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## THE RELATION TO KURDS IN THE RESIDING COUNTRIES (NEAR EAST, CIS)

*Мақалада Таяу Шығыс елдерінің — Түркия, Иран, Ирак, Сирия және посткеңестік мемлекеттер — Армения, Әзербайжан және Грузияның күрдтер мәселесіне байланысты ұстанымдары: шекаралық даулы және аталмыш мемлекеттер территориясында күрдтердің орналасуы мәселелері жан-жақты қарастырылған.*

*В статье рассматриваются отношения и позиции отдельных стран Ближнего Востока — Турции, Ирана, Ирака, Сирии, а также постсоветских государств — Армении, Азербайджана, Грузии к курдской проблеме: пограничные споры, а также проблемы расселения курдского народа на территории данных государств.*

### Turkey

In Turkey Kurds are deprived the elementary rights of national minorities since Ataturk period. The ideological concept of Turkey consists in creation of a monoethnic society; therefore there are no preconditions for development of culture, language, traditions of national minorities.

Zone of the most purposeful and rigid actions of Kurds are the territory of Turkey. Begun 13 years ago as revolt of small group of people, the present armed performances of Kurds, administrated by PRK, have reached real war scales. For last months they have extended with former ten on twenty southeast provinces (vilayets) of the country. All this time Turkish government compelled to keep a mode of state of emergency in East Anatoly.

Taking into account negative sides of internal conditions in the country, and also under the influence of international legal, parliamentary and public organizations in the top echelons of the Turkish authorities and in a Turkish society as a whole the understanding of necessity of a recognition of Kurds as people gradually grows ripe. Offered by the former president of Turkey T.Ozalom the idea of a Kurdish autonomy finds the increasing support.

Even during preparation for war against Iraq, Ankara has stipulated the support of actions of the USA by an indispensable condition — not to admit creation of the Kurdish state in the north of Iraq. Washington, most likely, promised it to it. Nevertheless, danger remained rather real. In any case, change of a situation in Northern Iraq inspired Kurdish insurgents in Turkey. That is why in the early nineties after long with firmness an uncooperative altitude to Kurdish movement Ankara began to do attempts structurally to approach to consideration of the problems connected with it.

It is necessary to notice that to «the new Kurdish policy» Ankara has forced to pass the severe validity. Change of a situation in Northern Iraq sharply made active the Iraq Kurds which movement has accepted character of revolt. The newspaper «Milliet» in October, 1991 wrote that from Northern Iraq to Turkey has passed to 500 thousand Kurds which have supplied insurgents of the Workers' party of Kurdistan (WPK) with a weapon considerable quantity. Insurgents, the newspaper complained, have now artillery, including antiaircraft guns and rockets, they develop fighting operations even in big cities. In such situation by force of arms a problem not to solve, «it is necessary to operate in a complex — political, social, economic methods» [1].

But already approximately by 1993 some toughening was outlined in a position of the Turkish authorities. At the height of the discussion developed among the public about ways of the decision of a Kurdish question (including on the basis of an autonomy, federation etc.) Prime minister S.Demirel has made the statement that «conversations on federation are erroneous». Turkey, he has underlined, the unitary state, uniform and indivisible, with an official language — Turkish. Recognizing an inaccuracy of a former official rate on «assimilation of Kurds at any cost», S.Demirel, at the same time, has declared that though it is necessary to admit the fact of an ethnic generality of Kurds, under the constitution still all citizens of Turkey — Turks. As to «terrorists» from WPK the government will not go on any political contacts to them and demands their capitulation. Then (spring of 1993) the representative of the constitutional commission medjlis professor Shener Akjol has declared that support of idea of federation — the constitutional crime for, on constitutions, unitary character of the state is not subject to discussion.

In the end of 1995 Tansu Chiller who has replaced S.Demirelja on posts of the party leader of a right way and the prime minister of the coalition government in connection with election of the last as spring of 1993 with a post of the president, has confirmed again a hard line of the government concerning Kurdish «separatists», having specified that no negotiations with them should be [2, 30].

It is possible to explain such turn by several factors. By 1993 conditions in Iraq were a little stabilized. In Turkish Kurdistan WPK has achieved some successes in war against insurgents WPK. At last, probably, negative influence on a Turkish management has rendered development of centrifugal tendencies in the Russian Federation. One of known Turkish political analysts wrote, meaning this aspect that new Russia — an example to which nobody will wish to imitate.

Nevertheless, statements of a Turkish management at all did not mean full refusal of «the new Kurdish policy». Its some essential elements, such as refusal of confrontation with all Kurdish movement, the differentiated approach to it, searches of the compromise with its some groups and simultaneously isolation of the most dangerous to Turkey WPK remained.

In 1991 at the initiative of president T.Ozala Ankara has made the first steps in search of contacts to the Kurdish organizations in Iraq. Then communications with the Patriotic union of Kurdistan (PUK), have been established by headed Dzheljal Talabani. By 1993 they became not so strong as they were and in 1995, when Talabani has declared that considers WPK as political, instead of the terrorist organization, they have been almost frozen. Simultaneously the Turkish management has come into contacts and to other large Kurdish organization — Democratic party of Kurdistan (DPK) led by Masud Barzani. This last as it was marked in the Turkish press, has shown even the big propensity to negotiations with the Turkish authorities, rather than PUK [3, 84].

Turkey, for the reasons stated above, has shown the big interest in definition of the further destiny of the Iraq Kurdistan, advancing idea of a Kurdish autonomy within the limits of Iraq. This position in many respects coincided with the view sight of group of M.Barzani who has supported an autonomy and even carried on about it negotiations with Bagdad. As to group of Talabani it was in the beginning a supporter of ideas of «independent Kurdistan», and since 1992 began to support federation as a part of Iraq. Therefore for Ankara contacts with DPK were more encouraging in 90th years. As a whole, as it was marked in the Turkish press, the country leaders with a view of isolation WPK gave from time to time essential support both DPK, and PUK. As a result was outlined some kind of cooperation of Turkey with both specified groups, as though directed against WPK.

The situation has changed in 1994 when rivalry between DPK and DPK, passed in armed conflicts which in the end of 1996 have accepted character of large-scale fights with application of artillery and tanks has flashed.

Though some political observers believed and believe that M.Barzani's grouping is the strongest, fights between it and PUK went in 1996 with the variable success, many settlements in Northern Iraq on some times passed from hand to hand. During military operations there was a situation characterized by strengthening of contacts between group of M.Barzani and a mode in Bagdad. According to some information, last helped group the weapon, including heavy. In turn, group of Talabani, ostensibly, gravitates to Iran and gets from it support. Such situation is fraught with the increasing retraction of the authorities of Iraq and Iran in the conflict between DPK and PUK that can lead to military operations between two countries.

In September, 1996 in Ankara negotiations of the head of the Turkish government of N.Erbakan of that time with the Iraq delegation headed by representative S.Hussein Jusuf Hammadi have taken place. The parties have discussed possible variants of ways of an establishment of the world in Southern Kurdistan as the area which is undoubtedly under jurisdiction of Bagdad, and also possible measures of a Turkish side on struggle with WPK [2, 31].

On termination of N.Erbakan's negotiations has declared that they have led to success in achievement of overall objectives of its government — to a restoration of peace and calm nesses in Northern Iraq and to opening of an oil pipeline Kirkuk — Jumurtalyk. Simultaneously the press has informed that there are possibilities for signing by the Turkish authorities of the agreement from M.Barzani — «ally» of the Iraq management. The agreement purpose — to counteract operations WPK in Turkey.

Here it is necessary to remind of existence of one more «character» — the USA which as a result of war in the Gulf have even more deeply got into region affairs. Heads of this country as the Turkish press marked, tell about aspiration to provide in region calmness, and operate so that undermine it, and then come for putting in order. They also have applied such tactics to relations both between Turkey and Iraq, and to Kurds.

And still Turkey should consider a position of the USA on regional questions. Outwardly here the USA and Turkey in many respects operate synchronously. The United States declare the interest to stop conflicting Kurdish groupings — DPK and PUK and even will organize by means of Turkey negotiations between them, incurring a role of the intermediary.

However here, as they say, there are nuances. For Washington modes both in Iraq, and in Iran are equally hated. And for Turkey these countries — neighbors, its national interests dictate it necessity of restoration of good-neighborhood trade and economic relations with Iraq. The USA, reconciling and uniting DPK

and PUK, wish to oppose this force to a mode in Bagdad, to approach it to Turkey. Last wishes them to reconcile more densely to incorporate in the Iraq state frameworks and to oppose to insurgents PUK who remain the main enemy of Ankara.

Turkish chauvinism consists not only in official non-recognition of a problem of Kurds and Kurdistan, but also in prohibition of departure of traditional ceremonies and customs. Many name a policy of Turkey concerning Kurds simple, but a terrible word for all civilized mankind «ethnic cleanings». It is strange, for what judge Milosevic and Hussein, for some reason escapes punishment to the Turkish government. ... an economic level of a life of the population in areas of residing of Kurds in 4–5 times below the average level, the share of the unemployed is high, in some settlements there are no elementary conveniences. The economic policy of Turkey has no priorities for development of lagging behind areas of the country where lives basically the Kurdish population [1].

In February, 1999 Turkish special services had been arrested the charismatic leader of the Workers' party of Kurdistan (WPK) Abdulla Ogalan. At the moment its figure became a change in the speculative auction a Turk with Euro Parliament. Besides taking concessions on the Cyprian problem, on settlement of mutual relations with Greece Ankara, knowing the quivering relation of Europeans to observance of human rights, it is transparent has hinted that in case of the next refusal in the introduction into EU they execute Ogalan.

### **Iran**

In Iran Kurds also are deprived the right of national self-determination. Leaders and active workers of the Kurdish oppositional organizations are pursued not only on territory of the country, but also behind its limits. For example, murders of the leader of Democratic party of the Iranian Kurdistan have been made by Abdurahman Kasemlo during official negotiations in Vienna in 1989 and successor Sharafa which has replaced it of Kandy in Berlin in 1994. According to dogmatic Islamic concepts, in a Muslim society there can not be national distinctions, therefore the political rights of Kurds at a current situation cannot be realized in Iran. Aspiring to suppress activity of own Kurdish opposition, the Iranian authorities make efforts for preservation of certain balance of forces in region not to allow any country to achieve advantages in ethnographic Kurdistan. Iran opposes any changes in political geography of region though is not inclined to interfere with existence of «the released zone» in the Iranian Kurdistan as convenient base for counteraction to Iraq and amplifying American influence in region. Despite existing friction, the government of Iran participates in periodic meetings with heads of Turkey and Syria for coordination and the coordination of positions and joint efforts on a Kurdish question, basically not to admit a partition of Iran.

After wreck of shakh power a mode became more active in the basic two national political organizations. It is Democratic party of Iranian Kurdistan (DPIK) which was headed those years by known political figure Abdurrahman Kasemlu (1930–1989), and also left «the Revolutionary organization of workers of Kurdistan» (Komala). Besides, in the northwest of Iran other forces oppositional to an Islamic mode which to some extent incorporated Kurds functioned also [2, 32].

### **Iraq**

Not the best fate has comprehended ethnic Kurds and in Iraq. Traditional areas of residing of Kurds — in the north of the country. Here influence of Bagdad is the least appreciable. However it did not prevent to carry out to the government of Iraq to the policy here a violent Arabization and deportation from areas of traditional residing for the purpose of change of national structure in these regions. The most notable achievements in national struggle of Kurds take place in the Iraq Kurdistan. In Iraq the autonomy of Kurds is officially proclaimed, and it is fixed in the constitution. After a failure of the Kuwait adventure of S.Hussein who has come to the end in February, 1991 with serious defeat of the Iraq army, there were temporarily favorable conditions for carrying out under cover of the West of free, democratic elections on character in Kurdish national parliament (basically of representatives DPK and PUK) and government formations in Erbile. It became actually the formation beginning in territory of Iraq of independent Kurdish state formation. In coordination with the United Nations and Bagdad, the Kurdish autonomy occupies mainly territory of the Kurdish independent area formed in 1974.

The Kurdish region has inherited completely destroyed economy though also the economy of all Iraq was actually in a similar condition. According to the head of humanitarian mission of the United Nations which have visited the country in March, 1991, that is right after the ends of war in the Gulf, «for a certain time Iraq has appeared rejected in preindustrial an epoch» [2, 32].

Disorder of economy of Kurdish region became result not only wars in the Gulf and the revolt which have followed its termination of Kurds and Shiits of Iraq in March-April, 1991, but also eight-year war with Iran. The long-term armed struggle of Kurds should be reflected in state of the economy for the national rights and the real autonomy, developed still in the early sixties.

«Free Kurdistan» is the self-proclaimed national education within the limits of the Iraq Republic — has begun the existence in the extremely difficult political and economic conditions. During suppression of movement of Kurds for national self-determination and during war with Iran the Iraq armies have destroyed in 80th years over four thousand cities and settlements, several thousand Kurds have been killed, ten thousand are moved in other areas of the country, not including those who ran to the next Turkey, Iran or in other states. Since second half 70th years for simplification of struggle with Kurdish peshmerga (fighters) the army has cut down a considerable quantity of trees in large forests of the north of Iraq. Many water sources which are giving rise to streams and the rivers, have been sealed up by ferro-concrete plates. During the Iran-Iraqi war of 1980–1988 in all territory of the Iraq Kurdistan it is established over 20 million in mines. They were put, mainly, nearby from border with Iran [2, 33].

These mines are considered as one of the main obstacles in a way of returning of Kurdish settlements to a normal life. Dangerous land mines became a cause of death of several thousand local residents and physical inabilities of tens thousand able-bodied people. Because of mines in region it is not processed over half of arable lands, the animal industries do not develop almost. By means of the international organizations, for example the British charitable organization «the Consultative group on mine business», it is neutralised one and a half million in minute Low rates of works on mine clearing of territory of Northern Iraq speak absence at the Kurdish authorities of the modern equipment and cards, minefields.

### Syria

The two-million population of Kurds in Syria also feels on itself pressure of a national policy of discrimination: half of Syrian Kurds have even no citizenship though were born and live in territory of Syria all life. Such people are called as «foreigners».

Arabi-Kurdish cooperation in Syria lasted not for long. With coming to power of ultranationalist Arabian party Baas in 1963 the period of discrimination of Kurds in many spheres of a life has begun. The program of Baas formed in 1943, ignored the rights of the Kurdish people, called for violent assimilation of Kurds and an Arabization of their territory. Perhaps, it also has served one of the most serious reasons which have induced Kurds to begin organized national-liberation struggle. In 1957 the Kurdish Democratic party of Syria (KDPS) which since 1960 to this day, is headed by its secretary general H.Darvish has been created.

In 1962 the government «has managed» to spend population census in east province of Syria Dzhazira that more than 150 thousand Kurds have got to the list «adjanib» — foreigners. According to the data of census, the Syrian citizenship people who were under suspicion of special services have been deprived. Owing to this «census» almost in each family one children have appeared citizens of the country, and others — foreigners. Reached that parents admitted citizens of Syria, and their children — foreigners [4, 23].

Soon after party Baas arrival to the power «book-project» of the head of department of police (safety) of area Dzhazira of M.T.Hiljalja under the name «Research of national, social and political features of a province of Dzhazira» has been published. The author of this project became the governor, and then the minister of supply. The book written to it is impregnated by spirit of chauvinism. Its many thoughts have frankly fascist character.

Khilyal has offered the plan which, in its opinion, should finish a Kurdish question once and for all. It provided: deportation, resettlement and dispersion of Kurds; deprivation of their possibility to get education and work; delivery of Turkey the Kurds who have escaped in revolts in Northern Kurdistan; kindling of conflicts among Kurds by means of a policy «divide and dominate»; realization of a policy of colonization, including moving in Kurdish areas of «thoroughbred» Arabs; placing in areas of «a Kurdish belt» army parts which should provide an embodiment in a life of measures on resettlement of Kurds and placing instead of them Arabs; creation of collective farms and military training of Arabs moved in Kurdish areas; prohibition to all persons who are not knowing the Arabian language to participate in elections and to be the elite; resettlement Kurdish ulems in southern areas of the country and appointment instead of them ulemo-Arabs; carrying out among the Arabian population of wide antikurdish explanatory work [4, 21].

This document has absorbed in itself reactionary ideas of the most extremist elements of party Baas, especially its ideologist Michel Afljak. The government has started an embodiment in a life of the plan of Khilyal, without advertising it, having excluded some the most odious points.

Because Baas costs at fed boards and in Damascus, and Bagdad, much depends on it in definition of political weather in the Kurdish-Arabian relations, both in Iraq, and in Syria. Baas has passed some stages of development, during each of which its position concerning the Kurdish people had the features.

The first stage of struggle of Baas for the power (1943–1961) has been noted by solving influence of elements for which exclusive unscrupulousness of political behavior is characteristic. On the one hand, founders of Baas — Michel Afljak, Salah Bitar and figures similar to them considered that interests of the Ara-

bian countries demand close cooperation with Moscow. On the other hand they preached terry nationalism and anticommunism. For the decision of national problems they offered sometimes the measures similar to Hitler's ideas from «Main kumpf». Leaders of Baas never entered into any front, a coalition or an alliance if at these associations there was a Kurdish organization or if in their programs of actions the national rights of the Kurdish people were mentioned. From its part Kurdish political parties and the organizations in Syria and Iraq rather cautiously perceived slogans of Baas. They fairly considered that the Kurds side by side living with Arabs, dividing centuries their grief and pleasure, have deserved kinder relation to.

Defeat of Arabs in six-day war against Israel has pushed baasists to reevaluation of values, in particular in a Kurdish question. The head Syrian baasist's Hafez Asad which have realized necessity of adjustment of cooperation with Kurds became one of the first leaders of Baas who has made it. «Corrective movement» is connected with its coming to power in 1970, planned a new course of Damascus, including in relation to Kurds. A mode Asad has improved matters the Syrian Kurds. If earlier in Syria arrested the Arab that it publicly proclaimed: «Long live the Kurdish-Arabian brotherhood», XII national congress of baasists in 1975 has declared: «Our party cannot resist to interests in any way and to fair expectations of the Kurdish people, on the contrary, she recognizes and supports its interests».

Slowly, but consistently political parties of various parts of Kurdistan have started to adjust relations and cooperation with baasist's regime in Syria. During the period with 1970 for 1900 Syria has turned to a support and a refuge for many figures of the Kurdish democratic organizations.

Deterioration of a situation for Kurds has begun after the first war in Persian gulf when after occurrence from UN Security Council blessing «Free Kurdistan» in Iraq certain circles in Syria together with ruling modes of Turkey and Iran have started — to oppose creations of the Kurdish national centre and act till now.

Thus, such countries different in the orientation as Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria, are uniform in the aspiration not to admit creation of the independent Kurdish state. Thus each of them exploits a Kurdish problem, as the original tool of pressure in mutual relations with each other. The problem of Kurdish crisis is very narrowly connected with interstate relations between Iran, Iraq and Turkey and the international relations on Near and Middle East. Uneasy business with a problem of Kurds and on space of the former Soviet Union is.

#### **Armenia**

The Kurdish population of Armenia lives basically in Aragatssky, Talinsky, Armavir (Oktemberjansky), Echmiad-Zinsky, Art Ashatsky, Araratsky (Vedinsky), Ashtaraksy, Kotajksky, Tashirsky (Kalininsky), Verdetsissky (Basar-Gecharsky), Sevan areas, and also in the cities of Yerevan, Kirovakan and Dilizhan, on population census of 1989 number of Kurds in Armenia made 60 thousand persons; but, by our calculations, more real figure — 80 thousand [5, 44].

The first congress of Kurds which has taken place on January, 11th, 1925, has addressed to the government of Armenia with the request to take measures for working out of the Kurdish alphabet on the basis of a Latin drawing. This question was considered also in state structures of Georgia and Azerbaijan. By the end of 1922 A. Shamilov and Morogylov has developed the Kurdish alphabet. In 1929 with a view of preparation of the qualified teacher's shots 23 Kurds have been directed for study to the Leningrad east institute. Every year the number of national schools increased. In 1934 in Armenia 45 Kurdish schools in which it was trained more than 90 percent of Kurdish children were. And in 1931 in Yerevan the Transcaucasian Kurdish pedagogical technical school which has played the important role in a cultural life of Kurds has been opened. In 1930 in Yerevan the republican Kurdish newspaper «Ria of a basin» («the New way») has started to be published. With introduction of the Kurdish alphabet (March, 1929) in Armenia the considerable quantity of the art, educational and political literature in Kurdish language has been published. In 1934 in Yerevan the first has taken place All-Union kutdish conference on which the decision on the further development of Kurdish national culture was accepted. The big work has been spent on collecting of folklore, national legends. Appreciable steps to business of preparation of scientific shots have been taken. Tens Kurds have protected candidate and theses for a doctor's degree. The Kurdish intelligence was formed. At the Union of writers of Armenia and now the section of Kurdish writers functions. At Institute of oriental studies AS of Armenia the department of Kurdish movement operates. In Yerevan daily broadcasts in Kurdish language are conducted. Kurds of Armenia have kept the national shape, language, culture, customs [5, 67].

#### **Azerbaijan**

After an establishment of the Soviet power in Transcaucasia within administrative territory of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic the Kurdistan district («Red Kurdistan») on July, 7th, 1923 has been formed. Geographically it is located between Nagorny Karabakh and Armenia and includes four Kurdish areas: Kelbadzharsky, Lachinsky, Kubatlinsky, Zangelansky and a part of Dzhibrail'sky area where 98 percent of the population were made by Kurds. Hollow in a centuries-old history possibility within the limits of national-administrative formation has been given the population of Kurdistan district to develop the culture and lan-

guage. The Kurdish branch of Shushinsky normal school prepared national shots, has adjusted release of school textbooks. National schools have been opened, there was a newspaper «Soviet Kurdistan», broadcasts in Kurdish language were conducted.

Thus, possibility for development of national culture of Kurds of Azerbaijan has opened. Successes of the Soviet Kurds caused liking in foreign fellow tribesmen. Many of them in the name of the Soviet power saw a personal security guarantee. After suppression All-kurdish national revolt in Northern (Turkish) Kurdistan, for example, with 1924 for 1926 from Turkey to Soviet Union has illegally moved two thousand families.

Free development of the Kurdish population in Azerbaijan proceeded not for long. In 1929 the Azerbaijan authorities have abolished «Red Kurdistan», liquidated Kurdish schools and the cultural centres. With a view of assimilation of Kurds and change of national structure in «Red Kurdistan» the increase in the Azerbaijan population was encouraged, at schools training was conducted only in the Azerbaijan language. That it has occurred during the short historical period, incontestably testifies to the purposeful policy concerning Kurds of an Azerbaijan management of that time. Besides, transition to a policy of assimilation of Kurds in Azerbaijan has coincided with severe suppression of revolt of the Kurdish people in Turkey in 20–30th years. During this period administrative-territorial reform in Azerbaijan has been spent and the district «Red Kurdistan» is liquidated. As a result the considerable part of Kurds has lost the important national lines. The Kurdish intelligence was dissolved among the Azerbaijan. The word «Kurd» in consciousness of the dominating nation became offensive.

In its representation Kurds — illiterate, backward people, nomads. Many representatives of Kurdish intelligence have been compelled to refuse the national identity only that they could lose a work place, But, nevertheless, the part of the Azerbaijan Kurds has kept national spirit and continues to struggle for the national rights, honor and advantage of the people. The stimulus to this struggle was given by a policy of reorganization, democracy and publicity. The certificate to that is struggle for restoration of «Red Kurdistan», for an official recognition of Kurds in Azerbaijan [5, 112].

### Georgia

In Republic Georgia lives about 50 thousand Kurds. They live basically in Tbilisi. Ancestors of their present generation have moved to Georgia to an establishment of the Soviet power. After resettlement in a life of the Georgian Kurds there were dramatic changes thanks to the benevolent relation to them the Georgian. Have improved social and a material well-being of the Kurdish people, its general educational and cultural level has raised, there was an intelligence. However the management officialdom used able-bodied Kurds, first of all on not qualified works. As a result for 70 years of existence of the Soviet power the great bulk of old generation remained illiterate. Bitterly, but it is necessary to understand that today very few people from Kurds of Georgia can read and write on a native language. They endure spiritual crisis, their native language gets littered, national traditions and customs are perverted [6].

In spite of the fact that under the influence of certain factors it is deformed a lot of valuable in a spiritual life of Kurds, they continue to struggle for preservation of the national customs, traditions and originality. Recently in Georgia the Kurdish intelligence became more active, its activity has increased in an ideological and political and cultural-educational life of the people that in turn promotes growth of national consciousness. A number of the youth and cultural organizations which have close contacts to the Kurdish centres and the organizations, both in the CIS, and in the far abroad has been created. The changes occurring in consciousness of a Kurdish community in Georgia, first of all — result of democratic transformations in the country. Strong impact has made on them national-liberation movement of the Kurdish people last years.

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