

# Kurdistan National Congress-KNC

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## **Why has not the Kurdish People been able to establish its own state yet?**

It has been centuries and the Kurdish People suffers from a struggle for existence and living with dignity and national, human and civil liberties, fighting against occupation. The life of the Kurdish individuals in many places and times almost resembles that of slavery or even worse because slaves are allowed to be called so while a Kurd in his own homeland Kurdistan is denied the right of being described as Kurdish and even after the liberation of Southern Kurdistan from the dictatorship of Baath the Kurdish people there still do not have an identity card saying that they are Kurds as the Iraqi passport that after the liberation is issued in Sulaimany or Hawler in Arabic language and not Kurdish and says that the holder is an Iraqi. While in Britain even dogs and cats have something round their necks indicating whether it is a dog or a cat, the Kurds have not reached that level yet.

This situation is a result of deep studies into the Kurdish society by the countries that occupy Kurdistan making the Kurdish people incapable of demanding its right to establish a Kurdish state. They have done this by wasting the time and energy of the Kurdish people on secondary issues such as: the thing that occupies the time of more than 20 million Kurds in Northern Kurdistan is freedom for Mr Abdullah Ocalan from his imprisonment and it is likely to be so even after his death. Also the Kurds in Western Kurdistan are occupied most with reinstating the Syrian nationality to the Kurds who have been deprived from it for half a century and this situation may last for another half a century. The Kurdish people in Southern Kurdistan are mostly occupied with the Article 140 of the Iraqi constitution while in Eastern Kurdistan they are busy with refusing Ahmadinejad and demanding another President that could be even more dictatorial. In reality these are all careful plans by the countries occupying Kurdistan in order to engage the Kurdish people away from its main objective which is the liberation of Kurdistan and not Ocalan, demanding a Kurdish nationality and not Syrian, carrying out Article 64 of the Sevres Treaty and not Article 140 and lastly working towards the rule of Kurdistan by the Kurdish people and not Ahmadinejad or any one else. Wasting the energies of the Kurdish people on such things has dire consequences for the future of the Kurdish people and its national security, because the time wasted in such a way makes the Kurds the victims of a never ending vicious circle.

It is true that the international and regional policies especially of those countries that occupy Kurdistan was always and still is against the establishment of a Kurdish state but despite this huge animosity towards a Kurdish state the struggle of the Kurds is still going on with ups and downs. The struggle has materialised in the great Kurdish revolutions in all parts of Kurdistan that all were for the independence of Kurdistan and establishment of the Kurdish state, such as: the revolution of the Baban Princedom, revolution of Badinan Princedom, revolution of Botan Princedom, revolution of Sheik Obeidullah Nehri, revolutions of Ismael Agha Shikak, revolution of Ibrahim Pasha Milli, revolution of Sheik Saeed Piran, revolutions of Mardisian Tribe, revolutions of Barzan and others... Some of these revolutions and uprisings managed to establish Kurdish states in one of the regions of Kurdistan such as the Kingdom of Southern Kurdistan headed by the King of Kurdistan Sheik Mahmoud Hafid 1919 – 1924 and others as Kurdish governments such as the one formed by Khoiboon Party during its revolution in Northern Kurdistan under the leadership of General Ihsan Nouri Pasha 1927 – 1930, or others as the Kurdish Republic in Eastern Kurdistan formed by the President of Kurdistan Qazi Muhammad in 1946.

These states, kingdoms and republics despite their mistakes and failures became an inspiration for all liberty loving revolutionaries of Kurdistan.

However, half a century ago and with establishment of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan and its quick spread in all parts of Kurdistan as if supported by states and governments similar to the spread of the yellow and green flags, and since the beginning the Democratic Party of Kurdistan adopted the Marxist theories of Lenin that ignore the role of the Sheiks, Mullas, Agas, tribal chieftain and personalities of the Kurdish villages and towns for no reason other than being rich, and relying on labourers and proletariat just because they are poor according to the Marxist theories. In fact at the time there was not any bourgeoisie or proletariat in Kurdistan such as Lenin spoke about and the reason for this turning upside down of the Kurdish society was in order to create a situation and not allow the Sheiks, Mullas, Agas and chieftains to lead the Kurdish revolution as all the Kurdish revolutions under the leadership of those were for the establishment of a Kurdish state. For the same unholy reason Micaville theories also were adopted that if you want to destroy a people diminish its good people and nobility or at least ignore them and bring those persons who have no effect in building a society and its history. So as an example the Democratic Party of Kurdistan since its establishment started a campaign of propaganda and lies against Sheik Mahmoud Hafid the King of Kurdistan describing him as reactionary and backwards and refusing to shake hands with the British High Commissioner, which was the main factor for the Kurdish people to lose its state and other such nonsense. The truth is exactly the opposite as it was Sheik Mahmoud Hafid who announced the establishment of Kurdistan Kingdom under the bombardment of British planes while those who make false propaganda against him are now under the protection of British and American planes, yet they cannot announce a state in Southern Kurdistan such that of the glorious Sheik Mahmoud a hundred years ago, so who is the real backwards!!!

Also the Democratic Party of Kurdistan of Iran when it started its revolution in Eastern Kurdistan after the Khomeini's uprising the first thing they did was to arrest Ali Qazi the only son of the president of the Kurdistan Republic Qazi Muhammad and handed him over to the government in Baghdad.

Also in Syria and Turkey the Democratic Party of Kurdistan diminished the role of the Kurdish nobility so that if the opportunity arises they would not be able to lead the people and establish a Kurdish state as they did before, and thus the leadership remains in the hands of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan and other parties and organisations affiliated to it, according to a plan that has been made for them in Damascus, Baghdad, Ankara and Tehran to destroy any revolution or uprising that may enhance the chances of a Kurdish state. There are a lot of examples for this but I mention just a few:

A lot of times some freedom loving people of Kurdistan described the Democratic Party of Kurdistan as a traitor because of its practices and collaboration with one or the other of the states occupying Kurdistan while fighting against another one of the occupiers as this policy led to internal Kurds against Kurds fighting and caused the lives of the best political and military experts of the Kurdish people in order to satisfy the states that occupy Kurdistan. As the thoughts and organisations of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan are in all parts of Kurdistan each one of them had a different ally at one time but in reality these were differences in form and the essence remains that they are all allied with those countries that occupy Kurdistan and helping one group against the other.

The Democratic Party of Kurdistan did not punish those collaborators and traitors against the Kurdish people at all for the crimes they committed especially in hindering the Kurdish revolutions and moreover, order were issued for their amnesty and were given the highest of jobs and pensions several times more than those of the Peshmarga.

Also whenever there was an international or regional opportunity for the Kurdish people to gain independence the Democratic Party of Kurdistan created an internal conflict with the other parties that would not cease until the opportunity is over. Such as in the sixties when Iraq was weak and with no chemical or any sophisticated weapons but the internal Kurdish – Kurdish fighting was so intense that the Kurdish revolution became a victim of a prank by the Mars 1970 Declaration that in reality wanted to destroy the revolution. And because that the revolution was already fallen for the trick that ends it the internal fighting was no longer necessary, so it stopped.

Another chance for independence came with the start of Iran Iraq war that lasted 8 years and again instead of taking advantage of the fact that two occupiers of Kurdistan are fighting each other the parties started another internal Kurdish – Kurdish fighting that did not stop until the Iraq Iran war ended. Only then the Kurdish parties declared a Kurdistan Front that was supposed to be announced at the start and not the end of the war.

There was also the opportunity of the Kurdish uprising of 1991 and the exodus of millions of Kurds to outside the borders of Sykes – Picot or even outside the borders

of the countries occupying Kurdistan. While there was a huge unprecedented international sympathy with the Kurds, the Kurdish leaders instead of declaring a Kurdish state they went to Baghdad and kissed Saddam Hussein, the criminal, so the international sympathy suddenly stopped, especially as the representatives of the Kurdish parties were interviewed by international media during that exodus of millions of Kurds and asked what the Kurdish people want they would answer: we want blankets... So, while the world was listening with interest to the Kurdish tragedy they were giving the impression that we need blankets. In fact the poorest Kurd has dozens of blankets in his house and unfortunately the reality of the tragedy was kept from the world that is it is a matter of a people deprived from own state and not blankets. Some even tried to keep it down exactly as some Kurdish parties in Syria tried to keep down the great uprising of March 2004 and still there are people who describe this uprising using terminology suggested by the Syrian regime calling it disturbances, unfortunate incidents, revolt and other names that are very far from the truth...

As for the current great opportunity that has lasted for 16 years and it is still there, at first the parties started an internal Kurdish – Kurdish fighting as usual trying to waste the opportunity, but after the pressure from the allied forces in Iraq they declared ceasefire and rose the Kurdistan flag instead of yellow and green flags. They were also forced to unify the two governments of Sulaimany and Hawler. However, the parties still have no good intentions, and they put the Iraqi flag beside the Kurdistan flag, and seeing that the Kurdistan flag and Kurdistan national anthem are gaining a prominent place in the Kurdish society, some parties are trying to replace the Kurdistan flag and anthem forgetting that the flag is sacred and it is not a flag of Sulaimany or Hawler but it is the flag of greater Kurdistan and was risen by all the revolutions in all parts of Kurdistan and the Kurdish people has shed a lot of sacred blood for its sake.

It is true that nowadays there are no internal arm clashes between the parties but there is still internal fighting in the form of partisan propaganda against each other that are more dangerous than arms. Some of the most important ministries are still not united that is the Ministries of Peshmarga, Interior and Finances i.e. there are ministries by the same name in both Sulaimany and Hawler. This situation is worse than internal fighting because it divides the Kurdish society. For instance, the mobile network in Sulaimany covers the entire world except Hawler and vice versa!!!

Despite all this I cannot accuse the Democratic Party of Kurdistan and the other Kurdish parties of treason because they are carrying out their duty very truthfully by following the plans drawn for them more than half a century ago to deviate the Kurdish people with from the high aim of establishing a state after their failure by wave after wave of military campaigns and the failure of the internationalist principles of Marxism and Islamic ideology to divert it from nationalist aims. That is why they counted on the teachings of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan that demand the rights for Kurds and Kurdistan in each region on its own. I can summarise the teachings of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan as follows:

- 1- Partition of the powers and capabilities of the Kurdish people with a population of more than 40 million to groups and collectives exactly as planned by the Sykes-Picot colonialist treaty and what the states occupying Kurdistan want.
- 2- Recognising this partition and acting on its bases automatically leads the Democratic Party of Kurdistan into a struggle for a role in the regional politics as a satellite for one of the states occupying Kurdistan.
- 3- In both the regional and international politics there are struggles for influence and coalitions against each other since the times of empires and this will last forever with no end in sight. The Democratic Party of Kurdistan knows this and enters into this mess for material gains for its party and diverting the Kurdish people from the objective of liberation of Kurdistan. Otherwise why some of them fights on the side of Iraq and the others on the side of Iran and yet after a while they all sit down on a table without accusing each other of treason or put them to account for the murder of thousands of Kurdish people in those fights. They don't have accountability because they are all the same and all they want is their interests in the regional policies of Iran or Iraq, or others.
- 4- The states that have influence in the regional politics are those that occupy Kurdistan that is why the Democratic Party of Kurdistan try to become their satellite leaving aside any thing to do with liberation of Kurdistan and the use of the words of Kurds and Kurdistan is nothing but for tricking the simpletons of the Kurdish people and thus taking advantage of the huge potential of the Kurdish people for its own uses and purposes in the regional politics.
- 5- If someone forces the issue of the independence of Kurdistan upon the Democratic Party of Kurdistan, it will reject it as the previous decades not because of treason but because of loyalty for its own principles in playing a role in the regional politics. In this regard I remember the late Uncle Osman Sabri who told me 40 years ago the following: the Kurdish leadership do not want a Kurdish state, but some day a super power state comes and hit them on the head with a bat and tell them to declare a Kurdish state.

Today after half a century of loyalty towards Syria, Iraq, Turkey and Iran and limiting the rights of the Kurdish people to those within the borders of those countries, which is in effect a principal demand of those countries in order to preserve their own unity. After all these years of concessions I can see that those who attack the Kurdish people in the Arabic media are much more than before and this despite of the strength and support that the Kurds today enjoy in Iraq. However, this is based on the presence of the allied forces in Iraq and if those forces leave the Kurdish situation goes back to the level of zero or even less.

The deployment of the allied forces depends on the results of the American elections next year, and then there will be another Kurdish melt down worse than that of 1975.

I say that because I am sure of such a catastrophe even without American elections because such an entity as in Southern Kurdistan cannot preserve itself because its based on collaborators and previous Saddam Hussein's agents as well as groups of internationalists that don't care whether the Kurdish people belongs to Baghdad or Cuba... This bunch may certainly be the best within the government of Kurdistan because the nationalist education and the Kurdish national security have no place in the school curriculum or in the media but on the contrary there are those on the Kurdish TV stations who put the carriage before the horse such as in these examples:

- 1- Around 80% of the time on the Kurdish TV is wasted on dances, songs and music and the rest to praise this party or that as if all the problems of the Kurdish people have been solved and we have nothing left to do but dance.
- 2- Several times they show Kurdish intellectuals telling us that even the American had suffered from a civil war meaning to justify the internal Kurdish – Kurdish fighting in one way or the other.
- 3- Some even claimed that the Americans bombed Vietnam with chemical weapons as a justification and belittling the tragedy of Halabja and its bombardment with chemical weapons.
- 4- Others occasionally speak about the independence of Kurdistan using irony and sarcasm and even when serious some Kurdish thinker speaks for an hour about the right of the Kurdish people for independence and then he says: (but) and then speaks for another hour about the unsuitable circumstances and how this demand is not realistic as well as other arguments that are all suggested by the countries that occupy Kurdistan. In the best scenario he would say a Kurdish state is the dream of every Kurd but certainly not his own dream that is why the Democratic Party of Kurdistan works to isolate and diminish anyone who dreams of a Kurdish state.

Finally the organs of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan are becoming like a bird that tries to imitate the walk of another bird but it fails and it forgets its own original walk, as the ideas and organisations of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan tries to have a role in the regional politics but after half a century of this tendency it failed to have a seat even in the back benches of the regimes in Syria, Iraq, Iran and Turkey or not even with the forces in opposition of those regimes. In democratic countries when a policy of the government fails to deliver it resigns. However, it has been half a century of promises and assurances for the regional states and peoples that the ideas and organisations of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan do not attempt to establish a Kurdish state or any separation from the regional states but it is totally loyal to those states that occupy Kurdistan and despite all the millions of Kurdish casualties on the hands of these regimes without any justification we don't see any reaction. If the Democratic Party of Kurdistan resigns and leave behind those teachings that failed to convince the regional states that the Democratic Party of Kurdistan is loyal to them, this would be a huge turnaround and a signal for the beginning of struggle for the liberation of Kurdistan and the establishment of the Kurdish state. Just imagine if the forces of General Mustafa Barzani, the forces of Dr Abdulrahman Qasimlo, the forces

of the PKK and others are united... would there be any force in the world that could prevent the establishment of a Kurdish state.

I am one of the freedom lovers of Kurdistan; I participated in the September Revolution while I was a member of the KAJYK Party calling for a Kurdish state, I was the first Kurd from Western Kurdistan to meet the late General Mustafa Barzani several times in the beginning of the seventies and I congratulated him for the autonomy. I also congratulated the Kurdish leadership and first of all the martyr Idris Barzani with whom I had distinguished relations because of his nationalistic tendencies. I also participated in the Gulan Revolution and was a member in the leadership of (JUD) Front as a representative of the Pasok Party when I was a political and military field commander of the Peshmarga forces in 1982 – 1984 in the Qandil Mountains. When the Southern Kurdistan gained a Federal status I was one of the first to congratulate as despite of been and still a believer of a Kurdish state, I do not object if the Kurdish people gain any rights such as federalism or autonomy although I am absolutely sure that any autonomy or federalism or any other rights within the borders of the states that occupy Kurdistan would end up as failure and would not have any result because those kind of solutions are like a marriage contract that needs the agreement of both sides in order to succeed that is for federalism to succeed in Iraq both the Arab people and Kurdish people must agree to it. However, although the Kurdish people have agreed to federalism, I don't think there is one Iraqi truly believes in it, that is to have separate governments and armies in Baghdad and Hawler. In order to reach that stage of acceptance much more blood would be shed and that is why in this case I am with building walls rather than igniting wars and fighting because I believe in all the human and heaven laws that came for the happiness of people and regard a Kurdish human being and any other human more important than states and their borders.

In this regard Imam Shafii, God bless him said: Your opinion is wrong but probably right, my opinion is right but probably wrong. And I from the bottom of my heart wish that the way of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan leads to safety, liberation of the Kurdish people and independence of Kurdistan because that is my demand and the demand of 40 million Kurds including the members of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan.

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