

on

Kurdish Question

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IRAQI KURDISTAN



Statement on Iraqi Kurdistan

On 29th June, 1966 the Kurdish revolutionary leaders accepted a cease-fire agreement proposed by the Iraqi Government based on a 5 point programme (text enclosed). This was the third cease-fire agreement since the beginning of the Kurdish revolution in 1961. The first two agreements were violated by the Iraqi government by conducting treacherous military onslaughts aimed at annihilating our people accompanied with the most repressive measures such as economic blockade, scorched earth policy, discrimination etc., that defy every humane logic and principle that are held essential by the majority of the democratic nations of the world.

Although the government proposals did not fulfill the basic demands of the Kurdish people for full autonomy within Iraq, the Kurdish revolutionary leaders accepted the agreement because of their belief in a negotiated peaceful settlement rather than war.

Soon after the declaration, discussions were mainly initiated on all levels by the Kurds, sometimes in Kurdistan and others in Baghdad, while the Government tended to ignore the whole issue and act in a manner that implies the final solution of the question. The Iraqi President, the Prime-Minister and the Minister of Defence gave oral promises which were never fulfilled when they visited Kurdistan.

It is of deep interest to note the history of the attitudes of successive Iraqi governments towards the Kurdish problem which is characterised by sweeping statements, announcements and promises that are aimed and designed to tide over some temporary, difficult situation and are quickly forgotten or ignored when the need for conciliation has passed.

Nevertheless, the revolution continued its efforts to achieve, as far as possible, a peaceful settlement. They suggested that the budget of the "Ministry For the Construction of the North" be 40 million Sterling Pounds, as agreed to by the Government, in order to be able to carry out its appointed duties towards the devastated Kurdish areas, but the Ministry is still without any powers and is a symbol rather than an instrument for action.

As for Kurdish participation in the Iraqi Cabinet, the revolution suggested the inclusion of five Kurdish ministers in the cabinet, But the Government included only two in the cabinet of 10th May 1967. One as a deputy prime-minister (out of four) and minister for the Reconstruction of the North, the other as minister of Housing and Transport.

These two ministers resigned their posts after 50 days when it became clear to them that the Government is neither willing nor able to fulfill its obligations towards the Kurdish people. For this reason, the new cabinet of 10th July 1967 did not include any Kurdish representatives. With the establishment of this new cabinet, the situation has deteriorated seriously and the Iraqi Press which is controlled by the Government has initiated a campaign against the Kurds by putting the blame on them instead of the Iraqi Government for not fulfilling their obligations under the agreement of 29th June 1966. This may imply that the Iraqi Government is preparing a new military attack against the Kurds.

This attitude by the Government would definitely lead to the resumption of hostilities for the fifth time and destroy all chances of achieving a peaceful settlement. In the last five years our people have been subjected to a discriminatory and chauvinistic war, the Government was using the most modern conventional weapons of mass destruction against our people including Napalm and paralytic toxic gases. The situation still remains as bad as it has been throughout the

five previous years in every aspect because a final settlement has not been reached.

The area under Kurdish control is populated by one million Kurds including 100,000 shelterless Kurds, over 1000 villages have been destroyed by the Iraqi army and about 300 villages around Kirkuk (the oil fields), Arbil, Khanaqin, and Ain Zala have been evacuated to be occupied by Arab tribes who were brought by the Government.

The hospitals that used to exist in Kurdistan have been removed by the Government, the revolution is doing its utmost to deal with the medical situation but unfortunately there are only three doctors who look after the whole population in the liberated areas with an ever increasing degree of illness and mal-nutrition. The International Committee of the Red Cross has helped generously to ease the burden but our needs are still great.

Kurdish children have been deprived of the basic right of education because their schools were either destroyed or closed, in the areas under Government control the education is in Arabic. This policy has led to a position where 80% of the Kurdish population are without any education.

The above humanitarian tragedies of our people have always been obscured by the political complications of the Kurdish Question.

Since 1961, the Kurdish revolution has persistently made ceaseless efforts to gain international concern for our problem especially within the United Nations. The World Organisation insists on treating the matter as a purely internal affair of the Iraqi Republic and hence not viable to interference (contrary to its practices in Algeria, South Africa, Cyprus, Yemen, Angola etc.) to end a downright genocidal war. For this reason, none of our memorandums have been officially circulated among U.N. Members, none of our many representatives have been received by the Secretary General or any other high-ranking officials of the Organisation.

We believe it of importance to assert here the reasons for not treating the Kurdish question as an entirely internal matter, as it is alleged by the Iraqi Government:

1- The actions of the Iraqi Government amount to an act of Genocide and are flagrant violations of the Universal Declaration and all international conventions for the protection of Human Rights.

2- The continuation of the conflict would most likely constitute a threat to the peace of the area and hence international peace and security.

3- In 1922, when the League of Nations settled the dispute between Iraq and Turkey over the then Vilayat of Mosul (Iraqi Kurdistan) which was awarded to Iraq, it was stated that " regard should be had to the desires expressed by the Kurds, that officials of Kurdish race should be appointed for the administration of their country, the dispensation of justice, and teaching in schools, and that Kurdish should be the official language of all these services".

4- In December, 1922 the Government of Great Britain, the Mandatory Power, and the Government of Iraq in a joint declaration recognised the rights of the Kurds to full autonomy within Iraq.

5- In 1925, the Council of the League of Nations recognised the rights of the Kurds to autonomy.

6- In 1932, Iraq was accepted to the membership of the League on the condition that the Kurds be satisfied and granted local autonomy.

We present this statement as an appeal from our oppressed Kurdish people hoping for your valuable concern and attention to create an international pressure

to achieve a just and peaceful settlement to our question, and save our people the miseries and tragedies of war.

On behalf of the Kurdish
Revolution in Iraqi Kurdistan
and the Kurdistan Democratic
party,

Dr. M.A. Osman

Annex:

1. Text of cease-fire agreement of 29th June, 1966.
2. The programme of the Kurdistan Democratic party.
3. Memorandum to the Iraqi Government.
4. Letter to Secretary General of the United Nations U Thant.
5. Memorandum to the Iraqi President presented by two Kurdish personalities.

Kurdistan,
5th January 1967.

His Excellency U Thant,
Secretary General of the United Nations,
United Nations,
New York.

Your Excellency,

It is a privilege to present to you this letter to inform you about the current situation of the long-standing Kurdish problem in Iraq, with special reference to the negotiations with the Government of the Republic of Iraq, which began on June 29th 1966, based on the 12-point programme offered by the Iraqi Government for settlement of this armed conflict. Although the Government proposals do not fulfill the basic demand of the Kurdish people for full autonomy within the Iraqi Republic, we accepted this offer and began discussions, which clearly proves our sincere desire to solve the issue peacefully, to prevent further devastation of our homeland and further bloodshed between the Arabs and Kurds and to restore the Iraqi national unity on the most secure basis possible.

Despite seven months of continuous efforts on our part, we regret to state that the Baghdad regime has not dealt with the problem responsibly and with the exception of some very minor steps none of the main points of the governmental programme has been realized. This is fully explained in our attached memorandum of December 1966, which was presented to the President and to the Prime Minister of the Republic of Iraq, without getting any positive response. However, because of our deep desire to save the Kurdish people from the continued miseries created by the war of the past five years, we are still utilizing every possibility for implementation of the 12-point programme of June 1966, which would create a favourable atmosphere for a final settlement of the Kurdish problem.

The ever-increasing misery of our people is so great that we are prepared to make every effort to prevent the recrudescence of hostilities, which have long since been proved useless for the solution of national or international problems. The Kurdish people, suffering from a 5-year war of annihilation and its appalling results, without a voice among the nations of the world, and with no external help of any kind, have no recourse but to implore Your Excellency to utilize your personal influence and the persuasive force of the United Nations to prevail upon the Government of Iraq to deal with the Kurdish problem seriously by taking concrete steps toward a final and just settlement of this long-standing armed conflict.

It is our great hope that you will receive our special emissary, Dr. Mahmood Ali Osman, who bears this appeal to you and is authorised to speak in the name of the Revolution and myself and can explain fully the present situation in Kurdistan from all aspects.

With deep appreciation for your attention and best regards,

Yours sincerely,

General Mustafa BARZANI

President of the Command
Council of the Revolution
of Iraqi Kurdistan

THE PROGRAMME OF THE KURDISTAN
DEMOCRATIC PARTY, AS APPROVED BY
THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY IN 1966

ARTICLE (1): Name of the party: Kurdistan Democratic Party

ARTICLE (2): Our party is a revolutionary democratic party representing the interests of the workers, peasants, entrepreneurs, professional people and the revolutionary intellectuals in Iraqi Kurdistan.

ARTICLE (3): We struggle for liberation, and the attainment of self-government (autonomy) for Iraqi Kurdistan within the framework of the Iraqi Republic.

ARTICLE (4): In the eventuality of a union between the Iraqi Republic and any Arab state, the Kurdish people shall exercise their rights of self-determination.

ARTICLE (5): The party benefits in its political struggle and in its social analyses from progressive scientific theories which are compatible with the prevailing conditions of the Kurdish people.

ARTICLE (6): We struggle for a parliamentary democratic regime in Iraq; freedom of worship for all religion; the right of self-expression and beliefs; freedom of the press and publication and the right of establishing political organisations and unions for all citizens.

ARTICLE (7): a - We struggle for the furtherance of brotherly relations between Arab and Kurdish nations.

b - To strengthen Arab-Kurdish brotherhood and the consolidation of national unity within Iraq.

c - To friendly relations between the Kurdish people and all the nations of the world.

d - Recognition of the national rights of the minorities living in Kurdistan.

ARTICLE (8): a - We struggle for the maintenance of world peace and relaxation of international tension; adhere to the principles

of the United Nations Charter, the Bandung Conference decisions and the principles of peaceful co-existence; believe in solving all international problems through negotiation; and advocate the abolition of nuclear weapons and their testing.

b.- We continue to view imperialism as constituting a threat to all peoples; hence our policy is against it. We believe in strengthening friendly relations with all peoples of the world on the basis of mutual benefits, and support the national liberation movements of those nations struggling for independence and their right of self-determination.

ARTICLE (9): Cultivation of friendly relations and co-operation between our party and all parties and democratic organisations which recognise the equity of the Kurdish cause throughout the world.

ARTICLE (10): We strive for the advancement of the national economy and the raising of standard of living of the people through modern economic comprehensive planning, embracing short-term and long-term projects and the training of administrative and technical personnel necessary to undertake them.

ARTICLE (11): Our party believes that heavy industry constitutes the backbone of the political and economic independence. Hence we strive to establish heavy and light industries in view of surveys of the available mineral resources, with particular emphasis on oil and copper industries; the electrification of the whole country; protection of local infant industries against foreign competition; encouragement of investment of local capital in industry, with special safeguards for the interests of consumers; the advancement of national industries - like sugar, paper, dairy, processing, cement, cigarettes and others - and the abolition of taxes imposed on the importation of instruments, machines and factory plants necessary to support our national industries.

ARTICLE (12): We struggle for the elimination of unemployment; for legislating progressive laws which will guarantee the interests of the workers through establishment of a minimum wages policy securing a decent standard of living for the worker and his family; limiting working hours; banning employment of infants in industry; legislating laws guaranteeing pension and social security; recognition of the right of forming trade unions and sending of workers abroad and increasing the number of industrial schools in order to raise the standard of technical efficiency.

ARTICLE (13): We strive to increase the royalties from oil; the appropriation of a particular share of these royalties for expenditure on industrial and agricultural projects in Kurdistan in proportion to the population ratio of the region; proper supervision of the execution stage - production marketing etc. -; the activation of the law (10) 1961; strengthening the national oil company, and the prevention of interference by the oil companies in the internal affairs of Iraq, the establishment of subsidiary industries from oil products by the government in the areas of extraction according to their particular locations, and the training and preparing of administrative and technical personnel for the eventual nationalisation of the oil industry.

ARTICLE (14): As the land problem in Kurdistan has its own distinctive characteristics were overlooked by the Land Reform Act, we strive to amend it in a way to secure a reasonable minimum ownership for all peasants in Kurdistan. Furthermore, our party, in its endeavour to improve the lot of the peasants and to increase their incomes, shall attempt to:-

First -

- a. Reform and irrigate the uncultivated areas of land; distribute it to peasants who do not already own any land, or those whose ownership is less than the minimum area set by the law.
- b. Solve the irrigation problem through canals, artesian wells, dams, reservoirs, and providing opportunities for the peasants to benefit from governments irrigation schemes.
- c. Assisting peasants by providing them with seeds, chemical fertilisers, machines and instruments to enable them to improve their crops, their diversification, and granting long-term and short-term loans bearing low interests to rescue the peasant from the claws of speculators.
- d. Establishment of co-operative societies amongst the peasants to market their agricultural products, purchase consumer goods and essential instruments.
- e. Propagating the usage of machines and modern agricultural methods; encouraging collective and co-operative efforts (Kurdish - HAWANAS) amongst the peasants.
- f. Providing technical instructions in order to raise agricultural standards, and the sending of peasants from Kurdistan abroad to widen their experience.

Second -

The guarantee of rearing livestock is one of the two fundamental aspects of rural production in Kurdistan; it constitutes a sizable proportion of rural income. Therefore, we strive to:-

- a. Abolish all restrictions and privileges connected with

rearing livestock, like grazing tolls, gifts, and other feudal dues.

b. Settle the nomadic tribes, with special regard to their productive circumstances, by distributing land among them and securing pastures for their cattle.

c. Establish veterinary organisations to prevent animal diseases; improve livestock breeding and their produce.

Third - we strive to:-

a. Amend the Tobacco Monopoly Act to secure the interests of the farmers and improve the quality of tobacco by abolishing anomalous restrictions on its cultivation, their classification and their prices.

b. Provide tobacco farmers with loans and seeds on easy terms in the beginning of the season.

c. Train experts and guides to improve the quality of tobacco, and establish modern warehouses to protect tobacco from damage.

d. Improve and expand the cigarette and tobacco industry and establish factories in the production locations as to make Iraq one of the exporting countries of the crop.

Fourth -

a. Tend to forests and legislate for its protection in accordance with national economic interest.

b. Encourage the plantation of trees, and include fruit cultivation as part of the afforestation plans in the mountainous areas.

ARTICLE (15): Organising internal and external trade; assisting national merchants to increase their trade, with due regard for the public and private sections; fighting monopoly and unfair competition; establishing trade relations with other nations on the basis of mutual interests; and encouraging of exports and attempting to confine imports to essential items as much as possible.

ARTICLE (16): a. Endeavour to organise financial affairs as to achieve economies in expenditure and provide adequate financial resources for productive projects, with a proper balance between expenditure and revenue.

b. Establish a fair system of taxation depending on direct and progressive taxation on income and inheritance; to lessen the burden of indirect taxation which fall heavily on the lower income classes.

c. Strengthen the national bank system through increasing their capitals, opening adequate branches, and fixing of interest rate for all types of insurance to play their part towards the prosperity of the national economy.

d. Legislate laws regulating customs duty in a manner to secure national interest.

ARTICLE (17): a. Organise transport in Iraqi Kurdistan by expanding and opening roads; establish a railway network; secure oil tankers necessary to export Iraqi oil; establish national naval organisation and expand the communication networks with other countries according to the national interest.

b. Tend to summer resorts to encourage tourism; administer them according to modern methods. To facilitate communication a road connecting Sulaimany with Zakho.

ARTICLE (18): Until the Kurdish problem is settled in a fair and democratic manner, we deem it necessary that the forces of Pesh Merga (The Kurdish Army) should be retained, improved and strengthened; inculcate the members with the true democratic and national spirit; guarantee of assistance to the families of the victims in connexion with their participation in the Kurdish Revolution.

ARTICLE (19): To make available medical centres, the building of medical colleges and schools; increase medical scholarships abroad; take precautions for the prevention of diseases; medical guidance will be increased; provide free general medical treatment in all parts of Kurdistan; increase the number of hospitals, provide villages and remote areas with essential medical services; manufacturing of medicine locally and controlling their prices.

ARTICLE (20): Direct democratic elections should be means to elect mayors and the municipal councils; a comprehensive plan for municipal projects in Iraqi Kurdistan.

ARTICLE (21): Belief in the right of women to enjoy complete political, economic and social equality, and instituting necessary legislation to protect womens' rights in employment.

ARTICLE (22): a. We strive to secure the rights of Kurdish students; eliminate illiteracy and ignorance; direct education in a national and democratic way; fight reactionary, fascist, racist beliefs and tendencies; reconcile theory with practice.

b. We strive to revive Kurdish literature, history, arts and its enrichment with the humanistic heritage of other nations; the preservation and protection of religious shrines and historical places in Kurdistan.

c. We strive to establish an official University in Iraqi Kurdistan, co-ordinating its efforts with other Iraqi Universities. It should be independent and become an important centre of knowledge and scientific research.

d. Endeavour to make the study of Kurdish language, literature, and Kurdish history included in Iraqi Universities; to spread the study of the Kurdish language in all parts of Iraq; to found a Kurdish language Academy and T.V. and radio broadcasting station in Kurdistan.

e. Primary education should be made compulsory for both sexes; to open evening schools for workers and peasants and others; increase the number of public libraries and laboratories, and organise educational clubs and lectures.

f. Advancement of Kurdish literature and art in the service of humanity in general, and the Kurdish people in particular; to encourage literary and artistic activities, to increase the number of scholarships abroad for the Kurdish students proportionate to the Kurdish ratio of population; to establish theatres and filming industry and encourage cultural exchanges with other nations.

ARTICLE (23): We support the struggle of the Kurdish people in all parts of Kurdistan for liberation and the enjoyment of their justifiable national rights.

ARTICLE (23): Iraqi nationaliti should be granted to all Kurds wishing to take such a step, and those Kurds who have resided in Iraq for a period not less than five years, like "Failies, Koyans, Omerians" and others.

THE TEXT OF THE 12-POINT PROGRAMME

In its desire to put an end to the unnatural conditions in certain parts of the north, according to paragraph four of letter of designation forming a Government, to preserve the unity of Iraqi soil and to achieve national unity, to confirm the existing bonds between Arabs and Kurds - which require them to act sincerely and persistently in the interest of their common homeland - this Government announces the following programme and declares its categorical determination to abide by it and to apply it in letter and spirit as soon as possible:

1. The Government has categorically recognized Kurdish nationality in the amended provisional constitution and is ready to emphasize and clarify this point in the permanent constitution, whereby Kurdish nationality and the national rights of the Kurds within the one Iraqi homeland, which includes two main nationalities - Arabs and Kurdish - will become clear, and Arabs and Kurds will enjoy equal right and duties.

2. The Government is ready to give this wholesome fact its real existence in the provincial law, which is to be promulgated on a decentralised basis. Each province, district and subdistrict will have a recognised corporate personality. Furthermore, each administrative unit will have its own elected council, which will exercise wide powers in education, health and other local affairs, in addition to anything that has any connection with domestic and municipal affairs as detailed in the said law. The same law authorises amendments within the framework of administrative units. It also authorises the establishment of new administrative units when necessary according to the public interest.

3. Needless to say, the Government recognises the Kurdish language as an official language in addition to Arabic in regions where the majority of the population is Kurdish. Education will be in both languages in accordance with the limits defined by law and the local councils.

4. This Government intends to hold parliamentary elections within the period stipulated in the provisional constitution and the Cabinet policy statement. The Kurds will be represented in the next national

council in a percentage proportional to the whole population and according to the procedure laid down by the election law.

5. Also needless to say, the Kurds will share with their Arab brothers all public posts in proportion to their population, including ministries, public departments and judicial, diplomatic and military posts, with due regard for the principle of efficiency.

6. There will be a number of scholarships, fellowships and study grants in all branches and at all levels for the Kurds, who are to be sent abroad for specialisation with due regard for efficiency and the country's needs. Baghdad University will give special attention to the study of the Kurdish language and its literature and its ideological and historical traditions. The University will open branches in the north when funds are available.

7. Needless to say, government officials in the Kurdish provinces, districts and subdistricts will be Kurds as long as the required number is available. Such posts will not be given to others unless it is in the interest of the region.

8. Parliamentary life will be accompanied by the establishment of certain political organisations. The press will be enabled to express the people's desire. The Government will allow the Kurds to do so within the limits provided by law. The political and literary press in the Kurdish region will be in the Kurdish or the Arabic language or in both languages, according to the request of the people concerned.

9. (a) When acts of violence end, general amnesty will be granted to all those who participated in acts of violence in the north or who had any connection with them, including all those on whom sentences have been passed in connection with such acts of violence, those related to them, and those whose freedoms have been suspended.

(b) All Kurdish officials and employees will return to their previous posts and employment and will be treated with justice.

(c) The Government will do its best to return all dismissed Kurdish workers to their previous employment.

10. Immediately after the issue of this statement, men of the armed forces will return to their units, provided all this takes place within two months. Those returning will be treated sympathetically and will be granted amnesty.

(a) Those who were in the army should return to the army with their arms.

(b) Those who were in the police force should return to the police force with their arms.

(c) Those who have borne arms will be regarded as a body attached to the Government, which will assist them to resume a normal life. Until this is done the Government will be responsible for them. All those who resume normal life should surrender all their equipment, arms and ammunition to the Government. All this will be carried out by all concerned according to a prearranged plan.

(d) The horsemen will naturally return to their positions when peace is established. Their arms will be withdrawn according to a prearranged plan.

11. Needless to say, funds now being spent resisting violence - funds spent unnecessarily - will be spent on the reconstruction of the north. A special organisation will be formed to reconstruct the Kurdish region in the Iraq. The necessary money will be allotted to it from the economic plan to undertake reconstruction and development projects in the area. The administration of summer resorts in the north and afforestation and tobacco affairs in the north will be assigned to a special Minister who will supervise the co-ordination of the affairs of the administration units the majority of whose inhabitants are Kurds and whose affairs are at the heart of the Kurdish question - affairs such as Kurdish culture and education in the Kurdish language. The Government will do its best to compensate all those who have suffered damage to enable them to return to a productive and useful life in security and peace and to participate in the promotion of the country's economy and prosperity. For national and humanitarian reasons the Government will take care of all orphans, widowers and disabled who have been victims of violence in the northern part of the homeland. In co-operation with

the department concerned the Government will establish shelter and professional institutions as soon as possible.

12. The Government will endeavour to resettle all individuals and groups who left or were evacuated from their regions, with the aim of re-establishing a normal situation. Anything the Government finds necessary to control later in the general interest should, according to the provisions of the law, be coupled with speedy and fair compensation.

The three undeclared points of the programme

1. The Liwa (province) of Dihok will be established to include all Kurdish territories which at the present come under the administration of Mosul Liwa. This Liwa become a Kurdish administrative unit.

2. The Government will endeavour to release all political prisoners in Iraq.

3. As soon as the country returns back to normal life the Kurdistan Democratic Party shall be allowed to operate openly.

In addition to all this, some high officials of the government have begun releasing statements which contain false and far-fetched accusations. We whose aspirations stem from this soil and who are guided by the spirit of Arab-Kurdish brotherhood will not be influenced by any amount of pressure no matter what its source may be.

It is evident that there are, along with old and new mercenaries, officials who thrive on the fighting of brothers; who play a disgraceful rôle in the creation of provocations and the straining of relations in order to repeat the tragedies of the past and to further exhaust the resources of this patient and resolute nation.

We had in fact pinned our hopes on the President's visit to the north and our meeting with him in addition to his own close examination of the problems. The people were of the opinion that His Excellency the President was, upon his visit to the north, carrying the key to the whole question. Thus they hopefully looked forward to the visit which was also welcomed by all friends of Iraq. In spite of the importance of that visit, and the favourable impression it had on the people, it looks as if there are destructive elements occupying high and sensitive positions in the government who are trying to prevent the promises which were made from being put into action; and are trying to destroy all constructive efforts. We cannot find any explanation to the continuing deterioration in the situation other than the notion that those elements stand against the consolidation of brotherhood between Kurds and Arabs; against the strengthening of national unity; and that they are bent on throwing the country back into the civil war.

In an atmosphere filled with tension and far from inspiring any faith and assurance, we have tried our best and have to the best of our abilities carried out the following:

1. We released all of the prisoners all at onetime.
2. We opened all public roads and highways.
3. We stopped our radio broadcasts.
4. In compliance with the cease-fire agreements, we agreed to the return of local administration.
5. The bulk of the government's heavy weapons were returned to the authorities.

In fact we did everything in our power to bring back normalcy to the region. Now let us take a look at what the government has implemented from its plan which stated in its introduction that "this government, in its willingness to put an end to the unnatural situation in parts of the north of the homeland ... and in emphasizing the strong existing ties between the Arabs and the Kurds which calls them for sincere and diligent work for the good of their shared homeland, the government announces the following programme and

revolution has been accepted. How can , then, the Kurds enjoy equality even in the future?

6. Not even by one iota has the Baghdad University increased its interest in or attention to Kurdish language and culture. It seems indifferent to the idea of opening a branch of the university in the north. As to those students who were deprived of education due to their sympathy for their people's question, such laws of the Ministry of education that are applicable only in normal times, have been applied to those students and consequently most of them have been prevented from going back to their studies.

7. The great majority of the administrative officials, judges, chiefs of security and police and others in the Kurdish provinces, districts and sub-districts are still non- Kurds .

8. No Kurdish political or literary press has been allowed to function, while this is not true of the Arabic press.

9. The law of amnesty along with its amendments is incomplete and limited in such a way that it is applicable only to a small per cent of those who have participated in " the events of the north". Therefore there are still hundreds of those who were either arrested or imprisoned who have not yet been released. Active and retired officials who have had connections with the revolution have neither according to this law nor according to the law of Fair Treatment of Officials, been justly treated. Expelled Kurdish officials, workers and employees have not been admitted back into their jobs and as such are suffering much poverty. The best example of this is the case of the workers in the Kirkuk oil fields.

10. the government's refusal to carry out its commitments, its creation of "a new type" of cavalry with the status of the second authority in the area and enjoying the right of being judge and jury at the same time, and the government's refusal to sustain part of the Pesh Merga , which it promised to provide for, have all resulted in a lack of desire on the part of those members of the Pesh Merga who were previously in the army and the police, for returning to their positions. Neither have these acts encouraged us to urge them to return.

11. According to article 11 of the plan their was supposed to be created " a special committee which will be set up for the purpose of the reconstruction of the Kurdish area of Iraq, to which will be allocated money in accordance with the economic plan for reconstruction and to initiate the new development project in the area . This will be connected with a minister whose ministry will be given the responsibility of administering the summer resorts of the north and the affairs of the tobacco and forestry, and it will also supervise the affairs of the administrative units, the population of which are predominantly Kurdish, and affairs that are the essence of Kurdish nationality such as attention to Kurdish education and programme for teaching in the Kurdish language..." The above mentioned ministry has not come into existence neither have the other provisions of the article been implemented. as to the existing ministry of the reconstruction of the north, its limited authority prevents it from doing any thing of importance.

The government has excluded the area into which government troops have not entered, from medical care and primary education facilities, in spite of our repeated demand for them. We see no reason why hundreds of thousands of citizens should be deprived of necessary medical care and why school doors should be closed in the face of children who have committed no wrong, all this at a time when nations are exploring outer space.

Those whose homes were burned, whose belongings were looted and whose only providers have become victims of works of violence have not been compensated. As to the widows and orphans who are afflicted with disease and physical disablement, they have been left without protection from the severity of the winter and the misery of poverty and want. None of the nationalistic and humanitarian considerations expressed in article 11 of the plan seem to have moved the government to come to their rescue.

12. It is true that some of the Kurdish villages in the Kirkuk region have been evacuated from Arabic tribes, but this has not taken place in the other regions. Even to those areas which have already been evacuated, the Kurds have not been allowed to return;

As to the implementation of the unannounced articles of the plan, such as a general amnesty in states, the creation of the Dihok province, and the licensing of our party when parliamentary rule is established, they have fared even less than the announced articles.

Mr. President, we are placing before you these distressing facts in the hope that you will use your great authority and resourceful efforts to find a successful solution to these problems; to restore justice; and to meet the government's obligations which were mentioned in the June 29th plan. We feel that the best way for doing this will be to form a joint committee representing both sides and enjoying the power of the Council of Ministers and authorized to implement the provisions of the plan. As to the Higher Committee, it has been left without power and as a result, it has failed in carrying out the purposes for which it was created. You will find in us, in other Iraqi men of devotion, and in the loyal citizens of this country the best support for every step which will consolidate security and the rule of law and which will promote the happiness and welfare of the people.

Sincerely

Mustafa Barzani
December 11, 1966

The following memorandum was presented to the Iraqi President, General Abdul Rahman Arif, on January 9, 1967, by two Kurdish personalities, Mr. Fuad Arif and Mr. Baba Ali Sheikh Mahmud.

MEMORANDUM FROM TWO KURDISH PERSONALITIES
TO THE PRESIDENT OF IRAQ

There is no doubt that the question of the north occupies everyone's mind, and its horrible tragedies cut deep into the hearts of the loyal and the honorable. With intentions which seek only the good and the right, we are placing before Your Excellency the conditions and circumstances surrounding the Kurdish question, in the hope that they will meet with Your Excellency's wise and discerning attention; that the question will be given the consideration that its importance demands; and that it will be made possible for the Kurds to enjoy the fruit of the positive measures which we hope will follow.

Everyone's hope was pinned on the June 29, 1966 plan as a formula for the solution of the problem. Your Excellency's visit (to the north) inspired much pleasure and hope for the return of serenity to the area. However, we are sad to say that the Kurds are becoming more and more doubtful and distressed over the noticed retardation in the implementation of the provisions of the plan. The present wave of self-questioning and doubt among the Kurds is the result of the following developments:

1. The law of provinces in its amended form has thus far not been legislated.

2. Election laws have not been legislated. Such laws should, in conformity with the law of provinces and provisions of the June 29 announcement, make stipulations for the creation of election units on the basis of sub-district (Nahiya) and district (Qedha).

3. Except for very few of them, Arab tribes remain in occupation of villages from which the Kurds were forcibly driven out.

4. The ministry for Kurdish affairs has not been created.

5. Kurdish national rights are still in the form of generalisations and their confirmation through legislation has not been effectuated.

6. Provisions of the plan concerning the Kurds' participation in the government have not been implemented. Here we do not mean by participation the determination of positions and salaries, but true participation in the planning of the country's policies and the administration of its affairs to a degree proportional to the position and importance of the Kurds in this country. There are still no Kurds in position of true responsibility in the ministries, the central administration or in other public institutions such as the national oil company and the bureau of planning.

7. The article which stipulates that only Kurds will be appointed to positions in the Kurdish area has not been put into effect.

8. The provisions concerning the recognition of the Kurdish language as the official language of the administration and education in the area have not been implemented.

9. In spite of the promulgation of the law of amnesty for the Kurds who participated in the military operations of the north, the formalities in its execution, along with some of the provisions of the law itself, constitute great barriers in the face of granting amnesty to those in detention and in prison.

10. After the announcement of the June 29 plan, it was expected that Kurdish officials and employees will be reinstated in their jobs. The fact that no Kurd who previously occupied an important position has gone back to this post, and that most of the lesser officials who have been returned to their positions still do not have any work to do, is evidence that this article has also been neglected.

11. As far as education is concerned and in spite of the plan's acceptance and inclusion of the principles of equality and equal opportunity, the doors of the colleges, especially those of military, the police and the air force, remain closed to Kurdish students. This

happens in spite of the authorities' admission that Kurdish students have for many years been subject to great hardships and that their problems need to be looked upon in a friendly and understanding manner. If the Kurds are barred from getting higher education, how can they contribute to the future direction of the country's affairs and how can they be able to receive a fair share of the positions and responsibilities in the government?

12. We have noticed recently that important issues that have great bearing on the present and future of the country are under study and discussion in special meetings. No Kurdish personality has been given the chance to participate in these meetings in spite of the uncontested fact that the Kurds are one of the important elements in the country and that the problems and issues which touch upon the country's conditions in general are of great concern to them as well as to others. Excluding the Kurds from participation in such matters will no doubt leave them with an unfavorable impression.

13. The question of reconstruction of the north is a most important issue since it deeply affects the life of hundreds of thousands of Kurds. Yet in spite of this importance and of the existence, for more than five months, of a ministry called the Ministry for the Reconstruction of the North, no practical steps have been taken which will bring hope to the hearts of the people of the north who have for so long been subject to destruction and destitution. The Ministry remains inactive since it does not possess the necessary legal authority, the administrative and technical organizations, and the necessary financial authorization which will enable it to carry out its work. Thus the area remains deprived of the economic development and growth which the other regions of the country enjoy. All this happens at a time when the subject of the Ministry remains the favorite talk of the newspapers and radio broadcasts.

Your Excellency, the tragedies of the problem are well known to everyone and we do not intend to arouse any more feelings nor do we want to cause any further apprehension. But we are hoping that earnest and sincere joint efforts will be spent by all parties concerned for

the removal of the causes of those tragedies which continue to bring disaster and deprivation to the great majority of the Kurds. For there are those who live without shelter, others without food or work. Public institutions are inactivated; schools are closed and sanitation facilities and medical care lacking. In spite of all this we keep hoping that the provisions of the plan be implemented, so that life will once again take its normal course and harmony and fraternity will again prevail.

It is known to all that the above mentioned plan is reform program to which two successive cabinets have committed themselves and it has the approval and blessings of Your Excellency. Thus it has become a permanent and official plan of the government which ought to be carried out under all circumstances and by any government that takes care upon itself the management of the country's affairs. The plan and its implementation should not be made dependent on conditions that are dictated by this or that government.

Any further information required on the Kurdish Question , will be supplied with no obligation by :

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