Geneva, October 2nd, 1933.

# LEAGUE OF NATIONS

# PROTECTION OF MINORITIES IN IRAQ

PETITIONS OF THE MAR SHIMUN, "CATHOLICOS" PATRIARCH OF THE ASSYRIANS, CONCERNING THE SITUATION OF THE ASSYRIAN MINORITY IN IRAQ

Note by the Secretary-General:

At the request of the representatives of Mexico, the Irish Free State and Norway, the question forming the subject of these petitions has been included in the agenda of the Council on the basis of two previous petitions from the same petitioner (see document

The Secretary-General has now the honour to circulate, for the examination of the Council, three new petitions, with annexes, from the Mar Shimun, dated, respectively: Baghdad, August 16th, and Nicosia (Cyprus), August 30th and September 12th, 1933.

Any observations the Iraqi Government may wish to present thereon will be communicated to the Council as soon as they reach the Secretariat.

# LIST OF DOCUMENTS.

		Page
I.	LETTER OF AUGUST 16TH, FORWARDING THE REPORT OF AUGUST 4TH, 1933	3
II.	Report of August 30th, 1933	25
III.	REPORT OF SEPTEMBER 12TH 1933	30

# I. REPORT OF AUGUST 4TH, 1933.

As from Patriarchate, Mosul, c/o Y.M.C.A., Baghdad, August 16th. 1933.

To the Secretary-General, League of Nations, Geneva.

I humbly beg leave to send you a copy of my report, with copies attached of the official documents, and translations of various speeches, and a copy of a report made by an eyewitness of many years' experience of this country and its people. I have made my report in this way not to express bitter feelings, but that the League and the world may

make unbiased judgments.

Since writing this report so much has, and is taking place, such as massacre of the women, children and old men which were left in the villages, the robbing and burning of the latter, as revenge taken by the police and Arab army, and certain Kurdish and Arab tribes, because of their defeat and failure to subdue the spirit of the Assyrians who resisted the Government's policy, first by leaving the country to prepare for the exit of all, according to the alternative policy which the Government officials told them (see report of meeting held in Mosul July 14th, 1933). <sup>1</sup>

The Government received this decision from the leaders and a copy was sent to me

(copy attached to my report).

The circumstances of my forced detention in Baghdad made it difficult to tell the outside world, but I have been able to send out letters and cablegrams through various friends as in this case, with the hope that they reach their destination. So far I have received no acknowledgments.

I beg your help in that an International Commission will be sent out to investigate

both sides of this question at the earliest possible moment.

I fully realise that this communication is not coming to you through the proper channels as laid down in the League's regulations, but under the circumstances I have no other alternative.

(Signed) ESHAI SHIMUN,
By the Grace of God, Catholicos
Patriarch of the Assyrians.

THE PRESENT ASSYRIAN SITUATION. AUGUST 4TH, 1933.
THE OFFICIAL REPORT BY MAR SHIMUN, PATRIARCH OF THE ASSYRIANS.

### INTRODUCTION.

It is not an easy matter for me as Patriarch of the Assyrian Church to make a report under the present circumstances.

I am held in Baghdad under Government detention, my residence watched day and

night by plain-clothes police and my mail censored and confiscated.

The reason given through the *Iraq Times* and local Press by the Government, is that

I have refused to give the guarantees required by the Government.

Attached is the translation copy of the guarantees which I refused to sign, and a copy of my reasons. I must say that a very brave effort was made by Sir Kinnahan Cornwallis and Major Edmunds, the British Advisers to the Minister of Interior, to produce a document which both the Minister on behalf of the Government, and I on behalf of my people, could agree to sign. This was helped by the Acting British Ambassador, Mr. Ogilvie Forbes, the British Air Vice-Marshal Burnett, and his intelligence officers.

These efforts beginning on May 21st and continuing to June 25th (much of which is in writing) ended in the Arab Government threatening to resign and my being detained as a prisoner in Baghdad. My reply to the Minister detaining me in Baghdad, copies of which

were sent to the various legations in the city, is also attached to this report.

Mr. Ogilvie Forbes, the British diplomat who was sympathetic to me, informed me that I was to be detained in Baghdad and again a few days later told me that His Majesty, King Faisal, had cabled to the Prime Minister from England to release me from detention. No word of such was sent to me by the Government in any shape or form, in fact neither the Arab nor the British officials have had any communication with me since June 25th. Since then I have been separated from my people and home in Mosul, and have been obliged to maintain a double establishment at my own expense.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> According to the annexes to the report, this meeting took place on July 10th, 1933.— Note by the Secretary-General.

Before giving my conclusions on the cause of the present situation it is necessary to report at least some of the Assyrian side of the question. I therefore wish to make a summary of such under four periods:

- From June 1932 the time when it was broadcasted that the mandatory Power in Iraq would cease, till the time when I was delegated by my people to proceed to Geneva to plead their cause before the League of Nations.
- 2. From the time of proceeding to Geneva, to my return to Mosul on January 11th, 1933.
  - From January 16th to my coming to Baghdad on May 26th.
- From May 26th to June 25th when I received my detention order in Baghdad (1933).

#### FIRST PERIOD.

In June 1932 on the eve of the termination of the British mandate in Iraq, the Assyrians, still refugees, after a long and bitter experience of broken promises, from the time they gave and lost practically their all for the Allied cause, until the hour of writing, decided to make a determined effort to get their question settled before Iraq entered the League of Nations.

Those Assyrians who were enlisted under contract with the British Government in the levies, gave the authorities a month's notice to terminate their contracts, stating very definitely their reasons. Those scattered in the various Kurdish districts asked their leaders to make a final petition which was submitted to the League of Nations via the mandatory Power. Sir Francis Humphrys, the then British High Commissioner, in his anxiety to prevent the levies resignation taking effect, requested my help.

Having been dangerously ill, I was ignorant of the levies action until this time. many definite and helpful promises made by Sir Francis in his letters through me (see copies attached) satisfied the Assyrians that we could expect much, and so trusting his word, the levies withdrew their notice, and continued to carry out their duties; and my people in the villages to wait patiently for the fulfilment of his promises.

I was asked by my people and encouraged by Sir Francis to go to Geneva to represent

the cause of my people, the necessary expenses being subscribed by the refugees.

Before concluding this period, I want it to be known that the levies action on the one hand, and my going to Geneva on the other, was considered to be the unforgivable crime of the so-called "Patriarchal Temporal Power" and was the reason for the beginning of the Iraqi Government's present policy — viz., breaking the power of the people's chosen leaders, and attempting to scatter the people; a very definite breach of the fundamental law.

## SECOND PERIOD.

At Geneva, the question of the Assyrians was sidetracked until after the entry of Iraq into the League of Nations although the Permanent Mandates Commission did examine the Assyrian Petition on November 14th, 1932, and endorsed its Rapporteur's conclusions,1 with unbiased judgment, it became no longer legal as the mandate no longer existed. The essential point to which it drew the Council's attention was the Assyrians need to be settled in a "homogeneous group". The Rapporteur further stated:

"They (the Assyrians) are encamped there in conditions which in most cases are precarious and miserable. They are refugees. We find an expression of insecurity inspired in the Assyrians, not only by climate . . . but especially by the scattering of this community among populations of other races . . . The root cause of the state of unrest revealed by the petition resides in the fact that it has not been possible to collect the Assyrians of Iraq into a 'homogeneous group'. It has not been proved to the satisfaction of impartial observers that lands combining the requisite conditions for settlement of the Assyrians in a homogeneous group do not exist in Iraq."

Sir Henry Dobbs in his "Statement of Proposals" for the settlement of the Assyrian people in Iraq copy to Lady Surma dated May 1924 states:

"His Excellency the High Commissioner has ascertained that there are more than sufficient deserted lands, the property of the Iraqi Government to the north of Dohuk in Amadia and the northern hills upon which the latter class of persons could be permanently settled."

In the appendix to the Iraqi Prime Minister's letter dated August 2nd, 1932, which was presented to the League of Nations, the following facts appear: In the Mosul Liwa Settlement Scheme 1927 the Council of Ministers had made provision to settle in various

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Annex 1418 to the Minutes of the Sixty ninth Session of the Council (Official Journal, December 1932, pages 2290-2296).— Note by the Secretary-General.

places of the Mosul Liwa, various tribes of the Assyrians, numbering altogether 7,500 people, but those actually settled there now are only 686 families. As pointed out in my notes on this report, which I presented to the Council of the League on November 3rd, 1932, there is still room for another 4,500 persons in this district of Mosul, if the report of the Iraqi Government on past settlement for 1927 is correct. But the administrative inspector who undertook settlement in 1930 said "there was no suitable area in the Mosul Liwa where Ashutis (= Lower Tiari) could be settled together".

Thus from all this it will be realised that a "homogeneous group" was the finding

Thus from all this it will be realised that a "homogeneous group" was the finding of the Permanent Mandates recommendation after fully examining the Assyrian petition. The committee who were authorised by the Council to produce a solution to the problem, seems to have overlooked this in the resolution which it presented and which was passed by the Council on December 11th, 1932, 1 especially in the declaration by the Iraqi

representatives which I quoted:

"Notes with satisfaction the declaration by the representative of Iraq of the intention of the Iraqi Government to select from outside Iraq, a foreign expert to assist them for a limited period in settlement of all landless inhabitants of Iraq, including Assyrians; and in the carrying-out of their scheme for the settlement of the Assyrians of Iraq under suitable conditions and so far as may be possible, in homogeneous units, it being understood that the existing rights of the present population shall not be prejudiced."

I appeal to those who see the difference between the words of the Mandates Commission's endorsement, and that produced by this resolution—viz., "homogeneous group" and "homogeneous units". That alteration of group into units was just sufficient to destroy the whole spirit of the League's intention, for it enables the Arab Government to scatter the people into units, instead of settling a group. Thus I returned to my people from the League of Nations (who had in the past assigned our old homes to Turkey, in the settlement of the Iraq and Turkish boundary dispute) empty handed, still refugees and at the mercy of an Arab Government.

I had to inform the League that the third (Assyrian) petition (which Iraq's representative referred to) in which certain Assyrians professed their satisfaction with their present status under the Iraqi Government that the signatures were partly forged, and partly obtained under improper pressure exerted by Government officials, and that I was prepared to substantiate these statements. To-day I discover that 65 per cent are forged and the rest signatures of men who have no following. The fact is, that the Iraqi Government is unable to carry out its policy towards the Assyrians and the present situation is evidence of this. Before leaving Geneva I, as the representative head of the Assyrians, submitted a protest to the Permanent Mandates Commission in writing, and asked them to reconsider their decision otherwise disaster was bound to occur to my unfortunate people (see my petition of December 16th, 1932). Just before my departure from Geneva I received a letter from the Prime Minister of Iraq, Nuri Pasha, informing me that I should not return direct to my home in Mosul, but via Baghdad to see the Acting Prime Minister. I took this invitation at its face value. On the frontier of Iraq I was treated with the utmost vigilance by the authorities, and made to sign a statement that on arrival in Baghdad I would report to the police. I have since realised that this was an expression of the Government's disapproval of my going to the League of Nations. However, whilst in Baghdad I had an audience with His Majesty King Faisal, who as always, graciously expressed his goodwill towards my people and myself, as did the Acting Prime Minister.

expressed his goodwill towards my people and myself, as did the Acting Prime Minister.

As was customary in the past, on my return to Mosul, I called together the Assyrian leaders to report to them all that had taken place at Geneva. For this, I was informed by the Government's representative in Mosul that I had no power to do so without his sanction. The meeting was finally permitted and took place on January 16th, 1933. I explained to the chiefs the decision of the League, asking them to remain loyal to the Iraqi Government

and to wait and see what the settlement would be.

# THIRD PERIOD.

The following period was a real foretaste of the type of rule we had expected, and I was surprised to find that it had already begun during my absence in Geneva. Those of us conversant with "the minorities guarantees" not only wonder why they were so easily broken, but why the Arab Government appointed over the people as leaders, certain Assyrians as their representatives who were paid to carry out a policy of sowing dissension among the people, and a settlement scheme which was bound to fail: it was in the spirit of units or a scattering, and a settlement covering only a very small proportion of the refugees. The people's real leaders were not only ignored, but were ordered to give guarantee

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Minutes of the Council meeting held on December 15th (not 11th), 1932 (Official Journal, December 1932, pages 2285-2290). — Note by the Secretary-General.

that they would not interfere, failing which they were to be imprisoned. No business could be done with the Government's settlement or otherwise, except through those paid Assyrians appointed by Government to force on the people its will.

For nearly seven months this state of affairs has been going on, and my people through their leaders sought my advice. I protested where possible, and asked the people to again wait patiently for the coming of the new Foreign Settlement Expert, as per the Iraqi Government's promise to the League of Nations. In the meantime pressure was being brought to bear on the people and their leaders to profess that they were happily settled and force was being exhibited to make them sign documents accordingly. In fact we now realise that the great idea was to stage a sham settlement scheme to influence the Foreign Settlement Expert to carry on with the Government's settlement policy, which had already When I asked the officials to substantiate their accusations blaming me for the failure, they failed to do so: but adopted the same methods with me as with the people's leaders, and tried in every possible way to destroy the Patriarchal influence over the people, giving out the old falsehood that I was fighting for my own family and its position (see the conversation recorded by Sir K. Cornwallis's note attached, in which I refused to be treated apart from the people's settlement).

### FOURTH PERIOD.

On May 22nd I was called to the Mutassarif's office in Mosul and told by him that the Minister of the Interior wished me to go to Baghdad to discuss the Assyrian Settlement with him and the Foreign Expert, Major Thomson. Because of the Baghdad heat and my health, I asked that I would not be detained more than four days. On reaching Baghdad I informed the Minister of the Interior of my arrival, and was kept six days waiting before an interview with him. In the meantime, the Foreign Expert had arrived in Mosul at the time I was called to Baghdad. Now I realise, I was brought to Baghdad on false pretences. I therefore sent a special letter to His Majesty King Faisal (see attached copy) but received no reply as His Majesty left for Europe next day. During my interview with the Minister, Assyrian settlement and the Foreign Expert were not mentioned in the conversation that took place. I was informed of the unfavourable attitude of the Iraqi Government towards me, and that I should receive a letter accordingly in which I should be asked to sign guarantees (see copies of the Minister's letter and my answer). To this day no definite accusation of any wrong I have done has ever been told to me. The only possible thing the Government can say against me is that I refused to be a party to the present policy which had incensed the people before I got back from Geneva. It was officially stated in the Press that Major Thomson was in Iraq "purely in an advisory capacity and he will have no executive powers". My one meeting with Major Thomson only confirmed the Government's attitude towards the Assyrian settlement scheme. I did my utmost to change this policy. Advisers did their best, but as will be seen from copies of the official documents, nothing happened except my continued detention in Baghdad.

The threat of the Government to resign brought things to a standstill, as far as I was concerned, and no official, Arab or British, has been to see me or transacted busines with The exception being that I took a copy of my protest against detention to the British Ambassador, as I did to the other diplomatic representatives.

### CONCLUSION.

From this time on the Government officials in Mosul did their utmost to force the Assyrians to submit to their policy which ignored the sacred minorities guarantees given to the League of Nations. On the other hand, the idea that we were refugees, wanting to be subjects and not serfs, did not occur to them. They forgot that we were tribal people and had traditional customs going back for at least 1,900 years. They demanded guarantees from us before they satisfied us that we would be settled (in a homogeneous group ?), where we could live and not starve. We had already had experience of land settlement which had been altered three times. We had no guarantees from the Arab Government of land settlement except broken ones; in fact we had no chance to accept or reject settlement, but were imprisoned if we refused to give guarantees accepting their policy.

By the attached reports it will be seen what has been happening. The Arab Press has published articles full of hatred towards the Assyrians and myself. The reports of speeches made in the Parliament are most bloodthirsty and inflammatory. The Army Commander in Mosul threatened to exterminate the Patriarchal House and the Assyrians in that city, and made the Arabs very hostile towards the Assyrians there. The police arrested my private chaplain and some other Assyrians. Why ? It eventually transpired that one of his officers living in the same block of houses as myself, was very annoyed by the mysterious throwing of stones into his courtyard on several nights. His Moslem servant was giving the customary warning of an immoral woman in the house. Even the *Iraq Times* published the Government reports which were full of untruths, ridiculous fabrications and contradictions. I attach the speeches of the Mosul officials which were given at the meetings on July 10th and 11th. Can anyone wonder why the Assyrians chose to leave Iraq, when they were told to go if they were not satisfied? My people were led to believe that their final settlement would be at least in homogeneous groups or units and that their lost lands and homes would be replaced in Iraq, and they would be enabled to settle down again in peace after nearly twenty years of refugee life. This was not to be:

- 1. They had either to accept the Government policy of being as now scattered as serfs to Kurdish Aghas as their landlords, and with a Government tax to pay as well in most cases, or if they settle on Government land, it would be liable to be taken away any time, at the whim of some local official, as past experience has shown. The British officials left in the country having no executive power, are even an incentive to the local officials doing whatever they like, and being ignorant of the law of the land and also the fundamental law. Politics being their only qualification for office.
  - 2. They must fight for their rights, or,
  - 3. Leave the country.

The first meant starvation and persecution. The second spelt disaster. The third was the only possible alternative to those Assyrians unable to agree to the Government's policy.

Attached is a letter which those who crossed the frontier into Syria sent to the Minister of the Interior of Iraq.

No British official now left to deal with the Assyrian case, has any real first-hand knowledge of my people, or what they have suffered during the past nineteen years.

The League of Nations betrayed us

- (1) By giving our old lands and homes to Turkey;
- (2) By handing us over to an Arab Government.

At the moment of closing this report I have knowledge of the burning of an Assyrian village, the local papers are full of news of fighting between Assyrians and Arabs on the frontier, the deporting of some of my relations and Assyrian notables from Mosul, and carrying away of cattle and other properties from the villagers.

(Signed) Eshai Shimun,
By the Grace of God, Catholicos
Patriarch of the East.

### Annexes.

COPY AND TRANSLATION RECEIVED ON JUNE 1ST, 1933.

No. U. 1104 Baghdad, 28/5/1933.

Honourable Mar Shimun,

During my last visit to Mosul, I informed you of the Government's attitude with regard to your personal position.

I wish now to confirm in writing what you heard from me verbally. The Government desires to recognise your Spiritual See (leadership) over the Assyrian people, and is promising that you will maintain the honour due to your above-mentioned position for always, and as previously the Mutassarif of Mosul has already informed you that the Government desires to obtain your assistance in establishing a Community Law, on the same basis of the rules at present in force with regard to other peoples.

In order that you may maintain your spiritual leadership, in a fitting manner, the Government is at present discussing the means of finding a permanent income towards your support, and it is not the intention of the Government to decrease the monthly allowance which at present is paid to you, until such time when the Government is satisfied that you are in receipt of sufficient income from other sources.

I must however inform you that the Government cannot agree to transfer to you the temporal power and your position will be the same as that of other spiritual heads

of other people in Iraq, and that all the Assyrians should conform to all the administration

rules and regulations which are enforced on all other Iraqis.

It is needless to assure you of the Government's sincere desire to fulfil whatever is possible to see the Assyrian people satisfied and happy, and that your people may become one of the most faithful subject peoples to His Majesty the Great King; the Government by its declaration before the League of Nations has fully declared itself to this effect, and this policy has been accepted and approved. I am to state that the Government, according to the agreement of last autumn, has been making efforts to secure the services of a foreign expert, to advise in the important question of settlement, and this foreign expert who is Major Thomson will very likely arrive at Mosul at the end of this month, the most important and greatest part of his work will be for the Assyrian peoples. I very strongly hope that he will get full assistance from all those who wish good of this people.

I very much regret to say that according to certain reports which have reached us, your honourableness have up to the present adopted a non-assisting and obstructive attitude towards this important question. I therefore deem it very essential to ask you to give a written guarantee that you will never take an action, which may be an obstacle

to the work of Major Thomson, and cause difficulty to the Government.

If there are any points which are not mentioned in this letter, I shall be glad if you draw my attention to them. The Government's official recognition of your above-mentioned position is subject to your desire to accept it, and your giving a definite promise that you will always and in every way be as one of the most faithful subjects of His Majesty the Great King. I shall be very glad to receive your written reply to this letter as per attached text.

> (Signed) Hikmat SLIMAN, Minister of Interior.

The text referred to is as follows:

"I Mar Shimun have studied the letter from Your Excellency No.U.1104 dated

May 28th, 1933, and have accepted all it contains.

"I do hereby promise that I will never do anything which may be an obstacle to the duties of Major Thomson and the Government of Iraq, namely in whatever it concerns the settlement scheme: that I will always and in every way remain as one of the most faithful subjects of His Majesty the Great King."

No. AP/S/35.

Baghdad, as from Assyrian Patriarchate, Mosul, dated June 3rd, 1933.

Dear Minister,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's letter No.U.1104, dated May 28th, 1933, and I am with due respects replying to its essential points as follows:

- With regard to my interview with Your Excellency on April 12th, 1933, at Mosul, may I request Your Excellency's recollection to the conversation which then took place. Your Excellency said that a new co-operative policy with regard to the Assyrian Settlement Scheme would be introduced by you, and that the orders would be issued to the Mutassarif to that effect, and that he would also be asked to consult me on all matters affecting the Assyrians.
- The Community Law mentioned in Your Excellency's letter however a useful factor it may be, at this stage of affairs would appear to be an immatured measure, owing to the fact that such a law is necessarily applicable to a settled community. Moreover, in order to formulate this law, time would be required to consult with the Canons of the Church.
- With regard to the term "temporal power" alluded to by Your Excellency when you say "the Government cannot agree to transfer to you any 'temporal power'. I would be glad to know how this term is interpreted by you.

Although I do not desire to dwell on this point in length I think it is necessary for me to try and elucidate the term "spiritual and temporal" power united together in this special case of the Patriarch Catholicos of the East, since it seems to me that Your Excellency and the Government have taken a grave view of it. This Patriarchal authority is a great historical and traditional usage of the Assyrian people and Church, and it has been one of the established and most important customs. The temporal power has not been assumed by me but it has descended to me from centuries past as a legalised delegation of the people to the Patriarch. It was not only tolerated but also officially recognised in past by the old Sassanite Kings, Islamic Caliphs, Moghul Khans and Ottoman Sultans. No proof of any misuse of this power as far as any King or Government whose subjects the Assyrian people have been, can be traced in history, whilst on the other hand besides being in no way

preventive to the application of the law of the country, it has proved to be the best method

of dealing with a people living under the circumstances as the Assyrians are.

Under the above circumstances I very much regret to say that it is impossible for me to comply with your order — viz., to sign the written promise outlined by Your Excellency—since such an action would only mean that I am willingly withdrawing myself from the duty to my people; the duty which as mentioned above is a legal delegation of the people to me and it is only to them to take it away. In this connection, I would further like to point out that I am very much surprised by the step Your Excellency has proposed to take, more so under the present circumstances, since such an action is only applicable in case of a rebel. This being so, may I ask Your Excellency whether my honour and the honour of my people has not been insulted.

I fail to trace any precedent to this action of Your Excellency unless I am to blame

I fail to trace any precedent to this action of Your Excellency unless I am to blame because I most candidly have represented the case of my Assyrian people in a legal manner before the late mandatory Power, the League of Nations and His Majesty's Government with a view of securing a solution to it which I believe it is in the interests of all concerned.

4. With regard to the allegation that I have hitherto adopted an unfavourable and rather obstructive attitude towards the Assyrian Settlement Scheme. This point was also verbally raised by Your Excellency during my interview with you on May 31st when I more than once asked for facts of this allegation. This is more discouraging to me when I think of my incessant endeavours in persuading my Assyrian people to settle and become a useful element in this country as also they have been hitherto.

I close this my letter with offering my respects to Your Excellency and with apology for having to write it in a foreign language as at present I have not a suitable writer in

Arabic at my disposal.

If there are any points which Your Excellency wishes to learn from me I shall be only too glad to answer them, as I propose to leave Baghdad on Monday evening, June 4th.

I remain,
Yours most respectfully,
Mar Shimun.

To His Excellency Hikmat Sliman Beg, The Minister of Interior, Baghdad.

Copy to His Majesty the Great King Faisal the First.

Ministry of the Interior,

Iraq Baghdad.

[Urgent.]

Beatitude,

June 6th, 1933. D. O. No. C/288.

I send you a copy of a note which I have written to His Excellency the Minister of Interior on our conversation of this morning.

I shall be grateful if you will confirm that it correctly represents what passed between us.

Yours sincerely, (Signed) K. Cornwallis.

His Beatitude Eshai Shimun, Assyrian Patriarch, Baghdad.

His Excellency the Minister of Interior.

I saw His Beatitude Mar Shimun this morning and discussed with him his letter of June 3rd to Your Excellency. I pointed out to him that certain passages in his letter were liable to misconstruction and said that I wished to clear up the misunderstanding which would inevitably arise.

The result of our discussion was as follows:

- 1. It became clear to me that His Beatitude feels that he has been misrepresented by ill wishers and that the assurances which he was asked to give implied a slur on his loyalty and honour which is not justified. This feeling undoubtedly influenced him when replying to Your Excellency.
- 2. His Beatitude expressed his gratitude and thanks to Your Excellency for your kindness in saying that the Government has under consideration the creation of a source of income to assist him in a permanent manner. He places the needs of his community above his own and considered that if the intention is to allocate lands to himself personally or in the name of the community, such allocation should be made during the course of the Settlement and with due regard to the needs of individuals.

3. As regards his personal position, His Beatitude fully recognises that in all matters of administration the members of the Assyrian community must conform to the laws, regulations and manner of procedure which applies to all other Iraqis. He has always advised the Assyrians in this sense and will continue doing so. His aim is always to make the Assyrians loyal and law-abiding citizens. He considers, however, that the local officials have not been carrying out a wise policy and he fears that the Assyrians may get out of control. He cited a number of cases in which he thought injustice had been shown.

The Assyrians have always been in the habit of coming to their Patriarch with their troubles and he feels that it is his duty to represent their grievances to Government. He

stated that he had nothing to add to this.

4. His Beatitude denied the reports that he has worked against land settlement. On the contrary he considers it vital for the Assyrians, is most anxious to see it brought about and will not do anything to make the task of Major Thomson and the Government more difficult. He does not, however, consider that the committee which has been appointed is truly representative of the community and fears that the settlement on its present lines will be a failure.

He considers:

- (a) That the first action to take is to ascertain the number to be settled immediately and in the future;
  - (b) That land registration should be carried out as soon as possible;
- (c) That those who are now in privately-owned lands and for whom Government lands can be found, should be given a title in due course after they have moved; they should not take precedence over Assyrians who have no lands and who apply for settlement on government lands;
- (d) That the question of financial assistance to settlers should be considered. I said that this could not be considered now and that I could not say whether Major Thomson would make any recommendations in this regard.
- 5. His Beatitude feels aggrieved that his loyalty to His Majesty the King should have been called in question as he has frequently in the past both in action and in writing given expression of it.

(Signed) K. CORNWALLIS, Adviser.

Baghdad, June 6th, 1933.

Baghdad, as from the Assyrian Patriarchate, Mosul, dated June 8th, 1933.

Dear Sir Kinahan,

I thank you for your letter of the 6th sending me a copy of the notes of my interview with you on that morning, which you have sent to His Excellency the Minister of Interior, and I thank you for the interest and labour for the affairs of my people.

and I thank you for the interest and labour for the affairs of my people.

On the whole the notes do correctly represent what passed between us. There are, however, some things I would like to state differently and again other things recorded.

For instance, Paragraph 1, the last thought. May I state no feelings influenced my reply to His Excellency. The fact is that I could not reply to the letter of the Government otherwise before consulting my people.

In Paragraph 2 and elsewhere in these notes I would like that the word "community" be understood to mean the Assyrian people.

Paragraph 3. The importance of this paragraph would be better understood if it is realised that the Assyrians, unlike other communities, are refugees and homeless, and the idea behind the League of Nations by a homogeneous settlement is to replace their homelands and make them contented loyal subjects. This is not being done, on the contrary, after twelve years, there is not one instance where an Assyrian has received title deed substitute of his lost home. The Assyrian refugees, however, voted for the Mosul vilayet to be included in Iraq for this purpose.

With regard to the last part of paragraph 3, I would like to add that the traditional customs of the people should not be interfered with as at present. The same privileges

are maintained by other tribal people in Iraq.

In conclusion, I would appeal to you to see my position as it now is, and advise me as to how I can possibly fulfil my duty to my people as well as comply with the requests from all sides.

- 1. Major Thomson as the Expert Adviser requests my assistance to bring about a Settlement Scheme.
- 2. You as the Adviser to the Ministry of Interior asked me for my views to present them to the Minister of Interior, and send you copies of my proposals to Major Thomson.
- 3. His Excellency the Minister who represents the Government has ordered me to retire from all temporal affairs of my people.

Therefore, under these circumstances, it becomes impossible for me to comply with

any of these requests.

I have under preparation proposals for a Scheme of Settlement which will be in the interests of all concerned.

The presentation of these proposals depends on the change of the present policy.

(Signed) Mar SHIMUN.

DRAFT LETTER TO HIS BEATITUDE MAR SHIMUN FROM HIS EXCELLENCY THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR.

I have received your letter of the 3rd inst. and as I have informed you verbally, I consider it so ambiguous that I cannot take it as a reply to my letter of May 28th.

2. I have, however, read your letter of May 31st, 1933, to His Majesty the King. I have also read a note by the adviser dated 7th inst., recording the result of a conversation with and your reply of June 8th to him. I have also had a discussion with you on June 8th.

### 3. I take note from the above:

- (a) You fully recognise that in matters of administration, Assyrians must conform to laws, regulations and manner of procedure which applies to all other Iraqis. You have always advised them in this sense, and will continue doing so; your aim is always to make the Assyrians loyal and law-abiding citizens.
- (b) You consider that land settlement is vital for the Assyrians. You are most anxious to see it brought about and you assure me that you will not do anything to make the task of Major Thomson and the Government more difficult.

4. But as regards your personal position I confirm to you what I explained in my letter No. U/1104 dated May 28th, 1933 — namely, that it will resemble that of the spiritual heads of the other communities in Iraq, and the Government cannot delegate to you any temporal power. But as you are aware, it is the right of every Iraqi to petition the Government on any subject, and spiritual heads of communities have always been accustomed to bring to its notice the needs and grievances of their people. Therefore, if you have any complaints at any time I am ready to cause enquiries to be made.

I notice that you have complained of the policy which you say is being adopted in

I notice that you have complained of the policy which you say is being adopted in Mosul. The policy of the Government is perfectly clear. It is to treat the Assyrians with fairness and justice like all other Iraqis; to make them loyal and contented subjects of His Majesty the King and to effect their permanent settlement in a manner that will lead to this end. Unfortunately up to the present certain sections of the Assyrians have held aloof from Government and they have only themselves to blame if they are looked upon with suspicion. I wish however to put an end to this state of things and I sincerely hope that all Assyrians will show their loyalty by co-operating fully with Major Thomson and by giving him all the assistance for which he asks. If this is done, I have no doubt that there will be a rapid and I hope permanent improvement in the situation.

I shall be obliged if you will acknowledge this letter.

Dear Sir K. Cornwallis,

I return, herewith, the draft copies you handed to me of the proposed letter from His Excellency the Minister of Interior and my acknowledgment thereof.

I also enclose a copy of the suggested letter as modified by me after full consideration

in the interests of all concerned.

I thank you very much for the trouble you are taking in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Patriarch of the Assyrians.

DRAFT LETTER TO HIS BEATITUDE THE MAR SHIMUN FROM HIS EXCELLENCY THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR.

I have received your letter of the 3rd inst., and as I have informed you verbally, I consider it so ambiguous that I cannot take it as a reply to my letter of May 28th.

2. I have, however, read your letter of May 31st, 1933, to His Majesty the King. I have also read a note by the Adviser, dated the 7th instant, recording the result of a conversation with (you) and your reply of June 8th. I have also had a discussion with you on June 8th.

### 3. I take note from the above:

- (a) You fully recognise that in matters of administration, Assyrians must conform to laws, regulations and manner of procedure which applies to all other Iraqis. You have always advised them in this sense and will continue doing so; your aim is always to make the Assyrians loyal and law-abiding citizens. On the other hand the Government fully realise that the Assyrians unlike other communities are refugees and homeless and the idea behind the League of Nations by a homogeneous settlement is to substitute their homelands and make them contented subjects.
- (b) You consider that land settlement is vital for the Assyrians. You are anxious to see it brought about and you assure me that you will do everything possible to make the task of Major Thomson and the Government's easier.
- 4. But as regards your personal position I confirm to you that it will resemble that of spiritual heads of other communities in Iraq, and that the traditional and established customs of your Assyrian people will be privileged to remain. You will have the right to petition to His Majesty the King, or His Government regarding the needs and grievances of your people.

I notice that you have complained of the policy which you say is being adopted in Mosul. I will issue instructions to the Mutassarif of Mosul Liwa to conform to the Government's policy and the contents of this letter and I hope you will make known to

Major Thomson your proposals for settling the Assyrians.

The policy of the Government is perfectly clear. It is to treat the Assyrians with fairness and justice like all other Iraqis, to make them loyal and contented subjects of His Majesty the King, and to effect the permanent settlement in a manner that will lead to this end.

I, therefore, sincerely hope that you will advise all the Assyrians to show their loyalty by co-operating fully with Major Thomson, and by giving him all the assistance for which he asks. If this is done I have no doubt that there will be a rapid, and, I hope, permanent improvement in the situation.

I shall be obliged if you will acknowledge this letter.

Baghdad, as from Assyrian Patriarchate, Mosul, May 31st, 1933.

Your Majesty,

I humbly request leave to give Your Majesty my opinion in the following lines about the present policy of the Mosul authorities as I see it to settle the Assyrian question.

Knowing that a word from Your Majesty at this hour, to Your Majesty's Advisers

could change this policy and thus bring the affairs of the Assyrians to a successful issue.

I was ordered by the Mutassarif of Mosul with great urgency to proceed to Baghdad immediately in response of an invitation from the Minister of Interior to discuss with him and Major D. B. Thomson the Foreign Expert for the new Assyrian Settlement Scheme the Assyrian affairs.

On the sixth day after my arrival in Baghdad, and after many attempts, I was granted

an interview with His Excellency the Minister of Interior.

In the meantime I have word from Mosul that the authorities there are still continuing with their old policy with regard to the Assyrian question. If this is the case, it is

inconsistent with the purpose of my invitation to Baghdad as explained to me.

I very much regret to have to bring it to Your Majesty's notice that during my interview with His Excellency the Interior Minister, I was informed of the unfavourable attitude of the present Government towards me personally.

If I did not participate with the present policy adopted by Mosul authorities the

reason has been that policy was entirely unconstructive.

I do feel most confident that the present policy which has now for some time been carried on by the Mosul liwa authorities only as I presume and which has already proved a failure, is not consistent with the noble spirit of Your Majesty, which has more than once been most graciously expressed to me by Your Majesty personally.

I take the advantage of Your noble spirit and fatherly kindness to assure myself that Your Majesty's desire is to make the Assyrian people a contented, loyal and helpful subject people within Your Majesty's Dominion, and to attain this end I am ready as I always have been to offer my utmost services to Your Majesty.

Hoping at this late hour that some constructive scheme can be arranged, which will enable my people and myself to prove to Your Majesty's Person our loyalty and gratitude,

I remain, etc.

The Residency,

SORTON DE LA SERIO COLO SERBITORIO SE SORTO DE LA SERIO DELLA SERI

Baghdad, June 18th, 1932.

Beatitude,

I have received your letter of June 17th, together with two copies of the petition of the Assyrian leaders of the same date, one of which is addressed to me and the other to

the Chairman of the Permanent Mandates Commission.

This petition puts forward a number of demands of far-reaching effect and great importance and raises issues which cannot be settled without a reference to the League of Nations. It therefore is quite impossible for me to give an undertaking by June 28th, that the demands made in the petition will be approved. The petition must be forwarded to the League for consideration, and as it is demanded that the claims put forward in it must be adopted by the Council of the League, no undertaking can be given concerning them without the League's authority. I am forwarding the Assyrian leaders' petition at once to my Government for onward despatch to the League, and Your Beatitude may be assured that it will receive the earliest possible consideration.

In the meantime, your people have everything to lose from precipitate action and since, as I have shown, it is quite impracticable to make a reply to the petition by June 28th, I urge you to advise Assyrian levies to postpone the execution of their resolution to cease

serving, until such time as a reply is received from the League.

If Your Beatitude does not so advise them, and if they persist in leaving the levies and joining in the national movement, to which reference is made in the last paragraph of the petition, before an answer is given to you, I must warn Your Beatitude that the Assyrians will be regarded as having offered a grave discourtesy to the League, who will have been given no possible opportunity to reply before your ultimatum expires. Moreover, in such circumstances the Assyrians could not reasonably expect to obtain any future employment in the Government services.

I must ask you to send me an immediate answer by the hand of Captain Holt.

(Signed) F. H. HUMPHRYS.

His Beatitude

The Most Reverend Eshai Mar Shimun, Assyrian Patriarch.

No. S.O. 851.

The Residency,

Baghdad, June 22nd, 1932.

Beatitude,

I have received your letter of June 20th by the hand of Captain Holt. There occurs in this letter the following passage which I do not understand:

At this morning's meeting it was unanimously agreed by the leaders that a final reply could not be given to Your Excellency's letter with regard to the question of postponement of the resolution of the Assyrian levies."

Captain Holt tells me that he pointed out to Your Beatitude that, if this was not in fact the final reply, he would stay in Ser Amadiyah until he obtained it. He tells me, however, that he was informed by Your Beatitude that this was the last word of the leaders and that they refused to postpone the resignation of the Assyrian levies unless I accepted all their demands, except that relating to Hakkiari, by June 28th. I have already explained that it is not within my power to accept demands of this nature, which will have to be carefully considered by my Government in London and by the League of Nations at Geneva; nor is a representative of the Iraqi Government empowered to accept them without the approval of the Iraqi Parliament, since the demands involve alterations to the fundamental laws of Iraq in regard to minorities which can only be agreed to with the consent of the League of Nations.

I have informed Your Beatitude that I am unable to understand what the Assyrians have to gain by giving up their present service which is worth nearly a lakh of rupees a month to them, and by disqualifying themselves for further service in the future. On the other hand, they have a very great deal to lose by such short-sighted behaviour, which cannot fail to appear to the British Government and people as singularly ungrateful and

inopportune.

I would finally point out that the fact that an earlier petition which was submitted by the Assyrian leaders to the Permanent Mandates Commission last November to the effect that it would be no longer possible for the Assyrians to remain in Iraq after the termination of the British mandate is still under the consideration of the League, makes it still more incomprehensible that the Assyrian leaders should expect a reply to an entirely new set of demands of the most complicated and far-reaching nature before the petition can even have been seen by the League. In giving such an ultimatum, Your Beatitude cannot fail to realise that the Assyrian leaders are putting themselves in the wrong with the British Government and the League of Nations.

There is nothing more for me to say in this matter, except to express my deep regret at the unnecessary sufferings which the Assyrians seem determined to bring on themselves. I am making arrangements to take over the duties vacated by those Assyrians who desire to leave and to entrust them to British troops until other Iraqis have been recruited to

replace them.

But the door is still open.

(Signed) F. H. HUMPHRYS.

His Beatitude The Most Reverend Eshai Mar Shimun, Assyrian Patriarch.

> High Commissioner's Office, Baghdad, June 28th, 1932.

Beatitude,

In spite of everything that has occurred I am still prepared to offer following

conditions for levy service.

On condition that you and the other leaders will give a solemn undertaking not again to interfere with the discipline of the Assyrian levies, and on condition that all ranks give undertakings to serve loyally and truly, levies will be maintained at present strength, until an answer is given by the League to the Assyrian petition of June 17th, or until December 15th, whichever is the earlier date. If, however, levies have definitely decided that they do not wish to serve at Basra, one company must be reduced to allow for the formation of a company of other Iraqis to take over from the Assyrians at Basra.

On receipt of the answer from the League, arrangements will be made to retain such men as it may be desired, to recruit for the forces to be formed under the Anglo-Iraqi

Treaty of 1930.

It is impossible for me to give you a reply in precise terms as to what demands in the Assyrian petition will, and what will not be considered as reasonable, and in conformity with the general policy of my Government and the League. I cannot at this stage commit myself further than to inform you that such questions as recognition of Patriarch, land settlement, representation in Parliament, schools, dispensaries, retention of rifles, and conditions of service in the Iraqi forces, are recognised by me as reasonable subjects for consideration and that the earliest and most sympathetic attention to these matters will be pressed by me on the Iraqi Government, and, through my Government, on the League of Nations.

You may be assured of the sincere goodwill of the British Government and myself and of our desire to do all that is possible for the welfare of the Assyrian people. I cannot believe that you will deliberately reject my advice to give up hasty action and to await the decision of the League, so that these important issues may be discussed in a calm

atmosphere.

(Signed) F. H. HUMPHRYS.

His Beatitude
The Most Reverend Eshai Mar Shimun,
Assyrian Patriarch.

The Residency, Baghdad, June 28th, 1932.

Personal.

Beatitude,

I was very glad to receive your message this evening and as requested I am sending you a signed copy of my telegram of June 27th.

You know that I shall do everything in my power to help you and your people at Geneva. I will even do my best to find a solution in regard to Hakkiari though you will realise that

this is an international question of great delicacy.

All I ask from Your Beatitude and the Assyrian leaders is that they should assist me by maintaining the levies in loyal service and the people in a calm spirit until the decision of the League of Nations has been received.

I know that I can rely on your help in this.

With my kindest regards to Lady Surma and Your Beatitude. I was so sorry that I missed seeing her in Baghdad owing to my illness.

(Signed) Francis HUMPHRYS.

High Commissioner's Office, Baghdad, July 3rd, 1932.

Beatitude,

Thank you for your message of July 2nd. I note that you are prepared to send another letter to the levies at Hinaidi, Mosul, Diana and Sulaimania, in accordance with my draft copy of which is enclosed, after you have explained it fully to the leaders on July 5th.

It is true that my Government and myself are doing our best to obtain the reply of the League of Nations to your national petition before the termination of the mandate, which is expected to take place in September, but I know that you will understand that it is impossible for me to guarantee that the League will communicate their reply by this date. It is for this reason that I have asked that instructions should be sent to the levies to serve loyally until the receipt of the League's reply, rather than until the end of September. I have from the first impressed on Your Beatitude the importance of delaying the decision of the levies to resign until they have had an opportunity to study the reply of the League to the national petition. I feel sure that Your Beatitude will agree with me that this is a reasonable act of courtesy, both to the British Government and the League of Nations, and it is in reality in the best interests of the levies themselves.

I promise you that I will continue to do everything I can to obtain the League's reply as early as possible. The validity of the League's decision will not be affected by the date on which it is received.

(Signed) F. H. HUMPHRYS.

His Beatitude, The Most Reverend Eshai Mar Shimun, Assyrian Patriarch.

STATEMENT MADE BY SAYED CHABALI HAJI THABIT IN THE IRAQI PARLIAMENT ON JUNE 28th, 1933.

(VIDE Al Istoclal, No. 1929, of June 29th, 1933.)

Gentlemen,

I have to throw light on the public opinion, specially on that of our Press, regarding this misleading name Assyrians, which is in common use. As you are aware, this term is only recently coming into being. There is nobody who reasonably deserved this name; if there is any, we are the first to grasp it, as we are the original inhabitants of this country and take this from the physical and not political point of view. The same question arises in Egypt; it is called Pharaohs', but really Mosul is Arab even before the Islam. I regret to note that our Press still stick to this mysterious name. The group which calls itself Assyrians should be named Tyaris; they intermingle with the Assyrians and Chaldeans, this is confirmed by their being bilingual. If, for example, there is any of them who can decipher the tablets maintained in our Museum, he can make us believe that they are descendants of the Great Assyria. Proverb, "(if) he passed the examination set, he deserves honour; if he fails, he is liable to disgrace".

The Tyaris can be divided into the following sub-sections: (1) Tyari Bila, (2) Tyari Zair, (3) Tyari Jilu, (4) Tyari Bazi, (5) Tyari Dizi; they all go under the name Tyari.

These in the pre-war days inhabited in Hikkari, Juliamerk, Bash Gala, and Van in Turkish territories with their religious headquarters in Qudshanus, (2) Persia, their headquarters in Urmia, (3) Russia and (4) part of them lived in Barwari villages in the outskirts of a mountain which is named after them — viz., Tyari Mountain in the vicinity of Amadia, and their headquarters being in Ashita where their religious leader resides, who puts his untimely claims before the Government. These villages are within the Turkish border, but some of them happily are situated in the Iraqi side; they are genuine Iraqis; they are entitled to share the benefits of our country; ours is theirs, and theirs ours.

The above-mentioned Tyaris are therefore aliens, and not former inhabitants of this country. They are nearly 20,000 who fled from Persia, Russia and Turkey, with the strong desire of the Colonial Office. When they poured into Mosul and began living by illegal means, the inhabitants there were somewhat indisposed, and cried to get rid of them; but, unfortunately, their pleadings were not listened to until some unhappy event took place in Mosul. The Mosulawis cried loudly and insisted on their being removed to their former homes or at least scattered in the villages, to avoid further accidents. It was prophesied at that time that their settling together would jeopardise the general security and disturb peaceful citizens. The Government migrated them to Kirkuk; as though Kirkuk was not Iraq. They caused there the most bloody accident Kirkuk has ever seen, and made hundreds of our martyrs to lose their dear lives. This happened during the celebrations of "Id-al-Fatir".

I cannot help weeping when I remember that doomed event; still, some mysterious hand plays havoc and moves them to and fro. Recently one of their priests (Rev. Bedari), who resides in Mosul, published the most notorious article against the poor government. The police authorities on the spot confiscated his cursed pamphlets, but the said priest was able to dispose some fifty copies and distribute them among the prominent people. May I ask His Excellency as to the steps taken against such behaviour?

This wretched and corrupt people was housed and fed in Iraq and were expected to be loyal and dutiful subjects, but, on the contrary, after being surfeited and ungrateful to the hospitality shown by their hosts claim humorous rights. Experience, however, shows that these are armed to the teeth and are in a position to inflict the severest blow on the Government! We are not so coward but we wait to see what steps will be taken against those interlopers, what is the Government's attitude towards them in this respect, and why she keeps quiet and postpones their punishment and to make it known from what source they obtained their arms. We therefore request and recommend their being stripped of their arms forthwith, or, at least, arm their neighbours for defensive measures.

We cannot clearly understand the programme of their settling together in Zibar area. The Government further sanctioned 13,000 dinars for their settlement, and the settlement officer intends to settle some of them in Barzan area; as though we dislodged the Barzanis to make room for those, and to breed the poisonous germ in the head of the Government.

These will, at any rate, be an obstacle in the way of the Government; we therefore should scatter them in all the liwas to be able to rule them peacefully. We understand that they imagine special status, but they cannot be attained to, and we cannot at our will create a difficult situation similar to that already created in Palestine (Zionists).

Further, what is the British Consulate at Dianna? And what are the intelligence officers scattered in the country? And what is this mythical hand which turns this unseen machine? We were under the impression that this game would come to an end with the Mandate, but they wish to restart it in an independent State. We can wait no longer, everything is ripe, we request the Government to take punitive measures against them.

Gentlemen, the most important problem to solve is, to remedy this bleeding wound; to do this, we shall cry and cry loudly.

The soil of this country is formed of the bones and blood of our ancestors. How can we close our eyes and be indifferent in defending our sacred fatherland? (Applause.) Our ally wants many things in this country of their adoption, we must guard it against any intruders.

STATEMENT MADE BY MAJOR THOMSON IN THE MEETING HELD IN THE MUTASSARIF'S RESIDENCY, MOSUL, ON JULY 14TH, 1933.

(Vide Al Ummal, No. 144.)

### Subject: Assyrian Settlement.

I have the pleasure to meet all the Assyrian chieftains. I had the opportunity of meeting some of them previously. I want to express myself fully. Should I fail to explain my settlement programme, I have certainly not discharged my duties satisfactorily. I wish all of you will be mindful and pay attention to the proceedings of this meeting.

Most of you, of course, understand what my duty is; the Government wants me to offer my services to help her, and that is in accordance with the pledge given by the Iraqi Government to the League of Nations. No doubt, you have heard of the final decision of the League through the Mutassarif. I want to remind you that prior to my departure from this country, whether settlement successful or otherwise, I shall write a diffused statement on this matter, and forward it through the Government to the League of Nations.

In my conversation with Mar Shimun at the beginning of June last, I discussed with him questions pertaining to settlement. In the course of my debate with him, he altogether refused discussing such matters, and also did not furnish me with names of some Assyrian notables whom I wanted to meet in Mosul or elsewhere. He refused to co-operate with me, with the sole excuse that he does not agree on the policy adopted by the Government in this respect, and forgot that I have been invited to help the Government in the settlement. I also pointed out to him that the Government quite agrees on my proposals. The next thing made him to refrain from co-operating with me was that the Government asked him not to interfere with the political affairs — and that he will enjoy no temporal rule and the Assyrians will be dealt with directly by the Government, as he is the only spiritual head in this country who enjoys such rules. I presume he does not understand the meaning of temporal rule. I should like to explain this clearly as far as possible.

The Government requested him not to interfere with these affairs and to leave the idea of obtaining an official post with the Iraqi Government, and to avoid further interference with the Assyrians. I do not believe that Mar Shimun still sticks to his uninvited claims. I explained to him that there is nobody who enjoys both temporal and spiritual rules. He afterwards sent me a letter promising to furnish me with details of his programme and his objections to the present settlement policy. It is over a month and still no such papers have been received, and no facilities made by him in the settlement. He still holds different ideas and does not agree with the Government in the capital regarding his personal claims.

I feel it my duty to tell you that if he fully understands the final decisions of the League, and if he really works for the benefit of his people, I should say that it would have been better for him to count the personal claims as a second matter, and to follow his followers.

The most important matter is that you were not confident and were suspicious of settling. In this case a great majority of you live simply on your capital, and no doubt that capital will some day or later exhaust. Had you settled for good some four or five years ago, you would have been certainly much happier and comfortable. In case you deem it advisable that Mar Shimun's presence is a necessity in the settlement, I should request you to advise him to agree on the Government's policy and to co-operate with us without further delay.

You must remember that my presence here is solely for your settlement and to give my directions for your own benefit and must tell you that this is the only chance of seeing me here under your disposal. You should understand that there is no Government in the world who can give such privileges as those given by the Iraqi Government. You have to enjoy them forthwith.

As regards settlement, I will strive as far as possible to settle families of any tribe in one village. Some time ago, the Government wished to be furnished with lists of families who wish to settle, in order that arrangements can be made for their settlement in the villages; up to date but a few registrations have been made. Naturally, those who have consented to settle, will be given the option to choose lands for settlements and those who delay will lose. I shall not hesitate to urge families who wish to settle in and cultivate lands to register their individuals as soon as possible. Those who are already settled in villages, but owing to material and other causes wish to evacuate them, will be dealt with later on. Certainly those who are in employment in Baghdad or elsewhere, and those who require to own lands for cultivations on large scale (i.e., those who require to own lands and lease them to tenants) will also be dealt with after we have settled those who will cultivate the lands themselves.

These are the available lands for settlement — viz., Dashta-Zai, Jentazi, Kizfaghar and some more lands in the vicinity of Mosul and other villages. I must tell you that the Government sanctioned 13,000 dinars for your settlement, and that amount will be utilised for irrigation and housing purposes, I should be really delighted to see the Assyrians settle for good in these lands. I have personally made a tour on these lands, and can assure you that they are habitable, as regards land-owning rights, etc. (Government or private owned), some specimen contracts have been concluded previously, between the Government and tenants or landlords and tenants.

I will continue to help the Assyrians, and will point out to them some difficult situations arising. In conclusion, I can assure you that the Iraqi Government is prepared to help you in any way. Colonel Stafford and myself are here, and we both wish you to be happy.

I ask you to grasp what we have said, and to understand that our sole intention is to direct the Assyrians and to help them as far as possible.

Baghdad West, June 7th, 1933.

Your Beatitude,

I am writing to let you know that I am leaving Baghdad this evening on my return to Mosul.

My present intention is to leave Mosul for Amadia on Saturday next, and to visit the Assyrian villages, the Deshty-zer, and other possible areas for Assyrian settlement.

When we had our talk on Monday you will remember you promised to write me a letter setting out your appreciation of the present policy for Assyrian settlement, with your remarks thereon.

You also promised to send me a list of Assyrian notables whom you would like me to see and with whom I might talk over the general situation, and who would also be willing to act on the Assyrian Advisory Committee in Mosul.

Should any of these gentlemen like to accompany me on my present tour and those

in the coming months I should welcome them gladly.

I am looking forward to having the pleasure of meeting you in Mosul in the near future and of further discussing the question of Assyrian settlement.

(Signed) D. B. THOMSON.

His Beatitude Eshai Shimun, Assyrian Patriarch, Baghdad.

> Baghdad, as from Assyrian Patriarchate, at Mosul, June 7th, 1933.

Dear Major Thomson,

I hasten to reply to your urgent letter of June 7th informing me of your immediate departure for Mosul and district.

May I inform you that the statements you have recorded in this letter as from me

are contrary to what I said.

I certainly did not inform you that I appreciated the Mosul policy towards the Assyrian settlement of the last months, which could be implied in your letter. I fully explained the importance of the need to change this policy.

I said if you wished I would gather together the people's appointed representatives to meet you at Mosul, or you should visit and interview the people themselves to enable you to view the situation rightly. I did not promise to write you a list of names.

I said that if you wished I would be glad to give you in writing my opinion on the

present situation and this is now in the course of preparation.

I also informed you that I was awaiting an answer to my letter to His Excellency the Minister of Interior, regarding the Government's interpretation of the Patriarch's "temporal power" and its attitude towards me. My co-operation in the future naturally has to depend on that reply.

It would help me greatly if you could enlighten me as to exactly what your position is.

Sincerely yours, (Signed) Mar Shimun, Assyrian Patriarch.

Major D. B. Thomson, The Expert for Assyrian Settlement, Baghdad.

> Baghdad, June 21st, 1933. As from the Assyrian Patriarchate, Mosul.

No. A/P/S/5.

Excellency,

As arranged with you this morning I am returning to Mosul to-morrow Wednesday, June 22nd. But I do not wish to leave Baghdad without expressing once more to Your Excellency my appreciation of your courtesy in receiving me, and of the patient hearing which you have given me.

While unfortunately there are several points in which we have not yet reached an understanding, nevertheless I wish to assure Your Excellency that the dominant desire of my heart is to see the Assyrian people content and happily settled in Iraq as loyal subjects to His Majesty the King and His Government.

Yours most respectfully.

Baghdad,

No. AP/S/40.

as from Assyrian Patriarchate, Mosul, dated June 28th, 1933.

Excellency,

I have the honour to acknowledge your letter No.C/1239 dated June 18th, 1933, and in reply, I understand from my conversation with Major Edmonds, that the reference to history in my letter No. AP/S/35 of June 3rd, 1933, has created an impression different from that which I wished to convey. I was not, of course, claiming temporal power in the sense of "temporal power" delegated to me by the Governments named, but to the traditional customs of the Assyrians which I desire to see maintained if your Excellency agrees to this would you kindly instruct the authorities concerned.

As regards the work of Major Thomson, I am of course, anxious to see it crowned with success and will do my best to co-operate if the work of settlement is carried out in a manner

which to my opinion promises satisfactory results.

My ideas on the subject are set forth in my letters addressed to Sir K. Cornwallis. With renewed assurances of my loyalty to His Majesty the King and my respects to Your Excellency.

> (Signed) Eshai Shimun, By the Grace of God, Catholicos Patriarch of the Assyrians.

As from the Assyrian Patriarchate, Mosul. Baghdad, June 29th, 1933.

To His Excellency
The Minister of the Interior,
Baghdad.

Your Excellency,

I beg to state that the action of the Government now confirmed by your letter No. S.1273 of June 24th, 1933, detaining me in Baghdad against my will for no just cause is illegal, and that any responsibility of what may happen when the news reaches my people rests with the Government.

I also wish to point out that the methods adopted by the local officials in dealing with the Assyrians on the Settlement Policy, is contrary to the "Fundamental Law" or the guarantees given by the Iraqi Government to the League of Nations on May 30th, 1932. Therefore I am arranging to place the documentary evidence before the proper authorities.

I am quite prepared to suffer any further injustice that the Government may put on me, but in no way will I submit to the methods which have been used to make me sign documents which betray my people into accepting an unreal fulfilment of the promises and recommendations of the League of Nations.

Finally I again repeat, as per my previous correspondence with Your Excellency, and also through your British Advisers:

- (a) I am willing to assist in the Settlement of the Assyrians in Iraq;
- (b) After settlement I will give the required promises in writing to do my utmost to make my Assyrian people as one of the most loyal and law-abiding subjects of His Majesty and His Government;
- (c) I will then make preparations in accordance with the Canons of my Church, for drafting of a law according to Your Excellency's suggestion and conformable to Article VI of the Fundamental Law.

If this is not agreeable to the Government, I claim the right to ask the League of Nations for the Alternative Settlement Scheme.

(Signed) Eshai Shimun,
By the Grace of God,
Catholicos Patriarch of the Assyrians.

Copies sent to the Diplomatic Representatives of:

Britain Turkey Belgium
America Holland Norway
Italy France Czechoslovakia
Poland Germany Persia.

P.S. — May I draw Your Excellency's attention to the inflammatory speech of an honorary deputy, recorded and broadcasted in Al-Istoclal of June 29th, and other local papers inciting hatred towards the Assyrians.

STATEMENT MADE BY KAHLIL AZMI BEG, MUTASSARIF, MOSUL LIWA, IN THE MEETING WHICH WAS ATTENDED BY NEARLY HUNDRED ASSYRIAN CHIEFTAINS. (This was held in the Mutassarif's Residency, Mosul, July 10th, 1933.)

The cause of our meeting is the true desire of the Government to cut off the imaginations recently bred among the Assyrians and to cut off ideas which differ in form from the present situation. These were sown in the minds of some by those who began unwise activities.

(1) Not coming into touch with the Government officials has affected mostly, if we investigate the case we will find that the foundations of these misunderstandings were assumed as imitations (sic). The Assyrians are the most blameworthy in this matter. For, every one knows that until recently they pretended to be living in a foreign country, and not coming into touch with Government officials, and we learn that they were uncertain in their friendly invitation, or their remaining in this country (they still are in the habit of distinguishing themselves) and are looking forward to acquire a special status, and still dream of autonomy. This, of course, cannot be attained.

As regards the decision of the League of Nations (copy of which will be given to you) and as regards the three neighbouring countries, and their attitude towards you, it was expected that something would have been done by these, but owing to the present financial difficulty, they are not in a position to do anything in your case. (You will also hear to-day the policy of these three regarding your sojourn to their countries.)

- (2) You must be certain that the Iraqi Government under the auspices of His Majesty King Feisal the First, are planning your future and will not hesitate in assuring your future prosperity and security. The Government are aware of the benefit she derives of your settling in the country, and have determined to treat you as she treats the inhabitants of which the country is composed, and has undertaken to look upon you with equality, and expects you to obey the laws.
- (3) The Iraqi Government understands the petition of the Mar Shimun to the League of Nations, and the Government opposed such petitions as soon as she learned that these were inconsistent with her policy. The result was that the League refused such claims, and here, we are in possession of a copy of the League's decision. It will be distributed to you (by Kasha Yoseph) in Assyriac. You will observe that the League refused these claims especially in the case of autonomy, and was bound by treaty given by Iraq, to the effect that she will strive to settle all the landless who desire to settle and will not put any obstacle in the way of those who desire to leave the country. She also promised to employ those persons who are fit for Government posts as she employs Arabs and Kurds, but in some cases they cannot get these posts as they are in ignorance of either Kurdish or Arabic.

We shall leave this and turn back to the settlement question. The Government promised to employ a foreign expert to help her in settling these people, and she did this. Major Thompson has been here for more than a month. He will explain to you the very thing you and I wish to know.

Government's line. This is what the Government can do so far as settlement is concerned. The Assyrians ought to obey the rules of the country, and the Government will not tolerate, in their capacity as an independent State, to see any one in the country ignoring the laws and order, under which all the subjects are bound. But the patience extended by the Government toward the Assyrians, and the kind treatment they met with are specially due to the humane and kind attitude of a kind Government toward the refugees in her lands. But I do not mean that these shall continue for ever, for those who cannot be loyal subjects try to do worse, and do not deserve those privileges. This cannot be tolerated by any limited nation. The Government has treated the Assyrians as she treats the Arabs and Kurds through the village headmen. But the landlords are Arab shaikhs or Kurdish aghas, their title is not official, the Government do not think of the Arabs in the south who call themselves shaikhs (as a matter of fact every member in the shaikh family is entitled to be addressed as shaikh), but the Government will not appoint any shaikhs.

Recently the police authorities complained of a sudden decrease in the registration of Assyrians rifle for passes. It has been decided to decrease the number of rifles possessed by the various tribes in Iraq and to carry on this, the Assyrians must hand over some of their rifles, when the Kurds and Arabs have done the same. It must be understood that the Government is pursuing its policy like many civilised Governments and do not seek any bloodshed, but will take every possible step to solve this amicably.

Last month, the Government wished to take necessary steps against Malik Yacub and his followers as they refused to comply with the Government orders — i.e., when he was summoned by the Dohuk authority, he did not come. These would have been as drastic as those taken against shaikh Ahmad of Barzan, had he not settled his question amicably. He must understand that he is not allowed to repeat such actions.

Those who agree to abide with the decision of the Government — i.e., those who desire to settle in Iraq — are entitled to naturalisation certificates, but the Government will not grant her lands to those who do not mix with the Iraqis, and who are trying to get their personal ambitions.

Mar Shimun asked the authorities at Baghdad in May last, to let him have the programme as regards the settlement, when he discovered that something was mentioned regarding spiritual and temporal rules, and his stay in Baghdad for some time; he apparently does not run after his fruitless imaginations. You must understand the Government's clear policy is to recognise Mar Shimun as a spiritual head of the Nestorian Church. He will be treated as we treat the other heads of Churches in Iraq, and the Government desires to substitute a special law for the Assyrian people, as those in force for the Chaldean, Armenian and Jews, and that which comes into effect to the Yezedis, these will not permit them to carry on according to their traditions

The Government do not agree to grant Mar Shimun temporal rule for she is not in the habit of granting such rule to any of the religious heads in Iraq, and there is no reason why we should make any exception to Mar Shimun. Before the world war, he was recognised as spiritual and temporal head of the Assyrians: this was due to the lax of the Turkish regime. Yes, there were in Iraq persons who enjoyed such rules — e.g., Dijali family of Mosul, Baban family of Kurdistan, and Al Sadon family (of) Basra, and many Arabs in the south. But by the declining of the Turkish regime, this rule was abolished, and reasonably that of Mar Shimun also was abolished, and has no infuence whatever. Since the British occupation of Baghdad, they have conferred a temporal rule upon Mar Shimun in order to facilitate the recruiting business but this is not in accordance with the Iraqi Government and henceforth will be abolished. Any individual will be treated distinctly by Government and not through the heads who consider the peasants as their slaves, and master the results of their toil, to live easy life. We therefore repeat our word to make you understand that it is not reasonable to confer temporal rule on Mar Shimun.

It would be better for Mar Shimun to think about spiritual matters, he is an expert either in temporal or spiritual. You, who are present, and who are older than he should advise him to submit to the Government. All the Assyrians will be considered as happy sons of the country, let them go back to their work together with their brothers — the Iraqi. In the meantime I should point out that this must be taken as an advice and do not miss this opportunity. Those who like to leave this line and follow their imaginations and spend their time in idleness, will move illegal movement, let them blame nobody but themselves because they have deceived the simple-minded without paying any regard to the results. This date will be registered against those who caused this uneasiness. In any case God is above as a witness. I shall gladly answer any questions directed to me by any of you, and would like to hear something from the Administrative Inspector and Major Thomson.

Ref. to Al Ammal, No. 144.

Speech of the Administrative Inspector (Col. Stafford) Mosul regarding the Assyrians, in a Meeting held at Mosul, when the Mutassarif declared the Iraq Government Policy and Intentions regarding the Assyrians.

It appears to me that the Acting Mutassarif has said everything necessary regarding this case. I have a few remarks which I should like to make. I joined this liwa less than two months ago, as I was previously working in south of Iraq where very little is heard about the Assyrians. Since my arrival at Mosul I had always to deal with this case. My attention has been attracted mostly by the absence of communications between the Assyrians and the Government which resulted in misunderstanding and doubt. I am obliged to agree with the Acting Mutassarif that this is due to the Assyrians own fault. It appears that until recently they considered themselves as strangers living in a foreign country, and therefore they took to the belief that it would be better for them if they do not come in touch with the Government. Certainly this position has created ill feeling of the Government officials.

I want you all heads of the Assyrians present here to understand finally that this condition of affairs is unbearable and should end forthwith. Either the Assyrians should admit that they are Iraqi subjects, enjoying the same rights and subjected to the same laws as the other natives of the country, whether Kurds, Arabs, Mohammedans, Christians or Jews, or they should be prepared to leave the country. There is no other alternative. Major Thomson will explain to you briefly the particulars about the lands where you are supposed to live, therefore I need not say anything on this subject, but I strongly corroborate the statement that this is the last opportunity which will be given to the Assyrians who have not settled yet to get lands or rights for cultivation in this country. Everybody who instigates the Assyrians not to apply for settlement will inflict an irrevocable damage on them.

As regards the second alternative which I mentioned — viz., leaving Iraq — I don't think all the Assyrians understand the situation. The Iraqi Government has undertaken to give all possible facilities to those who wish to leave the country — i.e., anybody who wishes to go will not be prevented from doing so — but the Iraqi Government is not at all responsible to find a place for them outside Iraq and naturally she cannot do this.

In the meantime the League of Nations on their part did not promise to give them lands other than in Iraq. It is for the Assyrians themselves to arrange to get the sanction of the country where they would like to settle and to find their transport expenses. Until now no agreement of another Government was obtained for their settlement, nor is it likely that any neighbouring Government will agree to the emigration of the Assyrians in great numbers.

- (1) Turkey. There is no hope whatever that Turkey will change her position with regard to the Assyrians. Turkey refuses them. It is natural that the Assyrians are anxious to return to their own country but it should be clearly understood that this is out of the scope of our subject.
- (2) Persia. The Persian Government has intimated that she accepts a few of the Assyrians under very difficult conditions: (a) All firearms should be handed over; (b) settlement will not be in one place but in very widely separated places; (c) they will have no rights in the land given them; (d) they will not be given financial assistance.
- (3) Syria. As you are aware the French authorities in Syria are dealing with the Armenian emigrants, hence they have no lands which could be allotted to the Assyrians. It is true that the Assyrian young men could get employment in the Colonial French Army but such service is very difficult and has no prospects whatever. Naturally once they go the Iraqi Government will not allow them to return. This is the position regarding the neighbouring countries. If you want to be sure you can enquire here from the French and Persian consuls respectively.

In view of the present economic position of the world, no country will accept the Assyrians or any sort of immigration.

I think what I said is enough to explain that the prospects of the Assyrians is actually in Iraq. I know that the Iraq Government is very keen to solve the Assyrian problem for the mutual benefit of both. I know that all responsible Iraqis whether Ministers or officials wish to see the Assyrians living as Iraqis. It is therefore the duty of the Assyrians to participate in this feeling. If you do this I guarantee good feeling and assistance towards you, but first of all you should throw away the spirit of separating yourselves from the Iraqis. Had your children in the past learned the Arabic or Kurdish languages various employments would have been open for them.

Everybody feels and is sorry for the troubles and pains the Assyrians sustained and the Government which is not at all responsible for them means to make everything possible to relieve and help them. Don't forget that the Iraqi Government was not established long ago and Iraq did not reach a wealthy stage as yet.

The Assyrians cannot expect a better condition than that of the Kurds or the Arabs. If they want to succeed they should work hard. I hope you will all do this for your sakes and your children's sakes. The Acting Mutassarif has dealt with Mar Shimun's case clearly and I must say that what the Acting Mutassarif said is a truth which does not require any explanation. There are no two authorities in the world, spiritual and non-spiritual mixed together and it cannot be applied in Iraq. It is time for you now to decide finally whether you intend to live in Iraq or not. In my opinion and as one who seeks your benefit I say you cannot live anywhere but in Iraq.

# AN OUTLINE OF THE PRESENT ASSYRIAN SITUATION AND ITS CAUSES.

Friday night July 21st, 1933, about 1,000 young and middle-aged men, headed by Malek Loko of Ikhuma, Shlimim and Yako, sons of Malek Ismail of Tiary and eight priests, passed the Iraq frontier, near Pesh Khabur (Zakho) into Syria. Five hundred of them were mounted and the rest on foot. They left behind them the old men, their women, children and belongings. On Monday next another group of 500 from Nahla Barwar and Mosul succeeded in passing the frontier in ferries of their own make, above Pesh Khabur. Four hundred more passed the Tigris on Wednesday July 26th, against some resistance from the Iraqi police force. On Thursday 27th the Iraqi forces got hold of the river passages from Pesh Khabur to the Turkish Border and turned back some fifty men of Gowar, arresting seven of them. This was done at the formal request of the French authorities in Syria. For four days the tribesmen camped in the open near the river waiting for more arrivals, and then moved to a village Derek (?) some hours distant. From there they have sent a letter to the Minister of Interior (copy to Lady Surma) by a messenger, stating:

"At the special meeting of July 10th and 11th, the Acting Mutassarif of Mosul, the Administrative Inspector Colonel Stafford and the Settlement Officer Major Thomson, have told us to get away from Iraq if we are not satisfied with the present arrangements of the Government, so we left. We ask you to let our remaining brethren join us without military interference. We will not do anything wrong to anybody nor fight your soldiers, unless we are forced to."

There is a general opinion among the Assyrians that the French Government is favourably disposed to receive them in Syria. This of course against the official denial of the French Ambassador. The French Consul here, Mr. Lucas, told me that the Assyrians who forced the frontier will be disarmed and sent back to Iraq. This to be done as soon as the French will take possession of the newly delimitated line between Iraq and Syria. The messenger assured us that the French provided the Assyrians with food and some tents.

The Assyrians who left Iraq represent 15,000 persons counting their families, thousands more are waiting for an opening in the military belt, to leave. Out of 30,000 Assyrians in Iraq, 5,000 only might remain. The villages north of Mosul are deserted, ricefields left to dry, sheep abandoned in the hands of servants, belongings are being sold by the women. It can be said that this third exodus of the Assyrians since the war, is general. The reasons for this desperate move are many. The Assyrians were promised and hoped for a special treatment if they were to remain in Iraq. They joined their little forces with the Allies and fought on the side of the British Army in Persia and Iraq. They shed their blood for the delimitation and pacification of Iraq. The long and bitter experience of the past has proved to them that they cannot live in the villages of Kurds without a special arrangement; they know that they cannot expect such assistance from a Moslem Government in case of difficulty. They know that in the last incident of Yako, the Government actually armed the Kurds against them. They were told that they will have to give up their arms before anybody else.

Sir Francis Humphrys has promised the Patriarch to help him to obtain some concessions for his people, if he would go to Geneva. The Patriarch failed to obtain any privileges in Geneva, but he was promised again to a fair settlement of his people.

When the Settlement Officer arrived, the Patriarch was put aside, and told not to interfere. His views about Iraq, while in Geneva and his hopes about the future of his people in Iraq did not please the Iraqi political men; they decided to ignore him and not recognise him as the leader of the Assyrians. The Patriarch felt offended and chose the policy of waiting and non-co-operation. The Government retaliated by inviting him to Baghdad and detaining him there. This last action brought to the memory of the Assyrians the similar detention during the war, of Hormizd brother of the then Patriarch, in Constantinople, and his subsequent death at the hands of the Turks. The feeling against the Government ran high in the villages.

The Government appointed five new leaders from different tribes, gave positions and salaries to the opposers of the Patriarch, favoured especially Presbyterian Assyrians and took into their confidence Mar Sergies Bishop of the Jilu Tribe, at present not on good terms with the Patriarch. A regular campaign against the Patriarchal authorities was conducted in the villages by the Government officials. Those friendly disposed towards the Patriarch were ill-treated, arrested, and persecuted in many ways. The chiefs of the villages were called again and again under different pretexts and told to betray Mar Shimun. The house of the Patriarch was watched and he was warned not to hold any meetings.

The Assyrians could not accept new leaders; could not resign themselves to be persecuted unjustly; could not drop so abruptly their allegiance to their Patriarch. They began to revolt. Yako, son of Malek Ismail, defied the Government in Baghiry; Malek Loko of Ikhuma resisted the Kaimakam in Dohuk, Shleman of Tiary and Kasha Ishaq, evaded arrest in Mosul. The villages began to boil with unrest. The meeting of July 10th, gathered by the Government, blasted the last hope of the Assyrians regarding their settlement. They understood that every family will be given free land for cultivation and will be helped in starting new villages. The Government made it clear to them that only a fraction of them will be settled in Dashta Zer and others will have to stay where they are. Major Thomson, the Settlement Officer, seemed to be bound to the Government's policy. The great question of settlement as cherished in the minds of the Assyrians was reduced to a mere shifting of some 600 families from one place to another.

The offensive remarks about the Assyrians in the Parliament made it clear to them that they are unwanted in Iraq. The Arabic Press by publishing articles against the Assyrians created an hostile feeling among the local population. The publishing in the American Press of the article, known to you, by the Rev. Cumberland, and its translation in the Arabic papers, filled the hearts of the Assyrians with discouragement. The Bishop in Jerusalem's determined attitude towards the Patriarch and Lady Surma, siding unconditionally with the Government's policy, made them feel that our Church is also against them. These and other of longer standing causes, forced the Assyrians to the desperate move of leaving Iraq.

Those who left will not return to Iraq. If forced, they will fight, try to go to Turkey or disperse in the mountains. If France accepts them, all others will slowly follow. The Assyrians know now that Iraqi Government does not want them and that the general public hates them. They were ready last Dcember to go to Persia, but they preferred to

give themselves up to France, which retains still the privilege of protecting the oppressed in the East.

In Syria they will know that they will have no rights to ask for privileges, or special treatment; that they will have to give up their arms; but they are ready for that in order to be able to cultivate their grounds and pasture, their cattle of peace. Still this is a slip in the British policy in the East, which will be judged severely in the annals of future history.

(The above is an unbiased report from a reliable European in the Mosul liwa.)

[Copy.]

July 23rd, 1933. Near Khanig.

Minister of Interior, Baghdad.

Excellency,

As a result of Mosul meeting the Iraqi Government policy was explained to us both

regarding settlement and Patriarch.

Mutassarif openly said "those unsatisfied with this policy are free to do emigrate from Iraq". Accordingly we have come to the frontier and we request the Iraqi Government not to block the road to those who want to join us.

We got no intention to fight unless forced.

Yacob Malik Ismiel; Malik Baito; Loko (Signed) SHLIMUN; Malik WARDA; Rais ESHA; Rais ISKHAQ; Malik MAROGL; Tooma-D. MAKH-MOORA; Yoshia ESHO; Malik SELIM; Shamasha ISMAIL: Rais MIKHAIL.

Edi K.,

Secretary of the Assyrian Emigration.

TRANSLATION OF A LETTER ADDRESSED TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRIME MINISTER. Excellency,

The Tyaris' case engages public opinion mostly, as it has developed to be the severest calamity in the future prosperity of the country, no matter settled together or scattered.

Apparently, these did not enter the country to live settled and easy life, but with other intentions. They caused unhappy accidents in Mosul and Kirkuk. This shows that these

are danger anywhere or at any time.

No nation in the world has ever done such a horrible mistake as ours, we granted lands for their settlement, sanctioned thousands of dinars for their agricultural purposes, and allowed them to reap the benefit of our country. In spite of this all, they deserted the country—i.e., crossed the border in a horde of over 1,300 armed men — and they continue to cross the borders. They do not contend with this, but threaten others, and are planning a natural disposition, to which they are devoted, and which was unveiled by them recently, they are badly off financially at the present moment, what will be their attitude toward the Government, if, perchance, they prosper materially and intellectually?

We have to recommend the best remedy for this disease; request the Government to expel them promptly from the lands, contrary to the League, and give them no excuse. This will avoid turmoil and disorder in the country.

(Signed) General Secretary: HAZIB AL WATANI (Nationalist Opposition Party).

Refer to Ikha al Watani, No. 419, July 30th, 1933.

# II. REPORT OF AUGUST 30TH, 1933.

Assyrian Patriarchate, Nicosia, Cyprus. August 30th, 1933.

To His Excellency Secretary-General League of Nations, Geneva, Switzerland.

Excellency,

Following my report dated August 4th, 1933:

Your Excellency will have seen from that report wherein I stated that an Assyrian village was burnt down, that I was not feeling easy about the fate of my people, and that the storming of the first Assyrian village was but the symbol of further ravages and acts of violence by the Iraqi Government forces that were to follow.

My correspondence and that of my people subjected as it were to strict postal censorship in contravention to Article 15 of the Iraqi Constitutional Law and I being under Government detention, Baghdad, totally cut off from my people, it was not under the circumstances possible for me to obtain in time first-class information as to callous oppression of my people without making a searching enquiry which has now been rendered somewhat possible subsequent to my deportation from Iraq on August 18th, 1933.

It would appear that subsequent to the meetings held at the Mutassarifiyyah of Mosul on July 10th and 11th, 1933, at which meetings the Assyrians were told to leave Iraq if they disapproved the Government policy in regard to heterogeneous settlement that would have necessarily led to their complete destruction, added to this the declared policy of the Government to settle a few hundred Assyrians only thus leaving thousands of others unsettled and homeless as Your Excellency will have observed from the copies of letters and reports before you, the Assyrian representative leaders who enjoy the confidence of almost all the members of my people decided to obey the Government instructions conveyed to them by the Mutassarif of Mosul by leaving Iraq to a place where they can live peacefully. Syria, under the French mandate, was under the circumstances the only avenue open in the face of my people.

The Iraqi Government instead of honouring its public announcement referred to above placed Mosul liwa under military occupation and began molesting groups of Assyrians who were desirous of joining the groups who had already left Iraq and safely reached their destination without firing a single shot, every group being headed by its own representative leader from every Assyrian tribe. Simultaneously with the molesting of Assyrians in Mosul, the Iraqi advance guard launched several attacks and counter-attacks on the Assyrian representative leaders who were now in a point on the Syro-Iraqi frontier on August 4th, 5th and 6th, 1933, inflicting, according to the Iraqi Government communique itself, casualties of some ninety-five Assyrians killed and a larger number of wounded; the latter I am assured were brutally killed on the battlefield.

My people whether those on the Syro-Iraqi frontier or those in Mosul had no intention whatever of fighting the Iraqi forces but the circumstances under which they found themselves forced them to defend themselves in the face of many difficulties and overwhelming odds until they finally entered Syrian territory. Had the Iraqi Government honestly kept its announcement made at Mosul and did not harass those left in Mosul and permitted them to leave peacefully to join their comrades and relatives, I am sure that not one drop of blood would have been shed. But the aim of the Iraqi Government was to inflict as many casualties as it could on my people before and after leaving Iraq.

Had the Assyrian representative leaders who left Iraq remained in Mosul, their fate would have almost certainly been tragic as has been the fate of their compatriots and relations who remained behind for all the activities of the Iraqi Government tended to show that such would be the case. And if the Assyrian representative leaders who were now on the Syro-Iraqi frontier after receiving a desperate appeal from their comrades who were being badly molested by the Iraqi army, did not go to relieve them it is almost sure that that group would have been totally wiped out.

Before there was any fighting, the Assyrian villages, at the instigation of and the encouragement by the Iraqi Government officials without distinction, were exposed to all kinds of ravages. Their sheep and cattle were carried off with impunity; cultivated lands were encroached upon and destroyed; rice and other cultivations were totally damaged; burglaries became common and anarchy universal. The Assyrians were being raided hourly and were left unprotected to the cruel treatment of the predatory Arabs at the open instigation of a fanatic Government who had three months previously prepared a plan for the total extermination of the Assyrian people by first attempting to disarm them some two months ago and then attack them.

On its return from the frontier, the Iraqi army together with that part of the force which was proceeding to Assyrian settlements shot down every non-combatant isolated Assyrian they came across. In the villages of the Qadha of Dohuk, men, women and children were turned out of their villages and shot down collectively by rifle and machinegun fire. In Simel alone, more than three hundred and fifty persons were massacred in this barbarous manner. The Iraqi army went so far as to bayonet some of these defenceless people. In the Qadha of Dohuk where the excesses were acute and the casualties among the Assyrian civil population heavier the reason was because the Assyrian settlements and villages were within the easy reach of the Iraqi army and the access to them was not difficult as these villages and settlements lie not far away from the main roads that the Iraqi army force was using.

In Amadiyah districts, individual murders became common and the property of the civil population carried away. The persecution of the Assyrians in the other settlements was of no less barbarity than in Dohuk and Amadiyah districts.

Reports to hand from various sources show that the Assyrians who have been treacherously victimised by the Iraqi Government and the police can be counted in hundreds. Thousands of Assyrians have become widows and orphans. All of these have become destitute for what little they had has all been looted. They are at present destitute and poverty-stricken and look here and there for crumbs of bread they can find.

It is however said that a certain number of Assyrians who mysteriously escaped the massacres were transported to Dohuk and each person supplied with three loaves of bread per diem. Diseases are reported to have already broken out among the panic-stricken Assyrian population which will soon become universal and play havoc with those who have survived only to undergo more acute sufferings. The rest of the Assyrian villages in addition to those in Dohuk and Amadiyah have been subjected to robbery and loot and a large proportion of the villages burnt down.

The number of people who have suffered terribly in every imaginable way at the hands of the Iraqi Government is estimated at eight, thousand and I do not know what has happened to my people since my deportation from Iraq.

It should be borne in mind that the Assyrians up to the last moment maintained a peaceful and tranquil spirit though they were aware that the Iraqi Government was doing its utmost and leaving no stone unturned to bring about these massacres. To make sure that when the massacres would be put in operation, the Iraqi Government had long before embarked upon a scheme whereby she weeded out all the Assyrian policemen in the north and transferred them to the southern districts. Before trouble breaking out in Mosul, the Iraqi Government established temporary police posts and increased the numbers of others from among newly recruited men and posted them in every Assyrian village and settlement of importance to prevent them from giving any sort of relief to their brethren who were being massacred in the other villages. To justify this action, the Iraqi Government stated that this was necessary to protect the civil population! Travelling by day and night from Mosul to other districts was forbidden in order to hide the atrocious acts that were in process.

On May 12th, 1933, an Arab officer in Mosul was told to say that stones were thrown over his house by Assyrians. This was to enable the Iraqi commander (who subsequently issued the orders following those of Baghdad for the massacring of the Assyrian population) to raid and assassinate the Assyrian Patriarch and the other Assyrians in Mosul. It can be safely said that this case in which the Assyrian Patriarch was falsely accused was the first sign of the contemplated massacres. The Mutassarif of Mosul informed a European in Mosul that the assassination of the Patriarch and the rest of the Assyrians was within the military plan of operations.

This having failed in Mosul to produce the long-awaited sequel, the authorities in Baghdad took the matter up themselves. A perversive but a continued anti-Assyrian campaign was carried out by the medium of the newspapers throughout Iraq which went on for three months unchecked. As a matter of fact it was encouraged by the Government officials. The ill-feeling against the Assyrians became universal when certain deputies delivered fiery speeches in the Iraqi Parliament implying the necessity for the extermination of the Assyrian people. There was a general outcry through sheer fanaticism and hatred created and promoted by the Government for a holy war against the Assyrians. Demands for anti-Assyrian demonstrations were pouring in from Baghdad and Mosul at the instigation of the Government. In the case of the Kurds in Iraq who had already risen twice on a large scale in addition to several other minor risings against King Faisal's Government and his artificial but oppressive regime, there was no desire on the part of the Arabs to volunteer and support the Iraqi Government as they did in the case of the Assyrians. The case of my people was obviously different. We were looked upon as unbelievers and all means employed against us were lawful.

The Assyrians in Baiji in the employ of the Iraq Petroleum Co. were attacked and removed from their posts. The Assyrian railway employees were also all withdrawn to Baghdad.

Despite all the persecutions and acts of violence to which the Assyrians were subjected, the Assyrian levies awaited patiently in a wonderful manner that is highly commended hoping that the League of Nations and the Powers interested in my people to take drastic

action against the oppressors and find a definite and final permanent solution for their future welfare. The Assyrian levy officers and men were seeing and hearing of the tragic fate of their wives, mothers, sisters, children and relatives yet they did not move to meet evil with evil. It is true that they petitioned the Air Vice-Marshal and gave him one month's notice following the terms of their contract after which date they would leave the service to go and save their people but they were disallowed to take this step. Actually through deep sorrow and grief about sixty and seventy of them were rapidly falling sick daily and were going to their doctors for medical treatment as a result of the terrible agony they were passing through.

The Assyrians in Baghdad were disarmed and had, together with those in Mosul and Kirkuk, and in all the other parts of Iraq to live under a reign of terror as they were expecting death, and a brutal death, at any moment.

Before I go any further, it would not be out of place to mention that when I last met Sir Francis Humphrys the then British High Commissioner in Iraq at Geneva at the Hôtel Beau-Rivage on the eve preceding the entrance of Iraq to the League of Nations he admitted that in 1931 arrangements were well in train to massacre the Assyrians had it not been for the prompt action he had taken to stop it. I thanked him most cordially but asked him what guarantees had he that could ensure the non-repetition of what we were discussing and what assurances had he to stop any attempt for such massacres in the future. He was kind enough to say that Iraq would not venture to attempt to do so as the British influence would still be great in Iraq; that he personally would have much time to devote to the Assyrian question and that he would do much more than when High Commissioner.

Whilst on this, may I draw Your Excellency's attention to His Britannic Majesty's Government's announcement before the Permanent Mandates Commission:

"His Majesty's Government fully realise its responsibility in recommending that Iraq should be admitted to the League. . . . Should Iraq prove herself unworthy of the confidence which has been placed in her, the moral responsibility must rest with His Majesty's Government."

At 2.30 p.m. on August 17th, 1933, an Arab police inspector entered the Y.M.C.A. premises at which I was dwelling and handed me an order for my deportation from Iraq. A copy of the order in question is enclosed herewith. I will not dwell on the legality or otherwise of this arbitrary order but would simply say that it is in contravention to Article 7 of the Iraqi Constitutional Law; of the Iraqi Nationality Law and is a grave violation of the letter and spirit of the guarantees of the League of Nations for the protection of the Iraqi minorities. This order supposed to be based on an emergency law that will be passed by the Iraqi Parliament the first moment it is presented to it, has rendered the guarantees of the League of Nations null and void. Thousands of others in addition to Assyrians are liable to this arbitrary treatment and you will now realise that our fears in the past, as at present, were well founded. Iraq is not a State that can and will respect international guarantees and keep up promises and it is lamentable that my people despite their years continuous protests should have been subjected to such a Government.

Five minutes after the arrival of the police inspector with the order of my deportation in his hand, the Air Vice-Marshal dropped in to say that he had had information about the order as the Iraqi Government had furnished the British Embassy with a copy. The Air Vice-Marshal said that there were two alternatives. Either I should submit to deportation to Cyprus immediately or else the armed policemen who have formed a cordon round the Y.M.C.A. would seize me by force together with my father and brother and throw us over the Iraqi frontier. The Air Vice-Marshal was perturbed to such an extent so as to say that he was not altogether sure whether or not we could be safely transported to our new destination. As no one was allowed access to my place of residence and as I do not know Arabic, I asked the Air Vice-Marshal to give us a chance to have the order translated. This was not to be. I then asked that I should be given an opportunity to see or telephone to the British Ambassador and this was also refused.

I enclose herewith a copy of my letter dated August 15th, 1933, to the British Ambassador Baghdad. I had to submit to the order of deportation in view of paragraph (c) of the letter under reference, and particularly to have the massacres stopped as stated in the letter.

In order to give another chance to the League of Nations to intervene and fearing an undoubted clash between my Assyrian people and the levies in Baghdad on the one hand and the Iraqi police on the other if the latter would have attempted to commit the usual acts of violence which they were prepared to do vide the statement of the Air Vice-Marshal, I agreed to proceed to Cyprus but do hereby most strongly protest against the action of the Iraqi Government. I am assured that there would have been a serious retaliation on the part of the Assyrian levies with disastrous effects to the Assyrian case as the Iraqi Government was doing all in its power and tempting the Assyrians as in previous instances

to take the law into their own hands thus enabling the Government to fall on the Assyrians in Baghdad as they did in the other parts of Iraq. I was informed by authoritative persons that the Arab Government was after my blood as it is now after the blood of every Assyrian in the country. I now emphasise the fact that the life of every Assyrian in Iraq is in danger and an imminent danger. I would have personally gladly sacrificed myself in defence of my Assyrian people and would only be too glad to meet the fate of my predecessors but as the lives of my people were at stake, as are now, I have accepted the order of deportation under the strongest protest pending the intervention of the League of Nations in regard to the whole Assyrian question.

At 4.15 a.m. in the morning the Iraqi authorities handed me over to the Air Vice-Marshal and the secretary to the British Ambassador who took me, my father and brother by cars to Hinaidi. From there we were transported by air to Cyprus.

Your Excellency will have observed that the Emergency Law No. 62 for the year 1933 referred to above was purposely enacted to be applied in our case irrespective of the existence or otherwise of the guarantees of the League of Nations.

I am at present in Cyprus with my father and brother.

Two Assyrian levy officers were detailed by the Air Vice-Marshal to accompany me to Cyprus and on their return to assure the Assyrian levies and the Assyrian population now completely desperate and waiting eagerly to hear that I was free to proceed to Geneva and elsewhere and re-submit and defend the Assyrian case before the world.

Eight Assyrians have been deported to Nasiriyah, Muntafik Liwa, on the lower Euphrates and many others are being terrorised.

I was informed to-day by Mr. C. Hart Davis the District Commissioner Cyprus that in addition to the Patriarchal family members that include men, women and children now on their way to Cyprus, eight other Assyrian leaders are to be deported to Cyprus bringing the number of deportees to 25. This is based on information received from London by the Government of Cyprus.

It would be quite impossible for the League of Nations to fully realise the barbarous atrocities committed against my people and the excesses used against them if no International Enquiry Commission proceeds to the spot as soon as possible to find means to stop further massacres that are bound to follow. And in order to be able to assist the Commission in its difficult task and give a full account of what has taken place, it is essential that I should be on the spot together with representative leaders recognised by the Assyrians and selected witnesses to give evidence in a healthy atmosphere under the protection of the League of Nations.

Finally, I pray Almighty God to accomplish through your intermediary the salvation of this remnant of the most martyred Christian Church and people.

(Signed) Eshai SHIMUN,
By the Grace of God, Catholicos
Patriarch of the Assyrians.

#### Annexes

Ministry of Interior, Iraq. No. S/1801.

Date 25th Rabi ul Thani 1352 August 17th, 1933.

To Eshai Mar Shimun.

This is to notify you that the Council of State has, by virtue of the authority vested in him, decided to withdraw your Iraqi nationality and this Ministry has moreover decided that you should be deported outside Iraq.

For your information, we send you herewith a copy of the order relating to this.

(Signed) NASHAT AL SINAWI, For Minister of Interior. Ministry of Interior, Iraq. No. S/1792.

Date 24th Rabi ul Thani 1352 August 16th, 1933.

Whereas the Council of State has decided to withdraw the Iraqi nationality from Eshai Mar Shimun in accordance with the authority vested in the Council of State *vide* Article I of the law for the withdrawal of Iraqi nationality No. 62 for the year 1933 and whereas it has appeared that the deportation of the person in question outside Iraq is in the interests of law and public security:

Therefore We, Minister of Interior by virtue of the authority vested in Us under Article II of the Law in question, order that he be deported outside Iraqi frontier.

(Signed) NASHAT AL SINAWI, For Minister of Interior.

c/o Y.M.C.A. Baghdad, August 15th, 1933.

His Excellency,
The Acting British Ambassador,
Baghdad.

Your Excellency,

Might I recall to you our conversation of yesterday, August 14th. That the British Government had made a decision to remove the Patriarchal family, that is, myself, father, brother and Lady Surma, because:

- (a) Of danger to its life;
- (b) Because of the status of Iraq as an independent State, no protection could be given by the British in this country;
- (c) If we left Iraq temporarily, that I should be free to proceed to Geneva, or any place where I could help my Assyrian people.

The alternative being — that the Iraqi Government had decided to imprison us either in Nasiriyah or Rutbah, and if we state that we are not Iraqis, then they will deport us over the frontier.

You also stated that the Iraqi Government accused me of being the cause of the present situation.

As I have already answered you verbally yesterday, so I now state in writing. The Patriarchal family has no wish to avail itself of any protection apart from that afforded to the whole Assyrian people. The most urgent question at the moment is that the British Government who handed us over to Iraq should stop massacre, persecution, and extermination of the families especially when so many of the young men are now serving British interests in this country when they could be defending these helpless families. This to me is much more important than any question of personal safety.

Moreover, if the presence of the Patriarchal family of eighteen persons is in danger and thus endangers the life of the Assyrian people, because of their loyalty, then surely their removal to an R.A.F. cantonment at Mosul or Hinaidi would be sufficient protection.

If as you say the Arab Government hold me solely responsible for the present situation, and my presence in Iraq prejudices the termination of the massacre and bitter feeling, then in the interests of peace I agree to being transferred under British auspices for a period to such a place that I am free to present in person the case of the Assyrians to the League of Nations. In such a case I would need to take with me a personal attendant.

(True copy.)

(Signed) Eshai Shimun, Patriarch.

# III. REPORT OF SEPTEMBER 12TH, 1933.

Assyrian Patriarchate, Nicosia, Cyprus. September 12th, 1933.

His Excellency, Secretary-General, League of Nations, Geneva.

Excellency,

In continuation of my report dated August 4th, my letter of the 16th and my second report dated August 30th, 1933.

#### FIRST DETAILED REPORT ON MASSACRE.

I forward herewith the first detailed report bearing on the massacre of the Assyrian in Iraq. You will observe that the information contained therein was collected from the persecuted persons themselves. Children have also been interrogated and it cannot be said that facts have been exaggerated. I believe that actual facts have been minimised rather than exaggerated and I hope to furnish the League of Nations with more particular on the massacre.

The Assyrian women who have furnished this information are illiterate and it would have been impossible for any person, terror-stricken as the Assyrian women were, to note down every small detail minutely. Their evidence leaves no room to doubt the report that the actual perpetrators of the massacre were the Iraqi troops who were acting under the orders of their own officers in conjunction with the civil authorities who in their turn were linked up with higher authorities in Baghdad and Mosul. This I have emphasised in my former reports.

### THE KURDS.

In my radiogram of early August, I said "Assyrian women, children, included in massacre by certain Kurdish tribes armed by Government". This I think requires some explanation.

The Sar Amadiyah summer camp for the British was closed down as soon as trouble broke out and the Assyrian levies who were guarding that camp were brought down in groups by cars to the aerodrome in the vicinity of Simel and from there were transported by air to Baghdad. Except for a few minutes' stay of the levies in the Simel aerodrome, their journey to Baghdad was uninterrupted. It was they who saw Assyrian dead bodies lying on the roads between Sar Amadiyah and Simel and as they would not believe that the Iraqi army would have committed these barbarous acts, they informed me of what they saw and they were, in the absence of accurate information, under the impression that this was the work of the Kurds instigated by the Government. My information conveyed in my radiogram was therefore based on the first information report which has since been modified.

### THE AIR VICE-MARSHAL.

On the day of my deportation from Baghdad, the Air Vice-Marshal, Iraq, promised me to go to the massacre zone, establish a refugee camp in Dohuk and collect all those who had lost their male relatives. I am informed that he went as far as Mosul town with other British officers but they were disallowed by the Arab authorities to proceed farther than Mosul.

If a British Air Vice-Marshal representing one of the greatest Empires and who is there to protect Iraq from external aggression is not permitted by the Arab authorities to visit an area which is a few miles from Mosul, the League of Nations will not therefore find it difficult to realise the extent of measures and precautions the Arab Government has taken to prevent any observer from seeing the horrors that have been committed. Moreover, the League of Nations will also realise how difficult it has been for me to obtain even the preliminary reports.

At present, the women and children are being terrorised and coercive measures used against them — only known to those who know the Arab methods — to compel them to say that it was the Kurds and not the Iraqi troops who killed their relatives. They are being told that if they do not say so they will share the fate of their relatives.

### IRAQI DELEGATION TO GENEVA.

The League of Nations representing almost all the Nations of the world will shortly be receiving some of the actual instigators of the recent horrific acts committed with extreme cruelty against the Assyrian people in Iraq. Denial of atrocities and shifting of responsibility will be their two main aims but the League of Nations will realise that an accused cannot at the same time be a witness and arbitrator. It was this procedure adopted in the past that brought about the present calamities on the Assyrians and it is neither fair nor just that this same procedure which has resulted in disaster to my people, should be applied.

I earnestly ask that the Iraqi Government, an accused at present, should have no privilege over the Assyrians before the international bar at Geneva. It should be equally treated with the Assyrians as regards procedure in the present case and the latter should be permitted to exercise the natural right of producing their witnesses to substantiate the accusations already made against the Iraqi Government. The privilege accorded in the recent past to the Iraqi Government of hearing it in person while the Assyrians were heard "on paper" only has been abused and the proverb says: "Once bitten, twice shy".

### THE BRITISH OFFICIALS.

Some of the British officials have informed me that they were the servants of the Iraqi Government. These are therefore not expected to illustrate a correct picture of what has taken place unless they are prepared to adversely affect their positions which, from what I know, is doubtful.

### SIR FRANCIS HUMPHRYS.

Sir Francis Humphrys, the British Ambassador, who played an important rôle in making the admission of Iraq to the League of Nations possible and who has undertaken on behalf of his Government "the moral responsibility should Iraq prove herself unworthy of the confidence placed in her", cannot either be reasonably expected to say that he misjudged Iraq after having made those eminent declarations about Iraqi fitness for independence and Iraqi tolerance.

### IMPARTIAL ENQUIRY.

In view of the foregoing, the League of Nations will never be able to reach the bottom of the truth if it does not make its own enquiries independently on the spot. An enquiry by an interested party or parties will not remedy the present position nor will it enable the League of Nations to find a real solution for this acute problem. I am sure that if the League was given a chance immediately after the publication of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of June 30th, 1930, to make a searching enquiry into the dreadful position of the Assyrians and their complaints that inundated the League's Secretariat, stringent measures which were necessary for the real and not visionary protection of the Assyrians would have been recommended before entrusting Iraq with an unrestrained power which we all knew would be abused.

### STATUS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS FROM THE IRAQI POINT OF VIEW.

The Secretariat of the League of Nations will recollect the telegram sent by Yasin al Hashimi (now Minister of Finance and notoriously anti-Assyrian), Naji al Siwaidi (Senator) and Ja'far Chalabi Abu Timman in 1930 to the effect that they did not want Iraq admitted into the League of Nations. The Iraqi political circles treat the League of Nations with contempt and it is this and other reasons that have encouraged them to look upon the guarantees for the protection of the Assyrians as mere scraps of paper. Count Teleki and his Commission had prophesied in their special recommendations that this would be the case if there was no effective supervision on the spot to see that the rights and interests of the Minorities were respected and protected. The responsible Iraqis believe (and there has so far been nothing to dispel their belief) that they can persecute the Assyrians in any way they like and when it comes to judgment they will clear themselves by the simple device of withdrawing from the League.

Attached statement is only a sample that should illustrate the Iraqi public opinion. The premature emancipation of Iraq and the setting aside of the interests of the other races in the Mosul vilayet, particularly the interests of the Assyrians, could not but have produced the contract of the contract

these deplorable results.

### IRAQI GOVERNMENT'S ALLEGATIONS.

In my former reports I have explained the extensive anti-Assyrian campaign carried out against the Assyrians by encouragement of the Government. The Iraqi Government in order to further poison the minds of the Arabs fabricated a tale which was to the effect

that three of their officers after being killed in battle by the Assyrians had their bodies mutilated by the latter. This allegation is devoid of foundation. It was cultivated to further arouse the ill-feeling against the Assyrians. During all our battles in the past, no such complaint was made against the Assyrians who have always proved to be noble and they have always kept up the simple laws of civilisation. The truth is this:

I was informed by Major Aldwards, commanding Assyrian levies, that the Assyrian representative leaders who were on the Syro-Iraqi frontier had captured two Arab officers and a considerable quantity of ammunition and war material and as the fight was going on, the Assyrians could not have taken their prisoners with them, and so they tied them up and left them behind in a tent by which lay the captured ammunition that included explosives. The Iraqi aeroplanes wanting to blow up the ammunition dropped bombs from the air that resulted in the death of their own officers.

The Assyrian people in Iraq and abroad are eagerly awaiting for me to be able when I obtain a *laissez-passer* from the British Government (as my Iraqi nationality has been withdrawn) to place the Assyrian case and the people's demands in person before the League of Nations when I shall be able to refute the allegations of the Iraqi Government.

I have applied to the British Government for a laissez-passer on receipt of which I propose proceeding to Geneva.

I pray the Almighty God that the League of Nations whose principle is justice and a support of the oppressed will this time not allow the innocent blood of my people to have been shed in vain.

(Signed) Eshai SHIMUN, By the Grace of God, Catholicos Patriarch of the Assyrians.

### ANNEX.

FIRST MASSACRE REPORT OF ASSYRIANS IN SIMEL, ON FRIDAY, AUGUST 11TH, 1933.

The following account of the massacre in Simel is taken from the mouths of the Assyrian women who were brought to Mosul on August 17th, 1933, as no man escaped the death to tell the story.

On August 8th, the inhabitants of the villages in the neighbourhood of Simel were notified by the police to come to Simel to be protected from Arabs and Kurds. The Assyrians from the villages of:

Sayyid Zari, Mawani, Qasr Yazdin, Mansuriyah,

Chamma Gore, Kharab Kuli, Dari, Sarshuri, Garpili, Busuriyeh,

thereupon came to Simel with their cattle and belongings.

The following day they were ordered to surrender their arms as they were told that there was no danger if they did so, for they were under the Government protection. Yonan of Baz, the headman of the village, collected in the police station all those Assyrians who were in possession of Iraqi nationality papers and told them that they would be safe under the Iraqi flag. Eighty-two persons from the Baz tribe sat the whole day and night around the police station, some with their women and children. On August 10th, Thursday, the police returned the rifles to their owners, without ammunition, and, in the afternoon of the same day, the rifles were collected again and handed to the police.

On August 11th, Friday, Naib Chaush (police sergeant) separated the women and children below the age of ten from the men in the police station, and ordered them to scatter in the houses of the village. That was early in the morning. At or about six o'clock in the morning, the Iraqi flag was lowered from the police station. Soldiers from the Iraqi army, in dark-blue shirts, appeared advancing towards Simel from the direction of Zakho road. Some Arabs of the Shammar tribe and some Kurds (of Mahmud Agha and from Slivani) entered the village. The soldiers surrounded the village and the officer in charge with two soldiers came up to the police station. The officer in charge was addressed by Goriel Shimun of Baz, brother of Yonan the headman of the village. "I am an Iraqi citizen and all those Assyrians present here are Iraqi citizens. If you so desire take me to Qaimaqam Dohuk who will show you that we are such in the Government books." The officer pretended to agree and took him down the slope. There the second soldier shot him dead from behind. This was the signal for the massacre. Soldiers in dark-blue shirts ran to the houses and

killed every male child over ten years old. All the remaining men from the Baz, eighty-one in number, were killed with revolver shots. Six women trying to cover their husbands were also killed together with six babies. All the other Assyrians were killed in their houses or while attempting to escape.

The persons killed and who are known to us are:

13 from Sayyid Zari,

14 from Kharb Kuli, 2 from Mawani,

1 from Dohuk.

The number of the killed who could not be identified runs from 200 to 250 and possibly more.

Three known women were killed with their three small babies.

One woman, Khammi, wife of Hawil being pregnant had her womb cut and the child destroyed.

Eleven known priests were killed after being tortured. Among them were two Catholics.

After killing all the men, the soldiers stripped the dead taking their things of value and then they chased the women. Arabs and Kurds looted the village. The better-looking women were violated, stripped and let go.

Towards the sunset, the soldiers received orders to retire. The Arabs and Kurds did not cease looting. They also killed some of the wounded men who were still alive but who were already shot by the Iraqi army. Late at night they carried the cattle and went away.

For two nights and one day the dead bodies remained unburied.

On the 13th, workers arrived and dug four trenches and piled the dead bodies in them. On the 14th, Simel was again peaceful, interrupted only by the wails of the naked and hungry terror-stricken Assyrian women and children.

The Minister of Interior who was during the massacre at Mosul came to Simel accompanied by Colonel Stafford, the British Administrative Inspector, Mosul, and they saw what had taken place.

Experienced street workers were sent from Mosul to cover or clean the trace of blood.

On August 16th, four hundred Assyrian women were brought down from Simel to Mosul and placed in khans.

After the arrival of the women from Simel, two priests Qasha Yosep de Kelaita and Qasha Kina of Baz were sent among the women to persuade them not to say that the troops of the Iraqi army had done the massacre but to testify that Arabs and Kurds killed their relatives and looted the village and that the soldiers were there to protect them.

### SIMEL MASSACRE.

Statement made by an Assyrian Woman, Nimo Abo, resident in Simel since 1921.

On Tuesday, August 8th, 1933, all the Assyrians living near Simel were gathered together by the police to be protected by the Government.

On the same day, considerable number of Iraqi army soldiers came from Zakho to Simel and collected the rifles. These were taken by the Qaimaqam of Dohuk who, on his return took three Assyrians with him — namely, Qasha Sada, Rais Tailo Baznaya and a third person. All the three were killed on the way near Dulib. Qasha Sada's head was cut off and his body cut into pieces.

On Wednesday, the Arabs took the sheep of the Assyrians and killed eight shepherds. Three days later the police invited three men to go with them in search of the sheep. When they were some way from Simel, the police killed them all. They must have been killed by bayonet as we did not hear any shots though we were watching.

On Friday, the police sergeant gave orders that everybody should return to their houses and that no harm would come to us. On our way, we saw the Iraqi troops entering Simel and the village was surrounded. Most of the men ran to the house of Goriel of Baz thinking that they would be safe there. Goriel told them that he was an Iraqi citizen and that his house and everybody in it would be safe. The Iraqi army officers gave the orders to begin the massacre. Soldiers started firing at Goriel's house and killed every one there. They then scattered in the village and entered the houses one by one and killed any man they found. I saw two officers taking a woman into a house. When she came out trembling and crying she told her mother-in-law that they raped her.

Many women and children went to the police station to be protected by the police. Three priests and twenty men went there also and tried to hide themselves among the women. But Naib Chaush informed the soldiers of them. The soldiers came in search of them and on finding them killed them all. Some women and children trying to cover their husbands and parents were killed.

A girl of nine years took shelter in the church. She was a Baz girl. The soldiers found her and killed her. They also took some holy books and burnt them together with the girl's body.

On Saturday some soldiers of the Iraqi army returned to the village and tried to hide the dead bodies which were left in the open. They were doing that in a great hurry as some British aeroplanes were flying above. At night many dogs visited the village. The police informed the Government about this and about one hundred workers arrived from Mosul, buried the bodies and covered every trace of blood.

We remained about five days in Simel, after which we informed the police that we cannot live there any longer in fear and hunger. Some of us then went to Dohuk and some to Mosul. In Mosul we were examined by Malek Khamo, Qasha Kina and Qasha Yosep de Kelaita who tried to make us say that the Arabs and Kurds killed us. I cursed them and told them: "How can we say that the tribes massacred our people when we have been massacred by the Iraqi army soldiers?"

The following account was given by a prisoner who was to have been killed on August 14th, 1933, when an order arrived from the Minister of Interior that all killing should cease:

Many Assyrians were taken from their villages by the police and brought to Dohuk to be jailed there, for fear they might join their brethren who were to Syria.

On August 9th nine of the prisoners were taken in an armoured car and conducted to Zakho Pass. There they were killed by machine-gun fire.

On the 10th, another group of nine was taken from the prison and brought near the army camp at Aloka. On their way, two more Assyrians were caught. All the eleven were killed by the soldiers.

One wounded Assyrian was brought to the prison from Badi. The commandant of police ordered the policemen that he be thrown to the dogs. He was taken and thrown so violently against the floor and he died right there.

On August 12th, priest Dinkha with eight other men were taken from the prison and handed them to the soldiers who killed them.

On August 13th, priest Ishmail and other fifteen men were taken from the prison and killed on small hill near Dohuk.

STATUS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS FROM THE IRAQI POINT OF VIEW.

On August 21st, 1933, the following statement was made in the Iraqi newspapers:

"Poland has most cruelly treated her minorities and Germany has persecuted the Jews in the extreme but Britain and the other Powers did not intervene. No foreign Power can interfere in such affairs. The relations of Britain with this country must not be more than her relations with the above Powers if our independence is on the same footing as that of Poland and the other States. . . . The Assyrians took up arms and it was incumbent on the Government to suppress it and it was also incumbent on her to take all measures to merge this group in the Iraqi unity."

On the 24th the following statement was made:

"This united public opinion that was demonstrated recently coupled with the good feeling must be preserved and strengthened for we believe that in future Iraq will be faced with incidents and many events which, if compared with the Assyrian insurrection, the latter would not but be a simple thing."

The following statement made on August 27th, 1933, in a political newspaper written and administered by Iraqi deputies was as follows:

"When those who were joyful and gay about our entry into the League of Nations, we were in the foremost of those who said this would not be of any utility or advantage. A long time had not elapsed between our entry and the withdrawal of Spain, Brazil and Japan. We would however be sorry if the colonists believe that the League of Nations can terrify Iraq. . . . Iraq as a State or rather an independent State refuses to attach any importance to anyone while dealing with its affairs and interests. The

League of Nations, particularly some of its members must know that Iraq is no longer a piece-good that can be bought and sold and is no longer, as the intriguers knew it to be, a slave to be sold in the markets of Geneva. . . . If that does not suit Geneva, Paris or London, it suits Baghdad admirably."

On August 28th, 1933, the following statement was made:

"The Iraqi people was prepared to take up arms and go to the death-field but the matter was not of great importance as those insurgents who disturbed the peace and disobeyed Government were a small mean batch but the reason that led the people for such a big rising was because this batch had gone crying before the western countries that it was being ill-treated and that it was the victim of religious fanaticism. . . . We have not yet forgotten the persecution and oppression committed by Italy in Tripoli against those who wanted to defend the integrity of their country. . . . The foreign influence must be uprooted from this country. . . . The Iraqi public demand the enforcement of conscription as the public is bloodthirsty to suck the blood of the enemies. . . ."