

***The Kurdish National Movement
in Syria***

((A Critical Approach from Inside))

By

Salah Bedraldin

Translated from Arabic by

KIKC

SALAH BADRADDIN

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Author : Salah Badraddin

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P.O. Box : 13/5933

- Iraqi Kurdistan / Erbil

Tel : 2242843

Tel – Fax : 2240441

E. mail : hevgirtin-malper@hotmail.com

To :

-My father who inculcated the love of my homeland and people in me.

-My first teacher Sayed Mullah Ramadhan

-All comrades.

I n d e x

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Introduction

I remember, like a dream, when a discussion started in our home, the picture of “Kamal Ataturk”, which was hung on the wall. One of the discussants was contemporary with Sheikh Sayed's Revolution in (1925) and was one of the first victims of Kamalizm and took part in hard battles against the Turkish army in various places. The discussants of the other group were the young people. Of course the two groups were my Akins among whom was my father-a representative of the first group. Despite his suffering, he was proud of Ataturk's character that founded a modern state for the Turks and ended the retreat of the Ottomans according to his point of view. However, the second generation refuses this chauvinist symbol who fought and annihilated the non-Turkish nations including the Kurdish people .At the end, the second party won the discussion and the picture was removed for ever.

I also remember how the picture of Barzani, in his military suit of a general rank was hung with the willing of all; irrespective of ideas in this concern. It stayed there until it was removed by the intelligence agents while looking for me during an arrest campaign in (1966).

I was brought up by a family interested in national affairs, used to receive prominent figures, regional and tribal heads, clergymen and educated people whose speeches were implicating painful memories with the Ottomans and the victims of the uprising, besides death sentences against the innocent, speech was also intervened news from Iraqi Kurdistan, Mahabad Republic and Barzani long-journey.

Our home was not void of guests at any time from Turkish Kurdistan ! , thus we had news of the north.

At another stage, the great poet “Gigar Khwen” stayed with us for some days because he was pursued by the second bureau during the Syrian–Egyptian Union and before going to Iraq. When I became mature, our house turned to be a safe shelter for our party's followers, leaders and members.

Right from being conscious of what was going around me, I found myself a part of patriotic and national status, which was limited ,at that time but it got increased gradually. We were happy, until the matter became a measure for our treating others including our families, relatives and the people of the village.

I found myself obliged to achieve this research due to the effect of two different sources. The first one was positive after the issuing of the third part of “Barzani and the Kurdish movement” by Mr.Masoud Barzani which contained great facts and rich documents. That's why I felt responsible after this masterpiece in order to present some aspects relating to our national movement in western Kurdistan, especially that some of the aspects are related to what was achieved by Mr. Barzani in that book and this enriches the book and makes it more complete.

The second one was negative following the spread of some writings and sayings in Syria from Kurdish and non-Kurdish sides opposing reality and trying to confine the

Kurdish liberation movement to personal circles and separate it from its historical route as an ordinary conclusion of the efforts of the Kurdish people. They also intended to lessen its importance and not to following subjectivity in conveying the events with falsified reading of the reality of the political and ideological development of our movement and the real causes of its interior problems.

I tried, as far as possible, to convey the events subjectively and pondered on their explanation according to the scientific method which I am compelled to in theory and practice. In this, I start from the fact that history is made by the peoples and the individuals who take part in it and I considered myself one of the participants not only in the Kurdish national movement in Syria , but in special stages, I shared the second and third generation after our fathers, forefathers and historical pioneers' generations.

I started this research with very beginning of the national work in western Kurdistan until (1975). However, I hope to be able complete my work afterwards. Until that time, I will be grateful for all those who are related to these aspects to take part in reaching reality and discovering all its ideas, the reality of the events, facts of history, reality of the scientific analysis, subjective evaluation sharing in correcting any errors which may have happened in this research in order to enable us to reach the demanded purpose.

Salah Badraddin

Erbil-2003

Historical Preface

After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the distribution of the “properties” of the sick man among European colonialist forces according to “Sykes-Pichot” agreement in (1961); a part of the Kurdish people with its land inside Syria was annexed to France like the other three parts which were distributed among the modern Turkey, Iraq and Iran.

Of course, the Kurdish problem goes back to the 18th century, that is before the existence of the state which now includes the four parts of Kurdistan in their international legal and administrative shape. The case started appearing during the reign of the two empires: the Ottoman’s and the Persian’s and made its existence in the relations of the international policy. Afterwards clear and legal text was issued by it at universal stages like (Seiver Treaty) in 1920 and (Louzan Treaty) in 1923. It also turned to an international problem and faced the league of nations from 1924-1925.

In the 19th century and alongside with rapid collapse of the feudal system in Kurdistan and the appearance of capitalism; Kurdistan became a scene for political crisis and conflicts on social level began to be more complex. But the foreign control and colons’ intrusion in the affairs of the East in general obstructed the completion of this development and prevented the Kurdish society from a normal progress. If this progress could happen, it would have changed Kurdistan’s face in all the aspects including getting freedom and independence like the other peoples.

From that time the Kurds of Syria like a distinctive people lives with the Arabic Syrian people under a united homeland and state on its land; the land of its forefathers.

A Syrian government was announced in Damascus in 1918 without having control over the land because of the French who entered Syria in 1920 as a colonial state and the mandate on Syria and Lebanon depended on the religious and sectarian difference which came as a result of the general assembly resolution in 1922 according to the representatives of the Allie's decision who met in San Remo in 1920.

From the beginning, the mandate policy was separated. Because at one side it was decided by the legal and ethical concept of mandate .In its other side, it was decided by auto interest. France followed the policy of “Differentiate to benefit”, therefore it changed Syria into separate districts and the resistance movement against the French mandate started in which the Kurds took part in the original places which have a strategic position, especially along the east and north of Al-Jazeera; in Biandro and Trpa Spee led by Hajo Agha. Also in Amuda and Kurd Mountains and the other Syrian cities Kurdish personalities appeared leading resistance movements against the French mandate had different sources of support from the Kurdish level. While it was affected in Halab by the Turkish national movement and went into alliance with the Kamalist movement; we see at the same time it was the Turkish system.

In Al-Jazeera, after the entrance of the Ottoman Empire into the war as an ally of Germany representatives of the other states: Britain, France, Russia and Italy started negotiations about dividing the lands of that empire among them. At last they reached a formal agreement according to which the capital Istanbul, a part of Turkey and the Kurdish district of Badi and Mooosh were given to Russia. It also stated that there would be states in the Arabian peninsula under the protection of Britain and France in addition to creating a homeland for the Jews in Palestine. Furthermore, the agreement gave Haifa and Iraq to Britain and Caesariou, Kharbout and Adhana were given to France. Antalia was Italy's share in this division. The agreement also gave independence to Armenia in the east of Anadol while a part of the Aegean Sea was given to Greece.

At the beginning of the first war, the Russian general Nicolas Fitis with his forces came to Diar Bakir but after the October Revolution he retreated.

Of course, the Kurdish regions were subject to division and annexation for several times. After the "Sykes-Picot" division which re-shaped the border between Turkey and Syria, the Kurds stayed in their places of residence in spite of separating them to several parts. They have been there for thousand years, that is why the Greek writer and philosopher (Kiscenefon) (430-355 BC) mentioned them when the Greeks launched their famous campaign on Iran in (401 BC) during the dispute on its ruling. After the leader of the campaign was killed, Kiscenefon became one of its leaders who supervised its retreat through wide areas of the Middle East. After that, the philosopher wrote his book (Anabasis) (ascending) in which he includes his personal observations and the regions they passed through, among them the land of the "Kardoukhs" the Kurd's forefathers. It is worth mentioning that they passed through "Hesnan" plain that is now a part of Derouk and Qamishly in the Jazeera.

After distribution of the region among the Allies, the Syrian Kurds stayed in the boundary areas of Syria, Turkey and Iraq which is historically called (Mesopotamia) and was the cradle of the ancient civilizations: Sumerians, Babylonians, Assyrian, Kildans, Hittis, ...etc. The region is also rich with its agricultural products and cotton producing started from this region in addition to rice and other cereals. After that oil and other natural resources were discovered in it.

According to orientalist, scientists and the Arab historians, Mesopotamia has always been a vital area since many centuries and included most of the races of western Asia and the middle Albanian ethnic.

The interaction started in the dawn of history and continued during its early and late stages after the arrival of the Armies and Ammuris from the plain areas and the Hittis, the Kurds, the Greek, the Romans, the Arabic tribes the crusaders and the Ayoubi Kurdish who were provided with fighters by the Kurdish regions and especially in Al-Jazeera, Mesopotamia, Kilis Emirate, Diar Bakir, Iraqi and Turkish Kurds.

In October 1920, the French superior delegate announced the division of Syria into four puppet states and sectors: Halab in the north, Damascus in the south, Ulween mountains and Duruz mountains. Then Halab and Damascus were united in one state

at 1925 under the name of the Syrian state which was supervised by the mandate state of France but there was no designation for the borders.

In this regard, France was dealing with the borders according to its interests and mostly at odds with the (Sykes-Pichot) treaty. As far as the Kurdish districts are concerned for example France, granted Turkey; Ibn Umar desert, Nussaibeen, Urfa, Kilis, Antab, Muresh, and Nehousa which were supposed to remain as parts of western Kurdistan according to the treaty .The French mandate also separated the Kurdish tribes of Syria and Turkey since (1921) according to (Franklin Buluf) treaty between France and Turkey according to which borders between the two states were re-settled.

As for the district of Al-Jazeera, its relation as we mentioned before –was towards Mesopotamia more than Syria .In 1920 Al-Jazeera was isolated from its natural commercial center in Diar Bakir in Turkish Kurdistan. In the next 15 years, the Syrian politicians neglected the developments happening there.

From National Renaissance to National Movement

Since the end of the twenties of the last century, the Kurdish national movement in Syria appeared in the form of societies and cultural, social and sport clubs: then the “Khoeboun movement” participated in the formation of Kurdish national ideology in both its political and cultural sides since its foundation in its first conference in Qamishly and exactly in Al-Qadrou Bug in (1927) in which (32) native personalities took part.

This movement started as a native movement and then expanded to the other parts of Kurdistan and especially Turkey and Iraq. One can refer to the subjective causes of the growth of Kurdish conscious as follows:

(1) Distributing the Kurdish people and its homeland by the colonials according to Sykes-Pichot treaty against the wishes of the Kurds and the submission of the Allies to their interest at the expenses of the principles of righteousness and justice.

(2) The continued racist, and chauvinist policy practiced by (Turkey Al-Fatat) and the (Torani) and (Kamalist) movements against the Kurds through genocide and national evacuation of population.

(3) Taciturnity of the international community about the suffering of the Kurds and neglecting their rights especially since the ratification of Louzan Treaty in (1923) in which the Kurdish problem was absent in the events and documents. Those documents, which were put according to the international forces' balance and the interest of the Allies .As a result, the Kurdish people became the first victim of the cold war.

(4) Not recognizing the existence and the rights of the Syrian Kurds in the documents of the first Syrian foundation conference and in the protocols of the French mandate era and also in the constitution of the Republic of Syria after it got independence, in addition to the programs of communist, Islamic and national Syrian parties, all these causes led to the formation of essential base for the appearance of the national Kurdish identity which had the role of the cradle for the growth of the fetus of the national movement in its political, cultural and organizational aspects.

(5) The national conscience started first with the cultural and national characters who crossed the railway towards (Bani Khati) which was put in (1918) and then completed in 1953 it was extended from Nusaiben towards Iraq. Most of those personalities were famous historically through facing the Ottomans and then (Turkey Fatat) and Kamalist movement the roots of which goes back to the tribal chiefs like the family of Buzan Bug Brazi and the aristocratic families like Badr Khan and Jameel Pasha families who did well in the confrontations with the Turkish army. There was also the family of Hajo and groups of cultural and learned people like Mamdouh Salim, Qadri Jan, Gigar Khoen, and Dr.Noor Darsimly. Some of those survived the uprising of Sheikh Saeed, Darsim movement and Ararat confrontations and set out southwards in successive waves as if they were traveling from a district to another.

(6) There are several experiments in our region resembling the Kurdish case in some of its aspects. For example, the Arabic national ideology pioneers appeared among the Christians in Lebanon who spread national conscience and wrote about it for a century. Some of them migrated to Syria, Palestine and Egypt to announce the Arabic nation like George Antonious, Najeeb Azoory, Butrus Bustani and others. For avoiding the false understanding of the subject, we must mention that these waves were made by limited individuals and it didn't change to public waves as the chauvinist centers and their partners allege to say that the Kurds were emigrants from Syria.

(7) The traditional leadership and its control over the decision making were because of the weakness of the native bourgeois and the general backwardness of the Kurdish society. These parts of the traditional leadership took part in the movements different causes and aspirations. And the liberation movements in the third world in general didn't achieve its aims only through bourgeois leadership, but with the support of other leaderships and the other religious movements in the countries of the western Arab, which led the struggle against imperialism and achieved independence.

(8) Most of those had experienced national struggle in its political and military forms and were influenced by the Ottoman constitution of (1908) and transmitted the principles of the national ideology to the south-west regions of the Ottoman Kurdistan which became the west of Kurdistan after the colonial distribution. Since the thirties, the Allies and especially England and France started using the term (Western Kurdistan) to refer to that part of Kurdistan which was annexed to Syria and this part had great duties in spreading national conscience among the different categories of the people in Western Kurdistan which started accepting and understanding the national feeling for the first time .Of course the case was not void of cautiousness by the tribal leaders in regard to treating national extension.

(9) There are historical causes made the leading elite which carried the national ideology in western Kurdistan after the inability of the movement of ((Ibrahim Pasha)) in the Jazeera, to change its tribal content, local demands and its conflicts with the others about lands and pastures lands into complete national demands.

(10) After a long time, the ((Muridin Movement)) in the Kurds mountain failed to become part of the Kurdish national movement concerning intent, motto and aims.

(11) For the above mentioned causes, the signs of national conscience appeared in the “Kurds mountain” since the beginning of the forties at a shape of students' groups in Halab. Among the activists of those groups were (Shawkat Hinan) and (Khalil Muhammad). From there started the connection among the students of the Kurdish regions and acquaintance with the founders of (Khoebon) movement, the great poet Gigar Khoen and the national activist Dr.Noori Darsimly. Then the students' movement changed to an association of the cultured Kurds which was integrated afterwards in the organizations of Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria.

(12) In general, this part witnessed some attempts and moves but they were subordinate and uncompleted attempts and primitive expressions for expected event awaiting maturity of the interior and exterior circumstance and especially the spontaneous factors.

(13) Thus, after the foundation of (Khoebon) movement the process of intercourse between the north and the south started through forming associations, cultural and political institution. Then the situation went towards balance after the foundation of “Kurdistan Democratic Party” by which a full integration was achieved.

(14) Moreover, in a certain stage the (Khoebon) movement concentrated essentially on case of liberating the north part. After that the representatives of the first conference moved to Beirut when two other positive and new factors appeared: Alliance with the Arman and participation of the Iraqi Kurds when a large meeting was held in the house of one of the leaders of the Armenian national movement. Then the members of the meeting moved to the town of (Behamdoon) and (Khoebon) movement was announced in 5/10/1927 .The participants regarded that date for known reasons, as the birthday of the movement .

(15) The cooperation between the Syrian Kurds through Khoebon movement on one side and the Armenians on the other side with the chief of the committee of Tasmaq party in Syria Dr. Totinjian and Wahan Babazian who became an ambulatory deputy for Khoebon movement and representing Khoebon visited Iraqi Kurdistan in (1937) for consultation.

(16) These developments led to deepening the national conscience for the Kurds and happening of a wide cultural renaissance the clear signs of which were issuing (Hawar) (Runahi) and Ghinano in addition to issuing many books about poetry, history, social and political issues related to the Kurdish people.

(17) Badrkhanis also issued the Kurdish Alphabet in Latin letters and an active movement took place among the learned Kurds in the domains of building and

organizing seminars, associations and clubs all of which aiming at crystallizing Kurdish native personality and revival of national identity.

(18) The renaissance was not confined to the national side but included going of the Kurds forward towards the native Syrian cases, that is why they joined the uprisings, revolutions and the movements against mandate throughout the country from Jazeera through the Kurds' mountain and reaching Damascus and its countryside .The Turkish soldiers and officers also participated actively in the wars in Palestine during which many of them were killed.

(19) In this regard we must evaluate the Kurdish personalities' role existing out of the Kurdish regions and specially in Damascus in supporting and developing the Kurdish national movement through holding seminars and meetings, forming clubs and associations, spreading the Kurdish culture and receiving activists and helping them like Ali Agha Zilfo .As it appears from the history of the Kurds and their movement in Syria, the essential base on which the Kurdish political ideology depended since the very beginning was native-national and this was a distinguished characteristic related to the background and starting point of the people of western Kurdistan. It also refers to the organic connection of their movement to the native liberating concept and then their submission to its wide and complete rules.

(20) The demand of the American president (Woodrow Wilson) in his (14) points concerning the principle of the nations and their rights had a clear influence. Therefore three countries were announced clearly to be cut off from the Ottoman Empire and granted independence after remaining for a short period under the custody of the league of the nations. They were Armenia, Kurdistan and the Arab Lands and by Kurdistan they meant the Ottoman Kurdistan which is now divided among Iraq and Syria.

(21) The Kurdish people in Syria were isolated from their brothers and their wide Kurdistan against their wills, annexed to Syria at the same way, and against the will of the Arabic peoples of Syria as well. But the Kurdish people didn't surrender to this new de facto but went on his way through his continuity in struggle according to the national liberation movement's principles and rules which demands:

(22) The right of the Kurdish people to self-determination and at the same time struggling for the independence of its country –Syria-its freedom, its national democratic development and keeping safe its unity and sovereignty.

(23) Thus the Kurdish political and national movement started right from its appearance to be committed in its programs, practice and stands, with these two principles everyone of which completed the other.

(24) The formation of the Kurdish nationality lasted for a century from the second half of the (18th) century to the middle of the (19th) century on the level of all parts of Kurdistan, which was divided between the Ottoman Empire and that of Persia. The formation of the national ideology was late in the western part, that is to say that it was re-formed for subjective reason, the first one was the division of the Syrian Kurds among isolated regions along the borders among Syria, Turkey and Iraq after designing the borders in (1916) and the absence of large ancient cities in these

regions. Another reason was the cut off of this part from its mother land which was the starting point of the national ideology, cultural renaissance and associations in Diar Bakir and Istanbul since the end of (18th) century.

(25) All these reasons put this part once again in a new condition and stage which set regional characteristics and special native interest. In addition to this, both The Kurds' mountain and Kobanya were parts of (Kilis) during the Ottoman reign whereas Jazeera was part of (Der-Al- Zour) in the beginning. This isolation imposed the following situation : Halab province which included: Izaz, Ifreen, Manbij, Jarablis, Aen Al-Arab, Kobanya, Askandarouna, Mirish ,Aentab and Kilis. Der Al-zour Governorate which included Jazeera districts and Raqa. However, Jazeera was separated from it in (1928) and Hasaka province became its center. Before that Britain had annexed the Governorate including Jazeera in(1919) but it was returned after an intervene from prince Faisal to the French .In this regard (Charl Degol) refers in his biography to their refusal to Britains absolute decision concerning Jazeera. The national Kurdish movement carried the burden and sins of the others, because of the faults and obliquity happened during the independence of the country, putting the constitution and the meeting of the Syrian Foundation Conference in which some of the Kurds took part. This conference which was held in (3-6-1919) in the Arabic club in Damascus includes some Kurds like: Abdul-Rahman Al-Yousif, Saeed Ramadhan, Fateh Al-Mireshe , Ibrahim Hinano , khalid Al-Birazi. It is worth mentioning, that the Kurds of the Kurdish areas in Jazeera, the Kurds, mountain and Kobanya were not asked to take part for unknown reasons.

(26) If the Syrian nationalists and the representatives of the Arabic national bourgeoisie at that time took the initiative of recognizing the existence of the Kurdish people and other nations and included their rights in the constitution and if they did not neglect the facts of multi-nations and multi-cultures in the country; We could live today in a different condition and Syria would have became, a progressive country, rich with its resources, cultures and colored social harmony would have come a model for brotherhood of the peoples and co-living instead of the policy of neglecting ,Arabization, the chauvinist racial plans ,depriving others from their rights ,national persecution ,spending money and human efforts and exhausting abilities through the process of changing the national and demographically composition of people who are friends of the Arabic people .

Kurdistan Democratic party in Syria

In the middle of the fifties and exactly in August (1957) the Kurdish Democratic party was founded in Syria for the first time in the history of Syrian Kurds as an organized modern means having a program and as a Kurdish national organization formed on the bases of the central democratic principle.

The foundation of the party and gathering the national categories around it had a great influence upon Kurdish people's life and a distinguished change in its political history. And the Kurdish people started clearly and increasingly feeling their national identity, legality of their rights and their democratic ambitions, especially when an independent struggling body became available for them to incarnate their hopes and express their sufferings and needs. Before that there was no parties or organizations to express the demands of the Kurds. Also there was no political side whose program include the democratic and national rights of the Kurds who form (% 15) of Syria's population.

Of course, foundation of a party to organize the powers of the Kurd, strugglers was a logical case to lead them in doing their native and national duties, present their needs and programs, remove the national persecuting done against them and put a new base for it which must depend on the recognition of the Kurds' rights and seeing the subjective facts of the Kurds as the second nation in the country the number of which reaching (1\5) millions.

If the "Khoeboon" movement represents the mother organization for the Kurdish political movement in Syria, a source for expressing national ideology in both its political and cultural sides and the first cradle of our people's struggle which prepared a generation of the pioneers whose effects are still clear in our national struggle; the second stage of the Kurdish movement's history in Syria and especially in the eve of the party's foundation witnessed the effect of new factors including its submission to a new ideological and political balance when it changed after the world war II, the appearance of Fascism and Nazism and the Soviet Union as a super power into the stage of forming political parties with programs near to those of the communist movement and influenced by it, like any other part of the liberation movements in the world .

Because our brothers in Iraq and Syria were the first to establish their parties and also because of Barzani's movement and their increasing influence, the Kurdish nationalists in Syria benefited much from the experience of their brothers in Iraqi Kurdistan and from the uprising national conscience in that part.

On the other side, the appearance of the party in those circumstances of native renaissance in the country and the strengthening of the struggle against imperialism, Baghdad pact and the American plans against Syria through alliances, military pressures and referring to Turkish aggressions-NATO member- made the Kurds' answer the demands and join the military public resistance against the Turkish threats to conquer Syria and impose political, economical and military conditions upon the independent states of the region .

The appearance of the party at that critical stage once more assures the intercourse of the Kurdish people's interest, its coordination with the interests of Syrian native movement in general and the interaction of the increasing democratic and national conscience of the Kurds with the sweeping national currency against imperialism which called for the country' independence and its democratic national progress .The development of the Kurdish national ideology didn't contradict at any time with the uprising of Arabic national progressive forces and parties in Syria.

Thus, in these regional, Kurdistanian and universal conditions, the party was founded as a national organization led by the representatives of the native classes in the Kurdish society which has more conscience, culture and national feeling. Then different categories, slices and classes who carry ideologies, stands-equal and different, contrary sediments, joined it, including representatives of a number of societies like :Kurdish democratic youth society, Azadi organization and cultural clubs .

We can say that the party at this stage expressed objectively the elements of the Kurdish society which was composed of categories and individuals most of which go back to the traditional leadership, senior planters, well earned farmers and the educated people who were influenced by religious ideology intermingled with national inclination .It was natural to these predominant categories to control the leadership of the party and have strong effect on its programs, stands and policies. This reality is not in contrary with the party generally expressing in the Kurdish people and especially in the national domain.

Here, appears the righteousness of the Marxist analyses for national phenomenon since its formation in the European countries and especially in France and Germany where the national consciousness is formed and nationality appears in coincidence with the appearance of bourgeois and nucleus of the imperialism in those societies. This means that the maturity of national consciousness becomes greater in the developed society's atmosphere and appearance of capitalism in a given society means the happening of cultural, material and social development in that society, differentiation among the categories, ideologies, stands and interests, and giving up ancient ideologies, superstitions and social obstacles.

Of course, these facts could be applied on different societies and peoples in all the continents including the Kurdish people and the Kurdistan societies.

In this regard, the party was not extraordinary with the general rule in the region, the world and the countries among which Kurdistan is divided, where the small bourgeois occupies the front stages, the starting experiment of ruling after independence, and also leading national liberation movements before the failure of their programs concerning development, democracy, solving destiny cases and opposing imperialism.

It is clear that according to cultural regulations, liberation movements in particular must renew their programs, leaderships and their methods of struggle now and then in conformity with the relatives of development, changing of circumstances and appearance of new categories and classes in addition to the change of ideologies and concepts under the effect of social, scientific and technological developments.

In fact the third world and the Middle East in general and the Kurdish movement in particular didn't witness a natural development and easy transformation in their leadership, ideologies and programs, but they were subject to crises, catastrophes, clashes and confrontations which took hostile forms arising regional, tribal, local and personal hatred because of the leaderships, sticking to their positions and ideologies even if they turned weak and unjust.

Since the foundation of the party on the above mentioned component, it carried the seeds of divisions awaiting the suitable and decisive time .In the first years of its age, the party looked coherent until it faced the first experience during the arrest of (1960) which included about (80) members of the party, some of whom were leading members from different areas like Halab, the Kurds mountain and Kobanya with a small number from Jazeera. Of course, this was a confusing surprise for the leadership which did not appear itself to it before, neither at the personal –human level nor at the political or struggle one .It was not prepared for the event even at the legal-persecution level, so it was the first stumble for that historical leadership .

Discords started among the arrested leadership which was before the military court about their answers during interrogations, testimonies and defense, because some of them stayed adherent to the party's program (approach and interior bylaw) led by Osman Sabri and another group which suggested practicing tactics for surviving the severe probable sentences led by Dr. Nouraddin Thatha.

Regardless of the righteousness of any of the two groups, we see that the discord was a tactical case because the two groups agreed on the party's program before being arrested and their adherent was complete in the name of Kurdistan Democratic party and its motto of unifying and liberating Kurdistan ,except a small number which refused that program .The most distinguished one of those was Abdul-Hameed Darweesh who was not arrested. But the subject of the discord was not more than a legal frame and the consequences of the judicial sentences in the military court among the arrested members.

The case that must be assured is that the basic discord in the party's leadership which turned to a crisis, stemmed first from the nature and limits of the national demands and from the questions that :is the party expressing the aspirations of genuine people living on its historical homeland or is it expressing an immigrant national minority? Is it a political, ideological or a reforming organization?

At that time, the leadership members were not in discord about these principles but they formed one national trend against the other trend that was known afterwards as verity and didn't become subject to the arrest campaign.

Elapsing about ten years of the party's age was enough to accumulate the causes of discord about the political, organizing and ideological cases especially that this period witnessed rapid development and prominent rise of the people struggle and national liberation movement in Asia ,Latin America and Africa ,where successful revolutions appeared against imperialism.

New regimes and governments also appeared on the way of development and liberation and other parties and organizations sided with freedom cases in the world.

Most of the revolutionary trends dominated liberation movements in the world were backed by the socialists blocked at that time, then a deep theoretical transformation appeared in the ideological structure of the revolutionary forces in the world resulting in more intercourse among the social and national forces on one side, democratic liberation on other side and cultural political forces on the third side.

In this regard in the region, we must refer to the great effect of the Palestinian Resistance Movement with its nice and bitter experience in regard of front alliance, multiplicity in ideologies, policy and organization, co-existence among the factions, organizations and political programs (strategically and tactical), the relation between political struggle and armed struggle , cadre breeding and national relations.

If the Kurdish national liberation movement with all its trends was in its first stage because of its bad situation and having no theoretical guide, political ideology and struggle culture before it acquired an accumulation of clear revolutionary traditions , and also before the attempts done to form its revolutionary experience and traditions of Barzani's Badrkhani movements and the attempts of the pioneer poets in crystallizing the national conscience and especially (Khani).

Before all these, our movement acquired its theoretical power from the experience of revolutionary democratic movements in Iran ,Iraq and Syria which were not complete and suffered crises and its most cases faced closed routes because of its left-wing

extremist, the hasty small bourgeois thoughts , predominant chauvinist concepts and the exaggerated mottoes raised.

Thus the Kurdish movement by depending on this experience had put itself in a theoretical dilemma and faced difficulty in defining its near and remote aims, its relation with the nation wide movements, between its national case and the general democratic ,the social program and the matter of friend and enemy internally and externally.

We are not exaggerating if we said that appearance of the Palestinian national movement in its above mentioned form in the middle of the twentieth century, formed the theoretical salvation for liberation and development forces in the region in general among which is the Kurdish national liberation movement.

In Syria, this period witnessed prominent changes in the political, social and economical conditions where class conflict intensified. There, numerous military coups happened as a reference to closeness of happening changes in balance of power and attempts in search of alternatives to be inline with the new condition and meet the wills of the extensive masses of the Syrian people.

In those years, discords exploded in the ranks of the ruling Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party a part of which was about democratic issues, the future of Syria ,socialist reconstruction, the condition of the popular classes, the stands towards Palestinian struggle and other cases which were the cause of the discord, the difference and assiduity of most of the revolutionary democratic movements in the country.

The defeat of (1967) came afterwards as a separating event which gave a blow to the concepts and ideas of the predominant power of the Arabic national movement at that time, and especially from the Nasirist and Baathists leading to division, review and looking for new forces and ideologies as alternatives.

Along these conditions, Syrian countryside witnessed a strong wave of conflicts and confrontations between the senior possessors, the remainder of feudal and traditional leadership on one side and the farmers, peasants educated and the cultural people of the regions on the other side. Most of the conflicts concentrated on problems like: land issues, agricultural reform law and the social influence of the ancient classes with some other traditions which were dominant before but were unacceptable at that time because of the new conditions.

The hesitant, inconsistent and contradictory stands of the ruling authorities led to deepening these conflicts. The ruling system didn't make up its decision about the current cases and didn't have peaceful program about democracy and social progress. Moreover, this led the remainder of the senior feudals and reactionary individuals to take refuge to the strong members of the authority because they were members of the ruling party.

Of course, the Kurdish farmers and residence of the countryside in general were not away from these developments but the Kurdish villages witnessed similar conflicts and confrontations between the farmers on one side and the traditional leaderships on the other side. In addition, we know that farmers, their children from the pupils and cultured form the essence of the Kurdish Democratic Party. Therefore, it had to show a stand in conformity with its future interests and the interests of continuity of the Kurdish movement. Here, a kind of contradiction happened in the party's leadership about the stand, which they should abide by concerning the social case. Moreover, this factor was added to the other basic factor, that is national policy.

The Scene in the Eve of August Conference 1965

Since the beginning of the discord among the party leadership and because of being uncrystallized clearly, inability of the two conflicting sides in deciding the bases, contents and the form of that discord and forming it in its theoretical frame, due to general ideological backwardness, except in some signs which embodied in personal refutation, numerating each other's defects and formation of blocs; only the discords of the military court was clear and visible.

In these conditions, the party's organizations witnessed some kinds of stagnation and backwardness after it had spread publicly in all the regions and areas. At that time the Syrian authorities expressed its anxiety towards that national extension, therefore it arrested the party's leaders with a group of its cadres.

The party's leadership was unable to solve its problem and crisis in a suitable way and after about ten years of its foundation, it could not go forward even by one step in regard of making reforms in its political program and making a new initiative concerning the national case, other needed cases, the national political issue and Kurdish people's conditions.

Furthermore, it didn't think of finding a suitable ground for receiving those waves which joined the party from different classes and categories through educating cadres, cultivating conscience and party's culture and expanding the learning of party's struggle.

Also there was not any study or research or analysis about discord cases in the leadership and especially, as we mentioned before, about national ideology, political stands, national requirements, struggle methods, identity and a view to the political situation in Syria and to the Kurdish national movements in other parts of Kurdistan, in addition to the party and the Kurdish movement's stand in regard to the relations with the authority and the democratic forces.

It is worth mentioning that the bad organizing condition, political stagnation and stopping the party's media were necessary for the right-wing trend and in accordance with its ideology and interests because it was an opposite to the other case, that is, leadership coherence, promoting political and party work, presenting earnest program and projects and enhancing national struggle. Therefore the right-wing took advantage of the existed condition and encouraged the discord between the two groups: Osman Sabri and Nouraddin ThaTha . they also tried to make use of the discord and neutralize (ThaTha) .Then making use of his personality , his clean record, his rich history with sacrifice and his bold national stands by infiltrating information to the small cell of the party and national mass that the discords is between the two groups and not between them on one side and right-wing ideology on the other hand.

Along with this, they made efforts for controlling the remainder of the organization and making propaganda for its stands. That is why made it national requests to reach minimum starting from the concept of a national minority that has no national rights and doesn't inhabit its historical homeland, and this is quite the opposite of a kind of people having self-determination right, thus implementing authority's request as a means of keeping itself safe from tracing and arrest.

As far as stands towards Kurdish liberation movement in other parts are concerned, the first of which is the Kurdish revolution in Iraqi Kurdistan; discord happened in its leadership and Kurdistan democratic party since (1964), but the real explosion was delayed to (1966). During that period, delegations from our party used to visit Iraqi Kurdistan from time to time, and in most of these visits, the right-wing would take part, and meet their counterparts from(66 trend). They even used to support the (66. trend) and arrange pacts with them secretly, that is without the knowledge of the party's leadership.

These visits did not cease from (1958) to (1966). It is clear that the statement issued in our party's name at the end of (1964) about the party's stand concerning the discord which started in Kurdish revolution, was issued under direct supervision of the right-wing and was like announcing enmity towards the revolution's leadership and its immortal leader (Barzani) and siding with (66 trend).

Of course, this was against the will of all the party members from the base to the leadership. Also the relations of the most distinguished right-wing's leader (Abdul Hameed Darweesh) with the (66 trend) did not stop and he used to receive letters and

guidance about the conflict with (Barzani) since (1963), and teach his followers those instructions. By this, he was breaching his party's constitution, his abiding and the observed rules.

Thus the national right-wing's stand depended on two pillars: first : passing false news about the revolution in such a way to be partial with (66 trend). Second: working for deepening ideological and political loyalty to that trend. And this was understandable because the conflict which happened in the advanced front of the Kurdish national movement at that stage ,that's is Iraqi Kurdistan field , was very deep and changed into confronting conflicts for years and is going on until these years, but in other shapes.

That conflict expanded both horizontally and vertically surpassing the revolution and Kurdistan border and leaving its effect on the other parts of Kurdistan and even abroad taking a national nature.

It is the first new conflict in the history of the Kurdish liberation movement reaching this stage of development and transforming from a part to another. As a result, the national movement was divided into two parts: one national, democratic and peaceful having national unchangeable principles and decisive clear stand, and the other adventurer, bargaining and opportunist.

Of course, each part of Kurdistan had its special characteristic especially because of the general blackout, and each part producing groups according to its conditions concerning ideology, political situation and practicality. The general characteristic was appearance of left-wing trends bargaining on the national case under different slogans and titles and then changing gradually into a political and ideological center finding followers in all parts of Kurdistan.

As we mentioned before, because of the opportunism of this trend, it produces trends and groups divided between opportunist right-wing and gambler left-wing unified at the end in two issues: First, a key for the dictators and chauvinists who control Kurdistan and their guidance for receiving information about the Kurdish situation through practicing violence and ethnic cleaning up or political containment, splitting processes and plans of liquidation. Second: harming the achievements which were got by the sacrifices of the Kurdish people and its struggle under the leadership of the national democratic trend. And during about 40 years, the opposite right-wing lost so many great opportunities.

If the national situation and stands towards it forms the main pivot in the two group's conflict in general, the first discord in the party's leadership in the western Kurdistan returns to the national issue in regard to national tool, national requirements and national program.

The right-wing trend also retreated – at the beginning – through its leader's resigns because it knew that the majority of the people are committed to the national program. But it returned once more to maneuvers after it arrested the leadership of the party and differed about tactics in front of military court, and after it felt that the condition is suitable for controlling the party.

In the fifth conference in August (1965), the participants defined- after long discusses- the signs of the crisis inside the party, diagnosed the real discords' cases and pointed out the wounds, therefore they concentrated on three points: First: the party's national program which include the historical questions (Who are we?) (Are we a people or a minority as the right – wing claimed?) (What do we want?) National rights according to self-determination principle or only some cultural demands? How can the party be defined? Is it a political, struggling, revolutionary or organizing or only a reforming society? Second: struggling methods and how to face chauvinists' plans especially after the application of the Arabic belt. Are we a part of the Syrian democratic forces to make alliance with it or we should only be loyal to the authorities. What is our position from the social and political issue in the country? Are we part of the general and political changing that seeking movement or our position remains siding the authority and the system? Third: Our stand towards Kurdistan national issues especially the Kurdish revolution in Iraq. Are we with the legitimate leadership led by immortal Barzani or beside the (66 trend)?

At the end, the conference issue principles in the form of decisions and recommendations about refusing the approach of the previous leadership, its policy in general, its practices, stagnation and hesitation in reforming the party, putting responsibility of what happened upon the right-wing trend in the leadership and forming a provisional leadership to prepare for a comprehensive conference for the party in which all the previous degenerate leadership member would take part, regarding the party and the national movement in general as and inseparable part of the national democratic forces in the country, according the involved from the right-wing trend about making secret relation which authority, stemming from the existence of the Kurdish people having all the national component and clinging to its unchangeable and unbargainable national right, national addition to siding with the Kurdish revolution and its legitimate and historical leader the immortal Barzani and supporting in all cases.

Thus we see how the specialty of our region became clear about the definition of nation right-wing and left-wing.

We did not differ about the Soviet's Marxism, Chinese Maoism, New Albanian and European Marxism or Trotskyism, but our party adopted Marxist-Leninism in (1973), that is eight years after the conference and we did not strive about pure class causes because the two side's ranks were mostly alike in regard to social root as we were a national movement and democratic party, we were not an international party like the Syrian communist party for example. That is why our agenda didn't refer to theoretical issues because they were not in the priority of our mission.

In many cases, we used to avoid discussions about issues like religion, tradition and culture.

If we must refer to any discord about ideological issues for the Kurdish national movement and with other sides; it concentrated on the discord with Nihilism practiced by the Kurdish communists who had joined the Syrian communist party.

For all these, we assure once more that the discord between The Right and The Left was limited to national affair and not class affair. As a result, The Left trend

became partial with the interests of the majority of the Kurdish people because it represented the ideology and stands of the Kurdish people's majority in which farmers, peasants, poor people, learned and educated people were the foundation stone, beside personalities and categories of the rich, well-earned and traditional leaderships.

After that and because of interior factors and discord on stands and policies, a clear political and ideological crystallization appeared where it was easy to read and recognize the majority of the discord cases. This was the first happening in the movement, which led to the division of the party into two wings: A national left and a national right everyone of which had its special stand, program and behavior.

It was their destiny that discord cases between the two wings were about basic strategic issues and not only about political tactics. That is why the division was both horizontal and vertical and the continuity of the conflict for more than (30) years is a clear reference to the fact that it will go on as far as there is a national Kurdish movement in its native liberation stage. It will also go on even after the solution of the Kurdish problem in Syria but in different shapes and aspects.

The conference which was held in a place near our house in(Jumaya) village, that is the same place in which the (4th) conference was held in (1964) when the party was unified, was attended by a group of different social classes and categories who were leading members of the party and feeling the partial, native and national responsibility. They were also enthusiastic for rescuing their political organization. Most of them were from Jazeera organization and some of them represented the party's organization in Damascus university.

However, in Kobanya and Kurd's mountain, the party's organizations were frozen or nearly not existed because of the arrest campaigns and the discovery of its chiefs. And the leadership members were not invited because of a collective decision we took especially that most of them were in the civil prison in Halab. Also, it was natural not to invite our right-wing members who were wondering happily, some were able to complete the process and some others stayed away from political and organization confrontation for personal, official and security reasons, but they remained near the new approach and having cordial and friendly relations with the party.

After the end of the conference, a temporary leadership was elected and the final statement was announced which created a clear public comfort among the partials and the national independents. But the right-wing trend was disappointed and puzzled because of the first step's success on the long route, especially when it heard and read the decisions and political and ideological instructions which caused what could be described as an earthquake. It was the first ideological and cultural phenomenon happening in the Kurdish society and in the heart of the national movement in this clear and daring shape. It represented the first radical reform attempt in a Kurdistani party in a scientific and objective view paying attention to the fact that the Kurdistani, Syrian and world influences did not pass: along time before this young experiment presented its complete theoretical program about the two cases: native and national front work at the Kurdish movement and the Syrian national democratic movement level, also at the level of Kurdistan liberation movement in the region.

Although at the beginning the right-wing trend pretended not to be interested in the event and that they regarded what has been achieved as a childish dividing deed having no effect, but at the same time it tried to contain the event through maneuvers. Moreover, some of the leading members served the right-wing trend quality by participating in the (plot) of liquidating the decisions and outcomes of the conference eagerly. In spite its retreat afterwards, but it participated in the left-time of the right-wing trend.

The temporary leadership stood confidently against these plots and dealt with discussions and the presented proposals because its aim was rescuing the party and its unity through new bases.

The preparation for the conference was made without any leading member's knowledge. During my participation in youth's camp for the secondary stage in Ramousa-Halab which lasted nearly for a month and pupils from Hasaka , Der –Al-Zour ,Raqqa and Halab took part in it ; some event happened at that camp which could be forgotten like a racial clash between Ba'athist pupils and Kurdish pupils from Jazeera who were our friends. And for creating a balance in the clashes, I started looking for our friends in Halab governorate, got acquainted with them and we started coordinating and cooperating in the clashes in addition to defending ourselves against chauvinist enmity from some of the Bathists. The problem developed until reached the camp's leaders-Yousif Kanan and George Inti who solved it. (George Inti was a Ba'athist officer from Qamishly and was killed during Salim Hatoom insurgence). The second event was the bloody clashes between Ba'athists and Nasirits students, which was about to cause a great mutiny had it not been for intrusions from high leaderships.

In this regard, Halab branch of the party leadership hurried to the minister and Ahmad Abu Saleh- Ba'ath's leadership member to disengage clashes. Here Ahmad Abu Saleh praised Jamal Abdul Nasir and the Nasirits highly. I don't conceal that in these clashes, we sided with the Nasirists who were out of authority.

After the camp ended, I thought of a personal initiative to visit our leading friends in Halab prison of whom I knew only Abdulla Mulla Ali .I arrived prison carrying a basket full of fruit and asked about him ,but he looked puzzled and confused. After asking about his condition I hinted that I would like to see uncle Osman Sabri and the others to explain the bad condition of the party to them and also to hear their opinions and proposals concerning the possible solutions, especially that there was turmoil in the party's rank against the practices of the right-wing trend and their behavior. We agreed that I should repeat my visit and would tell Osman of what we spoke and agreed about.

I knew Abdullah Mulla Ali very well because once he was my superior and distinguished leading member in Jazeera . He was characterized with frankness and bravery and before being arrested, he used to visit our house in Jamaya village during the security pursues.

In the second visit, again I asked for him and then he came with Osman Sabri ,Rasheed Hamo, Kamal Abdi and others. They explained to me that they realized the aggravation of the crisis and the seriousness of the situation. They also said that they

know the real cause was a scheme of the right-wing trend and especially Abdul-Hameed Darweesh, and they expressed their support for any rescuing movement by the party's rank.

I spent about a month in a visit to the Kurds mountain accepting an invitation from Muhammad Abdu. It was a nice visit during which I enjoyed the beauty of the mountain, its thrilling nature and the kindness of its people. That was my first visit to the region. I also visited Damascus for the first time. After That I returned to Qamishly involving once more in the circumstances and worry of my friends' efforts to rescue the party until the appointment in the second year. Frankly speaking, these visits to the prison gave us a moral support which doubled our determination.

As I mentioned before, the temporary leadership decided according to the conference instructions to connect with all the previous leadership members and inform them of the result and reporters of the conference in order to know their attitudes towards the event and the extent of their readiness to respond or help without asking them to join the temporary leadership and leaving this subject to the next stage .

Our comrades charged me with a mission with Halab and Damascus comrades who have newly been released. I contacted most of them and the last comrade was Osman Sabri in Damascus. After my return to Qamishy, we held a meeting for the contemporary leadership discussing what happened where it appeared that there were difference in the answers, because the majority delayed its response and that of some others, among whom Osman Sabri's responses were the clearest when he expressed readiness to work with us according to the resolutions and slogans. After a long discussion, the majority thought that it is necessary to recourse to a number of the previous leading members who have struggling specifications, national ideology and pure history, especially that the temporary leadership was void of experienced leaders except for Muhammad Neo and most of them were from the young generation. That is why we were ready to accept four of them: Osman Sabri, Abdulla Ali, Muhammad Mulla Ahmad and Kamal Abdi . we didn't know that our acceptance was not important but the more important was that whether they accept each other or not.

Amidst preparations for the conference, I was making preparations for the Baccalaureate exam, so both my family and I were doubtful about my success because I was not able to devote myself to the exams, except for one month before. The results were unexpected then, as I passed the exam and got 62% ! During my study in Salahaddin primary school in Qamishly, I was full of national spirit in the first years of the party's foundation. I was also well-known because I was the youngest member of the party then. One day during the studying year (1958-1959), I saw a piece of paper in one of the corridors. I picked it up and found that it was a poem written in Kurdish by the great Kurdish poet Ahmad Nami. I was puzzled at first, but soon realized by sheer sensation that it belongs to Muhammad Mulla Ahmad who was a teacher in our school. Therefore I went to him and handed him the paper , I put it in his pocket quickly after looking around without forgetting to thank me. At that time I felt a great happiness, then we became friends. After I moved to study in the secondary and preparatory stage in(Al –Uruba Secondary School) to the west of Qamishly,I was in body responsible for organizing the students with Nouri Haji. At those years, great events and developments happened

One morning, we heard of the horrible accident when (Amouda) cinema caught fire and we decided to go there for giving help. Therefore we asked the school monitor Hussien Haji Hussein who later became a governor and then a minister, to let us go, but he didn't agree and didn't seem to be affected by the fire and the great number of victims who were Kurdish children. However, we didn't pay much attention to his refusal and went there to transport the charred corpses and console the ill-fated people during two days.

Doubts are still cast about the accident and the probability of being done by some chauvinist.

The accident happened during a show of a film about the Algerian revolution and its income was going to be devoted to the revolution in Algeria.

Back to the school, a number of our teachers started writing reports to the security about us especially the monitors like: Hussein Haj Hussein, Ali Shamseen, Hassan Arwani and Farhan Bulbil.

During the flag hoisting procession, which used to be done every morning and attended by the pupils and teachers, we used to take part with a national motive saying the national anthem. However, I was not enthusiastic for parroting Baathist slogans. One day, the youth's officer Hassan Arwani saw me, so he ordered me to crawl in a raining day. After the crawl he said to me: "If it doesn't appeal to you, go to your uncle Barzani" and that was what I did few years later. In those years, the discord inside the Ba'ath party was between two trends, one of them following Akram Horani, and the other was stronger in our school. One day, we agreed to demonstrate together, but in one condition; the Communist should take part with us and because of our insistence they agreed. We also agreed to the nature of the slogans and we started as one of the largest organizations existing at that time. That was the first time for us to start dialogue with the Ba'athists and demonstrate with them.

That was achieved on my initiative and responsibility. In the streets of the city, I saw some of our comrades puzzled to see that and joined us happily. From those, I remember: Hasan Bashar, Aziz Umeri, Nemato, Auski Zakhrani and Saeed Baroudi. After the demonstration reached the office of the region's director, an arrest campaign started against the students.

At those days, I hoped to follow my study abroad and (Peace Support Movement) belonging to the Communist party, led by Fuad Qadri, was giving scholarship to the Soviet Union. Because my father's relation with Qadri Jameel Pasha who was also nationally enthusiastic encouraging the Kurdish youths to seek knowledge, I presented my request –through him for getting a scholarship. After a short period, I received a letter from the Soviet cultural attaché in Damascus telling me that I got a scholarship for studying medicine in Lumumba university in Mosco and I should visit the attaché through an official from "Peace Support Movement". Therefore I set out to Damascus to meet Fuad Qadri in his house in the "Kurds Quarter". There I saw two other friends who had come for the same purpose who were Aziz Farman and Khursheed Khabbaz.

I was carrying with me the first announcement about the Arabic Belt and Muhammad Talab Helal's document issued by the party, so I handed our host a copy as we were discussing the arrangements for the journey and the visa. After he read the statement, he addressed me severely and said: "These are imperialist propaganda, and there is no base for such plots, why are such suspicious statements distributed? Even if the government deprived the Kurds of Jazeera from native rights (as the statement alleged), it is legitimate, because they had come from Turkey."

His speech had an effect of thunder upon me. So, I discussed him objectively in order to defend the contents of that statement, supporting its truthfulness and what Muhammad Talib Helal had written about the Arabic Belt. I also told him that the Kurds are the original inhabitants of the region, not infiltrators and there was a racial project for Arabizing the Kurdish district and this is an abuse for the Syrian homeland and people and also for the national unity.

At last I said to him: "...when you say that the Kurds of Jazeera came recently to Syria, I think that the last group was your family. Therefore, you should start first going back and we will follow you".

At this, he got furious and said: "If you are having such ideas, you are not going to get a scholarship to Soviet Union".

At once, I answered him: "These are my ideas and I will never give them up whatever happens".

Then I left him and my two friends followed me but they told me of their worries about their scholarships at a time when mine was almost canceled. Nevertheless, they traveled and finished their study afterwards.

On The Way of a Patriot-National Project Wording

The temporary leadership started to find its way forward gradually through contacting with the masses, patriotic personalities, party's ranks, connection with the previous leadership, continuous public and secret debate about the legitimacy case and political and ideological discord.

After Osman Sabri's joining it and electing him eventually as the general secretary of the party, the leadership's base became broader when other personalities joined it like; Mulla Ahmad. He stayed with us for more than one year and then gave up for special reasons with Rasheed Semo. As a result a coherent leadership was formed including members from the historical leadership, advanced cadres and young generation from all the Kurdish districts and the places where the Kurds lived. Then we started to work for wording of a project-a program and an interior constitution and prepare for the first conference after that of August.

We also issued at that time two important theoretical documents. The first one titled "Minority or Nation" was about the essential discord as cases with the right-wing trend and contained a political and historical narration about the existence of the Kurds on their historical land as a nation and legitimacy of their national, political, cultural social and democratic rights. The second document was named "About the Left" where there was a discussion of the roots of this term, the history of the Left in general and Europe particularly, its implementation in Syria and the Middle East and its meaning and nature in the Kurdish national movement. And then what meant to us when the party was called "the left Kurdish democratic party in Syria".

It is clear that these two theoretical documents played a great role in the reviving ideological state upon the learned and cultured people especially the party's members. They were like responses to the piled up inquiries about the discord cases with the right-wing trend. Furthermore, they were a new thing in the national Kurdish movement in Syria.

We were not content with this, but started to discuss the nature of the stage which Syria was passing, with the social relations in the Kurdish regions.

Then we charged comrades from all the regions to do statistics and interviews and everyone to prepare a study in his region. The studies were reaching us successfully and still we keep them and benefited from them in our political movement, our theoretical culture and ideological darting. Also there were other researches about the situation in Turkish Kurdistan, Iraqi Kurdistan, Aelool revolution and the discord cases with the (66 trend). In addition, we didn't forget the subject of the Kurdish communists in the Syrian communist party, who used to practice policies about the Kurdish case away from Marxism and Leninism. We concentrated on Marx, Stalin, Linen and Injils's works about national cases in order to be able to stand against the Cosmopolitan Kurds. In this regard, we benefited much from Abdul-Rahman Thabihi's book "A response to Cosmopolitans"

We used the party's newspaper "Dangi Kurd", Bulletins and announcements to spread some opinions, stands and instructions which would serve our political and ideological approach and our patriotic and national project which we were going to form and present it. They also included news and comments about the Arabic Belt plan, deprivation of identity, arrest campaigns, interrogating and the sentences issued against the Kurd's strugglers by the military courts.

Requests for the political, cultural and social rights for the Kurds in western Kurdistan during the (1960's) of the last century was not a new thing. But they go back to the time prior to collapse of the Ottoman's Empire within the Kurdish national struggle since the beginning of the (19th) century led by the first pioneers through their organizations, societies, uprisings and also through presenting their demands in the international conferences; Seiver, Louzan and the peace conference in Paris which was attended by Shareef Pasha as the representative of first all the Kurds. After Sykes-Pichot Pact the situations have changed and a new stage came about.

Nevertheless, the Kurds's case in Syria didn't calm down. In 1928, the Kurds presented a memorandum to the Syrian foundation conference asking for their national rights: administrative, cultural and political. In 1932 the famous Syrian

journalist “Muneer Alrees” wrote an essay in “Al-Ayyam” newspaper in Damascus entitled “The Kurds want a Kurdish State in Syria”. And the Kurds’ case was within the interests of the mandate authorities and the French-Turkish relations.

The ancient French and British documents which were released showed subjects, news, and secrets about the activities of the nationalist Kurds, their movements and their aspirations, the first of which were letters of the eminent national leader Hajo Agha to the French and British authorities about the Kurds’ rights in western Kurdistan

A Kurdish Public Delegation in Damascus

In summer (1966) the temporary leadership of the party decided to prepare a public delegation to go to Damascus and meet the prime minister Yousif Zieen for discussing the Kurdish farmers, conditions with him, their deprivation of identity due to the Arabic Belt plot which was still effective and the deprived people were still suffering the extraordinary laws which were applied in the region where everything should pass through the security establishments, even house reconstructing and naming newly born children, in addition to intensification of bribe phenomenon and exhausting the sources of the Kurdish people in a forethought way to force them to migrate. Even the few Kurdish farmers who were still keeping their lands, were nearly threatened to be deprived as well, especially that the chauvinist wave against the Kurdish farmers by depriving them from their lands started since the end of the 1950’s and worsened at the time of Syrian-Egyptian unity and its separation until it reached disaster under the Ba’athists’ rule which is going on until now.

At the time of the unity, the agriculture minister Mustafa Hamdoun visited Jazeera for distributing lands among the farmers. When the Kurds went to him asking for their lands that were distributed, he said impudently: “I have nothing to give the Kurds!”.

Different national Kurdish personalities and tribes’ chiefs in the cities and regions of Hasaka governorate responded positively to our invitation. Then the party’s leadership charged me to follow the subject and participate in the delegation and also prepare the memorandum which was going to be submitted to the Prime Minister. The members of the delegation who were more than (30) persons, met in the hall of a hotel in Damascus. There, I discussed the reasons of taking this initiative and the content of the memorandum with the requests, which were going to be submitted. Then followed a detailed debate about each sentence of our memorandum.

The positive response to our invitation didn’t forbid requests for making some changes, and the members of the delegation were divided into two groups:

A group backing the memorandum generally and seeing that there was on necessity for changing its items. The other group insisted on making the changes;

especially the item that says: the delegation represents the Kurdish mass of Jazeera, the request of the Kurdish farmers' rights in land and identity, the slogan of distributing land among the Kurdish farmers just like the Arab farmers, slogans of Arab – Kurd brother hood and other subjects and items.

Although the opponent was not the majority, I agreed to their notices and prepared a revised memorandum because our basic purpose was to meet the Prime Minister through a unified delegation that represents all the Kurds of Jazeera region.

After solving this problem, new obstacles appeared because some members of the same group suggested asking Fuad Qadri for help to ensure the appointment. We thought that two or three of the members should visit the prime minister's bureau for that purpose.

Then after our agreement Fuad Qadri was brought, but right from the beginning he tried to find excuses, once about the memorandum which was agreed upon unanimously that I should deliver it, and another about the party's role in preparing the delegation.

After some days the intermediary told us that the Prime Minister apologizes for not meeting us, thought he had agreed before that.

After a period, it turned out that there was connivance between the opponent group and the dishonest intermediary to foil the project.

However, the initiative was regarded as a success; especially that it is the first one by the party and its temporary leadership and it was a message to the authorities that the Kurdish masses are unified in all their classes against the national persecution and that in this regard the party has a great respect among the people. On the other hand, it was an experience for us to know the ideas of those opponents, remove some obscurity about our party and its leadership, and program.

It was clear that we achieved a great victory against the right-wing trend's leadership, and this brought it more isolation. Here, I'd like to refer to two rare events in the eve of the initiative.

The first: when I told the party's secretary Osman Sabri the result of our attempt in his house in the Kurds' quarter, he got furious, carrying the kitchen's knife, started threatening the chiefs (Agha), the bourgeois and the feudal assuring that he knows their fear and treason to the national case since along time and that he will put an end to them waving the knife. As far as I am concerned, the scene was not strange because I used to it as he had repeated it before for several times.

The second: happened in Qamishly. After the failure of the attempt to meet the Prime Minister and leakage of information about the responsibility of some members of what happened; the news spread in Jazeera. When Jameel Hajo- a delegation's member arrived in Qamishly in his car going to(Tirpa Spi);Oski Zakhrani- a struggling comrade from Jameel's tribe-that is Hiverkan-who was famous for jokes, nice moral and simple speeches, advanced towards the road and stopped on the way of Hajo's car. When the latter asked him what he wanted, he answered: give us our

turban! Most of the members of Hajo family used to go to” Kam and Kalous” a famous Kurdish national tradition practiced by other Kurds in Jazeera as well. By this speech, Oski meant to say to Hajo oh, Lords, you foiled the delegation’s mission and surpassed” kurdayati”. However, Jameel Hajo discussed with him calmly.

Words to Party-National Personalities

We must refer to a number of personalities who played different roles in the Kurdish national movement in Syria, and in the party's life in order to remove any obscurity and to make evaluations be fair for serving truth.

Nevertheless, here I cannot tell the biography of any one of those personalities because it needs a long time and great effort. Therefore, I am going to talk only about the mutual attitudes in specified times.

Osman Sabri

In addition to being the most distinguished founder of the Democratic party of Kurdistan-Syria and one of the first strugglers of the party’s leadership, Osman Sabri acquired respect from all the people and the young generation recognized him as a brave leader who doesn’t bargain on his national principles and publicly declares his refusal to the Kurdish traditional leadership.

When we held the conference of (1965), he was the only person among the leadership whom we depended on to lead the party after the change, though the most of us did not know him well. He also didn’t know anything about convening the conference and the development associated with it because-as we mentioned before-he was in the civil prison of Halab.

Since he became general secretary of the party, it was clear that we-as the young generation believed in scientific theory, public leadership in organizing and influenced by the progressive socialist ideologies-were progressing into a stage not void of problems and we were face to face with a historical leader who spent most of his age in prisons and carrying previous attitudes towards socialism, communism and Marxism most of which were negative without recognizing them through reading and studying, a respectable person whom it was not only difficult but impossible to let his speech or his attitudes down, a person carrying a deep class hatred to anything which

is related to chiefs and personalities of the Kurdish society isolated from any theoretical justification or scientific analysis especially that we were within a national liberation movement having its regulations, missions and positive objective outlook to the role of patriotic bourgeois, social personalities and national intellectuals.

In addition, we did not have any choice but to exist and harmonize with a special respect to the party's secretary and his age and position.

After introduction and working together and then my journey to Iraqi Kurdistan and meeting the immortal Barzani, a new problem appeared about the general secretary when it became clear that he was not accepted by the Revolution's leadership because of his previous attitudes as it was said at that time.

In spite of this, we were not affected much because his attitude at that time which was committed to the party's stand towards the Kurdish revolution, was the important thing to us. We passed the second congress peacefully. And during the sixth conference, he unexpectedly expressed his intention to resign because he decided to go to Turkey Kurdistan in order to start a revolution there. Though we tried hard to make him give up his decision and insisted on adherence to him, he didn't do so, we were separated after four years of working together. As a result, the conference decided unanimously to elect me as a new secretary of the party, as I was a political bureau member.

Of course, there were reasons for Osman Sabri's secession from the party, and according to my study, events and attitudes, they were as follow:

1. The general secretary noticed that the formation of the temporary leadership was different in regard to ideology, political stand and culture, from the traditional leadership and that it carried a serious stand depending on scientific analysis and the principles of collective leadership. He also noticed that this leadership is a head of the previous one in domains of ideology, culture and information and that a great distance separates the traditional leadership from the young generation. Therefore, it is difficult for him to go on depending on his past experience-especially that he would not give up his-ancient-to the interest of the leadership's newness, who achieved the qualitative transformation in the party's structure, defeated the right-wing trend, broadened the party's base, put a new progressive program, founded advanced political relations at the Kurdish, Syria and Arabic levels, and deepened the theoretical aspects of the national case, the Kurdish people's rights and its far and near requests. He also realized that those young leaders issue the party's newspaper and its announcements and circulated notes and contact with the party's organizations abroad and urge the masses to stand against the Belt and statistics' plots without any participation from the general secretary.

2. He also noted that the young leadership is going forward in stable and strategic relations with the immortal Barzani. He was uncomfortable in his depth about this development. Afterwards and in the end of his life, this fact became clear, when he supported strongly "Ojalan's" antagonistic attitude towards Kurdistan Democratic party and its president Masoud Barzani.

3. Our bad monetary condition when we had no support or backing from any side and depended on the members' fellowship and our friend's beneficence. Therefore we mostly were unable to guarantee traveling fee between Qamishly and Damascus. Of course, the party was unable in such a condition to do its duty towards the leadership and specially the general secretary who deserved every care and was supposed to live decently. But unfortunately, the Kurdish movement in Syria- on the contrary to the other parts-could not provide the expenditure of its leadership and this thing needs a long contemplation especially that large number of the strugglers gave up their national efforts for earning living. As a result the movement lost great potentials.

Gigar Khwen

Our generation and the coming generations are indebted to that great poet because of what he presented in poetic creativity, national culture, mobilization and renaissance. He followed the approach of his procedures of the pioneers of the Kurdish national awakening like: Jiziri, Khani and Koyee.

In addition to his literary position (in poetry, history and language), he had the role of-a national motive and had rich and various contribution in the Kurdish national movement since the foundation of (Khoeboun movement).He was also following up the local and international democratic movements and was influenced by the social ideologies. Moreover, Gigar Khwen influenced us, as the Left-wing generation that came from August-1965 conference, as a poet talking to the young who were looking forward to development, modernization and knowledge.

Our debate with him about the movement's destiny, solution and alternative did not stop. He was in line with our ideologies and encouraged us in our attempt for modernization and development especially that most of us had close relations with the poet and spent most of our times in his simple office.

After the conference and foundation of the temporary leadership and normalizing our organized conditions and political relations, he was living with his family in Damascus. During one of my visits to him, he asked to talk with me alone and told me that he wanted to join political work because he admired the party's approach and believed in its political trace. Of course, it was unexpected to me because I thought that he- as a poet- belonged to all the Kurdish people and therefore it is impossible for him to join parties and political organizations and limit himself and then enter endless conflicts. I thought that his natural position is "The Kurds Society" with its wide circumstances and broad world, because that "society" has no limits, no interior program and limitless adherence. Also, he was our friend and we used to share his ideas.

I explained Gigar Khwen's wish to the first meeting of the central committee and everybody received comfort except the general secretary.

However, after detailed debates and discussions, we agreed to accept him as an honor member in the leadership and not an active member, as initiative of respect to him. I told him our decision and he attended some meetings but it was clear that he wanted a different condition. Then we stayed like that for about a year until he told me once that he apologizes for not accepting honor member any more because it doesn't suit him, but we went on our friendly relations, until the right-wing trend made use of the situation and organized him in their party as a member of the political bureau. I think it was a game by the right-wing to exploit the poet's name at the expense of his fame and national reputation which were harmed since joining that party and working with them, including making relations with the Iraqi regime. And this caused sorrow and annoyance to the poet's admirers.

The Arabic Belt and Resistance Decision

As it was mentioned before, the Kurds were deprived of their rights and even recognition of their existence under the rule of the independent state. In colonel "Adeeb Al-Sheeshikly" early in (1954), the ruling chauvinists started arousing national distinction against the Kurds once under the excuse of the alleged "Kurdish danger" and another excuse was that there was a plot for cutting off a part of Syria and Kurdish filtration from Turkey as it was referred to in a statement by the Syrian foreign minister at a time when Hilal and Asa'ad Mahasin's study appeared.

But after removing Al- Sheeshikly from power and cessation of racial plots, the situation improved because the country was passing rather democratic circumstances in which free parties and media were permitted and parliamentary elections were achieved.

At the beginning of the sixties, the authorities started under the guidance of national bourgeoisie centers, putting the final touches on its plots against the Kurdish political movement and searching for the best methods to change demographically structure of the Kurdish regions through Arabization campaigns.

For this purpose lieutenant Muhammad Talab Helal, the political division chief in Jazeera prepared his famous document in 1963 under the title of "A Research about Jazeera Governorate from the National, social and political aspects ". The document was regarded as the working program by the success of Syrian governments until now.

Although it was widely spread by the Kurdish movement since the sixties, but I think it is useful to publish parts of the purposes and means that the document used to ensure the success of most dangerous ethnic cleaning process happening in modern Syria against the Kurdish nationality.

It is worth mentioning that the document included –geographically-Jazeera region while the Arabization of names, regions villages and towns and also the extraordinary

chauvinist policies against the Kurds didn't neglect any Kurdish area in Jazeera, Aen-Al-Arab (Kobanya) and the Kurds' mountain.

In 12/11/1963 the first lieutenant in the political security submitted his research-which he had prepared with the help of Saeed Al Sayed, Hasaka's governor who was experienced in arousing rumors and majority dangers about the Kurds, to the high authorities in Damascus.

The research (165 page) became-since its appearance- a working guide for the chauvinists and some of its clauses were applied especially that of Arabic Belt and the extraordinary statistics which was done in Hasaka Governorate and in which (150) thousands of Kurds were deprived of identity right in order to deprive them from other rights like right of possession and making use of land, and-in other stages -to bring Arabs to their places.

It seems that the clauses of such researches were under discussion even before (1963) when Helal's research was presented and included:

We suggest:

1. The government should practice expelling processes towards the inner regions taking in regard elements of danger.
2. Alliterating policy, that is to avoid building schools and scientific institutes in the Kurdish regions.
3. Civil registers of most of the Kurds in Jazeera should be corrected and we want whose nationalities are not assured, to be sent to their states. Also no Kurds should acquire Syrian nationality without a republican decree.
4. Preventing working opportunities. We also should, as a participation in the plot, stop any working opportunity to the Kurds in order to make them unable to move and also to feel that they are not settled, so he would be ready to leave at any time. For this agriculture reform in Jazeera should not let the Kurds lease or possess lands.
5. Launching a wide campaign of rumors among the Arabs for a certain expected event and confusing the Kurds' condition so as to make them uncertain and unstable.
6. Depriving Kurdish religious Sheikhs from their religious characteristics and sending Arab to the region according to a premeditated plan because the gathering place of the Kurd Sheiks had not only a religious characteristics but also a national one.
7. Making the Kurds hate and fight each other, and this may be quite easy through those Kurds who regard themselves to be from Arabic origins in the Kurdish regions, and they will be a future guard and superintendents on the Kurds until they would be expelled.

8. Making the northern border bar in Jazeera a military area like the front with Israel and putting military units there to help housing the Arabs and expelling the Kurds according to the Government's plans.
9. Erecting collective farms for the Arabs whom the government give houses in the northern bar but those Arabs should be trained and armed just like the Jews in the dependent regions.
10. Preventing those who cannot speak Arabic from practicing the rights to candidate and elect in those regions.
11. Depriving anybody of Syrian nationality, in case he lives in that region, except Arab.

The Arabic Tribes in Jazeera

We suggest spreading science, conscience and culture among those tribes by:

1. Opening the most possible number of schools from all sorts and degrees in the regions where the Arab tribes leave and provide the schools with all modern necessities they need.
2. Directorial units and public guidance along with the schools to help publishing science and culture.
3. Sending the largest number of Arab youth and especially the poor people abroad for studying and completing specialization without paying attention to the acknowledged conditions. I even suggest sending anyone who has secondary stage from the Arabs in Jazeera, abroad.
4. Opening high agricultural institutes in Jazeera for the Arabs provided by modern means to help the development of agriculture awakening.

Other Proposals about the Arab Tribes

1. Confirming those who are not still confirmed and prepare them quickly.
2. Distributing the state's property evenly among the Arabs.
3. Distributing the agricultural reform lands, which were taken over among the Arabs.
4. Bringing more Arabs and housing them in Jazeera according to logical conditions.

Historically, the selected few Arabs in Syria were prepared to refuse the Kurds as a nation and their rights not only as individuals. In addition, they kept in their-national-memory a negative attitude towards the Kurdish case in advance. May be this was caused by the special circumstances in Syria's history when independence inclinations appeared in some regions like "Dourouz mountains" and "Ulween mountains" which threatened the patriotic unity. These inclinations were not –innocent- concerning relations with the colonial French and English mandate.

Another cause was the writings of the Arab national pioneers like: Zaki Al-Arsozi who likened Kurds to "rats" or Mechael Aflag-who said that anyone who lives in the Arab homeland is an Arab, that is depriving the Kurds from their national identity and refusing to recognize their existence. This was happening at a time when the Kurds throughout their history, were always supporting the independence of the country and its unity and sovereignty and also refused the project of the French mandate by creating a Kurdish –Christian- entity in Jazeera. Furthermore, they chose to live with the Arabic people in Syria within the patriotic union on the ground of recognizing their existence and full rights.

It must be noticed that those who came first in confronting the Kurds and searching for justifications to hurt them, belonged to different trends, political and ideological schools of thought from traditional bourgeois, national Arabs, Ba'athists and so national Syrians with the Islamists and communists, mostly impartial (except individual states here and there showing solidarity with the Kurds), nevertheless who is ruling. The administrative system and security establishments were full of people from different political tendencies but they all were concurrent about the Kurdish case, putting aside what the Kurds did in their history since the dawn of Islam, through Saladdin until reaching the pioneers of independence like Ibrahim Hinano, Yousif Al-Adhama and others.

As I mentioned before, the beginning of the sixties witnessed a vehement chauvinist wave against the Kurds reaching its peak by putting secret plots and sending selected and trained personnel to the Kurdish regions especially Jazeera "a region of oil and coordination among the different establishments of the Governorate and even the ministries concerned in Damascus under a dramatic title: Close the door at "The Kurdish secession, the second Israel" and Kurds Arabization , as it was mentioned in "Muhammad Talab Hilal's" document.

In this regard, many plots and manifestations were discovered, but most of them remained uncovered, for example a new group of religious Arab men brought especially from Halab Governorate and distributed among the villages in Jazeera for preaching the Kurds there, but in Arabic language. Also a number of Arab poets and story-tellers were brought from Euphrates regions "Der Al-Zour" and Raqa" who used to hold evening soirées in the Kurds guest receiving places in the villages, tell stories and read public poems in Arabic. The most famous of those was Haj Muhammad Al-Ghizi. Also at that time "the second bureau" establishment which was famous for cruelty and aggressiveness of its chief colonel Hikmet Mina, took the role of penetrating into religious and tribal circles and inciting the Arab tribal chiefs to provoke the Kurds, confiscate their lands and subject the Kurdish strugglers to the worst kinds of psychological and bodily torture in order to overcome the boldness of the Kurds nationalists. The establishment also restricted Kurdish music and songs and

prevented the Kurdish musicians from giving Kurdish marriage parties in the cities and towns. At that time rumors were spread that one the most important Kurdish musicians who was ingenious and a great role was awaiting him in the future, has been assassinated.

The authorities also made every effort for encouraging the Kurdish tribal chiefs to change nationalities and announce that they are of Arabic origins. Then it tried creating problems between the inhabitants of “ Sirkhisty ” and ”Bin Khiti” regions in addition to the other plots, intrigues and conspiracies which may be discovered one day.

Early in summer (1966), we held our first congress. This was the second congress after the foundation congress in (1957) and the meeting of the new central committee in Al-Siddiq farmland- Abu Aras on Qamishly- Hasaka way. It was a safe place and really was expected. Iran must confess that I didn't feel relieved in any former or later conference like that one. In addition to cases like organizations, political and national relations, and leadership forming. The agenda included Arabic Belt issue in particular and national persecutions in general.

After detailed debates in which all the participants took part, we agreed unanimously to stand against the "Arabic Belt plot". The agenda also included: necessity of making a political movement in Syrian Kurdistan and abroad levels, charging the Kurdish masses, enhancing resistance spirit among them and making field tours by the leadership to different regions; especially those which were subject to that unfair plot.

After the congress and a number of meetings of the central committee, we agreed to distribute a leaflet which I had drafted and included (21) mottoes summing up all the principles and objectives of the party and concentrating on: the" Arabic Belt" issue and how to resist it, calling the Kurdish masses and democratic forces to cooperate in standing against the "Belt" and national persecutions policy.

After precise planning, thousands of leaflets were spread at the same time in all cities and towns of Hasaka Governorate including the center of the city without any one of our comrades being arrested because (as I mentioned before) we didn't the mission with a precise secrecy taking multiple precaution measures.

First of all, we surprised the security establishments in a way that didn't happen before. That was a sign of a political resistance against the plot "Arabic Belt". Some clashes took place between farmers and the security forces in (Ali Faru) and (Giri Pri). As a last reactionary solution towards the government procedures in evacuation the regions from Kurdish people, our party had an idea of burning the farms in case the authorities didn't give up their plan.

That resistance to Arabic Belt even by force didn't stop us to attack the right-wing trend by ideology, policy, culture and divesting it before the Kurdish people especially about its inactiveness towards this basic mission, its continuity of loyalty to local authorities and vindicating itself by all means.

Now we would better refer to "Arabic Belt" in the light of Israel experience in that aspect and explain the benefits generated from it by engineer in Jewdizing the Palestinian Arabs regions. In (1949) "security regions" in Israel were made and the ministry of defense was given authority to displace the Arabs from their villages and towns along (10) km away from borders and confiscating their possession right upon their private territories in order to reduce the Arab's proportions in those regions. In 1952, a law was decreed granting nationality to the Jews who came before or after the Israel entity formation whereas it was forbidden for the Arabs. There were other cases like: getting higher education, living conditions, racial discrimination, and authority of the military ruler to deprive anyone of civil rights, giving payment in advance to the Jews and not to the Arab farmers. As a result, the production levels of the Arabs were decreased and interior displaced people increased because the Arab farmers were deprived of their forefathers' rights.

“The agrarian reform law” was implemented in the Kurdish regions in another form in order to carry out the Arabization, "Arabic Belt" plan and depriving the Kurdish owners and farmers irrespective of the fertility of lands. For instance, in Jazeera, about 600 lands' owners were seized from those who were included in the "Agrarian Reform Law" and 200 more owners as a result of the resolutions of the "Credential Committee". So, the total seized land was (655270) acre, (1388530) of which were government's farms and (4706381) acre unfertile to be exploited. It is noteworthy that the seized lands of Jazeera formed (43%) of the seized lands in all the Syrian Governorate because the total seized lands in Syria reached (13013515) acre.

It is clear that the chauvinists' claims that the Kurds were strangers and infiltrators was groundless to historical facts and it was an unjust racial wish. For example, we present a British statistics of (1919) about the Kurdish families at that time who inhabited outside their original places, that is in the inside areas. The statistics was issued in a report by the ministry of war-military intelligence office No.M.E (86935) in 11-10-1919:

The city of Damascus 125 families, Damascus-Salhya 1600 , Adra 50, Hamah 100, Otmano Kurds 100, Qunaitra, Horan and Kerak 150, other spread families 400. Total: 2575 families.

(Names of the tribes outside the Kurdish regions) Shekhan- its chief Mahmoud Pasha Buzu-number of houses; 225. Kika Ahmad Bas Ageel 60. Mili Hassan Mula 80. Thatha Ali Agha Zilpho 35. Diqauri Rasheed Agha Shamdeen 10. Brazi Mustafa Beg Brazi 150, Zirkalia Abdul-Rahman Pasha Al-Yousif 10. Ayubyyat Hassan Kosa 55. Asheta Babo Murad 50. Benar Ali Ismael Agha Ne'emo 10. Atelia Hassan Kaltoun 40. Husnya 15. Mushelia 5. Mekari Haj Hussein 30. Qerheshooly Muheddin Agha Qarashooly 10. Mittena 10. Alooshia 5. Qara Keja 20. Rashwani 5. Kudya 5. Suraqia. Daria 10. Barafi 30. Kirkulia 20. Seprated families in Horan 150. Total: 1044.

About the number of Kurds, Mr. Philip Khouri says in his book (Syria and the French mandate) that in 1945, 8.5% of the Syrians were speaking Kurdish and were originally half-Bedouin Kurdish tribes inhabiting both the Euphrates and Jazeera regions. And this rate doesn't include the Kurds who lived in the (Kurds Mountain),

Kobanya, Halab, Damascus, Ulween Mountains and Damascus suburb. Of course, if we sum up all these numbers, the proportion will rise up to 15%.

Also in 1945, Mr. Adeb Muawadh limited the Kurdish region in Syria as follows:

A line from west of Mosul through Jazeera, then south of the Turkish borders until reaching the Mediterranean coast in Askandarouna. This western line touches the northwestern corner of the Kurdish region which we study and called (Kurdistan) or the Kurds homeland. This makes us look at it from a pure geographical point of view, and regard that line including the Kurdish Euphrates Jazeera in the east, the Kurds mountain in the west and the places between them which were inhabited by the Kurds, Kurdish lands and the Kurds themselves consider it as an inseparable part of the original Kurds homeland.

The number of Kurds is (9) million, (300) who are in Syrian Kurdistan except the Kurds of Damascus. He regards that the Kurds who are assimilated in the Syrian society live in the Kurds' quarter in Damascus and Harim district between Halab and Askandarona, also in Hama and Ulween Mountains. He said that the number of Kurds in Damascus amounts to (20) thousand. The Kurds' region contains (1800) to (2000) Kurdish villages with some non-Kurdish farms and villages.

He says : "That large number of villages is spread in the west and to the east of Askandarouna which oversees the gulf and it ends in the west with part of the Kurds mountains called Kurdagh and its sloops up to Euphrates' Jazeera district in the east. The districts of the west starting from Jazeera district are : Aen Dewar, Qamishly Ras Al-Aen, Arab Benar, Jarablis, Minbij and Azaz which is connected with Kurdagh district, with more than (1000) village only in Jazeera, 350 villages in Arab Benar and 290 in Kurdagh."

Arresting Campaign in 1966

The arresting campaign of August 1966 was the broadest one in the Kurdish national movement's history in Syria and second one successively after that of 1960 which concentrated on Jazeera and covered about 100 people.

It was a precautions campaign fearing of the probability of resistance spirit's increase against the "Arabic Belt" plot and surpassing control especially that it came after the resistance resolution in our congress, the meetings of the central committee, distributing leaflets and leakage of news about burning the farms in the regions of state farms. Therefore, it was at random. It also surpassed the first and the second degree in regard of the arrested people's role when most of them where away from the political movement.

At that time, I was in Qamishly in Mr. Bahjat Mulla Hamid's house. Then some one came to tell us a number of cars reached our village- Jamaya carrying a combined

patrol of police and security personnel with an ambulance and our house was searched looking for me. Since then, I became into a chased person, moving with a number of comrades from one house to another and from region to region at nights.

This new condition helped me to recognize increasingly members, friends and masses of the party in all the parts of Jazeera. And as long as I live, I can't forget the kindness of our people, their self-denying and their dear sacrifice for making the pursued struggler happy. Therefore, they were like our mothers, brothers, sisters, friends and defenders.

I moved to Damascus where we had to make a seal for the central committee in Beirut. For this, purpose the sign- writer Minan put us a design according to our will. Then I took to Beirut with a guide who was from Damascus organization called Tower Kam Naqish. We reached Lebanon-Syria borders passing the mountain border secretly, after a few kilometers, two armed persons stopped us and fastened our hands with an accurate search in which they took away our Syrian (50 pounds). They also confiscated the seal which drew their attention and worry, that is why they threatened to extradite us to the security forces as politicians. Then negotiation started between us until at the end they released us after they kept the things for themselves and we walked on until past the border by a long distance. At that place, my guide's mission ended; so I continued my travel to Beirut after I came to an agreement with a taxi driver that I pay him after reaching Beirut. I had address of our martyr comrade Khidr Shambaz who received me warmly as he used to do so. Moreover, through him, I met comrades of Beirut organization and coordinated the future relations. Then I returned to Damascus in the same way but with the help of another friend who was comrade "Hussam Gailani's" cousin living in Damascus and was a master in border cases, so why we reached Damascus peacefully and told Osman Sabri all that happened to me. Then, I left him towards Jazeera and I had to carry out the leaderships decision of going to the revolution's regions in Iraqi Kurdistan.

It is worth mentioning that the martyr Khidr Shanbaz who was a model for sacrifice and true nationalism; was killed during the October War (1973) when he was doing his duty of defending the country near Damascus as a result of an Israel air strike. Before his death, he was a staff member of our party's organization in Damascus. And his nice memory will stay in the minds and feelings of his comrades forever.

The Journey to Iraqi Kurdistan and Meeting Barzani

Connection and letters between us and our brothers in the revolution and democratic party of Kurdistan's leadership didn't stop after the (1965) conference.

After our congress, in which we reformed organizing status to its nature, worded the party's program, completed the number of the leadership and elected Osman Sabri as a secretary; we were dearly in need to consult with our brothers and especially the

immortal leader Barzani because the development of the Kurdish case and conditions and events of the region required that.

That is why the leadership sent me accompanied by the martyr comrade Muhammad Hasan, the local committee chief in Jazeera and nominee for the membership of the central committee, in the beginning of April (1967). We passed the Tigris to the city of (Botan Island) on the other bank. Also the martyr Muhammad Rasho, who was a Syrian Kurd and had relatives in Iraqi Kurdistan, was with us. He joined the Aelool Revolution and was a brave fighter but was killed in a confrontation with the Iraqi army near Zakho valley. We went on marching until the dawn when we reached that last group of a series of groups everyone of which was handing us to another group. Those groups were serving the Revolution in coordination with the military leader Isa Swar. After the sunrise, we were moved to the other bank of (Heezle River) where a group of fighters (Peshmerga) received us and accompanied us to Isa Swara's headquarter. There, he received us warmly and generously. In the next day we went on accompanied by two of Isa Swar's Peshmerga with two mules towards Balak district.

On the way and exactly in Zawita valley, the positions of the Iraqi troops were visible on the Gara Mountain's side. At that time, there were intermittent negotiations between the government and Revolution's leadership, which imposed a transitory truce without reaching agreement.

As we were walking, we noticed that an Iraqi force of about (30) soldiers was advancing towards us hurriedly in order to block our path. So our guides asked us to hurry up in order not to be taken prisoners of war. We did what they asked us, but we noticed that our body guards preceded by along distance leaving us behind. We continued in this way for about three hours when we got thirsty and fatigue as a result of running and fear of unknown fate.

Afterwards we learned that the Iraqi soldiers noticed our civil clothes and thought that we were foreigners. In addition, because opening fire was not permitted, they tried to catch us. We reached the first Peshmarga barrier which was surprised by the martyr Waisi who received us and put us up for the night and then accompanied us until Hasso Merkhan's headquarter who was hosting Hussein Baba Sheikh with a great force of Peshmerga.

The next morning we went on our travel and reached Barzan and near (Ble) our Peshmerga companions opened fire and shot two partridges dead. Not long after that a group from Barzani Peshmerga surrounded us but when they noticed that we were guests, they retreated and then talked with our guards. Afterwards we knew that they asked us not to open fire because hunting birds was not permitted in Barzan and if were not for us, they would have been punished. In the next day, we reached the last point for crossing Zab river and we spent that night at one of the villagers' house. After we reached the borders of Balak region we saw accidentally a grave tableau on which was written the name of martyr (Naji Beg) one of Barzani's comrades. After (12) days of travelling, we reached (Kani Smaq) the KDP political bureau's headquarter where we saw :Ali Abdulla, Sami Abdulla-Rahman, Habeeb Muhammad Kareem and Shakeeb Aqrawi- and official of Parasten organization. After a week the famous political –military conference of 15-5-1969 was held and this was a good

opportunity to greet the immortal Barzani Idris, Al- Barzani and then to recognize the largest majority of the leadership and cadres of the party and the revolution.

We stayed for some time in which we visited Gallala and also in Kani Smaq we met the father Bulis Bedri ,the leading committee of the revolution's member, in addition to seeing a group of French and German journalists.

After a number of meetings with the political bureau, we went to Qasre'é. Barzani's winter headquarter and held the first meeting with him in which we explained the condition in Syria in regard of the Kurdish movement's status generally and our party particularly. When I mentioned Osman Sabri, he immediately asked: "Is he with you?" I said: "Yes, he is our party's secretary." At this, signs of sorrow and disagreement appeared on his face and said: "If he is your secretary, what are you doing here?" I tried to explain to him our party's secretary attitude which is the same as our attitude and although we don't know much of his past, but we are sure that he is committed to our party's approach and our attitude towards the historical and legal leadership of the revolution. That is why he calmed down a little and started talking about Khalid Bakdash negatively. Then he spoke about Ismat Shareef Wanly and his behavior, practices and faults, so I felt that that night became a Kurdish Syrian night, but not as I hoped to be.

The next day we met him again and at that time the June war was going on, so he started talking about the Palestinian people, and how it became a victim of the Arab rulers, and said:" It seems that Israel will triumph over the Arab because the Arab rulers were not trustworthy.

After all these, we started discussing about particular subjects, our relations and what was needed to serve the revolution. He asked us to take interest in the Kurdish student's society in Europe, and the condition in Lebanon. And he encouraged us to go on in our Arabic relations and especially with the Palestinians. Before leaving him, he suggested that we hold another meeting with the political bureau and at last he asked us for a collection of Mullai Jazeerai's works.

Then we went to get Idrees Barzani and speak with him about certain cases. He was completely familiar with the development of the Kurdish movement generally and its condition in Syria with our party's condition in particular. He explained gratitude about our stance towards the revolution and KDP. He also advised us- half-serious, half jokingly not to go towards the communist ideology.

After this first visit to the immortal Barzani and being familiar with the KDP and the revolution's condition (as far as that limited time helped us to) I'd like to explain my primary concept about it as follows:

1. My admiration to this leader was increased, I saw all the elements of success in his character and in ensured of his national Kurdistani approaches and his legal ambition for changing the bitter situation in which the Kurd's life. Furthermore, I realized that he was oppressed greatly by his people and former comrades in his party's leadership, and that most of (66 trend's) accusations were groundless. I also realized that he was the only leftist in the social and national meaning of the word

and in his daily behavior, treatment with the people and in the poor side, consistency on national targets and adherence to the principles.

2. As a young of 20 years old and a political bureau member of a party in another part of Kurdistan-my admiration towards this great leader didn't stop me from feeling disappointed towards the performance of KDP's leadership at that time and especially political bureau because I felt that they were not acquainted with what was going on in the Kurdish movement around them in the neighboring countries. This carelessness and negligence deprived Barzani's headquarter from information in addition to failure to make appropriate decisions in appropriate time about any part of Kurdistan.

In fact, a leader like Barzani was worthy to have a number of experts, advisers and sources of information and this was the political bureau's duty which it didn't practise at all.

Trustworthily, I noticed unusual movement and activity from one of leadership members who had recently joined the revolution and called Sami Abdul-Rahman. At that time, he was supervising the revolution media. And after a period, I was acquainted with Franso Hariri who was playing a great role in the party and the revolution.

After some days of returning to Kani Smaq and holding another meeting with the political bureau, we started returning back which took us about the same period of our first journey. We stopped at Qumri, where Asaad Khoshawi's headquarter was and stayed with him for two days. He was a courteous, wise and acquainted and he directed several questions to us that expressed his wish for knowledge about the condition of the Kurdish movement in Syria precisely. We explained to him our goals and approach after the August conference. Mulla Hamdi and his son Saleem were present with us.

Instead of crossing to Turkey, Muhammad Pasha suggested to us to cross to Syria through the border that touches oil sources and (Qara Choogh) company. Moreover, we did so and reached "Gir Zirat" village.

Political-Patriotic Relations

We had the mission of regaining relations with patriotic forces in Syria or rebuilding it especially that in solving our case, we were stemming from a concept of patriotic –democratic solution on the country's level. At that time, there was no other force than the Syrian communist party which could be contacted with or built relations with, except for some groups and individuals from Arab nationalists movement, Nasirists and independent Arab characters.

Our concept of the country's situation at that time was the necessity to achieve democracy, social steps on the economic level, enhancing relations with the socialist bloc, solving the Kurdish problem through dialogue, enhancing patriotic unity against imperialists and enemy forces, supporting the struggle of the Palestinian people and taking a stance for backing the struggle of the Kurdish national liberating movement in the region, with regaining a strong and persistence base for Arabic- Kurdish brotherhood.

But the official stance was another direction: more domination by the leadership of one party and controlling the government's establishments like: army, security, economy, not giving permission for democratic life and freedom of political, cultural and media work, strangling liberties, raising radical mottoes for the region and Palestinian case without achieving anything particularly, not recognizing the rights of the Kurdish people and considering the Kurdish movement as a strange entity which should be opposed by every means, and taking chauvinist stances denying the Kurds' rights in the other parts and especially in Iraq until the condition reached a point to send Syrian army in (1963) to Iraqi Kurdistan to fight the Kurdish revolution.

Under such severe conditions, we started our movement. Although we had some relations with the Syrian communist party which was in alliance with the ruling party, but the communists were not in concord with us and they were indirectly with nationalist ideology on the Kurds' level, that is embodiment of the Kurds in the Syria society to a degree of melting in it and changing its nationality to a new one. According to the communists' announced idea, this can be achieved through socialism and appearance of new social relations in which linguistics, ethnic and national differences are removed.

The communists regarded the "Arabic Belt" as a social project aiming at building "state's farms" like those of the social countries.

Another cause of contradiction and difference were the cosmopolitanism of the Kurds who have joined the communist party and sometimes the ideological and political confrontation between us. It was not accidentally that the Kurds of Jazeera implemented the "Arabic Belt" plot when a group of (30) farmer families led by the political bureau member and head of foreign relations "Ramu Shekho" moved from their inhabitation places in "Tal Shaer" and surrounding villages at the end of (1966) to "Hadi's Castle" village. This happened at a time when the Kurdish national movement and especially our party decided to stand against this racial chauvinist plot which was against socialism and human principles. And the events of "Hadi's Castle" remain a black page in the history of the communist Kurds.

It also was not accidentally when "Ramu Shekho" said in the of the communist party's general assembly meeting, which was held in Damascus in November 1971 during his report about Jazeera:

If it were not for us as, a strong organization in Jazeera, the Kurdish nationalists would have become much stronger than what they are now. We have sent from our organization (9) comrades as volunteers for self sacrificing (Ansar), at a time when no one from us went to Barzani.

Then his friend (Jacob Kro) who was a leading member in the party and the corporation responsible for Jazeera organization completed his (Ramu's) speech by saying:

Jazeera organization is a valiant organization, which has grown and developed through fierce class conflict with Kurdish national ideologies and inclinations carried by (The Party). In the Kurdish villages there are no other people than the communists and the Kurdish nationalists and the conflict is between the national stance and class stance.

This could be added to continuous attempts by Ramu Shekho to make the socialist countries reject to receive the Kurdish Syrian people through the scholarships that were annually provided to our party. Under the excuses of their alliance with the ruling Ba'ath party and the progressive patriotic system which was going on in the way of anti-capitalism; some of them involved in cooperation with the security establishments in regard of Kurdish national movement, its conditions, activities and information. This cooperation reached such a close point that the former chief of the political security establishment and the strong person major general (Ali Doba) had prepared a list of (50) Kurdish personalities on Syria's level with cooperation of some of the communist Kurds and a leading member of another part of Kurdistan, to found an alternative party. But this project which was also attempted at the beginning of the seventies, didn't succeed.

Theoretically, we believed that the Syrian communist party was the nearest national group to our case and a party which believes in international principles and is a friend to the socialist countries, but the reality and practice was opposite to our belief.

I'd like to assure once more that negative role at a time when the general secretary of that party- Khalid Bakdash – was a Kurd although he mentions in his memoirs that he became an Arab. Moreover, this was a negative event for the Kurdish national movement. After our third congress and commitment to Marxist ideology, the Kurdish communists increased their enmity towards us and they said:

There cannot be two communist parties in one country according to Lenin's speech, so one of them must be against the interests of the working class.

Our analyses and responses to them when we said that we weren't a communist party but a Kurdish national party regarding Marxism-Leninism as one of our ideological sources in our struggle and a means to achieve our goals and a theoretical weapon for knowing history and society and changing the social relations were all fruitless.

We also explained that we can cooperate and struggle together because our common aims in the theoretical and principled aspects is larger than our differences. Nevertheless, not all these things made any effect on them.

It is noteworthy that our communist Kurds comprehend the scientific theory and they didn't understand the Marxist-Leninist principles concerning national cases and its Kurdish practices, because class hatred prevented them from understanding the

patriotic Kurds' situations especially those who were of famous high-born and rich families.

Their attitude worsened and surpassed the interior situation when they started combating and boycotting "The Kurds student society "in Europe because(they said) it was a racial society and that they are committed only to join "Patriotic Union of Syrian student" which was a Ba'athist student organization. Debates with them about patriotism and progressiveness of the legal and historical leadership of the Kurdish revolution in Iraqi Kurdistan didn't stop but their stances were hesitant, uncertain and invective of Barzani's leadership.

There is no doubt, there were a great range of differences between us and the Kurd cosmopolitan communists on one side and between us and the Syrian communist party on the other side, and there are political and ideological subjects about these differences.

The communists' stance towards the Kurdish case was decided according to two interwoven factors:

First : inability to appoint the specialty of the case and not imposing the principle of "national representation" towards the Kurds. This forcible operation which happened in some of the multi-nations countries where attempts were made to conflate them through melting and exterminating the roots of the small nationalities' languages and cultures.

Second: False evaluation of the communists in the liberation movements generally.

After a period, new communist forces appeared in Syria which were unhesitantly committed to the real essence of Marxism-Leninism, declaring their frank and clear stances in their documents about recognizing the right of existence for the Kurdish people and its right to self-determination in addition to cooperating with its struggle. The first of those was "Communist working confederation" which was later changed to communists working party.

It is useful to go back once more to the stance of the ruling Ba'ath party. In its literature and ideological starting points, that party regards the Syrian Kurds as Arab emigrant communities like the Americans, Shirkesians, Assyrians, and Turkoman communities, as it is mentioned in- Al-Munadhil magazine. Furthermore, the Ba'ath party looks at the Kurds existence in Syria as an international conspiracy which encouraged infiltration of the Kurds towards Syria, therefore they must be returned to their mother homeland. And for this purpose "the Arabic Belt" should be executed in addition to its appendix, that is the extraordinary statistics in order to deprive those people from nationality, easing transfer and deportation processes with political and security measures benefiting from the advice and guidance of the defamed Muhammad Talab Hilal about practicing terror on the Kurdish political movement by depriving its activist from their civil rights, arresting its strugglers, putting them in prisons and imposing psychological and economic sanction on them.

This was the formal situation generally, but this doesn't mean that there were no groups or individuals now and then among the Ba'athist who called for reconciliatory

solutions having democratic and human roots, but their attitudes were not influential or decisive.

After the success of the late president Hafidh Al-Asad's movement-the correction movement, in 1970, no changes happened in the one-party system's approach except one thing, which was the process of bringing down glittering slogans on both the patriotic and national levels. In fact it was only slogans and a method for stopping the previous style media which was characterized by radicalism for the political and social cases and also towards the Palestinian problem. As for the authority's nature, its political and social attitude, its stance towards democratic and human rights; according to witnesses of Syrian political and democratic movement, and the international human rights organizations, it worsened increasingly and Syria turned into a large prison. The ruling regime also involved in hurtful deeds against Palestinian liberation organization (PLO) and Lebanese patriotic movement. It also involved in the first time throughout Syria's history, in armed clashes with the Palestinian opposition and its legal leadership.

In addition, on the interior level, it involved in armed and political battle against categories of the Syrian people who were not void of communal influences.

In this regard disgusting massacres happened in Hamah and Tadmur prison. Also the number of the prisoners reached unbelievable numbers and elimination were achieved through different ways including the international forbidden methods.

Furthermore, the security establishments increased in different parts of the country like: political security, military security, aircraft security, state's security and interior security. Each of these establishments has its branches and specialties. In addition to these, there are establishments belonging to interior ministry, Republican palace, the party and the government.

As for the Kurdish condition as a part of the general situation, it often suffers what the others do especially patriotic opposition and the callers of democracy who were subject to exceptional situation of the Kurdish people and its national movement. With the continuity of the previous stances, new measures were taken to confront the Kurdish State. About this the chauvinist plots went on in a great pace but without annoyance and through quiet methods. The rest steps of the Arabic Belt and Arabization of the Kurdish regions were exacted, through which the rate of pursuing, arresting and dismissing of the Kurds from offices increased and interrogating reached its peak. During about thirty years of the corrective movement era, new methods of dealing with the Kurdish case appeared, when a special establishment for the Kurdish file was created including experts, specialists, reporters and special budget. This establishment plays the role of coordinator and benefiting from the efforts of the other entire establishments. All subjects related to the Kurds were transformed to this establishment which means that the Kurdish case was still regarded a security case needing security administration. Then Syria's relations with the Kurdish factions in Iraq were used for its interest and sometimes for hurting the Kurds of Syria because of the difficult situation of the Kurdish movement in Iraq at the beginning. In this Jalal Talabani was not hesitant in presenting his services to the Syrian regime and used to deliver speeches like: "...there is no Kurdish problem in Syria, the basic duty of the Syrian Kurds is to join PKK..."

We must declare and acknowledge that the Syrian regime succeeded in neutralizing the Kurdish movement in Iraq towards suffering, requests, rights and national case of the Syrian Kurds, and even sometimes towards their existence. Here we must clarify the difference about defining the Iraqi Kurds' interest. It never needs denying the existence of the Syrian Kurds. On the contrary, the Syrian Kurds can create a strategic depth for the Iraqi Kurds. At the same time, the Iraqi Kurds were not asked to achieve the missions of the Syrian Kurds in achieving purposes and requests. Several times, general Barzani intruded to the Syrian government for releasing Kurds political prisoners and lessening their sufferings. For example he sent a letter to Dr. Nooraddin Al-Attasi, former Syrian president in this regard. Also at Barzani's time, the Iraqi Kurds media used to present the condition of the Syrian Kurds; especially Khabat, Al-Ta'akhi and even Iraqi Kurdistan voice broadcast.

PKK leader Abdullah Ojalan had put all his potentials in serving the Syrian policy to a degree that he declared that the Syrian Kurds have come from the north and must return.

Some of the chauvinist like former security lieutenant colonel Munthir Al-Mosully who was one of the executives of the Arabic Belt plot, exploited Ojalan's speech in regard of denying the Kurdish existence historically inside.

The regime succeeded in Kurdizing the conflicts within the Kurdish movement and participating in igniting off Kurdish –Kurdish combats, in addition to supervising a military campaign against Kurdistan democratic party in the middle of the nineties through PKK which was known as Accordion plot.

The Syrian regime also used to call for tripartite meetings with Iran and Turkey aiming at choking the Kurdish federalism and liquidating the achievements of the people in Iraqi Kurdistan. At the Syrian Kurdish level, the regime's establishment succeeded in advancing several steps in piercing the Kurdish political barriers and preparing groups to confront the real Kurdish movement by expending large sums of money on them including sending some of them in missions out of the country.

Kurdish Students Society in Europe

The Kurds students society in Europe is considered as one of the most ancient Kurdish national organizations in Europe and the Kurds students who were studying there establish it since their vanguards reached Europe for studying in European universities. It was a Kurdistani organization where any student from any of the four parts of Kurdistan was able to join it. It presented great service for the Kurdish struggle and became a support for the interior struggle, a media forum for submitting the Kurdish case to the world's public opinion and lonely source for the Kurds' news, the Kurdish case and the political national movement. During Aelool revolution, the society was the connecting link between the revolution and abroad by sending foreign journalists and newsmen to the revolution's regions and spreading its news.

Some of the Syrian Kurds played prominent roles in finding the society and its development like: Nooraddin Thatha and Ismat Shareef Wanly.

When discords happened in KDP and the Kurdish revolution in Iraq- as it is mentioned before-it spread and reached the society, so conflicts started on who would control this struggling society. There were no compromise or attempts for calming the situation down and cooperation to form a wide coalition administration among the trends and directions of the society so as to ward off the society from partisan disputes especially that it didn't belong to only part of Kurdistan, but it depended on national Kurdistani program.

Before holding the general annual congress in Belgrade which was assigned at the end of (1967) and went on until the beginning of (1968); the party's leadership received an invitation to send a representative for the congress and the leadership charged me with mission. After I got a fake passport, I traveled to Beirut and then to former Yugoslavia's capital(Belgrade)through Syria. Immediately I started connection with Syrian Kurds there and noticed that most of them had decided to side with (66 trend) and also made this subject their main case. I tried in my discussions with them to convince them to concentrate first on the condition of the Kurds in Syria and hold true national attitudes. I also told them about my visit to the revolution's leader (Barzani) and my concept about him truly and honestly.

I met KDP secretary Habeeb Muhammad Kareem who attended as his party's representative in a hotel. He told me that the Syrian Kurds are the overthrowing element in the conflict and that they can run balance to the revolution's side if they wanted, but most of them are against us. I said to him that our party's stance is known and settled and that I'm gong to explain this stance honestly to everybody. But he was completely worried especially that Jalal Talabani had also arrived and leaked indirect threat that he is ready to confront Habeeb Muhammad Kareem, and discover everything. But the latter told me that he is not going to enter such squabbles.

The opening session started and the guests started making their speeches. I was the third to make speech after the two Iraqi Kurds representatives and my speech was like a timed bomb and unexpected disturbance for some of the attendant because I declared our party's unchangeable stance in the revolution and Barzani side who represents national, partisan and revolutionary legitimacy and I said that all the rumors and propaganda of Ibrahim-Jalal's trend are groundless and Barzani is the symbol of left-wing in its scientific, national, patriotic and human meaning. I also added that the (66 trend) is building secret relation with the Syrian regime, which is now executing the Arabic Belt plot.

After the speech, the Kurd students and especially the Syrians came to me and started asking me. In addition, it appeared some of our comrades had uncertain situation previously.

The results of the congress were on our side and the situation changed and the administration corporation was regained from the (Jalalis). Then a half- coalition, corporation was formed in which they were put aside. At a night during the congress as I was sleeping in my room; I heard knocking at the door, so I opened to face Jalal Talabani; Kamal Fuad and Kamal Khoshnow. They entered without permission. Then

Jalal started talking loudly and with great rage and thrust at me and our party. I tried uselessly to bring the debate back to its democratic shape and if it were not for Kamal Khoshnow, we would have gone to a hand clash. Then the guests left my room after unrespectable behavior and surpassing moral boundaries.

On my way home I traveled to Turkey. I was with Habeeb Muhammad Kareem in Dara Attars's car. In Istanbul, we stayed for two days during which I met our student comrades there. Then we went on until we reached Adhana where my friends went on towards the Iraqi border, but I stayed to take a plane to Beirut.

After this congress, I attended three more congresses in separate times.

Arrest and Imprisonment

I reached Beirut, achieved continuous meetings with our comrades and explained to them the conditions of "Kurdish students society in Europe" and the congress's happenings then I set out to Damascus where I left a month ago using my identity card. But the Syrian general security arrested me after scrutiny., then they sent me with a patrol to the capital. I spent a night in (Amand) prison and in the next morning, they took me to the successive security establishments' bureau, where they refused to receive me because they said that my case is not within their specialty. At last, I settled in political security in a famous prison in Sheikh Taj palace "Taj-Al-Hussein a former president" in Halbouni region and put me in a lodging containing (15-30) prisoners belonging to different political parties. Some of them were accused of working for Israel, Lebanon and Jordan's interests. In that prison, I met a young Christian Palestinian from Haifa who was exhausted because he was accused of working for Israel's interest because he was arrested after (1967) war on the border as he was trying to enter Syria secretly. After several years I met the same person in president Yasir Arafat's bureau. He was called Imad Shuqur ,the president councilor for Israel affairs. At the same time, he was one of Fateh movement's cadres. I still have close relations with this solid Palestinian struggler. I also spent nearly a month with a Christian clergyman who was arrested because of a report from a bus ticket collector when he was going to Damascus. He saw in the road some Syrian soldiers returning after the defeat of (1976) and as a result of the fierce influence of the scene he said: " This time our soldiers came back barefoot, I pray they wouldn't come back naked next time. Because of that speech, he had been arrested. One day, we saw through the skylight that separated us from the main corridor leading to the prison's director who was a brigadier, a tall dark-haired girl with an interesting beauty going towards the director's bureau. At once, my companion started weeping as he read some chapters from the Gospel. I asked him : "What is the matter?", but he didn't reply. I insisted, and after few minutes, he leaned towards me and asked me not reveal the secret to anybody, "That girl is my daughter" said he, "and she is a university student, so I felt insult when I saw her trying to save me by contacting with those villains and merciless intelligence agents."

However, I calmed him down and in the next day, we bade our “father” farewell with respect. After being released from “the castle” prison, I met him accidentally in Damascus and our relation continued. Then he invited me to his parish in Damascus suburb.

In January 1968, the weather was cold and the torture was a mere routine, continuous hitting and then putting us in the frozen pool of the prison. We stayed in this condition for two weeks; then I was called to the director who was an officer from Duruz Mountain and a calm cultured man from Nasr family. He interrogated me for a long time.

It is worth mentioning that before the arrest, we agreed in the political bureau that Osman Sabri, Muhammad Neo and Salah Bedraddin should confess (if they were arrested) that they are leading members and should also defend the party’s program. I knew that the cause of my arrest was my speech in the Kurds students' society in Belgrade but I didn’t know how fast the report reached Damascus.

Jalal Talabani returned directly from Belgrade to Damascus but I can’t accuse anybody because I had no evidence. And the Syrian security forces had previous knowledge about my condition and role in the party but my name had not been circulated among the border points before the congress.

I have been investigated three times during which I only said that I was a leading member, my chief was the general secretary of the party, and I was responsible for party’s media, so I don’t know anybody than the general secretary and Muhammad Neo. About the congress, I said that I was invited and the society is merely a student’ society.

One day we were told that a chief is going to visit us for inspection and being acquainted with the prisoners’ conditions He was Abdul-Kareem Al-Jundi regional leadership member of Ba'ath party and first chief of security. He started talking with each one of us asking about the cause of his arrest, its period and the nationality of the arrested person. When he reached me, he asked about the cause of my arrest and I replied: because of the Kurdish case. After looking and concentrating on me, he said: "Do you want to form a Kurdish state?" I didn’t answer him but he himself said: "You are right, my son."

I was nearly the only prisoner who escaped insults especially that I noticed severity and insults before. I thought for along time about his strange behavior with me but when I was moved to the castle’s prison and met his cousin who was in prison there Khalid Al-Jundi chief of Syrian Federation of Trade Union, I learned that Abdul-Kareem was famous for supporting the Kurdish case and that he was consulting letters with general Barzani through his special ways.

They moved me from Sheik Taj palace to the military police station where I spent a severe night on the contrary to my condition in the previous prison, despite psychological and bodily torture which we were getting there. In the next morning I was moved to the previous building of the Syrian parliament to the public prosecutor of the high state security court first lieutenant Ali Abdo Al-Dhahir who started interrogating me again in the presence of strangers but they seemed to be grand

officers in the security establishments. I was surprised to see this officer who was from Mustafa Tlas's group, doesn't know anything about the Kurdish case and even about political situation in Syria. For example, he tried to impose a thought upon me that the word "party" means the Kurdish nation and he insisted on it. But I answered that the word is of Latin origin and means a party or group, and then it became current in the Kurdish language.

Then I was moved to the castle's civil prison, and accidentally I saw that one of the police patrol's member which was designated to transport me, was one of our comrades who was conscripted to work in the police lines. He knew me and was worried. Then he took an opportunity and asked me in Kurdish: "You are comrade Salah Badraddin, aren't you?" I answered him positively.

I was moved to cage number 14, which was specialized for the prisoners under investigation. There, I met Khalid Al-Jundi, his deputy Hussein Rizq, some leading members of Islamic liberation party and also Saeed Haddad who was director of agrarian reform in Hasaka when Muhammad Haider was its governor. It seemed that Khalid had been arrested because of embezzlement, but I learned from him that he was innocent and merely a victim of the governor's policies and interests. After a period of his release, he was assassinated in Hamah. And after sometime Sami Al-Jundi a writer, a leading member of the Ba'ath party and Syria's ambassador to Paris joined us. He was first called to form a new cabinet but soon he was arrested in the airport and directly dragged to prison. So he used to say: "As we couldn't form a cabinet abroad, then we'll go to do it here in the prison and appoint Salah Badraddin as the minister of the Kurdish affairs." Of course he was saying those things mockingly.

We also received-after a period-lieutenant colonel Muhammad Ma'rouf, a famous officer in the Syrian army. One night Yousif Tahtoo, the department's director in the political security, came to us, went to cage number 12, took out all the political prisoner and started dressing their hairs. Then he forced each one of them to eat his own hair. He also took away all the books and burnt them in addition to throwing away our personal things.

People were permitted to visit us twice a week, once for men and the other for women. In the first ordinary visit a number of our comrades came to visit me because our police comrade had informed the leadership. From the second visit, our police comrades started registering their names for rotation, so they started attending in front of our cage in rotation and organizing visits. This was a great support for us in regard of providing our needs of food, books, and razor blades and connecting with the leadership and its general secretary in particular who was living under force residence.

The kitchen chief also was a Kurd and our friend, so he helped us greatly. I also cannot forget the visit of honorable Mrs. Shadia, Apo Osman's wife and her motherly kindness, which used to bring me new food and clothes every week. I asked her several times not to endure the difficulty of coming to the prison to visit me, but my requests were useless.

Therefore, I appreciate highly this great Sherkesi woman whose sufferings were not less than Osman Sabri's torment in his life which was full of pursuit, imprisonment and emigration. Allah's pity on you.... Hosheen's mother.

After about a year, a partial amnesty was issued under the name of temporary release, which was devoted to the politicians and included me. I went to Osman Sabri's house who told me that one of our leading members is there and that a senior chief of security establishment wants to meet us. He said that he met him two days ago and it was a positive meeting. Then he asked me to prepare myself and go with him to meet that chief again. In the next day, we set out towards that chief's bureau in "The White Bridge". He was chief of political security and was called Muhammad Ali Al-Nabulsi. He was friendly and regarded himself from the left-wing Ba'athists who believed in socialism and equality among the peoples. He suggested that we should make deep a dialogue, may be, we can find a solution to the Kurd's case.

We did not refuse the suggestion, on the contrary we encouraged him for this new idea and received this proposal of the Ba'athists warmly and after some hours of discussion, we agreed to meet again. Afterwards I learnt that Salah Jadeed's group had opened a quick course for about (100) of its advanced cards who had low degree and appointed them chiefs of political security in Syria, as an attempt to control the situation against Hafidh Asad's influence firstly and achieving reform in the security establishments secondly.

On the other hand, as I was informed by Syria's former foreign minister "Ibrahim Makhous" in Algeria; their group had decided at that time to widen its base, follow openness towards political trends and conduct with the Kurds in Syria and Iraq. For this purpose, the group charged Abdul-Kareem Jundi with opening a channel of connection with Barzani through his special ways and not through the Kurdish movement in Syria lest it should be pierced and exploited by the other group. As he told us, their idea was to start dialogue with the Kurdish movement in Syria.

I set out towards Qamishly through Halab by an odometers train when my family and friends received me. After some days I was informed by one of our comrades that the chief of political branch in Jazeera whose bureau was in Qamishly, Khalil Jahmani wants to meet me, but I replied that I'm not going to anybody except through a formal arrest command. Then he repeated his request, but this time to host us in his house to have coffee. I agreed and during the speeches and debates, I noticed that he is using (Nablusi's) tone in his speech and talks in the same direction.

Every now and then, he was adding indirect threats about the probability of our burning the state farms, which is regarded as red line. As a result of our discussion with these two chiefs in Damascus and Qamishly, we were requested to change our political attitude towards making truce, giving up our incitement against the Arabic Belt, stop all our external and interior activities and not to become a propaganda horn for the regime generally and Salah Jadeed's group in particular. They also hinted that there are others who are ready to do it if we are reluctant in this regard. Of course by "others", they meant the right wing. But nothing of those happened because we continued our approach without hesitation. A reaction of the other group came very quickly, when the deputy military regent regional leadership member and the interior minister Muhammad Ieed Ishawi issued a law to strip me off from civil rights because

I was a threat to the country's security. Pressure increased also on Osman Sabri by summons, monitoring and threats. At last, the authority's attitude reached its peak by summoning us once more to the high Security State's court. We were the first group in the Kurdish national movement to be summoned before such courts, which were held especially for us and its sentences were not subject to distinction.

In the High Security State's Court

Before the trial, we consulted a number of lawyers like the communist lawyer and leadership member Morris Sleba who was sharing us attitude and suggested that their party's friend Hikmet-Turkmani-the lawyer should defend us with a number of communist lawyers as cooperating defense. All the process was symbolic. Osman Sabri and I attended accusation session, which was headed by Ali Mina. This name reminded me of Hikmet Mina, but I do not know if they were relatives or not. They permitted several of our comrades as listeners. The lawyer was also present, and the public prosecutor started reading the items of accusation like: an attempt for cutting off a part from Syria, encouraging racial instinct, joining an illegal political society and many other accusations.

In the second day and during the defending session, we asked our lawyer to concentrate only on the legal side leaving the rest for us because he wanted to enter subjects and attitudes, which were against our attitudes and our party's program. His duty was to prove our innocence like any other lawyer even if he needed concessions and asking for forgiveness, but this thing didn't suit us.

At first Osman started speaking. He expressed our attitude towards the country's unity and the Kurd's stands against the Turkish plots including Hatai project. He also concentrated on the party's observance on patriotic unity. Then I started through an interference talking about the Arab-Kurd relations historically and I said that our party's program asks for removing the racism which is now existed towards the Kurds and especially projects like the statistics and the "Arabic Belt". I also said that our party is secret and not permitted because there is no democracy or parties' laws and that Kurdish people in Syria is deprived of all its rights. For example, the Armenian minority has its own schools and cultural publications in many districts of the country. However, the general deputy interrupted me saying: "There are no Armenian schools in Syria. Nevertheless, I replied and mentioned the name of a number of schools and their places. That is why he felt embarrassed and the judges were confused, so the court's chief announced end of session for taking rest. After nearly two hours, the trial was resumed in the presence of Abu Al-Khair Abdeen instead of the general deputy. Abu Al-Khair started his speech using a different style when he praised the Kurds and their history. He said that the political leadership regards all the Syrians in one level without differentiating between Arabs and Kurds. But he didn't mention the Armenian schools or their cultural rights at all, instead he concentrated on saying that we were not a permitted political society" asking for severest punishment.

Before setting out to the last session-causation session-our lawyer advised us not to attend and disappear until the situation becomes clear. Therefore, I stayed in his bureau until he returned with a long face and told me that they commanded the severest punishment, that is two years imprisonment. After that I went directly to "Kurds quarter" to connect and discuss the matter with the general secretary.

Dr. Shivan and Saeed Alchi's Case

Kurdistan Democratic Party in Turkey was founded in the middle of (1960) headed by Faeq Bojaq and Saeed Alchi was its secretary. Appearance of a party organizing Kurdish people's struggle was a great stage, distinguished event in the political life of Turkey Kurdistan people and filling a vacancy which had been awaited for along time. But after only a year its head was assassinated and practically this office was cancelled, so Alchi remained a secretary.

Right from the party's appearance, the right wing leadership started building relations with its leadership. As it was known, Rasheed Hamo reached Turkey Kurdistan in 15-11-1967 for culturing party member and stayed there until Turkish security establishments launched arresting campaigns which covered all the leadership members and most cadres but Rasheed Hamo returned to Syria safely. At that time right wing's stance was not acceptable by the Kurdish revolution's leadership in Iraq, because that stance was nearer to (66 trend) and they had developed relations. It is clear that the Turkish party, in making relations with the right wing's leadership, didn't pay attention to this point. Perhaps in this case, their silence was regarded as content on one hand. On the other hand, (66 trend) had such good relations with the Turkish party they sent it sums of money through right-wing leadership as aids.

Development of the Kurdish situation in Turkey was interest worthy of Syrian government circles since along time, especially that Turkey is a NATO member, which is antagonistic to Arabic patriotic movement and decades ago. Syria had political, economical and military relations with the farmer socialist bloc, and also Syria-Turkey relations were usually strained. In this regard, Syrian security establishments didn't neglect this subject in their relations with political Kurdish groups but used to use it-as far as possible for collecting information and supporting efforts for political movement against the Turkish government. It was great to an extent that Syrian security used other groups in this mission like a group following Syrian national social party and precisely Anees Hanna Medewayaya Al-Lewa bookshop's owner in Qamishly in addition to some members from Syriac sect.

Since the ambiguous event of Turkish intelligence member (Polosh) as was portrayed by some people in 1962, doubts and questioning started making their effect in large number of Kurdish democratic party's minds in Syria especially some of leadership members about some of the leading member's involvement in this complex relation.

Polosh's story started when Abdul-Hameed Darweesh asked our comrades in Jazeera to host a guest from Turkey Kurdistan and take care of him. The guest appeared and was moved from one region to another and one house to another. He stayed with me for a week in a room which I had hired in Qamishly when I was a preparatory student. Our guest was a young athlete who didn't speak, except in Turkish or English.

After he was acquainted to most of the comrades and all the chiefs in Jazeera, it was found that he was from Turkish intelligence and gave himself up to the Syrian security but it was said that later he returned to Turkey. Till now nothing was discovered about the cause, causative or purpose of all that happened. Thence the milestones of Syrian – Turkish security relations began to be discovered especially about Kurdish case in the two countries.

In 1968, works started for establishing a new Kurdish party in Turkey led by Dr.Shivan.Despite differences about the exact date of its foundation, but it appeared under the name of Kurdistan Democratic Party in Turkey. Of course there is difference although a simple one between the two names as it is clear between-Turkish-and –in Turkey. This new party was not founded as a result of split or secession, but appeared with a new program, distinguished Political approach and different strategy.

This party's leadership settled in the liberated regions of Aelool revolution in Iraqi Kurdistan on the bases of friendship and cooperation relations with Kurdistan Democratic Party in Iraq and its leader Barzani. And its stance was clear against Barzani's opponents and especially (66 trend). Friendly relations between our two parties started on the bases of mutual respect and not intruding in one another interior's affairs, and there were common political and ideological cases between us.

The last time I met him was at Barzani's headquarter in Qasre' in the presence of Idrees Al-Barzani and Isa'ad khoshawi. I was about to travel to Europe through Baghdad, so I took leave of him, but he told me that he is going to join me soon in Germany.

It is clear that Sa'aed Alchi's assassination by Dr.Shivan which was denounced and unacceptable, had its causes and background, therefore, the two parties' leadership and other leaderships of Kurdish parties in Turkey were unable to discover that event's mystery. So the observers' questions in this regard like: why did Dr. Shivan do that ?and why did he assassinate Alchi and put an end to his life? remained unanswered.

As far as I'm concerned, the case surpassed a just conflict between two parties and their leaderships. After seeing a letter from Ismat Shareef Wanly to Abdul-Hameed Darweesh in 30-1-1976, I became sure of my content, because that letter was like a

key for penetrating into the mystery's depth. The letter hinted at a close role for Ismat Shareef in founding Sa'aed Alich's party and that he had a share in creating that party's relations outside a circle including Greece- Turkey's bitter enemy and Cyprus. It seems that two persons of that party knew about that secret: Faeq Bojaq and Sa'aed Alchi. It is quite probable that Bojaq became a victim for this relation because Turkish circles couldn't bear that thing. Because Ismat Shareef was a central committee member of the right-wing's party and its representative abroad, it is a must that some right-wing leaders knew about the relation which draws a conclusion to Syrian security establishment's knowledge about the same relation because of its security cooperation with its counterpart in Turkey.

It seems that Hameed and Ismat had reached agreement long ago and precisely when they met in Iraqi Kurdistan in 1964 when the latter became a leadership member and got the right of representing the party, a formal written paper was signed by Hameed with the Kurdish democratic party in Syria's knowledge. This, once more, assures Hameed's preparation for split and his taking precautions for this purpose. As it is clear from the letter, Ismet made connections with Israel offices and got some aids in the party name. it is also clear that the only Israel's condition for giving aids was that Barzani should know about it. This means that Ismat Shareef's moves came at a time when his popularity was dropping to the revolution's leadership.

After Israel was despaired of Barzani's intransigence and his refusal to its plans and instructions against the Arabs; it started searching for his alternative by starting new lines and penetrating into the Kurdish movement from behind its back.

This is not strange when we know that Israel's strategy since its existence depends on preventing any peaceful and democratic solution for peoples' and nations' cases in the Islamic world generally and especially the Arab countries. In this regard Bin Goreon devised several plans about dealing with representatives of nationalities, ethnic, religious and national minorities, and a number of Israel neighbors not for lifting their oppression and persecution, but for deepening conflicts and heating confrontations, because Israel leaders and founders felt since building their entity on the expense of the Palestinian people and seizing its legal rights, that their existence is contradictory to principles of democratic solution for people's issues. So, their interest is in the continuity of the conflict in all its ethnical, religious and national shapes in our region. Their treason towards the Kurdish national movement and the leader Barzani through Henry Kissinger and the Zionist movement, is a clear example in our national movement's history which we should take as a serious lesson.

In this regard, Al-Yaho Sason in his memoirs speaks about Zionist movement's juggleries through trying to incite Christian leaders in Syria and Lebanon during the mandate era and their connections with Bituni- the Syria's bishop in Jazeera and other clergymen.

Another phase of Israel's strategy towards the Kurdish movement in addition to trying to weaken Barzani's leadership and finding his alternative, was to create more than one recourse lest the Kurdish movement should have one legal and national authority because this would be an element of the movement's success and getting its legal rights.

This Israeli project was not favored in the west generally, gained the Zionist Henry Kissinger's support from his sensitive position before he became America's foreign minister, for he was against the Kurds' right and spiteful of Barzani, and he is still so to this moment.

Also more than one Kurdish party had interest in the success of the Israel's project. I think that Dia Sharaf Khan who was at that time living in Beirut and famous for his relations with Israel offices, had some relations with those events, and he was looking through the Israel's project and its influence in Shivan and Alchi's case, for a role for himself in the Kurdish movement's leadership.

It is useful to mention again what was said by the late Faeq Bojaq-Kurdish democratic party chief which was founded with Ismat Shareef 's knowledge, to Abdul Hameed Darweesh as it is mentioned in the previous book: " Keep the secrecy of finding the party and the secrecy of my being its chief and do not tell Barzani about it lest Turkey's intelligence(Mete) knows about it".

It is clear that Hameed's aim was to offend Barzani's personality and leadership and accusing him of having relations with the Turkish(Mete).

Once more, we say and assure that Shivan- Alchi case should be evaluated in the light of these facts and data and looked at according to situations of before 32 years and thinking level of that time. Dr. Shivan might have been acquainted with these data at that time. In addition to this, he thought that Alchi's party was penetrated by Mete since the arrest campaigns. According to Shakir who was one of the founders of Alchi, Fan and Shivan's party and was well-known for straight forwardness and reasonableness, Abdul Hameed met him in Qumri in Iraqi Kurdistan and said to him: " What are you doing here? In Syria, you meet with right-wing leadership and then you come to Gallala and once more to Zakho.

Of course, those words had deep significance in the course of this subject. We also should not neglect Umar Turhan's witness whom I replied his demand and met him in Beirut. He was a political bureau member in Alchi's party and in the course of talking about these facts and probabilities hinted at Dia Sharaf Khan's negative role and was repentant of his relation with the right-wing. He also told me other things which I don't like to refer to now, connecting with wealth. Regretfully illness exhausted him and after he returned to Turkey, died there.

After Dr. Shivan established a new party, two stances appeared in Alchi's party towards it. A stance regarding it a national case and calling for making relations with it and cooperate for serving the Kurdish people and its issue. This stance was led by the two famous nationalist personalities: Shakir and Sharafaddin. The second stance regarded the new party as a threat to their party's existence and led by Sae'ed Alchi who got support from outside Turkey Kurdistan and especially from right-wing Kurds in Syria.

However two factors put an end to Dr. Shivan's wishes :

First : assassinating crime. Second: his excessive seriousness and his ambitious strategic project for liberating Turkey Kurdistan at a time when Kurdistan arena was not prepared for bearing two Kurdish revolutions at the same time.

Following the Conflict with National Right-Wing

During this period, political and ideological conflicts' rates with the right-wing increased especially after it merged with the confrontation process to the chauvinist authority's policies. As we were busy in deepening our national strategy, developing our program and political stances, widening our organizations and mobilizing the Kurdish mass to ask for their rights; right-wing leadership was in its side busy maneuvering, feverish efforts for stopping us by inventing events, provoking the authorities against us through accusing us of nationalistic extremism and treating the Syrian opposition as another excuse for intensifying pursues, arrests and interrogation against our comrades and followers.

Right-wing leadership also followed its missions and relations with the authority establishments in the shape of giving-consultations about the interior cases of the Kurdish movement in Syria, its secrets, specialties and weak points. All these happened in achieving its plots in dividing and breaking up of Kurdish movement which is still going on.

The problem reached a stage that we were afraid that the crisis would widen to a civil war among the Kurds, provoke disturbance and eventually Kurdize the conflict.

As a part of our feeling of patriotic and national responsibility and avoiding risks of executing the authority's plot; we started massive work of cautioning our friends through meetings, assemblies and interior instructions and warning them of drifting to minor conflicts and concentrating on the main case that is the Kurdish people's rights.

We also informed the independent patriotic classes of these risks and open-heartedly received (benignant efforts) groups which appeared here and there especially in Qamishly aiming at pacification, dialogue and understanding. These groups included personalities well known in their true patriotism.

Europe Travel and Berlin Prison

In the summer of 1969, we were invited again to attend Kurds student's society congress in Europe, which was held in Western Berlin. The leadership decided to charge me with that mission. After getting a Syrian forged passport for the second time, I took a plane from Beirut to Prague and then I took a train to Berlin Democratic

Dutch Republic's capital in order to pass to western Berlin. Comrade Ferhad Hajo and another Syrian Kurd friend were with him. After reaching Fredrick Shtrasa's crossing point, which was famous in severe checking procedures and security observation, I was arrested because my passport seemed to be forged ,then they put me in Alexandar square prison in the city center without anyone noticing the prison's signs there.

I remained in a separate room for (12) days and they asked me to sign a writing which I didn't know its content, but later I learned that it was a two-year sentence of imprisonment for me which was to be handed to my country later.

In this period, I decided a hunger strike and my health became worse as a result of my sickness. Then a doctor visited me and they brought me meals of fish because they thought that my hunger strike was caused by pig meat. At the end of the (12) days a number of security personnel came suddenly with a translator who was a Syrian Kurd working in Berlin. They started investigating me about the passport and how I came from Beirut, the international imperialism's center! Then I explained to them who I was and why I come, the Syrian Kurds' situation and how our party issued a manifest to supporting Democratic Dutch's joining the United Nations. I also said that we are socialists like them.

In the second day, they came accompanied by a chief from "The Afro-Asian people's Solidarity Organization" and a doctor to be sure of my health condition. And they justified their previous attitude that their country was aimed by imperialism. Then they apologized saying that the event was a mere misunderstanding. And also told me that they are going to take me to Czechoslovakian border and not let me pass western Berlin. So they did, but the Czechoslovakian police refused to let me in with out visa as there were severe measures in this regard. Therefore I returned walking to the German police carrying my bag and immediately they put me in prison. After about an hour the officer who was responsible for the border gate came to me and apologized-in English- for what his friends did to me. Then he told me that-from that moment I was free but because there was no train at that time of the day , I should stay with them that night. So they moved me to a clean room. In the next morning they took me to a train and paid for the ticket. The ticket collector who was an aged person looked at my ticket and asked me where I was from. I said: "From the Middle East?From which country?"I answered: "From Syria". "Are you an Arab?"He added. "No, a Kurd." I replied. Immediately, he sat beside me and said that in his youth he served in Iraqi Kurdistan but I didn't know his mission there. He then started mentioning some Kurdish regions and towns' names with a few Kurdish words. I reached Berlin and went directly according to the addresses of our student comrades in Economics College-Karl source. There I found comrade Mahmoud Shwesh who was well-known for his sympathy and generous emotions. He paid me a great attention and expressed his regret for my imprisonment. He also told me that because of my absence, the congress was postponed, protests were made and memoranda were submitted to the international circles and media and that western Berlin media was busy with my case.

In the next day, our comrades and friends led me to where the congress was going to be held. One of those friends was Mukarram Talabani a leading member in the Iraqi communist party who was his party's representative to the congress.

I had decided before, not to become a material to be used against Democratic Germany especially because they apologized for me and set me free. And so I did. I didn't make any statement against that country, though radio and TV correspondents were there to hear from me. I remember that the late Hamrash Rasha, who was our friend and had close relations with our party's secretary, expressed disturbance and resentment for my attitude. But I answered all those who asked about the cause of my being late, that I was not imprisoned but I was in hospital because of my illness. I did that depending on my principle and feeling of friendship towards former socialist bloc.

I stayed there for some time during which I met the congress members, the Iraqi-KDP representative and some friends in addition to the Syrian students.

Negotiations between the Iraqi government and the Kurdish movement leadership had made good advance. After some days Muhammad Saleh Juma'a and Alexander Von Stainburg came to visit me. The latter was a Dutch citizen taking interest in the Kurdish case and showing emotion towards the Kurdish people but we didn't know his purpose and motives. They told me that there was an international congress to be held in Kulin about Biafra case and that the congress program would include subjects about different peoples and nationalities that struggle for their rights. Then they asked me to attend the congress as a chief in the Kurdish movement, so I agreed and set out to the congress place with Dr. Jamsheed Baderkhan who was fluent in German.

Immediately after our arrival, Dr. Jamsheed introduced me to a number of German people among whom was an Israeli person who asked to meet me at night. But at once I returned and told my two friends that I am going to walk out the congress and will not take part in a congress where the Israelis are because this contravenes our party's stance and our political line, and then I left the hall. However, he followed me protesting against my behavior, so I said: you can stay. You are free, but I have decided to leave this congress.

I went out without knowing where to, and the return ticket was with my friend. After waiting for a while in the street, he followed me and we arrived Berlin but he didn't talk with me during the flight.

After some days we made peace because I admired this faithful and lovely Badrkhan dynasty person who was Jaladat's son. Through one of my visits to him. I met his mother Rawshan khanim Badrkhan and then we made mutual visits in which I made great use of her culture, information and attitudes.

Walking out from Kulin congress caused me many disturbances because in addition to our friend's protests in Berlin, some reports were sent to the Immortal Barzani exaggeratedly, as if by this behavior, I prevented Kurdistan from being liberated and thus I lost a great chance. After staying in Prague for a fortnight, I returned to Beirut.

March 11 Manifesto-1970

When I reached Beirut, news about the Kurds and the Iraqi government's negotiations were available among political circles. One day, Mustafa Jaf invited me to go together with a delegation from Barzani to visit Maechil Aflaq.

The national thinker Menh Al-Salh also was present at the headquarter of Beirut "Muharir" newspaper. At that time I felt that there was a change in Ba'ath's stance although there were also signs of caution and hesitation.

I realized that Barzani's leadership had made deep negotiations with Ba'ath's authorities and that persuading Aflaq in this regard was necessary because of his great influence in Ba'ath's leadership in Iraq.

Then the March 11 manifesto was declared which was a deep change and prominent event in Iraq's history and also in Arab-Kurds relations. Furthermore, the manifesto was a success to peace principles and coexistence. Therefore all the Kurds' friends supported it.

This event was a positive factor for Kurdish national movement's development in different parts of Kurdistan, a motivation to its renaissance and rehabilitation to the Kurdish legal right everywhere. But in Syria, the manifesto received denunciation and criticism by the other wing of the Ba'ath that accused its opponent in Baghdad of abandoning of the Arab land and taking part in creating second Israel inside the Arab Homeland. And this was clear in Ba'ath's national command manifesto which was issued in Damascus and published in the limited circulation magazine of "Al-Munadhil". This magazine was that command's spokesman and distributed among a few numbers of Ba'athists.

It is clear that Baghdad regime agreed on that historical manifesto as a result of its weakness and its need for making truce with the Kurds. Days and years proved how the Iraqi regime emptied the manifesto from its real content and retreated from it after it arranged its interior, financial and military situation once again. I received a formal invitation from Barzani through Mustafa Jaf to attend KDP's eighth congress. I told our comrades that it is necessary for another leading member of our party to follow me to the congress. Then I took a plane to Baghdad where I was received by a number of Kurd's chiefs including Sami Abdul Rahman, the North Affair minister. I remained in Baghdad for some days and visited KDP's fifth branch headquarter and Al-Taakhi newspaper.

While I was sitting in Habeeb Muhammad Kareem's bureau, a delegate from the former Soviet embassy headed by the ambassador visited him, and I was introduced to the ambassador who started inquiring about the Kurds' conditions in Syria. It seemed that he was acquainted with the Kurdish issue.

I went to Kurdistan by car and when we reached Saladdin, the driver stopped in front of a large crowd celebration made by Kurdistan Teachers' Union in which the famous singer (Fuad Ahmad) was singing. Then the Union's secretary came, ordered us supper and kept us for that night. In the next day, we went on until Haji Omron

where I went to Barzani and saw the late Sheich Babo beside him. Then the Kurds' leader and his followers received me warmly. He kept me with him in a house attached to his.

After some days, he asked me to travel to Baghdad to meet Ba'ath's regional and national command member Abdul-Khaliq Al-Samarrae because the Ba'athists wanted to make acquaintance with Kurds leaders and build relations with Kurd's liberation movement in other parts of Kurdistan and especially in Syria. I went with Sami Abdul Rahman and met Al-Samarrae in national command's building. He was a positive person open-minded towards the Kurds' rights. He regarded what was achieved in Iraq as the first step and that the Kurds have the right to Self-determination. He told me that they are planning to build relations with the Kurdish movement generally as a step towards enhancing relations between the two peoples' liberating movements. He also said that they want to have relations with us and they are ready to support our party without any condition. At last he said that he was ready to hear what I am going to say.

I thought it was better to delay answering him to another time until I would hear Barzani's opinion in this regard, in addition to our leading comrade who had to arrive Gallalla.

When I became ready to start negotiations, interior developments had taken place in Baghdad against Al-Samarrae and his wing's will who was arrested and then assassinated because he was the probable substitute of Saddam Hussein. So his end put an end to the project.

I realized from this situation that Barzani supported by political experience and penetrating point of view imposed himself upon the Ba'athists and made them change their attitudes towards the Kurdish issue. He also influenced the conflicts of their wings. He was supporting Al-Samarrae's wing, which was opened upon the Kurdish issue and the democratic movement in Iraq. He was working quietly towards achieving rapprochement between the Kurds and the Arabs' political movement and enhancing brotherhood and coexistence between the two people.

The Eight Congress of Kurdistan Democratic Party

In the beginning of July 1970 the eighth congress was held which first one after peace making. It was opened by Barzani and all the party's rank and file inside and outside Kurdistan with Peshmerga delegates, the Revolution's establishments, prince Kamaran Badrkhan, Ba'ath's national command representative, Palestine liberation organization's representative, the socialist country's representative and Iraqi parties I organizations took part in it.

Muhammad Neo and I were representatives of our Kurdish democratic left wing party which was the only Kurdish party invited to the congress officially. I delivered a

long speech, which was received with relief by the attendants (Look in document part). A delegate from our party's organization in Lebanon also attended the congress.

But my speech created two problems:

First: When I explained the Kurds conditions in Turkey and Iran and slashed at their backward regimes and this made the Iranian regime protest against it.

Second: during my explanation of the Kurds' conditions in Syria, I mentioned the Ba'ath party as responsible for the Kurdish people's suffering, that is why Ba'ath's national command member in Baghdad Muhammad Suleiman protested and said : " It is not the Ba'ath party that rules in Syria because here we represent the partisan legality.

After the end of the opening session, a number of KDP cadres came to me in Al-Salam palace in Nowpedran where the peace agreement between Barzani and Saddam Hussein was signed and was directly opposite to the place of the congress; and started congratulating me for my excellent speech, especially that it included political, ideological and social subjects. From those cadres, I remember: Saleem Aghoki, Ali Hajhar, Faris Bowa and Hameed Barwari.

In the evening, the competent leader and beloved political thinker martyr Saleh Al-Yousfi came for the same purpose. There was also Fadhil Mirani, a handsome young man having ambitious personality and interested in reading and culture.

A delegate from the right-wing had reached Kurdistan without being invited by KDP, included Abdul Hameed Darweesh and Gigar Khwen. So, they were not allowed to attend the congress as a hint of not recognizing them as a party having organization legality in their conflict with us.

In the eve of the congress, I made acquaintance with Seenam Khan, prince Jaladat BadrKhan's daughter and her husband Salah Sa'adulla. Both were extremely friendly and sympathetic.

At night, a car from Barzani's headquarter came to take me. He asked: "

Do you admire the hot clapping of the congress members? You are mad. How do you assail Iran when the others and their representatives were so close to you? "

"It was a great opportunity for us" I replied "The KDP holds its congress in peace circumstance, autonomy and under your supervision, so I spoke freely". He seemed not to be content about with my speech, and he was not disturbed either, that is why now and then he used to call me "mad" jokingly. Then we took leave, and returned to "Peace Palace". Later, I understood that the Iranian intelligence (Savak) presented a severe protest because of my speech, so Barzani's calling us was like cautioning us to understand the situation and to be more careful in the future.

Of course, if it happened today according to our present political thinking and point of view, I would not have assailed the Iranian regime as a part of keenness towards the revolution's situation and its interests.

Trustworthily, I should say that my comrade Muhammad Neo-a political bureau member, while I was the party's secretary; warned me of the case depending on his experience and political sensitivity, but I didn't pay him attention.

At that time, the Iranians were looking for excuse to increase their pressure upon the Kurdish movement because March 11th 1970 manifesto was not a happy event to their traditional policy against the Arabs and the Kurds. But it was a heavy blow to their strategic stance which was connected to the American stance. And the Americans regarded the agreement as a success to their Soviet policy in the region and a support to its ally- the Iraqi regime which was going to sign a friendship and cooperation treaty with them after two years.

The Patriotic Congress for Syrian Kurds

When the right-wing felt weak, retreat, being away from people and isolated from Kurdish liberation movement and its essential center in Iraq Kurdistan; it adopted a new tactics depending on the saying: "Against my enemy and me!"

After its failure during the eighth congress of KDP, it started serious and continuous attempts with some of the political bureau members and adopted a maneuver in order to make its proposal reach Barzani's bureau which included their demand to start a new era of relations and behave according to Barzani's decision in this regard. Some of the political bureau members had a role in supporting and backing the right-wing leadership's proposal especially Mahmoud Osman and Ali Abdulla as they were not in conciliation with us because of our decisive stance towards (66 trend). Some of them didn't like our political stance, and some thought that reconciliation was the only method for unifying the Kurdish movement in Syria. The motives and wishes increased for launching a blow to our party's increasing influence.

Barzani called us to hear our opinion about the subject. He said:" The right-wing leaders are ready to carry out what I asked them, what do you think?" We told him that we were suspicious of that group's truthfulness and that all they had done was a maneuver. So, it was fruitless to waste time with their tricks because we knew them very well.

After some days, Barzani called us again and repeated the same question. But this time he suggested that both sides should attend his headquarter, and so it happened. Muhammad Neo, Abdul Hameed Darweesh, Gigar Khwen and I with the political bureau members Ali Abdulla, Mahmoud Osman and Noori Shawes attended. I can hardly remember the KDP secretary Hameed Muhammad Kareem was there or not. Barzani asked us to speak. I said: " What do they have to say?". Then Abdulla Hameed started saying:" I am here to apologize for what has happened before. He directed his speech to Barzani and said: "This is my head and that is your sword". At last, he added:" We authorize Barzani to solve our problem as he likes".

Then on his highness request, I started speaking and retelling in detail the right-wing's stances, behavior and points of view concerning the Kurdish issue. I also concentrated on differences between us because they don't believe in the existence of the Kurdish people in Syria and they have dubious relations with the authorities in Syria, in addition to its hostile stance towards the revolution. I also entered in minute details.

After that Gigar Khwen started talking- and he was somehow afraid- he said that his experience with Hameed is new and he is not responsible for his previous attitudes. He also said: " We are all here to put the past events behind our backs, and the last decision belongs to Barzani. If he wants us to disband our party, we are ready. If he asks us to unite with the left-wing , we are also ready." Hameed also agreed to this speech.

Then Barzani said: " What do you think of unification?", "The case is not easy." I replied. I could have said so many things, but practicality is very important. After that, Barzani ordered us to go on connections until we complete our subject.

In the evening of the same day, Barzani demanded us once more to meet him and said that his political bureau is putting a great pressure on him frankly that we cannot decide our party's fate here, especially that both of us are not convinced of what the right-wing leadership says. We also said: " If you see an interest in that, then let's hear our comrades opinions. If they agreed it would be alright. On the contrary, we cannot bear such a historical responsibility."

Barzani agreed to that opinion and repeated that he is not going to equalize faith and treason, saying: "You are near to us and we don't forget your true stances with us in the worst conditions, but I am sure that the final result will be on your political approach interest."

At last, we reached an agreement-on condition that our comrades agree-that equal number from each wing will attend to hold a unification congress.

Then our comrades held a conference after Muhammad Neo had told them all the details, and they unanimously agreed to the unification congress. But at last minute the right-wing leadership wanted to carry out a new plot maneuver, when they suggest to our comrades not to travel to Iraqi Kurdistan, but to establish a new leadership and appoint Salah Badraddin as the new unified party's secretary.

I attended the appointment of the patriotic congress of Syrian Kurds after I took part in the Kurds students society congress in Sweden. The previous agreed on numbers from each part with a number of independent patriotic personalities attended the congress which was held in Nowpedran in 26/8/1970.

Barzani himself started the congress and tried to express some kind of balance between the two parts in order to achieve a real unity. I still remember that after his speech, Idrees Barzani whom I was sitting beside, said to me: " Tell the father that faith and treason cannot be equalized", " It is unnecessary now, we will be talking in details, after Barzani leaves" I replied.

Trustworthily, I must say that Idrees was sympathetic with us and he was not convinced of what was going on, because he didn't trust the right-wing leadership at all. After Barzani left, Dara Tawfeeq directed the congress until a temporary coalition leadership was elected headed by the patriotic character Diham Mero. In fact, that didn't last long because the right-wing leadership started to withdraw after Abdulla Hameed Darweesh and Rasheed Hamo's escape to Syria by the KDP leadership's permission. They were working in Baghdad-according to former agreement- under the authority of KDP media's chief. That step indicated overturning a pledge which the right-wing had made before and led to the end of the unification project became void because one of its two parts went out of it.

I was not in Syria at that time. So, I didn't follow the consequences generated from the right-wing's withdrawal from that project. I didn't know even about our comrades' decision to exit before they apply it practically. I hoped that the project's aims were achieved after exerting great effort to have it been born, especially it was related to Barzani. I had nothing to do then except submitting to the will of the majority of our comrades and to the decision of the leadership in particular.

I can say that such events have really weakened the Kurdish movement in Syria. It was carried out deliberately by some conspirators from the right-wing leadership in Syria for two simple and clear reasons; the first was financial and the second was the strength of the party on the Kurds arena in Syria. So, they tried their best to weaken our movement. We got a great experience from such an event that the right-wing ambition was to reach the authority of the Kurdish movement in Syria, but it ended fruitlessly because our movement was based on a long history of struggle backed with real principles. Therefore, we came up with the fact that two sides cannot co-live together.

That equation expressed the specialties of the Kurds national movement in Syria and still has influence there.

A Student in Eastern Europe Berlin &

A Worker in Western Berlin

In the opening session of the patriotic congress for Syrian Kurds, Barzani declared the necessity of keeping two leading member from each part in Iraqi Kurdistan. So, I and Muhammad Neo from our part and Abdul-Hameed and Rasheed Hamo from the other side remained. The purpose of this measure was-according to Barzani's opinion-to facilitate the assimilation of the unification process.

After the other's return to Syria, we remained in Nowpedran and Barzani asked to see me and started joking with me when he said: " Come and attend my headquarter so as to learn partisan methods!" I replied : "If I hadn't learnt them till now, then I wouldn't do either in the future". Then Barzani asked me to work in the political bureau or the executive bureau and insisted on that, but I refused politely saying: "If I am useless to struggle in my country, I wouldn't be useful to you." Then I besought him to let me travel to Europe in order to finish my study there. He didn't refuse, but he asked me to think more for his proposal. After a month, I met Idrees Barzani and

repeated my request to let me travel to Europe because that was my last decision. When Idrees told Barzani about my request, he asked for me. So, I went to Qasrè, where I accidentally saw Dr. Shivan and Asa'ad Khoshawi. Then Idrees met me for a long time trying to persuade me to stay there and said that Barzani also had the same opinion. But he couldn't convince me, therefore he asked me to adhere to the patriotic congress's resolutions. Then he gave me a letter to the martyr Saleh Yousifi to help me get an Iraqi passport and ask democratic Dutch government for a scholarship for me. I reached Baghdad and gained both the demands. During three weeks in Baghdad, I was introduced to the most of the Iranian Kurdistan democratic party leading members who were backed and supported by the Iraqi government.

After a period of my arrival in Berlin, the former D.D.R's capital, I went to the foreign ministry to ask about the scholarship. The man responsible for that subject told me they had agreed and gave me a form to fill in, after I delivered my documents

It was decided that I should start from the next session because I was late for the first one. While I was waiting that, I used to meet our comrades and KDP comrades. Of course, it was inevitable that they should discuss political affairs and the patriotic case. One day Muhammad Saleh Duhoki, an administrative member of KDP organization in Europe, invited me to his house where I saw lieutenant colonel Aziz Aqrawi, KDP central committee member. Our discussion was warm and serious but it turned cold because of a debate concerning the Palestinian case, when Aziz Aqrawi started talking against the Palestinians and supporting Israel. But when he saw that his reasons were not satisfactory, he said:

"If this is your opinion, then you are on odd with our leadership's opinion, and you are against us. Why do you speak policy? Aren't you supposed to adhere to patriotic congress resolutions?"

I was surprised, but I replied politely : " This is my opinion and I am from another organization not a member in your party. That is also Barzani 's opinion too. You should know that the patriotic congress didn't impose upon us to keep silent and not to speak about policy." At this", he got furious, therefore I saw it better to retreat and leave him behind. In front of the outer door, Muhammad Saleh apologized to me.

Although we kept good relations, but he reported me to the leadership of our party when he came back to Kurdistan. During the general congress of the ruling unified German Socialist party, a KDP delegate headed by Habeeb Muhammad Kareem attended and asked Shakhawan Namiq to arrange an appointment for me with them, especially that he realized my situation. In the evening, I met Habeeb in the party hotel's cafeteria in the presence of Aziz Muhammad the Iraqi communist party's general secretary. At first, Habeeb and I started discussion when he said: "KDP is furious at you because your movement are against the patriotic congress and you also attack KDP." I refused his accusation and replied : " There are no Syrian Kurds in all Dutch Republic, and I didn't make any mistake against them" It seems that they have heard from different sources that I was working against them and they would be obliged to cut off my scholarship.

Aziz Muhammad interfered and directed his speech to Habeeb and said: "You did what you wanted with those, stopped them from partisan work and imposed a new party with a new leadership, what else do you want? Salah came here to study according to the leader will, why do you pursue him too?"

After two weeks of that meeting Middle East Department chief in Dutch foreign ministry Mr. Shaurat called me and apologized because he had cut off my scholarship according to KDP general secretary's request despite their appreciation to my attitude. I replied saying: "I 'd like to tell you that in this case I have to cross to western Berlin, as a safe gap and propaganda against D.D.R.

I was moved greatly because I had been deprived of my dearest hope in continuing study. Also I was moved by Habeeb's step which was void of irresponsibility an inhuman, especially that the scholarship was funded by the Dutch Republic.

I reached an idea that that there was "KDP" inside our KDP who do not work in the favor of Barzani, but tried to grow hostile feelings against our national movement and KDP party. As a patriot, I understood that clearly, and decided to keep silence.

I reached western Berlin in a deep sadness. I had some friends there to help me finding a job to earn my living, but I found that they didn't, but on the opposite they offered to give me money and asked me not find a job. Some of those real friends I remember: Jamsheed Abdul Kareem, Umar Wati, Abdul Razzaq Aussi, Shamsaddin Hajo and Hussein Kiki, and others whom I cannot remember their names well. Despite that, I insisted on finding a job ,and actually I found 12-hours work with a good pay.

At that period I cooperated with our comrades to enhance Europe organization of our party and achieve some activities in Western Berlin. At that time, the Kurds Union Society branch in that city became under our comrades control.

A congress was held, attended by Ali Sinjari as KDP representative who noticed that our comrades from were the majority. I suggested to him to make the administrative establishment equally between us although his comrades' numbers were insufficient. That had really made him appreciate my loyalty to KDP and the revolution, irrespective of what happened. He told me that he was going to inform Barzani of our real situation where some "members" in KDP leadership were trying to distort it.

Returning to Beirut

In 1972, I returned to Beirut on my comrades' request and held meetings with them. Then our central; committee met to study and appreciate what happened before and it was decided that our party should hold its third congress. At that time the Lebanese arena was the center of the Arab Revolutionary Movement where the Palestinian Revolution Leadership (PLO) Palestinian Liberation Organization and all

the Palestinian leaders existed. We started moving and rebuilding relations with the Lebanese and Palestinian forces like: Fateh Democratic Front, Popular Front, Palestinian Communists, Socialist Progressive Party, Lebanese Communist Party, Communist Labor Organization and other organizations and parties. So, in a short period we connected and recognized most of the personalities and leaders in the Arab Liberation Movement who were on the Lebanese arena.

Our movement and activities were achieved and our party's organization name in Lebanon which was basically composed of the Kurds minority in Lebanon. Because of the late Kamal Jumbulat's existence and his influence and sympathy with the Kurds and also our distinguished relations with him (as he was originally a Kurd); we were able to get permission for " The Kurdish Social and Cultural Society" which was the legal cover for Kawa association's work before it got legal permission.

After that, the Lebanese patriotic movement was established and we were one of its founders where comrade Mustafa Juma'a was representing us in its central council. This was the first time in Middle east history that a Kurdish side gets a formal membership in a frontal establishment recognized by all and takes part in all its political, cultural, security and military (during the civil war) institution. We also used to get our share from the aids provided to Lebanese Patriotic Movement by Palestinian Liberation Organization, Libya and Iraq. We were equal in rights with the other sides like: Progressive Socialist Party headed by Kamal Jumbulat, Lebanese Communist Party, Communist Working Organization, Amal Movement, Independent Nasirists, Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party with its two Branches, Iraq and Syria, Social and National Party, Labors Socialist Party, Arabs Socialist Union and other organizations.

Our political relations with these Lebanese and Palestinian sides were the first experience in the Arabs-Kurds relations and the first Kurdish overlooking at this great number of democratic and patriotic Arab forces.

Our mission and duty was to explain the Kurds' situation and their case with all its aspects to our Arab friend. On the other side, there was a great response in understanding, acknowledging and solidarity with our struggle and recognition of our rights. I am not exaggerating if I said that we were the first in building strong relations between the two people's movements and that we succeeded in explaining our case in a correct way and get true alleys.

On the Kurdish-Palestinian relation level, we had started after the 1965 conference when we made political relations-for the first time-with an advanced cadre from Fateh movement in Damascus in 1966 who was called Hussein Mulki. Then it went on and developed. After that we made relations with Democratic front after its split from popular front in 1967. This was after comrade Naif Hawatma lecture in Damascus university where he announced clearly that the Kurdish people has the right to determination in all parts of Kurdistan including Syria.

After a period of staying in Beirut where I passed difficult situations, I met Jalal Talabani who had changed his previous attitude and we reconciled. We started thinking together of the Kurdish people fate and how to solve the Kurdish political movement crisis.

When he noticed that our living condition was bad, he gave us enough aid to buy a typewriter and a photo copy machine. He told us that the sum was a part of an aid presented to us by Arabs National Movement branch in Kuwait.

After that, I recognized the leaders of the Palestinian Resistance Movement especially Yasir Arafat, George Habash, Naif Hawatma, Abu Ayad(Salah Khalaf), Abu Jihad(Khaleel Al-Wazeer) and others. I also recognized Lebanese Patriotic Movement leaders and our relations developed with all of those. Then our situation became better after we received aids from Lebanese party movement and (PLO).

One day, Suhail Yamoot-the Lebanese patriotic personality and the Russian friend invited me to his house and I went with two of our comrades in Lebanon organization. He introduced me to a Russian journalist who had come from Cairo and called Yavgini Brimakov(later, he became Russia foreign minister), Immediately, I reminded him how he was our comrades' guest in Qamishly in 1966 when he wanted to cross to Iraqi Kurdistan to meet general Barzani. He passed with our comrades' assistance and returned unexpectedly from the crossing point to Rumailan field which was under the supervision of the Soviet express. Then he apologized for not traveling because he thought that developments are going to happen in Syria . That was some days before the February 1966 movement by Salah Jadeed. He remembered all that and said that he traveled via Baghdad and met Barzani several times. Our meeting was comfortable but the Chinese communist party case and Mao Tse Tong spoilt it when I said that the Chinese experiment was a worthy-studying sample; especially because its conditions are like those of Middle East people and the Kurdish people in particular.

At those years, we started making relations with socialist countries through their embassies in Lebanon and they were vital and useful relations resulted in great benefits for each side especially for us. We used to exchange attitudes and discuss the Kurdish case.

We also used to listen to their observations and proposals concerning the general situation in the Middle East and the Kurdish problem. We succeeded in developing those relations until they reached those countries' capitals with the Afro-Asian people's solidarity organizations which were authorized to follow relations with patriotic liberation movement in the world. We also got several scholarships and sent more than (300) young people from Syrian Kurds to the socialist countries most of whom were from poor families but received knowledge and gained degrees in different specialization in addition to health treatment.

Also through us, relations were made between the socialist countries and some parties from the Kurdish movement in Turkey. Bulgaria was appointed to do that in the name of all those states.

The socialist countries' policy in general was summarized in making introductions and relations, collecting information, political training and granting scholarships but they opposed military activity of any kind in Turkey. Until that time those countries have not decided their stances towards the Kurdish people issue and its liberation movement. In addition to their adherence to limits and conditions of cold war at that time and their refusal to express positive stances towards Kurds lest they should

annoy the alleys of the west from those countries that control parts of Kurdistan like Turkey and Iran; they were at the same time involved in making alliances with the national bourgeois regimes especially in Iraq and Syria. Also they regarded them as progressive patriotic regimes and create a serious obstacle in the way of any openness towards the Kurdish movement in those two countries.

It was clear that states' strategies were based on keeping their interests against the west and because of the worsening condition of the Kurds and their movement; the socialist countries didn't have any feeling of support for one instant, although that was on contrary to their theoretical principles, neither the communist parties in Turkey, Iraq, Iran or Syria played any role in delivering the situation. Instead, some of them urged socialist countries to be away from the Kurds (reactionary) national movements.

All these didn't prevent the socialist countries from treating the Kurds movement through friendship and solidarity organizations. But their treatment was usually cautious and exceptional, and they used to support the trends calling for national brotherhood and peace in the countries involved in the Kurdish case.

The contradiction was that at a time when the Kurdish movement regarded itself as a part of the socialist bloc because of its conditions and the hostile Western stands, the socialist camp countries were away from them

The Kurdish minority in Lebanon was about 70 thousand people who came to Lebanon in two waves:

- The first at the Ayyubi era and they nearly forget their origin and have been Arabized.

- The second came from Turkey in the last four decades before 1972, in addition to a number of Syrian Kurds who didn't settle there permanently. And the Kurdish minority in Lebanon was a poor minority, including a high rate of the illiterate, and was chained by tribal principles.

At the beginning we tried to Lebanese citizenship rights to their members and arrange the cultured people among them in an organization having a Lebanese-Kurdish identity so that they can have a role in the Lebanese political life. And we succeeded in achieving some of our goals especially in regards of establishing a Lebanese organization having political and organized connection with the party in Syria, with a pure patriotic Lebanese program. It was among the founder of Lebanese patriotic movement. It went on in presenting the Kurdish minority cases in Lebanese in all the platforms and occasions; thus creating itself a considerable character, getting respect and appreciation from all the democratic Palestinian and Lebanese circles. It also helped in supporting the Kurdish national movement in all the four parts of Kurdistan and it formed media platforms and cultural establishments like the above mentioned social and cultural society and Rohalt magazine which was published in

Kurdish and Arabic and covers the Kurdish movement news in addition to Rebar magazine in Kurdish in Latin letters. It also published a number of historical and cultural books about the Kurds and the Kurdish issue and it took interest in the Kurds' artists (musicians and singers) by receiving them and giving parties for them. It also received a number of Kurds' literature and poets and organized evening parties for them like the Iranian Kurdish poet Hemin Syrian Kurdish litterateur Bengi. The organization's bureaus were also transformed in to homes for Kurdish nationalists from everywhere. Among the artists received by the organization and took interest in them were Shireen Mulla, Hajo and Muhammad Aziz.

After March 11 manifesto 1970, the organization arranged a grand audience for Mr. Masoud Barzani who visited Beirut and held him a mass gathering. At that time I was in Haji Umaran and when Mr. Barzani returned, he told me of his reception and thanked us for it and also praised our comrades there. This was at a time when I was sitting in Idrees Barzani's tent in Haji Umaran, when he entered and we were introduced to each other for the first time .

Right-Wing Leadership in Baghdad

At the end of 1973, Abdul-Hameed Darweesh and Gigar Khoen representing the right-wing set out to Baghdad secretly at a time when Iraqi relation with the Kurdish movement's leadership was continuously worsening, and assassination attempts against Barzani and KDP leaders were going on with regime's preparations to blow up the March 11 manifesto.

According to Kurdish reliable sources, right wing's relation with Iraqi regime didn't start then but it was woven during Abdul Hameed Darweesh's being in Baghdad before that. This was made clear by one of Iraqi intelligence agents known for his crimes and cruelty called Ali Radha. He was a Kurd originally and used to accompany the right-wing delegate in Baghdad and arrange its connections which were limited to security dialogues. They also made formal relations with the Kurdish parties allied with the regime.

It is worth mentioning that right-wing relations with the regime establishments were at the same time that Ismat Shareef Wanly made relations with the regime and was about to loose his life as a result of that. When an attempt of assassination was done against him in Switzerland.

Right-wing's delegate returned to Beirut and then to Damascus where Abdul-Hameed Darweesh was called and interrogated by Muhammad Naseef the chief of interior security establishment branch concerning the relation with the Iraqi regime. It was said at that time that Abdul-Hameed replied saying: " Yes, we made that movement as part of supporting the Arab's struggle separatist reactionary movements, which are hostile to the Arabs."

Also it was said that the trip to Baghdad was achieved with one of the Syrian security establishments' knowledge and consent for getting detailed information about

the Kurdish movement in Iraq, the Iraqi stances and other cases. But the subject was folded for good. One day, Umar Al-Ali (a Syrian patriotic Kurd was once the right-wing's friend) asked Gigar Khwen about this subject and how he stained his national record through this relation which was against the Kurdish movement in Iraq, and he latter said: I was drawn by Abdul-Hameed and involved and also I understood the subject the other way round. He also told a tale in this regard which resembles a joke but it is impossible to retell it here.

Furthermore, about this mission, it was said that the delegate got large sum of money. In this regard, "Tahir Safok"- a right-wing leading member (who left it with Rasheed Hamo and Aziz Dawood the political bureau member, some years ago) in an interview with Mattin magazine No. 69-October 1997, in which he said: " Abdul Hameed Darweesh was living in Lebanon and when he visited Baghdad, a chaos happened in the central committee because the Iraqi's government's relations with the Kurdish revolution was strained therefore such deeds were regarded as treason to the Kurdish issue and a scandal to our party;/ especially that Baghdad plotted against Barzani's life.

Because of the hard situations of the Kurdish liberation movement, dividing the Kurds among four countries, the coordination among these countries and practicing starvation, oppression and even annihilation, some sides of the Kurdish patriotic liberation movement took the decision of making relations with some of the regimes that hold control on parts of Kurdistan thinking that they can exploit the trivial differences among those countries.

This phenomenon appeared more clearly in the Iraqi Kurdish movement's relations with Iran, Syria and Turkey. It also appeared in the Iranian Kurdish movement, which depended on Iraq and that of Turkey which was on its turn depended on Syria. All these happened without any condition among the movement parts while secret cooperation among those four countries was woven to contain the Kurdish movement and liquidate it by penetrating it politically and also in the security aspect. Some parties paid the price of their unity, independence and truthfulness dearly.

Those regimes also used their relations to increase the enmity inside the Kurdish movement and encouraging the Kurdish- Kurdish interior fights and also to libel against one group through other groups.

It is funny that some of those parties, which made relations with the occupants of Kurdistan, accused other rival practice for the same case. The right -wing parties in Syria first, for example took part in the campaign arrange by the Syrian security establishment against our party and accused it of making relations with Iraqi regime. In this regard, they spread rumors that our organization's plan in Lebanon has relations with Ba'ath's organization there, which was Lebanese Patriotic Movement member at that time. This was happening at a time when the right-wing making secret connections with the Iraqi regimes and receiving aids from it. They knew very well that the Syrian campaign against us was a psychological war aiming at provoking mutiny inside the Kurdish movement and blocking our continuous struggle and increasing influence among the Kurdish masses. The attempt was also aimed at reducing our respect by the Arabs' patriotic liberation movement. It was regrettable

that a number of Kurdistan national parties were drawn to this game either because they were ignorant of what was going on or they were predetermined in doing so.

It is necessary and useful for the Kurd strugglers to study this case (the relations with the occupants of Kurdistan) during the change process by evaluating and benefiting from its lessons in both; form and content; especially that these occupants are still trying to “ administrate the Kurdish crises” and delaying the Kurdish issue from a security point of view and through their intelligence establishment. The relations with those regimes in their preview are in their favor because the relations reached 'a cull de sac' without joint communiqués and mostly the Kurdish side only declares, at a time when the Kurdistan patriotic liberation movement are in a terrible need to clearness in their political relations and participation of most popular sectors in making crucial decisions, keeping and defending these decisions.

Right from the beginning, we introduced a new approach in our political relations on both Syrian and regional levels which depending on concentrating on revolutionary forces, democratic movements, non-governmental organizations and Arabs' liberation forces. Also from the beginning our concepts were national through explaining Kurdish issue and its rightfulness and taking all the other sides and interests in regard.

This was one of the cases for targeting us, as we were carrying a serious project and clear program concerning our national issue.

Kawa Association for Kurdish Culture

Three reasons contributed to our thinking of creating “ Kawa Association for Kurdish Culture” in Beirut: the first one was historical related to the past and to the culture of the Kurdish national movement in Syria, which was influenced by Badrkhani school composed of two national approach aspects: a political aspects including revolution, military resistance and opposing the enemy in addition to organizing work and forming political organization and societies and a cultural aspect interested in issuing newspapers and magazines, using Latin letters in the Kurdish alphabet and in teaching the Kurdish language.

This school (Barzani School) had its great role in our history and left its distinguished nature in our national movement's structure, in Kurdistan Democratic Party in Syria and its national program, unifying motto and cultural nature.

Thus, we succeeded, with our comrades' help in Europe and especially those of the former Soviet, to find Kawa association for Kurdish culture in Beirut-the Arabs' cultural center in April 14th 1975. Its first fruit was a book called” The Kurdish Soviet Hero Letkin”.

As we mentioned before, the Kurdish cultural and social society preceded this one.

It must be mentioned that by this step we were venturing because of our difficult monetary conditions and also because at that time, the civil war was going on. Everyday we were meeting death on our way to the printing press, to follow and review the subject.

Here, I must thank and praise our friend George Haddad, the owner of “ Dar Al-Katib” who helped us greatly in our culture mission, supported in happiness and sadness and beard sorrow, worry and needfulness with us.

Thus, depending on our solid will, we passed all the obstacles and danger until we succeeded in spreading Kawa association in Europe and Kurdistan and in addition to Beirut .its products are also distributed in the Arab countries and different libraries and shows all over the world.

The association did not confine itself to printing and distribution our using a mere commercial method (when the Kurdish books in the Middle East are still losing commercially), but drew its correct, that is achieving various cultural missions. It started in Europe and Kurdistan arena.

By holding tense of ideological, political, cultural and scientific mass gatherings, commemorating cultural festivals through folklore, musical, artist groups inside, and abroad. In this aspect, Kawa association was the first Artist Company to be founded in Syria.

Our association also paid attention to another sides, which were human rights when it started taking parts of the activities and conferences about human rights on both the regional and international levels. It was the only Kurdish sides to be invited to Darbin congress in South Africa in 2001, which was devoted to racism and racial discrimination.

It is worth mentioning, that the association paid some of Badrkhani school’s debt back by reprinting Jaladat and Kamaran Badrkhan’s works, Hawar magazine, Runahi and Ghina NU which were issued by those pioneers who are still following in our cultural projects and national program.

This cultural heritage which we are now proud of is the product of our leftist cultural approach in developing human, democratic and national culture, and also in establishing athletic teams, issuing magazines, creating Arab-Kurd friendship societies and making celebrations on the occasion of Nawrouz feast and changing this occasion to a means for developing our renaissance and opposing national representation which later was changed to Arabization plot.

The Party’s Congress

As I mentioned earlier, after my arrival in Beirut, we started preparing for our party's congress and achieved the political report, the project of the party's program, interior constitution, a project for the Kurdish patriotic and democratic front program in Syria and another project for Kurdistan front.

I reached Damascus through a friend in one of the Palestinian factions. This was a good opportunity for me to meet our comrades in Damascus organization and visit the Syrian communist party's leaders, which was divided into two parties. There, I met the struggler Riyadh Al-Turk at Yousif Nimr's house in Qisah. This was a good chance to exchange attitudes and opinions concerning different Syrian, interior, Arabic and Kurdish issues. I still remember that I said to him: "There are rumors that one of the reasons for your difference is your enmity to Khalid Bakdash because he came from a Kurdish origin.

He refused this rumor completely and said surprisingly : "Is it true that he is originally a Kurd? What does he benefit the Kurds if he is useless to the Arabs?".

Our opinion concerning Marxism and its role in liberating peoples and their unity were very close. In addition, I asked him that their new program should contain the Kurdish people, their case in Syria and in the other parts of Kurdistan on the bases of the self-determination right. He promised to it but in reality, nothing happened in this regard. Then he sent a greeting letter to our congress, as we didn't invite any one to our congress because of security reasons.

I also met the other wing and asked Abdul Wahab Rashwani to send a greeting letter to our congress, but he didn't do so. Then I met Ibrahim Bakri for a long term in his house and he told me many news and information; especially about their relations with Ba'ath party, Talabani activities in Syria and his attempts to establish a new Kurdish party according to the specifications asked by the authorities.

The congress was held in the Gharbi Quarter in Qamishly and attended by all its members. It was the congress of political and ideological projects, transportation adherence to the Marxism- Leninism according to our concept not the Cosmopolitical Kurd's concepts, to the ideology. Moreover, the congress came out with a new wide leadership. It elected me once more as the party's general secretary and approved to the presented projects.

In this congress we assured that our going out of the patriotic unifying congress of the Syrian Kurds which was held in Iraqi Kurdistan, doesn't mean at all any change in our stance towards KDP and the leader Barzani, on the contrary, we are going to work for restoring the relations to their previous era after it suffered an earthquake as it was mentioned.

After I was engaged to my wife "Um Lund" who was a comrade and one of our active comrade's sisters in Damascus organization and from a well-known family; I returned to Beirut and we started our political activities according to the third congress's trends.

Not after so long, some problems appeared and it was clear to us that the cause of these problems was the authority's pressure and attempts. Then Jalal Talabani's role

made it worse when he began after turning against Barzani once more to apply a plan for winning the Kurdish organization to his side when he was working to announce "Patriotic Union of Kurdistan".

An example about Talabani's contradictory attitudes. He was in Beirut during Narrows of 1974 and he gave a speech in the celebration which was held on this occasion, and praised Barzani highly calling him "our era's Linen", but when he returned to Damascus, he directly changed his attitude. As we heard from the Syrian communists, he was connected with the Syrian establishment's projects to establish a new Kurdish party. He tried the same way, which the Kurdish movement factions in Iran by getting support against the Iranian Democratic Party of Kurdistan. Also in Turkey he got support from Nejmaddin Boyok who was known as Saladdin, for encouraging splits, forming blocks and "conscience buying". In Syria, he threatened to enforcement by the authority as he used to spend most of his time in Syria, so he was ready to present them his services.

In fact, Talabani's conflict with us was not a personal one, but it was in expression of the existence of two trends inside the Kurdish national movement :

One was represented by Barzani, which was a peaceful, democratic, national and political line having national constants which cannot be stepped down.

Another trend was unstable, venturous and opportunist. The most famous symbols of this trend was Jalal Talabani. Those two trends were existed in all the parts of Kurdistan in different shapes.

Although some times our relations with KDP were subject to temporary breach, stagnation and retreat; but throughout our history, we were with the first trend.

One day I met the late Shehab Noori (one of the patriotic union of Kurdistan's leaders) in Damascus through our organization's chief in Damascus who had recognized Shehab and supported him. We talked about the Kurdish liberation movement problems, its future and the necessary solution for its crisis. It was natural for me to present Jalal Talabani's negative attitude. In this, he was clear with me and said that he and his group didn't agree-Mam Jalal- in many subjects; especially in Kurdistanian relations and the nature of relations with the Syrian regime. However, he said that because of their preparation for revolution and struggling, they need Talabani support. Therefore, they had to ignore some cases until their suitable moments. Really, I saw this man solid and a struggling personality who believed in his issue and ideology.

As I mentioned before, some problems appeared in our party, so we had to hold our fourth congress in Eastern Beirut downtown in 1974. At the end of this congress, the famous event of the (bus) had happened when some of the Lebanese phalanges party killed several Palestinians in Ayn Al-Rummana region.

In this congress, we tried to return everything to its natural case through organization disciplines and adherence to the resolutions, but a number of our leading members who had agreed with Jalal Talabani-before coming to Beirut- and got his promise of backing and support if they dissented; returned to Syria insisting on

dissidence. Then they started receiving money and instructions from Jalal Talabani and announce their dissidence. Thus neglecting all the resolutions, the interior constitution and the long-term co-living among us. They succeeded in converting several of our comrades in some districts but they felt to become an alternative organizing getting the people 's respect and so all Jalal Talabani's financial aids went in vain.

In 1975, we held our fifth congress in comfortable situation in Beirut in one of Fateh's headquarter. This was a sign for coordination and cooperation between Fateh and us because of the development in our mutual relations. In this congress, we studied a number of issues, discussed the political program and the future plan, especially after the painful setback of the Kurdish movement in Iraq Kurdistan and the new missions which we had to achieve.

The congress decide to change the party's name to "The Kurdish Popular Union in Syria ", and the party's newspaper name was also changed to " The people's Union" I was re-elected as the party's general secretary.

Here, I'd like to appreciate highly our comrades who bore difficulties-and still they do- and there is no difference between those who are still going on and the others who left organization adherence because of their conditions. They all bore more difficulties than me because they were dismissed cadres while most of the time I was abroad. They encountered the authority's threats, terror of arrest, political and ideological conflicts and the treatment of the masses in addition to the difficult living condition in most cases. Once more I greet their insistence on their principles especially: Sheikh Al-Jabal, Abu Salar, Abu Lurin, Abu Chiling, Abu Rughin, Abu Sherzad, Abu Siamand, Abu Shaheen, Sherzad Sayed and other whom I cannot mention their names because of the situation.

Arab Relations and Mediation Project

During the last four years of my staying in Beirut, our relations with the Arabs witnessed great development. In addition to our political relations which re-enforced with the Lebanese patriotic forces and the Palestinian factions; we made distinguished relations with a number of Arabs liberation movement forces and other sides especially the ruling socialist party in Yemen democratic Republic. Then I was invited to Yemen where I held talks with political leadership during which our friends in Yemen agreed to provide our needs of passports, and they gave me a diplomatic passport which I was using until the Republic's disappearance and foundation of the unified Yemen. I made several visits to that country in many occasions. Also I had relations with Algerian patriotic liberation front, most of the parties and organizations in the Gulf region and most of the Arabic communist parties.

Through these relations, we used to present and explain the Kurdish movement issue with their states and conditions and we used to get positive political stances in most of the cases.

Before the Kurdish movement setback in Iraq and appearance signs of fighting renewal there; we put forward an initiative to the Arab friends as an attempt for mediating between the two sides in order to end the probability of war and enable the two sides to return to negotiation. In this, we thought that the war re-start wouldn't be of any profit to the Kurdish movement. We prepared a number of letters to be sent to the Arab political leaders. Some of them were friends of the Kurds and some had friendships with the other side. We handed the letters to: Kamal Junbulat, Yasir Arafat, Salah Khalaf (Abu Ayyad), George Habash, Naif Hawatma, Muhsin Ibrahim, the southern Yemen president through Yemen's embassy in Beirut where Muhammad Shutfah - the charge d'affaires was working there.

In our meeting with those, we received good responses about their readiness to go to Baghdad and present the peaceful initiative to both sides. Junbulat preceded the others in this regard when he reached Haji Umran and met Barzani and then met his representative in Beirut (Aziz Sheikh Radha) who was a truthful and straightforward man, explained our project to him in details with its reactions and I asked him to convey a message to Barzani about the project. He was quite surprised to hear that and said: "What do you say, if the war started? This time we shall reach Baghdad." He said so according to the information that reached him.

I am not sorry until now if the late reached Barzani or not especially that Aziz's only means to connect with Barzani was the Iranian embassy in Beirut.

National Relation and the Location of the Syrian Kurds Arena

We were truthful in our attitude and treatment with Barzani's leadership undoubtedly, careful about his character and approach right from the beginning of Aelool revolution. We presented all our potentials for the success of the revolution especially in the hard times. I still remember when I was responsible for our organizations in the region in (1961 – 1962 – 1963), our comrades in the villages on the Turkey-Syria border started taking out men to sweep mines and sending them to Behdinan front. During this process the late Latif Shakir whom I was direct chief, was killed when he was trying to take out a mine by himself without any help from the expert.

We also agreed to combine our Europe organization with KDP's organization there as a support the revolution and its leader.

Furthermore, we took part in sending foreign journalist to the liberated regions: Jean Piere Veno, Gerald Shalian, Yavgini Brimakov and Dana Adam Schmidt.

We made friendly relations with the Iranian Kurdistan Democratic Party when Kareem Hassani and Abdul- Rahman Qasmlo in Europe. During their staying in Iraq and before that, there relations with Ahmad Tawfeeq. Our relations developed and one day Qasmlo and Muhammad Amin Siraji tried to mediate between the right-wing leadership and us. We responded positively to their initiative but after a series of meetings, the right wing related and the reality of difference between us appeared and became clear to our friends. This mediation happened in Beirut in 1973 and since then our relations developed.

Our fraternal relations also with most of the parties and organizations in the Kurdish national movement in Turkey didn't cease, and we provided them all the shapes of support and backing we could even by facilitation in opening political, security and military courses for them in Lebanon.

In our national relations, we depended on clear vision of cooperation, mutual recognition, respecting one another's interior affairs and reaching a combination within a Kurdistan front framework on the four parts level.

We had achieved our program in this regard since our third congress in 1973. During our existence in Lebanon, our bureau was transformed to a national center where representatives of five Kurdish parties in Turkey gathered in addition to a Kurdistan Party of Iran and our party and organization in Lebanon. Even the Lebanese civil war and difficult conditions didn't prevent us from achieving our national duties. At that time, war raided us, as we were members in the Lebanese patriotic movement, which was an essential part in the war.

We started in coordination with Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to confront the right-wing Lebanese force led by phalange party. It was clear that the Kurds natural position was with the Lebanese and Palestinian patriotic movements especially that their majority were living in the western region, patriotic and progressives' square. And the other side displaced the Kurdish families existing in its regions and liquidated hundreds of the Kurdish minority confiscating their properties.

Therefore we had no choice but to take necessary precautions when we prepared an armed force for defense and taking part if it was necessary. We called it (Kawa's revolutionary force). We took part in different establishment of the patriotic movement and in the joined Palestine-Lebanese leadership.

We went on in our attempts with the Kurdistanian parties and organizations through meetings and discussions in order to reach a framework for gathering the Kurdish liberation movement forces, prohibiting combats sticking to peaceful negotiation.

These attempts included the majority of the Kurdish political forces in different parts of Kurdistan.

As a reaction to our serious attempts and our project based on a program and a working plan and supported our friends and allies from the Arabic and international democratic forces: counter attempts were made under the Kurdish movement Union cover. It became clear that official Syrian centers encouraged these attempts through a number of Syrian communist and the right-wing's leadership. Although they succeed in achieving some meetings, but when the purposes of these attempts were discovered, the essential forces kept away from it like: Kurdistan democratic party-Iraq, Kurdistan democratic party- Iran and the Kurdish movement in Turkey.

In this period Abdul- Hameed Darweesh made a great number of travels to Damascus and Europe at a time when the patriotic Kurdish leadership were prohibited from travelling.

Historically speaking, since borders were mapped out and western Kurdistan appeared, our arena changed to a great station for the fighters, who used to come from the north and a suitable situation for working out plans and program for continuing the struggle and not to submit the painful blows which happened in three stages: a stage in 1915, a stage in 1925 and the last one 1930, since issuing the first newspaper (Kurdistan) more than (100) years ago, interests in this arena were clear through the essays and letters. Also this arena witnessed putting the essential bricks of the Kurdish-Armenian alliance, after that Shareef Pasha gave it a start in Paris peace congress.

Furthermore, our arena produced the Khoeboon movement as a political, organization and half-military reaction movement to the effect of the Kurdish movement defeat in its confrontation with the Ottomans and the Touran's movement.

This arena also witnessed the use of the Latin Kurdish letters for the first time by the Badrkhani family.

There was also a start to a complete national ideology-not a regional one gathering the Kurdish from more than one part of Kurdistan as a first fruit towards refusing the distribution of Kurdistan by the colons.

From this arena good offices set out to regain national unity on both political and organizational levels in Iraq Kurdistan when famous Kurdish personalities arrived in Barzani, Mosul and Baghdad according to direct instructions from Khoeboon movement.

Thus our arena changed to a connecting link between the north and the south and played a cooperative role. Of course changing its time and place from Qamishly to Kobanya and Ifreen was not so important. This role was also played outside the Kurdish region between Halab and Damascus where Badrkhan Pasha, Mawlana Khalid and Jaladat Badrkhan's graves are. The role sometimes was changed to Beirut.

Here, in Western Kurdistan the first seeds were cultivated for a process of cultural, political and ideological assimilation between Badkhani and Barzani schools, precisely after the 14th July 1958 revolution in Iraq and Barzani and his followers, returning home.

At that time, the national arena lacked a quality transmission for regaining national balance. From hence Western Kurdistan arena started inclined to the southern part drinking from its national and revolutionary spring and getting its ideological and spiritual food from the south.

It was not strange for the south to change to the only source for the Kurdish liberation movement, a center for gathering the Kurdish movements in the other free parts-including ours- and axis which the other grapple about positively and negatively and a recourse for the national legality and solving the interior differences among the Kurdish parties.

During this continuous process for more than three decades, we must refer to the fact that the national leftist was the first side in the other three sides to discover Barzanism as a national, political and ideological approach. The left was also first to connect with Barzani's leadership. This national left was embodied in the Iranian democratic party led by Ahmad Tawfeeq, our leftist Kurdish democratic party in Syria which changed its name to "The Kurdish Popular Union" led by Salah Badraddin and Kurdistan Democratic Party in Turkey under the leadership of Dr. Shivan.

But these relations didn't go on one straightforward line. If the national left was to blame in some points like its late discover of Barzanism, its ideological backwardness- and sometimes leftist parasitism- its inability to put a clear program for its relations with Barzani and its negligence in drawing a subjective revolutionary strategy for the Kurdish movement; it is necessary to mention as a historical fact that these national left and was still faithful to Barzanism and that some small faults were done towards us and towards the others.

Although Idrees Barzani's witness in this regard was (13) years later, but it threw alight and rehabilitated to an attempt for evaluation the past as a means to achieve new steps towards the future. This witness happened when I met him in Libya in 1983 with Fadhil Mirani, Rozh Nouri Shawes and Sayed Barzani. At that meeting, he said: "God witness that we betrayed you". In this, he was referring to their stance during that patriotic congress for the Syria Kurds in Nowperdan in 1970.

I think our arena with its historical and new characteristics, is entitled to greater interest by our brothers in the north and the south by not neglecting its existence, it is belonging to Kurdistan. Its people's rights and its patriotic character. It also should not be looked as a small part because even in the population aspects, the Kurd's rate, as compared to the other people in the country, is more than that of the Kurds in Iran and Turkey and is near to the Iraqi Kurds' rate.

It is worth mentioning that the Kurdish national movement in Syria, since its appearance, pursues political struggle as a means for achieving its requests and purposes and this subject didn't create and difference between the national left and the rightist. Neither any other part suggested violence as a means in our arena. As I see it, the cause of this goes back to the following reasons:

First: Our arena was a residence and outlet for the fighters who were defeated by the Ottomans and Kamalists and felt that armed struggle was fruitless. This happened

after the repeated defeats, the last of which was an attempt to send fighters to Turkey Kurdistan in the thirties. The Syrian Kurds got a sober lesson from that situation and so adhered to peaceful approach and political struggle especially geographical location of the Kurdish regions in Syria is not suitable even to think of armed revolution.

Second: The historical peaceful characteristic of the Syrian patriotic movement generally and its opposition in particular. After Syria got its independence, political traditions found their way in the patriotic opposition centers and the Syrian intelligence. Therefore, no act of violence was taken by the political parties and forces except for the armed sedition between groups from Ikhwan; (Muslim Brothers Movement) on one side, and the authority on the other side. This sedition was moved and encouraged by ethnic and foreign motives.

Third: The Syrian Kurdish peaceful nature which is influenced by their historical and geographical location in the Mesopotamia- the cradle of the civilization, cultures, co-living nations and conscious will to peaceful and democratic solution to the Kurdish national issue and live together with the Arabs and the other nationalities in one patriotic framework.

It is clear that Kurdish people in Syria is lucky by this lonely exception among the four parts of Kurdistan in its fair, legal and peaceful struggle without giving victims and shedding blood. In addition, this created a positive influence on the interior relations in the Kurdish political movement and non-submissiveness to the regional sides under pretext of providing military aids commissioner and weapons for the fighters in return to presenting concessions.

The Beginning of Transformation in the Kurdish

Liberation Movement's Structure and its Address

In 1975, the political scene on Kurdistan arena was as follow:

In Iraq, the painful setback happened and the people emigrated towards Iran. At the same time the Kurdish movement's leaders and strugglers faced difficult conditions because they became preys at the mercy of Shah's regime which was antagonistic to the Kurds aspirations and ambitions. It appeared to the world that the essential center of the Kurdish national movement under Barzani's leadership, has collapsed.

In Turkey, after the political and cultural renaissance in some years by the Kurds patriots who tried making use of relative democracy appears at some eras; the military authorities returned to impose martial laws and severe rules and lead wide arresting campaigns against the patriotic Kurds. And no one escaped this campaign except those who left Turkey and became refugees in the neighboring countries and Europe.

In Iran the Kurdish movement was still living in its perennial unsolvable crisis because of its subjective and objective conditions.

As opposed to this general negatives scene, encouraging signs appeared in both the political and ideological levels, when the early signs appeared on the way of a revision for the past experiment by the cultural and political elite. Its most important manifestation are:

First:

Attempts for searching for alternatives through evaluating the previous experiments, approaching the diagnosis of the reasons which shared in creating the political crisis, happening setbacks, faults and division though criticism boundaries were quite limited and lacked clearness, and evasion from carrying responsibility and putting them open other's shoulders.

Second:

Those years witnessed an increased approach of the intellectual classes to the Kurdish national movement's organizations after a period of evasion. That was a sign of correctness and the beginning of reconciliation between the politicians and the intellectuals and left positive which appeared later.

In this regard, the Iraqi Kurdistan arena was the first where the Kurd intellectuals left the Iraqi cities and towns towards countryside and the mountains where KDP and the revolution's leadership existed. Both the Syrian and Turkish arenas followed phenomenon was somehow late in the Iranian Kurdistan.

Third:

Accepting ideological, political and party pluralism. Although an appearance of another party beside the ancient historical one and the historical leader was prohibited in the Kurdish political concept; events, developments and the situation started imposing this historical turning point. Furthermore, frontal work among the contrast forces started to get interest and so national, patriotic Kurdish and Kurdistanis fronts appeared in most Kurdistan arenas.

Fourth:

A new political address appeared among the Kurdish political centers when events and experiences disclosed that there were emblems, terms and reality solutions which no longer suited the renewed situation, so must of them were reviewed. Among those

were the question of (Who are the Kurds' friends and foes regionally, locally and in the international level, inutilities in the struggle means- military or peaceful- the Kurdish people's rights and requests which- at the end- are subject to force balances, the Kurdish relations, means of solving discords and stands towards democracy case in the countries that hold control upon Kurdistan.

Fifth:

Attempts for evaluating the relations with the four regimes by a number of parties in the Kurdish movement after previous better experience so as to restore these relations in a balanced method to the national and patriotic interest office. We called it "attempts" because this problem has not been solved yet.

Sixth:

A new set out occurred through heading for forces and organizations in the peoples, whom the Kurds live together with and especially the Arabs. Among the Arabs organization, Palestinian patriotic movement was targeted most as a reference to the fact that depending on the regimes has failed, so they turned towards the peoples.

Seventh:

A partial slow returned to the cultural subject. Cultural publications were issued and new centers were established for carrying culture affairs, but they remained under the party's and unilateral concept's control which a narrow space for opposed opinions and multi-stances.

A Last Speech

As it is clear, I didn't pass 1975 in this research leaving it for the second part to be issued in a near future. Here, I'd like to refer to an important point which is that some people may mix between two matters: our historical and unchangeable stance towards the case of the Kurdish people's existence and rights which originates from our principles; and our political stance in relation to solution and alternative.

Regarding the first point, we don't deny the subjective Kurdish reality as it is. In the second, we have a great deal of flexibility and readiness for understanding.

Throughout our history, our approach was known for frankness, clearness and adherence to co-living with the Syrian Arab people, and our political memoir is full of kindness feeling towards our country and standing against its enemies as it appears clearly in this research. By this, we prove our faithfulness towards our pioneers and adherence to our people's morals and manners historically.

In addition to being proud of our people and adherence to our nationality and identity, we are proud of co-living with the Syria Arab people and our common destiny. During more than forty years, we proved as a party and a Kurdish national movement that among the Kurdish factions, we are the nearest to the Arab issues and especially Arab's first issue that is Palestinian issue. We were also the first force that made and enhanced its relations with the Arabs.

The principles of seeing the Kurds as a people having the right to self-determination doesn't cancel the essential patriotic principle of believing in a strong unified Syria enhanced by its patriotic union and the cohesion of its different national and cultural elements. But the formal policy from work towards us was as follows:

There is no existence of the Kurds in Syria as a people and national issue. Our stand is:

The Syrian Kurds are people existed there having tentative right for self-determination in unified Syria framework.

In this case, patriotic dialogues called lesson the difference somewhat that both sides may meet at a predetermined appointment. So, whenever the truth patriotic dialogue starts and the Syrian government responds to our national movement's will in agreement on finding a suitable democratic solution for the issue of a part of the Syrian people on the base of the Arab-Kurd brotherhood and co-living; are awaiting it.

The influence of the interior factors and discords about the policies and stands, led to a clear political and ideology formation which facilitate reading the main titles of the discord cases between the two wings concerning basic strategically matters not only political tactics.

This was the first event in the movement's history which was summarized in the party's split into two wings: a national left wing and a national right-wing.

This made the split horizontal and vertical. This discord is still going on and the conflicts is continuing after more than thirty years and evidences refer to its continuity as far as there is Kurdish national movement in the stage of patriotic liberation. The discord is going to appear even after the Kurds' issue solution in Syria but in other ways and concepts.

On the other side and in the end of this research I see a necessity to clarify that I did my best to present the facts as they are according to my view to them. There may different points of view for historical event and different interpretation for the Kurdish national movement's events.

I also avoided personal abuses against anybody and I dealt with stance concepts, opinions, and not the individuals' specialties.

In my analyses and evaluation, I estimated from the others' existence not denying them and from my belief that there will not be development without discords and conflict.

We are in the Kurdish national movement in Syria, proud the despite continuous conflict and deep discord, we didn't glide in to violence counter-violence.

We must be proud of this manner because it is one of our movements' specialties which is a positive character which should be respected and generalized on the other Kurdistani factions and forces.

Mentioning Abdul-Hmeed Darweesh's name more than one place in this research, is not meant to personal abuse at all but it is a reference to his role in our movement as the most distinguished among the right-wing's leaders whom Iran regarded as a friend despite all the discords.

In this occasion I'd like to ask all those whose names have been mentioned in this research and also the others, to discuss this national subject and present their opinions and observations in the form of books, researches or essays, Iran will promise to contribute in printing and distributing their essays, books our researches if it was necessary.

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