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From Nazism to Pro-Kurdish Activism: The International Society Kurdistan, Silvio van Rooy and the struggle against communism in the 1960s and 1970s

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Abstract

Kurdish studies was born as a field of study in imperial Russia, and for much of the twentieth century, the Soviet Union remained the centre of 'Kurdology'. With the foundation of the International Society Kurdistan (ISK) in Amsterdam in 1960, however, this centre started to move westwards. Officially established as a non-party democratic action group helping the Kurdish nation in its struggle for democratic independence, the ISK's unwritten aim was to support national struggles as a means to prevent communism, particularly the Soviet Union, from expanding its sphere of influence. Silvio van Rooy, who had been an active collaborator with the Nazi occupying forces in the Netherlands, devoted a decade of his life to what he considered an experiment in psychological warfare to influence the Kurdish intelligentsia, and for this he made every effort to establish a centre for Kurdish studies in the West that could develop a political programme around anti-communist ethno-nationalism. Yet Van Rooy's involvement with the Kurds was intense, but also passing. In the second half of the 1970s his loyalty to anti-communism took a new turn as he drew close to the Iraqi nationalist Ba'ath regime. The research data employed here has primarily been obtained through archival work. Based on an analysis of these primary documents and augmented by personal recollections, this study thus contextualises the work of the ISK

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through the political trajectory and views of Silvio van Rooy, the society's founder and president.

The only Dutchman I remember as a consistent defender of the Kurdish people used to live on Da Costastraat in Amsterdam: Sylvio van Rooy. A lean, pale boy of about thirty, with perhaps the most honest, gentlest look I have ever seen. In the house where he had also accommodated his wife and many children, there was hardly any room for what we call an ordinary family life because everything was taken up with books, newspapers and other documentation about the Kurds. He published a periodical written in English, Kurdish Facts, which looked a bit like Time [magazine] and in which he kept the major press informed of the fate of the Kurds with the frequency determined by the money he had. (...) If you judge him by his selflessness and his persistence, you come to the conclusion that Sylvio van Rooy, albeit on the basis of a different subject and in different times, could easily have made it to sainthood. Now, he still wanders in the peripheral memory of a few people, mainly as the Don Quixote of the Kurds, if not as an eccentric.

H. J. A. Hofland, 1990¹

The ISK sees itself as an experiment in development aid and psychological warfare
Internal Security Service (BVD) Archive²

INTRODUCTION

Kurdish studies was born as a field of study in imperial Russia, and for much of the twentieth century, the Soviet Union remained the centre of 'Kurdology' (Leezenberg, 2011). The centre of Kurdish studies started to move westward, however, first with the appointment of academics interested in Kurdish language and ethnography at institutes in France and the UK,³ and later, importantly, with the foundation of the International Society Kurdistan (ISK) in Amsterdam in 1960 and then the Kurdish Institute of Paris (*Institut Kurde de Paris*) in 1983. Within a matter of years, the ISK had developed into the most important centre for information on politics and culture in Kurdistan and the Kurds. While the ISK's (English language) journal, *Kurdish Facts and West-Asian Affairs*, or in short, *Kurdish Facts*, provided summaries on contemporary developments from a wide range of international sources, its annotated bibliography was the most comprehensive yet compiled. The ISK developed a wide network of Kurds and experts in Kurdish studies in both the West and East, with over 1,000 members in more than 30 countries. The driving force behind the ISK was Silvio Eugenius van Rooy, who tirelessly searched for funding and often used the money he earned from his work as archivist at the Amsterdam municipality to finance ISK activities. Though ISK, and Van Rooy in particular, made important contributions to networking, advocacy, and academia throughout the 1960s, they have become a footnote in the history of Kurdish studies. Only brief references are made to their work (van Bruinessen, 2014; Zaborski, 2004). The personal archive of Silvio van Rooy, donated to the International Institute for Social History (IISH) in Amsterdam, has brought van Rooy and the International Society Kurdistan (ISK) back into the spotlight (Çelik, 2020a, 2020b).

A tireless networker, Silvio van Rooy earned a modest income as a municipal archivist and freelance journalist and allocated much of his personal savings to the Kurdish cause. His solidarity work with the Kurds followed his previous interest in the national minorities and nationalist struggles in, predominantly, the Soviet Union. In his private correspondence about Kurds and the national question, van Rooy articulated the importance of support for national

struggles as a means to prevent communism, particularly the Soviet Union, from expanding its sphere of influence. His work on Kurdistan and the Kurds is difficult to disentangle from his ardent anti-communism, and his emphasis on nationhood was very much informed by the idea of a racial or ethnic political structuring of the world.

This article explores Van Rooy's motivation to establish and develop a centre of Kurdish studies, showing how his involvement with the Kurds was informed by a desire to counter the hegemony of the Soviet Union in Kurdish Studies as a means to preempt the influence of communism among the Kurds. It also considers the political trajectory of Van Rooy himself, who became involved in fascist cultural politics at a young age in the 1930s and 1940s and collaborated with the national-socialist occupation forces that ruled the Netherlands between 1940 and 1945. We will show how Van Rooy's work with the ISK was mainly informed by a form of racial ethno-nationalism, which he came to see as the main form of defence against communism.

Data for this research has been obtained primarily through archival work.⁴ We have consulted various archives, among these the archive of Ismet Chérif Vanly at the University of Lausanne and the archive of Kamuran Bedir-Khan and the KSSE at the Kurdish Institute of Paris. Yet there are three main archives containing information from and about Silvio van Rooy that we have consulted for this article. The first is the Silvio van Rooy Archive (*Archief Silvio van Rooy*, ASvR) at the International Institute for Social History (IISH) in Amsterdam⁵, which houses Van Rooy's personal archive, including material on Armenians, the Ukraine and the Russian Orthodox Church and also the archive of the International Society Kurdistan (ISK). As the IISH acknowledges, since Van Rooy handled almost all of the ISK correspondence, the distinction between the ISK material and that of a more personal nature is not always clear.⁶

The second archive is the National Archive (*Nationaal Archief*). Located in The Hague, this archive holds the Central Archive of Special Justice (*Centraal Archief Bijzondere Rechtspleging*, CABR)⁷. This archive has material on the prosecution of persons suspected of collaboration with the Nazi-occupational forces in the Second World War. The National Archive also holds the documents of the Supervision of Political Offenders Foundation (*Stichting Toezicht Politieke Delinquenten*, STPD).⁸ The third archive is that of the Internal Security Service (*Binnenlandse Veiligheidsdienst*, BVD), the intelligence organisation in the Netherlands between 1949 and 2002.⁹ Further to the archival research, interviews and interactions with people who worked with or knew Silvio van Rooy have contributed to the writing of this article.

Based on an analysis of the primary documents augmented by personal recollections, this article thus contextualises the work of the ISK through the political trajectory and views of Silvio van Rooy, the society's founder and president. It is divided into two sections. The first introduces the ISK, its work and political objectives, and the second examines the political life of Silvio van Rooy and his involvement in the Kurdish issue – concluding with his break with the Kurds and collaboration with the Iraqi Ba'ath regime in the late 1970s. Thus, this paper intertwines the narrative of an individual with macro-scale developments around the Kurdish question in the shadows of national-socialist thought and the Cold War.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN

Founded by van Rooy in Amsterdam in 1960, the ISK included amongst its membership a number of people who had devoted much of their working lives to Kurdish studies (van Bruinessen, 2014), including the French Dominican missionary Thomas Bois and British colonial officer and academic Cecil John Edmonds, along with some of the subsequent generation of Kurdologists, such as the French linguist Joyce Blau, former Iraqi army officer and linguist Tawfiq Wahby, and ethnographer Muhammad Mokri. The ISK also had strong relations with the new generation of academics in the 1960s, such as Andrej Zaborski from Poland, who studied Arabic philology and became an assistant at the Institute of Oriental Philology of the

Jagiellonian University in Cracow, Poland, Adela Krikova, a scholar in Kurdish studies at the Charles University in Prague, Czechoslovakia, and the Irish linguist and poet Alan Ward, from Andorra.¹⁰ Notwithstanding its extensive network and impressive membership, however, the ISK remained 'a one-man operation run by Silvio van Rooy in Amsterdam' (Bruinessen 2014, 40).

According to the first issue of its *Kurdish Facts and West-Asian Affairs* (November 1960, 2), the ISK was a 'non-party, worldwide democratic action group'. In the seventh issue (June 1961, 2), it listed its founding objectives as 'collecting and disseminating the facts about Kurdistan; helping the Kurdish nation in its struggle for democratic independence and encouraging the Kurds to establish friendly relations among themselves, with their neighbours and with all other nations'. During the ten years of its existence – until being disbanded in the 1970s – the ISK became the main resource in Europe for information about Kurds, Kurdistan and Kurdish politics.

In addition to *Kurdish Facts* (monthly), the ISK published *Book News* (quarterly) and the *Kurdistan Yearbook* (yearly). It also published the German language *Betrift: Kurden* (Subject: Kurds), intended as a monthly by the *Internationalen Gesellschaft Kurdistan* (a literal translation of the English name 'International Society Kurdistan'), but only a few issues were published (in 1961).¹¹ Referred to by Van Rooy in the first issue (November 1960, p. 2) as 'the only magazine on Kurds and Kurdistan', over 90 issues of *Kurdish Facts and West-Asian Affairs*, the journal by which the ISK was best known, were published.¹² Intelligence reports recorded a circulation of 1,100 copies of the monthly in its early years, dropping to a quarter of that by the middle of the decade (1965).¹³ *Kurdish Facts* monitored international press reports on the Kurds, providing detailed news on relevant political developments, Kurdish political and cultural activism and information about publications and other advances in the field of Kurdology.

Apart from the periodicals, and towards the end of the decade, the ISK started to do publications in the Kurdish language using the Hawar (latinized Kurdish) alphabet. The first publication was a poem by Kurdish poet and politician Hemreş Reşo (1967), '*Bakur - Nordwind*' and two pieces by the Irish poet Alan Ward (1968, 3-4; 1969): 'Elements of Kurdish' (based on his field research conducted while teaching English and Mathematics at Diyarbakır Maarif College in 1960), and his English translation of the Kurdish epic poem *Mem û Zîn*. Perhaps the milestone in the publishing work of the ISK was the two-volume *ISK's Kurdish Bibliography* edited by van Rooy with Kees Tamboer (1968).

ISK's Kurdish Bibliography contained over 9,000 entries from 40 different languages, which, the editors claimed, made it not only the largest but also the most international Kurdish bibliography. It was mainly based on the extraordinary efforts of van Rooy, whose correspondence with Kurdologists, libraries and archives around the world since 1960 laid the groundwork for the two volume publication. Van Rooy succeeded in involving several prominent experts in Kurdish politics and culture in its making. The introduction mentions Cecil John Edmonds – who had a particular interest in linguistics and customs and, in 1951, following his political work in Iraq in the service of the British government, had become a Kurdish lecturer at SOAS – and Thomas Bois – who had been based in Beirut, and had special knowledge of the Kurds in Lebanon and Syria. Also mentioned were Qanatê Kurdo, chair in Kurdology at Leningrad University since 1961, teaching Kurdish language, literature and history; the Kurdish writer and member of the Kurdish Writers' Union, Muhamed Mokrî, who was raised in Kirkuk after his family had migrated from Iran to Iraq and who had knowledge of the Kurds in the two countries; and Joyce Blau, a Paris based linguist who specialized in Kurdish language and literature and was a member of the Kurdish Institute of Paris (van Rooy had met her in Brussels when she was still a master's student).

The society's publication efforts were accompanied by an initiative to establish a library to compile resources on Kurdish history, geography and politics. Among the first books were those donated by Kurdish students at the 1960 congress of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe (KSSE). In the years that followed, Silvio van Rooy contacted many large libraries and

archives in Europe and America, asking for reference information and, if possible, copies of sources on 'Kurds' and 'Kurdistan'.¹⁴ Some nine months after its establishment, the *Kurdische Zentral-Bibliothek in Europa* (Kurdish Central Library in Europe) had collected 1,250 bibliographic items in 200 titles.¹⁵ Not only did he collect Kurdology resources in Europe, but he also persistently followed the fertile Kurdology studies in the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc and requested book donations for his library. For this, he continually corresponded with Soviet Kurdologists such as Qanatê Kurdo, Margarita Rudenko, Adele Krikavova and Celilê Celil.¹⁶ The enormous expansion of Soviet Kurdology unsettled Van Rooy. Especially in his correspondence with 'ISK-friendly' Kurdologists, he constantly expressed his concern about the hegemony of Soviet Kurdology, the weakness of such studies in Western Europe, and the potential of the ISK to compete seriously with the East. Van Rooy found it strange that Kurdologists like Edmonds, Bois, Mokri and Wahbi did not speak the Russian language and started taking private lessons in Russian.¹⁷

Though the ISK established a name, Van Rooy was aware that one of the most basic requirements of developing ISK as a centre for Kurdish studies was to include Kurds in its cadre. He was in regular correspondence with Cemal Nebez and Hemreş Reşo in West Germany, Nureddin Zaza in Lebanon, and Mustafa Remzi Bucak in the US, aiming to persuade them to settle in Amsterdam and transform ISK into a West European Kurdology centre. These attempts failed, however, and in the second half of the 1960s, he was increasingly at odds with them.

'COMBATANT OF THE KURDISH PEOPLE, FRIEND SILVIO VAN ROOY'¹⁸

When Silvio van Rooy established the ISK, he was a freelance journalist and publicist; later, he worked at the archives of the Municipality of Amsterdam (the *Stadsarchief*). Although he wrote his first article about the Kurds for a daily newspaper in Amsterdam in the mid-1950s, it was only after he met Kamuran Ali Bedir-Khan in 1959 that he became committed to the Kurdish cause. According to a letter he wrote in to a friend of Kamuran Bedir-Khan, Mrs. P. R. Hilmi from London, on 19 January 1962, van Rooy had decided to establish the ISK, after listening to a briefing given in a Viennese hotel by Dr Bedir-Khan on 'the tragic faith of Kurds and Kurdistan'.¹⁹ A few months later, in July 1960, after founding ISK and becoming its first president, van Rooy travelled to the KSSE annual congress held in West Berlin. This Kurdish student association had been founded in West Germany by Kurdish students in 1956 and became a meeting place for Kurdish students and intellectuals.²⁰ The KSSE had over fifteen branches on both sides of the Iron Curtain during the 1960s. Van Rooy delivered an exciting speech at the congress, where he was 'baptised' with the Kurdish name 'Salar', meaning commander or leader. Thus, he began inviting KSSE members to Amsterdam and participated in further KSSE congresses – and between these meetings, an intensive correspondence unfolded. Relations weakened in the second half of the 1960s, however, ending in resentment and mutual accusations before they were severed (see below).

In its Kurdish studies, the ISK paid ample attention to the identification of the 'folk' element and, as part of this, to the importance of culture and language in the constitution of an ethno-political community. Cecil John Edmonds, who had contributed to the making of the Kurdish bibliography, emphasised the need to unify the Kurdish language by turning one of the dialects, Sorani, into the official language. The political aim of unifying the language was to put Kurdish on the same footing as Arabic, Farsi and Turkish and counter attempts to undermine the importance of Kurdish. Edmonds made his pleas in the context of the political developments in Iraq – where a Kurdish movement was engaged in a political struggle with the attempts to centralize government and establish a strong Arab state – and believed it was

important for the Kurds to use the Latin alphabet in order to free themselves from Arabic (Lukitz, 2018).

Van Rooy concurred with the importance of a unified language and the Latin alphabet but differed from Edmonds in that he thought Kurmanjî rather than Sorani should be used. Van Rooy's sympathies were with the conservative-nationalist Mustafa Barzani, whose stronghold was in the Kurmanjî speaking Bahdinan region in Iraqi Kurdistan; he very much opposed the more radical political axis of Jalal Talabani, who controlled the Sorani-speaking parts of Iraqi Kurdistan (van Bruinessen, 1986). Thus, when the ISK started its Kurdish language publications, they reflected these preferences. Among the first publications in the Kurmanjî dialect along with their German translations – were poems by the pro-Barzani Hemreş Reşo.²¹

The ISK aimed to work on the recording of Kurdish music and the translation of Kurdish literature and to establish a 'geography department' (Kurdish Facts, 1960, 2, 1961c, 15). Its main cultural activity comprised three exhibitions on Kurds and Kurdistan in Germany and the Netherlands in 1961-63. In these exhibitions, besides objects and images related to the Kurdish folklore and nature/countryside of Kurdistan; photographs reflecting the current political situation were also on display. Two of the exhibitions were organised under the name 'Kurdish Days' and took place in Germany; the first, in 1961, was held in Oldenburg (Kurdish Facts, 1961a, 9-10), and the second, in 1962, in Brunswick. The third exhibition, in 1963, was named 'Unknown, Kurdistan' and held in the Netherlands (Çelik, 2020a).

ACTIVISM

From the day it began in 1960, ISK gave strong support to the resistance movement in southern Kurdistan. Through press releases, participation in radio programs, presentations at university conferences and, most importantly, through *Kurdish Facts*, it regularly provided current developments in the war in Iraq. It campaigned to inform the public against the practices of state repression, violence and detention against Kurdish political activists in Kurdistan. For instance, the ISK organised active solidarity with many Kurdish politicians and intellectuals, most notably Nureddin Zaza, who was arrested in Syria in 1960. Also a writer and poet, Zaza had been a co-founder of the Barzani-oriented Kurdistan Democratic Party of Syria in 1957, becoming its first president in 1958.²² The ISK was in regular correspondence with several international institutions, including Amnesty International, the UN and UNESCO, and organised efforts for humanitarian aid to Kurds in Iraq, especially medicines.

It was upon Zaza's initiative that a new Kurdish student organisation in Europe had been established, which was to become the KSSE. In the summer of 1956, between August 10-16, before he returned to Syria, its first conference was held, in the town of Wiesbaden, in West Germany, organised by 17 Kurdish students from all parts of Kurdistan and residing in different countries in Western Europe – which Van Rooy joined days after the foundation of the ISK (Çelik, 2021; Sheikhmous, 2020). The KSSE was founded with the aim of developing a network of Kurdish students in Europe and bringing international attention to the plight of the Kurds. Since the first day of its creation, the KSSE has been divided into three main factions: members and sympathisers of the Iraqi Communist Party and the pro-Barzani and the pro-Talaban factions of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) (Sheikhmous, 2020). And also, from the very start, Silvio van Rooy's involvement with the KSSE created tension.

Van Rooy considered the communist students a Soviet apparatus within the association. At the KSSE congress in Münster, August 1961, he aligned with factions against those of the pro-communist World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) led by Dara Tawfiq, which was commented on in a Dutch intelligence report as a breach in the propaganda monopoly of the WFDY.²³ Van Rooy's conflict with students who were close to the Iraqi Communist Party in the KSSE manifested again in relation to Israel's post-1967 policies. Evaluating the KSSE's

condemnation statements²⁴ against Israeli 'imperialism' as 'serving ... Arab nationalism' and thus erroneous, van Rooy emphasised that the Kurds should take a more correct attitude towards 'Arab imperialism'. Kurdish students, on the other hand, increasingly interpreted van Rooy as 'pro-Israel' and 'anti-Arab'.

During the same period, van Rooy clashed with J. P. Vienneot, head of the Maoist-leaning Kurdish Revolution Solidarity Committee (*Le Comité de Solidarité Révolution Kurde*, CSRK) in Paris, with which Van Rooy had established contacts in the early 1960s. Van Rooy criticised the committee's animosity towards Israel, arguing that 'Israel's victory can benefit the Kurds, provided the Kurdish leaders take the chance and do yield to Arab imperialism'.²⁵ Van Rooy was among the supporters of the Kurdish cause who considered Israel a successful partner against Arab (Soviet-leaning) nationalism, as indicated by Israel Naamani (1966: 292):

The informal approaches to leaders in Israel and to Jews outside Israel are made mostly by 'friends', not by the Kurds themselves. Thus, for instance, Silvio van Rooy, president of [the] International Society Kurdistan, was interviewed on June 20, 1963, by the *Jerusalem Post* and indicated areas of cooperation between Israelis and Kurds.

Until the second half of the 1960s, Van Rooy maintained friendly relations with both the pro-Barzani and pro-Talabani students, resulting in an intensive exchange of information in the form of letters, mutual visits and participation in joint events. From 1965, however, this began to change. In the conflict between Barzani and Talabani, which escalated from that year, van Rooy openly and unconditionally supported the Barzani faction. In an interview with an Israeli journalist, he considered Barzani's anti-communist, pro-Western stance very important and stated that he must be supported.

In a letter to the editor of *The Scotsman* newspaper, Van Rooy wrote that 'ISK sides with Barzani and all other decent Kurds', adding that 'We do not work for traitors but for the Kurdish nation'.²⁶ In another letter, to Mahmud Ali Osman, representative of the Kurdish movement abroad, he wrote that the 'ISK's view (pro-Barzani – though critically – but very much against Talabani and his supporters) is known'.²⁷ When Van Rooy started to refer to Talabani as a British agent and publish anti-Talabani articles in *Kurdish Facts* in the second half of the 1960s, the relation between van Rooy and the supporters of Talabani, including Kemal Fuad and Omar Sheikhmous, came to a breaking point. The pro-Talabani students began to denounce van Rooy as a 'Nazi collaborator'.²⁸

SILVIO VAN ROOY IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR

People who knew van Rooy recall that he had been open about his Nazi past. At least in the 1970s, he openly spoke about his past and his internment and prosecution after the Second World War. His collaboration with the Nazis was seen as a juvenile sin as he was still a teenager in May 1940 when German forces invaded the Netherlands. In fact, van Rooy was one of the more than 300,000 people in the Netherlands accused of collaboration with the Nazi occupiers, betrayal, membership of the National-Socialist Movement (*Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging*, NSB) or enlisting in the German armed forces, and this political leaning was to inform his later activities.

Born in Rotterdam on 26 September 1924, Silvio Eugenius van Rooy was the son of Adrianus Theodorus van Rooij and Wilhelmina Cornelia Alida Otille Barüch. Van Rooy's father had died in 1926, when he was just two years old. His mother, of German descent, married again in 1938.²⁹ According to his younger sister (by two years), they grew up in a

‘pro-German family’. In the post-war political investigation carried out by the Rotterdam Police, his sister was recorded as saying that their father was a member of the NSB³⁰ – but since the NSB was established in 1931, and their biological father, Adrianus Theodorus, had died in 1926, this must have referred to the stepfather, Hendrik Godert Broeders.

Silvio van Rooy had joined the National Front (*Nationaal Front*) of Arnold Meijer in the month he turned 16, barely four months after the Nazis invaded and occupied the Netherlands. Meijer, who was oriented more to the fascism that had emerged in Italy than the national socialism in Germany, aspired the development of an independent fascist movement in the Netherlands. As a consequence of this political stance the National Front was banned by the Nazis in December 1941. By then, van Rooy had resigned from the National Front and joined the National Youth Storm (*Nationale Jeugdstorm*), in which he would remain a member from September 1941 until April 1942.³¹ Although not formally part of the NSB of Anton Mussert, the preferred collaborator of the occupying Nazi forces, many of its members were children of NSB members.

According to his sister, Van Rooy had met people from the SD Media Office in The Hague when he was treated for tuberculosis (TB) at the National Socialist People’s Welfare (*Nationalsozialistischen Volkswohlfahrt*, NSV) centre there.³² Among the people he met was Denis Hatendoer, who then held a position within the Nazi intelligence organization Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) in The Hague³³ and would later receive the rank of *Hauptsturmführer* in the Nazi paramilitary organization SS (*Schutzstaffel*).³⁴ In 1943, Van Rooy joined the SD in The Hague,³⁵ where he started to work in the Media Office. He monitored and reported what was written in Dutch language press, including the NSB press, on anti-German activities, work which must have been quite similar to the monitoring and reporting on Kurdish for the ISK in the 1960s. The SD Press Office in The Hague was staffed by seven people (three men and three women in addition to van Rooy).³⁶ Van Rooy’s income was 118 guilders ‘per Monday’ (equivalent to around 1850 euros today).³⁷ According to one report,³⁸ Van Rooy was a member of the SS, but the SD was formally a division of the SS anyway, so this may have been misleading.³⁹ The population registry of The Hague municipality indicates that Van Rooy lived at 73 *Zeestraat*, an apartment building in The Hague where the SD had an office.⁴⁰

Evidence from the archives suggests that Van Rooy was a Hatendoer v-man (informant) before he started to work at the SD Media Office. In this informant role, Van Rooy wrote in 1942, it was better to share too much of minor importance than too little of major importance. Among the details he shared with Hatendoer, was information from the 1941–42 period when he worked at a cooperative in Rotterdam named ‘*Homobonus*’, where he did not have a pleasant time as he was known to be pro-German. Van Rooy gave Hatendoer information on who possessed a radio, which was illegal, who was distributing information from British news channels or communist propaganda, and the hearsay that a Jew was in hiding at the Saint Franciscus Hospital in Rotterdam.⁴¹

After his stay at the *Oranje Nassau Oord* for medical treatment related to his TB in 1944 to the end of June, van Rooy returned to the SD in The Hague, where he started work the next day. Because of the advance of the allied forces, the SD, including Van Rooy, was moved from Rotterdam and relocated in Utrecht, where they stayed until September 10, a few days after Mad Tuesday (*Dolle Dinsdag*), when celebrations were prompted by (false) news that the Netherlands was about to be liberated, which led to panic among the Nazis and their collaborators. Van Rooy and his colleagues then seem to have been relocated to a camp in Uelzen, between Hannover and Hamburg, Germany,⁴² where his TB caused him to be hospitalized again (in Lunenburg, close to Hamburg) until late March, 1945. A month later, van Rooy was arrested in Germany by British forces. After being interned in various camps, he was released due to his poor health and hospitalized in Wildeshausen, close to Bremen (from June to November 1945)⁴³. He was arrested by the police in the Netherlands on August 1, 1946, when visiting his sister.

In March 1947, van Rooy was eligible for release, but his case was referred to the Special Court as the committee responsible for discharging prisoners found that he did not show remorse about his collaboration with the Nazi-occupation regime. Indeed, in a poem written in December 1946, Van Rooy had claimed that 'the flag flies' and 'even when handcuffed, put behind barbed wire and scolded as a traitor, we do not capitulate or surrender'.⁴⁴ Charged with entering the state service of the enemy and providing assistance in a time of war and exposing others to detection, persecuting and depriving them of their freedom, on 26 August 1947, van Rooy was found guilty and sentenced to five years imprisonment.⁴⁵ He served less than two years of this, however, being released in mid-May 1949.⁴⁶

RELEASE AND RETURN TO POLITICS: ETHNO-NATIONALISM AND ANTI-COMMUNISM

Documents from the archives show that Van Rooy has been under observation by the national intelligence and security agency Internal Security Service (*Binnenlandse Veiligheidsdienst*, BVD) from his release in 1949 until 1981, the year before his death. The BVD was not the only intelligence agency with an interest in Van Rooy, however; there was also a Turkish report on him. Van Rooy was the main focus of a piece on the ISK prepared on 1 April 1968 by the Turkish embassy in the Netherlands and sent to the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Ankara. This stated that van Rooy's main focus was not the Kurds in Turkey⁴⁷ but in Iraq. Mentioning that he had worked for the SD in WWII, it also noted that since his release, he had been mainly committed to anti-communism and the fight against communist infiltration.

The BVD's *Monthly Review* (*Binnenlandse Veiligheidsdienst Maandoverzicht*, BVM) for October 1951 recorded that van Rooy established the Working Society Netherlands-Germany (*Werkgemeenschap Nederland-Duitsland*, WND). Among the active members of the WND were Johan Theunisz, a novelist and historian who had been a member of the SS and received the SS Honour Ring (*Totenkopfring*) reward – from Himmler personally – and Paul van Tienen, a former member of Waffen-SS. According to the BVD review, the WND maintained contacts with the Socialist Reich Party (*Sozialistischer Reichspartei*) established in 1949 by former members of the NSDAP (BVM, 1951, 21). The BVD further noted that Van Rooy was the distributor of a neo-Nazi magazine *Der Widerhall*, a role he released himself from in the following year (BVM, 1952a, 19), and that he wrote for *Nation Europa*, a German journal founded by former SS commanders that also counted the British fascist Oswald Mosley among its contributors (BVM, 1952b, 3-4).

In the 1950s, Van Rooy joined organisations established by former members of the NSB and SS. He is mentioned as a member of the National European Youth Order⁴⁸ (*Nationale Europese Jongeren Orde*, NEJO), the Youth Organization of the National European Social Movement) (*Nationaal Europese Beweging*, NESB), a Dutch neo-Nazi party founded in 1953 and banned by a Dutch Supreme Court ruling two years later. The NESB and NEJO had been established by the Foundation of Former Political Delinquents (*Stichting Oud Politieke Delinquenten*, SOPD), itself established in 1951 by former collaborator convicts. Among them was Paul van Tienen, a former member of the Dutch *Waffen* SS with whom van Rooy kept in contact.⁴⁹

In 1953 Van Rooy was involved in *De Vrijshaar*, a periodical that was to become the journal of a fascist youth organization; he left this initiative in 1954 after disagreement with the other editors.⁵⁰ In the same year, he also broke with the SOPD.⁵¹ Van Rooy was not only active in the network of former Nazis – in 1951, he was also involved in *The Libertine* (*De Libertijn*), the journal of the Humanistic Youth Organisation (*Humanistische Jongeren Gemeenschap*) (*De Libertijn*, 1951) – but it was his far-right activities that dominated. Intelligence reports mention that Van Rooy was in likely collaboration with the NTS, a Russian anti-communist

organisation founded in 1930 that made propaganda among Russians abroad; apparently, he contacted Van Tienen to help distribute anti-communist pamphlets among sailors docking at the port in Rotterdam.⁵² In 1956, the writer George Kettman, who during the war had felt inspired by fascism in Italy but radicalized further in the direction of Nazi-German national socialism – and was allegedly expelled from the NSB in 1941 for his extremism – wrote a personal dedication for Van Rooy in his poetry book *The Ballad of the Dead Viking* (*De Ballade van de Dode Viking*), a book in which Kettmann (1956) returned to his fascist ideas from the 1930s (Huberts, 1999, 2).

Van Rooy made several trips abroad in the 1950s, most frequently to England, France and Scandinavia, according to a report by the Dutch military police.⁵³ He had made these trips in the two years after his passport was issued on 5 July 1954. The military police, responsible for border control, had checked his passport after he was handed over by the German border guard when entering the Federal Republic illegally on 6 June 1956. The military police report also mentioned that Van Rooy was carrying anti-communist propaganda and that his passport showed he had been refused entry into Germany and had already made three failed attempts to enter illegally.⁵⁴ In 1958, van Rooy was seen near the German border again, though he still was banned from entry.⁵⁵

According to the reports, Van Rooy had contacts with several extreme-right individuals, organisations and periodicals.⁵⁶ These included the neo-Nazi German Reich Party (*Deutsche Reichspartei*) linked to 'Dr Nauman'⁵⁷ – probably Werner Naumann, who had been the personal advisor to Joseph Goebbels, was present in the Führerbunker at the end of the war, escaped, hid and later reemerged in political life to become German Reich Party candidate in the elections of 1953. Van Rooy was also said to have been in contact with Walter Tiede from the Ludendorff Movement (*Ludendorff Bewegung*), a folk-nationalist organisation in Germany.⁵⁸ Tiede recruited former arms bearers in the German *Wehrmacht* for service in the Egyptian army⁵⁹, an activity Van Rooy is also associated with. Rost van Tonningen, the widow of a prominent national socialist in the Netherlands, referred someone to Van Rooy, and at their meeting, Van Rooy allegedly asked that person if he was interested in joining the armed forces in Egypt or Syria.

Although Van Rooy was active in national-socialist circles, a major distinction between him and most of his colleagues and contacts was antisemitism. An intelligence service report described him as 'pro-German' but appalled by what 'the Hitler regime did to the Jews'.⁶⁰ It was particularly during the 1960s that Van Rooy took on a pro-Israel stance – he wrote about antisemitism in the *New Israelite Weekly* (*Nieuw Israelitisch Weekblad*), a weekly magazine covering political and cultural matters for the Dutch Jewish community – began his support for the struggle of the Kurds in Iraq (1970b: 7; van Rooy 1970a: 8). Indeed, Van Rooy became a staunch advocate of collaboration between Israel and the Kurds.

An active journalist and publicist, both under his own name and the pseudonym 'Hans van Weerd' – and 'Katja Bob', according to intelligence reports⁶¹ – van Rooy wrote on various topics, such as local culture in the Netherlands, casually mentioning that the English bombardments caused more damage than the German occupation (de Weerd [van Rooy], 1958), and the repatriation of Russian volunteers in the *Wehrmacht* and the SS to the Soviet Union by allied forces, of which he was critical (de Weerd [van Rooy], 1955a). Interestingly, he also criticised the Nazi regime in Ukraine, which was so brutal that many considered the Soviet forces as liberators (de Weerd [van Rooy], 1955b). Overall, he positioned himself as an ethno-nationalist.

In an article in *Der Widerhall*, Van Rooy explained his idea of a Europe structured along *völkisch* lines, which is a core element of the national socialist vision of Europe in the 1930 and 1940s (Dafinger & Pohl, 2019: 9). A *Volk*, Van Rooy believed, is characterised by permanence and occupies a particular space. The foundation of the 'New Europe', he explained, would not be states but peoples (*Volker*), which form natural communities of relatives in space (*Raum*) (BVM, 1951, Annex V, 11). This idea that Europe should be structured along *völkisch* lines was

a core element of national socialist thought, which organised around the categories of *Volk* and *Raum* as a core geopolitical principle, and with the intention to re-order Europe on basis of ethno-homogeneity (Salzborn, 2016). Having its own peculiarities, life and culture, 'these *Völker* ... which can be best translated as ethno-nation[s], should become the building blocks of every political order' (Dafinger & Pohl, 2019: 9), and, importantly, it became considered as a vibrant construction in the struggle against Bolshevism (Prehn, 2019: 31) – a theme which also returns in the work of van Rooy with the ISK.

In this thinking of a volk-isation of the political (Salzborn, 2016: 15), a political order organised around *Volk* becomes the antithesis of communism; similarly, thought van Rooy, a politics that denies the *völkische* plays into the hands of communism (de Weerd [van Rooy], 1955a; Hans de Weerd [van Rooy], 1955b). Applying the idea of 'volkisation' as a weapon against communism, van Rooy turned to the new areas of resistance against communism. These included the minorities in China (the Marxist threat incorporating the Maoist just as much as the Leninist-Stalinist) and of course the Kurds (especially from Iraq and Syria, where the Kurdish communist parties were strong and very committed to the Soviet Union).

The Dutch intelligence reports indicate Silvio van Rooy became acquainted with the Kurds and the Kurdish issue when he travelled to Vienna in 1959 with the objective of participating in the communist World Congress that had been organised there. At that time, van Rooy was writing monthly reports for the Düsseldorf-based Eastern Europe Research Service (*Forschungsdienst Osteuropa*), a research institute financed by Germany with an interest in the Soviet Union and its international relations.⁶² By then, his entry ban to Germany must have been lifted. Before starting his work for *Forschungsdienst Osteuropa*, possible contacts existed between van Rooy and the Nazi-linked Gehlen Organisation (*Dienst Gehlen*).⁶³

In Vienna, van Rooy stayed in the same hotel as Kamuran Ali Bedir-Khan (Bedirxan).⁶⁴ It was through his conversations with Bedir-Khan that van Rooy reached the conclusion that the Kurds were unaware of Soviet infiltration techniques and that this was largely ignored by the West. Fearing the Soviet Union would use the Kurds as a springboard into the Middle East, van Rooy decided to concentrate his attention on the Kurds and Kurdistan.⁶⁵ His anti-communism remained a permanent feature of his life, however. Intelligence reports from the late 1970s indicate that van Rooy maintained a card system of 'terrorist organisations'.⁶⁶ The groups he seems to have followed included the Red Resistance Front (*Rood Verzetsfront*), an organisation that published pamphlets of left-wing armed movements in Europe, Red Aid (*Rode Hulp*) and the Netherlands-DDR Association, which maintained contact with East Germany.⁶⁷

Following his meeting with Kamuran Bedir-Khan in 1959, Van Rooy established the ISK in 1960 together with Laurens Simons, Eeltje Waling Boeksma and Jan Kemp. ISK was originally founded as an association and formally instituted as a foundation in 1965, with, in addition to van Rooy as president, Roelof Cornelis Tamboer as secretary and Edward William van Praag as treasurer. The founders of the ISK referred to it as '*volks-nationaal*', a term that denotes a form of racial-nationalism as the basis of a political ordering of the world) – but also as 'an experiment in development aid and psychological warfare' (with the aim of fighting communism among the Kurds).⁶⁸

Van Rooy suggested several measures with the ISK could promote to break the monopoly of communist propaganda among the Kurds. These included drawing the pro-communist Kurdish intelligentsia towards emotional folk-nationalism and emphasising the absence of 'solidarity' with the Kurds in 'Asian countries' (as opposed to disillusionment with the West).⁶⁹ In letters to people he trusted, he would not hesitate to express his militant anti-communism and disclose the main purpose of the ISK: to develop Kurdology in the West in competition with Kurdish studies in the Soviet Union. It was in this context that he wrote in a 'confidential letter' to George W. Ineson, representative of the Franz Lieber Foundation (*Franz Lieber Stiftung*) in Germany:

Training Kurds in a proper way (both intellectually and politically) is perhaps the best thing we can do for them. Compared to other nations, Kurds have only a very small number of students abroad. This means that the fight to win over this thin layer of 'intelligentsia' is still more important (comparatively speaking again) than that for similar groups in other Oriental nations.⁷⁰

This anti-communism not only made van Rooy a supporter of the conservative nationalist Barzani but also prompted him to establish contacts with the Islamist, anti-communist and CIA-funded *Jami-at al-Islam* (JAI) movement (Johnson, 2010, 153-54). Van Rooy invited the Iraqi-Kurd Abdullah Kadir, president of the Vienna branch of the JAI with whom he corresponded intensively, to speak at a Kurdish exhibition Van Rooy organised in Germany in 1961 (Kurdish Facts, 1961c: 9).

VAN ROOY AND THE POST-ISK PERIOD

Clearly, Van Rooy's commitment to the ISK cannot be understood outside his anti-communist and ethno-nationalist convictions, as a way of steering the rising anti-colonial national emancipation struggles in the Third World away from their socialist orientations. However, by the end of the 1960s, with the exception of a small group of pro-Barzani students and a few Kurdologists, van Rooy had lost all his former contacts in the field. In the course of the 1970s, he also became embroiled in the movement around Barzani, of whom he had been a staunch supporter. People who had visited him in the early 1970s recall that Van Rooy had a picture of Barzani next to his doorbell. Yet in 1975-76 the relations had soured, and the KDP in Europe would warn people against having contact with van Rooy.

Quite how and when this rupture occurred is not clear. Certainly, it took place against the backdrop the Iraqi-Kurdish War in 1974-75, when Baghdad invaded southern Kurdistan and crushed the Kurdish autonomy agreed upon earlier. Intelligence reports suggest van Rooy had become close to the Ba'ath regime around that time and travelled at least twice to Iraq on its invitation. According to the reports, van Rooy made his first trip to Iraq in October 1975; his second trip was planned for October 1977 but postponed until March 1978.⁷¹ The reports note that after his trips there, van Rooy became pro-Iraqi and betrayed Iraqi Kurds who were not pro-Bagdad. It is not clear when his first contacts with Iraqi officials took place, but van Rooy had multiple meetings in the Netherlands during the 1975-79 period with various Iraqi embassy officials, among them Mudher Al-Khaizaran, press officer at the Iraqi embassy. According to intelligence reports some of these meetings took place in the Marriott Hotel in Amsterdam and others at the embassy of Iraq in The Netherlands. Van Rooy entered the embassy via the staff entrance and, when a new ambassador took up the position in 1979, Van Rooy was almost immediately introduced to him.⁷²

Iraqi officials and van Rooy discussed a range of issues at their meetings, one of which was the launch of a journal. Van Rooy suggested that the journal be named '*Kurdish Facts*' – in other words, this was to constitute a re-launch of the old ISK monthly, but now to the service of the Ba'ath regime in Iraq. Meanwhile, they agreed that the relationship of the embassy with van Rooy and the new journal was not to be disclosed.⁷³ Iraqi officials and van Rooy also discussed the need for 'reliable journalists' willing upon invitation to go to Iraq. In 1977, Van Rooy and an embassy employee had a conversation about an upcoming Kurdish meeting in Amsterdam. Van Rooy emphasised that the Kurds should provide their own security and said that the employee would probably not be allowed to enter but one of his own people would be present. Van Rooy and an Iraqi employee also discussed a hunger strike of Kurds in Utrecht, called to protest against the possible execution of hundreds of convicted Kurds in Iraq and pressure the Dutch government to raise its voice against these executions. An intelligence report

also suggests that van Rooy may have given the names of Kurds living in the Netherlands to the embassy. By way of a completing note, we may record that, as recorded in March 1980, van Rooy was the speaker at a meeting of the Arab Circle, where he gave his talk on 800 years of Arab history.⁷⁴

At the time of his death on 14 April 1981 Van Rooy turned to Arab studies and became aligned with the Ba'ath regime in Iraq, which had developed a proven record of anti-communism. This might also have been an important reason for his closeness to Baghdad. Van Rooy's post WW II political activities had been mainly informed by a staunch anti-communism and in the course of the 1970s a domestic alliance between the Ba'ath party and the Communist Party of Iraq had begun to crumble, while internationally Iraq had been reorienting itself away from its alliance with the Soviet Union (Dawisha, 1981: 136, Dawisha, 1982: 445).

CONCLUSION

The story of the International Society Kurdistan and Silvio van Rooy shows the geopolitical complexities at the level of narrative formation in area studies. The International Society Kurdistan was established to develop a narrative around the idea of a Kurdish nation that would not be receptive to communist ideas. Van Rooy devoted a decade of his life to what he considered an experiment in psychological warfare to influence the Kurdish intelligentsia, and for this he made every effort to establish a center for Kurdish studies in the west that could develop a political program around anti-communist ethno-nationalism. His involvement with the Kurds was intense, but also passingly. After 10 years of work, building, and then losing contacts, he entered into a relationship with the Iraqi regime, which in 1974-1975 violently stripped the Kurds of their autonomy, ushering in a period of Arabization and war, culminating in series of chemical attacks in 1988. Van Rooy would not live long enough to witness that, as he died on April 14, 1981.

Silvio Eugenius van Rooy had a turbulent political past. He was attracted to fascist and national-socialist politics in the 1930-50 period. At young age he became a member of the fascist National Front and worked for the Nazi intelligence organization *Sicherheitsdienst* SD during the Nazi-occupation of the Netherlands. During the 1950s, he was both a member and active in various post-war initiatives of former national-socialists aiming to regroup politically. In the course of the 1950s his primary concern became the fight against communism and the instrumentalisation of ethno-nationalism (and Islam) in the fight against Soviet influence. His anti-socialist orientation had shifted from Nazism to a nationalism of peoples, and when he established the International Society Kurdistan, its main objective was the development of a *Volks* ethno-racial nation (al)ism that was to form the basis of a political ordering of the world and counter the spread of communism in the Third World at that time (i.e. during the decolonisation of the Global South).

In an attempt to counter the hegemony of Kurdology developed in the Soviet-Union he founded the ISK as a centre of information on Kurds and Kurdistan, establishing itself firmly within a network of academics and Kurds. Around its journal, *Kurdish Facts*, and the ISK annotated bibliography, van Rooy wove a fragmented Kurdish diaspora and interest in Kurds and Kurdistan into an international network. However, attempts to develop the ISK into a fully-fledged Kurdish studies center failed, as he fell into disagreement with an increasing number of people, among them the Barzani faction, which he had supported throughout the 1960s against left-leaning and pro-communist factions in the Kurdish movement. In the second half of the 1970s van Rooy drew close to the Iraqi Ba'ath regime, which had developed a reputation for its ruthless crackdown on communists. His loyalty to anti-communism had taken a new turn.

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ENDNOTES

- ¹ From the column 'Bring Home the Bacon' [Bread on the Plate] by Dutch journalist, essayist and novelist H. J. A. Hofland in the Dutch newspaper *NRC*, September 15, 1990. Accessed 1 February 2023. <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/1990/09/14/brood-op-de-plank-6940919-a775733>. Translated by the author.
- ² BVD Archive, 2770-'61 AC 612347 26-9-1961.
- ³ France: The National Institute of Living Oriental Languages (*École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, ENLOV), in Paris; academics, the UK: e.g. Cecil John Edmonds and Tawfiq Wahby at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), in London.
- ⁴ Unpublished archived materials cited in notes.
- ⁵ The Silvio van Rooy Archive at IISH, the Ismet Chérif Vanly at the University of Lausanne, and the archives of Kamuran Bedir-Khan and the KSSE at the Kurdish Institute of Paris were consulted by Adnan Çelik as part of the research project RUSKURD, led by Etienne Peyrat and Masha Cerovic with funding from the Agence Nationale de la Recherche – ANR between 2019 and 2021. For more on this project, see: <https://ruskurd.hypotheses.org/>.
- ⁶ For further information on this archive, see Çelik (2020a).
- ⁷ CABR 69251 (BG Den Haag 1942), CABR 90790 (PRA Den Haag 21218), CABR 96705 (PRA Rotterdam 15016), CABR 102713 (PRA Den Haag 3745/1b/45).
- ⁸ STPD 701 (Den Haag, Jeugdzaken, Dossier 1481).
- ⁹ BVD archive, (2.04.125), files 42030-42035.
- ¹⁰ The most prominent Kurdish people with whom van Rooy corresponded at this time (in the 1960s) were: Kamuran Bedir-Khan (Bedirxan), Ismet Chériff Vanly, Nuredin Zaza, Abdullah Kadir, Kemal Fuad, Cemal Nebez, Wiryā Rewanduzi, Hemreş Reşo, Sadi Dizayee, Ihsan Fuad, Cemal Alemdar, Omar Dizayee, Dara Attar, Omar Sheikhmous and Ali Uthman. Most of them were active in the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe (KSSE) and the majority of them from Iraqi Kurdistan.
- ¹¹ IGK Info no. 3, *Betrifft: Kurden*, January 1961.
- ¹² We have located 92 issues in three archives (at the archive of Ismet Chérif Vanly in Lausanne in addition to those of the Kurdish Institute in Paris and IISH in Amsterdam), but more issues may have been published.
- ¹³ BVD, ACD 822.615, 6 April 1966.
- ¹⁴ ASvR, boxes 27–57.
- ¹⁵ Its librarian, Jan Kemp, had graduated as a philosopher in 1956 from the University of Amsterdam. He had a working knowledge of Sanskrit, was an New-Greek interpreter, and was interested in the linguistic aspects of the Kurdish question (Kurdish Facts, 1961b, 10).
- ¹⁶ Van Rooy had met Maruf Xeznedar, a Kurdish academic and writer then studying at the Oriental Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences in Leningrad. Through Xeznedar, van Rooy established a connection with Qanatê Kurdo, who was the rising star of Kurdology in Leningrad (Çelik, 2020b).
- ¹⁷ ASvR, Silvio van Rooy, 1966. Letter to Alan Ward, 15 October.
- ¹⁸ 'Têkoşerê gelê Kurd heval Silvio van Rooy' – Hemreş Reşo, from the opening sentence of a letter to van Rooy.
- ¹⁹ ASvR, Silvio van Rooy, 1962. Letter: to P. R. Hilmi, 19 January.
- ²⁰ All references to 'Germany' are to West Germany (i.e. the Federal Republic of Germany, FRG).
- ²¹ In the 2000s, Hemreş Reşo became the chair of the Barzani-led Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) in Turkey.
- ²² Later, in 1983, he was a founding member of the Kurdish Institute of Paris.
- ²³ BVD archive, 2770-'61 AC 612347, 26 September 1961.
- ²⁴ 'The KSSE condemns the Israeli-imperialist aggression against the Arabs' (Shawresh, 1968, 8).
- ²⁵ ASvR, Silvio van Rooy 1967. Letter to Zozek Rewanduzi, 6 July.
- ²⁶ ASvR, Silvio van Rooy, 1966. Letter: to the editor of *The Scotsman*, 4 July.
- ²⁷ ASvR, Silvio van Rooy 1967. Letter to Mahmud Ali Osman, 12 August.
- ²⁸ Omar Sheikhmous, 2020. Interview conducted via Zoom, 14 April.
- ²⁹ CABR, Rotterdam Police, Political Investigation Service (*Politieke Opsporingsdienst*, POD) report, 24 June 1946.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ CABR, Rotterdam Police POD report, 1 August 1946.

³² CABR, Rotterdam Police POD report, 24 June 1946. After receiving treatment for TB at the NSV centre in The Hague in 1942, van Rooy received further treatment at the *Oranje Nassau Oord* sanatorium in Renkum, from 18 January to 30 June 1944 according to a Rotterdam police report, although according to a Wageningen police report, the Nassau Oord treatment took place from 11 September 1942 until 17 December 1943.

³³ The SD was established in 1931 as the intelligence and security agency of the National Socialist German Workers Party (*Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*, NSDAP) and developed into one of the main intelligence and security agencies of the Nazi state apparatus with offices in, among other places, Amsterdam, Arnhem, Groningen, Rotterdam and Utrecht. The SD worked closely with the Gestapo.

³⁴ It is said that Hatenboer had also been editor of a magazine *De Rijkswacht*, in which Van Rooy had published poems.

³⁵ CABR, Military Authority in The Hague POD report, 27 August 1945.

³⁶ CABR, *Politieke Recherche Rotterdam*, Dossier No. 15016 plus 250161.

³⁷ CABR, Rotterdam Police POD report, 1 August 1946.

³⁸ CABR, Wageningen Police POD report, 6 August 1945.

³⁹ CABR, A police officer (*veldwachter*) named W. Th. Volman in The Haag wrote in a report dated 25 October 1945, that an official at the population register in The Hague had stated that S.E van Rooy was an SS man assigned to the SD.

⁴⁰ CABR, Report of the Political Investigation Service of the Military Authority dated 27-9-1945.

⁴¹ CABR, Police report of interrogation Sivio van Rooy, 4 October 1946, file 21218.

⁴² CABR, Rotterdam Police POD report, 1 August 1946.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ CABR, The poem is date December 1946, file 69251.

⁴⁵ CABR, Judgment against S.E. van Rooy, Special Court of Justice, 26 August 1947; file 973/1947.

⁴⁶ *Binnenlandse Veiligheidsdienst*, 17 April 1952, *Rijksgeschakeerde neo-nazistische activiteit in West-Europa*, 2.

⁴⁷ A possible explanation is that Van Rooy's concern was a struggle against communism. Turkey was a NATO ally, while many of the Kurdish parties in Turkey had a Marxist-Leninist outlook. In his correspondence with Kurdish students from Turkey, van Rooy criticizes the close relationship of Kurdish students with the Turkish left.

⁴⁸ BVD archive, 198330.

⁴⁹ BVD archive, ACDO/CO 227676, 6 May 1954.

⁵⁰ BVD archive ACF O/CO 187140, PD 16514, 8 June 1953; BVD archive, ACD/220644, 17 February 1954.

⁵¹ BVD archive, KEB 667.989, 16 January 1963.

⁵² BVD archive, ACDO/CO 227676 6-4-1954 In the intelligence paper, the NTS is referred to as the National Union of Russian Craftsmen, which was probably a mistake since the acronym also stands for the anti-communist National Alliance of Russian Solidarists.

⁵³ BVD archive, ACD 345496, 18 June 1956.

⁵⁴ BVD archive, ACD 291/832, 30 August 1955.

⁵⁵ BVD archive, ACDO/CO 458251, 30 June 1958.

⁵⁶ BVD archive, ACDO/CO 487906, 6 March 1959.

⁵⁷ BVD archive, 198330.

⁵⁸ BVD archive, 199054, 6 October 1953.

⁵⁹ BVD archive, 186286, 16 July 1953.

⁶⁰ BVD archive, PD 16514 4347-'5.1.

⁶¹ BVD archive, ACD/PB, 25 November 1955.

⁶² BVD archive, 2770-'61 AC 612347. 26 September 1961.

⁶³ BVD archive, PD16514 ACD/CO 306442, 16 November 1955.

The Gehlen Organisation was an intelligence agency established by the US occupation authority in Germany in 1946 and headed by the former German army general and head of Nazi military intelligence, Reinhard Gehlen; it had employed hundreds of former Nazis.

- ⁶⁴ The grandson of a Kurdish prince (of *Cizira Botan*) exiled after rebelling against the Ottoman state, Kamuran Ali Bedrixan founded of the Society for the Rise of Kurdistan in 1917 and settled in Germany when the Republic of Turkey was established before leaving to Syria and settling in Beirut. He had an extended network among Kurds, of which van Rooy took good advantage, and is said to have provided funding to the ISK.
- ⁶⁵ 2770-'61 AC 612347, 26 September 1961.
- ⁶⁶ BVD archive, 2770-'61 AC 612347, 26 September 1961; BVD archive, KEB 667.989, 16 January 1963.
- ⁶⁷ BVD archive, ACD 1531297, 18 February 1981.
- ⁶⁸ BVD archive, ACD 1484846, 17 March 1980; 1531297, 18 February 1981; BVD archive, 165394 June 15, 1978.
- ⁶⁹ BVD archive, 2770-'61 AC 612347, 26 September 1961.
- ⁷⁰ ASvR, Van Rooy 1961. Letter (annex) to F. J. Goedhart, 9 December.
- ⁷¹ BVD archive, Silvio van Rooy 1962. Letter to George W. Ineson, 15 April.
- ⁷² BVD archive, ACD 1382212 April 28, 1978.
- ⁷³ BVD archive, ACD 1423964 March 22, 1979.
- ⁷⁴ BVD archive, ACD 1351992, 22 September 1977; 1399438, 13 September 1978; 1423964, 22 March 1979; 1423964, 22 March 1979.
- ⁷⁵ CABR ACD 1321965, 22 April 1977; 1399463 + 1399464, 13 September 1978; 1423964, 22 March 1979; 1484846, 17 March 1980.

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