

**T.C.
SAKARYA UNIVERSITY
MIDDLE EAST INSTITUTE**

**BRITISH COLONIALISM AND KURDS IN IRAQ:
A POSTCOLONIAL DISCOURSE THROUGH TEXTUAL
REPRESENTATIONS (1914-1958)**

PHD DISSERTATION

Karzan Kareem AMEEN

Department: Middle Eastern Studies

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Othman ALI

SEPTEMBER – 2022

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THESIS APPROVAL

This work headed “British Colonialism and Kurds in Iraq: A Postcolonial Discourse Through Textual Representations (1914-1958)” which has been prepared by Karzan Kareem AMEEN, is approved as a Ph.D. thesis by our jury in majority vote.

Date of Acceptance: 18/09/2022

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Zhyar Jamshid.

Imad Samad.

DECLARATION

I declare that scientific ethic rules are complied with the writing of this dissertation, if the works of others are used, reference is made to the scientific norms as applied, no distortions are made in the data used, and any part of the thesis is not presented as another thesis study in this university or another university.

Karzan Kareem AMEEN

18 /09/ 2002

ABSTRACT

Sakarya University, Middle East Institute

Abstract of PhD Thesis

Title of the Thesis: British Colonialism and Kurds in Iraq: A Postcolonial Discourse Through Textual Representations (1914-1958)

Author: Karzan Kareem AMEEN

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This thesis consists of a critical comparative study that focuses on reading and analyzing the impact of colonialism and its legacy in the textual representations of British colonial and Kurdish postcolonial discourses. Leaning strongly on concepts of the Self and the Other in a critical discourse analysis that demonstrates the cultural legacy of colonialism and imperialism, postcolonial theorists in particular Edward Said, Homi K. Bhabha, and Gayatri Spivak provide an understanding of Orientalism in contrast to Occidentalism. Through discourse that leverages the Self and the Other to ratify colonial policy, the research shows cultural control as an effective means for the British to assert hegemonic power and deepen their domination of the Kurds. The severe consequences of control and exploitation on the Kurds and their lands remain visible today. This analysis of British colonial discourse and comparison with the response of Kurdish postcolonial discourse from 1914 until 1958 disrupts the dominant-subordinate relationship between colonizer and colonized. Followed by the historical context of events, the theoretical and conceptual background is provided. The study then scrutinizes the constant dilemmas and longstanding conflicts that appeared with the British colonization of Iraqi Kurds as colonial legacy. The study contrasts the themes of British colonial discourse with those of postcolonial Kurdish literary texts and explains why the Kurdish response was not always consistent in countering colonial power. The study shows that constructed colonial discourse was used as a form of power as part of colonization to undermine Kurdish culture and identity. The research disrupts the misrepresentation of Kurds in British colonial discourse and re-represents the Kurds through a Kurdish postcolonial perspective. This disruption decolonizes knowledge which leads to the conclusion that British colonization assisted by colonial discourse left a negative impact on Iraqi Kurds and their identity.

Keywords: Colonialism, Postcolonialism, Orientalism, Occidentalism, Textual Representation

ÖZET

Sakarya Üniversitesi, Ortadoğu Enstitüsü

Doktora Tez Özeti

Tezin Başlığı: İngiliz Sömürgeciliği ve Irak Kürtleri: Metinsel Temsillerle Sömürge Sonrası Bir Söylem Analizi (1914-1958)

Tezin Yazarı: Karzan Kareem AMEEN

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Bu tez, İngiliz sömürgeciliği ve Kürt postkolonyal söyleminin metinsel temsilleri aracılığıyla sömürgeciliğin ve onun miraslarının etkisini okumaya ve analiz etmeye odaklanan eleştirel bir karşılaştırmalı araştırmadır. Bu çalışmada, postkolonyal teorisyenler, özellikle Edward Said, Homi K. Bhabha ve Gayatri Spivak gibi isimler, “Ben” ve “Öteki” kavramlarına güçlü bir şekilde yaslanarak Oryantalizm ve buna karşılık Oksidentalizm hakkında bir anlayış sunmaktadırlar. Bu eleştirel söylem analizinin temelini sömürgecilik ve emperyalizmin kültürel mirasını ortaya koyan Oryantalizm ve Oksidentalizm oluşturur. Bu araştırma, sömürge politikasını haklı çıkarmak için “Ben” ve “Öteki”yi kullanan sömürge söylemi aracılığıyla, kültürel kontrolün İngilizlerin hegemonik güç kullanması ve Kürtler üzerindeki egemenliğini derinleştirilmesi için etkili bir araç olduğunu göstermektedir. Kürtler ve toprakları üzerindeki denetim ve sömürünün ciddi sonuçları bugün de görünür durumdadır. İngiliz sömürgeci söylemini analiz ederek ve bunu 1914'ten 1958'e kadar Kürt sömürge sonrası söyleminin tepkisiyle karşılaştırarak, sömürgeciler ile sömürgeleştirilenler arasındaki üst-ast ilişki bozulmaktadır. Önce teorik ve kavramsal bir arka plan, ardından olayların tarihsel bağlamı sunulur. Çalışma, İngilizlerin Irak Kürt bölgesini sömürge mirası olarak sömürgeleştirmesiyle ortaya çıkan sürekli ikilemleri ve uzun süredir devam eden çatışmaları dikkatli bir biçimde inceleyerek devam etmektedir. Bu ikilemler, İngiliz sömürgeci söyleminin temalarını yansıtır ve postkolonyel Kürtçe metinlerdeki temalarla karşılaştırılır ve Kürtlerin sömürgeci güce karşı tepkisinin her zaman tutarlı olmadığını gerekçelendirir. Burada amaç, inşa edilen sömürge söylemin, sömürgeleştirme sürecinde Kürt kültür ve kimliğini baltalamak için bir iktidar biçimi olarak kullanıldığını göstermektir. Çalışma, Kürtlerin İngiliz sömürge söyleminde yanlış temsil edilmesini bozmakta ve Kürtleri postkolonyal perspektif üzerinden yeniden temsil etmektedir. Bu bozulma aracılığıyla, bilgi sömürgesizleştirilir ve sömürge söyleminin desteklediği İngiliz sömürgeciliğinin Irak Kürtleri ve kimlikleri üzerinde olumsuz bir etki bıraktığı sonucuna varılır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sömürgecilik, Postkolonyalizm, Oryantalizm, Oksidentalizm, Metinsel Temsil

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ABBREVIATIONS

APOC	: Anglo-Persian Company
BHC	: British High Commissioner
CUP	: Committee of Union and Progress
DID	: Dissociative Identity Disorder
FFC	: Fact-Finding Commission
GPS	: Global Positioning System
ICP	: Iraqi Communist Party
IED	: Indian Expedition Force
JRAS	: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JRCAS	: Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society
KDP	: Kurdistan Democratic Party
MENA	: Middle East & Northern Africa
RUSI	: Royal United Services Institution
MLA	: Modern Language Association

INTRODUCTION

According to the literature of postcolonialism, the political and cultural worlds are divided into two binary zones: the East and West dichotomy. The beginning of the twentieth century marked the most significant encounter between the East and West. The relationship between these two developed into the superiority of the west and the inferiority of the east. The assumption of the superior West was created by military and economic factors, cultural control and through the discourse of knowledge as a sort of power. The British/West developed their beliefs in a way that justified their dominance by continually remodeling and defining Kurds/Eastern-ness without the involvement or agreement of genuine Eastern people in the knowledge production process. The British/West presents that they were better equipped to wield authority over the Orient by ‘understanding and knowing it’. One of Edward Said’s central concepts is that knowledge shapes power and vice versa. Said then claims that “to have such knowledge of such a thing is to dominate it, to have authority over it”(2003: 32). In this way, British imperialism as a representative of west used their “knowledge” to dominate the Kurds as an ethnic group in the Middle East. Here, discourse is not a form of knowledge that is used instrumentally in service of power but rather it is itself a form of power. It is a derivative form of power relations that shapes and constructs identity. As Said asserts: “European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self” (ibid, 3). That is, the indoctrination of “knowledge” has had lasting impacts and consequences on occupied territories and colonized people. Disseminated knowledge by the West became a roadmap and directive to mobilize colonial policies. This research is a critical academic study of the cultural legacy of British imposed colonialism and imperialism experienced by the Iraqi Kurds and an overall disruption of colonial discourse through postcolonial theory.

Postcolonial studies focus on multi distinctions of relationships between various types of binaries like occident/ orient, center/margin; colonizer/colonized; metropolis/empire; civilized/primitive (Ashcroft, et al, 2013). This thesis reads and explores the binary relationship of Occident/Orient which is surrounded by multi-subdual opposites of dominant-subordinate relationships which was determined by the power of the discourse (knowledge) in the logic of colonialism’s categorization:

West	:	East
Occident	:	Orient
Colonizer	:	Colonized
British	:	Kurds in Iraq
Colonial Discourse	:	Postcolonial Discourse
British Texts	:	Kurdish Texts.

The study also focuses on the human consequences of control and exploitation of colonized people and colonized lands through colonial and postcolonial discourse by political texts of both colonizers and colonized people. The research weighs the dominant-subordinate relationship between the British colonial power and the Kurds in Iraq. This is done through an analysis of textual discourse authored by British political officers and orientalist as well as elite Kurdish intellectuals from 1914 until 1958. In the context of this study, Orientalism was meant to be a “corrective study” (Said, 2003: 2). As such, the study attempts to produce biased critiques for investigating that to be true the British colonial knowledge, discourse, and machine used for dominating Kurdish people culturally and politically. According to Said, the Orient was not a genuine field of study since it was controlled by European culture and governance. The Orient was treated as an object, and hence became much more so. As a result, it was not, as Said put it, "a free topic of thought or action" (ibid, 3). Thus, the remedial intentions of Orientalism tainted the ostensibly objective and scientific framework of knowing that it was supposed to build. The Kurdish resistance to colonial rule will also be examined in this study which was made up of politicians, elites, and intellectuals, and will be investigated to show the political, and ideological themes of postcolonial discourse through both colonized Kurdish and British authored texts.

All texts will be methodically analyzed using postcolonial theory and will explore the effects of colonial discourse and cultural control. Clearly highlighted is the impact of the colonist ideology and culture that was pushed on the Kurdish culture and identity. Critical themes will include repression, subjugation and oppression, hybridity, ethnic conflicts, essentialism, economic exploitation, exoticism, ambivalence, eurocentrism, mimicry, subalternism, otherizing, subalternity, dominance and westernization. The research will present and discuss postcolonial theorists, Edward Said, Homi Kharshedji

Bhabha, and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak in dialogue with the British Kurdish context. The dissertation also deeply explores the construction of 'Self' and 'The Other' between the dominant Occident (West-British) and the inferior Orient (East- Kurds in Iraq). It interrogates the impacts of othering in both British colonial discourse and Kurdish postcolonial discourse of the mid twentieth century. This will be done by focusing on the images of identity created, and by providing analyses for political and cultural variables depicting "the other".

Main Arguments

The main arguments of the research include eight interrelated coherent hypotheses. First of all, the relations between British domination and British knowledge (discourse) on Kurds in Iraq are complementary relationships. This argument postulates that Power and Knowledge (Discourse) are interrelated in the context of the British colonization of Kurds in Iraq, as Michel Foucault stated that "discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it"(1998:100). It means that British Discourse is connected with British political and economic desires toward Kurds in Iraq as colonized people. These desires are hidden as power manifested through language (Texts) and support the process of dominating effectively.

The second argument assumes that the impacts and influences of British colonization through cultural control as a sort of power are more effective than military and economic power in the process of colonization of Kurds in Iraq despite serving both the military and economic domination. This hypothesis stipulates that the British culture control through producing knowledge and discourse, spreading propaganda and Western culture, and censoring and controlling Media have deeper participation in the process of British colonization of Kurds in Iraq. It has a big role in the acceleration and facilitating of the colonial process besides giving continuity to the impacts of British colonial hegemony and its legacies on Kurds in Iraq for a long time. That is, cultural control gives a more effective, longer impact to colonization meaning even after decolonizing the land and economy, its effects will continue.

The third argument presumes that the British academic institutions have a vital role in circulating, disseminating, generalizing, ratifying, and producing knowledge and discourse and presenting it as true facts on Kurds in Iraq for colonial purposes and

promoting British superiority. If the relationship between British colonizers and colonized Kurds is determined by a power imbalance, then the British academic institutions as powerful tools have an efficacy role in regulating knowledge and its circulated discursive manifestation on Kurds in Iraq. Therefore, the themes, statements, and types of discourses that are prevalent, presented as truth in the situations which were created by British colonization and its policies towards Kurds. That is to say, the constructed knowledge and colonial publications largely depended on the institutions to be circulated, regulated and ratified.

The fourth hypothesis confirms the continuity of colonial ideology and policy by focusing on the assumption that the ideology of British colonial discourse and the process of colonization of the Kurds regions of Iraq was not a temporary act and process which was done in an obligatory and sudden way. Rather, it was a long-term continuous process that resurfaces in different forms and styles according to the needs of the stages based on the ideology of colonialism. The most influential manifestations of this process appeared in the first half of the twentieth century the foundation of which dates back to the nineteenth century. The effects of this ideology and its legacy are still effective and are possible to be repeated in future stages.

The fifth main argument affirms that the decolonization process is not only about liberating the territory and economy of the Orient (Kurds) from the domination of the West (British). Rather, it is the decolonization of the culture, knowledge, history and thought of the East and the Kurds from the domination and influence of Western colonialism. This can be done in two ways: by abolishing the influence of the culture, discourse and knowledge that Britain has developed about the East and the Kurds. Also, decolonization can be done by rewriting and reconstructing the East (the Kurds) through the production of self-knowledge and self-discourse that are silenced and marginalized, thus eliminating or reducing the hegemony and imbalance of power between the colonizer and the colonized.

The sixth argument supports the belief that British colonial discourse on the Iraqi Kurds has an ambivalent and hypocritical essence. The supposition that further supports this reasoning is that while the British colonial discourse legitimizes and justifies the process of colonization as a necessary moral, human and civilized duty and

responsibility, at the same time, justifies oppression, and economic exploitation, and depicts the backwardness, uncivilization and brutality of the East and the Kurds as an immutable natural state. Thus, the colonial discourse carries a content on the surface, but another purpose in essence.

The seventh argument verifies the continuing conflicts and problems that the Kurds have with other nations and ethnic groups in Iraq and the Middle East are mainly due to the effects of British colonialism and its legacies. This idea reinforces the assumption that the discourse and knowledge of colonialism and the policy implemented to change Kurdish identity and cultural control. This policy created a lot of hatred, hostility and conflict, which are not natural and created by the occupier, which the Kurds and other nations in the East are still suffering from.

The eighth argument stipulates that the discourse, ideology and legacy of colonialism have influenced the mentality, character and identity of the British colonizers similar to how it influenced the colonized Kurds. That is, colonialism (its discourse) is a two-way influence path, how to impact colonized Kurds somehow, and it also influences the British colonizer in different ways.

Scope and Delimitation of the Study:

The time frame of this study starts in 1914 because it was the beginning of one of the most impactful phases of international conflicts and specifically a clash between the East and West. Even before the Western colonization of the East, earlier texts played a role in producing the colonial knowledge and discourse about the Iraqi Kurds. The year 1914 was the start of World War I which had a profound impact on remapping and reshaping the political system of the Middle East. The year, 1914, is the starting point of the Kurdish question as a problem in the Middle East when the Kurdish question was emergencied after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in the aftermath of the Great War. Consequently, the question animated scholarly discussion (Jwaideh, 2006). This discussion subject examines the current historiographical debate related to this issue and questions some of the basic assumptions that have framed the debate during the first half of the twentieth century. In this period, Kurdish people and territories became an important subject in British colonial inquiries and in British policies towards the Middle East. The selected texts of this study were chosen to illustrate how the British

constructed colonial discourse and policies towards Kurds in Iraq. Several delegations, and groups of spies, orientalist, researchers and political officers became forces of oriental knowledge and moved to the Kurdish region of Iraq with the intention of colonization. This movement is considered to be the most intense stage of British orientalist relations with the Kurds. The study to counter the British discourse examines the Kurdish struggle of textual discourse to voice aspirations of decolonization, the abolition of colonial discourse and to fight against the legacy of colonialism on Kurdish mentality and society.

The dissertation determined 1958 as the end of the researched time frame because it was the end of the Iraqi monarchy which had been created by British colonialism. When the monarchy stopped, British colonialism began to decline and the role of the British in Iraq as well. From this period onwards the initiative to pay attention and work with and against the Kurds got weakened and reduced. The Kurdish problem began to be seen more as an internal Iraqi problem. The year 1958 marks the beginning of the republic system as the new regime of Iraq. The primary goal of the 14 July 1958 coup was to liberate Iraq from its imperial ties with the British and their Western allies who were dominating all sectors of Iraqi governance (Khayali, 2021). Reducing the British intervention and role in Iraq led to the creation of several new nation states (post-colonial states) in the Middle East. Therefore, the Kurdish question became stressed as they also wanted to have their state. Although as the British reduced their presence, the Kurds in Iraq were not considered for a postcolonial state.

Significance of Research:

The research does not only investigate the reality of archives, texts, knowledge, and discourse of the West (British Orientalism) as the superior sources and material for representing the East as the true knowledge and scientific facts in academic research, but it also pivots Occidentalism as knowledge to establish a self-representation of Kurds as their own representative of the Orient which has been marginalized and subjugated as the inferior voice of the East. The Occidentalism lens re-conceptualizes the British discourse and Eurocentric bodies of knowledge about the East. The research analyzes the impact of colonial discourse as a form of knowledge which was produced and ratified by British academia and colonial administration. Power and knowledge between

the Kurds and the British is characterized by an imbalance of power. Therefore, the discourse and knowledge of the British shaped colonial ideology and the legacy of British colonizers and Kurds as colonized people and resulted in the British word becoming policy. The discourse came to represent fact, and was manipulated for the purpose of colonial power so much so that the British also invaded and used Kurdish Media and intellectuals to perpetuate colonial purposes. The task of this research is to decolonize knowledge in order to state the self-representation of Kurdish existence. This research exposes the entrenched assumptions of the perceived British superior status and British imperialism in order to reassess the dominating discourse of colonial mentality.

The dissertation intends to validate that British colonization of Kurdish areas in Iraq is not an unthoughtful and sudden event, but has deep roots and was a continuous and purposeful process that appears to reformulate through diverse strategies and policies. The colonial power sought to systematically destroy elements of native Kurdish identity, and the culture of the Kurds. Understanding the underlying arguments of British colonial discourse is crucial for reading and understanding the counter-discourse which will be thematically highlighted through postcolonial theories in chapters three and four. The themes guide the process of analyzing key texts to gain a more comprehensive reading and nuanced understanding of how British colonialism changed the culture and identity of Kurds. The study seeks to uncover the roots, background, and factors which were formed and produced in Kurdish Discourse as a reaction and response to British colonization and its colonial discourse. Therefore, the binary discussion of colonizer/colonized opens into themes of postcolonial discourse.

The present dissertation demonstrates the role of British cultural control and colonial discourse as a form of power that exploited the economy, motivated and supported military colonialism and established the West's dominant position over the Kurds. Discourse as a hegemonic power over Kurds legitimized colonial domination deceived public opinion, and disseminated propaganda for colonial agendas. The role of British colonial academic institutions and orientalist circulated information that portrayed the Kurdish region as needing colonial conquest. The British colonial mechanisms and agendas towards Kurds in Iraq imposed authority and exercised “divide and conquer”

policies which not only affected the Kurds but other nations and ethnic groups in the Middle East as well. This research opens the door to a new understanding of the role of British colonialism in creating hostility and ethnic conflicts between the Kurds, Arabs, Turks, and other ethnic groups in the Middle East. These problems still exist in different forms and have developed into long-lasting problems in the region, creating a tributary of other challenges and dilemmas. Thus, the study examines colonial and postcolonial selected textual representations from 1914-1958 to analyze and expose British discourse and thereby disrupts the discourse of British Colonialism.

The present study explores and discusses the dilemmas and legacies that appeared with colonial rules, the legacies and dilemmas reflected as themes of colonial and postcolonial discourse in Kurdish and British textual representations in the period. The research disrupts and re-represents the misrepresentation of Kurds in Iraq by British colonial text and narratives through deeper analysis of Kurdish texts that have been translated into English for the first time as they have not been researched substantially. Most of the selected texts archived deep details, in the form of official letters, secret documents, dialogues among leaders and private meetings between the British and Iraqi Kurds, these details are less available in existing research. They are important for new understandings and interpretations of the political issues, the colonization process, and decolonizing the Knowledge on the Kurds and the East which were colonized by British. The texts will display Kurdish counter hegemonic discourse (Kurdish anti-colonial discourse), and will illuminate how the Kurds wrote back to the British Empire, and their counterpoints of British colonial discourse. Therefore, the research decolonizes Eastern history and knowledge from the impacts of western superiority and critically examines the British efforts to change the identity of Kurds in multiple aspects through imposing various policies some of which have endured.

Another important aspect of this study is that it not only focuses on the impacts of British colonialism and its ideology on colonized Kurds, it also fills a gap in presenting the influence of British colonial ideology, discourse, and legacy on both the colonized and the colonizer. Therefore, the importance of the texts represents the raw material for understanding the impact of colonial rules and legacies on both British colonizers and Kurdish colonized individuals and societies. Nevertheless, there are a huge number of

British documents in the British archive on Kurds which were written as telegrams and official letters, but the travel writing, diaries, and memories of British orientalist and politicians are regarded as pure materials for providing and presenting the details of colonial and postcolonial issues on Kurdish culture and identity, and thoughts, society, language, and literature. The details and targeted aspects of Kurdish people and territories in these texts are the main subjects and themes for the colonial purposes which were studied in this research. Besides that, the British selected texts in the form of diaries, memories, and travel writing to expose and show the influence and impact of colonial thoughts and policies on British individual mentalities such as orientalist and political officers. These forms of text present vivid, compelling examples to understand colonialism. They imply certain choices and provide a different ontic status and themes that reigned and continued.

Research Objectives:

The research objectives aim to achieve the following:

- Understand the process of colonization and the British colonizers- colonized Kurds relations by focusing on the role of cultural control and knowledge as a sort of power and in the service of political and economic power.
- Compare British colonial discourse and legacy with the resistance and response of the Kurdish postcolonial discourse.
- Reveal the impacts and consequences of British colonial discourse, ideology, and policies on both British Colonizers and colonized Kurds in both personal and societal levels.
- Disrupt the British colonial discourse through contrapuntal analysis and analyzing Kurdish postcolonial writes back.
- Uncover the vital role of British academic institutions in circulating, producing, and ratifying the British Colonial Discourse as true knowledge and then imposing said perception of knowledge on the Kurds in Iraq.
- Demonstrate that roots and consequences of of British colonization of the Kurds and the colonial legacy continues because of the constructed colonial knowledge and discourse on the Kurds.
- Shed light on the impact of British colonial policies in making and creating ethnic conflicts that are present in today's Iraq and the Middle East such as the

conflicts between the Kurds and other ethnic groups.

- Show how the British colonizers dominated with generalized discourse and spreading propaganda rather than military force.
- Recover the misrepresentation of the Kurdish subaltern as an ‘object’ in the British colonial texts, and provide a re-representation of the colonized Kurds as the voice of voiceless in Kurdish postcolonial narratives.

Research Questions:

The main question which the research answers is: What are the main roles and impacts of British cultural control and knowledge (discourse) as sort of power beside military and economic power in the process of British colonization of Kurds in Iraq and in reading and understanding the duality dominance-subordination relationship between the British colonizers and colonized Kurds in Iraq through British textual representations compared to the response and the postcolonial discourse of Kurds to the British Colonialism and its legacies through Kurdish Textual representations?

While answering the main question, the research answers the following sub-questions:

- What conflicts (issues) and dilemmas appeared with British colonization of the Kurds in Iraq and are reflected as themes of British colonial and Kurdish postcolonial discourses that sustained the colonization process from 1914- 1958?
- How did the British utilize British Orientalists, political officers, academic institutions, and Journals in circulating, producing, publishing, and ratifying British colonial discourse as Knowledge on Kurds in Iraq from 1914-to 1958?
- What is the root and essential historical background of British colonial discourse and Kurdish postcolonial discourse from 1914 until 1958?
- How did British colonialism occupy and use Kurdish Pro-British newspapers which were supervised and controlled by British academia in service to the colonial policies and agendas besides military and economic occupation?
- What are the lasting impacts and consequences of British colonial rule, policies, and legacies on Kurdish cultural and national identity?
- What are the similarities and differences between the themes of British colonial and the Kurdish postcolonial discourses?

Methodology

This research is a qualitative study which employs critical discourse analysis from a postcolonial lens to demonstrate that power and knowledge (discourse) are interrelated. The interrelated relationship is characterized by imbalance of power between the colonized Kurds, and British colonizers, and the role of colonial discourse in colonization of the Kurds. The study also analyzes the Kurds postcolonial texts to understand colonization from the perspective of the Kurds and show their reaction to colonization.

Postcolonial approach tries to understand colonization with the intention of decolonizing and dismantling what has been constructed by the colonial power. From the postcolonial worldview, colonization is a systematic and complicated process that needs to be studied in systematic detail (Ashcroft, 2013). Postcolonial theory, which is defined as an interdisciplinary field studies colonization from various perspectives such as Marxism, feminism, and poststructuralism whereas borrowing critical discourse analysis from post structuralism to deconstruct the colonial discourse and the responses of the colonized to show that discourse which is a source of power played a vital role in colonization.

According to postcolonial theorists such as Edward Said, reading, analyzing and decoding the colonial discourse elucidates colonization, colonial mentality and policy. The notion of discourse is a debatably complex topic since the most basic definition of discourse is that it is a set of meaningful statements, oral or written, on any given topic (Gee, 1999). However, there are an endless and infinite amount of statements and themes on this topic, and power is the factor that can order, structure, and limit the meaningful statements and discourse themes. Therefore, the most powerful side can decide, circulate, proliferate, firmly constrain, and ratify the discourse (Knowledge) through the numerous institutions and agencies of the powerful. The discourse and knowledge, thus, can be a sort of power through the institution's validity that regulates the discourse by controlling the circulation and prioritizing particular statements while ignoring and gagging some other opposing statements (Foucault, 1972; Foucault, 1981). Accordingly, this study examines the functions of the two types of discourses in the process of colonization and resistance; British colonial discourse and Kurdish postcolonial discourse. British colonial discourse which represents the discourse of

powerful colonizers as western superiority. British colonial discourse on Kurds imagined Kurds as an object as Sara Mills says "...which effectively represented the Orient as a repository of Western knowledge rather than as a society and culture functioning on its own terms (Mills, 1997: 108).

Colonial discourse generalized and ratified this constructed opposing binary. To understand discourse, the research goes back to the arguments of Michel Foucault, the French post structural theorist who believes that discourse, as Foucault theorizes it, is a set of assertions that may be used to understand the world. It is the method by which dominating groups in society establish the field of truth by imposing certain knowledge, disciplines, and values on dominated groups. It functions as a social construction to create reality not just for the things it purports to represent, but also for the subjects who comprise the community on which it is based (Ashcroft et al, 2013). That is, discourse is a decided way to speak of and understand the world (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). This is why, for postcolonial theorists, the process of colonization, is not only exerting military and economic power control, but rather exercising knowledge and using discourse as sort of power which has lasting impacts and consequences on occupied territories and colonized people for longer time and this knowledge becomes a roadmap and supporter for mobilizing colonial policies.

In this perspective, the research is a critical academic study of the cultural legacy of colonialism and imperialism focusing on the human consequences of the control and exploitation of colonized people and their lands through colonial and postcolonial discourse in the literature of political texts of both colonizers and colonized people. Critical discourse analysis from the postcolonial worldview which guides the entire study to show the power imbalance that led to constructed knowledge in the favor of the British and was against the Kurds.

'Postcolonial discourse' or 'Postcolonial discourse analysis' includes analyzing both British colonial discourse and Kurdish postcolonial discourse which can be defined as a discourse (in Foucault's sense) that produces knowledge about colonized people in order to legitimate colonial domination. This discourse represents a certain type of symbolic power that seeks to legitimize a hegemonic and imperialist viewpoint (Mills, 1997). It also includes the discourse that was produced as a response and reaction by Kurdish

colonized people to the British colonial discourse and its legacies as it will be discussed in the next chapters of the research. In this context, both discourses were categorized and studied under the definition of postcolonial discourse analysis which is related to the set of ideas, legacies, problems and consequences of the colonization and decolonization of colonized Kurds and their land by British colonialism especially questions relating to the political and cultural identity of the Kurds subjugated people, and themes such as Mimicry, Hybridity, Hegemony, Subalternity, Economic exploitations, Otherness, Tribalism, Ethnic conflict.

The British wrote a huge number of oriental texts on Kurds during the time framework of the study, 1914-1958, and sent different spies, orientalist, and officers for collecting and recording knowledge on Kurdish people. The texts have a significant role in constructing the structure of British colonial discourse and policies towards Kurds in Iraq. Social change and equal power are goals of critical discourse analysis, which attempts to establish the role of discourses in retaining unequal power relationships, a goal that fits in with post-colonial theory (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002). The study, using postcolonial critical discourse analysis, will study these texts and display how they are powerful and used to support the British Empire in colonization of the Kurds. British texts are the textual representations which were written by British Orientalists, political officers, and spies such as the selected texts of Major Edward William Charles Noel, Major Ely Banister Soane, Arnold Talbot Wilson, Gertrude Margaret Lowthian Bell, Cecil John Edmonds (C. J. Edmonds), Major William Rupert Hay (W. R. Hay), George Martin Lees (Dr. G. M. Lees), Wallace Adelbert Lyon, Archibald Milen Hamilton, and Mrs. Lynette Lindfield Soane (Mrs. Malcolm-Ellis).

These colonial texts imposed British hegemony on the Kurds. It is a term Antonio Gramsci coined to refer to the imposing of a group's culture over another less powerful group. The British used their discourse to show their hegemonic perspective as a natural fact and truth and the Kurds had no choice but to accept it. To this point, the study under the arguments of hegemonic culture, analyzes the colonial texts and demonstrates how the British hegemony was constructed in the mind of the Kurds.

The research also tries to read and analyze the response of the Kurds in the face of British colonization through analyzing the Kurdish texts. The research considers the

colonial discourse as action and the Kurdish postcolonial discourse as response. This study, in this way, comparatively reads, evaluates values, and understands the contrast between the two discourses. The study discusses and disrupts the process of misrepresentation of the British colonial discourse regarding the Iraqi Kurds. This attempt transforms the process of misrepresentation of Orient by Occident into an attempt at self-oriental representation by the orient, which broadens our reading of the concept of the binary of Orientalism and Occidentalism. The Kurdish texts include two types of texts: the texts which were written by Kurdish intellectual elites and politicians in the form of diaries such as the texts of Rafiq Hilmi, Sheikh Latif Hafid, Ahmed Khwaja, Ahmed Taaqi. These texts are a significant source of the voice of the Kurdish subaltern during the stage which embodies and reflects the conflict and the dilemmas that emerged with British colonization of Kurdish areas in Iraq. The second type is the texts which were published in Kurdish newspapers. The study also focuses on Kurdish texts which were published in the Kurdish newspapers related to the British colonization of Iraqi Kurdistan during the first half of the twentieth century. The Kurdish newspapers are Peshkawtn Newspaper, Bangi Kurdistan Newspaper, Rozhi Kurdistan Newspaper, Bangi Haq Newspaper, Umedi Istiqlal Newspaper, Zhiyanawa Newspaper, Zhiyan Newspaper, Dengi Geti Taze Magazine.

The task of this study is not only to respond to the knowledge and discourse produced about Kurds as Orientals/easterners, but also to decolonize knowledge, which is not only a reaction for British discourse but re-presenting the British knowledge and discourse in a different way, and representing the misrepresentation of the British colonizer and providing and proving self-representation of the Eastern/Kurdish existence. This is why the study employs contrapuntal reading which is reading the colonial and postcolonial texts critically to understand how the history was built before deconstructing it (Said, 1993). In process of analyzing the both discourses and texts (British and Kurdish texts), the study specifically applied and used contrapuntal reading or analysis, which is a method improved and promoted by Edward Said, is used in interpreting colonial texts considering the perspectives of both the colonizer and the colonized. This approach is not only helpful but also necessary in making important connections between colonial and postcolonial texts (Said, 1993). Contrapuntal reading necessitates a vision in which colonialism and texts (discourse) are shown simultaneously. It addresses different

perspectives and simultaneously focuses on how the text interacts with historical or political contexts. It discusses the point of view of both colonialism and the resistance to it (Bilgin, 2016). This is why the study goes beyond the word of the discourse and studies the political and social context of the discourses. The study also uncovers the vital roles of British Academic Institutions in circulating, producing knowledge, and ratifying British Colonial Discourse on Kurds in Iraq which were in favor of the British and against the Kurds.

Postcolonial approach borrows terms and concepts from postcolonial theorists to analyze the texts deeper. This is why this study employed a variety of words and terminologies to analyze the colonial and postcolonial discourses. The study used Gayatri Spivak's phrases "subaltern" "othering," "catachresis," "strategic essentialism," "epistemic violence," and "wording," for example, to show how the Kurds were silenced, etherized, reacted, responded, and violated receptively. The study also employs Homi Bhabha's terminology "ambivalence," "mimicry," and "hybridity" to demonstrate how the British negatively influenced the identity of the Kurds. Most crucially, the study, by using the term of Said's book, Orientalism, now refers to the activity and process of 'othering' or 'orientalizing' the Orient and shows how the colonial power objectified, subjectified, and portrayed Kurds as the Other.

In conclusion, the focus for the discourse analysis from a postcolonial lens is to demonstrate how the colonial knowledge was constructed and what role it played in colonization. Simultaneously, the study shows the reaction of the postcolonial texts and the misrepresentation of the colonial discourse.

Research's Limitation and Difficulties

Collecting data and texts that were hard to find and categorize was a difficult process. Initially, it was very difficult to obtain the sources and their original versions. With the start of the Covid19 pandemic, it became harder. With regard to Kurdish texts, especially Kurdish newspapers, there was a great difficulty in finding the originals. During 1914-1958, dozens of Kurdish newspapers were published. Finding the texts and newspapers related to the purpose of this study, selecting and categorizing them and reading all the so many texts and newspapers was not an easy process. The language of the texts is an old and vague form of the language as well as being an old and vague

print that is not easy to read and understand. Deciphering the texts proved difficult to translate.

In some of the translated Kurdish newspapers for some political reasons, the name of the author of the text is not mentioned, or it is unclear who the real author of the text is, which is why when citing the article in the text, the name of the newspaper and the issue number was written. This is to rely on academic and scientific principles for citing sources, and this issue was observed in many Kurdish newspapers, so in general the same method throughout the research has been followed.

Another difficulty was that the nature of the research, the texts, and the theory of postcolonialism were similar in many ways especially in the analysis of the themes of colonial and postcolonial discourse, and had many overlapping examples in the texts. The content of the text and the concept of the themes made some of the arguments and analysis interrelated and the researcher had to revisit already mentioned arguments. This repetition is more related to the nature of the theories and examples of texts and themes, which have many similarities, rather than due to carelessness and lack of different analysis for the texts.

Literature Review

Postcolonial studies is not a single academic branch, but it expands and multiplies venues and fields of enquiry, i.e. it is an interdisciplinary field of study with experts from anthropology, political economy, history, geography, history, philosophy, literary, cultural, and media studies (Kumar, 2011, Huggan, 2013). Existing research on Britain and the Iraqi Kurds is a multidimensional subject and has been worked on in many ways. Most of the research focused on the history of relations and political events related to the Kurds and Britain. However, previous literature which is close to this research and directly related to the subject, content, method and scope of this research includes: “*British Policy and The Kurdish Question in ‘Iraq, 1918-1932’*” by Otham Ali in 1992, a dissertation submitted to the Department of Middle East and Islamic Studies, in the University of Toronto. This research used chronological and thematic approaches to study and analyze the most historical events which are related to Kurds in Iraq during the British colonization and mandatory regime in Iraq. It is a comprehensive and analytical study which mostly focused on British policy towards Kurds in Iraq

during 1914 to 1932. It presents the historiography of the relationship between British and Kurds by synthesizing and depending on a huge number of British official records, documents, and archival materials as the main sources of the research. Although this study is very close to the present study in terms of scope/timeline and sources, the direction of work and how the sources, approaches, theories and topics are used and discussed are different. The present study focuses on analyzing and dismantling the discourse and legacy of colonialism through postcolonial critical discourse analysis, paying special attention to culture control. However, Ali's research provides more analysis of the political history of Kurdish-British relations from the perspective of British documents and archives. In addition to that, the scope of the present study is wider than Ali's research.

The title "*Orientalism and Imperialism: Protestant Missionary Narratives of the 'Other' in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-century Kurdistan*" is a dissertation submitted by Andrew Wilcox to the University of Exeter in 2014. The research examined published writings of the missionaries of distinctive Protestant missions active in the Kurdish region in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries. The primary focus of the analysis is from the 1870s to the beginning of the First World War. Although this study works within the framework of textual analysis of religious missions in Muslim lands and is directly related to the concept and subject of Orientalism, he has generally worked on the writings of Orientalists on the Kurds. Wilcox's research is more a study of missionary texts about the Kurds; unlike the study of Orientalism like British or French or German Orientalism. He also did not analyze the texts literally through the various arguments and postcolonial theorists; he emphasized Edward Said's general views on East and West. This study does not examine the relationship between Iraqi Kurds as colonized and Britain as colonizer; it rather studies Protestant missionary narratives about Kurds in general within the Ottoman Empire reign. Although he criticized the discourse of the texts, he rarely attempted to abolish the discourse of Orientalism in a detailed and profound mechanism. He used one type of discourse and one type of text, which are Western discourse and texts. He has not represented Kurds with their own text and discourse. Therefore, Wilcox's research differs from this research in terms of objectives, materials, texts, type of research discourse, time and scope of research. Unlike Wilcox's study,

this research employs multiple types of reading through different concepts and terms.

Another dissertation which is related to the content of this study is “*Kurds and Kurdistan in the View of British Travellers in the Nineteenth Century*”, by Qadir Muhammad, which was submitted to School of History, Politics & International Relations at the University of Leicester in 2017. This thesis is about British travel writing on Kurds in the nineteenth century which focuses on travelers’ accounts and reports of diplomats. It focuses on how they acknowledged the cultural, social, political, and geographical significance of Kurds as a people of the East. The main objective of the research is to “identify which aspects of Kurdish society and culture were highlighted by the British and to analyze what factors influenced British representations of the region and its people” (Muhammad, 2017: i). The research explores the British applied preconceptions on Kurds in the nineteenth century that can be regarded as the elementary root and inspiration of colonial discourse in the twentieth century. In this way, this research supplements Muhammad’s research, but at the same time, they are different in many ways. For example, Muhammad focused on the texts of British missionaries who aimed to strengthen the Christian faith in the East. Also he tries to understand Kurdish culture and society and the East through orientalist. However, Muhammad claims that his study is a critical research about British texts on the Kurds, but at the same time, he believes that these texts are very valuable because they have broken the obstacles that Turks and Persians have put for writing, life and culture. He also emphasizes that “the British travel accounts work particularly well to counteract the limitations of the Turkish and Persian accounts of the Kurds. Turkish sources at that time said very little about the social life of people in the Ottoman Empire, and so British accounts are particularly valuable” (Muhammad, 2017: 4). This view is contrary to the sources and approaches of Edward Said on which his research relies. He rarely criticizes the colonial aims of British texts in a direct way. He analyzes the content and history of his events, sometimes criticizing the Ottoman Empire not Britain while the study is about the Kurds from the British perspective. However, the present study attempts to analyze the text and discourse of British colonialism from a critical perspective, attempting to dismantle the colonial discourse, which wants to create divisions between the nations of the Middle East, with the intention of dividing and dominating them. The present research corrects some of the constructed history that the British produced about

Kurdish relations with other nations in the Middle East. In addition, Muhammad's study does not pay much attention to the Kurdish voice and discourse about Britain. Rather, it describes the events and topics reflected in nineteenth-century British texts in detail. In contrast to the current dissertation, which provides a wide scope of research to introduce, analyze neglected Kurdish voices and discourses in the face of the British colonial process. In general, Muhammad's research is different from the present study in terms of how he employed the method and approach and the timeframe of the study, which is the 19th century. This study, however, chose the most sensitive stage of British-Kurdish relations. Muhammad does not analyze and criticize the texts on the basis of postcolonial principles, theories and terms whereas this study analyzes the texts and themes from this perspective. In addition, It works on British texts written generally about the Kurds of the Ottoman Empire territories. However, the present study focuses only on the texts written about the British colonial process of the Iraqi Kurds.

The paper entitled '*Dismantling Kurdish Texts: An Orientalist Approach*' (2015) is another research related to the current study, which was written by three authors Jalil Karimi, Ahmad Mohammadpur, Karim Mahmoodi. It is a critical study on some historical and sociological researches which were written by western writers on Kurds. The target of the paper is to explore how the Kurds are represented in the research based on Edward Said's Orientalism theory. This study focuses on how Western researchers and writers reused the negative writings and images of Orientalist research on the Kurds. Notably, the research analyzes the image of Europe in general from the perspective of the Kurds whose views have changed towards Europe, and now they have a favorable and soft assessment of Europe. According to the research, the Kurds "had more empathy or somehow attitudes free of Western values toward their subject" (Karimi et al, 2015). Although the study tried to analyze several European studies on Kurds according to several views of Edward Said, he did not classify them for a specific period. He worked on a number of studies written in different periods and for different policies. His research is not specific to Iraqi Kurds. He also analyzed the research in a very short period of time rather than within the framework of a broad research and various analyses partly because of the type of research which is an article published in a scientific journal.

The article entitled “*British Travellers, the Kurds, and Kurdistan: A Brief Literary History, c. 1520- 167*”, was written by Gerald Maclean and published in *Kurdish Studies Journal*. In 2019, it investigates accounts and texts of the first British travelers on Kurds in the sixteenth, and seventeenth-century when they traveled to the Ottoman and Safavid empires. This is a critical study of British texts written at that time, which concludes that the British scholars were not able to know and study the Kurds in detail. Maclean believes that the British scholars have given less attention to the Kurds than they have given to the Arabs, Jews and Assyrians. Maclean’s study is a source for the beginnings of the relationship between Kurds and British Orientalism, which is completely different from this study in terms of research boundaries, text, approach, scope, goals and objectives.

In the same year, 2019 another paper published in *International Journal of Social Sciences*, entitled “*Representation of the Personality and Character of the Kurds by Orientalists: A Study on Rich’s ‘Narrative of a Residence in Kurdistan’*” by Bahman Bayangan and Sahar Faeghi. It reads Rich’s narrative who visited Kurdish areas in 1820, with the aim of demonstrating how the Kurds were portrayed primarily in stereotypical ways and as a component of Eastern culture contrasting to Western culture. What this study has found is that this orientalist, Rich, generalized his views to the entire Kurds in his texts through what he recorded and saw. It has also paid attention to Kurdish cultural and social issues that are important to British policy and goals. The study is only a detailed reading of a single nineteenth-century British text and is analyzed in the light of some of Edward Said's views (Bayangani and Faeghi, 2019).

A paper which was published in *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, entitled “*The Post-Ottoman Order in the Middle East: Mark Sykes and the Complexity of the Kurdish Question*” (2021) is another relevant research which was written by Mohammad Sabah Kareem. The research examines the topic of Kurdish future in British Middle Eastern policy. This study's main objective is to analyze how Mark Sykes specifically contributed to British policy in determining the future of the Kurds in the post-Ottoman Empire. This paper studies the function of orientalist ideology, by focusing on British Colonel Mark Sykes's understanding of the Kurdish question through the use of a post-colonial approach mostly based on Edward Said's thesis. It

concludes that Sykes' comprehension of Kurdistan informed British policy-making toward Kurds. This study criticizes British policy towards the Kurds after the fall of the Ottoman Empire. The research attributes the neglect of the Kurds in British politics to the influential views of Mark Sykes as he traveled to the Middle East as an orientalist and recorded information about the Kurds, which became the basis for Britain's negative policy towards the Kurds. The intricacy of the Kurdish issue in the post-Ottoman era was greatly exacerbated by Sykes' Orientalist views on Kurds. The study only shows the role of one Orientalist and one British text in shaping British policy towards the Kurds. It reads British policy from Skykes' perspective, but does not clearly discuss the effects of British policies on Kurdish cultural and political identity. The study does not discuss the Kurdish attitude and response to these policies and influences. The research only uses some of Edward Said's arguments, and it does not use critical colonial discourse analysis as an approach, as a major approach to postcolonial studies.

There is another academic work which is related to the topic, which is a chapter of a book entitled "*Orientalist Views of Kurds and Kurdistan*" (2021) by Zeynep Kaya. Kaya, in her research, gives a detailed reading to the reports and narratives of the British orientalists at the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. Kaya focuses on demonstrating the perceptions of the orientalists on the Kurds and the underlying ideology behind these perceptions. After detailed analysis of the orientalists' documents, the paper arrives at the conclusion that the perceptions of the British orientalists were bias and based on the subordinate relationship of the civilized, occident and the uncivilized besides the orient. She affirms that these perceptions were shown as facts and had an impact on the Kurdish elite and how they built Kurdish nationalism. The research believes that the British never support the Kurds to this day. Kaya's research is different from the present study in the sense that it does not take a large number of orientalists and their narratives and it does not demonstrate how the Kurds responded to these misrepresentations as this study illuminates.

The essential distinctive points of this dissertation submitted is that, in addition to turning discourse and knowledge into a kind of power, at the same time, it uses the discourse of both main opposing binaries of the postcolonial study, the British Colonial discourse (orient) and Kurdish postcolonial discourse (Occidentalism discourse). In this

way, the understanding and analysis of the concepts and meanings of both power and colonialism will be expanded. This research analyzes the dominant and super colonial discourse, on the one hand, and then, on the other hand, dismantles it through the tools, arguments and key terms of postcolonial theory and through the analysis of the second discourse, the colonized Kurdish discourse. Thus, this study both disrupts the discourse of colonialism and represents the East from an Eastern perspective. In this way, it reveals some of the hidden secrets and essences of the legacy of colonialism and presents antitheses to the colonial discourse, knowledge and written history about the East. This is done not only by comparing two examples of texts, two Orientalists and writers, but also by working on a large number of Kurdish and British texts written over nearly half a century. This is done with the aim of identifying the main themes of both discourses and the phenomena that emerged with the advent of colonialism and have had a great impact. In addition, this study does not only examine the political events that occurred with the arrival of Britain, which became part of the history of the region. Rather, it analyzes the text and discourse as a kind of power for these events to happen as well as a support for military, political and economic force. That is, this study does not only discuss the power of events to understand the process of colonization. For this research, text and discourse are the basis for understanding colonialism; they are not just utilized for reading the general events of the period that occurred. Relying on meta-texts and examining between the lines, this research looks for the hidden meanings behind texts, rather than reading texts and discourses literally. This research demonstrates that similar to how discourse and power have become a power for the colonizer in the process of colonization, the production and introduction of neglected colonized discourse can also be made a power for the decolonization process.

Thesis Structure

The study includes an introduction, four chapters as well as findings of the study.

Chapter One

The chapter is composed of a brief explanation of core theoretical concepts and different arguments in postcolonial studies and identifies the notion and the appropriate definition of binary key terms of this research such as: Orientalism and Occidentalism, Colonialism and Postcolonialism, the Other, and Textual Representations. This chapter

explains the concepts, the use of terms and the relevant contributions of postcolonial theorists, Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, and Gayatri Spivak, who provide key arguments for analyzing British colonial discourse and Kurdish postcolonial discourse through textual representations in chapters three and four. Therefore, the chapter makes a balance between the theories and content to come in chapters three and four.

Chapter Two

Chapter two reviews the main historical events and takes a quick look at the political issues that are related to the British and Kurdish relationship between 1914 to 1958 in order to give a deep and nuanced understanding of the relations between the British Colonizer and the colonized Kurds. This nuanced understanding of the contexts supports the process of analyzing the themes of the discourses. The chapter includes a historical overview of British Colonial Rule in the Kurdish areas of Iraq and examines both British colonialism and Kurds in Iraq through a binary lens. This chapter briefly illuminates the Kurdish resistance to British colonization. Therefore, chapter two provides a general introduction of British colonialism in the most important phases of its history, then presents a historical overview of British colonial rule in Iraq and finally analyzes British colonial influence on the Kurdish society.

Chapter Three

The main purpose of Chapter 3 is to disrupt the colonial discourse. Meanwhile, the way in which the chapter seeks to bring about this disruption is through contrapuntal reading that uses the discourse of Orientalism. Through this strategic reading, the chapter infers and explores the effects of colonialism on the British colonizers as well. Chapter three focuses on the British colonizer's discourse about the Kurds in Iraq and looks at the interconnections between the military and economic domination over Iraqi Kurds by analyzing the powerful and problematic knowledge base of the British. The chapter focuses on the vital role of the British political officers, orientalist, and academic journals and institutions in circulating, generalizing, publishing, and ratifying British discourse amongst Kurds in Iraq. Through textual representations misleading representations of the Kurds by British orientalist and political officers who served in the British Colonial administration are identified. The chapter attempts to connect the

characteristics and themes of postcolonial discourse with texts from 1914 to 1958. The chapter seeks to make a balance between the concept of each theme with samples of selected texts authored by the British. This chapter also tries to understand how the British Colonizers implanted the colonial culture into Kurdish culture and identity.

Chapter Four

This chapter of the study explores how the Kurds recognize themselves as "us-colonized" with the existence of the British as "other-colonizer". In addition, this chapter examines the role and influence of the colonial legacy on Kurdish culture and identity. This chapter seeks the roots of the Kurdish voice and analyzes the Kurdish voice from the postcolonial discourse through Kurdish textual representations. The texts, written by the Kurdish intellectual elites about British Colonialism from 1914-1958, reflect Kurdish history in Iraq and in relation to the British colonization. Kurdish postcolonial discourse highlights Kurdish intellectuals and politicians through their memories, diaries, and autobiographical forms as well as Kurdish newspapers of the period. The selected texts identify the themes of postcolonial discourse and its implications on Kurdish colonized people in Iraq. Through analysis, the response of the Kurds to colonization from 1914 to 1958 is demonstrated under the lens of postcolonial theory. This chapter layers the concept of each theme with samples of selected texts.

CHAPTER 1: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND KEY CONCEPTS

This study attempts to give a different reading to the colonization phenomenon focusing on the colonization of the Iraqi Kurds by the British Empire through a postcolonial lens.¹ This chapter introduces the theoretical background of postcolonial theories and sets the stage for the following chapters of analysis on the British and Kurdish discourse to understand the colonial impact and legacy on the Kurds through dialogue with Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, and Gayatri Spivak. Binary concepts such as orientalism/occidentalism, colonialism/postcolonialism, and self/other, are key concepts to be explored. Edward Said introduces the colonization phenomenon and postcolonial theory as well as Orientalism and Occidentalism. Homi Bhabha's arguments of hybridity and mimicry and Gyatra Spivak's arguments of the subaltern and strategic essentialism will be used to examine British colonization of the Kurds. These binary concepts and the arguments of the three theorists are critical perspectives to read and analyze the themes of colonial and postcolonial discourse in both British and Kurdish textual representations.

1.1. Orientalism and Occidentalism

In the context of the study, *Orientalism* and *Occidentalism* are two essential binary terms to understand the British colonization of the Middle East especially in the relationship between Kurds as a part of the Orient and British as a portion of the Occident. In Latin, "*Orient*" derives from *Oriens*, which refers to the sun and its birth in the East, now known as the East. Occidentalism derives from the Latin word *occidens* which refers to part of the sky where the sun sets.

The term *Orientalism* emerged in the late eighteenth century and reached a peak in the nineteenth century. Ashcroft and Ahluwalia (2001) observed, "the various disciplines, institutions, processes of investigation, and styles of thought by which Europeans came to "identify" the "Orient" over several centuries, reached their highest during the rise and consolidation of nineteenth-century imperialism" (49). Orientalism was utilized by a diverse array of theorists working in such fields as: history, literature, cultural studies,

¹It is important to note that unhyphenated "postcolonialism" refers to an ideological position or school of thought whereas hyphenated "post-colonialism" refers to a post-independence period (Smith, 2007).

international relations, and political science. The focus was on the West's imagination and construction of North Africa, the Middle East, and South and Pacific Asia.

The Kurds of Iraq were framed as Oriental and cannot be understood without analyzing British colonialism as the Occident. British institutions of colonial power circulated, ratified, and generalized their discourse on Kurds from 1914 to 1958. Orientalism, re-represents Kurds and disrupts British colonial discourse and the portrayal of the Kurds as a part of the Orient as well as efforts to comprehend the legacies and repercussions of colonialism through Kurdish postcolonial pro-colonial and anti-colonial discourse.

Palestinian American philosopher, Edward Said (1935-2003), illuminates the scope and complexity of orientalism leaving little room for Western apologists for the Empire to hide behind Abd-al-Rahman Al-Jabarti (1753-1822). Before Edward Said's monumental scholarship in deconstructing the colonial narrative of control, the idea of decolonization and freedom movements produced a huge set of texts in opposition to the colonial master's further forays into the Orient (Al-Jabarti, 2005). Frantz Fanon (1925-1961), Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1938-), and Chinua Achebe (1930-2013) among a whole host of other writers produced a range of published material of importance to Orientalist scholars that have been published in Arabic, innumerable Indian dialects, Hebrew, Pahlavi, Turkish, Assyrian, Babylonian, Mongolian, Chinese, Kurdish, Burmese, Mesopotamian, and Japanese. The complete list of philological works considered Orientalist is almost uncountable. Al-Jabarti, an Egyptian historian, wrote about Western Imperialism beginning in 1798 citing Napoleon's conquest of Egypt. Al-Jabarti (2005) reacts to the beginnings of Western domination but does not present a scientific analysis of the deeper underlying assumptions upon which the notion was built. In addition to Al-Jabarti, The same is true for scholars like Bernard Cohn (1928-2003) who hypothesized the ideology of Orientalism based on ethnographical and empirical philosophies and show how the colonial state degenerated into the caste and village system (Cohn, 1969). Cohn has the regression of the colonial state to an ancient might and power-based system in mind that is governed by the law of the jungle: might is right.

What gives Said the edge over most occidental scholars is the total explosion of thought that still has tremendous traction among Muslim scholars today and modern texts. His insights in the the scope of orientalist studies covers everything from the editing and translation of texts to numismatic, anthropological, archaeological, sociological, economic, historical, literary, and cultural studies in every known Asiatic and North African civilization, both ancient and modern.

Said, who coined the eponymous term Orientalism introduced a multitude of arguments about the subject more than any other postcolonial figure. In his definition of orientalism, Said starts by acknowledging that he is not the originator of the term. However, he is the first to define orientalism in a particular manner. His perspective orientalism has three distinctions. First; it is an academic field of study as he states, "Orientalism is an academic one, and indeed the label still serves in a number of academic institutions. Anyone who teaches, writes about, or researches the Orient-and this applies whether the person is an anthropologist, sociologist, historian, or philologist--either in its specific or its general aspects" (Said, 1979: 2). Second, it is a worldview as Said maintains, "Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between "the Orient" and (most of the time)" (Said, 1979: 2). Third, it is a western style for dominating the orient which Said defines as, "Orientalism is western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (1979:3). He refers to a precise discourse of knowledge about the Orient promoted by the major European powers of the epoch and North America from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards (Haldrup, Koefoed, & Simonsen, 2006). These three definitions in particular the third one will be employed to scrutinize British colonial texts.

Said defines Orientalism's function as the West controlling a hegemonic discourse and posturing as a superior power in contrast to the inferior "other:" the East. There was widespread worry by the West that Muslims would take over the globe (Said, 1978). Muslim countries in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) regions were the main focus of study for international relations, strategies and geopolitical intervention. Said framed the notion of Orientalism as a term comprising the whole European and later

American ideology; his cultural depictions reflect the scholars, military reports, and claims to superiority over the MENA region (Tabahi, 2017).

Muslim scholar Hamadi states that Said's theory is mainly based on the false image of the Orient or the East that has been made up by Western explorers, novelists, philosophers, economists, and imperial administrators (Hamadi, 2014). In this regard, according to Timothy Mitchell (2009), there are three main characteristics of Orientalism:

Three features define this Orientalist reality: it is understood as the product of unchanging racial or cultural essences; these essential characteristics are in each case the polar opposite of the West (passive rather than active, static rather than mobile, emotional rather than rational, chaotic rather than ordered); and the Oriental opposite or Other is, therefore, marked by a series of fundamental absences (of movement, reason, order, meaning, and so on). In terms of these three features—essentialism, otherness, and absence—the colonial world can be mastered, and colonial mastery will, in turn, reinscribe and reinforce these defining features (Mitchell, 2009: 409).

Said's concept of orientalism focused on the construction of people and places in the MENA region and soon expanded to numerous historical-geographical-political contexts and phenomena. Said's fundamental notion of imaginative geography and how this discourse legitimizes Western/Occidental hegemony is at the center of this study. The Middle East was regarded as the example of everything backward and despotic enabling the view that Europe would liberate the people. Said affirmed that cultural hegemony gave Orientalism durability and strength (Glassman, 2009) compiling an inventory of the traces left in the perceptions of Occidentalism by the products of Orientalist discourse, i.e. this is Said's Occident versus Orient.

Accordingly, Occidentalism is a strategy and reaction that focuses on changing cultural and political representations of self/East; and is a response from the Orient to their previous rulers. The theoretical bases of Occidentalism have emerged from the cultures of the periphery system within the Orient. The Occidentalism view has been considered

a critique of the Western image. In this sense, Dian Lary, describes Orientalism and Occidentalism as follows while focusing on Said's article:

The term describes Asians who look down on the West assuming anything Asian is bound to be better. Occidentalism is founded on the nationalism that grew in Asia in reaction to Western Imperialism and Colonialism (Lary, 2006: 9).

Those termed “oriental” persons want to be free from traditional cultural subjugation to the cultures of the West. Therefore, Occidentalism represents an opportunity for a new world conscience and a new critical model to re-represent their idea of history in the East (Hanafi, 2008). However, challenges appear when the orient re-represents themselves. Said (1978) used “latent Orientalism” to refer to the impartiality of the accidents which is not showing, i.e. it is hidden. Latent Orientalism refers to the background of Orientalism formulated in the 18th and 19th centuries that underpins later Orientalist ideas. In contrast, manifest Orientalism is how those latent traits are incorporated into modern Oriental policy. While latent Orientalism cannot change, manifest Orientalism can and does. Latent Orientalism explains why throughout the history of Orientalism, the Orient was seen as a place "requiring Western attention, reconstruction, even redemption.”(Said, 1979: 206). In addition, Self-Orientalism, the acceptance of the oriental construction, challenges the re-construction of the Orient. Meanwhile, Iwabuchi (1994) claims that it is not correct to deal with Self-Orientalism as “the inferior's passive strategy of the inferior” (52). In chapter four, more will be said about this term when analyzing Kurdish texts to demonstrate the self-representation of Iraqi Kurds when colonized Kurds represent themselves in opposition to British representations of the Other/Kurds.

1.2. Colonialism and Postcolonialism

Simply stated, postcolonialism is a reaction to colonization. Although the exact origin date of the term ‘colonialism’ is unknown, it is primarily believed that it was derived from the Roman ‘Colonia’, a term commonly used to refer to Romans who settled in foreign lands without losing their citizenship (Loomba, 2005). Colonialism is the policy or practices of acquiring full or partial political control over another country and

exploiting it economically (Karanwal, 2018). In addition, colonialism is a project of territorial expansion by powerful states and results in resettlement by the colonizer into the newly claimed lands. This resettlement often causes displacement while avoiding the eradication of the people who originally inhabited the captured land. The colonizer's deception is typically to make the colonized into a marginalized "other" concentrating efforts on blaming the colonial subjects in terms of their cultural and character issues such as asserting a status of "underdevelopment" or "laziness," and inferring an inferior "race" or gender. Colonialism refers to a period in modern history when much of the world was in the ownership of a few Western European states including Belgium, Spain, Portugal, France, and Britain.

Postcolonialism, in response, has emerged as a paramount term conceptualizing processes of reconstituting economic and cultural health after colonial occupation. Postcolonialism is the critical response to the colonization experience and the successive decolonization. Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin (2002) state that "...post-colonialism first emerged not in metropolitan critical theory text but in the cultural discourse of formerly colonized peoples, peoples whose work was inextricably grounded in the experience of colonization..." (196). The ideological antithesis of Postcolonialism is characterized by presenting the other/Orient as something fixed in time and place. Gorra adds that one typical misperception regarding Postcolonialism is the prefix of the post which offers to confuse the meaning of the notion for the term after where it's widely used. For Gorra, postcolonialism is better understood as anti rather than after (Gorra, 1997). This viewpoint is backed further by (Larsen, 2000) in the reserach "*Imperialism, Colonialism, Postcolonialism,*" in which he makes the astute observation that changing the meaning of the prefix to anti might be the greatest conceivable approach. The postcolonial theory reveals the depth of harm done by colonization and offers models of reconstituting identity. Although many colonies freed themselves in struggles foregrounding national identity, postcolonial theorists are often dissatisfied with accepting the independent nation-state as the real ending to colonialism in view that colonized people and countries still suffer from implications and impact of colonial legacies. As McLeod says:

The term “Postcolonialism” does not define a radically new historical era, nor does it herald a brave new world where all the ills of the colonial past have been cured. “Postcolonialism” recognizes both historical continuity and change. On the one hand, it acknowledges that the material realities and modes of representation common to colonialism are still very much with the people today, even if the political map of the world has been changed through decolonization. But on the other hand, it asserts the promise, the possibility, and the continuing necessity of change while also recognizing that significant challenges and changes have already been achieved (McLeod, 2000: 33).

That is, postcolonialism is the process of deconstructing and rewriting historical texts and literature of colonial legacies linked to the different Postcolonial experiences that are filtered by the singular feelings of the authors and by their subjectivities. As Wininger (2011) asserts, liberation and independence are simplified political notions that do not capture the depth of the infelicitous legacy of colonial disruption. Postcolonialism reverses the colonizer's vision in order to better show the dominant's techniques and representational practices (Kapoor, 2008: xiv). There are clear disparities between colonialism as an imperial ideology of control and postcolonialism as a political, cultural, and intellectual instrument for deconstructing it. Moreover, it is important that: “...post-colonialism first emerged not in metropolitan critical theory text, but in the cultural discourse of formerly colonized peoples whose work was inextricably grounded in the experience of colonization” (Ashcroft, 2002: 196). According to Robert Young, this is the peculiar aspect whereas:

At its simplest level, the Postcolonial is simply the product of human experience, but human experience of the kind that has not typically been registered or represented at any institutional level. [...] What's distinctive about Postcolonialism is that it is unlike many academic disciplines such as history or sociology since it combines analyses of objective historical processes with the subjective experience of those who undergo them (Young, 2009: 13).

Postcolonial studies cross a wide range of social, political, and cultural phenomena that started with the decline of European colonialism in the second half of the nineteenth century. Britain's colonization of Iraq began in the nineteenth century by dispatches of orientalist missions and intelligence missions to Mosul Vilayet (when Iraqi Kurdistan was a part of the *vilayet*) in order to maintain colonial hegemony and make a profit. The British Colonial legacy left miles of railway tracks and widely imposed British policy. They promoted western culture and drastically impacted the Iraqi economy. With the beginning of Colonialism, Iraq became thoroughly integrated into a global network of capitalism (Mezhar, 1985). In the context of the Iraqi Kurds, postcolonialism refers to the sum of social, economic, cultural, and political changes inflicted and influenced by colonization efforts. As far as Kurds in Iraq is concerned, the impact of British colonialism did not start with military occupation, it started when Kurds became a subject of British colonial inquiries which became the foundation for creating British colonial policies on Kurds from 1914 to 1958. Therefore, it could be seen that Postcolonial Iraqi Kurdistan started as far back as the end of the nineteenth century when British companies began spying and trading with the Mesopotamia and Kurdish territories. Since the British colonial force began growing its economic and political influence in Iraq and Mesopotamia, it has been supported by a strong socio-cultural presence.

The Kingdom of Iraq declared independence as a sovereign nation-state on October 3, 1932 (Ameen, 2000). Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin discussed in their text “The Empire Writes Back,” “Independence in itself did not eradicate the influence of the colonizing power and despite ...[...] colonizers never eradicated the pre-colonial culture [...] the societies on which colonialism acted could not hope to remain entirely unchanged by the force of imperial ideology” (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2002: 195). However, when the British Empire recognized Iraq as an independent country and linked Kurds in Mosul *vilayet* (at that time) to the newly formed state of Iraq, it did not mean that the Kurds were free from the colonial impact of the British Empire. Rather, the Kurds continued to suffer from colonization and still do to this day. In tandem, it is a mistake to assume that when explaining British Colonialism in Iraq, one should only discuss the emergence of a Postcolonial Iraq and not a Postcolonial Britain because even a cursory knowledge of British history from the nineteenth century and even the twentieth century

would reveal that the British individuals and society were as profoundly impacted as the Iraqi one by the process of colonialism. Chapter three and four explore postcolonialism and the impacts of British colonialism on the Kurds as well as how the Kurds responded.

1.2. 1.Contributions of Postcolonial Theorists

There are a considerable number of Postcolonial theorists and each one approached colonization from a particular angle. Michel Foucault, Jean-Francois Lyotard, and Derrida together are part of what has been tentatively called French theory. They were also the critical theorists of Postmodernism. Edward Said acknowledges the help he received from Foucault in his conception of Orientalism. Spivak's fame rests on her Translator's Preface to Derrida's "*Of Grammatology*" while Homi Bhabha openly acknowledges his debt to Michel Foucault in his colonial discourse (Hiddleston, 2005). This study focuses on arguments and terms of Said, Bhabha and Spivak as the three leading theorists on postcolonialism. They are most relevant to the research in reading, analyzing, and understanding the themes of colonial and postcolonial discourse in the selected textual representations. Their arguments help the researcher delve deep into the content and the themes of the texts; thereby, achieving the objectives of the study. Of these theorists, Said's arguments will explain the representation of the orient by the West, and the domination and superiority of the colonizer. Bhabha explains mimicry, hybridity and ambivalence or the "third space." And finally, Spivak identifies the subaltern and essentialism strategy. Focusing on these three theorists the researcher incorporates arguments of other scholars in particular those who gave inspiration to postcolonial theory such as Antonio Gramsci, Michel Foucault (in particular), and Franz Fanon.

1.2.1.1. Edward Said (1935-2003)

Edward Said's work on establishing Orientalism has had a significant influence on postcolonialism. Edward Said (1935-2003), a prominent Palestinian writer and scholar who migrated to the United States and worked at a university in the United States, initiated a new way of thinking about specific theoretical and political issues that went far beyond the commitments of those European intellectuals who were more sympathetic towards issues of colonial independence. Edward Said was very sensitive

to the profound and perpetrated injustices affecting his society which profoundly shaped both his being and his thinking. The Middle East was in its most negative sense, and thus the stories of brutality and injustice gave direction to Said's academic thought and intellectual endeavors. For Said, analyzing the cause of Palestine was a true and deep intellectual commitment. Active political engagement is the only way that Said through his philosophical way could debunk and deconstruct the misleading narratives that had been advanced by hegemony in the Eastern lands, by the West.

His most famous publication, *Orientalism* (1978), is considered the starting point of the Postcolonial theory for its ability to transcend a highly sophisticated theoretical register of the complex relationships among textuality, power and knowledge that informed the colonial project. He investigated the constructed "*Orient*" by Europe to administer their colonial power. While Said did not invent the term nor the enormous body of the scholarly fields and areas of expertise related to the Orient, he affirmed that his work is exclusively shaped by his political leanings which made the political impact of *Orientalism* so explicit. He writes:

Orientalism is very much a book tied to the tumultuous dynamics of contemporary history. I emphasize in it accordingly that neither the term Orient nor the concept of the West has any ontological stability; each is made up of human effort, partly affirmation, partly identification of the Other ... (Said, 2003: xii).

Said's *Orientalism* ushered in a line of thought that can now be called Postcolonialism. It was the publication of *Orientalism* that started a journey for a body of works that first emerged under the category of "Commonwealth Literature"; that is the literature produced in the formerly colonized British territories and includes African literature and World literature categorized as "folklore" by the Modern Language Association (MLA) (Schwarz & Sangeeta, 2005).

Orientalism is Said's intellectual history as well. Said's experience growing up in Palestine inspired many of his theories as he saw himself as a victim of colonization. The peculiar and hypocritical world in which he grew up led him to have a hybrid identity and determined the context of his work. *Orientalism* provides a critical

theoretical framework for researchers to investigate a variety of issues such as British policies against the Kurds which included preventing the Kurds from gaining independence, preventing them from using the Kurdish language during the Ottoman empire, and integrating them with the Arabs after the establishment of Iraq. Said's premise in *Orientalism* is that the "real" Orient is not the one recognized and used by the West—specifically, France, England, and the United States. Rather, the “real” Orient is a constructed notion of what the Orient *is* for the colonial powers; a place of exotic charm, magic, animism, mysteries, maidens, effeminate boys, concubines, enchanting lore, and golden sparrows. For example, Said reveals to us that when it comes to depicting Muslims, Arabs and the Middle East images show groups in large numbers with no individuality, traits, or experience. These images often portrayed anguish, rage, and irrational behavior. Behind many of these images lurked the menace of *jihad* (The term *jihad* has been construed to mean a violent attack in this context).

Said's book gives new reading and understanding to the institutional works of western academia about the Orient. Consequently, the concept of "discourse" is necessary to remap and reorganize the multiple connections between knowledge and power. Said strategically used Michel Foucault's and Antonio Gramsci's arguments (1891-1937) to deeply deconstruct the power relations in the Middle East making the Orientalism-Occidentalism binary unsustainable. Power-relationship between West and non-West are the defining factors in Orientalism and Occidentalism. Said ignored the ways colonized people represented themselves and focused primarily on the colonial power instead of focusing on the resistance against it (Loomba, 2005: 62). Furthermore, he recognized the value of these observations, in other words, Said started thinking in a new perspective of the colonized people. To illustrate, in "*Culture and Imperialism*," he showed that resistance should be both an “armed resistance” referring to fights for independence and a decolonizing movement which relates to "ideological resistance". This resistance can create imaginary communities and new healing processes against the colonial regime's deep wounds (Anderson, 2006).

In general, Antonio Gramsci and Michel Foucault are crucial to understanding Said's theories which build on their work of hegemony and discourse respectively. Both Said and Gramsci were not just social theorists but were deeply interested in forms of politics

that had been the focus of Karl Marx (1818-1883). Moreover, Said used the concepts, *discourse* and *hegemony*, to explain the existential, political, historical, and religious situation in the Orient. Said's Postcolonialism is indebted as well to Gramsci because he exposed the injustices within the modernist-capitalist structure of society. Said paid particular attention to Gramsci and his concept of *critical elaboration* which conceptualizes critical self-understanding to represent the starting point for the possibility of any transformative action (Gramsci, 1971) which Said identified as crucial in terms of rethinking resistance and political action without being subjugated by power. The concept of hegemony that Said builds his theory on is sensitive to the dynamics of the political-power relationships in any given formation and considers any transgression that subjugates or commits injustice or exploitation. Michel Foucault was a prominent and influential French theorist who developed a radical critique of the modern narrative and its liberal political theory. In Foucault's view, the East is not the main text of Orientalism but its subtext whereas Said makes the East central to his work. Said saw Western Europe's civilizational mission in these terms. He looked at the political field in the Orient to be subjected to a kind of simultaneous hegemony on multiple planes: political, social, philosophical, cultural, and historical. These subtle points in Foucault's concept of discourse (Foucault, 1988b) become even more prominent and political for Said.

Enlightenment for Said, Foucault and Gramsci is a constructed knowledge which reflects the power dimensions at the time. He continued to trace the reduction of modern Western man and his society in his archaeological work in the modern narrative. Said sought these precise details of the legacies of Enlightenment in the political and colonial projects and the places that "shaped" him. Said demonstrates that one of the negative impacts colonial powers left was the simplification of the colonized and the breaking of their unified community.

The colonized people should not take the colonial discrimination as a fact because it gives power to colonial discourse and its legacies. Colonial discourse reduces the colonized identity and particularly weakens and breaks the ties that keep colonized people together. This reduction then permits domination and the indoctrination of colonial ideologies as evident in the British Empire's legacy through various means

towards defragmenting the Iraqi Kurds and weakening their social and cultural ties. The Kurds were portrayed as barbarous and their institutions were deemed as worthless. This prompted a division between the Kurds which can be simply explained as those who supported British discourse and presence as fact and those who rejected the reduction of Kurdish identity. This division weakened community ties and in the Kurdish context, the British colonial discourse disintegrated the Kurdish community by pitting tribe leaders against each other and fighting against Sheikh Mahmood which ignited internal conflicts between Kurdish entities.

Pressure was generated in the wake of Edward Said's monumental foray into the Oriental archive to create the postcolonial discipline that speaks against the occidental assumptions regarding the Orient and serves to deconstruct the master narrative controlling the discourse (Schwarz & Sangeeta, 2005). Following the footsteps of Edward Said, many scholars have been developing and grouping their work under the title of Postcolonialism. Said's work allows an understanding of how the British dominated and imposed hegemonic tendencies on the Kurds through their power and colonial knowledge. Said's work is used to display how the Kurds responded to the colonial discourse and legacies and their resistance through political and cultural means and anti-colonial discourse. This study will employ Said's arguments to analyze selected Kurdish and British texts, thereby, helping the Iraqi Kurds understand how the Empire colonized them and what impact lingers.

1.2.1.2. Homi K. Bhabha (1949-)

Homi K. Bhabha is a pillar in the postcolonial field who helped the world understand colonization and its implications. Bhabha, unlike Said, does not dwell on history. Rather, he explains a deeper layer of colonization, i.e. its negative impact on the colonized psychologically. For Bhabha, becoming confused about one's identity is one of the worst impacts of colonization. Mimicry, hybridity, and an ambivalent state also known as the "third space" were significant terms in Bhabha's work and exemplifies how identity becomes confused.

Mimicry assumes a lifestyle other than one's own and thus rejects his or herself's original customs. This quickly leads to confusion of identity and ambivalence. Mimicry Bhabha writes, open both colonial subjects and the colonized places. Locating the origins of the term in Lacanian psychoanalysis, Bhabha shows the exact time when the colonized people were unable to respond in the usual way he wished. They mimic civility rather than embodying civility (Bhabha, 1984). There are records in which Kurdish people imitated British food, educational practice, and clothing and began to some extent valuing British identity over Kurdish identity.

Hybridity also confuses identity. Bhabha sees hybridity as a serious detriment of colonization. He states:

Hybridity is the revaluation of the assumption of colonial identity through the repetition of discriminatory identity effects. It displays the necessary deformation and displacement of all sites of discrimination and domination. It unsettles the mimetic or narcissistic demands of colonial power but re-implicates its identifications in strategies of subversion that turn the gaze of the discriminated back upon the eye of power. The colonial hybrid is the articulation of the ambivalent space where the rite of power is enacted on the site of desire making its objects at once disciplinary and disseminatory – or, in my mixed metaphor, a negative transparency (Bhabha, 2004: 159-160).

That is, hybridity steals the native identity from the colonized and imposes on them a borrowed identity. Chapters three and four discuss colonial discourse's declaration of Kurdish identity as nothing and the severe criticism towards such things as means of studying, management, and working habits. British colonial discourse strongly believed the Kurds should imitate the British systems which they considered as the most civilized system and an unwavering symbol of progress. The British also tried to impose Iraqi identity on Kurds by annexing Kurdish territory to Iraq and stated that Kurds should be called Iraqi Kurds. Inside Bhabha's discourse, the concept of hybridity refers to the unexpected crossings inside the colonial authority reproduction process that contribute to the fragility of said colonial authority. This process favors cultural negotiation and dynamics which lead to alternative and conflictive new subjectivities that are able to

subvert the dominion relationships from which were planted. The colonized then falls in the state of in betweenness as he is neither the native nor the colonizer.

Rafiq Hilmi, a Kurdish writer both praised and criticized the British; sometimes going back on his word and creating a state of confusion within his writing picking and choosing his identity. Bhabha speaks on the ambivalent space or "the third space" to refer to this state which emerges from within hybridity and carries a sort of emancipatory gesture (Bhabha, 2004). He clarifies Hybridity in relationship to 'third space', says:

For me the importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges; rather hybridity to me is the "third space" which enables other positions to emerge (Bhabha, 1990: 211).

This ambivalent space or "third space" displaces the histories that constitute it and sets up new structures of authority and new political initiatives inadequately understood through received wisdom (Rutherford, 1990). Bhabha rewrites the history of modernity from a non-Eurocentric perspective that wishes to "disturb" those ideological discourses that are assigning hegemonic normality to the unequal development and the different nations and the events; furthermore, the experience of the "dislocation" has been described by Bhabha as a common process in migrants experience hegemonic normality in the countries they immigrate to. As a result, the new cultural "hybrid" identities emerge. Immigrants experience a hybrid identity as they travel to a new country and try to assimilate into the host culture (Bhabha, 2004). Bhabha notes during the second half of the nineteenth century that there was an evolution of the modern nation that were largely characterized by mass migration movements to the West and by colonial expansion in the Orient.

From the re-dislocation experience to the deriving concept of identity, it is no longer the reflection of given ethnic and cultural traits. On the contrary, re-dislocation results from a complex and continuous negotiation that attributes authority to cultural hybrids born during historical and social transformations (Bhabha, 2004). This rewriting and hybridizing experience breaks the historical discourse of Eurocentric modernity based

on self-representation through the material, moral and civil progress. Looser (2010) states that appropriation of colonial symbols becomes hybridized and deformed by the native reception. According to Bhabha, the exercise of power by colonial authority claims the attitude in political practice to create images or represent and involve the imaginary inside social and physical identification processes.

Homi Bhabha questions how the colonized can transition and gain back their identity. Bhabha's arguments parallel the investigation into the state of the Iraqi Kurds under the pressure of British colonization. The study employs his arguments to illustrate relational dynamics between the lines of the colonial writings and the Kurdish texts. This study will demonstrate how the Kurds were forced to adopt a borrowed identity and suffered from hybrid and multi- identities namely British and Iraqi. As the British designated the political boundaries of Iraq, Kurds became Iraqi Kurds and were forced to become a minority thus confusing what it meant to be Kurdish. The study will also engage Bhabha's theory of mimicry to demonstrate how the Kurds turned into British mimics through various colonial policies including converting to British culture practices and systematizing British education (westernization).

1.2.1.3. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1942-)

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak is one of the most outspoken Postcolonial theorists of modern history. She was born in Calcutta and graduated in English literature. She continued her studies in the United States and eventually taught at Columbia University, New York where she critically debated Marxism, feminism, and Postcolonialism. Within academic circles, Spivak's name is now closely connected with the famous article entitled "*Can the Subaltern Speak?*" (1988), She additionally burst onto the scene with her translation to the Preface of Jacques Derrida's monumental book *Of Grammatology* (2016). Spivak's concerns about domination, exploitation and colonial hegemony made her one of the leading postcolonial theorists of her time. As a result, she contributed to raising the attention of contemporary society to third world women's social conditions and the subalterns. Spivak, grew up witnessing some of the most heinous acts of violence perpetrated by British colonial rule and by middle-class nationalists who touted the promise of ending British rule and its evil but who became

radical and or militant intellectuals that were victims of their narcissism all the while pretending to criticize the colonial legacy (Spivak, 1988).

Comprehending Spivak's contribution to postcolonial studies begins by concentrating on her development of the word "Subaltern," a term she borrowed and introduced to postcolonial theory. The subaltern refers to the marginalized, the voiceless and the colonized. In her renowned Postcolonial critique, "*Can the Subaltern Speak?*" from 1983, Spivak redefines the term subaltern and differentiates it from the definition given by Gramsci. Gramsci, a renowned Marxist philosopher and theorist, introduced Subaltern to refer to a subservient group to hegemonic groups or classes. Spivak's intervention is that she characterizes Subaltern or defines the distinguishing trait of this subaltern position as the inability to speak (Spivak, 1996). To reiterate, Spivak's distinguishing aspect of this subaltern posture is that no speech is feasible from here. Spivak's response to the question "*Can the Subaltern Speak?*" is an emphatic negative. As will be discussed in later chapters, the British muted the Kurds. Internationally the British represented the Kurds with no Kurdish representatives. Internally the British used violence to force the Kurds not to speak, for instance, exiling Sheikh Mahmud to India for a year in an attempt to kill the head of the Kurdish resistance movement.

According to Spivak, it is essential to notice that the Subaltern is not the symbol of the oppressed and the marginalized. The Subaltern is a neutralized term referring to those who are silenced and excluded. She offers the story of two women: Rani of Sirmur and Bhubaneswari Bhaduri who were deprived of all spaces to express their prejudices: "women who cannot speak" (Zembylas, 2018). They are culturally inferior since they belong to a society that accepts only subservient women. The Subaltern is not described as a specific class, caste, or race but as negative space or an unfavorable position. It is a disempowered stance, and opposition without social or political agency or opposition without identity. The Subaltern is mute. In this sense, Spivak seeks to identify the circumstances that allow subalterns to re-articulate their voices (Zembylas, 2018). We also examined how, within each community, there exists checks and filters that allow some statements to be recognized as speech while rejecting others. So, while everyone can potentially talk or write indefinitely about any conceivable topic under the sun, what

is allowed as discourse and what is not is ultimately decided by the power equations that underpin society.

Spivak's "epistemic violence" refers to the power imbalance in producing knowledge and preserving knowledge, i.e. One party can communicate and produce knowledge while the other cannot. The British constructed knowledge about the Kurdish and even burned existing libraries in some cases. The British also censored the Kurdish discourse via newspapers that were supposed to represent the voice of the Kurds but instead imitated what the British said such as the case with *Zhiyanawa* and *Zhiyan* Newspaper. Furthermore, from her works, Spivak proposed a strategy to respond to the dominant discourse which she calls "strategic essentialism". By the term, she means that the colonized group should come together and downplay their differences as a political tactic to fight back the colonizer (Spivak, 1988 & 1996). As relayed in chapter four, colonial newspapers advocated the Kurds to unite against the colonial power. Kurdish writers advised people to be aware of British intentions and colonial intentions. The writers encouraged the Kurds to unite together regardless of their differences. Similarly, Mahmud advocated for the Kurds to build themselves. Spivak's vision of the Subaltern for women gives characteristics of the colonized as people of the subalterns. Spivak's Subaltern, Strategic essentialism, and Epistemic violence theories in India parallel how the British marginalized and turned the Kurds into voiceless subjects and how the Kurds through shared essences worked to resist the colonial power and hegemony.

1.2.2. Critiques of Postcolonial Theory

Many critiques of postcolonialism are directed at its foundational premises. Authors such as Denis Ipko and Kwame Anthony Appiah have considered postcolonialism to be another drama to subjugate the people. Terry Eagleton has questioned the content and the very sincerity of the postcolonial theorists. In his article for the *London Review of Books* entitled *In the Gaudy Supermarket* (1999), which reviewed Spivak's book, *A Critique of Post-Colonial Reason*, he takes postcolonial theorists' theories and writings to task for being entrenched in the western/Imperial center while discussing lucidly about the subalterns within it. He writes that "There must exist somewhere a secret handbook for post-colonial critics the first rule of which states: begin by rejecting the whole notion of post-colonialism" (Eagleton, 1999).

In the essay, “*Regarding the Other, Postcolonial Violations and Ethical Resistance*”, Simone Drichel details some of the most trenchant critiques of Postcolonial theory before launching into considering Postcolonial scholarship’s lack of concern for ethical considerations (Drichel, 2008). She asks “... [Why] is there not a similar “ethical turn” in Postcolonial scholarship? ...” Despite the fact, Drichel succinctly notes that it is marred by a certain “guilty conscience” (Drichel, 2008: 21). Andrea Medovarski, similarly, details how the hyphen in Post-colonialism renders it to become part of something which it is supposed to counter (Medovarski, 2002). Medovarski challenges the very foundations of Postcolonial theory by exposing it to be the continuing narrative of capitalism and modernism. Medovarski attempts to illustrate the connection of Postcolonialism with globalization, thereby exposing Postcolonialism as being based on erroneous assumptions and on an unstable framework of thinking. In recent years an inordinate number of “introductory” books have attempted to create stability and fixity for this otherwise unstable field, and post-colonial theory has problematically become a project of defining and labeling. Definitions of postcolonialism have largely set temporal and spatial boundaries. Furthermore, it is an examination of Anne McClintock (McClintock, 1995) and Ato Quayson’s theories which illustrate the limits of these axes of inquiry (Quayson, 2000). The relationship between post-colonialism and globalization is presented as coherence rather than the crack that researchers such as Dirlik, Hardt, and Negri suggest. It has maintained its relevance, i.e. post-colonialism should learn to converse from unstable places rather than relying on stable ones.

Ken Gelder (1998) similarly attacks these introductory writings on Postcolonialism in which he exposes the preliminary character of the Postcolonial theorist to the theory he defends (Drichel, 2008). Unlike the pioneering “*The Empire Writes Back*,” which debuted in 1989 with a tone of ecstasy and celebration of the subject, more recent Postcolonial critics are eager to insert caveats that clearly identify their critical attitude toward the field they (re)present):

Instead of enchantment and belief, the authors of these three new primers on Postcolonial theory are mostly skeptical of the field they help to constitute, the only relation one can have with Postcolonial theory, they suggest, is a critical one (Gelder, 1998: 82 & Drichel, 2008: 21).

This tentativeness about the use of the label is indicative of the unstable foundations for which Andrea Medovarski (2002) has criticized Postcolonial theory by makes an attempt at an epistemic reconfiguration in order to destabilize the foundationalism of the field. Aijaz Ahmad (1995) and Arif Dirlik (1994) argue along similar veins when making the actual political context the site of the Postcolonial struggle instead of a textual representation of it. The postcolonial theories have in all obviousness been the voice of the unheard “self,” the “colonized,” the “subaltern,” and the “oriental.” Also, the Postcolonial theory has been concerned on how the oppressed and the misrepresented get the chance to show the world their real identity and acquaint themselves with the world. However, many scholars and authors have come to acknowledge that the idea of cross-cultural studies is not adequately defined by the theory of Postcolonialism (Gandhi, 1998).

Moreover, Postcolonialism and Orientalism are focused on the ideas of ideology and politics. This straightforward Postcolonialism grossly emphasizes the politicization of ideology which has the potential to divide the scholars on the importance of discourse. The battle takes birth as a result of Postcolonial theory that ensues between the left-wing ideology and right-wing extremism, thereby, obstructing knowledge dissemination and scholarship production. Due to such a weakness of the Postcolonial texts, the Chinese scholars have proposed the concept of Sinology, an academic field focusing on studying the language and culture of Chinese, which draws its inspiration from both the fields of Postcolonialism and that of Orientalism (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2003). The critique Postcolonialism has found a strong audience in contemporary society. However, although the various authors of this field have advocated differing views, the postcolonial theory has primarily remained constricted within the eastern hemisphere of the world.

Ultimately, the contribution of the postcolonial theorists localizes the social relations bequeathed by Colonialism and does not just examine political and economic factors, but deep cultural processes imagined and empowered by discourse and massive knowledge. Postcolonial theory asserts that political independences which were given by colonial power were not real independence or democratic power (Spivak & Riach,

2016). Said himself recognized the spatiality of the colonial relationship and the spatiality of all explaining colonial culture which could be a fabric arrangement of interconnection between power and information. These postcolonial scholars concur that colonial control depends upon its specialists to break the subjectivity of its local subordinates by empowering them to distinguish with Western values and social standards.

1.3. Self & Other

The concepts “self” and “other” are binary as whenever the self differentiates himself/herself results in producing the “other.” Focusing on the concept of self and other has a longer history than postcolonialism as it has been a personal, academic, philosophical, and political concern in western thought. When the west institutionalized the concept, the terms were employed in the philosophy and academy of the west. These thoughts and philosophies inspired postcolonial theorists and they based their arguments on the laid out western frameworks regarding these two terms. That is why, it is essential for this research to discuss the roots of the two terms from the mindset of the west to analyze the binary relationship between the British as a constructed Self and the Kurds as the constructed Others.

Jacques Derrida, the French philosopher, exposed the binary nature of Western thought. In his 1967 lecture at John Hopkins University, Washington DC, Derrida detailed the machinations of how this structural flaw exists in the Western modernist understanding of itself and how this binary hardwired in the European psyche was not tenable. He did this to expose Western thought through deconstruction: a careful layer by layer and removal of the prejudices and biases of a Eurocentric society (Derrida, 1999). For Derrida, the notion of the *Other* has a greater significance. As a result, various cultural, political, and social connotations exist when a group perceives itself as being distinct from everything else in society both locally and worldwide. Meanwhile, context plays a critical role in both giving and determining meaning. Context invites ethnic (Anglo Saxon-French), religious (Catholics-Protestants), political (Democrat-Republican), cultural and civilizational components as Samuel P. Huntington's outlines in ‘*Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order*’. Although the superiority of the “self” over the “Other” makes all of these binaries explicitly modernist, it is a

distinction that could not somehow theoretically support and defend given counter-arguments by philosophers such as Derrida.

According to Edward Said, the imperial master can control, subjugate, and exploit that which it designates as its social, religious, political, and cultural *Other*, as already stressed above, especially in Said's "*Culture and Imperialism*" which serves as a weapon in the hands of former and neo-imperialists to identify individuals of control and subsequent exploitation in Postcolonial terms. As Said demonstrates, the colonizers reasoning affirms:

Was it not true, ran their new evaluation, that "we" had given "them" progress and modernization? Hadn't we provided them with order and a kind of stability that they haven't been able to provide for themselves? Wasn't it an atrocious misplaced trust to believe in their capacity for independence, for it had led to Bokassas and Amin's whose intellectual correlates were people like Rushdie? Shouldn't we have held on to the colonies, kept the subject or inferior races in check, and remained true to our civilizational responsibilities? (Said, 1993: 22).

Furthermore, Said sums up the colonizer's naïve ignorance in a telling sentence that rings true even today: "Why don't they appreciate us, after what we did for them?" (Said, 1993: 22). The imperial context gives Postcolonial scholarship the ability to mount its critique. It is the Western sources that Postcolonial theorists use to make their point.

The roots of self and others are not natural, but rather man-made constructions identified through philosophical reflections like Orientalism. The "Other" is not part of the group or species. It is always premised upon a binary relationship wherein the first part is always superior to its binary opposite. It is a cultural, social, and political process wherein a group assumes the mantle of being ahead on a linear trajectory of evolution from the rest of the people designated as ignorant and less fluent in the language of reason (Brons, 2015). The other can now be controlled and exploited. This inherent injustice gives the prefix post in Postcolonialism its anti-colonial dimensions.

According to the views of Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831), a German idealist philosopher, egotism is a necessary term and relates to the "Other" and is therefore important to Postcolonial theory. In his book, *The Phenomenology of Spirit*, Friedrich Hegel described the processes of Otherness; "self-consciousness only achieves its satisfaction in another self-consciousness" (Hegel., 1977: 110). Hegel argues more about otherness which entails a long process of psychological adjustments and transformations that eventually lead one to have a fixed view of identity wherein the *Self* assumes itself in full consciousness. Furthermore, Derrida would say it is based on a difference from the cultural, religious, political, and social Other. This self-consciousness is aware of all. It could be the best and it could be well illustrated in Rudyard Kipling's famous words: "*East is East, and West is West/And never the twain shall meet.*" (Kipling, 1899). As implied in Hegel, self-consciousness is assumed once a difference from other self-consciousness is achieved and recognized by the other. A kind of inter-subjectivity is always at play in this construction of Self and Other. Hegel makes the *Other* a central feature of understanding the *Self* as his very identity is premised upon a "conditional presence" of the Other. As Bernardo Ferro writes, "Identity is not bound, therefore, to some primordial core of self sameness, but rather to a necessary interaction with another self-consciousness..." (2013: 1).

Another fascinating account of the Other contains the philosophical reflections upon the concept of the norm as in normal as well as the deviant from the norm as in abnormal. This account of the *Other* as deviant from the norm is particularly acute in Michel Foucault's *Madness and Civilization* (Foucault, 1988a, 1988b). Moreover, Foucault interrogates the mechanism through which the differentiation between sanity and insanity, norm and reason, is explicitly carried out. In addition, there are inherent power dynamics that Foucault names "normalization," or normalized societies which are at play when a society designates madness as deviance from the norm (Foucault, 2012). Foucault exposes how this differentiation has been carried out through an elaborate mechanism. This exclusivity and marginalization are inherent and occur within the concept of the binary of Self/Other. Foucault has some fascinating historical origins that make the idea of *Othering* both difficult and crucial in Postcolonialism. Theorists utilize *othering* to demonstrate the binary nature of every interaction between colonizer and colonized.

In addition, Jean-Paul Sartre was one of the most formidable twentieth-century French philosophers. His existential philosophy and his identification with the Algerian struggle for independence are some of the most incisive accounts of the process of *Othering* that are carried out in European societies. He has experience with subjugation and directed his mental processes at undoing these false western notions. His Preface to Fanon's "*The Wretched of the Earth*" (1963) echoes his notions of "the hell is the other," carried in his 1943 play "No Exit" in which he eloquently illustrates,

I had to meet the white man's eyes. An unfamiliar weight burdened me. In the white world, the man of color encounters difficulties in the development of his bodily schema ... I was battered down by tom-toms, cannibalism, intellectual deficiency, fetishism, racial defects ... I took myself far off from my own presence ... What else could it be for me but an amputation, an excision, a hemorrhage that spattered my whole body with black blood? (Fanon, 1986: xi-xii).

Fanon and Sartre are on the same path in terms of their views towards the Western world. Because of the sort of objectification that Sartre observes, there is a certain reciprocity between the concepts of Hell and Other which leads to situations of tremendous struggle for the colonized Others. Sartre writes:

All those eyes intent on me. Devouring me. What? Only two of you? I thought there were more; many more. So, this is hell. I'd never have believed it. You remember all we were told about the torture-chambers, the fire and brimstone, the "burning marl." Old wives' tales! There's no need for red-hot pokers. Hell is other people! (Sartre, 1989: 45).

Sartre's existentialist philosophy is sensitive to this Other who is exploited to the nth degree. As a result, the *Other* to Sartre is founded on a dilemma with which he measures the entire evolution of Western culture. He uses the philosophy of the other as a measuring stick by which to judge the genuine substance of Western academia. Sartre places a high value on the *Other* because it is also what characterizes him:

If there is an “Other,” whatever or whoever he may be, whatever may be his relations with me, and without his acting upon me in any way except by the pure upsurge of his being – then I have an outside, I have a nature (Sartre, 1993: 263).

According to Jean-Paul Sartre's existential philosophy, human lives are characterized by a feeling of existence which is defined as existentialist theory. Human beings are forced into a system of freedom in which every person has the ability to choose a course of action and only the human beings themselves are meant to be responsible for their own actions. Human life seeks meaning in its existence not merely by existing but by engaging in meaningful and purposeful activities (Sartre, 2006). That is the true core of human existence and, as a result, a human being should accept responsibility for his or her acts since humans are the ones who are expected to control the action.

In a Postcolonial context, Jean-Paul Sartre's theoretical foundations in his conceptions of the Other have relational dynamics between the colonizer who has produced his *other* and now must bear the burden of oppression. Otherising perpetrates the Other and robs their identities and freedom. The colonizer oppressed the colonized, i.e. the *other*, which had been the central relationship dynamic between the two and the very core of existentialism (Lacan, 1988).

Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) is regarded as one of the greatest psycho-analysts of all time. Since then, every theorist has built their careers on the shoulders of Sigmund Freud's key discoveries into human nature and psychology. Freud's Id, Ego, and Superego evolved from Freud's initial concerns with notions of the conscious and unconscious Self. De Oliveira Moreira, for example, writes that "the unconscious, which, from the theory of repression, is the fundamental discovery of psychoanalysis, that represents this otherness that not only exists in everyone and from which people cannot escape, but it is also that which constitutes everyone's identity in such a way that people cannot say "I" without acknowledging an opaque side that resists control of the announced that intends to apprehend it completely and utterly" (Moreira, 2008: 691). In this formulation, the unconscious is the Other that resides within people, and which makes the constitution of the self-conditional upon a tacit acknowledgment of the Other.

A number of critics, particularly those working in the field of Postcolonial studies, such as Bart-Moore Gilbert (1952-2015), have criticized Freud's identification of "primitive" people and societies with early forms of childhood as yet another example of the West's misunderstanding and categorization of the non-West. Greedharry (2008) explains how this "uneasy connection between Postcolonial Theory and Psychoanalysis" continues along an antagonistic path in her paper "*Introduction of Two Minds: The Uneasy Relationship between Postcolonial Theory and Psychoanalysis.*" Freud's labeling of Southern African countries and South Pacific Islanders as "primitive" is disturbing as is the set of ideals he employs with his metaphor. The distinction Freud draws between the healthy and the neurotic, the European and the non-European exemplifies how psychoanalysis as an institution functions:

... constituted itself as a form of modern knowledge ... which contributed significantly to the Othering of non-Western cultures, by defining them, explicitly or implicitly, as lacking or anterior in comparison with domestic metropolitan norms (Greedharry, 2008: 2).

As Sigmund Freud demonstrated, the notion of the "Other" and the "Self" in psychology is sometimes described by the interplay of the concepts of Id, Ego, and Superego. For Freud, a healthy balance between the parts of human identity and a wrong balance between them may be tremendously disruptive for society which is reflected in the face (Freud, 1977). The Id refers to a personality attribute that emerges at birth, and they form the basic need to fulfill hunger or extremely basic bodily demands for which the infant employs all available attention-seeking strategies. And, the ego, on the one hand, is a psychological attribute that is utilized to deal with the reality of the world and reconcile to the fact that it is not always feasible to get demands satisfied at the earliest time. So, one must accept delayed fulfillment of requirements. The superego, on the other hand, refers to the sense of maturity and prudence related to the decision to discern the morally acceptable features from the morally unsuitable ones. Furthermore, a balance between the Id, Ego, and Superego is applied to the super ordinance of the superego which represses the unwanted human desires and that might cause social instability. Nonetheless, the superego suppresses the Id while channeling the ego for productive goals (Freud, 1977). Thus, when Sigmund Freud's theoretical background

was used to explain the Postcolonial dynamics between the "Other" and the "We", it can be said that the colonizers or the "Others" had not directed the proper usage of the superego leading them to commit the immoral act of oppressing the "We" or the colonized beyond measure.

Jacques Lacan, one of the most influential psychoanalysts since Sigmund Freud, is one of the numerous researchers who have contributed to this expanding conversation on the notion of the *Other* (Homer, 2005). Despite the fact that Lacan profoundly changed our knowledge of the unconscious by demonstrating how it was structured like a language, his works have been described as dense, complicated, elliptical, and almost incomprehensible even by cultural theory standards (Homer, 2005: 8). The release in 1971 of his two books, "*Écrits*" and "The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-Analysis" based on a recording of a seminar given by Lacan in 1964 launched Lacan into the realm of psychoanalysis. Some of his most important ideas are presented in these two books which were assembled by his pupils from his seminars. *Écrits* features Jacques Lacan's concept of "The Mirror Stage" which has had a tremendous impact on psychoanalytic studies:

The mirror stage is a drama whose internal thrust is precipitated from insufficiency to anticipation and which manufactures for the subject, caught up in the lure of spatial identification, the succession of phantasies that extends from a fragmented body image to a form of its totality that I shall call orthopaedic— and, lastly, to the assumption of the armor of an alienating identity, which will mark with its rigid structure the subject's entire mental development (Lacan, 1977: 4).

According to Homer (2005), this circumstance is the site where "an-other" generates who is now presented as the other of the mirror image: the same competition established between the subject and himself/herself is also established in the subject's future relationships with others. According to Benvenuto and Kennedy:

The primary conflict between identification with, and primordial rivalry with, the other's image, begins a dialectical process that links the ego to more complex social situations (Benvenuto & Kennedy, 1986: 58).

When someone is thought of and acknowledged by another, it signifies that person exists. To exist, it must be acknowledged by others. Although this applies to everyone's image, which elevates to themselves, it is interrupted by the other's glance. At that moment, the other becomes their own underwriter. People are both subject to the other as the underwriter of our existence and a severe match for that same other (Homer, 2005). According to this situation, Lacanian premises into the theoretical backdrop of Postcolonialism has been found that the oppressive tendency of the "Other" is a reflection of the most basic urge of the human beings that is to satisfy the craving for physical needs (Lacan, 1992).

Moreover, Emmanuel Levinas (1906-1995), a student of Husserl and Heidegger, is recognized for bringing ethics and the concept of duty to bear on the subject of the Other. The meaning of the concept of "the Other in the identical" is revealed through his perspective which he perceives as both identicalness and deconstruction in the space between the same and the Other. How could the Other in the same be understood? He mentions the conspiracy between the Other and the identical in order to explain the Other. This conspiracy demonstrates that the Other in the identical already exists for the subject allowing the subject's existence to unfold (Levinas, 2003:129-132) (Düşgün, 2017). The conspiracy, in his perspective, get developed at this point. The Other guarantees its superiority over the identical by a conspiracy between the identical and the Other because there was a great deal of conflict and opposition between the Other and the identical resulting in one dominating the other.

Regarding the significance of his work, Jacques Derrida writes in his book entitled "*Adieu Emmanuel Levinas*" (1999) that the reverberations of this thought will have changed the course of philosophical reflection in everyone's time, i.e. according to their reflection on philosophy, what they order everyone it is ethics. Additionally, it is another thought about the ethics, which reflects in the responsibility, the justice, the State, and so forth. Likewise, it is thought of the Other, i.e. a thought that is fresher than many innovations since it is organized according to the absolute anteriority of the Other's face (1-3).

Derrida is also praised with placing the Other first, and a gesture that resonates strongly, given the history of torture and cruelty, which are inflicted on the Other. This gesture

elevates him to the status of a significant thinker concerned with what happens when the Other is objectified and stripped of all humanity. In an almost religious interpretation, Levinas places the Other first in terms of phenomenology and ethics (Cohen, 2006).

Julia Kristeva (1941-) is a Bulgarian-French philosopher, semiotician, psychoanalyst, and feminist who has contributed to the debate about the construction of the conceptualization of the Other. In her books *"Strangers to Ourselves"* (1991) and *"Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection"* (1982), Kristeva introduced her concept of abjection, which owes to Lacanian psychoanalysis, and her idea of abjection may be viewed within a post-structuralist setting as anything that intrinsically disrupts conventional identification or blurs the borders between what is Self and what is other. As a result, the abject resides midway between the object and the subject, expressing the object's and the subject's forbidden components which is related to this abjection and may be defined as the process by which one separates one's sense of Self from what one thinks unbearable (abject) and which resides on the boundary between Self and other. The abject may alternatively be defined as the other inside the Self that is cast-off in a primordial repulsion from which the Self or "I" is born. "I" is a manipulator speaker to the other, or from which it arises as an independent or separate personality (Vosloo, 2017). The abject erases the gap between the Self and the Other exactly when the Self is able to throw off everything unpleasant and abject in him/her. This identification of the Self is deeply entwined with Derrida's conceptions of the "trace," or the difference of what remains once that cannot be absorbed. According to Kristeva's concept, the shift is critical for the formation of the Self. As Vosloo argues: "The otherness of the stranger is linked to its being labeled as abject by the numerous ways that it destabilizes the borders of national identity and collective belonging" (Vosloo, 2017: 3).

Kristeva's assertion that "the stranger lives in ourselves" and is the "hidden face of everyone's identity," and that once everyone understands the stranger, the parameters of their own identity as "hidden" within us can lead to a recognition of the Other that can dispel many of the world's problems that are grounded in race and identity, and can lead to a recognition of the Other that can dispel many of the world's problems that are grounded in race and identity (Kristeva, 1991). Kristeva sought to explain the concept of identity by employing symbolic and semiotic ideas. She claims that the proclivity to

differentiate and discriminate is instilled in children from birth, as a consequence of which the kid identifies with his or her parents. Thus, the experience of oneness and Otherness is a result of socialization. As a result, according to Postcolonial theorization, the inferiority of the colonized "we" and the superiority of the colonizer "other" is something that is inbred from the start and has tended to become the driving force behind non-Western colonialism (Kristeva, 1980).

To this point, the two concepts in the western thought are discussed in general. This means that the two concepts had an important place in the western mindset and mentality. The thoughts and the frameworks of the west regarding the two terms inspired the postcolonial theorists and they benefit from the previous framework and elaborated and fitted into postcolonialism theory.

Said believes that in the context of colonization, the west/self othered the East by misrepresentation and biased labels. For Said, "the Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, and experience. The Orient is an integral part of European material civilization and culture" (Said, 1979: 1-2). In line with Said, Homi Bhabha believes that the self degenerates the other to produce differences and justify their superficial self-image: One's sense of self is always mediated by the image one has of the other (Ashcroft et al, 2006). For Said and Bhabha, the images of Self and Other are politically, historically and biasedly constructed. Gyatrik Spivak supports the views of Said and Bhabha by saying that the *self* constructs its image by othering the other, and mostly by disapproving of the other. For Spivak, through the act of othering, one group excludes and marginalizes another in a social or psychological environment. By adopting stereotypical images that identify the other from one's own group, one tends to stereotype the other (Ashcroft et al, 2013).

The concept of the *Self* and the *Other* to Said, Bhabha, and Spivak represents a historical project of imagined geographies. In this paradigm, Said helped everyone comprehend that the formation of the Other through techniques of surveillance, organizing, naming, subordination, and other forms of knowledge-power was both an imaginative engagement and the imposition of a normative gaze upon a specific terrain (Al-Mahfedi, 2011). The notion of the Other has been utilized to indicate domination, marginalization, violence, and exclusion. All of these authors have acknowledged the

process of othering in their postcolonial studies. Within the three writers, exoticism is the most blatant manifestation of Otherness opposing the abnormality of there with the normalcy of here (Staszak, 2009).

Spivak's "othering" and "alteration" offer crucial concepts to describe the process through which Occident becomes and remains the only protagonist while violently breaking the values and systems of cultures and societies that were colonies in the past and became developing countries today. In Spivak, the analysis of the cultural and social colonization consequences coincides with her attention to the feminine object that are twice marginalized by the economy and by gender subalternity (Ashcroft et al, 2013). Spivak brings to light the falsity of binary oppositions, typical of traditional Western thinking, and the necessity to deconstruct the Western metaphysical apparatus using the conceptual couples that are sustaining it: "one-many" and "identity-alterity." Her contribution is an essential methodological base for the present research.

The relationship between the *self* and the *other* are interconnected in the textual representations of both British colonizer and colonized Kurds in such a way that it is critical to analyze the *Self* in order to read, analyze, and understand the *Other* and vice versa. In other words, the study seeks to investigate and disclose the construction of self and other through Kurdish and British discourse in selected literary representations. The theories of *Self* and *Other* emerge in chapters three and four to address how meanings in selected texts are constructed, generated, or how meaning reinforced such as British texts on Kurds in Iraq written by British orientalist and political officers as well as Kurdish writings on British colonialism written by Kurdish intellectual elites and politicians.

1.4. Textual Representation

This study focuses on two types of textual representations: British texts written by British orientalist and political officers who served in the British colonial administration in the Kurdish areas of Iraq during the first half of the twentieth century and Kurdish intellectual elites and politicians writing on British colonialism during the first half of the twentieth century. British texts manifest as memories, diaries, travel writings, and letters more than any other kind of text because the selected texts embody

and record the process of colonization deeply and its implications of the colonial mentality. Moreover, the memories and diaries give details and critical codes to understand and figure out the themes of British colonial discourse, and the consequences and legacies of the British colonization of Kurdish areas of Iraq. In contrast to the British texts, the Kurdish textual representations are from newspapers and emerge in the form of prose and poems. There are also written memories and diaries. The texts can be regarded as the main and most important source of Kurdish voice about the dilemmas and conflicts which appeared with British colonization of the region.

Traditional theories of linguistics and literature maintain that the meaning of the text is inside the Text, and that is discoverable by a keen reader (Allen, 2000). This assumption is based on the idea that literary texts possess meaning, and the reader extracts this meaning. The process of meaning extraction is called interpretation. Traditionally, a text was the actual words or signs that made up a work of linguistics and literature. It gave permanence to work. In structuralist and poststructuralist theory, the "text" comes to stand for whatever meaning is generated by the intertextual relations between one Text and another and the activation of those relations by a reader. "Text" becomes a term associated with the absence of stable and permanent meaning while "work" is associated with the idea of stable and self-contained meaning. This understanding of the Text and its inherent meaning has come under severe strain in contemporary literary theories. They do not share the idea of a unitary and objective existence of artistic work. Instead, they consider it part of systems, codes, signs, and meanings established by other works within an elaborate system. Therefore, it is not only the Text that contains meaning but its meaning is derived from the system, codes, and signs that are a part of it. Reading is, therefore, the act of discovering a network of relations and systems, that is, the act of interpretation and discovering meaning or meanings between the lines. "Meaning becomes something that exists between a text and all the other texts to which it refers and relates moving out from the independent Text into a network of textual relations. The Text becomes the intertext" (Allen, 2000). They are all interrelated through a system and network of codes. Orientalism is a cultural and a political fact and does not exist in some archival vacuum; quite the contrary, what is thought, said, or even done about the Orient follows specific, distinct and intellectually reliable lines.

Here too, a considerable degree of nuance and elaboration can be seen inside the broad superstructural pressures, composition details, and textuality facts. Many scholars are satisfied by the idea that texts exist in contexts, that there is the intertextuality that the pressures of conventions, predecessors, and rhetorical styles limit what Walter Benjamin once called overtaking of the productive person in the name of the principle of creativity in which the poet is believed on his own and out of his pure mind to have brought forth his work (Said, 1978).

These distinct and intellectually reliable lines are the texts produced in a specific context. The origins of the debate around Text, its meaning in specific contexts, its intertextual meanings, and textuality are a legacy of Western philosophical traditions like Postmodernism that Postcolonial scholarship freely uses to deconstruct representations already implied in any given text with a particular genealogy. Among the prominent theorists of Text's problematic nature, we could think about Roland Barthes (1915-1980), Julia Kristeva (1941-), Mikhail Bakhtin (1895-1975), and Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913). They have been involved in Structuralist and Poststructuralist debates that problematized the researcher's relationship with the Text and modified his approaches for meaning and understanding. Accordingly, Oxford Reference describes textuality as having three distinct meanings:

Texture: a formalist concept in new criticism refers to the unique particularity of the expressive verbal surface features in work (such as imagery and connotations), as distinct from its structure, argument, or meaning, or the properties defining texts as distinct from other linguistic units (such as words or clauses) primarily, coherence and cohesion. Poststructuralist discourse is the inescapable written text of social reality.

This issue is present in the context of postcolonial representation. As defined by Hanks in his article "Text and Textuality" (1989), Text is uncannily the site of interpretation, and semiotics where signs assume a specific meaning that keeps power relations inside textual representation firmly in view:

The fact of interpretability by a community of users locates Text not so much in the immanent structure of a discourse as in the social matrix within which the discourse is produced and understood. It also signals a

social orientation according to which Text, whatever else it is, is a communicative phenomenon (Hanks, 1989: 96).

It could be noted in the sense of Wittgensteinian "language game." Hanks affirms as follows: "It is the fit between the sign form and some larger context that determines its ultimate coherence" (Hanks, 1989: 96).

Postcolonial scholarship stresses this coherence of the text and its context to show how representational models of the colonized, marginalized, the cultural Others, and those on the periphery are always premised upon certain semiotics, and a sign system with interpretability by a community of users. This is the textuality of a text that applies coherence and meaning. Hank elaborates the notions of texts, contexts, and textuality: context is central to textual coherence and interpretable objects. In his article in 1978 entitled "*The Problem of Textuality*" and "*Two Exemplary Positions*," Edward Said defines textuality together with Foucault and Derrida because "both strike me as indispensable to any critical position" (Said, 1978). Edward Said defines the respective positions of Derrida and Foucault to be acutely aware of what a text reveals, what it hides, and, most of all, what does not say. According to Said, it is this aspect of concealing the facts that comes under greater scrutiny in Foucault who intends to reveal all that is suppressed. Said, therefore, considers their respective texts to be engaged in this simultaneous unveiling of a text's ideological baggage as well as adding corrections to their ways of appropriating texts. Thomas Docherty brings a similar strain to define Postmodernism's reception of the ideologically driven texts (Docherty, 1993). The project of an ideological demystification starts from the presupposition that a text (or the object of any criticism) is always informed by a specific historical and political nexus and that the Text is the site for the covering over (the disappearance) of the contradictions implicit in this historical conjuncture. The task of criticism here is epistemological: it involves the necessary revelation of the truth behind the appearance (Docherty, 1993). It is essential to understand this problematization of the text and its imbrication with its latent and manifest textuality, intertextuality, and the context in postcolonial studies. "Representation begins when the relation between the sign and what it signifies is no longer a natural one" (May, 2014: 14).

In one of the foundational theorists in Postmodernism, Jean Baudrillard's article "The Process of Simulacra" inaugurates the debate around the problem of representation and the reflections on the problematic nature of the problem related to the terms text, seeped into Postcolonial theory as well. In his famous example:

Disneyland is there to conceal the fact that it is the "real" country, all of "real" America, which is Disneyland (just as prisons are there to conceal the fact that it is the social in its entirety, in its banal omnipresence, which is carceral (Poster, 1988: 172).

Representations are distinguished by politics of presence and absence, politics of appearance and disappearance, all of which contrast sharply with the Oxford Dictionary's definition of the term. Representations are thus neither impartial nor genuine but strongly involved businesses arising from a structure (Poster, 1988). In her interview with Sarah Harasym, "Practical Politics of the Open End" (1988), Spivak makes a critical distinction between two terms, terms that she borrows from German philosophy, *Vertretung*: which means "stepping in someone's place ... to tread in someone's shoes" and *Darstellung*: "placing there" (51-69). She considers the problem of representation unsettled because it is the breeding ground for finding "the unity in difference" that is suggested by theorists such as Stuart Hall (1932-2014):

It is not a solution, the idea of the disenfranchised speaking for themselves, or the radical critics speaking for them; this question of representation, self-representation, representing others, is a problem (Spivak, 1990: 63).

In this regard, Said states in *Culture and Imperialism* that "We live in a world not only of commodities but also of representations, and representations of their production, circulation, history, and interpretation are the very elements of culture" (Said, 1994: 56).

Orientalism is a vital political subject or field that is inactively reflected by scholarship, culture, or organizations; it is not a vast and diffuse collection of writings related to the Orient; nor is it an agent and expressive of a few evil "Western" radical plots to control the "Oriental" world.

It will better understand the endurance and resilience of absorbing hegemonic systems like culture when we recognize that their internal constraints on researchers and intellectuals were beneficial rather than only harmful. This is the notion that Gramsci, Foucault, and Raymond Williams have all attempted to explicate in their unique ways. For example, even a few chapters in *The Long Insurgency* by Williams on "the employments of the Empire" teach us more about nineteenth-century social opulence than many volumes of meticulous literary analysis (Williams, 1983). As a result, we'd like to think of Orientalism as a dynamic exchange between individual artists and vast political concerns shaped by three unique domains: British, French, and American in which the cognitive and creative domain composing was developed (Said, 1978).

Taking Bhabha into account, the field's disciplinary desire to show, definitively, the Postcolonial per se essentially but moreover in a problematic way circumscribes and restricts its connection to texts of chronicled representation and representations in literature. Aesthetically, this issue is communicated through Postcolonial studies' disturbing relationship with scholarly authenticity as an elegant shape. In a more extensive point of view, the field's demonization of scholarly authenticity with the idea of the "Postcolonial unconscious," Postcolonial studies' disappointment is to get a handle on and address a few of the more profound worldwide political inconsistencies (Sorensen, 2014).

To this goal, we examine scholarly works and works of literature, political tracts, journalistic texts, travel books, and religious and philological studies. The hybrid perspective is broadly historical and anthropological because all texts are worldly and circumstantial. They vary from genre to genre and from historical period to historical period. The studies in postcolonialism reveal that the impact left on the beliefs and thoughts of the colonized people will not finish when the colonial power is over. Therefore, there seems to be an imperial shape of the colonized culture. The continuous discourse of texts between the dominant and colonized continues even after military movements are over. The influence of colonial culture on colonized territories lasts and lasts today more effectively and indeed long (Al-Mtairi, 2019).

This dissertation considers a collection of selected texts from those who were British colonizers and those who were colonized Kurds. Hence, the research attempts to analyze the discourse of texts to obtain a nuanced understanding of the representations' reality and authenticity. The British texts represent Colonizer-West about East, and the Kurdish texts are representative attempts as a response to the process of colonization of the East by western colonial power (British colonizer).

Conclusion

This chapter has laid the foundation for the study by introducing the main concepts, terms and ideas that will be employed in chapter three and four to analyze the selected texts of British and Kurdish perspective on the colonial era. The most important concepts are Orientalism and Occidentalism which provide a robust theoretical framework in which Occidentalism is utilized as a contrast to Orientalism to disrupt the misrepresentation of the Orient. This theoretical frame will be directly utilized when considering the British's view and misrepresentation of the Kurds as the Orient. In tandem, Orientalism and Occidentalism expose the legacies and consequences of colonialism. This will apply later through Kurdish texts that show pro-colonial and anti-colonial discourse. Spivak's critical concept of "subaltern" and Bhabha's concepts of mimicry, hybridity, and third space accent the colonial discourse which has been thoroughly analyzed to demonstrate the impact of domination and confusion in regard to identity. The dominance and confusion as explained by Spivak and Bhabha will also be clearly demonstrated in the dynamic relationship between the Kurds and the British. The Self and the Other as understood by the western lens informs the birth of colonial mentality and thus will later illustrate the response and resistance from the Kurds.

CHAPTER 2: BRITISH COLONIALISM AND THE KURDS IN IRAQ

Due to the binary strategy of the study, this chapter presents a brief historical overview of the British colonizer and colonized Kurds. It analyses key periods in British imperialism in general and in particular as it relates to Iraq and the Kurds. It explores the factors which led to the rise of British imperialism and how Britain expanded its domination over other lands worldwide. British explorers and political agents conquered vast territories far away from their country reaching as far as the Americas and Australia. Wars, historic pacts, domination of Indian trade (including opium), the slave trade, and naval supremacy made Britain the preeminent imperialist power during the nineteenth century. This chapter presents a historical overview of British colonial expansion into the Middle East especially in Iraq, and explores how British colonizers interacted with colonized Kurds in Iraq from 1914 to 1958. The relationship between these parties was characterized by the subordination of the Kurds, which fits in with the findings of postcolonial theorists. This historical overview provides deeper background about the most important issues and events which underpinned British colonization in Mesopotamia to support our understanding and analysis of the contents and themes of colonial and postcolonial discourse as they relate to this study.

The study casts light on different periods of British colonialism accentuating various cultural and economic changes in the process. This is followed by discussing colonization and decolonization in the Middle East in general and in Iraq in particular during the first half of the twentieth century. Finally, to display the subordinated relationship, the chapter considers the relationship between Britain and Iraqi Kurds as a colonized people from 1914 to 1958 during which the fate of the Kurds was decided in processes in which they largely had no voice or identity.

2.1. Historical Overview of British Colonialism

The formal British Empire was proclaimed in 1857 when Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India and the Crown took over the Government of India from the East India Company. However, the phenomenon commonly understood as the British Empire was a worldwide system of dependencies that was gradually brought under the sovereignty of the British Crown and the administration of the British

government over the span of some three centuries (Ferguson, 2004). The colonial period began in the sixteenth century with commercial adventurer companies setting sail for the Americas and the Indies paving the way for integral components of modern British and world history. The Empire began primarily for commercial purposes and subsequently expanded into a complex network in which new nations were eventually created as autonomous economic units integrated into the economic processes of the former imperial network.

The British Empire accounted for a significant amount of European expansion globally, and several factors contributed to Britain's rise to global expansion and dominance. England had an aggressive imperialistic agenda during the early colonial period as it attempted to spread its dominion over various portions of the globe (Lloyd, 2006). Much earlier, from the fifth century onwards, the Anglo-Saxons conquered and ethnically cleansed the majority of the British Isles, and the Normans later expanded their imperialism throughout the Mediterranean, arriving in the Middle East as zealous Crusaders (Pounds, 2005). However, British imperialism essentially emerged during the early modern period from the sixteenth century onwards, and over the course of three centuries, it became a global network of various forms of colonies, dominions, territories, protectorates, and dependencies of varying forms of governance, ultimately under the jurisdiction of the British Crown (Lloyd, 2006).

Crown territories, overseas dominions, colonies, protectorates, and even administrations were all affected by British colonialism in its crudest and most imperialistic form. Portugal and Spain were the first global colonial powers from the fifteenth century onwards, circumnavigating the globe and pioneering European conquest in the Americas, Southeast Asia, and India. Britain, France, and the Netherlands arrived on the colonial scene relatively late but ultimately became preeminent during the eighteenth century, with British global hegemony being established after the Napoleonic Wars. The maximum extent of British colonial domination of the world was achieved after the liquidation of the Ottoman Empire and its division (mainly between Britain and France). At the turn of the nineteenth century, King George V (1865-1936), Emperor of India, ruled over 412 million subjects accounting for roughly a quarter of the world's population at the time (Maddison, 2001). British colonialism changed the course of international relations forever resulting in unique cultural, linguistic, and constitutional

diversity. The concept of a British Commonwealth arose in the twentieth century as a result of the empire's strategy of recognizing or providing large degrees of semi self-government to dependencies, which was favored by the Empire's far-flung nature and the practical benefits of avoiding expensive military obligations and adventures while continuing to benefit from privileged trade (Spence, 2015).

Although most colonizers including Britain claimed to aim for trading, education, and other aspects of their "civilizing mission," they undeniably succeeded in plundering the wealth of colonized nations. Furthermore, some parts of Britain's past colonialism continue to the present day, as it is a manifest in the Commonwealth of Nations, and indirect political interventions and undue influence in various parts of the globe.

2.1.1. Emergence of British Colonialism: 1707-1783

The classic British Empire can be discerned from 1707 when the Crown authorized and supported private commercial ventures and the British began to assert their political role in India (Marshall, 2001). However, this represented a long build-up of sporadic points of interest across the world. In the face of existential pressures, the British and other Europeans began what became their colonial encroachments by reinforcing trading facilities. However, in areas where there was no strong indigenous authority, they directly expanded their dominance over the surrounding land. In the East Indies and India, they had scattered trading posts trading in coffee, tea, and spices while being wary of competition from Dutch and Portuguese interests. Meanwhile, Britain also had extensive activities in Hudson Bay (for furs) and Newfoundland (for fish), where the French were their main opponents (Walker, 1963). England had resisted becoming a colony of Spain itself when the Spanish Armada of 1588 was repelled thwarting the attempt of King Philip (consort of Mary I) to retake the Kingdom. State-sponsored pirates such as Sir Francis Drake (hero of the Armada) and Sir Walter Raleigh plundered Spanish vessels returning from the New World, and England began expanding its own footholds in North America in the search for gold and silver.

With the maturation of capitalist relations within English feudalism, England began its formal colonial policy from the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries and inflicted a series of crushing blows to Spain, their most powerful opponent (Kohn & Reddy, 2006). At this juncture, the East India Company was established as a speculative

trading monopoly with the Indies (i.e., India) (Cohn, 1996). Over the subsequent centuries, the company would gradually come to directly control and govern India. Although the English policy of colonial seizures was directly tied to the development of trade and industry during this period, it was primarily driven by the interests of the aristocracy who sought to consolidate their feudal land monopoly by acquiring overseas territories (Cohn, 1996).

The expeditions of Captain James Cook to what became known as New Zealand and Australia in the 1770s as well as the direct colonization of India after 1763 marked the start of a new period of territorial expansion. Conquests during the Napoleonic Wars resulted in the addition of Trinidad and Tobago, Mauritius, the Cape Colony, British Guiana (Guyana), Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Malta, and St. Lucia to the Empire (Hodge, 2007). Despite the loss of the thirteen North American colonies in the early 1780s, at the end of the eighteenth century, Britain had a diverse and large collection of colonial possessions, representing privileged access to land, labor (including slaves), and markets for British capitalism (Kohn & Reddy, 2006). Vast swathes of North America (Quebec, Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, and Nova Scotia) remained under British control as well as the continental-sized Australian landmass, which was used mainly for penal colonies from 1788. Britain also had lucrative colonies in the West Indies such as Jamaica and Barbados producing sugar and other products, as well as settlements in Sierra Leone and a number of West African trading ports. It had also acquired the Cape Colony from the Dutch for strategic reasons in 1795 during the French Revolutionary Wars (Pennycook, 1998). Finally, the East India Company, which had enjoyed a monopoly on trade with Asia since 1600 expanded British holdings in India throughout the second half of the eighteenth century.

Given the country's fairly modest size, the British Empire was one of the most powerful colonial empires in history, and historians have long analyzed the reasons it became so spectacularly successful. Drier (2020) has identified some of its salient features.

On a fundamental level, British colonial agents figured out how to expand at low cost with minimal requirements for capital investment from the European metropolis and massive potential profits from selling colonial products in European markets (e.g., sugar, tea, coffee, and spices). The colonies were thus able to become self-sufficient and

to fund their own defense. Furthermore, the primordial rivalry between Britain and France motivated both sides to continually adapt, develop, innovate, and fight to maintain their ground, spurring the material development of both civilizations. Much of Britain's development was driven by private corporations and organizations, which were associated with the ethos of personal liberty and minimal state intervention in the economy, as a result of which British trading companies (the main engines of colonialism) were able to improve their profits by imposing favorable tariffs and trade conditions on those colonies, thus, profiting from government policies with little regard for indigenous peoples.

Economic opportunities worldwide including access to land and other resources, labor, and privileged access to European markets via British control of global sea lanes facilitated the expansion of the British Empire. Trade, land, and resource exports were vital to increasing profits, but ancillary businesses and occupations were also expanding. Opium, sugar, tea, tobacco, and slaves were among the most lucrative British trading commodities at varying points during the early period, which enabled the British Empire to gain greater influence via territory, commerce, products, and physical human resources (Drier, 2020).

2.1.2. The Second British Empire: 1783-1815

Many historic chartered businesses were reorganized and revitalized in the early 18th century, and the doctrine of free trade became a great rallying cry for British imperialism and the expansion of British trade worldwide marking the beginning of the association of trade with political power on the pretext of a civilizing mission. As mercantilist regulations and concepts were gradually abandoned throughout the eighteenth century, political and economic developments in Great Britain made national survival contingent on imperial profitability and expansion in the geopolitical struggle for hegemony between Britain and France. Between the 1740s and 1763, the British East India Company and its French equivalent competed militarily and commercially in India with the British finally triumphing in collaboration with local communities and the foreshadowing of a divide-and-rule policy between Muslims and Hindus in Bengal (Lehning, 2013). The British were able to absorb one territory after another due to the Mughal Empire's political disarray and the eager treason of local collaborators. After

Robert Clive defeated the Nawab of Bengal and his French allies in 1757, the pretext of Mughal supremacy became increasingly obsolete and superficial with the East India Company expanding its governmental operations and fortifications in Fort William (Calcutta) to completely dominate all trade in and out of Bengal. They were able to force natives to plant and weave cotton products for them in conditions that amounted to indentured slavery decimating the indigenous economy and ultimately liquidating the entire land and revenue potential of Bengal (and later all of India) and repurposing the whole of Bengal, one of the richest regions of the world at that time, as their own profit-making machine (Cain & Hopkins, 2014).

The outrages of the Company and their buccaneering dominance in India became a source of increasing concern among metropolitan elites in Europe, who were happy to profit from the venture but who increasingly sought to place a more civilized veneer on the business of colonial exploitation. The grinding oppression of British colonialism was evident in the resentment toward it among the American colonists during their struggle for independence (c. 1765-1791), and it was clear that the natives of India could potentially seek to resist British colonial domination if facilitated by European rivals of Britain, which necessitated vast expenditure on armaments and military conscripts by the East India Company and, crucially, the recruitment of native troops (Sepoys). To place British colonialism on an even firmer footing, the Company reformed the education system and began to recruit local middle-class professionals into the colonial administration as skilled intermediaries to help consolidate domination of the masses (Cohn, 1996).

In the relatively brief but critical period between the Treaty of Paris (1763), which released the former American colonies and allowed the British to consolidate their presence in Canada and India, and the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824, which consolidated the mutually profitable spheres of influence between British and Dutch colonial enterprises in Southeast Asia, the groundwork was laid for the colonial domination of the ensuing centuries, which continues to be the basis for the modern nation-states of former colonial realms.

2.1.3. Britain's Imperial Century: 1815-1914

During this period, Britain not only maintained but significantly expanded its colonial empire. British foreign strategy revolved around the seizure of undivided regions and the strengthening of the Empire. British colonialists launched multiple colonial wars taking advantage of their naval superiority and huge network of naval ports and fortresses (Spence, 2015). Huge chunks of land on Africa's eastern and western coasts were taken up in the 1880s and 1890s. Great Britain's position in broad parts of Africa and Asia was strengthened with the British administration in Egypt (1882), the installation of authority over the Suez Canal (1875) and the capture of Cyprus (1878), and the completion of the invasion of Burma (1885). Following a series of brutal battles, the British consolidated absolute control over India up to the wilderness of the North-West Frontier where Afghanistan and Central Asia formed a natural barrier between Britain's essentially maritime Empire in India and encroaching Russian terrestrial imperialism in Central Asia (Cain & Hopkins, 2014).

In the mid-nineteenth century, Europe, particularly Britain and France, achieved an economic rebound. During the Victorian Era (1837-1901), Britain grew (see Map 1 below) into an industrial powerhouse as the "workshop of the world," producing more than a quarter of all industrial commodities produced worldwide (Offer, 1993). However, this industrial and technological development was driven mainly by the search for commercial investments from the imperial metropolis, and the colonial activities of the former phase were becoming an increasingly embarrassing anachronism for Britain's political elite. Enslaving people was prohibited in the British Empire in 1807, and remaining slaves were gradually emancipated from 1833-1840 with compensation being paid to former slave owners. Against the emerging backdrop of social reform and evangelical Christianity in Britain, the buccaneering antics of the East India Company and other semi-state enterprises in colonial possessions were increasingly targeted for reform and direct political control by the "civilizing" British elites (Dalrymple, 2006). The Indian Mutiny of 1857-1859 exposed the sum of the British fears and compelled the imperial metropolis to intervene directly to take control of India's political system and its resources. The East India Company was liquidated in 1858 inaugurating the British Raj and direct control under the Crown (Cohn, 1996).



Map 1: British Imperial Federation. Map of the World Showing the Extent of the British Empire in 1886, Walter Crane. Retrieved from: <https://exhibits.stanford.edu/nhdmaps/catalog/bt534tm5745> (Accessed March 6, 2021)

India was always the lucrative “jewel in the Crown” for British imperialism, and the artery of its colonial domination and enrichment was the Suez Canal, in which Britain bought a majority stake in 1875. This was the result of a long process of scheming and intrigues behind encroaching British domination of Egypt whose bankrupt ruler was unable to repay his usurious debts for the canal and the country’s modernization. The Suez Canal cut the distance between Europe and South and East Asia substantially (by many weeks for sail ships). The Canal was a military as well as trading lifeline to India. To protect it, Britain declared Egypt to be a protectorate in 1882 maintaining traditional Ottoman officials in form but assuming complete control in practice (Parry, 2022) in replication of the successful tried-and-tested strategy they had used in Bengal a century previously. The capture of Egypt, Africa’s wealthiest and most industrialized country, sparked “African Fever” across Europe and the “Scramble for Africa” as European states realized that they could amass vast lands and resources with ease if they worked together to oust the Ottomans and did not fight each other. After chiseling Greece out of the Ottoman Empire in 1821-1829, the British pursued a relentless strategy of controlled demolition of the Ottoman Empire maintaining some stability where expedient to offset Russian power and influence (Small, 2018). During the 1877-1878 Congress of Berlin, the European states prepared to divvy up the Balkans (Parry, 2022), and in the 1884-1885 Berlin Conference, they also divided Africa among themselves. Even Belgium, a

country of little importance in the European Continent, was able to carve out the vast region of the Congo while Italy set its sights on its “Fourth Shore” in Ottoman Libya and Abyssinia beyond (Pakenham, 2015).

Notably, Britain expanded its authority over Sudan to secure its dominance and stability in the region and provide a buffer zone against potential European incursions (the wisdom of this strategy can be ascertained from the fact that some of the most intense Anglo-German warfare during WWII was conducted in the Sahara Desert, not in Europe). Britain’s control of the Suez Canal entailed a more active role in Egypt and the broader region. This necessitated the purchase of the strategically important island of Cyprus in order to secure oil resources for economic and military purposes. By then, the Balfour Declaration of 1917 which warranted British support for a Jewish Homeland in Palestine to function as a “little loyal Jewish Ulster” of fanatically pro-British colonial settlers sourced from the Russian Pale of Settlement to act as a buffer for the Canal (Rennap, 1942). Britain was also called upon to “protect” Iran, Bahrain, Qatar, Kuwait, and Iraq as part of this theater of colonial domination with a view to controlling energy supplies as was already being apparent before WWI (Midgley & Piachaud, 2011).

During these years, the Empire expanded rapidly with regions that had previously been part of the “informal empire” of commerce coming under formal rule and new areas being annexed regardless of whose administration was in power (Midgley & Piachaud, 2011). New foreign rivalries, particularly with Russia, France, and Germany fueled aggressive imperial expansion. British interests around the world were perceived to be threatened, and invasions were made to protect them. Imperialists such as Joseph Chamberlain, who constituted a vociferous faction during this period, argued for stronger imperial links (“imperial preference”) and tariff reform in order to drive increasing imperial integration and unity in political, economic, and military domains as a result of the acquisition of new territories. Economic imperialism became closely associated with the Conservative Party, which was traditionally antagonistic to imperial ventures, despite the fact that the Empire continued to expand even when they were in power while the Liberal party was more overtly characterized by liberal interventionism and a “civilizing mission” (Gilmartin, 2009).

Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, Britain displayed two distinct characteristics of imperialism: massive colonial holdings, and a monopoly position in the global market. During this time, a system of economic connections developed inside the British Empire based on the mother country's dominance, which relied on the colonies for raw markets and supplies (Kennedy, 1996). The expanding competitiveness of British industry wreaked havoc on the economies of the British colonies. Imports of British industrial goods led to the downfall of local domestic industry especially in India where cheap English fabrics had no less disastrous consequences than colonial military missions. This eventually destroyed the alliance between farmers and traders on which most colonies' rural communities were built (Cohn, 1996). In India, enmity between Muslims and Hindus as well as between specific princes and principalities was widely employed by British colonialists who used a Hindu middle class of collaborators as a buffer and scapegoats for their domination of local society (Midgley & Piachaud, 2011).

Imperialism was primarily motivated by economic interests with the industrial revolution in Britain and other European countries conferring absolute material domination on Western countries particularly in terms of armaments. This facilitated a tremendous influx of money into Britain and other European states due to privileged access to cheap raw materials from colonies as well as domination of colonial markets (Gilmartin, 2009). Britain needed to source raw resources from other countries and look for investment opportunities for the new wealth. To this was added the need to express nationalism. Imperialism as an ideology allowed Britain to expand its colonial activities spurred by various strands from an Evangelical civilizing mission to Social Darwinism and eugenics theories of racial superiority. During the British Imperial century, colonized peoples attempted to speak up for themselves, but the United Kingdom grew stronger and more determined on the international stage (Gilbert, 2008); its economic policies became more aggressive attempting to drain the mineral and precious resources of colonized lands, destined almost entirely for companies based in the motherland (Goldstein & Maurer, 2012).

There was a spirit of acquisition among European powers and there was a political scramble to acquire more and more colonies (Lehning, 2013). Religion and education were also great motivators that encouraged imperialism whereby the British colonizers forcibly imposed their educational policies, religious culture, and beliefs on the

indigenous people in their colonies. They saw indigenous religious beliefs and cultures as insignificant, and therefore forced them to accept the “true” religion, which was an austere form of Protestant Christianity. They also viewed local peoples as illiterate and inferior and therefore imposed their educational policies on them. However, before the outbreak of WWI, Britain’s educational policies imposed in these colonies created a class of educated natives who spoke perfect English and became aware of the colonial period’s crisis as well as of the possibility of revolt against the British Empire. That is, these were the (no so) loyal caste of “black-haired Englishman” the Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon, which had been foreseen (Lehning, 2013).

According to post-colonial theory, the conceptualization of ethnicity, ethnic identity, and race is a fundamental topic of concern (Kennedy, 1996). For far too long, ethnicity has been linked solely with people of color as a characteristic inherent in, conferred upon, or claimed by peoples who have been subjected to colonialism or exile. This alliance, which operates at the theoretical, political, and public levels, has resulted in several analytical abnormalities. Significant cultural and ethnic disparities between colonizers and indigenous peoples in European colonies were also important factors in defining the kind and intensity of discrimination against subject peoples inside imperial institutions (Cain & Hopkins, 2014). The growing links between the advance of colonial control and missionary campaigning in the latter half of the nineteenth century saw many experienced European colonizers often exacerbating indigenous resistance to what were increasingly disruptive, hostile, and unfamiliar interventions into largely non-Christian, non-Western societies. This marked a dramatic change from the earlier overlap between British or European and native societies seen during earlier waves of colonialism before pseudo-scientific and cultural assumptions of European superiority condemned native peoples to subordination (Dalrymple, 2006).

The British economy began to show signs of parasitism and degradation as a result of colonial exploitation. One of the defining forces in British foreign policy was the desire of British business leaders to retain and expand the British Empire. Naval armaments competition as well as an increase in the colonial and army bureaucracy were necessary to achieve this goal despite dubious economic sustainability (Spence, 2015). The military, particularly the Royal Navy, held great influence over British policy and continually highlighted the need for ever-increasing naval spending to offset the threat

of rising powers such as Germany and to maintain control over strategically significant areas and establish military bases in strategic locations. A never-ending series of far-flung colonial wars underscored their case such as the gruesome campaign in Tibet (1903-1904) (Spence, 2015). The British Empire was a complex economic and political organization whose members were all inseparably subjected and linked to the mother country. Apart from direct political and military coercion, the system of economic connections left the Empire's territories completely reliant on Britain for defense and (to a large extent) international trade (Gilbert, 2008).

After WWI, when the international community realized that peace was the only way to properly sustain the political status quo under Anglo-French hegemony, British imperialism and its colonial perspective seemed outwardly to be completely ascendant, but in the reality there were already strong anticolonial currents brewing including among nascent anticolonial (later to be postcolonial) leaders such as Gandhi, Nehru, and Jinnah in British India. Indigenous peoples increasingly began to question European supremacy and to express their desire for self-determination (Herbst, 2014). The British Empire thus attempted a controlled handover to loyal subalterns in colonial lands, educated in British tastes and opinions, and ultimately loyal to British civilization and expectations. This plan was disrupted by the Great Depression as widespread global problems were heaped upon successive colonial governments, which they were unable to effectively deal with. After losing India in 1947, the rest of Britain's possessions in Asia other than Singapore became a costly liability. Bankrupted by WWII, the British were unable to maintain their position in the face of the new hegemon of the Cold War, the US and the USSR, and they descended to second-tier status but in the subsequent decades disengaged from all except their most profitable colonies as soon as they could. As they attempted to cling on to Suez in 1956, the US was unwilling to indulge their imperial pretensions, sealing the end of the British Empire as a major global political force even though it continued to play an important economic and cultural role in late colonial and post-colonial societies (Armitage & David, 2000).

2.2. Brief History of British Colonialism in Iraq

This section starts with a brief discussion of the beginnings of British colonialism in the Middle East. After that, direct colonial rule by the British in Mesopotamia from 1914 to 1920 is investigated. Later, the British Mandate in Iraq from 1921 to 1932 is discussed. The last part of this section looked at British colonialism in the context of the Hashemite Monarchy from 1932 to 1958.

2.2.1. British Colonialism in the Middle East

In the Middle East, European colonialism was defined primarily by the artificial creation of political borders before being eventually projected onto the region's geography and history (Bogaerts & Raben, 2012). Many Middle East and Northern Africa (MENA) nations suffered military inadequacies and political upheavals after gaining independence as they struggled with the impacts of colonialism including loss of cultural identity and habits (Lockman, 2004). Many local Arabs abandoned their traditional rituals and converted to Christianity and mastered the colonialists' native and lingua franca languages (Roothaan, 2017). As far as the Kurds is concerned, a community is defined by a shared culture and language (Sheyholislami, 2010). Actually, this was a time when indigenous peoples were fighting for political and cultural identity in Iraq due to the complex nature of national identity contestation.

As the MENA region entered the modern era, the colonial period's legacy of political ideas was passed down. Following World War II, the majority of these states gained independence from their colonial overlords (Freedman, 2002). However, the postcolonial institutions that evolved from the colonial empires in the Middle East continued to serve the non-democratic duties of their colonial rulers (Fairclough, 1992). During the twentieth century, decolonization transformed the international order. Thus, standard histories present the end of colonialism as an unavoidable transition from a world of empires to a world of nations, i.e. a world where self-determination was synonymous with nation-building, ignoring how radical this change was, and based as it was on the political thought of anticolonial movements. Consequently, the MENA region is frequently linked with violent forms of administration, population expansion, archaic and primitive traditions, civil strife, and terrorist, and all of them tautological dichotomies that emerged as a result of the colonization process (Freedman, 2002).

This period, unlike in the past, was concurrent with deadly wars the most important one of which was World War I. This was the period when the British Empire came to be recognized as a world power and became more aggressive in its colonial policies in order to garner more resources. However, unfortunately for the British, the colonized nations rose in protest against the rule of their imperial masters (Gilbert, 2008; Goldstein & Maurer, 2012).

The British Empire's colonial interests then experienced a dramatic change at the beginning of the twentieth century due mainly to changing colonial interests and the costs of World War I in terms of human life (Goodlad, 1999).

During the final years of the Ottoman Empire, the British strategy was set to reshape the Middle East based on the policy of increasing Britain influence in the oil-rich territories in the region and of shaping politics and the economy under their patronage. This strategy entailed encouraging non-Turkish elements living within the Ottoman Empire to seek autonomy. To do so, they goaded Arabs and Kurds to rise against the Ottomans and persuaded them to establish their own states (Mather, 2014).

During World War I, the key question surrounding the vast territories of the Ottoman Empire was what would happen to these territories in case war resulted in the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. Britain, France, and Russia, which formed the Triple Entente, wasted no time in securing their own portions. According to the 1915 Constantinople Agreement, Russia managed to lay its hands on Istanbul (Constantinople), a strategic port that provided them with access to the Mediterranean. Britain was interested in the Suez Canal and the Persian Gulf as it wanted to secure its access to India, and France was interested in Syria as it had numerous economic investments there especially in Aleppo. The necessity to coordinate their interests in the region forced France and Britain to reach agreement on May 19, 1916 in what became known as the Sykes-Picot Agreement, which became the basis for the modern Middle East (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2020; Dawam, 1996).

France wanted to seize control of "natural Syria," extending from Mosul to the Mediterranean and from the Taurus Mountains in southern Turkey to the Sinai Peninsula. However, France's ambitions were in conflict with British aspirations to diminish France's influence and create an Arab kingdom to be ruled by Emir Faisal al-

Hashemi, a prominent figure in the fight against the Turks. Under British pressure, France ceded Mosul and was left to control the Lebanese coast and Syria's interior which became part of France's sphere of influence while Britain managed to seize control of southern Iraq and the Baghdad area (Balanche, 2016). As outlined in the Sykes-Picot agreement, Russia would acquire Erzurum, Trabzon, Van, and Bitlis, with some Kurdish territory to the southeast. Britain also acquired southern Mesopotamia, including Baghdad, and the Mediterranean ports of Haifa and Akko (Acre) (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2020).

In 1918, Britain occupied Mosul. The 1920 Treaty of Sèvres formalized the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire followed by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. During the Sykes-Picot negotiations, the British first ceded Mosul to France largely because Britain was not willing to enter into direct conflict with Russia. However, the Bolshevik revolution and Russia's withdrawal from World War I, the discovery of oil in Mosul, and more importantly the need to protect Iraq from a potential Turkish intervention forced Britain to change its calculations. France did not oppose Britain over Mosul, and in exchange, Britain not only allowed France to participate in Iraq's Petroleum Company but also recognized and supported France's claim to the Rhine's West Bank. As a result, Mosul was annexed to Iraq, and in 1926, Turkey abandoned its claim to the region (Balanche, 2016).

British incursion in Middle Eastern affairs was a result of Anglo-French warfare. The Royal Navy pursuing Napoleon's fleet preceded them to the Nile for the eponymous battle in 1798. Concerned that France would block British access to the eastern Mediterranean and thereby threaten critical trade routes to India, the British Navy collaborated with Ottoman authorities to evict French troops from Egypt. Subsequent engagement was mainly driven by economic interests and strategic imperatives concerned with the Suez Canal predicated on trade with India. From this episode until decolonization in the mid-twentieth century, British policies in the region reflected the interplay of Great Power rivalries and the balancing of strategic and economic interests.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the British warily avoided direct confrontation with Russia. This was evident on the North-West Frontier of India and in the outcome of the Crimean War (1853-1856). The British Empire was strengthening its trading activities

and proto-colonial presence within the Ottoman Empire prior to WWI, which quickly proved to be advantageous to the British economy after the dissolution of the Empire (Jackson, 2016). On November 2, 1914, Russia, Britain, and France declared war on the Ottoman Empire, and the ruling Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) in Turkey expected a German triumph (Trumpener, 2015). The “Young Turks” who took control in 1908 accepted the argument that aligning with Germany would help them settle scores with the Russian empire but the Ottoman Army was facing financial and moral challenges depleted as it was by long-running battles with Italy and the Balkan Wars (Zürcher, 2019). The impact on the economy was palpable as The Ottoman army and government were fighting on multiple fronts both inside and outside the Empire.

In the notorious Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916), Britain and France secretly agreed that the Ottoman *vilayet* of Mosul would fall within the French sphere of influence. Some have claimed that an underlying objective of this strategy was to create a buffer state under French protection between Russia to the north and a British protectorate in Mesopotamia to the south (Ali, 1992). The entry of the United States into the war against Germany as well as Russia’s exit from the war following the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 so fundamentally altered the geopolitical dynamics that an impact of the Sykes-Picot agreement was that it could no longer be used as the basis for a postwar Middle-Eastern order without significant changes (Ottaway, 2015).

Nevertheless, Britain’s post-WWI Middle Eastern empire was essentially a windfall from the defeat and dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire with the assistance of numerous former subject peoples of the Ottoman lands (Parry, 2022).

Commensurately, France gained control of Lebanon and Syria. By 1920, the British and French controlled political, cultural, and economic life in 16 of the 17 colonized Middle-Eastern entities. Libya reverted to Italian colonialism in 1932. Britain declared Egypt to be formally independent in 1922 but still maintained troops in the country by the outbreak of WWII 23 years later (Hodge, 2008). The jettisoning of Iraq in 1932 reflected Britain’s acknowledgement of the particular challenges of controlling the country (Wichhart, 2007).

After discovering oil in Iran in 1908, the British Empire that had expanded into Egypt in 1882 dominated most of the western Persia, including the country’s petroleum sector

until the overthrow of the Shah in 1979 (Sykes, 2013). The main goal of British imperialism was to secure Britain's access to its vast colony of India, a goal inextricably bound with control of the Suez Canal and proximal territories. Following WWI, the oil and gas resources of the region became prizes in their own right, but Britain was primarily concerned with Persia in this regard preferring not to venture into direct colonialism in the internal desert regions of Arabia and Mesopotamia beyond port enclaves such as Aden, Bahrain, and Kuwait. The Fertile Crescent mandates of Iraq, Jordan, and Palestine that went to Britain did not see much in the way of direct or extensive investment from the imperial metropolis (Busch, 1967). This was reflected in the easy transition of political authority to local client rulers such as the Hashemites of the Hejaz who were appointed as Kings of Iraq and Transjordan by Britain. Meanwhile, they had been collaborators of Lawrence of Arabia during the war taking up arms against the Ottomans and playing a key role in the Anglo-Arab victories of Aqaba, Gaza, and Damascus (Lawrence, 2017).

The British Empire established a spy network particularly in the Arabian Peninsula in order to gain a better understanding of colonized people's reactions and feelings toward colonial control. The British rulers' primary goal in the region was to be able to respond effectively to any trouble while avoiding any substantive commitments beyond profit extraction (Ohlmeyer, 2018). To this end, a well-organized intelligence network was developed to dominate the region (Keay, 1994) as in the instance of the Levant Consular Service which was established to better understand the people's environment allowing the British to lay the groundwork for their authority over the region. In particular, the Information Research Department of the Foreign Office, a secret propaganda system set up to control local views and expressions, represents an under-explored facet of Britain's intelligence and security services activity in the Middle East (Hashimoto, 2019).

British colonial domination continued, mainly under local rulers, until the post-1945 period, at which juncture the United Nations Organization was established (Crowder, 1964). The Labor Party, elected in 1945, was avowedly anti-imperialist and accelerated the process of Home Rule for India and other colonies. Because their ideological affinity with the socialist Soviet Union, Iran and Turkey faced particular challenges during this period of decolonization (Gilmartin, 2009) especially because of their

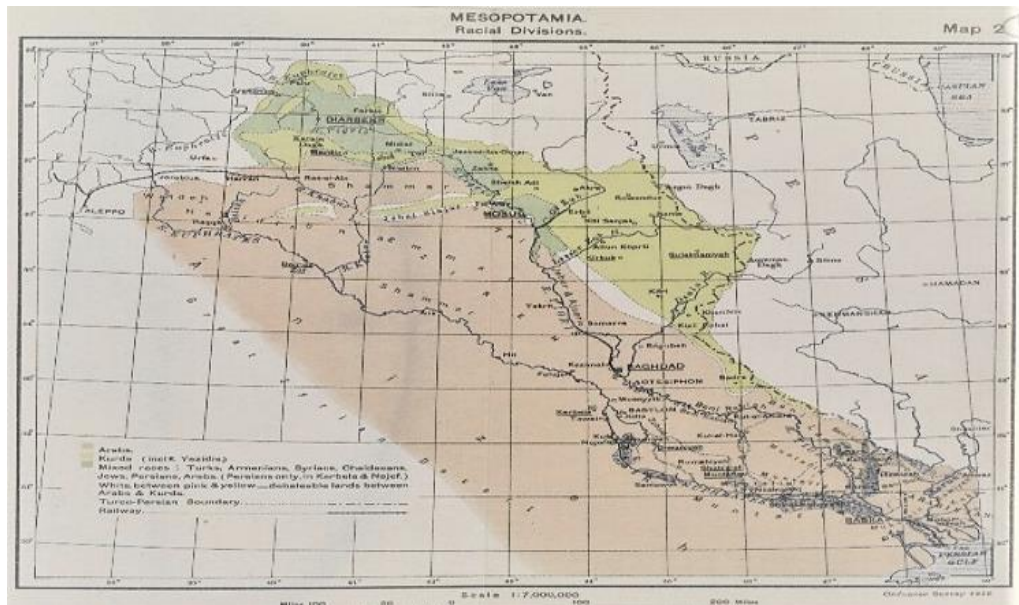
strategic importance to the world's most powerful nations' governments, there was a reluctance among these nations to relinquish authority over the Middle Eastern countries, and as a result, imperial leaders' influence and control over the region can still be seen in the modern world.

During the period 1914 to 1964, while the British Empire continued to play a major role in the Middle East, it was clear that local leaders were increasingly aligning with the US or the USSR in the Cold War context and were no longer content or willing subalterns of the British imperial project. The independence of India in 1947 signaled the inexorable decline of British imperial influence and the erosion of the British Empire's economic and political control over the Middle East and Africa as well as its hegemony over the world's trade routes (Hopkirk, 1994). Nine British colonies in the Middle East broke free during the 1940s (including Israel, Pakistan, and Jordan), the 1950s and 1960s (Kuwait, Sudan, and South Yemen), and 1971 (the UAE, Qatar, and Bahrain). In the space of 16 years, the French lost their colonies faster than the British, and Libya achieved independence from British protectorate and status and assistance in 1951 after decades of Italian colonialism and ethnic cleansing (Lehning, 2013).

2.2.2. British Colonialism during WWI and Direct Rule in Mesopotamia

The foundation of the state of Iraq roughly along its current boundaries was one of the unintended results of World War I. On the advent of war in 1914, the Ottoman Empire included present-day Turkey, Iraq, Jordan, Israel, Lebanon, Syria, and parts of the Caucasus and Arabian Peninsula. Mosul, Baghdad, and Basra were the Empire's three main *vilayets* that comprised what is now Iraq. Mesopotamia (see Map 2) ("the region between the rivers") was an ancient Greek geographical term used by Europeans to refer to the region. British and Indian soldiers conducted military operations in southern Mesopotamia from November 1914 to April 1915 with a narrow footprint and restricted goals. In the weeks leading up to the declaration of war, British authorities understood that Ottoman troops constituted a danger to the Persian Gulf's oil supplies. The Royal Navy would be without fuel until another source could be found if the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (APOC) facility on Abadan Island was taken or the pipeline to it was disrupted. A buildup of soldiers and armaments in the Basra region as well as the

appearance of German advisers were among the claims (later proved to be false) that appeared to support this worry (Morris, 1987).



Map 2. Mesopotamia. Racial Divisions, [363] (1/1). British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers 1:7,000,000. 1916.
https://www.qdl.qa/en/archive/81055/vdc_100023555950.0x0000ad .Courtesy of Qatar Digital Library. (Accessed March 11, 2021).

British vessels arrived off the Shatt al-Arab strait in mid-September to monitor the maritime approaches to Abadan. Additional preparations were made to land ground combat troops near Basra in order to deny the Ottomans a port of debarkation from which to conquer Abadan and set up a staging base for military operations against the pipeline in Persia (Barker, 2009). The Mesopotamian campaign started on November 6, one day after the official British declaration of war with an amphibious invasion on the Al Faw Peninsula (Hunter, 1930). In fighting similar to the action on the Western Front, two corps under Major General Stanley Maude removed strong points in the Ottoman trench lines in January and February 1917. Unlike the 6th Division, the Ottoman defenders were able to evacuate from the field before the trap was closed but Maude kept his losses low and marched into Kut on February 23 (Haldane & Haldane, 1922). Maude followed the Ottoman army west despite a clear order from London in order to maintain contact and pressure. Corps I and III pushed on cautiously along both banks and even stopped for supplies at Aziziyah. Maude authorized the march on Baghdad to continue after three days, a decision that was only authorized in London after the advance was complete.

On March 21, Indian Expedition Force D (IEF D) marched into Basra unchallenged and obtained official capitulation two days later (Townshend, 1920). Baghdad's Ottoman defenders fled north in good order by railway after giving some resistance at the junction of the Tigris and Diyala Rivers. On March 11, Maude's men entered Baghdad without opposition (Barker, 2009). While armistice talks with the Ottomans were nearing completion in October 1918, British and Indian soldiers took Mosul and its surroundings (Haldane & Haldane, 1922).

Despite the fact that the Allies and Germany signed an Armistice on November 11, 1918, Iraq's postwar status was not settled until Spring 1920 (Gregory, 2004). This region had been known as Mesopotamia in the past but the British began to refer to it by the traditional Arabic term "Iraq" after they administered it as a single entity. The British used a strategy of direct authority in the young political entity during the war and immediately afterward (Cohen, 1978). This means they did not rely on local elites for support or exerted power through existing political structures. Instead, British officers issued direct commands, which they expected to be obeyed by the locals. Unfortunately, the majority of their commanders had little knowledge of the territory they ruled. According to Lt. Gen. Almyer Haldane's account most of the officers with whom he worked in Iraq had come from India and simply assumed that they could transfer Indian colonial authority practices to Iraq (Jacobsen, 1991).

Many of the inhabitants of Mesopotamia (Iraq) were enraged by this inattention of officers to the locals because they had grown fond of the liberal institutions established by the Ottoman Caliph Abdul Hamid II and his successors under the Young Ottomans, such as free elections (Rayburn, 2002). To put it another way, there were substantial tensions simmering beneath the surface. When the British announced the San Remo Agreement, which provided a definitive postwar settlement for Iraq and other parts of the Middle East, tensions erupted. In April 1920, at the San Remo Conference in Italy, France and the UK forged a postwar agreement to handle the Ottoman Empire's Arab areas separately from the lands of the Anatolian Peninsula where Turks were the majority essentially reiterating the ethos of the Sykes-Picot Agreement (dividing the conquered lands and peoples between British and French zones of direct control and spheres of influence and indirect domination) (Holden, 2013). Four (soon to be five) new political mandates were established the administration of each of which was

assigned to France and the UK. Because of its proximity to India and oil production potential, Britain desired to dominate Iraq (Kappelmann, 2014).

In the end, the British decided to impose a constitutional monarchy on the Iraqis who couldn't manage one yet. To this end, the British hand-picked Faisal bin Hussein as monarch of Iraq. Thus, the British ensured that Iraq had the structures of a constitutional monarchy, at least on the surface.

2.2.3. The British Mandate in Iraq: 1921-1932

The Mandate system gave a veneer of respectability to the new wave of colonialism being rolled out across the former Ottoman lands under the gaze of the nascent League of Nations international community (Sluglett, 2014). Britain and France were to guide these backward lands along the path of socio-economic and political development toward European-style civilization. In April 1920, the British government publicly took responsibility for creating an Iraqi state from the ruins of the Ottoman Empire's postwar devastation. At the San Remo Conference, Iraq was formally allotted mandate status by the League of Nations, a clearing house for international diplomatic disputes that was essentially dominated by Britain, the US, and France. The League officially and purposefully committed itself to transforming the three former Ottoman provinces of Basra, Baghdad, and Mosul into self-determining states under the supervision of the League's Permanent Mandates Commission (Dodge, 2006).

However, the British government convinced the League to recognize Iraq's independence within 12 years, thereby successfully absolving itself of the extremely costly responsibility for the formation of Iraq. The institutional foundation of the Iraqi state had been envisaged for the time period 1914-1932 (Sluglett, 2007). However, the inability of successive British governments to carry out the conditions of the League of Nations mandate to establish a sustainable and stable state in Iraq laid the foundations for the violence and political instability that has become associated with Iraq ever since.

The enunciation of a treaty between Great Britain and Iraq, which was signed in October 1921, was the first stage in this procedure, which was determined at the Cairo Conference. It was decided that Prince Faisal would be the first monarch of the newly formed Iraq. His brother, Prince Abdullah, would control Transjordan, a kingdom made up of Palestinian territories west of the Jordan River (now Jordan) (Gregory, 2004).

In 1922 the Iraqis agreed to let the British designate administrators in all 18 of their departments and to pay half of the costs of the British Residency as per the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty. In exchange, Britain vowed to help Iraq develop. As a result, the Treaty enabled a new form of indirect control, in which Iraqis pretended to agree to British monitoring in exchange for British assistance. The British then sought to hold elections for a constituent assembly after the treaty was signed.

The British government officially transferred power over Mesopotamia to the Middle East Department signaling the start of a new era. King Faisal was installed on the throne by the British and shifted the country's attention westward (Cohen, 1978). In this way, the British would have (at least on the surface) a representative political body capable of rubber-stamping a constitution that gave King Faisal enormous power (Jones, 2013).

Following the Ottoman Empire's loss in the Mesopotamian campaign of World War I, the Kingdom of Iraq was established on August 23, 1921. Although Britain was given a League of Nations mandate in 1920, the 1920 Iraqi revolt forced the initial plan to be scrapped in favor of an officially sovereign Iraqi kingdom under British control. The Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1922 legally formalized the scheme (Hunt, 2005).

Any colonial power's primary aim is to protect its interests at any cost. As a result, Britain was more concerned with its advantages following the revolution than in installing a direct colonial authority in Iraq. The ideal option was to build a subordinate local administration that would look sovereign but would recognize British authority and accept power limitations. As a consequence, this administration would appease enraged citizens while maintaining British privileges (Ortega Fabal, 2015). As Fieldhouse (2006) notes:

It was perhaps the main achievement of the British in Iraq that they were able to create at least the resemblance of an independent monarchical state while retaining their essential interests. The solution had been planned by A. T. Wilson as early as 30 July 1920 when, hearing that Faisal had been deposed in Syria, he wired the India Office suggesting that Faisal should be offered "the leadership of the Mesopotamian State (88).

Under the mandate, four British High Commissioners (Sir Francis Humphrys, Sir Gilbert Clayton, Sir Henry Dobbs, and Sir Percy Cox) were tasked with navigating the

choppy political seas in Iraq. Each tried to decipher London's conflicting, incoherent, and frequently non-existent orders while attempting to construct the institutions of a functioning state and negotiate with the Iraqi politicians who would be in charge. During this time, Iraqi politics was swiftly dominated by a small and generally unrepresentative Sunni Arab ruling elite. King Faisal sat at the apex of this group until his death in 1933.

Faisal was the son of the Sharif of Mecca who instigated the Arab Revolt in favor of the British during WWI in 1916. He went to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 to cement his family's political control in the Middle East. However, his voyage ended in humiliation when he was removed from Syria by the French government after they were given a mandate of their own. Faisal was chosen by the British to be King of Iraq in 1921, and he became their most powerful tool in the kingdom. He was accompanied by 300 former Ottoman army leaders who had either served alongside him in Damascus or fought in the Arab Revolt (Dodge, 2006).

During the years 1923-1927, the British authorities in Baghdad and their superiors in London used a direct approach. Politicians in London and government workers in Baghdad realized that Iraq might gain independence considerably sooner than they had anticipated. In light of these new circumstances, Britain's goal in dealing with Iraqi politicians was to strive to ensure that the state being formed ran as efficiently as possible while also being as inexpensive as possible. The British strategy toward Iraq which tried to meet the League's international obligations while avoiding political pressure from both the Iraqi and British publics was riddled with contradictions. These tensions culminated in a third and final shift in 1927. The concept of establishing a permanent and stable Iraqi state capable of effectively ruling over its people was abandoned entirely. From 1927 onwards, Britain's principal policy goal was to relieve itself of its international obligations toward Iraq as rapidly as possible. The British actively fabricated reports to the League of Nations Mandate Committee. Those in Iraq who spoke out against central government atrocities were either suppressed or ignored. Britain had decided to build a "quasi-state" that had the appearance of being a state but was actually a facade designed to allow Britain to disengage as swiftly as possible (Sluglett, 2007).

Major J. I. Eadie of the Indian Army, then a Special Service Officer in the Muntafiq Division in Mesopotamia, employed forty Mounted Arabs from the tribes of Nasiriyeh on the Euphrates in 1915 in the Intelligence Department. From this nucleus, an increasingly populous militia began to emerge which after numerous name changes came to be known as “Levies,” having increased from a strength of 40 in 1915 to 6,199 by May 1922. After that date, the units were gradually reduced down or transferred to the Iraq Army. This force evolved from a small mounted contingent to a mixed force of all weapons whose troops evolved from exclusively Arabs to a mixed force of Arabs, Kurds, Yezidis, Turkomans, and Assyrians, and lastly nearly entirely Assyrians. Their responsibilities were varied and included reconnoitering for British forces operating in the region. This group’s name was changed to Shabana, then Militia, and again back to Levies (Browne, 1932).

The mandate system in Iraq lasted barely ten years. Iraqi independence negotiations began in 1929 and the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty Alliance was signed in June 1930 after discussions between British and Iraqi authorities. Britain maintained a neocolonial relationship with Iraq as a result of this Treaty which meant that the foreign power retained its influence but not the costs of maintaining the country. For example, Article 1 of the treaty mandated that Iraq should consult the British government on its foreign policy and Article 5 guaranteed British soldiers access to Iraqi soil and provided the Royal Air Force with two air bases. Meanwhile, Iraq was forced to seek all military assistance from its old colonial power. This pact which was supposed to last 25 years was the foundation for Iraq’s admission to the League of Nations in October 1932 (Dawisha, 2013).

2.2.4. British Colonialism and the Hashemite Monarchy: 1932-1958

A monarchy is a system of political government in which the dynasty embodies the country’s national identity and one of its key members called the monarch exercises sovereign power (Sanyaolu, Sanyaolu, & Wogu, 2016). Meanwhile, local elites seek to make use of new political institutions established at that time to strengthen their own client networks and privileges. As a result, the establishment of a new monarchical state in Iraq was linked to the reinterpretation of classical political norms in an imperial and modernizing setting (Cleveland, 2015). The British honored two brothers, Faisal and

Abdullah, the sons of Hussein ibn Ali, the Arab Revolt's leader, by making them monarchs of Mesopotamia and Transjordan respectively in 1921 (Seymour, 2004). The Mandate authorities (including the Arab puppet regime) were supposed to build up Iraq's administration and infrastructure in preparation for ultimate independence. Faisal became ruler of the Hashemite Kingdom of Iraq while Abdullah became Emir and eventually King of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (Davison, 2015).

The Hashemite family descended from the Prophet Mohammed and ruled Mecca for hundreds of years as Sharifs, or governors. In response to British promises of independence, Hussein ibn Ali organized the Arab Revolt against the Ottomans in 1916. He ascended to the throne of Hejaz which a stretch of Arabia near the Red Sea. He lost to fundamentalist Saudis in the mid-1920s. Hussein ibn Ali and his eldest son Ali, who as King of Hejaz (1924-1925), attempted a rearguard effort against Abdul-Aziz ibn Saud and found ready-made exile in the British-sponsored realms of Jordan and Iraq (Hashimoto, 2019). Despite being foreigners in Mesopotamia, the Hashemites allegedly created an administration infrastructure in a region that had become a backwater during the Ottoman Empire and ruled as Kings of Iraq for 37 years (Kirmanj, 2013). Faisal (I) (1921-1933), formerly a member of the Ottoman parliament, became a friend of T. E. Lawrence while participating in his father's Arab Revolt. He attempted to establish himself as King of Greater Syria in Damascus at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 but was overruled by the British and French agreements (Sluglett, 2007).

King Faisal died of a heart attack on September 8, 1933 and was replaced by his son Ghazi followed by the Regency Era (1939-1958) during which Prince Abdullah governed as Regent on behalf of Faisal (II). As a result, from 1932 onwards, Iraq saw significant changes including control by several powerful personalities, most notably Prime Minister Nuri al-Said, a close ally of King Faisal I and the major British agent in Iraq until his assassination in 1958. At the same time, the Iraqi army's power was growing thanks to ex-Sharifian generals who now dominated the military and political landscape (Fattah, 2009).

Disagreements between civilian leaders and military generals created a shaky political scene leading to several coups the first of which was in 1936 when the prime minister was replaced but the monarchy was preserved whereas the second one was in 1941

when the British reoccupied Iraq and the third one which was the most significant one was in 1958 when pro-British rule came to an end (Kirmanj, 2013).

When WWII broke out, General Nuri, the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty's author, was Prime Minister. He thought that the Anglo-Iraqi partnership was the strongest guarantee of Iraqi security and he was a faithful British asset. The British applied pressure on al-Said to terminate diplomatic ties with Germany, arrest all Germans, and support Britain in accordance with the Treaty. As a result, the government proclaimed Iraq to be non-belligerent and it cut diplomatic ties with Germany. However, Nuri, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, was unable to persuade the Cabinet to terminate diplomatic ties with Italy after that country joined the war. Because other Arab nations remained under foreign rule, public opinion in Iraq altered dramatically. Following France's defeat, they became increasingly hostile to Britain under the influence of Arab nationalists who pressed the Iraqi authorities to liberate Syria and Palestine and achieve Arab unity (Eddine, 2010).

In the army, Rashid Ali was affiliated with members of the Golden Square cabal of army officers and thus supported Arab nationalism. Many senior army commanders also supported Arab nationalists and urged Rashid Ali to break Iraq's ties with the British alliance. Yet Iraqi officers were hesitant about assisting Britain in 1940 and 1941. As a result, the British decided to deploy reinforcements to Iraq believing that they had sufficient grounds to land soldiers in the country. In 1940, Rashid Ali let a small British army arrive but subsequently rebuffed British demands for reinforcements. However, in April and May 1941, British soldiers invaded Iraq from the Persian Gulf sparking an armed clash with Iraqi forces. Yet the conflict was short-lived as the Iraqi army surrendered before the end of May. The Regent and al-Said returned to Baghdad shortly after. In addition, when al-Said's government declared war on the Axis in 1942, three of the four army commanders most closely associated with the Golden Square were accused of plotting his assassination and were executed but Rashid Ali and several of his comrades managed to flee the country (Fattah, 2009; Tripp, 2002).

As a result of British intervention, restoration to power of the Regent and of moderate leaders had far-reaching implications. In January 1942, Britain received what it had requested: the use of transportation and communication infrastructure as well as a

declaration of war on the Axis Powers. Supporters of Rashid Ali were discharged from the army, and others were imprisoned for the remainder of the war. However, by the late 1940s, Iraq's opposition had become sufficiently organized to challenge British power and influence. In 1946 and 1947, the British government indicated interest in extending the 1930 pact under the guise of modifying it. On the Iraqi side, Nuri al-Sa'id and the Regent, Abd al-Ilah, oversaw the discussions although they were really carried out by Shi'ite Prime Minister Salih Jabr. From late December 1947 to early January 1948, Jabr and his friends were in Britain forging a new Anglo-Iraqi pact. Ultimately, the language presented in January seemed to be almost identical to the treaty of 1930 and the Iraqi people rejected it. The Regent was obligated to criticize it for the rest of his life since it would lead to another lengthy era of covert British domination (Sluglett, 2007).

Ultimately, the Treaty of 1930 governed Anglo-Iraqi relations until 1955 when it was strengthened by the Baghdad Pact which bolstered British supremacy in the Middle East. Despite obvious inconsistencies between Britain's ambition to play a major role in Middle East affairs and Nasser's drive to gain Arab sovereignty, an Anglo-Egyptian agreement was finally signed in October 1954 following nine years of sporadic but tense discussions.

While the British insisted on retaining a military presence within the Canal Zone for a long time, the ultimate deal contained provisions for complete military departure from the Suez base. From a strategic standpoint, Egypt was becoming less important to the British as the Chiefs of Staff shifted away from the so-called "outer ring" strategy which focused on Egypt towards an "inner ring" strategy which focused on the "Northern Tier" states of Iraq and Turkey with the goal of containing the Soviet Union on its borders. The signing of the Treaty thus looked to bode well for Anglo-Egyptian ties as it removed one of the main causes of friction between the two nations (Mawby, 2006). However, such predictions were false as the British view of the Arab world's future was diametrically opposed to Arab nationalism's prescriptions. Rather than reducing tensions, the growing importance of the Iraqi alliance to Britain's new Northern Tier policy entangled the British in Baghdad's and Cairo's continuous and fierce competition (Mawby, 2006).

On July 14, 1958, the Hashemite dynasty was deposed in a predawn revolution led by officers of the Nineteenth Brigade led by Brigadier Abd al Karim Qasim and Colonel Abd as Salaam Arif. Fearing that an anti-Western revolution in Lebanon might extend to Jordan, King Hussein requested Iraqi aid. However, instead of heading toward Jordan, Colonel Arif led a brigade into Baghdad and declared a new Republic and the end of the previous administration. The July 14 Revolution met with almost no resistance, and proclamations of the revolution drew throngs into Baghdad's streets to rejoice at the murders of Iraq's two strong men, Nuri al-Said and Abd al-Ilah. Many members of the royal family including King Faisal II and Abd al Ilah were executed. Nuri al-Said was murdered while trying to flee disguised as a veiled lady and the British Embassy was badly damaged during mob rallies.

The July 14 Revolution was the climax of a series of uprisings and coup attempts that started with the 1936 Bakr Sidqi coup and continued through the 1941 Rashid Ali military movement, the 1948 Wathbah Uprising, and the 1952 and 1956 demonstrations. The socialist revolution fundamentally transformed Iraq's socioeconomic structure removing the dominance of landed sheikhs and absentee landlords while elevating the status of urban workers, peasants, and the middle class. However, in changing the previous power structure, the revolution resurrected long-suppressed sectarian, tribal, and ethnic hostilities. The clashes between Kurds and Arabs as well as Sunnis and Shias were the most violent (Tripp, 2002).

Despite the substantive material advances it had made (at least in cities and in Arab-dominated southern Iraq), the monarchy was unable to gain popular support or, more importantly, the trust of the younger generation. Prior to the revolution, Iraq lacked an intelligent leadership capable of accomplishing growth and generating public trust. The younger generation provided such leadership, but the older leaders resisted and pursued an unpopular foreign policy which included joining the Baghdad Pact and opposing the foundation of the United Arab Republic.

2.3. British Colonialism and Kurdish Resistance

The focus of this chapter is the British colonization of Iraq and the responses of the local Kurdish community. It discusses the most important uprisings, resistance, and treaties all of which were events related to British colonialism and Kurds as colonized

people in Iraq from 1918 to 1958. This section focuses on the situation of Kurds in Iraq prior to the British regime (before WWI) and then discusses Kurdish-British relations in Iraq over the course of the first half of twentieth century. In this perspective, it focuses on Kurdish resistance under British colonial rules and Kurdish anti-colonial movements in order to provide the historical context of the British as colonizer and Kurds as colonized people during the period 1914-1958.

2.3.1. Pre-colonial Period and During World War I

Kurds in the Mosul *vilayet* and Mesopotamia were among the places that gained increased economic, political, and strategic importance during WWI. Located on the land route to India and overlooking Mesopotamia, Kurdistan became more important to Britain from a strategic standpoint. The British opposition to the building of the Baghdad Railway by the Ottomans which was to pass through the region exemplified this. In 1910, Russia and Germany agreed at Potsdam that Russia would construct a railway line from Tehran to Khanaqin via Iraqi Kurdistan while Germany agreed to connect it to the main Baghdad railway which alarmed Britain. In reaction to these unfavorable events, appeals were made for British administration of a section of the Baghdad railway which connected Kirkuk and Kifri in Kurdish areas (Klein, 2011).

The building of the Baghdad railway as well as the heated competition it engendered among the Great Powers had the unintended effect of giving Iraqi Kurdistan a new economic and strategic significance. The British goal of gaining economic and political power was in reaction to the actions of other powers and was still founded on the notion of preserving Ottoman Turkey's geographical integrity in its heartland. During this time of European competition, the British had been discreetly and openly collecting information about the region's political, economic, and social realities via diplomats, travelers, agents, intellectuals, and missionaries. This is not to say that Britain was planning to take direct control of the most significant Kurdish areas but rather to emphasize that Britain could not afford to take a neutral stance on Kurdish affairs by the time WWI broke out and that the orientation of its policies would have an impact on the future of Kurdish areas in the Mosul *vilayet* (Ali, 1992; Eskander, 1999).

In 1914, the onset of World War I and the subsequent decision of the Ottoman Empire to join the war against the Allies paved the way for the Anglo-French windfall of

control of former Ottoman territories. The British made a string of contradictory promises to various stakeholders including the Agreement of Constantinople (March-April, 1915), the Hussein-McMahon Correspondence (July 1915-March 1916), and the Balfour Declaration (1917), but the Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916) between Britain and France was the most sincere and important roadmap for the future Middle East (Helmreich, 1974). The purpose of Britain and its principal allies, Russia and France became clear to dismember the Ottoman adversary particularly its non-Turkish *vilayets* of Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, Armenia, and Greater Syria. These remarkable changes arose as a result of the conflict and had immediate and long-term effects on the future of Kurds in the region (Hurewitz, 1956).

The Bunsen Committee sat for thirteen sessions between April 12 and May 28, 1915 and issued its final report on June 30. It considered four options for the administrative and political future of the Ottoman *vilayets*. Alternative (A) called for the Ottoman Empire to be divided between Britain, Russia, and France including British annexation of the majority of Ottoman Kurdistan. The second-largest portion would be under Special Administration which meant that it would not be under the jurisdiction of only one Power. The Baghdad railway ran through those Kurdistan districts supposed to be under British authority. Alternative (B) involved separating Ottoman Asian lands into regions of interest under the control of European powers. Apart from gifting Russia the Constantinople; Britain the Basra *vilayet*; and perhaps Greece the Smyrna, the Ottoman Empire was not to be split. Southern Kurdistan and Mesopotamia would be included in the British territory as in Alternative (A) second phase. Alternative (C) was predicated on maintaining an autonomous Ottoman Empire as it was at that time. Under this plan, Turkey would only give up the above-mentioned areas to Britain, Russia, and Greece and would have to implement an Armenian reform program similar to the one enacted in 1914. Alternative (D) called for the continuation of an autonomous Ottoman Empire with a decentralized administrative framework. The Ottoman Government should adopt a degree of devolution to satisfy the ambition of Armenians and Arabs to have a say in the management of local affairs, the report concluded, because the Ottoman Empire in Asia was historically and ethnically divided into five great provinces: Iraq-Jezirah, Palestine, Syria, Armenia, and Anatolia (Eskander, 1999).

The first three options were rejected, and the report ultimately endorsed the final one since it would not oblige Britain to take any direct or immediate military action in the area. It also provided the perfect means of controlling the Ottoman Empire's potential collapse while simultaneously consolidating British economic, political, and strategic interests. This option seems to have been founded on the concept of non-Turkish nations having self-rule. Nonetheless, it ignored the political ambitions of the Kurds, who, according to Sykes, had no feeling of nationalism since there was no reason why the Kurds' distribution should determine borders or why Kurds should be thought of as a group that need to be consolidated (Gibson, 2012).

Alternative (D) included the division of Ottoman Kurdistan into new ethnic groups. Northern Kurdistan would fall under Armenian jurisdiction while Iraqi Kurdistan would fall under Iraq-Jezirah. Following the war, British authorities in Mesopotamia pushed for similar plans citing Sykes' rationale (Mazza, 2008).

The Sykes-Picot Agreement (April-October 1916), sometimes called the Tripartite Agreement, (after Russia's involvement in the French-British discussions), was the most comprehensive design for partitioning the Ottoman Empire and signaled a significant shift in British interest in Kurdistan. Its goal was not merely to put a portion of Kurdistan under British control but also to decide the destiny of the rest of the province directly (Ali, 1992). These agreements were reached after the primary Allies, Britain, Russia, and France exchanged eleven letters. It was a critical strategy for the Ottoman Empire's postwar political and territorial destiny. As the war dragged on despite the Allies' initial optimism about a quick end, it was Britain that ultimately took the lead in shaping the postwar settlement. The Sykes-Picot agreement, in contrast to the Bunsen Committee's recommendations in favor of decentralization, was founded on the division of the Ottoman Empire. The former's geographical integrity was no longer the basis of British imperial policy which instead concentrated on gaining both direct and indirect British dominance in Southern Kurdistan and Mesopotamia in order to consolidate British power over key land and sea routes to India (McDowall, 2004).

2.3.2. During British Colonial Period

The British capture of Mosul in 1918 was prompted by the possibilities offered by oilfields which was a crucial component of Britain's postwar Middle East policy (Gibson, 2012). From 1918 until 1920, the major British priority in their Kurdish policy was securing safe and sustainable borders for Mesopotamia. During this time, there was a continuing quest for a policy that would achieve this goal while also being acceptable to the Kurds. However, the British lacked a clear and consistent approach to the Kurdish issue alternating between direct and indirect control and *ad hoc* strategies in response to local and regional events (Simon & Tejirian, 2004). Most British administrators in Iraq including Sir Arnold Wilson, the deputy British Minister under Sir Charles Marling, and most of the staff drawn from British India did not consider the inhabitants of the colonies ready for self-rule (even in the case of India where they had received extensive British education). The locals needed to be schooled by colonial agents who insisted that direct authority in the colonies would be the best way to do this. The locals' function would be limited to offering advice to the rulers via divisional and municipal councils. They believed that the efficiency of government should always take precedence above political concerns. The government attempted to replicate the British experience in taming the unruly Baluchi tribesmen via the installation of local authority in Kurdish areas where a tribal culture similar to that of India's North-West Frontier thrived (Abubakar, 2012).

Sir Arnold Wilson began planning for the future in 1918 despite the fact that he had received no precise orders from London. He visited various locations in the Mosul *vilayet* in early December and he chose Sheikh Mahmud Barzinji, a local notable, as the British envoy for the area after meeting with a group of Kurdish tribal chiefs in Sulaymaniya. The Kurdish leaders signed a declaration stating that they wished to be put under British protection in exchange for British aid and guidance. Wilson's actions were authorized by the India Office which claimed that the Kurds had thereby exercised their right to self-determination (Matters, 2015).

After the British defeated the Ottoman forces in October 1918, Sheikh Mahmud expressed his desire to rule Iraqi Kurdistan. Since the British government in Iraq had no better option, his request was accepted and he was appointed as Governor of

Sulaymaniyah district. The first governorship of Sheikh Mahmud was a semi-autonomic government formed by the India Office to rule Kurdish areas in Iraq. This was an impromptu tactic to keep the rebellious Kurdish tribesmen in line and it was greatly inspired by the British experience in India. However, due to a lack of understanding between Sheikh Mahmud on whom the strategy's success was predicated and the British, the policy failed to fulfill its intended aims. The uncertain and ambiguous character of British interactions with the Kurds as well as a lack of nationalism among the general populace and division among the leaders all contributed to Sheikh Mahmud government's demise in May 1919 (Ali, 1992).

The disparities in attitudes toward Kurds resulted in confusion and anxiety among Kurds as well as inconsistencies in regional policy. On the one hand, Wilson viewed Sheikh Mahmud as a simple spokesperson for the Sulaymaniyah division and he actively opposed any displays of Kurdish nationalism or independence. On the other hand, Major Noel, who was in charge of the British government's Kurdish policy from 1918 to 1919, viewed Sheikh Mahmud as his protégé and the ruler of a fledgling Kurdistan (McDowall, 2021). Major Soane's appointment in March 1919 with a clear mission to progressively restrict the Sheikh's authority caused a great deal of consternation in the area. This approach was not—and could not—have been communicated to the Kurds by the British administration (Eskander, 1999).

It seems that British strategy in Kurdistan was based on trial and error. The British approached Sayyid Taha al-Nehri, a grandson of Ubaidullah al-Nehri, shortly after Sheikh Mahmud's experiment failed in May 1919, and requested him to create a Kurdish independent administration in Iraqi Kurdistan. The Sayyid's tribal confederation was to be centered around Rawanduz where he had considerable authority. He was to be assigned a function that was quite similar to Sheikh Mahmud, i.e. he was to construct an independent Kurdish state and report to the Civil Commissioner in Baghdad. Sayyid Taha refused the offer after realizing that the British colonial administration was just intending to utilize his influence to appease the Iraqi Kurds and that his function would be similar to Sheikh Mahmud's (Mella, 2005). Because they were unable to locate a Kurdish leader who could play a role comparable to Sheikh Mahmud in establishing indirect British control of the area, the British attempted to establish direct colonial control over Kurdish areas from June 1919 to July

1920. This tactic backfired spectacularly resulting in a slew of revolutions throughout the area (Ali, 1992).

Sheikh staged an uprising or coup in Sulaymaniyah in May 1919 after doubting British promises and policies toward the semi-autonomous government. Sheikh proclaimed independence in some Kurdish areas, took control of the region, and flew his own flag. The attack was rapid and the sole government force in the area, a tiny levy force (pro-British force in Iraq during years of mandate) created by the British, joined the rebels (O'Leary, 2002). The insurrection in Iraqi Kurdistan was seen as a major concern by the British because it represented a danger to the whole British colonial plan for Mesopotamia and threatened to destabilize Iraq and Persia. If the insurrection is not put down promptly, the Arab tribes of Iraq would think that British power in Mesopotamia was open to question (Yildiz & Tayşi, 2007). As a result, British forces encircled Sheikh Mahmud's soldiers and the Kurds were beaten in the subsequent battle. Major Soane took strong charge of Sulaymaniyah Division after the pacification of Iraqi Kurdistan was accomplished in 45 days (Ali, 1992).

After Sheikh Mahmud's tribal confederation fell apart and the British government failed to identify a pro-British submissive and obedient local leader who could allow indirect British authority in Kurdistan, the British administration in Mesopotamia thus fell to the direct colonial rule of three Political Officers (POs): Major Soane in Sulaymaniyah, Edmonds in Kirkuk, Captain Hay in Erbil, and Colonel Leachman in Mosul. They attempted to revive the slightly modified centralized regime that the Young Turks had established in the area with Major Noel out of the region since May 1919. Major Soane was a vocal opponent of the Kurdish chieftains' indirect authority. He thought that such a system was retrograde (Ali, 1992). After defeating the Kurds, Sheikh Mahmud was captured and put on trial. He was sentenced to death which was later commuted to life imprisonment and he was exiled to the notorious penal colony of Andaman Island in India (Rafaat, 2017).

At a meeting of the Supreme Council at San Remo in April 1920, the unresolved questions that had paralyzed British policy in Mesopotamia were finally resolved. The conditions of the Ottoman peace treaty were agreed upon and mandates were assigned: Syria to France, Palestine to Britain, and Mesopotamia (including Mosul) to the British.

The San Remo Oil Agreement which provided the French Government a part of the earnings from the presumed oil deposits in that area compensated the French for their “loss” of Mosul (George, 1938).

The final solution, established in April 1920 at the San Remo Conference, was a diplomatic success for France. The British were compelled to abandon their prior support for an independent state for Kurds with no ties to Turkey and accept the French proposal which called for Turkish authority over all Kurdish lands to be maintained with a clause allowing for some local autonomy (Phillips, 2017).

At the Sèvres Treaty, the destiny of Ottoman minorities was considered (August 10, 1920). Almost all Ottoman minorities desired self-determination at the Convention mostly influenced by President Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points. Negotiations regarding country borders were to be based on civil and scientific conversations based on demographic figures supplied by the parties concerned according to the new global order. The nationalist organizations included statistics data in their memos that included not just their own ethnic group but also other Ottoman ethnic groupings. However, as one would expect, each minority provided statistics based on the fact that it was always the biggest ethnic group in a specific location. Despite the summits, none of the nationalist demands of the minority were realized: the majority of data on minorities was inaccurate and inflated to match with the aims of the major protagonists, Britain and France, and none of their claims could be adopted due to overlap. More crucially, the Great Powers with the exception of the US were more concerned with ensuring their own interests than with implementing the ideal of self-determination. As a consequence, none of the Ottoman minorities including the Kurds were pleased with the Sèvres Treaty (Dündar, 2012).

The British administration seemed to have been compelled to acknowledge the reality that Sheikh Mahmud was the only figure in Kurdistan capable of uniting the Kurds in the British colonial interest in the region even though Sheikh was opposed to Britain’s policies towards the Kurds. Some British officials as well as Rawanduz and Sulaymaniya Kurdish anti-colonial nationalists had consented to his return. Cox (the new High Commissioner) seems to have been hesitant to authorize Sheikh Mahmud’s return. He was, however, obliged to follow the consensus of the British authorities and

the Kurds. Sheikh Mahmud was returned to Baghdad from his incarceration in Kuwait on September 12, 1922, after a few days of discussions with Cox and Faisal. Sheikh arrived in Sulaymaniyah on September 30 to an ecstatic welcome as *hukumdar* (governor) of the Kurdish region (Azeez, 2019).

The Lausanne Conference, held between the Allies and the Turkish government from November 21 to July 24, 1923, put an end to Kurdish dreams of forming their own independent state and obliged Kurds to join Iraq and to accept Iraqi identity. The victory of the Turks over the Greeks, the fall of the Coalition government led by Lloyd George in October 1922 and the succession to the premiership of Andrew Bonar Law, the Conservative Party leader, who decided to seek a peace agreement with the Turks were the main reasons for holding the Conference. Because of Britain's economic woes, the major goal of Bonar Law was to save money by removing the British military from Iraq's Kurdish region. The British delegation, headed by Curzon, and the Turkish mission, led by Ismet Pasha, made the Mosul vilayet a priority during the conference both attempting to utilize Kurds in Mosul vilayet for their own goals in the discussions (Eskander, 2001). This phase marked a new phase of British colonial policy towards Kurds which had a role in determining their fate.

The Turkish delegation tried to reclaim the Mosul vilayet which had been controlled by Britain since the Armistice claiming that the *vilayet* was a part of Turkey based on their National Pact. Curzon dismissed this as an illegitimate demand since the Turks could not make this decision for the Mosul people. Furthermore, he claimed that British troops entered the vilayet on 3 November before the Turkish Commander was instructed to depart the vilayet on 9 November which was a requirement under clause 7 of the Armistice. The vilayet's trade ties were another factor examined by both sides as Ismet attempted to link it to Anatolia and Curzon to Baghdad. Due to their proximity to Anatolia, several Kurdish districts in the south such as Duhok and Zakho enjoyed strong business contacts with Anatolia rather than Baghdad. Furthermore, these locations were in rough mountainous terrain and the absence of highways made business contacts with Baghdad difficult (Ali, 1997).

Curzon attempted to distinguish and utilize the Kurds as a nation claiming that they were distinct from Turks in race, language, characteristics, relationships with women,

and traditions, they dwelt in mountainous locations, and opposed any Ottoman invasion. Curzon's major goal was to preserve the Mosul vilayet inside Iraq and in order to reach a deal with the Turks, he was willing to give up the Kurds' rights under the Treaty of Sèvres (Eskander, 2001; Ali, 1997).

Another key factor that contributed to the disregard for Kurdish rights and the incorporation of Kurds with Iraq was oil albeit this was not debated by the British and Turkish delegations. Although Curzon declared that he had no knowledge of Mosul's oilfields or the quantity of prospective oil in the vilayet, most of the international press stressed that Britain wanted to maintain the vilayet with Iraq for the purpose of its oil strategy. Previous research has shown that Britain was well aware that the vilayet possessed substantial oil reserves despite the fact that the regional oilfields had not yet been fully explored (Sluglett, 2007).

During the Lausanne Conference, both the Turks and the British attempted to take control of all of Kurdish areas in the region and use their occupation as a bargaining chip. Ozdemir Pasha attempted to seize Erbil, Koya, and Kirkuk, and he required passage for reinforcements from Persia's Urmia to Rawanduz since the Turkish road between Van and Rawanduz was closed in the winter due to heavy snowfall. The Angora administration did not accept his idea since they had committed to address the Mosul issue in a year and Ozdemir Pasha was told to hide in Avruman or Bitwata. This did not imply that the Turks would halt their propaganda and anti-British campaign in Kurdistan but they did try to use their entry and besieged control of Rawanduz as a bargaining chip in the Lausanne talks to reclaim the Mosul vilayet. Furthermore, they would be aware that such an assault would be the polar opposite of preserving the status quo in Kurdish areas of Iraq (Jalil, 2017; Phillips, 2017).

Sheikh Mahmud proclaimed himself King in October 1922, and appointed a government of nine members. General Mustafa Pasha Yamulki, Minister of Education, and General Siddiq al-Qadri, General Inspector of the Administration were among the Cabinet's tribal chieftains and skilled administrators. Sheikh Mahmud issued a series of executive orders to handle the duties of justice, administration, and education during the first month of his tenure. The *Rozhi Kurdistan* (Kurdistan Day) newspaper was published in Kurdish as the government's official organ. The British government seems

to have decided to give Sheikh Mahmud complete control in Sulaymaniyah with little British interference at first in order to reduce the hegemony of Turks (Eskander, 1999).

During Sheikh Mahmud's second governorship from September 1922 to July 1924, his relationship with the British authorities in Iraq was similar to how it had been in the 1918-1920 period characterized by distrust, antagonism, and animosity. This was owing in part to the unpredictability of Britain's strategy in Kurdistan region in Iraq and in part to Sheikh Mahmud's ambiguous relations to the Turks. Sheikh Mahmud struggled to grasp his new position in Sulaymaniyah due to the uncertainties of British strategy and the haste with which he was reinstated. Sheikh Mahmud had made solemn commitments to the British government and King Faisal stating that he would follow them and not intervene in Kurdish issues outside Sulaymaniyah in order to avoid British reprisals (Ali, 1992).

The distrust between Sheikh Mahmud and the British as well as ambiguity in Britain's policy in Kurdistan unresolved differences with Turkey over the Vilayet of Mosul and the desire to integrate Kurdish areas into Iraq all contributed to the deterioration of Sheikh Mahmud's relationship with the British from 1918 to 1920. During the years 1921-1923, these circumstances continued to pressure the Anglo-Kurdish alliance (Edmonds, 1957).

Despite the fact that Sir Percy Cox like his predecessor Sir Arnold Wilson in the Baghdad Residency advocated for the gradual but complete integration of the Kurdish districts into Iraq's administration, the British government remained officially committed to the policy of granting the Kurds autonomy from 1921 to 1923. Furthermore, the British government remained without a clear strategy in Kurdistan throughout this time (Ali, 1992).

The British had abandoned their policy of encouraging Kurdish autonomy and/or independence by 1924. Instead, the British made demands of Kurdistan on behalf of Iraq, and then used their Mandate and colonial authority to annex the territory to Iraq. Britain utilized a variety of methods to suppress the Kurdish independence movement including terrorizing the Kurdish population with heavy bombing and collective punishment by razing whole villages and the military leadership was prepared to use chemical warfare (Ferguson, 2006). They deposed Sheikh Mahmud's Kurdish

administration and invaded the Kurdish capital in 1924. Britain instructed the League of Nations to stage a symbolic referendum on the future of Mosul province to fulfill their purpose and establish a credible framework for this annexation process (i.e., Southern Kurdistan). The British were already embroiled in a disagreement with Turkey as well as a confrontation with the Kurds over Kurdistan's destiny. In this context, it was thought that the League of Nations' proposal would be more aligned with British colonial interests than with Kurdish aspirations (Williams, 2014).

In September 1924, the League of Nations appointed a Fact-Finding Commission (FFC) to organize the referendum and decide the destiny of the Kurdish territory. In 1925, the FFC sponsored a referendum to determine whether the residents of Mosul province preferred to be part of Iraq or Turkey. The League of Nations proposed that Mosul province be included into the Iraqi state after the vote. The FFC said in its findings that if ethnic considerations were to be taken into account, an autonomous Kurdistan state should be founded. According to the FFC, the majority of Kurdish people had no feelings of sympathy with Iraq's Arab monarchy. Only 32 out of 6,000 residents in Sulaymaniyah city voted for Iraq demonstrating how unpopular the concept of annexing Kurdistan to Iraq was. The FFC also ruled out the possibility of an independent Kurdish state (Rafaat, 2017).

The mass of the populace was excluded from the FFC referendum since it was confined to tribal leaders, sheikhs, and religious notables. Many of those who did vote were unaware of the referendum's purpose or its political implications and they were given no other options. By 1924, Great Britain had crushed Kurdish self-rule and by 1925, all prospects for autonomy or independence among Kurds had been dashed. Southern Kurdistan was legally connected to the newly formed state of Iraq a year later in 1926. As a result, the Kurds were left without a state and became a marginalized minority in Iraq's Arab-dominated state (Talabany, 1999).

Another Kurdish uprising occurred in April 1930 when Iraq's High Commissioner and Prime Minister visited Sulaymaniyah to persuade the Kurds that the Iraqi government would carry out the previously proclaimed policies. The upshot of their visit was more uncertainty among Kurds since the Kurds in Sulaymaniyah did not accept Iraqi sovereignty and were particularly furious that the new Anglo-Iraqi Treaty in 1930 did

not provide for their future security when Britain departed Iraqi land. The Kurds were not prepared to vote because the Iraqi government had not earned their trust by implementing “such administrative and legislative measures as were feasible to permanently maintain the present special regime for the Kurds” (McDowall, 2021).

Despite the fact that 30 notables from Sulaymaniyah were invited to the election on September 9, 1930, the majority of the people not only boycotted the poll but also congregated in front of the local government offices (*Sarai*) to oppose it. Efforts by the Iraqi police to dissuade people from assembling there enraged them even more as the police attempted to prevent individuals in the bazaar from shutting up their businesses. However, the throng swelled with 2,000 Kurds from Sulaymaniyah taking part in the rally including 50 schoolboys. Because just 100 police officers were present to defend the Sarai building, the mob violence was uncontrollable. To control the crowd, the Iraqi government sent in an armed company of the Iraqi army with two Lewis guns but this exacerbated the situation as people retaliated by attacking the Sarai building. The military force was instructed to open fire on the protestors killing 14 and injuring 23 while one Iraqi police officer was killed and nine others were injured (Jalil, 2017).

The Iraqi army and police were accused by the Kurds of opening fire on unarmed civilians (or rather, civilians armed only with sticks and stones). However, the Iraqi Minister of the Interior refuted this claiming that those involved in the incident exaggerated the details in order to persuade Sheikh Mahmud to take action against the government (Gorgas, 2008). The Kurds in Sulaymaniyah had contacted Sheikh Mahmud and persuaded him to organize a revolution against Iraq in order to put an end to the Iraqi government’s harsh actions. This was a chance for Sheikh Mahmud to expand his authority since he had lost most of his supporters and their sympathies after his retreat to the Persian border. On September 17, 1930, he wrote to Iraq’s High Commissioner protesting the Iraqi army’s massacre of Kurdish people and requesting the release of Kurdish leaders stating that the best thing for the Kurds would be the foundation of a separate state from the Arabs. Furthermore, other petitions arrived from the Pishdar, Mariwan, and Avruman tribes who demanded Kurdish rights and said that if Britain stayed quiet about the repression of the Kurds, it would cause them to rise and follow Sheikh Mahmud to support his demands (Jalil, 2017).

The episode in Sulaymaniyah demonstrated that the Kurds in Iraq had not embraced coexistence with the Arabs. However, the uprising was not organized by Kurdish leaders, as the Iraqi government alleged, but was sparked by public outrage at the presence of Arab troops. Although the Iraqi government was successful in suppressing the Sulaymaniyah uprising, the Iraqi government's punitive actions increased Kurdish hostility (Gorgas, 2008).

Sheikh Mahmud considered taking action against the Iraqi government and leading the Kurdish nationalists whose popularity had grown since June 1930 but his forces were unorganized. On September 17, 1930, Sheikh Mahmud entered Iraqi Kurdistan in an attempt to build an army on the Persian border disregarding the warnings of the British and Iraqi authorities against such an intervention. Sheikh Mahmud's primary goal was to exact vengeance on the Iraqi government and to use the Sulaymaniyah incident to incite a Kurdish uprising. He asked that Iraqi authorities leave Iraqi Kurdistan and requested that a Kurdish state be established from Khaniqin to Zakho under British supervision (Gorgas, 2008).

The Iraqi government sent troops to assault Sheikh Mahmud's army in the highlands but they were unsuccessful in pinning down his forces which had the advantage in the mountainous terrain. Sheikh Mahmud's troops took advantage of the Iraqi police's weak positions and stormed the majority of the checkpoints along the Iraqi-Persian border. Their success was due to Sheikh Mahmud's improved military expertise particularly when he was joined by four Kurdish commanders who had previously served in the Iraqi Army. His authority grew when the Hamawand, Dilo, Jabari, Shilana, and other tribes joined together in January 1931. In Halabja and the territories north and south-west of Sulaimaniya, he challenged the Iraqi government's reputation (Jalil, 2017).

In March, his insurrection crossed the Diyala (Sirwan) River to the left bank and took the districts north-east of Khaniqin. Kurdish opposition to the Iraqi government aided Sheikh Mahmud in increasing his income by levying taxes and he had the backing of tribal troops who thought that Britain was helping Sheikh Mahmud in his opposition to the Iraqi government by providing him with firearms and ammunition (Ali, 1997).

The Awa Barika battle was Sheikh Mahmud's last confrontation with the Iraqi government, and the primary reason for his loss because he was battling directly with Iraqi soldiers in a confined region. The fall of Sheikh Mahmud was aided by the formation of 350 mounted police, improvements in Iraqi troop capability, and the training of the cavalry force for mountain fighting. Another factor was improvement in the operation's management by British commanders such as F. C. Robert, the Advisor to the Military Commander at Sulaimaniya, who coordinated collaboration between the Royal Air Force and the Iraqi army, police, and civil officials. After surrendering to the Iraqi authorities on May 31, 1931, Sheikh Mahmud made peace as per an agreement between Iraq and Persia (Jalil, 2017).

Following WWI, the Ottoman Empire fell apart, many nation-states arose, and a Kurdish government was formed, all of which contributed to the Kurds' renewed hope of establishing an independent state. However, by the end of 1924, Britain and the international community had shattered this dream. The colonial forces and the League of Nations broke their agreements subjecting the Kurds to various forms of cultural and linguistic oppression and even genocidal attacks over the coming decades. As a result, the Kurds in Iraq were both surprised and disillusioned by the British forces' use of force to destabilize the Kurdish administration and bind Kurdistan to Iraq. By the second half of the 1920s, Iraqi Kurds were a neglected minority in the Arab-dominated state of Iraq. The validity of the decision of Britain and the League of Nations to include Kurdistan in the newly constituted Iraqi state was challenged by generations of Kurdish nationalists. For many Kurds, becoming a part of Iraq was an imposition created only to fulfill British colonialism's purposes. In this context, the Kurds rejected Iraqi administration in Kurdistan as legitimate, and this has been the fundamental impediment to Kurdish incorporation into the Iraqi state to this day.

2.3.3. In Post-Colonial Period

In this phase, British colonialism changed its colonial policy in Iraq from traditional colonial methods of direct military control or indirect political control to the practice of utilizing economic imperialism, conditional aid, and cultural control to influence a developing country. This entailed hegemony without military dominance.

Under King Faisal I, the Hashemite Kingdom of Iraq was granted semi-independence in 1932. Nevertheless, the country was still tied to British colonialism since the British retained military bases in the country as well as absolute control over foreign policy.

In 1931, an upheaval was caused by Sheikh Ahmad Barzan's unusual, convoluted behavior and religious excesses as well as the Anglo-Iraqi decision to relocate Assyrians to Baradost located at south of Barzan. Sheikh Ahmed's uprising in Barzan was the Kurds' last protest against the union of Iraqi Kurdistan with Iraq before Iraq was admitted to the League of Nations. Most academics believe that the uprising was merely a local uprising against the Iraqi government since it did not extend to other Kurdish territories but they cannot explain why. It is true, however, that Sheikh Ahmed's response was a result of the Iraqi government's effort to dominate the region and remove his authority (Jwaideh, 2006).

In June 1927, the Iraqi government announced its intention to create a police station in Barzan which may be regarded as the first move towards governing the territory. This was a difficult endeavor since Ahmed, a religious leader, had considerable authority in the region, and his preparations to supply and equip his supporters had bolstered his position. Ahmed refused to allow the establishment of a police station in the region because he wished to maintain his independence much like Kurdish semi-feudal leaders under the Ottoman Empire's administration in the early nineteenth century (Ali, 1997). Specifically, he wanted to create an independent Kurdish state and therefore reached out to other Kurdish leaders such as Simko and Sheikh Mahmud to enlist their help in driving Iraqi soldiers out of Iraqi Kurdistan. Ahmed claimed that by stationing an Assyrian police unit in the Barzan region, Britain was attempting to use Assyrians against Kurds and settle them in the Kurdish homelands (Jwaideh, 2006).

Anti-Assyrian propaganda was distributed not just in Mosul's Kurdish neighborhoods but also in Erbil. This was an effort by Arab nationalists (who were supported by British colonialism) to sow discord between Assyrians and Kurds as well as between the Kurds and Britain which protected the Assyrians' rights. Ahmed behaved as a self-governing Kurdish leader, and his influence grew when he was supported by certain Kurdish chiefs particularly those with anti-Assyrian sentiments (Jalil, 2017).

Like the majority of past Kurdish uprisings, Ahmed's uprising lacked backing from other Kurdish leaders. The breakup of the anti-Assyrian coalition between Ahmed and the others was caused by his abandoning of anti-Assyrian feelings (which his detractors said was due to his conversion). Furthermore, despite Ahmed and Sheikh Mahmud's attempts to unify their troops and launch a mass uprising in the spring of 1930, this did not materialize. Because the operation against Ahmed was only launched after Sheikh Mahmud surrendered to the government in May 1931, Britain played a significant role in avoiding a national uprising. Another factor that contributed to the split was a lack of trust between them. For example, when Sheikh Mahmud persuaded Ahmed to join a revolt against the Iraqi government, the latter did not believe him when he told him that Britain would covertly assist the Kurdish movement by providing munitions and funds. For the purpose of Iraq's admittance to the League of Nations, Britain supplied further support in the form of the Royal Air Force to put an end to the uprisings in June 1932 (Ali, 1997).

From early September 1935, Yazidi tribesmen began attacking state officials and pillaging caravans passing through the Yazidi Mountain region. The Yazidi insurrection began in early October, when the recruitment officers arrived in Sinjar led by Dawud al-Dawud and Rasho Qolo, Mukhtar of the hamlet of Alidina in northeastern Sinjar. On October 7, the Iraqi army intervened under the leadership of Amir al-liwa Husayn Fawzi. Despite the fact that the insurrection was confined to a small area of eastern Sinjar, government troops that included police officers demolished eleven villages in a week, murdering 200 Yazidis and losing 20 of their own soldiers. On October 14, martial rule was imposed and lasted almost a month: 364 Yazidis were apprehended; 9 were sentenced to death, 69 to life imprisonment, 70 to twenty years, and 162 to fifteen years. Furthermore, 54 people were deported to the country's south. In February 1936, there were only 70 recruits from Sinjar only four of whom were Yazidis; the rest were from the surrounding Muslim and Christian populations (Fuccaro, 1997).

The government's military action prompted the first large-scale migration of Yazidi tribesmen to Syria's Jazira, west of the Sinjari Mountain. During October and November 1935, some 70 Yazidis from the Mihirkan tribe crossed into Syria. Dawud al-Dawud along with part of his family was among the refugees. Rasho Qolo, the second commander of the insurrection and several of his men seem to have surrendered

to the army shortly after the cease-fire (Robins, 2017). The departure of Dawud al-Dawud to Syria created a leadership vacuum among the Mihirkan, one of Sinjar's most significant tribal groupings. This had the immediate consequence of increasing Dawud's popularity among tribesmen as he became a potent symbol of Yazidi resistance to the government. Following his lead, a growing number of Sinjaris were interested in leaving Iraq in pursuit of a better living and greater security overseas (Fuccaro, 1997).

During WWII, the Kurdish insurrection of 1943-1945 headed by Mulla Mustafa proved to be the most difficult test for the new British advising system and the most serious of the recurrent difficulties outside Baghdad. The army's failure to put down the revolt and restore order in northern Iraq was a humiliating loss for the Iraqi government which threatened to undermine Baghdad's authority. Sheikh Ahmad, Mulla Mustafa's brother, had led the Barzanis in a similar insurrection in 1931-32. The Iraqi army suffered several setbacks in its attempt to put down the first insurrection and it was only in 1932 that it was able to do so with the help of the British air force. Mulla Mustafa's uprising of 1943 threatened to follow a similar path posing a challenge to the central authority as it sought to rebuild its credibility (McDowall, 2021).

According to the British, this insurrection had the potential to impede Iraq's assistance to the Allied war effort, notably its grain supplies, involvement in imperial communications, and oil supplies. Unrest in Iraq's Kurdish territories on the country's northern and eastern borders had far-reaching consequences. Due to the implicit links between Kurds in Iraq and those in Turkey and Iran, the revolt had the potential to incite pan-Kurdish nationalism and spread to neighboring nations. This was a source of worry when Germany attacked the Soviet Union in 1941 as the British thought that the Germans would advance through Russia into Iran and Iraq posing a danger to India and making Iraq's security essential to the whole area. The Mulla Mustafa insurrection of 1943 led the British authorities to reconsider their official stance of nonintervention in Iraqi domestic affairs as well as their attitude toward the Kurds for these reasons. Despite having soldiers in Iraq, Britain eventually chose to depend on persuasion over force. In line with its status quo strategy for the Middle East, the Foreign Office took a gradualist approach to the Kurdish question. It asked Kurdish leaders to eschew violence, submit to Iraqi government authority, and integrate into the Iraqi state. At the same time, Britain urged the government to address Kurdish issues by hiring more

Kurdish officials, supplying Kurdish communities with supplies, and improving infrastructure in the north. Anything was good enough as long as the situation could roll along till Iraq could be left in total charge of its own affairs before the conclusion of hostilities in the West as one British officer working in the Kurdish territories put it (Wichhart, 2007).

Accordingly, the Iraqi administration tried to talk to Mustafa Barzani on many occasions. General Muhammad Sai'd Al-Takriti, the leader of Iraq's northern troops, was permitted by senior government authorities to negotiate with Mustafa Barzani in the Fall of 1943. The following meetings were marked by his (reluctant) full forgiveness for himself and his men including police and army deserters, consideration of his claims for the return of sequestered lands in the Barzan areas belonging to his family, and permission for the other Barzani Sheikhs, now in Hilla City, to return to their motherland (Akyol, 2010). The Iraqi government's basic conditions were that Mustafa Barzani must accept unconditional surrender and put himself at the mercy of the government. British authorities in Baghdad and British advisors in Iraq tried to convince both sides to work together. Major C. J. Edmonds, a long-serving British consultant to Iraq's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and a Kurdish specialist, submitted a formal proposal to this effect. Mustafa Barzani expressed his displeasure with Edmonds' proposal claiming that an honorable death would be preferable to an application to the Iraqi government (Waisy, 2015).

The Iraqi government also attempted to negotiate with the Kurdish uprising leaders via Majid Mustafa, a minister without portfolio for Kurdistan area matters, who was himself a moderate Kurdish and pro-self-government figure. Mulla Mustafa Barzani and Majid met in the area of Mergasur, the administrative capital of the Barzan province, to examine the possibilities of a peace accord ending the insurrection. However, Majid Mustafa's attempts to achieve a peace deal to resolve the Barzan issue were abortive.

Mullah Mustafa's conditions were crystalizing and according to the British envoy, diplomatic measures would not have been effective. Previously, the Ambassador stated that the head of the British military mission in Iraq as well as others expected that the Iraqi army would not agree to joint military action with Mullah Mustafa (Chalili, 2010).

The legation recognized that the best choice was to abandon regions that could not be defended any longer in order to economically isolate the region. Furthermore, the Iraqi government should immediately begin concentrating on operations to rebuild and train the army which should include the establishment of a mountain division as recommended by British officials. Every operation that was to be conducted with Mustafa Barzani's supporters including dealing with the difficulties involved in British air force help to the Iraqi army. The legation had previously explained to Iraq's Minister of Foreign Affairs minister that such aid could not be anticipated as the British had little personnel and equipment to spare for undertakings in the Kurdistan area. The foreign policy impact of the Barzan insurrection became more prevalent from the Autumn of 1944 until the demise of the Barzani revolt in late 1945 (Muho, 2010).

For the most part, the British approach to the Iraqi Kurds (or the "Kurdish question") was characterized by caution. This may be seen in the British response to the idea of enlisting Iraqi Kurds to serve in British military forces against the Kurdish cause. In 1942, the British opposed the ability of Kurds, Armenians, and Assyrians to be recruited. The British commander in chief sent the question to military commanders in the Middle East area. The British Foreign Office believed that such a step would enrage majority elements while also putting the British government under pressure from minorities which may be difficult to satisfy after the war. Winston Churchill opposed the recruiting idea at first claiming that accepting it would expose him to widespread criticism if he agreed to open recruitment for British soldiers in Iraq. As a result, it seems that the British gave up making promises to the Kurds in order to avoid any difficulty with Baghdad's central authority and perhaps also in Turkey (Muho, 2010).

The British diplomats most likely wanted a fair resolution to the Kurdish conflict which had eluded them for more than two decades. It would have continued to do so but the British ambassador to Baghdad had to use his clout behind the scenes since it was critical that the British should not seem to be actively intervening in the Kurdish problem in Iraq as this was traditionally considered an Iraqi domestic matter (Jwaideh, 2006).

When the Iraqi government was compelled to make changes in Kurdistan against its will, the British Ambassador contended that any subsequent improvements would be

only transitory. It was also stated that British diplomats would be unable to intervene if the Iraqi government turned against the Kurds once the conflict ended. Instead, the British Ambassador proclaimed that he had been engaged in attempts to exert pressure on the central government to adopt a more sympathetic stance toward the Kurdish question. The British recognized that the Kurds' main grievance in Iraq stemmed from Kurdistan's distrust of the Iraqi administration in Baghdad. It seems that in their attempt to achieve some kind of balance between the Kurds and the Iraqi government, the British were unable to relinquish their strategic partnership with Iraq's central authorities. To put it another way, they put their own interests first which were best served by collaborating with Baghdad's central administration (Yassin, 1995).

In this paradigm, the term "British Kurdish policy" refers to the British government's official policy in the Middle East. Similarly, the British Embassy in Baghdad's treatment of the Kurds centered on close contact with the Iraqi government and less close-knit contact with Kurds at least as the Embassy interpreted the main characteristics of the British government's policy (Wichhart, 2011).

Another level of strategy included British personnel stationed in Kurdish regions and tasked with interacting with Kurds and their daily lives. These officers would be able to see firsthand the unsatisfactory situation in Kurdistan as well as be directly impacted by Kurdish criticism of the Iraqi government. As a result, the British Legation in Baghdad warned these personnel that expressing disagreement with their own government's stance might be seen as disloyal. As a result, British officers had to be very careful about what they said to the local Kurdish populace. Later, it was reaffirmed that members of the political advisory staff in Kurdish regions were not to be concerned with sectarian politics or personal disagreements and that they were to do all they could to prevent the establishment of a minority complex (Chalili, 2010).

Although the effort and the British New Deal policy were unsuccessful, Mullah Mustafa Barzani's revolt was significant as the point when tribal grievances and the legitimacy of traditional Kurdish leaders were first harnessed by Kurdish urban intellectuals in the interest of larger national goals. For example, Mustafa Barzani constantly appealed for Kurdish self-determination under British protection until his insurrection was crushed in 1945. With the war coming to a conclusion, British authorities in Baghdad and London

had to rethink their priorities, and the Kurdish issue had lost much of its importance. Thus, the British and Iraqi interests were aligned, and the British policy of prioritizing Iraqi over Kurdish strategy along with Baghdad's refusal to implement genuine change in its Kurdish administration marked the end of the British Kurdish new deal policy.

CHAPTER 3: COLONIZED KURDS IN BRITISH COLONIAL TEXTUAL REPRESENTATIONS

The main purpose of this chapter is to read, analyze, and reveal the colonial discourse that supported British colonial rule in Iraqi Kurdistan and disrupt it through an analysis of the characteristics and themes of this discourse through British texts from 1914 to 1958. The chapter presents a historical overview of Kurds as a topic in British orientalist and colonial inquiries. The chapter reveals links between power and knowledge by presenting the role of British orientalists, political officers, and British textual representations in generalizing, circulating, and ratifying British colonial discourse on Kurds in Iraq. Finally, the main themes of British colonial discourse and the dilemmas that emerged due to British colonization of the Kurds are the core focus of this chapter including propaganda and deceptive discourse, the act of mimicry, hegemonic relations between the British and Kurds, subaltern experiences, and economic exploitation all of which will be pinpointed and analyzed as part of disrupting colonialism and its discourse.

3.1. British Orientalism and Kurds in Pre-Twentieth Century: Historical Overview

It is essential to mention that the beginnings of the relationship between British Orientalism as a colonizer and Kurds as the colonized orient in the twentieth century did not mean that the earlier form of Orientalism completely disappeared. The colonization of the Orient by the West as a way of thought is permanent and continuous. Colonialism does not only mean the military domination of a group; it also means the hegemony and suppression of the colonized culturally, socially, and economically which leaves lasting impacts. Colonial powers use various means to impose what they see as the superiority of their ideologies on their subjects. Colonizers use colonial narratives to indoctrinate and preserve their status. The negative impacts of controlling culture are as—if not more—destructive than physical control, and leave a lasting effect on the subjects. Colonization is a systematic, continuous process that uses different mechanisms and methods. This process and its legacies and impacts consists of a series of successive and interrelated cycles that reformulate and re-emerge in different phases according to the colonizer's interests.

Postcolonial theorists such as Edward Said argue that colonization and colonial narratives go hand in hand. For Said, "the continuity of British imperial policy throughout the nineteenth century narrative is actively accompanied by this novelistic process, whose main purpose is not to raise more questions, not to disturb or otherwise preoccupy attention, but to keep the empire more or less in place" (1994: 74). To illustrate, the British colonization of the Iraqi Kurds was accompanied by colonial narratives that paved the way for the British to colonize the Kurds and helped the British Empire keep its political status to this day.

Accordingly, Colonial powers decide to colonize a people or territory and write a colonial narrative after affirming that it benefits the empire. As one of the most influential colonial powers, the British Empire strived to understand the Iraqi Kurds by sending British expeditions such as scholars and tradespeople, travelers, and secret agents. The purpose of these expeditions was not to enlighten and help the people; instead, it was to obtain strategic information and pave the way for the British Empire to colonize the group. That is to say, the British expeditions played a crucial role in dominating the Kurds in Iraq.

The actual encounter of the British Empire and the Iraqi Kurds goes back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. However, this is not to say that the British did not know about the Kurds before this period. According to Timothy Rood, the British learned about Kurdistan from Xenophon's writings, the earliest European scholar to write about the Kurds in the fourth century (Muhammad, 2017: 52-58). Xenophon devoted parts of his famous work *Anabasis* to events that happened in Kurdistan (Xenophon, 1859). After Xenophon, Ralph Fitch, a British traveler, reported that he encountered the Kurds and referred to them as "Cardi." In 1673, the Scottish cartographer John Ogilby gave his account of meeting the Kurds and compared it with other European records (MacLean, 2019: 130-131). However, before the nineteenth century, the narrative was not considered a colonial narrative as testimonies were written by travelers who wrote out of curiosity rather than being interested in the colonization of the Kurds and their land.

The first attempt to investigate the Middle East started in 1810 with engineers, civilians, military officers, navy officers, and army officers of the East India Company. These

were primarily British travelers serving in the East India Company and other British companies established to trade with the East, Southeast Asia, and India (Salih, 1968). They wrote up their journeys and travel accounts and demonstrated the importance of the Kurdish territories and of trade, industry, mineral wealth, and agriculture in Kurdish areas. These journeys and expeditions are often considered to have been a form of unofficial imperialism or informal empire in the region. Captain John MacDonald Kinneir (1782-1830) was an officer and a diplomat in the Scottish Army of the East India Company in 1813 and 1814. He published his journeys in a book published in London in 1818. On his journeys, he went to Kurdistan, toured Persia, and visited central Iraq. As a result, he gathered plenty of strategic information and gave it to the United East India Company (Kinneir, 1818). Kinneir's writing enabled the British Empire to learn about the land and the people of Kurdistan which motivated the Empire to accelerate its colonization process.

The British Empire also established a consulate in Baghdad and assigned Claudius James Rich (1787-1821), an experienced British orientalist knowledgeable about the Turkish, Arabic, and Kurdish peoples, as the General Consul. Rich made a journey to Kurdistan at the invitation of Mahmud Pasha, the governor of Sulaymaniyah. On his trip, Rich was accompanied by his wife and a group of sixty British people, and they stayed for an entire year from 1820 to 1821. In the spring of 1820, Rich traveled to Kurdistan and wrote his journal entitled "*Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan and on the Site of Ancient Nineveh,*" in which he presented his observations of the Kurdish way of life and their land (Rich, 1836).

Many of the British policies toward the Kurds were based and formulated around Rich's reading of the Kurds (Bayangani & Faeghi, 2019). Rich called for occupying Iraq from north to south to secure India's transportation routes. For that purpose, he collected detailed information about the socioeconomic conditions of the areas he had visited and drew essential maps of those areas. He established a link between local tribe leaders and the British Empire and won the support of locals for the Empire. His efforts helped the British build a railway between the Middle East and India, which was to become a major asset for the Empire in transporting equipment and tools to establish large oil and

gas companies. Through manipulation of soft (non-military) power, Rich aided the Empire in taking advantage of the resources of modern-day Iraq (Hilmi, 2020: 324).

After Rich's journey to Kurdistan, numerous British political agents and military men visited Kurdistan particularly Sulaymaniyah, Zakho, Akre, and Erbil, to gather information about the Kurdish areas. In 1817, William Houde, a lieutenant in the British military, visited Erbil and Sulaymaniyah and gathered plenty of information about the Iraqi Kurdish culture and socio-economic context and gave it to British officials (Heude, 1819).

In 1837, the Royal Geographical Society along with the Institute of British Geographers agreed on sending an expedition for two years to explore central and eastern Anatolia, Iraqi Kurdistan, and Sanjar. For this mission, the Royal Geographical Society chose the British geologist William Francis Ainsworth (1807-1896) and his friend Christian Anthony Rassam (1808-1872), a Chaldean painter from Mosul. Their task was to study the political situation of the Kurdish tribal communities and the characteristics of their dialects and to write reports on the Yazidis. In 1841, Ainsworth returned to England where he left several letters chronicling his journeys now available in a collection entitled "*Correspondence of William Francis Ainsworth (1807-1896)*" and preserved in the Edinburgh University Library Special Collections (Ainsworth, 1840a, 1840b; Muhammad, 2017). In addition to Ainsworth, other important figures who visited Kurdistan throughout 1817-1840 included the British archaeological prospector Austen Henry Layard (1817-1894) who excavated most of the monuments of Nineveh and its outskirts and visited Kurdish tribes. He published his book in London and continued his work for the British Museum from 1845 to 1851. The British Ministry of Foreign Affairs learned a great deal from his research about the area and gave Layard important positions (Layard, 1849). Layard's research inspired other adventurers to go to Kurdistan; among them was the only woman, Isabella Lucy Bird (1831-1903), a British traveler who visited Kurdistan in the last decade of the nineteenth century. She wrote a two-volume book entitled "*Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*" (Bird, 2017). Bird's perspective was unique as she addressed the issue of gender.

British trips to the region slowed down and were interrupted for a few years except for a journey made in 1852 by a Royal Navy officer, James Felix Jones, who was commissioned by the British Museum to conduct extensive and comprehensive survey operations in Iraq (Jones, 1998). British trips to Kurdistan were reduced due to the disappearance of the Russian threat after Russia's defeat in the Crimean War and the absence of a rival for Britain in the region. However, British trips resumed in the early 1880s after the Russian-Ottoman war in 1877.

In the late nineteenth century, the perspective of the British narrative changed toward Iraqi Kurdistan. This shift occurred due to the competition between France and Britain. Napoleon Bonaparte went to Egypt in 1798-99 hoping to invade British India before being distracted by the Spanish Campaign. Napoleon was accompanied by an army and a team of scholars, archaeologists, architects, epigraphists, and scientists, thus, transforming the occupied territory into an object of inquiry and a field of systematic knowledge (Gillispie, 1989). Said (1979) sees the occupation of Egypt by Napoleon as the beginning of new Orientalism. Being concerned with the French Empire's scheme to occupy India, the British Empire sped up preparations to colonize Kurdistan as it was the fastest way to connect Europe to North India on land.

Britain started its preparation to colonize Iraq after the official collapse of the Ottoman Empire. During 1892-1901, Captain Francis R. Maunsell (1828-1914) made several tours of Kurdistan, visiting Dohuk, Zibar, Erbil, and Mosul and recording his acquaintance with Kurds (Maunsell, 1897). Maunsell wrote about the importance of Kurdistan's oil to Britain and of the oil deposits in Iraq. In a discussion in 1894 between Howorth, Mr Holmwood, Douglas Freshfield, and General Strachey, the explorers narrate their travels to Kurdistan in a geographical journal. Douglas Freshfield in particular suggested sending more British adventurers and researchers to the region because Kurds could provide considerable support for the British against Russia (Howorth, et al., 1894).

This systematic knowledge and texts acquired by the British became a resource and a structure for constructing British colonial policies and formulating a discourse on Kurds in subsequent phases. The Kurds had been written about geographically, culturally, socially, religiously, and politically in order to gather information and contribute to the

grand scheme of the British Empire to colonize the Kurds. In other words, the systematic accumulation of information about the Kurds supported the British colonial mentality. The British Empire, thus, unofficially colonized the Kurds and created a colonial narrative. The unofficial colonization of the Kurds by the British Empire was more effective than any official, military colonization.

3.2. British Textual Representations: Colonial Agents and Institutional Ratification

Despite military occupation by the British Empire during the first half of the twentieth century, British oriental institutions and academia began a continuous attack on Iraqi Kurdistan and Mesopotamia by assigning orientalist missionaries and scientific researchers to write about these areas. The texts were used to justify British colonial knowledge and discourse. The two main producers and originators of British colonial knowledge and discourse about the Kurds were British political officers and orientalists. Imperial academic organizations such as universities and journals were behind the ratification of the discourse and presented as scientific truth for colonial purposes.

To understand and deconstruct the colonial constructed view of the Kurds by the British meta-narrative, this section aims to shatter the false image given of the Kurds and show how this image was built by British orientalist writers.

3.2.1. British Orientalist Agents and Selected Textual Representations

One of the main ways in which postcolonial figures such as Said, Bhabha, and Spivak understood the colonial mentality was through analyzing colonial narrative while this mentality controlled and dealt with its subjects.

Edward William Charles Noel (1886-1974) was a British Orientalist, intelligence agent, and political officer in the Middle East and Central Asia. Major Noel was assigned as Vice-Consul to Ahwaz in 1915, Political Agent for Kurram in 1924, Consul to Kerman and Balochistan in 1929, and served in several posts in British colonial agencies mainly in Anatolia and Mesopotamia (Mosley, 2003). His prime vital mission started by playing a significant role in appointing Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji as the governor of Sulaymaniyah (Slemani) after holding a conference and negotiations between Kurdish tribal leaders and British representatives in 1918 (Gunter, 2018). Sheikh Mahmud ruled

with ministers, and Major Noel was appointed as his assistant and political advisor (Ali, 1992). He also discussed the Kurdish question in the Cairo Conference held in March 1921 about the role, future, and policy of British colonialism in the Middle East (Gunter, 2009).

Major Noel's mission was to turn the Kurds against the Turks, gain the Kurds' trust, and win them over to the British. This was to keep the Turks out of lands rich in natural resources (Kilic, 2018). To achieve his goal quickly, he soon became fluent in Kurdish (Ali, 1992). Noel used a soft style in his relationship with Sheikh Mahmud to support the idea of establishing either an independent state or some form of autonomy for Kurds under British dominance. He thus resembled Thomas Edward Lawrence (Lawrence of Arabia) and was called the "Second Lawrence" or "Lawrence of Kurds" by officers in the British colonial administration (McDowall, 2004). Fundamentally, Major Noel conceived that Britain should exclude and banish Turks from Kurdish lands and earn Kurdish support (Gavan, 1958).

To gain this objective, he, on the one hand, strived to promote Kurdish nationalist feelings and entice Kurds by promising that a Kurdish state would soon be established. On the other hand, he apprised the British colonial office about the necessity of providing financial aid to the district. In line with this, "Noel had both the interests of the Kurds and the British in mind and hoped to marry the two cultures peacefully in a way that would benefit all" (Utu, 2018: 36). Noel recognized that continuing to pursue the idea of an independent state for Kurdistan would need greater unity since, as Noel himself pointed out, Kurdish Society was a clannish rather than a nationalist society (McDowall, 2004). According to Major Noel, the Turks sought to assimilate the Kurds just as they had done with the Armenians and Arabs who had been subjected to their rule for 400 years (Kilic, 2018). Major Noel's letter also emphasizes the importance of ethnological borders based on Kurdish-Arab relations. Major Noel, who spent a significant amount of time among the Kurds, believed that Kurds would not agree to be ruled by Arabs, and he conveyed this belief in several letters (Ali, 1992).

Although Major Noel seemed to be a highly influential figure, the British officer never published a book related to Kurds. However, he did record and report various writings related to his mission in Kurdistan and to Kurdish culture and society. For instance, he

wrote a short diary of only 76 pages in which he presented his insights into Kurds in Anatolia entitled "*Diary of Major Noel on Special Duty in Kurdistan*" (1919), "*Circular Memo. No 431918*" (1918), and "*Note on the Kurdish Situation: A Report on Aspects of the Kurdish Situation*" (1914). In writings such as "*Characteristics of the Kurds as Illustrated by their Proverbs and Popular Sayings*" (1920), Noel tackled Kurdish proverbs about topics such as women, religion, marriage, their attitudes and mindset, and other topics. He tried to dissect and illustrate Kurdish characteristics, making it an essential British textual representation of the Kurds and Kurdish culture. He supported the autonomy of Kurds and Sheikh Mahmud because there were no better options for British colonial policy at that time (Ali, 1992). However, in 1919, Major Noel was replaced by Major Ely Bannister Soane, a move that gradually diminished Sheikh Mahmud's powers.

A British officer, Major Ely Bannister Soane (1881-1923) started his adventure in the Middle East by working at the Imperial Bank of Persia and the Anglo-Persian Oil Company from 1902 to 1907 then traveled around different areas in the region such as Persia, Constantinople, and Mesopotamia. He learned Persian and Kurdish (Ghani, 2015). Before WWI, he ventured into Iraqi Kurdistan as a British intelligence officer, changed his name to Mirza Hussein Ghulam-i Shirazi, and presented himself as a Christian convert to Islam. He worked for a few years as secretary of the Persian language for Jaf Amir, Usman Pasha of Halabja, and his wife Adila Khanim (Lazarev, 2012; Ali, 1992) and formed a strong bond with them as chief of the great Kurdish tribe.

As a prominent British Orientalist and officer who authored 14 works on the Kurds in the English language, Major Soane played a significant role in bringing the printing press to Kurdistan for colonial purposes. He was the editor of the *Tegaishtini Rasti* (*Understanding the Truth*) newspaper in 1918 and *Peshkawtin* (*Progress*) newspaper in 1920, which were written in Kurdish. Therefore, his works and activities are regarded as essential British textual representations in spreading British propaganda in Kurdish Society and designing a colonial discourse on Kurds. His famous work is a travel memoir of more than 400 pages under the title "*To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise; with Historical Notices of the Kurdish Tribes and the Chaldeans of Kurdistan.*" The text relates a journey across Kurdistan and Mesopotamia recording and

collecting knowledge on the Kurds including culture, lifestyle, mentality, society, language, personality, history, and religion. He stated that the Ottoman Empire had spread its dreadful hegemony over other ethnic groups in the region, and he attempted to popularize the image of Turks and Kurds as enemies (Soane, 1914).

As seen in the text's title, his presence in disguise reveals the purpose and intention of his travels and writing. Adisguise refers to altering one's appearance to conceal one's identity. This word in the title thus combines the purpose of writing the text and of his activities as an intelligence agent of the colonial administration because he altered his identity and behaved like an Easterner to entirely and deeply delve into Kurdish society and gain Kurdish confidence. At the beginning of the text, he writes: "I think I may fairly claim that I have given here a description of a great deal so far undescribed, also a view of places already known, from another standpoint ... I have been enabled to give some entirely new matter... on Kurdish history..." (Soane, 1914: v). The process of producing the text and changing his identity thus benefited colonial purposes. As he mentions in the preface to the book "*Elementary Kurmanji Grammar*," he wrote this text and reports for colonial purposes to be read by British political officers. As Soane writes: "This sketch of elementary Kurmanji is intended primarily for the use of officers and others whose duties lead them to the southern districts of Kurdistan. The dialect here treated is that of Sulaymaniyah and district and is current with slight variations"(Soane, 1919, no. p).

In addition, Soane had written several other texts on Kurds, the Kurdish language, and literature. He recorded massive knowledge about specific Eastern-Kurd/Western-British encounters. Chronologically, the most important texts are *Notes on a Kurdish Dialect, the Shadi Branch of Kermanji* (1909), *A Southern Kurdish folksong in Kermanshahi dialect* (1912), *Grammar of the Kurmanji of Kurdish language* (1913), *Notes on the Tribes of Southern Kurdistan* (1918), *Report on the Sulemania District of Kurdistan* (1910), *Elementary Kurmanji Grammar (Sulaimania District)* (1918), *A short anthology of Guran Poetry* (1921), *Notes on the Phonology of Southern Kurmanji* (1922), *The Southern Kurds* (1922), *Evacuation of Kurdistan; an Ill-fated Expedition* (1923), *The Tale of Suto and Tato (co-aouther with Nikitine)* (1923), and *Kurdish-English Wordlist (Suleimaniye dialect)* (1955).

Major Soane made use of a dual work mechanism. On the one hand, he was spreading propaganda and deceptive discourse for Britain; he was issuing newspapers in the Kurdish language in Sulaymaniyah such as *Peshkawtin* newspaper to present Britain's attractive and acceptable appearance to Kurdish public opinion. On the other hand, in the Arabic areas of Iraq, he was inciting the Arabs through the Iraqi newspapers such as *Al-Iraq (Iraq)* and *Al-Alam al-Arabe (Arab World)* to publish an anti-Kurd discourse and denigrate their past even to make the Kurds a subject of mockery (Hawar, 2008). His main goal was to promote his colonial agendas and create conflicts between the region's peoples according to the notorious policy of 'divide and rule'.

British photographer Lynette Lindfield-Soane, Major Soane's wife, who died in 1994, wrote about the Kurds and her adventures among them (Gunter, 2009). She had close relationships with famous figures such as Adela Khanum; in her memoir, she referred to Adela as someone she would stay with during her visits to Kurdistan. Her memoir, entitled "*A Recent Journey in Kurdistan*" (1935), was a collection of her lectures presented to British officers. In these lectures, she gave a detailed account of her visits to Kurdistan. She presents the Kurds as a race that will never submit to Arabs and who are born fighters (Soane, 1935). She also proposed removing the many traditional Kurdish customs and mimicking Western styles claiming that western customs would help the nation's progress. Her lectures were used as a source of information proving that British officers had done an excellent job in bringing Western civilization and progress to the area. In her account, the reader is told how the British Empire affected Kurdish culture, writing that people "copy the European style of dress" (Soane, 1935: 414) and thus indicates that her journey in Kurdistan had colonial purposes.

In 1916, after the British troops occupied Mesopotamia through Basra, Arnold Talbot Wilson was assigned as assistant to Sir Percy Cox, the British Political Officer for the region. Wilson (1884-1940) was an important colonial administrator, orientalist, and conservative politician of British colonial administration in Post-World War I Iraq. Designated as the acting Civil Commissioner for Mesopotamia, he remained in post until Sir Percy Cox replaced him in October 1920. He eventually retired from the military in 1921 (Leach & Farrington, 2003). During his missions in the Middle East, Wilson recorded two volumes in his diaries about the events, battles, and issues he

faced in different geographical zones amidst various ethnic groups. The two most important texts from Wilson were *Loyalties: Mesopotamia 1914-1917: A Personal and Historical Record* published by Oxford University Press in 1930 and *Mesopotamia, 1917-20: A Clash of Loyalties, A Personal and Historical Record* published in 1931. Wilson also wrote other important colonial texts on the Middle East including *The Persian Gulf* (1928), *A Bibliography of Persia* (1932), *The Suez Canal: Its Past, Present, and Future* (1933), and *Persia: A Political Officer's Diary* (1941). Moreover, he published a considerable number of papers and reports in British academic journals including the following articles in the *Geographical Journal*: "A journey from Bandar Abbas to Shiraz" (1908), "The delta of Shatt al Arab" (1925), and "A Periplus of the Persian Gulf" (1927) (Leach & Farrington, 2003).

Wilson dedicated a significant portion of the books to the Kurds and to issues related to them. Wilson, who served in the British colonial administration in Iraq, connected the military occupation with cultural control. The texts intertwined and spread racial discourse about the Kurds and other ethnic groups. Wilson attempted to present the British administrative problems and behavior of political officers while also focusing on the Kurds' tribal system, leaders, society, natural, and financial resources. He portrayed the political issues and events in both Britain during the post-colonial time and post-colonial Middle East (Wilson, 1931).

Wilson referred to the disunity between political officers, government departments, and policymakers in London over executing British policy toward the Kurdish question. He oversaw Mesopotamian politics, preferring the policy of direct colonial rule. He criticized the Anglo-British Declaration and was opposed to establishing a Kurdish state and supported and designed the policies that ultimately integrated Kurds of the Mosul *vilayet* into Iraq. To achieve his agenda, given the financial crisis in Britain, Iraq should be economically protected by linking the Kurdish foothills (Gunter, 2009). According to his texts, the Kurdish nationalist movement led by Sheikh Mahmud was not in favor of the British, and the Kurds would soon join the Turkish operation to expel the British from Mesopotamia. Furthermore, a Kurdish state would inevitably be anti-Armenian because the Armenians, who were British allies throughout WWI, claimed the same lands as the Kurds (Wilson, 1931).

Gertrude Margaret Lowthian Bell (1868-1926) was a renowned traveler, orientalist, poet, scholar, stateswoman, linguist, political officer, administrator, and spy. She was an orientalist and influential political officer in Iraq and the Middle East during British colonial times. She had an academic career, and her extensive travels led to her significant role in Middle-Eastern diplomacy. During her extensive journeys, she explored, mapped, and became immensely influential in British imperial policy (Bell, 2015). Her role in Iraq was mainly as an advisor to the High Commissioner, Percy Cox, in 1919. Almost all scholars believe that Gertrude Bell's attitudes had a disastrous impact on the political future of Iraqi Kurdistan. Some political observers even blame Bell's ambitious objectives for Iraq's current ethnic and religious strife (Tripp & Collins, 2017), as she also directed the new British administration in Iraq a crucial responsibility.

She was designated one out of 39 experts chosen by Churchill for the Cairo Conference in 1921 to draft a new formulation for the Middle East map (Alhitti, 2016). Bell was also one of the defenders of the establishment of the monarchy in Iraq, and she proposed the nomination of King Faisal I as King of Iraq. For this reason, she was considered the map designer of the new Iraq. Moreover, she tried to divide the Kurdish people into several parts and attach each part to a country so that they would not constitute a threat to British interests in the region. She and Cox recognized the need to give autonomy to the Kurds; however, they insisted that the Kurdish region should remain part of Iraq. Cox and Bell continued to push for the inclusion of Iraqi Kurdistan in Iraq and thwarted the establishment of a Kurdish state (Ali, 1992). In a letter, she states that "Iraq and Kurdistan should live in peace and friendship with one another" (Bell, personal letter, November 11, 1921). Gertrude and Cox did not favor an independent Kurdish state for several reasons the prominent one being "the indefensible nature of Iraq's frontier minus the Kurdish mountains to the north and northeast" (Ali, 1992: 225). Furthermore, she was more lenient toward the Arabs and argued that it was essential for the new Iraq to be united in weakening the authority of the Ottoman Empire (Ali, 1992). Another factor was the rich oil fields located in Iraqi Kurdistan. The British Empire did not want these fields to fall into Turkish hands. Bell often made corrections and comments on Middle East map sheets (Kennett, 2015). During the Cairo

Conference of 1921, she drew the outlines of Iraq on the map combining Mosul, Basra, and Baghdad.

Her letters and the many books she wrote are significant because it is through them that she portrays the Orient and presents her views on Kurds. Bell intermingled racial discourse in her writings not just of Arabs but also of Kurds, Assyrians, Yezidis, Turkomans, and Armenians (Kennett, 2015). In one of her important works, *Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia* (1920), she reported that the British King had asked her to inform the Empire on events taking place in Mesopotamia and Kurdistan, two areas she represented as uncivilized nations. She gave a detailed description of Kurds and their cause in Iraq. In addition to her book, she wrote her epic life story that was told through her letters, military dispatches, diary entries, and other writings. These writings offer a unique and intimate look behind the public mask of a woman who shaped nations at the effect of colonization on Kurds.

Cecil John Edmonds (1889-1979) was a British political officer in Iraq and a specialist on Kurdistan and the Kurdish language. He was one of numerous British political officials stationed in Iraqi Kurdistan in the 1920s, and from 1922 until 1945, he worked in Iraq's civil administration. In this position, he gained a thorough understanding of Kurdistan and wrote *Kurds, Turks, and Arabs: Politics, Travel, and Research in North-eastern Iraq, 1919-1925* (1957). From 1935 through 1945, he worked as an adviser to Iraq's Interior minister. In 1951, he became a Kurdish language instructor at the University of London. In addition, Edmonds acted as an interlocutor between A.T. Wilson and Sheikh Mahmud. His book *Kurds, Turks, and Arabs* (1957) is important for geographers, philologists, anthropologists, historians, and orientalist alike. In the preface, Edmonds informs his readers that "the framework of this book is the diplomatic history of the Mosul dispute between Great Britain and Turkey enriched with an account of my own experiences as a Political Officer in the contested territory" (Edmonds, 1957: xi). In the 457-page analysis, he provides a thorough and analytical insight into Kurdistan's geographical, political, social, demographic, and linguistic issues of that time. The book also has images and valuable maps of the area.

Edmonds describes Kurds as a tribal nation that would only be controlled by force and this process as a means to an end. According to Edmonds, it was easy to influence Iraqi

Kurds because they quickly ran or surrendered in the face of irresistible force. However, even though the Kurdish forces were insufficient or indecisive, the Kurds might become a force that should not be underestimated (Kilic, 2018). He did not have an optimistic view of Kurdish leaders such as Sheikh Mahmud. Edmonds wrote, "During the rule of the Young Turks, the Sheikh had terrorized the town through his gang of roughs and, now that he was officially the Ruler, he was quite incapable of understanding the restraints put upon him..." (Edmonds, 1958: 30). Edmonds' writing shows how colonization affected colonizers and colonized alike. Edmonds devised a particular Roman alphabet for Kurdish with his educated Kurdish friend, Tawfiq Wahby, and compiled an early Kurdish-English dictionary, the first in a Western language since 1879. He even claimed the language to be more similar to English. His attempts to devise a new alphabet pleased the British administration because they drew the Kurds further away from the Ottoman Empire. This would further weaken the Turks and strengthen the position of the British in the area.

After ten years of service, Edmonds left Iraq in 1945. His other works and texts on Kurds in Iraq are "*The Kurds of Iraq*" (1957), "*The place of the Kurds in the Middle Eastern scene*" (1958), "*Soane at Halabja: An Echo*" (1936), "*A Kurdish Lamponist: Sheikh Riza Talabani*" (1935), and "*A bibliography of Southern Kurdish, 1920–36.*"

Major William Rupert Hay (1893-1962), who worked as a political officer at Mendeli, Koi Sanjaq (Koya), and Erbil between 1918 and 1920, published his experiences in the form of a memoir of the period published in London in 1921 under the title '*Two Years in Kurdistan*'. Hay's book was political, anthropological, and autobiographical. The book is a biographical travelogue and a detailed account of the time spent in Erbil. He starts his account from the warm welcome from the Kurds to their discontentment with more taxes, stricter restrictions, and the British failure to considerably improve the quality of life, which led to the 1920 uprising. Hay offers a rich portrayal of the people and locations of Iraqi Kurdistan and of numerous extraordinary encounters through all of these events. His book and reports worked as a source of information for the British Empire.

He served in Erbil as an assistant political officer for two years. Because of the anti-British movement of that period, Major Noel had ordered Major Hay, who was on duty in Altinköprü, to come and control the area immediately. Noel ordered Hay because Hay was a very strict and determined officer (Kilic, 2018). In the aftermath of the WWI invasion, he was given the responsibility to establish and sustain British administration in the area. Hay's policies sought direct rule and were not soft on the Kurds (Ali, 1992). By 1920, the British administration in Mesopotamia began to have difficulties with the Kurds. Hay's mission was to subjugate and rule the Kurds using colonial direct rule. According to Hay, Kurds could not be controlled easily as they were brave warriors and did not trust foreigners, hence his preference was a direct rule over the Kurds (Hay, 1921).

Hay described Kurds as warriors and believed that if the British did not gain the favor of Kurds, they would become a source of danger. Therefore, he raised pro-British armies to control the uprising against Britain (Hay, 1921). Meanwhile, direct British administration weakened the Ottoman Empire's influence in Kurdish areas of Iraq. Although the Ottomans were retained, the tasks were performed by British Political Officers rather than Ottoman Mutasarrif, the title given to the governor of an administrative region in the Ottoman Empire and countries such as post-Ottoman Iraq). The fact that Hay saw the Kurds as warriors demonstrates that he was concerned that they would turn against Britain and so argued that tools and force should be used to keep them under control. As a result, it may be argued that British administrators and managers who saw the importance of controlling the region used all means available to them to impose the main features and regulations of the British Empire.

Geologist and author George Martin Lees (1898-1955) was born in Ireland. After WWI, Lees worked as an Assistant Political Officer at Halabja in Iraqi Kurdistan, which had been constructed as a buffer state between Persians and Arabs under British rule to avoid future battles. In the summer of 1919, Lees served as Sheikh Mahmud's counselor, the local ruler, who according to his discourse, deceived the British and attempted to establish his own country (Arkell, 1955). Lees was among the few officers chosen to advise the local rulers and their administrations. Lee and his fellow officers were to "organize the training of the local army" (Arkell, 1955: 163). His influence and

personal negotiations with one of the most threatening tribe leaders aided the process even more.

Lees had a friendly relationship with the Kurds. However, this friendship was only for the sake of the Empire. Lees saw a Kurdish state as a threat to the interests of the British Empire, as he clearly stated this in his memoir *Two years in South Kurdistan* (Lees, 1928). His knowledge as a geologist was beneficial to the British Empire. In 1928-1930, Lees performed a geological inspection of oil prospects, oil firm organization and management, and Iraqi Kurdistan and became the Anglo-Persian Oil Company's Chief Geologist. The colony's natural resources were used for the benefit of the colonizer.

Two years in South Kurdistan (1928) was collected and presented in the form of a lecture about Iraqi Kurdistan. In his lecture, he again stated the importance of Kurdistan to defending Iraq: "The strategic importance of the rugged mountainous country of Kurdistan for the defense of Iraq does not require emphasis" (p. 1). In his lecture, he describes the Kurds, the tribal system, and geology. However, he does not present a positive image of Sheikh Mahmud and portrays him as a tyrant who is thirsty for fame: "His reputation for tyranny and treachery caused him to be heartily disliked by all except his immediate following, but for the same reason he was feared by all who lacked sufficient protection from his vengeance" (260). However, he claims that all the actions of the British Empire were undertaken for the welfare of Kurdistan. Through his actions and beliefs, he wanted to serve the colonial power.

Colonel Wallace Adelbert Lyon (1892-1977) worked as a British administrator in Kurdistan from 1918 to 1944. As an Assistant Political Officer, Lyon was given the task of persuading the Kurds of Erbil to accept Iraq's new king.

His most important book, *Kurds, Arabs and Britons: The Memoir of Col. W.A. Lyon in Kurdistan, 1918-1945*, was written after he retired. The length of his stay in Iraq and Kurdistan and his various positions as a British administrator give his memories a unique value. The importance of his memoir lies in that it deals with the issues of a mixed Arab, Turkish, and Kurdish region which was a rough issue for British colonial domination particularly the issue of feuds between Kurdish sheikhs and their relationships with other ethnic groups. His memoir also contains many photos of Kurdistan. Kurds, Arabs, and Britons. It is most intriguing when it describes Lyon's

reactions to broader events and policies on the ground. Via a top-secret telegram, he was asked to carry out his mission and guarantee that the Kurdish residents of his administrative zone voted for King Faysal in the nationwide election of 1921 (Wehrey, 2002).

Lyon implemented British policy against the Kurds. He was a firm supporter of using force primarily through bombing Kurdistan through airstrikes to eliminate the anti-colonial Kurdish movement. He participated in the offensives the British army was carrying out with the help of the Livian forces during the reign of King Faisal during which he allowed soldiers to loot occupied villages in Kurdistan. He enjoyed using heavy weapons, bombing, and other violent means during the occupation process until victory (Lyon, 2001). In his memoir, he never regretted his violent personal actions nor those of his country against the Kurds or the fierce British hostility to the Kurdish liberation movement led by Sheikh Mahmud. He stated that "the Kurds in his district were not enthusiastic about the election, and should they be given a chance, they would ask to join Sheikh Mahmud" (Ali, 1992: 256). He had full authority to arrest and expel those who were pro-Turks in Erbil and limit their power. Yet Lyon was fluent in many Kurdish dialects and Arabic and had an insider's view of political life in Iraqi Kurdistan, which strengthened his position and made him attractive to the Kurds.

Although in his text Lyon shows that he was friends with the Kurds, he simultaneously represented the British Empire as a savior and a force that brought civilization to the land. He portrayed Sheikh Mahmud as a tyrant and troublemaker who needed to be controlled. This representation was due to the fact that Sheikh Mahmud was an anti-colonist. In addition, Sheikh Mahmud was responsible for a succession of military uprisings against Iraqi authorities in freshly-seized British Mesopotamia and the British Mandate in Iraq (Jones, 2018). In May 1919, Sheikh Mahmud led the first Kurdish insurgency in British-controlled Iraqi Kurdistan. He ordered the arrest of all British political and military figures in the region shortly before being named ruler of Sulaymaniyah (Elphinston, 1946). Lyon's writing essentially favored the British Empire and described the geography and natural resources of Iraqi Kurdistan as being of great help to the British Empire in exploiting the economy of the Kurds.

Archibald Milen Hamilton (1898-1972) was a civil engineer from New Zealand who worked as a consultant for numerous governments, bridge construction companies, and structural engineers. He is most known for creating the Callender-Hamilton bridge system and constructing the Hamilton Road through Kurdistan. Initially, he worked with the Lyttelton Harbor Board building a wave model for port improvement planning. Between 1928 and 1932, Hamilton was the chief engineer on a British-built strategic route that connected Erbil, Rwanda, and the Iranian border near modern-day Piranshahr in Iraqi Kurdistan. The road was named the Hamilton Road (Clarry, 2017). Despite Hamilton's hopes that the route would bring the region's people together, it has been fought over numerous times. This resulted in his book "*Road Through Kurdistan: Travels in Northern Iraq*" published in 1937 in which he gave a detailed description of the process of building the road. During that time, the British authorities in Iraq made various attempts to improve the road to establish their authority in the region (Hay, 1921). Hamilton's road gave the British Empire "a technical and logistical lead in their domination of the Iraqi Kurds" (Hamilton, 2010: 15).

Road to Kurdistan is an example of a historical narrative from the British colonialist perspective. The book is a vivid and thorough portrayal of the people and geography of Iraqi Kurdistan at that time. In the book, Hamilton recounts his four-year journey through some of the world's most beautiful but harsh landscapes, overcoming enormous challenges such as sickness, vicious brigands, warring tribes, and bureaucratic officials. *Road Through Kurdistan* is a travel writing classic and an excellent depiction of the Iraqi Kurds and the Kurdish territories of Northern Iraq (Jabar & Mansour, 2019). In a new preface by Hamilton, Kurds are described as a tribal nation that lives in a wild place (Hamilton, 1937: 13). Hamilton's book provides a clear vision of the reason why Britain was interested in the area. The British Empire was interested in the natural resources of Kurdistan. Hamilton's writing about natural resources shows that the colonizers thought that Kurdistan was a place that could be used for their own use (Hamilton, 1958). Hamilton tied the progress of Kurds as a nation to the colonization of the area by the British Empire. Although not holding a political office, he both supported and benefited from British colonialism. His book ratifies the British institution. As Hamilton wrote, "Britain's part in seeking, finding, and exploitation of this fluid wealth has been her contribution toward showing the diverse Iraqi population

how to work together and enjoy the fruits of their natural resources peacefully..." (Hamilton, 1958: 7). British interests clarify why Britain attempted to help and appear friendly to the people. Although Hamilton described Kurds as a nation that deserves happiness, he thinks it is vital for Britain to colonize the region. His perspective and ideology are affected by the colonizing force of the British Empire. Colonial ideology is a permanent presence in his book and can be treated as a discourse representing postcolonial Iraqi Kurdistan.

Accordingly, one can see that Said based his argument on evidence when he claimed that the colonial narrative was the main assistance of the British Empire to expand and hold its position over its colonies. Analyzing each colonial text asserts the fact that the texts strengthened the Empire's position. The authors, officers, and other British orientalist who came to the area contributed to the colonization of the Kurds in one form or another. This analysis of the texts revealed that various individuals all supported the British with the intention of building the Empire's position in the area. These colonial texts were used in colonizing the Iraqi Kurds and they are still effective to this day through which colonization continues its impact and legacy.

3.2.2. British Academic Institutional Ratification

The economic and military dominance of the West is closely associated with the knowledge and discourses written by the Orientalists. In the context of British colonization of Iraqi Kurdistan, Foucault's (1972 & 1981) insight into institutional ratification explains why oriental texts on Kurdistan were so dominant during that period. Foucault explained the role of institutional ratification and indicated that the discourses written, published, and accepted by the institutions in power are accepted as the truth and reliable knowledge. In this perspective, British institutional ratification was a factor that limited British colonial discourse and regulated the production and dissemination of knowledge about the Kurds in Iraq. The institutions were controlled and managed by British colonial power, and they played a vital role in representing British colonial discourse as true knowledge.

The ratification as a resource and resort had a crucial function in generalizing and disseminating knowledge and discourse about the Kurds as scientific fact in British Academic Journals and colonial institutions. This misrepresentation of the texts and

knowledge have given continuity to the process of British and Western dominance over the Kurds and the East.

During the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, the British Empire expanded. Studying colonial institutions' effects can help to understand the link between colonial institutions and changing interactions. To gain this understanding, it is necessary to consider colonial and postcolonial periods as well as changes in institutions along with diverse types of interactions across the period. The aforementioned political officers, agents, missionaries, and orientalist settled in the Kurdistan region. Many were not just newspaper journalists, but they also monitored British interests and acted as consuls and officers (Muhammad, 2017), reporting and writing up their research and texts for institutions and journals in their Empire. These institutions and journals played an important role in expanding and strengthening the Empire's position. The British government took their advice and discourses as authority (Home, 2002). These missionaries and agents were used as a tool by the colonizer to conquer the region through their discourse (Wilcox, 2014). This type of conquering can best be explained from Foucault's insight on knowledge and power.

Foucault sheds light on how some discourses have formed and generated meaning systems that are counted as truth. These discourses dominate how one organizes and defines the social world and themselves whereas other discourses are subjugated and disregarded because discourse is more than ways of thinking and producing meaning. They constitute the "nature of the body, unconscious and conscious mind and emotional life of the subjects they seek to govern" (Weedon, 1987: 108). In this setting, concerns arise regarding how some discourses maintain their dominance and why certain voices are heard while others are not. According to Foucault, institutional ratification is an important component that restricts discourse development. Certain discourses are tightly regulated and circulated by institutions while others are suppressed or opposed.

As mentioned previously, power and knowledge are intertwined. Whenever there is an imbalance in power, it is always power that circulates knowledge. In line with this, Edward Said wrote that "knowledge of the Orient, generated out of strength, in a sense creates the Orient, the Oriental, and his world" (Said, 1978: 48). The Orient of Orientalism is a fabrication of the West, i.e. a misrepresentation of the true Orient

demonstrating that Orientalism is a power-driven phenomenon. As a result, Orientalism is defined by powerful knowledge which evolves from purely academic to ideological. Said believed that "the conceptualization of alien culture embodied by Orientalism is in fact a means of defining and thereby exercising control over it" (Edgar & Sedgwick, 2008: 205).

The increasing number of papers and articles published about Kurdistan was due to the establishment of royal journals as agents and officers would publish their writing in different Journals and institutions (Muhammad, 2017). Many journals published articles about the colonized areas; however, journals such as the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (JRAS), Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society (JRCAS), and the Royal United Services Institution (RUSI) played a major role in circulating and ratifying discourses written about Kurdistan, and their publications were treated as pure knowledge. The journals and academic research centers of the British Empire circulated knowledge about Kurdish colonized areas and presented an alien culture suitable for research. These journals justified and presented the colonization of Kurds by the British Empire as good for the Kurds and a burden for the British.

The *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (JRAS) published many papers, studies, reports, and texts on the East and the Kurds from many fields such as history, language, religion, culture, and literature. Since the 1820s, the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland has published and administered the Journal in collaboration with Cambridge University. The Journal, a major source and publisher of oriental studies, played a significant role in the ratification, generalization, distribution, and development of British colonial discourse through its publications during both World Wars. In addition, it played an important role in gathering and producing information about the Kurds in a biased way (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1834). As previously mentioned, Major Ely Bannister Soane worked with this Journal for a long time, and many of his writings were published in JRAS, for instance: "A *Short Anthology of Guran Poetry*" (1921), "A *Southern Kurdish Folksong in Kermanshahi Dialect*" (1909), "Notes on the Phonology of Southern Kurmanji" (1922), "Notes on a Kurdish Dialect, the Shadi Branch of Kermanji" (1909), and "Review: *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise by E. B. Soane*" (1927). Other officers such as Godfrey Rolles Driver also

wrote for this Journal. For example, in 1923 Driver published "*The Name Kurd and its Philological Connexions*."

The second Journal which played in ratifying the colonization of the Empire is the *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* (JRCAS) whose mission was to collect and disseminate multidisciplinary knowledge about Asia. JRCAS was established in 1901, and it has since then expanded its circulation to include studies on all of Asia (Leach & Farrington, 2003). JRCAS also published studies on Kurdistan and played a role in gathering and producing information on the Kurds. This journal published Lady Soane's memoir "*A recent Journey in Kurdistan*" in 1935. Other officers and agents who also wrote for this journal were Major Soane's "*Major Soane in Sulaimaniyah*" (1923), Edmond's "*The place of the Kurds in the Middle Eastern scene*" (1958), and "*A Kurdish Lamponist: Sheikh Riza Talabani*" (1935). In 1928, it published Lees' "*Two years in South Kurdistan*", "*Problems of Northern Iraq*" (1928) by Dr William Ainger Wigram, "*The Kurds*" (1944) by Major H. M. Burton, "*A bibliography of Southern Kurdish, 1945-55*" (1957) by David Neil MacKenzie, and John Wilkinson's "*Oxford University expedition to Iraqi Kurdistan*" (1958).

Along with JRAS and JRCAS comes the third journal, the *Royal United Services Institution* (RUSI). This journal brought together decision-makers, scholars, and practitioners in a context that connected policy relevance and academic rigor. It was governed by the Royal United Services Institute, which was established in 1831. It started publishing in 1857. RUSI played a major role in policy-making, defense strategies, and security from the rise of the British Empire to its transformation and dissolution. It provided an important thread of military history and, as its role developed, an understanding of British defense and security policy in the international arena (Royal United Service Institution, 1831). Many military officers wrote for this journal, among them Flight Lieutenant N. Hampton who published "*Cooperation of Land and Air Forces in Kurdistan, 1923*" (1927) and senior officer Guy Garrod who published "*Recent Operations in Kurdistan, Royal United Services Institution*" (1933).

Aside from these journals, when the British Empire came to Mesopotamia after the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the British Empire published newspapers in the language of the colonized area. One example is *Tegaishtini Rasti* (*Understanding the Truth*). This was a

newspaper published by the authorities of the British Empire army in Iraq during 1918-1919. Its chief editor was Major Soane. It was the mouthpiece of the Empire and supported the Empire by spreading propaganda when dealing with social, cultural, and political issues of Iraqi Kurdistan. The Empire used the newspaper to attack the Ottoman Empire. Its purpose was to mobilize the Kurds against the Ottoman Empire. *Tegaishitini Rasti* tried to promote Kurdish national feelings and win the Kurds over in favor of the British. The newspaper spread and imposed colonial discourse and ideas on the colonized, the Kurds (Ahmed, 2018).

Most of the journals mentioned above were supported and governed by the Royal Society, i.e. a learned society that was the major British institutional academy of sciences. It was established on November 28, 1660 when King Charles II issued it with a royal warrant. Its mission was to acknowledge, encourage, and support the progress of science and encourage the growth and use of science for profit and imperial interests (Hunter, 2021) The Royal Society has contributed to some of the sciences most fundamental, significant, and life-changing discoveries, and its scientists continue to make exceptional contributions to science in a variety of fields. Moreover, it played a vital role in circulating and publishing British colonial discourse. Their writings also played a major role in strengthening the position of the colonizer, conquering the lands, and misrepresenting oriental lands.

3.3. The Themes Colonial Discourse in British Textual Representations

The themes of colonization identified in this study are the most important themes in British colonial discourse on the Iraqi Kurds and emerge from postcolonial theory. These themes exhibit the dilemmas and issues that emerged with the British colonization and exist as colonial legacy to this day. The critical and thematic dynamics between the British and the Kurds analyzed in this chapter include propaganda and deceptive discourse, mimicry, hybridity, hegemony, dominance, and economic exploitation. In the context of this study, the focus is on the British colonial discourse and its impacts on the Iraqi Kurds from 1914 to 1958. The process of analyzing the themes of British texts reveals the connection between colonial discourse and the military and between economic domination and hegemony over the Kurds in Iraq at the hands of the British. British textual representations examined in this study embody and

present the contents and themes of British colonial discourse on Kurds in Iraq. The themes of colonial discourse in the texts are the main sources and roots for understanding, reading, analyzing and disrupting British colonial discourses and their consequences on colonized Kurds.

According to the postcolonial worldview, the colonized cannot set themselves free from the frames and assumptions created by the colonizers unless they understand what they have been through. Colonization is more than conquering a land physically. Rather, it has negative impacts on the colonized people's psychology, identity, community, economy, and culture. Moreover, postcolonial discourse plays a key role in colonization as a sort of power.

Postcolonial theorists name many implications and consequences of colonization on the colonized that can be seen in the colonial discourse. In order to re-represent the Kurds, it is important to study the colonial British narrative and explain how the main themes of colonization affected and represented the Kurds. There are many consequences of colonization which this study attempts to pinpoint through an analysis of British colonial discourse. The discourse has themes which are related to colonial legacies and policies. The themes are interrelated issues, discussing a theme and its samples is related to analyzing other themes.

3.3.1. Propaganda and Deceptive Discourse

Propaganda is biased information of a misleading nature used to promote a political cause or point of view. From the postcolonial worldview, colonizers use propaganda to gain the favor of the colonized and mobilize the colonized against other external forces (Burman, 2018). Said believed that propaganda has been one of the main tools of colonizers to prepare their subjects to be colonized or to hold the position of the colonizer high in their mind. Deceptive discourse means false or misleading discourse (Dweik, 2008), which is not technically false but may mislead the readers because it is incomplete, creates false impressions, or is otherwise flawed (Kaul, 2006). Propaganda and deceptive discourse played a vital role in the colonization process in the Middle East during WWI, as British Prime Minister David Lloyd George (1863-1945), who served from 1916 to 1922, noted:

Propaganda on both sides probably played a greater part in the last War than in any other. As an illustration, I might take the public declarations we made of the Allied intention to liberate and confer self-government on nationalities inside the enemy Empires, Turkey, Germany, and Austria. These announcements were intended to have a propagandist effect, not only at home but also in neutral countries and perhaps most of all in enemy countries (1938: 1118).

Essentially, the press and media played a significant role in the process of colonization and its policies and agenda. Before the invasion into Kurdish area in Iraq, British colonial troops occupied Baghdad in 1917 and published many newspapers such the *Bagdad Times* in English, *Al-Arab* (The Arab) in Arabic, *Iran* in Persian, and *Tegaishtini Rasti* (Understanding the Truth) in Kurdish (Amin, 2018: 15). These British-instigated newspapers published in Iraq were a media machine of a bigger war and occupation alongside the ground and air forces used by Britain. Britain was interested in generating propaganda to encourage Middle Eastern and Kurdish people against the Turks.

Tegaishtini Rasti was a semi-weekly newspaper published by command of the British army in Iraq in Baghdad from January 1, 1918 to January 27, 1919. It was the first Kurdish newspaper to be published in Baghdad. The paper's headquarters were in Baghdad on present-day Nahr Street in the same building as the *Jareedet Al-Arab* newspaper. The paper's masthead contained no mention of the owners' names, editor-in-chief, or editorial board, and articles were not published under by-lines. However, it is known that Major Soane was the editor-in-chief and that he prepared the entire newspaper's texts for publication (Edmonds, 1937). Soane had mastered Kurdish, and he was assisted in his work by the poet and literary figure Shukri Fadhli. When the British Colonial troops occupied Baghdad, Britain was at war with the Ottoman Empire, which had ruled Iraq since the sixteenth century. Selecting Kurdish as a language of the newspaper was mostly for targeting Kurds in order to spread colonial discourse, and moving the Kurdish intellectuals and readers away from other Middle Eastern languages (such as Arabic and Turkish) in order to attract and deceive them into focusing only on the propaganda of the British.

When British forces began advancing north toward Iraqi Kurdistan in the Spring of 1918, the paper became the mouthpiece of British propagandain support of British positions when dealing with political, social, and cultural issues. For postcolonial theorists such as Said propaganda can easily form opinions in the mind of the colonizers (Dweik, 2008). Intended to serve as a media and propaganda arm for mobilizing the Kurds against the Ottoman Turks, *Tegaishtini Rasti* attacked the Ottoman Empire in its news stories and articles. It promoted Kurdish literature and the poetry of Haji Qadir Kooyi (1817-1897) and Nali (1800-1877) and used the glorification of Islam and the promotion of Kurdish national feelings to win the hearts and minds of the Kurdish people to spread British propaganda and deceptive discourse. It went so far as to show British colonialism as a savior of Islam. The newspaper took a hostile stance toward the October Revolution in Russia, tried to appeal to tribal leaders, elders, and other leaders with influence in the Kurdish community, and depicted the British army as a liberator of the Kurds from Ottoman control.

As described in its tagline, the newspaper's slogan was: "It is a political and social newspaper for serving the unity and independence of the Kurds" (Amin, 2018: 15). It was an attractive and deceptive slogan. The newspaper wanted to present itself as if it supported the independence and the unity of the Kurds. Through this deception, the newspaper tried to attract Kurdish intellectuals. However, these slogans and promises were only meant to pit the Kurds against the Turks and split them. In terms of identity, this was not the true voice of Kurds. This is why George Orwell agreed with postcolonial theorists and postulated that the British Empire's media was used to bring the subjects of the empire to join the British and remain loyal to it (Kerr, 2017). Through the newspaper, the British also tried to prevent the Kurds from allying with the Turks and instead join the British and remain loyal to them.

Tegaishtini Rasti printed 67 issues. Of about 430 texts in different forms and genres, 353 texts were news of war about Britain and the victory of its alliances, the invasion of the cities and towns of Iraq and the Middle East, and propaganda against the Turks and Germans. The others were articles, pictures, advertisements, and notifications. All texts were nameless as part of the newspaper's policy. This indicated that the British

especially Major Soane, the British colonial administrator in Mesopotamia, wrote or directly supervised the newspaper.

The newspaper promised and offered great benefits for the Kurds from the British. However, these were just words on paper and none of them came into being. The editorial of the first issue of the newspaper stated that:

The *Tegaishtini Rasti* (Understanding the Truth) newspaper serves the unity, freedom, and victory of the Kurds. Today all the nations of the world attempt to obtain this holy goal. Many nations could reach this after big efforts. We do not expose any idea not measured by knowledge and mind. Any action was not proved by experiment as we do not see doing it acceptable. With a pure heart, clean soul, everything benefits our Kurdish brothers we say and write. We will support Kurds courageously and Great Britain hopes and looks forward to your cooperation. God will be supportive to meet our goals, well-being and prosperity (1918: 1).

In *Tegaishtini Rasti*, British colonialism used deceptive discourse and propaganda through the following strategies and policies:

1. Enemy-making strategy;
2. Using divide and conquer policy;
3. Creating pro-British nationalism and elites.

3.3.1.1 Enemy-Making Strategy

From the postcolonial point of view, colonizers weaken their subjects by fragmenting and disintegrating them. One of the ways to achieve this goal was through making the colonized peoples enemy and haters of each other (Boven, 2017). The British Empire also followed this strategy in the colonization of the Kurds. The regime tried to turn the Kurds against the Arabs and the Turks. The newspaper discourse used an enemy making mechanism by mobilizing the Kurds against the Ottoman Turks and deceiving Kurds with promises of achieving their dreams, liberation, and independence. It attacked the Ottoman Empire and Germans in its news stories and articles. It also used the glorification of Islam and Kurdish national feelings to win the Kurdish people's

hearts and minds. It also attempted to spread the culture of British modernism and European secularism. The newspaper attempted to popularize the idea of separating religion from the state as in the article "*Religion & Politics are Different*", which was stirring the sense of the Kurdish nation against the Turks. The regime wanted to spread the idea of secularism to prevent the peoples of the Middle East united through religious ties. As stated in issue 4:

The Great British Government wants happiness and a bright future for Middle East nations. Great Britain is fighting in this big war for the freedom and independence of Arab, Kurd and Arman. This was for the autonomy of those nations that gave great efforts. Dear Kurdish brothers, all get out the cotton from your ears and open your eyes, strive for your unity, show your bravery and protect the honor and reputation of ancestors and antecedents. Save yourselves from the services of the Turks, otherwise you will regret and the regretting does not benefit (*Tegaishtini Rasti*, 1918: 1).

Clearly the British tried to encourage the Kurds to listen and open their ears to what the British were advocating. Otherwise the Kurds were not blocking their ears but they refused to what the Empire ordered. As the newspaper was the mouthpiece of the British, the newspaper always tried to make enmity between the Kurds and other nations like the Turks. Therefore, they tried to mobilize the Kurds against the Turks. The Kurds were called "brothers;" however, this was only because they wanted to defeat the Turks. Therefore, the best way was to use the Kurds.

by reading only only the titles of the newspaper from the first issue to the 37th, we can understand the content of the articles published in the newspaper. Below are some of the examples of the titles which are a clear example in and of themselves of using enemy making strategy in their propaganda and deceptive discourse:

- Favors of the Great British for the Iraq
- Religion and politics are different
- Difference of the policy of Britain and Germany
- Britain and Islam
- The oppression of the Turkish upsets Kurds

- The Turkish government changes the Islamic Law (Sharia)
- The Great British Government attempts to obtain prosperity and happiness for the Kurds
- Failure of the Turks
- The Turkish government has become weak
- The surrender of the Germany and the end of the war
- The era of Sultan Rashad was not good for the Muslims (*Tegaishtini Rasti*, 1918).

All of the titles above echo the agenda of making enmity between the Kurds and the Turks. From the titles of the newspaper, it is evident that they used the newspaper to deceive Kurds and use them against the Turks. This was part of the bigger technique of propaganda as postcolonial theory believed colonized used to dominate their subjects in this case the Iraqi Kurds.

In the newspaper, the Kurdish leaders are described as brave and willing to confront the Turks, “all Kurdish Sheikhs of Kurdistan are well-known for bravery; they have never been afraid of the Turkish” (*Tegaishtini Rasti*, Issue 1, 1918: 1). Furthermore, the editorial of Issue 9 of *Tegaishtini Rasti* stated: “previously everything was trouble, but now it is easily solved. These days, the nations of the East should not be like the Turkish nation who deviated from the straight path and followed the German oppressor. By heart and soul, they should turn to democratic and liberal Britain so that each of these nations can reach their dreams. May the Great Britain Government live” (*Tegaishtini Rasti*, 1918: 1). The British represented themselves as the sole savior of the Kurds. The British tried to convey the message that the colonizer was the only hope of the colonized to achieve their dream, which was an autonomous state. Through this propaganda, they wanted to affect the mentality of the Kurds and create a hegemonic state as Gramsci believed that the academic institutions played a vital role in producing and establishing hegemony. Thus, the subaltern which Spivak described in chapter one intended to be created and follow the hegemonic state of the British Empire.

The newspaper stressed on the strategy of making the Middle East peoples enemies in particular the Kurds and the Turks. In the editorial “the British and Islam,” Issue 13 of *Tegaishtini Rasti (Understanding the Truth)* it read: “Those who read history

understand that the Great Britain Government always helps and supports Islam” (*Tegaishtini Rasti*, 1918: 1). The newspaper (Issue 1) also says: “The Great Britain Government is a just and fair government, and beloved by Islam and the Muslims; therefore, if the Kurdish brothers want to be free and have a pleasing life, certainly they need such a government” (*Tegaishtini Rasti*, 1918: 2). The British spread this idea that they care more about Islam and an independent state for the Kurds; if Kurds want such a state, it is better to take sides with the British rather than the Turks. However, it was just a propaganda, after they grounded their feet, they violated the followers of Islam and shut down the mosques, and prevented the Mullah from preaching about Islam (Rozhbayni, 2006). They also discriminated between Christianity and Jewish and Islam as they cared more about the Jewish and Christians and let them be closer to the British power. Some of the British officers even controlled the income of the Mullahs and used it for their benefits such as S.H. Longrigg (Madhar, 2001). These misbehaviors and violation toward Islam disrupts the fact that British propagated about it before imposing their power on the Kurds.

In this way, *Tegaishtini Rasti* pushed British colonial discourse and encouraged Kurds to be a pro-British force through deceitful discourse and enemy making in the beginning of Issue 15, “You, Kurdish brothers are poor and strivers. Suppose the Kurdish soldiers carry their weapons and come to unite with you. As a result, you can create chaos. This is because today the Turks are very swamped and preoccupied, and cannot overcome you” (*Tegaishtini Rasti*, Issue 15, 1918: 1). The British Empire did not want to fight the Turks, so they tried to use the Kurds to make proxy war for them. By referring to the Kurds as “brothers” via publishing *Tegaishtini Rasti* in the Kurdish language they hoped to secure Kurdish alliance. Therefore, Kaul believed that the newspaper “played a notable part in the war, spreading pro-British propaganda” (Kaul, 2006: 49). For him, one area in which the Government retained technological advantage over nationalists was in the sphere of propaganda with newsreels.

3.3.1.2. Divide and Conquer Policy

The divide and conquer policy is won by getting one's opponents to fight among themselves. This expression is translated into Latin maxim, *divide et impera* ("divide and rule"). Postcolonial theorists such as Said held the belief that the colonizers did

extreme damage to their subjects through disintegrating and dominating them. The Empire tested the Divide and Conquer policy for the first time in Africa and it was a very successful policy in sub-Saharan Africa (Bethke, 2012). This division would help the British conquer the states. British colonialism used the divide and conquer strategy towards Kurds and other Middle Eastern nations to build discourse for hegemony and domination over the Kurds.

The British encouraged the Kurds to form a unified unit to stand against the Turks. In the newspaper (Issue 13) published:

The Great Britain Government is a just and fair government, and beloved by Islam and the Muslims, and therefore if the Kurdish brothers want to be free and have a pleasing life, certainly they need such a government (*Tegaishtini Rasti*, Issue 13, 1918: 2).

The Empire wanted to present itself as if any peoples who join the empire will experience a pleasing life and be granted many benefits. They planted the idea that the freedom of the Kurds is connected with their separation from the Turks and joining the Empire since the Turkish Empire is not a fair government. There was no agenda behind this propaganda other than dividing the Kurds from the Turks to be conquered easily. To this, postcolonial theory stresses the fact that colonization is a systematic process which employs various means other than only army and physical force.

The newspaper used Kurdish poetry and literature to encourage division. The newspaper used a poem of a famous classic poet Salim to provoke the feelings of the Kurds as the Kurds respected Salim and listened to his poems with feelings. It was written in the newspaper: "as we mentioned previously, the Kurds have to struggle for their freedom strove, as the Kurdish Poet Salim (1800-1866) says:

To the your loyal and great resourceful,
You have to listen advices
The wise young are those who follow and
See the advice of their old and wise great (*Tegaishtini Rasti*, Issue 1, 1918: 2).

The newspaper manipulated the message in this poem to motivate the Kurds, who are compared to as young and not knowledgeable, to listen and follow the British Empire, which is compared to a wise and experienced person.

The British benefited from dividing the Kurds and Turks. This helped the British conquer the land. They spread the idea that the Turks were enemies and wanted to eliminate the other races:

The Turkish wanted to have the Arabs, Kurds, Arman, Jews and Christians killed. They only wanted themselves to survive.... These blockheads and oppressors tried to have Iraqis killed by their glib tongues instead of bringing joy to them. They always described them as traitors until they angered them. Therefore, the Turks have gone like this. The blood of the innocent seized, shocked and destroyed them (Tegaishtini Rasti, Issue 1, 1918: 2).

The complaint of the oppressed burnt them as the poet Nali (1800-1877) says:

*Oh, the world gatherer, resurrection is in your imagination
On the day when you die, you did not have this world nor that
resurrection (Tegaishtini Rasti, Issue 1, 1918:2).*

This poem of Nali has been manipulated and contextualized to fit the agenda of the Empire. The poem is by no means political; however, they used it as an advocate of their agenda. They spread the ideology that the British were saviors sent by God. This ideology is at the heart of colonialism. Spreading the idea that the colonizer is a savior and they are there to help the colonized:

Until God sent the Great British Government to the Iraqis to remove the oppressive and powerless government and protect people from their constraints and chains. All the people became free ... Islamic and national ethics are highly respected.... All the Iraqis live happily under the shade of the Great British Government justice (Tegaishtini Rasti, Issue 1, 1918:1).

Studying this mentality, it can be easily inferred that the British government considered themselves as superior to their subjects which Edward Said, as mentioned in chapter one, refers to this as the binary relationship between inferiority (colonized) and superiority (colonizer). Therefore, the empire wanted all the inferiors to follow it and listen to what the British government said.

The editorial of Issue 9 of *Tegaishtini Rasti* newspaper stated that:

Previously everything was a trouble, but now it is easily solved. These days, the nations of the east should not be like the Turkish nation who deviated from the straight path and followed the German oppressor. They should by heart and soul turn to democratic and liberal Britain so that each of these nations can reach their dreams. May the Great Britain Government live (*Tegaishtini Rasti*, 1918:1).

Said's frame of superior mentality of the colonizer is evident in this quote. The newspaper suggested that the British is the only chosen and right path, all the other paths and parties are deviating from the right path. The newspaper spread this propaganda and deceptive news to conquer the land without resistance. They divided the Turks, and the Kurds made them each other's enemies. Some of the historical resources mention that during the 400 hundred years of the Ottoman Empire, the Turks and the Kurds never fought in the cities. Rather the rich Turks settled in the Kurdish villages and farmed in partnership with the Kurds (Rozhbayani, 2006:39-41). With the arrival of the British, the conflicts between the Kurds, the Turks and the Arabs emerged due to the Drive and Conquer policy of the British through *Tegaishtini Rasti*. Therefore, this newspaper is one of the most prominent examples of spreading propaganda.

3.3.1.3. The Making of Pro-British Nationalism

The British wanted to create a pro-British nationalism in the Kurdish areas. Ashish Nandy, a well-known postcolonial theorist, states: "Colonization colonizes the mind in addition to bodies and it releases forces within colonized society to alter their cultural priorities once and for all" (2005). The British wanted to alter the Kurds and remove the Kurdish identity in them and give them a pro-British identity. *Tegaishtini Rasti* helped to spread this idea. In Issue15 of February 19, 1918, the newspaper published the following:

You, Kurdish brothers are poor and strivers. If the Kurdish soldiers carry their weapons and come to unite with you, as a result, you can create chaos. This is because today the Turks are very swamped and preoccupied, and cannot overcome you (*Tegaishtini Rasti*, 1918: 1)

They promoted this national feeling among the Kurds and encouraged them to fight for their homelands. This Kurdish nationalism which is encouraged in this quote was not for the sake of the Kurds, rather they wanted to create a nationalism which is British within.

The unity of the Kurds and having strong Kurdish nationalism helped the empire because they knew the unity of the Kurds would drive out the Turks from the land. Issue 15 also published:

We suppose that the Turks fight you. Is it better to die for the sake of homeland or hunger? Of course, dying for the sake of your homeland is better than the enemy killing you by making you hungry. Today if the Great British Government knows any dilemma happens to Kurdistan, they immediately send weapons and troops and do not let any Kurd's nose bleed. Ambitions and aims of Kurdistan will be obtained (*Tegaishtini Rasti*, 1918: 1).

By saying that the Kurds will achieve their ambitions and aims, the newspaper means the British will achieve their ambitions and aims because it was in the favor of the Empire if the Kurds and the Turks fight as both of them were its enemies and they would be weak fighting each other and thus dominating them would be easier. That is, the newspaper attempted to turn the Kurds to pro-British Empire and enemies of the Turks.

The newspaper propagated that the British would help and support the Kurds in their cause. However, in an editorial (Issue 19), they indirectly threatened the Kurds and, on another side, encouraged them to only depend on British colonialism. The hippocratic policy of the empire is evident in the case of dealing with the Iraqi Kurds.

The newspaper portrayed the silence and impartiality of Kurds against the Turks as death by writing that:

The Kurds should accelerate so that they will be mentioned in the peace treaty and their rights of self-government have to be considered. As you see, the British government likes the Kurds—this is because the British government, more than other countries, knows the Kurds and wants to support the Kurds too much. Nevertheless, if the Kurds are silent, the

British Government does not help them, and the Kurds will have much loss (*Tegaishtini Rasti*, 1918: 1).

This is again approaching the Kurds through their desires and dreams. The Kurds wanted to be named and granted an independent state in the treaties between the British and French Empires. The British, which controlled the Kurdish areas, promised the Kurds to support the Kurds for an independent state; however, it was not more than propagandistic words. They attempted to legitimize their claim by using political rhetoric and Kurdish literature.

If a smart Kurd properly reads these two poems of Haji Qader, he will never hesitate to cooperate and aid his people..." We believe that strong young and patriotic Kurds would strive for their country's lofty goals shortly.... (*Tegaishtini Rasti*, issue 24, 1918: 3).

The newspaper urged Kurds to fight and unify to demonstrate that the British Empire was only there to help, not conquer. They embodied the notion that they were one with the Kurds. However, the newspaper changed its policy after increasing nationalism topics, publishing nation poems, and encouraging Kurds to unite. The Kurdish tribes started to unite which made the British think about stopping such topics in the newspaper as the empire saw the unity of the tribes as a threat. Noteworthy that after Issue 24, they removed the column of Kurdish literary works in the newspaper because they felt that they aroused and promoted Kurdish national feelings, and as a result, they will lose their control and create risk for Britain's future in the region.

The Kurds should accelerate so that they will be mentioned in the peace treaty and their rights of self-government have to be considered. As you see, the British government likes the Kurds—this is because the British government, more than other countries, knows the Kurds, and they want to support the Kurds too much. But if the Kurds are silent, the British Government does not help them and the Kurds will have a lot of loss (*Tegaishtini Rasti*, 1918: 1).

The colonizer encouraged them to speak for themselves so that they would be mentioned in the peace treaties; however, even though in treaties like Sèvres, they gave

the Kurds few rights, they were never accomplished. This only helped the colonizer to defeat one of its rivals, i.e. the Kurds. They encouraged the Kurdish tribes to unite them against the Turks:

Here, we have a demand which makes the great leaders of Kurdistan understand the circumstances of Kurdistan... There are a lot of Kurdistan men and tribesmen—if these men make chaos, they can save the Sulaimani Governorate and its surroundings from the oppression of the Turks....and if the Turkish army moves, the British Army stand opposite them, and they (the Turkish) lose Mosul state (*Tegaishtini Rasti*, Issue 19, 1918: 2).

The newspaper published some texts to represent themselves as admirers and saviors of the Kurdish culture and identity. They published Kurdish poems in so many Issues. They wrote about the Kurdish intellectuals and poets as found in the Issues from 19 to 24. For example, in Issue 24, a poem of Haji Qader Koyi (1817-1897) was published:

If the Kurdish nation is not united
They will be defeated like that
All small and big nations
Certainly, the Kurds are brave
But the era has made them separated
They have stayed unfriend and oppressed
Like ominous owls into a destroyed den...

If a wise Kurd accurately looks at these two poems of Haji Qader, he never delays cooperating and helping his nation... We hope that the brave young and patriotic Kurds make attempts for the high ambition of their nation shortly... (*Tegaishtini Rasti*, 1918: 2).

After all of the preparation, deception, and promises of British colonialism in *Tegaishtini Rasti*, the British colonial troops invaded Sulaimani Governorate. This invasion reveals the true meaning of the articles and texts published in the newspaper and proves that none of what they wrote for the Kurds was true.

On October 10 1918, Sheikh Mahmud, as the authority of Sulaimani appointed Major Noel as an advisor of Sheikh Mahmud; after that, the role of *Tegaishtini Rasti* was

weakened and ended. This stage can be considered a transitional phase. The Kurds and the British are trying to monitor and understand the truth of their policies, promises, rights and obligations. Soon Sheikh Mahmud felt the doubt and did not keep words from the British. Therefore, he emancipated Sulaimani city, imprisoned some British authorities and ended this phase.

The theme of propaganda and deceptive discourse is prominent in the discourse of the colonial legacy. By promoting the idea of nationalism and that the Kurds are brave and deserve a better government than the Turks, they tried to mobilize the Kurds against the Turks considering that its enemies are weak and the empire can easily control them.

3.3.2. Mimicry

The word "mimicry" is originated from the Greek word "mime," which refers to a performer who silently imitates gestures and expressions. Mimicry is most frequently found in colonial and postcolonial texts when people of a colonized society replicate their colonizers' language, dress, politics, or cultural attitude. It is noteworthy to explain that "imitation" and "mimicry" are not the same in content. Imitation means imitating someone or something which is positive and can have a positive effect on the imitator. However, mimicry refers to adopting someone's lifestyle which does not fit the mimic; therefore, ridiculing oneself and leads to the confusion of identity and ambivalence. Mimicry is considered an opportunistic pattern of conduct under colonialism: one replicates the person in authority to gain access to that same power. While copying a dominant identity, one must presumably suppress one's own cultural identity, yet in some cases colonial subjects may be so perplexed by their cultural experience with a dominant foreign culture that there is no obvious pre-existing identity to repress. Commonly, mimicry refers to a replication intended to mock the object imitated generally in an unfriendly manner.

As discussed in chapter one, Homi Bhabha's work is one of the most well-known examples of anti-colonization used as a mimetic discourse. Bhabha views what he sees as anti-colonial subjects practice's reiteration of metropolitan powers as a shift, i.e. a nuanced articulation of difference inside the same semiotic space. "Repeatability in my terms is always the repetition in the very act of enunciation, something else, a difference

that is a little bit uncanny" (Bhabha, 1984: 131). Bhabha asserts Colonial "mimicry" is when the colonizer wants to improve the other and to make him like himself, but in a way that still maintains a clear sense of difference.

It is evident that colonial discourse represents the colonized as subordinate and barbaric; however, such stigma is necessary to the colonized in order for them to be submissive and turned into ideological creatures. As James C. Scott argues, the powerful always have "A collective theatre to maintain which often becomes part of their self-definition" (Scott, 1990: 49-50). That is, the colonizer's existence is dependent on the colonized survival; thus, the colonizer must submit to dealing with them rather than eliminating them. The principles of Mimicry develop in this unstable dynamic of dominance (Larrondo, 2008). Thus, using the postcolonial theme of mimicry, we can understand the portrayal of Kurds in the discourses of British Imperial administrations.

There is much evidence which demonstrates how the Iraqi Kurds become mimics of the British colonizers regarding their lifestyle. The impact of mimicry reflected on almost all the aspects of Kurds' life as it was deeply and systematically planned for by the British Empire. Lindfield Soane in his book, *"A Recent Journey in Kurdistan (1935),"* mocks the Kurds for imitating the British dress style and being unable to wear or create it correctly as he states:

They have been replaced by ill-fitting European clothes—the trousers either too short or too tight, and the ridiculous little Sardari which they perch on their heads is just as unsuitable for hot countries as for cold ones. One day a Kurd was escorting me back to the hotel from his father's house. We were caught in a heavy storm, and unfortunately there was nowhere where we could take shelter. I saw his suit gradually getting shorter and tighter, until the trousers without any exaggeration nearly reached his knees. I had great difficulty in stopping myself from going into fits of laughter; he, poor fellow, looked terribly distressed (Soane, 1935: 408).

As the quote illustrates, the Kurds started wearing Kurdish clothes less, instead, they wanted to wear British clothes as a sign that they are adopting a British identity. In this way, the British Empire is seen as superior and the Kurds as inferior.

The impact of mimicry is even evident in the way the Kurds prepared the meals. Hamilton was invited by the Kurds and he was supposed to experience Kurdish lifestyle and Kurdish food. However, he was surprised how accurately the Kurds make and serve their food as the British do:

I was amazed at the care with which my host had planned his Christmas Eve in this isolated station. There were no guests he could have invited and he certainly expected none. Yet the room was decorated as any English home would be at Christmas time. One kept expecting a multitude of visitors to arrive and bands of waiters began singing “Good King Wenceslas” outside the window. After dinner as we sat with liqueurs and coffee by the fire, I knew that I might hope for some sort of a story from this modest man who was widely known as one of the leading authorities on the language, customs and character of the Kurdish people (Hamilton, 1958: 134).

Similar to the experience of Hamilton, Lady Soane is taken aback when invited by the Mutasarif and she is confused about whether she is in an English house or a Kurdish house. She writes:

The first evening of my arrival I was invited by the Mutasarif to his house to meet the notables of the town. I was quite taken aback when a tray containing the usual cocktail ingredients was passed round. The dinner was typically English, and my host apologized for not changing into a dinner jacket. I could not help feeling a little disappointed, as I was hoping to sit down to a Kurdish meal (Soane, 1935: 411).

Captain Hay mentions that Kurds even mimicked the British lifestyle in the kitchen tools and equipment:

In the morning, we shall wake up soon after dawn, and when we are ready, a meal will be brought to us consisting of hot milk, tea, bread, mast [a Kurdish Homemade Yogurt], and cheese. The milk is served in large encrusted cups with "Love Me" and "Souvenir" on them and "Made in Germany" on the bottom. Presumably, a market for them was found in Mesopotamia when the war broke out, and they could no longer be exported to England. Similarly, in the most remote places, I frequently came across ash-trays with portraits of our King and Queen, made to commemorate their Coronation (Hay, 1921: 55).

Trying to accurately mimic the British, the Kurds demonstrate the power and the impact of the British colonizers on themselves. The British implanted an inferiority in the mind of the Kurds and built the stereotype that the British are superior through their various strategies, and propaganda. The mimicry attitude was even reflected in the institutions of the Kurds. They tried to follow an English system and design. Soane writes:

The school was upon the outskirts of the town in a high enclosure. Half of this formed a pretty garden and the rest a playground while the building itself was but a row of neglected rooms along one wall. The European style of culture and education supposed to be imparted to the pupils was evidenced by a high horizontal bar, and the sign of gymnastic exercises never performed (Soane, 1923: 278).

Education is an important sector of any country and group, and it should reflect the lifestyle and the agenda of the group, however, as the quote shows, the Kurdish schools were adopting a system which was the reflection of the British lifestyle and agenda. The Kurdish people even encouraged their children to adopt a British character by helping them to get educated in the British institutions. When Lady Soane describes Sheikh Mahmud's son, the reader senses mimicry running deep and evolving into hybridity:

One would have taken him for an English boy but his slight accent. He was educated at Die English School in Alexandria and told me he was going to America to study Law and Medicine. So, it does not look as if he is going to follow in his father's footsteps (Soane, 1935: 409).

The danger of mimicry can be seen in this quote as the son of a Kurdish leader is removed from the Kurdish community and indirectly joins the British. The impact of this can be better felt if one imagines and asks the question of what would happen if all the Kurds were like the son of Sheikh Mahmud? The answer that would come to mind is a systematic ethnocide of a people that puts them into an ambivalent state of being British and Kurdish.

All the above instances show how the Kurds wanted to copy and adopt the British lifestyle in every aspect of their lives as much as possible. The Iraqi Kurds in these examples fit exactly into Bhabha's description of a mimic as the British colonial rules and legacies have had a lasting impact on the identity and mentality of Kurds making them believe that the culture of the British colonizer is the source of progress and superior civilization and thus it is better to suppress their identities to in exchange for borrowing the British identity.

One of the early negative impacts of the mimicry on the mimic is being ridiculed by the Englishman. This policy of motivating the Kurds to copy the British lifestyle has left a lasting impact on them as they realize that they do not fit the borrowed identity and yet they adopted it. They are English-Kurdish men and yet belong to none. Bhabha calls this state "in-betweenness" which means psychologically lost and confused about his identity (Bhabha, 1984, pp. 127-133). Along with Bhabha, Ling calls this a "formal mimicry" and is a form of mimicry that allows the colonizer to mock. The British were successful in taking away the Kurdish from their identity and bringing them closer to the British ideologies. For Raphael Lemkin, this is a systematic ethnocide of a nation which is worse than a physical genocide (Lemkin, 2005).

Bhabha believes that colonizers motivate the colonized to be mimics to use and manipulate them later in their favor; for example, most of the mimics were employed as guides and translators, such as the Kurdish man mentioned in the previous quote who wore English clothes, even though the clothes did not fit him. This choice was determined by the need to get a job and involved being manipulated by the English as a guide to lead him around Slemani (Bhabha, 1984: 125-133).

Mimicry is both an expected behavioral pattern whereby the colonial power intentionally tries to reproduce in their subjects' forms of behavior that they consider to be "civilized." Such behavior facilitates colonial usurpation for the subaltern figure. Inspired by Jacques Lacan's assertion that "the effect of mimicry is camouflage...it is not a question of harmonizing with the background, but against a mottled background," Bhabha's understanding suggests that mimicry is an opportunistic pattern of behavior (Bhabha, 1984: 125). This desire to assimilate, change and reproduce a civilized "other" is expressed by Arnold T. Willison in his book, as he stated: "They are men of little education, but ... tolerant and fair-minded ... with many of the feelings which are productive of the best English types. Their sons will, under a sound system of education, form a society of Arab squires and business men which will be a factor of great importance in the political development of this country" (Wilson, 1931: 93). The colonizer encouraged mimicry because the process of mimicry led to westernizing the Kurdish nation and adopting British practices and culture of Western Europe by compulsion and or influence. Lees, in his article, states that, "A small group of chosen officers were to hold advisory positions and be in charge of the training of local armed forces. The policy decided upon was an unfortunate one as events proved, but in the circumstances, there seemed to be no alternative" (Lees, 1928: 253). The officers promoted the idea of mimicry and tried to imitate the British nation.

Having these officers promoting the British ideologies led to creating the idea that the British and western powers were the center of the world. Eurocentric is also another aspect that has come to being due to mimicry. Eurocentric attitudes centered around highlights of European culture and history. An example of Eurocentrism was having people asserting that European countries are better than others. This ideology led the Kurds to believe that the British were the center of civilization and progress, which was evident in the colonial discourses. Soane believed that mimicking the colonizer would reproduce a civilized society. Similar to Soane, Edmonds shared similar belief of civilizing the Kurds by having them imitate the British:

There was nothing to prevent individuals especially the members of aristocratic families with urban contacts in the provinces or cadets from dying [in] military elementary school at Sulaimani for instance, from

doing what in this country we should call, "coming south" from the Highlands, and rising to the highest offices in the government or the army. It was men such as these that supplied the intellectual element for the nationalist movement which must come next for consideration (Edmonds, 1958: 143).

Here one can see that the colonizer uses propaganda to encourage the colonized to imitate and adopt a British character. They wanted to give bait to the Kurds; imitate us and you will be appreciated and have a high reputation in the community. This is what Said, Bhabha and Spivak, and most of the postcolonial theorists stated that the colonizer does not want only the land of the colonizer but also wanted them to adopt the colonizer's identity, which is, in fact, as devastating if not more as dominating their land.

Another reason that the colonized, the Iraqi Kurds, mimicked the colonizers in a state of resistance as an attempt to understand the culture of the colonizer could be their effort to try to mimic their lifestyle and education:

Some indication of the technical spirit that has grown up in Iraq is given by the unusual qualifications of the responsible ministers and executives of the present government. Of these, and many are comparatively young men, quite a few are British university graduates in engineering, science and architecture. Others have had American and European technical educations (Hamilton, 1937: 9).

The colonizer had planted an ideology that mimicking the colonizer is progress. The Iraqi Kurds mimicked the British in the country's administrations. As Hay states that the clerks who worked in government institutions mimicked the British in what they wore:

Large numbers of the middle-class Turks of Kirkuk and Arbil who possess some land, but wish to augment their incomes, become *effendi*, i.e. they learn to read and write, wear European clothes, and undertake appointments in the Government service. *Effendi* is a Turkish term which in speaking is equivalent to the English "Sir" being used in addressing any man who is "respectable" and as a title corresponds to

“Esquire.” It is applied to all religious dignitaries in towns, to the lower grades of the officer in the army, to the professional classes, and the clerks and officials in Government Service. Any man who relies upon his power of reading and writing to earn a living becomes an *effendi* (Hay, 1921: 85).

This is an obvious example of Kurds imitating the colonizer to receive benefits. Economy has always been a tool at the hand of the colonizer to push the colonized to accept the colonizer’s ideology. They used financial benefits as the above quote shows to encourage the Kurds to imitate the British lifestyle.

The fact that mimicry is possible reveals the duplicity of colonial discourse because of the ambivalence between the colonial power's perception of the colonial ‘Other’ as inferior and the ability of that colonial ‘Other’ to master the “civilized” languages of the colonial power. As Bhabha notes, "the menace of mimicry is its double vision which in disclosing the ambivalence of colonial discourse also disrupts its authority" (Bhabha, 1984: 129).

Colonization is extremely devastating to the point that it negatively impacts the colonizer in a way that it pushes colonizers to be mimics. Mimicry is an evident theme in the discourse of the British colonizer. Mimicking the colonizer had a great effect on the identity of the colonizer. Reverse mimicry which means the colonizer imitates the colonized in order to record and collect deep informative and detailed knowledge of colonized people. There are so many examples in the history of British colonialism of the Iraqi Kurds. The British orientalist and officers disguised themselves as Kurds or Arabs. The most famous example of this kind of reverse mimicry ("passing down") might be Major Soane who often attempted to disguise himself as an Arab or Kurd during his time as a colonial administrator. Major Soane mimicked the Kurdish as he wore their clothes and practiced their religion only for the purpose of his mission to benefit the empire. He wanted to fit in with the Kurdish community to win their hearts and minds and then understand them to manipulate the knowledge against them through the Empire. This demonstrates that it is not only the colonized who become mimics of the colonizers but the vice versa is also feasible.

Having read the above colonial texts from the postcolonial lens in general and Homi Bhabha's argument of mimicry, one can see that the Kurds mimicked the British Empire lifestyle to get accepted and receive benefits. This shows that the colonization of the Iraqi Kurds by the British Empire, like all the other colonizations, negatively impacted the native identity of the colonized. The Kurds, for a long time, to the present to a greater or lesser degree, have lived in an ambivalent state. They were not Kurdish nor British, rather they were blurred copies of the British. Through this negative impact, the British made the present absent and the absent present. The Kurds adopted a British character who were far away from the Kurds while the Kurds became absent Kurds and their Kurdish character disappeared.

The British colonial discourse promoted the Kurds to mimic the British and this led the Kurds to ambivalence. The British presented a model of development and civilization while the Kurds were shown as ignorant and uncivilized. This policy urged the Kurds to look up to the British as their model and connect to the colonizers even after they were free from them. Thus, the colonization process continued even in the absence of the British on the land of the Kurds. Nonetheless, colonizers also were affected and became mimics during the process. This is why, it is important for the Iraqi Kurds and the British colonizers to understand the colonization process and its implications in order to counter its lasting impacts, which are lasting to this day, and reverse it through various techniques such as promoting the culture and the tradition of the Iraqi Kurds and giving value to it.

3.3.3. Hybridization

Another theme which is closely related to mimicry is hybridity. A simple definition of hybridity would be an exchange between eastern and western cultures. Homi Bhabha initially used the term in his essay "Signs Taken for Wonders". He clearly thinks of hybridity as a subversive tool whereby colonized people might challenge various forms of oppression (Bhabha's example is of the British missionaries' imposition of the Bible in rural India in the 19th century). As mentioned in Chapter One, Bhabha borrowed the notion of hybridity from Jacques Derrida. Hybridity occurs as a result of an "assimilation of contraries," where the fusion of the colonized with the civility

historically attributed to the colonizer, not only serves to reveal the “other” but creates a liminal identity (Bhabha, 2004).

According to Licata (2012: 4), Bhabha envisages the cultural hybridity as a way of countering the colonial power: by blurring the intercultural boundaries, and therefore, by de-essentializing the colonized, the blending of native and European cultures produced an ambivalence that gradually altered the authority of colonial power. The term hybridity, which relies on a metaphor from biology, is commonly used in much broader ways, to refer to any kind of cultural mixing or mingling such as between East and West. As it is commonly used, this more general sense of hybridity has many limitations. Hybridity is defined as cultural mixing in general that does not help to explicitly account for the many different paths by which someone can come to embody a mix of eastern and western attributes, nor does it differentiate between people who have consciously striven to achieve a mixed or balanced identity and those who unconsciously reflect it.

Hybridity is one of the prominent themes of postcolonial theory and it is quite evident in the discourse of the British colonial legacy. As a general rule, cultural hybridity under colonialism seems to be a close cousin of mimicry. It is difficult for an Indian or African, subjected to British rule, to adopt manners or cultural values from the British without, in some sense, suppressing his or her own way of being and identity. Something similar might be said of a new immigrant in England or the United States: there is strong pressure to quickly acculturate to the norms of the place where one lives, which sometimes entails curbing a thick accent or changing one’s dress styles or habits.

The British tried to remove the Kurds from their pure Kurdish identity in stages. At the beginning, the British tried to westernize the Kurds by implanting a British character in their mind. The British Empire employed various methods and techniques to achieve this goal. Encouraging the Kurds to change their identity through financial and power benefits was one of the ways. As mentioned in the mimicry, when the British urged the Kurds to get educated and copy the lifestyle of the British to get into high offices and power, one can see that this is motivating the Kurds to look down upon their identity and adopting a British identity. This is to weaken the ethical Kurdish identity, which is

composed of Kurdish individuals, with the aim of eradicating the Kurdish spirit in them eventually.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the British focused intensely on spreading its impact on the Middle Eastern countries. As Hamilton states:

The First World War is the great turning point to which we must always come back in examining current trends in the Middle East: it brought under direct European administration for a considerable time large areas which had theretofore seen only an occasional Western traveler, but at the same time, the mutual slaughter undermined die old prestige of die Western peoples; it coincided with die introduction into those countries of die internal combustion engine. Although for some years after the war the attention of the intellectual classes was focused on the attainment of complete independence, Western ideas in other fields, and the material manifestations of Western progress, were simultaneously exerting a profound influence on the ways of thought of die governments and peoples (Edmonds, 1958: 144).

The British Empire practiced this policy on the Kurds in a very effective manner and thus left a huge impact on the identity of the Kurds.

Edmonds states that after the First World War the British and western ideas had a great influence on the people and the government: “although for some years after the war the attention of the intellectual classes was focused on the attainment of complete independence, Western ideas in other fields, and the material manifestations of Western progress, were simultaneously exerting a profound influence on the ways of thought of the governments and peoples” (Edmonds, 1958: 146). This influence of the colonial legacy had a great influence on the way people thought and behaved. The British Empire even affected the lifestyle of Kurdish people. It gave birth to cultural hybridity. Hamilton refers to this cultural hybridity in his book. When spending an evening with Ismail Bag, he gave a clear illustration of cultural hybridity: “I am told there are now many broadcasts from Europe and from Turkey and Russia. I should like specially to hear those from England. I can speak English and I could listen to the news and to your Western music. It would be a great blessing to me because, as I expect you have heard, I

usually sit up most of the night” (Hamilton, 1937: 197). This is erasing the Kurdish identity because when Kurds are taken away from their values, then their identity is removed. Identity, for James Fearon, is “the aspects or attributes of a person that form the basis for his or her dignity or self-respect” (1999, 11). Kurdish culture was and remains valuable to the Kurds. When it is taken from them as the above quote shows, then their identity is taken from them or at least confused with another identity, here British identity.

The selected discourses show that this idea did not only affect the common colonized people, it even affects Sheikh Mahmud’s family who were anti-British and who revolted against the British Empire Lady. Soane in her memoir states this belief:

“On my return to Baghdad I was visited by Sheikh Mahmud's son Baba Ali. He said his father, who was a political prisoner at Ramadi, would like to see me. One would have taken him for an English boy but for his slight accent. He was educated at the English School in Alexandria, and told me he was going to America to study Law and Medicine. So, it does not look as if he is going to follow in his father’s footsteps!” (Soane, 1935: 408).

This quote illustrates that the strategy of the British Empire does not only push the colonized to adopt hybrid identity, but also those who revolted against colonization, Sheikh Muhmud’s son in this context.

Another strategy which the empire used to produce hybrid identity in the Kurds, in addition to the Westernization of the Kurdish society, was to impose an Iraqi identity on them. The process of their annexation to Iraq by Britain was fraught with the process of Arabizing the Kurdish regions that were forcibly annexed to Iraq. Edmond states that annexing the Iraqi Kurds to Iraq killed the hope of the Kurds to form a great Kurdistan:

There is a tendency in most parts of the Middle East to accuse the Western Powers—unfairly, as I think—of bolstering up the position of the old reactionary grandees so that they have kept all effective political power in their own hands. It is not to be wondered at, then, that just as the earlier nationalist leaders, sobered by experience and the hard logic of facts, had reached the conviction that their dreams of a greater Kurdistan were no longer capable of fulfillment, and that incorporation

in Iraq offered the only possible future for the Kurdish parts of the Mosul vilayet, many young Kurds, with a racial grievance added to feelings of social frustration and discontent (Edmonds, 1958: 146).

However, the British connected Iraqi Kurdistan to Iraq being aware of the consequences because they realized that the Arabs and the Kurds have two different identities and their lands are different geographically as Iraqi Kurdistan is a mountainous area while southern and central Iraq are plains. As Lyon maintains "the most interesting of the three that formed the modern Iraq, with its Kurdish mountains, its potential oil fields, and its many varieties of climate, religions, races and sport, with special officers, supported by religious fanatics preaching a jihad" (Lyon, 2001: 64). However, the British annexed Iraqi Kurdistan to Iraq in their own interest and left no other possibilities for the Kurds but to accept the annexation.

With the annexation of Iraqi Kurdistan to Iraq, the process of Arabization of the Kurdish areas and weakening their national identity began at the hands of Britain in the areas inhabited by the Kurds in the former Mosul *vilayet* of the Ottoman Empire. This was in order to establish an Iraqi Arab state as this was a kind of fulfillment of the promise that Britain had given to Hussein Ibn Ali, Sharif of Mecca regarding the establishment of several Arab states (Smith, 1993; Yassine-Hamdan & Pearson, 2014). All of this was done by Britain against the Kurds as part of their policy with the aim of preserving its imperial interests and securing economic and political security for it. From Britain's point of view, the establishment of Iraq and the annexation of the Mosul *vilayet* was a British goal being a rich in oil and natural resources area and that was considered an important step to preserve the security of their empire in the long run (J.R.C.A.S, 1926). This enforced annexation negatively impacted and confused the identity of the Kurds to this day.

Kurdish people refused to be a part of the Iraqi government, yet Iraqi identity was imposed on them. Gertrude Bell in one of her letters states this matter clearly: "Sulaimaniya has refused, on a plebiscite, to come in under the Arab government, and is going for the present to be a little Kurdish enclave administered directly under Sir Percy...The population is wholly Kurdish and they say they don't want to be part of an Arab State" (Bell, 1927b: 598). At this point the Kurds were fully Kurdish and

respected their identity which was a threat for the agendas of the British Empire. However, due the benefits of the empire they were forced to be a part of the new Iraqi government. Kurdistan had a wide range of natural resources. Thus, according to Bell, if Kurdish area was not part of Iraq, the Turk would re-control the oil fields and threaten Iraq eventually (Bell, 1927b). So, the empire linked Iraqi Kurdistan to Iraq for no other purpose other than her political and financial benefits. Bell also believed any Kurdish state would be a futile attempt because “let alone the fact that you haven't anything to build upon with wild Kurdish chiefs. Your material, as Ja'far Pasha says, is so damn. Most of them are holy men, half-witted and half starved, wholly barbarous anyhow; and each one hates the other like the devil. How are you going to create a Kurdish state?” (Bell, 1920). British arrogance and hegemonic treatment toward the Kurds whom the British saw as uncivilized resulted in creating a hybrid identity. As the Iraqi Kurds linked to Iraq in order to kill their dream of self-determination and consider themselves as Iraqi.

As the part of the subjugation and repressing the Kurdish identity, the British on purpose committed epistemic violence and distorted the Kurdish identity by violating knowledge and intentionally promoted the Arab identity with the intention of imposing a borrowed identity on the Kurds:

The censorship was used not so much to conceal facts from the enemy as to give definite impressions to people at home and those impressions were false. Official eye-witness dispatches were thrice censored in the field, at Basra, and in India— before they reached London, where they were subject to fresh examination. The expression “friendly Arab” drew a warning that no turn of phrase should be used which implied that all Arabs were not friendly. When our wounded were murdered and the graves of our dead despoiled by Arabs, they were described as Kurds and others and marauders in Turkish pay (Wilson, 1930: 165-166).

This misrepresentation presented a barbarous image of Kurds to the public opinion of the western community to validate their agenda of annexing the Kurds to Iraq and imposing the Iraqi identity on the Kurds.

Although the mandate policy in Iraq was apparently claiming to defend the Kurds, in reality it was a policy of persecution, abuse and silencing the Kurdish voice with the help of the Iraqi Arab government that Britain established as it was placing obstacles in front of all Kurdish rights and demands (Khursheed, 2005). Even during the process of Arabizing, Iraqi Kurdistan began by Britain at that time through their attempts to change the demographic of the areas inhabited by the Kurds as they were trying to reduce the presence of the Kurds in some areas through the use of some statistics and wrong information. In one example, Sir Kinahan Cornwallis, who was a military British consultant, was giving false information in his reports on the statistics carried out in 1930 regarding the Kurdish areas where he was trying to make the percentage of the Kurdish population appear to be 49.5% so that the percentage of Kurds would not constitute the majority while according to the British Ethnographic Map of 1931, the percentage of the Kurdish population in those areas was 57% which shows that he was trying to make the Kurds appear as a minority in Iraq. Cornwallis falsified two documents in his statistics, in the first he made the percentage of the Jews more than it really was, and secondly, he underestimated the number of Kurds. This was in order to reduce the number of Kurdish delegates and officials in the official administrations of the area and to treat the Kurds as a minority (Dündar, 2012).

Edmonds, in a statement, clearly shows the purpose of the annexation of the Kurds to Iraq and it was for the purpose of weakening, confusing their identity, and have them under control as Britain did to the Scotland:

A relationship between the Arabs and the Kurds of Iraq resembling that between the English and the Scots has often been suggested as the ideal at which the statesmen of Iraq should aim. It is true that in several respects the cases are not parallel; in particular, it is used to be argued that, since the greater part of Kurdistan lay outside Iraq, any concession to Kurdish sentiment would only encourage separatist tendencies. If there was ever any justification for the fear that the Kurds of Iraq would look north or east for their salvation, there can be nothing in it now; and I think that the ideal is by no means fanciful or unattainable (Edmonds, 1958: 146).

This rejects all the other reasons and justifications the Empire made to justify the enforced annexation of the Kurds to Iraq.

After the annexation of the Mosul *vilayet*, the first process of Arabizing the Kurdish regions began in order to make the Kurds a minority in Iraq when in 1927 King Faisal I under British sponsorship and support implemented the first Arabization project. Thus, they turned this process which was a British plan into a realistic one in which King Faisal was an implementer of Britain's agenda and policy. This plan began in 1924 with imposing the king's rule on the Kurdish regions, which were rejecting that monarchy in Iraq. They raised the Iraqi flag in those regions, and then established settler colonies for housing. So, they brought thousands of Arabs from the south and central Iraq and settled them in the Kurdish regions. This was implemented under the guise of providing workers and job opportunities for the British oil companies, and thus changed the demographic of the region. Even the army that was established was the majority of its divisions and brigades were mostly Arabs (Talabani, 1999).

At a later stage in 1935, the Iraqi government with the support of Britain settled dozens of Arab families in the rich oil areas inhabited by Kurds, which led to a demographic change. For example, the government transferred dozens of Arab Bedouin families to the Hawija area under the pretext of the irrigation project, where the government distributed lands to them. At the same time, Kurdish families in some areas were forcibly transferred in order to Arabize their areas at another stage (Khursheed, 2005). This process continued for up to 1944, and as indicated by C.J. Edmonds, hundreds of tribal Arab families were settled in the Hawija area while there were others waiting for their turn to move to the region in the coming stages (Edmonds, 1957). This was a part of the British political maneuver to Arabize the Kurdish regions. This Arabization and changing the Kurds to minority in Iraq was again to kill the Kurdish ethnic identity and remove and suppress them from the political activities as an ethnic group who possess all the qualities to be granted a state of their own.

These attempts of the Empire hurt the identity of the Iraqi Kurds to this day on the ethnic level and on the individual level. Most of the Kurds have experienced hybrid identity of having a Kurdish identity and adopting British and Arab identities. This impact is felt in the Iraqi Kurds to this day. It is also noteworthy to mention that the

colonization negatively affected the identity of the colonizers as well. Some of them changed and adopted a Kurdish identity or a Muslim identity. Hamilton sees a Scottish man who fully adopted a Muslim character:

In quite a different class was the devout Mohammedan P.W.D. storekeeper at Arbil, Abdullah Effendi, who was really a Scotsman from Glasgow. This man had developed a deep belief in the traditions and principles of the Islamic faith and had become a most respected Moslem. By his conversion he sought neither betterment of position nor any worldly object, but only humility and a deep satisfaction in his own conscience. He often expressed to me his regret that so few Mohammedans live up to the high principles of their faith. In spite of his religious beliefs AbduUah Effendi insisted upon remaining a British subject and a loyal Scotsman, even though he knew this meant he must lose his employment in the Department and leave the country. He is now, I believe, in India (Hamilton, 1958: 130).

This demonstrates that identity and the confusion of identities are among the most devastating consequences of colonization for both the colonized and the colonizer.

That is to say, thinking from the postcolonial worldview, in particular the view of Bhabha, the British Empire through various methods and strategies encouraged the Iraqi Kurds to lose their identity and adopt a borrowed identity. This is why helping the Kurds and the colonizer, as this study does, to understand what they have been through will result in moving a counter-movement against colonization and its legacies.

From this perspective, the process of hybridization and multi-identity was imposed on the Kurds of Iraq by the British when from the early beginning started to impose the Iraqi identity while in the second stage they commenced the process of Arabization through transferring the local population to rich in oil the demographic of the Kurdish oil rich areas. The final purpose was to deal with the Kurds as a minority in Iraq in order to prevent them from an actual participation in the management of the country and its policy. In implementing some of these measures, Britain used the Iraqi army in order to show that it is innocent as the operations were done by the Iraqi government. Through

this technique, the empire intended to create problems between the Arabs and the Kurds in Iraq. All of this was the outcome of the British colonial policy, and its consequences and legacy still work as a colonial inheritance on the Kurds and identity of the Kurds.

3.3.4. Hegemony

Hegemony is the preponderant power or influential authority of one group over another, often supported by legitimating norms and ideas. The associated term hegemon is used to identify the actor, group, class, or state that exercises hegemonic power or that is responsible for the dissemination of hegemonic ideas. According to Antonio Gramsci, “the dominant classes maintain their rule through the use of cultural institutions to establish the consent of the subaltern classes” (El Aidi & Yechouti, 2017: 1). This means that instead of using military force and coercion, the dominant power uses ideology and ideological institutions to manipulate the subaltern to develop and impose a hegemonic culture on them. For Gramsci, a social class becomes hegemonic not only by controlling the means of production and coercing other classes but rather by establishing their consent. In fact, consent is important to Gramsci’s theory of hegemony. Before the ruling class resorts to force and coercion, it seeks to indoctrinate the proletariat with those ideas that make them consent to their subordinate position. Gramsci holds the view that hegemony is always established and indoctrinated by the power. The main point is that the consent of the people is what makes the rule of the dominant class secure. This is why, the latter relies more on manipulative and ideological means than direct force and oppressive power. In other words, when the subaltern people are persuaded that it is in their interest to accept the leadership of the ruling class, they follow the hegemonic power willingly.

The British thought they are civilized and the Kurds are uncivilized which is why they are better and should be imitated by the Kurds. Major Saone stated: “nevertheless, with all their backwardness and ignorance, it stands to their credit that in the widespread rising in Mesopotamia of the summer of 1920 it was these people who remained quiet, continued paying their taxes, and even offered assistance against their turbulent neighbors” (Soane, 1922, 47). This is a very hegemon way of thinking to think of Kurds as ignorant and that they are suffering from backwardness. This mentality which Said believed emerged more intensely in the 19th century as the West started representing the

colonized, the other from an imperialist point of view. They labeled the colonized with terms like “barbarous” and “backwardness.” Said believed they had done this stereotypic representation in two ways: latent and manifest. The latent is the unconscious false representation of the orient while “manifest” refers to the conscious false representation of the orient by the leading colonial writers. Saone falls into the latter category as he consciously represents the Kurds in a false way.

The British without hesitation believed they brought progress and civilization to the Kurds. Hamilton postulates: “I like to imagine that Hamilton, first published twenty years ago, may have helped to bring about the burst of technical progress and improvement in living conditions now taking place in Iraq following the exploitation of oil. Famine in Iraq is, I think, a thing of the past; floods are under control; and if you visit the Rowanduz Road, you no longer have to live in a tent or a stone-and-mud hut with the snakes and scorpions as your companions” (Hamilton, 1958: 7). This idea of “you” is behind me in progress and development can be easily picked from what Hamilton is saying. What he means is that they were barbarous and we introduced them to some civilization. This means the British are better to the Kurds which is why they should be hegemon.

The British Empire tried to spread the ideology that without the British Empire there would be no welfare for the Kurds. According to Wilson, the British are the savior of the people. They are sent by God to save people as he states:

I felt then, as now, deeply, even passionately that the welfare of the people of the Middle East and India, no less than the existence of the British Empire, depended upon facing our responsibilities. I was convinced that our economic difficulties would be surmounted in the measure that we rose to the height of our opportunities. My innermost beliefs were in all humility those expressed by Cromwell, we are a people with the stamp of God upon us ... whose appearance and whose provinces are not to be outmatched by any story (Wilson, 1931: x-xi).

The mentality of the British Empire is summarized in this quote when Wilson refers to them as “the chosen nation of God”, which means they think all the others must be in

their control and listen to what the British say. They considered themselves as better than all the other peoples. Edward Said, on the basis of these texts and quotes, built his argument of the inferiority and superiority of the colonized and the colonizer. Said figured out through Wilson-like that the colonizers think that they are superior to the colonized whom they see as inferiors. This discourse and ideology left impacts on the mentality of both British individual colonizers and Kurd colonized people. The colonized thought they were inferior to the British and British individuals such as Wilson thought they were superior, by nature, to all the other peoples.

Along with Wilson, Hamilton and Soane, Edmonds also thought that it is the British government who were civilizing the Kurds:

Apart from the great oil industry which has grown around Kirkuk since the first gusher was struck nearby in October 1927, there has so far been little industrial development. But many Kurds have been trained by the Iraq Petroleum Company in various branches of engineering, and the large technical and industrial training colleges established or projected at Mosul and Kirkuk are well placed to attract Kurdish students. In the mean time, employment on the great dams, roads and other public works must be tending to create a new type of labor force very different from the simple peasantry of former times (Edmonds, 1958: 150).

Edmond clearly states that the Kurds, prior to the arrival of the British, were just simple peasants but they introduced the Kurds to oil business and invited “the simple peasants” to their colleges to get trained and oriented to the way the British wanted. As mentioned previously, Gramsci believed that as an effective way to establish hegemony, dominators manipulate education and educational institutions. Here we see that the British invite the Kurds to their institution and training centers to be trained and taught that the

Other British officers tried to put their hegemonic ideology in the mind of the colonized. That is to say, “instead of imposing their political and economic policy by force, European powers induce in the minds of the colonized a set of ideological ideas and beliefs which function to manufacture their consent and approval” (El Aidi & Yechouti, 2017: 6). The British discourse tied all the progress of the colonized to their own efforts,

“Nevertheless, there have been at work, side by side with or cutting across the others, certain material and moral influences peculiar to the Kurds; and by considering social changes among the Kurds as distinct from social changes in Turkey, Persia, Iraq or Syria generally, it is to these that we must first address ourselves” (Edmonds, 1958: 143). In Said’s perspective (1994: 203), one way to achieve oriental consent is through orientalism, which he qualifies as “an influential academic tradition”. Said’s aim is to construct an appropriate public opinion in the colonized lands. In other words, the stories and the views the Orientalists tell about the Orient and its people aim, among other things, to make Orientals believe that it is in their interests to be colonized by the civilized West (El Aidi & Yechouti, 2017: 7). This is clearly represented in Hamilton’s book “it should not surprise us if there were a reversion against the outcry against colonialism and a call for more, not less of it, for as I hope this book shows, our work was in essence just service. Those who served the old colonial empire did so without any proportionate reward, and often enough for the sake of the service given alone” (Hamilton, 1937: 9). Hamilton spreads the ideology that the British Empire is there to serve them without expecting anything in return. Said affirms that it is orientalism rather than military or economic power that promotes Western hegemony over the Orient. In line with Gramsci and Said, the quotes from Edmonds and Hamilton demonstrate colonial discourse with the soft power of the British Empire in imposing hegemonic identity on the Iraqi Kurds.

In her book Gertrude Bell points out the intention of her government:

“his British Majesty's Government having announced that their intention in the war was the liberation of the Eastern peoples from Turkish oppression [though the British Empire’s real intention was to turn the Kurds, the Arabs and the Turks into her control]and the grant of assistance to them in the establishment of their independence, the chiefs, as the representatives of the people of Kurdistan, have asked His British Majesty’s Government to accept them also under British protection and to attach them to Iraq despite the severe rejection of the Kurds to be annexed to Iraq so that they might not be deprived of the benefits of that association, and they have requested the Civil Commissioner of Mesopotamia to send them a representative with

the necessary assistance to enable the Kurdish people under British auspices to progress peacefully on civilized lines. If His British Majesty's Government extended its assistance and protection to them, they undertook His British Majesty's orders and advice" (Bell, 1920: 61).

However, the ideologies and ideas Bell was spreading were completely the opposite of the true intention of the Colonizer. The British did not want the eastern peoples and nations to be under the control of the Ottoman Empire, rather they wanted to control them and impose their hegemony on them. That is why, they tried to gain the favor of the Kurd and control them through promising them the right of autonomy. This in return enabled the colonizer to avoid Kurds' resistance.

In fact, the progress which the British (Europeans) promised to bring to the Orient was not to the benefit of the Kurds but to their benefits. The discourse, thus, was deceptive and had nothing to do with the "civilizing mission." Said makes it clear that what the Occident is concerned in the Orient is just the latter's fortunes. Europeans' economic interests are the driving force behind their presence in the Orient, or as Said puts it, "What mattered was not Asia so much as Asia's use to modern Europe." (Said, 1994: 115) Therefore, it can be said that what happens in the "civilizing mission" is contradictory with what was promised. As Said stresses, the "liberality [promised] was no more than a form of oppression and mentalistic prejudice" (Said, 1994: 254). Even the progress that they helped to achieve was purely for colonial purposes. As Hay writes, "The British authorities in Iraq during the Mandate made extensive efforts to improve the road, hoping for a smooth establishment of their authority in the region" (Hay, 1921: 28-29).

So, the established hegemony in Iraqi Kurdistan is evident and, thus, needs to be dismantled. Through this ideological means and discourse, the British made many of the Kurds consent willingly to be governed by the British. As mentioned when discussing mimicry, the Kurds tried to look and behave as closely as their hegemonic power and this is due to the imposed British hegemony on them. This is why, as Said believes, if European colonialism involves indoctrinating the natives with those ways of seeing that help establish their consent, then liberation from it does not simply mean giving land back to its dispossessed owners. A real independence requires a change in the dominant

ways of viewing the world. To this point, John McLeod asserts that “freedom from colonialism comes not just from the signing of declarations of independence and the lowering and raising of flags. There must also be a change in the minds, a challenge to the dominant ways of seeing” (McLeod, 2000: 22). However, when the British Empire failed to indoctrinate their ideologies in the minds of the Kurds, they turned to use force in order to control and conquer Iraqi Kurdistan explicitly after the first uprising of Sheikh Mahmud. This leads us to the next theme; Dominance.

3.3.5. Dominance

When the colonizer cannot conquer and colonize the colonized through ideology, the colonizer uses force. Whereas hegemony is a practice of power that rests substantially on the consent of various strata achieved by groups possessing or seeking state power, dominance relies primarily on coercion in dominating the subjects (Ali, 2015). Gramsci sees dominance more broadly as the use of coercion against enemy groups, which does not presume possession of state power. Gramsci is not confused about the possibility of hegemony being achieved without the use of coercion. Rather, Gramsci understands hegemony and dominance as “strategically differentiated forms of a unitary political power” (Thomas, 2009: 163). The British power, along with imposing hegemony, dominated the Iraqi Kurds. After their failure in dominating the Iraqi Kurds through soft power (exploiting education, manipulating economy, imposing colonial culture, and eradicating native social and cultural norms), the British Empire used force to occupy and subjugate Kurds in Iraq. To control Sheikh Mahmud who revolted against the British, the empire used hard power to control and dominate him and his followers. Lees in his book stated, “however he would not take a friendly warning, and by a combination of bluff, a display of aeroplanes, and a certain amount of bombing of an empty town” (Lees, 1928: 272).

On February 16, 1923, a conference on the Kurdish question was held at Baghdad. Sheikh Mahmud, as the representative of Kurds for the anti-colonial movement, refused to attend the conference because he was in doubt of British hidden intentions. The British government propagated and decided that Sheikh Mahmud’s planned attack with Oz Demir on Kirkuk and Erbil had to be averted soon. Therefore, the conference drew up a military plan to force Sheikh Mahmud out of Sulaymaniyah. On March 3, 1923,

Sulaymaniya was bombed by the RAF and Sheikh Mahmud was forced to leave the town the next day (Edmonds, 1957, pp. 314-5). The military plan which was adopted at the conference included: 1) On February 21, 1923, the High Commissioner would send a telegram to Sheikh Mahmud instructing him to come to Baghdad; 2) If he did not comply, a squadron of the RAF would demonstrate over Sulaymaniya and drop notices announcing his dismissal as *hukumdar* and allowing him five more days to report to Baghdad; 3) two companies of British troops would move to Kirkuk to deter him from any attack on that city; 4) The barracks and Sheikh Mahmud's headquarters would be bombed if he refused to leave Sulaymaniya (Edmonds, 1957: 315).

The hegemonic process of the British Empire was accompanied by domination of the colonizer by force. In particular in the context of the colonization of the Kurds by the British empire imposing hegemony through soft power and dominating the Kurds through hard power are interrelated especially from a postcolonial lens as the theory sees the two phenomena related to each other. Wilson states that using force made the Kurds bow down to the British. The Kurdish leaders surrendered to protect the Kurds "the sheikhs changed their tone at once, and begged Captain Chamier to stop the bombardment. When the aeroplanes had left, they concluded an armistice for twenty-four hours" (Wilson, 1931: 232). This act of dominance resulted in subjugating the colonized nation. Hamilton describes the attack on Slemani as he writes: "my overseers had told me something of the scenes in the town as bombs rained down upon the populace" (Hamilton, 1937:138). The British used an army to kill the resistance spirit of the Kurds which the postcolonial theorists want to resurrect through their analysis and writings. Their main target, at that time, was Sheikh Mahmud because he was leading the movement against the colonial power. They wanted to kill all the resources which gave power to the Kurds to resist, be it human like Sheikh Mahmud or other resources such as their culture as mentioned in previous themes.

The British did not only practice hard power in Sulaymaniyah, but also in other areas of Iraqi Kurdistan. Captain Hay, one of the British officers in Kurdistan, believed that holding Erbil without violence was difficult, and that "direct rule" would be the only way to govern the Kurds. He says:

If we hold Arbil, it is absolutely necessary for us not only to keep under our influence but directly to hold Rowanduz. The more I see of the Kurds the more convinced am I that neither do they want nor are they fit for self-government. They said to me at Rowanduz "When there is no Government there, we are like sheep without a shepherd; we can't get on without a Government. This applies not only to the town, but to the tribes. The tradesmen and cultivators fear Aghas and Aghas fear each other. There must be some force present from outside to maintain the balance. The Kurd has the mind of a schoolboy, but not without a schoolboy's innate cruelty. He requires a beating one day and a sugar plum the next. Too much severity or too much spoiling renders him unmanageable...If he sees his master has a cane, he will behave. If he sees two companies of infantry in Rowanduz, he will become as obedient as you can wish (Hay, 1921: 4).

Through what Hay suggests, it can be clearly seen that the British wanted to control the Iraqi Kurds and they used hard power (military) to dominate the Iraqi Kurds. One can see that the image Hay presents in this quote shows uncivilized and ignorant Kurds. This is why postcolonial theorists believe that the colonial discourse needs to be re-examined because the one who is in control, in this context the British power, writes as they want and the colonized has no say in it. They only show one side of the image from their perspective.

The British practiced hard power on the Kurds and enjoyed punishing and hurting them. One of the British pilots who attacked Sulaymaniya says: "I did not recommend bombing, but at Abu Abela I was lucky in scoring a direct hit on Sheikh Eerim's house" (Lees, 1928: 264). This quote shows that the British did not see Iraqi Kurds as humans who are equal to them, rather as their subjects who are inferior to them, thus can be subjugated and attacked and controlled. This demonstrates the brutality and the non-human mentality of the colonizer.

After realizing the firmness of the Kurds in holding their ethical beliefs and refusing being inferior and subjects of the British and the hegemony of the British through soft power, the British colonizers used hard power. The empire could not make all the Iraqi

Kurds surrender to the British ideology only by soft power although some Kurds were affected and surrendered. The resistance of the Iraqi Kurds resulted in severe attacks by the British Empire which caused many deaths, destruction of villages, bombardments, separating the Kurdish areas from others. This attack obliged the Iraqi Kurds to surrender to British orders and decisions. Later, through colonial discourse and producing pro-British media in Iraqi Kurdistan, the idea that Iraqi Kurds are the center of the problems and the Empire is the savior and the solver of their problems is implanted.

3.3.6. Subalternity

The term "subaltern" comes from the military and denotes "of lesser rank." Antonio Gramsci, an Italian Marxist, coined this word as he criticizes the West's Eurocentric attitudes. He believes that western economic interests and power always manipulate knowledge. Knowledge, according to Spivak, is just like any other commodity or product sent from the West to the Third World. Western academics have long positioned themselves and their understanding of Eastern civilizations as objective. The West's political and economic interests are always at the center of knowledge about the third world. The subalterns as defined by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak are figures from the colonial discourse that are imposed and then "lived" by colonized populations under duress (Lazarus, 2003: 86). She criticizes the West's Eurocentric attitudes because she believes that knowledge is never pure; economic interests and power constantly manipulate it in the West. Knowledge, according to Spivak, is just like any other commodity or product sent from the West to the Third World. For Gramsci, the Subaltern are those classes "lacking in or deprived of historical force." Spivak states that "the subaltern has been redefined to encompass all subordinated populations oppressed by colonial/postcolonial regimes in various ways (economic, racial, sexist), to which the supplement of resistance acts a contrapuntal chord"(Spivak, 1996:203).

After Antonio Gramsci used the term to describe a group of people who are subordinate to hegemonic groups or classes in his writings, it became popular in the field of contemporary intellectual discourse. As stated earlier, hegemonic class refers to the group within a society that exercises control over the rest of the society through non-coercive means and by gaining consent. In other words, society is divided into two

groups: the hegemonic group, the British Empire in the case of this study which wields political power and agency, and the subaltern group, the Iraqi Kurds in this context whom the hegemonic group leads. This is because the subaltern group is duped into believing that their interests are mirrored in the dominant hegemonic class self-interest. The Subaltern represented the rest of the people, which lacked political and economic power compared to the elite. As a result, the Subaltern is characterized here as negative; a place of absence; with no feeling of agency or separate identity. As a result, the Subaltern is in a position of complete social powerlessness.

Moreover, according to Spivak (1988), it is a posture from which no discourse is possible. This claim that the Subaltern cannot communicate may appear mundane at first since it implies that everyone who lacks political and economic agency, and a feeling of class identification is illiterate. However, reading "speech" as "discourse" reveals the true profundity of Spivak's argument. So, if one takes communication not just as utterances but as "meaningful utterances," Spivak's thesis begins to make a lot more sense. The argument here is that the Subaltern is not physically deaf or silent. Rather, the Subaltern is unable to initiate a conversation due to the hegemonic power and its imposed barriers on the subaltern.

Also, it is not difficult to understand why a subaltern who lacks political or economic agency in society is unable to establish a discourse. As you may recall from our previous examination of Michel Foucault, statements are only regarded as meaningful within a social setting when certain conditions are met. Institutional ratification is one of the most critical requirements (Foucault, 1972 & 1981). As a result, any statement that is not endorsed by institutions such as schools and universities, the publishing business, news organizations, academic societies are not considered discourse. These are also the institutions through which the ruling classes or elites establish their power and control over society. As a result, these institutions virtually exclusively approve the dominant or privileged class speech. Because their speech is not institutionally ratified, the Subaltern, who by definition has no agency inside society, is unable to form a discourse. The Iraqi Kurds in this context had no institutions, even the ones that were available at that time were censored and filtered by the colonial power. This is why the Iraqi Kurds were mute and unable to speak in a way that they can be heard. This is why,

according to Spivak, in colonial culture, someone who is in absolute disempowerment such as a landless farmer or an illiterate tribal leader and cannot develop a discourse is a subaltern.

The subaltern, as the Iraqi Kurds, is someone who is represented and spoken for by the hegemony, the British power in this case. Siavash Saffari believes that:

Knowledge concerning the subaltern that is produced is a recognition that the knowledge producer is not an objective observer, but always a subjective agent who engages in the construction of reality and whose engagement is determined by the particularities of her/his embeddedness in power structures. The subaltern does speak. Certain voices, however, find no place and thus are lost (not accidentally) in the hegemonic modes of knowledge production (2016: 42).

An example of this subjectivity toward the Iraqi Kurds is the writings of Noel, a British officer. In his writing, he has defined the Kurds' character and culture. He writes, "Coupled with the Kurds' somewhat hard and cynical outlook on life, we have his very practical turn of mind. The result to Western minds expresses a certain callousness, in some cases tinged with cruelty" (Noel, 1920: 3). The reader cannot hear the sound of the Kurds. Rather, what is heard by the reader is the voice of the dominant British Empire. The Kurds are described as subjects as objects and they are the subjects of Noel's writing. As mentioned earlier, Spivak postulated that the subaltern is mute and powerless. This is why Spivak's response to this postcolonial stance of powerlessness takes the form of activism. That is, the goal is no longer to theorize the Subaltern's speechlessness but to create enabling conditions for them to escape from their position of powerlessness and begin speaking for themselves (Lazarus, 2003). The Iraqi Kurds have tried this activism in various methods and mediums to speak up, this research can be considered an example of Iraqi Kurds speaking up and breaking the barriers of hegemony.

The forced annexation of Kurds to Iraq without hearing the views of local residents is another example of the subaltern. The Kurds are decided upon without their having any saying in it. The process of deciding on a people and representing them includes

domination, i.e. one cannot turn the other into a subaltern without dominating them (Sant, 2017). Due to the treaty between the allied forces, the benefit of the Empire and other allies was taken into consideration. Therefore, when in 1920, the treaty of Sèvres was signed, the benefit of the Kurds was completely neglected. After defeating Sheikh Mahmud's second insurrection and signing a Peace Treaty with Turkey in the post-Lausanne period (1923-1925), the British significantly changed their stance on the Kurdish matter because the British had always seen the Kurds as objects that could shape them the way the British wanted. In Southern Kurdistan, they began to seek the goal of "administrative autonomy" rather than "autonomy" or "independent Kurdish government." Administrative autonomy implied that Kurdish regions could be fully integrated with the rest of Iraq as long as officials in southern Kurdistan spoke Kurdish which was the language of government, teaching, and justice. In the conditions of the Mosul settlement of 1925, these rights were formalized. Following the Lausanne Conference, British policy's fundamental goal was to integrate the Kurdish districts with the rest of Iraq gradually. This policy was designed to appease moderate Kurdish political objectives while assuring Iraq, Turkey, and Iran that the Kurdish movement was under command (Ali, 1992). Colonizers did not hear the cry for an independence and decolonized land:

Kurdistan as proposed in the Sèvres draft treaty of [1920] so far from the sea: moreover, the fact that the Kurdish people overflowed the boundaries of Persia, Turkey, Russia and Syria made it all too complicated now that peace with Turkey had at last been signed. The British government was no longer prepared to make expensive and embarrassing experiments, however, deserving the cause. Thus, Sulaimani must be treated as a normal liwa of Iraq with, of course, safeguards for the Kurdish language in the schools and courts wherever the Kurdish people predominated (Lyon, 2001: 159).

In this example, clearly the British just like an object decided for the Kurds without returning for them or letting them speak. The power of speaking is what Spivak referred to as producing subaltern and making a paralyzed subject. Even though, as mentioned before, the Iraqi Kurds did not want to be part of Iraq, they were neglected and unheard

of by the British and this turned them into powerless subjects being unable to speak or participate in their own fate.

By October 1921, Churchill had agreed to the idea of a unified Iraq as long as the Kurds were not forced to live under Arab rule. The Kurdish areas, except for Sulaimani, were included in the Constitutional Assembly elections in 1923, and the idea of an autonomous Kurdistan was buried when the Treaty of Lausanne of September 1923 made no mention of it (Lyon, 2001: 39). Although the treaty gave the Kurds the right to have an autonomous state; however, the British colonizer spoke for the benefits of his colonial legacy rather than the colonized. The Subaltern nation had no voice to voice their interest and was muffled by the loud voice of the colonizer. This is also evident and present in other colonial discourse. Edmonds also stated this in his article 'the place of the Kurds in the Middle Eastern scene'. Edmond states:

The Treaty of Sèvres was signed in August 1920 by the delegates of the Allies and of the Sultan. Part III of the Treaty, among other stipulations provided for the recognition or creation not only of the Arab states of Hijaz, Syria, and Iraq but also of an Armenia and Kurdistan. Owing to the rise of Mustafa Kamal, the Treaty of Sèvres was never ratified. The Treaty of Lausanne of July 1923, which replaced it, confirmed the provision for the independence of the Arab states. However, nothing was said about an Armenia or Kurdistan, and Turkey maintained a demand for the retrocession of the Mosul *vilayet* until 1926. But this dream of an independent Kurdistan remained on record in an international document and was not forgotten, nor could it be expected that the Persian Kurds would remain unaffected by the ambitions of their kinsmen across a very artificial frontier (Edmonds, 1958).

The Kurds were represented at the Peace Conference. While the Treaty of Sèvres (1920) provided for an independent Kurdistan, it was superseded by the Treaty of Lausanne (1923); the British mandate of Iraq, which included three Ottoman provinces – Mosul, Baghdad, and Basra – was established in 1920 after the British concluded that for economic, ethnic, and geopolitical reasons, a viable Iraq needed to include the Mosul province (Fālih & Mansour, 2019). The British reacted angrily to Ismet Pasha's statistics

about Mosul presented at the Lausanne talks, and mutual claims about vital data were formed to refute each other's thesis and occupy Mosul. After comparing the Sèvres and Lausanne Treaties, Michael Gunter (2018) concluded that the Kurds had been duped because the promises of an independent Kurdistan made in the Sèvres Treaty (1920) were abandoned three years later with the signing of the Lausanne Treaty (1923). When the Treaties of Sèvres and Lausanne are viewed together, it is obvious that England did not explicitly pledge a Kurdistan state in the Treaty of Sèvres. Sèvres was a planning study to gain British supremacy over the Middle East by pitting Kurds and Turks against one another over a promise of a Kurdish state in geography with ambiguous borders and unknown dates. Edmonds did not explicitly convey the opinions we express here; rather, he summarized the issue by claiming that neither an independent Armenia nor an autonomous Kurdistan was included in the Treaty of Lausanne (Kılıç, 2018). What can be implied from both of the Sèvres and Lausanne treaties is that the Kurds were absent and they were not actors on the stage, rather they were just passive viewers witnessing how the others decide about them. Based on their benefits, the British promised a state for the Iraqi Kurds in Sèvres and changed this promise also for the empire's benefits in Lausanne. This confirms Spivak's claim that the subaltern is mute, powerless, represented, spoken for and decided upon by the hegemonic power.

The process of persecution and marginalization by British colonialism took place on several dimensions and was implemented through different approaches and mechanisms; they practiced it in reality, recorded and reflected in their colonial discourse, texts, and documents. In comparison, British colonialism severely treated the Kurdish anti-colonialism liberation movement and forced the Kurds to Iraq. That policy did not stop there, and rather, after all, the Kurds were deprived of all their political, cultural, and educational rights. For example, in one of the letters of Gilbert Clayton, the British high commissioner in Iraq, dated April 20, 1929, explains the British position regarding the petition submitted by the Kurdish representatives to the King and the Prime Minister of Iraq, where most of their demands were related to education, schooling, and unification of the Kurdish provinces within a framework of administrative autonomy. However, the High Commissioner considered these demands secession from Iraq and suggested that these demands should be prevented and suppressed (Amin, 2013). Thus, the British had deprived the Kurds even of their

educational rights and regulated the administrative matters of their region, which marginalized them completely. In addition, Britain hit hard in the areas where the Kurdish liberation movements were dominant and not subject to British authority. The British forces used all means to subdue them by bombing those areas, killing innocent people, and burning villages. All of this was clearly evident from what Lt. Colonel J.P. McClellan mentioned as a justification for the use of heavy weapons and bombing to strike some areas of Erbil and Rawanduz. In 1923, he said that due to the ruggedness of the area and its geographical nature, they bombed the area and burned the villages to crush the enemy. He also stressed that it was necessary to have a kind of independence in making decisions regarding the use of the British air force to weaken the enemy's morale and speed up the process of occupying the areas. In addition to all that, MacLellan used the terms “contemptible enemy” and “the inferiority of the enemy” to refer to the Kurds (MacClellan, 1927). This demonstrates that the colonial powers such as the British are ready to employ an army and force to turn their subjects into subalterns and passive followers. Since the colonizers do not want their subjects speak up and decide on their fate and future. The British did not want the Kurds to act or be characters, this is why, when they chose to be, they are reslinsed and dominated by army and bombing.

In his memoirs, Wallace Lyon points out that instead of their confrontation with the enemy in the areas of Harir and Batas near the city of Erbil, they burned half the villages of the area, and in the euphoria of their victory, they bombarded the areas through the devastating 500-pound bombs that were used for the first time during bombing Sulaymaniyah in 1922. He also refers to looting, as the villagers abandoned their homes and possessions, and the Levy and Iraqi soldiers started looting (Lyon, 2001). The aim behind all these violations was to frame the Iraqi Kurds the way they wanted and impose the British voice on them.

The process of silencing and persecution of the Kurds was not done by the British only but was also supported and encouraged by the Iraqi Army and the forces of Arab nationalism that confronted every Kurdish demand as they considered it anti-colonialism. The establishment of the Iraqi Army was not an army that would defend all the components of the Iraqi people. However, rather it was an army composed of pro-

British elements under the name of Muntafeq, Shabana, and Levy to defend Britain's interests in Iraq and suppress the Iraqi revolution and uprising, in particular the suppression of the Kurdish revolution led by Sheikh Mahmud Al-Barzanji in 1919 and the Iraqi Twentieth Revolution in 1920 (Abdallah 2008). This was the systematic attempt of the British power to lower and prevent the voice of the Kurds of Iraq by the Iraqi army for two purposes. One, in this way, the empire can start a conflict between the Kurds and the Arabs. Two, the empire can kill the resisting force among the Kurds and turn them into subalterns.

Partly, the formation of the Iraqi army was to support the empire in achieving their agenda, such turning the Kurds into subalterns. The Iraqi Army did not have the authority to issue any fateful decision; the Iraqis did not even make its activities because it was established based on the Cairo Conference in 1921 and the later agreement of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty 1922. However, Britain undertook the task of arming the Iraqi Army and directed it. This may be clearly noticed when the second battalion of the Army was named after; Miss Bell. The Army was under the British Officer Major General Arthur Crawford Daly (1871-1936). Even raising the rank of the Chief of Staff of the Iraqi Army was a prerogative of the British General Staff headed by the high-ranking British Officer Sir Archibald Clark Keer (Al-Khatab, 1979).

This Army had a major role in putting down the Kurdish revolutions that erupted against British colonialism, during which the Army burned villages, killed innocent people, and executed anyone against colonialism. These facts notably appear through the texts of British secret documents that refer to these actions directly or indirectly especially through the British discourse and the documents that show Britain's attempts, through security and intelligence plans to train the Iraqis on how to silence the Kurds' voice and suppress them, on the one hand, through deceptive discourse to win the Kurds' religious sympathy so that they would give up their demands, on the other hand through the use of force especially after September 6, 1930, in Sulaymaniyah.

Concerning the September 6 uprising, it was mentioned in one of the British secret documents that an officer of the special services was sent on November 19, 1930, with an intelligence mission by the British Air Force. The document also mentions that the secret attempts of the Iraqi government to agree with the Kurdish national movement

must be prevented. At the same time, he puts the responsibility for the deteriorating conditions in Kurdistan on the shoulders of the British authorities and their plots. He points out that this led to turning the Kurdish public opinion against the British at that stage. The document also indicates that urgent steps should be taken to confront this; otherwise, the British would face a hostile Kurdistan, unlike now, where this hostility does not exist (Burdett, 2016). This document shows the British hostility to any rapprochement between the Kurdish national movement and its Arab counterpart, and therefore considered it a danger to their interests. That was why they tried to exploit the Kurds and Arabs and use them to fight each other. In order to implement their agenda, they used the Iraqi government as a shield so that the Kurds would take a hostile position to the Iraqi government and the Arab national movement instead of being anti-British.

In addition to their attempts to create division between the Kurdish national movement and the Arabs in Iraq, the British invested their propaganda and colonial discourse. Then they showed support for the Arab national movement to create conflict between the Kurds and the Arabs by stimulating the expansionist aspirations of Arab nationalism to marginalize the Kurds and silence their voice and sense of Kurdishness (Ali, 2013). As an example, according to what was mentioned about the meeting between the British and King Faisal in October 1921 concerning the issue of the Kurds and their fate in Iraq, a group of high-ranking British diplomats including officers participated in the Cairo Conference in March 1921. Major Herbert Young frankly told King Faysal that the British policy aimed to "encourage Arab nationalism, not Arab imperialism" (Klieman, 1970:167).

From the point of view of the British colonial discourse and texts, Britain supported Arab nationalist thought. Signs of such support appeared especially after weakening Sheikh Mahmud's anti-British colonial movement at the end of the twenties of the last century; the British, with the help of King Faisal, supported Arab nationalist thought and thus allowed the formation of Arab political parties in Iraq. In contrast, no Kurdish political party especially anti-colonial nationalist parties was allowed (Amin, 2013). This led to the emergence of the Arab national movement and the growth of its expansionist tendency in contrast to the Kurdish movement which was moving toward weakness and stagnation.

British attempts to suppress and silence the Kurds in Iraq continued even during the Second World War and the following years as there was a neglect of the basic rights of the Kurds in addition to some kind of economic embargo on Iraqi Kurdistan. As a result, the region faced a financial crisis due to the stoppage of import and export of goods during the war while Iraq expended many Iraqi resources on the British forces in Iraq (Alhafw and Albotani, 2005).

After the years of World War II, and with the establishment of postcolonial states in the Middle East, a British document which is a memorandum issued on the 7th. of September 1945 indicated that Britain had drawn up a military plan for the Iraqi government to attack the Iraqi Kurdistan to show its military ability in order to impose its hegemony on the Kurdish region (Tawfiq, 2016).

Taking all of the aforementioned points into consideration, it appears to us that the process of suppressing, silencing and marginalizing the Kurds in Iraq as it came in the British discourse, texts and documents, was a multi-dimensional process that varied in style, which can be represented in two cases and two mechanisms. In the first case, the British themselves represented the Iraqi Kurds on the international level such as during the forming of the two treaties, Sèvres and Lausanne. On the local level, they tried to suppress the voice of the Kurds systematically and through employing force. they were implementing it such as the forcible annexation of the Kurds to Iraq by force. Iraq in its turn deprived the Kurds of their basic political and educational rights. Instead violence and force were used against them in order to suppress the anti-colonial Kurdish movement. In the second case, the British tried to implement and achieve their goals through the Arab nationalists and the Iraqi government and its army to persecute and marginalize the Kurds on all political, economic, educational, cultural and national levels.

3.3.7. Economic Exploitation

This theme is related to the economic exploitation through narrative of geography which means that the British authors of selected textual representations utilize description and narrative of Geography in their texts for colonial purposes and economic exploitation. It demonstrates that the British texts depicted and recorded the

natural resource and agriculture in order to collect information about the Kurd region for colonial purposes. Thus, the narrative of geography has a role in determining the Kurd's position in British colonial policy. Postcolonial theorists address the geographic aspect of colonialism and its transformative spatializations through terms like center and periphery, de- and reterritorialization, and global flows of people, nature, resources, and ideas. Ecocriticism, like geography, has a natural attraction for changing ecologies due to human activities such as colonization. In Kurdistan, where troubled nation-states and threatened ecosystems are mutually destabilizing and where neo-imperialist transnational capitalism exploits and despoils local Kurdish environments and societies, the need for thoughtful discussions about geography, postcolonialism, and environment is especially pressing (Caminero-Santangelo & Myers, 2011). The modality of Kurd's territorial and its geopolitical position necessitates a geographically informed viewpoint capable of elucidating the frequently complicated global. The geographic conceptions of place serve as a focal point for understanding how British colonialism attempted to profit from colonized lands through collecting information which were produced by British textual representations.

Colonization is not only done systematically to dominate the people but also the land and its natural resources. Andrew Teverson and Sara Upstone argue in postcolonial places that postcolonialism and geography should be seen as inextricably linked from the start rather than as a purposeful endeavor. "In the field of postcolonial studies," they write, "[...] space has always been central" (Teverson & Upstone, 2011:1). They frame postcolonialism's central concern with identity geographically claiming that "place plays a significant role in how one defines one's own identity and, equally, how "others define that identity" (ibid, p. 2). These identities have become extremely intricate due to colonialism's manipulations, the often arbitrary formation and manipulation of colonial/national borders, and the more globalized relations between postcolonial locales. They suggest that colonialism's geographic legacies are best understood through the engendering rising after the domination of the land. As Teversona and Upstone postulate: "Complex relationships between postcolonial individuals, families, communities, and nations and, indeed, a broader global consciousness" (2011:3). That is, dominating the land of the colonized by the colonizer brings conflicts with itself for the colonized to the point that it negatively affects their identity.

Dominating the land of the colonized and exploiting their natural resources is conducted by the colonizer to impose their impact on their subjects. Through this politics of place-making, places gain their distinctive, negotiated shape, organized to establish and maintain certain structures of power and movement and, according to Robert Sack, to accomplish certain projects (Sack, 2001). The construction of Kurdistan as "a place" conceptually leads to material realities that mark the region as a targeted place for the colonizer. More apparently, concrete places within Kurdistan (cities, regions, ecologies) are materially shaped through common economic, political, and environmental relations acting in concert with the discursive practices that homogenize the region, Middle East. In this way, "Kurdistan" crystallizes as a physical and social permanence out of these interactions and flows constructed as a targeted place (discursively and materially) by a history of colonial and capitalist relations engendering a reality that cannot simply be dismissed and liberated from. As a result, we are left with "a continental predicament and a discursive and imaginative object that cannot be grasped simply as the sum of a series of localities" (Ferguson, 2006: 4). If our concern is any one place in the region, we must confront the reality of that specific place's connection with and refraction through Kurdish areas itself as a place. That is to say, Iraqi Kurdistan became another targeted land of the British like most of the lands in the region.

At the heart of the colonial legacies, discourse is another important theme: geographical representation and economic exploitation. Through their discourse, it is evident that the British had a great interest in Kurdish land and its economic and natural resources. As Said defined them in *Orientalism* (1979), imaginative geographies are techniques of representation, ways of othering spaces and places through recourse to specific images, codes, and conventions that both reflect and enable relations of power (Said, 1993, 225). Edmonds, in his article, gives a detailed description of the land and its resources. The British orientalist recorded and narrated areas of Kurds where rich in natural and economic resources, for example Edmonds states:

Apart from the great oil industry which has grown up around Kirkuk since the first gusher was struck nearby in October 1927, there has so far been little industrial development. Private enterprise may thus be expected to supplement in due course an ambitious governmental

programme. This programme has been made possible by the enhanced and steadily increasing oil royalties which have accrued to the government since 1952 (\$250 million in 1955) and from which the northern liwas, like the rest of the country, have already derived great benefit. Foreign experts have been requested to advise on improved methods of cultivating and processing tobacco; a second experimental farm has been started near Sulaimani; artesian wells are being brought in for stock watering and for irrigation where suitable; old roads are being repaired and new roads opened up; rivers and streams are being bridged; municipal housing, electricity and water schemes are being subsidized; particular attention is being paid to schools and hospitals; and a cement factory is nearing completion near Sulaimani; a power station with an initial capacity of 60,000 Kw (Edmonds, 1957:54).

Edmond's quote implies that this was not an innocent interest in the land. The British Empire wanted the profit; therefore, one of the key factors behind occupying and bringing Kurdistan under the colonial system of the Empire was for the land and its natural resources. The British were concerned and did not want Kurdistan to be under the Ottoman Empire simply because they did not want to lose this precious land. In one of her letters, Gertrude Bell expresses her concern for Cox's concerns arguing that it was critical for the nascent Iraqi state to control the crucial armistice line without which the entire Mesopotamian plain down to Basra would be accessible to Turkish forces. Furthermore, she claimed that if southern Kurdistan were to be separated from Iraq, the area's oil fields would eventually fall into Turkish hands causing Iraq's devastation, and even the Anglo-Persian Oil Company's oil fields would be imperiled (Bell, 1927b, Vol. 2). It is apparent how, through their narratives, the colonial narrators guided the colonizers on how to manipulate and exploit the Iraqi Kurdistan land. They did not want to liberate the land from the Ottoman Empire for the sake of the Kurds. Rather, they wanted to be the only owners of the land.

The colonial narrative was more like a survey of the land to be exploited and dominated. The geographical study clearly shows that Kurdistan was an agricultural civilization amidst British occupation. The narrative demonstrated that the land of the Kurds is rich

in natural and agricultural resources. Wheat, barley, rice, cotton, and tobacco were the main products. Tobacco was the principal cash crop accounting for almost a third of overall crop production in the region. It was produced as a summer crop in tiny plots with plenty of water. In the mountainous region, millet, oak groves, pistachio trees, poplar, and mulberry trees were found. Cotton and rice were grown although only limited due to a lack of adequate irrigation. Vineyards, fruit orchards, apples, peaches, and apricots thrive on the soil of the small and narrow valleys (Ali, 1992). This is partly why Kurdistan became a target land of the greediness of the British colonizers. This is why "imperialism after all is an act of geographical violence through which virtually every space in the world is explored, charted, and finally brought under control. For the native, Said suggests that the history of colonial servitude is inaugurated by loss of the locality to the outsider; its geographical identity must thereafter be searched for and somehow restored. Because of the presence of the colonizing outsider, the land is recoverable at first only through imagination" (Said, 1993:225). Therefore, the colonized people need to try to restore their geographical identity along with their ethnical identity.

Hamilton as an engineer who worked in Kurdistan does not hide the fact that the British targeted the oil resources of Kurdistan. He recorded the knowledge on the areas for supporting colonial interests: "due to the oil we use from their lands, those countries are co-operative with us" (Hamilton, 1958: 9). Hamilton states that the oil they used and exported was meant to help and progress Iraqi Kurdistan; however, the oil that was exported was used to profit the British Empire. This is why Said believes that colonizers use the land and the economy of the colonized for their own benefit under different names such as deceiving the subjects that it is in their own benefit (Said, 1993:78). That is to say, the colonizers not only exploit the economy of the colonized but also fool them through various techniques.

Edmonds, in his article and analysis of the sources of economy and trading in Kurdistan points to the best type of tobacco and designates the coil springs in Kurdistan: "This letter is said to have been addressed to Hajji Asad Agha Huwaizi of Koi Sanjaq. Shaur is a valley north-east of Koi which gives its name to the highest grade of Kurdish tobacco; Shaitana is a village; Baishama is the name of a tobacco with a characteristic

flavor. The oil-spring road approached Kirkuk from the west through what is now the Iraq Petroleum Company's field" (Edmonds, 1935:121-122). Since these discourses were used as a source of information by the British Empire, this detailed description and designation helped the British know which parts were the most useful for their colonial legacy. This is also true for Captain Lyon, and he states: "the main products of the village were timber, tobacco, fruit, and snow. In the winter months, the snow was packed into straw-lined caves and all through the summer it was brought down in mule loads by night to be sold in the Arbil market 30-odd miles away or exchanged for corn or groceries as the case might be" (Lyon, 2001:134). Mapping out the patterns and industries of the Iraqi Kurdish region directly served the British's grasp of the area as the Empire tried to get benefits from all the products of the land.

One can say that the British orientalist were like the GPS (Global Positioning System) for the British Empire in finding the rich areas and spots of the Iraqi Kurdistan. Soane reports:

Near Kirkūk, at a place called Naft Tapa, there are three pits upon a hillside which remain permanently full to the brim of a substance which resembles crude petroleum in every respect, black and viscous. This never-ending supply is utilized (used) by the natives who carry it away in old kerosene tins. Before kerosene was imported, a brisk trade was done in this commodity, which was exported to Kifrī, Altūn Keuprī, Erbil and Keui Sanjāq. These springs, formerly the property of a private individual, have been seized by the Turkish Government, and are now rented at a price, which has robbed the commerce of any but a very small profit. There is a fair supply of rock salt near Tuz Khurmati in various places, and gypsum abounds in the lower hills. Coal exists in the hills behind Alabja, and, it said, in considerable quantities. The quality is similar to that found near Tehran (bituminous); soft and black, but up to the present time it has not been worked, though the owner Tahir Beg Jāf could obtain cheap labor. He fears the Turkish Government, which consistently stifles any efforts at progress of any kind (Soane, 1918:17).

This detailed account indicates an acute interest in valuable resources such as the oil fields and the political dynamics with the Turks. Lyon claims that the British did not want the Turks or any other nations in the Middle East to have the oil fields under their command: "For the Turks had never honestly accepted our conquest of the Mosul Province – the most interesting of the three that formed modern Iraq, with its Kurdish mountains, its potential oil fields, and its many varieties of climate, religions, races, and sport" (Lyon, 2001:65). Therefore, the British tried its best to control the land and drive out the Turks. However, oil was not the only thing the British were interested in. They also recorded and targeted the other economic resources of Iraqi Kurdistan. As Major Soane describes the imports and exports of other goods in Kurdistan:

Tobacco, wool gum, galls, sheep skins, cows, walnuts, marten and fox skins, almonds, manna, and beans. These come in large quantities and most are exported to Baghdad for Europe. The imports are principally loaf sugar, shirtings and prints from Baghdad, with tea, tin vessels, enamelware, lamps and glasses. From Mosul, a large quantity of Aleppo and Diarbekr cotton cloth called "Shaitan Baizi" is imported and used for the long tunics of the Kurds. The total trade of Sulaimānia in a good year is said to be about 475,000 liras and is decreasing owing to the existence of Turks and Sheikhs. The largest export is tobacco followed by wool (Soane, 1918:86).

The attention to detail of listing and reporting the resources actively being shipped indicates a key interest on behalf of the British to Kurdistan. The British would try to show that they could better govern and administrate the trading system and whole economic system of Kurdistan. However, the truth was that they wanted to control the trading system and profits of Kurdistan.

Captain Hay is another officer who explains the trading system of Kurdistan and the agriculture of the region in the book he writes, "In the hills by far the most important irrigated crop is tobacco. Owing to the high price that prevails for this article, the hill Kurds use almost all their available water for its cultivation. Several varieties exist, but the Kurds will only grow the better qualities for their use" (Hay, 1921:104). Then he continues to talk about how these goods are exported. He writes, "The exports of the

Arbil division consist entirely of agricultural, pastoral, and natural products, such as grains, wool, tobacco, gall-nuts, gums, timber, cheese, honey, raisins, and other dried fruits. These are either sent by road to the railheads at Kifri and Sherqat or floated down to Baghdad on rafts put together at Taqtaq and Altun Keupri" (107). His report indicated a detailed inventory of resources for beneficial trade. Most of these reports are presented in the forms of lectures to the royal academy and the British Empire's officers to be used as a source of information. For example, in her memoir, Lady Soane states that she went to visit the oil field. This served as great insight into how resourceful the land was. She writes, "Well, to go back to the journey when in Kirkuk I went over the really wonderful oil fields. They are now producing 300,000 tons of oil a month, for which the Iraqi Government takes 4s. gold royalty per ton. The pipeline to Haifa is now completed, and everything is in full swing" (Soane, 1935:411). Like other officers, Lady Soane was instructed to write about the geography of the land and commented in depth on the profitable oil industry. To this point, Said believes that "the construction of various kinds of knowledge all of them in one way or another dependent upon the perceived character and destiny of a particular geography" (Said, 1993:78). That is, the purposeful and intentional colonial narrative by the British orientalist made the exploitation of the geography of Iraqi Kurdistan possible by the British colonizers.

To sum up, based on the theory of Dependence, the colonizer wanted the Iraqi Kurds to always depend on themselves instead of having an independent and self-sufficient economy. They destroyed and looted the resources and took it to the Empire. This act left the Kurds poor compared to the British to this day. This is why the inequality in the economy of the countries in particular the economy of the Iraqi Kurds and the British has roots and goes back to the economic exploitation of the Iraqi Kurds by the British during the colonization process aided by the colonial narrative. The recording and description of the Kurds areas in the British texts are not individual and innocent portraits of the colonizers of the physical environment rather they were considered as core knowledge for British colonial economic interests. Therefore, the description of the space is not recording diaries and memories but gives deep ideas, leads and knowledge about the long-term economic interests of the region. That is to say, the colonization by the British was the basis for the geography of the orientalist.

3.3.8. British/Self and Kurds/Other

As discussed in Chapter one, postcolonial theory is built in large part around the concept of Otherness. The concept of Otherness sees the world "as divided into mutually excluding opposites: if the Self is ordered, rational, masculine, good, then the Other is chaotic, irrational, feminine, and evil" (Al-Saidi, 2014:96). Orientalism is a Western concept coming to terms with the Orient. For this purpose, and as analyzed in depth, first, the Orient was known by scholars, philologists, travelers, and administrators; all who contributed to this end. Later this knowledge of the Orient transformed into power structures and appeared in forms of colonialism and imperialism. The process of constructing a "self" against an "other" is known as "othering." It is a way of designating one's point of view and identity while disregarding other people's viewpoints. Racial, sexual, religious, economic, ethnic, regional, or ideological variables of social demarcation also determine the priority and places of other groups. According to Ashcroft, Griffith and Tiffin: "In postcolonial theory, the term has often been used interchangeably with otherness and difference...The self-identity of the colonizing subject, indeed the identity of imperial culture, is inextricable from the alterity of colonized others, alterity determined, according to Spivak, by process of othering" (Ashcroft et al., 2013:13). Edward said in his book *Orientalism* believes that the concept of the orient, the "other" and the "self" are the construction concepts of western orientalists and they are by no means rational (Moosavinia et al., 2011). That is, the othering of the other is just stereotyping of the East by the West based on biased representation.

Orientalism as a Western discourse about the Orient, on the one hand, is guilty of legitimizing civilizing mission, essentialism, expansionism and imperialism and, on the other hand, it is convincing natives of their inferiority. Said, in his book, demonstrates how the Western literary and cultural canon has othered its other and how they have misrepresented the Orient. The book begins with a quotation by Karl Marx: "They cannot represent themselves, they must be represented" (Said, 1979). As a result, it is a Western career to represent them. In the boundaries of this research, the writer separately describes the "Self" and the "Other." The relationship of power and knowledge is essential in the postcolonial discourse on how Orientalists and European

administrators were able to re-impose colonial domination through this knowledge gathered from different sources.

In the selected colonial discourses, the Oriental Kurds are viewed through the lens of British/Western Orientalists who have taken the upper hand to manipulate, construct and represent the Orient. As a result, the imaginary line between the Oriental Kurds and Occidental British becomes clear, visible, and there. Besides, the common characteristic shared by all these writers is that they appear contradictory and paradoxical in their views toward the Oriental Kurds and the Orientals from time to time; as a result, the survey and analysis of their works need a subtle inquiry. In the context of this thesis, the writer has divided "otherness" into two sections. The first section deals with the self-image of Occidental British and how it is represented in the discourse of the British Texts. The second part is about the image and construction of the Oriental Kurds as the other, represented in the British colonizer's discourse

3.3.8.1. Self-Occident (British) Representations

In the context of this thesis, the use of the term Self-Occident Representation refers to how the British, as a major Occidental colonizer, strategically constructed and represented themselves in contrast to Eastern Kurds in Iraq. That is to say, whatever the British Occident stood for was exactly the opposite of Kurds. For instance, the British-Occident represented themselves as mature adults, wise, saviors, a great nation, friend, comrade, humanist, the pinnacle of civilization, liberator in their colonial discourse (Textual representation 1814-1958) toward the Kurds in Iraq. They presented themselves as saviors and civilizers, which directly meant that the other, who they are going to civilize, is uncivilized and barbarous. The othering process of the British was not one dimensional, rather they built "self" image in contrast to "other" as binary. They constructed these images with colonial intentions and they wanted to construct a discourse which stays to continue their colonial power and its legacy, and these images and representation become historical facts and repeat it over time. The colonizer needed to make the others because without otherizing, they would not be able to impose and demonstrate their superiority.

The British colonial discourse represents the Occident as saviors and harbingers of progress in the colonized lands. Alongside other writings by colonial officers, the *Tegaishtini Rasti* newspaper promoted the idea that they were saviors among the Kurds. In many of the issues of *Tegaishtini Rasti*, there are many occasions the British introduce themselves as saviors. In the editorial of the first Issue of the newspaper, it says: “*Tegaishtini Rasti* serves the unity, freedom, and victory of the Kurds. Today all the nations of the world attempt to obtain this holy goal. Many nations could reach this after big efforts. We do not expose any idea not measured by knowledge and mind” (*Tegaishtini Rastî*, 1918:1). During the colonial period, the British established themselves as the centric self while marginalizing the colonized Other, and their people because they could not have defined their position without the process of othering. According to Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, "othering is a process by which the Empire can define itself against those it colonizes, excludes and marginalizes. It locates its others by a process in the pursuit of power within which is its own established subjectivity" (Ashcroft et al., 2013:190). By defining and placing the subjects outside the margins of the self, the notion of the other is constructed. This process includes "the assumption of authority, voice, and control of the word, that is, seizure and control of the means of interpretation and communication" (Ashcroft et al., 2002:96). The British represented themselves as “Masters” while the Iraqi Kurds as “slaves” and “followers” who must look up to the British to learn how to live in a civilized lifestyle.

The British, “self” represented themselves as the source of bringing welfare, progress, development and civilization to the “other”, i.e. the Iraqi Kurds. Edmonds states this view and he believes that the whole progress of Kurdistan is related to the British empire; "nevertheless, there have been at work, side by side with or cutting across the others, certain material and moral influences peculiar to the Kurds, and if we are to consider social changes among the Kurds as distinct from social changes in Turkey, Persia, Iraq or Syria generally, it is to these that we must first address ourselves" (Edmonds, 1958:143). Edmonds overlooks all the civilization of the Kurds and oversimplifiedly holds the belief that they were uncivilized before the arrival of the “Self”; therefore, they should see “self” as the superior and the savior.

As mentioned earlier, the “self” believes that they are the chosen people by God and they have Godly blood in them. Therefore, the rest of the peoples in particular the eastern peoples need to follow them. Wilson, a British officer, states:

“I felt then, as now, deeply, even passionately that the welfare of the people of the Middle East and India, no less than the existence of the British Empire, depended upon facing our responsibilities... My innermost beliefs were in all humility those expressed by Cromwell, 'We are a people with the stamp of God upon us...whose appearance and whose provinces are not to be outmatched by any story'" (Wilson, 1931:x-xi).

Elsewhere Wilson stated that: "The reputation of the British Administration for humanity, and its solicitude for the welfare of the population as a whole were known to all. The barbarous cruelty with which after the fall of Kut-al-Amara the Turks treated those inhabitants who had helped us, whether voluntarily or under compulsion, was likewise public knowledge; and the public knew that it was known to us" (1931: 87). The British employed discrimination as a means to draw the axis of distinction between themselves and their subjects, in this case the Iraqi Kurds. This discrimination was not innocent as they could have built it due to the imbalance of power, i.e. it is built on the basis of the powerful and powerless, i.e. the British as powerful and the Kurds as powerless.

Colonial discourse promoted the superiority of the British over the Iraqi Kurds. As previously mentioned, Said believes that the constructed knowledge goes hand in hand with the constructed superior mentality of the colonizers and its continuation. This superiority is not just presented by the British, but the British orientalist represented the voice of the Kurds themselves also considered the British superior. In a text, Major Soane presented a letter from Mahmud Beg, who believed the British to be superior and a source where they could turn to for help: "since, then, you have made our trade unlawful and taken the bread out of our mouths, you are naturally the man to whom we turn first for assistance" (Soane, 1922:41). By exoticizing the Kurds and maintaining an image of immaturity toward the Kurdish race, the British identified themselves as the

domineering occident power. Major Soane, Edmonds contribute directly to the creation of occident-self, 'the British' versus the Orient 'Iraqi Kurds'.

The "Self" went as far as believing that the colonized could not unite and think about their own fate, and they had no idea about nationalism before the arrival of the British. Lyon, a British officer says: "It would be difficult, in fact, to argue that in 1914 there was in any sense a Kurdish nation or a strong uniting sense of ethnic unity. The Kurds as a whole fought with and for the Ottomans during the next four years and many on the eastern frontiers suffered very badly from the war against Russia. In the immediate aftermath, the concept of a new independent Kurdish state came from the victorious Allies rather than from the Kurds" (Lyon, 2001:37). This is an example of what Spivak refers to as "worlding:" bringing and introducing the others to the world and civilization which she believes is just building Eurocentrism and otherizing the others (Ashcroft et al., 2013). Creating this false image was just to draw distinctions through the usage of false knowledge for the benefits of the colonizers. As mentioned in chapter one, Hegel (1977) argues "the processes of Otherness as self-consciousness only achieves its satisfaction in another self-consciousness", meaning the "self" wanted to secure their position by creating the "other" but on baseless information. The colonizer is a power who writes the history for their wills, thus, the history of power always represents the truth.

The British knew that the Iraqi Kurds are followers of Islam and they highly respect the religion. As previously mentioned before they represented as the supporter of Islam even though they were Christians. Again, in the issues of *Tegaishtini Rasti* this representation is evident. It used the glorification of Islam and the promotion of Kurdish national feelings to try to win the hearts and minds of the Kurdish people and to spread British propaganda and deceptive discourse. It went so far as to show British colonialism as a savior of Islam and oppressed people. In the editorial "the British and Islam" in Issue 13 of the *Tegaishtini Rasti* (Understanding the Truth) newspaper it says: "Those who read history understand that the Great Britain Government always helps and supports Islam" (*Tegaishtini Rasti*, 1918:1). Here, the newspaper represented and contrasted British Colonialism as a Savior and supporter to Islam in order to deceive the Kurds and gain their trust and mobilize them against the Turks. The newspaper also

says: “The Great Britain Government is a just and fair government, and beloved by Islam and the Muslims, therefore if the Kurdish brothers want to be free and have a pleasing life, certainly they need such a government” (*Tegaishtini Rasti*, issue 13, 1918: 2). Here, the British tell the Iraqi Kurds that without submitting to the supreme power, they would not be able to protect their religion and their nationality. This implies that the British saw the Kurds as weak and unprotected and themselves as saviors.

In British colonial discourse, the construction of self/British is not one dimensional, rather it is the targeting of the colonized other. They constructed “self” as they wanted not as they really are or what they practice. The representation and the construction of the “self” are based on two images. They centralized the British and presented themselves as angels. To this end, they represented the “Self” as the source of happiness and progress. They also presented colonization as a moral act and recognized themselves as savior of the Kurds and Muslims. They constructed a discourse and history which through thought “self” is the center of civilization, progress and the ideal model which should be imitated, and all the feelings of nationalism belong to the British Empire. The generalization and ratification of colonial discourse was to “self” as a true self, but in reality, it is paradoxical and fake who is unable to argue and evaluate and it does not have power to prove the reality of its representation. As Edward Said says: "Orientalists are neither interested in nor capable of discussing individuals; instead artificial entities ... predominate" (Said, 1978: 154). As part of the system of power dynamics, one of the most powerful was the transformation of the Orient into a group that was not seen as fully "natural." This allowed the West to fully embrace imperialism. Showing the constructed “self” as facts and natural was not only imposing a political view on the colonized, but creating this paradoxical and fake “self” had a colonial purpose and imposed hegemony on the Kurds. On this point, Said says: “Orientalism was ultimately a political vision of reality whose structure promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, West, ‘us’) and the strange (the Orient, the East, ‘them’)” (Said, 1978: 51).

3.3.8.2. Other-Orient (Kurds) Representations

In the context of this thesis in chapter three, the term ‘the Other’ is the Orient which means the Kurds in Iraq. The Other-Orient Representation refers to the ways that the British colonizers strategically constructed an image of the orient and rhetoric of the Kurds in Iraq through British textual representations. Constructing the other is a particular way of thinking, which is a vital aspect of what constitutes British Orientalism and the discourse about the Oriental Kurds in Iraq. These Orientalist Texts (between 1914-1958) identified the British-Occident as the seed of civilization and the Kurdish Orient as the den of unregenerate, inferior, culturally deprived people with poor customs and vile rituals. This viewpoint began ingraining a sense that British powers should have control over the Orient not simply because it was economically profitable to them but also because it was morally right. In other words, it was precisely this institutional framework that supported the discourse of Orientalism that repackaged the profit-making motives of European colonialism into a civilizing of the “others.” Apart from portraying and presenting the Occident, the discourses of colonial legacy also represent the Orient from the perspective of the Occident. For the colonized and the orientalists, the “other” is themselves, the rest, margin, and colonial subjects, silent. In all cases in western lens, the “other” is defined as inferior and they are identified according to themselves. For example, in his book Major Soane describes the Kurds as follows:

Living among high and difficult mountains, in the deep valleys or up among the crags, in a climate intensely cold throughout a long winter and not unpleasantly hot in the summer, he has the characteristics of most highland people. Society is divided into nomads and settled peasants, predominating in the south. Insecurity has always been a feature of such a life, raids from mountain to mountain one of its parts. It would seem that comparison with Highland Scotland of the fourteenth century is the nearest parallel to Kurdistan of today, and the following disconnected notes and anecdotes may give an idea of some aspects of Kurds’ character and habit (Soane, 1922: 40).

Soane represents Kurds as primitive people who lived in the mountains. This highlights how the colonizer imagined the colonized to be uncivilized and that the Orient needed to be civilized. This misinterpretation was done for two purposes. One, they could produce a discourse in which the British were more powerful and civilized than the Iraqi Kurds. Two, the constructed discourse remained to this day to prolong the existence of the superior mentality of the colonizer.

Many postcolonial writers have successfully changed and reinvented the created image of self and others by disrupting stereotypical views of colonized people, their cultures, and languages. Other lands, their people, and their culture were perceived and documented by the British as foreign and incomprehensible with all the bad aspects of darkness. Many common terms were used to describe these colonized lands such as undeveloped, primitive, developing, traditional, and so on, dissimilar from and subordinate to the center. Said also points out that the generalized conceptions of the Orient by the orientalists: "its strangeness, its differences, its exotic sensuousness and so forth"(2003:72) shapes the history and perceptions of the world toward the orient. In history and culture, what is seen is "European superiority over Oriental backwardness" (Said, 1979: 7) but as Europeans believed that the colonies could not have independent history and civilized culture. Therefore, the uncivilized territories deserved to be ruled by the Europeans who were responsible for bringing civilization to those rough places.

Even some British officers criticized the misrepresentation of the Kurds in the European Texts. Noel accused the Western world of unfairly portraying Kurds as barbarians and believed that this would tarnish the image of the Kurds. He stated:

Unfortunately, the Kurd is regarded in Europe as a wild and barbarous individual whose chief life business is to massacre Armenians. It is not easy to understand how this false impression has become current since every foreign traveler of note in Kurdistan has always come away with a very favorable impression of the Kurd. However, owing to the activities of the Missionary Press and the very strong pro-Armenian Party in England, a general opinion unfavorable to the Kurds is current (Noel, 2015: 431).

Noel's opinion is striking as it is the opinion of an officer loyal to the crown yet acknowledging the integrity of the Kurds and declaring the positive impression of the Kurdish people. This understanding of the Kurds by Noel, on one side, rejects the image created by the colonial discourse and, on the other side, Noel still talks about the Kurds as the other. Therefore, Noel creates a space between total othering and including it like a space between being a British and a Kurd, but still the Kurds are inferior (Utu, 2018).

Even the British orientalist who criticized the colonial discourse did not have an innocent intention. Noel contradicts his earlier opinion of the Kurds by accusing them of treachery and a nation that cannot be used. Noel writes: "the Kurds are at all times callous and reckless of taking human life, and they may act at times with extreme brutality. Their disregard of the laws of war has given them an extremely bad reputation for treachery" (Noel, 1920: 81). He goes on to accuse the Kurds as violent and tribalized and uncivilized: "the Kurds are a mountain race, with all the characteristics of mountaineers—love of freedom, violent passions, and a clannish feeling of pride. These primary traits cause the Kurd to fly to arms at small provocation and engage with zest in bitter blood feuds" (Noel, 1920: 1). Noel resents the Kurds as an exotic nation. He looked at the Iraqi Kurds as if they were from another space and not humans. The Occident represented the oriental Kurds as an exotic being. They were often represented as brave and bloodthirsty characters. This is dehumanizing of the Iraqi Kurds by the colonial mentality (Kuehn, 2014).

Through the act of othering, the British excluded and marginalized the Iraqi Kurds. By adopting stereotypical images that identify the other from one's group, one tends to stereotype the other. As Said pointed out, colonization is a process of othering, and the concept of other subjectivities is developed in colonial discourse due to colonization. People from locations and organizations outside of the hegemonic power system, particularly those from the British Empire's colonies, are referred to as "outsiders." (Orchi, 2009). Captain Hay is an example of this mentality. Hay states that "the peoples of the East, and above all wild races like the Kurds, are not by nature adapted to modern democratic forms of government, and strange as it may seem to some, it is nevertheless true that the more direct the rule, the more popular he was with the people at large, and with the more reasonably-minded of the local gentry" (Hay, 1921: 5). Again, he

represents a stereotypical presentation of the "other" where the Orient is represented as savage and exotic creatures.

Accordingly, shedding light on the process of othering/otherness and representing the other in postcolonial discourses are important postcolonial themes that need to be analyzed. Due to the institutional ratification, Foucault explains that these discourses by the colonizer are considered to be the truth about The Other (the Kurds). The reader accepts the British Empire as the democratic and reasonable whereas the Orient is represented as the uncivilized nation that needs to be saved by the colonizer. At this moment, the relationship of the Occident and Orient becomes the relationship of "power, of domination, of varying degree of a complex hegemony" (Said, 1978: 5). This discourse is a new study of colonialism and states that the representation of the Orient in European literary canon has contributed to creating a binary opposition between Europe and its other. Although the geographical line between the West and East is an imaginary and artificial one, accepting this binarism with the former as privileged and the latter as unprivileged is taken for granted by Western scholars and orientalists. Taking these images for granted by the Europeans was done on purpose, i.e. they wanted to take it easy and showed them as facts. This is what Foucault calls "normalization" (to make ideas and beliefs look normal and facts). They acted in this systematic way to impose their superior image on the inferior subjects.

This view states the fact that the Occident only saw the Kurds as a barbaric nation. Gertrude Bell, when she wrote about Kurds in her book, *Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia* (1920), as pawns of destruction against the Ottoman Empire (Bell, 1920: 49), he goes on to find the Kurds so powerless and helpless compared to their majesty:

His British Majesty's Government having announced that their intention in the war was the liberation of the Eastern peoples from Turkish oppression, and the grant of assistance to them in the establishment of their independence, the chiefs, as the representatives of the people of Kurdistan, have asked His British Majesty's Government to accept them also under British protection and to attach them to Iraq so that they might not be deprived of the benefits of that association, and they have

requested the Civil Commissioner of Mesopotamia to send them a representative with the necessary assistance to enable the Kurdish people under British auspices to progress peacefully on civilized lines. If His British Majesty's Government extended its assistance and protection to them, they undertook His British Majesty's orders and advice (Bell, 1920: 61).

The colonizer's perspective of the colonized as a savage and barbaric nation used as a destructive agent for the benefit of the colonizer. Another representation given by the British is presenting the Kurds as nation warriors and tyrants. Lady Soane, in her memoir, represents the Kurds as a fighter who is fearless. This image of the Kurds' character is not only a simple depiction but it represents the image of a fearless fighter who can be used in a proxy war, Therefore, based on that, the British attempted to make pro-British forces from Kurds for colonial purposes against their enemies. She states: "generations of fighting have made them past masters in the art of hill strategy and ambush. They have no fear of aeroplanes, as they have been bombed frequently enough to know how to escape injury and consequently to disregard them" (Soane, 1935: 27). This representation of a British orientalist like Lady Soane encouraged the Empire to use them for the proxy war against enemies of the British Empire just like products because for the British, the Iraqi Kurds were not equal to them, not even close, they were the "other".

Loyal to the British Empire, Wilson saw that taking Mesopotamia under the Empire and making it a British colony or a mandate was important. The new rhetoric was agreed upon at the Paris Peace Conference. Unlike Major Noel, who believed the Kurds had the right to have a semi-independent state under British guardianship, Sir Wilson considered the Kurds a barrier in front of Mesopotamia and potential northern enemies: The Turks and the now Bolshevik Russians (Utu, 2018). However, this does not diminish Sir Wilson's recognition of the Kurds as a unique ethnic group since he writes:

Their language is perhaps the most ancient tongue in western Asia with affinities to Avestic and Pahlavi; the numerous dialects differ so much that men of Sulaimani are scarcely understood in Amadiya.... They are separated from their neighbors by lofty mountains and until quite

recently almost entirely independent of the outside world, with which they had few dealings and no acquaintance. They were until recently almost wholly devoid of racial solidarity: the only law they knew was that of the tribe; the only loyalty, readily transferable, was to their tribal leaders (Wilson, 1931: 127).

Wilson exoticizes the alienation of the Kurds from the “outside world” and indicates aloofness between the communities. Wilson considered that the Kurds were a distinct tribal people with numerous intricate and long-standing tribal rivalries. In this remark, he claimed that the Kurds had minimal contact with the outside world, which was inaccurate. Hamilton expresses the same view. He represents the Kurds as a tribal and a savage nation; he feels sympathy only because he believes they are an uncivilized nation, and Hamilton as a British officer and engineer, came to civilize them:

Only a few hundred years ago, I suppose my ancestors in Scotland were little different in their customs and their rules of honor from these men whom I was sent to try and civilize, and I could not feel unsympathetic toward a people in whom genuine kindness and the primitive traditions of violence were so strangely mixed. Tribesmen are in some ways almost like children in their savage simplicity (Hamilton, 1958: 44).

The comparison to Scotland, another destination the British sought to control, indicates the domineering attitude the British held which is true to colonial patterns simplified the people they sought to “civilize.” Likewise, Edmonds also represents Kurds as a nation that needs to be civilized and a nation that is still primitive and practices a tribal system. He writes:

My first instinct was to invite you to share with me, in retrospect, with illustrations, some of the joys of old-fashioned caravan travel in glorious mountain country among a simple, picturesque, and hospitable people in a state of society still essentially tribal (Edmonds, 1958: 142).

Here, Edmonds romanticizes and others the Kurds. He clearly places the people as “old fashioned” like those of another time and makes the Kurds a spectacle. The colonizing

British used this representation to justify their actions. It is not an act of occupation only, but an act of civilisation and westernizing the other. For Said, the Empire uses various justifications to justify their colonization such as civilizing them and pacifying them but these are hollow justification to cover the real intention of the colonizer which is domination the land of the “other” and othering and marginalizing them (Said, 1994: 78).

For the British Empire, their colonization of the Kurds was the fight of the good with the bad, the moral with the immoral, the us with them, the self with the other. Thus, they were dehumanizing the Iraqi Kurds. The colonial discourse justified the actions of the colonizer against the colonized. For them, the British colonizers were punishing a treacherous nation and punishing tyrant rulers like Sheikh Mahmud. Lees described Sheikh Mahmud as follows: "Sheikh Mahmud had little real popularity throughout South Kurdistan. His reputation for tyranny and treachery caused him to be heartily disliked by all except his own immediate following, but for the same reason, he was feared by all who lacked sufficient protection from his vengeance" (Lees, 1928: 256). Lees defames the real image of Sheikh Mahmud as the most famous and influential figure of Kurds anti-colonial movement and looks over other Kurds liberation leaders. The colonizer distorts the image of the colonized as others and dehumanizes them and then proves their superiority. Similarly, Bell, another British officer dehumanizes Sheikh Mahmud as he says: "...Sheikh Mahmud's position, except for his religious prestige, depended chiefly on the reign of terror he had imposed before the war and the wholesale murder and rapine done in his name. His sinister power was proved by the fact that Sulaimaniyah under his direction had been one of the most turbulent parts of the Ottoman Empire (Bell, 1920: 59). As Spivak explains: Otherness is due less to the difference of the other than to the point of view and the discourse of the person who perceives the other as such. Opposing us, the self and them, the other is to choose a criterion that allows humanity to be divided into two groups: one that embodies the norm and whose identity is valued and another that is defined by its faults, devalued and susceptible to discrimination. Only dominant groups (such as westerners in the time of colonization) are in a position to impose their categories in the matter. That is, the British judged and described the Iraqi Kurds to impose and implant their superiority over them and put it in their discourse so this legacy continues for many years to come.

This covering of Kurdish leaders and these distortions reveal the hidden agendas and distortions of fact that underlie even the most “objective” coverage of the Kurds’ anti-colonial leaders and movement. It proves that the discourse is an investigation of the ways in which language not only describes but also defines political reality. This type of representation was accepted as the truth, since, as stated earlier, Foucault states that there is a relationship between knowledge and power. Knowledge is ratified by the one that is in power. Foucault states:

The important thing here, I believe, is that truth is not outside power or lacking in power: contrary to a myth whose history and functions would repay further study, truth is not the reward of free spirits, the child of protracted solitude, nor the privilege of those who have succeeded in liberating themselves. Truth is a thing of this world: it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint. Moreover, it induces chronic effects of power. Each society has its regime of truth, its "general politics" of truth—that is, the types of discourse it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances that enable one to distinguish true and false statements; how each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true (Foucault, 2001: 131).

The British Empire at the time had so much power over the world, thus truth was determined in the favor of the empire and against the powerless peoples and nations, *i.e.* in this context the Iraqi Kurds. The Iraqi Kurds were by no means equal to the British neither in terms of power nor in the terms of the tools. The British had various methods of media to other the Iraqi Kurds while the Kurds had almost none to fight the process of their dehumanization by the British Empire.

The false enterprise of civilizing and developing a nation brings the illusion of newness, modernity and useful instruction, however, the reality is a destructive lens that creates a power imbalance between the self and the other. Action and policy is then guided by the self-righteous nature of a domineering perspective while the other is manipulated into an interpretive truth. Lees describe the Iraqi Kurds as: “the strategic importance of the

rugged mountainous country of Kurdistan for the defense of Iraq does not require emphasis. It is a country inhabited by a proud, turbulent race, between which and the Arab inhabitants of the plains a state either of open war or raiding activity has existed from time immemorial” (Lees, 1928: 253). Lees portrays Kurds as savage and exotic Orientals; a nation that lives more like a primitive people. Likewise, like other officers, he portrays the Kurds as part of a savage and exotic orient in comparison to the civilized nations of the occident. The British to show that they are the civilized people and the other is uncivilized and primitive, they are the slave master and the other is the slave, and they used their discourse which was full of biased descriptions toward the Kurds. Lady Soane also represented the Kurds as a savage nation. She writes, "The Kurds are savage and are continually fighting, and many of the tribes fully merit the execration that has been poured upon them for outrages and massacres—that is, they fully merit the execration of modern European times" (Soane, 1935: 403). However, most of the British officers represent an exotic and savage orient. This selfish view of looking at the other shows how the British mentality looked at the Kurds. Spivak believes that the colonizers have a narcissistic mentality as they see themselves valuable and the other devalued (Spivak, 1996: 625). The quotes from the British offices clearly demonstrated the narcissistic mentality of the British toward the Iraqi Kurds and thus they found it justifiable to label their subjects as the other.

The British considered themselves superior to the orient or the colonized. Captain Hay represented this superiority by stating: “I always like to compare the Kurd to a schoolboy. He possesses the same half-developed nature, under most circumstances phlegmatic and steady-going, easily shocked, obedient only if his master has a cane, equally spoilt by too much severity or too much kindness, often thoughtlessly cruel and regardless of other people's feelings, possessing a very strict code of honor about sneaking, and game on occasions for a tremendous rag” (Hay, 1921: 64). He represents the colonizer as the master and the colonized as slave, and the slaves cannot be controlled and obedient nation only through force and subjugation whereas the Kurds needed to be lectured and turned into a civilized nation. The colonizer wants to marginalize the colonized and create an imbalanced society and people in terms of power and social status. This is why postcolonial theorists and advocates should liberate the colonized from the imposed margins. Bhabha believes that post-colonialism is

continually described as a term that portrays not a "we" talking about or to "them", but a "them" talking back to an "us." This implies that post-colonial literature in one way or another is about categorization of center and margin (2004: 107-108). According to what Bhabha suggests, the postcolonial advocates should use writing means to set the colonized free by helping them understand how the colonizer marginalized them.

The British authorized the Kurds by constructing and describing them through the image they formed according to their will rather than reality. They focused on showing the Iraqi Kurds as savage and this was to use this discourse in the benefit of their colonization. In some descriptions, they described the Iraqi Kurds as brave and fearless, however, that was not to praise the Kurds; rather it was to encourage them and use them against the Turks and other opposing forces. Some other orientalist totally rejected the Iraqi Kurds and defined them as barbarous and uncivilized and they kept using these terms to refer to the Kurds in order to show it as a fact and truth. None of these descriptions were done for the sake of the Iraqi Kurds; it was exploiting discourse to marginalize the other in accordance with the colonial mentality. This is why Spivak draws attention "to the dangers of assuming that it was a simple matter of allowing the subaltern (oppressed) forces to speak, without recognizing that their essential subjectivity had been and still was constrained by the discourses within which they were constructed as subaltern" (1996: 74). That is, there is a connection between subaltern, which was explained earlier and othering. When the colonial powers other the colonized peoples, they marginalize them and turn them into subalterns and speechless and powerless.

To conclude, the British, "Self" showed themselves as civilized, superior and democratic while the Iraqi Kurds, the "other" as inferior, uncivilized, and savage. They generalized this mentality in order to prove and continue their superiority at the expense of distorting the image of the Iraqi Kurds. In the British discourse of the Iraqi Kurds, one can easily sense that the "Self" is the slave master and the "other" is the slave. The self is the civilized that came to dominate the other, the wild to civilize and pacify the other. This justification was to justify their colonization and domination and presenting the colonization as a good and moral act. The self is powerful and the other is powerless

which shows that the British mentality formed their relations with other peoples on the basis of hegemonic and dominating power and subaltern and dominated people.

In the texts above, the colonial discourse showed images of the Kurds through the process of othering that were more psychological, social, cultural and political. These images that are displayed are rarely close to reality which are intended to impose hegemony to generalize and magnify and collect information to use them in making a mechanism and controlling strategy toward the Kurds in particular in these images which depict the tribal system of the Kurds. Some other images of Kurds that are shown are they truly the ones which show the bravery of the Kurds which are intended to help the British in their policy of exploiting the Kurds against the enemies of the Empire such as Turks. Another type of the images show that the Kurds are criminals and aggressive which intended to demonize the Kurds and their leaders. These images wanted to show the Kurds as uncivil, barbarous and backward. These images are generalized and quite common in colonial discourse. All these representations were not to construct a true discourse; it was rather the exploitation of knowledge by othering the Kurds. The other/Kurd accepted the colonial policy with all of its forms.

The process of normalization and naturalization of misrepresentation which shows the colonial discourse as general facts shows the Kurds as uncivilized and inferior and the self/British as civilized, superior, and democratic. This act demonstrates how controlling and undemocratic the British were by imposing this misinterpretation on the Kurds and distorting and denying the Kurdish culture and civilization and East in general. This was to legitimize and justify their colonization as they showed that they came to pacify and civilize the uncivilized. That is, based on what was examined, the process of representation “self” and “other” is not an easy process to understand; it was rather a construction which was based on the political and colonial ideology of the British. The construction showed the British as center and the Kurds as the margin, exotic, and demonic. This subjective representation gives information on the nature of relationship between the British as the colonizer and the Kurds as the colonized in colonial discourse. The relationship is based on the domination and hegemony of powerful toward the powerless, objects, and inferiors powerful and powerless, superior and inferior.

CHAPTER 4: BRITISH COLONIZERS IN KURDISH POSTCOLONIAL TEXTUAL REPRESENTATIONS

This chapter studies the voice and response of the Kurds in Iraq to British colonization during 1914-1958. It presents a brief discussion on the socio-political and cultural structure of Kurds' society in order to understand and demonstrate the context and environment which produced, constructed, and formulated the origins, roots, and resources of Kurdish postcolonial discourse. In the process of searching and finding the Kurds' voice, the study explores and selected two main types of texts which represent the response of Kurdish colonized people: the texts which were written by Kurdish intellectuals and politicians in memories, diary, and autobiography forms, and the texts published in Kurdish newspapers in that period. They are the main resource of the Kurdish postcolonial response. On the one hand, the chapter studies and indicates themes of postcolonial discourse and its reflection on Kurdish colonized people in Iraq and their resistance to colonization. On the other hand, this chapter investigates how Kurds define themselves as "us-colonized" with the "other-colonizer". Furthermore, this chapter investigates the significance and effect of the colonial legacies on Kurdish culture in Iraq.

4.1. Contextual Background of Kurdish Postcolonial Discourse: Socio-Political Status and Cultural Movements

The relationship between discourse and the political and social structure is an interrelated and dialectical relation. The systematic thoughts and the themes contained in a discourse stem from the social structure. For Foucault, discourse is not simply a dialogue or a philosophical monologue; rather it “means an interactional order which emerges in social situations” (Diaz-Bone et al., 2008: 10). In the same way, the discourse also has an impact on society. The resource, the historical and political context which produced the Kurdish text and discourse of this research at that stage concerning colonialism and its impact at the internal, regional, and international levels and factors, was a complex, difficult and intertwined stage that exposed to different series of actions and reactions. A stage characterized by a conflict of ideologies, strategies, plans, policies, and political methods concerning the relations between the East and the West. Therefore, classifying those strategies and policies in the different

stages and their effects on the Kurdish society and identity at that time was a debatable issue. In addition, internal and external factors have overlapped and mixed in a way that affected each other so that the process of identifying and defining the stages and finding a voice, position, and resource for the production of the real Kurdish discourse on the British Colonization process became difficult. This was generated from that stage of social and political structure which became the environment and resource for producing Kurdish Discourse. This clash of contradictory policies and strategies is reflected in the Kurdish thoughts, texts, and discourses of that period.

At the international level, that stage was considered one of the most prominent and complicated one, concerning the East-West relations, as two different blocs and zones in terms of culture, politics, and ideology in such a way that the effects and implications of the stage had been continued to present because it was reflected in many tensions and dilemma of the Middle East. The outbreak of the First World War, the re-drafting of the demographic, geographic, and political map of the Middle East, the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the establishment of the mandate and postcolonial nation-states, the growth of the national ideology in the East, the conclusion of a set of international treaties and conventions such as Sykes-Picot (1916), San Marino (1920), the Treaty of Sèvres (1920), the Treaty of Lausanne (1922), the spread of the leftist ideology as a result of the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia led by the Bolshevik Party and Vladimir Lenin against the rule of the Russian tsars, the outbreak of the Second World War with its repercussions as well as many other events all brought about series of changes of which the consequences had their impacts on the structure of the Kurdish society. At the same time, they caused a division in the Kurdish discourse at that historical phase.

Notably, there was a set of internal conditions that affected the structure and elements that formulated the Kurdish discourse against the colonial process and the political events such as the emergence of Kurdish nationalist ideologies and movement in different forms and frameworks, the tribal system and the occupation of Kurdistan by Britain and imposition of colonial rule, the conservative religious structure of the society, and imposition of the Iraqi identity on the Kurds by Britain. The emergence of the Mosul problem and the appearance of Nazi and leftist thoughts in Kurdistan, and several other issues that formulated the theme and the structure of the Kurdish voice and

discourse, but in disunited, an incoherent and multi-polar and multi-axis framework which was expressed through the literary issues published in the Kurdish newspapers in contrast to the discourse of British colonialism and its repercussions (Khdhir, 2015).

All of these external and internal factors had great impacts on the social structure and the political views of the Kurds which created different and contradictory Kurdish discourses with multiple axes that had a profound impact on the public opinion and the opinion of intellectual elites and political leaders in different stages that consequently directed the fate of the Kurds in different forms. This made the Kurdish researchers and historians refer to the political and ideological division in various ways. For example, both Kurdish writers Omer Marf Barzinji and Hussein Arif believed that the Kurdish society was politically operating in three different directions. First, some of them believed in the return of the Ottoman authority and these were called pro-Turks. Another group considered Britain the liberator of the Kurds whereas another group gathered around Sheikh Mahmud, who was leading the anti-colonial movement and were against the British Empire (Barzanji, 1978; Arif, 2011).

Further, Sheikh Latif Hafid divided the trends directing Kurdish politics and society at that stage into two political parties. The first of them was the Kurdish National Party, and it consisted of individuals who believed in the independence of Kurdistan and the formation of a Kurdish government. These individuals were some of the Ottoman officers and a group of intellectuals of the bourgeois class. The second front was a Kurdish Islamic party, and it consisted of individuals who rejected British friendship. Those were mostly close to the Turks who thought that sooner or later the Ottoman Caliphate system would return. It included a group of clerics and chieftains. Those who supported Sheikh Mahmud were from the latter group (Hafid, 1995).

From this perspective, some Kurdish researchers talked about the intermingling and mixing of different groups in the Kurdish society especially in the city of Sulaymaniyah which was the center of the Kurdish national movement at that stage. There were about 700 former Ottoman officers, intellectuals, and officials at that time. Within this total, there were 409 officers of the former Ottoman army. Concerning their social and cultural backgrounds, they belonged to different Kurdish families. Some of them supported the movement of Sheikh Mahmud, and others were against it. There was also

a group in favor of the return of the Ottoman authority while some others were putting all their eggs in the basket of British politics (Ja'afer, 2006). This disagreement among the Iraqi Kurds and their movements was reflected in public opinion and the Kurdish discourse's disunity and disunity.

The political figures who were former officers could play an important role in the society. Some of them were the nationalists who supported the Ottomans, but they were anti-Kemalist. They believed that the Kemalists wanted to build their power on the ruins of the Ottoman inheritance. So, they wanted the Kurds to approach Britain to achieve their goals. The most prominent figure among these was General Mustafa Pasha Yamulki (1868-1936) who held the post of Minister of Education in the second government of Sheikh Mahmud and also served as the editor-in-chief of the *Bangi Kurdistan* newspaper (Ja'afer, 2006). Among those officers, some others returned to Kurdistan after World War I, and they were known to be Bolsheviks, but they had no deep background in Marxism-Leninism or communist ideology (Shwani, 2002). They did not believe in the feasibility of armed movements, so they were trying to practice cultural activities, and they believed in radical changes (Ja'afer, 2006). Jamal Irfan (1881-1923) was one of the most prominent members of this group. For some time, he worked with the forces of the Levi army which was a pro-British force.

Some of these intellectuals were influenced by European modernist thoughts because they had lived for a long time outside Kurdistan, so they became away from the Kurdish customs and traditions. The political position of these people was close to the British because the British and the Iraqi government promised them positions in the Iraqi government and administration (Ja'afer, 2006), such as Tawfiq Wahbi (1891-1984) and Mohammed Amin Zeki Bey (1880-1948). They become mimics of the British for receiving positions from the British power as Bhabha pointed out and we mentioned earlier that the colonized chooses to be mimics to receive financial and power benefits. These intellectuals were not able to get close to the Kurdish general public in order to represent them; they are not very popular for unifying a Kurdish voice. Meanwhile, they were far from Sheikh Mahmud and its movement (Hilmi, 2020). This divergence and dissonance from the general public and also from the authorities created a great vacuum that even after the demise of the first government of Sheikh Mahmud and bombing of

the city of Sulaymaniyah by the British air force and the existence of a political and administrative vacuum, they were unable to make any initiation and use some kind of civil methods to put pressure on the British colonialism. It seems that these people had fallen under the influence of Mohammed Amin Zeki Bey's ideas who claimed the futility of political activities and preferred cultural and scientific activities. So, the Kurds should acquire sciences and arts (Ja'afar, 2006).

Despite the existence of multi-axis and disagreement between the Kurdish intellectuals and politicians, which undoubtedly affected the Kurdish public opinion at that stage, and the disclosure of the Britain's failure to be committed to its promises toward the Kurds and its intention to impose the Iraqi identity on them, a group of political and social organizations was formed during that times. However, they had no active role in the Kurdish anti-colonial movement due to their inability to unify their political agenda and discourse to direct the community. Among these organizations was the Scientific Association of the Kurds founded in February 1926 in Sulaymaniyah. This was a scientific association; not a political one. Its main goal was to spread awareness and science, but its role was limited and short-lived (Kareem, 1985).

In 1926, a secret society was established with British support, named the "Association for the Advancement of the Kurds," but they did not leave any trace after themselves (Shwani, 2002). Also, in 1926, a secret political society was established named the Zardashtian Assembly. Its main center was in Baghdad, and it had branches in Erbil and Sulaymaniyah. The association had a strong relationship with Sheikh Mahmud. Its goal was to achieve autonomy for the Kurds. Later they wanted to move their activities to the city of Sanandaj, but after they had been exposed by the British, this association was banned (Hafid, 1995; Shwani, 2002).

In 1927, the Khoybon Association was founded by the politicians of the Pan-Kurdish nationalists led by Amir Jaladet Badrkhan. This association had an open, totalitarian orientation and had strong relations with the Armenian nationalists and the governments of Italy and Greece intending to use them against Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. One of the association's branches was in Iraqi Kurdistan, in the Rawanduz area to be specific (Ali, 1992). A group of Kurdish officers in the Iraqi army were secret members of this association; however, as the British mentioned in their documents, their branch left no

trace in Iraq after 1929 since the movement ended and its leadership could not stand the agenda of the British which was exterminating Kurdish anticolonial movements (Abdullah, 2008).

At the same stage, some other Kurdish associations were established, such as the "Brayati Association" 1927-1933, which aimed at making Iraq and Britain recognize the national rights of the Kurds peacefully and through dialogue. A literary association was also established in Sulaymaniyah under the "Kurdistan Literary Association," which concerned the educational aspects and the Kurdish language. The "Youth Association" in 1930 was founded by a group of Kurdish students in Baghdad. Nevertheless, the association did not have any organized political program. Their main concern was disseminating the Kurdish culture and literature (Sharif, 2007). In 1938, the Brayati Association in Sulaymaniyah was founded by Sheikh Latif Hafid. It was a national political association in which the Kurdish bourgeoisie worked to continue the path of Sheikh Mahmud's struggle but they did not reach any significant result (Lolo, 2010).

The Hiwa Party was one of the involved parties secretly established in 1937 in Kirkuk under Darker. Its leader was Rafiq Hilmi (1898-1960). During World War II, the party tried to gather all the Kurdish masses around it. At first, its members and supporters were mostly in Kufri, Kalar, and Khanaqin, and then the city of Erbil and other areas. The party's goal was to obtain the rights of the Kurds, which was the reason for its constant growth. Because the British did not like it, they weakened it. Moreover, with the emergence of the leftist and communist movement in Iraq, the British tried to create dissension between the leaders of this party. Thus, the party split into two different factions. One of the two groups was leftist believing that the party could achieve its goals through the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist bloc while the other group was the right-wing that believed the opposite, i.e., reliance on Britain and the imperialist countries to guarantee the rights of the Kurds (Shamzini, 2006).

The disagreement of the two wings was also about supporting or not supporting the Barzan uprising that occurred. This dispute developed, and they could not resolve it until 1944 (Talabani, 2002), when the party dissolved and its members were distributed to the Communist Party and Rizgari Party which later became the Kurdistan Democratic Party.

Finally, after the dissolution of the Hiwa Party, two other parties were established namely the Shorsh Party and the Rizgari Party. First, the leftist members of the Hewa party founded the Rizgari party. Then some of the Communists within the Hiwa Party and were members of the Iraqi Communist Party (ICP) established an Organization named Uniform for Struggle in 1944. Later in 1945, the name of this party was changed to the Communist Party of Iraqi Kurdistan (Sharif, 2007).

Some of the patriotic leaders of the Church party also founded a new party called Rizgari Party which aimed at opposing the feudal system and colonialism and its agents as well as raising the social, economic, and cultural level, and achieving decentralization of Iraqi Kurdistan besides achieving the Kurdish rights. However, in 1946, the Rizgari party dissolved itself, and some leaders of this party established a new party named the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) which continued until the present time, and now it is one of the major parties in Iraqi Kurdistan (Sharif, 2007).

In addition to all the organizations mentioned earlier, groups and parties, many others were established at that stage, and there were many leaders and different intellectuals who adopted different political and social trends. However, as it was mentioned, due to some internal and external reasons, they were surrounded by subjugated censorship or under control of British colonialism, none of these organizations and parties was able to become a real platform or mouthpiece for all of Iraq's Kurds. Nevertheless, they were only some types of reaction to specific political events. They did not have a comprehensive and clear discourse about the policy of British colonialism in order to direct the Kurdish community in the right direction. These parties and organizations did not have a unified, organized, and practical program or plan. The leaders' views were not firmly determined, but they were subject to changes stage after stage. However, they embodied their political presence through their activities especially the revolution of Sheikh Mahmud Hafid which would have represented a large part of the anti-colonial discourse at that time. Not being able to unify the parties partly belongs to the agenda of the British Empire as they wanted to disintegrate the Kurdish community. This is why postcolonial theorists such as Edward Said stated that the colonial mentality does not only dominate the land but also the mentality and all the social and cultural activities in

order to weaken the resistance spirit and leave its legacy even after the colonizer leaves the land.

Considering all that mentioned above, all the discourses that emanated from the ideologies of these political trends and parties were not a systematic and unified anti-colonial discourse. Rather, they were divided into different national views of which the most important were: left-wing nationalism, pro-British nationalism, and religious nationalism.

The Left-wing nationalism or Socialist nationalism was a type of nationalism based on the left-wing Marxism grounds that formed a stand on the progress of globalization. It believed in a state in which power would be centralized in the hands of the proletariat so that the people would be revered. At the same time, it was against imperialism and racist nationalism. It strongly advocated for the civic, cultural, and patriotic aspects and believed in the armed struggle and international coordination (Ryan & Worth, 2010). As mentioned earlier, this type of nationalism appeared as the October Revolution in Russia. It was reflected in the ideas of a group of Kurdish political figures and their political trends and organizations but without delving into the core of ideology, and that was why they did not have a strong anti-British colonial discourse, and they could not direct the course of society through a revolution against imperialism. They had a very limited role in political events at that time.

Pro-British nationalism or Pro-colonial nationalism constituted another type of nationalism adopted by Kurdish figures and political currents organizations that considered Britain a savior and a gateway for the Kurds to reach their rights and achieve their national objectives. These were fallen under the influence of Britain's policy and power in international politics and the influence of its deceptive discourse, promises and propagandas. These groups of Kurd politicians and intellectual elites were not against colonialism, but they also became attached to them and cooperated with British colonialism. The discourse of this type of nationalism was reflected in the texts presented in the context of this research. This type of discourse views the future and fate of the Kurds through the glasses of British colonialism. This group formed as the effect of othering by the British Empire because, as mentioned earlier, they showed that the Iraqi Kurds are helpless and powerless and they need the "self," the powerful, chosen and royal nation, i.e. the British Empire.

The other type of nationalism was religious nationalism which was based on the influence of one of the religions to achieve national rights and goals, or by politicizing religion to achieve national goals. This type of nationalism made the national identity and religion two twin partners in achieving the nation's political goals (Grzymala-Busse, 2019). Sheikh Mahmud's movement against British colonialism was considered one of the most nationalist movements in which he attempted to link the Kurdish religion and national identity together to achieve the national rights and goals. In fact, it could also be described as an anti-colonial nationalism. At this stage, this type of nationalism had represented the majority of a real voice and resonance and a major role in the political events and developments against colonialism, but it was mixed with a group of conservative and tribal ideas.

In general, and from the perspective of the reading of the socio-political conditions of the Kurdish society within the limits of the stage covered by this research, we can generally classify the Iraqi Kurdish discourse in the context of the study into two types, namely, the pro-colonial discourse and the anti-colonial discourse. In the other coming sections of this research, they will be addressed in detail.

4.2. Kurdish Textual Representations: Context and Resources of Kurdish Postcolonial Discourse

Along with the military and economic occupation, the British colonial administration supervised the printing and published a lot of Kurdish newspapers which were considered as a major channel of information and news in the Kurds community. The British colonial administration played a vital role in bringing print press media and published media for spreading their propaganda and discourse for enticing sentiments of Kurds' elites and intellectuals and controlling public opinion in Kurds colonized society. However, some of the Kurds' elites and intellectuals, besides their physical resistance, benefited from the process and started printing their newspaper to stand against colonial discourse and agenda in the region. The Kurdish discourse at that time based on the content and tone of writing was divided into two types: Kurdish anti-colonial discourse and pro-British colonial discourse. Pro-colonial discourse in the study is: the discourse which repeats, accepts, and mimics the British colonial discourse and propaganda in the Kurdish textual representations under the influence of British hegemony. Anti-colonial

discourse or counter-discourse is a counter to the British colonial discourse which includes the Kurdish resistance voice against British colonialism and its legacies, the voice which has been ignored, subjugated and muted. In this way, postcolonial authors have gained the opportunity to defend against and correct the existing distortion of postcolonial subjectivities and positions. Helen Tiffin calls it “canonical counter-discourse ...in which a post-colonial writer takes up a character or characters, or the basic assumptions of a British canonical text, and unveils those assumptions, subverting the text for post-colonial purposes” (Tiffin, 2003: 97). This counter-discourse has provided a new perception of history which is written from the perspective of the colonized rather than that of the hegemonic power which is known as anti-colonial discourse or counter-discourse; therefore, they can be regarded as Kurdish proactive essentialism in ongoing efforts for decolonization. However, the details of the political developments were not captured through comprehensive and systematic methods considering the level of development of scientific processes in documentation, preparing, and preserving the records and papers of anti-colonial movements due to the lack of scientific processes and systematic knowledge along with the political instability, the continuous wars and revolutions.

The chapter uncovers the real voices of Kurds colonized people which have been covered and disoriented by colonial agendas, and re-representing and re-conceptualizing the knowledge and discourse which was produced by the British as a sort of power for colonial policies. The study attempted to find out the Kurds' voices and responses against the British colonization through two kinds of textual representations which were the main essential resource of Kurdish Discourse toward British imperialism at that time. The first resources of the Kurds discourse can be found in newspapers which were published as a reaction and response to the impacts of colonial rules. The second one includes the memories and diaries, autobiographical texts which were written by some Kurds intellectual elites and politicians who had great roles in the theater of political, cultural and social events and dilemmas at that time.

4.2.1. Kurdish Postcolonial Writes Back through Media and Newspapers

Writing back, which means the colonized writers respond to colonialism and colonial discourse, is the way the postcolonial voices respond to the literary textual

representations of the colonial discourse and legacies. The term refers to postcolonial discourses including an account of a diverse variety of postcolonial texts as well as their connections to larger postcolonial culture (Ashcroft et al., 2003). The selected textual representations of the newspapers of this study are essential and primary materials for embodying, finding, and identifying Kurdish discourse and its themes on the British occupation of Kurdish areas from 1914 to 1958. Each newspaper was intimately linked to the historical contexts, political settings, and policies that the relationship between British colonizers and Kurds colonized people had gone through, whether in terms of name, subjects of writings or the aims of printing them. The discourses are acts and reactions during the colonial process. Therefore, to understand the content and the themes of the selected texts, it is crucial to review the historical context of the newspapers and the motivations behind their emergence.

British colonialism did not only occupy territories but they used different ways to control culture, intellectual elites, and public opinion. They thought that Media is the most effective way for this matter. Therefore, they took over the Kurds' media and produced their propaganda and discourse through the newspapers and magazines.

The Kurdish textual representations in the newspapers were not published solely as a counter-discourse for colonization. There are two types of newspapers and magazines, the pro-British newspaper which echoed and mimicked the British colonial discourse and propaganda, and anti-colonial newspapers and magazines which represent anti-colonial media. They can be regarded as Kurdish strategic essentialism attempts for decolonization even though, as mentioned earlier, the details of the political events were not recorded through systematical method because of the level of the progress of the scientific mechanisms in recording, organizing, and protecting the documents of anti-colonial movements and the lack of print-press in Kurdistan and the permanence of wars and conflicts at the time.

4.2.1.1. *Peshkawtin* (Progress): 1920-1922

On April 21, 1919, Sheikh Mahmud led an uprising against the British. After driving out all the British forces from the city of Sulaymaniyah and its outskirts and seizing control of the region, the British considered this a disgraced setback. So, after around two months (on June 17, 1919) they launched a counterattack and occupied the

city. Sheikh Mahmud was captured and sent to exile in India, then Ely Banister Soane was appointed as the British political ruler in Sulaymaniyah (Ali, 2010; Askender, 2007).

War, bloody conflicts, and injustice of British colonialism caused destruction and starvation, which led to the resentment and anger of the Kurds especially after the outbreak of diseases, hunger and unemployment. All those difficulties made the British think about changing their policy to calm down and contain the people's resentment and attract the Kurds' sympathy through using their deceitful imperialist methods. So, they decided to make some changes in people's lives (Shwani, 2002; Omer, 2001). Among the techniques they used was aiming at satisfying the educated class of the Kurds by the issuance of a newspaper in the Kurdish language called *Peshkawtin*, meaning "Progress," to show that they were interested in the Kurdish language, culture and history. At the same time, they distributed foodstuffs to the people and lifted taxes that were imposed on convoys of commercial goods. They also built some roads and bridges.

Regarding the *Peshkawtin* newspaper, the British had several goals, for example, gathering the Kurdish public opinion around them, spreading their colonial propaganda and then imposing it on the Kurds. However, their goals did not stop at this point, as they had other goals; the most important one was to annex Kurdistan to Iraq from the political, economic and administrative aspects. Before appointing Prince Faisal as king of Iraq, the British were paving the way for that. So, they began to praise and sing about him to encourage people to support him (Amin, 2013).

Notably, they were working to change the local identity and spread Western civilisation's identity and culture instead especially that of the British (Omer, 2001). When the mass media was unavailable, the British were aware of the importance of newspapers and the media as the main source for disseminating news and information and getting acquainted with internal and external events especially in the countries under their occupation. Therefore, newspapers were the most important media. Due to the lack of newspapers in Kurdistan, sometimes news and information especially news of fighting and wars were published by intellectuals and poets (Khaznadar, 2005).

On the one hand, the British were aware that the West had a role in ending the war with minimal losses especially by weakening the psychological status of their enemies, and that the hostile parties had no interest in publications, newspapers and the media in general. They also had no care about the local people's language or using it in writing. For example, during the years 1914-1918, there was only one newspaper in Iraq that was published in Arabic, which was "*Al-Zawra*," and another newspaper published in both Turkish and Arabic, called "*The Sada Al-Islam*" (Misri, 2006). On the other hand, the British gave great importance to controlling public opinion and gaining the confidence of the educated class and the elite to rally around them. However, they were aware that this was not an easy matter because the notables and leaders of the Kurds and intellectuals, in general, did not have confidence in the British especially when they used excessive violence during the occupation of Kurdish cities as evidenced by the telegram numbered 804 sent by Sir Percy Cox, the British High Commissioner to Iraq at that time, to the Minister of the State for the Colonies Affairs dated November 16, 1922, in which he said:

The current circumstances have made Kurdish intellectuals reluctant to participate in setting up a decisive program due to not being sure about our real intentions toward them. At the same time, the uneducated class and the Kurdish extremists such as Sheikh Mahmud and his followers have linked themselves to demands that indicate extremism which they claim are the real demands of all Kurds. If we can declare that the Kurds have the right to form their national government within the borders of Iraq and to be recognised by the government of Great Britain and the Iraqi government, then we can urge the moderates to present reasonable proposals and start discussions and work for calming down the situation in general. Such a declaration makes the Kurds take our sides and meet together. This certainly could constitute an effective weapon in our hands to confront the Turks (Burdett, 2017: 293).

From this perspective, and based on their agenda particularly for gaining the support of writers and the educated elite of the Kurds, the British colonialists published *Peshkawtin* newspaper. It was a political and cultural newspaper of which 118 issues were issued between April 29, 1920, and July 27, 1922. Historically, this newspaper

was the first Kurdish newspaper issued under the direct sponsorship and supervision of the British colonialist. The printing process was carried out through a press brought by the British to the municipality of Sulaimaniyah for facilitating their administrative and military affairs (Omer, 2001). The editor-in-chief and the direct supervisor of the newspaper (Issue 1: 45) was Major Soane. After the transfer of his military services, Goldsmith, who replaced Major Soane as the governor of Slemani, became the new political governor of the city, became the editor and supervisor of the newspaper (*Peshkawtin*, Issue 46, 1921).

During his reign, being the political ruler of Britain in Sulaymaniyah and the editor-in-chief and supervisor of the *Peshkawtin* newspaper, Major Soane had a harsh and oppressive style in terms of administration. He did not allow any activity of the patriots or promotion of any ideology against the British. For this purpose, he used a group of spies and agents and incited them to watch over the citizens (Shwani, 2002). However, through this newspaper, he was trying to bring the Kurdish writers and enlightened ones closer to his agenda. As a result, some writers and intellectuals participated in the newspaper through their writings including Jamal Irfan, Hamdi, Rashid Zaki, Rafiq Hilmi, Zaki Saeb, Zewar Jamil Saeb, Ali Kamal, Mahmud Bekhud and others (*Peshkawtin*, 1921).

The newspaper was published under the direct order and influence of the political discourse of British colonialism. Many subjects, texts and articles were prepared by them and then printed. The newspaper's strategy was to conceal the true face of British imperialism and show it to the Kurdish people in an acceptable manner. As a result, some secular intellectuals who had fallen under the influence of the promises of the British and the Western speech started to participate in the newspaper through their writings (Ali, 1992). There was also another group of writers who, with patriotic motives, tried to benefit from the newspaper to serve and develop the Kurdish language, culture and literature (Mezhar, 2001).

However, any articles, prose, and satirical topics that were in direct interest and censorship of the British policies and colonial agendas were published without mentioning the author's name or under a pseudonym which indicates that they may have been written by people close to them as most of them were expressing the British views.

The newspaper had usually published such topics, articles and texts as a propaganda weapon for colonialism mostly to serve British policy at that stage. In general, through its one hundred and eighteen numbers, the newspaper included about 980 different topics and articles including 670 political topics and 155 different articles in addition to some poetry texts and other topics. All of them were in the interest of the British Empire, be it directly or indirectly.

The main slogan of the newspaper was: "everything is written for progress." Although the slogan contained truth, it had two sides. On the one hand, the newspaper was concerned with agriculture, history, social and cultural matters, reading and writing in the Kurdish language; but on the other hand, all those concerns aimed at achieving the sinister strategy and agenda of British colonialism. Many glamorous promises had been given, and deceitful articles were published, but the main goal was to keep the Kurds in a state between independence and submission to the central authority in Baghdad. The British were reluctant to link the Kurds directly with Baghdad (Bimar, 1998). However, they did their best to impose their hegemony on the region.

In brief, the newspaper's identity was hybrid. Some of the published texts and subjects were written directly by the British, which, of course, reflected British imperialist discourse. In contrast, some articles and texts were written by writers who were under the influence of the colonial discourse or tried to imitate and perhaps reproduce the colonialist discourse and ideology, which Homi Bhabha describes them as a mimic. However, some writers wanted to serve the thought and culture of their people, and they paid attention to issues that serve the community and the national culture.

4.2.1.2. *Bangi Kurdistan* (Kurdistan Appeal) (1922-1926)

This newspaper was published in the midst of the negotiations that were taking place between Britain and the Kurdish leaders before and after the return of Sheikh Mahmud from exile and the formation of his government. The newspaper was published in two sessions. In its first session, 13 issues were published. The first issue was published on August 2, 1922, (*Bangi Kurdistan*, Issue 1, 1922), and the last issue on November 3, 1922 (*Bangi Kurdistan*, Issue 13, 1922). In the second session, only 4 issues were sporadically published, from June 8, 1923 (*Bangi Kurdistan*, Issue 14, 1923), and the last issue was on April 1, 1926 (Salih, Salih, & Zangana, n. d.). The caption written

under its title was ‘a weekly independent, scientific, social, and literary newspaper’ (*Bangi Kurdistan*, Issue 1, 1922). It also published articles in Kurdish, Persian and Turkish languages. The newspaper was interested in political topics during the reign of Sheikh Mahmud and his armed movements. In addition to the battle news, the newspaper was publishing scientific, poetic, social, political and patriotic texts and topics. Historically, it is considered the first newspaper issued by a Kurdish political group in Iraqi Kurdistan.

In the beginning, the newspaper was the official organ of the Kurdistan Assembly, which was founded by Mustafa Pasha Yamulki (1886-1936) on July 21, 1922, after the end of Sheikh Mahmud’s rule. Mustafa Pasha was a former Ottoman high rank officer who became the Minister of Education in Sheikh Mahmud's government (Omer, 2001). Under the title of *Bangi Kurdistan*, the *Peshkawtin* newspaper stated in its last issue, “These days, an assembly was established in the city of Sulaymaniyah in order to serve the country and raise the level of knowledge under the name of *Bangi Kurdistan*. It also granted permission to publish a newspaper managed by this assembly. Mr. Mustafa Pasha is its editor-in-chief, and it will be published on a weekly basis” (*Peshkawtin*, Issue 118: 2).

The newspaper’s goal was clarified through an article by Mustafa Pasha Yamulki on the occasion of the establishment of Kurdistan Assembly, in which he said,

“*Bangi Kurdistan* is a call to inform all the Kurds, for the sake of these heroes, so that everyone can hear what is mentioned in it. Listen to it weekly in order to know what the latest news...is. We are deprived of everything; we do not know anything about what is happening in the world... Dear Kurdish brothers, come and listen to *Bangi Kurdistan* to know what is going on, and what strange things are happening. Friendship is the cause of prosperity... Everyone who cares for the citizens of this country, and likes to benefit the people should be kind and announce what he knows in the fields of science and literature so that they can be read by people.” (*Bangi Kurdistan*, Issue 1: 2).

That is, Pasha had a clear and patriotic intention in the establishment of the newspaper and he wanted to raise awareness of the Kurds culturally, scientifically, and politically.

Under the title of *Bangi Kurdistan*, in Issue 13, Ali Bapir (1923) wrote,

"Since the goal of this newspaper is to serve the Kurdish nation, every Kurd must read it, and listen to what it says from all his heart. It is known that any nation that has no newspaper, no one understands its ideas and concerns, or the results of its actions; therefore, it remains in the world without a name or address. If we want the prosperity of the Kurdish people, we must encourage this newspaper and support it because it is the real voice of these people and expresses the ideas and the goals that serve our nation." (p. 2).

That shows that *Bangi Kurdistan* is one of the newspapers which fall into the category of the newspapers who fought for the rights of the Iraqi Kurds.

In the beginning, the newspaper was issued by the Kurdistan Assembly during the period of the British administration and with British approval. With this respect, in Issue 1, the newspaper stated: "as a result of the efforts and endeavors of the President of the Kurdistan Assembly, the British authorities in Sulaymaniyah permitted the publication of the *Bangi Kurdistan* newspaper" (3). It is known that government issues at that time were run by the British. Later, when Sheikh Mahmud's government was formed, the newspaper became the government's mouthpiece. For this reason, there had been changes in the discourse of the newspaper according to the changes that took place in the government.

In general, the newspaper went through three sensitive periods which were full of political changes. First, the newspaper's franchise was obtained from the British authorities because they were ruling the city of Sulaymaniyah at that time, and Issues 1 to 5 were issued at a time when the British were still ruling the city. Second, Issues 6 to 8 were published at a time when the British forces withdrew from the city before the return of Sheikh Mahmud, i.e. Sulaymaniyah city was going through a period of an administrative vacuum. Third, Issues 9 to 13 were published after the return of Sheikh Mahmud, that is, during the rule of Kurdistan (Amin, 2013). Accordingly, the goals of the newspaper had changed to urge people to demand the national rights of the Kurds, to spread science and knowledge, and to raise the awareness of the people.

Nevertheless, the newspaper was concerned with local and international news, in addition to literature and social affairs (Omer, 2001).

Despite the small number of its issues, the newspaper passed through several stages. The method of its work was not the same from the beginning to the end. The complexity and instability of the political situation had an impact on what was being written in the newspaper. The Kurdish anti-colonialists and anti-colonial discourse was hesitant and unclear between tendency toward Britain and the Iraqi identity, on the one hand, and support for the Turks and the response to the self-formulated style, on the other hand. This was clearly evident from the titles of the articles and the texts published in the newspaper from Issues 4 to 10 1922. For example, titles such as “*Official Announcement: Kurdistan Government*” and “*Praise be to God, the phoenix of state is about to descend on the Kurds head*” clearly advocates the establishment of an independent Kurdish state while titles such as “*Prayer of the Kurds for the people of Mosul*” shows that the newspaper concerns itself with the debate between Turks and British over the control of the Mosul *vilayet* and the newspaper supports the Turks. Other titles such as “*A Wise Person does not Miss Opportunities*” and “*State is created by Unity, not by Hypocrisy*” supports the discourse of the British by stating that the Kurds should use the opportunity offered by the British to help the Kurds form their independent state. That is, the newspaper could not decide on a particular agenda and it was impacted by the socio-political state of the time.

At that time, the situation in the region especially in Sulaymaniyah was very complicated before the return of the Sheikh from exile in India. The British forces failed in the areas of Harir, Rania, and Koya when they were trying to control the entire region because the people were standing against them. Meanwhile, the Turkish pressure was increasing day by day. Ali Shafiq, known as (Ozdemir Pasha), the Turkish leader who represented Turkey during the Mosul question, penetrated the region of Rawanduz with some detachments of his soldiers. This Turkish incursion worried the British. Therefore, they tried to appease the people especially many of them who were inclined to Turkey after the British did not implement the promises that they gave to Sheikh Mahmud (Shwani, 2002).

The most important goals and agendas of the British policy at this stage were concentrated in a few points, such as, not allowing the Turks to return, and to expel them from the Mosul *vilayet* Mosul and Kurdistan, and not allowing any force or party to extend a helping hand to the Turks, or to receive assistance from them (Mella, 2005). Thus, the new conditions required the British to consider an alternative leader for Sheikh Mahmud, but they did not succeed in this mission. Finally, they thought of finding another way to control people's resentment. This coincided with the activities of the Turks who were spreading news about their return to Mosul *vilayet*. That is why the British wanted to benefit from the nationalist figures, and this was a reason to allow Mustafa Pasha to establish the Kurdistan Assembly and grant him the concession to issue the *Dangi Kurdistan* newspaper. Even the founders of the assembly did not hide that fact from the people (Shwani, 2002), which indicated that the issuance of that newspaper was under the British supervision to silence the voice of the people and suppress their grumbling. Meanwhile, they were taking advantage of this against the return of the Turks to the region. However, the deteriorating conditions of the British in the region forced them to withdraw from the Kurdish areas in particular the Slemani area.

On September 5, 1922, Goldsmith, the British political governor to Slemani, met with Sheikh Qadir, brother of Sheikh Mahmud, Mustafa Pasha Yamulki, and some of the Kurdish notable personalities to inform them about their withdrawal decision, then a city council was formed that headed by Sheikh Qadir. After the withdrawal and evacuation of the city, this council held a meeting on September 7, 1922 during which they agreed on these three points:

1. To form a government for Kurdistan.
2. To agree on the entry of the Turkish military forces, and to welcome them.
3. To show a formal attitude toward the British government (Salih, 2006).

The British forces were not in a position to expel the Turkish forces alone. So, they wanted to take advantage of Sheikh Mahmud. For this purpose, they decided to return Sheikh Mahmud in order to ask the Turks to evacuate the areas, and they promised him that they would put Kirkuk and Erbil as well as Akrei and other Kurdish areas within

the Mosul *vilayet* under his control (Salih, 2006). That is to say, even the limited rights and freedom given to the Kurds by the British Empire was not for the sake of the Kurds; rather it contributed to the overall agenda of the British in the area. This is why, as mentioned earlier, postcolonial theorists hold the belief that the colonizers see themselves as superior and the other as inferior and they are the slave master and the other is the slave.

Nawshirwan Mustafa Amin (1944-2017) also confirms the same circumstances that were associated with the publication of *Bangi Kurdistan* newspaper that coincided with some important events, in this respect he says: “the British authorities were ruling the region directly, but the situation in the region was heading toward chaos and deterioration, and there were confrontations with the British forces as the British officers were often ambushed by the Kurdish guerrillas” (Amin, 2013: 236). For this reason, the British returned Sheikh Mahmud via Kuwait to Baghdad and then arrived Sulaymaniyah in October 1922 where he was warmly received as the ruler of Sulaymaniyah by all the Kurdish leaders who came from all parts of Kurdistan in order to attend that occasion and as a gesture of respect and showing acceptance of his leadership. Thus, Sheikh Mahmud declared himself as a king and formed a ministerial council of nine ministers (Ali, 2010).

The newspaper was a reflection of the conditions of that stage. A group of writers, political leaders, and intellectuals have published their topics in it, including: Rafiq Hilmi (1898-1960), Ali Kamal Bapir (1886-1950), Mustafa Saeb (1904-1980), Ahmed Fawzy (1890-1958), Hamdi (1876-1936), Zewer (1908-1952), Sheikh Noori Sheikh Saleh (1896-1958), Bekhod (1879-1955), Abdul-Qadir Hishmat (?-1982). The newspaper reflected the socio-political instability of the time as it was inconsistent in its arguments.

4.2.1.3. *Rozhi Kurdistan* (Sun of Kurdistan): 1922-1923

This newspaper was one of the Kurdish newspapers that issued during the rule of Sheikh Mahmud. It was an official newspaper and the mouthpiece of the Kurdistan government in which news, official decisions, and government activities were published. It was a political anti-colonial newspaper, published the views of that era for the purpose of correcting the course of the national struggle of the Kurdish nation

through the articles of the well-known writers and intellectuals of that time, in addition to publishing political news of the neighboring countries and other foreign countries as well as dealing with political relations of the countries. The newspaper included many articles on social and political life (Omer, 2001). There was also room for publishing poetry and translated articles.

The first issue of this newspaper was published on November 15, 1922 (*Rozhi Kurdistan*, Issue 1, 1338). Issue 16, which was the last number of the newspaper, was issued on March 3, 1923. Indeed only 15 numbers of this paper were issued. But as the third issue of the newspaper was reprinted under Number 4 (Khaznedar, 1973), this error remained until the end making the total number of issues 16. However, some researchers have limited it only to 15 numbers (Amin, 2013).

In the first issue of the paper, the caption written under the newspaper's title was: "an official weekly political, literary, and social newspaper" (p. 1). One of the most important genres covered by the newspaper was political. Even the literary and social issues were dealt with and analyzed from a political point of view, for example, most of the poems dealt with political issues (Omer, 2001). This was mainly due to the highly political tensions in the region which almost impacted all the social, economic and cultural activities. This newspaper appeared only 12 days after the last issue of the *Bangi Kurdistan* newspaper, i.e. the last issue of this newspaper was published on the 3rd of November 1922. With respect to this issue, Sheikh Noori Sheikh Salih wrote an article in the first issue entitled '*Bangi Kurdistan; Rozhi Kurdistan*' in which he said:

Being involved in many tasks in addition to his official job, Haji Mustafa Pasha asked to be excused from being the franchisee for *Bangi Kurdistan* newspaper. This newspaper was a good omen for the Kurds and Kurdistan, and following *Bangi Kurdistan*, the *Rozhi Kurdistan* newspaper has been issued under the management of His Majesty the King of Kurdistan. May his glory last...May God bless this day and *Rozhi Kurdistan* for the Kurdish people?" (1).

The issuance of *Rozhi Kurdistan* coincided with the announcement of the monarchy of Sheikh Mahmud and the deterioration of his relations with the British as well as the visit

of Ismael Khani Simko to Sulaymaniyah. At the same time, the Lausanne Conference was held to decide on the fate of Mosul *vilayet*. Then, the incident of bombing and evacuation of the city of Sulaymaniyah that followed by the return of the English authorities. After Sheikh Mahmud returned to Kurdistan, his relations with the British worsened once again. The British brought him back to calm down the situation in the region, and to prevent the influence of the Turks and expel the Turkish forces in order to restore the influence of Britain to the region in order to link it to the newly established state of Iraq. However, Sheikh Mahmud declared his monarchy and wanted to expand the influence of his authority, lay the foundation for an independent Kurdistan, build his relations with the Turks, and communicate through his messages to the communist Soviet Union, the greatest enemy of the capitalist world which was led by the West including the British Empire (Amin, 2013). Sheikh Mahmud not only did not follow the plan of the colonizer but also tried to counter them by strengthening the idea of Kurdish nationalism and building ties with the Turks.

The circumstances of that period were going through a series of new developments at the international level. Before that, and through the Treaty of Sèvres 1920, it was expected that the Kurds would obtain some of their rights. However, after the Turkish Liberation War, and their victory in it (one of its battles was the Battle of Sakarya with Greece in 1921), they built strong relations with the Soviet Union. Turkey regained its strength and began to claim for the Mosul *vilayet*. Thus, Turkey became de-facto that the allies could not deny. Therefore, France and Italy after conducting rounds of negotiations and reaching a set of agreements began to withdraw from Turkey. Thus, and with this change in the balance of the political and military forces weakened Britain's position in the region. To top it off, the emergence of the Soviet which put the region under real threats. All these paved the way for the success of the talks in the Lausanne Conference between November 20, 1922 and July 24, 1923, (Saeed, 2003). Finally, to conclude a solution with Turkey, given that the agreement had an important relation with the Kurds, the *Rozhi Kurdistan* newspaper devoted large spaces of its pages to the Lausanne Treaty.

Since there was no Kurdish delegate in the Lausanne conference, the newspaper's source for the news of that conference was the Iraqi newspapers. The colonizer did not

believe in the Kurds having their voice in making decisions about their fate and future. Among the most important topics published the issues (2,9, 14) were: "*The Kemalists approved the decisions of the Lausanne Peace Conference*", "*The American thought regarding the Conference of Lausanne*", "*The success of Lord Curzon in Lausanne*", "*The National Turkish Pact in Lausanne*", "*The end of the Lausanne Conference*", "*In the Eyes of the Turks, the Deliberations of Lausanne did not End*", "*Failure of Lausanne was a Major Calamity*" (*Rozhi Kurdistan*, Issues 2,9, 14, 1338-1339), and several other issues related to this file. The newspaper staff realized the problem of the Kurds in this case and they were aware of the Turkish-Western conflict over the *Mosul vilayet*, but they were not aware of the contents of the Treaty of Lausanne. However, they were aware that the treaty contains decisions about the Kurd. Hereby, they wrote about it in a few issues. In Issue 6 of the newspaper, a topic entitled "*The Mosul vilayet in Lausanne*" was written by Sheikh Noori Sheikh Salih in which he said:

These days, a heated dispute and discussion is taking place between the representatives of the Turks and the Arabs regarding the *Mosul vilayet*. Likewise, at the Lausanne Conference, there was a representative of the Assyrians and Nestorians of the *Mosul vilayet*, who demanded an independent government for them. People of this Vilayet are mostly Kurds, so why is this country being usurped by other nations? Until yesterday there was an excuse, even if it was unreasonable, but today, in front of the eyes of the world, we are trying to establish our government and we are about to prove our existence among other nations. No one, old and young, shall be indifferent to our legitimate rights. The Turks, Arabs and Assyrians have little right to claim the *Mosul vilayet*. This means that neither the Turks nor the Arabs intend to defend themselves or their homeland. On the contrary, they are keen on the prestige or the well-being of a few of their fellow countrymen. If the League of Nations recognizes the legitimacy of this claim, how does it receive a claim for Kurdish rights from us? We cannot answer this question because we do not know the position of the League of Nations regarding the demands of the Kurds (*Rozhi Kurdistan*, 1338: 1).

As the quote demonstrates, the Kurds had been ignored by the colonizer and their rights had been denied. However, the situation in the area after Sheikh Mahmud's return had changed. Sheikh Mahmud prepared himself and staged a military parade which aroused the concern of Britain. The newspapers that were issued at that time by the British in Iraq underestimated Sheikh and his government in order to give a distorted picture of him to the Iraqi public opinion. At the same time, Sheikh Mahmud expanded his influence and authority to include all areas of the Mosul vilayet and even the borders of Hamrin Mount. From this perspective, Sheikh Mahmud was not convinced of limiting his authority to the domain of Sulaymaniyah. He raised the flag of his government in the regions of Rania, Halabja and Chamchamal, and sent his officials to those regions (Shwani, 2002). He was trying to separate his areas of influence even to Arabic Iraq. That was why he tried to establish a strong army to be able to defend his borders and preserve his national achievements. Likewise, raising the flag in different regions had its own meaning for any national movement. Hence, raising the flag of Kurdistan by Sheikh Mahmud can be interpreted as a national identity different from the Iraqi identity. In particular, he decided to use the Kurdish language as an official language in the departments and institutions of Sheikh Mahmud's government. By this decision, he was trying to separate the Kurdish area from Iraq (Ali, 2004).

All these measures angered Britain because Sheikh Mahmud had carried out important works, not only in the military aspect but also in many other aspects especially education. All these and dozens of similar cases made the British lose confidence in Sheikh Mahmud a month after his return. Therefore, they were waiting for opportunities to destabilize his authority in order to permanently annex Southern Kurdistan to Iraq or rather to end the government of Sheikh Mahmud. To achieve their goal, the colonizers used a number of deception methods including the recognition of Sheikh Mahmud's government through a joint statement addressed to the League of Nations. Of course, this was to win the Kurdish intellectuals and dignitaries because national sentiment grew in Sheikh Mahmud's government (Shwani, 2002).

The text of the bilateral (Iraqi-British) statement addressed to the League of Nations, stated: "His Majesty's government and the Iraqi government recognize the rights of the Kurds within the borders of Iraq to form a Kurdish government. We hope that the Kurds

will agree among themselves as soon as possible on the form of that government they want to establish, and to specify its borders and to send their authorized representative to Baghdad in order to begin talks about the political and economic relations with His Majesty's British government and the Iraqi government. Sending that message meant nothing; rather it was a deception and misinformation" (Hawar, 1990: 469). Meanwhile, the relationship of Simko Shikak (1887-1930) and Sheikh Mahmud was reflected in the *Rozhi Kurdistan* newspaper at that stage. Simko Shikak sought refuge in Erbil after his forces were attacked by the Turkish army. There were messages and telegrams exchanged between Sheikh and Simko to expel the Turkish forces from Rawanduz but the Sheikh did not trust Britain's promises in return for standing against the Turks (Salih, 2001). Even in his response to Simko, he said: "Today, the Kurdish people were not officially granted a right so that this will become a motive for agitation and the expulsion of the external enemy... Three months ago, they promised to help, but they did not fulfill even 1% of it, so I cannot trust them. But for the sake of absolute obedience to the esteemed British government, I pledge to remain neutral" (*Rozhi Kurdistan*, Issue 7, 1338). That means Mahmud felt the danger of the British intention as a colonial power.

In one of the documents sent to Sulaymaniyah by the Chancellor of Kirkuk by an order of the British High Commissioner, it was written:

"The British government has shown great kindness by giving the presidency of this council once again to Sheikh Mahmud Effendi upon a promise. To help the government of Sulaymaniyah there is an officer, but those who are in charge of the city administration reject all the proposals of this advisor. What they are doing is against the law, and unfair at the same time... With the arrival of this warning and by order of the High Commissioner, Sheikh Mahmud and the members of the council should go to Baghdad via Kirkuk and within a period of five days from this date. On the contrary, in the event that they do not come to Kirkuk, the government will use its authority, and any harm that may occur from this, the responsibility will fall on you" (Ma'arouf, 2018).

That means the colonizer did not accept the “other” to have power or ask for its freedom. Later, on March 1, 1923, the British planes warned Sheikh Mahmud to evacuate the city of Sulaymaniyah with his forces without delay. But when Sheikh Mahmud disobeyed this warning, the British planes bombed the city of Sulaymaniyah and killed innocent people. This forced Sheikh Mahmud to leave the city with his forces, and he took the area of Surdash and Jasana Cave as the headquarters of his command. The last issue of the *Rozhi Kurdistan* newspaper was issued on March 3, 1923, coinciding with the bombing of Sulaymaniyah city by British planes (Ahmed, 2018). In general, this newspaper aimed at achieving the rights and objectives of the Kurds in order to be liberated from occupation and oppression within the political program of Sheikh Mahmud’s revolutionary movement. Through this mentioned political context, the role of the *Rozhi Kurdistan* newspaper became clear as it reflected the voice of Sheikh Mahmud’s government at that stage. All its sixteen issues had clear lines and one direction as they represented the message of the political authority... Therefore, it was the nationalist discourse that dominated the newspaper (Misri, 2006). The most important contents of this newspaper's discourse were evident through the titles of the articles and the texts published in it (see below), as most of them were directly related to the events and the political conditions that prevailed at that stage. The titles echo the demand of the Kurds for their rights, freedom and an independent state. The following are some examples of the titles from Issues 2 to 15:

- Britain and Mosul Vilayet
- The Strength and Stability of the Kurdish Nation
- Demand of the Legitimate Political Rights
- Unity
- Kurdistan, the Homeland of the Kurds
- How Can Doom and Subjugation be Patched
- Independence, Independence

Many Kurdish writers, intellectuals and politicians published articles in *Rozhi Kurdistan*, and had a role in developing the newspaper and the Kurdish anti-colonial discourse. They also contributed to publishing their writings in newspapers that were issued by the British authorities. This is evidence that this group of writers and

intellectuals wanted to make the Kurdish public opinion aware of what was happening in that time, and to serve the Kurdish language and culture. That is to say, that this newspaper falls under the category of promoting the Kurdish nationalism and against colonization.

These were the most prominent writers who published their writings in this newspaper: Arif Saeb (1890-1958), Sheikh Noori Sheikh Salih (1896-1958), Ahmed Fawzi (1890-1958), Ali Kamal Bapir (1886-1950), Zewar (1908-1952), Noori Baba Ali (1892-1956), Hussein Nazim (1872-1932), Ahmad MukhtarJaf (1898-1935), Rafiq Hilmi (1898-1960), Muhammad Agha Hussein Agha (1884-1948), Aziz Hikmat Qazzaz (1902-1944), Khwaja Effendi (1903-1997), A. Najib (1890-1964), and a number of other writers and intellectuals.

4.2.1.4. *Bangi Haq* (Call for Justice): 1923

The *Bangi Haq* newspaper was the mouthpiece of Sheikh Mahmud's anti-colonial Kurdish movement led by him. This newspaper was published after the evacuation of the city of Sulaymaniyah after bombing it by the British planes, i.e., it was issued in the mountain. Its first issue was published on March 28, 1339 (1923) and its third and last issue was dated 12 April 1923 (Kheznedar, 1973). According to the serial numbers of the newspaper, three numbers were issued but in fact only two of them were published in addition to an appendix called "The Supplement to the *Bangi Haq* Newspaper" which was void of the publication date. The content of the second issue was identical to the first one and it was not printed but remained as a handwritten manuscript (Salih & Salih, 2003). The newspaper had a dual religious and national identity, and concerning the name of the newspaper, Edmonds said: "the name of the newspaper was intended to give a religious concept, for 'the truth' in Sufism means 'God' " (Salih et al., 2010: 14). Under the title of the newspaper, this phrase was written: "With its head held high and unconquerable by cannons and bombs, (an official political, literary and social newspaper issued by the headquarters of the General Command of the Kurdistan Forces). Concerning the goals of the newspaper, this was written: "the goal of the newspaper is to obtain the rights of the Kurds" (*Bangi Haq*, Issue 1, 1339: 1). That is, it aims at developing the Kurdish national feeling to obtain its rights.

The content of the newspaper's topics mostly covered the following subjects: military directives, raising people's morale and preparing them to stand against the colonial forces, and to reject the state of submission and subordination (Ali, 2004).

The newspaper was printed at the headquarters of the General Command of the Kurdish Forces, i.e. the headquarters of the Kurdistan Army in Jasana Cave near Surdash (Salih et al., 2001). In other words, the newspaper was the mouthpiece of the Kurdistan Army. And all the topics were written personally by Sheikh Mahmud himself. He ended all the topics by mentioning his name and identifying himself as the Commander in Chief and King of Kurdistan. Due to the rapid political and military events of that time, there were no literary or social topics in the newspaper not even any articles by other writers.

Bangi Haq reflected the feature of the new method of the Kurdish people's struggle in the form of guerrilla warfare, and showed Sheikh Mahmud's point of view in his confrontation with the English forces to reveal their conspiracies and deceptive methods, and to lift the mask from their true face so that their reality would be revealed to the Kurdish people as a bitter enemy (Misri, 2006). The reason behind the publication of this newspaper in the mountain was the political conditions of the region. After bombing of Sulaymaniyah on March 4, 1923, Sheikh Mahmud and his gunmen left the city and settled in Surdash area, and made Jasanah Cave the headquarters of his leadership. That was the first time when a printing press was operated in a cave in the mountains of Kurdistan. Thus, the first newspaper of the Kurdish revolution against colonialism appeared. That was why, sometimes that newspaper was known as the mountain newspaper. Concerning this newspaper, the Kurdish writer and the historian Dr. Fuad said: "The issuance of the *Bangi Haq* newspaper can be considered as a qualitative change in the Kurdish movement because it was the first time that an armed Kurdish movement published its news and statements on the pages of a newspaper (Salih et al., 2001:14). After Sheikh Mahmud had left Sulaymaniyah, the situation in the city was managed by the city's notables and with the help of Karim Bey Fattah Bey (head of the Hammond clan and a personality trusted by Sheikh Mahmud). However, many people had left the city heading to the villages in the countryside. Meanwhile, the English occupied the town of Koya, and then Rawanduz, without any resistance. Later, on May 16, 1923, the British held a meeting with the dignitaries of Sulaymaniyah in

Serchinar and appointed a board to manage the city (Shwani, 2002). Of course, the British authorities did not accept that the leadership of the revolution was only some miles away from them. Therefore, at the end of May 1923, they sent their forces to the mountainous areas of Surdash. As a result, the revolutionary forces left the area toward Penjwen and Piran areas. This time the revolutionary fighters could not take the printing press with them, so the British forces took possession of it, and they immediately transferred it to the city of Sulaymaniyah (Mezhar, 1985). Since one of the objectives of the British Empire as a colonial power was to stop the voice of the Kurds and not let them express their ideas and demands.

Later on, Abdul Mohsen Saadoun, who was the prime minister of Iraq at that time, visited the city of Sulaymaniyah for the purpose of annexing it to Iraq. Again, the Kurds refused that proposal although they showed their obedience to the British authority (Shwani, 2002). The movements in the region were related to the developments at the international level. The British seized the opportunity of the temporary stop at the end of the first phase of the Lausanne talks. Two days before the start of the second phase of the talks, they bombed Sulaymaniyah and expelled Ozdemir (Abdullah Shafiq Bey, the Egyptian Circassian, who supported the Ottomans and the Kemalist Turkey) from Rawanduz on the pretext that they had received information that Ozdemir was intending to extend his military control to reach the city of Khanaqin. Thus, in the end, the English seized all the areas they wanted to include in the new Iraqi state (Ameen, 2000).

In short, the *Bangi Haq* newspaper was the mouthpiece of Sheikh Mahmud's movement that expressed its discourse and opinion at that stage when the Kurdish forces led by him had to leave Sulaymaniyah due to the bombing of the city by the British planes. The paper continued until the Kurdish forces returned to the city again on July 11, 1923. The paper marked a new phase in the Kurdish discourse as it was the voice of a Kurdish revolutionary force.

4.2.1.5. *Umedi Istiqlal* (Hope of Independence): 1923-1924

The *Umedi Istiqlal* newspaper was a political, social and literary newspaper. It was published in a difficult period characterized by political conflicts in the region. Generally, the newspaper supported the government of Sheikh Mahmud and his anti-

colonial movement. Its first issue was published on September 20, 1339²(1923) (*Umedi Istiqlal*, 1339), and the last issue, which was number 25, was issued on May 15, 1340 (1924) (*Umedi Istiqlal* newspaper, 1340). As it was written in its caption, this paper was “a weekly political, literary and social newspaper” (*Umedi Istiqlal* Newspaper, 1339). Its topics were presented through articles, news, poetry, discussions, reports, and advertisements. The article's themes had mostly political contents related to Sheikh Mahmud's government and his movement in addition to the interest in local and international political events that took place in the Middle East and the world. The paper's language was Kurdish, and little was written in Turkish and Persian.

From the first issue to Issue 9, this poem was written under the newspaper's caption:

Oh God! Let the darkness of destruction be enough,
May the sun of independence shine with its clear light,
Since the departure of independence, joy of life has been lost,
Oh! Hope of independence, it's time for reunion now (Omer, 2001: 99-100).

To some extent, the newspaper tried to show the Kurdish discourse so as to be that of a nation exposed to forced occupation and the policy of marginalization and persecution. The newspaper was issued in complicated and ambiguous circumstances in the history of the Kurds. The language of the newspaper was generally characterized by moderation and away from hard-liner style toward the British and the Iraqi government though being the bitter enemies of the Kurdish government. Instead, the newspaper's discourse was characterized by emphasizing the right to national freedom away from hostility to others while the other part of the discourse was to direct the Kurdish people at home (Salih et al., 2001).

Not only the writers and the editor-in-chief of the newspaper, but even the policy of the Kurdish leaders was full of anxiety and ambiguity in order to compromise with different Kurdish community's ideas as there was a split in thought and discourse between supporters of the homeland (nationalists) in one hand and pro-Britain or pro-Turks in the other hand. At the social level, this showed the bad situation of the patriots that

² The Roman calendar corresponds to the Turkish calendar in which the days and months are identical to the Gregorian calendar though the year is different. Since the date of issuance of each newspaper's issue was determined by Turkish history, we refer to the date as indicated in the newspaper.

constituted one of the reasons why the newspaper was unable to express freely, openly and clearly the real problems of the people. In this regard, the newspaper's editor-in-chief, Rafiq Hilmy, wrote an article entitled “*Without a Subject*” in Issue 6, in which he stated: “No one knows how to deal with all these different opinions which especially causes many problems for a patriot like me. Those who are loyal to the Turks accuse me of treason and supporting the British, at the same time English supporters accuse me of supporting the Turks while, in fact, I only want the interests of my people” (2). This shows that due to the colonization and internal conflicts, the Kurds could not form a unified voice to use it as a medium through which they could speak up.

The conditions of the region in that time underwent significant changes. On June 17, 1923, the British forces withdrew from Sulaymaniyah, and with them, about 2,000 people from Sulaymaniyah left the city heading to Kirkuk and Baghdad (Amin, 2013). Sheikh Mahmud did not return immediately to Sulaymaniyah, but Karim Bey Fatah Bey Hamawand (who was trusted by Sheikh Mahmud) returned to the city with his men, and took control of it. Sheikh Mahmud arrived at the city later on June 26. With his arrival, Henry Dobbs (1871-1934), who was one of the employees of the British High Commissioner, announced the position of the British toward Sheikh Mahmud when he conveyed a message in this regard to Sheikh Mahmud informing him that after the failure of attempts to annex Sulaymaniyah to Iraq, the city would return to the state before the British offensive. However, the limits of his authority would not be the same as before because the areas of Rania, Qaldaza, Sangaw, Chamchamal, Halabja, Qaradagh and Mawat would be outside the authority of the Sheikh. The letter also emphasized that strict measures would be taken to implement those decisions (Shwani, 2002). The colonizer tried to make the margins of the colonized smaller and smaller.

With all these threats, Sheikh Mahmud formed the third cabinet of his government and before that, he managed to publish a new newspaper. Meanwhile, coinciding with the publication of the *Umedi Istiqlal* newspaper, the names of the members of the new cabinet were published. The names of the ministers were announced as being diagnosed and elected representatives of the people through arrangements of the royal department, and some high rank employees were also diagnosed (*Umedi Istiqlal*, Issue 25, 1340).

Thus, through the messages of Edmonds, the British High Commissioner in Iraq, the authority of Sheikh Mahmud was reduced during his third government compared to his two previous governments. Practically, it included the city center, the district of Chwarta, and the areas of Bazian and Penjwin. However, at the end of July 1923, he again took control of the other districts and sub-districts, which were made outside the scope of his rule, and he announced that the great powers had recognized him as the King of Kurdistan. However, the High Commissioner disseminated a statement on the city from air denying this claim. The Sheikh continued to extend his influence in those areas, thus, the limits of his rule were extended (Salih et al., 2001). As a result of those attempts of Sheikh Mahmud, a series of battles erupted. On December 7, 1923, the Chief High Commissioner sent a telegram to Edmonds suggesting that the British air force had to bomb the city of Sulaymaniyah after informing the people because the Sheikh did not comply with the conditions imposed on him for several times. Thus, Sulaymaniyah was bombed on December 25, 1923, especially the house of Sheikh Mahmud... The planes flew over the city and carried out maneuvers to terrify the people (Salih, 2006). The colonizer showed their true face and used the military to enforce the Iraqi Kurds to pursue their agenda.

On May 20, 1924, forewarning notices were thrown on the city from the air to inform the residents that the city would be subject to air bombardment, and on May 22, 1924, Sheikh Mahmud was warned to evacuate the city; otherwise, the city would be attacked by aircrafts (Shwani, 2002). Gertrude Bell (1868-1926), who was working with the British High Commissioner in Iraq mentioned in her book what happened in those days in this way: "in the second half of 1924, northern Iraq was relatively calm. Sheikh Mahmud took control of the city of Sulaymaniyah despite the fact that it was always threatened by the British air force especially in May 1924. When Sheikh Mahmud learned that there was a disagreement about the Constituent Assembly between us and the Iraqi government, he got enough courage to take this opportunity. But we quickly decided to expel Sheikh Mahmud. In order to achieve this, the city was controlled again in July 1924 by the Iraqi army and the Assyrian Levi forces especially with the support of the British air force. As a result, Sheikh Mahmud was obliged to resort to the Iranian borders. Thus, the borders of Sulaymaniyah were returned to the authority of Iraq (Hawar, 1990: 549).

The international circumstances regarding the events in the region had changed. The notable event in this circumstance was the direct withdrawal of the British forces. According to some researchers, such as Mohammed Rasul Hawar, there was no clear reason for this withdrawal. In fact, the reason was related to international influences (Hawar, 1990).

When the Treaty of Lausanne was signed between the Allies and Turkey, according to which Britain and Turkey were required to work according to the second paragraph of Article 3 related to drawing the borders between Turkey and Iraq. In the event that they reached no settlement to end this issue, they should put the matter before the League of Nations to find a solution. Both the governments had to pledge not to make any military moves that might change the conditions of the Mosul Vilayet until the final settlement of the issue would be reached. This meant that the conditions in the South of Kurdistan would remain unchanged. At the same time, Britain did not have any task with regard to the Kurds in this part so that they could exercise their right to establish a Kurdish state (Salih et al., 2001).

After signing the Treaty of Lausanne, Britain pledged, during the talks they had with Turkey, that they would prevent any political organization in southern Kurdistan that might call for independence or autonomy, which was worrying Turkey, provided that Turkey should give up permanently the Mosul Vilayet and it had also to recognize the new borders between Iraq and Turkey (Hawar, 1990). The issue of Mosul Vilayet, in addition to being a major issue at that stage with regard to the fate and identity of the Kurds in Iraq and the region, it was at the same time one of the topics that *Umedi Istiqlal* newspaper was concerned with and published articles, news, and reports. Resolving the issue of Mosul Vilayet and drawing the international borders between Turkey and Iraq through a British mediation was an important event in that era regarding the division of the region because this issue was relevant to the fate of Kurdistan, and for this the issue gained the attention of all Kurdish newspapers (Ahmed, 2004). Here are the most important articles written on the subject of the Mosul vilayet and the Treaty of Lausanne: The Issue of Mosul in the Lausanne Conference (*Umedi Istiqlal* Newspaper, Issue 3, October 4, 1339, Mosul, the key to the Middle East; The Problem of Mosul between the Turks and the British; When will the Talks on Mosul Begin; and other articles on Mosul and the Treaty of Lausanne have been published in

this paper. However, the newspaper did not analyze the issues from the Kurds' point of view as it was publishing these articles as news or translated materials, and as the Kurds had no representative in the Lausanne conference. Therefore, they were not aware of the details of what was going on and what was included in the treaty. Britain, the colonizer, tried by all means not to let the voice of the Kurds reach outside their region, and prevented the political news from reaching the Kurds because the Kurds were against their colonial policy. As a result, the image of the Kurds appeared as a subaltern.

The historical texts and the political events of that period and the suppression of genuine voices, all led to the emergence of more newspapers, which in one way or another became an outlet for the dissemination of the Kurdish anti-colonial discourse and delivering it to the public opinion at that critical time. Here are titles of some of the articles published in this newspaper (issues 3 to 13) that carried the Kurdish anti-colonial discourse:

- Publications and the Kurdish language: Why do the Kurds have no future until now? Could they have any chance in the near future?
- Turkism; Supporters of the British are Patriots, why do the Kurds suffer all these misfortunes?
- Kurds Also have the Right to Life.

In general, a group of writers and politicians published their articles and various texts in this newspaper some of whom had major roles in the movement of Sheikh Mahmud. Among them were these prominent writers: Ahmad Khwaja (1903-1997), Rafiq Hilmi (1898-1960), Hussein Nazim (1872-1932), Bekhud (1879-1955), Zewar (1908-1952), Rashid Zaki (1872-1940), Ahmed Fawzi (1890-1958), Arif Orfi (1896-1961), Ahmad Fa'ez (1892-1970), and Adil Effendi (1893-?). Just like *Bangi Haq*, this newspaper also falls under the category of newspapers which were anti-colonial power.

4.2.1.6. *Zhiyanawa* (Revival): 1924-1926

The media especially newspapers have an important role in the relations of the British, as a colonialist power, with the Kurds, as a nation subjected to colonization, especially with respect to the political support, plans and colonial agendas. The media, side by side with military and economic power became an effective factor in spreading the deceitful

discourse of British colonialism. In fact, the role of the *Zhiyanawa* newspaper was not absent in mapping out the nature of the British relations with the Iraqi Kurds.

The publication of this newspaper coincided with the occupation of Sulaymaniyah by the British in 1924 when Sheikh Mahmud's rule had come to an end. On the level of the British foreign relations and its occupation agendas in that period, the British gave great importance to the Mosul Vilayet and most of its attempts were to extend its control over the region where the majority of population were Kurds especially after the Treaty of Lausanne which was concluded in July 1923. Likewise, after solving the Mosul question by defining the Brussels line Between Turkey and Iraq on January 16th, 1925 according to which Mosul Vilayet was annexed to Iraq, at the same time, a small part of the promises that Britain made to the Kurds was fulfilled (Nikitin, 2004).

On the one hand, this stage was the beginning of the emergence of lies, deceit, and Britain's failure to fulfill the promises given to the Kurds living within Mosul Vilayet. Thus, the Kurds were deprived of not only independence but also of self-management as they were attached to Iraq (Hawar, 1990). On the other hand, the influence of the revolution of October 1917 in Russia increased in the region, which led to attaching great importance to the question of the Mosul Vilayet. Due to its strategic, economic and geopolitical importance, Britain was motivated to increase its attempts in order to impose its complete dominance over the region (Albayati, 2007).

These changes encouraged Britain to increase its attempts to annex the Mosul Vilayet, which was under the British mandate, to Iraq. At this stage, the British, in cooperation with the Iraqi government, tried to keep the city of Sulaymaniyah away from Mosul Vilayet in order to isolate it from the other Kurdish areas and impede any expansion of Sheikh Mahmud's authority, but Sheikh Mahmud, on his part, tried to regain these areas in addition to other attempts to develop cultural aspects. For this purpose, he imported a modern printing press from Germany to Sulaymaniyah to develop journalism in that region (Madhar, 2001).

He also tried to reorganize and build some kind of balanced relations with the British in order to negotiate and conclude an agreement. In this regard, he sent letters to the British envoys in Iraq asking them to send their delegates to Sulaymaniyah to examine

the Kurdish demands, but the British asked Sheikh Mahmud to decide on the fate of the Sulaymaniyah region via Baghdad (Marouf, 2016; Hawar, 1990).

The British colonialism, supported by King Faisal I (1883-1933), attempted to stabilize its colonial interests by observing any movement and considering it as a de-colonialism action in order to eliminate any attempt for standing against the occupiers. Accordingly, they considered Sheikh Mahmud as the greatest danger in front of them. Thus, on the twentieth day of May 1924, the British aircrafts dropped statements over the city of Sulaymaniyah warning the population that all areas under the control of Sheikh Mahmud are considered enemy targets, and this was to force Sheikh Mahmud to evacuate the city (Madhar, 2001). Through these aggressive acts, they spread much fear, terror and unrest in the region. On May 25, warplanes bombed the city of Sulaymaniyah severely, which led to killing and wounding some and displacing most of the city's population. Only 700 people out of a total population of 20,000 remained in the city. Later, on the twenty-first of July 1924, a combined force including the Iraqi army and the Levi-Assyrian forces with the air and ground support of the British Army occupied Sulaymaniyah once again and the British political officer, A. F. J. Chapman was appointed as the administrative supervisor of the city (Ali, 1992). The occupation led to the disconnection and the division of most of the cities, towns and regions inhabited by the Kurds in order to impede Sheikh Mahmud's attempts and completely prevent him from contacting the chieftains of Kurdish tribes in other regions (Hawar, 1990). This had formed an end of a phase and the beginning of a new one in the British-Kurdish relations. At this stage, the *Zhiyanawa* newspaper became a platform for spreading the deceitful discourse of The British colonialism against the Kurds as it had to play its role under the requirements of the stage.

The first issue of the *Zhiyanawa* newspaper was published from August 18, 1924, and the last issue is on January 14, 1926 as a pro-British newspaper. Under the title of the newspaper, this caption was written: "A Weekly Government Newspaper" (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 1, 1924: 1). This newspaper became a platform for publishing the discourse of the British occupier as well as the views of some Kurdish intellectuals who were considering Britain as a liberator. Some others who had no other choice saw that stage as a new start of resurgence and the beginning of a new administrative policy. Among

those were many intellectuals, writers, and politicians who published their articles in this newspaper such as: Ali Irfan (? -1968), Jamil Saeb (1887-1951), Ahmed Mukhtar Jaff (1898-1935), Abdulla Zewar (1875-1948), Sheikh Noori Sheikh Salih (1896-1958), Mustafa Saeb (1904-1980), Rashid Najib (1906-1968), and some others (Zangana, 2000).

Although the newspaper was run by a group of Kurdish intellectuals and writers, it was published under the direct supervision of the British that used to decide and determine the articles and topics to be published in order to conform to their views and interests. This fact was clearly noticed in the first issue of the newspaper in which the following was stated:

We hope that the articles will be free of any inappropriate topics. Otherwise, they will lose their right to publish it and they won't be able to return it (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 1, 1924: 2).

Of course, what is appropriate and what is not appropriate was determined by the British. Whatever was in their favor was appropriate and whatever was not in their favor was not considered appropriate.

Very often, the newspaper used to claim that its goal was only to serve the Kurds in the scientific and knowledge fields. As an example, here is a text came in one of its issues:

If we evaluate this newspaper, we must appreciate its great and important role in showing the past and to work for the present and future of the Kurds and Kurdistan ... serving science and knowledge in addition to reviving the fields of trade and industry, and directing us in the right path and expressing all aspects of our life (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 28, 1926: 1).

The claim and the deceptive use of science, knowledge, and progress were no more than a sham because in fact there was so much political and colonialism goals behind them as some of them appear from the titles and contents of many articles of this newspaper as shown here (from issues 2 to 44):

- News of the Robbers (Referring to Sheikh Mahmud's movement).
- Smashing Turkish Warplanes.
- The visit of the British High Commissioner to the city of Sulaymaniyah.
- The Unforgettable Unfairness of the Turks.
- Kurds and Turks are Estrangements, They Can't Live Together.
- The Iraqi Senate thanks the Minister of British Colonies for his good defense of the Mosul Question.

Such titles and many others in addition to other texts found in the issues of this newspaper became a language not only for the discourse of the British colonialist, but also became the language of the discourse of a group of Kurdish writers who under the name of working for the progress of science, knowledge, and pacing toward a comfortable life were trying to drag the Kurds in general into the political game and to persuade them of the hegemony of the foreign colonialist discourse in order to make them forget the devastation and destruction that had befallen the people of the city in the previous years. The goal was to portray the Ottoman authority and the Turks as well as the movement of Sheikh Mahmud as a source of calamities and destruction. Therefore, the policy of this newspaper was to persuade the Kurds to accept annexing the province of Mosul to Iraq and oppose the Turks so that the Kurdish people would imagine that they could not live with the Turks in any way (Hawar, 1990). At the same time, and in order to encourage the general Kurdish opinion in terms of the hostility toward Sheikh Mahmud and his revolution, and to praise and thank the British policy and its role in creating job opportunities in addition to the praise of King Faisal to encourage the Kurds to accept the Iraqi identity and to oppose the Turkish control (Omer, 2001).

Noably, the newspaper was claiming that it represented the true voice of the Kurds, but it was in fact the voice of the colonizer of the Kurdish homeland. In its latest issue, *Zhiyanawa* reported this text to praise its own role: "This newspaper served every Kurdish person through spreading the voices that were seriously emanating from the depths of the Kurdish hearts for progress and advancement." (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 56, 1926: 1).

Being a newspaper under the influence of the British colonial discourse, the role and the duty of the *Zhiyanawa* newspaper discourse was ended when Mosul was officially

attached to Iraq. The newspaper had achieved one of its objectives that set by the British occupiers for that stage, thus, its role was ended. Hence, there would be room for another name to appear for the next stage.

4.2.1.7. *Zhiyan* (Life): 1926-1938

The British tried to control the Kurdish public opinion and spread the colonial discourse via the *Zhiyan* newspaper which was another pro-British Kurdish paper issued for more than twelve years during which 553 issues were published. The first issue was published on January 21, 1926 (*Zhiyan*, Issue 1, 1926), and the last issue was dated March 10, 1938 (*Zhiyan*, Issue 553, 1938).

The appearance of this newspaper like that of *Zhiyanawa* coincided with the emergence of the problem of Mosul Vilayet, and the attempts made to resolve it when the League of Nations decided on December 16, 1925 to annex this *vilayet* to Iraq (*Zhiyan*, Issue 1, 1926).

The regional and international conditions were tense at that time. That is, after the end of the war and until 1925 during which the British implemented the plan they had set. They established some states they wanted and they also intended to build a dividing wall in the face of the market to prevent the spread of Soviet influence in the Middle East. The Soviets, for their part, were helping some countries to prevent the spread of British influence (Ameen, 2000).

The conditions of the region during the second period of Sheikh Mahmud's rule were characterized by unrest as the Iraqi government forces with the support of the Levi forces were able to occupy Sulaymaniyah without resistance. Later, as a result of the continuous conflicts, people even the intellectuals felt despair because after the end of the World War they lived through three periods of Sheikh Mahmud's rule which were ended in ashes. Therefore, after the British returned to the City of Sulaymaniyah, they spread propaganda claiming that the cause of all these problems was Sheikh Mahmud and alleging that he stood in the way of Kurds self-determination. That was why, many intellectuals had come to believe that any anti-Britain movement would be futile (Shwani, 2002).

In this case, Britain and Iraq on one side and Turkey on the other side were in a dialogue regarding solving the issue of the Mosul Vilayet through negotiations. At the same time, the League of Nations also began its efforts.

On December 16, 1925, a proposal for attaching Mosul Vilayet to Iraq was made by a committee formed for that purpose by the League of Nations. The proposal was approved but this caused unrest in the Kurdish areas of that state (Saeed, 2003). After implementing that agreement, the British informed Sheikh Mahmud that the Kurds had no choice but to submit to Iraq and accept the Iraqi identity. In the face of this injustice, Sheikh Mahmud chose the path of struggle against Britain which was the largest power in the world by that time (Hawar, 1990). Since their arrival in Kurdistan, the British issued several newspapers intending to implement their imperial agenda such as *Peshkawtin* that later between July 1924 and March 1925, it was named *Zhiyanawa* and Sulaymaniyah Municipality was authorized to publish it (Salih & Salih, 2002).

In the first issue of that newspaper, there was an article entitled “*The New Name of Our Newspaper*,” in which it was mentioned that the last message would be good news conveying the survival of our beloved homeland to a new spiritual and eternal happiness, and in order for the newspaper to represent our existence and guide our lives, it was named *Zhiyan* (Life) (*Zhiyan*, Issue 1, 1926). The newspaper continued on a weekly basis but from Issue 63 its secondary title became "a general newspaper" instead of “a political, literary, and social newspaper” (Amin, 2002).

The British authorities wanted to achieve a number of goals that might promote their colonial discourse among the Kurds through issuing that newspaper, and to antagonize Sheikh Mahmud through some intellectuals who were trying through their deceptive article to delude the general public that they would enjoy prosperity if they became a part of Iraq (Hussein, 2007). Nevertheless, the newspaper introduced itself as the servant of people:

Today, in the name of the Kurdish people,
I bless Zhiyanawe with its new name Zhiyan
It is a good omen for the Kurdish people,
Their tomorrow will be bright,
And their life will progress,

Education is under the courtesy of the government,
So, it will be glorious for our future life,
Lord, helps this service continuity,
To banish the intention of our enemies,
O God! Help us in spreading happiness,
And keep us off any distress.’ (*Zhiyan*, Issue 2, 1926: 1).

Many intellectuals, writers and poets fell under the influence of the colonial discourse, and published their Texts in *Zhiyan* newspaper including Ahmed Bey Tofiq Bey (1898-1963) Hamdi Sahebqran (1876-1936), Shakir Fattah (1911-1988), Haji Tawfiq Bey “Peremerd” (1867-1950), Jamil Saeb (1887-1951), Ali Kamal Bapir (1886-1974), Guzide Khanum, Zewer (1908-1952), Faiq Bekas (1905-1948), Qania (1898-1965), Mohammed Adib (1902-1973), Sheikh Nuri Sheikh Salih (1896-1958), (Salih & Salih, 2002), and dozens of other politicians and writers.

Although many of these people were aiming at providing their service to build a better future, they fell into the trap of the colonial discourse, yet they did not write to oppose Sheikh Mahmud and his Kurdish liberation movement, but a clear fact could not be overlooked, which was their contribution to the publication of their articles and literary production in that newspaper, which was an acknowledgment of that newspaper, which served as the formal organ of the Iraqi government and was an endorsement of the British colonial discourse. The newspaper was trying to highlight the Iraqi Kurdish identity and distort the anti-British movement and to create hatred between Kurds and Turks. It was also seeking to give an acceptable image of the British occupiers.

Being a pro-British Kurdish newspaper, its role was to spread the British discourse through mimicry, and to show that it was the defender of the Kurds as it was clearly evident from the titles of some articles from issues 14 to 235, such as:

- The question of the Kurdish nationalism in Britain's White Book.
- Planning the Iraqi-Turkish Border.
- In Today's Iraq, Sulaymaniyah is the Poorest of All the Cities.
- Why don't the Kurds Advance?
- The Issue of Sheikh Mahmud.

That is to say, the newspaper was Kurdish, but it was promoting the British agenda and tried to lower the anti-colonial spirit.

4.2.1.8. *Dengi Geti Taze* (New World Voice): 1943-1947

In addition to the Kurdish newspapers that previously mentioned, the *Dengi Geti Taze* was also one of the Kurdish publications that linked to the themes of Postcolonial Discourse. This magazine was issued in Baghdad during the Second World War. The first issue was published in October 1943 and the last issue on September 30, 1946. During the first session of the magazine, 59 issues were published. After that session, the magazine turned into a newspaper that continued to be published until its last issue was published on August 25, 1947 (Salih et al., 2010). The published topics included political, literary and cultural subjects mostly in the form of articles, news besides poetic poems and literary written or translated stories.

In Issue 1, the magazine published an article entitled “*The Goal of Dengi Geti Taze*,” in which it said: The magazine’s goal is to publish real information about all the facts and events of this current world war, and to publish all the great and tireless efforts of the allied democratic countries (referring to Britain and its allies) for victory. It also informs people about the great goals that the democratic countries struggle to achieve. That is, the goals are people's freedom, happiness as well as cultural issues (*Dengi Geti Taze*, Volume 1, Issue 1, 1943). The British Embassy in Iraq supervised the publication of the magazine, and this was written under the magazine’s title in all its volumes that were issued in its first session, “A monthly magazine issued by the Public Relations Department of the British Embassy in Baghdad” (*Dengi Geti Taze*, Volume 1, Issue 1, October 1943: 1). In the first issue of the fifth volume, a note was published under the title of “Announcement” which stated: “As shown below, the approval of the Ministry of Interior has been published according to which *Dengi Geti Taze* terminated its relationship with the Embassy of Great Britain as of October 31, 1945 (*Dengi Geti Taze*, Volume 5, Issue 1, October 1945: 96). In this session, the magazine ended its relationship with the British Embassy and, in fact, Britain no longer provided financial support for the issuance of that magazine because the Second World War had ended. On the other hand, the magazine achieved its intended aims which were these two main goals: The first was to publish propaganda related to the war in favor of Britain and its

allies, and the second was to preoccupy Kurdish writers with foreign issues unrelated to the Kurdish question.

With regard to the name of the magazine the British chose a name that suited the circumstances of the stage and conformed with their interests. Through that title they could infiltrate into the minds and the social lifestyle of the peoples to extend and impose their hegemony in the region. Therefore, the magazine's false appearance showed a new voice of British friendship with the Kurds. But it was originally the same old voice of the British colonialism, which was used to spread its propaganda about the Second World War and to depict Britain as if it was the owners of the world by showing the victories of Britain and its allies against the Nazi Germany and its axis (Rasoul, 2003).

According to its goals that alleged by the magazine itself, it was supposed that a main part of the magazine should be dedicated for literature, civilization, economy, social matters, and translation. But its real concern was the dissemination of the colonial message of Britain. The magazine's interest in literature was limited to literary styles and poetry, which showed the dominance of the British colonial discourse through topics like the following titles:

- Acquaintanceship of the British and the Islamic Scientists.
- Advantages of the Democrats.
- Eight Great Personalities of Britain.
- The Eighth Army's chant (poetry).
- Churchill's Victory and Hitler's Defeat.

In addition to these and many other topics such as the translated articles or articles written by writers such as Tawfiq Wahbi, Hussein Huzni Makryani or Sheikh Hassan Sheikh Hama Marf who reflected the British colonial discourse. Nevertheless, poems condemning Nazism were of interest because Nazism was at war with Britain.

Besides Britain's attempt to spread Western culture and traditions and presenting the British as the best example of progress in science and literature, the regional and international conditions were also helpful for publication of *Dengi Geti Taze* at that time. In the beginning of World War II between the Allied and the Axis Powers, the

British tried to draw the attention of the Iraqis and the Kurds toward the Allied Countries. Thus, Kurdistan became a theater of the political conflicts and propaganda of the fighting countries.

Although the British published many newspapers and magazines to attract the attention of the Kurds and to win their loyalty, they were practicing the policy of terrorism and imprisonment against the revolutionary Kurds especially after the Kurds had cooperated with the revolution of Rashid Ali al-Gailani in May 1941. Further, the influence of the countries against the British alliance had penetrated the Iraqi government (Khayali, 2021).

In fact, during the monarchy period the fateful matters in Iraq were in the hands of Britain, and the conditions of the Iraqi Kurds were badly deteriorated. Additionally, Nazi propaganda reached the farthest regions of the country, and this aroused the feelings of the Kurdish intellectuals, and created sympathy with the Germans everywhere especially the Kurds considered themselves and the Germans as being of the same Aryan race.

According to the researchers the majority of the Kurds were sympathetic to the Germans in order to expel the British from the region because they were trying to change the Kurdish national identity and impose a multi-hybrid identity on them (Mezhar, 2001). The role of *Dengi Geti Taze* was to work for containing this feeling of sympathy with the Germans and to stand against the Nazi slogans.

As an attempt was made by the Kurds to stand against their forcible inclusion into Iraq, a political and military conflict emerged between the revolutionary Kurdish movement led by Mulla Mustafa Barzani and the Hiwa Party within the political arena from 1937 to 1945, on the one hand, and the Iraqi government and the British, on the other hand, during the period from 1942 to 1945. That conflict was a part of the project to attach Kurdistan to Iraq which was an Arab nationalist-state. This plan aimed at changing the Kurdish identity. Of course, Britain had a decisive role in eliminating the above-mentioned movement and thwarting the attempt of the Kurds to stand against changing its national identity (Ali, 2010).

The publication of *Dengi Geti Taze* coincided with the movements of Mulla Mustafa Barzani (1942-1945) and the Kurds' support for Rashid Ali Al-Gailani movement. At the same time, the international conditions deteriorated due to the outbreak of World War II between the Allies and the Axis Powers. Consequently, the Kurdish regions became a part of that conflict and its propaganda. As a result, and in order to silence the voice of the Kurds and quell their strong feelings of sympathy with the Germans, *Dengi Geti Taze* since its first issue had started to praise the United Kingdom for directing Iraqi and Kurdish public opinion in a direction to be in conformity with the British interests.

From this perspective, some of the Kurdish intellectuals and writers fell under the influence of the British discourse and propaganda, and they considered the British culture as an ideal and made it a key to their aspirations. From this point of view, their literary products and even the topics they were translating were a reflection of this trend. For example, Tawfiq Wehbe translated a topic entitled “*British Parliament*” in which he stated: “The British Parliament is the oldest parliament of democratic nations. In fact, many democratic countries had modeled their constitutions on the constitution set by the British Parliament, and for this reason the British Parliament is called the Mother of Parliaments” (*Dengi Geti Taze*, Volume 1, Issue 1, October 1943: 2). Wahbe here talks more like a mimic of the British Empire than a Kurdish writer. He indirectly praises the colonizer of the Kurdish people, i.e. the British Empire.

Through the details of his writing, Wahbi referred to the freedom in the British Parliament and praised the unity of the word and their position in that war. Below are some examples of topics and texts that appeared in this magazine which showed its admiration and falling under the influence of British discourse and culture which were depicted as the best models for human values. Among the most prominent Kurdish writers who published their products in *Dengi Geti Taze* were: Tawfiq Wahbi (1891-1984), Goran (1904-1962), Hussein Huzni Mukryani (1883-1943), Peremerdd (1867-1950), Zewer (1908-1952), Mudhosh (1919-1994), Sheikh Hassan Sheikh Hama Marif (1917-1972), Jamil Rozhbayani (1913-2001), Mustafa Safwat (1904-1963), Bengine (1908-1972), Jigerxwen (1983-1984), and Gew Mukryani (1903-1977).

4.2.2 Kurdish Postcolonial Narrative: Memoirs and Diaries

The second resource of the Kurds' voice and response to the British colonial discourse and colonization of Kurds areas of Iraq which includes some textual representations in form of memories and diaries and also autobiographical texts provided by other Kurd intellectuals and politicians who played a critical role in the social, historical, and important political events and issues in those phases. The narrators are the ones who experienced the events first-hand and some of them were even directly involved in the activities. The texts which are discussed below demonstrate and represent the influence of British colonial policies and the dilemmas and conflicts which appeared with process of the colonizing in the eyes of the Kurdish memoirs and diaries. The section also shows the role of memories and diaries as forms of textual representations in disrupting and responding to colonial legacies and policies. The diaries and memories play an important role in decolonizing and cultural resistance against the superiority of British colonial knowledge and discourse in order to re-represent and re-conceptualize the process of British colonization of Iraqi Kurds.

4.2.2.1. *Chim Di (What I Saw): A Diary by Ahmed Khwaje*

This text, which was written by Ahmad Khwaje Sabri (1903-1997), is one of the main Kurdish references of this research. The author was the patron of the treasury of Sheikh Mahmud's movement. In addition, he was the editor-in-chief and director of the first three issues of the *Umedi Istiqlal* newspaper which was the organ of the third Kurdish government led by Sheikh Mahmud in 1923. The author had a prominent role in the anti-colonial movement against Britain (Salih, 2001).

As an attempt to silence the Kurdish anti-colonial discourse and being anti-British texts, these notes remained under censorship and not permitted to be published. However, it was kept as a manuscript (Salih, 2016). This issue is consistent with Gayatri Spivak's Subaltern concept that raised this question: "Can the subaltern speak?"(1988), as this manuscript cannot be published, the subaltern cannot speak.

These memoirs were published in four volumes later after the British left the Kurdish land. The first volume was published in 1968, the second in 1969, the third in 1972, and the fourth volume was published in 2016 (Salih, 2016). These four volumes cover 780 pages. As far as the title of the book is concerned, the writer says: "these notes are

entitled '*What I Saw*' because I only wrote what I had personally seen. So, it is neither a history of the Kurds nor that of Kurdistan" (Khwaje, 1971: 50). The manuscript had gone through difficult stages in order to be preserved at a time when the printing and publishing activities in Kurdish language were extremely weak. Further, it was difficult for the author to preserve the manuscript due to the continuous conflicts with the British colonizer. He, himself, refers to this fact saying, "I collected the book from thousands of paper slips I wrote on during the hard days of the revolution" (Khwaje, 1971: 50).

"What I Saw" was written with a revolutionary vision and somewhat supportive to Sheikh Mahmud and his revolution against the British occupiers. Generally, the contents carry a nationalist anti-colonial discourse. Of course, the reason was that the author had a strong connection with Sheikh Mahmud, and he was also an active player in his revolution (Kawa, 1970). The book is full of accurate memories and political events of that stage that pertain to the Kurds of Iraq. In addition to being a good record for the incidents and memories, it is also an autobiography of the author. At the same time, many documents and official correspondence related to the British-Kurdish relations were published in it. Accordingly, the author stated at the beginning of his memories: "Truth sublimates and nothing is above it for my view of the events emanates from what I have gathered in my mind in order to bring it to the reader. And you, as a reader, must bring it to its true end" (Khwaje, 1971: 50). Surely, he meant that he recorded his memories from his anti-occupation point of view which was an anti-colonial, and namely an anti-British discourse, which undoubtedly represented the true attitude of the Kurds at that phase.

Concerning the motive that prompted him to write these memoirs, Ahmad Khwaje says that the reason was primarily due to his firm belief that foreign historians, i.e., the British, are not fair in their writing of the history of the Kurds at that stage. So, it was not properly written. As for the Kurdish writers, they did not care as much as they should. He also describes his efforts in this respect and says: "What encouraged me in this job was the tireless efforts of Sheikh Mahmud that mentioned by some foreigners as a material to blame him coincided with the silence of the intellectuals and specialists of the Kurds as no one answered them because they lacked self-confidence to do so and to use their pens to present the true struggle of their people in order to make it a basis for

their real history.” (Khwaje, 2016: 27). That is to say, “What I Saw” was a form of writing back of a Kurd to the colonial discourse and suppression from the first hand experience.

4.2.2.2. *Yadashtekani Sheikh Latifi Hafid* (The Diary of Sheikh Latif Hafid)

Sheikh Latif (1917-1972) was the son of Sheikh Mahmud Hafid. He was brought up in an atmosphere of problems and conflict with British colonialism since his youth, precisely since he was only four years old. He took part in the revolutionary movement against the English occupiers. In 1937, he established a political party named Brayety (Brotherhood). In 1946, when the Kurdistan Democratic Party was established, Sheikh Latif became its vice president. During the monarchy era, Sheikh Latif was arrested several times (Hafid, 1995).

Sheikh Latif was well aware of the events of the Kurdish revolution led by Sheikh Mahmud against the British occupation. Being the son of Sheikh Mahmud, he was close to all the events. So, he could enter into the details and the core of all the revolution’s episodes, and was able to witness them in detail and then write them in his diary (Mahmud, 1995).

For a long time, the publication of these memoirs was forbidden because of their sensitive nature from the political point of view (Mahmud, 1995), and in order to misrepresent and conceal all the truth about the anticolonial struggle of the Kurds and covering of Kurds through the false discourse of the British Colonizers.

The importance of Sheikh Latif’s memoirs lies in the fact that most of the topics were written as narrated by his father, Sheikh Mahmud, or depending on the information he obtained through his contacts with his close friends especially those who were close to Sheikh Mahmud and had active roles in the revolution. Another importance of these notes lies in the truth that the writer had narrated the events with objectivity and impartiality (Ma’arouf, 1995). That is why, the memoirs constitute good evidence of the mistreatment of the international allies with the people who were under their control at that time.

This paper will analyze and study this first-hand account in detail in the following sections to demonstrate the true nature of the Kurds at the time and counter the stereotypical colonial narratives.

4.2.2.3. “*Yadasht*” Memoirs: Iraqi Kurdistan and Sheikh Mahmud’s Revolutions

This text entitled “*Yadasht: Kurdistanî Irak u Şorşakani Şeyh Mahmud*” (Memoirs: Iraqi Kurdistan and Sheikh Mahmud’s Revolutions), is considered as one of the most important and prominent memoirs that recount the British Colonization of Iraqi Kurds in the aftermath of the First World War and the anticolonial movement led by Sheikh Mahmud against Britain. Some Kurdish researchers consider it as a masterpiece and an intellectual text that explains the history of the Iraqi Kurds for the period of the first half and the mid of the twentieth century, and being a political literary work that contains deep and clear views aside from being a splendid style of writing (Khaznadar, 2006).

The author, Rafiq Hilmi (Rafiq Salih Abdulla, 1898-1960) was a politician, an intellectual and a prominent author of that time. During the last days of the Ottoman Empire, he attended the Military High School in 1912-1913. Later he was chosen to join the General Staff College in Istanbul (Hilmi, 1985). After that, he continued his studies at the Higher Engineering School in Istanbul. During the first government of Sheikh Mahmud and the beginning of occupation of the region by Britain, he became a teacher for high-ranking British officers to teach them Persian and Kurdish languages. He also accompanied Gertrude Bell, a British political officer, as a translator on her trip to some areas of Kurdistan (Khaznadar, 2006). In the field of education, he worked as a teacher for mathematics, physics, Turkish language and other lessons. He also worked as a school headmaster. Furthermore, he visited Ankara on the head of a delegation representing Sheikh Mahmud's government. He also had a role in political activities and the establishment of political associations and organizations such as being a membership in the Hevi Association in 1910 in Istanbul, Kurdistan Society 1922 in Sulaymaniyah, Darker Society 1922 in Kirkuk, Pishtiwan Society 1928 in Erbil, and Hiwa Party (1937-1945). He also participated in the revolutions of Sheikh Mahmud and later had a notable role as a representative of Sheikh Mahmud, i.e. his translator and his secretary (Salih, 2018). In the field of journalism and writing, Rafiq Hilmi was one of the most prominent writers and intellectuals of that stage. He was fluent in basic eastern

languages such as Kurdish, Arabic, Turkish and Persian as well as western languages such as French, German and English to some extent. Rafiq Hilmi wrote and translated a number of books as well as many articles. He worked as the editor-in-chief of the *Umedi Istiqlal* newspaper, and published articles in the *Zhiyan* newspaper (1935), *Galawezh Magazine* (1939-1949), *Shafaq* (1958), and many other newspapers and magazines (Khaznadar, 2006).

All this experience and ability that Rafiq Hilmi had in addition to his political and cultural role that he played made him have a role in drafting a Kurdish nationalist discourse which was characterized by an anti-colonialism theme. In this book, apart from being a record of his personal memoirs he mentioned a set of political and social events related to the history of the Kurds, geography, military, cultural, literary and other topics related to the Kurds and the peoples of the East as well as the events that occurred in the era of the Ottoman Empire.

In terms of the contents of his memoirs, the writer begins by presenting the events of the end of the Ottoman Empire and then the beginning of the British occupation. After that he reviews the emergence of the first government of Sheikh Mahmud and then the deterioration of his relations with Britain. Later, he recounts the first uprising of Sheikh Mahmud against Britain. Then he mentions the exile of Sheikh Mahmud to India and then his return to Sulaymaniyah. The book also deals with the Turkish-British conflict in the region and the issue of Mosul Vilayet, the establishment of the Iraqi state and later the forcible annexation of Kurdistan to Iraq which resulted in a series of Kurdish uprisings against Britain and Iraq during that period in addition to many other topics. All of these topics are not limited to the narration of the events but also include the writer's ideas and views regarding the events and the political conditions. In some cases, the writer refers to the internal and local causes and factors and criticizes the Kurds for their failure to obtain their rights and goals. In other cases, the writer considers the objective and external factors as a major reason for the failure of the Kurdish national movement.

These memoirs were published during the years 1956-1958 in six parts, and the book was printed in Baghdad while the writer was alive which was later issued in two parts. After 24 years, the third part was added to them. In its last edition 2020, the book was

printed in seven parts and an appendix that included 698 pages (Hilmi, 2020). The main objective of writing these memoirs in addition to recording the memories and events that the writer himself had witnessed was also an attempt to record the history of the revolution and the struggle of the Kurds through what the Kurds themselves narrate, and not through covering and misrepresentation of the Kurds by the foreigners or what the Westerners write about them (Salih, 2018) that might be a misconception of the reality of the Kurds in order to be in line with the interests and agenda of the colonizers. This opinion expressed by Rafiq Hilmi was identical with the view of Edward Said and the pioneers of post-colonialism theory who believed that the codification of the history of the East by Westerners might give a distorted and wrong picture of the East to be compatible with their occupying and controlling intentions. Hereby, the Easterners themselves should refute these errors and allegations and write down their own history, culture, and knowledge.

That is to say, Hilmi's writings were also to counter the metanarrative of the British and to demonstrate the true reality of the Kurds from the colonized perspective which was quite opposite of what the colonizer's presented.

4.2.2.4. The Memoir of Ahmed Taaqi

The writer of these memoirs (entitled '*Xebati Geli Kurd Le Yadashtekani Ahmed Taaqida*'-The struggles of Kurds' Nation in The Memoir of Ahmed Taaqi), Ahmed Taaqi (? -1960) was a prominent Kurdish political figure during the British occupation of Iraq. Taaqi worked as a soldier in the Ottoman army during World War I, and he performed his military service in the regions of Azerbaijan, Tiflis, and Batumi. When the British occupation army arrived in the Mosul Vilayet, Ahmed Taaqi had close relations with "Ali Shafiq" known as Özdemir throughout 1921-1923 during which Özdemir was the representative and implementer of Turkey's policy in the Mosul *vilayet* (Taaqi, 1970).

These memoirs were written in 1950 but they remained as a manuscript for a long time and were not printed until 1970 when they were allowed to be printed for the first time. The book is small in size as it covers only 96 pages. The purpose of writing these memoirs was to record the events that occurred during the period of the British occupation. It is a recording of the point of view, vision and position of a Kurdish

person regarding the political events of that stage. As Ahmed Taaqi says: “many citizens ask me to write my autobiography, but is this correct? In my opinion, no, because the events that pertain to a nation's life are much more important than the narrative of a person's life" (Taaqi, 1970: 10). He was more concerned about showing what his people are going through rather than sharing his opinion of the events.

Accordingly, the text is considered among the writings about the Kurdish resistance movement which adopts an anti-colonial discourse that reveals the circumstances and agenda of the British policy toward the Kurds and explains the attitude and ideology of some of the leaders of the Kurdish political movement at that stage. This text has another importance as the writer lived at that stage and participated in some of its events (Qaftan, 1970).

4.3. Themes of Postcolonial Discourse in Kurdish Textual Representations

Postcolonial discourse is the response of the colonized to the colonizer and the colonizer's discourse. It is a discourse which is like a space for the subaltern to break the silence and speak up using their true voice. The aim is to reconceptualize and re-represent the colonized from the colonized perspective and break the stereotypes created and produced about the colonized by the colonial discourse. The postcolonial discourse in this study includes the response and the voice of Kurds colonized people to the process of British colonization of Iraqi Kurdistan and its discourse and legacies. The discourse which reflected and appeared as a consequence and implications to the British rules and colonial policies during the first half of the twentieth century. Postcolonial discourse draws attention to the issues and arguments that have followed their growth as prominent academic movements and viewpoints from postcolonial theorists. The discourses have always sparked a heated debate about their political usefulness, their place within intellectual traditions informed by unequal power relations, and their validity as theoretical categories that can provide knowledge about the cultural resistance and impacts of colonial legacies and policies and works of political literature of previously colonized nations such as the Kurds in Iraq.

Through analyzing the Kurdish discourses the section determines prominent themes of postcolonial discourse in the Kurdish textual representations in order to have a deep understanding and realize the impacts of colonialism on the Iraqi Kurds and the

response and the voice of Kurds on British colonization of Kurdish areas in Iraq. Different samples from different selected Kurdish textual representations have been chosen and categorized according to the theme which they illustrate. The section focuses on some issues, conflicts, dilemmas which can be regarded as themes of Kurdish postcolonial discourse, and they are essential terms and concepts of postcolonial theory. The themes and selected samples of the Kurdish texts are interrelated due to the core notions of the postcolonial theory and the nature of the subjects of the texts surrounding the same issues and themes that appeared with the British colonization of Iraqi Kurdistan. Although the themes are interconnected, the main essential themes of postcolonial discourse are discussed separately in the Kurdish texts to delve deep into the themes.

4.3.1. Pro-British Discourse and Echoes of Colonial Propaganda

In the beginning of the British colonization, propaganda was one of the tools the British used to impose themselves on the Kurds. Not only the British themselves spread their stereotype but they also exploited some Kurdish people and intellectuals to spread their ideas and mentality. In a context of spreading colonial propaganda in Kurds' society they manipulated the Kurdish writers and newspapers as mentioned above to implant their ideas. These Kurds become the echo of the British voices. The terms “echoing” brought to postcolonial theory by Spivak refers to mimicking the self by the other; the mimic represents the voice of the British not the Kurds (Ashcroft et al, 2013). For example, in the first issue of the *Peshkawtin* newspaper which was a pro-British newspaper, there was an article devoted to praising the British and mentioning their virtues. The article indicates directly that the British progress and civilization have freed backward east from ignorance and illiteracy as it says:

Previously, books were very few and difficult to obtain. Out of a hundred people, there was only one educated person. Without these efforts of providing printing presses, this progress would not have been possible even after thousands of years (*Peshkawtin*, Issue 1, 1920: 1).

This quote was from a Kurdish newspaper praising the colonizer and introducing them as savior and the enlighteners while implying that the Kurds before the arrival of the British lived in darkness and were uneducated. That means the British are superior to the Kurds as they are uncivilized and uneducated. Then, the article talks about Johannes

Gutenberg (1398-1468), who invented the printing, and links him to the grandeur and good deeds of the British imperialism:

This man who was small in size became very great when he invented printing. But with all his greatness he did not reach the level of the current ruler and this government ... The important thing is that we were able to accomplish our goal, thanks be to God, and praise be to this government... So, we have to go at very fast paces because we have fallen behind in the field of civilization. The current government even makes us be able to fly at a full speed. Today, we have a great opportunity to follow the path of progress thanks to the government.”
(*Peshkawtin*, Issue 1, 1920: 1).

This text makes a significant contribution to the formation of public images for British power. Images of a state are important in this discourse because they shape general feelings toward other governments and legitimize British action and work in order to change the perspective. The quote demonstrates that the British are the chosen and the most developed civilized people; therefore, they should try hard to stay at the top. They see themselves as top people and the Kurds as the uncivilized and the bottom people. These propagandas impacted the general opinion. Foucault's philosophy claims that official knowledge through propaganda influences public relations (Heller, 2016). Britain spread the propaganda that the Kurds need the British Empire to survive, and others are enemies to them. In some respects, *Peshkawtin* was following the example of the *Tegaishtini Rasti* "Understanding the Truth" newspaper especially with regard to spreading propaganda, praising the British occupiers, and stirring nationalist sentiment among the Kurds and using them against Turks. For example, let's see what was stated in one of its texts entitled "*Turks in Rawanduz*":

This group isn't more than sixty fighters in number. They claim that they will receive assistance, but when they read about the defeat of an Anatolian army of one million fighters, it becomes clear to them that the Ankara government does not have the ability to send even the simplest assistance to this group that is present in Rawanduz. It also has become known that there are no other Ottoman forces near Rawanduz. Indeed,

the certain fact is that there are some evildoers, thieves and bandits who have joined them. However, despite the falsehoods, lies and unreasonable promises that are spread by these among the clans and the people of Rawanduz, no one has been deceived by their statements nor cooperated with them. Although these evil people claim that they demand national rights, independence and preservation of religion, their real goal is only to plunder the homeland. The government is working to take any necessary action to deport these Turks and will not allow such things to happen that may impede the progress and prosperity of the homeland as it did during the past two years when we could get rid of poverty and misfortunes and reach a good level of wealth and security (*Peshkawtin*, Issue 68, 1921: 4).

The British through the echoing voice of the Kurds tried to deceive the Kurds and put them into direct conflict with the Turks for its own benefits. This quote from *Peshkawtin* shows the empire as if they are the savior and the other, the Kurds, are weak and in need of protection. The Kurds in this quote are seen as the other subjected to the decision of the British Empire. Starting this conflict between the Kurds and the Turks was not for the sake of either of them; rather it was to stabilize its position and prevent the other from progress and strengthening. Hence, Joseph Conrad says that “colonialism is a brutal and savage process. The Natives are lulled into a false sense of security and then become slaves of the European colonizers. The Kurds are listened to by the British as long as they spoke and acted in the favor of the British. Once trespassing this limit, they were described as savage, uncivilized, and enemies. This is why, all the promises of the Empire to the Kurds meant nothing for the Kurds.

The newspaper ran a column called "*Trivial Stories*" or "*Trivial Talks*" that tried through satire or proverbs to spread the discourse of the British colonialism on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to respond to the news circulating among people that was mostly against the British policy and its propagandas. Here are some examples:

- The Germans have started the war again. Could not achieve when she was a young girl, what can she do when she becomes a widow (*Peshkawtin*, Issue 1, 1920: 3).

- They say that the Turks have failed; their next failure will be greater (*Peshkawtin*, Issue1, 1920: 3).
- They say, Satan was born and gave birth to a Bolshevik (Hatred toward communism and Soviet Union) (*Peshkawtin*, Issue 2, 1920: 3).
- Fighting is better than unemployment except for an unbalanced fight (meaning any party that enters into a battle with Britain or revolts against it will be doomed) (*Peshkawtin*, Issue 11, 1920: 3).
- Even he himself does not believe what he says; there is no place for his lie in any heart (referring to those who talk against Britain) (*Peshkawtin*, Issue 11, 1920: 3).
- There are some who don't like this day, of course a bat does not like the daylight (referring to the British as daylight and anticolonial as bats and darkness lovers) (*Peshkawtin*, Issue 12, 1920: 3).

These statements demonstrate that *Peshkawtin* was the echo of the British discourse and was by no means in favor of the Kurds. Colonial discourse divides people and deals with colonized peoples as angels or evil based on their interests. That provides information about colonized people in order to legitimize colonial dominance according to Foucault's understanding as mentioned above. For the purpose of enforcing a certain order, colonial authorities construct various images for various individuals which can have an influence through representations as good or bad. When it comes to creating good and bad images through propaganda, it is in favor of British perspectives which are likely to occur when it comes to political, social, and cultural matters.

The *Bangi Kurdistan* newspaper contained a mixture of colonial and anti-colonial discourses. Since the newspaper had gone through many stages, it had no single destination in its pathway. That is why, strong opposition to the Iraqization process in some articles is seen. Meanwhile, in others a denial of the claims of the Turks, some other writings addressed the attacks carried out by the British forces into the Kurdish areas. In an article entitled "*Koysnjq*" the writer deals with the British attack on the

region and bombing it with planes although the newspaper, since its inception, had been issued as the mouthpiece of the Kurdistan Assembly and with the permission of the British. It is for this reason that one of the discourses that presented in the newspaper had some kind of support for British imperialism (*Bangi Kurdistan*, Issues 8 & 9, 1922: 1- 6). In an article by Mustafa Pasha Yamulki entitled “*Why do the British want Sulaymaniyah?*”, the writer began with praising Britain’s greatness, vastness of its lands, and its capabilities and strength economically, militarily, and politically. Then he continued:

Securing the preservation of India to prevent it from falling under danger, the British find it necessary to stand in the face of this threat and they mobilize all their capabilities because the survival of India is the survival of the British Empire.... Sulaymaniyah in southern Kurdistan has an important military location that cannot be denied in the eyes of the Europeans as well as the Asians. Even the concession of the Iskenderun and Baghdad train project for the long-term Britain is willing to implement it. So, on that basis Britain hasn’t granted the concession to others because it believes that it is necessary to preserve India, Egypt and the Suez Canal. The Sulaymaniyah area is also suitable for all kinds of smooth traffic. Hereby, they saw it necessary to take possession of it and to stay in it in any way. That was mostly the main reason for their coming to Sulaymaniyah....Although Iraqi Kurdistan is rich in all kinds of precious minerals such as oil and coal, it is not like India, Australia or Transwal in South Africa. Iraq as a whole has material and moral benefits for Britain, but in order to strengthen their influence, Sulaymaniyah is more important (*Bangi Kurdistan*, Issue 10, 1922: 2-4).

In this quote, Yamulki explains why the British wanted to colonize the land of Slemani and the mentality of the people. The British knew the strategic location of the city which could connect the colonies of the British to each other. Also, the city was rich in natural resources and minerals. Through their colonial discourse, they wanted to preserve their position and manipulate the land and the people as much as possible. The colonies saw their subjects and their land as a source of economy which could help the

metropolitan governments. In this case the British saw the Kurds as a source of economy. As Edward Said explained that the West is rich at the expense of the East in terms of civilization and economy. They took the resources of the East to the West which left the East poor and the West rich.

In addition to all that, Mustafa Pasha Yamulki neither hide his patriotic feeling nor the desire of the Kurds to get rid of the occupation. In one of his poems that published in *Bangi Kurdistan*, he said:

Yes, an Independence Day is worth thousands of days

One day of freedom equals the whole world for the Kurds.

Whoever does not like the Kurds, let him leave Slemani,

Hypocrisy time has passed for the British and Turani (*Bangi Kurdistan*, Issue 7, 1992: 2).

Although Yamulki demanded the independence of the Kurds, he also showed his support for the British colonizer due to the fact that *Bangi Kurdistan* was passing under the supervision of the Turks and it has to publish some propaganda for the British so that they could allow the issuance of the newspaper. This is an example of the echo of the British discourse in the newspaper:

It has been more than two years that I address people who are aware of the fact that the only one who loves the progress of civilization and the freedom of other nations in today's world is the glorious British government and the British free people who believe that the freedom of the Kurds is necessary and they have to help Kurdistan (*Bangi Kurdistan*, Issue 14, 1991: 1).

Such articles of the newspaper showed that a part of the discourse and the political orientation of the Kurdish leaders and intellectuals were to look at the future of the Kurds from a British view because they were under the influence of the promises and rumors that were spread by the British authorities while they were standing against Turks. Yamulki appreciates the British for keeping the newspapers' issuance and this is what Spivak referred to as "Subaltern" because Yamulki is quiet and even the time he is allowed to speak is limited and controlled by the empire.

One of the themes of the Kurdish pro-colonial discourse at that stage was aiming at spreading deceptive propaganda as the British were working on spreading it and it was an echo of the same British discourse but with a Kurdish voice which was consistent with the mimicry and subaltern concepts. Thus, they wanted to contain the subjugated peoples' eagerness for liberation and to silence them so that they would say nothing except repeating what the British desired to say. For example, there was an article in one of the issues of the first volume entitled "*The Atlantic Charter*" which presents the agreement made between Churchill and Roosevelt for a better future and happiness of the world. They agreed on several points including:

No party of the agreement shall covet in any territory or to seek other interests and neither party shall desire anything unless it will be by the free will of the peoples of the other nations; and no change should be made in the territories of the countries... Both believed that the people of the nations have the right to choose and decide the type of their governments. Both parties also wished to grant the right to self-governance and independence to the peoples who were deprived of this right (*Dengi Geti Taze*, Issue 1, 1943: 13).

These three items were among the total of the eight articles of the charter, and as it is clear they are related to the oppressed peoples. Although the Kurds were not practically and directly involved in the war, they were one of the oppressed peoples. At the same time, this text shows the extent to which the writers of the magazine fell under the influence of the deceptive British colonial discourse. They used sentimental phrases and words, and they knew the desires and needs of their subjects. Through sentimental words and false promises, they caught many of their subjects in their traps. As it appears from the poem written by Zewer, who despite being an intellectual poet, he fell in the trap of this deceptive discourse and chanted the heroism of the Allied army and the Atlantic Charter concluded between Britain and the United States in 1941 (Hatcho, 2003, pp. 1-2). In one of his poems entitled "*The Good News of Kutek for Qanie*," the poet, Qanie, praised the Allied armies for occupying the city of Rome, and ended his poem as follows:

Everyone's fight will end quietly,

They make the Nazi lose everything,
And the allies will win.

The Atlantic Charter will turn into a feast,
Long live the protector of the world!

Britain does it all conscientiously (*Dengi Geti Taze*, Issue 4, 1944: 339).

Notably, the Kurdish discourse due to the influence of the British power participated in spreading the British propaganda and was the echo of the British discourse. The British knew that Kurds listen to the Kurds better and this is why the power exploited the Kurdish voice and medium to impose its propaganda and mentality. That means, the Kurdish discourse was not consistent in supporting and representing the true voice of the Kurds; some of them were pro-British as the examples mentioned above.

4.3.2. Ethnicity and Creating Hostility

Throughout history, groups of people were connected to each other by some social and cultural ties and lived with each other in a particular geographical area. Ethnicity refers to “the fusion of many traits that belong to the nature of any ethnic group: a composite of shared values, beliefs, norms, tastes, behaviors, experiences, consciousness of kind memories and loyalties” (Schermerhorn 1974: 2). When individuals belong to a particular ethnic group, they carry the ethnic identity of this group within which it is so powerful that can not be taken from them easily because through their ethnic identity’s lens, they perceive and analyze the world. There are many ethnic groups each of which protects its cultural, social and economic values from external forces and other ethnic groups.

Colonizing and dominating an ethnic group results in severe resistance, that is why, the British Empire tried to weaken the ethnic identity of their subjects and put them into conflicts with each other. One of the strategies the British Empire used was starting conflicts among the ethnic groups of its subjects with the intention of putting the empire’s subjects into direct conflict and thus weakening them. When two different ethnic groups fight and attack each other, they kill each other and destroy each others’ infrastructure and it is in the benefit of the third ethnic group which watches them fighting and wants to find them dominating each other. The British through its

propaganda and deceptive discourse attempted to put the Kurds and the Turks into conflicts which were both the aim of the Empire to dominate. Thus, it was one of the worst techniques the empire used because ethnic conflicts can lead to major threats between the two groups culturally, socially, politically, and physically (Varshney, 2003; Kaufman, 2001).

One of the clear implications of the British colonial discourse was to sow the seeds of conflict between the Kurds and the Turks, and other ethnic groups and nations because this discourse was consistent with the colonial interests of Britain's colonization agendas. After Sheikh Mahmud's return in 1922 from exile, he got in contact with the Turks. The British tried by all means to prevent these relations and abort the relationship between the Turks and the Kurds. Meanwhile, the great uprising of Sheikh Saeed Piran took place in Turkey which made the British think of exploiting it while Turkey hoped that the revolution and the uprising would spread out all over Iraqi Kurdistan (Mezhar, 1985: 86-88). Thus, the empire exploited the Kurdish newspapers such as the *Zhiyan* newspaper as a pro-British newspaper which published most of the news related to Turkey. Out of a total of 80 pieces of news 31 of them were related to the Kurds in Turkey (Salih, 1968: 24). The motive behind writing about the Turks was to highlight the opposition of the Kurds to the rule of the Kemalist Turks, they encouraged Kurds in Iraq against Turks. In one of the news in *Zhiyan* newspaper, it was stated that "Sheikh Abdullah Qazi of Goyan had issued a fatwa (a religious resolution) to the Kurds that they had to resist the Turks because they had deviated from Islam. Thus, the Kurds rose up against the Turks and, as a result, four thousand followers of this man including women, children and men were forced to seek refuge in northern Iraq to escape the oppression of the Turks" (*Zhiyan*, Issue 15, 1926: 3).

Magnifying the conflicts between the ethnic groups by the British and using the Kurdish discourse was to impose and implement its agendas. The British used these propagandas and showed as facts and the real view of the Kurds. This is why, this false discourse impacted the general opinion of the Kurds toward the Turks and they saw them as enemies and, thus, hatred was built between them. They revolted against each other and they fought each other whereas the British were watching the conflict as an exploitive viewer.

The poet Sheikh Noori Sheikh Salih, published a poem in the *Zhiyan* newspaper entitled “*The Year*” (1926). Here are some of its verses:

The oppression the Kurds suffered at the hands of the Turks,/Was never seen from a mankind nor from a devil,/The just demand of the Kurdish people became prison cellars,/Or begging mercy/for life and to escape hanging,/Homeland call, murder and disposal,/Oh, last year, go without return,/Let your residence be the city of nothingness (*Zhiyan*, Issue 49, 1927: 1).

This is an example of a Kurd writing in a Kurdish newspaper against the Turks under the impact of the British Empire. The empire motivated the Kurds to write in a threatening language to the Turks, hence, the Turks responded back in the same language and, thus, the conflict rose up. In another text under the title of “*Consolation of the Kurds*”, he complains to Great Britain about the conditions of the Kurds in Iraqi Kurdistan because of the Turks. This text was exactly written under the impact of colonial discourse that Britain wanted to promote. On the one hand, it depicted the Turk as aggressive occupiers while Britain, on the other hand, was depicted as a savior friend in order to make everyone wait for the humanity and generosity of Britain. Here are some of those verses:

Oh! The Almighty God, the tongue is incapable of describing,/The situation of the oppressed Kurds in the north,/Now they are in constant conflict/They mourn their martyrs, the old and the children,/They are oppressed, and their pure blood was shed,/Is it possible that the British do not know this matter!/Or other great men and leaders!/The response to patriotism is murder and hanging,/And turning the Kurds’ settlements into ruins./The Kurds demand their rights from the Turk,/So what is wrong with this!/Is it possible that the British do not know this matter!/Or other great men and leaders! (*Zhiyan*, Issue 58, 1927: 3-4).

One can sense how this conflict was in favor of the British. The Kurds demanded the British to involve and save them from the Turks which was exactly what the pro-British discourse was supposed to achieve. The Kurds saw the Turks as evil while they saw the British as angels and saviors.

Divide and Conquer was another strategy targeting ethnicity and creating enmity, and hostility. For example, one of the strategies of the *Zhiyanawa* newspaper's discourse, which was circulated and ratified by the British, was to depict an unacceptable distorted image of the Ottoman Empire and the Turks aiming at dividing and creating unrest among the peoples of the East through implementing their plans. That was an attempt that they previously worked on via the *Zhiyanawa* newspaper. The influence and method of covering this discourse was to be carried out by some Kurdish writers and intellectuals who were under the influence of this discourse and totally believed it as a fact or seeing through the window of British colonial agendas. In the *Zhiyanawa* newspaper, a writer named Abdulmajeed (which may be a pseudonym) wrote an article entitled "*Turks and Kurds Can Never Live together*" in which he said:

The studies and data show that since ancient times, the honorable Kurdish people had never accepted the Turkish government due to their bad and unfair treatment which forced the Kurds to take up arms against them. So, they never declared obedience to the Turkish government. Nowadays, the Kurds have become more advanced, and they do not accept to submit again to the rule of the Turks This is something that never happens even the Turks themselves do acknowledge that, and the countries of the world have concluded the fact that the Kurds and the Turks can not unite and live together at all (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 17, 1925: 2).

This kind of discourse directly served the British agenda as the Kurds grew hatred feelings to the Turks and vice versa is true. The British wanted to teach the Kurds that the British and the East are barbarous and savage, i.e. the British wanted to demonstrate that the Kurds can not do anything by themselves against the Turks; therefore, they are in need of the British for standing against the Turks that were in reality the enemy of the British not the Kurds.

During the Ottoman Empire, the Kurds mostly backed the empire but when the British and French arrived in the region, some Kurdish nationalists worked with the British. Yet, prior to that, Kurdish tribal groups fought with Ottoman troops on the Russian front. The vast majority of Turkish historians and experts believe that Britain was the

driving factor behind the emergence of the Kurdish conflict in Turkey and the Middle East (Eskander, 1999). Nonetheless, Britain was accused of inciting Kurds residing in Turkish territory to rebel against Turks. According to common Turkish assertions, Britain made pledges to the Kurds to establish a Kurdish state merely to gain control of Mesopotamia and to utilize the Kurds as a weapon for its own ends (Kilic, 2018). This is why, postcolonial theorists such as Edward Said believe that all the East were the subject of the West colonization. The Kurds and the Turks were both subjected and exposed for the British colonization.

Karim Saeed, a Kurdish writer, published a story in *Zhiyanawa* newspaper entitled “Why...I Am a Tilted Jacket” in which he used satire to condemn individuals who are pro-Turks or promote the concept of the return of Ottoman Empire who were called “Tilted Jacket.” Karim depicts the pro-Turks in his narrative as follows:

I always think and wonder why I have no home, not a span of earth, and no money, even a penny. I am illiterate and have no job and don't know any profession. I do nothing, but always wander around lazily without any specific goal Oh, as it is always said 'fighting is better than being jobless', so I have to find a name for myself... Thus, I will be able to have a title and in this way, I can have a name through my new job as a tilted jacket ... I bring unrest to the city. Thus, I can betray my country and my people (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 15, 1925: 2-3).

This is an example of the Kurdish discourse which is pro-British and against the Turks and the Kurds who supported the Turks and the Ottoman Empire. The Kurdish discourse under the impact of the British ridiculed them and motivated them to change the direction of their support from the Turks to the British Empire. This was the agenda of the British behind magnifying and exploiting the conflicts between the Kurds and the Turks. In this way, the Empire could weaken the Turks and attract the Kurds to support the empire's agenda.

In addition, putting the Kurds into conflict against the Turks the British wanted to use other nations and ethnic groups against the Kurds. Sheikh Latif Hafid in his diaries recounts the role of Levi forces, the pro-British force, who were mostly Assyrians established by the British Empire, says:

At that time, the forces of the Levi mostly made up of the Assyrians were under the command of an English officer. These forces were carrying out attacks from time to time on the villages, burning them, and killing anyone they came across. These Assyrian forces had good war skills and were used to mountain warfare. So, they would form a great danger if they were not stopped at their limits. Being aware that such cruelty would have bad complications, their commanders made them reduce their attacks..... Their goal was to obtain a kind of political privilege in order to be able to return to their homeland or getting their political rights into Iraqi Kurdistan (Hafid, 1995: 124).

Likewise, the British used the Iraqi army to make the Kurds surrender to the British ideologies and policy: Ahmed Khwaje says:

The British understood that they could not conquer Sheikh Mahmud's authority. So, they were proclaiming for the independence call and the Kurdish government. They were calling Sheikh Mahmud the King of Kurdistan. At the same time, they were sending Levy troops, thousands of police and irregular Police troops with aircrafts to destroy houses, villages and fields, and to kill livestock. They shed the blood of the Kurds over the rocks and mountains of Kurdistan. They did every possible attempt to defeat Sheikh Mahmud, but all were futile. Then they started to sow the seeds of enmity between the Kurds and Arabs so as to shed the blood of both (Khwaje, 2016: 279-281).

That is, the British isolated the Kurds by destroying all the relationships the Kurds had with other ethnicities and Kurds, without their will, became enemies of all the ethnicities in the region. This was one of the worst impacts of the hegemonic colonial mentality. As Edward Said pointed out: "the idea of us (West) and them (Oriental) invented differences among nations taking extreme form, and also gives birth to enmity" (Said, 1978). The empire wanted to put all the ethnicities in the area into conflict and become the referee judging the situation in accordance with its agenda and benefits.

The British Empire did not want the Kurds to be only in conflicts with other ethnicities but also the empire made internal conflicts for the Kurds. The empire did not want the Kurds to unify and started conflicts among the Kurds and the people and the Kurdish leaders. For example, Sheikh Latif Hafid in his diaries criticizes the British policies and agendas toward Kurds and believes that the empire did not have any good intentions with the Kurd:

Here, Sheikh Mahmud fell in the midst of an ocean of ideas. Wherever he was heading, he was confronted with many bad waves of colonial whirlwinds, i.e. once with deception, and another with threats. It was at that time when Wilson precisely said that Sheikh Mahmud is one of our employees, and he ought to carry out what we want from him. That was clear evidence that the real intention of Britain in concluding that agreement with Sheikh Mahmud was to deceive the Kurds The real purpose was to achieve their imperial interests to obstruct the freedoms of the peoples of the Middle East (Hafid, 1995: 51-52).

Hafid goes on to demonstrate how the British wanted to start internal conflicts inside the Kurdish community as he says:

In 1918, when British high commissioner Wilson was sent to Sulaymaniyah, it was not in order to meet with Sheikh Mahmud and the other Kurdish leaders who came from Sanandaj, Saqaz, Hawraman and Mariwan, for that was a major lie, and was a filthy game of Major Soane, the British ambassador to the government of Sheikh Mahmud, to incite the leaders of the Jaff clans, the sheikhs of Pishdar tribes as well as the government employees against the government of Sheikh Mahmud and make them disobey the government's orders... One of the great lies of Wilson was his claim that when he met with Sheikh Mahmud and the heads of the Kurds of southern and eastern Kurdistan, many of these leaders did not support Sheikh Mahmud while, indeed, he did not meet any of them. Further, he did a despicable act as he incited the Kurdish tribes in Iran not to support Sheikh Mahmud or join his government (Hafid, 1995: 51-52).

Notably, if the Kurds were unified, it would be a threat for the British Empire as they would be stronger together, that was why, the empire used propaganda and deceptive discourse and false information to make internal conflicts inside the Kurdish community. When the community was disintegrated, it would be easier for the empire to impose its hegemony and agendas. Hereby, they motivated the Kurds against the government of Sheikh Mahmud as he was the leader of the anti-colonial movement. They wanted to weaken him and his government as much as possible for their benefits.

The empire approached different groups of the Kurds and tried to exploit their benefits to manipulate them and start conflicts. He offered power to the tribe leaders and financial offers to the businessmen to implement the empire's agenda as Hafid describes:

On the one hand, the British authorities approached and complimented the heads of Pishdar tribes and the Sheikhs of the Sargalou except for Sheikh Othman and his father. On the other hand, they took care of the interests of the Jaff clans and their chiefs in mind. At the same time, and in order to create discrimination and internal warfare, the English rulers tried to win people who would serve British politics and King Faisal but, as a result, they were unable to win people who could achieve what they wished except for a few men like Babasheikh in Qardagh area, Karim Kakazal Kakayi, and Sheikh Rashid Khamzayi in Sharbazher whom they appointed as sergeants or police non-commissioned officers. At the same time, some of Sheikh Mahmud's relatives were creating troubles for Sheikh Mahmud's revolution. The British tried a lot to make the princes of Hawraman, and the Sheikhs of Barzinja as well as the people of Sulaymaniyah and Sharbather their followers, and distance them from Sheikh Mahmud and his revolution. But these attempts didn't work. It is worth saying that the return of the British authorities was only welcomed by a number of Sulaymaniyah businessmen (Hafid, 1995: 120-122).

Although Hafid believes that the attempts of the British were not successful, they severely damaged the unity of the Kurds. Due to the lack of support, the three governments of Sheikh Mahmud fell apart and could not stand the British Empire. The

empire made the businessmen dislike Sheikh Mahmud and introduce him as the source of the problems. Hafid says: “the wealthy usually did not like unrest and revolution as the main goal of them is a good commercial movement in their trade market in order to attain the greatest amount of profit” (Hafid, 1995: 120-122). In this way, the merchants deviated from supporting it to stand against it. The empire wanted to connect the merchants to Baghdad as a way to prepare for annexing Kurdistan to Iraq and motivating them to show support for Baghdad rather than Sheikh Mahmud. This made the Kurdish government lose one of its pillars which was the wealthy men of the time. For Lemkin (2005), a Polish jurist, who wrote deeply about ethnocide (exterminating and ethnocide systematically), the economy is one of the main sources of states and nations, which is the target of the colonizers.

The British also systematically wanted to show that Sheikh Mahmud’s government maltreated people. The Empire worked on some of the relatives of Sheik Mahmud and bought them to work for the empire. Those people treated the people badly under the name of Sheikh Mahmud and the Kurdish government. Hafid maintains that “most of Sheikh Mahmud's relatives were maltreating people. But when the British authorities were returning, they would soon become their agents" (Hafid, 1995: 120-122). That means that they had strong connections with the colonial administration and the empire used them for giving a bad reputation for the government to have the general opinion of the Kurds against it. This is why, Lemkin (2005) holds the belief that systematic abrotation of states and nations is as much if not more as the physical genocide of them.

Scaring Kurds from joining the movement was one of the means the British Empire used to separate them from their anti-colonial movement. Latif Hafid narrates:

Some propaganda news reached the Kurdistan Intelligence Agency that one of the English commanders had promised to end the revolution of Sheikh Mahmud at any cost and to kill the leader of the revolution. The news also said that according to this military commander’s plan, the attack will be very harsh and would start with using British aircrafts and then to occupy Mt. Goizha from where the headquarters of the Kurdistan Army and the rest of the area would be bombed (Hafid, 1995: 122).

Through this propaganda, the empire wanted to scare the Kurds away from the movement and stand against it. Likewise, they wanted to show the movement as the source of trouble to the people. So, people attack the government and see it as the source of the problem and thus abort it. However, Sheikh Mahmud tried his best to warn people about the threats of the British and encouraging his people to stand together on their cause, and he told people: “my dear people! Death for our homeland is an honor. I ask you, for the sake of your blessed mission, to teach the barbaric army of the enemy that tries to destroy your villages and annihilate this country, a bitter lesson. I, myself will be at your forefront so that I will be the first one to sacrifice his life for the homeland” (Hafid, 1995: 122).

The British knew that Mahmud was so eager and insistent of the demands of the rights of the Kurds. Hereby, he became their main target.

Since the British wanted to start conflicts amongst the Kurds; therefore, any gathering of the Kurdish leaders was viewed as a threat by the empire. When Sheikh Mahmud and Smko Shkak, the head of the Shkak tribe met each other in 1922, it made the British Empire unhappy. Hence, when Mahmud met with the British officer and asked for their demands, the British officer replied ironically and referred to the meeting with Smko Shkak as a negative move by Mahmud:

The British used the Kurdish leader to do proxy war for them. One of the leaders was Sheikh Mahmud. The British wanted Sheikh Mahmud to drive off the Turks from the region. On his part Sheikh was asking them to formally recognize the right of Kurds to independence in their own land. When Simko left, Sheikh Mahmud held a meeting with the supervisors, prominent personalities and intellectuals to discuss with them Simko’s statements. After that, the Sheikh invited the British Counselor Chapman to his official office in order to discuss the issue of sending a delegation to Baghdad. And this dialogue took place between them in 1922: Sheikh said:

– It is said that you travel to Baghdad. I hope you will not forget your promises to the Kurds.

Chapman replied:

– You are busy managing your affairs with someone else.

Sheikh said:

– If you are honest, we do not talk about this issue with anyone else.

Chapman said:

– It is said that you received some visitors. I knew that they were Turkish officers. I see that there is a conspiracy behind that.

Sheikh replied:

– The people you are talking about were Kurdish officers, and they have nothing to do with Turks.

Chapman said:

– I am going to Baghdad, but I will not return to Sulaymaniyah.

Sheikh Mahmud angrily said:

– Do not renew the fight, if you do not fulfill your promises, then we will take it from you by force. So, do not distort your history with your sinister deeds.

Finally, Chapman said:

– I will contact the concerned officials and tell them what you have said, but I hope that you do not make room for those who have contact with the Turks (Hafid, 1995: 109).

This dialogue shows that the British did not want the Kurds by any means to meet and gather and discuss their states and rights as it was against the will of the British Empire. By introducing Smko as pro-Turks, Chapman wanted to break the relationship between the two Kurdish leaders and start internal conflicts.

That is, the strategy of making conflict for the Kurds internally and externally by the British Empire is reflected in the Kurdish discourse in two types. First, those newspapers which were pro-British and they kept magnifying and repeating the conflicts of the Kurds with others and internally to show it as a fact and obtain the general opinion. Second, those newspapers which were anti-colonial and they demonstrated how the British systematically abort the unity of the community. This

strategy of making conflict left a huge negative impact on the Kurds socially, culturally, and politically to the present day.

4.3.3. The Promotion of Tribalism

The origin of the word 'tribe' goes back to the Latin term "tribus" (meaning the administrative divisions and voting units of ancient Rome (Cornell, 1995: 117). There is no agreed upon definition of "tribe." For example, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* of 1911 defines it as: 'its ethnological meaning has come to be any aggregate of families or small communities which are grouped together under one chief or leader observing similar customs and social rules, and tracing their descent from one common ancestor.'" Others see "tribe" as primitive, for example most of the orientalist described tribal system as primitivism stereotypically (Caton, 2015).

With the beginning of the colonial era, "tribe" became the focus and received different roles. With the sixteenth-century expansion of Europe into the Americas and Africa, tribal system is seen as primitivism and later during Enlightenment, the tribes were formally seen out of the civil societies. The colonial mentality believed that those who remained grouped as a tribe were "left behind by the march of history and destined to be redeemed and refashioned by the intervention of superior forces. The epithet that most commonly found in association with the word 'tribe' was 'savage'" (Yapp, 1983: 154). Likewise, the British believed that being tribal is in the DNA of the Kurdish people, as it was mentioned in chapter three, which they saw as savage, barbarous, and uncivilized. They spread the propaganda claiming that they came to end the tribal system and civilize the Kurdish people and rescue them from their barbarous status. This was just an excuse to justify their colonial process. That is why, talking about this theme, which is closely related to other themes in texts and examples understudy, is to disrupt the stereotypes of the British colonial discourse rather than just separating this theme from the others.

However, the British Empire manipulated the Kurdish tribes for its benefits instead of helping them to progress. British colonialism stimulated the plan of tribal pluralism to sow division among them to create problems between clans, on one side, and the government, on the other. For this and to serve their strategy, the British strengthened the position of some Kurdish clans and weakened some others. They also encouraged

the clans in some areas lest they should fall under the command of Sheikh Mahmud. Of course, this was through using the "divide and rule" tactic because if all the clans fell under the control of Sheikh Mahmud, then the eradication of Sheikh Mahmud's governments would be very difficult.

Concerning Britain's strategies in dealing with the occupied countries and their oppressed peoples, and its interest in encouraging the tribal system, Rafiq Hilmi wrote: "the British did not walk in the path of the people because they did not believe in the folk and did not recognize the feeling of the people or the power of culture. So, the bulk of their supporters in those occupied countries were confined to the well-known families and chieftains" (Hilmi, 2020: 487-488). That means that the British wanted to win the Sheikhs and the tribal leaders as they knew that they have power over their tribe members and they can direct them. So, if the British Empire can win their leaders, the empire can win the support of the people and direct them in accordance with their benefits.

There are some of those problems that are related to the tribal structure which were confronted by the government of Sheikh Mahmud. Within the same clan, they are usually divided into two sides, one pro-British and one supporting Sheikh Mahmud and his activities. Rafiq Hilmi explains why the clans chose this strategy as he says:

Many clans used to agree among themselves so that they would divide in the face of the government into two parts: That is, some of them stood against the government, and the other part supported it. Thus, in the event of the government's victory, they could escape harm and punishment. This method was noticed among all clans and families. Even Sheikh Qadir, the brother of Sheikh Mahmud, followed this method. However, he did not allow Sheikh's enemies to consider him among their friends. His main goal was to keep evil and abuse away from his elder brother at the time of adversity (Hilmi, 2020: 68).

This means that the very existence of the British power as the hegemonic power caused the fall of the clan's unity. To keep their clan from attacks, they have to persuade both the colonizer and the colonized. That is why, British colonization caused dilemmas and

confusion for the Kurds. The British colonial mentality wanted to exploit this division and magnify it in their benefits. For example, attaching the importance to the Jaff clans in Halabja and the well-known tribal figure (Babaker Salim Agha) in *Pishder* who were in continuous relation with them in order to antagonize Sheikh Mahmud (Hilmi, 2020). Even Adila Khanum, the spouse of Wasman Pasha Jaff, was given the title (Khan Bahador) by the British in return for her services to the colonizers (Hilmi, 2020: 80).

Those people, from both sides, the Kurds and the British who benefited from tribalism tried to give a negative impression of Sheikh Mahmud's government. The British saw this as a conspiracy and accused the government for supporting the activities done by this group. However, it was their own agenda and Sheikh Mahmud was captured in India at the time. In his memoirs, Sheikh Latif Hafid responds the British propaganda on Sheikh Mahmud and his governorship, and mentions the administrative and financial corruption that befell some of Sheikh Mahmud's aides before his return from exile in 1922 where he says:

At a time when Sheikh Qadir was busy with forming the administration of his government, one of the persons who was close to him, namely (Sheikh Gharib) and some others stole a number of bags full of the currency of that time (rupee) from the state treasury without making any consideration for the government guards of the treasury. They transported the money to the village of Tangisar where Sheikh Qadir used to reside under the pretext of buying coal (Hafid, 1995: 84).

Sheikh Latif continues his narration "At that time, I was still a child, but as soon as I was learned about the matter, I told Lieutenant Ezzat Topchi about that subject, who in turn immediately changed the guards, and conveyed the news to Sheikh Qadir, who ordered an investigation into the incident so that those involved in it would receive a fair penalty ... Do not forget that the success of any political freedom movement depends on the level of people's awareness." (Hafid, 1995: 84). That is, Sheikh Lattif does not deny having corruption by the Kurds, however, he mentions that the Kurdish leaders attempted to abandon it and eradicate it. Unlike, how the British accused the Kurdish leaders and their government of tribal, corrupted and uncivilized. As it was mentioned, the aim of these accusations was to, as Lewis Morgan explains by saying

that the British accused the peoples of being tribal and primitive while the British cared about the tribes for its benefits and converted them from socio-religious tribes to pro-British political ones. While, in fact, Morgan goes on to say that the tribes had more social roles other than political roles. However, for their benefit, the colonizers attributed this role to the tribes and involved them in their agenda.

Having different tribes and communities of people is one of the first steps of establishing a nation. That is why, the British Empire did not allow that to happen for the Kurds. This strategy is exactly the opposite of the propaganda the British used in their discourse, as mentioned in chapter three, about inspiring the Kurds to learn about nationalism and aiding them in achieving Kurds' dreams, and proceeding forward the progress of Kurdish society and civilizing tribalism. The British tried to politicize the social form of tribalism and win some tribes and motivate them against Sheikh Mahmud and his government instead of supporting the government. Ernest Gellner believes that "tribalism never prospers, for when it does, everyone will respect it as a true nationalism, and no-one will dare call it tribalism" (Gellner, 1983: 83). So, what the British claimed that the Kurdish tribalism is prospering toward nationalism under the empire's supervision was not true. It was to deceive the Kurds and win them. The empire made a form of tribalism which was political tribalism for its benefits.

The British tried to create segregation between the people of different Kurdish regions in order to impose their colonial hegemony. Edward Said maintained that: "we are all taught to venerate our nations and admire our traditions: we are taught to pursue their interests with toughness and in disregard for other societies. A new and in my opinion appalling tribalism is fracturing societies, separating peoples, promoting greed, bloody conflict, and uninteresting assertions of minor ethnic or group particularity" (Said, 1994: 20). That is the colonizer break the unity of the tribes and magnified their fracture so that they would get into conflicts with each other and the empire manipulate them. They tried to promote the tribal mentality through inciting the tribe chiefs to keep away from Sheikh Mahmud who was the most prominent anti-colonial leader of the Kurdish movement while they present themselves as rescuers and propagate that they modernize and democratize society. Ahmed Taaqi refers to this fact, and says:

On the one hand, with the increase in the number of Major Soane's men, their activities increased, on the other hand, the main concern of those who were close to Sheikh, was to maintain their interests and antagonize their peers. Thus, chaos broke out and the people became dissatisfied with the situation. At this sensitive time, the British incited the heads of the clans against Sheikh Mahmud. This started from the city of Rania (Taaqi, 1970: 25).

So, the British were concerned with winning the tribes to convert them to pro-British supporters and use them against the anti-colonial voices. That is why, Sheikh Latif Hafid believes that:

The democracy they boasted of was nothing but plundering wealth and making people leave their homelands for refuge. Indeed, their culture was the culture of hanging citizens who were calling for freedom (Hafid, 1995: 25).

This is the strategy of promoting tribes of the Kurds which aimed at splitting them and using some tribes against the anti-colonial tribes, leaders, and movements. The British also wanted to impose their hegemony through this technique as the Kurds would be weaker and thus easier to win. Even the propagandas used by the British and the words of Kurdistan and the Kurds was to deceive the Kurds and win their support. The empire wanted to win them and use them as servers of the empire's agenda and the translator and transmitters of the agenda of the colonizer to the colonized. That is why, with the arrival of the British Empire, the role of Kurdish tribes changed from religious and social roles to political roles systematically. In this way, tribalism receives a hybrid identity between modernity and traditionality. In one way, the British politicized the tribes and connected them to colonial administration and used them in whatever way the colonial administration wanted them. This was retrogressing the Kurds from progress toward nationalism. In another way, the British introduced the tribes as out of civilization and barbarous to justify its colonization under a civilizing mission.

4.3.4. Mimicry

As mentioned earlier, one of the negative impacts of colonization on the colonized is mimicry. It is a common subject reflected as a theme in Kurdish postcolonial texts, and

it occurs when a discourse imitates their colonizers' language, clothes, politics, or cultural attitude to be accepted or considered as the colonizer with the intention of obtaining access to the same power. While it is assumed that emulating the master requires suppressing one's own cultural identity, the Kurds as colonial subjects submitted to this cultural encounter with the British. Producing mimics was an attempt to spread the culture of the developed west in different fields such as education. The British distorted the culture of religious study that followed in the Islamic and Eastern style that was generally conducted in mosques and by their Imams Mullahs and promoted the western education. Actually, this mentality echoed in the Kurdish discourse, for example, in the *Peshkawtin* newspaper, it says:

After we study a few words, we say “that is enough, we have reached our goal.” The religious student (faqe) studies one or two books, and then he is called “a scholar with twelve sciences. The academic study is not what is taught in the mosques only ... Study means familiarity with all Sciences. It was only through these sciences that other peoples could reach a new state of civilization and were able to become pioneers of modern inventions (*Peshkawtin*, Issue 3, 1920: 2).

This is a clear example of the Kurdish discourse echoing the colonial discourse and the Kurdish people mimicking the British lifestyle. They belittle the system of their education and promote the western education as they believe that it is the only way to be educated and get civilized. Hereby, Bhabha believes that the colonizer tries to give the impression that what the colonized have is not natural and does not lead to progress and they should follow the colonizer to get on the right path and be civilized (1984: 128).

The pro-British Kurdish discourse so strongly mimicked the colonial discourse and tried hard to push the Kurds to imitate the British. In Issue 3 of *Peshkawtin*, it is written:

By virtue of school education, the Europeans were able to discover a great deal in outer space. As for us, we have not even been able to discover what is going on around us ... Thanks to the current academic study, people, in a city like London, that has a population of six million, no one has a problem getting any service or goods, but here, half of us

still walk barefoot ... That is why, we must send our children to schools which are supervised by the government, and surely the government seeks our prosperity and greatness, so we must try hard (*Peshkawtin*, Issue 3, 1920: 2).

This is the result of British policy and the imposing of the British hegemony on the colonized. This policy created a desire for mimicking as a part of Britishization of the Kurds. Some Kurds became mimics of the British and cursed the Kurdish educational system and culture while praising the colonizer's education system. They mock their system while they take the colonizer's education system seriously. That is why, Bhabha believes that mimicking and mockery goes hand in hand. When the colonized mimics the colonizer, they belittle and mock themselves (1984: 129).

Some of the Kurdish elites advocated for the British Empire and introduced it as the savior and the educator of the Kurdish people. In one of his articles entitled "*The Difference between Our Present and the Past*," Ali Irfan made an assessment of the life of the Kurds in the Ottoman era comparing it to the British colonial era in the context of the global vision of the British colonial discourse in which he said:

After the Turks were defeated and we became far from them, the British government forces came to Iraq and granted freedom to our people and established the Iraqi government. With the help of this government, seventy schools have been opened in Mosul, 20 in Kirkuk, and the same rate in other districts. In general, 130 elementary, intermediate and secondary schools were opened in Mosul Vilayet... If we take this difference into consideration, we can conclude the importance of this achievement and calculate the great difference that could be achieved by the current authority since the Turks have become away from us (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 17, 1925: 3).

Irfan falls under the influence of the colonial power and falsely propagated for the British Empire. Kamal Madhar, a prominent Kurdish historian, refuses this data given by Irfan and writes that at the beginning of the British rule, the education process witnessed a significant regression as the First World War started and the British could

not focus on education in Iraq and Kurdistan. Major Soane only used 2% of the Slemani income on education but 20 times that amount on his men. The British opened only one primary school in Sulaymaniyah while before the war there were two primary schools, an intermediate school, and a high school for military education in Sulaymaniyah... and at the end of the twenties of the last century, there were only 10 intermediate students in Sulaymaniyah, which was 16 times less than what was there in 1914. This carelessness of the British even surprised some of the Kurds who thought that the British would bring a lot of education with themselves (Mezhar, 1985: 189-190). In line with Mezhar, Faruq Rafiq, a famous Kurdish intellectual asserts the drawback of education during the rule of the British by saying: “the qualitative aspects of education before the outset of the modern educational system (that is before the British occupation of the region), the schools were applying curricula that aimed at creating a conscious educated person who would be eager for asking questions during the lessons that were received in mosques and small private schools such as jurisprudence, philosophy, speech science, logic, mathematics, Quran interpretation, the Sciences of Hadith ... However, according to this modern system that was brought by Britain, the goal was restricted in producing employees who would be obedient to their governmental, social and economic duties” (Rafiq, 2003: 135-136). That is to say, the British were more focused on producing mimics more than opening schools and providing real education. This is what Antonio Gramsci refers to as “organic intellectuals” which is “the thinking and organizing element of a particular group [which] are distinguished less by their profession [...] than by their function in directing the ideas and aspirations of the [power] to which they organically belong” (Hoare & Nowell-Smith, 1999: 131). While the Kurdish education system tried to produce individuals that are productive for the Kurdish community and in line with Kurdish culture, the British system tried to produce Kurdish mimics of the British lifestyle.

Apart from education, the British Empire even tried to direct the Kurdish tribes and use them for its benefits and motivate them to copy the British policy. This strategy of the British is presented in Kurdish discourse. Ahmed Taaqi narrates a conversation that took place in Sulaymaniyah between one of the Kurdish Aghas (nobles) and the high-ranking British officer Greenhouse in which he shows how the British tried to force the

Kurds to act in line with the interests, agendas and the desire of the occupiers. In that conversation, Agha says to Greenhouse:

Honorable Governor, I am confused. Your Honor's behavior is something strange, for you and your staff (meaning Major Noel) brought us here forcedly to announce allegiance to Sheikh Mahmud, but now you look at us, as if we have committed a crime because we have come to visit the same Sheikh Mahmud, to whom you were forcing us to go. It seems that you think of us as circus apes and want us to play a different game for you every day. If this is what you think, then you are wrong (Taaqi, 1970: 37-38).

The British did not want the Kurdish leaders and the Kurdish tribe leader to follow a policy which reflected the Kurdish culture and lifestyle and agenda; the British wanted even the Kurdish leaders and tribe leaders to mimic the British and act in accordance with the British policy. This strategy mocked the Kurds as the British wanted to tell them that they cannot have a lifestyle or their lifestyle is not natural.

Some of the Kurdish writers tried to repeat what the colonial discourse was claiming. Rashid Najib (1906-1968), who was a poet and a writer, published two texts in the *Zhiyanawa* newspaper under the headings "Vilayet of Mosul" and "Turks and Kurds." Although he tried to write a balanced article about the relationship of the Kurds with the state of Iraq and the outstanding problem of Mosul between Iraq and Turkey, he believed that it would be in the interest of both Kurds and Turks to be away from each other. He also supported the issue of annexing the province of Mosul to Iraq where he said:

I do not believe that there is an educated Kurdish individual who does not consider returning to live under the rule of the Turks again as death or even as the worst kind of death..... Now, it is the time of independence and freedom. So, we do not want to fall again victims of ordeal and torment. We work hand in hand with the Arab brothers of Iraq to our last breath for defending our independence and freedom (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 18, 1925: 3).

Najib here writes like the British colonial writers did as mentioned in chapter three. He motivates the Kurds to accept the Iraqi identity and follow what the British tell them to do. This is mimicking colonial discourse. Bhabha believes that the mimic, like Najib, has to keep adapting and adopting to copy the colonizer in order to be accepted and obtain what s/he wants, i.e. Bhabha believes that mimicry is an opportunistic attempt from the colonized side (1984: 128-129).

The mentality and the policy of the British was implanted in some of the Kurdish intellectuals and literary writers. Abdul Aziz Haji Mulla Amin Mulla Muhammad Chawmar, a Kurdish poet, published a poem under the title “Iraqism” (1870-1947):

O people! I am looking for life, my life is in Iraq
Frankly, I say my security and peace is in Iraq
Baghdad is the gateway of income for my home
Iraq is the place for selling my wool and tobacco
Without Baghdad's wealth, you will die of hunger

So, you can say my beloved soul is Iraq (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 19, March 2, 1925: 2).

The Kurdish subject here becomes the producer and the mimic of the colonial discourse and power. This type of the Kurdish discourse was constructed under the impact of colonial power and it followed British policy without testing its authenticity. That is why, one of the negative impacts of the colonial impacts of the British lifestyle on the Kurdish subjects is mimicry which causes ambivalence and hybridity which are going to be addressed in detail in the following section.

Overall, due to the colonial tactics and strategies, the Kurds as colonized responded to the mimicrization process in two ways. The first are those who accepted adopting the British lifestyle and imitated the colonial ideology and discourse. They copied the tone of the British agenda and ideology for westernization of the Kurdish community. The second group of people, on the other side, refused to follow the steps of the British and policy to dominate and disintegrate the Kurdish community, in particular among the

leaders. Through the analysis of the Kurdish texts, one can see that the British employed various means to leave its impact on the Kurds and turn them into British mimics.

4.3.5. Hybridity

Although postcolonial hybridity is interrelated with Mimicry, hybridity in contrast to Mimicry, which is a relatively limiting concept, can be quite slippery and expansive. Hybridity is defined as the blending of eastern and western cultures. It's worth noting that there are many various types of hybridity ranging from subtle mixing of west-east identities to more aggressive cases of culture clash and ethnic conflict caused by hybridization. The process of hybridization of the Kurdish identity by the British colonial power was one of the worst impacts of the empire on the Kurdish identity. The process was multidimensional and done in different stages, i.e. the British worked on the Kurdish identity using various steps and techniques. This process was reflected in the Kurdish postcolonial texts in both the pro-British and the anti-colonial texts. The colonized Kurdish narratives and memories narrate the process of hybridizing the Kurdish identity as a movie whose producer was the British colonial power.

One of the techniques the British used to hybridize the Kurdish identity was westernizing (Britishizing) the Kurds. The colonizer tried to bring the negative and deceptive cultures and customs of the British to the Kurdish community and deceive the Kurds in particular the young one and confuse their identity. Sheikh Latif narrates: Major Soane had opened many roads for transportation and established security throughout the country. But he was characterized by low morals. Wherever he was going, he was accompanied by three lowly women who were wearing their most beautiful clothes. He also opened a public brothel to corrupt the youth” (Hafid, 1995: 60). Soane as a representative of British colonizers to westernize the conservative and religious Kurdish society at that time worked on making chaos and keeping young people busy with the aim of deviating their attention away from anti-colonial movements and their political rights, and he introduced extreme British culture and customs without taking into consideration the sensitivity of the Kurdish society to these customs. What he was focused on was attracting the Kurdish youth by manipulating their natural desires and emotions. Soane, in this way, created an ambivalence and third space for the Kurds and destabilized their identity.

Likewise, Kamal Mazher narrates that under British colonial rule, under the name of freedom and opening to the globe, the British tried to occupy the youth and deviate them. They sold alcohol in public which was banned before and they even sold drugs and Hashish. In 1925, they opened the first bar in Slemani in 1985. They also opened a brothel in Erbil which caused chaos in the city (Shwani, 2002). Even their presence in the Badinan area caused immorality and disorder. The aim of the British in spreading these immoral customs and cultures was to move the focus of the anti-colonial Kurdish mentality and impose a British-western identity on them. This imposition led the Kurds to the “third space,” “in-betweenness,” “ambivalence” in Bhabha’s terms. It made the Kurds question their culture and adopt British culture. They could not be pure Kurds anymore and they lost the sense of home and Kurdish identity. Bhabha calls this state “Unhomely” which he defines as a psychological and internal conflict emerging as the result of adopting the colonizer’s identity by the colonized. Bhabha defines “unhomeliness” as “displacement the border between home and world becomes confused; and, uncannily, the private and the public become part of each other, forcing upon us a vision that is as divided as it is disorienting” (1992: 141). That is, through this policy of hybridization, the British made the Kurds feel unhome and confused in their own land and home.

Another way to attempt hybridizing the Kurds was through political hybridizing by imposing the Iraqi identity on the Kurds. Hybridity in Kurdish textual representation 1914-1958 is mostly used to spread Pro-Iraqi Identity among the Kurds. This topic is clearly stated in chapter three as a feature of British colonial discourse, but it is also echoed in Kurdish textual representations. For example, the *Peshkawtin* newspaper tried to pave the way through a propaganda campaign to convince people to annex Kurds to Iraq: “as Kurdistan is in a dire need of assistance and care, we must seek the help of the Iraqi government for the sake of reconstruction and revitalization of Kurdistan. And until we gain some degree of self-administration competence, all administrative matters will be under the authority of Great Britain” (*Peshkawtin*, Issue 1, 1920: 1). This is a Kurdish text but it promotes the Kurds to accept and adopt the Iraqi identity. The colonial power used the Kurdish discourse to persuade the Kurds to adopt a borrowed identity and distort their Kurdish identity.

The British used threatening language in obliging the Kurds to accept the Iraqi identity. The pro-British Kurdish texts were used as a medium to deliver the message of the British to the Kurds. For example, in Issue 55 of *Peshkawtin*, it was written:

High Commissioner Sir Percy Cox is currently thinking of establishing a future government administration for the Kurdish districts within the borders of Iraq. There are some who support the independence of Kurdistan although they clearly know that the Kurdish leaders have understood that the commercial and economic interests of their region are linked to Baghdad. And they are also well aware of the difficulties, damages and consequences of separation from Iraq (*Peshkawtin*, 1920: 1).

Here the relation between mimicry and hybridity appears. The Kurdish newspaper mimicked British colonial discourse and thus adopted the British identity by following the agenda and the values of the British. Similarly, In Issue 17 of the *Zhiyanawa* newspaper, a statement was published in the name of "The National Defense Association in Sulaymaniyah. The statement calls on the Kurds to accept the annexation of the Kurdish areas to Iraq because, as they said, Iraq was their own source of livelihood:

It is known to everyone that our commercial and economic movements are entirely linked to Iraq, so we cannot live without Iraq. Within the framework of this thinking and purpose, which is for the public good, we hope that all our people will employ their potential and energies to cooperate and assist in what we work for.... If anyone works to promote any other idea or other goal, he will be considered as a traitor to this country, and an enemy of our people from the view point of this association and also in the view of the Kurdish people in general (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 20, 1925: 1).

Zhiyanawa, just like the colonial discourse, misrepresents the Kurds and violates knowledge as they show that accepting and annexing the Kurds is in the favor of the Kurds and it is the agreed upon general opinion of the Kurds. This type of discourse was to persuade the people of Mosul *vilayet* in order to support the British policy on the

Mosul Question and its annexation to Iraq as they had economic and commercial interests with the central and southern regions of Iraq, and shut down other means to trade and export their products and the Kurdish pro-British promoted this agenda. The whole matters were planned for by Britain. The intention behind this policy was to displace the Kurds culturally, politically, and socially. As Bhabha maintains that the colonizer tries to displace the colonized from his/her home (identity) and transform them and persuade them to adopt the colonizer's identity (1992: 142).

The hybridization process impacted some of the Kurds even the intellectuals. Zewar (1875-1948) being one of the poets and intellectuals of that time, showed in some of his texts his tendency for standing by the British which in its endeavor for persuading the Kurds to stay with Iraq and keep themselves away from the Turks. Under the impact of the British and the adopted identity Zewar made these claims. For example, in one of his article on education and culture, which he published in the *Zhiyanawa* newspaper, he wrote: "we hope the Iraqi government will respond to the request of our new envoys in order to include us with the rest of the other Iraqi Liwas (governorates) and to forget the previous conditions" (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 30, 1925: 2). It is evident that the Kurdish writers and intellectuals have fallen under the influence of the British discourse. So, they believed that joining Iraq was the way to their salvation and liberation. Zewar and the Zewar-likes were confused between the identities and preferred to adopt a borrowed identity and believed that sticking to pure Kurdish identity brings them no good. This outcome was the purpose and the intention of the British colonial policy.

Also, in the *Zhiyan* newspaper, the impacts of colonial discourse and hybridization into Kurdish texts was reflected in two directions. The first was for persuading the Kurds that annexing Mosul *vilayet* to Iraq would be in their favor, and the second was to impose the Iraqi identity on the Kurds. In the beginning, the writings of the *Zhiyan* newspaper focused on praising the League of Nations' Resolution regarding the annexation of Mosul *vilayet* to Iraq in an attempt to win the Kurdish public opinion:

This is the day when we must congratulate each other without fear and with a heart full of joy and happiness because the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty has been accepted" (*Zhiyan*, Issue 1, 1926: 1).

Shawqi also wrote that:

The League of Nations is not a League of the states, but rather a League of the people of the Nations as it seeks to preserve and liberate all the nations (*Zhiyan*, Issue 6, 1926: 1).

In another article of this newspaper, which indicated a British colonial discourse, the author of the article believed that the issuance of the League of Nations' resolution is the beginning of the progress and development of the Kurd, as he said:

Until now, the people's aspirations were vague because they were hidden under a black curtain. Everyone was confused and amazed because of their worries. All the people's wishes were focused on a goal that was difficult to reach, as if it were a fortified castle that could not be reached.... Now, thanks to the steadfastness and durability of the government, the magic talismans have been broken as that fortress has collapsed, that curtain has been removed, and the goal has been hit – that is, annexing the entire Mosul *vilayet* to Iraq – and there is no moth or obstruction left in front of us, and the people can see their future in broad daylight so as to be aware of the effects of their backwardness and to focus their efforts on moving through the path of progress (*Zhiyan*, Issue 2, 1926: 2).

In the context of expressing their joy at the issuance of the resolution of the League of Nations by the Kurdish intellectuals the newspaper constituted a support for the British colonial discourse because annexing Mosul *vilayet* to Iraq was in line with the British interests. In an article entitled “*Our Social Wound*” the newspaper wrote: “Finally, the League of Nations’ resolution granted us our rights and freedom, introduced us to the civilized world, and laid for us the basis for independence... Today we are happy” (*Zhiyan*, Issue 7, 1926: 1) Indeed, defining the rights of the Kurdish people within the framework of the Resolution issued by the League of Nations was not a decision taken by Britain for the sake of the Kurds. Rather, the League of Nations took this decision based on the report of a committee affiliated with it. The committee stated in its report that if the Kurds were not granted their national rights, the committee will suggest to

attach Mosul *vilayet* to Turkey as it is a more prosperous and advanced country than Iraq (Mezhar, 1985: 87).

The *Zhiyan* newspaper was supposed to bear and support a Kurdish identity. However, it was only Kurdish on the surface; in fact and in content it was a hybridized newspaper and worked to motivate the Kurds to pursue and implement the British agenda. Bhabha believes that the colonizer tries even to formulate and shadow the colonized mentality for its own benefits (Bhabha, 1994: 116). Here, some of the colonizer's discourse worked hand in hand to hybridize the Kurds' identity.

In addition to hybridizing the Kurds through westernizing and imposing the Iraqi identity on them, the anti-colonial texts describe another strategy of hybridization which the British implemented which was to multiculturalize the Kurds. The British brought different ethnicities and nationalities under different names and these peoples spread immoral acts, robbery, and violations. Ahmed Khwaje, in his diary, talks about the British policy and their treatment of the authority of the first Sheikh Mahmud's administration, and their attempt to change the identity of the local inhabitants and to limit the authority of Sheikh Mahmud aiming at marginalizing the Kurds and to subjugate them to the British occupation policy. Khwaje writes:

In Sulaymaniyah there were two working governments, the government of Great Britain and the government of Kurdistan that did not have a map. Little by little, the British retreated from their pledges. So, they brought in foreigners of all nationalities such as English, Indians, Afghans, Arabs and Iranians. As for the Kurds, they remained without a name or a title although the government was called 'Kurdistan government' and the political ruler was Major Greenhouse. In addition to all these problems, those who were brought also carried out acts of espionage and interfered in the affairs of the country for the purpose of confining Kurdistan rulers to a narrow corner without having any opportunity. However, Sheikh Mahmud maintained his patience and did not want to ignite a sudden war, because Kurdistan had suffered a lot from the ravages of the war; therefore, he avoided their hostility as he

chose to deal coldly with the events in anticipation of great hopes (Khwaje, 2016: 43-44).

The British brought these people as cleaners, employees, guards and soldiers as Khwaje asserts: “The British authorities were comfortably residing in Basra, Abadan and Baghdad. They used to send to Sulaymaniyah unworthy people claiming that they were janitors, cooks or grooms. In the reality, they were thieves and bandits threatening people and extorting money from them especially merchants and those who were working in the market, but no one dared to stand against them” (2016: 53). However, in fact, these foreigners acted against the Kurds and the Sheikh Mahmud government and spread immoral acts and spied on the Kurds. The essential purpose behind their existence in Iraqi Kurdistan was to distort the Kurdish identity and destroy the “home” of the Kurds.

The British tried to make Kurdish agents promote the British agenda and support the British process of hybridizing the Kurds. Hafid writes: “After the British authorities returned to Sulaymaniyah, they made many attempts to appease the people in order to convince them to join Iraq. For this purpose, they could buy a group of traitors, appoint them as state employees, and give them high positions. Meanwhile, they tried to keep the heads of the tribes away from Sheikh Mahmud” (Hafid, 1995: 119). The British attempted to exploit these pro-British groups by making or controlling them in order to use them against other anti-colonial groups and achieve their aim which was stopping people from having close relationships with Sheikh Mahmud. These groups advocated ideas such as being annexed to Iraq was better for the Kurds and the British administration was the supporter and savior of the Kurds; therefore, the Kurds should listen to what the British orders and tell them. This intention behind these groups was to create mimics to hybridize the Kurds’ identity.

Even the favors the British Empire did for the Kurds was to deceive and implement its agenda. The government that Britain wanted to establish for the Kurds was according to what they had in mind. The empire obliged the Kurdish leaders to pursue the ideology and the policy of the British. They established and toppled down the government based on their benefits. One day they were establishing it, but overnight they were diminishing and then destroying it. Rafiq Hilmi explained this British dual discourse as he writes:

"the British wanted the Kurdish issue to be a card in their hand so as to use it in view of their interests and to create obstacles whenever they liked to through the Arabs and the Iraqi government." (Hilmi, 2020: 275). That is, the British used the Iraqi army to impose its agenda on the Kurds whenever the empire felt that the Kurds resist the borrowed identity. That is to say, the colonizer even uses army and military forces to oblige the colonizer to change his/her identity.

The British attempted to have the Kurds under the control of the empire and direct them in accordance with the British identity and values. Rafiq Hilmi criticized the mandate system which was applied after granting independence to their colonies. He considered it another colonial trick to save the interests of imperialism. In this respect, he said: "The mandate system is a new method of imperialism in order to accord the new colonial style with the old one so as to stand for the right of the political self-determination of the oppressed nations. This means that the original object is worn with nice make-up to seem reasonable." (Hilmi, 2020: 242-243). The empire annexed the Kurds to Iraq which was itself connected to London. That is, the Iraqi government was supervised by the British identity and the Kurds who were supervised indirectly through Iraqi by the British as well. The Kurds were two times conquered and dominated and were imposed two borrowed identities: one was Iraqi and the other one was British. So, the British Empire left to the Kurds no option but to accept the hybridization of their identities.

Since the beginning of the colonization, the British wanted to hybridize the Kurds. In his memoirs, Sheikh Latif published a letter written by Major Noel, who was known for supporting the Kurds and a supporter of the Kurds independence, in which it is evident that since 1922 the British had indirectly tried to convince the Kurds to attain the Iraqi identity:

Senior General Governor of Kurdistan, Mr. Sheikh Mahmud.

When I arrived in Baghdad, I immediately contacted the High Commissioner who indicated that it is not possible at the present time to resolve the issue of Kurdistan's independence without the consent of King Faisal and the government of Iraq. For this purpose, I secretly

contacted King Faisal, and we reached an agreement to be announced soon.

The essence of this agreement is that the Kurds of Iraq have the right to independence within the borders of Iraq. I am sure that you will agree with me that this acknowledgement and publishing it in this way will be great news for the future of Kurdistan. In addition, regarding the demarcation of borders, His Majesty said, "If the Kurds aspire to a complete independence, then some areas are linked to the social and economic life of the Arabs. Therefore, those areas must remain within the borders of Iraq.

If the Kurds are willing and want to maintain their connection with the government of Iraq, they can request those areas that they wish to be within their borders. It is also clear to you that the discussions on this issue require the presence of an official delegation from the Kurds here in order to hold talks with Iraq. The fate of Kurdistan has reached this stage that I explained to you...Wish you success and happiness.

Noel

November 15, 1922 (Hafid, 1995: 100)

This letter reveals the hypocrisy and the duality of the British policy toward the Kurds. On one side, they told the Kurds that the British supported the independence of the Kurds. On the other side, they agreed with the Iraqi leaders who were chosen and directed by the British empire to oblige the Kurds to listen to the Iraqi leaders and reach agreements with them to ask for their rights and demands. The reason behind this dual policy was to reduce the independence of the Kurds and limit their freedom and, thus, bound their identity to the Iraqi identity. The British indirectly told the Kurds that they do not have an independent identity, i.e. the Kurdish identity was bound to British and Iraq identity.

Sheikh Mahmud realized that the British do not want the freedom of the Kurds; rather they want to hybridize the identity of the Kurds. In a letter, which Sheikh Latif had

published within his memoirs, Sheikh Mahmud informs the Kurdish leader Simko Shkak about the hypocrisy of the British:

Three months have passed since the promises made by the British government for resolving the Kurdish question. Yet, none of its provisions have been implemented so as to be able to communicate it to our people. This is why, I am ready to fight again for achieving the rights of my people and not allow the blood of my people to be wasted.....Should we be able to achieve our legitimate rights, then we Keep away from our enemies, and as decided by Britain, we carry out everything within the framework of the law..... If you like more details about this matter, you can visit Sulaymaniyah to meet me" (Hafid, 1995: 102).

This letter reveals that the British rejected the freedom and the rights of the Kurds. They wanted the Kurds to be in the state of the known, in betweenness, not knowing who they are, i.e. they were in an ambivalent state. They did not know whether they were Kurds, British, or Iraqis and this chaos was due to the hybridization policy of the British. Being in an ambivalent state is a psychological disorder which the Kurds suffered from. Since the Kurds did not become British nor Iraqi Arabs, simultaneously, they could not be pure Kurdish. The ambivalence “describes the complex mix of attraction and repulsion that characterizes the relationship between colonizers and colonized. The relationship is ambivalent because the colonized subject is never simply and completely opposed to the colonizer” (Ashcroft et al, 2013: 13). This complexity of identities and confusion was the purpose of the British process of hybridization.

In the Kurdish discourse, hybridization of the Kurds by the British is multidimensional and it was implemented through various strategies. The British tried to westernize the Kurds by introducing immoral customs and cultures of the British such as opening bars and brothels. They also tried to impose an Iraqi identity on the Kurds by annexing the Mosul *vilayet* to Iraq by persuading and deceiving the Kurds that it is in their economic and political advantage of the annex to Iraq. Annexing to Iraq was to double centralize the Kurds. The British double hybridized the Kurds as the Kurds were linked to Iraq and then to London as the Iraqi government was managed by the British administration.

Thus, the Kurds changed to a minority in Iraq. They even used the military and army to hybridize the identity of the Kurds socially, culturally and politically. In all of these stages, the pro-British Kurdish discourse echoed the British colonial discourse and propagated the British colonial agenda and the anti-colonial discourse that criticized this policy.

4.3.6. Subalternity

Subalternity, as earlier mentioned, is the subordination to the hegemonic power due the colonization or domination of one group by another. It emerges as the result of the power imbalance, i.e. one is powerful and the other is powerless. Spivak says: "Subaltern is not just a classy word for "oppressed," for the other, for somebody who's not getting a piece of the pie.... In post-colonial terms, everything that has limited or no access to cultural imperialism is subaltern-a space of difference" (De Kock, 1992: 45). That is, the subaltern is not only someone who is imprisoned or handcuffed and cannot speak. Someone who walks free in the streets but cannot speak his mind and opinion and is considered inferior, then this person is subaltern. The theme of Subaltern is one of themes that is explained in detail in the previous chapters one and three, however, it is important to know that in Iraq the postcolonial period is crucial for Kurds as subalterns since the nation and people have only recently been freed from the oppression of colonial domination. It is important for the Kurds to talk about subalterns to recreate the subalterns' colonial experience through written texts.

At the beginning of the British army's occupation of Baghdad in 1917 and then Kirkuk in 1918, Sheikh Mahmud wanted to keep Kurds away from the war and not to be involved in it hoping that he would achieve his goals by peaceful means. That is why, he began sending messages to the British authorities in Baghdad and Kirkuk. However, many of these messages did not reach them. The voice of the Kurds was lost and their opinion and demands were ignored and not taken into consideration. Ahmad Khwaje recorded some of those letters. In one of them, Sheikh Mahmud wrote: "we hope that your human feeling will make you give the Kurds their rights, and that freedom and emancipation will spread all over Kurdistan in order to get in the way of the Kurds to demand their rights through weapon and obtain them in this way" (Khwaje, 2016: 40-41). Sheikh Mahmud speaks with the tone that one can feel that he speaks to the more

powerful and he does not have access to the same power the British does; therefore, he had to speak through the margins of the more powerful. This imbalance of power turned Sheikh Mahmud into subalterns and the British into hegemonic power.

There was a kind of agreement between Britain and Sheikh Mahmud to allow the British forces reach the region peacefully on the condition that the Kurds shall be granted freedom within self-administrations and decision-making rights. However, this was only one of their occupation strategies used to impose their colonial hegemony and, thus, turn the Kurds into a Subaltern nation. Major Noel arrived in Sulaymaniyah in 1918, and in a speech to the people he introduced Sheikh Mahmud as the ruler of the region, and introduced himself as his advisor. This was only a part of the misleading British discourse. In this regard Ahmed Khwaje says: “major Noel stood on a chair and addressed the audience in Farsi, saying: I address you in the name of the British government, and the name of the Governor General of Iraq and would like to tell you that you are free now, and Sheikh Mahmud is the ruler of Kurdistan. I give you this good news upon the order of the Governor General in Baghdad” (Khwaje, 2016: 43-44). This speech by Noel demonstrates that the British saw the Kurds as subjects who are subordinates to their superior power. Therefore, they allowed themselves to judge the Kurds and give them rights to speak and ask within boundaries. He even addressed them in Farsi which was not their native language nor their second language. Major Noel did not care about the Kurds whether they understood or they could speak; rather his intention was to address his subjects and subordinates. He promises them a semi-autonomy supervised and controlled by the Empire as if he was doing a huge favor for them. The Kurds were just passive viewers and the role players and actors and scenarists were the British Empire. Thus, the Kurds become subalterns of the British Empire.

Even the establishment of the government for the Kurds was to deceive them and keep them silent. One of the oppressing sides of the British colonial policy that Rafiq Hilmi referred to in his writing was that the British played with the Kurds. On the one hand, the British were showing that they intended to establish a government for Kurds in Iraq as a temporary mechanism, and on the other hand, they were preventing it. Whenever they wanted, they removed Sheikh Mahmud, and then they brought him back at another

time to make him the ruler of Kurdistan. In this regard, Rafiq Hilmi wrote: "One of the goals of the British at that time was the establishment of Kurdistan, but they put obstacles in front of this matter more than anyone else as the great and important obstacles were placed by the British in the way of the Kurdish nationalists because their goal was to play with the Kurdish issue in the way they wanted" (Hilmi, 2020: 145). For this reason, they initially granted Sheikh Mahmud authority. Then, installed him as the ruler of Kurdistan. Later, they reduced his authority, and finally, forced the Kurds to accept annexation to Iraq. The British followed this policy according to Hilmi because "one of the measures that the British thought beneficial to them in the future was to link the issue of the Kurds with the election of Faisal I as King of Iraq" (Hilmi, 2020: 268). The British colonial power through allowing a deceptive and fake referendum in 1921 to vote King Faisal I and the Mosul Vilayat was to persuade the Kurds to accept being linked to Iraq. Erbil and Mosul voted on the condition that they will be given autonomy but Slemani and Kirkuk refused voting and taking part in the referendum (Rozhbayni, 2006). They even convinced a group of clerics and merchants in Erbil to pledge allegiance to King Faisal. This was evidence that their promises to grant independence to the Kurds were nothing but a lie in order to exploit Sheikh Mahmud in order to achieve their goals, but they were completely disappointed in that matter because Sheikh was eager for freedom and independence of Kurdistan and could not be deceived by their words. Therefore, the British were forced to resort to gain agents by lavishing money on them" (Hafid, 1995: 111). This type of treatment is how the hegemonic powers deal with their subalterns. As Spivak maintains that "subalternity describes a position that is excluded from the hegemonic domain" (Das, 1989: 324). The Kurds had no saying or participation in making decisions about their future and fate. The British represented them, spoke for them, and acted on their behalf. Even when they had a saying, it was censored and controlled, i.e. the Kurds had to speak through the filters which the British set according to its benefits. That is why, even when the Kurds spoke, they were considered and listened to by the British as subordinates and subjects. Likewise, Kurds during the rule of the British were in a bad state subalternity.

Khwaje says that during the period of the British occupation of Iraq, Britain used all possible means to silence the voice of the Kurds in order to prevent the real voice of the Kurds be delivered to the League of Nations. He refers to this fact as he says: "thus,

they cut off the road for the delegations of the Kurds to reach Paris to obtain their rights, and to unfold Britain's lies" (2016: 333). The British decided when the Kurds speak and to whom they can speak and to whom they cannot speak. On this point, Louis Yako maintains: "the problem has always been with the shortsightedness and racism of the colonizers and the imperial spaces where certain knowledge gets produced and promoted while other knowledge gets silenced, mutilated, and buried under the rubble of indifference and arrogance" (Yako, 2021: 8). The colonizer decided not to hear the Kurds nor to let them be heard by anyone. They kept the real knowledge about the Kurds and mis-represented them and constructed knowledge about them based on their benefits.

Ahmed Taaqi recounts one of his conversations with Sheikh Mahmud in which he talks about silencing the voice of the Kurds by the British occupiers and depriving them of the right to express their opinion in order to marginalize them and prevent the voice of the Kurds from being conveyed to the international community. Concerning this fact, Ahmed says:

Sheikh Mahmud said that he intends to send a delegation to Tehran to file a complaint at the embassies of the foreign countries about what Britain is doing against the Kurds. I told him that my opinion is that since Tehran, Istanbul, and even most of the world's capitals are under the control of England, no country will listen to the complaint of the Kurds against Britain. Therefore, it is better for us to try to unify the word of all the Kurdish tribes and then with the power of reason and weapons, we prove to everyone that the brutality of the British will no longer work (Taaqi, 1970: 27).

According to what Ahmed asserts, Spivak's question, "Can Subaltern Speak?" can be answered in the context of the Kurds that the Subaltern cannot speak. As not only British but also the allies of the British did not let the Kurds speak and represent themselves, the Kurds were silenced and kept inside colonial margins.

The British colonial power did not only silence Kurds as individuals but as the whole nation. In a letter which the Kurds wrote in support of Sheikh Mahmud's revolution against Britain, they assert this fact:

A Letter to the League of Nations,
June 3, 1925

Aiming at occupying and destroying Kurdistan, the British air and ground forces barbarically bombed the city of Sulaymaniyah and its outskirts without any justification. As a result, a large number of innocent people were killed and their properties were plundered. In addition, many people had been imprisoned and were subject to torture and ill-treatment. Concerning the memos that presented to you against our revolution in the name of the Kurds, they were all fabricated by Britain, and by persons who are linked up with the British authorities. These persons are even provided with facilities to meet representatives of some governments, while the real representatives of our people are not allowed to meet you. If things go like this, all the Kurdish people will be in danger. There is no doubt that the duty of your association is to protect the oppressed people of the world.

In order to get our opinion on this issue, we ask you to free us from the injustice of Britain and order them to leave our country so that we can live with our neighbors as brothers. We also confirm that, in that case, there will not be any problem between us and other ethnic groups as we respect the rights of all everyone (Hafid, 1995: 139).

However, this letter never reached its destination due to the British obstacles set in the way of the Kurds. This letter remained just words on the paper and the Kurdish voice was never heard. This policy was to produce subalterns on the national level not just on the level of individuals.

Overall, Spivak argued that even if the Subaltern speaks, the colonizer does not listen, and speech. For Spivak, it is complete when the speaker is being heard. During British rule, the Kurds could not speak, even when they did, they were not heard. So, the texts the Kurds wrote were the voice of the voiceless and the unheard. The subalternity of the Kurds reflected in the Kurdish discourse texts in two ways. First type, the British silenced the Kurds on the international level as the British represented the Kurds in the international treaties without letting the Kurds have any say in them, which, in fact,

were about the Kurds and their fate. Also, the British silenced the Kurds internally by annexing them to Iraq and refusing to listen to them and turning the Kurds into a marginalized minority in Iraq. This silencing and marginalizing of the Kurds by the British was to protect their hegemonic power and continue the binary opposition relationship between the Kurds as inferior, subjects, and subordinate, and the British as superior, master, and supervisor.

4.3.7. Duality and Hypocrisy

In the philosophy of mind, dualism is the theory that the mental and the physical – or mind and body or mind and brain – are, in some sense, radically different kinds of things (Robinson, 2020). In politics, dualism refers to having double standards, that is, encouraging and discouraging a cause or an action simultaneously. Hypocrisy is pretending to have a virtue, a principle, beliefs which in reality is just pretending, i.e., that person or party does not have these claims that they say they have. Dualism and hypocrisy are related semantically and in terms of implications since it is dualism policy which leads a party to be hypocritical (Kittay, 1982). Hypocrites use hypocritical claims to justify their binary dualism. According to postcolonial theorists, the colonizer follows a dual policy to persuade the colonized and regress and dominate them at the same time. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Said claims that the colonizer came under different names one of which was civilizing the orient but in the reality, they came to “Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient” (Said, 1979: 9). In the context of the British colonization of the Kurds, the British followed a dual and hypocritical policy and thus deceived the Kurds and damaged them in many ways. This hypocritical policy was at the core of British nature and was reflected in postcolonial Kurdish texts in various ways.

Ahmed Khwaje reveals Britain's dual policy in its political dealings with Iraq as well as its attempts to create enmity between the Kurds and Arabs. He writes:

When their attempts with Iraq to reach an agreement failed, they were trying to obstruct the Kurds and Sheikh Mahmud's reforms especially through the newspapers of Baghdad. In Issues 738 and 743 of November 1922, ‘Iraq’ newspaper wrote about forming the government and the Kurdistan cabinet with great importance. The newspaper wrote that a group of administrations had been formed in Sulaymaniyah although it is

one of the Iraqi provinces. It was clear that all of these problems were made by Britain not by the Iraqi government. As evidence to support this, Britain never allowed publications and newspapers to reach Sulaymaniyah, but thousands of copies of the newspapers that wrote against the Kurdish aspirations were entering Sulaymaniyah. Their main aim was to undermine the brotherly relations between the Kurds and Arabs. Although the Kurdish newspaper *Rozhi Kurdistan* was responding to these allegations, the arrival of that newspaper to Baghdad was not guaranteed (Khwaje, 2016: 143).

The British threatened the Iraqi leaders through the securitization of the Kurdish question and started the conflict between them. The empire told the Iraqi leaders that the Kurds are a threat to their government. Simultaneously, they threaten the Kurds that Iraq is a threat to them. Major Soane had a critical role in starting the conflict between the Arabs and the Kurds. He used a dual work mechanism. On the one hand, he was disseminating propaganda and false rhetoric for Britain; on the other hand, he was publishing Kurdish-language publications in Sulaymaniyah to show Britain's appealing and acceptable look to Kurdish public opinion. Simultaneously, in Arabic, he was instigating the Arabs through Iraqi journals such as *Al-Iraq* (Iraq) and *Al-Alam al-Arabe* (Arab World) to print an anti-Kurd discourse, ruin their past, and even make the Kurds a target of mockery (Hawar, 2008). The empire did not let the Kurds and Iraq communicate with each other and reach peaceful terms. Since, as previously mentioned, it was not in the benefits of the empire if the Arabs and the Kurds lived together in peace. The British enlarged the conflicts between the Arabs and Kurds and used these conflicts in their benefits through representing the Kurds and talking to Arabs and vice versa.

Ahmed Khwaje mentioned that when Britain controlled all of the authorities in Iraq including the Iraqi army which was directly led by the British army, no one could resist their wills or thoughts at the time, and their mercenaries in order to tear off the friendly boundaries of the two main components of the Iraqi people (The Kurds and Arabs) and accomplish their political goals through provoking some civil hostilities.

Britain had all the authorities in Iraq even the Iraqi army was under the direct leadership of the British army. At that time, no one could oppose

their wills and their ideas. They mingled the Iraqi Army with Levy, police, and their mercenaries in order to cut off the friendly bounds of the two main components of the Iraqi people, and to achieve their political ambitions through a civil war (Khwaje, 2016: 279-281).

This British dual policy was when the British wanted the Kurdish issue to be a card in their hand to use in their interests and to create obstacles whenever they wanted through the Arabs and the Iraqi government. The British had indirectly tried to convince the Kurds to attain Iraqi identity, and this was an evidence of retreating from their promises. The core of this dualistic and hypocritical tactic was abundantly visible in the texts chosen. On the one side, they favor Sheikh Mahmud while, on the other side, they support the Baghdad government's rule of Kurdistan.

Khwaje describes Sheikh Mahmud's attitude toward the attempts of the British occupiers to incite the Kurds against the Arabs and to create enmity between them. He says:

We have never been against the Arabs! I wanted to answer this letter, but the King didn't agree, and said that they are untrustworthy people and do not have any sense of humanity. So, this would make it as evidence. We have never been against the Arabs. We only want to achieve our rights. We have never received any bad treatment from them and they are beyond reproach (Khwaje, 2016: 331).

Ahmed Khwaje believes that one of the reasons for Britain's success in controlling the region was that the peoples of the East including the Kurds were not aware of the deceptive colonial discourse and their policies. That is why, they built their hopes on their false promises. "In this era, not only the Kurds do not know anything about the colonial policy, but there are many other peoples who are far from those facts. But we, as Kurds, have easily fallen into a trap when we were expecting Great Britain's friendship and cooperation in activating the Treaty of Sèvres so that we can gain the joy of freedom and enjoy it with the British help (Khwaje, 2016: 331). The British Empire, through deceptive propaganda and hypocritical policy, could divide not only the Kurds and Arabs but most nations in the middle. The success of the British in conquering all those different nations was their dual and hypocritical claims. Also, the lack of

awareness of the nations toward the colonial power as they trusted the colonial power and saw it as an honest and responsible power in achieving their dreams. However, the true side of the British wanted to conquer them and dominate them in a way that all became submissive and subalterns of the colonizer.

To conquer and divide the Kurds, the British followed a dual and hypocritical policy. Ahmed Khwaje in his narrative mentions these hypocritical attempts of the British as he says:

1. In order to thwart the unified Kurdish project, the British authorities in Iraq appointed Ahmed Effendi, who was one of the clerks of the municipality, as the president of Erbil Municipality and then they appointed him as the mayor of Erbil. After all, they invited him to demand the independence of Erbil in order to keep it away from Sheikh Mahmud and Sulaymaniyah.
2. In Kirkuk, Majeed Ya'aqubi was the Municipality president. They also appointed him as the mayor of Kirkuk in order to keep Kirkuk away from Sulaymaniyah. Then they found Major Miller who knew Turkish and sent him to Kirkuk. Later, he and the mayor incited the people of Kirkuk to claim for independence in order to separate it from Sulaymaniyah.
3. But in Sulaymaniyah, they were calling Sheikh Mahmud as the king of Kurdistan (Khwaje, 2016: 157).

On the one hand, the British introduced Sheikh Mahmud as the King of Iraqi Kurdistan and promised him to make him the king of all the Iraqi Kurds: "when the British forces were unable to remove the Turkish forces on their own, as a result, they desired to take advantage of Sheikh Mahmud. They decided to recall Sheikh Mahmud in order to request the Turks to leave the territories, and they assured him that they would give him leadership over Kirkuk, Erbil, Akrei, and other Kurdish districts inside Mosul's *vilayet*" (Salih, 2006). On the other hand, they motivated the other Kurds in particular the leaders in other cities and areas to separate from Slemani. This was not to grant independence to these areas; it was to weaken Sheikh Mahmud by preventing him from getting supporters. The British, by following this hypocritical policy, wanted to divide the Kurds and, thus, conquer and dominate them in an easier way.

After Sheikh Mahmud had reached into an agreement with the British military and politician figures headed by Wilson, the British came to the city of Sulaymaniyah pretending that they organized the affairs of the Kurdistan government. But the British politicians were carrying out their secret insidious plans and interfering in all the affairs of the state. This created obstacles in the way of managing the affairs of the state in the districts of Erbil, Kirkuk and Mosul in addition to the Kurdish areas of Kifri and Khanaqin. Wilson, the general ruler of Iraq, also began to deceive the Iranian Kurds who were supporting Sheikh Mahmud by claiming that they would unite them with southern Kurdistan. After another period, they informed them that it would be in their interest to remain within the borders of the Iranian state. Later, they alleged that the people of Kirkuk, Erbil, and Kifri do not support Sheikh Mahmud and they do not implement his instructions.... However, the written sources contradict such claims and reveal their lies because the Kurds throughout Kurdistan were all supporting Sheikh Mahmud's government (Hafid, 1995: 13).

Although Sheikh Mahmud attempted to persuade the British to support the Kurds in achieving their goals with the hope of being granted full rights even under British patronage (Lawrence, 2009), the British did not care about their assistance and attacked the Iraqi Kurds. From 1923 until mid-1924, the British used aircraft bombardment to punish Sheikh Mahmud for his perceived arrogance, thereby putting an end to the Kurds' first attempt at full sovereignty (Cox, 1985). In the aftermath of the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, the Treaty of Lausanne signed in 1923 severely defeated Kurdish hopes of self-determination, as mentioned in Chapter 2. The Treaty of Sèvres provided that the Kurds would get the oil-rich Mosul *vilayet* (O'Leary, 2002). However, at Lausanne, the British and French altered their views and created a radically different map giving rise to the present state of Iraq. They believed that Sheikh Mahmud despised the British, but this is not correct. They offered him a state, but even then, they changed their views and linked the Mosul *vilayet* to Iraq, as mentioned above. However, owing to the significance of Mosul to Iraq and of Iraq to the British colonizer, all pledges to the Kurds were ignored and the British used a twofold strategy in Iraq as well as hypocrisy against the Kurds notably Sheikh Mahmud.

Another strategy of the hypocritical policy of the British was to divide the unity of the Kurdish voice in the Kurdish texts. The hypocritical policy of the British reflected in some of Kurdish texts. The essence of this dualism strategy was clearly evident in the articles that were published in the newspaper *Zhiyanawa* as a pro-British newspaper. On the one hand, it was describing and accusing the Kurdish movements in Iraq especially the movement of Sheikh Mahmud of ignorance and the acts of bandits while it supported the movements of the Kurds of Turkey especially the movements of 1925 such as those of Sheikh Saeed Piran and Sayed Abdul-Qadir Nahri and praised them as revolutions against injustice and tyranny (Ali, 2010: 123) The aim of this strategy was to create a division among the Kurds, to impose their hegemony in the region, settle the problem of the Mosul *vilayet* in their favor, and to incite the Kurds against the Turks.

The *Zhiyanawa* newspaper published a lot of news that reflected the British goals. Here are some examples:

- The Turks are sad due to the strength of the Kurdish people. Their army is unable to cross the northern borders.... Political and military specialists doubt that the Turkish forces will be able to defeat the Kurdish force (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 20, 1925: 4).
- The Turkish government is closely monitoring the Kurds of Diyarbakir and Mardin regions because they want to separate from Turkey and join the Iraqi Kurds in order to live in comfort and freedom (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 8, 1925: 4).

In the same context in an article entitled “*Another Cry for the Martyrs of Kurdistan*” which was written by a writer who was a Kurdish officer in the Iraqi army named Rawandzi Mulla Hassan, he mourned over the uprisings of Sheikh Saeed and Abdul-Qadir Nahri while it was impossible to write and publish a topic of this kind regarding the movements of Sheikh Mahmud in that newspaper. In a section of this article, Rawanduzi said:

"Oh! Heroes of the North, I give you my life for your insistence and courage. Use all your strength and weapons with your rifles and sharp daggers ... Take revenge on your comrades lest their blood should be wasted. Long live, heroes! You all should know that the Turks are the

enemies of the Kurds and their aim is to destroy the Kurds (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 35, 1925: 2).

That is to say, the Kurds of Iraq and the Kurd of Turkey were both from the same ethnicity. Allowing supporting the Kurds' demonstrations and resistance in Turkey and preventing the Kurds of Iraq from having any activity to support the Iraqi Kurdish leaders proves the dual and hypocritical policy of the British administration. Since it was in the Empire's benefit to find the Kurds in Turkey strong and having political activities whereas it was against the benefits and agenda of the British for the Iraqi Kurds to be strong and have activities. That is, the British changed the policy based on its own benefits regardless of those of the colonized.

Hafid describes the hypocritical policy of the British and tells how the Kurds since the beginning of the British colonization until the postcolonial time tried to demonstrate the dual policy of the British. He presents some letters of Sheikh Mahmud as the anti-colonial Kurdish leader. Hafid narrates:

In 1918, when Sheikh Mahmud found out that the British army had arrived in the Tuz area, he returned to Sulaymaniyah.... Upon his arrival in Sulaymaniyah, he received the news that the British forces had entered the towns of Kifri and Khanaqin through the way of Qasr Shirin. At the same time, the Russian cavalry forces had also reached the outskirts of Khanaqin. For this, Sheikh Mahmud contacted the British headquarters and sent one of his trusted aides to the English general with a letter to be delivered to Wilson, who was the military general governor of Iraq. In that letter Sheikh Mahmud stated: 'The aim of the great powers in the War, as declared in the statement of the US President and the British Minister Churchill, is to recognize the rights and independence of the oppressed peoples of the world. We, from the standpoint of our belief in the content of this statement as well as the promises of the great powers, hope that you will view our case with sympathy (Hafid, 1995: 31).

As stated in the statements by US President Woodrow Wilson and British Minister Churchill, the goal of the major nations in the war is to acknowledge the rights and

independence of the oppressed peoples of the globe. Both the American and British empires agreed to give the rights of the oppressed and minorities. However, soon the British acted opposite to this agreement and did not give the Kurds their rights. By promising the Kurds of giving them their rights and later breaking their promise, The British colonial power proved that his policy of treating others was hypocritical.

Sheikh Latif Hafid asks a question ‘Why Britain Changed Its Policy in Kurdistan? And he answered the question as follows:

1. The emergence of the Turkish army in Kurdistan.
2. Igniting the rebellion of the Pishdarian tribes in Rania headed by Abbas Maehmood Agha.
3. Killing a number of English rulers as well as political and military leaders in different areas of Kurdistan.
4. No decision was issued by the League of Nations regarding the future of the Mosul *vilayet*.

These reasons made Britain change its policy in Kurdistan, and the English political rulers started a new policy by contacting the Kurdish intellectuals and promising them to give Kurdistan independence in order to frighten the Turks so that they would not dare to think of resistance. They also decided to release Sheikh Mahmud from prison and change his sentence to house arrest and deportation to Kuwait instead of imprisonment in India” (Hafid, 1995: 81). The promises the British made were illusionary and not truthful. They just wanted to resilience the Kurds and pacify their resistance through untruthful promises and propaganda. In reality, they carried none of the promises after they reslienced the Kurds. They were to show that the British are friendly with the Kurds until the British archives what they want. After achieving what they wanted, they punished the Kurds in various ways. This treatment shows that the British never saw the Kurds as allies, or equal to the British, but as slaves and subjects whom the British can play with the way they want.

Finally, colonization is by nature a dual process since it claims to favor a cause while in reality it has other intentions. They used various deceptive and hypocritical techniques to legitimize, justify, and secure their hegemony. The British claimed that they came to

help the Iraqi Kurds and civilize them while in fact they brought chaos and disorder to the area. This hypocrite policy which is reflected in various ways as mentioned above causes plenty of harm on the colonized. Almost all the themes of the colonized explained in this study, directly or indirectly, are related and consequence of this dual colonial policy such as mimicry, hybridity, and subalternity. This negative impact of the imposed dual policy of the colonizer was on the colonized and it became part of their identity and attitude. That is why, sometimes the colonized follows a dual policy as it was shown that some of the mimic Kurdish newspapers implemented this policy. This deceptive and dual policy reflected on the colonized side and negatively impacted it.

4.3.8. Cultural Resistance and Strategic Essentialism

According to postcolonial theorists such as Edward Said, since colonization started, resistance also emerged, and it advanced during the nineteenth and twentieth century as colonization advanced during this period (Said, 1994). Resistance is the oppositional force to counter the dominant power by the colonized. The colonized resisted the colonizer's oppressions in various ways such as cultural, economic and discourse resistances which have been effective tools to unify the colonized against the colonizer. Culture, for example, is related to the identity of peoples and groups and in fact it forms their identity. Culture affects everything people do in their society such as their ideas, values, attitudes, and normative or expected patterns of behavior. Culture "is not genetically inherited, and cannot exist on its own, but is always shared by members of a society" (Hall, 1976: 16). Hofstede (1980: 21-23) defines culture as "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group from another" which is passed from generation to generation. The content of culture is native language, norms, clothes and all the other ethical values. Culture is one of the effective tools of the struggle for liberation. Since the colonizer targeted exterminating the colonized culture to weaken them, therefore the colonized should use culture as a "strategic essentialism" a term coined by Spivak which refers to as a strategic agreement and uniting of a group of the colonized based on a shared essence and downplay their difference to resist the colonizer (Ashcroft et al, 2013). Since the beginning of the British colonization the Kurds grew a resistance attitude toward the British and employed various ways to reject the imposed hegemony of the British and

being inferior to the British. Although the Kurds did not systematically resist the colonizer culturally due to the low knowledge of the Kurds about how culture resistance carried about, they under the effectiveness of Kurdishness tried to preserve their identity.

Some of the Kurds intellectuals called for the unity of the Kurds against the British Empire and they motivated downplaying the difference among the Kurds and focusing on the shared values. In an article on disagreement of the Kurds, Ali Kamal Bapir wrote:

Today, disagreement governs the relations between people... Today, everyone, even the ignorant, knows that it is better for people to rule themselves than to be governed by others. But because some people hate the person that struggles for freedom and wants to live freely, then their hatred for this person makes them prefer to be ruled and oppressed by others... We do not ask you to be hostile to Islam, but we say that, first of all, we should have an entity of our own in this time that there is a good opportunity for our people which other peoples have not been able to despite sacrificing hundreds of thousands of their citizens. But, because of disagreement and hatred, we have neglected our affairs and we will lose everything (*Bangi Kurdistan*, Issue 8, 1922: 1).

Bapir here calls for the Kurds to forget about the differences and the internal conflicts and reject the idea of having the Kurds being governed by the British. He criticizes the Kurds for focusing so much on internal conflicts and letting the foreigner govern them. This call of Bapir is an anti-colonial and resisting message for the British colonial power.

In another article of the same writer, Bapir thoroughly characterized the wounds caused by this hesitant anti-imperialist discourse where every group worked at its whim and in its own way. In this article, which was written under the title "*Arguing the Ideas: Diverse Ideas and Diverse Sensations*," the author tries to present the different ideas of the Kurds to the same table through creating imaginary character:

A: He visited my uncle's house...

B: Hurry up and tell me what's going on, my patience has run out!

A: I do not know what to say; it is said that they appoint the four members of the city council to hand us over to the Arabs. If this turns out to be true, it will be a disgusting thing.

B: But why do you consider this disgusting?

A: What is worse than this? The Arabs themselves need help and advice from others. Is it reasonable to borrow from the debtor? Is it permissible to beg from a beggar?

B: I think that handing us over to the Arabs is a good thing because all our commercial dealings, as you know, are with them. We sell our tobacco to them, and we also buy sugar, tea, and clothes from them.

C: Salam!

B: What is wrong with you?

D: I don't know, I started building a house and some shops so that I could complete them quickly and rest. But because of the municipality, materials such as bricks, gypsum and lime are scarce, and it is difficult to obtain them.

B: Oh! One wishes to live with the Arabs. Another demands his civil rights, and that one spreads propaganda to the Turks, but you are busy with your own business...

D: (*After a long conversation, he said*): Oh! Brother, you understand nothing, you speak as you wish. We are Muslims and the Turks have an Islamic state, and whoever does not like it, is an infidel. We must always love the Turks for they have been our best benefactors since ancient times.

B: And what about the Arabs? Aren't they also Muslims? Are the Turks alone Muslims? When God says (Muslims are brothers), does he mean the Turks only? No, by God, He means the Arabs as well (*Bangi Kurdistan*, Issue 5, 1992: 4).

Bapir, through creating this space for the opposing ideas and beliefs of the Kurds, wants to show how much destruction of the internal conflicts caused the unity of the Kurds. As it can be seen that each of the Kurdish characters holds a different view of the

foreigners. He also tries to create a strategic essence of the Kurds to oppose all the foreigners, the Arabs, the Turks, and the British. Bapir wants the Kurds to refuse colonization, and the Kurds run themselves and rely on themselves.

The Kurds used a soft power to resist the colonial power at the beginning rather than military and hard power. The formulation of the anti-colonial discourse in *Rozhi Kurdistan* newspaper was not based on a direct combat specifically against Britain as an occupying country, but rather a discourse emphasizing the rights and demands of the Kurds in order to end their subjugation to others, i.e., to achieve the goals of Sheikh Mahmud's movement. One of these discourses that covered large spaces of the newspaper was the nationalist discourse in the context of nationalist articles as an attempt to stand against the colonial discourse. In one of the articles entitled "*Kurdistan Belongs to the Kurds*" the poet Zewar said:

It is an accepted and logical rule that every person is able to learn, and whoever learns will develop. So, aren't the Kurds humans? Then, why should they be deprived of their homeland? On the contrary, we have all the essentials. We never accept that these beautiful meadows of flowers be occupied by others while instead we are given alms from our wealth? We are not like other nations, we have our own qualities. There are some minorities that live among us such as the Jews and Chaldeans who are proud of being Kurds and it's also their wish that an independent national Kurdish government will be established... So, no one has the right to deprive us of our legitimate rights. Kurdistan is the homeland of the Kurds and it is forbidden to its enemies (*Rozhi Kurdistan*, Issue 5, 1339: 1).

Similar to Zewar, Sheikh Noori Sheikh Salih in one of his poems wrote:

Today is the time for effort, unemployment is over,
And here is the spring of the nation's hope that has come back to life.
.....
It is the age of integration and the age of brotherhood,
The era of protecting the rights of peoples
But if a nation does not take advantage of this opportunity,

It will be cursed on the pages of history

And will be subject to humiliation (*Rozhi Kurdistan*, Issue 5, 1339).

Zewar and Sheikh Salih call for the unity of the Kurds and the rights of the Kurds. They, in a soft and friendly way, ask the Kurds to unite and ask the colonizer to give them their rights as a nation who is no different from the world who has been given freedom and independence. These requests by the Kurds show that the Kurds, at the time, had awareness of their subjugation and oppression by the colonizers, and they wanted freedom and liberty and rejected the hegemony of the British.

The Kurdish discourse refused the exploitation of the British and held the British responsible for the disintegration of the Kurdish unity and voice. In an article entitled “*Today’s Politics*” in *Rozhi Kurdistan*, it was written: “we have a long and repeated historical experience, and with pride, we are proud of having learned real lessons from it so that we should not be deceived by delusions (*Rozhi Kurdistan*, Issue 5, 1338: 3) and it will not be possible to separate our unity (referring to Britain). In the same newspaper and in another article entitled “*Adversity teaches lessons*,” the writer said: “since the beginning of the global war until now, the Kurdish nation has faced great problems and calamities. Of course, the cause was not the Kurds themselves. On the contrary, we even shared the problems and calamities of the others, and we did not benefit from anything except exploitation by others. Hereby, the only thing that the Kurds seek now is freedom because we can no longer bear the humiliation and injustice of others.” (*Rozhi Kurdistan*, Issue 14, 1339: 1). Here the resisting voice of the Kurds speaks up and complains why the Kurds do not harm anyone but other foreigner forces manipulate the friendliness of the Kurds referring to the British Empire. This is a sign that the Kurds through their discourse resisted colonial power and hegemony. The strategic essence of the Kurds which can be found in the different articles of *Rozhi Kurdistan* is the oppression and subjugation of the Kurds by the British. They wanted to form a movement against this subjugation and reject it.

However, the newspaper had a moderate policy in its discourse regarding the Turkish-British relations as it tried to maintain the balance of power. The Kurds wanted to stay neutral to have the various powers support the Kurds especially from Britain who were

pretending to be in a continuous dialogue regarding the independence of Kurdistan. The Kurds did not despair of the English promises (Misri, 2006: 47). In an article entitled "*The Lesson*," Arif Saeb wrote: "It is known that we did not see from any of these two sides other than deceiving and stalling. We had done our best for everyone, but in return no one did anything for us." (*Rozhi Kurdistan*, Issue 15, 1339: 1). Saeb tries not to choose one power over the other and keeps the neutrality of the Kurds toward the two forces. In another topic about the delusions and deceptions of colonialism, He expresses the voice of Kurdish anti-colonial discourse: "I do not think that in the twentieth century of civilization, one should transgress the share of others. We, as a nation, believe in our rights equally as the rights of others and we want freedom. However, we fortunately have overcome all these inhumane methods and learned from the intentions and deeds of the evil forces, but we do not yield to anyone and do not waive our legitimate rights in any way." (*Rozhi Kurdistan*, Issue 1, 1922: 2). Similarly, other Kurdish newspapers such as *Umedi Istiqlal* accused both governments for oppressing the Kurds as it writes: "from the beginning of the World War until now, more than ten thousand Kurds have sacrificed their lives for attaining independence; to say nothing about those whose houses were destructed and whose properties were looted. Now, without asking the concerned people, these two governments (referring to Turkey and Britain) are engaged in planning to swallow up these people. But at last justice will prevail" (Issue 1, 1339: 2). This can be considered another type of resistance by building a peaceful relationship toward all the powerful forces and trying to make all of them allies and, thus, supporting the Kurdish question.

Within some other texts, the messages of the Kurdish discourse were directly anti-colonialism through the texts and behind the intentions of words and lines. In an article entitled "*Kurds also have the right to life*," Zewar wrote:

During the World War, the coalition was claiming and shouting that this Great War had been broken out in order to save small nations... However, the Kurdish people remained alone among all the nations, and no one turned to us with merciful eyes. On the contrary, one in the name of Islam, and another in the name of trade and economy (referring to the British colonialism) want to put this oppressed people under the yoke of captivity...Is the one who need the

Kurds in order to work for Islam will accept to work under this name and work according to its laws. Well, does this one accept to follow the Kurds? No, never. Will he be satisfied that half of his government cabinet will be from the Kurds? No, never. As for the one who wants Kurdistan for the sake of commercial and economic linkage, does he accept to be linked to Kurdistan for the same reason? No, and of course, never. Therefore, the purpose is only to let the Kurds remain captives (*Umedi Istiqlal*, Issue 13, 1339: 4).

Zewar here communicates with the colonial powers and asks them what they have done to the Kurds, will they accept the same of what they have done to the Kurds, if the Kurds do to them. This is a rhetorical question because the writer knows the answer already which is not, they do not accept it. That is why Zewar calls to use this oppressive domination and form it as a strategic essentialism to fight the colonizer. In one of his poems Zewar said: "Your enemy is ashamed, whether he is a Muslim or an infidel, / They may compliment you face to face, / But Europeans do not care about your rights, / So let the Court of The Hague burn up!" (*Umedi Istiqlal*, Issue 18, 1340: 4). This poem is important to comprehend how the 'Kurds' were sufferers of western colonialism by the British at the time. According to the poet, each colonial power should be ashamed of their treatment of the Kurds. The poem then mentions the other nations that rule the Kurds regardless of their background. Furthermore, the writer believes that the Court of The Hague is useless since there is no one to judge those who victimize Kurds.

Nearly all the anti-colonial Kurdish newspapers promote building a Kurdish knowledge for the sake of the Kurds and free of colonial messages. These are known as anti-colonial discourse or counter-discourse. This segment is on Kurdish strategic essentialism attempts for decolonization, and the cultural resistance. For example, a general feature of the *Rozhi Kurdistan* newspaper as an anti-colonial newspaper represented the interest in Kurdish education and publications. The newspaper motivates buying printing machines and printing Kurdish knowledge to construct the knowledge in a way that counters the colonial discourse. In an article of this newspaper entitled "*The Printing Machine*," the writer said: "We must say that if a people does not have its own publications, it does not deserve to be called a people" (*Rozhi Kurdistan*,

Issue 8, 1339: 3). Likewise, under the title “The Printing Machine,” the poet Zewar wrote: “new ideas give new life to the Kingdom because the spirit of youth is knowledge and knowledge spreads through publications” (*Rozhi Kurdistan*, Issue 12, 1339: 3). Qader Saeed Zaki wrote an article entitled “*What are our Needs?*” “The first thing we need is knowledge because it is known to everyone that knowledge is our weapon for our present life and for building the future.” (*Rozhi Kurdistan*, Issue 13, 1339: 2) For the purpose of spreading the culture of donation, the newspaper published in many of its issues lists of the names of people who donated to buy a printing machine namely in Issues 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13. That is to say, another strategic essence which the Kurds used to unify and stand against the colonial power was constructing Kurdish knowledge as a counter to the colonial discourse on the Kurds.

At that time, the leadership of the Kurds even tried to employ military and armed resistance as a way to refuse the imposing hegemony on the Kurds. During the authority of Sheikh Mahmud's first government, the British removed Major Noel from his position as an advisor, and appointed Major Soane in his place. Soane and Greenhouse used a severe method and applied the policy of separating the Kurds pursuant to their ‘divide and rule’ policy. So, Sheikh Mahmud informed the British authorities about this matter through a letter. Ahmed Khwaje mentions this matter in this way:

Sheikh Mahmud was confused why Soane was acting against the approach of his government which was intending to liberate the Kurds. The behavior of Soane and Greenhouse had become extremely obscene. So, in February 1919, Sheikh Mahmud warned them and wrote to Wilson and Soane that the Kurds are seeking freedom, and in the event that their request is not met in the shortest time, I cannot stand in front of them. That is why, I, in the behalf of all the Kurds, ask you to replace new rational politicians who understand the situation for your current existing men. Through his letter Sheikh Mahmud notified Soane that he had to change his behavior. However, these actions were all at the behest of Wilson. That was why, the critics had to reconsider their opinions and they had to understand that Britain had never thought to grant independence to the Kurds but all their claims were for the purpose of

deception and misleading Sheikh Mahmud so that the gate of Kurdistan would be wide open for them (Khwaje, 2016: 56).

When Sheikh Mahmud realized that the British did not consider the soft resistance of the Kurds, he started combating the British in a number of battles and many killed on both sides. This was an armed resistance of the Kurds toward the imposing hegemony of the Kurds. This is why, Fanon advocated that if a nation is not free, then their culture, identity and existence are under the danger of extinction. The Kurdish leadership could not stand the oppression and subjugation of the British anymore. Hence, they started responding to the British using military force.

After a series of confrontations and fighting between the anti-colonial Kurdish forces and the forces of Britain, the British sent a doctor to meet Sheikh Mahmud. Here is a dialogue between Sheikh Mahmud and the doctor:

Captain Shock asked Sheikh Mahmud:

- How do you fight Britain, Sheikh Mahmud?

Sheikh replied:

- With our largest weapon, which is more powerful than the British planes and cannons, which is the weapon of our people's faith.

Captain Shock:

- This fight will be futile, and the result will be your death.

Sheikh answered:

- We do not fear death, for death is one time, but the life of slavery, in our view and in the view of history, is death at any minute ... We prove the bravery of the Kurds to the world and we show that you are more humiliating than thieves because a thief may steal something simple because of poverty and hunger, but you are devouring entire peoples and countries of the world. You should also know that a people, however small they may be, cannot be eradicated and in the end, truth always triumphs over falsehood.

Captain Shock:

- You do not have weapons, and considering the greatness of Britain, no one can help you.

Sheikh Mahmud:

- We have gone through many frightening deception experiences. That is why, we do not seek help from anyone. We have truly extended our hands toward you and delivered you our country as a friend, but you have become wolves and try to eat us ... you even do not stop at this point, but rather you want to divide Kurdistan into several parts ... We have resorted to arms because we have chosen the path of honor to sacrifice everything for our homeland. As for you, you always choose resorting to oppression, and it is a matter of shame to you that when you alleged at the beginning of the world war that you would be the savior of mankind from injustice of the Turks, but now we see your oppressive treatment ... In the Sykes-Picot Treaty, you and France divided the Middle East between yourselves behind the back of your American friends. You have squandered our rights; moreover, you killed our women, children, youth and elderly ones with your war planes.

Then, with a smile, Sheikh said to Captain Shock:

- You are our guest, and guests are dear to the Kurds. You should not be bothered when I tell you the truth.

Then, they moved to be far away from the people gathered around them, the meeting was supposed to be secret. Meanwhile, Captain Shock was confused when he saw a large quantity of military equipment lined up in a place. He asked:

- Who gives you all this equipment?

With a laugh, sheikh replied:

- Because of your bad treatment, both friends and enemies alike have sympathy for us.

Then, according to the English tradition, the captain changed the subject and said:

- I am sorry, I am a doctor, and I do not have the right to ask such a question.

Sheikh said:

- There is a patient, if you treat him; half of humanity will get rid of calamities and disasters, and then all humanity will thank you.

The captain inquired:

- Who is this patient?

Sheikh said:

- I mean the British authorities; they have kept joy and happiness away from our country.

Then together they headed toward the captured pilots, and their conversation ended (Hafid, 1995: 148-149).

This dialogue and the speeches of Sheikh Mahmud demonstrate how resisting the Kurds were toward the British. Even though they had no developed weapons and there was a big power imbalance between the empire and the Kurds, still Sheikh Mahmud and the Kurds did not want to surrender to the colonizer to treat them the way the colonizer wanted. Also, in the dialogue, it becomes clear that the Kurds did not use the military resistance at first as it was their last option. The Kurds, through messages and their contacts asked the British government to give them their rights and life free from the suppression and subjugations. However, after many times of asking, the British ignored and refused giving their rights. That is why, as Sheikh asserts in the dialogue, they had to go for military battles and defend themselves.

As discussed previously, the Kurds didn't only refuse to be ruled by the British Empire but they also refused to be subordinate to Iraq when the British decided to annex the Kurd to Iraq. During the Ottoman period, the majority of the Iraqi Kurds lived within the Mosul *vilayet*, but after the World War and the division of the inheritance of the collapsed Ottoman Empire, according to the Sykes-Picot Treaty, South of Kurdistan, being a part of Mosul *vilayet*, became within the share of France. However, this treaty was not implemented as it was due to Russia's withdrawal from it after the revolution of October 17, 1917. So, after holding the San Remo Conference in Italy on April 19-26, 1920, France ceded the mandate of Mosul to Britain (Saeed, 2003: 17). Then the British brought an Arab prince named Faisal from Syria and granted him the royal crown. Later they wanted to legitimize that process by holding an opaque referendum. The Kurds of Kirkuk voted against King Faisal, Sulaymaniyah boycotted the vote, and some people

of Erbil and Duhok accepted the vote according to conditions (Saeed, 2003). For the second time, the British held a meeting with four well-known personalities of Sulaymaniyah on May 8, 1921 to discuss the issue of joining Iraq. Once again, it turned out that the Kurds did not want to join Iraq. However, they put the statement of the High Commissioner in Sulaymaniyah and its surroundings to vote... The result of the vote was: 32 votes of the merchants and 92 votes from the Jew ghettos were in favor of the statement, but in general there were 5,000 votes against this statement (Hawar, 1990: 98). Therefore, the response to that Iraqi identity and the forcible annexation to Iraq was one of the topics that reflected in the discourse of *Bangi Kurdistan* newspaper. Sulaymaniyah had previously said its word, which was "We don't wish" as a response to the project of annexing to Iraq. In an article related to this issue, i.e. 'Iraqization' of Kurdistan, under the title "*They Say that the Advisory Committee will come from Iraq*", it was written in the article:

These days there are rumors that the advisory committee is coming from Baghdad to Kurdistan, but...

1. We do not understand who ordered this Committee to come, and who formed it.
2. We do not know what this Committee advises us when they come.
3. If it intends to advise us to be subordinate to Iraq, then we have said our word before, which is "We don't wish." As for the Kurdishness, its roots are entering the depths day after day, and Kurdistan seeks to spread knowledge to enlighten the Kurds. Therefore, we do not know what they will tell us when they come" (*Bangi Kurdistan*, Issue 2, 1922: 1).

The postcolonial theorists agree that no matter how hard the colonizer tries to erase the identity of the colonized, it will still exist and one day it will come back so strong that the colonizer can not stand in its way. The British employed various ways to annex the Kurds to Iraq without resistance but none of them worked as the Kurds wanted to preserve their identity and resisted the imposing of the borrowed Iraqi and British identity both in the civil and armed resistances.

The Kurds also tried to preserve their identity by economic resistance. This was another strategy the Kurds used to protect their ethnic identity and serve their identity rather than Iraqi and British identity. Economic resistance was presented in the Kurdish discourse. In an article in *Bangi Kurdistan* entitled “*An Economic Dialogue*,” the writer presented the problems and deterioration of the market and local productions due to the foreign markets. The article focused on reviving the local markets that should not resort to Baghdad. Instead, the writer motivated developing the local economy and defending the Kurdish culture and identity: “The solution is to stop saying that we should visit Baghdad and get rid of our national costumes and wear the Arabic robes (*abaya*). Let us revive our guest rooms and continue our interesting conversations. We have to give up buying foreign products; on the contrary, we should buy our local products so as not to waste our money. We also have to sell our surplus products.” (*Bangi Kurdistan*, Issue 5, 1922: 3-4). Lemkin (2005) explains that every ethnicity needs economic resources and income to continue existence and rely on itself, if the economy depends on the dominator, then the dominator can dominate the identity with less resistance. It seems that the Kurdis intellectuals realized this danger as they raised awareness about this threat and offered that solution through consuming domestic products and boycotting the dominator’s products. This economic resistance is also a strategic essence which can be labeled under soft resistance of the colonial power.

That is to say, the newspaper’s discourse was against colonialism and that was the true thought and belief of most of the individual Kurds because they were all against changing the national identity and did not accept a dual hybrid identity. *Bangi Kurdistan* published some texts that clearly defended the right to have a national identity and refused Iraqi-identity. In this respect, Abdul-Qadir Hishmat wrote:

The whole world is busy with knowledge and progress,
Everyone has reached a high rank,
When will the Kurds achieve their national goals?
Of course, when science becomes a tool for directing them.
Kurds are good ancient sacred Race,
The whole world acknowledges that truth, and praises the Kurds (*Bangi Kurdistan*, Issue 2, 1922: 1).

Here the writer criticizes the Kurds and offers a solution for Kurds to be recognized and have their own nation. Apart from various types of resistance, the writer recommends that the Kurds also need to develop their science and knowledge and use it as a tool to protect, preserve their identity in the face of colonization. The writer tells the Kurds that they need to organize and systemize their voice directed by science and knowledge, in this way, their voice can be heard louder and more effectively.

The Kurdish discourse through its articles tried to resist any colonial idea and mentality toward the Kurds. They used data and knowledge to cancel what the colonizer claimed about the Kurds. *Rozhi Kurditan* responded to what the Iraqi government newspapers claimed coupled with evidence. They presented all the historical, geographical and political evidences that show that the Kurds are a nation who lived in their land for thousands of years, and they want to live as neighbors with Iraq. In its response to the Iraq newspaper (which was issued in Baghdad with the support of Britain), *Rozhi Kurdistan* wrote:

In its Issues 738 and 743, the Iraq newspaper published two articles entitled “The Iraqi Free Party” and “Kurdistan Board of Directors” successively. Both contained sets of allegations that the Iraqi Free Party asked the Iraqi government to maintain all of Iraq's natural borders. Moreover, it linked the Kurdistan region naming it Sulaymaniyah to Iraq on the pretext that it is commercially and economically linked to Baghdad. The article also called the Kurdistan Presidency Council the Kurdistan Board of Directors. What came in that newspaper was surprising and regrettable, because we did not imagine that an educated person would stray from the truth in this way. We also did not expect that our respected neighbor would deny the rights of our people to their own government. Instead, we were anticipating receiving congratulations from them instead of encroaching on our rights (*Rozhi Kurdistan*, Issue 1, 1922: 1).

It is true, here the British as a colonial force is absent and it is the conflict between the Kurds and the Arabs. However, in fact, it was the British who started this conflict between them. The intention behind this strategy was to move the Kurdish resistance

and strategic essentialism toward the Arabs and away from the British. This could be recorded as the beginning of emerging conflict between the Kurds and the Arabs.

Another article in *Rozhi Kurdistan* which was written in Turkish language by Hussein Nazim, the writer, points out that the Kurds are related to the Arabs only in the religious term, but they differ from them in all other respects. At the beginning of the article, he wrote: "every ethnic group, every nationality, and even every individual is keen on his social and national benefits in his homeland." (*Rozhi Kurdistan*, Issue 3, 1922: 3). After that, the writer explained all the different characteristics of these two nations and rejected the Iraqi identity. In the same way, he responded to another article on the Al-Dijla newspaper which was issued by the Iraqi government and he wrote: "I do not think that there is a Kurd whose conscience would let him abandon his homeland and his people especially in these days when the nation is waiting every Kurd to work for achieving its national aspirations. Is it possible to go and listen to what the Arabs say at this time? All the Kurds work for the sake of their nation. Let it be known that just as there is the Iraq of the Arabs, there is also the Iraq of the Ajams. That is why, Kurdistan will not be included in the map of any Iraqi state as even the name of Kurdistan indicates its peculiarity" (*Rozhi Kurdistan*, Issue 3, 1922: 2). Likewise, the writer Sheikh Noori Sheikh Salih wrote an article entitled "*False Speeches are Repelled*" which was originally a response to an article published in Al-Najma newspaper (the British were issuing it in the Arabic language in Kirkuk). He wrote in his response: "earlier, the honorable British government conducted a general referendum regarding affiliating Sulaymaniyah to Iraq. The result became clear that no one wanted this dependency. After that process Sulaymaniyah had given a two-year deadline, but even after that period, the people did not want this option, and this was clearly known to the Iraqi government. So, it is very strange that Al-Najma newspaper distorts the truth, and I am quite surprised how their pens can write such lies!" (*Rozhi Kurdistan*, Issue 10, 1330: 10). These articles are the anti-colonial Kurdish voice which tried to resist the colonial subjugation by constructing their own knowledge and discourse and record the truth from the Kurds rather than letting the colonizer impose their biased constructed knowledge on them.

The *Umedi Istiqlal* newspaper along with *Bangi Kurdistan* and *Rozhi Kurdistan* newspapers refused annexing the Kurds to Iraq and the adopting of the Iraqi identity. The newspaper had dedicated large areas of each issue to responding to the Iraqi allegations and refuting their request of joining the South of Kurdistan to Iraq. In an article in the 23rd issue of the newspaper under the title of “A *Response to Iraq’s Newspaper*,” the following was written: “Iraq newspaper considered Sulaymaniyah an integral part of Iraq, but we did not find any evidence to support that opinion. Logically, it was supposed that the newspaper explained to us the connections that exist between the Kurds and the Arabs. It is true that both Arabs and Kurds belong to the human society, and both are Muslims, but we are completely different in national and social terms. A few years ago, the venerable British government made arrangements to take this issue into consideration in order to join us to Iraq, but our response in general was (we do not wish to) and we rejected this issue.” (*Umedi Istiqlal*, Issue 23, 1340: 4). This shows that there was an agreement between the Kurds and the Kurdish discourse that resistance through knowledge is essential to preserve the Kurdish identity and face the colonizers. The newspaper clearly and directly told the dominators: other details of the article, the writer said, “the Kurds are not willing to enter the fire of Iraq at any time” (*Umedi Istqlal*, Issue 17, 1340: 4).

Major Soane wanted to gain the Kurdish public opinion in favor of Britain through paying attention to the Kurdish language in order to create pro-British Nationalists. So, he used to publish articles, propaganda and news that support Kurds outside Iraq especially in the *Peshkawtin* newspaper. However, these misleading articles were rejected by the Patriotic Society as Ahmad Khwaje says: "after the *Peshkawtin* newspaper published that article, the Patriot Society published a detailed message. This may be the summary of its most important points: it seems that the message published in Issue 6 of the *Peshkawtin* newspaper is a lullaby to make the Kurds fall into a deep sleep. Are the Kurds ignorant of the fact that granting them independence is not a part of the English character! The Kurds have made every preparation for moving toward obtaining their rights with their own hands. All the Kurds are eager to realize this goal. You have to liberate the Kurds who are close to you; do not move away to other places” (Khwaje, 2016: 90-91). The Kurdish intellectuals tried even to respond to the British propaganda and detective discourse and warn the Kurds against it. They introduced it as

a trap and altered the Kurds not to fall for it because the intellectuals knew the true identity of the British and their plans toward the Kurds which were not clear and clean plans.

Although very few issues of the *Bangi Haq* newspaper had published; nonetheless, it showed in its articles a clear anti-British colonial stance. It really tried to promote the armed struggle by publishing its anti-colonial essays. From this point of view, Sheikh Mahmud, as a leader of the movement, played a key role in drafting the articles that were generally characterized by a nationalist religious orientation. In an article entitled "*The Believers are Brothers*," he wrote: "when the British planes bombed the poor citizens of Sulaymaniyah, and killed innocent children and women of this city, the nature and reality of the Britain and their promises appeared to everyone. This injustice and barbarism act in this era, the era of progress and civilization, is a blemish and a bloody catastrophe. Some of the English officials may have carried it out on their own discretion and perhaps on a fancy or a personal obsession." (*Bangi Haq*, Issue 1, 1339: 1-2). In fact, even after all these attacks Sheikh Mahmud did not lose hope to reach into an agreement with the British that might be why he linked the crime of Britain to the fancy and obsession of some British authorities. In the midst of his regular articles on colonialism, he clearly stood against the discourse of colonialism and their propaganda, and then directed his speech to the people of Sulaymaniyah and said to them: "let the people of Sulaymaniyah and its surrounding areas, and even all the Kurds be assured that we seek their happiness and do like what is good for them. Please do not be deceived by the statements of the hypocrites and the enemies of Islam and Kurds (referring to the British colonialism). It is not reasonable to cause any harm to our people at any time. Some of the despicable souls who work for their personal interests (refers to some Kurds) spread some ridiculous sayings in our name do not believe them and keep them away from yourselves. Those selfish people who only care about their own benefit deserve to be cursed and punished; there is no place for such persons in Kurdistan." (*Bangi Haq*, Issue 1, 1339: 2). Sheikh Mahmud as the anti-colonial Kurdish leader was aware of the hypocritical policy of the British and realized that the British tried to disintegrate the Kurdish community which is why he alerted people about this policy and always motivated them not to lose hope and success is the Kurds'

destination. This resistance can be counted as the constant resistance and the colonizers tool to survive the subjugation of the British.

Overall, after scrutinizing the Kurdish strategic essentialism toward the British colonial power, we can conclude that the strategic essentialism of the Kurds was not pure self acting; rather it was a response toward the colonizers namely the British and the pro-British Iraqi power. The Kurdish discourse played an important role, as shown above, in resisting the colonial power. The strategic essentialism of the Kurds came from the feelings of the Kurdishness which is not equal to the systematic principles of modern British nationalism; rather it was based on the shared religion and ethnic identity as the majority of Kurds shared the same values, religion, culture, and social norms. The strategic essentialism of the Kurds was not a movement to negate any nation or peoples and it did not look at any one as an enemy; rather it was an attempt to preserve the Kurdish identity in the face of British colonial power. The strategic essentialism of the Kurds was soft (passive) such as culture, economic, and discourse resistances. Also, hard power and military power were used as an alternative to soft power when it was not useful in countering colonial power. It is worthy of noting that the British tried to deviate the strategic essentialism of the Kurds toward the Arabs by motivating the Iraqi newspapers to write against the Kurds. Though the British tried to be absent in the conflict between the Kurds and the Arabs, in reality it was the British who started the conflict but tried to vanish its impact in order to avoid the Kurdish resistance.

4.3.9. Economic Exploitation

For postcolonial theorists, the colonizers want to dominate and exploit the economy of the colonized in order to weaken and then dominate them. The British were formulating their colonial discourse in a way that would be parallel and in compliance with their policy, military, and economic interests. According to the British, the economic aspect and the fact that the region was rich in natural resources were important in its occupation (Izzat, 2006). The economic discourse greatly influenced the ideas of the Kurds and their world view and, as a result, their political discourse. We show how the British used their Kurdish pro-British discourse to normalize and promote agriculture. The British influence in Kurdish newspapers encouraged the Kurds to grow various crops on their farms so that the British could tax the agricultural products and support

their own political aims and colonial presence. Caring about agriculture is important for any nation and people but the British did not want to care about it for the sake of the Kurdish people; rather they just wanted the Kurds to be farmers so they could tax them and collect more money.

The British wanted to formulate the identity of the Kurdish culture in order to influence the Kurdish economy. They did this through the *Peshkawtin* newspaper. Within this framework, and with the aim of making agriculture and the economy a topic deliberated by public opinion, they gained the sympathy, support, and participation of intellectuals as well as the elite Kurdish writers. The headlines in the *Peshkawtin* newspaper showed Britain's interest for Kurdistan's economy and development aimed at exploiting the economy within the occupied area. By exploiting the Kurdish economy of Iraq, the British put special focus on trade and tobacco cultivation. They even brought experts for conducting research in this field (Mezhar, 1985: 182). About 25-27 economic topics were published in *Peshkawtin* most of which were based around cotton, tobacco cultivation, and trade. Around 31 of the articles alone were devoted to tobacco cultivation. This interest was reflected by the Kurdish writers. For example, the well-known Kurdish writer, Jamal Irfan (1881-1922), published a series of articles on tobacco production and trade. That is, a five-episode series was entitled "*Tobacco*," and another series consisted of eight articles entitled "*Tobacco Falls in Baghdad, there is no escape from the machine*" (*Peshkawtin*, Issues 64, 65, 68, 70, and 81). Some of the other main headlines in that newspaper included: Techniques of Agriculture; Trading; Tobacco and its future; Cotton Cultivation; and Trade is the Country's Entity.

In addition to practical articles, the pro-British Kurdish discourse used poetic texts in *Peshkawtin* newspaper to subtly push the Kurds to support the occupational agenda and the deceptive power of the British. These texts served the hegemonic efforts of the colonial discourse that led to severe economic and agricultural issues. In the 27th issue of the *Peshkawtin* newspaper there was a competition for Kurdish writers to encourage agricultural participation. This encouragement was another kind of propaganda that used the Kurdish language (*Peshkawtin*, 1920: 4). Later, the newspaper announced the results of the competition in its 30th issue and published the names of the first three winners who were three of the most famous Kurdish writers of that time. The first

winner was Sheikh Noori Sheikh Salih, the second Zaki Saeb and the third Muhammad Jamil (*Peshkawtin*, Issue 30, 1920:2). At that time, Sheikh Noori Sheikh Saleh was a prominent poet, a politician and an intellectual. He participated in the competition with a poetic text entitled "*Plowing and Ox Are Good Things.*" The content of the poetry deals with the importance of agriculture and the production of crops. In a part of his poem, he says:

The land and the farm are the wealth that never ends
Owner of grains and crops never become destitute
Agriculture will remain the basis of wealth
It is said, agriculture is to 'plow and extract money'
Please, the more you advance in this profession, the better you do
But the government should help you, too.....
.... In this hard land tobacco grows and is easily sold
So, let's all start farming and plowing the land (*Peshkawtin*, Issue 30,
1920: 2).

The fact that this text was the first winner in the aforementioned competition is an example that the British promoted ideas and subjects that served their occupational policy that encouraged the Kurds to farm, the significance of which will be explained soon after. While Kurdish writers saw this as an opportunity to deliver messages of progress. The *Peshkawtin* newspaper also used agriculture to criticize the state during which the Kurds were run by the Turks. The newspaper showed that agriculture was in a very bad state during the Ottoman Empire. What follows came in one of the poems:

Which breeze and which eye runs before you die of hunger
How long will you remain a guest! One or two nights!
Contemplate a little with the eyes of the heart; you surely realize
That the peasant was lost due to the recessionary market
Trade in our country is a deadly bacterium that ravages agriculture
Thus, there is no cure for agriculture except by its elimination
Showcase essentials in *Peshkawtin*. This is your day

What you say is already known to the ruler (*Peshkawtin*, Issue 31, 1920: 4).

Here the writer indirectly accuses the Turks for the state of the bad market for agriculture and the bad state of the farmers. The intention behind these articles was to contrast how the British encouraged agriculture and the Turks destroyed agriculture.

The efforts to encourage agriculture through *Peshkawtin* newspaper was meant to encourage the idea of increased agricultural production as a part of authentic folk culture and make the idea become embedded in the texts of the Kurdish individuals and their thoughts and culture. In that way, Kurds would increase their farming efforts. However, this resulted in agriculture unwittingly serving the needs of colonizers rather than colonized Kurds. The British imposed a tax system on agricultural products.

During the British occupation, the government implemented a rigorous tax system on agricultural products especially tobacco, cotton, wheat and barley in order to exploit Kurdistan's economy and collect the largest resources to administer the occupied areas (Shwani, 2002: 126-127). During the occupation period, the tax rate increased exponentially, for example, the farmers used to pay the tobacco tax at a rate that was fifteen times more than they were paying in the Ottoman era (Mezhar, 1985: 180). The British had propagated that with their arrival, the economy would flourish. However, instead, the Kurdish and British economy collapsed due to the war. To compensate for the economic loss, the British intensified the taxes on the Kurds and would even tax the Kurds to bury their dead. When the Kurds refused to pay, the British would imprison and humiliate the Kurds sometimes by making them march in front of the community while throwing trash and or paint at them. They even used warplanes against those who evaded paying taxes (Mezhar, 1985: 182) especially when Major Soane was the ruler of Sulaymaniyah who was a British officer particularly ambitious with collecting resources for Britain.

The taxes were not used for the administration of the area or the sake of the people's welfare. In 1919, the British authorities collected 3,200,000 rupees, i.e. around 250,000 (two hundred and fifty thousand sterling pounds). Of this amount, about two million rupees were spent on British military matters such as building bridges and roads for their military purposes (Mezhar, 1985: 180). In 1919, Major Soane returned £20,000

from Baghdad to the British authorities when the region was suffering from drought, hunger and devastation (Ali, 2010: 173). The taxes were funneled to British initiative.

The severity of taxes was eventually a contributing factor to the Barzani revolt. The Kurds were under terrible pressure of taxes and the bad state of the economy. Ahmed Khwaje describes the terrible state the British created to the Kurds as he says:

Ahmed Khwaje attributed the Barzan Revolution of 1943-1945 to injustice, corruption, and squandering public wealth by the Iraqi government. In this respect, he says:

Meanwhile, the legal disposition of the civil administrators, who were pro-Britain, had given way to the British army to spread chaos and acts of revenge and disgrace the Iraqi law of 1941. Although the authorities had made some attempts to secure a regular lifestyle and control the necessities of life, the economic systems became worse due to the theft of foodstuffs which had become an intractable and insoluble problem. This was clearly evident in the supply directorates and their branches or exclusively in all state departments. Food was distributed to people through ration cards. This process had become a good means of wealth collecting in Iraqi Kurdistan and Iraq as well because the government authorities of the Kurds and Arabs used to obtain these cards and receive large amounts of foodstuff through them so that they would sell them later and get large sums of money. Thus, those who were close to the Britain authorities or to the royal family were living in a state of prosperity and luxury unlike the overwhelming majority of the people. Such bad morals were spread throughout Iraq especially in Kurdistan. Department directors were creating chaos and problems because of theft and appropriating the shares of the poor people so that the government could not have any time to hold them accountable. These despicable acts of the government authorities were one of the reasons for Barzani Mustafa's revolt against the government in 1943 and the start of a revolution under his leadership. The royal government with the help of the British forces sent massive and heavily armed military forces to Barzan in order to put an end to the revolution. Battles of bloody war

began between the two forces. The Kurds were fighting sincerely for Kurdistan while the government forces had no specific goal and they were only relying on the power of arms. So, the government forces could gain nothing but defeat and finally they were forced to withdraw after suffering heavy losses. When the king and the government of Iraq with their British masters saw the successive victories of the Kurdish revolution, they felt fear that the revolution would spread to other regions of Iraqi Kurdistan. Therefore, they held talks with the leader of the revolution and promised him to grant autonomy to the Kurds of Iraq after the end of World War II (Khwaje, 2016: 495-497).

So, the British tortured the Kurds economically and when the Kurds could not endure and revolted, the British through hypocritical power started promising to the Kurds in order to pacify them.

The relationship between colonizer and colonized is complementary and parallel. When the British told the Kurds to farm, the Kurds followed. While the pro-British Kurdish discourse played an important role in manifesting this policy, Kurds were affected by the hidden British colonial discourse. However, the result of this policy shocked the colonized as the outcomes were all in the favor of the British. Therefore, the colonized encountered confusion, ambivalence and were in the third space of believing and not believing what was happening. The colonized understood that the whole policy was to increase the income of the colonizer. Also, it was to show that the British were Kurdish ally and helped them to grow their economy. Additionally, it was to prepare the Kurdish lands to annex to Iraq in terms of agriculture. They also wanted to pacify the Kurdish anger towards the British.

4.3.10. Hegemony

Hegemony as described in chapter one and three is the manifestation of the superiority of the colonized through various means within the frame of soft power. In postcolonial Kurdish discourse the practice of manifesting hegemonic power by the British is reflected in many ways. The British wanted to show its military domination through soft hegemony and superiority in producing knowledge and scientific research. Through this policy, the British tried to threaten and scare the resistance spirit of the Kurds and

introduce themselves as the scientific facts in the mentality of the colonized people through cross cultural. Edward Said, in line with Antonio Gramsci, believe that colonizer constructs hegemony to enlarge the binary opposition between the colonizer as superior and the colonizer as inferior (Irwin, 2012). The aim of this policy of the British was to create a British superior power over its colonized subjects. The British followed the same policy with the Iraqi Kurds

One of the ways the British wanted to impose its hegemony and make it a de facto in the mind of the Kurds was by exhibiting their hard power. In the pro-British Kurdish discourse, there are many pieces of news showing how powerful the British are in military power. In this respect, one of the articles in *Dengi Geti Taze* entitled “*Fifty Facts about Britain*”, stated:

Although the forces of Great Britain are only twenty miles away from the enemy, nevertheless, they provide not only their forces, but also their allies with heavy weapons. The British air force is much larger than the German one. Britain prepares 60,000 heavy cannons a year... Everything in Britain has been mobilized for this war. There are seven million women working in the industry and that number is growing. There are millions of other women, most of them married, who work daily for several hours and do their duty in the military industry (*Dengi Geti Taze*, Volume 1, Issue 1, October 1943: 25).

The article published all the British military capabilities in numbers. Surely, all these were in order to show to the Kurdish individuals, the greatness and ability of Britain. Thus the colonizer gains “success of imperial power over a colonized people who may far outnumber any occupying military force but whose desire for self-determination has been suppressed by a hegemonic notion of the greater good, often couched in terms of social order, stability and advancement all of which are defined by the colonizing power” (Ashcroft et al, 2007: 107). The intention behind these articles was to spread greatness and the powerfulness of the British and create a psychological fear in the mind of the colonized. Publishing these articles in *Dengi Geti Taze* was at the end of World War II and the rise of the postcolonial movements and activities. In

particular, during this time, the British wanted to change the Kurds in Iraq to a minority and change their identity and the Kurds tried to start resistance movements.

Notably, the magazine was constantly publishing through the news the setbacks of Nazi Germany and the Axis Powers versus Britain and the Allied Powers. Therefore, in each issue of the magazine there was a special section in the final pages of the magazine entitled "*Political and Military Events*" in which the news of the victories of the Allied forces was published under those titles. For example: "The British fleet occupied Lesmusian island, which is one of the Dodecanese islands, and captured all the German forces there.... The fleets of the Adriatic department in Greece occupied the fortified port of Rion and captured some of the Germans." (*Dengi Geti Taze*, Volume 1, Issue 1, October 1943: 25). It is evident that the newspaper is like a marching field for the greatness of the British power and presents the power as unbeatable. This was to motivate the Kurds to support the British and abort the idea of standing against the British power. This policy of the British is in line with what Robert Young said "colonial powers utilize a variety of methods to impose their supremacy on their colonists including indoctrination. Colonial tales are used by colonizers to indoctrinate and protect their monuments" (Young, 2016).

The British through the pro-British discourse tried to present itself as a civilized and helpful power while the other powers like Germans as demons. One of the ways for the colonizer to achieve a general contest of the colonizer is through spreading the propaganda that the colonizer's interests are the interests of the colonized (Ashcroft et al, 2007). In an article entitled "*British Achievements*," the writer tried to contrast the power of Britain and Germany where the author said: "Great Britain was the first country to declare war against Hitler. Of course, this stemmed from its sense of responsibility toward the world. In 1940, Britain faced the powerful German fleet alone, at that time neither America nor Russia had joined the British alliance. We do not exaggerate if we say that by its stance in 1940 Britain has saved the world from the German attack." (*Dengi Geti Taze*, Issue 1, 1943: 16). Similarly, in another article entitled "*The British Fleet and its Role in the Battle of Salerno in Italy*", it is stated: "Today, wherever the Germans focus their eyes in the Mediterranean, they see nothing but despair because they have no future as they are weak in front of the powerful allies.

It is certain that the Germans could not achieve their goals which they claim from their radio stations that they could have won the Battle of Salerno if there were no obstacles. However, after the Battle of Salerno, the world learned how effective Great Britain's weapons were... It was the largest supporter to help the Allied fleets.” (*Dengi Geti Taze*, Issue 1, 1943: 41) The bulk of *Dengi Geti Taze* was devoted to this kind of praise in order to show Britain's greatness and power. Most of its articles had been written by English authors and later translated by Kurdish writers. The magazine claimed to be the authentic voice of the Kurds when in fact it was the voice of the invader of the Kurdish land. The magazine's most recent issue was devoted to this type of adulation in order to demonstrate Britain's strength and power.

Through pro-British Kurdish discourse, the British also wanted to impose its hegemony in science and knowledge. They translated the writings of the Orientalists into Kurdish and published in the Kurdish newspapers to show what a great role the British researcher had in the area and helped people to progress. For example, these titles could be seen in *Dangi Geti Taze* newspaper: "*The Great Orientalist of England, Simon Oakley*" (*Dengi Geti Taze*, Issue 6, 1945: 549-559), "*Sir Jean Malcolm, the famous Orientalist and Historian*" (*Dengi Geti Taze*, Issue 3, 1943: 20), "*Sir Edward Dennis Ross, a great English Orientalists*", (*Dengi Geti Taze*, Issue 4, 1994: 38). Translating these articles into Kurdish impacted on the Kurds in two ways. One, they generalized the British colonial discourse and showed it as an authentic discourse which was why it was re-raftering of the British discourse. They introduced the constructed knowledge as modernity. Modernity was a set of ideas created and shaped by the Westerners. Through this presentation of the colonial discourse in the pro-British Kurdish discourse, they misrepresented the orientalist and showed the authentic representation. Thus, through modernizing the colonized by misrepresentation of the colonial discourse, they wanted to create mimics and impose their superiority. To this point, Said discusses how views, knowledge and modernity shape reality while they also bolster the authority of people who create the opinions and the views (Kreps, 2016). Two, they popularize scientific British progress and institutionalize western knowledge by transferring the culture and mentality of the west to the Kurds to continue the superiority of the British and the dependence of the Kurds on the British in science and development as an ideal sample for adopting.

The British tried to show its ratification institutions as superior and the source of knowledge and progress through its discourse and, in turn, those institutions showed the colonial discourse as truth and authenticity intended to construct its hegemony. The pro-British Kurdish newspapers played a role in showing the British institutions as superior. The British colonial discourse in *Dengi Geti Taze* displayed the British scientific and academic excellence as the top in the field of education. In an article entitled "*The Greatest University in the World*", the newspaper presented the details of the British universities such as Oxford and Cambridge and described them as a top example of science and as a real source of science and culture (*Dengi Geti Taze*, Issue 4, 1944: 206). While the British academic institutions and these two universities as mentioned in chapter three had roles in ratifying the colonial discourse. In fact, some of the orientalist and the British officers were the graduates of these universities and participated in military and cultural control of the Kurds. This ratification played a role in the domination of the content of British colonial discourse in the Kurdish postcolonial discourse. Thus, the construction of hegemony by the British was an extremely systematic process.

The Kurdish postcolonial texts narrate the normalization of the relationship between the Kurdish anti-colonial movement led by Sheikh Mahmud and the British colonizers. When the British realized that the direct colonization and controlling resulted in severe consequences, they tried to employ hegemonic contests of the colonized, i.e. hegemonic normalization through negotiation in the transitional stage from British direct colonial rule to indirect colonial hegemony. They wanted to use the respected Kurdish leaders to impose British control on the Kurds. In this regard, Rafiq Hilmi wrote: "The British authorities wanted Sheikh Mahmud to learn his lesson in India so that he would play a role directed by Britain when returned to Kurdistan" (Hilmi, 2020: 145). They exiled Sheikh Mahmud to India. They thought it was better to use him as he was a well-respected leader among the Kurds. Then they returned him to Sulaymaniyah to impose their authority and hegemony over the South of Kurdistan. Hilmi goes on to say that "the British despaired of Sulaymaniyah but needed Sheikh Mahmud. So, Kurdistan became a pretext, and a means not a goal but, of course, they knew that Sheikh Mahmud without Kurdistan was useless for them. However, when they saw that Kurdistan after Sheikh Mahmud's exile witnessed such unrest and riot that they couldn't overcome,

they returned him and appointed him as the ruler of Kurdistan” (Hilmi, 2020: 145). Sheikh Latif Haifid also narrates the change in the policy of the British toward the Kurds as he says:

There were many factors in making Britain reconsider its policy and plans in Kurdistan in order to please the Kurdish people and to obtain their independence through them. Therefore, their political and military men decided to hold a meeting on September 5th, 1922 with the elite and notable figures of Sulaymaniyah in the district of Wais. At that meeting, the English political ruler addressed this speech to the attendees: “In order to heal the rifts between us, His Majesty’s government has decided to leave the city of Sulaymaniyah. So, the Kurdish people must build the bodies of a government in order to maintain the security of the city ... We hope that your independence will be declared at a later time.” All the attendees received the words of the political ruler with applause, and then both Mustafa Pasha Yamliki and Sheikh Muhammad Gulani delivered a speech in which they asked for the release of Sheikh Mahmud and his companions, saying:

– Kurdistan’s government cannot be formed without Sheikh Mahmud.

The military governor replied:

– We will communicate this request to the concerned authorities.

Then Mustafa Pasha Yamulki and the attendees asked the ruler to accept the appointment of Sheikh Qadir as a deputy of Sheikh Mahmud in order to run the affairs of the government until the return of Sheikh Mahmud.

The English Governor Major Gold Smith accepted this proposal. Then he stood up and said to them:

– Based on the decision of the Military Governor General, we, the British authorities, hand over the affairs of the state in your city to you. Here is the key of the Court of Government, we hand it over to you.

After that, the British aircrafts transported all the British civilians and military personnel (Haifid, 1995: 83).

The agenda behind this transition from direct dominating to indirect hegemony was the utilization of the hegemonic tactic for securing and protecting the British colonial interests. The British knew by returning Sheikh Mahmud, the Kurds will be pleased and look at the British with less enemy eyes and thus the British can work on them gradually. While if the British had killed Sheikh Mahmud, the Kurds would have fought with the British and declared enmity against them. So, the release of Sheikh Mahmud and the handing over Slemani to the Kurds was a colonial tactic of the British.

Despite bombing the Kurdish region by the British forces, the fall of Sheikh Mahmud's government and conclusion of Lausanne Treaty in which the allies retreated from their promises they had made to the Kurds, the British wanted to pretend to be friends of the Kurds. For this purpose, the British used the Kurdish newspapers and they wrote various articles on how the British are an ally of the Kurds and helped them all the time. *Zhiyanawa* newspaper had an important role at that stage in order to give an acceptable appearance to the British colonizers. This policy is evident in an article written by Ali Irfan as an example:

When the army of Great Britain entered Baghdad, it brought ease and welfare to the Arabs. We all were eagerly waiting for their arrival, so they would save us too. In fact, when the forces of Great Britain arrived, they drove the unfair Turks away and freed us. They brought us flour, sugar, dates, and kept us from death. So, if we have something of conscience, we should never forget this (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 12, 1924: 4).

Similarly, Abdulqadir Afandi wrote an article in which he said:

You the respected gentlemen, it is known to everyone that the garden of our homeland with all its trees, branches, and flowers were at the mercy of the winter ice, drifting snow, flood and other incidents and coups, as well as germs of injustice and tyranny. So, we were getting close to a deadly fate without having any hope for life or returning to a normal life again. That was our condition until the grandiose government came with all its kindness and mercy. Thus, the joyful breezes of spring came and

brought us back to life... Long live grandiose government. Long live the Iraqi government (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 20, 1925: 3).

In the same manner, in Issue 42 of *Zhiyanawa*, someone under the name of Rawandzi wrote an article saying:

The World War liberated Southern Kurdistan from the mystery of the oppressors and it became under the mandate of Great Britain, which up to now, deals our nation with the best treatment and helps us to make progress in all aspects of life. Now our people are gaining knowledge and progressing little by little (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 12, 1923: 1).

The various Kurdish pro-British discourse was used to ratify the colonial discourse so as to obtain the general consent of the colonized and display the superiority of the British as a fact based on knowledge which was constructed under their supervision.

Accordingly, the British used systematic and planned process in constructing their hegemony on the colonized Kurds to overpower them and make them consent to the greatness and superiority of the British Empire. They constructed the hegemony in two ways in the postcolonial Kurdish discourse. One, they exhibited and popularized the greatness of the British power and its allies and introduced the British as the greatest power of all the powers and demonized and belittled other world powers such as Germans with the intentions to introduce its enemies as the Kurds' enemy. Two, they used double ratification to construct their hegemony. They used their institutions to ratify the colonial discourse and then they translated their discourse into Kurdish which was the ratification of the colonial discourse for the second time. The intended agenda behind this double ratification was to generalize their discourse and present it as authentic fact and thereby imposing their hegemony as a de facto on the Kurds.

4.3.11. Dominance and Subjugation

Dominance as mentioned in chapter three includes the use of violence and aggression to dominate the colonized. Violence is an extreme form of aggression, such as assault, rape or murder (Allen & Anderson, 2017), For Sherry Hapmy, violence has four elements which are (a) intentional, (b) unwanted, (c) nonessential, and (d) harmful (2017: 168).

Tirop Simatei defines violence in the context of colonization and believes that colonial violence is the colonizer's aggression physically, socially and psychologically towards the colonized (Simatei, 2005: 85). In the context of the colonization of the Kurds, the British practiced multiple forms of violations towards the Kurds such as physical, socio-psychological, and epistemic. The Kurds responded to the violence of the British through violence and reporting the British aggression to the international community.

The Kurdish postcolonial texts show how the British used a ruthless and oppressive power to dominate the Kurds and the Kurdish leadership in particular towards those who stood on the British way. After Sheikh Mahmood announced the revolution against the British occupiers, he took control of the administration in Sulaymaniyah and its suburbs in his own hands. On June 22, 1919, the British army launched a massive ground and air offensive with the support of the Levy forces. The two armies clashed in a Battle at Darband Bazian. Although the revolutionary army showed great resistance, the resistance collapsed in the end, and Sheikh Mahmud was captured. As a result, chaos, killing, looting and plundering occurred in the city of Sulaymaniyah the scene of which was described by Ahmad Khwaje as follows:

Household furniture, money, jewels were all looted, and the city was chaotic and there was no hope for life in it. Anyone who fell into the hands of the colonizer forces was arrested, and then put in prison. Some managed to escape towards the mountains. Despite the harshness of the colonizers and the deteriorating situation in the city, the British and Indian forces were not able to fully control the city of Sulaymaniyah (Khwaje, 2016: 72).

When anti-colonial Kurds started to use negotiations, The British started offensively dominating Kurds by force–bombing. On the 26th of June 1924 while the British authorities called for a meeting with Sheikh Mahmud in Kirkuk, and at the time when Sheikh Mahmud was in Kirkuk in response to their request, they bombed the city of Sulaymaniyah. In his book, Ahmed Khwaje narrates what happened, and says:

On one day of June, when people were expecting to hear good news, they woke up at dawn from the sound of explosions and the roars of British planes. Edmonds and all the other British authorities found it a

good opportunity to direct a strict heavy blow to the city of Sulaymaniyah. The city alleys became full of dead and wounded bodies. Four planes were continuously circling over the city and bombing it constantly. Thus, the city was at the mercy of the bombs and fire of the British aircrafts on June 26, 27 and 28, and changed it to a real hell (Khwaje, 2016: 222).

Likewise, Khwaje records the attacks of the British on different areas of Kurds like Barzan:

On May 25, British warplanes again started bombing the places where the Barzanian rebels were hiding. Then they bombed those who were intending to return to their villages. They even bombed the nomads' tents. Their intense focus in bombing was on the residence place of Sheikh Ahmad Barzani. Thus, on May 27, most of the villagers were forced to abandon their villages and take refuge in the mountains (Khwaje, 2016: 409).

On the same aggression of the British, Sheikh Latif hafid says:

At 6:30 a.m. on May 31st, 1924, eighteen aircrafts headed towards the city of Sulaymaniyah and began bombing the city. As soon as the mission of those planes ended, there were other squadrons coming to strike the city. Bombing the city continued for three days during which a large number of elderly, children and women who did not leave the city were killed or wounded. Several days later, I was heading to the village of Welader, and my way was close to the stricken city. The terrifying sight of the city shocked me when I saw that most of the houses were left in piles of ruins (Hafid, 1995: 117).

Khwaje and Sheikh Latfi reveal that the British used dominance and hegemony simultaneously. On the one side, the British invited the Kurds to negotiate, on the other side they attacked the Kurdish people and cities. This policy of the British demonstrates that all the propaganda they used to help the Kurds were hollow and negotiation was just a colonial tactic opportunity. To this point, Fanon maintains that colonizers only speak and understand the language of violence, and colonizers, by nature, are violent

and sustained by violence (Fanon, 2007). That is, the ultimate purpose of the British was to dominate the Kurds by violence. The British violence was not only towards the Kurds but also the Kurdish territories which are two crucial elements of the colonization.

The British denied the continuous demand of the Kurds for their rights and subjugated them. The Kurds asked for their rights through negotiation and agreement, but the British refused to provide the Kurds their rights due to having power over them. The British refused to normalize the relationship with the Kurds and change its policy from negotiation to violence once more. The British violence reached a point that the postcolonial Kurdish texts record war crimes committed by the British. Hafid, says:

Then Sheikh Mahmud sent his representative, Mr. Ismail Shaways, to meet Fraser in order to hold talks. After long discussions, he was unable to satisfy the English military leaders to fulfill their promises that they made to the Kurds. Thus, the battles continued in which the British troops used all kinds of weapons such as aircrafts and cannons. Thus, the four military divisions were gradually advancing because the Kurdish army was little in number and armed with old weapons. The battle continued until the Kurdish dagger stood against the English bayonet. However, had it not been for the betrayal of some Kurdish chieftains like Moshir Agha and some of Sheikh Mahmud's relatives, the English army would not be able to easily settle the battle in its favor.... The casualties of the Kurdish army were 500 killed and 300 captives. When the Kurdish army was defeated, the British army poured petrol on the wounded Kurdish fighters and burned them. Sheikh Mahmud himself was wounded, and he witnessed that crime himself. Moshir Agha identified Sheikh Mahmud to the English officer Edmonds. When they arrested him, Sheikh Mahmud said to them: "Is this your democracy? Is this your humanity? Is this the way you save the peoples of the world? Is there any international law that allows burning the war wounded?" (Hafid, 1995: 57-58).

As mentioned in Article 8 of the United Nations on War Crime, killing a wounded person in war is a crime. This inhuman aggression also disrupts the claims of the British

propaganda and it is exactly opposite of what they claimed that they are civilized; in fact, they are barbarous and savage as killing someone who is arrested while wounded is an utmost barbarous act.

The British committed human and territorial violences all over the Kurds' land and the British tried to put the Kurds in war against the Kurds. The British used the pro-British Kurds against the anti-colonial Kurds. The civil war between the Kurds had much more consequences on the Kurds, their land, their psychology and their economy. Meanwhile, the British Empire used the colonized responses as a means to justify their violence. Khwaje says:

The revolution spread from Badinan to Khanaqin but those were the Kurds who killed the Kurds in the name of the Kurdish and Anglican war given that the most of the Levy army units were Kurdish fighters, who became victims of the British interests. The British bombed Kurdish villages as well as mountains with aircraft. Even herds of livestock were wiped out completely. But the Britons became an object of mockery, for children in the alleys sang songs to mock them: flocks of planes circled to spread terror so as to avoid people from saying that 'the British army had been defeated' (Khwaje, 2016: 106).

The British Empire naturalized the utilizing of the Kurds as a human shield for its dominance by violence agenda. The empire manipulated some of the Kurds and used them as proxy fighters against the Kurds who were anti colonial. Thus, by igniting the internal conflicts, the British violated the Kurds to achieve its agenda. Ania Loomba mentions the point is that violence was readily resorted to wherever necessary and the enormous differences of strategy in different places indicate the flexibility of colonial ideologies and practices rather than the absence of the desire for conquest in some colonial ventures (Loomba, 2005: 98).

The British did not only practice violence on a national level but also on the individual's level. This does not mean that colonial violence is an individual phenomenon; it means that the British practiced multiple forms of violence. The violence of British officers towards individuals was one of the forms of violence. British violence did not only use political and military violence; it was also socio-psychological which is any act which

causes psychological harm to an individual. One hand, psychological violence can take many forms such as coercion, defamation, verbal insult or harassment (Dokkedahl, Kok, & Murphy, 2019). On the other hand, social violence is any violence that has a social impact on the individuals and has negative effects on individuals' mental health and their social networks as well as their ability to develop further in their lives (Pantic, 2014). Examples of psychological violence include acts such as isolation, verbal abuse, threats, intimidation, control, harassment or stalking, insults, humiliation, and defamation. The British officials humiliated and violated the Kurdish people daily and punished them unreasonably. Ahmed Taaqi says:

Soane was treating people so brutally and cruelly that when he was driving his car inside the city of Sulaymaniyah, it was necessary for those who encountered him to stand up and show him respect. On the contrary, he insulted and punished everyone who showed him no respect. He even once passed in front of us, and we didn't stand up. So, he got back in his car and started to curse us. Major Soane's actions in the city became unbearable. Upon his order, the homes of all the families and relatives of the Sheikh were looted and their property and lands were seized. He even displaced his close friends and relatives and punished them. All the authorities in the city were in the hands of foreigners or British agents. So, there were too many Indians and Iranians in Sulaymaniyah. As for the economic situation, unlike the English propaganda, there was no progress and most of the people were suffering from hunger and repression (Taaqi, 1970: 27).

The British officers committed violated acts against civilians and individuals. They socially and psychologically punished people and belittled them. Major Soane forced them to show respect to him while they did not want to show respect as they saw him as a colonizer. Major Soane forced them to commit an act against their will. This was a psychological repression and social aggression. The aggressive behaviors of the British officers were the reflection of the behaviors of the colonial power. This colonial mentality and ideology was transferred to the individual colonizers. These behaviors were opposite of what the British claimed that they were civilized, harmless and helpful

in their colonial discourse. Some of the resources assert that “the British officers ruthlessly punished the Kurdish individuals psychologically, socially and physically. They treated people as slaves and saw themselves as masters, and they obliged the Kurds to show respect to them. The British officers also violated the Kurds verbally and they used abusive words and phrases to call the Kurds such as they told the Kurdish Sheikhs and tribe leaders that “our dog is cleaner and better than you.” Major Soane’s men were walking around and abusing the Kurds to the point that some Kurds left the city to avoid the aggression of the British officer and their men (Mezhar, 1985). The demonstration of this hypocritical and dual policy of the British disrupts the misrepresentations of colonial discourse propaganda and claims which showed the British as the friends of the Kurds.

The British exiled the Kurdish leaders in order to prevent their anti-colonial influence and used the pro-British forces against the Kurds. During the political conflict and the complex relationship between the British colonizer in Iraq and the Kurdish revolutionary forces in Iraq, some of the Kurdish political figures such as Sheikh Mahmud, Sheikh Ahmed Barzani and others were often subjected to exile and forced deportation from their homeland in order not to have any influence on the agenda of the occupiers. In his book, Ahmed Khwaje, refers to the exile of Sheikh Ahmed and says, “In 1932, due to the outbreak of his revolution against the British, President Sheikh Ahmed Barzani was deported to Hilla and Nasiriyah in the southern Iraq, and after a while he was transferred to the city of Sulaymaniyah. As a result, the Kurdish movement stopped until 1943. Moreover, the Iraqi government did not quit its subjugation policy to persecute the Kurdish people especially the Barzanis who experienced a lot of suffering and calamities” (Khwaje, 2016: 523). Despite suppressing the Kurdish anti-colonial revolts and exiling the Kurdish leadership, the British Empire used the Iraqi army to dominate the Kurds. The Iraqi army supervised by the British army violated the Kurds.

Banishing the Kurdish leaders turned the Kurds into subalterns in Iraq. The representation of the Kurdish voice was weakened and ignored. The British committed this aggression and sometimes they used the Iraqi governments in the process of marginalizing the Kurds and turned them into voiceless. For Ania Loomba, a

postcolonial theorist, “military violence in the process of colonization was used almost everywhere, although to different degrees, to secure both occupation and trading ‘rights’” (Loomba, 2005: 97). The British power implemented this policy to secure its colonial power over the Kurds and the region.

The British even committed epistemic violence, which is, as mentioned in chapter one, the erasing of the knowledge of the Kurds and forcing them to listen to the colonizers and inability to speak while violating the individuals. Latif Hafid says:

The British army headed towards the government building (Saray) in order to liberate their prisoners. However, the Kurdish national guards did not implement the orders of the English officers and refused to release them. So, they clashed with the British forces until their last breaths. Then the English forces arrested Sayed Omer, the mayor of Sulaymaniyah, who was Sheikh Mahmud’s uncle. They beat him and tortured him so badly until he died. After that, they began harassing the innocent people of the city and looting their properties which created a terrible psychological atmosphere among the people of the city.... After all these sinister actions, a section of the British army burned the library of Sheikh Maarouf Noudi and the shrine of Kak Ahmed Sheikh. But neither burning nor the destruction and terrorism could discourage the brave Kurdish people from their legitimate struggle. After the occupation of the city by the British army, the military ruler issued an order to arrest everyone who had participated in, or contributed to the Sheikh’s revolution. Sheikh Saeed Gopetapa, one of Sheikh Mahmud’s relatives, was one of those detainees who was imprisoned in Chamchamal and then he died under torture. In Sulaymaniyah, supporters of the Kurdish national movement were arrested and were told in the court to repent and vow not to support Sheikh Mahmud again. However, the detainees refused this request and said, “We will sacrifice our lives and everything we own for the sake of Sheikh Mahmud and the liberation of the Kurdish people.” They were being cruelly punished, tortured, and imposed monetary fines on them for their national position (Hafid, 1995: 59-60).

Hafid shows the true aggressive identity of the British by describing how they committed all types of violence towards the Kurds such as psychological, sexual harassment, verbal/emotional, cultural/identity, and financial/economic. They violated human rights, lowered the dignity of the Kurds, fined Kurds amounts of money for following Sheikh Mahmud and thus spread phobia. The British looted more than 100 houses and they turned Slemani into a military field by opening more than eight police stations to harass and punish people (Shwani, 2002). They even burnt holy places for the Kurds such as mosques and burnt more than 6000 books and journals and handwritings in Gawra Mosque and looted books in the Sheikh's house. Spivak believes that the violence toward knowledge “epistemic violence” creates knowledge power imbalance between colonizer and colonized which in turn leads to power imbalance. She thinks when the colonizer has more knowledge, they have more power as knowledge is constructed around their power. While the colonized can not communicate, preserve, and produce knowledge, they will be powerless. The aim of the colonizers in this policy was to create ignorance and powerless subjects.

Violence incites violence. The British violated the Kurds in different ways as mentioned above so the Kurds responded violently. Although the Kurds were marginalized and turned into subalterns, they formed anti-colonial movements and mimicked the violence of the British to stand against them. There was a big imbalance in force and the military tools and abilities as the British had more advanced tools than the Kurds. Hafid says:

Meanwhile, a large demonstration took place in Sulaymaniyah and people headed toward Sheikh Mahmud's house. Upon their arrival, everyone was chanting, “Sheikh Mahmud, are you with the British Crown, or with us?” Sheikh Mahmud came out and answered them, “I am with you until the last moment of my life.” He stood among the masses, and then the British flag was lowered and the flag of Kurdistan was raised. After that the demonstrators formed a delegation including a number of Kurdish officers, government officials, and intellectuals, headed by (Izzat Najib). The delegation asked the British authorities to accept the demands of people. But the British authorities did not receive the protesters’ memo. So, they went to the Government headquarters

building where the English politicians existed. The crowd was chanting: “You, the deceivers! We want to raise the flag of Kurdistan... We want to live... We want independence.” In the meantime, Sheikh Mahmud addressed the angry masses and said, “I do not want the crown, I want to please the people. All that my people want are also my demands.” As a result, the enthusiasm of the masses increased. So, they attacked the government building and entered it. Neither the guards of the building nor the Kurdish soldiers and officers, who were there, shot the protestors; on the contrary, they joined them, and then Lieutenant Izzat Najeeb and a number of officers went up to the roof of the building and lowered the English flag and raised the Kurdish one. Then they handed the British flag to the British authorities and told them to return it to their country (Hafid, 1995: 52-54).

Fanon believed that the colonized must be violent because the colonizer is violent and in order to liberate themselves from the colonizer, they must react to the colonizer in the violent language: “Violence is a cleansing force. It frees the native from his inferiority complex and from his despair and inaction; it makes him fearless and restores his self-respect” (Fanon, 1963: 94). The perpetuating violence of the British left no options for the Kurds but to respond to the British violently which was why the Kurds came together and revolted against them. To rescue from the marginalization and avoid the violence of the British, the Kurds did what Fanon suggested: that the colonized must “cure himself of colonial neurosis by thrusting out the settler through force of arms (Fanon, 1963: 21).

The Kurdish postcolonial texts recorded the response of Sheikh Mahmud and show how the Kurdish leadership accused the British of domination. Hafid says: ‘On June 18, 1919, the British army which was about twenty thousand fighters under the command of Fraser attacked Sulaymaniyah. After a strong resistance by the forces of Sheikh Mahmud, the British forces were able to advance. They issued a statement accusing the Kurdish revolutionary forces of bandits. In this regard Sheikh Mahmud responded with a message saying to them: “You are the bandits. You came from the ends of the world to occupy our country and you want our people who want freedom and a decent life to

be your slaves." (Hafid, 1995: 57). In this example, through justification, the British by force attempted to impose a borrowed identity on the Kurds. We can borrow the term "doubling" from Bhabha to see how the Kurds encountered an ambivalent state in this example. The British tried to impose their identity on the Kurds and they refused to adopt the identity. At the same time, the Kurds try to present themselves as "self" and protect their native identity.

The British prevented the Kurdish voice from reaching other countries. That is why the tribal chiefs headed by Sheikh Mahmud sent a message to the ambassadors of the United States, Turkey, Italy, France, Russia and Iran. In a part of this message, it was stated:

The Kurds were not able to implement what Britain wanted from them, as it wanted them to ignite the fire of revolution in both Turkey and Iran. About six months later, they were harassing the Kurds in order to find a pretext for striking them. Thus, they attacked the city of Sulaymaniyah and the villages around it with their aircrafts. They even bombed mountains, forests, orchards, and fields which caused burning of people's properties and crops, and killing civil inhabitants and even herds of the livestock. This forced many families to flee to the mountains and hide in the caves for fear of Aircraft attacks. So many people especially women and children tasted the agony of hunger, cold and heat. We ask that you will kindly look with sympathy and human feeling to lift this injustice against thousands of families who live in a miserable condition where the British do not hesitate to kill their men on the battlefields and without mercy. We ask for finding a solution for this hard situation. Our people will not lay down weapons unless they obtain their legitimate rights and get rid of this unjust enemy (Khwaje, 2016: 199-200).

The voice of the Kurds was not heard to ascertain the reality of Kurds' representation in terms of their political demands. It was impossible to open a window of the Kurdish home to deliver and warn the international world about subjugation and oppression of the muted voice which were not assigned to the topic position. Due to the severe acts of

violence and marginalization, the Kurds had no voice. The only voice there, was the pro-British Kurdish voice. So, the Kurds were violated and voiceless.

From the perspective of the Kurdish postcolonial discourse, through these examined texts, the British dominance is the practice of various forms of violence. They committed physical violence by bombarding the Kurdish cities and villages, killing Kurds and committing war crimes. They also violated the scio-psychology of the Kurds by lowering their social dignity and abusing them through verbal and cultural harassment. As an attempt to turn the Kurds into ignorants, they committed epistemic violence by banishing Kurdish leaders and burning and looting libraries. The colonizers committed the violences in both levels, state level and individual colonizers such as British officers. The Kurds attempted to have a voice but they were silenced and prevented from speaking up. Internally, the Kurds were doomed to physical resistance against the colonizers. Thus, the colonial British voice represented the subaltern voice. The multiforms of the British violence obliged the Kurds to produce counter-violence as a resistance tool. However, the Kurdish and the British violence are different in two ways as the Kurds did not have as much capacity as the British had, and the Kurds did not practice as many forms of violence as the British committed. The offense ability of the colonizer was not comparable to the offense ability of the colonized. Due to the power imbalance, the result of the combating violence between the colonized and the colonizer was in the favor of the British. Moreover, the Kurdish violence was unsystematic and unplanned; it was more managed by passion and the faith among the people. The Kurds' unsystematic violence was opposite the systemic, organized and planned violence of the British. Fanon believes that without a plan and a clear vision, the violence by the colonized does not produce results except producing more violence and power imbalance (1963: 81). This is why the subjugating and dominating violences produced unjust power between the colonized and the colonizer which is the intention behind them in the first place.

4.3.12. The Covering of Kurdish Anti-Colonial Resistance and its Figures

The study discusses this theme separately even though the theme is directly related to the theme of “self” and “other” which will be discussed in the next section. However, due to the importance and huge existence of the theme in the Kurdish texts, as the

defamed image of the Kurds remains as a fact in Kurdish narratives and mentality. The chosen texts have remained unexamined in any research to the best knowledge of the researcher which is why discussing this theme separately is important. During the British colonization of Kurdish areas of Iraq when Kurdish newspapers were controlled and censored as a colonized object, British colonialism attempted to plant its agenda into Kurdish newspapers and texts in order to defame the image of the Kurds' anti-colonial movement and its figures. The term "covering" is an expression which is borrowed from Edward Said's book which is entitled "*Covering of Islam*" in 1981, in which he discusses how the Western media distorts the image of Islam. Therefore, the expression can be take this title and concept in terms of the covering of Kurds in Iraq by British colonialism and pro-British discourse. This theme does not seek to restore British discourse, but rather addresses the subject of how Kurdish writing portrayed Kurdish anti-colonial resistance. Also, this theme mainly shows how the pro-British media distorted the image of the Kurdish anti-colonial resistance and its leaders.

As there were two types of Kurdish postcolonial discourse, there are also two kinds of covering of the Kurds: re-covering Kurds in the same way as British colonial discourse presented and refining and reconceptualizing the covering of Kurds as anti-colonial discourse. In both cases, Sheikh Mahmud and his movement were the target of action and reaction and in both cases the British colonial power played a role and related to the action and the reaction. The role of the British was objectifying the Kurdish leaders and Kurdish anti-colonial movement. In turn to this, the reaction of the Kurds emerged to re-subjectify the Kurds against this covering which were written in forms of history and knowledge about the Kurds during this period.

One of the main topics of the *Zhiyanawa* newspaper was criticism of Sheikh Mahmud and his ruling period in order to depict a distorted picture of Sheikh Mahmud's movement and to show the (glories) of British colonialism:

Be careful and look into the conditions of this oppressed nation, this small land and this small number of Kurds, what they saw, and what happened to them. If we think carefully, it will appear to us that all this happened as a result of illiteracy and ignorance. All that happened was due to what he had done (referring to Sheikh Mahmud). What he was

trying to do was only for his own benefit ... and the final result became like a tree or a plant without being watered...and about to dry up, that was our condition ... Now, thanks to Almighty God, the anguish has eased, we clearly see the right way. So, the opportunity has come now ..., it is time to work hard and diligently and the time of struggle has come. Let us try together to irrigate that tree and that plant that have yellowed so that they will revive...Do not disperse again and do not follow those who have gone astray. If you know worldly matters well, then this nonsense and these illusions are only daydreams because they all have no results other than woes and calamities that may finally lead to our destruction... For God's sake, once again, I ask you to be keen on insight and not follow those who have gone astray because we have seen that experience (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 1, 1924: 1).

This tone of speaking shows the anti-colonial resistance responsible for the ignorance and sufferings of the Kurds. This policy was to slow down the Kurds from decolonization and justifying their superiority and inferiority and thus obliging the Kurds to follow them and obliging the Kurds to listen to the decisions of the British.

Despite all the destruction, killing and bombing carried out by Britain against the Kurds, the *Zhiynawa* newspaper placed all the responsibility on Sheikh Mahmud and the anti-colonialists. In a text entitled "*Whether*," the newspaper wrote: "We ask whether our eyes have turned open this time and we understand that what happened is nothing but serving the ideas of some of unfair and unscrupulous persons, and as a result, we have deprived ourselves of a valuable blessing, and we lost our universal rights, and caused ourselves all these misfortunes and calamities" (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 3, 1924: 1). Distorting the reality of Sheikh Mahmud and his followers who had the same ideas at that time and accompanied Sheikh Mahmud in forming an anti-colonialism movement. The major part of any topic of the *Zhiyanawa* newspaper was full of insults, defamation and fabrication of accusations "aiming at portraying Sheikh Mahmud personally as a bandit and his revolution as a rebel of a group of thieves" (Amin, 2013: 396). Some of these intellectuals and writers had ideological disagreements with Sheikh Mahmud in addition to personal differences they had with him and with his movement as well as the divergence of views and visions. But they certainly fell under the direct influence of the

British colonial agenda and its deceitful discourse and used their difference as an excuse to stand against the movement (Baban, 2008, pp. 26-29). Although Sheikh Mahmud's style of administrative ruling of the revolution and his government was not void of some faults and problems, standing with the occupying enemy and being deceived by its agendas had no pretext; therefore, that attitude was condemned by a number of intellectuals and writers at that time.

The *Zhiyanawa* newspaper was dissolved in British's agenda to the point that it tried to terrorize Sheikh Mahmud to distort his image in his community. Running the reputation of Sheikh Mahmud was to weaken the anti-colonial movement and create conflicts between the pro-British Kurds and the Sheikh Mahmud supporters intending to weaken the colonized Kurdish community. The insults and false accusations of the newspaper can be clearly seen in the following excerpts:

For some time, Sheikh Mahmud and his robbers have looted the possessions of poor people, robbing vehicles, convoys, and even the old clothes of farmers, shepherds and women in the villages. They also incite the clans to carry out plunder and corruption. However, thanks to the government's measures (referring to the British government), their actions were controlled and all their attempts were disappointed. Many of them surrendered to the authorities and declared obedience and loyalty to the government. It is hoped, God willing, that they will be completely eliminated (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 5, 1924: 3).

The colonized here apart from self-accusing and supporting the agenda of the colonizer can not express themselves; they write a history about themselves which do not reflect them and they also lose the ability to reject and deny the other. As Bhabha states: "The Other (colonized) loses its power to signify, to negate, to initiate its historic desire, to establish its own institutional and oppositional discourse" (Bhabha, 1994: 31).

Damaging the reputation of Sheikh Mahmud did not only include false accusations, some newspapers used mocking and satire to belittle this figure. They name all the anti-colonial movement and its history as anti-Kurdishness. In another text entitled

“*Decency, O Fake King!*” the newspaper called Sheikh Mahmud as the fake king. The text addressed the Sheikh in this way:

I heard that you have come surreptitiously to the village of Kanda Sura. I hope that you will stay there alone and move the goblins and demons away from you ... I hope that you curse yourself a little, and if you have something of conscience you will have to curse yourself and cry a little because you may remember that the people of Sulaymaniyah and the Kurds in general are longing for your presidency, and they asked your mercy to gain them independence, as the British government granted you mercy, pardoned you and let a criminal like you return to Sulaymaniyah from India as a head of people’s council Even now, you do not leave these miserable people in peace because through plundering, stealing and creating different kinds of problems, you are robbing the people again (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 21, 1925: 3).

The discourse, in this example, lost its ability to be rational and systematic. The writer directs the community as he/she wills under the supervision of the colonial power. They decide who is evil, who is good, who fights for the Kurds and who stands against the Kurds. This freedom was given to the pro-British Kurds by the British power to limit their knowledge; the colonizer limited the knowledge of the Kurds about themselves and they decided what the Kurds should know about themselves. That is, the colonized dissolved in the colonizer completely. The Kurds here assimilated themselves and their culture to the British ideology termed as “culture assimilation.” Culture assimilation is the coexistence and the dissolution of the minority culture to the majority which is intended to create a monoculture and ideology (Borooah & Mangan, 2009: 34).

Such campaigns of propaganda were spread through the discourse of British colonialism against the anti-colonial movements. This clearly appear between the lines and texts of *Zhiyanawa* newspaper and through a strategy full of hostility, deceitful discourses of insults and false accusations which was planned in advance by the British and then published with their support especially in *Zhiyanawa* newspaper through some writers who aimed at showing a distorted image of Sheikh Mehmud. This is clearly evidenced by the letter of Henry Dobbs, the British High Commissioner in Iraq, to Sheikh

Mahmud which was published in the *Zhiyanawa* newspaper. That letter was an answer to Sheikh Mahmud's attempts to ensure an independent administration for the Iraqi Kurds. Here is a part of Henry Dobbs's letter:

The Divan of his Excellency, the British High Commissioner in Iraq,
Baghdad.
November 4th, 1925

To Sheikh Mahmud,

As regards the political requests you suggested, our answer is as follows: the government of Great Britain has absolutely decided that Southern Kurdistan should remain within the kingdom of Iraq.... Currently, the Iraqi Kurds, thanks to the mercy and care of the government, are more luxurious and happier than the Kurds of any other countries. That is why your incitement of Kurdish clans against the government brings great disasters to them just as your persistence on your demands from the British government that supports Iraq which also has no benefit and becomes useless as you remain on your current stubborn attitude. Besides, it harms your reputation in all parts of the world as they view you as an ordinary thief and, as a result, you will face doom and great calamities (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 53, 1925: 1).

The Kurdish pro-British newspapers echo British policies and its discourse. The British policy toward the Kurds at that stage (from 1924 to 1926) is very clear in this message as they want the Kurds to remain within the monarchy system in Iraq which was established by the British government. They are also standing against any rapprochement between the Kurds and the Turks or any attempt that may be against British policy. It also shows that the independence attempts by Sheikh Mahmud and his anti-colonial movement put the Kurds at risk of extermination and harmed their reputation. In such cases they will be treated as thieves and bandits.

The *Zhiyanawa* newspaper, as a Kurdish newspaper, was completely under the influence of the policy of British colonialism and its propaganda campaigns. For

instance, *Zhiyanawa* had soon endorsed that message of the British High Commissioner and wrote the following:

Let's talk about the true morals and behavior of Sheikh Mahmud and his bandits. It seems that His Excellency, the High Commissioner, was not deceived by the words of Sheikh Mahmud in any way. So, his message to Sheikh Mahmud is simple and clear. In addition, we on our part have the right to say that Sheikh Mahmud would either accept this invaluable proposal or he may end his life in shame (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 53, 1925: 2).

As a result, one can argue that Kurdish demands are intellectually and politically unacceptable to British colonialists. It must be said that insisting on the demand carries a high risk: claiming to be on the side of no such demand increases the prohibition against Kurds claiming access to threats as a legitimate resource emphasizing their political marginalization to the detriment of other dominant groups (for example, the colonized), for whom the resource of prevention is legitimate, which is also playing the game of essentialism that places Kurds and Sheikh Mahmud on the defensive. At the same time, accepting British power as a threat is to postulate that access to fear is political and security progress which validates the idea of Kurdish aligning themselves with British stereotypes, rather than the other way around, defines the indissolubility of accepting Iraqi identity and pressures under a monarchy created by British colony, and thus forget the utopia and accepting the proposal of the High Commissioner. This indicates that the pain induced by the double-bind is still present.

Accordingly, the threat that the High Commissioner made via his message was, in fact, planned for in advance in order to be practical and could be implemented rather than being only an improvised written plan. In Issue 56 of the *Zhiyanawa* newspaper there was a bit of news about a lawsuit that had been filed against Sheikh Mahmud for cases of theft and plundering of people's money. Here is a part of the accusation published in the newspaper:

Mahmud Effendi, as the president and also representative of Sulaymaniyah Municipality, has filed a lawsuit against Sheikh Mahmud, i.e. son of Sheikh Saeed, Hafidzada, requesting reimbursing an amount of 10064 (ten thousand and sixty-four) rupees in addition to 28 liras

being taken and collected from the people of Sulaymaniyah for the purpose of importing a printing machine while that machine was given as a gift by a donor, but Sheikh Mahmud took it by force (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 56, 1926: 4).

This accusation was evidence of implementing the threat made by the High Commissioner against Sheikh Mahmud that if he refused to submit to the British request, he would be treated as an ordinary thief. Thus, the degree of coordination existed between the colonial discourses and the texts of *Zhiyanawa* texts can obviously be noticed. This was used as an extra tool of pressure added to their military, political and colonial powers. In this way, the role and influence of that discourse on the people who were under occupation could easily be noticed. The British, through these tactics, wanted to kill the hope in Sheikh Mahmud through covering him in the pro-British newspapers which was the repeatability of the content discourse in colonial discourse. This covering was to marginalize all the anti-colonial movements via turning them into subalterns, ignoring and preventing all forms of resistance and self-representation as Bhabha states in cases of subalterns: “Words will not speak and the silence freezes into the images of the apartheid” (Bhabha, 1994: 14).

In the 36th issue of the *Zhiyanawa* newspaper, a dialogue or controversy was published in a narrative style under the pseudonym of “Hoz Hasan Mawlani,” which makes it impossible to guess what the real name is. This topic was entitled “*What is the news.*” The writer criticized Sheikh Mahmud, his associates and those inclined to the Turks while praising the British in such a way that makes us believe that the attempt of gaining the educated elite of the Kurds has borne fruit. The following is a section of that topic that appeared in the form of a dialogue:

A: What is the news?

M: Don't you know that the military forces have returned to the city?

There are a lot of soldiers in the city. They are busy with preparing places for planes and tanks and they put guard posts everywhere. The government is also busy with Sulaymaniyah city from all aspects of life. I think the city will flourish very soon.

A: Are you crazy, man? What are you saying? Yesterday, Sheikh told all the people and assured them that the government will leave the city of Sulaymaniyah in the next few days and we would return to the city. The city of Sulaymaniyah should be evacuated until the 9th day of August.

M: Didn't I tell you that you are ignorant and understand nothing? If sheikh does not claim these things, then how can he secure his life? If these idiots are not being deceived by these lies, how do they follow him?

A: What you are saying is really true. So far, I was not aware of these matters, but I do not know what our condition will be as a final result, and what is the goal that we seek to achieve?

M: The result is clear, since our mission is plunder, our result will be either starvation or a humiliating death. We fooled ourselves when we became followers of this man (refers to Sheikh Mahmud). He tells us: We seek for the Kurds, liberate our people and guarantee them comfort. However, he is busy with plundering the people and wiping them out by all means.

A: By God, if all this hardship and fatigue that we suffer were for the sake of the Kurds, it would be a good thing.

M: God knows, you will never return to your senses. When we were under the Turkish administration, that is, before the British came here, who of us knew anything about Kurdish independence! The British taught us all these. Today also, they alone have compassion for humanity in general and the Kurds in particular so that all our hopes will be fulfilled through them. But if we will be hostile and fight them, how can we achieve our aspirations? We burn our homes out with our hands.

A: May God bless you. Once again, you talk about the British, and you are constantly reminding us of them. I think that the sheikh's opinion is the right one regarding the matter. He agreed with the Turkish government; praise be to God, it is a Muslim government and has

mercy on the Muslim people so that we can be guaranteed independence in the near future and we enjoy comfort and the British are kept away from us, and then we form our independent government.

M: Nonsense...! Once again you tell your silly and meaningless words. How you not be ashamed and talk about Turks and praise them. It seems you are ignorant of the news of northern Kurdistan. How strange is the matter of ignorant people!

A: Why? What happened? Wow, I remembered. You are right, I heard something yesterday but I didn't take it seriously.

M: The Turks committed genocide against the Kurds during which they killed more than 50.000 women, children and men. Several thousands of well-known personalities were also perished.

A: Why did they treat the Kurds in this way?

M: Of course, only because they are Kurds, may be due to hatred of racism. Even now, that genocide still goes on, and the blood of our racial brothers has flooded into the Tigris and Euphrates.

A: What an ironic chaos it is! We aspired that they will grant us independence, but they are wiping us out.

M: Didn't I tell you from the beginning that we have a bad idea. Today, no one is sympathetic to us but the British. If we did not change our mind in this direction, we would have got perished as soon as possible. If we want to ensure the happiness of our nation, we must follow good ideas. But to make you more reassured, uncle Sheikh's [Sheikh Mahmud] struggle is neither for the Kurds nor for Islam, but rather aims to plunder this poor people.

A: By God, you said the truth. I wish I could see my salvation from Sheikh and the Turks before I die.

M: No, I only wish that the 'Tilted Jackets' would be wiped out of this country because all that happens is because of their corruption (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 36, 1925: 2-3).

This dialogue demonstrates the division among the Kurdish voice: the pro-British voice and the anti-colonial voice who were the supporters of Sheikh Mahmud. The anti-colonial Kurds were accused of helping the Turks. Both of the two sides were the outcome of the British colonial mentality and policy which wanted to make ethnic conflicts between the peoples. Through this dialogue, they used opposite words, ideas and expressions against one another. These words and expressions were used to support one side and weaken the other, i.e. the words turned one side “black” and the other side “white.” These words and their meanings played an important role in covering the Kurds. Barthes (1986) believes that the identity which the Other loses was literary established through language. The words which were used to describe Kurds anti-colonial movement and Sheikh Mahmud are: Ignorant, deceiver, starvation, Idiots, starvation, humiliation, death, fatigue, wipiny, hardship, and corruption whereas the words which were used for the British were flourish, teacher, humanity, savior, fulfilled hope, and happiness. The colonizer used these words to create an opposite binary between themselves and their subjects. The British wanted to give a constructed identity to the Kurds through using these words which do not reflect the real identity of the Kurds. The purpose of these false images was to cover the real voice of the Kurds from speaking up.

One of the most famous texts published in *Zhiyanawa* newspaper was a story by Jamil Saeb (1887-1951) titled “*In My Dream.*” This writer is considered one of the prominent intellectuals of his time. This text is a very arguable text, and the writer was also one of the Kurdish intellectuals’ elites at that time who was in a good relationship with British colonial administration in Iraq. He wrote this story to criticize Sheikh Mahmud's anti-colonial movements through symbolic style and fictional narrative. He worked for a while as the editor-in-chief of that newspaper. He also published topics and articles in *Peshkawtin* newspaper. As a writer and an intellectual, he had a notable role during the period of the British occupation. This text was published in 23 serial episodes of the *Zhiyanawa* and *Zhiyan* newspapers. The first episode was published anonymously on July 1, 1925 in Issue 29 of *Zhiyanawa*.

In his story, the writer employed a symbolic technique. The protagonist narrates what he dreamt which is, in fact, a clear political criticism of Sheikh Mahmud’s rule as the

narrator considers and describes that historical period of Sheikh Mahmud's struggle against the British as a terrifying and hateful dream (Barzinji, 1978).

The story was not written to present a literary text, but to serve the strategy adopted by *Zhiyanawa* newspaper especially such a discourse that tried to give the readers a dark, distorted image of Sheikh Mahmud and his movement in order to stop people from supporting him. This was clearly evident from the advertisement published by the newspaper in its Issue 28, that is, before publishing “*In My Dream*” story, in which it was stated:

Someone has seen a weird and strange dream. That dream represents the reality of life and what happened during ruling this country through which many secrets and brutal bloody events will be revealed so as to make people aware of everything that happened. In the beginning, we publish some parts of that dream in this newspaper on weekly bases, God willing, to be started from the next issue. Every reader has to read the topic precisely from its beginning to the end and not give it up until the end (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 28, June 26, 1925: 4).

This is proof that this text is not separate from the policy and agenda behind the publication of such texts in *Zhiyanawa* newspaper; therefore, it is both within the colonial framework for its publication and has been advertised and propagated in advance in order to attract readers to the text.

In addition to what is mentioned above, there are other reasons behind what was stated in the discourse of that text. For instance, at that period of time some of the Kurdish intellectuals were criticizing Sheikh Mahmud's policy and his ruling style. In addition, they criticized his movement and the people who were around him. Some of these writers were under the influence of the misleading discourse and propaganda of British colonialism which supported anyone who was against Sheikh Mahmud or his ideas and incited them in many ways (Barzinji, 1978).

It is noteworthy that both Arif Saeb, Jamil Saeb's brother, and Jamal Irfan, who was his brother-in-law, who were two notable politicians and intellectuals of that time, were killed by unknown persons during the rule of Sheikh Mahmud (Amin, 2013). Of course,

that caused Jamil Saeb to have a lot of hatred toward Sheikh Mahmud and his movement and, as a result, he directed severe criticism against his revolution and his rule. Jamil Saeb, like many other intellectuals had to choose one option among these three: supporting Sheikh Mahmud and his movement, standing by the pro-Turks nicknamed “Tilted Jackets,” or supporting the British policy of joining the Kurds to Iraq, and he chose the third option. Accordingly, a writer and researcher like Hussein Arif mentioned in one of his books that most of the anonymous strongly-worded articles about Sheikh Mahmud that were published in newspapers were written by Jamil Saeb (Arif, 2011).

As has been mentioned, this text was presented in serial parts. The content of the story can be summarized as follows:

A poor miserable stranger (undoubtedly, the writer refers to himself) dreamt that he left his city intending to live in another city. And this city was ruled by a crude and unjust ruler who did not know mercy or compassion (the writer refers to Sheikh Mahmud). This ruler had aides and men who were all robbers, thieves and murderers. Their duty was to kill, plunder and take royalties.

This poor person traveled with a caravan to that city and they encountered groups of thieves and bandits a number of times on their way. All the members of the caravan were anxious and hoped to reach that city in order to get rid of these thieves and bandits. However, when they reached the city, the man suffered a greater ordeal as all the great men and those who were with authority in the city were hostile and merciless thieves and plunders. When they noticed that this person was impoverished and poor, they accused him of espionage, and then they took him to their boss who was a dangerous bloody person having no mercy. So, the ruler ordered to put the man in a room close to his room, i.e. the room of the harem. So, the imprisoned man could see and hear many strange and unfair decisions being made by the ruler. When he heard how the ruler used to make decisions and to use power, he couldn't control his feelings and started to laugh. Later when the ruler knew that the imprisoned person had heard their speech, he ordered his men to bring him and upon his presence they started beating and torturing him very severely in order to force him confess that he was a spy.

However, the poor man screamed and begged them to free him.... At this point the story comes to an end (*Zhiyanawa*, Issues 29-56, 1925-1926).

This text carries the discourse that the British were working to implement through *Zhiyanawa* newspaper according to a plan and a strategy prepared for that stage which was mainly aiming at portraying the anti-British forces and the Kurdish revolutionary movement led by Sheikh Mahmud as a distorted ugly image and to show the British occupier as a liberator as a source of justice, security and stability which was the main objective according to their plan and strategy as Hussein Arif stated that:

The story, in so far as it was a literary subject, was equally a political and historical topic. So, to the extent of its literary significance, it also had the same political and historical importance especially as it directly attracted the attention of the critic towards topics that had a sensitive and complex historical importance for the Kurdish people (Arif, 2011: 15).

One of the obvious criticisms of the *Zhiyanawa* newspaper and an intellectual like Jamil Saeb in terms of the intellectual and the necessities of the historical stage that the region is going through as Dr. Jamshid Haydari, a writer and an academic, talked about the subject of this text, saying:

The content of the text shows us how weak was the writer's Kurdish nationalist spirit in this story which was, from its first page to its end, devoted to defending the occupiers who plundered the country, but the writer described them as protectors of justice and the rights of the Kurds (Haydari, 1977: 6-7).

Some examples taken from the text:

- In one of the sections of Jamil Saeb's story "In My Dream" that published in *Zhiyanawa* newspaper, the author indirectly referred to the militant and revolutionary fighters who supported Sheikh Mahmud in a symbolic way where he said:

"In the city, I saw some strange persons whose appearance terrified people. Each of them was wearing ten to twelve colorful turbans wrapped together, and each was carrying a lot of cartridges and ammunition in addition to pistols and daggers so that they would be perceived as bloody killers" (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 35, August 13, 1925: 4)

- In another section of his text, he described and depicted the period of Sheikh Mahmud's rule as the period of murder, injustice and tyranny; writes:
 "In a state full of despair, we continued walking for another time until we reached a square and there I saw gallows, and through it I saw a group of wooden poles fixed in the pavement, and a man was tied to them who was surrounded by three or four persons. They took off his clothes in cold and rainy weather. One of those cruel men was severely beating the poor man with a stick. The sound of his beating was reaching all sides of the square. I passed this lane and every inch of it reminded me of blood" (*Zhiyanawa*, Issues 36, August 20, 1925: 4).
- In another section of the text, he dealt with the same topic as he said:
 "I said, O Lord! Please, use your discretion. You are able and aware of everything. You are the savior. So, save me from this unfair, misfortune and calamity. What place is this, and what kind of creatures are these people! What kind of soul and conscience these people have! How can I get rid of these oppressors and merciless people?" (*Zhiyanawa*, Issues 38, September 3, 1925: 4).
- Elsewhere in his text, Jamil Saeb described Sheikh Mahmud's style of rule as follows: "I said to myself that it seems to me that all the affairs of this country are only robbing and plundering people. So, they seize all the valuables of others. They receive bribes from people, appoint incompetent people to high positions and abuse the rights of others. "
 (*Zhiyanawa*, Issues 39, September 10, 1925: 4).
- In another description of the ruler of that city which, of course, refers to Sheikh Mahmud, he said: "I saw that great man was only giving orders, sitting brightly and proudly, taking long breaths from his hookah that makes sharp cracks ... None of his movements were without anger and selfishness ..." (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 41, September 24, 1925: 4).

These examples, once again, in addition to defaming the image of the anti-colonial movement, in some ways make fun of their clothes and appearance as cruel, savage and

scary which is the same as the colonial discourse about Sheik Mahumd and his movement. These texts were part of the self-rejection and self-condemnation contrasting to the other. Also, the texts blamed the internal factors for all the problems and ignored the external factors which were the main reasons for all the sufferings that Kurds faced at that time the impact of which continued to this day. For example, Dr. Jamshid Haydari commented on the content of this section and said:

I think that such claims are far from the truth as they are created by the writer's imagination with the intention of giving a false image of the situation in order to deceive people and prove to them that the rule of Sheikh Mahmud was unfair and it ought to be fallen... as indeed happened and, as a result, the people were freed, thanks to Britain ... There is no doubt that Jamil Saeb supported the British and, for this reason, he closed his eyes to all the atrocities and brutal actions that Britain was carrying out against the Kurdish people during the years 1919-1920 until the fall of Sheikh Mahmud's rule (Haydari, 1977: 6-7).

The role played by some intellectuals such as Jamil Saib at that time which is a kind of issues between them and the Kurdish resistance movement, and their solidarity with British colonialism in a way questions the role they should have played, as Edward Said says: "I am asking the basic question for the intellectual: how does one speak the truth? What is the truth? For whom and where?" (Said, 1994: 88). Answering these questions depends on the context of the community "that tries to speak the truth to power" (Said, 1994: xvi), not showing power as truth. This role of the intellectual in the examples of these mentioned texts is a writing that deviates from the tasks of the age and has a presence in the form of absence. In addition to being treated as an educational source and even in some cases as a historical fact, these texts become a source for the views and readings of the colonized nation which makes the colonized stay in a colonial circle. For example, although the above text is a fictional narrative, it has been regarded in some sources as part of the historical fact about the history of the Kurdish anti-colonial movement. Although this verifying is the dialogue between Sheikh Mahmud and the intellectuals at this stage, it is the parallelism and a kind of re-ratification of the policy of defamation and demonizing Sheikh Mahmud and his movement at the time. This will

have a multidimensional and long-term impact on Kurdish culture and historical facts. It will both distort history and create a long-term impact on the colonized mentality, and weaken their ability to resist the colonization. One of the reasons for the weakening of the Kurdish anti-colonial movement, even the disappearance of the Kurdish voice against the colonization at that stage, was the absence of the role of some Kurdish intellectuals in the anti-movement. Some of them even supported the colonial power and were influenced by the colonial discourse. Therefore, one of the main pillars of the success of the resistance movement is the presence of intellectuals, as Edward Said says: "There has been no major revolution in modern history without intellectuals. Conversely, there has been no major counterrevolutionary movement without intellectuals. Intellectuals have been the fathers and mothers of movements, and of course sons and daughters, even nephews and nieces" (Said, 1994: 10-11).

Despite the distortion image of the anti-colonial movement and Sheikh Mahmud in the pro-British discourse, the anti-colonial discourse was trying to remove these coverings. Ahmed Khwaje states:

On May 31, 1919, the Kurdish confrontation and revolution led by Sheikh Mahmud began against the British occupiers. The British forces through the Levy army which they had established attacked Kurds, but their offensive failed in front of the resistance of the Kurdish fighters. The remnants of the British army and a group of Levy soldiers were captured. In order to calm down the situation, Sheikh Mahmud sent a telegram to Arnold Wilson, saying, "The Kurds cannot bear more than this, and we will no longer be fooled by your words. That is why, they resorted to arms. All your men are in safety and under my care. To prevent blood shedding, give the Kurds their rights and carry out your promises (Khwaje, 2016: 60).

At the same time, he sent letters to all the clan chiefs in Soran and Badinan: "The British authorities forced us to resort to arms in order to avoid the British evils and chaos. Helped by God Almighty the victory will be for the Kurds. Britain does not want the Kurds to realize freedom. The British even do not consider the Kurds as human beings" (Khwaje, 2016, pp. 62-63). Here the Kurds speak up and break through the

coverings of the British created in their discourse. This time the Kurds show the real voice of the Kurds and defend themselves by stating that they are not the evil which is depicted in the colonial discourse. Rather, it was the British Empire who was evil.

The images of the Kurds are different. Likewise, the approaches they use to bargain on their own side are different. As Michel Foucault says, "Where there is power, there is resistance and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power" (Foucault, 1972: 95). The Kurds resisted the British and felt powerful in a setting tightly controlled by British colonial authority, and they fought in both national and regional struggles against the colonizer. In this case, as Khwaja mentioned above, Sheikh Mahmud wrote letters to all of the clan leaders in Soran and Badinan. He states to them (He tells them that the British government compelled them to use weapons in order to avoid the British evils and chaos. The British do not want the Kurds to achieve freedom, and they do not see the Kurds as humans). This shows the awareness of Sheikh Mahmud in the sufferings of the Kurds by the British Empire and recognition of the true face of the colonizer.

Sheikh Mahmud accused British officers by using all tools of subjugation and oppression against Kurds when the British soldiers were captured. Sheikh Mahmud told Greenhouse, who was a high-ranking British officer in Sulaymaniyah: "I, for the sake of the freedom of my people, have welcomed you wholeheartedly and sincerely. So far, I have waited with great hope for the fulfillment of your promises that you made to us on the British honor. But I should have not let you and Soane do what you did at that time." (Khwaje, 2016: 63). Moreover, Ahmed Khwaje talks about these groups and their activities with respect to opposing the occupation of Sulaymaniyah. These activities started after the deportation of Sheikh Mahmud especially by writing warning slogans in the city streets against the occupation authorities. As an example, the Kurdish Fedayeen Association was a secret society that was established after the end of Sheikh Mahmud's government published a warning statement directed to Major Soane, which was read:

A message to Major Soane

You must soon return the ruler and all the prisoners of Darband Battle
whom you are using for drudgery work of brick-making.

You must think carefully about your future for 'he who considers a nation as a captive, will himself fall into captivity.

Kurdish Fedayeen Society, March 1920 (Khwaje, 2016: 81-86).

These texts are part of the subaltern Kurdish discourse which demonstrate the duty of the Kurdish anti-colonial movement against the policy of the British to resist and ignore the movement of the Kurds which were not aligned with the British policy. These texts also show the understanding of the Kurdish leaders to British power and colonial rule. And it gives a different perspective to the sufferings of the Kurds which were blamed by the Kurds themselves rather than the British power.

Ahmed Taaqi rejects the view which accused anti-colonial movement and images that created for Sheikh Mahmud and Kurds' anti-colonial movements. The content shows that the British interests are the only reason for Britain to change its attitude toward the Kurds and refrain from granting them their rights, and violate their rights. Khwaje talks about the agenda of the British occupiers and their policy toward the Kurds in order to impose their hegemony and abandon their legitimate rights, he says:

The British entered the city of Sulaymaniyah without problems, and Wilson assigned Major Soane there in order to obstruct and destroy the rule of Sheikh Mahmud. At that time, Sheikh had to attack the British authorities. In this way, the Kurds would be blamed in case any war might break out. Thus, we can say that Major Noel was responsible for forming the government of Sheikh Mahmud while Major Soane was responsible for its destruction. However, the rule of Sheikh Mahmud was finally ended. Many people say that Sheikh Mahmud was able to preserve his rule if he had cooperated with Britain and did what they wanted. But, I say that he would not have been in a better condition than what happened even if he did everything according to the will of Britain. If the argument of the British was that Sheikh Mahmud stood against them, then why didn't they appoint another person as the ruler of Sulaymaniyah in the place of Sheikh when he was exiled to India? As we all saw, when Sheikh's rule was ended, the rule was directly transferred to the Britons. Wasn't that only a pretext for making Sheikh

Mahmud's attitude as an excuse for what they planned for? If they were sincere in their intention to establish the state of Kurdistan, they could have installed someone subordinate to them as the King of Kurdistan as they did for the King of Iraq. But it is clear that the British did not want to establish an independent Kurdish state in Mosul *vilayet*. So, ending the rule of Sheikh Mahmud on the pretext of his resistance to the British had no true basis. Why did they preserve the entity of the State of Iraq when the movement of the late Bakr Sidqi and Rashid Ali Gaylani against the British failed? All these are evidence that Britain had bad intentions from the early beginning (Taaqi, 1970: 40-41).

The Kurds' narrative, in these examples, discuss an argument in which Sheikh Mahmud and his movement are responsible for the deprivation of the rights and demands of the Kurds. As in the case of Iraq, why the British did not try to create an alternative leader? The British brought a king home from outside Iraq. If Sheikh Mahmud and his movement were the problems of The Kurdish-British relationship, why the British would not change the policy for oppression and subjugation towards the Kurds h after the disappearance of Sheikh Mahmud.

Sheikh Latif, in his narrative, mentions two main points in terms of the beliefs of Sheikh Mahmud about British colonialism and the Kurdish resistance which are: the independence of the colonizer is fake and it is another form of domination, and the resistance, which is the only way for decolonization and freedom. Concerning the anti-colonial discourse of Sheikh Mahmud, Sheikh Latif says:

It is worth mentioning here that I still remember two aphorisms which Sheikh Mahmud used to repeat. The first one was: an independence granted by Britain becomes destruction instead of a real independence. The other was: the people who suffer from pain and torment will inevitably triumph, and when their goal is achieved, they will rest and forget all the pains of the past ... people should rely on their struggle to establish their entity (Hafid, 1995: 114).

Sheikh Mahmud realized the ironic and ambivalent distance between the British propaganda and their promises, and its reality. His self-realization of the real representation of British colonialism that it is not as they always say "British is light for Kurds; rather it appeared that British is pain." This pain generates a decolonizing process, and the process of decolonizing only can be achieved through resistance. It is the position that Sheikh Mahmud presented for British colonialism.

Rafiq Hilm, from his side, criticized the pro-British figures who had a position and role in Sheikh Mahmud's authorities during the commencement of the monarchy rule in Iraq and the British occupation as a movement that had immature figures. In particular, he described those who outside Sheikh Mahmud's movement had joined the Iraqi administration, and named themselves the representatives of the Kurds and as opportunists who knew nothing about politics. On this matter, he wrote:

The majority of the Kurds, and even those who were members of the Constituent Assembly were not interested in the struggle for the future of their people. Three-quarters of them had not assumed their positions because of their efforts to serve their people, but they were mostly such persons who flattered the British authorities; therefore, no service and even nothing good was expected from them. However, the Kurdish question in the Iraqi Kurdistan was not at any time entrusted to people who were loyal to their nation, but rather those who approached these matters were engaged in politics to serve the British and their own benefits.... All the endeavors that had been undertaken by the British in the Iraqi Kurdistan were unsuccessful and did not go beyond the limits of experiment and deliberation which was full of lies (Hilmi, 2020: 145).

The British had a role in this matter and had an influence on the Kurdish question and the Kurdish national movement. According to Rafiq Hilmi's point of view, the Kurdish question, being a question of a people subjected to occupation, had become a factor of pressure through the British agenda and plans, and the acts of the opportunist Kurdish politicians who participated in the Iraqi government. In this sense, he wrote: "The purpose of Britain was to make use of the Kurdish question and to use them for their advantage whenever they wanted. For this purpose, they used the Arabs and the Iraqi

government as well as some who considered themselves representatives of the Kurds without having any role because most of them were those who worked only to achieve their personal benefits... As for the remaining minority, they could do nothing because they were under pressure from many parties” (Hilmi, 2020: 257-258). In his memoirs, Rafiq Hilmi refuted the opinion that Sheikh Mahmud's movement, not Britain, caused failure to realize the ambitions of the Kurds. Rafiq Hilmi believed that the British were always putting obstacles in the way of the Kurdish national movement. With regard to this matter, the native-representation of the anti-colonial discourse appeared in the memoirs of Rafiq Hilmi that the governments of Sheikh Mahmud, especially his second government, were linked to the problem of the Mosul *vilayet*. Britain did not want a Kurdish state to exist but allowed the formation of those governments only to achieve some interests. Rafiq Hilmi revealed three reasons for this. The first was the increase in the influence of the Turks in the Mosul *vilayet* especially after 1922 when they claimed the *vilayet*. At that time, Britain used the Kurdish government as an obstacle to this request. The second reason was the chaos and conflict that took place against Britain's presence in various regions of Iraq that weakened Britain's economy as well as its military influence. The third reason was that the Kurds unanimously revolted against the British asking them to return Sheikh Mahmud. All these factors forced the British to allow the formation of the Kurdistan government headed by Sheikh Mahmud (Hilmi, 2020: 404-405). Hilmi explains more by giving evidence that even after the end of Sheikh Mahmud's rule and his exile to India, the British did not show any willingness to cooperate with the Kurds and did not think about the Kurdish issue. On the contrary, they stood against it. In this regard, he wrote: "The British abandoned the Kurds, but they needed Sheikh Mahmud for their own purposes. So, Kurdistan became a means, not a goal. But it was clear that Sheikh Mahmud without Kurdistan was of no use to them.... That was why, they brought him back and appointed him as the ruler of Kurdistan” (Hilmi, 2020: 211-212).

Another strategy that the British colonial discourse had was to distort and demonize the anti-colonial movement. To achieve this goal, they resorted to using many methods such as bestowing money or positions on some of Sheikh Mahmud's relatives. At the same time, they were turning a blind eye to the abuse of power by the Sheikh's relatives to face accountability in the appropriate time. Later, they revealed all those violations.

As far this issue is concerned, Rafiq Hilmi wrote: “The British authorities were luring senior officials and superiors with money, gifts, or other means in order to make them their friends and supporters” (Hilmi, 2020: 69). In fact, Shiekh Mahmud's government and its anti-colonial movement are not ideal authorities; some of the Sheikh's followers were involved in illegal activities, corruption, bribery and theft. Later, the British considered this as a weak point for Sheikh and to distort his anti-colonial movement. Accordingly, the author said: “Obviously, the British were aware of all that was happening, but they were ignoring them, and overlooking many similar cases. But when the time of reducing the influence of Sheikh Mahmud came, they made all these matters as justification to start harming the followers of Sheikh and revealed all the actions that they had previously condoned, and then began to incite people against them in order to become enemies of Sheikh Mahmud’s movement” (Hilmi, 2020: 69).

So, the British chose silence during the reign of direct rule or while there was peace between Sheikh Mahmud’s government and the British power. So, the immoral acts committed by the British or people who were close to the British let the blame be on the government of Sheikh Mahmud, and later use the pro-British discourse to destroy Sheikh Mahmud. This policy creates more internal conflicts which would cause more divisions in the Kurdish voice. This division makes it easier for the British to dominate and impose their hegemony on the Kurds.

In general, in both discourses, there are the ideological and perspective conflicts towards the anti-colonial Kurdish movement. On the one side of the struggle, there were the British discourse and the pro-British discourse which was ratified and strengthened to this day. On the other side, there was the anti-colonial discourse which tries to restore their distorted image and history in particular the personality of Sheikh Mahmud. This discourse was more a reaction to the misinterpretation of the colonial discourse of the Kurdish movements and leaders. These accusations and misrepresentations were exaggerated and generalized to cover the Kurdish voice. These fake images presented as real images about the anti-colonial movement which had a huge negative impact on the Kurds to refuse their Kurdish leadership and anti-colonial movements. This state created a voice for the Kurds which is not their voice and thus the Kurds become

subalterns. They can not speak nor they can be heard, and they do not even listen to themselves.

The reason that the British targeted Sheikh Mahmud was because he rejected the agenda of the British as mentioned earlier. He did not trust the British nor their promises. The British tried to win his support for the British but they could not. So, they used various means to weaken him. They exiled him and later to silence the anger of the Kurds, brought him back and made him the ruler of Slemani. Again, the British were scared of his power as his followers were increasing day by day, they tried to ruin his reputation and personality as they could not kill him physically. Although his movement was not free of fallacy, the criticism of the British was not to help the movement get better, rather they used all the disgusting words to ruin the movement which was in the benefit of the British power. This policy made the pro-British discourse for the internal conflicts through their discourse and cover the Kurds and trouble the Kurdish anti-colonial movement. They made the Kurds responsible for the Kurds' sufferings. The Kurds are present in the trouble and they are objects while the British are absent and subject. This duality in the Kurdish discourse slows down the process of decolonization which was one of the main negative impacts of colonial legacy.

4.3.13. Self/Kurds and Other/British

Chapter three explained the notion of self and otherness in British colonial discourse through British selected textual representations. In this section, we discuss the notion of self and the other in Kurdish postcolonial discourse through Kurdish selected textual representations. This section, like the preceding one, is broken into two parts. The first part is about the Kurds as the orient/East or self while the second is British as Occident/West or The Other. The chosen examples include both pro-and anti-colonial discourse. Othering sets the stage for the binary process of characterizing fundamental discrimination and constructed reactions toward the self and the other for each other or conversely. Accordingly, othering the other/Kurds by the colonizer is unidimensional and incomplete which needs to be adhered to the response and the reaction of the other/Kurds to the self/British. In this way, we can disrupt the constructed otheration of the Kurds by the British orientalists and re-conceptualize and redefine the process of

misrepresentation of the other/Kurds. Thus, the process of decolonization and othering the Kurds can be accomplished.

The construction and texture of the self/Kurds and the other/British represented from the self perspective is not an independent depiction; it is rather an interrelated and reactive process between the Kurds and the British and their relationships which demonstrate the nature of the time and relationships. In general, the overall Kurdish postcolonial representation is of two types: the pro-British Kurdish and the anti-colonial Kurdish texts. As the concepts of “Self” and “other” have a binary nature in postcolonial theory, similarly in the Kurdish texts, the construction and the core of each image of the British/other is related to the construction and the image of self/Kurds which is why it formulated a binary relationship. Hereby, in general the representation of self and others in the Kurdish texts are read and analyzed from the perspective of the two types of Kurdish discourse.

4.3.13.1. Self-Orient (Kurds) Representations

The use of the term Self-orient (Kurds) representation refers to the attempts that Kurds as colonized people re-represent themselves in contrast to occident-British as a response and reaction to the colonialism and its discourse. That is to say, Kurds-Orient stood against the British/occident and their colonial construction of the Kurds through Kurdish postcolonial discourse which includes newspapers and texts written by elites and Kurdish politicians as memoir and diaries. The process of representing self in postcolonial discourse was not a random construction. Rather, it was a process based on the causes and effects of domination and colonialism. Accordingly, the Kurdish writings back construct a few images of the Kurds, each of these representations, as mentioned before, reflects the context, the principles, and the objectives of the newspapers and texts which presented the image. The principles and objectives of the discourses in general created a double vision in constructing self for the Kurds. This double vision directly stemmed from the legacy of colonialism. The colonialism legacy categorizes the image of self into two selves: native-self which generates in anti-colonial discourse and otherized self which produces through pro-colonial discourse. Both selves present other interconnected images of the self which are based on the “anti” and “for” colonialism.

In the Kurdish anti-colonial writings, such as *Rozhi Kurdistan*, the images of self and the other were constructed in two ways. In the first image, the Kurds represent themselves without the presence of the other which was quite common. In this representation, the Kurds are free of colonial discrimination and categorization and the self behaves as an independent entity. The second image is the representation of the self/Kurds in the presence of the other/British which was not common. In both cases, the self does not explicitly show anti-colonial disapproval of the other/British due to the contexts in which the newspaper was issued and the negative emotions the Empire produced among the Kurds. After Sheikh Mahmud returned from his banishment and became the leader of the Kurdish government signed an agreement with the British. During this period, the relationship between self/Kurds and the other/British was settled down and the Kurdish discourse took this peaceful state into consideration. Also, the Kurds as all the other colonized subjects were scared of the greatness of the empire. Fisher-Tiné, a professor of global history, believes that: “the history of colonial empires has been shaped to a considerable extent by negative emotions such as anxiety, fear and embarrassment as well as by the regular occurrence of panics” (2016: 1). Through these negative emotions, the other/British tried to marginalize the Kurds. However, after the relationship between the Kurds and the British worsened again and the British bombarded Slemani, the representation of the other/British was changed to worse in particular during the final issues of the newspaper.

The Kurds tried to retrieve their distorted history and cultural and historical identity. By writing back, the Kurds raised their awareness and rejected being othered. They want to deconstruct their misrepresentation in colonial discourse and thus reconstruct their images. How the colonial discourse described the Kurds was by no means even close to how the Kurds in reality are. Therefore, they attempted to redefine themselves from the perspective of the self/Kurds. In the second issue of *Rozhi Kurdistan*, a writer, in a text entitled “*The Strength and Resilience of the Kurdish Nation*,” addressed the origins and historical backgrounds of the Kurds and their position in the region: “the Kurds proved their existence and lived in the east of the Tigris four thousand years BC. Around the 18th century BC, they established a civilized system of government. In addition, the Kurds have preserved their national language, and among them there have appeared leaders that are remembered by history over time, such as Salahuddin Ayyubi, Karim

Khan Zand (1705-1779) and others.” (*Rozhi Kurdistan*, Issue 2, 1338: 2). The Kurds tried to empty themselves from the misrepresentation by British colonial discourse which is discussed in chapter three. They protest against British images of categorization for Kurds. Here, the Kurdish self representation attempted to re-conceptualize themselves through making binary opposition. The Kurds did not see themselves in the images presented in the colonial discourse; therefore, they responded to it. As Foucault states: “discourses are not once and for all subservient to power or raised up against it any more than silences are. We must make allowance for the complex and unstable process whereby discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy. Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it” (Foucault, 1972: 100-101). That is, the colonial discourse does not always lead to othering the other rather sometimes the other uses it as a reaction tool and writes back to disrupt the misrepresentation and re-represent themselves from their perspective.

The self/Kurds refused to be inferior to the other/British and represented themselves as no less than any other nation and peoples. In the first issue of the *Rozhi Kurdistan* newspaper, it is stated: “the world history and even the topographical features are just witnesses that the Kurdish people have proven their existence as a special nation. It has never been inferior to other nations in all respects such as science, knowledge, crafts, trade, and any human and civil requirements.” (*Rozhi Kurdistan*, Issue 1, 1922: 2). The Kurds here refuse being othered and looked as inferior and ignorant. Homi Bhabha states that the very meaning of colonialism is based on division, “us” vs “them,” the “powerful” vs the “powerless,” the “west” and the “east,” the “civilized” vs the “savage,” the “master” vs the “slave” (1994: 107-108). In all of these binary oppositions, the latter is constructed as the subject of the former. In the cases of the Kurds vs the British, the same formula is true. However, the Kurds, as the above quote demonstrates, deny the British superficial stereotyping. The Self/Kurds represent themselves from their perspective which is exactly opposite to the misrepresentations of the Kurds in British colonial discourse as shown in chapter three.

The Kurds refused to be called a minority and strived to liberate themselves from all other marginalization imposed on them by the other/British. In a text entitled “*Mosul Vilayet*” in Lausanne, it was written: "Our request from the Lausanne Conference is not to protect minorities, but rather to defend a great people who has its homeland" (*Rozhi Kurdistan*, Issue 6, 1338: 2). In a similar text entitled “*Unity*,” it is stated: "Praise be to God, we have become a leader for the rest of our people. We have become the source of freedom, independence and happiness for the Kurds, and all other nations are waiting for us" (*Rozhi Kurdistan*, Issue 6, 1338: 3). The self/Kurds here reject the policy of the British which tried to turn the Kurds into a minority in Iraq. That is, they created history as they wanted. Hence, it must be unmade and real history must be retrieved. In the Kurdish postcolonial texts, the Kurds denied to be a minority in Iraq and wanted to have a voice as independent people. This is why *Rozhi Kurdistan* has been defined as a writing back by the colonized to counter the colonial discourses. This writing was a counter-discourse to the British agenda. The British wanted to represent the voice of the Kurds in the international and internal treaties and conferences. That is why, the British did not want the Kurds to have a voice as mentioned before.

The 23rd issue of the *Umedi Istiqlal* newspaper rejects racial discrimination and subordination which the British committed against the Kurds, as it states:

“We are also a people that have all the components of a nation such as racial difference, our own history and language that clearly show our peculiarity. That is why, we do not accept being deprived of our rights while all other peoples have fully gained their own rights. Denial of these natural rights is an affront to our national dignity. The glorified governments are responsible for this injustice because in fact we have always done our best and we have never failed to work for the attainment of those national rights. As long as the venerable government promised our independence at the time, it will not allow today our national rights to be taken over, and does not let us be submitted to the rule of another nation.” (*Umedi Istiqlal*, Issue 23, 1340: 4).

Based on the quote, there are three peculiarities that distinguish the Kurds colonized from the British colonizers or others: race, history, and language. This is the true representation of the self/Kurds to restore their past and native language to deny the

otheration in the British colonial discourse. The Kurds tried to decolonize the psychology of the self/Kurds from the stereotypes of misrepresentation of the Kurds. They resisted the distorted representation of the Kurds in the British colonial discourse. The Kurds/self, based on this quote, refuse two oppressing tools which the British used against them; they are discrimination and exclusion. The British discriminated against the Kurds/self by othering them as for the British it was “center” vs “margin” and “superior” vs “inferior.” The British also excluded the Kurds from the rights which were given to other British colonies, and this was double discrimination. The British wanted to turn the Kurds to minorities by making them powerless. The powerful British Empire abandoned the Kurds from their culture and political rights. The self/Kurds denied these oppressions and represented themselves from their points of views. This representation of the self is reconstructing self and changing themselves from object to subject. The changing is the process of refusing the othering which is “a dialectical process because colonizing Other is established at the same time as its colonized others are produced as subjects” (Ashcroft et al, 2007: 156).

The self/Kurds rejected being in conflict with other peoples and nations which was the colonial discourse. The self/Kurds believed in coexistence with others and motivated each other to decolonize themselves. The image of the Kurds and the image of the British appeared in many *Rozhi Kurdistan* newspapers because the paper represented the ambition of the Kurds and was also the mouthpiece of the Kurdish government. The self-image of the self/Kurds represented in the newspaper was free of the colonizers’ influence as the Kurds built in addition to praising the glories of ancient history, etc. In other words, the image of the Kurds through the personal view was a sublime and glorious image. In this regard, Hussein Nazim wrote: “we strive with our hearts and souls for the freedom of the Kurds and the independence of Kurdistan, and we cling to all legitimate means without losing hope. We like to live with our neighbors in love and harmony and on the basis of mutual respect and recognition of our legitimate rights because we do not accept humiliation and we are ready to sacrifice ourselves for our dignity” (*Umedi Istiqlal*, Issue 16, 1340: 3). The self/Kurds are revolutionary here to conceptualize themselves. The self image built in this quote was to achieve two objectives. First, representing the self positively to dignify and return the human values to the Kurds as a tool for survival and preserve the self/Kurds’ identity, and indirectly

rejects the misrepresented image of the Kurds by the British colonial discourse. Second, this postcolonial discourse resisted the policy of the British which tried to divide and conquer the nations and peoples of the Middle East and abort tolerance and coexistence among them. Moreover, the Kurds rejected these stereotypes and wanted to present themselves as they truly are as Fanon (1986) suggested that the colonized must try to re-create themselves from the distorted images which the colonizer presented of them and preserve a self-determining existence, and in this way the colonized through decolonization can experience a state of catharsis which is freeing the colonized from colonialism and re-creating himself.

The representation of the self had a positive on the Kurds/Self and raised the state of self-confidence, as the poet Faiq Zewar said in one of his poems: “Until yesterday you were claiming that we no longer have presence in any field, / Look at us today to see our freedom and our sovereignty, / And here we are in the bliss of the union rejoice” (*Umedi Istiqlal*, Issue 11, 1339: 3). Zewar demonstrates that the Kurds lost hope and there was a threat on the Kurds. However, when the Kurds wrote back and represented themselves, hope returned to the Kurds and they tried to unite in the face of colonization. This spirit is opposite to the claims and stereotypes of the British discussed above, which tried to divide the Kurds and kill the hope and resistance spirit in them.

In the other Kurdish postcolonial texts, three images of the self/Kurds are presented. In the first image, the self/Kurds constructed coexistence with other ethnic groups in the Middle East, and denied the hostility that was presented by the other in colonial discourse. For example, in Issue 2 of the newspaper, the following was written: “The Kurdish nation is not hostile to anyone, and does not aspire to more than freedom through assistance of a just government (meaning Britain), and we do not aim for any other goal, but eagerly wait for its kindness and assistance... We hope that our legitimate rights will be recognized and granted to us” (*Umedi Istiqlal*, Issue 2, 1339: 1). The Kurds respond to all the enmity that the British tried to make for the Kurds with the other peoples and nations.

The second image of the self is self-criticism, i.e. the self criticizes pro-British Kurds for supporting the British Empire and turning their back on the Kurdish anti-colonial

movement. Ahmed Taaqi depicts the Kurds and the British in terms of how they viewed each other when he says:

From the first day of his arrival in Sulaymaniyah, Major Soane started his plots to weaken the authority of Sheikh Mahmud and erase his government. Unfortunately, everyone was working within this plan without realizing the truth. Most of those who approached Sheikh Mahmud and received his appreciation were selfish people who were concerned about money and wealth and each of them was hostile to the others. Sheikh was at the beginning of his political career. Additionally, his courage and bravery led him to make some mistakes. Wilson, on his part, did not like Sheikh Mahmud from the beginning and was looking for excuses although Major Noel wanted to prevent rupture between Wilson and the Sheikh. Therefore, as soon as Major Soane replaced Major Noel, the balance was no longer in favor of Sheikh Mahmud. From the first day of Sheikh Mahmud's rule, Major Soane plotted to weaken the authority of Sheikh Mahmud. For that purpose, he appointed officials who were in fact agents of the Persians, Afghanis, Arabs, and Indians, and some others were of different religions such as Christians and Armenians. In each department, Soane appointed a British chancellor titled as a translator (Taaqi, 1970: 24-25).

The third image of self which can be understood in this quote below is that self/Kurds criticizes the anti-colonial Kurdish movement and Sheikh Mahmud. As Hilmi writes:

The process of visualizing the self (the Kurds) and the other (British) in the text of Rafiq Hilmi's Memoirs appeared in different forms. For example, regarding the personality of Sheikh Mahmud as the leader of the Kurdish national movement at that stage, he wrote: "After Sheikh Mahmud became the ruler of Kurdistan, he fell into a state of stagnation as he had no experience in government matters and had no supportive friends in the field of politics. At the same time, his courage and his indifference led to failure in considering the threats and risks that caused

mistakes...The tribal methods that he used were not useful for managing the affairs of the state (Hilmi, 2020: 50).

The fact that Kurds criticize themselves stems from the impact of being othered, and it was the portrayal of the self in contrast to the other. The counter movement of self towards the other was unsystematic and disorganized in comparison to the othering of the colonizer which was systematic and planned. Some of the fallacies of the counter-othering and decolonizing the self belongs to the lack of experience. Further, the Kurds had no faithful and honest allies to gain support from; therefore, they had to merely depend on tribes and their inexperienced leadership. That is why, the Kurdish-anti colonial was not as effective as it would be if it was organized and planned. To this point, Fanon believes that colonialism is a systematic process; therefore, for the colonized to be free and decolonize themselves, they need to have plans and set themselves free in a systematic way because, he thinks, decolonization “can neither come as a result of magical practices nor of a natural shock” (Walker, 1963: 36).

In regard to the nature of Self-Kurds, there were two types of self: current/self — subjugated, oppressed by colonizers, and imaginary and demanding self who are unified & resisting trying for liberation. Despite the self-criticism, the Kurdish postcolonial discourse created the image of self in two different conditions. In the first image, it is the current and real self (colonized and subjugated self). In the second image, it is the decolonized self craves for freedom and resists colonialism. The first image is dark and hopeless while the second image is imaginary and self-determining, which is in direct contrast to the colonial stereotyping images of the Kurds intended to colonize them. The difference between the two colonial and postcolonial imaginary that constructed representations becomes apparent as the British imaginary is ironic and made for the self by the British to dominate them while the Kurdish imaginary of the self is made by the Kurds intended to decolonize the self from colonialism. These two images are similar in representing but they are binary opposite in intention and effect. The self/Kurds tried to raise awareness of the Kurds about the antagonism of the other/British. In the messages of Gizing Group, which was a group, according to Ahmed Khwaje, working secretly and conducting small anti-colonial activities to raise awareness of the Kurds toward colonialism, it was stated:

Dear Brothers, citizens of Sulaymaniyah, chiefs of the tribes, open your eyes to see the world and to notice that most peoples of the world are busy seeking freedom. Their motto is “Freedom or Death.” But we, the Kurds, are still asleep. Now your ruler is a captive of the enemy because he asked for freedom in order to free his people from the shackles of colonialism. While Britain wants to perish us with bombardment of aircraft and heavy artillery using an army of 30 to 40 thousand fighters destroying our houses and burning our fields and crops, they want us to remain slaves. Open your eyes, and see that we have no school, no factory, no loyal ones, nothing! Nothing! They don't consider us as human beings. Oh, famous Kurds! For how long will you endure this humiliation! Renew your courage and heroism and destroy your enemy. Raise your voices and demand your freedom with your pens and with your weapons. Where is your ruler? Where is your bright banner? Where are your heroic attacks? Open your eyes, Britain does not give us our rights. So, we must take it with unity and rationality, and if necessary, we must take it by force of arms. Neither the League of Nations nor the Sèvres Treaty granted you your rights and, that is why, you should take them with the tips of your daggers out of the diplomatic bags of such notorious people. March (?) will be a fateful gathering day. So, you have to gather for brotherhood and liberation.

Gizing Group

March 21, 1920 (Khwaje, 2016: 87).

Comparing the colonized self in a colonial environment to the “death” image and the decolonized self to “freedom” created an ambivalent sense. This ambivalence, presented in the texts and related to the colonized experience, split the experienced situation of the identity of the colonized Self. However, the awareness and the consciousness of the Kurds is an attempt of the Kurds for setting themselves free of British othering, as Hegel suggested above (see Chapter One) that being free from otherness is by activating self-consciousness, thereby constructing the self.

Notably, in the pro-colonial Kurdish discourse, the self/Kurds represented themselves in two ways: the re-demonized self and re-exoticized self. These two images have implications from two perspectives. In the first one, the British demonized the Kurds as whole, and the second is demonizing the individual-selves in particular political figures more specifically Sheikh Mahmud as the most prominent political figure at the time. This representation of the self is another form of othering of the Kurds by the British based on the colonial discourse principles. This representation as a phenomenon reflected in all the pro-British newspapers, for example, in the 11th issue of the *Peshkawtin* newspaper, it is stated:

If Britain had delayed its coming to Kurdistan in that year, our foolishness would appear more evident and we would see the woes that afflict us!! With the arrival of this government, prosperity and happiness increased day after day... Why don't you believe!? Within a few years, reconstruction will pervade all cities, and what we have not yet seen, such as trains and other means of progress and comfort, will reach us (*Peshkawtin*, 1920: 1).

In a similar example, the *Zhiyan* newspaper praises of the British Empire:

We, being a poor people, look only to the kindness and pity of the eminent government because our elevation is through its kindness and pity. For this we, in return for the courtesy they showed us, sincerely thank them on behalf of all our people and wish all success to the eminent government and wish our dear guest a long life (*Zhiyan*, Issue 163, 1929: 1).

Such texts of the *Zhiyan* newspaper portray British colonialism as a liberator and a great supporter of the Kurds while the internal Kurdish home is depicted as a scourge and calamity for the Kurds. For example, the newspaper criticizes Self-figures like Sheikh Mahmud: “although Sheikh Mahmud, during this long period, claims that he has served the Kurdish people and Kurdish ideology, in fact he impeded the progress and caused backwardness through his actions that became a major blow to the Kurdish national ideology” (*Zhiyan*, Issue 69, 1927: 1-2).

Ali Irfan was also among the writers who published some texts in the *Zhiyanawa* newspaper. As he, like many others, fell under the influence of the British colonial discourse, he was against Sheikh Mahmud's anti-colonialism movement and believed that Britain was the savior of the Kurds. In a text, he published in the *Zhiyanawa* newspaper entitled “*Why have we forgotten?!*” he said:

Generally speaking, since we came under the rule and protection of the Great British government, they have proved in every way that they are trying to make us human, but we do not appreciate this. And if we have been subjected to some bad dealings, the reason is that the defect is in us, we are bad and that is why we are offended (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 12, 1925: 4).

In another paragraph of the same article, he said:

Therefore, I hope you know that we have gone through all the experiences, so we must do nothing that will make us regret in the end. We have seen the suffering of the past. So, let us try to receive the light of the government's programs so that we may witness peace and comfort and become humans like our neighbors (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 12, 1925: 4).

Irfan considers "the other," that is the occupier Britain, as a light and a source of comfort. In another issue of the newspaper, Saeed Fawzi (1889-1974) who was one of the writers and poets of that era, in one of his poems he said:

Thank God, the pains and tribulations are over

Crying and wailing of nightingales and pigeons have ended

Although ignorance ruined the homeland,

The knowledge gates have again opened

Long live the government that restored the light

People have realized a comfortable life (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 12, 1924: 1).

Zhiyanawa strongly supported the colonial discourse and it wrote: ‘You can see the light of the luminous horizon of the Kurds in the program of Britain and King Faisal. That is, for the newspaper the anti-colonial movement of Sheikh Mahmud is darkness and loss.

Based on all the above examples, the self did not represent themselves as an independent entity, but the self values himself/herself through comparing self with the other/British. The comparing process is not the process of finding differences and similarities between two equal bodies; it depicts the image of powerless and powerful which is represented as a subordinate relationship. British self-representation, which is discussed in chapter three, attached its images to the principal content of Kurdish postcolonial discourse through pro-British texts. This attaching produced numbers of contradictory binaries which negatively connected to the Kurdish postcolonial discourse: the contradictory images of self depicted as *foolishness*, *‘backwards*, *offended*, *tribulation*, *subhuman*, *pain*, *crying*, *ignorance*, and *bad nature*, facing while the self demonized and exoticized itself through comparing the imaginary features of the other: *prosperity*, *happiness*, *progress*, *comfort*, *kindness*, *human*, *light*, *guest*, *pity*, and *peace*. Both categories mimicked British colonial measures for evaluating self by self through colonial British measures. Thus, the measure is an ironic construction between the echo of colonial discourse and its reality. This construction is the shadow of colonialism which led to othering of self/Kurds by the subaltern colonized self/Kurds and adopting colonial legacies by the self. That is, British colonialism did not allow the Kurds to think or imagine themselves without the British Empire. The Kurds were marginalized by the British Empire and they praised their marginalization. This blindness of the colonizer is due to the nature of colonialism, which is like:

...the massive fog that has clouded our imaginations regarding who we could be, excised our memories of who we once were, and numbed our understanding of our current existence. Colonialism is the force that disallows us from recognizing its confines while at the same time limiting our vision of possibilities. Colonialism is the farce that compels us to feel gratitude for small concessions while our fundamental freedoms are denied. Colonialism has set the parameters of our

imaginations to constrain our vision of what is possible (Waziyatawin, 2014).

The imitation of Kurdish pro-British discourse for representing the self in the way of other British is the process of presenting the other and absenting the self in its own self-representation. It is a new sort of problematic consequence of the impact of British colonial discourse. This negative impact created an ambivalence for the Kurds. Bhabha asserts that the effect of colonial power does not want the complete silence of its subjects but hybridization or mimicry which is "the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite. That is, the discourse of mimicry is constructed around an ambivalence. In order to be effective, mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, and its difference (Bhabha, 1984: 126). The British Empire wanted the Kurds to write as long as they mimic the colonial discourse and repeat what their propaganda and agendas. This is why the above examples in *Peshkawtin* and *Zhiyanawa* were similar in content to the colonial discourse demonstrated in chapter three. This repeatability and mimicry, for Bhabha, shows the intention of the colonial power and its discourse and opens a window to give us insight about the subjectivity of the colonial power. It "makes the boundaries of colonial "positionality" – the division of self/other – and the question of colonial power – the differentiation of colonizer/colonized – different from both the Hegelian master/slave dialectic or the phenomenological projection of Otherness" (Bhabha, 1984: 173).

In the process of presenting self/Kurds in relationship to the Kurdish Pro and anti-colonial discourse, there are a lot of types of discrimination perpetuated because the native-self and its difference are seen as a threat and disavowal. Thus, because of self-protective mobilization, the Kurdish postcolonial discourse which is divided into different groups presents solutions for refusing inferiorization, assimilation, belongingness, minorization, hostility, and segregation through anti-colonial discourse which is focused on presenting native-self as an independent entity, and mobilized self by comparing with the other British and its discrimination in order to protect self from othering. Meanwhile, after scrutinizing and understanding the examples of the pro-British Kurdish discourse shows that the Self/Kurds who had an active voice did not

represent the voice of the Kurds; rather they echoed the British colonial discourse. This unauthentic self exoticized the Kurds and considered the other/British as an ideal. Though the colonial-echoed self can not be identical with the other/British, they actively mimic colonial power. This pro-British Kurdish discourse targeted the self in two ways which are re-demonizing and re-exoticizing the self. In both cases, the self represents himself/herself, but in reality, it does not speak for the Kurds.

4.3.13.2. Other-Occident (British) Representations

The term Occident refers to the construction of the Other/British through Kurdish textual representations from 1914 to 1958. It investigates that the image of the British as western colonizers in Kurdish postcolonial writes back and examines the impacts of British discourse and propaganda on the identity, culture, and mentality of Kurds' elites, intellectuals, and politicians in responding and understanding to the British deceptive self/Kurds' representations. Here, the selected samples of Kurdish textual representations focus on the position of the other in view of the perspective of the colonized world. It is a way of giving a voice, identity and individuality to the colonized people in postcolonial discourse. In dialectical construction of British to the Kurds in the Kurdish postcolonial texts, there are two representations of the other: pro-British representation and anti-British representation. In the pro-British representation, the self/Kurds portrays the British as friendly, generous, and the source of progress and, thus, re-centralize the British Empire which is reflected in the pro-British Kurdish texts. The second image of the other/British which is portrayed in the anti-colonial Kurdish texts is demonized and decentralized.

Peshkawtin, a pro-British newspaper, reproduced the same image of the Kurds as presented in British representation of the Kurds that portrays not the Kurds but othered them. The pro-British Kurdish newspaper repeated the misrepresentation of the colonial discourse such as the British is “superior” and the Kurds are “inferior,” the British is civilized and a source of progress and the Kurds are barbaric and uncivilized. This implies that the process of othering here somehow is about the categorization of British/center and Kurds/margin. Homi Bhabha (1994) stated that in the pro-colonial postcolonial writings, the paradoxical (ambivalent) nature of the colonizer\ colonized relationship is the presence of the colonizer and the absence of the colonized. This

paradoxical relationship is reflected in *Peshkawtin* in which in some issues presents the other-British as follows:

- Once again, the text confirms as shown below that the source of progress is Britain, and depicts the Kurds as Insignificant and uncivilized while describes Britain as great and civilized, where it says: “If in this era we continue on our backwardness, stupidity, and malice, then this will destroy us and we deserve nothing but death. The time of progress has come and we have to work in order to reach our goals and objectives (*Peshkawtin*, Issue 1, 1920: 1).
- Thanks to the government as we have become aware of the importance of hygiene ... That is why, we owe it to this government which forced us to learn hygiene (*Peshkawtin*, Issue 6, 1920: 1-2).
- Today it has become clear to everyone and no one can deny the fact that the call for justice, freedom and equality has become a slogan for the government of Great Britain. We are now under the auspices of this justice. The government and its rulers look at the rulers alike, meaning that it does not accept oppression by anyone... In short, the time for injustice has passed (*Peshkawtin*, Issue 7, 1920: 2).
- ...After the Roman Empire, the British became the guide and the instructor for all other governments and peoples of the world ... The British government revealed the reality of the world. And gradually made the savage peoples live like human beings by means of reason and knowledge and then formed governments for them..... No one denies that Britain, compared to last year and other previous years, has changed us. In the previous years, we were dying under the agony of starvation and now we are rich, our country is more beautiful, and roads are built... (*Peshkawtin*, Issue 12, 1920: 1).

The representation of the other/British by the self/Kurds shows that the colonial power emptied the colonized and filled them in with colonial stereotypes and gave them a

borrowed identity. Spivak states that the colonizer “is actually engaged in consolidating the self of Europe by obliging the native to catch the space of the Other on his home ground [that is, he is obliging the native to experience his home ground as imperial space]. He is worlding their own world which is far from mere unscripted earth.... [He is effectively and violently sliding one discourse under another] (Spivak, 1990: 133). That is, the colonizer creates a world for the colonized based on their interest and intention and Spivak, as stated above, calls this “worlding”. The self/Kurds here acts according to the world which the British created for them. The British did not want to reduce the differences between the Kurds and the British and make balance between them. Rather, the empire wanted to naturalize and normalize the differences and introduce them as concerted facts. This binary opposition between the colonizer and the colonized continues to this day as the East countries in general are labeled as “Third world” countries and the Briton is still in the “First world” category. This is due to the negative effects of colonization and colonial discourse which prolongs the subordinate relationship between the colonized and the colonizers and the pro-British postcolonial writings. As the above examples of pro-British Kurdish newspapers showed which saw the British as the leader of progress and civilization, it is through worlding that the British emptied the colonized Kurds into a British Centric worldview.

The British Empire and the British colonial discourse implanted the colonial mentality in the mind of the colonizers. Hereby, the Kurds saw the British as their big Other. Lacan believes that when we, as babies, come to realize that we are not what we think we are from the inside, the self inside departs from what we show to the world which he refers to as “small other.” Lacan believes that apart from “self” and the “small other,” there is the “Big Other” which he defines as the political party or any power which shows themselves as if they can act like the father and the mother of the subjects and the “self” can find themselves in them (Ashcroft et al, 2013). In other words, the Big Other makes a feeling for the self that without the Big other, the self can not do or achieve anything:

The (big) Other can be compared to the imperial center, imperial discourse or the empire itself in two ways: first, it provides the terms in OTHER which the colonized subject gains a sense of his or her identity

as somehow 'other', dependent; second, it becomes the 'absolute pole of address', the ideological framework in which the colonized subject may come to understand the world. In colonial discourse, the subjectivity of the colonized is continually located in the gaze of the imperial Other, the "grand-autre." Subjects may be interpellated by the ideology of the maternal and nurturing function of the colonizing power concurring with descriptions such as "Mother England" and "Home" (Ashcroft et al, 2013: 156).

In the 19th issue of the *Peshkawtin* newspaper, the Kurds as selves see the British Empire as the Big Other and their fathers:

Well, until recently, we didn't know that we have scientific and qualified personalities... But today, thanks to the generosity of the Great Government, we can study, speak and write in our own language. Except HE Major Soane, I know no one else who can be a generous father for the Kurds, Kurdistan and the Kurdish language. If we look in good conscience, he is the father of these three (*Peshkawtin*, 1920: 1).

This categorization of the self as small and imperial as the Big Other is what Fanon calls the product of a "Manichaeism Delirium" (Reyes, 2012: 13). The result of Manichaeism Delirium is the production of binary oppositions such as colonizer/colonized, white/black, and civilized/barbarous. The Kurds here mimic the Big Other/British and represent the British as the British represents itself through its colonial discourse. However, the "generosity" and caring about the Kurdish language by the British was not a humane act of the colonizer; they wanted to achieve three of their colonial goals. First, they wanted to deviate the Kurds from gaining knowledge in other eastern languages such as Arabic, Turkish, and Persian. Second, pacifying the anger of the Kurds which faced the British in particular after the fall of Sheikh Mahmud's government, the Kurds had a negative opinion of the British. Third, the British through Kurdish language can deliver its colonial messages easier and thus the process of othering the Kurds was easier. This policy of the British Empire, similar to colonial discourse, was reflected in pro-British postcolonial discourse as they wrote with the same tone and mimicked the colonial discourse.

In the third issue of the *Zhiynawa* newspaper which played an important role in Englization of the Kurds introduces the British colonization as sacred and presents the British as saviors. In the opening line of an article, the newspaper repeats what Arnold Talbot Wilson stated in chapter three “we are a people with the stamp of God upon us:”

God helped us when, in this difficult time, sent us from the farthest reaches of the world, a great world country like Britain to save us. We all still remember that when all the people were about to die, suddenly God sent us this goodness guide that revived us and showered us with love, guidance and a lot of international rights, but we did not appreciate that favor. So, we ruined our condition (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 3, 1924: 1).

The intertextuality between both British text and Kurdish text is not related to the effect of the two types of texts and authors but is related to the colonial ideology as base which shapes and drives both discourses in this context. This intertextuality made co-existence between pro-colonial discourse and British colonial discourse into the texts. The colonial experience made the Kurds live with binary opposition and accept them. They want to manifest themselves but they manifest the colonizer. That is why, Spivak believes that echoing the colonial discourse can never be grasped and speak with an assertive voice of self, and i.e. it is the mimicking of the colonial representation.

The pro-British discourse presents the Other/British as angels and compares the world before and after the arrival of the British for the Kurds. The self/Kurds gave credit to the British for all the progress the Kurds obtained. They introduced the British as the source of development socially, politically and economically to self/Kurds, and they saw the imposition of the borrowed identity on the Kurds as a blessing. This representation of the other/British by the Kurds was not to fade away the distinction between the colonizer/other and the colonized/self; it was to create the difference in race, culture and thus discriminate between the Kurds and the British which resulted in ambivalence. This cultural discrimination does not separate from the imagination of the self about the other as colonized people react to the process of othering and itself by the same discrimination caused by the act of the British othering. It is the echo of colonial discourse which generated its imagination in colonized culture.

The texts that were written during the second year of the *Zhiyan* newspaper were full of description and praise of the British royal envoy, and were showing loyalty and sincerity of the Kurds to British colonialism. In a text under the title “*We thank our Wise Men Who Proved Sincerity and Loyalty,*” it was written:

Today we live in southern Kurdistan with Iraq, and we all know how we used to live before the World War. We were deprived of freedom, well-being, and happiness. Even after the end of the war and before the advent of the venerable government, we were like a tree without branches and leaves. Thanks to the great care of the government since food was brought from India, our cities flourished through trade, and the markets were filled with money. Our conditions were revived in all aspects of life. In addition to granting us liberty, it tried hard to form our own administration but due to the mandate, it was not possible to achieve this. With regard to Mosul Vilayet, which was subject to the greedy ambitions of the Turks but the venerable government especially through His Excellency Sir Henry Dobbs resolved this problem to preserve our rights. So, Mosul Vilayet was saved through the League of Nations’ resolution (*Zhiyan*, Issue 155, 1929: 1).

Through the representation of the British as savior and wellbeing, the self justifies the approval of taking Iraqi identity which the British imposed on the Kurds. All these negative impacts were due to deceptive colonial propaganda and the domination of the Kurds’ culture. These consequences asset the relationship between power and knowledge and discourse which made an impact on the self/colonized. The more the self others itself and mimics the colonizer, the difference between colonizer and colonized magnifies and strengthens the center of the British and the margin of the Kurds. Spivak asserts that mimicking creates difference as they echo and copy something which has been already said by someone else (Hiddleston, 2007). The representation of the colonizer which gives the same image that is represented in British colonial discourse. It is the loss of self in postcolonial texts. This loss creates ambivalence because they show an image of the colonizer which is absent in reality as Bhabha asserts "For the image as point of identification marks the site of an

ambivalence. Its representation is always spatially split. It makes present something that is absent" (Bhabha, 1994: 51).

Another characteristic of the pro-British Kurdish writings is that it does not only show the angel and centralized other/British in the level of British colonialism as imperialistic and state but also tries to show the colonial individuals as sacred. The texts moralized the attitude of the British officers who actively participated in the colonization of the self/Kurds. Holding the colonial individuals sacred, created an ambivalence to the subaltern Kurds. Though it was a Kurdish voice speaking, it was not the real voice of the Kurds. For example, the *Zhiyan* newspaper in its 165th issue published an article about a British officer entitled "*The Beloved of all Iraq, Mr. Smith, the Inspector General of Knowledge,*" it was stated that:

We never deny your kindness and compassion, and we owe you thanks for extending helping hands to our people. We advance day after day in the area of civilization and we benefit from science and knowledge. We attentively focus all our efforts on the field of knowledge and we have no other desire. We all know that what we have attained has been achieved via the kindness and compassion of those who have high positions in the eminent government" (*Zhiyan*, Issue 165, 1929: 1).

Furthermore, in Issue 161 of the *Zhiyan* newspaper a text was written entitled "*To Sir Gilbert Clayton, the new High Commissioner in Iraq,*" it was written:

During his stay in Iraq, the British High Commissioner Sir Henry Dobbs took care of the Kurdish people. Thanks to him as he protected the Kurdish people from the spark of the Turkish fire, and our rights have become ratified by the League of Nations. The Kurdish people are loyal and they never forget the kindness and friendship of others. For this we are grateful to him and owe him all thanks and appreciation (*Zhiyan*, Issue 161, 1929: 1).

In addition to all these texts, many other titles and texts could be read in that newspaper, for example: "*Good Deeds Cannot be Forgotten*" (*Zhiyan*, Issue 133, 1928, pp. 1-2),

“On the occasion of the departure of His Excellency the High Commissioner Sir Henry Dobbs from Iraq, and the appointment of His Excellency Gilbert Clayton in his place” (Zhiyan, Issue 136, 1928: 1-2), “The return of His Excellency the Mayor with his Guest, Mr. Chapman, the Administrative Inspector of Erbil” Zhiyan Newspaper, Issue 161, 1929: 2), “One of the Facts” Zhiyan Newspaper, Issue 163, 1929: 1-2) with dozens of other topics that aimed at sanctifying the discourse of colonialism for repeating and dopting, and to show the friendship and sincerity of the Kurds.” It was clear from these texts that one of the aims of the Pro-British discourse in these texts was to beautify the image of its colonizer forces and to make itself appear like an angel. The representation is also evident in the *Dengi Geti Taze* and *Zhiyan* newspapers.

The examples above show the subordinate relationship between the colonized and the colonizer. The image of the other British acts into Kurdish discourse as a subject and generates its imaginary construction into Kurdish texts. This generating may be considered as the outcome of the relationship between the British as powerful force, and attempts to exercise it toward people they perceive as powerless (Kurds) based on predetermined stereotypes. Indeed, the ruling party will place a premium on "their own power, will, and value." In those texts, Kurds re-subjected The Other and are-objected themselves in their discourse which had already become an object in British colonial discourse.

Additionally, the pro-British Kurdish texts highlighted and questioned the role the Kurdish elite and the intectualls fell under the colonial power and its discourse as they defined the British as the way to rescuer and saviors of the Kurds. They re-centralized the British in an identical way with colonial discourse. This is an explicit impact of colonialism and its mentality. They did not have an independent voice. Their voice was articulated and formed in accordance with the colonial discourse and formulated their worldview. This negative impact was reflected in their writings which were published in the pro-British Kurdish texts as shown in the examples below. Jamil Saeb, a Kurdish intellectual wrote the following:

It was Great Britain, this sympathetic protector, and its kind support that saved the people from perishing with the big threatening dangers that they faced. It was the League of Nations that got us an honorable

resolution by which we were saved from great calamities. Why did this pitiful force spend all these efforts and solve our problems? Of course, it was all for the sake of our country and the life and happiness of these people (*Zhiyan*, Issue 1, 1926: 2).

Jamil Saeb, also wrote the following text:

The role of a sympathetic protector and a great supporter like Great Britain was decisive when it liberated the people from subjugation. Moreover, it put an end to the threatening imminent danger that was looming before. Through the Council for Defending Rights, the League of Nations, issued an honorable decision in our favor, and saved us from that inevitable affliction (*Zhiyan*, Issue 1, 1926: 1-2).

Karim Saeed, a Kurdish intellectual, wrote:

We do not think of the future ... We say what we see. We see the knowledge of those people and our stupidity. We also see their accurate thinking and our indifference. That is their wealth and this is our poverty (*Zhiyanawa*, Issue 24, April 19, 1925: 4).

Hussein Huzni Mukryani, one of the prominent writers of a magazine, naturalizes the misinterpretation of the other and wrote the following in a text entitled “*The Good Deeds of the Democrats:*”

It became clear to every sane human being that in every critical age the democrats pitied every creature... The democrats are supporters of the weak and afflicted people during difficulties in order to restore hope. The British sympathized with the weak... God, the Merciful, sent the British to provide them with food and clothing, and to open the gates of life for them, to save them from death and destruction, and to ensure a comfortable life for them. Every human being should remember the favor of the British government. The British do all this not for their own interests, but because they have good nature (*Dengi Geti Taze*, Issue 1, 1943: 35-36).

In one of his writings, Tawfiq Wahb, a well-known Kuridsh writer, stated the following: "Since ancient times, the great British nation has been an example of compassion and good deeds. In the dark days which were full of injustice and oppression here, their light of justice, mercy and love of humanity that characterized Great Britain appeared from afar to the Kurds. God wanted to make this light brighter so that man would thrive better and faster" (*Dengi Geti Taze*, Issue 1, 1943: 35-36). Similarly, in Issue 4, Volume 4 of *Dengi Geti Taze*, there was a topic entitled "*The statement of His Excellency*" by Tawfiq Wahbi Bey," in which it was stated:

This land that today has become your footstool, and this nation that has become happy to meet you, and since the day you came to rescue and save them from death in 1918, hearts of each individual of this nation always feels gratitude, loyalty and thanks to the great and glorified British nation. In 1918, had it not been for their arrival on that difficult day, we would have run out all our crops and foodstuffs. Our admiration for the British goes back to the days of the arrival of Mr. Reach... And now, here we are in our beloved Iraq, under the auspices of the esteemed Hashemite crown, we and our brothers are cooperating with our friends in the international coalition led by Great Britain to move forward on the path of progress (*Dengi Geti Taze*, Issue 4, 1944: 291).

In line with the above writers and intellectuals, another writer named Tahir Agha, wrote a text entitled "*Kurds and the English are Relatives*" in which he portrayed the Kurds as a backward nation, but the other was portrayed as the most advanced, when he said: "These two nations, although both of them are basically of the same Indo-European race, they seem different, one of them is the most advanced nation of the world in all areas of life while the other is one of the most backward nations of the world in some areas.." (*Dengi Geti Taze*, Issue 6, 1944: 13). These intellectuals who were supposed to write in a voice free of any influence and fight for the colonized; they are ironically fighting to promote the voice of the colonizer. This is opposite of what Edward Said claimed about how an intellect should be. For Said, the intellectuals must have a resisting and critical spirit free of any power influence to refuse the dogmatic stereotypes and thought. However, these writers themselves wrote dogmatically and supported the dogmatic mentality of the colonizer and this was due to the negative

impact of the colonial power on the self/Kurdish elites. They led the Kurds to the “world” which was constructed by the other in which the British was the center and the Kurds are subalterns and marginal. These writings from the Kurdish elites are a sample of hundreds of other similar writings which try to re-centralize the other/British. The implanting of the other’s construction in the Kurdish elites and the identity of the self/Kurds does not mean that the self was not aware of the process of otheration. Rather it was the consequence of the systematic imposition and effective controlling of colonial power and colonial discourse, which imposes the other onto the others. The self saw the other as the only way to reach their dreams and goals. This negative effect entered the unconsciousness of the Kurds’ identity. As mentioned before, Freud states that the unconsciousness is the Other and it is under the impact of the other.

The fall of the elites for colonial power and discourse proves two facts. First, it demonstrates that the systematic agenda of the British impacted the mentality of the colonizer. Second, it illustrates that the Kurdish elite did not understand colonialism deeply and they took the matter superficially. The problem arose due to the continuous mimicking of the colonizer and it became a culture which transferred to people and caused negative effects. Also, it became an approach for the Kurdish elite and intellectuals to base their nationalism on raising the national feeling. As the *Zhiyan* newspaper wrote “The rights of the Kurds cannot be denied, but Kurds cannot maintain independence without a sponsor because the enemies are threatening from all sides” (*Zhiyan*, Issue 6, 1926: 2). It had become a fact for the Kurdish elite that they could not stand alone with the British. These texts become the source of a “history”, which should show the true past rather than a history which showed the British as the fromulator of the texts, and the colonized role was to help the colonizer and resilience and re-verify the colonizer’s voice. The self/Kurds’ voice echoed the colonizer’s voice, that is why, it can never construct a self. Echo “represents the trace of otherness within imitation or the impossibility of constructing a self that fully and essentially coincides with its own image” (Hiddleston, 2007: 627-628). The self becomes the other, the self is absent and the other is present, and this becomes an approach for nationalism and patriotic feelings.

Other/British in the second type of Kurdish postcolonial discourse, which is anti-colonial discourse, demonized its image and decentralized its position. The self/Kurds

tries to relate the colonial behaviors and morals to the constructed images of the self by removing the masks of the colonial discourse and pro-colonial Kurdish texts. Also, the Kurds try to decentralize the other in the relationship between the Kurds and the British. When comparing themselves to the British, the self denies all the subordination and otheration imposed by the British on them. All the constructions in the anti-colonial texts are at two levels, the colonial individuals and the colonial British Empire as whole which are directly related to each other in the representations.

To have British officers is to have the theme of othering in the Kurdish textual representations, but in a different way. In the pro-British Kurdish texts the British/other was introduced as humane, generous, and source of progress, but in anti-colonial Kurdish discourse the other/British is deceptive, hypocritical, and inhumane, and tries to demonize the self/Kurds. For example, Ahmed Khwaje describes the duality policy of the British colonial officers during the rule of Major Soane as hypocritical and deceitful as he says: “the British authorities were distracted, and the Kurds could no longer believe their claims. However, the British did not abandon their deceptive methods. When they were busy with forming the Iraqi government, and bringing a king from Hijaz to rule it, they were also inciting the Kurds against them and attacking the Iraqi throne and crown in the name of the Kurds in order to achieve their secret goals” (Khwaje, 2016: 97-98).

These images in the anti-colonial texts which show the other/British as hypocritical, conflict maker, distractor, and deceiver reverses and cancels the misrepresentations the British constructed such as finding British as humane, kind, and honest in the colonial and pro-colonial Kurdish discourses. The Kurdish postcolonial texts draw a hypocritical image of the other/British which is dual. On the one hand, the British tried to merge the Arabs and the Kurds under Iraqi identity. On the other hand, the British manipulated the securitization of the Kurds as a threat for the Arabs. This duality calls off the claims of some of the Kurdish elites who based their Kurdish question and dream on deceptive promises of the British. They saw the British as the party which helps the Kurds to reach their dream as mentioned in the pro-British Kurdish discourse. Creating such nationalism does not help the Kurds to achieve their dream but it rather creates a pro-British nationalism. Instead of attempting to achieve Kurdish dreams, it tries to

implement the British agenda. Thus, the self becomes the other and subordinates to it and this creates an ambivalence state as the Kurds were stuck between the Kurdish dream and the British agenda. This negative consequence stems from the closeness of the self to the other which magnified the differences instead of reducing them.

The anticolonial Kurdish discourse introduces the other/British as a sick person who suffers from mental and moral issues. This kind of discourses targeted the psychology and the behavior of the British officers, and politicians. Hilmi wrote: "As some politicians say they are senile. Sometimes they act like a senile old man, and at other times they act like a spoiled child who insists on what he asks for. However, neither their fear nor their childish persistence will benefit them, for there is no one in the world who does not understand their essence" (Hilmi, 2020: 270-271). Representing the other as a child, sick person, and imbalance reverses the father and intelligent image of the colonizer presented in pro-colonial discourse. This representation of the other is not merely a reaction; it was the consequence of colonial experience the British imposed on the Kurds. The realization of the Hilmi in this text shows that who witnessed the events of the time creates an ambivalence in colonial discourse and behavior. Colonialism and its discourse faced counter-measures of the native self as they started questioning it. The British, based on Hilimi, suffers from Dissociative Identity Disorder (DID) which means the confusion of identity due to having various personalities (Brand et al., 2014: 496). The other sees themselves as fathers and act big, but in reality, they are childish and senile. The Kurds tried to introduce the British by removing the colonial masks. Hilmi's depicts of the other is from the mirror of the Kurds' political vision, i.e. on the scale of the disappointment of the Kurds due to the lack of credibility of Britain in its promises. This made the writer succumb to the state of his unconsciousness and see the British politics and administration through a critical view. The cultural influence and the colonial inheritance had a double effect. This did not only afflict the society and the individuals that had been colonized, but also affected the colonizers themselves. Therefore, the mentality and thought of the domination was not only related to the strategy of the political actions at the state level, but it penetrated into the depths of the mentality of the thinking of individuals in both the colonized and the colonizer countries, which increased the risks and cultural damage in the long run.

Rafiq Hilmi reveals the personality of the other-colonizer through the personality of the British officers, and as an example, he mentions something about the personality of Major Soane who was the ruler of Sulaymaniyah for a period of time as follows: "Unfortunately, the flattery of some people made him arrogance and strutting and, as a result, the reins of governance escaped him and he was left with nothing but only the use of violence, imprisonment, and criminalization" (Hilmi, 2020: 116). Hilmi here reveals the true face of the other/British by describing them as violent, criminals, and controlling. He wrote: "Soane appeared very rarely in front of people, and by this he wanted to add a bit of dread to his personality. When he was appearing or walking in the markets, people had to get up and pedestrians had to bow to greet him" (45-46). Concerning another British official, Miss Gertrude Bell, Hilmi wrote: "Captain Bell was an English colonist in every sense of the word, and as we mentioned earlier, her strong anger and her ugliness was to the extreme" (2020: 113). In another section of his memoirs, he said: "Bell was a divine wrath that had no equal" (2020: 101). This representation of the other/British rejects the authenticity of the representation of the British in colonial and pro-colonial Kurdish discourse. The quotes show that the colonial political individuals and the general policy of the colonial British power are common in a point which is violence. This violence came as a result of power imbalance since the British were powerful and the Kurds were not. The practice of power imbalance was reflected in the behaviors of the British officers towards the Kurds and civil people since they treated people as slaves and subalterns. This ideology which is based on power imbalance was a colonial mentality which had a negative impact on both the colonizer and colonized.

The Kurds in their anti-colonial representation depict two different images of self and other in two different times, pre-colonial and during colonial times. Sheikh Latif relates what Sheikh Mahmud said about his interaction with the British administration and demonstrates Sheikh Mahmud's opinion of the British authorities:

I knew the British well ... but hoping to get honest help, I went to them. Until that time, I was not quite aware of what was in their mind and what they were intending to do ... so I allowed them to come to Kurdistan without shedding a drop of blood. They came as liberators, not

occupiers. In fact, at that time we were strong and we could defend ourselves to a good extent, and we were even able to attack the enemy, but they had promised us that they would grant us our rights. Those lowly people came as friends, but they broke their promises and gathered their troops and deployed them throughout Kurdistan. They brought many fighters to Kurdistan from different countries and of many races and tribes. Later they appointed them as government employees in high positions while most of our intellectual citizens were unemployed. Thus, our hopes had begun to diminish little by little. In their treatment of our people, the British were conducting as dominators as if they had dominated our homeland by force. They were treating us as slaves, So, we were forced to resort to arm and raise the banner of our revolution against that new slavery. Consequently, great battles took place even in such a way that sometimes the Kurdish daggers stood against the English bayonets. I was personally wounded in the battlefield, captured, and then sentenced to death which was later reduced to 10-year detention in exile. I hope that these sacrifices that I made on the path of my people's freedom and the years of my detention and exile had become a memory for the citizens of my people and they should be proud of it. Thanks to your struggle and your courage. I always insist on my demands without any compromise. Here I came back to you after 3 years of jail, and I have become the King of Kurdistan. I have brought with me a new day for you which is the dawn of the Kurdish people's liberation (Hafid, 1995: 93).

This example, which is the core of Kurdish anti-colonial discourse, relates the hypocritical policy of the British towards the Kurds in two ways. First, the British came to the Kurds as friends and saviors. The Kurds believed their promises and trusted the British to carry out their promises. In the second situation, the true face of the colonizer appeared as they firmed their feet on the Kurdish land, they started subjecting, violating, oppressing, and hybridizing the Kurds using all forms of violence. Fanon believes that "the native must realize that colonialism never gives anything away for nothing. Whatever the native may gain through political or armed struggle is not the result of the

kindliness or goodwill of the settler; it simply shows that he cannot put off granting concessions any longer” (Fanon, 1963: 142-143). That is, Fanon’s reading for colonizer and the implication of this quote assert that the British was never honest with the Kurds and even their promises and the good deeds they did was because they had no other option but to grant them.

Understanding the true policy of the British by the Kurds changed the relationship between the Kurds and the British from a friendly relationship to an enmity relationship, and from soft to hard treatment. The image of the British changed from an ally to an enemy who is deceptive and hypocritical. This understanding demonstrates that the colonial power and its discourse are ambivalent and dual which is one of the many subjects of Kurdish anti-colonial discourse. This understanding disrupts the deceptive discourse of the colonial and pro-British Kurdish discourse of depicting the British as friends and allies of the Kurds.

Also Sheikh Mahmud, in the dialogue between him and Captain Shock which shown above and repeated below, explains the true intention of the British as they wanted to dominate all the ethnic possessions of the colonized:

We do not fear death, for death is one time, but the life of slavery, in our view and in the view of history, is death at any minute ... We prove the bravery of the Kurds to the world and we show that you are more humiliating than thieves because a thief may steal something simple because of poverty and hunger but you are devouring entire peoples and countries of the world. You should also know that a people, however small they may be, cannot be eradicated and in the end, truth always triumphs over falsehood (Hafid, 1995: 148-149).

Here, Sheikh Mahmud describes the British as the other who tries to take away their being and freedom. The other used all the means to control their subjects and shape them the way that matches the policy of the Empire. This is why, Sheikh Mahmud introduces the other/British as terminator and alienator, i.e. hell is the other in Sartre’s terminology. For Sartre, as mentioned before, people’s being are not free around and they are controlled by others. The other look at the people as objects not as independent beings who should be in control of their lives. Here, British power othered the Kurds

and imposed on them so many regulations and obligations that the Kurds lost their being and became an object of the British. Sheikh Mahmud raises awareness about this state and directly blames the British for this distortion of the Kurds' beings.

In general, the discussion of the construction of "self" and the "other" in Kurdish postcolonial discourse is not a process of introducing and recognizing two different cultures. Rather, it is the discussion of a complex and imbalanced relationship between the colonized and the colonizer portrayed in ideology, selfishness, and discrimination which are reflected in the Kurdish postcolonial discourse and produced an action and reaction state.

From this regard, the process produced two actions and reactions. In the first phase, self/Kurds re-objectify themselves through adopting, mimicking, and echoing the colonial discourse. The coexistence of the Kurdish postcolonial discourse with the colonial discourse led the Kurdish texts to be pro of British power and its colonial discourse. Under the impact of colonialism, the Self denies their attempts to be free from the other/British; the self others them and justifies their othering and legitimizes it as a part of the origins of the Kurds and introduces it as a humane act. In mimicking and othering themselves, self falls in the "third space", i.e. ambivalence. The Kurds copy the British but it can never be identical with the British, and it can not return to its original identity. That is, the self is hybridized as they can not be British and can not accept the native self. Self-othering of the Kurds, which is doomed to failure, is an adaptation attempt for survival.

From the perspective of the pro-British Kurdish postcolonial discourse, being a pro of the British power is a bridge for self to reach civilization and progress of the west. That is, Britishization was a way for the human race and the method to reach this human race is othering of the self. In fact, re-engraving humanity into races and colonial discourse to re-generalize and re-ratify the British colonial discourse through re-centralizing the other/British in pro-British Kurdish texts is guaranteed to fail in two ways. First, comparing the pro-British Kurdish discourse to the images and the misrepresentation of the other in colonial discourse. Second, comparing self/Kurds to the other/British and their attempts to mimic the British is the self-rejection (native-rejection) who see themselves as inferior, and margins, which is a matter of re-demonizing and re-

exoticizing the self. These attempts of the pro-British discourse naturalize and normalize the history, the knowledge and representations of the Kurds in colonial discourse. The danger of colonial legacy is demonstrated as the colonial power along with rafting their colonial discourse as facts, re-ratifying their misrepresentation in pro-British Kurdish discourse. In this way, the selves continue belittling themselves, reject their native self, and centralize the British which created an ambivalence in the Kurdish identity and history. The self-rejection of the Kurds can be termed as self-zeroization which means the rejection of the self characteristics and the common ethnic traits due to the othering by the colonial power and its legacy. The colonized sees themselves as zero and nothing which is why they want to be away from their self identity and they believe to be a human is to be affected by the other and mimic the other.

This state creates an ambivalence for self as they do not want to be native self, simultaneously, they can not be identical with the other. In this ambivalent, “Third space” state, self rejects and hates himself as they do not want to be attributed to native self and they can be identical with others. This state disintegrates the self community and causes internal conflicts between the native self and othered self as it is the case between the conflict of the pro-British Kurdish texts and the anti-British texts. As Bhabha states “the problem is not simply the “selfhood” of the nation as opposed to the “otherness” of other nations. We are confronted with the nation split within itself articulating the heterogeneity of its population" (Bhabha, 1994: 98). The anti-colonial Kurdish texts attempted to resist the disintegration in the Kurdish voice and prevent othering and being pro of the British. On the one side, it tried to stabilize the native features of self and introduce them as independent beings and rejected being margin and British-centric. On the other side, it tried to demonize British policy and behaviors. However, these anti-colonial attempts compared to the powerful attempts of colonial discourse and the censorship of British power did not gain prominence and popularity from that time to the present. They remained as ignored discourse and scripts. It did not have enough power for generalizing the self-desire representation. Nonetheless, self-realization in Kurdish anti-colonial discourse revealed the duality of the other as represented in colonial discourse and what they are reality in both forms, i.e, in the practice of both soft and hard powers. To sum up, in 'anti' and 'pro' colonial discourse, Other is no longer the Other and the Self is no longer the Self exactly as presented in

colonial discourse. The central goal of the othering the self was to keep the power imbalance and subordinate relationship between the Kurds/self and the British/other.

CONCLUSION

British colonial discourse about the Kurds of Iraq was an organized, systematic, and planned process that objectified Kurdish “territory” and “folks.” Two factors played a vital role in producing, spreading, generalizing, and ratifying this British colonial discourse about the Iraqi Kurds. The first factor was the British Orientalist agents who they recorded and wrote a massive of texts on Kurd, The second factor was academic institutional ratification which included the journals and academic institutions administered by the Royal Society as the supreme British scientific institution including the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (JRAS)*, *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society (JRCAS)*, and the *Royal United Services Institution (RUSI)*. These two factors led British colonial discourse to become a force capable of colonizing territory and supporting British military and political power in the domination of the region. This is especially evident in the formulation and implementation of British policy at different phases of controlling and dominating the Iraqi Kurds. The influential role of Orientalists and publications still being felt today reflected that perspective was—and continues to be—treated as historical fact and genuine knowledge.

In contrast, Kurdish postcolonial discourse was unsystematic, unplanned, and yet a critical reaction to the discourse of British colonization. The Kurdish postcolonial voice responded through newspapers and magazines, and Kurdish postcolonial narratives reacted through memories and diaries. These two principal sources of literary textual representations played an essential role in identifying Kurdish postcolonial discourse and the impact of British colonial legacies on the culture, identity, and colonization of Kurdish society. This discourse, while not a unified, comprehensive, or simultaneous discourse capable of representing the entire Kurdish voice, was what emerged in the social and political structure of Kurdish society at that time. Externally, Kurdish society was surrounded by a number of agendas, ideologies, and external influences especially the advent of leftism and the influence of the October revolution in Russia in 1917, rapid changes in the Middle East during both world wars, the arrival of European nationalism in Kurdish society, and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Internally, the impact of British colonialism, the mixture of tribal system and religious beliefs, the lack

of a system of governance, and the production of knowledge and scientific research prevented a cohesive Kurdish discourse. Both internal and external factors produced two types of discourse that were influenced by colonialism in two ways.

On the one hand, the Kurdish Postcolonial discourse echoed and mimicked the British colonial discourse and was written under British domination and control. On the other hand, the Kurdish discourse tried to counter the policy of British colonization and reject the British colonial discourse. However, due to the generalization, systematization, and dominance of the British colonial discourse, the effects of this discourse as the voice of power remained dominant. This imbalance of power was the main reason why the colonization process succeeded. The Kurds were discussed as an object in colonial discourse, which enabled Britain to represent the Kurdish voice and position in pro-British Kurdish texts. That is why the utilization of British discourse and knowledge about the Kurds as a source of power became embedded within the process of colonization of Kurdish areas of Iraq.

Postcolonial resistance began in tandem with the Kurds becoming the subject of Orientalism especially in the early twentieth centuries. Kurdish anti-colonial newspapers appeared simultaneously with pro-British newspapers and were published as a form of cultural resistance to colonial discourse and cultural control. The British colonial discourse about the Kurds was not a temporary attempt at researching the Kurds nor a one-time interest in occupying Kurdish territory but rather a foundation for developing a colonial discourse from which the Kurdish people continue to suffer. In the Iraqi Kurdish context, the colonial discourse preceded geographical and military domination. Since the nineteenth century, the Kurds have been the subject of Orientalist research and writing published by colonial institutions. This research background about the Kurds in British colonial discourse shows that British colonial policy and activation of a colonial ideology of the Iraqi Kurds was a continuous process that evolved into different forms depending on the phase of colonial rule with each phase coinciding with a particular policy, and a newspaper was published for each policy. Thus, there was harmony between British colonial policies and the role and themes of discourse in literary texts of the newspapers depending on the time. Each newspaper adapted the colonial force to the needs of the historical phase the colonial process confronted. The

roots of British inquiry show that the development of knowledge and cultural domination established the colonial discourse as a form of power.

Pre-colonial Direct Rule : In this phase, the British colonial administration in Mesopotamia published the *Tegaishtini Rasti* newspaper, a pro-British newspaper, published in Kurdish before the arrival of British forces in the Mosul *vilayet* to attract and persuade Kurdish public opinion. The impacts of British colonial discourse in this newspaper can be seen in two ways. Firstly, it served military and political power and became a force that persuaded Kurds to allow British troops to invade Kurdish territory in 1918 via false promises and propaganda. The use and impact of strategic discourse was more effective than the military. Second, the power of British colonial discourse negatively changed the views of some Kurdish intellectual elites and political leaders about British colonization. The care and concern of the British for the Kurdish language and culture was not honest given their interest in developing Kurdish society and culture for their own use. Before directly colonizing Iraq, the British managed to win the sympathy of the Kurds through deceptive discourse and colonial propaganda especially after they persuaded some of the Kurdish leaders including Sheikh Mahmud in exchange for a set of promises. However, as it turned out, the promises were mere deceptions designed to allow the British to carry out their agenda of imposing hegemonic rule. No Kurdish demand was ever fulfilled.

British Colonial Direct Rule: A number of newspapers were published. Each represented a phase of action and reaction to British policy towards the Kurds. Some were pro-colonial and some anti-colonial. After the British overthrew the first government of Sheikh Mahmud, the newspaper *Peshkawtin* played an important role in bringing Kurdish attention to British antics from 1920 to 1922. *Peshkawtin* encouraged Kurdish society and public opinion to accept Iraqi identity by attracting Kurdish intellectuals to support the British, defaming the Turks and the history of the Ottoman Empire, and promoting agriculture and trade development in order to subtly increase taxes and revenue for the British in the region.

Between 1922 and 1926, the newspaper *Bangi Kurd* was published by the Kurds during the British attempt to normalize relations with them. This was due to the

perceived threat from Turkish influence in the Kurdish areas. This newspaper continued before and after Sheikh Mahmud's return from exile. It became the voice of Sheikh Mahmud's government using soft language to demand Kurdish political rights and education.

The *Rozhi Kurdistan* newspaper, the voice of Sheikh Mahmud's second government, tried to be anti-colonialist. It was published at a time when Kurdish-British relations were once again tense. Sheikh Mahmud strengthened his position and introduced himself as the “king” of the Kurdish region and tried to improve relations with the Turks. These actions angered the British. During the same period, the *Bangi Haq* newspaper was published in 1923. After the bombing of Sulaymaniya by the British, the newspaper was published in the mountains outside the city. *Bangi Haq* tried to encourage people to fight against Britain by integrating religious and national beliefs.

During the years 1923-1924, the newspaper *Umedi Istqlal* was published to support the government of Sheikh Mahmud. It emerged from a period of fierce conflict between Britain and Turkey over Mosul. The British withdrew from the Sulaymaniya region due to the influence of the Turks in the area under the rule of Sheikh Mahmud. However, in 1924, when the government was overthrown by the British, the newspaper focused on the Mosul issue because it was directly related to the fate of the Kurds in Iraq.

From 1924 to 1926, the *Zhiyanawa* Newspaper was published on the eve of the demarcation of the Iraqi border and the annexation of Mosul Province to Iraq. After the fall of Sheikh Mahmud's government, the Kurdish anti-colonial movement weakened and the British imposed the Levi forces and the Iraqi army in Kurdish areas. The *Zhiyanawa* newspaper served British policies and tried to distort perceptions of the Kurdish anti-colonial movement. Its role continued until Mosul became an Iraqi city officially.

Post-Colonial Direct Rule : This period saw official recognition of the Iraqi state as an independent state and the disappearance of direct British military rule in the region. The period also saw the introduction of the *Zhiyan* newspaper and *Dengi Geti Taze* magazine. Even though the *Zhiyan* newspaper's initial publication and the first issues go

back to the period of direct British rule, it played an important role in post-colonial direct rule. The *Zhiyan* newspaper was published between 1926 and 1938 under British supervision and sought to strengthen Iraqi identity and strengthen Iraq's position in the Kurdish regions. *Zhiyan* tried to defame the spirit of anti-colonialism and distort the image of Sheikh Mahmud. The magazine *Dengi Geti Taze* was published from 1943 to 1947 and was a pro-British magazine that supported Britain and its allies. The magazine tried to engage people in European and British culture, traditions, history, and literature and to divert public opinion from domestic political issues in order to protect Britain's position.

Propaganda and deceptive discourse was an effective British weapon of power in the pre-colonial period. During British colonial direct rule and in the post-colonial period, both British colonial and Kurdish post-colonial discourses attempted to distract people from resisting the colonial process. They tried to attract Kurdish attention to the British and misled Kurdish public opinion especially in the *Tegaishtini Rasti* newspaper. Through pro-British discourse, three policies and strategies were followed. The first was to create hostility between Kurds and Turks especially among supporters of the Ottoman Empire. The second policy was to create a suitable environment to divide and conquer. British colonial policy divided the nations of the Middle East and imposed their hegemony in the region to facilitate the process of colonization. This policy of division was built into the newspaper's discourse through deceptive promises to support the achievement of Kurdish national rights. This is consistent with the third strategy, which was to create pro-British nationalism with the aim of using this nationalism as a proxy to implement British policies in the region. They also wanted to take advantage of time by making misleading promises until their position in the region was strengthened. This deceptive discourse and propaganda was seen not only in the discourse of colonialism but also in Pro-British Kurdish newspapers such as *Peshkawtin*, *Zhiyan*, and *Dangi Geti Taza*, which echoed and published British propaganda. The difference between the colonial discourse and pro-British Kurdish discourse is that the misleading British policies were promoted by Kurdish texts. These Kurdish texts appeared as a voice of the Kurds and became part of Kurdish cultural identity although this voice served to implement the policy of the British colonial agenda with the colonized Kurds.

One of the effects of colonization on Kurdish identity was the process of mimicking the colonizer's policies, plans, traditions, and culture. Mimicry was not a volunteer act of imitation but a systematic and planned attempt to destroy and dominate the cultural identity and traditions of the Kurds. Mimicry transferred to the British colonial discourse from a factual process in which the presence of the Kurds was an object of a metonymy of colonial discourse and desire. Mimicking British and Western culture, politics, and traditions was expressed tri-dimensionally. First, Britain's lifestyle and customs were made to be considered an ideal example worth imitating. Second, the British education system was trumpeted as superior and, thus, a step critical to development. Third, the British were seen as model systems in terms of military, administration, and management to be implemented.

The will of the colonial power was to centralize the British agenda and subordinate the Kurds. Mimicry was also discussed in Kurdish postcolonial discourse, which promoted mimicking British colonial discourse and following British culture, traditions, and politics. This reflection of the colonial discourse in the Kurdish postcolonial discourse was manifest in three dimensions. The first was the promotion for mimicking the system of British education and neglecting the native/Eastern educational system and suppressing the East in order to produce employees and followers for state institutions created by British colonialism. The British were not interested in creating an educated elite of genuine intellectuals and scientists like the elites who had generated eastern-Islamic education. The second dimension was to imitate the decisions and policies that Britain aimed at toward Kurdish political leaders and tribal chiefs in different phases and issues. Thirdly, the Kurdish postcolonial discourse imitated the British colonial discourse that sought to impose an Iraqi identity on the Kurds and resolve the Mosul question in its own interest. All this shows the presence and reflection of the narcissism of the British colonial policy in the mentality and culture of the colonized Kurds. These imitations did not make the Kurds similar to the British; rather, they were partial representations of the Kurds as colonial objects. The British created partial mimicry, which was not entirely British and not completely indigenous either. This partial mimicking created an ambivalence in the identity of colonized Kurds called "in-betweenness" (in the sense of Bhabha's expression), which is the basis of mimicry. This

basis generated cultural, racial, and historical discrimination that menaced both the identity of colonized Kurds and the authority of British colonial discourse.

There was deep ambivalence in British colonial discourse. This ambivalence arises between the aims (purpose and intention) and the results (consequences and outcomes) of the discourse during the process of mimicking. In general, this recurring theme of imitation creates destabilizing uncertainty that serves colonial power and creates a set of visions that makes for a deeply ambivalent environment.

- Although the discourse of British colonialism depicts the proximity and convergence of the relationship between the Kurds as colonized and Britain as colonizer through mimicry, the increasing degree of Kurdish imitation of British culture and politics is equal to the degree of difference and discrimination. It creates an unequal relationship in which the Kurds although they try to imitate British culture are farther away from achieving Britishness. That is why, being British is different from being Britishized. The first is the representation of convergence of the relationship propagated by colonial discourse and colonial policy. The second is the result of imitation which increases the scope of discrimination and the influence of colonialism on the colonized.
- The Kurds were influenced by British colonial policies and discourse to mimic British education, policies, management, culture and traditions with the goal of progress. However, this aim of imitating the British equaling progress and reform had the opposite result. Kurds became inferior due to hegemony and dominating attitudes.
- Even though mimicry was the imposed process by British colonizers to target colonized Kurds, there was a kind of reversal of the imitation policy as it did not affect only the colonized. The British colonizers especially the officers and Orientalists who lived in the Kurdish areas imitated Kurdish culture and traditions. This imitation can be called reverse mimicry which was aimed at approaching Kurdish culture but for a different purpose to gather knowledge, deceive, and eventually control. This purposeful imitation negatively impacted the colonized Kurds.

The relationship between hegemony and dominance as two methods of colonization in British politics were complementary. If the British failed through the use of soft power in targeting their goal, they would directly use hard power. In British colonial discourse, hegemony was used in two ways. In one way, it naturalized the process of colonization and showed colonialism as a way of civilizing the Kurds and liberating them from ignorance. The policies emphasized that colonialism was a process of humanization given to the British as a responsibility by God to save nations. The second way was to justify the use of force and violence against the colonized Kurds. The British interpreted the colonization as a duty and as an ultimate benefit for the Kurds. British hegemony over the Kurds was also reflected in Kurdish postcolonial discourse which sought to show British military capabilities especially between the two world wars. This was a way to intimidate and discourage people from resisting and wage a psychological war with the Kurds. Hegemonic efforts also portrayed British power as a world liberation force and Britain's enemies as evil and inhuman. Pro-British discourse built the idea that submission to Britain was a way to acquire science and modern progress. This was a kind of re-ratification of the discourse and knowledge produced by Britain as a truth about the East represented through Kurdish pro-British discourse.

Domination has been a major method of colonization through the use of all kinds of physical, psychological, epistemic, and social violence imposed on the Kurds at two levels. At the national level, both Britain and the Iraqi state utilized all styles of violence against the Kurds. At the individual level, British officers treated the Kurdish people harshly and immorally. These various uses of violence were not only used against the forces of the Kurdish anti-colonial movement but also against civilians, children, women, villages, territories, and cities. The British discourse legitimized violence as a necessary way to impose the law on Kurds which justified British field officers in seeing Kurds as outlaws and in believing they should control the Kurds whenever necessary.

Kurdish postcolonial discourse refers to all the various forms of violence Britain tried to use against the Kurds. This included physical violence such as bombing cities and villages, committing war crimes such as killing the wounded and implementing acid attacks, displacing people, destroying homes and livelihoods, looting, causing chaos in

the cities, instigating psychological and social violence through warfare against the people of the regions, and the enslavement of civilians by British officers. Harsh and inhumane treatment, insults, intimidation, and violating the dignity of the people were all methods the British employed. The British committed epistemic violence by generalizing and legitimizing the idea that colonialism was a cultural system that promoted British colonizers as better than the colonized Kurds. The exercise of violence, punishment, and discrimination was pursued in the name of reforming and civilizing. This was done mainly through the silence of the Kurds by removing their ability to represent themselves, ignoring their roles, and burning holy places and libraries with the aim of erasing Kurdish cultural identity and sources of knowledge.

The formation of a Kurdish anti-colonial force was a response to this violence and a means to get rid of marginalization and oppression. The brutality and destruction created an ambivalence in the core of Kurdish discourse and in the efforts to deconstruct the British colonial slogan that saw itself as humane and liberating. However, the violence of the colonized Kurds differed from the violence of the British colonizers on several levels. Due to the imbalance of power, the Kurds did not want—or were not able—to use all the kinds of violence the British implemented. Kurdish violence was not methodical or clearly planned. Both British and Kurdish violence had a great impact on the colonized territory and people. However, the Kurdish acts of violence ended up creating more violence rather than achieving the goal of decolonization.

One of the most pronounced effects of British colonialism on Kurdish identity was turning the Kurds into subalterns, i.e. depriving them of their right to present their voice politically. The process of turning Kurds into subalterns can be summarized in three stages: inaudibility, silence, and rejection of speech. Internally, the British used every means to convince the Kurds to accept policies that marginalized them including the forced annexation of Kurds to Iraq. This caused the view that any Kurdish struggle to achieve political and cultural rights counted as an attempt to secede from Iraq. Bombings and massive attacks on Kurdish anti-colonial movement areas were validated and new weapons for oppression and suppression of Kurds were justified. The British, therefore, encouraged and supported the Iraqi government in displacing Kurds and allowing the looting of their homes and properties by the Iraqi Levi forces. Externally,

British colonial discourse also justified subalternity of the Kurds by saying that the Kurds due to geo-political and economical factors could not rely on themselves. The British claimed to be in line with Kurdish aspirations and so could be their representatives internationally which prevented the Kurds from deciding their own destiny. Britain themselves represented the Kurdish vote in international agreements, treaties and conferences. The colonial discourse interpreted and justified this process as a British attempt to protect the Kurds in Iraq. Needless to say, in the Kurdish postcolonial discourse, this process of marginalization and silence of the Kurds was criticized.

One of the goals of the British colonial discourse was to use the power of British narratives to strengthen economic power, targeting the geography of Kurdish regions for economic exploitation through the narrative and recording of detailed information about Kurdish natural resources, agriculture, commercial resources, and urban and rural incomes. The British materialized their texts and produced knowledge and economic discourse for the purpose of exploitation. This discourse and the British textual representations served as a guide for British economic policy in the region. In the pro-British Kurdish newspapers, the British tried to take advantage of Kurdish culture for economic exploitation by prompting agricultural, and commercial issues in Kurdish texts and newspapers, propagating the notion that they would develop the economy of Kurdish regions. However, the British set a high tax system on agricultural and commercial crops and forced the farmers to pay the tax. They even used aircraft and weapons to collect taxes. This policy shows that the process was planned by the British for economic exploitation which infuriated the people of the region eventually leading to the Barzan Revolution in the 1930s.

The British colonization and establishment of the Iraqi state in the aftermath of WW I meant a constant state of confrontation for the Kurds against the attempts to hybridize Kurdish identity. The British colonial agenda used various cultural and political methods for imposing and obliging Kurds to new identities including “double hybridization” or the imposition of Western and Iraqi identities. The pro-British discourse which echoed the British colonial discourse in the Kurdish post-colonial discourse, propagated and promoted the policy of linking the Kurdish areas of the

Mosul *vilayet* to Iraq as an economic, commercial, and political necessity. In the Ottoman Empire, Kurdistan was part of the Mosul *Vilayet*. When the British linked Mosul to Iraq, they encouraged imposing Iraqi identity on Kurds. Double-hybridization was justified in British colonial discourse as part of the modernization of Kurdish society. The hybridization also served to protect and ensure the economic interests of British politicians in the region while simultaneously accusing the Kurds of being unable to decide their own future due to internal conflicts.

Kurdish anti-colonial discourse criticized Britain for changing Kurdish cultural identity and spreading unwanted Western traditions in Kurdish society. It rejected the forced imposition of Iraqi identity and the British attempts to distort Kurdish identity. These efforts were a diverse process that has created a kind of confusion and ambivalence in the colonized Kurdish identity. Hybridization created a break in the colonized Kurds' relationship with their own identity and subordinates the colonized to the colonizer's culture creating a third space of accepting and rejecting two opposing and different identities. The whole process of double hybridization went through a number of steps:

- **Westernization (Britishization):** Double hybridization began with westernization which justified the British administration and the political systems designed to replace the Kurdish educational system and promote the superiority of the English model. Westernization spread strange and unacceptable Western customs into Kurdish society such as western clothes, brothels, and bars.
- **Iraqization:** The British obliged Kurdish people to accept Iraqi identity by using military force, international representatives, and a fake referendum for voting for King Faisal I (the Iraqi monarchy referendum of 1921) while simultaneously linking Kurds to Iraq economically, administratively, and politically.
- **Arabization:** Arabizing the identity of Iraq as a state and arabizing Kurds began as an essential part of the British colonial agenda as it was implemented according to their plan and with their support after choosing King Faisal I as King of Iraq. The British Empire implemented this policy in two phases. At first, they worked to silence the voice of the Kurds through the

use of violence in order to include them in the Iraqi state they formed, and when this was realized, they put obstacles in front of the Kurds in getting their basic and cultural rights in Iraq especially political rights. In addition, they urged and assisted the Iraqi government in implementing the policy of Arabization and making demographic changes in some areas inhabited by the Kurds which led to the forced displacement of the Kurdish people. Settlements were built for Arabs under the guise of providing more job opportunities for Iraqi people.

- Minoritization: Through texts, it can be understood that the first half of the twentieth century and British colonialism changed the Kurd's position in the Middle East. The British surrendered Kurds to an authoritarian state (Iraq) as a minority ethnic group. The British involved Kurds into unwanted conflict and struggled with anti-Kurdishness because Kurds were not a minority in previous centuries. British policy in Iraq resulted in the minoritization of the Kurdish identity as an ethnic group through a false population census and forged information far from reality about the national components. The British worked to weaken the role of the Kurds in the Iraqi army and in important government administrative bodies. The process of forcible transfer of Kurdish families also took place in some areas. Thus, the Kurds were treated as a marginalized minority in Iraq, and from here the problem of the Kurds with the Arab regions of Iraq began due to the British. This problem has remained until now as a colonial legacy. The Kurds to this day are treated as a marginalized minority and subaltern object rather than a part of Iraqi society which were imposed forcibly. These four steps are the most obvious poles of the process of double hybridization of Iraqi Kurds, which has had an impact on the identity of Kurdish political culture in Iraq and continues today. This impact transformed Kurdish identity from an indigenous identity to a multi-hybridized identity.

The creation of ethnic conflict and hostility within the framework of postcolonial discourse can be seen on two levels: external ethnic conflict, and internal ethnic conflict. External conflict has been more of a process of enmity between Iraqi Kurds and other eastern nations especially Turks, Arabs, and Assyrians. Internally, Kurdish

leaders were pitted against each other. Thus, securitization of the Kurdish question caused hostility and ethnic conflicts among Kurds and ethnic groups and nations in the Middle East. The arrival of Britain in the Middle East, the formation of the nation-state, and the spread of European nationalism caused the direction of regional relations to change. Ethnic groups began to perceive others as a threat which was instigated by subjective British interests rather than objective assessments of danger. Creating ethnic conflicts with various plans and strategies was a goal of British policy in the Middle East. This resulted in terrible and long-term consequences of conflict, dilemmas, and violence. Through the Kurdish newspapers Britain supervised Britain tried to isolate the Kurds from other nations and implement the policy of ethnic division by creating enmity for the purpose of domination.

Enmity between Kurds and Turks has been the most widespread and intense form of conflict and hostility especially through the publication of pro-British newspapers that distorted relations between Turks and Iraqi Kurds. The British colonial discourse and the pro-British Kurdish discourse exacerbated the problems, and used the Kurds against the Turks especially at the end of World War I and during the Mosul conflict from 1918 to 1925. The Kurdish pro-British discourse of Kurdish newspapers was largely devoted to isolating the Kurds by propagating the view that the Turks would destroy the Kurds' future. The British colonial discourse propagated the history of Kurdish relations with the Ottoman Empire as a bloody one and the belief that Sheikh Mahmud and the Kurdish anti-colonial movement were pro-Turkish. British colonial discourse stirred up Kurdish religious sentiment and incited the issuing of *fatwas* (Islamic judgements) declaring Turks infidels. While stirred by British colonialism, this declaration was presented as the true voice of the Kurds and it was what produced the hostile relationship with the Turks. The Turks were declared enemies, and this hostility was deemed necessary for Kurdish liberation even though the Kurds generally supported the Ottoman Empire until the arrival of Britain in the region.

The Kurdish postcolonial discourse, British policy, similar to colonial discourse, incited the hostility between Kurds and Arabs, and the consequences of this policy are present to this day in Iraq. The British tried to create a force of pro-British nationalism. British policy used the Kurdish question as a threat to the Iraqi identity, thus, turning Kurdish

and Arab nationalisms against each other. This policy resulted in the Iraqi army destroying and burning Kurdish villages and areas and imposing Arabs to administer the Kurdish areas. These consequences remain as a legacy of British colonialism to this day. The British also used the Iraqi Levies as a pro-British force who were mostly Assyrians against the Kurdish anti-colonial movement led by Sheikh Mahmud.

In addition, the creation of hostility and problems among the Kurds themselves became part of the propaganda strategies and discourse of British colonialism and Kurdish pro-colonial discourse. Internal ethnic conflict was conducted through the spread of propaganda and the manipulation of tribal chiefs and political leaders against each other. Businessmen and rich people were convinced that they had to separate from the Kurdish anti-colonial movement as well as from each other. This had a great impact on the division of Kurdish society and the inculcation of a sense of self-hatred. Ethnic conflict and securitization of problems has become part of the political environment in the Middle East where nations still see each other as a threat to their security. This has caused a lot of destruction and damage and has paved the way for Western domination of the region.

British colonial discourse towards the Iraqi Kurds during the period 1914-1958 is dualistic in nature and based on ambivalence. This ambivalence was the essence of the discourse which was based on British policies. This dualism and ambivalence once was produced by the colonial discourse and the pro-colonial Kurdish discourse which were the reflection of the British policy exercised in reality. This ambivalence and dualism was produced within British colonial propaganda and discourse itself. This nature and principle of British colonial discourse was introduced into Kurdish discourse through the control of Kurdish culture especially through the censorship and control of the pro-British Kurdish newspapers. This double standard policy was also criticized in British anti-colonial discourse.

This dualistic ambivalence as a nature of British colonial discourse and policy towards the Kurds is multidimensional:

- Although the discourse of British colonialism claimed that it was the British duty to transform the Kurds from a backward and uncivilized tribal society to a developed and civilized society, the anti-colonial discourse rejected this assertion and the British did not exercise their policies towards the Kurds and in the reality rejected this discourse. The British Empire not only kept the tribal system but also strengthened it through changing the form of the social system to a political and military system. This transformation was done by pitting tribes and tribal chiefs against the Kurdish anti-colonial movement and preventing Kurds from uniting among themselves.
- In the *Tegaiishtini Rasti* newspaper, before the British army arrived in the Kurdish regions in 1918, the British propagated that they were the defenders of the principles of Islam and came to protect Muslims from oppression. But when they occupied Kurdish areas, they mistreated the culture, people, and religious leaders including the closure of mosques and the spread of Western customs that were foreign and exotic to Kurdish culture and to Muslims and Islam. Such customs included revealing clothes, brothels, the devaluation of Islamic education, and the opening of pubs as mentioned earlier.
- In British colonial discourse and Kurdish pro-colonial discourse, Britain sought to impose an Iraqi identity on the Kurds. They used the Kurdish issue as a threat to the government and the Arab community in Iraq. At the same time, they stirred up Kurdish and Arab national sentiment against each other. Although Kurdish anti-colonial discourse especially Sheikh Mahmud's, strongly rejected Arab opposition in Iraq, they considered it a colonial plan.
- While advocating the unification of the Kurds and supporting all Kurdish political and cultural rights in the reality, they tried to divide the Kurdish cities and regions especially in terms of administrative and political to reduce the power and influence of Sheikh Mahmud among the Kurds. This is clearly indicated in the Kurdish anti-colonial discourse.
- While confronting the Kurdish political movement in Iraq with all kinds of violence, the pro-British newspapers tried to distort and defame the movement. At the same time, in the same discourse, the British encouraged the Kurdish uprising against the Turks in Turkey in order to determine the

Mosul *vilayet* issue in their interest. The Kurdish movement in Iraq was portrayed as brutal and outlawed while the Kurdish movement in Turkey was portrayed as innocent, oppressed, and betrayed.

- The Kurdish postcolonial narrative shows that the British tried to use Kurdish and Arab cultures against each other through pro-British Kurdish and Arab newspapers especially by publishing texts against the desire of each other and distorting each other's history and erasing each other's identity. Meanwhile, the British presented themselves as friends of both sides, the Kurds and the Arabs.
- Even the ambivalence and dualism have affected the identity of British individuals. Among British texts, British officers and writers while talking about their humanitarian, civilizational and rational duties, at the same time, they burned villages and bombed the city and treated the Kurds harshly and inhumanely.

Although the utilized strategic essentialism of the Kurdish anti-colonial movement was not a very solid, organized, and systematic strategy, according to the Kurdish postcolonial discourse it was used as a tactic and culture of resistance and was a serious attempt to eliminate the will to submission to colonial power and colonial subjugation. It was an attempt to preserve identity in which the anti-colonial newspapers played a vital role. The most important features and characteristics of this strategic essentialism are:

- Uniting the Kurdish community and voice against the occupation process and its policies.
- Rejecting the Iraqi identity imposed on the Kurds by the British after the annexation of Mosul to Iraq.
- Emphasizing not being "anti" with any eastern nations especially Turks and Arabs, and emphasizing coexistence and solidarity while maintaining balanced relations.
- Focusing on collective awareness, literacy, and culture as a basis for change; rather than relying on British culture and education which was targeted and programmed by the policy of occupation.

- Being suspicious and critical of non-state actors and organizations dominated by Britain especially the League of Nations and The Hague Tribunal whose decisions and silence were in the interest of Britain.
- Linking ethnic and religious beliefs as the ideological source of the Kurdish anti-colonial movement.
- Using the language of violence and armed force as a last choice as was the case when British colonialism left no option for any other way of peace and negotiation.
- Dismantling and exposing the propaganda and agenda of the misleading British discourse about the Kurds in Iraq.
- Raising awareness through reliance on the local economy and spending less on the income and economic and commercial resources to foreign economies which the Kurds saw as an important factor in defending Kurdish political and cultural identity.

Within the British colonial discourse and the pro-British Kurdish discourse efforts were made to deform and distort the image and reputation of Sheikh Mahmud as a figure of the Kurds. Although Sheikh Mahmud's personality was not without flaws, they blamed all the Kurdish troubles on his movement. The pro-colonial discourse tried every way to distort the history of the anti-colonial movement and its leader and whose misrepresentation has survived to this day. The main reason behind the subjugation of the movement and Sheikh Mahmud was because the movement was the biggest obstacle to British policies in the Kurdish regions of Iraq. Although the British were forced to deal with the Kurds and gave them power at many stages, they, in fact, wanted to destroy the influence and strength that existed among the Kurds. They, therefore, devoted themselves to weakening the British anti-colonial movement. In this regard, pro-British newspapers and pro-British intellectuals played an important role.

The construction of the “self” and the “other” in both British colonialism and Kurdish postcolonial discourses is the process of giving educational, cultural, and political function and responsibilities. In British colonial discourse, the image of self refers to Britain, the image of the other refers to the Kurds, and is an intentional but imaginary

act of representation as reality. Through the power of discourse the self is represented in two ways:

- **The Centric Self:** The process of dominating Britain's voice in science, progress, and civilization.
- **The Angelic Self:** Beautifying the image of colonial Britain as a humanitarian savior, rational and mature.

The image of the other is also represented in two main ways:

- **Demonic Other:** This portrays the other as outlaw, such as the Kurds being bloodthirsty, violent, brave, nervous, and ignorant.
- **Exotic Other:** In this depiction, the Kurds are seen as uncivilized, immature, backward, and irrational.

The images of the “self” and the “other” in British colonial discourse are purposeful expressions of colonial policy to legitimize domination and naturalize the process of colonization by arguing that it is a moral duty and humanitarian responsibility to liberate and civilize the Iraqi Kurds. The image of the Kurds as uncivilized barbarians and Britain as civilized legitimizes the process of colonization and depicts colonization as a necessary civil duty for the Kurds. The image of the Kurds as brave and heroic is a concept for using the Kurds as fighters in a proxy war against the British enemies. The image of the Kurds as backward and ignorant centralizes the role of Britain and subordinates the Kurds in order to make Kurdish subordination and British supremacy appear as a natural state and show British colonization as a humanitarian duty. In the sense that being a human means being British. This is the exploitation of knowledge and culture for the purpose of domination. Therefore, the process of colonization and the ideology of colonialism have an impact on the reality and the truth of colonial culture, knowledge, and science. These images affect the balance of power between the colonized Kurds and the colonial British in the sense that the power writes the truth, rewritten repeatedly, and imposed by power, which is the hidden slogan of colonialism in dealing with discourse and knowledge.

In Kurdish postcolonial discourse, the image of the Kurdish self is a process of cultural resistance and response to colonial discourse and the self-representation of Kurds against colonialism. There are two main types of self-representations in Kurdish postcolonial discourse:

- **Native Self:** This type of self, on the one hand, is an independent entity that represents the Kurds themselves without the presence of the British. On the other hand, the self/Kurds compare themselves with the other/British without the presence of Britain, that is, without relation to Britain.
- **Othered Self:** This self is a mimic and echo of the same images that British colonial discourse has created for the Kurds and a re-demonized self and re-exoticized self in the face of the superiority and angelic nature of the British other.

In Kurdish postcolonial discourse, there are two classifications of Other-British. One classification is of the Kurdish anti-colonial discourse demonizing and decentralizing the other/British while the pro-colonial discourse recasts the public image of Britain as a state and the image of officers and colonial individuals. The pro-colonial discourse also re-centralizes the position of British colonialism in knowledge, science, and civilization. This conflict and complexity of images is related to the complexity and difficulty of the effects of producing information and discourse through othering.

Kurdish anti-colonial discourse rejects and disrupts the imaginary representation of the colonial discourse's "self" and "other." Instead, it gives a real image of the colonized Kurds and colonial Britain. However, in Kurdish pro-colonial discourse, the image of "self" and "other" is mimicking and echoing colonial discourse. This imitation has created an ambivalence in the identity of the Kurdish self that both rejects the native self and the attempt to become the other which is doomed to failure as the Kurds can never be like the British. This ambivalence in turn creates a third space for "the self." Instead of convergence and similarity, the attempt to become British will further distinguish between the colonized/Kurds and the colonizer/British. This third space made Kurds a double object: first, an object in the discourse of British colonialism, and second, self-objectification under the domination of being "pro," which deprived the Kurds of their

ability to be subjects in their discourse. Even in their discourse, the Kurds represent themselves as objects in the form of dis-active subjects. Thus, the Kurds cannot become the other/British and they have lost the principles of native-self. This is the multipolar impact of the legacy of British colonialism on the Kurds in the othering process.

In this study, self-zeroization is the transfer of the Kurdish native-self to the illusion of the “other.” Self-zeroization is the erasure of the self from its cultural, political, social, and historical characteristics through the attempt made to be “other,” which creates a gap between giving up the “self” and not reaching the “other.” This is a kind of ambivalence in identity that instigates a desire to return to the native “self” because one’s identity cannot exactly be the “other.” This zeroing produces a complete subaltern that no longer believes in cultural and political resistance. The colonized sees all liberation in getting rid of the self; not the other. This is due to the zeroization of the value of Kurds as a zero in relation to the Other/Colonizer. Therefore, the colonized sees himself the source of all his own unhappiness. This is not a critical view of the Kurdish self but the destruction of the self and the zeroing of the self. In this way, self-zeroization becomes embedded within the identity and mentality of Kurds in Iraq caused by colonization and its legacies. Zeroing created imaginary domination in the mentality of the colonized Kurds in Iraq and caused dangerous consequences to Kurdish individuals and society to the present day.

British colonial and Kurdish postcolonial discourses show the intensity of cultural colonization as part of the colonization process which along with the military, political, and economic occupation played an important role in changing the identity of the Iraqi Kurds and left a number of legacies among the Kurds and other Middle Eastern nations that have a lasting impact to this day. The Kurdish question in Iraq as an issue in the Middle East was the most obvious problem that became apparent with the arrival of Britain.

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