

Warnings of
2010

18/01/2010



Meeting with Bronslava Tomashova, Czech Republic Ambassador in Iraq:

“Article 140 is a constitutional article, and had it been implemented, Iraq would not have faced these issues. If the article remains unimplemented, Iraq will face even more problems. We as the Kurdistan nation, are committed to the Constitution because it is the guarantor of keeping Iraq united.”

28/01/2010



A section of President Barzani's speech to the Kurdish diaspora in the United States:

“We asked them (Iraq) what we wanted was to support a federal and democratic government. If in the future, there

are attempts by a certain person towards dictatorship, the Iraqi people must understand that the United States only supports democracy and a democratic government in Iraq. I have informed Obama and US officials that as long as Iraq upholds its Constitution, it will remain united, however, if it became a dictatorship, we cannot live with that.”

29/05/2010



A section of President Barzani’s speech in the Kurdistan Parliament:

President Masoud Barzani talked about the situation of Iraq and said, “Iraq is experiencing a crisis in the aftermath of elections. Therefore, our stance on this is a clear one; we will not be part of the issues instead, we will become part of the solution. The program of Kurdistan Region’s delegation is clear, and the persons are not the focus, rather, the government’s future plan and program is the focus, especially regarding the implementation of Article 140 in the Iraqi Constitution.”

3/06/2010



President Barzani's interview with Almada newspaper:

"It should be admitted that the political process in Iraq is concerning and worrying. We are experiencing a real crisis in Iraq now. We were hoping that following the election on March 7th, 2010, Iraq would experience prosperity and a better situation, however, this unfortunately did not happen and the situation was reversed. In my opinion, the reason behind that was non-commitment to the Constitution. If all of us abided by the Constitution and implemented its terms in theory and in practice, all the issues would be resolved."

24/06/2010



President Barzani's interview with France 24:

"We have lived the realities and experiences of one political party, one sect and one individual and as a result of this policy, Iraq became a wrecked country. I believe that federalism is the best and most successful remedy for the issues in Iraq."

20/07/2010

گولان
پیش قدمتی، اصلاحی و سیاسی
پیش قدمتی، اصلاحی و سیاسی



President Barzani's interview with Gullan Magazine:

"I can say that the situation has become very complicated at the moment. The parliament will convene today (13-07-2010), but it was delayed for two more weeks. I assume nothing can be done in two weeks, and the situation keeps getting more and more complicated. The issue is that our brothers in Baghdad have not made the decision to resolve the problems. The role of the Kurds in Baghdad is a positive one. We are not a party of the problems, we are a party of the solutions, and we will remain as such. However, I am sad to say that I do not see a bright horizon anytime soon as the situation is very complicated."

Gullan Magazine: In your opinion, where is the political process in Iraq headed towards? Would there be an exit?

President Barzani: "from what I see, nothing can untie this intertwined knot and resolve the issue."

1/10/2010



President Barzani's speech in the Democrats Coalition conference in Rome:

"There are some people who disagree with us regarding these values, maybe it is because of the lack of knowledge and maybe it is for the desire for power, or because of fear of change, or because of the desire for conflict. They want to take Iraq back to the past. However, I believe that Iraqi people desire for their leaders to look ahead towards a bright future. The Iraqi people want to form strong relations between the security forces and the public and to be committed to human rights and humanitarian values rather than violating those rights. The Iraqi people want to end terrorism and violence because terrorism will result in further division in our society and will ruin the opportunities for growth and development."



Warnings of
2011

6/09/2011



A part of President Barzani's speech in the KR foreign representatives conference:

"I cannot deny the fact of having conflicts with Baghdad. After playing an important role in the formation of the current Iraqi government, there were a lot of agreements between us before that. However, after the government was formed, it was as if those agreements never existed. The situation is once again going towards totalitarianism. We do not want any issues to remain unresolved. Article 140 is a very important matter for the disputed territories. We accepted to stay within Iraq and voted for the Constitution. As one of the Constitution's main principles was Article 140 and it has laid out the remedies for the resolution of the issue of the disputed territories. If this article is overlooked and not implemented, time will not resolve it.

If it is not resolved, it can explode and we do not want that to repeat, we want the implementation of the article as it has been mentioned in the Constitution itself. Besides that, there are other issues that need to be addressed such as the issue of oil and gas, the Peshmerga, and federalism. More often than not it seems as if they would like to withdraw from the idea of federalism as if they have forgotten Iraq's past experiences. Iraq has serious and deep internal issues, but regarding the Kurdistan Region, as long as Iraq has its Constitution and it is committed to it, the issues are minimized before our eyes. If the constitution is implemented, we will not have any problems. As Kurdistan, we are not part of any sectarian issues in Iraq, which is the root of all problems. Also,

people must know that our issue is not being the majority or the minority in the parliament.

However, what is related to the Kurdistan Region and which is also upheld in the Constitution is that the Kurdistan Region is a reality that cannot be altered. We do not have any issues when it comes to questions of Iraq's sovereignty as long as there is commitment to the constitution. There must be an understanding between us and Baghdad on whether they want to implement the agreements between us or not. Once that is done, we will inform the Kurdish people of the outcomes and after consulting with relevant entities, we will come up with the necessary decisions."

19/09/2011



A part of President Barzani's speech to the people of Koya:

"We have conflicts with Baghdad, but those conflicts have not reached to a level where I can say they cannot be resolved if there is real intentions to resolve these conflicts. The most important element is commitment to the Constitution. The Constitution is what convinced the Kurdistan Region to remain in Iraq. The Kurds had a tremendous role in liberating Iraq and forming the new Iraq. With regards to the foundations of the Constitution, we do not have any personal issues with anyone, but committing to the Constitution is not a matter for debate. The Constitution reiterated this statement as it is the guarantor of keeping Iraq united and undivided and strong. The question of partnership is an important matter not only for the Kurds but for all other groups in Iraq. A real

partnership must be ruling Iraq and no single political party or entity can think of ruling Iraq alone because previous experiences have shown that this approach will result in failure. Therefore, the matter of real partnership is crucial.

The implementation of previous agreements must be taken into consideration. The formation of the current government was based on some of those agreements. Thus, they should be put into practice so as to the situation of Iraq will become better. Totalitarianism is utterly unacceptable and will not succeed. Equality must return to all institutions in Iraq, especially to the security forces as it faces major issues and could lead to more failures. Balance in military forces is also crucial for the Iraqi nation just as oil and gas is for everyone in Iraq. The armed forces are for everyone and the army should serve and protect the people. The army should not be created based on the old understanding of committing to oppression, Anfal, and chemical attacks on the Kurds or other people are constant reminders of abuse of power.”

19/09/2011



A part of President Barzani's message to the Iraqi forces:

“Unfortunately, the situation seems to head towards hostilities and partnership in governance is in jeopardy. Thus, I would like ask everyone to make steps towards pure intentions and tolerance and to reconsider their tough stances. I would like to request that they return to our last year's initiatives and above all, partnership.”

20/12/2011



President Barzani's meeting with Sheikh Salah Al-Ubeidi, Sadr Movement spokesperson:

"A single entity cannot claim the ownership of decisive policies and there is an immediate necessity for holding a broad national convention."

24/12/2011



President Brzani's phone conversation with Joe Biden, US Vice President:

"The conversation was about the political situation and the adversaries that have arisen. Both sides exchanged views on possible solutions for overcoming the dire situation."

26/12/2011



President Barzani's phone call conversation with Nabil Al-Arabi, the Secretary General of Arab League:

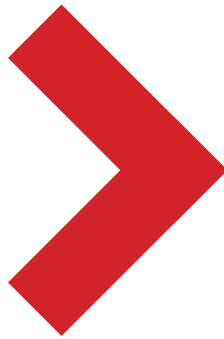
They discussed the political situation in Iraq and the political hostilities. Both sides exchanged views on possible solutions for overcoming the dire situation.

28/12/2011



A part of President Barzani's interview with Al-Jazeera:

"Since the fall of the former Ba'ath Regime, we are now in the most dangerous political crisis which Iraq is going through. A lot of initiatives were presented and I proposed a national convention if our brothers agree on it, we will support them. If they prefer holding it in Erbil, we are ready to give all forms of assistance. What matters is that the convention be held and the political leaders be present to talk about the crisis and how we can overcome this serious crisis that Iraq is going through. This crisis is threatening the spirit of national partnership. I reiterate that this is a dangerous crisis and the political process is under the threat of destruction. We request the immediate convention of political leaders for this matter. The principle of partnership must be revised and taken into serious consideration as it is in jeopardy."



Warnings of
2012

4/01/2012



President Barzani's meeting with Martin Copley, United Nations Special Representative for the Secretary General in Iraq:

"Political entities in Iraq can reach a solution for the existing crises through dialogue and exchanging views. A broad national conference is a necessity for all political entities in Iraq for resolving the issues related to governance and the country's development as well as the suspended issues between Iraq and the Kurdistan Region. The Constitution must be the guide through which to resolve these issues."

5/01/2012



BBC
PERSIAN

President Barzani's meeting with Martin Copley, United Nations Special Representative for the Secretary General in Iraq:

"As Kurds, we will not be in a Shi'a government that does not consist of Sunnis and we will not be in a Kurdish-Sunni government that is not inclusive of Shi'as. However, if Maliki's people do not resolve the issues, there can be all types of possibilities."

7/01/2012



REUTERS

President Barzani's interview with Reuters:

"We support a Federal system in this country. Preventing the implementation of constitutional articles will result in drastic issues for the country and will lead to catastrophic results."

22/01/2012



العربية

President Barzani's interview with Al-Arabiya news channel:

"It seems like there is unilateralism in decision-making, especially in terms of making reforms in the army. This is despite the fact that the army is for all the Iraqi people as set out in the Constitution and the unilateral reorganization of the army by a single entity is simply unacceptable."

25/01/2012



President Barzani's meeting with Ayad Allawi, Head of Al-Iraqiyah list:

"We have to have political dialogue to resolve the suspended issues so as to not further complicate the situation. Let's work together to settle the situation and save the country from the crises it is experiencing."

30/01/2012



President Barzani's meeting with Consul Generals and foreign representatives in Erbil:

"We are experiencing the biggest political crisis in Iraq after 2003. Before and after 2003, we are in accordance with regards to certain principles; among which was to form a governance system in Iraq that should run on democratic and federal values. The current government was formed based on real partnership, the commitment to the Constitution, returning the balance of power to the institutions and resolving the issues between Erbil and Baghdad. We, as Kurds have tried to

play a positive role in resolving the issues, however, if there is no commitment to those principles, we will not stay on this current position. We are waiting for a large conference in order to come up with a solution to these existential issues. We have to have trust and confidence in each other.”

15/03/2012



A part of President Barzani’s speech in the Youth Conference:

“We do not accept anyone in Baghdad to behave the way they want or impose on us claiming that they are giving us our rights. If our rights are with someone in Baghdad, we do not want them, but if they try to violate it, we will defend it. Unfortunately, some people are resentful of our achievements, they have failed and because they have not been able to do the same for other parts in Iraq, they want us to be like them. Let the whole world know that none of our oil contracts are illegal and against the terms of the Constitution. Their problem is not the legitimacy of those contracts, their problem is that they do not want Kurdistan to develop. Therefore, we remain consistent on our policy; we are committed to the Constitution. Baghdad is for all of us and as long as Iraq is in possession of this Constitution, no issues will arise. However, once

commitment to the Constitution stops, God knows Iraq may well head towards a catastrophe. Our policy has been clear since the beginning, we are not part of the issue, we are part of the solution. After the fall of the Ba'th regime, we went to Baghdad with Mam Jalal and we informed our friends that you can use our good experience. We are ready to help. Unfortunately, instead of learning from our experience, they chose another approach and you can see where Iraq is now."

20/03/2012



President Barzani's message on the occasion of Newroz:

"Time has come to say "it is enough". Iraq is going towards an abyss. A group of people are turning the government of Iraq into dictatorship. Iraq is in a serious crisis and for us, the continuation of this situation is unacceptable. I would like to ask all the leaders of political parties in Iraq to engage in discussion and find an urgent solution for this issue, set a mechanism for it and resolve it in the shortest time possible. If not, we will refer to our people's decision and the final decision will be made by our nation. No one can blame us at that stage."

28/03/2012



الشرقية

President Barzani's interview with Al-Sharqyah channel:

"The situation has reached a very dangerous phase and I have asked Iraq's political leaders to immediately convene and resolve the outstanding issues because it will become unbearable."

8/04/2012



President Barzani's interview with Al-Hurra channel:

"I have given President Obama my take and analysis on the dangerous situation that Iraq is going through and I have explained all details to him. I said Iraq is stepping towards unilateralism and dictatorship and there is a real crisis at the moment. Iraq should be governed based on a real partnership which does not mean there should be a minister or a number of ministers but it is rather joint decision-making on the decisive matters and commitment to the Constitution. I have

cleared the facts for the Kurdish and Iraqi people and I have asked the political leaders in Iraq and now I want them to be informed of the situation and to find convenient solutions for the situation because our objective is the resolution of the issues, but indeed, we are not happy with the situation now. In a high-profile meeting with the attendance of officers and high-ranking military officials, it was said by one officer that they have to wait until F16 jets arrive so that it eases their burden and the Kurds can withdraw to Salahaddin. We thought this culture has already ended, but unfortunately, this mentality still remains. F16 jets make no difference to us, they are similar to Mek 23 and 25, Miraj F1 and Sikho 24a. They all kill and destroy but we will stay resisting.”

9/04/2012



A part of President Barzani's message to the Kurdish diaspora in the United States:

“Iraq is going through a serious crisis and its governance system is going towards unilateralism. The foundations of democracy and real partnership are under threat and the permanent constitution is violated on a daily basis.”

22/04/2012



A part of President Barzani's message to the Kurdish journalists:

"We need to practically do something because if the situation continues like this, Iraq will go towards dictatorship."

30/07/2012



MASSOUD BARZANI
PRESIDENT, KURDISH REGION, IRAQ



ALJAZEERA

Part of President Barzani's interview with Al-Jazeera:

"Iraq is going through a real crisis and we have two issues: one is a general one and the other is between Erbil and Baghdad. We request the resolution of both types of issues, and I would like to ask the Iraqi leaders to engage in dialogue. We express our readiness to take part in resolving these issues. In case the political groups did not accept this, I will refer to the will of our nation and will ask them what they want to happen. This is not the old Iraq. We took part in the formation of the new Iraq. The new Iraq must be

The process of appointing the military leaders must have been done through the parliament.

However, none of the current military leaders were appointed based on that, rather, the parliament is not even aware of that. Therefore, in accordance to the Constitution the current military is not legitimate. The Prime Minister has a very dangerous approach in dealing with the army in a way that it eases their intervention in Iraq's political situation. This warns us of predicting a potential coup d'état like previous times in the past. There is always a negative treatment towards the Kurdish military leaders in the army. In one of the military meetings, one of the military officers told Maliki that he gives them the permission, we will go to Salahaddin and expel them, but he said let's wait until F16 jets arrive and you will see what I can do. I do not find any differences between F16 and MEG16, which Saddam Hussein used to attack us.

However, the intentions and mentalities are very dangerous here. Instead of thinking of Iraq's security and protection, he is waiting for the arrival of weapons to attack other parts of Iraq and to put the army in political conflict which is a violation of the Constitution. Maliki's mentality and his way of thinking poses big threats as he wants to illegitimately become the only power in Iraq. Is it logical that after all the suffering and sacrifices to defeat Saddam Hussein for Anfal and chemical attacks, to once again allow a leader to become the totalitarian power in the country? For instance, is it logical that the security manager in Erbil is appointed by him? We are ready to solve this issue on our own if other Iraqi entities were not interested to do it. However, we want a national Iraqi solution in order to put a limit for that type of governance and Maliki's behavior.

I have not made any decisions and I will not do so without consulting with some Kurdish political entities including the opposition. In our last meeting, we agreed to send a message to the national coalition. I do not understand why the Iraqi people are silent against Maliki's conduct? Is Kurdistan Region responsible for the failure of the Iraqi government in providing services? I suggest that everyone refers to the Constitution. The Kurds do not accept to go backwards, especially after so many efforts and sacrifices they made to bring about the new Iraq."

14/03/2012



Part of President Barzani's speech in the 25th commemoration of the Anfal campaign:

"Iraq is going through a serious crisis, and it is not only the issues between Erbil and Baghdad, it is facing all Iraq. The Kurds had a major role in the reconstruction of the new Iraq and they we shed blood for it. It is based on that foundation that we all are partners in Iraq and we will build a new Iraq together. This was the main basis; we created a Constitution for which the people of Iraq voted and it was an ideal Constitution despite

some shortages, it identified the rights and duties of everyone in the country.

The crisis in Iraq now serves as a good reason to encourage everyone to be committed to the Constitution. The only way we can overcome this crisis is to implement Erbil agreement of 2010 and other agreements. I want to ask my brothers in Iraq: are we partners or not? If we are, what is happening now does not represent the spirit of partnership. I, along with the Kurdish nation want an answer for that question. If the answer is yes, we want it to proven practically because we are tired of promises with no action. If not, we will figure out where to be headed. We prefer going back to the Constitution, coexistence and tolerance. We must try to build the federal and democratic Iraq that we shed blood for so that the Iraqi nation will get out of the disasters it is going through.”

3/12/2012

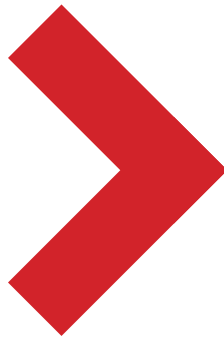


Part of President Barzani's interview with AlZaman Newspaper:

“I noticed changes from Maliki's behavior since 2008 when he wanted to use the army in Khanaqinn. From then, I realized that there is a dangerous mentality clouding over the country.

Based on the Constitution, it is illegitimate to use the army for internal political purposes and interests. I did not expect that the Iraqi Army will be used against the Peshmerga forces. From that day, the truth was slowly revealing itself. I do not know who will benefit from this policy. As an individual, I do not know how will Maliki benefit from this? The matter is now condensed to a group of people who want to take Iraq through a precarious tunnel.

We are not a threat to Iraq's unity and never will be. We do not accept living under dictatorship after what we experienced from Anfal, chemical attacks and destructions by various previous Iraqi regimes, and we do not even have in our minds to accept living that way again. Whenever the situation reaches that stage, which we do not want to happen, we will make our decision. We prefer death over living under dictatorship."



Warnings of
2013

12/01/2013



President Barzani's meeting with foreign consulates and representatives in Erbil:

"We have learned from experience that Iraq's governance and rulership must be done jointly. The Constitution has clearly outlined everyone's rights and duties. Therefore, commitment to the constitution is the ideal solution for all the existing issues, and especially Article 140. I will continue to try with all the Iraqi entities to get out of the crisis between Erbil and Baghdad and the general crisis that has clouded over all Iraq."

19/01/2013



Part of President Barzani's statement:

"It has been a while that Iraq is going through a precarious crisis and it has caused dissent among the people. This is due to reluctance in providing civil services, discounting its partners, and non-implementation of the Constitution and

other agreements. The dissent embodies people's discontent including all its components such as religious and political parties, and organizations. It is the government's responsibility to wisely address these issues in search of a solution. Unfortunately, what we see instead is that it is working to further complicate the situation and to disregard the serious issues.

This has resulted in serious outcomes and dire consequences may be produced. We would like to express our utmost support for the demands of the protestors that are in line with the Constitution. At the same time, I would like to reiterate the importance of preserving peace and avoiding violence. It is possible that some people will hijack the protests for their own interests. To overcome these hardships, we need to correct the political channels and the commitment to the Constitution and agreement is a serious necessity."

16/02/2013



President Barzani's meeting with ambassadors and European countries' representatives in Iraq:

"Iraq is going through a deep crisis and requires a radical solution. The root of all the problems is the non-commitment to the Constitution. If everyone had committed, then the issues would not have been created."

18/02/2013



Part of President Barzani's speech on the occasion of the establishment of Kurdistan Student Union and Kurdistan Democratic Youth Union:

"Iraq is currently going through a serious crisis. We are trying to be in touch with Iraqi and Kurdish entities so as to examine the steps that can be taken to overcome the crisis. We will not repeat the previous experience, we will rather learn from it so that they can define our future steps in avoid the crisis.

However, we were forced to take a stance on this and it is our right to defend our rights, to defend the rights of all Iraq, but especially of the Kurdistan Region. The Kurdish nation and Kurdistan liberation movement have long since the first day of the September Revolution identified the shortcomings, the slogan of which was 'Democracy for Iraq and Autonomy for Kurdistan.

This means that without a democratic rule, the issues cannot be resolved, neither of Iraq, nor of the Kurdistan Region. Therefore, we insist on the practical implementation of the Constitution as well as the democratic rule of the country."

14/03/2013



President Barzani's meeting with Claudia Rot, MP and Co-president of German Green Party:

"The political situation of Iraq is precarious and going towards destruction. We do not see any commitment to the Constitution and the agreements, and this has led to serious obstacles in the political process."

11/04/2013



President Barzani's meeting with Louise Alaya, Head of Social International:

"The Kurdistan Region hopes to resolve the issues through understanding and dialogue. If they were not resolved, we will never live under oppression and dictatorship."

14/04/2013



President Barzani's meeting with Gianni Vernetti, Italian MP and former Deputy Foreign Minister:

"The Kurdistan Region does not accept the political process in Iraq to be diverged and the principle of agreement and partnership be violated. The Kurdistan Region is not a party in the sectarian conflict that exists. However, it is part of the political process. Therefore, if the principle of agreement and partnership is not implemented, then we will consider other options."

28/04/2013



President Barzani's meeting with Franco Frattini, former Italian Foreign Minister:

"Iraq is going through very dangerous circumstances. The Iraqi government has not been successful in providing the main services, security and forming steady relations with neighboring countries. The army has not become nationalized to day and there is disproportion in the participation of various constituencies in Iraq. A bright future is not foreseeable and if the situation continues this way, Iraq will be going towards a catastrophe."

4/05/2013



President Barzani's meeting with Robert S. Beecroft, US Ambassador to Iraq:

"The improvement of the current situation is dependent on the implementation of the three main principles, partnership, balance, and compromise. If we believe in those three principles and we apply them, there is hope that the situation in Iraq will get better."

22/05/2013



President Barzani's meeting with Osama Al-Nujaifi, the Head of the Iraqi Parliament:

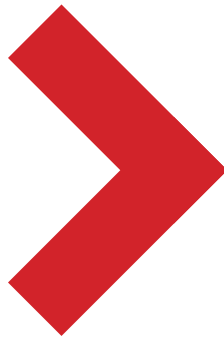
"One year ago, I tried to explain the dire situation that Iraq is going through. I did expect that the direction of the issues will head towards denial and unilateralism. The source of all the problems is the violation of the Constitution and disregarding the principle of partnership."

28/08/2013



President Barzani's meeting with Khudeir Khudhe'i, Iraqi Vice President:

"Iraq is facing a huge crisis and all efforts must be put in order to overcome the crises. Iraq's past experiences prove that it cannot be successful by excluding its different components and groups. Rather, it can achieve success through dialogue and the participation of everyone. The relation between the Kurds and the Shi'as is vital and strategic and it is the source of stability for all Iraq."



Warnings of
2014

9/03/2014



President Barzani's speech in the day of returning the corpses of 93 Kurdish Barzani victims from Iraq's South:

"A few years ago, I explained the perilous situation of Iraq and that democracy, federalism, and coexistence are under threat. This is due the violation of the national constitution and coexistence and partnership are not valued. The biggest concern is the mentality, which is that of self-imposition and considering the Kurds as second-class citizens."

5/04/2014



AL HAYAT
الحياة

President Barzani's interview with Al-Hayat Newspaper:

"Following the fall of Saddam Hussein, we tried to apply Kurdistan Region's successful experience on the other parts of Iraq. We asked for spreading the culture of tolerance and for us to learn from the past mistakes. Unfortunately, that did not happen. Many tried spiteful and revenge methods. Iraq's future is facing a huge threat at the moment. It is definitely prone

to fragility and division. However, we must be realistic and deal with the facts on the ground. There is a huge instability, terrorism has spread in Western Iraq, and some cities are in fact out of the government’s control. The terrorists are quite active in those areas.

Iraq’s post Saddam Hussein political process is on the edge of becoming a failure. Unilateral actions and lack of confidence in democracy and lack of tolerance will result in instability and the creation of various issues. This mentality and culture are the reason behind the non-implementation of the Constitution. This was also the reason behind non-implementation of other agreements and created a gap between the various components. If there is a political will in place, the issues such as budget and other issues can be resolved. However, the will of some people is to defeat Kurdistan and enforce the rule of a single power in Baghdad on it. It is impossible for us to allow this to happen and we will not allow anyone to break our honor and the dignity of our people. This is the core of the problem. In short, we do not accept being controlled. We accept partnership.”

18/06/2014



President Barzani’s message regarding Iraq’s political situation:

“We have been in continuous communication with the relevant entities regarding Iraq’s latest events. Many people can testify that I have been warning on the deterioration of the situation of Iraq due to wrong policies and unilateralism

of those who have monopolized power in Baghdad. Those are the same people who are directly responsible for this undesirable situation. We tried very hard to find radical solution for the issues and we submitted a number of proposals, however, the feedback we got was disdain of those proposals. Since 2003, we have been strongly against sectarian conflict and we were not a negative factor in this conflict, but we rather played a positive role as much as we could. We stood beside the Shia's when they were oppressed and we were against the exclusion of the Sunnis after 2003. Our long-term culture has been to support the oppressed.

There are efforts that those who are responsible for these failures want to blame the Kurds for it, which is a big indictment. Those responsible are attempting to create a gap between the Kurds and the Shia's which will end up in the disadvantage of both sides. We think of our relations with the Shi'as as higher than the behaviors of some people who are in power now who can harm the Shi'as and the Kurds. We will never forget the stances of Imam Muhsin Al-Hakim al-Sadr. We would like re-assure our Shi'a brothers that those who have caused these events are trying to blame others for their failures, and they have been hiding the truth from people for years.

New conditions have been created now that need radical solutions. The previous political process and governance system must be transformed according to the current realities. We are ready to fight against the terrorists alongside our Sunni and Shi'a brothers, but we will not do that under a sectarian conflict. It is important to say that fighting is not the only solution, the factors must be tackled so as that the political process will fall back on track. This way defeating terrorists will be easier. Everyone should be aware that we are living in new circumstances and we must act realistically."

5/07/2014



President Barzani’s speech in the Kurdistan Parliament:

“Kurdistan has tried for a successful democratic political process in Iraq for ten years. However, the violation of the constitution, unilateral mentality, self-imposition and exclusion prevented that from happening which led Iraq to this day. Kurdistan did not have a hand in what Iraq has turned to now and those who caused this must take the responsibility.”

5/07/2014



President Barzani’s open letter to the people of Iraq and the national forces:

“The oppressive attacks on the Kurds and its leaders continue to increase and there is suspicious objective behind it. They did that to blame the Kurdistan Region for their military and security forces’ failure, which led to the invasion of some Iraqi cities that were very dear to Iraqis by ISIS. Besides targeting the Kurdistan Region, they also tried to defame Kurdistan’s stance and position

and they attempted to deny our historical struggles which continues until now to strengthen the brotherhood between Kurds and Arabs and bringing about democracy for all areas in Iraq. The Kurdistan Region continues its efforts to protect all the components and it continues on its principles of real partnership which is a foundation of this national unity.

Today, the outrage and chauvinistic treatment against the Kurds is becoming stronger by drawing an ugly picture on the events by hijacking the realities and building a wall between the two nations. All these acts are to serve personal political interests and the narrow-minded people who take Iraq from one downfall to another until it reached this dangerous stage.

The phrase of "separation and the division of Iraq" has been repeated by the different Iraqi dictatorial regimes is the phrase that is used by different corrupt rulers. This is a very common phrase that is being repeated in the Arab hubs inside and outside of Iraq. The purpose behind that was to touch their emotions and pull them towards political loss and taking part in spoiling the mutual national environment while also blemishing the constants that need to be preserved to keep the national historical relations between all Iraqis as well as Iraq's unity. Unfortunately, some want to blame their failures and its consequences on the Kurdistan Region and condense it in the efforts to make a Kurdish state. Despite this, they also accuse the Kurdistan Region of partaking in the plan for defeating the Iraqi army in Salahaddin, Nineveh, and Diyalah. These accusations were to control the Kurdistan areas that were Arabized during Saddam Hussein's regime. This is in spite of the fact that the Constitution decides to return those areas in the framework of a constitutional process in a designated time-period, the deadline of which was 2007. This was one of our requests throughout the past years, but it did not have any positive outcomes.

Here, we have to bypass mentioning the details of last month's events in which a third of Iraq's territory was invaded by ISIS and our efforts to prevent that from happening because it is a fact that everyone is aware of. However, we will stand against the attempts of their defamations and claims that we intend to divide Iraq. What we want for our people in the framework of self-determination:

First: We have continually throughout different stages of joint struggle and without any hesitance reiterated on the right to self-determination. This concept has always existed in our joint projects with the opposition forces and above all the Shi'a movement and political entities. This right has been vividly exhibited after the fall of Saddam Hussein. In the Constitution's preamble, it is explained in the framework of a democratic, federal and real national partnership.

Second: We have tried, by our struggle and sacrifices to obtain our rights, even half way through during Saddam's era. And a semi-independence was exhibited. The region had been a safe haven for all the opposition forces and we have tried to help them as much as we could.

Third: Following the fall of dictatorship in 2003, we started the initiative to partake in an active process in building the new Iraq and giving up our semi-independence for that reason. We put our efforts to engage in the political process and we participated in building its structure and concepts. We accepted the mediocre solutions based on trusting our partners who shared our experience with the calamities the former Ba'th regime brought upon us. We put the Constitution as a way to resolve the issues and guarantee our rights. We were actively engaged in all the elections; referendum and we have not taken any steps against the terms of the Constitution. This is despite the fact that we could use our de-facto policy at a time when we could not be opposed

in matters that we find are our legitimate right and constitutional. However, we were patient and made the constitution our sole guiding document. These are all examples of our political and national intentions as well as our insistence on improving the political process and establishing a federal and democratic system and rebuilding the state of free, equal citizens and an institutional one. We believed that the success of the democratic process and the implementation of constitution as it is with all the shortages it had, can exhibit our mutual understanding on the matter of self-determination.

Fourth: However, since Nuri al-Maliki came to power, we have faced denial and arrogant acts. Nuri al-Maliki tried to impose his unilateral policies, violated the Constitution and national partnership and compromise. These acts of the desire of monopolizing power, seizing the country's capacity and creating continuous crises switched our direction and took us back to reconsidering our constitutional rights and compromises that we had agreed on. We have reiterated our commitment to the Constitution and to coexistence in the new Iraq as long as everyone in Iraq is adamant on a federal and democratic Iraq and believes in transferring authority and power through peaceful means.

We will stay committed as long as others are also committed to the Constitution and there is respect for others' principles, in addition to protecting the rights of other components. Iraq's power holders must stay away from any actions and behaviors that will lead to unilateralism in authority and deviation from democracy and returning the country to dictatorship. We clearly mentioned that we do not accept the weakening of our will and returning us to the first square while making us face the same old policies which drowned the people of Kurdistan in bloodshed. These are the actions that we faced throughout the stages of monopolizing power from the terms of both Prime Ministers.

The best evidence for these acts was when they sent tanks to Kurdistan borders commanded by those who shed Kurds' blood. The commanders were those who were recently terminated from their positions after they lost Mosul and other cities to terrorists.

Fifth: Unfortunately, those who took part in the animosity whether through supporting the politics of the authority or staying silent because of the fear of being isolated, or not considering how the voters will feel. It is unfortunate that some entities would take part in degrading our sincere demands for getting out of this situation as a result of unilateral decision-making. They only emphasize on that we want independence as the only concept and understanding for right of self-determination.

- What brings us together is the constitution and the formation of an institutional country and freedoms in the framework of a democratic country and real participation in the country's governance.

- We would like to remind them, and I hope that they remember that the constitution's preamble says that "commitment to the constitution will protect the unity of the nation and Iraq's sovereignty." That was completely violated, and the persons who were responsible for this violation must blame themselves.

- What divides us is the violation of the terms of the Constitution, degrading the path to democracy and the violation of the rights of all components. Also the establishment of a unilateral authority which will bring about some type of dictatorship.

- What happened which still continues is the second option which is exhibited by Maliki's approach and his adamance on annulling the Constitution and excluding other components. His insistence on rejecting leaving power under any circumstances was another approach. They are evidently denying our

constitutional rights from the return of Kurdistan areas to Kurdistan. It goes beyond that to use force against the Kurdistan Region by making up excuses and creating new crises whenever it fails in the country's governance.

Sixth: From the start of the recent changes which led to losing Nineveh, Salahaddin, and Diyalah and areas surrounding Kirkuk was not a mystery for Iraqi officials because we warned them at a very early stage from the preparations that are being done in Mosul and we informed them about the necessity of studying the devastating consequences of these events. The feedback that we received was in itself a reflection of the actions of the person ruling the country. Our warnings were received rather lightly; they might have even doubted our intentions which was opposite to the answers that were necessary in these tough conditions.

We insisted that there were groupings and border crossing in those areas. The encouragements and threats from inside Mosul and taking advantage of the people's discontent of the situation due to discriminatory measures was on an increasing level. This is evident for everyone except for those whose eyes maybe covered by something.

Due to our sense of duty and responsibility regarding the events that were occurring, we informed all political leaders of this situation. We made a similar initiative after the fall of Mosul and other cities. We reiterated that we must act very carefully and should pay attention to the political aspect and then the practical measures such as security and military measures in order to face any challenges. However, they doubted us and we were faced with an extreme arrogance from the authorities.

The governmental signs were the neglecting of the dangers and the radical political solutions on purpose. The actions were

completely opposite the real situation. Therefore, in lieu of a wise revision of their policies and stance and resolving the political, security, and military issues in Mosul and the provinces whose majority population is Sunni, their negative stance against the Kurdistan Region was strengthened to the extent that they expressed their animosity against the Kurdistan Region and denied its political role in the political process. They committed an act of injustice to the people of Kurdistan as the animosity was to an extent that they cut Kurdistan's share in Iraqi budget while they were sending it all other provinces. The former dictatorial regimes had never done such a thing against the people of Iraq and Kurdistan. While they were standing against us, they were disregarding the suspicious terrorist attacks and their entrance through the borders and grouping of forces and bringing the sleeping cells in Mosul and other places. This was happening in daylight and while the federal security and military commanders were watching.

This scene condemns this approach that encourages people to stand against the Kurdistan Region and depicting it like it is against the political process and constitution, and unjustly accusing it. This was to an extent that they blamed Kurdistan for their political and security failure. They tried to portray Kurdistan as an enemy of Shi'as in Iraq.

We have always reiterated that experience can testify our good intentions and that we have never played a negative role in the political process that arose following the fall of the Ba'ath regime. We have not stood against any Iraqi national components. Contrary to that we showed empathy towards Sunnis and defended their constitutional rights in Iraq and we were against weakening their role in the political process. Similarly, we were committed to the rights of the Shi'a component and their role as well as what the Constitution has set out for them in the leadership of the country. We have always repeated that the false

politics of some Shi'a authorities in Iraq must be differentiated by the state similarly to their stance with regards to our rights and issues. We will continue to defend, based on the constitution, the political rights and demands of all Iraqis regardless of their political, ethnic, and religious backgrounds. We have always stated, and will repeat again that we are going through a sensitive period, which is the era of the development of the new Iraq. Iraq's survival is dependent on preserving the rights and interests of all its components and responding to their rightful demands. This can be achieved by building the foundations of a civil democratic state and building constitutional institutions and fixating the legitimacy of their authority and preserving their independence. This legitimization requires a preventive mechanism of unilateralism in Iraq or deviating towards dictatorship away from democratic and federal paths. It also requires fixing the political life by directing it towards national and a free peoples-based value away from provoking sectarian sentiments.

Kurdistan has suffered a lot from terrorism and we are aware that the terrorist groups work for their brutal objectives and do not exclude anyone from their dark backward plans. Therefore, we condemn all the terrorist organizations and we will stand against them and their projects with whatever is in our capacity. However, we also realize that removing the terrorists from roots requires necessary procedures that will not give the terrorists any safe haven for their activities or an environment that accommodates them and has sympathy for them. After eight years of practicing unilateralism and excluding Sunnis by unwise means, ISIS and other terrorist groups who had been disadvantaged by the government's policies used force to invade a huge amount of area.

ISIS does not only contain Sunnis; other terrorist groups also do not represent Sunnis. Some of the population may express sympathy for them, but that is only temporary and the continuous

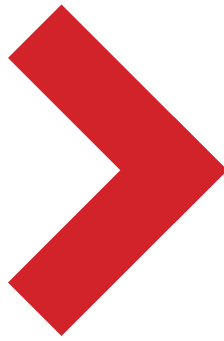
changes will prove this fact. Dissent will happen against the terrorists the sufferings of which will be more than the sufferings under the unilateral government of Baghdad that is against the Constitution.

Considering it our cooperative responsibility, we will continue to stay in contact with everyone whether they are in accordance with us or not to brainstorm a potential radical political solution for this issue. The solution will have to be based on conducting reforms in the state institutions and fixating on a strong democratic mechanism which will prevent any authorities to be maximized. Together with others we will search for the current situation's requirements in the framework of responding to the Sunnis and save them from the current terrorist environment. We have overlooked the hateful humiliations and accusations against our people and the Kurdistan Region. We have a convenient shield for those who insist on staying on that difficult path. We would like to ask this question; isn't the person who divided the Arabs in Iraq to Sunnis and Shi'as the same person who practically divided Iraq? Isn't the strengthening of sectarian tendencies in the heart of dividing the Iraqi community?

While the Kurds will put their parliament and leadership under a historical responsibility to identify the paths towards self-determination, it will also take convenient ways to make sure their rights are guaranteed and will not withdraw from its right to self-determination. At the same time, we expect other political parties and parliament groups, be they Shi'a or Sunni to initiate a political initiation in order to normalize the situation in Iraq. In addition, to provide freedom, justice and real partnership in governing the country for all the components in the framework of a federal country, a country that prevents self-imposition, unilateralism and dictatorship. The right to self-determination is our nation's legitimate right according to the national and international principles. Our people will not

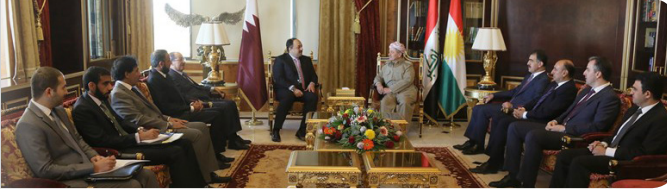
withdraw from this and in terms of implementing a mechanism, we will do it by the support of the Iraqi nation and consulting with those who support the rights of those whose will has been seized. Living together is a natural option if the people find it convenient. We will never forget the stance of Imam Muhsin Al-Hakim and al-Sadr for their support for Kurds and our struggle in defending our national interests. The responsibility of the division of Iraq falls on those forces and governors who relied on the agenda to divide the community and were killing people based on their sectarian affiliation or excluding them due to their identity.

Isn't it obvious for everyone now that if Maliki takes on a third term despite the dangerous failure that Iraq is going through means that the political forces in Iraq will push for dragging Iraq towards more catastrophes and more division? We would like to clearly state that we will not withdraw from our right to self-determination as our nation decides on that by their free will. Threatening the future of Iraq should be blamed on those who insist on instilling gaps in the Iraqi government and who violate the Constitution, leaving Iraq to face a new type of dictatorship."



Warnings of
2015

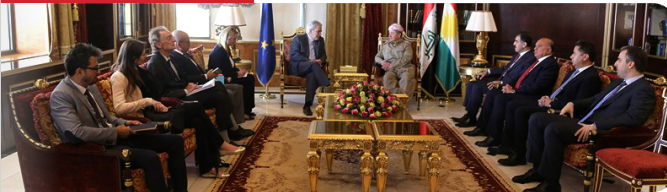
20/07/2015



President Barzani's meeting with Dr. Khalid Bin Muhammad Al-Attyah:

"The brutalities and crimes that the terrorists committed against various groups of people in Iraq cannot be even traced in history. The terrorists took advantage of the sectarian conflict and the unstable political situation to grow and spread."

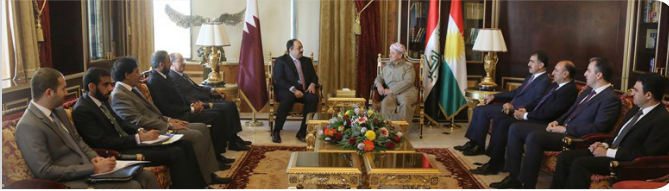
27/07/2015



President Barzani's meeting with EU High Commissioner for Humanitarian Affairs and Crisis Management, and the EU Ambassador in Iraq:

"The history is full of mistakes and the issues keep repeating themselves. Now is a good opportunity to correct those mistakes because it became clear that neither forced division nor forced coexistence can last forever."

29/07/2015



President Barzani's Meeting with Linda Sachs, Australian Ambassador to Iraq:

"We hope that the issues in Iraq can be resolved based on pure intentions."

5/09/2015



President Barzani's meeting with Jan Kubiš, Special Representative for UN Secretary General in Iraq:

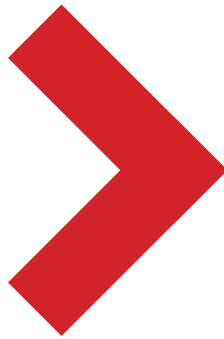
"If the process is in line with the implementation of the Constitution, real partnership and combatting corruption, then the Kurdistan Region will fully support it. However, if it is meant to be for disregarding the Constitution and excluding different groups especially the Kurdistan Region, we will reject it. The best remedy for Iraq's issues is real partnership, the participation of all components, and the implementation of the Constitution."

17/12/2015



President Barzani's meeting with Ashton Kutcher, US Secretary of Defense:

"We should also think of resolving the political turmoil in Iraq. The Kurdistan Region has resisted despite the economic crisis and cut of budget from Baghdad. This resistance comes from our cause and our struggles and sacrifice to keep it going."



Warnings of
2016

6/01/2016



President Barzani's meeting with Consul Generals and foreign representatives:

"The Kurdistan Region has helped the new Iraq and will continue to engage in dialogue. A real partnership must be born of it or a new draft agreement must be made through peaceful dialogue so that we can live peacefully together and to prevent more wars and killings. The internal conflicts are not deep-rooted and sectarian, they are rather political and can be resolved. The political parties can reach a solution for these issues. Sectarian conflict is an alarming matter, but the Kurdistan Region does not have this issue and it will never become a part of this conflict in the region. To win peace, sectarian conflict must be ended because if this continues, even if ISIS is defeated, other serious issues will rise."

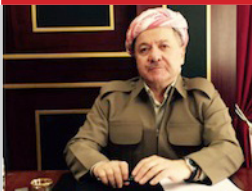
16/03/2016



President Barzani's meeting with the only Victims of the Halabja chemical attack:

"In order to save ourselves from more tragedies, we have to think of other solutions. Kurdistan cannot give more sacrifices and does not accept to be annexed. If partnership is not accepted, the Kurdistan Region is not responsible for Iraq's current situation."

13/05/2016



campaign entrenched across swains of Syria and Iraq, now is the time to rethink the boundaries of the region. But unlike 100 years ago, when Britain and France divided up the Arab world, Mideast leaders must take part in the process.

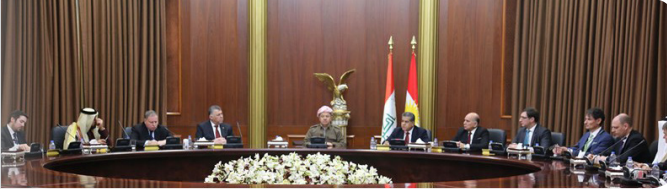
Part of the Mideast reboot, Barzani hopes, will

philly.com

President Barzani's interview with Philly Website:

"Iraq's Federal system has failed and people need to make a decision now on whether they accept con-federalism or not. It is certain that we will not remain federal forever."

16/05/2016



President Barzani's message on the 100th commemoration of Sykes-Picot agreement:

"One hundred years have passed on the Sykes-Picot agreement. This agreement caused the division of the region without taking into consideration the population and the demography of the area. It was a huge injustice against the population of those areas, and especially for Kurdistan."

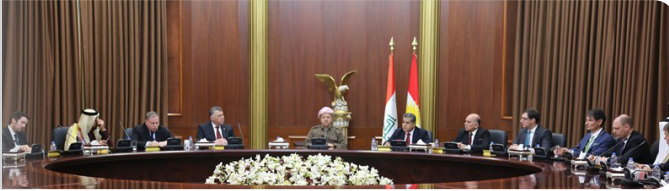
4/07/2016



President Barzani's meeting with Arshad Salihi, the Head of Turkmen Front in Iraq:

"A new solution must be proposed for Iraq and all the component must have a role in the decision-making."

19/07/2016



President Barzani's meeting with a consuls and representatives of Arab countries:

"The policy of denying ethnicities is an invalid and failed strategy and people must live in peace and harmony alongside each other."

20/07/2016



President Barzani's meeting with Tchen Wetching, Chinese Ambassador to Iraq:

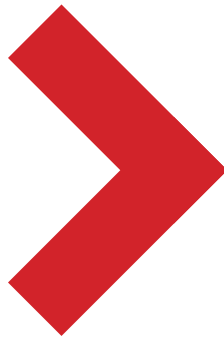
"Kurdistan has given different sacrifices for Iraq but Kurdistan's share have been genocide and violation of rights."

4/07/2016



President Barzani's meeting with Ba'shiqa frontline commanders:

"We thought we are finally free when the Ba'th Regime fell. However, shortly after Ansarul-Islam and Al-Qaeda appeared. An individual became the ruler of Iraq on the expense of the Kurds, but he was plotting our bombardment when he was waiting to receive F16 jets. After that ISIS appeared, but we remain committed to defeating our enemies."



Warnings of
2017

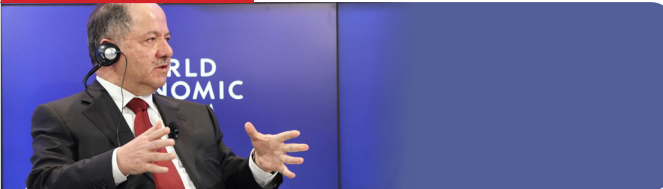
12/01/2017



President Barzani's meeting with consul generals and foreign representatives:

"Nobody has the right to blame us on the unity of Iraq. Before and after 2003 we did our best to implement real partnership, democracy and federalism. Last year in September when I visited Baghdad, I talked with the Prime Minister and other entities straightforwardly. They listened to our comments and observations and we decide to engage in dialogue in order to reach a solution that will end our past tragedies and issues."

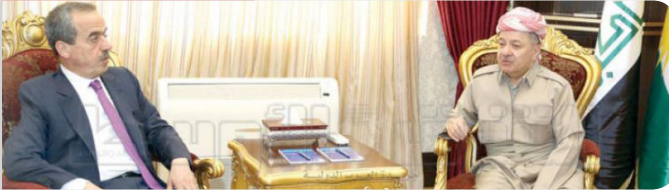
20/01/2017



President Barzani in a panel in Davos conference:

"We should work to find a radical solution for the religious and sectarian conflict in Iraq and the Region in order to bring out stability. These types of conflicts exist in Syria and Iraq, this is the reality and immediate solutions are not possible. However, if a solution is not found, stability will not be achieved."

23/01/2017



التنقيب الأوسط
The Middle East

President Barzani's interview with SharqulAwsat Newspaper:

"The relations between Erbil and Baghdad are not good except for its military coordination in the process of the liberation Mosul. I have explained this in my last visit to Baghdad to the Prime Minister, Abadi and the national coalition. They agreed that we have failed in building real partnership in Iraq. We can be good neighbors to each other.

If Maliki returns to power as the Prime Minister, I will declare independence no matter what. I will not discuss it with anyone, we do not want any more destructions in Iraq. When they were ruling many people were killed in different places. He was conduction a unilateral policy and agenda against the Kurds and the Sunnis. He thought he was the owner of Iraq. Thus, we do not want to stay in an Iraq that Maliki is the ruler. Unfortunately, I was not expecting him to be against the Kurds. Maliki betrayed brotherhood and coordination. If he had the same forces that Saddam Hussein's, he would have acted worse than him."

4/02/2017



President Barzani's meeting with Amar Al-Hakim, the Head of National Coalition:

"President Barzani talked about the calamities that Iraq's governments have done to the Kurds from the creation of the country until the fall of the Ba'ath Regime. He also mentioned the injustices done to the Kurds. He reiterated that the Kurdistan Region has done its best to rebuild the new Iraq. However, like before, attempts have been made to harm partnership and the rights of the Kurdish people have been violated, and eventually, they cut people's salaries. This caused breaking trust and the deepening of the issues. Any possible solutions to prevent calamities against the Kurdistan Region."

11/03/2017



President Barzani's meeting with a delegation of Rafidain Dialogue:

"Iraq has been built based on the partnership between Kurds and Arabs and the consideration of the rights of other components. However, Kurdistan's share in that partnership was the destruction of 4500 villages, 182,000 people who were killed and the missing of

12,000 Fayli young men, killing 8000 Barzani men, and the chemical attacks on Kurdistan. In spite of that, Kurdistan never in all stages of its struggle, never targeted civilians and violent acts. The Kurdish people did not take revenge during the 1991 uprisings in order to open a new page with Iraq.

Following the fall of Ba'th Regime, the Kurds tried very hard so that Iraqis will learn from Kurdistan's experience, so that revenge does not happen and the past mistakes are not repeated. Nevertheless, Iraq's actions and decisions were against those principles that were set out in the constitution. The consequences were attempts of revenge, and the escalation of sectarian conflict and sanctioning the Peshmerga forces. They threatened the Kurdistan Region and as a result they cut Kurdish people's salaries.

All those signify the failure of agreement, Federalism and the principle of partnership, and the Kurdistan Region is not responsible for the atrocities that Iraq is going through. The central government is responsible for this situation. The Kurds have the right for self-determination, and nowhere in the world forced unity or forced division has been successful."

21/06/2017



President Barzani's meeting with academics and Arab tribal leaders of Nineveh:

"The decision to go for referendum comes after a bitter experience with Iraq. The condition for partnership has been violated by the Iraqi Government. Kurdish people's salaries were cut illegitimately and against the constitution despite KR's active role in rebuilding a

new Iraq. Those who made the decision to cut people's source of living are the ones responsible for Iraq's division. The continuation of the current situation in Iraq is a big danger and threat. We cannot remain in a united Iraq where we are fighting and deepen the issues. After the referendum, KR will engage in dialogue and understanding with Baghdad to reach a convenient and peaceful solution and Erbil and Baghdad will remain strategic friends."

22/06/2017



President Barzani's meeting with EU representative in Iraq, representatives of European countries such as Belgium and Poland, Head of EU mission in Erbil and representatives of Italian, Spain, Germany, France and the Netherlands as well as UK, Czech and Romania:

"After 2003, the KRG did its best to rebuild Iraq based on the principles of democracy, federalism, constitution, partnership and agreement. We were hoping for a better future. However, the higher authorities in the Iraqi government violated and disregarded those principles. The situation reached to a level where the Iraqi government wanted to punish the Kurdish people by cutting the budget from Kurdistan. This signified the violation of all attempts to re-build Iraq. The Kurdish people have a bitter experience with Iraq. Kurdistan has tried all ways to protect the unity of Iraq and has given many sacrifices, but it was all in vain. The Kurds have eventually reached the conclusion that if we cannot keep partnership and to prevent wars and calamities, we can live alongside each other as good neighbors."

6/07/2017



President Barzani's meeting with a number of members of international organizations:

"The Iraqi state was built on the principle of partnership of the Kurdish people and Iraq. This partnership was violated and Kurdistan share in it was Anfal, genocides, destruction and chemical attacks. In the stages after 2003, the Kurdish people decided to be unified with the Iraq and it played a significant role in re-building Iraq and the drafting of a federal and democratic constitution. The terms of the constitution were violated to an extent that people's source of income and salary were cut including kids' formulas. In addition to that and contrary to the agreements, the Peshmerga force, who were part of Iraq's defense system, were sanctioned. The Peshmerga forces did not have weapons to fight with in the beginning of the ISIS war"

11/07/2017

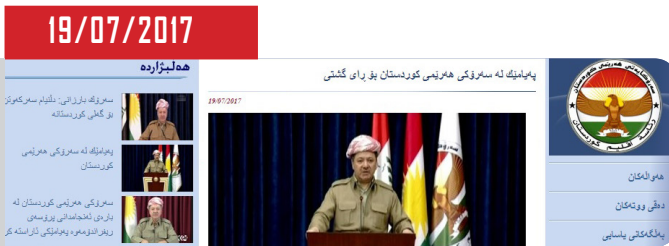


Part of President Barzani's speech in the European Parliament:

"The Kurds have been trying to build a partnership with a federal Iraq for more than a hundred years, and it did not have any outcomes. In the first stage before 2003, Sunnis were ruling and the

stage after 2003 Shiites have been ruling. In the first stage, we tried to live with Iraq and annexed Mosul to Iraq preventing Turkey to invade it. What we received in return from Iraq was the destruction of our villages and Anfal.

In the second stage, we paved the way for the Shiites to rule, and what we got in return from them was opposition and cutting our budget. If we cannot be partners, let us be good neighbors otherwise the security situation in the area is threatened, and a bloody war will happen. The experience of all nations in the world, especially in Europe, has proven that forced unity and division is unsuccessful. It is set out in the Iraqi constitution that commitment to it preserves the commitment of the central federal government which allows us the right.”



President Barzani's message to the public:

In the past few days, Iraqi officials and politicians are justifying their opposition to the referendum by mentioning non-commitment to the Iraqi constitution. It will be better if those who oppose go back and review the constitution because the preamble of the constitution clearly stipulates that commitment to the constitution will guarantee the unity of Iraq. The question here is: did they stay committed to the constitution. There are tens of examples that show

that the Iraqi governments have not committed to the constitution that people had voted for. The equilibrium has been shaken by the Iraqi army and the Kurds have been excluded. This comes despite the fact that the Peshmerga forces founded the main foundation of the Iraqi army following 2003. The same exclusion policy is being conducted for Kurdistan representatives in the diplomatic field. The Peshmerga forces, who have been a part of Iraq's defense system, have been sanctioned for years. The implementation of Article 140 and the formation of central council has also been neglected. Attempts have been made to either not implement or violate constitutional terms. This led to the cutting of Kurdistan's budget. According to which legislation or constitutional Article does the Iraqi government has the right to conduct illegitimate procedures against the people of Kurdistan?

On another side, Iraq required a base for the mutual partnership of all components, but they annulled the partnership that existed. Now they are calling for political majority and we are aware of what they mean by political majority, it is in fact disregarding other main players and eroding the existing partnership. I would like to state it to everyone that referendum is a natural right of the Kurds and all nations in the world and we must practice it. Why would this right be taken from the people of Kurdistan?

We have a responsibility towards our martyrs' blood, our people and our people's legitimate rights. Therefore, we will not withdraw from those rights and the Kurdish people will peacefully practice this right because we do not want to relive another failed bitter experience. We prefer to remain as good neighbors and to cooperate and coordinate on various levels. The time of threatening language has long ended. The Kurds want peace and brotherhood and we do not accept threatening language and denial from anyone."

31/07/2017



Part of President Barzani's message in the 34th commemoration of the Anfal of Barzanis:

"Last year, I visited Baghdad myself and the Prime Minister went before me. We candidly told them that we have come to a realization that we cannot live together and that they do not believe in partnership. The partnership that existed before has failed so if we cannot live together let us separate and live as good neighbors. However, they did not take that seriously and they thought we are intending to pressure them by asking that. However, it was not for putting pressure, and we said eventually our people have to determine their fate in September 25."

2/08/2017



President Barzani's meeting with a high delegation from Muslim World League:

"The Kurdistan Region has tried all methods of coexistence and partnership with Iraq. The Iraqi government is responsible for destruction of partnership and the current situation that Iraq is going through."

3/08/2017



President Barzani's interview with a number of Kuwaiti newspapers:

"Our past experiences have proven to us that Iraq does not accept the Kurdistan Region as a real partner. And the Kurdistan Region does not want to be oppressed and be considered as an annex. Now that we did not create real partnership, let us become two good neighbors."

9/08/2017



President Barzani's meeting with and religious and intellectual personalities:

"Iraq has failed in considering the Kurdistan Region as real partner and it destroyed more than 4500 villages in addition to the Arabization process. They made chemical attacks on Kurds and conducted Anfal."

10/08/2017



President Barzani's interview with Al-Hayat newspaper:

"Iraqi state has been practically divided, all the mutual bases and agreements have been violated. There is sectarian conflict and the country has lost its sovereignty. The Kurdistan Region is not responsible for what is happening in Iraq. We believe that Kurdistan's independence will in fact solve the issues in Iraq. We do not want the division of Iraq.

Iraq has by its non-commitment to the constitution and its false policies has led divisions in the country. We would like to ask: why have the Sunnis been excluded? That is an evidence of Iraqi state's failure and their violation of the constitution. Kurdistan not only has been excluded, but they broke our mutual agreements and even worse, the Kurdistan Region is experiencing mass killings. We can no longer live in one country. We can rather become two good neighbors and open a new page and live peacefully together."

10/08/2017



President Barzani's interview with the Egyptian newspaper Al-Ahram

"Since the 20s of the last century, the Iraqi governments one after the other have failed in believing in real partnership and that mentality continues to day. They have been treating us like enemies and have fought by all means including mass killing, like the Halabja chemical attacks. They did Anfal to 182,000 Kurds and destroyed more than 5000 villages.

We went Baghdad with good intentions after 2003 so that we can together build real partnership and compensate the victims and those who got disadvantaged. We wrote a permanent constitution for the country. However, 14 years later, the officials have not been able to prove that they are better than their predecessors. They are following the same policies of exclusion like what they did with cutting Kurdistan's share of budget.

They have stopped sending civil employees' salaries since 2014 and the others are trying to kill us in other ways. They want to destroy the development that the Kurdistan Region has achieved and to destabilize the situation for us. We informed Baghdad that the policies that you are following now will encourage our people to put pressure on the KRG to change

our relations with Baghdad and step towards independence. I think our partners in Baghdad tried to fail the constitution, and a proof for that was disregarding the oil and gas law which we participated in drafting it. The law is about energy relations between the Kurdistan Region and other provinces on one side and with the central government on another side. A number of articles including Article 140 and were violated by Baghdad. Slowly the process of building people's government and real partnership and democracy failed. They monopolized power and disregarded other components just like they did with the Kurdistan Region."

19/08/2017



President Barzani's meeting with Dr. Sultan Al-Uraibi, The Secretary General of Arab Universities Union:

"The principle of partnership has been violated during all stages. The Kurdish people are tired of reliving the previous failed experiences. Therefore, it has decided to go for referendum and independence."

19/08/2017



President Barzani’s interview with the Saudi newspaper, Ukaz:

“After the fall of Saddam Hussein’s regime in 2003, we asked the Iraqi political leaders to come so we build a democratic federal Iraq. We tried very hard and our intention was the success of the experience. However, unfortunately, we faced the same old treatment. They violated our rights and did not accept the real partnership, and monopolized power. Our constitution has not implemented the terms related to the Kurdistan Region and Iraq. When they violated the constitution, I talked to our brothers in Baghdad and candidly explained the failure of our partnership together and told them that we can be good neighbors.”

21/08/2017



President Barzani’s meeting with syndicate representatives and public and vocational organizations:

“I have long felt that the mentality in Baghdad has not changed, especially during the Qaratapa issue. They ordered advancing tanks to Khanaqeen. After that, I went

to Baghdad and met with Mam Jalal at Abdul-Aziz Hakim house, and Maliki was the Prime Minister at the time. There I asked, aren't you advancing 30 tanks to Khanaqeen? Saddam's 9000 tanks did not scare us and it is impossible that your broken tanks will scare us. The issue here is the mentality. If their mentality is that tanks and jets will resolve the issue, the situation becomes very dangerous.

The trust is gone, and we have tried very hard to resolve this with Baghdad, USA, EU, and other regional countries. If a solution is not found for this, the ending will not be acceptable. They did not take it seriously, they thought it is only a pressure card, but that is not true. We are even late, we should have made this decision very long ago."

22/08/2017



President Barzani's meeting with James Mathews, U.S. Secretary of Defense:

"The constitution has granted the Kurds with this right. The abstract clearly states that commitment to the constitution is a precondition for staying united."

26/08/2017



President Barzani's meeting with Jean Yves, Le Drian, French Foreign Minister, and Florence Parley, French Minister of Defense:

"The Kurdish people cannot repeat the failed experiences with Iraq. Since the desired unity has failed and the concept of partnership has been violated for one hundred years, the people of Kurdistan would like to continue good relations with Baghdad as a neighbor."

6/09/2017



President Barzani's meeting with journalists and artists:

"Iraq is neither a republic nor democratic; it has turned into a sectarian government. If Iraq's political system is based on the majority, the Kurds are disadvantaged in all senses, because the Kurds will always be a minority in the national assembly."

7/09/2017



العربية

President Barzani's meeting with Al-Arabiyah channel:

"We agreed on building a democratic civil government, however, the country is now run by a sectarian government. We warned four years ago but the Iraqi government was becoming distant from partnership principle and was violating the constitution. Kurdistan had more authority and independence before 2003, but we went back to Baghdad to achieve real partnership and to build a civil country."

9/09/2017



President Barzani's meeting with Ahmad Abughhaith, Arab League Secretary General:

"Partnership was not implemented in the history of Kurdistan and Iraq and the constitution and agreements between us were violated. Based on the failed experience in different stages of our relations and due to the violation of the terms of the agreements

and the constitution, trust has been eroded between Iraq and Kurdistan. Thus, the Kurdish people have decided to go for referendum and it will approach peaceful methods and dialogue in order to obtain its rights.”

16/09/2017



President Barzani in a public rally in Duhok:

“We were hoping for a new Iraq to be built after 2003, but it did not take long for us to realize that the same mentalities exist in Iraq who deny the existence of the Kurds. By cutting the people’s source of living they did another Anfal to the Kurds. They should have realized that the day they made that decision, we would cut our relations with them.”

18/09/2017



President Barzani’s meeting with Michael Fallon, UK Minister of Defense:

“We have warned Baghdad several times in the past few years. If they continue on violating the constitution, we will return to our people and give them the decision.”

20/09/2017



President Barzani's meeting with Fuad Ma'sum, the President of the Republic of Iraq and the political parties in Sulaimanyah:

"We have tried all types of relations with Baghdad ranging for decentralization to autonomy and federalism, but all failed because only the faces changed and the mentalities remained the same, the mentality that does not believe in coexistence and partnership and the existence of the Kurdistan Region."

22/09/2017



Part of President Barzani's speech and Erbil's public rally:

"The Kurdish nation voted for the Iraqi constitution and saved it, but they did not commit to partnership and constitution. Cutting budget was another Anfal done to the Kurds. A civil, democratic, and federal country was supposed to be built, however, I would like to ask is the country a ruler or is it a sectarian state."

29/09/2017



A part of President Barzani's message to the public:

"We thought after 2003 a new opportunity has come up to build a new democratic Iraq in which everyone is aware of their rights and duties. Constitution was written and it was passed despite its shortages. Then, we realized that its terms are being violated until it was no longer being followed, and Iraq was being ruled by one entity.

Notwithstanding, we try hard to refer to the constitution and our agreements, but it was in vain. We discussed with the national coalition that the situation was dangerous and if it continues this way bloodshed might occur. We told them if we cannot be good partners, let us be good neighbors. At that time, they agreed with us, but as time passed, they are now attacking Kurdistan with tanks."