, but we can make the

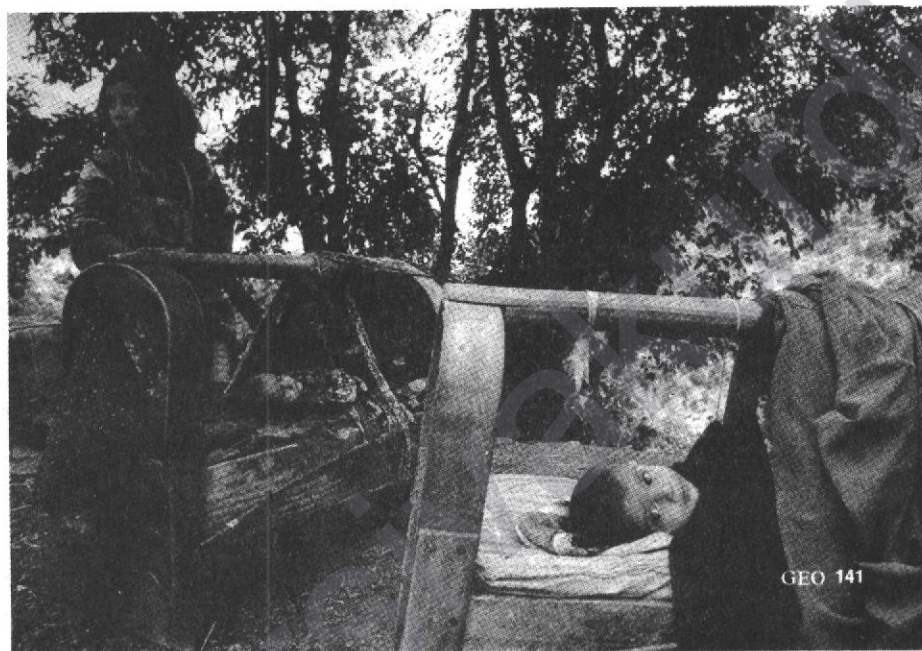
lives of the Iraqis hell with the guerrillas". . . Every day pieces of paper carrying despatches flood into the main HQ; they are about battles, the deported Kurds, the 'cluster villages', the ill treatment etc. . .

The displaced men have decided to fight but they have no weapons. A Kalashnikov on the Black Market in Beirut costs 1000 dollars.

New men will come.
New men will die.
New snow will fall.

(Refer to the press cutting section for the original article.)

The following six photographs in this issue of Pesh Merga are from GEO magazine, No.3/March 1979 (West Germany).



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

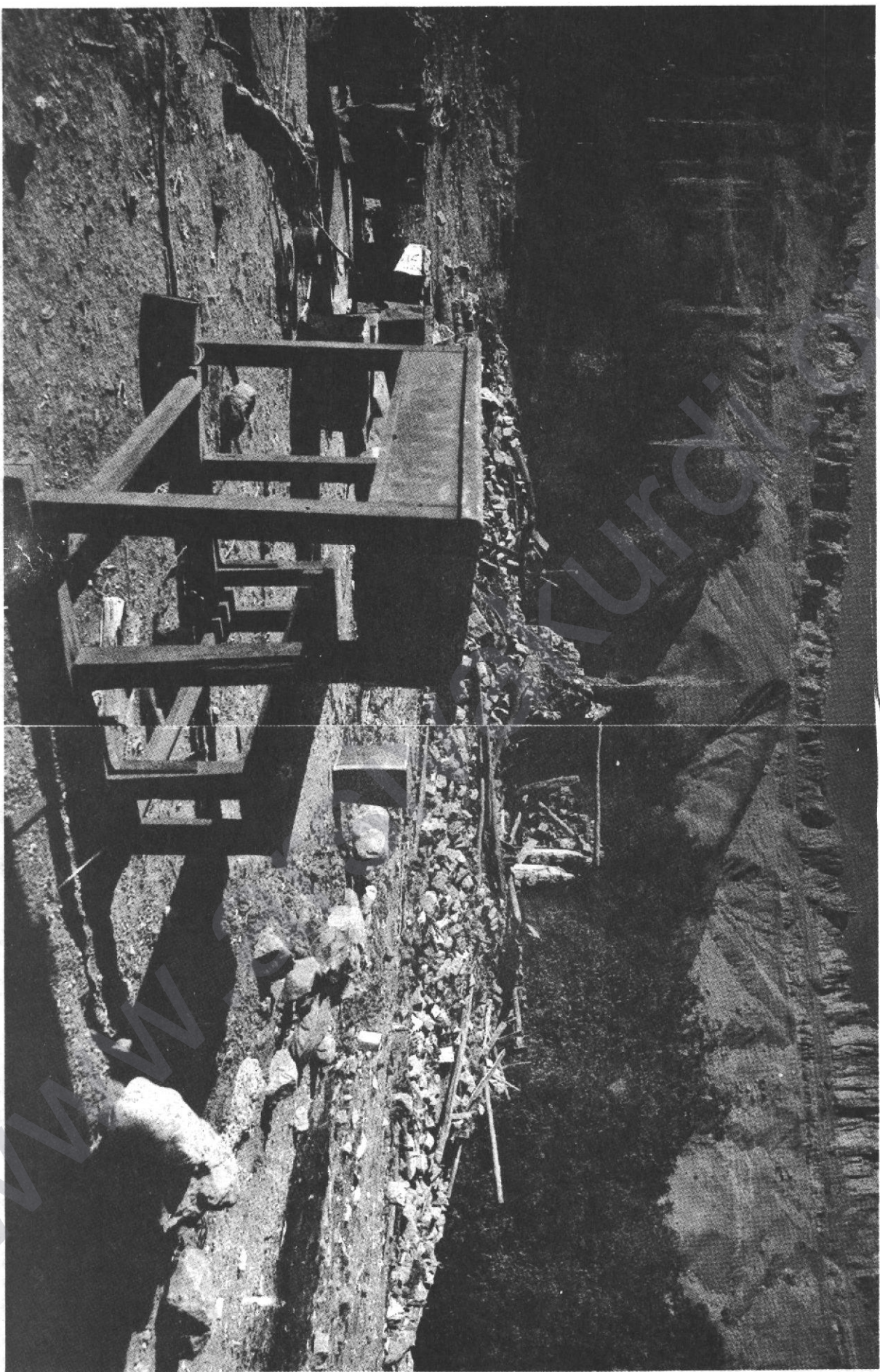


The new Kurdish guerrilla fighters.



An Iraqi helicopter shot down by the Pesh Mergas near Argosh last summer.

All that was left of a school in Argosh when the Iraqi army displaced and forcibly evicted its inhabitants.





Families displaced and forcibly evicted by the Iraqi regime, their houses, villages, fields, orchards destroyed and livestock killed or taken away by the Iraqi authorities.



Mr. Klaus Imbeck, writer, and Mr. Klaus P. Siebah, photographer, in Kurdistan, Iraq.

IRAQI REGIME INTENSIFIES ITS OPPRESSION OF THE SHI'A

After the triumph of the revolution in neighbouring Iran, the Iraqi regime increased to the maximum the state of alert of its security and intelligence forces in the Shi'a areas of the country, mainly central and southern Iraq. These forces had instructions to move swiftly and harshly against any attempts at expressing support for the Iranian revolution by the Shi'a and others. Harassment of the Shi'a religious leaders, especially Ayatollah al-Kho'i and Haj Saiyed Muhammad Baqir al-Sadir, in the holy city of Najaf and Kərbala in central Iraq and al-Kadhimayn near Baghdad is intensified.

These orders to deal with the Shi'a with force is not confined to inside Iraq only, but also abroad. During a rather big demonstration in London at the beginning of April, Iraqi Embassy intelligence operatives and Ba'th Party thugs attacked the demonstrators with clubs and fists, wounding a number of them. Three Iraqi 'diplomats', two of them 'Second Secretaries' attacked an Iranian postgraduate student, Mohamed Ali Heshmati, 26, punching on the face, shouting at him and bullying him.

The harassment of Shi'a religious leaders has recently increased to the degree that Haj Saiyed Muhammed Baqir al-Sadir has been contemplating leaving Iraq. This situation has prompted His Eminence Ayatollah Khomeini to send him a telegram stating that, "We understand that Your Eminence intends to leave Iraq because of certain incidents. I do not think you should leave Najaf, centre of Islamic studies, and am concerned about this. . ." (Tehran in Arabic for Abroad, 1900 gmt, 29th May 1979).

This is further evidence to the Iraqi regime heavy-handed policy against expression of popular sentiments unless it is for the regime itself.

DEMONSTRATIONS BY THE SHI'A IN IRAQ

At 9 o'clock on Wednesday 13th June 1979, there were simultaneous demonstrations in the Shi'a holy cities of Najaf, Karbala, Kufa and Kadhimiya and in the al-Thawra quarter of Baghdad. The demonstration in al-Thawra occurred in al-Chiwadir area near al-Thawra Republican Hospital; the demonstrators clashed with police and security forces. Fifty people

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ

IRAQI BA'ATHISTS INTIMIDATION OF AYATOLLAH AL-SADR



Ayatollah Mohammad Baqir Al-Sadr

AYATOLLAH MOHAMMAD BAQIR AL-SADR IS THE GRAND LEADER OF THE MASSES IN IRAQ. The Ayatollah's leadership of the people's revolution against the Ba'ath regime means to put an end to the treacherous Ba'ath regime. The Ba'athists have never ceased harassing the Ayatollah. On 11th June 1979 the Ba'athist clique enforced a savage home arrest on the Ayatollah. Twenty hours later **THE BA'ATHISTS BRAZENLY ARRESTED THE AYATOLLAH** in Najaf and took him to Baghdad. Under pressure of public anger and massive protest demonstrations, in which twelve people were killed and many injured, the Ayatollah was released on 13th June 1979. These intimidations of the Ayatollah will not pass the Iraqi masses unnoticed. **THE BA'ATH REGIME OF IRAQ IS NOW FACING PUBLIC DEMANDS TO OFFER FULL EXPLANATION OF THEIR ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE AYATOLLAH.**

ISLAMIC LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF IRAQ (EUROPE)

THE GUARDIAN Tuesday June 19 1979

from al-Thawra were arrested and a curfew from midnight to morning was imposed. During this demonstration, Abd al-Rachman Ubaid Musa, the Ba'thist Secretary of the General Union of Cigarettes and Beverages (workers) was, among others, killed.

The so-called "Popular Army" roam the streets, carrying their arms, and are more wanton and reckless than ever. They enter the mosques and coerce their keepers and attendants to pledge themselves not to hold any other activities than prayers in the mosques. Large gatherings are strictly forbidden.

However, there is widespread indignation at the Iraqi government's and the Ba'th Party's bitter and vicious attack on the Iranian revolution because it has done nothing against the Iraqi people and have actually taken real steps in support of the Arab peoples; why then does the government attack them, the general public ask.

In the predominantly Shi'a town of Emara and in al-Chibayish in Southern Iraq, several citizens have thrown away the television sets sent to them by Saddam al-Tikriti, the Vice-President, to placate them, saying that they will not be duped by such trivial gestures.

IRAQI REGIME "RELIEVED" TWO MINISTERS AND REPRESSION OF THE ICP CONTINUES

On 25th April 1979, a republican decree 'relieved' Amir Abdullah from his post of 'Minister of State'. No reason was given for this measure.

And on 5th May, another republican decree "relieved" Muktar al-Talabani from his post of 'Minister of Transport'. Again, no reason was given for this measure.

The former is a member of the Central Committee and of the Politburo of the Iraqi Communist Party and the latter a Candidate Member of the Central Committee of the Party.

The Iraqi authorities have recently intensified their repressive measures against the ICP members and leadership, press (the ICP daily, *Tariq al-Sha'ab* has been closed for more than two months) and its editorial boards detained, two members of the so-called 'Legislative Council' of the 'autonomous area' who sympathise with the party, have been arrested.

Latest news is that 21 Iraqi democrats and communists, Arabs and Kurds, men and women, were detained in mid-May, i.e. during the holding of a forum on 'Human Rights and Democratic Liberties in the Arab World'. They are:

1. Su'ad Khairy (Dr. of International Relations, journalist and prominent communist)
2. Najiya Hussain (a teacher)
3. Khanim Zuhdi (a teacher)
4. Margret Philip (a nurse)

(All the above are prominent figures in the Iraqi women's democratic movement).

5. Sabah al-Durra (Dr. of Economics, Assistant Lecturer at Baghdad University)
6. Safa al-Hafidh (Dr. of Law, ex-Professor at Baghdad University, member of World Peace Council, publisher of *al-Thawafa al-Jadida* monthly journal)
7. Ali al-Nouri (a teacher and journalist)
8. Ra'ouf Daibus (a prominent lawyer)
9. Hadi Ubaid (a communist activist)
10. Hashim Ubaid (a communist activist)

11. Abd al-Salam al-Nasiri (a member of the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party)
12. Muhammad Karim Fathalla (a journalist)
13. Muhammad Hussain Idan (worker)
14. Khidhir Abbas (Master of Science in International Relations, a communist activist)
15. Adnan Akif (Dr. of Geological Engineering)
16. Shirwan Ali (ex-member of the so-called 'Autonomous Area Executive Council')
17. Ahmad Hameed (also ex member of above)
18. Sa'ad Yahya Qaf (a lawyer)
19. Fou'ad Hameed (Dr. of Economics)
20. Zuhair al-Jaza'iri (journalist)
21. Fadhil al-Rubai'i (journalist)

Besides, 7 members of the staff of the al-Rouad Publishing House were arrested in November 1978, they are:

1. Sulaiman Yusuf Stegan
2. Kamal Nu'man Thabit
3. Nuh Ali al-Rubai'i
4. Sa'eed Kadhum Mutar
5. Fakhri al-Alusi
6. Hamed al-Khateeb
7. Anwar Taha.

All the above have been and are being subjected to the 'customary' Iraqi regime's brutal physical and psychological torture and humiliation. Their fate – whether they are alive or killed – is not known.

The KDP most strongly condemns the Iraqi regime's terror campaign and terrorist policy inside Iraq and abroad, a policy directed against all democratic critics and opponents of the regime and its policies.

Zaki Kairi, member of the Politburo of the Iraqi Communist Party has said that all the trials in Iraq are being held before special Courts, whose members are Ba'thists but not members of the judiciary in the country. During a press conference he held in Paris on 4th April 1979, Zaki Khari said that the ICP has told the ruling Ba'th Party that it must find a solution to the problem of democracy and freedom in Iraq before discussing the establishment of a new alliance with ICP to build socialism. The Ba'th Party has, however, refused to hold a dialogue on this basis.

IRAQ IMPORTS MORE FOREIGN LABOUR WHILE UNEMPLOYMENT IS WIDESPREAD

1 While unemployment is still a problem in Iraq, especially for the Kurdish – most particularly among the forcibly uprooted, displaced and resettled Kurds in the 'cluster villages' – the Iraqi regime has been importing large numbers of foreign labour – paying much higher wages and salaries than Iraqi citizens earn. Tens of thousands of Egyptians and thousands from the Indian sub-continent are presently employed in Iraq in various fields.

2 Besides this imported labour, the semi-official Baghdad weekly, *Alif Ba*, No. 551, 18th April 1979, stated, under the headline "After the success of the Egyptian Farmers Experiment, Moroccan Farmers [are imported] to work in Iraq on Mr. President's Directives", that, " 'Alif Ba' is informed that, in implementation of Mr. President Ahmad H. al-Bakr's directives it has been decided to form a committee to prepare prerequisites to bring farmers from the fraternal Moroccan country and settle them in the vacant and reclaimed lands. . .".

3 Furthermore, at the end of his visit to Brazil, the Iraqi ceremonial Vice-President, Ma'ruf, said in a press

conference on 17th May 1979, that "he expected the number of Brazilian technicians, workers and administrative cadres working in Iraq to reach 10,000 at the end of this year". (Iraqi News Agency, 0810 gmt, 17th May, 1979).

4 On 11th June 1979, the Iraqi RCC ratified an agreement with Bangladesh on the movement of labour between Iraq and Bangladesh signed on 3rd March. In practice, this is an agreement to import Bangladesh labour into Iraq. (Such importation of labour commenced a few years ago).

Meanwhile, a large scale unemployment problem among the Kurds, especially in the 'cluster villages', remains unsolved. The 'Iraqi Minister of State for Co-ordination with the Autonomous Bodies', admitted in an interview in the semi-official daily *al-Jumhuriyah* 17th April 1979, that 52,000 Kurds were unemployed in these 'villages' alone, this figure being only a part of the total.

These people have been given a 'monthly allowance' until they find employment. When signs of unrest among them were becoming more pronounced and more militant, the Iraqi president decided to give each of these families a television set, later a coloured television set; the Minister calls these official bribes "noble deeds".

ANTI-DEMOCRATIC "LAWS" IN IRAQ: AN EXAMPLE

In 1969, a new Penal Code was promulgated by the Iraqi (self-appointed legislative, executive and judiciary) Revolution Command Council (RCC).

Article 200 of the Code reads: "Everyone who spreads or propagates any of the doctrines that aim at changing the principles of the constitution or the basic systems of society or (bringing about) the supremacy of one social class over other classes, or the destruction of a social class, or the overthrow of the fundamental and economic systems of the state, or the destruction of any one of the basic systems of society, will be punished by a term of not shorter than seven years' imprisonment, whenever the use of force or terror or any other illegitimate methods is noticeable".

However, subsequently, four paragraphs were added to this Article, these paragraphs read:

"Will be punished with execution:

A. Everyone who joins the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, and who intentionally hides his previous party and political affiliations and ties;

B. Everyone who has joined or joins the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, and who can be proved to have links with any other party or political side, or works for it or in its interests during his [Ba'th] party affiliation;

C. Everyone who has joined or joins the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, and who can be proved to have joined any other party or political side or works for it or in its interests, after severing his relationship with the [Ba'th] party;

D. Everyone who wins over to any party or political side a person *having* an organisational relationship with the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, or wins him over in any form to that side, *after* he [that person] has severed his relationship with the [Ba'th] party, having knowledge of that relationship."

Paragraphs A and B were added to Article 200 on 22nd August 1974, paragraph C on 9th December 1976, and paragraph D on 7th June 1978. (All these additions have been published in the official gazette.)

It should be pointed out that Iraq became in 1968 a signatory to the International Covenant on Human, Civil and Political Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1966; on 29th September 1970, the Covenant was made by Law No. 193, part of the legal system in Iraq; and it was ratified by Iraq on 25th January 1971.

However, Article 200, with its paragraphs A, B, C and D, are in violation of Articles 7, 10, 18 and 26 of the Covenant.

It is also in violation of Article 22 of the Iraqi Interim Constitution and of Article 94 of the Penal Procedure Code.

Moreover, Iraqi citizens are tried and sentenced to imprisonment and death by an "extraordinary court", called "the Revolution Court", the majority of its "judges" are military men; its decisions are final and are not subject to appeal.

This Article is not the same one that sentences to death everybody, other than the Ba'th Party, engaged in political activities in the armed forces.

The crux of this Article is that anybody quitting the ruling Ba'th party can never join any other political organisations and that nobody can win a current or an ex-Ba'thist to other political organisations, even the legal ones, lest it be considered "winning him over in any form to that" organisation. Besides, these paragraphs are phrased so vaguely and ambiguously that they can, at will, be applied to any situation.

SOME OF THE METHODS OF TORTURE IN IRAQ

Torture, intimidation and bribery, including, for example:

beating with truncheons and fists and kicking;
beating with a special truncheon made of metal;
whipping with thin wires;
burning with cigarettes and electrical devices, especially sensitive parts of the body, including genitals;
electric shocks;
applying heavy pressure on the genitals;
applying pressure, using a pressing device called locally "mangana", on the abdomen and chest until blood is vomitted;
hanging from ceiling fans either by feet or hands which have been tied to the back and then switching on the fans, or hanging from the ceiling;
sinking the head into water basins or basins filled with faeces and urine;
pushing bottles (broken and whole) into the anus and the tearing of the anus;
pushing detainees down stairs after torturing them;
undressing detainees in open spaces and connecting rubber pipes from gas cylinders to their body

openings and opening the gas taps in order to inflate their bodies;
forcing detainees to do things that hurt their pride, dignity and humanity, such as barking, cleaning toilets with their bare hands, drinking their own urine and eating their own faeces, shining scores of shoes or licking shoes and so on;
keeping detainees in closed rooms and injecting gas into the room until they faint;
pulling out fingernails and toenails;
undressing detainees and threatening them with sexual assault and taking photographs during the act – many sexual assaults or threats of such assaults have been committed against male and female detainees;
threats to male detainees that if they refuse to "co-operate" their wives, mothers or sisters will be brought in and sexually assaulted in front of them;
kidnapping people and taking them to the outskirts of the towns or cities and assaulting them – beating and kicking them – firing above their heads and threatening them with death;
torturing detainees until they faint or need treatment and then resuming torture when they regain consciousness or receive treatment. Several detainees have been tortured and re-tortured in this manner.

IRAQ: THE CRUSHED REVOLUTION

A barrier of silence surrounds the international politics and domestic events of Iraq, a country which represents one of the political-economical poles of the Arab world. The strategy as regards developments in Iraq is a form of state capitalism. Oil is the main resource of the country (oil reserves are the second in the Middle East, after Saudi Arabia). But oil is also a further cause of divisions between Arabs and Kurds. The oil extracted in Kurdistan represents 75% of Iraqi oil production, and Kurds have no power to decide on the matter. Oil resources are invested mainly on the Arab areas.

In spite of the economic policies which aspire to raise the social-economic level of the population and the efforts to attain popular consent, the contradictions inherent in the regime were liable to surface again. This was deduced by the coup d'état attempts (June 1973, January 1976 and perhaps also in January 1977).

The Ba'th power is based on the army and popular army (ba'thist troops, about 50,000 men, with heavy equipment).

In spite of the rapid rise in industrialisation and the agrarian reform which are both based on petroleum revenues, it seems that the working class is not related to this development. The Minister of Industry was quoted saying to the newspaper *al-Giumurriyyah* (10.9.76): "the output of the Iraqi worker is the lowest among all of the developing countries". This can also be seen as the reaction that the Iraqi working class takes vis-a-vis the domestic politics which are based on state-bureaucratic structure and terror.

The Iraqi internal and international situation deteriorated in Spring 1978, when the contradictions between the Ba'th Party and Iraqi Communist Party became very acute. Mass arrests of Communists took place. Even some members of the Central Committee were arrested and 21 Communists were executed under the accusation of having formed clandestine cells in the army. Even before these facts the prisons were crowded with Communists, but only now is repression officially admitted.

At least 11 diplomats and 38 professors at Baghdad University, who are considered progressives, have been dismissed.

Through this repression the Ba'th wants to increase its domination in the country and to repress the criticisms made by the IPC. IPC criticised the Ba'th's political and economic choices very much, as well as the strong reductions as regards relations with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. ICP asks more freedom and democracy in Iraq as well as more space and action for non-ba'thist forces. ICP doesn't make very deep criticisms of the government policies against the Kurds. But these criticisms have caused an anti-communist offensive. These facts have obliged some Communists to seek refuge in Kurdistan and to fight with the Kurds.

The crisis between the Ba'th and ICP is in the cadre of the review of international alliances. Saddam Hussein upheld in the last few years the necessity for Iraq to import more technology, which is possible only with closer relationships with the West. In fact, trade and economic co-operation with the Western countries have increased, while relations with the Soviet Union have deteriorated to such an extent that there have been rumours about a possible abrogation of "The Treaty of friendship" between the two countries.

The Iraqi Government tries to get military supplies from France and other Western countries. The disagreements between the Iraqi Government and the PLO have come out with violence during summer 1978. The PLO denounces the killing of Palestinian leaders made by the Abu Nidal group. This group, supported by Iraq, killed Said Hammami in London and Ali Nasser Yassin in Kuwait. The conflict has been generated by

the Iraqi Government policy which aims at controlling the whole Palestinian movement.

In consequence of these domestic and international tensions Iraq tries to go out from its isolation, especially after the Iranian revolution's victory. It strengthens the ties with the authoritarian regimes of the area. The Iraq-Syria unification is an effort against the threats of change after the Iranian events. The Iraqi leadership fears that the Iranian revolution can spill over the country.

In consequence of the Algiers Agreement of 6 March 1975, Iran stopped aiding the Kurdish revolution in Iraq and since that time the two countries co-operated for the control of the area. Iranian troops assisted by the Iraqi army against the Pesh-merga, to such a point that the Interior Ministers of the two countries signed an agreement of co-operation in July 1977.

Iraq is perhaps among the Middle Eastern countries most exposed to change where the Iranian events may have deep consequences and influences. It is possible that there will be co-operation among Kurdish guerillas, Shi'ili dissatisfaction (Khomeiny lived more than ten years in Iraq. The shi'is have participated in some demonstrations against the government in Kerbela in 1977 and in more recent times), and Communist opposition.

The Iraqi regime replies by increasing terror and repression, by leaving no way open even to the opposition's leaders who have sought refuge abroad. In 1976 an attempt was made against Vanly's life in Lausanne. In July 1978 the ex-Iraqi leader, General Abd ar-Razzaf an-Naif was killed in London. In January 1979 Masud Barzani - son of the great Kurdish leader - escaped an attempt in Vienna.

These totalitarian politics are very evident after the Iranian revolution's victory. The Iraqi government fears are so great that it tries to create problems for Iran, "supporting" Iranian Arabs in Khuzistan after selling them out to the Shah in the Algiers Agreement, bombing Kurdish villages in Iranian Kurdistan, shooting against the Iranian army at the frontiers. Saddam Hussein and his gang are afraid that Khomeiny can use all his influence and knowledge of the country to keep the Iraqi unpopular regime under the sword of Damocles.

"Seagull"*

**The identity of the writer is known to the Editor of Pesh Merga. It is indicative of the repression practised by the Ba'th regime of Baghdad that even a foreign writer feels compelled to seek anonymity.*

REPRESSIVE MEASURES AGAINST THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY IN IRAQ

Recent information indicates that the repression against the Christian community, especially the Assyrians, is mounting to include not only political repression but also more intense religious discrimination. A number of people have been detained on the pretext that they held 'inappropriate' religious meetings.

Amnesty International newsletter, March 1979, Volume IX, No. 3, page 5, published under the heading "Iraq: Christians arrested", contained a report stating that "Nearly 200 Christians are reported to have been arrested in Iraq in mid-November 1978; earlier unconfirmed reports put the figure at 600. There has been no official explanation for the arrests and all access to the detainees was denied while they were being interrogated.

"Those arrested included members of Iraq's Assyrian Christian community, of an evangelical society and of a Bible study group in the town of Basra". (The full text of this report is published elsewhere in this issue of Pesh Merga.) (See Amnesty International reports in Pesh Merga.)

THE IRAQI REGIME AND KURDISH CULTURE

The Iraqi regime's propaganda has been claiming that Kurdish culture is under no restrictions—it further claims that the regime tries to promote it. However, a look at the actual measures adopted, and policies pursued by the regime, refute this claim.

According to the 11th March 1970 Agreement between the present government and the Kurdish revolution led by the KDP, the medium of instruction in schools in the Kurdish area must be Kurdish; the regime's own so-called "Law of Autonomy" of March 1974 stipulates the same thing. Nevertheless, at the end of 1977, the use of the Kurdish language was greatly curtailed—by 40%—in schools in the "autonomous area", and further restrictions were imposed on it, such as the withdrawal of books written in Kurdish from schools and libraries. Moreover, at the end of 1978, an RCC (Revolution Command Council) decision dissolved the Kurdish Academy, established many years ago, and whose task it was to study the Kurdish language, literature and culture.

There are only about three "newspapers" published in the Kurdish language, two by the Ministry of Information and a dual weekly paper—half Arabic, half Kurdish—by 'al-Fikr al-Jadid'. All of them are published in Baghdad. A tiny proportion of literature published annually is in Kurdish or about the Kurds.

There is a "Kurdish Channel" on Kirkuk's (now Ta'mim) television—although Kirkuk is a Kurdish area, it is, nevertheless, not included in the so-called "autonomous area"—but the bulk of its televising time of 5 hours daily, is occupied by the showing of foreign films (third grade or lower), including Egyptian (Arabic), Indian (Hindi or Urdu). The reason for filling television time with such films is due to either restrictions imposed on, or neglect of, Kurdish artistic, literary, singing, dancing and musical talents that could, if allowed and encouraged, contribute to television programmes. A surprising feature is that the channel sometimes shows children's films or cartoons—mostly foreign (i.e. in a foreign language)—without dubbing them in Kurdish which, in reality, means that children watching them do not understand or comprehend anything of these films. This is in sharp contrast to the rest of the country where such films are dubbed to Arabic. Therefore, this channel is, to all intents and purposes, a failure and the overwhelming majority of Kurds do not watch its programmes. Maybe this is one of the reasons why the government has recently decided to give each deportee Kurdish family—22,000 families in Sulaimaniya alone according to official statements—a television set.

At the beginning of this year, the Iraqi government signed an agreement with foreign interests to build two additional channels in the Mosul television area—again outside the so-called "autonomous area"—which is planning to start a Kurdish programme. But one may assume, from the experience of Kirkuk television, that this programme will not be any better.

The government is very eager to pursue its barrage of propaganda on the Kurdish population and to achieve this, uses the written word (newsprint), the spoken word (radio) and now pictures (television). But, its propaganda campaign, based on a very narrow nationalistic outlook and pronouncements, is bound to backfire, and indeed is already doing so, because it is diametrically contradictory to its measures—which the Kurdish people are experiencing every day—and which is hostile to Kurdish hopes, aspirations and sentiments.

DISCRIMINATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN IRAQ

In 1978, the total number of applicants to universities and other institutions of higher education in Iraq was more than 40,000. The total number of students admitted to these institutions was 26,400, i.e. 66 per cent or two-thirds of the total.

However, the striking point in this context is that some students or, to be frank, Ba'thist students, have been admitted not on the basis of their academic performances, as regulations require, but rather on the basis of 'special admission'. Admission to the following institutions of higher education is strictly based on 'special admission': colleges of education, colleges of physical education, teachers institutes, Academy of Fine Arts, the Institute of Fine Arts and some departments in a number of colleges. Those students admitted on the 'special admission' basis numbered more than 5,000, which means about one-fifth of the total number admitted to universities and other institutions of higher education. This unfair method of admission has harmful effects on the academic standard and other students, because 'special admission' is not based on the academic or school performance of the students, but on their affiliation with the Ba'th party; moreover, non-Ba'thist students who would like to study at the above-mentioned colleges and institutes have absolutely no chance of admission—however high their school performance happens to be. This in turn constitutes a clear violation of equality and equal opportunity among Iraqi citizens and constitutes obvious discrimination based on political opinion and party affiliation.

A number of applicants who were refused admission to their fields of choice at university, colleges and institutions not covered by 'special admission'—despite their high school performance—referred to the Central Bureau of Admission asking that their cases be reviewed. They were given forms to fill in, which included questions having nothing whatsoever to do with the matter of admission. These questions included a question about the student's political tendency, a question about the newspaper(s) he or she reads, a question on his or her participation in certain student activities, and so forth. Then, these students met some senior officials who told them that they would not be admitted to colleges despite their good school performances, they (the students) were furthermore told either to attend other institutions of higher education or quit university studies altogether.

Thus, the regime gives further evidence that, despite being a signatory to the 1966 United Nations Covenant on Human, Political and Civil Rights and the Covenant on Cultural, Economic and Social Rights, it violates the spirit and letter of these covenants and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In addition, the regime's action is in violation of the Interim Constitution and the university admission regulations. It is also a direct interference with universities.

CARRYING PLACARDS IN KURDISH IS A CRIME IN TURKEY

According to the Turkish Anatolia Agency (1445 gmt, 4th May 1979) "Izmir police took 29 people into custody for carrying placards in Kurdish, shouting Kurdish slogans and attending illegal rallies", i.e. taking part in the May Day rally in the city.

IRAQI INTELLIGENCE OPERATIVES ASSASSINATE AN IRAQI PROFESSOR IN PDRY

1 Tawfiq Rushdi, Professor of Philosophy at the College of Higher Education in Aden, was assassinated by Iraqi Intelligence operatives based at the Iraq Embassy in PDRY on 2nd June 1979.

Professor Tawfiq was born in Sulaimaniya (Kurdistan-Iraq) in 1927. He was married with two children. He graduated from the College of Philosophy, Baghdad University and completed his postgraduate studies in the Soviet Union in the 1960s.

He was several times persecuted and had to leave Iraq to work abroad because of his political convictions. He was a member of the ICP.

2 According to *al-Rabi-ashar min Uktober* of Aden, three 'diplomats' at the Iraqi Embassy in Aden have admitted assassinating Dr. Tawfiq Rushdi—see PR in *Pesh Merga*. These 'diplomats' are: Abd al-Ridha Sa'id Hameed, a Consular official; Ibrahim Muhammad, a security official at the Embassy, and Hassan Abd al-Adhim Mkhelif, a security guard.

The paper adds that "it is known that quantities of arms—machine guns, revolvers, hand grenades and thousands of rounds of ammunition—were found in their possession, which they intended to use in the implementation of the criminal designs which had been drawn up for them. . ." (Aden Home Service, 1230 gmt, 8th June 1979, BBC's SWB Second Series ME/6138/A/6, 11th June 1979.

3 Abd al-Fattah Ismail, Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party said, in a speech on the 10th anniversary of the 22nd June corrective movement, that: ". . . the assassination of the lecturer, Dr. Tawfiq Rushdi, by security men of the Iraqi Embassy is deemed to be an unacceptable violation of the sovereignty and security of Democratic Yemen, and interference in its affairs. It is also deemed to be a dangerous precedent, which we cannot understand except by regarding it as part of a plan to unleash a secondary battle between Democratic Yemen and Iraq. . . We believe that the political assassination of prominent leaders of the Arab Liberation movement by certain groups within the movement is not a solution to the crisis of democratic action. . . Also the assassination of a citizen who chose Democratic Yemen as a homeland, for sacrifice and creativity, is regarded as a violation of the charters of international law and national sovereignty." (Excerpts from relay of the speech by Aden home service 1635 gmt, 21st June 1979, BBC's Summary of World Broadcasting, Second Series ME/6151, 26th June 1979, pp 2-3). (See KDP's Press Release in *Pesh Merga*.)

ASSASSINATION OF ADIL ABD al-MAJEEED WASFI BY IRAQI INTELLIGENCE OPERATIVES IN BEIRUT

Iraqi intelligence operatives assassinated Iraqi national Adil Abd al-Majeed Wasfi in Beirut on 20th June 1979. He was 35 years of age, a member of the ICP and Deputy Editor of *Filastin al-Thawra* magazine, the official organ of the PLO. The Palestinian resistance accused the Iraqi regime agents of murdering Wasfi.

This crime against humanity is a link in the chain of similar acts of murder, assassination, assassination attempts, assaults, harassment, intimidation, espionage and open acts of aggression perpetrated by the Iraqi Ba'th regime abroad—such acts which were carried out from January to June 1979 are referred to in this issue of *Pesh Merga* and in the press cuttings it contains.



Tawfiq Rushdi

FURTHER EVIDENCE THAT IRAQI EMBASSIES ARE CENTRES OF ESPIONAGE AND MURDER

The following is the text of Aden (People's Democratic Republic of Yemen) home service 1230 gmt, 3rd June 1979 (BBC's SWB, 5th June 1979, Second Series ME/6133, page ME/6133/A/3):

"Brother Muhammad Salih Muti, member of the Political Bureau and Foreign Minister, this afternoon summoned Fa'iz Awni, the Iraqi Ambassador in Aden, and delivered to him a protest Note from the PDRY Government to the Government of the Republic of Iraq following the action of a group of security men at the Iraqi Embassy in Aden who assassinated Comrade Tawfiq Rushdi, professor at the Higher Education College. At 2020 [local] on Saturday night, 2nd June 1979, a group of Iraqi security men based at the Iraqi Embassy in Aden and riding in a car bearing diplomatic registration plates 15/2, shot dead the Iraqi professor, Comrade Tawfiq Rushdi, near his home in Mansurah quarter of Aden. The Government of the PDRY has requested the Government of Iraq to surrender the criminals so that they might go before the courts to answer for the criminal act they have perpetrated."

SWEDEN EXPELS IRAQI 'DIPLOMATS' ENGAGED IN ESPIONAGE

The Swedish Government declared, on 5th February 1979, five 'diplomats' at the Iraqi Embassy in Stockholm personas non grata for engaging in espionage. They were able to enlist the services of a senior police officer in Stockholm who had access to the dossiers of these refugees and residents. The Swedish Government made an official protest against these espionage activities.

The senior police officer was actually engaged in similar unlawful spying activities on foreign residents and Swedish citizens for the United States Embassy in Stockholm from 1965 to 1973, providing the CIA with information on these residents and citizens. The Swedish Foreign Ministry, according to *The Guardian*, 24th February 1979, lodged a "severe protest" with the American Embassy in Stockholm on 23rd February 1979. (See KDP Press Release in *Pesh Merga*.)

IRAQI-TURKISH MILITARY/ INTELLIGENCE CO-ORDINATION AGAINST THE KURDS

During recent months, the Turkish Chief of Intelligence (MIT), the Chief of General Staff, a Deputy Prime Minister and the Governor of the Province of Hakkari, paid official visits to Iraq.

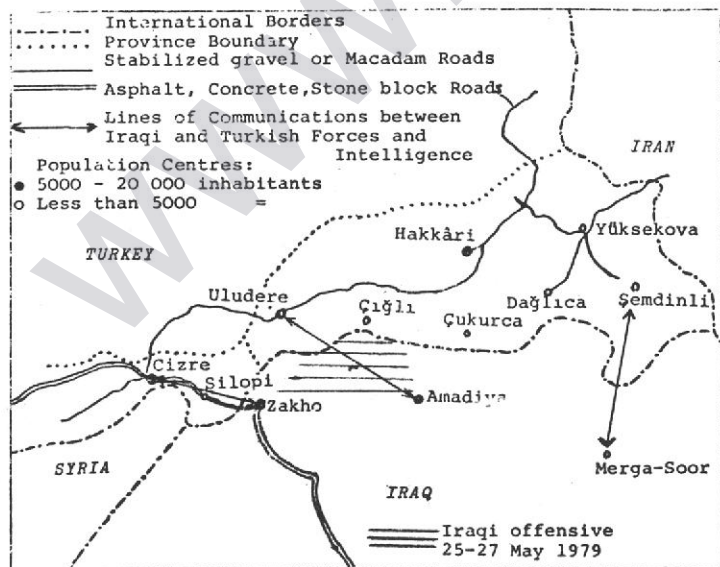
Since mid-May 1979, Turkey's involvement in, and co-ordination with the Iraqi regime in attempts to contain and eventually crush the Kurdish guerrillas in Iraq have become more obvious.

During the Iraqi attack on the Pesh Mergas in the Merga-Soor sector on 18th May, Turkish helicopters carried out reconnaissance flights over the area, 18 helicopters have recently been transferred to the Province of Hakkari bordering Iraq, and troop concentrations have been observed in Semdinli, Uludere (in Hakkari) and Cizre (in Mardin). There are close contacts and communications between the two countries' intelligence apparatus – between Cizre and Zakho, Uludere and Amadiya, and Semdinli and Merga-Soor centres (see map).

Turkey's involvement became more pronounced during the large scale Iraqi attack on the Kurdish guerrillas in the area between Zakho and Amadiya during 25th-27th May. A Turkish helicopter did actually strafe Pesh Merga positions, but was driven away by Doshka fire. And Turkish troops positioned at the peak of the mountain overlooking Mt. Asos, where the guerrillas' command post is located, acted as spotters for Iraqi artillery. Besides, large numbers of Turkish troops and gendarmerie were deployed along the frontier, especially in and near the border villages, the inhabitants of which were sternly warned not to render any form of help to the guerrillas, threatening them with reprisals and mass punishment.

However, this co-operation and co-ordination between the two regimes shall not succeed in destroying the Kurdish national liberation movement, although it may make things more difficult for the Pesh Mergas, because of the determination of our people, Party and guerrillas and the consciousness of our Kurdish nation and their political parties.

The *Guardian* of 2nd June 1979, published a report from Ankara by John Torode, stating that "... And the fear of a revival of Kurdish secessionism fuelled by Iranian Kurdish unrest, is growing. Already the army and the police have made contact with their opposite numbers in Iraq to discuss the possibility of joint action to put down any rising". (See press cutting section for further comments.)



BETWEEN ANKARA AND BAGHDAD

Iraqi Military-Intelligence Machine Further Closes Ranks with the Turkish Generals and MIT against the Kurdish Nation

1 The boss of the Turkish National Intelligence Organisations (Milli Istihbarat Taskilati – MIT) visited Baghdad, at the head of an official delegation from MIT, for six days ending on 3rd April 1979. Ali Haider Ozkan, MIT's boss, emphasised that his talks with his Iraqi opposite number, officials from the Interior Ministry and others were "positive and dominated by an atmosphere of friendship and love", stressing that this visit of his "will be a strong milestone in the friendship between the two countries".

2 On 13th April, the Turkish Chief of General Staff, General Evren, started a three-day official visit to Baghdad, aimed at consolidating "co-operation in the military spheres between the armed forces of the two countries".

It is not incidental that the General went from Baghdad directly to the Kurdish Province of Diyarbakir to observe a huge military manoeuvre called "SEL" (Flood) which is the same name given to the military operations that crushed the Dersim (now Tunceli) uprising in 1937.

3 During April, six ministers in Ecevit's cabinet (formerly from Demirel's party) threatened the Prime Minister with resignation if he did not tighten his policies against so-called "separatism" in the East (the Kurdish area). Ecevit surrendered to the pressure brought to bear upon him by internal (the Generals, MIT, the six and other right wingers) and external (chiefly the Iraqi regime) forces and prolonged the period of the Martial Law by two months and extended it to cover six more Kurdish Provinces.

4 On 20th April, the Turkish Minister of State and Deputy Prime Minister, Hikmet Cetin, visited Baghdad and declared at the airport that "relations between Turkey and Iraq are at the stage of rapid development".

5 On 8th June 1979, the Governor of Hakkari Province in south-eastern Turkey – on the Iraqi and Iranian frontiers – arrived in Dahok Governorate in Iraq at the head of a delegation for a visit lasting several days.

All these visits, pressure and inter-state official economic bribery aim at the buying off of the Turkish regime's more active co-operation with the Iraqi authorities to crush the 26th May revolution in Iraqi Kurdistan. They have, according to press reports, tried, but failed, to draw Iran into this scheme of destroying the Kurdish National Liberation Movement. The Iraqi regime is trying to repeat its "coup" with the Shah of 6th March 1975 which resulted in the collapse of the September revolution. But conditions, experience and power politics are now different from 1975.

What the Iraqi regime temporarily accomplished by its agreement with and concessions to, the then strong Shah of Iran in 1975 cannot be achieved by an agreement with a much weaker and unstable Turkish regime in 1979, despite its machinations and close co-operation with the Generals, MIT and all the reactionary, chauvinist and fascist Turkish forces and elements.

The London based weekly *Al-Hawadith* stated in its 27th April issue that "Contacts have begun between Baghdad and Ankara, on the one hand, and Teheran on the other, to co-ordinate a unified policy towards the Kurds after Iraq and Turkey agreed on this co-ordination during the visit to Baghdad by the Turkish Chief of General Staff, General Evren. The Iranian circles have stated that they do not hurry in this co-

THE TALABANI GROUP ATTACK KDP GUERRILLAS ONCE AGAIN

The Kurdish, as well as the Iraqi general public, insist on an end to fratricide in Iraqi Kurdistan and the opening of a new page of co-operation among Kurdish forces in order to mobilise the masses of our people for the purpose of extracting their national and democratic rights and the establishment of democracy in Iraq.

But the Talabani group, led by Jalal Talabani himself, insists on continuing this fratricide and the shedding of Kurdish blood whenever and wherever they can.

On the occasion of Newroz, the Kurdish national 'New Day', the KDP - Provisional Leadership - issued a statement calling on all national and progressive forces in Kurdistan to form a broad national front, as well as a progressive Iraqi national front, to face up to the Iraqi regime and its terror; this statement was repeatedly broadcast from 'Voice of Kurdistan' radio station.

But, at that very time, the Talabani group were planning to launch an attack on our Party's bases in Hawraman (in the Halabja area, about 80 km. south-east of Sulaimaniya). They assembled all their forces and weapons in Nokan, (inside Iran) from which they set out towards KDP bases in the said area.

They out-numbered and were better armed than the KDP guerrillas, and their plan was to encircle and destroy these guerrillas by attacking them from the rear. However, the KDP guerrillas resisted the attackers and the ensuing battle, which took place in mountains overlooking the village of Dazli and which lasted for two days, resulted in the death of 73 (43 of whom were left on the battleground) and more than 35 of the Talabani group wounded. KDP losses were 3 guerrillas killed and 2 wounded. The attackers then withdrew, leaving behind a quantity of weapons and ammunition. This was Talabani's Newroz present to the Kurdish people.

The reason for the defeat of the Talabani attack in Dazli, was the same as in Bazi last June (1978), namely the role played by the masses and the help they offered to the KDP guerrillas.

Many of the commanders of the units, sectors and squads of the attacking Talabani group were the very same persons whom our Party took prisoner during the 1978 Bazi fight and who were subsequently released by our Party.

The Kurdish masses wonder - as we do - WHEN will Jalal Talabani wake up from his day-dreams, wishful thinking and self-deception - the day-dreams and wishful thinking and self-deception of monopolising political activity in Kurdistan.

While reiterating our call for the establishment of a broad national front in Kurdistan, and of an Iraqi national front as well, we join our voice to the voice of the indignant masses of Kurdistan, condemning the unabated efforts to continue the internal bleeding of the Kurdish people and denouncing the fratricide and the spilling of Kurdish blood at the altar of the wishful thinking, whims, imagination and narrow selfishness of some individuals.

ordination, awaiting the approval of the constitution which gives national minorities a kind of autonomy which the Kurdish leaders have approved".

Now that SAVAK is defunct and their 'good friend', the Shah is on the run, the Iraqi regime has been looking for new allies; SAVAK has been replaced by MIT and the Shah by Turkish Generals and right-wing and fascist politicians and groups. (See press cutting section in *Pesh Merga*.)

LIBERATION condemns Iraqi regime's terror

The Annual General Meeting (AGM) of *Liberation* (incorporating the Movement for Colonial Freedom) of London, held on 30th June 1976, passed the following resolution:

Resolution No. 3. IRAQ. Submitted by London Area Council

THIS AGM STRONGLY CONDEMNNS the continuing vicious campaign of repression and terror in Iraq, waged by the ruling Baath Party and its notorious Security Apparatus against people from all walks of life: democrats, independents and communists amongst Arabs, Kurds and other national minorities. Since May 1978 more than 15,000 people have been arrested and subjected to brutal torture.

THIS AGM DEMANDS:

1. The immediate halt of the campaign of repression waged by the ruling Baath Party and its security apparatus.
2. The immediate halt of barbaric physical and psychological torture as a result of which dozens of detainees have already died.
3. The release of all political detainees, and that the Baathist authorities immediately reveal the fate of the detainees who have "disappeared" after arrest.
4. The abolishing of all repressive laws and penal codes, flagrantly violating fundamental human and democratic rights, under which hundreds of people have been executed, in particular the notorious "New Legal Provisions in Penal Code No. 111 of 1969 - Article 200" where the only penalty is capital punishment.
5. The halt of mass extermination and national oppression, "Arabisation" of the Kurdish people in Iraqi Kurdistan.
6. The immediate release of Kamal Shakir, the General Secretary of Iraqi Democratic Youth Federation, who has been imprisoned since 1975 under flimsy charges.
7. The halt of repression and terror directed against academics, teachers and students, and the halt of discrimination in education on political and national bases.

THIS AGM

- Endorses the aims of the Committee Against Repression and for Democratic Rights in Iraq (CARDRI) and calls for the widest support for its activities of solidarity with the Iraqi people.
- Mandates the Central Council to send letters of protest and condemnation, in line with this resolution, to the Iraqi President and Iraqi Embassy, and to organise a delegation to the Iraqi Embassy for the same purpose.

MUHAMMAD AMIN MUHAMMAD ALI 1924-1979

On the night of 10th May 1979, Muhammad Amin Muhammad Ali died of cancer in a London clinic. He was born in 1924 in Sulaimaniya Province.

- He had been a member of KDP since 1946.

- From 1964 to 1967 he was a member of the Central Committee.

- During the same period, he was a Politburo member for a time.

- He became a member of the Revolution Command Council from 1965 until it was dissolved in 1970.

- From 1965 to 1967, he was a member of the Executive Bureau of the Council.

- From 1970 until 1974, he was a member of Branch Five Committee of the Party.

- Became the General Director of the Department of the Reconstruction of the North in 1970 and stayed in this post until 1974.

- After the collapse of the September revolution in March 1975, he became a refugee in Iran and, since then and until his death, he devoted most of his time to work on humanitarian matters related to the refugees.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL: Political Prisoners and Executions in Iraq

1. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL NEWSLETTER, November 1978.

On 26th September, Amnesty International wrote to the Iraqi Minister of Justice, Munzer AL SHAWI, about the large scale amnesty announced in Iraq on 16th July and the execution in Iraq of 21 "communists" in May.

In addition to several thousand criminal prisoners who benefitted from the amnesty, 226 out of the 317 political prisoners said to be imprisoned in Iraq were also to be included. Amnesty International asked Minister Al Shawi for the names of all the 317 and details about those who would remain in prison.

Also included in the amnesty were prisoners held on charges which were not covered by the amnesty categories where these prisoners "have changed their basic attitudes towards the thinking about the revolution and its pan-Arab and national aims". Amnesty International also asked for details on these prisoners.

At the same time, Amnesty International expressed concern at the execution of 21 "communists" who had been condemned for forming secret cells within the armed forces. In Iraq, this is a capital offence. Amnesty International regretted the Iraqi government's decision to carry out the executions two, three or four years after the sentences had been passed, rather than to commute the sentences.

The 21 concerned had been tried at various times since 1974.

Amnesty International urged the Iraqi government to abolish the death penalty for this offence and commute all pending death sentences.

2. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN FOR THE ABOLITION OF TORTURE Monthly Bulletin, November 1978

Ma'ruf Abdullah FATTAH, 29 years old and married with two children, was a Kurdish teacher living in Zawita, a small town in Northern Iraq, when on 10th June he was arrested with others on suspicion of setting up a cell of the illegal Kurdish Democratic Party.

Torture during interrogation reportedly included having his head enveloped for several days in a type of hood which was filled with flying ants. As a result of this treatment he is reported to have become insane.

He was subsequently brought to trial in November 1977, and sentenced to 7 years imprisonment.

Kurdish hostilities against the Iraqi armed forces, which in effect stopped after the 1975 agreement between Iraq and Iran, were renewed early in 1976 and intensified following arrests, deportations and executions of Kurds by the Iraqi government. Amnesty International receives frequent allegations of torture in Iraq and there have been several reports of deaths under torture.

Please send courteously worded letters appealing for the immediate release of Ma'ruf Abdullah Fattah on humanitarian grounds, to:

His Excellency Field Marshall Ahmed Hassan Al Bakr, President, Baghdad, Republic of Iraq;

and to:

His Excellency Saddam Hussein Taktiri, Vice Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council, Baghdad, Republic of Iraq.

3. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, INTERNATIONAL NEWSLETTER December 1978

Amnesty International asks Iraq for details of prisoners who will not benefit from an announced large scale amnesty and express concern at the execution of 21 "communists" earlier in the year.

4. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, INTERNATIONAL NEWSLETTER January 1979

Father of twelve 'tortured to death'

Haji Sayyid Ma'rouf, a 67-year-old Iraqi Kurd is reported to have been tortured to death in July 1977 according to delayed information reaching Amnesty International. A father of twelve, he was arrested for questioning after his son had left home to join the Pesh Mergas (the Kurdish forces engaged in armed opposition to the Iraqi government).

Amnesty International groups are now asking the Iraqi government to initiate an investigation into the circumstances of Haji Ma'rouf's death.

Amnesty International received a number of reports of deaths under torture in Iraq. The mutilated corpse of Reber Mulla HUSAIN, a 19-year-old student responsible for the Kurdistan Students Union in Zakho, was returned to his family on 26th April 1976 less than a week after his arrest. Nine nails were reportedly found in his body, one eye was gouged out and his penis had been cut off.

Sayyid Muhammad ISMAIL, an 80-year-old Iraqi Kurd who was arrested in May 1977 in connection with his son's alleged involvement in blowing up a secret police car in Arbil, reportedly died in custody soon after as a result of torture.

In both these cases Amnesty International has asked the government to investigate the allegations but, as far as is known, no investigation has been undertaken.

5. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, INTERNATIONAL NEWSLETTER February 1979

Former Ambassador charged

A former Iraqi ambassador to the United Nations, Abdul Karim Sattar AL SHEIKHLY is reported to have been sentenced to 6 years imprisonment on charges of "conspiracy against the state".

A prominent member of the ruling Iraqi Ba'th Party and, most recently, Iraq's ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany, Al Sheikhly was one of 22 Iraqi ambassadors summoned to the capital, Baghdad, ostensibly to attend a conference in February 1978.

Five of the ambassadors are reported to have been arrested and tried in Baghdad, but only Al Sheikhly is known to have been imprisoned.

Precise information about his detention and trial are not available, since all political cases in Iraq are tried in camera by special courts.

Amnesty International is investigating his case.

6. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, INTERNATIONAL NEWSLETTER March 1979

Christians arrested

Nearly 200 Christians are reported to have been arrested in Iraq in mid-November 1978; earlier unconfirmed reports put the figure at 600. There has been no official explanation for the arrests and all access to the detainees was denied while they were being interrogated.

Those arrested included members of Iraq's Assyrian Christian community of an evangelical society, and of a Bible study group in the town of Basra.

Among the Christian foreign nationals who were also arrested were citizens of the United Kingdom, Norway, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Switzerland, the Arab Republic of Egypt and Lebanon.

According to Amnesty International information, the Christians were arrested for holding religious meetings which the government considered "irregular", for evangelising, and for having illegal contact with

foreigners. However some were later charged with espionage.

Iraq's Christian community consists of about 500,000 people, or four per cent of the country's population. Most of the Assyrian Christians were apparently arrested at a weekly meeting where their national language, Syriac, is taught. Sixty members of the evangelical society were arrested when security police broke into a home where a foreign national was preaching.

On 16 January, Amnesty International asked President Ahmed Hassan Al BAKR to confirm a recent report that all the Iraqi Christians had been released, or to supply details about the detainees, the charges against them, and pending trials, if any. Amnesty International also expressed concern about detention proceedings and allegations of torture during interrogation. Amnesty International now understands that a considerable majority of those detained have been released.

Communists arrested and tortured

Members of the Communist Party of Iraq—whose activities are not illegal—are being arrested in growing numbers and subject to torture, according to reports reaching Amnesty International during recent months. Unofficial sources claim that several thousand have been arrested.

Amnesty International so far received the names of 42 of those arrested. They include members of the central committee of the party, trade union activists, members of a publishing house, teachers, students, artists and poets.

In many cases torture is apparently being used to force detainees to leave the Communist party or to become informers against the party which, since it was founded in 1934, has been frequently persecuted. Its activities were legalised in 1972 though prohibited in the armed forces—when it joined in the Progressive National Front with the ruling Ba'th Party and various Kurdish parties.

Two prisoners are reported to have died as a result of torture. Hameed 'Ati, a member of the Communist Party who was married with two children, died on 3 September 1978. 'Ati is reported to have been suspended from a ceiling fan while it was in motion, beaten all over his body with wire truncheons and electrocuted. Adnan Abdul AL JABBAR, a Communist party sympathiser, died in a Baghdad hospital on 1 October 1978. He is reported to have been beaten with truncheons, suspended by his feet and had a wire baton inserted into his anus. This treatment led to a kidney failure and death. Another, Suleiman Yousef ISTIFAN, a member of the central committee of the Communist Party who has now been released, is reported to be in a severely weakened condition because of his treatment in prison.

Torture techniques reported to be currently in use include:

- Beating with rubber truncheons and hoses;
- electric shocks;
- extraction of finger and toenails;
- application of pressure on the chest and stomach by means of a machine called mangana
- suspension by hands or feet from a ceiling fan in motion;
- sexual assaults, or threats of rape, on the detainee or female relatives;
- burning with cigarettes;
- submersion of the head in water;
- filling the prisoner's room with gas until he faints;
- psychological torture involving the threat of death.

Please send courteously worded letters expressing concern at reports that large numbers of alleged Com-

munist Party supporters have been detained and subjected to torture in recent months. Urge the unconditional release of all those detained for their non-violent political beliefs or activities. Seek assurances that all those detained are protected from ill-treatment. Request an open and impartial investigation of the deaths of Hameed 'Atti and Adnan Abdul Al Jabbar.

Write to:

Field Marshall Ahmad Hassan Al BAKR, President of the Republic of Iraq, Baghdad, Republic of Iraq; and to:

General Saddam Hussein, Vice Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council, Baghdad, Republic of Iraq.

7. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, INTERNATIONAL NEWSLETTER
April 1979

Iraq—Government Responds

Iraqi embassies have responded to letters from Amnesty International members sent on behalf of Ma'rouf Abdullah FATTAH (November 1978 CAT Bulletin). The 29-year-old Kurdish teacher who was arrested in June 1978, was reported to have become insane following interrogation in which his head was enveloped for several days in a hood filled with flying ants.

The Iraqi embassies responded to Amnesty International appeals with the information that Fattah is serving a sentence of 5 years and one month for "violating the national security of Iraq".

Amnesty International members who receive a reply from Iraqi embassies should write thanking them for their response, stressing once again Amnesty International's concern at the torture allegations and urging an official enquiry into the prison treatment of Ma'rouf Abdullah Fattah.

BRIBES TO BUY OFF THE KURDISH PEOPLE'S ACQUIESCENCE!

In our Communique No. 20, item 35, we referred to the 25th January demonstration which took place in Kas-Nazan 'cluster village' in Arbil, (where Kurds forcibly displaced are resettled) in protest against the arrest of Khidhir Mulla Aziz, during which the authorities used force injuring many demonstrators.

After this demonstration and similar ones by forcibly displaced and resettled Kurds, especially in Harir of 25th December 1978, the Iraqi regime, realising that 'the stick' was counter-productive, has recently resorted to 'the carrot', offering bribes to the displaced Kurds a 'coloured television set' to each displaced family in an attempt to buy their acquiescence. The *London al-Arab* daily (reflecting Iraqi official views and attitudes) of 7th June 1979, reported that "the Iraqi President has given 144 families, in the Kas-Nazan village in Arbil, each a 'gift' of a TV set and that another 200 families from the same village have received similar 'gifts'."

The total number of TV 'gifts' given to forcibly displaced and resettled Kurdish families is 2244. However, the paper failed to mention that immediately after the June-July 1978 forcible displacement and resettlement drive, the Iraqi President sent each 'family' a 'tea cup' (istikan) and a square metre of material!

Such methods, which are in the best traditions of tribal chiefs and of the former Shah of Iran, have only decreased the prestige of the regime among the Kurds, and are bound to backfire sooner or later.

Trauerfeiern für Barzani
Blecha: Sozialisten überall gegen Unterdrückung

Am 40. Tag nach dem Tod ihres schon jetzt legendär gewordenen Parteivorsitzenden und militärischen Führers Mustafa Barzani gedachten am Montagabend, gemäß ihrer Tradition, Kurden in der Heimat im Nahen Osten und im Exil in Europa bzw. in den USA des im 75. Lebensjahr in Washington verstorbenen Freiheitskämpfers.

Mittwoch, 11. April 1979

Wiener Zeitung

Mustafa Barzani, Led Fight For Kurdish Autonomy

WASHINGTON, March 2 (NYT) — Gen. Mullah Mustafa Barzani, 76, the Kurdish leader who unsuccessfully fought guerrilla wars in Iraq to gain autonomy for his fiercely nationalist people, died yesterday of a heart attack at Georgetown University Hospital here.

Gen. Barzani, who had been living in exile in northern Virginia since 1976, had been suffering from lung cancer. The tough and energetic son of a Kurdish rebel who was hanged by the Turks before World War I, emerged during World War II as the leader of the movement for Kurdish self-rule.

Kurds, who say they constitute a quarter of Iraq's 10 million persons, demanded a proportional share of the national wealth. Gen. Barzani, in appealing for arms from the West, suggested that oil concessions could be made available in return.

But after the Russians had stepped out in 1947, Iran began to clamp the Kurdish movement within its own borders. With both Iran and Iraq seeking his capture, Gen. Barzani fled to the Soviet Union, where he remained until the over-



Mustafa Barzani

throw of the Iraqi government in 1959. Although once opposed by some Kurds as pro-Communist, Gen. Barzani said in 1974: "You know how the Jews in Russia feel now. That is how I felt — like a slave."

During the 1960s, his guerrilla army, the Pesh Merga, which means "forward to death," fought the Iraqi government to a standstill, using captured Soviet arms supplied by the United States through Iran, then under the rule of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi.

Mustafa Barzani, det kurdiska folkets främste ledare under 1900-talet, har avlidit på ett sjukhus i Washington. Han blev 76 år. Dödsorsaken var enligt uppgift hjärtinfarkt, men Barzani led också av lungen-cancer.

Kurdernas främste ledare dog i går

WASHINGTON. Barzani kom till USA 1976 sedan hans kamp för ett kurdiskt rike misslyckats efter att shahen av Iran dragit tillbaka sitt stöd för Barzani rörelse. De två rörelser som nu leder kampen (samtidigt som de bekämpar varandra), har tegit avstånd från Barzani, som de ansåg förrådade den kurdiska saken.

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Advertisement for 'Morto Mustafa Barzani il condottiero curdo' with a portrait of Barzani and text in Italian.

E' morto Barzani, il leggendario guerriero kurdo

WASHINGTON — Mustafa Barzani, leader del movimento per l'indipendenza kurda, è morto ieri, nell'ospedale dell'università di Georgetown a Washington, dove era stato ricoverato per essere sottoposto a una cura per cancro del polmone, di cui era sofferente da tre anni.

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Mustafa Barzani

Nella primavera del 1974, quando i kurdi si prepararono a combattere la loro ultima guerra contro l'esercito iracheno, Mullah Mustafa Barzani era il capo indiscusso di un popolo diviso, il simbolo della rivolta, il profeta armato di una libertà pervagante da secoli. Sullo sfondo del Kurdistan, condotto da guardie del corpo, egli si spaccava in esattamente a corallo durante le nate per organizzare sempre nuovi accampamenti, organizzare la guerriglia, di essere le operazioni militari con un'energia ed una determinazione straordinarie in un uomo di oltre settanta anni.

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Advertisement for 'Dagens Nyheter' with a portrait of Mustafa Barzani and text in Swedish.

Kurdenführer Barsani gestorben

LONDON (reuter). Der seit 1976 in den USA im Exil lebende Führer der kurdischen Widerstandsbewegung im Irak, Mullah Mustafa Barsani, ist im Alter von 76 Jahren in einem Spital in Washington einem Herzanfall erlegen.

VOLKSSTIMME

Nr. 51 3. März 1979 Samstag

Barsani gestorben

LONDON. Der seit 1976 in den USA im Exil lebende Führer der kurdischen Aufständischen im Irak, Mullah Mustafa Barsani, ist Freitag früh in einem Spital in Rochester (US-Bundesstaat Minnesota) einem Herzanfall erlegen.

Kurden Zeitung Samstag, 3. März 1979

Mustafa Barsani, der legendäre Kurdenführer, ist im Exil in Washington gestorben.

KURIER

SONNTAG, 4. MÄRZ 1979

Mullah Mustafa Barsani, legendärer Kurdenführer im amerikanischen Exil, ist Freitag an Krebs gestorben. Dreißig Jahre lang hatte er den Widerstandskampf im Irak geführt.

Het Volk 3.3.1979

nel mondo

È morto negli USA Barsani leader della resistenza curda

WASHINGTON, 2. — Mullah Mustafa Barsani, principale esponente della resistenza curda che per 30 anni in Iraq si è opposta al governo di Baghdad, è morto nelle prime ore di stamane negli Stati Uniti. Barsani, che aveva 76 anni, è morto in seguito ad un infarto cardiaco che lo ha colpito a due soli giorni dalla sua progettata partenza per Teheran. Un portavoce del partito democratico curdo ha detto che Barsani, che si trovava in gravissime condizioni per un cancro ai polmoni, aveva espresso il desiderio di passare i suoi ultimi giorni tra la sua gente.

Mustafa Barsani, leader dell'ultima ribellione curda (1958-1975), è morto nell'ospedale dell'università di Georgetown a Washington. Barsani risiedeva a Washington dal 1976 ed era stato ricoverato in ospedale due giorni fa. Egli si era recato negli Stati Uniti un anno dopo che il governo iraniano dello scì aveva tolto l'appoggio al suo movimento, che lottava contro il governo bastista iracheno. Mustafa Barsani era partito dall'Iraq pochi giorni dopo la firma dell'accordo iraniano iracheno del 6 marzo 1975 che poneva praticamente fine alla sua lotta per l'indipendenza del suo popolo.

Barsani era nato all'inizio del secolo a Barzan, nell'Iraq del Nord. Dal 1931 partecipò al movimento iracheno e nel 1943 tentò di organizzare una amministrazione autonoma curda nell'Iraq. Successivamente dovette fuggire nell'Iran e poi nell'Onione Sovietica dove rimase dodici anni. Dopo la presa di potere del generale Abdel Karim Kassim, che rovesciò la monarchia irachena nel 1958, Barsani riprese la lotta nel 1961. L'undici marzo 1970 Barsani firmò l'accordo con il partito Baath che concedeva l'autonomia dei curdi nell'ambito della Repubblica irachena. Ma l'accordo fu di breve durata perché tra le due parti si

stabilì di nuovo l'incomprensione. Il 29 settembre del 1971 Barsani sfuggì di misura ad un attentato. L'11 marzo 1974 il conflitto riprese con la proclamazione unilaterale, da parte del potere centrale di Baghdad, della legge di autonomia del Kurdistan. Condannato dall'Unione Sovietica Barsani continuò a ricevere aiuti solo dall'Iran. Ma anche il Governo iraniano dello scì cessò di sostenere dopo l'accordo di Baghdad del 1975. Mustafa Barsani lasciò allora il suo paese per l'Iran e, in settembre, si trasferì negli Stati Uniti dopo aver abbandonato completamente la scena politica.

Da tempo rifugiato negli Usa, aveva 76 anni

Morto Barsani, capo dei curdi in cerca di una patria unita

WASHINGTON — Mustafa Barsani, principale esponente della resistenza curda che per trent'anni in Iraq si è opposta al governo di Baghdad, è morto ieri mattina a Washington. Barsani, che aveva 76 anni, soffriva di cancro ai polmoni: ma è morto di attacco cardiaco, a due giorni dal suo progettato rientro a Teheran. (Asa)

Da tre anni Barsani ritorna negli Stati Uniti. Vi era rifugiato nel settembre '75, pochi mesi dopo che lo Scì — ultimo sostenitore della sua lotta contro il regime di Baghdad — aveva firmato con l'Iraq un trattato di buon vicinato. Fino a quel momento, con alterne vicende, il nome del mullah Mustafa al-Barsani era stato la bandiera di un popolo che aveva sempre sognato l'unificazione indipendente del Kurdistan, la regione divisa fra Iraq, Iran, Siria, Urss e Turchia.

Anche se l'attuale ripresa delle ostilità, favorita dal caos post-rivoluzionario dell'Iran, è dichiaratamente intesa a ottenere diritti nazionali nel contesto iraniano, e se le giornali teorie separatisti curdi lo considerano ormai troppo conservatore e legato a concetti tribali, ma soprattutto macchiato da uno stretto vincolo con Reza Pahlavi, Barsani non ha cessato di rappresentare fino all'ultimo le aspirazioni del suo popolo, aspirazioni della sua figura carismatica di religioso-guerrigero di indubbia presa sulle masse. Nato verso il 1902, era fra-



tello minore dello sceicco Ahmed, un religioso eccentrico che condusse la prima guerra mondiale alla fine degli Anni Trenta, quando aveva di abbandonare la lotta politica per dedicarsi interamente alla religione. Nel 1945 Mustafa Barsani divenne capo del Kdp, il partito democratico curdo appena fondato; e nel 1946 fu a capo dell'esercito che prese con le armi il quartier generale della Repubblica curda di Mahabad, una striscia di territorio iraniano al confine con l'Iraq e con la Turchia. Ancora oggi Mahabad è la capitale spirituale dei curdi, e ospita il quartier generale dei nuovi usarti. Quando le truppe sovietiche si ritirarono dall'Iran

anche la Repubblica di Mahabad scomparire: Barsani con gli altri capi trovò rifugio in Urss. Vi rimase circa 12 anni, tornò in Iraq nel 1954 quando Kassim rovesciò la monarchia. Ma era bloccato a Baghdad: solo nel 1959 riuscì a fuggire e trovò rifugio nella montagna per riprendere la lotta. Le forze curde attribuirono sostanzialmente alla caduta di Kassim (febbraio 1963), ma in breve si trovarono nuovamente osteggiate dagli eredi del deposto dittatore. Due accordi con il governo Baath, nel '66 e nel '70 (autonomia dei curdi nell'ambito della repubblica irachena), non soppressero le tensioni: anzi, proprio l'accusa che Baghdad non aveva rispettato l'ultimo accordo, in particolare che non aveva incluso i pozzi petroliferi di Kirkuk nella regione autonoma, portò a nuove tensioni. Nel 1971 Barsani scampò a un attentato: un Corneo imbottito di dinamite esplose nella sua tenda, nel villaggio di Dilman, dove aveva il quartier generale. L'11 marzo 1974, quando Baghdad proclamò unilateralmente la legge di autonomia del Kurdistan, fu pronto a riprendere la guida del suo combattente. Ma, condannato dall'Unione Sovietica, dovette recarsi nei soli aiuti dello Scì. Quando anche Reza Pahlavi gli fu mancato il suo appoggio, la lotta curda si disolse. Barsani andò in America, l'indipendenza curda rivede il sogno che era sempre stato. Fabio Galvano

Barzani stierf ver van zijn volk



LONDEN. — Het mog een wonder beten dat Moellah Moestafa Barzani de 76 heeft gehaald. Hij stierf in een ziekenhuis in Rochester (Minnesota, VS) aan longkanker, nadat hij zijn hele leven lang aan de ene aanstap op de andere was ontsnap. Barzani, de onbetwiste leider der Koerden, vocht dertig jaar lang voor afscheiding van Irak. Deze strijd kende „stilte"-periodes, doch telkens de Koerden iets dwars zat sloegen zij gewapendhand aan het muiten tegen de centrale Iraakse regering. Barzani wilde graag zijn laatste levensdagen onder de Koerden doorbrengen, maar de dood was sneller dan de jet die hem naar zijn volk zou terugbrengen. ZIE BLZ. 4

Legendarische Koerdenleider Moestafa Barzani overleden

Molla Moestafa Barzani, die ruim veertig jaar lang de onbetwiste leider van de Koerdische beweging voor autonomie in Noord-Irak is geweest, heeft het grootste deel van zijn bestaan geleefd als vluchteling verklaarde. Hij ontspanne een levenswijze op het randje aan de dood in gevechten of moordaanlagen, zodat het bijna een wonder is dat hij op 76-jarige leeftijd in een ziekenhuis is overleden.

nomie in uitzicht gesteld. In 1974 werd dat voorstel door Barzani afgewezen na dat twee aanslagen op zijn leven hem aan de opeerliche bedoelingen van de Iraakse regering hadden doen twifelen. In maart 1974 hadden in Koerdistan hevige gevechten plaats, waarbij het Koerdische verzet zware verliezen leed. Moestafa Barzani kende zijn juiste geboortedatum niet maar nam aan dat hij in 1902 uit een wilde Koerdenstam geboren werd in het dorp Barzan, nabij de grenzen met Turkije en Iran. De Barzani's vormden toen een kleine stam maar zij werden later de leiders van de Koerden. Negen miljoen Koerden, verspreid over Irak, Syrie, Turkije, Iran en de Sovjetunie, posieden na de val van het Ottomaanse rijk, na de eerste wereldoorlog, een zelfstandige, onafhankelijke natie te stichten.

Moestafa Barzani, die een godsdienstige opieding kreeg en de titel „molla" (mo-hammedaans schriftgeleerde) had, was 29 jaar toen hij zijn eerste opstand tegen de centrale regering te Bagdad leidde. Hij werd opgepakt en naar de Noord-Iraakse provincie Soehemanyah verbannen. In 1943 vluchtte hij en werd in zijn geboortedorp als held ontvangen. Hij bleef twee jaar ondergedoken en kwam daarna opnieuw te voorschijn aan het hoofd van een „leger" van zeventiend krigeers waarmee hij de door de Iraanse Koerden pas opgerichte republiek van Mahabad ging steunen. Deze hield echter slechts een jaar stand. Barzani nam dan met vijfthonderd gewapende getrouwen de wijk naar de Sovjetunie. Na de val van de Hasjimitische monarchie in 1958 mocht hij van generaal Abdoel Karim Kassim, de nieuwe sterke man van Irak, naar Bagdad terugkeren. Maar de Koerden vielen spoedig in ongenade bij Kassim die hen als „secessiionisten" beschouwde. In 1961 begon de strijd. Kassim werd in 1963 geodoin in de staatsgreep die kolonel Abdoel Saлям Aref aan het bewind bracht. Deze zocht politieke toedernadering tot de Koerden, maar dat mislukte, waarna de strijd herbegon. De gevechten duurden zelfs voort naar 1968 de Baathpartij aan het bewind was gekomen. — (Rtr/A.F.P.)

Koerdenleider Barzani in VS overleden

LONDEN (Reuter). — Moellah Moestafa Barzani, de Koerdenleider die 30 jaar lang het verzet tegen de regering van Irak heeft geleid, is gisteren in Rochester, Minnesota, aan longkanker overleden. Hij is 76 jaar geworden. Dit is meegedeeld door een woordvoerder van de Koerdische Democratische Partij in Londen. Men had hem maandag per vliegtuig naar Teheran willen brengen, want hij wilde graag zijn laatste levensdagen onder Koerden doorbrengen. Sinds 1976 woonde hij in de VS. In 1975 hield irak op de Koerden in Irak te steunen, waardoor hun opstand tegen de Iraakse heersers niet meer was vol te houden.

de morgen 3.3.1979

Avanti!

Aveva 76 anni ed era malato di cancro ai polmoni



Morto il leader curdo Barzani

LONDRA — Mullah Mustafa Barsani, principale esponente della resistenza curda che per 30 anni in Iraq si è opposta al governo di Baghdad, è morto nelle prime ore di ieri negli Stati Uniti: ne ha dato notizia a Londra un portavoce del Partito democratico del Kurdistan di cui Barsani era leader. Barsani, che aveva 76 anni, è morto in seguito ad un infarto cardiaco che lo ha colpito a due soli giorni dalla sua progettata partenza per Teheran.

Kurdenführer Barsani im Exil gestorben

LONDON — Der seit 1976 in den USA im Exil lebende Führer der kurdischen Widerstandsorganisation... Mullah Mustafa Barsani ist am 2. März im Alter von 76 Jahren an einem Herzinfarkt gestorben.

Die Presse

Samstag/Sonntag, 3./4. März 1979

Kurdenchef Barsani gestorben 50 Jahre im Freiheitskampf

WIEN (tef). Wie die Agentur Reuters berichtet, ist der seit 1976 in den USA lebende Kurdenführer Mullah Mustafa Barsani Freitag in der Universitätsklinik in Washington an den Folgen eines Herzinfarkts gestorben.

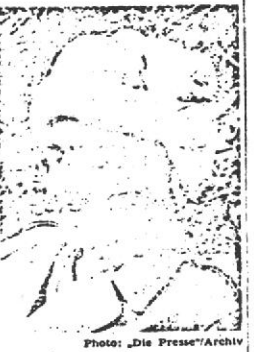


Photo: 'Die Presse' Archiv

ber Kassen in die Heimat zurück. Die Hoffnungen, die Moskau in Barsani gesetzt hatte, realisierten sich nicht, dieser strebte vielmehr eine Autonomie innerhalb des Irak an, was Kassel und dessen Nachfolger zwar versprochen, aber nie erfüllten.

Neue Zürcher Zeitung

2. Sonntag/Montag, 4./5. März 1979

Tod des Kurdenführers Barsani

H. E. T. Washington, 1. März Der Kurdenführer Mullah Mustafa Barsani ist in einem Spital in Washington im Alter von 76 Jahren an Lungenkrebs gestorben.

ANCIEN DIRIGEANT KURDE IRAKIEN

Barzani est mort aux États-Unis

Londres (Reuters). — Mullah Moustapha Barzani, qui fut pendant trent ans le chef du mouvement national kurde en Irak, est décédé vendredi 2 mars aux États-Unis, a annoncé à Londres un porte-parole du parti démocratique du Kurdistan.

Un coup très dur est porté à la cause kurde par le retour-nement de l'Union soviétique, qui prend fait et cause pour Bagdad, devenu son meilleur allié dans la région.

Le Monde, 3.3.1979

Kuijpers vraagt steun voor Koerden

VU-kamerlid Kuijpers verzocht de minister van Buitenlandse Zaken, de commissie voor de mensenrechten in Straatsburg en de VN in New York tussentijdse te komen voor de Koerden in het Midden-Oosten.

Kuijpers deed dit in zijn hoedanigheid van lid van de commissie Buitenlandse zaken en Ontwikkelingssamenwerking in het Belgische parlement.

Standard 3.3.1979

IL SECOLO XIX Sabato 3 marzo

E' morto Barzani il leggendario capo dei curdi

WASHINGTON — Mustafa Barzani, l'uomo che aveva votato la sua vita alla causa del popolo curdo, è morto in un ospedale di Washington.

Quindici milioni di uomini, quanti appunto sono i curdi dispersi in cinque paesi (Turchia, Iran, Irak, Siria e Unione Sovietica), avevano in Barzani il simbolo delle loro aspirazioni e della loro sacrale storia di lotta.

Con la vittoria della rivoluzione iraniana i curdi hanno rilanciato il loro problema, ancora una volta guidato da Barzani che già, per 30 anni, in Irak aveva condotto come leader del partito democratico del Kurdistan una feroce opposizione al regime di Bagdad.

DEUTSCHES NACHRICHTEN-MAGAZIN REGISTER GESTORBEN



Mustafa el-Barzani, 76. Der Kurdenführer hatte die Aufmerksamkeit der Welt auf den Unabhängigkeitskampf seines Volkes gelenkt.

lang kämpfte der Rebell gegen die Mächtebaron in Irak. Von 1941 bis 1975 führte er in der Sowjet-Union ausgebildete Freiheitskämpfer — er wurde Ehrengeneral in der Roten Armee.

halten hatte, flog er in den Irak. Die CIA brachte ihn noch im gleichen Jahr nach USA — in die Mayo-Klinik: Verdacht auf Krebs. Die Staaten verließen den Rebellführer seitdem nicht wieder.

Koerdenleider Barzani overleden

Moeliah Moestafa Barzani, de legendarische Koerdenleider, die 30 jaar lang het verzet tegen de regering van Irak heeft geleid, is vrijdagochtend te Rochester, Minnesota, aan longkanker overleden.

Men had hem maandag per vliegtuig naar Teheran willen brengen, want hij wilde graag zijn laatste levensdagen bij de Koerden doorbrengen.

PAESE SERA Sabato 3 Marzo 1979

A Washington E' morto Barzani: guida la rivolta dei curdi



WASHINGTON, 3. — È morto ieri nell'ospedale dell'università di Georgetown, a Washington, Mustafa Barzani, leader dell'ultima ribellione curda contro il governo baathista dell'Irak.

Per trenta anni, Mustafa Barzani ha combattuto strenuamente per l'indipendenza e l'autonomia del Kurdistan, una vasta zona di frontiera fra l'Irak e l'Iran inglobata nei due stati.

Mustafa Barzani è morto onorato come un capo carismatico, tuttavia la sua linea è contestata da parte di altri leaders curdi, più giovani e più politicizzati di lui.

la Repubblica politica estera sabato 3 marzo 1979

Il dopo-rivoluzione in Iran Contro le forze laiche Komeini esaspera gli accentri integralisti

TEHERAN, 2. — I cento fiori della rivoluzione iraniana sbocciano impetuosamente. Appena tornato a Ghom, nell'area isolata teologica da dove partì per l'Iran 15 anni fa, l'ayatollah Khomeini ha pronunciato il discorso più rivoluzionario di questa ultima tappa: «repubblica islamica» — fondarsi sul diritto coranico — «repubblica democratica» (definita «un prodotto occidentale», d'importazione).

KOMEINI ha affermato che «la libertà e la democrazia ma non ha chiesto se nello stato islamico che egli propugna ci sarà posto per il pluralismo politico. «Tutto porterà al marchio dell'Islam», ha detto, «dalla nuova bandiera nazionale fino alle banche. Tutta la società iraniana dovrà essere depurata di ogni influenza occidentale».

Nello stesso giorno in cui il PdK celebrava il suo ritorno alla legalità, è morto a 76 anni in America il più noto fra i capi storici del nazionalismo curdo, Mustafa Barzani. Animatore anche della «repubblica curda», Barzani si rifugiò in Ussr — dall'Iran — nel 1916. Tornato a Bagdad nel 1938, fondò nel 1960 il «Partito democratico curdo» (PdK, dell'Irak) che ottenne tramite la lotta armata una esile autonomia interna nel 1970. Nel '73 Barzani riprese di nuovo con i dirigenti di Bagdad e si rifugiò negli Ussr.

Kurderne vil fortsætte kampen

Nicosia, 4. marts (NPS-AP) Det kurdiske folkets kamp for et frit selvstændigt Kurdistan vil fortsætte, til trods for at dets leder, Mustafa Barzani, er død. Det var Barzani's søn, Masoud, som erklærede dette i en pressemiddling som blev distribueret på Kypros i helgen.

Den legendariske Mustafa Barzani døde af lungerne på et sykehus i Washington torsdag aften. Han var 67 år gammel og havde levet i eksil i USA siden 1966.

Glennon meddelte om aftenens død i et interview med det amerikanske nyhedsbureau AP. Han sagde, at Barzani var en af de mest populære og respekterede personer i den muslimske verden.

Barzani blev født i 1908 i den kurdiske by Hawraman i Irak. Han var leder af den kurdiske revolution i Irak, som sluttede sig i 1971.



Mustafa Barzani, kurdiske mangesidige leder, døde torsdag af lungerne på et sykehus i Washington D.C. (Foto: AP)

Aften Røsten, 5.3.1979

Dagbladet 5.3.1979

Kort om stort og småt

Kurder-lederens sønn: Far er død — men kampen fortsætter

NICOSIA MAHABAD (NPS-AP) Det kurdiske folkets kamp for et frit selvstændigt Kurdistan vil fortsætte, til trods for at dets leder, Mustafa Barzani, er død. Det var Barzani's søn, Masoud, som erklærede dette i en pressemiddling som blev distribueret på Kypros torsdag.



Den legendariske kurderlederen Mustafa Barzani døde torsdag aften af lungerne på et sykehus i Washington D.C. (Foto: AP)

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For at fremme sine interesser har kurdiske ledere udnævnt Ayatollah Ezzeel a Hossein som muslimsk leder. Han er en af de mest populære og respekterede personer i den muslimske verden.

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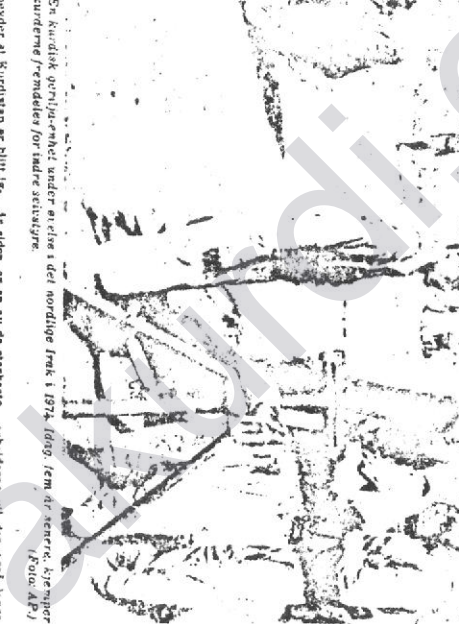
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En kurdiske oplysningskilder siger at det nordlige Irak i 1974 (foto: tem. af kurdiske oplysningskilder) (Foto: AP)

Nachruf zum Tode von Mustafa Barzani

An 1. März 1979 starb General Mustafa Barzani, letzter Präsident der Demokratischen Partei Kurdistan (DKP) an einem Herzinfarkt, nach dem er viele Monate wegen Lungenerkrankung in den USA behandelt worden war. Barzani stand die Spitze der kurdischen Revolution an und wurde von den Kurden als „Vater der Nation“ verehrt.

Barzani wurde am 1. März 1908 in der kurdischen Stadt Hawraman in Irak geboren. Er wurde als Mitglied der DKP bekannt, die er 1961 gründete. Er wurde 1971 in den USA in Exil gezwungen, nachdem er die kurdische Revolution in Irak angeführt hatte.

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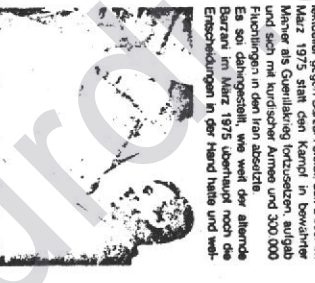
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Audienz nach der Abkündigung der Kurdischen Revolution in Bagdad. Von links: Oberbefehlshaber der Streitkräfte Bazzaz, Barzani und die stellvertretende Außenministerin Zaidi.

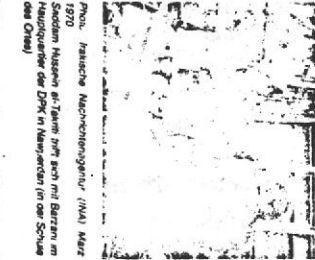
Da die militärische Auseinandersetzung von März 1974 bis zum März 1975 wurde durch die Ermordung der Großmutter eröffnet. Im Frühjahr 1972 schloß der Irak einen Freundschaftsvertrag mit der UdSSR ab. Im Sommer 1973 gewannen die Baath-Partei die Irakische Kommunisten zu einem Einheitsblock. Die UdSSR unterstützte die Baath-Partei und die KurdInnen. Im März 1975 wurde das kurdische Autonomiegesetz durch den Irak abgelehnt, was zur Auslösung der Kurdischen Revolution führte. Die Revolutionäre setzten sich für einen unabhängigen Kurdistan ein. Die Revolutionäre sahen sich als die einzigen, die die Interessen der Kurden in der Region vertreten konnten. Die Revolutionäre setzten sich für einen unabhängigen Kurdistan ein. Die Revolutionäre sahen sich als die einzigen, die die Interessen der Kurden in der Region vertreten konnten.



Barzani (Mitte) mit seinen Söhnen. Er ist der älteste Sohn von Barzani. Die anderen sind seine Brüder. Sie sitzen an einem Tisch und schauen in verschiedene Richtungen.

dien - Provisorische Führung verstand sich als Nachfolgeregiment der DPK des Irak. Barzani wurde von ihr zwar als rationales, militärisches Genie angesehen, aber nicht als aktiver Politiker. Die DPKCP, deren Einfluss im Irak seit 1963 durch den Einmarsch der Sowjetunion und die Unterstützung der UdSSR für die Baath-Partei gestiegen war, wurde die führende Kraft im Irak. Die UdSSR unterstützte die Baath-Partei und die KurdInnen. Im März 1975 wurde das kurdische Autonomiegesetz durch den Irak abgelehnt, was zur Auslösung der Kurdischen Revolution führte. Die Revolutionäre setzten sich für einen unabhängigen Kurdistan ein. Die Revolutionäre sahen sich als die einzigen, die die Interessen der Kurden in der Region vertreten konnten.

aus dem Jahre 1963. 8.8.63. Die irakischen Behörden sind ein Ansehen von Baathisten, pro-sozialistischen und nationalistischen Agenten der CIA. ... Die Baathisten sind ein Ansehen von Baathisten, pro-sozialistischen und nationalistischen Agenten der CIA.



Prozess irakische Nachrichtenagentur (IML) März 1970 Saddam Hussein im Raum mit Barzani in Bagdad. Barzani ist der Mann in der Mitte. Sie sitzen an einem Tisch und schauen in verschiedene Richtungen.

Handwritten notes or a sketch that is mostly illegible due to fading and the watermark. Some words like 'Handwritten' and 'notes' are visible.



Barzani beim Versuch der kurdischen Revolution in Bagdad.

eine führende Rolle im kurdischen Widerstand gegen die Unterdrückung seines Volkes. Barzani wird als kurdischer Patriot und Kämpfer um kurdische Selbstbestimmung in der Geschichte angesehen.

Barzani beim Versuch der kurdischen Revolution in Bagdad.

Death threat to Iraqi youth leader

Morning Star Reporter

IRAQI's democratic youth leader Kamal Shakir is again under threat of death at the hands of the country's Ba'athist regime which has again dragged him before a court-martial in Basrad.

The phone trial is apparently part of a new campaign by the Ba'athist leaders against Communists and other Iraqi democrats.

Originally arrested in 1973, Kamal Shakir faced trumped up charges and was sentenced to death in December 1975. But following pressure from progressive and democratic forces, the sentence was commuted to 20 years' imprisonment.

But following the executions that took place last May, new

phone charges have been brought against him and he was due to face court-martial in Baghdad yesterday.

Information that reached London from Baghdad yesterday indicated that the Iraqi authorities were now determined to liquidate Kamal Shakir.

Body dumped

The case comes at a time when the Iraqi secret police have been making savage attacks on progressive women, many of whom have been arrested and tortured to death.

It is now known that three progressive women, Jakool Abdulla of Mosul, Hascha Kazim of Kirkuk and Maniha Seewa have died following torture by police.

The latest victim was woman university student who was savagely tortured, raped and killed. Her body was dumped in the street to spread fear among the people.

A group of Iraqi democratic youth have appealed for action to save the life of Kamal Shakir and have asked for telegrams to be sent to Iraqi's President Ali Bakr in Baghdad and to the Iraqi ambassador, 21 Queen's Gate, London, SW7.

Mr. Gordon A. McLennan, general secretary of the Communist Party, has sent a telegram to the Iraqi president saying: "We consider that the new trial threatens his (Shakir's) life. We therefore urge that you intervene immediately and that the present reign of terror against Communists and other democrats should cease."

MORNING STAR Monday March 8 1977

THE OBSERVER, SUNDAY 15 APRIL 1979

Turks fear Kurds



TURKEY'S martial law commanders, who virtually rule 13 of the country's 67 provinces, are now deeply concerned about unrest among the Kurdish minority caused by upheavals in Iran.

Security forces recently found large caches of arms, some allegedly Soviet-made, in south eastern Kurdish strongholds.

The Kurdish factor, which Turkish officials usually dismiss as irrelevant, is believed to be behind today's visit to Baghdad of General Kenan Evren, Chief of the Turkish General Staff, for talks with Iraqi military leaders. The Turks hope to concert measures to contain Kurdish separatism.

Most of Turkey's seven million Kurds have been assimilated in the modern Turkish state. A repetition of the 1925 revolt seems out of the question. But the Army is taking no chances. (K.M.)

ÖSTERRIKE: Kurder skottskadade

WIEN (AP). Två unga kurder skottskadades på tisdagen i Wien, meddelade polisen. Angreppen tros ha varit riktade mot 35-åriga Masoud Barzani, son till kurdernas legendariske ledare Mustafa Barzani, men han undkom oskadd.

Skotten avlossades när Barzani besökte en lägenhet i Wien tillsammans med andra landsflyktiga kurder.

Kurderna i Wien har upprepade gånger sagt sig vara följda av Iraks underrättelse-tjänst.

THE GUARDIAN Wednesday, March 7, 1979

How Iraqi students are made to toe the Ba'athist line

Sir, — The publicity given by David Hirst to the recent activities of the Iraqi Government (February 27 and 28) is most welcome. Over the past two years, at a time when it has been making substantial and costly efforts in Britain and elsewhere to present Iraq as a bastion of progress and democracy, the Iraqi Government has enacted a series of laws and undertaken a number of measures, which amount to the erosion of many of the most basic human rights.

One particularly pernicious area in which the government is also active at the moment is education, which is being turned into the preserve of members of the Ba'ath Party. Pre-are is put on even the youngest children to join pro-rear and youth organisations affiliated to the party, and students are not admitted to institutions of higher education unless they agree to become Ba'athists.

Nearly 3,000 students were prevented from enrolling at universities last October on the basis of not having met the average qualifications. In contrast, 3,000 Ba'athists with qualifications below the stated requirements were admitted. The effect of this

on an already extremely deficient higher educational system can be imagined.

In addition, any student accepting a scholarship from a foreign country without the consent of the Ba'athist Revolutionary Command Council — which will not of course be given to non-Ba'athists — is liable to between five and 15 years' imprisonment.

All teachers and lecturers at educational institutions are harassed into becoming members of the Ba'ath Party. They are made to sign statements pledging their loyalty to the party, and those who refuse are threatened, as well as being imprisoned or tortured. In December, Mosul University was divided by the 'People's Militia' and 500 students and staff were arrested, many of whom are still in prison. Staff members of other educational institutions have been beaten up by the secret police in front of their classes.

The Guardian is doing a considerable service by bringing recent events in Iraq to the notice of a wider audience. — Yours faithfully, (Dr) Peter Sluglett, School of Oriental Studies, University of Durham.

MINUTE DERNIERE MINUTE

Kurdes: attentat contre le fils de Barzani

■ Deux hommes armés non identifiés ont apparemment tenté d'abattre lundi soir à Vienne le fils du Mollah Mustafa Barzani, chef légendaire de l'insurrection des Kurdes d'Irak jusqu'à son effondrement en 1975 à la suite d'une entente irako-iranienne.

Journal de Genève 10.1.1979.

Austrian police are holding a suspect in the murder attempt on 8 January of Masoud Barzani, a leader of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), and son of Kurdish nationalist leader Mustafa Barzani. Two men were wounded when attackers opened fire on several Kurds leaving a block of flats in a Vienna suburb after a meeting with Barzani, who has accused Iraqi intelligence agents of trying to kill him. The Iraqi embassy in Vienna said the charge was false.

Middle East Economic Digest, London 19 JAN 1979

REFUGEE KURDS SHOT IN 612 VIENNA

The son of a Kurdistan nationalist leader has escaped unhurt from a Vienna ambush in which two Kurdish refugees were shot and injured.

The man who escaped was Masoud Barzani, a leader of the exiled Kurdistan Democratic party, and son of Mullah Mustapha Barzani, who led a revolt against Iraq for 13 years.

Exiled party officials in Vienna London yesterday accused the Iraqi government of sending armed agents to Europe to assassinate leading exiles. The charge was denied by the Iraqi embassy in Vienna. —Reuter.

WORLD THIS WEEK THE OBSERVER, SUNDAY 11 MARCH 1979

Iran's Kurds demand home rule

"WE WANT autonomy for the Kurds and all minorities in Iran", Sheikh Ezze-din Hossaini and tucking his feet underneath him and reaching for a piece of chicken. "We will use peaceful means but if that fails we will fight for our rights."

The men sitting around the simple supper spread out on the carpeted floor nodded their approval. Among them was the sheikh's only son — a graduate in computer sciences from Tehran University — a respected bookshop owner and publisher, the nephew of Ghasi Mohammed, president of the short-lived Republic of Kurdistan and executed here in the town by the Shah in 1917, and a handful of turbaned Kurdish warriors in baggy pants, brilliant sashes and enough weaponry to equip a platoon of infantry.

"We are not separatists," said the sheikh in a voice hoarse from long hours of talking. "We are Iranians. We want a federal republic. Iran will not break up if the Kurds, Turks and Baluchis get autonomy, on the contrary, the country will be happier and more united."

The sheikh, now in his sixties but a man of incisive speech and fiery manner, is the Khuneini of Iran's five million Kurds. He belongs to no political party but, as a religious leader and Kurdish nationalist, he holds the allegiance of the vast majority of the Kurds who live in

Mullah Mustafa Barzani, the indomitable and controversial Kurdish leader, was buried last week. His struggle for an independent Kurdish nation was carried on in the mountains of eastern Iraq. Across the border, the Iranian Kurds are making their bid for a greater measure of freedom in the wake of the Iranian revolution. JOHN DE ST JORRE, who was in the area last week, reports from Mahabad.

this mountainous and starkly beautiful corner of Iran.

Following rumours of separatist activities, the government in Tehran recently despatched a delegation to talk to Sheikh Ezze-din and other Kurdish leaders. The Kurds outlined their demands in an eight-point plan which amounts to home rule, leaving foreign affairs, defence and national economic planning in the hands of the central government.

"Sympathetic

The delegation gave the Kurds a sympathetic hearing but made no promises. The Iranian cabinet has decided about the new Iranian constitution currently being drafted in the capital. Neither they nor any of the other Iranian ethnic minorities have been consulted about its contents.

Such is the concern of the Kurdish leaders that they are sending their own delegates to Tehran soon to meet with Ayatollah Khomeini and his Prime Minister, Mehdi Bazargan.

"We will not accept a constitution without consulta-

tion," said the sheikh, adjusting his white turban with a surprising youthful hand. "What we want immediately is a statement of principle on the Kurdish problem from the Ayatollah."

Whether the Kurds will get it is another matter. The centrifugal potential of Iran's ethnic minorities has always been a sensitive issue in Tehran. The Kurds, descendants of the ancient Medes and tragically split between Iran, Iraq, Turkey and the Soviet Union, present the biggest challenge.

But whatever happens to Kurdistan will have a significant impact on the country's other ethnic groups. The Turkish-speaking people of Azerbaijan in the north — they also had a butterfly republic at the end of the Second World War — share similar devolution aspirations. And in the east along the border with Pakistan there is a history of Baluchi irredentism.

Outside the sheikh's house snow was falling whitening the chequered turbans and thick mustaches of the guards. Ghasi Mohammed's nephew told me how, as a boy of 11, he had watched his uncle on a similar wintry

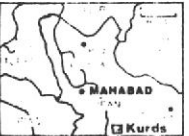
might go to the gallows (oving "Long Live Kurdistan"). "We have nothing against an Islamic republic in Iran but we must have autonomy too. We have been Muslims for 1,400 years but Kurds for 3,000 years."

Kurdistan, always a centre of opposition to the Shah's imperial and centralised rule, has turned the same cartwheel as the rest of the country. Revolutionary committees, patterned on Khomeini's in Tehran, have sprung up with the same combination of local guerrillas and soldiers reporting and responsive to the Ayatollah rather than to the formal Bazargan Government.

"Clandestine

There is also the Kurdish Democratic Party founded in 1945, which in 1962 after 17 years and above ground for the first time. Its leader is an impressive economist called Abdul-Rahman Ghassemlou, who returned clandestinely four months ago after 20 years in exile in Czechoslovakia and France.

He echoes Sheikh Ezze-



Mahabad Kurds

Morning Star, London
10 JAN 1979

Iraqis accused

Masoud Barzani, son of the exiled Kurdistan Democratic Party, escaped unhurt in Vienna on Monday night in what Kurdish exiles yesterday claimed was a murder attempt by secret agents.

Two Kurdish refugees were shot and injured in the attack on Monday night as they left a block of flats in a Vienna suburb after a secret rendezvous with Mr Masoud Barzani, a leading figure in the exiled Kurdistan Democratic Party and son of the legendary Mullah Mustapha Barzani, who led a Kurdish revolt against Iraq for 13 years.

Mr Barzani is reported to be visiting Vienna to meet some of the 100 Kurdish exiles working and studying in Austria, and police said they assumed the attack had been directed against him. The exiles had apparently thought he was one of the men leaving the flat.

de morgen
10.1.1979

Aanslag op zoon Koerdenleider Barzani te Wenen

WENEN (Reuter) — Twee onbekenden hebben in Wenen een poging gedaan de zoon van Koerdenleider Mustapha Barzani te vermoorden. Het doelwit was kennelijk Masoud Barzani, een leidende figuur in Koerdistaanse democratische partij.

Hij bewoont een flat in een buitenwijk van Wenen. De twee onbekenden openden het vuur toen twee Koerdistaanse ballingen a flat verlieten. Zij werden doorgelost getroffen en een van hen ligt met een maagshot in een ziekenhuis. Op het moment van de aanslag was Barzani nog binnen. Hij vertoefte in Wenen om te praten met Koerdistaanse ballingen die daar werken of studeren. De Wense politie neemt aan dat de kogels voor Barzani bedoeld waren. Funktionarissen van de Koerdistaanse democratische partij zeggen dat de regering van Irak gewapende agenten naar Europa heeft gestuurd om leidende Koerdistaanse te vermoorden, hetgeen onmiddellijk door de Iraakse ambassade in Wenen als een leugen werd bestempeld.

De Barzani's waren intenzie betrokken bij de langdurige strijd die de Koerden voor hun nationale rechten in het noorden van Irak voerden. Daaraan kwam in 1975 een einde toen Iran zijn militaire steun aan de opstandelingen beëindigde; Mustapha Barzani, die nu 77 jaar is, week uit naar de V.S.

Hufvudsidsbladet 10.1.1979

THE revolution in Iran has been a cause for some concern among the Baath Party. Its leadership is Sunni, while 55% of the 12 million people are Shiites. As in Iran, the Kurds have a tradition of political activism, and there have been 125,000-annal-Sunni "popular army." Although government corruption and mismanagement of oil wealth are the state, dis-

Shah's fall rekindles rebel hopes

THE KURDS

Kurdish rebel activity against Iraq's Baathist regime was suddenly ended in 1975 when Iraq shut off the Baathist "supply lines. But the Kurds are as militant as ever in their demands for a genuine autonomy and many see in Iran's instability the chance to renew their challenge to the Baghdad government.

BY AMANDA CULTRETT



1975 - Fish Mergani men lay down their arms

Events in Iran are giving rise to excitement among many minorities in the Middle East. For the Kurds of Iraq it is an immense boost to morale. "The Baathist regime is not as strong as the Shah," they are saying in the streets of Irbil.

The Baath Party's policy of necessity tightening its grip on its critics in Iraq - Communists, Shiites and Kurds are being watched for the slightest sign of unrest. There have been frequent reports of arrests and executions of Communist Party members, but the fate of others who fall foul of the Baath often goes unreported.

Even opposition groups working outside Iraq are not safe. An incident in Yemen last month focused new attention on the Kurdish population of Iraq, whose claims for autonomy have provided successive governments with their biggest headache. One of the sons of Mulla Mustafa Barzani, near-legendary leader of the Kurdish rebellion for over 30 years, escaped unhurt from an ambush in a Yemen back street. He accused the Iraqi Government of having sent specially-trained squads to Europe to kill Kurdish opposition on leaders and eliminate their movement.

But with Islamic government proposed by Ayatollah Khomeini in control, the future of Iraq-Iranian relations will be in the balance, especially since Iraq expelled the ayatollah from his home in Najaf at the request of the Shah last year. The London-based *Al-Arab* reported recently that the ayatollah had told a visiting Kurdish delegation he would give the Kurds their rights. He did not say what he considered their rights to be. If the present autonomy, the result would be a fragment of Iraq, for if the Kurds were to get autonomy, so too should Iran's other ethnic minorities, the Turkomans, the Baluchis and the Iranian Arabs.

Autonomy plan heavily amended
The Kurds in Iraq, who constitute approximately 25 per cent of the population, seemed near to achieving total autonomy in 1970. The two-year-old Baathist regime, anxious to end an intermittent war with the Kurds which was draining it of funds and support, signed a peace agreement with Barzani and the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP). The agreement offered the Kurds

a self-governing region, to be defined on the basis of an official census whose results would define those areas where the Kurds were in the majority. It also reaffirmed Kurdish linguistic and cultural rights, and proposed a full programme of post-war rehabilitation and economic development for the devastated region. Had the provisions of this agreement been put into effect, most of the grievances of the Kurds in Iraq would have been eradicated. Few Kurds seriously believe there will ever be a separate Kurdish nation; they claim that autonomy is the best they can hope for. But the government, with military support from the Soviet Union, and oil revenues swelling the state coffers, by 1974 could afford to ride roughshod over an agreement which reduced its authority. The government produced a heavily-amended version of the original 15-point plan - the March 1974 Autonomy Law. Barzani and the KDP rejected the law, and resumed the war.

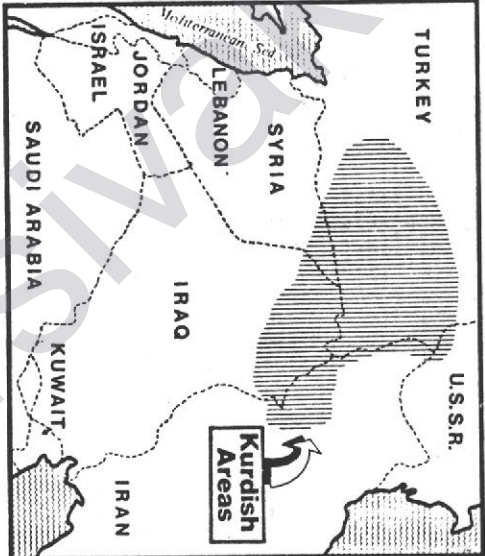
The government went ahead with implementing the Autonomy Law as if it had received full support. It appointed a

self-governing region, to be defined on the basis of an official census whose results would define those areas where the Kurds were in the majority. It also reaffirmed Kurdish linguistic and cultural rights, and proposed a full programme of post-war rehabilitation and economic development for the devastated region. Had the provisions of this agreement been put into effect, most of the grievances of the Kurds in Iraq would have been eradicated. Few Kurds seriously believe there will ever be a separate Kurdish nation; they claim that autonomy is the best they can hope for. But the government, with military support from the Soviet Union, and oil revenues swelling the state coffers, by 1974 could afford to ride roughshod over an agreement which reduced its authority. The government produced a heavily-amended version of the original 15-point plan - the March 1974 Autonomy Law. Barzani and the KDP rejected the law, and resumed the war.

Similar demonstrations took place in Diana, five kilometres north of Rawanduz, at the beginning of December, and Dujla, in the same region, on 13 September.

IRAQI-KURDISH POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS
Kurdish "Democratic Front" formed in 1974. It is a coalition of various groups, including the KDP, the PUK, and the PDK. It is a coalition of various groups, including the KDP, the PUK, and the PDK.

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Estimates of Kurdish population

Country	Minimum	Maximum	Total Population of Country
Turkey	3,000,000	6,000,000	25,545,500
Iraq	1,550,000	2,500,000	9,458,000
Syria	320,000	600,000	13,132,000
USSR (Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan)	80,000	70,000	2,695,000
Lebanon	400,000	70,000	
Total	6,990,000	16,470,000	

From Minority Rights Report 1975

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10,000 were tortured in Iraq

More than 10,000 people in Iraq have been arrested and subjected to physical torture since May 1976, according to information last received in London. An article has revealed that several days to several weeks and the fate of dozens of these political prisoners is still unknown. Acts of arrest and torture have taken place without any legal basis. Many people have been arrested from several days to several weeks and the fate of dozens of these political prisoners is still unknown. Acts of arrest and torture have taken place without any legal basis. Many people have been arrested from several days to several weeks and the fate of dozens of these political prisoners is still unknown.

Salih Al-Hadi, an engineer, and Dabab Ali, the Communist leader in 1971, were among those tortured. A prominent Communist, still apparently in detention include Dr. Ghazi Al-Khazri, professor at Basrah University; Huzam Aziz, a secondary school teacher; Mohammed Amin Al-Yasli, a lawyer; Abdul Razak Al-Khazri, a law student; and Sa'adun

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Five people fire on Kurdish demonstrators

Six people were killed and 38 injured during a peaceful demonstration by Kurdish deportees in the town of Hani. A Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) communiqué said on 29 January. The Kurds were protesting against the harsh conditions they were living under in the "cluster villages" where they have been "re-settled". The mayor of Hani, acting on orders from Baghdad, ordered paramilitary units to open fire on the unarmed demonstrators; the communiqué said.

Repression growing in Iraq

IRAQ's ruling Baath party has launched a campaign of repression against Communist and democratic groups with a new wave of arrests.

Communists slam Iraqi one-party rule

IRAQI Communists yesterday hit out at the ruling Baath Party for its one-party rule.

Worldwide

Worldwide news section header.

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Swedes aid Iraqi agents

The acting Chief of Stockholm Police Aliens Department and a police superintendent were among five Swedes caught red-handed passing secret documents to an Iraqi when security police burst into a central Stockholm apartment.

Aral Report learned that the Aliens Department chief had access to dossiers an Iraqi official when security police burst into a central Stockholm apartment. Sweden is a refuge for many Arab exiles, particularly Palestinians and Kurds, whose national movement the Iraqi Government is keen to silence.

The police raid, on 4 February, led to the expulsion the following day of three members of the Iraqi Embassy — a first and second secretary, and the military attaché. Iraqi Ambassador Abdel-Jabbar Haddawi was called to the Swedish Foreign Ministry on 6 February and told that the official arrested, said to be a third secretary in the Iraqi Foreign Ministry, was not protected by diplomatic immunity and would have to leave Sweden.

Police said investigations would continue against the five arrested Swedes, who included a naturalised former East German national. The group was suspected of working with Iraqi and East German intelligence.

Britain last summer declared 11 Iraqi "diplomats" persona non grata after accusing them of being engaged in terrorist activities.

ARAB REPORT | 14 FEBRUARY 1979

Feature: Shah's fall rocking rebel houses



Kurdish women and children

There is a massive military presence throughout the region.

"Aid geared to regime's convenience"

The government continues to assist Iraq in its military operations, and that it is pouring money into Iraq's economy. Information Minister Saïd Qasbi-Hamoudi announced the tripling of allocations for development projects in Kurdistan. Total allocations for 1978-79, 1978-79 would be (13,000,000, 13,500,000, 14,000,000, compared with 10,211,5 million in 1977.

Kurdish oppositionaries say much of the money earmarked for the development of Kurdistan is going into Iraq, such as road building, water, main power, 15 to 20,000 Kurds in the autonomous areas would be moved into modern villages as part of a plan to turn the Iraqi countryside into a prosperous socialist country.

The war-ravaged Kurdish region, still with a basically agricultural economy, lacks far beyond other areas of Iraq, particularly the heavily industrialised south. No full exploration has been made of the area's natural resources, apart from the bituminous oil reserves in the Kirkuk region, which the Iraqi authorities claim does not form part of Kurdistan. They have, it is alleged, purposely been "thinned out" — the Kurds in Kirkuk and Khadabai by refusing to let them buy land and houses, and offering help only to those who move to the south. Only a token handful of Kurds are allowed to work on oil installations, and

Who they are. The Kurds are the fourth most numerous people in the Middle East. They are probably descendants of Indo-European tribes which settled in the region up to four thousand years ago. The Kurds are a people of many different independent states: mainly Turkey, Iraq and Iran, with a few in Syria and the USSR. The Kurdish language is a mixture of Persian, Arabic and other languages. It is understood as a result of government suppression of dialects. They are mostly Sunni Muslims by religion, but there are a few Shias, and some Christians. The Kurds have long been a nomadic people, and their traditional occupations are stock raising and agriculture. They have a long history of resistance to foreign rule, and are known for their bravery and fighting spirit. They are a people of many different independent states: mainly Turkey, Iraq and Iran, with a few in Syria and the USSR. The Kurdish language is a mixture of Persian, Arabic and other languages. It is understood as a result of government suppression of dialects. They are mostly Sunni Muslims by religion, but there are a few Shias, and some Christians. The Kurds have long been a nomadic people, and their traditional occupations are stock raising and agriculture. They have a long history of resistance to foreign rule, and are known for their bravery and fighting spirit.

There is a massive military presence throughout the region.

Qadafi supports friendless Kurds

Support from an unexpected source, Libyan leader Colonel Qadafi, intervened by a French radio station about the Kurds' construction of a dam in the region. Qadafi's support is seen as a sign of his growing influence in the region. He has been a vocal supporter of the Kurds, and has offered them financial and military aid. This has led to a significant increase in the Kurds' military capabilities, and has also led to a more active role for Qadafi in the region's affairs.

The breakdown of authority in Iran may mean that the Kurdish villages across the border will be able to provide support for the guerrillas in Iraq. On a wider scale, the Kurds could produce a revival of the Shia movement in the Shia areas of Iran and Iraq. The Kurds in the Shia areas of Iran and Iraq have long been a source of tension, and their support for the guerrillas in Iraq could lead to a more active role for them in the region's affairs.

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Sweden protest at US 'spying' From UPI in Stockholm. The Swedish Foreign Minister yesterday lodged a "severe protest" with the American Ambassador in Stockholm, complaining that the American intelligence community had been spying on Sweden for many years. The protest was made in the presence of the Swedish Ambassador in Washington, and the American Ambassador in Stockholm. The Swedish Foreign Minister said that the American intelligence community had been spying on Sweden for many years, and that this was a serious violation of international law. He said that the American intelligence community had been spying on Sweden for many years, and that this was a serious violation of international law.

STOCKHOLM (UPI)—Ole Ekstrom, Swedish vice-foreign minister, said yesterday that the American intelligence community had been spying on Sweden for many years. He said that the American intelligence community had been spying on Sweden for many years, and that this was a serious violation of international law. He said that the American intelligence community had been spying on Sweden for many years, and that this was a serious violation of international law.

The police said that "during a house search of the arrested persons, a large number of documents were found, which were believed to be of great importance to the American intelligence community." The police also said that they had found a large number of documents, which were believed to be of great importance to the American intelligence community. The police also said that they had found a large number of documents, which were believed to be of great importance to the American intelligence community.

Swedish protest: Flyktingspionage bedrevs av USA. Svenska protesten mot USA:s flyktingspionage bedrevs av USA. Svenska protesten mot USA:s flyktingspionage bedrevs av USA. Svenska protesten mot USA:s flyktingspionage bedrevs av USA. Svenska protesten mot USA:s flyktingspionage bedrevs av USA.

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Three Iraqi diplomats in London row. By CHRISTOPHER HOUSE, Crime Correspondent. THREE Iraqi diplomats in London were arrested yesterday on suspicion of being involved in a plot to assassinate the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher. The three diplomats, who were identified as Mr. Ahmad Hamman, Mr. Ahmad Hamman, and Mr. Ahmad Hamman, were arrested by the Metropolitan Police. They were charged with conspiracy to murder, and with possession of documents likely to be of great value to the British Government.

Arabs admit murder. The trial of two Arabs accused of murdering General Abdul Razak, a former prime minister of Iraq, was held in London yesterday. The two defendants, who were identified as Mr. Ahmad Hamman and Mr. Ahmad Hamman, admitted the murder. They were charged with the murder of General Abdul Razak, who was killed in a car accident in Baghdad in 1977. The trial is expected to last several weeks.

Identity checked. A Scotland Yard spokesman confirmed that the incident had taken place at the London residence of the British Ambassador in Baghdad. The spokesman said that the incident had taken place at the London residence of the British Ambassador in Baghdad. The spokesman said that the incident had taken place at the London residence of the British Ambassador in Baghdad.

Iraqi agents 'filled London for killing'. By Alec Hartley. London was full of Iraqi intelligence agents yesterday, according to a source familiar with the situation. The source said that the Iraqi intelligence community had been operating in London for many years, and that they were now being used to carry out a plot to assassinate the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher. The source said that the Iraqi intelligence community had been operating in London for many years, and that they were now being used to carry out a plot to assassinate the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher.

Geneva background of several of the London contacts he asked. According to the source, several of the contacts were former members of the Iraqi intelligence community, and they were now being used to carry out a plot to assassinate the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher. The source said that the Iraqi intelligence community had been operating in London for many years, and that they were now being used to carry out a plot to assassinate the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher.

Seconds after a handshake in London. The source said that the Iraqi intelligence community had been operating in London for many years, and that they were now being used to carry out a plot to assassinate the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher. The source said that the Iraqi intelligence community had been operating in London for many years, and that they were now being used to carry out a plot to assassinate the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher.

Ex-Premier's last handshake. The source said that the Iraqi intelligence community had been operating in London for many years, and that they were now being used to carry out a plot to assassinate the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher. The source said that the Iraqi intelligence community had been operating in London for many years, and that they were now being used to carry out a plot to assassinate the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher.

Tragi killing organiser met victim at hotel, says Crown. The source said that the Iraqi intelligence community had been operating in London for many years, and that they were now being used to carry out a plot to assassinate the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher. The source said that the Iraqi intelligence community had been operating in London for many years, and that they were now being used to carry out a plot to assassinate the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher.

Exporters turn to Iraq

The crisis in Iran is having a marked impact on Iraq overseas exporters as paying the country far more attention than they did when business was better in Teheran. Iraq is now the second largest exporter of oil outside Saudi Arabia and with over 12 million people is a bigger potential market than the Gulf oil states.

Iraq's budget for 1979, which has increased by 27 per cent over the previous year, earmarks \$11.1bn for development, primarily in agriculture, irrigation, sewerage, housing, electricity and communications. Major emphasis will be given to the construction of low income housing and in mid-February a \$4.1m contract to build homes for 4,500 people near the Haditha dam on the Euphrates was awarded to a Canadian company. Danish firms have also shown a keen interest in the housing sector.

Major dealings with British companies are banned - a reprisal for the expulsion of Iraqi diplomats from London last summer - but the Iraqi authorities are permitting small orders up to \$676,000. Though the US has no diplomatic relations with Baghdad, Iraqi airlines are completely supplied by Boeing. Brown and Root have built a major oil terminal on the Gulf and Lummus, with West Germany's Thyssen, are working on a petro-chemical plant at Khor al Zubair.

Japan's Nigata Engineering, Marubeni, and Kawasaki all have secured contracts recently. Yugoslavia has 10,000 nationals in Iraq, working on projects worth \$2,000,000. Brazil concluded a deal last month to supply \$500m worth of arms in return for Iraqi crude oil.

Meanwhile, Iraq has paid the first payments agreed by the Baghdad summit. Over \$91m has gone to Syria, \$62m to Jordan and \$18m to the PLO.

contact with Soviet ideology, short-lived Soviets were set up in parts of Kurdistan from both 1965 and 1970. In 1941 after the allied invasion to overthrow Reza Shah, the Kurdish region formed part of the Russian zone of occupation. The Kurds there encouraged to effectively rule themselves for four years until in December 1945 they established two republics.

One was the Democratic Republic of Iranian Kurdistan, the other the Kurdistan Republic of Mahabud. Kurds from Iraq, Turkey and Syria came to Mahabud for oil, timber services and the Mullahs. Mullah Mustafa Barzani in 1946, the Bushmans with the British, Allied Treaty with Iran and the Mahabud Republic soon ran into trouble. By December 1946 the Iranian army reached and occupied Tabriz, the capital of Iranian Azerbaijan. The Bushmans made no attempt to intervene. Attacked by land and air the two republics collapsed, ending what has turned out to be a unique experiment in modern Kurdish history.

The recent history of the Kurds in Iraq is more hazy. But their present plight is not readily documented. Unhappily there is at least some truth in some of the allegations made by the Kurds in their country. The trouble is that few people in the Iraq government dare mention the Kurds. For the Iraqi leaders, the Kurds are a problem which President al Bakr introduced in March 1974 stands as their fulfillment of a 1970 pledge agreed to the sons of our Kurdish people and the fraternal priorities requires the dictatorial and reactionary regimes and under the auspices of the Ba'athist regime. But what sort of autonomy does it offer? The law which al Bakr introduced does not specify.

In Syria, the government publicly proclaimed that Kurds should be enabled to participate wholly in the development of the state by stepping up Arabic education in Kurdish areas. This led to seven Syrian members of the KDP leadership being jailed in 1974 for protesting against Arabisation. Syria's recent rapprochement with Iraq did not fill many Syrian Kurds with joy.

In the Lebanon, most Kurds are at the bottom of the social pile, working as porters in the vegetable market or the docks, living in slums and fearing deportation - though it is likely that many left the country voluntarily, along with others who lived in Lebanon, as the country descended into chaos.

An old-style nationalist



collapsed he made a few hundred of his followers make a dramatic escape on foot, across the border, into Russia. Barzani remained in Moscow until he was invited back to Iraq by General Qasim, who had overthrown the monarch. In the coup of July 14, 1958, the new Iraqi Republic was officially declared to be one of Kurdistan and Arabs. Barzani was given a government seat and a good deal of allowance, and in 1959 his Kurdish Democratic Party was one of those licensed to operate. But the honeymoon did not last. By the summer of 1961, the Iraqi army was once again in action against the Kurds, and the KDP was dissolved.

From that time on, there has been little real peace in Iraqi Kurdistan. There have been brief so-called periods, for example following a ceasefire in February 1964, but more often bad periods, when the bombing of Kurdish villages has been regular practice.

In 1970 an agreement between Baghdad and the Kurds was announced, by President Ahmed Hassan el Bakr, and welcomed by Barzani. This would have given the Kurds representation in the old class of the Scottish Highlands. But twice in this century they have produced leaders who could, with some justice, claim to speak for the Kurdish nation as a whole. The first was Sheikh Mahmud Barzani, whose armed campaign for an independent Kurdistan was finally suppressed by the Iraqi army in 1931. The second was Mullah Mustafa Barzani, whose long struggle on behalf of his fellow Kurds only ended with his death in Washington on March 2.

Western newspapers, like that in Kurdistan, were quick to call Mullah was a name not a title, and the warlord, except that which led to the Union never turned him into a respectable Marxist, even though he was given the honorary rank of general in the Red Army.

The Barzani district of Kurdistan is the old social and economic problems which inside the borders of Iraq, and it was against Iraqi governments that Mullah Mustafa's first instructions were made. But it was during the short-lived Kurdish republic of Mahabud that he first became an internationally known figure. This, like the neighbouring republic of Azerbaijan, was set up at the end of World War II in the Russian-occupied zone of Iran. Mullah Mustafa came to occupied zone of Iran, Mullah Mustafa played a leading part in it, and when it

Barzani, a Garibaldi, not a Guevara

Cover Story

Polisen begärd häktad "Ville skapa bra relationer Sverige - Irak"

Jag har velat verka för så goda relationer som möjligt mellan Irak och Sverige. Det har den anställde kriminalkommissionären antytt vid förhöret.

Motivet för kriminalkommissionärens affärer med Iraks utrikesmyndigheter är alltså fortfarande osäkert. Hans egen uttalanden tyder dock på att han också den praktiska diplomaten greps på bar gärning i lägenheten vid Sveriges hus.

Käroft uttalandet sammanfattning av vad hänsynsfulla dokument och dokumentation bevisat. Det finns ännu inte, men rikspolisstyrelsen redovisade på torsdagens eftermiddagsmöte i samband med den närmaste utredningen i hans fall föreläggande och är nu i det närmaste klar.

Denne man, som varit delvis misstänkt för de två vapeninslag, har en mycket intressant bakgrund. Han var före andra världskriget hemmahörande i den del av Tyskland, som numera utgör Östtyskland. Mannen var politiskt radikal och råkade som så många andra likatänkande tvingas ut för nazisternas framfart. Han satt flera gånger i läger, men när han släpptes stiftade sig goda relationer till Iraks utrikesmyndigheter. Han hade också goda relationer till Iraks utrikesmyndigheter. Han hade också goda relationer till Iraks utrikesmyndigheter.

Det är också fastslått att kommissionären i april 1978 gjorde en resa till Irak. Beträffande den äldre man som suttit anhållen men släppt - han är 78 år gammal - utredningsaktören på torsdagens eftermiddagsmöte utan tillägg. Han hade också goda relationer till Iraks utrikesmyndigheter. Han hade också goda relationer till Iraks utrikesmyndigheter.

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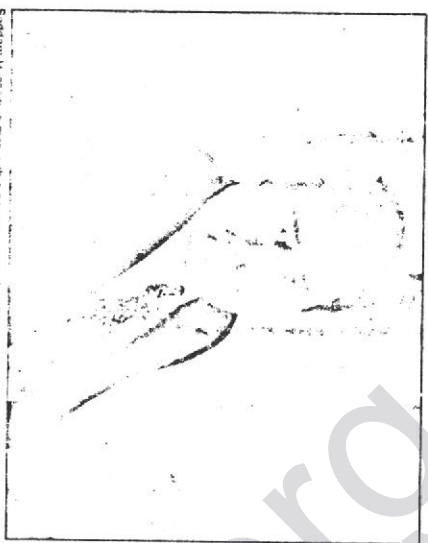
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De kallar sig Al Mullah-barzani, "Lysnarposten". De lysnar - men mest har de gjort sig kända för Från Pakistan i öst till Engländer i väster för Iraks spionförhållanden och dess metodiska ett krig mot Bagdad-regimen i Irak. Bagdad-regimen har varit en av Iraks mest betydande spionförhållanden. De kallar sig Al Mullah-barzani, "Lysnarposten". De lysnar - men mest har de gjort sig kända för Från Pakistan i öst till Engländer i väster för Iraks spionförhållanden och dess metodiska ett krig mot Bagdad-regimen i Irak. Bagdad-regimen har varit en av Iraks mest betydande spionförhållanden.

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Siddan i stekt i ena med ena region, politisk i stekt.

The shadow of Khomeini

The repercussions of the revolution in Iran have set in train a whole series of agencies and organizations in many of the world's capitals. Iran, as the stable centre of events, was an essential part of the world war policy and one of the factors that, later, have made possible the faltering negotiations in East-West détente.

Even so, whatever redresses the great powers may experience from the present in long, established global formations, neither Russia nor the US holds formally threatened by events in Iran. However, once governmental must be facing an uncertain future in the long, established global formations. With a considerable lack of perspective it has been a matter of life or death. With considerable more justification it has been a matter of being automatic and repressive, especially in terms of foreign policy and - in particular - in Iran. It has been notable for dramatic changes of direction, and reversals of what had seemed to be

great significance if the ruling group in Iran were possessed of a solid social, ethnic or religious base, the country, unfortunately for them, this is not the case. The founding state, contrary to the hopes of the Sunni minorities, but also, long based around Tehran, the Jews, some of both President Bakir and Saddam Hussein, constitute a minority within that minority.

In these circumstances it is to be expected that the Iraqis will be forced into a series of unusual alliances. Already they have entered a security arrangement with the previously excommunicated Saudis. For some time they have been making overtures to the US, which previously they have come to within everybody else's horizon - extending beyond the Arab world - extending beyond the Arab world - extending beyond the Arab world.

The object of the exercise was to attack and destroy, in the shortest time possible, a clan of Kurds living in the mountainous region of northern Iraq. The exercise involved units of the Iraqi army and several air force squadrons.

Den svenska regeringen har mottagit information om att Irak har utvecklat kärnkraft. Detta har väckt stor uppmärksamhet i Sverige. Enligt svensk information skulle Irak ha lyckats utveckla kärnkraft redan under 1970-talet.

Att detta är en mycket riskfylld verksamhet är allmänt känt. Det är också känt att Irak har stora svårigheter att finansiera denna verksamhet. Detta har lett till att Irak har sökt sig till andra länder för att finansiera detta projekt.

Oro bland irakierna efter avslöjandet

Den svenska regeringen har mottagit information om att Irak har utvecklat kärnkraft. Detta har väckt stor uppmärksamhet i Sverige.

De är oroliga för att Sverige ska ge efter för de utvecklingarna. Detta har lett till att Sverige har uttryckt sitt avståndstagande från Iraks kärnkraftsprogram.

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HUR MÅNGA AV OSS HAR HAN LÄMNAT UT?

I dag är oron stor bland flyktingarna i Sverige som tvingats lämna uppgiften om sig själva och anhöriga för att få stanna här.

Detta har lett till att många människor har blivit tvungna att lämna uppgiften om sig själva och anhöriga för att få stanna här.

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U. Zahir

FOR about a year now, there have been reports in this and other countries (Guardian, February 27, 1979; Le Monde, January 8, 1979; Morning Star, January 15, 1979)...

Why this sudden change of course by the ruling Baath Party in Iraq? First of all one must appreciate that the change has not been so sudden, despite its recent emergence in the world's press...

An important condition for the establishment of the Front, for its activity and the development of its mass base, was the mutual respect for the ideological, political and organisational independence of its constituent parties...

There was an important strengthening of relations between Iraq and the socialist community internationally, and in particular with the Soviet Union. Relations were also established with the working class movement in the advanced capitalist countries...

Ten thousand people have been arrested in Iraq since last May in a big campaign against Communists and other democratic organisations

'FAHAR' Yusuf, Salim, the London-born first secretary of the Iraqi Communist Party, was executed in February 1979...

But now not for the first time the Iraqi Communist Party is facing the leadership of the Arab Baath Socialist Party to destroy it.

Isolated from the people and Communist forces, the war over progressive Iraq, the war over the revolution, the war over the rights of the people...

Right turn The national revolution's Central Committee, which broke the Baath Party's monopoly...

FRAN HAZELTON explains the background to the latest vengeance of the Baath Party leaders.

LABOUR MONTHLY: APRIL 1979

Solidarity against terrorism

Despite the pelage under the National Charter, Iraq's development, the state of private capital in the gross national product has increased over the years...

Parasitic The Baath Party's economic programme, which was outlined in the National Charter...

Right-wing Baathists The Baath Party's economic programme, which was outlined in the National Charter...

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LABOUR MONTHLY: APRIL 1979

ПРАВДА 10 января 1979 года № 10 (2205)

Статья в газете «Тарик аш-Шааб»

Партия является авангардом прогрессивных сил общества, борющейся за освобождение народа от угнетения и за установление демократического строя...

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LABOUR MONTHLY: APRIL 1979

Anschlag auf Kurden in Wien

Wien, 9. Jan. (ap) In einer Wiener Privatwohnung sind am späten Montagabend zwei junge Kurden bei einem offenbar politisch-motivierten Anschlag durch Schüsse verletzt worden...

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PODIUMS CHILDRIN

Så avslöjade han

Myktintygarnaas hemlighet



Kommissarie Hans Melin, 62, är det höga polisbefäl som anklagas för att ha sålt hemliga och mycket kända uppgifter om utländska medborgare som sökt politisk asyl i Sverige.

Han är chef för utredningsavdelningen vid Stockholmspolisens utlänningsavdelning. Under det senaste året har han varit högste chef för utredningsavdelningen.

De uppgifter han lämnat har gått till den hemliga polisen i Irak. Han anklagas också för att ha hjälpt praktiska agenter att komma till som "politiska flyktingar".

Under förhöret i går erbjöd Hans Melin att lämna ut hemliga uppgifter från utredningsavdelningen i Irak. Han gavs hade han flera tusen dokument och aktprotokoll som han hade i sin bostad i Södertälje.

Hans Melin hade i sin bostad ett stort antal dokument som han hade fått från utredningsavdelningen i Irak. Han gavs hade han flera tusen dokument och aktprotokoll som han hade i sin bostad i Södertälje.

Men det är inte alla dokument som har gått till Irak. Det är endast de dokument som rör utredningen om den tidigare utredningsavdelningen i Irak som har gått till Irak.

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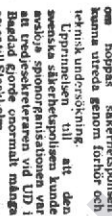
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Tisdagen den 6 februari 1979 * EXPRESSEN



Par Wendel

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VI, Nr. 14
5/4/1979

UFOJICK



AV THOMAS HAMMARBERG

Kurderna som

spelpjäser

□ An en gång har de utpekats som förräder. An en gång har de vingspis gynn till vägen för att stå vakt om den egna kulturen.

De reste sig i Iran men skaktes och hans imperier. De tog del i revolutionen. När militärregimen började ramla, angrep de militärregimen i landets nordvästra delar. De avsatte soldater.

Kurderna revolt hade inte mycket med religion att göra, de tillhörde inte en sammanhängande religiös grupp som sydliga Kurdistan. De ställde sig på hans sida i kamp om att bli av med shahen och återigen vinna - självstyre.

De ville ha ett eget land, och i det som utspelar sig i Iran. Men det handlade inte om utspjuling av Iran. Iran gränsar utmeds i Afghanistan i Finland.

Men Khomeni hade nej och det blev en strid som gick vidare. Några sådana strider har det varit mellan kurderna och den muslimska staten som styrd av Khomeni. De ställde sig på hans sida i kamp om att bli av med shahen och återigen vinna - självstyre.

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Regelrättigheter stöder har redan utlämnats och kurderna har tillbringat sig ett veckloft om självständighet. Vad som nu kommer att hända i nordvästra Iran påverkar republikens framtid - men också utvecklingen i grannlandet Turkiet och Irak.

För kurderna finns i alla dessa tre länder. Mindre ser miljoner i Turkiet, omkring tre i vardera Iran och Irak. Några hundra tusen finns också i Syrien och Sovjet.

Kurderna är ett gammalt kulturfolk som bott i bergstrakterna vid Eufraat och Tigris. Kallar i tre länder är De har ett eget språk, egen musik, egen danser, egen språk, egen kläder och matföreläsa.

Den irakiska kulturen har varit vidare genom år av förtryck, krig och militärstyrelse. Kemal Ataturk och Reza Khan (Shahens far) förordade hårig på sin tid att krossa den kurdiska önskan med vapenmakt. Olyckliga massakrer blev följden. Irak rånade öppet krig mellan folk till våren 1975, strider fortvillter där än i dag.

Vissa finns en kurdisk utövn om ett frit och en kurdisk egen stat. Men det är en dröm. Vad kurderna begär i Turkiet, Irak och Iran är ett visst självstyre, kulturellt och politiskt.

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I Irak har kurderna varit väntade. Till slut blev de separerade kurderna till ett övertaget misslyckat. De gjorde sig beroende av Henry Kissinger, CIA och shahen som då vill "överlämna" den Moskvaströmmen till Iran.

IRAQ TAKES HARD LINE WITH KURDS AND COMMUNISTS

By JOHN HILLOCK, Diplomatic Staff

THE Iraqi Government, which is leading the Arab campaign against the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, is facing growing internal opposition as it resorts to increasingly harsh methods of stifling dissent.

The Kurds of northern Iraq claim that a new campaign of deportation and resettlement is being introduced as a means of combating the wave of nationalist sentiment which has been caused by events in neighbouring Iran.

And the powerful Communist party of Iraq says it has been held in prison for years but has been freed in 1978. The party's members as a result of growing disillusion on the part of the ruling Baath party.

The Kurdish Democratic Party, the main political group of the estimated three and a half million Kurds, has been outlawed. The party's members are being arrested and imprisoned. The Kurds also say that new areas of land are being taken from them and given to Arab settlers.

Those removed are being sent to southern Iraq, and are being made to work on the land. The Kurds also say that the people living in the area are being resettled in the north.

In a statement, the Kurdish Democratic Party alleged that 22,000 Kurds had been killed since the beginning of the year.

Following the collapse of the Baghdad government, the Kurds in Iraq were backed by the Shah of Iran.

The Kurdish Democratic Party is a secular, nationalist party which has been active in the north of Iraq since the 1960s.

Arab opposition

SIR—The reference at the beginning of your report "Iraq takes hard line with Kurds and Communists" (April 26) to Iraq as "leading the Arab campaign against the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty" is more than a clue to the real motive behind publishing such a report on imaginary unrest in Iraq.

For it is based on wishful thinking of those forces who try to give weight to the Sadat sell-out agreement with Israel by portraying the Arab opposition to it as relying on weak and internally ridden countries.

Otherwise, how can you justify publishing a long propaganda statement of the remnants of the collapsed puppet Barzani insurgency, which was backed by the Central Intelligence Agency, Israel and the Shah of Iran; and showing hypocritical concern on the fate of Iraqi Communists who are still operating freely on every level, with organisational information activities and officials in the Government?

N. S. AL-HADITHI
Press Counsellor, Embassy of
Republic of Iraq,
London, W.1.

Daily Telegraph, 17.5.1979

The Christian Science Monitor

THE KURDS

a tough people who have not been forgotten

REPRESSION, terror, political violence, these are not the words used to describe the Kurds in Iraq. The style of dress that epitomises the inferior status of women in Iraq.

Long considered by the Arabs as one of the plagues of the world, the Middle East's 10 to 15 million Kurds continue their quest for a homeland. A tribal, mountain people, the Kurds' most recent uprisings threaten a fragile post-Shah Iran, as well as neighbouring Turkey and Iraq.

By Ned Tomko
Special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor
Beirut, Lebanon

"There are three plagues in the world," an Arab saying goes, "the rat, the locust, and the Kurds."

Yet this third "plague" is a people—the Middle East's fourth largest—who threaten a fragile post-Shah Iran, and seem set on riddling uprisings in neighbouring Turkey and Iraq.

An isolated, tribal mountain people, the Kurds demand anything from "autonomy" to the "self-determination" sought by the region's less numerous but better-organized Palestinians.

With the upheaval in Iran, an exiled Iraqi Kurdish leader said bravely, "there is a feeling that this is our golden chance."

Small arms in Turkey
He said about a quarter-million small arms had filtered to the Kurds in Turkey, a state already weakened and forced into martial law by months of political violence.

Our tortured Iraqi sisters

Rape, terror and political repression are what the women of Iraq face daily. FRAN HAZELTON reports.

Political we know that selling of fear and terror, with the aim of making the Kurds a black flag for us as far as factors are concerned.

Our sisters in Iran have not support and so justice. The eyes of Iran—their rights to choose in their own lives.

However, since 1975 the state of private capital in the GNP has grown, as has the influence of the Kurds, who have been subjected to brutal "sabotage" and "counter-revolutionary" activities.

Two women are reported to have attempted suicide after they were raped in front of their husbands. One of the women was killed under torture in the city of Mosul.

One hero of the short-lived republic hailed from the often present, yet powerful Barzani tribe in Kurdistan Iraq. The rebel leader, Mullah Mustafa Barzani, returned to Baghdad, Iraq, in the late 1960s to spearhead a revolt against the Iraqi regime.

This mountain guerrillas held army requires to a state make and elected a government pledge of Kurdish "autonomy" that bore no real fruit. Finally, he requested the war in the 1970s with artillery, trucks, and other weapons from a Shah who mistrusted the Kurds' hard government.

His sons now direct his Pesh Merga guerrillas in the remote hills of northern Iraq, a significantly real threat to have prompted an unprovoked war on March 21 from the No. 2 Iraqi leader, Saddam Hussein.



...and modern fashion as a symbol of the struggle against oppression.

Among those detained, Iraq's woman artist, who is a well-known Communist and a woman columnist of the Communist Party, small child, suspect, mother of a child, when the security men went to arrest him, she was taken to a cell, so took instead her 15-year-old son.

In Kurdistan, worst, mothers and died for their convictions, we must extend our solidarity to the Kurdish women who are arrested, tortured and deported in the central or southern part of Iraq.

Women are beaten and raped in villages in the process of retaking the region of Kirkuk. Very recently a woman was tortured, raped and killed and her body dumped in the street to attract fear.

Mr. Hussein, speaking in the north, said Iraq was a "big ship" for Arabs and Kurds alike. "We will not allow anyone to hold a blade in the ship lest it breaks and drowns."

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David Hirst, in the first of two reports, examines the pragmatic terrorism wielded by Baghdad's rulers

After the Shah: How do Iraq's Ba'athists survive?

"Which state will be next after Iran?" a jubilant Yasser Arafat was asked at his press conference in Tehran last week. If he had replied, "Egypt," no one would have been particularly surprised. Many of those who describe themselves as "revolutionaries" or "progressives" now ritually forecast the approaching doom of "the Egyptian Shah" (as the far-from progressive Sudanese Opposition leader, Sadiq al-Mahdi, was the first to dub him).

It requires no great insight to see that the collapse of his most powerful ally in the Middle East is a severe blow to President Sadat's own cornered and rickety regime. But Arafat contented himself with a platitude: "As with the Iranians themselves, it is the people who will decide."

The evasion was more than mere tact. It is a part of that language of nuance and innuendo which, especially these days, means so much more than official postures, however emphatically espoused. By not joining the conformist chorus of anti-Sadat abuse, Arafat was signalling that there are others, perhaps ostensible allies of the moment, who are just as close to the abyss as Sadat is.

After the Baghdad summit last November, neither Palestinians, Syrians, nor even the Beirut press, can openly try to answer the question which everyone is privately asking. But few would strenuously dispute the private answer that if any country has all the makings of the next domino, it is Iraq.

If mere survival is the primary obsession of most Arab re-

gimes, none has proved itself readier to go to extremes of repression and pragmatism to ensure survival than that of Iraq's Ba'athists. In their 11-year rule they have had their ups and downs, and in periods of relative security they have made as if to ease their iron grip.

After the diabolical but abortive plot, in June, 1973, of Nazim Khar, the Beria of Baghdad, there came semi-official admissions that "embarrassing mistakes" — Khar's liquidations and assassinations — had been made. The Ba'athist strongman, Saddam Hussein Takriti, ordered the symbolic destruction of Khar's notorious prison, the Qasr al-Nihavali — the Palace of the End. But the Ba'athists have rarely felt more secure than they do today. It is, therefore, no surprise that repression and pragmatism are asserting themselves with a vengeance.

That the great wave of repression is only now beginning to filter through to the outside

'Some victims are the people closest to their oppressors'

world is, at least in part, because of the self-restraint which the Ba'athists have shown in their persecution. Officially, the very people who, officially, are the closest to their persecutors. According to a secret memorandum which the Ba'athists delivered to the Iraqi Communist Party in September, 1978, it — along with three lesser groupings — is entitled to "complete freedom to work, organise and express their opinions through their press."

But at the same time, the same memorandum says three lines later, they must display "an absolute loyalty to the Ba'athist revolution of July 17, 1958, its principles and aims." This is the responsibility imposed upon them by their membership in the Ba'athist National Front, established with great fanfare in 1971.

In this memorandum, the Ba'athists levelled many grave charges of disloyalty. One was that the Communists refused to condemn the rival Syrian Ba'athist regime as "a competitor of President Sadat" in the scramble for capitalistist solutions.

One week later, the Ba'athists made their offer of union with "sister Syria," abandoned rejectionism — and, at the subsequent Baghdad summit, ended up subscribing to resolutions which, though designed to sabotage Camp David, represented the most moderate colonialist position in the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict. In practical terms, therefore, the National Front is a fiction. But it exists on paper and, with a "treaty of friendship and cooperation" with the Soviet Union, it represents one of the means by which the Ba'athists have struggled to get the best of both worlds — the preservation of their progressive reputation while pursuing policies which have been everything but progressive.

But the Communists' self-restraint, whatever Moscow might advise is close to breaking point. The Iraqi Communist Party has bravely behind protest movements which have begun to make themselves heard in Europe. According to one, the Democratic Movement

for Struggle against Terror in Iraq, "the disciples of the (late) notorious executioner, Nazim Khar," are on the rampage again, turning the whole country into a "slaughterhouse of barbaric crimes."

In an appeal to Ayatollah Khomeini, the movement expresses the conviction that history will lead to another victory for a "democratic Iraq freed from the atrocities of the Iraqi SAVAK."

Meanwhile, hundreds of Communists have fled the country. "We are very close to waging a world-wide campaign against them," one leading exile, a member of the party's Central Committee, said. He described the massive, systematic campaign of repression to which not just his own organisation, but anyone remotely suspected of sympathising with it, has been subjected.

"We have been persecuted for two years now," he said, "but we always hoped that through dialogue, through our membership of the National Front, we could persuade them to call it off. But it only gets worse."

In 1978, he said, the Iraqi security services took 10,000 people into the desert, blindfolded them, shut their mouths and ordered them to sign a declaration of allegiance to the Ba'ath Party and a pledge to cooperate with the intelligence services. Those who refused were tortured. Saddam Hussein has destroyed the Palace of the End but he has set up 20 in its place. There they hang people to castrate them, they electrocute them, they rape women, and take children as hostages for military use.

"In May last year," he went on, "they executed 36 Communists on the grounds that they had engaged in political activity in the Army (a capital offence for other than Ba'ath Party members). Since some of them were no longer in the Army anyway, they had to pass retroactive legislation to cover them."

About 250,000 Kurds have been forced into makeshift villages

justify the crime, making it a capital offence for any soldier retired since July 17, 1968 (when the Ba'athists took power), or any conscript who, having left the service for any reason whatever, is proved to have belonged to another party than the Ba'ath.

A whole corpus of legislation provides the death penalty for such offences as joining the Ba'ath Party without divulging earlier membership of another organisation, or leaving it to join another. To all intents and purposes, the Revolutionary Command Council is the repository of all legislative, executive and judicial authority.

There is little doubt about the accuracy of such testimony. It is true that, as a collective, Arab Communists are perhaps their own worst enemies in the levelling of such charges. They practice double standards. Thus, Saddam Hussein has destroyed the Palace of the End but he has set up 20 in its place. There they hang people to castrate them, they electrocute them, they rape women, and take children as hostages for military use.

They are doing the Ba'athists to fulminate until they have to "one more chance" — an exiled leader said, "in specific fields, then if they don't take it, we shall have to see things with the declaration war on them. It looks like a very serious situation."

The Communist Party withdrew from the National Front — the Ba'athists could then say they were not members — and the Ba'athists could then say they were not members. The Ba'athists could then say they were not members. The Ba'athists could then say they were not members.

The Ba'athists have tried to create a kind of "Arab zone," where conditions in what the Kurds describe as heavily guarded civilian villages are said to be appalling.

If the facts of the new terror are hardly in doubt, merely reinforcing the Ba'athists' reputation as the most repressive regime in the Arab world, more perplexing are the motives that lie behind it. What new mutation is planned in their infinite pragmatism?

What is the Ba'athist strategy? It is commonly said in the West that, as a result of the first Camp David meeting, the Ba'athists have always claimed that the "radical" Arab camp of change is to be left clear, which Iraq is supposedly a member of. This is misleading, and even though the Ba'athists are not in the Arab world, they are not in the Arab world.

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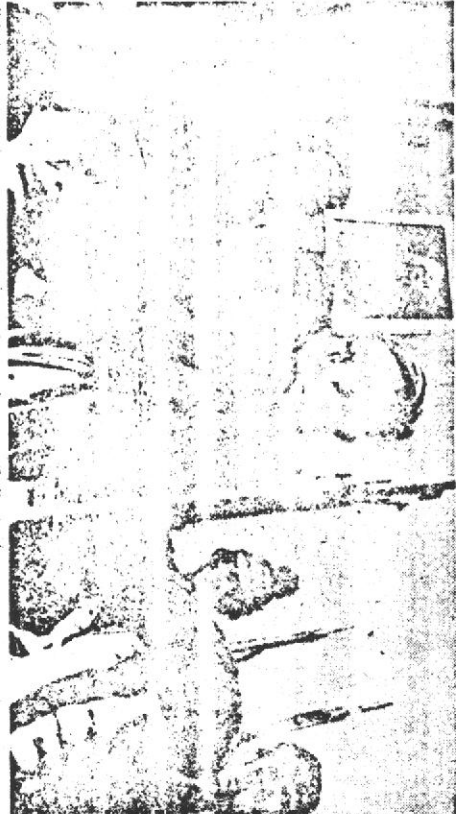
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OVERSEAS NEWS

THE GUARDIAN Wednesday February 28 1979

In the second report on Iraq, David Hirst analyses a potential alliance which could topple the Ba'athists Shite resentment is key to an Iraqi revolution



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Most Arab regimes are alarmed by the convulsions in Iran. DAVID HIRST reports

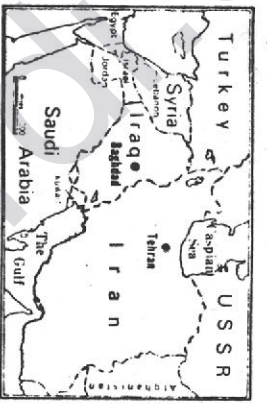
The Iranian warning to the Arab world

WHATEVER the United States' specific purpose in sending a squadron of F-15 fighters to Saudi Arabia and Saudi Arabia's purpose in requesting the presence of such a force, the move is clearly a warning to the Arab world. It will greatly affect their own future.

Not since 1963 has the United States made such a move. In that year, in response to a warning from President Nixon, the army of Yemeni republicans on the side of the Saudi kingdom was sent to Saudi Arabia. The move would have no threat to the integrity of the Saudi kingdom itself. A such direct and openly proclaimed threat to the kingdom today. But, of all Arab countries, it is Saudi Arabia that is most alarmed by the move. It is the Saudi kingdom that would flow from the downfall of the Shah. There has, of course, been little contact between the two since the Saudi king, King Faisal, died in 1964. The Saudi king, King Faisal, died in 1964. The Saudi king, King Faisal, died in 1964.



Above:—The Ayatollah Khomeini. Below:—Shahid guerrillas in Iran, where the regime is vulnerable to an Iran-style uprising



Strains, because no government has been more actively engaged in the Arab world than the Shah. He has been a major force in the Arab world since 1953. He has been a major force in the Arab world since 1953. He has been a major force in the Arab world since 1953.

There is a common view that the Shah's regime was a puppet of the West. This view is based on the fact that the Shah was a member of the House of Saud, a dynasty that has ruled Saudi Arabia since 1932. The Shah's regime was a puppet of the West.

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Not surprisingly, the Iranian revolutionaries have been able to exploit the Shah's regime's vulnerability to an Iran-style uprising. The Shah's regime was a puppet of the West.

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Kurdish 'Red Mullah' dies in America

By STEPHEN BARBER in Washington

MUSTAFA BARZANI, the exiled Kurdish guerrilla leader who was at one time backed by the Russians and became known as the Red Mullah, died in a Washington hospital yesterday aged 75. He fought the Iraqis and the Iranians in turn for years to try to win independence for his people. Friends said yesterday that he had planned to go back to his mountain homeland soon, feeling that the way had been reopened for his return by the fall of the Shah of Iran, who had once been his backer but then turned his back on him to make peace with his enemies. Barzani maintained to the end that he had been betrayed by the Americans when, in 1975, the Baghdad and Teheran governments got together to snuff out the Kurdish tribal rebellion. The Kurds live in the border area that spills over into Iraq, Iran and Turkey and have fought all three countries for generations in pursuit of an independent state.

The Editor, 'Telegraph', 'The Daily Telegraph', 135, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4. 3rd March, 1979

Stephen Barber, your correspondent in Washington, reported many inaccuracies in his article captioned "Kurdish 'Red Mullah' dies in America" (3rd March).

By far the grossest inaccuracy in his reporting appeared in the last paragraph. Mustafa Barzani paid his own hospital bills for treatment he received for lung cancer and there is no truth in the report that the "CIA has had to pick up his hospital bills". Incidentally, he died as the result of a heart-attack.

Barzani had arranged to go to Kurdistan-Iran on Sunday 4th March, as indeed he will, but in a coffin and not on his legs. Iran was not however his homeland, this being Kurdistan-Iraq.

During the 11 years of fighting to which Stephen Barber refers, Barzani and the revolution he led received arms from America via Iran during the period March 1974 to March 1975, i.e. one year only, and it was only after the collapse of the Kurdish movement that Barzani and the revolution became aware of an agreement between the ex-Shah and the U.S.A., which resulted in the arms being supplied from Iran. This matter has been fully reported by The Pike Report and confirmed in a letter to the "Economist" (17-23 February issue), by George W. Ball, the then American Under Secretary of State.

It should also be pointed out that the Kurdish fight against the Iraqi regime's policy of mass deportation, displacement and barbaric torture of Kurds continues, and will continue until autonomy for Kurdistan and democracy for Iraq is achieved in that country.

It is worthy of note that this is the second time in just over a week that we have had occasion to write to you to correct false reports published in your paper.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE
KURDISTAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY
-PROVISIONAL LEADERSHIP-

Keiner gehorcht

Die Kurden, eines der ältesten Völker im Mittleren Orient, seit Jahrhunderten in Freiheitskämpfe verstrickt, hoffen jetzt auf Autonomie.

Aus dem Irak, aus der Türkei waren sie nach Persien gekommen, legal und illegal, um ihren letzten großen Kampf in Eschnoje zur letzten Ruhe zu betten: Hunderte kurdische Geisliche, Tausende Männer, Frauen und Kinder.

Lautes Wehklagen und Gesänge begleiteten die Zeremonie bei Sonnenaufgang, selbst die Männer in ihren malerisch bunten Trachten weinten.

Idris, einer der Söhne des legendären toten Kurdenführers Mullah Mustafa el-Bassani, hielt am Grab die Trauerrede: „Was wir hier erleben, ist unbeschreiblich und ein Beweis für den Grad der Liebe und Ehre, die das gesamte kurdische Volk für den Verstorbenen empfindet.“

Dann beschwor er die Trauernden: „Beseitigt eure Differenzen, und vereinigt alle Kräfte, um unser Ziel zu erlangen.“ Überall wo Kurden leben, heißt dieses Ziel zumindest Selbstbestimmung und kulturelle Autonomie. Doch zuoberst prangt das Trauziel: ein freies Kurdistan.

Seit der Schiitenführer Ajatollah Chomeini dem Schreckenregime des Schah-in-Schah ein Ende gesetzt hat, keimte in den drei kurdischen Provinzen des Iran — Urmia, Kurdistan und Kernaschah — die Hoffnung, daß nun auch die Unterdrückung der ethnischen Minderheit aufhöre, die zudem auch noch zu 75 Prozent dem sunnitischen Islam anhängt.

Das Schah-Regime hatte sich stets geweigert, die Kurden als eigenes Volk anzuerkennen. Die kurdische Sprache war als Amts- und Schulsprache abgeschafft. Weit mehr als andere Gebieten des Iran waren Kurdengebiete wirtschaftlich unterentwickelt. Das Pro-Kopf-Einkommen dort lag fast um

ein Zehntaches unter dem Gesamt-Iran. Und sie waren stärker militärisiert. Das Volk wurde streng kontrolliert, der Aufenthalt jedes Fremden mußte beim Bürgermeister oder bei der Gendarmerie angemeldet werden.

Nachdem der Schah Persien verlassen hatte, war eine Reihe exilierter und die persische Regierung entsandte Kurdenführer in den Iran geeilt. Und kaum war Bassani unter der Erde, da umstellten die Kurden das neue Regime des Ajatollah Chomeini auf seine bislang gefährlichste Belastungsprobe.

In Sarandadsch, der Hauptstadt der Provinz Kurdistan, kam es zu tagelangen blutigen Gefechten zwischen kurdischen Kriegen und Revolutionstruppen Chomeinis, nachdem die sich geweigert hatten, den Kurden Munition auszubändigen. 91 Menschen starben nach offiziellen, 500 nach inoffiziellen Berichten, die Zahl der Verletzten ging in die Hunderte. Ein Arzt: „Ein Idiot, wer das hier nicht vorausgesehen hat.“

Zunächst drohte die provisorische Regierung in Teheran, sie werde den Aufstand der Kurden „erharmungslos“ niederschlagen, dann jedoch entsandte sie den Innenminister Hadsch-Salad Dschawadi sowie einen der höchsten Geistlichen, Ajatollah Taleghani, in die aufständische Provinzhauptstadt.

So wenige Tage vor der Volksabstimmung über Chomeinis „Islamische Republik“ brauchen die neuen Herren einen Waffenstillstand, und den wirken sie, indem sie den Kurden einen „semi-autonomen“ Status, „ähnlich wie in den USA“, zusicherten.

Aber dieser allzu brüchige Waffenstillstand, aufgebaut auf einem allzu vagen Versprechen, kann nicht lange halten. Denn Kurden wissen aus leidvoller Erfahrung, was sie von der Zerschmetterung einer Autonomie zu haben, vor allem die Kurden in Iranisch-Kurdistan.

Unter dem Schutz der Sowjet-Union, die seit Herbst 1941 Nordpersien besetzt hielt, wurde dort am 23. Januar 1946 die kurdische Republik von Mahabab ausgerufen. Zum Präsidenten

gewählt wurde der oberste religiöse Richter in Mahabab, Ghasi Moham-mad. Der hieß bald darauf den Mustafa Bassani willkommen, der mit 3000 Kämpfern vor den irakischen und britischen Truppen in den Iran geflohen

war. Bassani wurde einer von vier ost-kurdischen Armeegenerälen der neuen Republik und Verteidigungsminister. Gegen die Zusage, sie würden den persischen Ölvorkommen be-telligt, räumten die Sowjets wenige Monate später die besetzten Gebiete.

Den antückenden persischen Militärs ging aber Ghasi Moham-mad, Dezember 1946 mit seinem Mini-siern und Beamten nach Sufe des Landes bis vor die Tore der Stadt entgegen, um sie zu begrüßen. Die Kurden waren samt und sonders festgenommen und am 31. März des folgenden Jahres auf eben jenem Platz, wo die Republik ausgerufen worden war, öffentlich gehängt.

Kein Jahr hatte dieser Kurdenstaat überdauert — das erste und einzige kurdische Staatsgebilde eines der ältesten Völker der Erde, das in sumerischen Schriftfunden zum ersten Mal erwähnt wird.

Obwohl kulturell verbunden durch Sprache und sozial zusammengehörig, schweift durch Jahrhunderte währende Freiheitskämpfe gegen Mongolen, Türken und Perser, liebten die Kurden doch immer zersplittert in Fürstentümern und Stämme. „Die Kurdenstämme“, berichtet schon eine alte Kurdenchronik, „halten untereinander nicht zusammen; keiner will dem anderen gehorchen und untertan sein.“

Bis heute stödeln die Kurden von den Taurusausläufern im Westen der Türkei bis zum iranischen Hochplateau im Osten, vom biblischen Berg Ararat im Norden bis zu den Ebenen Mesopotamiens im Süden: ein Territorium von fast doppelter Größe der Bundesrepublik, mit wahrscheinlich an die 16 Millionen Menschen. Gern geben die beherrschenden Staaten geringere Zahlen an.

Das gilt für die Türkei, wo acht Millionen Kurden leben, für den Iran mit fünfzehn Millionen, für Syrien mit drei Millionen und für die Arabische Republik Syrien mit zwei Millionen. Gern geben die beherrschenden Staaten geringere Zahlen an.

Seit dem Zerfall des Osmanischen Reiches zu Beginn dieses Jahrhunderts blühten kurdische Unabhängigkeits-träume, und in der Tat sicherte ihnen der Vertrag von Sevres 1920 Autonomie der Kurden.

Das bittere Erwachen traf zuerst die Kurden der Türkei. Als Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, der Vater der modernen Türkei, an die Macht kam, war von Autonomie der Kurden keine Rede mehr.

Ihre Sprache wurde verboten, sie wurden offiziell nur noch „Bergtürken“ genannt. Aufstände in den Jahren 1925, 1930 und 1936/37, die Hundert-tausende Kurden das Leben kosteten, nahmen Atatürks Truppen zum Anlaß, die Region nachhaltig zu verwüsten.

Wenn auch der derzeitige sozialdemokratische Ministerpräsident Bülent Ecevit in einem SPIEGEL-Gespräch schon von „Kurden“ statt von „Berg-türken“ spricht, hat sich an der Situation der Kurden seit Atatürk doch nicht sehr viel geändert.

Überfälle der paramilitärischen Spezialtruppe, der „Jandarmas“, Folter und Vergewaltigungen kurdischer Frauen und Kinder durch Türken sind vielfach belegt. Feudalistische Verhältnisse — in über 800 Dörfern herrschen türkische Agas, immer noch gibt es Leibeigene — und gezielte wirtschaftliche Vernachlässigung — investiert wird nur dort, wo die finanziellen Aufwendungen dem Westen der Türkei zugute kommen — prägen nach wie vor die kurdischen Regionen Ostanatoliens.

Härteste Feldarbeit, Unterernährung und mangelhafte medizinische Versorgung lassen die Kurden der Osttürkei selten älter als 45 Jahre werden. Einen Arzt oder Sanitäter haben nur fünf Prozent aller Dörfer, zwei Drittel der Bevölkerung müssen bis zu 150 Kilometer laufen oder reiten, um einen Arzt zu finden. Die Hälfte aller Kinder stirbt, bevor sie in die Schule gehen könnten.

60 000 Kinder der Kurden-Region erhalten überhaupt keinen Unterricht, weil Lehrer fehlen. Die Analphabetenrate in der Türkei liegt insgesamt bei 45 Prozent, unter den Kurden jedoch bei 75 Prozent.

Eine kleine gebildete Schicht der nachwachsenden Kurden-Generation liest deshalb Lenin und Mao, und nicht wenig, die von „Azadi bo Kurdistan“, Freiheit für Kurdistan, träumen, wollen einen Befreiungskampf nach angolanischem Muster.

„Für die türkischen Kurden“, meint der Frankfurter Schriftsteller Jürgen Roth, der vor gut zwei Jahren bei Recherchen für die Gefangenenhilfsorganisation Amnesty International in Kurdistan festgenommen wurde, „scheint die Zeit vorbei, wo sie gelähmt auf die Aktivitäten der irakischen Kurden schauen.“

Über 13 Jahre Freiheitskrieg im Irak, in dem Ströme von Blut flossen, die schließliche Niederlage für General Bassani — all das hat den Kampfgeist der irakischen Kurdenkrieger, „Pesh-merga“ (Vor uns der Tod), nicht brechen können.

Immer häufiger in letzter Zeit strahlte die „Stimme Kurdistan“ (5900 Kilohertz auf dem 49-Meter-Band) wieder der Meldungen aus wie diese vom 23. Februar: „Heute mittag um 12.30 Uhr haben unsere tapferen Kämpfer einen Polizeiposten der irakischen Faschisten in Birkaama überfallen. Während des einständigen Kampfes wurden drei Soldaten getötet und 15 weitere verletzt.“

1958, nach General Kassims Putsch gegen die Haschemiten-Monarchie, war Mustafa Bassani nach zwölfjährigem Exil aus der Sowjet-Union in seine irakische Heimat zurückgekehrt. Anfängliche Autonomieverprechungen Kassims wurden nicht eingehalten. Unruhen in kurdischen Gebieten beantwortete Kassim 1961 mit Bombenangriffen.

Ein Bericht von Klaus Fambek mit Fotos von Klaus F. Steinhilber

Sie hatten gesagt, wir sollten vorerst ruhig sein, Klaus Flog über Ankara, ich über Istanbul. Wir trafen uns nachts in Adana. Von einem Minarett schrie ein Lautsprecher: „Allahhah...“

Jeder wußte, was gemeint war: Wir waren bei der Einreise nicht kontrolliert worden. Dabei hätten wir einer Durchsuchung unseres Gepäcks gelassen zugesehen. Die Adresse hatte ich. Sie war chiffriert und so vorbrachte, daß sie niemand entdecken hätte. Die beiden brietmarkierten Briefchen hatte Klaus. Sie waren in einem ungetroffenen Päckchen Tempo-18 eingeschoben, das in seiner Linken Brusttasche steckte.

Den Inhalt der Briefchen kannten wir nicht. Sie waren sorgfältig mit Tesafilm verklebt und mit Nr. 1 und Nr. 2 gekennzeichnet. Wir waren nicht ohne Grund geblieben worden, vorsichtig zu sein: Vor vier Jahren hatte der türkische Geheimdienst M.I.T. den Korrespondenten der Tageszeitung „Hürriyet“ Aziz Korkmaz geschmuggelt und wahrscheinlich ermordet. Vor drei Jahren hatten sich ein deutsches Team erwisch: alle Filme und Aufzeichnungen weg. Abschneidung, Auswaschung.

„Sie ihr“ sagten wir im Hotel, als wir gefragt wurden, wie es uns in der Türkei gefiele. Und daß wir noch drei Wochen Urlaub machen würden und nach Persien wollten. Am nächsten Tag besichtigten wir Adana.

Am übernächsten Tag fuhren wir mit dem Bus nach Gaziantep — Zwei-Tage-Tourist mit Rückfahrpass — Fotelapparat und Reiseleiter, unterwegs nach Osten wie so viele. Neben uns ein blühendes im Jahr. Wir hätten sogar ein Rückflugticket Teheran — Hamburg vorzeigen können.

Wir waren in einem Verzehraus Haus. Unserer beiden Begleiter brachten uns in ein Haus.

Es gab drei kleine Fenster in den dicken Leinwandwänden und der Fußboden war mit Teppichen ausgelegt.

Der Hausher Herr, tief in den Bergen, war der neue Krieg. Das Dorf omringte Dichter hatten irakische Truppen gesprengt.

Der neue Krieg hatte auch ein neues Lied. Wir hörten es auf diesem Abend zum erstenmal, auf einem Kassettenrecorder. Die Kassettenausgabe: Eine Trommel schlug einen ungewohnten Takt. Floten setzten ein, und ein Sänger mit dem Decknamen Begleiter. Die Berge und Täler von Kurdistan.

Die Kassetten klickte. Einset der letzten Männer stand auf, hob beide Hände gegen den dunkel gewordenen Himmel und rief: „Lang lebe Kurdistan!“

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Kurdistan ist nie ein freies Land gewesen. Die heute etwa 16 Millionen Kurden, Nachkommen der 2300 vor Christus auf samaritanischen Schrifttafeln erwähnten „Kurri- oder Guri“ leben in der Türkei (6 573 000), im Iran (5 233 000), im Irak (2 570 000), in Syrien (576 000) und in der UdSSR (170 000).

Rechnung bringt nur eine Trübsinnigkeit: Die linke Hand, wir wußten, was er sagen würde. Er sagte: „Willkommen bei Augen und Herzen.“

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ganzes Battalion. Frühmorgens bis sechshundert Mann. Mit modernen Waffen. Mit Funkgeräten. Und Grasmähdern.



Pesh Merga war ein halbes Jahr in der Feindhaft, der Feindhaft der Kurdin. Heute lebt er in Bagdad.



Unter einem Nubbaum standen noch die Schulbank. Es hatte zwei Stunden in Argush gegeben. Neben den Banken lag ein angepökeltes Schindloch. Wo ist Yusuf? stand auf einer Seite. Wo ist Layla? —

Die Kassetten klickte. Einset der letzten Männer stand auf, hob beide Hände gegen den dunkel gewordenen Himmel und rief: „Lang lebe Kurdistan!“

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und/warum; bis vierzig Männer ge-
wesen. Allein in seiner Zelle seien
zwei Männer gestorben. Einer war
wahrscheinlich gestorben, bevor er starb.
Aber das Schlimme seien die
Schreie der gefangenen Frauen gewe-
sen.

„Sie haben so geschrien, daß wir
gewart haben“, sagte der Makkhar.
Nach sechs Monaten ließen ihn die
Irakis laufen. Er ging in die Berge.
Wo habe er sonst hingehen sollen?
Arnpoh gab es ohnehin nicht mehr.

Einer seiner Söhne war in der Re-
volution gefallen. Ein anderer, 18
Jahre alt, wurde Hauptquartier an
der Dschuba. Zwölf Jungen konnten
den Verschluss der Maschinenkammer
ausmachen, schrien im wieder zu-
sammen, baten um wieder auszu-
steigen. Mit dem Ding hatten die Pesh
Merga fünf fraktische Hubschrauber
abgeschossen. Das Bauplatz der Ka-
none war auf dem Verschluss einge-
stempelt: 1975.

Jetzt sieht die Droschka die
neue Radstation. Sanny hatte den
Sender in Schweden beschafft. Das
Geld dafür hatten Emigranten ege-
ben. Es war ein 400-Watt-Gerät. Den
Generator dazu hatten zwanzig Man-
ner wochenlang durch die Berge ge-
schleppt. Sie sendeten abends und
morgens auf 9,5 Megahertz je eine
Stunde in Kurdisch, Arabisch und
Türkisch. Zwei Tage später begannen
die Irakis auf der Frequenz zu stö-
ren.

Trotz allem herrschte gedämpfter
Optimismus im Hauptquartier. „Wir
können keinen offenen Krieg führen“,
sagte Sanny, „aber wir können
mit unseren Guerillas den Irak das
Leben zur Hölle machen.“

Samy, 1970 bis 1974 einer der
kurdischen Minister in Bagdad, war
drei Mal zum Tode verurteilt. Seine
Frau und seine vier Kinder leben ir-
gendwo in Europa. Wo, ist nicht ein-
mal seinen besten Freunden bekannt.
„Die schwierigste Zeit ist vorbei“,
versicherte Sanny. Schon das Ab-
schlußkommuniqué der KDP-konfe-
renz vom 15. September 1976 künde-
te: „Wir gehen mit Freundschaft und
Bekanntheit, daß die Unterstützung der
meisten kurdischen Parteien und Or-
ganisationen unsere Partei wieder
vollkommenfähig gemacht hat.“

Doch auch im neuen Krieg kämpf-
ten auch wieder Kurden gegen Kur-
den: Tahbans 1964 von der KDP
abgesperrten Pesh Merga griffen
die KDP-Truppen an. Anfangs Juni
1978 kam es auf türkischen Gebiet
zur entscheidenden Schlacht: 200 Ta-
lahat-Lente wurden gefangen, 25
fielen, 171 flohen.

Jeden Tag trafen winzig zusan-
mengeklärte Zeitungen im Haupt-
quartier ein. Es waren die neuen
Meldungen:

„In der Nacht vom 27. zum 28.
Juli habe Abla Ismail Tihani folgen-
de Gäste: Lars Zachhol, den Distrik-
t-Major von Dukan, den stellvertre-
tenden Distrik Major, den Stier-
händler, den Kommandeur des Re-
gionalkommandos, seinen Abwärt-
schef, sechs weitere Armeeoffiziere
und mehrere Zivilisten. Als alle ab-
betreten waren, betrat ein Pesh
Merga in Armeiform das Haus
und schoss die Anwesenden mit
Maschinenpistolen nieder. Nur der
Gastgeber überlebte schwerverletzt.
Er befindet sich im Republik-Hospita-
l in Sulaymanya.“

Ober: Am 21. August griffen unsere
Guerrillas um 21 Uhr 30 den Flug-
plan von Bamani an. Bei dem über-
raschenden Angriff mit RPG, Mischi-
nengewehren und Handgranaten
wurden über 50 Soldaten, darunter
der Kommandeur der Brigade, ge-
tötet. Unsere Guerrillas nahmen die
Brahim
schloß in die Luft.
Aber es kam keine
Antwort

Schritte der Soldaten auf einem Kas-
sernenrecoiler auf.
„Anfang August wurde Frau Sati
Ira, aus Ostok stammend, in dem
Deportationslager bei Sinaldiz von
drei fraktischen Soldaten verewigt
und anschließend getötet. Sie hat
zwei Kinder und war 35 Jahre alt.“
„Schleich Suleman ist mit mehre-
ren Männern aus einem Depora-
tionslager entkommen.“
Wir zogen mit Ibrahim los, um
Schneis Stoffman und seine Männer
zu finden.
Wir rufen seit Tagen durch die
Berge. Aufwärts, bis das Fell der
Maultiere schwachblau glänzte. Ab-
wärts an Kruppelsteinen vorbei, über
schräge Felsblöcke, auf denen die
Maulesel rutschten, durch Fische und
immer wieder durch gesperrte Dör-
fer. Wir fanden Schilde und Rasier-
klingen, zerstreute Glasflaschen,
herrenlose Pferde und Maultiere, und
manchmal lief eine Kraxel ein Stück
hinter uns her.

Die wenigen Flüchtlinge, die wir
trafen, zeigten mir hier- und dorthin.
Einmal hörten wir Hubschrauber,
wir waren gerade auf einer Hochleite-
re und hatten keine Deckung gehabt.
Einmal trafen wir überraschend
wieder auf Samy und seine Männer.
Sie waren dabei, ihr Hauptquartier
zu verlassen. Sie kamen, Gezeiten
gleich, aus der Nacht, und nur die
Hufe ihrer Maultiere klapperten leise
auf den Steinen, und die Läufe der
Waffen glänzten matt im Vollmond.

Zuletzt ritten wir vierzehn Stunden
am Tag. Dann hockten wir oben auf
einem Fels, wickelten uns gegen den
kalten Wind fester in unsere Jacken
und schämte hinunter auf Padour. Auch
Padour war gesperrt. Irgendwo hier
sollte der Standort sein.
Ibrahim schloß in die Luft.
Es kam keine Antwort.

„In der Nacht entdeckten wir
das Feuer. Es war hoch oben auf ei-
nem Berg auf der anderen Seite des
Tales und sah wie ein Stern aus.“
Die Flucht, sagte der Schneis, sei
ganz einfach gewesen. Aber sie hat-
ten ihre Frauen und Kinder zurück-
lassen müssen. Ihre Däfer waren im
Lager gesperrt worden. Die Irakis sei-
en mit Hubschraubern gekommen
und hätten die Leute in Hubschrau-
bern weggebracht. Sie hätten alles zu-
rücklassen müssen.

Im Lager Shorah mittlen 267 Fa-
milien in 135 Hütten leben. Ein
Haus habe nur zwei kleine Zimmer.
Es gäbe kein Bad und keine Küche.
Es gäbe keine Toiletten im Lager.
Das Wasser würde mit Tankwagen
gebracht und sei knapp. Die Häuser

sehen teilweise schon wieder einge-
stürzt. Die Frauen würden verewig-
t. Die meisten kleinen Kinder seien
gestorben.
Sie diskutierten Ibrahim eine Liste
mit den Toren. Darunter war Amna
Said, ein vierzehnjähriges Mädchen,
das in dem Lager kamuzen bei dem
Gefängnis am Wassergang tonere-
ten worden war. Ibrahim schloß Ir-
gendwo würde der Name irgend-
wo auf eine Liste gesetzt werden; irgend-
wo Nummer Amna Said, 14 Jah-
re, totergebeten, Kamuzen.

Die Männer sagten, sie wollten
Kämpfen. Aber es gab kaum Waffen.
Einer Kalashnikow konnte auf dem
schwarzen Markt in Beirut fast lan-
gen Dollar.
In den Bergen fiel Schnee. Bald
würden die Pässe verschneuen. Wir
müßten zurück. Auf der türkischen
Seite lauschte über die Berge, um uns
zu warnen. Wir nahmen einen ande-
ren Weg.

Es wurde kalt. Wir übersetzten
die Grenze zur Türkei. Irgendwo
kur bevor wir wieder die Ebene er-
reichten, kamen wir auf fünf Gräbern
vorbei. Die Sonne hatte im Sommer
die Erde ausgebleicht, und nun wa-
ren die Schollen über den gefallenen
Pesh Merga gesprungen.

Bald wird es auch in der Ebene
schneien. Und der Schnee wird sich
über die Gräber legen, wird im Früh-
jahr schmelzen, und das Schneewas-
ser wird die gesprungenen Schollen
wieder glätten.
Neue Männer werden kommen.
Neue Männer werden sterben.
Neuer Schnee wird fallen.

Protests over Iraq arrests

Morning Star Reporter
THE EXECUTIVE of the Na-
tional Union of Mineworkers has
protested at the suppression,
torture and jailing of working-
class leaders in Iraq.
A telegram expressing great
concern about the latest arrests
of two working-class leaders has
been sent to President Al-Bakr
by the Communist Party of
Great Britain.
Arrested on April 30 was
Salam Al-Nasriri, a member of
the Iraqi Communist Party
central committee and the edi-
torial board of its monthly cul-
tural and theoretical journal.

Also arrested is Muhammad
Karim Fathalla, a member of the
editorial board of the party's
weekly journal.
The telegram, signed by Jack
Woddis, head of the British
Communist Party's International
Department, urges their imme-
diate release and cessation of all
repression.
Mahammad Hussain Aidon, a
worker on the party's central
daily paper suppressed on April
5, has also been held.
Iraqi Communists have called
on all progressive and demo-
cratic organisations and journal-
ists' unions to protest against
the arrests.

cal of the regime at home. It
was disrupted by other Iraqis,
many allegedly from outside
the campus and some, the NUS
said yesterday, armed with
chains and other offensive wea-
pons.
Iraqi students studying
abroad — there are around
3,000 in Britain — have to join
the NUIS, which is an arm of
the government system. The
NUS decisions yesterday were
brought about by a report
from the union's national se-
cretary, Mr David Aaronovitch,
who investigated the situation
and said: "Unless swift action
is taken, I believe we could
witness Iraqi gunmen turning
up on university and college
campuses in this country."

THE GUARDIAN
Monday May 21 1979

Students of Iraqi
(NUIS) on other students from
Iraq who have spoken out
against government repression
in the home country, the NUIS
should immediately cease to
recognise the NUIS.
The matter is to be drawn to
the attention of the Foreign
and Commonwealth Office by
the NUIS, which agreed yester-
day to recommend that local
students' unions withdraw re-
cognition from the NUIS.
The anxiety in the NUIS
about the activities of the
National Union of Iraqi Stu-
dents springs from reports it
has had to rising tension in a
number of colleges between
the NUIS and opposing Iraqi
students and, in particular,
from the details of two violent
confrontations in Swansea and
Manchester.

In Swansea University
earlier this month, an NUIS
spokesman said yesterday.
Iraqi students who supported a
Swansea Union motion con-
demning the repressiveness of
the Iraqi regime were alleg-
edly set upon by other Iraqis.
Swansea police are still investi-
gating the incident and said
yesterday that two people have
been arrested.
The NUIS has also had re-
ports of a May Day demonstra-
tion held at the University of
Manchester Institute of Science
and Technology by Iraqis criti-

cal of the regime at home. It
was disrupted by other Iraqis,
many allegedly from outside
the campus and some, the NUS
said yesterday, armed with
chains and other offensive wea-
pons.
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THE OBSERVER,
SUNDAY 20 MAY 1979

NUS fears
gunmen on
campuses

the National Union of Iraqi
Students, which is backed by
the Government in Baghdad,
or to two groups protesting
against repression in their
country.
The NUIS executive is
meeting in London today, and
say Mr Aaronovitch will propose
two that it ceases to recognise the
clashes in the last month, in
Manchester and Swansea. His
motion urges all other
members of the student groups
to do the same.
LEADERS of the National
Union of Students are govern-
ment-backed union and calls
upon them and the dissidents
alarmed by a threat of fur-and
clashes between rival
groups of Iraqi students in
Manchester (reports Michael
Nally).

The NUS secretary, Mr
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The Iraqis belong either to
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ness Iraqi gunmen turning up
on college campuses in this
country."

- Students;
 - Urge national unions of other countries to do likewise;
 - Instruct local student unions in Britain to take measures to protect Iraqi students not belonging to NUIS, especially over the summer months;
 - Ask local unions to raise the problem with their administrations;
 - Raise the matter with the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.
- Several members of the Iraqi Students' Society have been attacked in the past fortnight and have had to receive hospital treatment. In Manchester on May 4 a group of Iraqi students armed with chains and other weapons attempted to disrupt May Day celebrations at the Institute of Science and Technology.

FIVE-POINT CALL
The NUIS is controlled by Iraq's ruling Baath Party, which is currently escalating its attacks against Iraqi progressives both inside and outside Iraq—attacks have also taken place in France and Italy.
A five-point resolution adopted yesterday by the National Union of Students decided:
● Immediately cease to recognise the National Union of Iraqi

NUS tells of violence on Iraqi students here
Morning Star Reporter
STUDENT leaders yesterday broke off relations with the Iraqi National Union of Students (NUIS) following violent attacks at Swansea and Manchester universities.
"Unless swift action is taken I believe we could witness Iraqi gunmen turning up on university and college campuses in this country," said Dave Aaronovitch, the national secretary of the NUS.
At the same time, a document has been uncovered issued as an "internal directive" from the

the National Union of Iraqi
Students, which is backed by
the Government in Baghdad,
or to two groups protesting
against repression in their
country.
The NUIS executive is
meeting in London today, and
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upon them and the dissidents
alarmed by a threat of fur-and
clashes between rival
groups of Iraqi students in
Manchester (reports Michael
Nally).

Tough Iraq fights for power

By PATRICK SEALE THE OBSERVER, SUNDAY 20 MAY 1978

IRAQ, ruled for more than a decade by a tough, tightly controlled, military dictatorship, is making a bold bid to become a modern, democratic state. The new power centre is the Ba'ath Party. It is striving to unite the Arab States and the Arab world. The Ba'ath Party is the only party in the Arab world which has a clear, consistent ideology. It is striving to unite the Arab States and the Arab world. The Ba'ath Party is the only party in the Arab world which has a clear, consistent ideology. It is striving to unite the Arab States and the Arab world. The Ba'ath Party is the only party in the Arab world which has a clear, consistent ideology.

With domestic opponents, a new generation of leaders has emerged. The Ba'ath Party is the only party in the Arab world which has a clear, consistent ideology. It is striving to unite the Arab States and the Arab world. The Ba'ath Party is the only party in the Arab world which has a clear, consistent ideology. It is striving to unite the Arab States and the Arab world. The Ba'ath Party is the only party in the Arab world which has a clear, consistent ideology.

KOMMENTAREN DAG OG EID

19. februar 1979

Til den norske demokratiske befolkning

Statsoverhodet for Den Tyrkiske republikken, Bulent Ecevit, har nylig vært på et offisielt besøk i Norge. Under oppholdet har Bulent Ecevit utdelt forsknings- og utvekslingsoppgaver som vanlig ved slike besøk. Han snakket om den tyrkiske republikkens økonomiske utvikling og den samme status vennskap og samarbeid som Norge og Tyrkia arbeider for hver enkelt av dem. Til slutt ble det også utdelt forsknings- og utvekslingsoppgaver som vanlig ved slike besøk. Han snakket om den tyrkiske republikkens økonomiske utvikling og den samme status vennskap og samarbeid som Norge og Tyrkia arbeider for hver enkelt av dem.

I Tyrkia fins dessuten

en stor del av befolkningen er av kurdiske opphav. Den tyrkiske republikken fins dessuten en stor del av befolkningen er av kurdiske opphav. Den tyrkiske republikken fins dessuten en stor del av befolkningen er av kurdiske opphav. Den tyrkiske republikken fins dessuten en stor del av befolkningen er av kurdiske opphav.

The Kurds: 'Orphans of the Universe'

By Andrew Rorowiec

ANKARA — Their late leader, Gen. Mufta Mustafa Barzani, called them "the orphans of the universe." Today many Turkish officials regard the Kurds as a time bomb under the shaky foundations of modern Turkey. If the Kurds, representing one fifth of Turkey's 45 million inhabitants, are indeed the country's time bomb, the government is doing little to defuse it. On the contrary, continuing repressive measures are merely exacerbating the problem. The ban on the Kurdish language, threats against those propagating it and a denial of Kurdish cultural heritage appear merely to be adding fuel to the simmering fire of Kurdish nationalism. Officially, there are no Kurds in Turkey but merely "mountain Turks." Anxious to forge national unity, the founder of the Turkish republic, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, abrogated the Treaty of Sevres which set up an independent Kurdish state. Three Kurdish uprisings — in 1925, 1931 and 1937 — were drowned in blood by the Turkish Army.

But the Kurdish dream has survived. Today it is kept alive by the turmoil sweeping the Kurdish areas in neighboring Iran, new runblings of unrest in Iraq — and arms smuggling by extremist leftist movements to the poverty stricken Kurdish villages in eastern Turkey. Hidden Arms Turkish security officials have reported uncovering a number of caches of weapons around Diyarbakir, a town many Kurds consider as the capital of future "Kurdistan."

Following the discoveries, Turkish garrisons in the area were reinforced. Diyarbakir is not merely the nerve center of Kurdish nationalism. It is also the site of a sensitive U.S. electronic surveillance complex which tracks Soviet missile launches from test sites. It is in that area that Kurdish poverty is most striking: absentee landlords own almost a third of all arable land, some 60 percent of villages have no running water or electricity, and the illiteracy rate is about 70 percent. These factors invariably have pushed many Kurds toward the extremist left. According to government sources, all arms shipped to the Kurdish area are of Soviet or Czechoslovak origin. At least three underground organizations claim a free Kurdistan as their objective lean to the left.

Remote Idea

For example, the Public Works Ministry has an inordinate proportion of Kurdish appointees simply because the minister, Serafettin Elici, is a Kurdish notable. At least two prominent Kurds held ministerial posts in recent governments: Fahir Melon who served as minister of defense between 1975 and 1977 and Kamran Han, who headed the ministry of energy. To these educated Kurds any idea of an independent Kurdish state seems remote if not totally unviable. But most would like to see official recognition of Kurdish cultural aspirations and heritage. In this respect Premier Bulent Ecevit and his left-of-center government have followed their predecessors. All efforts by Turkish Kurds to propagate their language and tradition are invariably described as "secession." The written Kurdish language has been banned since 1924 although successive governments could do little to suppress the spoken language. And it thrives not only in remote villages but in towns inhabited by Kurdish population. Frequently books and tapes in Kurdish are smuggled from Iran and Iraq and passed from household to household.

'Nightmare'

IRANIAN FRONTIER TOWN CEASEFIRE

By DAVID SIMONS in Teheran

A ceasefire, which was announced yesterday by the Iranian Ministry of Defence, has ended the fighting in the frontier town of Sanandaj since Friday. The ceasefire, which was announced by the Iranian Ministry of Defence, has ended the fighting in the frontier town of Sanandaj since Friday. The ceasefire, which was announced by the Iranian Ministry of Defence, has ended the fighting in the frontier town of Sanandaj since Friday.

Iranian army prepares to intervene in Kurdistan

By ANDREW WHITLEY IN TEHRAN

HUNDREDS of people have been reported to have died in three days of bitter fighting in the frontier town of Sanandaj, near the border with Iraq and Turkey, as the Iranian army prepares to intervene in Kurdistan. The Iranian Ministry of Defence has announced that the army is preparing to intervene in Kurdistan. The Iranian Ministry of Defence has announced that the army is preparing to intervene in Kurdistan.

British 'spy' gaoled for life in Iraq

Financial Times, London 23.4.1979

THE GUARDIAN Thursday 23.4.1979. A British man, identified as a spy, has been sentenced to life imprisonment in Iraq. The man was found guilty of espionage and was sentenced to life imprisonment in Iraq.

Kurdish leader Barzani dies

Financial Times, London 23.4.1979

THE GUARDIAN Thursday 23.4.1979. A Kurdish leader, Barzani, has died. Barzani was a prominent figure in the Kurdish struggle for independence. He died in the city of Erbil, Iraq.



'500 dead' in Iran fighting

THE GUARDIAN Thursday 23.4.1979

AT LEAST 500 people are said to have died in fighting in Kurdistan. The fighting is reported to be continuing in the region.

Iranian army prepares to intervene in Kurdistan

THE GUARDIAN Thursday 23.4.1979

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Iranis decide to play hard to get

THE GUARDIAN Thursday 23.4.1979

Iranis have decided to play hard to get in negotiations. The Iranian government has adopted a firm stance in the talks.

Iraq challenged on life sentence

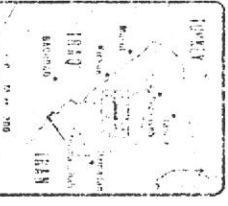
THE GUARDIAN Thursday 23.4.1979

THE GUARDIAN Thursday 23.4.1979. Iraq has challenged the life sentence given to a British man. The man was found guilty of espionage and was sentenced to life imprisonment in Iraq.

Raid on Kurds was Iraq spill-over

By ANDREW WHITLEY IN TEHRAN

AN ATTACK by Iraq on Kurds near the frontier town of Sanandaj, near the border with Iraq and Turkey, was a spill-over from the Iranian army's intervention in Kurdistan. The Iranian Ministry of Defence has announced that the army is preparing to intervene in Kurdistan.



NAPALM RAID BY IRAQ ON IRAN BORDER

THE GUARDIAN Thursday 23.4.1979

IRAQI forces have launched a napalm raid on the Iranian border. The raid caused significant damage and casualties.

NATIONAL STUDENT June 79 page 16

THE GUARDIAN Thursday 23.4.1979

LEADERS of the National Union of Students have issued a grim warning about the possibility of campus violence as student activists in Britain become the object of intimidation from supporters of the rulers of their homeland.

Violence on campus fear

THE GUARDIAN Thursday 23.4.1979

LEADERS of the National Union of Students have issued a grim warning about the possibility of campus violence as student activists in Britain become the object of intimidation from supporters of the rulers of their homeland.

THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH

THE GUARDIAN Thursday 23.4.1979

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IRAQ ACCUSED Murder of a professor

THE GUARDIAN Thursday 23.4.1979

IRAQI forces have been accused of the murder of a professor. The professor was killed in a targeted attack.

Iraqi jets in 'second attack'

THE GUARDIAN Thursday 23.4.1979

IRAQI jets have launched a second attack on the Iranian border. The attack caused significant damage and casualties.

THE GUARDIAN Thursday June 19 1979

THE GUARDIAN Thursday 23.4.1979

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200 feared dead in Iran fighting

SAVANNAH, Ga., June 15 (AP)—A report from a source in the West said that 200 Kurds were feared to have been killed in fighting between the Kurds and the Iranian government forces in the mountainous region of northern Iran.

The source said that the fighting had been going on for several weeks and that the Kurds were being driven from their homes and villages.

Dr. Khomeini, who said that the Kurds were being driven from their homes and villages, said that the Kurds were being driven from their homes and villages.

Kurds rule

The Kurds have been driving the Iranian government forces from their homes and villages in the mountainous region of northern Iran.

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Promise to Kurds

Iran's new government has promised more self-rule for the Kurds, but the Kurds are still fighting for more self-rule.

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Fighting dies down

Fighting between the Kurds and the Iranian government forces has died down in some areas, but it is still going on in other areas.

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Ayatollah orders peace teams to town

Ayatollah Khomeini has ordered peace teams to be sent to towns in northern Iran to help bring about a settlement between the Kurds and the Iranian government.

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Kurds promised semi-autonomy

The Iranian government has promised the Kurds semi-autonomy in return for their support in the fight against the Shah.

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YORKSHIRE POST

YORKSHIRE POST, June 15, 1979. The Kurds are still fighting for more self-rule in northern Iran.

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Gen. Barzani, rebel Kurdish leader, dies in Washington

Chicago Tribune, 3.3.1979

WASHINGTON—Gen. Mustafa Barzani, the leader of Iraqi Kurdish resistance to the Baghdad government for 20 years, died Thursday at Georgetown University Hospital, a hospital spokesman said Friday.

Barzani, 75, died of a heart attack just two days before he was to fly to Tehran, according to a spokesman for his Kurdistan Democratic Party.

The spokesman said Barzani, who was dying of lung cancer and had been treated earlier at the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minn., wanted to see his family in Iraq before he died.

Barzani had lived in the United States since 1976, a year after the withdrawal of Iranian support led to the collapse of the Kurdish revolt against Iraq's Baathist government.

Barzani's guerrilla group, the Pesh Mergan, which fought from 1959 to 1975, was the creation of an independent Kurdistan for about 12 million people. The anti-imperialist Kurds, who are Muslim but not Arab, now live scattered in four Islamic Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and the Soviet Union.

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Iraqi planes attack across Iran border

Financial Times Saturday June 16 1979

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Iran Says Iraqi Planes, Troops Hit Border

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Russia upsets al Iraqi purge of Communists

By Our Foreign Staff

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IRAQ

Massacre and Torture continues

One Middle East dictatorship may have crumbled this year, in Iran, but in neighbouring Iraq the government campaign of terror has been stepped up.

The ruling Ba'ath Party has embarked on a course of executing, torturing and imprisoning all those opposed to it.

Many trade unionists are among those who have been arrested. In Britain, a Campaign Against Repression and for Democratic Rights in Iraq has been formed to mobilise support for the Iraqi people. Sponsored by Labour M.P.s including Joan Maynard, Dennis Skinner, Frank Allaun, Stan Thorne, Martin Flannery, and Dennis Canavan it is also supported by Welsh Miners leader Emyln Williams, AUEW TASS Secretary Ken Gill, Scottish TUC General Secretary James Milne and Alex Kilson of the T. G. W. U.

This special report by Mr. C. Faye gives an informed viewpoint on the situation in his country.



Although overshadowed by the events of the Iranian revolution that has overthrown the despotic and extremely repressive Shah's regime, there has been a host of reports from newspapers and radiobroadcasts in this and other countries for more than a year now revealing the campaign of executions, torture and persecution waged in Iraq.

The Iraqi Ba'ath Arab Socialist Party which controls the political power, with its security apparatus has waged this action against thousands (more than 10,000) of democrats, independents, and communists although the main target has been and still is the Iraqi Communist Party (its organisations, supporters, masses and its press).

Arbitrary arrests, barbaric physical and psychological torture, physical liquidation of communists and their supporters, democrats and patriots, Arabs, Kurds and other national minorities.

All this is part of a concerted, hideous and escalating campaign for which the Ba'ath Party leadership is responsible and which constitutes a flagrant violation of the basic human, civil and political rights and to every manifestation of democracy.

In a vicious campaign to impose its 'Ba'ath national socialist ideology' and 'absolute loyalty to the Ba'ath revolution' 38 patriots have been executed in May 1978 and there is real danger of further executions.

Although sharp changes of ideological and political stands are not uncommon with petit-bourgeois parties and forces, wide circles of the world public opinion - democrats, progressives and communists - have followed with shock and anger this savage campaign of terror and repression.

They have also been asking 'Why is the sudden changes of the course by the ruling Ba'ath Party in Iraq, a country in the Middle East which was following the road of social progress resolutely against imperialism and reaction?'

To deal with the question of the not so sudden changes in the course of the Ba'ath Party, it has to be emphasised:

Firstly: That in Iraq's society, as in some other countries of the so-called Third World, where the tasks of the national democratic revolution are to be solved through pursuing the road of anti-imperialism, deep socio-economic transformations, there is a complicated process of class differentiations and class polarisation.

Secondly: That anti-imperialist

Straight Left, June 1979

The above quotations were agreed upon and written in the programme of the Front. The National Action Charter signed in July 1973 after more than a year of dialogue between the Iraqi Communist Party and the Ba'ath Arab Socialist Party.

Political democracy - as democratic freedoms and rights and as a system of government - provides the necessary condition to unfold the energies of the people if it is one of the main weapons of defending the achieved people's gains (along the road of social progress) and their further development, and also in dealing resolutely with the schemes and intrigues of imperialism and internal reaction.

Fourthly: the importance of strengthening the relations with the socialist community in general and with the Soviet Union in particular, as a reflection of the alliance of world socialism with the contemporary national liberation movement.

This alliance may assume various forms. And also the importance of strengthening relations with the forces of peace and progress, especially the working class movement in the advanced capitalist countries.

Bureaucratic Bourgeoisie.

In Iraq, the class struggle was and still is intensifying in the fields connected with the above mentioned fields, for while the working class grew numerically and qualitatively because of the rapid economic development (mainly because of the multiple increases in oil revenues, which constitute 80% of the net national income), the parasitic bourgeoisie (merchants, speculators and large estate owners) and bureaucratic bourgeoisie in the state apparatus have also increased considerably their influence.

Together with the rural bourgeoisie (capitalist farmers) production have and still are flourishing in the countryside; they constituted the social base for counter-revolution.

These (old and new) reactionary forces were trying their best in the conditions of retreats from the road of social progress and absence of political democracy (let alone in the conditions of savage repression organised and directed by the Ba'ath Party leadership) to put Iraq along the road capitalist development and appendage to imperialism.

Although the state sector in Iraq constitutes 77.2% in the formation of fixed capital (1976 statistics) and 74% in that of the local output, the Bureaucratic Bourgeoisie overtakes the cream of the sector and take not less than 10% of the contracts value with the multi-nationals (mainly U.S. West German, French, and Japanese) as Commissions.

The multi-nationals are currently executing 86% of the development programme in Iraq.

Taking into account that leading cadres of the Ba'ath Party are at the head of the state enterprises, it could be imagined what role this bourgeoisie can play inside the Ba'ath Party at the highest level.

With the deepening of class differentiation and polarisation in society one could also imagine its effect on the social composition of the Ba'ath Party, on its ideological and political stands, as this bourgeoisie is against the demands for democratisation of the social and political life of the country. It is also fiercely anti-communist.

In the technological field, there was and still is escalation in the imports from advanced capitalist countries for the economic projects and regarding 'western technology' as the only one suitable for Iraq. Also, impelling the socialist countries which co-operate with Iraq in establishing economic projects to import specific parts for those projects from the advanced capitalist countries. This means world relations are the growing intermingling of the Iraq economy with that of world capitalism. (8.8% imports from capitalist countries amounted to 17% and from socialist countries 11% in 1976).

There are 250 contractors of a total of about 5,000, the contract value of each is between 215 million to 28 1/2 million, and have strong relations with the bourgeoisie, the state power and the rural bourgeoisie. Their field

of activities is a fertile soil for corruption and despotism; and obviously they are strongly for Iraq to follow the road of capitalist development and vehemently against any manifestation of real political democracy in the country.

Taking into account also that the private sector was (and still is) rapidly growing in Iraq, in contrast, agriculture and industrial production at the expense of the state sector, especially in the years 1977 and 1978, the conclusion is clear that contrary to the Ba'ath Party's social demagoguery, Iraq is not building socialism, as the measures which have been taken by the Ba'ath leadership through its 'Revolution Command Council' (the latter rules by decree) run opposite to the pursuance of the road of social progress to say the least.

The Ba'ath Party's statements and propaganda try to give a picture that each of the political parties constituting the Front work in a democratic atmosphere. In reality the Ba'ath Party calls for 'single ideology' and 'absolute loyalty' let alone arresting, torturing to death, harassing and massing members and supporters of another political party in the Front - i.e. The Iraqi Communist Party, contrary to and in flagrant violation of the National Action Charter which emphasized the mutual respect of ideological, political and organisational independence of the parties of the Front, and also extreme violation of the fundamental human, civil and political rights.

They have imposed so-called laws that are especially notorious, whereby the punishment by death would be for anyone who:

1. Joins the Ba'ath Party having concealed any previous membership of other parties and organisations, or relationships with other parties or organisations.
2. Leaves the Ba'ath Party in order to join another party or organisation.
3. Attempts to persuade a member or former member of the Ba'ath Party to join another party or to adopt the ideology of another party.
4. Among military personnel re-joining or leaving the army for any other reason, after July 17, 1968 to have a political relationship with any party other than the Ba'ath Party; this law is retroactive from July 1968.

New Legal Provisions. These 'New Legal Provisions in Penal Code No. 111 of 1969' (together with the torture centres) which have been put into practice and led to torturing to death and executions of people, trade unionists, peasants, teachers, students, retired soldiers and junior army officers are not the only 'laws in Iraq today. There is a law prohibiting the setting up of vocational and democratic mass organisations, except ones belonging to the Ba'ath Party, and specifying harsh penalties against whoever joins vocational democratic organisations are permitted by the authorities. The life of Kamal Shakir, the Gen. Secretary of the Iraqi Democratic Youth Federation, is in extreme danger as his fate is unknown after the set up of his 're-education' March 4th, 1979, by court whose decisions do not carry the right of appeal. He is languishing in jail since 1975. Also the lives of the Al-Rouad's publishing House staff are in extreme danger. They are junior army officers (retired since 1963): Sulaiman Yousef Stephan, Kamal Naiman, Tashit, Saied Kadhim Matar, Nuh Al-Alkhalbi, Fakhr Al-Afandi and Hamid Al-Khatheeb; and their fate is unknown since their arrest in mid-Nov. 1978.

Another law, prohibiting Iraqi citizens from studying outside Iraq, except for those approved by the official authorities and the official National Union of Iraqi Students, exposes anyone who contravenes it to hard penalties of imprisonment for 5-15 years. Haniul Jalil Al-Sawadi (a prominent trade unionist among port workers in Basrah) and Abdullah Hassan (worker from Daqi Kurdistan) are among the trade unionists who have been tortured to death in the latest wave of the campaign of repression. A railway worker, Kadhim Khalid Hamid himself died in mid-Nov. 1978 after horrible physical and psychological torture at the hands of the Ba'ath Party's notorious security

apparatus (commonly called 'SAVAK' of Iraq. Women are equal to men in torture and persecution, and among those who have been tortured to death are Jawad Abdullah, Haseeba Karim and Maniha Screw. Some of the techniques of torture currently in use in Iraq by the Ba'ath Party and its repressive organs have been reported by the Amnesty International appeal (March 1979); they include: electric shocks; burning the sensitive parts of the body; hanging from ceiling electric fans; pulling out nails of hands and toes; raping of women.....etc.

Numerous types and methods of persecution and repression have been used by the Iraqi authorities led by the Ba'ath Party and its security apparatus against the Kurdish people, which is the second largest nationality in Iraq. Over 1,000 Kurdish citizens have been executed since mid-1975 and the campaign of arrests, tortures and kidnapping has not stopped and it encompasses people of different convictions and ages. The sum total of the burnt down and destroyed villages in Iraqi Kurdistan is 230. A flagrant manifestation of the policy of national oppression which the Kurdish people is suffering from in recent years is the inhuman campaign of eviction. In the last months of 1978 alone, the Iraqi authorities transferred 150,000 Kurds to remote regions called 'housing complexes'. They are similar to the 'strategic villages' once introduced in South Vietnam by US aggressors, and to the 'concentration camps' created by the French colonialists during the national liberation war in Algeria. In 1978-1979 academic year, the Iraqi authorities adopted a resolution which states that 50% of the curricula in Kurdish schools must be taught in Arabic, and the campaign against literacy in Iraqi Kurdistan is being conducted in Arabic, of which the ordinary Kurdish people have no knowledge at all. It is also worth mentioning that there is no Kurdish daily newspaper at all, taking into account that the Kurdish people in Iraq is at least 25% of the Iraqi population - Iraq's population is 12.2 million.

Solidarity.

Given the brief picture about the latest developments in Iraq and the Ba'ath Party's change of its course (which also has manifestations in foreign policy: co-ordination of security apparatuses agreement in Feb. 1979 with Saudi Arabia reactionary regime - Guardian 28/2/1979); Ba'ath Party's support for the repressive despotic Shah's regime in Iran till its last days, and the co-ordination between its security apparatus and the SAVAK, and last but not least the ambiguity of its stand concerning the Chinese invasion of Vietnam, calling for the troops of both sides to withdraw), it is of vital importance that there is international solidarity. The British trade union movement, true to its long tradition of international solidarity against fascism and dictatorship, and people who support and work for real human and democratic rights, should be active in calling and acting for the immediate halt of the campaign of barbaric repression against democrats, independents and communists in Iraq and to expose the Ba'ath Party notorious security apparatus (its SAVAK) and other repressive organs who have committed thousands of crimes of physical torture and liquidation of trade unionists, peasants, teachers, students, lawyers, engineers, retired soldiers and junior army officers; Arabs, Kurds and other national minorities, women and even children, who have been taken as 'hostages' for their parents who have fled the country or went into hiding to escape physical liquidation at the hands of the Ba'ath Party repressive organs.

Every voice raised in protest would be effective, every act of solidarity would be helping the campaign of barbaric repression against the honest workers and daughters of the Iraqi working class and the Iraqi people.

Telegrams, letters of protest and resolutions to President Al-Baker, Baghdad, Iraq.

Delegations to: The Iraqi Ambassador, 21, Queens Gate, London, S.W. 7.

Have good copies of telegrams, letters and resolutions to: CNDRI, c/o 40, Edlington Street, London S.W. 6.

The Kurds inhabit an area which falls into the territory of four different states: Turkey, Iraq, Iran and to a lesser degree, Syria. There are also some Kurdish communities living in Soviet Transcaucasia. But the largest concentration of Kurds is in Turkey. The Kurds and population, both in terms of area and population, is in Turkey. The Kurds given on Kurdish population figures are many reasons for this variation but when one remembers that only 100,000 Kurds do not exist in Turkey, it is not difficult to guess why. A rough estimate would put the Kurdish population in Turkey at between 8-10 million, or 15% of the total population.

The history of the Kurdish people is filled with suffering and oppression. During the times of the Ottoman Empire, which incorporated all Kurdish regions with the exception of Persia, all attempts by the Kurdish people to establish a national movement were ruthlessly put down. In 1514 the Kurdish principality became part of the Ottoman Empire when Ottoman Sultan Selim I concluded a treaty with the Kurdish princes against Persia. But, in return for this "service" and for strategic reasons (i.e. they should form a buffer region between the Ottoman Empire and Persia) Kurdish principality enjoyed autonomy. They were independent in their internal affairs. This autonomy, however, lasted only until 1639, in 1639 the Ottomans concluded a treaty with Persia, secured their eastern frontiers and started to eliminate the autonomous Kurdish principalities one by one. This lasted until 1847 when the last Kurdish principality was crushed. The same happened in Persia. The last principality of Persian Kurdistan disappeared in 1867. Various uprisings against this central oppression during the 19th century were all crushed. This was done mostly by the coming together of Turkey and Persia, putting the whole area under a common rule. The Kurds were ruthlessly repressed. During the national liberation wars in Asia and Korea (fought together, the Kurds of Turkey were established with promises of equal rights for every body. At the Conference of Lausanne, Israel (1947) was saying: "The Government of the Great National Assembly of Turkey is that of the Kurds as much that of the Turks..."

But as soon as the Kemalists thought themselves secure and strong against the Kurds, Kurdish nationalism was ruthlessly suppressed. The bourgeoisie served upon the Sheikh Said uprising of 1925-26 as an opportunity to crush the stirring of the Kurdish people to determine their own destiny. The Sheikh Said uprising was crushed. The leaders were hanged in Diyarbakir. Whatever revolutionary elements or motives this uprising represented, it was first and foremost an uprising against national oppression. It was the outcome of chaotic Turkish nationalism which made the unbearable for the Kurdish people.

While waiting war against the Kurds people, the Kemalists bourgeoisie, at the same time, started to take severe repressive measures to crush the struggle of the working class and communists. In 1925 a special law was enacted to further suppress the Kurdish and the working class movements.

The most important and the most brutally suppressed Kurdish uprising, however, was the Dersim uprising in 1937-38. An uprising is not an appropriate term here. This was more a case of self-defence than an uprising. It was the direct outcome of the policy of the Turkish government to oppress and destroy the people of Dersim because they refused to bow to Turkish nationalism.

Today, the situation is an extension of national oppression of the Kurdish nation in Turkey. The official policy has not changed. Officially, Kurds still do not exist. In 1950, the then Minister of Justice was saying: "Those who are not of pure Turkish origin have only one right in this country: the right to be servants." In 1971, the Prime Minister of the period, M. F. Demirel, said: "We accept no other nation as we in Turkey, only Turks. As we see it, there is only one nation in Turkey: The Turkish nation. All citizens living in different parts of the country are content to be Turkish." And the present Prime Minister, the social democrat Bulent Ecevit does not state: "The term Turkish does not denote a race, an ethnic group or an ethnic unit. It is a term which connotes ethnic distinctions as a dividing element within the integral whole."

Today, as yesterday, every aspiration of the Kurdish people every democratic demand, is regarded as "divisionsism", as the freedom of the Kurdish nation and the Kurdish national movement is a reality. No effort to write this out will therefore succeed. It is the right of the Kurdish nation to determine its own destiny by self-determination. This right must be a starting point in the fight towards abolishing the oppression of the Kurdish nation, while not forgetting for one moment that this struggle can only succeed if it allies itself with the struggle of the working class for social liberation.

Dark clouds have been gathering over Kurdistan for months. Turkey, Turkey readers will recall the events in eastern Turkey 12 months ago when the fascist stepped up and shifted their provocations to this region. Turkey Today, Inc. (3530) then announced its intention to influence the Turkish government in order to manufacture an excuse for a military takeover. The reactionary press joined the bandwagon.

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Iran protests over attacks on Kurdish villages

IRAN'S provisional Government has protested to neighbouring Iraq over last Monday's air raid on three Iranian villages in which it said six people died.

The incident happened in a Kurdish area of Western Azerbaijan province, and informed sources said four Iraqi planes had bombed and strafed the villages after crossing the border in hot pursuit of Kurdish guerrillas.

News of the protest, lodged last night and accompanied by a brief Ministry statement on the incident, was the first official confirmation that the raid had taken place.

Relations between the two Middle East neighbours have been tense in recent days because of fighting in the southern border province of Khuzestan involving autonomy-seeking Arabs and Persian militiamen.

Each side accused the other of massing troops along the border and Iran's official radio said Iraqi helicopters had flown reconnaissance flights along the frontier.

The border tension gave rise to a spate of anti-Iraq posters, posted on the walls of the Embassy here, attacking Iraq's ruling Baath Party.

The northern border area, inhabited on both sides by minority Kurdish tribesmen, has long been a trouble spot for both countries.

Relations between the two countries were only normalised in 1975 after the Shah agreed to drop support for Kurdish guerrillas fighting the Baghdad Government in exchange for a settlement on navigation rights in the Shatt-el-Arab river which divided Iran and Iraq in the south.

THE GUARDIAN
 Tuesday June 5 1979

Iraqi siege at embassy

From Teheran to APO

From Teheran to APO

From Teheran to APO

Iraq accused of Aden killings

From Teheran to APO

From Teheran to APO

From Teheran to APO

THE GUARDIAN

Monday June 4 1979

From Teheran to APO

From Teheran to APO

Iran protests bombing of Kurds

Iran has protested at the bombing of Iraqi fighter aircraft of three Kurdish villages in its West Azerbaijan province. Sources in the Iranian Kurdish city of Sanandaj said the Iraqis were apparently chasing Kurdish rebels who had crossed the frontier.

An Iranian Interior Ministry statement said four Iraqi aircraft attacked Gursheh, Salameh and Kainzar, killing six people and injuring four. Damage estimated at \$280,000 was also caused.

In London, the exiled Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) said on 31 May that the Iraqi army has begun a "spring offensive" against Kurdish rebels in the north, with help from Turkish forces.

An armed rebellion of Kurds in northern Iraq, which was aided by the Shah, ended in 1975 when he withdrew his support. The present struggle of Iranian Kurds for autonomy, however, has reportedly spilled over into Iraq, with increasing movements of rebels across the border (MEED 23.3.79, Iran).

The air attack came at a time of tension on Iraq's southern border with the Iranian province of Khuzestan, where Iranian Arabs have clashed with government forces (MEED 1.6.79, page 21). Iran has accused Iraq of inciting the uprising and smuggling weapons to the Arabs, but both countries have denied reports of troop concentrations on the border.

THE GUARDIAN

Thursday June 11 1979

From Teheran to APO

From Teheran to APO

Further arrests in Iraq

Further arrests in Iraq

Further arrests in Iraq

IRAQI AIRCRAFT STRAFE IRANIAN FRONTIER POSTS

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THE GUARDIAN

Monday June 4 1979

From Teheran to APO

From Teheran to APO

In Apparent Move at Kurds Iran Says Iraqi Jets Strike Border Area

TEHRAN, June 5 (UPI)—Four Iranian F-4 Phantom II jets struck a border area in Iraq, causing heavy damage in an apparent retaliation for Iranian Kurdish guerrilla raids on Iraq, Iran's interior minister said.

Between four and six villagers were killed, Interior Minister Ahmad Nafiz Javadi said. He said that reports reaching him indicated the Iraq planes attacked near the border town of Sandasbi, 325 miles west of Tehran.

Iran has lodged a protest with Iraq, the interior minister said.

It was the worst reported frontier incident since the deposed shah and the Iraq regime reconciled their differences in an agreement reached in March, 1975.

The attack appeared to be aimed at Kurdish bases belonging to the guerrilla movement led by Jalal Talebani and the Kurdish Democratic Party, Mr. Javadi said, which have been attacking Iraqi positions across the border.

Reports in local papers that the Iraqi Air Force planes were engaged in "a border war" were "not correct," he said, "because the Iraqi planes were not engaged in a border war."

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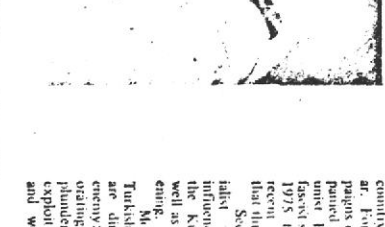
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and does not constitute terrorism in a very broad sense. The more aggression that any people other than the United States and Israel display in the Middle East, the more the United States will be forced to support them. The United States will be forced to support them. The United States will be forced to support them.

General Kerygi must publish, said, that the most important in the Cabinet statement, explaining the aim of his visit. "The purpose of this visit is not political as some people have suggested. It is purely a development relations between the armed forces of our two countries. I believe that relations between the two armed forces will decrease after this visit and that this will benefit Turkey greatly." (Ankara, 15 April 1979)

Chief of Staff Evren meets his counterpart in Iraq.



Evren, Turkey's chief of staff, met with Iraq's chief of staff, Gen. Tariq Majid, in Baghdad, June 4, 1979. The two men are seen shaking hands in a friendly manner.

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Talks envisage joint military operations. The Turkish government cannot expect the Kurds to attack the Turkish people. The Turkish people are beyond the threshold of endurance. The Kurds are not a people who can be kept in a state of permanent rebellion. The Kurds are not a people who can be kept in a state of permanent rebellion.

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ever, on the specific means of "combating terrorism." Anticipating the declaration of martial law in the six eastern provinces, Turkey's quick-witted foreign minister said that the Kurds are not a people who can be kept in a state of permanent rebellion.

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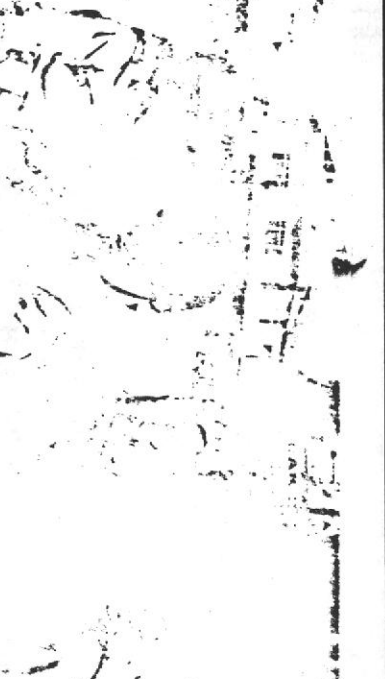
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A scene from the eastern city of Malatya.

Malatya is a city in the eastern part of Turkey. It has a long history and is known for its traditional architecture. The city is surrounded by mountains and has a beautiful view of the surrounding landscape.

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Motives behind the Kurdish campaign

A Kurdish campaign, whether or not it will serve the nation's interests, is a matter of national conscience. The Kurds are not a people who can be kept in a state of permanent rebellion. The Kurds are not a people who can be kept in a state of permanent rebellion.

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Six die in Iraqi attack on Iran

From Baghdad, June 5 (UPI)—Six Iranian soldiers were killed and 10 others wounded in an Iraqi attack on the border town of Sandasbi, Iran's interior minister said.

The attack on Sandasbi was the latest in a series of border incidents between Iraq and Iran. The Iraqi Air Force planes were reported to have been active in the border area since the agreement was signed in March, 1975.

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Iranian villages are blasted by Iraqi jets

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Kurdistan Democratic Party

-Provisional Leadership-
International Relations Committee

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SWEDEN

PRESS RELEASE

22 January 1979

THE KURDISH PEOPLE AND THE PRESENT REGIME IN TEHRAN

On 16 January 1979, the press reported the present Iranian Chief-of-Staff and Regency Council member General Garabaghi making certain claims about "international plots and referred to what he wistfully named as the independence of the Kurds of Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Syria..." These claims are, in reality, the echo of the Shah's and Bakhtiari's allegations.

These claims and allegations are nothing but the old, and now worn out, tactic of diverting the attention of the masses of the people of Iran from the real and pressing issues facing them and channeling their attention towards secondary and, in this case, imaginary, matters. They are also poor attempts at making the Kurdish people the scape-goat for the current wide anger and contempt felt by the Iranian people towards the Shah, his regime and system. They are, furthermore, a pretext for justifying and intensifying the regime's attacks on demonstrators.

Not surprisingly, very shortly after Garabaghi made his allegations public, the Talabani clique clashed with an Iranian gendarme border guard post 2 kms. inside Iran, on 17th January. It is not a coincidence that this clash is the first of its kind ever since this clique set up their headquarters in NOKAN, a village one kilometre inside Iran, at the end of 1977 after handing over to SAVAK the two Iranian anti-Shah Kurds, Karim Nistani and Ahmad Nistani (who were living secretly in Iraqi Kurdistan) in return for 36 000 Iraqi Dinars (about 6 64 000). Thus, the Talabani clique are serving the policy -and propaganda- objectives of the Shah's regime by their action which provides the weapon needed by this regime to tighten its grip on the people and abort their uprising.

Nevertheless, we are confident that the people of Iran and their leaders and national and progressive forces are better acquainted with this and similar manoeuvres of the Shah, his men and his imperialist and reactionary backers, will not be deceived by them. We are also certain that the real conspirators will not be successful in this plot of theirs. The Iranian people, no doubt, will emerge victorious.

Our Kurdistan Democratic Party -Provisional Leadership- firmly believes that the struggle of the Kurdish people for their national and democratic rights forms part of the struggle of the people of Iran. We also firmly believe that every victory achieved by the Iranian people is at the same time a triumph for the Kurdish people in Iran and for the entire Kurdish nation.

International Relations Committee
Kurdistan Democratic Party
-Provisional Leadership-

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PRESS RELEASE

29th January, 1979.

DEMONSTRATIONS AND DEATH IN IRAQI KURDISTAN

Re-settled deportee Kurds and the inhabitants of Harir, a small town situated about 17 km south-west of Rawanduz, Arbil Province, went out in a big, peaceful demonstration against the government for keeping them under very harsh conditions in the "cluster villages". The demonstration took place on Christmas Day, the 25th December 1978 and men, women and even children participated in it.

Instead of investigating and alleviating their grievances, the mayor (Mudir al-Nahiyah) of Harir, acting on orders from Baghdad, ordered the mercenaries (paramilitary units in the pay of the government) to attack and open fire on the demonstrators, who had nothing to fight back with but their bare hands.

As a result of the attack, the following demonstrators fell martyrs:-

1. Shirin Shito Piran, female, who fought back heroically until she fell,
2. Safar Jawhar Pirsawl,
3. Azad Aziz Rostal,
4. Zubair Mirkhan Pirsawl,
5. Ahmad Khalind Wazhba,
6. Jawhar Asi.

Another 38 men, women and children were wounded, some severely.

A similar demonstration took place in Diana, 5 km north of Rawanduz, at the beginning of December 1978, and another in Digla, in the same region, on the 13th September 1978.

THE GUARDIAN

Saturday June 2 1979 17

JOHN TORODE, in his final report, from Ankara,

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE
KURDISTAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY
- PROVISIONAL LEADERSHIP -

And the fear of a revival of Kurdish secessionism, fuelled by the Iranian Kurdish unrest, is growing. Already the army and the police have made contact with their opposite numbers in Iraq to discuss the possibility of joint action to put down any rising.

Kurdistan Democratic Party

-Provisional Leadership-

International Relations Committee

PRESS RELEASE

KDP
Box 2017
145 02 Norrboerg
SWEDEN

6th February, 1979

IRAQI EMBASSIES : CENTRES FOR ESPIONAGE

THE UNCOVERING OF AN IRAQI ESPIONAGE
NETWORK IN SWEDEN

According to official and press accounts, the Swedish Government has declared the First Secretary, Second Secretary and Military Attache at the Iraqi Embassy in Stockholm, persons non grata for engaging in espionage activities in Sweden relating to the surveillance, harassment and intimidation of Iraqi refugees living in Sweden. Moreover, a Third Secretary at the Iraqi Foreign Ministry, who has been on a "visit" to the Swedish capital, and five Swedish citizens have been arrested; one of the detained Swedes is a high ranking police officer having access to the dossiers of Iraqi citizens living in Sweden as refugees or applying for political asylum.

These Iraqi espionage activities are directed against Iraqi citizens, especially the Kurds living in Sweden, no doubt with the aim of silencing them through harassment, intimidation, bribery and infiltration by informers, who have come to Sweden pretending to be "persecuted" and who have asked for, and got, refugee status.

However, these espionage activities are not the first, and will not be the last to be carried out by the Iraqi embassies abroad. Last summer Britain declared 11 Iraqi "diplomats" persons non grata and expelled them. At the beginning of January 1979, Iraqi intelligence operatives carried out an assassination attempt in Vienna against KDP's Provisional Leadership member Masoud Barzani, wounding two Kurdish refugees in the attempt. In May 1978, three Lebanese Kurds were abducted and murdered by the Military Attache at the Iraqi Embassy in Beirut. Canada also expelled an Iraqi "diplomat" in 1977 for spying on the Kurds there. There was an attempt on the life of a KDP spokesman in Lausanne, Switzerland in 1976. Moreover, our party some time ago received reliable information that the Iraqi government had despatched to Europe "packs" of professional killers to carry out acts of espionage and murder of activist Kurds, especially leading figures.

The surveillance, harassment and intimidation of Kurds and attempts to buy off some of them or recruit or infiltrate informers among them, has been going on in Europe for some time now, especially in the Nordic countries - sometimes with the assistance of certain officials at the police and aliens' departments of these countries.

These activities by Iraqi embassies must be seen within the context of the dictatorial nature of the Iraqi regime and its fascist laws and methods. Arbitrary arrests, torture (sometimes to death), and executions without the right of appeal or access to legal help, not only of all opposition forces but also of people belonging to political parties that are partners in the government and in the "national front" such as the communists; the forcible deportation and displacement of Kurds en masse, their re-settlement against their will in the "cluster villages" and the gradual destruction of the Kurdish language and culture, and subsequently, of Kurdish nationalism, are all component parts of the same dictatorial system of government reigning in Iraq at present.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE
KURDISTAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY
-PROVISIONAL LEADERSHIP-

Kurdistan Democratic Party

-Provisional Leadership-

International Relations Committee

PRESS RELEASE

KDP
Box 2017
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SWEDEN

12th February, 1979

THE IRAQI REGIME DISPLACES 22,000
KURDISH FAMILIES IN THE SULAIMANIA GOVERNORATE

The Iraqi authorities have publically admitted (see the interview with the Governor of Sulaimania on 7th February 1979 published in the Iraqi and foreign press), that they have recently carried out a new wave of forcible deportation and displacement of Kurds en masse. The number of families affected by this latest measure in the Sulaimania Governorate alone, is 22,000 - since an average Kurdish family has more than 6 members, the number of Kurds displaced totals at least 132,000. As this forcible deportation, displacement and resettlement is greatly resented by the Kurdish people in general and the deportees in particular, and because the Kurds re-settled in the "cluster villages" are idle and unemployed - there is no possibility of employment in or around these villages; each family is allowed by the Iraqi regime less than £30.00 a month - the government is trying to pacify them by bribing them with television sets which are to be distributed to them shortly, according to the Governor of Sulaimania. The distribution of television sets is also an attempt to bombard the re-settled Kurds with government propaganda.

Moreover, the Iraqi authorities are presently making preparations in the Governorates of Sulaimania, Arbil and Dohok for the further deportation and displacement of Kurds in the near future. Meanwhile, the government has increased its efforts to re-settle Arabs in the places from which their Kurdish population has been evicted, such as Selaiyani, Shaikhan and Atrosh. While forcibly evicting and re-settling the Kurds, the government offers lucrative financial, and other, incentives to Arabs, especially tribesmen, to re-settle in the Kurdish areas.

We must recall that the Iraqi government has admitted that during the period from mid-June to mid-July 1978, more than 28,000 families, i.e. over 168,000 Kurds, were deported (see the semi-official Baghdad daily "al-Thawra", 18th September 1978).

We appeal to all humanitarian and international organisations and persons, and to all progressive and democratic forces, to help the Kurds in their present predicament by making representations and sending protests to the Iraqi government and its missions abroad, urging it to put an end to these deportations and evictions.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE
KURDISTAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY
-PROVISIONAL LEADERSHIP-

Kurdistan Democratic Party

-Provisional Leadership-

International Relations Committee

PRESS RELEASE

KDP
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THE VICTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF IRAN
IS VICTORY FOR OUR KURDISH NATION

After more than a year of very widespread popular struggle, the masses of the people of Iran won their victory over the despotic, terrorist and suppressive regime of Muhammad Reza Pahlavi, over foreign domination headed by U.S. Imperialism, over the biggest arms arsenal, the largest armed forces and the most vicious intelligence and secret police apparatus (SAVAK) in the Middle East, and over the arrogance, vanity and tyranny of the ex-Shah and his foreign backers. This great victory of the people of Iran was won under the guidance of His Eminence Ayatollah Khomeini and his wise, firm and uncompromising leadership; by the unity of the people, their patriotic forces and various nationalities and by the great sacrifices offered by the toiling people.

The revolution of the people - all the social classes and progressive and revolutionary forces and all fraternal nationalities - is, indeed, a unique revolution not only in the history of Iran, but also in the history of all the national liberation movements in the world; it is unique in its forces, characteristics, course and victory. The revolution began a little over a year ago although its roots belong to an earlier time, and began to polarize the masses, especially the poor and toiling classes, the Muslim clergy and the national bourgeoisie; it has come to embrace the overwhelming majority of the people, except some corrupt elements and others whose interests are linked to the bloody regime of the Shah and/or to foreign interests. The patriotic Muslim clergy have played a prominent leading role in the revolution and the mosques have become centres and bases of opposition and resistance.

The popular revolution faced and won victory over the ex-regime and its backers without resorting to armed struggle; the people's victory was won by popular and organized action, national unity and wise leadership. The "arms" of the masses was their firm belief in the justness of their cause, the unity of their ranks, and their readiness to offer sacrifices for the sake of achieving their rights and liberating their country from foreign domination.

The revolution of the people of Iran will, no doubt, inspire the oppressed peoples everywhere, particularly in the Middle East. This revolution offers living and undisputable evidence that the might of despotic and dictatorial regimes will crumble in the face of the determined will of the people, no matter how great the weaponry, armed forces, intelligence apparatus and funds of these regimes.

The revolution of Iran will, at the same time, certainly shake the nerves of these despotic and dictatorial regimes - such as the Iraqi regime - and rob them of their sleep.

Our Kurdistan Democratic Party and the entire Kurdish people salute and congratulate the heroic people of Iran, their national leadership, their Provisional Revolutionary Government and all their patriotic and progressive forces and parties. We reiterate our complete solidarity with, and support for them.

The victory of the revolution of Iran is a victory for our Kurdish people and nation and for all peoples, especially the oppressed ones.

15 February 1979

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE
KURDISTAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY
-PROVISIONAL LEADERSHIP-

Kurdistan Democratic Party

-Provisional Leadership-

International Relations Committee

PRESS RELEASE

KDP
Box 2017
145 02 Norrberg
SWEDEN

THE DEATH OF THE MOST PROMINENT KURDISH LEADER
MUSTAFA BARZANI

It is with great and deep grief and sorrow that we announce the death of Mr. Mustafa Barzani, President of our Kurdistan Democratic Party and leader of the Kurdish national movement, of a heart attack in the late hours of Thursday, the 1st of March 1979.

Barzani's death is a tremendous loss to our Party, national movement and Kurdish people and nation.

Barzani spent all his life struggling against the suppressors and oppressors of our Kurdish people - not only in Iraq, but also in the other parts of Kurdistan - and for the achievement of our people's national and democratic rights. He was a prominent figure in the national movement in Kurdistan-Iran after World War II and in the MAHABAD REPUBLIC of 1946. After the crushing of the Republic by the Shah and his colonialist backers, Barzani lived in exile in the Soviet Union until the 14th July 1958 revolution, which he strongly supported until it was diverted from its democratic course. From 1961 until 1975, he led the September revolution against dictatorship and injustice and for the national and democratic rights of the Kurdish people and democracy in Iraq. After the 8th February 1963 coup by the Bath Party, Barzani opened the liberated areas of Kurdistan before the democratic, patriotic and progressive forces and personalities, and supported them by every means within his power.

Barzani concluded the 11th March 1970 agreement with the Iraqi government in order to bring democracy to Iraq and autonomy for Kurdistan - despite the numerous plots hatched by the Shah of Iran and his imperialist masters to undermine it.

After the collapse of the September revolution as a result of the U.S.A.-Shah-Iraqi regime conspiracy of 6th March 1975, Barzani lived in Iran for a short while, under many restrictions imposed by the Shah's regime. Because of his distrust of the Shah and due to his deteriorating lung-cancer, he went to America for medical treatment, which he underwent at regular and short intervals.

Barzani strongly supported the Iranian people's revolution and was very happy for its victory. Following the flight of the Shah and the triumph of the revolution, he decided to return to Iran, where he was due to arrive on the 4th March 1979.

Barzani and his memory will remain the symbol of our people's determination and steadfastness in their struggle for their rights and against their oppressors.

We pay the late President of our Party and leader of our national movement our most solemn respects and vow to our people and Party that we will carry on the struggle which Barzani led for nearly half a century, AND WILL take it to its victorious end.

Barzani's body will arrive in Teheran on Sunday evening, 4th March, to be buried later in the town of Shno (Oshnowiyeh) in Kurdistan-Iran.

2nd March, 1979.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE
KURDISTAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY
-PROVISIONAL LEADERSHIP-

Letters of condolence may be sent to the above address.

Kurdistan Democratic Party

-Provisional Leadership -
International Relations Committee

KDP
Box 2017
145 02 Norsborg
SWEDEN

22 January 1979

PRESS RELEASE

An Iraqi Kurd Killed and Another Wounded in the Anti-Shah Demonstrations in the Anti-Shah Demonstrations in ARAK, western Iran. These, and other, Iraqi Kurds living in Iran, as guests of the people of Iran, since the collapse of the Kurdish revolution in 1975, were taking part in the demonstration which was shot at by troops and SAVAK agents.

Our Kurdistan Democratic Party -Provisional Leadership- reiterates its full support of and solidarity with the struggle of the people of Iran. Our Party considers every victory achieved by the people of Iran a victory for the Kurdish people and nation.

International Relations Committee
Kurdistan Democratic Party
-Provisional Leadership-

Kurdistan Democratic Party

-Provisional Leadership -
International Relations Committee

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Box 2017
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INACCURATE REPORT - DENIAL

The Daily Telegraph of London published on 3rd March 1979, an article by Stephen Barber on the death of the prominent Kurdish leader, Mustafa Barzani, alleging that the U.S.A. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) "has had to pick up his hospital bills".

While vehemently and categorically denying this allegation, we confirm that the costs of Barzani's living and treatment in the U.S.A. were not paid either by the CIA or any other source, but from the funds of the Provisional Leadership of the Kurdistan Democratic Party and of the Kurdish revolution. The funds required to cover these costs were transferred to the late Barzani from outside the U.S.A. by his son, Idris. We have the details of the bills, numbers of the cheques by which these bills were paid and of the overseas drafts by which the money was transferred from outside the U.S.A. The bill covering the costs of the last treatment which Barzani underwent at the Mayo Clinic on 2nd February 1979, was paid by cheque No. 326 dated 27th February 1979, and drawn on the American Security Bank in Washington, D.C.

As for what Barber calls "Mysteriously provided funds" to the Kurdish refugees in the U.S.A., we refer him to an article by Jack Anderson in The Washington Post of 11th March 1978. Anderson states that, "The Kurds who arrived in the United States were granted no special privileges. They were sponsored by international refugee organisations, which gave them personal loans to pay their air fares and expenses. Some were thrown into resettlement camps in San Diego. Later, they were actually asked to pay for their 'care and maintenance' at the camps..... Nevertheless, they are receiving dum letters from their sponsoring organisations.....".

Moreover, in a "Statement by the AFL-CIO Executive Council on Human Rights and the Kurds" of 23rd February 1978, Bal Harbour, Fla. states that, "As soon as they (Kurdish refugees in the U.S.A.) become employed, they are obliged to repay the cost of their transatlantic passage to the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration and the cost for final settlement to the various U.S. Voluntary Agencies.....".

If the writer of the article was seeking the truth of the matter, he could have enquired about the facts either from us or from the Mayo Clinic, from whom he still can check regarding who paid the bills.

We consider the publication of inaccurate reports, such as that referred to above, as disinformation aiming at the defamation of the late President of our Party and of our national liberation movement, disinformation which only began to "surface" after our Party adopted a more clearly independent and progressive course.

The International Relations Committee wrote a letter to the Daily Telegraph on the 3rd March 1979 denying the above allegation, but the paper has not published it, nor acknowledged its receipt.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE
KURDISTAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY
-PROVISIONAL LEADERSHIP-

14th March, 1979

Kurdistan Democratic Party

-Provisional Leadership -
International Relations Committee

KDP
Box 2017
145 02 Norsborg
SWEDEN

PRESS RELEASE

DENIAL OF A FALSE REPORT

Two Tehran daily newspapers, 'Ettela'at' and 'Ayendigan', of 9th April 1979, published a report, which was relayed by some news agencies, on so-called "secret negotiations between the Kurdistan Democratic Party and an Iraqi delegation, under Saddam Husain Tikriti, held in Sidakan in Kurdistan.....".

The Kurdistan Democratic Party - Provisional Leadership - categorically denies that it has held negotiations with the chauvinist and dictatorial regime of Iraq, whether in Sidakan or anywhere else.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE
KURDISTAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY
-PROVISIONAL LEADERSHIP-

10th April, 1979.

Kurdistan Democratic Party

-Provisional Leadership-
International Relations Committee

PRESS RELEASE

THE IRAQI DICTATORSHIP MAKES PREPARATIONS FOR A NEW DRIVE OF FORCIBLE DEPORTATION OF KURDS

The Iraqi chauvinist and dictatorial regime has recently been making preparations for a fresh drive of forcible deportation and displacement of Kurds en masse. Among these preparations: a) the building of new "cluster villages" and the expansion of existing ones; b) bringing more Arab tribesmen to re-settle in evicted Kurdish villages and in new settlements built of concrete, in such places as Selaivani, Sheikhan, Mariba, Atrosh, Zinawa, Ba'Idhra, al-'Asi, Batofa, where tribesmen of the tribes of al-Hadid, al-Taiyawi, Jiabor and of Shirgat, are being re-settled; and c) giving notice to the inhabitants of villages in new areas covered by the deportation drive to prepare themselves for eviction next summer - areas such as Sidakan, Dinarta, Garda-Sin, Jojar (all near Aqra), and Bela (in the Barzan area), and many other areas.

This new drive is the continuation of the racist and dictatorial policy of the Iraqi regime, directed against the entire Kurdish people in Iraq, and against democratic forces in the country.

Every family covered by the deportation drive must fill in a form, a sample - with its English translation - is given over.

All humanitarian and human rights, as well as all democratic and progressive organisations and individuals, are called upon to perform their duty of solidarity with our Kurdish people and raise their voices against the massive eviction and displacement of Kurds in Iraq.

During mid-June to mid-July 1978, the Iraqi regime evicted 28,000 Kurdish peasant families and at the beginning of 1979, another 22,000 Kurdish peasant families were evicted in the Province of Sulaimaniya alone (according to the regime itself - see the semi-official daily "al-Thawra" of 18th September 1978 and the London Arab language daily "al-Arab" of 8th February 1979). Since an average Kurdish family has 5-6 members at least, the number of Kurds evicted and displaced on these two occasions alone is between 250,000 and 300,000.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE
KURDISTAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY
-PROVISIONAL LEADERSHIP-

17th April, 1979.

VILLAGE MAP 1:100 000

Mukhtar (Village Head)	Degree of loyalty at present	Degree of loyalty previously	Birth	Profession	Remarks
Tribe					

1. Name of Head of Family	Profession	Those of his family who are still in the ranks of the agent pocket
2. Name of his wife		
3. Names of his brothers		
4. His Children	Age	

A -
B -
C -
D -
E -
F -
G -
H -

Property in his possession

البيوت	البيوت	البيوت	البيوت
البيوت	البيوت	البيوت	البيوت
البيوت	البيوت	البيوت	البيوت
البيوت	البيوت	البيوت	البيوت
البيوت	البيوت	البيوت	البيوت

Kurdistan Democratic Party

-Provisional Leadership-
International Relations Committee

KDP
Box 2017
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SWEDEN

PRESS RELEASE

IRAQI GOVERNMENT TROOPS KILL THEIR OWN EMPLOYEES

Further to our Press Release of 30th May 1979, the Pesh Mergas in reply to the onset of the Iraqi government's spring offensive, which coincides with the approach of the 3rd anniversary of the 26th May revolution, carried out an attack at 23.00 hours on 19th May on a military unit stationed in Corato Sub-district, Merga-Soor, Arbil Governorate, building military roads in the Merga-Soor sector. The attack resulted in the destruction of several vehicles and other equipment and the capture of 5 engineers and 4 local employees. The engineers were part of a military unit engaged in building military roads. The unit was guarded by an infantry regiment and the mercenaries of Muhammad Tahir Sarokani - in addition to a brigade which has recently been transferred to the area to clear it of the Pesh Mergas.

The names of the engineers captured are:

1. Muhammad Abd al-Khaliq Abdullah, Egyptian, born in 1948 from Manufiya, married with 1 child, passport No. 305697, Civil-Engineer. His duty was supervision of the military project.
2. Ahmad Muhammad Ismail, Egyptian, born in 1949, from El Arish, Single, Supervising Engineer.
3. Mahmud Muhammad Murad, Jordanian, born in 1950, Mechanical Engineer, graduate of Mosul University (Iraq) in 1976, Single, Mechanical Engineer of the military projects of the sector.
4. Sa'ad Abd al-Hadi, Iraqi, born in 1951, from al-Karradah al-Sharqiyah, Baghdad, Single, graduate of Baghdad University in 1975, Supervising Engineer.
5. Saeed Qadir Hasan, Iraqi, born in 1954, Civil Engineer, Single, graduate of Sulaimaniya University, Assistant Manager of Road Projects in the Merga-Soor sector.

The captured engineers and employees were taken to Mt. Piran in the same area that night.

The following morning, the Iraqi army despatched infantry and mechanised troops and mercenaries, in addition to 10 helicopters (7 troop carrying and 3 gun-ships) in pursuit of the guerrillas. At 1745 hours two columns of the pursuing troops established contact with the guerrillas and a fierce fight ensued. The army used rifle, machine-gun, mortar and R.P.G. fire from close range against the guerrillas and the engineers, without discrimination.

During the first minutes of the attack, four engineers and one local employee hit by Iraqi fire were killed. The engineers killed are those mentioned under 1-4 above, and the employee is Idris Haj Hasan from the village of Balikan, Rawanduz, Arbil.

The guerrillas divided into three groups and engaged the pursuers in a 90 minute battle from a distance ranging from 10 to 50 metres. Enemy dead and wounded seen falling were counted as 27 dead and 14 wounded. Total losses sustained by the Iraqi army is preliminarily estimated at 130 dead and wounded.

The Pesh Mergas then managed to disengage, withdraw and return with the surviving engineer - Saeed Qadir Hasan and 3 local employees to base.

The KDP expresses its regret and sorrow for the killing of the four engineers and the local employee by the Iraqi army and extends its condolence to their families and relatives.

31st May, 1979

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE
KURDISTAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY
-PROVISIONAL LEADERSHIP-

Kurdistan Democratic Party

-Provisional Leadership-
International Relations Committee

KDP
Box 2017
145 02 Norsborg
SWEDEN

30th May 1979

PRESS-RELEASE

IRAQI-TURKISH MILITARY CO-ORDINATION AGAINST THE KURDS

On 18th May 1979, an Iraqi large infantry force, supported by helicopter gun-ships and artillery, launched an attack on KDP guerrillas near the village of DARI, Sub-District of SHIRWAN, District of MERGA-SOOR, ARBIL Governorate. After a battle, the enemy withdrew, leaving 20 bodies on the battleground. A helicopter was hit.

On the very same day, Turkish air force planes carried out reconnaissance flights over the area and Turkish troops and intelligence forces in the Iraqi-Turkish border section near the attacked area were re-inforced. This is the first sign of the implementation of the agreements between the Iraqi and Turkish regimes [reached during the official visit to Baghdad by the Turkish Chief of General Staff, General Evrin, on 11th April 1979 (which was preceded by an official visit to Baghdad by the chief of the "National Intelligence Organisation"-MIT- from 29th March to 3rd April 1979)] to co-ordinate their joint efforts, particularly in the military and intelligence fields, to contain and eventually destroy the Kurdish national liberation movement.

Recently, 18 helicopters have been transferred to Hakkari for the purpose of transporting Commando troops to the border areas more quickly and of increasing reconnaissance flights there. Troop concentrations are taking place at Uludere (Hakkari) and Cizre (Mardin), Cigli (Hakkari) and Semdinli (Hakkari) in Turkey, across the border from Zakho, Amadiya (Dahok) and Merga-Soor (Arbil) respectively, in Iraq. These troops and intelligence and security personnel are being re-inforced almost daily. Besides, military and gendarme check-points and outposts are being increased as well.

International Relations Committee

Kurdistan Democratic Party

- Provisional Leadership-

Kurdistan Democratic Party

-Provisional Leadership-
International Relations Committee

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SWEDEN

11th June 1979

PRESS RELEASE

FURTHER EVIDENCE: IRAQI EMBASSIES CENTRES OF ESPIONAGE AND MURDER

An Iraqi Kurdish Democrat murdered in Aden by Iraqi Intelligence Agents at 2020 hours, local time, on 2nd June 1979, Prof. R. Tawfiq was shot dead near his home in the Mansurah quarter in Aden. The assassins, a group of Iraqi intelligence operatives based at the Iraqi Embassy in Aden, then made their escape in a car belonging to the Iraqi Embassy - bearing diplomatic registration plate No. 15/2, according to an official statement.

Professor Rushdi Tawfiq, in his late forties, married with children, is a Kurd from the town of Sulaimaniya, Iraq; he obtained a Ph.D. degree in philosophy in 1965 and has worked at the University of Sulaimaniya at the beginning of the seventies. But the Iraqi regime began to harass him and closed all opportunities of employment in his face because of his political opinion. He had been a teacher at the College of Higher Education in Aden since 1975.

The culprits took refuge in the Iraqi Embassy which refused to allow PDRY authorities to interrogate them.

This gangster-like conduct by the Embassy and by the authorities in Baghdad is by no means surprising and is completely in line with the pattern of conduct and behaviour, which know no respect for laws and diplomatic norms, followed by Iraqi diplomatic missions abroad.

2- The KDP referred, in its Press Release (PR) of 9 Jan. 1979, to the attempt on the life of M. Barzani, member of the Provisional Leadership, in which two Kurdish patriots were injured; this attempt was carried out by Iraqi intelligence operatives based at the Iraqi Embassy in Vienna.

3- KDP also referred, in its PR of 6 Feb. 1979, to the espionage operations carried out, against Kurds and other Iraqis, by 'diplomats' at the Iraqi Embassy in Stockholm and which led to the expulsion of 5 Iraqi 'diplomats' from Sweden

4- The murder of the former Iraqi Premier, Abd al-Razzaq al-Naif, in London last summer and the expulsion of 11 Iraqi 'diplomats' from the U.K. is well known and received wide press coverage.

5- On 15 April 1979, the Sunday Telegraph reported the assault on -and punishment on the face of- an Iranian postgraduate student, Mohammed Ali Heshmati, by three Iraqi 'diplomats' near the Iraqi Embassy in London, because he was distributing political leaflets critical of the Iraqi regime.

6- The Observer reported on 20 May that members of the so-called 'National Union of Iraqi Students' (NUIS) (the Iraqi government's puppet student union', according to National Student, June 1979, p. 16) attacked other Iraqi students in Manchester and Swansea in the UK during April. These acts of aggression have prompted the UK National Union of Students to 'decide to immediately end recognition of' NUIS.

7- On 4 June, a number of Iraqi Air Force planes strafed and bombed four villages in Iranian Kurdistan, killing at least 8 and wounding 6 people and causing much damage. This unprovoked act of aggression against a sovereign state is blatant disregard of innocent people's lives and property.

All these 'incidents' and the similar ones in Paris, Karachi, Australia, Canada, Italy, Romania and others, are very glaring evidence to the real nature of the Iraqi regime and to the fact that Iraqi embassies abroad are centres of espionage, intimidation and murder, exploiting 'diplomatic immunity' to escape punishment.

Our Party most strongly condemns and denounces these acts of aggression by the Iraqi regime and asks the PDRY to punish the culprits and expose their directors in Baghdad and not be black-mailed by 'oil and trade' threats to which some other governments have actually succumbed.

International Relations Committee
Kurdistan Democratic Party
Provisional Leadership

Kurdistan Democratic Party

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International Relations Committee

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SWEDEN

14th June 1979

COMMUNIQUÉ

AN IRAQI BIG OFFENSIVE, HELPED BY TURKISH FORCES,

ON K D P GUERRILLAS

On 25th May, the Iraqi army launched a big offensive, throwing the entire 11th Division, supported by artillery and helicopter gunships, into a three day battle against KDP guerrillas and positions in the area between ZAKHO and AMADIYA.

The attack began with a barrage of artillery and gunship fire, which lasted from 0600 to 0800 hours, followed by an advance by infantry on Mt. ASOS and the (destroyed) villages of NEZOR, HAROR, and BELIMBEER, a range of mountains running parallel to the borders with Turkey.

The twin objectives of the attack were the annihilation of the Peshmergas and the capture/destruction of the guerrillas' command post in the area.

However, the attackers started to pull back on 27th and by 29th May they completed their withdrawal. The 11th Division was later transferred to and redeployed in the southern section of the Iraq-Iran borders. This Division is normally stationed in NASIRIYAH in the south of Iraq.

The army sustained at least 100 troops killed (apart from the occupants of a Zeel truck who drowned in the KHABUR when their vehicle fell into the river) and two helicopters shot down - one crashed in SEWARA DEMI facing Mt. SELEVANI KE and the other near BATOFA. The guerrillas captured good quantities of ammunition, equipments, supplies and tents.

The attack has, however, failed to achieve either of its objectives.

But, during the course of the attack Turkish helicopters flew reconnaissance flights over the area - one of them actually strafing Peshmerga positions but driven away by Doshka fire. Turkish troops acted as spotters for Iraqi artillery from positions at the peak of a mountain, in Tur'ay, overlooking Mt. ASOS from the north -wearing red apparels and carrying white flags to identify themselves to the Iraqi troops. Meanwhile, Turkish troop concentrations in CIZR, ULUDURE and SEMDINLI were deployed along the frontiers and more gendarmes were sent to the border villages, the inhabitants of which were sternly warned against helping the guerrillas in any way threatening them with harsh reprisals and mass punishment.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE
KURDISTAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY
-PROVISIONAL LEADERSHIP-

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International Relations Committee

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SWEDEN

22nd June, 1979

PRESS RELEASE

THE IRAQI REGIME COMMITS YET ANOTHER POLITICAL ASSASSINATION

Iraqi intelligence operatives murdered Iraqi national Adil Abd al-Hajjood Wasfi in Beirut on 20th June 1979. He was 35 years of age, Deputy Editor of "Filaistin al-Thawrah", the official organ of the PLO, and a member of the Iraqi Communist Party. The Palestine Liberation Organisation issued an official statement accusing the Iraqi regime of responsibility for this political assassination.

It should be recalled that the mass media and our Party have referred to some of the

MURDERS
ASSAULTS
ESPIONAGE
INTIMIDATIONS
HARASSMENT
AND OPEN ACTS OF AGGRESSION

recently carried out by the Iraqi regime and its intelligence operatives and forces, against its critics and political opponents and against sovereign states. The Iraqi regime does not feel embarrassment or shame for committing such crimes; on the contrary, it is very proud of them. Tariq Aziz, ex minister of information and a current member of the Ba'ath Party National Command, expressed the genuine stand of the regime towards such crimes when he declared that,

".....if we actually decided to do such a thing [political murder] we do have the brave men and the means that enable us to do it and we do not need any other quarter to do it in our stead".

(al-Tha'ir al-Arabi magazine, 15th August 1978, p.19). Moreover, many of the top figures of the regime have personally taken part in torturing political detainees (some to death) and in assassination attempts, for example, the attempt on the life of General Abd al-Karim Qasim, Prime Minister of Iraq from 14th July 1958 to 8th February 1963, which took place at the end of 1960.

Our Party condemns and denounces these crimes of the Iraqi regime. The perpetration of such acts only reflects the real weak position of this regime, its isolation and its irrational fear of, and sensitivity towards, criticism and opposition. Acts of this nature are not and, indeed, cannot be, signs of self-confidence and strength.

The lack of respect for human life and dignity apparent from these acts are in blatant violation of the United Nations covenant on Human, Civil and Political Rights of 1966, SIGNED BY THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT, and are a breach of diplomatic norms and proper conduct.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE
KURDISTAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY
-PROVISIONAL LEADERSHIP-

THE GUARDIAN

Wednesday, June 27 1979

From The Times

Events along Iran's 800-mile border with Iraq have been hardly less disturbing. Diplomatic relations between the two countries have an interest in foreign adventures, both share a problem with the restlessness of the Kurds. The Iraqis seem to have the added problem with their Shi'ite Muslims in the south. Tehran officials are no doubt aware of the religious demonstrations that have been on a far larger scale this year and that Iraq secretly forces recently made

The border has been relatively quiet for several years, but tension suddenly erupted at the end of May when an Iraqi Air Force jet bombed six Iranian villages, killing at least 10 people and wounding 40. The Iraqis are saying the attacks were "probably the result of internal Iraqi affairs," a reference, it was believed, to the Kurds. Iraqis have been troubled for almost two decades, ever since King Faisal was assassinated and the new rulers withdrew from the Gulf. In 1975 Iraq became embroiled in a bitter war with the oil-rich Arab states of Algeria, a development that stopped Iraq's rebuffing Shi'ite Arab Ba'athist leader, Saddam Hussein, a long time ago.

But, by mounting their diplomatic forces with the Shi'ite Ba'athists, Iraq has drawn more fully on its own Iraqi guerrilla forces. Iraq's post-war problems with Iraq's post-war problems were exacerbated by the first Gulf war. Baghdad, Khomenei, then based in Najaf, who was finally ousted from Iraq when he began to speak against the Shah last year.

Dublin Evening Herald

15 JUN 1979

Iraq accused of bombing Iranian envoy

IRAN accused Iraq today of a second bombing of Iranian territories, in less than two weeks, as it accuses Iraq of sending agents to Iranian frontier posts in Kurdish territory. State radio said no injuries were reported in the raid. It said that during the bombing, Iraqis had fired a 100mm mortar fire from across the border.

Financial Times

Thursday June 7 1979

Iraq and Aden close to breach

By Our Own Correspondent
MUSCAT, OMAN, June 6. South Yemen seemed close to breaking with Iraq yesterday after Radio Baghdad had accused the Government of Aden of supporting the Iranian revolution. The Iraqi Government has accused the Aden and arrested five of its officials on charges of taking part in the assassination of an Iranian Communist Government official. South Yemen had called on the Iraqis to hand over security men at their Aden embassy who, the Yemenis said, were responsible for the murder of the British Government. The Iraqi Government rejected the request.

Irish Times, Dublin

16 JUN 1979

Iraqi air raid into Iran

IRAN reported the second Iraqi air attack on its territory in a week yesterday in a new escalation of tension between the two countries. The air raid on four border villages near Iran, 455 miles south west of Tehran, on Thursday night followed a bombing and shelling of six north-western villages, Iraq and caused heavy damage, according to press reports. No casualties were reported by State radio as a result of Thursday's attack.

The radio said revolutionary guards and Gendarmes (national police) were rushed to the border to guard the area. The news agency said yesterday that security forces had arrested an Iranian envoy there of Iran's unofficial head of state, Ayatollah Khomeini. It also said Iraq of kidnapping Shia Muslims in Najaf and other cities, during a recent war of words between the two countries. The overwhelming majority of Iraqis are Shiite Muslims.

MOORING STAR Friday, June 22 1979 3

Iranian envoy 'held in Iraq'

IRAN'S official news agency said yesterday that security forces had arrested an Iranian envoy there of Iran's unofficial head of state, Ayatollah Khomeini. It also said Iraq of kidnapping Shia Muslims in Najaf and other cities, during a recent war of words between the two countries. The overwhelming majority of Iraqis are Shiite Muslims.

Dublin Evening Herald
16 JUN 1979

Iraq accused by Iranians

THE Governor of Iran's oil-rich Kuzestan Province damned today that neighbouring Iraq, using nuclear supplied by the ousted Shah of Iran, was re-creating the country's territory. Meanwhile, the newspaper Bamdad reported that the Iranian armed forces had been put on alert following two reported Iranian air raids on Iraq in the last two weeks. But the paper gave no details.

'Irakisk bombing av Iran'

TEHERAN (AR) Iran anklagade på fredagen Irak för att ha bombat dess territorium för andra gången på mindre än två veckor. Det senaste flysangreppet genomfördes på torsdagen mot tre gränsposter i det kurdiska gränsområdet, uppgav Irans statliga radio.

Irakiska marktrupper öppnade samtidigt eld över gränsen, tillade radion.

Relationerna mellan Iran och Irak har försämrats på grund av en tidigare bombing den 4 juni och de irakiska ledarnas behandling av landets shiit-muslimer.

Iran är som islamisk stat helt knuten till shiit-sekten, medan ledarna i Irak är sunniter. De två riktningarna står i motsättning till varandra ända sedan Islams tidigaste period.

Hufvudstadsbladet,
Helsinki, 17.6.1979

Kurdistan Democratic Party

-Provisional Leadership-
International Relations Committee

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COMMUNIQUE NO. 19.

THE MILITARY OPERATIONS OF THE NATIONAL GUERRILLA FORCES AGAINST THE DICTATORIAL REGIME OF IRAQ AND THE OPPRESSIVE MEASURES PERPETRATED BY THIS REGIME AGAINST THE KURDISH PEOPLE

October - December 1978

- * KDP guerrillas achieve success in Sulaimaniya Governorate.
- * Guerrillas annihilate a military committee responsible for the implementation of parts of the 6th March 1975 agreement with the Shah.
- * Defeat of a big offensive and the shooting down of a helicopter in Baiyara, Halabja.
- * Tawalla is controlled by the guerrillas for several hours.
- * Attack on Barkchak settlement.
- * Demonstrations in the "cluster villages".
- * The killing of 7 demonstrators by government forces in Harir.
- * A campaign of terror against the Iraqi Communist Party.
- * The execution of 14 KDP members.
- * Operations for which nobody has claimed responsibility.

* * * * *

1. The guerrillas annihilate a military committee responsible for the implementation of some of the provisions of the 6th March 1975 Agreement with the Shah:

On 17th October 1978, a guerrilla squad waited in ambush on the Tawalla road, in Halabja District, Sulaimaniya Governorate - at a point between Soskan police post and Tawalla. At 0700 hours, a command jeep, heading towards Tawalla, was intercepted and came under heavy fire. Three officers were killed: a staff lieutenant-colonel, a staff Brigadier and a staff Major; another officer and the jeep driver were wounded. These officers were members of the Border Joint Committee between the Iraqi and Shah regimes, whose duty was to exchange intelligence reports and information and co-ordinate efforts against opposition groups' activities, more especially against the Kurdish revolution. A rescue force, comprising a truck loaded with troops, was sent to the area; it was intercepted, suffering 12 casualties, one soldier dead and 11 wounded. The guerrilla squad returned safely to base.

2. A big attack on government troops defeated and a helicopter shot down in Baiyara, Halabja District, Sulaimaniya:

On 27th November 1978, at about 0800 hours, a large government force launched an attack on our guerrillas in the Hausraman area, near Baiyara sub-district, Halabja District.

/2

-2-

A brigade and a number of mercenary formations took part in the attack which was reinforced by artillery and armoured helicopters. After a four hour battle, government troops withdrew, suffering 20 casualties. The guerrillas then counter-attacked - having been reinforced by another guerrilla force at 1200 hours - and fighting continued until 19.30 hours. On the following morning, government troops launched a counter attack which lasted the whole day, without succeeding in dislodging the guerrillas and occupying their positions. Thereafter, the area was pounded with artillery shells until the third day, when government troops withdrew, suffering the following losses:

- a) 1 Super Prolon helicopter which crashed on Mt. Sidaran, near the village of Ahmad-Awa;
- b) 39 troops and mercenaries killed, among them an officer;
- c) 80 troops and mercenaries wounded, who were subsequently transported to Khormal sub-district by the army.

Our guerrillas captured large quantities of ammunition and military supplies, 2 Kalashnikovs, a pistol and Gomm gun shells.

3. The guerrillas control Tawalla sub-district centre for several hours and fire R.P.G.'s at the police station:

On the night of 30th November 1978, a guerrilla squad entered Tawalla and opened R.P.G. fire on the local police station, killing 8 policemen and damaging a wall of the station. The guerrillas were in control of the town for three hours, marching and shouting slogans for the Party, the revolution and Barzani.

4. An attack on the Barkchak settlement in Shaikhan:

On the night of 8th September 1978, a squad of guerrillas launched an attack on the Barkchak settlement, situated between Shaikhan and Mosul, with P.R.G. rockets, machine guns and light weapons. Heavy damage was inflicted. Next morning, the settlers of Barkchak and of three other nearby settlements visited the mayor of Shaikhan and demanded that they be transferred to their original places of residence. When the mayor tried to persuade them to stay in the settlements, they replied that "today it is Barkchak and tomorrow the rest". This attack had a widespread effect on the other settlements in the area, and it came as further evidence of the inability of the regime to protect these settlements.

It should be noted that Barkchak and the other settlements referred to, are places from which the original Kurdish inhabitants had been driven away and displaced, and Arab tribesmen brought from other areas of Iraq and settled in their places.

5. The execution of 14 Kurds and the imprisonment of 2 on charges of belonging to the Kurdistan Democratic Party:

We have reliable information that 14 Kurds were executed in April 1978 on charges of belonging to our Kurdistan Democratic Party, among them: Ahmad Fakamin, Ahmad Hama Abdulla, both from Gala Diza, Ahmad Abdulla Mahmud from Bilko village, Gala Diza District, and Hama Kaka Bakha from Bikhni village, Gala Diza District. They were detained in October 1977 and their whereabouts remained unknown until we received confirmed information that they had been executed by the regime. They were members of the Local Committee of the KDP organisation in Gala Diza. We have also received confirmed information that another 10 Kurds from various areas of Iraqi Kurdistan have been executed with the aforementioned four, on similar charges; we shall publish their names and particulars when a complete report is received.

We are obliged to publish the names of Kurds executed by the Iraqi government some-what late because these executions are carried out in the greatest secrecy, thus the regime can deny them when international humanitarian organisations ask about them. Therefore, we do not publish names unless we are sure of the information received.

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These Kurds have been "tried" by "The Special Court" which sits at the H.Q. of the Military Division in Kirkuk, and which constantly consults with both al-Bakr and Saddam Thikriti before passing its sentences.

6. 16 government troops killed and 51 wounded and 2 guerrillas committed suicide in a battle in North-western Salah al-Din:

On 27th November 1978, a guerrilla squad engaged a government regiment and the mercenaries of Saeed Koorz Soorchi and Muhammad Qadir Alpa in a location between the Soorchi and Zakarya areas, north-west of Salah al-Din. The battle lasted from 1100 hours until 1500 hours. Government troops suffered 16 deaths and 51 injured, some of whom later died. The troops then withdrew to Spilek, situated between Barir and Gali Ali-Beg. Two guerrillas Mam Hamza and Saeed Ahmad, committed suicide when they ran out of ammunition. In order to avoid being captured alive, Mam Hamza was known for the firmness of his national ideology, very great courtesy and honour.

7. The guerrillas capture the notorious agent Husain Hameed al-Lami:

Our Party learnt that Younis Zakholi, an assistant pharmacist at Dahok Hospital and his comrades, were executed in 1977 due to information provided by Husain Hameed al-Lami, a member of the Northern Area Intelligence Station. The comrades of our Party have been tracking his movements first in Dahok, then in Kirkuk and finally in Sidkan, where he has recently been captured. He has revealed many things, among them the names of the following government agents in Dahok:

- Hameed Hallaq, Republican Hospital Street;
- Adil Muhammad Ali, a student at the Kawa Secondary School;
- Khorshid, a tea shop owner near Dahok Transport, and
- Salam, a labourer at the Fruits and Vegetables Administration.

He also revealed details of the organisational structure of the intelligence service in Kurdistan:

(1) Dahok Intelligence Station: It is situated in a two-storey building opposite Orezdi Bag in Dahok. The Chief of Station is Captain Mubsin from Haditha, Ramadi Governorate, and its staff consist of NCO Abdul Sahib from al-Hurriya, Baghdad; NCO Saeed from Semmani; Corporal Ahmad from Hamman al-Jil and Corporal Hashim Muhammad from Halila.

(2) Centre of the Northern Area Intelligence in Kirkuk: It is situated in the street leading to the Air Force Base in the town. Chief of Centre is Staff Brigadier Gais from al-Khalis, whose assistant is Major Abd al-Sahib. His staff consist of: First Lieutenant Abd Ali and First Lieutenant Saad from Khalis. The Interrogation Committee includes Major Ata, Captain Ahmad and NCO Hasan Jasim.

(3) Sidkan Intelligence Station: Includes Station Chief First Lieutenant Latif Abdulla from al-Baiya, Baghdad, NCO's Muhammad Hanj, Salih Sulaiman, Ahmad Saleem, Salih Mehdi, Ibrahim Hassouni and Muradha, and Privates Majid al-Din Abdulla, Mehdi Busain, Ali Hasan Sulaiman, Ali Husain Sulaiman, Abd al-Husain Yasir and Nouw al-Sudh.

The Northern Area Intelligence was established at the beginning of the 1960's in order to fight the Kurdish revolution and the KDP.

8. An attack on a government regiment in Barwarl Balal:

At 1600 hours on 11th October 1978, a government force of regimental strength assembled near the village of Sferya in Barwarl Balal. While setting up tents and taking up positions, the force was surprised by our guerrillas with R.P.G., machine gun and light arms fire. Fighting continued for about 90 minutes, during which the force suffered heavy casualties. Confirmed reports indicate that the losses inflicted on the force include: 40 troops killed and 17 wounded and three Ewa type lorries burned. Among the

dead was a First Lieutenant, nick-named "Abu Nawaf" from Najaf. Another force, transported in 60 Zael trucks dispatched to the area from Brigade H.Q. in Bazifa near Zakho, opened aimless fire in all directions until next morning, when the regiment withdrew and the wounded were transported to Batofa and Zakho.

9. Attack on Sheikh Salam's mercenaries inside Dahok:

Avengeing the death of Mahmud Yousef and Yousef Ahmad, killed by the mercenaries of Sheikh Salam on the eve of 2nd January 1978, our commandos decided to track down this traitor and his men. The mercenaries suffered 3 dead and a number of wounded in two attacks by the guerrillas on their headquarters in the village of Banjiki, and as a result, they moved to the town of Dahok. Close to the first anniversary of the death of the two aforementioned guerrillas, a KDP commando threw a hand grenade inside a room where about 20 of these mercenaries were meeting. The grenade wounded 14 of them - the injuries of 4, including Sheikh Salam himself, being severe.

10. On the evening of 23rd September, 1978, one of our squads attacked the Sari Bakirman sangar with R.P.G. and light arms fire, inflicting losses on the sangar troops. Subsequently, at 2000 hours, the troops opened fire first on the village of Bakirman, causing terror among its inhabitants, and then on the mountain overlooking it.

11. On 27th September 1978, a guerrilla squad was on the move in the Mirozh area, Shirwan sub-district, Merga Soor District. At 0700 hours a military patrol of company strength was approaching the village of Spindara. The Guerrillas took position and opened fire on the patrol, 8 of whom died and a further number were wounded. At about 1000 hours, a rescue force from nearby sangars arrived at the scene, supported by 3 helicopters. Fighting continued until 1400 hours, with government troops sustaining more losses.

12. On 5th October, government troops were landed on the mountain overlooking the villages of Swari-Jamanki, Bani and Sidari, in Shaikhan; armoured helicopters strafed the area before the landing was made. The objective was to annihilate guerrillas in the area, but the troops were unable to establish contact with them.

13. At 2130 hours on 11th October, a guerrilla unit, using explosive charges, managed to put out of action a quantity of machines used in opening a military road linking the villages of Bishki and Karmani in Kam-Masi sub-district.

14. On the evening of 13th October, an encounter between a guerrilla squad and a government military force took place near the village of Rashaga, in the Nihali area, Amadiya, resulting in the death of one and the wounding of two soldiers. Unable to inflict harm on the guerrillas, the government force opened fire on the inhabitants of the village killing a woman, then the troops assembled the villagers, beat them with fists and rifle butts and insulted them; houses were looted and 3 men detained - their whereabouts and fate are not yet known.

On the evening of 15th October, another skirmish between the guerrillas and troops took place near Rashaga, the troops sustaining a number of casualties.

15. At 2030 hours on the night of 19th October, a guerrilla squad ran into the "Baghawit" (Shock Troops) in the Nisra village of Arosh sub-district, Shaikhan District. Five members of the "Shock Troops" were killed and 2 wounded. A guerrilla, Masi Bani, was also killed.

Although the skirmish occurred accidentally, the authorities nevertheless, arrested Siddiq Hameed, the village Mukhtar, Headman, Muhammad Azzo and Ismail Masi, inhabitants of the village. Their fate and whereabouts are not yet known.

16. At 0200 hours on 24th October, a guerrilla squad, using R.P.G. and light arms, fired at close range on the Barchali sangar - forming part of the Jiyi village military camp - in Amadiya. Most of the troops manning the sangar were either killed or wounded and the sangar destroyed.

17. At 0430 hours on 25th October, guerrillas ambushed a government force near the village of Binawi, Nihali area, Amadiya. However, it managed to withdraw. Later, the force opened heavy fire on the village, wounding a woman and killing a man, Muhammad Salih. Houses in the village were looted and 14 of its inhabitants were arrested and sent on to Kirkuk, where torture and trial by the Special Military Courts awaited them.

18. At 1600 hours on 3rd November, a guerrilla squad ambushed government troops guarding the Merga-Soor-Khizrak military road, at the section linking the villages of Mamujan and Kalook. Exchange of fire lasted for one hour and a half, during which the troops suffered 10 casualties.

19. At 0600 hours on 5th November, a guerrilla squad lay in ambush near the sangar overlooking Bitan, in Shirwan. The guerrillas opened fire and killed two soldiers who ventured out of the sangar.

20. At 1600 hours on 6th November, a guerrilla squad lay in ambush near the Lauhan outpost in Sidakan, Rawanduz, and when the troops manning it were lining up, the guerrillas opened fire, causing about 20 casualties. During the same day and the following day, government artillery pounded the whole area.

21. During the night of 14th November, a guerrilla squad attacked army sangars in Tawalla. A soldier was killed and another wounded.

22. On the night of 9th December, a guerrilla squad entered Sidakan and attacked the office of the Northern Area Intelligence Station in the town with R.P.G. rockets and light arms fire. The attack damaged the roof of the building and caused chaos among the security and police forces. The following morning, several helicopters were despatched to Sidakan and armoured helicopters strafed the vicinity of the town in search of the guerrillas.

The authorities accused the inhabitants of Sidakan of giving sanctuary to the guerrillas; they replied that if the authorities themselves could not prevent the guerrillas from entering the town, how could its inhabitants?

23. At 1100 hours on 17th December, a guerrilla squad attacked Birkama outpost, in Sidakan. Exchange of fire lasted for an hour, with the troops manning the outpost sustaining 3 deaths and several soldiers wounded.

24. At 1630 hours on 18th December, a guerrilla squad ambushed 5 of the troops manning the army sangar located between the villages of Mitroz and Gozli, in Shirwan, Merga-Soor; the soldiers were killed and the sangar destroyed by R.P.G. rockets. Next day, 7 helicopters hovered over the area in search of the guerrillas; however the squad returned safely to base.

Operations not published earlier:

25. On the night of 13th July 1978, a large military force left the village of Daryasor heading towards Milbadihi and Shanasha villages in Sidakan, in order to burn both of them. A regiment of this force headed towards Shanasha; two of its battalions took guarding positions, while the third battalion and a company of engineers moved to the village. Guerrillas had already quietly taken positions on both sides of the road from Milbadihi to Shanasha. At 0100 hours, the guerrillas suddenly opened fire on the third battalion and the battalion of the corps of engineers; firing continued for an hour until enemy fire ceased. A large number of government troops were killed and wounded. The two guard battalions continued firing their mortars and R.P.G.'s without causing losses amongst the guerrillas, who captured some supplies.

26. On 11th July, an anti-personnel mine exploded at Sari-Hishtika in Agra, killing one soldier and wounding another.

27. Operations for which nobody has claimed responsibility:

- (1) At 1700 hours on 23rd September 1978, a bomb exploded in Abu Nwas Park in Baghdad, killing a score of people and wounding many more.
- (2) In mid-August 1978, many explosions occurred in Baghdad, amongst them in Cinema al-Nasr, Cinema Babli, and the Central Railway Station, causing casualties and damage. An explosive charge planted in Bab al-Sharqi Tunnel was defused before going off.
- (3) On 30th September 1978, a member, Sameer Tariq al-Shakarhi, of the Ba'gh organization in Bab Lagash in the city of Mosul, was killed. Security agent Ghaidan Abd al-Ridha - 30 years old - was killed on the night of 2nd October 1978 in the railway station in Mosul. Rumours have it that an underground organisation calling itself "The Free Officers" is responsible for both of these killings.

28. Deported Kurds demonstrate against harsh conditions:

Protesting against the harsh conditions under which they are kept, deportee Kurds re-settled in the "cluster villages" have been demonstrating against the authorities. For example, the following demonstrations have taken place in the "cluster villages" in:

- a) Kesinzan, near Arbil on 13th August 1978 in which the authorities used violence;
- b) Bacoza, in Zakho, in mid November 1978, in which the authorities used violence;
- c) Diana, near Rawanduz, Arbil on 27th November 1978 in which the authorities used violence;
- d) Harir, near Rawanduz, Arbil, on 25th December 1978, where the authorities used violence, leading to the death of 7 Kurds and the wounding of 38 more; among the dead are:
 - Safar Jumar Pirsawi, Azad Ariz Rostani, Zubair Mirkhan,
 - Ahmad Khalid Waziba, Jawhar Asi Pirsawi and Miss Shirin
 - Sitvo Pitan - all of whom had been forcibly deported from the Barzan area.

29. Two Kurdish Refugees wounded in an attempt on the life of Masoud Barzani

On 8th January 1979, Iraqi intelligence operatives attempted to assassinate Masoud Barzani and his companions at a place in Vienna. He was unhurt, but two refugees were wounded. The Iraqi regime has despatched a number of its intelligence agents and operatives and "packs" of killers to Europe to track down, follow the movements and kill KDP leaders and other oppositionist Iraqis and non-Iraqis. The record of the Iraqi regime in this field is very "rich" indeed. We mention their espionage and terrorist operations abroad: in England, France, Libya, Pakistan, Lebanon, Canada, Switzerland, Sweden and Austria, to name but a few.

30. Members and sympathisers of ICP are subjected to a terror campaign:

After the executions of the Communist Party of Iraq (CPI) members and sympathisers in May 1978, there followed a period of respite. Nevertheless, the terror campaign against communists was resumed in October 1978 and is going on now. ICP local offices have been closed in a number of governorates, including Arbil, Kirkuk, Sulaimaniya and Dahok. Communists and their friends are being detained en masse in the security offices. They are tortured, insulted and humiliated. Detainee communists must sign notes promising to resign from the party and not to join it now or in the future. Those who refuse to do so are subjected to further and harsher torture. Many communists have been forced to go underground and students not to attend universities.

There is news that a number of communists were executed in Mosul on the 3rd and 4th January 1979.

A meeting of Communist and Workers parties in the Arab countries in Damascus in December 1978 discussed, in detail, and condemned the terror campaign being waged against ICP.

Our Party condemns and denounces this terror campaign against ICP and against other patriotic and progressive Iraqi forces and individuals.

31. The Iraqi regime plans more racist schemes:

The Iraqi authorities are currently building new settlements in Alrosh and Mariba sub-districts, in Shaikhan District, to settle Arab tribesmen in them. These tribesmen have been promised weapons, financial incentives and the fertile lands, farms and orchards of the Kurds from which they had been forcibly deported.

32. Deportation of the Kurds has not ceased:

Reliable information reaching us indicates that the authorities are planning to build another 450 houses in Shiladizi "cluster village" in Amadiya. This indicates that they aim at deporting more Kurds.

On 26th August 1978, a governmental committee arrived in Dinarta, Agra, and announced to the public that the regime is intent on deporting the inhabitants of the surrounding villages. This announcement indicates that the deportation of Kurds is actually not confined to a 10-20 km strip on the borders as Iraq's rulers claim, but rather from a 50 km strip, in this area, at least.

Moreover, the Governor of Sulaimaniya has recently admitted that 22000 families have recently been deported in the Governorate of Sulaimaniya alone.

33. Economic blockade on the border districts and sub-districts:

The regime has imposed an economic blockade on most of the districts and sub-districts of the border areas; the blockade includes sugar, tea, dairy products, rice, oil and fat, petrol and flour. It is being imposed on the pretext that these goods get to the guerrillas. This blockade has caused widespread discontent among the inhabitants of these areas, and these goods are difficult to buy, when available, without bribes and/or contacts.

34. Some government troops are withdrawn from Kurdistan:

The regime withdrew some of its troops from Kurdistan in autumn 1978, after carrying out the forcible deportation of Kurds from the border areas. There are many reasons for this withdrawal, among them guerrilla activities; discontent among the troops caused by posting them in mountain top sangars for long periods of time, without achieving any tangible results or reducing the activities of the guerrillas; the inability to crush the guerrillas; the approaching winter.

35. Books in Kurdish or on the Kurds are still being withdrawn:

The withdrawal of books in Kurdish, that discuss the Kurdish question objectively, from public and school libraries, is continuing. These books are usually replaced by books containing the speeches of Saddam Tikriti, whose speeches portray dictatorship as "popular democracy", bureaucratic capitalism as "socialism" and racism as "modernisation".

36. The Talabani clique are still in contact with the regime:

The Talabani clique do not let an opportunity pass without getting in touch with the Iraqi dictatorial regime, expressing their willingness to negotiate and reach an understanding (in exchange for limited gains for its group), and to carry arms against the KDP. After the stunning defeat they suffered in June 1978, Jalal Talabani sent three envoys to the regime, which has refused to offer him anything more than "amnesty". To boost the

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morale of their group, the clique spread rumours that they were conducting "negotiations" with the regime; this prompted the regime to warn them, through its agent and Jalal Talabani's envoy, Hamza Bapir Agha, to stop spreading such rumours. In October and November 1978, this clique made other attempts at negotiating, this time sending word to the Governor of Sulaimaniya. They received the same reply - nothing but "amnesty".

37. Another "amnesty": the last after the last ... and the very last

Since the outbreak of the Kurdish revolution, there have been so many "amnesties". Two years ago, when one of these "amnesties" was announced, the regime said it was "the last one". This was followed by other "amnesties" - the last one before the last was called "the last that will not be renewed". But on 10th January 1979, another "amnesty" lasting for two months was announced. However, we confidently predict that it will not be "the last" as similar "lasts" have not been the last:

38. 70 PUK guerrillas come over to the KDP side:

Four PUK guerrilla squads - numbering about 70 guerrillas - have recently joined the KDP forces. They decided to come over to the KDP because they maintain they could no longer tolerate the acts of aggression committed by the Talabani clique and the extortion of money they resort to, especially from the poor; the clique's contacts with the regime; the falsehoods the clique spread; the surrender to the regime of their leading figures and advanced cadres, such as Shams al-Din Mufli, Gadir Ham and Gadirra Soor and others; and the realisation that the main force that really fights the regime is the KDP and the revolution it leads.

5th March, 1979.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE
KURDISTAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY
-PROVISIONAL LEADERSHIP-

PRESS STATEMENT

The Kurdish people lost the father and leader Mustafa Barzani, who gave them all of his life. Barzani lived for Kurdistan and died for her sake. He resisted colonialism from his youth and lived two-thirds of his life away from his family and homeland. His concern was with serving his nation. We shall see that the vacuum he left by his departure will be one that can never be filled. Barzani left us a great heritage and put before us the course that does not know compromise on the rights of the Kurdish people.

While solacing our Kurdish people everywhere and ourselves for this painful tragedy, we promise Barzani and the people of Kurdistan that we will be faithful to the principles for which he sacrificed everything and will continue the struggle unabatedly.

The torch Barzani carried will remain illuminated and the school he founded and developed, namely, the Kurdistan Democratic Party, will continue nurturing the love of the country in the hearts of future generations, and the Party will remain the leader of the Kurdish people.

To ever more unity and cohesion, brothers and comrades. And victory is always for the people.
Masoud Barzani
2nd March, 1979.

Kurdistan Democratic Party

-Provisional Leadership-

International Relations Committee

KDP
Box 2017
145 02 Norrborg
SWEDEN

COMMUNIQUE NO. 20.

9th May, 1979

- * The enemy sustains more than 500 casualties within two months;
- * Another crime committed by the former Shah regime against 4 Kurdish patriots;
- * 14 Kurdish patriots are executed and a further number sentenced to life imprisonment;
- * You're in Sweden and not in Tikrit, Mr. Ambassador!;
- * 83 enemy troops killed and 34 wounded in the Gali-Rashava battle;
- * A surprise attack on the Brigade H.Q. in Batofa;
- * Armasht Regimental Assistant Commander and 40 troops are killed;
- * An attack on enemy positions in Mangish;
- * Miroz Regimental H.Q. is attacked;
- * Badliyan Regimental H.Q. near Diana comes under fire;
- * Enemy positions in Shirwan Sub-District are attacked;
- * The planned assassination attempt in Vienna to kill three Kurdish patriots, is avenged.

1. Enemy Sustains 117 Casualties in the Gali-Rashava Battle:

Enemy forces have, since 12th October 1978, been conducting regular shows of strength in the Nihali area, Amadiya District, in order to intimidate the population. The inhabitants of the said area have been threatened and those suspected by the authorities of aiding the Pesh Merga guerrillas were caused various kinds of harm. The womenfolk's jewellery, money, radio sets and tape-recorders belonging to the populace were looted by government troops.

In reply to this unbearable situation and in an attempt to put an end to it, a number of our guerrilla squads carried out the following operation:

On 17th December 1978, an enemy force in 32 zeal-type troop carriers and 2 command jeeps belonging to the "Special Troops", approached Nihali from two directions: the first column approaching by way of Gali-Rashava and the second through Gali-Sargali (Gali = Gorje). At 1700 hours the first column surrounded the village of Rashava, entering it the following day to carry out a combing operation. Afterwards, the two columns were assembled together in the village of Barchiya. However, at 1530 hours on 18th December, a section of these troops came under Pesh Merga guerrilla fire. The guerrillas were waiting in ambush on a mountainous road running parallel to a section of the Greater Zab (river). The enemy's advance was halted and he was encircled, as he had the river at his back and the mountains at his front. Most of the troops were annihilated, with many of the dead falling into the river. Eye-witnesses say that government troops used fishing nets to collect some of the bodies of the dead troops (at least four of them).

Enemy losses were 83 dead and 34 wounded. Many of the corpses were left on the battle-ground, along with a quantity of R.P.G. rockets, mortar shells, ammunition and other supplies. The following day, the enemy imposed a six hour curfew on Bamarril, Amadiya and Dazhtazi, in order to prevent the inhabitants of the area from seeing the transportation of his dead and wounded troops to the hospitals of Amadiya and Sharanish.

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2. An Attack on the Brigade H.Q. in Batofa Stuns the Enemy:

At 2000 hours on 2nd January 1979, our guerrilla forces launched a big attack on the Brigade H.Q. and other positions in Batofa, Zakho Sub-District, lasting until 0100 hours on 3rd January. The guerrillas fought the enemy inside Batofa too, from street to street and from house to house: he suffered heavy casualties and the guerrillas withdrew safely from Batofa.

The enemy carried out a large search operation the same evening after the withdrawal of the Pesh Mergas. All houses in Batofa were searched, some of them as many as three times. Metal detectors were used during those searches.

Enemy losses were:

- a) 1st Lt. Talib, killed. Before being transferred to the Brigade H.Q., he was a Battalion Commander in the Avhali Sangar.
- b) 26 troops killed.
- c) A further number of troops wounded.

The following day, the enemy burned all the places where his troops fell, in order to hide all traces of blood, and then used bulldozers to remove the earth as a further measure to erase all evidence.

Later, a military committee, composed of officers from Dahok and Mosul, headed by a Division Commander, inspected the battleground. Upon his recommendation, all trees and bushes on both sides of the road passing through Batofa were felled (while felling the trees, four more enemy corpses were discovered).

The battle was recorded by scores of Batofa's inhabitants on cassette tape recorders.

3. A Regimental Commander Killed and a Number of Officers Wounded in an Operation to Avenge the Victims of the Attempt in Vienna on the Life of Masoud Barzani and Two Other Patriots:

At 1630 hours on 1st February, a Pesh Merga squad waited in ambush on the road between Diana and Merga Soor, in the Rawanduz Basin, near the village of Shkawtan. An enemy command jeep later came under fire resulting in:

- a) Shkawtan Regimental Commander, Staff Brigadier Abd al-Khalid was wounded; both his arms and his thigh were fractured (news indicated that he died later).
- b) Regimental Assistant Commander, Captain Muhammad, was gravely wounded (he was earlier on the staff of Argoosh Regiment).
- c) Lt. Majeed suffered bad wounds.
- d) Two troops killed.

Enemy wounded and dead were transported to Diana Hospital and traffic to Merga-Soor was stopped for the remainder of the day.

The battleground is surrounded by several sangars and the regimental H.Q. is only a few kilometres away.

This operation was carried out as a specific reply to the attempt on the life of Masoud Barzani in Vienna on 8th January, in which two patriots, Azad Barzani and Pirat Ahmad, were injured.

4. The Assistant Commander and 40 Troops Killed in an Attack on Armasht Regimental H.Q.:

At 1815 hours on 16th January 1979, a guerrilla squad launched a surprise attack on the regimental H.Q., located at Armasht, Zakho District, while the troops were lining up. The Pesh Merga guerrillas used R.P.G. rockets, machine guns and light arms. The surprise achieved created disorder and chaos among the enemy, who later began an aimless bombardment until the next day.

Enemy losses are estimated at 40 dead, among them the Assistant Commander of the Regiment and a Sergeant Major called Jabbar from Diwanliya, with more than 17 wounded. Enemy casualties were seen being transported next morning, towards the town of Zakho.

5. Enemy Positions in Manglish Sub-District Centre Come Under Fire:

At 2000 hours on 19th January 1979, a combined force of our Pesh Merga guerrillas launched a surprise attack on enemy positions inside Manglish Sub-District Centre, in Dahok District. The targets of the attack were the local office of the 3rd Party, the house of the local head of the Party, Abu Hamed, the house of the Sub-District Security Officer, and the houses of a number of security and intelligence personnel. These targets were attacked simultaneously with R.P.G. rockets, machine guns and hand grenades. The operation lasted 30 minutes and caused great fear in the enemy ranks. Surrounding enemy sangars opened fire at random.

Our information indicates that 15 enemy personnel were killed and a number wounded in this operation.

6. An Attack on a Sangar Followed by an Assault on Miroz Regimental H.Q. in Merga-Soor:

On 27th February 1979, two guerrilla squads went out to attack enemy forces at Miroz Regimental H.Q. and the surrounding sangars, in Merga-Soor. One squad approached Milani sangar, located between the villages of Miroz and Bizwan, while the other waited in ambush. At 1730 hours, the first squad opened R.P.G. and light arms fire on Milani sangar, destroying it and causing losses to the enemy.

Hearing the sound of shooting, many officers and troops at the Regimental H.Q. began to assemble to know what was happening. The second Pesh Merga squad then opened fire on one of these assemblies with R.P.G. and light arms, causing heavy casualties.

Afterwards, the enemy bombarded the whole area until 2000 hours, and three helicopter gunships hovered above in search of the guerrillas. However, the two squads managed to return safely to base.

7. Badlian Regiment Commander and 40 Troops are Casualties on the Anniversary of 6th March:

On the fourth anniversary of the 6th March 1975 agreement between the Tkriti clique and Iran's ex-Shah, a guerrilla squad attacked Badlian Regimental H.Q., near Diana, with R.P.G., machine guns and light arms fire, from positions less than 200 metres away. The attack took place during the first minutes of 6th March 1979. Two balls caught fire. There were electric failures in Badlian, Diana, Rawanduz and Hawdian. Enemy troops opened fire only after the withdrawal of the Pesh Mergas and then army sangars in the area, as far away as Mt. Zozik and Mt. Hasan Beg, opened fire. According to the information reaching us, the enemy suffered about 40 casualties, among them the Regiment Commander. Two balls were destroyed, 6 zeal-type military trucks put out of action and other damage was inflicted.

The next day, the inhabitants of Badlian and nearby villages were rounded up.

8. An Attack on Enemy Positions Inside Shirwan:

During the evening of 2nd March 1979, a guerrilla force attacked enemy positions inside Shirwan Sub-District Centre, Merga-Soor District. The force, divided into four groups, attacked the following targets: The Ba'ith Party local office, Shirwan military camp and the headquarters of the mercenaries of Bakirkhan Bawi. The attack lasted about an hour, after which the guerrillas returned safely to base. Enemy casualties are put at 4 dead, among them a corporal and one soldier, and a mercenary wounded.

9. An Ambush on the Outskirts of Dahok:

At 1210 hours on 5th February 1979, a Pesh Merga squad lay in ambush near the village of Avrik, in Gali-Kurtak, on the outskirts of Dahok. A military Eva vehicle, loaded with troops, approached and the guerrillas opened fire on it for about 20 minutes. The vehicle was destroyed and its occupants either killed or wounded. Three corpses were seen falling from the truck, one of them being Corporal Atiya Muhammad Ahmad from the 9a'9a' 'Maghawir' (Shock troops) of the 4th Division, unit No. 1980 (His military number being 297412) and his I.D. Card No. 1084), born in 1947. Another was conscript Private 'Maghawir' Mahmud Khidhr Alyas, No. 44509 of the same unit, born in 1952.

10. A Military Vehicle Ambushed Resulting in 14 Casualties:

On 22nd January 1979, a guerrilla squad lay in ambush on the main road from Batofa to Zalko, near the village of Birsivi. At 1700 hours, a military Eva vehicle approached and the Pesh Mergas opened fire with machine guns. Within minutes, the truck was destroyed and burnt and its occupants of 14 troops annihilated. The aim of this truck was to join enemy forces setting up an ambush for the guerrillas in the area. While the vehicle was under attack, an enemy force left Avganli camp and another force from nearby sangars came to its rescue. The guerrillas engaged these forces for 30 minutes, and were then able to withdraw safely to base.

The inhabitants of the area saw the destroyed vehicle and the corpses of enemy troops on the main road the following day.

11. Artis Battalion H.Q. Comes Under R.P.G. Fire:

At 1800 hours on 12th February 1979, a guerrilla squad attacked the army battalion H.Q. situated on the mountain overlooking Artis village; this battalion is part of the regiment stationed in the village of Kalakshi in Amadiya District. The guerrillas, operating from close range, opened R.P.G. and light arms fire. Two barracks sleeping yards received direct hits by R.P.G. shells and were destroyed, leading to casualties among its occupants. The following day, a force from the regiment came to the scene of the battle to rescue and help the battalion. A helicopter was seen transporting the dead and wounded troops, and further helicopters hovered over the area on 13th and 14th February in search of the guerrillas, who returned safely to base.

12. A Military Canteen Truck is Ambushed in Gali Ali Beg:

On 15th February, a guerrilla squad set an ambush in Gali Ali Beg; a military canteen truck later approached and came under fire. 7 troops were killed and 2 wounded.

This is the first operation by the Pesh Mergas in Gali Ali Beg for a number of years, due to the heavy fortifications and large numbers of troops in and around this strategic gorge.

13. A Sangar on the Outskirts of Amadiya Attacked:

In the evening of 7th January 1979, a guerrilla squad attacked the sangar overlooking the main western entrance to the Amadiya Sub-District Centre with R.P.G. and light arms fire. The sangar was destroyed and its occupants killed or wounded. The same evening, the same squad attacked a store house belonging to the Directorate of Tourism and Summer Resorts inside the deserted Solaf summer resort. The authorities increased the number of sangars and fortifications around Amadiya after this operation.

14. An Ambush in Salah al-Din:

On 28th January, a guerrilla squad penetrated deeply behind enemy lines and laid an ambush near Salah al-Din, north-east of Arbil. At 1300 hours, an enemy unit was ambushed and after a fierce exchange of fire, 4 enemy troops were killed and 5 more wounded.

15. An Enemy Position in Sidakan Attacked:

At 2030 hours on 20th February 1979, a Pesh Merga squad opened R.P.G., machine gun and light arms fire on an army position at Hajji bridge and the sangar overlooking it. Both are a few kilometres from Sidakan. The upper floor of the position was destroyed, but it did not open fire, whereas distant positions bombarded the area with mortar shells. Reliable reports indicate that at least two soldiers were killed (Private Saith Ahmad from Mesul and Private Hussin Sultan from Kirkuk). 8 were wounded, some severely. The squad returned safely to base.

16. At 1600 hours on 6th March 1979, five soldiers sent out to collect fuel wood, were ambushed and killed by the Pesh Mergas near the sangars overlooking Shirwan Sub-District Centre.

17. At 1630 hours on 29th November 1978, a guerrilla squad opened fire on a number of troops gathered round a bonfire near the sangar in Kani Masi, Amadiya. 8 troops were killed and 4 wounded, who were transported the next day to the 109 Brigade H.Q.

18. At 0230 hours on 14th February 1979, a combined force of the guerrillas attacked the sangar overlooking the village of Beehee, situated 17 kilometres from Zakho, with R.P.G. and light arms fire for 20 minutes, destroying the sangar and causing casualties among its occupants. Thereupon, the Armanah regiment opened artillery and other arms fire on the place for two days, and helicopters flew over the White Mountain, firing at everything moving. The squad returned safely to base.

19. At 1600 hours on 8th February 1979, a Pesh Merga squad carried out a daring attack on the battalion H.Q. situated between the villages of Kate and Bizhoor, in Bibo Sub-District, Amadiya. Seven enemy troops were killed and a number wounded.

20. At 0900 hours on 28th January 1979, 8 troops were ambushed by the guerrillas near the sangar located behind the evicted village of Hadina in Kani Masi. The guerrillas opened fire for 10 minutes, killing 3 troops and wounding one more. The bodies of the wounded and dead were transported by helicopter to 109 Brigade H.Q. the following day.

21. On 5th March 1979, a guerrilla squad approached the army sangars built by the Merga-Soor - Shirwan road, and at 1745 hours, 2 troops ventured out of one of the sangars; the guerrillas opened fire, killing both of them.

22. On the evening of 14th February 1979, a Pesh Merga unit opened fire on enemy sangars built in Sari Bardil, between Sidakan and Diana and engaged them for 2 hours, inflicting a number of casualties among his troops.

23. On 18th February 1979, a guerrilla squad launched an attack on Liikan Battalion H.Q. in Sidakan Sub-District, during the day. The Battalion Commander was wounded and the battalion opened mortar fire on the outskirts of Liikan and nearby villages.

24. On 22nd January 1979, there was a skirmish between a guerrilla squad and the mercenaries of Smaad Baneh Murdi in the village of Khooran, Salah al-Din Sub-District. 2 mercenaries were wounded.

25. The Iraqi Espionage Scandal in Sweden:

On 9th February 1979, the Swedish police detained a "Third Secretary" at the Iraqi Foreign Ministry, as well as a Swedish police officer in charge of Aliens' Affairs in the Stockholm Police Department. Investigations showed the Iraqi "diplomats" was paying the Swede \$3,000 for providing copies of confidential dossiers of Kurdish, Iraqi and Palestinian refugees and residents in Sweden. The investigation also showed that the so-called "diplomats" is a professional, well-trained intelligence officer; he and three more "diplomats", first and second Sergeants and a Third Secretary (actually a military intelligence officer) were declared persons non grata and expelled from Sweden.

The purpose of the espionage operation by the Iraqi regime was to know the identity and activities of these refugees in order to intimidate them and their families in Iraq (for the Iraqis). If intimidation proved inadequate, they would then try to kill them, as has happened in Vienna (Austria), Lausanne (Switzerland), London (England) and Paris (France), for example.

The intelligence reports received by the Iraqi espionage organs were, according to the Swedish press, passed on to the intelligence apparatus of other countries.

Moreover, the Swedish police officer recruited by the Iraqi intelligence service had been before putting himself at the service of the Iraqi espionage operations, a CIA man, providing it with similar information on Swedes and foreign refugees in Sweden. This fact has prompted the Swedish government to send a strong protest note to the U.S. government.

Illegal activities and interference in the affairs of other countries by the Iraqi regime have been noticed and reported in the media in Canada, Finland, the aforementioned countries, and others.

On 10th February 1979, hundreds of Kurds, Palestinians, Iranians, Swedes, Moroccans and others, demonstrated at the Iraqi Embassy in Stockholm against its espionage activities. The Iraqi Ambassador, Abd al-Jabbar al-Haddawi, lost his nerve at the sight of the peaceful demonstration and came out of the embassy building and began swearing and yelling and making obscene signs at the demonstrators, who looked on saying "Ambassador, you are in Sweden and not in Tikrit's Iraq".

26. Three Kurds Executed Because of the Harir Demonstration:

The demonstration in Harir on Christmas Day by deportee Kurds, and the killing of 7 of them and the wounding of 38 more by the police, were referred to in Communiqué No. 19. We now have confirmed information that three more Kurds who took part in the peaceful demonstration have been executed. They are:

- a) JUBALI SAIED, 18 years, student at the 6th grade secondary school and formerly from Argosh village, Barzan.
- b) OHRMAN and his son, formerly from the village of Kalkala, Merga-Soor. More details about their background will be published in the future.

27. Four Iraqi Kurdish Patriots Handed Over by SAVAK to the Iraqi Security, and then Executed:

During October 1978, four Kurds, two of them still under age, secretly visited their relative refugees in Iran. But SAVAK detained them in November and handed them over to the Iraqi security forces in accordance with the 6th March 1975 agreement between the two regimes. They were then sent to the Kirkuk Special Court. After a summary 'trial', they were sentenced to death and executed there. They were:

- a) SALIM AHMAD JASIM, 17 years old, from the village of Kazo, Zawita, Dahok, who joined the underground Kurdistan Students Union (KSU) while at the second year intermediate school level. When his ties with KSU while at the second year level, he joined the ranks of the revolution in June 1978, undergoing a course for medics and was an excellent nurse, with good, polite manners and an eagerness to serve the peasants. His father was murdered by the mercenaries, while his cousin, Tariq Jameel, was executed by the Iraqi authorities in 1978.
- b) AZIZ, 17 years old from the village of Gali Raman, Atrosh, Sheikhhan. He was a student at the fourth year secondary school level who joined the underground KSU and when uncovered, went to the revolution in June 1978. He underwent a course for medics and was always ready to serve the guerrillas and the inhabitants of the area.
- c) FARHAD, about 20 years old, from Hammam quarters, the town of Dahok. He had been a soldier in the Iraqi army until joining the revolution in the middle of 1977, and was a broadcaster for "The Voice of Kurdistan" radio station.
- d) IBBRAHIM al-AMADI, about 25 years old and a graduate of the Secondary School level, from Amadiya. Before joining the revolution in March 1977, he was a clerk in Kani Masi. He was a medic and clerk in the revolution.

28. Four Kurds Executed:

Four Kurds were detained in March 1978. Reliable reports confirm that they have been tried by the 'Special Court' in Kirkuk, sentenced to death and executed in Mosul. They were:

- a) CORNOBAL HUSAIN ALI, from Sidakan on 'charges' of supporting the revolution.
- b) GIRTAS MIRO, from the village of Gorato, Merga-Soor, on 'charges' of possessing a 'fire arm'.
- c) HASAN SOFI, from the village of Kolalaki, Merga-Soor, on 'charges' of possessing a 'fire arm'.
- d) ABDULLA AZZO, from the village of Gorato, Merga-Soor, on 'charges' of possessing a 'fire arm'.