

Dr. Jawad Mella

**The Colonial Policy of the
Syrian Baath Party in
Western Kurdistan**

Publication of
Western Kurdistan Association

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Or

THE STOLEN KURDISTAN

The First Lieutenant Muhammad Talab Hilal, the head of the Political Branch in Hasaka, wrote a manuscript more than forty years ago, explaining the broad lines of how to put an end to the existence of the Kurdish people in the occupied Western Kurdistan by Syria and it was under the title:

“It is a Study about the Hasaka Province from the Ethnic, Social and Political Aspects”. As a result of this study, he became a Minister and a leading figure in the Baath Party and Syrian regime, as a reward for his racism and chauvinism

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Dedicated

To masses of the Kurdish people

All leaders of parties and organisations and Kurdish personalities in Kurdistan

And to masses of the Arab people

The heads and kings of Arab states

The leaders of parties and organisations and Arab personalities

I dedicate this book so that they know the truth about the Kurdish cause and what is plotted behind the scenes in the name of some and without the knowledge of some of them.

Let everyone know that the Kurdish cause is not about changing this regime or that, but it is the cause of Kurdish people and their homeland Kurdistan that have been divided and colonised. There shall not be peace and security in the Middle East without reclaiming the violated rights of the Kurdish people of freedom and independence for Kurdistan among which is the part occupied by Syria.

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The book with the title “A Study about the Hasaka province from Ethnic, Social and Political Aspects” is a secret Baathist security study and was written in 1963 by the First Lieutenant Muhammad Talab Hilal, head of the Political Branch of secret police in Hasaka. It is time now to publish it and put it to the readers with commentaries for the sake of truth.

There are many reasons as to why this book has not been published by the Kurdish liberation movement in Syria and not refuted up to now. It is true that there has been important were the studies by Dr Ismet Sharif Wanly in English and French and a writing by Dr Omar Mrif Gul in Kurdish language and others. Today I present the full text of the Muhammad Talab Hilal’s book with a study and evaluation because it is the time to regain our stolen Kurdistan and our lost rights.

The book of Muhammad Talab Hilal contains a complete racist plan to get rid of the Kurdish existence in the western part of Kurdistan that became under the French mandate after the World War I, and under Syrian occupation since 1946 up to this date. The book of Muhammad Talab Hilal was followed by a long chain of Syrian racist and chauvinist orders and acts against the Kurdish people that are still active (as the Arab belt, exceptional census and changing the demographic features of the Kurdish region etc.) There are also further additions on the daily basis or confirmations for the previously issued policies. So, the book of Muhammad Talab Hilal is an example for the racism of the Syrian regime and the Syrian police state that carries out a psychological warfare against the Kurdish people in order to humiliate the Kurdish personality and break the Kurdish solidarity according to the policy and program set by Muhammad Talab Hilal. The purpose of his accusations against the Kurdish people is to put the Kurdish people on the back foot and weaken their psyche so that they cannot defend themselves against the great current of accusations poured upon them and not to think about any offensive plans that are indeed lacking in the agenda of the Kurdish liberation movement. Although such a wild attack on the Kurdish people cannot be stopped without a counter-offence.

Probably there are other racist books in Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Azerbaijan. However, the racist Syrian regime looks into the contents of this book of Mohammed Talab Hilal. Hilal was awarded the highest medals and orders and he jumps straight away from a small officer in the intelligence services in a remote region far from the line lights and centres of decision making to become a minister and then member of the High Regional command and the National command of the Arab Socialist Baath Party that rules Syria. As the proverb says (like birds of a feather stick together) such Regimes need such kind of (thinkers). This book is up till now an important subject of studies in graduating officers of the Syrian intelligent services with only few amendments on it here and there. Also it is regarded it has been for the last half a century one of the most important and essential books on the desks of the heads of the Syrian intelligence organs in Aljazeera region.

A brief historical overview about the Kurdish people in Western Kurdistan.

The existence of the Kurdish people and their homeland Kurdistan is an historical, geographical, civilisation and cultural fact that distinguished them from other peoples in the region and any attempt to falsify this fact is not only a discrimination against the Kurdish personality but also a violation against the human civilisation as a whole because the human civilisation is a mosaic of different peoples civilisations and any counselling or negation of people is a falsification against the civilisation.

This is stated by the international treaties and also by the Godly laws.

As it is stated in the holy Koran, that the languages are symbols from the god of Allah, that means anyone that fights against the Kurdish language is in reality fighting against God and His symbols that is how important the peoples and their languages are.

Several Kurdish states and Empires were built by the Kurdish people homeland Kurdistan during a history that goes back for thousands of years. However, when the time of the Islamic Empires started the Kurdish people were forcefully annexed by them although their Kurdish Princes kept their right to rule in Kurdistan within those Empires up until the nineteenth century, when the Ottoman Sultans started weaving conspiracies against the Kurds and the most important of the Kurdish Princedoms that were destroyed by the Turks during the nineteenth century were Botan, Baban, Soran, Badinan and Hasankiev Princedoms especially this last one had it's Princes and rulers from the dynasty of Kurdish Sultan Saladin Ayoubi. Nowadays the Turkish regime is trying to build a dam besides the remains of Hasankiev in order to drown them by water forever and the reason being is that this are Kurdish remains and there is a planned scheme to destroy the ancient sides of the Kurdish people's civilisation and it is certain that had Hasankiev being Turkish, the Turkish regime would not have done such a thing ever.

During the World War I in 1916 the secret agreement of Sykes-Picault with the participation of Britain, France and Tsarist Russia was signed in order divide the possessions of the Ottoman Empire between themselves. Among those possessions were the Arab and Kurdish lands so they divided the Arab land into several states to be under the British and French mandate as for Kurdistan it was divided into five parts and each part was annexed to a neighbouring state "Syria, Iraq and Turkey".

As for the eastern Kurdistan it was under the Iranian occupation since the battle of Chalderan in 1514 AC. In 1917 the Bolshevik revolution under the command of Lenin uncovered the secrets of Sykes-Picault agreement and thus Russia lost most of its parts of Northern Kurdistan which was as annexed to the Turkish state. Although the part of Kurdistan that remained belonging to the Soviet Union was the smallest, never the less Stalin submitted to the demand of the Turks to displace the Kurds and destroy their republic, and spread them all over places like Moscow, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Ukraine, Georgia and other republics of the Soviet Union. The Kurdistan villages and areas were destroyed. Those were the areas that later became a war and confrontation area between Azerbaijan and Armenia after the fall of the Soviet Union.

This unjust a despotic division put Kurdistan under the occupation of Syria, Turkey, Iraq, and Azerbaijan without leaving even one square meter from the land of Kurdistan under a Kurdish Authority. This was a clear injustice and violation of other people's territories. But even worse these states became to regard these parts of

Kurdistan as parts of their homeland as parts of their homeland as stolen country, so the name of Kurdistan wiped off the map and the Kurdish people became among the prohibited and forbidden names. While the British colonisers in India did not change the name of India and did not forbid their language and life style of Indians and the same thing happened during the Israeli - Palestinian conflict for more than half a century which hundreds of thousands of peoples became victims. However, none of that prevented the Indian people or Palestinian people from practising their religions, traditions and culture or the freedom of preserving their languages and national identities. But the sort of colonialism that occupies the Kurdish people and Kurdistan is the worst and most dangerous kind in its ways for cancelling out the Kurdish personality and identity, and oppression of Kurdish people and humiliating them by drawing a false picture depriving them of their name, history and address. In fact this sort of oppression is unprecedented in the entire history. As a Kurdish person is born accused because he is a Kurd although God made and man made Laws declare, as in the international convention for the human rights that is signed also by Syria without following it at all states that in brackets that everybody and everyone is born free.

Even worse than that these colonial regimes practise suppression against the Kurdish people without mentioning their name for example from time to time the Syrian courts issue sentences against Kurdish activists for the following charge (cutting of part of Syria and affiliating it to a foreign state) and by the foreign state they mean Kurdistan and also they declare that they have Syrian nationality from some foreigners i.e. Even those Kurds who have documents and Syrian nationality they don't have any identity stating that they Kurds leaving them in complete darkness and ignored. The Israelis have not withdrawn the nationality from the Syrian people in Golan and neither from the Palestinian people in Jerusalem as Syria does with the Kurds. So the Kurdish people under these racist and fascist regimes are faced with worst kind of colonising and we are now at the beginning of the twenty first century. Nowadays there are European peoples who are about to remove borders between themselves that's because each one of them has known its rights and liberties that no one can step over yet the colonisers of Kurdistan while the colonisers of Kurdistan live in another world violating liberties and rights all over the globe thinking of themselves as gods from the heavens. Although they have republican regimes they rule by a heredity monarchy like rule using all kinds of despotism inside and feeding international terrorist organisations outside the country. In fact these regimes were the main establishers of their terrorist organisations because they thought with them they can keep the civilised world busy from their barbarism and by their silence towards the acts of murder and destruction of the human personality inside their own countries. The national Security Council headed by the Turkish generals are the real rulers in Turkey since the beginning of the last century. It regards Turkey as a Turkish state although it contains more than twenty million Kurds and other millions of Arabs, Greeks, Lazs, Armenians, and others. As for the Persian Shiite Islamic regime in Iran who regards Iran as a Persian Shiite State with the knowledge that there are more than ten million Kurds and Dozen millions of Azeris, Blujes, Arabs, and others, despite the fact also the majority of the Kurds, Blujes and Arabs do not belong to the Shiite sect. In fact the Persians in Iran are a minority that rules the majority. The same sort thing happens in Syria where an Allowite minority rules under the cover of the Baath Arab Socialist Party calling themselves Syrians falsely and the country by the name of the Arab Syrian republic although Syria also contains more than three million Kurds who do not belong to Arabism or Arab nationality, in

addition to Druses, Aramaic, Assyrians, and other ethnicities and religions that have nothing to do with the Allowite sect or the fascist principles of the Baath party that keeps hold on the Syrian people for half a century. A similar situation occurred in Iraq that was no different to the regimes of Turkey and Syria in any way until 9 April 2003 when the Baathist Tikriti regime was brought down by the allied forces. Otherwise the Iraqi people would have stayed forever suffering under the rule of Saddam, his sons and his tribe. For these dictatorial regimes and especially those that colonise Kurdistan have made the mockery out of all human, religion and national values, and ignored the peoples and their aspirations. This Pharaohs type of regimes cannot be displaced without cooperation with the great powers. So we must congratulate the Arabs and Kurds in Iraq for the removal Saddamist Baathist nightmare. But now the important thing is practising justice and for the Arabs to recognise the right of the Kurdish people in self determination including the right of independence from Iraq and establishing their own Kurdish state if the Kurdish people wants that. Then and only, then the time of real brother hood between Arabs and Kurds begins. Otherwise we shall once again return back to the days of oppression and dictatorship that brought suffering, wars and destruction upon the whole region. That is to learn from the lessons of the history.

Kurdistan a strategic position and a land rich with resources

Probably the reason that Kurdistan has stayed until today as an international colony is for the greediness of others towards the strategic position of Kurdistan that covers the Hermes passage in the south up to the Caucuses in the north and from Caspian sea in the east to the Mediterranean sea in the west, in addition to this important position Kurdistan is regarded as one of the richest countries in the world with its petrol, uranium and other precious minerals resources that are essential for the most developed industries, and a variety of agricultural and animal riches. Also the beautiful mountain nature and the mild Mediterranean weather make Kurdistan the most wonderful tourist attraction countries of the world. In addition the most important sources of water in the Middle East spring from i.e. the Tigris and Euphrates rivers and their branches etc. If Kurdistan has been a desert without any riches then the Kurdish people would have gained their independence a long time ago.

The Kurdish favour of the Islamic civilisation

One of the most important features of the Kurdish people is that they are open towards all other peoples of the world and they are not isolationist at all. That's why they participated along with all the neighbouring peoples in building common civilisations the most important of which the Islamic civilisation. This participation starts from the famous prophets' fellow Caban/Jaban the Kurd. In addition a great number of the most famous Islamic scholars such as Alsharazurie, Aldunurie, Alamadie and Ibn Taymeyia all were Kurds. It is also known that Jerusalem and most countries were liberated by the Kurdish Sultan Saladin Ayoubi that came from Kurdistan together with 500 Kurdish tribes that he distributed them along the Syrian, Lebanese, Palestinian and Egyptian Shores in order to protect the region from any outside aggression. In addition the Egyptian Kings starting from Mohammed Ali Pasha until the last of them King Farouq, were all Kurds. They are also thousands of

literary activists, writers and thinkers that served the Arabs, their culture and their language such as the prince of the Arab poets Ahmed Shauqi and the founder of the Arab scientific academy in Damascus Mohammed Kurd Ali who remained as its director for twelve years because there was no one among the Arabs better than him in Arabic language. The founders of the Syrian education system since the establishment of the Syrian state were Kurds such as Mamdouh Salim the senior education inspector and Khalid Qoutrash the head of education department in Damascus. Also as the great auther Abas Mahmoud Al Aqqad and sheik Mohammed Abdu and the women's liberator Qasim Amin, and many others.

The favours of the Kurds for the Arab liberation movement were also significant as the majority of the leaders of the Syrian revolutions to through out the French from Syria, were Kurds such as the great revolutionary Ibrahim Hananu the commander of the revolution of Alzawia mountain, and Sheikh Hanif one of the most distinguished leaders of Mridrin revolution in the Kurdish mountain north Aleppo, and the famous revolutionary Abo Diyab Albrazie one of the leaders of Damascus suburb revolution and the activist Ahmed Baravie who was sentenced to death by the French. The late activist Ahmed Baravie told me once that the hardest moments of his life were those minutes were he sat on the execution chair. He was rescued at the last moment by the intervention of some influential Kurdish personalities at the time. As for the revolutionary the Lawyer Ahmed Al-Mella who studied the law in the Constantinople University and had close contacts with leading revolutionaries in many middle east countries such as the great Egyptian Saad Zaghlul and others, during one of the battles he fell into a French ambush in the outskirts of Damascus and became martyred in that battle together with twelve Kurdish knights from his own personal guard for the sake of Syria's freedom. The Arab historian Adham Aljundi wrote in his encyclopaedia, the Syrian revolutions, about the martyrdom of the hero Ahmed Al-Mella that his Martyrdom was the beginning of the end of the Syrian revolution. That is how important it was the role of the Kurds in the life and struggles of the neighbouring peoples for the sake of the liberation from despotism and colonialism.

However the hateful racists can not stand even the sound of the word Kurdish because it is to heavy on their hearing and their senses. They would say that the Kings of Egypt for instance were Turks or Albanians but never dare to mention the truth that they were Kurds. As Ibrahim Pasha the son Mohammed Ali Pasha who commanded a Kurdish army and liberated the 'Sham Country' throwing out the Turks with the help from the famous Kurdish prince Badrkhan Pasha who ignited a huge Kurdish revolution in 1842 simultaneously with the arrival of Ibrahim Pasha to the borders of Kurdistan. During his stay in Damascus Ibrahim Pasha presented a lot of presents to the Kurdish leader Shamdin Agha in Hay Al Akrad in Damascus. Among them was an order Ibrahim Pasha to build a hall inside the house of Shamdin Agha which was an example of architectural beauty and artistic drawing. It is obvious why Ibrahim Pasha especially chose the house of Shamdin Agha to do this. After the death Omar Agha the son of Shamdin Agha peace of god upon them, the Syrian regime confiscated the whole and transported as it is to the Syrian palace of conferences. However, they did not write anything about it being taken from the house of a Kurdish Leader in Damascus, and that is how hatefully the history is falsified to the extent that even the art has been forged to satisfy their racist appetites. Another example is the movie about Saladin Ayoubi in which they regard him as being an Arab. It is true what the Palestinian poet Mo'ien Basiso wrote “

‘Saladin became victorious so he became an Arabic hero
If Saladin had lost he would have become a Kurdish Spy’

You are right Mohien and God be with you and with us because of your people who falsify history, reality and the truth openly. There was also a TV series Qasim Amin broadcasted recently over most of the Arab satellite channels in which Qasim Amin was presented as a Turk, while in reality he is a Kurd. There is also the changing of names from Kurdish to Arabic in the Syrian Kurdish Areas which another demonstration of the Syrian racist policies similar to the Turkish ones in which the Turkish children are taught in the primary schools that the Turkish Language is the mother of all languages and the Turkish people is the father of all Peoples i.e. all the language and peoples of the world and were originated from the Turkish people and their language. That is why when a Turk arrives in any European airport such as Germany and Britain he speaks to the officers in the airport in Turkish language because he brainwashed into thinking that his language it mother of all languages and everybody should understand Turkish. The Arabic regimes do the same thing in other ways. That’s why I am telling the Arabic regimes to day the truth to their peoples and stop educating them with lies and falsifications that at the end turn out harmful both for regimes and their peoples. The lies about Saladin for example would not change the fact that he is Kurdish like you cannot cover the sun like a piece of cloth.

To finish this matter I would like to mention that after Arabs, Turks and Persians reworded literary, sectarian, political and military services of the Kurds by denial, meanness, and occupied their homeland Kurdistan looting and killing its people, it is suitable to remember the famous verse of the poets of a poet in this regard:

‘If you show generosity to a generous person he would be grateful
If you show generosity to a mean person he would rebel’

So the Kurds are to get rid of their past and first and last of all serve themselves , their interests and national security because it was serving the others that brought about all these catastrophes upon the Kurdish people and as a result they became like foreigners inside there own Homeland and threatened with there annihilation . Even those assimilated completely into other societies are still looked upon with suspicion and carefulness as if they were second degree citizens. This kind of situation is completely unacceptable there is no way to guarantee the security and interests of the Kurdish people and hence their honour except by unifying and liberating their country Kurdistan. Setting a Kurdish strategy for he establishment for a Kurdish state is the only solution to put an end to Kurdish uprisings that were and still are reactions to the barbarism and wild actions of there occupiers of Kurdistan. While if there aggression stops what follows is the slowing down of the Kurdish revolution or probably it is stoppage. We should not ignore the problem of the Kurdish State with which only we can preserve the honour of the nation. Raising the flag of Kurdistan is very important also. Each time a leader is executed or imprisoned another leader raises the flag and follow on his predecessors’ path. So the significance of the Kurdish flag should not end with the end of the leader. Why should we stop for several years until another leader comes around and starts from the scratch? Why shouldn’t we regard the flag as a leader and a symbol? As a leader is a human being who could be killed or

imprisoned, or probably get tired or even betray however the flag can not be imprisoned or killed and would not get tired or bored until the establishment of Kurdish independent state without which it is impossible to preserve the honour of the Kurdish Nation and also the Kurdish nation cannot present any services to any other peoples without it. Only three people can participate in the liberation and the humanity and any global, international and humanitarian ideology without freedom and equality is worthless.

The Kurdish Liberation Movement in Syria

Despite all the sacrifices and the great struggle of the Kurdish people in the service of the neighbouring peoples the Kurdish people in Syria have not ignored their own patriotic and nationalist cause. Any history of the Kurdish Liberation movement in Syria should start with mentioning the great Kurdish leader Apo (uncle) Osman Sabbri who was sentenced to death twice. The first time was when he was with his uncle Shukri Aga who was executed in fact but the sentence of Apo Osman Sabbri was changed by the Judge into imprisonment because of his young age. The second time was because of his revolutionary activities against the Turkish before moving to Syria. In Syria the French authorities sent him to exile in Madagascar Island. Apo Osman was subjected to imprisonment eighteen times and spent twelve years of his life inside prisons, detention centres and exile because of his ideas that call for the freedom of the Kurds and independence of Kurdistan. Basically Apo Osman spent his life in prisons and detention centres where he was under torture or he was forced confinement in Alswada town in the extreme Syrian south and other places, or under surveillance. Apo Osman Sabbri was a patient and consistent defender of his ideas in an original and a rare way not only in the Kurdish society but all over the world. He was indeed a complete school of struggle and I had the honour to belong to that school since 1961.

Apo lived very poor although he was an influential rich family and son of the chief of the Madesan Tribe in Northern Kurdistan. Never the less he spent of his life in Syria away from his influence because nationalist struggle. He played an essential role in the path of the Kurdish liberation movement in Turkey and Syria even after his resignation from the presidency of the Kurdish democratic party in Syria in 1969 because of a conspiracy planned by the Syrian intelligence services and executed by their agents inside the party.

Apo Osman Sabbri and his life struggle is like a light at the end of the corridor lighting the way for his pupils and comrades who still quote his speeches and patriotic and the nationalist stands. During his activities within the Khoibun party and leading the Ararat revolution in northern Kurdistan or his struggle to establish a Kurdish state in the Kurdish areas according to the plan of the French mandate in Syria that was aiming to form several states inside Syria such as the Allowite state, the Druz state and others or during his cultural activities and his founding of the Kurdistan club in the Kurdish district of Damascus and his participation with the prince Jalaadat Badrkhan

Badrkham in publishing literary and cultural magazines such as Hawar and Runahi. When the French mandate authorities cancelled the project of establishing several states in Syria and during his activities in the Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria of which Apo Osmann Sabbri was one of the founders in 1957, for many years in fact his name was associated with the name of the party democratic party of

Kurdistan that in its programme stated the independence of Kurdish and Freedom of the Kurdish people. Up until 1965 there was only Kurdish party in Syria Apo Osmaan Sabbri was its president. In 1966 first division occurred in the Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria similar to the divisions in the Kurdistan Democratic Party in Iraq, Iran and Turkey that were all established and divided in approximate times. In 1970 and in the aftermath of a general conference of the two wings of the Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria which was held in the liberated areas in Southern Kurdistan (Iraqi Kurdistan) and the election of new leadership under the presidency of Hajj Daham Miro, but after re turning from the conference the two parties remained as they are with a third party added to them which presented the leadership elected in the conference. Thus there were three parties in Western Kurdistan. In the aftermath of the fall of Kurdish revolution in Southern Kurdistan and the Absence of the late Barzani from the struggle arena since 1975 the door was opened for the birth several Kurdish parties all over Kurdistan especially in western Kurdistan where the number the western parties in Syria became more than twenty parties and organisation and each one of them regards itself most correct and best and others mistaken and lost. This kind of situation of course is against the national interest and security of the Kurds. However after his resignation Kurdish democratic Party in Syria and up until his death on 11/10/1993, Apo Osmaan Sabbri remained like a shining star for all honourable patriots to take the strength from it during there struggle. The death of Apo Osmaan Sabbri for the western Kurdistan was as traumatic as the death of the legendary Kurdish leader Mustafa Bazani and the president of the Kurdistan republic, the greatest of all Martyrs Qazi Mohammed and the king of Kurdistan Sheik Mahmud Hafid. As the Kurdish people up till now have not been able to replace those kinds of leaders peace of god be upon them and heaven be there place.

What is now required from the Kurdish parties is to unify there efforts to defeat the racist plans of Syria and more serious in demanding the Kurdish peoples rights. They have to raise the flag of Kurdistan as a symbol because it cannot be exiled of tired or imprisoned. This is not only necessary in Western Kurdistan but for all the parties in Kurdistan. That's why I sent a Letter in the name of the Kurdistan national congress to all Kurdish parties and organisations in Syria (there is a copy of this letter at the end of this book) in order to hold a general conference. This letter was delivered by hand to the representatives of the Kurdish Parties in Europe by the representative of the Kurdistan National congress in Germany. Unfortunately we did not receive any written official answer to it from any party or organisation to participate accept a limited number who declared there readiness orally. For that purpose and as a step toward a general conference for the Kurdish forces in Syria and the Kurdistan national congress together with Western Kurdistan Association and the high committee for the general referendum in Kurdistan held a mass meeting in London on 12/10/2003 During which there speeches by Mr Ibrahim Mustafa, There solicitor Sulaiman Aljazeri and Doctor Jawad Mella from Western Kurdistan. There were also speeches regarding the referendum in Kurdistan by Dr Jemal Nebez , Mr Sabir Kokaii, Abdulkader Debaghi , Naji Nuri, Dr Rebwar Fatah , Dr Jemal Abdullah , Najia Khan , Kak Beston , Mam Karim and the poet Omar Saleh Beg. The meeting concentrated on the united Kurdish struggle and cooperation between the Kurdish organisations in Syria as the only right way to reach the target otherwise the door will open for the masses to search for and alternative.

For the second time all the Kurdish forces in Western Kurdistan were invited to hold a general conference in London on 23/01/2004 there is a copy of that invitation also at the end of the book.

The policy of the Syrian regime towards the Kurdish People

The policy of the Syrian regime towards the Kurdish People is exactly according to the recommendations by Muhammad Talab Hilal. As the Syrian regime executed them in full and none of the successive Syrian regimes varied from each other except in some formalities and the ways of execution. In this way we can divide the Syrian regimes into two kinds over two stages:

1- From 1946 to 1958: the Syrian regime during that stage was no different from others in its hostility from the others but it was a more clever enemy executing its plans secretly and pretending to be democratic and calling for equality to all. Such a policy almost finished the existence of the Kurdish liberation movement as there were hundreds of Kurdish officers in the Syrian Army and some of them obtained the highest ranks, in addition there were several Kurdish members of parliament in the Syrian Parliament. In such a situation, the Kurds felt that they are secure to an extent and there was a decrease in the Kurdish national sentiments, except for a limited number of those who were around the great Kurdish leader Apo Osman Sabri, with whom they stayed until his death on 11/10/1993. Among those were the first activists Rashid Jal'u, Ezet Falu and Mohammed Rashid Sheikhuhashabab who were officials in the ministry of education in Syria. The later wrote a book last year regarding Apo in his memory. In this stage the Syrian regime ignored the national Kurdish existence and it was not recognised, neither even basic Kurdish cultural rights.

2- From 1958 to 2003: this stage started with the time of Syria - Egypt unification under the rule of the late Egyptian president Jamal Abdunnasser. But in reality the real authority in Syria was left to the Baath Party headed by the deputy president Akram Al-Hurani, one of the founders of Baath Party. Since 1958 the real racist face of the Syrian regime was shown and oil added to the fire by starting first with the dismissal of all the Kurdish officers from the Syrian army, among whom was General Tawfiq Nizamaldine the general head of staff of the Syrian army and others... following that there were a number of laws and regulations to end the Kurdish presence or forcing them to exile. This was according to the Baathist strategy that states: "all the population of the Arab countries are Arabs, non Arabs have to become Arabs or go away..." Although the Kurdish liberation movement was raising the banner of the Arab-Kurdish brotherhood, the Baathist ideology and the contents of Muhammad Talab Hilal's book were stating openly that they are against anything of the kind of Arabic and Kurdish nationality brotherhood, and stressed that there are no relations whatsoever between Arabs and Kurds. But from the start of his book, Muhammad Talab Hilal tried to lay suspicion on the origins of the Kurdish people, Kurdish identity, their history, civilisation and language, and even denied their existence.

The racist practices and creating demographic changes in the Kurdistan part affiliated to Syria, and ethnic cleansing, Arabisation and Baathification were more than obvious in the Hilal's book. It is no wonder that Hilal played a great role in educating the Syrian high officials and also in misleading the Arab masses in a way that they see lies as the truth and vice versa. In this regard I would like to mention few examples about the effects of the Hilal's book:

The former president of Syria Hafez Al-Asad boasted during a conference of the Islamic States' Organisation held in 1998 in Tehran, that: "If it was not for my efforts, there would have been a Kurdish state in the north of Iraq.

One of the principal officials of the racist Syrian regime, Abdulla Al-Ahmar, states: "Federalism for the Iraqi Kurds is an American-Zionist conspiracy.

In November 2003 a number of the Kurdistan parties' leaders carried out official visits to some Arab countries, but none of those apologised about the crimes committed by the Iraqi regime against the Kurdish people, although those countries were the main supporters of the criminal butcher Saddam Hussein.

Among the Arab masses with the population of more than 200 million Arabs I never heard even 200 of them condemning the policies of mass annihilation against the Kurdish people in Southern Kurdistan, among which is bombing the town of Halabja with Iraqi chemical weapons.

I am certain had the Kurdish people in Syria resorted to arms as the Kurdish people in Southern Kurdistan did, we would have found the Syrian regime committing crimes of mass murder by chemical weapons, probably even worse and more widely than what happened in Halabja.

The policies of the Syrian regime towards the Kurdish people are no different in any manner to the policies of oppression, persecution and annihilation of the Kurdish people as carried out by the Iranian, Turkish and Iraqi regimes. Although for an observer the cruelty and barbarism of one of them may look worse than the others, it is only due to subjective, regional and Kurdish circumstances. For example the Kurdish liberation movement in Syria did not raise arms or carry out any revolution, armed or non, despite that the Syrian regime committed racist crimes against the Kurdish people that are no different as such to those committed by the other regimes occupying Kurdistan. For instance the criminal Syrian authorities carried out campaigns of ethnic cleansing and political assassinations of Kurdish leaders and personalities such as Prince Jaladat Baderkhan in 1951 and Dr Hamid Sino in 1981. Also the Syrian authorities burnt to death 380 Kurdish children in the Amuda cinema in 1960 in addition to burning to death 72 Kurdish prisoners in Al-Hasaka Central Prison in 1993. The Syrian regime also carried out the project of the Arabic Belt in 1967 by building dozens of Arab settlements in the Kurdish area of Al-Jazeera. In 1962 the Syrian nationality was withdrawn from 150,000 Kurds without any legal basis. Their number is now grown to half a million Kurds, among whom are a hundred thousand Kurdish children who have no right of admission to universities or educational institutions, or get any jobs, because they are registered as foreigners. Half a century has passed since the Syrian nationality was withdrawn from those and even if we suppose that they were foreigners, haven't they got the right by now, after settling in a country for half a century, to gain its nationality? So, the question is not about foreigners or not. In fact Muhammad Talab Hilal and the Syrian regime know better than anyone else that the Kurds are the real original inhabitants of the region and those kinds of actions against them are nothing but chauvinistic and barbaric acts contradicting the human rights and civilisation. On 25/6/2003 about 200 Kurdish children of those registered as foreigners participated in a peaceful demonstration in front of the UNISEF office in Damascus to submit a memorandum regarding their situation (at the end of this book there is the text of that memorandum and a reply letter from UNISEF to me, because I wrote to them demanding and criticising them for failing to receive the memorandum from the Kurdish children). However, the Syrian Security forces forbid them from delivering the memorandum and started beating them up. As a result 15 children were wounded and 8 others were arrested.

In support to this heroic demonstration of the Kurdish children, the Western Kurdistan Association organised another demonstration in front of the Syrian Embassy in London on 26/7/2003. A protest memorandum was addressed to the president of Syria, Bachar Al-Asad, to stop such racist barbaric acts against our Kurdish people. The Association addressed similar memorandums to the British government and international organisations to intervene in order to protect our Kurdish people in Syria as they did to rescue our people in Southern Kurdistan. The tragedies the Kurdish people in Syria subjected to are too many to count. We have mentioned some of them in the book: "The Kurdish Cause in Western Kurdistan" and other publication of the Western Kurdistan Association in Kurdish, Arabic and English languages.

Seven Thousand Kurdish Youth Murdered By the Syrian Intelligence Services

One of the tragic crimes committed by the Syrian regime against the Kurdish people in Western Kurdistan was the deliberate planning of murdering of more than seven thousand Kurds during the presence of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) on the Syrian and Lebanese territories. As the PKK was waging a just war against the Turkish regime, for the independence of Kurdistan from 1985 to 1999, the Syrian regime had secret pacts with the Turkish regime in order to double-cross the Kurds. It exploited that in the worst possible way and used the Kurdish cause as a card game in order to guarantee its interests with Turkey and at the same time get rid of the Kurdish youth in Syria. That is why it encouraged the Kurdish youth, especially from the highly educated and university students to join the PKK, so that they then became exempt from the compulsory military service in Syria. Thus the Syrian universities were emptied from Kurdish students as it was aimed by the Syrian regime for long times. Then the educated Kurdish youth were taken from the institutes to training camps under the supervision of the Syrian Intelligence services and were murdered in mysterious ways. Then their families were informed that they have been martyred in the war against the Turkish regime fighting alongside the PKK. While in reality the majority of them were executed and murdered in the Syrian training camps by the Syrian Intelligence and some of them were handed over to the Turkish Intelligence that carried out their execution. That is why we appeal to the international organisations and the international community to investigate the matter and present the Syrian regime and its criminal officials to the international court to receive their just punishment, not only in this aspect, but for all their racist crimes such as murder, looting and rape practised by the Syrian regime up to now against the Kurdish people, even after the fall of its sister Baathist regime in Iraq.

The position of the Kurdish people in the international law and policy Since the Lausanne Treaty of 1923 and up to 11 September 2001 there is a long history of three quarter century of slavery, division and backward and barbarian colonisation that is unfortunately is not like an European colonisation that is advanced and may have benefits from its scientific and cultural advantages. The Syrian, Iraqi, Turkish and Iranian is a frightening colonialism that stands heavy on the hearts of the Kurdish people, but unfortunately there is no adequate response from the international community towards the crimes against humanity committed by these regimes. No one, even the animal rights organisations, has moved a bit to denounce such crimes. Such a global silence towards the Kurdish cause, since Lausanne, was not only from states but also on the level of the masses, with the exception of few that took pity on the Kurds, without recognising their rights for independence because of the following

reasons:

1- General Sherif Pasha presented a memorandum and the map of Kurdistan and a flag of Kurdistan to the Paris conference in 1919 and accordingly the Kurdish rights were recognised by the famous Treaty of Sevres that stated the independence of Kurdistan in articles 62, 63 and 64 as signed by the Great Britain, France and Italy in 1920. (see the full text of the articles 62, 63 and 64 at the end of this book). However, the coming of Mustafa Kemal to power in Turkey and his threat to convert Turkey into a communist country and actually signed several agreements with the Soviet Union. This made the west to comply with all his demands and above all cancel the plan to establish a Kurdish state. Mustafa Kemal also gathered the simpleton Kurdish heads of tribes and convinced them that he will establish a modern state in which the Kurdish rights are guaranteed and made them sign a paper that General Sherif Pasha does not represent the Kurdish people. So, the allied forces signed the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 without allowing General Sherif Pasha to enter the conference hall because he does not represent the Kurdish people. As a result the Lausanne Treaty ignored the rights of the Kurdish people and denied them a state and their rights.

2- Since the Lausanne Treaty some of the states occupying Kurdistan are with America and Western Europe, and others are hostile to them. The world since that date and up to now was divided to two camps. One of them is friendly with the Western powers and the other against. This division that made the colonisers of Kurdistan from both sides made it difficult for the Kurdish people to gain any support from either side, west or its opponents, so that not to offend the occupiers of Kurdistan.

3- After the World War I and according to the Sykes-Picault Treaty, Kurdistan was divided geographically. However, the Kurdish people retained their solidarity and support without paying attention to the artificial borders. The cooperation between the late Simko Aga from Eastern Kurdistan and the Sheik of Barzan and Sheik Mahmoud Hafid from Southern Kurdistan was there. Also the glorious leaders Mustafa Barzani, Qazi Muhammad and Qadri Jamil Pasha, Izzet Abdulaziz, Kherallah Abdulkarim, Mohammed Mahmoud Qudsi and Mustafa Khoshnaw who all carried out the uprising in support of the Republic of Kurdistan in Mahabad despite of being from different parts of Kurdistan. This means that the geographical division did not affect the unity of the Kurdish people and its liberation movement. When Syria gained its independence and its borders were set as well as the borders of Turkey, Iraq and Iran that each occupied unjustly a part of Kurdistan and in order to keep their parts as an occupied colony, they studied the Kurdish people in detail and especially the Kurdish liberation movement and found out that the revolutions of the Kurdish leaders in the nineteenth century and up to the middle of the twentieth century were aiming to gain the independence for Kurdistan. They established Kurdish armies and states the last of which was the kingdom of Kurdistan under Sheik Mahmoud Hafid in 1919-1924. A Kurdish government was also announced by General Ihsan Nouri Pash in Northern Kurdistan, in Agri Mountains (Ararat) in 1927-1930. Kurdistan republic was in Eastern Kurdistan in Mahabad under the Martyr Qazi Muhammad in 1946. The declaration of Lenin to establish the Red Kurdish republic in 1921 with its capital Lachin, but it was abolished by Stalin in 1930 under the pressure from Turkey and forced the Kurdish people out of the Red Kurdistan and dispersed them all over the republics of the Soviet Union leaving thus Lachin as a little ignored village. When the states occupying Kurdistan realised that they cannot stop the Kurdish liberation movement they used trickery to change its path and force it to concentrate on regional

demands from independence to stay inside their political borders and grow divisions inside the Kurds according the famous colonial saying (divide and conquer). The demands of the Kurdish people within the territories of the countries occupying Kurdistan deprived the Kurdish liberation movement from its general national concept and the emergence of regional interests led to the loss of the issue of national security from the Kurdish national agendas and replacing it with partisan and regional interests. Hence, the Kurdish movement in each part of Kurdistan started to move in a vicious circle and the Kurdish people in a never-ending spiral losing Kurdish energies without a result. The regional demands made the Kurdish people under the mercy of the central colonial state that has no fears of the Kurdish movement as long as its strategic demands are limited to preserving the sovereignty and unity of the countries colonising Kurdistan. This is exactly the strategic objective of those states colonising Kurdistan. How, then, the Kurdish people can achieve liberation if their strategic objective is the same as that of the states colonising them, that is preserving the political borders that divided Kurdistan.

In addition to that, as I mentioned earlier, both the friends and the enemies of the west, not only did not try to help the Kurdish people, but cooperated in belittling the Kurdish people and their liberation movement through the states that colonise Kurdistan by spreading Kurdish regional and defected partisan agendas in all parts of Kurdistan after the World War II. The Kurdish people are still suffering enormously from these agendas because they came to have Kurdish thinkers, philosophers and party activists spreading them day and night among the Kurdish masses and for more than half a century brainwashing the Kurds with such big lies as a Kurd is an Iraqi, Syrian, Turk or Iranian and the Iraqis, Iranians, Turks or Syrians are not colonisers but brothers of the Kurdish people. However, none of them accepts a Kurd to be his brother, as the Arabs brought by Saddam Hussein to the city of Kirkuk as part of his policy of Arabisation of Kurdistan, organised demonstrations after the fall of the Iraqi regime in the city of Kirkuk, chanting: "There is no God but Allah and Kurdistan is the enemy of Allah". So, what can you expect them to say or do after forming an Iraqi government together with its army and intelligence services? Thus, after half a century of lies, those who invented the lie in the first place, are starting to believe in it and the our simple Kurdish masses who are thirsty for freedom are believing anything they are told, even if it was a mirage. Recently on one of the Kurdish satellite channels a Kurdish lady telephoned from Germany and said: "God willing federalism shall become a reality". Such a speech can only mean one thing: she is asking God for the Kurdish people to stay under the rule of others. Although she is praying for freedom, the brainwashing process has made her imagine federalism as freedom. Nevertheless, in the past half century there were parties and organisations such as ZEKAF 1943, KAZIK 1959, PASOK 1976 and the Kurdistan National Congress in 1985 established to concentrate in their publications, meetings and conferences on such things as "the democracy for Iraq" as demanded by the Kurdish regional parties in Iraq, does not mean anything with regard to the national rights of the Kurdish people in Iraq. For this reason, people with defected agendas are waging a war on those organisations, calling them reactionaries and non-believers in democracy and other such descriptions. For instance Dr Mahmoud Osman, one of those who called for democracy, who is now a member of the Transitional Iraqi Council, returned to Kurdistan after spending a month in meetings of that Council and made a statement during an interview on the Kurdish satellite channel (Kurdistan TV explicitly saying: "(democracy in Iraq cannot offer national rights for the Kurdish people)." At last we

can say thank god that someone admitted defected and false agendas as being like a mirage that a thirsty man considers as water. This slogan is empty from any Kurdish rights because the majority of the Iraqis are Arabs and there is no one among the Arabs of Iraq or any other Arabs that recognises that Iraq is not a part of the Arab world. It is also clear that the path of the Kurds towards Baghdad is a closed alley because even if we suppose that the Iraqis would accept federalism, their first step after that would be to determine the geographical borders of the Kurdish area, and I can assure you that no Iraqi would accept for the Kurdish historical city of Kirkuk to become a part of the Kurdish area. This is despite that they know very well that Kirkuk has been a Kurdistan city for thousands of years and during the Ottoman rule for hundreds of years it was the capital of the Kurdish region, which was then called Sharazoor Wilayet before it was changed to Mosul Wilayet at the end of the Ottoman rule. However, some of them are still persisting to invite the Kurds to go after a mirage and work hard to keep real freedom loving patriots from the Kurdish political arena. In this persistence they are no different from the way Muhammad Saeed Al-Sahaf was. We the Kurdish freedom loving patriots inside and outside our homeland have our role in spreading the Kurdish liberation ideas and informing the outside world about the right of the Kurdish people for independence. On 14/2/2004 there was a demonstration for the independence of Kurdistan in the city of Sulaimany organised by the Kurdistan National Congress's Southern Kurdistan branch with dozens of thousands of masses demanding a Kurdish state and independence. The KNC also organised mass demonstrations in the most countries of the world for solidarity with the Kurdish people's right for independence and Kurdish state. The most recent was on 7/2/2004 and the world wide Kurdish demonstration of 21/2/2004 regarding the referendum for the Kurdish people, whether they like to stay under occupation or want independence and a Kurdish state. The KNC formed referendum committees all over the world and gathered two million signatures in Kurdistan and dozens of thousands signatures outside it that was presented to the allied forces in the homeland and the super powers and the UN abroad.

I repeat that such defected agendas calling for the Kurdish people to have administrative rights within the political borders of those states occupying Kurdistan and regarding those states as a non-colonial ones but states for both Kurds and Arabs, Kurds and Iranians or Kurds and Turks, while those states themselves do not believe in that but the Kurds are alone in trying to convince their people. Thus the strategic objectives of the Kurdish liberation movement became identical to those of the states that occupy Kurdistan; that is to preserve their unity and sovereignty, especially to keep their political borders as they are and keep Kurdistan divided and occupied as it is. If the Kurdish people demand democracy, regional administration, decentralisation, autonomy, real autonomy, federalism, confederacies or even a Kurdish empire with a million Kurdish fighters, but within the borders of a state occupying part of Kurdistan, such an empire is nothing but a miser autonomy. For the state that occupies Kurdistan would have all the power and buying the loyalty of some would be very simple as the central government, as I mentioned, has its own philosophers, thinkers and personalities among the Kurdish society. We can see today that there are dozens of Kurdish parties in Kurdistan that work for the security and unity of the borders of those countries colonising Kurdistan. It is also easy to exterminate anyone who rejects loyalty because the murdering capabilities are in the hands of the central government. For example: Prince Jaladat Baderkhan, martyr Idris Barzani, martyr Sheik Muhammad Harsin, martyr Fatah Muhammad Amin, Dr Hamid

Sino and many others were assassinated by clever plots that deprived the Kurdish organisations even from a condemnation announcement.. The central state can also cancel any Kurdish rights every time it finds itself in a strong position and it has all the possibilities to be strong all the time because it monopolises the army, intelligence services and the state budget. Now the question is: why does the Kurdish liberation movement put our people into this controversy? Such a stance is refused by most of the peoples in the world, among who are the Eastern Timorese and the Chechens. It is clear that neither international policy nor international law allows intervention into internal affairs of states, because they have no right to do so. That is why, the freedom lovers of Kurdistan must first prove that Kurdistan is a colony that must be liberated. Only then we can take advantage of the international policy and law to gain freedom and independence instead of defected speeches about the colonisers of Kurdistan been rulers of the Kurdish people and their brothers.

4- Had the Kurdish people been agents of the west, as Muhammad Talab Hilal claims, and a creation of imperialism, then the imperialism would have found a Kurdish state for them since the beginning of the last century, and would have not left them deprived, not only from a national state of their own, but also from industrial, agricultural, scientific, economical and social progress for all these decades. Despite all this, Muhammad Talab Hilal insists on describing the Kurds dozens of times as agents of imperialism, dozens of other times as communists and agents of the Soviets, and at the same time living on Islamic zekat (Islamic Tax). He also describes the Kurdish religious scholars, dozens of times, as being blasphemous and other strange and contradictory descriptions simultaneously. He knows very well that there are contradictions in his statements, but his intentions are other things like brainwashing the Kurds and make them frightened all the time, and in state of constant defence that they are not communists, agents of imperialism or blasphemous... etc. All the descriptions mentioned in his book have nothing to do with the reality. This is also to make the Syrian regime believe that it is faced with a dangerous people who are blasphemous wearing Islamic turbans, while playing with communism on their left and imperialism on their right, and other of such fantasies, myths and delusions.

5- Despite bombing the Kurdish people in Southern Kurdistan by chemical weapons in 1988 and the exodus of millions of Kurds to outside the borders of Iraq, fearing an Iraqi chemical attack in 199, and other things that prove the necessity of creating an independent Kurdish body, the international community did not make any steps in that directions for the reasons mentioned earlier. However, a safe haven was created for the Kurdish people in 1991, purely for humanitarian reasons. But the events of the world trade centre in New York on 11 September 2001 had the effect of an international coup and the regional effects became clear in overthrowing dictatorships such as that of Saddam Hussein and his junta that occupied Kurdistan, and others such as the regimes of Syria and Iran are about to fall. Even the Turkish regime will not be safe from falling though for other reasons. This coup created a new history for the Kurdish people similar to the turning point of the birth of Jesus which is the dividing point between AC and BC. In the same way the writing of international history and politics will be different before and after September 11. There is also the possibility that the region is coming into a new Sykes-Picault type of treaty but a just one that returns the rights and a state to the Kurds that they have been missing for a long time. This coup was entirely by accident and thank God there were no Kurds among those who carried out the September 11 attack. Had it been, then there would have been a new accusation to be added by Muhammad Talab Hilal in his book that reminds me of famous fantasy books such as A Thousand and One Nights.

Probably it would have been better for the promotion of Hilal's book had it carried the title "A Thousand and One Lies". The west knows very well that this international terrorism was by the prior arrangement with the chauvinistic and dictatorial regimes of the Middle East, especially those colonising Kurdistan. Those regimes that have always supported terrorism enabled the movement of terrorists by training them and supplying them with money, arms and false passports. Those were the same terrorists who assassinated Dr Abdulrahman Qasimlo, Sadiq Sharafkandi, Prince Jaladat Bedirkhan, Faiq Bujaq and other Kurdish leaders.

Can the Kurdish people take advantage of this coup and new international politics?

In order for the Kurdish people to take advantage of the international coup and the new international policy, the Kurds have to throw away all their agendas written half a century ago in the times of the cold war that have no existence any more except in the minds of a limited group inside the Kurdish society. The Kurdish people today are not the same as fifty years ago. The Kurdish people today urgently need a new agenda and a new programme that agree with the new international policy. That is they need a Kurdish intellectual and social coup. Such a coup is vital for the Kurdish people and a matter of life and death, especially now after the participation of Kurdish forces in the American war on terrorism in Iraq. If the Kurdish leaderships continue on their Iraqi concepts they would not only dig their own graves but a grave for the Kurdish people as a whole. What Muhammad Talab Hilal had mentioned and his attempts to issue a Kurdish Islamic fatwa to allow the killing of the Kurdish revolutionaries in the sixties failed because people such as Sheik Ahmad Al-Khaznawi (grand father of Dr Mohamed Ma'shouq Al-Khaznawi, been kidnapped and tortured to death by the Syrian regime on 30th May 2005) and other Kurdish Islamic scholars in Syria categorically refused to do that. That is why the late Sheik Ahmad Al-Khaznawi was described in such a horrible way by the low-life Muhammad Talab Hilal. Such a filthy fatwa was also rejected by the Imam Ayatollah Muhsin Al-Hakim and other Iraqi Shiite scholars. However, now after the Kurds have fought alongside the "blasphemous" American forces, according to simple minded people and enemies of the Kurdish people, can it be possible to stop such a fatwa being issued? Although the Kurds had no choice in accepting or rejecting participation in that war but the layman and those who have bad intentions could not be persuaded otherwise. If the Kurdish leaders nowadays do not try to establish an independent Kurdish state, a black future awaits the Kurdish people under the Iraqi rule, because the Islamic peoples and governments from Bangladesh to Morocco are waiting to take their revenge from the Kurdish people whom they consider the first agent of America. As for those who say that the Iraqi constitution will state the Kurdish rights, we say that this is another mirage through which they want to enter delusions into the Kurdish people's brains exactly as the question of democracy, without knowing that Iraqi regimes often threw their constitutions into the bin during the last decades.

In order to take advantage of the new international policy to declare a Kurdish state, the Kurdish leaderships, even if they insist on federalism, have to take the following urgent steps without delay:

- 1- Unifying the Kurdish administrations in Hawler and Sulaimany and declare a federal Kurdistan republic with an own unified army and end the paramilitary situation. They must send one member to the Iraqi Ruling Council to represent the

federal Kurdistan republic that covers all of Kurdistan from Badra and Zarbattiah to Zakho via Khanaqin, Kirkuk, Mosul and Senjar. The Iraqis also have to establish their own federal republic equal to that of the Kurds. If the Iraqis are agree to that, so be it, if not, each people should stay in their homeland and declare independence.

2- Establish a Kurdistan Central Bank and carry out an overall census of the Kurdish people in order to achieve health, education and economic development. To carry out a general and free referendum, under the supervision of the UN, for the independence of Kurdistan and freedom for the Kurdish people. Then invite the UN to carry out a referendum not only for Southern Kurdistan, as Southern Kurdistan has gained actual independence since 1991 as the declaration of independence needs only to bring down the psychological barrier for the Iraqi army was the force behind preventing the independence and it was dismantled. The regional countries are all frightened to death and inviting the UN for a referendum in the other parts of Kurdistan is a viable thing. This is what we have said for decades that the Kurdish cause is one cause and you cannot separate one part from the other. The enemies of Kurdistan realise this and all are united in oppressing the Kurdish movement wherever it was. So, we have to learn from them. Pushing the process of referendum in all parts of Kurdistan forward makes the colonisers of Kurdistan busy and have no time to conspire against the independence of Southern Kurdistan. In this way we can carry the fight into their own backyard.

The president of the Kurdistan government Mr Nechirvan Barzani showed the strength of the tendency for independence inside the Kurdish society during his interview with Al-Sharq Al-Awsat newspaper on 19/10/2003 by saying: "We as Kurdish parties are accused by the common masses and especially the youth that we are going towards Iraq more than going after the right for independence of our people. There is now a strong popular current pressurising us to demand our right of self determination through and international referendum, and the Iraqis must thank us because we control this strong tide and desire to solve our problems inside Iraq".

Also giving prosperity to any society is through census as then one knows the number of the working forces, number of women and men, who is less than 16 years old and who is older than 60, number of employed and unemployed, percentage of students and high qualification holders and other essential things in order to make economical and educational planning. Without a census there would not be any planning. There is also nowadays the important issue of the determination of the borders of Kurdistan and population of the Kurds and their areas to know who is eligible to participate in the general referendum in order to determine the fate of the Kurdish people, whether they want to stay within Iraq and become a part of the Arab world or they want a Kurdish state that is a part of the Kurdish nation. Yes without census you cannot develop the society. Now all the Kurdish areas are under the control of Kurdish leaders, they must act before it is too late. I am sure that Mr Masud Barzani, the leader of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, Mr Jalal Talabani, the General Secretary of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan and Mr Nechirvan Barzani, President of the Kurdistan Government do not disagree with these concepts, but they are surrounded by a group of followers that try to take them away from the true nationalist line. Today more than ever we have to work to get rid of such followers and replace them with honest patriotic persons from those whose names have not been mentioned in the list of Saddam Hussein's spies that was found by the American forces in the Iraqi Intelligence archives. There are also many Kurdish freedom loving thinkers that dedicated their lives for the freedom of the Kurds, going all over the world organising meetings and writing books and studies, and publishing them with their own money.

I can say that those are the real owners of the Kurdish authority and its resources should be in their disposal. Unfortunately, up to now the real faithful to Kurds and Kurdistan are pushed aside, but I am sure that brothers Masud Barzani, Jalal Talabani and Nechirvan Barzani place the interests of the Kurdish people above all, and now I appeal to them as a brother faithful to them and to Kurdistan that it is time to remove those followers however likeable are they to them because the love for the Kurdish people and Kurdistan should rise above any other interests, especially in these deciding moments in the history of our Kurdish people, as the dream of all historical Kurdish leaders and convoys of martyrs have been achieved and superpowers have come to remove the nightmare of the occupation from our people's minds. These superpowers have their own interests and may wait for us a month or even a year, but if we cannot guarantee their interests, they would look for others. So, we should find mutual interests and work together as partners with our own rights and their own rights.

3- Stop exalting personal, partisan, tribal and regional symbols and regard anyone who does so as trying to waiste the great opportunity for the liberation of Kurdish people. We should start at once to exalt the symbols of the Kurdish nation such as the national anthem "Ay Raqib" and the flag of Kurdistan. The superpowers since 1991 helped the Kurds in separating from Iraq and some of the superpowers would agree on the declaration of the independence for Kurdistan if the Kurds do that. In this regard my friend Mr Adel Murad, a member of the political bureau of the PUK admitted on the "Al-Arabia" channel on 22/9/2003 that: "... There were states that asked us to declare the independence of Kurdistan but we refused a Kurdish state because we are Iraqis..."!!

The Kurdish people also today need to concentrate on the question of national security and drawing lines for the Kurdish leaderships that could not cross, such as for internal fighting and playing around with the question of the Kurdish state, which regarded as a popular demand. Any person or party who has other demands it is up to them, but they cannot say anything contrary to the will of the Kurdish people. Those who aim for internal fighting that still goes on without arms, as the non-unification of the administrations of the two cities is like an internal fighting or even worse because fighting with arms may result in killing hundreds or thousands, but the non-unification of the Kurdish administrations is like killing the Kurdish people and wasting a great opportunity. As if the Kurdish people lose this opportunity, then the unification of administrations or finding a Kurdistan front, or a Kurdistan National Congress later would not have any use because it will be too late. Here I remember something my friend Dr Amer Zebary told me: "I understand the wrong stances of the Kurdish people through personal experience; that is I know in advance that anyone who wants his picture to be taken should smile in order for the picture to be nice. However, every time he remembers to smile after the picture has been taken and the opportunity is lost. The same thing happens to the Kurdish people as they remember the opportunity after it is gone. The Iraq - Iran war, for instance, was a valuable opportunity for the Kurds, but the Kurdish leaderships throughout the eight years of war, instead of taking advantage, were busy with internal fighting with each other. As soon as the war was over they declared a Kurdistan front as coalition among themselves, but it was too late. There are dozens of other examples in our modern history only, but what can I say to people who have no strong memories to take advantage from lessons and experiences because of which valuable blood has been wasted such as the martyrs of the chemical attack on Halabja and the Anfal operations, in addition to assassination of Kurdish leaders and personalities. It needs

volumes to list all the names of the victims of the Kurdish policy during the Iraq - Iran war.

All those who waged and still wage the war of internal fighting either armed or cold are the some people who are against a Kurdish state or even a mention of the Kurdish national security that must be above everything else. The national security cannot be achieved without a Kurdish state, because only a Kurdish state can preserve the Kurdish honour and dignity and acts as a shield against any future violations.

It was Lenin who uncovered the secrets of the Sykes-Picault Treaty of the last century, and now I would say that people such as Nechirvan Barzani, Adel Murad and Dr Mahmoud Osman are like a Lenin in the twenty first century, because they uncovered secrets that the Kurdish people are not allowed to hear. The Kurdish parties up to now were claiming that only Jemal Nebez and Jawad Mella are demanding a Kurdish state, while the Kurdish people as a whole want autonomy or federalism!! They also say that changing the regimes in Baghdad, Damascus, Tehran and Ankara into democratic regimes is a strategic and the essential demand of the Kurdish people. It was for democracy that the Kurdish people presented a huge convoy of martyrs from the best of our youth!! They also claim that there is no country in the world that supports the independence of Kurdistan!! However, those three Kurdish politicians mentioned proved that such claims are unfounded and far from truth.

Am I been heard! I would like for my people to hear me saying that in the past I was suspicious but my suspicions have dispersed today after reading the statement of Mr Nechirvan Barzani in the (Al-Sharq Al-Awsat) newspaper and hearing the statement of Mr Adel Murad on (Al-Arabia) TV and the interview of Dr Mahmoud Osman on (Kurdistan TV). Now I am sure that the international coup has touched us and the Kurdish people have began to correlate positively with the new circumstances in the world. These are all huge indications on the path of Kurdish liberation and independence of Kurdistan.

The Kurdish masses should not accept any compromise regarding the homeland (that is like a mother to us) and not accept the statements of those hesitate in determination of our mother Kurdistan. Off course our mother is not Iraq, Syria, Turkey, Iran or Azerbaijan and anyone says that should be ignored. More exactly any one who has no regard for independence and liberty of our mother Kurdistan, should not have any regard or importance to us.

The great Kurdish uprising of 12/3/2004 in Western Kurdistan has changed the balance and transferred the Kurdish people to a new stage

The great Kurdish uprising in Syria on 12/3/2004 although it was accompanied with violence and sacred Kurdish blood was skipped filling our hearts with sorrow for the martyrdom of the first group of Western Kurdistan Peshmarga that answered the call of our great mother Kurdistan, God bless their souls and our consolations for her mothers as all the Kurdish people are sons for such mothers that born heroes and despite all the tragedies that came with the uprising, we were long awaiting it, because there is no liberty without blood and sacrifices. The Kurdish uprising not only changed the balance of forces but it is a start and corner stone of the liberty for the

Kurdish people and independence of Kurdistan. We must study it and take lessons from it every time we are down to be as a lighthouse that directs the Kurdish people during the coming struggle. The importance of the uprising was the for the following factors:

1- The Syrian regime, after the Kurdish people in Southern Kurdistan gained a partial freedom, wanted to strengthen his rule and control over the Kurdish people in Western Kurdistan, fearing the transfer of freedom ideas to Syria, as it was not enough to have direct or indirect control on the majority of the Kurdish organisations in Syria. However, the Syrian regime was disappointed this time because the uprising proved undoubtedly that the Kurdish organisations have no control over the Kurdish masses in Syria when the angry masses destroyed the statues of Hafiz Al-Asad in the public squares of Qamishli and other Kurdish cities and brought down the Syrian flag from the top of government offices and set fire to it, raising the flag of Kurdistan. This was a clear indication from the masses that this was Kurdistan and the occupying Syrian regime should go out of our homeland Kurdistan.

2- The heroic Kurdish masses broke the fear barrier in facing the Syrian regime, the fear that was created by the Kurdish organisations who stood between the Kurdish people and their aspirations for freedom, using excuses and justifications. Even when there were no excuses they would say to the people: yes you are right but the time has not come yet.

3- The Kurdish uprising proved that most of the Kurdish organisations are trying to gain favours from the chauvinistic Baathist Syrian regime. This was clear when the delegation of those organisations met the governor of Jazeera province the following day to the uprising and demanded the trial for the Kurdish criminals who destroyed the statue of Hafiz Al-Asad. Yes, such words were used by the Kurdish organisations to describe the heroic Peshmarga as criminals!! The Kurdish organisations also organised a miser demonstration on 21/3/2004 in the city of Qamishli, condemning the heroic acts of the masses.

4- The Arab and world media was surprised by the existence of part of Kurdistan in Syria, but there was no hype regarding the uprising because of the hesitant stance of the Kurdish organisations not only in Syria but in the other parts of Kurdistan that bought down flags and declared public mourning in Southern Kurdistan in the aftermath of the recent explosions in the city of Karbala, but they did not declare any mourning for the martyrs of Western Kurdistan! The uprising during few days acquainted the outside world with the fact that there is Western Kurdistan within the Syrian state, which the Kurdish organisations did not manage to do for decades.

5- The uprising entered the Western Kurdistan into the plans of regional and international geographic changes that are coming to the area according to the new international policy.

6- The uprising founded a true field leadership for the Kurdish people that makes a new beginning towards freedom and independence.

7- The uprising gave the momentum to the Kurdish communities in exile and ignited the action all over the world with unprecedented demonstrations with some participants occupying Syrian embassies in Switzerland and Belgium, and an attempt was done in Britain. The Syrian flag was brought down and the Kurdistan flag was raised. Paint bottles were thrown at the Syrian embassy in London and it was coloured with the Kurdistan flag's colours.

8- Since 12/3 hundreds of articles have been written and dozens of newspaper and TV interviews have been done on the subject of the Kurds in Syria, first of which was the interview of (Al-Jazeera) satellite TV channel with Dr Jawad Mella, President of the

KNC on 14/3/2004, where he said: "Kurdistan is my homeland and a part of it has been occupied by Syria, and the occupiers should leave". The prime minister of Syria and his minister of foreign affairs, and other racist Arabs replied angrily to Jawad Mella. Someone told the programme of Dr Faisal Al-Qasim (Al-Ittijah Al-Mu'akis on Al-Jazeera TV) the following: "Jawad Mella is the President of the Hebrew Congress!! and he is saying that Qamishli is part of Kurdistan, he has left nothing to say but that Damascus is also part of Kurdistan". That is how they did not like the truth regarding the cause of Kurdistan. It must be noticed that they did not reply to any others, which means that Jawad in his speech has hit the target regarding the truth of the Kurdish cause and that is what angered them. The Chinese leader and philosopher Mao Tsi Dong said that if you see your enemy annoyed with you that means you are on the right path, but if you see him happy with you, you must look at yourself because there must be some mistake that you are making.

Summary

The population of the Kurdish people today is more than 40 million and sacrificed millions for the sake of freedom. However, they have not succeeded in achieving independence and still are divided and colonised by Syria, Iraq, Turkey, Iran and Azerbaijan. Although the Kurdish people are an ancient people with a civilisation and history that goes back for thousands of years and the inheritors of the Median Empire, one of the most important empires in the ancient history.

Kurdistan is the homeland of the Kurdish people since the creation and even Kurdistan is regarded as the second birthplace of the humanity or may be the first, as the Noah's Arc was set their as all the sacred God's Books stated. But this sacred land today is suffering from colonisation and divided as an international colony.

The negative phenomenons that we see nowadays within the Kurdish society are because of many reasons, the most important of which are:

1- Since the Lausanne Treaty of 1923 that denied the existence and independence of Kurdistan, it was adopted in international policy until the events of September 11/2001, when this policy was changed after the problems of the world reached the backyard of America, the leader of the international policy. To be more exact most of those who carried out those explosions were Arabs and Muslims directly or indirectly related to the countries that colonise Kurdistan, so, this event is an indication for the positive changes towards the Kurdish cause.

2- After the World War II, the majority of the Middle East countries achieved their independence and their borders were fixed. In order to guarantee this, those countries studied the history of the Kurdish people, especially the Kurdish movements, uprising and revolutions during the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, and they found that they are demanding a Kurdish state. The last of these were the South Kurdistan kingdom 1919-1924 and its glorious king Sheik Mahmoud Hafid and the republic of Kurdistan in Eastern Kurdistan declared by the head of the martyrs Qazi Muhammad in 1946 with its capital Mahabad. Yes, the colonisers of Kurdistan studied the Kurdish liberation movement completely and in detail and found out also that they cannot stop the Kurdish liberation movement, so they sent their subjects into the Kurdish parties to draw them away from their ideal aim (a Kurdish state) and create a narrow regional partisan programme for each part of Kurdistan for two reasons: first of all to plant divisions between the Kurds as people and a homeland in order to control them, and secondly to belittle the objective of the Kurdish people within the political borders of the regional states, so that they preserve

the borders and unity of the states occupying Kurdistan. This colonial objective of those states became the strategic objective of the Kurdish liberation movement. There is no strategic value in millions of Peshmarga in Kurdistan with their objective being to preserve the unity of Iraq or Syria, or any other state that colonises Kurdistan. A liberation movement like this is no less dangerous for the future of the Kurdish people than the chemical attack on Halabja or the blowing up of the KDP and PUK headquarters on 1 February 2004 in the City of Arbil. We can picture this tragic scene as follows: one of these ties up and limits the Kurdish people and the other violates blood, honour and dignity of the Kurdish people at will. When someone asks regarding their aims and slogans they say: "We dream of a Kurdish state and desire its achievement, but the circumstances are not favourable or it is too early for that, dodging the question all the time". This created a state of desperation regarding the future of the Kurdish people and wasting energies in a circle that hurts the Kurdish people without any light on the horizon. Moreover the Kurdish liberation movement is trying all the time to keep facts from the Kurdish people although the Kurdish people know them. For instance it was Syria who betrayed Abdullah Ocalan after a friendship that lasted 15 years, but his followers are going on all the time about the betrayal by Israel and America who were not at any time friends of Abdullah Ocalan in the first place in order to betray him. Also the explosions of 1 February in the city of Hawler were planned by Syria, Turkey and Iran who openly threaten any Kurdish body in Southern Kurdistan. They gave this dirty mission to an Islamic organisation in order to disturb the peace in Kurdistan, but no one from the Kurdish liberation movement said anything regarding this fact.

3- The third tragic fact is that those states that colonise Kurdistan have dictatorial totalitarian racist chauvinistic backward regimes and do not recognise any Kurdish rights or even try to deny the existence of the Kurdish people. The word (Kurdish) is heavy on their hearts and they do not want to hear it. So, how can you live with such regimes when if you do so, the murder, for sure, would be their preferred method to deal with problems? Innocent lives from both sides will go on to be lost for dozens of years, or centuries more, and there will not be peace, prosperity and progress in the area. That is why it is better if the Kurds have their own state in which there will be peace, prosperity and progress for all sides, because the countries that colonise Kurdistan would stop buying weapons to kill the Kurds and the many saved from this would be spent for the prosperity of their people exactly as stated by the Arab thinker Dr Muhammad Al-Mahdi in his famous article (A smaller Iraq is a stronger Iraq) published in (Al-Taiyar) newspaper, which was published by Mr Sami Faraj Ali a quarter century ago in London. Mr Sami is regarded as one of the pioneers of the honest opposition movement in Iraq. After the fall of the Iraqi dictatorial regime Mr Sami carried out several TV interviews with me on the Arabic satellite channel ANN in which several frank discussions took place regarding all the Iraqi issues generally and the Kurdish cause in particular, especially regarding the necessity and inevitability of the establishment of a Kurdish state. This of course happened through the concise questions by Mr Sami to me without whom my answers would have not been so precise and accurate.

The solution starts from Kurdish people adopting a radical changing process, it starts with a self change, i.e. by returning to the real Kurdish aim, that is a Kurdish state and tidying up the Kurdish household on that basis. That will bring down in moments all that is being built by the colonialists and their marionettes for decades.

It is said that a wolf's puppy was taken away from the wild life and brought up in away different to its nature. Then after years of education it was taken back to the wild and as soon as it heard the calls of other wolves and felt the air of the mountains and wilderness the wolf went back to its nature without seen any of that before. The same thing happened in the Soviet Union, where 70 years of socialism and altruism could not cancel the love of property of the humans and they went back to their nature bringing down the Soviet Union quickly and without anyone sets fire to himself in protest. As it is also the case for the freedom, which cannot be divided and if your freedom is conditional you are not free at all.

The Kurdish people have to reject the brainwashing process they were subjected to for the past decades that belittled them and made them begging for miser rights from unworthy people. However, the uprising of changes that I am calling for will make the Kurdish people remember in a flash that their ancestors had built empires and civilisations thousands of years ago, and they also had manufactured cannons and produced Kurdish money in the princedoms of Botan and Rwanduz hundreds of years ago.

Acknowledgments

My deepest gratitude for all those brothers who submitted their notes and writings and I was eager to use the method of cooperation in this book because its subject concerns the whole existence of the Kurdish people. I hope this subject will draw more interest and wider researches in the future and its content would reach the highest levels and in various languages in order to acquaint the world with the Kurdish people in Western Kurdistan and their subjection to racist conspiracies. The writings of our brothers Asad Aso, Sheik Omar Gharib and Dr Alan Kader as letters and studies are at the end of the book as a complementary to the content of it towards the noble objectives that are summarised in lifting the injustice from the Kurdish people by uniting them and freeing them from submission and colonialism, and uncovering the colonisers of Kurdistan and their chauvinistic conspiracies. Also what was stated in the letter of Dr Ahmad Rasul regarding a Kurdistan federalism finds the real key for the Kurdish cause with a federal union between the Kurds, their regions, princedoms, dialects and religions to establish the awaited state of the United States of Kurdistan.

Forward towards changes and building the Kurdish state

Dr. Jawad Mella

President of the Kurdistan National Congress

London 21/3/2004

The full text of the book
(A Study of Al-Jazeera Province form Ethnic, Social and Political Aspects)
By Muhammad Talab Hilal

Introduction (1)

I would like to admit in advance that this study has defects in details and some in its broad line and the reasons for this is the following:

1- The lack of enough sources for research as there are no objectives and serious studies that explains things for the ignorant Al-Jazeera province, which could be read scientifically and thoroughly.

2- The few sources that I managed to get are more like reports than studies, as they treat a concrete situation or describe an urgent incident away from its circumstances.

3- It was my own experience and practice and what I gained from those who have sufficient experience regarding the area that involved the most in this study.

4- My experience in Al-Jazeera province is up to now does not exceed six months and I must admit that such a period is not enough, especially with the everyday problems that keep him away from research.

5- Finally I would say that these are my private impressions rather than an objective and precise study but what me hurry to do it is the special circumstances of Al-Jazeera province nowadays and the seriousness of the situation because of the events in the north of our dear country and their influence on the neighbouring province.

6- Further I would say that this booklet is nothing but a project for a study or just an attempt with only broad lines and suggestions that I felt as very necessary for information and forming a somewhat clear idea for the officials to set a plan. In my opinion it is time to set a precise plan for this province and purify it from alien intruders, so that those foreigners and the imperialists behind them cannot stay any longer spreading their dirt in this dear area with a great wealth for the national income, especially that there is a smell of petrol coming out of it and its fields (Ramilan and Qarashok) that makes the problem more complicated.

7- Finally and due to my work in this province I saw it as my duty first of all as a citizen to present this study to the ideological youth who believe in the mission of their nation and those directly concerned by this study from those youth. Finally and not at last I hope that I have thrown enough light on the information in this book for them to take a far looking stance regarding this province and give it the outmost attention because it really deserves that or even more. There remains nothing for me now but to thank all those who helped me in this study by their experiences and sketches or publications about the subject, and most of all his excellency the Governor of Al-Hasaka, Sa'id Al-Sayed. I hope this will become an intensive for more detailed, deep and objective studies regarding this rich with resources area. I also hope that it will become a subject of discussion regarding the thoughts and opinions because only by honest dialogue and constructive criticism this nation would reach the right path. God bless us.

First Lieutenant Muhammad Talab Hilal
Head of the Political Branch in Al-Hasak

Introduction (2):

This part of our dear homeland that had been a subject of conspiracies throughout history until it reached this condition of ignorance and treachery as it is full of racial chaos and sectarian hatred in an backward tribal situation as a stage for the leftovers of some scattered ethnicities that are on there way to disappearance. It is really a strange mix that would have no bearing if it was not for the fact that the area is the corner stone for the national income and a mighty centre of economical production as if the history and the treachery of the successive officials throughout the times have conspired with foreigners as a punishment. As, if even its river Khabur had turned into a force against its original inhabitants and crying out to tell the sad story of this patient and good Arab people that have not seen over the years any refuge except their humanism. The aching of Khabur is so loud now that it reminds as of the aching of Jaffa to remind us not to be bitten twice by the same snake or as the Arab poet put it:

Wake up and be aware you Arabs	As the injustice is drowning you
God almighty, what kind of sleep is this complaining	Even the cot and grave is
How much more you mourn with no complain anger	And intimidated without showing

Yes, I do not need to tell the history of this part of our homeland and what happened to it as conspiracies, treachery and snub. For everyone knows about the lust for it by the Turks in the ancient times up until the lust of the Germans then French and English. It was not to annex it as a rich area to their homelands (except the Turks), but to strike murderous strikes at the Arab nation from everywhere. A lot of false scholars, orientalist and specialists in Arab affairs turned out in reality to be intelligence officers and study groups with the one and only objective (no Arab state should exist) until we came to the present situation where alarm bells are tolling calling the live Arab conscience to rescue it and purify it from the dirt and historical refuse to get back as an active participant with its sister provinces of this Arab country because of its situation, significance, production and riches.

Today you would see in it contradictions, sometimes you think you are not in your Arab country, other times as if you are with Keldanian or Assyrians as if you are back living 3500 years B.C. and other times as if you are living before the Islam when ignorance of Jahiliah was dominating with sometimes living in modern times and thinking that as if you are in the Latin Quarters of Paris. God is my witness this all true, all these contradictions and even more are in Al-Jazeera.

Chapter one**A historical review of the Kurdish problem****1- The Kurdish problem since its start until the beginning of the twentieth century**

Origin of the Kurdish people: up to now the anthropologists have not agreed on the origin of these people, although there has been enough studies in this regard no results have been found and these people are still living without identity. Some scientists return back their origins to some people called (Kardokh) who lived in that area about 2700 years ago.

This was the dominating theory about the ancestors of the Kurds but others denied

that categorically as this was deduced from the language of the Kurds that was traced back to Zand language which is in turn the mother language of the Iranian and Kurdish languages. This made those few scientists think that the Kurds are of Aryan origin as are the Iranians and Armenians, and other middle Asian peoples. This view was supported by the many migrations that took place into the current area of the Kurds from the Pars (Persian) country and Ormia. It is noted that the eastern Kurds are different from the western Kurds in features, colour and head. Both of them are also different from the southern Kurds. Thus you find them having different features so the scientific standards cannot group them and prove that they are people with distinct racial and genetic characteristics until the scientists came to the final conclusion that the Kurds are a mixture of several nomad tribes came from Iran, Armenia and all other peoples of the region. The studies of their conditions in this regard find inevitable differences between them which extends to the Kurdish language. You may find some Kurdish tribes that cannot understand the language of other tribes as there is a huge gap between the languages of each of them. Add to that the fact that their area was throughout times subjected to attacks from such occupiers as the Moguls and Tatars, and other races and people who invaded the area. (3)

This leads us to say that there are no people called the Kurdish people and no nation in its entirety called a Kurdish nation. This could be not a disadvantage in itself for those people if there is not a pure race with the full meaning of the word. However, if we add to that that the ancient Kurdish language (if we can call it) has no standing points of a language as well, because if we go back to the history of languages and their origin in ancient civilisations, we cannot find at all a language called Kurdish, but different dialects for each tribe its own dialect and features, and each dialect cannot understand the other except through interpreters. There is nothing strange about that because the various several successive invaders in the area made this language various and lost its language characteristics. If we find today who denies this fact its only because of colonialists and their work to create people with identity and characteristics with attempts to unify the language throughout history but without success because they are nothing but special dialects as the language of the gypsies. Any one who claims otherwise should be referred to the history of languages. We conclude then there is no Kurdish nation because it lacks a nation's characteristics. As a result there is no national homeland for the Kurds, but there are people who reside in mountains given by the nature special descriptions as any population of a specific area who may have special features for even in one nation the population of mountains are different from residents of those in shores or cities etc. The Kurdish people are nothing but something of this kind as they do not have history, civilisation or language, and not even race. The only thing they have is the characteristics of strength and cruelty and this is a characteristic of the mountain peoples. If we stay on this logic we should change the historical criteria of nations and measures that make a lot of nations in the world and very narrow ones. As this logic leads us to find an isolated village that differs from another and call it a nation... This takes us back to the false logic of the Syrian nationalists.

In addition they were under the control of various religious sects until Islam came and unified them religion wise so, they are people who live on other nations' achievements and civilisations that they have no contribution to. They had no influence themselves on those nations and civilisations whatsoever, nor any product of their own.

If we find today some liar claims that this is a true reality and there is problem in the making we have no answers to that, other than to ask him to go back to all the historical changes in the world, ancient and modern to see how they were toyed with by those changes that are driven by interests and hatred of Arabs. Until this became today a current problem that even if -God forbid- becomes a reality, which very unlikely, you would find that it is divided in itself and if they are left on their own to manage the affairs of a state without being a tool in the hands of colonialists of any kind.

The Kurdish problem now is nothing but a cancerous inflammation that has been or created in the body of the Arab nation and has no treatment except by surgery. (4)

2- The idea of a Kurdish homeland throughout history (5)

There has never been in history any Kurdish state or homeland. This because their area was invaded by different groups of invaders. So, successive waves of invaders created a population that have no unified characteristics and a strange mix. This does not mean that there were no few influential people among them that tried to gain power for their own interests creating very limited and small principalities or feudal areas on a very strong level. We mentioned that this was because of the weakness of the authorities or their interests coinciding with those of the locals. This in turn is not very essential and far from the idea of a homeland as we hear it today.

This does not contradict the fact that some rulers were Kurds because at the time they were not known by this name otherwise they were have stayed as small feudal princes. They were usually taking their opportunities from the differences between the powerful rulers to enhance the idea of a Kurdish homeland in the minds of those ruling states. However, none of this happened as the history proves that since (1683) and the end of the war between the Persians and Turks, when some small Kurdish princedoms banished after the Turks exhausted their use to them.

The Turks waged a war on them and used mainly Kurds themselves to annihilate them because the Kurds were more enthusiastic in this regard.

After successive events between the Turks and the Persians to divided areas of influence the position of the Kurds was under the occupation of this one or the other and they always supported the one that was victorious at the time and both countries exploited them against the other or even against themselves. This was because at the time they did not know each other and there were no national or language ties between them to the extent of not understanding each others dialects. They were always subjected to punishment attacks after the end of each war between the to strong countries. The two countries were using those mountain people in their wars because they were known to be strong and cruel people, but they were also weary of the fact that this may create tendencies of independence among them. So, both those powers did not hesitate to massacre even their allied Kurds or create clash between themselves to get rid of them in this manner.

It is clear from the above that the Kurds had never had any idea of independence and national ambitions until the nineteenth century when some political changes came about. The international conditions changed at the time as well as the Ottoman

Empire got weaker and lost control on not only the Kurds but all other people who were under their authority. In addition to that their attacks and strikes against the Kurds created at last some independence tendencies among the Kurds which were used eventually by the colonialist western countries, but in a new way. As the strong principedoms joined forces with smaller principedoms encouraged by the Ottomans, as happened with one of those strong principedoms in 1831 that massacred the Yezidi Kurds in his area and expanded his principedom backed by the Turks that gave him the title of Pasha. But after five years from the establishment of the principedom the Ottoman army brought it down. This created a fight and differences between different Kurdish principedoms themselves. Also another principedom was created in the Higher Al-Jazeera area under the leadership of Baderkhan but it was also brought down by the Turks with the help of one of the relatives of Baderkhan himself. In 1899, the sons of Baderkhan accepted to join the Ottoman empire for a little independence for themselves in their principedom and after that the idea of independence among the Kurds took some kind of momentum and Sheik Ubaidullah Al-Naqashbandi demanded the internal independence for all the Kurdish country under his leadership. However, the Ottomans brought his principedom down and he fled to Hijaz. Meanwhile the Russians entered into the fight and they noticed the war qualities of the Kurds and encouraged them to immigrate to the imaginary Kurdistan, where to get rid of them in their own country first of all and then to create marionettes in our country and satisfy the ancient ambitions of the Russian Tsars to reach the warm waters. (6)

We have to mention in this regard a statement of one of the Kurdish leaders at the time Muhammad Amin Zaki, the author of "A Summary of the History of Kurds and Kurdistan" as he said: "The main reason for the failure of the Kurdish revolutions and uprisings was the ignorance of the people and tribal chiefs who could not understand the international circumstances, this was the situation in the past and still it remains the same.

There is no need to mention that the independence depends on knowledge and finances and any people lacking these two great treasures will never have any success in anything.. Unless the international powers are favourable to such people but even in this case those people remain bound by the foreign control and it is not the same as those who depend on themselves and those who take advantage of their prosperity, so if we look into the failure of the Kurdish revolutions we find that the reasons are internal and it was because of the competition and jealousy of the Kurds between themselves that the Ottoman empire managed to control them. So, the Kurds themselves participated in banishing their own principedoms from existence."

In short all independence movements of the Kurds by themselves failed because of the ethnic competitions and jealousy between themselves.

This is a witness statement from one of their own leaders we brought it to show that the Kurds were factors of destruction and the colonialists are the ones who are helping in building that nation!!

However, even if it is created, it would have no means of success as it is clear from the statement above of one of the Kurdish leaders. He is really objective and evaluates the situation very justly. This is exactly what we mentioned in the first paragraph as the basis of the Kurdish nations characteristics is not agreed upon by the Kurds themselves nor by any scientists, scholars or specialists in any areas of

knowledge.

There are also several areas outside the region with Kurdish people as population which makes it difficult to put a border to the any Kurdish land and the overall population of the Kurds is estimated on times to be up to 15 millions but others limit their number to 6 millions. These figures are not agreed upon even by the Kurds themselves. (7)

This was the idea of a Kurdish homeland until the beginning of the twentieth century and later we shall come to the influences of colonialist countries on this idea.

3- The Kurdish problem before and during the World War I

The political international changes and the Kurdish problem at the beginning of the twentieth century

Since the beginning of the twentieth century the Kurdish people took a new form completely different from before, as the international ideas of nationalism invaded our areas and the imperialists used this into their advantage by using all those people without any national identity against real nations such as the Arab nation. We can noticed the intervention of the Soviets in addition to the imperialist countries as it is mentioned by one of their oriental specialists when he said “we believe that there is a Kurdish nation although the Turks and the Iranians refuse to recognise it, which closed the door for all the attempts made for those people since the end of the feudal era”. despite that it is necessary to admit that it is necessary to find a solution for the Kurdish people and it is unfortunate to consider their uprising movements as hooliganism (violence and rebel movements)”.

How farseeing is this Soviet orientalist is, certainly expressing the views of the Soviet authorities and he admits in another place that the Kurdish principedoms started having national ambition only since the (end of the feudal era) which means when the cold war that led to the World War 1 started in other words the beginning of the 20th century, so he is very precise in determination of the exact time when the national consciousness of the Kurdish started and thus proves wrong any theories about Kurds being a nation like the Arabs or the Ottoman Turks. Thus he lives them without any hope but suggests a solution which is very timely in the era were other true nations started to build on their independence. And the Kurds are off course ready to pick up from this, especially after what they suffered on the hands of the Ottomans and they are by nature ready to carry out missions for others, rewarding the goodness of the Arabs with poison.

Yes, the Kurdish movement activated in the beginning of this century with the help of the imperialists and foreign powers acting as agents for them. They started to form associations and publishing newspapers and magazines such as the (Kurdish Sun) and (Kurdish Cultutal Association) in 1908, and Association of Spreading Kurdish Knowledge and the Student (Hevi) Association, Association of Kurdish Independence, Association of Kurdish People that led to the establishment of the famous (Khoibun) Association that at the time played the biggest role in gathering all the previous associations and clubs. They called for the national rights and thus established the exact time of Kurdish nationalism and had the same role as the Kurdish Party today that is also the cornerstone Kurdish movement.

Yes, the imperialists know who are the beggars and bandits of the east and know how to use them according to their own interests. As if that period of history was for the Kurds the golden time when all the powers wanted to gain their friendship as bandits for them.(8)

The imperialism for the Kurdish problem was as the Arab poet says:

My sheep were lost from me so; I called God to send them Wolves and Jackals

4- The Kurdish people between the two world wars

The supporters of the Kurdish problem between the two world wars:

The first persons to adopt the Kurdish problem were Abdulkader Shamdinan of the Kurdistan National Party and the sons of Baderkhan in the aftermath of the first war and attempted to convince the authorities to unify the Kurdish areas and award them autonomy. (as General Sharif Pasha Sulaiman) who resided in Paris at the time took upon himself to represent the Kurdish groups and associations). He presented in 1919-1920 two memorandums to the peace conference including in them demands of the Kurds for independence.

There were a lot of internal fighting between the Kurds themselves that led to the failure of such efforts, as the international media in general and the Kurdish media in particular was describing the Kurdish problem as a nationalistic problem. Their propaganda was intensified between the wars in all field and aspects inspired by the superpowers. One of those rebellious actions that happened were the rebellious of Sheik Salim , Shahabaddin and Sheik Ali in 1913 in the Badlis Welayet, and the movement of Ismail known by the name (Simko) in 1922, then the movement of Sheik Saeed in Diarbaker in 1925. After that between the years 1930 - 1933 there were Kurdish movements by the followers of Sheik Saeed and Sheik Fakhri in Diarbaker, as in 1935 there was the movement of Badialzman Al-Kurdi, followed by the 1937 movement known as the Darsim movement that ended with mass destruction of the Kurdish homes and burning of their woods by the Turks.

Those were the most active supporters of the Kurdish movement whose international, press and radio activities came to be through one organisation (the Khoibun Association) that means (independence). Unfortunately some of the high officials of the bygone regime in Syria were members of it. Its activists were also spread at the time in Turkey, Iran and internationally. This association provided huge services to the Kurds in the fields of propaganda and military operations.

Thus the call of the Kurds became clearer from the end of World War I until the start of the World War II and took another form until it reached the international community and their association established branches in western countries, where there is more opportunities for activities and planning in a calmer, easier way.

Since then and up to now the imperialists want to impose the reality on the Arabs as they did in the case of Israel. As the Arabs say that there was no Kurdish nationality in the old time, but there was an Islamic religion that is now became an ancient concept to become, strangely enough, a communist and Party religion. They (the Kurds) were enthusiastic Muslims and now they are also enthusiastic communists. However, the imperialists ignore this fact in the name of self determination rights for peoples and nations, and there is no place for feudalism any more as long as the imperialists want that.

We wish that we had more time to uncover the lies of most Kurdish revolutions, especially the ancient ones, but there are neither plenty of sources, nor objective people who can give those movements their original historical form. (9)

5- The international community and the Kurdish problem

So, the Kurdish problem at that stage reached the international venues and treaties that took the cause of the Kurds into account. As after the World War I to memorandums were presented to the peace conference containing the Kurdish national demands and their country's political unity. The peace conference was also shown an agreement between the Kurds and the Armenians in a common announcement, which was treated sympathetically and carefully by the participants at the time. So, the problem continued on its path till the famous Sevres Treaty, which was signed on 10 August 1920. The treaty recognised some national rights for the Kurdish people in the articles 62, 63, 64 as follows:

**THE TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN THE ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED
POWERS
AND TURKEY
SIGNED AT SÈVRES
AUGUST 10, 1920**

PART III.

POLITICAL CLAUSES.

**SECTION III.
KURDISTAN.
ARTICLE 62.**

A Commission sitting at Constantinople and composed of three members appointed by the British, French and Italian Governments respectively shall draft within six months from the coming into force of the present Treaty a scheme of local autonomy for the predominantly Kurdish areas lying east of the Euphrates, south of the southern boundary of Armenia as it may be hereafter determined, and north of the frontier of Turkey with Syria and Mesopotamia, as defined in Article 27, II (2) and (3). If unanimity cannot be secured on any question, it will be referred by the members of the Commission to their respective Governments. The scheme shall contain full safeguards for the protection of the Assyro-Chaldeans and other racial or religious minorities within these areas, and with this object a Commission composed of British, French, Italian, Persian and Kurdish representatives shall visit the spot to examine and decide what rectifications, if any, should be made in the Turkish frontier where, under the provisions of the present Treaty, that frontier coincides with that of Persia.

ARTICLE 63.

The Turkish Government hereby agrees to accept and execute the decisions of both the Commissions mentioned in Article 62 within three months from their communication to the said Government.

ARTICLE 64.

If within one year from the coming into force of the present Treaty the Kurdish peoples within the areas defined in Article 62 shall address themselves to the Council of the League of Nations in such a manner as to show that a majority of the population of these areas desires independence from Turkey, and if the Council then considers that these peoples are capable of such independence and recommends that it should be granted to them, Turkey hereby agrees to execute such a recommendation, and to renounce all rights and title over these areas.

The detailed provisions for such renunciation will form the subject of a separate agreement between the Principal Allied Powers and Turkey.

If and when such renunciation takes place, no objection will be raised by the Principal Allied Powers to the voluntary adhesion to such an independent Kurdish State of the Kurds inhabiting that part of Kurdistan which has hitherto been included in the Mosul vilayet.

However, the international circumstances as well did not allow the executions of those articles especially that the Kemalian Turkey made the Sevres Treaty a hollow one, in addition to what was going on between the allies as they divided their influence areas in the Middle East. Then there was the secret Sykes-Picault Treaty that led the (international) states to make agreements with Mustafa Kemal and go back on recognising a Kurdish state. These events and plans angered the Kurds and led them to extremism and changing the path of their cause to rely on themselves. However, despite their claims they were always inside the imperialists trap.

6- The Imperialist stances towards the Kurdish problem

The Kurdish movement as we mentioned above was a left over of the political changes in the region and on the international level. Thus we can now tell the relation of each state and its role with regard to the creation of what they call a nation and people.

a- The French:

The French allied with Turkey for a while to fight the Kurds because they were against the English who were helping them at the time, exactly as they did during the Lebanon massacres when each one of them took sides with this one or the other.

We can still now see the results of that. Meanwhile all the followers of (Khoibun) continued their attempts to meet Monsieur (Bunu). So, he gave the opportunity to all those who were exiled by him secretly from Syria. In 1928 the French needed reactionary forces to fight against the patriotic bloc of Syria that is why they made an

agreement with the Kurds to do that. The French realised the value of the Kurds as a tool in their hands for necessities so they awarded them lands in Al-Jazeera province. This was a kind of preparation for the future that they hope and we must not forget or find it strange that the French brought all those Kurdish families to reside in Al-Jazeera.

B- The Kurds and the Germans:

The Kurds started to communicate with the Germans through Kameran, a friend of (Gobles) whom he met in Egypt and agreed to support the Kurdish movement. When the German committee came to Aleppo during the last war, Kameran was among those who cooperated with (Herr Gobles) as he was appointed as a broadcaster of the near east station in Kurdish language.

C- The Kurds and the English:

When the German committee left Aleppo and the English with the liberal French came in, it was Haraj Belbasian, leader of the Tashnaq party who became the middleman between the Kurds and the English, because he was an old time agent for them. The Assyrians also were among the reasons that brought the English and the Kurds together in addition to what the English new about the relations between Jaladat Baderkhan and Laurence.

D- The Kurds and the Russians:

The Russians had an old time desire to reach the worm waters and this desire turned the communist Russia to create problems and fights in the area. Keeping in mind that the region was an area of traditional struggle between the imperialists, this would be a strike against Turkey, the Arab states and western imperialist interests all together.

This is shown also that their movements (Kurds) are actually Russian or even communist. This is true especially after the establishment of the Party party that was created inside the arms of the Soviet Union by Barzani Mustafa after staying there for a while. This Party crystallised the activities of all the Kurds exactly as (Khoibun) did before that. However, ideologically it is much stronger and very much more active in struggle. It is the party that leads the Kurdish problem up to know.

7- The Kurdish problem after the World War II:

a- The Barzanis: these are the Kurds who reside in Barzan area. They appeared led by Mella Barzani as the pioneers of the Kurdish movement after the World War II. It is known that Mella Mustafa Barzani is a son of chief Sheik of the Barzan tribes that reside in Barzan and he together with his brother commanded all the Kurdish movements since the end of the World War II till now. He also lived in Russia for 13 years where he acquired the rank of a General in the Red Army. The Barzanis regard him as their inspirational leader and the prophet of the Kurdish nationality. He established while in Russia his party known as the Kurdish Democratic Party in 1945, of which we shall say in the chapter of the political parties. He delegated some youth secretly to get to the Kurdish areas and call for the party so they established committees for them and published magazines in Kurdish language. When he was back in Iraq he became the leader of the Iraqi Democratic Party "Communist". He

was working also to strengthen his Kurdish party and published magazines of (Khoban 12 and Voice of Kurdistan) the newspaper organ of the rebels.

So, in the aftermath of the second world war the Kurds appeared to demand vigorously the achievement of a Kurdish homeland. At first they found that the opportunity is not there for a revolution, especially that the Kurdish people are ignorant regarding their history and culture. So, they resorted to secret precise work and changed their forms of educating the people in bringing them together by the ties of common history and Kurdish national consciousness in various countries. They also used Latin letters to write their language starting thus a new era of organisation as they studied the Kurdish history completely and their literary figures and poets repeatedly mentioning the heroism of their leaders throughout history. I would like here to present to the reader an example of the national literature of the Kurds written by the Kurdish poet "Mulatham" from a book (A page from Kurdish literature) whose author Sulaiman Hassan Hajo is from Qbur Al-Bidh and now resides in the town of Al-Qamishli.

Barzani Barzani you are a hero
 A stubborn giant you have been tested in practice
 Giving respect to the homeland, Kurdistan saving revolution
 You established it in the optimal place
 Barzani Barzani
 Who have not heard that name
 While the whole eternity hears him
 He is filling the eyes and ears of the East
 And the Middle East...

It is a long poem, but what we mentioned is enough and symbolic. There are also a lot of publications in Kurdish language spreading everywhere nowadays. When they (the Kurds) felt their identity they started working on taking it from its narrow level to the international level and taking advantage of the cold war between the east and the west. The first to give them a helping hand were the Russians in order to destroy the Baghdad Pact and creating disorder in this area of petrol. (10)

b- The problem in the era of Abdulkarim Qasim:

The Kurdish problem developed radically during the era of the butcher Abdulkarim Qasim who mugged the 14 July revolution and stole its slogans, as it took the form of a bloody armed struggle. As any authoritarian ruler Qasim of Iraq tried to give some value to the problem after he and the group of Al-Mahdawi created it and then traded with it in a dirty way that a nationalistic spirit would be ashamed of. That was to prolong his individualist rule and divert the Arab people of Iraq from their true aims and objectives in unity, liberty and socialism.

Yes, Qasim allowed the Kurds to issue newspapers until their number reached more than 15 newspapers. He also allowed teaching the Kurdish language in their schools and a special programme in Kurdish language on radio and TV heard by the Kurds in various parts of the country. He also pardoned their exiled leaders, the most important of whom was Barzani who was transported from Russia to Iraq via Swiss channel on Soviet ships and he was met by Abdulkarim Qasim as a hero and he recognised Barzani as a hero of struggle against the monarchy.

This way the aspirations of the Kurds were ignited after such reconciliation and Arabic generosity from Qasim's side, so they went back to their all methods of a frightening system of secret nets to achieve their state, and all of them started to believe the necessity to announce a Kurdish state. The Iraqi government up to then was supporting them to the extent that Mr Khalid Al-Naqshabandi, member of the Sovereignty Council at the time, stated once at the beginning of the unity between Syria and Egypt that it is time to create a Kurdish state - the Kurds are owed by the Arabs and this must be paid back by Abdunnasser. He meant by this the throwing out of the crusaders by Saladine. The recent events prove today that Abdunnasser was faithful to his promise by being supportive to Barzani and the Kurdish movement. And why not, he is an Arab and the Arabs always fulfil their promises even against the interest of their own nation. The events in the north of Iraq today are taking a dangerous path but the path of the Arab nation will eventually destroy of those regionalist, opportunist and individualist.

The situation remained as it is until the Al-Shawaf revolution that increased the power of the Kurds as Qasim depended on them and the communists to persecute that revolution, and Abdunnasser's treachery since then with Qasim caused a flow of rivers of blood in Mosul. In addition Barzani used the opportunity to destroy his Kurdish competitors as he displaced and oppressed thousands of people without any government protection or even by its approval. The objectives of the individualist rule of Abdunnasser at the time coincided with those of Qasim in the regionalist Iraq and they conspired against the Arab nation.

The problem then developed to an armed rebellious by the old friend of Qasim, Barzani against the state and the political trading started to play a huge role. This was to the extent that when I met in Ibn Omar Jazeera with the governor of the Turkish Al-Jazeera he literally told me: Are you serious in destroying the Barzani movement or you are like Abdulkarim Qasim. When I showed my astonishment at his question he explained how Qasim was not serious in getting rid of Barzani and the rebels. He was a contemporary of the Barzani movement and Qasim, so we can regard him as eye seeing witness on the border... then he wished us to be as serious as them (the Turks) in destroying the Barzani movement.

Today we see that after arming itself in the days of Qasim continuing its rebellious and separatism supported by all the regionalists from Arab political traders to religion traders then to all sorts of imperialists. Unfortunately the solution today is not easy as it was then as that point has been passed and it is too late. I write this and imagining a unity between the armies of Syria and Iraq bringing Ahmad Al-Barzani and his bandits to their knees and asking for forgiveness because they would not have any other choice. But today is not like yesterday, ideology is not a trade and Arab national treachery is not like being faithful to it.

Yes, this legendary problem is deteriorating after being fed by the imperialism throughout its existence, as well as being fed by the regionalism internally. As for the Kurds of Al-Jazeera about whom we shall write in the next chapter, they are organically connected to the Kurds in Iraq, Turkey and Iran with one problem and one objective. They have their own ideologists and igniters such as:

Jagirkhween: the famous Kurdish poet who is regarded a pioneer of the Kurdish movement

Osman Sabri: originally from Amuda, a Kurdish poet like Jigarkhwen

Qadri Pasha Family: from Al-Derbasiah they are all enthusiastic for Kurds and their Kurdish nationality

Saleh Al-Shwaish: from Amuda, he is regarded as financier of the Kurdish movement

Jalal Qurtrash: resides in Amuda and works very seriously and actively for the Kurdish nationality

Mella Hassan Osman: from Amuda, famous for distributing publications for his Kurdish comrades

Abdulkarim Mella Al-Sadiq: from Al-Malikia and Ain Dewar

Hajo Family: from Qubour Al-Bidh and Qamishli, they work seriously and actively for the Kurdish cause

Ismet Shahin: from Ain Al-Arab, a renowned lawyer there

Nazir Agha, Ahmad Hasnat, Sulaiman Hajo, Abdi Khilo, Arif Abbas, Ahmad Nafiz, Abdi Abdulqadir, Saleh Sheikh Muss and many others who cannot be counted who awakened the Kurdish feelings. The religion figures also had a great influence in this.

Those were the developments of the Kurdish problem in its broad lines since its creation until now. Today it is threatening the Arabic identity by being fed from all sides, old and new, internal and external who are hostile to the Arab nationality. We have to stress this and take appropriate actions to finish with it for ever in order not to occupy Arab minds and divert them from their nationalist causes. It is time to find a radical solution and make appropriate plans in both brotherly countries of Syria and Iraq with one united solution and plan. We shall discuss all the suggestions in this regard and others in the following chapter about the Kurdish problem today, especially in Al-Jazeera province, which will be ended by suggestions presented as a project for a successful solution to be added to other projects regarding the Kurdish problem. We need an appropriate plan to do this because it is the first and the last danger in Al-Jazeera and northern Iraq and there is no a bigger danger as it is taking the same path as the Jews in Palestine concerning the flow of immigrants into Al-Jazeera under various names and forms, to the extent that their number is now more than 160 thousand Kurds, all coming according to a drawn plan, which is to populate their imaginary homeland with the most number of Kurds and fill in all spaces. They build a lot of houses until they reached the city of Al-Hasaka and created a quarter (Al-Aziziah Quarter) all of its residents are immigrant Kurds. The local authorities are aware now to this danger to Al-Hasaka and forbade any building and ordered to

destroy any new Kurdish buildings. Any complacency or waste of time in making the plan and finding solutions would make the danger continuous and deteriorating. The Kurds of Al-Jazeera even had a slogan at the time of the Barzani movement and Qasim's era, when the Syrian army tried to intervene, which was:

The belt of border is a belt of danger.

That meant that they were ready to stop the Syrian army at the time from intervening in the interest of the Arabs, even with arms, and it will be dangerous for the Syrian army to intervene. However, today in Al-Jazeera they are frightened and anxious, especially after the announcement of the military unity... (11)

Chapter Two

“The Kurdish problem in Al-Jazeera Province”

1- Places of Kurdish gatherings:

The Kurds are gathered along the northern borders with Turkey in Al-Jazeera province to depth of between 15 - 35 Km towards the south, and from the area of Ras Al-Ain in the west to the borders of Al-Malikia area in the east. Their population is concentrated in those fertile areas to the extent that it is difficult to find any small Arabic enclave in some areas, especially in Al-Malikia, Qbur Al-Bidh, Qamishli and Amuda. They occupy the most fertile lands and the rainiest ones, as the average rain in Al-Malikia and Qamishli is between (400 - 500) mm according to the rain maps.

They occupy then the best areas fertility wise and suitable for agriculture while the Arab race lives in general in the southern parts of the province where the ratio of rains do not exceed 200 mm. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the Arabs are new to civilisation as they are nomads on constant move and not aware of what is going on or what has been planned against them until they found themselves in the present situation. Opposite this stripe that is populated with Kurds there is another stripe in Turkey similarly populated with Turkish Kurds. They are even related by blood as we find a Kurdish tribe divided and spread between Syria and Turkey and the same again in Iraq. They are brothers and cousins spread over that region waiting for their hope and golden dream, which is a Kurdish homeland (Kurdistan). They are on constant contact and movement with each other inside and outside the borders, which makes everything easier for them in their situation and thus their feeling of unity. So, they use their illegal contacts to intensify their unity across the borders. This also makes the issue of surveillance very difficult because it is rare to find a Kurd that cooperates with you and non Kurds would not understand them at all and would be difficult to know what is going on. They speak in their Kurdish language even in your presence without letting you understand a thing. Even if you employ the ones who commanded their languages as the Arabs who lived among them because of their mixing with them, they still rarely give their trust to them, as constant caution is in their nature. In addition there is the proper scientific organisation of the party of (Party), which makes a huge barrier in front of getting information regarding their projects and plans.

All those above are factors in their favour that make their organisational conditions strong against any gathering of information, in addition to their cruel and courageous nature that makes them showing loyalty to you while conspiring and deceiving you underneath. (12)

2- The Kurdish tribes:

The Kurdish tribes in Al-Jazeera, despite their tendencies and various preferences, and their hostility and vendettas with each other, are all connected by one tie (the Kurdish race) and one hope that give them the impulse, that is the dream of a national homeland that today is a clear idea in the minds of every Kurd because the high level of awareness, science and culture that we gave them... they use this ideologically to their benefit. Thus it was a wrong method to Arabise them by education, because as soon as they became educated they came to the opposite conclusion that it was hopped for. In any case we have to know some of the Kurdish tribes and families who live in Al-Jazeera mentioned according to their importance and using the idea of a Kurdish homeland.

1- The Havirkan Kurdish tribe

This tribe has practised thug acts and banditry throughout its history. It was inside Turkey on the Syrian borders and participated in the band of Sheikh Saeed in Diarbaker, then its chief Hjo Agha fled to Iraq as he was wanted by the Turkish government, but the Iraqi government at the time did not accept him. So, he went back to Turkey secretly and was arrested and escaped prison several times in a wondrous way until at last he befriended a Turkish Intelligence officer who used him for thuggish acts against peaceful Syrians who were in the area at the time and killed one French officer in Syria and took his head to the Waly of Mardin to buy his favour.

However, the Turkish government was more clever and farseeing than others as it used up all his abilities and then started chasing him with his tribe again until he found our arms opened for him. So, he moved to Syria and settled in Qubur Al-Bidh together with his family despite the insistence of the Turks on the Syrians to send him back. His tribe is now resides in Qubur Al-Bidh and Qamishli, and some of his children are in Al-Hasaka.

This tribe today has a high place among the Kurds of Turkey and Syria, or even Iraq, and they are treated with sacredness and respect. They are regarded as the leaders of the Party organisation and even the Communist, because they have the religion of Satan and work, cooperate and struggle for the establishment of the Kurdish homeland (Kurdistan). The number of families of this tribe is estimated as more than a thousand families, all of whom are ready for sacrifices by a signal from the living sons of Hajo. The number of those among them who are especially armed are about five hundred persons. This is in addition to their influence on other Kurdish tribes. At the old times the officials were tricked by the religious side of this tribe, being Muslims, they have mixed religion with nationality deliberately or not, which made the officials lenient with them and take care of them. However, today neither religion nor anything else can remove what is fixed in their minds as principles of Party. As we mentioned the scientific education we provided in order to Arabise them contributed to this. For instance I can tell you about this small incident: A female Arab teacher was teaching children of a Kurdish village and resides there and had an

illiterate Kurdish female neighbour who had a child in her school. She asked the teacher about her son and the teacher answered that he was alright except in the subject of religion, especially reciting Quran. The woman neighbour said straight away that we do not have anything to do with Quran as we are Kurds and can do without Quran. During their discussion the woman frightened her with her fanaticism for her Kurdish nationality. This incident proves that they have no regard for the religion that in the past we thought as a tie between us.

So, there is absolutely no use anymore to try any reconciliation and human treatment because we have exhausted those means and everything had failed. Thus we do not have any other choice but a radical treatment.

That is were the danger of the Hajo family, chiefs of Havirkan tribe and all their fellow families and small tribes that are in their orbit lays, and in their intentions and level of cooperation with Barzani that is well documented by mutual letters.

Accordingly the residence of this tribe or family should be changed and we must be as far-sighted as the Turks who asked as long time ago to displace them at least towards the inner country to about 150 Km from the Turkish borders, but we refused. At least as a support for what is happening in our brother country Iraq and preserve the security of Al-Jazeera, especially which our youth in the north of Iraq are in state of total resistance. We must support what the poet said:

Don't cut the tail of a snake and release it If you are a man cut its head also

2- Al-Daquria Tribe:

This large Kurdish tribe is settled on the west of the city of Qamishli and occupies the largest piece of land in Amuda, which is called now (the second Moscow), because of the power of this tribe and its authority. The number of its families is estimated as four thousand working in agriculture and occupying the most fertile area of Al-Jazeera extending over a large number of villages estimated as 120 villages. The important thing regarding this tribe is that its chiefs have a great authority among the Kurds, not only in Syria but in Turkey also. As a large part of the tribe is from the Turkish area behind the borders, they are in constant contacts and cooperation across the borders. In this case they do not recognise any borders and they are in constant movement inside and outside those borders. This tribe is divided into several families, the most significant of which are:

a- Al-Kabara: they reside in around thirty villages that belong to Amuda and there are a similar number of villages in the opposite Turkish territories.

b- Al-Kabaka: this family is residing in around 20 villages that belong to Amuda and a similar number behind the Turkish borders.

c- Sidan: the Sidan family resides in around 30 villages that belong to Amuda.

Following these families there are other no less important ones such as (Kwanna) and (Ziarat). The general policy of this tribe is to work for the Kurdish homeland in any form, as it is the case for Havirkan tribe. All its branches and sub-branches are today most enthusiastic in working for the Kurdish homeland than any other time. The

events of Amuda during the black era of disintegration were the best example for that, when the Kurdish youth rallied in the streets calling for the destruction of the Arab nation by the rock of Kurdish nation. They filled the streets with written slogans and disrupted the supplies in Amuda that led to the closure of schools. They raised the Kurdish flag and called for the downfall of Arabs and the live of Barzani. This was taken as an opportunity by the propaganda organs of Egypt for their rubbish dream talk that claimed that the demonstrators called for the Arab nation.

This is how the situation is and what is happening so, what we have to do to get out when all what applies to Havirkan also applies to this tribe. They do not believe in religion any longer as a connecting tie between us and them, but today they use it as a cover for themselves. In any case we shall come to talk about the religion in Al-Jazeera in its special part.

They are Communist and Party members and have no distinction between communism and loyalty to Party. The secular organisations of Communist and Party have penetrated this tribe as the other Kurdish tribes. This was helped by the education of their sons, as the Sheiks of the tribe know very well that their religion is just a cover and they conspire with their youth, even we can say in their religious meetings, which they use to promote the Party and Communist cultures. For example (Sheik Ahmad Al-Khaznawi) who arranges prayer circles on the surface, while working for his Kurdish nationality and communism secretly together with his fellow ethnics and depending on youth completely.

3- Al-Kikia tribe

The number of the families of this tribe is estimated as around three thousand families settled in Al-Darbasia region and its town centre in around 150 villages. This tribe migrated from Turkey to the generous Syria, though for them our loving country's generosity is not enough. Hence we see the amount of plans against this country since ancient times and on all levels as we imported thugs, criminal and bandits to relieve others, and we still call for humanism and collaboration between Arabs and Kurds. How many times we were reminded of the heroism of Saladine as if he was their prodigal son and no son of the Arab culture and Arab nationality. In my view he is far from them as an Arab is a person who lived on the Arab land and worked for the Arab nationality and looked forward to live there. They, on the contrary came with a pre planned project and today openly announce their intentions as if their time had come. The branches of this tribe are Sarukhan, Koskan, Omaran, Hiskan and Ismailan.

Yes, this tribe is like other Kurdish tribes even if they show their care towards Arabs, they stay always organically joined with other Kurdish tribes. However, their activities are less than the previous ones probably because of lack of education among their youth that is why we see them submitting to the other tribes run by Party and Communist youth.

4- Al-Marsinia tribe

It is said that the origin of this tribe is Arabic, but the reality of evidence does not indicate that at all, as they are Kurds as others who arrived from Turkey and settled in the Qamishli area. It is witnessed by their customs, traditions and even their clothes

that they are Kurds and we do not need any standard known proves to find out this. There are many Kurds who claim that they are of Arabic origins and this may be one of their plans as part of a general plan supervised by the imperialism.

The number of the families affiliated to this tribe is estimated as more than one thousand who work in land and animal farming. The relations of this tribe with the other Kurdish tribes is good, especially with the Havirkan tribe and its chiefs the Hajo family. The past of the tribe is very bad and it is mainly full of thuggish acts and banditry in Turkey and Syria and we still suffer from the similar acts, especially that they have relatives in Turkey neighbouring them, as they regard the borders between Syria and Turkey as imaginary borders in relation to their claimed loving homeland. They practically live as if they are in their own beloved Kurdistan and the only thing lacking is a simple matter of a political announcement of that homeland and forming its government. Only the Arabs keep denying and cannot imagine how could that happen. It is amazing how the imperialists plan and build up their actions!..

5- Al-Milia tribe

The Al-Milia tribe that it is said also, without any scientific and historical evidence, that it is also of Arab origin has ten branches of Kurds the most important of which are:

Khidhirkan, Komshan, Nijrian, Dudkan, Shikhan, Didan, Mandan, Zilan....etc.

The majority of this tribe resides in Ras Al-Ain. They have a history of clashes with the Arab tribes in the area, as they has long lasting war with such Arab tribes as Shumer, Anza and others.

This tribe is today wearing Arabic clothes because of their long residing in the area, as they took from the Arabs in that area their clothes and gave them their language.

It is also said that their origin goes back to the famous Turkish Ibrahim Pasha A-Mili. Today they have a good position with both Arabs and Kurds. They have good relations with the Derbasia Kurds and also have good relations with some Arab tribes. Their situation is as if in the middle because of the blood mixture with the Arabs through marriages and other things. They have married into the most famous of the Arab tribes (Al-Mahid) and gave them their daughters in marriage also.

They had successful members in the previous parliaments and still enjoy a high position in Al-Jazeera. They work in agriculture in Ras Al-Ain area, but Asfar and Najjar had taken most of their lands to farm them, but still have wide areas left to work in using modern techniques.

The tribe is around 1500 families all reside in Ras Al-Ain and it is said that this tribe has been Arabised as they do not speak in their homes except in Arabic and their sons have forgotten Kurdish.

It is said also that 80% of this tribe is still in Turkey living between provincial towns of Dirik, Duiran Shahr and Swirk and they have around 10 thousand families there without having relations with each other. In my view it is because that this tribe is less enthusiastic to the Kurdish homeland than the others. However, some nostalgia

and the existence of their large part in Turkey may change that. Any way, their position is in the middle and they may be more far sighted than others regarding the achievement of that dream, that is why they stand still.

6- The rest of the Kurdish tribes

Because of the shortness of space we cannot go into details of other Kurdish tribes but we mention some of them as examples:

- 1- Al-Berazi: which resides mainly in Ain Al-Arab and part of it in Ras Al-Ain
- 2- Al-Kitkan: known for its alliance with the French, so as:
- 3- Al-Sheikhan
- 4- Al-Mahlamia: which resides in the area east of Qamishli
- 5- Al-Dorkan:
- 6- Al-Jabia, Al-Hasna, Hawna, Al-Miran, Al-Kocher: which all reside in the area east of Qamishli

There is also (Al-Binar Ali) who are known to support and have good relations with the Hajo family in the past and present. All these tribes are related with one tie and moved by one factor, which is their nostalgia to the imaginary Kurdish homeland. Although that some evil is better than another in its degree, as we have never heard any one of them that does not want the establishment of their imaginary national homeland. (13)

3- Our old view regarding the Kurds

We were dominated by a classic view about the Kurds that they are a minority like any other peaceful minorities that want nothing except security, discipline and peace, but the time has proven that view false with events in the north of our country Iraq. This was a view originated on non original nationalistic ideology that mixes religion with nationality. As they are Muslims this meant to some of our previous leaders (who were supposedly Arabs) that they are closer to us from any other minority and thus deserve more pity from us than others.

This was the classic view that times rejected despite all the traitors and falsifiers and now everything has become clear. Now we now this view to be mistaken after the general public were using the word Kurd as a compliment meaning one who is loyal to discipline of the state and guards it with his life. The imperialists helped in creating this illusion in order to cheat the Arab people even further, drawing them away from their original views and put another dagger in the back of the Arab nationality and the general Arab cause to be added to the Israeli dagger. The time had come to change this false view and replace it with an original scientific view and it is time to isolate religion in this regard from nationality otherwise we shall slip into the dangerous regionalist path.

The religion in itself was nothing but a leap in the Arabic thought during its renaissance. It was a product of Arab humanism for some past time and we should

not admire it while we stay without movement, but to renew this Arabic message according to the historical circumstances. We should not stay imprisoned by mysticism and leave alone the original constant engine of the Arab humanist thought. We should not stop while the time runs until others steal our thought and plan against us. (14)

4- The new view regarding the Kurds

Any view to any matter without an original thinking would be far from the truth and would seem weak or even sick. As we have already felt that secret sickness concerning the classical view towards the Kurds, now we have to go back to our original clear spring to find the necessary view regarding the Kurds of Al-Jazeera. As we are about this new view, we do not have any negative incentives such as racism or national chauvinism or for that matter any reaction far from Arabic psyche. In this case, after a careful study of the matter we have to pay attention to the historical frameworks of that group and the psychological frameworks also then on the basis of the above we come to the new original conclusions.

1- It is without doubt that the Kurds as a race do entirely differ from the Arabs as a race as there is no psychological coherence or proximity, nor even physiological or anthropological. When we mention race we do not mean complete purity, as we believe that there are no pure races or pure ethnicities. However, according to scientific social classifications, there is no relation between Arabs and Kurds.

2- Religion: that has become like a cover for all conspiracies and treachery, especially in Al-Jazeera, where the religion cannot be called a religion in the full meaning of the word as it is generally and especially among the Kurds no more than sophist methods that are widespread such as Naqshibandia, Shazlia, Qadria...etc.

Each of these methods has its own scholars and imams as if it was a completely independent school. We know for sure that it was regionalism itself that created these alien to Islam methods or hid behind them to strike at the Arab nationalism.

In addition the Kurdish religious scholars, and most of the religious scholars in Al-Jazeera are Kurds, cannot even speak Arabic language properly. All this reminds us with the poem of one of the Amawit rulers:

Through the ashes I see a spark of fire That about to ignite everywhere

...etc. I mean it reminds us with all the religious tendencies in the name of Islam created against the Arabs throughout history and used as tools of destruction whenever the Arabs were weak. Today we live as if we are in the dark ages in this regard.

5- The party of (Party):

The fifth article in the programme of the party of (Party) states:

(To attempt to intensify the brotherly and friendly relations between all the ethnicities that make up the Iraqi people, such as Arabs, Kurds, Turkmen, Assyrians, Armenians

and all other minorities in Iraq...)

What is very clear from this article is the regionalist and communist tendencies of the Party, because on top of working for the Kurdish nationalism, this party is working to destroy the Arabic nationalism by rejuvenating new nationalisms according to the same communist logic that has been promoting this for a long time now. Today it is the sole organiser for the Kurds who belong or not belong to the party as we shall discuss this in our research regarding the dangerous and destructive political parties.

Our intention is to come to the new view regarding the Kurds in the area that, as it is clear from all the above, are all, those who work or do not work, demand a Kurdish homeland. The religion even with their religious figures is nothing but a legend. The existence of educated youth among them is leading this tendency as they do not believe in religion except as an opportunity for exploitation. If, God forbid, their dream comes true, they would, straight away, uncover their true face and would become a communist state belonging to the Soviet Union.

Hence, we should not pay any attention to religious ties in our view towards them as we did towards the Turks.

Thus on this basis we have to view the Kurds as a group of people that try with all their powers to establish an imaginary homeland. Based on this view they are enemies who are no different from Israel despite the religious relations. So, "Jewistan" and "Kurdistan" are the same if we can say that. In addition the intentions of imperialism and the imperialists active work against the Arab nationalism is the appropriate view that should be the basis for a general plan to resist the imminent danger instead of treating the matters in a partial and wrong ways. (15)

6- The new generation of the Kurds:

In this regard we have to say a just word about the Kurds as according to their age they are divided into two categories:

1- The old generation:

These are aged and in general actually religious or to be more exact they were religious for the sake of religion, but now in Al-Jazeera they are a non important minority that is why they do not have any influence and even they often follow their sons' tendencies. They have admitted this during investigations and interrogations, one of them even gave me all his member of the Party son's secrets in order to preserve his dignity. Yes there are persons like that though few, but you cannot get any were with them unless you threaten the dignity of the old man, and even then it is always difficult.

2- The new generation:

These are sons, grandsons and younger brothers of the old generation. This generation who is educated nowadays is the source of danger and they are the ones who lead the Party. Our Arab country's institutes and schools in the Kurdish areas had become factories for the production of the Party and Communist members and the events of Amuda are still witnesses to this. In the old days they used to say Arabise

them through education but the result was that the education we provided to them became their most powerful ideological weapon against us in addition to fire arms.

If you go around in Al-Jazeera you notice that the best and more modern schools are in the Kurdish areas while the Arabic areas are ignored. Whether this was with good intentions for Arabisation or with bad intentions, which is more likely, we are today reaping the whirlwind as we have created by our own hands powerful enemies that have all the characteristics of courage, ideology, evidence and even oratory. The struggle between ideologies is the most powerful of struggles and yes, the new generation is an ideological generation with faith in their partisanship as in themselves.

It is useful to look into this small example. We came across a love letter from a Kurdish young man to an educated Kurdish girl telling her, of course, about his feelings and swearing to her that he loves her. The things that he swears with are the following: by God Almighty I love you, if you don't believe me I swear on my honour, if you still don't believe me I swear by Mella Barzani, and then if you still don't believe me I swear by our dear homeland Kurdistan that we have dedicated our lives for. Thus the Kurdish girl has to believe him at last because he has sworn by the dear homeland Kurdistan, which is above all things. This picture and others like it indicate how this new generation is an ideological one believing in their ideology and homeland and ready to sacrifice everything in this regard. For this reason and on the basis of the above we suggest an ignorance policy because we do not need anymore of this policy of constant recreation with the help of state schools and institutes as the experience proved contrary to what was said (teach them they become Arabised).

Such a view had become meaningless and simplistic, not to say that it is a conspiracy or participation in conspiracy to disrupt and distract Arabs with side problems that take them away from their own situation of constant development and prosperity.

Yes, the new Kurdish generation has thrown away all the ties between the Arabs and the Kurds to the point of no return...

This is the new Kurdish generation and that is their aims and principles, and that is their situation in Al-Jazeera. If they have any problems today, it is certain that with the situation remaining as it is they will overcome any difficulties in the future with the help of their thought and ideology. Their leadership today have few problems with their older conservative generation who are the minority, or some lack of education, there is no doubt that if things stay as they are the factor of education would make even those old minorities extinct.

All this happening and we are still playing around and think of the problem as very easy and not that dangerous. We have to face the facts however bitterly and to plan a calm scientific plans from now on in order to end this existing problem, otherwise we are collaborators. As in a near future the ideological struggle on the Arab land that gave refuge and educated those without any of that, would reach its climax and then there will be no use in doing anything. (16)

7- The imperialist plans for the Kurds

The two international camps during their history of struggle have never agreed on anything like their agreement regarding those two farces on the Arab land, which are the Palestinian farce and the Kurdistan farce, especially the Arabic Kurdistan.

The capitalist camp has been working for the Kurdish cause since a long time and all this for no other aim except to distract the Arabs from their unity and message in the first place and then to preserve their interest in the second place together with their partners as they do not believe in anything other than continuous division in different forms according to the circumstances and times, sometimes in the name of nationalism, another in the name of religion or then again in the name of the tortured humanity. That is how the Kurdish problem came to this international level as if it is now an international organisation that is almost a part of the UN. There are many indications for that in the Western official press and even radios. They have opened offices for it in Switzerland and other foreign countries and came to understand it as if it is a cause as important as Berlin or Germany in general. The eastern block also went further to what they did regarding Palestine and today they are meeting their enemy, the western block, yet again to set up another tragedy on the Arab land and hence they use their press and radios to openly support the rebellion of Barzani and the Kurdish movement also in the name of humanity and right of self-determination. All this remind us with the Palestinian cause and the Arabs have to suffer from another wound as they did in Palestine. All this to make the Communist Party spread among the Kurds so strongly that they might find another bridge on the eastern gate and found a communist state that takes orders from Moscow. Why not, the west created the state of Israel and they helped and now they want to create Kurdistan and the other side is responding positively as one favour for another. (17)

Now that the first stage of constant resettlement and displacement into the Arabic areas is over, it is time for the second stage that Barzani has started on the national and international level in this region that is regarded the main source of petrol and the strategic centre of the world. This makes the Soviet Union adamant to establish Kurdistan as they openly say. So, the Arabs must know the degree of conspiracies against Arab nationalism and come to state of constant awareness and extreme carefulness, as well as suspicion (unsuspecting is a problem) as one of the ancient Arab wise men stated. This must inspire the Arab nationality to recognise their historical stage and whatever problems that are woven for them. And now that the Arab nationality knows its own originality and that it is unique in this regard, the Arabs and the revolutionary pioneers should depend on themselves without any partners for planning and successful work.

It is very sad and makes you feel bitter to see the rulers of Cairo, not its people, and their view to the Kurdish problem. As according to the rulers of Egypt they are Muslims and brothers in religion, but we have disproved this false claim before. They are, according to those rulers, citizens as if we are the ones who assault them on false pretences.

They believe in peaceful solutions between Arabs and Kurds, which is very close to the intended logic of Abdulkarim Qasim, when he was calling farcically; long live the Arabic Kurdish brotherhood without any need except madness and secret regionalism.

As if the rulers in Cairo have forgotten what they have done to the Muslim Brotherhood members who are Arabs as they were in their view traitors, and we agree with them in this, but why don't they agree with us against the Kurds who are non Arabs.

The view of the rulers of Cairo regarding this problem is a regionalist and very simplistic one. However, they are far from being simple people so, this must be deliberate and we are very sorry for such a deliberate act of treason and collaboration with the eastern and western imperialists for the sake of individual gains and building empires in an unsuitable era, and an individualist rule in unsuitable historical conditions.

These are but weak dreams on the account of the Arab nationalism and we have no choice but organised popular work to rescue the Arabic people of Egypt from their despots by meeting them on the basis of mutual ideology, views and methods in our nationalist work. (18)

8- Suggestions regarding the Kurdish problem

According to all the above we have to treat the matters with a cool reason and a hot faith far from simple retaliation to everyday events or just a reaction so that we do not conspire to become conspirators as others do against us.

First of all we have to avoid the slippery places to base our plans on science and a complete study of the historical stage that we are in. It is now very clear to us that our fight in the north of our Arabic country Iraq is a fight of ideology and arms. We must start immediately with plans that coincide with our operations in Northern Iraq because it is of no use if we ended there and they stay here on this level of indulgence or something similar in the name of citizenship. Everything is now clear and all cards are on the table here and there, and in Turkey and Iran also regarding the Kurds. That is why we suggest a complete and radical plan for Al-Jazeera so that the problem would never come back to hunt us after a while. We know that the whole region from Turkey, Iraq, Syria and even Iran is united by borders and we have to exploit the position of Turkey now because it may change in the future according to the imperialists political will. As they now are displacing all the dangerous elements towards the inner side of the country.

That is why we suggest:

1- The state should carry out displacement operations towards inside starting with the dangerous elements first. It will be alright if the plan was two or three folded i.e. the years should start with the most dangerous elements and then the less dangerous...etc.

2- The ignorance policy: that is not to build any schools or scientific institutes in the area because this clearly has proven to have results contrary to what was intended..

3- The overall majority of the Kurds who reside in Al-Jazeera hold the Turkish nationality. So, we have to correct the civil registers as we are doing now, but we demand that anyone whose nationality has not been proven should be displaced and handed over to the state that he belongs to. In addition those with proven nationality should be allowed to access only a reasonable level of education, and note how the

nationality was gained because the nationality cannot be gained except by a presidential decree. Any nationality gained without a presidential decree should be discussed and kept only for the least dangerous elements while withdrawn from the others and returned to their own homeland.

There is also the issue of multinationals who carry two or even three nationalities. In this case they should be turned back to their first nationality. In any case the important thing is not the census and registration in themselves, but the actions taken, as we have to start displacement operations immediately.

4- Preventing employment: we also have to plan how to prevent the Kurds any possibility of work so that they find themselves in a situation that they cannot move and so insecure that they want to migrate. This should be taken into account first of all by the agrarian reform in Al-Jazeera, and prevent the Kurds from possessing or renting as, thank God, there are plenty of Arabs around.

5- Arrange a widespread propaganda campaign among the Arabs against the Kurds in order to disturb the position of the Kurds, so that they cannot ever settle down.

6- Withdraw religious titles from the Kurdish religious figures and set a plan to replace them with pure Arab sheiks, or remove them towards inner side and replace them, because their meetings are not religious at all but plainly Kurdish. Even when they appeal to us, their telegrams are not against Barzani, but against shedding Muslim blood. What kind of language is that?!

7- Creating clashes between Kurds themselves, which is easy and could happen by inciting those of them who claim that have Arabic origins against the dangerous elements of them. This in addition would be a good test for those of them who claim that they are Arabs.

8- Settling Arabic and nationalist elements in the Kurdish areas on the borders as they would be like a barrier for the future and surveillance on the Kurds at the same time until their displacement is finished. We suggest that those elements should be from the Shummers as they are one of the poorest tribes on Earth and they are nationalists hundred percent.

9- Transforming the area north to Al-Jazeera into a military area as a front with military forces having duties to reside Arabs and displace the Kurds according to a state drawn plan.

10- Establishing collective farms for the Arabs resettled into the northern area, but those farms should be armed and trained militarily exactly like the Jewish settlements on the borders.

11- Not allow those who do not speak Arabic to practise elections and candidacy in the mentioned areas.

12- Absolute prevention of those who want to reside in that region from getting a Syrian nationality, whatever previous nationality they have (except an Arab state nationality ...etc.)

Independence and Liberty, and we in Al-Jazeera are following the plan of the heroic leader Mustafa Barzani. Our fathers and grandfathers were martyred for these aims. The Arab colonialists are waiting for us and ruling us, but have we surrendered? We shall not surrender we are still fighting and you freedom lovers should know that we die for dignity, independence, liberty and honour, we die fighting but never surrender, we keep on our bitter struggle.

Freedom loving Kurds, some criminal broadcasts say that the hero Mustafa Barzani has deceased, do not believe such marionette broadcasts and publications.

Freedom loving Kurdish brothers, the peace is to live in freedom and enjoy our land and independence. The land of Al-Jazeera is the hope for the heroic Kurdish nation. We want to rule ourselves, that has been our position since the Kurdish revolution started in heroic Iraq to rescue us from the Arab colonialism and build up our Kurdish people's morals. These are our sacred aims so why doesn't criminal Arab colonialism leave us alone and against our legitimate rights. The treacherous Arab colonialism is always watching us and demanding from us to be its agents.

To you Arab criminals we say that we are going to live in freedom and we are going to fight and struggle for our independence.

Long live his excellency the heroic leader Mustafa Barzani.

Long live any Kurd who recognises his heroic nation, long live our sacred aims.

Down with all Arabs and all Arab leaders.

Down with Syria if it does not fulfil our just demands...

Width 50 cm, length 62 cm "copy of the original"

Third document:

Heroic Kurdish brothers, should we leave our freedom and independence aside and compromise our dignity? Surely not.

Heroic Kurdish brothers, those responsible are the ghastly Arab colonialists who are warmongers and criminals towards our people and homeland struggling for independence and dignity. Heroic Kurds try to rescue our honour together with your heroic leader General Mustafa Barzani and his brother citizens.

Kurds struggle for your independence and protect it with our blood and souls

Long live the Kurdish nationality

Long live the party of Party

Kurds, beat the Arabs everywhere

A banner of 32 cm width and 48 cm length "copy of the original"

Fourth document:

This is a letter from Mr Thamer Ali Al-Younis from Baghdad to Sulaiman Hajo in Qamishli, dated 21/7/1961; we bring you its text bellow:

Respected Mr Sulaiman Hajo

Kurdish greetings,

It is unfortunate to see your picture on the pages of an Arabic magazine describing you falsely as an Arab. Dear sir, I don't know if this was your own action or an action by the editors of the magazine?

However, who provided them with your photo? And how did they get all the other photos published?

Is it possible that your women wear our Kurdish clothing and then you claim Arabism?

Is it possible that one wears Shal and Shabek as our grandfathers did since ancient times, when the Kurdish hero Saladine was controlling all the areas of the Middle East, or even before that as our grandfathers wore it before Jesus Christ.

It is pity to see a Kurdish young man with a certain level of education become a member of an organisation or a nationalist union very from his own life, growing up and nationality. It is very pity if a Kurd claims that he is an Arab and forget who gave birth to him and let him live in the privilege of a part of paradise Kurdistan.

After all you have done this for silly material gain as before you generations of traitors betrayed their divided homeland Kurdistan.

As God is your witness, Sulaiman, what is your position regarding the picture of your Kurdish sister on the cover of an Arabic magazine claiming that she is an Arab while she wears her ancient Kurdish clothes..?

With all respect I would like you to listen to the words of this Kurdish poem by the glorious revolutionary Kurdish poet Haj Qadir Koi:

If a Kurd does not speak his father's language Let him know that it is certain
that his mother is a wanton

That is how our creative Kurdish poet described the Kurdish traitors who deny their nationality and hide under covers, which have no relations to their nationality, such as Arabism, Turkism and Farsism. Now tell me how do you feel? Don't you feel ashamed, tell me as God is your witness, Sulaiman, after two million Kurds in Kurdistan of Iraq read what was published in the Arabic magazine (Akher Saa) in its issue 1390 - 14 June 1961? Under the title of "Natural Beauty From Qbur Al-Bidh". But is your village called Qbur Al-Bidh or "Tirpa Spi". I am sorry Sulaiman that we speak to you as if with a Kurd.. You are excused because you are an Arab!! However, anyone who is not faithful to his own nationality, how can he be faithful to

another nationality? We are people who are on the democratic path under the banner of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan. We have taken this path not caring about dangers and tragedies that we meet, but as we discovered you have forgotten your nationality and belong to another!! It is a farce... a farce that will be remembered in history when the time comes and those who are faithful would be distinguished from those who are traitors. The day your Kurdish people... sorry you are not a Kurd... you are a collaborator for money, Sulaiman... But what is the fault of your sisters to stand in front of the photographer of (Akher Saa) magazine so that you stay a member of the Nationalist Union or otherwise to stay as an unfaithful agent to even those you claim you are faithful to?!! They are uncrowned queens as the (imperialist Akher saa) claims, and we say imperialist because we can prove it to you... any nation who violates the rights of a neighbouring nation, the history would not forgive as the great pioneer leader of India and the human leader Jawaher Lal Nehro stated in his book (Snaps from the history of the world): "How can the Turks destroy a people who is ready to pay the price with the blood of its sons? How can such a people not gain freedom if it is ready to pay the price". Look at Barzan, patient Sulaimaniah, then wounded Mahabad... bleeding Diarbaker is close to you and Jazeerat Botan or if you prefer Jazeerat Ibn Omar, but we who are faithful to the people and Kurdish nationality along with history and all humanity call it Jazeerat Botan part of the greater Kurdistan... we are such people Mr... as you know history very well think about it and criticise yourself before your fellow brothers do - the sons of glorious Qazi Muhammad and his brothers Ezat, Qudsi, Khoshnaw, and father of all martyrs Sheik Saeed Piran, and Dr Fuad..

What about the crowned queens... Are they Arabs? For God's sake tell us and write that in Akher Saa magazine, are they Arabs like you or pure Kurds?

We hope you will get the letter and your excellency would do us a favour by answering in Akher Saa magazine. Thanks for your sincerity.

Yours faithfully

A suffering Kurdish young man

and young man

S. M. A.

A. M. M.

Fifth document:

This document was published in the newspaper "Saut Kurdistan" issued by the rebels in the Abdulkarim Qasim era, number three, dated November 1962, its title:

The international public opinion follows with interest the development of our people's legitimate revolution.

Despite the past and present efforts of the Iraqi rulers led by dictator General Abdulkarim Qasim using mad oppression and revenge methods against the mighty revolution of our people against his dictatorial despotism and despite the efforts of the Iraqi government in the fields of falsification and conspiracy to contain it tightly and smother its reputation, and prevent its news of breathtaking victories from spreading

abroad, our victorious revolution has become not only the main problem for the people of Iraq but also a subject of interest for the Arabic and international broadcasts and press. We mention for instance the United Arab Republic Radio and its famous in all the Arab world patriotic newspapers such as Al-Jumhuriah, Al-Ahram and Al-Akhbar.

The Cairo newspaper Al-Jumhuriah spoke about our people's revolution several times and with big front page titles such as (The Barzanis Control North of Iraq), (Barzani Warns Qasim about Destroying the Oil Fields), (Barzani Reputes Qasim and Says that His Revolution is not Over), (Barzani Kills Thousand Government Soldiers and Their Kurdish Collaborators) and (Barzani States: He is not an Agent to Anyone, He Wants to Liberate His People).

The Al-Ahram newspaper mentioned (the revolution) on several occasions and stressed its patriotic nature, the latest of which was the front page article by the famous editor and the great journalist Hasanain Haikal under the title: (Appeal by 11 Iraqi Leading Figures to End the Kurdish Revolution in a Peaceful Way). Also the Cairo newspaper Al-Akhbar published in its latest: (the government of Iraq uses paid killers (Jash Karim) with high wages to terrorise the northern region and these mercenaries of Iraqi government are carrying out revenge operations against the Kurdish tribes).

We are sorry that we cannot bring you all the contents, but the international press covered widely the subject of our people's just revolution and in many countries of the world. For the same reason (lack of space) we settle for brief quotes from some of them.

The Indian newspaper (Statesman) published in New Delhi on 18 August 1962 mentioned in an article (The Kurdish Claim Control on Northern Iraq) that - The Kurdish revolutionaries that fight for the autonomy with old rifles and soviet weapons that they captured from the attacking Iraqi government's forces, had a real control on the north of Iraq. This is according to the Swiss Radio correspondent (Mr Andric) who spent two weeks in the secret headquarters of the leader of the revolution - Mustafa Barzani.

The Swiss correspondent broadcasted yesterday evening the following report: the leader of the revolution Mella Mustafa Barzani aged 59 who spent 13 years as a political refugee in the Soviet Union after fighting the previous Iraqi monarchy. He returned to Iraq after the July 1958 revolution and recently he was forced to defend the violated rights of his people. The casualties of the government forces were estimated to be one thousand against 72 casualties among his forces. The above correspondent denied the claims that he gets any support from the Soviet Union or any other foreign side. The correspondent also mentioned that his militarily organised forces are about four thousand armed men and multiple of this number of reserve forces. The entire Kurdistan is now under the political control of the revolution, which has acquired a wide popular support. It is now in such a good position that it can negotiate with the Iraqi government for the Kurdish people to gain autonomy. The correspondent also mentioned in his report that there are two divisions of Iraqi government's army surrounding the north of Iraq. He mentioned that he saw with his own eyes the prisoners captured by the Kurdish revolutionaries. It was mentioned in the report also that two months ago the Kurdish revolutionaries surrounded two

divisions in a valley flooded with waters, they were subjected to hunger for 29 days then captured them taking their weapons and ammunitions then released them nicely. The newspaper also mentioned that the latest news indicate that there are another two divisions near (Rawanduz) surrounded, and in case of capturing their heavy weaponry, the revolutionaries would be able to carry out large military operations.

The London's Sunday Telegraph had written an article dated 12 August, about the same subject entitled (An Attempt to Stop the Kurdish Revolution), that the secret negotiations between the Kurdish revolutionaries and Iraq authorities had failed to put an end to the existing revolution. Despite the continuous raids and gathering of huge numbers of Iraqi forces, the Kurds are the ones who control the north of Iraq. Qasim's repeated claims and his insistence on finishing with the revolution that started a year ago, had been subjected to open criticism by Iraqi army officers and soldiers. Several military units of the Iraqi army had joined the revolutionaries and it is feared that the revolution would spread to the areas close to oil production regions of Mosul and Kirkuk.

The French newspaper Le Mond published an article regarding the subject entitled (Abdulkarim Qasim Between Two Fires) saying: The recent Kurdish revolution in northern Iraq is spreading and the movement leader Mustafa Barzani is totally in control of the leadership of the patriotic Kurdish forces after destroying the main forces of the tribal chiefs supporting the Iraqi government and hostile to the Kurdish revolution, such as Sheik Rashid Lolan and others. The forces of Qasim are scattered in regions of Sulaimaniah, Arbil, Mosul and Kirkuk. While the Kurdish revolutionaries are controlling the important strategic positions in Kurdistan, this deterioration of the situation is causing a lot of anxiety with the commanders of the Iraqi army and these commanders are expecting a violent change in Baghdad. General Qasim is worried about his situation as on the one hand he cannot send new reinforcements to the north because of fear from what may happen to him if he empties his camps in Baghdad and he failed in his attempt to find a compromise with the Kurdish revolutionaries with Sheik Ahmad Barzani as a mediator on 13 of last July, at the same time that the revolution grows in power and spreads in all directions because of the wide support from the Kurdish people everywhere, and active actions from the Kurdish nationalists on the international level headed by the Kurdish professor (Baderkhan).

The correspondent of (Losane) radio, Richard Andre who spent six days among the Kurds, says that the Kurdish revolution is marching on despite what the Iraqi newspapers and Baghdad radios repeatedly claim, as they up to now claim that that the Kurds are defeated and their movement is destroyed, but this is a nonsense of course and everyone knows that. The Kurdish revolutionaries are capturing Iraqi army weapons and regularly spread over the mountains of Kurdistan. Then it goes on to say: Qasim used to say that (Barzani Kurds) are an unimportant problem - it is just a matter of one day - they have been annihilated by our army everywhere - the colonialists helped them, but this is over for both of them, and there is no place in Iraq for those who ask for an autonomy. However, Qasim himself knows very well that there is no truth in his fiery and optimistic statements and the Kurds are far from dissimulation or annihilation.

The London newspaper The Times published an article on 14 August 1962 entitled (Iraq and the Kurds - Unnecessary War) in which it mentioned: Four years ago, last

month, the Hashimite rule in Iraq was overthrown and a group of army men headed by Colonel Qasim took over the power - a temporary constitution was declared stating that Kurds are equal partners in rights with the Arabs. This is regarded as a continuation to some of the national rights recognised by the League of Nations in 1932, as a matter concerning international affairs.

The Kurds were always complained from Iraqi governments stalling in carrying out their agreements regarding their rights and probably Qasim intended by his more liberal policy at the beginning of his reign to gain the support of an important part of the population.

That is why Mella Mustafa Barzani was brought back from the Soviet Union and treated as a VIP all over Iraq, as a hero of the struggle against the colonisers and their agents and the first spokesman of the Kurdish people and the Kurdistan Democratic Party (that he leads).

All the classes without hesitation thought that the new equality would mean administrative reforms and a more fair participation in developing projects and social services, especially in education and a better position for the Kurdish language. However, none of these hopes were achieved and the situation changed in autumn of 1960 when Colonel Qasim decided to oppress the activities of the communists and then declared the illegality of the Kurdistan Democratic Party and arrested some of its leaders, then some newspapers started a campaign against any rights whatsoever for the Kurds. It goes on to say: The Kurds at best did not like to bear the despotic behaviour of the administrative officers in their areas, but were not willing to involve in open hostilities. However, Colonel Abdulkarim Qasim ordered his moving forces to start fighting with a little information in this regard outside Iraq until mid September when he made his official announcement to subjugate the Kurdish revolution. The land forces were subjected to another attack in a number of regions from mountains of Zakho to Derbendikhan, so Qasim resorted to the policy of intensive fire with waves of air raids, missiles and burning bombs. Despite that the fighting continued and still intensifies. The expansion of the rebellion (as it called it) reflects the bitter disappointment that followed the enthusiastic high hopes and there is no evidence that it is by involvement of the Soviets or any other side.

The general violent air bombardment operations led to the unification of all Kurdish forces and gave the revolution patriotic characteristics. There is much evidence indicates the revulsion of the public opinion in Iraq against the government's position, especially the residents of the city of Mosul because of the bloodshed in the city. The commander of the revolution Mella Mustafa in his reasonable announcement of 30 April 1962 repeated that his only demand is (to guarantee the legitimate rights of the Kurdish people within a constitutional Iraqi state). He directed his announcement to the UN, International Red Cross and international press asking them to send their representatives, or come to see by their own eyes the bloodshed and intervene according to their speciality to stop the air bombardment with napalm bombs and lighten the burden of the oppressed Kurdish people, and to solve the Kurdish cause in Iraqi Kurdistan. As this problem is not unsolvable because there are basis to that in the Iraqi government's declaration of 1932 and Colonel Qasim's constitution of 1958, but the details of their execution should this time be accompanied with true intentions and not containing hatred. It can be solved with the representatives of the Kurdish leader, many of whom are known to be humble and understanding the reality

properly.

The Peace and Socialism magazine wrote in its latest number the following: About one year ago, the government of Iraq started an armed war against the Kurds. The warplanes are bombarding peaceful Kurdish villages killing hundreds of citizens. This bloody war is still continuing despite the demand of the democratic forces in Iraq to solve the Kurdish problem in a peaceful way.

The patriotic liberation movement in all areas of Kurdistan currently is essentially a democratic movement as it reflects the desire of the divided Kurdish people to get rid of the burdens of slavery and for unification. It is also against the nationalist oppression and against the colonialism and its agents.

The successive events showed that the recognition of Kurdish rights by the government is nothing but a manoeuvre, as the government since the mid March of 1959 has hinted at the policy of dissimilation of the Kurds and started the policy of nationalist oppression in a more violent way than it was in the monarchy era. The Arab bourgeoisie in Iraq has forbidden even the name of (Kurdistan) and they call it (Northern Iraq). The Kurdish people are deprived the right of studying in their own language and to chose their real representatives to the republic institutions and establish their own legislative and executive bodies. The Kurdish masses are sinking in poverty, exploitation, ignorance and illness. The policy of the Iraqi government against the Kurds is characterised by impartiality in founding industrial projects, establishing educational and health institutions and admitting the Kurdish youth into high scientific institutes and providing grants for them to study outside the country. The following figures are an indication of the level of education among the population, in Iraqi Kurdistan there is one school for every 3500 of the population and one secondary school per 57000. In all the public libraries of Iraq there are no more than 685 Kurdish books.

Since spring 1961 the policy of the government against the Kurds had turned more violent as aided with some reactionary Kurdish tribal chieftains a number of armed clashes were induced to take the opportunity and assemble more military forces as preparation to a decisive strike against the Barzanis. These government acts were caused protests among the Kurdish people and many of their citizens, especially the youth, were forced to disappear into the towns and form their own armed units.

The government ignored Mustaf Barzani's reassurances that the Kurds are ready to start negotiations with the government to award the Iraqi Kurds the autonomy.

Copy as original.

Sixth document:

This document was presented by the party of Party in Syria to the sixth conference of the Kurdish Students Association in Europe. Because it is too long we mention few paragraphs of it.

Dear brothers: (our activist greetings)

... in our homeland Kurdistan the burden of colonialism was worse, as in addition to the occupation of Kurdistan and placing it under foreign control, the colonialists played a dirty role to preserve their economical and strategic interests for a long time.

They divided our small homeland and presented each part to a reactionary government allied to them. Our Kurdish people are still suffering from all kinds of terror, oppression and mass murders as a result of this colonial division. The countries occupying Kurdistan do not recognise even the existence of Kurdish people or their homeland Kurdistan, but they are subjected to a horrible nationalist oppression for no reason other than been (Kurds). They practise a policy of assimilation and dissolving that became the trade mark for despotic regimes ruling with iron and fire, ignoring the simplest of human rights and principles of justice. However, this policy is of no use because the fascist regimes cannot dissimilate the Kurdish people as the history had proven its failure internationally. They are but pirates and bandits that loot and burgle the riches of the Kurdish people's country that is considered very rich with its national and human resources...

As for the Syrian Kurdistan our Kurdish people pioneered by the (Democratic Party of Kurdistan - Syria) has demanded the achievement of some national rights for the Kurdish people in the simplest way possible such as cultural, social and economical rights and strengthening the brotherhood of the two people, but the official reaction to these just demands of our people was a wild campaign against its honest leader (Democratic Party of Kurdistan - Syria) and creating a horrible atmosphere of terror in the Kurdish areas of Syria arresting more than 150 activists and putting 32 of them on trial with charges far from our Party's objectives such as establishment of a Kurdish state in Syria... and other such charges that were proven false and fabricated in the State Security High Court in Damascus.

Our Arab brothers should understand well that causes of peoples cannot be resolved by terror, imprisonment and arrests as it has been proven by their own practical experiences with the colonialists. The Kurdish cause then cannot be resolved in this way as well, but it could be solved through mutual brotherly understanding, because the policy of assimilation and digestion is not only fails in advance to eliminate the Kurdish people's nationalist characteristics, and in addition of serving the interests of the colonialists directly or indirectly, it is also not in the interest of the liberation movement of these peoples as well. The Middle East cannot enjoy stability and peace without Kurdish people gaining its liberty and independence. These are nothing but claims proven false by the reality because we can see that hundreds of Kurdish people put on trial in all parts of Kurdistan and their accusations are a crude violation of historical facts that prove the existence of the Kurdish people as a people with its own identity, traditions and ancient customs.

The policies that are various in forms but similar in essence and that are practised by the reactionary regimes that occupy Kurdistan, aiming to dissolve the Kurdish people and assimilate them into their own people and the will of the colonialists that their economic interests demand that Kurdistan remains torn and divided. Such policies were always and shall stay clashing with the will and desire of our Kurdish people who want to live in their homeland freely and independently, and get their homeland back to its natural state of unity in order to enjoy the riches of their own country. Our Kurdish people made their desire clear by several uprisings and bloody revolutions to expel the occupiers, but the reactionary governments supported by international

colonialism had suppressed those revolutions in a cruel and barbaric manner and defeated them one after another...

Despite the extraordinary situation that our Kurdish people are finding themselves in and the division of their homeland Kurdistan, and the failure of all their past revolutions that costed them hundreds of thousands of heroic Kurdish victims, and despite the collaboration of the reactionary rulers with international colonialism against the Kurdish cause our great people did not resort to despair, but continue their struggle for the liberation and unification of Kurdistan under the banners of several Kurdistan revolutionary parties. The prisons of Iran, Turkey, Iraq and Syria are witnesses to such increasing struggle, were hundreds of the best activists of the Kurdish people are laying in those prisons and detention centres and many others have been displaced without paying attention to the cruel sentences of their formal courts and inhumane treatment in prisons and detention centres to bring this great people to submission and put out the fire of its liberation movement...

Our Party appreciates the cultural activities of your association to show the literary traditions and the folk art of our Kurdish nation through acting, poetry, songs and dance to prove that our people are keen to stay on their traditions and customs despite the stupid policy of national oppression by the occupiers of Kurdistan. The activities of the association for the cause of Kurds and Kurdistan are reflecting the true face of our patriotic cause and heroic struggle of our people. Your associations efforts to uncover the barbaric and inhumane crimes of the rulers of those countries that occupy parts of Kurdistan, and informing the world wide international community about what is happening in our homeland has a good effect on the hearts of our people.

For better and more effective results our party thinks that you should arrange continuous contacts with the parties in Kurdistan to exchange views and information to unite efforts and planning and participate more effectively in increasing the political and nationalist awareness of the Kurdish people.

Our party (Democratic Party of Kurdistan - Syria) is totally ready for any support that may empower and progress the association and sends your conference struggle greetings wishing you all the success for our homeland and people. Let us all chant for the liberty and independence of Kurdistan and long live your conference to serve the Kurdish nation.

From the political bureau of Democratic Party of Kurdistan - Syria

Seal

20/7/1961 on 20/7/2573 K.

Signature

Seventh document:

These are quotes from a press interview by (Esmat Sharif Wanly) president of the Kurdish Students Association in Europe to the Greek journalist (Vanjilis Skatos) consisting of 14 questions written in French and answered in writing in the same

language in April 1959, which was first translated into Greek and published in a 32 page booklet in June 1959. The subject is (Kurdistan and the Kurdish cause).

Question seven:

What is the stance of each of those five countries regarding the Kurdish community?
What is the situation of each one's government in relation to the Kurds?

Answer seven:

In Iran the government is using a policy towards the Kurds hardly less violent or less hostile from that of Ankara government but with various characteristics. Tehran for instance recognises the existence of the Kurds and even one of its provinces is called Kurdistan. Obviously this administrative province is nothing but a part of Kurdistan as the government had made a lot of administrative changes in Kurdistan. However, as it is the case in Turkey the Kurds of Iran are not enjoying any national rights and their language is not recognised except for propaganda purposes, and there is no school for teaching Kurdish language. After the fall of the democratic Kurdish republic of Mahabad the Iranian army looted the Kurdish print house and burned its books on the street in the small capital along with the Kurdish school books published by the republic for its school children. The Iranian radio in some Kurdish towns such as Kermanshah, Sina and others broadcast few hours daily in Kurdish, unfortunately these broadcasts are only used for propaganda against the Iraqi republic and against the interests of the Kurdish people. The Iranian Kurdistan is a rich country but the majority of its people live in destitute. Since the Iraqi revolution of July 1958, the Tehran government started giving more nice promises to the Kurdish people, especially regarding journalism and using Kurdish language in schools, but they are nothing but promises. The reality is different as Kurdistan is subjected to military surveillance, the living costs and prices are high, there is no place for freedom of speech, the representatives of the Kurdish areas are forced upon them by army generals, the administrators and gendarmes are the most corrupted people of all the East and may be the most cruel to the civilians either. The British and Iraqi governments promised the Iraqi Kurds an autonomy at the end of World War I, but that never happened and that is why those revolutions that we mentioned earlier took place. Iraq is required by the treaties of the League of Nations to regard the Kurdish as an official language especially for education in the areas that majority of population are Kurds. However, the successive Iraqi monarchy governments had not executed these international requirements except in a defected way or non at all. We can see that there is no autonomy and teachers are appointed from Arabs as well as Kurds despite the language barrier. In the field of education the only area with Kurdish schools is Sulaymaniah, which are only primary schools with half of the lessons in Arabic language. As for the journalism, there are only three or four Kurdish literary magazines and there is no licence for a daily Kurdish political newspaper, so the Iraqi monarchy government is the same as the Turkish and the Iranian; an enemy of the Kurdish people and their patriotic movement.

In Syria where Kurds are fewer in numbers they enjoy a little freedom such as the ability to publish a book in Kurdish and in Latin script. The government does not officially recognise any rights except by putting them into the context of culture. In Soviet Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan the Kurds are living very well although there numbers is very low. They have their national rights and there have been one

thousand and five hundred books published in Kurdish language during the past thirty years. The region Akuz in Soviet Armenia is a (Kurdish national region). The Kurdish books and newspapers in the Soviet republics were published at first in Latin script then the Slavic, which unfortunately could not be understood by the Kurds outside the Soviet Union. Thus because of the difficult political conditions the Kurdish people have not yet managed to unify their written script. In Syria they use the Latin script, in the Soviet Union the Slavic, in Iraq and Iran the Arabic script, but in Turkey the situation is the worst as it is forbidden to have any publication in Kurdish language. That is why this problem is one of the most important ones that remain without a solution. The revolution of July 1958 in Iraq resulted in important changes in the attitude of the Kurds not only in Iraq but also in Syria, but we shall talk about this in the answer to question eleven.

Question 8

Where there many Kurdish victims during their revolutions?

Answer 8

The Kurds in Iran did not have many victims during their revolutions, but unfortunately in Turkey the Kurdish casualties were enormous. This was because of the widespread revolutions and especially because of the methods of oppression practised and the arrangements of displacement and expulsion used by the Ankara government. Some of the Kurdish areas of strategic importance were announced as (forbidden zones), where the population was ordered to free the area for health, social and economic reasons according to (the general law of 1935). However, the Kurdish people raised arms against all these arrangements, but the Turkish government managed to expel the population in some areas such as the forests of Sasoon Mountain. The Kurds in Turkey had many casualties in the past during the World War I. This was according to a (prepared plan) by the Toranian high ranked officers. It is difficult to estimate the Kurdish casualties between 1925 and 1939 from those slaughtered or displaced. The number of half a million would not be an exaggeration because the Turkish government is taking the side of deep silence regarding those events.

The thing that we really notice today after twenty years from the last Kurdish revolution in Turkey is that the population of the Kurds is increasing as the Kurdish people's rate of birth is high, and some of the expelled came back to their birthplaces. This was also done by the Turkish Sultans to the poor Armenian people and the Turkish Republic tried to do the same to the Kurdish people, but they had to change their plans because they found it a difficult mission for the enormity of the numbers and resistance to the army. In addition the start of the World War II and other international developments stopped them. Nevertheless it is pity that Turkey managed to pull the Kurdish culture backwards inside its borders. It is enough to compare the situation of the Kurds inside Turkey to those in Iraq to see that in Iraq they have dozens of Kurdish cultural newspapers and magazines as well as associations and well known patriotic organisations, and recognised political parties, thousands of educated youth and hundreds of university graduates. Nothing like that is available in Turkey, which may be frightening, but the thing that Turkey could not defeat is the love of the people for Kurdistan and their dignity and faith in the future of their cause for their homeland of the Kurds.

Question 9

What are the aims of the Kurdish liberation movement today and who are those considered to be their allies?

Answer 9

The Kurdish liberation movement is aiming to liberate this patriotic people. So, the Kurdish movement must first cooperate with the democratic movements of the other peoples, especially the neighbouring peoples to decide on all political, social and economic conditions for the Kurdish people itself to practise its rights without any one to follow as the right of self determination.

The Kurdish people will never give up its right which a clear one and knows it will get it and looking forward to it. The Kurdish liberation movement regards the present borders that divide the Kurdish nation as artificial borders forced upon them by colonialists (the international colonialism and its servant the small eastern colonialism). Thousands of Turkish and Iraqi bourgeoisie rulers are bound to disappear from existence.

The allies and friends of the Kurdish people in their struggle for national and democratic liberation are of course all the men and peoples who struggle for the same aims. All men and peoples who are deprived of liberty, democracy and peace who decide to destroy the common enemy that is colonialism and we are sure that the Greek people is among our main friends.

Question 10

During the conference against colonialism in the Mediterranean and Middle East in November 1955, the Kurdish delegation were hostile to the Arab representatives - Why?

Answer 10

In fact some of the Arab representatives unfortunately were induced by the Syrian delegation to take a hostile stance against the Kurdish delegation. This is very unfortunate and such a stance is a result of a false view and not enough to democracy. A true democrat cannot deny the others the same rights he wants for himself. It is good that there are a lot of democratic Arabs both in Syrian and other nearby countries that call themselves democrats but in reality they are not. We must distinguish between peoples and their representatives who are not always able to represent. It is worth to mention also that some faraway Arabic peoples do not know or ignore the Kurdish cause so it is easy to make mistakes.

Question 11

To what degree at the moment are the relations between the Arabic nationalism and the Kurdish liberation movement? Are they equal side by side or get in each others way?

Answer 11

The interests of all peoples are equal and do not get in each others way at all, especially the demands of those peoples against the colonialism. The Arabs and the Kurds have a common enemy that is colonialism. In addition they are two neighbouring peoples and nations. They have mutual interests but the Arab world is huge and various and has problems different in each part. It depends on the areas and social structure. For instance there are some Arab groups that do not understand the advantages of unity or Kurdish-Arabic friendship, but others do. The first are representatives of extreme fundamentalist Arab nationalism that reminds us of Turkish nationalism, while the others represent the real democratic Arab nationalism that is clever and realistic. The first kind of this Arab nationalism is may be called Baathism in relation to the nationalist Arab party that is connected with Baath. Since 1959 this violent and fundamentalist nationalism showed itself to be against the Kurdish movement and the Kurdish people in the north of Syria. The Arabs of Iraq are the representatives of the more moderate democratic nationalism following General Qasim and the political parties in that country. That country is a mixture of Kurds and Arabs and situated on the forefront of the struggle against colonialism. It is obvious that the Kurdish liberation movement is improving steadily and have total understanding with the democratic nationalism of the Iraqi Arabs and the evidence for that is the friendship that is the base of the new republic. This friendship is reflected in the temporary Iraqi constitution that considers Arabs and the Kurds as partners in that country with complete national rights. However, not everything goes according to plan and there remains a lot to be done in order to satisfy the needs of the Kurdish people that have been neglected for years during the black monarchy days in Iraq. We have to remember that popular democratic republican revolution in Iraq has a short history of only few months and had no time yet to achieve everything. Nevertheless the achievement's regarding the planning for Iraq generally and for the Kurds in particular is worth mentioning. The Kurdish - Arabic friendship in Iraq is a democratic one and should have good results not only for the Kurds, but for the Arabs of that country and all the Arabs and Kurds, and even all the peoples in the Middle East, as well as to democracy.

The things in Syria regarding the Kurdish - Arabic relations are unfortunately the exact opposite. Recently all the Kurdish officers of the Syrian army within the United Arab Republic have been dismissed and a great number of the Kurdish teachers and lecturers forced to retire by closing the (Arabic) schools in the Kurdish areas. The prisons are full of Kurdish youth who are at the age of under ten years. Such a thing is not in the interest of the Kurds and neither those of the Arabs, but only the colonialists and their agents would have advantage from such unfortunate situation.

We are sure that the Kurdish - Arabic relation would stay alright and productive in Iraq, and they will improve in Syria because this is in the interest of the Arabs and the Kurds until the achievement of total national liberation for both sides.

Question 12

It was published in Greek newspapers that those countries with Kurdish residents like to cooperate and unite their efforts to avoid any common Kurdish revolution, how true is this?

Answer 12

This is generally true but we have to explain it. In the official circles of Ankara and Tehran the Kurdish cause is hardly mentioned openly and if mentioned it is only to belittle its importance. It is generally the norm that they deny the existence of a Kurdish cause and they surround it with complete and irritating silence.

The military bourgeoisie that rules the country spreads propaganda in the areas populated by the Kurdish people. They use a lot of lies and exaggerations without any basis because actually they are afraid of the Kurdish people. The Kurdish cause that they avoid to mention publicly is in reality on their minds continuously because of their constant fear of this mythical beast as they are backward governments who try to cooperate on such policy. It is only natural then that these countries i.e. Turkey, Iran and Iraq were up until July 1958 did their best collectively to destroy the Kurdish movement.

There is not enough space to give detailed examples and negotiations (very secret) between these concerned governments. We just mention that in 1930 there was an agreement between Turkey and Iraq to suppress the Kurdish revolutions, in 1934 and lastly in 1937 Iran, Iraq and Turkey signed the (Saad Abad) Treaty, which is clearly designed against the Kurdish national liberation movement.

Question 13

Can you tell us the desires of the social and political liberation movement if successful?

Answer 13

As far as the desires are concerned the success of the national liberation movement means freedom for the Kurds. The Kurdish people would be able to practise its of self determination. Such a right is there and it remains forever because it is not bound by any time limitations. However, the Kurdish people is not able to practise that right at the moment because of the current circumstances and the resistance of the states that occupy Kurdistan.

The success of the Kurdish liberation movement is also a success for democracy and the struggle against colonialism in the Middle East.

On these basis we can say that the Kurdish people has the right of political self determination. As for what happens after that we do not prefer that, but the political borders that dividing the Kurds as we mentioned earlier are threatening to annihilate the Kurds from existence. So, an independent and united state of Kurdistan should be established or as a federal state that then decides to unify with other neighbouring states that are occupying the Kurdish country right now, but of course on the basis of equality, if the social, economical and political interests of the concerned peoples requires that. It looks like possible that after the success of the Kurdish national liberation movement federal states established in Iraq, Iran, Turkey and also Syria first they do this and then unite in a democratic way. For example in Iraq there could be a federal state with two united governments, one Kurdish and the other Arab, and a central government as in the other federal states.

For those countries with few or many ethnicities such as Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Syria the federal solution is the most just and appropriate. It is clear that if the different parts of Kurdistan manage to do that they can also unite themselves as well. The real democrats in the neighbouring people cannot refuse the Kurdish people if they want a federal union with the Arabs in Iraq or the Iranians in Iran and the Turks in Turkey. It is impossible to get into the details of these things without making mistakes. There is only one thing certain and we do not want to repeat it again. That is the Kurdish homeland and Kurdistan are one and the political borders that divide it are artificial, created and forced by the international and eastern colonialism. The Kurdish people knows how to practise their right of self determination whenever the time comes and that is in the interest of democracy and peace and especially for the friendship with the neighbouring peoples. The economic and social needs are great and Kurdistan is a rich country with oil, minerals of all sorts, forests, waters and electricity generating as well. At the moment it is only oil that is been invested in, but for the benefit of the foreign companies and not the Kurdish people. In Iraq with its new republican rule we are sure that the Kurds would get more of the oil's income than it did in the past as most of it is dug out from the Kurdish areas.

After the success of the national liberation movement there will be investments in minerals and agriculture, and all other resources for the happiness and prosperity of the Kurdish people and all neighbouring peoples.

The total liberation of the Kurdish people in all parts of Kurdistan is one of the conditions of the success for democracy in order to abolish colonialism in the Middle East as without democracy the Kurdish national liberation cannot be achieved. The opposite is also true as long as the Kurdish cause is not resolved and Kurdistan is not liberated and united the colonialism would stay in the Middle East and democracy cannot be achieved. This last view to the problem has not been understood by the non Kurdish democrats in the Middle East, but the Kurdish democrats are sure that their friends who are not Kurds will improve their views as the events develop and will understand the importance and justness of the Kurdish cause from all its sides for the sake of democracy in the countries of the Middle East that share the country of Kurdistan between them.

In my view these two views are independent and the Kurdish movement depends a lot on such friends as the Greek democrats and in order to enhance the historical relations between our two ancient and friendly peoples, Greek and Kurdish.

CHAPTER FOUR

The political parties in Al-Jazeera Province (21)

God, how many foreigners are their who hate my nation. When they fail in their devilish and treacherous huge plans and their sins and shame are uncovered they hid in the darkness far from sights of faithful eyes to act like rabid dogs eating off any parts of this homeland. This part of our large homeland is still between their teeth of treachery and backstabbing. The faithful souls are crying out (it is time for those rabid dogs to die).

Away from the eyes of the world and those of the faithful of this nation herds of foreigners came in waves into that area, supported by the colonialists at times and driven by greed at other times to sneak into this dear area as an alien body in our Arabic nation, until we got this strange mix of races, that creates a suitable atmosphere for regionalist parties hostile to the Arab nationalism. In this kind of space are the fatale germs attacking the body of this nation, hiding behind covers but sometimes show their conniving bloodless faces. Yes, we have to take a look at the political parties, if we can call them that, who are against the Arab nation in this region. At the first glance we see two types of parties, the first one is living and breathing for that aim and use all their live activities in that struggle. We can add to these what we called the old classical parties. Then there is a fourth type we called followers of the new mercenary parties. As for the regionalist parties hostile to the Arab nation, they are two types too: 1- Atheist ideological parties 2- Religious regionalist parties.

Let us start with the two types of regionalist parties.

1- The regionalist parties hostile to the Arab nation:

We mentioned that there are two types of them. First the atheist ideological parties and the second religious parties. Let us start with the first type of parties:

1- Atheist ideological parties

There are two large parties in this category that together form the destructive dagger of regionalism, they are: the Democratic Kurdish Party (the Party) and the well known Communist Party. We have to discuss here the Democratic Kurdish Party in some detail because it is today for the Kurds is the most popular and dangerous although we cannot put them apart as the two parties are in peaceful coexistence and cooperation if we may say so. Any light on the Party would be the same on the Communist Party as we see similarities everywhere even with their kind of members.

a- The Democratic Kurdish Party (the Party)

This is the official name of the party as it is stated in the first article of the party program as it says: "the name of the party is the Kurdistan Democratic Party". The second article of the program gives the description of the party as follows: "Our party is a democratic pioneer party representing the interests of Kurdish workers, peasants, traders, craftsmen and intellectuals in Iraq. Before we get into the essence of this party we have to take a quick glance on the evolution of the Kurdish movement.

It is known to us that in 1923 a Kurdish association called (Khoibun) was established, which means in translation "one who controls his destiny" meaning independence. The headquarters of the association was in Beirut then Damascus with its leaders: Kameran and Jaladat sons of Baderkhan Pasha, one of whom was married to Rawshan Khanem who was living in Damascus in the Kurdish Quarter, and played a huge part in this association. In 1932 the association published a newspaper called (Hawar) in Kurdish, meaning (SOS) in Beirut, which was distributed in all the Kurdish areas in Syria and Iraq.

In 1937 the French Intelligence also established for them a radio station in Beirut broadcasting nationalist appeals and enthusiastic anthems. The station lasted until the end of 1941 with its senior broadcasters Kameran and Jaladat, and other Kurdish youth. A club also was established for them in 1938-1939 in Amuda in Al-Jazeera. The president of the club was Muhammad Ali Shekhus Khalaf Al-Shwesh and its well known members were Aziz Dari, Saleh Hasso, Mella Shekhus whose pseudonym was (Jigarkhwen) and many others. This club became a new base for the Kurdish nationalism and after which there were successive associations in Al-Jazeera for all the Kurds. They were involved in the recreation of Kurdish traditions, poetry, language and nationalism as if it was a preface for the idea of Kurdish nationalism at the time until in 1946 and exactly in the Soviet Union the Kurdish Democratic Party was established with its leader Mella Mustafa Barzani after he took refuge in the Soviet Union, where he stayed for a long time with help and knowledge of the Soviet Communist Party. Then the latter came back to his quarters in Iraq carrying those ideas and aims enhanced by the scientific organisation of the party following the Communist Party. He then invited Kurds of Iraq, Syria, Turkey and Iran to recruit in the party. There is documentary evidence regarding contacts between this party and Kurds of Syria as it has branches and spreads among the Kurds of Al-Jazeera. All the Kurdish movement and its pioneers have dissolved into this party and since then a perfect organisation of the party has started and it began to publish magazines, publications, leaflets, announcements and others. This party depends on educated Kurdish youth.

Quotes from the program of the Party and its internal charter:

The fifth article of the Party program states:

To attempt to enhance the brotherly relations between all the ethnicities of Iraqi people such as Arabs, Kurds, Turkmen, Assyrians, Armenians and all other ethnicities in Iraq...etc.

Article 11 states: Bearing in mind that the Kurds and other citizens have no enough agricultural lands in the areas, it is necessary to develop new lands...etc.

Paragraph B of Article 19 states: To attempt the revival of the Kurdish literature, history and art in general...etc. The Paragraph C of the same Article states: To carry out the regulations of the General Administration of Education to study in Kurdish language generally and develop it into a more complete institution to serve the Kurdish culture all over Iraq.

The Paragraph H of the same Article states: 1- Appoint a chair in the Baghdad University to study the Kurdish language and history and attempt to teach the Kurdish

language in all parts of Iraq. Establish a Kurdish language academy and increase the role of Kurdish language on radio stations...etc.

Article 20 states: To attempt to fix Article 19 of temporary constitution in the constant constitution and apply it for the Kurdish political refugees...etc.

Article 21 states: To attempt to help our Kurdish brothers wherever they are in their struggle for more freedom and national rights...etc.

The Article three of the internal charter of the party states: A member should have the following conditions:

1- Read the program and internal charter and work according to them.

2- Work in one of the party cells.

3- To pay his membership fee with no less than the following ratios:

Any member or candidate with monthly income up to 10 Dinars 1%

Any member or candidate with monthly income 10-25 Dinars 3%

Any member or candidate with monthly income 25-40 Dinars 4%

Any member or candidate with monthly income 40-100 Dinars 5%

Any member or candidate with monthly income 60-100 Dinars 6%

If the income of a member exceeds one hundred Dinars a 1 percent would be added to that ratio for every 25 Dinars.

The Article nine of the third part of the internal charter states: The structure of the party from base to top consists of member of a cell, organising committee, local committee, regional committee, central committee, conference and congress. The branches of the Party are one branch in every province. The paragraph two of part B of Article 14 of the internal charter states: Election of a committee leader and two deputies for duties of administration, organisation and commanding the local committee. At least one of the members of the local committee should be a party professional.

Paragraph 10 of the same Article states: Education and preparation of party personnel and increasing their awareness and theoretical and political knowledge, and training the members and the masses on revolutionary struggle as part of their main duties.

We brought these very hasty and quick quotes from the program and internal charter of the Party only to find out how clear it is the regionalism of this party towards the Arab nationalism and how close it is to the Communist Party, in a way that it is regarded as a branch of the International Communist Party, and its future as its founders dream is to become the national communist party of a Kurdistan state..

It is clear from the above that it is a scientifically well organised party on the best and most modern basis of parties. It is also clear that the party is an atheistic one as there

is no mention whatsoever of religion as the Kurds are Muslims. This proves to us how false is the legend of religion being a connecting tie between Arabs and Kurds. Now even the religious figures of the Kurds use the religion as a cover while they are in reality Party members and Kurdistan communists, using religious meetings as party cells and organisations.

It is also clear is the centre of the party is the Iraqi region and from it spreads into other regions and countries. Choosing Iraqi region as the headquarters of the party and its central committee is in itself a dirty conspiracy against the Arab nation as they are less in numbers in Iran and Turkey so why is that? Why did not they choose their headquarter in Iran or Turkey? Isn't that a clear and prepared plan with their colonialist bosses despite differences. This can mean only one thing, that is they are all united in views against the Arabs in order to distract them from their essential and important causes and this is not only the colonialists, but also the neighbouring countries such as Iran and Turkey that send floods of Kurds into Syria and Iraq mainly from Turkey and Iran as part of a drawn plan by them first of all to get rid of them in their own countries and to occupy the Arabs with them secondly because this suits them very well.

Today the Party is the first and only organiser in Al-Jazeera for the Kurds in general and the Kurds of Al-Jazeera especially. As it is the party of Kurdish nationalism that since its establishment it became the most active and effective in Al-Jazeera, so the Kurds have left all the regional connections behind and dissolved into this party. It looks like even a small Kurdish family in their home is nothing but a cell or organising unit for the Party. This is still going on and progress because of their financial and morale capabilities.

And the ratio of their fulltime cadres as we noticed in regards of the smallest unit or group. It continues to spread Kurdish nationalist awareness by all means. Sometimes it publishes printed publications and other times handwritten publications although that has been stopped now in this period of time, but this does not mean it is finished or weak because in such periods as now it uses tactical plans by resorting to Kurdish cultural and awareness activities without any clear political activity. Its plans in such period are but periods of reorganisation and preparation of the party for emergencies.. Like all ideological parties at times of underground work. As for the financial powers it is first of all because of the monies fed to it by the colonialists and the financial sacrifices of its members and supporters not only in Syria and Iraq, but Turkey and Iran also in addition to the financial services provided to it by the Tuda communist party in Iran.

Zakat is also one of the financial sources provided by Kurds in general for this party. The Islamic Zakat that is collected from the Kurds of Al-Jazeera is constant source and logistic support for this party.

We are not exaggerating if we say that the Islamic Sheiks themselves very humbly present this (Zakat) to the party officials viewing this as a sacred duty as this party is the party of the imaginary Kurdistan state and its budget is the financial budget of the country. Think whatever you want of explanations.

As we mentioned that the financial situation of the Kurds of Al-Jazeera is good so they have all the readiness to present their support to this party that represents their

hope and dreams of the golden future.

Yes, because of the old age of this party, its organisation and education of its members it would be very difficult to destroy it completely except by constant and permanent displacement and forcing house arrests elsewhere outside the area.

This is in short the ideological Party that works for the Kurdish cause. It and the Communist Party are similar in depending on the new educated generation, current organisation and party members, and ideological fanaticism. We think it would be rather difficult to get rid of this party without getting rid of the Kurds in the whole area somehow or another. As their blood, livelihood and time is in its favour as well as how the circumstances and mind of this Kurdish community if it stays like that in the north of Al-Jazeera and Iraq.

b- The Communist Party

The Communist Party, as it is well known, is the oldest ideological regionalist parties in the region. We also know from the plans of this party that it knows how to choose environments and atmospheres suitable for spreading its ideas. The northern part of Al-Jazeera is an area of mixed population and hostile to the Arabic directions. That is why the Communist Party found a suitable atmosphere and a weak link in the Arabic world for the Arab nationalism. The history of this party goes back to the times when the party was established in Syria by the great regionalist (Khalid Bakdash) who is a Kurd. He depended on some Kurdish personalities to spread the ideas of the Communist Party in northern Al-Jazeera and those personalities are known to all.

This party started its work and it spread mainly among the Kurds, the ancient Assyrian Orthodox sects and the Armenians, and other sects in fewer numbers. This party reached its best in Al-Jazeera from 1954 to 1956 and then started to decline gradually but still not dead, as the causes became a mixture between the Communist Party and the Party. The thing that stands out in the behaviour of the Communist Party is that since the establishment of the Party which was created and his program and charter set by Moscow in 1946, the Communist Party concentrated all its efforts within the Party for the following reasons:

The idea of creating a national homeland is suited very well with the communist ideology in order to create more nations to the extent had they had the power they would turn every tribe into a different nation, because this method makes it easier to abolish all nations in the future with the notice of the degree of development and the historical frameworks of that nation in a given time and space. In that sense the Communist Party as a regionalist party and on the basis of its nationality supports the establishment of a national homeland and the rebirth of the Kurdish nation as it did before regarding its support for the establishment of an Israeli homeland in the Arabic Palestine and would not hesitate to establish any other nations or the leftovers of scattered nations. This method is tactically sound for two reasons, first: because it is the easiest way to abolish nations development wise due to the rule that says that anything that multiplies gets corrupted. Second: animosity towards the Arab nationalism and creating tools for its downfall from all sides. Third: this is in the interest of the Communist Party and creates suitable environment for it to work well or even excellently. Fourth: strategically, as the region that they intend to create a Kurdish homeland in is a strategic region regarding the Arabic east or even the eastern

gate if we may say so, and the Soviet policy is a return to the old Tsarian policy of reaching the hot waters, especially now that the circle of the western colonialism has been broken in the east.

Then fifth: the richness of the area with oil as it is the biggest reservoir of oil in the world and makes the mouth of any colonialist country drool and no need to explain it further.

Sixth: the possibility of replacing communist activities with the Party activities or more exactly to embrace the Party and revive it or putting all the efforts of the communists into the Party for the following reasons:

1- The idea of communism did not find popularity in the Arabic east so there is no harm in changing names and colours. It is for the communism like changing clothes in order to find more popularity and progress.

2- To guarantee that the Party remains communist because it was established in Russia and it remains the motherland for this party. And its ideology is pure communism. That is why you find a Kurd does not distinguish at all between the Communist Party and the Party on the basis that communism defends nations first of all and supports workers and peasants secondly.

We think that there is no need to go into more details regarding the Communist Party as it is well known as Mr Ali Al-Sa'di said about it (a taxi for rent) in the Arab homeland, in addition to all the above.

In short regarding the Communist Party in Al-Jazeera that it put all its efforts into the Party that the Communist Party knows that it will become a communist when the Kurdish homeland is created. And Kurdistan would become a communist country acting as a satellite of the Soviet Union.

You cannot know differentiate between the Party and the Communist in Al-Jazeera as the two words came to mean the same thing that is ancient regionalism ideologically organised.

The evidence for that is that the communists among the other non-Kurdish sects and ethnicities in Al-Jazeera are becoming rare and inactive as all the activity has been transferred into the Kurds.

c- The Syrian Nationalist Party

As it is the case for any regionalist party that looks for a place to grow in away from the Arabic originality it (this party) is a regionalist one i.e. separatist since its establishment according to its full of hatred leader. As this area is backwards regarding awareness of self identity and lack of education generally, especially historical education, this party lived for a while in Al-Jazeera spreading among sectarian minorities, especially the Catholics due to their old nostalgic feelings towards France the exporter of Catholicism to other peoples as well as claiming its protection since all times, so this sect is owing its loyalty to France.

Thus this party came about calling as it is well known for a Syrian nation and categorically denying the originality of this people in its Arabism. Then it spread and

lived in Al-Jazeera for a time by reviving minority identities working for their unity, that is the different Christian sects generally and Catholics in particular. The ideas of this party are non religious on the face of it but it completely depends in reality on the fanatical sectarian tendencies. That is why the involvement of this party was uncovered in the murder of the martyr Adnan Al-Maliki as this party was at the top of its work and activity in Al-Jazeera just before the martyrdom of Adnan Al-Maliki, but it stayed weak despite that. Thus after Al-Maliki it turned to bands of deviated criminals exploiting any opportunity for disturbances pushing aside the perverted principals of its leader Anton Sa'ada. As the party in Al-Jazeera and inside the country also recruited some groups of persons perverted in their ideas and morality so they spent their nights in bars and inns with their ideals the Cowboys or Texas bandits. This party has no significance nowadays in Al-Jazeera after the martyrdom of Adnan Al-Maliki, but they have no nationalist feelings and hate the Arab nationalism. The communists with their deceiving dirty tricks play games with them. As it is the case with all separatist regionalist tendencies, as they are now vanishing very quickly and we can certainly say that there is no such a part anymore in Al-Jazeera except for the small groups we mentioned who are mostly tools knowingly or unknowingly, especially that their morality has been deviated by the scandals in their party and their collaboration with the western colonialism. That is why they spend their energy and complex psyche in regionalist fields and environments as you can see them with the Kurds who do not know this party and do not recognise them as brothers and relatives when they are alone. So this party has no any importance or significance.

2- Religious parties:

We have decided to align these parties with the regionalists as they are indeed have regionalist tendencies that are dangerous to the Arab nationalism according to their past in this country and in Al-Jazeera especially due to the large number of minorities there. They are totally similar to the communism and the Party and I can say for certain that in comparison the Party has nationalist demands but these parties have no any nationalist demands as they are reactionary first and conspirators against the Arab nationalism second, and regionalist ideologically third. The most famous of these parties:

a- The Muslim Brotherhood Party:

It has a well known history inside and hostile to the nationalist awareness in the name of religion. This party is a regionalist in principals and this have been growing inside this good party in the name of religion which deformed the religion in Al-Jazeera by using dirty tricky methods. As they are brothers to the Turks on the northern borders and real brothers to the Kurds in their nationalist demands and Islamic rights, if one can say so, they sympathise with Barzani in the name of Islam as they sympathise with the Turks in the name of Islam, leaving aside the pure Arabic race in Al-Jazeera who do not need at all such guides in the name of religion. This party ignited for a while the fire of sectarian fanaticism as they are in constant activity against the Christianity in this region. They started to intimidate other religious sects in the name of religion and thus they are responsible for awakening all those sectarian and minority movements who were ready by nature to be awakened. There are many lost souls who deviate from the religion itself in the name of religion.

By inciting hatred, especially that the Christians in Al-Jazeera are in abundance they revived the ancient hostilities between Islam and Christianity depending on the ignorant population in that region where the educated people reject them. They use very deceiving methods as they know how to appeal only to those simple persons who are religious by nature to revive their sectarian and religious fanaticism. The activity of the Muslim Brotherhood reached its climax during the separation era as the Muslim Brotherhood participated in the government and they lived all the dirt and corruption of the separation era. As they are such they cannot live except in dirty regionalist environments. In that separation era they managed to sneak into the ministry of education and become teachers and lecturers then we suffered their evil and wickedness, and from their remains in Al-Jazeera during the separation era. After the eighth of March revolution they mixed with the multiethnic rebels at the beginning of the revolution under cover of Nasserism. Even one of their big scholars in Al-Jazeera while discussing the Barzani rebellious said as his master Abdunnasser said that there is no need for bloodshed of the Muslims as if Barzani and his junta Muslims or recognise what Islam is. This is the view of one of their renowned scholars and an educator of the new generation in Al-Jazeera. In this way they are certainly get together with the Party in the name of false religion. The Party members actually are much more clever than those as they know very well that Barzani is not a Muslim but they accept Islam because of their dirty material and weak psyche. Today they are in Al-Jazeera as the Syrian Nationalists tools for all separatist regionalist tendencies that wants to destroy Arab nationalism in addition to their relations in Al-Jazeera with the few remaining reactionary and exploiting powers that have some relations with the foreign intelligence services.

They are in a little bit more powerful condition that the Syrian Nationalists for now but we find them on all occasions the first who call for the destruction of Arab nationalism.

They have no clear activities nowadays except what is covered by religious meetings and ceremonies in the mosques and special homes such as celebrating the Prophet's birthday and singing religious chants. When you enter their meetings you find most of them from the Kurdish Party members of all nationalities who are a group of people full of hate and outlaws with principals far from people and religion. They talk about the soul, psyche and religion while in reality they are the furthest from religion.

On these basis we suggest not to provide such kind of people to Al-Jazeera because they are no less dangerous than Barzani, Bakdash and Anton Sa'ada by exploiting religion. It is worth to mention that there is no one Kurd even among the religious figures that actually a member of the Muslim Brotherhood, but they are always ready to use them in the interest of the Party and the Communist if possible. And there is always such a possibility with such an outlaw group that betrays the Arab nationalist objectives. There numbers from the population of Al-Jazeera itself are very few but many of them have been sent from the inside, especially as teachers, there should be awareness in this regard and great caution. They have no open activities now in Al-Jazeera except for the Prophet's birthday celebrations and religious ceremonies.

b- Islamic Liberation:

Al-Jazeera has not known this party except in recent times. It came with some

Islamic scholars and found some roots among half educated youth of Al-Jazeera. This party is similar to the Muslim Brotherhood in its deviation from the nationalist line, but its cover is not like that of the Muslim Brotherhood, although in reality it is a regionalist caller that does not believe in Arab nationalism. The followers of this party, thank God, are very few in Al-Jazeera counted by fingers and have no significance. A suspect relationship between this party and the Kurdish Party members has been proven and this is not surprising as they base their thinking on regionalist marionette and treacherous ideas and they and the Wahabees cannot be regarded as yet as a political movement but their danger is increasing if they are supplied with members from inside as it is for the other regionalists. We demand awareness and do not provide supplies to Al-Jazeera for this kind of new regionalism as we have enough of it already.

c- The Wahabees:

We could have not mentioned this group because they can be counted by one hand fingers and we do not know who did they arrived here. They are as new as the Islamic Liberation but have much less numbers than them with no significance whatsoever regarding politics or religion. It is noted that they sympathise with King Saud and his family so they may be his agents in Al-Jazeera came to put more oil on the fire. Al-Jazeera had enough of these kinds of agents, especially that this few mercenaries from some educated sons of some reactionary Arabic tribes who believe in the sacredness of kings such as even King Hussein Bin Talal himself despite his hostility towards the Wahabees.

The danger of this kind of few agents of the old Arab reactionists comes from their families and tribes in case in the future one the Sheik's sons with Wahabee tendencies becomes the chief of the tribe. As we know colonialism with its marionettes plans for a very far future and is not in a hurry to reap the rewards quickly. This kind of partisanship despite its religious cover is certain to be uncovered agents or on their way to become agents. They have no other danger apart from that angle and now as we mentioned they have no significance.

d- Jehovah's Witnesses

Jehovah is a Hebrew word meaning God or god of Israel. From this name we can smell Zionism in this party straight away. It is said that this group is as old as Christianity itself and the religious historians regard the date of their establishment to 70 A.C. or 70 years after the death of Christ and they call for their ideas in the name of Christ. They were from the Frisian class who were the educated class at the time and thus they have had influence throughout the history changing their covers according to the circumstances. This is an antireligious movement but on the outside their call is a religion and it is said that Masonic movement was from them in addition to other regionalist movements in the name of humanity as the sport Boy Scouts movement. It is also said that the ones who revived this group in present times were (Russel and Rutherford) who were Jews and their objective was to serve the international Zionism. This movement is hated by the classic religions and sects and fought against constantly. It is said that a branch of this group call the Sabbaticals is been established in Lebanon and have relations with the Jews, the Bible calls them sons of snakes because from outside they call for humanity but inside they are insurgents and destructive not only against nationalism but also humanity. This group

had recent activities in some countries, especially Lebanon within some Christian circles whose religious beliefs are weak.

We have not noticed any activity of such religious regionalist atheist parties in Al-Jazeera, but it is suspected that they have some roots in the town of Qamishli among the Jews and trying to expand into other sects but those are weary of them and fight them. It will be easy to discover them if they try any activity because most of other sects are against them. However, this group is very secretive and has to change colours like a chameleon. In Qamishli and the rest parts of Al-Jazeera they have no danger of any political significance whatsoever, limited to few immoral people in Al-Jazeera. It is not very doubtful that one of its callers is from the remains of the ancient Masons and did not come to existence with any force or weight because of its secrecy and extreme caution as they are calling for immorality and spreading regionalism and chaos. There is no doubt that they are finance by Zionist monies and it looks like one of their most important missions is to smuggle Jews from Al-Jazeera to Turkey.

The local classic parties:

We mean by local classic parties the leftovers of the old Syrian parties in Al-Jazeera such as the Patriotic Coalition, the Patriotic Party, People's Party and the Shishakly Liberation Movement as we can call it because it was established by Shishakly and left some roots in Al-Jazeera.

We do not have to mention each party by itself as they have been mainly abolished and we shall talk about them in general as the main coefficient between them is the interest and not ideology.

It is known that the establishment of these parties before and after the independence when the politicians in Syria were calling for the Arab nationalism then they retreated to stay as local parties and leaving behind the Arab nationalism using it as a cover for their interests.

The establishment of these parties was not appropriate and carried the factors of their end since their start. They have a separatist local and regional views until they were limited to some rich people and strayed politicians of this country.

The presence of these parties differ in Al-Jazeera from theirs inside for the abundance of mixed people as at the old times many influential Kurds in Al-Jazeera intentionally joined the Patriotic Party and the other parties in general. This was for two reasons: first to preserve their personal interests and the interests of their rich class and second which is more important to work for their Kurdish problem internally inside the ruling class as the rulers in the previous times were from those parties who were, regarding Al-Jazeera issues, completely obedient to the decision of the Kurds to isolate Al-Jazeera from inside and ignore it regarding health, science and education services to keep it in a backwards state to complete their Kurdish plan of migration and settlement from Turkey to Al-Jazeera and other Kurdish elements. We know this because we remember the services of Ali Boudho to the Kurds of Al-Jazeera, who was a member of the People's Party previously and a faithful and devoted member of the Kurdish (Khoibun) Association. We know also of the services of Muhsen Al-Barazi for the Kurds of Al-Jazeera by enabling their migration to it under the excuse

of Turkish pressure on them as the Turks were fed up with them and our arms ready to hug them.. (22)

This is a horrible and very horrible plan in which the old classic parties participated in the service of the Kurdish cause in Al-Jazeera, some of which is still unknown to us, but only the God knows how much more catastrophes and tragedies are planned for this (Arab) nation.

There are no more activities of these parties in Al-Jazeera and we can say that they have perished and no way back for them.

However, there are still some useless personal relationships with these parties inside. Now that all is uncovered regarding those who sneaked into these parties and showed their true regionalist face in Al-Jazeera, nothing remains of such parties their and they met their death after providing their excellent services to the Kurdish cause in general and the Kurds of Al-Jazeera in particular.

The new mercenary parties:

These parties came upon us after the separation, when the separatist government started to feed them negatively and positively. As Abdul Nasser left this country he left a group of agents and spies that he had educated in the union era according to his individualist nature of ruling. Also the masses were disappointed by the failure of the union which made it possible to relate to those masses and use their emotions and unionist sympathies for their treacherous purposes, and as Abdul Nasser had a good reputation among the general masses, the separatist logic did not know how to destroy this except with using swearing words and lewd speeches like Abdul Nasser's. This increased the popularity of Abdul Nasser among the general masses who wanted unity rather than Abdul Nasser, which made those agents and spies to look like semi heroes during the separation era.

We can say that those new parties that were established with the separation and stayed around after the 8 March revolution and centralised within one year and a half, have roots in most regions including Al-Jazeera. We are going to look at each one of these parties in Al-Jazeera province, if we can call them parties at all. As in reality there is one common secret word between all of them and that is (Nasser) as they are all Nasserists in general. In details they are agents, opportunists and regionalists with no regard for nationalist guards and there is no difference between them and any previous regionalist parties except that they are new and have no principals.

1- The Arab Nationalist:

A movement that historically goes back to the aftermath of the Palestine catastrophe and was established in the arms of the American University, required by the colonialism to be a non appropriate reaction to that catastrophe. It is by its nature and the nature of its birth a sedative injection for the Arab feelings towards colonialism. We do not have to go into the detailed history of this treacherous and deceptive movement.

It had no activities before as the Arab people uncovered its nature and was rotting until the separation era came along and the regionalism used it for its conspiracies and

became active among students circles as some of the teenagers and unconscious youth joined it for the Arab nationalist ideas and made some gains during the separation era. This gave illusions to its leaders that they have deep roots but it was only an illusion as if they became the saviours after the 8 March revolution of the Arab nationalism and the union.

However, the original movement due to its originality and by intuition new that they are nothing but a treacherous group acting in the name of the Arab nationalism. Yes as we said this movement spread among students in Al-Jazeera and it expanded in other areas as it gained popularity among the unaware youth that do not know the hidden things. Some of the students of Al-Hasaka province were driven into that treacherous movement because of ignorance and lack of awareness. Isn't it calling for Arab nationalism and revenge for Palestine as its main objectives? This in itself is enough for those newly growing youth to think that this is an original movement...

Alone they have few members but their mixing with other groups make their recognition difficult somewhat because they all talk in the name of Nasserism and shout in the name of unionism.

The activity of this group was paralysed when it lost its leaders at first because they are teachers and lecturers, but after the 18 July conspiracy some ignorant youth were cheated again. They have no activity at the moment. They are feeling isolated and some of them feeling ashamed because of the Abdul Nasser's behaviour towards Barzani. Most of its members are from Arab youth and there are no Kurds in this movement at all and neither anyone from any other sects or ethnicities.

Now they have no significance as all those deceived have left the party and no one has remained except those agents that love Abdul Nasser's money.

2- The Unionist Socialists:

It looks like this group's numbers in Al-Jazeera more than the others as they have a special organisation publishing several special party publications. Their basic idea in Al-Jazeera that they discuss and believe in socialism without liberty and they have some followers and supporters. Their main popularity is also among the students and working class people who love Abdul Nasser and think of him as messiah. The members of this party as the others are connected with name Abdul Nasser but they have a little bit more awareness and ideology. They are a new party and their danger lays in that majority of them were members in the Baath Party and know the principals of party organisation but they have been used by some sides that hate the Arab Baath Party. Regionalists not by ignorance but hatred. It looks like they have some financial support internally and foreign.

They were paralysed after the 18 July rebellion but as a freezing condition not perished.

I think they will live more than other mercenary parties as they have more accurate organisation and false ideological imagination. They have elements of half educated youth that have been cheated as we know that they don't gain anything as agents and these are the most enthusiastic to the idea and working for it. We hope that the time will prove their mistakes and they will come back to the right path.

3- The United Front

This group had its golden age in Al-Jazeera but it was soon extinguished forever as most of its enthusiastic leaders left it. These are a group of opportunists in Al-Jazeera and people with personal interest regarding new politics as profession. They love Abdul Nasser because they hope to improve their situation and social and tribal positions. They are completely ready to take and pay because they are the type of people that need "refuelling". They are isolated publicly and the Front has no members among the youth of Al-Jazeera except for those that by nature like to be paid. Their activities are proportional to the amount they get paid and this matter had become known publicly as when they notice any activity from one of them they would say: he must have received a "fighting portion". They managed to buy many of the poor classes before 18 July and some times it was like an auction; for instance if someone shouts the word (Nasser) during an occasion he would be paid a certain amount of money. However, after 18 July these people were weakened and like any mercenaries they went back to their jobs, changing their colours unashamedly. They depend on their social positions as they have among them tribal chiefs, solicitors, doctors and others. We mentioned that they have no deep roots, they came quickly and went away quickly. In their ideology they were like the classic parties that we mentioned before as the majority came from those parties, but just before 18 July they were more violent because of their sweet dreams about a new Abdul Nasser era and sound of gold.

The most clever of them was who got paid then shouted.

4- The Socialist Direction:

This party is also similar to the previous ones but fortunately very rare in Al-Jazeera. It has not shown activity except with few individuals exactly as the Wahabees in that they are only agents who do not have as a party anything but name. It would have been better had they changed their name officially to agents as it is in reality a synonym for being agents of Abdul Nasser. They are cowards with no significance and have no present activities except what all Nasserists do.

Those were the new mercenary parties in Al-Jazeera that lived until 18 July and then extinguished and went into some state of eternal hibernation when they wake up for a while whenever they hear any regionalist sounds then they yawn a little thinking about their interests and mercenary acts to play their dirty collaborative role in recruiting and secret missions as well as igniting any kind of racist, sectarian and other troubles.

They are represented by Ahmad Sa'eed of Saut Al-Arab (radio) as a speaker on their behalf and finish there as if by hearing his words they have done a favour to Abdul Nasser, which is the least they can do. Nowadays they are not exceeding this as a party work except by being paid to fight but today Abdul Nasser is not in a position to do that as he depends on himself as long as struggle for the Arab nationalism for him is just shouting and swearing as simple as that.

He himself now has replaced them without spending any more as he has bankrupted because of them and similar agent elements. This is the false messiah that religious legends talked about and they are the deceived followers for yellow gold and today in

Al-Jazeera they are limited to listening to his crazy trumpets full of deep hatred for the Arab nation as he is nothing but an Extraordinary Representative with a mission to suppress the real original movement in the Arab homeland that is only the Socialist Arab Baath movement that times have proved to be the one worthy of leading this nation to the peaceful shores and there is no rebirth of this nation without Baath.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Arab Tribal Situation

1- Places of concentration of Arabic tribes:

We have decided earlier that the northern area of Al-Jazeera has been populated with the Kurds according to an old colonialist plan. Thus we understand that the place of residence of the Arab tribes is the southern areas of Al-Jazeera province. In broad lines the Arabic tribes are concentrated as follows; Shummar in the east, Al-Jubur in the middle and Al-Bikara in the west. The other tribes are spread in between, such as Tai, Al-Sharabin, Al-Harb and other small Arab tribes. Yes, they are distributed according to the rain map in Syria in the southern areas with the ration of rain between 100-250 mm. Thus the areas of the Arab tribes are not fertile except around Khabour and Saqi and these are few that are relatively fertile except for the villages of Deham Al-Hadi and some villages of Tai.

The financial situation of these tribes is not good generally except for their Sheiks and the ratio of the educated among them does not exceed in general 3%. The majority of them have not yet settled in the land to get used to it except for Al-Jubur tribe who are a little more experienced in agriculture, especially those whose lands depend on Khabour for irrigation, but these are not of large numbers in the area. As for the other tribes, they are between being nomads and civilised, so they are in the middle we cannot say they are completely civilised and settled nor can we say they are nomads. In addition some of them such as Shummar and some of Al-Bikara are in constant movement to find pastures for their animals.

This is a quick guide regarding the situation of the Arab tribes in Al-Jazeera. Generally all those tribes go back to ancient Arab origins and still carrying the original ancient Arabic traditions. They are as group guaranteeing the Arabism of this area because they live it and breath it though in the crude spontaneous form lacking science and improvement for their financial situation.

Now we are study each tribe in detail and broad lines.

2- Counting the Arab tribes in Al-Jazeera

Shummar tribe

This tribe had arrived from Al-Hijaz -Najid area - from Shummar mountain more than 300 years ago and settled in the area from Baghdad to Al-Raqqa. This tribe is divided into two main parts who are “Al-Kharssa Shummars” and “Al-Zoor Shummars”.

1- Al-Kharssa Shummars: this part of the tribe is concentrated in the area of (Tel

Kuchak) and succeeded for a degree in developing agricultural work. It is on its way to leave the nomad life towards settlement. This part of the tribe are Muslims.

In the past it has some privileges as it was administered according to the order no. 132, by the deputy administrator of the tribes. The decisions are taken according to the traditions by the Sheiks. These privileges lasted until very recently when they were cancelled forever by abolishing the tribal law as all those tribes were regarded as civilised.

This tribe has a great role in working for the Arab nationalism they are the supporters and in the heart of the Arabic cause. The two branches of Shummar tribe have close relatives in Iraq and the neighbouring areas which increases their importance among the Arab tribes in Al-Jazeera. They lack education greatly in order to spread nationalist awareness and thus get rid of the remains of tribal thinking among themselves. They also lack a complete attention from the state and officials because it's the main provider for the nationalist causes because of its position as it is neighbouring the Kurds from the north, both in Syria and Iraq.

The Sheik of this branch of the tribe is Deham Al-Hadi who is an old and clever Sheik but personal ambitions have forced him to do a sort of exploitation for his own interest. He is decisive and powerful and still controls the tribe completely and his power may even extend to the tribe in Iraq. He has previous stances against colonialism. He is nationalistically clean and guaranteed although he feels today a little bit disappointment because of the Agricultural Reform Law. He expresses his feelings by saying that he wants nothing but security and in a private meeting he said that he prefers to kill his children rather than see them begging. He has dignity and there are rumours about him in Al-Jazeera for being stingy. He does not drink alcohol but smokes. His private life is ordinary and natural. He resides most of the days in the village of Tel Alu, especially during the seasons.

2- Shummar Al-Zoor: the second branch of Shummar tribe. This branch has settled in Tel Hedlul with the area of 47000 acres. It is said that Mr Shukri Al-Quatli was the one who gave them those lands. This branch of the tribe is regarded as financially poor as the lands they live on are none fertile. The tribe exhausted the land after failing to produce any results in agriculture then the land became unsuitable as pasture as well. The Shummar Al-Zoor's spirit is high nonetheless in their nationalist tendencies and they are first class fighters. They also believe in Islam.

The Shummar Al-Zoor have old conflicts with Shummar Al-Kharssa but today they are united against the nationalist danger in Al-Jazeera and the only thing left from old conflicts is the struggle between old and new, as the Sheik of Shummar Al-Zoor is Ajeel Abdulkarim who is educated to a degree and wants to follow the progressive current but Sheik Deham Al-Hadi disagrees with him.

In addition there is some conflict to command the tribe as a whole. So, the essence of the conflict between the two branches is nothing but the eternal struggle between thoughts, a progressive and an old one. The Shummar Al-Zoor also have nationalist and patriotic stances and because of their neighbourhood to the Kurds also they hate them and fight them and regard them as no citizens of the Arab land.

The poorness of Shummar Al-Zoor in land and finance despite their high spirits make

them not able to work, especially that they feel hard done by compared with other Arab tribes. So, we prefer that the state would pay attention to this and take care of them, especially that Ajeel Abdulkarim has stated on their behalf that they would like to possess in Al-Jazeera or in Iraq. We suggest that this tribe is supported to settle in the Arab land because it is a fighting barrier against the Kurdish penetration, especially in northern Al-Jazeera.

Thus we find that there is no harm and even it is there right if the individuals of this tribe gain fertile lands in northern Al-Jazeera according to the agricultural reform as by this we protect the northern borders against any penetration.

There is no objection as well if they take lands from northern Iraq according to agricultural reform to allow them have access to the Arab land that is their own and part of their homeland otherwise they would feel hopeless and hard done by despite their nationalist and patriotic stances.

Tai Tribe:

The origin of this tribe is from Yemen. It migrated over the years to Najid in Al-Hijaz from around 500 years ago where it stayed about a century and a half. Then it left Najid after what was called the (tribe war) and settled in Iraq for about fifty years, where it went into a war with some other tribes that lasted around ten years and was called the everlasting war. Tai was victorious in this war and settled. Then the tribe divided into two, one part settled in Iraq a branch of which still in Baghdad province and the other part settled in Al-Jazeera near Nasibin, where some tribes tried to displace them from the land because it is fertile and have good waters, but they defended it for 350 years against all those who had greed towards this land. They have a lot of events with the Ottomans that executed several of their chieftains. They also had similar clashes with the French after the Turks as they were subjected to expulsion and imprisonment throughout the French's stay in Syria. Then the independence came and this tribe took some sort of a breather. One of its Sheiks opposed the Tribal Law in the French times despite its advantages for him.

This tribe was living in a semi urban conditions until the Tribal Law was abolished. As for education the situation of this tribe is not better than the other Arab tribes as the ratio of those who study does not exceed 5%. This tribe is now concentrated in the area of Qamishli bordering Turkey from northeast and some of them are in Al-Malikia area, another part in Al-Hasak south of Sinjar. On their west there are tribes of Al-Jubur and the Kurdish tribe of Binar Ali. The most famous branches of this tribe are: Al-Assaf (which is branch of the Sheiks), Al-Harith, Al-Jawwala, Harb, Rashid, Beni Sab'a, Al-Yasar, Zubaid, Albu'asi, Al-Ghannama, Al-Me'amera and Al-Bikara. The tribe with all its branches generally had good relations now with Arab tribes and its relations with the Kurds are not bad either.

The population of this tribe is not known but estimated with all its branches to be more than ten thousand with high majority Muslims. Its religion is Islam. The distribution of the tribe over various areas makes it less important than Shummar although they are no less Arabists and patriots. The renowned persons from this tribe are Abdulrazzaq Al-Naif and Abdulrazzaq Al-Hasso. This last one is very clever although he does not make any use of his cleverness as his position in the tribe is not as high as Deham Al-Hadi for example. He spends most of his days in Damascus

rarely staying in Al-Jazeera, described as generous and could be described as a modern person.

Al-Sharbiin tribe

It is said that this tribe is one of the oldest Arab tribes that settled in Al-Jazeera. Its population is high if they come together, but they live in various places such as Derik, Qamishli, Al-Hasaka and Ras Al-Ain.

This tribe had not made use of its old stay in Al-Jazeera to prove itself and occupy the land. Even worse than that they used to sell their possessions to the Kurds and others without looking far to what the future is hiding for them until they became today spread all over without an authority and many of them are working for wages.

They did not stop at being spread all over the place but even those who are settled are of different opinions as if each one of them is from a different Arab tribe.

This tribe is semi urbanised as its members live on cattle and farming for wages. They especially work with mules and cows. They complain all the time from poverty and they are indeed poor as their Sheiks do not look after them as the Sheiks of Shummar. A great part of them practise theft. This is known about them and almost its their overwhelming characteristics among the Arab tribes. They move around mostly in the areas to the south of Al-Rad and Al-Houl in the lands between Khabour and eastern borders of Al-Houl are. This tribe does not have a particular political tendency. They even do not live the aims of their nation as the other Arab tribes. This may be because of their bad social and financial situation.

The tribe are armed to an extend as they have a great number of armed individuals with various kinds of weapons, which consistent with their practice of banditry. Other Arab tribes use them in their private conflicts for a very cheap reward. We prefer taking care of this tribe regarding their financial situation and providing them with knowledge and education because they lack knowledge and education. They are the Arab tribe with most need for direction and repentance.

If the state pays a little attention to this tribe it could take a great benefit from it and would take them away from their bad situation and back to the path of truth. As especially that the tribal ties are weak among them we think after direction and care they could be active elements in Al-Jazeera and as an Arabic race they should be taken care of.

The Sheiks of this tribe have little influence even among their tribe and generally they are not into politics and parties. They are involved in immoral activities and under the influence of the Sheiks of other tribes. There are no ties between the individuals of this tribe despite their nostalgia to identity, position and influence, but their behaviour is miserable.

Al-Jubur Tribe:

It is said that this tribe had arrived from Yemen passing on its way by the Arab Mountain in Horan then to Aleppo, and then Al-Jazeera where it is settled on the banks of Al-Khabour around 20 Km to the south of Al-Hasaka town. Part of it settled

in Iraq. The relations of this tribe with the Ottomans were good to the extent that one of the Sultans awarded one of its Sheiks the title of Pasha. However, during the French times the relations were not good except at times when the chief of the tribe replaced the dead one. The most famous branches of this tribe are Al-Melhem, Al-Sultan, Al-Hazeem, Al-Mahasen, Al-Muhammad, Al-Hawi, Al-Rabt, Albumehana, Al-Jihesh, Al-Baqqa, Al-Ali, Albumani', Al-Amer, Al-Birri, Albuomra, Al-Qudhat, Al-Haliun, Alhuriash, Albusalama.

The settlements of these branches extended until the north and west of Al-Hasaka in addition to Al-Shadadi south of Al-Hasaka as their old position together with (Taban) that is situated around 20 Km to the south of Al-Hasaka.

The members of the tribe work in agriculture and cattle and generally their financial situation is better than other tribes of Al-Jazeera. The areas occupied by them are to an extent fertile and rich, in addition to some who depend on irrigation on the banks of Al-Khabour. This tribe has long history of urban life and settlement so that we could certainly say that it is the first among the Arab tribes that settled in Al-Jazeera and even they describe themselves as urbanised contrary to what Shummar are known as nomads and non settlers.

The ration of education is like the others low but it is better than other Arab tribes. The ratio of those studying does not exceed 10% but they insist more than the others on education and persistently demand opening all kinds of schools in their areas. They appreciate the advantages of education. The current chief of this tribe is a classical Abdulaziz Al-Musalat, an old man continuously seeking his private interests. He speaks a lot about Arab nationalism but does very little in contrast with Deham Al-Hadi the Sheikh of Shummar. He always tries to compensate for his past as if he knows what people think about him so, he always uses logic of excuses. He is very cautious to the extent of suspicion about people.

His position in the tribe nowadays is not effective as there are youth of the tribe that are growing some what on the progressive and appropriate Arabism tendencies so the tribe is more leaning towards them and leaving Abdulaziz Al-Musalat. Among those are Hamad Al-Ali Al-As'ad who is clever and has an appropriate progressive direction and his brother Sulaiman Al-Ali Al-As'ad who is flexible with good manners, clever and liked by the tribe as his brother.

Also among them are Rashad Al-Ali Al-Zuai'a and his family who are naturally hostile towards Abdulaziz Al-Musalat and he is a youth of a degree of awareness, and also Muhammad Sultan Al-Zuai'a. The current Arab issues, especially in Al-Jazeera are always present in the minds of those youth and they work on it all the time.

Thus the situation of the tribe permits leaving behind the classical tribal mentality represented by Abdulaziz Al-Musalat and his private family. It is expected that after the death of Abdulaziz Al-Musalat the entire tribe would follow those enthusiastic youth on the appropriate liberation path.

This tribe had previous conflicts with some of the Arab tribes, especially Shummar Al-Zoor. However, nowadays generally it left those conflicts behind except for those regarding lands or similar issues. They are concentrating on the Kurdish danger in northern Al-Jazeera and they and other sisterly Arab tribes are the basis of national

security in Al-Jazeera if the state knows how to take care of them and pay attention to them.

As the other tribes it lacks education and care for their situation, especially the poor of them that do not have possessions. Its population is not bad compared with other Arab tribes and number of those armed among them is few. Its religion is Islam and there a good hope for the Arab cause from its growing youth.

Al-Bikara tribe

This tribe is originated in Bikarat Al-Zoor that flows into Euphrates in the Der Al-Zoor region. It populated the northern side of Abdulaziz Mountain in Al-Jazeera long time ago. It took to farming in Al-Jazeera and built villages near sides of Abdulaziz Mountain and leaning towards civilisation and develop as the other Arab tribes. However, some of them are still moving around driving cattle all around Abdulaziz Mountain.

This tribe has its own old conflicts with some of other Arab tribes as Shummar Al-Zoor, that remain up to now, but with other Arab tribes has good relations, especially Al-Jubur. The chief of the tribe is a youth educated to a degree and the cousin of the previous chief, he is progressive, some what self sufficient, with nice manners and awareness to the events of his nation.

This tribe as all other Arab tribes are Muslims and lacking education a lot. It is very persistent regarding settlement and working in the land as well as education. It is guaranteed nationalistically with some conflicts with the Assyrians on Al-Khabour, in Tel Tamir district mostly about land. This tribe as the previous ones is suffering from the tragic regionalism in Al-Jazeera.

Those were the most important Arab tribes in Al-Jazeera that were mentioned in broad lines without us going into details as we are concerned only with nationalistic sides and political tendencies. That is why we did not go into the detail account of each tribe separately as we limited ourselves to the general lines.

There are in Al-Jazeera tribes other than those mentioned such as (Harb) and other small tribes. More often such tribes are affiliated into a large tribe acting according to its orders, that is why we did not study such tribes as our aim is present in the main tribe that the others follow geographically, politically, nationalistically...etc.

3- Relations of the Arab tribes with each other

If we look historically into the relations of the Arab tribes with each other we see that they are conflicts and wars, as the traditions of tribal raids on each other did not end except very recently.

The origin of these bad relations between the Arab tribes is for many reasons the most important of which are conflicts regarding land, areas of pasture and areas of influence and sovereignty that usually lead to vendetta. With a carefully drawn plan as we mentioned earlier the colonialists of all forms who passed through Al-Jazeera were feeding those conflicts to make them busy all the time and divert their attention from the main nationalistic causes. They favoured one Sheikh to strike at another and

other tribes then if this one is strengthened to a degree they took another Sheikh to strike at the previous who was just recently their friend.

Nowadays and in recent times fortunately the colonialists and their agents have no such access as previously, as most Arab tribal Sheikhs have rejected them knowing by experience and wisdom the intentions of colonialism, although there are still few who do but they so few that it is almost not worth mentioning.

The relations between the Arab tribes have improved today considerably especially towards such common causes as the Kurdish danger that made them bury their old conflicts at least temporarily. Most of the conflicts today are regarding land and agriculture...etc. and these are being solved legally via the state apparatus.

However, the tribal spirit is not dead at all as its settled in their souls and it could not be solved except with science, education and time, in addition to igniting the nationalist awareness in the souls of those tribes. They need constant communication between them and with the authorities to spread awareness and even to explain daily events.

4- Science and education among the Arab tribes

The policy of ignorance is generally part of the plan of colonialism of all forms as they and officials of the perished times later conspired against the Arab cause. Especially that in the previous eras successive rulers were people known by their regionalism and bad intentions towards the Arab race otherwise how can you explain the existence of all kinds and sorts of new schools in all the Kurdish villages while there is even one in a thousand of that in areas of the Arab tribes.

How much false and trading is going on and how little work. The Arab tribes today have waken up from their sleep and sensed what was planned for them. They are very persistent in demanding education to be spread among them.

The ration of those who read and write among all the Arab tribes does not exceed 5% and mostly those are from the well off families of the chiefs and their sons. In addition the cultural standards of those tribe are very low and the tribal spirit is still evident among them, while the high degree of nationalist Kurdish awareness and their education is according to their understanding is a food for the future.

That is why in order to spread awareness and education among those tribes we suggest the following:

- 1- Establishing as many schools as possible of all sorts and classifications in the areas where the Arab tribes live and supply those schools with all modern equipments.
- 2- Propaganda units and public guides to accompany those schools and support them in spreading education.
- 3- Sending as many as possible of Arab youth, especially among the poor to foreign countries without resorting to standard conditions in this matter to gain specific qualifications according to prepared continuous plan. Their numbers should be very high to the extent that I suggest to send every Arab youth in Al-Jazeera with a secondary school diploma so that the country will be rich with specialists, science and

awareness. Those missions should be only for the poor but there is no harm in helping the rich as well to finish their studies outside the country. This will also help in getting rid of tribal spirit to be replaced by appropriate scientific logic and breaking away with old traditions.

4- Establishing higher agricultural institutions for the Arabs in Al-Jazeera supplied with all modern equipments to help in the prosperity of agriculture and reforming it.

5- The financial situation of those tribes: the thing that is clearly noticed is that there is no middle in the financial situation almost in all the tribes as they are either from a class of Sheikhs who are very rich to very high proportions or live in complete poverty generally in addition to the ignorance in their ranks which prevents the Arabic soul from prospering and as we are living in the era of socialism we have to reform the situation one way or another.

Thus if the financial situation of individuals improves their relations with tribal mentality loosens and try to leave it behind gradually, then his mentality changes into the nationalistic domain.

Anyone who sees the extend of poverty among those Arab elements his heart would bleed for them feeling sad and pity or sometimes even hatred by remembering what an Arabic poet said:

It is like a camel in the desert dying from thirst While carrying water on its back

They are, by God, dying from hunger and thirst while this their own land and homeland, don't they deserve to be in a better situation as they are more noble and good than the regionalists and those Sheiks living in luxury?..

That is why we suggest for the financial situation of the tribes to:

1- Distributing all additional lands in Al-Jazeera that come under the agricultural reform law only to these elements excluding all the others completely. As the agricultural reform should not give possession deeds to any others except them and even not rent anything to anyone else because they are the support and defence line when their situation improves. They are the hope of the future educationally, awareness wise and nationalistically for Al-Jazeera.

2- Providing effective support urgently from the state to those people.

3- Establishing cooperative or collective farms only to those Arab elements.

4- Establishing settlement town under the state supervision spread over all various Arab regions so that they feel the difference between the two ways of living and encourage them to work harder in the future.

5- Making them feel constant support from the local authorities that previously would not pay attention except to influential Sheikhs. So that they feel the difference again and feel like it is their own state and they are its defenders and guards. This also increases their moral.

6- Opening the doors of the agricultural banks to those poor only and closing them in

the face of the regionalists and rich Arabs.

7- Drawing a general plan to those Arab elements according to a specified budget.

6- The chiefs of Arab tribes

Those chiefs are became a class of their own, rich and separate from the people in their private and public life. Though few in numbers this class has its specific characteristics so each chief of a tribe thinks as if he is a party leader, as each tribe have its own ideological basis to the extent we can say that there are Shammar Party and Tai Party because they have been ordering people around since ancient times. It is well known that previously the politics supported such kind of people for sinister reason. Together with other regionalist plans and conspiracies, supporting the Sheikhs of Al-Jazeera previously was a part of a plan of spreading ignorance and keeping the situation as it is... Isn't this a hindering barrier for showing individuals potentials in this century of progress and specialists?..

We are not against Sheiks as citizens and individuals but appreciate their efforts in the past to keep the Arabism of the area to some extent. However, we are against the tribal mentality and its conservatism and against the personal greed of some of the Sheikhs in Al-Jazeera. You could see a Sheikh deviating intentionally or non intentionally from real Arabism for his own personal gains. They are not interested except in preserving their situation and influence over their tribe.

It is time for us to shave their beards to get rid of those traditions that their time is up. I was not exaggerating when I said in the beginning of this research that people are living in an era of ignorance in this area as if they have never heard of Islam. The religion or any other cause would be pushed aside if it was not in the personal interest of that chief.

However, this situation is starting to change under the pressure of times although it has not ended yet.

It will need more time for it to finish completely. It is difficult to get rid of a mentality without time factors and careful planning to speed it.

Against such a class we should not compromise at all but on the other hand we have to encourage it and if they agree to make things easier for the Arab elements as I think today they are not in a good position because of new mentality rising among them first of all from their own youth and then from the states powerful position. That is why we see some of them going with the current though reluctantly and we cannot destroy them without a prepared plan and supporting their people.

7- Tribal mentality

This is the biggest problem for the Arab tribes in Al-Jazeera, you see all of them whether young or old, rich or poor chanting about the glory of his tribe. When walking in the street he has no doubt that he is from such a glorious tribe with glorious past. Even when one of them speaks to you shows himself as a representative of the tribe and speaking on its behalf. You also find them knowing

their ancestors more than those who knew Quran by heart in times of the prophet. This is in principle something beautiful but it has taken an ideological form and it shows bitterness and perversion. It is hard for an Arab person to see this situation and wasting all these energies instead of using them for nationalist causes.

There are a lot of wonderful possibilities and powerful people with dignity but it all wasted on the tribe as if it is more than a religious belief and religion is secondary to that. It is difficult for them to understand even religion except through their tribal mentality. This is more apparent with the poor than with their Sheikhs. There is no way to get rid of this mentality except by disassociating their relations materially and geographically. Such as to bring together in one residence persons from Al-Jubur, Shummar and Tai. This is now very unlikely because it is difficult to live that way. The state has to pay attention to this and try to get rid of the tribal mentality. In order to use their potentials for nationalist causes. But this cannot happen overnight without a careful planning that covers all economic, scientific and social aspects...etc.

All this with factor of time would be able to destroy the tribal mentality so that they are prepared for a better future for the Arab nationalism, until we get to the stage that objective relations replace emotional ties that over the time formed an ideology. We may still see the remains of this mentality even among those educated from them and even those who joined political parties as those parties suddenly become secondary to their tribe as the tribal relations are fixed in his mind.

8- Their relations with the Kurds

The Ottoman colonialism and later western colonialism tried to put religion as the basis of the relations between Arabs and Kurds. Indeed until recently the relation between Arabs and Kurds were good because of religious ties that were the only ties at the time. This was a conspiracy used to make the Arabs unaware of the horrible plans against them in the name of religion. Until they were blinded to accept the mass migration of the Kurds from Turkey to Al-Jazeera, even some Arab elements were participants by defending them against the Turkish danger that was following them. So, some tribes were accommodating them and feeding them when there was no other saviour for them, all this happened in the name of religion and religion only. The Arabs were the Muslims for some time and the opposite was true also at the same time.

This lasted for not a short time until the Kurds managed to possess and occupy lands in Al-Jazeera often with support from some Arab tribes. Until we reached this situation today that the Arabs are, only now, becoming aware that this was a game and a trick because the Kurds have obtained the most suitable and fertile lands. It is ironic that the lands given to Shummar Al-Zoor is becoming a burden to them because it is not suitable for agriculture or even as a pasture while the Kurds proudly went around in the best of land in northern Al-Jazeera.

Today after the true colours of the Kurdish movement had become clear for the Arab tribes, both chiefs and members, they are feeling the danger and despite their own poverty now they are ready to sacrifice everything to protect the Arab land.

By God, how generous is the Arabic soul that cannot withhold without giving and if you watch carefully you see all those tribes forgetting all the bad times and follow the

nationalist direction as if there have never being any bad times and injustices.

That is why the relations today are almost non existent especially from the general hatred of those acts committed by Barzani in the north of Iraq, between all the Arab elements, also against the relations between the Kurds in Al-Jazeera with those Party members. They are now in an ever ready situation to attack and destroy the Kurds by a signal from the officials, and they have enough power and morals to be able to do that. (23)

9- The suggestion regarding the Arab tribes

That was the broad line situation of the Arab tribes as mentioned above. We have come to an absolute conclusion that we have to set our revolutionary plans starting now on the following basis:

1- All the Arab tribes both chiefs and ordinary members are living the regionalist tragedy in Al-Jazeera, especially concerning the Kurds, although there is a misunderstanding in this regard as they still mix between concepts such as racism, sectarianism and religious fanaticism.

2- The division of the Arab tribes into two distinct classes financially, class of the very rich chiefs and class of poor workers and farmers that is isolated and limited in prospective.

3- The general agreement or almost agreement between the chieftains to put the private interests before anything else also this is some times not obvious but should be read between the lines.

4- The general disagreement that between them regarding all the important issues in which the chief has the deciding vote.

Now we understood all this we can now work and plan to reform the situation as we put forward some demands at the end of every paragraph we summarise them again here to draw a harmonious nationalist plan that agrees with the aims of this nation, the most important of which:

1- Settle those who have not settled and make the civilised quickly.

2- Distribute the government properties among the Arabs in an appropriate way.

3- Distribute the lands confiscated by agricultural reform among the Arab elements.

4- Displace Arab elements from inside and settle them in Al-Jazeera according to reasonable conditions.

5- Spreading education and schools as widely as possible among the Arabs.

6- Send students of Al-Jazeera to study abroad without conditions except for the qualification or being from the Arab poor classes.

7- Establishing cooperative farms and settlements in the Arab areas distributed widely to implant love of work in them.

8- Establishing agricultural schools and high institutes in Al-Jazeera.

Those are the urgent demands that we put forward to you so that it become the corner stone for an overall plan to rescue the Arab elements in Al-Jazeera.

The other racial minorities in Al-Jazeera

1- The Assyrians

These ethnicities arrived in the country of Syria in 1933 by the orders of the League of Nations. As their old residence was in the outskirts of Mousl in the country of Iraq. Their history goes back to the ancient Assyrians that build a civilisation within the Mesopotamian civilisations in around 3500 B.C. and they are from the remains of those perished nations.

This ethnicity had bad relations with the Iraqis, as the English army recruited them in special divisions known as Nineveh division according to their plan to implant divisions between the citizens, as they played a great role in supporting the English army against the Iraqi Arabic army.

At the end the English were forced to dismantle those divisions by the wishes of the Iraqis. Then the English colonialists resorted to conspiracies to implant differences between the Assyrians and the Arabs until they carried out an uprising against the Iraqi government that campaigned against them and forced them out of Iraqi territories. So, the English colonialists and the League of Nations could not find a place for them other than the country of Syria. They settled at first in around Fishkhabour and Al-Malikia District on the borders until Mar Shamoun mediated for them and went to the League of Nations in Geneva then they ordered their intelligence officer that was in Der Al-Zoor who was called (Larist) and led the League of Nations to accept their staying in Syria on condition they stay in the area of Al-Khabour, where they were given lands for living and investment and all the necessary expenses. A representative from the League of Nations came personally to supervise their settlement on the banks of Al-Khabour between Al-Hasaka and Ras Al-Ain. They were given Syrian deed titles and built houses for them and later registered them as citizens.

In 1940 a delegation of English army officers came to the banks of Al-Khabour and asked those Assyrians who were previously recruited in the English army to join the army, some of them responded and at the end of the War they came back to Assyrian villages on Al-Khabour.

Their leader is called King. Their leader currently is King Yaqu son of King Ismail, he resides in Tel Tamer with around 500 families working in agriculture. They plant trees, fruits and grapes. They have villages gathered together the most famous of them Tel Nassri around 300 families, Tel Jum'a around 750 families, Um Keif village around 100 families, Tel Kefchi around 100 families and all of them work in farming and cattle driving. There are also many other villages such as Tel Hermiz, Um Ghargan and Tel Arbush, Tel Makhaza, Tel Tal, Tel Sukra, Tel Shamran, Tel Wardiat, with overall population of 2000 families, and other villages estimated to be around 800 families.

This group has its peculiarities as they should be Arabs but they still preserve their own characteristics because they are gathered together. Also few of them live in the town of Al-Hasaka. Their religion is ancient Christianity their Patriarch is in Iraq, represented by Metron Qeriaqis, the priest of the ancient sect of Assyrians in Al-

Jazeera. They had bad relations with their Chechen neighbours but they are good today. This sect does not ask for anything but security. They have their own written language and their bible is written in the same language, their Alphabet is similar to Hebrew very much.

They have some dreams about ancient Assyrians, but in practice they have no political weight, because they are few they could be Arabised and dissimilated into Arabic identity. If it was not for the fact that they are gathered together they would have melted in among the Arabs long time ago.

We do not suggest anything in their regard at all because they have no bearing on national security or any attempts of this sort.

2- The Armenians:

The Armenian case is known historically as it is about the Armenian homeland "Habazdan" that is since ancient times being a subject of dispute between Russia and the Ottomans. It ended in the famous Armenian massacres in Turkey and a lot of them migrated to the Arab countries and settled in the large cities Aleppo, Beirut, Baghdad and Cairo. They stayed preserving their race and ethnicity by establishing their own schools and newspapers, magazines in their languages calling for Armenian nationalism. Then they reached the stage of political parties and the party of (Tashnaq) was established, which is known as the Party of Patriotic Sacrifice that is hostile to the Turks to the extent of supporting the Kurdish cause after the movement of Sheik Sa'eed in Diar Baker. It also provided arms and finances to the Kurdish groups not that they like the Kurds but for the hatred of Turkey. The second party was the party of (Hashnaq) that aimed to gain the independence for the Armenians by the hands of any other state. This party has communist tendencies. There is another party somewhat independent and weak that is the party of (Khizok). There was a party that departed from Tashnaq called (Daronian) related to the region of Daron in the mountains of Sasson that is mostly populated with Armenians and situated in the Turkish territories.

The Armenians in Al-Jazeera are spread in the main towns of Qamishli, Al-Hasaka and others. They are hardworking active people, most of them working in mechanics. This ethnic group is now gradually turning into a religious sect.

They have no danger to the national security in Al-Jazeera as they are spread in various places and few in numbers. They have still their own schools and pure language and that is difficult to get rid of as they depend on the support of the Armenians inside. They are isolated but active economically. They are looking for security and peace of mind nothing else. We said they are Christians some of them Orthodox Armenians and others Catholic, they have their own Churches and Matronians which are related to those in Lebanon, especially Antelias.

3- The Caledonians

They are few groups with no significance but the remains of the Chelds who are mostly in Iraq. They are Christians of old and new faiths, they have no significance as an ethnic minority because they are few in numbers and their religious ties that makes us to believe that they have melted in religious sects.

4- Chechens:

They are Charkas by origin and they were mentioned together with the Kurdish tribes because they are known historically to be always supporting the Kurds. They have turned into Kurds in language and traditions because of their Kurdish surrounding. They have no significance politically or ethnically but they always support the Kurds. They are Muslims. They are today weaker than before and do not demand more than security. Their numbers are few and most of them are in Ras Al-Ain among the Kurds.

5- The Jews:

Their origins are from Mosul, Zakho and Ibn Omar Al-Jzeera. They arrived in Nasibin since about 500 years ago for trading as at the time Nasibin was prosperous in trade. Then they sneaked from Nassibin into Qamishli and build their houses near the river Jaghjagh and opened markets playing a huge role in trading. Their numbers is estimated as around 300 families. Many of them fled to Israel with support of some traitors. They are today paralysed in all aspects. Their monies and possessions are confiscated and are under a supervision of a special committee. They have no special significance.

CHAPTER SIX

THE TRIBAL SITUATION AND ITS INFLUENCE ON POLITICAL TENDENCIES IN AL-JAZEERA PROVINCE

A general view:

Anyone who follows the history of religious sects in Al-Jazeera finds that the majority of these sects arrived from Turkey after they were persecuted by the Turks religiously or in the name of religion. The majority of them are from areas of Mardin and Diar Baker, and a few of them are from northern Iraq except the Sunni Muslims who are originally from the province.

Those sects are concentrated in the most populated towns of Al-Jazeera such as Qamishli, Al-Hasaka, Amuda, Al-Derbassia, Ras Al-Ain and some large villages. Those have inferiority complex from the Turkish persecution first, then came the western colonialism that division was in nature of their rule so they were given some special privileges not only in Al-Jazeera but all over Syria. This made their moral higher to use them and this had its rewards for them as it is shown in the Christian sects especially in Lebanon. As the French colonialism raised the idea of a christian homeland in Lebanon. But in Al-Jazeera those sects received their share of attention and were active in establishing special schools and institutes as well as nurseries in order to make every sect work for its interests. Then the era of independence came and those sects felt that they have lost their privileges and France did not remain as previously the exporter of Catholicism as (Taleran) said. They shrank to themselves and with the increase of the Arab nationalism in the hearts of many of them a feeling of Arab nationalism was awoken. They left behind the previous differences especially in the ranks of the youth. However, the classic currents stayed slightly conservative though on the face of it is gradually changing. But in the first era of unity and the behaviour of Abdul Nasser's intelligence officers reminded those sects with sectarian tendencies and revived the conflicts as it was like the persecution they suffered on the hands of the Turks and the massacres of 1868 in Lebanon. That is why they were cheerful when the separation took place and showed the feelings of hostility towards Abdul Nasser. They felt that they were rescued from a dark future. It is said that it was the first time in Al-Jazeera that they showed their feelings and intentions openly. This lead them to that after 8 March they did not show any happiness because they thought another Ataturk had come to destroy them. Until the situation settled and they are somewhat satisfied with the present conditions. There situation is getting better all the time.

THE ISLAMIC SECTS

1- Sunnis:

The great majority of the Muslims of Al-Jazeera are from the Sunni sect. The various Arab tribes and their branches are Sunnis. Also those who arrived from inside that are a few from Der Al-Zoor, Aleppo and provinces near Al-Jazeera and thus they are the overwhelming sect. However, the members of this sect are spread and dismantled all over played by poverty and ignorance and the tribe dominates all sect and religion aspects. Although the Muslim brotherhood who tries to bring all together on the basis

of regionalism and anti nationalist sentiments, and show the brotherhood of Arabs and Kurds as they have the same religion and sect, it has no influence on various political tendencies in Al-Jazeera except with some ignorant Der people who live in Al-Jazeera. That have previous problems with other sects who are not Muslims. They hate the Christians in general and they think that the Christians hate Abdul Nasser because he is a Muslim. That is why they oppose that thinking with something similar. Those people of Der also are the focus of sectarian conflicts as the ignorance is a supporting factor for that. The previous events when Al-Jazeera was separated to establish a state (24) ruled by a committee of the French followers, one of the leaders of this committee was Abdulwahid Qariu in addition to Elias Marshu, Abdulaziz Al-Musalat, Hajo Agha who were influential at the time. If those had intention to avenge what happened previously and religion on the other hand, and because of the mysteriousness of the nationalist aspect as another factor, as the concept of nationalism for the Der people of Al-Jazeera is mixed with religion and tribalism. They are an eclectic bunch based on hostility to other sects in Al-Jazeera. This makes their relations not on good basis and on the side of ignorance, and a tool in the hands of regionalism. However, today it is less than the past because of the spread of education especially between the youth of the Der people. Although this is not a big trend in politics it gives a bad image. This also supports the deviation from the original direction.

We have treated such trends by organising lectures, meetings and seminars helped with those few educated youth and they are on their way to extinction, because of education, time and guidance help in explaining the appropriate and original Arabic direction and oppose all those who use the kindness of those ignorant bunch in their regionalist conflicts. In the past you could find some calling for solidarity with the Kurds against other groups on the basis of Islam, but today there is no such thinking at all and they believe that the Kurdish danger is the real one and the other groups do not ask for anything more than security and government's sovereignty.

2- The Yezidies:

The Yezidies have only one tendency and that is as the Party Kurds. However, the ignorance and poverty among them give them a sectarian characteristics different from Kurdish. They are for the Kurds in the heart of the independence and never deviate from the Kurdish political line. We have to study them as a religion sect originated from Islam. Then it perverted and became completely different from any other Islamic sect. With time it has come to form almost a special religion of its own. (25)

They are concentrated in Sinjar Mountain and the majority of them are in the country of Iraq. The other part are in the country of Syria in the extended area of Sinjar. There are also few of them in the east of Al-Hasaka town and north and northwest of Al-Hasaka province. They are in constant hostilities with Arab elements like Sharabiin and others.

It is said that they are worshipping the devil who is in their Kurdish language called (Maleki Tauus) or the Satan. They have a temple that they make pilgrimage to every year situated in Sinjar Mountain, called the temple of (Sheik Hadi). Their authority in religious orders are the descendents of Sheik Rashid who reside in Sinjar Mountain. This sacred family goes around visiting all the Yezidi families in Al-Jazeera every

year to collect donations for the sect, as they organise religious ceremonies in their houses secretly. The proper Sheik presents the statute of Malaki Tauus made of Copper or Bronze covered with a green cover and the ceremonies start with each of them kissing this statute and donating a sum of money according to his ability. The followers of this sect are a minority and isolationists that makes it impossible for anyone no matter how friendly is with them to penetrate their minds. This makes them nervous in their behaviour and religious actions. You cannot understand any of their political tendencies ever.

They have no danger alone but with the Kurds they form a danger that is the danger of the Kurdish cause. This sect is religiously on the way to extinction as they are few and few spread of education among them, to the extent that there is no trace of them anymore. They are today taking the direction of hostility against the Arab nationalism because of their cooperation with the Party Kurds. I don't think there is any use for them because they are and remain Kurds and even with the spread of education among them their youth would become like the Kurdish youth ideologically working for the Kurdish cause and the Party as their destiny is connected to the Kurds by language and origin even if they deny that.

3- The Khaznawies:

After Sheik Ahmad Khaznawi who is Kurdish and one of the Sheiks of Naqishbandia sect. We called them the Khaznawies on purpose as we know that this is not a sect of Islam but their danger in Al-Jazeera forced us to call them that although admittedly this name is private and not general.

The danger of Khaznawi the spreader of the Naqishbandia sect in Al-Jazeera increased because his followers and supporters are increasing to the extent that his current son Ala'adine son of Sheik Ahmad Khaznawi in his centre that called Khazna in Qamishli and leading the sect with his brother Izzadine Khaznawi. We believe that this sect is alien to Islam in principals and of its varieties are alien to the Islamic religion penetrated by regionalist elements conspiring against Arabs and Islam, Arab as a nationality and Islam as a religion. That is for a fatal purpose fed by the Abbasids and their following Caliphs on the one hand and on the other hand the followers of Khaznawies are practically without a method as they claim, as they are inside different from what they are showing as the meeting of Khaznawies in Al-Jazeera are non other but explicit Party meetings, they have nothing to do with religion and I can now give you an evidence for that. When the Barzani rebellion took place we called on the Kurdish religious figures to condemn Barzani as a Party and communist person that is not a Muslim and Khaznawi refused that demanding evidence for him not being a Muslim and claimed that fighting among Muslims as a rule is not in the interest of Islam, and if it was left to him he would send a telegram asking for stopping the Muslim bloodshed, we could not satisfy him although we satisfied the majority of other Sheikhs with evidence and logic.

He sits in his meeting and his visitors come to him crawling on their knees exactly as dogs and he has no objection if the visitor barks like a dog. Isn't he the leader of the method and has Godly secrets that is the least any visitor can do in this regard.

Yes, I said that Khaznawi and his messengers and followers are the best support in Al-Jazeera for the Party and communist ideology, who have the most spiritual secrets.

The first supporters famously being Barzani and his junta.

He is a dirty personality that should be driven away from Al-Jazeera immediately far away from his centre that is very active these days because his danger is in the increase. We cannot hold any evidence against him because of his call for religion and method. Even the Zakat that he collects with the help of his messengers and followers is nothing but donations for the Party that are sent secretly to the Barzani bandits. I can say for sure that he is a second Barzani under cover of religion in Al-Jazeera. We suggest that he is moved from Al-Jazeera and put under house arrest somewhere until he is perished. (26)

THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION

We can divide this religion into two large sects: First: Eastern Sects under which comes 1- Orthodox Assyrians 2- Roman Orthodox 3- Orthodox Armenians 4- Nestorians and Second: Western Sects under which come: 1- Catholic Assyrians 2- Roman Catholics 3- Catholic Armenians 4- Caldanians 5- Protestants.

We start with each sect starting with the eastern sects:

1- Orthodox Assyrians:

This sect is the most spread in Al-Jazeera among the Christian sects. The followers of those sect are 60% of the mentioned sects. The followers of this sect have arrived from Turkey and most of them are from Mardin, Diar Baker and Mediat in Turkey. They migrated after Kemal Attaturk adopted the policy of Turkisation and deporting anyone who speaks Arabic language or has anything to do with the Arabs, in addition to the religious differences. Especially after the conference of Lossane to annex the seven districts to the Turkish Republic and also the massacres of 1917-1918 in Turkey that were similar to the massacres of 1868 in Lebanon. This sect emotionally follows the eastern policies not for the love of communism but in fear of a western control and thus the Vatican could take control as in the west. The evidence for this is the fact that the Communist Party is more spread among the youth of this sect in comparison with the other sects. Probably this is due to unconscious factors which is bad for this sect as the hatred prevent it from seeing the truth. But recently they are understanding the nationalist wave more easily and there is a tendency of nationalism among their youth especially and encouraged by the religious leaders. This nationalist awakening makes them in the stage of comprehension. This is helped by the spread of education between them. They are in general a prosperous sect and poor among them are few.

They are concentrated in the large towns of Al-Jazeera Al-Hasaka, Qamishli, Amuda, Derbassia and Ras Al-Ain as well as some large villages. They have a high social position in Al-Jazeera. They are now lead by Matron Qeriaqis with his centre in Al-Hasaka. They have also churches in other towns, a large number of priests and religious figures, they are devoted to their faith. Matron Qeriaqis is regarded as their spiritual and physical guide. He is acting as if according to the Prophet's tradition that says: Do for your world as if you live forever and do for your live beyond as if you die tomorrow. So, he does exactly that for his sect.

This sect has its own schools in all large towns of Al-Jazeera. The state could supply such teachers to those schools that are nationalistically educated to guide them and remove gradually all the remains of the previous eras, so if the state pays attention to them it may get them to work for its aims. (27)

2- Roman Orthodox

These arrived in Al-Jazeera from inside the country and are few in numbers they are now following the Orthodox Assyrians in their religious ceremonies. However, the nationalist ideas between them are more clear among them than other Assyrians and the more educated ones among them can influence the others. For this nationalist ideas they don't have any significance as sect of their own and they are united with

other ancient Assyrians. However, politically they are mostly followers of the Arab nationalism. They are distributed within the old Assyrian places. Their numbers are few and limited and it is preferable if they have displaced from inside with careful planning and guidance this will be of great advantage.

3- Orthodox Armenians:

This sect is not different from the Assyrians in their religious ceremonies except in their language. As the ceremonies are in Armenian language. They are more important as a race than a religious sect. As the religious faith is fading in importance in comparison with the Armenian nationalism. We have studied this group in our study of non Arab groups. We also explained their political tendencies.

4- The Nestorians

They are Assyrians who believe in Nestorian faith they are known sometimes as Nasatera. The origins of their sect is known, as they go back to the Raha school of Christianity that is regarded by them the oldest school. Their numbers are between ten thousand to twelve thousand people. We mentioned them as a race because they do not recognise Arabism as a special form for them. We also explained their political tendencies. They follow Matron Yousif who resides in Baghdad, Iraq, and this follows the exiled in America Patriarch after their movement in Iraq in 1933. The Syrian authorities previously prevented him to enter Al-Jazeera. Matron Qiraqis is deputising for their Matron in Al-Jazeera regarding their religious issues.

5- The Chelds

We studied this group as a race. As a sect they follow in their religious ceremonies Matron Stefanos Balalu who resides in Aleppo. He supervises this group in all areas in the north of Syria. This group are settled in various areas of Al-Jazeera and on the banks of Khabour and some of them in Tel Arbush area and other villages. They are a very low ratio of the other sects. They follow the Catholic Assyrians.

6- The Catholic Assyrians

They are the main part of the western sects and are the largest ratio of the Christians in Al-Jazeera after the Orthodox Assyrians. They follow the Pope in Rome. They arrived from Turkey and its Arab areas as they are Arabs who arrived with the other Christian sects. They are supervised by Matron Hanna Krum. His centre in Al-Hasaka, they are distinguished with spread of education among them more than the Orthodox Assyrians. They have a lot of personnel and priests. They have their own churches, schools and nurseries. They are more prosperous financially from other Assyrians. They are very organised and pay attention to science a lot. Their priests are more highly educated with different scientific specialities. They are devoted to their religion and sect and sacrifice a lot for it. They can improve and get better quickly and more liberated. They hate the Turkes, Abdul Nasser and also the Kurds. They do not have any danger today as they express their support for the current state and also hate communism and fight it vigorously, because it threatens their religious principals, that is why we rarely find one of their youth a communist. However, there are definitely the remains of the Syrian Nationalist Party among them. They also do not demand other than security and leaving them alone to practise their religion and

trade.

7- Roman Catholics:

They arrived from inside country and as the Orthodox Romans follow the Assyrian Catholics due to the similarity of religious ceremonies. They have less clarity regarding nationalist ideas from the Orthodox Romans that arrived from inside. Apparently the clarity of nationalism of the Roman Catholics of Al-Jazeera though rare is more clear with those arriving from inside contrary to the first situation.

8- Catholic Armenians:

These are an independent sect that follow Matron Hanna Jinanji whose centre is in Qamishli. Their religious ceremonies are identical to the Roman Catholics apart of the difference in languages. They follow the Pope also so they are a western sect. The Armenians as a race are different from a religious sect and we studies this in the racial minorities.

THE BIBLISTS

They are the Protestants who have various numerous associations and penetrated the Arab East long time ago. They only believe in Jesus' Bible only. As a sect they are similar to the Wahabies in Islam. They are also called Mutahajjibin as translation to the word Protestant. The originator of this sect is the famous German priest (Luther). The USA fixed this faith and approved it as its religion and send missionaries to the Arab East and opened institutes and universities and other tools of spreading faith and ideas.

As for Al-Jazeera this sect is very small and has no significance in politics. The supervisor of this group is priest Jamil Tannus who is Arab by blood and direction and his birthplace is Horan.

This sect was supplied for by the Americans but today it is independent from American missionaries. It established a national evangelist church. Most of its missionaries and priests are Arabs who broke all ties with the westerns. Their conditions is financially worsened so they depend on donations of their followers.

This sect do not practise politics but approve the current circumstances and away from the shadows of communism and Nasserism. They are in agreement with the Catholic Assyrians in their hatred for communism and thus Nasserism. They have their own churches and schools and most of them are in Qamishli and Al-Hasaka. Their population in the countryside is weak and their number is less than 5% of the other Christian sects. They carry out their religious ceremonies in Arabic and teach in their schools in Arabic.

The Jewish religion

We spoke about the Jews as a race and it is difficult to differentiate them as a race or religion. We said that they are a very small minority and only in Qamishli they are isolated and try to flee to Israel. It looks like the party of Jehovah's Witnesses is spread among them, their financial situation is bad as they are poor. Their political tendency is hatred, of course, but practically they have no significance.

THE SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN AL-JAZEERA PROVINCE

A study of the social conditions after all what was discussed previously would provide us with the broad lines of the dominating social relations. At the beginning of our research we mentioned that the community of Al-Jazeera is a community of contrasts racially, sectarian, tribal and language wise as each of those groups has its own traditions and nature. The Kurds are living separately with their own traditions, customs and language. The same goes for the Armenians, Assyrians and Arabs, and other ethnicities. The community with its variety have weak friendship between them as there are groups isolated from each other and even the Arab elements despite their known appreciation of friendship in all levels are now deviating from friendship and there are no relations without sinister purposes or material gain. So, their relations depend only on one factor, which is the economic relations such as agriculture and trading or any other material factors.

That is why find the caring relations weak or non existent between them and even if you find it, it will be on the surface only and you will find a lot of plots against each other as individuals, groups, families...etc. They have little trust with each other with a lot of scheming and this is more apparent in the towns such as Qamishli that has a status like the United Nations although even the UN has more relations in it than these who have no ties except material interests but the town of Al-Hasaka is similar to the less extent as it has more Arabic colour and less problems, as for Amuda and Derbassia and others like Al-Malikia are Kurdish areas working hard against the Arab elements.

You cannot find any natural purity except in the Arabic villages and away from the works of the Sheikhs and so on. Those are the building blocks and pure unadulterated Arabs but their downfall is poverty and the control of the Arab Sheikhs on them. That is why we suggest paying attention to them at all times because their will be a lot of good from them if the state knows how to take care of them and free them from the control of the Sheikhs, and settle them on the Arab land and educate them. This cannot happen without spreading knowledge and education among them as a reserve for the bright Arab future.

The state apparatus in Al-Jazeera

The story of the state apparatus in Al-Jazeera is a long one and I would not go into the details and limit myself to its broad lines. I would say though that it is not the fault of the apparatus as it is the fault of the state itself.

Al-Jazeera was for the previous governments a remote area that does not need any care or attention as if they are in agreement with the Abbasids caliph that said that "Baghdad is enough for me" and say that Damascus is enough for them. There was a class of rulers that would not think of anything else as long as their interests are guaranteed and do not bother about a remote province. This is only the better part of them as there were evil parts that do the same on purpose and ignored this province to the extent that it became in this pity situation. Yes, when I write this I am full of sorrow regarding all the problems of this province and deliberate or non deliberate ignoring by the previous governments until the revolution of 8 March of liberty,

socialism and Arab unity that reached it only in small ways and had not done a lot for it yet.

The state apparatus for great part is from the people of this province itself that has been isolated from inside or some officials who have been exiled according to the public laws, or some other officials who were discovered to be corrupted by bribery, negligence in their work or simply not liked by their bosses and being fortunate enough to be sent to Al-Jazeera province. Thus it became a centre for all this mixture of moods and sick personalities that are not what they seem as if they are heroes of Don Quixote playing as they like without any supervision as if they think that there is no worse place than this in the country. Nevertheless there are also in this people honest people who do not accept bribery such as luxury cars and refrigerators or air conditioner, let alone money and agricultural or other projects to that angry official that does not work if there is no conscience as this officials has no business except saving and stealing what he can for his old age when he has no support.

Someone may say that this is an exaggeration but what is said is proven by documents and absolute evidence.

Yes, an official in Al-Jazeera generally regards it as a golden opportunity and there are a lot of temptations for taking rest from hardship of work and office routine, and take refuge in one's self to allow his desires to flow uncontrolled.

Neither Al-Jazeera itself capable to produce its own people to serve it nor the outsiders desire to serve it as if it is not a part of this nice Arabic homeland. There are witnesses to what is said from those few good persons who lived in Al-Jazeera exiled or sent far away and served this piece of land, without paying attention to their punishment, and they left behind actions that are witnesses to this all over Al-Jazeera.

Indeed: it is very hard to say that the government apparatus in Al-Jazeera is a caller for Arab nationalism while they are in such a situation as the whole apparatus is inevitably under the control of the feudalists and regionalists and they are happy in their golden cage. Thus they are servants to those adverse and ignorant group whose offices are open to the rich classes and closed in the face of whom they call the commoners who in reality are more noble than the first group. This is what happened and still happening in most government offices as the original people who are the leaders of the revolution and their guards are still far from taking the lead when there has not been any other day like today when people feel that the revolution is their revolution and rule is their rule after the state had conquered their enemies, and this would not happen without the following:

- 1- Choosing all the state apparatus in a special way by depending on ideological youth that believe in their message to these people and destroy all the old apparatus.
- 2- Educate all the youth of Al-Jazeera, taking care of them and send them to study so that they are able in turn to spread their message and give back to their country in the future.
- 3- Taking special care of the security organs at all their levels especially at the low levels because they are the face of the state and the current ones are not good at all or even harmful and a burden to the state and the province.

4- Taking special care of the agricultural reform apparatus at all its level because it is in direct contact with small peasants.

5- Taking special care and at all levels of the agricultural bank and other banks, opening their doors for poor peasants and closing them for the rich ones because their role is over and we have seen the services to this country that they have the means to work without help from banks.

The present apparatus is not capable because it is an agent for the rich classes up until now.

6- Taking special care of the organisation of agricultural interests as it is in direct contact with the peasants and change its officials as much as possible.

Indeed the suggestions are many in this regard and in short I can say that the state apparatus in Al-Jazeera is a burden on the state if not in its behaviour against it altogether. There are few faithful in the state apparatus and even less aware people.

So, if the state wants not to cause a nationalist tragedy and not to deprive this area from deserved services it has to show mercy to this region and stop sending old type officials to it but to select them in a special way. It means that the situation should change and the state to start an immediate clear plan to fill the gap between the common masses and the government authorities so that the people of Al-Jazeera would understand that the authorities are serving them and not a burden. They have also to notice the difference between the previous and current authorities.

We would like the state to appoint at least one day in a week called the Al-Jazeera day to discuss the affairs of Al-Jazeera specifically and draw plans to be immediately executed and also to link it with the inner side with a large network of various roads, and also to improve the health service that is almost lacking in this province.

Al-Hasaka on 12/11/1963

The end

The footnotes, comments and analysis

(1) What Muhammad Talab Hilal means in the introduction is that this study is nothing but suggestions and a first step towards a general plan to end the Kurdish existence in Western Kurdistan (the part of Kurdistan occupied by the Syrian state). The occupation of Kurdistan is not enough for Muhammad Talab Hilal but tries to end the Kurdish existence altogether. He attempts to warn the Syrian regime and its followers who are as hostile as him from changing of the balance one day so that the Kurdish people get back their occupied homeland. There is no doubt that day is coming despite all the plans of Hilal and others whatever their racist schemes may be. Indeed the prospect of this change of balance has began since the September 11 events of the World Trade Centre in New York.

(2) What Muhammad Talab Hilal means in the introduction is that this study is that the Kurds and other ethnicities had gathered in Western Kurdistan (Al-Jazeera area) because of its richness and large economical production and not because it is the homeland of the Kurdish people. He quotes in this case a poet who incites the Arabs to awake and rescue Al-Jazeera from “Kurdish occupation”!! How strange is this overturned logic as large and little, sane and insane, wise and ignorant know that it is Syria that occupies Kurdistan and not the opposite. Even Hilal himself admits that when he was in Al-Jazeera he “felt that he was not in his Arabic homeland historically, land wise or people wise” and this feeling was correct because he was in a Kurdish homeland occupied by an occupying Syrian state.

(3) Hilal here tries to raise suspicion regarding the historical origins of the Kurds and the existence of Kurdistan geographically and claims without shame or honesty that there is no Kurdish language either! This is despite the fact that the Kurdish dialects are evidence for the originality of the Kurdish language and its belonging to a civilised culture and thus it is a richness or even a strength for the Kurdish language as they are Kurdish dialects and not Kurdish languages as Hilal claims. Dialects are there in all languages of the world and not in Kurdish language alone. The many dialects in Arabic language makes an Egyptian not to understand an Iraqi and a Moroccan not to understand a Syrian or Hijazian...etc. As for the history, there are, in addition to the information regarding the history of the Kurdish people in Hilal's report, other sources such as the book of Sharaf Khan Badlisi “Sharafnama” written 400 years ago and others sources but we admit that the great part of the Kurdish history and civilisation that have been discovered up to now has been deformed by the colonisers of Kurdistan and there has not been yet a scientific exploration of them. Even after 200 years of studies and European exploration of the Egyptian Faros history it has been admitted that there is still 75% of it unknown, so compare that to the Kurdish history that there is no one who works to explore it and even there are those who work to hide it and bury its sites that is the chauvinistic regimes colonising Kurdistan.

(4) Once again Hilal puts forward his hateful information about the Kurdish people, denying its existence and belittling it and its language that he compares to the language of (Gypsies), exactly as Hollako and Jengis Khan did regarding the peoples and countries they attacked and occupied. The Kurds have a history and civilisation that goes back to thousands of years, while the Moguls, Tatars, Arabs and Turks were sinking in ignorance and paganism. The Kurdish people's religion was Zoroastrian

that called for the unity of God thousand years before Islam. Also the Kurdish Median Empire that ruled all the countries of the Middle East from India and Sind to Egypt, seven centuries BC. Since those ages the Kurds were residing in castles and palaces while others are still up to now live in tents. Also the Arabic language contains thousands of words and expressions of Kurdish, Farsi, Hebrew, Aramaic and Indian languages, and others. Hilal calls for the expulsion of the Kurdish people from the region and by this he wants to destroy the civilisation in the region exactly as the Tatars and Moguls did regarding the civilisation of the countries of the countries they occupied. I have nothing to say to Muhammad Talab Hilal except the following: If you are not ashamed do what you like.

(5) Muhammad Talab Hilal states that there was no Kurdish state or homeland in history and in the next paragraph he contradicts himself by saying "... bearing in mind that the area where the Kurds reside is sometimes disputed or for its position between two countries..." Thus he admits that that the Kurds have their own area that is a homeland, and the history has seen many Kurdish states such as, to name a few: First: the Kurdish governments before Christ that were called by the names of the peoples of the area who were the ancestors of the present Kurdish people such as: Lulu government 2800 BC, Guti government 2649 BC, Kushu government 1174-1171 BC, Khaldi-Oratu government 840 BC, Subari government thirty centuries BC and the Median Empire government nine centuries BC.

(6) Muhammad Talab Hilal is also trying to falsify the history by saying that the Kurds had arrived from Russia!! This in itself is a joke because his information has nothing to do with the truth. With this he is not making fun of the reader but himself as he behaves like a clown and mixing things together. Also the principedoms that he mentioned were existing hundreds of years before the nineteenth century and when the wars between the two empires of Ottomans and Safavids took place in the sixteenth century, the armies of 46 Kurdish principedoms joined the Ottoman army against the Iranians. What happened in the nineteenth century was that the Ottomans destroyed the Kurdish principedoms and it was not that the principedoms were established in the nineteenth century as claims the falsifier of history Hilal... Also the great Kurdish literary and thinker Ahmad Khani who wrote his famous epic Mam u Zeen more than 300 years ago mentioned in it the story of the Kurdish Prince Botan and that was a clear sign that the Kurdish principedom of Botan existed and of course the story happened before Ahmad Khani's times by a long time that is before the nineteenth century by hundreds of years.

(7) What the late Muhammad Amin Zeki has mentioned regarding the spread of ignorance among the Kurdish people and tribes in the start of the last century is not valid only for the Kurds but it was the case for the most peoples of Asia and Africa, and the Arabs in the first place, this is confirmed by the admission of Muhammad Talab Hilal in this study when he mentioned that the ratio of illiteracy among the Arab tribes in second half of the last century was overwhelming. Muhammad Talab Hilal goes back to falsify history when he quotes the scholar Muhammad Amin Zeki as saying that the Kurds are factors of destruction and the colonialism is the one that helping in creating that nation! And that it has no basis, and even no scientist could give a definition to the Kurdish homeland... and other descriptions and adjectives that are non existent except in the rotten chauvinist mind as that of Muhammad Talab Hilal who ignores the fact that the Kurdish people and the Kurdish nation were not a

factor of destruction but built civilisations that were no less than the Chinese and Faros civilisations thousands of years ago and also the Kurds were there before colonialism existed, so how can colonialism support the creation of the Kurdish nation before colonialism itself comes to existence. As for defining borders of Kurdistan the majority of Kurdish leaders and organisations had defined the borders of Kurdistan and presented it to the superpowers and international conferences (before the establishment of the Arab states after the World War I). One of those was presented to the Paris peace conference of 1919 by the Kurdish leader General Sharif Pasha with a map and a flag of Kurdistan along with a memorandum demanding from the allied states to recognise the independence of Kurdistan. On that basis the Allies signed the Sevres Treaty after a year that recommended the independence of Kurdistan (see articles 62, 63 and 64 of the Sevres Treaty at the end of the book). Also the Kurdish historian Prince Sharaf Khan Bedlisi has determined the borders of Kurdistan in his book "Sharafnama" more than 400 years ago by stating: the borders of Kurdistan are extended from the Hermes passage in the south to the Caucasus in the north, and the Mediterranean in the west. As for the other peoples in the area such as the Armenians and Assyrians... this does not change anything about the existence of the Kurdish people and Kurdish ethnicity, is not there more than three hundred ethnic languages in India, is not there in the Arab countries other non Arabic peoples, if we isolate them from the Arabs, the Arabs remain as a minority as the original Arabs are living today in the Arabia peninsula as a mixture of Thai, Pakistani, Indian, Iranian and European...etc. As for the other Arab countries in which there are Arabised Arabs such as the Faros of Egypt, Kanans of Palestine, Finisceans of Lebanon, the Nobi people of the Nile valley, people of Southern Sudan, the Berbers of North Africa, the Aramaic, Assyrians, Alawits, Druz of Syrian and Lebanon and the Sahara people of Mauritania and Morocco, and others. As for the population of the Kurds in the Arab countries other than in the parts of Kurdistan that have been annexed by the two states of Syria and Iraq, it is more than 15 million Kurds spread from North Africa to Egypt, Sudan and various Gulf countries with the biggest ratio in Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine (for example 70% of the population in the town of Galilee in the West Bank are Kurds). There are three types of Kurds in the Arab countries, first: the Kurdish people in the parts of Kurdistan that have been annexed by the two states of Iraq and Syria, who live in their homeland Kurdistan for thousands of years. Second: the Kurds who came in the times of Sultan Saladin Ayobi to fight against the European crusaders and spread in the Arab countries. Third: those who came in later times for various reasons, mainly ethnic persecution. In Damascus the most ancient families such as Bodhou, Al-Abed, Al-Za'im, Al-Azma, Al-Quatli and others are Kurdish and in Iraq 50% of the population of the southern Arab cities are also Kurds. If we go back to the origins of the Alawits and Druz, we find that they are original Zoroastrian Kurds who stayed on their religion but changed their names in the times of Islamic tide fearing genocide. This subject needs a special study of its own.

(8) Here Muhammad Talab Hilal quotes some Soviet oriental scholar without mentioning his name so that we could see if it is true or just a lie like all other lies of Hilal. However, most of what is written by the Soviet oriental scholars regarding the Kurds and other peoples of the world was by the official Soviet direction that nationalism is one of the stages of economical development of nations and came after the capitalism and as the Kurdish people according to their claims is still in the feudal stage or even in some areas in the stage of pasture and hunting, which is been

disproved by the Kurdish poets, writers, historians and philosophers in all stages of history. For instance what was written by the Kurdish historian Prince Sharaf Khan Bedlisi and the Kurdish philosopher Ahmad Al-Khani and others hundreds of years ago is an absolute undisputed evidence of the high level of Kurdish nationalism that was even higher than the programs of many of the current Kurdish political parties. Ahmad Khani in his epic Mam u Zeen states: We cannot see the establishment of the state of Kurdistan without politics, fighting and courage.

Be ceng u cidal u tehewir

Naye Kurdistan bete tesewir

In another place Hilal states that the colonialism of the beginning of last century was encouraging the Kurdish movement, and this is not true but the truth is that colonialism was encouraging the ancestors of Hilal, because had colonialism encouraged the Kurdish movement, the Kurds would have had their own state and independent political body as it happened with the Arabs.

(9) Hilal describes the Kurdish liberation revolutions as rebellions and mentions few of them, but he does not mention the important revolutions that left behind a glorious nationalistic traditions, such as the revolution of Sheik Mahmoud Hafid that declared himself as a king of Southern Kurdistan 1919-1924, the revolution of Khoibun Party under the command of General Ihsan Nouri Pasha in the mountains of Aghri (Ararat) 1927-1930, and the declaration of the Kurdistan Republic under the leadership of the best of martyrs Qadhi Muhammad in Eastern Kurdistan 1946 that tried for the independence of all parts of Kurdistan and formed Kurdish governments, and raised the flag of Kurdistan. This of course does not please chauvinists such as Hilal that is why he deliberately ignored those great revolutions. Hilal states that he has no access to Kurdish references and sources while at the same time quotes the writings of the Kurdish scholar Muhammad Amin Zeki who has mentioned these great revolutions and their details in his book (History of Kurds and Kurdistan), but Hilal ignores this deliberately.

(10) Here also Muhammad Talab Hilal resorts to his sick imagination and bare lies. Is it possible that the Kurdish people is an agent and friend to all the western and eastern superpowers and stays without any state, pryncedom or any sort of independent body? Had the Kurdish people been an agent to any one of those mentioned by Hilal the Kurdish people's situation would not have been as we see it now of division and occupation with its honour and dignity threatened all the time by unworthy others. Hilal also considers that the superpowers are playing a role in creation the Kurdish people. We have heard about creating ideologies, thought and political, sectarian and nationalistic tendencies, but creating a people has not been heard of as Hilal states. For instance more than a century ago a group of linguistic scientists suggested creating an international language (Esperanto) so that the world has a common language, but the Esperanto group did not manage to create even one village speaking Esperanto. In addition it looks like Hilal adopted many lies to find any point that goes against the existence of the Kurdish people and the justness of its demands to deform them and thus made himself a subject of jokes. Such lies would not deceive any reader but I shall reply to some of them and leave the others for the wisdom of the readers themselves to uncover, and they are many. For example Hilal describes the Kurdish liberation movement as a communist movement and the late Mustafa Barzani had received the rank of General from the Soviet Union. The truth is different as had the Party been a communist movement it would have joined the

Communist Party. As for the late Mustafa Barzani, he gained the rank of General from the Kurdistan Republic in 1946 as the general commander of the Kurdistan Republic's army. This truth was proved by the Kurdish thinker Dr Jemal Nebez on the basis of Persian government sources and documents hostile to the Kurdish people (see the scientific research of Dr Jemal Nebez in Nishtman magazine), and also Barzani was not a Marxist to become a leader of communists. Hilal talks about the development of Kurdish language and criticises "writing in Latin alphabet" knowing that it is a natural right for any people to develop its language and write in the Latin alphabet or any other alphabet that suits that language and Hilal does not know that the Arabic alphabet was originally taken from the ancient Aramaic alphabet which was the language of the ancient Jews. As for the study of the Kurdish history and literature after the World War II, Hilal claims that the tendency was to educate the people and connect their ties with a united history and Kurdish nationalist awareness in various countries, all this is absolutely not true because the Kurds after the World War II were subjected to a nationalist tragedy after the appearance of democratic parties in various countries that called for a narrow regionalist idea and forgot about other parts of Kurdistan exactly as the regionalist East Germany that was used to be called DDR while it was in reality a centre for dictatorship in Europe contrary to its name. Kurdistan was also infected with such democracy and regionalism that drew it away from nationalist thinking and led to intensive wars between the Kurdish factions, and it has been 40 years now this partisan internal fighting going on in Southern Kurdistan. There is also regionalist partisan fighting between the Kurdish factions of Southern Kurdistan with those in Eastern Kurdistan and also with the Kurdish factions in Northern Kurdistan and Western Kurdistan. The late Mustafa Barzani was a commander of 150 thousand Kurdish fighters, the martyr Abdulrahman Qasimlo was a commander of a hundred thousand Kurdish fighter and the prisoner Abdullah Ocalan was a commander of a similar number... Had these three Kurdish forces were united, the history and geography of the region would have changed dozens of years ago, but unfortunately these Kurdish forces instead of uniting fought each other and as a result more than 60 thousand fighters of the best Kurdish people's political and military personalities fell as victims and became martyrs. The regionalist bad policies of the parties and their distance from the nationalist thinking, and the lack of the question of Kurdish national security in their minds and agendas led to several catastrophes. The lacking of unity between the two administrations of Sulaimany and Hewler is one of the results and it is in itself a kind of Kurdish internal fighting so that the Kurdish people would not take advantage of the historical international opportunity that has been a dream for the Kurdish people for hundreds of years. The leaders of Kurdish people contacted the superpowers in order to rescue the Kurdish people from division and occupation, one of those was the letters of the late Sheik Mahmoud Hafid, King of Kurdistan to Lenin, the first leader of the Soviet Union, but unfortunately no one answered the calls of the Kurdish leaders at the time. When the superpowers came to Kurdistan in 2003 it was for their own interests that for the first time accidentally coincided with those of the Kurdish people. However, the leaders of the Kurdish parties of this era who had promised the Kurdish people to get them to the safe shores, even faced with such a huge opportunity have not changed their agendas and mentality, the same mentality that was dominant during the cold war, and perhaps it remained frozen because of the influence of the cold war on them. Such a policy does not agree with the new international developments and politics at all.

As for the studies in the Kurdish history and literature that Muhammad Talab Hilal is talking about, those were written before the World War and even by hundreds of years were much more truthful and stronger than those after the World War II. The Kurdish history for instance is still uses as a historical reference the book of the scholar Muhammad Amin Zeki (History of the Kurds and Kurdistan) before the World War II and what was written by the Kurdish prince Sharaf Khan Bedlisi 400 years ago in his book (Sharafnama). Hilal claims that the Russians had given the Kurds a helping hand, what kind of help is that, nothing but few study places which were not limited to the Kurdish people but for Kurdish people being a part of the third world and what was given to the Kurdish people is nothing compared with that of other peoples. The real Russian help was, dear Hilal, given to the Arabs and not the Kurds as most of the Arab countries received Russian weapons starting from Kalashnikov to Meg and Sukhoi planes and all kinds of missiles, to even nuclear reactors and chemical weapons to some of them, and for some of them building the hugest of dams on their rivers in addition to factories and various kinds of health, technical and technological expertise for free or long term loans, and much other support that the Kurdish people did not get. I would not do injustice to Hilal if I call him the biggest liar of the twentieth century and this book of his is not worth the paper that was printed on for its worthlessness, hypocrisy and uncountable lies, which are all aiming for one and only thing that is to claim that the Kurds are agents and a malignant infection that should be eradicated as Hilal claims in many paragraphs of his book, but I chose to publish this book so that the readers know that Muhammad Talab Hilal and his kind are the ones who are malignant infections that should be eradicated from the body of Arab peoples and the time has come for that after the eradication of their extensions in Iraq, God gives time but does not forget.

(11) Here we find Muhammad Talab Hilal is not only hostile to the Kurdish liberation movement and its leaders but even those Arab leaders who understand the rights of the Kurdish people. The Arab leaders such as Abdulkarim Qasim who brought down the Baghdad Alliance and set up the republican regime in Iraq, who declared for the first time in an Iraqi constitution that Arabs and Kurds were partners in this homeland. However, what Hilal says that Qasim allowed teaching Kurdish language and publishing Kurdish newspapers in pure lie, the truth is Qasim could not do that because that was already there even before the establishment of the Iraqi state in 1921. He also accuses the Egyptian president Jamal Abdul Nasser of being an agent and other descriptions that he does not deserve at all as he dedicated all his life struggle for Arabs and Arabism, then comes a petty opportunist as Muhammad Talab Hilal to insult his own peers in this horrible way. That is because Hilal considers the annihilation of the Kurdish people is a duty and natural right for the Arab chauvinism. Hilal also cheerfully salutes the united operations of the Syrian and Iraqi armies and I remember very well those events and the participation of the Al-Yermuk division of the Syrian army with the Iraqi army in their cowardly war against the Kurdish people instead of fighting the real enemies of the Arab peoples. However, the Syrian Al-Yermuk division under the command of Staff General Fahd Al-Sha'r came back to Syria disappointed like the other Iraqi units after losing half of its soldiers and ammunition and weapons. But Hilal refuses to admit the defeat and says that after the uniting of the two armies Sheik Ahmad Barzani surrendered, in reality it was not a surrender but distribution of roles with his brother the late Mella Mustafa Barzani. Here Hilal calls Sheik Ahmad by the name "Ahmad Al-Barzani" without Sheik, while even his enemies called him Sheik because he was indeed among the greatest Kurdish

Sheiks that priest Wegram described in his study more than a hundred years ago that the Sheiks of Barzan are very humble but very feared and respected. It is an irony of the destiny that an insignificant intelligence officer such as Hilal insults great men such as Sheik Ahmad Barzani and the late Egyptian president Jamal Abdul Nasser. The sick mind of Hilal regards the Kurdish liberation movement as the main and only danger and to emphasise that Hilal describes the Kurds as the Jews in Palestine. That is why Hilal openly calls for the destruction of Kurdish houses in Al-Jazeera area. The Sykes-Picault Treaty divided Kurdistan and awarded part of it to Syria, Muhammad Talab Hilal's country and after taking this part of Kurdistan instead of allowing the Kurds to practise their traditions, customs and language to enlighten the burden of injustice against them, he dreadfully calls for the destruction of Kurds' houses, displacing them and killing them. The truth is that Kurdistan is not another Israel as Hilal likes to say repeatedly, but Kurdistan in fact is another Palestine under the control of Arab chauvinism. Time and again he repeats his lies and false accusations that the Kurdish movement in Al-Jazeera area is created by colonialism, and I say to Hilal and his kind that those who he mentioned are not marionettes of colonialism but they are historical leaders of the Kurdish people who grew up among the Kurdish people and colonialism in fact tried to stop their activity but could not. For example Apo Osman Sabri who was arrested by the French mandate forces in Syria several times one of those was his exile by the French to the island of Madagascar in Africa for two years. So, had the figures of Kurdish movement were created by the colonialism, why would in that case the colonialists arrest them and exile them, Hilal? As for Mr Jalal Qartush who was the chief of customs in the Amuda area during the sixtieth and one of the Kurds of Damascus, whose son was martyred in the fire of the Amuda cinema fashioned by the Syrian Intelligence that Hilal works for, in which 380 Kurdish children murdered among whom the son of Jalal Qatrush. Jalal stayed asking for justice for his son's blood until he was martyred by the Syrian Intelligence who sent someone to kill him recently in his house in Damascus. The others who were mentioned in Hilal's list are among ancient Kurdish families with a position in the Kurdish community and are the greats of the Kurdish nation and cannot go down to a level of being agents and spies as the tramp Muhammad Talab Hilal claims. The late Bodhan Beg the chief of the Barazia tribe in the town of Kobani is the father of Esmat Shaheen and had more than ten thousand armed Kurdish horse riders as followers until the eve of Syrian independence in 1946.

(12) Here Muhammad Talab Hilal claims that the Kurds came to Al-Jazeera area and occupied it, or even occupied the fertile land and left the less fertile for the Arabs. Then he himself when mentions the Arab tribes says that they came from the Arabia or Yemen. So, the Arabs are the ones who are aliens to Al-Jazeera then. The archaeological researches in Al-Jazeera region discovered the remains and coins going back to the Median Empire, that is the Kurds were population Al-Jazeera thousands years ago and the Al-Jazeera region is a part of Kurdistan without any doubt. Muhammad Talab Hilal does not stop at throwing political accusations at the Kurdish people and its liberation movement but also creates lies about the Kurdish character as he mentions that the Kurds speak their own language and no one understands what they are saying, while in reality it is the opposite, as if in a meeting there were a hundred people speaking Kurdish and only one who does not speak Kurdish all of them would talk in Arabic as respect for that one. He also accuses Kurds of cruelty, he is right then for was it the Kurds who burnt the Arab children in the Amuda cinema to death or attacked the Arabs with chemical weapons in the city

of Halabja and many other tragedies?!! Indeed all Hilal's mind is concentrated on creating accusations and turning lies into facts and facts into lies. In fact in the face of such cruelty of Arabs in Amuda cinema and Halabja the Kurds have not tried to respond in the same manner and attack Baghdad or Damascus using same kind of tactics. He also accuses the Kurds of clever tactics while the truth is the opposite as it was the Arab regimes themselves who killed Arabs in Al-Dujaila in Iraq and bombarded the city of Hama with cannons and killed thousands of Arabs and Kurds. Had the Kurds had clever tactics they would have by now had their own state and identity as the Arabs, Turks and Persians. The main characteristic of a Kurd in fact is his unlimited goodness to the extent of simplicity that made them forget themselves and serve the others such as Arabs, Turks and Persian better than themselves do. So, in Syria as I mentioned previously the leaders of the Syrian revolutions against the French mandate were Kurds and the Kurds also played a leading role in all the political tendencies in Syria after the independence, as the leader of the Syrian Communist Party was the Kurd Khalid Bakdash, the Mufti of the Syrian Republic is the Kurdish Sheik Ahmad Kaftaro, in addition the leaders of the national Syrian parties were Kurds such as Rushdi Al-Kikhia, Ali Boudho and others. The Kurds even had their role in the leadership of the Baath Party such as the previous Syrian prime minister Mahmoud Al-Ayoubi and others. The Kurds had the same roles in Turkey, Iran and Iraq also. In Iraq the Kurds had a role in establishing its army after its establishment in 1921, but that army later invaded Kurdistan and used the policy of burned land killing people and animals and destroying plants and farms. In 2003 when Iraq was liberated by the allies who dismantled the government with its constitution and army, and nothing left from any Iraqi authority, instead of declaring a state of their own, the Kurds who have all the requirements such as liberated land, people who live on it, Kurdish government, satellite TV stations, parliament, a Kurdish army and other institutions, they went to Baghdad to form an Iraqi government, army and intelligence services. This Iraqi army might also someday in the future invade Kurdistan again and kills the Kurds who were left alive and even more. The Kurds are now busy planning and executing Iraq's foreign policy and writing the Iraqi constitution although they have an established Kurdistan government since 1991, but the Kurds have not written a constitution for their own government yet. Is not this a simplicity that is unbelievable among all the people. It is like the eighth wonder of the world, yet Muhammad Talab Hilal still accuses the Kurds of trickery and cleverness!!... Even the Egyptian movies make fun of the Kurdish simplicity that exceeds the limits and show it as silliness and stupidity, so if someone tries to fool another he replies: why are you thinking that I am a Kurd. In fact the Kurds must use trickery and cleverness with the enemies of the Kurdistan independence and freedom of the Kurdish people to build a clever policy with the superpowers and not the trickery and cleverness that some Kurdish parties use against the Kurdish people only.

(13) Here Muhammad Talab Hilal talks about the Kurdish tribes and states a new racist theory by saying that the old view that the you should educate the Kurds to Arabise them has been proven wrong because by education they became more insistent on demanding their national rights so the government should work for the ignorance of the Kurds. He also claims that the great revolution of the Kurdish tribes in 1925 under the leadership of Sheik Sa'id Piran was only a rebellion and banditry!! Yes, in his racist thoughts Hilal went to the extent to dare and label the noble personalities of our people as bandits and describe himself and those countries that

violated Kurdistan's lands, people and riches in the daylight as nobles. Thus he turns nobles who demand their violated rights into bandits and turns the bandits who stole the homeland of the Kurdish people into nobles. That is why he suggests to the Syrian authorities to displace the Kurds from their areas to places far from Kurdistan. What he mentions regarding the Al-Daquirria tribe as other tribes that part of it in Syria and another part is beyond the Turkish borders is indeed because of the borders drawn by the Sykes - Picault Treaty divided the Kurdish people and Kurdistan so that a part of it became under the Syrian rule and the other under the Turkish rule as an international colony. When he writes about the Sydan tribe, Hilal is seeding hostility between the Arabic and Kurdish peoples by saying that the Kurds chanted slogans against Arabs in the town of Amuda. I have been working in the field of Kurdish patriotism for more than forty years and never heard or saw even one Kurd chanting slogans against Arabs because the conflict of the Kurds is not with the Arabs at all except in the sick minds of Hilal and his similar, because the real conflict is between the Arabic and Kurdish people with racist Arabic regimes and those behind their philosophy who conspire against both the Kurdish and Arabic peoples. In another place Hilal is threatening openly that displacing the Kurds from Kurdistan that is occupied by Syria, is in agreement with what is going on in Iraq and then he compares the Kurdish liberation movement under the leadership of the late Barzani with a snake's head that should be cut. The racist Syrian regime carried out Hilal's suggestion by sending Syrian military units to help the Iraqi army in its racist war against the Kurdish people. However, the determined flaw of history can not be stopped neither by the Iraqi army or the Syrian army nor by any other. Hilal tries desperately from the beginning to the end of his book to think out accusations against the Kurdish people without even thinking about the often met contradictions in these accusations, such as the blasphemous Kurdish Sheiks! Or the Kurdish movement is an agent for communism and colonialism simultaneously! Several other contradictions give the impression to the reader that Hilal is a child in politics or he is a politician but a racist. As a racist is under the influence of a black hatred that make him mix things to the extent of not distinguishing between black and white. One of the anecdotes of his is the account of a Kurdish woman's speech that he well may have created although it is not logical to regard the views of all the Kurdish people as the views of one woman. But what can you do with such Hilal that does not need any excuses to make judgements, even though finally what is the big deal if this woman cannot read Koran because she is Kurdish and does not speak Arabic. Hilal and his likes accuse us of blasphemy as if they are saints themselves. While when the Kurds want to be free from them they resort to the religion as a weapon as we are all Muslims. In both cases they are harming Islam, because the Kurds are not blasphemous and if they think that separation of Kurdistan from their states as division of Muslim brotherhood, then this is nothing but a colonialist policy that aims to prolong the time of colonisation of Kurdistan, because if they were truthful why would not they in that case condemn the existence of 22 Arab states plus other states such as Pakistan, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Turkey, Iran, Indonesia, Albania...etc. in order to preserve the unity of the Islamic world. Why do they accept 22 Arab states and dozens of Islamic states but do not accept one Kurdish state?! Is not this injustice and double standards that does not exist in any just system. Hilal goes further in his mention of Al-Marsinia tribe and generalises again by stating that a Kurd even after loosing his identity by becoming an Arab is still an agent of colonialism, so a Kurd stays accused in Hilal's view and should be executed even if he becomes an Arab. He also expresses his astonishment at the fact that he had not seen even one Kurd who

was against the establishment of a Kurdish state. Why are you astonished you Hilal the false messiah, of course every people must have its own state and identity and no one has the right, no party, no system or people to become guardians of another people as the idea of a guardian is a colonialist idea no matter how coloured and changed.

(14) In the chapter of “Our old view regarding the Kurds” Hilal says that the old view regarding the Kurds should change after the events in Iraq as the Kurds are nothing but a new dagger in the back of the Arab nation after the “dagger of Israel”. This open hatred to the Kurdish people is a smoke screen for the Arab masses that are unfortunate enough to have such people as Hilal and his peers. Also the racist Arab regimes that are afraid of the winds of democracy have adopted the full extent of Muhammad Talab Hilal’s ideas, and as a result the Arabs forgot the favours of the Kurdish religious scholars and the Islamic institutes in Kurdistan as first of all the Haran University from which the great Islamic scholar Ibin Taimiah graduated as well as Al-Farabi and hundreds others. And the favours of the Kurdish commander Saladin Ayobi in liberating Jerusalem and defending Arabs. In the last century the Kurds participated in the Arab countries’ armies or as individuals in the Palestinian organisations to liberate Palestine. The Kurds in most of the Arab states had also participated in gaining the national independence from the European occupation. However, Hilal’s policies and that of the racist and dictatorial Arab regimes played a negative role in directing the Arab public opinion against the interests of the Arab peoples as well as the Kurdish nation. This is despite the fact that the Kurdish people was and still the true supporting force for the Arab nation without seeing any positive response from the Arab systems that control their peoples totally. These people see everything but they are lacking any will because of the oppression police apparatus of the Arab regimes. We shall now state some examples regarding what the Arab regimes do towards their peoples and the Kurds:

1- The Kurdish revolution started in Southern Kurdistan in 1961 to achieve the autonomy for the Kurdish people in Iraq. Every time the Iraqi forces were defeated by the Kurdish forces, the Iraqi regime would resort to political regional and international conspiracies. The March Agreement of 1970 between the Kurdish revolution and the Iraqi Baathist regime was nothing but a manoeuvre to buy time. Starting from the first year of the Agreement the Iraqi government assassinated several Kurdish personalities and carried out two failed attempts to assassinate the leader of the revolution the late Mustafa Barzani and his son the late Idris Barzani, and the Iraqi regime also bought the loyalty of some elements inside the revolution such as the Iraqi Communist Party and others. Internationally also the Iraqi government tried to isolate the revolution by signing a Friendship Treaty with the Soviet Union in 1972 for 15 years, so by 1974 the Iraqi regime had everything prepared to renew the war and the war was waged for one whole year but the Iraqi government discovered that despite all its internal, regional and international preparations, the revolution had still the upper hand, militarily at least. That is why Saddam Hussein met the Shah of Iran in Algeria during the OPEC conference in March 1975. With the blessings of Boumedién, Al-Sadat and the Americans the treacherous Algerian Treaty was signed according to which Iraq gave the green light to Iran to occupy three islands in the Gulf, Tanb Al-Sughra, Tanb Al-kubra and Abu Mousa that belonged to Emirates and also made concessions to half of Shat Al-Arab and border heights and strategic positions in addition to other concessions to Iran.

Saddam Hussein also handed over elements and leadership of the Arabistan Liberation Movement from the Iranian colonialism who were in Baghdad to the Iranian government and stopped the media attacks on Iran...etc. All this in response to closing the Iranian borders with Kurdistan to suffocate the Kurdish revolution despite the fact that the Kurdish demands for autonomy were much less than all those concessions of Iraq to the Soviets in 1972 and Shah of Iran in 1975 (such concessions are always happening similar to the Syrian concession to Turkey in the Adhana Treaty of 1999). When the late Barzani found himself and his people face to face to such an international conspiracy in which east and west participated he declared the stopping of the revolution. Here we can see clearly that Hilal and his Arabic regimes are the ones who are agents of the colonialism and communism at the same time and not the Kurdish people and its liberation movement who are the victims. In 1979 after the fall of Shah's rule in Iran Saddam Hussein demanded back what he conceded to Iran but Iran refused so the Iraq - Iran war started in 1980 and Iraq lost the best of its sons in its fire. When the war ended in 1988 Iraq committed mass murder crimes against the Kurdish people in which hundreds of thousands of Kurdish civilians died notably during the chemical attacks on Kurdistan. Iraq at the time had a huge arsenal of weapons that was ready to carry out a military coup against Saddam himself had the war stopped, so Saddam started using his army in another adventure and this was the Kuwait war of 1990. Everyone knows the results of that war that led to the mass Kurdish exodus in millions that changed the Kurdish cause from an internal Iraqi issue into an international issue that forced the superpowers to intervene and divided Iraq and forced the Safe Haven in Kurdistan and the Shiite area of south and despite all the crimes of the Iraqi regime the Kurdish leaders went to Baghdad and kissed Saddam Hussein in 1991 and thus returned the Kurdish cause as an Iraqi internal issue again hopping for opening a new chapter after Saddam murdered half a million Kurds some of whom were brothers and relatives of the Kurdish leaders. However, Saddam did not agree to any Kurdish rights and the Kurdish leaders went back to Kurdistan disappointed. Then came the war of 2003 in which Iraq lost its sovereignty, government and army, and its dignity became under boots, why was all that? The answer is the hated racism that the Baath Party and Arab facists are proud of as they are ready to bow their heads to East and West but cannot stand seeing the Kurdish nation beside the Arab nation in Iraq and Syria and boast as the joker Muhammad Sa'eed Al-Sahaf to the last moment.

2- In 1957 Syria and Lebanon were subjected to international and regional pressure and the American planes were raiding on Lebanon from the Turkish airfields, so the Syrian government in order to solve the problem of a Turkish attack on its northern borders resorted to a union treaty with Egypt under the leadership of the former Egyptian president Jamal Abdul Nasser. At the time the Turkish president stated: "We went to bed last night having a country of 6 million population on our borders but woke up today having a country of 36 million population on our southern borders". But in 1999 when Syria was subjected to a new pressure from the Turkish regime, instead of solving the problem the way the former Egyptian president did, there was a compromise regarding the Kurdish people in the Northern Kurdistan occupied by the Turkish state, and the Syrian regime threw out the Kurdistan Workers Party and its leader Mr Abdullah Ocalan from Syria and Lebanon, which lead to his kidnapping and handing over to the Turkish regime and he is still imprisoned in Turkey. But throwing out Ocalan did not solve the problem of Syria as it is now asked to hand over the leaders of Palestinian organisations and those of Hizbullah in

Lebanon, as well as many other compromises.

I repeat and say why are all these compromises to the neighbouring countries that are not justified at all while the Kurds have rights and no rights are given? This is nothing but a fulfilment of Muhammad Talab Hilal's racist policy that continues to dominate the Arab regimes that in turn control the Arab masses. On this basis we see that when the town of Halabja was shelled by Iraqi chemical weapons, we did not see out of 200 million Arabs 200 of them condemn it, while when the news of killing Quasai and Oudai was spread some Arab regimes set up mourning ceremonies for their souls but no Arab regime holding any mourning ceremonies for all the Iraqi and Kurdish mass graves of the victims of Saddam Hussein and his two sons Qusai and Oudai that we see daily on all Arab and international TV channels. Despite all this the Kurdish people honoured the Iraqi Arab poet Muhammad Mahdi Al-Jawaheri and organised festivals and statues of him in the two cities of Sulaimany and Hewler in Kurdistan. But up to now no Arab regime organised a similar festival for any Kurdish poet in an Arab country. Also 50% of the time on the Kurdish satellite TV channels is used for Arabic songs while no Arabic TV channel broadcasting one Kurdish song. These are only few examples of the racist policies of the Arab regimes towards the just Kurdish cause and their compromises towards the neighbouring countries.

(15) Muhammad Talab Hilal mentions the fifth article of the Party party program that says: (Attempting to enhance the brotherly and friendly relationship between all the ethnicities...), and the brotherly and friendly relationships in Hilal's view are rejected because all chauvinist racists do not believe in brotherhood and friendship between peoples. I remember in 1972 when Kurdish students in the streets of Qamishli chanting (Long live Arab-Kurdish brotherhood), the Syrian Intelligence arrested five of them and the Syrian State Security Court sentenced them to two years imprisonment. These racist ideas are the ones that accelerating the independence of Kurdistan from these barbaric regimes because no human can stand their policies. On top of everything, Hilal compares Kurdistan to "Jewistan" ignoring the fact that the Kurds did not come from Russia, Europe and America but they are the original residents of the region for thousands of years even before the Arabs and the Turks. As the Turks came from the central Asia 800 years ago and the Arabs came from the Arabian peninsula with the Islamic waves 1400 years ago. However, the Kurdish people established empires and states three thousand years ago and it was present in the region continuously since creation. It means that the Kurdish people has never left Kurdistan at all and even now the Kurdish people in Kurdistan is the over all majority despite the operations of Arabisation, Turkism and Iranisation in some of the Kurdish towns such as Mosul, Halab, Askenderun, Ormia and Tebriz.

(16) Once again Muhammad Talab Hilal calls for spreading ignorance among the Kurds and using calm scientific planning to end the Kurdish existence. Indeed he calls simply to annihilate the Kurdish people as he claims that the Arabic land accommodated and fed the Kurds. This is the highest degree of hypocrisy and lies as we have not seen from the Arab regimes anything except mass murders and genocides such as in the part of Kurdistan under the Iraqi occupation where the Iraqi regime destroyed more than 4000 Kurdish villages instead of "accommodating and feeding" the Kurds. Hilal might mean feeding the Kurds with cannon shells and missiles.

(17) Under the title (Colonialists Planning for the Kurds), Hilal mentions that the two camps have agreed to support Kurdistan. We answered these claims of his previously

and we say to him specifically that it was the West that divided Kurdistan in 1923 according to the Losane Treaty and made it an international colony. It was the West also who established the Baghdad Pact from the countries that occupy Kurdistan in order to keep Kurdistan divided as it is. It was the West also that signed the treacherous Treaty of Algiers in 1975 using their representative Shah of Iran. It was also the West that supplied Iraq with chemical weapons to attack Kurdistan with it. The west also supplied the colonisers of Kurdistan with the most modern technology in order to prolong the colonisation of Kurdistan. It was even the west that established the Arab states and formed their governments under their mandate to train them on the principals of ruling and supply them with all kind of support even today with a very long list. As for the Soviets, they sold the Kurdistan Republic to the Iranians in order to get the licence to oil exploration in Iran in 1946, and sold Kurdistan again in 1972 by signing a Friendship Treaty with Iraq and ordering the Iraqi Communist Party to leave the ranks of the Kurdish revolution and help the Iraqi army in the war of 1974. As for the support of the Soviets for the Arabs, especially Syria and Iraq, it needs volumes to count. So, without going into details the reader can see the limitless lies and hypocrisy of Muhammad Talab Hilal as the opposite is correct and the colonialists and the Soviets' planning was in favour of the Arabs and not the Kurds.

(18) Here Muhammad Talab Hilal once again tries to incite hatred between the two Arabic and Kurdish peoples and makes excuses for what the Arab regimes do as racist conspiracies against the Kurdish people such as displacement, Arabisation and settlements because the Soviets want to create a colony belonging to them in Kurdistan as an opposite to the western colony of Israel so that to find an international balance in the region!! If this was not pure imagination we would have said that the opposite is true, as it is the Arab regimes that bring Arabs to settle them in the Kurdish areas to Arabise them. He lies time after time following the saying of the Nazis propaganda lie and lie and lie until the people believe you. This method is followed by Hilal with all those who oppose his racist policy even if they were Arabs or Arab leaders such as Abdulkarim Qasim and Jamal Abdul Nasser. He compares the case of the Muslim Brotherhood who tried to overthrow Abdul Nasser's regime with the Kurdish people's question who demands its rights as people and humans. The Kurds never gone to Cairo, Damascus or Baghdad to kill their presidents and take over the power as the Muslim Brotherhood or others did. It is the opposite as it is the Arab armies and their intelligence services that work continuously to kill any Kurd no matter if he demands a Kurdish state in the occupied by Syria and Iraq Kurdistan or even for just saying: I am a Kurd. These racist regimes do not stop at occupying the Kurdish homeland and looting its riches but they do not accept the existence of the Kurdish people altogether. It is because of inferiority and jealousy that Muhammad Talab Hilal attacks the giants of Egypt just because the Abdul Nasser's and Sadat's Egypt were always in the front row of the Arabs both in war or in peace, while the Baaths Syria with such philosophers as Muhammad Talab Hilal and Munzer Al-Mosuli was always in the back row in war and peace.

(19) From the start of his book until this point Muhammad Talab Hilal thinks that he has convinced the reader of the danger of the Kurdish people, so he now comes to his "suggestions" to get rid of the Kurdish people in such an open and nasty way. He suggests 12 points as the basis for a general plan for a racist crime designed against the Kurdish people summarised as follows: he starts with an introduction correctly

identifying that the Kurdish cause is one connected cause in all of Syria, Turkey, Iraq and Iran. So, there should be a general plan starting with displacement, spreading ignorance, withdrawing Syrian nationality from them, closing the doors of their employment, a propaganda campaign against the Kurds, withdraw religious titles from Kurdish Sheiks, creating clashes between the Kurds, settling Arabs in their places, turning the Kurdish areas into military areas, creating Arab settlements, depriving Kurds of voting and naturalisation...etc. All these suggestions are regarded by Hilal as not enough but are just a basis for a radical plan. Today after around half a century from this racist project, we can say that it has been executed in full. Let us take the 7th article as an example as in it Hilal states: "Creating clashes between the Kurds and this is easy and could be possible..." The project of Hilal in creating clashes between the Kurds in Syria and those of Turkey, the Kurds of Turkey with those of Iraq or the Kurds of Iraq with those of Iran has not been just carried out but centres of tension has been created in all those areas by their own. I remember when I was a member of the Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria in 1964 as there was only one Kurdish party in Syria at the time, but now their number is more than twenty parties and organisations and everyone of them is happy with what they got. That is each one regards itself to be right and the others wrong and without exaggeration 90% of the Kurdish forces are wasted in those parties fighting each other. This is not just by chance but it is according to a very well set agenda in the capitals of those countries that colonise Kurdistan; Damascus, Ankara, Tehran and Baghdad. If we look into the programs of the Kurdish parties we see that they are identical, especially in the strategic matters that are such as preserving the unity of the country of Syria, Turkey, Iraq or Iran, which is also the strategy of the states that colonise Kurdistan. According to the contemporary international politics in the aftermath of the September 11 events of New York that created an international coup, the Kurdish people is also invited to participate in this politics and have a positive role in it by announcing the birth of a Kurdish coup against the ancient concepts that go back to the cold war era among which are the tribalism, regionalism and partisanship and replacing them with nationalist principals and concepts first of which is the Kurdish national security as a revolutionary replacement in this new period otherwise the Kurdish people would miss the train because the superpowers may wait a year or two and to leave forever any flirting with those countries that colonise Kurdistan that are officially listed among the countries that support the international terrorism as the superpowers would not be patient forever because they are superpowers and have their own interests so if the Kurdish people were not up to it they would resort to other people to guarantee their interests...

(20) In the chapter "Some Kurdish Document" Muhammad Talab Hilal continues his series of lies by creating a group of documents and falsify some details to satisfy his desire of hatred towards the Kurdish people. There is some information mentioned that had it been like that the situation of the Kurdish people would have been different from its present one: such as the relations of the Kurds with Israel, Kurds demanding independence for Kurdistan and the countries that occupy Kurdistan are colonialists...etc. Had what he has mentioned been true I would have stated that for sure after half a century of the struggle for the independence of Kurdistan it would have been sure that for this the Kurdish people would have not been subjected to more than what they suffered of genocide, attacks with chemical weapons and the Anfal operations that alone claimed the lives of more than 182000 Kurds buried alive by the Iraqi regime in the Iraqi deserts, all this was the price for the Kurds calling for Arabic-

Kurdish friendship and not for demanding to abolish the Arabic colonialism from Kurdistan. In the seventh document that is quotes from a press interview by Dr Esmet Sharif Wanly in 1959, there are two important points: first in Answer 9 as he says: "Thousands of Turkish and Iraqi bourgeoisie rulers are bound to disappear from existence", and after half a century the prophecy of Dr Esmet Sharif Wanly is starting to come true not only in the fall of the ruler of Iraq Saddam Hussein but the whole of Iraq is gone as it is government, army, intelligence services and all its institutions of sovereignty have been dismantled and under occupation. Let the Iraqis learn a little from the impact of colonialism so that they feel a little the tragedy of the Kurdish people and its suffering under the Iraqi regimes for more than 80 years. There are other rulers who are on their way out of existence such as the rulers of Turkey, Syria and Iran. As for the second point that came in Answer 11 of Dr Esmet Sharif Wanly that the oppression of the Kurds by the Arab regimes: "...is not in the interest of the Kurds and neither the Arabs, only the colonialists and their agents are profiting..." This is true hundred percent as the barbaric policies of the Arab regimes towards the Arabs generally and the Kurds specifically have paved the road for the superpowers to get back to the region militarily as it happened in Iraq, and the turn of the dictatorial rulers of Syria, Turkey and Iran is coming without doubt. Although Dr Wanly called for tolerance and understanding between the Kurds and the Arabs, the Arabic regimes never tried to understand the existence of the Kurdish people and their national rights. They continue up to now in their extremism and showing off as lambs in the slaughterhouse.

(21) In the chapter (The Political Parties in Al-Jazeera Province) Muhammad Talab Hilal mentions that there are more than 15 Arabic parties in Al-Jazeera Province, that most of them have no presence in reality. In this way Hilal attempts another kind of lie, which is deception that is to deceit the reader into believing that the size of the Kurdish cause is only one in 15 of the forces existing in Al-Jazeera. I remember very well that at the time the Kurdish presence was overwhelming and all the Kurdish people's youth and old were members of the Party as well as men and women, poor and rich. It was the only party for the Kurdish people because those Arabic parties were not present except in the imagination of Muhammad Talab Hilal. The Syrian regime tried to carry out this thought and founded more than 15 Kurdish parties as it was impossible for those parties to be non Kurdish in a Kurdish society, but they still do if those Kurdish parties were fighting each other. This was indeed achieved by the Syrian Intelligence. In addition to this deception Hilal is using lies and deformation about anything that concerns the Kurdish people even dates, and also mixes up deceitfully between the Kurdish parties as when he talks about Kurds in Syria he quotes the articles from the internal charter of the Party in Iraq, in addition to infinitely more lies and deceptions. As no reader can be fooled by them and if we try to reply to each word that Hilal wrote we would need volumes. I hope someday the Kurdish leaders in Syria go to exile and lead their parties from abroad then and only then it will be possible to get the complete reply to Hilal and Munzer Al-Mosuli, and other figures of the racist Syrian regime, because as long as they are in Syria they cannot do such a thing. When the Kurdistan National Congress called them for a general conference for all the Kurdish forces in Western Kurdistan, the Congress did not receive any written reply from any party. Now the Kurdistan National Congress sends a second invitation but this time to the Kurdish masses in order to find a replacement because the new international circumstances do not bear any adjournment and the Kurdish people today in immense need for an organising power

on the level of the events in order to demand its rights of independence from the Syrian state that occupies Western Kurdistan. The time had come to finish the era of using the Kurdish people to get to Damascus, Baghdad, Tehran and Ankara. The Kurdish parties in their speeches to the masses claim that they work for the freedom of the Kurds while they in practice work for the sake of the regimes that occupy Kurdistan, and the rest of the ideological and thought tendencies use the Kurdish masses for their own purposes as well and the freedom of the Kurdish masses and independence of Kurdistan do not exist in their programs. Even the regimes that occupy Kurdistan are trying to use the Kurdish people for their interests. Today it is time to find the Kurdish organising force from among the Kurdish masses for the sake of freedom of those masses and independence of Kurdistan. The Syrian Baathist leader Abdullah Al-Ahmar states openly: "The federalism in Iraq is an American-Zionist conspiracy" and another Baathist leader Farouq Al-Shara', the Syrian foreign minister says: "The fall of Saddam Hussein did not help anyone except the Americans, the Kurds and Israel". At the same time those very two get the praise and support of all the Kurdish parties inside and outside Syria!! It is time to put an end to this farce.

(22) Here Muhammad Talab Hilal considers the negligence in Al-Jazeera region in the areas of health, education and culture is a deliberate act of the Kurds! While the truth is the opposite, that is the Syrian government had neglected the Al-Jazeera region deliberately and with a plan.

(23) Here Hilal draws a general plan for prosperity of the nomad Arab tribes in Al-Jazeera not because he likes them but to use them as a tool to carry out the racist projects of the Syrian regime towards the Kurdish people, and building settlements for them in the Kurdish region. He openly incites the Arab tribes to kill the Kurds, and Hilal is like other figures of the criminal Baathist Syrian regime will someday have their pictures on game cards on TV stations as wanted by justice as it happened to their colleague Saddam and his junta.

(24) Here Muhammad Talab Hilal points out a historical event that was the establishment of a Kurdish state in the times of the French mandate. As he says: "The events that preceded the time when Al-Jazeera separated to establish a state..." The French project was to divide Syria into several states such as a Kurdish state in the north of Syria that extended from the far east in Al-Jazeera to the far west in Aleppo and Jabal Al-Kurd, and a state for the Druz in the south, a state for the Alewites on the Syrian shores and a Sunni state of Damascus in the inner side...etc. According to the new international politics these kind of divisions are valid, especially a Kurdish state despite the spiteful opponents.

(25) The Ezidi religion has no relation with Islam as Muhammad Talab Hilal claims but it is originally a Sanskrit religion and it is based on old Kurdish religions such as Methra, Mezda and Mannism...etc. as the Kurdish people as a whole was following these religions before Islam, so the Kurdish Ezidis are the pure Kurds that preserved their old Kurdish religious ceremonies.

(26) Here Muhammad Talab Hilal wants to distort the Kurdish religious and social relations and insult the Kurdish figures in a nasty dirty and mendacious way as usual.

(27) Here Muhammad Talab Hilal wants to recruit spies for the Syrian regime.

(28) In the chapter “The Government Apparatus” Hilal instructs the Syrian regime regarding how to deal with Al-Jazeera region which is completely identical to how the colonialists behave in their colonies. However, the colonialists were better as the British colonialist in India for instance or the French and American in Vietnam did not behave like them because they have never said that India is a part of Britain or Vietnam is part of France or America. That colonialism has left for India and Vietnam their names and languages while the Syrian colonialism in addition to looting the resources of Kurdistan like other colonisers, it denies the existence of Kurdish people exactly like the Turkish colonialism. This is despite the fact that the programs of the Kurdish parties do not state that they are going to throw the Arabs into the river Euphrates if they pass it and all what the Kurdish parties demand is to recognise the Kurdish identity. But these regimes that occupy Kurdistan with their racist practices were the main reason for the intervention of the superpowers in the region that started with Iraq, and lead to the separation of Kurdistan from it forever since 1991 and this is going to continue so the others must understand these facts before it is too late. I hope I have done my Kurdish patriotic duty by analysing the book of Muhammad Talab Hilal and also hope that I have not offended anyone and given rights to anyone that deserves them without any mistakes in some points, although only God does not mistakes so help us He.

Studies and Documents

Notes of Sheikh Umar Gharib about the Book:

(A Study Regarding Al-Jazeera Province)

The former Syrian Intelligence officer Muhammad Talab Hilal wrote a report to the authorities of his country entitled (A Study Regarding Al-Jazeera Province from ethnic, social and political aspects) in 1963. Al-Jazeera Province is one of the provinces and areas that contain the fourth part of Kurdistan geographically situated in its west and occupied by Arabic Syria since the colonial divisions of the Kurdish homeland in the beginning of the previous century.

I heard about this so called study more than two decades ago and also heard that it has a very bad reputation but I never had a chance to directly read the report and know its contents.

Fortunately, a month ago the respected brother Jawad Mella sent me the text of the mentioned study asking me to write my views about it and I accept his generous offer. I would like to repeat my thanks and gratitude for Mr Jawad Mella and his indefatigable political efforts and cultural services for the Kurds and Kurdistan on the path of their freedom and independence from the unjust colonial division and illegal aggressive occupation by their Arabic, Turkish and Persian neighbours.

After reading what Hilal called a study that it was more like an intelligence report rather than a scientific study because of its clear contradiction with principals of scientific research and honest objective studies. This is because of his racism, slander, abundance of mistakes, chauvinist partiality and his blind antagonism accompanied by black hatred and detestation of the other party, in addition to the bad manners of the author and bad style of writing that is far from appropriate taste in his choice of words of expression!

It is unfortunate and a great shame at the same time that the Syrian government since, had made additions to this report and executed whatever of it possible practically in reality in order to destroy the Kurdish nationality in the occupied Western Kurdistan and remove all signs and sights of its history.

According to my knowledge and following the Arabic opinions, writings and positions both in the past and the present for most of the Arab intellectuals it was proven to me that they suffer from an acute crises and deep disturbances on the thinking, cultural, political and humane levels.

This crisis and deep disturbance is not a result of modern times only but go back to more than ten decades as the inherited thought, cultural and political traditions of those centuries had formed today's thoughts, cultural and political messages of many of the Arab intellectuals.

Those inherited traditions were in general negative and in contradiction with the essence of Islam and its teaching on achieving justice, equality, brotherhood, freedom

and human dignity and rights, as well as contradicting principals and criteria of reason.

That is why, unfortunately, the great majority of the elite Arab intellectuals in modern times could not set free of the inherited fundamentalist traditions in order to take appropriate lessons from it, on the one hand, and make use of the modern rationalism and the huge developments in the modern humanitarian laws on the other.

In recent times there have been many attempts and trials by the Arabs to get out of the humiliating situation they fell into but all failed as the principals they used to deal with history, the events and themselves were -and still are- contradicting the basis of justice, equality and rights.

It is amazing that those people have not managed yet to determine several important issues such as a complete knowledge of their borders and rights in addition to their failure or ignorance regarding the borders and rights of other peoples on the basis of the just rule of (live and let others live). Of course the same thing applies to the Turks and the Persians.

In order to get into details of the study we mention that after 660 A.D. the Islamic principals were turned upside-down and alien ideas and falsifications spread, that is after the Amawid tribal nomadic coup against the Rashidin government. This government was a symbol for law, justice, civilising, Shura, freedom and elections in the Arab Peninsula, and there were serious attempts by the Rashidin government at the time to prepare the Arabs and educate them, especially the Arabs of Qureish for those kind of missions, scientific values, civilised systems and concepts.

This was because the Arabic society at the time could not stand and accept such a civilised, legal, election and just Shura as the Arabs felt that such form of management and legal system as alien to them for the deep roots of illiteracy, tribalism and nomad way of life among them in addition to the conspiracies of the strong heads of some tribes who lost their despotic authority by the victorious Islam.

That is why Qureish overthrew the Rashidin government and assassinated the last of its leaders and Imams, that was Imam Ali and that is after less than three decades after the passing of the glorious prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Since then and until today, despite the passing of more than 1300 years the mentioned inherited traditions are still dominating the thought, culture and behaviour of many Arab intellectuals. Thus they suffer from an intense crises in various fields especially concerning the determination and definition of a group of very basic and important concepts that the humanity's life, system of rule and civilisation depend on them and stand. Such concepts as (justice), (rights and equality), (brotherhood), (freedom) and others.

Although these concepts are clear in meaning and symbolism, and perfectly defined in Koran and prophet's tradition texts in addition to clear definitions in the modern human laws of the world, the Arab world and also the Islamic world do not follow any of the two, or they have not managed up to now to find a compromise between them in a way that agrees with the principals of Shariia and reason to find a correct balance between them as it said in the wonderful prophet's tradition: the wisdom is the aim of believers!

Thus the negative definitions and concepts accumulated throughout past historic times affected and participated in forming the crises and disturbances in the consciousness and thus the inhumane culture of many Arab intellectuals in the modern era.

They are now as in the past, putting the concepts of (justice), (rights and equality), (brotherhood), (freedom), (human dignity) and (election) on equal terms with (collective unity / among their group only). Then they used such concepts as (tolerance) and (compromise) among those political civilised and sophisticated humane concepts forcing them to serve their (group and nation) so that according to their claim the definition becomes more humane!

For those reasons the Arabs lost their glory, rights and borders, and they violated the glory, dignity and rights of other peoples under the banner of (unity of the homeland) (unity of the group), (religious unity and brotherhood) and (tolerance).

On this basis the Arabs don't speak the truth and do not rule by it or justice or refer to it, but they have queer standards and despotic and prejudicial views to the definitions of rights, justice, brotherhood, equality, freedom, Shura (democracy) and others.

In this way I am writing my comments and reply to the mentioned report so that it will complete the replies of Mr. Jawad Mella and his valuable comments:

1. It is a great irony and astonishing that the writing of Mohammad Talab Hilal in his introduction to his report mentions things about objectivity, scientific method, constructive dialogue and honest criticism despite the fact that he and his Syrian government as well and the majority of the Arabic governments do not recognise or pay any attention to the mentioned concept or any other civilised concept for that matter. In fact such concepts are the basis of prosperity progress development civilisation exactly as freedom equality democracy and justice.

Hilal insists that western Kurdistan is a part of Syria in addition to his claim that southern Kurdistan is a part of Iraq, in this way these people regard these two occupied parts as parts of the Arab homeland. That's why he calls for establishing and writing a racist colonial project that is more general and detailed aiming to (remove the foreigners from the area) according to Hilal the Kurds are the ones who are Aliens in western Kurdistan and the colonialists are backing them! This claim of Talab Hilal is very stupid as the colonialists whom the Arabs hate so much were the ones who were behind dividing Kurdistan and depriving it from establishing a Kurdish state with the help of Arabs Iranians and the Turks. This is exactly opposite to the situation of the Arabs when the colonialists were behind establishing the Arabic states and governments, especially Iraq and Syria. All this happened at the cost of the Kurds, their future, wealth, their water and mineral and petrol riches etc. It happened after that the Anglo-French colonialism annexed the southern part of Kurdistan to Iraq and the western part to Syria in the aftermath of the World War 1 (1914-1918). This unfortunate colonial dividing scheme of the Kurdish homeland was according to the Sykes-Picault treaty between England and France in 1916!

Also the colonialism that is condemned by Hilal was responsible for supporting the Arabs through media, politically, internationally and armed them to strike at the Kurdish people and oppress them since the beginning of the 20th century up to now, so which colonialist are you talking about that was behind the Kurds? Why don't you get wise you Arabs?! The western Kurdistan region as other parts of Kurdistan is an important strategic region, full of wealth and riches according to Hilal's own admission. That is the reason that instead of dealing with the Kurds in a wise, just and brotherly way they were faced with Arabisation, displacement, expulsion, racist security belt, barbaric wars, assassinations, anarchy and mass murder, and that's why Syria welcomed Hilal's racist colonial project warmly and executed it in practice as well as adding some extra additions to it in order to destroy the Kurds in western Kurdistan.

2. In the first chapter of his report (a historical view to the Kurdish problem) Hilal talks about the Kurdish race history and language claiming that there is no such a thing as a Kurdish civilisation, language, history, race, people or nation. In fact such a simple dealing by Hilal with Kurdish history is evidence of his ignorance, his scientific illiteracy, lack of information as well as his racist hate. On the other hand anyone can say the same regarding the Arabs themselves in regard to their language, history, race and other.

However an impartial researcher cannot be driven into emotional, indiscriminate, racial, sectarian and religious tendencies, but he has to be truthful just and honest or at least try to be like that during his research or scientific and historical writings. This according to the holy Koran is the basic principle of a just scientific research and a good faith as well.

If we regard that the existence of many tribes and dialects is a proof that the Kurds have no characteristics of a people or a nation then the same proof is completely applied to the Arabs and many other peoples. As for Hilal's statement that (***) is totally untrue and it's evidence that he is totally ignorant regarding the Kurdish language, its dialects and grammar, because the Kurdish tribes are not totally independent with regard to their languages as Hilal imagines but the Kurdish language is a common factor between all the Kurdish tribes. In addition the differences in dialects between the Kurdish tribes is not a unique situation that applies only to the Kurds and their language but such differences in dialects exist even in the Arabic language between various tribes, cities and countries and also such differences are common in other languages such as English, Persian, German etc.

Once again Hilal refers to colonialism, superficially connecting it to the Kurdish subject and accusing it of creating a people from nowhere called the Kurds. The reality is contrary to that and it was the Arabs, Turks and Persians supported by the colonialists who did and are still trying to destroy all the characteristics of the Kurds as a nation and people in modern times.

The division of Kurdistan by the colonialism between the Arabs, Turks and Persians and the unjust international prohibition against the establishment of a Kurdish state in addition to campaigns of Arabisation, Turkisation, and Persianisation that are still continuing are nothing but clear evidence for the

existence of the Kurdish nation and homeland that are historically very ancient. Hilal also claimed that the Kurds (***)

These sentences contain a lot of contradictions mistakes, hatred and wrongdoing against the favours done by the Kurds for the Arabs, according to the following examples:

First. As far as the region is concerned, Kurdistan is famous for being the birthplace of the prophets and great revelations such as Noah, Abraham, Zoroaster, Jonahs, Shith and the Russ followers peace be upon them. This was mentioned in the holy Koran in several verses through mentioning several Kurdish towns and regions in Kurdistan such as Judy Mountain Nineveh and Russ. Russ is the river of Aras between Kurdistan and Armenia, furthermore several sights of Kurdistan, towns and regions were mentioned in other holy books such as the Torah (the Old Book) and Avesta. We can also mention that our prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him) family tree goes back to prophet Ishmael (peace be upon him), and Ishmael was the son of Abraham the father of all prophets who is Kurdish by origin that is why the Kurds are very proud to have the greatest personality of mankind as their relative through his grandfather Abraham!

Second. There are numerous Kurdish words in the holy Koran in addition to other languages, this in itself is great evidence that the Kurdish language is very ancient and also it is independent as well as being lively and rich in its terminology.

Third. The Persian, urdu, baloush, Peshtou and European languages and even the Arabic language gained from the Kurdish language and borrowed several of its terms and phrases and that is what drives some thinkers and scientists that the Kurdish language is the mother of the Persian language and several European languages.

Fourth. There were several civilisations and states in Kurdistan before and after Christ that had a huge impact on the area around them including the Medean Empire (700-550 BC) famous in history.

Fifth. The Zoroastrian religious book Avesta was written in Zendi language and Zendi is an ancient Kurdish Median language that goes back thousands of years in addition to the Kurdish second Pehlevei language in which several Zoroastrian religious books were written a thousand years ago.

Sixth. In Islamic times the Kurds participated actively and deservedly with a unique faithfulness in building and enriching the Islamic civilisation at religious, scientific and intellectual levels as for example Jaban Al-Kurdi the famous follower of the prophet and Ibn Sirin the biographer of the prophet Ibn Athir Al-Jazeeri the historian literary figure writer and moderniser, Ibn Khalakan the judge and historian, Al-Shahrazuri the theologian and many other great men of science and knowledge. These were all in past Islamic times as for the modern times there are so many Kurdish scientists and thinkers that presented great services to the Islamic world and especially the Arabs, that it is difficult to mention them!

Seventh. Under the leadership of the Kurdish commander Saladin the Kurds presented a lot of services to the Arabic and Islamic civilisations and Humanity in general because of his tolerance justice and dignity in dealing with his enemies to the extent that he became an example in history.

It's very sad and pity that not far away from the grave of this giant man Hilal and Arabs in general deny his favour and services as well as those of the Kurds and repaid the Kurds with occupation mass murder Arabisation and denying all their political human national and patriotic rights.

The nationality and Kurdish revolutions and the Kurdish homelands.

Hilal continues in his accusations and insulting the Kurdish nation, denying her characteristics of a nation, ethnicity and people. This in addition to denying the Kurdish geography, i.e. the Kurdish homeland Kurdistan all together, all this without presenting any scientific evidence for his claims and ridiculous accusations.

The fundamentals of a nation are well known, that is the common ethnicity, language, history, geography, habits and traditions, and the religious inheritance, spirituality for all or the majority of the inhabitants of one homeland.

We notice that these fundamentals are necessary to call a people, a nation, and this is available in the Kurds. On the basis of these very fundamentals the Arabs call themselves a nation, so why the double standards? After that Hilal pours his blind hatred and despise in an attack on the Kurdish revolutions that was ignited all over Kurdistan during the 19th and 20th centuries by accusing those liberation revolutions of being manufactured by colonialism and fall in powers. However, Hilal and his sort of writers or racist intellectuals from the racist Arabs forget or ignore the fact that the English and French colonialists had the role in establishing the Arabic political movement and idea of nationalism in addition to the direct role of the colonialists in establishing the Arab states and political bodies. That same colonialism, that fought the Kurds and divided them between the Arabs, Turks and the Persians and completely forbade the establishment of a Kurdish national state in Kurdistan ending in the fact that the Kurds are now without a state, although they deserve one.

In fact the Kurdish revolutions are still just liberation movements and patriotic resistance trying to establish an independent Kurdish state in Kurdistan after liberating it from the wrong of the Arabic colonialist occupation (in Iraq and Syria), Turkey and Iran. Despite this fact Hilal describes the Kurdish revolutions as rebellion – backwardness – reactionism etc. in addition to more false accusations and silly remarks that cannot hold in face of historical and scientific realities.

Also Hilal and his kind (there are many of them, unfortunately), among the fascist Arab writers, politicians and intellectuals do not care with whom they collaborate in order to strike at the Kurds attempting to annihilate them, oppress and Arabise them, and destroy all their national and patriotic characteristics. On the other hand if the Kurds try to defend themselves and push the dangers away from them, which is a justified right, we see that they start shouting and threatening claiming that their Arabism has been violated. They forget that they are the ones who are colonisers, occupants, and aggressors against the Kurds and their rights, political, human, national, patriotic.

Hilal also continues his hysterical campaign against the symbols of the Kurdish revolutions and their leaders, without paying attention to the rules of writing and respect especially against the most famous Kurdish leader Mustafa Barzani, because of his ignorance regarding this giant Kurdish personality, he made the following mistakes:

1. Hilal says that Mustafa Barzani obtained the rank of General in the former Soviet Union. This is wrong and the truth is that Barzani obtained the rank of General in 1946 in Mahabad, the capital of the Kurdish republic at the time. Barzani was one of its renowned leaders behind the Martyr Qazi Mohammad the president of the betrayed Kurdish republic.
2. Hilal claims that Mustafa Barzani founded the democratic party of Kurdistan in Russia 1945, this is also complete nonsense and the truth is the democratic party of Kurdistan was founded in Kurdistan in 1946.
3. Hilal says (when he returned to Iraq – meaning Barzani – he led the Iraqi Communist Democratic Party). This is also completely wrong and very contradictory because the real name of the party is what we just mentioned (the Democratic Party of Kurdistan), besides the party is a Kurdish, Kurdistan party with nationalistic tendencies and it is not a communist party at all!
4. The strange thing is that Hilal not only accuses the Kurdish revolutions and parties of communism, but he accuses the whole of the Kurdish people of communism, to the extent that he claims that communism had become the religion of the Kurds. Naturally he himself knows very well that what he says is an utter and complete nonsense, he just wants to give a bad name to Kurdish people throughout the Islamic and Arabic world.

The colonialists are a big belt.

The Syrian occupation regime has fought the Kurds in western Kurdistan from the start using all means and colonialist practices, such as (border belt) or (the Arabic belt). This means to Arabise western Kurdistan and empty it from its original population and citizens, that is the Kurds. This started from what is called the Syrian Iraqi Turkish borders.

Actually the Syrian government executed huge steps in their racist chauvinistic project by displacing many of the Kurdish tribes from their homeland, and settling Arab tribes in their place with confiscation of their properties and lands.

The Kurdish people in western Kurdistan had especially condemned what is called the Arabic border belt and regarded it as a dangerous and racist belt, that's why Hilal says (even the Kurds of Al-Jazeera had raised a slogan in the days of the Barzani movement in Qasim's times when the Syrian army intervened as follows:

(the border belt is a dangerous belt) this means that they are ready to prevent the Syrian army at the time from intervention in favour of the Arabs). So Hilal protests that the Kurds in western Kurdistan showed solidarity with their brothers in southern Kurdistan, but sees the intervention of the Arabic Syrian army and its support to the

Arabic Iraqi army and their joint war against the Kurdish revolution in southern Kurdistan as a very valid and legal matter. In 1963 the Syrian military units and paramilitary participated in attacking the Kurds in southern Kurdistan together with the Iraqi army, but thanks to the great God and the courage of the Kurdish Peshmerga the attack was defeated, and the Syrian Iraqi forces suffered large human and military losses.

Western Kurdistan

The demographic, national, geographic and historical facts.

In the second chapter of his chauvinistic colonial intelligence report Hilal could not but to admit that the western part of the Kurdish homeland has a Kurdistan reality. He says: (the Kurds reside along the northern borders on the Turkish borders in Al-Jazeera province in an area with the depth to the south of between 15 to 35 kilometers approximately.

And from the Raas Al-Ain in the west to the borders of the Al-Malikiya in the east, where they are concentrated in the fertile places where it is difficult to find even a small Arabic enclave in those areas especially in Al-Malikiya, Qbur Al-Bidh, Qamishli and Amuda so they occupy the most fertile areas in Al-Jazeera and those with the most quantity of rain, as the ration of rain in the areas of Al-Malikiya and Qamishli is between 400 to 500 mm according to the rain map) see Hilal's book.

The respected reader notes the degree of Hilal's hatred and jealousy towards the Kurds in the west of their homeland with regard to the Kurdish fertile lands and abundance of rain, this in addition to the dense Kurdish existence in the towns and areas of western Kurdistan according to Hilal's admission itself. Of course this Kurdish existence in the west of their very ancient homeland goes back to thousands of years as it is the case in other parts of Kurdistan that are colonised, and the Syrian government is still trying to oppress and end the Kurdish existence in western Kurdistan using the most horrible methods and destroy their national historic geographic and demographic characteristics.

As for the so called borders of Turkey that Hilal mentions they are not true, because in fact they are not Turkish or belong to the Turks but they are northern Kurdistan's occupied by Turkey and colonised by the Turks for many centuries now.

Hilal goes on in revealing some of his admissions mixed with hatred jealousy and evil and says that the Kurds in western Kurdistan (they occupy the most fertile lands that are suitable for ***

What has been mentioned by Hilal contains the following facts and issues that he was forced to admit unwillingly:

1. the national and geographic existence of the Kurds in the west of Kurdistan that is occupied by Syria.
2. admission that the majority of the Kurds in western Kurdistan are Kurds.

3. admission that Kurdistan has been divided in the north and in the west between Turkey and Syria in the south Iraq and in the east Iran and this is what has been forgotten or ignored by Hilal.
4. admission that the Kurds are in a constant struggle for their independence and liberation from their unjust colonial occupation by the Arabs (Iraq and Syria) Turkey and Iran.
5. admission that the Kurdish language exists, independent and others do not understand it and in this way Hilal contradicts himself when he denies the existence of the Kurdish language just for the sake of his ignorance and hatred towards the Kurds in Kurdistan!

As for the Kurdish nature that Hilal mentions claiming that the Kurds show loyalty while hiding their true feelings is completely false and the opposite is right.

Regarding the nature morals and the values the Kurds are famous for being kind, well mannered, and simple hearted as well as being loyal and loving other peoples and nations to the extent that some people describe the Kurds of being simple minded or simpletons for their extreme love for others and truthful intentions far from treachery betrayal and tricks or any other morals that contradict good characteristics and high human values!

The Kurds have paid a heavy price in their past and modern history for this kind of high morals and an example for this is the invitation of Abu Jafar Al-Mansur for the Kurdish historic leader Abi Muslim Al-Khorasani to Baghdad in his palace then betraying him and killing him while sitting in his place.

In 1937 the Turks swore by their honour that they only want to negotiate and discuss things with the famous Kurdish leader Seid Ritha Al-Dersimi who swallowed the bait and believed in the Turkish honour but when he reached the appointed place for negotiations, the Turks arrested him and executed Seid Ritha, who said before his execution (the Turkish swear on honour does not mean anything apart from treachery and betrayal)!

In 1989 the Iranian delegation assassinated Dr Abdulrahman Qasimlo the former leader of the democratic party of Kurdistan and his comrades in Austria while on the negotiation table in order to find a peaceful solution for the Kurdish issue in eastern Kurdistan occupied by Iran. Those were only a few examples of Kurdish characteristics of simple heartedness and nice Kurdish manners, their tolerance and love for others.

On the other hand the same examples show the opposite characteristics of evil and inhumanity that distinguishes the enemies of Kurds and Kurdistan.

Once again: Islam and Kurds.

Hilal, in his intelligence report mentions the Kurdish tribes and their leaders in western Kurdistan, but unfortunately in a manner far from the accustomed rules of writing and journalism because of his sick racist psyche and his blind hatred towards the Kurds and Kurdistan.

Hilal blames the Kurdish tribes and the Kurdish citizens in general for their love to their language and homeland of Kurdistan as well as their leaders and parties. These are natural and human instincts for a human being to love his homeland, nationality, religious figures and scientific political and national personalities, but Hilal and his kind forbid this kind of natural love and humanity of the Kurds, which contradicts all the religious and humanitarian laws.

In fact the position of the Arabs Turks and the Persians is very strange because how is it reasonable that the Arabs Turks and the Persians have their own countries homelands independence and states while a population of 50,000,000 persons of the Kurdish nation are denied independence homeland and liberty?!

After that Hilal speaks about the Havirkan Kurdish tribe and the Kurds in general saying that: (they are on the faith of the Satan and behaving according to what Iblis demands, because they cooperate and struggle to establish a Kurdish homeland – Kurdistan).

In this way using such false accusations and offensive words one of the Arab's security officials describes the Kurdish people just because the Kurds refuse the colonial oppression and unjust occupation which has become a nightmare for them.

After that Hilal gives an example claiming that he can prove that the Kurds have no religion...

This mentioned story even if right does not mean anything at all the Kurdish woman could have been illiterate for real and excused for what she says that is because all the Arab governments in Iraq and Syria in addition to the Turkish and Iranian governments are raging wars against the Kurds in the name of Islam and religious concepts and they have not spared any means or weapons religious, nationalist or military in order to destroy the Kurds according to Hilal himself

If the right is not measured by men (or women) according to Imam Ali and the opposite is right the insistence of the neighbours of the Kurds who are Muslim occupiers such as Arabs Turks and Persians and their insistence on occupying parts of Kurdistan and violating Kurdish rights could have severe consequences that may lead to reactions by some Kurds!

More than a decade ago we gave warning against such a thing in interviews article and memoirs published by us. The responsibility is totally their own, especially their parties movements personalities and Islamic centres. They are the ones who actively participated in disgracing the Kurdish cause and their silence or support towards the occupation of parts of ~Kurdistan and what happens to the Kurds such as murder, injustice, massacres and unlimited destruction.

According to the racist claims of Hilal a good Kurdish person is the one that denies his own national and patriotic political and human rights. Then and only then, according to this measure a Kurd can be a good person, a religious one. However if a Kurdish person struggles and fights for his national and patriotic rights he would be a bad and deviated from religion person. Such characterisation an description by Hilal and his kind that Islam is a product of Arab nationalism is mentioned by him.

These statements of Hilal are utter ignorance and nonsense regarding Islam and its historical message and its great prophet, exalted rules and wise book. That is because anyone who is learned in Islam knows very well that Islam is a revealed religion as other religions such as Judaism, Christianity, Zoroastrian and Mendaism.

These last religions are revealed ones recognised by Islam through the holy Koran and the prophet's tradition. Regarding the revealed Islam and it's not being an invention by the human mind the holy Koran.

In another verse, Koran admits that the holy prophet was illiterate and could not read books or write them before Koran was revealed.

One of the most disturbing and sensitive subjects for holy prophet Muhammad (P) was the appeal of the nobles and despots of Quraish to him to turn the call of Islam into an Arab nationalist one claiming that if he does so, they would reply by adopting his faith and make him their king! The prophet (P) categorically and decisively refused these demands of Quraish by swearing to the exalted God that even if they award him all the heavenly bodies, he would not leave his call (that is the international humane Islamic call) until it has been turned victorious by the exalted God or he would die on that path!

We mentioned several times that the Kurds did not take advantage of Islam or used it as a cover, on the contrary it was the Turks and the Persians... that used Islam in a bad way to the extent of using it up to now to hit at the Kurdish people and fight them with it!

As regard to the sophist methods, they are not spread only among the Kurds, moreover, they are more common in the Arab countries, such as Qadiriah, Shaziliah, Mahdiah, Khatmiah and others. For Hilal's information we say that the Shaziliah method is not spread in Kurdistan and the most spread sophist methods in Kurdistan are Naqishbandiah and Qadiriah.

The regionalism that Hilal mentions is nothing but a dirty and unjust accusation invented by the Amawid and Abbasid states to fight the non-Arabic peoples. The non-Arabic peoples were not alone in founding sophist methods but prominent Arabs also established such methods as Shaziliah, Mahdiah, Khatmiah and others. Also, the sophist methods in Kurdistan and other non-Arabic countries are not against the Arabs or (for attacking Arab nationalism) at all, but the Kurdish sophist methods –if we can call them so- were always loving Arabs and Arabic language holding them high in appreciation, affection and respect because of Islam, holy Koran and the great prophet Muhammad (P).

There were many great scholars and great teachers of the Islamic law among the Kurds of Western Kurdistan occupied by Syria who provided scientific and educational services to Islam, Muslims and Arabs especially, among them the great scholar Muhammad Kurd Ali, the former president of the Science Academy in Damascus, the great scholar Khairaddine Zargaly author of the famous encyclopaedia, Dr Muhammad Sa'eed Ramadhan Al-Bouti, the dean of Al-Shari'a college of Damascus University, Sheik Ahmad Kaftaro, the Mufti of Syria, Dr Muhammad Saleh Mustafa... and many others. So, do those people cannot even speak pure Arabic language, Mr Hilal? Or is it the blind hatred that prevents you from telling the

truth?!

Then Hilal quotes two verses of poetry of one of the Amawid rulers regarding (regionalist) conspiracies against Arabs. The reality is completely opposite and the rulers of the Amawids, apart from two of them, were most far from Islam, Islamic laws, justice and noble values.

It was non other than the Quraishi Arabs who overthrew the Rashidi rule by assassinating the fourth Rashidi Imam, Ali in 660 AC and established the Arabic Amawid state.

The Amawid caliphs exaggerated in their despotism, aggression, oppression, murder, adultery and corruption to the extent of killing the children of the great prophet (P) and his grandchildren without paying attention to the sanctity of the prophet or any morality and values. They are the ones who murdered the prophet's followers, burned the holy Mecca with fire-throwers and violated the honour, property and blood of the holy Al-Madina for three days and nights. They might have done all that criminal acts and massacres as a revenge against the victory of Islam under the leadership of prophet Muhammad (P) over the unjust rule of Quraish, that is why when they brought the head of Hussein Bin Ali, the most loved grandson of the prophet to Yezeed, he was delighted and said:

I wish my ancestors in Badr see this - How we have uprooted the enemy ...etc.)

See Al-Akhbar Al-Tiwal of the historian Al-Dainoori, p 267.

When at last Walid Bin Abdulmalik recited a verse from the holy Koran condemning despotic and aggressive rulers, he became angry and called for a copy of the holy Koran and set it as a target for arrow throwing practice, saying:

You threaten despots and aggressors - I am one of those

If you see your god on the doomsday - Tell him that Walid penetrated me.

He also had said:

A Hashimi man played with the caliphdom - Without any holy book or revelation

So, tell your god to prevent me from eating - Tell your god to prevent me from drinking.

See the book of Muruj Al-Dhahab of the historian Al-Masu'udi, V3, p 228-229, and the book: Al-Kamel Fi Al-Tarikh of Ibin Al-Atheer Al-Jazri, also the Tarikh Al-Tabari of Al-Tabari and others.

So, this was the case with the Amawid Caliphs, as for the Abbasid Caliphs they were even worse in their injustice, despotism, bloodshed, bigotry and corruption. Thus it is not better to ask whether such sorts of mentioned Arabs were factors of destruction and decay in Islam and the Islamic nation?!

Hilal speaks about the Kurdish political organisations in Western Kurdistan and as usual accuses them of collaboration with colonialism to fight the Arabic nationalism,

despite the fact that those Kurdish political organisations have always raised the banner of (Kurdish-Arabic friendship), but on the basis of rights and equality, that is each nation should have the right of self determination regarding its political destiny.

Hilal also quotes several information and political announcements of Kurdish political organisations denying them the right of defence and struggle for the violated rights of their people. When Hilal mentions the Arab tribes in Syria, he admits that they have arrived there from Yemen and Al-Hijaz (Saudi Arabia).

Then Hilal talks about the Islamic organisations and others in Syria in a bad manner and far from accepted literary standards. In addition he mentions some minorities in Kurdistan such as the Cheldo-Assyrians, Armenians and Jews.

In his chauvinistic intelligence report Hilal mentions a number of suggestions to the Syrian government to be practised in the real world to fight the Kurds in Western Kurdistan. All those suggestions are essentially racist in their character such as Arabisation, displacement, exile, forbidding the Kurdish language and other colonial practices!

However, all the attempts, practices and colonial wars by the Iraqi and Syrian governments in Southern and Western Kurdistan against the Kurds have failed. The fall of the Iraqi Baathist regime on 9/4/2003 is the best evidence to what we said. We see that Iraq is now drowned in chaos, anarchy, poverty and hardship. Had the Baathist colonial Iraqi regime had any wisdom, rationality and prospective view, its destiny would have been different from the current horrible situation. This was all because of the stubbornness and despotism of the successive Iraqi governments, especially the last overthrown regime, regarding the recognition of the complete national and patriotic rights of the Kurds, particularly the right of self determination.

It looks like that the regime of the Syrian Baath Party under Bachar Al-Asad does not take lessons from history and does not want to accept the facts and reality, that is why this regime continues its racist colonial methods in fighting the Kurdish people in Western Kurdistan, thinking that oppression, murder, persecution and Arabisation could submit the Kurds, but that is impossible and the Kurds will continue their struggle and fight back in order to achieve all their violated political and human rights. The Kurdish people is determined to keep on this struggle against the colonisers of Kurdistan to the end and as long as it takes. The victory and liberation from the chains of Arabic (Iraq and Syria), Turkish and Iranian colonialism is near by the help of God and there are signs in the horizon for the establishment of an independent Kurdish state in the near future.

Sheikh Umar Gharib

Letter from Dr Ahmad Rasul

To the respected brother Jawad Mella, my warm greetings

I received your book which is valuable in all personal historical and documental aspects regarding the position of the Americans at the times of the revolution under the command of the great leader Mella Mustafa Barzani the martyr of the Kurds of Kurdistan. Nevertheless I want to point out an important issue that we must be very careful and objective while analysing and criticising the political positions of others, because we are the supporters of patriotism and unity for all the Kurdish people as well as the geographical unity of Kurdistan. It is very important nowadays to write as many books as possible, especially regarding the affairs of Kurdistan as a patriotic responsibility for the writers who have to be accountable to the Kurdish people in the future. The mysterious cruel and complex circumstances of the Kurdish nation demands from us tolerance understanding and getting out point of views closer and closer to each other in a democratic spirit in order to solve the contradictions and partisan disagreements to unify the Kurdish leadership for the future of our nation. The historical circumstances of the Kurds and Kurdistan nowadays are similar to the events of World War 1 in all social, economic and political ways. The international conferences and treaties that back then divided Kurdistan and the whole region was without any proper representation of the Kurdish peoples forces apart from some Kurdish personalities without and political support inside Kurdistan in order to influence those conferences and gain maximum positive results for the Kurdish cause. These patriotic personalities did not manage to affect the events and make any games for the Kurdish people, so eventually they failed.

Today there are differences and confrontations between the parties and the leaderships because of the tribal spirit that dominates those organisations and narrow partisan ideology, egoism, and regionalism that replaces the true patriotic ideology as several of our leaders have no minds of their own (I apologise for this remark because of the deep sadness in my heart) that is why they have not manage up to now to take advantage of the new circumstances in the middle east and the international alliances such as European American or regional to gain maximum rewards for our oppressed people especially after the fall of the fascist regime in Iraq and the fear of other regimes of similar fate.

There are several international deals in the region, whether political economical or military without any active participation of the Kurdish leaders and parties that is why they are losing their role in the battles in the region and development of the events regarding Kurdistan. All the meeting conferences and discussions between the superpowers did not mention the Kurdish political situation and the Arab satellite channels or the non-Arab ones do not care about the Kurdish people's fate. We are as if lost and disorientated in an erupted volcano, all because that the Kurdish leaders and parties have no ability to enter the battle with the new patriotic and overall mentality. It's better for the Kurdish people to liberate themselves first of all from these tribal and opportunistic parties, in order to reach self determination. I think that the USA is not serious in finding a solution to the Kurdish problem, because the America administration has not yet declared a clear and transparent condition towards Kurdistan in Iraq. The political pressure from the Kurdish parties and their leadership on the America administration is almost non existent, they only follow the events in Iraq as if blind folded and dumbfounded contrary to the political activities of the

regional states that occupy Kurdistan several diplomatic sources stated that there were meeting between the foreign ministers of Iran turkey and Syria to study the situation and stresss the importance of stability in the region, meaning by that the Kurdish problem in the first place that's why it is possible that the American administration maight use the Kurdish problem as a trump card against those countries, especially Syria and Turkey except in one situation, if the American administration wants to get rid of Turkey as a strategic ally after the occupation of Iraq, because Turkey has now become an ill state with no prospect or getting well and the United States are interested in the Kurdish cause in the whole region, not only a part of it. This will be seen in the near future.

It is supposed that the Kurdish parties in Kurdistan of Iraq especially the two big parties to unite the Kurdish streets gathering all the faction of the people especially the youth to demand from the American administration to show a clear stance regarding the Kurdish problem immediately without waiting and wasting time because of the unstable situation in Iraq instead of running after persona gains and obtaining high ranked positions in the temporary Iraqi government. The two big parties have to agree with the other parties on a strategic and tactical plan regarding federalism and also other issues of Kurdistan. The federalism in Kurdistan of Iraq is threatened with danger because the Iraqi opposition that agreed on the principle of federalism before the war now claims that we have to wait until an Iraqi government and parlament are established to decide about the federalism and this may take a long time and this waste of time may lead to forgetting about federalism or rejecting it in the future because the future of Iraq is still unclear. The only balancing factor among all these regional conspiracies is to be the existence of a strong Kurdish administration representing a Kurdish federal government outside the country without which we will be powerless. There is no one, not even United Stated that can present us Kurdistan on a tray. What has been taken by force through centuries cannot be gained back by diplomatic way except if they are supported by a united will and power of the people we live in an era where there are no moral and human standards in politics to give back rights to their owners and take away injustice and oppression from a nation that had been suffering on its own land for so long. The only guarantee for an increasing Kurdish influence on the development of events in the area and outside world is by founding a high standard institution such as a Kurdistan federal government to control the planning for the foreign policy for all parts of Kurdistan and to play an active role in international community and the United Nations and also the regional states. This kind of government can also play an active role in the internal politics of parts of Kurdistan from the social cultural economical and political aspects.

I have tried contacts and relations with several parties and Kurdish personalities and also intellectuals to have discussions regarding the formation of a federal Kurdish government in exile to work in the field of the foreign policy and gather the Kurds in exile to use their united force to serve Kurdistan but I had not yet found anyone who understands this idea and supports it in a positive way, unfortunately all of them look at it in astonishment and ignorance. On the other hand I have seen most of them stil holding on to their narrow partisan and regional views which is our tragedy. I cannot understand how these people think that they are capable of building a free Kurdistan with divided parties that have no interest in finding the historical and geographical borders of Kurdistan. I say that a united Kurdistan under the protection of the Europeans and the Americans is better that a divided Kurdistan under the oppression,

persecution, murder, poverty, and hunger. They do not stop even at this but also try to displace the Kurds from their lands properties and hoses using all kind of enforcement laws. These racist states use the wealth of Kurdistan to persecute its people. You cannot stand in the face of this kind of injustice and despotism without the unity of the will of the people and the unity of the parties and their leaders. On this basis we must not wait until the United States comes to force these leaders to cooperate and collaborate in the interest of the American administration as it happened with Mister Jalal Talabani and Masud Barzani when they were forced in Washington in front of the TV cameras to shake hands and exchange cold glances and insincere smiles. It is in the interest of Kurdistan that these leaders would take the initiative with their own will to create an atmosphere of national reconciliation showing their true love to their people and bring about a general unity all over Kurdistan submitting to the will of the people who are looking forward to this. They have to make their negotiations with anyone be it superpowers or regional states under the banner of a free Kurdistan before any discussion about mutual interests. Kurdistan is a rich country with all kinds of resources it's a strategic military and economic land that makes possible to negotiate with those countries from a position of force that will make it possible for the United States to ignore its interests in the sick Turkey or Syria and Iran. The geographically strategic position of Kurdistan that connects Caucasus with the Persian gulf and the Mediterranean which makes it possible for us to make the demands of our people stronger during negotiations and political relations and use this to liberate our nation from the occupation and their domination for about a century now.

10/05/2003

Dr Ahmad Rasul.

A study by Dr Alan Kadir

Mohammad Talab Hilal the godfather of Syrian Nazism

Mohammad Talab Hilal was not just a researcher and what he has written is not a study as he calls it but he has formulated according to instructions from the high command of the Baath party complete project form political, economic, and social aspects aiming to completely eradicate the Kurdish people destroy all their historical sites using a series of racist chauvinistic practices. For him the Kurdish problem is nothing but malignant tumour and has no treatment but surgical removal! And this has been mentioned in his book explicitly.

The Kurdish people know very well on the basis on their daily sufferings how Hilal's project turned into a program and a practical action of the Baatha policies aiming to eradicate the Kurdish existence in western Kurdistan. According to the Arabic proverb the worst kind of tragedy is that which makes you laugh, so how come an intelligence services official such as Hilal can write a scientific and objective study about an ancient people such as the Kurdish people that have a long history and forming a great part of the civilisation in the region as well as providing huge services to enrich the cultures of the neighbouring peoples. The laughable attempt of Hilal to imitate the famous English spy Lawrence of the times of World War I, who encouraged Sharif Hussain and his sons and other Arab tribal chiefs to revolt against the Turks, failed hopelessly. There is a huge difference between the two men and there is no basis for comparison. The question is what the source of such kind of thinking is and what are the origins and backgrounds for such mentality? What is the true explanation for such a political method with such racist chauvinistic tendencies? For this purpose all the studies regarding the history of Baath and its ideological and historical framework would not be complete without a scientific analysis and the historical-political comparison between the Nazis Germany and its Arabic twin that is Baath both is Syria and Iraq. Any study or research claiming to be scientific or academic must necessarily satisfy all the criteria of scientific research. When making a comparison even briefly between Nazism and Baath we can understand the meaning and drive behind such an oppressive mentality that calls for the genocide against the Kurdish people in western Kurdistan.

a) A formal-historical comparison

- The Nazis came to power in Germany in the aftermath of a free democratic election in the times of the Weimar republic that was living its last days on 5th of March 1933.
- After the fall of Nazi Germany in 1945 on the hands of the Allies and its burial under the ruins of Berlin Dresden and Vienna it was resurrected in Baghdad on the 8th of February 1963 and Damascus on the 8th of March 1963 after two bloody military coups (note the historical coincidence despite the difference in time and place) but this time wearing the Arabic traditional Ukal.
- The names: Nazi Germans called their party NSDAP which means the German Nationalist Socialist Labour Party. And the name of Baath is

derived from this Nazi party and it is the Baath Arab Socialist Party.

- The conspiracies and coup attempts of the German Nazis in the years 1921 to 1923 under the leadership of Hitler and the assassination attempts and opposition democratic and communist figures such as Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Libkhint.
- The Baath party in Syrian Iraq imitated the German Nazis in these kinds of coup attempts at the end of the 50s and the beginning of the 60s as well as arranging assassination operations against the Kurdish and democratic leaders such as the assassination of the prince Jaladat Baderkhan, arrest and murder of Dr Hamid Sino and others in Syria. The participation of Saddam Hussein personally in the assassination of some leaders of the Iraqi communist party and the failed attempt to assassinate Abdul Karim Kasim in 1959.
- Assassination of several Kurdish leaders in southern Kurdistan by the Nazi Baath of Iraq and the two failed attempt to assassinate the glorious Kurdish leader Milla Mustafa Barzani in 1971.
- There is an almost unanimous opinion between the western and the Arabic historians that the father of Saddam Hussein left his mother Sabha Talfah before he was born. Moreover his mother was illiterate and no one actually could know the exact date of birth of Saddam Hussein because of such backwards social and historical circumstances. Nevertheless Saddam Hussein shows the month of April each year to celebrate his birthday this was done in honour of the Nazi leader Hitler who was indeed born in April.
- There are also great similarities between the organisational formation of the Baath party and the Nazi party as the Baath party imitated the Nazis in establishing such social organisations as the revolutionary youth union (similar to the Hitler's youth), Peasants Union, Women's Union and Worker's Union.

b) Ideological and political comparison:

We come to a conclusion that according to the historical and political sources the Baath party had derived its ideological and theoretical concepts from the German Nazis especially in the fields of politics and sociology. It's not a secret that the founder of the Baath party Michel Affleck while a student in the Sorbonne University in Paris during the years 1928 to 1932 he was busy with strong activities in favour of the Nazi Germany as a result of which he was dismissed from there and he took refuge in Germany. After his return to Damascus he started founding the Baath party on the same line as the German Nazi party. In this regard Yasin Al-Hafith says: (at the time when the Arab nationalist movement was expressing the liberation hopes of a divided and oppressed people the Arab petty bourgeois suddenly started speaking the German language. German and Italian words of nationalist meanings found their way into the vocabulary of the Arab petty bourgeois).

Hitler's book (Mine Caff) was the ideological basis for the German Nazism while we can say for sure that the mentioned book of Hitler in addition to the writings of Michel Afflack, Saddam Hussein, Hafiz Al-Asad, Abdulla Al-Ahmar and others were the bible of the Arabic Nazism and its spiritual source. It is not a strange thing to find Hitler's book (Mine Caff) in all the news kiosks and book shops as well as the street sellers in Damascus and Baghdad while this book because of its racism and its hostility toward humanity is forbidden even in Germany and Austria!! Regarding his political opponents or the holders of any ideology other than his, Michel Affleck states: (it's not enough to fight an idea to make it disappear but you have to eliminate the person that carries it). Hitler said in one of his fiery demagogic speeches (I do not claim that I'm going to fight you, but I am saying that I will do my best for you physical extermination). It's not difficult to see the similarity between Nazism and Baath. Such sayings and concepts had become a practical and theoretical basis for the Syrian and Iraqi Baath in dealing with events and political developments, especially concerning the liberation aspirations of the Kurdish people in the two countries. It will be useful to mention a historical event or incident which has a deep political symbolism regarding the political agenda of Baath. In the beginning of the 40s the Mufti of Jerusalem, Sheik Amin Al-Huseini visited Hitler in Berlin and praised him using the following words: God is in the heavens and Hitler is on the earth (we have a photo of this meeting in our archives)!!!!

Personality worship and theory of the leader.

The commander (Führer) institution is one of the basic theoretical foundations of the totalitarian Nazi and Baath theories. Because the commander (Hitler, Saddam, Hafiz Al-Asad) is an extra ordinary person, a genius and super he leads the society and the state with supernatural ability. The followers of Nazism and Baath are also strong individuals, extraordinary with a great will and enthusiasm for power. The ideological explanation for the bain washing operation is given in the book of Niche: thus spoke Zoroathuster (this has nothing to do with the tolerant and humane teachings of Zoroaster) that the Nazis propagated widely.

Racism

Racism and its components are regarded as the idea of superiority and racial preness. One of the characteristics of the German Nazism that it propagated widely was the idea of the superiority of the German Arian race and inferiority of all other peoples. Anyone who reads the book of Hilal which has a very clear racist tendency would see the spiritual continuity between Nazism and Baath. Such extreme expressions in Hilal's book as considering the Kurdish people as the tramps of the east and denying that they are people or having any identity or culture. He compares Kurdistan with Jewistan meaning a second Israel and using inappropriate words that only barbaric people such as Mohammad Talab Hilal can think of. He does not hide his admiration and praises for the Amawid Caliphs (as the Baath a continuation and historical extension of them), the period of whom was distinguished by the worst kind of oppression injustice, mass murder and hated racism against the peoples that were under their black rule (such as expelling the representatives of all ethnicities and religions: Kurds, Persians, Turks, and Christian from their offices and replacing them with Arabs under the pretence or slogan of arabisation of the offices). The Syrian Baath today is resorting to the same racist policies and continues the Amawid

methods in expelling officials, workers, and students of Kurdish ethnicity from various state projects and institutions, the schools and universities.

The stages of history are full of lessons to be learned, we must stop by them and quote them whenever possible. When Saddam Hussein was living in his uncle's, Khairulla Talfa, house who is known for his support to the Nazi movement, he read the first book written by his uncle where we find the following sentence: (god should not have created the following: Jews, flies, and Persians). This we see that the Arab Nazis intervene even in God's affairs.

We do not exaggerate if we state that the Syrian Baath Nazi leadership is infected by racism all over. The racist tendencies are one of the basic characteristics of the Baath ideology which is against humanity. The oppressive orders and laws that are counted in hundreds against the Kurdish people in general and Kurdish individuals are but undeniable evidence. The orphans of Nazi Germany in the leadership of the Syrian Baath of the kind of Talab Hilal is not the only person that has written his black racist ideas using a murderous poison. In the end of the 80s when I was in our homeland, 1 of my doctor friends mentioned to me that Mohammad Mustafa Miro who was the governor of Al-Hasaka province (he later became the Prime Minister because of his chauvinistic money decisions against the Kurdish people) that he refused an invitation to go to a meeting of the union of physicians holding their annual conference in the Kurdish city of Kamishli, expressing his objection by the following words: why did you choose the city of Kamishli for the conference, is she the capital of the autonomous region of the Kurds?

Such words from a chauvinist and arrogant leader in the Baath party do not need any comments because they speak for themselves!!

It's useful here to remember the words of the American black civil rights leader Martin Luther King during the rally against racism in 1968 in Washington in which 10s of thousands of persons participated: (I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character). We have to mention that the rally ended peacefully without any confrontation.

Three million Kurds in western Kurdistan suffer from racist-Nazi persecution on the Hands of the Syrian Baath, they have the same dream and aspiration and that is to get rid of the racist Baath and its nightmare. When the Kurdish children who are denied nationality certificates demonstrated in Damascus on the 25th of June 2003 demanding a common sense human right that is having a nationality certificate, they were assaulted, their parents were imprisoned interrogated and insulted.

The two Nazi regimes of Germany and Syria and the issue of utilising religion for political objectives.

The German Nazis discovered the important role of the church in different layers of the German society because of the historically inherited traditions and culture especially the conservative ones, in order to enforce the domination of the Nazi party in all aspects of life. Hitler started to flirt with the church as soon as the Nazis came to power and agreed to the demands of the church leaders by issuing a law regarding the church taxes (it was necessary for anyone being baptised in church to pay a sum to the

church according to their income, this law is still active in Austria and Germany). In return the church turn a blind eye (apart from few priests who supported the resistance) to the crimes of the Nazis and their horrible actions in various countries to the extent that some of the church officials were not only collaborating with the Nazis and propagating their ideology but were actually recruited in the German security forces Gestapo. It is not a secret that the Catholic Church in Germany and Austria, and especially the Vatican actively participated during World War II in hiding the Nazi war criminals and transporting several of them by ships to Latin America and other countries.

The Arabic twin of Nazism in Syria have exaggerated in their imitation of the German Nazis to the extent of making security forces in all Syrian cities writing the Friday prayers full of praise and glorification for the Damascus military dictatorship. There are many religious figures especially those working in Awkaf and also the Mufty who are practically members of the intelligence services, getting privileges and salaries from the Nazi authorities, some of them are even armed (anyone who visited the Muftey of the Al-Hasaka in the middle of the 80s would see that for themselves). It is well known the fact that the Nazi Mohammad Talab Hilal or his colleagues in the Syrian intelligence failed in their attempts to convince sheik Al-Khaznawi (of Kurdish nationality) to issue a fatwa condemning the heroic operations and the Kurdish peoples liberation movements in southern Kurdistan under the command of the legendary leader Milla Mustafa Barzani against the Iraqi colonialist forces.

There is an idea or a subject in the far and the near past of the Kurdish people that has not been properly and scientifically researched, which is in our view very important and it can be summarised as follows: most of the peoples in the world (especially Persians, Arabs and Turks) resorted to utilising the religion openly for their nationalist interests and aggression against other peoples except the Kurdish people. The fact that the Arabs use religion for expansion and colonial hegemony does not need genius and cleverness in order to understand the rules of this evil game.

It's known that the Persians used creativity to invent the Shiites sect and used it to preserve their nationalist characteristics and established a centralised state otherwise they would have met the fate of dozens of other peoples that submitted to the Arabic colonialism and vanished.

Our ancestors wasted a golden opportunity not only after they became Muslims by force but they did not manage to use this important factor when the Kurds were Zoroastrians. Anyone who does not believe this must refer to the history books or visit the site of Persepolis in Iran and see the rare paintings on the ancient Apadana palace walls as well as the hall in the palace of Three Gates and see how the median princes and Zoroastrian religious figures carry presents and offerings (as a symbol fo submission and obedience for the Persian King Darius).

More precisely when our ancestors were taking religion seriously and exaggerating in their preparations in order to get to the heavens as painted for them by the Persian and Arabic legends, these others were using religion in the worst possible way for their own nationalist interests and colonialist expansion on our account. The situation remains the same for the past 1000 years.

Establishing totalitarian dictatorship based on the one party absolute rule.

The Baathists both in Syria and Iraq imitated the German Nazis in establishing an oppressive terrorist authority who do not know except the language of violence, force and eradication of opposition views. This type of state is the opposite of the civil society where politics is not only an art but also a civilised method to manage the dialog and the struggle within the society and hence between the society and the state without destroying any of the two as it happened during several past revolutions.

The civil society requires the existence of judicial institutions, independent justice, the rule of law, political parties that depend on constitutional legality to guarantee free elections democratic and honest under the supervision of the judiciary and independent social organisations that do not submit to the states authority... etc.

The historical facts and events in the past and present prove that the past of the Arab Nazis to power in Damascus and Baghdad is paved by the bodies of dozens of thousands of the Kurdish peoples sons and other ethnicities as well as anyone with a different view who gave their lives resisting living in indignity and shame under such regimes that are regarded as the low point of historical development. As for the weak cartoon parties that exist alongside the Syrian Baath they are nothing but decorative bodies that cannot change anything.

The Baath in Syria and Iraq have established 2 republics of terror that depend on oppressive apparatus terrorising their own citizens violating their dignity in their prison cells in order to preserve their rule and defend the interest of the ruling class. Isn't there enough evidence that Iraq under the previous rule of Saddam has turned to a huge mass grave? And all the land of Kurdistan has been fed with blood of the Kurds? The deserts of Syria and the Tadmora desert hides under their sand the bodies of thousands of Kurds and Arabs victims of the bloody Baath authorities!

It should be noted that apart from the name and difference in time we can not see any other differences between the commanders of Gestapo in Vienna and Berlin at the times of the Nazis and the Palestine Branch, Al-Mazza prison (previously) and Adra currently, the Iraqi intelligence services in Baghdad, Kasr Al-Nihaya and Abu Graib under Saddam's despotic rule.

Carrying out formal elections.

Because of the nature of the Nazi dictatorship rule which was against any concept of real democratic practice or any principles of freedom of expression altogether the Nazis resorted to organising false elections from time to time in order to gain an appearance of legality for their bloody rule. This means the falsification of the peoples rule in formal elections the results of which were known in advance. The two leaders Hafiz Asad and Saddam Hussein were always getting 99.9% of the votes. It is laughable that Saddam Hussein has even got a 100% of the vote in the stage elections that took place just prior to the American attack that resulted in the fall of the Baath dictatorship regime in Baghdad.

Organising massacres, gas chambers and concentration camps as practical implementation of the vital field theory of Nazism:

The vital field theory was implemented widely in practice and as a method had a great role in internal and foreign policies of Nazi Germany and it was one of the false excuses to start the Second World War. This theory aimed to massacre as many people as possible from those under the German occupation in order to free huge geographical areas from their original inhabitants and settle individuals from Arian German race in their places. On that basis money concentration camps were built and more than six and a half million persons of Jewish, Slavs and other ethnicities met their death in gas chambers on the hands of the SS forces and other special units that were trained and equipped especially for this dirty work.

At the time Nazi Germany appointed the chief of SS Himmler to build the mass murder camps as the former Iraqi regime appointed Ali Hassan Al-Majid or Chemical Ali to kill the Kurds with poisonous gases and chemical weapons in southern Kurdistan. As for the Syrian Nazism and in the person of the former interior minister Mohammad Harba had burnt Kurdish activists to death in Ahasaka central prison in 1993 and the intelligence services of this dictatorial regime burnt pupils and children in the town of Amuda in 1960. In addition they organised the Jernak massacre on the outskirts of Kamishli in 1980 with cooperation of the Turkish colonial forces when more than 22 persons from northern and western Kurdistan became victims.

Mohammad Talab Hilal calls in his book to follow the Nazi Germany theorists on several occasions in order to annihilate the Kurdish people and eradicate them from Al-Jazeera. So this evil aggressive view of expanding at the cost of the Kurdish people which is nothing but a true implementation of the vital field theory but under the leadership of Baath after colouring it with Arabism and unity etc. Another such ideological tautology of the Nazi Baath that even their leaders and higher ranked officials do not believe in. There were also what was called exemplary villages built by Nazi Baath of Baghdad after organising the Halabge massacre and the Anfal operations that were built in southern Iraq and the desert areas were nothing but another example of concentration camps built the Baath way.

The aggressive essence of the German Nazism and Baath:

The German Nazis had never made a secret of their aggressive and expansionist methods towards other countries and peoples since coming to power in 1933. These audacious and stupid policies were crowned by igniting the Second World War that cost the lives of more than 60 million people in addition to huge material losses that could still be seen in our day. As for the psychological and the deep wounds that were left by that war, it is not easy to forget or get over.

The racist Baath with its hostile essence towards humanity and democracy was no different. The Syrian Baath since coming to power had waged a constant war against the Kurdish people in western Kurdistan and on all fronts: economical, political, cultural and social. Moreover the head figures of this regime are collaborating with the neighbouring countries against the local government and the achievements of the Kurdish people in Southern Kurdistan in order to sabotage it and destroy it as an implementation for the advice and instructions of Mohammad Talab Hilal. The Nazi Baath in Damascus also conspires against the Kurdish liberation movement in northern

Kurdistan against the Turkish colonial hegemony that reached its peak by expulsion of Ocalan from Damascus and andin over a lot of the activists of the pkk to the Turks. This happened by direct orders from basher Al-Asad especially before his last visit to Turkey in January of this year. As for the aggressive essence of the Iraqi Baath and its continuous was against the peaceful Kurdish population and barbaric massacres that went on until the recent American intervention, need large volumes to write its history. Saddam's war against Iran that lasted 8 years and cost millions of lives and his war on Kuwait are enough examples to satisfy us that the twin bothers of Baath in Syria and Iraq are following the same steps of the Nazi Germany and proved that Arabism was not a victim of colonialism only but also aggressor and criminal as well. It behaved cruelly and violently against the liberty of the Kurdish people who were their best friends over the years.

Following the Nazi Germany example and in order to put their aggressive nature into practice the Baath issued a series of laws and judicial acts such as the marshal law and extraordinary regulations and military courts that have no minimum requirements of guarantees or internationally recognised legal standards because of the absence of rule of law and violating judicial rights that were turned into an institution that belongs to the executive authority or even the intelligence and security apparatus exactly as it was in Germany and Austria during the Nazi rule.

The misuse of the conspiracy theory:

The German Nazis propagated the well know conspiracy theory in order to reinforce their authority and get rid of any however small opposition because no dictatorship authority can continue without justification for its existence by finding an enemy or an opponent though an imaginary one. According to this the Nazi propaganda media used the conspiracy theory on a wide scale using the communist and Jewish conspiracies against Germany as justifications for waging the Second World War and getting rid of the opposition. For this purpose they brought out the forged protocols of so called Zion wise men and spreading them in order to annihilate the Jews and the opposition by burning them in gas chambers. Anyone who reads such things as the book of Nazi Mohammad Talab Hilal, the writings of Munthir Al-Musili (who was also a former Syrian intelligence official in western Kurdistan) and the lectures of doctor Suheil Al-Zakkar in the Arabic Centre for Strategic Studies regarding the concept of minorities and their relevance to the Arab homeland as published in Al-Mustakila newspaper in issue 73 dated 2/10/1995, and the statements by Abdulla Al-Ahamr and Faruk Al-Sharaa that all are about the same old story: a Kurdish conspiracy on the Syrian land. The collective memory of the Kurdish people remembers a lot of hostile stances of the Syrian officials against the achievements of the Kurdish people in southern Kurdistan and describing them as an American-Zionist conspiracy!! In this way the Syrian officials imitate the German Nazi policies and their dirty tricks.

Hiding the Nazi war criminals and strong relations between the Syrian and Iraqi Baath with new Nazis:

As mentioned above there is no dispute regarding the common frameworks and principles in the ideology between he Nazi Germany and the Baath. These 2 theories are 2 faces of 1 coin and express the tendencies and concepts of the nationalist rightwing sectors, the most extremist and racist or even the most aggressive.

Two English writers John Boloch and Harvey Morris in their book: Saddam's War, published in 1991 state the following:

“The founders of Baath and Nazism share a common nostalgia for a glorious and legendary past in addition to their false historical efforts for reunification of a divided nation because of external conspiracies that looted its inheritance. The Baath in the middle east exactly as the Nazis in Europe had turned into an anti-Marxist current”

It's not a secret that when the second world war ended and the artillery were silenced, several of the war criminals and criminals against humanity avoided just punishment that some of their colleagues met in the Nordberg and Tokyo trials of 1945. a significant number of them managed to hide in Germany and Austria and other European countries. As for the others who were fortunate enough to get away either to Latin America or some Arab countries such as Syria and Egypt they found a secure refuge among the Arab nationalists, among those: Aloyce Bruner that adopted the pseudonym of George Fisher. Aloyce Bruner came to Damascus in 1972 from Egypt after the death of the Egyptian president Jamal Abdulnasir.

This Nazi beast was responsible for the murder of 24 thousand people in the concentration camps during the Second World War and the government of the former Syrian dictator Hafiz Al-Asad granted him the political refugee status and indefinite residency in Damascus. He in turn, as a specialist in security affairs and mass murder, passed on his experience to the Syrian Baath in order to massacre the Kurdish people without any noise or fuss. Despite several demands from the German government and personal requests by its foreign minister Youshka Fisher and other officials to the Syrian president Hafiz Al-Asad for his handing over, the former president refused categorically to do that and was saying every time that he is not present in Syria although our information says that his last address was number 7 George Haddad street, Damascus.

We have to mention in this regard the strong relations between the new Nazis of Europe and the Baath in Damascus and Baghdad. The president of the Austrian freedom party York Hider (President of Cantina province at the moment) visited Damascus and Baghdad several times in the past years. This Nazi politician who hides under the banner of freedom published a book just before the recent American attack against Saddam's dictatorial regime entitled: In Saddam's Hospitality. He declares his open solidarity with this regime of mass murder and turns all the historical facts upside down. He denies categorically that the Halbga massacre was committed by Baghdad Nazis without showing any material evidence other than repeating the lies of the overthrown Saddam's propaganda media, just like the methods of Gobbles, the former Nazi minister of propaganda that was imitated by the Baathists in Damascus and Baghdad. He does not hide his sympathy and solidarity with the dictatorship regime in Damascus and his willingness to help bringing it out of isolation.

We have a rare photo of this Austrian Nazi leader York Hider with Mustafa Tilas in the basement of the Syrian minister of defence's house in Damascus carrying in his hand a painting by the Nazi leader Adolph Hitler. Mustafa Tilas is very proud of this painting and it's decorating a wall in his basement to prove the saying: birds of a feather flock together.

Falsification and distortion history the Nazi way:

The German Nazism and Baath are one of a kind especially in regard to falsification and distortion of history. Mohammad Talab Hilal follows the footsteps of the Nazi minister of propaganda Gobbles in marketing lies and packaging them skilfully and truths so that simple people believe. For instance he claims that Alshumar tribe had settled in Al-Jazeera 300 years ago and Alpei tribe came from Yemen and settled in al-Jazeera 500 years ago. The truth is that these 2 tribes settled in Al-Jazeera or rather were made to settle after Syria's independence in 1947 and this happened in the time of Shukri Al-Kuwatli government as he himself admits. The European, Russian historians and even some Syrian administration officials during the 20s and 30s of the last century are all united that the Kurds have settled in this area forever and it is a geographical and demographical continuation for the north-west Kurdistan occupied by the Turkish colonialists rule. So the Kurds were the real owners of the land and the area thousands of years before the establishment of the Syrian central state.

I spent my childhood in the Kurdish town of Amuda where I finished my primary school that was neighbouring the old cinema house that was burnt down by the Syrian Nazi Baath regime killing 380 Kurdish pupils in 1960. We were a group of small students who used to play after school alongside a small hill which was situated in the south of the city and is called Mezelê Shermola which means "graveyard" in Kurdish, but it wasn't a real graveyard but a historic ancient hill where we used to find on several occasions pieces of ceramics of different forms and sizes with drawings of men and women dancing in circles, well known Kurdish dancers such as Hurzi and Sultana. The same thing used to happen i.e. finding ancient pieces during our visits and playing around the sides of Gre Moza on the outskirts of Amuda that is renamed by the Syrian Baath today to Oumol Rabi'. So whatever Mohammad Talab Hilal and his kind try to distort and falsify history of the Kurdish people and describing it as immigrants who came from Turkey, foreigners and other types of description that have nothing to do with the reality, Al-Jazeera remains Kurdish and a part of the Kurdish homeland Kurdistan because it is a historical and a current fact. When the ancestors of Mohammad Talab Hilal were shepherds looking after their sheep and camel in the deserted places of Arabia the Kurdish people were settled in Al-Jazeera and other parts of Kurdistan building houses and founding cities and villages, and creating civilisation and culture that was later followed by many peoples of the region.

The project of a Kurdish nationalist strategic program against the Nazi Baath project in western Kurdistan.

We live in the world of satellites and the internet, in a world changing with speedy tempos, unprecedented in the past. It will be correct to say that there is a dialectical relation between the social economic and political changes and these new unprecedented phenomena of our modern world.

On that basis we have to, according to the objective and subjective circumstances, take advantage of the modern world's dynamism and achievements of globalism by utilising them in a rational effective way to defend the interests of the Kurdish people in this part of our homeland Kurdistan. We have to take into account that the globalisation, democracy and pluralism have uncovered the defects of the Syrian Baath and its hated Nazi essence as well as its open and secret schemes to eradicate

the Kurdish people from their roots.

When you read the book of the Nazi Mohammad Talab Hilal without getting emotional and exited so that you can understand in a cool way the broad lines of the Syrian government policy, you would come to the one and only conclusion that the Nazi Baath is trying on the same tempo of the radical changes that are affecting our modern world to empty western Kurdistan from Kurds using all means possible. In other words expelling the greater majority of the Kurds to outside Kurdistan and getting rid of the small and dispersed pockets of the remaining Kurds using economical lock, hunger, fire, murder, genocide etc. The history will not forgive any Kurdish individuals and leaders that do not carry out their holy duty to preserve this part of Kurdistan and liberating it from the Syrian Nazis that have been planning the slow death of the Kurdish people for thousands of years.

The following story probably would open the eyes of several individuals of our people on western Kurdistan. It happened to the brother of a Kurdish youth who took refuge in Europe several years ago, he in turn told it to me as he witnessed it. The Kurdish refugee who is from the city of Kamishli said:

My brother who was serving in the Syrian army was delayed in joining his unit for a few days and one day a patrol of military police raided our house and took out my brother into the street where they started beating and insulting him. When my brother tried to explain the circumstances to the leader of the group, he pulled out his pistol and shot my brother several times making him a martyr at once. My sister went over his body hugging him and crying over him in the mean time the leader of the group shouted in the face of the people who started gathering on both sides of the street after hearing the shots: what are you waiting for why don't you travel to Europe so that you get rid of us and we get rid of you??? This incidence is a summary for the tragic and inhuman situation for our people in western 'Kurdistan under the rule of the Omawid descendants that do not know other than barbarism oppression and violence against a people that refuse to submit to slavery.

On the basis of the above we suggest some principle idea for a project of a Kurdish Nationalist action with strategic and tactical dimensions to oppose the Nazi Baath schemes aiming to eradicate the Kurdish people from existence.

Politically:

To unify the lines of the Kurdish nationalist movement in western Kurdistan on the basis of new ideas on the label of the current dangers surrounding the Kurdish people. This should be within the framework of an overall national conference representing the will of the Kurdish people in a modern and effective way. Carrying out democratic elections against the will of the Syrian dictatorship government to elect representatives of the Kurdish people under supervision of international monitors to establish a local Kurdish parliament and thus a Kurdish government in exile in order to gain international recognition.

Declaring civil disobedience on a general and continuous scale with daily mass rallies in the Kurdish areas that would have an effect in unifying the creative potential powers of the Kurdish people and directing them against the symbols of the chauvinistic authority in the Kurdish areas. Such mass demonstrations and political

speeches in general meetings and strikes would cause radical changes in mentality and the political consciousness of the Kurds and lead to more solidarity and cooperation inside the Kurdish community. This should be accompanied by announcement and publications distributed in all the Kurdish cities and villages in western Kurdistan. An active and decisive work to cancel all the chauvinist and racist orders regarding the Arabic belt and the Arabic settlements on the Kurdish lands, and returning nationality certificate to all those Kurds who were denied it.

Economically:

We do not have to explain the importance of this factor in achieving the political and national aims. The chauvinist government in Damascus insists on impoverishing the Kurds and the Kurdish areas using economic blockades in order to force the Kurds to migrate either to inside or to Europe and other countries.

In this regard we mention the following points:

- The economical program of the coming government should contain, economical projects for various Kurdish areas in order to develop them economically and prosper them to the level of the Arabic areas and create job opportunities for the Kurds for them to stay on their homeland for them to live in dignity.
- Creating political and diplomatic ties for the European union especially the European committee of the European Union headed by Mr Romano Brudi or anyone who replaces him in this position to make conditions on the Syrian government in case of offering loans or setting futuristic projects to make a large part of these projects and investing those moneys in the Kurdish areas.
- Setting up a central bank or a Kurdish fund in exile by the Kurdish Diaspora and first of all the Kurdish organisations parties and personalities that participate in the national congress or a general Kurdistan front in order to set up investment projects and prosper the Kurdish area in cooperation with international economic organisation such as the UN and others
- Collecting funds and donations in Europe and other countries to distribute them on the deprived and poor Kurdish people.

Concerning culture and media:

- Establishing a unified Kurdish media institution in exile to inform the world wide public opinion about the tragic circumstances of the Kurdish people in western Kurdistan and explain the democratic and liberation circumstances of the Kurdish movement in this part of Kurdistan taking advantage of the black history of the Syrian government in the fields of violating human rights everywhere.
- Establishing and organising schools and institutes to study the Kurdish language that awards official certificates in order to rebirth the Kurdish culture and create new hope for the coming Kurdish generations that the Nazi authorities in Damascus try to suffocate and deprive from sources of science,

culture and modern technology.

- Removing all the Arabic names and expressions and resetting the Kurdish names of all the villages and areas.
- Revitalising the ancient Kurdish traditions and informing the Kurdish people about the past Zoroastrian culture because of the important effect of this religion on the Kurdish personality on the past and the present.

Diplomatically:

- Forming representative bodies for the Kurdish people in exile in various democratic countries and also with international organisations even the non-governmental ones.
- Working towards forming an international committee to investigate the crimes of the Syrian government against the Kurdish people such as the holocaust or burning Amuda in 1960 or burning Al-Hasaka central prison in 1993 and other crimes against humanity in order to bring the Syrian officials to justice in the international court of Lahai according to the international treaties and agreements in this regard.

The Syrian government and its way of executing the racist project of Mohammad Talab Hilal or how the Nazi Baath tries to dismantle the Kurdish people and eradicate them without noise or great cost?

We do not need to repeat the articles and points in the barbaric racist project of Talab Hilal that aims to displace and entire people in order to satisfy the racist desires of the dictatorship Syrian regime.

As when he writes: it is time for a decisive plan for this province to purify it from alien elements, he means to provide a compass and a practical program for the Baath dictatorship regime to be implemented strategically and tactically according to regional and local circumstances and balance of forces to displace people from western Kurdistan.

We have to mention some of the basic aspects of the Syrian government's policy without getting into details because they need a special treatment.

1. economical blockade and strategy of impoverishment and starvation:

There are not only indications but evidence and proofs as well as numbers and statistics regarding the destructive results of this racist policy deliberately affecting the economical circumstances and living standards of the Kurdish people.

As one of the experts of the Syrian economics Dr Arif Dalila admits the income of the Syrian citizens has deteriorated since what is called the reform movement and to this day by the ratio of 25%. However in the Kurdish areas it's as high as 60% and according to statistics by the mentioned writer the ratio of unemployment in Syria in general is 30% as for the information available to us especially field statistics carried out by the supporters of the Kurdistan national congress in western Kurdistan states

that the ratio of unemployment among the Kurdish people is 70%. This field study also proved that 85% of the Kurds live below the poverty line while the same ration in Syria in general is between 30-40%. The practical results of this dirty colonial policy is the exile of more than 375,000 Kurds in foreign countries and around 125,000 displaced inside the country especially in Aleppo and Damascus, and the best example for this is the Kurdish Zorava quarter on the outskirts of Damascus. The Syrian government attempting to implement the chauvinist project of Talab Hilal is completely forbidding Kurds from setting up and projects unless their owners are pure Arabs. The few projects in the Kurdish area mainly belong to the government and prevent Kurds from employment in them to the extent of dismissing the few who remained as workers and civil servants from the Kurdish ethnicity gradually. We have dozens of administrative orders by the managers of the fields like Al-Jipsa, Al-Rasafa, Ramilan and the military accommodation company to dismiss Kurdish officials and workers under the excuse of their danger to the state security. What kind of a cartoon state is this that a simple worker in Al-Rasafa Company could threaten its security?!

On the basis of the historical inheritance of the racist Amawids policies the Syrian government knows the importance of the economical factor and its magical influence on the living standards of the Kurds very well in order to force them to migrate and look for making a living in foreign lands.

2. Policy of ignorance and racial dissimilation.

As an implementation for the mentioned book of Hilal, the Syrian government has resorted to dismissing Kurdish students from the Syrian universities and institutes including primary and secondary schools as well as the teaching staff. These young men and young girls are the future of the Kurdish people but with this chauvinist policy the Syrian government deliberately tries to destroy the future of the whole people by depriving it of the simplest vital factors (for example the decision of the minister of the higher education Dr. Kamal Sharaf No.687-M on the basis of a decision by the minister's council No. 1976-1 regarding not accepting Kurdish youth who are deprived of Syrian nationality in the universities and higher education institutes in Syria).

We have several orders and administrative decisions carrying the signature of the governor of Al-Hasaka and the former prime minister the Nazi Mohammad Mostafa Miro regarding forbidding using Kurdish language in conversations threatening with the severest punishment. This chauvinist policy that is directed at suffocating the Kurdish culture and the dissimilation of the Kurdish people or pushing the Kurdish intellectuals writers and poets to migrate away from Syria on the basis of the advises of Mohammad Talab Hilal who insists on (following the elements of danger step by step and putting others under surveillance). These chauvinist and intimidation practices have become a routine phenomenon in the lives of the majority of the Kurds in western Kurdistan. It's aimed at destabilising the situation of the Kurds who are always ready to migrate as the godfather of the Syrian Nazism Mohammad Talab Hilal indicates in his mentioned book.

3. Creating barriers in the Kurdish areas and establishing settlements or armed colonies on the Kurdish lands.

Mohammad Talab Hilal treats these questions in details and presents the Syrian

government with detailed projects for building Arabic colonies in western Kurdistan in order to destroy the Kurdish nationalist characteristics of Al-Jazeera. The project of the Arabic belt which is well known and its implementation by the racist Baath in the Kurdish areas is a clear example that the Syrian government wants to empty Al-Jazeera from its Kurdish population and Arabise it.

4. The chauvinist census and the policy of destroying the principle unit of the Kurdish community that is the Kurdish family.

The fact of depriving 650,000 Kurds from the Syrian nationality since the Nazis came to power in Damascus in the 1960s is one of the practical results of the racist policy of Baath that aims to destroy the Kurdish family in the first place. In order to avoid generalisations I will just give you the following example: the family of the writer of these words consists of 12 persons the Syrian government deprived 11 of them from the nationality certificate except the eldest brother who served in the Syrian Army. In this way there are thousands of Kurdish families suffering from similar circumstances as victims of this chauvinist racist policy of Baath.

5. The policy of ethnic cleansing and genocide the Syrian way.

The Syrian Nazism is distinguished from its Iraqi twin by methods of trickery and treachery. Saddam Hussein who grew up in an environment of nomads since he was 10 and in a poor and backwards condition of the countryside did not know anything other than the language of violence and total terror against the Kurdish people including using chemical weapons to get rid of them. However, there are several officials in the ruling Baath of Syria that finished their studies in higher military institutions and studies inside and outside the country as well as training under foreign experts and especially the Nazi criminals who took refuge in Damascus. So the elite politicians in the Syrian Baath have long years of experience in how to eradicate the Kurdish people in western Kurdistan gradually and without making a significant noise.

On this basis these people who committed barbaric massacres against the Kurdish people in this part of the Kurdish homeland without arresting anyone or putting them to trial. I will mention a few examples only that are nothing but a part from a long list:

1. The massacre in Amuda in 1960 and burning 380 Kurdish pupils to death.
2. The massacre of Jirnak committed by the Syrian intelligence in collaboration of the Turkish MET in 1980 in which 22 people became victims.
3. Arranging the fire in Al-Hasaka central prison on the 24/03/1993 in which 73 Kurdish youths died and 5 others were executed.
4. There are 7,000 Kurdish young men and girls missing since the mid 80s that is since the leadership of the PKK came to Syria. And the Syrian government and its intelligence services are fully responsible for the disappearance and the fate of these persons.
5. Committing mass murder against the Kurdish people by using poisonous and nuclear waste.

On the direct orders and instructions from the son of the Syrian deputy president Jamal Abdulhalim Khaddam and the son of the Skhaddam and the son of the Syrian president's brother Fawaz Jamil Al-Asad, poisonous nuclear waste were buried in 1985 in the area of Jabal Abdulaziz, the area of Kawkab Al-Hasaka and between Al-Hasaka and Kamishli to the west of the Talbarrak. The burial of these poisonous materials led to the increase of deaths by cancer and thyroid gland disease which is also clear evidence of the Nazi Baath policies to exterminate the Kurds silently and without much cost.

There is no need for further evidence that the Baathist regime in Syria and the overthrown regime of Saddam had always insisted that Damascus and Baghdad are the heart of Arabism which makes us ask the question: is this heart of Arabism cannot beat without exterminating the Kurds with poisonous gases in Halbja, Anfal and the area of Badinan or this heart of Arabism would stop beating without burning our children in Amuda and our youth in Al-Hasaka central prison as well as murdering us with the poisonous wastes and destroying olive trees in the Kurdish mountains with chemical materials??

They falsely and hypocritically claim that Baath adopts a nationalist-humanitarian message and the Syrian president Bashar Al-Asad, during his visit to Spain and France called for building bridges and dialogue between civilisations etc.

In the mean time the Kurdish government in southern Kurdistan asked the Syrian officials several years ago to build one joined bridge on the river Tigris between Syria and the Kurdish autonomous region to make the transport of people and good easier and the trade exchanges quicker, do you think their reply was a positive one? You would be wrong to think that because the Syrian government refused this simple humanitarian request.

In this way the evil aims and intentions, sacred and open of the Syrian Baath regime towards the Kurds in western Kurdistan very clearly extends to other parts of Kurdistan and they could be summarised in hostility towards the Kurdish patriotic movement in extermination of the Kurds in any way possible.

I confess that the above mentioned book of Mohammad Talab Hilal deserves one realistic name: the black book of Syrian Nazism. This study is not only inspired by the racist and corrupt traditions of the Amawids that resulted in their overthrow by the renowned Kurdish leader Abu Muslim Al-Khurasani, but it also expresses the darkest corners of the human history. Its place in history would be nothing but the dust bin of history where there are: Nero, Hitler, Stalin, Saddam Hussein, Genghis Khan, Timor Lung, Holako and others. It does not call for the brotherhood of humanity and their cooperation in spreading love, friendship, cultural pluralism and respecting other's languages and traditions, but it is an open invitation for hatred, loathing, abhorrence and extermination of a peaceful people who want nothing but to live on their land peacefully and defend their nationalist identity. We can prove here in a clear way the Mohammad Talab Hilal as several other of the Syrian officials such as Mohammad Harba and Mohammad Mostafa Miro can be regarded as criminals against humanity and that is according to the article 3 of the international convention against the crimes of genocide of 1948 that states the punishment for the following crimes:

1. Genocide.

2. Conspiracy to common genocide.
3. Direct and open inciting to commit genocide
4. Attempting to commit genocide.
5. Participation in committing genocide.

According to the above Mohammad Talab Hilal calls openly and directly to commit genocide against the Kurdish people and purify Al-Jazeera from it and this is a direct and open inciting to commit genocide. So the international justice and human rights requires that Mohammad Talab Hilal, Mohammad Mustafa Miro, Mohammad Harba, and Mohammad Mansura (Abu Jasim) and other Syrian criminals should take their places alongside the war criminals and criminals against humanity in the court of city of Lahai, alongside Milosevic and other criminals against humanity that are now in prison for their barbaric acts against humanity.

When the American forces with decisive help from the Kurdish forces captured the war criminal and the criminal against humanity and the butcher of the Kurdish people Saddam Hussein, he was hiding in a hole in the ground near the city of Tecrit exactly where he used to live and work and a shepherd when he was 10 years old. This is a tragic end for the symbol of the Nazi Baath in Baghdad not only as a person but also as an idea, ideology and practice. The fate of Mohammad Talab Hilal and the Nazi Baath in Damascus would be even worse than that mouse hole, where Saddam of Al-Awja was found. It is fair to say that the Kurdish nation has not produced such butchers and executioners and despotic rulers such as the figureheads of the Amawid khalifs Al-Hajaj Ibn Yossef Athaqafi, Saddam Hussein, Chemical Ali and many other high ranking officials of the Syrian and Iraqi Baath but it can be proud that it produced such great leaders and thinkers such as Karim Khan Zend, Saldin Al-Ayoubi the liberator of the east, the great prophet Zoroaster, Piri Shaliar, Sheikh Mahmood Al-hafid, Sheikh Said Piran, Qazii Mohammad, Mella Mustafa Barzani, the two princes Kamiran and Jaladat Bedirkhan, prince Sharafkhan Al-Bedlisi and the great patriotic leader Apo Osman Sabri in addition to a long list of poets and literary figures such as Ahmadi Khani and Haji Qadir Koi who are all stars lighting the sky of the east and are important stages in the history of the descendants of the Meds the ancient Kurdish nation.

Dr Alan Kadir

Letter from Al-Asad Osso, the new Kurdish youth generation: Dear brothers in Binxete publication, the newspaper of western Kurdistan Association – London my best wished to you: I'm a young man from Afrin, I have been living in Germany for a year now and I got your good publication from Mr. Jawad Mella and I am sending you this article hoping that you will publish it and inform me whether you will publish it or not. Thank you in anticipation

Baath Party, between the past and present.

40 years have passed since the Baath party took over the authority in Syria by force. The Baath party is regarded as a nationalist party and a leader of the state and the society. The Baath party is a part of the political regime and the political regime is a part of it so there is interference between Baath as a party and the political regime in Syria that is difficult to disentangle, because it's ever as a party and the political regime in Syria that is difficult to disentangle, because it's everywhere. In general we are not about to discuss the position of Baath as a political party inside the political regime in Syria but we want to throw a light on the policies that Baath practices in its dealing with the citizens in general and the Kurds especially. The Baath party has turned everything upside down by making the people servants to the leaders and the oppression of this party is to such extent that nobody can ask for any rights otherwise they will be accused of corruption, while those who leave aside their rights are called obedient citizens. This is supported everywhere by opportunist officials starting from the members of parliament and down to the smallest official in government administration. Because of the fear from the regime these corrupt opportunist people can go on without feeling any responsibility because of the culture of corruption.

As for the administrative regime, it's chaotic and despicable to the extent that there is no hope whatsoever of any reforms. The strange thing is that even the intellectuals who are highly educated are participating in falsifying the historical facts by calling the murderous criminals "the liberators" and the descendants are proud of their criminal ancestors.

The intellectuals have nothing to do but to show their hypocritical face in order to achieve material gains, claiming that supporting the regime is good because the organisation decreases corruption and crimes while in fact it hides them, it's like a murderer who has got used to killing because the second time he kills he does not regard his act as bad as it was the first time until he reaches a state that he starts enjoying killing as if it's a natural thing to him as it is the case for all the despots in everywhere and at all times. This happened to the Syrian leadership who lost all signs of sympathy and mercy in their hearts after killing for political purposes and such incidents as Al-Hasaka prison of 1993 when 73 people were burned to death. One has to ask does the Syrian government have the right to behave without regard to any material and moral right like that. Can the government do whatever it likes in dealing with people's money and affairs? Is it above questioning while others are not? Is the law supposed to support the strong against the weak? In short this regime is a disease which is worse than any fire or flood and more degrading to humanity than anything else. This regime is so cruel and hopeless that it is better to die than live under it. So that is why I am saying that it is better for the Kurdish individual to live in a courageous way or die so that no one in the future says that a Kurdish person has been wronged.

Leaflet of Rojava Kurdistan Radio

Today the Kurds are more than 40 million. Their homeland is called **Kurdistan**, which means **“country of the Kurds”**. Kurdistan is not the name of a country or state, but rather, a land which in the 20th century was obligatorily divided among **five states (Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria and the Soviet Union)**. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union in the beginning of the 1990`s, the **Soviet part of Kurdistan (“Red Kurdistan”)**. The Kurds are today the largest **stateless** nation in the world.

Kurdistan extends from the Caucasus to the Mediterranean Sea and from there to the Gulf. A part of it lies in **Mesopotamia**, which is regarded as the **“cradle of humanity”**.

In this region, high cultures such as **Mithraism** or the **Sun Cult** already existed **thousands of years ago**. There was **Buddhism**; there was **Mazdaism**, the religion of the **Zoroastrians** which dedicated itself to the relation between **good and evil as a dualism** of the nature of life.

There was also the religion of **Mani** or Manichaeus, i.e. **Manichaeism**, which symbolically transmitted the dualism of nature into the existence of **light** and **darkness** symbolising good and bad. There was (and still is today) **Judaism, Christianity**, and also **Islam** and **Bahaism** in Kurdistan, and last not least several truly syncretistic religions like the **Yazidis (Ezidis), Yarsan, Alawis, Shabbak, Haqqa**. Brought into the world by the Kurdish nation these syncretistic religions are an undeniable part of the Kurdish culture which is pluralistic, vibrant and varied.

Western Kurdistan Association is a voluntary and a charity organisation; helping Kurdish local communities in the UK since 1997. **ROJAVA KURDISTAN RADIO** is one of our unique and successful projects.

ROJAVA KURDISTAN RADIO is the First Kurdish Broadcasting Satellite radio; it is transmitted in both dialects of the Kurdish language (Sorani & Kurmanji), Arabic, Turkish, Farsi and English, for research and integration of the Kurdish refugees in the community, started on Friday 11th March 2005. In the world are more than 40,000,000 Kurds, among them more than 20,000,000 young people, the largest nation in the world still stateless, although it has a homeland of its own. In Europe there are more than 3,000,000 Kurds, and in the UK more than 300,000 Kurds.

Rojava Kurdistan covers Europe, Middle East and Kurdistan in all its parts which are occupied by Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria and the former Soviet Union, and we have millions of listeners, in Kurdistan and in other countries.

The Kurdish **women** and **children** are the most vulnerable, because the official policy and cultural attitudes in the Middle East **deny** them a number of essential human rights such as education or access to health and even the Kurdish language. The radio project will involve Kurds here in the UK, Europe and Middle East. Through their participation in the Radio project they will be developing some personal skills for example **voicing** the problems faced by the majority of them. Even though **BBC World Service** has programmes in 29 languages worldwide they have no programme in Kurdish language. **Rojava Kurdistan** is first.

Our **children** and **young people** have missed education and have been cut from their culture and roots, as disadvantaged people in the zone of war, Kurdistan, they need to be given **confidence** and know-how to become as other children.

Rojava Kurdistan radio is a digital radio channel dedicated to the cause of **Kurdish** problems in general, with some special attention to **Western Kurdistan**. The channel can be found by switching your satellite television to radio and selecting **Rojava Kurdistan**.

Rojava Kurdistan Radio

Satellite Hotbird 13E

Transponder Number- 75

Frequency- 12207 H

Polarity- Horizontal

Symbol Rate- 27500

FEC- $\frac{3}{4}$

Or you can listen to it on our websites: www.rojavatv.org.uk
www.western-kurdistan.com

Your support, participation and cooperation is needed

Programmes of Rojava Kurdistan's Radio

We would like to have one hour daily broadcasting programme for each of following subjects:

1. The **Kurdish children and youths** and their lives, because the youths are the future, and to take care of them today will save us a lot in the future.
2. **Research to provide real statistics** about the Kurds in Kurdistan and Europe.
3. **Genocide, discrimination and human rights.**
4. How **to stop terrorism** and **to support democracy and civilisation.**
5. Prisoners **of conscience** and victims **of torture.**
6. **Families** and **refugees problems**; health, poverty, housing and immigration issues.
7. Increase **media** professionals' and government understanding of the role of the media in a democratic society.
8. Encourage the development of a legal framework for a **free press,**
9. **Peace, equal opportunities** and **justice** for all people.
10. How to find a **job, training** courses and develop **skills,** resources to become a useful member of society and away from crimes.
11. **English-Kurdish** language lessons.
12. How to find **higher education** world wide.
13. **Culture** programme (history, geography, music, song, drama, sport and heritage).
14. **Social events,** which will be broadcast on air.

To **understand the Kurds,** their background and their needs, is the best way to serve them properly, now and in the future, and as a result to have **useful members** and an **integrated community.** [Do support our programme project.](#)

Contact Addresses and numbers:

Headquarters & North office:

Western Kurdistan Association

Palingswick House

241 King Street

London W6 9LP

Tel: 0044(0)208 748 7874

Fax: 0044(0)208 741 6436

Mobile: 0044(0)7768 266 005

E-mail: wka@knc.org.uk

www.rojavatv.org.uk

www.western-kurdistan.com

www.jawadmella.tripod.com

Middle of Europe & South office:

Fax: 0049(0)8233 6121

E-mail: KNC@ribrahim.de

www.knc.org.uk

Scandinavia & East office:

Tel: 0047(0)2168 9426

Fax: 0047(0)2275 3095

E-mail: post@kncscandinavia.com

www.kncscandinavia.com

The Kurdish population in Kurdistan numbers far more than 40 million

at least

Kurds in the Northern Kurdistan 20 million

Kurds in the Eastern Kurdistan 10 million

Kurds in the Southern Kurdistan 6 million

Kurds in the Western Kurdistan 3 million

Kurds in Red Kurdistan 1 million.

Forum of

**Kurdish Institutions and Organisations supporting Rojava
Kurdistan projects:**

1. Kurdistan National Congress-KNC
2. 'Referendum for Kurdistan' Commission
3. Friends of Kurdistan Committee
4. Kurdish Academy of Science and Arts
5. Western Kurdistan Government in Exile
6. Kurdish Human Rights Commission
7. Kurdish Students and Youths Union
8. Kurdish Women Union
9. Kurdish Writers and Intellectuals Union
10. Rojava Kurdistan Radio.

HALABJA

beautiful town in the mountains of Kurdistan
lost paradise of orchards and springs
so friendly people

up to 8000 of them
killed in few hours by poison gas
sinking down from helicopters
yellow and heavy and smelling strange and sweet
persecuting families and children in hidings
inflicting on many thousands more
never healing wounds and diseases

GENOCIDE

on March 16th -18th 1988
politicians and media tried to ignore it
merchants of death had sold the poison
we Kurds will never forget
our families, relatives, friends
who died or still suffer from this terrible crime
and many more villages in Kurdistan
and thousands more people
who died or still suffer
from incurable wounds
inflicted on them
by VX and Sarin

the 20th century was a
century of genocide
millions of Kurdish people were murdered
because their enemies had stolen their country and their resources
and didn't want to restore them to the Kurds

no one is able to tell
how many Kurds died from their enemies' hands
either courageously fighting for liberty
or struggling for a living in poverty
by cruel oppressors deprived of their property

therefore the following list of crimes is incomplete

1914-1918	Northern Kurdistan: more than 2 million Kurds murdered
1918-1939	Northern Kurdistan: more than 500.000 Kurds murdered
1960	Western Kurdistan: 380 Kurdish children wilfully burnt to death in the city of Amuda
1980	Southern Kurdistan: 5000 Fayli Kurds murdered in Iraq
1981	Eastern Kurdistan: more than 2000 Kurds killed by bombing planes in the city of Sinna

1983	Southern Kurdistan: 8000 Barzani Kurds murdered
1988	Southern Kurdistan: 182.000 Kurds killed during Anfal
1988	Southern Kurdistan: many thousands of Kurds killed and injured by chemical weapons
1991	Southern Kurdistan: tenthousands of Kurds murdered during the popular uprising
1993	Western Kurdistan: 75 Kurds wilfully burnt to death in Al-Hasaka Central Prison
2004	Western Kurdistan: hundreds of Kurds murdered in the streets and tortured to death

Mass murder of thousands of Kurds by torture, destruction of more than 10.000 of our villages, expulsion by military force were common events in all occupied parts of Kurdistan. They tried to steal our country from us and took it as land of their own.

KURDISTAN

is situated between the Mediterranean Sea, the Gulf, and the Caucasus, with high mountains and plains, a territory about double the size of Great Britain. Euphrates and Tigris have their springs in Kurdistan. There is plenty of water and oil and other resources.

However Kurdistan fell a victim of greed, and was occupied and divided by foreign powers, who even denied the mere existence of Kurds and Kurdistan and Kurdish language because they wanted to take away our homeland from us and annex it as their own.

KURDISTAN

is one of the most ancient countries in the world.

It emerged from ancient realms of Guti, Elam, Hurrites, Hatti, Mitanni, Urartu, Media, Karduchoi, and Sassanides, reaching back 4000 years from our time.

Many Kurdish sovereign princes ruled the country and defended it against Assyrians, Greeks and Romans, against Arabs, Mongols, Turks, and Persians.

Only in 19th and 20th century the Kurdish princes and tribal territories lost their influence and liberty.

But the Kurdish people never gave up and always kept fighting the occupiers and oppressors of their country.

THE KURDISH LANGUAGE

is of indo-european origin. It is up till now most related to the ancient language of the Medes, who invaded Kurdistan during the indo-european migration of nations about 3500 - 4000 years ago.

The Kurdish language has got an unusual abundance of words and expressions, delivered from their ancestors of old. Its grammar is completely different from the

languages of the occupiers of Kurdistan.

But the oppressors tried to extinguish our language from the earth. They banned the Kurdish language from the schools and media and public life and are still doing so. They burnt Kurdish poetry and tales and books of history and science to destroy our Kurdish heritage. The same they tried to do to our music.

INDEPENDENCE FOR KURDISTAN
has to be achieved by a free referendum
for more than 40 million Kurds
as the UN Charter granted it
for all nations in the world.

Sheikh Mahmud Barzinji

as governor of Kurdistan in 1919 formed the first national government in the Middle East and then was exiled to India by the Britons. 1922 he was governor again and declared himself King of Kurdistan. Therefore Sulaimani was attacked by Royal Air Force bombers on Christmas Day in 1923. Sheikh Mahmud fought for Kurdish independence, but the Britons by force made Kurdistan a part of Iraq.

The great Kurdish leader Qazi Mohammad

founded the **Republic of Kurdistan** in 1946 with Mahabad as capital. It was meant as nucleus of independence for all Kurdistan.

The memorial monument in Kurdistan Square – London

By a request from **Dr Jawad Mella**, director of the **Western Kurdistan Association** in London and with the help of the friends of the Kurdish people within the British government, especially **Councillor Charlie Treloggan, the Mayor of Hammersmith** and **Councillor Stephen Burke the Head of the Hammersmith Council – London**. **Kurdish people thanks all who participate with this great and noble memorial, 2006.**

A European court recognizes Kurdish genocide

12/23/2005

KurdishMedia.com

London (KurdishMedia.com) 23 December 2005 - updated: A Dutch court ruled on Friday that the killing of thousands of Kurds in Iraq in 1988 was an act of genocide.

Van Anraat was acquitted of genocide charges but he was sentenced to 15 years in prison. The Dutch court found him guilty of complicity in war crimes for selling more than 1,000 tons of chemicals to the former Iraq government, used in gassing Kurdish.



Halabja - Kurdistan 1988

This is the first internationally recognized court that has recognized genocide of Kurdish people by the former Iraqi government.

The Dutch court said:

"Legally and convincingly proven that the Kurdish population meets requirement under Genocide Conventions as an ethnic group".

"The court has no other conclusion than that these attacks were committed with the intent to destroy the Kurdish population of Iraq."

Saddam and his circle have not yet been found guilty in the Iraqi court. The priority of the Iraqi court was given to the killing of over 100 Shiia and Sunna Arabs in the village of Dujel, not to the genocide of Kurds by the former Iraqi government.

Source: agencies

**Mr. Neil Kinnock
European Commission**

London 19th March 2005

Dear Mr. Kinnock

On behalf of the Western Kurdistan Government in Exile, we send your Excellency our best wishes and regards.

The Kurdish population is more than 40 million. We believe that the Kurdish people and their homeland Kurdistan have been subjected to the worst kind of colonialism and partition for a century.

At the end of World War II, Germany was divided, 45 years later they united again, but Kurdistan now more than 80 years has been divided and the Kurdish people did not occupy or kill others. We hope it is the time for Kurdistan to be united and free again, and to end this unbearable situation. In return for liberty and self-determination of Kurdistan **you will have in the Middle East a new democratic State based on the Western system and an opponent to international terrorism.**

Since the Kurdish uprising in Western Kurdistan (Syrian Kurdistan) on 12th March 2004, the Kurdish people there is facing a real genocide.

Yesterday, the leaders of Russia, France, Germany and Spain have jointly called for Syria to withdraw its forces from Lebanon. The statement came after Jacques Chirac of France, Vladimir Putin of Russia, Gerhard Schroeder of Germany and Jose Luis Zapatero of Spain met in Paris.

The Western Kurdistan Government supports you to put pressure on the Syrian forces which occupied Lebanon for 29 years.

I would like to draw your and all EU members' attention to the fact that the Syrian forces occupied Western Kurdistan for more than 80 years. Today is the best time to correct the unfair treatment that the international community has done to the Kurds last century, and through EU and Your Excellency we are asking to support the Western Kurdistan Government to have a free referendum for the Kurds in Western Kurdistan, which is occupied by Syria. **Therefore we would like to have a meeting with you to tell your Excellency more about Western Kurdistan Government in Exile, the future of Kurdistan and on the following points:**

- **The establishing of a "Save Haven"** for the Syrian Kurds to protect them from the killing by the savage and racist Syrian regime.
- **An investigation about the 9000 Syrian Kurdish prisoners, many of them been killed under very bad torturing.** Amnesty International mentioned that Mr. Ahmed Maamo Kanjo from Ras Al-Ain city and Mr. Ahmed Hussein Hussein, from Hasakah city have been killed in the Syrian prisons under torture by the Syrian security services.

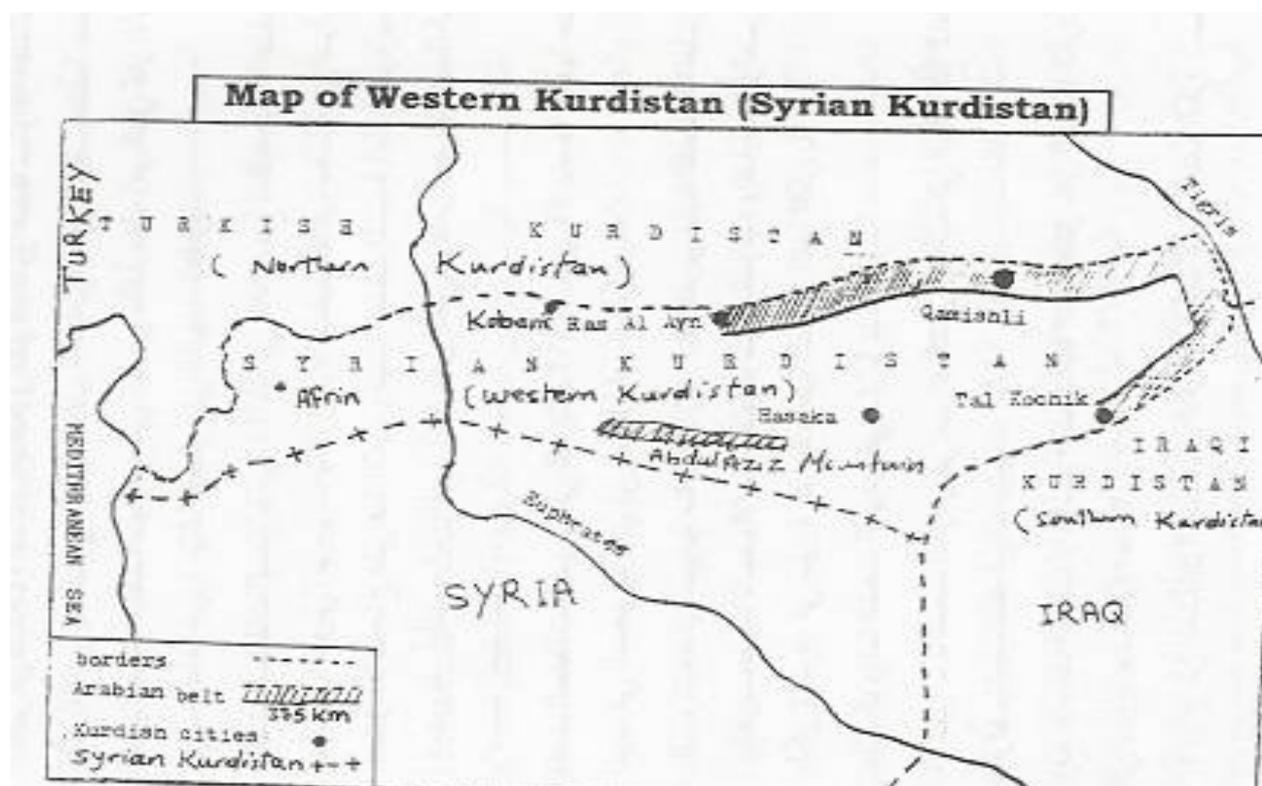
Please see our Kurdish satellite television ROJAVA TV, which shows how the Syrian police and the secret police are shooting the Kurds in the streets in the Kurdish city Qamishly during the Kurdish uprising on 12 March 2004.

Yours sincerely

Dr. Jawad Mella

President

Western Kurdistan Government in Exile



Western Kurdistan Association- London

Mission :

The main aim and purpose of the Western Kurdistan Association is to work with refugees from Kurdistan who have recently arrived in the UK, or have been settled here for a while. In this capacity we mainly provide interpreting and translation support, assistance in asylum and immigration affairs, help them in gaining access to local services, including legal advice and information, education and health care. We also do a large amount of work in the area of housing, and help from the social services.

Activities :

Different kind of activities and services for Kurdish refugees, courses of IT, Languages, film making for young people, sport as football club etc.

Hold educational and social event and print reports and books on different issues regarding the Kurds and their history and culture.

Geographical Area : Hammersmith

The end announcement by the conference held on 25/4/2004 in the German town of Herne for the declaration of the Western Kurdistan Government in Exile

To the Kurdish masses everywhere and the friends of a free and independent Kurdistan

We have to congratulate the Kurdish people and their friends for the news of declaration of the Government of Western Kurdistan in Exile from the German town of Herne on 25/4/2004. This will be a historical turning point in the political life of the Kurdish people by moving from the condition of organisations and parties to the condition of a Kurdish state that would melt the Kurdish forces into a liberation movement for our homeland, Kurdistan. It also creates a central national authority that rises to the standard of international states and governments in relations and diplomacy. The liberation of our homeland is the right way for achieving the Kurdish national identity, as well as their national security and protection of the honour and preciousness of the blood of our Kurdish people. Those who think that the above can be achieved without the establishment of a Kurdish state are mistaken.

During this historic meeting in the town of Herne, a number of Kurdish politicians and intellectuals gathered on the occasion of the forty days anniversary of glorious Kurdish uprising in Western Kurdistan and in a mourning ceremony for the martyrs of the uprising there was a minute of silence at the start of the conference, then the Kurdish national anthem (Ay Raqib). This was followed by a speech regarding the uprising by the conference executive the activist Rizgar Qasim. Then Dr Jawad Mella read the political report and Dr Alan Qadir read the legal report. Then the questions by those present were answered and the question of declaration of the Government of Western Kurdistan and its constitution was adopted and the suggestions in this regard were put to voting.

The following decisions were made unanimously:

- 1- Declaration of the Government of Western Kurdistan in Exile, the names and number of the members of the government to be announced shortly after consultations.
- 2- Adopting the project of constitution of the Government of Western Kurdistan in Exile as suggested by the preparatory committee and a legal committee was formed from: the lawyer Bavi Shorish, Dr Alan Qadir and solicitor Sulaiman Jaziry, to be formulated legally.
- 3- Adopting the announcement of the preparatory committee of the Government of Western Kurdistan as well as the political and legal reports with their contents of suggestions in addition to the suggestions of the audience as follows:
 - Officially asking the United Nations to send international forces to Western Kurdistan in order to put it under international protection after the bloody massacres committed by the Syrian government against our Kurdish people since the glorious uprising of 12/4/2004.
 - Initiating a legal action at the International Justice Court in Lahay against the criminal murderers heading the Syrian regime to be tried for crimes against humanity and committing mass murders against the Kurdish people in Western Kurdistan during the current uprising and before that during the painful events of burning alive the Kurdish children in the town of Amuda in 1960 and burning alive of the Kurdish prisoners in the Central Prison of the city of Hasaka in 1993, and others.
 - Adopting all means to defend the Kurdish people who are subjected to imprisonment and murdering under torture in the Syrian prisons.

- Supporting the USA government's decision of imposing economical sanctions against Damascus and putting the Syrian regime on the list of the states exporting terrorism.

The conference received several faxes and letters of support from various parts of the world and the audience was from the Kurdish residents of various cities of Germany as well as delegations from France, Netherlands and Austria. There were also Kurdish personalities from Southern Kurdistan such as Dr Jemal Nebez and engineer Bruska Ibrahim and others. In addition there were representatives of the Kurdish TV and internet sites. The conference was ended with the Kurdish anthem (Ay Raqib).

Announcement from the Western Kurdistan Government in Exile on the first anniversary of the glorious uprising in Western Kurdistan and the first anniversary of forming the Western Kurdistan Government, and the good news of starting the broadcast on the Radio and TV satellite channel of the Western Kurdistan Government.

20 April 2005

ROJAVA TV

VTV/MRTV

Rojava TV

Satellite: Hotbird 13E

Transponder Number: 75

Frequency: 12207 H

Polarity: Horizontal

Symbol Rate: 27500

FEC: 3/4

First Kurdish Broadcast of ROJAVA TV started on Friday 11th March 2005, and for one hour a week at 8 to 9am UK time. Rojava Radio 24 hours a day. Now cover all Europe, Middle East and Kurdistan.

To the heroic Kurdish masses Friends of free and independent Kurdistan

We have to congratulate the Kurdish people and their friends for the news of starting the broadcast on the TV satellite channel of the Western Kurdistan and the Western Kurdistan Government is also happy to announce the start of a satellite radio broadcast from Friday 11 March 2005 on the first anniversary of the glorious uprising in Western Kurdistan.

The announcement of the birth of Western Kurdistan Government in Exile is the only reply to the barbarism of the Ba'athist Syria and its crimes against our Kurdish people in towns and villages of Western Kurdistan, Qamishlu, Derek, Amuda, Kubani, Afrin, Aleppo and other towns even outside the borders of Kurdistan, where our sons and daughters were persecuted in such Syrian towns as Hamah, Damascus and others..

We who worked for dozens of years in the patriotic Kurdish field in Western Kurdistan tried to organise an uprising against the fascist Syrian regime to spoil the racist Arabic Belt project in 1967 under the leadership of the late martyr Osman Sabri,

we say martyr because this hero was indeed murdered by his desperation and his sadness for some of his fellow peoples who disappointed him and led him to resign from the Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria in 1969. Those who murdered him are still continuing in their mission even after his passing despite organising parties on his honour after fighting him for decades and now they want to take advantage from his good name. Since that date the Kurdish people have been left as victims of the Syrian regime and his agents for the dirtiest process of brainwashing that those who practise racist acts against them are their brothers and impose on the Kurdish people hard work to protect Syria and its national security and preserve its geographical borders that have been built on the account of the Kurdish national security and the borders of Kurdistan. However, the uprising in Western Kurdistan has proved without any doubt that the Kurdish people have remained free and did not let imposed ideas control them, so they destroyed the statues of dictatorship and burnt the Syrian flag, raising the Kurdistan flag high in their glorious uprising on 12/3/2004.

In order to evaluate the uprising in an objective way we must know its various steps and the reasons for its stopping:

In the beginning of March 2004 the temporary Iraqi law was announced that adopted federalism for Southern Kurdistan (occupied by Iraq). In the aftermath of that there were demonstrations in Eastern Kurdistan (occupied by Iran), where the occupying forces opened fire on the demonstrators and dozens of them were martyred and wounded and hundreds arrested. The celebrations continued in Northern Kurdistan (occupied by Turkey), and the Kurdish people in Syria were also preparing for Nawruz celebrations (the Kurdish new year). So, the Syrian regime hurried to create an artificial collision between the Kurds and the Arabs in the Qamishlu Stadium thinking that the collision would end after killing a number of Kurds and the celebrations of federalism and Nawroz would turn into mourning and sadness. However, the Kurdish masses rose and attacked the offices of the Ba'ath party and Syrian police, and burnt them. The Kurdish masses took control of the street in all the Kurdish towns. So, the Syrian president gave orders to stop the uprising at any price according to the advice by his friends who informed him that if the uprising continues for a week, the American and British forces would find an excuse for intervention as they did in Southern Kurdistan. Thus the Syrian regime asked its forces to withdraw and asked his Kurdish agents to go around in their cars with loudspeakers calling the risen masses to keep calm. This glorious uprising proved that the Kurdish parties have no control on the masses because the demand of the masses for freedom is far from the demands of Kurdish parties who have nothing to do with the freedom of the Kurds and Kurdistan. So, the Syrian regime, straight after the uprising, ordered instructions to forbid the activities of the Kurdish parties in Syria because they failed in their duty of stopping any uprising and controlling the Kurdish masses as they were claiming. Thus the uprising showed that our Kurdish people are heroic but no one protects them or show them the path.

The masses burnt the Syrian flag and raised the Kurdistan flag with enthusiasm and expressed themselves in an instinctive and unorganised way... So, we announced straight away a government in exile for this heroic people to express what is in their hearts in an organised and studied way. This happened during the Herne conference in Germany on 25/4/2004 that announced the establishment of the Western Kurdistan Government in Exile that is regarded a turning point in the history of the Kurdish people in Syria in order to transfer from the situation of organisations and parties to

the situation of a Kurdish state that gathers all the Kurdish forces in the real Kurdistan patriotic liberation movement and provide a central authority for the Kurdish nationalism and move the cause into another level of states and governments in the world involving international relations and diplomacy. Liberating the homeland is the only right way to achieve a national identity and the Kurdish national security, and protect the honour and the dignity, and also blood of the Kurdish people. Any one who thinks that this could be achieved without a Kurdish state is mistaken and the Western Kurdistan Government in Exile is a step on this sacred path.

The Western Kurdistan Government in Exile at this stage has five ministries:

- 1- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Diplomatic Relations and work towards opening embassies of Western Kurdistan Government.
- 2- Ministry of Internal Affairs and organising masses
- 3- Ministry of Information. Establishing a satellite TV
- 4- Ministry of National Security and institute of national cadres
- 5- Ministry of Oil. To use the oil as a weapon for the independence of Kurdistan.

A special committee for each ministry carries out its affairs.

A constitution for the Western Kurdistan Government and the final declaration of Herne conference were adopted as guidelines.

Long live the continuous uprising

Long live the Western Kurdistan Government

Long live the start of media revolution with the new satellite ROJAVA TV and Radio

Long live the Kurdish people free and Kurdistan independent.

CHARTER OF THE WESTERN KURDISTAN GOVERNMENT IN EXILE

The Kurdish nation is one of the largest nations of the Middle East and the largest in the world without a state. Kurdistan, as all the current countries of the Middle East, except Iran, was under the control of the Ottoman Empire. As a result of the World War 1 and disintegration of the Ottoman Empire (1918), it seemed that the most reasonable solution was to give Kurdistan the right of national independence. Although the Sevres Treaty (1920) stated the establishment of an independent Kurdish state, Mustafa Kemal, as he became the leader of the Turks, refused to recognise that and threatened to make Turkey a communist state. This was one of the reasons that pushed the allied nations to introduce another Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 in which they ignored the Sevres Treaty in what concerns the Kurdish people and Kurdistan. After that and according to a France - Turkey agreement, the railway line between Mosul and Aleppo became a borderline between Turkey and Syria. As a result of such agreements and treaties Kurdistan was divided without any legal basis or any taking account of the opinion of the Kurdish people at all. The Kurds had never accepted this and started a long struggle against those states artificially created by the allies and occupying Kurdistan, namely; Iraq, Turkey, Syria, Iran and the former Soviet Union. Those governments since have been using the worst kinds of oppression policies against the Kurds, unprecedented in the history of humanity.

During the last eighty years the Kurds were deprived of national rights and their homeland, Kurdistan, divided and occupied as an international colony and the Kurds were persecuted, massacred, oppressed and deprived of the simplest of human rights.

Now the Kurds started in reality, especially after the tragedy of Halabja and recent

continuous genocide operation, demanding independence from Iraq and all other countries occupying Kurdistan. However, whether asking for full independence or a limited autonomy, or even extending electricity to their villages, the answer is always a cruel deprivation and more hideous oppression.

The France – Turkey agreement (the Ankara agreement of 1921) determined the borders that separated the Kurdistan of Syria from the Kurdistan homeland. As a result thousands of families were divided and those above the railway line became under the Turkish occupation (thus became Turks according to the Turkish government's claims) and those to the south of the railway line became under the Syrian occupation (and became Arabs according to the Syrian constitution). The latter part now has the population of more than 3 million people.

During the twenties and thirties, the Kurds in Syria that was occupied by the French enjoyed a relative freedom of publication and distribution, and had their own clubs and organisations under the French mandate. But when Syria gained its independence in 1946 and the Arabs controlled the government, the Kurds lost all what they had gained. All Kurdish organisations and clubs were banned, all Kurdish publications, books, magazines and newspapers, old or new, were confiscated. The leaders of the Kurdish people were exiled or executed. In the following we give some examples of such crimes:

- 1- The French mandate authorities in Syria send the great Kurdish leader Apo Osman Sabri in 1930 to the Island of Madagascar. He was brought back after a huge pressure from the Kurds on the authorities. Since then and until his death in 1993 this Kurdish hero was subjected to arrest more than 18 times and spent more than 12 years in Syrian prisons, and he was not allowed to travel because the Syrian government withdrew his Syrian nationality certificate in 1962.
- 2- In 1951 the Syrian authorities assassinated Prince Jaladet Baderkhan and exiled his brother (Prince Kameran), and a number of other Kurdish personalities such as Dr Nooraldine Zaza.
- 3- In 1958 the Syrian authorities dismissed hundreds of Kurdish officers from the army because of their Kurdish ethnicity. Among them: General Tawfiq Nezamadine, the Commander in Chief of the Syrian army; General Mahmoud Shawkat, Colonel Foad Melatli, Colonel Bakri Qutush...
- 4- The Syrian authorities murdered 380 children in the city of Amuda by burning them to death inside a cinema while they were watching a movie on 13/11/1960.
- 5- In 1962 the Syrian authorities deprived 150,000 Kurds from the region of Al-Jazeera of the Syrian nationality with their population today reaching more than half a million of Kurds.
- 6- In 1967 the Syrian authorities initiated a racist policy named "Arabic Belt" aiming to displace the Kurdish population from borders with Turkey and Iraq (15 Km in width and 375 Km long) and replace them with Arabs. The purpose was to separate the Kurds of Al-Jazeera from the other parts of Kurdistan in Iraq and Turkey using a human Arabic belt and to create new modern Arab settlements beside each Kurdish village deprived of any necessary services.
- 7- Continuous arrest of Kurdish patriots, for example the arrest of Haj Deham Mero and his companions in Syria for more than 15 years without trials and eventually releasing Haj Deham because of the old age and illness. Many of the Kurdish political prisoners were murdered such as Dr Hamid Sino or given drugs to make them ill including mentally as it happened to Mr Bahjat Muhammad who came out of prison with his mind lost after he was the first of his class during studies.

- 8- On 21 March 1986 the Syrian authorities prevented the Kurds from celebrating their national feast "Nawruz". The Kurds organised a peaceful demonstration in the streets of Damascus to protest and when the demonstrators approached the President's palace the guards shot at them killing a young man and injuring dozens of the Kurds.
- 9- The Syrian authorities burned 72 Kurdish prisoners to death in the Kurdish town of Hasaka on 23/3/1993.
- 10- There are hundreds of schools in Syria today teaching languages such as English, French, German, Spanish, Armenian, Turkish, Farsi and Hebrew, but there is no even one school in Syria to teach the Kurdish language.
- 11- The great Kurdish uprising in Western Kurdistan that started on 12/3/2004 is a beginning of the path for the independence of Western Kurdistan from the Syrian occupation.
- 12- The Syrian constitution dose not recognise the existence of the Kurds and uses martial laws and extra ordinary acts against them. The number of the Kurdish political prisoners is always in thousands and even those who demand a Syrian nationality as it happened during the Kurdish demonstrations in Damascus on 15/12/2002 in front of the Syrian parliament, demonstration of the Kurdish children deprived of nationality in front of the UN headquarters in Damascus 25/6/2003, and demonstration of Aleppo on 30/6/2003. This abnormal circumstances of the Kurdish people in Syria at the start of the 21st century and during this time of changes all over the world, demands change. But the Syrian government dose not want any changes, so the door is opened for as to make those changes using all methods even if we are forced to ask for the foreign help.

We invite the Kurdish nation to participate with the WKG and its organisations to serve the unity, peace and the KURDISH NATIONAL SECURITY interests, which are much more important than any individual, tribal, region's, organisation's and party's interests.

Article 1

AIMS OF THE WESTERN KURDISTAN GOVERNMENT IN EXILE

1. To save the Kurdish Nation from the threat of national annihilation, genocide, successive massacres, massive deportations, permanent wars, military occupation, continual humiliation, systematic repressions, coercive economic, social and cultural foreign domination.
2. Liberate our homeland Kurdistan from foreign occupation.
3. To establish favourable circumstances which enable the Kurdish people to freely determine their own destiny, self-determination, and political, economic, social and cultural independence without interference of foreign powers
4. To realize the sovereignty of the Kurdish people in their own historical homeland, to create a state of Kurdistan and to elect democratically the legitimate representatives of the Kurdish people in Western Kurdistan Government.
5. To exploit our national resources, specially the oil, for independence and development of Kurdistan.
6. To re-establish peace and human dignity in Kurdistan, and realize the fundamental rights and freedom of all the citizens of Kurdistan without any discrimination regarding race, ethnic, religion, sex or social backgrounds.
7. To give ethnic, religious, and sectarian minorities, who live in Kurdistan, their rights within limitation of the aims and principles of this Charter.

8. To remove traces of ignorance and exploitation and of the change of the national structure resulted from foreign occupation.
9. To develop all spheres of Kurdistan.
10. To find relations based on harmony, peace and security with all the neighbouring nations on the ground of equality and mutual interests.
11. To respect international conventions and treaties, and participate in the promotion of regional and international peace and security.
12. To participate to build up peace and security in the area, and in the world.
13. Since Kurdistan is a historical, geographical and civilisation country, never to give up any part of it, and to refuse every act, agreement or treaty, aiming to divide or occupy Kurdistan. The borders of Kurdistan are as mentioned by Betlisi in his book Sharafnamah in 1596-1597.

In order to achieve these aims

Western Kurdistan Government in Exile should:

- A. Proclaim that the right of self-determination of the Kurdish people means: the right of independence and creation of a state on the integral territories of their homeland Kurdistan.
- B. Unify all the national potentials and capabilities of all opinions in order to liberate Kurdistan from foreign colonization and occupation with the right of using all possible means.
- C. Favour negotiations and relations, based on the right of an independent Kurdistan and equal rights of the Kurdish nation, with all the neighbouring nations, and develop relations with all nations based on equality and non interference in national affairs, with the aim of promoting regional and international peace, security and stability.
- D. Obtain international support for the Kurdistan national liberation movement, international recognition of the legitimate right of the Kurdish people for self-determination, and creation of an independent non-aligned democratic Kurdistan State.
- E. Develop fraternal relations among all Kurdistan citizens and all political, cultural and social organizations, and prepare appropriate circumstances for them to actively participate in the struggle for independence.
- F. Find a basic democratic foundation in order that the Kurdistan citizens shall be able to elect their legitimate representatives in Western Kurdistan and to prepare adequate domestic and international conditions for the creation of an independent democratic and non aligned state in Kurdistan.
- G. Become the highest central institution of Kurdistan where all political and non-political organizations and patriotic personalities can air their views and unite efforts to achieve these aims.
- H. Be recognized as the sole legitimate authority of Kurdistan by all nations, states, intergovernmental and regional organizations, and above all the United Nations.

**Article Two
PRINCIPLES**

In pursuit of the aims stated in Article 1, Western Kurdistan Government in Exile and its members shall act in accordance with the following principles:

1. Western Kurdistan Government in Exile shall derive its decisions and laws from the Kurdish people and their believes.

2. Western Kurdistan Government in Exile is based on the principle that the Kurdish people have the right of self - determination, the right to choose their representatives democratically and the right to have their national government.
3. Western Kurdistan Government in Exile is based on the principle that the Kurdish people have the right to control their homeland and national resources.
4. Western Kurdistan Government in Exile is based on the principle of equality for all its members.
5. Western Kurdistan Government in Exile shall participate actively in the Kurdistan national liberation movement aiming at creating an independent state in Kurdistan; they shall participate in preparation and discussion of national policies.
6. Western Kurdistan Government in Exile shall not establish relations with the States occupying Kurdistan unless these States recognize officially the right of Kurdistan to be independent.
7. Western Kurdistan Government in Exile shall avoid in their conducts threat or use of force of any type against each other.
8. Western Kurdistan Government in Exile shall ensure that the citizens, organizations and associations which have not yet agreed on a Western Kurdistan Government in Exile charter, act in accordance with these principles so far as it may be necessary to maintain the national unity and promote the struggle for the independence of Kurdistan.

Article Three Membership

1. Members shall be of Kurdish origin, or of origin belonging to the ethnic or religious minorities who live in Kurdistan and have a profound association with Kurdistan.
2. Every citizen, male or female, of the eligible age of 18 or more who meets the above condition (Article 3 paragraph 1) and accepts the obligations outlined in this Charter has the right to be a Member in Western Kurdistan Government in Exile.
3. Western Kurdistan Government in Exile organised on pyramid system.
4. All Western Kurdistan Government in Exile candidates shall submit their written candidacy, together with brief curriculum vitae, to the president of Western Kurdistan Government in Exile before the beginning of the session.
5. Any Member who shall persistently violate the principles outlined in this Charter may be expelled from Western Kurdistan Government in Exile.
6. Any Member shall be expelled from office if she / he proved guilty of bribery, fraud, indecency, treachery and neglect of duty.
7. Members are not allowed to use force, violation or threat against each other. Any Member who violates this principle shall face automatic dismissal.

Article Four Bodies of Western Kurdistan Government in Exile

1. The General Conference is the highest legislative power in Kurdistan: The Assembly of Kurdistan National Congress and the Western Kurdistan Government in Exile President and its Ministries: Home Office, Foreign Office, Media & Communication Office, Economic and Financial Office, Defence National Security Office, Oil Office, Juridical and Legislative Office, Social and Health Office, Educational and Cultural Office and the Secretariat.

2. President of the Kurdistan National Congress: Has the power of the President of Kurdistan Republic, to sign the international treaties and to choose the Prime Minister.
3. Western Kurdistan Government in Exile is the highest executive power in Kurdistan: The Prime Minister and the Ministries of: Home Office, Foreign Office, Media & Communication Office, Economic and Financial Office, Defence National Security Office, Oil Office, Juridical and Legislative Office, Social and Health Office, Educational and Cultural Office and the Secretariat.
4. The Prime Minister is the President of the Government and is responsible to put the State Policy in action.
5. The Ministries working as committees, secretaries and advisers are responsible on the policy of the State in their areas.

Article Five Budget

The budget of the Western Kurdistan Government in Exile is from membership fees, donations and economical projects.

Article Six State Structure

Our state is a democratic republic with civil society, all the citizens, women or men, are equal and the army is for defence of the people, homeland and republic.

Article Seven Economic Structure

The Kurdistan Republic adopts a free market system.

Article Eight Social Welfare

Have free education, health service, and providing employment and dignified living for each citizen.

Article Nine Education and Information

Establishing a Kurdish education and information curriculum that creates new patriotic generations by using media institutions and courses for patriotic cadres specialised in various fields so that there would not be any chance for the colonialists to return.

Article Ten Foreign Policy

In the foreign policy as in any other field the interests of the Kurdish people and Kurdish national security should be above everything else when dealing with the great powers and the democratic forces that believe in the right of our people and independence of Kurdistan on the basis of mutual interests and cooperation.

Article Eleven

Modification of Charter

1. This Charter may be modified only after the consent of three quarters of the Members of the general conference.
2. The aims of Western Kurdistan Government in Exile which are the basic constitutional elements can not be modified except by a popular plebiscite after obtaining the national independence and the creation of a State of Kurdistan.

Article Twelve

Constitutional Structure

1. This Charter shall be the principal law in Kurdistan and shall be applied in all its regions until the final constitution of a Kurdistan State shall be announced and approved by the people.
2. This Charter shall nullify all constitutions and laws applied in Kurdistan by the occupying foreign States.
3. This Charter shall be effective from the date of Herne conference in 25.4.2004.
4. This Charter shall be published in the official newspaper and in the Kurdish and international newspapers. All those who are concerned shall be informed.



27 September 2005

Dr Jawad Mella
Western Kurdistan Government in Exile
Palingswick House
241 King Street
London
W6 9LP

Near East Team
Arab/Israel North Africa Group
Room W80
King Charles Street
London SW1A 2AH

Tel: 020 7008 3416
Fax: 020 7008 2462
E-mail: matt.proctor@fco.gov.uk

Dear Dr Mella,

Thank you for your letters of 29 April, 2 June and 9 June to the Prime Minister about the treatment of Kurdish people in Syria. I have been asked to reply and I apologise for the delay in doing so.

Whilst we welcome the recent release of Kurdish detainees by Syria, we have a number of serious concerns about Syria's human rights record, in particular the continued practices of arbitrary arrests, unfair trials, the detention of political prisoners and torture which run contrary to international human rights norms. We welcome President Asad's commitment to multi-party elections and hope that the Ba'ath Regional Congress on 6-9 June will generate further momentum for political reform. We regularly raise our concerns about Syria's human rights record both bilaterally and through the European Union.

Yours sincerely,

Matt Proctor

Matt Proctor
Lebanon and Syria Desk Officer

First Working Group Meeting on Syria

**Tuesday, 17 January 2006
at the Next Century Foundation, 4 Vincent Square, London**

Present:

1. Mr William Morris, Secretary General, The Next Century Foundation (Host)
2. Ms Victoria Barr, Business Monitor International
3. Ms Abigail Fielding Smith, IB Tauris Publishing
4. Mr Khalid Kishtainy, Sharq Al Awsat
5. Ms Muna Nashashibi, Arab Media Watch
6. Ms Dildar Kittani, Advisor to the KRG
7. Mr. Peter Dannheisser, Honorary Secretary of the Media Society
8. Mr. Tony Klug, Middle East Analyst
9. Mr Ayman Alloush, Syrian Embassy
10. Mr Ghayth Armanazi, British-Syrian Society
11. Dr Kaseem Mazrani, ANN
12. Mr Gamon Mclellan, Media Consultant & writer on Eastern Mediterranean and the Arab world
13. Ms Anita Grmelová, Third Secretary, Czech Embassy
14. Mr Neil Partrick, RUSI
15. Dr Jawad Mella, President of Kurdistan National Congress and Western Kurdistan Government in Exile
16. Ms Claudia Shaffer, Literary Agent
17. Ms Jane Kinninmont, International Business Monitor
18. Mrs Veronica Morris, Next Century Foundation
19. Ms Gunnlaug Gudmundsdottir, Next Century Foundation
20. Miss Mialy Clark, Next Century Foundation
21. Mr Davis Lewin, Next Century Foundation
22. Mr Ahmed Dermish, Master's Student, SOAS

William Morris: Syria is in trouble. We would like to come to grips with one or two issues:

1. The Syrian opposition
2. Syria and Israel
3. Syria and Iraq
4. Syria and Lebanon, and
5. Disinformation.

The Syrian Opposition

Jawad Mella: There are lots of Kurds in Syria who have a very hard time and lots of problems. There has been talk about how the people of Syria and the Middle East have become victims of the Syrian regime, but there's no talk about the three million Kurdish victims of the Syrian regime.

William Morris: Is there any alliance between Kurds and Islamists, such as that which exists between the Kurdish opposition and Farid Ghadry?

Jawad Mella: No. Although the alliance between Kurds and Farid Ghadry has occurred because the Kurds are victims, they will go to anyone who can help them.

William Morris: And Farid in America? I gather he has no support inside Syria.

Abigail Fielding Smith: My impression is that he's external opposition.

William Morris: How about the intellectuals on the left?

Abigail Fielding Smith: There is no-one with real power in the left/liberal intellectuals (neither does Abdul Hamid Khaddam have any power). I got the impression that intellectuals there in Damascus that they don't see the point of making an effort to form a political party because such a party would not gain significant support. We met them in public places.

William Morris: I got the impression that Rifat doesn't see himself as part of the opposition, what does everybody else think?

Jawad Mella: I met Rifat Al Assad's son who told me that they stop to be against the Syrian regime because they will lose the power in Syria and the regime will fall in the hands of a third party.

Khalid Kishtainy: Mr. Jawad Mella said that the Kurds in Syria 3 million, I would like to know the Syrian official figures regarding the Kurds?

Ayman Alloush: The Kurds in Syria between 1.5 million to 2.5 million.

Jawad Mella: Syria says that Israel is a rascit regime, but in Israel the Arabs have hundreds of schools for Arabic language but in Syria there is no one single school in Kurdish language in Syria for millions of Kurds.

Ayman Alloush: I would like to refer back to what Jawad was saying about the hardship suffered by the Kurds. In Syria there are fifty Kurds in the Syrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, so it is not accurate to say they have no access at all to government. We have two former Prime Ministers who were Kurdish. Syria has a problem with Kurds, but they are involved in all aspects of life.

Jawad Mella: Saddam Husein the former Iraqi president had also a Kurd as vice president of Iraq but hit the Kurds by chemical weapons. As well Dr Mohammed Ma'shouq Al Khaznawi, the Kurdish leader in Syria was kidnapped in Damascus and tortured to death by the Syrian regime. That was never reported and there was no UN investigation about this crime as the UN investigation for Rafiq Al Hariri.

Ayman Alloush: There were some Kurds who stayed without nationality, they don't have the right to learn at school, but we support their right to be Syrian.

William Morris: There is an important issue with regard to the census of Kurds in Syria.

Jawad Mella: The Kurds in Syria have the Syrian nationality since Syria was founded, but the Syrian regime regarding the census of 1962 deprived the Kurds from

this right, one of them, the chief of staff in the Syrian Army General Taufiq Nizameddin in 1958, became a foreigner in his country since 1962.

William Morris: The '62 census issue with the Kurds will also be in our report.

Syria and Iraq

William Morris: On to the next topic, Syria and Iraq. There's the issue of infiltration at the border into Iraq, the US refusing joint patrols and thereby making the controlling of the border more difficult. What's your impression? There are a lot of Baathists in Syria and that itself remains an issue to beat Syria with. In the early days of the resistance in Iraq after the liberation people came in from Syria, but that seems to have ended.

Dildar Kittani: I have heard reports about a stream of infiltrators through Syria, through Rabiath. The other issue people worry about is Baathists still in Syria. I know a few of them. They were with Saddam and are wanted by the new regime. Whatever terrorists infiltrate from Iran they ignore. They just say it's Syria. There are quite many Baathists in Syria as the Baath party is still in power in Syria.

Dildar Kittani: But what about those who ran to Syria after the Allied attack on Iraq, not before?

Ayman Alloush: Syria like so many other countries thinks the war on Iraq is illegal.

Khalid Kishtainy: Syria has been a refuge for Iraqis for a long time. Under Saddam the PUK, KDP were all formed in Syria, it has always been a refuge for the opposition, they are all still there.

Ayman Alloush: Talabani, the President, was there.

Dildar Kittani: When people stand outside government they're in a certain position. The people who ran away now are those who tortured the Kurds. Why is Syria keeping Baathists who tortured others now?

Khalid Kishtainy: There were many different people living there for different reasons. Anyone guilty of torturing Kurds is safe in Syria.

Ayman Alloush: If Syria asked France and Germany for people there who face corruption and terrorist charges in Syria, will they get them back? It happens everywhere. It is all a political game.

Jawad Mella: All sorts of extremists who are against democracy live in Damascus. The Syrian regime settled 100,000 Syrians in Lebanon.

Ayman Alloush: No, they weren't transferred, they moved there. Lebanese people don't stay in hotels when they visit Syria, they stay with their families.

Jawad Mella: There is no powerful opposition in Syria, because Syria has a very strong intelligence service, which was able to cut the Syrian Communist Party into four parts and the Kurdish movement into 20 parties.

William Morris: We will prepare two working papers, one for Syrians and one for the US. We'll draft them publicly on the ways forward on Syrian issues.

Jawad Mella: I would like to give the Syrian regime the advice, to announce federalism for the Kurds in Syria before the US army comes, the Syrian regime treats the Kurds very badly, and this treatment created 3 million American soldiers in Syria, namely the Kurds in Syria.

His Excellency Tony Blair
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom

London 24th October 2005

Dear Mr. Blair

The report of Detlev Mehlis, the international judge appointed by the UN and the public attorney of Berlin, presented to Mr Kofi Annan, is very similar in its condemnation of the Baathist regime of Syria to the condemnation of the Baathist regime of Iraq after its occupation of Kuwait, and it is much like the last straw that broke the camel's back.

Fact is the crimes of the Iraqi regime were not uncovered to the world until after its occupation of Kuwait; these crimes were committed against the Iraqi, Kurdish and Iranian peoples and in short made the Iraqi regime the enemy number one of humanity, despite the fact that the Iraqi regime up to its occupation of Kuwait was enjoying the support of the west and the east as well as the Arabic and Islamic support. After the occupation of Kuwait it was no longer possible to hide its crimes. It was only then that for the first time the mass graves of the Kurds and Arabs killed by the Iraqi regime were uncovered to reveal one of the most racist, bloody and despotic regimes of the world.

It is the same now for the Syrian regime that is no less criminal than the Iraqi regime, and the Mehlis report that condemns the Syrian regime for the assassination of the former president of Lebanon Rafiq El-Hariri without doubt will have implications no less than the occupation of Kuwait by Iraq. For the Mehlis report has an international weight as it was compiled by the demand of the UN, and thus it will uncover all the crimes committed by the Syrian regime against all those who differed in their opinions, leaders and intellectuals all over the world, and especially the Lebanese that we can mention: Kemal Junbulat, Bashir El-Jumaeel, René Muawadh, George Hawi, Elias El-Murr and Samir El-Qasseer. This also means that the Mehlis report will make the Syrian question an international one, and Syria is no longer a hostage of the Baath decisions. Its results shall open the door for uncovering all crimes and for the Syrian people and the Kurdish people in Western Kurdistan to determine their own destiny and that of their countries according to international norms and the UN charter that clearly states that all the peoples of the world have the right of self determination.

The cowardly Syrian regime does not even dare to speak about its rights to regain parts of Askandaruna and Golan, while it sent its planes and tanks against the Kurdish uprising in Western Kurdistan in the towns of Hasaka, Qamishli, Amuda, Derik, Kobani, Afrin and Aleppo on 12-3-2004, or killed the people of Hama and Tadmur prison in the beginning of the eighties, or is terrorising the Jordanian farmers on the Syrian-Jordanian borders recently, in addition to recruiting and training terrorists and

sending them to commit terrorist acts in Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait as well as other Gulf states, to kill the innocent.

The Nazi Syrian regime has killed, injured and imprisoned thousands of Kurds in Western Kurdistan without any scruples. First it burned 400 Kurdish children to death in the Amuda cinema in 1960, and then burned 75 Kurds in Hasaka Central Prison in 1993, in addition to mass murder of the Kurds in the streets during the uprising of March 2004 or in prisons under barbaric torture. The Syrian racist regime has also assassinated several Kurdish leaders such as the great Kurdish leader prince Jaladat Baderkhan in 1952 by an explosion of a water tank over his head to make it as an accident, up until the assassination of the Kurdish leader and scholar, the martyr Dr Muhammad Mashuq Khaznawi after his arrest and barbaric torture on 30-5-2005. We demand an international investigation into all these crimes so that they cannot be repeated, and demand international protection of the Kurdish people in Western Kurdistan similar to the protection of Southern Kurdistan since 1991 up to the fall of Saddam's regime.

It was a long dark night for the peoples of the region, but the time is ripe and very near to get rid of the fascist Baathist nightmare for ever.

Yours truly,

Dr Jawad Mella

President

Western Kurdistan Government in Exile



British Prime Minister welcomes Dr Jawad Mella

Exclusively for Media: On 29/04/2005 British Prime Minister has welcomed Dr Jawad Mella President of Western Kurdistan Government,

The meeting that took place in London, the capital of the United Kingdom, Dr Jawad Mella discussed issues regarding the Kurdistan region in general and Western Kurdistan particularly and the latest genocide and massacre of the Kurds in the city of Qamishlo by the Syrian regime. He also handed a Kurdistan flag and an English version of his book and another one of Professor Jemal Nebez's book as a present to the British PM.

Dr Jawad Mella informed Mr Blair in the meeting, despite the fact of bombardment of Halabja by chemical gas, which by itself is the best evidence of Saddam's weapon of mass destruction, the British



public had unfortunately still criticized him and his government for liberating Iraq, and toppling Saddam's regime. This was only because the multinational force in Iraq could not find any weapon of mass destruction, even though it is well known to the whole world who killed and buried alive innocent people in the mass graves and the systematic genocide of the Kurds.

Mr Blair and Dr Mella went further and discussed many significant issues together with the latest developments in Kurdistan region and the two had an important exchange of views.

Dr Mella thanked Mr Blair for his crucial role "I on behalf of the Kurdish community in the UK and Kurds in Kurdistan thank you and President Bush for your unforgettable and a moral action for liberating Iraq for Iraqis, because if it was not for you, we would have always been ruled by a bloodthirsty dictator, in return Mr Blair made it clear and expressed his delight at receiving Kurdistan's Flag, and the valuable views and position of Dr Jawad Mella. Mr Blair also said he is extremely glad to hear the concerns of Dr Jawad Mella regarding Syrian Kurdistan.

At the end, Mr Blair added and said "We are closely following developments in the region and are well informed about the Kurdish position and are working hard to help the Kurds in every way we can". Dr Jawad Mella on the other hand described the talks as constructive, positive and a starting point for further improvement in mutual relations and common interests.

I, Sipan Osman, hereby certify that this is a true translation into English from Kurdish of the above newspaper article issue 189 page 1 date: 3.5.05 at www.yndk.com, from Hawler the capital of Southern Kurdistan (Iraqi Kurdistan).

Ladies and Gentlemen**You are welcome all...**

Today is an anniversary of 20 years of Kurdistan National Congress, which is working days and nights for independence of Kurdistan, we established four general meetings, and now the fifth. You know all that the Kurdish people are more than 40 million and should have a political solution for the Kurds. Thanks God in the last 15 years the International Community moved a step toward this aim. In 1991 this country, Britain, established the Save Haven, and today the government continues to protect the Kurdish people in Iraqi Kurdistan. Really we are thankful to the government here and to the western countries for their protection and for the resulting establishment in the Save Haven of the Kurdistan Parliament and the Kurdish Government in Sulaimania and Hawler in Iraqi Kurdistan. This is a big step, but that is not all we wanted, but is a very big step towards the independence of Kurdistan. We have some differences with other Kurdish parties and groups. I remember, when we established the KNC in 1985 we announced the Kurdistan Parliament in Exile. It was a strange step for other groups which themselves established the Kurdistan Parliament many years later, the Iraqi Parliament in 1992, and Northern Kurdistan Parliament in Exile in Belgium in 1995.

In 1991 in front of the American Embassy in London I raised the Kurdistan flag, as our followers in the whole the world asked the western countries to intervene to protect the millions of Kurds who had run away from Iraqi Kurdistan, but all Kurdish parties and groups showed their anger about the Kurdistan flag. I remembered that we are a nation of 40 million, not a club or a football team. Even football teams they have their own flags. If we ask anybody: "Who are you?" he will raise his passport or ID. The passport of the Kurdish people is the flag. So, if anybody does not agree about the Kurdistan flag, that means he does not recognise the Kurdish people.

Now in Iraqi Kurdistan we are asking for federalism which soon will be independence, because we have there a big problem, because the Arabs, they don't want to give the Kurds a federalism. When we had the last meeting in Kurdistan Parliament the Iraqi Prime Minister refused to attend. This kind of people, they push the Kurdish people faster to get independence of Kurdistan, and this day is coming soon.

Today I would like to announce that as we established Kurdistan Parliament before other Kurdish parties, and as we raised the Kurdistan flag before them as well, today I would like to announce the United States of Kurdistan in Exile by all Kurdish representatives.

I remember 1984 Mr. Yaser Arafat from Tunisia announced the Palestinian state in Exile, we should go a further step to announce the United States of Kurdistan in Exile and work for it, and you are welcome all of you, especially today between us Mr. Charlie Treloggan the Mayor of Hammersmith and Fulham and many other colleagues and friends, British, German, American and from every where of the world and even from Kurdistan our leader, our teacher, Mr. Kamil Jeer, whom I did not see for more than 36 years, and whom I am very glad to see today among us.

Thank you very much for your coming and listening.

Dr. Jawad Mella

President

Kurdistan National Congress

London 30th July 2005

At the 5th Kurdistan National Congress

Thank you for you invited me for your 5th Congress, and I am delighted to be here as Mayor of Hammersmith and Fulham to support to your cause.

I am in a difficult position of having had two speakers in front of me and hearing many of the words about to offer said already, so in these circumstances this will be a very short speech.

It is a tragedy that the people of Kurdistan don't have their homeland, the nation in exile, and the sooner that can be remedied the better for every body in the world. That always happened to other nations with much smaller population than Kurdistan people have.

What I would urge every one to seek your independence via European Union.

Only this morning I heard in the radio that Turkey is giving up control of Northern Cyprus, and therefore Cyprus is one united again and will be controlled by the Greek section in Cyprus, and that is a good thing, that you see they can be made to give up with pressure to put on them via European Union. So that will be my advice to you.

I wish you a lot of success I am sure one day all wrong you suffered will be righted and you will be back again as one nation in the land that belongs to you, not to other nations who have stolen it.

Chancellor Charlie Trelogan



**The Mayor
Hammersmith and Fulham**

London 30th July 2005
At the 5th Kurdistan National Congress

**The final announcement of the 5th Conference of the Kurdistan National Congress
London 30-7-2005**

For the attention of our nation inside and outside the homeland!

By a previous invitation from the leadership committee of the Kurdistan National Congress-KNC, in order to evaluate and analyse the current sensitive circumstances in the Middle East and Kurdistan, deciding on the establishment of the Kurdistan National Congress - East and many other issues concerning the cause of our people, and with the participation of hundreds of persons the Fifth Conference of the Kurdistan National Congress was held under the banner of "Independence for Kurdistan" in London on 30/7/2005.

A management committee was formed to supervise the conference by Ms Shawnam Adel and Mr Shirwan Rashid.

The conference was opened by a minute of silence for the pure souls of the martyrs of Kurdistan and the Kurdistan National Congress, General Aziz Akrawi, Rahbar Jalal Mamash, Abdulrazzaq Sukhta, and Professor Dr. Salah Jmor.

At the beginning there were speeches by the following personalities:

Dr Jawad Mella, President of the Kurdistan National Congress, Mrs Irmgard Ibrahim, Chair of the Kurdish Lobby in Europe, Mr Charlie Treloggan, the Mayor of Hammersmith in London, the famous British journalist David Adamson, Mr Bruska Ibrahim, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs of the KNC, Mr Sirwan Kavose, Chairman of the Media and Information of the KNC, Mr Sabir Kokayi, Chairman of the High Committee for the Referendum in Kurdistan, Mrs Freshta Rapper, Chair of Kurdistan Education Project, Mr Sardar Pishdari, Chairman of Kurdistan Oil Project, Mr Jamil Hassan, Kurdish Youth, reciting a poem by Mr Kahoon Muhammad on Al-Khaznawi, Mr Kameran Saleh Beg, representing the KDP in London. Mr Kamel Zjeer the writer, poet, and Chairman of the Kurdistan National Congress - South. Mr Siwan Surd, report on Northern Kurdistan. Mr Roj Mustafa, the National Union of the Kurdish Students and Youths-America. Mr Azad Saqizi, Human Rights Project. Mr Ali Rashid. Mr Shirwan Rashid, Chairman of the Teachers Union. Mrs Malaka Kayhan, Chair of the Kurdistan Women's Union. Mr Simko, representing the Kurdistan Independence Front. Mr Mushir Galali - representing Kurdistan Islamic Movement - Halabja. Mr Ali Rahimi - representing the "Chak" organisation for Halabja and Anfal. Mr Muhammad Saleh - representing Kurdistan Islamic Union-Hawler. Mr Walid Shekho, Western Kurdistan Government in Exile - Germany's representative. Mr Sulaiman Jazeery, Western Kurdistan Government in Exile the UK representative. Mr Karim Rashid. Mr Hussein Marouni - representing the Kurdish Cultural Centre in America. Mr Rizgar Kocher. The Artist Mr Nawroz. The great Kurdish scholar and teacher of Kurdish national ideology Professor Jemal Nebez.

The names of the following senders of congratulation letters and messages for the conference were mentioned:

The family of our late comrade - Rahbar Jalal Mamash-Finland. Sheik Omar Gharib, Kurdish Writers Union in America. The journalist and writer Mr Aso Hama Saleh - Germany. Kurdish writer and politician Dr Hussein Khaliqi - Sweden. The Kurdish writer and politician Mr Sidiq Babaii - Germany. Mr Behzad Diab Omar and Dr Khorshid Rawandzi and Mrs Khalat Ahmad - Switzerland. The British film directors Mr Nigel Barker and Mrs Melloney Roffe. The Kurdish Home Association in Germany. The Leadership of the Democratic National Union of Kurdistan - Hawler. Dr Saman Shali, President of the KNC in America. The committee of KNC in Scandinavia. Mr Kamal Artin - President of the Kurdish Cultural Association in America. The committees of KNC in Eastern and Western Kurdistan. Mr William Morris President of the Next Century Foundation-UK. The Kurdistan Masses Front in Sulaimany. Solicitor Mr Abdullah

Dartash Chairman of the Kurdish Human Rights Association. Dr Mousa Kaval - representing Havbandi organisation for Northern Kurdistan - Paris. The Kurdistan Labourers Party - Sulaimani. Hiwa Najatian, California - America. Comrade Alan Kakaha - President of the Kurdish National Party - Canada. Dr Muhammad Ahmad - the Ambassador of Western Kurdistan Government in Kazakhstan. Dr Muzafar Partumah - New York - America. Comrade Shamal Saqizi in Canada. Comrade Shwan Barzenji in Norway. Dr Abdulmir Rajab, the Fayli Kurds Council. Qutbaddine Ozer, representing the Kurdistan Democratic Party - North. Mr Muhammad Sharif Oner- Suisse. Ms Anna Maria Sotgiu-Italy.

The conference also received congratulation letters from the following personalities and constitutions:

Mr David Sullivan, Secretary General of the European Commission. Mr Tony Blair, the Prime Minister of the UK. Mrs Reem Al-Badir and Mr. Sulaiman Othman – Lybia, Mrs Durriya Aouni –Egypt. Mr Rifaat Mamedi Shikak and Mr Faramaz Gharibo, President of the Ezdi Association “Kania Spi” - Germany. “Rya Teze” the Kurdish newspaper in Armenia. The British writer Mr David McDowell. The British writer Mr David Adamson. Mr Ako Muhammad - Chief Editor of “Media” Kurdish newspaper – Hawler/Kurdistan. The Leadership of the Kurdistan Independence Party - Sweden. Ms Karen Dabrowska, journalist - UK. Mr Majid Hassan - Germany. The Kurdish writer Mr Kamal Rauuf Muhammad - Holland. The Arab thinker Mr Abdulhussein Shaban. Mr Sharam Muhammad Ali, KNC committee - Austria. Artist, Mr Khalid Rashid and Dr Khalid Younis Khalid - Sweden. Dr Zuhair Abdulmalik and Dr Carlo Boldrini - Italy. Lord Hamilton and Baroness Cox of the House of Lords - UK. The Economist magazine - UK. Mr David Ball, President of UNICEF London. Mr Kurdan Jano - Sweden. Professor Steven Castles – Oxford University - UK. Mr Abdulqader Muhammad Amin, Chief Editor of “Barzan” Kurdish newspaper in America. Mr Mark Lattimer, Director of Minority Rights Group International - UK. Mr Farhad Abdulkader - Roj Press Centre - Sweden. Mr Saer Abdulaziz Haji. Miss Liz Shaw - news director in BBC. Miss Tania Dimitrov of the Foreign Relations of the Socialist Party of Bulgaria. Mrs Ghazia Sukhta, the widow of our late comrade Abu Tara. Dr Sabah Jmor, Brother of our late comrade Professor Dr Salah Jmor. Mr Kirmanj Akrawi, son of our late comrade General Aziz Akrawi. Mr Zinar Azzam in Germany. Mr. Nicolas Young, Chief Executive of the British Red Cross - UK. Dr Ali Attiah, President of the Kurdish Diaspora Organisation - Ukraine. Mr Darwish Farho President of the Kurdish Institute in Belgium. Mr Mustafa Ongan - Cambridge University - UK.

Then, after the report of comrade Sirwan Kavose regarding the Middle East and Kurdistan in general and Eastern Kurdistan in particular, the following points were suggested and unanimously approved by the conference:

- The Kurdistan National Congress - East to be established in order to unite the ranks of the Kurdish people and propagating original Kurdish nationalist ideas, and attempting to establish a national unity and a real national front that may be able to supervise our people’s liberation movement in order to achieve an overall general referendum under the supervision of the UN and democratic countries of the world so that the Kurdish people in the East could vote for their own self determination in total freedom without any internal sides’ intervention and deformation.
- The Kurdistan National Congress - East would act as a branch of KNC that has current headquarters in London - UK.
- The comrades in KNC - East in participation with the leadership of KNC should elect the leadership committee - East to carry out the national duties in the East and execute the decisions approved by the Fifth Conference.
- The mentioned committee can establish relations with all sides and personalities friendly with the Kurds and the democratic countries...

- The leadership committee should work towards preparing the ground for “the establishment of the Eastern Kurdistan Government in Exile” until the achievement of the liberation of Kurdistan and the Kurdish people under the supervision of the UN and the democratic countries of the world will be able to vote in a free democratic referendum for their right of political self determination.
- The leadership committee - East should in near future evaluate the suggested constitution and program and after its discussion send it to the KNC comrades and all Kurdish and Kurdistan political, social and religious sides to know their opinions regarding the constitution that after its approval should be put into action and execution.

The approved documents and decisions of the Fifth Conference of Kurdistan National Congress:

- The conference declared its unanimous support to the establishment of the Western Kurdistan Government in Exile.
- The conference condemned the barbaric attack of the Iranian occupying regime on the oppressed people of Mahabad and other towns of Eastern Kurdistan that led to the martyrdom of Saeed Kader famous as “Shwana” and dozens others, and in a letter appeals to the international institutions to prevent the mass murder of the Kurdish people by the barbaric regime of Iran.
- The conference condemns the regimes that occupy Kurdistan, Iran, Turkey and Syria for their continuous racist policies against the Kurds as well as condemning the new Iraqi regime that continues dealing with Kurdish demands and aspirations in the same old Arab chauvinistic way!
- the conference asks the UN and the international community to have a free referendum for the Kurdish people of 40 million, which never happened yet.
- In a letter, the conference asks the PUK and PDK to leave aside unfounded and empty alliances with the Shiite and Sunnite Arabs in Iraq and together respect the demands and aspirations of the Kurdish nation and prepare the ground for a referendum in Southern Kurdistan under the supervision of the UN and democratic countries of the world.
- The conference thanks all the personalities, institutions and organisations that actively participated in running the conference and also thanks all those Kurdish and foreign personalities and sides that sent congratulatory letters and messages.
- The conference relates its special thanks to Mr Charlie Treloggan, the Mayor of Hammersmith - London who on top of his participation delivered a valuable and important speech saying: “Your homeland has been stolen from you and should be returned to you!”
- The conference condemned terror, terrorism and dictatorship and declared its support for the democratic systems and just rights of the peoples of the world.
- The conference approved the announcement of the United States of Kurdistan in Exile and decided to form a committee of Kurdish solicitors and lawyers to write and formulate a constitution for the United States of Kurdistan in Exile.
- The Fifth Conference unanimously re-elected Dr Jawad Mella as the President of the KNC.
- The conference was run successfully and amid a greater hope and stronger faith in the liberation and independence of Kurdistan, it was ended with the Kurdish national anthem “Ay Raqib”.

Kurdistan National Congress
2/8/2005

Dear

You are invited to a special evening in remembrance of the victims of Halabja, alongside the celebrations of the Kurdish New year Newroz.

Newroz means 'new day', by which the Kurds mean the first day of the Spring. In the Kurdish calendar the current year is 2705, therefore we would be celebrating 2706. Newroz for the Kurdish people is also a symbol of struggle and resistance for a nation deprived of freedom and peace.

By attending you would also be supporting our celebrations on the launch of the Kurdish Radio station, Rojava Kurdistan.

Rojava Kurdistan is launched by Western Kurdistan Association in London to plug the gap in the BBC World Service, which has programmes in 29 languages but not in the Kurdish language.

From the 21st March 2006, the 300,000 Kurdish refugees in the UK will finally have their voice through Rojava Kurdistan, which will produce 14 programmes to cover all the needs, problems and issues of the Kurdish refugees in the UK.

Date: Saturday 18th March 2006

Time: 6:30 evening

Venue: Polish Centre, 246 King Street, Hammersmith , London W6

Nearest tube station is Ravenscourt Park

Buses: H91, 27, 267, 391 and 266

Yours sincerely

Dr Jawad Mella

Chairman

Western Kurdistan Association

**Ladies and gentlemen, good afternoon,
dear Mr Sherko Abbas,
president of the Conference on Democracy & Freedom in Syria & Kurdish Human and National Rights,
dear participants in this conference,
dear members of different Kurdish organisations,
dear participants from Syria and other countries,**

Today is the 2nd anniversary of the great Kurdish uprising in Western Kurdistan. But this uprising will continue until we gain complete freedom from the dictatorship and chauvinist policy of the Syrian Baath party.

Today, two years after our great uprising,
today after 25 years in exile outside Kurdistan and far from my nation and family,
today after long years of suffering without anybody listening to our cause,
the cause of freedom, democracy and justice,
finally, thank God, today we have this Conference on Democracy & Freedom in Syria & the Kurdish Human and National Rights, here in the building of the Senate of the USA.

I would like to thank you all for your concern about the Kurdish people's rights and democracy,
I would like to ask all participants, let's work together to build a better future for all nations and for our Kurdish people in Syria who needs more support than any other nation.

I would like to ask all Kurdish personalities and organisations to establish one centre or one front to act on behalf of the Kurdish people in Western Kurdistan to gain the Kurdish people's rights, democracy and freedom.

Our Satellite Radio, Rojava Kurdistan, is broadcasting its programmes in five languages and 24 hours a day, 365 days a year, since 11th March 2005, to educate the Kurdish people in Syria, to use their national and democratic rights and their voice to be heard, and from today this satellite radio is yours as well.

We are now in the 21st century, and still nobody has asked the Kurdish people what they want and which are their problems or needs.

Today let's raise together the voice of Kurdish people in democratic and civilized ways, through the UN and international law, which allow all nations to use democratic ways to gain their rights.

A public referendum is one of these ways, so in this conference we ask all of you to issue a statement, to be signed by all Kurdish and Syrian organisations, that the Kurdish people are entitled to take part in a public referendum about their freedom and political self-destination.

Thank you very much.

**Dr. Jawad Mella
President
Western Kurdistan Government in Exile**

13th March 2006



Councillor Charlie Treloggan Mayor of Hammersmith-London and Dr. Jawad Mella, In the 5th Kurdistan National Congress on 30th July 2005



Kurdistan National Flag



The Kurdish Empire Emblem 700BC





Our Kurdish demonstrations in London always had the banners against terrorism and to support Independent of Kurdistan and raised the American, Kurdistan, British flags





On 25/6/2003 about 200 Kurdish children of those registered as foreigners participated in a peaceful demonstration in front of the UNICEF office in Damascus



Pictures of some Kurds ages 15-70 years old been shot in the streets of Kurdish cities in western Kurdistan by the Syrian regime on 12-13 March 2004



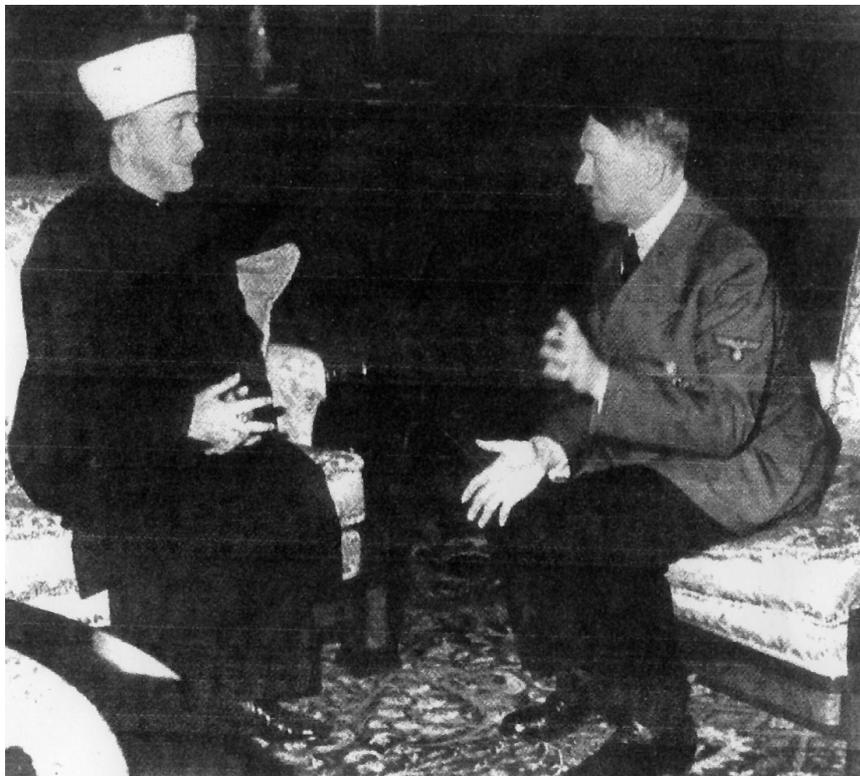
The 5th Kurdistan National Congress – London 30th July 2005



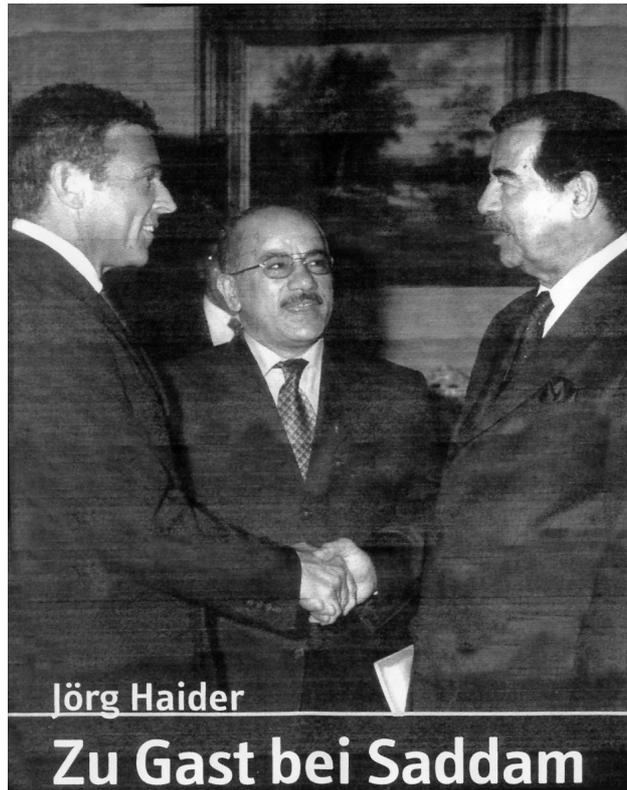
This Kurdish money issued by Bank of Kurdistan, been sent to South of Kurdistan to adopt it, but no Kurdish money and no Bank of Kurdistan exist yet. We hope to have it one day.



From the right the Zoroastrians God, Ahoramizda gave the ring of power to the Kurdish King Ardasher II, and Mitra, God of the Sun watching the ceremony, 24 centuries ago, in East of Kurdistan.



Adolph Hitler with Sheikh Amin Al-Huseini of Jerusalem



The new Nazis leader Jorg Haider had a trip to the Middle East, but he met only Saddam Husein, Udai Saddam Husein and Mustafa Tilas the Syrian former defence minister

Author's biography

He was born in 1946 in Damascus to an activist family who was deported from Northern Kurdistan (Kurdistan of Turkey) to Syria after the World War I. His grandfather Mella Muhammad was a religious Muslim and a patriot. He built a mosque in his village Bedwan in the Diarbaker area that is still standing. His father Ibrahim Mella was an activist in the Kurdish Khoiboon Party with Prince Jaladat Baderkhan that led the Kurdish revolution in the Aghri mountains in the years 1927 – 1930. After the failure of the Aghri revolution, Prince Jaladat Baderkhan and the author's father together with others tried twice to declare a Kurdish state in the Western Kurdistan. The first time during the French mandate times and the second time during the coup by General Husni Al-Za'eem in 1949. These attempts failed and they participated in establishing cultural clubs and publishing Kurdish newspapers in Damascus such as Hawar and Runahi.

In such a patriotic and revolutionary atmosphere Jawad Mella grew up with Kurdish books and writings of his father surrounding him. This was his biggest incentive to involve in the patriotic work early in his life. For his activities he was arrested by the Syrian Intelligence services for the first time while he was very young and was tortured in the worst barbaric way.

Jawad Mella wrote several reports, books and articles. The following are some of his activities for the liberty of the Kurds and the independence of Kurdistan:

- 1964 – 1969 a leading member of the Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria.
- 1970 – 1972 met the late Mella Mustapha Barzani several times.
- 1972 the leader of the National Union of the Kurdish Students in Syria and participated in the conference of Kurdistan Students Union in the city of Sulaimany by an official invitation from the leader of Kurdistan Students Union, Mr Adel Murrad.
- 1970 – 1975 a leading member of the KAZIK Party, established in 1959
- 1970 established the KAZIK organisations in Northern and Western Kurdistan
- 1976 – 1984 a leading member of the Kurdish Socialist Party (PASOK) and commander of the Peshmarga fighters in the mountains of Qandil, Sorin and other areas of Southern Kurdistan.
- 1982 – 1984 a leading member of JUD Front in Kurdistan of Iraq.
- 1984 a founding member of the (KAK) committee calling for the independence of Kurdistan together with Mr Jamal Alamdar, Dr Shafiq Qazzaz and Dr Friad Hawizi.
- 1985 established the Kurdish Human Rights Committee in Britain.
- 1985 a founding member of the Kurdistan National Congress together with Dr Jemal Nebez, General Aziz Aqrawi, Dr Muhammad Saleh Gabori and Sheik Latif Mariwani.
- 1986 published the Kurdname newspaper in Arabic and Kurdish.
- 1987 participated in the first conference of the Kurdish Academy of Science and Art in the city of Vienna (the academy was established in 1985 in Sweden).
- 1988 accepted an official invitation by the UN headquarters in New York to speak regarding the case of disappearance of 8000 Barzan Kurds

- abducted by the Ba'athists since 1982.
- 1989 made the preparations for the First Conference of Kurdistan National Congress in London.
- 1989 arranged several meetings and conferences regarding the victims of the city of Halabja, the Anfal operations and the detention of 5000 Fayli Kurds by the Saddam's Ba'athist regime.
- 1990 participated in several international conferences in Europe, regarding the Kurdish cause.
- 1991 had a large role in the urgent intervention of the international forces to rescue the Kurdish people of Southern Kurdistan during their mass exodus.
- 1991 prepared the Second Conference of Kurdistan National Congress in London and participated in the special conference for the victims of Marzaboto and Halabja in Italy.
- 1992 – 1994 sent several letters to the Kurdish leaders in Southern Kurdistan to take advantage of the new circumstances in Southern Kurdistan in order to declare a Kurdish state.
- 1995 – 1996 became a member of the Kurdistan Parliament in Exile with HQ in Brussels.
- 1996 participated in the Third Conference of Kurdistan National Congress in Paris.
- 1997 as a leader of a Kurdish delegation met the Libyan leader Moamar Al-Qaddafi in Tripoli by invitation from Colonel Al-Qaddafi.
- 1997 established the Western Kurdistan Association in London together with a group of patriots.
- 1998 prepared the Fourth Conference of Kurdistan National Congress in London and published the Congress newspaper in Kurdish, English and Arabic languages.
- 1999 received official invitations from the PUK and PDK to visit Southern Kurdistan to examine the situation there.
- 2000 as a reply to those invitations he sent several delegations representing the Kurdistan National Congress to Southern Kurdistan for cooperation with the Kurdistan government and other Kurdistan forces.
- 2001 – 2004 worked for a general conference for all the Kurdish forces in Western Kurdistan, in order to declare the Western Kurdistan Government in Exile. This was announced on 25/4/2004 during the Herne conference and Jawad Mella was elected as the President of the government. This was because the September 11 events in New York that changed the features of the international policy and balance are likely to affect the geography as well. The first among those affected would be the Kurdish people and their homeland Kurdistan.
- 2005 Established Rojava TV and Radio broadcasting from London in five languages, 24 hour a day covering Europe, Middle East and Kurdistan.
- 2006 Attended Washington conference for the Syrian Kurds at the Senate building on 13 March 2006.

Note: KAJYK, PASOK, KNC and the Western Kurdistan Government all call for the independence of Kurdistan. So, since 1970 the author has been on the same line of independence of Kurdistan and establishment of a Kurdish state that is undoubtedly should come for no matter how long is the night the sun will rise and the morning is coming. **Dr Jawad Mella wrote hundreds of books, studies, analyses and articles:**