KURDS, ISLAM AND SECULARISM

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Abstract: Kurdish, Islam, and Secularism. The Kurds are a tribe that adheres to the Islamic Sharia and embraces the Shafi'i school, has changed course since secularization, Turkinisiation. The Kurds lost their way because those who were considered leaders all this time were the Sultan of Turkey who was a representative of the Muslims. Islam does not look at skin color, social status, what distinguishes it is taqwa, a principle no longer shared by the Turkish republic that stands above the rubble of the Ottoman Empire. With the descriptive method through literature studies, the figure of Kurdistan can see from various dimensions, history, social, and politics. The scourge of the political situation, world war I and II, has shaped the character of Kurdistan, which is filled with intense desires for independence in all kinds of ways. Kurdistan experienced agitation, intimidation, and massacres carried out by neighboring countries that had made the Kurds swayed in various types of ideology, marxism, leninism, radical secularism which all led to anti-Islam.

Keywords: kurds; Islam; secularism; independence.

Abstrak: Suku Kurdi, Islam, dan Sekularisme. Suku Kurdi adalah suku yang taat berpegang kepada syari'at Islam dan memeluk mazhab Syafi'i, telah berubah haluan semenjak terjadi sekularisasi, Turkinisasi. Suku Kurdi kehilangan arah karena yang dianggap sebagai pemimpin selama ini adalah Sultan Turki yang merupakan wakil dari Umat Islam. Islam tidak memandang warna kulit, status sosial, yang membedakan hanyalah taqwa, prinsip yang tidak lagi dianut oleh republik Turki yang berdiri diatas puing-puing Imperium Ottoman ini. Dengan metode deskripif melaui studi pustaka sosok Kurdistan dapat dilihat dari berbagai dimensi, sejarah, sosial dan politik. Gerusan situasi politik, perang dunia I dan II telah membentuk karakter Kurdistan yang dipenuhi oleh keinginan yang bergejolak untuk merdeka dengan segala macam cara. Kurdistan mengalami agitasi, intimidasi, dan pembantaian yang dilakukan oleh negara-negara sekitar yang telah membuat suku Kurdi terombang-ambing dalam berbagai macam ideologi, marxisme, leninisme, dan radikal sekulerisme, yang semuanya mengarah kepada anti Islam.

Kata kunci: kurdi; Islam; sekularisme; kemerdekaan.

Introduction

When the Ottoman Empire still referred to the Islamic Sharia and stood as the leader of the Islamic world, all ethnic groups lived under the auspices of this Islamic state according to the Nabawi hadith, which said:

وعن أبي نضرة قال: «حدثني من سمع خطبة النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم في وسط أيام التشريق فقال: " يا أيها الناس، إن ربكم واحد وأباكم واحد، ألا لا فضل لعربي على عجمى، ولا لعجمى على عربي،

From Abu Nadhrah has told me, people who have heard the sermon of the Prophet Muhammad in the middle of the *tasyriqday*, he said: "O all men! Your Rabb is one, and your father is one (meaning Prophet Adam). Keep in mind. There is no advantage for the Arabs over the Ajam

¹ Ahmad bin Hanbal, *Musnad Ahmad*, vol. 12, 5 vols. (Kairo: Dar al-Hadits, 1998), No.22391.p.761.

(non-Arabs), and for the people who stand on the Arabs, there is no advantage for red-skinned people over black people, for black people over red people except with piety. Have I delivered? "They answered: Yes, it is true that the Prophet Muhammad delivered."

Secularism is a term that has aroused the most intense debate compared to other ideas into the Muslim world of thought since the beginning of the 20th century, which cannot be forgotten and continues to be prolonged. For Kurds or Kurdistan, this is not something new because most of their territory is under Ottoman rule, only a small portion is under the *Qajariyah* kingdom (Iran now). The Kurdistan region was named at that time Ottoman Kurdistan because it was under the Ottoman Empire.²

The problem raised in this paper is how secularism makes the Kurds who were calm under the turmoil of Turkey become turbulent? To what extent do the Islamic Bond and the Sultan's Islamic policy keep the Kurds from deflecting to Britain and other invaders and carrying out separatist movements?, and whether the impact of the Ottoman Empire's collapse on Kurds who continue to aspire to be independent under the understanding of nationalism can be realized or only become a political tool for the benefit of Western countries only?

Method

In writing this article, the author conducted a descriptive method through literature studies and observed various literature relating to the secularization of the Kurds and the impact, ideology, social and politics of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, especially against the Kurds. The source is in the form of books, papers or writings, or previous research experiences about the Ottoman Empire, which are helpful so that they can serve as guidelines in the research process.

The Transition of Power and Ideology

Modern European thought, such as secularism, democracy, nationalism entered the capital

of the Ottoman empire, the Palace (Istanbul), then naturally the learned Kurds, civil servants, military and students were also affected by it. This influence was strengthened after the İttihadve Terakki Cemiyeti party held power after Sultan Abdul Hamid was kidnapped and overthrown in 1908-1909. After nationalism was exhaled, namely Turkinization spread throughout the region, the Kurdish scholars began to question the legality of the Ottoman state as a protector of Muslims. Because all this time, the Sultan of Turkey was considered as the caliph of the Muslims who carried out the Islamic Shariah without any understanding of nationalism let alone secularism which separated religion from the state.3 Does this Turkish state have to be obeyed as it obeys the previous caliph? Is the country of the Ottoman Turks belonging to the Turkish nation or the Muslims who take shelter under it? If indeed this country is still considered as part of the Capitalism, the order must be obeyed as long as it does not conflict with Islamic Sharia, but if this country has declared nationalism, secularism, it will lose its legality as an Islamic leader.

The emergence of the Kurdish community was seen in 1908, namely Jam'iyah at-Ta'awun wa Taraqi al-Kurdiyah. Most of the members are educated sons from the Kurdish tribes. The ideological basis of this association is Islam and Nationalism. The founder of this association has written a letter to the British ambassador in Istanbul explaining the background to the establishment of this association. They ask for the attitude of the British government and provide help to the Kurdish people to realize their ideals. The founder of this group hoped to get help from France because they were influenced by democratic thinking originating from the French revolution at that time (Liberté, égalité, fraternité). French revolution due to the historical relations of the Ottoman Turks with France, and the connection of the Ottoman Empire in adopting French and Swiss legal

² Michael .M. Gunter, The Kurds and the Future of Turkey, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997), p.148.

³ Ahmad Khoirul Fata, Siti Mahmudah Noorhayati, "SEKULARISME DAN TANTANGAN PEMIKIRAN ISLAM KONTEMPORER," *MADANIA: JURNAL KAJIAN KEISLAMAN*, Vol 20, No 2, December 2016, pp. 215–228, http://ejournal.iainbengkulu.ac.id/index.php/madania/article/view/180.

and judicial systems that would be applied in this Ottoman Empire. 4 The Ottoman Turks were under pressure from western European countries to change their attitude towards non-Muslim minority groups because they were also considered citizens who were equal in position to Muslim citizens. Muslim citizens have a significant impact on the entry of Western culture, which is more focused on nationalism and territory than religion.5 The emergence of groups, Kurds, Turks, and Arabs who have crystallized for a long time became nationalist understandings related to the region. On August 9 the Kurdish student association studying in Ma'had Khalqu Ala Zira'iy (Agricultural School) and the health academy in Istanbul (Hafi al-Kurdiyah / Amal al-Kurd), they united to arouse a sense of Kurdish nationalism.6 This group was spearheaded by the JamilPasya family who came from Diyarbakir. On August 9, 1913, Mamduh Salim was appointed as the General Secretary of the Kurdish community by delivering a speech denouncing Kurdish leaders who did not support nationalism.

Kurdish youth and politics

Islamic groups forbid Kurdish youth from entering politics. Although the Ottoman Turks bind the freedom of the Kurdish nation after Sultan Abdul Hamid II, this Haifi group decided to continue its activities. This group published a magazine called Rozi Kurd / Matahari Kurdi, which was nationalist and cultural. This magazine discusses the forms of the Kurdish struggle for independence in the Ottoman Empire, especially when the Ottoman Empire gave freedom to other ethnic groups other than Turkey to express their opinions. In November 2013 in the Iranian Kurdistan region in the city of Khawa, a Jihandani / Universal association was established. This

association was founded by Abdurrazik Baradkhan Pasy, which aimed to improve the education of the city's residents. This organization was found outside the territory of the Ottoman Empire because Badarkhan was a fugitive from the Ottoman Turks on charges of cooperation with Russia against the Ottoman Turks.

In 1916 he was arrested in the city of Ruandoz in Iraqi Kurdistan. He was sentenced to death on charges of cooperation with Russian spies which constituted a betrayal of the state (Ottoman Turks). The Khuwaibun Party (al-Istiqlal) was the first liberal nationalist party founded in 1927 in the Bahamdun City of Lebanon, the result of the unification of Kurdish organizations with the support of Armenia and France. The prominent leader came from the Badarkhan family. Pasya was Jaladat bin Amin Ali bin BadarkhanPasya and his brother Kamiran Badarkhan, besides that it went from the Jamil Pasya family and other Kurdish families from Syria.8 The leader of Iran's Kurdistan Democratic party Abdurrahman Qasmulu suffered the fate he killed in 1989 by an Iranian spy in Austria. This party deplores its people who have a narrow view that only emphasizes personal interests, who do not want to cooperate with the Soviet Union and prefer to work with France as an occupying country.10 France's interest in veiling Kurds because they want to suppress the Ottoman Turks. After that stood, a conservative Hayuwa / al-Amal party consisting of tribes learned in Iraqi Kurdistan in 1939 led by Rafiqh Hilmi. This party is more likely totoally with Great Britain.

Russian and China Impact and temporary Independence

Various causes motivated the cause of the transition of the Kurdish party from the Liberals to the social democrats. The change

⁴ Hakan Ozoglu, Kurdish Notables and the Ottoman State (New York: State University, Suny Press, 2004), p.221.

⁵ Ismet Hamzah, *Malabis Rijal Hirfah, Malabis Indal al-Akrad* (Dimasq: Dar al-Hasyr, 1973), p.169.

⁶ Meirison Meirison, "Islamic Government System: Between Abu Zahra and Ibn Taimiyya," *Ijtihad* 34, No. 2 April 4, 2019, accessed Mei 20, 2019, http://journal.fs.uinib.ac.id/index. php/ijtihad/article/view/14.

⁷ Jonathan Cain, Kurdistan Region of Iraq, The Oil & Gas Year Kurdistan Region of Iraq (Irbil: Kurdistan Region Government, 2008), p.111.

⁸ Muhsin Muhammad al-Mutawalli, Kurd al-'Irāq: mundhu al-<u>H</u>arb al-'Ālamīyah al-Ūlá 'ām 1914 <u>h</u>attá suqūth al-malakīyah fī al-'Irāq 'ām 1958 (Beirut: al-Dār al-'Arabīyah lil-Mawsū'āt, 2019), p.115.

⁹Robert Antony wright, *Our Man in Tehran* (Peterborough: Trent University, 2018), p.221.

¹⁰ Halil Inalcik, Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East: From the Rise of Islam to the Present Day (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), p.167.

took place during World War II, after Hitler's defeat and the emergence of Russian communist forces which later became the Soviet Union. The location of Kurdistan is geographically quite close to the territory of the Soviet Union. The Left Party was supported by the Soviet Union led by Abdurrahman Qasmolu. Partia Democracy was officially established in 1945 in the Mahabad region of Iranian Kurdistan. Then it was followed by the Kurdish Democratic party in Iraqi Kurdistan on August 16, 1946.

The term Marxism, socialism is explicit in party ad/art items and the program for establishing the Kurdish Party. Stand the Republic of Mahabad in Iranian Kurdistan in 1946 supported by the Soviet Union. In the first period most Conservative or liberal Kurdish National parties and organizations adhered to colonial powers such as Britain and France. While the Iraqi Communist party was founded in 1934 which had a branch called Syuris / at-Tsaurah, this party tried hard to promote Communist Lenin thought which was atheist and anti-Islam as a religion and system. They attacked the ulama (Syaikh al-Milaliy), they considered the ulama to be the source of decline and backwardness. Liberal Kurdish parties are also hostile to Islam as a system of life; they call for the separation of religion from everyday life even from various aspects of any entity.12 The conclusions derived from the schools adopted by these Kurdish parties and organizations are secular, Marxism, Leninism, al-Mawiyah / Mao Zedong (radical secularism) French or Ataturk style. Adherents of these sects jointly try to uproot Islamic roots from all Kurdistan countries by all means. They accuse moderate Islam as terrorists, even they also accuse Islamic creeds and Sharia of being a backward ageedah and Shariah and a source of darkness. Secular thinking has resided in the thought of the Kurdish community as it has penetrated all the Islamic regions around it. Although Kurdish parties and

organizations are not the originators of Marxism, Leninism, Liberalism, they have a significant role in the antagonization of Islam as the religion and system that governs the life of a Muslim.

Kurdish Parties is increasingly apparent and influences the elimination of the role of Islam in the lives of these Kurdish parties and organizations when they took office in Iraqi Kurdistan in 1992.¹³ It is seen that two of the Kurdistani Democracy (Hadak) unions of al-Watani al-Kurdistani (AWAK), this party won with the support of secular groups.

The second parties succeeded in imaging in the eyes of the United States and uniting joint steps and visions in the Iraq war. In 2002 Braham Salih, the Kurdistan / Kurdistani National Union Management Prime Minister stated that Kurdistan had become a tower of democracy in the region. The Kurdish Globe newspaper explained on May 9, 2007, that the collection of signatures began in March 2007 for the constitutional declaration of the Kurdistan (Iraq) region as secular law. In line with the sect and ideology, Kurdish female activists in KebabasanWanita (Huzan Mahmud) at a press conference (Hawlati / al-Mawatin), which was released on March 31, 2010 in Sulaimaniyah city, said "family law now sided with male line (Patrilineal), and the conservative religion that distinguishes the degrading position of women.¹⁴ The government has failed in realizing the equality of women and men in individual rights and freedoms. They insist on implementing Islamic Sharia which maintains national, ethnic, religious customs and rejects modern family law. The fundamental problem is in the ruling group that divides the community based on sex, religion, nationality, and ethnicity. This propaganda is carried out by Kurdish female activists to support the Kurdish secular party, both those in government and those outside the government. This movement is also supported by Western organizations that demand equality of women, through print and audio-visual media. They also

[&]quot; Ofra Bengio, Kurdish Awakening: Nation Building in a Fragmented Homeland (Texas: University of Texas Press; Reprint edition (November 15, 2015), 2015), p.178.

¹² Hannes Černy, Iraqi Kurdistan, the PKK and International Relations: Theory and Ethnic Conflict (Exeter Studies in Ethno Politics), 1 edition (July 28, 2017). (New York: Routledge;, 2017), p.168.

¹³ David Romano Mehmet Gurses, Mehmet GursesConflict, Democratization, and the Kurds in the Middle East: Turkey, Iran Iraq and Syria, 1st ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p.88.

¹⁴ David Romano Mehmet Gurses, Mehmet GursesConflict, Democratization,...p.89

conduct periodic seminars involving scholars in various fields.

The seminars and publications aim to attack Islam as a religion and system without the slightest hesitation. The Kurdistan Parliament then passed laws that were contrary to the Islamic Sharia. The legislation includes the prohibition of polygamy. The Kurdistan Parliament brings out anger amid Muslim communities which contradicts the fundamental Iraqi law in which Kurdistan is part of Iraq itself. As many as 78% of Iraqi residents are opposed to drafting regulations that are contrary to Islamic Sharia.

The role of Christian missionaries

The first and second Protestant and Catholic groups after the Gulf War gave land and extensive land to establish churches and schools and print books using Arabic. Kurdish in the original language style (al-Karamanjiyah, Syamaliyah, and al-Janubiah) Children from groups and organizations and Kurdish parties study in Missionary schools and foreign schools in Iraq even though they are not suitable for children's faith. But they said their children were taught in these schools to learn English. Kurdistan officials liked this until one of them said: "he prefers to see Kurds convert to Christianity rather than seeing a radical Muslim." 16Two American Universities in Sulaimaniyah City and Duhuk in a row. However, the builder charged to the local government at a very high cost. The university successfully built on the contributions of the community and the traders. The university reminds the author of American Universities in Beirut and Cairo, developed by US Protestant missionaries in the Arab World begining from Ottoman Period.¹⁷ The first in Beirut is more than 100 years old, to create a new generation that has Western character, which is expected to occupy a precise position and future Arab leaders with a Western pattern. That is, prospective Kurdish

leaders have Western education for those who do not have the opportunity to attend school in the Western World itself.

Western World itself has been going on for 100 years. On December 8, 2015, a Catholic school built in the country of ink Ainkawah al-Masehi on the outskirts of the capital city of Irbil spearheaded by Sayid Nigerfan Barzani, Prime Minister of the Kurdistan region. This university has received assistance from 215 Catholic universities throughout the world spread across 65 countries. It confirmed by the head of the university that the university was open to anyone without discrimination. It revealed by Bishop Bisyarah Wardah, chairman of Bishop Irbil about his gratitude to the Kurdistan Prime Minister, Mas'ud Barazani and the Prime Minister of the region Nijirfan Barzani and his officials for supporting the operation of the Catholic University.¹⁸ The Missionary Institution continues to try in every way to pressure legislative and executive institutions and community organizations in the Iraqi Kurdistan region to change the ahwalsyakhsiyah law originating from the Islamic Sharia. This is done so that the Kurds can easily change their identity to Islam and become Christian. The same is true of families who have converted to Christianity. At least with the amendment of the applicable law, apostate Kurds are no longer punished or denounced based on freedom of faith by the principles of Islamic faith, which apply in all regions of Iraq.¹9 The secular wave in Kurdistan was greatly affected by the political history of the Ottoman Empire, which was greatly influenced by French thought which had carried out a revolution.20 The works of the revolutionary idea translated into Turkish, such as the works of Jean Jacques rousseau, Montesquieu, and others. The liberal nationalism trend of the Young Ottoman group is still shrouded in traditional Islamic understanding.

¹⁵ Imar Abbas Mahmud, *Qadhiyah al-Kurdiyah wa Isykaliyah* bina ad-Daulah (Beirut: Dar al-Wafa, 2018), p.33.

¹⁶ Jelil jelil ed., Harakah Kurdiyah Fi Asr Al-Hadits (Aras: Dar al-Farabi, 2003), p.68

¹⁷ Karen M Kern Emrah Sahin, "Faithful Encounters. Authorities and American Missionaries in the Ottoman Empire," *Journal Turkish Studies* 20, no. 2019 (May 2, 2019), p. 236.

¹⁸ Jalal Talibani, Kurdistan wa-al-harakah al-qawmiyah al-Kurdiyah (Baghdad: Matba'ah Ammar, 2014), p.168.

¹⁹ Faras Ilyas, *Iran wa Masryru' Kurdi*, 1st ed., vol. 2, 1 vols. (Sulaymaniyah: Dar Sahab, 2014), p.78.

²⁰ Meirison Meirison, "Legal Drafting in the Ottoman Period," *Jurnal Ilmiah Al-Syir'ah* 17, no. 1 (June 30, 2019): p.39, http://journal.iain-manado.ac.id/index.php/JIS/article/view/806.

An example is Ali Sawafil, one of the young Ottoman thinkers who invited to reform religion as the first step to revive Daulah Islamiyah and Islamic Law. Jam'ah explains the love of the state of Faith which adheres to the hadith of the Prophet.21 The constitution based on syuro thought in another form. The combination of religion and the world is the cause of the formation of the Teo Liberalist characte or the Guided Revolution. But these scholars have severed ties with Ottoman Nationalism directly. And that happened during the war in Prussia, Germany, and France in 1870. The scholar had moved to understand Turkish nationalism, which was different from the Loyalty of Ottoman Islam. And there emerged the Young Turk group which led to secularism which carried out underground activities in the Ottoman Empire to carry out a revolution.

After the emergence of the İttihadve Terakki Cemiyeti group whose followers felt from different ethnic groups and had conflicting interests. Although they have various benefits and interests, they are united by their amazement on the West and its institutions and their hatred of Sultan Abdul Hamid II.22 The core members of this association fled from the Ottoman Empire and lived in Europe, which he loved so much, both thoughtfully, culturally and politically. They influenced by similar thinking, freedom which was proclaimed by France in 1789 and radical nationalist tendencies which began in 1848. At this time started the movement of German Nationalism, Italy to realize national and state identity and also to realize the positive school of Auguste Comte (thinker France).23

Ittihadve Terakki Cemiyeti, also affected by the European underground movement, such as the Italian Carbonary movement and the International Macedonian Revolution Organization and Freemasonry. This movement is a decentralized movement that does not have a markaz or specific command which gives hope to

21 There are many criticisms that this hadith is false

non-ethnic Turkish groups to gain independence or at least autonomous rights in a broad sense.²⁴ They gave confidence and lure to the Kurds and Arabs who had always ridden under the banner of Ottoman Empire. This group still demanded total reform of the Ottoman law. One of the Kurds played a role in the İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti movement in 1889 named Ishaq Sukuti and Abdullah Jaudat. The mobile suit in the underground movement was both captured along with other members in 1895. IshakSukuti was banished to the island of Rhodes while Abdullah Jaudatbanished to western Tripoli in Libya.

Kurdish Tribe and Sultan Abdul Hamid II

While other Kurdish leaders who participated actively in the movement were Shaykh Abdul Qadir bin SyaikUbaidillah an-Nahari (leader of the Kurdish revolution in 1880 against the Iranian Qajar kingdom).²⁵ the shaykh also participated in treason against Sultan Abdul Hamid II with the İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti party. However, the coup failed, even though the Sultan still forgave him. He was sentenced to death in 1925, after sultan Abdul Hamid was abducted on April 27, 1909. He accused of participating in a rebellion with Saikh Sa'id Biran against the Turkish government Kamal Attaturk.

Before the İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti movement carried out a coup and took office in the Ottoman Empire in 1909, Sultan Abdul Hamid II had formed a Kusus army named Fursan al-Hamidiyah in 1892. This member of FursanHamidiyah consisted of thousands of Kurdish youths because Kurds are a brave tribe and are adept at riding horses. This force was used to confront Russia, Armenia which rebelled against the Ottoman government. Armenia carried out a significant rebellion in 1894 in eastern Anatolia with Russian support in the military, logistics, and finance. But after the fall of Sultan Abdul Hamid II and the propaganda of the İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti party to at-Thuraniyah and Turkinization, it made the Kurdish, Arab and Albanian communities feel uncertain

²² Ali Hamid Isa, *Qadhiyah Kurdiyah Fi Turkiya* (Kairo: Maktabah Madbuli, 2001), p.178.

²³ Van Bruinessen Martin, "Kurdistan." Oxford Companion to the Politics of the World, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

 $^{^{\}rm 24}$ Bengio, Kurdish Awakening: Nation Building in a Fragmented Homeland, p.317.

²⁵ Ozoglu, Kurdish Notables and the Ottoman State, p.115.

about their future. They demand their rights as citizens; they demand independence based on nationalism as the Turks have done.²⁶ The situation has changed no longer like the time of the Ottoman Empire during the time of Sultan Abdul Hamid II and earlier, the country based on Islamic Sharia. Similarly, it mentioned in the hadith of the Prophet. In one of his sermons on Tasyri 'day:

قال رسول الله يا أيها الناس ألا إن ربكم واحد وإن أباكم واحد ألا لا فضل لعربي على أعجمي ولا أعجمي على عربي و لا لأحمر على أسود ولا أسود على أحمر إلا بالتقوى (رواه أحمد)

The Messenger of AllahSaid: "O people of all, know that your God is one, your father is also one, know there is no virtue of the Arabs towards non-Arabs, and also there is no primacy of non-Arabs from Arabs except his piety." (Narrated by Imam Ahmad).

This hadith was no longer heeded by the secular, nationalist and liberal Turkish government so that the Kurdish leaders and educated people in Istanbul participated in the underground movement; they wanted to follow the steps of Turkey which imitated Europe and determine their destiny. The problem created by the Ottoman Empire itself, carried out by liberal nationalist groups has divided the Ottoman state even in one religion. While the Eastern European region had experienced turbulence and Greece gained independence on May 11, 1832.²⁷

In 1908 the İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti party carried out a coup against Sultan Abdul Hamid II who had been in power since 1876-1909 which had a significant influence on the fate of nations under the Ottoman Empire, such as the Arabs, Kurds. The Kurds in Damasqus felt French culture when the French occupation when the Ottoman Empire lost in World War I, and its territory divided by Britain, France, Italy, and Russia. The leader of the Khibun / Istiqlaljaladat

party Amin Ali Badarkhan fled from Turkey for political reasons. He wrote in Hawar / an-Nida magazine with lahjah al-Karmanjiyah and Latin letters in 1932 at Dimasgus.²⁸ He developed the Latin letter initiated by Mustafa Kemal Attaturk in 1928-1929 which was closer to the Indo European language, which included the Kurdish language. Kurdish parties and organizations in Syria open secret training in the Northeast region of Syria for Kurdish language literacy training in Latin letters, as influences from Kurds living in Turkey, are more in line with the Kurdish language. Kurdish language supported by the French orentialisfrom Dominican Tomas Bawa who died on 1874 "writing in Latin letters has evenly supported cultural, technical and trade exchanges. The East can quickly learn Latin writing so that it can follow the development of a rapidly developing world civilization. Thus Western Europeans can learn the Kurdish language quickly". The French Intelligence researcher and chairman, said scholars who have chosen Latin letters as the basis of communication and administration in their region, have made them far from Arab and Iranian culture and have entered the circle of secularism".

Supporters of Badar Khan consisting of al-Malali, the Sheikhs associated with Kurdish Nationalism such as Shaykh Abdurrahman Ghazizi, talked about letters, the Badarkhan family, saying «Allah does not give us teachings about letters and images but only words (Kalam)." The Jaladat Brotherhood and KamiranBadarkhan ordered to translate the Quran with Latin letters. The Latin letters Kurdish created by the West made a scene throughout Kurdistan, in Syria, Iraq, and Iran even the Arabs also felt the danger of such changes. The Kurdish Colonel named TaufikWahbi in Iraq has collaborated with the British invaders, precisely the adviser to the Iraqi Ministry of Interior in the kingdom, namely Edmundas. He wrote Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish books, which contained various studies. The most important thing from the results of the

²⁶ Sa'd Bazzaz, al-Akrād fī al-masthalah al-Iraqiyah: al-Hadits wa Hiwarat (Irbil: Matba'ah Kurd, 2004), p.22.

²⁷ Carter V. Findley, Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922, Princeton Studies on the Near East (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, n.d.), p.200.

²⁸ Finkle Jr, The Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) Is the Current Incarnation of the Kurdish Nationalist Party in Turkey (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1987), p.167.

research is the English-Kurdish Dictionary. The collaboration between the two Kurds, namely, JaladatBadarkhan and Taufik Wahbi, have not revealed results due to disputes about Kurdish letters between lahjah al-Karmanjiyah Utara (al-Bahdinaniyah) and al-Karmanjiyah Selaan (as-Suraniyah). Differences also occurred between two colonizing countries, namely England and France, about the plan they would carry out in the change of Arabic script to this Latin writing. France supports Kurds and minority groups and other schools in Syria and is more likely to divide Syria into several countries.

Meanwhile, Britain wants to combine the Mosul region with a majority Kurdish population with Iraq by the 1926 agreement. Britain wants to use the oil fields in North Iraq for military bases and war preparations. France continued to support Badarkhan to do Latinization with the help of French orientalist Roger Lescot. Roger Lescot promises the progress of culture and civil society, which ended with the expiration of the French mandate over Syria in 1946 whereas the Kurdish group under the banner of the Khubiyun Party saw the proceedings as an attempt to destroy the Quran al-Karim and Islam and the unity of the Muslim community.

Political Map of the Kurds in Iraq, Turkish, Syria and Iran

At present, the Kurdish leaders in the fields of culture and science, are mostly composed of secular party cadres. They spread throughout Kurdistan who respects the Badarkhan family (Jaladat and his brother Kamiran) who have struggled to fight for the interests of the Kurds in the fields of politics and culture. These leaders are regarded as the bearers of the Kurds to progress towards modern civil society. Just as parties in other Islamic worlds in the Kurdistan region have different secular parties:²⁹

- Radical Party and Total Eradication, (the elimination of everything that is Islamic), this patai is called Laiki.
- 2. Moderate (partial) groups, this secular party

²⁹ Ismail Ahmad Yaghi, Aqaliyat fi al-Iraq, 2nd ed., vol. 2, 1 vols. (Gaza:: Maktabah Izzah li Nasyr wa Tauzi', 2016), p.119.

consists of Nationalism, left wing, Marxism:

Nationalism is the majority understanding adopted by the parties in Kurdistan. Namely, the Kurdistani Democratic party was found in 1946, led by Mas'udBarzani bin al-Malali Mustafa al-Barzani. This party tends Conservative, and Communist Nationalism instilled by the founder of this party, namely Hamzah Abdullah, who adheres to the old Communist ideology whereas the second founder was Ibrahim Ahmad, also a communist leaning, who joined several Communist Marxist and Sausalist leaders in decades, from its founding until now. The family of al-Mala Mustafa al-Barzani always leads the party.30The Barzani group did not form the tribe itself and did not know the economic system, or the operation of ownership of agricultural land. They only created and united the clan in the real world in the first decade of the 20th century when the Zibar tribe split whose territory located in the north of the district 'Igrah. This Kabilahivided into, Aghwat, Zibar, and SyuyukhBarzan. There was a bloody dispute won by SyuyukhBarzan. SyuyukhBarzan has led to the Zibar tribe becoming two who submit to the regional leaders (Aghwat).31 They live in the West Zab River area. They are loyal to the government that leads Iraq in turn. The other group supported the Barzan leaders; they were known as al-Buruzi (Facing the Sun); they settled on the az-Zab al-Kabir river. The neighboring tribes and other tribes joined those who were influenced by the Da'wah of the Sufi Naqshabandi, such as the Syirurniy, al-Mazuri, ad-Daulamriy and others. The history of Barzan began in the third decade of the 19th century when ShaykhTaha an-Nahri handed over

³⁰ Majid Khadduri, *al-Iraq al-ishtirakiy* (Beirut: Dar al-Qalam, 2018), p.27.

³¹ Aziz Al-Azmeh, Muslim Kingship: Power and the Sacred in Muslim, Christian and Pagan Politics (London: IB Tauris Publisher, 2001), p.177

- the Caliphate of the Naqhsabandi Order to Tajuddin al-Barzani, the head of the Syuyukh tribe in the Barzan tribe.
- b. Another party was the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), led by Jalal Thalibani, who had served as the first Iraqi President from the Kurds. The party has three wings named, the Marxist Leninism group al-Kurdistani, the abbreviation is al-Kumlah, the second is the Kurdish Socialist Movement abbreviated as al-Bazutnahwah.
- The third is the figures of educated tribes who are also related to the number of Sayid at-Thalibani. The establishment of the Marxist group Leninism (al-Kumlah) formed when the Conservative Democrate al-Kurdistani al-Iragi al-Iragi party split in 1964, led by Ibrahim Ahmad and Jalal at-Thalibani. Jalal Thalibani had succeeded in gaining an airy and free political atmosphere when in coalition with Abdurrahman Muhammad Arif, who served as President of Iraq in 1966. Jalal Thalibani and MuhammadiyahArfir applied the Marxist ideology interpreted by Mao Zedong, to tribal Kurds in Iraq. At-Talibani was influenced by Mawi's thoughts and Chinese experience in communist socialist because he believed that this understanding was very much in line with Iraqi Kurdistan. Iraqi Kurdistan is very close to Soviet communism which developed based on communes (groups and tribes). The Kurds have a low level that is firmly connected.

As with Chinese-oriented communist thinkers, Thalibani accused the Soviets of turning away and straying from the line that the world socialist movement had to go through. In a reasonably conducive situation, Jalal Thalibani met with the Iranian political leader Dr. Kurusy La Sya'i who was given the title with Dr. Jalal. He led the Iranian revolution (SazmanInqilab Iran) which torn from the party Todah Irani.³² He entered Iraq in

1965 as opposition from Shah Muhammad Ridho Bahlawi. The ideas of the Revolution influenced Thalibani; he was determined to continue to fight for the establishment of a pure Marxist party, which gradually changed into a revolutionary party.

A party that can rise and assumes responsibility with the following supporting tools:³³

- 1. The existence of media that spread Marxist thinking to the public.
- 2. Secret organization elements mustbe educated according to what planned in the media pulpit program.

Although cadres of cadre Mawi (Mao Zedong) and the left-hand line are still left in the party, he has changed course which leads to nationalism with a Kurdistan free pattern. The party has a democratic socialist orientation with international social models. There are still various parties from the nationalist group but not so influential compared to the two parties. Another Kurdistan party in Turkey is the Kurdistan Labor Party known as PKK or Karakah (in Kurdish). This party emerged from a Turkish communist organization which was active in the 70s with the name of the revolutionary youth organization. The PKK, founded by Abdullah Öcalan, known as Abu, means uncle. He founded it with several colleagues in 1978 while still a student at the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences at Ankara University. He felt injustice, rudeness, despotism, and injustice against the Kurds in Turkey when it was under the control of the secular party which had alternated since the Kemal Atatturk government.³⁴ He had felt the government of İsmetİnönü (Second Turkish President) and ended during Kenan Evren and others.35 The party echoed the people's struggle beginning in 1984 after a coup supported by the United States in Turkey. The PKK departed from its military bases in Syria and Iraq. This party embraces Lenin's

³² Bengio, Kurdish Awakening: Nation Building in a Fragmented Homeland, p.290

³³ Khalil Syakhiki, Kurdish Political Party 1959-2000 (Amman: Dar al-Khalij, 2018), p.161

³⁴ Louis Massignon, Al-Kurd Dirasah Sosiologiah wa Tarikhiyah, diterjemahkan oleh Nuri Thalibani (Kairo: Dar an-Nahdhah Misriyah, 1988), p.169.

³⁵ Qadir Jabar, *Qadhaya Kurd al-Mu'ashirah* (Berlin: Havibon Center, 1996), p.160.

Marxism in all kinds of activities.³⁶ The party aims to establish an Independent Democratic Kurdish state in the Middle East. This party has committed a lot of violence in its political journeys, such as blasting, murder, and disturbing security. This party often faced with Turkish military power, which makes it different from other Kurdish parties, which are partly sufficient by obtaining autonomous rights from the government of Iraq and Syria. This party fully supported by the first Syrian president, Hafiz al-Asad.

Hafiz Azad founded the Regional Representative Council in several Lebanese territories, one of which was where the party chairman Abdullah Öcalan lived. The PKK party also has a base on the Syrian territory, from which the PKK party carried out attacks on the Turkish government which claimed many victims from both sides. After PKK leader Abdul Oglan arrested in 1999, the party stopped armed activities under the orders of Abdullah Öcalan who declared a peaceful action after obtaining protection and guarantees from Ankara. The party renamed the Dimukratiyah Kurdistan al-Huriyah Congress. But Abdullah Öcalan repeated his armed activities in 2005 which made the Qandil region and the surrounding area in Iraq their hiding place. This party has active political and military reformers in the border region between Iraq and Syria. The PKK party has a strong influence in the Alawi (syi'ah) circle, which consists of a small portion of the Kurds in the Tunceli (Dersim) region. This Marxist party has wings in other Kurdistan regions, such as in Iran (Hizbul Hayat Kurdistani), or the PartiyaJiyana Azad a Kurdistanê in the Kurdish language.

The most dominant party is the Dimukrathi al-Kurdistani party or PartiyadêmokirataKurdistanê, in Kurdish with the abbreviation "PYD" led by Ir. Salute Muslims who are supported by the United States and Russia. In the East Kurdistan (Iran) region, there are also branches which are also left-wing parties founded in 1945 which developed from Marxist associations of Zayani Kurd (Group al-Ba'ts), the majority of whose leaders came from the small Borjouis who left Marxist. This party

received support from the Soviet Union because it occupied the Azeitjan and Kurdistan regions during World War II.37 This party was instrumental in establishing the Mahabad al-Kurdish Republic which was led by Qadhi Muhammad in 1946. However, this republic fell in less than a year because it no longer received material and moral support from the Soviet Union, because they retreated from North Iran after World War II ended. The party succession was finally in the hands of the most prominent left-hand figure, Dr. Abdurrahman Qasmuli was killed by the Iranian government in July 1989 in Vienna the capital of Austria. This party had previously had a splinter namely al-Kilangan namely the 1967 proletarian group with the leadership of Syaikh Izzuddin.38 This organization is Marxist and tends to commit violence, cruelty, and murder.

The Iranian government is trying to limit its activities by accusing the organization of being a racist organization (Racist, Nationalist, Jahiliyah) and also a Marxist who contradicts Islam. They were also stopped by sentencing their cadres and activists to death. After that, a strong rival emerged, HizbulHayah al-HurahKurdistani, who was the wing of the Marxist-leaning Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). This party is considered the oldest communist party in Kurdistan which has posted throughout the Kurdistan region. BaharuddinNuri chaired this party, he was from the Sulaimaniyah region, and his secretary was Salam Adil who was later sentenced to death by the al-Bat's Party and the Arab Nationalists in Iraq in 1963. The party secretary held by Aziz Muhammad throughout the 70s and 80s.

Moreover, they have many members of the central committee and have political bureaus. But the leaders of this party felt it was better to maintain the benefit of the Kurdish tribe than to be related to the generality of the communist and socialist parties in general.³⁹ Then the 1992

³6 al-Mutawalli, Kurd al-'Irāq: mundhu al-Ḥarb al-'Ālamīyah al-Ūlá 'ām 1914 <u>h</u>attá suqūth al-malakīyah fī al-'Irāq 'ām 1958, p.26.

³⁷ Robert Olson, TarikihKifah al-Kurdr, translated by Ahmad Mahmud Khalil, (Beirut: al-Farabi, 2018), p.216.

³⁸ Maryani Kharudaki, Al-Kurd WaSiyasah al-Kharijiyah Amerika (Beirut: al-Farabi, 2003), p.113

³⁹ Henri J. Barkey and Graham E. Fuller, *Turkey's Kurdish Question*, Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict series (Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1998), p.19.

Communist Party of Kurdistan was formed. Both parties are parties that marginalized as befits the communist party in Kurdistan has little influence on politics. Communist Party due to the party's atheist background and does not address National interests and mandates.

The communist party is a burden on the Kurdish Main Party in moral and financial support. However, this party has a direct influence on the political structure, thought, and ideology of the majority of the Kurdish parties except for the Islamic party, the Syrian Communist Party led by Khalid Bakaddasy who is of ethnic Kurdish origin.

The Communist Party of Iraq and Syria are minority parties because the party has ethnic Armenians, Chaldeans, and Asyury.40 Coupled with the newly growing radical marxist wave (the Communist Labor Party of Kurdistan). This party adheres to an ideology that is far from reality. Therefore this party is not popular among Kurds even though it is among the left-line parties.⁴¹ The left wing in the 8os, especially the socialist party which was not a Marxist, still maintained the customs and Islamic culture that prevailed in Kurdish society. But the socialist party did not last long after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The wave of the left wing is not popular among the Kurds despite getting sympathy from the educated circles. Now the socialist-leaning party has suffered a total setback, with only a few Socialist parties remaining like the Kurdistani Socialist Party (Hasak). The center is currently in Southeast Sulaimaniyah, and that's where its leader Muhammad Haj Mahmud is domiciled. There is also another left-wing party called the Proletarian Kurdistan Party which has a scientific socialist (Marxist-Lenin) leaning against the National Caste Struggle in Iraqi Kurdistan. 42 This party is a fragment of the Socialist Kurdistan Party and remains in the left direction. The split with the Socialist Party of Kurdistan caused the Proletarian Party to be close to Iran. Political observers state that this party is a Marxist party,

Lenin and Mawi (Mao Zedong) who are very secular (Laikiyah). This party is in the style of France or Ataturk, which tries to uproot Islamic roots from Kurdistan by all means. One of the party's leaders said: "Kurds must embrace Christianity rather than be a radical Muslim."⁴³

The Effects of the Destruction of the Ottoman Empire

The trend of secularism that has become a struggle today in the Arab, Turkish, Persian and Kurdish societies is a result of nationalist tendencies exhaled by the secular Turkish group that spread throughout the Middle East region, especially in Kurdistan, spread across various countries such as Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Turkey.

The attitude of the Kurds who were anti-Islamic and Turkish returned to the division of the Ottoman Empire into small countries drawn by Western invaders. Kemal Atatturk has revoked Islam from people associated with Turkey, including the Kurds who were destroyed by Attaruk by removing around 13,000 people due to the bombardment carried out in 1936. İttihadveTerakkiCemiyeti Party, during the Ottoman period, carried out the cleansing of non-Muslim elements from Rum, Syriac, Armenians, and Jews, those who lived besides the aspects of Turkey were Muslims from Arabia, Kurds, Circassian, Lazika, Turcoman, Arnaut (Albania). The remaining ethnic groups are expected to process in the Turkinization system. The Lusane agreement forces Turkey to embrace a radical school of secularism, which is a universal design that unites Muslims in a place of non-religious Turkish people.44

Attaturk's plan failed in the realm of the dimensions of national secularism, the Turks returned to being religious, while the Kurds maintained their national culture and freedom. The weak national Kurdish formation of Islamic ties has kept them in the Turkish border region. The Kurds were also lured by Ataturk to be granted the right to regional autonomy. However, the Caliphate was abolished under pressure from

⁴⁰ Michael M. Gunter, The Kurd Ascending (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p.19.

⁴¹ Maryani Kharudaki, Al-Kurd wa Siyasah al-Kharijiyah Amerika (Beirut: al-Farabi, 2013), p.117

⁴² Ozoglu, Kurdish Notables and the Ottoman State, p.338.

⁴³ Jabar, Qadhaya Kurd al-Mu'ashirah, p.62.

⁴⁴ al-Mutawalli, Kurd al-'Irāq: mundhu al-Ḥarb al-'Ālamīyah al-Ūlá 'ām 1914 <u>h</u>attá suqūth al-malakīyah fī al-'Irāq 'ām 1958, p.26.

Britain, France, and Italy, who were hungry for the Middle East region. After the official khilafah was abolished in 1924, there was a rebellion of SyaikhSa'id Biran in 1925. The first Kurdish rebellion wanted independence in modern times. The oppression carried out by bloody Attaturk has given color to Turkish and Kurdish relations during the Republican era. Rebellion, conflict always happens from time to time. They say "we have deceived Turkey with Islam," an expression that jelan this illustrates the psychology of Kurds to Islam. After the Sykes-Picot agreement, national consciousness grew in parallel with the rise of Arab nationalism to its peak when the Ba'ts party assumed power in Iraq.⁴⁵

The long history of "hereditary sin" which forbids the Kurds to have their own country as an example for other nationalists who released from power, the point is that the Kurds are on the border of modern Turkey and the republic. The Islamic brotherhood will remain the newly emerging Turkish state has abolished Islam from its territory by destroying the Turkish Caliphate Usamani with Islamic Sharia. After almost a century of the Caliphate's abolition of bloody caricatures in Mosul in the hands of the clear Caliph Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, at the same time, the fighters had penetrated the city of Mosul in Iraq and mastered it. Peshmerga (Kurdish) troops, entered the disputed city of Karkuk, the town was taken over by Barzani. The city contested by Nuril Maliki's power and Sunni power. Barzani was the leader of the Kurdistan region; he began voting to establish an independent and independent Kurdistan state from Iraq. Because they lost hope of the Nuril Maliki government over Iraq, the following day Bahgdadi announced the establishment of DaulahIslamiyah.46

Conclusion

The abolition of the Ottoman Khilafah and the re-building of the state under its debris in the different form would lead to one outcome,

⁴⁵ Findley, Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922, p. 115

namely the upheaval of Kurds to liberate themselves. There was friction with Kamalism in Turkey, Ba'tsism in Syria and Iraq and the Islamic Revolution in Iran, all of which contradicted the ideology and the benefit of the Kurds. The establishment of a Kurdish state in North Iraq will make a new dynamic in the region. If this country succeeds in standing well and not like the Republic of Mahabad in Iran, there will be a diversity of other Kurdistan regions both in Syria, Turkey and Iran according to the image of the New Middle East desired by the United States, Europe, and Russia as strong Kurdish allies. Or conversely, Kurdistan is only a tool for the benefit of countries with interest in the natural resources of the Gulf and the Middle East. In Syria the PKK (Kurdistan Labor Party) occupied an area vacated by President Asad, he built a Kurdistan country. Asad gave spaciousness to Kurds in North Syria, although in official speeches Hafez Asad did not agree with this Kurdish separatist movement. As compensation for the PKK helping Hafiz Asad to overcome the upheaval of al-Barzani who also wants to liberate himself on Syrian territory, he has talked about the federal government but has no power in the field to fulfill his wishes. Even now Barzani is under pressure from the Democratic Union Party which established posts in al-Jazirah, Kubani, and Ifrin.

Whereas in Turkey, political stability successfully realized with a democratic system without looking at very many shortcomings. Chairman of the Barışve Democracy Partition Party, Kurdish: Partiya Aştî û Demokrasiyê, BDP, named SalahuddinDimirtasy has run for president of the Republic of Turkey even though other Kurdish parties such as the PKK seen as a gathering of terrorists who have always been troublemakers in Turkey.

The Kurdistan region in Iran seems to be quite calm because Iran also has an envoy in Iraq, Syria coupled with the presence of Hezbollah in Lebanon, Hamas in Palestine and Hutsi in Yemen, which is slowly able to rebuild the strong and established Persian Empire. At least able to make its territory safe from the chaos carried out by US-backed Kurds. But there was still chaos in 2009 on the Iranian

⁴⁶ Salim Deringil, The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876–1909 (London: I.B. Tauris (December 31, 1998), p. 98

border, and recently in 2018, a series of suicide bombings took place that sacrificed much of the Iranian army in which Saudi Arabia and the Arab Emirates accused of being brains. The process of Kurdistan's independence will go through a winding path by the different political situations in Iraq, Syria, Tuki, and Iran. It ascertained that the Kurds would continue to carry out their efforts after carrying out a 90-year struggle through war and heavy blood flow.

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