

# Language and the Political Condition of the Largest Stateless Nation of the World

Mihraban Salih Saeed  
College of Basic Education  
University of Sulaimani

Abbas Mustafa Abbas  
College of Basic Education  
University of Sulaimani

پوخته

ئەم توێژینه‌وه‌یه‌که به ناوێشانی " زمان و حاله‌تی سیاسی نه‌ته‌وه‌یه‌کی جیهانی بی ده‌وله‌ت " ه‌ئوه‌ ده‌خاته‌پروو که چۆن کورد توانیویه‌تی زمان و نه‌ته‌وه‌ی خۆی بپاریزێت. کورد وه‌ک کۆمه‌له‌ ئه‌ندامیکی نه‌ژادی و زمانه‌وانی له چیاکانی تۆرۆس له رۆژه‌لاتی ئه‌نادۆله‌وه، چیاکانی زاگرووس له رۆژاواي ئێران، به‌شیکي باکوری عێراق، سووریا، ئه‌رمه‌نیا و هه‌ندیکی ناوچه‌ی تری دراوسیدا ده‌ژین.

به‌شیکي زۆری کورد له سنوره‌کانی ئێران، عێراق، تورکیا و سووریا ده‌ژین که ناوچه‌یه‌کی جوگرافی دیاریکراوه و به شیوه‌یه‌کی گشتی پێده‌ووتریت (خاکی کوردان) ئەم ناوه‌ش ئاماژه‌یه‌کی جیاجیايه و به تایبه‌تی له ناوخوای ئێران و عێراقدا به شیوه‌یه‌کی فه‌رمی هه‌ر به‌م ناوه‌ وه‌ ناسراوون .

## Abstract

This paper entitled “Language and the political conditions of the largest stateless nation of the world” shows how the Kurds could survive its language and nationality.

Kurds are member of an ethnic and linguistic group living in the Taurus Mountains of eastern Anatolia, the Zagros Mountains of western Iran, part of northern Iraq, Syria, and Armenia, and other adjacent areas. Most of the Kurds live in contiguous areas of Iran, Iraq, and Turkey—a somewhat loosely defined geographic region generally referred to as Kurdistan (Land of the Kurds). The name has different connotations in Iran and Iraq which officially recognize internal entities by this name.

## Introduction

The Kurds are over 26 million individuals, constitute the largest nation in the Middle East with no state of their own. They have sought control over their own destiny, demanding a state of their own or national right within the boundaries of the countries where they reside. The great number of Kurdish uprising which erupted during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries has often ended in failure. A solution to the dilemma was in reach after the Second World War. The Kurd's problem is still in ongoing with countries (Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria). The government of these countries which partitioned Kurdistan has also been aware of the significance of Kurdish for the Kurdish identity (Karim Yildiz, 2004).

It has been claimed that they deprived Kurds of their basic right which was using mother tongue to communicate with each other. The Kurds are the native inhabitants of their land and such as there are no strict beginning for Kurdish history and origins. In modern times, Kurds as an ethnic group are the end product of thousands of years of evolution stemming from tribes such as the Guti, Kurti, Mede and Mard. The word Kurd is modern form first appeared in Arabic sources in the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD. The Kurds have existed in what is of the Kurds and is often traced back to the Medes, a tribal group which moved to the Iranian plateau from central Asia at the end of second millennium. The

Kurds are similar to the Highland Scots in that they have a clan history, with 800 tribes in Kurdistan (Borhanadin. A Yassin, 1995).

The term Kurdistan meaning the land of the Kurds first appears in the twelfth century. A range of land which Kurdistan encompasses has fluctuated historically, but it was and remains predominately the geographical region that spreads across the mountainous area where the borders of Iraq, Iran, Syria and Turkey meet (Tawfiq Bag, 1923). Claims as to the exact dimension of Kurdistan vary but its backbone is the Taurus and Zagros mountain chains and it stretches down to the Mesopotamian plain in the south and in the north and the north-east, up to the steppes and latest of what was Armenian Anatolia.

Although Kurdistan has appeared on some maps since the sixteenth century, it is clear that it should be more than a geographical term as it also refers to a human culture, which exists in that land. Kurdistan has no fixed border and claims to the territory that it comprises vary between different organisations, groups and individuals. No map of Kurdistan can be drawn without contention; as for all practical purposes Turkey has always denied the existence of Kurdistan, while Iraq and Iran remain reluctant to acknowledge that it is as extensive as many Kurds purpose, and Syria denies that it extends into its territory (Borhanadin A Yassin, 1995).

### **One language with different dialects**

The Kurds do not have a single common language but speak a number of different dialects. The biggest group as regards a number of people who speak it, is called Kurmanji is spoken dialects by the Kurds living in Turkey, this dialect is also spoken by the Kurds who are living in Syria and Kurds in the northern Iran, but this dialect is prohibited in Turkey and even in Syria. In Turkey there is no Kurdish school, all education and legal evidence is carried out in Turkish. The authorities in Turkey never take a step to establish a Kurdish school in a Kurdish area in Turkey (Karim Yildiz, 1999).

The Kurdish language belongs to the group of the Iranian language which forms one branch of the Indo-European family of language and includes namely Kurdish, Persian, Afghans and Tajik (Tawfiq Bag, 1923).

The Kurdish language doesn't as yet have a unified literary form, and for the time being, there remain two prevailing dialects 1 Kurmanji and 2 Sorani. The Kurmanji dialect is spoken in the north-western part of Kurdistan where the majority of Kurds live, comprising practically all the Kurds settled in Turkish Kurdistan. This dialect is spoken by the majority of Kurds who are living in Syria as well. The Kurdish language is nevertheless in its roots and forms a separate language (S. S Gavan, 1958).

There is another dialect which is considered as the purist and oldest one in the Kurdish language is Hawrami, is spoken by Kurds who are living in the border between Iran and Iraq. While the Haerami speaker they are very small in number but still they have produced a rich literary tradition. However these have not played any noticeable role in the standardization of the language.

Although the Kurds had for a very long time been ruled by Turks, Persians and Arabs and ruling circles of Turkey, Iran and Iraq who especially after World War I, were practicing the policy of assimilating the Kurdish population, the Kurmanji dialect, though banned, succeeded in preserving the original word stock and was influenced by Turkish language to a limited degree only (Karim Yildiz, 2004).

What has made the Kurd fight for self-determination? Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Iran do not recognise the Kurd as a nation. Each of these countries has its own specific policy toward the Kurds. It appears that language and culture are the two strong and significant bonds that pull this nation together, regardless of the changing policies that the neighbouring countries impose on Kurds. Although language policies have undoubtedly a remarkable impact on the lives of people in Kurdistan, they will not affect the Kurds' passion for and deeply rooted ties with their language. The following section summarizes a number of policies adopted by the neighbouring countries to affect the Kurds' language use and development.



### **Turkey's policy towards Kurds**

The policy of the Turkish republican is often described as being extremely harsh towards the Kurds, their culture and language. Until recently, the Kurdish language and all cultural activities had been band .Kurdish language of what has been called "lingucide"or" linguistic genocide language" (Tawfiq Bag, 1923). Policy of the Kurdish language was based on a more general and long term aim of changing the ethnic composition of the Kurds, who formed the most numerous and densely populated non- Turkish people in the country. All the Kurdish provinces were effectively controlled by Turkish by the military who established a police post in every village of some size [Van, 1928].

Forcing the Kurds to abandon their language and become native speakers of Turkish is the primary goal of the language policy. Various methods have been used in the past seven decades to eliminate the Kurdish language (S.S Gavan, 1958).

#### **A proscription of the spoken use of the Kurdish**

The ban on spoken language in public places, government offices and schools was easy to enforce. In the earlier decades, special government official were charged with enforcing the ban in an urban centres. It is known, for example, that even peasant who bought their supplies to the urban market was liable to a fine of five piaster for every Kurdish word they uttered. A sheep was worth fifty piaster at the time (Kendal 1980).

Physical violence and separation from one's own family were some of the other methods used in Turkish school to prevent the students from speaking Kurdish. Students were also punished for speaking their language outside the classroom during the breaks. Boarding School was established in order to isolate students for the greater part of the year and encourage them to forget their mother tongue. Symbolic violence [IBD] making native speakers ashamed of their native language, parents and origin, has most intensively against the Kurds (Borhanadin A.Yassin, 1995).

The names "Kurd and "Kurdistan "were banned and replaced by" Dagli" Tukler, mountain Turks and Dogu," the east". The existents of the Kurdish nation were denied in innumerable articles, books and speech while the Turk's were exalted, under the new version of Turkish history. Turkish considered Kurd a tribe of Turnaian [Turkish] origin which had forgotten its native tongue due to isolation in inaccessible mountains and by falling under the influence of its Persian neighbour (Karim Yildiz: 2004).

The denial ofthe existence of the Kurdish nation was carried out through falsification of both the history and language of the Kurds. In this connection the Iraqi ambassador to Turkey [Talib Mushtaq] recalled, in his memories, the Turkish claimed that Kurdish was a language with no grammatical rules and with a mixed vocabulary of only 8428 words:

Old Turcoman	3, 080
Arabic words used in Turkish	2000
Zand language	1,240
Modern Persian	1,030
Old Pahlavi	370
Original Kurdish	300
Armenian	200
Chaldean	108
Circassia	60
Georgian	20

**Total no. of words used in Kurdish 8428 (Tawfiq Bag, 1923)**

#### **The impact of Turkey's language policy**

The all around attempt to eliminate the Kurdish people and their language has partly succeeded in thinning out the once densely populated Kurdistan, in Turkifying large numbers of Kurds , and bringing Kurdish national culture [ oral and written literature , music and dress] to the verge of



extinction (Karim Yildiz, 1999). The harsh methods of repression have made it difficult for the Kurds to reveal the ethnic identity. A Western student of political elite's for example, found out that few Kurdish deputies professed [or acknowledged] an ability to speak Kurdish [Farley 1965: 109]. Similarly, a Kurdish official involved in taking the 1965 census observed that many Kurds who were not familiar with Turkish preferred to declare themselves as Turkish speakers to avoid trouble [Kendal 1980:48]. The impact of repression can be seen even in the census figures [cf. Table 16]. The increase [10%] in the number of native speakers from 1955 to 1960 can be explained by the relaxation of pressure in 1960, while the sudden drop of 23% in 1955 is related to the return of pressure rather than assimilation which requires at least one generation being effected (Tawfiq Bag, 1923). The increase in the number of speakers of Kurdish as a second language apparently reflects the success of turkification. Since Turk does not learn Kurdish, these figures probably refer to Turkified Kurds who have not yet forgotten their native tongue (Karim Yildiz, 2004).

Another aspect of forced Turkification is the resistance that it breeds. Complaints on the slow pace of turkification have occasionally been expressed by official sources. To cite one example, quoted in Nezan 1984:56-57 the Turkish deputy from Aydin told the daily Cumhuriyet July 31 1966 that 91% of the people of Mardin could not speak a word of Turkish in other major Kurdish provinces the percentages were 87% in Siirt 81% in Hakari 67% in Diyarbakir, 68% in Bingol, and 66% in Bitlis (Borhanadin .A Yassin, 1995).

Although the Kurdish language in turkey is not dead yet prospects for its extinction to exist. Language death has happened and is happening in all part of the world largely due to non-linguistic reasons (karim Yildiz, 2004).

In Turkey, the Armenian people and their language were eliminated largely through physical extinction planned by the ottoman and republican regimes. Similar methods have applied to the much larger Kurdish population and, if regional and international condition permits, the Armenian experience may be repeated. President Ozal's policy on lifting the ban on spoken Kurdish I January 1991 dose not indicates change in the ideology and politics of Turkish state. This policy is tactical part of the desperate efforts to save the Ataturkist sat in the face of a serious economic political, cultural and ideological crisis (Abdullah Qaradaki, 2004).

### **Iran's Policy towards the Kurds**

As Kurd in turkey, the Iranian Kurds too, were deprived of all national rights by Iranian regime. The Kurdish language was banned and the Kurds were not permitted to wear their national costume. Many of them were imprisoned for disobeying; some of them were even exiled. The official and common language of the Kurdish people of Iran is Persian. Official document corresponded and statement, as well as textbooks, shall be written in this language and script. However the use of local and ethnic languages in the press and mass media is not allowed. The teaching of ethnic literature in the school is not also permitted. The ban on spoken language in a public places, government official was easy to enforce (Borhanadin A. Yassin, 1995)

There is evidence suggesting that the Iranian regime was considering plans for the transfer of the Kurdish population to non- Kurdish area of the country. Even [Shah] the former president of Iran was in firm control of the country in the post – 1953 period, his government responded to potential developments in the region by, among other things military and political measures, the initiation and expansion of Kurdish broadcasting, limited publishing in the Kurdish language and even the offering of two courses on the Kurdish language by the department of linguistics of Tehran university (Tariq Jambaz, 2003).

After the overthrown of [Shah] s regime and replaced by the Islamic republic of Iran in 1979, Kurds raised demand of autonomy within a federally organised democratic state. These demands were not compatible with the centralized theoretic regime that was being established by the new rules that chose to Islamize the state system which they had inherited. Within two months after the over though of Shahs regime, the Islamic army was mobilized against the autonomy seeking people, the Kurds. Kurds in Iran still suffering from the Islamic regime, they are still deprived of so many



basic rights.

Many students and human right activitie and syndicalism, they being imprisoned because they demanding their basic rights such as studying on their own mother tongue and cultural activities( Tariq jambaz, 2003).

During Khatamy's time in 2000, the Kurds in IRAN have been granted some of their own rights, studying in Kurdish language at university as subject and publishing some Kurdish magazine, which we may say it was much better than before. But unfortunately during AHMEDI NAGAD presidency, many newspaper and magazine were close down in Iran including the Kurdish magazine and many the Kurdish activists were executed or imprisoned.

### **Iraq's Policy towards the Kurds**

As in Iran and Turkey, again the Kurds in Iraq were fighting and struggling for democracy and independence. However the policy of Iraqi regime slightly better than the other two regimes in Turkey and Iran, in terms of that Kurds in Iraq was freer to communicate with each other in Kurdish language even outside their premises. But education was in Arabic language after primary school. In the early stages of primary education, this is not such a serious defect, but something must be done to meet it in the case of secondary schools (Borhanadin A.Yassin, 1995).

The Iraqi regime quite rightly insists on the maintenances of Arabic as second language in the Kurdish school. This is in the interest of the Kurds themselves. It was something beneficial for the Kurds have another language which could communicate with Iraqi Arab without any problem. On the other hand this education at primary school were very limited in teaching of Kurdish to elementary and primary school level this will hinder the progress and development of the Kurdish language (Tariq Jambaz, 2003). So many Kurdish parents preferred their kids stayed at home better than receiving education in an Arabic language.

### **Arabisation of Iraqi Kurdistan**

The policy of Arabisation started in 1973, when the Iraqi regime setting a pattern for subsequent practices, villagers in the region were expelled from their own homes and employment, and replaced with Arab workers brought in from south and central Iraq (Karim Yildiz, 1999).

Following the imposition of the autonomy in 1974, the Iraqi regime put numerous pressures on Kurds living outside of the autonomous region by placing restrictions on the acquisition or retention of title deeds to property; placing restriction on employment and the transfer of government employees to posts outside the Kurdish region ; the Arabisation of place names ; and offer of financial rewards to Arab who married a Kurdish women in an attempt to expedite the process of ethnic assimilation(Borhanadin A .Yassin, 1995) The Arabisation continued throughout the decade until the system of autonomy set up by the Iraqi regime. The Kurds considered the autonomy as a "puppet "administration designed to uproot the Kurdish people (Karim Yildiz, 1999). The Kurds had opposites that, armed resistance was resumed in 1976 by a new, radical political organization; hundred of villages around major Kurdistan towns have been destroyed to prevent the advance of Kurdish [guerrillas].

Evaluating the Ba'ath Regime, s of the Arabisation in short-term or on the surface, one may arrive at the conclusion that the Kurds and their language have every chance of survival and even advancement as long as they remain loyal to the Iraqi state and ruling Ba'ath party . However, careful synthesis of the facts on linguistic and non – linguistic aspect of the Arabisation supports the interpretation of the opposition groups, who believe the goal of the Arabisation is de- changing ethnicity of the Kurds (Nelida Fuccaro, 1999).

### **Arabisation of Kurdish Education in IRAQ**

The connection between Kurdish nationalism and the demand for mother tongue education was well known to the Iraqi Arab government. An overall policy of curbing this nationalism, Arab tried to restrict instruction in the language (Borhanadin A.Yassin, 1995). The mandate authorities justified the policy in the language is acceptable to the League of nation; it has been felt that the Kurdish language alone provides too narrow a basis for secondary and higher education. The Iraqi



regime has therefore always insisted that Arabic shall be studied in Kurdish primary schools, and intermediate schools of Kurdish area. A gradual change over is made from Kurdish to Arabic as the medium of instruction. This example has even been followed by some Kurdish elementary and primary schools in the area where Kurdish nationalism is less active. In these, Arabic text books are used from the beginning, though Kurdish is the language of instruction and explanation (Tawfiq Bag, 1923).

Another problem had risen was a lack of teacher to teach Kurdish language, apparently teachers themselves have received education in Arabic and found it difficult to make the transition, that was why instructions were increasingly conducted in Arabic. At one time, even singing was in Arabic in all schools in Kurdistan. Thus, in spite of the protest of students in so many Kurdish areas still education was conducted in Arabic. It was the government, however, that was blamed the most for ignoring the local languages law and encouraging teachers to neglect mother tongue instruction (Tariq Jambaz, 2003).

In the 1991, Kurdish uprising in Iraqi Kurdistan, Kurds have managed to recapture all their lost rights. There was a big reformation in educational system all over the Kurdistan. Since then the Kurdish Sorani became a standard language on all over Kurdistan. On all Kurdistan level, sorani is a dominant dialect and all journals published in this dialect. In Iran and Iraq most of Kurdish press printed in Sorani dialect in the Arabic script. There are evidence shows that the Sorani dialect has been the main vehicle of journalism on the all Kurdistan and it has been the language of the majority of periodical (Tariq Jambaz, 2003).

### **The fall of Saddam**

Since 2003 the situation of the Kurds in Iraq has been totally transformed they now enjoy their cultural, linguistic and political rights. Election is being held regularly for the Kurdish parliament and municipality councils. And there is national unity government taking of all aspects of everyday life. There is a great deal of construction although the infrastructure is still very weak and the economy consume based. Education now conducted in a Kurdish language and new laws have been passed to replace the old oppressed once. In general the conditions are very much better than they were before the fall of Saddam and the future looks more promising.

### **Syrian policy towards the Kurds**

Soon after the formation of Syrian state, under French mandate [1946], Kurds demanded self-rule within the borders of the country. Kurds demand following:

1-The use of the Kurdish language, in the Kurdish regions concurrently with other official languages;

2-Education in the Kurdish language in these regions;

3-Replacing government employees of this region by Kurds.

The mandate authorities did not favour self-rule, one reason was Turkish and Iraqi intolerance of an” autonomy Kurdish territory “on their frontiers. The use of Kurdish language was free, without being official in the region. However, the mandate, s refusal to permit mother tongue education was for political consideration (Tawfiq Bag, 1923).

At present, when Bath party is in power, the Syrian Kurds have no national rights at all. Any such demand on their part is counteracted with violence and terror and Kurdish organization and personalities are being cruelly persecuted (Abdullah Qaradaki, 2004).

The Kurds have not been allowed to communicate with each other in their mother tongue. Less than 20% of the Kurds are able to speak their mother tongues. They use the Kurdish language only in a limited family environment and even then on occasion. Only those of the older generation master well their native tongues. The middle generation knows it much worse and the young generation does not know it at all (Abdullah Qaradaki, 2004).

One aspect of the Syrian policy is the isolation of its Kurds from their kinsfolk across the borders. The Syrian regime forced the Kurds to change their identities and issued them with ID cards because they are Arabs. They even deprived the Kurds of all basic human rights, school is



forbidden for any Kurdish person, because the Baths regime in Syrian considered Kurds to be GIPSY or there are a group which does not belong to any country. Whatever the Syrian regime did, has served the isolation of the Kurds (Nelida Faccaro, 1999). Although the Kurds from Iraq tried their best to send to the Kurds i Syria some publication, but there is no evidence to indicate that they were circulated in the Kurdish community, which has acquired literacy in the use of the Arabic script (S.S Gavan, 1958).

### **The Right of Nations to Self – Determination**

The land of the Kurds has been divided throughout the history. Due to the great historical transformation which has taken place since the Second World War, the liberation of former colonial and oppressed territories has become an urgent issue of the present period. Nowadays there exists no nation, which has not attained political independence, or is not its way to liberation (Abdullah Qaradaki, 2004). The former great colonial powers are forced to recognize officially the right of self- determination of one nation after another. The self- determination of the nation means the political separation of those nations from alien national bodies and formation of an independent national state. And self determination of Kurdish program means political independence and the formation of a national state (Tawfiq Bag, 1923).

The Kurds, like any other nation, have the right to self- determination and the right to create an independent Kurdish state. The singularity of the Kurdish problem consists in the fact that it is not only separation, but mainly union, which is the main issue in their case.

The materialization of the right to self – determination is not, for example, in the separation of Iraqi Kurdistan from Iraq, but primarily in its unification with the other parts of Kurdistan in Turkey, Iran and Syria. In this case we were actually concerned with right of the Kurdish nation to integrity within one state (Borhanadin A.Yassin, 1995).

The idea of Kurdish unification might, at first sight, appear illusory from the practical viewpoint. However illusory the independence and unity of Kurdistan might be, the recognition of the right to form an independent state is just (Tawfiq Bag, 1923).

To recognize the right to self – determination as inherent to every nation without exception, irrespective of its size and the stage of development of the country it inhabits, means to recognize the principle of equality of nations and internationalism. The existence of objective possibilities to create an independent state, the potential advantage or disadvantage of a nation a becoming independent or remaining within a single state together with other nations, the question of nation A utilizing or not utilizing this right, or that of the possibility to satisfy the claim already under capitalism or only under socialism – neither of these problems should lead to denying the right of the nation (Tariq Jambaz, 2003).

The claim for the formation of an independent Kurdish state is sometimes regarded as reactionary and the Kurds for this reason supposed to fight against it. The chief argument of this stand – point is the danger of the state power being seized by the feudal lords who necessarily oppose democracy and socialism (S. S Gavan, 1958).

Kurdistan thus becomes a stronghold of reaction in the Middle East. The whole stand point is, however, in its very essence baseless and the results from lack of understanding of the present – day state of affairs in Kurdistan.

Nowadays the imperialists are conscious of the general mood among the Kurdish people and for this reason are not willing to undertake any risk of potential Kurdish independence. They realize that an independent Kurdistan would bring them at least as many problems as they are facing at present due to the national – liberation movement (Tawfiq Bag, 1923).

The present course of development, however, disquiets them too, namely a radicalizing tendency within the Kurdish movement.

It might happen that in Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Syrian the power will be seized by the anti-imperialists, or that the countries will undergo racial democratic changes. In that case, will the imperialists not make any efforts to encourage the Kurds against these countries and to support their



claim for independences? Such a development might very well occur. Yet, if in such a case, the imperialist circles for the sake of their interests, will really be in favour of Kurdistan, separation from those countries, it will signify that the anti – imperialist struggle in these countries has materially advanced, and that the Kurdish people have made considerable achievement in their fight, namely through a unity with the other nations of these countries (Abdullah Qaradaki, 2004).

The Kurdish people will be achieving further successes in their struggle in proportion to the advance of democracy. In the present stage the slogan proclaiming Kurdish autonomy within each of the countries in a question appears to be most correct. Yet the realization of autonomy requires great efforts and will have to be preceded by the recognition of the existence of the Kurdish nation and its language (Borhanadin A.Yassin, 1995).

## CONCLUSIONS

There is a wide variation of usage opinion understanding about this topic. Various people of this nation and terms proposed various other requirements, definitions and interpretation. For instance, some require the group of people, or at least most of them, together in a contiguous territory to be considered a nation. The requirement like this, exclude, gipsies, in spite of their linguistic unity. Some other scholars would, on the other hand exclude both territorial and linguistic unity as necessary feature of the nationhood; otherwise, how to categorize the Jews outside of Israel.

To use the word nation basically means a group of people who share a common language and usually also a culture or in references to a group of people who live in one state or different states like Kurdish nation who they are stateless. A division of state was caused by such political events; such is the case for instance, of South and North Korea, Vietnam and West Germany. And between a situation like the Korean is that Korea is Korean state, strongly differentiated by distinct political ideologies, the linguistic and cultural unity to some extent has been kept alive, whatever the regimes involved may do not make the split between them and a comfortable situation obtained in the former south and north Korea. On the contrary, the Kurd is not only split into several state but they themselves are minority in each of them.

Now we are enjoying a certain amount of autonomy in Iraqi Kurdistan. We are hopeful that all of Kurdistan separate parts will come together in a single entity. Even though we are administrating our own affairs in the liberated part of Iraqi Kurdistan, we all still concerned about the people of the other parts. We all dream to see a united Kurdish homeland with its own government and parliament in a nearest future. Using a unified Kurdish language policy and granting more language independence and freedom to Kurds will with no doubt add to the unity of people who consider themselves as a nation and will provide them with identity , integrity and independence .Without a set of clearly defined and ideally democratic language policy, Kurdish language will be in danger of demise and downfall.

## References

- Yasin A.B (1995). Vision or Reality? Sweden : Lund University Press
- Fuccaro N (1999) The Other Kurds (Cambridge Middle East Studies - Cambridge University Press)
- Qaradaki. A (2004). The right of using your own language. Sweden: Lund university Press
- B. Tawfiq (1923).Kurdish tribe in Kurdistan
- Yildiz k. 2004&1999 The Kurds in Iraq, the Past, Present and Future: (Kurdish Human Rights project).
- Jambaz T. (2003).Kurdistan and the Kurds
- S.S Gavan. (1958 ) Kurdistan Divided Nation of the Middle East ,Kurdish Studies: UK London

