

How did I see Southern Kurdistan after a quarter century in exile

By
Dr. Jawad Mella

Introduction

Before starting the subject I would like to talk about the incentives for my visit that are summarised as follows:

1. My intensive nostalgia to see my homeland Kurdistan as I was born far from it and love it in secret since my childhood thinking that I was the only lover.
2. The multiple tragedies our Kurdish people have been subjected to during my exile, starting with the Anfal operations to the tragedy of Halabja and the mass exodus of millions..
3. The confusion and hesitation of the Kurdish leadership and its lack of knowledge with regard to stop the Kurdish bleeding or its failure to find instruments to stop the repetition of all the tragedies despite all the possibilities it had to do that and I can say confidently that the declaration of a Kurdish state and rising the flag of Kurdistan is the only solution because only with a Kurdish state we can protect the blood, dignity and the possessions of the Kurdish nation, without this the Kurdish nation would stay under the threat for eternity.

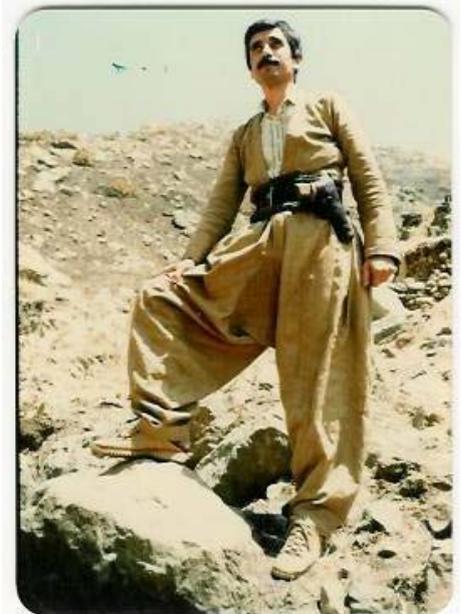
Previous experiences that led to my current visit to Southern Kurdistan

Here are some examples for incentives that made me go back to see what is happening in Kurdistan as I want to make the reader aware of this experience in comparison with my previous experience 25 and 40 years ago and my conclusions regarding our Kurdish situation in Southern Kurdistan... In which direction are our people going? Is it towards a formation of a state? Or it is towards the cliff? Where everything starts again from the scratch:

1. In 1972, I visited Southern Kurdistan by an official invitation from Mr Adel Murad (member of the political bureau of the PUK and the Iraqi ambassador in Romania at the moment) who was the president of Kurdistan Students Union at the time, to participate in the general conference of the Kurdistan Students Union in Southern Kurdistan as at the time I was the president of the Nationalist Union of Kurdish Student in Western Kurdistan "one of the KAJYK organisations". I answered the invitation and participated in the conference held in the city of Sulaimany. After the end of the conference the late Mustafa Barzani invited the representatives of the Kurdish Students organisations who are attending the conference to meet with him in his headquarters in the village of Dilman on the slopes of Northern Qandil Mountains and I was one of those representing the Nationalist Union of Kurdish Students in Western Kurdistan, there were also Mr Ghazi Farho representing the Kurdish students in Lebanon and Mr Tariq Akrawi (the current ambassador of Iraq in Austria) representing the Kurdish students in Europe. So, we went from Sulaimany to Hawler and there we obtained security passes from the late Field Major Aziz Akrawi chief of the Hawler Branch of the PDK, in addition the governor of Hawler Mr Abdulwahab Atroushi provided us with car full of border guards to accompany us. We took the Hamilton road to the area of Nawpirdan where the headquarters of the revolution and stayed as guests in Salam Palace where we met a number of the leaders, then we went to Qasri village where the late Idris Barzani had his headquarters and had lunch with him, then to Dilman village where the headquarters of the Leader Barzani who

welcomed us and our meeting with his Excellency lasted until midnight. He repeated his famous words to us: "Students are the forefront of all struggles" and I asked him about the Kurdish parties in Western Kurdistan and the Leader Barzani said: "They are all, left and right traitors without any doubt" meaning the two leaders of left and right, Salah Badradine and Hamid Darwish. Then I told the Leader Barzani: "Master, while we were on our way we could see Iraqi headquarters and recognise them at once because of the Iraqi flag that they had raised, however, we could not recognise the Peshmerga headquarters unless we come close to them because they had no Kurdistan flags..." The Leader Barzani said: "You tell the truth". But next day one of the leaders in the Political Bureau informed me: "The problem of the Kurdish state including flag of Kurdistan is not our concern as it is not our problem as we are demanding only the autonomy". I was then just a student and thought that they know better than me, however, the time proved that they don't know anything. Even a football team has its kind of flag, how come a nation of 40 million population has no flag? They also told me that a Kurdish state is impossible because we have no exit and path to outside world as all the neighbouring countries are hostile to a Kurdish state but in the nineties it became clear that the Ibrahim Khalil passage was not an exit only for Kurdistan but also for many other countries i.e. Kurdistan itself was a path, as the Turkish defence minister, regarding this subject, put it: "Whoever has the oil of Kirkuk can buy a path also".

2. In the years 1982 – 1984 I participated in Gulan revolution in the mountains of Qandil and Soren and I was a member of the political bureau of Pasok party representing it in the leadership of the JUD Front, but I was not allowed to raise the flag of Kurdistan or print my book "Kurdistan and the Kurds, a Homeland and a Nation without a State" because its ideas were contrary to those of Pasok's allies in the JUD Front. Because of my beliefs I was subjected to several failed assassination attempts but my life was saved due to the late Idris Barzani and also Dr. Shawkat Bamarni, the late Girgis Fathullah, Mr Jalil Faili, Mr Serbaz Nader Horami and others who played a role in treating my wounds and hiding me, and then getting me safe to Europe in the end of 1984 after my escape from one of those failed assassination attempts, so my thanks and greetings for them all.



Dr Jawad Mella with a group of his Peshmargahs (the Kurdish Freedom Fighters) in 1983

3. In 1985 and from the first day of my arrival in Europe I campaigned for the necessity of a Kurdistan National Congress and the establishment of a Kurdistan Parliament in exile to become a national umbrella organisation for the Kurdish nation. That necessity became even more urgent after the absence of the legendary symbol General Mustafa Barzani as his personality was equal to a national congress in that that all the classes of the society gathered around him. In Kurdistan National Congress we made the problem of “independence of Kurdistan” under its sacred flag “flag of Kurdistan” a national symbol for our struggle. We raised this on all occasions and suffered terribly from the leaders and supporters of most Kurdish parties who fought against us much more than the enemies of the Kurdish nation.



Some members of the fifth Kurdistan National Congress in 2005

4. In 1988 and after many years of hard work to establish the fate of 8000 Barzani Kurds who were abducted by the Iraqi regime in 1983, I received a formal invitation from the UN to attend the general headquarters of UN in New York and according to letters from Mr Jihad Barzani and the late Sheik Khalid Barzani that contained the names of some of the abductees (around 2280 names) with their place and date of birth, that I used in my report, translate it to English and presented it to the UN. When I received the invitation I could not get the American visa because I had less than 6 months left of my passport's validity and the American embassy asked me to renew it when there was only less than a week left until the appointment in the UN. The next day I went to the passport section of the Home Office in Croydon with the Kurdistan flag on my chest feeling very angry. I told the woman officer that I want to renew my passport and she said she would send it tomorrow to the renewal department and then I would receive it within two or three weeks. I told her that I wanted today extended and would not leave without that. She told me in a more strict manner: No, we have laws here and I cannot do anything more. I told her calmly but seriously looking directly into her eyes: Few days ago the Iraqi regime killed 5000 Kurds in the town of Halabja with chemical weapons and if I don't get the renewal today I am going to commit suicide so that they become 5001 and I will not leave without the renewal. She told me with confusion and hesitation: I will tell that to the manager and came back after few minutes and told me to stay in the waiting room until I was called. After an hour Mr Barham Saleh came to me from the management entrance and I learned later that Mr Barham (who became the deputy prime minister of Iraq and currently the prime minister of the Kurdistan Region) was working there and looked like the management had agreed to give me the renewal and wanted to make sure of my identity through Mr

Barham. He told me in Kurdish: Good day Mr Jawad. I told him: A better day for you Mr Barham. He then asked me about my demand and told me: Don't worry everything would be alright. Before the end of work by around an hour the officer called me and gave me my passport with a new stamp. However, on that day I was ready to do anything and everything and the source of my power was the Kurdistan flag on my chest.

Some letters from Sheikh Mohamed Khalid Barzani, Sheikh Jihad Barzani and the UN invitation to Dr Jawad Mella regarding the 8000 Barzanis kidnapped by the Iraqi's regime in 1983

DEFFICE DES NATIONS UNIES A GENÈVE
CENTRE POUR LES DROITS DE L'HOMME

UNITED NATIONS OFFICE AT GENEVA
CENTRE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Palais des Nations
CH-1211 GENÈVE 10

2 May 1988

Dear Mr. Jmor,

I should like to refer to your request that Mr. Jawad Mella, representing the "Preparatory Committee on Disappearances in Kurdistan", be received by the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances at its forthcoming 24th session.

In this connection, I am pleased to inform you that a meeting between Mr. Mella and the Working Group has been scheduled for Monday, 23 May 1988, at 16,30 hours. The meeting will take place at the United Nations Headquarters in New York, probably in Conference Room 8.

I should like to request Mr. Mella to contact the Working Group's Secretariat in New York on the telephone (No. 9635930) on 19 or 20 May, so that we can confirm the number of the Conference Room.

May I also take this occasion to request you to provide us with a marked list of the names of the missing persons at your earliest convenience for the reasons we had discussed the other day.

Yours sincerely,
Georg Mauser-Markhof
Secretary
Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances

Mr. Salah Jmor
Kurdish Representation
Boite Postale 19
1211 Genève 25

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Quarantième anniversaire de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme 1948-1988
Fortieth Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948-1988

Sheikh Jihad Barzani (from the Barzani Headquarters) letter to the Preparatory Committee about the case in 17-4-1988.

Barzani Head Quarters

بارزه گاهى بارزانى

No. : - / - / -
Date : ١٧ / ٤ / ١٩٨٨

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الى / حضرة الاخ الفاضل جواد المسائل المحترم
السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته

ببالغ السرور تسلمت رسالتكم مع الملبوسات والمورخة في ١٧/٤/٨٨، واور ان عبرن يوم اعجابي الشديد بجهود اللجنة التحضيرية وبالاخص شخصكم الكريم لمسا بذلتهم من مساعي مشكوره لن نسيه، كما نقدر جهودكم المخلصه هذه مسن جانتها لمعرفة حير... كرتى بارزانى .

وقد اهديت من جانبي اهتماما كبيرا بالموضوع منذ وقوع الحوادث وبالتحديد فجر يوم الاحد المصادف ٣ تموز ١٩٨٣ في ايران جهودي كانت فرديه وآخر ماسمته كانت الاخبار التي تتحدث عن تواجدهم في منطقة مزرويه عن الماسم اعدت مسبقا، وهن متعلقه بفرع و H3 على الحدود الاردنيه والسعوديه .

هذا وارسلت في حينه عدة استمارات مشابه للنسخه التي ارفقتوها مع رسائلكم الى الجهات المختصة كما ارسلت رسائل متعدد ه الى من يهبه الامر ورسائل خاصه شريحت فيها الموضوع الى الشركائين... في حينه وسوف لنا اقدر من جاحي غيران جهودي هذه كانت فرديه وذلك فان الاستماره التي ارسلتموها تحتاج الى معلومات دقيقه والامر يتطلب توحيد جهود جميع الاطراف المعنيه بالقضيه للوصول الى النتائج الطلبيه .

وتفكم الله وسدد خطاكم لمافيه الخير والمركه ودمتم للاخيه خيرا

عزكم المخلص / جواد البارزانى

اليدوية بل باخاده بواد حربية واللاج لاطاله اسد حياه التي تدوسن نهانيه شرجعتله بذلك على الضادي في جراته بحق الشعب العراقي وقد انظف موطن امركن واسعدت اناس الدنيا واندموا كاسه هو الانسان الوحيد في العالم .

والانتم الوفاين السدي دتبه على تغيير موطنه من سنه الشعب الكردي الى العراق وهو يتغزل في سبيل حوقه الشريفة - بشير لافانسه مع النظم العراقية المناهضة لم عهد كوحه ولا وسائل ابلانه حيرا ولو بهيلا لتوضيه بهذه العاصه البشريه النضض سطها امام انصار المواطنين السويين والمالم الذين رقم كرتيه سن بين الدول النوضه على انطايه (هلكتي) " حول حقوق الانسان " بخلاف هذا نراه جبار باشكوي والتدبير بالهيمو المنصري في جنوب امريكا ونجم الدنيا يقدها لدا سط واحد او اتان من المعينين الى الطهارات او حجاتوا وهو ايضا كالاتي الجده لم يغا بتيج النظام الموالي على الضادي في جراته بتويده بالسلح والمضاد لس هذه الحرب .

نحن على يقين ايها الاخوة الامراء بان جهودكم الرافعة التي تبد لوونها في سبيل حرة سير اينا جلدنا النصار وسلكم الدائب لايام هذه الفلحة حية في قدام الراي العام العالمي وسما نلتمك الباداة في فتح النظام العراقيه النهويه لكشف من فواض هذه العنصرية ومعيدكم العافات الانسانية العيرة لبيد النرض الشريف لارغام النظام المنصري على النسخ من حده الشيطان والافرايم بقدا فعل بهولا المنطوقين - لهو اصل وانصرف ما يقدر الان للبارزانين ودمهم ولا لتكرد مسويا وكرد العراق خروما بل لوجيع العراقيين عريا كرتا واذا نيات وهم يحانون بالا يفتح نفس على هذا النظام الوحشي .

بارك الله فيكم ايها الاخوة البيرة برفكم الله في سلمات النبيل .
وقل اسطوا لخيرى السله سلمكم وصوله والتمون . صدق الله العظيم

الفتح محمد خالد ابن الشيخ احمد البارزانى
اماماً وقياداً من أسرة الشيخ البارزانى

Sheikh Muhammad Khaled Barzani (Barzanis tribe leader) letter to the Preparatory Committee in 20-11-1986 .

كسر في ١٧ ربيع الأول ١٤٠٧
١٠ شعبان الثاني ١٤١٤

بسمه تعالى

المؤمنين الاخوة الحادة جواد الألو وشرايه حظيم الله
سلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته
بعد اننا نتبع اهتمام بالغ وصور سيق بالاحيان ايهما جهودكم المباركة والصادق في ضمير المنهدين لكشفه من فواض أمانه وبيع جريمة اقربها الضام الهني الازملي في العراق بأمر جاتر وصميم تطلعاتي من ريسه القومية - جريمة لفظها اكثر من ٨٠٠٠ من ابناء جلدكم الكرد العراقيين البارزانين وظم من سكرات استاظمه ونيادهم ورام زيارتهم بشماعتها التي المكن جريمة لا يدرى بها بعد الله تعالى الاوكلة الذين خلدوا للخطية وازلتك الذين يعرفوا... هذه الجريمة القومية الشكره التي وقتت هذه اكثر من ثلاثين سنه على بلها المنوس من كذا من مسارات تطلعية قد بنت لبيت وماراته ذبل القضيها واندال الضار عليها - لكن المسئلة الاقضية ايت الان تفتش لبا ايسه - بيوة من الشراة انطالم لمنطق الحبيب عها واصاربه لاطلتها حية في زمن الضمير الماسي وابناء القضيبة الخبيرين - اينا ليست جريمة فوسدة بل جانبية آلاف جريمة عراقية نظام اربعين نسى لا حدود لتراشده - اقدم عليها مع الراي العام العالمي وجمرة ودر الماسم كها حشديا جميع الشراخ الالهية والبيسية واعمالها وسه بطف الضلالت الانسانية والذرية التي صدمي بابها ندافع من حقوق الانسان ايستما كان - سلكه الهبات والخطوات التي كان عليها او يفرغ فيها على الاقل ان جسي هذه المسائل لتبريرها وبيدك السترم من تطلعاتها لتضع حركتها وتتلقى من حاتر حشدياها . وهكذا بدأ لنا وما زال يدو وكان تم جريمة ذرية واسعة الشراخ نشلت الشرق والشرية سنا كشيديا ودفعها الى نوايا النسيان وانصرف على النظام العراقي الجاس كيرس من المنهولة لفسس بلعما ندعها وكيرس من دسها الضاري والادبي الراي الى لمرشيه من ذلك حربه الضارية الطالسة .

ايها الاخوة الامراء
ان الولايات المتحدة الامريكية تيسرتمك لتسكرك الشرق ومن ورايتها وسائل الاعلام الامريكية ومنه تيسرتمك الحقات عليه حنكتمك استعجاب الدولين " و" حيلة حقوق الانسان " في كركسان - عهد ان ردا تانيا - طه القويسية القومية حشديين من العراق انضم بها الادارة الامريكية بعد هذا لو لكشفه هذه الادارة بتطلب النظام المنصري الازملي المنكاهين من تالجابا العاصفة بالذرة البايترية والتشقق لمرامب واسادة السلاطات الديبلوماسية مع هذا النظام بل وسلاطه المنكاهين الذي حسه الكركس الامريكي في المصام ١٩٧٤ الذي بيع الولايات المتحدة من تقديم المساعدة لفضلك - السدول التي تخرس عرقة وعدرة حطوطا وسدرة كلفوق الانسان تادوم الان عهد ان حشديت الادارة السدافسة على المشايخات التي يفرها النظام العراقي بحق موطنيه الابرية او المنكاهين له في الراي كرتا ورسنا من فضل وجمن وهدم به جديسيه - حاتور ايضاه عهد حسب المساعدة الاقتصادية والتكسية وسدادة في المنكاهين

5. In March 1991 during the mass exodus of millions in Southern Kurdistan I gave instructions to all branches of the Kurdistan National Congress to raise the flag of Kurdistan during all demonstrations in front of the American and British embassies all over the world and to write letters to the leaders of the world to rescue the millions banished in the mountains stating that their rescue is by declaring a Kurdish state and from London I contacted the comrades of the Congress to be present in front of the American embassy at once. I left my home raising a flag of Kurdistan all the way to the American embassy. There I found hundreds from the Kurdish and non Kurdish communities and found some comrades who gathered around the flag such as Sheik Latif (from Eastern Kurdistan), Sharif (from Northern Kurdistan), Shirwan (from Southern Kurdistan) and several of their comrades and relatives... The expectation was that we would be attacked by the enemies of the Kurds and Kurdistan, however, what happened that we and the flag of Kurdistan were attacked by the Kurdish parties. I am saying this for the sake of truth and history and the attack was exactly as follows: The late Ibrahim Ahmad arrived with his family and the following conversation took place:
- Ibrahim Ahmad: "Mr Jawad this is not the time for this flag". I told him: "It is true this is not the time, you were supposed to raise this flag 40 years ago..." Then his wife Mrs Galawezh came forward and said in Kurdish in a fun making and degrading manner: "What is this rag? Bring it down". One of our comrades stood in her face and said loudly: "Who is this woman? Go home". Then their son in law Sabah came and told me: "Mr Jawad, you are the cause of this problem". But I did not reply further because the situation was getting tense to a great extent and Sheik Latif came to me and said: "I have been informed that they are going to kill us if we did not bring the flag of Kurdistan down". Then the director of the Kurdish Cultural Association in London Mr Hoshiar Abid came and told me in English: You hijacked the demonstration. Making more threatening and hostile gestures. Then the representative of the PDK, Mr Hoshiar Abdulrahman (minister of electricity in the Kurdistan government currently) and told me: "Mr Jawad, I have something to tell you away from the crowd". So, we went few steps away from the demonstration and he told me: "I noticed a while ago the confrontations with the organisations and it is possible that it would come to hand fighting so, before any intervention by the police, which shame us in front of the world, during the night when the crowds are less and without anyone notices take the flag of Kurdistan back to your home". I told him: "I brought the flag of Kurdistan and would not take it home". So he told me: "Then it is your responsibility". I told him: "I don't mind I am ready to take any responsibility for raising the flag of Kurdistan". I went back to the demonstration feeling angrier than before and found a group of Iraqi Shiites and communists surrounding the flag of Kurdistan and one of our comrades pointed to me as responsible for the flag, they came towards me and told me: your raising of this flag means that you are dividing Iraq, I told them this flag is call the flag of Kurdistan and has nothing to do with Iraq, so if you like it, you are welcome if not go away from it and don't stand under it. Thus three days of intense verbal confrontations with the Kurdish and non Kurdish parties while the masses around us watch and listen and the result was in the morning of the fourth day the place of the demonstration was filled with dozens of flags of Kurdistan and even children came with their jackets made of the colours of the flag. Then I told the comrades: there is no more fear regarding the flag of Kurdistan because it has been fixed by the masses. The masses improvised to bring the flags after seeing our resistance and the cowardliness of the Kurdish parties. I was writing

letters to the American president George Bush (senior) to intervene and stop the catastrophe in Kurdistan and I was delivering them by hand to the American embassy while every time I was delivering a letter inside the American embassy I was holding the flag of Kurdistan.



Dr Jawad Mella with some of his supporters in front of the American Embassy in 1991

6. In April 1991 I received a formal invitation from the Italian government to attend a conference of solidarity with martyr towns including Halabja and Marzaboto (Marzaboto was destroyed during the World War II by the fascists), on 25 – 4 – 1991 I went to the Italian town of Marzaboto with Mr Adel Murad and Mr Jamil and entering the conference hall I found the Italian flag but not flag of Kurdistan, I refused to sit in the conference hall without the flag of Kurdistan, so, we brought an Italian flag that has the same colours of the flag of Kurdistan but in reverse order and without a sun and I turned it upside down to make it in the same order of colours of flag of Kurdistan then I found a yellow paper and cut it like the shape of the sun and fixed it to the flag. One of the most important results of the conference was that we managed to obtain the membership of both the towns Marzaboto and Halabja in the International Association of Martyr Towns alongside Hiroshima and Nagasaki that suffered from atomic bombs. At the end of the conference we went out of the town and planted the tree of Kurdistan alongside trees of Vietnam and Palestine and other peoples who struggle for freedom. Together with Mr Adel Murad we received several medals from Italian-officials.

Mr Dante Cricchi who is one of the leaders of the socialist movement in the world was heading the conference and he was a participant in the peace negotiations between Vietnam and USA. During the evening of the day after the conference we saw on Italian TV the arrival of the Kurdish leaders in Baghdad for negotiations with Saddam Hussein when they started the negotiations by kissing the criminal Saddam Hussein, which was a tragedy I wrote about at the time in my article “The Kiss of Humiliation”, here Mr Dante Cricchi stood on his feet and said “I have never seen in my life negotiations starting with kissing, it is for sure that these negotiations would fail”. Then Mr Dante Cricchi added: “When the delegations of Vietnam and USA attended the negotiations they were each entering from different entrances and sitting

on opposite sides of the table without handshaking ever... and each day when there were negotiations the fighting in Vietnam would intensify more than the usual days”.



Mr Dante Cricchi standing in the middle speaking, Governor of Marzaboto and Mr Adel Murad and I under the flag of Kurdistan



Mr Dante Cricchi with us outside Marzaboto planting tree of Kurdistan alongside other trees of peoples struggling for independence



Some of the medals awarded to us by the Italian government at the end of the conference

7. In 1997 the Al-Jazeera Satellite Channel invited me to participate in their program "The Opposite Direction" regarding the Kurdish cause live for two hours presented by Dr Faisal Al-Qasim. So, Dr Faisal sent me a first class flight ticket London – Qatar and Qatar – London and reserved a room for me in the Sheraton Hotel, which is one of the most luxurious hotels in Qatar. Here I would like to mention an anecdote that happened to me when I arrived in the hotel and got my previously reserved room. Apparently, the person who was in the room before me had taken the key with him and the management told me that they are preparing another key for me. Meanwhile every time I went to my room one of the workers would accompany me to open the door for me. I became irritated and went to the manager and told him that I wanted a room with a key right now and they obliged. Later when Dr Faisal came to visit me he told me: I thought you were in another room and I said: yes, but I refused it because it was like the Autonomy, every time I wanted to go to my room a person stranger to me had to accompany me to open the door and you know that I am a supporter of an independent Kurdish state and not one of the supporters of autonomy. Dr Faisal laughed for a long time and said: you are tight. In the evening and just before the program begins I put the flag of Kurdistan on the table in front of me, however, the management of Al-Jazeera TV said: we do not allow any propaganda on our screens and that goes for your opponent who sits opposite to you, so I agreed and put the flag of Kurdistan in my bag under the table but left the bag open because I had decided to raise the flag of Kurdistan when the opportunity comes and the program approaches the end when it is no problem if they cut the TV broadcast as the program would end anyway. Indeed I took the flag of Kurdistan from the bag under the table and with a dramatic movement put it on the table saying: the solution is this flag and declaring a Kurdish state. So, the TV had no choice but to stop the broadcast... but it was a historic program because when the Kurdish people who watched the program, as at the time there were no Kurdish TV channels (there are more than twenty nowadays), and at the moment of raising the flag there were sounds of celebration coming from all the homes in Southern Kurdistan and especially in Western Kurdistan in most of the villages and towns, in the Kurdish Quarter in Damascus and other areas there were spontaneous Kurdish dances arranged in the homes and on the roofs of the houses. Another Ironic fact regarding the program was that those opposed a Kurdish state were Kurds, the first one who was the opponent sitting opposite to me was from Barazi tribe in the city of Hamah and the second was one of the leaders of a Kurdish party in Southern Kurdistan who spoke on the phone saying that we and Arabs are brothers and we do not want to be separated from the Arabs and though I did not say that we and Arabs are enemies, I mentioned that we must get our legitimate right of establishing a Kurdish state.





Lord Jeffrey Archer in Southern Kurdistan 1992



I presented the flag of Kurdistan to Lord Archer for his support to a Kurdish state 1997



Flag of Kurdistan in front of me in the European Parliament in Brussels and USA Congress in Washington and I raised flag of Kurdistan in all conferences and presented it to all world leaders I met


 10 DOWNING STREET
 LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

1 May 1992

Dear Mr Mella,

Thank you for your letter of 10 April to the Prime Minister congratulating him on the elections. I have been asked to reply.

We remain concerned about the humanitarian situation in the whole of Iraq including the Kurdish north. We have raised our concerns with the Iraqis, reiterating the need for the Iraqi regime to cease repressive actions against all the peoples of Iraq, contrary to UN Security Council resolution 688. We shall keep up the pressure on Saddam Hussain to implement the Security Council resolutions in full.

We support autonomy - not independence - for the Kurdish regions of Northern Iraq. The political leaders of the Kurdish community have told us that this is what they want. We want to see a democratic and pluralistic system in Iraq which respects the human and political rights of all Iraq's peoples.

The Turkish government is well aware of our concerns about human rights in Turkey, including the treatment of Turkish Kurds. On his recent visit to Turkey, the Foreign Secretary raised these issues with the Turkish government welcoming their commitment to tackling the problems of South East Turkey by legal and democratic means. We also welcome the Turkish government's moves to recognise the Kurdish identity and to liberalise use of the Kurdish language.

James Wall
Stephen Wall
 J.S. WALL

Mr Jawad Mella

9. In 2003 in the aftermath of the fall of the dictator Saddam Hussein I thought that the people of Southern Kurdistan would rise up and declare the establishment of the greater Kurdistan parliament and raise the flag of Kurdistan and declare a Kurdish state, I believed that the time was right to try the criminals in a just international trial for the crimes committed against the Kurdish people exactly as the trial of the Nazis in the aftermath of World War II. Those trials gave the Jews a green light to declare their state and gave them eternal international protection that remains as a deed that makes any country, organisation or person who criticises the Jews with one word to be accused of Nazism. However, I was disappointed as the Kurdish parties remained as usual describing the disease and illness without mentioning the medicine which is a Kurdish state. This was proven to me during a demonstration in London in 2004 when I raised a large banner with the words Independence for Kurdistan written in English but the Kurdish parties tried their best to force bringing it down but they failed because of the resilience of our comrades. I remember when I reached the front of the demonstration I found the holders of the banner folding it and I told them why are you doing this, they said: "The organisers of the demonstration" pointing to the representatives of the Kurdish parties who were delighted to fold the banner. I told the comrades raise the banner higher and I want to see if there is among them a man enough to force it down? Then Mrs Chinur poured abuse against them telling them aren't you ashamed of yourselves, there are so many enemies of Kurdistan but you have nothing to do except hostility towards the independence of Kurdistan. At that moment Mr Sabir Kokaii started to take of his clothes telling the representatives of Kurdish party; come and see, and the representatives of Kurdish parties thought that he is taking of his clothes to fight with them so they ran away and I told Mr Sabir: put on your clothes, it is cold, then I told him: why did you do that? He said: I wanted to show those mercenaries who out speak us the number of wounds and bullet scars on my body as I was a Peshmarga for quarter of a century... yes, those parties failed in bringing the banner down as they failed in 1991 in bringing the flag of Kurdistan down without learning from the lessons of their degradation.



Kurdistan National Congress demonstration on 7/2/2004 with other Kurdish organisations, the photos shows the KNC major banner of "Independence for Kurdistan", in front of the office of Mr. Tony Blair, Prime Minister of the UK at 10 Downing Street, London.



10. After the Americans forced the Kurdish parties to stop fighting each other, which happened under the supervision of the Foreign Minister Madeline Albright, and also forced them to unite the government of Sulaimany with the government of Hawler and to raise the flag of Kurdistan instead of the yellow and green flags of the two parties, the Kurdish parties carried out all this reluctantly...



That is why I decided to go back to Kurdistan to see for myself is there a real peace between those who we tried to convince not fight each other for more than half a century and the letters of Dr Jemal Nebez to the Kurdish leaders to stop the Kurdish – Kurdish fighting is just an example of what we have done. Is it true that those who divided the Kurdish society believe in their united government and their allegiance lies with the flag of Kurdistan that they raise above them after fighting against it for dozens of years? Now they claim that they were faithful to the flag of Kurdistan and the unity of the ranks of Kurdish people since the beginning, but the proof of their unfaithfulness for the flag of Kurdistan and the unity of Kurdish people is apparent by the fact that they have and still ignored and driven away the real faithful to the unity of the ranks and the flag of Kurdistan and the independence of Kurdistan from the centres of power, the power that we had the greatest role in creating it.

My visit to Southern Kurdistan from 16 – 12 – 2009 to 7 – 1 – 2010

My visit was as follows:

From the first day I stated that the reasons for my visit to Kurdistan amount to the following: to visit my homeland and friends only.

On 16 – 12 – 2009 I and my wife Layla Khan left to Stockholm where we stayed on the plane for 40 minutes then flew to Hawler, the capital of Southern Kurdistan where we arrived at 1 am. The sisters of Layla Khan, Lida and Lisa Khan and the husband of Lisa Khan Mr Ato Zebari who works in the reception office of the leader of the Kurdistan Region, Mr Masoud Barzani, were waiting for us. Because of his position we were met in the reception hall specific to official visitors as a special car took us from the plane to the hall where we had tea while our passports were stamped and our luggage brought. There, in order not to bother anyone I asked to be carried to a hotel and we went in Mr Ato's car to Hotel Khanzad situated between Hawler and Saladin resort. The hotel is on a high hill facing another hill with the castle of the Soran Princess Khanzad that was built in the nineteenth century. In the hotel I could not sleep at all because I could not believe that I am in Kurdistan after my absence of more than quarter a century.

In the morning of 17 – 12 – 2009 Mr Ato (my brother in law) came to the hotel and took us to the Resort where the sisters of Layla Khan, Lisa and Lida and their children were waiting for us and we had lunch with them. In the evening we went back to the hotel.

On 18 – 12 – 2009 it was the festive day of the Ezdis so I decided to go to Lalish, the religious centre of the Ezdis and Mr Ato put his car and personal guards under my command and after two hours we were in Lalish and I asked about the Prince Tahseen Ezdi whom I met in 1972 when we were in Salam Palace as guests of the late Mella Mustafa Barzani, however, he had travelled to Germany and in Lalish we were received by Faqir Khodedaia. After having tea and festive sweets we were taken by Faqir Khodedaia for a trip around the Lalish Temple that the Ezdis pilgrimage to and regard as sacred and we also carried out the same ceremonies that our ancestors were carrying out thousands of years ago such as tying and loosening a cloth and wishing and praying to the creator of the universe as well as going three times around the shrines. Then we entered a cave with the oldest oil lamps in the world until we reached a place in the cave where there is no light and then came back to the guest hall and I presented some books to the Lalish library and Faqir Khodedaia gave me a valuable gift (the Black Masaf) the sacred book of Ezdis written in Kurdish and Latin alphabet.

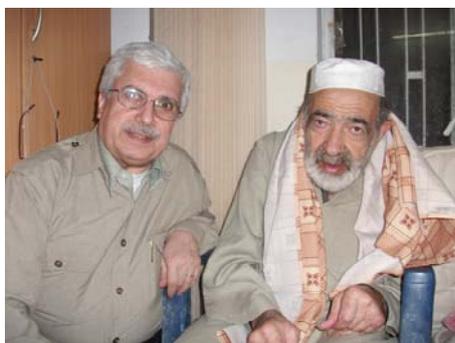
After that we went to the city of Duhok and stayed in Mr Sherzad's home who arranged the following visits for us:

We had lunch in Malta Restaurant with Mr Abdulsatar, Shirzad and his wife...



In Lalish we were welcomed by Faqir Khodedaia

We visited the scholar Sheik Muhammad Saleh Gaburi who suffers from illness and early aging, he was very delighted with my visit and told me: had you not have your wife Layla Khan with you I would not have allowed you to go. He asked me about the comrades, especially Dr Jemal Nebez and I carried greetings and good wishes of all the comrades to him. He gave me some of his books and a letter for the Kurdistan of Islam and put his fingerprint on it, God cure him and give him health and will.



With Dr Muhammad Saleh Gabouri

In the evening we visited the Qachagh Cultural Museum that contains a large collection of Kurdish artefacts and valuable hand made Kurdish products.



Together with Mr Abdulsatar, Mr Sherzad and Mr Kader Qachagh in the Museum in Duhok

On 19 – 12 – 2009 according to a request by Mr Kader Qachagh we visited the Qachagh Cultural Museum again to sign the visitors book and then accepted an invitation from Mr Majed Said Ali the governor of Duhok, who after having lunch contacted the officials to allow us to visit the camp of the Kurdish refugees who arrived in Southern Kurdistan after the sacred uprising in Western Kurdistan sending his car with us to visit the camp.

We arrived at the camp in night and asked to meet the residences and some 20 refugees gathered in Abu Hassan's home that was just a room with no door and walls made of blocks and a roof made of pieces of plastic. During the whole visit the sound of the rain was ringing on the plastic roof as a compulsory music one cannot avoid.

At the beginning I spoke to them regarding the heroic uprising that they carried out on 12 – 3 – 2004 and how it's regarded in the history of the Kurdish people in Western Kurdistan as a defining moment as between BC and AC. The uprising destroyed the wall of fear and began a new history... I asked them regarding their situation and how can it improve and we agreed that they would send me a list of their names and identity details and suffering to present them to the UN so that they are accepted as refugees in Europe and America.

On 20 – 12 – 2009 in Mr Sherzad's home I met Mr Ibrahim Gabari who spent 25 years in Syrian prisons. He had the same view as mine regarding the situation in Kurdistan as he was since we first met in 1972 was frank in his opinions. So, I will leave his views aside for now to talk about them on other occasions. Then we went back to the Resort.

On 21 – 12 – 2009 we went to Barzan and visited the graves of the 8000 Barzani Kurds and recited prayers for their souls and presented the management of their library with a copy of my report to the UN and their invitations to me in 1988 regarding their abduction by the toppled Iraqi regime in 1983.



The Shrines of 8000 Barzani Kurds

We also visited the shrines of the late Mustafa Barzani and Idris Barzani and recited prayers for their souls and presented the management of their library with my book about Barzani and signed the visitors' book.



I put some flowers on the shrines of the late Mustafa Barzani and Idris Barzani

On the way back to the Resort we passed through the village of Shanadar neighbouring the village of Barzan and the birth place of Layla Khan and we visited her relatives there.

In the evening I met a group of Kurds from Western Kurdistan in Hotel Oscar in Hawler, who were students, journalists and workers in the field of human rights and discussed their situation and the situation of our people in Western Kurdistan working towards introducing their cause to international and political institutions.

On 22 – 12 – 2009 we went to Qushtapa and visited the shrine of late Waisi Ali father of my wife Layla Khan and her relatives and recited prayers for their souls. The late Waisi Ali was a member of Peshmarga during the Barzan Revolution during the World War II and later in the army of the Kurdistan Republic under the leadership of the martyr Qazi Muhammad, then after the fall of the Kurdistan Republic, he was one of those 500 heroic Peshmarga who crossed the borders of several countries in the Middle East in a great march until they reached the Soviet Union and stayed there 12 years as a refugee then became a Peshmarga of the September 1961 Revolution and exiled from homeland after the fall of the revolution in 1975.



The late Waisi Ali

On 23 – 12 – 2009 we went to Sulaimany in an armoured car provided to us by General Mansour Hafid and in the evening General Mansour and his wife visited us in the house of Dr Jemal Nebez's sisters Nimat Khan and Nafia Khan, that we stayed in as guests until 30 – 12 when we left Sulaimany to the Resort.



Nimat Khan and Nafia Khan with me and my wife Layla Khan

On 24 – 12 – 2009 we were visited by the solicitor Kamel Zhir (one of the founders of KAJYK) with his wife and they took us for a trip in their car around the Sulaimany areas and quarters then came back home and had lunch prepared by Nimat Khan. In the afternoon we were visited by Mr Faiq Arif (one of the founders of KAJYK) and we had discussions regarding the past, present and future and I presented some of my books and books of Dr Jemal Nebez to him. While we were talking, Mr Sherzad and Mr Aziz arrived from Kirkuk specifically to visit me and we continued discussions regarding spreading the nationalist culture among the masses and waiting for the coming uprising.



With Mr Ferhad Abdulhamis and Mr Faiq Arif

On 25 – 12 – 2009 the solicitor Kamel Zhir invited us for lunch in his home and we discussed the future of the Kurdish nationalist thinking and what to do? After that we were visited by Mr Abdulbaqi Yousif (member of the political bureau of the Kurdish Unity Party in Syria) and we discussed the affairs of Western Kurdistan. Then we were visited by Sheik Sidiq, one of the old nationalist activists, with his son and we continued the discussion until the arrival of Mr Nezar Muhammad (chief editor of Hawbir magazine) when we discussed the reception party that the comrades of nationalist thinking intend to organise in Sergalu to celebrate my arrival in Kurdistan.



In Solicitor Kamel Zhir's home with his wife Nejat Khan

On 26 – 12 – 2009 we went to the village of Sergalu, which is one hour by car from Sulaimany and used to contain the headquarters of the PUK and Socialist leaderships. It is a very beautiful mountainous area surrounded by mountains from all sides. On one of its heights Sheik Muhammad Sergalu had built a beautiful palace, where I met the comrades. Sheik Muhammad was not present but his cousin who is one of our comrades welcomed us.

When we arrived in the front of the palace the comrades were ready to meet us standing in a line and we shook hands with each of them then entered the palace for a rest. After that we came out and sat in the space in front of the palace surrounded by nearby mountains. At first comrade Kamel spoke and introduced me to the audience with a short speech regarding some stages of my struggle, then I spoke to them explaining why we chose the nationalist thinking and rejected narrow regional, tribal, kinship and partisan thinking. Because it is with nationalist thinking that humans become sacred as a human according to the nationalist concepts is the basic wealth and it is not allowed ever to find excuses for internal fighting even if that human is against us there will come a time when he gets reasonable. It is also the nationalist thinking that carries the flag of independence for Kurdistan and through this honourable aim the corruption is defeated, because corruption and internal fighting is natural consequences of the regional policies that aim to waste the Kurdish resources and handing the riches of Kurdistan to the states that occupy Kurdistan. In this way humans are encouraged to have some share from the loot before all it goes to the states occupying Kurdistan. However, from the nationalist thinking prospective there will be a state of unity and sophism on the path of liberating Kurdistan and protecting its riches for building and development processes.

After around one hour of the speech and questions and answers by me and comrade Kamel Zhir we entered the palace again to have a specially made food in celebration of my arrival then we had free discussions while having tea. At four o'clock we returned to Sulaimany.



The great reception by our comrades in Sergalu



On 27 – 12 – 2009 I attended the opening ceremony of the Zhir Centre for studies and met a number of Kurdish cultural figures first of all the famous archaeologist Abdurraqib Yousif and Mr Kader Saleh, director of the Zhir Centre who welcomed us in his office and I presented some of

my books and those of Dr Jemal Nebez to the Centre's library and he in turn presented some of his books to the library of the Kurdish Museum in London. Then we had lunch in Kader Kebab Restaurant after which Mr Dostik, son of Mr Abdulraqib Yousif took us on a trip through the markets of Sulaimany. We bought some books and then visited the Great Mosque where the shrine of the Kurdish hero and King of Southern Kurdistan Sheik Mahmud Hafid, where we took some photos.

In the evening we had a discussion with Mr Ferhad Abdulhamid (one of our old and beloved comrades) together with his family and Layla Khan while having dinner in Manqal Restaurant which is not less luxurious than those in Europe.



In the centre of Sulaimany in front of the picture of King of Kurdistan Sheik Mahmoud Hafid with Mr Dostik and Mr Nizar, and in front of the Zhin Centre of Kurdish Studies with its director Rafiq Saleh and Mr Abdulraqib Yousif



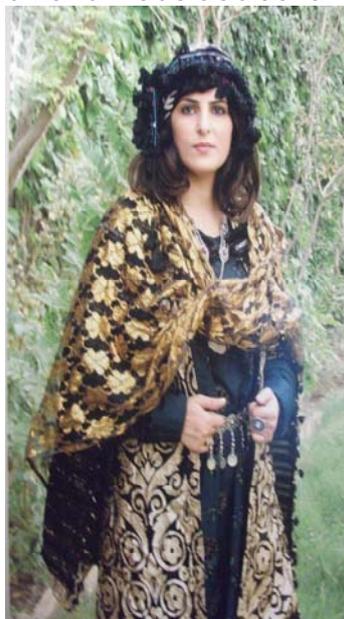
The Great Mosque in Sulaimany where the Shrine of King of Kurdistan Sheik Mahmud Hafid and a poem at the door expressing the love of the Kurdish people for their homeland and Hafid family

On 28 – 12 – 2009 together with Mr Dostik we visited Sulaimany Museum, which was organised in a European style and the female workers there have historical information explaining each of the artefacts that we came across. However, the electricity power failure made their task harder as we could not see the artefacts or read the explanatory notes, and it seemed to me that a large proportion of the Museum's acquired pieces have no relation to the history of Kurdistan.



Some artifacts in Sulaimany Museum

After that we visited the museum (Amna Suraka), which was a centre for detention and torture during the toppled Baath era and now it is a museum showing the state of the prisoners and torture instruments used at the time. At another side of the building there is a museum for the Kurdish heritage and hand made traditional Kurdish clothes, carpets and others.



Kurdish clothes in (Amna Suraka) Museum

Then Mr Tawfiq Saeed took us to visit the handcraft and arts centre where he was a director for a long time until his retirement. It was a wonderful journey among the sections of decoration and carving on porcelain, pottery, skin and wood. The centre provides courses for any one who lives in Sulaimany to learn these beautiful arts.



Mr Tawfiq Saeed and Mr Dostik Abdulraqib Yousif accompanying us in all sectors of Handcraft Centre

In afternoon Mr Sabir Kokaii arrived in Sulaimany and together we went to Mr Abdulraqib Yousif's home where we discussed the affairs and had delicious and various food offered by Mr Abdulraqib.



Sitting between Mr Abdulraqib Yousif and Mr Sabir Kokaii

In the evening I had an appointment with the Association of Independence of Kurdistan in Sulaimany Palace Hotel. We discussed several issues relevant to the unity of the nationalist organisations or at least to have some kind of cooperation between them under the umbrella of Kurdistan National Congress.



Our meeting with representatives of the Association of Independence of Kurdistan

At the end of the meeting General Mansour and Lieutenant Omar arrived at Sulaimany Palace Hotel and we had a general discussion. As we were leaving I took Lieutenant Omar aside and I had some questions that needed clarifications from him in particular and the answers were as I expected.



Our meeting with comrades General Mansour and Lieutenant Omar

The time was approaching midnight and the comrades of the Association of Independence of Kurdistan insisted that we should eat grilled fish together and that is what happened then we agreed to receive some information from them the next morning.

On 29 – 12 – 2009 I went with Layla Khan, Mr Latif and his son to Halabja in his uncle Mr Osman's car. We arrived in Halabja at noon and had lunch in a common restaurant then we went to the Museum of the Martyrs of Halabja and signed the visitors book and received printed material and computer files then visited the shrines of the martyrs and recited prayers for their souls.



In front of the Shrines of 5000 martyrs of Halabja, where the writing on the door says : Baath's Members are not Allowed to Enter, in front of the Museum with Mr Latif and his son Barham

On our way back to Sulaimany we took the road behind Azmar Mountain and when we approached the city we went through the newly built tunnel that brought us to the edge of Sulaimany within two minuets.

On 30 – 12 – 2009 we decided to go to Hawler and General Mansour informed us that he is going to Kirkuk by his car and offered to take us to Hawler, but because of work he had to leave Sulaimany early in the morning, however, I had another appointment that morning and could not accept his offer, so I decided to go to Hawler in a taxi, which was the only time I used taxi as transport. We left the home of Dr Jemal Nebez’s sisters Nimat Khan and Nafia Khan who had tears in their eyes as they bid us farewell and indeed we also were much moved as we came to love them as if we had known them forever.

Mr Dostik gave us a lift in his car to the Hawler taxi station where I and Layla Khan took a taxi to Hawler and on arrival at 3 pm my brother in law Mr Ato was waiting with his car to take us to the Resort. We had lunch at five and kept awake until midnight with Layla Khan’s family.

On 31 – 12 – 2009 we visited the office of (Rudaw) newspaper and it is chief editor Mr Ako Muhammad where also present was the famous journalist and activist of women’s rights Mrs Taman Shakir and other workers in the newspaper. We had some discussions in the office and then had lunch in Hawler Restaurant.



Chief editor of Rudaw Mr Ako Muhammad, Mrs Taman Shakir with me and Layla Khan

After that together with Mr Ako we visited the headquarters of Mr Ghafur Mekhmuri the owner of the weekly periodical “Media” and leader of the Kurdistan Nationalist Democratic Union with whom I have strong relations because of his honourable nationalist stands inside and outside the Kurdistan Parliament.

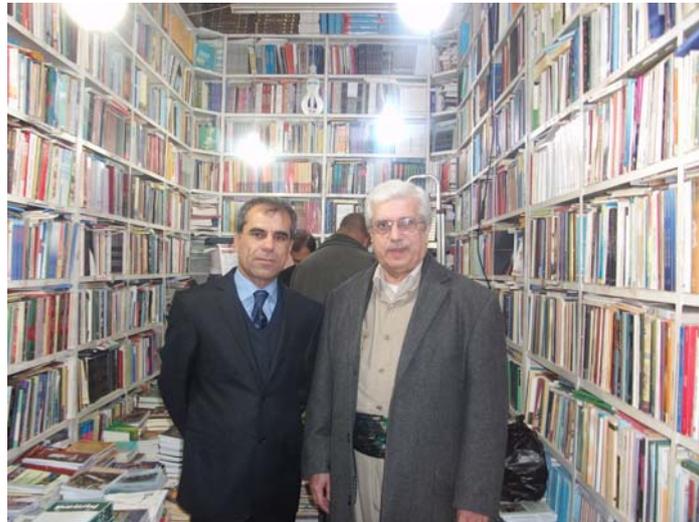


With Mr Ghafur Makhmuri in his office

On 1 – 1 – 2010 together with Layla Khan, her sister Lida Khan and my sister in law Paki Khan made a family visit to Omarsina village situated between Hawler and Duhok where I met the family of my wife's sister's husband, his brothers and mother, we had lunch in their home that has the view of Orange orchards and others then we went back to the Resort.



On 2 – 1 – 2010 in the morning we went to Hawler to Soran Bookshop and met the owner Dr Shwan and there I met also Dr Abdullah Agrin, Mr Kawa Kirkuki and his wife, Mr Ali Beg Jaff and his son.



and then went to Chwarchira Hotel where we had tea and discussed with Mr Ali several subjects and also discussed with Mr Kawa the arrangements for my visit to the city of Kirkuk that he had taken upon himself. Then Mr Ali Beg Jaff invited us for lunch in the same hotel.



In the afternoon we met with Layla Khan's sisters and went to Shanadar Exhibition and Manara Park,



then we visited Dr Abdullah Agrin in his home and spoke about our first meeting in Damascus in 1974, then we went to the house of Arin Khan, daughter of Lida Khan and the wife of Mr Rebaz who is a relative of Uncle Hama Aziz and spent a nice family evening with Uncle Hama Aziz and his distinguished analysis of affairs.



On 3 – 1 – 2010 at 8 am Dr Kemal Kirkuki, head of the Kurdistan Parliament contacted me and told me that he is eager to meet me in the Parliament building at 10:30 am, I told him that I also look forward to that and will be there on time. When I entered the Parliament building with Layla Khan, I was met by Mr Khani son of the late poet Hazhar Mukriani and honour guards were lined up on both sides. He told me that the head of Parliament has ordered to meet you as head of states with honour guards... When we arrived at the room of head of Parliament Dr Kemal came out to welcome us and when we sat down in the lavish hall there was a large picture of the late Mustafa Barzani in the middle and we saw behind the head of Parliament the flag of Kurdistan but much unfortunately alongside it was the Iraqi flag and I nearly stood up to put the flag of Kurdistan in front of the Iraqi flag in order to cover it... but Dr Kemal interrupted my thoughts and asked me: what is your opinion regarding the current situation? I told him when I visited Kurdistan in 1972 Sulaimany, Hawler and Duhok were like villages but now they are large developed cities building wise, but there are a lot and a lot of shortcomings that should be corrected... as for the idea of the parliament I have worked towards the establishment of a Kurdish parliament in exile more than 40 years ago and now I see the Parliament in Kurdistan itself I congratulate you and you personally as head of Parliament and wish that a Kurdish state would be declared. Dr Kemal told me that the regional countries would not allow us and we have to take that into consideration... I told him: if you are afraid and take into consideration the regional countries, the regional countries themselves are afraid of you and taking you into consideration thousand times more but the problem is that you don't know that and would not try to take advantage of the big opportunity and there are opportunities in front of you every day but if you don't take the opportunity today you cannot take advantage of it tomorrow and wish that

you take advantage before it is too late. For example two years ago Mr Al-Maliki, the Iraqi prime minister refused to visit the Kurdistan Parliament and it was an opportunity for the Kurds to withdraw from Al-Maliki's government, which would have led to its fall and thus it would have become a rule that any Iraqi leader that would not visit the Kurdistan Parliament, his government would fall, this was two years ago when the Kurds were half of the government with the Shiites but today the Sunnis have entered the government and the Kurdish withdrawal would not lead to the fall of the government. So, the opportunity of two years ago cannot be taken advantage of today and in the same way the opportunity of today cannot be taken advantage of tomorrow. Dr Kemal said: what is today's opportunity? I told him this is a long subject and Dr Kemal told me: so, let us leave it for now until we have dinner together and I will contact you. I said I will be happy and asked for permission to leave. However, the meeting did not take place as Dr Kemal contacted me later when I was back in London and apologised I was about to tell him that you had lost your opportunity to find out what is the opportunity today, but I prefer to say it here so that Dr Kemal and others could read it... the opportunity of today can be summarised in planning because I noticed that the life and politics in Kurdistan move according to reliance and personal moods, but the question of planning that I intended to explain to Dr Kemal in short as follows: Away from industrial, agricultural, business, educational and other fields of planning that have no place in Kurdistan I limit my views to planning the future of federalism in Kurdistan. Few months ago the American forces decided to get out of the Iraqi cities and the Iraqis reaction was that they attacked the banks and looted them... so, surely if the American forces decide to get out of Iraq entirely there would be renewed attacks on Kurdistan and loot it as before... Planning for the future of federalism in Kurdistan would be by agreement with a country or several countries that we agree to federalism but if the Iraqi government refuses federalism or a military coup happened and rejected federalism after the withdrawal of the American forces from Iraq... in order not to get to that situation and a meltdown happens and go back once again to Qandil Mountains to start from zero, we must prepare and plan to avoid such a day and the preparation would be by buying military fighting planes, anti aircraft missiles, tanks and armoured vehicles, and to train the Peshmarga to use them. Thus if the Iraqi government accepts federalism it's ok but if it doesn't we must declare a Kurdish state and this could not happen with rifles only but with the supply of all kinds of weapons and train on them from now... Those who say that the Americans would never leave are planting false security in the minds and gambling with the future of the Kurdish people because in politics everything is possible and without this consideration there is no security.



Dr Kemal Kirkuki Head of Kurdistan Parliament welcoming us in his office



On 4 – 1 – 2010 I visited the office of “Rudaw” newspaper and its owner Mr Ako in Hawler and Mr Ako carried out a press interview with me. I explained my views and opinions regarding the political affairs in Kurdistan to be published in Rudaw later.

On 5 – 1 – 2010 which was a very busy day full of appointments and from early morning Mr Ghfur Mekhmuri came to the Resort with two cars and a number of Peshmarga to accompany us to Kirkuk. When we left Hawler in the cars Mr Kawa Kirkuki contacted us asking about the time of our arrival and I told him that at 10 am we shall be in Kirkuk. Mr Kawa said: our comrades with their families and media organisations, a representative of the governor of Kirkuk and a local police force would be waiting for you at the entrance of Kirkuk before the Rahimawa checkpoint. Indeed just before the Rahimawa checkpoint at the entrance of Kirkuk the people of Kirkuk were there to greet us with banners and flags of Kurdistan and the children were carrying flowers celebrating and welcoming my arrival after long absence from the homeland and our cars stopped there and the children presented the flowers to me and my wife. Girls presented the flags of Kurdistan and were holding banners with the words: “Welcome Dr Jawad in the city of Kirkuk”, and in front of the cameras and recorders I thanked them for this welcome and honouring and told them: this show your originality and I know that your heroic city is full of unnatural dealings and the deliberate negligence towards your interests and I raise my voice with yours and demand one Kurdistan army with one Kurdistan security organisation and one budget from the Kurdistan government. They were applauding and cheering.



The unforgettable reception of Kirkuk residences with flowers, flags and banners



With TV and press



Mr Kawa had arranged for a very large agenda but the security officer with agreement of Mr Ghafur decided to shorten the agenda of Mr Kawa and chose three visits only because of the deteriorating security situation. First we went to the office of Kirkuk governor and the governor Mr Abdulrahman Mustafa welcomed us warmly and we had tea in his office and discussed the situation of the grievied city and what I have seen on my way, as Kirkuk seemed like a large dumping ground with dirt everywhere and as a whole Kirkuk looks like living in nineteenth century contrary to what I have seen in Hawler, Sulaimany and Duhok. I told Mr Governor: it is painful for me to see Kirkuk with several Unions of Engineers, several Unions of Teachers and the same for students and workers... etc. as there is one union for the PDK and other for the PUK , another for the Turkmans and another for the Iraqi government... etc. I also told Mr Governor: your city is one of the richest cities so why is this injustice and negligence; he said that the situation in the city is unsettled and we have not seen from oil reserves except the smell. I said: it is not your fault but it is the fault of the leadership of the Kurdish parties who accepted federalism, which is not like any federalism in the world, as any federal region in the world would take its share from the its riches and send the rest to the centre but the Federal Kurdistan sends 100% to Baghdad and then begs for its share!! I also informed Mr Abdulrahman Mustafa, the governor of Kirkuk the necessity to raise the flag of Kurdistan and the Arab, Turkmen and Cheldian populations of Kirkuk should not fear the flag of Kurdistan and the Kurdish authority because the Kurdish people had ruled the area justly several times before in the times of the Median Empire and Ayubid State and never forced anyone to leave his nationality and become Kurdish. In the end I thanked Mr Governor and he thanked me for the visit and told me to get his greeting to Dr Jemal Nebez saying that he is very eager to see Dr Jemal here among his people. He came with us out of his office to bid us farewell.



Governor of Kirkuk Mr Abdulrahman Mustafa welcomed us warmly

Then our convoy went to the Chaldian Church where we were greeted by Dr Luis the Bishop of the Chaldian Church in Kirkuk who spoke Arabic and Kurdish in Badini dialect. He was delighted with our visit to the Chaldian Church and I told him that according to my historical information the church had sent missionaries to all over the world and I think you are Kurds who became Christians otherwise where is the Kurdish Church. One of the present said that there is a Kurdish Church in Mosul and the Bishop Luis answered him at once that that one is a new church as if agreeing with my speech, then Bishop Luis said: "We are all Zoroastrians but we became Christians and you became Muslims". We had tea and sweets and then we had a site view around the Church and he gave us some books in Arabic and Kurdish and bid us farewell.



With Bishop Louis Sako in side and in front of the Chaldean Church in Kirkuk



We then visited our third place, which was the camp of the displace people of Kirkuk who returned to their city after the fall of Saddam Hussein's regime but there situation is the worst in Southern Kurdistan because of negligence and utter poverty with 15 persons of different families in one room not suitable for chickens even, and when our comrade Mr Kawa as the director of Aso organisation for humanist support saw this situation he told Mr Tariq the mayor of the camp that his organisation would contact him to provide some support.



Mr Tariq speaking to us regarding the miserable situation of the Refugee Camp on our way to the camp



The camp of the displace people of Kirkuk



At one o'clock we left Kirkuk and when we got to the outskirts of the city the convoy stopped and I got off and thanked and said farewell to all those who participated in my visit to Kirkuk, especially the police forces with their armoured cars carrying large guns and loudspeakers to clear the way for our convoy and the banners welcoming Dr Jawad on the cars behind, Mr Kawa and his wife, Mr Ghafur Mekhmuri and those Peshmarga who were with us from morning until we got back to Hawler. In Hawler there were another car and other Peshmarga waiting for us to take us to the Resort.

According to the advice of the security officer our visit to Kirkuk lasted 3 hours only as he said that the suicide bombers carry out their missions in Kirkuk during the peak hours of early morning when people go to work and in the afternoon when they leave their work. I said it is not important as we have the protection of Peshmarga forces and local police but the security officer said that the suicide bombers come to kill themselves in the first place and you cannot prevent them with or without protection so you have to stay away from dangerous places and times as much as you can. He also told me that they use different kinds of explosives every time, these days there are a kind of magnetic bombs that the terrorist brings and put it under the car and it sticks to the bottom of the car and explodes within minuets. There are also locally made kinds that work with the washing machine timers and the timer is operated by remote control.

After Kirkuk we went to the town of Mekhmur and on the way we stopped under the monument for the wounded and martyred of the American attack on the Kurdish forces that participated in liberating Kurdistan when at the time the commander of the Kurdish forces Mr Wajih Barzani, the younger brother of the Head of the Kurdistan Region Mr Masoud Barzani and the BBC correspondent were wounded. We stopped by the monument and exactly in the place where the attack happened in the middle of the road.



Then we continued our journey and went to the governor of Mekhmur who welcomed us with all delight and had his guards stood in two lines both on our entry and leaving and both times making the official salute by their voices and hitting the ground with their feet with force as a symbol of readiness. When we sat down and asked the governor about his name, he said: Barzan Said Kaka, and I said this means that you are the son of Said Kaka, he said: yes, so I greeted him again and asked him about his father, he said: do you know my father, I said we were Peshmarga together in Qandil Mountains in 1983. He said he is now alright but getting on with age and I told him to give my regards to him and tell him that I am Abdullah (my pseudo name at the time) member of the political bureau of Pasok and famous for being from Western

Kurdistan (Kurds of Syria). After having tea we talked about the situation in Mekhmur area and he told us that Mekhmur belongs to Baghdad in administration as Kirkuk but our budget is from the Kurdistan government. In the end I thanked him for his welcome and wished him all the best. He said farewell to us accompanying us to the outside door. Then we went to Mr Ghafur Mekhmuri's home and had a delicious lunch, which was outstanding with Turkey on burgol and other delicious Kurdish foods.



The nice formal reception by Mr Barzan Said Kaka, Governor of Makhmur

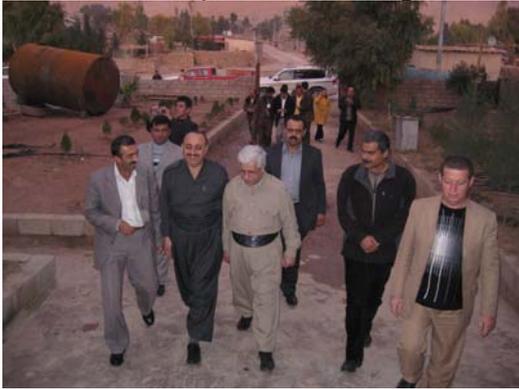


The unforgettable public reception by the residences of Makhmur with flowers, flags and banners



Then we went to the camp of the Kurds displaced from Northern Kurdistan that are about 12 thousand people. On our way we saw an American military convoy and the security officer told us that it is not allowed to pass an American military convoy and if you see them coming towards you, you must stop your car until they pass, we also noticed that there was no signal in our mobiles because the American military convoy has instruments that stop all communication so that they are not used for explosive operations as remote controls. When we arrived in the camp of the displace Kurds from Northern Kurdistan we were greeted by Mr Pola who is responsible for the external relations of the camp he took us to a trip within the camp such as to the office of the camp's council and some mass organisations for women and office of martyrs

remembrance where I signed the visitors book and I made some statements for TV and press. It was clear that their camp was more organised than other areas.



Our visit to Makhmur Camp for refugees from Northern Kurdistan



On 6 – 1 – 2010 the weekly periodical “Media”, the central periodical of the Kurdistan Nationalist Democratic Union carried out an interview with me conducted by the chief editor Mr Kawa Nader Kader with his deputy present along with Mr Ghafur Mekhmuri the General Secretary of the Kurdistan Nationalist Democratic Union. The interview was met with great admiration later when it appeared on the first and ninth page of “Media” the issue of 12 – 1 – 2010.



After the interview we went to the camp of the displaced Kurds from Eastern Kurdistan in Qushtapa area near the capital Hawler. There we met the representative of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan and the management committee of the camp and had tea in their house and discussed their situation and I found out that the UN took care of them more than the other camps of displaced Kurds from Northern or Western Kurdistan or those from Kirkuk. Despite all that the four camps I visited need more care and supervision from Kurdistan government and international humanitarian organisations especially the UN,



We went back to Mr Ghafur Mekhmuri's office in the evening and after having grilled fish in one of Hawler restaurants I was visited in the office by the journalist Shilan Hamo and writer Hawas Mahmoud from Western Kurdistan and we spoke about the situation in Western Kurdistan and what could be done to remove injustice from our people there?

On 7 – 1 – 2010 at 12:30 after midnight we were suppose to take the flight from Hawler to London via Stockholm, we contacted the airport in the evening to make sure and we were told that the flight from Hawler would be at 8 am and the delay is because of heavy snows in London and Stockholm airports so we went to the Hawler airport at 6 am and there was another delay until 10 am then another until 1 pm and this one was fixed and plane took of to Stockholm where we waited for 4 hours and took of to London where we arrived after midnight, thank God.

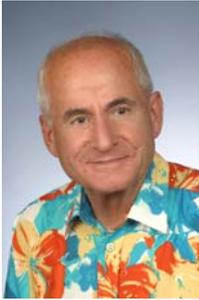
In the Hawler airport I and my wife were waiting in the hall and I found a large picture of the late Barzani with flags of Iraq and Kurdistan beside it. I wanted to do something to give rest to the late Barzani's soul by getting the Iraqi flag away from his picture, the flag that because of it he was displaced all his life in exiles and mountain tops and even after his death because of it he was buried far from Barzan where he was born and in that VIP hall there were security officials, the airport workers and some travellers but I pretended that I want to take a picture with the flag of Kurdistan and Barzani's photo so I took the Iraqi flag and put it behind the flag of Kurdistan and sat with Layla Khan and took the picture, and until the flight time for more than 5 hours the Iraqi flag remained out of view and none of the security officials or workers came to put it back and may be it is still out of view even now, but when I came back to London and printed the photo I found there is a black line along the flag of Kurdistan, that was the black colour from the edge of the Iraqi flag that unfortunately appears in the photo.



My comparisons and conclusions

1. When I visited Kurdistan in 1972 Sulaimany, Hawler and Duhok were some what large villages but may be Sulaimany was more like a city because of its university, but now they are indeed large cities with clean streets and parks and in some of the markets of Hawler I did not see much difference with those of London with regard to their organisation and quality of items.
2. When I visited Kurdistan in 1972 there were workers, peasants, students and other sectors with their own distinguished features all of them happy and satisfied with their share, working hard and selflessly until 1982 when the patrols of our Pasok party's Peshmarga in the villages they were welcomed and its members were distributed among the houses to eat and sleep, and on the next day other patrols of PDK, PUK, Communists, Socialists arrived as guests, however, nowadays there is no production neither in the villages nor in the cities as all have salaries from the large parties in order to get their votes during the elections, Hawler for instance was famous in the past for its dairy products but today there is no remain of those products and it is markets are full of Syrian, Turkish and Iranian products which means that those people who receive their salaries in the morning find their salaries in Damascus, Tehran and Ankara in the evening, in other words the Kurdish people have turned to consuming people without production, and if the neighbouring countries decide to close their borders for one week the Kurdish people in Southern Kurdistan would be in famine as because of the salaries distributed among the people without products the lower structure of Kurdistan is destroyed, which was not the case in the past, so why did Saddam Hussein destroyed 5000 Kurdish villages? That was because he new the danger of self-sufficiency of the Kurdish villages that was enough for themselves and the Peshmarga forces, but the Kurdish villages in the current situations and those destroyed during the toppled regime have the same result, a non producing people are an easy target for any one who has money and tomorrow some one comes with more money... and wise person understands what is going to happen.
3. When I visited Kurdistan in 1972 I was the only one wearing western clothes and the Kurdish people were wearing Kurdish clothes, but during this visit 2009 – 2010 I was the only one wearing the Kurdish clothes and the majority of the Kurdish people are wearing western clothes apart from on rare occasion.
4. When I visited Kurdistan in 1972 I found faithfulness at its best and patriotism at the highest level but today I found singing and wasting and apathy on the highest level also, I wish I could bring the faithfulness to Kurdistan of the past together with the current financial ability!!!
5. When I visited Kurdistan in 1972 there was still little interest from the neighbouring countries in Kurdistan so their spying operations against the Kurdish movement were limited but in 1974 when the revolution managed to command 150 thousand of Peshmarga, only then the neighbouring countries became frightened that is why since then they changed their strategy towards the Kurdish movement from depending on report writers to another strategy of sending their own trained people with talent and mental and material abilities to inside the ranks of the Kurdistan liberation movement in this way they managed to occupy very sensitive positions super quickly and I have a list of their names and sensitive and important positions under the leadership of the Kurdish parties. As a result of that it is only natural that automatically other patriotic and faithful people suffer from negligence and kept far, those who are not only faithful but also with academic qualifications and scientific experience such as Dr Jemal

Nebez, Dr Jemal Rashid Ahmed, the scholar Abdulraqib Yousif, the solicitor Kamel Zhir and others.



Dr Nebez,



scholar Abdulraqib,



Dr Ahmed



solicitor Zhir

6. When I visited Kurdistan in 1972 the Kurdish leaders for dozens of years were condemning the Baath and today I saw the Syrian Baath one of the closest friends of the Kurdish leadership.
7. When I visited Kurdistan in 1972 the Kurdish leadership was constantly repeating that the neighbouring countries are the once that conspire against Kurdistan and even now the Kurdish leadership says that the neighbouring countries are behind the terrorist operations in Iraq, nevertheless those neighbouring countries are the closest friends with the Kurdish leadership.
8. When I visited Kurdistan in 1972 the Kurdish leadership was saying “Kurdistan or death” but today they want to be with Iraq till death.
9. When I visited Kurdistan in 1972 the Kurdish leadership was saying that “Kurdistan for the Kurds” but today they handed the riches of Kurdistan and first of all the oil to Iraq.
10. When I visited Kurdistan in 1972 the Kurdish leadership was gambling and bidding without knowing that everything is possible in politics so they gambled that it would be impossible for Shah of Iran to make agreement with the Baath party, especially after Iraq’s friendship treaty with the Soviet Union, but Shah Iran did made an agreement with the Baath against the Kurds during the Algiers Treaty of 1975. Also in 1982 the Kurdish leadership was gambling that it would be impossible for Khomeini to agree with the blasphemous Baath, but Khomeini did made the agreement with the Baath party against the Kurds in 1988. Today also the Kurdish leadership gambles that America is an ally of Kurdistan and would not leave Iraq and especially Kurdistan without paying attention that America fought in Vietnam, Somal and Lebanon and on occasions they did not only withdrew from these countries but could not even know how to run away from them. The Kurdish leadership also gambles that Kurds and Arabs are brothers and gambles on success of federalism and other gambles while in fact the Americans are not aware of any allies such as the Kurds as this alliance is only in the dreams of the gamblers and I have not heard or seen anything of this supposed brotherhood of Arabs and Kurds as non of them recognises the Kurdish federalism, and the word federalism is not in the Iraqi constitution and not on the doors of the Iraqi offices and embassies or in their passports so the federalism is only part of dreams of the Kurdish leadership, because the Iraqi rulers even after toppling the Baath state did not say even one word of apology regarding the massacres committed by Iraq against the Kurdish people and this in itself is agreeing with those massacres indirectly by the new rulers of Iraq such as Bremer, Al-Yawar, Alawi, Al-Jafari and Al-Maliki. I cannot but repeat one of the criminal Saddam Hussein’s sayings: The Iraqis are Baathists even if they don’t join the Baath Party. Which means that those who did not join the Baath party also behave like the Baathists and the Baathist mentality is dominating their behaviour even if they were members of Baath.

11. The Kurdish leaders say that they have made peace with each other but the Sulaimany Security forces are spending billions against the Hawlers Security and vice versa.
12. The Kurdish leaders have divided everything among them including the sky as it is shown by their division of mobile networks Kork and Asia.

Finally I would like to direct my special thanks to every one who supported me during this visit:
Dr Jemal Nebez's sisters: Nimat Khan and Nafia Khan, Mr Ato Zebari and his family, Mr Sherzad Duhoki and his family, Mr Kawa Kirkuki and his family, Mr Ghafur Mekhmuri and his family Mr Nizar Muhammad and his comrades, Mr Dostik Abdulraqib Yousif and his family, Mr Latif Sulaimany and his family, General Mansour Hafid and his family, Mr Kamel Zhir and his family, Mr Tawfiq Saeed and his comrades, Mr Ferahd Abdulhamid and his family and my wife Layla Khan and her family.

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