

Jawad Ibrahim Mella

The Kurdish State, A Struggle For Survival



First Edition – 2025

My Struggle For:

- Expelling the invaders from Kurdistan—the entities occupying Kurdistan (Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Iran, and the former Soviet Union).
- Tearing apart the borders of those occupying entities, artificially imposed by the colonial Treaty of Lausanne on July 24, 1923, which, after a hundred years, expired on July 24, 2023. These borders were built at the expense of the Kurdish people's freedom and the independence of Kurdistan, established in a moment of historical negligence and without the consent of its rightful owners—the Kurdish people.
- Restoring Kurdistan as a unified and liberated land, where we can establish our Kurdish state on its sacred soil. The struggle for a Kurdish state is a struggle for Kurdish survival, just as it is a struggle for a prosperous, stable, and thriving life for the Kurdish people and the neighboring peoples of Kurdistan alike.
- Reviving the glory and civilization of the Kurds once again.
- Participating in the advancement of human civilization, as we once did during the eras of the Mitanni, Hurrian, Sumerian, Median, and other Kurdish empires and states.
- No matter how much the opponents despise it, the Kurdish state is coming—without the slightest doubt.

The Author
Jawad Ibrahim Mella



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By: Jawad Ibrahim Mella

This book is translated from the original version in Arabic,
and available in Kurdish, Persian, Turkish, and English.

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Jawad Mella: Face Book, Messenger and X

e-mail: editor3@myyahoo.com

Mobile: 0044 (0)7768 266 005

Barclays Bank

Bank Account: 70649104

Sort Code: 20 35 90

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Cover Design: Alan Miran

Technology Adviser: Hiwa Ahmad

Proofreading: Engineer Isam Taher Saleh

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In addition to my positions mentioned above, there are hundreds more that I have written down in the text of the book without mentioning them in the index, and tens of thousands of my nationalist positions that I have written down in my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan", which contains more than 5,000 large pages that I have distributed over seven volumes.

Dedication

I dedicate my book, "The Kurdish State, A Struggle for Survival,"

To all the martyrs who sacrificed their lives and will sacrifice by the millions for the largest nation in the world, sixty million people, still deprived of an independent state: the Kurdish nation.

I also dedicate this book of mine to everyone who strives to establish a Kurdish state.

Although the Kurdish people are one of the most ancient and authentic peoples in the world, their existence and survival on the face of the earth are in great danger if they do not possess an independent state.

Jawad Ibrahim Mella

London, 24-7-2025

Introduction

One of the most important reasons for publishing this book of mine, "The Kurdish State, A Struggle for Survival," is to put an end to the atrocities and tragedies to which the Kurdish people are subjected, including ethnic cleansing, genocide, and being attacked with chemical, phosphorous, napalm bombs, and other internationally prohibited weapons.

Worse still, the world's major powers have maintained a complicit silence regarding these crimes, which are classified as crimes against humanity. This silence in itself constitutes a blatant admission of their conspiratorial responsibility with the states that occupy Kurdistan, which commit these serial atrocities incessantly against innocent Kurdish civilians, including women and children... burying them alive or bombing them with chemical weapons, for their fate is worse than death! Because it was a slow and painful death, worse than the death of six million Jews in the Nazi gas chambers.

Even worse, the major powers felt no guilt because they had erased from their policy any apology for the crimes they committed against the Kurdish people since the Sykes-Picot Agreement, the Treaty of Lausanne, the Tehran Conference, and until today.

Truly, there is an urgent need to pause and reflect on the horror of these atrocities, which would not have been committed without secret approval, if not direct orders, from the real masters in the capitals of the major fascist

states, which publicly sold chemical weapons to the states occupying Kurdistan, knowing full well that these deadly weapons were for suppressing any liberation movement of the Kurdish people.

Thus, the major powers have proven that their benefits from selling weapons were, and still are, more important than people and their human rights, deliberately ignoring the genocide and ethnic cleansing faced by the Kurdish people. The major powers also ignored the promises they made to themselves after World War II that the Nazi genocide would never be repeated. Yet, every time the issue of Kurdistan's independence and saving the Kurdish people from the ongoing genocide to this day is raised, they oppose it vehemently and with terrible malice. For example:

1. In 1963, Mongolia submitted a request to discuss the Kurdish issue at the United Nations, but the Soviet Union forced Mongolia to withdraw its request.
2. In 2017, the majority of the Kurdish people in Southern Kurdistan voted for the independence of Kurdistan through a popular referendum in accordance with United Nations regulations and laws. However, the states that occupy Kurdistan (Syria, Turkey, Iran, and Iraq), with the approval of the major powers, besieged the Kurdish people by land and air (all airports and border crossings were closed, even preventing the passage of patients) to thwart the referendum process. Subsequently, the Iraqi army occupied the city of Kirkuk with American tanks and Iranian and Turkish logistical support.

Therefore, the great powers have relied on terrorist organizations like the Taliban, Al-Qaeda, and ISIS and handed over the rule of Afghanistan, Syria, and other countries around the world to them. This action of theirs is neither strange nor new; rather, it complements their terrorist work of partitioning Kurdistan and granting its parts to neighboring terrorist states, which they specifically created to terrorize the Kurdish people over the past hundred years. However, the Kurdish people have not treated them in the same manner, because the Kurdish people have their own traditions and civilization that prevent them from aggressing against and invading the lands of others, as was done to Kurdistan. But I believe that if the Kurdish people were to abandon their refined, humanistic traditions and civilization, the great powers would certainly rely on them to rule their homeland, Kurdistan, just as they did with the Taliban, Al-Qaeda, and ISIS.

I look forward to the awakening of the global human conscience regarding the issue of Kurdistan's independence and that the major powers take practical action to correct the injustice and betrayal that has befallen the Kurdish people, and to set a timetable for the establishment of a Kurdish state, and that the states occupying Kurdistan return to their natural size, just as the Soviet Union returned to its natural size with the independence of dozens of peoples from it.

Jawad Ibrahim Mella

The History of the Kurds from Ancient Times to this today

The Historical Legacy of the Kurdish People and Kurdistan
Since the dawn of history, the Kurdish people have lived in Kurdistan. However, regional and international powers have attempted to erase or distort Kurdish history, falsely claiming that the civilizations of Kurdistan belong to them.

Most historical records about the Kurds were written by their enemies, aiming to mislead the Kurdish people and falsify facts, culture, and history. Therefore, we must reject history books written by the enemies of the Kurds and Kurdistan and instead rely on archaeological discoveries—especially those supported by modern scientific methods.

Kurdistan: The Cradle of Human Civilization

Ancient archaeological findings indicate that Kurdistan is the cradle of human civilization. The American historian Stephen Mansfield, in his book "The Miracle of the Kurds," mentions the discovery of a body in a cave tomb in Shanidar Cave, where the body was laid on layers of flower petals, each layer a different color. The rock-carved tomb dates back 56,000 years.

The American archaeologist Professor Robert John Braidwood states that the transition from hunting to agriculture occurred in northern Kurdistan around 6000—

10,000 BC. He adds that the Kurdish people were among the first to develop agriculture and industry, leaving caves to live in houses with advanced household tools. Agriculture and crop cultivation existed in Kurdistan 12,000 years ago, and many crops known today—such as wheat, corn, and barley—originated in Kurdistan.

Regarding industry, Prof. Braidwood confirms that the archaeological site of Çayönü in northern Kurdistan can be considered the oldest industrial city in the world, where copper was extracted (and still is today). Additionally, trade records and tablets found in Kurdistan provide evidence of early commerce.

The English orientalist Professor Edward Granville Browne notes that artifacts discovered in Susa (Shush) in Ilam (eastern Kurdistan) are estimated to be 20,000 years old. He suggests that continued excavations in Susa would undoubtedly reveal even older artifacts. This leaves no doubt that Kurdistan was the cradle of the first and second waves of human civilization—before and after the Great Flood of Prophet Noah (peace be upon him).

While historians and religious texts differ on where Noah's Ark landed—some say Mount Ararat (Ağrı), others Mount Judi—both mountains are in Kurdistan.

Ancient Kurdish Cities (5000–20,000 BC)

Some of the oldest Kurdish cities, founded between 5000 and 20,000 BC, include:

1. Hewlêr (Erbil) – Southern Kurdistan
2. Susa (Sose) – Eastern Kurdistan
3. Amed (Diyarbakır) – Northern Kurdistan
4. Harran – Northern Kurdistan
5. Mosul (Mûsil) – Southern Kurdistan
6. Wan (Van) – Northern Kurdistan
7. Hamedan – Eastern Kurdistan
8. Kirkuk (Kirkûk) – Southern Kurdistan
9. Urfa (Orfa) – Northern Kurdistan
10. Serê Kaniyê (Ras al-Ain) – Western Kurdistan

Kurdish Origins of Indo-European Peoples

By the end of the Neolithic period (9000–4500 BC), many people migrated from the Black Sea and Caspian steppes (Kurdistan) to Europe, mixing with indigenous populations. They reached most of Europe, including Britain. DNA evidence confirms that the builders of Stonehenge had Kurdish origins.

A BBC Arabic report states:

"A recent study shows that the ancestors of the people who built Stonehenge traveled west from Anatolia (northern Kurdistan) across the Mediterranean before reaching Britain. Neolithic populations migrated from Anatolia (modern Turkey) to Iberia (Spain and Portugal) before heading north, arriving in Britain around 4000 BC."

The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) published the details of this study in the scientific journal Nature Ecology & Evolution. Below is the BBC's webpage via the following link:

<https://www.bbc.com/arabic/art-and-culture-47956700>

It is worth noting that in those ancient times, the Zagros peoples—the ancestors of the Kurdish nation—lived alone in the region. At that time, there was no presence of Greeks, Persians, Arabs, Armenians, or Turks in this area.

(Note: "Zagros peoples" refers to the ancient inhabitants of the Zagros Mountains, who are considered among the ancestors of modern Kurds.)

During these ancient times, the Zagros peoples (ancestors of the Kurds) were the sole inhabitants of the region. There was no presence of Greeks, Persians, Arabs, Armenians, or Turks at that time.

Thus, Kurdistan was the cradle of Indo-European languages, meaning that Indo-European languages derive from Kurdish—not the other way around, as commonly believed.

The Kurdish Presence in Ancient Empires

Kurdish historians Dr. Mehdi Kakai and General Mohammad Amin Zaki note that:

Persians arrived in modern-day Iran around the mid-9th century BC.

Armenians came to the Caucasus in the 8th century BC.

The Kurdish people have an ancient and authentic historical presence in the Middle East, having established kingdoms and empires and built complete civilizations, including Kurdish religions such as: Yazidism – Zoroastrianism – Manichaeism - Kakai faith – Yarsanism. These religions still perform their rituals in the Kurdish language.

Kurdish civilizations—such as the Hurrians, Mitanni, Gutians, Kassites, Sumerians, Urartu, Subartu, Lullubi, and Medes—rivaled the greatest civilizations in history.

The Median Empire: The Last Great Kurdish Empire

The Kurdish Median Empire was a pivotal point between Kurdish freedom and subjugation. Its capital, Hamedan, was one of the most important cities in world history. Located in eastern Kurdistan (now occupied by Iran), Hamedan remains a symbol of ancient Kurdish glory.

The book "Media" by historian I.M. Diakonoff is the first detailed historical source on the Median Empire, providing archaeological and historical evidence about

the peoples who formed the Median union—the ancestors of the Kurds.

Kurdish historian Professor Jamal Rashid Ahmed's book, "The Emergence of the Kurds in History," is another key documented source on ancient Kurdish history.

The Median Empire had regional capitals such as:

Amed (Diyarbakır) in Northern Kurdistan.

Amêdî (Amediya) in Southern Kurdistan.

Amûdê (Amuda) in Western Kurdistan.

All of which mean "City of the Medes" in Kurdish.

During the era of the Kurdish Median Empire, the Kurds dominated all components of the Middle East—not through the force of arms, but through humanity and civilization, which they extended to everyone. This fostered growing fear that the Kurdish Median Empire might rule the Middle East forever... As a result, an alliance was formed by the wicked of Babylon and Persia to eliminate the Kurdish Median Empire, and they succeeded in 550 BC when the empire fell to the Persian-Babylonian alliance. This same alliance repeated itself whenever the Kurds attempted to reclaim their glory and civilization throughout various stages of history, aiming to suppress the Kurdish people and undermine their freedom and independence. When they failed to control the Kurds, they sought help from neighboring and global powers, which ultimately destroyed Kurdish rule—and

often the conspirators themselves—because those powers never recognized them as allies, only as proxies. Kurdish rule was crushed after every invasion by foreign armies, including those of Alexander the Great, the Greeks, the Romans, the Seljuks, the Mongols, the Arabs, the Turks, European colonialism, and others.

The fall of the Median Empire marked the loss of freedom and independence for the Kurdish people. Although Kurdish princes enjoyed internal autonomy throughout history, the collapse of the Median Empire remains a distinct omen, as the rule of Kurdish princes over their regions was very short-lived amid the rise and fall of Kurdish states and governments. The longest-lasting was the Ayyubid Dynasty, which endured for about 81 years, although the Ayyubid family continued to rule over many provinces until the end of the 19th century, with the last being the Hasankeyf Emirate in northern Kurdistan.

The Kurds ruled their homeland, Kurdistan, intermittently. However, the Persian, Turkish, and Arab empires and states that later governed Kurdistan carried out policies of Arabization, Turkification, and Persianization. In contrast, when Kurdish states and governments ruled over Persians, Turks, and Arabs, they never imposed "Kurdification" policies, as the Kurds consider such acts despicable racism incompatible with Kurdish civilization and ethics.

The Kurdish Struggle Against Occupation

After the fall of the Median Empire, the Persians and Babylonians committed massacres, forcing many Kurds to flee to their cousins—the Baloch, Sindhis, Amazigh, and Tuareg.

However, no studies have been conducted on that phase because Kurdistan itself became occupied, and the occupiers destroyed the documents that testify to the greatness of Kurdish civilization.

The racist Arab, Persian, and Turkish powers took turns in the mission of eliminating the Kurdish existence:

After the fall of the Median Empire in 550 BCE, Zoroastrian Persian clerics dominated Kurdish Zoroastrian clerics until the advent of Islam in 750 CE. For over 1,200 years, the Persians worked to distort the Zoroastrian religion.

Islam followed the same colonial policy as the Persians, creating a class of Kurdish Islamic clerics who acted as agents for Arab, Turkish, and Persian Islamic scholars.

Any Kurdish Islamic scholar who pursued an independent Kurdish policy was fought and killed, such as Ibn Taymiyyah, Abu Muslim al-Khurasani, Sheikh Abd al-Salam Barzani, Sheikh Said Piran, Sheikh Mahmud al-Hafid, Sheikh Mashuq al-Khaznawi, and many others.

At the beginning of the 20th century, when socialism began to spread, Arab, Turkish, and Persian racists quickly adopted socialism and placed Kurdish socialist pioneers under the influence of Arab, Turkish, and Persian socialists—despite independent Kurdish socialist attempts, such as:

Abdullah Öcalan breaking away from the Turkish Workers' Party and founding the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK).

Karim Ahmad splitting from the Iraqi Communist Party and establishing the Kurdistan Communist Party and others.

However, the collapse of the socialist experiment with the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991 led Arab, Turkish, and Persian racists to accelerate the spread of democratic ideology to distance the Kurdish people from independent Kurdish nationalist thought.

In reality, the right to self-determination, human rights, and democracy are all fabricated slogans designed to deceive the weak in the world. The weak have also used these concepts to mask their own vulnerabilities. A democratic state can still be a colonialist state simultaneously—history is full of examples:

The oldest and most established democratic senate in the world was that of the Roman and Greek Macedonian Empires, yet they were the largest colonial powers of their time.

British, French, and American democracies are unquestionably democratic, yet they are also among the world's largest colonialist states.

Therefore, I firmly believe that even if Syria, Iraq, Iran, and Turkey become democratic states, the Kurdish people will never obtain the right to self-determination. National rights are one thing, and democracy is another—they have no relation to each other.

Arab, Turkish, and Persian racists have deceived the Kurds with religious, humanitarian, and democratic slogans, while in reality, they are giants of dictatorship in every era and place. The Kurdish people must understand this dirty game, break free, and establish their own independent Kurdish state.

Since the first partition of Kurdistan between Safavid Iran and the Ottoman Empire in 1514, and the second partition between Turkey, Syria, Iraq, and the former Soviet Union after World War I, the Kurdish people have continuously revolted against occupation. Due to their

resistance, they have faced countless atrocities and tragedies. Some examples include:

1. Britain, while ruling Iraq and southern Kurdistan, exiled Sheikh Mahmud al-Hafid, the King of Southern Kurdistan (1919–1924), to India. And Kurdistan was bombed with chemical weapons in 1920.
2. France, while ruling Syria and western Kurdistan, exiled Osmān Sabri in 1936 to Madagascar in Africa. He was imprisoned 18 times in different periods. Syria assassinated Prince Jaladat Badrkhan in 1951 and burned 380 Kurdish children alive in a cinema in Amuda in 1960.
3. In 1927-1928, Turkey bombed the Dersim region with chemical weapons. Turkey forcibly displaced 1.5 million Kurds between 1915–1939; half died from cold and hunger. It executed Kurdish leaders: Sheikh Abd al-Salam Barzani (1914), Sheikh Said Piran (1925), Seyid Riza (1939), It also kidnapped Abdullah Öcalan, who remains imprisoned since 1999.
4. Iran assassinated Kurdish leader Simko Shikak, his brothers, and mother in 1930. It executed Qazi Muhammad, President of the Republic of Kurdistan, in 1946. It forced General Mustafa Barzani and 500 Peshmerga to flee to the Soviet Union (1947–1958). It also assassinated Dr. Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou in Vienna (1989) and Dr. Sadegh Sharafkandi in Berlin (1993)

5. Iraq kidnapped and killed 5,000 Feyli Kurds in 1980 and 8,000 Barzani Kurds in 1983. It massacred 5,000 Kurds in Halabja with chemical weapons (1988) and buried 182,000 Kurds alive in the deserts of southern Iraq during the Anfal operations (1988).
6. Soviet leader Stalin destroyed the Red Kurdistan Republic in 1930, scattering Kurds across the USSR and killing anyone who opposed his destructive policies. The remaining Kurds suffered in the wars between Azerbaijan and Armenia (1990–1992, 2020 Nagorno-Karabakh conflict).

Despite the protection provided by American forces to the Kurdish people in southern and western Kurdistan under the guise of false democracy, the Kurdish people continue to suffer immensely under the occupation of their homeland, Kurdistan. They face extermination through various chemical and phosphorous weapons and displacement across many Kurdish regions, including, for example:

- The Yazidis in Sinjar in 2014
- Kobani in 2015
- Kirkuk in 2017
- Afrin in 2018
- Serikaniye and Gire Spi in 2019

To this day, Syria, Turkey, Iraq, and Iran take turns committing genocide against the Kurdish people, openly assassinating and executing their leaders—whether in the

dungeons of their intelligence agencies or through fabricated incidents.

Despite all the genocidal campaigns carried out by the entities occupying Kurdistan, they have failed to extinguish the flames of Kurdish revolutions.

The occupying powers then sought the help of major global powers to crush Kurdish uprisings through military alliances such as the Saadabad Pact, the Baghdad Pact, and CENTO. Yet, these alliances also failed to quell the Kurdish revolutions.

After the failure of these military pacts, Western powers tasked the Soviet Union with entering Eastern Kurdistan and establishing the Republic of Kurdistan in Mahabad. The goal was to gain the trust of the Kurdish people while using the republic to promote Soviet ideology—encouraging Kurds to integrate into the occupying states under the guise of "democracy" and "peaceful coexistence" within colonial borders. This was meant to gradually assimilate the Kurdish people over generations (exactly as outlined in the resolutions of the 1943 Tehran Colonial Conference).

On another front, European colonialism exploited the spread of Islam among the indigenous peoples of the Middle East, leading to the dominance of Arabic, the language of the Quran. Over 1,400 years, most native populations were Arabized. Colonial powers then installed puppet regimes in the Middle East—rulers who were not the original inhabitants of the land—to facilitate

the looting of resources, leaving only crumbs for their local collaborators.

At the beginning of the last century, colonialism artificially created Arab states to serve its interests, sidelining indigenous peoples from politics, economics, and culture. Thus, the ruling regimes in the Middle East are colonial puppets with no real connection to the native populations.

European colonialism also promoted pan-Arab, Turkish, Persian, and Pakistani nationalism to erase indigenous identities, forcibly merging them into fabricated nation-states led by figures like Reza Shah, Mustafa Kemal, and Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

- Pakistan has no single ethnicity; its artificial borders were drawn at the expense of the Baloch, Sindhis, Pashtuns, Sikhs, and others.
- Persian Iran's borders were imposed over the Baloch, Azeris, Kurds, Arabs, and others.
- Turko-fascist Turkey's borders were built by suppressing Kurds, Laz, Armenians, Greeks, Arabs, and more.

In the Levant (Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine), the original inhabitants were Arameans, Kurds, and Jews. Arab nationalists reduced Jews and Arameans to religious minorities (Christian or Jewish), though they are historically distinct ethnicities. The Bible was written in Aramaic, proving its existence before Christianity. Jesus

himself was an Israelite (as stated in the Quran), meaning Judaism is an ethnicity, not just a religion.

Today's Arabic speakers in the Levant are undoubtedly descendants of Arabized Arameans, Kurds, or Jews. The same happened to the Copts in Egypt—they are the true Egyptians, not a religious minority. Egypt's entire population was originally Coptic; Arabization turned them into "Arabs." Even former President Mohamed Morsi and current President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi likely have Coptic ancestors who were Arabized over 1,400 years.

The Amazigh (Berbers) of North Africa were similarly enslaved and divided across more than ten countries. The Kurdish people were also enslaved, with their homeland, Kurdistan, split among five states (Syria, Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and the former Soviet Union). The Baloch people suffered the same fate, with Balochistan fragmented between Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Oman.

French colonialism in Algeria succeeded in making French the dominant language—even after 132 years of occupation, it remains stronger than Arabic, despite post-independence efforts to promote Arabic education. This is because Algerians are not ethnically Arab; Arabic was imposed and can be replaced, as French was.

The Kurdish people, deprived of their state since the fall of the Median Empire (550 BCE), have endured systematic Arabization, Persianization, and Turkification. Yet, the Kurdish language survives—spoken without

formal schools or religious institutions—because it is the native tongue of a people rooted in ancient civilization. The Kurdish people, their culture, and their language remain a thorn in the eye of the occupying powers—even if it takes another 1,400 years.

At the beginning of 2025, the true history and civilization of the Kurdish people were scientifically revealed through DNA and Kurdish genetics. Thus, the era of falsifying Kurdish history and civilization has come to an end.

Science has definitively settled the origin of the Kurdish nation with irrefutable evidence and indisputable facts, proving that the Kurdish people are the indigenous people of the Middle East since prehistoric times—thousands of years before the Egyptian and Greek civilizations.

This makes Kurdish civilization the root of human civilizations, as the Kurds were the first to practice agriculture and domesticate horses tens of thousands of years ago.

Some of the archaeological sites linked to this groundbreaking discovery include Tell Halaf in Western Kurdistan (in the Jazira region) and Shanidar Cave in Southern Kurdistan (in the Barzan region).

This is conclusive proof that the Kurds are the original inhabitants of Syria and Iraq, not migrants, as Arab racists claim—whether before or after the establishment of the Syrian and Iraqi states in the early 20th century. The Kurds

in Syria and Iraq are the legitimate native inhabitants of these lands for tens of thousands of years. All non-Kurdish elements—Arabs, Turks, and Persians—are invading dark forces who occupied Kurdistan and falsely appropriated Kurdish history and civilization through lies and aggression.

Most importantly, the genetic lineage of the Kurdish people, scientifically known as J2 (as mentioned in the links), has survived and retained its authenticity to this day and will remain so forever. This means the future awaits the Kurdish people to triumph in their struggle for self-preservation.

Therefore, I remain optimistic that Kurdistan will become a state for the indigenous Kurdish people, who rightfully deserve it—both scientifically and nationally—to have their own country.

Below are the links:

The first link mentions Shanidar Cave in Southern Kurdistan.

The second link mentions Tell Halaf in Western Kurdistan.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yIruMTcd_c8

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zqkXoiVrm5M>

The Kurdistan Issue from the Perspective of All Concerned Parties

1. Kurdistan from the Kurdish People's Perspective

The Kurdish people demand that Western and Eastern nations restore their freedom and the independence of their homeland, Kurdistan. These are the same nations that orchestrated the Sykes-Picot Agreement in 1916, the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, and the Tehran Conference in 1943, through which they handed over Kurdish lands—lands that did not belong to them—to others.

2. Kurdistan from the Perspective of the Occupying Entities

The entities that occupy Kurdistan, having inherited it through the colonial Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916), the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), and the Tehran Conference (1943), commit genocide, ethnic cleansing, and terrorism against the Kurdish people. They engage in brutal practices—mass killings, forced displacement, torture in prisons, looting of Kurdish property, and assaults on the lives and dignity of the Kurdish people—along with other racist policies aimed at emptying Kurdistan of its rightful owners, the Kurds.

3. Kurdistan from the Perspective of International Politics

The colonial Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916), the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), and the Tehran Conference (1943) were framed by major powers as efforts to secure their interests, but they were colonial schemes to plunder the lands of others. International politics has denied the existence of the Kurdish people and their right to independence, while supplying all kinds of weapons to the states that were granted Kurdistan. They also signed supplementary treaties to Sykes-Picot to suppress the Kurdish liberation movement, such as:

- The Saadabad Pact (1937) between Iraq, Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan.
- The Baghdad Pact (1955) between Iraq, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Britain, and others.

What further complicated the Kurdish issue was the entry of the United States into international politics. Since the second partition of Kurdistan after World War I (over a century ago), the world has been divided: one side with America, the other against it. Those against America included Nazis, Communists, Osama bin Laden, Saddam Hussein, etc. Simultaneously, the entities occupying Kurdistan split—some aligning with America, others opposing it.

As a result, the Kurdish people faced a terrible predicament:

- Any Kurdish liberation movement fighting an American-aligned occupier (e.g., Turkey) was labeled a terrorist organization by the U.S.

- Any Kurdish liberation movement fighting an American-opposed occupier (e.g., Saddam's Iraq) was deemed a friendly, non-terrorist movement by the U.S.

For example:

- The PKK's revolution in Northern Kurdistan was labeled terrorist because it fought Turkey, a U.S. ally.
- The revolution in Southern Kurdistan was deemed pro-American because Saddam's Iraq was anti-American.

Thus, America's allies (like Turkey) see Kurds as terrorists, while America's enemies (like Saddam's Iraq) see Kurds as Western spies. In truth, the Kurds are neither terrorists nor spies—but the malicious partition of Kurdistan has trapped them in an inescapable corner, causing them to lose international support, whether from America's friends or foes.

External Obstacles to Establishing a Kurdish State:

1. The Occupation Suffered by the Kurdish People.

The world has witnessed various forms of colonialism, and I wish Kurdistan had faced just one of them—because colonialism eventually withdraws, and colonized nations gained independence, whether after long or short struggles, with great or small sacrifices. Some types of colonialism include:

- Settler Colonialism: Like white occupation in South Africa and Namibia.
- Military Colonialism: British in Egypt and India; French in Algeria.
- Economic Colonialism: European in Southeast Asia; American globally—through English language dominance, trade, Hollywood, economic hegemony (jeans, McDonald's, Coca-Cola, Pepsi, etc.), even architectural styles (e.g., open-plan kitchens).
- Cultural & Intellectual Colonialism: The worst kind—altering societies from within, brainwashing them into adopting the occupier's ideology (e.g., Soviet Marxism in Eastern Europe, Arab/Turkish/Persian Islamization in the Middle East).

Historical Examples of Occupation:

- Britain occupied India for 89 years.
- France occupied Algeria for 132 years,
- Britain occupied America for 176 years.

- Europe occupied the Middle East by the Crusades for 200 years.
- The Americans (originally English/French/European), rejected continuous occupation.
- Poland endured Russian / German / Hungarian occupation for 150+ years but eventually unified.
- Norway broke free from Swedish colonialism in the early 20th century.

In short, occupation, rape, and colonialism are among the most abhorrent human relations—even if practiced by the most "advanced" nations.

So how much worse can it be? when the occupier lacks civilization, democracy, or humanity and is among the most despicable nations in the world, like the Syrian, Iraqi, Turkish, and Iranian occupiers who have colonized our homeland, Kurdistan, since the colonial Sykes-Picot Agreement to this day?

The entities occupying Kurdistan are barbaric regimes that do not recognize any human, democratic, or civil rights of their own Arab, Turkish, and Persian peoples—so how can the Kurds live among them and demand recognition of their national rights? It is a dream and an illusion.

From the characteristics of colonialism, we observe that Kurdistan has been afflicted with every form of occupation:

- Settler-colonialism (Arab Belt settlements in Western Kurdistan),
- Military occupation (in all regions of Kurdistan),
- Cultural and intellectual occupation (imposing Arabization, Turkification, and Persianization on the land and people of Kurdistan),
- Economic occupation (plundering Kurdistan's wealth, especially its oil).

Yet the difference between all other forms of colonialism and the occupation of Kurdistan is this: The occupying entities know full well that Kurdistan is not their homeland but the homeland of the Kurdish people—yet they refuse to acknowledge this reality. Even when they utter the word "Kurdistan," they do so only as a region or province of their own country, nothing more.

In some cases, the occupying regimes recognize the Kurdish people—who are neither Arab, Persian, nor Turkish—and Kurdistan as a homeland that is not theirs. But this "recognition" comes only through their practices of ethnic cleansing, racial discrimination, and exceptional laws applied exclusively in Kurdistan—laws that do not exist in their own Arab, Turkish, or Persian territories.

I wrote the book "The Colonial Policy of the Syrian Ba'ath Party in Western Kurdistan," and some criticized me, saying the term "colonialism" was too strong. I replied: "You're right—I should have called it the policy of slavery, because colonialism is a more advanced stage than slavery. Slaves could at least name their children as they wished, while Kurds are denied even the right to give their children Kurdish names."

Even Kurds in Europe face this oppression: When a Kurd goes to a Turkish embassy to register their newborn, they are handed a list of Turkish names to choose from and forbidden from picking a name outside that list—ensuring no Kurdish name is selected.

2. Fabricated Conflicts Against the Kurds

Fabricated conflicts aimed at eliminating the immense Kurdish potential:

1. The conflict between Babylon and Persia ended with the division of the Median Kurdish Empire's territories in 550 BC.
2. The Fabricated Conflict between the Roman and Persian Empires, where they waged all their wars on the land of Kurdistan to plunder its wealth and exhaust the Kurdish people's strength for seven

centuries—until the Arab-Islamic invasion of Kurdistan.

3. The Fabricated Conflicts between Arabs and Persians, and later between Turks and Arabs, where not a single battle was fought on their own lands—all their wars took place in Kurdistan. As a result, the Kurdish people endured military, political, economic, and social oppression.
4. The Fabricated Conflict between the West and the Turkish nationalist state led by Mustafa Kemal and the Persian state led by Shah Reza Pahlavi, aimed at implementing the second partition of Kurdistan between Syria, Turkey, and Iraq under the colonial Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916) and the Treaty of Lausanne (1923).
5. The post-WWI period saw significant Kurdish activism in international forums for Kurdistan's independence. General Sharif Pasha convinced the Allies at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, leading to the Treaty of Sèvres (1920), which recognized Kurdish national rights (Articles 62-64), including the establishment of a Kurdish state. However, for the great powers, this was merely a theatrical ploy to deceive the Kurds into inaction. Instead, the Allies supported Mustafa Kemal's new Turkish state through the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), nullifying Sèvres. Kemal exploited Kurdish religious sentiments to manipulate them into fighting Christians (Greeks,

Armenians, British), only to later brutally suppress the Kurds who helped build Turkey. The betrayal by world powers, Kemal, and Shah Reza remains a stain on humanity.

6. The Treaty of Sèvres was a deceitful trick used by the West against the Kurdish people with great malice and vileness... In 1919, the Kurds were on their way to declaring the independence of Greater Kurdistan... Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji was the king of Southern Kurdistan, and Prince Celadet Bedir Khan, his brother Prince Kamiran, and Ekrem Cemilpaşa were gathering Kurdish forces in Northern Kurdistan to liberate it. However, the British officer "Major Noel," who caught up with Prince Celadet, informed him that Great Britain was working diplomatically for the independence of Kurdistan and asked them to disband the Kurdish forces because Kurdistan's independence would be approved within months. Major Noel asked them to jointly tour Kurdistan to gauge the opinions of the Kurdish people, but without assembling military forces, as that could negatively affect the Allies' diplomatic efforts... Prince Celadet did not believe that a high-ranking British officer and representative of the great British Empire in the Middle East, like Major Noel, could be a liar and a hypocrite.

But "Major Noel" was a great liar, exactly like the American liar Henry Kissinger, the U.S. Secretary of

State who lied to General Mustafa Barzani in 1975... He told him it was necessary to withdraw and stop the Kurdish revolution, promising that America would reinstate him just as it reinstated the Shah of Iran after the coup against Dr. Mohammad Mosaddegh, the head of the socialist Iranian government. General Barzani believed him because he did not think the Secretary of State of America, a great power, could be a liar and a hypocrite.

7. The phantom conflict between Saddam Hussein's Iraq and the Shah of Iran, which was against the Kurdish people and their revolution led by General Mustafa Barzani in 1975, and which only ended with the termination of the Kurdish revolution.
8. The phantom conflict between Saddam Hussein's Iraq and Iran led by Khomeini, which ended with the assassination of Kurdish leaders on both the Iranian and Iraqi sides, such as the martyrs Idris Barzani and Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou, among others. Most importantly, the end of this phantom war led to the crushing of the Kurdish revolution in East and South Kurdistan and the execution of genocidal operations against the Kurdish people through the Anfal campaigns and the chemical weapons attack on Halabja, among others.
9. The phantom conflict between Turkey and Syria in 1958, which ended with the temporary declaration of the Syrian-Egyptian union in 1958, aimed at

eliminating the very strong Kurdish presence in Syria, which had terrified Turkey. Syria alone was incapable of purging the Kurdish presence, so the union with Egypt, a powerful state that was able to eliminate the Kurdish presence in all aspects of life in Syria, was used. The most significant target was the Kurdish presence in the Syrian army, leading to the discharge of dozens of Kurdish officers, such as Major General Mahmoud Shawkat Al-Rashi, Major General Tawfiq Nizam al-Din (Chief of Staff of Syria), Colonel Fouad Malatli (Commander of the Damascus Ammunition Depot), Colonel Bakri Qotrash, Colonel Ibrahim Biram, Colonel Mahmoud Qotrash, Colonel Issa Ka'akarlı, Colonel Bakri Zaza, Colonel Muhammad Zulfo, and others—even though the wife of Abdul Hamid al-Sarraj, the head of Syrian intelligence at the time, was the cousin of Colonel Muhammad Zulfo (daughter of Ali Agha Zulfo, one of the Kurdish leaders of Damascus).

10. The second phantom conflict between Turkey and Syria, which ended with the Adana Agreement in 1998 and consequently led to the handover of the PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan to Turkey in 1999.
11. The third phantom conflict between Turkey and Syria, which ended with Turkish mediation between the Syrian regime and the Syrian opposition, aimed at eliminating the Autonomous Administration in West Kurdistan (Rojava).

12. The phantom conflict among partisan Kurdish leaderships in internal Kurdish-Kurdish infighting, which was an important part of the phantom conflicts created by the enemies of the Kurds and Kurdistan to weaken the Kurdish people.
13. The phantom conflict between authoritarian regimes and the popular Arab Spring revolutions, which never succeeded in eliminating authoritarianism but very skillfully managed to crush the liberation movements of indigenous peoples who had been unjustly and aggressively erased from the political map... The popular Arab Spring revolutions, entirely orchestrated by the authoritarian regimes or their masters abroad, deceived the indigenous peoples into believing these revolutions were their savior and liberator... while in reality, the Arab Spring revolutions were one of those phantom conflicts designed to eliminate liberation movements or prolong the occupation of the homelands of indigenous peoples like the Kurds, Baloch, Amazigh, and others.
14. The phantom conflict between all nations and ISIS (Daesh), which was essentially fabricated by all regional and international states and was also part of the conflicts waged by the enemies of the Kurds and Kurdistan to eliminate the forces of the Kurdish people and other indigenous peoples without incurring any criminal or legal responsibility. One of the results of the Daesh wars in Syria and Iraq was that

the Kurdish forces in Syria and Iraq offered thousands of their fighters as sacrifices in a war that had nothing to do with the freedom of the Kurdish people. Tens of thousands of Kurdish civilians, especially Yazidi Kurds, were also sacrificed... Furthermore, when Daesh turned towards Arab areas, Kurdistan was flooded with Arab refugees fleeing Daesh, whom the Kurds hosted for humanitarian reasons. However, due to this contrived Arab displacement orchestrated by the brokers of the Daesh conflict, Kurds became a minority in many Kurdish areas—exactly what the entities occupying Kurdistan aim for: to make Kurds a minority in Kurdistan.

15. The phantom conflict among partisan Kurdish leaderships, some of which even led to fighting, aimed at wasting Kurdish time and capabilities on trivial matters entirely unrelated to liberating Kurdistan. Like their phantom conflict over the position of President of Iraq in 2022: the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) nominated Hoshyar Zebari and Rebar Ahmed, and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) nominated Barham Salih. This is a phantom conflict in every sense of the word, with neither party genuinely expecting to win the position. Its true purpose is to condition the members and supporters of these parties to accept Iraq as their homeland and to struggle for it. The KDP and PUK invested all their material and moral capabilities in this phantom conflict, paying millions of

dollars to Iraqi Sunni and Shiite leaders to strengthen the enemies of the Kurds and Kurdistan under the guise of supporting their own candidates... From the perspective of the partisan Kurdish leaderships, it was a real conflict meant to drag the Kurdish people into a struggle whose result is that the Kurdish candidate takes the oath upon assuming the presidency of Iraq, as stated in the Iraqi constitution: "The President of the Republic is the Head of State and the symbol of the unity of the homeland, representing the sovereignty of the country. He safeguards the commitment to the Constitution, the preservation of Iraq's independence, sovereignty, unity, and the integrity of its territories..." On the other hand, the conflict among the partisan Kurdish leaderships was a phantom conflict aimed at conditioning the Kurdish people to accept integration into the state of Iraq, which built its borders, sovereignty, and independence at the expense of the freedom of the Kurdish people and the independence of Kurdistan.

16. The phantom conflict between the partisan Kurdish leaderships in Southern Kurdistan (Iraqi Kurdistan) and the Iraqi state, where they work to instill in the Kurdish people that they are besieged, under threat, that their livelihood is under attack, their economy is being struck, their salaries are being cut, etc... All this to cement and deepen the processes of intimidation and conditioning. The truth is that the partisan

Kurdish leaderships possess billions of dollars that could cover Kurdistan's salaries for decades. But they fabricate this conflict with Iraqi governments to accustom the Kurdish people to begging from the occupying state of Iraq—a brainwashing process to make the Kurdish people accept remaining within Iraq for their living needs, while it is Iraq that occupies Kurdistan and secures its own living needs from the wealth of Kurdistan.

17. The phantom conflict between the partisan Kurdish leaderships in all parts of Kurdistan and Kurdish scholars, philosophers, and intellectuals, aimed solely at wasting Kurdish time and capabilities and nothing else.
18. The phantom conflict between the entities occupying Kurdistan and the partisan Kurdish leaderships, along with various organizations advocating for Islamic brotherhood, international class struggle, coexistence, democracy, humanity, and other endless labels... In truth, they are nothing but lackeys and agents of the entities occupying Kurdistan, working for free. Some, without even realizing it, support the injustice inflicted upon the Kurdish people, justifying their own complicity with the illusion of striving for Islamic, class-based, coexistence, democratic, and fake humanitarian concepts.

Conclusions:

1,400 years ago, the Arabs killed Hussein ibn Ali. Later, his body was found in Damascus, and his head was discovered in Cairo. If they committed such brutality against the grandson of their own Prophet Muhammad... If this was their cruelty toward the family of their Prophet—people who spoke their Arabic language—then how much more savagery would they practice toward the Kurdish people and other peoples of the region who do not speak their language, do not wear their clothes, and do not inhabit the deserts like them?

This is how the conflict began—between the civilization and humanity of the Kurds and the savage, barbaric desert occupation that understands nothing but invasion, murder, or the imposition of tribute (jizya) unless we believe what they believe and dress as they dress.

Any Kurd who seeks coexistence with such people will have their name recorded in the annals of shame and disgrace, among the darkest pages of history.

The occupation will inevitably vanish, sooner or later—just as the occupations of India, Egypt, Algeria, America, Poland, and Norway ended. The state of Kurdistan will rise, whether the haters like it or not.

Therefore, the Kurdish people must struggle for the establishment of a Kurdish state and put an end to this despicable occupation. No matter what, Kurdistan is a historical, civilizational, and human reality that no neutral observer can deny. One day, it must have its own independent Kurdish state.

Every nation has the right to self-determination. There are no divine or earthly laws against peoples—especially the oppressed and those betrayed by time.

Those who evade this difficult duty, dismissing it as unrealistic or imaginary, should remember: If they were right, Poland and Norway would still be under occupation today. Even cannibalistic tribes now have their own states and governments.

We are the descendants of the Median, Sumerian, Hurrian, Mitanni, Zoroastrian, Yazidi, and Yarsani civilizations—all of which proclaimed the oneness of God. Yet, the minds of Kurdish partisan leaders feign ignorance of this truth. The establishment of a Kurdish state is inevitable, whether sooner or later.

3. International Conspiracies Against the Kurds

Among the most significant international conspiracies against the Kurdish people are the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916, the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, and other overt and covert treaties. However, the most sinister and repulsive of them all was the great conspiracy of the Tehran Conference in 1943.

Decisions of the Tehran Conference (1943):

I mentioned earlier that since my arrival in Britain at the end of 1984, I had been working to uncover the flaws and the missing link in the Kurdish liberation movement. I scoured everything available in the British National Library and the UK National Archives about the Kurdish people. Despite the vast amount of information, I found very little of what I was looking for.

I then turned to the embassies of major powers in London, hoping to catch a slip of the tongue or a clue that would lead me to the missing piece in the question of Kurdistan's independence. But I found nothing.

I also reached out to British politicians, government officials, and members of Parliament, meeting many of them, yet I still could not find what I was searching for.

However, on March 10, 2014, a historic and miraculous day, I discovered the missing link—one of the most critical reasons behind the stumbling of the Kurdish liberation movement. In truth, it was no coincidence, as I had been

searching for this missing piece for years, scouring neglected corners of British archives and visiting Western and Eastern embassies regularly.

In my writings before this day, I had referred to this missing link in various terms—sometimes attributing it to the Kurdish leadership's lack of understanding of international politics, other times suspecting some hidden flaw. But on this day, I finally found what I had been seeking.

On that historic day, March 10, 2014, I visited Mr. Ivan Volodin, head of the International Politics Division at the Russian Embassy in London, to deliver a memorandum to Russian President Vladimir Putin concerning the Kurdish people in Western Kurdistan (Rojava). Arriving early, I was asked to wait in the reception room.

Among the other guests was a man who appeared to be around my age—perhaps older or younger, but his imposing stature made him seem older. After exchanging greetings and small talk about London's cold weather (despite it being spring), I noticed his Russian features. I remarked that Moscow must be even colder, to which he agreed. He asked about the weather in my homeland, and I replied that it varied by region.

He then asked where I was from. When I said Kurdistan, he took a deep breath and asked if I was interested in Kurdish politics. I confirmed that I was, explaining that my presence at the Russian Embassy was due to my concern for the Kurdish cause.

He introduced himself as Mikhail and handed me his business card, which read:

"Mikhail Ivanovich – Russian Intelligence Office" Along with a phone number.

He urged me to call him, saying he had something important regarding the Kurdish people. I agreed, but before I could give him my card, Mr. Ivan Volodin entered, apologizing for the delay. I quickly bid farewell to Mikhail and proceeded to the meeting.

During my discussion with Volodin, I handed him the memorandum and explained the Kurdish issue in Syria. I mentioned that I engaged not only with the Russians but with all nations—Eastern and Western—despite their contradictions. What mattered to me was the Kurdish people's freedom and independence.

I also noted that I respected Russia's honesty in openly supporting the Syrian regime, unlike other nations that publicly opposed it while secretly backing it. Volodin smiled and promised to relay my message to the Russian Foreign Ministry, which would then forward it to President Putin.

After the meeting, he escorted me to the embassy's main door—a first in all my visits—as if he did not want me to return to the waiting room and resume my conversation with Mikhail. But I already had Mikhail's number and sensed his importance from Volodin's behavior.

A few days later, I called Mikhail Ivanovich, reintroduced myself, and arranged to meet at a London café.

When I told him I was the president of the Kurdistan National Congress and gave him English-language materials on the Kurdish cause, he cut to the chase:

Revealing that he had been an archivist for a Soviet intelligence agency—not the KGB, but the Soviet Presidential Intelligence Service.

When the USSR collapsed in 1991, chaos ensued. Republics gained independence, and most old intelligence personnel were dismissed. Before his retirement, Mikhail secretly photographed top-secret files, including the minutes of the 1943 Tehran Conference, which contained critical decisions about the Kurdish people.

He had hoped the Soviet Union would return one day, making him a hero for preserving these documents. But as years passed, he realized the USSR would not revive.

He then pulled out a stack of Russian-language papers—the Tehran Conference records on the Kurds. Though I did not speak Russian, I recognized the signatures of:

- U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt
- British Prime Minister Winston Churchill
- Soviet leader Joseph Stalin

I asked for a copy, but he refused, saying it was too dangerous—he would lose his life if these were leaked.

I offered money, but he said no amount could compensate for the risk.

Finally, I proposed that he translate the Kurdish-related sections for me. He agreed—but demanded ten times the amount I initially offered.

Though it was a huge sum for me, I accepted. The information was priceless—a decades-old conspiracy against the Kurds, signed by world leaders.

For weeks, we met daily at cafés as he translated from Russian to English, and I recorded everything.

At one point, I asked if he had shared these files with any other Kurds. He confirmed but refused to name them, just as he would never reveal that I had obtained the translations.

I later consulted my mentor, Dr. Jemal Nebez, advisor to the Kurdistan National Congress, who called it a monumental discovery but warned me to keep it secret. If I wrote about it, I should only hint at the 1943 Tehran Conference, equating its brutality to the Treaty of Lausanne, without details—until the right time.

Dr. Nebez feared for my safety, as Mikhail had warned that his life would be in danger if the Kurdish file were exposed. These were Presidential Intelligence (Soviet Union) secrets, likely absent from KGB or Foreign Ministry archives.

After Dr. Nebez's passing, as I wrote My Autobiography, I decided the time had come to reveal the Kurdish file of the Tehran Conference. Perhaps others had obtained the original Russian or English copies but chose not to disclose them.

I concluded that God had kept me alive through arrests, pursuits, wars, and assassination attempts so I could expose this conspiracy before my time came.

I tried contacting Mikhail Ivanovich again to inform him of my decision to publish the translations—or to see if Russia had declassified the original documents. But his phone was disconnected. The Russian Embassy claimed not to know him—perhaps he was a dangerous figure, or they knew him under another name.

Regardless, I decided to publish the translation and his name, hoping it might lead me to the original documents for inclusion in My Autobiography.

Translation of the Kurdish File from the 1943 Tehran Conference

As relayed by Soviet intelligence officer Mikhail Ivanovich, bearing the signatures of world leaders:

The 1943 Tehran Conference was attended and signed by: U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and the Soviet leader Joseph Stalin

Along with their intelligence teams and political advisors. They discussed global issues, primarily resisting Nazi Germany's advances in Europe, North Africa, Russia, and the Caucasus.

They also addressed stateless nations—Kurds, Amazigh (Berbers), Tamils, Sabah, Sarawak, Baloch, Sindh, Nubians, Kurdfan, and others who resisted occupation and fought for independence.

The British and French empires had deliberately neglected these peoples to exploit their lands through puppet rulers.

For example:

- The Amazigh were divided across 10 North African states.
- Kurdistan was split among five countries.
- The Baloch were to be divided among Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan—with the creation of Pakistan as an Islamic state carved from India at the expense of native Baloch, Sindhi, Sikh, and Pashtun peoples.

However, these stateless nations continued resisting occupation.

The Tehran Conference's mission was to shatter these peoples' strength after their homelands had been fragmented in Sykes-Picot (1916) and Lausanne (1923).

"The idea they proposed at the Tehran conference to eliminate the revolutions of the people was like the idea of eradicating the plague in London in 1665 AD. At that time, they fought the disease, which was spread by rats, and tried to eliminate the rats. However, they failed until a group of scientists came up with a solution: fighting the rats through the rats themselves. They starved some rats until they became so savage that they began eating other rats."

Similarly, they would manipulate factions within each stateless nation to fight for limited rights within colonial borders, diverting them from unification and liberation.

They implemented the idea among the peoples by having a group from each nation struggle for their national rights within the borders drawn by the Sykes-Picot Agreement and the Lausanne Conference, ensuring that these rights did not exceed the political boundaries. More precisely, when peoples fight within the political borders set by international treaties, they unknowingly struggle against the idea of unifying and liberating their homelands.

To focus on the Kurdish issue through the resolutions of the 1943 Tehran Conference, I will address the Kurdish people as an example for other nations that may have gone through similar conspiracies—some more severe, some less:

The Allies' Entry into Iran During World War II

The goal of the Allied forces entering Iran during World War II was to control Iranian oil fields to prevent German forces from seizing them, as well as to maintain supply lines for Soviet troops fighting on the Eastern Front against the Axis powers, particularly Germany. Despite Reza Shah Pahlavi declaring Iran neutral, he showed significant cooperation with Germany, prompting British and Soviet forces to depose him and install his son, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, as his successor.

The Allies, including the Soviet Union, were at the peak of their cooperation against Nazism, holding regular meetings and conferences to discuss challenges during the war.

The Tehran Conference (November 28 – December 1, 1943)

This conference addressed the erased nations from the political map, primarily the Kurds, as the issue of their independence posed a significant threat.

Winston Churchill, British Prime Minister, spoke about the Kurds:

"After World War I, we signed the Treaty of Lausanne (July 24, 1923), which fixed the borders of Middle Eastern states without granting the Kurds their own state. Kurdistan was divided and annexed to regional countries. Any change to these borders would create problems we do not desire."

I believe we must preserve the victories achieved by the Sykes-Picot Agreement, one of the most important international agreements, which turned drawings on paper into actual states with borders on the ground. Our conference today is to safeguard our gains from the Sykes-Picot Agreement and the Treaty of Lausanne by establishing the necessary foundations to prevent any

party from undermining what we have started. Therefore, we must maintain absolute secrecy regarding our decisions.

It is easy to deceive Kurdish leaders with sweet words or a smile. For example, when we saw the Kurdish prince, Jaladet Bedir Khan, preparing an armed force of Kurdish tribes after World War I to declare a Kurdish state, we sent British intelligence officer Major Noel to him. Noel conveyed that Great Britain sent its greetings and respect to him and his just struggle, and that Britain, like him, also sought the independence of Kurdistan—but through diplomatic means. He further informed him that Great Britain demanded the disbandment of the Kurdish armed forces so as not to negatively affect Britain's peaceful efforts for Kurdish independence, the results of which would be approved within months at an international conference. With just these words, the Kurdish prince halted the preparation of Kurdish armed forces.

Since the end of World War I, Kurdish uprisings for the independence of Kurdistan have never ceased. Every time we crushed a rebellion in one region, another would erupt elsewhere:

- The revolt of Mahmud Al-hafid Barzanji (1919–1924), who declared the Kingdom of Southern Kurdistan.

After being captured wounded in battle, we exiled him to India.

- The Sheikh Said Piran rebellion (1925), which ended with his execution along with 46 Kurdish leaders in Diyarbakır.
 - The Ihsan Nuri revolt in the Ararat Mountains (1927–1930), which only ended after being besieged by seven armies: Iraq, Syria, Turkey, Iran, the Soviet Union, and the British and French forces stationed in Iraq and Syria, forcing Ihsan Nuri to retreat and seek asylum in Iran.
 - The Kurdish rebellion led by Ahmed Barzani (1933–1943).
 - The Kurdish rebellion led by Riza Dersimi (1937–1938).
 - There were other Kurdish rebellions, but we mobilized all our resources to abort them before they even began.
1. We provided economic, military, and intelligence support to Iraq, Syria, Turkey, and Iran to suppress Kurdish rebellions, yet despite all this, the Kurdish resistance persisted.
 2. Thus, we established the Saadabad Pact in 1937 to combat the Kurdish rebellion—but again, to no avail. The Kurdish rebel forces remain entrenched in the mountains and can declare a new uprising at any moment for the independence of Kurdistan.

3. We suggested that regional countries form armed Kurdish units from loyal tribes to counter the Kurdish rebellion, but even these pro-government tribes failed to suppress Kurdish resistance.
4. To curb the Kurdish rebellion, we need a comprehensive plan to prevent the emergence of a Greater Kurdistan and to maintain the political borders set by international agreements and treaties."

The next day, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin continued the discussion on the points raised by British Prime Minister Winston Churchill regarding the Kurds... He said:

"For a long time, I have been implementing a comprehensive plan to eliminate the Kurdish presence as a distinct people.

First, I erased their republic—the 'Kurdistan Autonomous Republic'—from existence in 1930, which Lenin had established for them in 1921. Then, I dispersed them in small groups across the Soviet Union. As for the remaining regions where these Kurds live, as mentioned by Mr. Winston Churchill, I have a solution... and it involves executing the following plan:

1. Iraq, Syria, Turkey, and Iran must continue denying the existence of Kurdistan, working to exterminate the Kurds, displace them from their lands, and replace them with others.
2. We must establish a Kurdish force that fights against Kurdish independence. This can be done by creating a

regional Kurdish party whose primary mission is to eliminate anyone demanding Kurdish independence and prevent Kurdish nationalist ideology from spreading among Kurds. The party should advocate for Kurdish rights—celebrating their holidays and cultural demands—but strictly within the political borders of Iraq, Syria, Turkey, and Iran. Over time, this will erode their nationalist spirit calling for a Greater Kurdistan.

3. The regional Kurdish party must suppress any Kurdish figure or movement seeking independence for Kurdistan.
4. Typically, a people's revolution is followed by a counter-revolution to crush its achievements. But in dealing with the Kurdish question, we must reverse this theory: the counter-revolution must come before the Kurdish liberation movement. We will create this counter-revolution in the form of a regional Kurdish party, as I mentioned earlier—one that claims to fight for the Kurdish people but operates within regional frameworks, thus making the Kurds themselves put an end to the idea of an independent Kurdistan.
5. We will make this regional Kurdish party carry out the counter-revolution, positioning itself as the voice of the Kurds while preemptively crushing any real independence movement—without raising suspicion. This way, the great powers' goals (as outlined in international treaties denying Kurdistan) will be

upheld, while the Kurds themselves enforce these decisions.

6. Initially, the regional Kurdish party will claim to fight for Kurdish independence to deceive the Kurds and gain mass support. Then, it will gradually shift its demands from independence to cultural, social, and political rights—anything as long as it remains within the borders of the states that occupy Kurdistan. Through this "regional Kurdish struggle," the idea of a unified and liberated Kurdistan will fade. The party must occasionally pay lip service to independence to attract remaining revolutionary sentiments, only to dissolve them over time."

Below are the practical steps to implement Soviet leader Joseph Stalin's plan:

Step One:

Since the Kurds are striving for a Kurdish state, let us create a Kurdish state for a few months so that Kurdish leaders place their trust in our guidance and advice. By deceiving the Kurdish leaders, we can herd all Kurds like sheep—forever—because the Kurds revere their leaders and blindly obey their orders. This step can be easily executed since Soviet armies currently control the Kurdish regions in Iran.

Step Two:

Establish a Kurdish party and attach the word "Democratic" to its name—merely as a label—while in practice, it operates under a dictatorship similar to Soviet Union organizations (e.g., the Democratic Youth Union, Democratic Student Union, etc.). We have extensive experience in forming such "democratic" organizations.

The "Kurdish Democratic Party" I propose will be a regional party, promoting ideas and principles that glorify the integration of Kurds into Iraqi, Syrian, Turkish, and Iranian societies—without explicitly mentioning "integration," which might lack support today. Instead, we will use terms like "democracy," "coexistence," and "brotherhood" to plant love in the hearts and minds of Kurds toward their enemies. This way, they will never achieve victory, as hatred for the enemy and the desire to crush them are essential for winning any war. Considering the states that occupy parts of Kurdistan as "brothers" to the Kurds marks the beginning of melting the Kurds into the political borders of these nations and quietly integrating them into Iraqi, Syrian, Turkish, and Iranian societies.

Step Three:

The normalization and integration of Kurds into their neighbors' homelands should occur over several decades or generations, alongside policies of forced displacement, Arabization, Turkification, and Persianization by the states

where Kurds live. Non-Kurds should be settled in their place.

Step Four:

I will ensure that Kurdish members of communist parties in Iran, Iraq, Turkey, and Syria join the "Kurdish Democratic Party" so that the entire operation remains under our control.

Step Five:

Sow discord and encourage divisions among the Kurds by supporting multiple rival Kurdish leaderships within the same region. We will supply them with money and weapons through the states where Kurds reside. By pitting Kurdish leaders against each other, we will fragment Kurdish forces into regional, warring factions—just as their land was divided in previous international treaties.

Step Six:

After spreading regional Kurdish factions that fight each other and fragmenting their territories, we will proceed to divide the Kurds within each region. Each party will be instructed to form its own organizations—student unions, youth leagues, workers' and peasants' associations, teachers' and intellectuals' groups, and other class-based organizations—ensuring these groups also clash with those of rival parties.

Step Seven:

Another method of fragmentation I propose is creating organizations independent of the Kurdish Democratic Parties (to absorb Kurds who, for whatever reason, did not join Kurdish parties). These organizations will raise lofty humanitarian slogans that no one can oppose—such as democracy, human rights, animal welfare, self-determination, children's and women's rights, disability rights, elderly care, environmentalism, etc.

All this fragmentation will keep the Kurdish people entangled in these organizations, wasting their potential and energy on ideological disputes we plant among them—distracting them from anything related to Kurdistan's independence or unity.

Step Eight:

The Soviet Union will deploy its organizational resources to serve the Kurdish Democratic Party, drafting its agenda and foundational principles. I will also ensure that the party's leaders are placed on the permanent guest list for Soviet-hosted global conferences and festivals in Moscow—to incentivize them to continue regionalizing Kurdish politics and dividing their people. Additionally, the Kurdish Democratic Party will receive dozens of annual scholarships for its members to study in Soviet universities.

Step Nine:

If the Kurds rebel in any region, our agents within the Kurdish Democratic Party leadership will steer their rebellion to remain confined to the mountains of one Kurdish region—away from Turkish, Iranian, Syrian, and Iraqi cities. Since Kurds are naturally inclined toward mountain resistance, their uprisings there will give the armies of these countries justification to destroy Kurdish villages, kill some, and displace the rest. Over time, Kurdistan will gradually empty of Kurds, allowing others to settle in their place—leaving Kurdistan without an owner to launch new rebellions.

Step Ten:

Here, the countries where Kurds live must send highly skilled, loyal Kurdish agents—professionally trained to appear "more Kurdish than Kurdish philosophers"—to join Kurdish parties and collaborate with our communist elements. Their task will be to make these parties spin in circles, eroding from within and losing their revolutionary spirit over time.

Crucially, the Kurds must never operate in the cities of the countries they live in. This way, prosperity will flourish in the ruling nations' cities, while ruin and backwardness plague Kurdish towns and villages—all under our long-term strategy. Most importantly, these countries must

continue marginalizing the Kurds, with our agents in Kurdish parties sidelining those who genuinely seek Kurdistan's independence while promoting our communist elements and state-loyal Kurds to top positions.

Step Eleven:

The Soviet Union will oversee the entire operation to secure our collective interests. However, such an operation requires a substantial budget, so I seek your financial support.

Both U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill agreed to all points raised by Joseph Stalin, including financial support. They told him: "Just postpone the establishment of a Kurdish state until the war with Hitler is over, lest the Kurds take advantage of our wartime distractions, solidify their state, and slip from our control."

Stalin replied: "Of course, I will not create a Kurdish state while at war with Hitler." They collectively decided to implement Stalin's plan after World War II.

Indeed, the aforementioned steps proposed by Soviet leader Stalin and approved by U.S. President Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Churchill were implemented.

It is worth noting that the decisions of the 1943 Tehran Conference, signed by Stalin, Roosevelt, and Churchill when they were in a state of weakness and disarray against the powerful strikes of the German army—which had occupied Europe and a large part of the Soviet Union while Britain was under German aerial bombardment that destroyed areas like the Barbican in London—were nevertheless disgustingly opposed to the existence and rights of the Kurdish people. If this indicates anything, it is that they were undoubtedly masters of deceit and hypocrisy, surpassing even Nazism in their false boasts of democracy and the right to self-determination for nations. In reality, they practiced the most brutal forms of dictatorship in crushing peaceful peoples like the Kurds, who never invaded or occupied others' lands as they and the Nazis did.

It seems they did not only conspire against the Kurds but also against many other oppressed peoples. They created short-lived states to gain their trust, only to manipulate them and their fate. The conspiracy continues to this day. For example:

1. The Republic of Mahabad (1946) – The Kurds were deceived with the Republic of Kurdistan in Mahabad, which lasted only 11 months. When the Allies reinstated Reza Shah's son, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, on September 16, 1941, Kurdish tribes in East

Kurdistan, led by Hama Rashid Khan, liberated regions like Sanandaj, Baneh, and Mariwan. Omar Khan Sharifi, leader of the Shikak tribe, freed northern Kurdish areas up to the Soviet border and declared independence. The Soviet army prevented Iranian forces from entering Kurdish regions but also limited Kurdish independence. To dilute Kurdish sovereignty, the Soviets requested a Kurdish delegation of tribal leaders to visit Baku, Azerbaijan, on November 25, 1941. Azerbaijani leader Jafar Baghirov told them that the Soviet government viewed the independence of Iran's ethnic minorities favorably but that the time was "not suitable" for Kurdistan's independence—exactly what Stalin planned and executed at the Tehran Conference in 1943.

2. Soviet Manipulation — Simultaneously with the Mahabad Republic, the Soviets supported an Azerbaijani government and the formation of the Azerbaijani Democratic Party (like the Kurdish Democratic Party) but provided none with weapons to resist Iran. This was part of the conspiracy. On May 9, 1946, Soviet forces withdrew, leading to Iranian-Kurdish-Azeri negotiations meant to buy time for Iran to prepare to reoccupy both regions. The Soviets instructed Kurdish and Azeri leaders not to resist and to flee to the USSR for "protection," where they would later serve as Soviet propagandists. While most Azeri

leaders fled to Iran, Qazi Muhammad, president of the Republic of Mahabad, surrendered and was executed for refusing to be a puppet. The USSR issued a token protest but took no real action.

3. Balochistan's Short-Lived Independence (1947) – Balochistan declared independence on August 11, 1947, lasting only 217 days. After a few months, Pakistan, backed by Britain, occupied it—mirroring the Soviet withdrawal from Kurdistan and Azerbaijan.
4. Sabah and Sarawak in Malaysia – These peoples were similarly deceived with a state that lasted only 15 days, following the Tehran Conference's 1943 decisions, implemented after Hitler's defeat.

This conspiracy was executed against many oppressed nations left without their own states. Western powers created puppet regimes to control them, while the Soviet Union agreed in exchange for lucrative trade deals.

"These were the decisions of the 1943 Tehran Conference regarding the Kurdish people, which reveal the extent of the fear towards Kurdish freedom and independence. The Tehran Conference was able to easily pass its conspiracies through policies of long-term psychological manipulation, indirect indoctrination, and the cultivation of ignorance—or the deliberate dumbing down—of the Kurds and other

peoples who were erased from the map by artificial entities occupying their lands and by puppet democratic parties.

On the issue of cultivating ignorance, scientists have reached horrifying conclusions in their experiments and studies. Below is one of those experiments:

Scientists have conducted terrifying experiments on conditioned behavior, one of which is the "Monkey Experiment":

Five monkeys were placed in a cage with a ladder in the middle and bananas at the top.

Every time a monkey climbed the ladder, the others were sprayed with cold water.

Soon, whenever a monkey tried to climb, the others attacked it to avoid the spray.

Even after replacing all original monkeys with new ones, the new monkeys continued attacking any climber—without knowing why.

If we were to assume, and we asked the monkeys why they beat the monkey climbing the ladder, the answer would surely be: "We don't know, but we found our fathers and grandfathers doing the same." Practically, this is what has been applied to the Kurdish people in their daily lives and actions. They fear change and are prisoners to accumulated stupidity that grows steadily over time. They even take pride in this "stupidity" they have been deceived by—demanding autonomy, federalism,

democracy, and other diversionary demands... They are afraid not only of struggling for the independence of Kurdistan but even of uttering the word "independence."

Stalin had long been plotting conspiracies against the Kurdish people and other erased nations since his rise to power. These crushed peoples, feeling betrayed and thus politically, economically, and socially marginalized, became fertile ground for cultivating supporters of communist ideology and the Soviet Union. They believed the Soviet Union was their defender, while the USSR was merely exploiting them.

The conspiracy was free propaganda for the Soviets because Stalin was collecting millions of dollars in scholarship funds from major countries. Similarly, the establishment of the Kurdish Democratic Party and other parties came at no cost, orchestrated by Kurdish cadres within the Syrian, Iraqi, Iranian, and Turkish communist parties. These individuals shifted their allegiance from communist parties to the Kurdish Democratic Party under Stalin's orders and his successors.

Notably, the Azerbaijani elements in the Iranian Communist Party (Tudeh) did not individually join the Azerbaijani Democratic Party. Instead, Stalin ordered the Azerbaijani branch of the Iranian Communist Party to

separate and merge its leadership and members into the Azerbaijani Democratic Party.

Among those who transitioned from communist parties to Kurdish parties were: Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou, Hamza Abdullah, Ghani Blourian, Sami Abdul Rahman, Rashid Hamo, Muhammad Ali Khodja, Abdullah Öcalan...and many others who had been members of communist parties in Middle Eastern countries.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union was making billion-dollar arms deals with the very countries occupying these oppressed nations, selling them advanced weapons and military aircraft to crush their revolutions. To the oppressed peoples, the USSR sold nothing but empty words—red-covered pamphlets preaching freedom, equality, and justice—all lies to deceive them and herd them like cattle.

For example: During the era of the Iraqi monarchy, Hamza Abdallah was the secretary of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), a communist infiltrator within the KDP following the directives of the 1943 Tehran Conference and direct orders from Stalin. He meticulously implemented Kurdish regionalism and partisanship while holding secret periodic meetings with the leadership of the Iraqi Communist Party to diminish the activities of the KDP, distance it from Kurdish nationalist thought, mock the idea of Kurdish national security, transforming it into an Iraqi party like the Arab Iraqi parties that sought

participation in parliamentary and government elections to integrate the Kurds into Iraqi society in the following ways:

1. Hamza Abdallah changed the name of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, which had previously accepted only Kurds, to the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), allowing Arabs and Turkmen residing in Kurdistan to join. By including non-Kurds!, Kurds were prevented from making Kurdish nationalist decisions, and anyone advocating for such decisions was accused of extremism.
2. Under Hamza Abdallah, the KDP had no popular organizations, such as unions or associations for youth, women, students, peasants, workers, lawyers, doctors, etc. This was because the Iraqi Communist Party had ordered it so, as they already had such organizations and saw no need for duplication within the KDP.
3. When General Mustafa Barzani returned from exile in the Soviet Union, he expelled most of the KDP's leadership—Hamza Abdallah, Saleh Al-Haidari, Khasrow Tawfiq, Najad Ahmed, Hamid Othman, Saleh Rashdi, and others. However, Hamza Abdallah, based on intelligence from the Soviet Communist Party, knew that Barzani—despite spending 12 years in the USSR—had not embraced communism and remained unchanged. Anticipating a clash with Barzani (whom he knew would not tolerate opposition), Hamza

prepared by marrying his niece, Klawiz, to Ibrahim Ahmed to secure his loyalty. He formed a group to lead the KDP after his expected expulsion. To deceive Barzani, Hamza wrote him a letter warning against Ibrahim Ahmed's faction, accusing them of right-wing tendencies and disloyalty, ending with: "I give you this advice as a sincere well-wisher." This made Barzani believe Ibrahim Ahmed opposed Hamza's faction, when in reality, Ibrahim was even more regionalist than Hamza. With Barzani's authority, Hamza was expelled, and Ibrahim Ahmed was appointed KDP secretary. The only change Ibrahim made was minor: altering the party's program from "guiding the party with Marxist-Leninist ideas" to "benefiting from Marxist-Leninist ideas."

4. Ibrahim Ahmed's group—led by Jalal Talabani—continued Hamza Abdallah's agenda. When General Barzani launched the Kurdish revolution in September 1961, Ibrahim's faction initially opposed it and reluctantly joined four months later. During 1963 Ba'athist coup negotiations, Talabani disobeyed Barzani by traveling to Cairo to meet Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser. In 1964, Ibrahim Ahmed and Talabani held a KDP conference in Mawat village, voting to expel Barzani from the party. Barzani's forces pursued them, forcing their escape to Iran. When their attempts to fight the Kurdish revolution from Iran failed, they sought Barzani's

pardon, rejoined the revolution, and later abandoned it again—just as Hamza Abdallah had done—to reshape the KDP leadership.

By 1966, Ibrahim Ahmed and Talabani had left the Kurdish revolution and the KDP, handing it over to a like-minded leadership. To this day, the KDP has not deviated from the 1943 Tehran Conference's resolutions by even a hair.

Though Barzani expelled Hamza Abdallah in 1959, Ibrahim Ahmed and Talabani's faction-maintained ties with Hamza's exiled group. Below is their photo from 1964:



Front row (from right): Nuri Shawis, Fuad Aref, Ibrahim Ahmed

Back row (from right): Hama Aza, Hamza Abdallah, Jalal Talabani, Omar Dababa.

Although the Soviet Union ceased to exist in 1991, the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and other so-called "democratic" parties of oppressed nations continue to rely on communist elements, following the exact blueprint laid out by Stalin. For example, after the Kurdistan Region gained federal status in Iraq, the KDP—in addition to the old communist cadres sent by Stalin, Khrushchev, and other Soviet leaders—recruited new communist elements to build the federal institutions. They handed over the most critical institutions in the Kurdistan Region to these communists—or more accurately, to anyone hostile to Kurdish nationalism.

For instance, the Kurdish party leaderships handed over Asiacell's mobile network in Sulaymaniyah, Kurdistan TV, Araz Printing and Publishing in Hewlêr (Erbil), and other media and technological institutions to communist elements from their very establishment, and they remain under their control to this day. This is because the KDP fully trusts that these elements will never work for Kurdistan's independence—since the internationalist communist principles they believe in reject national identity. To them, it makes no difference whether their capital is Hewlêr, Baghdad, or Moscow. This is exactly what the KDP, its splinter factions, and other newly formed parties following the same regionalist agenda want.

Communist elements have been and remain an inseparable part of the Kurdish partisan leadership since the 1943 Tehran Conference to this day. Ironically, the communists in the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) are still better than the opportunists, careerists, thugs, and remnants of the former Ba'ath regime who occupy the highest positions in the KRG.

The Great Powers' Shameless Pride in the Tehran Conference

The major powers openly and shamelessly boast about the Tehran Conference. On August 11, 2021, the Russian Embassy in Tehran tweeted a photo showing the Russian Ambassador Levan Dzagharyan and his British counterpart Simon Shercliff sitting on chairs, within the embassy stating:

"In the same historic spot on these stairs where the Allied leaders—Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt, and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill—gathered during the 1943 Tehran Conference."

This "historic stairs" photo provoked senior Iranian officials. Javad Zarif tweeted:

"I saw today's highly inappropriate photo... Do I need to remind everyone that August 2021 is not August 1941 (when Reza Shah was overthrown) nor December 1943 (the Tehran Conference was held)"

Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf, Speaker of Iran's Parliament, called on the Foreign Ministry to demand an official apology from the two ambassadors, warning of a "firm diplomatic response" otherwise. Hossein Amir-Abdollahian, then a candidate to replace Zarif, called the ambassadors' act "an insult to the Iranian public."

Iran's anger stems from the fact that Russian and British forces occupied Iran in 1941, overthrowing Reza Shah Pahlavi (who was sympathetic to Nazi Germany) and installing his son, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, as Shah. Although the Islamic Republic opposes both Pahlavi rulers, it defends Persian nationalism and rejects the period of occupation by Russian and British forces.

Yet the Kurds—who should have been the most outraged by this photo referencing the 1943 Tehran Conference (which was as hostile to Kurds and Kurdistan as the Sykes-Picot Agreement and the Treaty of Lausanne)—remained silent. Why? Because the Kurdish partisan leadership still fights to implement the decisions of the 1943 Tehran Conference, which complemented Sykes-Picot and Lausanne.

The repetition of this photo is a clear testament to the great victory the 1943 Tehran Conference achieved in suppressing peoples who had been erased from the map

by Sykes-Picot and Lausanne. The descendants of Stalin, Roosevelt, and Churchill sat in the exact same spot, leaving the middle chair (symbolizing the U.S.) empty. Why place an empty chair between them if they were only two? This was a deliberate reaffirmation of their pride in the Tehran Conference and their triumph over the Middle Eastern peoples—keeping them sedated and hostile to their own independence through Trojan horse parties.



Left to Right: Tehran Conference 1943: Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt, British PM Winston Churchill.



Left to Right: 2021: Russian Ambassador Levan Dzhagaryan, British Ambassador Simon Shercliff, leaving the middle chair (U.S.) empty in homage to the 1943 photo.

The major powers and entities occupying Kurdistan, despite their differences, continue to implement the Sykes-Picot Agreement, the Treaty of Lausanne, and the 1943 Tehran Conference to fragment the Kurdish people and their homeland, Kurdistan.

It is worth noting that the Tehran Conference lasted from November 28 to December 1, 1943. As soon as the conference ended, its participants—Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt, and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill—hurried to inform the artificial entities occupying Kurdistan (the land of the Kurdish people and other nations) of the conference's

outcomes. This was to reassure them that the decisions of the Tehran Conference were in their favor and against the interests of the oppressed peoples, primarily the Kurds.

Among their most significant follow-up meetings was the Second Cairo Conference, held to notify Turkey—which occupies the largest part of Kurdistan—that the Tehran Conference had decided to eliminate the Kurdish issue, assimilate the Kurds, and suppress any Kurdish movement seeking independence. Thus, U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill held the Second Cairo Conference with Turkish President İsmet İnönü from December 4 to 6, 1943—just three days after the Tehran Conference—to inform Turkey of its decisions regarding the Kurds and Kurdistan.



From right to left: British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, Turkish President İsmet İnönü, and U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt at the Second Cairo Conference.

The Tehran Conference Conspiracy Continues to This Day:

In this context, the heads of intelligence agencies and defense ministers of Syria, Turkey, and Russia met in Moscow in December 2022. Additionally, deputy foreign ministers of Russia, Turkey, Iran, and Syria held preliminary talks on March 14-15, 2023, ahead of a later meeting of their foreign ministers and heads of state. The goal was to suppress the Kurdish people's aspirations for

independence and further normalize their integration into the societies of the occupying entities.

Meetings involving Turkey, Iran, Syria, and Iraq have always come at the expense of the Kurdish people and Kurdistan. Whether under Russian or American sponsorship, their purpose remains the same: to secure the interests of the occupying powers at the expense of the Kurds.

The Kurdish Political Leadership's Role in Normalization
Although Arab nations themselves rose up in 2021 against the UAE's or any normalization with Israel, the Kurdish people have been undergoing a forced normalization with their occupiers since 1946—when regional Kurdish parties (Kurdish-Iraqi, Kurdish-Turkish, Kurdish-Syrian, and Kurdish-Iranian) were established. These parties follow a single doctrine: normalization, coexistence, assimilation, and the dissolution of the Kurdish identity within the artificial entities occupying Kurdistan—exactly as outlined in the 1943 Tehran Conference resolutions.

Thus, the Kurdish political leadership has never opposed the Tehran Conference because, in reality, they are its enforcers. They act as a Trojan horse and a counter-revolutionary force, suppressing any genuine Kurdish movement for independence while deceiving the Kurdish masses with nationalist rhetoric.

The Kurdish Leadership as the Primary Facilitators of Normalization with the enemies of the Kurds

The Kurdish party leaders play the role of chief mediators in normalizing relations with the enemies of the Kurds and Kurdistan—much like Arab regimes that claim to resist colonialism and Zionism while oppressing their own people. The Arab Spring exposed their true nature: they have long been allies of colonialism, Zionism, and reactionary forces, taxing their people under the pretext of "war efforts" while they are only waging war against their own populations.

The 1943 Tehran Conference effectively authorized the Kurdish political leadership to act as the "counter-revolution in Kurdistan," tasked with crushing any genuine Kurdish revolution for independence. My discovery in this regard is somewhat akin to Karl Marx's theory of "surplus value" stolen from laborers for the benefit of capitalists.

I can now declare the theory I have uncovered: the "surplus value" stolen from the Kurdish people for the benefit of the occupying entities and their masters—the great powers that signed the Tehran Conference agreements—with the Kurdish political leadership serving as their enforcers.

Below are the 1943 Tehran Conference resolutions on dividing the world into spheres of influence:

1. The attendees at the Tehran Conference considered the United States of America to be at the top of the global hierarchy.
2. The attendees at the Tehran Conference considered the European nations to be key allies of the United States in leading the world.
3. The attendees at the Tehran Conference considered the Soviet Union to be on the same level as the European and American nations, as a partner in leading the world, with the full right to spread its socialist principles—which oppose the capitalist principles of the United States and European nations.
4. The attendees at the Tehran Conference decided that all other nations in the world should be treated as followers—either of the capitalist system led by the United States and Europe or the socialist system led by the Soviet Union.
5. The attendees at the Tehran Conference allowed the Soviet Union, after the end of Hitler’s war, to form a bloc of socialist states in Eastern and Central Europe, as well as in East and Southeast Asia, while the Soviet Union would relinquish the rest of the world to capitalist influence.
6. The attendees at the Tehran Conference committed to withdrawing protection from nations previously

established under international treaties and agreements if they hesitated to implement the decisions of the Tehran Conference.

7. The attendees at the Tehran Conference committed to cooperate with nations established under international treaties and agreements to control peoples who had not yet obtained their own nation-states.
8. The attendees at the Tehran Conference agreed to cooperate in helping Black Africans gain independence in the future.
9. The attendees at the Tehran Conference agreed to recognize the rights and protection of animals, preserve their identity and species, and safeguard the environment and stability.
10. The attendees at the Tehran Conference considered the-Struggle for independence by peoples within newly established states a red line that must not be crossed. Therefore such people to be denied identities indicating their nationality to facilitate their assimilation into the societies of these states... They were only permitted to hold the identity of the states we established to be under the control of these new states, which in turn would be under the control of the capitalist and socialist world leaders—thus completing the pyramid of global dominance and full control."

When I learned of the malicious conspiracy of the Tehran Conference against the Kurdish people, I understood the depth of hatred that the East and West held for the oppressed and peaceful Kurdish people. I also realized the reasons behind the East and West's agreements against the Kurds in dozens of events, most notably the Algiers Agreement between the Shah of Iran and Saddam Hussein in 1975, which led to the collapse of the Kurdish revolution in Southern Kurdistan. Then came Saddam Hussein's agreement with Khomeini, which resulted in the genocidal Anfal campaigns and the chemical attack on Halabja, committed by Iraq against the Kurdish people after receiving the green light from the East and West—not just through their silence but also by providing Saddam with the necessary funds and weapons to carry out the extermination of the Kurdish people.

The sixth sense of the Kurds and their friends detected the conspiracy

I have written hundreds of articles and studies that undeniably point to the existence of the Tehran Conference decisions of 1943—even though, at the time, I knew nothing about them. Below is one such example: "Theodor Herzl, the founder of the Zionist movement, held its first conference in Basel, Switzerland, in 1898... During the conference, Herzl stated that Britain had granted the Jews land in Uganda to establish a Jewish state, and once that state grew stronger, they would relocate it to Palestine... An elderly woman attending the conference stood up and told Herzl: 'If you accept this British project, you are a traitor!' This forced Herzl to abandon the British proposal during the same conference."

Now, more than a century later, is there anyone among Kurdish party members who dares to tell their party leader, *"You are wrong, Mr. President?"* Even though some Kurdish parties have committed acts that amount to high treason—such as Kurdish infighting or security coordination with the intelligence agencies of the occupying entities in Kurdistan to eliminate Kurdish activists simply because they do not belong to their party. This is why the Jews have their own state, despite being only a few million, while billions of Muslims and hundreds of millions of Arabs could not prevent it. The Jews

gathered their diaspora from all over the world, yet we Kurds, living on our own land, Kurdistan, cannot establish our own state because we lack the courage to speak the truth—to reward those who are right and hold the wrongdoers accountable. Instead, Kurdish party leaders do the exact opposite: they punish patriots and honor traitors for their negligence with the highest positions.

I once believed that Einstein's definition of stupidity was written specifically for Kurdish party leaders, who repeat the same mistakes in the same way each time, expecting different results... But after learning about the Tehran Conference decisions, I realized that these leaders are not stupid at all.

There are millions of examples of this, yet no Kurdish party leader learns from them or tries to avoid repeating them. Instead, they repeat these mistakes and attack anyone who reminds them of them—because they do these things deliberately. Below are some examples:

- The revolution in Southern Kurdistan relied on the Shah of Iran to fight Iraq.
- The revolution in Eastern Kurdistan relied on Iraq to fight Khomeini.
- The revolution in Northern Kurdistan relied on Syria to fight Turkey.

All three relied on one occupier of Kurdistan to fight another, and the result was their collapse. To this day,

they continue the same policy—some even rely on all the occupying entities of Kurdistan. If Einstein were alive, he would tell them: *"Those who rely on one occupier will collapse, and those who rely on all occupiers will face a cubed collapse, according to mathematical principles."*

Kurdish party leaders also protected and trained Iraqi opposition groups in the mountains of Kurdistan, including the Iraqi Ba'ath Party. The Kurdish revolution helped the Ba'ath leadership twice—in their 1963 and 1968 coups—after which the Ba'ath Party used chemical weapons against the Kurdish people. Yet, some still make agreements with the Ba'ath and openly protect its members.

This stupidity (or rather, collaboration, as I now understand it after learning of the Tehran Conference decisions) is not limited to supporting the enemies of the Kurds but extends to systematically betraying those loyal to Kurdistan.

It seems that God created the Aryan genes this way... The Germans are an intelligent people, with their scientists, philosophers, and thinkers ranking among the world's best—yet in politics, they reach zero. Today, Greece is the weakest member of the EU, yet through its politics and diplomacy, it has manipulated Germany, extracted billions of dollars and made German leaders appear helpless, even threatening to leave the EU—despite being its strongest member.

Similarly, the Kurds suffer from political paralysis... Compared to the years of struggle by President Masoud and Mam Jalal, Maliki was nothing. When he and other current Iraqi leaders came to Kurdistan during Saddam's time, they did not even have a single soldier to guard them—it was the Peshmerga who protected them. Kurdish party leaders have deluded themselves into thinking that the Kurds are surrounded by dangers, when in reality, the occupying entities of Kurdistan cannot sleep out of fear of the Kurds. A leader of 60 million Kurds should make the earth tremble beneath the feet of their enemies when they walk.

Kurdish party leaders follow a failed policy, proven by experience, because they have never attempted a counter-campaign against the wars and secret or public international agreements imposed on us.

The borders of our empires once stretched from Istanbul to the borders of India and from there to North Africa... Yes, the Kurds had this civilization, while Arabs, Turks, and Persians do not even allow our children to learn Kurdish in schools, imposing their languages on us.

All this happened because Kurdish party leaders never tried to read history or the political compass to build a national strategy and find the right direction.

The Stages of the Conspiracy Against the Kurds

1. First Stage: Separating Kurdistan and the Kurdish people from the guardians of our eastern empire's borders—today known as the Sindhi, Baloch, and Pashtun peoples—and from the guardians of our western empire's borders—today known as the Amazigh, Tuareg, and Azawad peoples.
2. Second Stage: Dividing Kurdistan in 1514 between the Persian and Ottoman Empires.
3. Third Stage: Fueling tribalism, feudalism, and infighting among Kurdish clans, which exhausted the Kurdish people over centuries.
4. Fourth Stage: The Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916) and the Lausanne Conference (1923), which further divided Kurdistan.
5. Fifth Stage: The Tehran Conference (1943), which turned the Kurdish independence struggle into a regional issue within the borders of the occupying entities, suppressing anyone fighting for an independent Kurdistan.

Since tribalism was incapable of leading the Kurdish struggle, regional parties were promoted—yet their infighting was no different from tribal conflicts. They adopted high-sounding slogans like Marxism, Islam, democracy, self-determination, and human rights—even manipulating emotions by advocating for orphans and

oppressed women—all to divert Kurdish efforts away from independence.

No matter how much Kurdish party leaders had mislead the people with slogans like democracy, self-determination, human rights, federalism, or autonomy, none of these can replace Kurdish freedom, the independence of Kurdistan, and a Kurdish state.

After separating Kurdistan from its Baloch and Amazigh kin, Kurdistan itself was divided among artificial entities. Finally, the Kurdish people were divided among themselves through political parties—now numbering in the hundreds—each claiming to be the only true path and branding the others as traitors. Thus, these hundred parties, betraying one another, have split the Kurdish people into a hundred factions.

As a result, the occupying entities of Kurdistan act as they please, with no one to deter them.

The sacrifices of millions of Kurds are meaningless if not directed toward the right goal: independence.

Had even 10% of the 182,000 Kurdish victims of the Anfal campaign been sacrificed for Kurdistan's independence, the Kurds could have restored the Median Empire.

I have written dozens of books, held hundreds of seminars, and published countless articles to identify the flaw in the Kurdish liberation movement—which has made great sacrifices but failed to achieve freedom.

I am certain there is a flaw in the Kurdish liberation movement. Throughout my life, I have searched for it—sometimes calling Kurdish leaders stupid, other times traitors, or ignorant of politics.

I researched:

1. Ancient and modern Kurdish history
2. Kurdish-Kurdish relations
3. The views of Kurdish leaders I met
4. Kurdish relations with neighboring peoples
5. Kurdish relations with world powers

Here are the key points from my research and studies, drawn from the experiences and opinions of Kurdish leaders and friends of the Kurdish people whose works I have read and whom I have met. Their words are etched in my memory and have greatly motivated me to seek the truth in other fields to understand the obstacles preventing the establishment of a Kurdistan state. Below are some selected examples:

1. In 1967, after the Syrian intelligence released me, my father, the martyr Ibrahim Mala, told me: "You must be patient and not rush things because there is a major conspiracy against the Kurdish people sponsored by the great Eastern and Western powers, and the conspiracy is beyond our capabilities... So I tell you to be patient for a while, and this situation will not

last..." My father also told me: "Emir Celadet Bedir Khan tasked me and others from the Khoybun elements to join organizations affiliated with the Russians and Americans to influence them. We spent our lives serving the great powers, yet they never regarded the Kurds as a cause, a people, or a homeland at all... Their assistance never went beyond granting some Kurds scholarships to their universities." And today, I recall this talk from my father, which was an exact picture of the decisions of the 1943 Tehran Conference—that major conspiracy my father spoke of in 1967, which he sensed through a sixth sense.

2. In 1972, when I met General Mustafa Barzani in the Qandil mountains, during our conversation I asked him about the Kurdish parties in Western Kurdistan that call themselves left and right. President Barzani said: "The left and right are traitors, unconditionally..." President Barzani's words meant that he was suspicious of all so-called democratic parties and excluded no one, from their left to their right... President Barzani's words were few, but each of his words was an ocean of wisdom that led me to understand his suspicions of the democratic parties, he must have felt through a sixth sense.
3. My daily meetings with Uncle Osman Sabri between 1961 and 1981 never passed without him talking to me about the issue of Kurdish freedom, the

independence of Kurdistan, and the declaration of a Kurdish state. He had completely lost hope that the partisan Kurdish leadership would struggle for the independence of Kurdistan and would always repeat the following story to me: The leaders of the Kurdish parties and organizations do not want to establish a Kurdish state, but one day a great power will come and hit the Kurd on the head with a stick and say to him, "Teras (you shameless one)! Declare your state!" And he would say it with great intensity and passion. For decades, since the American and British armies, with the participation of the Peshmerga, liberated Iraq and Kurdistan from Saddam Hussein in 2003, I have been praying to God to see Uncle Osman Sabri in my dreams to tell him, "Uncle, you were right that the Kurds do not want to establish their state, not even with a stick." This was a clear expression of his suspicions of the partisan Kurdish leadership.

4. Through my knowledge of the great Kurdish national leader and thinker, Professor Jemal Nebez, and my struggle with him between 1969 and 2018, he always emphasized that freedom is indivisible; any incomplete freedom is slavery... Dr. Jemal Nebez's words also pushed me to research the history of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), or Kurdish parties, or parties that demand less than a Kurdish state, in that they are demanding slavery because freedom is indivisible... Professor Jemal Nebez criticized the

partisan Kurdish leadership in dozens of books and hundreds of articles and studies for over half a century, but without the partisan Kurdish leadership changing its failed and stupid policies, which have led the Kurdish people to tragedies and disasters... In the last years of his life, may he rest in peace, and after 2014 when I informed him of the decisions of the Tehran Conference while talking to him about the failed partisan policies, he would answer me: "I have washed my hands of them, and I do not like to mention them because I feel like vomiting from their actions." Yes, the policy of the partisan Kurdish leadership makes every honest Kurd feel like vomiting, but the truth is they are implementing their program intelligently and professionally, exactly as drawn up for them by the 1943 Tehran Conference.

5. In my struggle and writings about the grievances and suspicions, and what had befallen the Kurdish people in terms of setbacks and tragedies, and my sense of the existence of the Tehran Conference conspiracy, I have repeatedly mentioned that there is a missing link in the Kurdish struggle. I wrote dozens of articles and studies on it, including my study titled: "The Kurdish People Need a Kurdish Perestroika" and other studies in this regard... Therefore, long ago, I stopped calling it the Kurdish liberation movement because I am certain that the Kurdish liberation movement does not exist. Rather, there are partisan Kurdish

leaderships that have falsely and deceitfully usurped the title of the Kurdish liberation movement.

6. There are also a huge number of free patriots who sensed the existence of the Tehran Conference conspiracy without knowing anything about it. Perhaps the dear Wriya Qerdaxî was one of these free patriots who would contact me and express his suspicions about a flaw and treachery within the partisan Kurdish leadership without knowing the source of his suspicions. He would talk about our shared concerns, which contained many important and noteworthy points: Refer to the history of his letter dated 16-6-1986 in the third part of my autobiography, where he says:
"...Many of the leaders of our people are parasitic intellectuals who benefit from the prevailing conditions in our country, Kurdistan, and they, in turn, perform their designated duty and entangle our poor people in calamities..." The phrase "they, in turn, perform their designated duty" made me feel as if dear "Wriya" was aware of the decisions of the 1943 Tehran Conference, which drew up the plan to entrap the Kurdish people through its partisan leadership.
7. On 29-8-1988, I received one of Dr. Nureddin Zaza's letters to me in Kurdish, in which he said: "Our Kurdish people are divided and have not been able to form a strong union and a correct strategy, and therefore their struggle goes in vain; they are killed, their

homeland is torn apart, and there is no one to hear them. This situation lasted and not changed for over seventy years. Look, for example, at the struggle of the Kurds in Iraq and Iran: Delegations from the states of Iraq and Iran met with the Secretary-General of the United Nations in Geneva, and once again they want to agree at the expense of the Kurds, but the Kurds of Iraq and Iran did not send anyone to meet with the UN Secretary-General. Some say they will send someone, but when?" Dr. Nureddin Zaza had not only lost hope that the partisan Kurdish leadership would struggle for the independence of Kurdistan, but he had lost hope that any good would come from them for the Kurdish people, even though he also did not know about the decisions of the Tehran Conference. This is because the partisan Kurdish leadership established its unity and strategy with the entities that occupy Kurdistan, considering the delegations of Iraq and Iran as their true representatives. This strategy aims for the struggle of the Kurdish people to go in vain, for them to be killed, their homeland torn apart, and for no one to hear them.

8. In 1997, when I met Libyan President Muammar Gaddafi, he told me that there is a malicious conspiracy against oppressed peoples run by the great powers. He said the conspiracy is much bigger than all the Middle Eastern countries and their peoples. After I learned about the decisions of the

1943 Tehran Conference in 2014, I then understood what Colonel Muammar meant by the existence of a malicious conspiracy against the Kurdish people and other betrayed peoples.

9. On 10-9-2008, the Turkish Professor Ismail Beşikçi wrote an article titled "Is There an Original Kurdish Thought?" In this article, Dr. Ismail expressed his suspicions about the existence of a flaw and a conspiracy as well.

Here are some points raised by Dr. Ismail in his article: "There must be an original thought specific to the Kurds. To be in the Middle East and number 60 million people, but you have no place in any international organization; only when they research the issue of 'terrorism' is your name mentioned."

In another point, the friend of the Kurdish nation, Professor Ismail, says:

"To be able to understand these fundamental contradictions, there is an urgent need for an original thought specific to the Kurds. Not because 'we were very famous in history, there was no one greater than us,' but because 'despite our large numbers and wide land, how did we become nothing?' And also, because of 'why have we not even become owners of the smallest political system?' For these questions and inquiring about these things, there is a need for an original thought specific to the Kurds."

Elsewhere in the article:

"There is a need for an original thought specific to the Kurds. Despite these very contradictory feelings and thoughts, we also find the repetition of the term 'brotherhood'—'the brotherhood of Turks and Kurds.' In light of these strange contradictions, let's ask: How was this concept created, I wonder? And what is its function?"

Elsewhere, Dr. Ismail says the following:

"The Kurdish left continued to call for the same slogans as the Turkish left. This stance blocked the way for the development of Kurdaîati thought / Kurdish national thought. A sound concept regarding the issues of the Kurds and Kurdistan cannot be formed through Turkish thought or by using the slogans of the Turkish left. On this subject, the Kurds must think for themselves; the Kurds themselves must explain the situation of the Kurds and Kurdistan with their own ideas. Therefore, for all those issues and subjects mentioned, there is an urgent need for an original thought specific to the Kurds and Kurdistan." Dr. Ismail's persistence in raising his inquiries indicates his suspicions of the existence of a malicious conspiracy targeting the Kurdish nation and diluting its struggle.

10. In 1972, when I returned from Southern Kurdistan after attending the Congress of Kurdistan Students in Sulaymaniyah and meeting General Mustafa Barzani in Deyleman in the Qandil mountains, the dear Izzat

Agha Derki told me that he, Akram Jamil Pasha in Damascus, and Ziyaeddin Şerefxan Bedlîsî residing in Beirut wished to visit General Mustafa Barzani. I had a good relationship with them and knew their struggle; all three had been sentenced to death by Turkish courts. Additionally, Izzat Agha was a leader of the Derki tribe, Ziyaeddin was a descendant of the famous Kurdish historian Şerefxan Bedlîsî, and Akram Bey was from the famous patriotic family of Jamil Pasha of Diyarbakir... I said to him, "Why don't you contact the Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria? It has good relations with the Kurdistan Democratic Party in Iraq to arrange the visit." He answered me as follows: "I, Akram Bey, and Ziyaxan do not trust the parties. In fact, the Kurdish democratic parties do not want us to have a relationship with General Barzani..." I said to him, "I understand that your suffering is like my suffering with the democratic parties thier struggle contrary to the aims of the Kurdish people for freedom and independence. Therefore, I am ready to help you, and when you decide to go visit General Barzani, I will arrange it for you." When I was in Sulaymaniyah, comrade "Fereydun Elî Emîn," one of the seven great men who founded the KAJYK party in Sulaymaniyah in 1959, told me that he had a good relationship with General Barzani, who received him as a representative of the KAJYK organization... He also told me that his strong relationship with General

Barzani must be kept secret because the enemies and their spies are numerous.

Later, Izzat Agha contacted me and said they were ready to travel. I gave him the name of Comrade Kamil Zheer. Although I knew many members of our organization in Southern Kurdistan, Comrade Kamil Zheer was the top organizational official. So, I told Izzat Agha to contact Comrade Kamil Zheer, who would arrange their visit to General Barzani.

Not only Izzat Agha Derki, Akram Jamil Pasha, and Ziyaeddin Şerefxan do not trust the democratic parties, but most struggling Kurdish figures also do not trust any of the Kurdish democratic parties.

Below is their photo with General Mustafa Barzani.



From Left to Right: Faridun Ali Amin, Leader Mustafa Barzani, Dara Attar, Akram Jamil Pasha, and Izzat Agha Derki in 1972. Zia Sharafkhan was absent from the photo for personal reasons.

11. The events experienced by the leftist Kurdish artist Yılmaz Güney, as he stated in numerous press interviews, reveal that from a young age, he sought to contact the Communist Party in Turkey to become a member. However, the Communist Party in Turkey was highly secretive, so Güney was unable to find it. Güney later said that after a long time, he finally

located it, but by then, he had changed his mind and did not join the Communist Party—though he remained a Marxist and leftist until his death. I believe Yılmaz Güney sensed the questionable stance of the Soviet Union or perhaps learned about the decisions of the Tehran Conference, where Stalin collaborated with Western and capitalist states to suppress the Kurdish liberation movement.

12. There are many examples of the Kurdish people and their allies sensing a conspiracy stemming from the Tehran Conference, which turned Kurdish party leaders into its executors—even without concrete evidence. The Naqshbandi Sufi order serves as another example of these suspicions:

- The Naqshbandi Sufi order was founded by Mawlana Sheikh Khalid Naqshbandi to convert Kurds to this path, aiming to establish a distinct Kurdish sect that would preserve Kurdish identity as a nation separate from Arabs, Turks, and Persians—similar to how Persian Shiism preserved Persian identity from dissolving into Sunni Muslim societies. The Persians succeeded because their sect was established around 1,400 years ago, whereas the Naqshbandi Sufi order came too late and failed to achieve a Kurdish state, unlike the Shiites for the Persian nation. Among those who embraced the Naqshbandi order were the Nehri sheikhdом, Sheikh Said Piran, the Barzani sheikhdом, and others.

- The Barzani sheikhdom participated in the Kurdish liberation movement, fought against the Turkish occupation of Kurdistan, and defeated the Turks in the battles of Bileh (First and Second). The Turks executed Sheikh Abdul Salam Barzani in Mosul Prison in 1914.
- After Sheikh Abdul Salam Barzani's martyrdom, Sheikh Ahmed Barzani and his brother Mullah Mustafa Barzani led multiple Kurdish revolts against Iraqi occupation in the 1930s and 1940s. They also participated in the Republic of Mahabad. However, the Barzani sheikhdom withdrew from the Kurdish liberation movement after the establishment of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), which advocated for normalization, coexistence, assimilation, and dissolution within the artificial entities occupying Kurdistan—a stance the Barzani sheikhdom rejected. Thus, the primary goal of Iraqi regimes was to dismantle the Barzani sheikhdom.
- Sheikh Ahmed Barzani, the tribal leader, adopted a neutral stance between the Kurdish revolution and the Iraqi government since its inception in 1961. The Barzan region remained neutral because it believed both the Iraqi government and the KDP aimed to normalize, assimilate, and dissolve the Kurdish people within the artificial entities occupying Kurdistan—differing only in method: the former by iron and fire, the latter by slow simmer.

- After Sheikh Ahmed Barzani's death, his son Sheikh Osman Barzani succeeded him, maintaining his father's neutrality. However, he faced pressure from the KDP, forcing him to seek refuge in Baghdad, where the Iraqi government assassinated him.
- Following Sheikh Osman's martyrdom, his brother Sheikh Muhammad Khalid Barzani took leadership, upholding his father's neutrality and rejecting the KDP's policies of normalization and assimilation. Under KDP pressure, Sheikh Muhammad Khalid Barzani turned to God and founded the "Party of God" (Hizbullah) until his passing.
- In 1992, the KDP gained control over Barzan during the era of international protection. The KDP decided that the Barzani sheikhdom would no longer have a leader, and to this day, it remains without one—because the KDP knows the Barzani sheikhdom would reject its policies, as all previous sheikhs had. Worthy successors, such as Sheikh Adham (grandson of Sheikh Ahmed Barzani) or Sheikh Jihad Barzani (grandson of the martyr Sheikh Abdul Salam Barzani), exist but remain unrecognized.
- Although General Mustafa Barzani (may God have mercy on him) was the KDP's leader, he doubted the party's ideology. He never openly stated his distrust but hinted at it hundreds of times through his differing policies. He openly mocked the KDP's Political Bureau,

dismissing their newspaper *Khabat* as the work of "children" (referring to KDP officials).

- General Mustafa Barzani never forgot how the KDP hesitated to join the 1961 Kurdish revolution, only reluctantly joining four months later.
- Between 1982-1984, I met dozens of times with the late Idris Barzani in Karaj, Iran. He, too, distrusted the KDP's ideology—never stating it directly but implying it clearly. For example:
 - When I told him I planned to open Peshmerga offices in Badinan, he agreed but forbade organizing anyone from Barzan, as he did not allow the KDP to establish party structures there.
 - Sami Abdul Rahman (acting KDP secretary) later worked to remove Idris Barzani from leadership, supporting his younger brother Masoud instead to infiltrate the KDP into Barzan. Idris reluctantly followed Masoud to thwart Sami's schemes. Masoud eventually outmaneuvered Sami, making the elder Sami serve under young Nechirvan (Idris's son) as deputy prime minister.
- In truth, Barzan and the Barzani sheikhdom—like other Naqshbandi Kurdish sheikhdoms (e.g., Nehri in Hakkari, Sheikh Said Piran's order)—fought for Kurdistan's independence, opposing the KDP's policies of normalization and dissolution within artificial occupying entities. I do not know if these sheikhdoms or General Mustafa Barzani and his family

were aware of the 1943 Tehran Conference decisions or if their distrust was mere intuition.

Based on my personal experience and my sixth sense, I am certain that if Qazi Muhammad, General Mustafa Barzani, Commander Osman Sabri, Dr. Nouredin Zaza, and Saeed Elci were still alive and knew the details of the Tehran Conference, they would have spat on the treacherous Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP)."

And what supports my theory that these leaders tried to correct the KDP's path, leading to their expulsion:

- General Mustafa Barzani was expelled in the 1964 Maot Conference 1964.
- Dr. Nureddin Zaza was expelled in 1961.
- Osman Sabri resigned in 1969 before being expelled.
- Said Elçi and Dr. Shivan were assassinated in 1972.
- Qazi Muhammad's presidency was too brief for expulsion.

After uncovering the Tehran Conference's conspiratorial decisions against the Kurdish people, my suspicions—and those of the Kurdish people—turned to certainty.

The 1943 Tehran Conference conspiracy against the Kurds was immense—greater than any before or since. Such a grand conspiracy required deceiving even major leaders. The great powers employed their resources to trick Kurdish, Baloch, Amazigh, and other erased nations into quietly executing the plot without realizing it.

The internal Obstacles to the Establishment of a Kurdish State

1. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships

After reviewing the decisions of the 1943 Tehran Conference, my astonishment and bewilderment at the non-nationalist policies of the Kurdish Partisan Leaderships vanished completely. I lost all hope in them, though my faith in the Kurdish people and the independence of Kurdistan grew stronger in my heart and mind. This deepened further upon realizing the ongoing conspiracies of major powers against the Kurdish people and their homeland, Kurdistan.

I believe the confusion felt by millions of Kurds—who do not understand the reasons behind the foolish and failed policies of the Kurdish Partisan Leaderships—will also fade. These leaders have been repeating the same mistakes for decades. Millions of Kurds have described them as cowardly, ignorant, and shameless, devoid of intellect and conscience. They have been called hypocrites, deserters, and opportunists who live off the crumbs of their enemies' tables at the expense of Kurdish freedom and the independence of Kurdistan.

There are hundreds of Kurdish political parties, yet they maintain ideological and doctrinal unity. Their infighting serves only to exhaust the Kurdish people's strength and deliberately waste time and resources. This deception

makes the Kurdish masses believe that each party is justified in fighting the others.

They pursue a policy of concessions to the enemy, abandoning principles and instilling fear among Kurds until they reach a state of humiliation and enslavement.

The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships across all parts of Kurdistan agree on specific tasks. Anyone with even a shred of intellect and conscience would recognize these tasks as foolish, irrational, and illogical. Yet, in reality, they are clever, successful, rational, and logical because they implement the colonial decisions of the 1943 Tehran Conference to the letter—against the interests of Kurds and Kurdistan. Thus, they have succeeded like no other in destroying the identity, dignity, and resilience of the Kurdish people.

I summarize the tasks of the Kurdish Partisan Leaderships as follows:

1. They label the entities occupying Kurdistan as "brothers" of the Kurdish people, promoting unity with murderers or advocating "democratic unity of peoples" and other fabricated slogans from the intelligence circles of occupying states. In all of ancient and modern history, no other people have called their colonizers "brothers" except the Kurdish Partisan Leaderships. Consequently, their political practices repeat themselves—they rely on one occupying entity to fight another, while these so-

called wars are nothing but fabrications to drain Kurdish strength.

2. They have distanced the Kurdish people from national liberation thought, deepening partisan, tribal, and regional politics for over half a century, killing any nationalist thinking among Kurdish youth. For example, Kurdish activists in Syria know who General Mustafa Tlass is, but they have never heard of the Kurdish General Mustafa Pasha Yamulki, who was an Ottoman general until 1920 and head of the Ottoman High Court that sentenced Mustafa Kemal Atatürk to death.
3. They have stifled creativity in Kurdish society. We have intellectuals in all fields—doctors, engineers, lawyers, writers, professors, thinkers, philosophers, and skilled professionals. I believe it is time for Kurdish forces to achieve self-sufficiency, especially in arms manufacturing. We only need to think about how to produce weapons independently. The time has come to defend ourselves by ourselves.

The era of deceiving our people with slogans of humanity, democracy, and elastic self-determination is over. The time for demonstrations, protest letters, and mourning at martyrs' graves has ended—they have proven ineffective in repelling aggression. These are tasks for grandmothers, not a nation of over 60 million.

Did you know that Kurds manufactured cannons in the Soran Emirate in 1826? Prince Bedirkhan established a rifle factory, an ammunition plant, and minted Kurdish currency in Botan in 1842. Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji declared the Kingdom of Southern Kurdistan in Sulaymaniyah (1919–1924) under British airstrikes. Ismail Agha Shikak liberated Prince Abdurrazzaq Bedirkhan from Turkish captivity with only 40 knights from the Shikak tribe in 1912. General Sharif Pasha alone convinced the world to adopt the Kurdish state and sign the Treaty of Sèvres in 1920.

Where are the millions of Kurds in Europe today? Where is the Kurdistan government after a quarter-century of Kurdish rule under British and American air protection? Have they achieved anything close to what our ancestors did centuries ago under British bombardment?

4. When I was a Peshmerga in Southern Kurdistan (1982–1984), there were about 2,000 Peshmerga affiliated with various Kurdish parties. Meanwhile, the Iraqi regime had over half a million-armed Kurds serving it. In reality, these Kurds were not Iraqi regime agents but were forced into this despicable behavior to escape the treacherous policies of the Kurdish leadership—fighting the Iraqi regime for a year or more, then negotiating and surrendering the people and revolution to the regime in exchange for privileges and parliamentary seats in Baghdad.

The issue of privileges and positions has nothing to do with Kurdistan's independence. The Kurdish people have obtained such privileges before without revolution—take Sultan Saladin Ayyubi as the clearest example. He was a Kurd and a king, not of Iraq, Iran, Syria, or Turkey, but of all Muslims and Arabs. Yet this did not advance Kurdistan's independence by an inch. I believe if Kurds fought for Kurdistan's independence, the number of Kurdish traitors and collaborators would not exceed the fingers on one hand—certainly not half a million.

5. Most Kurdish partisan leaders work against Kurdistan's independence. They do not consider the occupying entities as predatory beasts; instead, they call on the Kurdish people to coexist with these beasts in the same cage.
6. They seek strategic agreements with Kurdistan's occupiers while neglecting to hold a Kurdistan National Congress or form strategic alliances among themselves and the Kurdish people for independence.
7. They secretly negotiate political and security agreements with occupying entities, falsely claiming confrontation to deceive the naive Kurdish masses.
8. They demand contradictions, and the Kurdish people pay the price—ensuring their own security at the expense of the oppressed Kurdish people. They strive to maintain their authority while keeping the Kurdish people under occupation, among other efforts that

contradict the spirit of the Kurdish cause in every detail.

9. They prohibit military operations in the capitals of states occupying Kurdistan and suppress Kurdish activities in Kurdistan's Arabized, Turkified, and Persianized regions to please the occupiers and implement the 1943 Tehran Conference decisions.
10. They boast of military and intelligence power, using it only against each other. They have divided the Kurdish people into fragments, each considering itself a separate nation.
11. They have failed to repel aggression against the Kurdish people, who remain under occupation and threat.
12. They spread fear of freedom, a sense of inferiority, and assassinate Kurdish consciousness.
13. They have no answers to ordinary citizens' questions—their responses come from the barrels of guns.
14. In Erbil and Sulaymaniyah, they establish hundreds of Iraqi institutions, such as the Iraqi Strategic Institute, while neglecting the Kurdistan Strategic Institute proposed by Professor Jamal Rashid Ahmed to the Southern Kurdistan Regional Government, which was rejected.
15. They suppress any Kurdish popular movement against the occupying entities.

16. They avoided bringing Saddam Hussein before an international tribunal, unlike the Nazis who burned Jews in World War II—those trials became sacred to Jews forever. The Kurds desperately needed such trials to prevent repeats of the Anfal and Halabja tragedies, not just in Southern Kurdistan but in all Kurdish regions.
17. They do not pursue occupying entities in international courts for their overt and covert crimes against the Kurdish people—burning children in Amuda, chemical and phosphorous attacks on Halabja and Serikaniye, and other atrocities amounting to war crimes and genocide that do not expire with time.
18. They do not file lawsuits in international courts against occupying entities for assassinating Kurdish leaders like Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou, Sadiq Sharafkandi, Mohammed Mashouq Khaznawi, and many others.
19. They fail to realize that our freedom is in our hands and that deceiving the Kurdish mind is more dangerous than the occupation itself.
20. The Southern Kurdistan Regional Government and the Autonomous Administration in Western Kurdistan do not resist the Arabization of Kirkuk in the south or the Arab Belt in the west, paving the way for the Arabization of Sulaymaniyah, Erbil, Duhok, Shengal, and Kobani.

21. They refuse to acknowledge their mistakes and be honest with the Kurdish people.
22. They continue cooperating with one occupier against another, despite witnessing the disastrous end of this foolish policy—the collapse of the September Revolution (1975), the assassination of Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou (1989), and the kidnapping of Abdullah Öcalan (1999). Without a doubt, the entities occupying Kurdistan are, without exception, enemies of the Kurds and Kurdistan.
23. They have fought all Kurdish nationalist organizations like J.K, KAJYK, PASOK, and the Kurdistan National Congress, limiting their expansion through conspiracies which I have had detailed chronologically elsewhere.
24. In Southern Kurdistan, they aim to turn Kurdish society into a consumer society by importing all products tax-free, preventing Kurdish industry from competing.
25. They select their cadres from sycophants, clappers, and drummers—not from those who criticize shortcomings, who are more patriotic and loyal than the flatterers. Critics are the true loyalists, while the flatterers are the first to sell out nations and stand with the highest bidder.
26. They demand the liberation of Afrin from Turkish occupation—only to return it under Syrian

occupation. Some call for boycotting Turkish goods to promote Iranian, Syrian, and Iraqi goods instead.

Not everyone who criticizes the Kurdish partisan leadership is a free patriot. Not everyone who demands Afrin's liberation advocates Kurdistan's independence. Not everyone who boycotts Turkish goods aims to build a Kurdish economy. Not everyone who adopts historic Kurdish revolutionary names is a free patriot—some use these names as a cover to fight those struggling for Kurdistan's independence.

27. They do not boycott goods from occupying entities that control Kurdistan's economy and trade. Woe to a nation that thinks with others' minds, wears what it does not weave, and eats what it does not sow—as all proud nations have warned.
28. They secure the interests of occupying entities, holding dozens of meetings and conferences to unite Sunnis and Shiites—knowing that every Sunni-Shiite agreement has led to Kurdistan's destruction. The Shah-Saddam agreement collapsed the September Revolution (1975). The Khomeini-Saddam agreement (1988) led to the Anfal operations, exterminating 182,000 Kurds, burying them alive in southern Iraqi deserts, and assassinating Idris Barzani, Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou, and others.
29. They do not exploit contradictions among occupying entities.

30. They participate in all aspects of life in occupying states, strengthening the enemy.
31. They do not study international law or colonial treaties that led to Kurdistan's occupation and division because they do not consider Kurdistan occupied—especially those treaties a century old, like Sykes-Picot (1916) and Lausanne (1923), which had expired and became void under international law. They send thousands of Kurdish students abroad on scholarships funded by martyrs of Kurdistan's independence—without planning, guidance, or directing their studies toward serving Kurdistan's independence.
32. They place flowers on the graves of Kurdish people's killers like Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Khomeini, Hafez al-Assad, and Saddam Hussein—while no leader of occupying entities has ever placed flowers on the graves of Kurdish martyrs.
33. They impose a terrible dictatorship in decision-making, mostly wrong and deadly, relying on traitors and neglecting the loyal to please occupying entities.
34. In Southern Kurdistan, they claim nationalist intentions in funding Kurdish Partisan Leaderships in other regions—money spent on luxuries, and nothing benefiting the Kurdish people.
If they were truly nationalist, they would build a logistical bridge between Southern Kurdistan and other parts—economic, cultural, and social support—

Since these regions form Southern Kurdistan's strategic depth.

The states occupying parts of Kurdistan oppose Kurdish rule in Southern Kurdistan whether it builds bridges or not.

35. They exploit the Kurdish people because most Kurds do not realize how bad their lives are—or do not want to know they live on the margins, clinging to dreams.
36. They rely on some occupying entities to fight others. Once the occupiers' interests are secured, they betray the Kurdish people. For example:
37. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships in the Eastern Kurdistan Revolution (1979–1989) relied on Iraq to fight Iran, ending with Dr. Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou's treacherous assassination.
38. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships in the Northern Kurdistan Revolution (1984–1999) relied on Syria to fight Turkey, ending with Abdullah Öcalan's handover to the Turks in an international conspiracy.
39. They relied on Russia to establish the Republic of Kurdistan (1946), but after securing oil contracts, Russia betrayed the Kurds as usual.
40. In Southern Kurdistan, they relied on the U.S., which, after securing its interests (pleasing Turkey, seven Turkic Soviet states, Iraq, 22 Arab states, and Iran to expand its influence), betrayed the Kurds again in 2017 for holding a referendum—greenlighting enemies to besiege Southern Kurdistan by land and

air, displace Yazidis in Shengal (2014), and occupy Kirkuk (2017). They fail to understand that major powers do not honor friendship—only interests tied to occupying entities.

41. In Western Kurdistan, they relied on Russia and the U.S., who betrayed them in 2017–2018, greenlighting the occupation of Afrin and phosphorous attacks on Serikaniye.
42. Every time they rely on occupying entities or global powers, the result is the same—thousands of Kurdish villages destroyed, the Kurdish people exterminated brutally. It is worth noting that the murdered, Anfal, Barzanis and Feylis were exclusively male, as part of a policy of ethnic cleansing and racial discrimination against the Kurds—aimed at severing the progeny of the Kurdish people in a rotten racism that surpassed even the bigotry of history’s most notorious enemies of humanity, both in ancient and modern times.
43. In the 1960s–70s, they relied on the Kurdish revolution’s victory, assuming no agreement was possible between the Soviet-allied Iraqi Baath and the Western-allied Iranian Shah—yet an agreement happened, and the Kurds paid the price in the revolution’s collapse (1975) and the displacement of 150,000 Peshmerga.
44. In the 1980s, they relied on the Kurdish revolution’s victory, assuming no agreement was possible between the Sunni Iraqi Baath and the Shiite Iranian

regime—yet an agreement happened, and the Kurds paid dearly again in the revolution's collapse, the Anfal genocide, the Halabja chemical attack (1988), the destruction of 4,000 villages, demographic change, and displacement.

45. In the 1990s, they relied on the Kurdish revolution's victory and the Kurdistan Parliament's survival, assuming Western presence in Kurdistan was permanent. For years, I wrote letters, articles, and gave interviews warning that the West would eventually withdraw. Some partisan leaders swore divorce if the West left.

I insisted we should seriously discuss with the Americans: The Kurds accepted federalism, but if allied forces withdrew and Iraq stalled or rejected federalism, didn't the Kurds have the right to declare a state? Yet, as always, the partisan leadership insisted on their disgusting dictatorship.

Even children and the ignorant know everything is possible in politics—except the Kurdish Partisan Leaderships, who ignore this.

The Americans withdrew, and Iraq still stalls, advancing its armies into Kirkuk, Khanaqin, and Shengal, banning Peshmerga even in Duhok's border areas with Western Kurdistan. Its courts issue rulings against Kurdish aspirations—the referendum for independence, banning Kurdistan from drilling,

extracting, and selling oil after Iraq cut Kurdistan's budget share since 2014.

Iraq's racism against the Kurdish people has not changed, nor has the Kurdish Partisan Leaderships' dictatorship. Yet they expect different results each time—following Einstein's theory of stupidity.

46. They have fought the Kurdish revolution since its outbreak in September 1961. To this day, the Kurdish people remain divided between the Erbil and Sulaymaniyah administrations—ensuring no national treasury, unified army, or security apparatus.
47. They fought the establishment of the Republic of Kurdistan in Mahabad and destroyed it. Later, they fought Aziz Ali Qazi, son of Qazi Muhammad (President of the Republic of Kurdistan), arresting him in the 1980s and handing him to the Iraqi regime—where he languished in Kurdish partisan and Iraqi prisons for years.
48. In Northern Kurdistan, they fought the descendants of Kurdish leaders like Sheikh Said Piran, Seyid Riza, Ihsan Nuri, and the Badr Khan family, spreading false propaganda labeling them as reactionaries.
49. In Western Kurdistan, they fought Kurdish leaders like Apo Osman Sabri, Dr. Nureddin Zaza, Sheikh Mohammed Mashouq Khaznawi, Jawad Mella, and many others, removing them from politics.
50. They insist on regional struggle to keep Kurds forever in the Iraqi, Turkish, Iranian, and Syrian cages.

51. They, escalating and deepen partisan disputes into armed armed conflict to waste Kurdish potential.
52. They do not prosecute Kurdish-Kurdish warlords who are responsible for jilling so many Kurds but now sitting in the Kurdistan Parliament instead of — honoring killers that encourages more killings. I see this policy as nothing but encouragement for betrayal and treachery.
53. They have not prosecuted those behind Kurdish infighting, meaning they are all complicit with occupying entities in suppressing the Kurdish people, draining their energy, and crushing resistance.
54. They assist occupying entities in their conflicts to prolong Kurdistan's occupation and rape.
55. They do not allow any Kurdish organization seeking Kurdistan's independence, though they know freedom, independence, and a Kurdish state are inseparable—no substitute or diversion to other philosophies or slogans.

A Kurdish state means a Kurdish state—any other name is a conspiracy to deceive the Kurdish people.

In the mid-20th century, German philosopher Ernst Cassirer stated that the state represents one of three elements of development: the individual, society, and the state. Without a state, the Kurdish people are denied natural development, forced into counterfeit dependency on states denying Kurdish individuals and society.

Thus, the Kurdish people evolve as part of other nations, fading over time—seen when Kurdish factions betray each other in occupying and displacing our people in Kirkuk, Khanaqin, Mandali, Shengal, Kobani, Afrin, and Serikaniye.

The betrayers do not lift a finger—they watch gleefully as their Kurdish brothers are struck.

Despite having world-class philosophers like Ahmad Khani, Kamal Jir, Professor Jemal Nebez, and Professor Jamal Rashid Ahmed—who eloquently spoke of Kurdish freedom and independence—the Kurdish people have been stripped of their culture, immersed in foreign languages and cultures.

They began believing in everything non-Kurdish, losing trust in their great thinkers—the beginning of counterfeit development.

56. They do not allow any scientific institution for Kurdish strategic studies. For example, since the 1990s, several meetings were held at Professor Dr. Jamal Rashid Ahmed's home with Professor Jemal Nebez and Engineer Bruska Ibrahim to establish the Kurdistan Strategic Studies Institute.

Professor Jamal drafted the project and personally submitted it to the Southern Kurdistan government, following up for decades—to no avail. The government's response: "Our neighbors won't accept such an institution."

Each renewal of the request was denied. Sometimes, approval came with impossible conditions—like accepting the institute without a signboard.

They appointed a Peshmerga guard for Professor Jamal, but nothing materialized—not even the guard, whose salary was paid as if he protected the professor and project.

Meanwhile, the Iraqi Strategic Institute has existed in Erbil since 1992, with buildings, cars, staff, and a budget equal to any Southern Kurdistan ministry—unfortunately.

57. The ruling Kurdish Partisan Leaderships in Southern Kurdistan neglects national education belonging to Greater Kurdistan, negatively impacting all aspects of life and the Kurdish liberation movement in other regions.

58. They do not establish a unified Kurdish language council for media and education—instead favoring one dialect over others.

They know dialects cannot die, but a state language can be derived from all Kurdish dialects—not just Southern Kurdistan's—with a suitable alphabet.

Today, millions of books, magazines, and newspapers in Southern Kurdistan use the old Eastern script, which over half the Kurdish people in Northern, Western, and Red Kurdistan cannot read. What use is mass printing incomprehensible to most Kurds?

59. They call for Kurdish unity and a national conference—but on partisan, regional, and tribal foundations.

A Kurdistan National Congress must demand nothing but independence and cannot be under any party's control—especially those with bloodshed between them. It must be led by free, independent patriots.

60. They form separate organizations for women, students, youth, workers, peasants, writers, and intellectuals for each party—entrenching division.

61. They suppress Kurdish films about historical Kurdish struggles. Ironically, their inaction is good—such films would falsely portray Sheikh Mahmud as King of Federal Southern Kurdistan (1919–1924) and Qazi Muhammad as President of the Autonomous Republic of Kurdistan (1946), aligning with their deceptive policies.

62. They oppose any global Kurdish movement. On 26/11/2002, I submitted a request to the UN signed by over 2,000 global figures (lords, British and European MPs) for Kurdish UN observer status to provide information about Kurds—not through occupying entities, as is still done today.

The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships contacted the UN, declaring themselves Iraqis represented by Iraq's UN envoy.

63. They block truths from the Kurdish people and global friends to crush hopes of independence and freedom.

64. They do not sabotage occupying societies or fragment their capabilities as they do to Kurds—preventing Kurdistan's independence.
65. They help occupying entities sabotage Kurdish society from within—placing the wrong people in key positions to fragment society, easing occupiers' conspiracies. Examples:
- Kurdish Christians underwent 2,000 years of brainwashing. In 2009, visiting the Chaldean Church in Kirkuk, Dr. Louis Sako (Chaldean Archbishop) greeted us warmly. I told him church missionaries reached Africa and Asia's remotest corners—yet where is the Kurdish Church?

A attendee said, "There's one in Mosul." The archbishop immediately replied, "It's new," implicitly agreeing the Kurdish Church. Was Kurdish he added, "We were all Zoroastrians... You became Muslims; we became Christians."

This was a full admission that Assyrians, Syriacs, and Chaldeans are the Kurdish Church—dressed in extinct peoples' names.

- Saddam Hussein applied the same policy to Yazidi Kurds. In under 20 years (not 2,000), he convinced many Yazidis they descended from Yazid ibn Muawiya (Umayyad Caliph)—though Yazidism predates Muawiya and Yazid by millennia. Brainwashing targets Kurdish religious, tribal, and dialectal minorities to separate them from the Kurdish

people—weakening and fragmenting Kurdish existence.

I met Tamil Muslim leaders from Sri Lanka who insisted Islam was their nationality—though Islam is a religion, not an ethnicity! Similarly, some Yazidis consider Yazidism their nationality—though it is one of the oldest Kurdish religions.

66. They brainwash Kurds into translating Arab, Turkish, and Iranian racist mentalities into Kurdish.
67. They replace Kurdistan's unification and liberation with diluted "Kurdish rights" within occupying states' borders.
68. Kurdish partisan leaders have raised the slogan of democracy for the entities occupying Kurdistan merely as a facade—a beautification of subjugation... It is worth noting that the major colonial empires in the world, from the Roman and Macedonian-Greek to the British, were simultaneously among the greatest democracies in the world. This proves that a colonizer can also be democratic... So, are there any among the Kurds who recognize these truths to resolve this tragedy brought about by Arab, Turkish, and Iranian racism—a tragedy implemented by Kurdish partisan leaders, the merchants of war and politics, which will bring calamities upon all the peoples of the region until the Day of Judgment.
69. They reject any genuine Kurdish liberation movement, suppressing free patriots by all means.

Organizations like Khoybun, J.K, KAJYK, and PASOK were eliminated or absorbed. They deny licenses to the Kurdistan National Congress, Kurdistan Strategic Studies Institute, and other national institutions.

70. They claim to be national leaders but have no connection to Kurdish nationalism—using nationalism only to deceive the masses. How can they be nationalist while dismantling Kurdish society? How can they be nationalist while coordinating security with occupying intelligence agencies? Their disregard for free patriots reached absurdity when a partisan leader asked me, "What do you want?" I replied, "Just stop spreading lies about Kurdistan's free patriots." He said, "I want exactly what you want"—knowing our requests for the Kurdistan National Congress's license were repeatedly denied. To brand his rotten mind, I answered: "Support and respect free patriots as you support and respect traitors in Kurdistan." Saddam's collaborators and their inheritors sit in the Kurdistan Parliament today. Each traitor leader receives \$150,000 monthly as a "thank you" for betrayals—but I thanked God they didn't help me, or I'd be their partner.
71. They ensure no one calls for Kurdistan's independence—hundreds of examples, including my personal experiences:
 - In 1967, after my release from prison, Apo Osman Sabri nominated me for the Syrian Kurdish

Democratic Party's Central Committee. The Politburo rejected me, telling Osman: "Jawad is extremist in his views"—meaning I demanded Kurdistan's independence, contrary to party goals and the Tehran Conference decisions (unknown to me or Osman). The Politburo acted on Syrian intelligence orders.

- In 2005, Dr. Jemal Nebez (head of the Apo Osman Sabri Prize Committee) proposed me as a member due to my years working with Osman and writing his memoirs. The committee refused, unable to say I fought for independence—though Dr. Jemal did too. They exploited his name as the Kurdistan Democratic Party-Iraq exploited Barzani's.

One committee member I met in Southern Kurdistan admitted having no activities with Osman—never even meeting him. The partisan leadership inserts itself into great Kurdish figures' legacies to exploit them while marginalizing free patriots.

72. They oppose Kurdistan's independence. Most Kurdish parties, organizations, and councils demand a "Kurdish issue solution"—yet daily, the issue grows more complex.

Our people in Shengal and Kobani face genocide as before federal and autonomous governments. In truth, they work to dissolve the Kurdish issue according to occupiers' perspectives—not save it.

73. Most raise slogans of freedom for Kurds and Kurdistan—but their minds, feelings, and eyes are fixed on Tehran, Damascus, Baghdad, and Ankara's approval.

Despite Afrin, Kirkuk, Yazidi displacement, Halabja, and Serikaniye chemical attacks—they raise "brotherhood and coexistence" slogans with occupying capitals.

They join occupiers' parliaments—recognizing killers as "democratic." Most proudly champion this struggle, shredding Kurdish unity and independence. Some are naive Kurds; others know exactly what they are doing? cunning Kurds rewarded with medals for every Kurdish tragedy.

74. They even ban any discussing of Kurdistan National Congress, Liberation Front, independence strategy, or Kurdish sovereignty and security OR respecting Kurdish opinion, aspirations, and sanctities.

75. They fought among themselves and still do—ignoring Kurdish pleas to stop infighting. On 1/5/1994, I issued a multilingual statement in the name of Kurdish intellectuals worldwide, urging Kurdish leaders (nationalists, religious, secular) to stop infighting—signed by 103 Kurdish figures, sent to warring leaders and global media. They only stopped when Baghdad demanded a unified Kurdish list for Iraq's parliament.

76. They waste Kurdish potential under ideological, doctrinal, and regional pretexts—distracting from

independence, the sole noble goal for which all Kurdish parties were founded. By sidelining independence, the Kurdish issue spins in a vicious circle—disfiguring the cause, shattering national unity, and collapsing Kurdish energy in all fields. Kurdish infighting—prearranged between occupiers and their partisan subordinates—cycles endlessly without pause, conscience, or accountability.

19th-century German philosopher Georg Hegel wrote in *The German Constitution*: "*No human group deserves a state unless united in collective defense of its possessions.*" By Hegel's theory, the Kurdish people do not deserve a state—tribes fought in the past; partisan leaders fight now.

77. Occupying entities fund partisan leaders with money and weapons—unprecedented in world history. Did France arm Algeria? Did America arm Vietnam? No—thus, the partisan leadership does not represent Kurdish liberation but a counterrevolution to crush the real Kurdish revolution.
78. In 1991, the U.S. came to Kurdistan as the world's greatest power, aiding partisan leaders as if God granted Kurds the grand prize. Yet pre-1991, Kurds carried forged Iraqi identities. Post-1991, they still do—Kurdish identity erased completely. When I met General Mustafa Barzani in 1972, he told me: "*If we had a state the size of Lebanon helping us, we'd achieve our goals.*"

79. They incite Kurdistan's masses to hate the Kurdistan Democratic Party for the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan and PKK, or vice versa—leaving no room to struggle for a Kurdish state. In truth, the KDP, PUK, PKK, and others stand on the same line—seeking Kurdish rights within the Iraqi, Syrian, Turkish, and Iranian cages. Their efforts mirror occupiers' main goal: preserving their borders.
80. They plan Kurdish infighting to divert masses from nationalist thought. However divided, their main goal is struggle within occupiers' borders—while nationalist thought makes Kurds think independently, drawing logical conclusions to liberate Kurdistan.
81. For over half a century, their policies have been disgusting, vulgar, and worn-out—especially "brotherhood and coexistence" slogans with extremists who killed Kurds in Halabja, Shengal, Kirkuk, Afrin, and Serikaniye.
Coexistence between masters and slaves, butchers and victims, is:
- An unjust, coercive, barbaric, racist union.
 - An impossible union—without freedom, equality, or justice, it cannot last.
 - A union of endless conflicts and wars.
 - A forced, volatile union erupting any moment.
82. Their "struggle" is even more revolting when fighting one extremist occupier at another's expense.

83. Their reactions to Kurdish genocide do not exceed wreaths at martyrs' graves, moments of silence, Quran recitations, speeches, candles, or statements like: *"The incident happened—we can only pray."* No one calls it genocide, racist massacre, or national and human crime. The dictator who killed half a million Kurds was tried and executed for killing dozens of Shiites in Dujail—not a word about Kurdish genocide. The partisan leadership has never sought recognition or apology from Iraq for genocide—instead inviting heirs of Kurdish killers to Kurdistan, signing "reconciliation" and "security coordination" agreements.
84. They "struggle" to liberate the Golan, Arabistan, Jerusalem, Greek Aegean islands, and the Tunbs—raising occupiers' flags on occasions, trying to change the Kurdish national anthem (*Ey Reqîb*) or alter Kurdistan's flag—creating multiple anthems and flags to fragment Kurdish identity and perpetuate infighting.
85. They diminish free patriots' value with lies. For example, they falsely label legendary Kurdish leader General Mustafa Barzani a British or Israeli agent. As a visitor to the British National Archives, I found documents on British military operations (1930–1932) against the Barzani revolt—listing British officers decorated for crushing it. These documents

prove the Barzani revolt fought British occupation—contrary to partisan leaders' lies.

86. They frighten Kurds against declaring independence—though statehood is the simplest right of peoples. Even the most cowardly, ignorant, and backward peoples have states. The Kurdish people have all state components—Peshmerga and guerrillas are the bravest. Why delay independence, distracting our heroic, oppressed people with trivial autonomy and federalism? Every wasted moment, drop of blood, and energy for anything but independence deceives the Kurdish people. It's nobler to sit at home, trade, or farm than trade the Kurdish cause and martyrs' blood for trivial "rights." Even a Kurdish empire within artificial occupiers' borders is trivial—independence needs no explanations, justifications, or referendums.
87. They allocate millions in annual budgets to Sunni and Shia Islamic movements in South Kurdistan, granting them ministries, immunity, and influence—to the point where some Kurdish parliament members refuse to stand for the Kurdish national anthem. They also support communist, Ba'athist, Turkmens, Assyrians, and Chaldean groups—all of which erode Kurdish identity.
88. They oppose anyone fighting for Kurdish independence while supporting those advocating democracy, federalism, and autonomy—deepening divisions in Kurdish society and prioritizing loyalty to

parties, leaders, tribes, and cities over national liberation.

89. The Kurdish partisan leaders support Kurdish media financially and morally—media that has expanded to include hundreds of TV channels, thousands of newspapers, magazines, bulletins, and cultural, political, and literary institutions and associations. These partisan Kurdish leaders have devised a plan for each outlet to operate in its own isolated world, as if it were the only one following the correct and righteous path, while all others are deemed deviant or even traitorous—all to fragment and divide Kurdish society.

Around 80% of airtime on Kurdish TV channels affiliated with these partisan leaders is devoted to dancing, singing, and music (with all due respect to authentic Kurdish folklore), while the remaining time is spent praising one party or another.

However, I must say that everything has its proper time and place. At a time when the Kurdish people enjoy no rights, it is shameful to spend hundreds of millions of dollars on dancing and singing at the expense of the blood of Kurdistan's martyrs—martyrs whose souls will only rest when that money is spent on securing Kurdistan's independence, the very independence they sacrificed their lives for.

By doing this, Kurdish TV is not inventing anything new, as dancing and singing existed long before

television. The Kurdish people have practiced these arts for thousands of years without spending millions. In fact, the old, classical songs of Ali Merdan, Ay Shah, Seyd Eshq, Mohammad Sheikho, and Ali Tajo were far better than the cheap, vulgar songs broadcast on Kurdish TV today—songs that listeners forget moments after hearing them.

I remember Kurdish children in the Kurdish quarter of Damascus over half a century ago, walking through the streets singing the magnificent patriotic songs of the artist Şivan Perwer, even though they did not speak Kurdish due to Arabization policies. This shows the power of genuine art—how it resonates among the people even when they don't understand the language.

The TV channels of these Kurdish partisan leaders have not only failed to ban any authentic Kurdish folk songs or music but have also launched a TV station called "Voice of the Arabs from Hawler"—as if the Arabs need another voice when they already have thousands of TV channels. I am not entirely against the idea, but the late Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser once broadcast the Kurdish voice on Sawt al-Arab Radio in the 1950s because, at the time, the Kurds had no voice of their own. Back then, the Voice of the Arabs from Cairo echoed from the Atlantic to the Gulf—so where is the Voice of the Kurds, the voice of Kurdish nationalism and Greater Kurdistan, in

Hawler, that they now broadcast the Voice of the Arabs?

And above all, these Kurdish partisan leaders are suppressing serious Kurdish media wherever it exists.

90. Kurdish partisan leaders are contributing to the erosion of Kurdish identity by deepening the fragmentation of the Kurdish personality and fostering dual allegiances: Syrian-Kurdish, Iraqi-Kurdish, Iranian-Kurdish, or Turkish-Kurdish... Through this struggle, Kurdish partisan leaders have brought nothing but calamities and disasters upon the Kurdish people, to the point where the Kurds have been reduced to a mere moving human shell—without weight, agency, or influence. Meanwhile, microscopic nations compared to ours have a voice, agency, and weight...

Some argue that Kurdish partisan leaders are assisting major powers in their war on terror... But I respond to them: Unless Kurdish partisan leaders obtain an official, internationally recognized document signed by the great powers guaranteeing Kurdish independence after the war on terror ends, they will be regarded by those powers as nothing more than a group of mercenaries.

91. The names of Kurdish political party leaders are adorned with the word "democracy," or democracy is a key part of their internal party regulations... Day and night, they demand that the Syrian, Turkish, Iraqi, and

Iranian regimes and oppositions be democratic, yet their actual practices are dictatorial—whether toward their own members, among themselves, or against the Kurdish people as a whole.

92. In addition to implementing the decisions of the 1943 Tehran Conference, the Kurdish party leaders have relied on Saddam Hussein's collaborators and other artificial entities occupying Kurdistan... In this regard, Sheikh Adham Barzani, a member of the Kurdistan Democratic Party's political bureau, stated: "I am ashamed to enter the Kurdistan Parliament, as I see that the majority of its members have hands stained with the blood of the Kurdish people—those who participated in the Iraqi regime's Anfal operations." (Refer to Media newspaper, the mouthpiece of the Kurdistan National Democratic Union, dated February 5, 2003).
93. After every internal conflict, the Kurdish party leaders reconcile, embrace one another, and hold no one accountable for wasting Kurdish resources and spilling the blood of martyrs—instead, they distribute money and positions among themselves... Thus, they have spread corruption, decay, and moral degradation in Kurdish society, which has become obsessed with the latest car models and other luxuries, as if everything is fine—while the Kurdish people remain under external threat and internal collapse.

94. The Kurdish party leaders divided their tasks into phases, starting with demands for Kurdistan's independence before shifting to regional demands: The first Kurdish Democratic Party in 1946 in East Kurdistan.

The Komala Party, led by NoSherwan Mustafa, in South Kurdistan.

The PKK, led by Abdullah Öcalan, in North Kurdistan.

They were initially founded for independence, but after gaining mass support, they shifted their goals to regional, "democratic," and fraternal cooperation with the enemies occupying Kurdistan—while fighting among themselves to drain Kurdish strength, break the morale of liberation and nationalism in Kurdish society, and prepare it for submission by accepting dissolving in the societies of the occupying entities.

95. The Kurdish party leaders did not just deceive the Kurdish people with their regionalist approach—they also misled the great leaders of the Kurdish people, such as Qazi Muhammad, Apo Osman Sabri, Dr. Nureddin Zaza, General Mustafa Barzani, and his sons Idris and Masoud Barzani, among others... This happened because the conspiracy against the Kurdish people is immensely, backed by global powers and the entities occupying Kurdistan.

96. The Kurdish party leaders categorically refuse to carry out any resistance operations in the capitals of the entities occupying Kurdistan—thereby protecting

those capitals, even though they are the ones ordering chemical and phosphorous bombings of Kurdistan.

97. The Kurdish party leaders rely on a policy of self-defense, which has led to the destruction of Kurdistan, the killing and displacement of its people, and the settlement of outsiders in their place—altering Kurdistan's demography. This is precisely the goal of the occupying entities and their masters, the great powers that signed the 1943 Tehran Conference resolutions. Yet, offense is the best form of defense.
98. The Kurdish party leaders seek any role in regional politics by participating in the systems of the entities occupying Kurdistan—hence, their parties are considered Iraqi, Syrian, Iranian, and Turkish... They deceive themselves and the Kurdish people by claiming that this participation is an attempt to "exploit" the occupiers for the benefit of Kurds and Kurdistan... Without realizing that, in colloquial terms, "exploitation" means "swallowing"—and a small fish cannot swallow a big fish. The truth is that the big fish (the occupying entities and their global backers) are the ones who swallow the small (the Kurds and Kurdistan).
99. The Kurdish party leaders have pulled the Kurdish people out of the circle of Kurdish nationalism, as they prioritize citizenship and belonging to other "homelands" (Syria, Iraq, Turkey, Iran) over Kurdistan.

100. They have planted Stalinist-Marxist internationalist and Islamist internationalist ideas among the Kurds—and recently added "democratic" principles—to facilitate the assimilation of the Kurdish people into the societies of the occupying entities, far from Kurdish liberationist nationalism or global ideals of freedom, independence, and dignity, as championed by figures like Mahatma Gandhi and Nelson Mandela.
101. The Kurdish party leaders have never resigned or apologized for the disasters, tragedies, and genocides inflicted on the Kurdish people due to their policies. In truth, they feel no remorse—they are faithfully executing their assigned tasks, chief among them sabotaging any struggle for Kurdistan's independence. Thus, they take pride in their betrayal and servitude.
102. The Kurdish party leaders fight against the free patriots of Kurdistan while they are alive, only to mourn them after death—profiting from their legacy. This is what they did to all the freedom fighters and national heroes, including (but not limited to) General Mustafa Barzani, Apo Osman Sabri, Dr. Nureddin Zaza, Professor Jemal Nebez, and others... I witnessed these great leaders in person: how disgust they were toward the party leaders, Later, I saw those same party leaders at their funerals, weeping and changing colors like chameleons—without any shame.

103. The spy officers within Kurdish partisan leaderships meddle in all fields, infiltrate every organization, and zealously work to undermine them from within. I will take the lawyer Ibrahim Ahmed as an example and model:

- For the independence of Kurdistan, the Free Kurdistan Movement in East Kurdistan established the J.K Party (Jêkaf: The Kurdish Renaissance) in 1943. From its very first day, Ibrahim Ahmed joined with great enthusiasm and strength. However, he played the biggest role in dissolving the party from within in 1946 and merging it with the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) under Stalin's instructions and the Tehran Conference.

- A few months before the collapse of the Republic of Kurdistan in Mahabad, Sheikh Mahmud al-Hafid, the King of South Kurdistan, received a letter from Qazi Muhammad, the president of the republic, stating: "You promised us support and aid, but we have received nothing, and our situation is worsening..." Sheikh Mahmud immediately summoned Ibrahim Ahmed. When he arrived, Sheikh Mahmud—in the presence of several Kurdish figures and members of his own family (some of whom later relayed this account to me)—said: "I gave you 70,000 dinars to deliver to Qazi Muhammad, the president. What happened?" Ibrahim Ahmed replied: "When we crossed the border, there was heavy fighting, forcing

us to turn back to Sulaymaniyah. We barely escaped with our lives, leaving behind our belongings and the money..." (I obtained this information from multiple sources within Sheikh Mahmud's family, including Kamal Sheikh Ghareeb and others.)

Thus, when the 1991 uprising in South Kurdistan occurred, a force from Ibrahim Ahmed and Jalal Talabani's group stormed Sheikh Mahmud's house in Sulaymaniyah, broke into the iron document box, and stole all the papers—including Qazi Muhammad's letter to Sheikh Mahmud mentioned above. This proves that the treachery of Kurdish partisan leaders is old and continues to this day.

- Ibrahim Ahmed joined the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP-Iraq) in 1946 with great zeal. However, when the September Revolution (1961) began, he betrayed it from day one, only joining four months after it started.
- In a prearranged agreement with Iraqi intelligence to sabotage the September Revolution from within, Ibrahim Ahmed convinced the KDP's Political Bureau that General Mustafa Barzani was a backward tribal leader unfit for the "progressive" struggle of the KDP.
- In 1964, Ibrahim Ahmed held a KDP conference in the village of "Mawat" in the southern part of the Qandil Mountains. There, he expelled General Mustafa Barzani from the party. However, Barzani's forces pursued them, forcing Ibrahim Ahmed and the

Political Bureau group to flee to Iran—as per Iraqi intelligence’s plan—to launch a guerrilla war against the Kurdish revolution from the Iranian-Iraqi border and stab it in the back. However, the Shah of Iran foiled their plan by disarming them upon entry and exiling them to Hamadan, far from the border. Iraqi intelligence then ordered them to return to the revolution. Ibrahim Ahmed asked the Shah to mediate their return under Barzani’s leadership. The Shah intervened, Barzani accepted, and they rejoined the revolution, regaining their former leadership positions.

- After returning, Ibrahim Ahmed and the Political Bureau group began preparing for an even greater betrayal, paving the way for their defection to Baghdad in 1966. They declared themselves the "real KDP" since most of the Political Bureau, Central Committee, and branch leaders sided with them against Barzani, causing a split in the party and Kurdish society—a division that plagues the Kurdish people to this day, embodied in the Hewlêr (Erbil) and Sulaymaniyah administrations. This division was exactly what the 1943 Tehran Conference had planned, executed by Ibrahim Ahmed, the KDP Political Bureau, and their masters—the occupying entities of Kurdistan.
- When they split in 1966 and defected to Baghdad under Iraqi intelligence’s guidance, I was part of the

Damascus branch of the KDP in Syria. Among the documents I received from the party leadership copy of an Iraqi intelligence directive urging their Kurdish operatives to join Ibrahim Ahmed and Jalal Talabani's group, along with a party explanation stating that Iraqi intelligence and Ibrahim Ahmed's group were "two sides of the same coin."

- Ibrahim Ahmed was highly intelligent and quick-witted, so once he completed a mission, he swiftly moved to another. After playing a major role in the collapse of the Kurdish revolution in 1975, he left Kurdistan for Europe.

- In Europe, he worked to destroy Kurdish cultural and political institutions, traveling frequently between countries with active Kurdish movements to infiltrate and sabotage them from within. For example, he transformed the Kurdish Cultural Center in London—founded as an institution for the entire Kurdish diaspora—into a partisan entity serving the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) and against the interests of the Kurdish community in London. After years of effort, he succeeded.

*(Note: The text mentions the author's involvement in founding the Kurdish Cultural Center alongside Dr. Shafiq Qazzaz, Shirko Abid, Dr. Firiad Hiwaizi, and Nayef Alousi in 1985-1988.

Ibrahim Ahmed attended meetings but only participated when his faction dominated discussions;

otherwise, he would quietly slip out "like a fox escaping village guards."

- In 1993, during a major speech in London commemorating General Barzani's 90th birthday, Ibrahim Ahmed wept profusely every time he mentioned Barzani's name—despite being the main reason behind Barzani's failed revolution, suffering, exile, and eventual death. His crocodile tears were the height of hypocrisy.

- In 1997, Ibrahim Ahmed joined the exiled Kurdistan Parliament in Belgium with great fervor (just as he had joined J.K in 1943 and the KDP in 1946, only to destroy them from within). He became an advisor to the parliament and the Kurdish National Congress (established by the PKK) and remained until he brought it down.

- As an advisor, he sowed discord within the PKK, creating three leaderships:

PKK's European wing

PKK's Northern Kurdistan wing

PKK's Qandil Mountains wing

- He played a key role in sending PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan to Kenya in 1999, leading to his capture.

- After completing his mission of dividing the PKK and ensuring Öcalan's arrest, he began withdrawing from his roles to embark on another destructive mission—but fate intervened, and he died in 2000.

- To this day, Sulaymaniyah residents suffer from only a few hours of electricity daily, while Ibrahim Ahmed's grave has 24/7 power—proof that his destructive policies outlived him.

104. They aided all enemies of Kurds in Arabization, Turkification, and Persianization.

105. The Kurdish partisan leaderships have ignored the existence of Red Kurdistan in their curricula... After the failure of the Kurdish revolution in Northern Kurdistan led by General Ihsan Nuri in 1930, Turkey asked the Soviet dictator Stalin to eliminate the autonomous Republic of Red Kurdistan, which Lenin had established in 1921. Stalin complied with the Turkish request and erased the Republic of Red Kurdistan from existence by annexing its territories to the republics of Azerbaijan and Armenia. He then exiled its Kurdish population to various parts of the Soviet Union, from Georgia to Kazakhstan and even Siberia.

Since then, and to this day, the Kurdish partisan leaderships have not lifted a finger, and their literature makes no mention—not only of the autonomous Republic of Red Kurdistan—but that part of Kurdistan has been completely forgotten. When Kurdish partisan leaders speak of the parts of Kurdistan, they consider only four parts, not five.

106. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships has erased from their literature everything related to the 1943 Tehran

Conference and its colonial decisions targeting Kurdish existence.

107. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships has relinquished every Kurdish city and region that was Arabized, such as Mosul, Badra, Jissan, and Zurbatiya in southern Kurdistan, as well as Kurdish areas between Al-Jazira and Kobani, between Kobani and Afrin, and between Afrin and the Kurdish Mountain in the Latakia countryside in western Kurdistan—due to their Arabization. This also applies to other Kurdish cities and regions in northern and eastern Kurdistan, despite the fact that Kurds still form a significant percentage of their population.
108. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships, under the direction of the entities occupying Kurdistan, has succeeded in compromising the goals of the Kurdish people, their blood, property, dignity, and the independence of Kurdistan—all to preserve their partisan and regional interests and gain access to the capitals of the entities usurping Kurdistan. They have been granted certificates of good conduct for participating in their fake parliaments and sham democracies... all to obtain the crumbs left on the tables of the vile... which have absolutely nothing to do with the independence of Kurdistan, neither directly nor indirectly.
109. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships has also granted certificates of good conduct to the agents and spies of

the entities occupying Kurdistan simply for saying "Long live the leader!" or signing up to join their parties... Thus, these agents and spies have managed to recruit all the resources and mouthpieces of the Kurdish parties to serve the enemy, spreading false propaganda and slandering the noblest freedom fighters of Kurdistan.

110. After every defeat and tragedy that befalls the Kurdish people, the Kurdish Partisan Leaderships rushes to increase dance programs and celebrations on their televisions—as if they are teaching the Kurdish people to boast and take pride as if they were the victors. If this horrifying spectacle signifies anything, it is that they have received medals and awards from the occupying entities of Kurdistan for deceiving and misleading the Kurdish people, leading them into a dead end... Meanwhile, the real victors are the enemies of Kurdistan... who laugh in secret because they have chosen leaders who deliver Kurdistan to them on a golden platter.

111. The Kurdish partisan leaders have received billions of dollars from the entities occupying Kurdistan to numb the Kurdish people with slogans of democracy and federalism. Therefore, I firmly believe that when the Kurdish people choose a leader, it must be someone who has never seen the Syrian lira, the Turkish lira, the Iraqi dinar, or the Iranian rial... Those who have taken billions in these currencies can never

demand the independence of Kurdistan because the demand for independence is beyond their capacity. Only someone who can stand against the enemy with unwavering resolve, liberate our land from occupation, and free the Kurdish people from slavery to a world of freedom, security, and safety is fit to lead—a leader who has never dealt with the enemy, directly or indirectly. The independence of Kurdistan depends solely on the Kurds choosing a leader who fights for it.

112. The Kurdish partisan leaders have deliberately obscured the vision of the Kurdish people to prevent them from identifying their true enemy—the occupying entities—and from recognizing their true goal: the independence of Kurdistan.
113. These leaders pursue policies that normalize aggression against the Kurdish people, making oppression a daily reality. The prolonged state of slavery has led some to philosophically justify injustice and occupation.
114. The Kurdish Partisan Leadership does not like to hear the words "independence of Kurdistan" or the "establishment of a Kurdish state." They deceive the Kurdish people by claiming that federalism or autonomy is the pinnacle of freedom because they have reached a chronic stage of servitude. Some of them have even come to enjoy their captivity under the entities occupying Kurdistan—like a bird that finds

itself in a cage, and when the cage door is opened one day, it refuses to leave... Similarly, slaves may curse the morning if they do not receive beatings from their masters. Yes, slaves can reach a point where they enjoy the beatings and humiliation from their masters, yet they rage like a wild bull if the beating comes from another slave or a brother. There are many examples, such as:

If a Kurd had assassinated Dr. Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou, or

If a Kurdish party had captured Abdullah Öcalan, or

If they had martyred Mohammed Mashouq Khaznawi, or

If they had bombed Halabja with chemical weapons, or

If they had killed the martyrs of the Glorious Uprising...

The world would have been turned upside down, and they would have revolted endlessly. Yet, when the entities occupying Kurdistan—the masters of the Kurdish Partisan Leaderships—commit these atrocities, their reactions are limited to issuing a statement or, at best, holding a protest demonstration... Not to expose the killers, but to continue deceiving the gullible who orbit around them.

115. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships seeks to eliminate other Kurdish forces, monopolizing

everything for themselves while depriving others—an extreme selfishness that leads to the waste and destruction of the people's strength, national security, and performance.

A person striving to build their material and moral strength pursues a noble goal. However, seeking to erase the existence of their brothers and sisters, monopolizing their father's legacy, and depriving others is extreme selfishness that leads to the collapse of the family... Likewise, every nation, party, and individual must love themselves and seek their own interests. But when this love exceeds its limits, it becomes a malignant social and political disease: selfishness and extreme egotism. A people striving for their independence pursue a noble goal, but seeking to occupy others' lands is extreme selfishness and racism reaching chauvinism. In this regard, the 16th U.S. President, lawyer Abraham Lincoln—who abolished slavery in 1865 and unified America under the slogans "All men are free" and "One's freedom ends where another's begins".

116. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships ignores the history of nations that gained independence, as well as Kurdish history—even the very recent history they themselves witnessed. They deliberately insist on repeating all the mistakes that led to defeats, massacres, and tragedies.

117. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships has not only failed to foster Kurdish self-reliance but has actively worked to inflame conflicts among Kurds over the pettiest reasons.

118. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships strives to keep Kurdistan under the control of the racist, dictatorial, and backward entities occupying it—entities that openly work to destroy Kurdish cultural heritage and falsify history after already distorting geography by enforcing artificial borders drawn by colonial powers after World War I.

Nations seek liberation even if the states occupying them are among the world's most advanced. Freedom is the foundation of a people's life—there is no life without freedom.

119. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships orbits around the regimes of the entities occupying Kurdistan, which aim to eliminate the Kurdish people through political, military, and intelligence conspiracies. Below is one example—the Syrian state—representative of what the other occupying entities do:

- The Syrian regime established the racist Arab Belt project, revoked Syrian citizenship from Kurds, and imposed martial law and exceptional racist laws against the Kurdish people in Western Kurdistan.

- In 1963, the Syrian regime sent its army to assist the Iraqi army in fighting the Kurdish people in Southern Kurdistan.
- In 1993, the Syrian regime assassinated Dr. Sadegh Sharafkandi, head of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, through its agents in Hezbollah.
- Syrian President Hafez al-Assad stated at the 1998 Islamic Conference in Tehran: "If not for my efforts, there would now be a Kurdish state in Iraq."
- In 1999, the Syrian regime dealt a painful blow to our people in Northern Kurdistan by expelling their leader, Abdullah Öcalan, refusing to let him travel by land to Qandil, and forcing him to leave Syria by plane—part of an international trap leading to his capture in Kenya. The Syrian regime was the cornerstone of the conspiracy to arrest him.

Yet, most partisan Kurdish leaders still orbit around this criminal regime—the number one enemy of the Kurdish nation. Despite this, the Syrian regime hosts these Kurdish leaders, holds conferences for them, and supplies them with money and weapons!!!! In other words, the Syrian regime supports Kurdish leaders who implement its plans to suppress the Kurdish people—using individuals who speak the Kurdish language.

It is worth noting that the regimes of the other entities occupying Kurdistan are no less vile and hostile toward Kurds and Kurdistan—sometimes even more racist and brutal.

120. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships has no plan to resist the Syrian regime regarding occupied Western Kurdistan. They falsely claim to defend the people of Western Kurdistan but cannot even protect their own members, whom the Syrian regime assassinates in staged traffic accidents (e.g., martyr Kamal Ahmed and his comrades, martyr Rashid Hamo, Dr. Hamid Sino, etc.). They dare not even mention Western Kurdistan in their literature to appease the fascist Syrian regime. Worse, the Kurdish Partisan Leaderships in other parts of Kurdistan also ignores Western Kurdistan—all to strengthen their own organizations at the expense of Western Kurdistan's people, rights, and existence, much like what happened to Red Kurdistan... This has helped the Syrian regime easily execute all its conspiracies.
121. Kurdish history has been thoroughly falsified by the entities occupying Kurdistan... The only thing they could not distort is the Kurdish people's collective memory... Thus, the spy officers within the Kurdish Partisan Leaderships place images of Kurdish historical figures on their statements, websites, and Facebook pages to borrow their luminous names—aiming to later distort collective memory and

accomplish what the occupying entities failed to do: erase Kurdish historical consciousness.

For example: I do not allow anyone who seeks Syrian citizenship, membership in the Iraqi/Turkish/Iranian/Syrian parliaments—those who have opposed Kurdish nationality since the last century (a nationality established by Qazi Muhammad)—to associate me with Qazi Muhammad. They could not even reclaim half of Syrian citizenship... How can I let them invoke the Republic of Kurdistan when they are the fiercest enemies of Kurdish independence?

122. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships advises the occupying entities on suppressing Kurdish identity—part of their security coordination. Their focus is on Newroz (Kurdish New Year), one of the last remaining symbols of Kurdish heritage. Some of their "advice": In Turkey, to prevent Kurds from celebrating Newroz, the Turkish parliament declared it a "Turkish holiday." In Syria, they designated March 20 as Teacher's Day and March 21 as Mother's Day (originally May 13), making them official holidays—closing schools and workplaces to minimize gatherings. In Iraq, they labeled Newroz as Tree Day. In Iranian Kurdistan, attempts are made to ban Newroz celebrations under the pretext that it is "not an Islamic holiday."

123. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships deliberately neglects and fights against serious efforts to preserve Kurdish heritage—such as exhibitions and museums (most of which were established through personal efforts). Examples:

- The Kurdish Museum in London: From its founding idea (September 2007) to its opening (March 2008), over 500 Kurdish artifacts were donated by the diaspora. Over 100 political and academic figures attended the opening, including a historic congratulatory letter from London Mayor Ken Livingstone. When partisan leaders saw its success, they sent Kurdistan TV—their first visit—but later aired footage falsely implying they were involved, though the museum was solely a project of the Western Kurdistan Association (which I chaired).
- The Kurdish Museum in New York: Dr. Vera Saeedpour (its founder) wrote to me in 2010, stating she was ill and aging, unable to maintain the museum. She requested that I inform the KRG of her wish to transfer its contents to them—but when I did inform them I received no response. After her death, the museum closed.
- They create fake cultural organizations (e.g., Toros, Zagros, Kawa, Rostam, Zahrab) to lend false legitimacy to their writings, distorting Kurdish heritage.

- They censored Kurdish history:

Prince Jaladet Bedirkhan's magazine Hawar (published in Damascus under French mandate) originally featured the Kurdistan flag prominently. In reprinted European editions, the flag was erased—replaced with a full-page photo of Jaladet to deceive readers.

They distorted the memoirs of Osman Sabri (a revered Kurdish figure), removing key historical missions—such as his 1927 meetings with Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji and Sheikh Ahmed Barzani to organize a united Kurdish revolt.

They defaced the book Kurds and Kurdistan by Muhammad Amin Zaki (a rare historical source), adding a malicious introduction attacking its content. In 2013, they fabricated the date of the Anfal genocide (claiming it was April 14—the founding date of KAJYK organization) to associate mourning with hatred for KAJYK's independence ideals. Actual Anfal stages occurred on:

Phase 1: February 22, 1988

Phase 2: March 16, 1988

Phase 3: April 7, 1988 (Ba'ath Party's founding date—hidden to avoid curses)

Phase 4: May 2, 1988

(Continued through Phase 8 by late 1988)

From the dates of the Anfal operations mentioned above, it is clear that none of them occurred on April

14, 1988, and that this date is fabricated and inserted by the spy officers within the Kurdish partisan leaderships... The correct date is that the third phase took place on April 7, 1988—the anniversary of the Ba'ath Party's founding (April 7, 1947). The Ba'athist collaborators in the Kurdistan regional government and parliament were displeased that their party's birthday coincided with the genocidal campaigns against the Kurdish people, as it would prevent others from joining their celebrations and would instead invite curses from the families of the Anfal victims... Thus, the Ba'athists within the Kurdish partisan leaderships proposed that the birthdate of the KAJYK organization (April 14) be designated as the annual day of mourning for the Anfal victims, thereby redirecting curses toward KAJYK and its demands for Kurdish independence and national security—instead of the Ba'ath Party, which was the actual perpetrator of the Anfal operations and fully deserves the curses. However, the enemy knows where the real danger lies and directs its arrows at the KAJYK organization, even if it no longer exists, because its Kurdish nationalist-liberationist ideology continues to shine and light the path for Kurdistan's freedom fighters. It is worth noting that the Kurdish partisan leaderships have held numerous events condemning the Anfal operations since the tragic campaigns. Below are some that I personally attended:

- March 20, 2000: I participated in a meeting at the UK Parliament regarding the Halabja tragedy and the Anfal operations. Around 100 Kurds, Arabs, and British officials attended. The meeting was chaired by Dr. Latif Rashid (Jalal Talabani's brother-in-law and current President of Iraq), with Sharif Ali (a claimant to the Iraqi monarchy) seated to his right and British MP Ann Clwyd to his left.
- March 16, 2008: I attended the First International Conference on the Genocide Against the Kurdish People in Anfal and Halabja, held at Kensington Town Hall in London.
- June 22, 2012: I participated in a seminar on the genocide against the Kurds and the destruction of Qala Dizeh. Speakers included:
 Aram (Sabah Ahmed), Minister of Martyrs and Anfal Affairs in the KRG.
 Bayan Sami Abdul Rahman, Representative of South Kurdistan in the UK.
 Dr. Suleyman Rahimi, an expert on genocide.
 Khalid Asnkar, head of the Bashdar Martyrs' Association.
 None of them mentioned April 14, 1988, as the date of the Anfal operations, nor did any of their events reference this date.
- The Kurdish partisan leaderships have held many conferences in Hawler (Erbil) and Sulaymaniyah about the Anfal campaigns—for example, one such

conference took place in Hawler from January 26–28, 2008. None were held on April 14, and from 1988 until 2013, no statement, article, or meeting by the Kurdish partisan leaderships ever claimed that the Anfal operations occurred on April 14, because this date has no connection whatsoever to the Anfal. Instead, April 14 is the founding date of the KAJYK organization, but the Kurdish partisan leaderships manipulated this date to turn it into a day of curses... This is precisely the role of the Kurdish partisan leaderships—to distort national occasions, spread lies, and confuse narratives in ways that even occupying powers and foreign states cannot.

124. On 11/11/1999, the Kurdistan Parliament approved the adoption of the Kurdistan national flag with a sun at its center as the official flag of the region. The parliament also designated December 17 of each year as the "National Flag Day of Kurdistan." However, the true Flag Day should have been the day when Qazi Muhammad raised the Kurdistan flag and proclaimed the establishment of the Republic of Kurdistan in Chwar Chra Square on 1/22/1946—not December 17. I searched again for the reason behind the Kurdish partisan leadership's falsification of the National Flag Day but found no historical significance for December 17 in Kurdish history—neither ancient nor modern. There is no Kurdish reason for this date to be chosen as the sacred Flag Day... unless the reason is Ba'athist,

as it coincides with the death anniversary of former Syrian President Amin al-Hafiz, who held great favor with Saddam Hussein. Making the National Flag Day of Kurdistan the same day as the death of a Ba'athist leader is an ominous sign for the Kurdistan flag—and this is exactly what the spy officers within the Kurdish partisan leadership intended by distorting everything beautiful in Kurdish heritage and history.

125. Saddam Hussein and others failed to ban Kurdish clothing, especially in Sulaymaniyah. However, the administration of the University of Sulaymaniyah, under orders from the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) and Kurdish partisan leaders, issued instructions prohibiting students from wearing Kurdish attire—while allowing Islamic and other dress.

126. The spy officers within the Kurdish partisan leadership in South Kurdistan are attempting to change the Kurdish national anthem, *Ey Reqîb*, as well as the colors of the Kurdish national flag, to create new divisions within Kurdish society—between supporters of the old anthem and flag and those advocating for new ones.

Translation of the Kurdish National Anthem:

"O Guardian (O History), the Kurds will remain eternal with their language and nation. The cannons of time will neither defeat nor erase them.

We are the children of red, the children of revolution.

Reflect on our blood-stained past.
We are the descendants of the Medes and Kay
Khosrow.
Our religion, our faith, is the homeland.
The Kurdish youth rose like lions,
Writing with their blood the crown of life.
We are the children of revolutions and red blood—
look at our history filled with blood.
The Kurdish youth are always ready to sacrifice their
lives.
Let no one say the Kurds will vanish—the Kurds will
endure.
We will remain, like our waving, towering flag,
forever."

127. The Kurdish partisan leadership has issued many forged letters attributed to Kurdish leaders, including:
- A letter from General Ihsan Nuri Pasha, leader of the Kurdish revolt in the Agri Mountains (1927-1930), ignited by the Khoybun Party.
 - A letter from Qazi Muhammad, president of the Republic of Kurdistan in Mahabad (1946).
 - Neither General Ihsan nor President Qazi Muhammad ever wrote these letters—they were fabricated recently. As someone closely following Kurdish affairs, I found no trace of Qazi Muhammad's alleged letter in the media or newspapers of the Republic of Kurdistan in Mahabad, nor in the publications of the

Kurdistan Democratic Party-Iran (KDP-I), of which Qazi Muhammad was the leader. If he had written such a letter, it would have been published in his republics and party's media.

- My father was a member of the Khoybun Party and preserved its publications, including the newspapers Hawar and Ronahi, published by Prince Celadet Bedir Khan, Khoybun's leader. Yet, I found no trace of a letter by General Ihsan Nuri Pasha, leader of the Khoybun revolt in the Agri Mountains.

This means these are forged letters written recently. It doesn't matter whether their content is favorable or unfavorable to the Kurdish cause—forgery remains forgery.

128. The spy officers within the Kurdish partisan leadership claim that the Kakais are Shiites, descendants of Musa al-Kadhim. Yet, these same leaders once claimed during Saddam Hussein's era that the Yarsani reformer (San Sahaq) was a Barzani and that the Kakais' lineage traces back to the Quraysh tribe, making them Sunnis.

The truth is that Kakais (Yarsanis) follow an ancient Kurdish religion with no connection to Sunni or Shia Islam. The claims of the spy officers within the Kurdish partisan leadership aim only to deepen divisions in Kurdish society.

129. In further disregard for Kurdish sacred symbols, the Kurdish partisan leadership did not hold Ali Bapir, a member of the Kurdistan Parliament, accountable for refusing to stand during the singing of the Kurdish national anthem Ey Reqîb in parliament—an act of disrespect toward the anthem and the parliament's sanctity. He was certain that, despite his disgrace, he was still more honorable than the rest...

Because most members of the Kurdistan Parliament are:

Those who killed Peshmerga.

Those whose actions led to the killing of Peshmerga.

Those who knew who killed Peshmerga but covered up the killers.

Those who welcomed any of the above.

130. The Kurdish partisan leadership pursued a policy of intimidation—not against the entities occupying Kurdistan, but against the Kurdish people, using the specter of genocide and chemical weapons. Instead of leveraging this to declare Kurdish statehood and separate the Kurdish people from occupying entities, they agreed to keep Kurdistan within the colonial borders drawn at the Lausanne Conference (1923) and the Tehran Conference (1943).

131. At the wrong time, the Kurdish partisan leadership held independence referendums in 2005 and 2017—not to liberate Kurdistan but to instill fear in the people, making "referendum" synonymous with

"siege." Had they truly sought independence, they would have declared it, even if only for an hour.

132. The Kurdish partisan leadership unites not to fight for Kurdistan's freedom but to fight each other whenever an opportunity for statehood arises. When the opportunity slips away, they announce a "Kurdish front."

For example: During the Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988), when both occupying powers were weakened, the Kurdish factions fought each other instead of uniting to declare independence. Only after the war ended in 1988 did they form the "Kurdistan Front" in 1989—when it was already too late.

133. The Kurdish partisan leadership fights among themselves when opportunities for independence arise but unites when no such opportunity exists—facilitating the submission and assimilation of the Kurdish people into the occupying states.

134. Kurdish party leaders deliberately oppose each other to deceive the simple-minded, but in reality, they are working in full agreement to sabotage any process of liberating Kurdistan.

135. They remained silent in the face of genocides committed against the Kurds, never forming a Kurdish organization to retaliate—unlike other oppressed peoples worldwide. Meanwhile, the occupying powers created groups like Al-Qaeda, Hezbollah, and ISIS to attack Kurds without accountability.

136. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships did not lift a finger in response to international resolutions calling for the freedom of peoples and the independence of their homelands... In 1960, the United Nations issued Resolution 1514 on decolonization, aimed at liberating the remaining colonized peoples of the world. Notably, Resolution 1514 coincides with the year of the first partition of Kurdistan in 1514—as if the resolution was a direct signal to the Kurds. Yet, the Kurdish Partisan Leaderships remained passive because they do not consider the Kurdish people colonized. Instead, they view the occupying entities of Kurdistan as "brothers" of the Kurds, striving for coexistence, normalization, and integration with them... They fight with all their might to prevent the UN from interfering in what they call "internal disputes among brothers!"
137. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships pursued a policy of intimidating the Kurdish people against the occupying entities of Kurdistan, ensuring Kurdish masses remained submissive out of fear. Their struggle to convince the Kurdish people to submit to these entities is nothing but taming the Kurds into accepting coexistence and integration with those who seek their annihilation.
138. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships does nothing to avenge the displacement of our Kurdish people in Kirkuk, Khanaqin, Shengal, Kobani, Afrin, and

Serikaniye. They keep the Kurdish people subdued, submissive, and perpetually fearful, resigned to their fate—thus facilitating integration with the enemy that seeks their eradication and occupies their land, Kurdistan.

139. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships convinced the Kurdish people that they alone could save them from threats, genocide, imprisonment, assassination, and displacement—ensuring obedience and turning them against anyone advocating for a Kurdish state... Because if a Kurdish state were established, fear would end, and with it, their leadership would vanish.
140. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships worked to muzzle and shackle the Kurdish people, delivering them as easy prey to the occupying entities of Kurdistan—letting them kill, displace, arrest, and torture anyone opposing their policies. Sometimes, even party figures exposed as collaborators with the intelligence agencies of these artificial entities are briefly detained—only to be whitewashed and reintroduced to the masses, resuming their role of suppressing the Kurds, now even more ruthlessly.
141. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships ignored the issue of Kurdish unity, allowing the killing, displacement, arrest, and torture of Kurds to become an inherent part of Kurdish life—as if it were divine fate. The Kurdish people are expected to submit like sheep to slaughter... Meanwhile, the leadership does

nothing to retaliate. To this day, their only response has been issuing condemnatory statements, organizing protests, or writing letters exposing crimes like the Anfal genocide and economic blockades—which are even more horrific than outright killing. Meanwhile, Turkey and Iran commit genocide against the Kurds in different forms.

142. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships fully united only to issue condemnatory statements, hold protests, and write letters in response to genocidal operations against the Kurdish people... Thus, I consider their response utterly trivial, enabling the artificial occupying entities of Kurdistan to continue their racist policies—killing, displacing, arresting, torturing, Arabizing, Turkifying, and Persianizing Kurdistan as if it had no rightful owner. The leadership follows this policy because a threatened person forgets sleep, food, and drink—how could they not forget Kurdish unity?

143. Worse than the lack of practical response is how the Kurdish Partisan Leaderships covers up the genocide against the Kurds. Take, for example, the assassinations by Syrian intelligence: the killings of Prince Jaladet Badrkhan, Ibrahim Mella, my father, Hamid Sino, Rashid Hamo, Kamal Ahmad, Darwish Mulla Suleiman Omar, and many others—all framed as "natural deaths," not orchestrated intelligence operations.

144. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships made their strategic mission participation in the parliaments and governments of the occupying entities of Kurdistan—solidifying loyalty to the occupiers' borders and sovereignty, built at the expense of Kurdistan's independence.
145. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships sidelined Kurdish-Kurdish agreements while considering agreements with the enemy "strategic." In 1997, I met in London with Dr. Fuad Masum, a PUK politburo member, during a campaign to halt internal fighting in South Kurdistan. He told me: "Our lengthy meetings with KDP leaders—over 2,000 hours—failed to produce an agreement." Yet, when Baghdad demanded a unified Kurdish list for the Iraqi parliament, the Kurdish leaders agreed in just five minutes.
146. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships act foolishly whenever there is an opportunity for Kurdistan's independence. In mid-May 1991, the United Nations issued Resolution 688 to protect the Kurdish people within the 36th parallel... British Prime Minister John Major then declared at his party's conference in Scotland: "We have achieved the independence of Kurdistan under the name 'Free Zone.'" However, the partisan Kurdish leaders contacted him and asked him not to use the term "Free Kurdistan" because regional states were sensitive to the word "freedom,"

suggesting that "autonomy" was a more suitable demand... So, John Major conceded and began using another term: "Safe Haven." Yet again, the partisan Kurdish leaders objected, forcing him to adopt a vague term: "No-Fly Zone."

This gradual dilution of terminology resulted from the cowardice of the Kurdish Partisan Leaderships. Despite the Peshmerga fighting side by side with the American military, these leaders did not even attempt to reclaim a single village beyond what Saddam Hussein had allotted to the autonomous region in 1970.

Before the U.S.-led global war in the Middle East in 2003 (involving 35 nations), Kurds were Iraqi citizens. After the war, they remained Iraqi citizens, with their IDs and passports still labeling them as Iraqis—just as they had been under dictatorship.

I corresponded with several world leaders, including British PM John Major, urging them to push the Kurdish Partisan Leaderships to declare Kurdistan's independence and rectify the historic injustice committed by Britain and France in forcibly annexing Kurdish lands into Iraq and Syria. In a letter dated May 1, 1992 (which I published in My Autobiography), coinciding with the establishment of the Kurdistan Parliament in Hewlêr, John Major responded: "We want autonomy—not independence... because the Kurdish leaders have told us that this is all they

desire." Anyone reading this would understand that John Major was forced to reject Kurdistan's independence to appease the Kurdish Partisan Leaderships.

Britain may have been secretly pleased with Kurdistan remaining occupied, but John Major justified his government's stance by blaming the Kurdish leaders—who could have simply remained silent instead of providing such excuses. The truth is, the major powers' support was not out of love for Kurdish independence but because Iraq, Iran, and Syria were openly hostile to them, while Turkey remained hesitant to assist. For these powers, Kurdish independence was a tool to retaliate against these states—yet the Kurdish Partisan Leaderships failed to seize this opportunity because they, too, oppose independence.

147. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships unites and sits at one table only when demanded by the artificial entities occupying Kurdistan. When the Kurdish people fled in the mass exodus of 1991, they garnered unprecedented global sympathy. At that time, any European or American government opposing the Kurds would have faced public backlash. Instead of exploiting this golden opportunity for independence, the Kurdish leaders rushed to Baghdad at the slightest hint from Saddam Hussein—the butcher of the

Kurdish people—and even kissed him before any negotiations, instantly killing worldwide sympathy. In the 1990s, the partisan Kurdish factions fought each other relentlessly, only stopping after U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright intervened in 1998. They ignored the Kurdish people's pleas for unity, yet immediately united when Iraq demanded it. Worse, Kurdish leaders in other parts of Kurdistan have learned this lesson well and follow the same path. In Western Kurdistan (Rojava), the partisan leaders refused to meet or reconcile—unless summoned by Syrian intelligence. Below is a document from a meeting of Kurdish parties in Afrin, where the local intelligence chief called them, and they promptly attended, signing a pledge (each by name) to cancel Newroz celebrations that year, 1995, because Bashar al-Assad's relative had died. If any Assad family member dies, the Kurdish people must forget their festivals and heritage. Thus, the occupying entities see the Kurdish Partisan Leaderships as the cornerstone of controlling the Kurdish people. Similar pledges exist in other Kurdish regions. Kurdish unity is achieved only when it is meaningless—meaning the partisan leaders unite or divide based on the occupiers' demands. In other words, their unity and division can be likened to thieves collaborating to prolong Kurdistan's occupation and plunder its resources.

تقديم

حمد لله رب العالمين اذ انما قد اصاب الكردية اعداءهم
 في كرمهم والمجاهدين في كرمهم في كرمهم في كرمهم
 والكلمة التي هي من كرمهم في كرمهم في كرمهم في كرمهم
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 (على كرمهم في كرمهم في كرمهم في كرمهم)

محمد صادق	رفعت	عزت	شوق	زبان
عبدالله	محمد	محمد	محمد	محمد

148. The Kurdish partisan leaderships also unite when an organization emerges advocating for the independence of Kurdistan. Outwardly, they appear conciliatory, but secretly, they work to diminish its

role in Kurdish society. Examples include the organizations KAJYK in 1959, PASOK in 1975, the Kurdistan National Congress in 1985, and others.

The Kurdish partisan leaderships pursued members of KAJYK and PASOK who remained committed to their nationalist goals, primarily the independence of Kurdistan. They assassinated some and spread false propaganda against those they couldn't physically eliminate, aiming to destroy them morally.

While General Mustafa Barzani was alive, the partisan leaderships couldn't eliminate them because they were key figures in the September Revolution, and the General trusted and relied on them. However, after his death, the partisan leaderships began systematically eliminating KAJYK members, one after another. Among their most significant assassinations:

- Martyr Sheikh Muhammad Harsini: The chief financial officer of the Kurdish revolution until its collapse in 1975. He was assassinated by Sami Abdul Rahman, secretary of the Kurdistan Democratic Party's provisional leadership. A group of Sami's Peshmerga took Sheikh Muhammad from the 40th-day memorial of General Mustafa Barzani's death, and he was never seen again.
- Martyr Fattah Agha (Fattah Muhammad Amin): Commander of (hez Khabat, which had over 6,000 Peshmerga) during General Barzani's time. After the revolution collapsed, he and his family moved to

Tehran, where he studied law at Tehran University. In 1981, Sami Abdul Rahman approached him, urging him to lead an operation in Southern Kurdistan. Fattah Agha initially refused, but after repeated pressure, he agreed. On the way, before reaching the border, he was shot from behind and killed. A Peshmerga named Barzan, who accompanied him, confirmed this to me—the mission's true purpose was his assassination.

The physical elimination even extended to Kurds unaffiliated with KAJYK, including the children of its members, under pretexts like the war against ISIS. In truth, they were killed by spy officers within the partisan leaderships, with cowardly shots from behind. Examples:

Martyr Ata bin Muhammad Haji Mahmoud (26/11/2014)

Martyr Brigadier Shirko Fattih Shwani (31/1/2015)

Martyr Brigadier Dr. Rizgar Agha (29/5/2016)

As a former leading member of KAJYK and PASOK, I survived multiple assassination attempts in Iran and Kurdistan by the Azad Mustafa group in 1984. After one attempt in Karaj, Iran, Martyr Idris Barzani—who was also in Karaj—sent Dr. Shaukat Bamerni (may God prolong his life) to treat my wounds. That day, Idris Barzani relocated me six times to evade Iranian intelligence, who had distributed my name and photo to airports and border checkpoints, demanding me

"dead or alive." Were it not for him, I would not have reached Europe safely. A thousand blessings upon his pure soul.

From London, I occasionally phoned Martyr Idris Barzani. Our relationship was strong since I first met his father, General Mustafa Barzani, in 1972, until Idris's assassination on 31/1/1987.

149. On 19/5/1992, the Kurdistan Parliament held its first session in Erbil. However, MPs refused to sit, protesting the presence of the Iraqi flag and the absence of the Kurdish flag. The partisan leaderships held an all-night meeting and ultimately decided to remove all flags—dealing a fatal blow to Kurdish unity, which was their goal. The Parliament remained without a Kurdish flag until the Americans intervened, questioning why partisan (yellow and green) flags flew instead of Kurdistan's beautiful flag.

The Americans acted out of interest, not love for Kurdistan. Reluctantly, after a decade, the partisan leaderships raised the Kurdish flag—but they await the chance to replace it again with their partisan banners.

This hostility extends to me. When I raised the Kurdish flag outside the U.S. Embassy in London in 1991, their animosity toward me and the flag became clear. (Details of these events are documented chronologically.)

150. In 1992, under orders from U.S. President George Bush and UK Prime Minister John Major, Lord Jeffrey Archer was sent to Southern Kurdistan to assess Kurdish aspirations. In a speech in Erbil, he declared: "You are 30 million people—you deserve independence."

A partisan leadership translator interrupted, claiming Archer "misspoke" and meant 3 million seeking autonomy. Archer smiled bitterly, disillusioned. Notably, as a UK Conservative Party leader, his words were stronger than the Balfour Declaration—yet the Zionist movement built a state from it, while the Kurdish partisan leadership silenced their "Balfour."

Archer adored Kurds and Kurdistan. I visited his London home, where a massive oil-painted Kurdish flag covered an entire wall. In the late 1980s, he told the UK Parliament:

"I hope to see a Kurdish state in my lifetime."

151. The partisan leaderships' policy of dividing Kurdish unity is evident daily:

Splitting Southern Kurdistan into Sulaymaniyah and Erbil administrations, with most still under Iraqi occupation.

Arabization, once forced, now proceeds "voluntarily" under their rule. Sulaymaniyah, once nearly Arab-free, now hosts over 500,000 Arabs—soon resembling Kirkuk.

Oil sales: They help Iraq sell Kurdistan's oil, then beg for 17% of revenues (reduced to 12% after "presidency expenses," as Masoud Barzani admitted to Sky News Arabia).

152. They grant Arabs a dignified life in Kurdish cities while confining Kurds from all parts of Kurdistan to isolated camps. Those who seek to Arabize and destroy Kurdistan face no barriers.

153. The partisan media of Kurdish political leaders occasionally airs programs about the independence of Kurdistan and the Kurdish state. Yet, at the end of each program, they inevitably include a "but"—claiming that international or regional circumstances do not favor the establishment of a Kurdish state. In doing so, they harm the idea of Kurdish independence more than if they had remained silent. They even hesitate to mention historical Kurdish figures who declared the Kurdish state or those who fought against the occupying entities of Kurdistan. For example:

The media of Kurdish partisan leaders shyly mentions Sheikh Abdul Salam Barzani, fearing Turkish displeasure. Yet, it should be the Turks who fear the Kurds, because the martyr Sheikh Abdul Salam Barzani was one of Kurdistan's earliest heroes. He lived as a revolutionary fighter, engaged in numerous battles against the Turks, and defeated the Ottoman army in the First and Second Battle of Bale. However, due to

enemy conspiracies, he was captured by the Turks and hanged in Mosul prison in 1914—just hours before British forces landed in Basra. Kurdish partisan leaders avoid acknowledging these facts, even though the Kurdish cause was at its peak during the era of such heroes. History could have been different had Sheikh Abdul Salam Barzani survived alongside Sheikh Mahmud Hafid after the Turks' defeat and retreat from southern Kurdistan. May their pure souls rest in peace.

Kurdish partisan leaders prohibit mentioning General Mustafa Pasha Yamulki, just as they suppress the names of all those who strive for a Kurdish state. General Mustafa Pasha Yamulki (may he rest in peace) was a legendary Kurdish historical figure who served as the head of the Ottoman Military Tribunal that sentenced Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk), the founder of the Turkish Republic, to death.

After the collapse of the Kingdom of Southern Kurdistan, General Yamulki was deeply disappointed that the Kurdish people remained submissive to oppression instead of demanding their own state. One day, he decided to teach the Kurds a lesson. Early in the morning, he sat in front of his house in Sulaymaniyah, watching Kurdish villagers bring milk, yogurt, and cheese to sell in the city's markets. He tied a rope across the street as a barrier. When the first group of villagers arrived, he forbade them from

entering. More groups came, pleading, but he refused. Finally, a young man from the last group took off his shoe and threatened to hit the general with it. At that moment, Yamulki said: "Now you may enter. I always want you to react like this—take off your shoe and strike anyone who tries to deny you your rights." When the Professor Akram Yamulki, the nephew of General Mustafa Pasha Yamulki, visited me in London, he gifted me a large, colored portrait of the general in his Ottoman military uniform.

154. Kurdish partisan leaders oppose any project that strengthens the Kurdish people's existence or Kurdistan's independence. For example, sociology has proven that transportation is a key factor in transforming societies from tribalism into nations. Yet, the occupying entities of Kurdistan have never established a railway network connecting Kurdish cities—except for a few lines linking Kurdistan to the occupiers' cities to plunder its resources. If Kurdish leaders are unaware of this fact, it is a tragedy. If they know but do nothing, the tragedy is even greater.
155. Kurdish partisan leaders are deeply united but pretend to be enemies to mislead their followers. They have removed all clauses related to Kurdistan's independence from their party programs while demanding varying "regional Kurdish rights" to create an illusion of disagreement. However, these demands never cross the red lines set by the occupying entities,

ensuring Kurdish rights remain confined within their borders.

156. When Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas welcomed U.S. President Donald Trump, only the Palestinian and American flags were raised—no Israeli flag was present. In contrast, Kurdish partisan leaders not only raise the Iraqi flag when receiving foreign dignitaries but keep it hoisted at all times in all Kurdish institutions, including the Kurdistan Parliament. This is psychological conditioning to force Kurds to accept Iraq and its flag.
157. The racism of Kurdistan's occupiers and the collaboration of Kurdish partisan leaders are twin pillars sustaining Kurdistan's occupation. For instance, Iraq's systemic racism was evident before 2003, when Saddam Hussein severed dozens of Kurdish districts from Kirkuk, Mosul, and Diyala to reduce the Kurdish population and facilitate Arabization—especially in oil-rich areas. Even after Saddam's fall, Kurdish leaders (despite holding Iraq's presidency) have not revoked his racist decrees, which remain in effect to this day.
158. For more than half a century, Kurdish partisan leaders have worked to marginalize, neglect, and sideline the pioneers of Kurdish nationalism... At the same time, these same Kurdish partisan leaders have tasked and empowered individuals who are enemies of Kurdish nationalist thought to organize the Kurdish

National Congress—only to enable them to dismantle it from within. Their mandate is no different from the infamous "Yasin Mandate":

In 1513, the Portuguese fleet attacked the city of Aden in southern Yemen... After an uneven battle, it was occupied, and many of the inhabitants fled, while others resisted heroically, inflicting heavy losses on the occupiers despite their lack of organized resistance. As the resistance grew stronger, the Portuguese devised an innovative plan to crush it: They brought forward an unknown man named Abdul Raouf Effendi and gave him the name "Yasin." The people of Aden did not know this Yasin, but the Portuguese secretly funded and armed him to present himself to the Yemeni people as a national hero... Yasin called for jihad to liberate Aden, and the masses followed him. After several staged battles coordinated with the invaders, Yasin's fame spread, and everyone hailed him as "the Leader."

As usual, Europe called for an urgent international peace conference and invited the "Mujahid Leader Yasin" to attend the "Peace of the Brave"—which he accepted! In a transparent charade, Portugal initially refused, then pretended to reluctantly agree, and everything went as planned... Yasin declared his local government and recognized Portugal's right to Aden, dividing the city into two parts: One ruled by the collaborator Yasin, followed by refugees and the poor,

and the other ruled by the Portuguese occupiers, who controlled the majority of the land and wealth...

I believe this story repeats itself daily—only the time, place, and characters change. The plot and deception remain the same: The trap is still a trap, betrayal is still betrayal, and unfortunately, the result is always the same!

There are many "Yasins" everywhere, manufactured and deployed in the same way for the same purpose: to deceive and mislead nations. Although Kurdish parties were initially founded with the goal of an independent Kurdistan, and the Kurdish masses rallied behind them for this cause, the partisan leaders brainwashed their followers into idolizing the party, its leadership, and the region. Over time, their interests became contradictory and conflicting with those of other regions, leaders, and parties.

The demands of Kurdish partisan leaders for democracy, citizenship rights, cultural and political rights, autonomy, and federalism within the entities occupying Kurdistan are like asking bubbles to last longer. This is undoubtedly against the goals of the Kurdish people, who seek a Kurdish state to protect their blood, property, and dignity... As for democracy and federalism, the Kurdish people want a democratic federal state among the Kurdish regions (Kurmanj, Soran, Badinan, Sheikhan, Zaza, Horaman, Lur, Bakhtiari, Yarsan, etc.).

The Kurdish people categorically reject chasing bubbles and being dragged into the flames of recurring wars for the sake of empty demands.

159. The Kurdish partisan leaders have adhered to the principles of the 1943 Tehran Conference, which called for ensuring Kurds never have a state and fighting any Kurd who demands one. This is the secret behind their unchanging policies despite major global shifts:

International politics changed drastically from the rise of German Nazism and Italian Fascism to their collapse.

International politics changed drastically with the division of the world between Soviet and American influence.

International politics changed drastically from the Cold War between communist and capitalist blocs to the fall of communism and the shift from confrontation to international agreements.

International politics changed drastically with the establishment of Israel and the Arab nations' normalization with it—some openly, most secretly.

International politics changed drastically from the fall of the pro-Western Shah's empire (no longer needed after Israel's rise in 1948 and its expansion in 1967) to the rise of the Shia Iranian empire in 1979, extending its influence to Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Yemen, etc., and sparking the Sunni-Shia war that has already begun.

International politics changed drastically from the fall of Iraq's monarchy (the cornerstone of the Baghdad Pact) and the establishment of the Iraqi Republic in 1958 to the complete collapse of the Iraqi state in 2003.

Thus, I affirm that the Kurdish partisan leaders are not fools, as some believe—they are exceptionally intelligent and refuse to deviate from the policies set by the 1943 Tehran Conference. Therefore, the tragic reality in Kurdistan must change. In this context, I wish to remind the Kurdish people of the following story:

The residents of Enterprise, Alabama, erected a monument in the town square to a highly destructive pest—the boll weevil. The story behind this monument is that one year, a severe infestation destroyed their cotton crops, their primary livelihood. As a result, they decided to plant peanuts instead—and to their surprise, peanut profits far exceeded those of cotton. The town later became known as the "Peanut Capital of the World." To honor the boll weevil's unintended role in their prosperity, they built a monument in the most prominent location so that all who see it remember: Without this pest, they would never have considered planting peanuts... and the town flourished because of it.

The Lesson: Change and development are necessary for progress. We will erect statues of saboteurs, collaborators, and traitors in the most famous square

of Greater Kurdistan's capital—because they were the cause of the Kurdish people's suffering and the driving force behind the change from subjugation to freedom and independence.

160. The partisan Kurdish leaders reject any efforts for Kurdish unity. On May 20, 2014, along with Dr. Muhammad Yusuf, I approached Saleh Muslim, the head of the PYD, regarding our readiness to form a reconciliation committee from all regions of Kurdistan to meet with all parties in order to resolve the crisis and stop the propaganda war between them and other parties—a war that could escalate if not contained. This would involve compiling a report on all viewpoints, identifying points of agreement to uphold and points of disagreement to resolve or set aside for now, given the current international circumstances. Mr. Saleh Muslim's response was that he would discuss the matter with the leadership—even though he himself is the leadership.
161. The partisan Kurdish leaders work in the service of the enemies of the Kurdish people, primarily the entities occupying Kurdistan. Evidence of this is that these leaders maintain public offices in the capitals of these enemies and coordinate security matters with their intelligence agencies.
162. The partisan Kurdish leaders respect those who treat the Kurdish people with cruelty and racism. I have hundreds of similar examples, such as these

leaders kissing Saddam Hussein—the murderer of half a million Kurds.

163. The partisan Kurdish leaders neglect anyone who works for the benefit of the Kurdish people, slander them, and spread false propaganda against them. I have witnessed hundreds of such cases myself over half a century of humble experience—and others may have seen thousands more.

164. The entities occupying Kurdistan agree among themselves to oppress the Kurdish people wherever they are, because they know well that the Kurdish cause is one, no matter where. However, the partisan Kurdish leaders not only fail to recognize this but—worse—have been fighting among themselves for decades, sometimes with weapons, and other times appearing on media smiling and shaking hands while secretly plotting against each other, spreading lies, and deceiving their people for partisan and personal gains.

While the Sykes-Picot Agreement divided the land of Kurdistan into five parts, the partisan Kurdish leaders and the decisions of the 1943 Tehran Conference divided the Kurdish people into a hundred factions, each claiming to be the only true representative of Kurdistan while branding others as traitors.

165. The partisan Kurdish leaders complete in servility to prolong the occupation of Kurdistan. While other nations—even cannibals—have progressed,

established their own states, and some even joined the world's largest military alliance or acquired nuclear weapons, the Kurdish people remain stagnant, even regressing.

This is because, in Kurdistan, the partisan leaders engage in an unparalleled race to please the occupying entities—whether regimes or opposition—instead of uniting for liberation. The vast number of parties, financial and military resources, armies of politicians and intellectuals, and the sacrifices of our heroic people would be enough to liberate all of Kurdistan and other erased nations. Yet, the partisan leaders have succeeded in drugging the Kurdish people, making them forget the dream of liberation and statehood by distorting the very concept of freedom, ensuring it remains confined within the walls of Syrian, Iraqi, Turkish, and Iranian cages.

If these leaders disagree with my words, let them prove me wrong by making the Kurdish state the first article in their party programs and educating their people about it through their media. But when they speak of a Kurdish state on their TV channels, they do so with nervous laughter, as if it were a bad joke.

166. The partisan Kurdish leaders still call on the Kurdish people to uphold the unity of Iraq, glorify its constitution, and celebrate its sovereignty—even though, under that same constitution, the referendum for Kurdistan's independence was

- rejected, Kurdistan was besieged, Kirkuk and other Kurdish regions were occupied, its budget was cut, and it was barred from investing in its own oil wealth.
167. These leaders urge the Kurdish people to remain loyal to the occupying entities, praising their constitutions, borders, and sovereignty—yet they ignore their defeats in Kirkuk, Shengal, Kobani, and Afrin under those same constitutions. Unless, of course, they consider these defeats victories.
168. The partisan Kurdish leaders commit the most heinous acts while attacking me and other free Kurds who expose their crimes. Some examples:
It was Abdullah Öcalan's own comrades who sent him to Kenya—not me.
It was Dr. Abdul Rahman Qasimlo's comrades who sent him to Vienna—not me.
I am certain many among them have killed Kurds or helped Iranians and Turks assassinate Qasimlo and capture Öcalan—certainly not me.
I cannot hide the truth, because it is the agents of the occupying entities and traitors of the Kurdish people who conceal it—not me.
When I speak of their atrocities, they attack me and spread lies far more fiercely than they do against those who kill Kurds or imprison and assassinate their leaders.
Let those who are upset be upset—I will not hide the truth.

Over half a century, the partisan Kurdish leaders have killed over a hundred thousand Kurds in their infighting—not me.

Since their founding, these leaders have maintained official offices in the capitals of the occupying entities—not me.

They have ministers in the governments of these entities and seats in their parliaments—not me.

They crushed the Kurdish uprisings in southern Kurdistan (1991) and western Kurdistan (2004)—not me.

They have sabotaged every opportunity for Kurdistan's independence—not me.

They erased the issue of independence and a Kurdish state from their agendas—not me.

169. The partisan Kurdish leaders do not seek independence or stability for Kurdistan—they trade the Kurdish cause to increase donations. The more stable Kurdistan is, the fewer donations they receive. But when Kurdistan is bombed and its people displaced, donations rise out of sympathy. This is the same in many countries where leaders prioritize financial gain over true independence.

170. The partisan Kurdish leaders are systematically asleep and negligent, which is why they lost Kirkuk, Afrin, and other Kurdish cities. The proof? They dance and sing on their TV screens while tragedies continue.

171. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships are engaged in taming the Kurdish people, normalizing them, and making them accept coexistence with the states that occupy their homeland, Kurdistan. Clearly, no one cares, which is why these Kurdish partisans' leaders demand coexistence with murderers and have removed the issue of Kurdistan's independence from their agendas. This gives the impression that the Kurdish partisan leaderships are partners with the racist Arabs, Turks, and Persians. There is only one way to protect the blood, property, and dignity of the Kurds—without a doubt, it is the independence of Kurdistan and the establishment of a Kurdish state. Although the Kurdish people love everyone, even their enemies, and deeply cherish coexistence with others, the problem is that the entities occupying Kurdistan hate them intensely and refuse to coexist with them or recognize their rights. In fact, they do not even want to acknowledge their existence, fearing that the Kurds will reclaim their homeland, Kurdistan. Despite the hypocrites who recognize the Kurds, they do so only to the extent of recognizing their sheep and livestock—merely to exploit them. Although more than 99% of Kurds believe in the independence of Kurdistan, unfortunately, their belief is limited to words and slogans. When it comes to action, they board a different train—one led by those who oppose Kurdistan's independence.

Therefore, I am waiting for the heroes who raise the banner of freedom or name their children "Azad" (Free) to commit to their words and board the train of Kurdistan's independence. Only then will the Kurdish state be achieved.

The Kurdish people struggle and sacrifice for cultural rights, autonomy, federalism, or confederalism—which are nothing but forms of "soft slavery." Their struggle and sacrifices for coexistence with murderers and criminals have absolutely no connection to the freedom of the Kurds or the independence of Kurdistan.

172. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships have built their strategy on the principle of coexistence with Syrians, Iraqis, Turks, and Iranians so that the Kurdish movement can play a role in the region's politics by placing a Kurd in a presidential position within the entities occupying Kurdistan. Saladin Ayyubi became a sultan over all Arabs and Muslims—but what benefit did that bring to the Kurdish people and Kurdistan? In reality, nothing—especially when compared to the immense sacrifices the Kurdish people made to liberate Arab and Muslim lands. Saladin could not even write a single ten-word statement in Kurdish, even though he could have made Kurdish the official language of the Arab and Muslim world.

Today, the fate of the Kurdish movement's strategy will be no better than Saladin's policies. After his

death, his sons and successors were beheaded. Thus, the Kurdish movement's alignment with the entities occupying Kurdistan and its insistence on coexistence is like livestock seeking to coexist with wolves.

The Kurdish movement must choose to struggle for Kurdistan in the right trench—the trench of oppressed peoples who have been erased from the map and suffer injustice, denial, and marginalization, just like the Kurdish people. At the forefront are the Baloch, Amazigh, Pashtuns, Sindhis, Tamils, Sikhs, Sabah, Sarawak, and others. I believe that the struggle for the independence of these peoples is the cornerstone for the liberation and independence of Kurdistan.

These peoples were separated from each other through divide-and-rule policies, then each was fragmented across multiple states. Within these occupying states, tribal, regional, and partisan mentalities were nurtured. Each tribe, region, and party developed its own interests, often leading to internal conflict and endless martyrs—but never for independence.

Anyone who accepts regionalism and opposes the independence of Kurdistan is, without a doubt, aiding the agenda of the Kurdish Partisan Leaderships.

173. Since 1964, the Kurdish Partisan Leaderships have waged civil wars—Kurd against Kurd—to drain Kurdish energy and shatter Kurdish unity. Each time,

they rewarded the killers with medals, money, and high positions, encouraging betrayal and disrespecting the value of honorable Kurds in Kurdish society.

174. On a global level, the Kurdish Partisan Leaderships have pursued the policies assigned to them by the 1943 Tehran Conference—taming the Kurdish people, normalizing them, and making them accept coexistence with the states occupying their homeland, Kurdistan. Each party has established an international lobby to defend only their own parties and regions, completely ignoring the Kurdish people and their central cause: freedom and the independence of their homeland, Kurdistan.

For example, let's look at the Kurdish partisan leaderships in Northern Kurdistan:

On November 2, 2021, I attended a meeting held by the British All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) in the UK Parliament. They issued a report titled: The Kurdish Issue on the Table of the APPG Session.

Chair of the Session: Ms. Angela Eagle

Below is a summary of the discussions, which revolved around the following points:

Human rights

Equality

Suppression campaigns and ongoing violations against Kurdish political representation, especially the HDP (Peoples' Democratic Party) and its supporters

The definition of terrorism—removing the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) from the terror list

Monitoring political trials of Kurds in Turkey and releasing Kurdish political prisoners

The best ways to support democracy in Turkey

Promoting peaceful coexistence and harmony

Civil society freedom—press freedom—gender issues

Pressuring NATO-member Turkey to uphold democracy

The European Court of Human Rights ordered the immediate release of detained MPs and the suspension of their trials. The European Parliament approved (590 to 16) a proposal demanding their release—but Turkey ignored the ruling.

Replacement of 59 elected mayors with government-appointed trustees

A 56-page report with 32 recommendations was submitted to the UK government: "We are concerned about recent reports of escalating violence in the region."

Discrimination based on language and culture

Low social representation of women

The Turkish president's meeting with the UK PM during NATO and G20 summits—where the discussed topics were tourism and COVID vaccines.

The right to self-determination and Kurdish autonomy were mentioned but not adopted as resolutions or recommendations.

Calls to release Selahattin Demirtaş, Abdullah Öcalan, and Osman Kavala, and lift the ban on the HDP

Condemnation of Turkey's withdrawal from the Istanbul Convention on women's rights

Only Alistair Smith of the Scottish National Party said: "The absence of an independent Kurdistan is also a historical accident."—as if recounting an old tale. He neither condemned the absence of an independent Kurdistan nor demanded its establishment.

As seen from these discussions, after normalizing the Kurdish people's submission to the occupying entities, the Kurdish Partisan Leaderships spread these poisons among global politicians—demanding they abandon the idea of an independent Kurdistan, downsize Kurdish national rights, and reduce the Kurdish struggle to fragmented demands within the borders of the occupying states.

This has led British parties to focus on trivial demands, such as releasing Kurdish prisoners—but even if they are freed, what guarantees they won't be arrested again the next day? This struggle is nothing but taming the Kurdish people and aligning international politics with the Tehran Conference's decisions—integrating the Kurds into the occupying entities and erasing the issue of Kurdistan's independence.

(See the APPG report here:

<http://nlka.net/pdf/20411618681636527807.pdf>

Thus, I consider the Kurdish Partisan Leaderships to be carrying out the mission of normalizing, integrating, dissolving, and erasing the Kurdish people within the artificial societies of the occupying entities. Those who applaud them after every defeat, surrender, and genocide are unknowingly applauding disgrace.

175. From time to time, the states of the 1943 Tehran Conference meet to celebrate their major victories and follow up on implementing their decisions—adding and amending clauses as needed. Yet, the Kurdish Partisan Leaderships never speak of this, near or far, because they faithfully and loyally execute the Tehran Conference’s resolutions.
176. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships abandoned our Yazidi Kurdish people in Sinjar in 2014, leaving them at the mercy of ISIS criminals, who committed genocide against them, enslaved their women, and to this day, thousands remain missing.
177. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships released Iraqi pilot Tariq Mohammed Ramadan, who chemical-bombed Halabja in 1988. After the Americans arrived in 2003, he was in Sulaymaniyah, and the Kurdish leaderships helped smuggle him to Europe. They have freed all enemies of the Kurdish people.
178. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships demanded that the Danish government release Iraqi Chief of Staff General Nizar al-Khazraji, detained there as the primary responsible for the Anfal operations. They

sent letters to Danish officials calling for his release as a "friend of the Kurds." If a "friend of the Kurds" is responsible for killing 182,000 Kurds, then the Kurds truly need no enemies. Unfortunately, Denmark released him based on the Kurdish leaderships' letters—even though I and many other free patriots sent numerous letters demanding his trial.

There are hundreds, even thousands, of examples where the Kurdish Partisan Leaderships protected those who oppose Kurds and Kurdistan—like al-Khazraji, Tariq Ramadan, and others.

179. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships have planned and executed countless conspiracies to serve others—especially those working to exterminate the Kurdish people—while signing security agreements with them.
180. Systematically, the Kurdish Partisan Leaderships have crushed the hopes of Kurdistan's friends—even killing some, like French President François Mitterrand.
181. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships have turned Kurdish revolutionaries and heroes into corrupt businessmen.
182. They have labeled the entities occupying Kurdistan—the murderers of Kurds—as "brothers" and seek coexistence with them.
183. They have surrendered everything to the occupying entities but refuse to compromise with

- each other or other Kurdish regions—deepening divisions within Kurdish society.
184. They have killed 100,000 Peshmerga in Kurdish infighting—with no accountability.
 185. They have deepened the fragmentation of Kurdistan into rival governments and administrations.
 186. They have arrested free thinkers and anyone who opposes them.
 187. They have silenced revolutionaries when enemy armies invaded Kirkuk and Afrin—preventing any retaliation.
 188. They have spread corruption—yet not a single corrupt official has been held accountable.
 189. They have amassed billions of dollars while their people suffer poverty and unemployment.
 190. They claim to be the sole representatives of the Kurdish people—yet they do not represent even 0.001% of them.
 191. They provide security for settlers in Kurdistan but fail to protect the children of Kurdistan.
 192. They have reduced Kurdish governance to family rule.
 193. Their retreat from Kirkuk, Sinjar, and Afrin has spread a spirit of defeat among Kurds.
 194. The Kurdish partisan leaderships have established an unwritten but enforced system in Kurdistan, were billionaire traitors and opportunists own palaces, rule Kurdistan, and drive the most expensive cars in

Sulaymaniyah and Erbil. Meanwhile, in those same cities, those who participated in all the revolutions and uprisings cannot even find a dry piece of bread to eat and sleep hungry.

195. The Kurdish partisan leaderships have established an unwritten but enforced system in Kurdistan where everything operates based on nepotism, favoritism, and hypocrisy.
196. The Kurdish partisan leaderships have established an unwritten but enforced system in Kurdistan where everything depends on your connections and proximity to the (KDP), (PUK), or (PKK).
197. The Kurdish partisan leaderships have established an unwritten but enforced system in Kurdistan where your interests, employment, and even admission to university with lower grades or passing from one class to another depend on your affiliation with the (KDP), (PUK), or (PKK).
198. The Kurdish partisan leaderships have established an unwritten but enforced system in Kurdistan where the security forces of the KDP, PUK, and PKK are above the law and not subject to the judiciary.
199. The Kurdish partisan leaderships have established an unwritten but enforced system in Kurdistan where legislative and executive councils do not represent the Kurdish people but rather the parties and their electoral lists.

200. The Kurdish partisan leaderships have established an unwritten but enforced system in Kurdistan where if you do not belong to the (KDP), (PUK), or (PKK), you must kiss a thousand shoes and beards just to live with dignity.
201. The Kurdish partisan leaderships have established an unwritten but enforced system in Kurdistan where the Parti, Yekîti, or Bekaa boast about their responsibility to feed millions of Kurds—without shame or admitting that they live in outrageous luxury at the expense of those same Kurds.
202. The Kurdish partisan leaderships have established an unwritten but enforced system in Kurdistan where the Parti, Yekîti, or Bekaa would need light-years to even begin walking the path of Kurdistan's independence because, to this day, they secretly move against that path.
203. The Kurdish partisan leaderships have established an unwritten but enforced system in Kurdistan where the struggle of the Parti, Yekîti, or Bekaa is for accumulating wealth—not for unifying and liberating the people and homeland.
204. The Kurdish partisan leaderships have established an unwritten but enforced system in Kurdistan where Southern Kurdistan was once a unified land before the (KDP), (PUK), or (PKK). Now, under their rule, Southern Kurdistan has become nine Kurdistans: Erbil's Kurdistan (for the KDP),

Sulaymaniyah's Kurdistan (for the PUK),
Halabja's Kurdistan (for Islamists),
Shengal and Qandil's Kurdistan (for the PKK),
Plus 35 Turkish military bases in the Badinan region,
Dozens of secret Iranian and Syrian intelligence
headquarters, and more than half of Southern
Kurdistan remains under Iraqi occupation.

205. The Kurdish partisan leaderships have established an unwritten but enforced system in Kurdistan where there is no postal service, no banking system, no taxation, no social security—not even proper street names in major cities. Houses have no numbers, and sewage flows like rivers on the roads, uncovered, where children play in a polluted environment.

206. The Kurdish partisan leaderships have established an unwritten but enforced system in Kurdistan where, when the enemy advances—occupying, displacing, and killing our people in Kirkuk, Khanaqin, Mandali, Shengal, Afrin, and Serikani—the forces of the PDK, PUK, and PKK withdraw without any plan to reclaim these lands.

207. The Kurdish partisan leaderships have established an unwritten but enforced system in Kurdistan where, when any Kurdish party is defeated, the other parties celebrate—deepening the fragmentation of the Kurdish nation and sowing hatred in Kurdish society.

208. The Kurdish partisan leaderships have established an unwritten but enforced system in Kurdistan where

the Kurdish people march into the unknown... and applaud—like penguins that cannot fly, living in the Arctic, with no fur to protect them. If they go into the sea, whales eat them; if they stay on land, bears devour them. Yet they keep clapping for their miserable lives—just like the Kurdish people.

209. The Kurdish partisan leaderships' announcements of any revolution, peace negotiations, or even referendums have always come at the wrong time.

210. The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships was not satisfied with merely betraying Kurdistan and spreading corruption in Kurdish society—they also took on another filthy task, no less vile than selling out Kurdistan and fostering corruption: the systematic suppression of free patriots by any means necessary, ensuring that no one within the Kurdish people would demand the independence of Kurdistan. Below are some examples:

- When I arrived in Europe at the end of 1984 and announced the birth of the Kurdistan National Congress (KNC) on April 14, 1985, advocating for Kurdistan's independence alongside Professor Jemal Nebez, General Aziz Aqrabi, and others, I also formed the Committee for the Liberation of Kurdistan (KAK) with Dr. Shafiq Qazzaz, Dr. Firiad Hiwaizi, Engineer Jamal Alamdari, and more. The influence of the KNC and KAK spread across all regions of Kurdistan.

Unbeknownst to us, the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP-Iraq) had instructed the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP-Turkey) to contact us—the KAK—and the "Yekbûn" Committee, led by Dr. Ismet Sherif Wanli, Hemresh Resho, and others, who were also struggling for Kurdistan's independence. The goal was to form a unified organization under the name "Kurdistan Democratic Party - National Organization."

We held several meetings in London, Germany, and Sweden, but I later realized that KDP-Turkey was executing a trap set by KDP-Iraq to ensure no organization would fight for an independent Kurdistan. They unified us only to infiltrate our ranks, gathering intelligence on us. The result? They lured Hemresh Resho by making him head of KDP-Turkey, co-opted Dr. Shafiq Qazzaz into KDP-Iraq (later making him a minister in the KRG), and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) swayed Dr. Firiad Hiwaizi, appointing him head of the Kurdish Cultural Center in London (which they controlled). Meanwhile, the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) recruited Dr. Ismet Sherif Wanli, making him head of the Kurdish Institute in Berlin and later a member of the Kurdish Parliament in Exile.

Thus, the Kurdish partisan leadership colluded to dismantle the national organization for one

reason: to prevent any Kurdish group from demanding independence.

- The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships failed to infiltrate the Kurdistan National Congress (KNC) because Dr. Jemal Nebez saw the "National Organization" as nothing but a trap.
- After 1992, I requested the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) to adopt a program for Kurdistan's independence. In response, the Kurdish partisan leaders barred the KNC from opening offices in Kurdistan—despite allowing all other Kurdish and non-Kurdish organizations to operate freely.
- They offered land and salaries to our comrades in Kurdistan and abroad to sever ties with the KNC. For example, Aziz Sadi, whom I nominated to lead the KNC Youth Congress, confessed (swearing to God) that he was given land in exchange for abandoning the KNC. Others, like Hamah Rashid Haras (Hamah Rashid Taras) and Ahmed Babakir (Ahmed Hassan Al-Bakir), betrayed the KNC when I entrusted them to form a delegation to meet KRG Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani. They received \$60,000 in aid for the KNC but pocketed the money. This betrayal was fueled by land and salaries offered by the Asayish (security) in Erbil—so much so that an Asayish member told them, "You are more important than Javad Mala and

Jemal Nebez!" They believed it, took what belonged to the KNC, and disappeared.

- During my visits to Kurdistan, I met many Asayish officers from KDP and PUK who revealed that their leaders had ordered our members to abandon the KNC, bribing them with salaries and land, while some were told to stay and spy on the KNC. I identified these agents through our comrades within the Asayish and deliberately fed them a mix of true and false information. When the false details circled back to me, I knew who the traitors were—though I rarely confronted them, as "a known spy is no threat."
- In 2004, when I announced the formation of the Government of Western Kurdistan in Exile, the Kurdish partisan leaders rushed to co-opt our members—like Ahmed Abdul Qadir and Rizgar Qasim—by creating fake parties, human rights NGOs, and appointing them to councils. They provided them with resources to distance them from the independence-seeking government, proving that Kurdistan's independence is the greatest threat to the Kurdish partisan elite.

211. In 2003, the Kurdish partisan leaderships participated in drafting Iraq's constitution. Yet, to this day, they delay enacting a constitution for the Kurdistan Region:

- On 5/9/2009, the Kurdistan Parliament approved a draft constitution.
 - In May 2015, they formed a 21-member committee to rewrite it.
 - On 4/5/2021, Nechirvan Barzani met with party leaders to legislate it.
 - Yet, as of the printing of this book, Kurdistan still has no constitution—symbolizing the dilution of the Kurdish cause.
212. The Kurdish partisan leaderships have shown no reaction to: The Anfal genocide (1988), where 182,000 Kurds were buried alive in Iraqi deserts.
The chemical attack on Halabja.
The burning of Kurdish children in Amuda's cinema.
The execution of 8,000 Barzani Kurds and 5,000 Feyli Kurds.
The ongoing hangings of Kurdish youth in Turkish and Iranian prisons.
The destruction of Kobani, Afrin, Serikaniye, Shengal, and Kirkuk.
Their silence has fostered surrender, submission, and the killing of Kurdish resistance.
213. The Kurdish partisan leaderships systematically drain the Kurdish people's strength, helping occupying entities plunder Kurdistan's resources—so Kurds remain preoccupied with survival, forgetting the national project of independence.

214. They work tirelessly to suffocate any Kurdish (or non-Kurdish) voice calling for Kurdistan's independence—collaborating with the very states that occupy Kurdistan.
215. In Eastern Kurdistan, the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran (KDP-I) claims the Republic of Mahabad (1946) was merely an autonomy project—downplaying Qazi Muhammad's legacy and independence. Anyone who objects are silenced.
216. When the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) was founded in Iraq, they began spreading lies about historical figures, particularly Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji, the King of Kurdistan. They falsely claimed that the failure to establish a Kurdish state was due to Sheikh Mahmud's refusal to shake hands with the British High Commissioner because he was Christian—an absolute falsehood. If that were true, why would Karim Allaka, a Christian, serve as Finance Minister in Sheikh Mahmud's government? Sheikh Mahmud dined with him and shook his hand daily. Meanwhile, the Kurdish party leaders who propagated these lies have been under British and American protection since 1991, yet they have failed to declare an independent South Kurdistan—unlike Sheikh Mahmud, who did so a century ago under British bombardment. So, who are the real reactionaries and backward elements?

In the 19th century, Prince Bedir Khan minted Kurdish coins and deployed military ships on Lake Van. Prince Muhammad of Rawandz established a cannon factory in Rawandz. Sheikh Mahmud declared the Kingdom of South Kurdistan under British airstrikes. Today, Kurdish party leaders enjoy Anglo-American air protection, yet their minds recoil from minting currency, military industry, or declaring independence as Sheikh Mahmud did.

To encourage them, a comrade designed a Kurdish currency called the "Kuro" (modeled after the Euro) and sent it to the Kurdistan government in 1992 for issuance and the establishment of a Central Bank of Kurdistan. I reminded them that Scotland, though part of Britain, issues its own currency and has a central bank.

The actions of Kurdish party leaders aim to tarnish every honorable Kurd who fought for independence. A thousand blessings upon the souls of Kurdish leaders who declared Kurdistan's independence—and shame upon those who oppose it.

217. In Turkey, Kurdish party leaders attacked and diminished significant political figures like Sheikh Abdulmelik Firat, grandson of Sheikh Said Piran, leader of the 1925 Kurdish revolution.
218. In Syria, imaginary Kurdish parties emerged, fighting among themselves while unanimously serving the Syrian regime—and just as fiercely opposing any

nationalist figure advocating for Kurdish independence.

219. Even in the death of Kurdish figures, Kurdish partisan leaders obscure their legacies, while if members of their own parties die, they deliver fiery speeches and hold grand ceremonies for them, falsely portraying the deceased as the "hero of heroes"—even if, in reality, they were a professional gambler and a Alcoholics.

This prompted a friend to ask me: "If the Kurds have all these great heroes and massive parties, why haven't we achieved liberation yet?" The answer is that our people are indeed heroic and have made immense sacrifices... but Kurdish partisan leaders have manipulated the political compass of the Kurdish nation, to the point where they and their members mock the very idea of Kurdistan's independence or even discussing the establishment of a Kurdish state. This means they are moving in the opposite direction of the true compass. Worse yet, these leaders exploit the heroism and sacrifices of the Kurdish people for their partisan and personal interests, forgetting—or pretending to forget—the interests of Kurdistan and the Kurdish nation.

220. Kurdish partisan leaders have squandered Kurdish resources and capabilities to ensure no room remains for even considering Kurdistan's independence.

221. Kurdish partisan leaders oppose Kurdistan's independence because, in an independent Kurdistan, there would be a national Kurdish army, ending the era of partisan militias.
222. These leaders have replaced the goal of independence with dozens of other objectives—contrary to freedom and hostile to Kurdistan's independence—from slogans of "democracy" to "citizenship rights" in the artificial entities occupying Kurdistan, to "autonomy" and "federalism." Worse still, they now advocate for the "unity and sovereignty" of Syria, Iraq, Iran, and Turkey—states founded on the destruction of Kurdistan's unity, sovereignty, and independence. The multiplicity of these trivial goals, far removed from independence, along with the fragmentation of Kurdish entities, loyalties, and leaderships (which fight each other first and foremost), has led to situations where if when one faction is defeated in Afrin, Kirkuk, or Shengal, the others celebrate—sometimes even conspiring with the occupying powers to ensure that defeat. Because these partisan leaders are complicit in entrenching division, making life in Kurdistan an unbearable nightmare.
223. The submissive policies of Kurdish partisan leaders have also played a negative role in making the Kurdish people dependent on others to think for them, confining Kurdish thought to serving foreign

ideologies—whether in the name of Islam, Marxism, or democracy. As a result, the Kurdish people have been stripped of their will and national liberationist decision-making.

- 224. Kurdish partisan leaders oppose Kurdistan's independence because the loyalty of the Kurdish people would then belong to the laws of a Kurdish state—not to them.
- 225. They oppose independence because the people's livelihood would then depend on the state treasury—not their own pockets—thus ending partisan loyalty.
- 226. They oppose independence because a Kurdish state would operate under international laws—not their whims.
- 227. These leaders encourage ignorance, blind partisanship, and extremism (whether Islamic, Marxist, or "democratic"), which are no different from actual blindness. Blindness breeds submission, obedience, slavery, and the mummification of will and self-confidence.
- 228. They prevent Kurds from questioning the flaws and failures in the struggle for Kurdistan's independence.
- 229. They refuse to conduct a population census in Kurdistan to determine the true number of Kurds, because national development cannot be achieved without knowing the demographics—youth, women,

the elderly, and the workforce—or the need for schools, factories, and economic planning.

230. They have not pursued legal action against the occupying entities in international courts for their crimes against the Kurdish people—from burning the children of Amuda to the chemical and phosphorus attacks on Halabja and Serikaniye—crimes that amount to war crimes and genocide, which do not expire with time.
231. They have not filed lawsuits in international courts against the occupying entities for assassinating Kurdish leaders like Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou, Idris Barzani, Sadiq Sharafkandi, Mohammed Mashouq Khaznawi, and the heroes of the Glorious Uprising in Western Kurdistan—murdered by Syrian intelligence while serving mandatory Syrian military service in fabricated "intelligence incidents"—among many others.
232. In the Kurdistan Parliament elections, these leaders imposed a "50-50 power-sharing" law, dividing everything equally among themselves, making themselves both rulers and opposition simultaneously—covering up each other's corruption and betrayals. They threw the Kurdish people's votes into the trash in the 1992 elections, where the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) won 49% and the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) won 51%. By all rights, the KDP should have governed, and the PUK

should have been the opposition. Instead, they split power 50-50 to avoid opposition and continue looting.

233. They also discarded the Kurdish people's will in the 2017 independence referendum, where 93% voted for independence—yet they refused to declare it.
234. They have remained silent about the abuses of their families and cronies in politics, society, the economy, and administration, leading to rampant corruption in all sectors.
235. They have not followed the path of Kurdish leaders like Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji, Qazi Muhammad, Sheikh Said Piran, Seyid Riza, General Ihsan Nuri Pasha, Sheikh Abdul Salam Barzani, Sheikh Mashouq Khaznawi, Osman Sabri, General Mustafa Barzani, General Mustafa Pasha Yamulki, General Sharif Pasha Khandan, Professor Jemal Nebez, Professor Jamal Rashid Ahmed, and many others who died on the gallows or were betrayed. These leaders occasionally mention their names for propaganda but do nothing to realize their dreams of freedom and dignity.
236. These leaders know well that the freedom of the Kurdish people lies in their own hands—yet they work to deceive them, which is the real danger, even greater than the occupation of Kurdistan itself.

237. They have not allowed resistance against the Arabization of Kirkuk in the south or the "Arab Belt" in western Kurdistan, paving the way for further Arabization.
238. They support elements that cause Kurdish defeats, corruption, and infighting, while Kurdish youth—both men and women—are excluded from their politics.
239. They launch revolutions and sacrifice the best Kurdish military and political cadres, only to demand staying within the borders of the occupying entities. If Kurds are already within those cursed borders, what is the point of these revolutions, which end as they began?
240. They do not hold the enemies of Kurds and Kurdistan accountable—especially those who refuse to stand for the Kurdish national anthem, the Kurdish flag, or other sacred national symbols.
241. They work to keep women and youth away from leadership positions, fearing the rise of those with strong national ambitions.
242. They do not honestly address the Kurdish people, never admit their mistakes, and do not tolerate criticism.
243. They collaborate on security coordination with the occupying powers but refuse national coordination among Kurdish regions.

244. They do not allow boycotts of goods from the occupying states—goods whose profits fund weapons used to kill Kurds. Worse, they open Kurdistan's markets to these products with full facilitation.
245. They sign security agreements with one occupier of Kurdistan against another—despite seeing the disastrous results of this policy in the collapse of the September Revolution (1975), the assassination of Ghassemloo (1989), and the kidnapping of Abdullah Öcalan (1999).
246. They do not hold serious meetings or discussions in Kurdish villages and towns to answer the people's questions.
247. They exclude the works of Kurdish scholars from Kurdistan's educational curricula—works written in pure Kurdish and embodying unmatched national thought, like those of Professors Jemal Nebez and Jamal Rashid Ahmed. Instead, they promote translated books by Saddam Hussein, including one that says in Kurdish: "I am Iraqi, and I love dates"—though every Kurdish child knows there are no palm trees in Kurdistan. This breeds distrust in education.
248. They continue the failed policy of "self-defense," which has only led to the killing of Kurds, the destruction of villages, and demographic change through Arabization, Turkification, and Persianization—exactly what the enemy wants: a Kurdistan without its people.

249. They refuse to shift the battle from Kurdistan's land to the enemy's—despite military science stating that the best defense is offense.
250. After decades of Kurdish rule in southern Kurdistan, they have failed to establish self-sufficient agriculture or industry to withstand blockades like the one in 2017.
251. Though the occupying states disagree on many things, they unite in destroying Kurds and Kurdistan—and the Kurdish partisan leaders agree with them, targeting anyone who demands a united, free Kurdistan. They suppress patriotic figures, slander them in life, and feign mourning after killing them—or helping to kill them.

Here are some examples:

Example No. 1: Ahmad Amin Mukhlis Nalband (1892–1963)

Ahmad Amin Mukhlis Nalband, is considered one of the greatest and most famous Kurdish poets of the last century in the Badinan region of southern Kurdistan. He was a genius scholar, a genuine and unique fighter, and his Kurdish nationalist ideology was no different from that of the KAJYK organization, founded in Sulaymaniyah in 1959 for the independence of Kurdistan. Due to his Kurdish nationalist beliefs, he suffered greatly—enduring hunger, poverty, deprivation, and injustice.

In the final stages of his life, he faced severe hardship, unbearable pain, and a crushing sense of hunger and psychological emptiness. He was alone, isolated from people, withdrawn into his own sorrow—without a home or a place to sleep, unlike the rest of God’s creation. He fell to the bottom of society, where he was deemed insignificant by the very people he lived among. No one cared about him—his torn and dirty clothes, his bare feet in the bitter winter cold of the mountains and valleys. All his old friends, companions, and acquaintances turned against him, avoiding his company, refusing to face him, or even speak to him—all under the directives of Iraqi intelligence and their agents in the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP).

Driven to desperation, he resorted to begging—not just for food, but to gather funds to print his poetry. His only hope in life was to see his poems published in a respectable collection.

When the September Revolution of 1961 broke out, he attempted to meet General Mustafa Barzani, the leader of the Kurdish revolution, seeking help to publish his poetry. However, Barzani’s entourage in the KDP’s political bureau prevented him from doing so. He wrote a letter to Barzani, but it never reached him—his own circle blocked it.

Ahmad Amin Mukhlis Nalband left behind 704 poems, including 81 in Arabic. Among them is this famous verse:

"O Kurds, rise from your slumber, for you have slept too long!

Have you not had enough grief, sorrow, poverty, and enslavement?

O Kurd, awake! You have slept deeply—your life has passed in vain!

O Kurds, awaken! No more sleep and neglect—you are deprived and friendless!

Your sustenance is but a crust of bread and a sip of water. Look at this bleak era—what has it done to you?

I have long been a zealot for the Kurds, yet they have turned their backs on me!

None have helped me publish my poems, though I've spent my life gathering them.

Surely, the Kurds do not know my worth, though I have never failed to praise them!

Now, in Kurdistan, I am the ruler and sultan of poetry.

I wish to spread my verses to all Kurds,

So that strangers may not mock us, saying the Kurds are ignorant.

Every nation cherishes its language—only the Kurds neglect theirs.

I, Ahmad Amin, command you: I am weary of composing poetry all my life.

Is there no wise man among you, O Kurds, to give me two dinars to print my poems?

So that we may proudly showcase our Kurdish words before strangers."

After the KDP contributed to his moral persecution among the masses, they also played a role in his assassination, following Iraqi intelligence orders—particularly in isolating Nalband, as they had done with many other giants of Kurdish nationalist thought before and after him. Nalband was a first-class Kurdish nationalist, yet the KDP, like other Kurdish parties, fits the proverb: "They kill the victim, then walk in his funeral procession."

After fighting and martyring the Kurdish nationalist poet Nalband, the KDP swiftly took the following steps:

Naming the grandest hall in Duhok after Nalband.

Holding literary seminars and festivals in his name.

Naming an intersection between Duhok and Hawler (Erbil) after the poet Ahmad Nalband.

Restoring and rebuilding his shrine, as his grave had been erased from the earth.

Planting trees along the road leading to Nalband's mausoleum.

Publishing his poetry collection at the KDP's expense in 1998.

Ordering some of his poems to be turned into songs.

A thousand mercies and forgiveness upon the soul of the Kurdish nationalist martyr Ahmad Mala Nalband. The KDP was a false witness—denying his existence in life and in martyrdom. Iraqi intelligence fabricated the lie that he committed suicide, and the KDP propagated this claim.

The truth, however, is that Nalband did not commit suicide—he was assassinated. Despite his Kurdish nationalist fervor, Nalband was also an Islamic scholar who knew well that suicide is a crime in Islam, leading to hellfire—something he would never have done.

Example No. 2: Professor Jemal Nebez

Professor Jemal Nebez was also a first-class Kurdish nationalist. He wrote dozens of books and held hundreds of seminars, interviews, and TV appearances—all centered on Kurdish nationalist ideology and the necessity of an independent Kurdish state. However, the actions of Kurdish parties, aimed at erasing Kurdish national heritage, obstructed his efforts.

You can find the details in Part Seven of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

Example No. 3: Apo Osman Sabri

Osman Sabri had pioneering nationalist stances. He was a titanic patriot of the highest order. Syrian intelligence dealt him three fatal blows through their agents inside the Kurdish Democratic Party:

During the 1960 arrests, when the party leadership decided to shift its agenda from "unifying and liberating Kurdistan" to "political, cultural, and social rights."

Through Hamid Darwish, who split the party in 1964.

Through Salah Badreddin at the Seventh Conference in Amuda (1968), where I personally witnessed the conspiracy. Following this, Osman Sabri resigned, along with many members—myself included.

Osman Sabri was my mentor and leader since 1961, just as Dr. Jemal Nebez was since 1969. Both were unshakable mountains in their nationalist beliefs. Though they could not achieve their dream of Kurdish freedom and independence, the occupying powers never managed to deceive them. They never wavered or compromised on the Kurdish cause. Because of their steadfastness, they faced smear campaigns to diminish their value. Yet, they remained purer than the springs of Kurdistan, more beautiful than the roses of spring in the Zozan hills.

When I asked each about the other, Osman Sabri said: "Jemal Nebez is a first-class Kurdish nationalist, but somewhat rigid." Jemal Nebez said: "Osman Sabri is a first-class Kurdish nationalist, but somewhat rigid." Their views matched perfectly—they were two sides of the same coin: unyielding in demanding Kurdish rights, yet warm and beloved by all who knew them.

I bow before their towering legacies, sending eternal salutations to their memories. May God grant them paradise and bestow patience upon their loved ones.

You can find the details in Part Three and Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

Example No. 4: Dr. Jamal Rashid Ahmad

Dr. Jamal Rashid Ahmad was also a first-class Kurdish nationalist, having written dozens of books on Kurdish nationalist thought and the need for a Kurdish state. Yet, Kurdish parties' efforts to erase national heritage hindered his mission.

You can find the details in Part Seven of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

2. The Spy Officers

Since the collapse of our Median Kurdish Empire in 550 BC, through all the conspiracies—from the Sykes-Picot Agreement in 1916 to the Algiers Agreement in 1975 and the global and regional consensus against Kurdish independence in 2017—the artificial entities occupying Kurdistan have long used intelligence agents and informants to monitor patriotic Kurds. However, this method failed to suppress Kurdish uprisings and revolutions.

When the Kurdish revolution, led by General Mustafa Barzani, mobilized over 150,000 Peshmerga in 1974, fear gripped the occupying powers. They resorted to new tactics: training and deploying their best officers to infiltrate Kurdish parties covertly. These spies aimed to

control these parties, sow discord, and fragment them, weakening Kurdish unity from within.

These infiltrators were not ordinary individuals—they were Kurds, highly trained, well-funded, and resourceful. Once inside a party, they quickly rose to leadership due to their superior qualifications compared to ordinary members. This malicious strategy successfully fueled infighting among Kurdish factions, sparing the occupiers the need to deploy armies.

Kurdish Hands Hired by Occupiers

The spy officers are Kurdish mercenaries employed by the occupying powers. Below are some examples of their missions to demoralize the Kurdish people:

1. Idris Bitlisi betrayed the Kurds by selling 46 Kurdish principalities to the Ottomans in 1514.
2. Mulla Khati betrayed Prince Muhammad of Rawandz (though I have other views on this matter).
3. Izzaddin Shir Badrkhan betrayed his cousin, Prince Badrkhan the Great (again, I have differing perspectives).
4. Tribal leaders in East Kurdistan betrayed Qazi Muhammad, president of the Republic of Kurdistan in 1946.
5. The leadership of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP)—Jalal Talabani, Ibrahim Ahmed, and others—betrayed the Kurdish revolution in 1964, 1966, and beyond.

6. The leadership of the Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria, led by Hamid Darwish (1964) and Salah Badreddin (1968), betrayed Osman Sabri.
7. Spy officers have prevented or delayed Kurdish statehood.
8. They created over 100 Kurdish parties, promoting narrow-minded regionalism instead of Kurdish nationalism.
9. The spy officers have drawn up the policy of the Kurdish partisan regional leadership to ensure they do not stray even an inch beyond the boundaries set by the colonial Sykes-Picot Agreement and the Treaty of Lausanne. All Kurdish partisan leaders demand Kurdish rights strictly within the borders of the entities occupying Kurdistan, precisely as outlined by the colonial Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 and the resolutions of the Tehran Conference in 1943. This shameful and repulsive policy can be recognized through their slogans, such as: brotherhood, democracy, human rights, coexistence, integration, and normalization with the racist Arab, Turkish, and Persian murderers and criminals who occupy Kurdistan. These slogans are nothing but the slow Arabization, Turkification, and Persianization of the Kurdish people over a low flame.
10. After failing to suppress the Kurdish people's uprisings and eradicate their existence through forced Arabization, Turkification, and Persianization, the

major powers and occupying entities have come to rely entirely on the Kurdish partisan leaders and spy officers. The role of these leaders and spies is to convince the Kurdish people to coexist with their murderers, leading to the gradual dissolution of Kurdish national identity over generations.

11. The Sykes-Picot Agreement failed to fragment the Kurdish people—it only divided the land of Kurdistan. However, the Kurdish parties and the vast number of spy officers succeeded in dividing the Kurdish people into a hundred factions, each spreading division and false propaganda against the others, paving the way for the enemy to execute conspiracies against our people. It pains me to say that while Sykes-Picot only divided Kurdistan's land, the Kurdish parties and spy officers stabbed the Kurdish people by splitting them into a hundred peoples. May these parties and spies be sacrificed for the Sykes-Picot Agreement, with all its vileness and treachery.
12. The Kurdish partisan leaders and spy officers worked to eliminate elements that the occupying armies could not reach.
13. They provided intelligence on every Kurd—both inside and outside their parties—to the entities occupying Kurdistan.
14. They planned and executed Kurdish-on-Kurdish infighting.

15. They wasted Kurdish time and resources to prevent the Kurdish people from focusing on their primary cause: the independence of Kurdistan. Instead, they fabricated internal conflicts among Kurds. For example, since 1964, partisan leaders in southern Kurdistan have been fighting among themselves. At that time, Iraq did not possess chemical or advanced weapons, and independence should have been achieved then. However, their infighting delayed the Kurdish cause by a century, and the Kurdish people still suffer from the remnants of their feuds in the administrations of Sulaymaniyah and Hewlêr (Erbil) to this day.
16. The spy officers prevented the Kurdish people from adopting an offensive strategy against the enemy, even though offense is the best defense. The Kurdish people's defensive stance stems from their historical upbringing, inherited from Zoroastrian beliefs and settled Kurdish civilizations that opposed invasion and conquest. The Kurds were on the verge of taking the offensive, but the spy officers claimed to be the sole defenders of Zoroastrian principles in this regard.
17. The spy officers advised the Kurdish people to fight at the wrong time and to make peace agreements at the wrong time. The Kurds should have waged war for independence during regional and global conflicts, but the spies insisted that rights should be pursued after wars ended, through laws and constitutions. By

- the time stability returned, the Kurdish people had lost all leverage in regional and global power balances.
18. The spy officers diverted Kurdish leaders from the issue of Kurdistan's independence, encouraging them to adopt slogans far removed from liberation—primarily "struggling for coexistence" with the occupying entities of Iraq, Turkey, Syria, and Iran. These entities built their borders and sovereignty at the expense of Kurdish freedom and independence. Instead, these entities should be treated as enemy occupiers, and the rifle's muzzle should be aimed at them—not shared governments and parliaments. The occupiers seek to exterminate the Kurds through demographic change, erasing their existence to plunder Kurdistan's wealth undisturbed.
 19. In 1972, spy officers killed the leaders of northern Kurdistan, Said Elçi and Dr. Şivan, while they were in southern Kurdistan. Darwish Saadou, secretary of the Kurdistan Democratic Party–Turkey, led a party delegation to southern Kurdistan. I met Darwish in Beirut at Ibrahim Metini's house, where they were preparing to try Dr. Şivan (falsely accused of killing Said Elçi). The spies succeeded in killing Dr. Şavan, effectively sidelining both leftist and rightist Kurdish movements in northern Kurdistan.
 20. In 1972, spy officers in the Kurdistan Democratic Party assassinated the famous Peshmerga Margret George (known as the "Joan of Arc of Kurdistan") in southern

Kurdistan to discourage Christians from joining the Kurdish revolution.

21. In 1975, spy officers in the KDP assassinated Mohammad Agha Mirgasuri, leader of the Sherwani tribe, along with his family, to fragment Kurdish society.
22. At the invitation of KDP spy officers, the Kurdistan Democratic Party–Syria (both left and right factions) held a unification conference in southern Kurdistan in 1970. They returned to western Kurdistan as three separate parties. Syrian and Iraqi intelligence received and bid them farewell at the border without visas or travel documents—proof of the spies’ conspiracy to further divide the Kurds.
23. In 1996, KDP–Iraq spy officers called on the Iraqi army to expel Jalal Talabani’s forces from Hewlêr (Erbil)—just as Talabani’s party had sought Iraqi military help to crush the Kurdish revolution in 1966.
24. The spy officers aided partisan leaders in carrying out systematic assassinations of those who believed in an independent Kurdistan.
25. The abduction of 8,000 Barzanis, the chemical attack on Halabja, and other crimes committed by the Iraqi army against the Kurds were orchestrated by spy officers within Kurdish partisan leadership.
26. The spy officers in the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) helped Turkey capture its leader, Abdullah Öcalan,

- sending him to Kenya—a country of corruption, where even the greatest man can be sold for \$10.
27. In 1980, KDP–Iran spy officers arrested "Ali Qazi," the only son of Qazi Muhammad (President of the Republic of Kurdistan), and handed him to the Iraqi regime, where he remained imprisoned for years.
 28. In 1981, KDP–Iran spy officers killed the legendary Peshmerga "Sarkaut Salihi," who carried out major guerrilla operations in Kirkuk under Saddam Hussein. Some say the party handed him to Iraq for execution. In 1983, they attempted to assassinate his brother, Peshmerga "Aras," but failed. The spies then asked KDP–Iraq to kill him, but divine providence saved him—though he was shot in the foot and still walks with difficulty to this day, preventing him from launching further operations in Kirkuk.
 29. The spy officers within Kurdish partisan leaderships orchestrated a fake negotiation plot between Iran and Dr. Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou, which was never a negotiation but a trap to assassinate him in Vienna in 1989.
 30. The spy officers in the Kurdistan Democratic Party–Iran (KDP-I) dug up the grave of General Mustafa Barzani, took out his body, and threw it onto the street to undermine the trust between the Kurdish people in eastern and southern Kurdistan.
 31. The spy officers in the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) handed over the Kurdish fighter from eastern

Kurdistan, "Mustafa Salimi," to the Iranian regime, which executed him in 2020. This was no different from when spy officers in the Kurdistan Democratic Party-Iraq (KDP) handed over the Kurdish fighter from eastern Kurdistan, "Suleiman Moini," to the Iranian regime, leading to his execution in 1968.

32. The Kurdistan Democratic Party-Iraq (KDP) expelled General Mustafa Barzani from the party during its conference in May 1964. To this day, they continue to fight his comrades under different labels.
33. The Kurdistan Democratic Party-Syria (KDP-S) expelled Commander Osman Sabri from the party even after he resigned in 1969. To this day, they continue to fight his comrades under different labels.
34. The Kurdistan Democratic Party-Turkey (KDP-T) expelled Abdulmelik Firat, the grandson of Sheikh Said Piran, the leader of the 1925 Kurdish revolution, and fought him until his death. To this day, they continue to fight his comrades under different labels.
35. The spy officers helped the occupying entities of Kurdistan carry out the genocidal operations that the Kurdish people have faced for a long time.
36. The spy officers helped the occupying entities of Kurdistan carry out genocidal operations against the Kurdish language and heritage, as well as falsify Kurdish geography and history.
37. The spy officers helped the occupying entities of Kurdistan deepen divisions within Kurdish society and

create artificial political conflicts between the fabricated entities occupying Kurdistan. This served as a basis for some Kurdish parties to receive aid from one state to fight another, justifying the oppression of Kurds in other regions of Kurdistan.

38. The spy officers helped the occupying entities of Kurdistan distract the Kurds with the trivial Article 140 of the Iraqi constitution. Despite its insignificance, Arab racism did not even agree to it, ensuring Kurds would not move on to demand Articles 62, 63, and 64 of the Treaty of Sèvres, which stipulate the independence of Kurdistan, keeping them stuck on Article 140.
39. The spy officers helped the occupying entities of Kurdistan distract the Kurds by arresting Kurdish leaders like Abdullah Öcalan, Leyla Zana, and Selahattin Demirtaş, preventing the Kurds from focusing on liberating Kurdistan. Instead, they substituted the struggle for liberation with calls to free these leaders—though their arrests were unjust, the real goal was to divert Kurdish attention from independence.
40. The spy officers helped the occupying entities of Kurdistan cut off livelihoods, such as destroying 4,000 Kurdish border villages in southern Kurdistan and relocating their inhabitants to intelligence-controlled compounds... Similarly, they destroyed another 4,000 Kurdish villages in northern Kurdistan, displacing

people to Turkish cities like Istanbul... They also revoked Syrian citizenship from half a million Kurds in western Kurdistan, denying them land ownership, work, or any means of dignified living... Finally, in recent years, spy officers burned wheat crops across most of Kurdistan—an act more despicable than direct killing.

41. The spy officers helped the occupying entities of Kurdistan carry out other operations, primarily suppressing the issue of "accountability and punishment" among Kurdish party leaderships.
42. The spy officers helped the occupying entities of Kurdistan conduct mass arrests and persecution, given their large presence in Kurdish party leaderships... They also carried out political and moral assassinations, spread false propaganda, and fabricated conspiracies against patriotic figures to discredit and isolate them from the masses.
43. The spy officers helped the occupying entities of Kurdistan establish their borders and sovereignty at the expense of Kurdistan's independence and the Kurdish people's freedom—an oppressive occupation that continues to afflict the Kurds to this day.
44. The spy officers in Kurdish party leaderships worked to keep Kurdistan under permanent occupation and dilute the Kurdish cause... For example, during the mass Kurdish exodus in southern Kurdistan in 1991, some appeared on global TV, claiming Kurds needed

immediate aid like blankets and food. This made the world believe the exodus was due to hunger and cold, obscuring the real Kurdish political and national struggle for freedom and independence. The Kurdish people never lacked food—Kurdistan is rich in resources, and even the poorest Kurd has enough blankets for their family.

45. During the 2004 uprising in western Kurdistan, some of these spy officers appeared on TV, telling the masses in Qamishli: "You've done what you wanted; now go home." Their goal was to extinguish the uprising and prevent a mass exodus like the one in southern Kurdistan.
46. The intelligence officers helped prevent a census of the Kurds in the artificial entities that occupy Kurdistan...

Let's take Western Kurdistan as an example for the other parts of Kurdistan:

Western Kurdistan is a single geographical unit stretching from Zakho and Mount Sinjar in Southern Kurdistan, passing through Qamishli, Kobani, Raqqa, and Aleppo, to Afrin and the Kurd Mountain (Jabal al-Akrad) on the Mediterranean coast north of Latakia... As a result of the Arabization of the Kurds in Western Kurdistan or the settlement of Arabs over 1400 years for the purpose of Arabizing Kurdistan as well... nevertheless, Kurdistan remains Kurdistan no matter

what racist operations it is subjected to... This statement applies to Southern, Northern, and Eastern Kurdistan as well.

As for Syrian society, apart from Western Kurdistan, the Kurdish people are present in all Syrian provinces, sometimes in very large proportions.

For example, the lists of martyrs from the Hauran region in the 2011 uprising included dozens of Kurdish martyrs; I remember among them Sabta al-Karrad and Wael al-Kurdi, and others... In the Hauran and Golan provinces, there are a large number of Kurdish tribes. In Hama, there are also many Kurdish tribes, the largest of which is the Barazi tribe. Muhsin al-Barazi, the Syrian Prime Minister in 1949, was one of them... Also, many villages in Idlib are Kurdish, such as the town of Kafr Takharim, the birthplace of the Kurdish leader Ibrahim Hananu, who led the Syrian revolution in Jabal al-Zawiya against the French.

The provinces of Homs and Latakia and their districts, such as Talkalakh and Al-Haffah, among others, contain large groups of Kurds living in the castles built for them by Sultan Salahuddin al-Ayyubi. But Arab racism Arabized them until it even Arabized the names of the castles, stones, and trees. For example, until recently, there was a castle in Talkalakh called "Hisn al-Akrad" (Fortress of the Kurds), and during the

Ba'ath era, its name was Arabized to "Qal'at al-Hosn" (Fortress of the Fortress).

Furthermore, the Alawite and Druze sects in Syria are originally from the Kurdish people who migrated from Kurdistan due to the genocidal operations suffered by the Kurdish people, who were followers of Zoroastrianism. After their migration, they changed the name of their religion from Zoroastrianism to Alawism and Druze to save the lives of their children from killing and extermination.

In Damascus, aside from the Kurdish quarter with its absolute Kurdish majority before the urban development attack aimed at Arabizing the Kurdish quarter as well... there are hundreds of ancient Damascene families whose origins trace back to the Kurdish people. These include the families of Al-Khani, Al-Za'im, Al-Aybash, Al-Astewani, Al-Yousef, Kamalmaz, Al-Abed, Al-Azm, Al-Quwatli, Al-Azmah, Al-Ayyubi, and others...

Also, the neighborhoods of Al-Qaymariya and Suq Sarouja had an absolute majority of Kurds. Al-Qaymariya is named after Mount Qaymer in Northern Kurdistan, and Suq Sarouja is named after the Saruj plain stretching from Urfa in Northern Kurdistan to Kobani in Western Kurdistan.

According to my estimates, the Kurds are the majority in Syria, and everyone will know the true number of Kurds in Syria after a free census conducted at a time when people are not afraid or threatened to disclose their ethnicity.

It is worth mentioning that after the declaration of the Kurdish federal region in Southern Kurdistan, many Kurds began to disclose their Kurdish origin. For example, the famous Syrian actress Muna Wassef announced on Syrian television that she is Kurdish.

The reason for not conducting a census of the Kurds is the fear that the results will show that Kurds outnumber Arabs in Iraq and Syria, and outnumber Turks and Iranians in Turkey and Iran as well.

The government of Southern Kurdistan has been in power for over a quarter of a century... Despite holding several parliamentary and local elections in Southern Kurdistan, it cannot conduct any population census.

Because the census is the foundation for any development and prosperity:

- The census is not to determine who is Kurdish and who is not.
- Nor is it to know the total population of Kurds.
- Rather, the census is conducted to determine the number of children who need schools and universities.
- The elderly who need nursing homes.

- The youth among workers and farmers, their productive capacity, and how many factories are needed by knowing the number of unemployed.
- It determines the local production of wheat, for example, and whether the shortfall needs to be imported or the surplus exported.
- Based on the census, the economic, social, cultural, and political plan for the coming years is drawn up.
- Without a census, the nation and its people live day by day, trusting in God's providence... just as our ancestors lived in the Stone Age.

47. The spy officers exploited the Kurdish liberation movement for the benefit of Kurdistan's occupiers in their regional and international conflicts... When the occupiers no longer needed the Kurdish movement, they crushed its revolutions via these spies, including:

- Forcing General Mustafa Barzani to retreat in 1975.
- Assassinating Dr. Ghassemlou in 1989.
- Kidnapping Abdullah Öcalan in 1999.

48. The spy officers push Kurdish party leaders to negotiate with occupying states, surrendering everything in exchange for keeping their seats and parties.

49. The spy officers are the ones working to keep Kurdistan as an international colony. Their numbers far exceed those who struggle for Kurdistan's

independence, and their capabilities are vast. They receive enormous budgets from the states that occupy Kurdistan, and their missions are planned within the intelligence agencies of Syria, Iraq, Iran, and Turkey—at the highest levels.

I believe the filthiest among them are those groups that waste Kurdish resources on marginal Kurdish issues unrelated to Kurdistan's independence. As a result, after exhausting the potential of the Kurdish fighter, the Kurdish writer, the Kurdish father, and the Kurdish mother—who have sacrificed their own flesh and blood on the altar of freedom—they believe they are sacrificing for the sake of Kurds and Kurdistan. Yet, in reality, their sacrifices only serve the interests of the entities occupying Kurdistan.

Moreover, this vile group deliberately sidelines and pushes away the father, mother, writer, and fighter whose energies have already been drained, only to replace them with a new generation whose potential will also be wasted—and so on.

50. The spy officers have a vast web within Kurdish party leaderships, strengthening party structures to control decisions and easily crush any Kurdish independence movement—without military force, but through high-level conspiracies.
51. The Kurdistan Democratic Parties in all parts of Kurdistan were originally founded for independence under leaders like Qazi Muhammad (east), Mustafa

Barzani (south), Osman Sabri (west), and Faik Bucak (north). However, spy officers in the leaderships executed Qazi Muhammad, exiled Barzani, imprisoned Sabri, and assassinated Bucak. Infiltrators like Ibrahim Ahmed, Jalal Talabani, NoSherwan Mustafa, and Sami Abdulrahman turned the parties into advocates for "cultural rights" and "autonomy" within occupiers' borders, fueling infighting among Kurds.

52. The most malicious tasks of the spy officers include:

- When the Kurdish people suffered the setback of the collapse of the September Revolution in 1975 and later faced genocide, the Kurdish masses distanced themselves from the Kurdish partisan leadership and criticized them for failing to protect the Kurdish people. In response, spy officers broke away from their parties and formed new ones to deceive the Kurdish masses, who were angry at the leadership's failure to defend Kurdish rights or pursue a nationalist policy—despite some parties also criticizing the Kurdish leadership.
- These spy officers gathered the Kurdish masses into new parties to express their grievances. After some time, they would reintegrate them back into the original parties they had left.
- Among those who carried out this treacherous mission were:

NoSherwan Mustafa from the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK)

Sami Abdulrahman from the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP)

Azad Mustafa from the Kurdistan Socialist Party (PASOK)

NoSherwan Mustafa's Role

In 1970, NoSherwan Mustafa founded the Kurdistan Toilers' League under the slogan of self-determination for the Kurdish people. However, by 1976, he worked to merge it back into the PUK, which was only fighting for regional autonomy.

He repeated this tactic in 2006 by founding the Change Movement (Gorran) to absorb critics of Jalal Talabani's policies—yet he never truly deviated from Talabani's line.

Sami Abdulrahman's Role

In 1981, Sami Abdulrahman resigned from the KDP and formed the People's Party, attracting Kurds angry at the partisan leadership's corruption and regionalism. Among those he gathered were members of PASOK and the Kurdistan Socialist Party (Hisik), forming the Kurdistan Union in 1992.

Despite PASOK's original goal of Kurdish independence, spy officers like Sami Abdulrahman and Azad Mustafa misled its nationalist founders—such as Farhad Abdul Qadir, Mamosta Shirzad Fateh,

Bakhtiar Zangana, Sheikh Mansur Al-Hafid, and the martyr Jalal Haji Hussein—and infiltrated the party to remove its genuine leadership.

Azad Mustafa's Role

Azad Mustafa, a PUK loyalist who had previously fought against the Kurdish revolution alongside the Iraqi government, became PASOK's secretary in 1980. Through a conspiracy with Sami Abdulrahman, they dissolved PASOK and merged it with the KDP, abandoning its independence principles.

When I exposed Azad Mustafa's espionage during my time in southern Kurdistan (1982-1984), he attempted to assassinate me multiple times in the Qandil Mountains and Iran—but divine protection saved me, though I sustained injuries.

The presence of spy officers makes Kurdish independence impossible. If the international community offers the Kurds a "plate of food," they will not benefit unless they seize it themselves. A people that cannot define its strategic goals for freedom and independence will never achieve them.

Unfortunately, no serious effort has been made to take the fight to the enemy's territory for true independence. The Kurdish struggle has been meticulously planned in

reverse—by the intelligence agencies of the occupying powers.

When Kurdish parties fight occupiers on Kurdish soil, the only result is the death of Kurdish youth, displacement, and the destruction of villages—exactly what the enemy wants. To test whether Kurdish leaders are willing to betray their people, they should be asked to carry out a single martyrdom operation in the enemy's capital (as outlined in the Alternative Plan). Those who protect enemy capitals are the Kurds' worst enemies.

Spy officers in Kurdish leadership have brainwashed the people through fear, starvation, and wage cuts. To this day, no traitor—not even those who sold Kirkuk on October 16, 2017—has been punished. Instead, they are rewarded with wealth and high positions in the Kurdish government and parliament.

Some leaders commit treason, while others cover it up—a well-orchestrated crime where roles are distributed among them. Once, they congratulated each other in secret; now, they do it openly, as the Kurdish people have been fully drugged into submission.

The artificial entities occupying Kurdistan have infiltrated Kurdish parties like never before in history. As my dear friend Adham Wanli once told me:

"When I resigned from the Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria due to its non-nationalist policies, Syrian intelligence called me the next day and demanded I return. They admitted, 'We monitor every move of party members, but

those outside the parties scare us—we don't know what they will do. "This infiltration allowed genocides like Halabja, Amouda, and the Anfal campaigns to occur without political, military, or legal resistance. Even during Saddam Hussein's trial, he was executed for the Dujail massacre—not for killing half a million Kurds.

To further confirm the enemy's infiltration of all Kurdish parties and organizations, I want to provide another example:

In 1987, Iraqi intelligence assassinated the Iraqi intellectual Dr. Muhammad al-Mahdi, the author of the article "A Smaller Iraq, A Stronger Iraq," in the Sudanese capital. In response, Iraqis attacked the Iraqi Cultural Center affiliated with the Iraqi embassy in London, smashing its doors, windows, and furniture, and severely beating its staff.

Thus, when Saddam Hussein decided to attack Halabja with chemical weapons, Iraqi intelligence instructed its agents to obtain the names and addresses of Kurdish communities in Europe and America to keep them under control—should Kurds abroad attempt to repeat the incident of the Iraqi Cultural Center in London.

At the beginning of 1988, I learned that the computer of the Kurdish Cultural Center in London had been stolen. On the same day, I rushed to the center, where British police were questioning its director, Kamal Miraudli (who later nominated himself to be the president of Kurdistan!). The police asked Kamal: "We are puzzled—how did the theft

occur without any broken doors or windows?" Their second question was: "If the thief were a regular robber, they would have taken the new computer, but instead, they stole the old one and left the new one." It was clear that someone had opened the door for them with the center's key and that someone had informed them that the names and addresses of the center's members were stored on the old computer, while the new one had no such information.

Shortly afterward, Halabja was bombed with chemical weapons... I concluded that there were intelligence officers inside the cultural center based on the amnesty decree issued by Saddam Hussein, which was mailed to all members of the Kurdish Cultural Center in London—including Kurds from eastern, western, and northern Kurdistan who also received Saddam's amnesty! A Kurd from Iran, Syria, or Turkey would have no reason to care about Saddam's amnesty, but Iraqi intelligence in London, having stolen the center's computer, had sent the amnesty to all members.

Despite all the traitors, spies, and military alliances... the entities occupying Kurdistan failed to suppress the revolutions and resistance within Kurdish society, so they resorted to a policy of breaking the morale of the Kurdish people through internal enemies—the most vicious and dangerous foes of societies. They sent intelligence officers to infiltrate the leadership of most Kurdish parties to trap Kurdish revolutions in their snares and create divisions

between Kurdish revolutionary leaders and the Kurdish people, deeply undermining their spirit from within.

The betrayal, oppression, and immense terror inflicted upon the Kurdish nation have, at times, prevented the Kurdish mind from thinking rationally. What contributed most to this confusion was the spread of intelligence officers within Kurdish party leaderships, who left no opportunity for the Kurdish people to gather their strength and think clearly—especially regarding the independence of Kurdistan.

The entities occupying Kurdistan sent their spies to work within Kurdish parties, welcoming anyone who chanted "Long live the leader!" These spies were not ignorant; they were graduates of top intelligence and military academies, possessing knowledge, persuasion skills, and fluency in Kurdish. Most party members lacked the necessary awareness, so these spies quickly rose to high-ranking leadership positions in their first party conferences—thanks to ignorant party members who pushed them forward, believing they were serving their parties by recruiting "intelligent and strong" elements, unaware that they were actually promoting enemy spies. Despite all the tragedies, oppression, injustice, and ongoing conspiracies—partition, Arabization, Turkification, Persianization, displacement, and genocide—inflicted upon the Kurdish people by the

occupying entities of Kurdistan and their great-power patrons...

Despite the vast number of agents and spies eating away at Kurdish society from within its political, social, and cultural organizations...

The occupying entities of Kurdistan and the Kurdish party leaderships played a sinister and shameful role in wasting Kurdish potential by provoking Kurdish-Kurdish infighting and assassinating patriotic freedom fighters— directly ordered by Iraqi intelligence and executed by spy officers within Kurdish party leaderships with cowardly bullets from behind. Among these martyred heroes are:

1. The assassination of martyr Fakher Mergsuri in 1975
2. The assassination of martyr Isa Swar in 1975
3. The assassination of Sheikh Muhammad Harsin in 1979
4. The assassination of martyr Idris Barzani on 31-1-1987
5. The assassination of martyr Fattah Agha on November 19, 1980, along with his brothers Abdullah and Rizgar
6. The assassination of martyr Abdullah Agha on September 27, 1987
7. The assassination of martyr Brigadier Dr. Rizgar Agha on May 29, 2016
8. The assassination of martyr Brigadier Ata Muhammad Haji Mahmoud on November 26, 2014
9. The assassination of martyr Brigadier Shirko Fateh Shwani on January 31, 2015

and many other patriotic freedom fighters. May a thousand mercies be upon their pure souls. Even General Mustafa Barzani were not spared from assassination.

The Psychological Warfare Waged by Spy Officers

Freedom means independence and cannot be replaced by democracy, human rights, or fragmented, because there is no such thing as "half-free" or "semi-free" in the world. A person who is half-free is undoubtedly a slave, and if they do not recognize their enslavement, their brain has been carefully washed.

Below are some characteristics of brainwashing operations:

1. The honest Kurd is seen by Kurdish society as naive and simple to the point of foolishness—because they speak the truth, and often, the truth is bitter. Thus, they find no support and remain alone, dying alone.
2. The entities occupying Kurdistan have implanted in our people's minds that honor, chastity, and conscience lie between the navel and the knees, while true honor, chastity, and conscience lie in truthful speech—a value that once existed in Kurdish society but has now lost all meaning in this wretched era.

3. The liar and hypocrite hold prestigious positions in Kurdish society and are called "politicians." The more they lie, the more they are celebrated as master politicians.
4. The shameless and ill-mannered are revered in Kurdish society and labeled as "brave"—those who fear no one and never retreat. The more audacious and rude they are, the more their "heroics" become legendary.
5. Flattery on every occasion, sweet-talking to faces while spreading the vilest insults and lies behind backs—as the Kurdish proverb goes: "A mirror in front, a dagger behind."
6. The generous and kind-hearted Kurd spends lavishly on celebrations, funerals, and even dining tables—some even splurge on drinking and gambling tables. Yet, the same Kurd is unwilling to pay a single penny for a Kurdish national fund to secure the independence of Kurdistan. In contrast, a Jew would not spend a penny without expecting ten in return and harbors deep suspicion toward non-Jews—yet Jews donate generously to their national fund, established centuries ago.
7. In the past, a Kurd who gave his word would keep it—not just with words but by placing his hand on his mustache, a pledge he would honor even at the cost of his life. This was true honor, chastity, and conscience. We must restore this principle so that a

Kurd stands by his word even without touching his mustache.

8. The occupying entities have completely destroyed the Kurdish identity—except for one thing: they made the Kurd honest, trustworthy, and truthful to the highest degree. Even if an interrogator from the intelligence agencies of these entities ask him about his fellow Kurds, he will speak the truth, even if it costs him his life.
9. I am a separatist because the enemy instills fear in Kurdish political figures regarding the word "separatism." Here, I aim to break the psychological barrier and counter the enemy's psychological warfare, which labels any Kurdish demand—no matter how trivial—as "separatist."

Based on the above, I believe that Kurdistan cannot be liberated until the Kurdish people are liberated from intellectual emptiness and all forms of psychological warfare, they have been subjected to...

A conscious and free people, unburdened by the residue of planted lies, are the ones capable of liberating their homeland. Therefore, I consider the liberation of Kurdistan to be achieved through an uprising that free our Kurdish people from the psychological warfare waged by the entities occupying Kurdistan—warfare that persists to this day. This has led to the loss of the true Kurdish identity, which once boldly confronted oppressors without fear in the pursuit of justice.

Although the Kurdish people are a people of sunlight and radiance, the spy officers have convinced them to hide in darkness and flee into insecurity. Below are some of the atrocities committed by ISIS against our Yazidi Kurdish people as part of the psychological warfare waged by the occupying entities:

1. They tore men from their wives, leaving them to die horrifically.
2. They raped women and left children crying.
3. Those they did not kill or rape were left wandering homeless in the mountains.
4. Many died of hunger and cold, crying for help, but no savior came.
5. Thousands of Yazidi Kurdish girls and women were kidnapped, and their fate remains unknown to this day.
6. Most Yazidi Kurdish women and girls were sold as sex slaves for rape and abuse.

As for the so-called civilized and uncivilized world, they sleep peacefully in their beds, indifferent to the genocide, rape, and displacement of the Kurdish people—despite knowing full well what is happening.

Even Kurdish political leaders have shown no concern for the genocide, rape, and displacement suffered by the

Kurdish people. Instead, they indulge in lavish feasts as if everything is fine.

The Psychological Warfare Has Destroyed Kurdish Confidence

The psychological warfare waged by the occupying entities and their collaborators has eroded the Kurds' trust in their own history, civilization, philosophers, and thinkers—even those as great as Ahmad Khani, Sharafkhan Bidlisi, Mustafa Pasha Yamulki, Osman Sabri, Abdul-Raqib Yusuf, Jemal Nebez, Jamal Rashid Ahmed, and others. As a result, Kurds now place more trust in the history and achievements of others, even the most insignificant figures.

When Kurdish political leaders in Southern Kurdistan gained a degree of freedom, the accumulated effects of psychological warfare led them to appoint former Saddam Hussein spies and collaborators to high-ranking positions—some of whom have Kurdish blood on their hands.

The Referendum Was Part of Psychological Warfare

The 2017 referendum for the independence of Kurdistan was one of the biggest and most dangerous traps set by intelligence officers against the Kurdish people. The referendum trap was not aimed at demoralizing the Kurds in a specific region alone but was designed to crush the

morale of the entire Kurdish population across all parts of Kurdistan. These intelligence officers instructed the Kurdish political leadership in Southern Kurdistan (Iraqi Kurdistan) to hold the referendum at the wrong time to ensure its failure.

Wrong reactions at the wrong time and place are far worse than no reaction at all.

After the independence referendum in Southern Kurdistan, the number of defeatists within Kurdish society increased. They began openly opposing the idea of an independent Kurdish state, blaming the referendum for the blockade of Southern Kurdistan, the occupation of Kirkuk, and other tragedies.

However, I argue that the referendum held in Southern Kurdistan was a carefully laid trap for the Kurdish people, orchestrated at the highest levels of intelligence agencies within the occupying entities of Kurdistan. These entities provided the complete plan, insisting that the Kurds proceed with the referendum while fueling massive public celebration. This euphoria was meant to artificially inflate Kurdish morale to unprecedented levels.

In sociology, it is proven that when extremely high morale is followed by betrayal and failure, morale does not simply return to its previous state—it plummets to the lowest depths. This was precisely the outcome planned by the occupying powers of Kurdistan.

The Kurdish political leadership and intelligence officers executed the plan of these occupying entities flawlessly.

Based on my humble experience in most political and military movements across all parts of Kurdistan since 1960—including arrests, persecution, and my involvement with the Peshmerga not as an ordinary member but in its political and military leadership—I have gained deep insight into the true nature of Kurdish political parties. The most critical truth I discovered is this: Their loyalty to Iraq, Syria, Iran, and Turkey is far stronger than their loyalty to Kurdistan. In fact, their Iraqi, Syrian, Iranian, and Turkish affiliations are the core of their ideology and practical struggle. Their so-called "Kurdistani" identity was never about achieving independence for Kurdistan. Rather, they only mention "Kurdistan" to deceive the Kurdish masses, who deeply love Kurdistan. By exploiting the name of Kurdistan, these party leaders have tamed the Kurdish people, riding on their backs to secure seats in the parliaments of the occupying states or minor positions in their governments. Key Points of the Referendum Trap Set by the Occupying Powers Against the Kurdish People:

(The following points would continue the analysis of how the referendum was a deliberate setup to weaken Kurdish aspirations.)

1. The referendum for independence was supposed to be held during the blessed popular uprising in South Kurdistan in 1991, when the Iraqi state completely collapsed in 2003, and when the war against ISIS

began in 2014... During these three pivotal events, the major powers were willing to listen to and accommodate Kurdish demands...

However, announcing the independence referendum in 2017—precisely when the war against ISIS had ended and the Kurds were no longer needed—naturally led to the failure of such a referendum. Politics, like commerce, follows the laws of supply and demand... The value of oil dropped to zero when demand halted during the early days of the COVID-19 pandemic.

2. When the Kurdish people voted for independence with an overwhelming majority exceeding 93%, the crucial question is: Why didn't the Kurdish partisan leaders declare the independence of Kurdistan in accordance with the will of the Kurdish majority? Unless, of course, the referendum was merely a theatrical performance to serve the interests of the entities occupying Kurdistan rather than the Kurdish people.

Declaring independence, even for a single day, would have been on par with the proclamation of the Republic of Kurdistan in East Kurdistan in 1946—something the occupying entities would never allow, whether as a farce or a serious move. Such a declaration would unleash the true potential of Kurdish society, just as the Republic of Kurdistan did

last century, whose momentum continues to inspire Kurdish freedom fighters to this day.

3. The more pressing question is: Another independence referendum was held in South Kurdistan in 2005, which received over 98% support from the Kurdish people. Repeating the referendum in 2017 was nothing but a theatrical act in every sense of the word. I know that if any referendum fails to secure more than 50% of the votes, another one is usually held. Yet, the 2005 referendum was not only successful but even more so than the 2017 one. Despite this, the Kurdish partisan leaders discarded the will of the Kurdish people expressed in 2005 and instead declared federalism.
4. More importantly, if the Kurdish partisan leaders had genuine intentions and sincere desire for Kurdistan's independence, they should have declared independence in 1991, 2003, or 2014—even without a referendum.
5. The 2017 independence referendum was meaningless and hollow, especially since the Kurdish partisan leaders did not withdraw their members from the Iraqi parliament or their ministers from the Iraqi government—officials who had sworn a legal oath to protect Iraq's unity and sovereignty. Such an oath inherently contradicts the idea of Kurdistan's independence, both in form and substance.

6. I do not wish to name the thousands of Kurds who believe in a Kurdish state and Kurdistan's independence—people whom the Kurdish partisan leaders have deliberately neglected for over half a century. They never sought their assistance or even contacted them, not even during the independence referendum.

Kurdistan's independence requires those who truly believe in it. Yet, the teams overseeing the independence process were composed of Kurdish partisan leaders and intelligence officers who had fought against anyone advocating for independence. What a tragedy!

If we want to build a table, we need a skilled carpenter, wood, nails, screws, and a hammer. Otherwise, the table will collapse—just like the independence referendum failed because independence requires securing its prerequisites, the first of which is having people who genuinely believe in it.

Yet, even today, the Peshmerga, Asayish (security forces), and the financial administrations of Sulaymaniyah and Hawler (Erbil) remain divided—and they still talk about independence!? It's all a farce, just like the Treaty of Sèvres in 1920, the March 11 Agreement of 1970, and U.S. support for Rojava... Each was immediately followed by: the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, the collapse of the September

Revolution with the Algiers Agreement in 1975, and the treacherous U.S.-Turkish deal leading to the occupation of Afrin, Serikaniye, and others.

7. One of the most critical requirements for independence is self-sufficiency, especially under an expected blockade. The main reason Saddam Hussein destroyed 4,000 Kurdish villages was because those villages produced their own bread, milk, dairy, and cheese—they were self-sufficient and even fed the Peshmerga.

However, since 1992, the Kurdish partisan leaders have distributed salaries to their supporters to secure their votes in elections. As a result, production in Kurdistan halted, self-sufficiency vanished, and Kurdish society became entirely consumerist. The markets of Sulaymaniyah and Hawler were flooded with Turkish and Iranian products, ensuring that Kurdistan would surrender under any blockade.

8. Yes, the Kurdish people obtained a document stating their desire for freedom—just like the Treaty of Sèvres, the March 11 Agreement, and other meaningless papers that change nothing. The Kurdish people don't need documents; near and far, everyone knows the Kurds want independence, as Kurdish leaders have declared throughout history. But the failed 2017 independence referendum crushed the morale of the Kurdish people—not just in South Kurdistan but across all of Greater Kurdistan.

This was precisely the plan of the intelligence agencies of the occupying powers.

Now, if any Kurd demands independence from the Kurdish partisan leaders, they are immediately silenced with the argument that independence means blockade and starvation. This excuse will persist into the next century—if the Kurdish people even get another chance at independence, and if the Kurdish people as we know them still exist by then.

Because the Abdullah Öcalan of today is not the same as the one we knew last century. Conditioning can be achieved through words, drugs, or other means. The kindness of the Kurdish heart prevents them from fully grasping the depravity and cunning of the entities occupying Kurdistan.

The Trap of Normalization

When the Kurdish people accept being part of the occupying entities, they enter deeper stages beyond mere normalization—reaching coexistence and assimilation into the societies of those occupying powers. Yet, the Kurdish people remain unaware that they fell into the trap of normalization over 75 years ago. They stubbornly and self-deceptively believe they are still on the path to independence, while normalization, coexistence, and assimilation have already dominated social, political, and economic life in Kurdistan.

The Kurdish partisan leaders have raised generations of normalized Kurds who do not realize they are walking the path of assimilation and dissolution.

Moreover, there is full coordination between the Kurdish partisan leaders and the intelligence agencies of the occupying powers to fully normalize the Kurdish people.

To practice normalization, coexistence, and integration with the artificial entities occupying Kurdistan without opposition, the Kurdish partisan leaderships have worked to strip Kurdish society of its customs, traditions, history, and civilization, replacing them with the following:

1. Theft and bribery have become permissible and legal, with no accountability or prosecution for perpetrators.
2. Lies, deceit, and hypocrisy have become the language of the Kurdish partisan leaderships in their media and televisions, glorifying traitors while ignoring those who demand Kurdistan's independence.
3. Taming and subduing the Kurdish people so that the occupying entities can oppress them with all kinds of weapons, ensuring there is no concept of revenge or justice. The leaderships have spread notions of silence toward the occupiers, submission to injustice, and obedience to racist invaders.
4. Most dangerously, they have spread apathy, making the Kurdish people forget divine laws like "an eye for

an eye, a tooth for a tooth." As a result, the occupying entities continue their crimes against the Kurds due to the surrender policies of the Kurdish partisan leaderships. The Kurdish people now fit the Amazigh proverb: "If a small child bites you and you don't bite back, they'll think you have no teeth."

Since the establishment of democratic parties in 1946, Kurdish patriots have issued thousands of calls, hundreds of articles, interviews, and books to reform the military and political failures of these parties—all in vain. Had the patriots known that the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and other Kurdish parties were founded on the principles of the 1943 Tehran Conference, they would not have wasted their time and resources trying to reform the irredeemable.

The Kurdish partisan leaderships were created to prevent Kurds from having their own state and have fought anyone who struggled for Kurdish independence. Thus, they refuse to change their policies of normalization, coexistence, and integration with the societies of the artificial entities occupying Kurdistan—exactly as outlined in the 1943 Tehran Conference resolutions.

The Kurdish leaderships' policies have no connection to liberating Kurdistan, near or far. Any Kurdish leader who takes charge of such parties will act no differently than Iraqi leaders.

The leaders of "democratic and federal Iraq"—brought to power with the support of Kurdish partisan leaderships (Allawi, Jaafari, Maliki, Abadi, Abbadi, al-Kadhimi, al-Sudani)—are no better than Saddam Hussein. These Kurdish leaders convince the Kurdish people that their enemies are this or that Iraqi ruler, ignoring the truth: the real enemy is Iraq itself, a state built on the suppression of Kurdistan's sovereignty.

No Iraqi ruler—not even Jalal Talabani or Saladin Ayyubi—could grant Kurdistan independence because Iraq and Kurdistan are two separate issues. Similarly, no leader of the Kurdish partisan parties can achieve independence under the guise of "normalization, coexistence, and integration"—not even Mustafa Barzani, Dr. Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou, or Abdullah Öcalan.

The Kurdish partisan leaderships adopted Lenin's Marxist theories, eliminating the role of Sheikhs, Mullahs, Aghas, tribal leaders, and independent Kurdish intellectuals—not because they were "bourgeois," but to destroy Kurdish social cohesion.

In reality, Kurdistan had neither the bourgeoisie nor the proletariat Lenin described. The wealth of the richest agha (in wheat and livestock) couldn't match the value of an old Mercedes. The goal was to upset Kurdish society

and prevent traditional leaders from guiding Kurdish revolutions—since all past uprisings for a Kurdish state were led by sheikhs, mullahs, and tribal chiefs.

The Kurdish people must erase all traces of Syria, Iraq, Turkey, and Iran from their struggle. If necessary, these should only be seen as colonial entities.

In fact, colonialism was better than these states. British colonialism in India and Egypt did not erase local names or ban native languages—unlike the brutal policies in Kurdistan. Syria, Iraq, Turkey, and Iran are savage, backward states that must be severed like malignant tumors. The Kurds, with their millennia-old civilization, deserve freedom.

The oppression Kurds face is not due to weakness but because they are strong—their humanity and history terrify the occupiers. If freed, Kurdistan would become the undisputed leader of the Middle East, not by force but by justice—as it was during the Median Empire (3,000 years ago) and Saladin's reign (1,000 years ago).

The KDP and its offshoots did not follow Nelson Mandela or Mahatma Gandhi's principles to liberate Kurdistan. Instead, they adopted Stalinist Marxism, Islamism, and pseudo-democracy, branding dissenters as "traitors" or "infidels." This deepened divisions, leading to Kurd-on-

Kurd violence—a tactic planned by occupying intelligence agencies to drain Kurdish resources and distract from independence.

The Kurdish leaderships speak of "international politics" but fail to act. They talk of "Kurdish rights" but do not demand them. They claim borders are unchangeable—yet the USSR split into 15 states, Yugoslavia into 7, Czechoslovakia split, East Timor left Indonesia, and South Sudan seceded.

If the Kurdish leaderships truly seek independence (which I doubt), they must raise their demands. If they cannot, they should not block Kurds who fight for independence. Even for autonomy or federalism, an independence movement is essential.

The Lesson of Southern Kurdistan (Iraqi Kurdistan)

Had the Kurdish leaderships initially demanded independence, Baghdad would have kissed their feet and granted full federalism (including Kirkuk, Diyala, and Mosul) in exchange for dropping independence. Instead, they settled for federalism—and after 25 years, Baghdad still avoids the term "Federal Iraq" in its constitution, official documents, and passports.

A Fable of Wisdom: Mulla Nasreddin (Juha)

A man borrowed 100 dinars from Juha but denied it in court. Juha then claimed, "He owes me 1,000 dinars!" The man angrily shouted, "That's a lie! It was only 100!" Juha turned to the judge: "You heard him—now I have my proof."

I ask the Kurdish partisan leaderships to show even a fraction of Juha's wisdom.

Shopkeepers mark up prices to secure profit, yet the Kurdish leaderships demand the bare minimum for their people. Rights are not given as charity—they are taken by force, as martyr Dr. Muhammad Mashouq al-Khaznawi said.

The Root of the Problem

The occupying states reject even the smallest Kurdish demand because they only accept Kurds as slaves. Their war on the Kurdish people is psychological, and they have largely succeeded.

A leader must uncover spies and conspiracies. The tragedy is not just failing to detect them—but knowing and doing nothing. Such a leader is unfit to lead.

Hope in Kurdish Uprisings

The 1991 Southern Kurdistan uprising and the 2004 Western Kurdistan uprising restored hope. No other

people could endure what the Kurds have—they would have vanished long ago.

Kurdistan: The Crown of the Middle East

Kurdistan is a jewel of beauty, wealth, and strategic location, home to one of the world's oldest civilizations. The world's villains unite against it—yet they fear Kurdish resilience.

The Kurds' endurance proves that a new dawn will come, ensuring unity, victory, and the independence of sacred Kurdistan.

The Issue of Kurdistan's Independence

Since the Kurdish people suffer from national oppression, there is no doubt that our cause is, above all, a national and patriotic one. Therefore, a Kurdish nationalist and patriotic ideology, along with a free will, is essential to build a Kurdish state. To protect it, the following points must be considered:

1. The Kurdish people must embrace Kurdish nationalism ("Kurdayetî") as a doctrine and ideology to achieve freedom and independence. "Kurdayetî" asserts that there is no "better colonizer" but rather that some colonizers are worse than others.
2. The Kurdish people must choose leaders and elites who believe in Kurdish nationalist thought, the establishment of a Kurdish state armed with the ideology of Kurdish national security and "Kurdayetî," which seeks to unify and liberate Kurdistan while preserving Kurdish identity.
3. Iron discipline in the institutions of the Kurdish state and in organizing the entire Kurdish people, because unorganized masses are a raw force. Iron discipline ensures the intellectual, political, and economic borders of an independent Kurdistan.
4. Strict enforcement of accountability and punishment against enemies, corrupt individuals, the indifferent,

and traitors, while honoring the strugglers who fulfill their duties in service to the people and homeland.

5. Nationalist education for the Kurdish individual, where their primary loyalty is to the Kurdish people and Kurdistan, while regional, tribal, partisan, familial, and personal affiliations come second. If these conflict with nationalist thought, the latter must prevail without hesitation.
6. Nationalist education is the only way to sustain our Kurdish state, as it is far more important than military arsenals, which can collapse against stronger forces. But the education of a people can never collapse. To ensure this, we must focus on four key elements to guarantee the longevity of the Kurdish state:
Mothers
Teachers
Preachers
Judges
With nationalist guidance for these elements, we can build a strong and just Kurdish state, leaving no room for enemies, corruption, indifference, or betrayal—not even through the "eye of a needle."
7. The fundamental goal of the Kurdish state we fight for is to secure a dignified livelihood for all and to achieve freedom, equality, and justice for everyone.
8. Protecting the Kurdish people and prohibiting their killing or abuse, because Kurdish nationalist thought seeks the freedom of all Kurds—including those who

have been Arabized, Turkified, or Persianized—across all of Kurdistan.

9. Kurdish nationalist thought rejects autonomy, federalism, or any other label that makes the Kurdish people and their homeland, Kurdistan, a part of the occupying entities.
10. Kurdish nationalist thought also rejects any "Kurdish right"—including a Kurdish state—if it comes at the cost of the Kurdish people's annihilation. Our ideology does not seek to liberate land, trees, rivers, or seas, but rather to liberate the Kurdish people from slavery. This can only be achieved by establishing a Kurdish state that protects the Kurdish people, their blood, property, and dignity.
11. Kurdish nationalist thought believes that anyone who claims to protect Kurdish blood, property, and dignity without establishing a Kurdish state is a traitor in every sense of the word.
12. The Kurdish state we strive for should be a federal union under the name "United States of Kurdistan," where each region governs itself freely, practicing its dialects, religions, and beliefs in safety. We seek justice and reject oppression—whether by Kurds against Kurds or by the occupying states of Kurdistan. Regions of the "United States of Kurdistan":
Kurmanj Region
Sorani (Kakai) Region
Badinan Region

Sheikhan (Yezidi) Region
Zaza (Alevi) Region
Hawraman Region
Mukriyan Region
Ardalan Region
Baban Region
Botan Region
Luristan Region
Feyli Region
Ilam Region
Bakhtiari (Yarsani, Zoroastrian) Region
Kurdish Assyrian-Chaldean-Nestorian Church
Sunni, Shia, Bahai, and Naqshbandi Islamic Mosques

If the Kurdish people lived in Sweden or Switzerland instead of the Middle East among European nations, they would not need to demand any rights—they would live with dignity, free from killings or displacement, and no one would consider them second-class citizens. They would be masters of their fate, achieving independence with just a few words.

But we live in the Middle East among a very different kind of people. When Qazi Muhammad declared Kurdish independence, he was executed. When Dr. Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou, Dr. Sadegh Sharafkandi, and Mustafa Salimi demanded autonomy, they were also executed—just like Qazi Muhammad, who proclaimed Kurdistan's independence.

The occupying entities of Kurdistan have one goal: to empty Kurdistan of Kurds through killings and displacement, replacing them with Arabs, Turks, and Persians, so that Kurdistan becomes theirs forever. In their eyes, Kurds are descendants of demons (as written in hundreds of books by Arab, Turkish, and Persian scholars), unworthy of coexistence or marriage.

Some Kurdish party leaders work to brainwash the Kurdish people into accepting coexistence with the very entities that seek their extermination—entities that have already committed dozens of genocides, from Anfal and Halabja to Shengal, Afrin, and Kirkuk.

Anyone who demands autonomy, federalism, or coexistence with those who seek Kurdish annihilation is either a traitor, mentally compromised, or thoroughly brainwashed.

The Right to Independence

The occupying entities attack Kurdish blood, property, and dignity, imprisoning and displacing Kurds. Therefore, the Kurdish people have the right to secede from these artificial, racist entities. A homeland that does not protect Kurdish blood, property, and dignity is not our homeland.

Some propose "solutions" like federalism, autonomy, or democracy, arguing that demanding independence would lead to genocide, chemical attacks, ethnic cleansing, and destruction. But I respond: The Kurdish people already

face these horrors—even when demanding trivial rights like autonomy! If we must suffer, let it be for independence, not endless subjugation.

The Path to Freedom

I have long known the path to freedom for my great Kurdish people and the nature of their enslavement under the racist occupiers of Kurdistan. I have offered the cure—not the failed "step-by-step" policies of the past, but a single-stage revolution to break free from the occupiers as quickly as possible.

Time is against the Kurds. The enemy develops far faster than we do—what is possible today may be impossible tomorrow. Yet, tribalism, partisanship, and regionalism dominate Kurdish politics, preventing the adoption of a decisive strategy.

Although I do not believe in miracles, I pray to God to breathe into the minds of the partisans, regionalists, and tribalists and guide them toward the path of Kurdistan's independence—just as God breathed into the womb of the Virgin Mary, and she gave birth to Jesus Christ without being married.

Most Kurdish partisan leaders, Kurdish human rights organizations, as well as Kurdish writers' and poets' unions, and other Kurdish political, military, and cultural organizations and centers ignore the issue of Kurdistan's

independence. Often, they even disavow the independence of Kurdistan and the establishment of a Kurdish state—especially when they appear on television, as if Kurdistan’s independence were a malignant disease they seek to avoid! Some do not even dare to call for Kurdistan’s independence, even when alone within soundproof walls.

Very few openly advocate for Kurdistan’s independence with words and slogans, and even fewer—extremely few—actually struggle for it.

This does not mean that the majority is right, no matter how much wealth, weapons, or influence they possess while advocating for autonomy, federalism, democracy, or citizenship within the entities occupying Kurdistan. Likewise, it does not mean that the minority calling for and struggling for Kurdistan’s independence is wrong—no matter how much the forces of evil and tyranny, the enemies of the Kurds and Kurdistan, conspire against them, or how much they try to spread false propaganda to diminish the value of the free patriots with unparalleled baseness and vileness.

The declaration of Kurdistan’s independence and the establishment of a Kurdish state require free will and self-confidence—without waiting for anyone’s approval. Because the struggle for Kurdistan’s independence will awaken the Kurdish people from their slumber and

unleash the Kurdish giant from its bottle, a force that no one can stop on its march toward independence.

In short, the issue of Kurdistan's independence requires absolute faith in truth, justice, and freedom to end occupation and prevent the repetition of tragedies like Anfal, Halabja, Kirkuk, Shengal, Afrin, and Serikani. To achieve this, we must take the following steps:

1. The Kurdish people must prepare themselves for a great uprising.
2. The Kurdish people must strongly support anyone struggling for Kurdistan's independence.
3. The Kurdish people must not allow the agents of the occupying entities to hijack the uprising this time, as happened in the 1991 uprising in southern Kurdistan and the 2004 uprising in western Kurdistan.

The Kurdish state I fight for is not one of extremism or racism, as some like to accuse me. Rather, it is because I am certain that the states occupying Kurdistan are not concerned with accepting or rejecting Kurdish demands based on their quantity—they fundamentally reject our very existence, let alone our rights.

For example: In the last century, the Palestinian movement shook the entire world by demanding a Palestinian state and nearly succeeded. The West quickly intervened, not out of love for Palestinians or Israelis, but to sustain the conflict in a new form—compatible with the arms trade—and to sell weapons to all sides. The Camp David Accords granted Palestinian autonomy in exchange

for abandoning the demand for statehood in 1978. Since then, the Palestinian movement and Israel have been stuck in a half-century-long cycle of autonomy negotiations—exactly like the Kurdish autonomy and federalism talks that began in 1961, also lasting over half a century.

The issue of disputed Palestinian and Kurdish territories is a grand lie to deceive all parties, prolong the conflict, and buy time for profiteers. There is no serious negotiation in the world that lasts half a century. Just as no Palestinian truly believes in Israel's legitimacy, and no Israeli truly believes in a Palestinian state, no Iraqi truly believes in a Kurdish state.

If someone argues that the regimes of Abdul Karim Qasim, Saddam Hussein, and others were dictatorships—well, in 2003, the U.S. military, from the world's greatest democracy, came to Iraq and Kurdistan and installed Iraqi presidents from the ranks of the democratic opposition, which had fought dictatorship for years. Since the fall of the Ba'ath dictatorship, Iraq has been ruled by Paul Bremer, Ahmed Chalabi, Iyad Allawi, Ibrahim al-Jaafari, Nouri al-Maliki, Haider al-Abadi, Adil Abdul-Mahdi, Mohammed Shia' al-Sudani, and whoever comes next. I say with full clarity: Their policies toward the Kurds have not been—and will never be—better, if not worse, than the dictatorships of Qasim and Saddam.

The old dictatorships practiced Arabization, genocide, and Anfal openly, while the new dictatorships continue the

same policies—but covertly. The killing of Kurds in Kirkuk, Shengal, Khanaqin, and other disputed areas has not stopped. The doors to Kurdistan's Arabization have been flung wide open under new, 'humanitarian' pretexts, such as accepting refugees from fabricated ISIS wars in Arab regions to flood Kurdish cities with Arabs. This phenomenon is terrifying—half a million Arab settlers now reside in Sulaymaniyah and other undisputed Kurdish cities where no Arabs lived during the old dictatorships. Soon, these areas will become disputed due to the settlers' growing numbers and birth rates. Within a decade, they will claim Kurdistan as their homeland.

The solution is a Kurdish state—despite its difficulties, it is better than federalism, which may seem easier to achieve but impossible to maintain. The autonomy Saddam granted in 1970 and revoked in 1974 is a well-known lesson.

I believe the Kurdish people must choose the difficult path of an independent Kurdish state—one of dignity and honor—rather than the easy but unsustainable path of federalism, which leaves Kurds at the mercy of others until the end of time. Any delay in declaring a Kurdish state only benefits the enemies of Kurds and Kurdistan. Some occupying entities now possess nuclear bombs, while others are members of the world's largest military alliance. The Kurds must declare their state, even if on just one square meter of Kurdistan. If we deserve it, we will reclaim the rest; if not, future generations will follow in

our footsteps, just as we follow the path of Qazi Muhammad, Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji, Osman Sabri, and other Kurdish heroes.

Some say local, regional, and international calculations do not favor a Kurdish state. But I ask: Weren't conditions far worse when General Mustafa Barzani launched his revolution in 1961? Iraq was aligned with the Soviet bloc, backed by Arab and non-aligned states, and had advanced Soviet aircraft, while southern Kurdistan was surrounded by hostile nations. Barzani had only a few rusty WWI-era Berdan rifles. Had he considered the odds, he would have seen his revolution doomed to fail in days. The Kurdish people were in despair after the fall of the Republic of Mahabad in 1946—not a single shot had been fired in Kurdistan since. Yet Barzani, confident and resolute, ignited a revolution without calculations. Despite its flaws, it awakened the Kurdish people not just in the south but across all parts of Kurdistan, inspiring later uprisings in the north, east, and west.

Many peoples have launched revolutions without regard for local, regional, or international calculations, relying solely on their will. The Cuban Revolution began with Castro and Guevara and just sixteen rebels. The leaders of Algeria's revolution against French occupation were once soldiers in the French army fighting in Vietnam. They never imagined Algeria would revolt against the French Empire—but witnessing France's defeat at (Dien Bien

Phu) in 1954 convinced them. They returned and revolted—without calculations.

The only way to prevent further violations against our Kurdish people is to build a Kurdish state. As the famous English proverb says: "Good fences make good neighbors."

This proverb means that a people subjected to violations are those without a state or borders to protect them.

The independence of Kurdistan is the primary goal for which all Kurdish revolutions have risen, offering immense sacrifices in caravans of martyrs numbering in the millions... A thousand blessings upon their pure souls... However, the Kurdish Partisan Leaderships has managed to turn the preservation of Kurdish blood, property, dignity, and the independence of Kurdistan into a tool for mobilizing the Kurdish people and riding on their backs to reach the capitals of the states that occupy Kurdistan—participating in their parliaments to grant them certificates of good conduct for their fake democracy. The truth is that the entities occupying Kurdistan are dictatorial, racist, and fascist regimes that built their independence at the expense of Kurdistan's independence.

The Kurdish Partisan Leaderships does this to obtain leftover crumbs from the tables of the wicked... The crumbs offered by the occupying entities to the partisan Kurdish leaders are meant to divert the Kurdish people

from their goal of an independent Kurdistan to another goal that has no connection—near or far—to Kurdish independence.

The greatest tragedy the Kurdish people endure is that, to this day, they continue to offer martyrs to prove the "democracy" of the entities occupying Kurdistan, while the issue of Kurdish independence has been erased from most Kurdish party agendas.

Had Kurdish sacrifices been for a Kurdish state, the Kurdish state would have been established long ago. Certainly, Syria, Iraq, Iran, and Turkey are enemies of the Kurdish people—but I am absolutely certain that the greatest enemy of the Kurds is the Kurdish Partisan Leaderships' failure to make the decisive move to liberate Kurdistan and establish a Kurdish state.

Fifty million Kurds in a single mountainous geographical region, under a steel-willed leadership that knows no tolerance or forgiveness and takes the battle to the enemy's land... Neither regional nor international powers could ever defeat them.

I firmly believe that if the Kurds had stayed in their homes, focusing on education, agriculture, industry, and trade, it would have been more honorable than launching revolutions and uprisings demanding Kurdish rights within the borders of the entities occupying Kurdistan. By doing so, they undoubtedly martyr themselves for the unity and sovereignty of Syria, Iraq, Iran, and Turkey—proving the

legitimacy of the colonial Sykes-Picot borders built at the expense of Kurdistan's independence.

The Kurdish revolutions for Kurdish rights within the borders of the occupying entities have nothing to do with the independence of Kurdistan. They are no different from the revolt of Kholla Biza, who rebelled alone for personal reasons in the mountains of southern Kurdistan—yet with his rifle, he terrified the Iraqi army in the 1950s.

The primary goal of Kurdish revolutions for rights within the borders of the occupying entities is undoubtedly to kill the best of the Kurdish people, displace them, and destroy their villages and cities—emptying Kurdistan of Kurds and replacing them with non-Kurdish elements to alter the demographic composition. This has happened recently in Kobani, Afrin, Serikani, Kirkuk, Khanaqin, and Shingal... Just as it happened to the Kurdish people at the end of the last century, when half a million Kurds were killed in the Anfal campaigns and other tragedies—which will repeat until Judgment Day. Had Kurdish sacrifices been for a Kurdish state, Kurdistan would have been liberated long ago.

Regarding internal infighting: Stalin killed 17 million Russians for disagreeing with him. Today, Russia's prisons are filled with Stalin's comrades. We must not repeat such fatal mistakes, which waste the Kurdish people's potential and energy—because Kurd-on-Kurd conflict is the primary goal of Kurdistan's enemies.

The failure to unify the administrations of Sulaymaniyah and Hewlêr (Erbil), and the failure to unite western Kurdistan with southern Kurdistan, are even more despicable and vile than Kurdish infighting. While Kurdish infighting has led to the deaths of over 100,000 Peshmerga heroes, the failure to unite Qamishlo with Hewlêr and Sulaymaniyah will lead to the death of the entire Kurdish people—because the opportunity available today may never come again.

The essence of the conflict lies between the interests of the Kurdish nation and the interests of the nations occupying Kurdistan, plundering its resources, and enslaving its people. The loss of direction for over half a century has turned the Kurdish struggle—which is fundamentally against the occupying entities—into an internal conflict within Kurdish society, against itself, and against the interests of its youth, daughters, and homeland: a fragmented and occupied Kurdistan.

The spy officers within the Kurdish Partisan Leaderships spread false propaganda, brainwashing Kurdish youth into believing that Kurdish independence is unattainable and that a Kurdish state is nothing but a dream. In their view, the "realistic" goal for the Kurdish people is to live with Arabs, Turks, and Iranians in a "democratic" system! The truth is the exact opposite. Yes, achieving a Kurdish state is difficult, but living with Arabs, Turks, and Iranians in democratic states is impossible. It is impossible to turn Iranian clerics, Turkish generals, and Ba'athists in Iraq and

Syria into democratic groups that believe in pluralism and Kurdish rights. Even after the fall of the Ba'ath in Iraq, the new Iraqi prime ministers—Allawi, Yawar, Jaafari, Maliki, Abadi, and Sudani—alongside a Kurdish Iraqi president, never apologized for the genocide committed against the Kurds under Saddam Hussein. Kirkuk, Mosul, Khanaqin, and other Kurdish regions were never returned to Kurdish administration. This reminds me of Saddam's words: "Iraqis are Ba'athists, even if they don't belong to the Ba'ath Party." Thus, the actions of Allawi, Yawar, Jaafari, Maliki, Abadi, and Sudani mirror those of Ba'athists—because the Ba'athist mentality is deeply ingrained in Iraqi and Syrian society: an ego that denies the "other."

To stop the fragmentation and divisions within the Kurdish liberation movement, we must believe in the independence of Kurdistan and the freedom of the Kurdish people.

Imagine if the forces of General Mustafa Barzani, Dr. Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou, Abdullah Öcalan, Mam Jalal Talabani, and others had been united, free from selfishness and regionalism—could any occupying entity have remained in Kurdistan for even a minute? Unfortunately, not only were these forces not united, but they fought each other—and still do to this day. Their conflict has now taken other forms: spreading false propaganda, spying on one another, hugging in front of cameras, and weaving conspiracies under the table... At a time when international conditions are favorable for the

Kurdish people to declare their state, such infighting is even more vile and disgraceful than armed conflict.

If we do not establish a national strategy for the independence of Kurdistan, the tragedies of Afrin, Kobani, Serikani, Kirkuk, and Shingal will continue to repeat.

The tragedies will persist as long as Kurds belong to the states and ideologies of others.

But the tragedies will end when the Kurdish house is cleansed, and the Kurdish people declare, with pure and sincere intent, a united struggle for the independence of Kurdistan.

Anyone who claims that the blood, property, and dignity of the Kurdish people can be protected without a Kurdish state is not just mistaken—they are a traitor.

The mechanisms for establishing the Greater Kurdistan Republic

Freedom is born with man but grows or shrinks depending on the environment. Independence is difficult but not impossible, unlike federalism or autonomy. The independence of Kurdistan does not require a referendum but rather a clear roadmap represented by the following points:

1. Changing the ruling system in the states occupying Kurdistan—from dictatorship to democracy or from

monarchy to republic—and coexisting with them has no relation to the independence of Kurdistan.

2. The independence of Kurdistan is the issue of the enslaved Kurdish people and their divided, occupied homeland. The only solution to the Kurdish question is the freedom of the Kurdish people and the independence of Kurdistan, not regime change.
3. The only solution is the freedom of the Kurdish people and the independence of Kurdistan, not coexistence with criminals and murderers.
4. Only with a Kurdish state can we protect our homeland, the blood of our people, and their dignity.
5. Every delay in declaring a Kurdish state leads to the waste of the Kurdish people's potential and the loss of time.
6. Anyone who believes that our homeland, our people's blood, and their dignity can be protected without a Kurdish state is delusional.
7. The delusional one is whoever does not believe in a Kurdish state or claims to believe but procrastinates in declaring it.
8. The delusional one is the hidden backbone of the entities occupying Kurdistan, without even realizing it.
9. Without a Kurdish state, the Kurdish people will remain under threat for generations until the Day of Judgment.

The Independence of Kurdistan Means the Kurdish People Must Learn to Defend Themselves

To preserve the independence of Kurdistan, the Kurdish people must possess a deep state within the Kurdish state.

The unelected deep state is a permanent institution formed by a group of devoted Kurdish nationalist thinkers who prioritize Kurdish national security and Kurdistan above any personal, tribal, partisan, regional, or international interest—without hesitation or leniency, no matter the cost.

Within the deep state, there are special security and military apparatuses to control the Kurdish state's institutions. These bodies set the present and future policies of the Kurdish state based on one principle: Kurdistan above all. They decide who becomes president, draft their programs and agendas, and fund their election campaigns. They also discipline, subdue, or even remove presidents if they deviate from the assigned agenda.

In democratic systems, the philosopher's vote equals that of the aggressor, the criminal, the corrupt, the fraudster, the money launderer, and the instigator of violence. Since aggressors and criminals possess immense resources they talk of peace but love lack of it, the deep state must impose electoral restrictions to prevent the Kurdish parliament from being filled with thieves.

Nations seeking continuity have deep states within their systems. The unelected deep state is the permanent institution that steers the elected administrations, ensuring the Kurdish state does not collapse.

Since we have not yet achieved independence, we must establish the Kurdish deep state now—forming strategic institutions that place Kurdistan and the Kurdish nation’s interests above all else.

1. The Alternative Plan for the Independence of Kurdistan

Before explaining the alternative plan to liberate Kurdistan, I will recount the facts and atrocities our Kurdish people have endured under these racist beasts—the entities occupying Kurdistan. Sometimes, I believe wild beasts are far more merciful, as they stop hunting when satiated, whereas the occupiers of Kurdistan and their global masters have no limits to their crimes. Here are some key points:

1. **The Colonial Division of Kurdistan:** The great powers divided Kurdistan into five parts under the Sykes-Picot Agreement and the colonial treaties of London, San Remo, and Lausanne in the early 20th century. They gifted each part to neighboring artificial states, not as colonies but as property, allowing them to exploit Kurdistan’s resources.
2. **Deceptive Policies:** These powers instructed the artificial states to initially adopt submissive policies before enforcing racist oppression against the Kurds.

3. Fueling Internal Conflict: The occupiers of Kurdistan incited tribal and political infighting among Kurds to maintain control.
4. Funding Opponents: The Syrian, Iraqi, Turkish, and Iranian regimes funded anti-Kurdish tribes and organizations, including Kurdish groups that aimed to fragment Kurdish society.
5. In 2014, the Syrian regime purchased oil from ISIS worth \$100 million when ISIS controlled 60% of Syria's oil fields. The Syrian regime and ISIS agreed to destroy only Sunni cities, kill their inhabitants, and displace them to eliminate Sunni support bases that could revolt against the Alawite-dominated Syrian regime. The Kurdish city of Kobani was one such target.
6. America, Europe, and Russia have repeatedly betrayed the Kurds. To ensure the continued occupation of Kurdistan, Western powers signed treaties with the entities occupying Kurdistan, Balochistan, the Amazigh lands, and other indigenous peoples of the Middle East—such as the Baghdad Pact, CENTO, and NATO.
7. To perpetuate the occupation of Kurdistan, Western powers conspired with the Russians and their socialist bloc to further Western plots against the Kurdish people and Kurdistan. The Russians established strong friendly relations with the entities occupying Kurdistan, Balochistan, and the Amazigh lands, supplying them with weapons and expertise to crush

any liberation movements among the Middle East's indigenous peoples.

In 1972, I wrote to the Soviet leadership through their embassy in Beirut, stating that the Kurds of southern Kurdistan had allied with Iraq—their ally—and that supporting the Kurds in a comprehensive revolution against Iran and Turkey (the West's main proxies in the region) would benefit the Soviets far more than supporting the Vietnamese on the other side of the world. The Russians replied: "We have no desire to ignite wars on our borders." But they were lying—they had already agreed with the West to oppose Kurdish independence. A few years later, they waged war in Afghanistan, right on their border.

8. The Russians abandoned the Republic of Mahabad in 1946, leaving the Kurds vulnerable to slaughter and genocide in exchange for Iranian oil deals—deals that ultimately benefited the Russians nothing, as the Shah of Iran replaced the government and ignored previous promises made to them.
9. The Americans betrayed the Kurdish revolution led by General Mustafa Barzani (1961–1975) through the treacherous Algiers Agreement between the U.S.-backed Shah of Iran and the Soviet-backed Saddam Hussein in 1975. This conspiracy was global, involving both Eastern and Western powers.
10. The Americans abandoned the Kurds during the 1991 uprising in southern Kurdistan, which was sparked by

George H.W. Bush's call for Kurds and Shias to revolt against Saddam Hussein. Their betrayal led to over two million Kurds fleeing across the Iraqi border in the infamous mass exodus.

11. The Americans abandoned the Kurds again during the 2004 uprising in western Kurdistan, which erupted after the U.S. labeled Syria, Iran, and North Korea as part of the "Axis of Evil." Instead of supporting the Kurds, America left them exposed to massacres by the Syrian regime—one of the very "Axis of Evil" members—who killed Kurds in the streets, under torture, during mandatory military service, and in staged "intelligence-related" traffic accidents.
12. America, Europe, and Russia betrayed the Kurdish people when they rejected the 2017 independence referendum (September 25). Not only did major and minor powers condemn the referendum, but they also imposed a land, sea, and air blockade on Kurdistan—despite the fact that self-determination is a natural right enshrined in UN charters and international law. They never blockaded Hitler or Mussolini the way they did with Kurdistan.
13. The Americans, Europeans, and Russians betrayed the Kurds by giving Saddam Hussein the green light to chemically bomb Halabja, leading to the mass exodus and the killing of over 500,000 Kurds in the Anfal campaigns, the disappearances of Barzanis and Feylis,

and the executions of Kurdish fighters, activists, and civilians in the streets and under torture.

14. Instead of demanding accountability from Saddam Hussein—who killed half a million Kurds—Kurdish party leaders went to Baghdad to kneel before him. Rather than demanding justice, they begged for his forgiveness, even kissing him passionately. One of them said while kissing Saddam: "This is the happiest moment of my life." It was as if they were thanking him for the massacres and encouraging more.

British diplomat Lord Shore once told me that after the chemical attack on Halabja, the Kurdish people were ready to form an independent state in southern Kurdistan—or at least in Halabja—since no government that poisons its own people has the right to rule them again. In 1991, I wrote a three-part article titled "The Kiss of Humiliation." Seventeen years later, one of the Kurdish leaders who kissed Saddam, NoSherwan Mustafa, admitted in his memoirs that it was a "black day"—confirming my stance, though most Kurdish leaders still proudly defend that shameful act.

15. The world's major powers never recognized the Kurdish genocide as such, nor did the "democratic" Iraqi governments after Saddam Hussein. These governments continued Saddam's occupation policies—even surpassing his brutality—with the help of Kurdish party leaders, who:

- Opposed independence, refusing to set a timeline for federalism (which, if unmet, would justify Kurdish secession).
 - Rejected an international trial for Saddam (like the Nuremberg trials, which granted Jews eternal immunity).
 - Refused to sign Saddam's execution order (though he deserved death for crimes like the Dujail massacre—but what about the 500,000 Kurds he killed?).
 - Enabled Arabization: In 1972, Sulaymaniyah had no Arab residents except Iraqi intelligence agents. Today, under Kurdish party leaderships, over half a million Arabs live there, sending their children to schools. Soon, they will claim the city as their own—just like the "disputed territories" Saddam failed to Arabize.
16. The Americans and Russians betrayed the Kurds in Kirkuk, Sinjar, Kobani, Afrin, and eastern Syria, leaving them prey to the Turkish, Iraqi, and Syrian armies—and ISIS.
 17. Clearly, European and American powers—along with their proxies like ISIS and the occupying entities of Kurdistan—take turns crushing any Kurdish movement, whether for independence or basic human and democratic rights.

The alternative plan for the independence of Kurdistan is not a chemical or physical theory. It is simply based on my thorough study of the decisions of the 1943 Tehran

Conference, which revealed malicious principles against the Kurds and Kurdistan. The most prominent of these is igniting wars—either between the Kurdish people and the occupying entities of Kurdistan on Kurdish soil or among Kurdish parties in Kurdish-Kurdish conflicts, also on Kurdish soil. The goal is to destroy Kurdish villages and cities, kill and displace the Kurdish people, and then replace them with others, leaving Kurdistan without its rightful owners. Even if a portion of the Kurdish people remains in Kurdistan, they will live in turmoil, poverty, backwardness, and deprivation of basic human needs—security, safety, and stability—due to ongoing wars and killings. Meanwhile, the capitals, cities, and villages of the occupying entities will thrive economically, enjoying prosperity and stability.

Over time, the occupying entities of Kurdistan will grow stronger, while Kurdish forces and their revolutionary spirit will diminish over one or two generations.

Therefore, I firmly believe that the alternative plan lies in completely overturning the decisions of the 1943 Tehran Conference:

The interests of major powers have never aligned with the establishment of a Kurdish state—not since the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916, nor the colonial Lausanne Conference of 1923—and they never will. There are 22 Arab states and seven Turkish states, all oil-rich and hostile to the idea of a Kurdish state. They maintain trade relations with major powers, who are unwilling to

sacrifice billions in daily revenue from these occupying entities for vague and undefined Kurdish interests.

Thus, the Kurdish people must rely on themselves and their strength to liberate Kurdistan intelligently, making decisions with unwavering free will.

They must begin implementing the alternative plan for a Kurdish uprising for independence, summarized as follows:

1. Stop demanding democracy and federalism. Raise only one slogan: "Independence for Kurdistan." Accuse anyone who does not fight for independence of high treason.
2. Struggle to prepare the conditions for a mass uprising for the independence of Kurdistan.
3. The uprising must be led by any Kurd who believes in Kurdish nationalist liberation ideology, because Kurdistan belongs to 60 million Kurds—each with a share in our sacred homeland.
4. End the policy of self-defense in Kurdistan, which has only led to the killing of Kurds, the destruction of villages and cities, displacement, and the settlement of other peoples in their place—altering Kurdistan's demographics through Arabization, Turkification, and Persianization. This is exactly what the enemy wants: a Kurdistan without its people.
5. Shift the battle from Kurdish soil to the enemy's land and capitals, targeting their funding centers. Ending the occupation of Kurdistan requires exhausting the

enemy both materially and morally. This shift needs no more than ten heroic Peshmerga, because attack is the best form of defense—to crush the enemy militarily and economically.

6. The occupying entities will start screaming for help, begging for intervention so their people can live in peace and safety.
7. The blessed uprising's response: No peace, no negotiations with any party until the last soldier of occupation leaves the sacred land of Kurdistan.
8. Adopt a policy of treating the occupying entities as enemy states that have stolen Kurdistan, plundered its resources, and enslaved the Kurdish people. The Kurdish people cannot achieve victory until they hate the enemy, not fraternize and normalize relations with them.
9. Pursue a policy that tears apart the borders of the occupying entities—borders drawn at the expense of Kurdish freedom and independence through colonial conspiracies in the early 20th century.
10. The Kurdish liberation movement must change its strategy as outlined above. If it does not, it is not a liberation movement but a surrendering one, complicit with the occupying entities in the slow death of the Kurdish people and the erosion of their national, social, cultural, political, and economic existence.

11. The Kurdish people need real change. The ongoing genocide, occupation of Kurdistan, humiliation of Kurds simply for being Kurdish, denial of their existence, falsification of their history, and repression by the occupying entities (Syria, Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and the former Soviet Union) must end.
12. Boycott the economies of the occupying entities—refuse to trade with them or purchase their goods.
13. Encourage corruption within the societies of the occupying entities and combat their honorable figures—sabotaging their societies just as they have done to the Kurds for decades.
14. Our enemies are many, so we must establish a secret Kurdish organization spanning all regions of Kurdistan to strike the enemy's economy, which funds their armies with billions.
15. The mafia of major powers and occupying entities agree on one thing: Kurds must not have economic support. Thus, we must create a Kurdish national fund to aid the families of detainees and displaced persons, with additional strategic benefits.
16. Despite their conflicts, the occupying entities unite against any Kurdish movement—even those advocating only for human rights and democracy. The Kurdish people must also unite and not allow the enemy to exploit their divisions.
17. Reach out to all who care about the Kurds, informing them that the Kurds are a people with a homeland

called Kurdistan, which must become an independent state. The idea of independence must never leave our minds.

18. It is not shameful that the enemy occupied our land while we were unaware, but the ultimate shame is letting them leave unharmed.

Restoring justice can only happen through Kurdistan's independence from these barbaric occupying states. However, independence and the declaration of a Kurdish state cannot be achieved by merely bearing arms without an official proclamation. Fighting without declaring a state is nothing but mercenary work—a cycle of empty protests, condemnation letters, and ineffective demonstrations, as seen in the weak self-defense efforts of current Kurdish partisan leadership.

2. Building a National Liberation Strategy:

1. **Rewriting Kurdish History and Purging It of Falsification**
It is impossible to build a future on a history filled with lies and myths. The Kurdish historical narrative must be rewritten, cleansed of distortions, and restored to its true form.

2. **Exposing the Lies of Kurdish Party Leaderships**
The claim that each Kurdish region has its own unique characteristics is false. In reality, there are no such distinctions—only commonalities that unite the entire Kurdish people:

- All Kurds aspire to the independence of Kurdistan.
- All Kurds face the same reality: they are an enslaved people, and their homeland is occupied.
- All Kurds confront Arabization, Turkification, and Persianization.
- All Kurds suffer from racial discrimination, genocide, and forced displacement.
- The source of aggression against the Kurdish people is the same: the occupying entities that control Kurdistan.
- The source of deceit and hypocrisy is the same: the Kurdish party leaders who claim to represent Kurds but reject the idea of an independent Kurdistan.

3. Establishing a Kurdistan Liberation Movement on a National Level

We must reject regionalism, tribalism, and partisan divisions, and instead build a unified national liberation movement.

4. Clearly Identifying the Enemies of the Kurdish People

The enemies are the occupying entities—Syria, Turkey, Iraq, and Iran—along with anyone who supports them.

5. Clearly Identifying the Friends of the Kurdish People

Friends are those who oppose the occupying entities of Kurdistan.

We have delayed for too long, but today is the best time to start building the Kurdish liberation movement—better

today than tomorrow. What is possible today may not be possible tomorrow.

The Hypocrisy of the Occupiers' Agents

The collaborators of the occupying regimes cynically claim that the alternative plan would lead to a devastating war—as if the Kurdish people are currently living in peace, stability, and prosperity, untouched by destruction. Let them perish, along with their rotten and disgusting philosophy.

Has there been anything worse than chemical and phosphorus weapons? Yet our people resisted them heroically. Unfortunately, their resistance only prolonged the survival of the corrupt Kurdish party leaderships—not for the freedom of the Kurdish people or the independence of Kurdistan.

However, there is great hope in the heroic Kurdish people, who will rise in an uprising to establish an independent Kurdish state.

On the Concept of "State"

The International Political Science Association's conference in Rio de Janeiro (1982) was one of the most important gatherings regarding the definition of a state. Most sociologists, political scientists, and economists agreed that every nation must have its own state.

Unions and partnerships can only exist among free peoples—never between masters and slaves. Any so-

called "union" between them is built on oppression and injustice. Worse yet, over time, the slaves often do not even realize they are enslaved—just like the Kurdish people today. Despite all forms of colonialism, occupation, and exploitation by the occupying regimes, some Kurds believe they are free simply because they have a plate of kebab or dolma in front of them.

Without a Kurdish state, true coexistence between the Kurds and other Middle Eastern peoples is impossible. Any so-called "coexistence" without a Kurdish state is a fraud—a deception meant to deny the Kurdish people their natural development as individuals, as a society, and as a state.

The Need for a New Kurdish National Approach

Amidst partisan conflicts, political regression, and regional isolation, we—the free people of Kurdistan—must rethink and reformulate the Kurdish national strategy.

On the occasion of the 6th Kurdistan National Congress in London (April 18, 2009) and the 50th anniversary of KAJYK (The Association for Kurdish Freedom, Revival, and Unity), we recall the pioneering thinkers of the Kurdish liberation movement.

KAJYK was founded in Sulaymaniyah (South Kurdistan) on April 14, 1959, by seven visionary leaders:

Jemal Nebez, Ahmed Hardi, Kamil Zheer, Faridun Ali Amin,
Abdullah Jawhar, Ihsan Fuad and Fayege Arif

The Legacy of KAJYK

KAJYK rekindled the hope that was nearly extinguished. Its ideology represents:

The Kurdish nation's aspiration for independence.

The freedom of the Kurdish people.

The establishment of social justice in Kurdish society.

In short, KAJYK's thought is the foundation of the Kurdish national liberation movement. It embodies Kurdish awakening and Kurdish conscience.

KAJYK's influence extended beyond its members—many Kurdish organizations adopted its principles, including:

The Kurdistan National Democratic Union

The Kurdistan Independence Party

PASOK

The Kurdistan National Congress

Even the Komala Party and the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) were initially influenced by KAJYK's ideology.

KAJYK's Uncompromising Stance on Freedom

KAJYK does not accept partial freedom—a person is either free or not. I joined KAJYK because it advocates for what I have long believed in.

For the first time in modern Kurdish history, KAJYK framed the independence of Kurdistan in an organized,

intellectual, and ideological framework—to build and preserve a Kurdish state.

The Unwavering Commitment of KAJYK Members

Even those who later joined the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), or other parties remained loyal to KAJYK's ideals. Political corruption and nationalist deviations in those parties did not sway them.

For example: The dear Lieutenant Omar, who received the KAJYKi national education early on, which became ingrained in his blood, thoughts, and consciousness... And when Lieutenant Omar submitted his resignation from his position as head of the military office in the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), he sent me a copy of the resignation letter he addressed to Mam Jalal Talabani, the Secretary-General of the PUK. In his resignation, he stated the following: "I do not regret my struggle within the PUK, and I am proud to be a KAJYKi"... This statement reminded me of the words of the dear General Mansour Al-Hafid when I visited South Kurdistan in 2009. At the time, he was serving as the head of the PUK's security apparatus in Kirkuk and provided me with an armored, bulletproof vehicle to transport me and my wife from Erbil to Sulaymaniyah. So, I said to Brother Mansour, "If Mam Jalal finds out about this, it will cause problems between you and him, especially since I publicly criticize political

parties..." Brother Mansour replied, "Mam Jalal knows that I was your comrade before I took this position."

Moreover, the stances of our dear comrades in other parties, or those who are not affiliated with any party, after KAJYK suspended its activities, remain at the same level as those of our dear comrades Mansour and Lieutenant Omar in their moral and intellectual commitment to their comrades—the comrades of Kurdish national thought.

The End of Some Movements, But Not Their Ideals:

- The JK Party merged with the Kurdistan Democratic Party-Iran (1946).
- KAJYK suspended its activities (1974).
- PASOK merged with the Kurdish Socialist Party-Iraq (1992).

Yet, KAJYK's ideology still shines and will continue to guide the free people of Kurdistan until independence is achieved.

The only way to preserve a future Kurdish state is through the KAJYK path—the path of true liberation.

Below are the images of the seven pioneers who laid the foundation of KAJYK—a legacy we proudly uphold.



جەمال نەبەز



نەحمەد ھەردی



کامیل زێر



فایەق عارف



فەرەیدون عەلی نەمین



ئێحسان فوناد



عەبدولڵا جەوھەر

دامەزرێنەرانی کۆتیک ١٤/٤/١٩٥٩

3. The Kurdish National Charter

The alternative plan adopted the Kurdish National Charter, as decided by the Third National Congress of Kurdistan in Paris on 18-19 September 1996. Below is the full text of the charter:

We have decided to adhere to the provisions of the Kurdish National Charter in both form and substance. Anyone who violates any of its clauses shall be considered as opposing the will of the Kurdish people and an enemy of Kurdish freedom and the independence of Kurdistan:

1. The Kurdish People: Numbering over 60 million, they consist of a Kurdish majority and other ethnic minorities. The Kurdish people possess a civilization and history spanning thousands of years in their homeland, Kurdistan.
2. Kurdistan: The homeland of the Kurdish people and their brotherly minorities, covering approximately 750,000 square kilometers. It lies between longitudes 35-55 and latitudes 34-40, stretching from the Strait of Hormuz in the east to the Mediterranean Sea in the west, and up to the Caucasus in the north, as described in Sharafnama by Prince Sharaf Khan Bidlisi.
3. International Treaties: The Kurdish people reject the current international borders that unjustly divided Kurdistan among regional states without their consent. This rejection is legal because the Kurdish people or their representatives never signed any such treaties. The Kurdish people have the right to self-determination based on freedom and equality, exercised freely to achieve liberation.
4. The Flag of Kurdistan: Red on top, followed by white, then green, with a bright yellow sun on the white stripe. This flag was presented by General Sharif Pasha in his memorandum on Kurdish independence at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference after World War I, leading to the Treaty of Sèvres.
5. The Kurdish National Anthem: "Ey Reqîb" (Oh history), the anthem of the 1946 Republic of Kurdistan.

6. Kurdish Blood, Wealth, and Dignity: Sacred and inviolable, they must never be squandered.
7. Thought, Belief, Religion, and Individual Freedom: Must be respected and never violated.
8. National Security of the Kurdish People: Takes precedence in all matters, including relations with regional and international parties, especially the states occupying Kurdistan.
9. The National Congress of Kurdistan must establish laws to protect rights and duties at all levels, including laws on political parties, organizations, unions, tribes, and religious groups.
10. Forming a Unified Core: Efforts must be made to unify Kurdish media, political, economic, and military forces to build a liberation movement—the true means to free Kurdistan. Only through unity can we earn the respect and trust of our people and the world.

4. The Kurdish State in Exile

The establishment of a Kurdish state is the cornerstone of security, stability, and peace in the region, fostering connections with all nations. Our state will champion peace, tolerance, and prosperity in the troubled Middle East.

Despite ongoing occupation, forced assimilation (Arabization, Turkification, Persianization), economic blockades, and military invasions, the National Congress

of Kurdistan has made tangible progress in building institutions for a Kurdish state in exile.

Recognizing our people's aspiration for a free and dignified life under national independence, we must strive with all our might to fulfill their unwavering desire for an independent Kurdish state. Thus, Kurdistan in Exile works tirelessly—despite all obstacles—to complete the construction of state institutions in preparation for actual establishment in Kurdistan. The following steps must be taken:

1. The colonial, military, economic, and cultural occupation by Syria, Iraq, Turkey, Iran, and Azerbaijan must end. The Kurdish people deserve security, safety, freedom, and independence.
2. The Kurdish State in Exile, endorsed by the National Congress, calls upon all Kurds—political factions, civil organizations, and diverse communities—to unite for the establishment of a Kurdish state across all of Kurdistan.
3. We urge all Kurds to cooperate in building state institutions based on human rights, equality, and justice, without discrimination.
4. We must show the world the determination of free Kurds to remain in their homeland and end the occupation.
5. The world must listen to how: Turkish, Iranian, Iraqi, Syrian, and Azerbaijani occupation is the only obstacle to Kurdish stability, prosperity, and freedom.

6. The world must also realize that we can no longer endure living under the yoke of vile occupation and usurpation, which not only violate the principles of international law but also transgress the foundations of divine justice and human dignity. We aspire to live in peace, achieve prosperity for our people, and bring stability to the region.
7. We also seek justice, which will only be achieved when our people obtain their legitimate national and ethnic rights to self-determination and establish their Kurdish state. The Government of Kurdistan in Exile is determined to move forward with the process of establishing a Kurdish state across all of Kurdistan, despite the oppressive local, regional, and international policies our people endure.

When the Turkish army occupied Afrin in Western Kurdistan, Turkish warplanes bombed villages in Southern Kurdistan, specifically the Balakayati region—a historic stronghold of the Kurdish revolution in the 1960s and 1970s—under the pretext of targeting PKK forces. If the Turkish military truly wanted to fight the PKK, they would do so in Turkey itself, where the PKK operates. Instead, this operation aims to dismantle the Kurdistan Regional Government after crushing the autonomous administration in Afrin.

Only fools refuse to aid their brothers, for I am certain that if Kurdish forces had been united, neither the Iraqi army could have occupied Kirkuk on October 16, 2017,

nor the Turkish army could have seized Afrin on March 19, 2018, and Balakayati. The cycle continues as the Iraqi and Turkish armies take turns attacking Kurdish self-governing and federal administrations. But beyond these governments lies the forgotten authority—the power of the Kurdish people, who represent the silent majority.

Thus, I call upon the Kurdish people, who have the most at stake in the victory of an independent Kurdistan, to raise their voices—not just in slogans but in decisive action for their freedom and the independence of their homeland, Kurdistan. This can be achieved through the following steps:

1. Boycott goods produced by entities occupying Kurdistan and instead support Kurdish agricultural and industrial products, building a self-sufficient Kurdish economy.
2. Reject any region or party advocating coexistence with the murderers and criminals occupying Kurdistan.
3. Boycott all nations—big and small—that supply weapons and conditional funding to Kurdish authorities, who are ensuring Kurdistan remains within the borders of occupying entities. These nations seek to eliminate the Kurdish people through colonialist, deceitful warfare, bribing Kurds with fake smiles and hollow greetings distributed to naïve Kurdish party leaders.

4. Our people have suffered these fake smiles and hollow greetings time and again—from the old Ottomans and Safavids to their modern successors, from Mustafa Kemal to Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, from the Shah of Iran to Khomeini. Not to mention the British mandate in Iraq and the French mandate in Syria, along with their puppet rulers from monarchies to republics, until the rise of the Ba'ath regimes in Iraq and Syria.

Therefore, I believe the scenario of fake smiles and hollow greetings will repeat itself. The heroic Kurdish people have no choice but to determine their own destiny and not leave it in anyone else's hands. They must begin the aforementioned boycott, for a united Kurdish boycott will force Kurdish regions and parties to reconsider their flawed policies, which have repeatedly led to collapses—each followed by genocidal campaigns by the occupying powers. From the massacre of Dimdim Castle in Eastern Kurdistan to Dersim and Zilan Valley in Northern Kurdistan, from the burning of Kurdish children in Amouda Cinema in Western Kurdistan to the chemical attacks on Halabja and the Anfal genocide—the list of atrocities is endless.

If Kurdish party leaders and their armed forces truly wish to support the Kurdish people in this boycott, they must refrain from military operations inside Kurdistan, as these

only result in the deaths of Kurds and the destruction of their villages. Instead, the war must be taken to the enemy's homeland—targeting major cities, critical industrial, commercial, and tourist sites, banks, stock exchanges, oil and gas pipelines, and military supply routes. These are the sources of billions in revenue that the enemy uses to buy weapons and sustain the occupation of Kurdistan.

O my great Kurdish people, the boycott is a form of war—one that Mahatma Gandhi waged and won, liberating India.

5. Genghis Khan the Kurd

From his childhood until his youth, the Mongol Genghis Khan was a prisoner. When he managed to escape, he began uniting the Mongol tribes around him and eventually established an empire that ruled the world for nearly two centuries. Mongolia remained under the rule of his descendants for over five centuries.

Genghis Khan's empire stretched from the borders of Finland, Russia, and Central Europe to Japan, Cambodia, China, India, and most of Asia—despite Mongolia's population at the time not exceeding 300,000 people. Yet, they ruled over nations numbering more than 100 million. The secret behind the immense power of Genghis Khan's empire was that, first and foremost, he eliminated traitors, collaborators, and corrupt individuals within his

own people. Only then did he set out to conquer the world.

The Mongol people do not consider Genghis Khan a bloodthirsty tyrant but rather a national hero, a great figure, and a symbol of their identity. Genghis Khan, the founder of the largest empire in history, innovated the short Mongol bow, which was far more effective than the European longbow of that era. The Mongol bow had greater penetration power, longer range, and superior flexibility when fired from horseback in any direction—unlike the cumbersome European longbow, which was impractical for mounted archers.

Genghis Khan also introduced advanced military technology, such as catapults for smashing walls or launching incendiary projectiles to break enemy formations. He left no aspect of military or civilian life unexamined to protect his people and soldiers. For example, he had his soldiers wear silk beneath their armor, discovering that while arrows could pierce thick leather armor, silk would wrap around the arrowhead, reducing fatal penetration and allowing soldiers to continue fighting.

Yes, Genghis Khan executed traitors and those who incited discord, but his victims were less than 1% of those who would have died in the endless internal conflicts that plagued Mongolia before his rise. Without him, Mongolia would have remained fragmented, much like the Kurdish

political parties today—over a hundred fabricated parties, organizations, and factions—all serving the occupiers of Kurdistan, whose primary goal is to keep the Kurdish people distracted from independence through perpetual infighting.

Today, Mongolia honors Genghis Khan in nearly everything—the international airport, universities, hotels, and even currency bear his name. In 2008, a massive statue of Genghis Khan on horseback was erected on the banks of the Tuul River, 54 km east of Ulaanbaatar. Standing 40 meters tall and weighing 250 tons of stainless steel, the statue marks the legendary spot where he found his golden whip. Tourists visit to admire the monument, enjoy traditional Mongolian cuisine, and take in the panoramic views from the horse's head.



We Kurds today desperately need a Kurdish Genghis Khan—not to conquer the world, but to secure the independence of Kurdistan.

Ah, Kurdistan... Ah, Kurdistan... A thousand times, ah, for our beloved Kurdistan, whose heart bleeds from the endless tragedies inflicted upon our people by the bloodthirsty artificial entities occupying it. Were it not for the traitors, collaborators, corrupt figures, and spy officers within Kurdish partisan leadership, our disasters would not have reached this horrifying scale—continuing to this day in Kirkuk, Khanaqin, Mandali, Shengal, Kobani, Afrin, Serikaniye, and Gire Spi, with our people being slaughtered and displaced by all manner of deadly weapons.

Many Kurdish partisan leaders, displeased by my words, claim Genghis Khan was a bloodthirsty tyrant. But I ask them: Why do you not protest the millions of Kurds killed by the Turkish, Arab, and Persian occupiers? Why do you not strive for Kurdish freedom and independence to protect Kurdish blood?

Many Arabs, untouched by the Arab Spring, rejoiced at the crises in Syria, Yemen, Egypt, Libya, and Tunisia—until their own collapse became inevitable. Similarly, many Kurds celebrated the Iraqi army's occupation of Kirkuk, even aiding them—only to later face displacement and slaughter. The same happened in Afrin under Turkish occupation, with some Kurds actively collaborating.

The peoples of the Middle East have failed to learn from history. If they understood that the downfall of one would lead to the collapse of all, they would realize that the region is like a single ship—drilling a hole in one cabin sinks the entire vessel.

The lesson is clear: Do not kill those among you who resist and endure, lest the dogs devour you.

The Need for a Just Kurdish Dictator

The endless Kurdish infighting, ongoing since the last century, proves that we need a just Kurdish dictator—much like Bismarck for Germany, Garibaldi for Italy, or Muhammad Ali Pasha for Egypt, who ended the Mamluk chaos by executing their leaders in one stroke. Similarly, the Mongol tribes knew nothing but fighting until Genghis Khan united them into an empire that lasted centuries.

I recall a Kurdish partisan who once attacked me for criticizing the warring Kurdish leadership. I told him: "I have killed no one—I only say 'enough fighting!' If you have any honor, direct your anger at those killing Kurdish youth, not at me."

Response to Hisham Akreyi

Hisham Akreyi commented:

"What Kurds take pride in is that they have never beheaded or slaughtered like Genghis Khan and other

savage invaders. How great you are, a people who, despite occupation, maintained balance and noble morals even against their occupiers."

My reply:

"Dear Hisham, I too oppose violence and bloodshed. But do you not care about stopping the killing of Kurds and the violation of our women in Shengal, Kirkuk, Afrin, Halabja, and the Anfal campaigns? We smile at our killers after every genocide and pride ourselves on our morals—this is not balance, but sheer stupidity. A heart too kind becomes a disease.

The Kurdish people are among the greatest in sacrifice, and the Peshmerga are brave warriors—but they lack a leader like Genghis Khan to stop the slaughter. If you have a better solution, present it. Corruption is devouring our nation—today, we have billionaires while others starve. The Roman Empire fell not to military defeat but to corruption, where emperors were sold to the highest bidder.

I hope Kurdish intellectuals do not mirror the failed partisan leaders who have succeeded only in implementing the occupiers' racist schemes. Why don't these leaders resign after their revolutions fail? Because after every disaster, they receive medals from the occupiers—they see Kurdish suffering as their victory."

Those who remained silent or participated in the occupation and displacement of our people in Afrin, Kirkuk, Khanaqin, Serikaniye, and Shengal need no alternative plan. But if the Kurdish people do not rise up now, they will face horrors worse than the chemical weapons used in Halabja and Serikaniye.

The first strategic principle for Kurdish independence is to treat the occupiers by divine law: An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. Instead of waiting for death to come to our youth, let us take the fight to the enemy. If even 1% of our youth rise, it will be enough to teach these cowardly criminals a lesson they will never forget—and force them out of our land, Kurdistan, forever.

My Struggle and Nationalist Positions for the Independence of Kurdistan

Among the activities that my comrades and I carried out until 1961, when we were around twelve years old:

1. Founding Kurdistan Independence Association

In 1958, I was in the fifth grade at King Al-Adel School in the Kurdish neighborhood of Damascus. I was barely twelve years old when my cousin, Professor Izz al-Din Mella (the school principal), was beaten over issues related to providing better services for poor students, most of whom were Kurds. This incident intensified my Kurdish nationalist feelings, as well as those of the Kurdish students who stood in solidarity with Professor Izz al-Din. Seizing the opportunity, I called on the Kurdish students I knew from all grades to gather in the orchards near the Kurdish neighborhood. Around twenty students attended, and we decided to establish the "Association for the Independence of Kurdistan," abbreviated as Komele. I was elected as its leader. We adopted the association's program from the publications of the Khoybun Party and the works of Prince Jaladet Badr Khan, which called for the unification and liberation of Kurdistan.

Expanding Our Organization

In 1961, we contacted Kurds in all neighborhoods of Damascus and expanded to nearby villages. We also established connections with Kurds in the villages of Hauran, Golan, Homs, and Hama. We did not reach out to Kurds in Afrin and Al-Jazira because hundreds of them already lived in the Kurdish neighborhood of Damascus, and we were in daily contact with them.

Spreading Nationalist Awareness

We did not let any Kurd pass through Damascus without discussing the political future of the Kurds—primarily the independence of Kurdistan. Even Kurds coming from Kurdistan to perform Hajj—we would wait for them near the shrines and mosques they usually visited in Damascus, such as the shrine of Sheikh Khalid Naqshbandi (the Naqshbandi Sufi master) and the Ayyubid shrine "Baba Pambo." My comrades and I would distribute pamphlets that we had typed on carbon paper throughout the year. We made sure no pilgrim left without being politically educated. This task allowed us to meet Kurds from all parts of Kurdistan who were studying Islamic law and other subjects in Damascus' specialized schools and colleges. We successfully organized most of them for the liberation of Kurdistan.

Countering Anti-Kurdish Propaganda

We frequented libraries and monitored newspapers, especially Lebanese ones, searching for any books or news about Kurds. If we found anything, we would gather in groups of ten and take necessary action. If the news was positive, we sent congratulatory messages; if negative, we were ready to confront it. For example:

- When the American film "The Guns of Navarone" was screened at Al-Fardous Cinema in Damascus, it contained a scene insulting Kurds (portraying a spy as Kurdish). Dozens of us gathered at the cinema entrance and demanded to see the manager. When he arrived, I told him the scene must be cut because it insulted us as Kurds. He dismissed my request, so I gave a prearranged signal. Five young men behind me immediately unbuttoned their jackets, revealing chains wrapped around their waists. The manager's eyes bulged, and he stammered, "Of course, of course, I'll cut the entire scene!" I thanked him, gave another signal, and the young men vanished instantly, dispersing in all directions to avoid pursuit.
- Once, we entered Dar Al-Fikr bookstore in the Hijaz district of Damascus, which was selling an Arabic translation of the Kurdish love story "Mem û Zîn"—plagiarized by a Jordanian author (whose name I don't recall). I demanded the store manager stop selling it and force the author to issue a public apology. When

he saw the chains, he quickly agreed: "Of course, I'll stop selling it and relay your message to the author."

Printing and Distributing Leaflets

Printing and distributing leaflets was our most thrilling and exciting activity. My comrades and I in the Kurdish neighborhood of Damascus printed pamphlets calling for the independence of Kurdistan, inspired by the Khoybun Party's publications and books from my father's library, which I devoured.

In the winter of 1960, I decided to distribute leaflets to all the homes in the Kurdish neighborhood to raise national awareness and advocate for the independence of Kurdistan. I went to Ramy Alley in downtown Damascus, famous for its typewriter rental and training shops, and enrolled in a course to learn typing. When the course ended, I asked the instructor to rent me a typewriter so I could practice at home. He told me that my father or older brother would have to rent it instead, as the law did not allow them to rent typewriters to someone my age. So, I went home and convinced my older brother, Ziad, to rent the typewriter in his name.

At home, I began secretly printing the leaflets without anyone knowing, using carbon paper. Each time I typed a leaflet, multiple copies were produced underneath. A single sheet could yield several leaflets, and by the time I

finished typing one page, I would have five copies. Since each page contained five leaflets, removing the carbon paper and cutting them gave me 25 leaflets per page.

By the summer school break of 1961, I had finished writing several thousand leaflets. I then called upon my closest comrades, Qusay Al-Rashi and Ismat Barazi, and together we distributed the statements.

Ismat Barazi was a Kurdish nationalist of the highest caliber—exceptionally brave and physically strong, always ready to join any battle. Whenever I gave him instructions for a new mission, he would listen eagerly and carry them out with utmost precision.

Qusay Al-Rashi was also a first-class Kurdish nationalist. Though quiet and extremely cautious, he never hesitated to carry out the tasks I assigned him.

Ismat and Qusay were comrades I relied on deeply, complementing each other in courage and caution. Their qualities were a great asset to our struggle, for courage and caution cannot be separated—caution is not fear, as fear prevents one from fighting, whereas caution is calculated bravery.

I mention Ismat and Qusay by name because they were martyred—may God have mercy on them and grant

them paradise. The Syrian intelligence assassinated the beloved Ismat Barazi with gunfire in 1973 while he was serving his mandatory military service in the Syrian army. Later, the Syrian intelligence also assassinated the dear Qusay Al-Rashi under circumstances that remain unclear.

Ismat and Qusay were among the first heroes who fought alongside me, and their memory will forever be engraved in my mind and heart.



Qusay Al-Rashi



Ismat Barazi

Returning to the Pamphlet Distribution Mission
I returned to the task of distributing the manifesto. I had arranged with Ismat and Qusay to meet at midnight that day, and we began distributing the pamphlets house by house, alley by alley, in the Kurdish neighborhood—sliding them under doors, starting from Shamdin Agha

Square through Arafat Alley all the way to the First Wanli Alley at the end of the district...

I remember we encountered a man in the Third Wanli Alley who noticed us walking and stopping at every door without knocking, which made him suspicious. He approached me and asked, "Is there a problem?" Immediately and without hesitation, I replied, "We're looking for the house of Abu Muhammad Wanli." By coincidence, he said, "I am Abu Muhammad Wanli." I leaned closer to his face and said, "No, the Abu Muhammad Wanli we're looking for is an elderly man, not a young man like you." He replied, "Sorry, I don't know him. Goodbye."

That minute of unexpected dialogue was tense—our pockets were stuffed with pamphlets—but we held our ground, confident as if we truly were searching for Abu Muhammad Wanli... We continued distributing until the last house in the neighborhood, and the final pamphlet was gone. Afterward, each of us went home, agreeing never to reveal our mission to anyone.

The Aftermath

The day after the distribution, the Kurdish neighborhood swarmed with Syrian intelligence vehicles, tension thick in the air as if World War III had been declared. The Syrian regime expected an armed clash with the group behind

the manifesto demanding the liberation of Kurdistan—but they found nothing. Their forces eventually scaled back, but the atmosphere remained charged, as if they were waiting for the next move from the "Liberation of Kurdistan" pamphleteers.

Days later, some comrades learned of our daring act. Some, perhaps to ease their nerves (or unsettle ours), jokingly called us “Jews of Khaybar”—a reference to our secrecy. Others even turned it into a song, beginning with: “On a warm summer night...”—a nod to the pamphlet distribution. What excited me most was that while many comrades knew of our mission, Syrian intelligence remained completely unaware... This strengthened our trust in one another like never before.

Syrian intelligence sensed a strong Kurdish movement but had no evidence against anyone. I followed clandestine methods: when we gathered in alley corners to discuss matters, and an outsider greeted us, comrades would instantly shift the conversation to social, cultural, or school topics. Others patrolled the Kurdish neighborhood like a military watch, unnoticed. There were many good potential recruits around us, but I refused to organize them—they were the type who couldn’t keep secrets.

A Request to Surviving Comrades

I ask the comrades who are still alive to share other actions we carried out during that time and help me remember them—there were so many, executed daily. In Damascus, we were constantly active, building our networks, holding meetings, deciding on missions, and carrying them out without hesitation or delay.

Below is my photo (I was around 16 years old) with the dear Adel Wanli (Abu Slaf) and Yasin Al-Rashi—may God have mercy on them both.



From left: Jawad Mella, Adel Wanli and Yassin Ala-Rashi.

2. My Meeting with Apo Osman Sabri, Joining the Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria, and My Arrest by Syrian Intelligence

In 1961, I had my first meeting with Apo Osman Sabri after his release from prison. In 1964, he asked me to join the Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria.

On February 3, 1967, at 4 a.m., Syrian intelligence violently knocked on our door—this was because I had distributed leaflets calling for a general strike in protest of the Arab Belt policy. My father opened the door and asked what they wanted. They replied, "We are security officers, and your son Jawad is needed for questioning. We will return him in an hour." However, my detention lasted until March 15. Their interrogation focused on my membership in the party, but following party instructions, I had to deny any affiliation. Because of this, I was brutally tortured—beaten all over my body. I only resisted the first blow but later regretted it because their beating became even harsher.

The struggle, writings, and words of Apo Osman Sabri will forever remain a guiding light for fighters seeking the independence of Kurdistan.

The details of this period are in Part Three of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

On 15 January 1968, I received a very beautiful gift from Uncle Osman Sabri, a collection of his poems while he was

under house arrest in the city of Al-Suwayda. They were under the following titles: Nowruz, The Old Man's Awakening, The Supreme Leader, The Awakening, and other old poems which he had rewritten in his own handwriting, all with old dates except for one poem titled "The Little Kurd" which bore the date January 15, 1968, meaning he composed and wrote it while under house arrest in Al-Suwayda. Yes, I was about 22 years old, but I was very thin, and so Uncle Osman called me the Little Kurd.

At the beginning of the poem, Uncle Osman wrote:

"I am a little Kurd, I want to become a revolutionary fighter

To liberate my homeland, and on this path, I sacrifice my soul for it"

And at the end of the poem, he wrote:

"And when I grow a little, I can offer much to my homeland

My goal is freedom, confidence, and faith in God Almighty
And by His will, in the coming years, Kurdistan will be liberated."

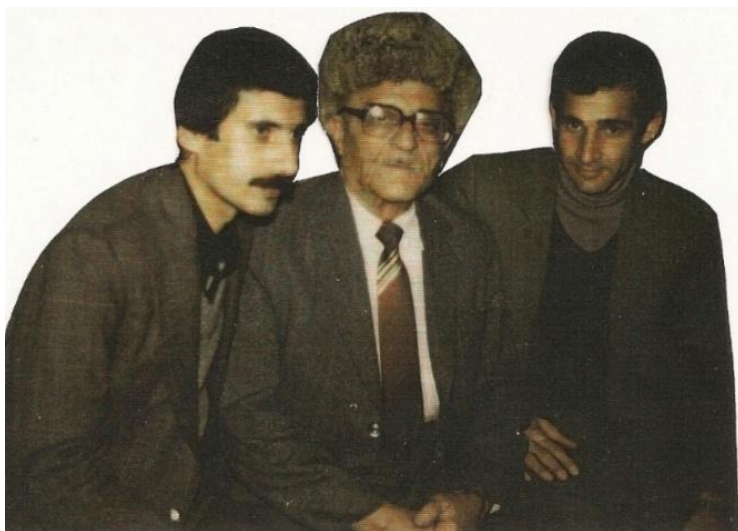
Below is Uncle Osman's gift to me, the poem "The Little Kurd" which he wrote in his own hand:

Kurdê Piçûk

Ez kurdekî piçûkim divêt bibim şîrêşvan
Welatê xwe azakim di wê rê de bidim can
Gelê minê bextereş birîndar bû weke şêr
Li wana wî sipartin destên hinek gel semêr
Wan kesana xwe fîrot bi nîşan û meşan
Serdariya gelê Kurd keti bû destê paşan
Ji lew re em daketin gelek bindest û reben
Wekî şêrê birîndar ji rovi re dibe ken
Lê gor sipas bo qezdan gelê me dibe hişyar
Nê wek berê xeware tê radibin hin serdar
Di qada şerî jêhatî dijminê xwe revandin
Li pêşberî cîhanê çavên wan baş şikandin
Dîvê serdestiya han îro serê min bilind
Teqez ji bo me dê bêt pêşendeyek genc û rind
Ji bona rojek welê xwe pêktînim bêguman
Da hilgirim tîfîngê biçim nik şêrê Barzan
Dema çîçkî mezinbim gelek tiştan dikanim
Herçiya kirin divê di îro de dizanim
Armanca me serxwebûn min bawerî bi qezdan
Di nava van çend salan divê çêbit Kurdistan.

Ever since I received this poem, especially when I face any problem, I read Uncle Osman's poem "The Little Kurd," which has been, and still is, urging me to resist and continue the struggle for the independence of Kurdistan. It is worth mentioning that Uncle Osman Sabri was the

head of the Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria, which aimed for cultural, social, and political rights in Syria. However, Uncle Osman Sabri always and forever demanded the independence of Greater Kurdistan, even while in prison or under house arrest. He would not trade the party's goals for a single penny of amputated rights and fake democracy, while the Kurdish people suffer occupation and genocide. In this, he was like the classic Kurdish leaders: the King of Kurdistan Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji, the President of the Republic of Kurdistan in Ararat, General Ihsan Nuri, the President of the Republic of Kurdistan in Mahabad, Qazi Muhammad, and others. The details of this stage are in the third part of my book "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."



In 1980 - in the centre is Uncle Osman Sabri, and I was on his right, and Muhammad Mokhtar Bolad, one of the leadership members of the Kawa Party from North Kurdistan, was on his left.

3. My Meeting with Professor Jemal Nebez and Joining the KAJYK Party

On 10-11-1969, I arrived in Germany and met Hamrash Rasho in West Berlin, as recommended by Apo Osman Sabri. I carried with me a small notebook containing his words on struggle, nationalism, party ideology, culture, and other topics. Every note and word were written after hours or even days of discussion, so I consider them part of My Autobiography since I heard them directly from him

and recorded them in his presence. These ideas deeply influenced my militant life, both in theory and practice.

On 15-11-1969, at Hamrash Rasho's home, I met Dr. Jemal Nebez, who spoke about the struggle for Kurdistan's independence. From that moment, I felt I had found what I was searching for. I asked for his phone number, and our meetings continued. He spoke at length about KAJYK, its national liberation ideology, and its program. Through him, I joined KAJYK, and he gave me their manifesto, internal regulations, and publications, including the KAJYKnameh. KAJYK framed the Kurdish liberation movement within an ideological framework.

Just by reading KAJYK's noble nationalist ideas—which I had adored since childhood—I realized I had unknowingly advocated for them publicly while still a member of the Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria (1964-1968). From the moment I read KAJYK's program until today, I have never doubted my absolute belief in its principles: national liberation and the establishment of a Kurdish state.

The details of this period are in Part Three of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 10-8-1970, I left Berlin for Beirut, making it the center of all my activities.

On 21-3-1971, I opened a Kurdish language course for Kurdish youth in Beirut under the name "Kurdistan School." I convinced the management of the Al-Arz Sports Club (a Kurdish club run by Kurds from Beirut) to let me use one of its halls for teaching. The Lebanese press covered the school, publishing news and articles about it.

4. Attending the Kurdistan Students' Conference and My Meeting with General Mustafa Barzani

In early 1972, Adel Murad, head of the Kurdistan Students' Union (Iraq), came to Beirut and invited me (as head of the National Union of Kurdish Students in Syria) and Comrade Khaled Milli (head of the Kurdish Students' Union in Lebanon) to attend their general conference in Sulaymaniyah in April 1972. I accepted, flying from Beirut to Baghdad, while Khaled Milli sent Comrade Ghazi Farho in his place.

In Baghdad, Adel Murad welcomed me at the airport in the VIP lounge reserved for government delegations. I delivered a speech at the conference, which was met with admiration and applause.

On the third evening, Comrade Fereydon Abdul Qadir told me: "The KAJYK comrades are waiting for you tonight." I asked, "Are you KAJYK or Parthian (KDP)?" He replied, "I am KAJYK, and we participate in the revolution.

I follow orders." I was surprised—did KAJYK have an open headquarters? He said, "No, it's secret, so I can't accompany you. But when you leave the Hotel Salam at 7 p.m., you will see a young man holding a red rosary. Follow him."

I did as instruct and met Mizhda Tahir, who took me to the KAJYK meeting. There, I saw Comrade Kamil Zheer, whom I had met before in Berlin. This was my first meeting with KAJYK comrades in Southern Kurdistan, and I was overjoyed. Though I had joined KAJYK in 1969 under Dr. Jemal Nebez and led its organization in Western and Northern Kurdistan, this meeting formally linked the organizational chain between South, West, and North Kurdistan. Kamil Zheer emphasized organizational secrecy and discipline.

After the meeting, I returned to the Hotel Salam to continue the conference.

During the conference, a telegram arrived from General Mustafa Barzani's headquarters, stating that President Barzani wanted to meet the leaders of Kurdish student organizations from outside Southern Kurdistan.

Adel Murad informed me, Ghazi Farho (representing Lebanese Kurdish students), and Tariq Aqrawi (head of the Kurdish Students' Association in Europe). Some representatives from Eastern and Northern Kurdistan did not join us—some said they were residents of Southern

Kurdistan, others feared exposure. I was unconvinced, as I was using my alias "Haval Ako."

We were thrilled by Barzani's invitation. A car took us to his headquarters in the Qandil Mountains via Hawler.

(Details on reaching Barzani's headquarters, the figures we met in Hawler and Nawperdan—including Idris Barzani, Habib Muhammad Karim, Prince Tahsin Bek (Yazidi leader), Dr. Hazni Hajo, Shakib Aqrawi, Mustafa Jamil Pasha, Ibrahim Gabari, poet Sabri Botani, Khal Hama Aziz, General Aziz Aqrawi, Abdul Wahab Atroshi, Jamil Maho (head of the Kurdish Democratic Party in Lebanon), and others.

Details can be found in Part Three of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

At Idris Barzani's residence in Qasri village, we proceeded to Dileman, where President Barzani welcomed us. Our meeting lasted from 6 p.m. until midnight. He repeated his famous words: "Students are the spearhead of every struggle."

After greetings, I told him in Kurdish:

"Sir, I congratulate you on the autonomy. May the next step be a Kurdish state with the flag of Kurdistan raised high."

Barzani replied:

"There is no small state like Lebanon supporting our struggle. If there were, the political equation would be turned upside down."

He rolled his cigarettes, offering some to elderly guests (possibly revolution leaders or local dignitaries). By midnight, his large tobacco bag was empty.

When I asked about Kurdish parties in Western Kurdistan (Syrian Kurdistan), Barzani said:

"The leaders of the left and right are traitors, unconditionally." (Referring to Salah Badreddin and Hamid Darwish.)

Seated to his left were Tariq Aqrawi, myself, Ghazi Farho, and Hamza Al-Abdullah (expelled from the KDP in 1959 after returning from the USSR). Barzani, in a fierce dispute with his son Ubaidullah, suspected Hamza of collaborating with him.

After hours of discussion, Barzani suddenly turned to Hamza with piercing eyes and a sharp tone:

"Hamza! Do you meet with Ubaidullah?"

Hamza replied: "No, sir, I have not."

Ten minutes later, Barzani repeated the question more intensely.

Hamza admitted: "No, sir, but we spoke on the phone."

Barzani gestured to a Peshmerga, who escorted Hamza out.

Barzani was a man of few words but great action. I later realized he had spoken more with us than even on critical matters like his son's betrayal.

The meeting room had three tall, narrow windows, each guarded by two Peshmerga with rifles—six in total. From 6 p.m. until midnight, they never blinked, moved, ate, or relieved themselves, staring at us like statues. I have never seen such discipline, even in films.

At midnight, Idris Barzani entered and said: "Babo (father), the doctors insist you must sleep."

Barzani stood, raised his hand in salute, and left. We all stood in respect.

Peshmerga escorted us to a nearby room to sleep.

In the morning, a Land Rover took us to Nawperdan and the Peace Palace.

That night, we had not noticed, but by daylight, we saw a large, freshly dug cave outside—big enough for a truck. Was it a bomb shelter, arms depot, or food storage? I long to revisit that sacred land.

The return journey to Sulaymaniyah and further details are in Part Three of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

5. Assassination Attempts Against Myself in the Syrian Army

On 1-3-1973, after my meeting with General Mustafa Barzani, the Syrian intelligence requested the Lebanese security forces to arrest me. They detained me and imprisoned me in the "Zahle" prison near the Syrian border to hand me over to Syrian intelligence... While in

the Lebanese prison, I sent a letter to my mother apologizing for not being able to visit her as promised because I was imprisoned in Zahle... A few days after my letter, my dear sister Nihad visited me to check on me, bringing food and fruits... Immediately after her visit, my mother tasked my late cousin Ahmad Bakr Agha Alousi (Abu Badee') to help me. He came to the prison with a lawyer to defend me, and within two days, I was released on bail, becoming a free man. Thus, the noble Abu Badee' thwarted the Syrian intelligence's plan to hand me over to them.

After my release, I changed my residence, avoided attending any trial, and disappeared. However, I could not attend university lectures because I saw Lebanese police officers accompanied by Syrian intelligence agents roaming the campus and asking about me to arrest me.

Often, I moved from one country to another by walking near border checkpoints, especially between Syria and Lebanon. As a result, Syrian intelligence failed to capture me despite their numerous attempts in the late 1960s and early 1970s, as I carried documents under aliases.

On 1-5-1973, the Lebanese security arrested me again. This time, instead of imprisoning me, they handed me over to Syrian intelligence the same day. I believe it wasn't a Lebanese force but rather Syrian intelligence operating in Lebanon. Upon arriving in Damascus, Syrian intelligence decided to send me to mandatory military

service, seeing it as the best way to restrict my movements and keep me under surveillance. Later, I learned they intended to assassinate me in the Syrian Army during training or in an incident that would appear accidental, unrelated to politics, to eliminate me permanently.

During my mandatory military service, I faced several assassination attempts. One occurred on the Syrian-Israeli front when Syrian intelligence agents fired at me multiple times, leaving bullet holes in my tent. Divine protection saved me from their vile attempts. Syrian intelligence would stalk me when I was alone. One evening, I entered my tent and found a lit candle inside. Thinking some soldiers were there, I entered but found no one—only the candle illuminating the tent. Realizing it was a trap, I immediately extinguished the candle and lay on the ground. At that moment, a burst of Kalashnikov fire hit the tent. I crawled out from the other side and entered another tent with a group of soldiers... The shooting stopped, as they assumed they had succeeded in assassinating me. After that, I never entered an empty tent again. The soldiers welcomed me as an officer, thinking I was humble for mingling with them, unaware that I was hiding among them to avoid assassination. I always kept my Kalashnikov ready to defend myself, but this was unwise, as it would have given Syrian intelligence justification to kill me—perhaps even publicly executing

me in the military camp. I considered deserting, but due to the war with Israel, obtaining leave was impossible.

During the war with Israel, Syrian intelligence succeeded in assassinating dozens of Kurds serving in the mandatory military service. I knew some of them and will never forget them—they were my dear comrades, including the martyrs Ismat Barazi, Khidr Shabaz, and Rashid Milli.

In 1974, the UN brokered a ceasefire between the warring armies, and my brigade withdrew from the Israeli front to Homs. We moved from tents on the frontlines to military barracks (a "baraka" is a room with wooden doors and windows, covered with tin sheets on the outside).

In the Homs camp, Syrian intelligence continued their assassination attempts as they had on the frontlines. Since we were no longer at the front, they abandoned the idea of shooting me. One day, three Syrian intelligence agents—also in military uniforms—attacked me. Two of them grabbed my neck to strangle me, nearly cutting off my breath, while the third stood guard at the door. At that moment, the brigade commander, Brigadier "Nathir," entered the barrack, forcing them to retreat. Being from Damascus, Nathir sympathized with me as a fellow Damascene and ordered my transfer away from them to another brigade stationed in Al-Qutayfah near Damascus, most of whose officers were from Damascus and its suburbs.

I was placed in an artillery battalion commanded by Lieutenant Colonel "Hisham Al-Samman," a man of noble

Damascene lineage and true integrity. From the beginning, I was under the protection of Lt. Col. Hisham Al-Samman—perhaps because the Damascus brigade commander in Homs had informed him of the assassination attempt.

Colonel Hisham Al-Samman issued an order transferring me from commanding an artillery unit to appointing me as the officer in charge of weapons and ammunition in the battalion. He gave me an office next to his, and his personal guard also served as mine. I did not know whether this was to keep me under the battalion leadership's surveillance or to distance me from the lower-ranking groups, companies, and army bases where it would have been easy to assassinate me.

The battalion's leadership also included First Assistant Abu Hussein Zaza, an administrative officer and one of the Kurds displaced from the Golan Heights. There were also several beloved sergeants and soldiers in the battalion, as if they had been gathered there for reasons like mine, including:

Sergeant Walid Baker, from the Arabized Kurds of Latakia, who himself did not know he was Kurdish, even though the Baker family were Aghas (chiefs) of the Barazi tribe. Recruit Zoro, a Kurd from the Jazira region.

In 1975, the news of the Kurdish revolution's collapse in South Kurdistan (Iraqi Kurdistan) hit me like a thunderbolt. I could no longer bear staying in the Syrian

army and decided to go to South Kurdistan to meet with comrades and discuss the possibility of continuing the revolution. However, shortly after the revolution's collapse, several comrades visited me, including Shirko (son of the poet Hazhar Mukriyani), Dr. Hazni Hajo, and others who had been part of the Kurdish revolution. They told me the revolution was over—hundreds of thousands of Peshmerga had surrendered to Iraq or Iran, and many had committed suicide in the face of the catastrophe, which no one had anticipated.

The details of that period—especially the Syrian intelligence's attempts to assassinate me, the traps they set to eliminate me politically and morally *are in Part Three of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."*

6. Joining the Peshmerga in Southern Kurdistan and Assassination Attempts against me

In 1982, I decided to go to South Kurdistan to find out who Azad Mustafa was and why he wanted me dead—before we even knew each other. In South Kurdistan, he made several more attempts to assassinate me. All of them failed, though I sustained some injuries and nearly fell into the hands of Iranian intelligence, who would have either killed me or handed me over to Syrian intelligence. On November 29, 1982, from the moment I arrived at Tehran airport, I exercised my authority as a political and military field commander of the Peshmerga forces, a

member of the Political Bureau of the PASOK (Kurdish Socialist Party), and a representative in the leadership of the National Democratic Front (JOD) in South Kurdistan.

This front included:

The Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP)

The Kurdistan Socialist Party

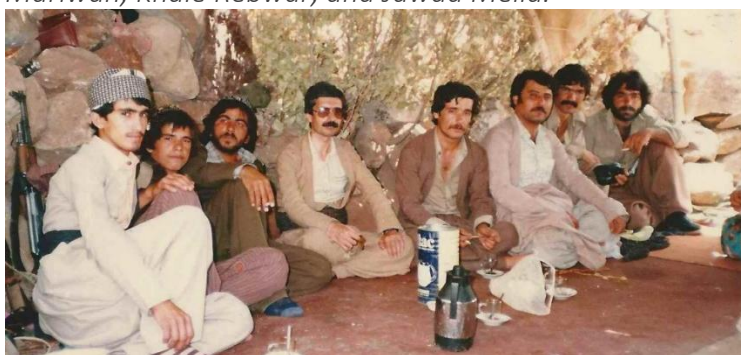
The Iraqi Communist Party

The Kurdish Socialist Party (PASOK), which I represented.

In Miri Sur, there were about 30 Peshmerga, though their numbers were never fixed—new fighters joined daily, while others rotated between villages or returned home in Sulaymaniyah. One Peshmerga told me that over the past two years, he had seen more than a thousand Peshmerga at PASOK's headquarters in the Surin Mountains.



*Standing in the front row, from the left:
Mariwan, Khale Rebwar, and Jawad Mella.*



*From the right: Jamal, Mam Hajar, Karim Abush, Khale
Rebwar, Jawad Mella, and Khbat Rash.*

The details of this phase—my role in the Kurdish revolution in South Kurdistan, my participation in battles like Peshtashan, Ashqoulka, and Qarnaqa, the assassination attempts against me in the Qandil Mountains and the Iranian city of Karaj, and my meetings with respected figures like Masoud Barzani, Idris Barzani, Jalal Fili, Sheikh Hussein Marounsi, Lieutenant Mansour Al-Hafid, Lieutenant Saifuddin, Sayyid Musa (grandson of Sheikh Ubeydullah Nehri), Aras Salihi, Muhammad Amin Agha (chief of the Bradost tribe), and leaders of the Equality Union Party (Ahmad Tawfiq's group)—*are all documented in Part Three of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan"*.

The assassination attempts in Iran forced me to flee to Europe for medical treatment and a quiet place to reflect. I crossed the Hakkari Mountains on foot, eventually reaching Istanbul and then Europe. *The full account is in Part Three of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan"*.

The Hakkari region was breathtaking— its rushing forests freshwater springs, and even hot springs emitting steam, something I had only seen in old historical films. What caught my attention most was the "Honey Waterfalls" on a towering cliff, impossible for any human to reach. The

waterfalls had layers of honey in different shades—light, dark, and darker. When I asked my guide why, he explained: "The light color is this year's harvest; the darker layers are from previous years."

Before reaching the next village, we found a giant mushroom—one meter in diameter—so large that my guide had to break it into pieces to fit it in his bag.

The villages were built into mountain slopes, their windows overlooking the valley. Each time I entered a new village, my previous guide would return home, and a new villager would accompany me. As we traveled through Hakkari, I felt a mix of pride and awe—these mountains had been the path of Kurdish heroes for countless uprisings. Hakkari was the center of *Sheikh Ubeydullah Nehri's 19th-century revolution*, and after the fall of the Republic of Mahabad (1947), Sheikh Ahmad Barzani and General Mustafa Barzani (with 500 Peshmerga) crossed Hakkari on their way to the Soviet Union.

At one point, lost in thought, I almost felt as if I could see Sheikh Ubeydullah's forces marching past me—or the Barzanis right before my eyes. Suddenly, my guide announced we had reached town of Kever (Yüksekova in Turkish).



The map of my journey through Hakkari in 1984, paralleling General Barzani's 1947 route from Barzan to the USSR.

My Struggle and Nationalist Positions, internationally for the Independence of Kurdistan

At the end of 1984, I settled in London and bought an Arabic typewriter (IBM brand) to print statements, pamphlets, and even some books before purchasing a computer in 1988. Among the works I printed were:

- A report on the fate of the 8,000 Barzani Kurds.
- A report to the United Nations on the Kurdish issue.
- A reprint of Tato and Seto by Major Soon.
- Book of Iraq, A State Built on Violence by Persch.
- The announcement of the birth of the "Movement Advocating the Liberation of Kurdistan."

On 25-1-1985, I attended an international conference on the Kurdish issue in Geneva, Switzerland, where I met several respected figures, including Ismet Sharif Wanli and Hosheng Osman Sabri. After the conference, I had a special meeting with them.



From right: Hosheng Sabri, Ismet Sharif Wanli, and Jawad Mella

Establishing Necessary Organizations for My Struggle in Europe

On 22-2-1985, I Founded the Kurdish Cultural Association "Kurdology", tasked with spreading Kurdish nationalist and liberationist thought.

On 21-3-1985, I Established the "Movement Advocating the Liberation of Kurdistan (KAK)" alongside comrades Dr.

Shafiq Qazzaz, Dr. Firiad Hiwaizi, Engineer Jamal Alamdar, and others.

On 25-3-1985, I Formed the Kurdish Human Rights Committee with Sheikh Latif Mariwani, Jalal Kochkaya, Sharif Alma, and others.

On 14-4-1985, I Announced the Establishment of the Kurdish National Congress:

After the collapse of the September Revolution in March 1975, Kurdish political parties multiplied, often clashing with one another. Thus, in 1985, I decided to establish the Kurdish National Congress to create a national umbrella for Kurdish political, social, cultural, and scientific figures—not to dissolve their differences but to unify their political discourse for an independent Kurdistan.

At the very least, we needed to agree on the basics, which I summarized as:

1. One flag.
2. One national anthem.
3. One leader or leadership council.
4. One unified map of Kurdistan (size matters less than consistency).
5. One agreed-upon population statistic for the Kurdish people (the exact number is less important than having a unified figure).

These were essential steps to building a genuine Kurdish liberation movement respected by the Kurdish people and the world.

On 20-5-1985, I met the famous Iraqi journalist and opposition figure Sami Faraj Ali, editor-in-chief of Al-Tayar, voice of the Iraqi opposition in the 1980s, which was published in London. Having heard of my Kurdish nationalist struggle, he handed me an envelope containing many issues of his newspaper, most of which carried positive news about the Kurdish cause. One of them, dated August 20, 1983, included an article by the Iraqi intellectual Dr. Mohammed Al-Mahdi titled "What Is the Fate of the Kurds? A Smaller Iraq, A Stronger Iraq." Because he spoke the truth in this article, he was later assassinated by Iraqi intelligence in the Sudanese capital, Khartoum... May he rest in peace.

After this meeting, my friendship with Mr. Sami Faraj Ali lasted for decades. He introduced me to many journalists and invited me to conduct TV interviews on Al-Democracyiya, Al-Mustaqilla, KNN TV, and other channels, where he was their official presenter.

I agree with Dr. Mohammed Al-Mahdi's article, both in its title and content, particularly his opening statement: "A united and independent Kurdistan is undoubtedly coming." This deeply resonated with me, and I widely disseminated his article.

You can find Dr. Mohammed Al-Mahdi's article "What Is the Fate of the Kurds? A Smaller Iraq, A Stronger Iraq" in Part Three of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

On 15-1-1986, I sent a memorandum to UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, world leaders, and international organizations regarding the Kurdish cause and the independence of Kurdistan. I informed them that the genocide, ethnic cleansing, and forced displacement faced by the Kurdish people across all parts of Kurdistan were not the Kurdish issue itself but rather the consequences of it. The true Kurdish issue is the freedom of the Kurdish people from oppression and the independence of Kurdistan from Turkish, Syrian, Iraqi, and Iranian occupation.

On 9-7-1986, I published the book "Kurdistan or Death" (Le Kurdistan ou la Mort) by French journalist René Mauriès, translated into Arabic by lawyer Girgis Fathallah. I wrote the book's introduction and analysis.

The details can be found in Part Three of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

Most Arabic copies were seized by Syrian intelligence, while the Iraqi regime confiscated the French edition. However, I managed to scan the remaining copies page

by page and made the book available in two parts at the following links:

<http://www.knc.org.uk/.../uploads/2013/01/Le-Kurdistan-1.pdf>

<http://www.knc.org.uk/.../uploads/2013/01/Le-Kurdistan-2.pdf>

On 24-10-1986, I participated in the founding conference of the Kurdish Academy in Kassel, Germany, aimed at establishing academic foundations for research on the Kurdish issue. Attendees included Kurdish political, intellectual, cultural, and social figures from all parts of Kurdistan, such as Shahin Baker Sorkeli, Kamal Fouad, Hamersh Rasho, and Fouad Hussein.

From 13 to 14-12-1986, I attended a meeting in Düsseldorf, Germany, between the Kurdistan Democratic Party-Turkey, the leadership of Yekbûn (Ismet Sherif Vanly, Hamersh Rasho), and the leadership of KAK (Dr. Shafiq Qazzaz, Engineer Jamal Alamdar, Jawad Mella). We decided to unify them under the name Kurdistan Democratic Party-National Organization (KDP-NO).

The details can be found in Part Three of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

On 1-7-1987, I launched the first issue of the newspaper "Kurdbnameh", the voice of the KAK Committee and the Kurdology Foundation for research, studies, and publishing. A total of 27 issues were published.

The details can be found in Part Three of my book "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

The Case of Iraq's Kidnapping of 8,000 Barzani Kurds and How I Brought to the United Nations

On 2-5-1988, I received an official invitation from the United Nations to attend its headquarters in New York to discuss the case of Iraq's kidnapping of 8,000 Barzani Kurds. Below are the details of this pivotal event:

1. On July 30, 1983, Iraq kidnapped 8,000 Barzani Kurds as part of its campaign to annihilate the Kurdish people.
2. In 1983, I visited Sheikh Mohammed Khaled Barzani, the head of the Barzani tribe, at his residence in Karaj, Iran. He welcomed me and explained the tragedy of the kidnapped Barzanis. I promised him that I would work to bring their case to the world's attention to determine their fate and secure their release from Iraqi prisons—if they were still alive.
3. At the end of 1984, after arriving in Europe, I began contacting the United Nations and made several visits to its office in Geneva, Switzerland. During one visit, I met Dr. Mohammed Boukri, a Moroccan who had previously headed the UN office in Ankara.
4. My friendship with Mohammed Boukri began in 1984 when I was in Istanbul. He gave me an

appointment at the UN office there. When I visited him, he quickly closed the office door and asked, “How can you come to Turkey when you’re one of the Peshmerga leaders?” He was terrified of my presence in Turkey and told me he couldn’t help me travel to Europe unless I surrendered to Turkish authorities—which I refused. Thus, our meeting ended.

5. During one of my visits to the UN in Geneva, Dr. Mohammed Boukri informed me that while he had read my letters about the kidnapping, I had neglected a crucial detail: since these were human beings, I couldn’t just say “8,000 people”—I needed to provide their full names, birthdates, birthplaces, and where they were kidnapped.
6. In 1985, I went to the UN headquarters in Geneva with Professor Salah Jmor, a resident of Geneva, so the UN could authorize him to handle the Barzani case on my behalf, eliminating the need for me to travel from London each time. Professor Jmor became the mediator between me and the UN.
7. From 1985 onward, I sent numerous letters to Sheikh Mohammed Khaled Barzani and Sheikh Jihad Barzani, requesting the information Dr. Boukri had asked for.
8. In 1986, I received a letter from Sheikh Mohammed Khaled Barzani, granting me personal authorization to advocate for the Barzanis in international forums.

9. In 1987, Sheikh Mohammed Khaled Barzani and Sheikh and Sheikh Jihad Barzani (grandson of the martyred Sheikh Abdul Salam Barzani) provided me with a list of 2,281 Barzani Kurds kidnapped by Iraq in 1983. The list, in Arabic and Persian, was the most comprehensive they had compiled. I translated it into English, printed a detailed report, and submitted it to the UN.
10. In 1988, Professor Salah Jmor forwarded me a UN invitation to discuss the Barzani case at the UN headquarters in New York.
11. The United Nations meeting was no small matter... So, I asked many of my acquaintances in Europe to join me in this mission, including Ayoub, the son of Sheikh Babo Barzani, and Dr. Shafiq Qazzaz, among others. However, they apologized, citing prior commitments and responsibilities they could not abandon... I also asked if anyone knew someone in New York, since I didn't know anyone there myself—it being the largest city in the world... So, I called my dear friend Ismat Sherif Wanli, with whom I share a strong and long-standing friendship, as we were neighbors in Damascus. I informed him that I would soon be heading to the UN headquarters in New York to discuss the case of the 8,000 Barzani Kurds who had been abducted by Iraq. I explained my problem: I had never visited New York before and knew no one there, and this was the first time in my life I was undertaking

a mission at this level. Ismat told me, *"I know you—you are a man of strong will, and success will be on your side, even if you are alone. But I will send you a letter with details about my contacts in New York, especially Ms. Vera Saidpour. I was her guest in 1982, and when Kurdish leaders like Jalal Talabani, Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou, and others visited New York, they stayed at her place... Vera is a friend of the Kurdish people. She owns a large three-story house (the first floor is a Kurdish library and museum, the second is her residence, and the third is for guests)."* Dr. Ismat wrote detailed letters for me and for Dr. Vera Saidpour regarding this matter.

12. It seemed news of my trip to the UN had spread across many countries... I began receiving phone calls, faxes, and letters from people I knew and even those I didn't know... Many visitors came to see me, including the respected Dara Attar, a Kurdish national figure from southern Kurdistan, who congratulated me on this mission and gave me an envelope containing funds for my plane ticket to New York as a gift... I thanked him but said I did not need it, though he insisted. During his visit, he told me that Ibrahim Ahmed was willing to accompany me to the UN... I replied frankly, "No, I cannot accept him as my companion—he is one of the fiercest enemies of the Barzanis. Political games and their dirty motives have no place in this humanitarian and national mission." He agreed.

13. I received the official invitation from the UN through Professor Salah Jmor. The invitation stated that "Jawad Mulla must contact the UN headquarters in New York on May 19 or 20 to schedule the meeting time and conference room number for the session on May 23."
14. In 1988, I was still holding a British travel document for refugees and had not yet received my British passport... On May 9, 1988, I went to the U.S. Embassy and applied for an American visa. The embassy officer stamped my document with a large "REJECTED" stamp... I asked why, and he replied that it "did not meet legal requirements." I argued that it was a British document and they had no right to reject it. He clarified that he wasn't rejecting the document itself but that its remaining validity was less than six months—and the U.S. does not issue visas for passports with less than six months' validity. As far as I recall, it had just over five months left.
15. Three days later, I went to the Home Office's passport division in Croydon, South London, and requested a passport renewal. The clerk told me, "It's not possible because it hasn't expired yet." I explained my U.S. visa issue and my UN meeting, showing her the UN invitation. She coldly replied, "Fine, I'll send your passport to the relevant department. After renewal, we'll mail it to you, and you'll receive it within two or three weeks at most." I told her, "I must be in New

York in ten days!" She said, "The law applies to everyone."

My blood pressure rose, and I lost my composure. She was behind a glass window, so I calmly gestured for her to come closer. When she did, I said, "Perhaps you've heard of Halabja in Kurdistan, which Iraq recently attacked with chemical weapons, killing 5,000 Kurds. Today, I will not leave here until my passport is renewed. If I don't get it today, I will kill myself right here—making it 5,001."

Her tone softened immediately. "I'll inform the manager and return," she said. Minutes later, she came back and told me to wait. Less than an hour later, Dr. Barham Salih (who was then an employee there and is now the President of Iraq) came out, warmly greeted me (as we knew each other), and asked about the issue. I explained it again, though he already knew—he just wanted to confirm I was really Jawad Mulla and not an imposter. "Everything will be fine; don't worry," he assured me. Before the end of the workday, another officer handed me my renewed passport.

16. The next day, I returned to the U.S. Embassy. When the officer saw the previous day's rejection stamp alongside the renewal, he had no choice but to grant me a U.S. visa—and for multiple entries, even though I had only requested a single-entry one.

17. I bought a plane ticket to New York and arrived at Vera Saidpour's address a week before the meeting. She owned the entire building: the ground floor housed various Kurdish cultural activities (Kurdish dabke classes, a museum, a library, etc.), while the upper floors were her residence, with multiple bedrooms—she gave me one.
18. On my first day there, I asked Vera, "Are there any reputable, serious Kurdish figures in America who are not affiliated with Kurdish political parties?" She replied, "Tell me why you're asking, and I'll guide you accordingly." I explained that I had tried to form a delegation from London to make a stronger impression, but the UN invitation was only for me. Vera said, "That doesn't matter—I'll be your secretary, and the others can assist with translation." She then suggested Dr. Ahmed Osman (brother of Dr. Mahmoud Osman) and Dr. Esfandiar Shukri, describing them as "balanced, patriotic, and among the best surgeons in America."
19. I called Dr. Ahmed Osman and Dr. Esfandiar Shukri, explaining my need for their participation in the UN hearing. They agreed, even though they were in distant states, and flew to New York the next day.
20. On 19-5, I called the UN to confirm my arrival and readiness. They provided the meeting time and conference room number.

21. On 23-5, I went to the UN headquarters with Dr. Vera Saidpour, Dr. Ahmed Osman, and Dr. Esfandiar Shukri. Initially, security hesitated to let the group in since the invitation was only for me—but after explaining my need for their support, they allowed us all to enter.
22. We entered the large conference room on time. Seven investigators sat behind a long table, facing seven empty chairs opposite them. We were asked to take those seats. I sat in the middle, with Dr. Ahmed Osman and Dr. Esfandiar to my right and Vera Saidpour to my left. Among the investigators were a former Mexican ambassador to Washington, a former Indian ambassador to Moscow, and university professors in various fields.
23. From the outset, they took turns speaking, focusing on the idea that the 8,000 abducted Barzani Kurds were relatives of Masoud Barzani, who was involved in the Iran-Iraq War. The translation tactic worked brilliantly—not because we needed translation (we all understood them), but because it gave us time to consult and craft precise answers.
We anticipated their angle: if we admitted the captives were Barzani's relatives, they'd dismiss the case as a wartime issue to be resolved later. So, I countered:
"Yes, they are Barzani's relatives, but they have no political ties to him. In fact, many oppose him—some even served in Iraqi governments, like Ubaidullah

Barzani, who was a minister under Saddam Hussein. Sheikh Osman Barzani, the former leader of the Barzani tribe, had conflicts with Masoud's father, leading to his removal. This is about civilian abductions, not war."

They seemed satisfied. Then, the Indian ambassador raised another point: "When I was India's ambassador to Moscow, General Mustafa Barzani was a political refugee in the USSR. What do you say to that?"

We privately discussed his implied accusation—that Kurds were anti-Western for seeking Soviet asylum.

My response:

"The Kurdish people are drowning. When you're about to die, you grab any hand trying to save you—whether it's from a red, green, or yellow ship. The color doesn't matter; survival does."

24. I then submitted a memorandum addressing their inquiries.

Note: When searching for the abducted individuals (listed in the attached document), please note that titles like "Sheikh," "Faquh," or "Mullah" are honorifics used in Kurdish society but may not appear in official records.

After hours of Q&A, the investigators stood, shook our hands, and thanked us for attending.

25. As a result of this hearing, Iraq was blacklisted for human rights violations. The UN sent a formal inquiry to Iraq's Foreign Ministry regarding the abduction of

the 8,000 Barzani Kurds. But the deceitful Iraqi regime denied the accusations, claiming they held only "36 Barzanis."

26. I take pride in this stand I took at the UN against Iraq—at a time when the U.S. and Western nations were supporting Iraq in its war against Iran. It was a victory for Kurdish diplomacy, achieved under the most difficult circumstances with limited resources.

Finally, I thank everyone who supported this humanitarian and national mission, especially:

Sheikh Mohammed Khalid Barzani (head of the Barzani tribe)

Sheikh Jihad Barzani

Sheikh Ayoub Barzani

Sheikh Abdul Masour Barzani

Dr. Ismat Sharif Wanly

Dr. Ahmed Osman (brother of Dr. Mahmoud Osman)

Dr. Esfandiar Shukri

Dr. Vera Saidpour

Dr. Salah Jmor

Dr. Mohammed Bukri (Moroccan)

Dara Attar

Dr. Barham Salih

The Kurdish National Congress Committee in New York (Jalal Mella Haji from Rojava, Shams Feyli, Mohammed Ali Murad Karam, Izzat Spindari from Southern Kurdistan, and others).

Later, I received a report from an Iraqi hospital worker in Baghdad. Since the Iran-Iraq War began, the hospitals had suffered severe shortages of blood and organs for wounded soldiers—but this shortage "mysteriously ended" the very day the 8,000 Barzani Kurds were abducted. This suggests they were executed, and their blood and organs were harvested for Iraqi soldiers.

For further details—including letters from Sheikh Mohammed Khalid Barzani, Sheikh Jihad Barzani, Dr. Ismat Sherif Wanli, and lists of the abducted—see Part 3 of my book: "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

On 8-8-1989, the Kurdish Human Rights Committee was formed, consisting of several subcommittees:

1. The Committee for the Search of 8,000 Missing Barzani Kurds
2. The Committee for the Search of 5,000 Missing Feyli Kurds
3. The Committee for Halabja, Anfal, and Resistance Against Genocide

From 19 to 20-8-1989, I held the First Kurdistan National Congress was held in London. Official invitations were sent to all Kurdish parties and organizations from all parts of Kurdistan without exception, as well as to foreign figures friendly to the Kurdish cause.

For more details, see Part Four of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

My Battle for Kurdistan Flag in Front of the U.S. Embassy in London

In March and April 1991, our comrades participated in sit-ins organized by the Kurdish diaspora in front of major embassies across the world, in solidarity with the glorious uprising in southern Kurdistan and the mass exodus of a million Kurds.

I joined comrades from the Kurdistan National Congress in the sit-in held by the Kurdish community in front of the U.S. Embassy in London, where battles took place not only in London but in cities worldwide.

The number of protesters in front of the U.S. Embassy in London fluctuated between 50 at night and 200 during the day. I use this as an example for other sit-ins in world capitals because I personally witnessed and participated in the events hour by hour.

We called for international intervention, but the sole Kurdish flag I raised came under fierce attack from all Kurdish organizations and figures in London.

The First Day: Raising the Flag of Kurdistan

From the first day of the Kurdish community's sit-in in front of the U.S. Embassy in London, I carried the Kurdish

flag. Every day, I entered the embassy with the flag to submit memorandums on behalf of the Kurdistan National Congress, detailing the situation in Kurdistan—especially the mass displacement. The tone of these memos varied, sometimes threatening, other times pleading for intervention to save the Kurdish people from genocide and to resolve their national cause. I also submitted joint memorandums with independent nationalist figures, such as Dr. Faridoon Rafiq Hilmi and others.

From the very beginning, Kurdish and Iraqi parties were deeply disturbed by my raising of the Kurdish flag—so much so that tensions nearly exploded. I record their positions here for truth and history, as their behavior was shameful and disgusting in every sense of the word. Below are some of their reactions, recounted exactly as they happened, with names included:

Since the sit-in was open-ended, lasting day and night with a hunger strike until international intervention protected the Kurdish people, the protesters slept on the ground under the open sky. To distinguish ourselves from ordinary homeless people, I fixed the Kurdish flag on the barricade set up by British police, so passersby would know we were a people, not just random street dwellers. From the first day, the first to object was Mr. Ibrahim Ahmed. As soon as he arrived, without even greeting me, he said:

"Brother Jawad, this is not the time for this."

I replied:

"You're right, Mamosta Ibrahim—you should have raised it 40 years ago."

Then his wife stepped forward, pointed at the flag, and shouted:

"Who put this rag here?!"

Comrade Sharif from Northern Kurdistan responded:

"Who are you, woman? Go home!"

Then Sabah, Ibrahim Ahmed's son-in-law, yelled:

"Brother Jawad, you're the cause of this problem!"

We glared at each other as if we were at war. About 200 people were present, listening but not taking sides. However, around 20 comrades from the Congress formed a protective circle around me and the flag—a moment I will never forget. Among them were Dr. Faridoon Rafiq Hilmi, Sherwan Rashid, his brother Karim Rashid, Saadullah Abdullah (from Kirkuk), Omar, Sharif and Gulbaran (from Northern Kurdistan), Sheikh Latif Meriwani (from Eastern Kurdistan), and many others whose names I can't recall.

Meanwhile, a well-known Kurdish elder (...) arrived, trembling, and begged me:

"Please take down the flag. They'll kill us even without the Kurdish flag being raised!"

Out of respect for his age and fear for his health, I didn't respond. Months later, we met again, and he apologized for his shameful stance, saying:

"I apologize for what I said during the protest. May God curse the devil... Let me tell you a true story."

He recounted how, during the time of King Mahmud of Kurdistan, British planes bombed Sulaymaniyah. The Kurds, terrified, fled to caves or hid under trees. His mother, pregnant with him at the time, was told by other women: "The child in your womb will grow up a coward because of your fear." I stopped him, saying: "No need to continue—I understand what you mean. Today's meeting is enough for me."

A representative of the Iraqi Communist Party arrived with a group of Iraqi Shia, saying: "You're dividing Iraq with this flag!"

I replied: "This flag doesn't belong only to Kurds in Iraq—it's the flag of Kurdistan. If you don't like standing under it, then leave."

Dr. Fuad Masum stood nearby, speaking to an acquaintance but loud enough for me to hear: "The Kurds never had a state, so how can they have a flag? Well, I guess this is 'Jawad Mella's flag.'"

I ignored him because I was in a real battle against party thugs trying to tear down the flag. The next day, I found three cigarette burns on the flag—a failed attempt to destroy it.

On the second day, Hoshiyar Abed, the representative of the Kurdish Cultural Center in London, approached me and said loudly in an aggressive, rude manner—in

English—"You're trying to hijack the protest for yourself with this flag." As if there were people who did not understand Kurdish and needed him to explain his displeasure at the raising of the Kurdistan flag. But I gave him a look of contempt, which was enough to make him flee. Later, I learned he had said this because he was accompanied by an employee from one of the embassies of the entities occupying Kurdistan.

Then, Hoshiyar Abdulrahman, entered the battlefield who was the official of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) in Britain (who later became the Minister of Electricity in the Hewlêr government—for truth and history, everyone who opposed the Kurdistan flag later gained high positions in the Kurdistan government), entered the battlefield. The most frustrating thing is that those who attacked the Kurdistan flag are now in Kurdistan, acting as if they were the ones who defended it, while its true loyalists suffer in exile—preferring the bitterness of diaspora over living as strangers in their own homeland.

Hoshiyar Abdulrahman said to me, "Brother Jawad, I have something to say to you away from the protest crowd." So we stepped aside, and he told me: "I've seen the clashes between you and all the Kurdish and non-Kurdish parties over the Kurdistan flag. The situation is very tense, and it might escalate into physical violence. If that happens, the British police will intervene, and we will be humiliated before the world... I suggest you take the Kurdistan flag home. I am not asking you to remove it now

in this crowd, but at night when there are fewer protesters and the hunger strikers are asleep—take it discreetly. Keeping the flag here carries a huge responsibility. Are you ready to bear it?"

I replied: "I brought this flag to stay here. I will not take it home, no matter the consequences. The responsibility is mine alone—I don't ask the KDP to share it."

When I returned to the protest, our comrade Sheikh Latif Mriwani from East (Iranian) Kurdistan came to me and said, "Brother Jawad, I'm afraid they'll kill us." I told him, "Be patient, my brother. If we must die, let it be for our flag—our honor."

From the first day, our protesting masses—men and women—had silently observed the battle. But on the fourth day, they made their decision and came to the protest waving dozens of Kurdistan flags, even larger than the one I had raised. At that moment, I tasted victory—its sweetness—though I was exhausted, my eyes red from lack of sleep. I told our comrades: "Our 24-hour guard duty over the flag is over." (We had been protecting it day and night, fearing Kurdish parties would forcibly remove it.) Some Kurdish women even made children's clothes in the colors of the Kurdistan flag.

As for the Kurdistan flag I had raised, after the battle ended, I found three holes in it—burned by cigarettes. To this day, I keep it as evidence of the battle of honor, the battle for the Kurdistan flag against the Kurdish party

leaderships. And to this day, I seek to find out who burned the Kurdistan flag to hold them accountable.

That is why I take pride in the Great Exodus (Million March), despite all its tragedies—because it exposed the truth in one blow: the collaborators of the Sykes-Picot Agreement, the Treaty of Lausanne, the Tehran Conference, the entities occupying Kurdistan, and the Kurdish party leaderships.



The Kurdish community's demonstration in front of the U.S. Embassy in London during March and April—the Kurdistan flag they raised was the only one at first.



The wounded Kurdistan flag in the battle at the U.S. Embassy, where Kurdish partisans tried to deface it with cigarette burns and other substances to dirty it and alter its colors. I will find out who did this on a day when there will be no mercy.



In the picture, I was to the right of Omar, who was raising the Kurdistan flag, along with other supporters in front of the U.S. Embassy during March and April 1991.



From the left: Jawad Mella and Sheikh Latif Marivani at a demonstration in front of the U.S. Embassy during March and April 1991.

The Halabja-Marzabotto Conference in Italy

On April 24–25, 1991, I attended an international conference in Italy to commemorate the victims of the Kurdish and Italian genocides in the cities of Halabja and Marzabotto.

On 30-3-1991, I received an invitation from Mr. Dante Cruicchi, president of the Regional Committee for Honoring the Martyrs of Marzabotto, to attend the Halabja-Marzabotto Conference in Italy. These were cities that had suffered genocide—Halabja, which was chemical-bombed by Iraq in 1988, and Marzabotto, which endured genocide during World War II at the hands of Nazi Germany and Italian fascist forces.

Mr. Cruicchi informed me that the conference was held in solidarity with the World Union of Peace Cities, with the aim of signing a bilateral treaty between the martyred cities of Marzabotto and Halabja.

I accepted the invitation and attended the conference, which took place in Marzabotto, though its activities spanned from April 23–28, 1991.

When I arrived at Bologna Airport, a friend was waiting for me. I was supposed to enter through the official government reception halls, but my friend escorted me out through the regular passenger exit. While there, my name was announced over the loudspeakers, instructing me to report to the information desk. For a moment, I nearly panicked—given our experiences in countries that

occupy Kurdistan, hearing one's name called by authorities usually means arrest. But then I remembered I was there on an official Italian invitation, so I composed myself. I met the delegation, who then drove me to Marzabotto, about 25 km from Bologna.

The conference was under Italian police security. When I entered the hall, I initially refused to sit down because there was no Kurdish flag displayed. A real crisis nearly erupted, as I decided I would return to London. Suddenly, I noticed that the sequence of colors in the Italian flag matched that of the Kurdish flag, except vertically and without the sun emblem. So, I took an Italian flag, flipped it horizontally, cut out a yellow paper sun, and pasted it in the center.

I hung the Kurdish flag on the conference wall, at the same level as the Italian flag.

On the main stage, in front of the Kurdish and Italian flags, sat Dante Cruicchi, the governor of Marzabotto, Adel Murad (representing the Kurdistan Front), Jawad Mella (representing the Kurdistan National Congress), and Jamil Beg (representing Halabja).

As seen in the photo below, I was seated directly beneath the Kurdish flag, while on another platform in front of us sat leaders of the Italian army, navy, and air force. I delivered my speech, as did Dante Cruicchi, Adel Murad, the governor of Marzabotto, and Jamil Beg. In the photo, Dante Cruicchi is seen standing while delivering his speech.

In my speech, I emphasized that the Kurdish people's demand was independence for Kurdistan, so that the tragedy of Halabja would never be repeated.

On the second day of the conference, the Halabja-Marzabotto Martyrs' Document was signed, making Halabja and Marzabotto members of the Union of Martyred Cities, alongside Hiroshima and Nagasaki—the Japanese cities atomic-bombed during World War II.

Later, we went to the outskirts of Marzabotto to plant a Kurdish tree beside those of Vietnam, Cambodia, Armenia, and other nations struggling for independence. In the evening, we held a torchlight procession, visiting the martyrs' graves and laying wreaths at the memorial monument.

On the final day, Adel Murad, Jamil Beg, and I met with Italian officials in Bologna. Coincidentally, we were there during Italy's Independence Day celebrations. Standing on the ceremonial balcony, we were presented with gold and silver medals by the governor of Bologna in front of thousands of cheering Italians.

That evening, back at the hotel (where we were guests of the Italian government), Italian TV was broadcasting news about Kurdistan. Alongside Dante Cruicchi, Adel Murad, Jamil Beg, and others, I watched as Kurdish party leaders appeared on screen kissing Saddam Hussein—the criminal responsible for the murder of half a million Kurds—following the mass exodus of Kurdish refugees.

Seeing Kurdish leaders kiss Saddam Hussein—the man who had gassed Halabja, carried out the Anfal campaigns, and massacred Kurds—shook me to my core. I felt a violent dizziness, as if struck on the head, and collapsed in my hotel room. A doctor later diagnosed me with a sudden drop in blood pressure due to shock.

Dante Cruicchi, deeply disturbed, remarked:

"During the Vietnam War peace talks, the Vietnamese and American delegations entered through separate doors and didn't shake hands for months until an agreement was reached. But for Kurdish leaders to kiss their people's murderer before even negotiating—this is disgraceful and unprecedented."

From that day on, international sympathy for the Kurdish cause faded. The Kurdish struggle disappeared from global headlines, relegated to the back pages.

I wrote extensively about this betrayal, including an article titled "The Kiss of Humiliation", published in *Kurdnameh* in three parts.

Seventeen years later, NoSherwan Mustafa—one of those who kissed Saddam—admitted in his memoirs that it was a "black day". While his acknowledgment came late, it at least confirmed the truth of my stance. Yet, others who kissed Saddam still boast about it to this day.

This episode proved once again that Kurdish party leaders were against an independent Kurdistan, which is why I remained in constant conflict with them, opposing their

false propaganda against me and the free voices of Kurdistan.



The main platform of the Halabja-Marzabotto conference. I was sitting under the Kurdistan flag between Adel Murad and Jamil Beg, while Dante Cruicchi stood delivering his speech, with the governor of Marzabotto to his right.



The Italian medals I received from the governor of the Emilia-Romagna region in Bologna.



In the photo, those holding the shovels from the right: Adel Murad, Dante Cruicchi, the representative of the Marzabotto governor, and Jamil Beg. I was holding the tree until we finished covering its roots with soil and planting it alongside the trees of peoples fighting for their freedom.

On 15-5-1991, I received an invitation to the International Conference on the Kurdish Issue in Athens, Greece, to deliver a speech about the Kurds in Syria. However, three days before the conference, I fell ill and was forced to stay home for a week. I decided to apologize for my absence due to my health condition, which prevented me from traveling at that time. Nevertheless, I sent my speech in

English, which was read and distributed to the conference participants.

Details and correspondence can be found in Part Four of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 22-7-1991, I received a letter of thanks from the British Foreign Office in response to my letter to Prime Minister John Major, in which I demanded the independence of Kurdistan. However, Douglas Hogg, the British Foreign Secretary, emphasized in his reply the human rights of Kurds within current international borders, repeating this point multiple times in his brief letter... No matter how much they ignore the issue of Kurdistan's independence, the day will come when they recognize the crime committed against the Kurds and Kurdistan, and the Kurdish state will inevitably be established.

Details can be found in Part Four of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 2-8-1991, I attended the Conference of the Kurdish Academy of Science and Art in Vienna, Austria, upon their invitation to speak about the Kurdish language.

It is worth mentioning that the Kurdish Academy of Science and Art was founded by Professor Jemal Nebez, Engineer Bruska Ibrahim, Dr. Bahram Qazzaz, Dr. Kamal

Ali, Fakhri Salahshur, Dr. Mikail Ali, Dr. Mohammed Laila, and other specialists in various fields of science, literature, arts, and culture. Many Kurdish and foreign scholars are members of the academy, including the Soviet orientalist Lazar Lazarev, the Armenian scholar Hovhannes Hovhannisyan, Professor Shaker Maho from Yerevan University, and others. I had the honor of being a member and representing the academy in Britain.

Details can be found in Part Four of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 30-31/8/1991, I held the Second Kurdistan National Congress in London, attended by representatives from various political, social, cultural, and scientific backgrounds from all parts of Kurdistan.

Details can be found in Part Four of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 17-10-1991, I received a thank-you letter from Andrew Whitley, the Executive Director of Middle East Watch, regarding my speech distributed at the Athens Conference. He requested clarifications on my statement about the Kurdish issue in Syria, which was delivered on my behalf at the conference, and I responded to all his questions.

Details can be found in Part Four of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 10-1-1992, I contacted Lord Geoffrey Archer and thanked him for his historic statement in Hawler (Erbil) on 6-1-1992, where he told the Kurdish crowds:

"You are 30 million people, and you deserve independence."

However, one of the Kurdish party officials, who was translating, took the microphone from Lord Archer and told the crowd that Lord Archer had made a mistake—claiming he meant "3 million people demanding autonomy." At that time, Lord Archer was a member of Britain's ruling Conservative Party, and his words were no less significant than the Balfour Declaration, which the Jews used to establish their state—even though the Balfour Declaration was not as clear and explicit as Lord Archer's statement.

The Historic Letter from Sir John Major

On 1-5-1992, I received a historic letter from British Prime Minister John Major in response to my request for support for the independence of Southern Kurdistan.

After the election of the Parliament and Government of Southern Kurdistan in 1992, I sent hundreds of letters to world leaders, urging them to correct the historic injustice

committed by Britain and France against Kurdistan, leaving the Kurdish people without a state since World War I.

Most world leaders agreed with me, including John Major, though his support was veiled. In his letter, he stated:

"We do not support the independence of Kurdistan but rather autonomy, as this is all those Kurdish leaders demand."

Reading between the lines, it was clear that he personally believed in independence but was constrained by the Kurdish leaders' demands for autonomy instead.

Below is a copy of the letter from British Prime Minister Sir John Major for review as a historical document:



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.

Yours sincerely,
Stephen Wall
J.S. Wall

Mr Jawad Mella

I distinctly remember John Major's words at his party's conference in Scotland, where he said verbatim:

"The independence of Kurdistan has been achieved in our time..."

But Kurdish leaders pressured him to tone down his rhetoric, leading him to later call for:

A "Free Zone" for Kurdistan,

Then a "Safe Haven,"

And finally, a "No-Fly Zone."

Anyone following British official statements and press coverage at the time would notice this downgrade from independence to merely a restricted airspace.

This bitter experience in Southern Kurdistan is now being repeated in Western Kurdistan (Rojava) in 2004 and 2011, as Kurdish politicians in other parts of Kurdistan learn failure from the mistakes of Southern Kurdistan's leadership.

Details can be found in Part Four of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

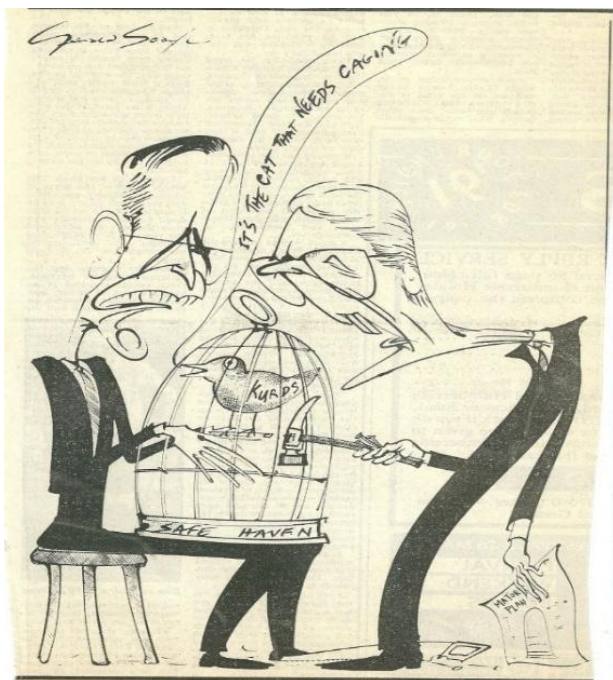
The Great Powers and the Kurdish Issue

The great powers evaluate the Kurdish issue based on their own understanding. It is our duty as Kurds to inform them of the only acceptable solution:

The declaration of an independent Kurdistan, holding the occupying entities accountable—even if it means putting them in a cage.

In this context, the international press accurately depicted the situation in a cartoon showing John Major and George H.W. Bush building a cage labeled "Safe Haven" for the Kurds. However, the Kurdish people, depicted as a bird in the cage, tell them:

"You should put the cat (the occupying powers) in the cage, not me."



On 1-7-1992, I received the book "On Re-Making the World, Cut Nations Down to Size" by Harry Donald Schultz. The author stated in his book:

"In any case, whether through compromise or not, the Kurdish people must be granted their own independent state—not just autonomy."

On 13-7-1992, I received a letter from my dear friend Mohammed Amin Bozarslan regarding correspondence with UNESCO at the United Nations to organize a global celebration in 1995, marking the 300th anniversary of the epic poem Mem û Zîn by the Kurdish thinker Ahmad Khani, written in 1695.

I wrote several letters and documents in English to UNESCO, highlighting the literary, historical, and cultural significance of Ahmad Khani's epic, which consists of over 2,661 verses. It tells the tragic love story of Mem and Zin, along with its introduction—one of the finest Kurdish poetics works on Kurdish nationalist and liberationist thought.

Details can be found in Part Four of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 15-12-1992, I proposed to the government of South Kurdistan the issuance of a Republic of Kurdistan ID, a Kurdish currency, and the establishment of a Kurdish

Central Bank—similar to the Scottish currency and the Royal Bank of Scotland (founded in 1727), even though Scotland remains part of Britain.

I attached a design for the Republic of Kurdistan ID and a proposed Kurdish currency named the "Kuro" (modeled after the European Euro).

Details can be found in Part Four of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 17-4-1993, I wrote a statement regarding the assassination of Turkish President Turgut Özal by Turkish intelligence, proving Turkey's policy of assassinating Kurds—even if they were Turkey's president:

"Turkish President Turgut Özal was of Kurdish origin, born in Malatya (Northern Kurdistan) in 1927."

Details can be found in Part Four of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 5-7-1993, I received a letter from my dear friend Jalal Barzani, one of hundreds he sent to me and to international governments and organizations advocating for the oppressed Kurdish people.

"Jalal Barzani is one of the brave freedom fighters who never stopped struggling for Kurdish liberation and independence."

Details can be found in Part Four of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 18-7-1993, my dear friend Hama Mam Abdurrahman (based in the Netherlands) contacted me and requested—through Dr. Jemal Nebez—that I help translate his letter into English and send it to world leaders. I fulfilled his request, as I have done for many other comrades worldwide.

Below is his letter, to understand the Noble Level of our comrades' Messages at the Kurdistan National Conference:

Respected Gentlemen, with all due respect and greetings, I do not wish to recount in detail the history of the Kurdish people, as I assume you are already aware of it... This is the people spoken of by the Greek historian Xenophon and referenced in historical and scholarly sources as the people of Media.

The historic homeland of this people—Kurdistan—was divided under the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 into French and British spheres of influence. Later, after World War I, it was split among five states: Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Syria, and the former Soviet Union.

The Kurdish people, numbering nearly 30 million, suffer from persecution and deprivation of all political and social rights... They live under the terror of the states that have partitioned their homeland, enduring starvation, social

killing, displacement, Turkification, Arabization, and Persianization... Even worse, the great powers support these states, providing them with financial and military aid.

The Kurdish people have expressed their rejection of this oppression on every occasion. The Bonn demonstration—where over 70,000 Kurds participated on May 29th of this year—is but a simple example of the Kurdish people's resistance a remarkable resilience.

Therefore, I request the following from you:

1. I do not ask you to provide us with weapons, for we are against the use of arms. Instead, I ask you to stop using weapons against us and to stop selling arms to the states occupying our homeland, Kurdistan.
2. I do not ask you to provide us with food and drink, but I ask you to prevent the occupiers and oppressors from taking our sustenance, for Kurdistan is among the most fertile lands in the world—if only we were allowed to live freely.
3. I do not ask you to supply us with clothes and personal necessities, but I ask you to provide us with an atmosphere of freedom so that we may work. Then, you will find us helping other impoverished nations with our produce.
4. I ask you to prevent the occupying states of Kurdistan from persecuting us, torturing us in prisons, committing genocide, burning villages, and using chemical and other weapons.

If you can assist us in this matter, we would be deeply grateful.

On 20-10-1993, I received a letter from Mohammed Askari, director of the Kurdish Section at the U.S. Library of Congress, requesting documents on Kurdish history. I provided available Kurdish books and studies.

Details can be found in Part Four of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 1-5-1994, alongside my dear friends Dr. Jemal Nebesz and Dr. Mohammed Saleh Gabouri, I issued a statement in the name of Kurdish intellectuals worldwide, urging Kurdish leaders—nationalists, religious, and secular—to stop Kurdish infighting. Hundreds of signatures were collected, and the statement was sent to warring Kurdish factions and global media in multiple languages.

Details can be found in Part Four of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 1-11-1995, I attended a Kurdish Parliament in Exile meeting held in the Russian Duma. Sitting near Yashar Kaya (Parliament President), I noticed the Russian flag placed only in front of me. I moved it behind me, causing a brief tension before relocating it to Yashar Kaya's table—not mine.

Details can be found in Part Four of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 17-1-1996, I attended a meeting in the British Parliament to discuss Middle Eastern issues. The meeting included members of the British Parliament from most political parties, as well as former Algerian President Ahmed Ben Bella and other British, Arab, and Kurdish political figures.

I delivered an intervention regarding the Kurdish people, one of the peoples of the Middle East, who are deprived of their own independent nation-state.

On 14-2-1996, I attended several meetings in the British Parliament:

The first was chaired by Lord Eric Avebury at 4:30 PM. I handed him my letter regarding the Kurdish issue, the contents of which I had also addressed to world leaders, members of parliaments, influential political figures, and advocates of freedom and justice worldwide.

Many British MPs from various political parties attended the meeting, and I distributed a statement to them about the freedom of the Kurdish people and the independence of Kurdistan.

The second meeting was at 7:00 PM, where I was the only Kurd present alongside seven British MPs, most of whom supported the Kurdish struggle for freedom. During these

meetings, I also had several discussions with diplomats and journalists.

You can find the details in Part Four of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

From 15 to 18-4-1996, I attended the meeting of the Kurdistan Parliament in Exile, held in the Danish Parliament in Copenhagen. Some Danish MPs spoke, but unfortunately, none addressed the issue of Kurdistan's independence. Their speeches were limited to democracy in Turkey and human rights. It became clear to me that their identical talking points were based on directives from Yasar Kaya, the head of the Kurdistan Parliament in Exile, as if the Parliament's mission was to brainwash Europeans into forgetting the issue of Kurdistan's independence.

In my speech at the meeting, I stated:

"U.S. President Bill Clinton visited Syrian President Hafez al-Assad to broker a peace agreement between Syria and Israel. If these efforts succeed, I expect a Syrian-Turkish agreement as well... Therefore, I fear for our comrades in Syria, including Abdullah Öcalan. We in Europe must arrange for their safety elsewhere, as I do not want to see our revolution in North Kurdistan collapse like our revolution in South Kurdistan did in 1975."

After I finished my speech, "Khanah," the PKK representative at the meeting, said:

"Thank you, brother Jawad. You are patriotic, but your ideas are outdated. Know well that our revolution is not like Barzani's revolution."

From my seat, I replied: "I hope!"

Yet, less than two years after my speech, a secret agreement was reached between Syria and Israel, leading to the public Adana Agreement between Syria and Turkey in 1998. As a result, PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan was expelled from Syria and captured in 1999, causing the North Kurdistan revolution to decline due to his refusal to heed advice—especially from the free voices of Kurdistan.

From 15 to 18-7-1996, I attended the Kurdistan Parliament in Exile meeting in Rome, where I held discussions with the Italian government, parliament, and press. Along with some MPs, I attempted to prevent Yasar Kaya's re-election as Parliament head by submitting blank ballots to deny him the required votes.

You can find the details in Part Four of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

From 18 to 19-9-1996, I held the Third Kurdistan National Congress in Paris. One of its key resolutions was the approval of the Kurdish National Charter.

You can find the details in Part Four of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

From 18 to 20-11-1996, I attended the Kurdistan Parliament in Exile meeting in Oslo, Norway, where I submitted my resignation from the Parliament.

You can find the details in Part Four of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

The Historical Letter of Professor Jemal Nebez

On 27 November 1996, following the attack on me by "Yashar Kaya," President of the Kurdish Parliament in Exile, I received a message from Dr. Jemal Nebez mentioning several topics, the most important of which was his refusal to meet with Muhammad Amin Pingwini to discuss the disagreement between me and Yashar Kaya, because Muhammad Amin Pingwini was the mediator to persuade Dr. Jemal Nebez to influence me to participate in the Kurdish Parliament in Exile. I was refusing to participate in their parliament because the "PKK," like other Kurdish parties, works only for its own partisan interests. But I finally accepted, implementing Dr. Jemal's wish, as he convinced me with his viewpoint, so that they would not say one day that we were passive towards the Kurdish Parliament in Exile... And Dr. Jemal Nebez said to Muhammad Amin Pingwini to tell his superior, Yashar Kaya, the following, as it came verbatim in Dr. Jemal Nebez's letter:

"Opposing Jawad, opposing his ideas, and opposing the Kurdish National Congress is something I cannot accept under any circumstances, and it is not subject to any agreement or compromise. For Jawad, as I have known him for a quarter of a century, does not work for his pocket, his name, his family's interest, his party, or his tribe... A man like Jawad has reached a level of sacredness in my view to the extent that I do not accept anyone, whoever they may be, to attack Jawad"...

Below is the complete text of the message as I received it by fax from Dr. Jemal Nebez, in his own handwriting:

As shown below, my picture is hanging on the walls of Dr. Jemal Nebez's house because he considered me a companion, brother, and son to him due to our intellectual and militant compatibility and integration for about half a century.



My Meeting with the Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi

On 29-1-1997, The Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi received me along with the accompanying delegation members, Sheikh Latif Mirwani and Engineer Bruska Ibrahim.

Below is the conversation between Colonel Muammar Gaddafi and me, along with members of the Kurdistan National Congress (KNC) delegation:

1. "There are undeniable truths that must be acknowledged—the existence of the Kurdish nation in the Middle East, which must take its rightful place."
2. "Not believing in the unity and freedom of the Kurdish people and the establishment of a Kurdish state is the work of ignorant people."
3. "As for the hypocritical West, which applies double standards when dealing with the Kurdish issue—they handle it with disgusting duality. For example, the 'safe zone' for Kurds in Iraq should also apply to Kurds in Turkey and other Kurdish regions."
4. He repeated several times: "We and the Kurds share the same origin. Today, we are two distinct nations, each with its own characteristics, and each must live its own life. I am committed to raising the slogan of Kurdish national unity and the independence of Kurdistan."
5. Regarding Kurdish party leaders:

"Jalal Talabani used to visit me, introducing himself as a Nasserist and believer in Arab nationalism, sometimes even claiming to be Arab—among other laughable contradictions."

"The Barzanis are good people, but their cooperation with the Western alliance has cost them credibility... Those who deal with Zionism and colonialism are short-sighted."

He also spoke about the farce of Turkish and Iranian military forces entering Kurdish regions in Iraq from time to time, calling it part of this foolish cooperation with the West.

6. On the Green Book and People's Congresses:

"If implemented in Kurdistan as an unarmed, non-partisan, mass movement to raise awareness and advocate for independence"

When Professor Saad mentioned that Kurdish translations of the Green Book were inaccurate and that Jalal Talabani had stamped his party's name on it, Gaddafi looked at me for my opinion. I replied:

"Yes, the translation is poor. We are ready to retranslate the Green Book and write a preface including your words on Kurdistan's independence, as well as Dr. Jemal Nebez's responses to your statements in the book of press interviews. This will present a clearer image of your stance and struggle for freedom and justice to the Kurdish people."

Gaddafi seemed pleased and agreed that the book should be issued by the Kurdish Revolutionary Committees (People's Congresses).

7. I added: "We believe in the People's Congresses mentioned in the Green Book as a path to the General National Congress. However, we started with the General National Congress and couldn't form People's Congresses in every Kurdish region because Kurdistan is not liberated like Libya. But we can implement them secretly."

Gaddafi was very pleased with my words and instructed his advisor, Ibrahim al-Bashari, who was standing beside him and taking notes. When I mentioned the idea of a radio station, he said: "It's a good idea, and we will implement it at the appropriate time."

8. Gaddafi said: "When Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Çiller visited me, I told her, 'I love the Kurdish people.' She replied, 'I love them too, but we are fighting terrorists.' I told her, 'You must verify that and provide evidence.'"
9. He also told me: "The U.S. put me on the blacklist because I supported Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, Irish leader Gerry Adams, and South African leader Nelson Mandela. Later, the U.S. welcomed Arafat, Adams, and Mandela in the White House and approved of them. They should have approved of me

too, but they didn't—I remained on the blacklist. This shows that U.S. policy is moody and selective."

10. On his 1972 visit to Iraq:

"Saddam Hussein and Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr received me coldly at Baghdad Airport. I asked why they welcomed me so unfriendly. They said, 'Because you support the Kurdish revolution led by Mustafa Barzani, who has ties with Israel.' I replied: 'If you had given the Kurdish people their right to independence, I would have given you every right. But you suffocate the Kurds and don't want them seeking help from others—this is unacceptable and unreasonable.'"

11. He expressed astonishment:

"I am amazed at Arabs who recognize Israel but refuse to recognize a Kurdish state."

12. Gaddafi's vision for oppressed nations:

"I have long sought unity among Middle Eastern states, especially those with oppressed peoples. I wanted recognition for the Amazigh and Tuareg in Libya, making Libya a republic of Arabs and Amazigh. But neighboring North African countries opposed me. Therefore, I seek unity among nations to implement my program."

13. On establishing a "World Organization of Oppressed Peoples":

"For our struggle to be complete, you Kurds must establish a global organization for oppressed peoples and work seriously—there is a vicious conspiracy

against them orchestrated by major powers, far greater than all Middle Eastern states and peoples combined."

He entrusted me with this mission, saying:

"The unity of oppressed peoples in a global organization would be the true United Nations."

"Kurds do not belong to Iraq, Syria, Turkey, or Iran—they belong to Kurdistan. The Amazigh do not belong to North African states—they belong to Tamazgha. The Baloch do not belong to Iran, Pakistan, or Afghanistan—they belong to Baluchistan."

Under Gaddafi's mandate, I founded the World Organization of Oppressed Peoples.

14. Our list of requests was on his table, but our allocated hour ended. He stood, bid us farewell with kisses, and wished us well. We returned to the presidential palace the same way we came.

Yes, Gaddafi meant every word he said. It is striking how his thoughts aligned with mine in the statement I wrote before the Iraq War, where I predicted that such a conference would leave the Kurds empty-handed—exactly as Gaddafi later remarked: "The Kurds came out of the wedding without chickpeas."

Not only these shared ideas but also the principles of KAJYK Party (1959) and the Kurdistan National Congress (1985) align with Gaddafi's Green Book. The free and noble-minded think alike, even if they never meet.

Had fate granted the Kurds a leader like Gaddafi, Kurdistan would have gained independence long ago.



I presented the Kurdistan flag to Gaddafi, and his personal advisor, Ibrahim al-Bashari, stood behind it. Out of his love for the flag, Gaddafi even had his tent colored in the Kurdish flag's hues.

On 29-1-1997, the same day as our meeting with Leader Muammar Gaddafi, a delegation from the Kurdistan Parliament in Exile (PKK) arrived in Libya, headed by Yashar Kaya and Dr. Ismet Sherif Wanly. I was unaware of the reason for their arrival in Libya at the same time as our visit.

Several months later, my dear friend Dr. Ismet Sherif Wanly visited me in London and said: "Your trip to Libya did not yield any results." I asked him, "How do you know?" He replied that Yashar Kaya had informed Libyan officials that "Jawad Mella's Kurdistan National Congress (KNC) is not like the PKK's Kurdistan National Congress, which has its own military forces."

According to Dr. Ismet, one of the Libyan officials was a friend of Yashar Kaya, as they had studied together at Istanbul University... Because of this, none of our written requests submitted to Colonel Muammar Gaddafi as a working paper were implemented.

The sabotage of our relations by the PKK leadership and other Kurdish party leaders has been—and still is—ongoing. It is not because of this or that person being with us, but rather to oppose our principles, which advocate for the establishment of a Kurdish state.

Despite all the sabotage carried out by Kurdish party leaders against the Kurdistan National Congress, I never retaliated with similar actions, as I still hope they will awaken from the ignorance in which they are deeply immersed.

As for the Libyan leadership, although they did not fulfill our requests, I maintained diplomatic relations with them. What I have learned about diplomacy is that it is the art of knocking on every door. And if the doors do not open, we must knock again the next day—until the day comes when the doors swing wide open. Thanks to this

diplomacy, the Libyan leadership continued to communicate with me, and I was later able to attend many conferences in Libya.

Details can be found in Part Four of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 31-1-1997, Professor Jemal Nebez and Engineer Bruska Ibrahim visited me in London to discuss matters related to the Kurdistan National Congress, the delegation's trip to Libya, and the situation in Kurdistan, particularly in Southern Kurdistan.

That same day, I received a phone call from Jalal Talabani. After greetings, he said: "I heard Jamal is your guest." I replied, "Yes, and Engineer Bruska Ibrahim is also here." Jalal then said: "I miss Jamal—he has been my comrade since our student days, and I long to see him. I'd like to invite you all for breakfast together." (It was Ramadan, and he was staying at his sister-in-law's house in London.) The three of us went to Jalal's breakfast invitation.

Details can be found in Part Four of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

The Spring Festival of Friendship and Peace in Tripoli

On 14-4-1997, I participated in the Spring Festival of Friendship and Peace in Tripoli, wearing traditional Kurdish attire and delivering a speech.

During a break, I encountered three men who seemed to want to greet me. The first extended his hand and said in Kurdish: "How are you, Kaka (brother)?" I replied, "I'm fine, and who are you?" He said: "I am a representative of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), and my name is Mohsen." The second introduced himself as a representative of the Kurdistan Revolutionary Party. I welcomed them both.

Then the third man shook my hand and said in Arabic: "I am the Iraqi ambassador." It felt like an electric shock—I instinctively pulled my hand away. The ambassador asked, "Why did you withdraw your hand like that? That's uncivilized behavior!" I replied: "Is killing half a million Kurds civilized? If you had introduced yourself as an ordinary Iraqi, I would have welcomed you. But you represent the Iraqi regime—meaning you are complicit in the crimes of Saddam Hussein. I refuse to shake hands with the murderers of the Kurdish people."

He walked away angrily, then returned and said: "The blame is not on you but on whoever invited you to this conference." I replied: "The one who invited me is Leader Muammar Gaddafi, who supports an independent Kurdish state!" He walked away again, then came back

and said: "From your accent, you seem to be Syrian—you have nothing to do with us Iraqis." I responded: "Yes, I am a Syrian Kurd. We Kurds in Syria and Iraq are one people—it is you who have no place among us!"

I then turned to the Kurdish party representatives and asked: "How can you accompany such a murderer?" They replied that they belonged to Kurdish parties allied with the Iraqi government. I realized they were Saddam's puppet factions, so I told them: "Go and join your friend." All three left the conference and never returned.

Later, I learned that the Iraqi ambassador was Ali Al-Hadithi. I am certain he will never forget this incident. Had Kurdish leaders always taken such a firm stance, the suffering of the Kurdish people would have ended long ago.

Details can be found in Part Four of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 1-6-1997, I participated in a conference organized by the Alliance of Kurdistan Parties in Germany, titled "A Step Towards Convening the Kurdistan National Congress." I attended alongside members of the Kurdistan National Congress, including Dr. Jemal Nebez and Artist Reber Jalal Mamsh, the Congress's representative in Finland. During the event, our members were brutally attacked by supporters of PKK.

Details can be found in Part Four of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 8-9-1997, I received a letter from Harvard University Professor Mehrdad Izady, the Kurdish intellectual, along with the Provisional Constitution of the Federal Republic of Kurdistan. He requested a campaign to collect signatures supporting the constitution and Kurdish independence. I signed it and forwarded it to members and supporters of the Kurdistan National Congress.

Details can be found in Part Four of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

I Raised the Kurdistan Flag on Al Jazeera TV

On 10-3-1998, I raised the Kurdish flag on Al Jazeera TV during the program "The Opposite Direction" in Qatar, in the heart of the Arab world—while Kurdish parties in Kurdistan were banning the Kurdish flag and fighting over their own yellow and green party flags.

During the interview, I stated:

"Syria, Iraq, Turkey, and Iran are colonial states that have occupied Kurdistan and plundered its resources."

"There is only one solution: expelling these colonial powers and establishing an independent Kurdish state."

Colonialism comes in various forms: military colonialism, as seen in India under British rule; settler colonialism, like that of Europeans in South Africa; and cultural colonialism, as experienced by Algeria under France. However, Kurdistan suffers from all these forms of colonialism simultaneously. It endures the most brutal type of colonialism humanity has ever faced, and thus, the only solution is the establishment of an independent Kurdish state.

Key Events Before and After the Interview:

1. On March 6, 1998, Dr. Faisal Al-Qasim from Al Jazeera TV called me and said he wanted to host me on his show "The Opposite Direction" in the main studio in Qatar the following Tuesday. I told him I had one condition: the plane must not stop in Damascus, Baghdad, Turkey, or Iran. He replied, "I'll arrange it as you request." I thanked him for the invitation.
2. A few hours later, Dr. Faisal called again to confirm my travel date (March 9, 1998) and assured me that upon arrival at Heathrow Airport, my ticket would be ready at the Qatar Airways office. I thanked him.
3. On March 9, 1998, I arrived at the airport wearing a Kurdistan flag pin on my chest and carrying another Kurdistan flag in my bag—one with a stand to place on the table during the show. I was seated in first class.

4. After a few hours, I landed at Doha Airport, where an Al Jazeera representative greeted me with their official car and took me to the Sheraton Hotel.
5. One of the staff members at the Sheraton was instructed to escort me to my room. I asked him, "Where is the room key?" He replied, "At the reception desk. The previous guest in your room forgot to return the key, but a new one will be sent to you shortly." I thanked him.

After reaching my room, I washed my face and hands to freshen up, then went back down to explore the ground floor. There, I saw beautiful lounges and shops that were no different from what you would find in Europe. I also read some local Qatari newspapers.

When I decided to return to my room, I inquired at the information desk about the key. One of the staff offered, "I'll come with you to open the room." I replied, "No, thank you. I'd like to change to a different room—one that already has its key." He insisted, "Don't worry, the key will arrive soon." I asked, "Where is the manager?" He pointed, "At the end of this lounge."

I went to the manager and requested a different room, refusing to wait any longer for the key. The manager then ordered the receptionist to assign me a new room with its key—and indeed, I received it immediately.

6. Hours later, Dr. Faisal visited me and asked, "I checked your room, but they said you changed it. Why?" I explained: "The first room had no key—I couldn't enter without reception's permission. It's like autonomy, and you know I demand a fully independent Kurdistan." Dr. Faisal laughed heartily. We then discussed the show's topics, and I assured him I was ready.
7. On the morning of the interview (March 10, 1998), I took a taxi from the Sheraton to the Amiri Diwan (Emiri Palace). I told the driver to wait, as I would return with him. There, I met the Emir's secretary, greeted him, and explained my sudden visit: "I'm in Qatar for an Al Jazeera interview but also wanted to personally deliver my greetings, a message, and documents on Kurdistan—including my books *The Oppressed Kurds*, *Press Interviews*, and *Kurdistan: A Nation Without a State*—to His Highness the Emir." The secretary assured me everything would reach the Emir.
8. That afternoon, Dr. Walid Kamel, the Emir's personal physician, visited me. I asked him to support my message to the Emir, emphasizing the Kurdistan National Congress's stance on independence.
9. On the evening of the interview, March 10, 1998, an Al Jazeera TV car arrived at the Sheraton with their correspondent, who asked me to accompany him to the main Al Jazeera studio. At 10:00 PM Qatar time,

the debate began with Tamam Al-Barazi, an Iraqi intelligence agent who was previously affiliated with the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood and opposed the Syrian government. He desperately tried to turn the debate into a personal war of words between me and him—or between him and one of the Kurdish party leaders—for no reason other than to divert the audience's attention from the core issue: the cause of the Kurdish people, which is neither Javad's nor Jalal's cause. So, I ignored most of his personal accusations to prevent him from achieving his goal, and I kept my composure to focus on explaining the key points of the Kurdish issue: the Kurdish state and the colonial conditions our people endure in Kurdistan.

Before the debate began, I took the Kurdish flag out of my bag and placed it on the table in front of me. However, Dr. Faisal told me that propaganda for any side was unacceptable because the other party might also bring a flag or symbol. I replied, "Let them bring one." The TV director overheard my discussion with Dr. Faisal about the Kurdish flag... and he also rejected the presence of flags or symbols, citing the TV network's policy. At that point, it became clear to me that if I insisted on keeping the flag, the interview would be canceled. So, I made an immediate decision: I would comply with their request while also making my point. I placed the Kurdish flag inside my bag under the chair I was sitting on, leaving the bag open. As the

program neared its end, I planned to dramatically pull out the Kurdish flag and place it on the table—which is exactly what I did. Tamam Al-Barazi was furious, while Dr. Faisal signaled to the TV crew and said, “Enough!” But by then, I had already placed the flag, declaring, “There is only one solution to the Kurdish issue: a Kurdish state under the banner of the Kurdish flag.” And with that, the program ended.

After the interview, I spoke to the deputy chairman of Al Jazeera's board of directors, Mr. Mahmoud Abdulaziz Al-Sahlawi, and asked, “Who is this street thug you brought on?” He replied, “You have the right [to ask]. God willing, I will compensate you with a better interview.” He then gave me his card and asked that we stay in contact.

One of the brothers in charge at the television station told me, “This confused and disheveled man came for the sake of your people and gave a clear picture of the kind of people who oppose the Kurdish people—like you and the Kurds who called in, saying you are a civilized people and did not stoop to his level.”

After the interview, I arrived at the hotel at 1:00 AM and received a phone call from Dr. Ali Al-Qardaghi, a professor at Qatar University. He welcomed me, expressed his happiness with the interview, and asked for my opinion on his intervention. I told him, “It was good, but you ruined it at the end by speaking against the state.” When I said this, he realized the mistake he had made.

Later, a reporter from Al-Watan newspaper called and asked to conduct a press interview with me. I told him, "It's late now, and tomorrow morning at 11:00, I will leave for London." He asked, "Can I come at 10:00?" I agreed, and he arrived with the newspaper's photographer to conduct the interview.

At exactly 11:00, the TV station's representative came with his car to take me to the airport. I said, "Fine, but I am not prepared to ride in the same car as Tamam Barazi." He replied, "As you wish. The management said we should fulfill your requests first, then Tamam Barazi's." So I said, "Let's go to the airport," and they took me alone. I don't know how Tamam got to the airport, but I noticed he was on the same flight—I completely ignored him.

Here, I must extend my thanks to Al Jazeera TV for their cooperation, especially Dr. Faisal Al-Qassem, and to all the brothers who called in:

Mohsen Jawamir, editor-in-chief of Halabja Magazine in Sweden

Nazira Abdulrazzaq

Sardar Peshdari

Osama Al-Dees

Hazem Kurda

Kefi Mizouri

Ali Al-Qardaghi

Abdulsalam Barwari

Sarbast Bamarni (representative of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan in Damascus)

Abdulrazzaq Abu Tara, media official of the Kurdistan National Congress

Most of the interventions were supportive of the Kurdish people, though some were hesitant about the issue of Kurdistan's independence. I do not blame those who spoke in their personal capacity, but I do blame Abdulsalam Barwari (Central Media Officer of the Kurdistan Democratic Party) and Sarbast Bamarni (representative of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan in Damascus) for their participation.

Abdulsalam Barwari said:

"Regarding our stance on what is happening now—or what has happened to us—the Kurdish issue in Iraq is about the cultural and administrative rights of the Kurdish people within the central government... This local parliament did approve the principle of federalism for all of Iraq, including a federal region in northern Iraq. This is not an independent entity. I ask that you help us prevent it from being misrepresented."

However, I take great pride in what my dear brother Abdulrazzaq Abu Tara (media official of the Kurdistan National Congress) said:

"What is needed is the unification of Kurdish factions and parties into a national front, presenting a joint national program for the independence of Kurdistan."



From the right: Jawad Mella, Faisal Al-Qasim, and Tamam Al-Barazi. At the time when I said that the solution to the Kurdish issue is the establishment of a Kurdish state under the banner of this flag, and I placed the Kurdistan flag on the table, their voices rose in condemnation of the Kurdistan flag, with Faisal Al-Qasim signaling to stop filming... And with that, the program ended.

On 14-7-1998, I announced the launch of a new campaign to collect signatures from international figures in support of the independence of Kurdistan.

On 6-8-1998, I distributed a questionnaire to gather signatures from scientific, literary, and political figures worldwide to file a lawsuit with the International Court of

Justice, the International Criminal Court in The Hague, and the United Nations in New York against all those who committed individual crimes or genocide against the Kurdish people in all parts of Kurdistan, from the massacre of Dimdim Castle to the present day.

On 19-9-1998, I wrote online the following:

On this historic day, Masoud Barzani and Jalal Talabani signed a ceasefire agreement in Washington, mediated by U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright.

However, it was truly regrettable that they gave a televised interview on MBC on this occasion. While their unity suggested the imminent declaration of a Kurdish state, their responses were as follows:

Jalal Talabani said three times: "No, no, no to a Kurdish state."

Meanwhile, Masoud Barzani emphasized in his speech: "No to a Kurdish state," affirming his Iraqi identity and that Kurdistan is part of Iraq, and that no one should conspire against Iraq—unfortunately implying that a Kurdish state would be considered a conspiracy.

On October 10-11, 1998, I held the Fourth Kurdistan National Congress in London.

Details can be found in Part Four of my book "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."



Some members of the Fourth Kurdistan National Congress.

On 17-11-1998, Mr. William Morris, head of the British organization, The Next Century Foundation, contacted me and informed me that the Iraqi government had invited him to visit Baghdad and requested that he bring a Kurdish delegation to visit Iraq and Kurdistan. William Morris asked for my opinion, and I immediately told him that, as the president of the National Congress of Kurdistan, it was impossible for us to go to Iraq, Syria, Iran, or Turkey—countries that occupy Kurdistan and refuse to recognize our existence and right to freedom on our homeland. I added that he would undoubtedly find other Kurdish organizations willing to accompany him, even eager to visit the capitals of these occupying states.

On 18-4-1999, Mr. Zubair Aydar arrived in London and called me from the Kurdish Information Center,

requesting a meeting. I went to the center, and Zubair's discussion revolved around my return to parliament and the Kurdistan National Congress they had established after Abdullah Öcalan's arrest. I told him I had no objection but needed to clarify some points:

1. The issue of Kurdish independence is fundamental, and while I don't oppose party agendas, the National Congress of Kurdistan belongs to the Kurdish people, and their right to independence must not be compromised.
2. The National Congress of Kurdistan must not be under the control of any single party, as other parties would work to undermine it, seeing it as an extension of that party.

Zubair Aydar did not accept my conditions, and the meeting ended with the understanding that I remained open to cooperation if circumstances changed.

On 6-7-1999, I received a thank-you letter and warm wishes from Lord Hylton regarding a letter I had sent to Tony Blair. Lord Hylton informed me that he had used my letter in a House of Lords debate on the same issue, noting that the number of Kurds displaced by Turkey over the past 15 years exceeded the population of Kosovo.

Details and Lord Hylton's letter can be found in Part Four of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 12-7-1999, I received a thank-you letter from the British Foreign Office in response to my letter to Prime Minister Tony Blair dated 30-6-1999. Although I was not a member of Abdullah Öcalan's party, I had urged the British government to pressure Turkey for the freedom of the Kurdish people and their leader, Abdullah Öcalan, imprisoned in Turkey. The Foreign Office responded by stating that Öcalan's lawyers should appeal to the European Court to prevent his execution and that the UK was closely monitoring the situation—though it condemned the PKK as a terrorist organization. Upon receiving this, I sent another letter explaining that Turkey itself was the terrorist state and that Kurdish self-defense should not be labeled as terrorism.

Details can be found in Part Four of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 4-9-1999, I met with Dr. Jemal Nebez and Engineer Bruska Ibrahim at Dr. Jamal Rashid Ahmed's home in Heerenveen, Netherlands, to discuss the National Congress of Kurdistan and the latest developments in our project to establish the Kurdistan Strategic Studies Institute in Hawler.

On 22-9-1999, my dear friend Sherwan Rashid from Sulaymaniyah informed me that armed forces had kidnapped Bakhtiar Zangana, the National Congress of

Kurdistan's representative in Sulaymaniyah. That day, I made intensive efforts to secure his release.

On 7-10-1999, I met with Jalal Talabani and Dr. Fuad Masum at the PUK office in London, accompanied by Sheikh Latif Marivani, Sherwan Rashid, and Dr. Kamal Saleh. Two young men also joined as security but stayed in the reception area. The meeting was cordial, and we exchanged views on various Kurdish issues. Mam Jalal said he saw no disagreement between us and would work to strengthen relations. I raised the issue of Bakhtiar Zangana's kidnapping by PUK forces, and Mam Jalal claimed no knowledge but took responsibility for his release. The meeting ended amicably, with group photos taken. A few days later, Bakhtiar was freed.

Details can be found in Part Four of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 4-3-2000, I attended a KDP-organized public gathering at the University of London to commemorate the 21st anniversary of General Mustafa Barzani's passing. Over 500 Kurdish and Iraqi figures attended, and I delivered a speech in Kurdish.

Details can be found in Part Four of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

From 30 to 31-10-2000, I attended the World Forum of Al-Mathaba conference as president of the National Congress of Kurdistan, wearing traditional Kurdish attire. The Kurdistan flag was placed on my table alongside those of republic presidents. The conference had 500 delegates, including 15 heads of state, 60 foreign ministers, ambassadors, and 18 party leaders. I held talks with representatives of stateless nations, including Native American leaders.

Details can be found in Part Four of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".



Jawad Mella at the First Row of the Al-Mithaba Global Conference with the Kurdistan Flag

On 23-1-2001, I attended a meeting in the British Parliament about the Kurdish issue. Speakers included Lord Avebury, Lord Rea, British writer David McDowall, Dr. Ismet Sharif Wanly, and others, both British and Kurdish. Among them were Dr. Mahmoud Othman, Dara Attar, Sheikh Dara the grandson, Sheikh Mansour the grandson, and representatives of British, Kurdish, and Arab organizations.

Their speeches focused on human rights and democracy for the "Kurdish minority" in Turkey, and they repeated this term in their speeches as if they had agreed on it before entering the hall.

When they finished their remarks, they asked the audience to share their opinions or pose questions. Dr. Mahmoud Othman spoke first, then I spoke after him, followed by three others: one British, another representing the Iraqi Communist Party, and Dara Jamil. But David McDowall made an important point in his speech: "We must study the philosophy of the Turkish state."

When I spoke, I began with this important point and said that what David McDowell mentioned is true, as it was mentioned by the great Chinese thinker Mao Tsi Tong, who said: "If you know yourself and know your enemy, and then fight a hundred battles with him, you will win a hundred times over."

I added: We must first know ourselves and our enemy.

But the term you mentioned today, "the Kurdish minority," in Turkey, is completely incorrect. The correct term is that the Kurds in Tehran, Baghdad, Istanbul, and Damascus are a "Kurdish minority." Even the Kurds in London can be described as a Kurdish minority. As for the Kurds in Kurdistan, they are a fragmented and colonized people, as Professor Ismail Beşikçi described in his book "Kurdistan: An International Colony," and their independence must be achieved and a Kurdish state established.

Secondly, to understand our enemy, the Turkish state, I will briefly describe it as the Nazi leader Adolf Hitler said, that Mustafa Kamal, the founder of the Turkish state, was his teacher. So what human rights and democracy do you demand from the Turkish Nazis?

The only solution is to separate our homeland, Kurdistan, from the Nazis and declare the Kurdish state.

The audience applauded for a long time and enthusiastically.

On 17-3-2001, I received a letter of appreciation and gratitude from His Majesty King Abdullah II of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in response to my letter, in which I presented him with a copy of my book Kurdistan and the Kurds. In his letter, His Majesty wished me further progress and success.

You can find the details in the fifth part of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

A Seminar on the City of Kirkuk

On 22-7-2001, I participated in a two-day seminar (21–22 July) on the city of Kirkuk, organized by the Karbala Centre in London. I did not attend the first day because I was uncomfortable with the seminar's title: "Kirkuk, the City of Fraternal Ethnicities: A Model for the Future of Iraq." However, I went on the second day after my dear friend Dr. Jamal Rashid Ahmed called me and said, "We didn't see you at the seminar..." So, I attended to see Dr. Jamal and his wife, Dr. Kurdistan Mokriyani.

Most speakers at the seminar emphasized that Kirkuk is Iraqi and part of Iraqi civilization. When I asked about the first day's discussions, I was told that the Turkmens had claimed Kirkuk as a Turkmen city and asserted that their population was larger than that of the Kurds and Arabs. At that point, I had no choice but to raise my hand and request to speak. The session chair welcomed me, saying, "Go ahead, give your remarks at the microphone." My intervention was as follows:

Since the seminar was held in a mosque, I began by saying: "In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful."

"I thank the Karbala Centre for organizing this seminar on Kirkuk and for inviting me. I want to emphasize fraternity among ethnicities—not just in Kirkuk but also in London and worldwide. There are many ethnicities everywhere, and I support brotherhood among them. However, regarding Kirkuk, we must not forget that it is not just a part but a vital and fundamental part of Kurdistan. This is a historical, geographical, demographic, and civilizational fact proving its Kurdish identity. The will of the Kurdish people regarding Kirkuk's status must be respected, a truth no neutral party can deny.

In 1974, Kirkuk was the main point of dispute between the Iraqi government and the Kurdish revolution. Had the Kurdish revolution accepted Kirkuk's exclusion from Kurdistan, tragedies like Halabja, the Anfal campaigns, and other genocidal operations might not have occurred. I wanted to remind you of Kirkuk's significance through the sacrifices made by the Kurdish people for it."

The audience responded with warm applause.

After the seminar, Sheikh Mohsen al-Iraqi greeted me and said, "Kirkuk is a Kurdish city, but there's no need for rigidity." I replied that it was a sensitive issue and must be emphasized. Dr. Mahmoud Othman also greeted me, saying, "Your brief remarks were like raising the Kurdish flag at the end of your Al Jazeera interview—very concise and powerful." Many attendees congratulated me, as my intervention had shifted the entire seminar's direction. Those who spoke after me—including representatives of

the Iraqi Front, Ezzedin Mustafa Rasul, and Dr. Fuad Masum—reiterated my points about Kirkuk's Kurdish identity. All this happened in the seminar's final hour, which had lasted two days without explicitly addressing Kirkuk's Kurdish identity until then.

Muhammad Saeed al-Turaimi, head of the Kufa Centre in the Netherlands, thanked me for my book, from which he had quoted excerpts in his studies.

I spoke at length with Dr. Ezzedin Mustafa Rasul, who told me, "I consider Dr. Jemal Nebez a brother since our early days in Sulaymaniyah and university. When Dr. Jemal's brother Kamal passed away, I stood by his family to receive condolences and support." He repeatedly stressed that Jamal was more than a brother to him. I told him, "I will relay your words to Dr. Jemal Nebez," which visibly pleased him.

It was a beautiful summer evening, so I suggested to Dr. Jamal Rashid Ahmed, "Let's step outside this crowd and talk while walking." We strolled together with Dr. Kordestan and Dr. Mirella Galletti, the renowned Italian scholar who has written extensively on Kurdish affairs.

Dr. Jamal Rashid and I agreed to soon arrange a meeting to send a delegation from the Kurdistan National Congress to the Kurdistan Regional Government in Hewlêr (Erbil) to strengthen bilateral relations.

I condemned the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center.

On 11-9-2001, when I woke up on the morning of the 11th—the anniversary of the Kurdish Revolution—I turned on the television and saw the World Trade Center towers being struck by planes, collapsing into rubble and flames. At first, I thought it was a scene from a Hollywood fantasy film, but I was shocked to realize it was real news, not a movie. For a moment, I wondered to myself: Could it be that the Kurdish people have taken revenge on America, which collaborated with Saddam Hussein to crush the Kurdish Revolution on September 11, the very anniversary of its beginning? But why would this revenge come more than a quarter of a century later?

As I followed the news reports and saw the civilian casualties—no less tragic than the Halabja massacre, where Iraq bombed the city with chemical weapons—I immediately thought: No, this cannot be the work of the Kurdish people. The Kurds do not kill civilians; in fact, we stand against anyone who does, because we ourselves are victims of global and regional terrorism.

I contacted all our comrades around the world and asked them to visit the U.S. embassies in their countries to offer condolences. In Britain, I personally went to the U.S. Embassy in London, where a condolence tent had been set up outside. With me were Engineer Ghayath Ahmed, Kamiran, Dylan, and Rashid.

I signed the condolence book in the name of the Kurdistan National Congress and laid flowers in honor of the victims. As we were paying our respects, U.S. Ambassador William S. Farish arrived and thanked us for our solidarity in mourning the victims of the World Trade Center attacks in New York. He shook each of our hands, and I told him: "This tragedy has deeply pained us because we Kurds understand such suffering—we, too, are victims of terrorism." I also said to the ambassador: "Please inform your government to pay attention to the cause of Kurdistan's independence."

Ambassador Farish replied, "We are aware of your cause," and shook our hands once more, thanking us for coming. At that moment, a group of photographers—likely from the embassy—took pictures of us before leaving with the ambassador. It was a powerful moment, delivering the voice of Kurdistan's independence to the U.S. administration. On our chests, we wore the flag of Kurdistan, and we also presented one to the ambassador.



Jawad Mella signs the condolence book, accompanied by Ghayath and Dylan.

On 21-9-2001, I received a letter from Mr. William S. Farish, the U.S. Ambassador in London, thanking me and the Kurdistan National Congress for the message I wrote in the condolence book at the U.S. Embassy following the World Trade Center bombings in New York on 11 September 2001.

The details and letters can be found in Part Five of my book "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

On 15-1-2002, I participated in a meeting on the Kurdish issue organized by the British organization, Liberation. Over a hundred British figures and members of Parliament attended, including Jeremy Corbyn, Rudi Vis, and others. Also present were dear friends Mr. Sherwan Rashid, Engineer Ghayath Ahmed, Dr. Abdulhamid Al-Sarraj, Dr. Ashti Horami, Mr. Omid, Shabaz, and others. Dilshad Miran (representing the Kurdistan Democratic Party), Dr. Latif Rashid (representing the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan), and Nilofar Koc (representing PKK) spoke at the event. All three talked about their parties, their relationships with each other, their conflicts, and their agreements—but not a single word about the Kurdish cause, as if their parties were the Kurdish cause. When it was my turn to speak, I said in English: "The Kurdish cause is the independence of Kurdistan."

On 1-2-2002, the newspaper Media in the capital city of Hawler (Erbil), the mouthpiece of the Kurdistan National Democratic Union, published my speech delivered at the British Parliament on January 15, 2002.

The details and the full text of my speech can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

On 25-6-2002, I met with Lord Hylton, who told me that having a Kurdish representative as an observer at the United Nations was the least the UN could do for the

Kurdish people. During the meeting, I was accompanied by Engineer Ghayath Ahmed and the renowned Kurdish singer Newroz.



From the right: Lord Hylton, Jawad Mella, Engineer Ghayath Ahmed, and the Kurdish singer Newroz Oramari.

On 24-8-2002, I held an extraordinary conference for the Kurdistan National Congress (KNC) – UK Branch, which took place at the Polish Centre in London under the slogan "Independence for Kurdistan." Attendees included Engineer Bruska Ibrahim, the KNC's head of foreign relations, and Professor Jemal Nebez, the KNC's advisor, who delivered a powerful nationalist lecture to the audience.

The details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

My meeting with Arab Politicians at the Qatari Embassy

On 19-9-2002, I attended the celebrations at the Qatari Embassy in London on Qatar's National Day. There, I was warmly received by His Excellency Sheikh Nasser bin Hamad Al Khalifa, the Qatari ambassador, and other Qatari dignitaries. I also met many Arab and British political figures, including the First Secretary of the Saudi Foreign Ministry. When he noticed the Kurdistan flag pinned on my chest, the following conversation took place:

He said to me: "You Kurds are exhausting yourselves for nothing."

I replied: "Why do you think our struggle is for nothing?"

He smiled and said: "It seems you are new to the Kurdish movement, so I will tell you the hidden truth."

I responded: "Please go ahead. As someone new to the Kurdish movement, I want to learn."

He then stated: "In my position of responsibility in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, I repeat: You are exhausting yourselves for nothing. Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf states have a unified policy toward you: 'We are willing to sacrifice half of our budgets to ensure the Kurds never have a state, so that they never gain control over Iraq or

Syria. No Syrian or Iraqi leader can resist the temptations of the financial incentives we provide to ensure the Kurds never play a leading role in the region."

I asked: "Why such generosity just to deny the Kurds their role, especially since Kurdistan is thousands of kilometers away from your borders?"

He replied: "Your argument is logical, but this is our policy."

At the same event, I also met with an ambassador from a Gulf country (I prefer not to name the country or the ambassador to avoid implicating him).

I told him: "I have met many world leaders, but I have never seen any interest from your government in the Kurdish cause."

He replied: "We do care about the Kurdish issue. I have forwarded your information to the authorities, but I couldn't arrange an invitation for you because you are associated with Colonel Gaddafi's group, and my country does not wish to deal with Gaddafi."

I smiled sarcastically and said: "Does your government not know that I am an advocate for the independence of Kurdistan? It is my right to knock on every door. My cause is not to please your government or Gaddafi's regime. I welcome anyone who supports Kurdish independence, but I have no interest in meeting those who oppose it."



From the right: Qatari Ambassador Sheikh Nasser bin Hamad Al Khalifa and Jawad Mella.

I held 5 seminars in 3 countries within a week

On 22-9-2002, I attended a seminar organized by the Kurdistan National Congress (KNC) for Dr. Jemal Nebez titled "The Future of Iraq and the Kurdish Issue" in Hanover, Germany. The seminar was moderated by Yousif Nasro and Jalal Barzani. During the event, I delivered a brief speech about Professor Jemal Nebez's struggle and the Kurdistan National Congress's efforts for the freedom of the Kurdish people and the independence of Kurdistan.

On 23-9-2002, I held a seminar on the Kurdish issue in Western Kurdistan, organized by Marwan Ali and Rizgar Qasim.

After the seminars in Hanover and Dortmund, Dr. Sherwan Mohiddin contacted me and said, "Our city, Mannheim, is not far from Dortmund." Dr. Kamal Seydo and his comrades generously drove me to Mannheim.

On 25-9-2002, I held a seminar on Kurdistan's independence in Mannheim, organized by Swara Arif and Dr. Sherwan Mohiddin.

Additionally, friends from Switzerland contacted me, saying that Zurich was not far from Mannheim and that they were ready to organize a seminar for me. I accepted and traveled to Switzerland.

On 27-9-2002, I held a seminar on Kurdistan's independence, in Zurich, Switzerland, organized by Hamid Suri and Dr. Fawzi Qadour, the representative of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) in Switzerland.

Similarly, friends from Milan, Italy, contacted me, stating that their city was not far from Zurich and that they were willing to arrange a seminar. I accepted and traveled to Italy by train, passing through the breathtaking Alps—the scenery was unbelievably beautiful.

On 28-9-2002, I held a seminar in Milan, Italy, organized by Dr. Carlo Boldrini (President of the Kurdistan Cultural Center in Italy, son of Senator Eriko Boldrini) and Dr. Izzat Seydo, the KRG's representative in Italy.

The Main Objective of These Events, the primary goal of these activities was to educate the Kurdish people on how to achieve their freedom. A people who knows their rights and the path to those rights will undoubtedly attain them swiftly. Unfortunately, the prevailing mindset in Kurdish society remains partisan, regional, and tribal loyalty—often prioritizing party, leader, clan, or family over the nation. Party security and tribal interests have become more important than Kurdish national security or even the idea of building a national strategy.

Details and photos of these five seminars, conducted in three European countries in less than a week, can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

On 22-10-2002, I received a letter from Italian President Carlo Azeglio Ciampi via Senator Eriko Boldrini (member of the Italian Senate and President of the Veterans Association in Rome). Senator Boldrini had written to the President on my behalf, requesting a meeting.

I had previously reached out to global leaders to gauge their stance on Kurdistan's independence. The response made it clear that world powers reject Kurdish independence to appease the Middle Eastern states

occupying Kurdistan. This confirmed that international policies still follow colonial-era treaties that ignored Kurdistan.

Translation of the Italian President's Letter to Senator Eriko Boldrini:

Dear Eriko,

I refer to your kind letter dated October 11 regarding a meeting request with Dr. Jawad Mella, President of the Kurdistan National Congress. I acknowledge your positive remarks about Dr. Mella. However, I must note that your organization's requests do not align with Italy's current foreign policy guidelines or our friendly relations with Middle Eastern states.

While I regret declining this meeting, I trust you understand the reasons, especially given the current sensitive climate. I extend my warmest regards.

Signed, The President of the Italian Republic

Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

My Meeting with Lord Nazir Ahmed

On 29-10-2002, I formed a delegation for the Kurdistan National Conference consisting of respected members: Kamal Chalabi, Sherwan Rashid, Engineer Ghayath

Ahmed, Dr. Abdulhamid Al-Sarraj, and Dr. Tariq Pasha Al-Amadi. We held a meeting with the British Lord Nazir Ahmed (of Kashmiri origin) in the grand hall of the House of Lords at the British Parliament, where he served us tea and coffee.

At the beginning of the meeting, I introduced myself and the delegation members... He remarked, "You are a highly educated elite group—for example, Dr. Tariq was the president of the University of Sulaymaniyah between 1972 and 1978."

Lord Nazir was interested in the issue of the war against Saddam... but I told him, "Our meeting with you is not about Saddam Hussein." He replied, "Then tell me..." So I said, "Our cause and concern is the independence of Kurdistan. How can you help us achieve independence for our homeland?" I then handed him a 20-page dossier on the Kurdish issue and the independence of Kurdistan.

Lord Nazir Ahmed, with a puzzled expression, said: "All the parties and organizations I've met, including Mr. Masoud Barzani, demand federalism or autonomy... Your group is the only Kurdish organization I've met that demands full independence." I responded, "Our demand for independence is strategic—it strengthens the position of those seeking federalism. By asking for more, we make federalism easier to achieve."

However, Lord Ahmed said: "I cannot help you with Kurdistan's independence because I am a member of the British Labour Party, where some members are allies of

Turkey, Iran, Iraq, or Syria. If I advocate for Kurdish independence, it could cause serious divisions within the party—this is beyond my capacity."

I replied: "I am not asking you to openly support independence—leave that to us. But I hope you can propose in the House of Lords a project for a UN-supervised referendum for the Kurdish people. We are in the 21st century, yet the Kurds—over 40 million people—have never been asked what they want. They are deprived of everything."*

Lord Ahmed responded: "A referendum also aligns with the path to independence."

I then asked him privately: "Between you and me—not in front of your party or the House of Lords—do you believe the Kurdish people deserve their own state?" He answered, "Yes, and this comes from my Kashmiri background; I have a similar cause, so I sympathize with you." I thanked him and asked one final question: "Since you believe in Kurdistan's independence, can you guide us on how to achieve it and convince the Western world?"

Lord Nazir Ahmed suggested several approaches:

1. Western governments shape their policies based on political analysts in daily newspapers. You should meet with these analysts and encourage them to write periodically about Kurdistan's independence.

2. Since half of Kurdistan is in Turkey (Europe), you should focus on building connections with the European Union and Parliament, where you can gain significant support.
3. Continue meeting with me and other members of the House of Lords and British Parliament—even those sympathetic to your enemies—to educate them about the Kurds and Kurdistan. There may be benefits in doing so.

At the end of the meeting, I presented Lord Nazir Ahmed with the Kurdistan National Conference's petition to collect signatures for Kurdish representation at the United Nations. He said, "This is a good initiative," and kindly signed it. We bid farewell, hoping to meet again.

My meeting with the UN Representative in Britain

On 26-11-2002, I met Mr. Bertie Lewis Naina, the UN Secretary-General's representative in Britain, alongside Dr. Tariq Pasha Al-Amadi, Homa Razaiean, Engineer Ghayath Ahmed, Dr. Mohammed Shaida (former Arabic-Kurdish broadcaster), and Dr. Rebwar Fatah (Kurdish Media director).

We submitted a file with over 2,000 signatures from global political, academic, and social figures—including British Lords (Hylton, Jeffrey Archer, Nazir Ahmed, Baroness Cox), Italian Senator Eriko Boldrini, and

U.S. Senator Bob Filner—demanding Kurdish observer status at the UN (like Palestine and Western Sahara).

Currently, UN members receive false information about Kurds from the occupying states (Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Iran). An observer would allow Kurds to file complaints in UN-affiliated courts and committees.

However, Mr. Naina informed me that the request was rejected because Kurdish party leaders told the UN that "the Iraqi representative already speaks for Kurds."

We will not stop—we will continue our struggle.

A photo of our delegation in London presenting the request to Mr. Naina is included.

Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".



From right: Ghayath Ahmed, Tariq Al-Amadi, Bertie Lewis Naina, Jawad Mella, Homa Razaiean, Mohammed Shaida, Rebwar Fatah.

On 16-12-2002, On the same day as Bashar al-Assad and his wife's visit to British Prime Minister Mr Tony Blair, a demonstration was organized in front of the British Prime Minister's office. At the end of the protest, a memorandum on the Kurdish issue in Western Kurdistan (Syrian Kurdistan) was delivered to the Prime Minister's office.

For 30 years, I have continuously organized demonstrations and submitted letters and memoranda to

all British Prime Ministers regarding the oppression, rape, and aggression faced by the Kurdish people in Western Kurdistan and other Kurdish regions, as well as the Kurdish people's right to freedom and independence. When Bashar al-Assad exited the meeting, we pelted him with eggs and pots.

Details of the egg-throwing incident were covered in the British press with translations, which can be found in Part Five of my book "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

On 20-12-2002, I received a thank-you letter from Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II of the United Kingdom in response to my letter regarding Bashar al-Assad's visit to Britain. Her Majesty confirmed that she had taken my letter into consideration with great attention. *Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".*

On 23-12-2002, I received a thank-you letter from British Prime Minister Tony Blair in response to my letter about the independence of Kurdistan. He assured me that he had taken it into serious consideration. *Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".*

On 9-1-2003, I received a letter from the British Foreign Office in response to the memorandum I had sent to Prime Minister Tony Blair, which he received just hours before his meeting with Bashar al-Assad on 16-12-2002. *Details, along with the letter and its translation, can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".*

On 27-2-2003, The newspaper Media published my appeal to the Kurdish people... I also issued an open letter to Kurdish political leaders (published in Kurdish, English, and Arabic) one month before U.S. forces entered Iraq and Kurdistan, warning them about the liberation of Kirkuk. However, the Kurdish party leaders ignored my call, even sending hurtful messages to our comrades, dismissing my warnings as "fantasy" and claiming that Iraq would soon have a constitution granting Kurdish rights "legally." They ignored the fact that most nations gained their independence during times of war and chaos. *Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".*

Between 7 and 21-3-2003, I organized several demonstrations in front of the U.S. Embassy in London in support of the freedom of the Kurdish people in Southern Kurdistan (Iraqi Kurdistan), demanding independence

from the Iraqi regime and an end to Turkish military intervention in Southern Kurdistan.

Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 10-4-2003, I received the book "The Story of an Imaginary Government" by the renowned Kurdish poet Zêwar, gifted to me by his son, Mahmoud.

The book, written half a century earlier, remained in handwritten form until the Kurdistan Regional Government facilitated its publication. The story describes a dream in which Zêwar sees Kurdish tribes uniting to declare a Kurdish state—only to wake up and realize it was a vision.

May God rest Zêwar's soul and make his dream and the dream of Faqir Allah from western Kurdistan—because is the dream of all Kurds—come true. Amen.

Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 5-6-2003, Along with Dr. Jemal Nebez, I wrote the foreword for the book "The Kurds and Iran" by scholar Sheikh Omar Ghareeb, debunking Iranian claims that Kurds, their language, and their history are part of Iran.

On 28-6-2003, I sent a letter in the name of the Kurdistan National Congress to Paul Bremer, the first U.S. administrator in Iraq after Saddam Hussein's fall, seeking cooperation in Southern Kurdistan.

Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 13-7-2003, The newspaper Media (No. 144), the mouthpiece of the Kurdistan National Democratic Union in Hewlêr (Erbil), published my letter to U.S. President George W. Bush calling for a referendum across all Kurdish regions.

Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 26-7-2003, I organized a protest in front of the Syrian Embassy in London in solidarity with Kurdish children in Damascus (25-06-2003) and Aleppo (30-06-2003), who were beaten by Syrian intelligence for demonstrating with white flowers in front of the UNICEF office. Many were injured and arrested.

Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 9-8-2003, I held a meeting at the Kurdistan National Congress office in London to elect a Referendum Committee for Southern Kurdistan's Independence. The elected members were:

Dr. Raouf Aziz Rashid

Engineer Ghayath Ahmed

Engineer Aryan Ghafoor

Peshmerga Saber Koki (Southern Kurdistan)

Peshmerga Azad Mohammed (Eastern Kurdistan)

Dr. Ribawar Fatah

Journalist Lajan Dilan

Dr. Jawad Mella (President of the Kurdistan National Congress).

Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 20-8-2003, I launched the "Protocol of Friends of Kurdistan's Independence" to build a Kurdish lobby in the Western world. Lord Jeffrey Archer was the first to endorse this initiative.

Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 8-10-2003, I received a letter from William Boyle of the British Foreign Office's EU Directorate, responding to my letter to Tony Blair about Kurdish independence. The

British government explicitly stated it did not support an independent Kurdistan—an answer I sought to clarify who truly supports the Kurdish cause.

Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 19-11-2003, I received a response from UNICEF regarding my protest over the attack on Kurdish children in Damascus. UNICEF clarified that the assailants were Syrian security forces, not their staff.

Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 5-1-2004, I issued an open letter and public appeal to Kurds in Southern Kurdistan, calling for a million-person march for independence.

Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 23-1-2004, I held a meeting with Western Kurdistan organizations to discuss international political developments regarding Syria and Western Kurdistan. Major powers had labeled Syria part of the "Axis of Evil"—a sign that uprising was imminent.

Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 6-2-2004, The eKurd website published my statements, books, and activities on the Kurdish issue. I extend my gratitude to all media outlets that supported our cause.

Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

My Battle for the slogan of "Independence of Kurdistan" in a London Protest

On 7-2-2004, along with my comrades from the Kurdistan National Congress (KNC), I organized a demonstration for the Kurdish community in London to denounce the terrorist bombings that targeted Kurds in Hawler (Erbil) on February 1, 2004.

Around 700 Kurds from the Kurdish diaspora in Britain participated in the protest. During the demonstration, slogans calling for Kurdistan's independence were raised, and the youth of the KNC wore unified clothing with "Kurdistan" written on them, along with a map of Greater Kurdistan. At the forefront were our dear comrades, including Amanj Pir, Khalid Nabo, and others, as shown in the pictures below.

The march started from Lincoln's Inn Fields and proceeded to the residence of the British Prime Minister at 10 Downing Street in central London. A large banner in English read: "Independence for Kurdistan."

As the demonstrators stood in place, waiting for the scheduled time to begin, I instructed my comrades to ensure that the "Independence for Kurdistan" banner was at the front of the march. They followed orders and positioned themselves at the front with the banner. However, the Kurdish political parties tried with all their might to take down the banner, but they failed thanks to the steadfastness of our comrades.

Suddenly, the Kurdish parties spread word that the route of the march had been changed, reversing the order—making the back of the march the front, and the front (where the Kurdistan independence banner was) the back. I immediately told the comrades carrying the independence banner to run quickly to the front, and the rest of us followed in haste. But when I reached the front, I saw that the comrades holding the banner were folding it up. I asked them why they were doing that, and they pointed to the representatives of the Kurdish parties. I could see the joy on their faces as they took pleasure in folding the Kurdistan independence banner.

I told my comrades, "Raise the banner high—let's see if any of them dares to take it down!" As soon as I said this loudly, the crowd of protesters turned on the representatives of the Kurdish parties, hurling all kinds of

insults at them. I remember the brave and heroic stance of Ms. Chinor Khan, who scolded them, saying, "Aren't you ashamed? Kurdistan has many enemies, and now all you have left is to oppose the banner of Kurdistan's independence?"

At that moment, our comrade Saber Kokiye began taking off his clothes, shouting at the representatives of the Kurdish parties, "Come and see!" The party members thought Saber was stripping to challenge them to a fight, and in that instant, they fled and hid among the protesters. I did not see any of them after that.

I told Saber, "Put your clothes back on—it's very cold! Why did you do that?" He replied:

"I wanted to show these cowardly mercenaries who claim to be better than us—the number of wounds and bullets in my body from 25 years of struggle as a Peshmerga for Kurds and Kurdistan!"

Yes, the Kurdish parties failed in their attempts to bring down the banner of Kurdistan's independence, just as they failed to remove the Kurdistan flag in 1991 in front of the U.S. Embassy in London. But it seems they still refuse to learn from their betrayals, shamelessness, and subservience.



A side photo of the youth of the Kurdistan National Congress in London, wearing their unified attire and holding a banner for "Kurdistan Independence," along with other signs advocating for a Kurdish state.



A front-view photo of the protest in London, adorned with a "Kurdistan Independence" banner.

On 14-2-2004, Following my call for a million-person march, the Kurdistan National Congress organized a historic rally in Sulaymaniyah. The event was covered by Al-Hayat and other media.

Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 12-3-2004, I launched a solidarity campaign for the Qamishli Uprising in Western Kurdistan, including protests, seminars, and letters to world leaders.

Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 25-4-2004, I held a conference for the Kurdish diaspora in Herne, Germany, following the Blessed Uprising in Western Kurdistan (Rojava). This was in response to the masses of the Blessed Uprising on March 12, 2004, who burned the Syrian flag, destroyed the statue of Hafez al-Assad, and raised the Kurdish flag. The Herne Conference then announced the formation of the Government of Western Kurdistan in Exile to defend our people in the homeland and continue the struggle for the independence of Kurdistan and the establishment of a Kurdish state.

On 29-4-2004, the international newspaper Al-Hayat published a report on Jawad Mella's formation of the Government of Western Kurdistan in Exile.

Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 3-5-2004, the Kuwaiti newspaper Al-Siyassa conducted an interview with me regarding the decision to form the Government of Western Kurdistan in Exile, which came after the Blessed Uprising in Western Kurdistan.

On 5-5-2004, Media newspaper, the mouthpiece of the Kurdistan National Democratic Union (KNDU) in Hawler (Erbil), reported the announcement of the Government of Western Kurdistan in Exile, based on a resolution issued by the Herne Conference in Germany.

On 10-5-2004, the Kurdistan National Congress (KNC) ratified the formation of the Government of Western Kurdistan in Exile and its institutions, including its constitution.

Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 7-11-2004, I held an extraordinary conference for Kurdish students and youth in Europe.

During the meeting, the conference decided to establish the National Union of Kurdish Students and Youth in Europe, attended by many Kurdish and British figures.

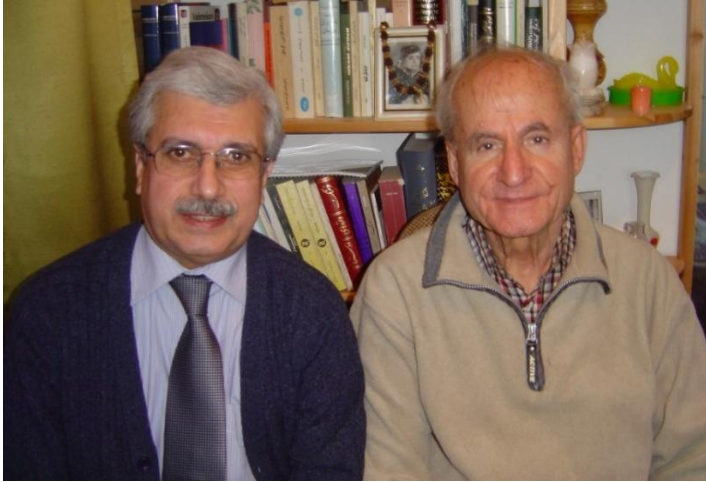
Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 25-11-2004, the Kuwaiti newspaper Al-Siyassa published a report by Marwan Ali about my meeting with American officials to seek independence for Western Kurdistan.

Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 5-12-2004, I participated with several organizations in London in a conference for a referendum on the independence of Kurdistan. I delivered a speech stating that "the independence of Kurdistan is the true Struggle for Survival". *Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".*

On 7-1-2005, I visited my teacher, Professor Jemal Nebes, at his home in Berlin. We had a long discussion about our seminar at the House of the Kurdish People in Berlin and the conference marking the 100th anniversary of the birth of Apo Osman Sabri.



From the left: Jawad Mella; and Jemal Nebez

On 8-1-2005, Upon the invitation of the Kurdish People's House in Berlin, I participated in a seminar alongside Dr. Jemal Nebez. *Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".*

On 9-1-2005, I attended a conference in Berlin commemorating the 100th anniversary of the birth of Othman Sabri, honoring his struggle for the freedom of the Kurdish people and the independence of Kurdistan. *Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".*

My Meeting with Mr Tony Blair the UK Prime Minister

On 29-4-2005, I met with British Prime Minister Tony Blair and presented him with a memorandum on the Kurdish cause and the Kurdish flag. I have submitted similar memoranda to all political leaders and figures I have met, as the Kurdish flag serves as a powerful reminder to world powers about the issue of Kurdistan's independence. *Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".*



From right: Jawad Mella and Mr Tony Blair.

On 10-5-2005, I issued a statement condemning the Syrian intelligence's kidnapping of Sheikh Mashouq al-Khaznawi in Damascus due to his honorable nationalist stance during the 2004 uprising in Western Kurdistan (Rojava) and his continued activism.

Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

Chancellor Charlie Trelogan: "Your Homeland Has Been Stolen"

On 30-7-2005, I held the Fifth Kurdistan National Congress in London.

In his speech to the members of the Fifth Kurdistan National Congress, Chancellor Charlie Trelogan, the Governor of Hammersmith and Fulham, stated: "...You will return once again as one nation to the land of your country, and not to other nations that stole it from you."

At that moment, I looked at my dear comrades in the Kurdish national struggle—Dr. Jemal Nebez and Lawyer Kamil Zheer—and told them: "Until now, we Kurds have been saying that our homeland is occupied and usurped by colonizers and other such phrases... But the truth is what Charlie Trelogan said—that our homeland, Kurdistan, has been stolen. I believe we must reprint what we have written once again."

Below are excerpts from the Fifth Kurdistan National Congress:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mHX1izJO1E4>

Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".



Photo of some attendees at the Fifth Kurdistan National Congress

On 13-12-2007, I participated in a televised debate by presenter Catherine Hanna on New TV Lebanon's program "In the Forbidden Zone" with Dr. Ghassan al-Atiyyah (London), Dr. Mahmoud Othman (Baghdad), and Kurdish activist Ibrahim Youssef (Qamishli), discussing the Kurdish issue.

Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 24-8-2005, a demonstration was organized in front of the residence of the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, in London. A memorandum was presented to him regarding the Kurdish people and their right to independence, as well as the declaration of a Kurdish state. An official Kurdish delegation handed him ten thousand signatures from the Kurdish community in Britain, demanding a referendum for the independence of Kurdistan.

Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 11-10-2005, I met with Mr. William Proctor, Secretary of the British Foreign Office, at the UK Foreign Office. We had a lengthy discussion about the situation in Western Kurdistan (Rojava). He had many questions, which I answered, and he recorded every word I said. However, upon returning to the Western Kurdistan government headquarters, I quickly clarified all points and provided written answers to his inquiries.

Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

The Western Kurdistan Conference Held in the U.S. Congress

From 12 to 13-3-2006, I participated in the Western Kurdistan Conference held at the U.S. Congress in Washington, D.C., wearing traditional Kurdish attire. This was a historic first for the Kurds, just as the visit of the President of Kurdistan, Masoud Barzani, to U.S. President George Bush in Kurdish clothing was also a milestone.

Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".



Jawad Mella Delivers his Speech in the U.S. Congress

On 29-4-2006, I sent a letter in English to U.S. President George W. Bush regarding Greater Kurdistan and the Kurdish people's right to an independent state.

From 27 to 29-5-2006, I participated in the Western Kurdistan Conference at the European Parliament in Brussels, wearing traditional Kurdish attire.

Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

Conference of:

"A Global Civilization or a Clash of Civilizations?"

On 20-1-2007, I attended the conference "A Global Civilization or a Clash of Civilizations?" at Queen Elizabeth II Hall, opposite the British Parliament in London. The conference was sponsored by the Mayor of London, Mr. Ken Livingstone, and attended by over a thousand British figures, including leaders of organizations representing all ethnic minorities in the UK. The following issues were discussed:

Britain's transformation into a multicultural society

The concept of "progressive colonialism"

The role of media in globalization

The right to wear religious clothing

Enlightenment values and contemporary society

Defending freedom of thought, conscience, and belief
Whether there is an "Islamic threat"
Anti-Semitism as an example of all forms of racism
Civil liberties in counterterrorism and the use of torture
Democratic solutions in the Middle East
The effectiveness of such debates in multicultural
London.

For decades, I have worked tirelessly to bring the voice of the Kurdish people to international forums... In this context, I would like to mention what I said at this conference during a historic moment I take pride in. Below are three key interventions I made before 1,000 British dignitaries and representatives of ethnic and religious communities in the UK:

1. On Churchill's Drunken Borders,
"If we want to avoid a clash of civilizations, we must return to the historical roots of the issue—the colonial treaties of the early 20th century. Why, since then, has the Kurdish people been denied an independent state? On this matter, I have sent numerous letters to British Prime Ministers, from Margaret Thatcher to John Major and Tony Blair. Today, I ask you (pointing to Mayor Ken Livingstone on the main stage): Why did Britain deny the Kurds a state? It is unjust that the fate of the Kurds was decided by a drunkard like Winston Churchill, who was Britain's Colonial Secretary during World War I. It is said

that he was intoxicated when he drew the borders of the Middle East—hence, you see straight lines suddenly veering left or right without logic. This was due to Churchill's drunken hiccups, causing his pen to jerk uncontrollably. Thus, Kurdistan was dismembered by Churchill's hiccups. Today (raising my finger toward Mayor Livingstone), I demand that you correct the damage done by Churchill's drunken hiccups to my homeland, Kurdistan."

(Applause)

A few minutes later, Mayor Ken Livingstone spoke and acknowledged that "Winston Churchill committed terrible acts..." The person sitting next to me whispered, "Your words really affected him."

2. On Kurdistan's Erasure from the Map

"Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad declared that he wants to 'wipe Israel off the map,' and the whole world condemned him—as do I. But Kurdistan, ten times larger than Israel, was already wiped off the map 90 years ago, and no major or minor power condemned this crime. At the same time, I wish the Kurds in their homeland were treated like Israel treats Arabs—or even how Britain treats cats and dogs. In Britain, pets have metal tags around their necks saying, 'This is a cat' or 'This is a dog.' But the Kurdish people have not even reached that level

because Kurds lack any form of identity that says, 'This is a Kurd.'"

(Applause)

3. On Double Standards in Independence Movements

"Arabs and Muslims demand independence for Chechnya, Filipino Muslims, and Palestine—but say 'No' to an independent Kurdistan. Years ago, East Timor gained independence from Indonesia, and six months ago, Montenegro separated from Yugoslavia via a referendum. This is what we demand for Kurdistan."

(Applause)

At the end of the conference, many attendees thanked me for my powerful speeches. One British women's rights leader moved me deeply when she said in tears, "It is tragic that a drunkard could turn the life of an entire people into a tragedy."

To this day, leaders of ethnic and religious minorities in Britain who attended the conference still contact me, saying, "We wish you success in correcting the destruction Churchill's hiccups brought upon your homeland, Kurdistan."

Below are photos of some attendees. I was seated in the front row, and my speeches (in English) were delivered via

microphone before a thousand people. Each time I spoke, the applause from the audience was like an earthquake.



From left: Jawad Mella seated in the front row



From left: Jawad Mella speaking at the conference

From 21 to 22-4-2007, Mr. Sami Faraj Ali conducted several interviews with me on ANN TV regarding Syria and the Kurds in Western Kurdistan (Rojava), discussing their legitimate rights to freedom and independence.



From the right: Jawad Mella, the Kurdistan flag, and Sami Faraj Ali.

On 25-5-2007, I joined the Committee for the Defense of the Yazidis in Kurdistan, founded in Sulaymaniyah by a group of Kurdish journalists, including the respected Nizar Muhammad, Stefan Shmzinani, Salahuddin Bayzidi, Omar Faris, and Mariwan Salah Hilmi.

On 24-6-2007, I wrote the preface for Volume 7 of Dr. Jemal Nebez's Complete Works, as per his request—that the preface be in Kurdish at the beginning and in English

at the end. I fulfilled his request, and I thanked him for his trust in me. Below is the full link to the book:

<https://www.knc.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/M.-JN-Collected-7-Internet.pdf>

On 6-7-2007, the renowned journalist Ali Al-Haj Hussein conducted a press interview with me on various Kurdish and Middle Eastern issues, titled:

"Let's Disagree... Let Us Dialogue... And Perhaps We Will Agree... With Jawad Mella!"

Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 18-7-2007, Dr. Rizwan Badini delivered a lecture on his new book at the Western Kurdistan Association in London, attended by several Kurdish and Arab figures, including:

Dr. Kamal Mazhar Ahmad and his wife

Shaho Amin and his wife

Khani Hajar Mokriyani

Dr. Tariq Pasha Al-Amadi

Engineer Ghayath Ahmad

Shirko Habib

Kamal Amedi

Bavi Shorsh, and others.

After the lecture, I moderated the Q&A session from my seat. Dr. Kamal Mazhar Ahmad remarked:

"With your gestures, you remind me of Zoroastrian clergy, the Moug who used to guide politicians and leaders from behind the scenes."

I thanked him and replied:

"Not to that extent, my dear doctor!"

Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 17-10-2007, I sent hundreds of letters to world leaders and international organizations condemning the Turkish military's attack on Southern Kurdistan (Iraqi Kurdistan). I urged the international community to support the Kurdish people's right to an independent state and to stop the Turkish army (and other occupying forces in Kurdistan) from attacking our people, who lack a sovereign Kurdish state to protect them.

In this context, the following TV stations interviewed me:
Interview with Dr. Jawad Mella on Abu Dhabi TV (October 23, 2007)

Interview with Dr. Jawad Mella on Al-Sharqiya TV (October 24, 2007)

Interview with Dr. Jawad Mella on BBC TV (October 25, 2007)

Additionally, Ms. Fereshta Rabar, representing the Kurdistan National Congress (KNC), was interviewed on Al Jazeera International (October 18, 2007).

On 23-10-2007, I organized a Kurdish protest in front of the British Prime Minister's office in London during Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's surprise visit to UK Prime Minister Gordon Brown. The protest lasted from 9 AM to 12 PM, during which Abu Dhabi TV interviewed me. The protest was joined by Ibrahim Khalil and Alan Murshid, who stood beside me during the interview.

As Erdoğan's convoy left, Alan Murshid rushed toward his car, waving the Kurdistan flag and shouting:

"Long live Kurdistan! Long live freedom!"

Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 27-11-2007, I was visited by Professor Nadir Nadirov, a Kurdish academic from the former Soviet Union. He admired the Kurdish Museum I had established, and we discussed the tragedies of the Kurdish people. We agreed that the root cause of these tragedies was Kurdish political leaders abandoning the cause of independence in their agendas and struggles.

Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".



From the right: Jawad Mella and Professor Nadir Nadirov

On 28-11-2007, I published a book in English titled The Kurdish Issue in Western Kurdistan Under Syrian Occupation, which details the suffering of our people in this part of Kurdistan since its separation from Greater Kurdistan after World War I under the colonial Treaty of Lausanne (1923). The book is available at the following link:

<https://www.knc.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/Western-Kurdistan-Book.pdf>

Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

On 13-3-2008, I accepted an invitation from Mr. Ken Livingstone, the Mayor of London, to attend a reception

celebrating the glorious Newroz festival. During the event, I spoke with him about raising the issue of Kurdish freedom and the independence of Kurdistan at the highest levels.

Details can be found in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan".

The First International Conference on Genocide

On 16-3-2008, I received an invitation to attend the First International Conference on Genocide against the Kurdish people in Anfal and Halabja, held at the Kensington Town Hall in London.

The issues of Halabja and Anfal, like other cases of genocide against the Kurds, are not owned or monopolized by any individual or group. They concern the very existence of the Kurdish people as a whole and belong to every Kurd. Every Kurdish individual has the right to organize conferences, hold meetings, stage protests, or issue statements condemning these atrocities.

From my perspective, when a group in any city takes on this responsibility, others should join them to avoid fragmenting Kurdish activism. With this in mind, I had planned to commemorate Halabja and Anfal in London. However, I found that another group had already begun organizing a conference on March 16, 2008, so I decided

to participate—especially since some of them were my friends and had personally invited me.

The Conference Proceedings

Around 150 Kurds and their supporters attended the conference, which was supposed to evaluate the tragedies of Halabja and Anfal on the 20th anniversary of these events. However, the conference did not meet the expected standard.

On the Surface: There was no Kurdish flag in the hall. When I requested one, the organizers refused, claiming that the Kensington Town Hall prohibited hanging posters or flags.

I responded, "I am not willing to attend an event where the Kurdish flag is banned," and walked out. Several organizers followed me outside, pleading for me to return. I told them, "This is not a matter of pleading—I will not compromise on the flag."

By chance, as I was arguing with them loudly, my dear friend Ibrahim Malla Zada and his family arrived. His daughter approached me, pulled a Kurdish flag from her bag, and I instructed her to hang it on the main stage. She did so (as seen in the photo below), and only then did I return to the conference.

Many attendees greeted me with victory salutes, but the organizers' faces were visibly displeased. Although I agreed to participate, the flag's placement was not

ideal—it should have been front and center, above the heads of the organizers. Instead, they forced it to be placed far away, revealing their disdain for the Kurdish flag.

On the Substantive Level: Among the attendees were Kurdish and non-Kurdish academics, but the organizers selected so-called "experts" and "intellectuals" as speakers.

Many spoke for 20 to 30 minutes, yet no one understood their points—either because they themselves were unclear or because they intentionally spoke in circles to confuse the audience.

This reminded me of the 1989 conference of the Kurdish Students' Association in Europe in Berlin, held after the Halabja and Anfal tragedies. Instead of discussing the massacres, the attendees wasted time debating whether to rename the organization from "Kurdish Students in Europe" to "Students of Kurdistan in Europe." After hours of arguing, they dropped the proposal, and the conference ended without addressing the real issues.

Similarly, at this conference, no one properly defined genocide—except for Dr. Gregory (representing Genocide Watch), who described it in eight stages. I intervened, saying genocide can be summarized in three stages:

Identifying the victims,

Gathering them in camps,

Sending them to their deaths (for Jews, the Holocaust; for Kurds, mass graves in southern Iraq).

Dr. Gregory agreed that these three stages matched his eight.

Later, Mrs. Chnar Saad, the Minister of Anfal Affairs in the Kurdistan Regional Government, presented a detailed report. I then addressed her and the audience:

"I previously submitted the case of 8,000 kidnapped Barzani Kurds to international organizations, but they demanded a list of names. Upon my request, the late Sheikh Mohammed Khalid Barzani and Sheikh Jihad Barzani provided me with a list of 2,280 names (out of 8,000), which I translated and submitted to the UN. Shortly after, I received an official invitation to discuss the issue at the UN headquarters in New York."

I then asked Mrs. Saad: "Do you have a list of the 182,000 Anfal victims so we can take similar action?"

She replied: "Unfortunately, no such list exists."

Final Thoughts: I do not believe the conference organizers were ignorant—but time, money, and effort should not be wasted on correcting their course. We cannot build a house on a crumbling, slanted wall.



The conference management ordered the Kurdistan flag to be placed away from them due to their hatred for it, as seen in the picture

On 26-3-2008, I sent a congratulatory letter to Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak for refusing to attend the Arab Summit scheduled to be held in Damascus, Syria.

You can find the details in Part Five of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

On 18-4-2009, I held the Sixth Kurdistan National Conference in London.

You can find the details in Part Six of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

On 5-10-2010, I organized a protest in front of the British Foreign Office and submitted a memorandum from the Kurdistan National Conference regarding the Kurdish issue. This was one of dozens of memorandums I have submitted to the British government since arriving in London in late 1984, when Margaret Thatcher was Prime Minister. Most of my memorandums, like this one, contained three key points:

1. Why did Britain and France divide Kurdistan and give its parts to foreign states?
2. Did the Kurdish people commit any crime against you to justify this division? If so, please inform me of this crime or mistake so we do not repeat it.
3. Do you have any plan to restore a free and united Kurdistan—the homeland you divided?

I received replies for every memorandum I sent, stating: "We have received your letter and taken its contents into consideration."

But such a response does not answer my questions, which I continue to raise whenever possible.

You can find the details in Part Six of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

Meeting Marking Half a Century Since the UN Resolution

On 16-11-2010, I attended a meeting at the British Parliament commemorating 50 years since the 1960 UN

Resolution No. 1514 on decolonization. The meeting was organized by Williams Eileen and Angus Brendan MacNeil, a British MP.

In 1960, the UN issued Resolution 1514 on decolonization, addressing the remaining colonized peoples of the world.

It is worth noting that the first division of Kurdistan occurred in 1514 between the Iranian Safavid Empire and the Ottoman Empire—coincidentally bearing the same number as the UN resolution (1514). I do not know whether this number was a coincidence or deliberately chosen for the Kurds.

Towards a Union of Stateless Nations: Highlighting:

The Karen people and other ethnic groups in the Burmese Union (Boa Boa Fan)

Minorities in Iraq (focusing on Mandaeans and Christians—Mandaean Human Rights Association)

Kurdistan is also an occupied land

Balochistan is also an occupied land

Western Armenia is also an occupied land

Dr. Jawad Mella and Dr. Farhan Ahmad represented Western Kurdistan, occupied by Syria since World War I.

My Speech at the Meeting:

"Ladies and gentlemen,

Kurdistan has long been erased from the map, and no one—no organization or state—has condemned this crime.

I received two lists from the United Nations:

1. A list of about 200 independent member states.
 2. A list of 16 peoples still under occupation, not yet free.
- But I found Kurdistan in neither list—not as a free country, nor as an occupied one. This means Kurdistan has been wiped off the map. In other words, our homeland is stolen, usurped, and nonexistent.

The issue of the Kurdish people is to have their own state, just like the Baloch people. (Here, MP Angus Brendan MacNeil raised his hands and said, "Don't forget Scotland!"—to which I nodded in agreement.) However, the Mandaean and Christians in Iraq have a completely different struggle—one for democratic and human rights. We, the Kurdish people, are not a minority. We demand an independent Kurdish entity, which is impossible among the brutal regimes surrounding us. They have a long history of killing—for over 1,400 years. They brutally murdered Hussein, the grandson of Prophet Muhammad, in Iraq—his body was found in Damascus, his head in Cairo. If they could kill someone of such sanctity in such a savage way, what would they do to ordinary people?

With such savage neighbors, our people cannot live safely without a Kurdish state to protect them.

Today, in most parts of Kurdistan—especially Western Kurdistan (occupied by Syria)—we face genocide and ethnic cleansing. The Syrian regime burned 380 Kurdish children alive in 1960, assassinated our leaders like Sheikh Mashouq al-Khaznawi in 2005, and killed hundreds of

Kurdish youths in the streets and under torture during the 2004 Kurdish uprising. Others were murdered during compulsory military service in the Syrian army... In addition, the Syrian state confiscates Kurdish properties, revokes their citizenship, and practices cultural genocide against the Kurdish language and heritage. Thank you for listening."

Does the Kurdish People Know About the UN's 1960 Decolonization Law?

Does the Kurdish people know that the UN issued an international law in 1960 for the decolonization of the world, granting freedom to still-colonized peoples? Has any Kurdish leader ever mentioned this law in a statement, pamphlet, or book? Why do they not speak about it? Why do they hide the truth from the Kurdish people?

My message about this law: Perhaps you can benefit from it if you seek freedom.

Unfortunately, Kurdish political leaders have not utilized this UN resolution—or any others—because no party in Kurdistan admits that Kurdistan is colonized. They all claim that those occupying Kurdistan are 'brothers' of the Kurds, despite all the crimes committed against us.

Thus, the UN tells the Kurds:

"It is not within our mandate to interfere in 'family disputes' and internal issues among 'brothers'!"



Those Seated (From Left): Farhan Ahmad, Jawad Mella and Angus Brendan MacNeil, (The rest were representatives of the Armenian, Baloch, Mandaean, Mapuche, and other peoples.)

On 20-7-2011, I wrote an article in Kurdish titled:
"Why Has the Kurdish People Not Yet Achieved Freedom?"

You can find the details in Part Six of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

The Kurdish and Syrian Opposition Conference in London

On 30-7-2011, I attended a conference for the Syrian opposition held in the suburbs of London. This was a preliminary meeting ahead of a broader conference scheduled to take place soon in Washington. The gathering served as a platform for exchanging views, with attendees representing diverse factions—delegates from the Muslim Brotherhood, leftists, Kurdish political parties, the Kurdish Youth Coordination Union, field leaders of our people's demonstrations in Western Kurdistan (Rojava), as well as European and American political figures, a representative from the German Embassy in London, a delegate from the British Church, and others.

I presented a seven-page statement to the attendees on behalf of the head of the Government of Western Kurdistan in Exile. I also gifted my book, *Kurdistan and the Kurds*, to Mr. Mark Hambley, a senior advisor at the U.S. State Department and former ambassador to several countries. Mr. Hambley thanked me for the book but humorously requested, "Please sign it, because soon you'll be the president of the republic, and no one will be able to meet you!" I replied, "The Kurdish Sultan Salahuddin Ayyubi (Saladin) was not just a ruler of Syria but a leader of all Arabs and Muslims. Yet, under his leadership, Kurdistan was not liberated. I do not seek to repeat that—my goal is solely the independence of Kurdistan."

I made several interventions during the conference, including:

1. The Syrian revolution is the strongest of all revolutions because the Syrian regime has received support from both East and West (Russia and the U.S.), from both Islam and Judaism (Iran and Israel), and even from the Arab League. Each supports the regime for different reasons, yet the revolution persists. The regime will fail despite its domestic and international backing because the power of the people is limitless.
2. Referendums must be held on issues concerning each ethnic or religious group. The Kurds must decide their own fate, and Christians must determine their rights. An Arab should not decide the destiny of a Kurd, nor should a Muslim dictate the rights of a Christian. If this happens, it will signal the birth of a new Ba'ath-like oppression.
3. For half a century, the Syrian regime has pursued a policy of a security state, relying on intellectual, political, social, administrative, and financial corruption. It systematically spreads corruption across all societal strata, ensuring every individual becomes complicit so that no one dares to raise their voice. Through this vile method, the regime secures control over all aspects of life in the country.



From the right: Jawad Mella, Mark Hambley—U.S. State Department advisor—and William Morris.

The Erbil Conference for the Syrian Kurdish Community in Exile

On 28-1-2012, I attended the Erbil Conference for the Syrian Kurdish Community, held in Southern Kurdistan (Hawler) under the patronage of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG).

I emphasized to the press the necessity of establishing a Kurdish government in Syria, which would require foreign military intervention against the Syrian regime. I told AFP (Agence France-Presse): "International intervention is the only solution. We have precedent—Saddam Hussein's regime would not have fallen without foreign intervention."

You can find the details in Part Six of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

My Meeting with Lord Jeffrey Archer

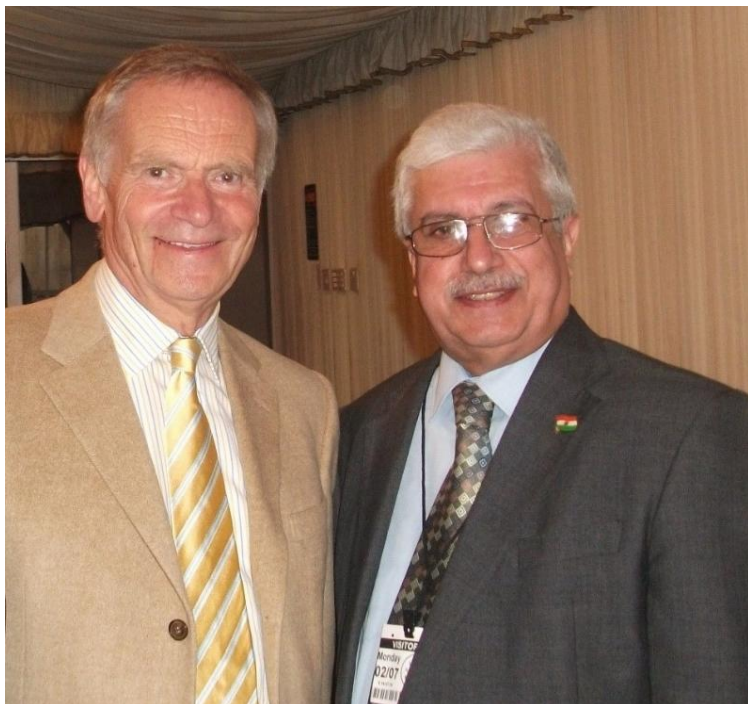
On 2-7-2012, I accepted an invitation from the KRG's London Embassy to attend a reception at the British Parliament. There, I met:

Ms. Bayan Sami Abdul Rahman, the KRG's representative in London.

Mr. Falah Mustafa Bakir, the KRG's Foreign Minister.

My long-time British friends, including Lord Jeffrey Archer, who has advocated for a Kurdish state for decades.

You can find the details in Part Six of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."



From the right: Jawad Mella and His Excellency Lord Jeffrey Archer

Roundtable Symposium on the Middle East

On 12-7-2012, I participated in the Roundtable Symposium on the Peoples of the Middle East, where I distributed a statement on the true nature of the Middle East and its peoples.

The British-based International Forum organized the roundtable discussion titled "The Arab Spring or the Islamic Winter?" in light of the Muslim Brotherhood's electoral victory in Egypt, the bloodshed in Syria, the overthrow of Yemen's president and Gaddafi's regime, and the rise of Islamists in Tunisia. These events brought the Middle East to a boiling point, threatening the achievements of the secular youth who had sparked pro-democracy uprisings in less than two years.

The dialogue included activists from Kurdistan, Egypt, Syria, Libya, Bahrain, India, Burma, Israel, Palestine, and Iraq, as well as a large audience of British, European, and American figures concerned with the affairs, struggles, pains, and hopes of the Middle East. (Attendance was strong despite heavy rain, which was more typical of mid-winter—perhaps a sign that this was a "wintry spring.")

The International Forum selected a group of experts on Middle Eastern peoples' issues to present their views first, then answer questions and engage in an open discussion. The symposium lasted about three hours, with a high level of constructive and respectful debate, regardless of differing opinions.

List of Participating Experts:

Dr. Shaul Zadka – Symposium Moderator

Dr. Jawad Mella – President of the Kurdistan National Congress (KNC)

Mr. Mustafa Kanfani – Syrian Opposition Activist

Mr. Adel Darwish – Egyptian Writer, Journalist, and Commentator

Mr. Ahmed Al-Shaibani – Founder of the Democratic Party in Libya.

Opening of the Seminar

Dr. Shaul Zadka opened the seminar by welcoming the participants and guests, emphasizing the urgent need for such discussions to understand the reality of what is happening in the Middle East. He then introduced the experts, beginning with Dr. Jawad Mella, whom he praised for his long-standing Kurdish struggle.

My speech was as follows:

I thanked Dr. Zadka and the attendees, mentioning that I had written about the Middle East issue in a statement and would provide copies at the end of the seminar. To avoid taking too much time, I summarized the statement:

"Greetings to all sisters and brothers at this roundtable meeting. Over a hundred years ago, the great powers conspired in the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne, which denied

the existence of dozens of indigenous peoples in the Middle East—such as the Amazigh, Darfuri, Nubian, Kurdish, Jewish, Armenian, Aramaic, Syriac, Phoenician, Coptic, Laz, Azerbaijani, Baloch, and others. Our duty is to unite these oppressed peoples in a liberation alliance to reclaim their stolen homelands and declare independence under their rightful names."

Thank you for your attention. (Audience applause.)

Later, Mustafa Kanafani spoke about the Syrian revolution, the Syrian opposition, and the crimes committed by the Syrian regime... Adel Darwish also spoke, supporting my statement that the Egyptian people as a whole belong to the Coptic people... Ahmed Al-Shaibani discussed the Arab Spring and the Libyan experience, also mentioning the Amazigh people and others in Libya. Below are some of my responses to questions from the seminar's moderator and attendees on various topics:

1. The great powers orchestrated this conspiracy against the peoples of the Middle East because they prefer dealing with a single dictator rather than twenty government and opposition parties. This is what they did in supporting dictatorial regimes throughout the last century. Similarly, they do not wish to deal with twenty distinct peoples and have reduced them in the Middle East to the "Arab," "Turkish," and "Persian" peoples.

2. The Kurdish people in Syria, who number over five million, must achieve independence and declare their state... As for the autonomy mentioned by Dr. Shaul, I reject it because statehood is the legitimate right of the Kurdish people. What reinforced my belief in the necessity of a Kurdish state was the statements made by the Syrian opposition leadership at the Cairo conference last week—whom I consider worse than Bashar al-Assad due to their blatant hostility toward the Kurdish people. I declare that we Kurds cannot coexist with such enemies.
3. The so-called "Arab homeland" is fabricated and illegitimate because it forcibly Arabized more than twenty peoples who have no connection to the Arabs, near or far. Peoples who do not live in a homeland that represents their true identity cannot contribute productively or participate meaningfully. Thus, we see this artificial "Arab homeland," with over 250 million people occupying a vast strategic area between Europe, Asia, and Africa—home to the world's richest oil reserves and more... If these resources belonged to a real, non-fabricated people (unlike the "Arab people"), they would lead the world. Instead, they rank among the lowest in global development indices.
4. Regarding the stance of Iran, America, and Russia... I stated that they are in complete agreement but distribute roles among themselves: one plays the hardliner, another the moderate, and the third the

cooperator. In reality, they share a single policy on Syria and the Kurdish issue... I affirm that there is no real conflict between Iran and America. Just as America gives Syria deadline after deadline to crush the revolution, it misleads the world with the Iranian nuclear reactor issue. The real problem is the Iranian regime itself, which must be overthrown. But America fabricates a battle to force Iran to halt its nuclear program—with no guarantee the regime will not build another reactor elsewhere. The issue is not the reactor but the regime. America deceives the world, granting the Iranian and Syrian regimes repeated deadlines, much like Russia's role—just in a different form.

5. A woman raised the difficulty of Kurdistan's independence since Kurds are spread across multiple states (Iraq, Turkey, Syria, Iran). I replied: Yes, Kurdistan and the Kurdish people are divided among several countries, but no other people separate the Kurds of Iraq from those in Turkey, Iran, or Syria. What divides them are artificial borders of artificial states. The Kurds need the understanding of major powers to unify and liberate Kurdistan... This understanding is lacking because the colonial policy of the Lausanne Conference persists to this day, summarized as follows: Since Kurdistan was divided in the early 20th century, America entered international politics, and the world split into two camps—one allied with

America, the other opposed. Since then, one or more of the entities occupying Kurdistan has been pro-America, while others are anti-America. Thus, America's allies accuse Kurds in Turkey of "terrorism," while America's enemies call Kurds in Iraq "American spies." As a result, Kurds lose support from both sides. The truth is that Kurds have no ties to terrorism or espionage—they have been forced into a malicious corner. The international community must recognize that Kurds are not a party to global conflicts but seek only freedom and independence for their homeland, Kurdistan.

6. Finally, I was asked about Israel's stance on the Arab Spring revolutions. I answered based on my 50+ years of experience in the Kurdish movement—as a political leader, writer, political prisoner, and fighter for Kurdistan's freedom: I have studied Jewish history, filled with tragedies from the Babylonian exile to the Nazi Holocaust. I knew them as an oppressed and persecuted people. When they established their state, I believed they would stand honorably with the oppressed. Yet to this day, they side with powerful states against peoples facing genocide—just as they once did. Israel considered Iran under the Shah its greatest ally, yet it opposed Kurds under Iranian occupation. Overnight, under Khomeini, Iran became Israel's greatest enemy—still indifferent to Kurds. Today, Israel supports Turkey against the interests of

Kurds under Turkish occupation, even as Turkey produces dozens of anti-Israel films and series annually. I find it astonishing that Israel not only opposes oppressed peoples but backs their oppressors—perhaps a psychological effect of prolonged persecution, making them grateful to anyone who says "welcome."

An attendee then asked why I did not mention Israel's aid to the Barzani revolution. I replied: Israel's help (a mobile field hospital for wounded Kurdish fighters) is appreciated, but a Kurdish state cannot be built through a hospital.

7. Another question was: Is there a Kurdish state in northern Iraq? I answered: I visited South Kurdistan (northern Iraq) two years ago and met Dr. Kamal Kirkuki, Speaker of the Kurdistan Parliament. I congratulated him: You now have your Kurdish people under your administration, on Kurdish soil, with a government, parliament, and army—all traits of a state. Why not declare independence? He replied: You are right, but regional states oppose a Kurdish state, and the Americans have not helped us establish one. The attendee pressed: Do they exercise sovereignty? I said: Yes, they are a complete state—just without formal declaration.

At the seminar's end, there was enthusiastic applause. Most attendees shook my hand, exchanged contact

information, and thanked me for the valuable discussion. I thanked them in return and handed them the following bilingual statement (Arabic/English):

Facts About the Erasure of 20 Middle Eastern Peoples from the Map

Greetings to all of you at this roundtable meeting. The issue on the table for discussion in our meeting today is one of the most critical concerns troubling the entire world—one that requires thorough study and resolution. I would like to present my perspective on this matter and hope it meets your approval and understanding.

Dear attendees,

For over a century, the great powers have orchestrated a malicious conspiracy for their own interests and against the interests of the Middle Eastern peoples. The pinnacle of this conspiracy was the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, which denied the existence of the indigenous peoples of the Middle East—their rightful owners. It divided them and attached them to artificially created states under Arab, Turkish, Persian, and Pakistani rule—not merely as colonies but by gifting their lands and enslaving their peoples forever to these fabricated nations.

With international support, these powers sought to transform the original peoples of the Middle East into religious and ethnic minorities, portraying them to the

world as mere colonial implants, to be manipulated against regional states whenever imperialism desired.

The truth is that the Amazigh, Darfuri, Nubian, Kurdish, Jewish, Armenian, Aramean, Syriac, Phoenician, Coptic, Laz, Azerbaijani, Baloch, and Sindhi peoples are among the original inhabitants of the Middle East. They are victims of colonialism, not its creation—contrary to what Arab, Turkish, Persian, and Pakistani chauvinism claims.

For truth and history, I declare that the real creations of colonialism are the Arab, Turkish, Persian, and Pakistani states, among others, which have relentlessly excluded, marginalized, and erased the indigenous peoples of the Middle East—ensuring they could never demand independence or expose the massacres, displacement, Arabization, Turkification, and Persianization they endured.

Yes, they denied their existence as peoples, reducing them to "minorities," even falsifying their history. For example:

The Copts of Egypt: A people with a language thousands of years old were reduced to a "Christian minority" by Arab chauvinism. The truth is that the Egyptian people were originally Coptic, existing long before Christianity. When Arabs brought Islam, most Copts were Arabized through the Quran, with only a small fraction remaining Christian. The entire Egyptian people, whether Muslim or Christian, belong to the Coptic nation, tracing back to the Pharaohs.

The Arameans of Syria: The true owners of ancient Syria, they were falsely labeled a "Christian minority." The Syrian people were originally Aramean, existing before Christianity. Arabization through Islam turned most into Arabs, leaving a small Christian remnant. The truth is that Syrians, whether Muslim or Christian, are Arameans with a millennia-old history.

The Treaty of Lausanne erased many ethnicities and religions, melting them into a single racist mold. However, the revolutions of South Sudan, Kurdistan, and others drove a wedge into this colonial, racist agreement.

The colonial powers that signed Lausanne in 1923 rushed to sign the U.N. Charter in 1945—a new conspiracy armed with the veto weapon. In truth, it is the "United States," not the "United Nations." We have seen the U.N.'s negative role in Middle Eastern issues and its support for artificial states, especially Syria. Russia's veto is not alone in this conspiracy but is the boldest in defending the remnants of Lausanne and the fraudulent U.N. Charter.

The malicious, racist global consensus supporting the criminal Syrian regime today is not about protecting the Golan (Western interests) or Russia's last Middle Eastern military base (Eastern interests). It is about silencing the legitimate voices of the Middle East's indigenous peoples. Thus, I believe the fall of the Syrian regime would be a powerful blow to its backers—the same forces that have opposed Middle Eastern liberation for a century, especially the Kurdish people.

The claims of the Treaty of Lausanne, the UN Charter, and its slogans advocating the right of peoples to self-determination, human rights, democracy, and other lofty rhetoric can no longer deceive the people or protect the fabricated great and Middle Eastern powers... Thus, the great powers, whose conspiracies have been exposed, have endorsed a new slogan: promoting the establishment of Islamic regimes in the Middle East as a new cover to preserve the remnants of the Treaty of Lausanne and the UN Charter—which is based on the veto and the Cold War, whose relevance effectively ended with the collapse of the communist bloc in 1990.

The states of the Treaty of Lausanne, the UN Charter, and the Cold War alliance do not believe in Islam but seek to exploit it to maintain the borders imposed by the colonial Treaty of Lausanne and continue silencing the legitimate voices of the Middle Eastern peoples.

Whatever is built on falsehood is false... And what they falsely call the 'Arab homeland'—if it were truly a homeland for the Arabs, stretching from the ocean to the gulf, with a population exceeding 250 million and occupying a vast area between Europe, Asia, and Africa, one of the most strategic regions in the world and among the richest in oil—shouldn't the Arabs, if they were a real and not fabricated people, rule the world by virtue of their numbers, wealth, and strategic location? But the truth is that this 'homeland' was stolen from its true owners, and

its people were Arabized through the forced assimilation of its indigenous populations.

I call for an end to this dark age, which has encouraged every opportunist from distant lands or tribes like the Mau Mau—who learned a few Arabic words—to claim Arab identity, fabricate lineage tracing back to the Prophet Muhammad, and deny the existence of indigenous peoples.

Furthermore, I call upon this roundtable meeting for an alliance between the Amazigh, Darfuri, South Sudanese, Azawadi, Nubian, Kurdish, Jewish, Armenian, Aramean, Syriac, Phoenician, Coptic, Laz, Azerbaijani, Baloch, Sindhi, and other indigenous peoples of the Middle East to reclaim their stolen homelands and declare independence. Likewise, I call for all religions, sects, and beliefs—such as Yazidis, Zoroastrians, Baha'is, Alawites, Druze, Sunnis, Shiites, Ismailis, Christians, Kakais, Mandaean, Arameans, Copts, Jews, and others—to attain their full and unblemished rights, free from domination, oppression, or superiority of one over another. Thank you.



*from left: Dr. Shaul Zadka (seminar moderator, standing)
Dr. Jawad Mella (speaking), Mustafa Kanfani, Adel
Darwish and Ahmed Al-Shaibani*

The National Consultative Conference of Kurdish Forces in the French Parliament

On 13-10-2012, I participated in the National Consultative Conference of Kurdish and Kurdistan Forces and Parties in the French Parliament to discuss the issue of Western Kurdistan (Rojava). Around 200 Kurdish and foreign figures gathered in the French Parliament building. The conference began with a moment of silence in honor of the martyrs of Kurdistan.

From the morning, the conference organizers requested that representatives of political organizations who wished to deliver speeches submit their names and the names of their organizations in writing. I submitted my request to speak as the President of the Kurdistan National Congress (KNC). The reading of organizational statements

continued until the afternoon, with 28 Kurdish and non-Kurdish political organizations delivering their speeches. Then, the program moderator announced: "Now, the organizational speeches are over, and we will begin with the independent speakers." I stood up and said, "It seems you have forgotten my speech. I submitted my request as the President of the Kurdistan National Congress." She apologized, calling it a "technical error," and invited me to deliver my speech as the 29th organization.

I approached the microphone to deliver my prepared speech, which included special thanks to the PYD for managing Western Kurdistan without clashes with other Kurdish forces and for protecting Kurdish cities from the destruction that befell Syrian cities. However, their oversight forced me to improvise a new speech, emphasizing the need to keep such conferences free from partisanship and narrow regionalism. If we do not respect each other and ensure fairness, outsiders will not respect us or recognize the rights of our people and homeland.

My Improvised Speech in Kurdish

"Greetings to all, and thanks to the KNK for organizing this conference.

You forgot to call me to deliver my speech as a political organization, even though the Kurdistan National Congress, which I founded in 1985 with Dr. Jemal Nebez, General Aziz Akrawi, and Dr. Mohammed Saleh Gabouri,

has long represented Kurdish interests, including in the Kurdistan Parliament in Exile...

Let me start with generalities before moving to specifics:

- I am a Kurd before being a Zoroastrian or Yazidi.
- I am a Kurd before being a Muslim, Christian, or Jew.
- I am a Kurd before being Sunni or Shia.
- I am a Kurd before being Sorani or Kurmanji.
- I am a Kurd before being Syrian, Turkish, Iranian, or Iraqi.
- I am a Kurd before being KDP, PUK or PKK.

Unfortunately, Kurdish organizations focus on Yazidi identity, Islam, regionalism, Kurmanji, Sorani, or loyalty to Syria, Turkey, Iran, or Iraq—or to parties like PUK, Yekiti, or PKK—while forgetting our core issue: Kurdish freedom and the independence of Kurdistan.

Every day, I hear about conferences, councils, unions, and high committees, but I do not know what they discuss or agree on. They still cannot agree on the basics of politics. If the international community asks us, ‘Who is your leader?’, we will say Kurds have more than ten leaders. If they ask, ‘What is the flag of Kurdistan?’, we will say Kurds have multiple flags. If they ask, ‘What is your national anthem?’, we will say Kurds have several anthems. If they ask, ‘Do you have a map of Kurdistan?’, we will say Kurds have thousands of maps—some shrinking Kurdistan, others expanding it. If they ask, ‘What is your population?’, we will say estimates range from 20 to 80 million or more. If they ask, ‘What is your goal?’, we will

say Kurds have multiple goals, from democratic rights to autonomy, federalism, or independence.

The international community ignores us because we do not even know the size of our house, our population, our goal, or why we revolt.

We must remember the words of French journalist Chris Kutschera, who is likely in this hall today. In his book, he wrote: 'Kurds have the right to independence and their own state. When they settle for autonomy, they lose 50% of the battle before it even begins.'

Today, in Western Kurdistan, armed Kurdish forces govern the people. Whether this administration is autonomous, federal, or otherwise, we must declare a government for Western Kurdistan. Once declared, we must all stand as soldiers to defend it, because the war in Syria will last years. Whether Assad stays or falls, no one can ignore an established Kurdish government—it will be a fait accompli.

The Kurdish people have remained steadfast, demanding freedom. If any other nation suffered what Kurds have, they would have vanished long ago. Long live the free Kurdish people in their ancestral land, Kurdistan! I assure you, the day of freedom is coming—soon, God willing, whether the enemies like it or not.

Peace be upon you."



Jawad Mella delivers his speech in the French Parliament

The conference organizers compiled the demands from the speeches, and at the end, five members were selected to draft the final statement, which was read to attendees. A 15-member follow-up committee was formed to implement the conference's decisions.

Notably, I met many old comrades at the conference, including the three heroic Kurdish martyrs—Sakina Cansız and her friends, who were assassinated by the Turkish state in Paris on January 9, 2013 (three months after our meeting). Sakina was brilliant, knowledgeable, and remarkably humble. I recall how, after the first day's session, while others waited for cars, she sat on the building's steps, unconcerned about dirtying her

clothes—a true mark of humility, the greatest virtue of scholars. A thousand blessings upon her, her comrades, and all martyrs of Kurdish freedom.



From Right: Jawad Mella, Hikmat Ibrahim, Sakina Cansız, and Asia Abdullah in the French Parliament

My Third Field Tour in Kurdistan (November 6–27, 2012)

Details of my proposal to declare a state for Southern and Western Kurdistan, which I personally presented to Kurdish party leaders.

You can find the details in Part Six of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

On 26-11-2012, Presenter Behzad Miran interviewed me on Zagros TV's program "Zilal" regarding recent events in Western Kurdistan (Rojava).

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qctivs0Jc6Y>

On 31-12-2012, I participated in a Kurdish-Turkish dialogue on Sky News Arabia about Western Kurdistan and the Kurdish people's right to establish their own state in Arabic.

Links:

[1 حوار الليلة... الكورد وبداية حلم الدولة خريطة ج 1 \(skynewsarabia.com\)](http://skynewsarabia.com)

[2 حوار الليلة... الكورد وبداية حلم الدولة خريطة ج 2 \(skynewsarabia.com\)](http://skynewsarabia.com)

On 24-2-2013, I attended a meeting in London convened by His Highness Prince Suleiman Khan, the Amir of Balochistan, on a visit by a U.S. Congressional delegation (including members of Congress and representatives of the National Security Committee, led by Congressman Dana Rohrabacher). Around 80 American and British figures, along with numerous political and social personalities from the Baloch diaspora (who traveled from various European countries specifically for this important meeting), were present.

I was among the speakers and addressed the U.S. Congressional members, handing them a memorandum and a map of the Middle East highlighting the erased nations for the attention of American leadership.

You can find the details in Part Six of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

On 23-9-2013, I participated (wearing traditional Kurdish attire) in the Conference of Stateless Nations held at the European Parliament in Brussels, titled "Democracy, Self-Determination, and the Liberation of Peoples."

You can find the details in Part Six of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

On 28-9-2013, I attended the International Conference on the Genocide Against the Tamil People (committed by the Sri Lankan state in 2009). I placed the Kurdistan flag among the flags of the world's nations and delivered a speech that was highly praised.

You can find the details in Part Six of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."



Jawad Mella places the Kurdistan flag alongside the flags of participating nations.

On 16-11-2013, Musa Al-Omar, presenter of Al-Ghad TV, interviewed me about the Syrian regime, the Syrian opposition, and the Kurds' declaration of a transitional autonomous government in Western Kurdistan.

Short clip (with profound meaning):

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vCe6ldVt8qA>

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vCe6ldVt8qA&feature=youtube_gdata_player

You can find the details in Part Six of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

On 1-4-2014, The newspaper Media published my interview with Dr. Shakhwan Khalid, editor-in-chief of Media, covering key issues of the Kurdish people and the Kurdistan National Congress's struggle for

independence, as well as the failures of regional party policies that have only brought tragedies and defeats to the Kurds.

My Meeting with Dr. Ismail Beşikçi

On 7-4-2014, I attended a seminar by Dr. Ismail Beşikçi. It was a historic meeting in the British Parliament, where Professor Dr. Ismail Beşikçi presented me with his book "Kurdistan: An International Colony," for which he had spent 17 years in Turkish occupation prisons. In return, I gifted him the Kurdistan flag and my book Kurdistan and the Kurds.

During his speech before over 150 British figures, including MP Jeremy Corbyn, Dr. Beşikçi emphasized the independence of Kurdistan, stating that Kurdistan remains a colony under occupation. I also delivered a speech, stressing that the entire Kurdish people believe in Dr. Beşikçi's words and that I urged him to convince Kurdish political leaders of this reality.

After the parliamentary session, we dined together and discussed Kurdistan's independence. I told him, "I—and the entire Kurdish people—are proud of you. My pride is not just because of your book Kurdistan: An International Colony, but because I once read your study questioning why the Kurds lack a distinct nationalist ideology like Kemalism for the Turks or Nasserism for the Arabs. I agree

with you, but I fear Kurdish leaders may be convinced too late, on a day when regret will be useless."

The Book's Inscription

Below is the cover of his book, which he signed with the following dedication in Turkish:

"To my dear Dr. Jawad Mella, with love and friendship. House of Lords, British Parliament. From Prof. Dr. Ismail Beşikçi, April 7, 2014."

Alongside this, the Arabic translator of Kurdistan: An International Colony, the esteemed Dr. Zuhair Abdul Malik, had also signed the book in 1998 with the following dedication:

"I remembered you often as I translated this book into Arabic, for there is a harmony in our views. My gift to the dear Jawad Mella Zuhair, December 1998."

Dr. Zuhair was referring to the alignment between my views and Dr. Beşikçi's, as we had frequently debated the Kurdish issue during our many meetings in Brussels, London, and other European cities. At the time, I had gifted him several of my books, so he was well aware of my stance. Dr. Zuhair Abdul Malik, in turn, gifted me dozens of his own books and studies on the Kurds and Kurdistan, particularly on the Feyli Kurds.

A Notable Moment

When I presented Dr. Beşikçi with the Kurdistan flag, he burst into prolonged laughter. I asked our translator, Ishaq Tepe (Director of the Ismail Beşikçi Foundation in Istanbul), why he was laughing. Ishak relayed Dr. Beşikçi's response:

"Turkish intelligence will now say: 'After a quarter-century in prison and travel bans, the first thing Ismail did was rush to Britain to raise the Kurdistan flag in the British Parliament!'"

As he said this, he continued laughing. I replied, "Let them say what they want. One day, we will raise this flag in Diyarbakir as well."

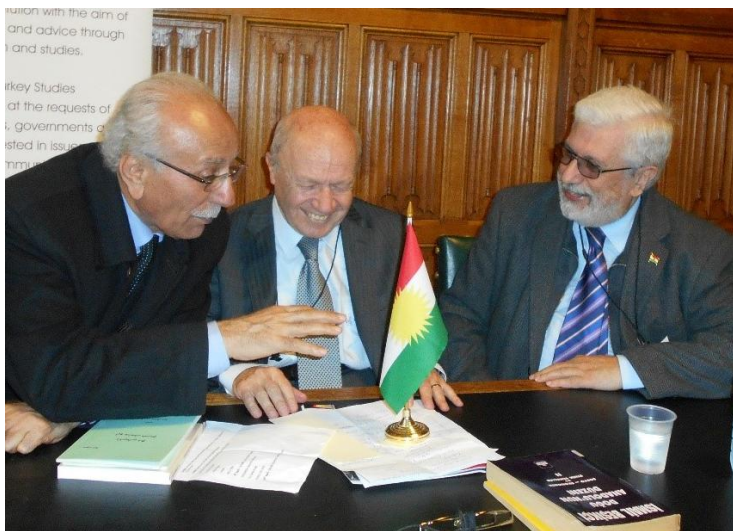


Left: Dr. Besikçi holds Jawad Mella's book; Right: Jawad Mella holds Besikçi's book.

Değerli Dr.
 İsmail Mella'ya
 sevgiyle, dostlukla,
 Parlamento,
 PEEL
 7 Nisan 2014
 Besikçi
 هذا الكتاب الى العربية
 نسخة توافقت في الأراء
 صديقنا العزيز هوادير
 ديسبر 1998

كراستان مستعمرة دولية

Right: Besikçi's dedication in Turkish; Left: Translator Dr. Zuhair Abdulmalik's Arabic dedication (1998).



From right: Jawad Mella, Ismail Besikçi, and Ishaq Tepe



From right: Jawad Mella, Jeremy Corbyn, Haval Dijla, Ismail Besikçi, and Ishaq Tepe.

On 14-4-2014, I wrote online:

"Our struggle continues for Kurdistan's independence and the establishment of a Kurdish state."

This day marks three anniversaries:

The 55th anniversary of the founding of KAJYK Party (14-4-1959).

The 29th anniversary of the Kurdistan National Congress (14-4-1985).

The 10th anniversary of the Western Kurdistan Government (25-4-2004).

All three organizations share one goal: an independent Kurdistan.

On 15-4-2014, Media newspaper, the mouthpiece of the Kurdistan National Democratic Union in Hewlêr (Erbil), published an interview with me under the title: "Only the Establishment of a Kurdish State Can Protect Kurdish National Security."

On 15-6-2014, ARK TV conducted an interview with me about the Islamic State (ISIS) and their mobilizations in southern and western Kurdistan.

The photo was taken in my home, showing my library, the sacred Kurdish flag, and me wearing traditional Kurdish attire, including the Hooramani headband (Jamana).

My dear friend Sabah Mirani arranged the interview from Hewlêr, the capital of Kurdistan, via Skype and phone since the Skype connection alone was weak.

Interview link:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xT2hxD0dZUc&feature=youtu.be>

On 16-6-2014, Arise TV (British television) conducted an English-language interview with me about the Kurdish cause, ISIS, and Kurdish independence. Before the interview, I requested that they display a large Kurdish flag. Links:

<https://vimeo.com/99159663>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5rSWx6rr5Nk&feature=youtu.be>

On 16-6-2014, I wrote online:

"Condolences to the family and comrades of Sheikh Muhammad Barzani, the General Guide of the Kurdistan Islamic Movement. Sheikh Muhammad Barzani (may God have mercy on him) was a first-class Kurdish patriot and a believer in Greater Kurdistan, advocating for the necessity of establishing a Kurdish state from the east (Iranian Kurdistan) to the Mediterranean in the west (Syrian Kurdistan). I heard him say this on many occasions, and he told me even more when he visited me in London in 1998. May God have mercy on him and grant him paradise. There is no power nor strength except in God."

The photo was taken in London in 1998, where I was seated between Sheikh Muhammad Barzani (may God have mercy on him) and Sheikh Latif Marivani, one of my

fellow founders of the Kurdistan National Congress (may God prolong his life).



From the right: Sheikh Muhammad Barzanji, Jawad Mella, and Sheikh Latif Mariwani.

On 26-6-2014, Arise TV conducted another English-language interview with me about Kirkuk and Kurdish independence.

Links:

<https://vimeo.com/99460612>

<http://youtu.be/iZq-Nmhut0k>

On 7-7-2014, I issued a statement on behalf of the Kurdistan National Congress, along with Engineer Bruska Ibrahim (Head of Foreign Relations) and Lawyer Kamil Zheer (Head of Southern Kurdistan Region). The statement addressed the call by Masoud Barzani,

President of the Kurdistan Region, for the Kurdistan Parliament to hold a referendum—which at the time was merely talk. The referendum did not take place until after ISIS was defeated in 2017, and the Kurds were betrayed because no one needed them anymore.

You can find the details in Part Seven of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

On 16-7-2014, I wrote online:

"For over half a century, Kurdish party leaders have placed their trust in one of the states occupying Kurdistan, using its weapons to fight another occupying state. Every ten years, our people suffer defeat, collapse, and genocide due to this foolish policy—with leaders either retreating, being assassinated, or imprisoned. I ask: When will Kurdish party leaders learn from past lessons and stop the tragedies befalling our people? The path is clear: declaring a Kurdish state."

On 26-8-2014, I wrote online:

"Oh, brave daughters and sons of Kurdistan, Kurdish parties commit the most heinous acts, yet they express outrage when someone speaks about their atrocities.

It was Abdullah Öcalan's own comrades who sent him to Kenya—not me.

It was Dr. Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou's own comrades who sent him to Vienna—not me.

For 40 years, Kurdish parties have fought among themselves—not me.

Yet when I speak about their crimes, they attack me more fiercely than they attack those who kill the Kurdish people or imprison and assassinate their leaders.

I am beginning to suspect that many among them are the ones who killed Kurds and helped Iranians and Turks assassinate Ghassemlou and capture Öcalan.

Let them be outraged—I will not hide the truth. It is the agents of the occupying states and the traitors of the Kurdish people who conceal the truth, not me.

No matter their anger or hatred, I bring glad tidings to the brave daughters and sons of Kurdistan: the declaration of a Kurdish state and the independence of Kurdistan are nearby"

I Participated in a Demonstration to Stop the Genocide of the Yazidis

On the afternoon of 13-9-2014, I participated in a demonstration in front of the British Prime Minister's office, demanding an end to the genocide against the Yazidis in Kurdistan. The protest was attended by the Kurdish diaspora in London from all parts of Kurdistan, as well as leaders of other oppressed nations, including Amazigh, Baloch, Tamils, and others.

I spoke to the crowd with complete clarity:

"The Kurdish people must speak up for independence. Those who trade in Kurdish blood must stop demanding autonomy, federalism, human rights, or even animal rights. The Kurdish people pay a heavy price in blood. If we do not demand independence, we will witness more tragedies like Halabja, Anfal, the burning of Kurdish children in Amûdê (Western Kurdistan), and the destruction of villages in Zilan Valley (Northern Kurdistan)—repeating endlessly until Judgment Day. A Kurdish state and independence are the only solutions. Those who claim the Kurdish people can be protected without their own nation-state are mistaken."

Some partisan Kurds tried to drown out my speech with loud music. I turned to them and shouted, "Turn off the music!" When they ignored me, I yelled into the microphone, "Turn off the music, you dogs!" (I do not apologize to them, but I apologize to dogs for comparing them to partisans.) Only then did they stop the music, and I continued my speech.

When the comrades heard my annoyance with the partisans, some of them rushed to stand behind me in my defense. Among them was Rafiq Barzani, holding the Kurdistan flag directly above my head as a gesture of solidarity against the partisan mercenaries. Others among the comrades moved toward the partisans' recording device to prevent it from being operated again.

I also conducted several interviews with Kurdish, Arab, and British television networks.



Jawad Mella delivering his speech at the protest, Rafiq Barzanji holding my beloved Kurdistan flag.

On the evening of 13-9-2014, I attended a meeting organized by the Kurdistan Regional Government's (KRG) representation in London to collect donations for the victims of ISIS's attack on Sinjar. At the meeting, I nearly exploded with anger at the actions of Kurdish politicians—our homeland, Kurdistan, has been erased from the map, and our people are periodically subjected to massacres, while they ask for money in exchange for blood...

I said at the meeting:

"The politicians in Kurdistan represent the peak of political corruption in the world. You repeatedly help the occupying entities crush the will of the Kurdish people and force them into submission. I remember in 1991, when BBC conducted a televised interview during the mass exodus of Kurds from Kurdistan. The whole world was outraged, wondering why this exodus was happening. And what did the Kurdish politician say on global television? He cried and asked for blankets. His words were the height of stupidity—or betrayal—because he made the world believe the Kurdish cause was about poverty, not a national and political struggle of the highest order."

I continued, saying, "Today, you want to send blankets again, even though every Kurdish household has dozens of blankets. What our people face is a political issue requiring a political solution."

The KRG representative then claimed that many of the displaced in refugee camps were Arabs. Seeing their continued focus on blankets rather than the root causes of the massacres and displacement, I said, "Do not forget the Arabs—distribute blankets to them too," though I knew most had come to Kurdistan to Arabize it and were spies for ISIS, Shia, or Sunni factions.

"Brothers and sisters, the policies of Kurdish parties led to the killing of our people in Anfal and Halabja, and today in Sinjar. They walk in the funeral processions and then feast on the blood of Kurdish martyrs, just as they did when they reported on them or even participated in their killings."

On 1-10-2014, I sent a memorandum to Egyptian President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi regarding Egyptian-Kurdish relations.

Details can be found in Part Seven of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

On 7-10-2014, on behalf of our organization, the Kurdistan National Congress (KNC), I signed a joint statement with 35 Kurdish parties and organizations gathered in Hewlêr (Erbil) in solidarity with the heroic struggle of our people in Kobani (West Kurdistan).

Details can be found in Part Seven of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

On 8-10-2014, Al-Ghad TV conducted an interview with me about Kobani and the necessity of Kurdish independence.

Link:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KWAgKx5Yxic&list=PLkCwgVIXtL4JA6esJTGTTWPKLV0qTt8Yo&index=9>

On 12-11-2014, I wrote online:

The Kurdish people must fight for the immediate declaration of a Kurdish state and free themselves from the savage occupying states and their militias.

The Kurdish people must uproot the failed policies of partisan Kurdish leaders who call for coexistence with these barbarians. See the following link to understand why coexistence is impossible:

<https://www.facebook.com/video.php?v=563480943751902>

On 18-11-2014, I wrote: My words are not directed at anyone in particular but are general advice to improve our social path. A socially conscious people will find their way in politics, economics, and science. From a healthy society, civilization, progress, and prosperity can be built:

1. One does not need to sell their body to be a prostitute—intellectual prostitution is worse and more vile.

2. When a person uses their intelligence for malicious behavior, they are truly despicable.
3. The lowest of people are those who betray trust or take pleasure in the suffering of others.

The enemies of Kurds and Kurdistan spread these three types in Kurdish society to support the indifferent factions.

On 24-11-2014, British ITV contacted me for an interview about a missing British girl from Hackney, London, allegedly joining Kurdish forces in Kobani. The interview was supposed to last five minutes. From their questions, I understood they wanted to spread propaganda that Kurds were behind the disappearance of British girls. I told the program officer: "Why don't you talk about the thousands of British citizens fighting for ISIS? If ISIS wins, its flames will reach Europe. Your policies in Kurdistan have cost the Kurdish people millions of victims—men and women. I want to talk about these millions we have lost since you divided Kurdistan at the beginning of the last century, leaving the Kurdish people stateless to this day. I am not prepared to discuss the disappearance of a British girl—or even a British cat—no offense to British girls and cats. I stand for a cause I cannot deviate from: the cause of 60 million Kurds deprived of a state, and you are the reason."

Details can be found in Part Seven of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

In 2014, several anniversaries passed, the most important being:

500 years since the first partition of Kurdistan between the Ottomans and Iranians after the Battle of Chaldiran in 1514.

100 years since the second partition of Ottoman Kurdistan after World War I (1914), dividing it among Turkey, Iraq, Syria, and Russia.

Unfortunately, 2014 ended without these milestones being acknowledged, even though they are the root cause of Kurdish tragedies and massacres.

This neglect symbolizes the large faction supporting Kurdistan's division—the same faction that has fueled Kurdish infighting, prevented the trial of those who killed Kurdish leaders, and kissed the hands of Kurdish killers.

Even Saddam Hussein, who killed half a million Kurds, was tried and executed for killing 148 Shiites in Dujail. He should have been sent to an international tribunal like the Nuremberg Trials, which prosecuted Nazis for killing Jews after World War II—a taboo subject now.

In Germany, Jews pay no taxes, anti-Semitism is unthinkable, and German aid is dedicated to Jews. Even cigarette packs contain 19 instead of 20 cigarettes—the

price of one cigarette from every German goes to Jewish support, among other privileges.

The Kurdish people desperately need such international protection to prevent future genocides—not just in Iraq and South Kurdistan but also in Syria, Turkey, and Iran.

This neglect also shows that many, both locally and internationally, support Kurdistan's division—the same faction working in the Kurdistan Parliament to erase Kurdish identity, demanding changes to the Kurdish flag, refusing to stand for the Kurdish national anthem ("Ey Reqîb"), and even calling for the abolition of Nowruz. I wonder what they do with old slippers in Kurdistan. If they don't know, they should ask former U.S. President George Bush and Nouri al-Maliki, who faced the slipper treatment.

On 5-12-2014, journalist Faiz Mahmoud Baloch interviewed me about the Kurdish struggle for independence. The interview was published in English by Balochwarna News.

Link: <http://balochwarna.com/2014/12/05/exile-kurdish-leader-dissatisfied-with-west-actions-against-isi/>

Details can be found in Part Seven of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

On 14-12-2014, I joined a protest by our Sindhi cousins in front of the British Prime Minister's office, condemning

Pakistan's killings of Sindhi leaders to crush their independence movement.

Details can be found in Part Seven of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

On 24-12-2014, I wrote online:

Charity and donations are interpreted differently in religions, but for me, they have a national meaning. During Christmas, stories abound of the rich helping the poor. Similar tales exist in Judaism, Islam, and Zoroastrianism. While I agree in principle, I disagree in method.

I cannot help the wicked, opportunists, or sycophants, even if they starve. But I will help those who dedicate their lives, blood, and time to the greater good—even if they are rich. I am ready to borrow money to help them, even if they do not ask.

On 21-3-2015, Al-Ghad TV host Mousa al-Omar interviewed me about Turkey, the Kurdish people, and independence.

Links:

<http://youtu.be/zEhO7PH2Mio>

<https://youtu.be/lrT16OKzims>

Details can be found in Part Seven of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

On 25-3-2015, I wrote online:

Many Arabs claim to be friends of Kurds but bare their fangs when Kurds demand independence. However, Arab intellectuals are beginning to understand true democracy—their freedom ends where others begin.

This awakening is reflected in a brilliant article by Jihad al-Khazen, editor-in-chief of Al-Hayat, titled: "I Do Not Belong to This Nation."

Details can be found in Part Seven of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

On 20-11-2015, I wrote online:

In short, I am not Syrian, Iraqi, Iranian, or Turkish—I am Kurdish, a Kurdistani, and I call for the independence of Kurdistan and the establishment of a Kurdish state. The Kurdish state is coming, no matter the cost or how long it takes.

The conditions for a Kurdish state in West and South Kurdistan are difficult, but even harder are the conditions for maintaining Iraq or Syria, which occupy these regions. The fragmentation of Iraq and Syria and the separation of Kurdistan are inevitable—whether Kurds demand it or not.

The online newspaper "Maf Roj" published my interview with Al-Ghad TV host Mousa al-Omar, titled: "Kurdish

Politician Embarrasses Host, Says: Our Project is Kurdish Independence—You Are Occupying Our Land."

Links:

<https://www.facebook.com/hedimedia1/videos/538984276263583/>

https://www.facebook.com/rojmaf11/videos/538984276263583/?hc_ref=PAGES_TIMELINE

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vCe6ldVt8qA>



Jawad Mella declaring: "I announce my secession from Syria and the declaration of a Kurdish state."

On 14-7-2017, I wrote online:

American poet Robert Frost wrote an article that seems directed at the Kurdish people, published on GlobalSecurity.org, titled: "Walls, Lines, and Frontier Fortifications."

The article can be summarized in two words: "Good fences make good neighbors."

Here, I want to explain why the neighbors of the Kurdish people are so brutal—because the Kurds have not yet decided to build their own state and define Kurdistan's borders, requiring passports for entry.

On 16-7-2017, I wrote online:

The liberation of Kurdistan is not just talk—it requires thought, ideology, strategy, action, and sacrifice. Kurdish independence is not a commodity to trade or bargain with.

As Martin Luther King Jr. said: "The ultimate tragedy is not the oppression and cruelty of the bad people but the silence over that by the good people."

On 17-7-2017, I wrote an article titled: "How Can We Declare the Independence of Kurdistan?"

Details can be found in Part Seven of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

On 25-9-2017, wearing Kurdish national dress, I was interviewed by Al-Ghad TV about the South Kurdistan referendum and the reaction in West Kurdistan. I emphasized that Kurdish independence is necessary to end wars and stabilize the region.

Link:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OiSzhSL1pII>

Details can be found in Part Seven of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

On 16-10-2017, I wrote online:

A statement from the Kurdistan National Congress (KNC) condemning the Iraqi military aggression against our people in South Kurdistan on October 16, 2017.

Details and a list of those who betrayed Kirkuk can be found in Part Seven of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

On 17-10-2017, one day after the defeat, I wrote an article titled: "What Must Be Done? How Do We Address the October 16 Defeat?"

Details can be found in Part Seven of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

On 26-1-2018, I shared a video from a Kurdish protest in Germany for Kirkuk, where a brave Kurdish woman cried out, "Enough! Enough! Enough partisanship and infighting!" urging unity.

Link:

<https://www.facebook.com/Rudaw.net/videos/1576878609074603>

On 4-2-2018, I wrote online:

Afrin's heroic resistance against Turkish occupation has awakened the world from its slumber and propaganda that peoples cannot fight advanced armies. Now, the world is mobilizing to defend Afrin after witnessing its bravery. Yesterday, the Basque Parliament decided to support Afrin's struggle and sent strong memos to the EU and UN demanding its liberation.

If my health allowed, I would be in Afrin today alongside its heroes. There is no greater honor than martyrdom in defense of our land against Turkish invaders.

Long live the heroes of Afrin

Long live a free and independent Kurdistan.

On 18-3-2018, I issued a statement on the occupation of Afrin:

Statement from the Global Boycott Turkey Movement.

Details can be found in Part Seven of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

On 21-3-2018, I wrote online again about Kirkuk and Afrin.

Details can be found in Part Seven of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

On 31-3-2018, I sent a letter to the UN Secretary-General about Afrin and the Turkish invasion (in English).

Details can be found in Part Seven of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

On 1-4-2018, the KNC representative participated in a meeting of 42 Kurdish political parties in Hewlêr (Erbil) to discuss the Turkish attack on Afrin.

Details can be found in Part Seven of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

On 22-12-2018, I sent a condolence letter to Masoud Barzani on the passing of Professor Jemal Nebez.

Details can be found in Part Seven of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

On 19-2-2020, I wrote an article titled: "The Kurdish People Must Choose the Hard Path (A Kurdish State) or the Impossible Path (Rights Under Occupation)—There Is No Third Option."

Details can be found in Part Seven of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

On 25-5-2020, I wrote online:

Millions protested the killing of George Floyd, chanting, "Black Lives Matter." But the world has never protested the killing of millions of Kurds as it did for George Floyd. *Details can be found in Part Seven of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."*

On 9-12-2021, a relative asked about my well-being. I replied:

"What is happening with me is a long, long story, but I will summarize parts of it:

- I lost my mother, whom I had not seen in 40 years—you know a mother's love, especially after decades in exile.
- I lost my brothers Ziyad and Muzdad, who greatly influenced me since childhood.
- I lost my dear cousin Azzeddin, my childhood mentor.
- I lost my cousin Mala Salahaddin, an imam in Diyarbakir who corresponded with me in Arabic.
- I lost my closest friend, Professor Jemal Nebez, a Berlin University professor and my friend for over 50 years (I have 400 handwritten letters from him).
- I lost Professor Jamal Rashid Ahmad, a historian at the University of Hewlêr, with whom I shared unforgettable memories.
- Many others have passed away.

- I was in contact with most of them hours or days before their deaths, yet none said goodbye—showing how suddenly life can end.

Now you know, dear uncle, what's happening with me."

On 17-9-2022, I wrote online:

I bow to the greatness of Kurdish women.

Details can be found in Part Seven of my book, "My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan."

A list of some of the racist and barbaric crimes committed by the entities occupying Kurdistan against the Kurdish people:

1. Turkey killed more than half a million Kurds who died from cold and hunger during the ethnic cleansing and forced displacement (Seferberlik) operations in 1914-1918.
2. Turkey executed Sheikh Abdul Salam Barzani and his companions in Mosul prison in 1914.
3. Iraqi and British forces captured Sheikh Mahmud Hafid, the King of Southern Kurdistan, and exiled him to India from 1919-1924.
4. Turkey executed the Kurdish leader Sheikh Said Piran along with 46 leaders of the Kurdish people in 1925.
5. Turkey imprisoned the Kurdish leader Uncle Osman Sabri and executed his uncles, Shukri Agha and Nuri Agha, leaders of the Mirdesian tribe in 1926.
6. Iran assassinated the Kurdish leader Ismail Agha Shikak, his brothers, and his mother in 1930.
7. Turkey bombed the Zilan Valley in northern Kurdistan with chemical and incendiary weapons in 1930.
8. Turkey carried out genocide and ethnic cleansing operations against the Kurds in the Dersim region in 1937-1939.
9. Turkey executed the Kurdish leader Seyid Riza in 1939.
10. Iran executed Qazi Muhammad, President of the Republic of Kurdistan, in 1946.

11. Syria assassinated the Kurdish leader Prince Jaladet Badrkhan through a fabricated intelligence incident involving a well in 1951.
12. Turkey assassinated the Kurdish leader Faik Bucak in 1957, the Kurdish writer Musa Anter in 1992, the activist Sakine Cansız and her companions in Paris in 2013, and many others.
13. Syria burned 380 Kurdish children to death while they were watching a film about the Algerian Revolution in the city of Amuda in 1960.
14. Syria stripped Syrian citizenship from half a million Kurds in 1962.
15. Syria confiscated Kurdish agricultural lands and established the racist "Arab Belt" project on them to settle Arabs from the "al-Ghamr" group in their place in 1967.
16. Iraq burned Kurdistan with phosphorous and napalm weapons between 1961-1975.
17. Iran and Iraq conspired in the Algiers Agreement, which crushed the September Revolution led by General Mustafa Barzani in 1975.
18. Iran killed tens of thousands of Peshmerga and Kurdish civilians in Eastern Kurdistan in 1980 and continues to kill Kurds under torture in its prisons or on gallows.
19. Iraq kidnapped 5,000 Fayli Kurds, then killed them and displaced their families in 1980.

20. Iraq kidnapped 8,000 Barzani Kurds and then killed them in 1983.
21. Iraq assassinated the Kurdish leader Idris Barzani under mysterious circumstances in 1987.
22. Iraq killed 5,000 Kurds in the city of Halabja with chemical weapons on March 16, 1988.
23. Iraq buried 182,000 Kurds alive in the deserts of southern Iraq during the Anfal operations at the end of 1988.
24. Iran assassinated the Kurdish leader Dr. Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou and his companions in Vienna in 1989.
25. Iraq caused the deaths of hundreds of Kurdish children from severe cold during the mass exodus of 1991.
26. Iran assassinated the Kurdish leader Dr. Sadegh Sharafkandi in Berlin in 1993.
27. Turkey sentenced the Kurdish leader Leyla Zana and her companions to 15 years in prison for speaking the Kurdish language in the Turkish Parliament in 1995.
28. Turkey kidnapped the Kurdish leader Abdullah Öcalan in 1999, and he remains imprisoned.
29. Syria killed dozens of Kurds in the streets with live ammunition in Western Kurdistan during the glorious popular uprising in 2004.
30. Syria later assassinated dozens of the leaders of the 2004 uprising while they were performing their Syrian

military service through fabricated intelligence accidents.

31. Syria assassinated the Kurdish leader Sheikh Dr. Muhammad Mashouq al-Khaznawi in 2005.
32. Syria assassinated the Kurdish leader Mishaal al-Tammo in 2011.
33. The entities occupying Kurdistan have killed the best sons of the Kurdish people under torture at all times and in all parts of Kurdistan.
34. The entities occupying Kurdistan have killed, displaced, and confiscated the property of the best sons of the Kurdish people at all times and in all parts of Kurdistan.
35. The entities occupying Kurdistan have destroyed eight thousand Kurdish villages in northern and southern Kurdistan.
36. The entities occupying Kurdistan have violated honor, taken women captive, and sold them in slave markets.
37. The entities occupying Kurdistan have forged Kurdish history, heritage, and civilization, and practiced a policy of genocide against the Kurdish language and culture, as well as fought against the environment and nature in Kurdistan at all times and in all parts of Kurdistan.
38. The entities occupying Kurdistan conspired to destroy the city of Kobani and displace its people in 2014.
39. In 2014, the entities occupying Kurdistan killed, through their proxy ISIS, thousands of young people,

kidnapped children and placed them in special camps to brainwash them and convert them from Yazidism to extremist Daesh Islam. As for the Yazidi women, they were sold to brothels around the world, and to this day the fate of more than three thousand Kurdish Yazidi women remains unknown.

40. In 2017, the Kurdish people held a referendum for the independence of Kurdistan, but the world's countries fought Kurdistan to prevent the Kurdish people from obtaining their freedom.
41. Iraq occupied the city of Kirkuk in southern Kurdistan with American tanks and Iranian and Turkish support in 2017.
42. Turkey occupied the city of Afrin in western Kurdistan and killed its best sons in 2018.
43. Turkey occupied the cities of Serikaniye and Gire Spi in western Kurdistan, bombed them with white phosphorus, and killed their best sons in 2019.
44. The entities occupying Kurdistan burned Kurdish wheat fields in most parts of Kurdistan from 2018-2020.
45. The aforementioned tragedies of the Kurdish people continue to be repeated to this day in all regions of Kurdistan.
46. Iraq, which has claimed to be democratic and federal since 2003, has paid billions of dollars in compensation to Kuwait, but to this day has not paid a single penny in compensation to the Kurds, nor has

it even apologized to the Kurdish people for the crimes committed by Iraq against them, which far exceed those committed against Kuwait... This means that the minds of the rulers of democratic Iraq are still racist and rotten, like previous Iraqi regimes, towards the Kurdish people, and they are planning new operations to exterminate the Kurdish people and displace them for their racist goal: changing the demography of Kurdistan, so that Kurdistan becomes theirs and empty of its legitimate owners, the Kurdish people.

An Overview of My Struggle and My Book "The Kurdish State: A Struggle for Survival"

It is my pleasure to present my book, "The Kurdish State: A Struggle for Survival" as a humble gift to free patriots and friends of the Kurdish people across the world. I declare my allegiance to the ancient Kurdish people and my sacred homeland, Kurdistan, and I fight for a Kurdish state because this is the true struggle for Kurdish Survival. My people can be none other than the Kurdish people, and I will accept nothing less than an independent Kurdistan as my homeland. For this goal, I have been targeted by the entities occupying Kurdistan—both directly and through partisan Kurdish leaders who, in their party platforms, declare Syria, Iraq, Turkey, and Iran as their homelands. These leaders strive for the "honor" of membership in the parliaments of Syria, Iraq, Turkey, and Iran—the very states that occupy Kurdistan—and complete to grant the occupying powers compete certificates of good conduct.

Partisan Kurdish leaders take an oath of allegiance in their first session in the parliaments of the occupying Syrian, Iraqi, Turkish, and Iranian regimes, pledging to uphold the sovereignty of entities that have violated Kurdistan's sovereignty since the end of World War I under the colonial Sykes-Picot Agreement and the Treaty of Lausanne.

While international and regional conspiracies have exhausted the Kurdish people, the betrayal of partisan Kurdish leaders has played the biggest role in prolonging the occupation of Kurdistan.

In my book, "The Kurdish State: A Struggle for Survival" I have carefully addressed the following issues:

1. My struggle to establish effective means for liberating Kurdistan and rescuing the Kurdish people from the labyrinth of the 1916 Sykes-Picot Agreement, the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne, the resolutions of the 1943 Tehran Conference, and subsequent overt and covert agreements and conferences held by major powers and the occupying entities—the heirs of Sykes-Picot, Lausanne, and Tehran.
2. My struggle and nationalist stances through my participation in conferences, meetings, TV and press interviews, demonstrations, and the writing of articles, studies, and books. I have answered all questions and summarized the results of my activism and thoughts in carefully chosen words.
3. My unique experiences and positions, which have occupied a significant part of my life, thoughts, and emotions—as a political prisoner in Syrian intelligence prisons in the 1960s, a Peshmerga fighter in the mountains of Southern Kurdistan from 1982 to 1984, and a target of political persecution with orders to

capture me "dead or alive" by most of the entities occupying Kurdistan.

4. My struggle across all parts of Kurdistan for over sixty years, during which I witnessed firsthand the immense sacrifices and heroic resilience of the Kurdish people. I have also identified the weaknesses in the Kurdish liberation movement, articulated them with absolute clarity and transparency, and laid out a roadmap—including an alternative plan—for the liberation of Kurdistan.
5. Through my personal efforts, I discovered the Tehran Conference conspiracy of 1943, which was no less dangerous to the Kurdish people than the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 and the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923.
6. I have written about how my family's history and Kurdish leaders influenced me—including my father, General Mustafa Barzani, Apo Osman Sabri, Professor Jemal Nebez, Lawyer Kamil Zheer, Dr. Jamal Rashid Ahmed, General Aziz Aqrawi, Sheikh Mohammed Saleh Gabouri, and others whom I knew personally. I drew inspiration from their free will and struggled alongside them.
7. My struggle has been against the plots of the entities occupying Kurdistan and their agents, both Kurdish and non-Kurdish. Their numerous attempts to assassinate me physically multiple times and to assassinate my character repeatedly have failed.

8. In my book *The Kurdish State: A Struggle for Survival*, I repeatedly emphasized my pride in the resilience of my heroic Kurdish people throughout history, in the face of ethnic cleansing and racial discrimination aimed at uprooting them. Yet, all these attempts failed miserably, just as they failed to shake my unwavering belief in the independence of Kurdistan.
9. I have often expressed my pride in the Kurdish leaders who fought for Kurdistan's independence, foremost among them Sheikh Mahmud Hafid, King of Kurdistan (1919–1924); General Ihsan Nuri Pasha, head of the Kurdistan government in the Agri Mountains (1927–1930); and Qazi Muhammad, president of the Republic of Kurdistan in Mahabad (1946).
10. I have also repeatedly expressed my pride in the Kurdish national elites who struggled for Kurdistan's independence, including Dr. Jemal Nebez, Lawyer Kamil Zheer, Dr. Jamal Rashid Ahmed, Engineer Bruska Ibrahim, Sheikh Mohammed Saleh Gabouri, Sheikh Omar Gharib, and others. My struggle alongside them was to spread Kurdish nationalist thought and resist occupation, personal interests, tribalism, partisanship, and regionalism.
11. In my book *The Kurdish State: A Struggle for Survival*, I highlighted my achievements and my steadfast commitment to a single path: the struggle for Kurdistan's independence. This was especially evident in my international engagements, spanning from the

Far East to the Far West—relationships that often seemed contradictory. In truth, these parties contradicted each other, but I did not see it as a contradiction because I built my relations with all of them on one foundation: the struggle for an independent Kurdish state. I was neither a follower nor a supporter of any Eastern or Western bloc, nor of any dictatorship or democracy. That is why I knocked on every door—of states and organizations, without exception, whether aligned or conflicting—hoping to find an answer to the question: Why has Kurdistan remained without a state? There was no contradiction in my relations because my sole cause was the independence of Kurdistan, and no other cause could ever take its place.

I never followed any trend simply because it welcomed me. Among the world leaders I met were Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi in 1997 and British Prime Minister Tony Blair in 2005. I made it clear to them that the Kurdish cause is solely the independence of Kurdistan—nothing else.

12. In my book *The Kurdish State: A Struggle for Survival*, I mentioned dozens of books, hundreds of articles, TV and press interviews, and my participation in numerous international conferences, seminars, and meetings in Switzerland, Austria, Italy, Russia, Denmark, Norway, Germany, America, Libya, Qatar, and other countries.

13. I was also the first—and last—Kurd, in my capacity as a Kurd, to receive an official invitation from the United Nations to attend an investigative council in 1988 at the UN headquarters in New York regarding the fate of 8,000 Barzani Kurds kidnapped by Iraq in 1983. Other Kurds may have attended the UN, but they did so as Iraqis or under other affiliations.
14. Some tried to tempt or pressure me—even threaten me—into adopting the same goal as other Kurdish parties: autonomy or federalism. I refused money from any Kurdish or non-Kurdish entity. When one of them offered me money, which I rejected, I said: "Do you know I am a billionaire?" He was surprised and said he did not know. I replied: "True wealth is not in fleeting money but in principled stances. I am not willing to sell my position for all the riches of the world's wealthiest."
15. In my book, "The Kurdish State, a Struggle for Survival" I documented the events with justice and fairness, I was aided in this by the determination and willpower I drew from the souls of all the martyrs, foremost among them: my father, Ibrahim Mella, Apo Osman Sabri, General Mustafa Barzani, Idris Barzani, Dr. Jemal Nebez, and Colonel Muammar Gaddafi—may God have mercy on them and grant them paradise. They played a major role in my life and greatly influenced the course of events I undertook.

16. I have recorded the events in my book "The Kurdish State: A Struggle for Survival" in chronological order, from ancient to modern times, so that students of history can trace the knowledge they are seeking by following the dates—day, month, and year. This book could become a novel, a series with hundreds of episodes, or a cinematic film depicting the Kurdish struggle for the independence of Kurdistan... I earnestly hope this happens after the establishment of a Kurdish state. I categorically reject the production of any literary or cinematic work in this wretched era because the supporters of autonomy and federalism would distort the facts and tarnish the struggle I waged for Kurdistan's independence. This falsification is evident in how they neglect issues of freedom and independence in their media, relegating important news to the end of their broadcasts while trivial matters are sensationalized as headlines.

For example, some Kurdish party leaders who advocate for autonomy claim that the Republic of Mahabad, founded by the martyr Qazi Muhammad in 1946, was not for Kurdistan's independence but for autonomy! It would not be difficult for them to claim that my struggle was also not for Kurdistan's independence.

Therefore, I do not want the supporters of autonomy and federalism to falsify my struggle, just as they distorted the memoirs of Apo Osman Sabri, Dr. Ismet

Sherif Vanly, Dr. Nureddin Zaza, and others—whose memoirs were printed only after their deaths. They even infiltrated their own agents to become custodians of the great legacy left behind by Kurdish nationalist philosophers like Apo Osman Sabri, Dr. Jemal Nebez, and others. That is why I am writing, publishing, and disseminating my own struggle for a Kurdish state—so that no one can distort it after my death.

The issue of a Kurdish state is one of the most difficult and complex tasks, which is why I had to open the black box of Kurdistan's doomed "airplane" to uncover the truth behind its repeated crashes into the abyss—continuous setbacks and endless tragedies. I have had proven, beyond any doubt, its inability to safely deliver its passengers—the Kurdish people—to the shores of independence. In other words, I have laid all the secret and complicated issues on the table without hesitation. I decided to make use of humanity's greatest invention: writing. Without it, future generations would never know the knowledge and discoveries achieved by those who came before them. I wrote so that future generations could benefit, and others would not have to start from scratch as I have done, Such that they would not have to spend another century reaching the same conclusions—wasting their lives on trial and error. I present my experience for others can build upon it, because had I

known the conclusions I have had reached now, my struggle would have begun very differently. I would not have exhausted myself, wasted my time, health, loved ones, and wealth on matters unrelated to Kurdistan's independence—especially my futile attempts to convince partisan Kurdish leaders about the necessity of an independent Kurdistan. They know it better than I do, yet they fight only for normalization with the states occupying Kurdistan and do not believe in independence at all.

Had I known the outcome, I would have started differently. But turning back the clock is impossible, while it is much easier for the new generation of Kurdish youth to continue the struggle on the right path, based on same conclusions I have reached—for truth and justice, for the freedom of the Kurdish people and the independence of Kurdistan. When death comes, it grants no one a second chance to correct their mistakes. There are no retakes in life, unlike in schools and universities where supplementary exams are offered.

The experiences I faced and endured spanned all levels and affiliations within Kurdish society, some of which were extremely negative.

What I have written is not speculation or conjecture but real, practical experiences with various groups, classes, and factions from all regions of Kurdistan—across all political, social, cultural, and even academic parties and movements, which, unfortunately, were no different from the rest.

I am writing my experience for you because I do not want you to repeat it. If we do, we will burden our people beyond endurance. The millions of martyrs our heroic Kurdish people have sacrificed—in the Anfal campaigns, Halabja, the Barzanis, the Feylis, the displacement and slaughter of our people in Kirkuk, Shengal, Afrin, Kobani, and Serikani—are the result of treacherous partisan politics. The time has come to say: Enough is enough! These immense sacrifices would have been enough to liberate Kurdistan ten times over.

Thus, with pride and humility, I present my book "The Kurdish State: A Struggle for Survival" as a gift to the new Kurdish generation—without expecting anything in return, for what I have done is my duty toward my great Kurdish people and my sacred homeland, Kurdistan, as dictated by my conscience. My struggle was never to please anyone or flatter a party—it was pure and sincere, for the establishment of a Kurdish state.

Through my multifaceted studies, I recognized the justice of the Kurdish cause—a cause so just that even non-Kurds could fight for the victory of the great Kurdish people, who have been wronged and betrayed internationally and regionally.

I despise oppression and love freedom, truth, and justice. The injustice inflicted upon the Kurdish people is not because they are weak—but because they are so strong that regional and global powers fear them reclaiming

their formidable historical status and civilization should they gain independence.

Anyone who reads and understands what I have written will see that from the beginning, I believed in revolution, change, and progress for the freedom of the Kurdish people and the independence of Kurdistan. I found no cause nobler than the struggle for a Kurdish state.

I have also arrived at a political equation for the Kurdish struggle, which has been mutilated into autonomy, federalism, democracy, and other principles that require brutal wars with the entities occupying Kurdistan—resulting in the killing, displacement, and destruction of the Kurdish people. When these entities weaken, they call for negotiations and peace agreements, which destroy the spirit of revolution and resistance among Kurds by offering salaries and positions. Those who refuse are sidelined or assassinated by intelligence agencies. When the occupiers regain strength, they break their promises and start new wars, as in 1970 and 1974. This cycle will repeat until Judgment Day.

Thus, I stand for the establishment of a Kurdish state that ends conflict and war with neighboring peoples forever.

On December 9, 2013, I fell severely ill—a condition I still suffer from today, along with other health problems that have confined me to my home, inactive. Perhaps my illness, like 99% of the Kurdish people's ailments, stems

from the disappointing and unworthy policies of Kurdish party leaders—unfit for a liberation movement of a people numbering over 60 million, whose goal should be independence. Instead, they replaced the homeland with families, tribes, and parties; the national flag with a leader; and the national anthem, thought, security, and truth with personal interests—tragically.

In this book of mine, I have frequently asked the esteemed reader to refer to my work: *"My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan"* for further details.

Below are the titles of the seven parts of the first volume of *My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan*:

1. The Opponents of Kurdistan's Independence: The Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916), the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), and the Tehran Conference (1943).
2. The Deceived and the Kurdish Freedom Fighters Through My Writings and Theirs.
3. The Great Figures of the Kurdish Nation as I Knew them (1946–1988).
4. The Struggle for Kurdistan's Independence Exposes the Collaborators of Occupation (1989–2000).
5. My Struggle to Ensure Justice Does Not Die in Kurdistan (2001–2008).
6. My Project for the Independence of Southern and Western Kurdistan (2009–2013).

7. When Will the Killing of Kurds and the Collective Rape of Kurdistan End? (2014–2023).

It is worth mentioning that I have written an introduction for each part of *My Autobiography and My Struggle for the Independence of Kurdistan*. I have also asked some of my comrades who joined me in the struggle for Kurdistan's independence to write introductions for certain parts of my book. Additionally, I requested some freedom fighters and distinguished figures from other nations to write forewords, share their opinions, and express solidarity with the Kurdish cause—particularly regarding the central issue of my book: the independence of Kurdistan.

I welcomed solidarity from all sides—leftists, rightists, Islamists, Yazidis, artists, academics, and laborers—because today, we are not engaged in political or ideological competition. Instead, we are focused on Kurdistan's national liberation, which requires the support of all movements. Among those who contributed forewords were:

1. Prof. Jemal Nebez and Farhad Abdul Qadir wrote the foreword for Part 1.
2. Mir Aqrabi and Ali Muhammad Saleh Gabouri wrote the foreword for Part 2.
3. Hawre Bakhawan, Azad Miran, and Yusuf Nasro wrote the foreword for Part 3.
4. Bruska Ibrahim, his wife Armgard Ibrahim, and Khalid Rashid wrote the foreword for Part 4.

5. Goran Nozad Ali and Fathi Benkhalifa wrote the foreword for Part 5.
6. Goran Candan and Dr. Khalil Jundi wrote the foreword for Part 6.
7. Prof. Dr. Ismail Besikci wrote the foreword for Part 7.

I wrote so that I would not die like a stone falling into water, leaving no trace. I wrote because I am not only a fighter against injustice in Kurdistan but also a fighter against injustice worldwide.

As a Kurd, it was my historical duty to lift oppression from my people and tell them: Enough defending yourself while politely asking occupiers for democracy and human rights! The Kurdish people must take the offensive—the best defense—and enforce divine will ("an eye for an eye"), as I elaborated in my "Roadmap and Alternative Plan" study, which I consider the final warning to the occupying entities (Syria, Iraq, Turkey, Iran, and the former Soviet Union—Armenia and Azerbaijan) to withdraw their armies from Kurdistan immediately. The crimes they have committed against the Kurdish people will not go unpunished.

Let them know they are occupiers of our homeland, Kurdistan, and must leave voluntarily to preserve their dignity—before the lions of the Kurdish nation, Kurdistan's rightful owners, drag them out.

Finally, I hope this book serves as a Re-source for independent Kurdish intellectuals and researchers and benefits all segments of the Kurdish people—especially those fighting to liberate Kurdistan, the noble cause I believed in and struggled for. Sadly, I could not achieve it, but I pray God grants me time to witness Kurdistan's independence and the establishment of a Kurdish state. Amen, Lord of the Worlds.

The conclusion and my plea for survival

1. When the laws of the occupying states fail to grant Kurds even basic human rights—let alone national rights—and Kurds remain threatened with killings, displacement, and violations of dignity, property, and sacred sites since the colonial partitions of Kurdistan.
2. When divine laws (represented by Shia Islam in Iran and Sunni Islam in Turkey, Syria, and their proxies like ISIS, the Popular Mobilization Forces, and Hezbollah) fail to grant Kurds their rights.
3. When international laws (represented by the UN, EU, NATO, etc.) fail to recognize Kurds—let alone their rights.
4. When Kurdish partisan leaders fail to protect their people—fighting Iran for Iraq, Iraq for Iran, Turkey for Syria, Syria for Turkey, ISIS for America, or America for the Soviets—all while fighting each other for the

occupiers' benefit, wasting Kurdish lives and resources without securing guarantees for Kurdistan.

5. When humanity and its principles fail—intentionally or not—the Kurdish people have no choice but to rise up, relying on themselves to claim their rights through whatever means necessary, at a time and place that does not suit the occupiers.

Here lies the duty of the Kurdistan National Congress (KNC) and the Government of Kurdistan in Exile—to lead the struggle by building a strong, united national front. The exiled government must prepare policies and decisions that strengthen Kurdish society's cohesion, resilience, and march toward liberation and statehood.

Only a Kurdish state can protect the Kurdish people.

As the martyr of Qamishlo Dr. Muhammad Mashouq al-Khaznawi said:

"A tragedy is to remain trapped between your dreams and reality, where your reality is unbearable, and your dreams unfulfilled. So, you must rise, your ancestors rose up in 29 revolutions—let yours be the 30th:

The revolution for Kurdistan independence,
the revolution to protect Kurdish existence."

My call to all those who wish to struggle for survival:

A Brief Overview: What is the reality in Kurdistan and what must be done before it is too late.

Any attempt to correct the path of the states that occupy Kurdistan and the Kurdish parties and organizations is, without a doubt, a simultaneous waste of time and Kurdish capabilities.

This is because the states that occupy Kurdistan and the Kurdish parties and organizations are not ignorant or foolish people in need of awareness. Rather, they are executing their tasks perfectly and with exceptional intelligence, as planned by the decisions of the 1943 Tehran Conference.

Let it be known to all that any regional Kurdish struggle, whether partisan or non-partisan, for any Kurdish right—be it political and democratic rights, coexistence and brotherhood with the occupier, or even achieving the brotherhood of peoples, autonomy, federalism, confederalism, or even a Kurdish empire within the political borders of the states that occupy Kurdistan—is precisely an implementation of the colonial Sykes-Picot Agreement and the Treaty of Lausanne. It is a waste of time and Kurdish capabilities. Under the slogans of resistance and steadfastness, it is, unfortunately, nothing but a free service to the enemy (the states that occupy Kurdistan) to continue the occupation of Kurdistan into the third millennium. There will soon be no resistance or steadfastness, not just in the third millennium, but

perhaps not even in the third decade of this millennium, and this is exactly what the states occupying Kurdistan are striving for.

The true Kurdish struggle must be for the establishment of a Kurdish state, and for the Kurdish state only. This is to avoid wasting Kurdish time, capabilities, and resistance on a false struggle for the trivialities mentioned above.

First and foremost, anyone who wishes to fight for survival must read this book carefully, to know precisely where to direct their capabilities before it is too late, because time is merciless and does not turn back, not even for half a second.

Some have not understood this brief overview because those who consume illicit gains cannot defend the truth, or were not prepared to abandon their illusions.

The struggle for survival is a legitimate Kurdish right because the existence of the Kurds is still under the threat of extermination.

Likewise, the struggle for a Kurdish state is the true struggle for survival, because only the Kurdish state can protect the blood, property, and dignity of the Kurdish people.

Therefore, anyone who struggles and resists the negative environment surrounding the Kurds and Kurdistan, for anything less than a Kurdish state, is wasting their abilities and potential in a resistance that does not lead to the freedom of the Kurdish people and the independence of Kurdistan at all.

On the matter of resistance, the frog is considered the creature most capable of resistance and adaptation to its environment, no matter how negative. In this regard, scientists conducted the following experiment on a frog: They placed a frog in hot water and gradually increased the water temperature slowly. The frog remained in the water, resisting and adapting to the high heat. But when the water became very hot and the frog could no longer endure it, it tried to jump out of the boiling water. However, it was unable to jump because its positive reactions to the negative changes around it were nonexistent. This was because it had been content merely with resistance, adaptation, normalization, and coexistence with the environment. It lost the ability to jump because it had forfeited the strength it once possessed while it was resisting, adapting, normalizing, and coexisting with the negative environment surrounding it.

The frog continued to resist the negative environment around it, with a high level of passivity, until it died. So, are there any Kurds who will learn a lesson from this scientific experiment, especially those who do not fight for a Kurdish state and prefer to content themselves only with resistance, adaptation, normalization, and coexistence with a negative environment that has already decided to exterminate the Kurds.

**Yet the Kurdish state is coming, inevitably,
whether the opponents like it or not.**